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The Scottish Text Society

THE POEMS
OF
WILLIAM DUNBAR

"I see that the Ayrshire Bard had one giant before him."

—*Crabbe to Sir Walter Scott: 'Lockhart's Life of Scott.'*

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THE POEMS
OF
WILLIAM DUNBAR

EDITED BY
THE LATE JOHN SMALL, LL.D.
LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION

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ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY

WITH PREFATORY NOTE



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

BY W. GREGOR, LL.D.

THE late Mr Small, a short time before his death, committed to me the completion of the edition of the 'Poems of William Dunbar' which he had undertaken for the Scottish Text Society. Mr Small's name will always be honourably associated with the language and literature of Scotland. Between the death of Mr David Laing and the formation of the Scottish Text Society Mr Small did much to foster a taste for Scottish literature and to spread a knowledge of it. His editions of some of the Scottish poets are ample proofs of his industry, learning, and love of the literature of his native country.

Æneas J. G. Mackay, Esq., undertook to write an Introduction to the poems, and this he has done with such skill and learning as to throw a very full light on the life and times of the poet, and to leave little to be done by any future biographer.

The Notes and Glossary were undertaken by me. William Dunbar seems to me to be the representative of the thought, the language, and the literature of his country at the time he lived. Both Court and people pass as in a panorama in his poems. My object has therefore been to illustrate them as fully as possible, so as to bring out the life of the Scottish people at a time of no small intellectual, political, and commercial activity in the nation. The Scottish language is well represented in the poems. The Glossary has therefore been made full. Every word and form of word have been registered, and meanings have been added when considered necessary. Many of the words have caused much difficulty, and in not a few cases I have made what must be taken only as guesses. It may be that some words have escaped my notice, and so are not registered. I do not think, however, there are many omissions.

In carrying out this long and difficult work, many kind friends have given me much willing help. To all of them I return my warmest thanks. If my work possesses any merits, let my generous helpers have their share of praise. Whatever defects are in it fall to me.

My special thanks are due to Æneas J. G. Mackay, Esq., Sheriff of Fife and Kinross; James Cranstoun, Esq., M.A., LL.D.; Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt. D., LL.D. Edin., M.A. Oxon., Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon, Cambridge; James A. H. Murray, Esq., B.A. Lond., LL.D. Edin., Editor of 'A New English Dictionary on Historical

Principles'; James Moir, Esq., M.A., LL.D., Aberdeen; F. J. Amours, Esq., Glasgow; and Alexander M. Munro, Esq., Aberdeen. All these have given me ungrudgingly much valuable counsel and aid. I have bestowed much time and labour on the work, in order to make it as complete as I could, and I now commit it to the members of the Scottish Text Society, in the hope that it will help them to enter into the spirit of the writings of one of Scotland's greatest and most versatile poets.

"Faultes escaped in the printing, correcte with your pennes; omitted by my neglygence, overslippe with patience; committed by ignorance, remit with favour."

January 1893.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

MEMOIR OF DUNBAR.

OBJECT OF INTRODUCTION—THE MSS. OF DUNBAR'S POEMS.

WILLIAM DUNBAR is generally held in Scotland to be the best Scottish poet prior to the Reformation. Sir Walter Scott calls him "the excellent poet, unrivalled by any which Scotland ever produced." Yet either praise may appear due to patriotism, for the qualities of Dunbar require study before they are fully appreciated. An American writer gives a different verdict. "Dunbar's works were disinterred some thirty years ago by Mr Laing, and whoso is national enough to like thistles, may browse there to his heart's content. I am inclined for other pasture, having long ago satisfied myself by a good deal of dogged reading that every generation is sure enough of its own share of bores without borrowing from the past."¹ Dunbar must stand or fall on his merits, not on the opinions of any critic. His poems, always valued by a select circle, require, more than

¹ Lowell.

the works of most poets, an introduction to the reader. This is not because they are obscure. With few exceptions, they are clear in thought and language, but the dialect in which they are written is in part antiquated, and their relation to his own life, and the country and age in which he lived, must be present if we would grasp their complete meaning.

It will be the aim of this Introduction to illustrate Dunbar's poems by a sketch of his life, with an outline of the history of Scotland, so far as necessary to estimate the character of his genius in itself, and in comparison with his predecessors and successors in the long and honourable line of Scottish poetry.

It was to have been the work of Mr Small to whom the Society owes this edition of his writings. No one since Mr David Laing was a more diligent student of the ancient Scottish poets, or was better versed in the Scottish vernacular. His death, when a long-cherished project for the publication according to the best texts of the works of the authors who used it was at last begun, was a severe loss to all students of our early literature. "Abeunt studia in mores." Something of the shrewd humour, the warm patriotism of the old Scottish poets, passed into their interpreter. It is with deep regret that the present writer takes up a part of Mr Small's unfinished labours. It was thought that the members of the Society might reasonably wish to have their copies of Dunbar completed by an Introduction, Glossary, and Notes; and Dr Gregor having undertaken the onerous task of the Glossary and Notes, the Introduction, for which Mr Small had made some memoranda, kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by Mr Small's representa-

tives, has been intrusted to the writer of the Introduction by the Council.

The learned researches of Mr Laing, and the admirable work of Professor Schipper of Vienna, who for the first time made Dunbar known on the Continent, and suggested an arrangement of the order of his poems which is a great aid to the understanding of his character, render the study of Dunbar much easier than it otherwise would have been. No acknowledgment can be too strong for the help received from these two writers. From other sources less assistance than might have been anticipated has been derived. Yet it would be ungrateful not to refer to the notices of Dunbar by Warton in his History of English and by Irving in that of Scottish Poetry, to the brief but instructive notes of Lord Hailes, and the valuable though not always accurate notes of Mr Pinkerton.

It was the singular fortune of Dunbar, after having been recognised by his contemporary Gavin Douglas, and David Lyndsay, his immediate successor, as the master of the Scottish makers, to be almost forgotten for nearly two centuries. His fame was restored by the publication of some of his poems in the 'Evergreen' by Allan Ramsay in 1724.

“Thrice fifty and six towmonds neat,
From when it was collected,
Let worthy poets hope good fate,
Through time they'll be respected.
Fashions of words and wit may change,
And rob in part their fame,
And make them to dull fops look strange,—
But sense is still the same.”

“During this period,” says Mr Laing, “with one solitary exception, no allusion, not even so much as the mention of

his name, can be discovered." The exception is in the lines by Henry Charteris, in his Adhortation prefixed to the edition of Lyndsay's poems published in 1568 :—

"Thocht Kennedy and Dunbar bure the bell,
For the large race of rethorik they ran."

This long neglect of Dunbar was due to his poems, many of them brief and occasional, having been written when the printing-press brought into Scotland by Chepman and Myllar was beginning to supersede multiplication by manuscript. Had they been written earlier, they might have been better preserved in manuscript, as the works of Wyntown, Blind Harry, and Barbour have been. Had they been written a little later, they would almost certainly have been printed. As it happened, only seven poems, the first seven in this edition of his works, were issued by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and had the benefit of his revision. Two years later Chepman printed his last book, the second volume of the 'Aberdeen Breviary,'¹ and with a single exception no book was issued by a Scottish press for twenty years, when Thomas Davidson began to print.² Before this date Dunbar had died. The press, the herald of the Reformation, and its readers, were afterwards engrossed with topics of another kind from those which had been the subjects of the poets of an earlier age.

The preservation of Dunbar's poems was due to three manuscript collectors,—George Bannatyne, whose MS. is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh ;

¹ The colophon bears, "Printed in the Town of Edinburgh by the command and at the expense of the honourable man Walter Chepman, merchant in the said Town, on the furth day of June in the year of our Lord 1510."

² The single exception was "The Office of our Lady of Pity," printed by John Story. See Dickson's 'Introduction of the Art of Printing into Scotland.' Aberdeen : Edmond & Spark. 1885.

Sir Richard Maitland, whose MS. is in the Pepysian collection, Magdalene College, Cambridge; and Mr Reidpeth, whose MS. is in the University Library of the same University. All the poems in these collections were carefully collated by or for Mr Small. A few additions, mostly recovered by Mr Laing from the Asloan MS. in the library of Auchinleck House, Ayrshire, the MSS. in the British Museum, and miscellaneous sources, are also included in this edition, as well as eleven poems attributed to Dunbar, but of uncertain authorship. Had it not been for the pious care of the collectors first named, and especially Bannatyne, the poetry of Dunbar would have been almost lost to the world. As it is, ninety authentic poems have been preserved, and a few may still lurk in unexpected quarters, like that which Mr Laing discovered in the Aberdeen Register of Sasines, and another (otherwise preserved) the present writer found copied on a fly-leaf of a MS. of the 'Regiam Majestatem,' by Alexander Guthrie, which belonged to the library of the Grahams of Fintry, in Forfarshire.

BIRTH AND FAMILY OF DUNBAR, AND OF HIS RIVAL
WALTER KENNEDY, 1460-70.

William Dunbar was probably born in 1460, the year when James III. succeeded to the crown by the death of his father from the bursting of a cannon at Roxburgh, when inspecting the last invention in the art of destruction. There is no record of his birth, but as he graduated as Bachelor of Arts at St Andrews in 1477, it can scarcely have been later, and may have been a few years earlier. He was a native of East Lothian, a fact of importance with regard to the dialect of his poems, the North or

Northumbrian form of Old English, now more familiarly known as broad Scotch, although he frequently borrowed from the Southern English of Chaucer. Greater sympathy with, or, to speak more strictly, less antipathy to, England and the English, distinguished many Scots of Lothian in the beginning of the sixteenth century from their countrymen of the immediate Border and the Western and Northern districts. He appears, from a passage in the "Flyting" with Walter Kennedy, his contemporary and rival bard, to have been descended from the noble house of March, founded by Gospatrick, first Earl of Dunbar, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, who conferred on him the manor which gave the title. The traditional policy of this family was, by siding sometimes with the English, sometimes with its own king, to make its influence felt. The eighth Earl of Dunbar, Patrick, fourth Earl of March, was one of the competitors for the crown who submitted to Edward I. and joined his army. His wife, a better patriot than her lord, gave the custody of the Castle of Dunbar to the popular leaders. It capitulated to Edward I., but was recovered, perhaps by Wallace. The ninth Earl, siding with England, gave Edward II. shelter after Bannockburn, afterwards made terms with Bruce, but reverted to Edward after the defeat of Halidon Hill in 1334, and rebuilt the castle to receive an English garrison. Six years later it was again valiantly defended by Black Agnes, daughter of Randolph, against the Earl of Salisbury. On the death of her brother Thomas at the battle of Durham she became Countess, and her husband, in her right, Earl of Moray. Her son George, tenth Earl of Dunbar, uniting the earldoms of March and Moray, was a powerful noble, and his daughter was betrothed to David, Duke of Rothesay, heir of Robert III. An intrigue between the Regent Albany and Archibald,

the grim Earl of Douglas, led to her being passed over. A daughter of Douglas wedded Rothesay. Earl George, indignant at this slight, became a pensioner of Henry IV., and with Hotspur defeated Douglas at Homildon in 1402. His earldom was forfeited for treason, and although the forfeiture was condoned by Albany, it was never legally recalled. James I., whose policy was to reduce the great earls, took advantage of this forfeiture, in 1434, to deprive George, the eleventh Earl,¹ of his estates. An allowance was given him out of the rents of the earldom of Buchan, but the once potent family was broken, and their influence on the Borders passed to the house of Douglas. Sir Patrick, fourth son of George, the tenth Earl, retained the estate of Biel, in Haddington. His third son William, mentioned in two deeds in 1440, has been conjectured,² from the similarity of Christian name and the correspondence of dates, to have been either the uncle or the father of William Dunbar the poet.

This conjecture agrees well with the life and character of the poet, who seems to have been a cadet of an illustrious but decayed family. It is supported by allusions in Kennedy's "Flyting" to Lothian as the place, and the line of Gospatrick as the race, from which Dunbar came :—

" How thy forbearis come, I haif a feill,
 At Cokburnispeth, the writ makis me war,
 Generit betuix ane sche beir and a deill ;
 Sa wes he callit Dewlbeir and nocht Dumbar :
 This Dewlbeir, generit of a meir of Mar,
 Wes Corspatrik, Erle of Merche ; and be illusioun
 The first that evir put Scotland to confusioun
 Wes that fals tratour, hardely say I dar."³

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. II, p. 23.

² The conjecture is due to Mr Laing, 'Memoir of Dunbar,' p. 8 ; and see App., p. 65.

³ Pp. 19, 20, ll. 257-264.

With a confusion of history not unparalleled in other poems—as in Barbour's 'Bruce'—Kennedy makes the same Gospatrick the Earl who betrayed Berwick to the English, and called Wallace King of Kyle.

Dunbar in his rejoinder does not deny his Lothian birth, but retorts on Kennedy the Celtic dialect or pronunciation for which the men of Carrick were still distinguished in the beginning of the sixteenth century:—

“ I tak on me ane pair of Lowthiane hippis
Sall fairar Inglis mak, and mair parfyte,
Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrik lippis;”¹

his Celtic dress—

“ Ersch Katherane, with thy polk breik, and rilling;”²

and his country manners—

“ Thow bringis the Carrik clay to Edinburgh Corse.”³

As the descent from Gospatrick, the Anglian Earl of Dunbar, is passed over in silence, it may be held as admitted. No allusion to his family is to be found in Dunbar's Poems.

His rival Kennedy was Walter, third son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, and nephew of Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, the sage adviser of James III. A student of that name has been traced in the register of Glasgow, from his matriculation in 1475 to his degree of Master of Arts in 1478.⁴ Bishop Kennedy's mother, the grandmother of the poet, was a daughter of Robert III., Mary, Countess of Angus, who married as her second husband, Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, the head of the numerous families of

¹ P. 15, ll. 110, 112.

³ L. 211.

² L. 145.

⁴ Laing's Notes, pp. 440, 441.

that clan in Carrick. Hence Kennedy in the "Flyting" boasts that he was "of the King's blood."

The family of Dunure acquired the earldom of Cassilis, and went on increasing in importance until it became a proverb,—

"'Twixt Wigtown and the town of Ayr,
Portpatrick and the Cruives of Dee,
No man need think to bide there
Unless he court Saint Kennedie."¹

The poets were thus contrasted as belonging to the East and West of Scotland, to the English and the Celtic race, and to a fallen and a rising family. All these points combined to give edge to the invective against each other, which, although supposed by the best judges to be not altogether, yet was at least partly serious. His Lothian origin also fitted Dunbar to take the place of leader of the Scottish minstrelsy, and to fill, as the most representative name,—though Henryson, Gavin Douglas, and David Lyndsay should not be forgotten,—a gap in the succession between Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and the Elizabethan poets.

EDUCATION OF DUNBAR AT HADDINGTON BEFORE 1474.

As was natural in those days, the clever son of a poor but good family was destined from the cradle to the service of the Church:—

"I wes in 3owth on nureiss kne,
Dandely, bischop, dandely."

But the flattering prophecy was not fulfilled:—

¹ This is Sir W. Scott's version, taken down from oral tradition. Another, slightly different, will be found in 'History of the Family of Kennedy,' p. 166.

“And quhen that ege now dois me greif,
 Ane semple vicar I can nocht be :
 Excess of thocht dois me mischeif.”¹

Dunbar, like Swift, with whom he has more than one point of resemblance, notwithstanding the different times in which they lived, was a seeker after preferment, and disappointed hopes gave a peculiar bitterness to the tone of his mind.

We do not know where he received his school education. The nearness of Biel to Haddington makes it probable that it was at the famous school of that town, which had already educated Bower² the historian, and was to educate John Major the scholastic philosopher, and John Knox the Reformer. Dunbar makes no reference to the locality from which he came, unless the vivid picture of the birds which accompanied the flight and saw the fall of the Abbot of Tunland was due to one familiar with the natural wonder of the Bass.

The allusions to the Lollards in Kennedy's "Flying" against Dunbar may be due to the seeds of Wyclif's doctrine having already found a congenial soil in East Lothian and the East Lothian poet. It was a natural topic for satire by a son of a family so staunch to the old Church as the Kennedys at that time were. The transplanting of Wyclif's books to Scotland is usually ascribed to John of Gaunt's visit, when afraid of the peasants rising in 1381; and Gaunt, the patron of Wyclif, stayed at Haddington on his way to Edinburgh. James Resby, the first martyr in

¹ P. 106, xxii., ll. 61-65.

² John Bower, Deputy Customer of Haddington, 1395-98, was the father of Walter—Exchequer Rolls, vol. iv. p. 88. Walter, Abbot of Inchcolm, 1418 (Scotichronicon, xv. 30), wrote the continuation of the Scotichronicon of John of Fordoun between 1440 and 1447, and died 1449.

Scotland for the Reformation, who was burnt in 1406, is said by Bower to have been an English priest and follower of Wyclif; and the same historian notes that in 1422, the year before the burning of Crawar the Hussite at St Andrews, "incipit volatilis pestilentia in burgo de Haddington."¹

Possibly Kennedy's reference to Dunbar as "Lollard laureate"² and as

"Pickit, wickit, conwickit, lamp Lollardorum;
Defamyt, blamyt, schamyt, Primas Paganorum,"

are mere random shafts;³ but in a more serious poem, "The Praise of Age," he shows his fear of the new sect:—

"The schip of faith tempestuous wind and rain
Dryvis in the see of Lollardy that blaws."

We find a little later⁴ East Lothian families—the Crichtons of Brunston, the Cockburns of Ormiston, the Douglasses of Longniddry, and the Heriots of Traprain—were amongst the hearers of the preaching of Wishart. A hidden undercurrent of the new doctrine may have survived the persecution of its disciples in that county as in Ayrshire.⁵

As regards Dunbar, while there was no apparent loosening of the ties which bound him to Roman doctrine, there is in his poetry a free handling of the services of the Church, and an ironical treatment of the lives of the friars and higher ecclesiastics, which made him a precursor of Lyndsay, the poet who

"Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome."

¹ Scotichronicon, xvi. 20.

³ Laing's Notes, vol. ii. pp. 419, 445.

⁵ Knox's History of the Reformation.

² "Flyting," ll. 524 and 548.

⁴ Knox, vol. ii. p. 90.

DUNBAR AT ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY, 1474-79—HE
BECOMES A FRANCISCAN NOVICE.

It is satisfactory to be able to date the next steps in his life. His name occurs in the Register of St Andrews¹ as a Determinant or Bachelor of Arts in 1477, and as a Master of Arts in 1479. The degree of Bachelor required three years' residence, so he must have gone to St Andrews at least as early as 1474, when probably in his fourteenth year, and remained at least till 1479; but a longer residence, after graduation, was common in universities at a period when men of mature years continued scholars. In the case of Dunbar, it is probable that shortly after taking his degree as Master of Arts he turned his attention to theology, and became, with no great goodwill, a novice in the Observantine branch of the Franciscans, either in Edinburgh, where James I., or in St Andrews, where Kennedy the Bishop, had founded a house of that order. It was the easiest source of procuring a livelihood, and Dunbar had been all along intended for the clerical profession. But embracing the monastic calling without zeal, with the heart of a poet and not of a monk, must have been a false step.

Dunbar, during his youth and early manhood a disciple of Horace rather than of St Francis, was sensible through life of the irony of his situation, and regretted the choice of an order whose vows of poverty stood in the way of his advancement even in the Church, and whose strict rule was inconsistent with the character of a courtier and man of the world. There is no institution of human in-

¹ Acta Facultatis Artium, App. I.

vention more difficult to judge impartially than monasticism. A writer like Buchanan saw only its vices, a writer like Montalembert only its virtues. Less biassed observers are distracted by the coexistence of fervid piety and self-sacrifice with degrading sin and self-indulgence, the highest learning and the densest ignorance, humility and pride, sincerity and hypocrisy. So far as the life of Dunbar is concerned, one conclusion is sufficient. In Scotland, as in Europe, during the period preceding the Reformation, the attempt to attain to a higher standard of morals by separate societies living by rule a life called religious, though succeeding in individuals, broke down as a general or continuous system. The older orders were frequently reformed; new order followed new order, imposing with new zeal stricter rules, but the old evils repeated themselves. The brotherhood founded by the holy zeal of St Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century was no exception. The corruption of the best produced the worst, because it was a fall from so high an ideal. The description of the Franciscan friars in the satire of Buchanan might be deemed the exaggeration of an adversary. But it does not stand alone. It was ratified by the popular verdict, not only in Scotland but throughout Europe.

No suspicion of the Protestant prejudice of Buchanan can attach to Dunbar, who, although he rejected the cowl, remained all his life a Roman Catholic. In a poem of a later date, "The Vision of St Francis," which Buchanan imitated in his poem called "Somnium," Dunbar, after he had abandoned the intention of becoming a regular or monk, and chosen the calling of a secular priest, describes his earlier experience when a novice of the Franciscan order :—

“ Gif evir my fortoun wes to be a freir,
 The dait thairof is past full mony a 3eir;
 For into every lusty toun and place
 Off all Yngland, from Berwick to Kalice,
 I haif in to thy habeit maid gud cheir.

In freiris weid full fairly haif I fleichit,
 In it haif I in pulpet gon and preichit
 In Derntoun kirk, and eik in Canterberry;
 In it I past at Dover our the ferry
 Throw Piccardy, and thair the peple teichit.

Als lang as I did beir the freiris style,
 In me, God wait, wes mony wrink and wyle;
 In me wes falset with every wicht to flatter,
 Quhilk mycht be flemit with na haly watter;
 I wes ay reddy all men to begyle.”¹

Kennedy refers to the same passage in Dunbar's life in the “Flyting,” though he names a different locality as the scene of his exploits as a begging friar:—

“ Fra Etrike Forest furthward to Drumfres
 Thow beggit with a pardoun in all kirkis,
 Collapis, cruddis, mele, grotis, grisis, and geis,
 And ondir nycht quhyle stall thou staggis et stirkis.”²

The period during which Dunbar studied at St Andrews, and the years immediately following, were a time of discord in Scotland, both in State and Church. James III., after marrying Margaret of Denmark in 1469, emancipated himself from the Boyds, who had usurped the government during his minority. He soon showed incapacity for government. He quarrelled with the Parliament of 1473, which refused to allow him to join in the war of Louis XI. against Charles the Bold; with his brothers, one of whom, Mar, he imprisoned, perhaps murdered—while the other,

¹ P. 132, ll. 31-45.

² “Flyting,” ll. 425-428.

Albany, escaping to England, became in revenge a traitor to his country; with the Archbishop of St Andrews, Patrick Graham, whose deposition he aided in procuring from Pope Sixtus IV. in 1476; and with the people by debasing the coinage. He threw himself into the hands of favourites, who pandered to vices, or flattered tastes carried to an extent fatal to the royal dignity. Of these, the chief were William Schevez, a man of learning in medicine, mathematics, and astronomy, but addicted to astrology, who became Archbishop after supplanting Graham; Robert Cochrane, a mason skilled in architecture, created Earl or given the revenue of the earldom of Mar; Rogers, an English musician; Andrews, another physician and astrologer; Hommil, a tailor; Ramsay, a man of better birth, but a parasite,—associates whom proud nobles could not but regard as low company for a king, and even the commons despised. At the Bridge of Lauder, in 1482, the nobles, led by Angus Bell-the-Cat, hung Cochrane and other of the favourites before the king's eyes. Hommil the tailor and Ramsay escaped, and were treated with increasing favour. Five years after, the barons rose in arms in name of the young prince, James IV. After a bootless attempt at conciliation by the pacification of Blackness, the weak king was killed at Sauchie on 11th June 1488, within sight of Bannockburn,—it was said by a priest, or pretended priest, when in the act of confession. The astrologer who invented the prophecy that the lion would be devoured by his whelps, which had alienated the king's superstitious mind from his brothers, might claim that it was literally fulfilled.

In England the same period was one of civil war, until the victory of Bosworth Field in 1485 placed the first

Tudor, Henry VII., on the throne he maintained by prudent policy. In France, the long and successful reign of Louis XI., who reduced the feudal aristocracy and commenced the centralisation of the kingdom, ended in 1483, and his son, Charles VIII., from whose Italian wars the French Renaissance dates, was as anxious as his father to cultivate the friendship of Scotland. To France, for two centuries, the Scot in search of learning, fortune, adventure, went, as he now goes to England, America, Africa, or the colonies. In French service Scottish scholars found chairs, Scottish priests benefices, Scottish soldiers their colours, and, if successful, the honours and the spoils of war. Not a few adopted a country which received them so hospitably, and scarcely a province was without Scottish blood amongst its gentry. France hardly seemed a foreign country. As the ties broke which once united the Norman of England and France, a stronger bond, which did not require the myth of an ancient league in the days of Charlemagne, was formed between the French and the Scotch against the common enemy.

George Buchanan has described the feeling of the travelling Scot for France in beautiful lines :—

"At tu beata Gallia
 Salve ! bonarum blanda nutrix artium,
 Orbem receptans hospitem atque orbi tuas
 Opes vicissim non avara impertiens
 Sermoni comis, patria gentium omnium
 Communis."

DUNBAR VISITS FRANCE AND THE CONTINENT,
 1491-1500?

To France, Dunbar, the wandering friar, naturally passed. The first certain notice of his passage is in the third year

of James IV., when an embassy, headed by Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, and Robert Blackadder, Bishop of Glasgow, was sent to negotiate a marriage for the young king; but there can be little doubt that a considerable part of the period after he disappears from the St Andrews register in 1479 till 1491, when the Katherine sailed from North Berwick, was spent in foreign travel, probably partly in France. His own allusion—

“In it [*i.e.*, the friar’s garb] I past at Dover our the ferry
Throw Piccardy, and thair the peple teicht,”¹

is plainly biographical. Kennedy’s reproach, “Thow scapis in France to be a knycht of the felde,” and more than one reference to Mount Falcon, the famous place of execution in Paris, as the destiny of Dunbar, must refer to this part of his life, and not to a later, when he was in the service of the king.

Kennedy’s part of the “Flyting” was written when Dunbar was in Paris, but whether at this or some prior or subsequent time is uncertain.

“And yit Mount Falconn gallowis is our fair,
For to be fylde with sic a frutles face;
Cum hame, and hing on our gallowis of Aire,
To erd the vnder it I sall purchas grace.”²

This may account for Dunbar having addressed his reply to his friend Sir John the Ross, for the purpose of circulating in Scotland his answer to the challenge of Kennedy.

But while doubt hangs over these earlier years of wandering, the allusion to his voyage in the Katherine, where he so misbehaved that, according to the “Flyting,”

“The skippar bad ger land the at the Bas,”³

P. 132, ll. 39, 40.

² Ll. 369-372; and see also l. 387.

³ Ll. 449-464.

is confirmed by the Treasurer's Accounts of a payment made on 16th July 1491, "to the priest that wrayt the instrumentis and otheris letteris that past with the Imbassiatouris in France, 36/." Mr Laing conjectures with great probability that Dunbar may have been this priest, and that he had now quitted the odious friar's garb, and entered the royal service as a clerk or notary,—a practice common amongst the ecclesiastics of that age, whose learning fitted them for posts now held by the legal or diplomatic professions.

Assuming that he then, if not earlier, visited France and Paris, the importance of the visit to his poetic training cannot be doubted. Although the masters he recognises by name are the earlier English poets of the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century—Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate the Monk of Bury—his poems show that he was directly influenced by the French school, not merely at second hand through imitation of English authors who copied a still earlier French poetry. At this period English poetry, which had so splendid a spring in Chaucer, passed through successive stages of decline, marked by the moral poems of Gower, the translations of Lydgate and Occleve, and the doggerel rhymes of Skelton, into a dormant state, in which it continued until with Wyatt and Surrey the first notes were heard which ushered in "the spacious times of great Elizabeth."

Scotland, whose lot it was to be generally about a century behind both England and France, took, as it did a second time in the end of the eighteenth century, an independent lead in literature. It caught up the poetic mantle, and Henryson, Gavin Douglas, Dunbar, Barclay, and Lyndsay surpass their English contemporaries.

France produced no medieval poet equal to Chaucer.

Its writers sacrificed the beauties of thought to the beauties of style. But an uninterrupted succession of minor minstrels, masters of melody, except when they allowed their natural vein to be hidden in the artificial forms then in vogue, flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Eustace Deschamps, who died in 1415, published an 'Art of Poetry,' in which several of the metres Dunbar used are described. The three writers nearest his time, and most likely to have exerted influence on him, were Alain Chartier (1390-1458), the poet whose lips, from which so many fine sayings and virtuous thoughts came, were kissed by Margaret,¹ daughter of James I. of Scotland, the wife of Louis XI.; Charles of Orleans (1391-1465), the fellow-prisoner of James I. in England, who wrote both French and English poems; and, above all, Francis Villon (1431-89), the first great French poet. Villon's works were printed two years before Dunbar went with the embassy to Paris, and they may have met in previous visits. With some notable differences, the points of contact between Dunbar and Villon are closer than with any other poet. Dunbar probably remained abroad after 1491, but for nine years his life is hidden. Perhaps he remained in France after the embassy returned, though Mr Laing's researches failed to find any traces of him there. In the University of Paris, about that time, William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen; Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld; Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross; Boece the historian, Major the theologian, and Panther the secretary of James IV., besides many less famous countrymen of Dunbar, were students.

¹ Puttenham transfers this story by mistake to Anne of Brittany, 'Arte of English Poesie,' Arber's Reprint, p. 35. Knox perhaps had it in view when he narrates the story of Mary and Chastelard.

Whether his travels extended beyond France is not certain. Kennedy seems to imply that at the date of the "Flyting" they had not done so:—

"Thou may not pas Mount Barnard for wild bestis,
Nor wyn throw Mount Scarpre for the snawe;
Mount Nycholas, Mount Godart thare arestis,
Brigantis sik bois and blyndis thame wyth a blawe."¹

But he claims himself in a poem, probably of later date, to have served the king:—

"Nocht I say all be this cuntre,
France, Ingland, Ireland, Almaine,
Bot als be Italie and Spane;
Quhilk to consider is ane pane."²

The curious concatenation of countries, if not merely for rhyme's sake, looks like a fragment of biography. It must for the present remain a fragment. There is nothing improbable in a priest like Dunbar having been sent on missions to these countries, and James IV. had negotiations with them all. Scotland at this epoch was like Savoy in the present century—a small country which the disputes of more powerful states raised to European importance. The Scottish king was courted by the Pope and by England, France, Germany, and Spain. An embassy to Spain, with Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, at its head, was sent to the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella in August 1495, when these monarchs were holding out hopes to James of a Spanish bride; and as Dunbar accompanied the same prelate to France in 1491, and to England in 1501, it is not improbable he also went in his suite to Spain. James at one time seriously considered a project to place himself at

¹ "Flyting," p. 25, ll. 433-436.

² "Of the Warldis Instabilitie," p. 226.

the head of the armies of Venice, when that Republic was threatened by the Holy League. Some Irish chiefs made him an offer of the crown of Ireland.

From another allusion in the "Flyting," it may perhaps be inferred that he had been shipwrecked on the coast of Norway:—

"By Holland, Seland, Ȝetland, and Northway coist,
In desert quhair we wer famist aw;
Ȝit come I hame, fals baird, to lay thy boist."¹

Yet it is singular, if Dunbar was so great a traveller, that no further notices of foreign countries have given a colour to his verses. Beyond a few allusions to France, where it is certain he had been, the verses on London, and those written at Oxford "On the Vanity of Learning without a Good Life," there would be scarcely any evidence that he had crossed the Border. We are unfortunately led to suspect the loss of important poems.

DUNBAR A PRIEST AND COURT POET, 1500-12.

The offering of the king at the first mass of a priest he attended was a common usage. It was made in honour of Dunbar on 16th March 1504, and proves that the abandonment of the Franciscan order did not carry him to the further point of quitting the service of the Church. Notwithstanding the freedom of his satire, which is directed more against the regular than the secular clergy, he continued to hope for a benefice. The precursor of Lyndsay in the reforming tendency of his writings, he shows no trace of accepting, even in a modified form, the doctrines of the

¹ Ll. 94-96.

Reformed Church. As he advanced in age he became a more pious observer of the Roman ritual. His last poems are religious hymns in conformity with the Roman creed.

From the first year of the sixteenth century down to the eve of the fatal year of Flodden, the Treasurer's Accounts contain a series of entries which show that Dunbar was at the Court of James IV. in the character of Court poet. Similar payments were made to Blind Harry, John the Ross, and Quintyn Schaw, as well as other bards and singers. James, though not a poet, inherited from his great-grandfather a taste for poetry, which he transmitted to his son James V. and his granddaughter Mary Stuart. Poetry was a fashion of the Court, as song was a passion amongst the people of Scotland. But the payments to Dunbar were made with more regularity than to the other poets, and, taken in conjunction with the title of the Rhymer of Scotland, which was given him when he accompanied the embassy to England in 1501, they seem to justify the inference that he would have been called Poet Laureate had that name been used at the Scottish Court.

On 15th August 1500, a grant was made to Master William Dunbar of a pension of £10 out of the king's coffers, to be paid him all the days of his life, or until he was promoted to a benefice of £40 a-year or more. This pension was paid till 1507, when it was doubled, and continued at that rate probably till Whitsunday 1510, but the accounts between 1508-1510 are lost. It was increased by a new grant on 20th August 1510 to £80 a-year, to be paid till he received a benefice of £100 or more. The larger pension continued to be paid till 14th May 1513. The troubles after Flodden again made a gap in the Register from 8th August 1513 to June 1515, and as no payment

appears in the later accounts of James V., the pension probably ceased. Besides his pension, Dunbar received gratuities—one on 27th January 1506, and again on 4th January 1507, because "he wanted his gown at Yule," which indicates that a livery was part of his emoluments. From an entry on 23d June 1512 we learn that the livery consisted of $6\frac{1}{4}$ ells Paris black cloth for a gown. Two entries have special interest,—on 20th December 1501, one of £5, which was paid him after he came furth of England; and that already alluded to on 16th March 1504, when the king made an offering of £4, 14s. at Master William Dunbar's first mass.

DUNBAR AND THE EMBASSY TO LONDON TO NEGOTIATE
THE MARRIAGE OF JAMES IV. AND MARGARET TUDOR,
1501-2.

The former of these entries led to the conjecture that Dunbar had been attached to the mission sent to London in 1501 to negotiate the marriage between James and Margaret Tudor, and this may now be deemed proved. The embassy consisted of Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow; Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, High Admiral; Andrew Foreman, Apostolical Protonotary; and Sir Robert Lundy, Knight, Treasurer of Scotland, with a suite of one hundred persons. Two of the Commissioners, the Earl of Bothwell, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, were the same as went to Paris on a similar errand ten years before. An entry in Henry VII.'s Privy Purse Accounts bears that on 31st December 1501, and again on 7th January 1502, "The Rhymer of Scotland" received £6, 13s. 4d. from the king. This rhymer, there can be no doubt, was Dun-

bar, and the payments were perhaps a reward for his poem in praise of London:—

“London, thou art of townes A per se.
Soveraign of cities, semeliest in sight,
Of high renoun, riches and royaltie ;
Of lordis, barons, and many goodly knyght.”¹

The MS. chronicle in which it has been preserved relates :
“This yere in the Cristmas weke the Mair had to dyner the ambassadors of Scotland, whom accompanied my Lord Chaunceler and other Lords of the realm ; where sitting at dyner *ane of the said Scottis givying attendance upon a Bishop Ambassador, the which was reputed to be a Protonotary of Scotland and servant of the Ld. Bishop, made this Balade.*” Dunbar was not, as “reputed,” a protonotary, but it is quite possible he was a notary or clerk, in this embassy, as in the former one to France, and a member of the suite of Blackadder, the Bishop of Glasgow. The calling him a protonotary was probably a confusion with Foreman, who held that office, but was not a poet.

Although Dunbar’s name is not appended to the poem in the only MS.² in which it is found, his manner is unmistakable. It is in his ornate, or, as the phrase then was, “aureate” style, in which he wrote “The Thistle and the Rose” and “The Goldyn Targe,”—not in the simple and more natural strain of “The Lament for the Makaris” or “The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo.” A Court poem should be in a Court dress.

The betrothal of James IV. and Margaret Tudor at Richmond on St Paul’s Day, 25th January 1502, was proclaimed at St Paul’s Cross on the same day, but no mention is made of Dunbar in the full account of the ceremonies

¹ P. 276.

² Vitellius, A. xvi., fol. 200, British Museum.

by Young, the Somerset Herald. Hall states in his chronicle that after this proclamation "the ambassadors, as well of Spayne as Scotlande, tooke them leave of the kyng, and not without great rewardes departed into their countreyes and habitations." Probably Dunbar accompanied them home. The two poems of "The Thistle and the Rose" and the short Ballad beginning—

"Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre,
Princes most plesant and preclare,
The lustyest one alyve that byne,
Welcum of Scotland to be Quene!"—

were written in Scotland to welcome Margaret on her arrival. The former bears the date of 9th May 1503:—

"And thuss I wret, as 3e haif hard to forrow,
Off lusty May vpone the nynt morrow."¹

Margaret left Richmond on 16th June 1503, and arrived at Dalkeith on 3d and at Edinburgh on 7th August. The marriage was celebrated at Holyrood on the 8th. "The hangings of the State Chamber," says Young, "represented the history of Troy; and the painted glass in the windows were the arms of England and Scotland biparted, to which a thistle and a rose intertwined through a crown were added. After dinner the minstrels played."

The song—preserved, with the music² to which it was set—sung on this occasion was Dunbar's, of which the opening stanza has been quoted.³

"The Thistle and the Rose" was a more elaborate effort—too elaborate, in the opinion of modern judges, but

¹ P. 189.

² MS. British Museum, quoted in Miss Strickland's 'Life of Margaret Tudor,' p. 58.

³ P. 279.

quite in the style of the times, in the character of the allegory and the mixture of classic names with the objects of nature. While it is the work of a Court poet, Dunbar avoids the flights of flattery common in epithalamia, and even gives good advice to his sovereign :—

“ The King of Beistis mak I the,
And the cheif protector in woddis and schawis ;
Onto thi leigis go furth, and keip the lawis.”¹

And in another place—

“ And, sen thow art a king, thow be discreit ;
Herb without vertew thow hald nocht of sic pryce
As herb of vertew and of oder sueit ;
And lat no nettill vyle, and full of vyce,
Hir fallow to the gudly flour delyce ;
Nor latt no wyld weid, full of churlicheness,
Compair hir till the lilleis nobilness.

Nor hald non vdir flour in sic denty
As the fresche Ross, of cullour reid and quhyt ;
For gife thow dois, hurt is thyne honesty.”²

To a somewhat later date may be ascribed the poem beginning “ Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis Regioun,” in which Dunbar expresses the prayer of the nation :—

“ Gret Gode ws graunt that we have long desirit,
A plaunt to spring of thi successioun,
Syne with all grace his spreit to be inspirit ;”—

and makes the favourite play on her name as the Pearl :—

“ O precius Margreit, plesand, cleir, and quhit,
Moir blith and bricht na is the beriall schene,
Moir deir na is the diamaunt of delit,
Moir semely na is the sapheir one to seyne,
Moir gudely eik na is the emerant greyne,
Moir riche na is the ruby of renovne,
Fair gem of joy, Mergreit of the I meyne.”³

¹ P. 186, ll. 103-105.

² P. 187, ll. 134-143.

³ P. 275.

The increase of Dunbar's pension from £10 to £20 in 1507, and again to £80 in 1510, shows his services were appreciated by the king. The value in English money of the largest of these pensions was only about £24 sterling, but its purchasing power was at least equal to £80 sterling now. Hector Boece, as Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1505 had only 40 merks, or £7, 12s. 4d. sterling, of a salary; and, relatively to other gifts to poets and men of letters in that age, Dunbar, who had perquisites besides his Yule gown, was highly paid. Yet a section of his poems, addressed as petitions to the King, the Queen, the Treasurer, and James Doig, the Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe, prove he was not satisfied. He seems to have deeply felt the slight put upon him when benefices were bestowed on unworthy recipients, while he never got his long-promised cure. It is not necessary to suppose that he was too fond of money. Avarice was a vice which he specially hated. But a benefice would have been more secure, as is shown by the cessation of his pension, which depended on the king's pleasure, and a vicarage would have been an office of more dignity.

It is not easy to gauge exactly the position of a poet at the Scottish Court of this period. On the one hand, he was often well received. Learning, wit, and genius were probably quite as highly valued as in our time. But, on the other hand, the poet was only one of many ministers or servants who had to cater to the royal pleasure. Dunbar gives a vivid sketch of the motley crew:—

“Sum singis; sum dancis; sum tellis storeis;
 Sum lait at evin bringis in the moreis;
 Sum flyrdis; sum feynzeis; and sum flattiris;
 Sum playis the fule, and all-out clattiris.”¹

¹ P. 206, “Aganis the Solistaris in Court.”

The Accounts of the Treasurer and of the Exchequer afford ample evidence how the lavish king rewarded all these classes with gifts, as well as the rhymers, who were in the estimation of many courtiers only another class of professional people destined for their amusement. Often, too, the Court is as fickle as the mob, and Dunbar complains, in the poem "Of the Warldis Instabilitie,"¹ of—

"The leill labour lost, and leill seruice,
The lang availl on humill wyse,
And the lytill rewarde agane,
For to consider is ane pane.

I know nocht how the kirk is gydit,
Bot beneficis ar nocht leill devydit;
Sum men hes sewin, and I nocht ane;
Quhilk to consider is ane pane."

It is the same sentiment which Coleridge expressed in other words:—

"It sounds like tidings from the world of spirits,
When any man attains that which he merits,
Or any merits that which he attains."

Worst of all, in this kind of life there was a sacrifice of independence. The Court poet was expected to sing when the occasion demanded, whether the muse was present or not.

Dunbar's revenge on a patron and a society which knew his value, but not his full value, was taken by free use of the irony and satire of which he had a ready store. But irony and satire, though they please apparently all but their victims, are dangerous weapons, often wounding most the hand which uses them. They leave a sting in the

¹ P. 226.

heart, increasing instead of diminishing its discontent. Dunbar ends his long catalogue of the wrongs—

“ Quhilk to consider is ane pane,”

with an unexpected verse—

“ The formest hoip 3it that I haue
In all this world, sa God me saue,
Is in 3our Grace, bayth crop and grayne,
Quhilk is ane lessing of my pane.”

This hope also was doomed to disappointment, for he never got even the

“ Kirk scant coverit with hadder.”

There must have been an irksome monotony in the life of the Court—Dunbar's lot for thirteen years of manhood, until, having grown grey in the king's service, he presented the touching “Petition of the Gray Horse,”¹ which, when granted, after all is only for the cost of his trappings. Apparently his Christmas gown had again not been forthcoming until the king issued a special mandate :—

“ Eftir our wrettingis, thesaurer,
Tak in this gray horss, Auld Dunbar,
Quhilk in my aucht with schervice trew
In lyart changeit is in hew.
Gar howss him now aganis this 3uill,
And busk him lyk ane beschopis muill,
For with my hand I have indost
To pay quhat euir hi3 trappings cost.”

Mr Laing remarks: “Whether the words were written by the king himself, or added in his name by Dunbar as an ingenious mode of expressing his request, the reader

¹ Pp. 215-217.

must be left to his own conjecture." As James IV. is not known to have written another verse, most readers will conjecture that this one, so completely in Dunbar's manner, was written by Dunbar.

DUNBAR'S ILLNESS—HIS NOTICES OF THE SCOTTISH POETS
IN THE LAMENT FOR THE MAKARIS, 1507-8.

Nor was Dunbar exempt from the common ills of humanity. It is the penalty of genius that it feels them more keenly than the ordinary man. One of the best known of his poems is the "Lament for the Makaris, written when he was sick and in fear of death." As it was published by Chepman in 1508, this must have been written before—probably the year before. Besides its poetic value, it has much interest as bearing on his character, and preserving the names of the poets who preceded him or were his contemporaries. His earlier writings were of a lighter, happier, and freer vein, though in none is the moral distant. Like most of his countrymen, he had never learned the modern dogma that art is independent of morality. But in this poem the moral is always present. The refrain, "Timor Mortis conturbat me," is the text of a poet's sermon. An oration of Bossuet or Massillon, of Taylor or South, with its splendours of pulpit eloquence, brings less near home the lessons of death. The greatest preacher seldom forgets himself. Dunbar is overpowered by the burden of his poem, and expresses it simply by a catalogue of the poets, dead or dying, as Villon in his *Ballades of Dead Beauties and Dead Heroes*, which must have been in Dunbar's knowledge, though there is no direct imitation. Both writers followed and improved an earlier theme of the

medieval Latin poets, of which there is an example in a poem, "De Mundi Vanitate."¹

Slight as are Dunbar's notices of his brother bards, in accordance with the design of the poem, we are enabled by them to fill up a passage in the history of literature which would be otherwise vacant, and to understand better the position Dunbar occupied in the poetic succession. He gives the first place to the same triumvirate of English poets whom he had celebrated in "The Goldyn Targe":—

"The noble Chaucer, of makaris flour,
The Monk of Bery, and Gower, all thre;
Timor Mortis conturbat me."

The others named are his compatriots. Amongst his predecessors, Barbour, Sir Hugh of Eglintoun, Wyntown, Heryot; the two Clerks, John Clerk and Clerk of Tranent; Holland, Sir Gilbert Hay; and his immediate precursor, Robert Henryson, the Dunfermline poet. Of contemporaries, in the sense that they did not die till after his birth, occur the names of Blind Harry, Sandy Traill, James Affleck, Sir Mungo Lockhart of the Lee, the two Rowls of Aberdeen and Corstorphine, Sir John the Ross and Sir John Rede or Stobo, Patrick Johnston, Quintyn Schaw, and Walter Kennedy. The two last died probably shortly before the date of the composition of the poem. So considerable a list proves that there had been a continuous stream of Scottish poetry, commencing with Barbour in the first half of the fourteenth century, continued by Wyntown the Chronicler in the commencement and by Blind Harry and Henryson from the middle to the end of the fifteenth century, but bearing with it a fair number of minor poets

¹ Poems of Walter Mapes, edited by T. Wright for Camden Society, 1841, p. 147.

whose fame now rests on one or two poems almost by chance preserved.

DUNBAR'S CONNECTION WITH CHEPMAN THE
SCOTTISH PRINTER, 1508.

The next event in Dunbar's life brings him into contact with the invention which is one of the landmarks that separate the middle ages from modern times.

The printing-press, already used by Fust and Gutenberg at Mayence in 1457, had reached Paris in 1470 and Westminster in 1474. In Rouen, where the art was first practised in 1487, a Scotchman, Andrew Myllar, learned it, and two books of his, printed there in 1505 and 1506, have been preserved in unique copies.¹

The learned and enlightened Bishop of Aberdeen, Elphinstone, had spent his youth in France, and seen the early triumphs of its press. He desired to print the 'Breviary of Aberdeen,' that the Scottish Church might have a service-book of its own, and no longer be compelled to resort to the "Salisbury use." Probably by Elphinstone's advice, James IV. granted on 15th September 1507 a patent to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, who had "taken on thaim to bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand thereto, and expert men to use the samine for imprinting within our Realme of the bukis of our Lawis, Acts of Parliament, croniclis, massbukis, and porteous efter the use of our Realme, with additionis and legendis of Scottis sanctis, now gaderit to be eikit thereto, and all otheris bukis that sall be sene necessar, and to sell the samyn for competent pricis."²

¹ Dickson, 'Introduction of the Art of Printing into Scotland.' Aberdeen: Edmond & Spark. 1885.

² Appendix B. to Dickson's 'Introduction.'

Walter Chepman, a merchant and burghess of Edinburgh, was also a notary employed in the office of the king's secretary, Patrick Panther, afterwards Abbot of Cambuskenneth,¹ where he was the colleague of Sir John Rede or Stobo, with whom he had been sent on an embassy to England. So far back as 1494, Chepman was intrusted with the king's Signet for sealing royal letters; and John Rede, *alias* Stobo, had the special charge of those passing the Privy Seal. Stobo, a favourite of the king,² and a friend of Dunbar,³ though of an older generation, for he had been employed in the secretary's office since the reign of James II., had died before 13th July 1505, shortly before Dunbar wrote the Lament:—

“ And he has now tane, last of aw,
Gud gentill Stobo et Quintyne Schaw.”

He had probably helped to form the acquaintanceship between Chepman and Dunbar which led to a few of his poems being amongst the first-fruits of Chepman's press. Instead of commencing with the Aberdeen ‘Breviary,’ a large and difficult work, not printed till 1509, when the winter part of it (*Pars Hyemalis*) was issued, Chepman and Myllar printed a few broad, or in this case rather narrow or small sheets, as specimens of their craft. A unique volume, now in the Advocates' Library, found in 1785 in Ayrshire, and presented to the Library in 1788,⁴

¹ ‘*Epistolæ Regum Scotorum.*’ Ruddiman. Preface, p. v.

² See grant to Stobo in the Exchequer Records.

³ Kennedy says in the “*Flyting*”—

“ And syne ger Stobo for thy lyf protest.”—P. 22.

⁴ There is a facsimile reprint of these sheets, edited by Mr Laing, and entitled ‘*The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane, and other Ancient Poems.*’ Printed at Edinburgh by W. Chepman and A. Myllar, in the year M.D. VIII. Reprinted MDCCCXXVII.

has preserved these separately printed small quarto pieces, of which nine certainly issued from the press which had been set up in the Southgate of Edinburgh in 1508. Of these "The Goldyn Targe," "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie," "The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart," "The Lament for the Makaris," "The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy," "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," "The Ballad of Kynd Kittok," are by Dunbar, and form good examples, though examples only, of his style, with its varied notes of panegyric, humour, pathos, and satire. Now scarcer than the MSS. of his other poems, it may be doubted whether many impressions were thrown off. They would be eagerly sought after by the collectors of the time as the first printed matter in Scotland, but their fugitive nature made them, like pamphlets, difficult to preserve.

Besides Dunbar's poems, the volume contains, in whole or in part, "The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane"; "The Tale of Orpheus and Euridice," by Henryson; "Ane Buke of Gud Counsale to the King how to reull his Realme," addressed to James II., and contained also in the MS. of the 'Book of Pluscardine'; "The Maying or Disport of Chaucer," to which is subjoined a poem on "The Conception of the Virgin," also in the Bannatyne MS.; "The Tale of Sir Eglamour of Artoys," to which is subjoined "A Balade by an Unhappy Lover"; "A Gest of Robyn Hude," probably the earliest in print, which was also printed by Wynkin de Worde; "The Porteous of Noblemen," also in the Asloan MS., and a short tract on the Virtues of a Nobleman, translated from the French by Master Andrew Cadiow. Such was the favourite literature, chiefly, it will be noted, romantic, of Scotland in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

DUNBAR CELEBRATES BERNARD STEWART, AND SATIRISES
DAMIAN, THE ABBOT OF TUNGLAND, 1507-8.

Of one of Dunbar's poems printed at this time, "The Welcome to Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny,"¹ the date can be fixed with singular precision. That renowned commander, ranked by Brantome amongst the illustrious captains of France, grandson of Sir John Stewart of Darnley, Marshal of France, General of the Scots forces in the service of Charles VII., and son of John Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, had already come on an earlier embassy to Scotland, sent by Charles VIII., in 1484, to renew the ancient league. In 1485 he commanded the French auxiliaries of Henry VII. at Bosworth Field, and afterwards gained glory in the Italian campaign of Louis XII., where he won the battle of Seminara. In 1495 he received the title of Constable-General of Naples. Though defeated at the same place in 1503 by Hugo, brother of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Grand Captain of Spain, he retained his fame at the French Court, and was sent in 1508 to secure the aid of James IV. in the Holy League which Pope Julius II. had formed with the Kings of France and Spain and the Emperor Maximilian to crush Venice. He arrived in Scotland on 9th May, and was received with honour. James IV. placed him at the royal table, made him judge of the tournaments, in which the king himself appeared in the disguise of the Savage Knight, and the Round Table of Arthur was counterfeited. The king, whose heart was set on martial enterprise, styled Aubigny the Father of War. He died on the 9th of the month following, and was buried at Corstorphine Kirk,² where a recumbent statue of a knight

¹ P. 59.

² Lesley's History, p. 76.

in armour was long supposed to mark his tomb, but is now attributed to one of the Foresters of Corstorphine. On 15th June, the king made an offering at a mass for his soul, and his heart was sent to St Ninian's, at Whit-horn, to which he had vowed a pilgrimage when he won his battles in Italy. The "Welcome" of Dunbar must have been written, therefore, between 9th May and 9th June 1508,—probably about the earlier, and his Elegy on Bernard Stewart soon after the later, of these dates. Both poems are in Dunbar's ornate and least interesting style, and were doubtless written by him as Poet-Laureate of the Scottish Court.

Dunbar found a subject for his more natural vein in John Damian, the Italian impostor, who, by his skill as a surgeon and apothecary, first gained the ear of James IV., and then abused his confidence by pretending to multiply gold, and practising the other arts of the astrologers. Bishop Lesley gives a curious account of Damian, amply confirmed by the Accounts of the Treasurer, which show frequent payments to him, first under the name of "John, the French Leich or Medicinar," and, in 1504, the gift of "the Abbay of Tunghland." "He causet the kyng believe that he, be multiplunge and utheris his inventions, wold make fine golde of uther metall, quhilk science he callit the quintessence, quherupon the kyng maid great cost, but all in vain. The Abbot tuik in hand to flie with wingis and to be in France before the saidis Ambassiatoris, and to that effect he causit mak ane pair wingis of fedderis, quhilkis beand fessenit upon him he flew off the castle wall of Stirling, but shortlie he fell to the ground and brak his thie bane, bot the evyl thairof he ascrybit to thare was some hen fedderis in the wingis, quhilk yarnit and

covet the middyn and not the skyes.”¹ To be able to give a clever turn to awkward failures has ever been, Professor Schipper observes, one of the chief talents of the adept charlatan. The embassy to France which Damian was to forestall was despatched in September 1507, so Dunbar’s poem, “Ane Ballat of the Fengeit Freir of Tungland,” must have been composed towards the end of that year, when his attempted flight was in fresh memory.

About the same period Dunbar wrote another satirical poem, commencing “Lucina schynnyng in silence of the night,” in which the poet sees in a dream the Abbot’s adventures in the air:—

“Quhen I awoik, my dreme it was so nyce,
Ffra every wicht I hid it as a vyce;
Quhill I hard tell be mony suthfast wy,
Ffle wald ane abbot vp in to the sky,
*And all his fethreme maid wes at devyce.”*²

With great ingenuity the poet introduces into his vision a prophecy that he would get no benefice until the Abbot flew to heaven with eagles’ feathers, but hints that the prophecy was not to be fulfilled

“Be [*i.e.*, before] than it salbe neir this warldis end.”

The impostor abbot kept the favour of the king, whose weak points he had seen through. He was allowed leave of absence for five years in 1508, keeping the revenues of his abbacy, and on his return hit upon a new device to get money from the credulous king—the working of the mines of Crawford Moor,³ where gold had been found in small quantity, yet sufficient to give hopes of more. But the poet was no nearer his benefice: flattery and cunning paid better than satire and wit.

¹ P. 76. ² P. 150. ³ March 29, 1513, £20 paid to the Abbot of Tungland.

DUNBAR AT ABERDEEN WITH THE QUEEN, 1511.

In May 1511, Queen Margaret, on her way to a pilgrimage to St Duthac's, of Tain, visited, for the first time, Aberdeen, then the second town of Scotland in the amount of its revenues, famed of old as the see of St Machar, and receiving new lustre by the pious care of Bishop Elphinstone, who was laying the foundation of the University in King's College, named after James IV. Dunbar, several of whose poems point to his having been specially attached to the queen's as well as the king's household, accompanied her, and celebrated her entry in the poem—

“Blyth Aberdein, thow beriall of all tounis,
The lamp of bewtie, bountie, and blythnes.”¹

He describes in it “The Masques,” which, by the custom of that age, greeted a royal entry. The queen was met by the magistrates in velvet robes. Four of them held over her a pall of crimson velvet as she rode through the streets. A fine procession met her at the port, and the following scenes were represented by the burgesses and their families, or perhaps by actors hired for the occasion: From Scripture history,—the “Salutation of the Virgin;” the “Three Kings of the East offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh to the infant Christ;” and “Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise.” These were succeeded by others from Scottish story,—the Bruce as a crowned king, followed by the royal Stewarts. Then twenty-four maidens, singing, and with timbrels, met the queen, followed by the Barons of the neighbourhood with their ladies. The fountain at the cross flowed with wine, and a gift was presented to her by the town, in the shape of a cup heaped with gold coins, before she was conducted to her lodgings.

¹ P. 251.

With this poem we may compare the panegyric on London already noted, and contrast the satire on Edinburgh addressed to its merchants, and the dirge on Stirling, when the king stayed too long in that town, on a visit to the Franciscan monastery, while Dunbar was in Edinburgh; but these poems belong to an earlier period, when James was yet unmarried. The satire on Edinburgh, with its companion poem, "Tidings from the Session," point by their allusions to the Daily Council which James IV. instituted in 1503, in lieu of the Ambulatory Sessions of James I., which sat in the four principal towns of the kingdom. Although called the Daily Council, the new Court retained also the name of Session, and both names passed to its successor, the College of Justice, when founded by James V. in 1532, whose senators or judges were commonly styled the Lords of Council and Session. This group of poems, whatever may be their precise dates, do not afford much information as to Dunbar's life, but are good illustrations of his close observation and sharp wit, which spared neither the ascetic practices of the monks of Stirling, nor the abuses of the courts of law, nor the uncleanness of the streets of the capital.

DUNBAR AT THE COURT OF JAMES IV., 1500-13.

The greater part of Dunbar's writings between 1500 and 1513 were occasional poems written to amuse the Court, or to please his own humour, by satirising its follies and vices. They show his continued attendance on the king or queen's person, the favour in which he was held, especially by the queen, his constant petitions for salary and for a benefice, and his keen sense of the uncertainty of the courtier's life,

now in now out of favour. The picture they present of the Scottish Court of this period is a strange and not a pleasing one. James, when periodical fits of penitence did not occupy him with penance, fasting, and pilgrimages, was a merry monarch; and the familiarity and coarseness of some of the scenes Dunbar paints are not in accord with the dignity and virtue which become those whose manners should be an example to their subjects. To understand the freedom of the poet, we must keep in view how close was the contact between royalty and the Court circle, and even the people outside of the Court circle. In the small palaces, the little towns of Scotland and their narrow streets, every incident of Court life became at once a topic of gossip and of scandal. A large licence of speech was allowed even to Churchmen by the manners of the age. But while there is much that the moralist must condemn in poems such as "The Wowing of the King,"¹ "Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer,"² and that addressed "To the Quene,"³ they represent more truly than is allowed by the conventional manners of modern times the human nature which underlies the artificial life of society, and enable us to realise better than we could otherwise the characters of James, his queen, and their courtiers. Even the poems which are the least edifying convey a moral, as in the last mentioned:—

"Thairfor, all 3oung men, I 3ou pray,
Keip 3ou fra harlattis nycht and day;"

or in "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," whose discourse is of a similar character to Chaucer's "Wife of Bath," the poet concludes:—

¹ P. 136.

² P. 199.

³ P. 203.

“Ȝe Auditoris, most honorable, that eris has gevin
 Onto this vncouth aventur, quhilk airly me happinnit;
 Of ther thre wantoun wiffis, that I haif writtin heir,
 Quhilk wald Ȝe vvail to Ȝour vvif, gif Ȝe suld vved one?”¹

Perhaps in no other way, in such a time, were moral lessons more likely to reach the ears of those who most needed them.

The poems of this class are, after all, a small part of Dunbar's works. It is largely due to him that the period of James IV. is the commencement of a fuller knowledge of the history of Scotland, during which we can represent to ourselves the “form and pressure” of the men and events which together make the sum of history, in a manner impossible at any earlier time. The general current of our history becomes, from other sources, more distinct in this reign than in that of the first three Jameses. What Dunbar adds are the minute touches which give life and colour to the picture.

THE KING AND QUEEN.

The king is of course the central figure. Every trait in his variable and inconsistent character finds its poem or its line—the licentiousness of his youth, his penitence and remorse, the desire of novelty and dabbling in science which made him the prey of impostors and flatterers; the love of amusements of all kinds, from the tournaments of knights and contests of poets to card-playing and the jests of fools; and his liberality extended even to unworthy objects. Yet Dunbar never seems to have quite lost faith in James, and his feeling, even when his satirical shafts fly very near the royal person, is that of a dutiful subject warn-

¹ P. 47.

ing the king against his weaknesses, and remonstrating against his vices. He appears to have thought that there was an under-current of virtue which, if it could get the upper hand, would overpower his faults. In a notable verse, evidently written towards the end of the reign, if not, as is possible, after its tragic conclusion, he recalls a saying of the king, and makes it the burden of one of his refrains:—

“ Gude James the ferd, our nobill king,
 Quhen that he was of 3eiris 3ing,
 In sentens said full subtillie,
 ‘ Do weill, and sett not by demying,
 For no man sall vndemit be.’”¹

The queen, though frequently alluded to, is less distinctly portrayed in Dunbar’s poems. His praise of her youthful beauty in “The Thistle and the Rose,” and other poems written at the time of her marriage, has been already noted. It is evident that the poet stood high in her favour. In a poem whose burden is regret that the king was not more under her influence, he styles her—

“ My aduocat, bayth fair and sweit,
 The hale reiosing of my spreit,
 Wald speid me in my erandis than;
 And 3e war anis Johne² Thomsounis man.”³

But the dance in her chamber, and the conduct of the ladies and gentlemen of her Court, glanced at in several of his poems, do not give reason for the belief that her influence over her husband would, if greater, have been of the best kind.

The Court and courtiers are described rather in general terms than by panegyrics or satires of particular persons, for

¹ P. 93.

² In the proverb, John is supposed to stand for Joan, a lady who ruled her husband.

³ P. 218.

Dunbar had no patrons but the king and the queen, and desired to make no enemies. Its bad as well as its good qualities are painted in a series of poems with vivid colours, the former most frequently. In his "Remonstrance to the King"¹ he brings the two sides of the picture together. He first draws the portraits of the

" Mony servitouris,
And officiaris of dyuers curis ;
. . . all of thair craft cunning,
And all at anis lawboring,
Quhilk pleisand ar and honorable ;
And to 3our hienes profitable."

But next

" Ane vthir sort, more miserabill,
Fen3eouris, fleichouris, and flatteraris ;
Cryaris, craikaris, and clatteraris ;"

on whom he exhausts the copious vocabulary of abuse the Scottish language supplied, concluding with the *naïve* but honest reflection—

" Had I rewarde amang the laif,
It wald me sumthing satisfie,
And less me of my malancolie,
And gar me mony falt ouerse,
That now is brayd befor myn E."

It is to this "vthir sort, more miserabill," that his verses constantly recur, as in the poems beginning

" Devorit with dreme, devysing in my slummer,
How that this realme, with nobillis owt of nummer."²

" To dwell in court, my freind, gife that thow list,
For gift of fortoun invy thow no degre."³

¹ P. 220.

² P. 81.

³ P. 98.

“ Quhome to sall I complene my wo,
 And kyth my kairis on or mo?
 I knaw nocht, amang riche nor pure,
 Quha is my freynd, quha is my fo.”¹

“ Ffredome, honour and nobilnes,
 Meid, manheid, mirth and gentilnes
 Ar now in cowrt reput as vyce;
 And all for causs of cuvetice.”²

“ Thir ladyis fair, That makis repair,
 And in the court ar kend,
 Thre dayis thair, Thay will do mair,
 Ane mater for till end,
 Than thair gude men Will do in ten.”³

In the same strain are the poems “Aganis the Solistaris in Court,”⁴ “Dunbar’s Complaint to the King,”⁵ and “Of the Warldis Instabilite.”⁶

At times, chiefly when his pension has been paid, his mood is happier. Even Court life gives occasion for mirth, as in the description of “the bliss of Edinburgh” to which he entreats the king to return from “Striuilling, every court-manis fo”⁷; or he narrates with boisterous humour the “Dance in the Quenis Chalmer,”⁸ in which he took part; or praises James Doig, the queen’s ward-roper,⁹ when he had pleased the poet by giving him some reward or perquisite; or makes merry with the black lady, the latest novelty of fashionable society, like the lions of that society in our day, in the verses “Of ane Blak-Moir,”¹⁰ or welcomes the Lord Treasurer, who had paid his pension;¹¹ or contributes a share to one of the diversions of the Court in the “Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play.”¹²

¹ P. 100.² P. 158.³ P. 168.⁴ P. 206.⁵ P. 212.⁶ P. 226.⁷ P. 113.⁸ P. 199.⁹ P. 197.¹⁰ P. 201.¹¹ P. 264.¹² P. 314.

Occasionally a historical personage or person, whom history has allowed to lapse into oblivion, is brought before us by Dunbar, but he practises the caution which he preaches, and his references are generally either laudatory or humorous, provoking laughter and not ill-will. His poems on "The Lord of Aubigny" have been already noticed, and those on the Queen-Dowager and Regent Albany will be presently. We have seen, too, his generous allusions to his brother bards who had died. The "Flyting" certainly depicts Walter, and "The Testament" Andrew Kennedy, in a less favourable and ludicrous light. Yet the former receives, in "The Lament for the Makaris," the brief but honourable epithet of "good"; and the Testament of Andrew is an evident *jeu d'esprit*, painting to the life a drunken Bohemian of the time.¹

Another poet, Mure, who had tampered with Dunbar's verses, and pointed them at particular courtiers, is the subject of a more severe and caustic "Complaint to the King."²

Sir Thomas Norray, the king's fool, has a poem to himself and his order,³ which then flourished at the Scotch as well as other Courts. Doig, whose name is pronounced in Scotch nearly in the same way as "dog," has two poems prompted as much apparently by the pleasure of punning on it as on his vocation, which gave him charge of the royal purse as well as wardrobe. The poems denouncing the impostor Abbot of Tungland,⁴ and Donald Owre, the West Highland rebel,⁵ are those in which Dunbar really uses the strongest but well-deserved invective against individuals.

¹ P. 54.² P. 210.³ P. 192.⁴ P. 139.⁵ P. 190.

THE TOWN, THE COURT, THE TRADES, THE FRIARS,
AND OTHER CLASSES.

While the Court and its denizens, or the persons brought into contact with it, form the most frequent subject of Dunbar's poetic description, his eye was not limited to it, but saw the evils of other persons and other scenes. The Law Courts are scourged in "Tidings from the Session"¹; those of Edinburgh, in the satire on that town;² those of the tailors and soutars (shoemakers), in the mock Tournament,³ and the comical ironical palinode which follows, under the cover of its title, "The Amendis made be him to the Telgouris and Sowtaris,"⁴ returning to the charge; those of the Trades generally, in the Devil's inquest;⁵ those of the Friars, in the poem "How Dunbar wes desyrd to be ane Freir"⁶ and "The Freiris of Berwik"⁷ (if his composition), and many side shots in other poems; those of the scholars, in "Learning vain without guid Lyfe," written at Oxinfurde;⁸ those of the female sex, in the "Ballate against Evil Women"⁹; those of all mankind, in "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis."¹⁰ And as in the last, so in the rest of these trenchant satires,—while they have an application which suits other times and places, there is also an unmistakable colour of Dunbar's own age, affording illustrations of the life of Scotland as it was when James IV. was king.

We see in this section of Dunbar's works the character of the society by which he was surrounded. Justice was not yet pure but venal. The diverse motives of the crowd

¹ P. 78.² P. 261.³ P. 122.⁴ P. 127.⁵ P. 144.⁶ P. 131.⁷ P. 285.⁸ P. 224.⁹ P. 266.¹⁰ P. 117.

of suitors and hangers-on at the sittings of the Court are laid bare. The trades satirised are those prominent in the Edinburgh life of that day. Few poets now would write either for or against tailors or shoemakers. Nor is "The Tournament" without a secondary application against the knights and nobles, whose favourite pastime looks absurd enough when engaged in by common craftsmen. In the friars and the scholars, members of his own profession, as they were in the cloisters and colleges of post-medieval Europe, are branded by his poetic as they were shortly after by the prose satire of Erasmus. Following the lead of so many monkish writers, he satirises evil women who have not only the vices commonly ascribed to their class but "the desaitfull talis" which the Scottish Parliament vainly endeavoured to suppress. Even the seven deadly sins wear the habits of the time. Pride has his bonnet on one side, his flowing hair, and his gown in loose folds to the heel, like an ostentatious young courtier of the time. The priests who follow Pride have their necks bare and shaved. Ire has a train "in iakkis, and stryppis and bonettis of steill," with chain-armour on his legs, as if he was a lawless freebooter of the Borders. Envy has amongst its retinue the "rownaris of fals lesingis," or slanders, whom Dunbar had met at Court. No minstrels or gleemen played at the "dance in hell" save one who gained his heritage by killing a man and entered by briefe of right—the writ which, in feudal Scotland as in England, then established a claim to succession. The concluding stanza, aimed at the Highlanders, whom Dunbar, as a good Lothian man, hated with all his heart, describes the devil as so deafened with their clatter in Ersche (Irish or Gaelic), that he covered them with smoke

in the deepest pit in hell, is a touch of local humour which relieves the poem of its Dantesque horror.

THE SCOTTISH LANDSCAPE AS SEEN BY DUNBAR.

It is an agreeable change from these satires to note, in illustration of Dunbar's character, his appreciation of landscape, the taste for which has been sometimes supposed to be unknown to our medieval ancestors. But it is the quiet and domestic, not the wild and grand aspect of nature, which attracts Dunbar, like other poets of his time. The ocean is "mirk and moneless"; the Highland glens are "thai deully glens." He does not hear the two voices of the sea and the mountains, which have spoken to, and through, our later poets. The garden scenes in "The Goldyn Targe"¹ and "The Thistle and the Rose,"² the closing lines of "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo,"³ have been selected by a recent writer, with a true eye and heart for Scottish scenery and its reflection in Scottish poetry. The reader can find the passages in their proper places, and will not regret to compare with the poet's May morning in "The Goldyn Targe" Professor Veitch's discriminating note: "This description is characterised by an intense sense of colour;—delight in sun-brightness and its reflected splendour; in the bowers of the birds appavelled in white and red and sweet blooms; the variously enamelled field; the pearly drops shaking in silver showers; the gleaming river, and the stones by its channel-bed shining clear as stars after the dew of the morning. The poet revels not less in the joyous resonant notes of the morning birds; and the whole picture is suffused with the predominating emotion

¹ P. 1.

² P. 183.

³ P. 46.

of fresh and exulting joy. . . . Yet it is a generalised picture. There are few wholly specific features noted by the poet—in such a way, at least, that we can say distinctively,—that is a May morning in Scotland, even taking our May at its best. The garden idea also predominates in the scene. There is, however, a fine powerful freedom in the picture of the river; and in the reference to ‘the blomyt medis’ with ‘the grene rispis and the redis,’ we have a bit of direct eye-painting.”¹

The “Meditatioun in Wyntir”² is cited by the same writer as characteristic of our older Scottish poetry, in which “winter” is a more frequent and characteristic colour of the landscape than glorious, or, as Dunbar calls it, “lustie summer.”

Another critic, himself a poet, Alexander Smith, has marked the same poems and the same passages with notes of admiration: “In his allegorical poems, ‘The Golden Targe,’ ‘The Merle and the Nightingale,’ ‘The Thistle and the Rose,’ Dunbar’s fancy has full scope. As allegories they are perhaps not worth much. . . . But in Dunbar, the allegorical machinery is saved from contempt by colour, poetry, and music. Quick surprises of beauty, and a rapid succession of pictures, keep the attention awake. Now it is—

‘ May, of myrthfull monethis quene,
Betuix Aprile, and June, her sister schene,
Within the gardyng walking vp and down.’³

Now—

‘ The god of wyndis, Eolus,
With variand luke, rycht lyke a lord vnstable.’⁴

¹ Veitch, ‘The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry,’ vol. i. p. 229.

² P. 233.

³ P. 4.

⁴ P. 5.

Now the nightingale—

‘ Nevir suetar noys wes hard with levand man,
Na maid this mirry gentill nychtingaill,
Hir sound went with the rever as it ran,
Outthrow the fresche and flureist lusty vail.’¹

And now a spring morning—

‘ Full angellike thir birdis sang thair houris
Within thair courtyns grene, in to thair bouris,
Apparalit quhite and red, wyth blomes suete ;
Anamalit was the felde wyth all colouris,
The perly droppis schake in silvir schouris.’²

Dunbar is never so bright, never so happy, as when listening to the voices of the birds or viewing the colours of the flowers. These are the common sounds and sights which have delighted the hearts of poets, and to them are never commonplace. They requite the poet's love by transfusing their healthy and natural sweetness into his verses. It is pleasant to know they gave seasons of happiness to one like Dunbar, whose moods were more often melancholy despondency and satire.

EFFECT OF FLODDEN ON SCOTLAND AND DUNBAR, 1513.

From satire of Court and praise of country alike, Dunbar was diverted by the disaster of Flodden, the greatest blow Scotland ever suffered. In an evil hour for his country and fame, James IV., stung by a series of injuries,—the refusal of Henry VIII. to deliver up the bastard Heron, who had slain the Scottish Warden of the Marches ; the death of

¹ P. 175.

² ‘ Dreamthorp, and other Essays,’ by Alexander Smith, p. 82. Even Mr Lowell finds “a few sweet and flowing verses in Dunbar's ‘Merle and Nightingale,’ indeed one whole stanza that has always seemed exquisite.”

Andrew Barton, the bold seaman who made reprisals on the pirates and merchantmen of Holland, Portugal, and England after a manner that savoured itself of piracy; the withholding of the jewels left to Margaret by her father; and the invasion of France,—declared he would take part in the defence of his brother and cousin, “the most Christian king,” and, unless Henry desisted from the invasion of France, would wage war against England. Doubtless he thought the absence of Henry at the siege of Terrouenne a good occasion for this declaration. The old league between Scotland and France, of which he was reminded by Anne of Brittany’s present of a ring¹ and a subsidy of gold, also weighed against the more recent alliance with England. But the reiteration by modern writers of the charge of breach of faith, which Skelton put into his verses and Holinshed and Hall into their chronicles, is not justified.

There was as good cause for this as for most wars. The peace between England and Scotland had been hollow—never well preserved on either border, much less on the coast. Henry’s contemptuous treatment of a former Scottish herald, whom he refused to receive, determined James not to wait for another insult, and before the Islay herald returned from France the war had begun and ended—Flodden was fought and James slain.

The Nemesis which pursued the ill-fated monarch is a familiar page of Scottish story. It gave a natural subject to Skelton’s and other English ballads, and a title, though no more, to a tragedy of Robert Greene. It has left a patriotic and pathetic echo in Scottish minstrelsy in the burghers’ songs of Selkirk and Hawick, in the “Flowers of

¹ This ring, as well as the sword and dagger James wore at Flodden, are in the Heralds’ College, London.

the Forest," and in 'Marmion.' The warning of the beggar at Linlithgow Kirk to the king at prayers, told by Lyndsay of Pitscottie, on the authority of Sir David Lyndsay the poet; the summons of Platcock (Pluto, or the devil) at the cross of Edinburgh, before the muster on the Borough Muir; the dalliance of the king at Ford with Lady Heron; the rash descent of the Scots from the hill of Flodden to the plain of Brankstone, on the banks of the Till, where the battle was fought; the doubt whether the king had fallen, caused by his having dressed several men in suits of armour like his own, and the sordid fate of his body so long unburied, form a series of scenes worthy of a tragedy.

But Dunbar had not the dramatic faculty, nor would a Scottish contemporary have used this occasion for its exercise. Like his countrymen, he was probably at first stunned by the disaster which cut off the king and his young son, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishop of the Isles, and two abbots, eleven earls, and fourteen lords, besides many knights and gentlemen, and a host of the faithful commons. The English chronicler Hall reckoned the Scottish loss at 12,000, the English at under 1500, as appeared "by the book of wages when the soldiers were paid." The number of Scots slain may be exaggerated; but tradition, accumulated from all quarters of the realm, leaves no doubt of its enormous proportions. The Douglasses, one of the bravest families of the Border, counted their loss at 200. Angus Bell-the-Cat, now infirm with old age, after vainly protesting against the ill-timed engagement, left the field, but two of his sons remained and died on it. Scarcely a noble house in Scotland was without the record of a death at Flodden. The burghers of the towns—the "Flowers of the Forest," as the brave yeomen of Ettrick

are called in the ballad—the rough-shod Highlanders and Islesmen,—all shared the common fate, for few prisoners were taken. The Flodden wall, which the capital built in its alarm—the masses said in so many churches throughout the land—the succession of the heir to his father's lands without payment of relief to the Crown, which had been guaranteed by an Act passed just before the battle,—kept alive the sad memory. Very possibly Dunbar had been one of those who had opposed the war. His relations with the queen, and the English sympathies of one who deemed Chaucer his master and English in its old form his mother tongue, make this more probable than a conjecture which has been hazarded that he fell at Flodden. This conjecture is, of course, incompatible with the view of most of those who have studied his poems, that many of them were written after its date.

DUNBAR'S LIFE AFTER FLODDEN TO HIS DEATH,

1513-20.

The first poem Dunbar appears to have written after Flodden was an address to the young Queen-Dowager, still only in her twenty-third year, to "be glaid in hairt and expell haviness."¹ The relation of the poet to the queen, described in the lines—

"To quhome I am, and sall ay scherwand be,
 With steidfast hairt, and faythfull trew mening,
 Vnto the deid, without departing;
 For quhais saik I sall my pen address
 Sangis to mak for thy reconforting,"—

marks Dunbar as the author, although his name is not appended to it.

¹ P. 326.

His counsel to

“ Faid nocht with weping thy vissage fair of hew ”

was soon taken. In August 1514, before the widow's year of mourning was over, Margaret wedded the young Earl of Angus, grandson of old Bell-the-Cat, to whom he succeeded. His father, like her husband, was one of the victims of Flodden. Life continues its strange and devious courses, though death gives its warnings with the strongest emphasis. Between James Stuart and Margaret Tudor there could have been no deep love, for he was a faithless husband. The wayward girl, now a headstrong woman, was conscious she might follow her own will. But if Dunbar had been an ideal character, he would not have so soon forgotten his old master, and sought to encourage his mistress to “ baneiss all bail, and into bliss abyd.”

Although Dunbar still clung for a little to the gay and cheerful view of life natural to his sanguine moods, he was too good a patriot to overlook the additional confusion which the precipitate marriage of the queen with a subject brought upon Scotland. His next poem, “ Ane Orisoun—quhen the Gouvernour past in France,” describes the confusion of

“ This pure realme, in partyis all devydit ; ”

and prays—

“ Lord ! hald thy hand, that strikken hes so soir ;
 Haue of ws pietie, eftir our punytioun ;
 And gif ws grace the [for] to greif no more,
 And gar us mend with penance and contritioun.”¹

The Queen-Dowager's marriage had roused the jealousy of the Scottish nobility—unwilling to see one of their

¹ P. 236, ll. 33-36.

order preferred above the rest—and alienated Henry VIII. who disliked his sister giving her hand to one not of royal birth. The party opposed to Angus, at the suggestion of Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Lord Home, the Chamberlain, resolved to summon John, Duke of Albany, grandson of James II., to assume the regency. In spite of Henry VIII.'s endeavour to prevent his leaving France, the Duke landed at Dumbarton in the middle of August 1515, held a Parliament in Edinburgh by which he was appointed governor of the kingdom till the king attained his eighteenth year, and forced Margaret at Stirling to resign the custody of the king and his brother Alexander, Duke of Ross, and to fly to England. Albany attempted the difficult task of governing Scotland for two years, at first with apparent success. He received the submission in turn of the Earl of Arran, the representative of the Hamiltons, and by his mother a grandson of James II.; of Home, the Chamberlain, who had suddenly allied himself with Angus, his rival on the Borders; and of Angus himself. The attempt which Henry VIII. made, at his sister's instigation, to obtain his removal from the regency, roused the patriotism of the commons in his favour. But the nobles were jealous of Albany as a foreigner. A rebellion in the West, headed by Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, had barely been suppressed when Home and his brother, aided by several Border barons, entered into intrigues with Dacre, the English Warden; and having imprudently come to Edinburgh, they were seized, tried, and convicted for treason. De la Bastie, a French knight and friend of Albany, was made Warden of the East Border. At a Parliament in Edinburgh, Albany was declared the second person in the realm, and next heir to the crown—the

king's young brother, the Duke of Ross, having died. The new King of France, Francis I., formed a league with Spain against the Emperor Maximilian, and wishing to conciliate Henry VIII., refused to ratify the treaty with Scotland. Albany determined to go to France to try the effect of his personal influence. He had never cared for Scotland, where he felt his tenure of office insecure, and was glad of an excuse for leaving. It was with difficulty he obtained leave of absence for four months, and sailed from Dumbarton on 7th June 1517.

He was scarce gone when fresh troubles broke out in Scotland. The Queen-Dowager returned, and though not permitted to take part in the government or resume the custody of her son, her presence was a disturbing element. In September Hume of Wedderburn met and slew De la Bastie at Langton. The perpetrators of this crime, though forfeited, were never brought to justice, so powerless or indifferent was authority. There was also a serious rising in the Highlands to support the claim of Macdonald of Lochalsh to the lordship of the Isles. Albany had committed the regency during his absence to the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Angus, and Arran. The chief power in this council was disputed between Angus, who had the support of England, and Arran, whose quarrels at last came to such a pitch that their followers fought in the High Street of Edinburgh, and Arran was driven from the capital. This affray of "Cleanse the Causeway" took place on 30th April 1520. Seventy-two of the Hamiltons were left dead on the street: To add to the turmoil, the Queen-Dowager quarrelled with and was eager for a divorce from Angus, and now used her influence to procure the return of Albany. He seemed the

only man capable of restraining Angus, and through his kinship with the Pope might aid her in procuring a divorce. He did not, however, return till November 1521, when Angus at once fled to the Border, and the queen received him so kindly that Dacre reported to Henry that they were "over tender."

It was when, or shortly after, Albany went to France in 1517 that the poem called "Ane Orisoun" was written by Dunbar; and although Professor Schipper entertains doubts, and the poem is anonymous, it seems probable that the verses beginning

"We Lordis hes chosin a chiftane mervellus,"¹

were also written by him. If so, their date is fixed by the lines which follow:—

"That left hes ws in grit perplexite,
And him absentis, with wylis cautelus
Ȝeiris and dayis mo than two or thre."

More than three years after Albany left would be after June 1520, just at the moment when the dissensions between the nobles had reached their height, and Margaret, Dunbar's friend and patron, was most anxious for Albany's return. Neither of these poems is in Dunbar's best style, and the second especially is inferior, both in subject-matter and ease of versification. But the sentiments contained in such lines as the following—

"Is nane of ws ane vddir settis by,
Bot laubouris ay for vthiris destructioun;
Quhilk is grit plessour to our auld innamy,
And daly caussis grit dissentioun;"—

or,

"Couatyce ringis into the spirituall state,
Ȝarnand banifice the quhilk ar now vacand;"

¹ P. 237.

or,

“ Grit wer and wandrecht hes bene ws amang,
Sen thy depairting, and 3it approchis mair ;
Thy tardatioun caussis ws to think lang ;”—

are quite natural to Dunbar. Nor does it seem a sufficient reason for the contrary view that he has put them in the mouth of the Lords who wished Albany's return, and does not speak as usual in his own person. There are other examples of this in “ The King's Answer to Dunbar's Petition,”¹—if, as is deemed almost certain, it was written by Dunbar,—and in “ The Droichis part of the Play,”² an interlude which is spoken by the Dwarf. If this poem is Dunbar's, it is the last to which we can assign a date, and it is probable that he did not live long after 1520.

The reference to him by Lyndsay in the “ Testament of the Papyngo ” appears, by its position in that poem, to place his death before that of his contemporary, Gavin Douglas, which occurred in 1522.

“ Quho can now the werkis contrefait
Of Kennedie, with termes aureait,
Or of Dunbar, quhilk language had at large,
As may be sene in tyll his ‘ Goldin Targe.’
Allace ! for one quhilk lampe wes of this land,
Of eloquence the flowand balmy strand,
And in our Inglis rethorick, the rose,
As of rubeis the charbunckle bene chose.
And, as Phebus dois Cynthia precell,
So Gawane Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkell,
Had, quhen he wes in to this land on lyve,
Abufe vulgare poeitis prerogatyve,
Boith in prattick and speculatioun.”³

But the inference from these lines that Dunbar predeceased Douglas is not quite certain, and his closing, as his early years, are buried in obscurity.

¹ P. 217.

² P. 314.

³ Lyndsay's Works, ed. Laing, vol. i. p. 62.

DUNBAR'S SACRED POEMS OR HYMNS AFTER 1513.

To the period between Flodden and his death may probably be assigned most if not all the sacred or religious poems, which form a marked and separate section of his works. For though Dunbar was capable of such various moods that it would be vain to say he might not have composed some of them in his youth or middle age, they are more like the thoughts of a man whose years were declining towards old age.

In one of these, the hymn on the Passion, he describes himself in the opening lines as resident in a cloister, which he is not likely to have been after he had quitted the Observantines, at any period of his life prior to 1513:—

“Amang thir freiris, within ane cloister,
I enterit in ane oratorie,
And kneling doun with ane pater noster,
Befoir the michti king of glorie,
Having his passioun in memorye.”¹

It is true that the secular poems which can be certainly dated after Flodden are few, and, with a single exception, are only attributed to Dunbar by internal evidence. But this would be sufficiently accounted for if the poet had then occupied himself with the sacred themes which form the subject of his hymns. The absence of his name from the pension-list, which has been founded on as a proof of his death, may be explained either by the loss of the Treasurer's accounts between 1513 and 1515, and again from 1518 to 1522, or, as appears more probable, the real reason may be that such pensions depended on the pleasure of the king, and were not necessarily continued in a new reign.

¹ P. 239.

The religious poems of Dunbar either simply teach a religious or moral lesson, or relate to certain well-known periods of the Christian year, and the religious feelings their recurrence evokes in the breast of the pious churchman. Both are significant illustrations of his character.

To the former class belongs a poem of considerable length, sometimes called Dunbar's Confession. The words added in the Maitland MS., "*Heir endis ane Confessioun generale compylit be Maister Williame Dumbar,*" indicate that he intended it for others in like moments, but its tone is too personal not to have some reference to his own experience, as in the lines which express remorse for his life at Court—

"I knaw me vicious, Lord, and richt culpable,
In aithis sweiring, leising, and blaspheming,
Off frustrat speiking in court, in kirk, and table,
In wordis vyle, in vaneteis expreming,
Preysing my self, and evill my nichtbouris deming."¹

Other poems of the same kind are that "Against Covetousness," beginning—

"Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in weir,"²

and ending with the refrain—

"Thyne awin gude spend quhill thow hes space;"

that "Of the Changes of Lyfe;"³ that with the burden—

"Vanitas Vanitatum, et omnia Vanitas;"⁴

the short stanza beginning—

"Quhat is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid;"⁵

that on Death beginning—

"Doun by ane rever as I red,"⁶

¹ P. 69, ll. 105-109.

² P. 152.

³ P. 232.

⁴ P. 244.

⁵ P. 250.

⁶ P. 305.

and the poem sometimes called "The Merle and the Nightingale,"¹ in which he praises heavenly as compared with earthly love, ending with the burden—

"All luve is lost bot vpone God allone."

Poems such as these cannot be fixed with certainty at any period of Dunbar's life, but are more natural to his closing years. They express one side of his nature, the piety which became his profession, and in spite of his strong bent to a merry life, was never altogether absent from his thoughts. The transition from humorous to religious poetry has many examples in the history of English poetry, of which it is only one of the most conspicuous that the author of "John Gilpin" should have been also a writer of hymns.

The other class of Dunbar's religious poems belongs with more certainty to his later years. They are all in one manner, and without them we should have scarcely anything to represent the period from Flodden to his death—the last seven years of his life, during which it is unlikely one with Dunbar's gift of poetry would have been silent, though it was likely that he should change the object of his verse. To this class belongs a poem on the Nativity, commencing "Rorate Celi desuper,"² which has been sometimes erroneously attributed to Chaucer, and two others on the same theme;³ that on the Passion;⁴ that on Lent, or the Forty Days in the Wilderness;⁵ that on the Resurrection;⁶ and two poems in honour of the Virgin.⁷

¹ P. 174.

² P. 72.

³ Pp. 322, 324.

⁴ P. 239.

⁵ P. 280.

⁶ P. 154.

⁷ Pp. 269, 272.

DUNBAR'S PERSON AND CHARACTER.

Such is all which, whether from contemporary records or his own poetry, we are able to glean of the life and career of Dunbar. No portrait remains, or was probably ever painted, of Scotland's first great maker. From some allusions by Kennedy in the "Flyting" it is supposed he was of short stature; and we may conjecture, from his disposition and turn of mind, that he had quick observant eyes and a mobile restless habit of body, as he sketches himself in the "Dance in the Quenis Chalmer":—

"On all the flwre thair was nane frackar."¹

At a later date his health seems to have given way, though, if the conjectures here adopted as to his birth and death are correct, he must have lived at least to the age of sixty. No chronicler thought it worth while to interrupt the narrative of war and feuds to portray, alongside of the king, the bishops, and nobles, the poet who began the series of original Scottish authors. His predecessors, whether in verse or prose, whether they wrote in Latin or the vernacular, were narrators or translators merely, though an occasional verse of Barbour or Wynthown, Blind Harry or Henryson, suggests that in other times they might have been original writers. Douglas, while selecting Dunbar along with "Great Kennedie" and "Quintyn, with ane huttock on his heid," for a place in the Palace of Honour, conveys only the meagre information that Dunbar was "yet undeid" when that poem was written in 1501; and Lyndsay, who as a youth must often have seen him at Court, has recorded only his admiration for

¹ P. 200.

the "language at large" of the author of "The Goldyn Targe."

Dunbar, though these slight references show that he was highly esteemed during his life, has had greater posthumous than immediate fame. Lyndsay became more popular amongst the people, Douglas amongst the learned. The 'Wallace' of Blind Harry and the 'Bruce' of Barbour appealed more directly to Scottish patriotism. But the rarer genius of Dunbar has been disclosed by time. Unfortunately, it has been left to antiquarian research and later criticism to endeavour to delineate his life and character. Some poets, the facts of whose lives have come down to us in fragments, do not "abide our question," and remain, like Shakespeare, all the greater in their impersonality. Dunbar belongs to another class of poets who are self-conscious, and express themselves in their works. So, though his outward man must still remain unknown to us, the inner man, his feelings, his thoughts, his bearing towards the world in which he lived, and the men with whom he came in contact, are not obscure.

It has been the endeavour of this Memoir to let Dunbar as much as possible speak for himself. Like Burns, he may be trusted in autobiography, which, though free from the dangers of biography, has others of its own. He was, like Burns, thoroughly honest, and neither conceals weaknesses nor affects virtues. His character was, as that of most men, the product of his nature and of the circumstances of time and place in which he lived. He was not of the exceptional class who control circumstances, shape their own course, and mould their lives by force of will. His lot was, as regards his position in life, to be dependent, poor, and fettered by vows with which conscience

could not, though custom might, dispense. This lot fell to a man with an observant eye, a reflective rather than an active mind, with the imagination of a realist rather than of an idealist, whose piercing glance penetrated but rarely soared ; who had not the faculty of seeing and interpreting splendid visions, but who could represent vividly all he felt and saw.

The result was a humourist in the older meaning of that word—a man of various moods, now grave, now gay ; sometimes anxious to please, more often prone to satirise, even friends. But beneath the humourist in Dunbar there was the moralist always, and at times the preacher. This was less from his vocation than from his nature. It was a relief in hard outward circumstances, but it was also the instinct of his genius, to draw lessons from them for his fellow-men and for himself. While his lively fancy was ever ready to catch the passing moment, and, “ shooting folly as it flies,” preserve its features in a line, a verse, a ballad, his deeper and more permanent character impresses itself on his work, and is revealed when we regard it as a whole. His poems are a mirror of the times in which he lived, and he is himself reflected in the lines—

“ Sum man, musand with the wa,
Luikis as he mycht nocht do with a.”¹

A proud consciousness of his own powers, which the result has justified, sustained him in his isolation :—

“ And thocht that I, amang the laif,
Vnworthy be ane place to haue,
Or in thair nummer to be tald,
Als lang in mynd my wark sall hald !

¹ “ Aganis the Solistaris in Court,” p. 206.

Als haill in everie circumstance,
In forme, in mater, and substance,
But wering, or consumption,
Roust, canker, or corruptioun,
As ony of thair werkis all,
Suppois that my rewarde be small!"¹

His countrymen no longer need repeat the line of
Langhorne—

“And Time still spares the Thistle and the Rose.”

The fame of Dunbar has increased with the centuries, and will continue to increase. His name is now securely enrolled amongst the best of the early authors of Scotland, and in the front ranks of the noble company of the Poets of Britain.

¹ “Dunbar's Remonstrance to the King,” p. 221.

II.

THE POEMS OF DUNBAR.

DIVISION OF THE POEMS INTO CLASSES.

THE poems of Dunbar do not require any elaborate analysis of their contents. With the exception of the allegorical poems, of which "Beauty and the Prisoner," "The Goldyn Targe," and "The Thistle and the Rose," are the best marked specimens—although in others allegorical personages, the Seven Deadly Sins, Heaviness, Langour, Reason, Discretion, and the like are introduced—their meaning, apart from the use of obsolete words, explained in the Glossary, is obvious. A prose version of Dunbar's verse would resemble a poor sermon which dilutes the rich text. But a survey of his poetry is necessary to show the compass and limits of his genius, and will be given before an attempt is made to estimate his relation to the Scottish poets who preceded and followed him, and his position amongst those who in other countries have secured permanent poetic fame. For he, too, is of the select few who, by various routes, coming from distant countries, have climbed to the summits of Parnassus.

The poetry of Dunbar, although the portion of it which has been preserved is not large, naturally suggests a classification which proves how various were the styles and subjects he essayed. As he succeeded in almost all, though of some we have only one or two examples, this certainly supports the hypothesis that many of his poems

have been lost, it is to be feared now beyond recovery.

His poems may be divided into—

1. Allegorical Poems.
2. Narrative Poems or Tales.
3. Amatory or Love Poems.
4. Comic or Humorous Poems.
5. Laudatory Poems or Panegyrics.
6. Vituperative Poems or Invectives.
7. Precatory Poems or Petitions to the King or Queen.
8. Satirical Poems.
9. Moral Poems.
10. Religious Poems or Hymns.

They cover, therefore, the whole ground which Bannatyne describes in the lines prefixed to his manuscript—

“ The first concernis Godis glor and our salvatioun ;
 The next are moral graces and als besyd it,
 Ground on gude consale ; the thrid, I will not hyd it,
 Are blyth and glad, maid for our consolatioun ;
 The fierd, of luv and thair rycht reformatioun ;
 The fyft are tailis and storeis weill descydit.”

The above list might be reduced to eight, perhaps seven, for the petitions or precatory poems are generally humorous, and the humorous are separated by a narrow line from the satirical and vituperative. Nor is it expected that all will agree with the class in which particular poems are here placed. Still, the petitions form so marked a section that it seems better to regard them as a separate class, along with the three poems on “Discretion in Asking,” “Giving,” and “Taking,” in which he treats the philosophy of the subject. The line, though narrow, is also distinct, and probably corresponds to the period when they were written, which separates his poems in which the

humour is merely comic from those in which it passes into all the moods of satire, from the gentlest irony to the fiercest indignation or invective.

I. ALLEGORICAL POEMS.

“The
Goldyn
Targe.”

The allegories of Dunbar are not, like “The Palace of Honour” of his contemporary, Gavin Douglas, or “The Faerie Queen” of Spenser, intricate or complex. Abstract qualities are made to play the part of persons, and so convey a moral lesson with more directness, but there is little sustained allegory and no obscurity in the plot or scheme of the poem. In “The Goldyn Targe,” the subject is the conflict of Beauty with the poet, or the person in whose name the poet speaks. Reason protects him against the first assaults of Beauty, and wards off the darts of her companions by the golden shield. But the near presence of the beloved blinds his eyes, and new allies of Beauty coming to her aid—Dissimulation, Fair Calling, Cherishing, and New Acquaintance—complete the capture of the poet or the hero of his poem. It is characteristic of Dunbar’s reflective and melancholy vein that before the dream (for the allegory appears in a dream) melts, the captive has been visited by Danger, who consigns him to the custody of Heaviness and Grief. Love was not to him the spring of life and hope, but of despondency. Its victory was the defeat of Reason. As if to save the poem from ending with this sad note, Dunbar, like a true artist, adds a stanza on the beauty of the landscape when he woke from his dream—

“Throu Naturis nobil fresch anamalyng,
In mirthfull May, of ewiry moneth Quene;”

and an encomium on his English masters, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This passage marks the reverence of Chaucer which he shared with all English poets—

“As in oure tong ane flour imperiall,
That raise in Britane ewir, quho redis rycht,
Thou beris of makaris the tryumph riall;”

the recognition of the common language in which they wrote—

“Was thou noucht of *oure Englisch* all the lycht;”

but also the less fortunate admiration for the new and less natural beauties with which the “sugurit lippis and tongis aureate” of Gower and Lydgate had over-gilt the simpler speech of Chaucer. Dunbar modestly thought his own poem free from all the “lusty roses of rhetoric” which he praised. The taste of modern times will not admit this, and finds many of the phrases and parts of the allegory exaggerated, — for modern poetry, as a rule, abstains from allegory, which its readers do not easily appreciate, and prefers a simple to an ornate style of language.

Another variation on the same theme, the short poem of “Beauty and the Prisoner,” ends more happily, for the prisoner is delivered from the dungeon in the Castle of Penance by “Matremony, that nobill king,” who unites Beauty to the prisoner. Perhaps this poem glances at the deliverance of James IV. from the illegitimate connections of his youth by his marriage with Margaret Tudor. If so, the allusions are possibly on purpose not explicit. Whatever may be its true interpretation, this is one of the few compositions of Dunbar which may be deemed somewhat obscure. Notwithstanding its obscurity, it appears to have

“Beauty
and the
Prisoner.”

been a favourite with his contemporaries, for amongst the popular songs given in the list in "The Complaint of Scotland" there is one—"Ladye, help your prisoner,"—which probably refers to it, although Mr Laing at one time conjectured it to have been a poem by Alexander Scott.¹

Professor Schipper is disposed to date "The Goldyn Targe" and "Beauty and the Prisoner" somewhat later in Dunbar's life than the period before the marriage of the king, and, though with some hesitation, to suppose they may relate to the poet's personal history. Certainty on this point is unattainable. The poems themselves bear no internal evidence, either by contents or style, to the time of their composition. But they are unlike his other poems of a personal kind, and most nearly resemble "The Thistle and the Rose," which was written to celebrate the royal marriage. "The Goldyn Targe" was certainly composed before 1508, when it was printed by Chepman and Myllar. It appears, on the whole, most probable that these allegorical poems all belong to the same period, and were veiled in allegory for the sake of the king, who might be thus instructed and warned without being too plainly made their subject.

"The
Thistle
and the
Rose."

"The Thistle and the Rose" takes its leading allegory from Heraldry, then in its prime. It celebrates the union of the Scottish Thistle with the red and white Rose of England, in whose veins flowed the blood of York and Lancaster, and proclaims its superiority above the Lily of France. It is not known when the thistle was first chosen as the meet symbol for the wild country and poor soil whose natives proved they could protect its independ-

¹ "The Complaint of Scotland," Early English Text Society,—J. H. A. Murray's Preface, p. lxxxiii; Laing's edition of Scott, p. x.

ence. It has sometimes been supposed that its use originated in this poem, which is one of the earliest notices of the thistle.¹ But its adoption as the badge of Scotland must have been of an earlier date. Amongst the "jowellis and uther stuff pertaining to umquhile oure souirane lordis fadir" that came into the hands of James IV. at his father's death in 1488, was "a covering of variand purper tartar browdin with thrisselis and a unicorn."² The ratification by James of his contract of marriage with Margaret on 17th December 1502, has on its wide margin "a splendid border of roses, thistles, and marguerites intertwined. In a square compartment *azure* are the Scottish royal arms and crown, supported by two unicorns *argent*, collared and chained, horned and unguled *or*, standing on a mount *vert*, with the Scottish thistle flowered *ppr.* growing on it. Further down the margin are the letters I. and M. in gold, entwined with a love-knot, beneath a jewelled crown."³

If Dunbar was, as there is reason to believe, connected with the secretary's office, through which this and other documents with a similar device must have passed, he would be familiar with, and may have borrowed this part of his allegory from it. We have seen, too, that the thistle and the rose were interlaced beneath the crown on the painted windows of Holyrood when the young bride was received there.

¹ The portrait of James IV. in Waldegrave's edition of the Scots Acts, 1497, and in Johnston's 'Icones Regum Familie Stuartorum,' Amstelodami, 1602, is marked by the thistle in his hand and the iron belt round his waist; but I have not been able to discover, in spite of much kind aid, the authority for this portrait. The thistle appears in the arms of Scotland in Sir D. Lyndsay's Heraldic MS. in the Advocates' Library and in the frontispiece of Bellenden's Boece in the reign of James V.

² Inventory printed in Tytler's 'History of Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 373.

³ 'Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland,' vol. iv. p. 340.

The poet does not confine his allegory to the heraldic suggestion, and proceeds to amplify and interpret. The king is compared with the Lion, the king of beasts, the Eagle, the king of birds, as well as with the Thistle, whose bush of spears is crowned with rubies. In the two former characters he is exhorted to dispense the law with equal hand to the commons and the nobles, the poor and the rich; while in the third he is counselled to be faithful to the Rose, and not to stray after the beauty of any other flower, whether of the garden or the wild. The garland of verse thus intertwines the royal and the domestic virtues.

The allegories of Dunbar are supposed by Mr Laing to have been suggested by the masques or pageants so much in fashion in the middle ages, which continued in more and more elaborate form until they culminated in those of which Ben Jonson was the poet and Inigo Jones the designer in the reign of James I. of England. They then gave way to or were absorbed in the nobler creations of the Shakespearian drama. Such masques were well known in Scotland in the time of James IV. Margaret Tudor was greeted with one on her first coming to Edinburgh. Dunbar has himself described another in the poem on her entry into Aberdeen. The "Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play,"¹ usually ascribed to him, is the detached portion of a composition more resembling a masque than a play in the modern sense. It is possible that Dunbar himself may have acted as well as written the part of the Dwarf. The references in the "Flyting" to his low stature favour this suggestion. There would be nothing in the manners of an age which permitted the poet, though an ecclesiastic, to

"The
Droichis
part of the
Play."

¹ A fuller examination of the poem is made in Appendix V., in the note on James IV.

dance in the queen's chamber, which would have forbidden his assuming the *rôle* of an actor. The most constant performers in the early masques and plays were the choristers of the king's chapel at Stirling or Linlithgow. Sir David Lyndsay's "Satire of the Three Estates" was a series of interludes loosely combined to make a play. But few pieces have come down to our time more interesting, as showing the transition from the Morality through the Interlude and Masque to the Drama, than this fragmentary poem of Dunbar. In Scotland the Calvinistic and Puritan character of the Reformation prevented the development of the native drama, which never passed beyond the stage of Lyndsay's plays.

Professor Schipper¹ advances an opposite theory to that of Laing. "The masques," he says, "were developed from allegorical poetry, and if, in course of time, the reverse might well happen, this is not to be accepted in the case of a poem" ("Beauty and the Prisoner") "whose tone is rather lyrical than descriptive." Without entering on the vexed question of the priority of origin of the masque and the allegory, it seems at least certain that the frequency of acted masques made it easier for a poet to introduce allegorical characters which would be at once understood, and not deemed, as they would be now, far-fetched and artificial.

The characters, which are called by the names of abstract qualities, appealed to the recollection of those who had seen the same or like qualities represented by actual persons on the scaffolding or the stage, in the procession or the show. The goodly company which attended on "suede womanhede" in "The Goldyn Targe"—

¹ Schipper, p. 186.

“Nurture and Lawlynes,
 Contenance, Pacience, Gude Fame and Stedfastnes,
 Discretioun, Gentrise, and Considerance,
 Leuefell Company, and Honest Besynes,
 Benigne Luke, Mylde Chere, and Sobirnes,”¹—

required no description, scarcely even an epithet, but at once appeared before the mental vision of his contemporaries. This aid to their interpretation they have now lost. But, after all, every poem has a special meaning to the generation for which it is written. Its vitality is proved when it has a meaning also for succeeding generations.

II. NARRATIVE POEMS OR TALES.

“The
 Freiris of
 Berwik.”

The narrative poems or tales of Dunbar are limited to one of certain authorship, “The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo,” and another of uncertain, “The Freiris of Berwik.” The latter was first attributed to Dunbar by Pinkerton, whose view was followed by Ellis. Mr Laing, though he declines to give a decided opinion, thinks the poem must have been written not later than the minority of James V., and observes that “Pinkerton’s opinion has been so far sanctioned by succeeding critics, that the poem is almost uniformly quoted as the work of Dunbar.” Professor Schipper has, however, made no reference to it in his exhaustive work, and apparently treats it as not by Dunbar.² It is anonymous in both the Bannatyne and Maitland MSS. It was printed at least as early as 1603 by Robert Charteris, in the volume, ‘Sindrie other Delectabil Discoursis,’ but no copy is known, although 500 copies existed when his will was proved; and only one copy exists of the

¹ P. 6, ll. 163-167.

² See ‘Altenglische Metrik,’ p. 520.

edition printed at Aberdeen by Edward Raban for David Melville in 1622.¹ Allan Ramsay closely followed it in his tale of "The Monk and the Miller's Wife."

There would be nothing remarkable in such a work like the "Priests of Peblis," an inferior poem of about the same date, being anonymous. Bold as many of Dunbar's poems are in their attacks upon the clerical order, there is none, if we except the "Dirge" on the Observantine Franciscans of Stirling, so directly pointed at particular religious houses in a named place as this is at the Black or Jacobyne, and still more strongly against the Grey or Franciscan "Freiris of Berwik." That the latter should be the main butt of the satire is an argument in favour of Dunbar's authorship. The author, whoever he was, would think it prudent to conceal his name. Nor is there anything in the tale, which is the common topic of the time—a wife deceiving her husband and caught by her own trick—that might not have been written by the author of "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo." The clearness of the description and the ease of versification, though extravagantly compared to Chaucer's, certainly prove it to have been the work of a good master in this style. There is only one other poem by Dunbar in rhymed couplets—the short poem "In Praise of Women"; but it cannot be said that this tells against his authorship, so skilful was he in using and so fond of trying new metres. It must be deemed also of some weight that there is no known poet of the period to whom it can be ascribed with so much likelihood. Dunbar had been at Berwick, and, by his own confession, knew what could be done under the cloak of the Franciscan garb as a novice :—

¹ Laing's Notes, p. 379. Edmond's 'Aberdeen Printers,' *sub anno* 1622.

" From Berwick to Kalice
 I haif in to thy habeit maid gud cheir.
 In freirs weid full fairly haif I fleichit.
 Als lang as I did beir the freiris style,
 In me, God wait, wes mony wrink and wyle."¹

Without venturing to affirm it, there seems no improbability that the same bold hand which wrote "The Visitation of St Francis" should have written "The Freiris of Berwik."²

"The Tua
 Mariit
 Wemen
 and the
 Wedo."

"The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," which is certainly by Dunbar, is sufficient proof that he could, when he chose, follow Chaucer, as Chaucer followed the writers of the French Lais and the Italian Novels in the art, seemingly easy yet really difficult, of telling a simple story with simple words so as to maintain the attention of readers. What made easier at least a style of poetry which, when tried as it has been by modern poets, always savours of an imitation, was that telling stories or tales in prose or verse was a common custom of the times before printing. "It was the usage in Normandy," says Jean le Chapelain, "that one who received lodging should tell a fable or sing a song to his host." So Dunbar himself includes in the motley group of the hangers-on at the Court of James IV. some "who tell stories." But even in the middle ages there were degrees of skill in the art of which Boccaccio and Chaucer are the great masters. There were professional as well as amateur story-tellers.

¹ P. 132.

² Mr Skelton, I am glad to observe, concurs in this view. "'The Friars of Berwick,' an admirably spirited and brilliantly dramatic poem, which I believe could have been written by no one except Dunbar."—'Maitland of Lethington,' vol. i. p. 114.

Dunbar has been deemed worthy of a high place amongst the former by good judges, even if this poem is the single specimen of his power. Its theme is matrimony; and the discourse of the free-living and coarse-thinking women who tell in succession their experiences, startles and shocks a modern reader by its indecency and immorality. The poet, indeed, intends to convey the moral with which he ends, that none of them was worthy to be a wife. But all had been; and the widow, like the Wife of Bath in Chaucer's tale, after which and earlier tales this poem is in part modelled, had buried more than one husband. It is vain to deny that their conversation represents a corrupt condition of society and a special depravity in the sex, which in better times maintains the standard of purity. We are tempted to ask whether the picture is not a caricature even of the time in which it was written. Like most satire, it is highly coloured; but Dunbar lived in a Court which was very far from being an example of virtue in the relations of the sexes. Even the clergy, who should have denounced such abuses by their lives as well as by their preaching, from the Pope in the Vatican to the begging friars who found too easy an entry into every home, are admitted by the candid Romanist to have been often grossly immoral. Those who condemn the freedom of the satire should recollect that it bore its part in curing the moral disease it represented in such plain and ugly colours. The Reformation which so soon followed was a reform in morals as well as in doctrine.

This poem was one of Dunbar's early works, as he himself indicates at its close:—

“ ʒe Auditoris, most honorable, that eris has gevin
Onto this vncouth aventur, *quhilk airly me happinnit;*

Of ther thre wantoun wiffis, that I haif writtin heir,
 Quhilk wald 3e vvaill to 3our vvif, gif 3e suld vved one?"

It is remarkable as his only long poem, and also his only poem in which he has throughout followed the alliterative system of the older poetry. Professor Schipper,¹ in order to find a parallel to the elaborateness of its alliteration, which, not content with pursuing the same letter through one, often continues it through a second or more verses, has to go back to the "Mort Arthur,"² a work of the last half of the fourteenth century. He notes in both poems the heaping or accumulation of alliteration through many verses, the occurrence of lines without alliteration but with a word which carries it on from the preceding or into the following line, and of lines in which the alliterative syllable is not accentuated. Both poems are in the Northern English or Old Scottish form of alliteration, which maintained in its verse as in its dialect more of the archaic style common to Anglo-Saxon, Old German, and Scandinavian poetry longer than the Southern English, which from the time of Chaucer became the classical dialect of England. That poet seldom uses alliteration. As contrasted with the North Country "famed for song," the South preferred rhyme, or even plain prose. Chaucer's Parson says in the Prologue to his Tale:—

"But trosteth wel I am a sothern man,
 I cannot geste rom ram ruf by my letter,
 And God wote rime hold I but litel bettir,
 And therefore if you list I wil not glose—
 I wil you tel a litel tale in prose."³

With Dunbar's "Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo"

¹ 'Altenglische Metrik,' pp. 196, 209.

² Early English Text Society, No. 8.

³ 'Canterbury Tales,' Moxon's edition, p. 147.

the use of strict alliteration also disappeared from Scottish poetry, though he employs it in combination with rhyme in the "Flyting," the "Ballad of Kynd Kittok," and in several other poems. Traces of it are still to be found in the Prologues to Gavin Douglas's "Æneid," Montgomery's "Cherrie and the Slae," and in other poems of the sixteenth century. The poets of later centuries have not resisted the occasional use of "apt alliteration's artful aid"; but this is something quite distinct from its use as a system of versification subject to fixed rules.

That Dunbar should have preferred rhyme, and the varied forms of rhymed verse used by the French and English writers of the Renaissance, marks him as a poet of a more modern school than most of his predecessors. Alliteration was even with him a recurrence to, and imitation of, an older type. The masters of rhythm in all periods have been fond of experiments in archaic or foreign forms. Rhyme itself is perhaps a development of alliteration, transferring the recurrence of similar sounds from the beginning or middle of the verse or line to its close. In Dunbar's poems, many of which have intermediate as well as final rhymes, we detect this development in the process of growth. Nor does it affect this observation if, as is probable, he may have been indebted to the examples of the use of rhyme to be found in medieval Latin poetry.

III. AMATORY OR LOVE POEMS.

The amatory poems of Dunbar form a small part of his known writings. It might be thought that one who had served a novitiate as a friar and became a priest was little likely to write love-poems, and that one of the chief, if not

the chief, source of poetry was out of his reach. Yet this was not altogether the case, according to the manners of the time. He had renounced the vocation of a friar, and as a secular priest without a cure, although he occasionally said mass, he occupied during most of his life a position similar to the French abbé of the eighteenth century, who took his share in all the pursuits and amusements of the Court. Still the irrevocable vows had been taken, and human love could not be to him what it was to the layman, a path of honour which led to happiness. He knew well how to describe its virtue :—

“ Lufe¹ is caus of honour ay,
Luve makis cowardis manheid to purchass,
Luve makis knychtis hardy at assey,
Luve makis wrechis full of lergeness,
Luve makis sueir folkis full of bissiness,
Luve makis sluggirdis fresche and weill besene,
Luve changis vyce in vertewis nobilness.”²

But his personal experience was of its bitter, not of its sweet,—at first of a passion which was not and could not be rightfully returned, and finally, as one which should be renounced for the divine love :—

“ Than said the merle, ‘ Myn errour I confess;
All lufe is lost bot vpone God allone.’ ”

The conjecture that there was any real affection on his part for Mrs Musgrave, an English lady of the queen’s suite, rests solely on the line in the “ Dance in the Quenis Chalmer ”—

“ For luff of Mwsgræffe, men tellis me.”

¹ Love is spelt in three ways by Dunbar—“ lufe,” “ luve,” and “ luff,”—a characteristic example of the uncertainty of the art of spelling before printing.

² P. 177.

But the comic exaggeration of that poem, as well as the coarseness of some of its expressions, render it impossible that it can have been the medium for declaring a true passion. It is only a courtier's homage of admiration for one of the beauties of the Court circle.

The two poems¹ which really are love-poems are in a very different strain, acting on the maxim of a poem attributed to him.² They do not name the lady to whom they are addressed:—

“Gif 3e wald lufe and luvit be,
In mynd keip weill thir thingis thre,
And sadly in thy breist imprent;
Be secreit, trew, and pacient.”

“To a Ladye,”
and “To a Ladye quhone he list to feyne.”

This is so similar in tone to one of his acknowledged poems,³ as to leave little doubt as to its authorship. In the latter he repeats the same counsel, with a personal note:—

“Be of 3our lufe *no prechour as a freir*,
Be secreit, trew, inressing of 3our name.”

These genuine love-poems speak of a love which was not requited, by a lady⁴ in whose garden were fresh flowers of every hue, only no “rew,”—who was merciless and without womanly pity, yet whom Dunbar, in spite of all, would remember till death, but from whom he takes a sorrowful farewell:—

“And quhill my mynd may think, and towng may steir;
And syne, Fair weill, my hartis Ladie deir!”⁵

The former poem is somewhat artificial, but the latter is in the language of the heart. They are evidently written to the same person, and about the same time; and though,

¹ “To a Ladye,” p. 223, and “To a Ladye quhone he list to feyne,” p. 245.

² P. 312.

³ P. 162.

⁴ P. 223.

⁵ P. 246.

following the usual view, they have been placed in the list of his poems after 1503, it is not impossible they belong to an earlier period. This incident in his life being past of which we know so little that we cannot be sure that what has been just said may not be too much, all Dunbar's references to love are those of a moralist or a religious poet.

In the poem with the refrain—

“ Now cumis aige quhair 3ewth hes bene,
And trew luve rysis fro the splene ;”¹

he writes :—

“ I haif experience by my sell ;
In luvis court anis did I dwell,
Bot quhair I of a joy cowth tell,
I culd of truble tell fyftene.
· · · · ·
Befoir quhair I durst nocht for schame
My lufe discure, nor tell hir name ;
Now think I wirschep wer and fame,
To all the warld that it war sene.”

The true love is, as in “The Merle and the Nightingale,” the love of God.

So in another of the poems, with good reason attributed to him—

“ Fane wald I luve, bot quhair about ?”²

he concludes with the counsel :—

“ Bot quha perfytly wald imprent,
Sowld fynd his luve moist permanent,
Luve God, thy prince, and freind, all thre ;
Treit weill thy self, and stand content,
And latt all vthir luvaris be.”

If in “The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo,” and the “Ballate against evil Women,”³ he had exposed the

¹ P. 179.

² P. 308.

³ P. 266.

weakness and wickedness to which the sex may fall, he makes amends in the poem "In Prays of Woman,"¹ in which he strikes a note at once human and religious:—

"In Prays
of Wo-
men."

"Now of wemen this I say for me,
Off ertly thingis nane may bettir be ;
They suld haif wirschep and grit honoring
Off men, aboif all vthir ertly thing ;"

for we are all come of women (such is his brief argument), and Christ Himself was the son of Mary.

IV. COMIC OR HUMOROUS POEMS.

The merely comic or humorous poems form a large and important class of Dunbar's works. It contains some poems—"The Wowing of the King quhen he wes in Dunfermeling," "Ane Brash of Wowing," "The Twa Cummeris," the verses "To the Quene" on her courtiers, and the "Dance in the Quenis Chalmer"—which cannot be reconciled with the modern sense of what is becoming. Opinions will differ whether such subjects as they treat with the utmost freedom can be treated without danger to morality.

"The
Wowing of
the King,"
"Ane
Brash of
Wowing,"
"The
Twa Cum-
meris."

Yet, with the exception of the first and last of these, in which it would be difficult to suppose any motive other than to provoke loud and coarse laughter, the verdict of Professor Schipper on one of them may be accepted: "Without doubt, Dunbar had the best intention in these verses, and certainly does not deserve on their account the reproach of immorality. The poem is no more than an illustration, drawn with firm pencil-strokes, of the rude manner and modes of speech of a society which, in spite of the beginning of the refinement of the Renaissance, was

¹ P. 170.

still, even in the highest classes, quite unpolished."¹ It may be doubted whether the Renaissance itself, by the revived study of the Greek and Roman classics, did not retard instead of furthering the progress of refinement in morals, and that part of manners which relates to morals. Two other poems of the humorous kind, "The Ballad of Kynd Kittok" and "The Dirge," have been censured for a somewhat different reason, that they deal too freely with religious names and subjects, bringing them into irreverent and dangerous proximity with ludicrous ideas. The same criticism is applicable to "The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy," and isolated passages in other poems. Against this charge it is impossible wholly to defend Dunbar, though many examples of a similar kind might be cited from other poets. Probably his own contemporaries would not have seen anything to blame in this freedom, which was, perhaps, taken more by monkish and clerical writers than by others. But its use has not been confined to any one class. It is, in truth, due to the near connection, in spite of or because of, their contrast between the solemn and the ludicrous.

"The
Ballad of
Kynd
Kittok."

"The Ballad of Kynd Kittok"² is amongst the pieces printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, but as Dunbar's name is not attached to it, we cannot be quite sure that he is the author. If he is, it is certainly one of his early works, and the reference to Falkland Fells points to a date when the king was there, perhaps to August and September 1495.³

The humour of the piece is directed against some then

¹ Schipper, p. 191.

² "Kynd Kittok's adventures in heaven is an audacious conception, which no later master of the grotesque—not Burns in 'Tam o' Shanter,' not Byron in 'The Vision of Judgment,' not Goethe in the 'Faust' Prologue—has contrived to surpass."—Skelton, 'Maitland of Lethington,' vol. i. p. 109.

³ 'Registrum Magni Sigilli,' Nos. 227 and 3.

well-known, now undiscoverable, person, a female taverner, who is ironically reported to have "died of thirst, and made a good end." She eluded St Peter, and got privily into heaven, where she stayed seven years as "Our Lady's hen-wife"; but in an evil hour, longing for fresh drink, as the ale of heaven was sour, she went out, was refused readmittance by St Peter, and returned to her own alehouse. The poet, who had a liking for good ale, ends with the comic request—

"Frendis, I pray you hertfully,
Gif ȝe be thristy or dry,
Drink with my Guddame, as ȝe ga by,
Anys for my saik."

Perhaps there is a side hit here at the ale of Falkland, which was not in good repute. Sir David Lyndsay, too, has a jest at it:—

"Court men to cum to thee thay stand gret awe,
Sayand thy burgh bene, of all burrows, baill,
Because in thee they never gat gude aill."

The charter of erection of Falkland as a royal burgh in 1458 states in its preamble the resort of the lieges to the Court, and the great inconvenience from the want of inn-keepers. To remedy this, a series of small feus of tofts and crofts were granted by the king, with a reddendo that the feuars were to maintain so many horses and men—'tam in esculentis potulentis et pabulis equorum quam in aliis necessariis.' Like other systems of billeting, this had apparently not proved successful.

"The Dirge" or "Dirige" is a parody on a part of the funeral service of the Roman Church, in which the eighth verse of the Vulgate version of the fifth psalm, "Dirige, dominus meus, in conspectu tuo vitam meam," is frequently repeated. Hence is derived the English word "dirge" for a "The
Dirge."

song of lamentation. Dunbar's poem is the reverse of a lamentation. It is an exhortation to the king to come out of purgatory, the convent of the Observantines at Stirling, where he was staying too long, to the grief of his lords and knights, and return to heaven, as Edinburgh, with its amusements and merry life, is not with the best taste called.

The poem must have been written between 1494, when James founded this convent, and 1503, for it plainly belongs to Dunbar's earliest period and the king's unmarried life. Lord Hailes thought its style so irreverent that he did not print it; but Professor Schipper is nearer the mark of historic truth when he observes: "The Franciscan monks of Stirling, without doubt, received the poem with laughter and loud applause, when the king communicated it to them in the refectory."

It is remarkable even amongst the poems of Dunbar for the subtle skill with which the poet handles a variety of metres, passing from one to another as the subject varies, as a musician from one chord to another of a familiar instrument.

"The Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy."

"The Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy" is a comic will, composed in the name of a member of the family, with whom Dunbar seems to have been not on the best of terms. He was not the poet of the "Flyting," Walter—though, by an error, the Maitland and Reidpeth MSS. have substituted his name—but Andrew, who appears in several entries in the Treasurer's accounts in 1502 and 1503. From one of these it appears he received on 8th September 1503 a payment of twenty shillings for carrying a relic of St Ninian to the king at Wigtown. From some of the allusions in the poem, Professor Schipper has made the ingenious conjecture that Kennedy was one of the quack physicians of that day

who are satirised in a poem of Henryson,¹ and that the relic was for the purpose of curing the king in some illness. It is more likely, so far as the relic is concerned, that it was taken for the purpose of being presented to the shrine of the saint at Whithorn. The traits of character disclosed in the mock will are those of a drunken scapegrace of the time, who might have followed any or no profession. This poem has been called "macaronic," but is not a proper specimen of that style, in which vernacular words are given Latin terminations, as in Drummond's "Polemo-Middinia." It is written in the vernacular, but with lines or words of familiar medieval Latin intermixed, as was common in many poems of the middle ages. It is found in the Coventry Mysteries, and even in early Anglo-Saxon verse, as the conclusion of "The Phœnix." But it became still more common at a time when Latin was yielding to the native dialects as the spoken language of the learned, many of whom now knew their Latin badly, like Master John Clerk, who receives the malison of Kennedy for writing "dentes sine de,"—according to Lord Hailes, in a prescription which Kennedy charges as being the cause of his death—

"Ipse est causa mortis mee."

The gift to his cousin, William Gray, the Master of St Antone, at Leith, of

"Omnia mea solatia, ✱
That were but lesingis all et ane,"

favours Professor Schipper's view that Andro Kennedy may have been, after all, a quack doctor.

The poem was one of those Chepman and Myllar pub-

¹ Henryson's Poems, Laing's edition, p. 43, "Sum Practysis of Medcyne."

lished, so must have been written before 1508, and probably is one of Dunbar's early works.

The form of a testament was common in satirical poetry, owing to the brilliant use of it by Villon in his "Lesser Testament" of 1456, and "Greater Testament" of 1461. Villon, however, only improved on an earlier tradition.¹ James VI., in his 'Treatis of Scottis Poesie,' treats the testament as so usual a form as to recommend "for tragicall matris, complantis, or *testaments*, this kynde of verse following, called Troylus verse."

It gave the opportunity, under the pretence of friendly legacies, of satirising the failings or vices of the legatees. This seems specially to have commended it to Villon and Dunbar, though it was sometimes employed without definite satire, as in Henryson's "Testament of Cresseid," or Lyndsay's "Testament of Squire Meldrum." In "Duncan Laideus, *alias* Macgregour's Testament," preserved in the blank leaves of the Breadalbane MS.² of Sir Alexander Hay's "Romance of Alexander," and written in the middle of the sixteenth century, there are passages more nearly resembling Dunbar's poem, and probably imitated from it.

One of the latest specimens of a poetic testament was the "Last Will and Codicil of Robert Fergusson,"³ which is humorous, but not satirical.

"The Twa
Cum-
meris."

The verses on "The Twa Cummeris," beginning

"Rycht airliedon Ask Weddinsday,"⁴

is a slighter sketch, but in a similar style to "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo." It brings before us, like

¹ Saintsbury, 'French Literature,' p. 79.

² Innes, 'Sketches of Early Scottish History,' p. 355 *et seq.*

³ Fergusson's Works, p. 252.

⁴ P. 160.

one of the woodcuts of the Little Masters of Germany or an interior by Teniers, two fat wives gossiping over the fire, and drinking quarts of wine out of "ane choppyne stowp," to ward off their dread of the Lenten fast. "Ane Brash of Wowing"¹ is ascribed to Clerk in the Bannatyne MS., but in the Maitland and Reidpeth MSS. to Dunbar, and Mr Laing, though he would have wished, felt unable to doubt its authorship. Professor Schipper compares it to "The King's Wowing in Dumfermeling," and it doubtless belongs to the same period. It is the coarsest of all his works, and seems intended as a *tour de force*, bringing into the bounds of verse and rhyme the most vulgar and unbecoming words which the copious vocabulary of broad Scots possessed.

"Ane
Brash of
Wowing."

The other comic or humorous pieces of Dunbar were taken from actual scenes in the life of the Court, as the "Dance in the Quenis Chalmer" and "The Turnament" or "Joustis between the Tailgour and the Sowtar," or describe, in ludicrous hyperbolic style, persons like "Sir Thomas Norray," the king's chief fool, or "The Black Lady" with the thick lips, in whose honour a mock tournament was fought. The interlude of "The Droichis part of the Play" was written expressly for representation.

Dunbar's description of the "Dance in the Quenis Chalmer" brings too plainly before us the sort of "high-jinks" which diverted the upper circle of society in those days, and leaves us astonished with the coarse humour which passed for wit, and that such unseemly jokes should have been thought worthy of being put into a poem. Like the verses addressed to the queen, in which he chastises the immorality of her courtiers, it is difficult from the subject

The
"Dance in
the Quenis
Chalmer."

¹ P. 247.

and its mode of treatment to believe that it can have been written until some years after her marriage.

“The
Joustis of
the Tail-
jour and
the Sow-
tar.”

“The Joustis of the Tailjour and the Sowtar” (or cobbler) is in a somewhat similar though less coarse vein; and though represented as a vision of an encounter “in presens of Mahoun,” it may be a satirical account of an actual occurrence, for on 24th October 1502 the Heralds received “for their composition of the eschet of the barris quhen Cristofer Tailyour fought, £6, 13s. 4d.”¹ This poem is introduced in the Maitland MS. with the first and last stanzas of “The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis,” but it belongs more properly to the humorous than the satirical division of Dunbar’s poetry. Its object was to ridicule trades whose tricks were disliked by the poet, and the practice of tournaments. The wits of the Renaissance were in all countries engaged in a common warfare against the ludicrous side of the medieval chivalry, whose ideal and romantic aspects were passing away. Bishop Percy indeed claims that the English had been the first to take this line. “It does honour,” he says, “to the good sense of this nation, that while all Europe was captivated with the bewitching charms of chivalry and romance, two of our writers in the rudest times could see through the false glare that surrounded them, and discover whatever was absurd in them both. Chaucer wrote his ‘Rhyme of Sir Topas’ in ridicule of the latter; and in the ‘Tournament of Toltenham’ (a ballad written before 1456), we have a burlesque of the former.”² But if Chaucer struck the first stroke against the follies of knight-errantry, the deathblow was delayed

¹ Treasurer’s Accounts, 24th October 1502.

² Percy’s Reliques, Bohn’s ed., p. 254. See ‘Early Popular Poetry of England,’ vol. iii. p. 82.

for nearly two centuries, and Cervantes gave it in the country and language of the Cid.

Dunbar returned to the attack on the tailors and souters in the palinode which he entitled "The amendis made be him to the Telgouris and Sowtaris for the Turnament maid on thame."¹ In this poem, under the pretence that an angel had revealed to him that they had been transferred to heaven for the miracles they wrought on earth in repairing the faults of nature by their "craft and grit agilitie," he ironically ends by declaring—

" In Hevin 3e salbe sanctis full cleir,
Thocht 3e be knavis in this cuntre :
Tel3ouris and Sowtaris, blist be 3e."

"The amendis to the Telgouris and Sowtaris."

In the verses "Of Sir Thomas Norray," we have a full-length portrait of a court fool, drawn with a pen as sharp as the pencil of Velasquez. Sir Thomas was the chief amongst the many fools who amused James IV. and his courtiers, and Dunbar takes up his defence against the attack of a poet Quintyn ; but whether this is

"Of Sir Thomas Norray."

"Quintyne with ane huttock on his heid,"²

who appears in the court of the minstrels in Douglas's "Palace of Honour," or a Quintin Schaw mentioned in several entries in the Treasurer's Accounts between 6th April 1489 and 8th July 1504, or whether both may not be the same person, is not certain.³ There seems little doubt he is the same as

"My cousing Quintene and my commissar,"

who was the second of Kennedy in his "Flyting" against Dunbar. Quintyn had scoffed at Norray as only fit to be

¹ P. 127.

² Laing's 'Memoir of Dunbar,' vol. i. p. 19.

³ Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 423, 424.

the knave of Currie, a fool of a lower grade ; and Dunbar, after describing his adventures, declares—

“ I cry him Lord of everie fuill,
That in this regioun dwellis ;
And, verralie, that war gryt rycht :
For, of ane hy renowned knycht,
He wantis no thing bot bellis.”

The fools of the middle ages were just beginning to disappear with the state of society to which they belonged, when they were immortalised by the genius of Shakespeare. They had a somewhat prolonged existence in the remoter parts of Europe, and in Wales and Scotland. The last famous court fools in England were Archie Armstrong, whom James I. brought with him from Scotland, and his successor, Muckle John, in the time of Charles I. After the Restoration the professional fool ceased to exist at the English Court, and though a very few specimens lingered in the private houses of nobles down to last, and one perhaps on to the present century, the race was practically extinct except in its survival, the clown of the pantomime and the circus.

“The
Black
Lady.”

The blackamore lady seems to have been one of the African girls captured in a Portuguese ship by one of the Bartons, and presented to the king, who had them baptised, under the names of Elen and Margaret, the king himself putting nine shillings into the candle.¹ A tournament was held in June 1507 in honour of Elen More, or Black Elen, and a Scottish champion, styling himself the Savage Knight. The king himself sent a cartel or challenge in her

¹ Treasurer's Accounts, June 1507. This curious custom of putting coins into the candle—"candela nummata"—offered at a christening, is explained in Dickson's Preface to Treasurer's Accounts, p. cclxxvi.

honour to the Court of France.¹ Sir Anthony d'Arcy de la Bastie came in answer to this challenge, and was hospitably entertained at the Scottish Court. The black lady, dressed in damask silk, powdered with gold spangles, attended by two damsels in green Flemish taffeta, was drawn in a chariot through the mimic scene, and received by a troop of wild men in goatskins, and with hart's horns.² It has been doubted whether Dunbar's verses refer to the same sable beauty, because of the opening lines—

“Lang heff I maid of ladyes quhytt,
Now of ane blak I will indytt,
That landet furth *of the last schippis*”—

but this is probably no more than a poetic licence as to time. It is very unlikely—though no doubt there were others of her colour at the Scottish Court, as the Black Maiden who waited on the queen in 1512³—that there was any who made such a sensation as Black Elen, nor would a tournament whose attraction lay in its novelty have been repeated. Indeed the lines—

“Quhen scho is claid in reche apperrall,
Scho blinkis als brycht as ane tar barrell;
Quhen scho was born, the sone tholit clippis,
The nycht he fain faucht in hir querrell:
My ladye with the mekle lippis”—

with those which follow, plainly allude to this mock tournament, and we may detect a pun in “the [k]nycht” who fought for her. Dunbar seized again an opportunity for bringing tournaments into ridicule.

¹ This cartel is printed in Michel, ‘Les Écossais en France—Les Français en Écosse,’ vol. i. p. 384, from ‘La Science Heroique,’ chap. xliii., p. 453-457. See also ‘Le Vray Théâtre d’Honneur,’ chap. xx.

² Tytler’s ‘Scottish Worthies,’ vol. iii. p. 331.

³ Treasurer’s Accounts, 2d December 1512.

V. LAUDATORY POEMS OR PANEGYRICS.

"In Praise
of Lon-
don."

The panegyric or laudatory style, which specially befitted Dunbar's office of Court poet, was the least congenial to a temperament whose tendency was towards comedy and satire. But several examples of this style have been preserved. The poem, "In Praise of London," was written to be recited at the Christmas entertainment the Lord Mayor, Sir John Shaw, gave to the Scottish ambassadors who went to the English capital in 1501 to negotiate the marriage between James IV. and Margaret Tudor.

The description, like the refrain—

"London, thou art the flour of Cities all,"—

runs into generalities and superlatives expressed in the artificial manner of the age, as in the lines—

"Gemme of all joy, jasper of jocunditie,
Most myghty carbuncle of vertue and valour;
Strong Troy in vigour and in strenuytie;
Of royall cities rose and geraflour,"—

where the attempt at alliteration not consistently maintained mars the verse, and introduces far-fetched metaphors. We wish there had been more local colour, as in the "Satire on Edinburgh," to preserve for us Old London of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and less of mythical history. Still there are some touches worth recalling. The reference to Troy—

"Gladdith anon thou lusty Troynovaunt,
Citie that some tyme cleped was New Troy,"—

is an allusion to the fable of Geoffrey of Monmouth to which Stowe refers in his Survey: "As the Roman writers, to glorify the city of Rome, derive the original thereof from gods and

demigods by the Trojan progeny, so Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Welsh historian, deduceth the foundation of this famous city of London, for the greater glory thereof, and exaltation of Rome, from the very same original. For he reporteth that Brutus, descended from the demigod Æneas, the son of Venus, daughter of Jupiter, about the year of the world 2855 and 1108 before the nativity of Christ, built this city near the river now called Thames, and named it Troynovaunt."

The great river was then, as now, its chief glory, but very different then from now :—

" Under thy lusty wallys renneth down,
Where many a swanne doth swymme with wyngis fare ;
Where many a barge doth saile, and rowe with are."

John Major, the Scottish historian, who visited London a little later than Dunbar, was also struck with the swans of the Thames. "There are three or four thousand tame swans on it," he says, adding with characteristic caution: "But although I have seen many swans there, I did not count them. I report what I heard." The shipping he describes almost in Dunbar's words: "There you will see ships in abundance which they call barges, going up to London and down to the sea-port, not drawn by horses as on the Seine, but either by the wind or by the flow and ebb of the tide."¹ London Bridge excited the admiration both of the poet and the historian. "The town," Major notes, "is honoured by a most beautiful bridge, on which there are most ornamental houses and a church;" and Dunbar—

" Upon thy lusty Brigge of pylers white
Been merchauntis full royall to behold."

¹ Major, 'Historia Majoris Britannix,' p. 16.

Stowe gives many details as to this bridge, which replaced an older wooden fabric. "The work, to wit, the arches, chapel, and stone bridge, having been thirty-three years in building, was in the year 1209 finished by the worthy merchants of London, Serle Mercer, William Almaine, and Benedict Botewrite. After the finishing of the bridge, which was the first building upon these arches, sundry houses at times were erected;" and he concludes: "I affirm that it is a work very rare, having, with the draw-bridge, twenty arches made of squared stone, of height 60 feet and in breadth 30 feet, distant from one another 20 feet; upon both sides were houses built, so that it seemeth rather a continued street than a bridge."¹

The Tower, alleged to be founded by Julius Cæsar, the strong walls, the churches with well-sounding bells, the rich merchants, their comely wives and fair daughters, and above all—

"Thy famous Maire, by pryncely governaunce,
With sword of justice, the rulith prudently.
No Lord of Parys, Venyce, or Floraunce
In dignytie or honoure goeth to hym nye,"—

complete Dunbar's picture of London.

The choice of Venice and Florence as well as Paris for this comparison supports the conjecture that he had visited Italy, and seen its marvels of art and architecture. It is characteristic of what is both a strength and weakness in Dunbar's poetry, that he does not hesitate to apply the same epithet "lusty," in the sense of beautiful, not strong, to London itself, its ladies, its walls, and its bridge. A wealth of nouns and a poverty of adjectives, at least of the laudatory kind, is a mark of his vigorous style.

¹ Stowe's Survey, pp. 10, 11.

The laudatory and complimentary poems in honour of the queen lead us through the different stages of the first part of her checkered life.

Poems
addressed
to the
Queen.

“Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre,”¹

was written to welcome her to Scotland, and probably sung at the banquet given at Holyrood on the wedding-day, 8th August 1503.

The one commencing—

“Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis regioun,”

from the allusion in the lines—

“Gret Gode ws graunt that we have long desirit,
A plaunt to spring of thi successioun,”—

seems to have been written some years after—probably, but not certainly, before 21st February 1506, when her first child was born.² This boy died when little more than a year old, at Stirling, on 17th February 1507; her next child, a girl, died soon after her christening in 1508; and a third, Arthur, born at Holyrood in the autumn of 1509, died in July 1511. So it is possible that it was written after the latter date, and before the birth of James V. on 11th April 1512.

Dunbar still remained, after the disaster of Flodden, faithful to one whom he describes as his “advocate baith fair and sweet,” and wrote for her recomforting the poem—

“O lusty flour of zowth, benyng and bricht,”—

encouraging her to

“Faid nocht with weping thy vissage fair of hew,”—

to “cast out all cair,” and to “dewoyd langour.”

¹ P. 279.

² Lesly, History, Bannatyne Club, p. 75. Treasurer's Accounts, 21st Feb. 1506.

This advice was too easily and too soon taken by one whose youthful grace and courtesy had deceived the poet as to her nature and true character. After her unfortunate marriage to the young Earl of Angus he addressed no more poems to her. In the "Orisoun" he prays to Christ to

"Help this pure realme, in partyis all devydit,"—

a catastrophe to which her second marriage had so much contributed.

Ballad and
Elegy on
Bernard
Stewart.

The only other poems in the laudatory vein, and the best he wrote, were that in praise of Aberdeen and the ballad on Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny.¹ The first gives a lively and pleasant picture of the northern city on a day of *fête*. In the ballad he had the grateful duty of welcoming in 1507 to Scotland one of her distinguished sons who had gained honour in foreign war—

"That neuer saw Scot yit indigent nor sory,
Bot thou did hym suport, with thi gud deid,"—

too soon to be followed by the elegy on his death. This was one of the striking vicissitudes of fate so well fitted to confirm Dunbar in the lesson of the uncertainty of life and the vanity of earthly things, which became the burden of his latest poetry.

VI. VITUPERATIVE POEMS OR INVECTIVES.

The class of Dunbar's poems which may be called vituperative or invective, because they exceed the usual bounds even of satire, and attack particular persons or classes with the strongest terms of abuse the language

¹ For a fuller account of Aubigny, see Appendix V.

afforded, form a counterpart of his panegyrics. It is a peculiarity of his manner to deal in extremes of praise and blame, and to alternate the one with the other, sometimes in lines or stanzas, sometimes in complete poems, as in the two poems on James Doig, "The Tournament against the Telgouris and Sowtaris" and "The Amendis" he afterwards made to them, the "Ballate against evil Women" and the lines "In Prays of Woman." His mind passed rapidly from one mood to its opposite,—a tendency of which he was himself conscious.

The group of vituperative poems consists of the singular "Flyting" with Kennedy, where the abuse was probably chiefly mock, a sort of poetical tournament or contest of wit, and a few where the censure was certainly real; the poem on Donald Owre, the two ballads against the Abbot of Tunland, the "Ballate against evil Women," and the poem which has been called "A General Satire," beginning—

"Devorit with dreime, devysing in my slummer."

The "Flyting" belongs to a form of poetry of which the literature of almost every nation has examples. The "Ibis," in which Ovid, or some other Roman poet, abused an unknown rival, was copied from the poem of the same name and purpose by Callimachus against his former pupil Apollonius Rhodius. So Poggio wrote invectives against Philelfo, in which, after the reproach of his mean birth, he accuses him of "fraud, ingratitude, theft, adultery, and yet more scandalous crimes." Luigi Pulci, a noble of Florence and friend of Lorenzo de Medici, maintained a poetical war in a series of sonnets with Matteo Franco, a canon of that city, which perhaps is the nearest parallel

The
"Flyting."

to the work of Dunbar. "It is to be regretted," writes Roscoe, in a passage almost every word of which is applicable to "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie," "that these authors so far exceeded at times the bounds of civility and decorum that it is scarcely possible to suggest an expression of reproach and resentment which is not to be found in their writings. The family name of Pulci (Pulex) affords an ample subject for the satirical poems of Franco. His person is a theme equally fertile. Famine, says his antagonist, was as rationally depicted in his countenance as if it had been the work of Giotto. He had made an eight days' truce with death, which was on the point of expiring, when he would be swept away to Guidecca (the lowest pit of Dante's hell), where his brother Luca was gone to prepare him a place. Luigi supports this opprobrious contest by telling his adversary that he was marked at his birth with the sign of the halter instead of that of the cross, and by a thousand other imputations of which decency forbids a repetition."¹ The "Loki Sennar"—Flyting of Loki—with the gods, and other Icelandic poems, are Scandinavian examples. The Celtic bards were specially fond of this form of satire,² and their verses were said "to blister the face." The same type is common in Arabic poetry. A leading example is the "Naraid," or Flyting of Jerir and Al-Farazdar. *Jeux Partis* and *Serventois* in French literature, which Professor Schipper cites, are less apt parallels. Nearer home, Skelton, Dunbar's contemporary, wrote in a similar abusive vein against Garnesche. This practice of a duel of railing words may be traced back from the artificial works of the poets to one

¹ Roscoe, 'Life of Lorenzo de Medici,' p. 176 : Bohn's edition.

² The poems of Ian Lorn, or John Macdonald, the poet of Lochaber, and Donald Donn, are a good example of one of the Gaelic "Flytings."

of the natural amusements of the people. Such were the Fescennine songs of the Italian husbandmen at vintage or harvest when—

“Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fundit.”¹

Such are supposed to have been the waggon-songs of the peasants, from which the Greek drama sprang. We might pardon the rude stock if it produced in time such rich fruit. Dunbar has himself left a specimen of a “Flyting” between a tailor and a shoemaker, which reminds the present writer of a similar contest he saw and heard carried on in the kitchen of a village inn of the Dolomite Tyrol between the representatives of these trades, who, so far as he could follow them, began with verse and certainly ended with blows, both in jest and not in earnest.

In the “Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy,” and the later imitations by James V. and Lyndsay, Montgomery and Hume of Polwart, these Court poets preserved all the licence and vulgarity of the original “flyting” or scolding match. This was partly because the Court and commons were much nearer each other in neighbourhood and manners than in modern times, but chiefly because the poets of the age deemed it a triumph of ingenuity to outstrip their rustic rivals in their own style. The testimony of contemporaries of the Italian poet Pulci is, that the abuse poets flung at each other did not necessarily disturb their good-fellowship. It was mere affected anger and invented invective, as to-day in Parliament or at the Bar sharp words are exchanged and forgotten. The preface to Montgomery’s “Flyting” expressly states this:—

“No cankering envy, malice, nor despite,
Stirred up these men so eagerly to flyte,

¹ Horace, Epist., II. i. 146.

But generous emulation : so in plays
Best actors flyte and raile."¹

So common had this style become, that James VI., in his "Reulis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie,"² prescribes for it a particular kind of verse called "Rouncefallis or Tumbling verse," and selects as his example one of the stanzas of Montgomery's "Flyting."³ Puttenham, writing in 1589, describes "a certaine auncient forme of poesie by which men did use to reproche their enemies," but discountenances it. "We Christianes are," he says, "forbidden to use such uncharitable fashions, and willed to refer all our revenges to God alone." Modern poets have taken to lauding instead of abusing each other. Byron was perhaps the last of the "flyters."

We know too little of Kennedy to be sure how he bore Dunbar's attack; but the lines in the "Lament for the Makaris"—

"Gud Maister Walter Kennedy,
In poynt of dede lyis veraly,
Gret reuth it wer that so suld be,"—

show that Dunbar felt no lasting enmity to one who was, besides his part in the "Flyting," his chief contemporary rival as a poet. It would be difficult to decide the question humorously put, "which got the war"—*i.e.*, worst. Indeed so similar is the style of Dunbar and Kennedy's abuse of each other, that the whole composition might be almost supposed the work of a single author.

The "Flyting" is one of the most difficult to date of Dunbar's poems. Its style points to his earliest manner; but that manner, although chiefly noticeable in poems before 1503, had not ceased after that date, as the "Dance

¹ Montgomery's Poems, p. 58.

² Ed. Arber, p. 68.

³ Ll. 174-184.

in the *Quenis Chalmer*" shows. The internal evidence has been read as indicating two different dates. Laing argues from the reference to the *Katherine*, the ship in which Dunbar sailed to France in 1491, and the absence of any allusion to Dunbar being in France at a later period of his life than probably the year 1497, that it was written between 1492 and 1497.¹ But that reference does not appear to be to a recent event, even although we take the "twenty years" of line 452 as an exaggeration.

On the other hand, Professor Schipper maintains, from the allusion to Kennedy in line 154, as possessing the "laithly luge that wes the lippir mennis," in a *glen*, that the date must be after 8th December 1504, when Kennedy acquired the house called *Glentigh* in *Carrick*, which had been a leper hospital; while the reference to Sir John Reid of *Stobo*, who died in the first half of 1505, as still living, would give that year as the latest possible date. On the whole, the latter view is the more probable; and though we have no recorded evidence in support of it, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Dunbar, in one of the many voyages he refers to as made in the service of the king, again visited France after 1497. There is, unfortunately, no distinct information as to the date of Kennedy's death; but the lines in the "*Lament for the Makaris*"—

"Gud Maister Walter Kennedy,
In poynt of dede lyis veraly,"—

make it probable that he survived till 1507, possibly to 1508, the year when that poem was published.

This "*Flyting*" will always be one of the curiosities of literature. It contributes more than any other poem to the

¹ Laing, p. 490.

biography of Dunbar. It has, too, the dubious honour of being the best representative of a bad style of poem which no one can wish to see revived.

“Epitaph
on Donald
Owre.”

The Epitaph of Donald Owre is probably the first in date of Dunbar's vituperative poems, where there is no doubt the attack is real. This and the other poems here classed as vituperative might by some be deemed only a form of satire, but in satire proper there is usually mingled some sarcastic or ironical praise. Satire, too, has generally a ludicrous element in its description. These points distinguish it from the vituperative poem. The epigram differs not only on account of its brevity, but also because, though generally, it is not always satirical. Our language has no common word to contrast with the panegyric or laudatory poem, like the German “Rügedicht,” for a composition which is simply damnatory or condemnatory, although some English satirists, notably Churchill, have used what is no doubt a special variety of satire. The name “Invective” which James I. employs in his ‘Essay on Poetry’ would answer well enough, but has never become familiar, and is now associated with oratory rather than poetry.

In Donald Owre, the illegitimate son of Angus of the Isles, Dunbar saw not merely the rebel the poet of the Court was bound to denounce, but a representative of the Celtic race, which, as a Saxon born, he hated. It is difficult to realise the feeling of the Scottish Lowlander with regard to the Scottish Highlander of this period, but Dunbar's poems help us to do so. The independence of Scotland once established, and any probable union with England being by a royal marriage and on equal terms, the Lowlander regarded the Celtic population of the north and west,

nominally subjects of the same king, with contempt, modified by fear. The Gael, or, as they were still called, the Ersch or Irish, spoke a different and unintelligible language; had distinct dress, manners, and customs; did not recognise the same laws; and belonged—so, at least, thought those whose crops they harried and whose cattle they lifted—to a lower civilisation. Few of Dunbar's taunts against Kennedy are so severe as those in which he glances at his Celtic descent. Although Kennedy, a native of Ayrshire, belonged to a district firmly annexed to the Scottish Crown, and wrote in the same language as Dunbar himself, the Lothian bard pours ridicule upon his Gaelic pronunciation, his Gaelic dress, the kilt, his rough Carrick manners, even the propensity to theft which distinguished his Gaelic kinsmen. An English satirist between the reigns of James I. and George III. could not be more abusive. We are reminded of Churchill's 'Prophecy of Famine.'

In the "Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" the devil is represented as "sa devit" with the yell of the Highland "tarmegantis, with tag and tatter," who—

" Ffull lowd in Ersche begowth to clatter,

 That in the depest pot of hell
 He smorit thame with smvke; "

and with a grim sarcastic touch, "Makfadgane's coronach" gathered so great a crowd of his countrymen, that—

" In Hell grit rowme thay tuke."

In the Remonstrance to the King against the miserable set of scoundrels who thronged the Court, the poet does not fail to notice—

“Innopportoun askaris of Yrland kynd;
And meit revaris, lyk out of mynd.”

The most honourable part of the reign of James IV. was between 1493 and 1504, when he was enforcing order amongst the wild caterans of the Highlands and the Isles. Donald Dubh, called the bastard, but possibly by Celtic customary law the legitimate son of Angus, Lord of the Isles, had when an infant been carried off about 1480 from Isla by the Earl of Athole, and delivered to his hereditary foe, the Earl of Argyle, whose enmity would not be lessened if, as the Islesmen believed, his mother was Argyle's daughter.¹ By Argyle he was long kept prisoner in the Castle of Inchconnell. In 1494 he had been released, and for several years was a royal pensioner. In 1501 he placed himself at the head of a rebellion by the Island and western clans, who wasted Badenoch by fire and sword in 1503. He was forfeited as a traitor, and the whole forces of the kingdom north of the Forth and Clyde under Huntly had to be called out in 1504. The king himself, with the southern vassals, joined Huntly in 1505, and succeeded in crushing the rebellion; Donald Dubh was taken prisoner and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained until he escaped a second time nearly forty years after, under the regency of Arran.² Such is the account of Mr Gregory, the historian of the Western Highlands; and although Tytler supposes Donald Dubh to have died, and Donald of the Isles, who again raised a rebellion in 1545, to have been a different person, it is probable he was the same.³ In his romantic history, rebellion and captivity alternated. He is described in the proclamation

¹ Gregory, p. 53. ² *Ibid.*, p. 103. See further, App. V., “Donald Dubh.”

³ Gregory, p. 169.

by Arran and the Privy Council in 1545 as "Donald alleging himself of the Isles;"¹ and after entering into a treasonable league with Henry VIII., he passed over to Ireland, and died at Drogheda, where he received a splendid funeral.

It was probably shortly after 1506 that Dunbar's poem was written, and if Mr Gregory's narrative is correct,² Dunbar was an acute political prophet, for the burden of his Epitaph is to show no mercy to treason:—

"The murtherer ay mvrthour mais,
And evir quhill he be slane he slais;
Wyvis thuss makis mokkis
Spynnand on rokkis;
Ay rynniss the fox
Quhill he fute hais."

Apparently Dunbar thought that James IV. had exercised an ill-judged leniency in not punishing Donald Owre with the axe:—

"Thocht he remissioun
Haif for prodissioun,
Schame and susspissioun
Ay with him dwellis."

This poem is remarkable for the vigour of the expression and the masterly use of a difficult metre, in which the slight alliteration of the first two lines is skilfully combined with rhymes of the first, second, and sixth, and of the three intervening lines—representing, perhaps, by the light-footed agility of the verse, the movement of the fox, to which Donald Owre is compared.

In John Damian, the French "leich," who rose, by pandering to the king's taste for astrology, necromancy, and other

"Ballat
of the Fen-
zeit Freir

¹ 'Register of Privy Council,' 1545-69, vol. i. p. 4.

² Gregory, p. 176.

of Tung-
land."

forms of the black art practised in these times, to be Abbot of Tungland, Dunbar found another subject for his vituperative style. This impostor was an example of a common phenomenon—the promotion of the undeserving to high office, while the deserving, the poet himself included, were neglected. It is with evident zest that Dunbar has put this charlatan of the sixteenth century into the pillory, and pelted him with satire. He was a foreigner too, which, while it attracted the Court, ever eager for novelty, had the contrary effect upon the patriotic Scotchman. The principal invective against Damian is "Ane Ballat of the Fenzeit Freir of Tungland;" but Dunbar returns to the subject in the vision or dream beginning "Lucina schynnyng in silence of the nicht." Bishop Lesly, whose account in his History of the failure of Damian's attempt to fly from Stirling to France corroborates Dunbar's poem, supposes Damian to have been an Italian. Dunbar, whether with any ground of fact or not we cannot be sure, describes him as a Turk of Tartary. It is possible that he may have been an Eastern adventurer, who, like a medium of the 19th century, found his trade throve best by slipping from one country to another, and keeping as far from home as possible. He came, according to Dunbar, to Lombardy, where, to avoid baptism, he slew "a religious man." The dress of the murdered man, with his knowledge of reading and writing, enabled him to pass for a friar. Such impostor clergymen have been known even in recent times. Probably Dunbar's charge of murder is merely satirical. When found out in Italy he went to France, where he pretended to be a "leich," or physician; and it is as "the French Leich" that he appears in the Accounts of the Scotch

Treasurer. His practice resulting in the death of his patients, he fled from France to Scotland, where he continued his disastrous trade :—

“ His practikis nevir war put to preif,
But suddane deid, or grit mischeif.”

He then took part in the blacksmith craft, to gratify, by sharing in, one of the king's favourite diversions of “battering at the study” or smithy, and pretending, but failing, to make the quintessence. To keep the royal favour, he next proposed to fly by the aid of feathers to Turkey, according to Dunbar, but really it appears to France. His misadventures amongst the birds he met in his flight, who plucked out his false feathers so that he fell into the mire, conclude the poem. In “The Vision,” Dunbar imagines “The
Vision” him to meet, in the course of his flight, a she-dragon, who gave birth to Antichrist. He thought it was a dream, he ironically adds, until he was told by many “suthfast men” that an abbot would fly into the sky, and he then took comfort :—

“ ‘Adew,’ quod I, ‘my drery dayis ar done ;
Ffull weill I wist to me wald nevir cum thrift,
Quhill that twa monis wer sene vp in the lift,
Or quhill ane abbot flew aboif the mone.’ ”

This poem, which is not so strictly of the vituperative class, may have been written first ; but both belong to about the same date, when Damian's attempted flight, in October 1507, was in fresh memory. Its failure led to his leaving Scotland for five years. Like a bird of ill omen, he returned before the year of Flodden, and again gained the favour of the credulous king by finding gold at Crawford mine.

The poem “Against evil Women” was doubted by “Against

evil Wo-
men."

Laing, and has not Dunbar's name attached in the Reidpeth MS.; but its style, in spite of Laing's doubt, which seems to have been caused by an unwillingness to believe the poet should have composed so fierce an invective against the sex, is in favour of the opinion of Mr Small that Dunbar was really the author. Satire on women was a favourite topic of the middle ages and the monkish writers; and Dunbar was no exception, as the poems of "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo" and "The Twa Cummeris" prove. It is only against evil women that he writes; and the panegyric poem "In prays of Woman" shows that he was capable of appreciating the virtues of the sex. That poem may be considered as a palinode for this.

"A Gen-
eral
Satire."

The remaining poem of Dunbar here classed as vituperative, and called by Laing "A General Satire," is very similar in some of its lines to one of Skelton's,¹ but was the first written; so if there is any direct imitation, and not merely similarity of thought producing similarity of expression, the English poet must be deemed the copyist. This satire, like so many of his others couched in the form of a dream, is a bitter invective, in which he concentrates his attack against the evils of the time. The Maitland MS. attributes it to Sir John Inglis, but the Bannatyne MS., which is probably correct, to Dunbar; for Inglis had not, so far as is known, begun to write in 1504, its probable date from the reference to "judges now made of late" to the Daily Council instituted in that year. The flow of the rhythm and many of the abuses denounced being those Dunbar has described elsewhere, confirm the opinion that he was the author. Every

¹ "Speke Parrot," Skelton's Poems, vol. ii. p. 22.

line stamps its object with the poet's scorn. It deserves remark that it is chiefly directed against the nobles, the clergy, and the female sex.

The oppression of the poor is a common topic with Dunbar, as with Henryson and Lyndsay; but it was never more powerfully assailed than here, in such lines as the following:—

“Sa mony jugeis and lordis now maid of lait,
 Sa small refugeis the peur man to debait,
 Sa mony estait, for commoun weill sa quhene;
 Ouir all the gait sa mony thevis sa tait
 Within this land was nevir hard nor sene.”

There is no mincing matters in the condemnation of the clergy of all ranks—the proud immoral idle prelates; the rich abbots, strangers to their abbeys; the priests, dressed like laymen, who never read the Psalms or Testament; and the clerks, who had taken the degree of Master of Arts, but were after all only fools or “gowks.” The extravagant dress and morals of the women complete a dark picture which concludes—

“Off Sathanis senzie syne sic ane vnsall menzie
 Within this land was nevir hard nor sene.”

The accomplishments of the king and the gallantry and splendour of his Court deceived contemporaries, as they have deceived historians; but Dunbar's piercing eye saw the corruptions which were to lead to the catastrophe of Flodden.

VII. PRECATORY POEMS OR PETITIONS TO THE KING OR QUEEN.

The precatory poems, chiefly petitions to James IV. or the queen, though one or two are addressed to other

Petitions,
Com-
plaints,
Remon-
strances.

persons—as James Doig, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lords of Exchequer—form a considerable section of Dunbar's works. It was common for the bards of this and earlier times to address patrons with requests for favours or reward. The "Ballade" had indeed, in its original form, a regular *envoi* addressed to the Prince, which was retained in the strict French style after its original purpose was almost lost sight of. But Dunbar's petitions have the characteristic turn that they are in general satirical instead of panegyric. They seek to obtain their object by making the person addressed repent of his illiberality or fear the wit of the poet.

There is no sycophancy in their tone, which is that of a man of genius conscious of his own worth. They are indeed styled as often Complaints or Remonstrances as Petitions. We follow in this series step by step the poet's career at the Court—his first requests merely for the usual gratuities of money or livery given at Yule, or some French crowns to fill the purse which pricked him by its emptiness; his thanks to the queen who befriended him, and whose influence on her husband he wished greater than it was; his petition for a benefice, and his indignation when those in the royal gift were bestowed on flatterers and charlatans; his complaint against Mure, who had made some of his satirical poems the means of turning persons of influence at the Court against him; his frequent reminders when he grew older of the services he had rendered; and his gratitude to the Lord Treasurer when he received the increased pension allowed him in 1510.

On Discre-
tion in
Asking,
Giving,

If the reader finds a painful repetition in this class of poem, in spite of the humorous variety in form, he may be sure the poet felt this not less. It required all Dunbar's

independence of character to preserve his self-respect in the character of a petitioner. In the triplet of poems on Discretion in Asking, Giving, and Taking, he embodies his mature thoughts on the delicate subject of gifts:—

“ To ask but seruice hurtis gude fame ;
 To ask for seruice is not to blame ;
 To serve and leif in beggartie
 To man and maistir is baith schame :
 In asking sowld discretion be.”

“ Sum gevis for thank, sum [for] chereitie ;
 Sum gevis money, and sum gevis meit ;
 Sum gevis wordis fair and sle ;
 Giftis fra sum ma na man treit :
 In giving sowld discretioun be.”

In the poem “On Discretioun in Taking,” he recurs again to the hard treatment of the poor labourers of the ground:—

“ Barronis takis fra the tennentis peure
 All fruct that growis on the feure,
 In mailis and gersomes rasis our hie,
 And garris thame beg fra dur to dure.

 Sum takis vthir menis takkis,
 And on the peure oppressioun makkis,
 And nevir remembris that he mon die.

 In taking sowld discretioun be.”

VIII. SATIRICAL POEMS.

The satirical poems of Dunbar include some of his best-known works. The list might be greatly enlarged by including those already described as vituperative and several here treated as merely humorous or precatory. The truth is, except in strictly religious poems, and the few

which have been classed as laudatory, Dunbar's pen was seldom used without some strokes of satire. The claim might be made for him that he is the first great satirist in our language, for he wrote a century before Donne, and more than a century and a half before Dryden.¹

Confining the term satirical to poems in which pure satire predominates throughout, the following belong to this class: The three poems relating to Edinburgh, which satirise in turn the Law Courts, the Trades and Merchants, and the Citizens; "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis," which might be classed with his invectives but for the ludicrous turn given to the concluding verses; the two poems against the Solistaris at Court; the two Dreams or Visions—one the Visitation of St Francis, and the other in which an allegory is mingled with his old complaints against the bestowal of preferments in the Church; and perhaps less strictly the verses on Albany the Governor's prolonged absence in France.

"Tidings
from the
Session."

The "Tidings from the Session" is directed against the Court which sat at Edinburgh, possibly that called the Session, though its sittings there were only once a quarter—more probably the Daily Council instituted in March 1504. This was the first successful attempt to establish a central Supreme Court in Scotland, which was succeeded by the present Court of Session—a reform of James V. in 1532. The name of Session merely means sittings, and was probably never dropped, but the eyes of the lieges and of the satirist were specially turned to the Court at the time when it was first fixed in the capital. A novelty or an inno-

¹ "The satire proper, the following of the great Roman examples in genial lashing of vice and folly, can hardly trace itself further back in England than George Gascoigne" (1536-77).—Saintsbury, 'Elizabethan Literature,' p. 144.

vation is always a favourite subject for satire. Neither then nor for long after has the Supreme Court been in favour with the people generally. Scottish lawyers, justly proud of the eminent jurists and judges the Court has bred, are apt to forget this, until they are rudely reminded of it by their critics and satirists. This unpopularity has been partly due to the natural unpleasantness of lawsuits, their delays, cost, and uncertainty ; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was another cause of complaint, now removed, the partiality and venality of the Bench. The attempt to establish a permanent Court, independent of, and superior to, the Courts of the Barons and the Bishops, was in the right direction, but it could not at first shake itself free from similar abuses. Bribery is fortunately one of the crimes which disappears with and proves the progress of morals. But it was not extinguished either in England or Scotland till the close of the seventeenth century. Dunbar recognises that many of the suitors who attended the Session were knaves who

“Wald luke full heich war not the Sessioun.”

Indeed his satire is mainly aimed at the litigants, lay and clerical, who haunted the Court for other objects than justice ; but he denounces also the bribery and favouritism :—

“Sum speidis, for he in court hes menis ;
Sum of parcialitie complenis,
How feid and favour flemis discretioun.”

The poem is, as Professor Schipper remarks, probably incomplete, or there would have been more of the complaints against the “new made jugis,” whom in another piece he severely satirises.

“Satire
on the
Trades ;
or, the
Devil’s In-
quest.”

“The Satire on the Trades ; or, the Devil’s Inquest,” is directed against the inveterate practice of swearing—each trade having its favourite oath, taken most freely to support his praise of his goods or handicraft when least honest.

While the trades are chiefly censured, Dunbar does not omit the blasphemous priest who swore by the God whom he received at the altar, and the proud courtiers who swore by Christ’s wounds. The very oaths Dunbar refers to were, Lord Hailes points out, forbidden by an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1551.¹ Swearing is an eradicable vice, depending for its existence on fashion and custom ; but in spite of satire and statute, several of the oaths will be recognised as surviving in vulgar speech, often in a corrupt form, down to the present day.

“Satire on
Edin-
burgh.”

“The Satire on Edinburgh” chiefly turns on the want of cleanliness of its streets, but also on the extortion of its merchants and innkeepers, and the neglect of the poor which filled it with beggars :—

“Your proffeit daylie dois incres,
Your godlie workis less and les ;
Through streittis nane may mak progres,
For cry of cruikit, blind, and lame :
Think 3e nocht schame,
That 3e sic substance dois posses,
And will nocht win ane bettir name !”

In reading it, we must recall the Old Town as it was at this time, with only two streets, the High Street and Cowgate, ribbed and crossed by narrow wynds and closes ; its markets in the open causeway between the Cross near St Giles and the Tron ; and its high houses darkened by out-

¹ Act. Parl., vol. xi. p. 485.

side stairs, their small windows often made smaller by crossed wooden bars instead of glass, from which, as poets and travellers of a more recent date than Dunbar tell us, the refuse of the household was poured, to the danger of the passers-by.¹

Political causes contributed to keep Edinburgh long "within its steepy limits pent," and Dunbar's reproach was not removed until towards the end of last century and during this it burst beyond its barriers, and spread over the sloping grounds towards the Firth of Forth on the north and the Meadows and Boroughmuir to the south. A poet of our time can now celebrate Princes Street, with

"Its long low lane of stars,"

and look on Old Edinburgh chiefly as a picturesque relic. Yet it is the old town which contains the Heart of Mid-Lothian, the history and the poetry of Scotland. The new town, after a hundred years, has as its chief memory the poet who was born in and celebrated the old.

"The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" is a masque seen in a vision, in which each sin appears in succession in all its ghastly horror, made real by traits taken from the men of Dunbar's own time.² It has been, not very aptly, compared to Callot's etchings, and the description in Collins's "Ode to the Passions,"—more fitly, to the "Persones

"Dance
of the
Sevin
Deidly
Synnis."

¹ In the 'Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries,' 14th June 1886, vol. viii., N. S., p. 368, there is an interesting sketch of the north side of the Tolbooth and the Luckenbooths, from a pen-and-ink drawing of the Rev. J. Syme, which shows the position of the Stinking Style, and the character of the outside or fore stairs, as they were in Dunbar's time.

² Yet Mr Lowell is too fine a critic and writer to see in this poem anything more than coarseness. "It would be well for us if the sins themselves were such wretched bugaboos as he has painted. . . . The uninitiated foreigner puts his handkerchief to his nose, wonders, and gets out of the way as soon as he civilly can."

Tale" of Chaucer, which describes in plain prose the same sins, their causes and their remedies, and to the allegory of Spenser. But Dunbar's portraiture is, though less splendid, more vivid than Spenser's, whose verse is too smooth for such a subject. We see Pride, Anger, and the rest, not as abstractions, but incarnate; and it is a relief when the scene closes with the Highland pageant summoned by Macfadyen's coronach, at which, though the humour is still grim, some human laughter, and not merely the laughter of the devils at the proud priests with which the poem opens, is permissible. In the satire on "The Ladyis Solistaris at Court,"¹ Dunbar takes up again a part of the subject which he touched on in the closing verses of "The Tidings from the Session." That female influence could do more than that of the opposite sex in gaining suits was one of the scandals of the time, all the greater as the judges were then chiefly of the clerical profession.² The other satire of "Solistaris at Court,"³ which from the similarity of title may be grouped with this, is really one of Dunbar's petitions to the king, and describes the various arts by which Court favour was obtained. It is probably of earlier date, written at a time when Dunbar was hopeful his merits would not be neglected:—

" My sympilnes, among the laif,
Wait of na way, sa God me saiff !

¹ P. 168.

² The Oracle in "Ginecocratia," an English comedy quoted by Puttenham, may be compared with Dunbar's "Ladyis Solistaris":—

" Your best way to worke, and marke my words well,
Not money; nor many !
Nor any; but any !
Not we men, but women, beare the bele."

—'Arte of English Poesy,' p. 147.

³ P. 206.

"The
Ladyis
Solistaris
at Court."

"Solistaris
at Court."

Bot, with ane humill cheir and face,
 Referris me to the Kyngis gr'ace :
 Me think his gracious countenance
 In riches is my sufficence."

"The Satire on the Franciscans"¹ is another of the poems couched in the form of a dream, in which a vision of St Francis appears to the poet, and tries to persuade him to take the cowl. One of its most biting touches is imitated by Buchanan in his poem entitled "Somnium."

The
 Dream; or,
 "Satire on
 the Fran-
 ciscans."

"In haly legendis haif I hard allevin,
 Ma sanctis of bischoppis, nor freiris, be sic sevin ;
 Off full few freiris that hes bene sanctis I reid ;
 Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bischopis weid,
 Gife evir thow wald my saule gaid vnto Hevin."

With gréat boldness Dunbar, after describing the wiles he had practised when a Franciscan novice, concludes his poem by declaring that the person who appeared and pressed him to postpone no longer taking the full vows of the order was not St Francis but a fiend.

The poem on the absence of Albany in France,² beginning—

On the ab-
 sence of
 Albany in
 France.

"We Lordis hes chosin a chiftane mervellus,
 That left hes ws in grit perplexite,
 And him absentis, with wylis cautelus
 3eiris and dayis mo than two or thre,
 And nocht intendis the land nor peple se,
 Faltis to correct, nor vicis for to chace ;"—

has been doubted by Professor Schipper, because it is not in Dunbar's usual manner to speak in the person of others. But, as has been pointed out, this is not absolutely correct. Nor indeed would a new variety of style be a conclusive

¹ P. 131.

² P. 237.

argument against the authorship of so versatile a poet. The points of the satire—the dissensions of the nobles, the covetousness of the spiritual estate yearning for benefices, the lack of justice by which the realm was being ruined—are natural topics for Dunbar to have selected. It is certainly not one of his most powerful poems, but if written by him was written in his old age, and on the whole it seems probable he was the author. The point is not without importance as corroborating the argument that he lived after 1513. Its date must be some time after June 1517, when Albany left Scotland, probably in 1520, and it forms a sequel to "The Orisoun,"¹ written at that date, and undoubtedly by Dunbar. It might be thought a reason against his having written it, that Dunbar's sympathies were in early life with England, and not with France; but there had been a great change in the situation when Henry VIII. succeeded his father on the English throne, and the death of James IV., as well as the imprudent second marriage of Margaret Tudor, had made many patriotic Scotchmen look to the rule of Albany as the best chance of a settled government during the minority of the young king. This hope was disappointed by Albany's predilection for a life in France, where his avarice, a quality censured in the poem—

"Absentand the for ony warldly geir"—

was gratified by gifts of pension and office.

IX. MORAL POEMS.

The next class of Dunbar's poems, in which the moral purpose predominates, is the largest and most important

¹ P. 235.

of his works. Perusing them, we feel certain that he was not the mere discontented satirist attacking abuses because his own ambition was not satisfied, but a genuine reformer, sparing neither his own failings and vices nor those of any class of his countrymen.

These also are the plainest of all his poems, and require little comment or historical illustration. Their dates do not admit of being precisely fixed, but they must have been written chiefly during the later period of his life, most of them probably between 1508 and 1513, a few possibly after that date.

The deaths of so many of his brother bards, the mortal illness of his rival Kennedy, and his own sickness, perhaps first brought home to him the lesson of mortality, and led him to take a more serious view of life. "The Lament for the Makaris," one of his best poems, written shortly before, if not in, the year 1508, enforces this lesson. There is undoubtedly much external likeness to the celebrated *Balades of Villon*, but there is independence, indeed contrast, in the treatment by the two poets of the same theme. Both show their genius by treating so common a theme in simple yet telling words. But Villon chooses as his example the beauties and the heroes of the past, who were furthest removed from his own condition. Dunbar commences with his own sickness, and, after a wider survey of all classes and conditions of men, returns to his own class in the lines which recite the names of the dead and dying poets of Scotland. His refrain, also, is more personal—

"Timor Mortis conturbat me"—

than Villon's beautiful but general simile—

"Où sont des neiges d'antan?"

The moral which Dunbar draws:—

“ Sen for the deid remeid is non,
Best is that we for dede dispone.
Eftir our deid that lif may we ;”—

is absent,—not merely suppressed, but absent from the feeling of the French poet. His conclusion is to enjoy the present, not to prepare for the future.

“ Mourray-je pas? Crey, si Dieu plaist;
Mais que j'aye faist mes estrennes,
Honneste mort ne me desplaist.”

“ Shall I not die? Ay, if God will;
So that of life I have my share,
An honest death I take not ill.”¹

It would be difficult to decide which of these celebrated poems deserves the palm. But a few lines may be cited for comparison, as Dunbar's:—

“ That strang vnmercifull tyrand
Tak[is] on the moderis breist sowkand
The bab, full of benignite ;
.
He takis the campion in the stour,
The capitane closit in the tour,
The lady in bour full of bewte ;”

and Villon's—

“ Ce monde n'est perpetuel,
Quoy que pense riche pillart ;
Tous sommes souz le coup mortel,
Ci comfort prent pauvre viellart.”

“ This world is not perpetual,
Dream the rich robber what he may ;
To death subjected are we all,
Old men to heart this comfort lay.”

—Payne's Translation.

¹ “ Ballad of Old Time Lords,” No. 2 : Payne's Translation, p. 37.

It must be remembered in fairness that Villon wrote at the age of thirty, while Dunbar was nearly fifty when the Lament was written; and that Villon had drunk more freely of the cup of misery than Dunbar had ever done.

In the two poems "On Deeming"¹ and "How sowld I rewill me, or quhat wyiss,"² Dunbar treats the subject of the judgment of the world, which finds cause for censure however a man may conduct himself, and leaves none without blame. He enforces the wholesome moral:—

"Now juge thay me baith guid and ill,
And I may no man's tung hald still;
To do the best my mynd salbe,
Latt every man say quhat he will.
The gracious God mot governe me."

The reference to the saying of James IV. in the former poem—

"Do weill, and sett not by demying,
For no man sall vndemit be,"—

indicates that both of them were written after the king had reached mature age, and probably in the latter part of his reign, if not after its conclusion. Although couched in general terms, and following his favourite method of contrasts, we may suspect a personal allusion in the lines—

"Be I bot littill of stature,
They call me catyve createure;"

though he proceeds—

"And be I grit of quantetie,
They call me monstrowis of nature."

In the lines—

"And be I ornat in my speiche,
Than Towsy sayis, I am sa streiche,
I speik not lyk thair hous menzie,"—

¹ P. 92.

² P. 95.

he evidently replies to an attack made by some of the Scotch poets of the old fashion on his ornate phraseology.

In another poem that also preaches the duty of self-control,¹ with the refrain—

“He rewlis weill, that weill him self can gyd,”—

he applies his philosophy to a courtier's life in a series of apothegms which Professor Schipper² has compared with those of Shakespeare's Polonius. The resemblance is certainly curious, and both poets may have borrowed from some older writer, possibly Lydgate's “Rules for preserving Health,” or the more ancient wisdom of the Proverbs of Solomon; but the proverbs of all nations spring from the common ground of human nature, and it is unnecessary to presume imitations.

Thus Dunbar says—

“Behold and heir, and lat thy tung tak rest,
In mekle speic[h]e is part of vanitie;”

and Polonius—

“Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice.”

Dunbar—

“Put not thyne honour into aventure;
Ane freind may be thy fo as fortoun steiris:
In cumpany cheiss honorable feiris,
And fra vyle folkis draw the far on syd.”

Polonius—

“Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade. Beware
Of entrance into a quarrel.”

But Dunbar's counsel is more frank, less tinged with courtier's craft, than the worldly wisdom of Polonius. He concludes with some fine lines:³—

¹ P. 98.

² Schipper, p. 308.

³ P. 99.

" And sen thow seyis mony thingis variand,
 With all thy hart treit bissines and cure ;
 Hald God thy freind, evir stabill be him stand,
 He will the confort in all misaventure ;
 And be no wayis dispytfull to the peure,
 Nor to no man to wrang at ony tyd :
 Quho so dois this, sicker I zow assure,
 He rewlis weill, that weill himself can gyd."

Similar thoughts occur in the "Ballade on Gude Counsell :"¹— "On Gude Counsell."

" Be 3e ane luvar, think 3e nocht 3e suld
 Be weill adwysit in 3our gouerning?"

As in the lines—

" Be now and ay the maistir of 3our will,
 Be nevir he that lesing sall proclame ;
 Be nocht of langage quhair 3e suld be still,
 Be secreit, trew, inressing of 3our name."

In another series of these moral poems Dunbar approaches more nearly to the tone of Villon, and seeks to find comfort for the changes of fortune in a merry heart and cheerful temper. The poems with the refrains—

" Without glaidnes availis no tresour ;"²

" For to be blyth me think it best ;"³—

" Best to be blyth."

are examples. But this is a less natural mood for Dunbar, from which he rises in the last stanza of the latter poem:—

" How evir this warld do change and vary
 Lat ws in hairt nevir moir be sary,
 Bot evir be reddy and address
 To pass out of this frawdfull fary ;
 For to be blyth me think it best."

So in the former he expresses his contempt for the miser:—

¹ P. 162.

² P. 108.

³ P. 110.

“ Thow seis thir wrechis sett with sorrow and cair,
 To gaddir gudis in all thair lyvis space,
 And quhen thair baggis ar full thair selfis ar bair,
 And of thair richness bot the keping hess.”

Covetousness and avarice are vices he specially abhors, and he directs against them one of his best short pieces,

“ Of Covettyce.”

“ Of Covettyce,”¹ which he concludes with lines showing that the merry heart he praised was also a serious and not a light one, like that of the French poet :—

“ Man, pleiss thy makar and be mirry,
 And sett not by this warld a chirry ;
 Wirk for the place of paradyce,
 For thairin ringis na covettyce.”

In the same strain is the poem ²—

“ Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in weir,
 And deid is evir drawand neir,
 The tyme vnsicker and the place ;
 Thyne awin gude spend quhill thow hes space.”

The instability of earthly things, the rapid turns of Fortune's wheel, and the certainty of the end of life, are never out of Dunbar's thoughts in his latter life. Not only his own fate but that of his country taught the lesson which he draws in such poems as that “ Of the Changes of Lyfe ”³ or that “ Of the Warldis Instabilitie,”⁴ and the “ season's difference ” affords him another text for the same moral in his “ Meditatioun in Wyntir.”⁵ There is beyond doubt a certain monotony in the tone of thought which inspires all this class of his poetry that might easily become, and perhaps by some will be thought, tedious. But it is saved from being really so by the skill of his verse,

“ Of the Changes of Lyfe.”
 “ Of the Warldis Instabilitie.”

¹ P. 158.

² P. 152.

³ P. 232.

⁴ P. 226.

⁵ P. 233.

which is always pleasant to the ear, and by the fresh turn he gives even to such trite topics.

In a less usual vein is the poem "Of Content,"¹ which contains the advice more often given than taken:—

"Of Content."

"And ȝe and I, my bredir all,
That in this lyfe hes lordschip small,
Lat languour not in ws imprent;
Gif we not clym we tak no fall:
He hes anewch that is content."

Dunbar himself, it is evident, during the greater part of his life, was unable to attain to this content. These poems are the expressions of the struggles of a mind seeking for, but which has not won, that prize; and they were probably intended quite as much for himself as for any of his brethren. Like the great German poet, he eased his pain by verse.

Towards the end of his life perhaps he reached the calm of old age. This seems the most probable explanation of the comparative silence of his last years, when he had retired from the Court and the world, and occupied his thoughts with religious meditations.

This brings us to the last class of Dunbar's poetry.

X. RELIGIOUS POEMS OR HYMNS.

The transition from the moral to the religious or sacred poetry of Dunbar is marked by "The Merle and the Nychtingall,"² where the contest and contrast of "earthly and divine love" is the theme, couched, by a favourite device of medieval poets, in a dialogue between the two birds, and

"The Merle and the Nychtingall."

¹ P. 230.

² P. 174.

in several other poems, in which the same air is treated with variations, as in the poem with the refrain—

“All erdly joy returnis in pane;”¹

and

“Now cumis aige quhair 3ewth hes bene,
And trew lufe rysis fro the splene [heart].”²

“The
Con-
fession.”

To the same period probably belongs “The Confession,” with the refrain—

“I cry The mercy, and lasar to repent,”—

in which the poet makes an exhaustive declaration of his sins, both of commission and omission, and of his belief in the Articles of the Creed.

But most of them were written on occasion of the services of the Church, and form a Christian year of a devout Catholic of the sixteenth century.

Hymns on
the seasons
of the
Christian
year.

Thus there are four for Christmas Day,³ one for Ash-Wednesday (Dies Cineris),⁴ and another for Lent;⁵ a “Ballat on the Passioun,”⁶ two on the Resurrection, and two to the Virgin, perhaps for Lady-Day.⁷

The series concludes with two, “On Life”—

“Quhat is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid?”⁸

and “On the Warldis Vanity,”⁹ beginning—

“O wreche, be war! this warld will wend the fro,”

with the refrain—

“Vanitas Vanitatum, et omnia Vanitas,”—

which Professor Schipper is probably right in supposing were amongst Dunbar’s last writings.

¹ P. 76.

² P. 179.

³ Pp. 72, 322, 324, and 328.

⁴ P. 74.

⁵ P. 280.

⁶ P. 239.

⁷ Pp. 154, 156, 269, 272.

⁸ P. 250.

⁹ P. 244.

None of these religious poems, though we may feel certain they were written towards the close of his life, can be dated with certainty in any one year. They may have been written at any moment when pious feeling was predominant and demanded the expression which Dunbar, more truly religious than if he had assumed the cowl, was well able to give. They have been generally thought inferior as poetry to his earlier works; but they are distinguished from poems of the same kind by other writers, of which there are many specimens in the Bannatyne and other MSS., by a directness of expression. There is also in several a recurrence to thoughts to be found in Dunbar's other works which convince us they were his, though some of them have been doubted.

Thus in the Christmas Hymn, "The Sterne is rissin of our Redemptioun,"¹ the supremacy of the reign of Christ above all earthly kings is powerfully described in the stanza—

Christmas
Hymns.

"All empriouris, kingis, princis, and preleittis,
Heir nakit borne, and nvreist vp with noy,
Leif all þour wofull truble and debaittis,
Cum, luke on the eternall King of joy;
Ly all on grufe, befoir that hich grand Roy,
That only King of euery regioun,
Off Perce, of Ynd, of Egipt, Grece, and Troy."

In another on the same subject, the lines, "Jerusalem reioss for Joy,"²—

"The regeand tarrant that in the rang,
Herod, is exilit,"—

reminds us of the description of Death as

"The strang vnmerciful tyrand,"

in the "Lament for the Makaris."

¹ P. 328.

² P. 322.

"Ballat
of Our
Lady."

In the "Ballat of Our Lady,"¹ certainly by Dunbar, in which he uses one of the most complex metres, which somewhat obscures the sense, the lines—

"Haile, gentill nycttingale!
Way stricht, cler dicht, to wilsome wicht,
That irke bene in travale,"—

bring before us in a vivid image the beautiful bird whose clear song and rapid flight guide in the straight way to heaven the traveller weary and worn by his earthly journey.

In the other hymn to the Virgin, to which Dunbar's name is not attached, the lines—

"The blyssit sydis bair the campioun,
The quhilk, with mony bludy woundis, in stour,
Victoriously discomfeit the dragoun
That reddy wes his pepill to devour,"²—

Easter
Hymn.

directly recall the hymn "On the Resurrection"—

"Done is a battell on the dragon blak,
Our campioun Chryst confoundit hes his force."³

The most impressive of all these religious poems is that "On the Passioun,"⁴ in which he describes its details as one who had often gazed on the pictures and images in the churches, and witnessed plays representing the Passion, common in his time in the churches of Scotland, as in other countries, and narrates their effect on him, exciting first Compassion, next Contrition and Penance for his sins. Then once more he is cast down to the ground by the thought of Christ's agony on the cross, till Grace comforts him with the hope of the Resurrection:—

"The Lord within thir dayis three
Sall low under thy lyntell bow,
And in thy hous sall herbrit be
Thy blissit Salvatour Jesu."

¹ P. 269.

² P. 273.

³ P. 156.

⁴ P. 239.

Contrition after Confession again fills his heart. Conscience accuses him of sin, but Repentance and Penance prepare the house (an allegory for the soul) for Grace divine to keep it

" In sicker stait,
Ay reddy till our Salvatour
Quhill that he come, air or lait."

He awakes (for this too is a vision), and wrote without delay—

" Quhat me befell, on Gud Friday,
Befoir the Croce of sweet Jesu."¹

We seem to see the penitent prostrate at the foot of the cross, raised by divine power revealing to his soul the mystery of the death of Christ.

ESTIMATE OF DUNBAR'S GENIUS—ITS WIDE RANGE —ITS DEFECTS.

This brief sketch of the more important poems of Dunbar, for the most part in their own words, may serve, it is hoped, to indicate the wide range of his subjects and his mode of treating them; to rouse, but not to satisfy the reader's interest. Dunbar deals with the lowest earthly passions and the highest mysteries of faith; with the meanest incident of the passing hour, which, but for his verse, would be forgotten; and with the eternal verities of love, of life, of death, which will be sung as long as there are poets. He reflects the history of his age, but also the common elements of human nature, which make the universal history of man. He represents at different periods of his life almost as completely, though in a mode so different from

¹ P. 243.

Shakespeare, not in drama, but in ballad or other short poems, life as a whole, not from one but from all sides. He represents, too, almost as completely, though in general in a manner so different from Chaucer, not by elaborately finished portraits, but by sketches of a few lines or words, the characters and classes of the time,—princes, nobles, gentlemen, and burghers, bishops, priests, and friars, physicians and patients, judges, lawyers, and suitors, merchants and tradesmen, wise men, impostors, and fools, evil and good women.

He can tell a story, or paint a scene, or point a satire, or chant a hymn, with equal ease, and his versification and metre are as varied as his subjects. His moods are so changeable that he can recall Horace by his proverbial philosophy, Chaucer by his quiet, Rabelais by his boisterous humour, Villon and Heine by his tragic pathos, Spenser by his allegory, and Dante by the poignancy of his satire. Yet it would be to do him the worst injustice of criticism—overpraise—to claim for him so high a place as any of these except Villon. He has some well-marked deficiencies. It has been justly noted that, with all his skill in rhythm, he has not the pure lyric note. He plays with consummate skill on the instrument of language, but his music is not vocal, like that of the birds,—like that of Burns or of Shelley. He is one of the poets of reflection, not one of the poets of passion. This deficiency may be partially accounted for by his education, his vocation, his constant tendency to moralise; but the want was in his whole nature, and must be acknowledged. Again, in spite of his familiarity with masques, and power of writing dialogue, he is not a dramatic poet. His attempt in this line, "The Droichis part of the Play," is not one of his most successful efforts, and it is significant

that he wrote only a single scene in a play, even a ruder form of play than those of his successor Lyndsay. There is a barrier between the poet who has the dramatic gift and the poet who is destitute of it, almost as great as between the poet and the prose writer, as two of the great poets of our own time have proved by their failures. Excess of thought, which Dunbar himself complains of, is fatal to the dramatic author. Reflection must with him be subordinate to action. The persons of the drama must be, not characters, but men and women acting and reacting upon each other, as in life. The drama itself must not be merely one or many scenes, but a series of actions with a plan or plot. The dramatist must also know the theatre and have constantly in view an audience, and the stage, and have as constantly in view the actors. He is the architect in poetry, who has to depend on a number of other workmen besides himself, and the art of the painter and sculptor, however great, falls short of this, or at least is different. We here touch on another limitation of Dunbar, although it is closely allied with his chief merit. He was not capable of a long-sustained effort. "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," his longest poem, is after all only a single scene and a dialogue, with three characters, whose parts are too similar for contrast. He is at his best when he is brief, when a line or a word sets in motion in a moment a train of thought. It is true, the best dramatists have passages or lines which do this. They may be read in the study, as Shakespeare has been by Coleridge, or as the other dramatists have been by Lamb. But the dramatist must not, at the peril of success in the representation of his plays, distract his audience from following the progress of the drama. Because of this, Goethe has failed as a dramatist in his

greatest work. The acted "Faust" is very different from the written poem.

Mr Matthew Arnold has praised Wordsworth for the amount of good verse he has written, which, while admitting that he has written much that is not good, he claims to exceed that of the other poets of his time. For Dunbar an opposite claim may be put forward. The total amount of his verses is not great, but in them there is scarcely a weak line. Varied as is his style, and although there are, of course, degrees of merit in his poetry, he is always direct, clear, and vigorous. Another, and it is the last and most important limitation of Dunbar, is that he is primarily a local, though not a temporary poet. This was due to the place and the language in which he wrote. Scotland was and is a small country, and he wrote chiefly, not even for all Scotland, but for that part of it which knew the Court of James IV., in a dialect now seldom used for literature. Hence he requires unfortunately to be commented on and to be interpreted. He does not appeal directly to the people, and he requires an educated audience.

COMPARISON OF DUNBAR WITH PRECEDING SCOTTISH POETS.

When Dunbar is compared with the Scottish poets who preceded him, his superiority shows itself in his originality, his versatility, and the melody of his verse. The three most famous of these were chroniclers in verse rather than poets. They can scarcely claim the name of makers. The 'Chronicle' of Andrew of Wyntown, of great value as an early contribution to the history of Scotland, which it often treats more faithfully than the prose 'Chronicle' of John of

Fordoun, has little poetical merit. The 'Bruce' of John Barbour is a biography in rhyme of its hero, partly founded on history and partly on tradition; but, with the exception of a few fine passages, as the apostrophe to Freedom, it has only one poetical quality—the easy flow of its simple rhyming lines. The 'Wallace' of Blind Harry, a less trustworthy record, is inferior in its versification. It has some passages of pith and rugged force, due to the greatness of its subject, but cannot be deemed a great poem.

All these writers merely put into verse, for facility of recollection, what had been handed down by learned or popular tradition. Dunbar did not seek his subjects in tradition or history.

The earliest poetry of Scotland, as of other countries, was alliterative, and is represented by such works as Thomas the Rhymer's prophecies, the Romances from the Arthurian Legend, the "Auntys of Arthur," of Sir Gawain and Sir Tristram, and a few satirical poems, as "Cockelbie's Sow" and the "Houlat" of Holland. This alliterative species of poetry had been continued by some of the other poets. Dunbar mentions in his "Lament," as Sir Gilbert Hay in the romance of "Alexander the Great." Dunbar himself, as we have seen, did not entirely drop its use, though generally using it in combination with rhyme. He did not, however, follow the older poets in making the common romance of the middle ages, or the popular ballads of his own country, the subject of his verse. Arthur and Gawain, like Robin Hood and Adam Bell, are merely glanced at and passed by. He chose his subjects from the present, not from the past.

This is the more noteworthy, as his patron, James IV., did all he could to revive the glories of Arthur. He had

his round table at Stirling, and his mimic tournaments of its knights. He named one of his sons Arthur, and perhaps instituted an order of knighthood in Arthur's honour. But Dunbar was not a man to allow himself to be drawn away from his natural bent. When he wrote, as he sometimes had to do, verses to order, it was against the grain. He complains more than once that the inspiration would not come at the royal command. Although the alliterative romantic poets preceded him in time, they were not, any more than the metrical chroniclers, his poetic ancestors. He belonged to the line which began with Chaucer, was continued by Gower and Lydgate, and had already, in the "Kingis Quair" of James I., and the poems of Henryson, the Dunfermline schoolmaster, representatives in Scotland.

INFLUENCE OF CHAUCER ON DUNBAR.

These writers, although original poets, are more directly imitators and continuators of Chaucer's style than Dunbar. Dunbar, while he gratefully acknowledges the father of English poetry as his master, takes from him chiefly his language, which often finds parallels; but as regards the substance of his poems, only the tale of "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," and the verses on his Empty Purse, show traces of imitation. The characters of the two men, which are stamped on their poetry, were too distinct to allow of direct imitation. The cheerful, gentle, genial Englishman stands in marked contrast to the satirical, severe, and sad Scot. Both are full of humour; but how different is the smile which ripples over the smooth verses of Chaucer from the grim and grotesque laughter of Dunbar! To James I. Dunbar makes no allusion. In one

point—the poetry of love—he is Dunbar's superior. But he is the author of only one poem. Henryson, in the sweetness of his verse, and uniform purity of his moral tone, excels Dunbar, but has not the same faculty of invention or so great a variety either of metres or of subjects.

INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH POETS ON DUNBAR.

It is, if anywhere, from the French poetry that Dunbar may seem to have borrowed some of the substance of his thoughts, as he certainly did some of the forms of his poems. The absence of any allusion to the famous masters of the Ballades and the Rondeaux—to Villon and Charles of Orleans—is singular. We have again to remember that some of his poems are probably lost,—amongst them, those he wrote in France, unless his muse was silent at the period of life when it usually is most ready to sing. But there is another reason for his passing over the French poets. He had no real sympathy with them, although he could not remain unaffected by their melody and metre, and by the sweet melancholy which seems wedded to their artistic forms of verse, and is expressed in their burdens and monotonous but telling refrains. But here, too, he was original. He was never the slave of any form of metre or of poem, but was able to bring all into his service. As he is freer when he is alliterative than the old alliterative poets, so he is less strict in his use of the ballade, which does not conform to the French rules. If a French critic would probably deny him the praise of good taste as well as correctness, and blame him for protruding the moral, an English critic may claim for him a more manly style and a healthier view of life

The result is that Dunbar used the three kinds of poetry which preceded him—the Alliterative of northern England and southern Scotland, the Chaucerian of southern England, and the French of Villon and the poets of the Renaissance—but did not allow his originality and independence to be overpowered. He is a representative of his country, which enriched its thought from the stores of other lands—England, France, and Germany—but remained true to itself.

COMPARISON WITH BURNS.

The versatility of Dunbar is even more remarkable than his originality. In this he has outstripped not merely his predecessors but his successors,—Montgomery, Allan Ramsay, Fergusson, and Scott. They chiefly cultivated one kind of poetry. Burns alone can boast of the same variety—now comic, now tragic, now satirical, now moral, now religious. Burns, indeed, is his chief competitor—his superior in the poetry of love, in the poetry of pathos, in natural imagery, in lyric fire, in sympathetic charm; his equal at least in satire and in sarcasm, perhaps in moral and religious poetry. But Burns has not a firmer hand, and does not so readily pass from one mood to another. Both of them, and indeed all their countrymen, were denied the dramatic gift. Scotland ceased to be an independent country before the theatre came to its full birth, and after its birth Calvinism long forbade a fit audience, even if there had been a poet who could write tragedy or comedy. If the future should produce a Scottish dramatist, the past of his country has furnished him with ample material for the drama.

DUNBAR'S MASTERY OF METRE.

The mastery of metre, which is the third point of Dunbar's excellence, has often been remarked.

It has been carefully studied by Professor Schipper in his work,¹ by far the best which has been written on that subject. Probably it was the quality which first drew the attention of this German author to Dunbar. The present introduction is indebted to Mr M'Neill for a valuable note, which deals with the intricacies and niceties of this difficult topic. Here only one or two points can be touched. Dunbar well stands the test in which many poets who have been great masters in metre fail. With him sound never prevails over sense. His metres are used to attract, and do not distract the reader from the subject. How well he uses his command of metre to help to express the subject may be seen in the erratic form he selected for the extravagant burlesque of "Kind Kyttok," the tripping measure of the "Satire on Donald Owre," the jingling peal of the verses on St Giles in the "Dirge," the solemn refrain of the "Lament for the Makaris," like the tolling of a funeral bell, and in many other of his poems. The best English poets since Wordsworth, it might almost be said since Shakespeare, have generally preferred simpler and less artificial forms of verse, especially the stately blank verse which the genius of Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning has adapted to so many varieties, or the rhyming couplets of the verse called heroic, which the vigour of Dryden and the grace of Pope made for a time the classic style of English poetry. The sonnet almost alone remains in frequent use of the forms which English poetry borrowed

¹ 'Altenglische Metrik.'

from France and Italy. The English and Scottish ballads are only in name the same as the French ballades, and their beauty and variety is due to nature, and not to art.

But the cadence and melody of the forms it is scarcely just to call artificial, but which are subject to more strict and complex rules, cannot be denied. A reaction has recently set in amongst our younger poets whose admirers will do full justice to Dunbar's skill as a metrist. It was no slight feat to bring the forcible but rough dialect which was his mother tongue to speak in the same measures as French and Italian verse. Yet in a few of his poems he has not escaped the danger of over-subtlety in metres; and his use of so many of the French varieties gives his poetry a sort of foreign complexion to the modern English reader, who, if he does not consider this a charm, will deem it an imperfection.

COMPARISON WITH HORACE, VILLON, HEINE, AND
ALBERT DURER.

If we pass beyond the narrow bounds of Scotland, the three European poets with whom Dunbar may best be compared and contrasted are Horace amongst the ancient, Villon amongst the later medieval or Renaissance, and Heine amongst the modern classics. Like Horace, Dunbar was a poet of the Court, yet a moralist and a satirist of its vices. Like Horace, he seized happy occasions for putting common thoughts into perfect poetic expression. Like Horace, he was a master of words and metres. But the Scottish poet has not the incomparable grace and felicity of the Roman. The Court of James IV. was a different school and audience from the Court of Augustus. The broad

Scottish dialect, though one of the strongest of all dialects, never became, like Latin, one of the classical languages of the world. To Villon, Dunbar stands nearer in point of time and manner; but the similarity is apparent and on the surface, rather than real and deep. Both poets preached from the same texts the vanity of human wishes, the vicissitudes of life, and the inevitable end. But they had learned these texts in different schools, and their sermons have different, indeed opposite conclusions. Villon contemplated, without flinching, the scaffold as the end of life, and did not care to look beyond, content with enjoying the present as best he could. Dunbar was discontented with life as it was; and though he occasionally was blithe and merry, and could take part in the amusements which turned the mind from despondent thoughts, he always had in view the life to come. The one was, it must be said, fundamentally an irreligious, the other a religious poet. Heine has the same, perhaps a more daring freedom, in the subjects he treats—the same sense of the vanity of life, the same keen satiric edge. Both waged war, as most satirists have done, with the conventions and cant of their age. Like Dunbar, Heine is at his best in short poems, in apt words and memorable lines. But though not so destitute of religious feeling as Villon, Heine is at heart a mocking-bird—the saddest of all poets. He is the superior of Dunbar in pathos, and in the melody of song; his inferior, although gifted with more talent, by the lack of reverence and of hope. Another less obvious comparison is tempting. The artistic qualities of Dunbar have more than once led to the use of language in this sketch borrowed from the sister arts. Perhaps his nearest parallel is to be found in another German, his contemporary, the etcher of the “Melancholia,”

the "Knight and the Devil," and the "Prodigal Son." If the parallel with Albert Durer is admitted, it is a striking proof of the deep current of common thought running through Europe at the period which immediately preceded the Reformation, and swaying the master-minds of different countries. Such comparisons, imperfect as they must be, may perhaps aid a little in bringing home to the readers of poetry in the present day the character and position of this not forgotten but not yet adequately known poet of Scotland, who wrote when the medieval was giving way to the modern spirit.

It requires, it must be confessed, not merely careful study but a mental effort to appreciate Dunbar as he deserves. The language in which he wrote, once so familiar, now requires to be interpreted even to his own countrymen. The manners of his time are even more remote from ours. The modes, not merely of expression but of thought, are different. But when these difficulties are overcome, the reader finds that he has listened to a true poet, who has illustrated the history and language of his country, and has also spoken words seasonable for his own and other times.

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

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Note.—The Society is indebted to Mr W. Maitland Anderson, M.A., Librarian of the University of St Andrews, for an exact transcript of the entries in its Records. The excerpts from the Public Records of Scotland have been taken from Mr Laing's edition. The Historical Curator of the Records of Scotland, Mr Dickson, a member of the Council of the Society, has been good enough to search the Records subsequent to 1513, and corroborates Mr Laing's statement that there is no reference to Dunbar to be found in them.

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I.—REFERENCES TO DUNBAR IN THE RECORDS.

I. EXCERPTS FROM ACTA FACULTATIS ARTIUM, ST ANDREWS.

[1477] *Nomina Determinantium Anni septuagesimi septimi.*

þ, act,	geor. An. Ro. Ia. An. Ri.	brekley Dundas Prestofie būrne butoūr patonsoñ	solut. solut. solut. paup. paup. paup.	
2, act,	<i>Wil.</i> geor. Donal.	<i>Du(n)bar</i> Jhonstoūn gray	<i>solut.</i> solut. paup.	[Dūbar]
3, act,	Io. Ro. Wil. Wil.	haburñe betofie pebllys stabil	solut. solut. ml. solut. paup.	
4, act,	hē. geor. v, Wal. Io.	carmychel crychtoñe ramsay guthre logy	solut. solut. solut. paup. paup.	

[1479] *Nomina licenciatorum Anni septuam^{mi} noni.*

m.	Johannes	hepburñ	prior ecclie metro- politane sancti andree. ¹
m.	George,	breclay	
m.	Robert,	betoñ	
m.	Wilelm,	Dūbar	
m.	Geor,	Jonstoñ	
m.	Héric,	carmichael	
m.	Geor,	crechtoñ	
m.	Robertus	βstoñ	
	Alexr	lewyntoñ	
m.	Do, Jacob,	būrn.	

2. EXCERPTS FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS RELATIVE TO
WILLIAM DUNBAR.*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.*

1491. Item to my Lord Boythwhell quilk the king gart him gif
July 16. to the schipmen of the Katryn besyd North berwic quhen
the Imbassatouris past in Franss, xl demyss,
xxvj ti xv. s. iiij. d.
Item til a Priest that wrayt the instrumentis and othis
letteris that past with the Imbassatouris in France,
xxxvj s.

Privy Seal Register, Vol. ii, fol. 9.

1500. A Lettre maid to Maister Williame Dunbar of the gift of
Aug. 15. ten ti. of pensioune to be pait to him of our Souerane
gratis. Lordis cofferis, be the Thefaurare, for al the dais of his
life, or quhil he be promovit be oure Souerane Lord to a
benefice of xl ti or abone, &c. de data, xv^{to} Augustj, et
regni Regis xiiij, [1500.] Per Signaturam.

Henry VII.'s Privy Purse Expenses, printed in Bentley's 'Historica,'
1831, p. 126, from Transcript in British Museum, addl. MSS. 7099.

- 31 Dec. 1501. To the Rhymer of Scotland in rewarde, £6, 13s. 4d.
7 Jan. 1502. £6, 13s. 4d. to a Rhymer of Scotland.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.

1501. Item, to Maister William Dunbar in his pensoun of Mer-
May 23. tymes bipaft, be command of ane precept, . . . v ti.
July 20. Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of the
Witfonday terme bipaft, be command of ane precept, v ti
Dec. 20. Item, to Maister William Dunbar, quhilk was payit to him
efter he com furth of England, v ti.

¹ This designation has been added to the entry of the name at a later time.

1502.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, sic like, [his pensoun of Witfonday terme bipaft,]	v ti.
July 9.		
Nov. 12.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of the said terme of Mertymes,	v ti.
1503.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his half 3eris pensoun of the said terme [of Witfonday laft,]	v ti.
June 14.		
Nov. 12.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of Mertymes sik lyke,	v ti.
1503-4.	Item, the xvij day of March, to the Kingis offerand at March 17.	
	Maister William Dunbar's first mes, vij fr. cr.	Sm. iiij. ti. xvijš.
1504.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun sic like, [of the terme of Witfonday bipaft,]	v ti.
May 28.		
Nov. 12.	Item, to Maister Dunbar, his pensoun siclike, [of the terme of Mertymes bipaft,]	v ti.
1505.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun siclike, [of the terme of Witfonday,]	v ti.
May 4.		
Aug. 11.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, be the Kingis command,	xlijš.
Nov. 11.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of Mertymes,	v ti.
1505-6.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, be the Kingis command, for caus he wantit his gown at 3ule,	v ti.
Jan. 27.		
1506.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of terme foresaid, [of Witfonday,]	v ti.
June 2.		
Aug. 11.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, be the Kingis command,	v ti.
Nov. 12.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of the said terme [of Mertymes],	v ti.
1506-7.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, in recompensation for his gown,	v ti.
Jan. 4.		
1507.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his half 3eris pensoun of the said terme [of Witfonday,]	v ti.
May 23.		
Nov. 12.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of the said terme [of Mertymes],	x ti.
	& new ekit.	
1507-8.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, be the Kingis command,	v ti.
March 15.		
1508.	Item, to Maister William Dunbar, his pensoun of the said terme [of Witfonday,]	x ti.
June 15.		
26.	Item, the xxij day of Junij, to Maister William Dunbar, be the Kingis command,	iiij ti. x š.

The Treasurer's Accounts from August 1508 to August 1511 have not been preserved.

Privy Seal Register, Vol. iv. fol. 80.

1510. A Lettre maid to Maister William Dunbar, of the gift of
 Aug. 26. ane 3eirly pensoun of iiij^{xx} [four-score] ti. to be pait to
gratis. him at Mertymes and Witfonday of the Kingis cofferis
 be the Thefaurar that now is, and beis for the tyme, or
 quhill he be promouit to [ane] benefice of jc [one hun-
 dred] ti. or abone, &c. ; with command to the said The-
 faurar to pay the famyn, and to the Auditouris of chekker
 to allow, &c. At Edinburgh the xxvj day of August the
 3ere forfaid [anno regni Regis xxiiij, 1510.]

Per Signaturam.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.

- | | | | |
|------------|---|--|------------------------|
| 1511, Nov. | } | Item, to Maister William Dunbar takand termlie fourtj ti. | |
| 1512, May, | | of Martimes and Witfonday laft, | Sm. lxxx. ti. |
| 1511-12. | } | Item, to Maister William Dunbar, for his 3ule leveray, vj | |
| Jan. 23. | | elns ane quartar Parise blak to be hyme ane gowne,
price eln xl s̄. | Sm. xij ti. x. s̄. |
| | | Item, allowit to the said Maister William, attour his
leveray was tane at 3ule in anno V ^c xj. [1511], v. quar-
taris scarlete, price | iiij ti. ij s̄. vj. d. |
| 1512. | | Item, the xxiiij day of December, to Maister William | |
| Dec. 24. | | Dunbar his Mertymes fee, be the Kingis command, xl ti. | |
| 1513. | | Item, the first day of Aprile, to Maister William Dun- | |
| April 1. | | bar, | xlij s̄. |
| 14. | | Item, the xiiij day of Aprile, gevin to Maister William | |
| | | Dunbar, | xlij s̄. |
| May 14. | | Item, the xiiij day of Maij, to Maister William Dunbar in | |
| | | his pensoun, | lvj s̄. |

The Treasurer's Accounts from Aug. 8, 1513, to June 1515, have not been pre-
 served. In those of a subsequent date, Dunbar's name does not appear.

II.—TABLE OF DUNBAR'S POEMS ACCORDING TO PROBABLE ORDER OF THEIR DATES.

To arrange Dunbar's poems in order of date is admittedly difficult—so difficult, that none of his editors have attempted it except Professor Schipper; and the most recent of his biographers, Mr Thomas Bayne, in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' says that only one of the poems, "The Thistle and the Rose," can be accurately dated. Yet the attempt is worth making, for the light it throws on his life and the progress of his thought. Thanks to the facts discovered in the Records, chiefly by the research of Mr George Chalmers and Mr David Laing, and to the use made of them by Professor Schipper, some points are now certain. The main divisions followed in this Table of—I. Poems written before 1503; II. Poems written in relation to the Queen's marriage, 1501-1503; III. Poems written between 1503 and 1513; IV. Poems written after 1513,—are well established. The dates of a few poems in these divisions are also ascertained, as that in Praise of London, written for Christmas 1501; "The Thistle and the Rose," written on 9th May 1503; the Song of Welcome to Margaret, written for her Wedding, 8th August 1503; the Epitaph on Donald Owre, written in 1506; the Satires on the Abbot of Tunland, written in 1507; the Ballad on Bernard Stewart, written between 9th May and 9th June 1508; his Elegy, written shortly after the latter date; the "Lament for the Makaris," written in 1507 or 1508; the Panegyric on Aberdeen, written in 1511; the "Orisoun, quhen the Gouvernour passed in France," written in June 1517; and its sequel, on his Absence in France, written probably in 1520. For the rest, only conjectures can be made, and it appears impossible to give the precise years of the poems, with the exceptions above noted. It will be found that the present writer, while he has exercised an independent judgment and explained its grounds, has generally come to the same conclusions as Professor Schipper. Where he has differed from that writer, it has always been with hesitation. There is an internal harmony in the tone of Dunbar's writings, although that tone varied with different periods of his life, which gives the best clue to the time when individual poems were composed; and when this is found to agree with the indications, often slight, afforded by allusions to particular persons or writers, the opinion that the correct date has been found is confirmed. A subsidiary reason for making the Table has been to give the readers of this edition an easy mode of referring, as it is hoped many of them will do, to Professor Schipper's very instructive work, "Das Leben und Gedichte von William Dunbar:" Berlin, 1884.

I. POEMS PROBABLY WRITTEN BEFORE THE MARRIAGE OF
JAMES IV. AND MARGARET TUDOR, 1503.

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 117	1. <i>A New Year's Gift to the King.</i> This appears to have been written before Dunbar desired a benefice, and looked only for a gift out of "Fraunce crownes,"—line 18.	Page 256
118	2. <i>The Tod and the Lamb; or, The Wowing of the King quhen he wes in Dumfermeling.</i> Evidently written before the king's marriage. The king was at Dunfermline on 15th Jan. 1489-90, and again on 24th Jan. 1490-91. (Treasurer's Accounts.)	136
122	3. <i>Ane Brash of Wowing.</i> "In secreit place this hyndir nycht." The style and subject indicate this was an early poem of Dunbar. The expression, "this hyndir nycht," occurs both in this and the preceding poem, and also in that "On Deeming."	247
123	4. <i>The Dregy maid to the Kyng, bydand our lang in Striuilling.</i> Written after 1494, when the king founded the Monastery of the Observantines at Stirling, but before his marriage. There is no reference to the queen, but only a "cumpany of lordis and knyghtis," at Edinburgh,—line 15.	112
130	5. <i>Aganis the Solistaris in Court.</i> Dunbar's "humill cheir and face," and his confidence in "the kingis grace" as sufficient—so different from the later more querulous petitions—indicate this was an early poem.	206
135	6. <i>The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo.</i> Certainly written before 1508, when it was printed, and probably several years before, from its subject, and the complete alliteration of its verses.	30

SCHIFFER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 146	7. <i>The Twa Cummeris.</i> "Rycht airlie on Ask Weddinsday." This is in the same vein as No. 6, and probably written about the same time.	Page 160
...	8. <i>The Freiris of Berwik.</i> If by Dunbar, the style and subject point to its being an early poem, written perhaps after a visit to Berwick on one of his early journeys. The appearance of the pretended page, a familiar spirit "in liknes of a freir," and "in habeit blak," that of the Franciscans, is quite in Dunbar's manner of "The Visitation of St Francis," p. 131.	285
...	9. <i>The Ballad of Kynd Kittok.</i> This, though not ascribed to Dunbar by name, is so much in his style as to be almost certainly by him. It was printed in 1508, and written probably several years before, when the king was more in use to visit Falkland than after his marriage. The alliteration also favours the view that it was one of Dunbar's early works.	52

2. POEMS WRITTEN ABOUT THE TIME OF THE BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE OF JAMES IV. AND MARGARET TUDOR, 1501-1503.

SCHIFFER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 305	10. <i>Learning vain without guid Lyfe.</i> WRITTEN AT OXINFURDE. Of uncertain date, but Dunbar's visit to England in 1501 with the Scottish ambassadors is the most probable time for his having been at Oxford, where it is said to have been written.	Page 224

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 164	11. <i>In Praise of London.</i> Christmas 1501, when it was recited at the feast given by the Lord Mayor to the Scottish ambassadors.	Page 276
176	12. <i>The Goldyn Targe.</i> Written in May 1503.	1
184	13. <i>Beauty and the Prisoner.</i> "Sen that I am a presoneir." Probably written about the same time as the preceding. The reference to "Matremony, that nobill king," as putting Sklandir to flight, points to this. The slander perhaps related to the king's connection with Lady Margaret Drummond, or to her sudden death along with her sister in 1502, which gave rise to a suspicion of poisoning.	164
166	14. <i>The Thistle and the Rose.</i> Written on the occasion of the royal marriage, and dated 9th May (1503),—line 189.	183
165	15. <i>Welcome of Margaret as Queen of Scotland.</i> "Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre." Written to welcome Margaret on her arrival in Scotland, and sung at the banquet after her wedding, 8th August 1503.	279
207	16. <i>Ane Littil Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play.</i> This may have been one of the masques or plays got up to entertain the queen on her coming to Scotland. Its allusions point to its having been acted at Edinburgh.	314

3. POEMS PROBABLY WRITTEN BETWEEN 1503 AND 1513.

SCHIFFER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page ...	17. <i>To the Queen.</i> "Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis regioun." From the reference to the hopes of the birth of an heir, probably written before 1506.	Page 274
224	18. <i>Against Treason.</i> EPITAPH ON DONALD OWRE. "In vice most vicus he excellis." Donald Owre or Dubh (the Black), son of Angus, Lord of the Isles, raised his clansmen and adherents at Christmas 1503, and was taken prisoner and committed to Edinburgh Castle in 1506. This poem must have been written shortly after.	190
151	19. <i>Tidings from the Session.</i> The ambulatory Sessions of James I. were succeeded by the Daily Council, fixed at Edinburgh by James IV. in 1503. This poem has been supposed to refer to the former Court, but its contents are more applicable to the latter, and the name of Session or Sitting was probably still retained for the Daily Council.	78
130	20. <i>Lady Solistaris at Court.</i> "Thir ladyis fair, That makis repair." This, like the preceding poem, refers to the fixed Court at Edinburgh, and was probably written after 1503.	168
147	21. <i>Aganis the Solistaris in Court.</i> This seems to apply to the Court of the king rather than the Courts of Law, but, from the similarity of title, may be about the same date as the preceding.	206

SCHIFFER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 158	22. <i>Satire on Edinburgh.</i> The reference in lines 57 and 58 to the "repair of this regioun" to Edinburgh for the Court and the Session, indicates this also to have been composed after 1503.	Page 261
154	23. <i>Against Swearing; or, The Devil's Inquest.</i> "This nycht in my sleip I wes agast." This satire on the oaths of the different crafts and classes of the capital seems to belong to the same time as the Satire on Edinburgh.	144
190	24. <i>To the Quene.</i> This poem, written on Fastern's Eve (Shrove Tuesday), must have been composed after 1503, and from its subject, probably some years after.	203
191	25. <i>Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer.</i> This poem also was probably written some years after the queen's marriage, and from the reference to the Master Almoner, Dr Babington, who was made Dean of Aberdeen in 1507, probably before that date.	199
239	26. <i>Ane Ballat of the Fenzeit Freir of Tungland.</i> The date of the pretended flight, with wings, of John Damian, the impostor Abbot of Tungland, fixes this poem as written about October 1507.	139
237	27. <i>The Birth of Antichrist.</i> "Lucina schynning in silence of the nicht." This also has a reference to the Abbot's flight, lines 44 and 45.	149
254	28. <i>The Dream; or, A General Satire.</i> "Devorit with drem, devysing in my slummer." The stanza beginning line 46 points to 1507 or 1508 as its probable date.	81

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 72 & 254	29. <i>How Dunbar wes desyrd to be ane Freir ; or, The Visitation of St Francis.</i> Lines 31 and 32 point at least to this having been written many years after the period of Dunbar's novitiate as a friar, which period was probably between 1479-91.	Page 131
206	30. <i>The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie.</i> This was written before 1508, when it was printed by Chepman and Myllar. Its date is not certain, but the allusion in it to Kennedy's "laithly luge that wes the lippir mennis" appears to refer to Glentigh, acquired by Kennedy on 8th December 1504; while the allusion to Stobo, who died in the first half of 1505, as still living, places it between these two dates.	11
290	31. <i>Lament for the Makaris.</i> This also was printed in 1508, and probably written shortly before that date.	48
86 & 250	32. <i>My heid did 3ak 3esternicht.</i> Uncertain date, but perhaps written during the same illness as the Lament.	254
195	33. <i>The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis.</i> Written on the 15th February, the day before Fastern's Eve, 16th February 1507. The reference to the Abbot of Tunghland in line 12 points to this year as its probable date.	117
201	34. <i>The Turnament of the Tel3our and Sowtaris.</i> Written at the same time as the preceding, of which it is a continuation.	122
204	35. <i>The Amendis to the Tel3ouris and Sowtaris.</i> Written soon after the preceding poem.	127
225	36. <i>The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy.</i> Printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and so written before that year.	54

SCHIFFER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 222	37. <i>Of ane Blak-Moir.</i> Probably written on occasion of the Tournament in honour of the Black Lady in June 1507.	Page 201
290	38. <i>The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart.</i> Written between 9th May 1508, when Stewart arrived in Scotland, and his death, on 9th June 1508.	59
292	39. <i>Elegy on the Death of Bernard Stewart.</i> Written shortly after his death, 9th June 1508.	63
186	40. <i>To a Ladye.</i> This and the next poems may have been written before, but more probably after, 1503.	223
306	41. <i>Be ze ane Luvar, think ze nocht ze suld.</i> Of uncertain date, but probably about the same time as the preceding.	162
...	42. <i>Fane wald I Luve, bot quhair abowt?</i> The conclusion of this poem is in the same strain as the preceding, and it is probably about the same date.	308
...	43. <i>Gif ze wald Luve and Luvit be.</i> Similar in tone to, and probably about the same date as the preceding.	312
187	44. <i>To a Ladye. Quhone he list to feyne.</i> In this poem Dunbar finally abandons love, and his hopes turn to the desire for a post or a pension.	245
188	45. <i>Quha will behald of Luve the chance.</i> Written also after he had given up thoughts of love.	172

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 215	<p>46. <i>Of James Doig, Keeper of the Queen's Wardrop.</i></p> <p>This must have been written after the queen's marriage; and as Doig entered her service in 1503, and continued in it till 1523, it may have been written any time between these dates, but most probably about 1507-8.</p>	Page 195
218	<p>47. <i>Of the same James, quhen he had plesett him.</i></p> <p>This, from its terms, must have been written a little later than the preceding.</p>	197
220	<p>48. <i>Of Sir Thomas Norray.</i></p> <p>If, as is probable, the Quhentyne referred to in line 37 was Quintyn Schaw, who died shortly before 1508,—“Lament for the Makaris,” line 86,—and as Currie, line 43, died in 1506, this poem may be dated between 1503, when Norray first appears, and 1508.</p>	192
245	<p>49. <i>Complaint against Mure.</i></p> <p>Mure is unknown, but “Cuddy Rig the Drumfress fuill,” line 24, appears between 1504 and 1512 in the Treasurer's Accounts, which gives an approximate date for this poem.</p>	210
...	<p>50. <i>Faine wald I, with all diligence.</i></p> <p>This seems to refer to attacks upon his Satire, perhaps by the persons referred to in the preceding poem.</p>	310
294	<p>51. <i>To the King, on his Empty Purse.</i></p> <p>“Sanct Saluatour! send siluer sorrow.”</p> <p>This, and the nine following poems, were probably written between 1503 and 1510, when Dunbar's pension being increased to the large sum of £80, probably his complaints ceased. This seems one of the earliest,—either soon after, or possibly before, 1503.</p>	129

SCHIFFER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 251	52. <i>To the King, that he war Johne Thomosunis Man.</i> This must have been written, and probably some years, after the king's marriage.	Page 218
263	53. <i>To the King, quhen mony Benefices vakit.</i> Probably written between 1503 and 1510.	205
264	54. <i>To the King, after the Benefices were filled up.</i> Written soon after the preceding.	208
265	55. <i>To the King, recalling his Services.</i> "Schir, 3it remembir as of befoir." This appears to be one of the later petitions to the king, but probably written before 1510.	104
268	56. <i>To the King, Of the Warldis Instabilitie.</i> The refrain and the renewed references to Dunbar's services point to this as about the same date as the preceding.	226
271	57. <i>To the King, Dunbar's Complaint.</i> Of uncertain date, but evidently pointed at some unworthy person promoted in the Church to vacant benefices; probably written before 1510.	212
274	58. <i>To the King, Dunbar's Remonstrance.</i> From the reference to "pryntaris," line 16, this must have been written after 1507, when the first printers came to Scotland.	220
215	59. <i>To the King, The Petition of the Gray Horse, Auld Dunbar.</i> This is the last of the petitions, written probably before 1510, when his pension was raised to £80.	215

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 259	60. <i>Of Discretioun in Asking.</i> This and the two following were evidently written about the same time, and from the reference to the Abbot of Tungland, p. 88, line 36, after October 1507. They sum up Dunbar's philosophy on the subject of petitions.	Page 84
260	61. <i>Of Discretioun in Geving.</i>	87
261	62. <i>Of Discretioun in Taking.</i>	90
247	63. <i>Welcome to the Lord Treasurer.</i> This may very probably have been written on the receipt of his first term's pension, at the rate of £80, on Nov. 11, 1511.	264
248	64. <i>To the Lords of Exchequer.</i> This may have been written in 1512-13, when his pension seems to have been irregularly paid, and in part forestalled by payments of smaller sums before the time when it was due.	255
253	65. <i>Every one his own Enemy.</i> "He that hes gold and grit richness." The lines 21, 22— "Now all this tyme lat ws be mirry, And sett nocht by this warld a chirry," connect this with the following.	134
316	66. <i>Full oft I mvss and hes in thocht.</i> With the refrain— "For to be blyth me think it best." Of uncertain date, but probably written after 1510, when Dunbar was taking a more tranquil view of life, but still recalled the world's unkindness, line 31. This and the following poem seem connected by their tone, but whether written at the same time is uncertain.	110
319	67. <i>Hermes the Philosopher.</i> "Be mirry and glaid, honest and vertewous, Ffor that suffisis to anger the invyous."	108

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 292	68. <i>In Praise of Aberdeen.</i> "Blyth Aberdein, thow beriall of all tounis." This was written on the queen's visit to Aber- deen in August 1511.	Page 251
296	69. <i>How sowld I rewill me, or quhat wyiss.</i> This is in a similar vein to the next poem, and probably written towards the close of James IV.'s reign.	95
298	70. <i>Of Deming.</i> "Musing allone this hinder nicht." This was evidently written, from the reference in line 46, in the latter part of the reign of James IV.	92
301	71. <i>Of Covetis.</i> "Ffredome, Honour and Nobilnes." Written while Dunbar was still at the Court, and from its tone one of his later poems, but of uncertain date.	158
315	72. <i>Of Content.</i> Of uncertain date, but in a similar moral tone to the preceding.	230
316	73. <i>Man, sen thy Lyfe is ay in Weir.</i> The refrain— "Thyne awin gud spend quhill thow hes space," is Dunbar's advice against covetousness, but is scarcely in his latest manner.	152
306	74. <i>Rule of One's Self.</i> "To dwell in court, my freind, gife that thow list." In a similar strain to No. 69.	98

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 310	75. <i>Meditatioun in Wyntir.</i> Might have been written in any winter, but from the reference to age (line 31), probably not earlier than 1510.	Page 233
289	76. <i>Of the Changes of Lyfe.</i> Might have been written on any sudden change of weather, but probably, from its tone, after 1510 and before 1513.	232
...	77. <i>Ballate against Evil Women.</i> Of uncertain date, but probably between 1508 and 1513.	266
140	78. <i>In Prays of Woman.</i> The palinode for the preceding, and probably written shortly after it.	170

4. POEMS PROBABLY WRITTEN AFTER 1513.

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page ...	79. <i>Doun by ane Rever as I red.</i> Of uncertain date; but the reference to the deaths of kingis and lordis (line 5) perhaps points to a date soon after Flodden.	Page 305
322	80. <i>To the Quene-Dowager.</i> "O lusty flour of 3owth, benyng and bricht." The reference to the king's death (line 35) points to this having been written after Flodden.	326

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 347	81. <i>Ane Orisoun, quhen the Gouvernour past in France.</i> Written in June 1517, when Albany, after a second attempt to govern Scotland, returned to France, leaving De la Bastie as his representative.	Page 235
...	82. <i>Quhome to sall I complene my wo.</i> Of uncertain date, but from the tone and (line 29) "In princis is thair no pety," probably after 1513.	102
348	83. <i>Against the Governour.</i> "We Lordis hes chosin a chiftane mer- vellus." Written some time after Albany's departure in June 1517, urging his return, probably in 1520. He did not come back to Scotland till November 19, 1521, when Dunbar was probably dead.	237
325	84. <i>The Merle and the Nychtingale.</i> "In May as that Aurora did vpspring." This and the following poems mark the transition to Dunbar's latest period, in which it is probable his hymns were written. He has abandoned finally earthly love, and his thoughts centre on religion and the love of God.	174
330	85. <i>Of Lufe Erdly and Divine.</i> "Now cumis aige quhair 3ewth hes bene."	179
312	86. <i>All Erdly Joy returnis in Pane.</i> A Lenten meditation, probably written after 1513.	76
336	87. <i>The Taible of Confessioun.</i> "I cry The mercy, and lasar to repent." This confession of a priest familiar with the Roman doctrine of Confession probably belongs to the close of Dunbar's life.	65

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page 334	88. <i>A Prayer.</i> This and the following religious poems or hymns on the Christian year were probably written after 1513, but may have been written for the services to which they refer in earlier years.	Page 267
338	89. <i>Hymn for Christmas, or the Festival of Nativity.</i> "Rorate celi desuper!"	72
...	90. <i>Another Christmas Hymn.</i> "Jerusalem reioss for joy."	322
...	91. <i>Another Christmas Hymn.</i> "Now glaidith euey liffis creature."	324
...	92. <i>Another Christmas Hymn.</i> "The Sterne is rissin of our redemptioun."	328
322	93. <i>Hymn for Lent.</i> "O synfull man, thir ar the fourty dayis."	280
343	94. <i>The Passioun of Christ—Hymn for Good-Friday.</i> At the date when this was written, Dunbar, from the opening lines, appears to have been resident in a monastery, so it clearly belongs to the period of his life after 1513.	239
345	95. <i>The Resurrection of Christ—Hymn for Easter.</i> "Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro."	154
345	96. <i>Another Hymn for Easter.</i> "Done is a battell on the dragon blak."	156
341	97. <i>Ane Ballat of our Lady. Hymn to the Virgin.</i> "Haile, sterne superne! Haile, in eterne."	269

SCHIPPER.	TITLE OF POEM.	SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Page ...	98. <i>Another Hymn to the Virgin.</i> "Roiss Mary most of vertew virginnall."	Page 272
349	99. <i>Of Man's Mortalitie. Hymn for Ash Wednesday.</i> "Memento, homo, quod cinis es!" This and the two following poems, whether written at the end of his life or not, were evi- dently written at a time when he contemplated it as near.	74
350	100. <i>Of Lyfe.</i> "Quhat is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid." Might have been written at any serious moment of life, but probably towards its close.	250
350	101. <i>Of the Warldis Vanity.</i> "O wreche, be war! this world will wend the fro." The same remark applies as in the preceding note.	244

III.—NOTE ON THE VERSIFICATION AND METRES OF DUNBAR.

By G. P. M'NEILL, Esq., LL.B., Advocate.

DUNBAR'S poems, regarded exclusively in their formal aspect, may be divided into three general classes: (1) that in which alliteration is the basis of the structure of the verse; (2) that in which the verse is made up of rhymed couplets; and (3) the more elaborate poems, in which the verse is formed into strophes of greater or less intricacy.

I.—ALLITERATIVE VERSE.

Dunbar's poems afford only one example of this style of verse,—only one piece, that is to say, in which alliteration is the means whereby the language is measured out into regular divisions, for alliteration is frequently employed by Dunbar in his rhymed verse as an ornament. But in "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo" (p. 30) the alliteration is the basis of the verse. This poem is the longest of those known to be by Dunbar, and, with the exception of "The Freiris of Berwik," the longest of those attributed to him. It extends to 530 lines. The form is best exhibited by an example. In the following extract, which includes the first ten lines, the skeleton of the verse is brought into prominence by typographical devices, the cæsura being marked by a bar and the letters forming the alliteration being printed in italics :—

" Apon the *Midsummer* ewin, | *mirriest* of *nichtis*,
 I *muvit* furth allane, | *neir* as *midnight* wes past,
 Besyd ane *gudlie grene garth*, | full of *gay flouris*,
Hegeit, of ane *hage nicht* | with *hawthorne treis* ;
 5 *Quhairon* ane *bird*, on ane *bransche*, | so *bird* out hir *notis*
 That *neuer* ane *blythfullar bird* | was on the *beuche harde* :
 Quhat throw the *sugarat sound* | of hir *sang glaid*,
 And throw the *sauar sanatiue* | of the *sueit flouris*,
 I *drew* in *derne* to the *dyk* | to *dirkin* eftir *myrthis* ;
 10 The *dew donkit* the *daill*, | and *dynarit* the *foulis*."

If these lines are read with a natural emphasis, it will be seen that the verses fall each into two hemistichs, containing each two accented syllables and an irregular number of unaccented syllables. Thus in line 1, the division or cæsura is marked at the word *ewin*; the accented syllables in the first hemistich being the first of *Midsummer* and the first of *ewin*, while those of the second half-line are the first of *mirriest* and the first of *nichtis*. The same accentual structure will be observed in the remaining lines. The metre, then, depends, in the first place, on the regular recurrence of four accents in each verse. It is like the measure of "common time" in music, which is marked by four beats in every bar. In the second place, the verse is measured out by alliteration according to ascertainable rules, the chief and simplest of which is that in every line the first three of the accented syllables shall begin with the same consonant. This is the most generally observed rule of alliterative poetry, although it is not very strictly followed by Dunbar. Lines 5, 6, 7, and 8 of the above-quoted passage give good examples of its application. But the rule is followed with constancy only in the earlier specimens of this verse, which, as is well known, was the original form assumed by the poetry of all nations of a Teutonic origin. The verse was treated with much more freedom in later times; and as this poem of Dunbar is one of

the latest instances of its use in Scotland, it is to be expected that the rules of the older systems of alliteration should be exhibited here only in a relaxed form. When compared with the productions of earlier times, Dunbar's poem exhibits in a marked degree two special characteristics, both of which depend upon what may be called a too great indulgence in alliteration. In the first place, most of his lines contain more alliterating syllables than are necessary to the proper structure of the verse. Lines 3, 4, 9, and 10 of the quoted passage may be taken as instances of this prodigality. Secondly, the alliteration is in many instances continued beyond the limits of a single line—*i.e.*, the accented syllables of two or more consecutive lines begin with the same letter. Lines 9 and 10 of the extract given above exhibit this peculiarity. This fertility of alliteration reveals Dunbar's unusual command over the technical resources of his art. This was the measure employed most widely in the early popular poetry of his country. He handles it with as much ease and skill as he does the more complex forms which originated in a desire for artistic refinement. But the fact that it is adopted in only one of those poems of his which have descended to a later age, points to the conclusion (warranted also on other grounds) that this form was not so congenial to his talent as the more straitly confined verses in which the greater part of his poetry is composed.

Those who wish to study more intimately the structure of the alliterative verse may be referred to the Rev. Walter W. Skeat's edition of "Piers the Plowman" (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press: 1886), which contains, vol. ii. p. lviii, a brief and concise statement of its rules; to Professor Schipper's "Altenglische Metrik" (Bonn, Emil Strauss: 1881), which gives, at p. 209, an account of the metrical peculiarities of the poem now under consideration; and to Mr Coventry Patmore's "Essay on English Metrical Law," appended to the second collective edition of his poems (London, George Bell & Son: 1886), which examines (vol. ii. p. 251) the effects and devices of this form of poetry with a keen appreciation of their æsthetic value.

"The naturall course of most English verses," says Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poetrie' (1586), "seemeth to run vpon the olde Iambicke stroake;" and the statement is specially applicable to the poems of Dunbar, inasmuch as all of them, except the piece just considered and one small lyric ("Kynd Kittok"), are written in iambic verse—*i.e.*, verse in which the accent rises from the first to fall upon the second of the two syllables making up the foot. Trochees and anapæsts are substituted often for the normal iambi; but the measure itself is iambic in all the remaining poems of Dunbar.

II.—RHYMED COUPLETS.

Dunbar's poems afford comparatively few examples of pieces written continuously in the simple form of rhymed couplets—although, as will

be seen, the rhymed couplet is exhibited in many aspects in the more complete strophes which he most affected. The poems in this measure may be divided according to the length of their lines into (*a*) long or five-foot couplets, and (*b*) short or four-foot couplets.

(a) *Long Couplets.*

There is only one piece of this kind, the lines "In Prays of Woman" (p. 170), among the poems known to be by Dunbar; but the long narrative poem, "The Freiris of Berwik" (p. 285), which is attributed to him, is an excellent example of its adaptation to popular poetry. The versification of these two poems exhibits the same general characteristics, and the first seventeen lines of the longer poem may be taken to display its structure. The signs used are as follows: The mark | divides the line into feet; the double bar || notes the position of the cæsura; the mark ∨ represents an unaccented syllable, and ˘ one which bears the metrical accent.

- " Ās it | bēfēll, || ānd hāpp|ſinnft in-|tō dēid,
 V̄poūn | ā rēvēr, || thē quhilk | ʼs cāll|t Twēid ;
 Āt Twēid|ʼs mōwth || thair stāndts | ā nōb|ʼll tōun,
 Quhafr mōn|y lōrdʼs || hēs bēne | ōf grit | rēnōvne,
 5 Quhafr mōn|y ā lād̄y || bēne | fāir | ōf fāce,
 Ānd mōn|y | āne frēschē || lūst|y gāl|ānd wāss.
 Īn-tō | thīs tōun, || thē quhilk | ʼs cāllt | Bērwik,
 V̄poūn | thē sēy || thair stānd|ʼs nāne | ʼt l̄yk,
 Fōr it | ʼs wāllt || weill | ābōwt | wīth stāne,
 10 Ānd dōw|bēll stānkʼs || cāst|ʼn mōn|y āne ;
 Ānd syne | thē cāstēll || is | sō strāng | ānd wīcht,
 Wīth strait | tōwrs || ānd tūr|ātʼs hē | ōn hīcht ;
 Thē wāll|ʼs wrōcht || crāft|ēly | wīthāll ;
 Thē pōrt|cūlēs || mōst sūb|tēll̄y | tō fāll,
 15 Quhēn thāt | thāme list || tō drāw | thāme v̄p|oūn hīcht ;
 Thāt it | mīcht bē || ōf nā | mānēr | ōf mīcht
 Tō wīn | thāt hoūss || bē crāft | ōr sūb|tēltie."

It will be seen that the simplest and normal unit of this verse consists of two lines, consisting each of ten syllables, alternately unaccented and accented, having each a pause or break after the second accented syllable, and bound together by the rhyming syllable at the end of each.

This is the form of verse known as the heroic couplet. The oldest specimens of its use are found in early French or Anglo-Norman poets, from whom it was probably adopted into this country. It became by far the most frequently employed verse in English poetry from the fourteenth century downwards. It is the predominating metre of the "Canterbury Tales"; and, as the influence of Chaucer is everywhere visible in the poems of Dunbar, it may be assumed without going wide of the mark that Dunbar, if he be the author of the

"Freiris of Berwik," wrote it on the model of the "Canterbury Tales." The metre was in older times called "riding rhyme,"—a name which Dr Guest suggests may have been derived from the *mounted* pilgrims of the "Canterbury Tales." Whether that be so or no, it became recognised as the appropriate measure for such stories as the "Freiris of Berwik." Gascoigne, in his 'Instruction concerning the making of Verse' (1575, ed. Haslewood, p. 12), lays it down that "this riding rime serueth most aptly to wryte a merie tale." It has remained to this day an exceptionally favoured form for narrative poems, especially with that school of poets who in recent times have sought to revive the interest in medieval subjects and artistic methods, and of whom Mr Swinburne and Mr William Morris may be taken as representatives. The variations from the normal standard to which it is subjected in Dunbar's hands are much the same as those exhibited in Chaucer. They may be shown by a detailed examination of the lines quoted. Thus:—

Line 1 contains eleven syllables instead of the normal ten, the last syllable of "happinit" not being necessary except to give variety to the verse. The same peculiarity marks the second foot of line 2, giving it what is called a feminine *cæsura*—*i.e.*, a strong pause or break after an unaccented syllable, and not, as in the more ordinary case, after one which is accented. The third foot of line 3 has a similar variation, if "standis" is pronounced as a dissyllable. Line 4 is like line 2. Line 5, on the other hand, wants a syllable to complete the fourth foot. Probably the line is corrupt as printed. It may have been written regularly—

"Quhair mony a lady bene *and* fair of face."

If the reading of the Maitland MS. given by Mr Small in his footnotes be adopted, the line reads regularly, thus—

"Quhair mony wourthy ladeis fair of face."

It may be noted here that an examination of the metre of this poem reveals the fact that the text of the Maitland MS. is far purer (from this point of view) than that of the Bannatyne MS., from which Mr Small has printed his copy. The line at present under consideration is only one of many that go to show this purity. Other examples are present in the passage above quoted. Thus, line 12 in the Bannatyne MS. reads as above—

"With strait towris and turratis he on hicht,"

wanting a syllable to complete the second foot. The Maitland MS. has it rhythmically and poetically better—

"With staitelie towris and turratis he on hicht."

Similarly, line 13 in the Bannatyne MS. reads—

"The wallis wrocht craftely withall,"

wanting a syllable in the third foot. The Maitland MS. gives—

“ With kirnals closit most craftelie of all.”

This diversity of readings occurs over and over again in favour of the Maitland MS. throughout the poem, with so great a frequency as to make it matter of regret that this manuscript was not made the basis of the printed text. Compare lines 60, 65, 68, 88, 90, 115, 146, 150, &c. Indeed the instances are few in which the Maitland MS. does not give a better reading, metrically considered, than the Bannatyne, while it may be noted that this refinement can be traced also in the omission from the Maitland of some of the obscene passages contained in the other MS.

The passage cited gives no example of a variation seen elsewhere in the poem and often in Chaucer, the omission of the unaccented syllable from the first foot of the line. This occurs in the first line of the shorter poem, “ In Prays of Woman ”—

“ Now | of we|men this | I say | for me ; ”

and in line 33 of the “ Freiris of Berwik ”—

“ Freir | Allane, | and Freir | Robert | the uder.”

For a full history and examination of this verse, see Schipper (work cited), p. 434 *et seq.*, and compare Guest’s ‘History of English Rhythms’ (ed. 1882), Book III., chap. vii. A good general view of the change which has been brought about in the treatment of the heroic couplet in modern times is given by Mr Sidney Colvin in a critical examination of “Endymion” in his monograph on Keats.

(b) *Short Couplets.*

The heroic couplet was not so favoured a form with Dunbar as the short couplet of lines of four accents. The poems in this measure are more numerous, and they are wrought out metrically with more elaboration of their formal effects. These are—(1) Dunbar’s Dregy to the King (p. 112), with the exception of the responses; (2) the satirical piece against the Solicitors in Court (p. 206); (3) Dunbar’s Complaint to the King (p. 212); (4) Dunbar’s Remonstrance to the King (p. 220). To these must be added, to make the list complete, the eight lines (at p. 217) in which the King gives his *responsio* to the Petition of the Gray Horse, Auld Dunbar.

The metre in which these pieces are composed was widely popular in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It was employed more especially for religious poems, such as homilies, legends of the saints, Scriptural paraphrases, and the like. It would be familiar to Dunbar in the works of Barbour and Wyntown, who have a place in his “Lament for the Makaris.” Dunbar uses the verse, however, not as these writers did, for long poems of sustained narrative, but for brief epistolary pieces of a satirical or moralising purport. In his hands,

too, its capabilities as a means of musical expression have been largely developed.

The unit of this verse is a pair of lines of four iambic feet, the lines being undivided in themselves by any cæsura (as the longer metrical pause falls naturally at the end of each), and joined together by a rhyme. For example, take lines 21 and 22 of the Remonstrance to the King, a poem which exhibits Dunbar's treatment of this verse in its most varied form—

“ Änd rícht | cönvén||ént för | tö bē ||
With 3öur | hígh ré|gäle mä||jéstie.”

This couplet shows the metre in its simple, normal form. The devices by which it is varied and moulded—as the admission of unaccented syllables superfluous to the strict metre, the omission of unaccented syllables necessary thereto, the shifting of the accent from its normal place in the foot, the occasional employment of a cæsura or break within the line, and the change of the rhyme from one to two syllables—are lavishly exemplified in Dunbar, in whose verse the normal couplet never predominates. An analysis of the first twenty lines of the poem mentioned will make this clear :—

“ Schír, 3ē | häue mö|nÿ sēr|vítöüris,
Änd ö|fficiäris | öf dü|öers cüris ;
Kírk|mén, | cóürt|mén, | änd cräftis|mén fyne ;
Döctoüris | ín júre, | änd mēd|lcýne ;
5 Dívín|öüris, réthöris | änd phlós|öphöüris,
Aströ|ögis, ärtístis, | änd ö|rätöüris ;
Mén | öf ärmes, | änd väil|jēand knÿchtis,
Änd mön|ÿ vth|ēr güd||le wíchtis ;
Müsic|änis, ménsträlis, | änd míf|ríe síngäris :
10 Chēvāl|öüris, cäl|lándäris, | änd flíngäris ;
Cün|jöüris, | cārvoüris, | änd cār|péntäris, |
Beíldäris | öf bärkis, | änd bäl||íngäris ;
Mäsoünis, | lÿänd | v|pön | thē länd,
Änd schíp-|wíchtis hēwänd | v|pöne | thē stränd ;
15 Gläsíng | wíchtis, göldsmÿthis, | änd läp|ldäris,
Prÿntöüris, | päyntöüris, | änd pöt||íngäris ;
Änd äll | öf thäír | cräft | cünning,
Änd äll | ät äñ|ts lāw|böring,
Quhílk plēis|änd äir | änd hön|öräble ;
20 Änd tö | 3öür híe|nēs prö|ftäble.”

The great flexibility of the verse is seen in the different ways in which each line varies from the normal standard of four iambs. Thus, line 1 has the accent on the first syllable of the first foot instead of the second. The same variation is seen in line 4. In lines 3, 11, 13, and 16, this transposition of the accent extends over the first two feet. Line 5 is conspicuous for the number of extra unaccented syllables it contains. This amplification of the line is seen, though not to so great an extent, in lines 6, 9, 14, and 15. The converse variation, a defect

from the ordinary number of syllables, is seen in lines 7 and 17. And in many of the lines the effect of a cæsural pause, which was not often sought for in the earlier examples of this metre, is gained. It comes generally at the end of the second foot. To use so great a licence of departure from the normal verse without impairing its rhythm—and Dunbar's verse is always musical—demands the highest skill in the versifier.

For earlier examples of this metre and its history, see Schipper (work cited), p. 258.

III.—PIECES IN STROPHIC FORM.

Nearly the whole body of Dunbar's poetry is written in a strophic form; and as the strophe was the most highly artificial development to which English versification had attained in his time, the fact is evidence of the specially formal excellence which characterises Dunbar's poems as a whole as well as individually. And the strophes in which he writes are not the simple strophes of popular poetry, but the more elaborate forms seen in courtly and scholarly verse.

The strophe, as it occurs in Dunbar, may be defined as a series of lines bound together into a distinct unity by means of rhyme, and (although this is only generally true) by the content of the logical period to which the lines give expression. The lines which make up the strophe are subject to internal variations of accent, syllabification, and cæsura, similar to those noted in considering the couplet; and the points specially to be kept in view in examining the strophe are the number and length of the lines, the number and arrangement of the rhymes, and the presence or absence of a refrain—*i.e.*, a line which recurs in the same or similar terms at the end of every strophe.

The simplest division of Dunbar's pieces in strophic form separates (*A*) strophes made up of lines of equal length from (*B*) strophes of unequal lines. The former class may be subdivided into (1) strophes without refrain, and (2) strophes with refrain.

A (1).—*Strophes of Equal Lines without Refrain.*

First, there is the strophe of five lines with two rhymes, arranged thus—*aa, bb, a*. As an example, take the first strophe of the lines "To a Lady" (p. 223):—

5	"Sweet roiss of vertew and of gentilnes,	<i>a</i>
5	Delytsum lyllie of everie lustynes,	<i>a</i>
5	Richest in bontie, and in bewtie CLEIR,	<i>b</i>
5	And everie vertew that is held most DEIR,	<i>b</i>
5	Except onlie that 3e ar mercylless."	<i>a</i>

This is in lines of five feet. The other pieces in the same long line

are—"How Dumbar wes desyrd to be ane Freir" (p. 131), (although the first line of this piece wants a foot); "Lucina schynnyng in silence of the nicht" (p. 149), and "The Dream" (p. 257). The same strophe in lines of four iambs is used in the following: "To the King, quhen mony benefices vakit" (p. 205); "Of the changes of Lyfe" (p. 232); "Meditatioun in Wyntir" (p. 233); "My heid did 3ak 3esternicht" (p. 254); and "My Lordis of Chacker" (p. 255). As an example of the four-foot line, the first strophe of the piece last mentioned may serve:—

4	"My Lorjdis of Chack[er, pleis | 3ōw tō heir	a
4	My coumpt, I sall it mak 3ow cleir,	a
4+	But ony circumstance or SON3IE;	b
4+	For left is nether corce nor CUN3IE	b
4	Off all that I tuik in the 3eir."	a

Guest gives this strophe the name of *roundle-stave*, because it appears twice in the old French rondel. Schipper treats it as a development by the omission of a line from the strophe of six lines, exemplified in Dunbar's "Petition of the Gray Horse" (p. 215), to be afterwards examined. See Guest, p. 644 *et seq.*; Schipper, p. 377.

Second, there is the strophe of seven five-foot lines with three rhymes, arranged according to the scheme *ab, ab, bcc*. This is a form very largely exemplified in English poetry from Dunbar's time downwards; and though his own poems give only five instances of its use, the importance and technical superiority of the pieces show the measure to have been a favourite one with Dunbar. These five pieces are—(1) "The Thistle and the Rose" (p. 183); (2) "To a Ladye" (p. 245); the single stanza, "Quhat is this Lyfe" (p. 250); the "Ballate against Evil Women" (p. 266), the last strophe of which, the envoy, has, it may be noted, an additional line; and the piece beginning "O synfull man, thir ar the fourty dayis" (p. 280). The first strophe of "The Thistle and the Rose" may be taken as an example of this form:—

5	"Quhen Merche wes with variand windis	past	a
5	And Appryll had, with hir siluer	SCHOURIS,	b
5	Tane leif at nature with ane orient	blast;	a
5	And lusty May, that mvddir is of	FLOURIS,	b
5	Had maid the birdis to begyn thair	HOURIS	b
5	Amang the tendir odouris reid and	quhyt,	c
5	Quhois armony to heir it wes	delyt."	c

This is the measure known as *rhyme-royal* since James I. wrote the "Kingis Quair." The earliest known instance of its use in English poetry is in Chaucer's "Complaint of the Dethe of Pité." It was largely employed by Chaucer (it is the metre of four of the "Canterbury Tales"), Gower, and Lydgate, from whom in all probability Dunbar adopted it. It remained after Dunbar's time one of the most important forms. Spenser and Shakespeare used it, and in Scotland Sir David Lyndsay exemplifies it often. Gascoigne, in his 'Notes of

Instruction' (ed. Arber, p. 38), thus describes the measure: "Rythme royall is a verse of tenne sillables, and seuen such verses make a staffe, whereof the first and third lines do aunswer (acrosse) in like terminations and rime; the second, fourth, and fifth do likewise answeere eche other in terminations, and the two last do combine and shut up the sentence: this hath bene called rithme royall, and surely it is a royall kinde of verse, seruing best for graue discourses." To a similar effect regarding the merits of this metre speaks Mr Coventry Patmore (work cited, p. 260): "Perhaps the stateliest and most truly heroic measure in any language, dead or living, is the 'rhythm royal,' a stanza of seven ten-syllable lines, with three sets of rhymes so distributed that the emphasis derived from rhyme, in one part, is exactly neutralised by a similar concentration upon another." See further Guest, pp. 638, 639; Schipper, p. 426. Schipper lays it down as probable that this strophe was developed by the omission of a line from the eight-lined form next to be considered.

Third, the strophe of eight five-foot lines with three rhymes thus arranged—*ab, ab, bc, bc*. Dunbar is fondest of this strophe, with the added ornament of a refrain. Of the simple form, without refrain, he gives only one example, "The Flyting between Dunbar and Kennedy" (p. 11); although the fragmentary verses beginning "In all oure gardyn" (p. 321), and attributed to Dunbar, are in this strophe. A sample strophe may be taken from "The Flyting":—

5	" Forworthin fule, of all the world <i>reffuse</i> ,	<i>a</i>
5	Quhat ferly is thocht thow reioys to FLYTE?	<i>b</i>
5	Sic eloquence as thay in Erschry <i>use</i> ,	<i>a</i>
5	In sic is sett thy thraward appetYTE;	<i>b</i>
5	Thow hes full littill feill of fair INDYTE:	<i>b</i>
5	I tak on me ane pair of Lowthiane <i>hippis</i>	<i>c</i>
5	Sall fairar Inglis mak, and mair <i>parFYTE</i> ,	<i>b</i>
5	Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrik <i>lippis</i> ."	<i>c</i>

This strophe is chosen from the second of the parts of the poem by Dunbar in order to exhibit the arrangement of rhymes as Dunbar usually employed it—*ab, ab, bc, bc*. This order is kept up in the poem by Dunbar throughout, except in the three opening stanzas, where the arrangement is one of close rhyme in the second half of the strophe, thus: *ab, ab, bc, cb*,—an order which Kennedy maintains throughout his sections of the poem: *e.g.*, the second quartet of the first strophe by Kennedy runs—

5	" Mandrag, mymmerkin, maid maister bot in MOWIS,	<i>b</i>
5	Thyise scheild trumpir, with ane threid bair <i>goun</i> ,	<i>c</i>
5	Say Deo mercy, or I can cry the <i>doun</i> ,	<i>c</i>
	And leif thy ryming, rebald, and thy ROWIS."	<i>b</i>

The "Flyting" is especially worthy of notice in a study of the formal aspects of Dunbar's poems, inasmuch as the respective combatants who strive to outdo each other in invective, strive also each to exhibit

a superiority over the other in the technical skill of his craft. Dunbar opens the contest with three strophes of excellent structure, but revealing no particular effort on the part of the poet to give them exceptional formal polish or adornment. Kennedy answers with three strophes similar in every respect, save that there is to be traced in his lines a more obvious striving after ornamental effects of alliteration than was manifested by Dunbar. It may easily be assumed that this peculiarity put Dunbar on his mettle, for in the following strophes from his hand alliteration is introduced into the already complex and difficult rhyming verse with a profusion and ease which show the hand of a master. The second strophe on p. 17 is as good an instance of this ostentatious display of alliteration as can be found in the poem.

" Nyse nagus nipcaik, with thy schulderis narrow,
 Thow lukis lowsy, loun of lownis aw;
 Hard hurcheoun, kirpland, kippit as ane harrow,
 Thy rigbane rattillis, and thy ribbis on raw,
 Thy hanchis kirklis, with kukebanis karth and kaw,
 Thy faithly lymis ar lene as ony treis;
 Odey, theif baird, or I sall brek thy gaw,
 Ffowl carrybald, cry mercy on thy kneis."

Even this free and copious use of alliteration in a strophe already complete without that device did not exhaust the technical resources of the poet. In the two concluding strophes he introduced no less than three internal rhymes in each line of the strophe. The alliteration is, of course, dropped; but the diversity given to the form of the stanza by this device is a unique and masterly effect. It is best exhibited by breaking up the strophe into as many lines as there are rhymes, thus (to take the last strophe by Dunbar):—

" Mauch muttoun,
 Vyle buttoun
 Peilit gluttoun
 Air to *Hilhouse*; *a*
 Rank beggar,
 Ostir dregar,
 Foule fleggar,
 In the *FLET*; *b*
 Chittirilling,
 Ruch rilling,
 Lik schilling
 In the *milhouse*; *a*
 Baird rehatour,
 Theif of natour,
 Fals tratour,
 Feyndis *GETT*; *b*
 Filling of tauch,
 Rak sauch,
 Cry crauch,
 Thow art our *SETT*; *b*

Muttoun dryver,	
Girmall ryver,	
ʒadswyvar,	
Fowll fell the.	c
Herretyk,	
Lunatyk,	
Purspyk,	
Carlingis PET,	b
Rottin crok,	
Dirtin dok,	
Cry cok,	
Or I sall quell the."	c

The skill of the virtuoso could hardly make more than this of the strophe of eight lines from which Dunbar started. Kennedy endeavours to follow him, but seems to find it too hard. His alliteration is neither so profuse nor so regular as Dunbar's; and when he introduces internal rhymes in the lines, it is timidly and tentatively (*cf.* lines 481 *sq.*, 493 *sq.*) only to drop the device till the concluding strophe; in which, indeed, he succeeds in inserting his three rhymes after Dunbar's model, but without Dunbar's force and effect. He may have felt the weakness himself, for he introduces a further device to give brilliancy to his verse, the use of Latin. It may be that the Latin was resorted to in order to find feminine rhymes—a difficult thing to do in addition to so many other technical difficulties; but Dunbar had succeeded in finding them in his own less inflected tongue. If the colophon to the poem, "Iuge ʒe now heir quha gat the war," is to be answered by a consideration of the formal merits of the several poets, there need be no hesitation in assigning the palm to Dunbar. For early examples of this measure, see Guest, p. 635 *sq.*; Schipper, p. 428.

Fourth, the strophe of nine five-foot lines with two rhymes, used only once by Dunbar in the "Goldyn Targe" (p. 1). The rhyme scheme is *aa b, aa b, ba b*, as seen in the first strophe:—

5	" Ryght as the stern of day begouth to <i>schyne</i> ,	a
5	Quhen gone to bed war Vesper and <i>Lucyne</i>	a
5	I raise, and by a rosere did me <i>REST</i> ;	b
5	Wp sprang the goldyn candill <i>matulyne</i>	a
5	With clere depurit bemes <i>cristallyne</i> ,	a
5	Glading the mery foulis in thair <i>NEST</i> ;	b
5	Or Phebus was in purpur cape <i>reVEST</i>	b
5	Wp raise the lark, the hevyns <i>menstrale fyne</i>	a
5	In May, in till a morow myrthfullest."	b

Chaucer uses this strophe in "Queen Anelida and False Arcyte," and it was probably from Chaucer that Dunbar adopted it.

It should be noted that the last strophe of the "Goldyn Targe" is an *envoy* or postscript appended to the main body of the poem, after

a fashion popular among French poets, and followed occasionally by Chaucer. See Schipper, p. 334 *sq.*

To complete the list of strophes in equal lines and without refrain employed by Dunbar, there is the strophe of eight four-foot lines with four rhymes, which occurs in only one piece, "The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy" (p. 54). The rhyme scheme is *ab, ab, cd, cd*, as in this strophe :—

4+	<i>Ipse est dulcis ad amandum,</i>	<i>a</i>
4	He wald oft ban me in his breith,	<i>b</i>
4+	<i>Det michi modo ad potandum,</i>	<i>a</i>
4	And I forgif him laith et wraith :	<i>b</i>
4+	<i>Quia in cellario cum cervisia,</i>	<i>c</i>
4	I had lever lye baith air and lait,	<i>d</i>
4+	<i>Nudus solus in comesia,</i>	<i>c</i>
4	Na in my Lordis bed of stait ;"—	<i>d</i>

though occasionally the rhymes are restricted to two—*abab, abab*—as in strophes I and II, or to three—*ab, ab, ac, ac*—as in strophe 9.

A (2.)—Strophes of Equal Lines with Refrain.

The strophic form, it has been said, was especially favoured by Dunbar, nearly all his poetry being written in that shape. The still more complex form of the strophe with a constantly recurring refrain, which involves a greater versatility in the handling of the same rhyme than the simple strophe demands, was his favourite style of strophe, for nearly two-thirds of his strophic pieces have a refrain. The law of the refrain followed by Dunbar may be stated simply as enjoining that the closing verse of every strophe shall be the same. This, of course, makes it necessary that all those verses which rhyme with the closing verse in the strophe should rhyme with each other throughout the whole poem. Accordingly, as one of the technical triumphs of a poet is to find a wealth of rhymes, the number of strophes in each of the pieces in this form should be noted in addition to the length of the line and the number of rhymes in the strophe ; for, by using a refrain, the poet overcomes an ever-increasing formal difficulty with each stanza he adds to his poem. The refrain was an early ornament of popular poetry, in which it seems first to have arisen, and to have come into artistically wrought verse through ecclesiastical chants. Dunbar uses it in six different strophes of equal lines.

1. *The strophe of two couplets in four-foot lines.*—Dunbar has a good number of examples of this form. The best known is the "Lament for the Makaris" (p. 48), which exhibits its simple and effective structure well. Take the fifth and sixth strophes as an example—

4	" Onto the ded gois all Estatics,	<i>a</i>
4	Princis, Prelotis, and Potestatis,	<i>a</i>
4	Baith riche et pur of all deGRE ;	<i>b</i>
R. 4	<i>Timor Mortis conturbat ME.</i>	<i>b</i>

4	He takis the knychtis in to <i>feild</i> ,	<i>a</i>
4	Anarmit vnder helme et <i>scheild</i> ;	<i>a</i>
4	Wictour he is at all <i>melle</i> ;	<i>b</i>
R. 4	<i>Timor Mortis conturbat ME.</i> "	<i>b</i>

This is the Old French verse-form, the Kyrielle. The rules of its structure are laid down at once by precept and example in Theodore de Bauville's lines :—

“ Qui voudra sçavoir la pratique
De cette rime juridique,
Je dis que bien mise en effet
La Kyrielle ainsi se fait.
De plante de sillabes huit
Usez en donc si bien vous duit ;
Pour faire le couplet parfait
La Kyrielle ainsi se fait.”

The pieces for which it is chosen by Dunbar may be enumerated in the order of their extent, the longer ones coming first. The list begins with two of equal length—“The Lament for the Makaris” (p. 48), and the Complaint to the King “Of the Warldis Instabilitie” (p. 226), each of which extends to twenty-five strophes. The piece beginning “Ffredome, honour and nobilnes” (p. 158) has eleven strophes. Three pieces are written in ten stanzas each—“All Erdly Joy returnis in Pane” (p. 76), “The Amendis to the Tel3ouris and Sowtaris” (p. 127), and the piece beginning “Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in weir” (p. 152). Two are in eight strophes each—“To the King, that he war Johne Thomsounis Man” (p. 218), and the “Welcome to the Lord Treasurer” (p. 264). The two addresses to the Queen, “Of James Dog” (p. 195), and “Of the same James” (p. 197), and the piece attributed to Dunbar—“Gif 3e wald lufe and luvit be” (p. 312)—have each six stanzas. One piece in five strophes, “A New Year's Gift to the King” (p. 256), and one in four (with, however, the last line repeated at the end of the poem), the piece beginning “Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre” (p. 279), complete the list.

2. *The strophe of five lines and two rhymes.*—There are eighteen pieces using this form with the four-foot line, which plainly suited it best in Dunbar's fancy. These two stanzas may be taken as a sample :—

4	“ Off every asking followis <i>nocht</i>	<i>a</i>
4	Reward, bot gif sum caus war <i>wrocht</i> ;	<i>a</i>
4	And quhair caus is, men weill ma <i>SIE</i> ,	<i>b</i>
4	And quhair nane is, it wilbe <i>thocht</i>	<i>a</i>
R. 4	In asking sowld discretioun <i>BE</i> .	<i>b</i>
4	Ane fule, thocht he haif caus or <i>nane</i> ,	<i>a</i>
4	Cryis ay, Gif me, in to a <i>drene</i> ;	<i>a</i>
4	And he that dronis ay as ane <i>BEE</i>	<i>b</i>
4	Sowld haif ane heirar dull as <i>stane</i> :	<i>a</i>
R. 4	In asking sowld discretioun <i>BE.</i> ”	<i>b</i>

The scheme of rhymes here, it will be seen, is *aa, bab*; and this, taken in conjunction with the fact of the presence of the refrain, explains the origin of the strophe. It is clearly an adaptation of that five-lined strophe called by Guest the roundle-stave (and already examined), whose rhyme scheme is *aa, bba*. The change of the *b* rhyme from the close one to an interwoven one made it possible to keep up a refrain on the *b* rhyme, which occurs only twice in the strophe; while the *a* rhyme, which concludes the form of the strophe which has no refrain, occurs three times. The pieces written in this form are, again in order of length—

" This nyct in my sleip I wes agast " (p. 144).	Twenty-one strophes.
" Quhome to sall I complene my wo " (p. 100).	Seventeen "
" Schir, 3it remembir as of befoir " (p. 104).	" "
Of Discretioun in Geving (p. 87).	Twelve "
" Musing allone this hinder nicht " (p. 92).	Eleven "
" How sowld I rewill me, or quhat wyiss " (p. 95).	Ten "
Of Discretioun in Taking (p. 90).	Nine "
" In Asking sowld Discretioun be " (p. 84).	" "
" Full oft I mvss and hes in thoct " (p. 110).	Eight "
" Sanct Saluatour I send siluer sorrow " (p. 129).	Seven "
To the Quene (p. 203).	" "
Of Content (p. 230).	" "
" Fane wald I luv, bot quhair abowt " (attributed, p. 308).	" "
" Faine wald I, with all diligence " (attributed, p. 310).	" "
" Rycht airlie on Ask Weddinsday " (p. 160).	Six "
To the King (p. 208).	" "
" He that hes gold and grit richness " (p. 134).	Five "
Of ane Blak-Moir (p. 201).	" "

The piece beginning "Devorit with dreme" (p. 81) exhibits the outward form of this strophe in five-foot lines, as it is printed in Mr Small's text. But by a free use of internal rhymes, Dunbar has considerably complicated the structure of the strophe. This intricacy is best exhibited by printing a stanza—take the first on p. 82 as an example—with the rhymes displayed at the ends of the lines:—

2	" Sa mony <i>lordis</i> ,	<i>a</i>
3	So mony naturall <i>FULIS</i> ,	<i>b</i>
2	That better <i>accordis</i>	<i>a</i>
3	To play thame at the <i>TRULIS</i> ,	<i>b</i>
2	Nor seiss the <i>DULIS</i>	<i>b</i>
3	That commonis dois sustene;	<i>c</i>
2	New tane fra <i>SCULIS</i> ,	<i>b</i>
3	Sa mony anis and <i>MVLIS</i>	<i>b</i>
R. 5	Within this land was nevir hard nor sene."	<i>c</i>

3. *The strophe of seven lines and three rhymes.*—This occurs in Dunbar only in four-foot lines, and with the scheme of the rhymes arranged *aa, bb, cbc*. Thus:—

4	" Ane mvrlandis man of vplandis <i>mak</i>	<i>a</i>
4	At hame thus to his nychtbour <i>spak</i> ,	<i>a</i>
4	' Quhat tydingis gossep, peax or WEIR ?'	<i>b</i>
4	The tother rownit in his EIR,	<i>b</i>
4+	' I tell þow this vndir <i>confessioun</i> ,	<i>c</i>
4	Bot laity lichtit of my MEIR,	<i>b</i>
4+	I come of Edinburch fra the <i>Sessioun</i> .'" "	<i>c</i>

Dunbar employs this strophe in the five following pieces: "The Wowing of the King quhen he wes in Dumfermeling," ten strophes (p. 136); "Tidings from the Session," eight strophes (p. 78); "In secreit place this hyndir nycht," nine strophes (p. 247); "Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer," seven strophes (p. 199); and the "Complaint to the King aganis Mure," four strophes (p. 210).

Guest (p. 650) treats this stave as an elaboration of that form which he calls the rundle-stave (and which has already been examined) by the prefixing of a couplet. But examples of a seven-lined strophe in this metre occur (though not in Dunbar) with the rhymes arranged *ab, ab, cbc*, which points to the conclusion that the strophe had an independent formation. See Schipper, p. 416.

4. *The strophe of eight lines with three rhymes, abab, bc bc.*—This is Dunbar's most favoured form for short pieces of a heroic or festal character. It is the form by far most frequently exemplified in the body of his poetry that has been preserved. Dunbar has this form both in four-foot and five-foot lines, though the pieces in the latter measure are much the more numerous. Those in the four-foot line are the long poem of fifteen strophes beginning "Sen that I am a presoneir" (p. 164), the first strophe of which, however, has only two rhymes, thus—*abab, abab*; the "Ballat of the Passioun of Christ" (p. 239), a piece in eighteen strophes, but made up, so far as its form is concerned, of two separate pieces with independent refrains, one constant to eleven and the other to six strophes, and of a strophe without a refrain introductory to the whole piece; the poem "Doun by ane rever as I red" (p. 305) attributed to Dunbar, and extending to ten strophes; and three pieces which have this special peculiarity, that their refrains are in Latin, borrowed probably from the mass, "Rorate celi desuper" (p. 72), seven strophes; "Memento, homo, quod cinis es" (p. 74), six strophes; and the attributed piece, "Jerusalem reioss for joy" (p. 322), extending to five strophes.

There are twenty pieces in the same form in a five-foot line. Ballads of five strophes occur oftenest among these. Such are—

- "Hermes the Philosopher" (p. 108).
- "Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro" (p. 154).
- "Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak" (p. 156).
- "Ane Orisoun" (p. 235).
- "We Lordis hes chosin a chiftane mervellus" (p. 237).
- "Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis regioun" (p. 274).

" Now glaidith euery liffis creature " (p. 324).

" O lusty flour of 3owth " (p. 326).

" The sterne is rissin of our Redemptioun " (p. 328).

The remaining pieces in this form are—

" I cry The mercy, and lasar to repent " (p. 65).	Twenty-one strophes.
" In May as that Aurora did vpspring " (p. 174). ¹	
" The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny " (p. 59).	Twelve "
" Blyth Aberdein " (p. 251).	Nine "
" London, thou art of townes A per se " (p. 276).	Seven "
" To dwell in Court, my freind " (p. 98).	Six "
" Roiss Mary most of vertew virginall " (p. 272).	Six "
" Elegy on the Death of Bernard Stewart " (p. 63).	Four "
" Be 3e ane Luvar, think 3e nocht 3e suld " (p. 162).	Three "
" Learning vain without guid Lyfe " (p. 224).	Three "
" O wreche, be war " (p. 244).	Three "

This form is no doubt a free adaptation of the French *ballade*, in which was cast most of the poetry of that trio of French singers who were representative of their craft in Dunbar's own time—Charles of Orleans, René Duke of Anjou, and François Villon. Dunbar's "ballades" (to give them that name) are not so strict in form as the French poems, which consisted of three strophes each and a half strophe or envoy, the rhyme scheme being the same as Dunbar's but the rhymes of the first strophe being repeated throughout the whole of the poem. Dunbar changes a series of rhymes in each strophe, and never uses the "envoy" with this form.

King James, in his 'Reulis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie' (ed. Haslewood, p. 114), calls this form the *Ballat Royal*, and recommends it "for any heich and graue subjectis, specially drawin out of learnit outhouris."

5. *The strophe of six four-foot lines with two rhymes, a a a, b b b*, exemplified in only two pieces by Dunbar—the "Petition of the Gray Horse" (p. 215), containing eleven strophes, and the piece beginning, "Now culit is dame Venus brand" (p. 179), extending to fifteen. The refrain here is a couplet, which forms an appendage to the strophe, like the "tail" of the verse in the "*rime coule*, to be afterwards explained.

4	" Now culit is dame Venus brand ;	a
4	Trew luvys fyre is ay kindilland,	a
4	And I begyn to vndirstand,	a
4	In feynit luvy quhat folly BENE :	b
4	Now cumis aige quhair 3ewth hes BENE,	b
4	And trew luvy rysis fro the SPLENE."	b

—See Schipper, p. 377.

¹ A piece of fifteen strophes in all, but with alternate, and not, as in the usual case, constant refrains, dividing the piece into sections of six and eight strophes respectively.

6. To complete the list of strophes of equal lines, with refrain, used by Dunbar, account must be taken of the "responses" in "The Dregy" (pp. 113, 114). Schipper treats the second of these (p. 382) as a six-line strophe, consisting of a "head" and a "tail," like the pieces in tail-rhyme to be afterwards examined. But neither of the other responses has the final couplet, which is not an integral part of the strophe in which these are written. It is a well-known French eight-line strophe, and should be printed so :—

2	"God and Sanct <i>Jeill</i> ,	<i>a</i>
2	Heir 3ow conVOY	<i>b</i>
2	Baith sone and <i>weill</i> ,	<i>a</i>
2	God and Sanct <i>Jeill</i> .	<i>a</i>
2	To sonce and <i>seill</i> ,	<i>a</i>
2	Solace and JOY,	<i>b</i>
2	God and Sanct <i>Geill</i>	<i>a</i>
2	Heir 3ow conVOY."	<i>b</i>

This strophe answers the description of the "Triolet" of modern French verse-writers, given by Mr Austin Dobson (in the Essay appended to 'Latter-Day Lyrics,' London, 1878): "The modern Triolet consists of eight lines with two rhymes. The first pair of lines are repeated as the seventh and eighth, while the first is repeated as the fourth. The order of rhymes is thus as follows—*ab, aaa, bab*." Mr Dobson gives an instance of its use from Ménage's "King of Triolets," Jacques Ranchin, which is in four-foot iambic lines, an easier form than the two-foot of Dunbar's examples.

Guest, whose notice this form, as exemplified in English verse, seems to have escaped, quotes (p. 647) from 'Le Jardin de Plaisance,' a French 'Ars Poetica' of the fifteenth century, this example of the strophe, which then was known as a "common rondeau" :—

" Ainsi se font communs rondeaulx,
 Ne plus ne moins que cestuy ci,
 Tant de vont que de vont deaux,
 Ainsi se font communs rondeaulx.
 Plusieurs gentils et mains bourdeaux
 Faillent silz ne font par tel cy,
 Ainsi se font communs rondeaulx,
 Ne plus ne moins que cestuy ci."

B.—STROPHES IN LINES OF UNEQUAL LENGTH.

(1.) *Strophes in Tail-rhyme.*

Tail-rhyme, *versus caudatus*, *rime-couée*, is a name given to a form of verse which seems to have originated in the Latin lyrical poetry of the Church, to have passed thence through Latin popular poetry into the vernacular verse of England and France, in both of which countries it became a much favoured form for popular poetry. (See

Schipper, p. 353, for an interesting account of its historical origin.) In its simplest form the strophe in tail-rhyme consists of six lines, divisible into two sections of three lines each, the first two lines of each section forming the "head," and rhyming together; the third line in each forming the "tail," and rhyming with the tail of the other section, and the scheme of rhymes thus being *aaċ, ccċ*. The line of the tail is in the earliest forms shorter by one foot than the lines of the head. For example, take this strophe from Dunbar's poem "Of Sir Thomas Norray" (p. 192):—

4	"Now lythis of ane gentill <i>Knycht</i> ,	<i>a</i>	} Head.
4	Schir Thomas Norray, wyse and <i>wicht</i> ,	<i>a</i>	
3	And full of chivalrie ;	<i>b</i>	Tail.
4	Quhais father was ane Grand <i>Keyne</i> ,	<i>c</i>	} Head.
4	His mother was ane Farie <i>Queyne</i> ,	<i>c</i>	
3	Gotten be <i>soßERY</i> ."	<i>b</i>	Tail.

Here there are four feet in the head-lines and three in the tails, the common form. It is to be noted, however, that Dunbar uses the simple strophe only in the one poem just cited. His pieces in tail-rhyme are for the most part in the more elaborate and later developed forms of the strophe.

1. In two poems, "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis" (p. 117) and "The Turnament" (p. 122), he uses the strophe of twelve lines made up of two of the simpler strophes just exemplified, the bond of connection being the rhyme of the four tail-lines, which rhyme together, so that the scheme is *aaċ, ccċ, ddċ, eċċ*. Thus—

4	"Off Februar the fyiftene <i>nicht</i> ,	<i>a</i>
4	Full lang befor the dayis <i>lycht</i> ,	<i>a</i>
3	I lay in till a <i>TRANCE</i> ;	<i>b</i>
4	And then I saw baith hevin and <i>hell</i> :	<i>c</i>
4	Me thoct, amangis the feyndis <i>fell</i> ,	<i>c</i>
3	Mahoun gart cry ane <i>DANCE</i> .	<i>b</i>
4	Off schrewis that wer nevir schrevin,	<i>d</i>
4	Aganiss the feist of Fasternis <i>evin</i>	<i>d</i>
3	To mak thair observance ;	<i>b</i>
4	He bad gallandis ga graith a <i>gyiss</i> ,	<i>e</i>
4	And kast vp gamountis in the <i>skyiss</i>	<i>e</i>
3	That last came out of <i>FRANCE</i> ."	<i>b</i>

This is the first strophe of the "Dance." Although printed in Mr Small's text mainly in sections of six lines, an examination of the verse will show that the strophe is really one of twelve lines, both the rhyme and the logical structure of the periods involving a strophic structure of twelve lines. There are, however, two supplementary (it may be, interpolated) strophes of six lines each at lines 25 and 103 respectively; but the longer form is constant through the rest of the poem.

2. The simple strophe of six lines was developed into one of eight

by adding another line to the "head," rhyming with the others, so that the scheme of rhymes was *aaab, cccb*; and by doubling this into a strophe of sixteen lines, rhyming *aaab, cccb, dddb, eebb*, Dunbar gets the form used in the two pieces, the "Fenzeit Freir of Tungland" (p. 139) and the "Droichis part of the Play" (p. 314). In the former piece, the first and last strophe is extended to twenty-four lines by keeping up the same rhyme in the tail-lines through another half-strophe. In the latter piece, the examination of the verse shows that in Mr Small's text one of the strophes has got broken up and its parts set out of place. Lines 113-120 should be transferred to the place now occupied by lines 129-136.

3. In the foregoing examples of this form, the head-lines are of four and the tail-lines of three feet. Another development was attained by changing this normal relation in the length of the lines. Dunbar has single instances of two separate developments of this kind. In the first, the piece beginning "Quha will behald of luvè the chance" (p. 172), written in a strophe of eight lines, the tail-line is shortened into two feet, thus:—

4	" Quha will behald of luvè the chance,	<i>a</i>
4	With sweit dissauyng countenance,	<i>a</i>
4	In quhais fair dissimlvance	<i>a</i>
2	May none ASSURE ;	<i>b</i>
4	Quhilk is begun with inconstance,	<i>a</i>
4	And endis nocht but variance,	<i>a</i>
4	Scho haldis with continuance	<i>a</i>
2	No scherUITURE."	<i>b</i>

This piece, it should be remarked, continues the same rhymes throughout its three strophes, so that its form is something more than mere tail-rhyme—approaching nearly to that of the old French Virelay.

In the other piece, "Thir Ladyis fair" (p. 168), Dunbar gives an instance of tail-rhyme in a strophe of twelve lines rhymed *aab, aab, ccd, ccd*, in which the lines of the "head" are shortened to two feet, and those of the "tail" extended to four. Dr Small has printed this piece in sections of eight equal lines, but it is properly a strophe of twelve unequal lines, thus:—

2	" Thir ladyis fair	<i>a</i>
2	That makis repair,	<i>a</i>
4	And in the court ar KEND,	<i>b</i>
2	Thre dayis thair,	<i>a</i>
2	Thay will do màir,	<i>a</i>
4	Ane mater for till END,	<i>b</i>
2	Than thair gud men,	<i>c</i>
2	Will do in ten,	<i>c</i>
4	For ony craft thay CAN,	<i>d</i>
2	So weill thay ken,	<i>c</i>
2	Quhat tyme and quhen,	<i>c</i>
4	Thair menes thay sowld mak THAN."	<i>d</i>

(2.) *Strophes with a Wheel.*

The "wheel" is the name used by Dr Guest (p. 572 *et seq.*) conveniently to describe a metrical device whereby the strophe was developed into a more complex form than a mere combination of equal lines joined together by rhyme. He explains the term as denoting the return at the close of each strophe of some marked and peculiar rhythm. To illustrate it by an example from Dunbar, who only seldom uses it, take the first strophe of "The Ballad of Kynd Kittok" (p. 52):—

" My Gudame wes a gay wif, bot scho wes rycht gend,	<i>a</i>
Scho duelt furth fer in to France, apon Falkland fellis;	<i>b</i>
Thay callit her Kynd Kittok, quhasa hir weill kend :	<i>a</i>
Scho wes like a caldrone cruke cler vnder kellis ;	<i>b</i>
Thay threpit that scho deit of thrist, et maid a gud end.	<i>a</i>
Efter hir dede, scho dredit nought in hevin for to duell;	<i>b</i>
And sa to hevin the hieway dreidless scho wend,	<i>a</i>
3it scho wanderit, and 3eid by to ane elriche well.	<i>b</i>
3 Scho met thar, as I wene	<i>c</i>
3 Ane ask rydand on a SNAILL,	<i>d</i>
3 Et cryit, ' Ourtane fallow, HAILL !'	<i>d</i>
3 And raid ane inche behind the TAILL,	<i>d</i>
3 Till it wes neir <i>evin</i> . ¹	<i>c</i>

The last four lines make up the wheel—the line which introduces them and rhymes with the last line of the wheel being called the "bob" or "bob-line," and the combination of all five lines the "bob-wheel" (see Guest, p. 620 *sq.*) This bob-wheel, then, consists of five iambic lines of three accents, each rhymed *cddd*. The strophe to which it is appended combines eight of the alliterative lines of the older poetry by rhymes interwoven thus, *abab, abab*. This combination of alliteration, rhyme, and wheel was early introduced in Scottish poetry. The "Pystyll of Susan" (about 1350) is in this form (the only difference being that the bob-line has but one accent); and in "Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knight"—probably an earlier piece—a similar bob-wheel is used to divide into strophes of irregular length a poem in unrhymed alliterative verse. To this kind of verse King James (work cited, p. 115) applies the name *Rouncefallis*, or *Tumbling verse*, and recommends it for "Flying or Invectives."

In only one other poem by Dunbar is this device exemplified in its oldest form of a wheel of three rhyming lines with a tail-line. This is the piece beginning "In vice most vicius he excellis" (p. 190). The strophe is made up of a couplet of iambic lines with four accents and a wheel, the tail of which rhymes with the couplet, according to the scheme *aa, bbb, a*. Thus—

¹ Pronounced e'en.

4	" In vice most vicus he excellis,	a
4	That with the vice of tressone mellis;	a
2+	Thocht he remissioun,	b
2+	Haif for prodisioun,	b
2+	Schame and susspissioun	b
2	Ay with him dwellis."	a

To complete the list of the strophic forms used by Dunbar, account must be taken of two others which combine in a curious way the effects of the refrain and the wheel. The first is the "Satire on Edinburgh" (p. 261), written in a strophe of seven lines, six of which are four-foot iambics, and one, the fifth, a two-foot with trochaic substitution in the first foot, its brevity giving it the effect of a bob-line. The rhyme scheme is *aaab, bab*. Thus—

4	"Quhy will 3e, merchantis of renoun,	a
4	Lat Edinburgh, 3our nobill toun,	a
4	For laik of reformatioun	a
4	The commone proffeitt tyne and FAME ?	b
R. 2	Think 3e nocht SCHAME,	b
4	That onie vther regioun	a
R. 4	Sall with dishonour hurt 3our NAME !"	b

The fifth and seventh lines are constant (with only unimportant variations) as a refrain through the eleven strophes of the poem. The sixth line varies in each, so that the last three lines form a tail combining the characteristics both of the wheel and the refrain.

The other poem which exhibits a similar structure is "Ane Ballat of Our Lady" (p. 269). This is in a twelve-line strophe made up of two parts, the first containing eight iambic lines alternately four and three foot; and the second consisting of a refrain in Latin (which, however, does not rhyme with any other line in the strophe) introducing a wheel of three lines in the measure of the first part. The rhymes of the strophe are peculiar. The general scheme is *abab, abab* in the first part, and *bab* in the second. This is the order of the end rhymes; but the lines of the *a* series have each two internal *a* rhymes, after the fashion already exemplified in the "Flyting," so as to make the strophe one of highly artificial structure. The first strophe may be taken to show this :—

4	"Halle, sterne superne ! Halle, in eterne,	aaa
3	In Godis sicht to schyne !	b
4	Lucerne in derne, for to discerne	aaa
3	Be glory and grace devyne ;	b
4	Hodiern, modern, sempitern,	aaa
3	Angelicall regyne !	b
4	Our tern infern for to dispern,	aaa
3	Helpe rialest rosyne.	b
4	Aue Maria, gratia plena !	—
3	Haile, fresche flour femynne !	b
4	3erne ws guberne, wirgin matern,	aaa
3	Of reuth baith rute and ryne."	b

IV.—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DUNBAR.

A.—MANUSCRIPTS.

1. The Bannatyne MS., written by George Bannatyne, 1568, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, from which Nos. IX. to XLIX., No. LXXI., and Nos. I. to VI. and VIII. to XI. of the poems attributed to Dunbar in this edition are printed.

2. The Maitland MS., collected by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington shortly after 1586, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, from which Nos. L. to LXX. and LXXII. to LXXVI. of this edition are printed.

3. The Reidpeth MS., University Library, Cambridge, MS. Moore, Ll. 5. 10, written by Mr John Reidpeth between 7th Dec. 1622 and 1623, and to a considerable extent copied from the Maitland MS., from which Nos. VIII. and LXXVII. to LXXXIV. of this edition are printed.

4. The Asloan MS., Auchinleck, Ayrshire, written in 1515, but nearly one half of the original volume, probably containing other poems of Dunbar, has been lost or destroyed, from which Nos. LXXXV. and LXXXVI. of this edition are printed.

5. The Makulloch MS., University of Edinburgh, has another copy of LXXXVI.

6. An MS. volume of the Register of Sasines, Town Clerk's Office, Aberdeen, from which No. LXXXVII. of this edition is printed.

7. The British Museum MS., Cotton. Vitellius, A. xvi., folio 200, from which No. LXXXVIII. is printed.

8. The British Museum Appendix to Royal MSS., No. 58, folio 15 *b*, from which No. LXXXIX. is printed.

9. The British Museum Arundel MS., No. 285, folio 161, from which No. xc. is printed.

10. The poems I.-VII. and No. VII. of the poems attributed to Dunbar are printed from the unique copy of Chepman and Myllar's first printed works in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh.

The Society is indebted to Professor Skeat of Cambridge, Dr Richard Garnett of the British Museum, and the Rev. Dr Gregor, Pitsligo, for collations at Cambridge, London, and Aberdeen respectively, which have been of the greatest service.

B.—PRINTED EDITIONS.

Dunbar's poems have been very frequently printed in part, either by themselves or in collections of Scottish poetry, but only once before the present edition as a whole, by Mr David Laing. It would not

be easy or useful to notice all the partial editions, but the most important are—

1. The Seven Poems (the first printed in the present edition), issued by Chepman and Myllar in 1508.

2. The 'Evergreen' of Allan Ramsay. Edinburgh: Ruddiman, 1724. Contains twenty-four poems by Dunbar.

3. Ancient Scottish Poems, published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, by Lord Hailes. Edinburgh: Printed by A. Murray and J. Cochrane for J. Balfour, 12°, 1770. Reprinted at Leeds, 1817, 8°. Contains thirty-two poems by Dunbar.

4. Ancient Scotch Poems, never before in print, but now published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight, by John Pinkerton. London and Edinburgh: 1786. Contains twenty-three poems by Dunbar, including "The Freiris of Berwik."

5. Select Poems of Will. Dunbar, from the MS. of George Bannatyne. Part First. Perth: R. Morison & Co., 1788, 12°. No Second Part was printed.

6. Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns, by J. Sibbald. Edinburgh: 1802. Contains forty-five poems by Dunbar, including the "Freiris of Berwik."

7. The Poetical Works of William Dunbar, with a Memoir and Notes by David Laing. Edinburgh: 1814. 2 vols., with a Supplement, published in 1865. The Memoir and Notes of this edition contain almost all that has been discovered in the Scottish Records relating to Dunbar. 3/

8. Reprint of Dunbar's Seven Poems, issued by Chepman and Myllar, in No. 19 of the English Scholars' Library, by Mr Edward Arber. Announced, but not yet published.

9. Early English Poetry, selected and edited by H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon. London: Walter Scott, Canterbury Poets, 1887. This is valuable from the successful translation of the poems of Dunbar into modern English, and also as showing how completely he is recognised as an *early English* poet.

10. The works of William Dunbar, including his life, 1465-1536. With Notes and Glossarial Explanations. By James Paterson, author of 'The History of Ayrshire and Ayrshire Families,' &c. Edinburgh: Stillie, 1863.

11. The Bannatyne MS. has been published in full by the Hunterian Club of Glasgow, 1874-81.

12. The present edition contains ninety poems by Dunbar, and eleven others attributed to him but of uncertain authorship.

The following works published on the Continent also deserve notice:—

1. William Dunbar sein Leben und seine Gedichte von Dr J. Schipper, Professor der englischen Philologie an der K.K. Univer-

sität in Wien. Berlin: Oppenheim, 1884. This is the best book which has been written on Dunbar, and the German translations of his poems are executed with a skill and fidelity which Dunbar would himself have admired.

2. *Traité de la Langue du Poète Ecossais William Dunbar*. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei den philosophischen Facultät zu Bonn. Von Johannes Kaufmann aus Elberfeld, 1873. The contents of this Dissertation are chiefly taken from Professor Schipper's then unpublished work.

3. *Englische Studien* von Dr Eugen Kölbing, Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Breslau. X Band. Contains a review of the text of the present edition.

4. *Altenglische Metrik* von Dr J. Schipper. Bonn: 1882-1888. Contains references to Dunbar, pp. 335, 345, 359, 360, 366, 373, 376, 377, 382, 396, 417, 420, 425, 428, 429, 431, 509-512, and 514. This work should be studied by all persons interested in Dunbar's metres.

C.—TABLE OF THE MSS. IN WHICH IS FOUND EACH OF THE POEMS OF DUNBAR.

B. corresponds to No. 1, Section A.

M.	"	"	2,	"
R.	"	"	3,	"
A.	"	"	4,	"
Mak.	"	"	5,	"
RS.A.	"	"	6,	"
BM.V.	"	"	7,	"
BM.R.	"	"	3,	"
BM.A.	"	"	9,	"

* = The Poem in full. † = Part of the Poem.

	B.	M.	R.	A.	Mak.	RS.A.	BM.V.	BM.R.	BM.A.	
1.	*	*	The Goldyn Targe.
2.	*	*	*	*	The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie.
3.	...	*	The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo.
4.	*	*	Lament for the Makaris, quhen he wes seik.
5.	*	The Ballad of Kynd Kittok.
6.	*	*	*	The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy.
7.	The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny.
8.	*	Elegy on the Death of Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny.
9.	*	*	*	I cry the Mercy, and Lasar to repent.
10.	*	Rorate Celi desuper.
11.	*	*	Memento, Homo, quod cinis es.
12.	*	*	All Erdly Joy returns in pane.
13.	*	*	*	Tidings from the Session.
14.	*	*	Devorit with Dreme, devysing in my Slum- tier.

	B.	M.	R.	A.	Mak.	RS.A.	BM.V.	BM.R.	BM.A.	
15.	*	*	*	In asking sowl Discretioun be.
16.	*	*	*	Of Discretioun in Geving.
17.	*	*	*	Of Discretioun in Taking.
18.	*	*	Musing alone this hinder nicht.
19.	*	*	*	How sowl I rewill me, or quhat wyiss.
20.	*	To dwell in Court, my freind.
21.	*	*	*	Quhome to sall I compleme my wo.
22.	*	*	*	Schir, 3it remembir as of befoir.
23.	*	*	Hermes the Philosopher.
24.	*	*	*	Full oft I mvss and hes in thoct.
25.	*	*	*	We that are heir in Hevins Glory.
26.	*	*	*	The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis.
27.	*	*	*	The Turnament.
28.	*	*	Ffollwis the amendis made be him to the Teljouris and Sowtaris.
29.	*	Sanct Saluatur ! send siluer sorrow.
30.	*	*	*	Ffollwis how Dumbar was desyrd to be ane Freir.
31.	*	*	He that hes gold and grit richness.
32.	*	*	...	†	The Wowing of the King quhen he wes in Dumfermeling.
33.	*	†	Ane Ballat of the Fenzeit Freir of Tung- land.
34.	*	*	*	This nycht in my sleip I wes agast.
35.	*	*	*	Lucina schynnyng in silence of the nicht.
36.	*	*	Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in weir.
37.	...	*	Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro.
38.	*	Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak.
39.	*	*	*	Ffredome, Honour and Nobilnes.
40.	*	*	*	...	*	Rycht airlic on Ask Weddinsday.
41.	*	Be 3e ane Luvar, think 3e nocht 3e suld.
42.	*	...	†	Sen that I am a Presoneir.
43.	*	*	*	Thir Ladyis fair, that makis repair.
44.	*	*	In prays of Woman.
45.	*	Quha will behald of Luve the chance.
46.	*	*	In May as that Aurora did vpspring.
47.	*	Now cumis Aige quhair 3ewth hes bene, and trew Luve rysis fro the splene.
48.	*	The Thistle and the Rose.
49.	*	*	*	In Vice most vicus he excellis.
50.	...	*	*	Of Sir Thomas Norray.
51.	*	...	*	Of James Dog, Kepar of the Quenis Ward- rop. To the Quene.
52.	*	...	*	Of the same James, quhen he had plesett him.
53.	...	*	*	Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer.
54.	...	*	*	Of ane Blak-Moir.
55.	...	*	*	To the Quene.
56.	...	*	*	To the King, quhen mony Benefices vakit.
57.	...	*	*	Aganis the Solistar in Court.
58.	...	*	*	To the King.
59.	...	*	*	Complaint to the King aganis Mure.
60.	...	*	*	Dunbar's Complaint to the King.
61.	...	†	†	The Petition of the Gray Horse, Auld Dunbar.
62.	...	*	To the King, that he war Johne Thom- sounis Man.
63.	...	*	Dunbar's Remonstrance to the King.

	B.	M.	R.	A.	Mak.	RS.A.	EM.V.	EM.R.	EM.A.	
64.	...	*	To a Ladye.
65.	...	*	*	Learning vain without guid Lyfe. Written at Oxinfurde.
66.	...	*	*	Of the Warldis Instabilitie. To the King.
67.	...	*	*	Of Content.
68.	...	*	*	Of the changes of Lyfe,
69.	...	*	†	Meditatioun in Wyntir.
70.	...	*	*	Ane Orisoun. Quhen the Gouvernour past in France.
71.	*	We Lordis hes chosin a Chiftane mervellus.
72.	...	*	...	*	*	Ane Ballat of the Passioun of Christ.
73.	...	*	O Wreche, be war!
74.	...	*	To a Ladye. Quhone he list to feyne.
75.	*	*	*	In secreit place this hyndir nycht.
76.	*	*	Quhat is this Lyfe bot ane straucht way to Deid.
77.	*	Blyth Aberdein.
78.	*	My heid did 3ak 3esternicht.
79.	*	My Lordis of Chacker, pleis 3ow to heir.
80.	*	A New Year's Gift to the King.
81.	*	The Dream.
82.	*	Satire on Edinburgh.
83.	*	Welcome to the Lord Treasurer.
84.	*	Ballate against evil Women.
85.	*	Ane Ballat of our Lady.
86.	*	Roiss Mary most of vertew virginall.
87.	*	*	Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis Regioun.
88.	*	London, thou art of townes A per se.
89.	*	...	Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre.
90.	*	O synfull man, thir ar the fourty dayis.

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO DUNBAR.

1.	*	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	The Freiris of Berwik.
2.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Doun by ane Rever as I red.
3.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Fane wald I lufe, but quhair abowt?
4.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Faine wald I, with all diligence.
5.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Gif 3e wald lufe and luvit be.
6.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ane littill Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play.
7.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	In alloure gardyn growis thare na flouris.
8.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Jerusalem reioiss for joy.
9.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Now glaidith euery liffis creature.
10.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	O lusty flour of 3owth, benyng and bricht.
11.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	The sterne is rissin of our Redemptioun.

D.—TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF EACH OF THE
POEMS OF DUNBAR.

C. corresponds to No. 1, Section B.

E.	"	"	2,	"
H.	"	"	3,	"
Pn.	"	"	4,	"
Ph.	"	"	5,	"
Sb.	"	"	6,	"
L.	"	"	7,	"
Pr.	"	"	10,	"
F.	"	"	9,	"
Sc.	"	Professor Schipper's 'William Dunbar.'		

*=The Poem in full. †=Part of the Poem.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	
	C.	E.	H.	Pn.	Ph.	Sb.	L.	Pr.	F.	Sc.	
1.	*	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	†	†	The Goldyn Targe.
2.	*	*	†	*	*	The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie.
3.	*	*	...	*	*	†	...	†	The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo.
4.	*	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	...	Lament for the Makaris, quhen he wes seik.
5.	*	*	*	The Ballad of Kynd Kittok.
6.	*	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy.
7.	*	*	*	*	...	The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny.
8.	*	*	...	†	Elegy on the Death of Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny.
9.	*	*	...	†	I cry the Mercy, and Lasar to repent.
10.	*	*	...	*	Rorate Celi desuper.
11.	*	...	*	...	*	*	...	†	Memento, Homo, quod cinis es.
12.	*	...	*	...	*	*	...	*	All Erdly Joy returns in pane.
13.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	†	Tidings from the Session.
14.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	†	Devorit with Dreme, devysing in my Slummer.
15.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	†	In asking sowld Discretioun be.
16.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	†	Of Discretioun in Geving.
17.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	†	Of Discretioun in Taking.
18.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Musing allone this hinder nicht.
19.	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	*	How sowld I rewill me, or quhat wyiss.
20.	*	*	To dwell in Court, my freind.
21.	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Quhome to sall I compleme my wo.
22.	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Schir, 3it remembir as of befor.
23.	*	*	*	...	*	Hermes the Philosopher.
24.	*	*	*	...	*	Full oft I mvss and hes in thoct.
25.	...	*	*	*	...	*	We that ar heir in Hevins Glory.
26.	...	*	*	...	†	*	*	†	†	†	The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis.
27.	...	*	*	*	...	†	The Turnament.
28.	...	*	*	*	†	*	Ffollowis the amendis made be him to the Teljouris and Sowntaris.
29.	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	†	Sanct Saluatur I send siluer sorrow.
30.	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Ffollowis how Dumbar was desyrd to be ane Freir.
31.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	†	He that hes gold and grit richness.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	
	C.	E.	H.	Pn.	Ph.	Sb.	L.	Pr.	F.	Sc.	
32.	...	*	*	*	*	The Wowing of the King quhen he wes in Dumfermeling.
33.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Ane Ballat of the Fenzeit Freir of Tung- land.
34.	...	*	*	...	†	*	*	*	*	*	This nycht in my sleip I wes agast.
35.	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Lucina schynnyng in silence of the nicht.
36.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in weir.
37.	Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro.
38.	*	...	*	...	*	*	...	*	Done is a Battell on the Dragon Blak.
39.	...	*	*	*	*	*	Ffredome, Honour and Nobilnes.
40.	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	*	Rycht airlie on Ask Weddinsday.
41.	*	*	Be 3e ane Luvar, think 3e nocht 3e suld.
42.	*	*	...	†	Sen that I am a Presoneir.
43.	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Thir Ladyis fair, that makis repair.
44.	*	*	...	*	In prays of Woman.
45.	*	*	Quha will behald of Luve the chance.
46.	*	...	*	...	*	*	*	*	In May as that Aurora did vpspring.
47.	*	...	*	*	*	*	...	*	Now cumis Aige quhair 3ewth hes bene, and trew Luve rysis fro the splene.
48.	...	*	*	...	*	*	*	*	†	*	The Thistle and the Rose.
49.	...	*	*	*	...	†	In Vice most vicus he excellis.
50.	†	*	*	...	†	Of Sir Thomas Norray.
51.	*	...	*	*	*	...	*	Of James Dog, Kepar of the Quenis Wardrop. To the Quene.
52.	*	...	*	*	*	...	*	Of the same James, quhen he had plesett him.
53.	*	...	*	*	*	...	†	Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer.
54.	*	*	*	Of ane Blak-Moir.
55.	*	...	†	*	To the Quene.
56.	*	*	*	...	*	To the King, quhen mony Benefices vakit.
57.	*	...	*	*	*	...	*	Aganis the Solistaris in Court.
58.	*	...	†	*	*	...	*	To the King.
59.	*	*	*	...	*	Complaint to the King aganis Mure.
60.	*	...	†	*	*	...	†	Dunbar's Complaint to the King.
61.	†	...	†	*	*	...	*	The Petition of the Gray Horse, Auld Dunbar.
62.	*	...	*	*	*	...	*	To the King, that he war Johne Thom- sounis Man.
63.	*	*	...	†	Dunbar's Remonstrance to the King.
64.	*	*	*	...	*	To a Ladye.
65.	*	*	*	...	†	Learning vain without guid Lyfe. Writ- ten at Oxinfurde.
66.	*	...	*	*	*	†	†	Of the Waridis Instabilitie. To the King.
67.	*	*	*	*	*	Of Content.
68.	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	Of the changes of Lyfe.
69.	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	Meditatioun in Wyntir.
70.	*	...	*	*	*	...	*	Ane Orisoun. Quhen the Gouvernour past in France.
71.	*	We Lordis hes chosin a Chiftane mer- vellus.
72.	*	*	...	†	Ane Ballat of the Passioun of Christ.
73.	*	*	...	*	O Wreche, be war!
74.	*	*	...	†	To a Ladye. Quhone he list to feyne.
75.	...	*	*	*	†	In secreit place this hyndir nycht.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	
	C.	E.	H.	Pn.	Ph.	Sb.	L.	Pr.	F.	Sc.	
76.	*	*	*	*	Quhat is this Lyfe bot ane straucht way to Deid.
77.	*	*	...	†	Blyth Aberdein.
78.	*	*	My heid did 3ak 3esternicht.
79.	*	*	...	*	My Lordis of Chacker, pleis 3ow to heir.
80.	*	*	...	*	A New Year's Gift to the King.
81.	*	*	...	*	The Dream.
82.	*	*	...	*	Satire on Edinburgh.
83.	*	*	...	†	Welcome to the Lord Treasurer.
84.	Ballate against evil Women.
85.	*	*	...	†	Ane Ballat of our Lady.
86.	*	†	Roiss Mary most of vertew virginall.
87.	*	†	Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis Regioun.
88.	London, thou art of townes A per se.
89.	Now fayre, fayrest off every fayre.
90.	*	*	...	*	O synfull man, thir ar the fourty dayis.
	7	24	31	22	29	44	87	77	15	75	

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO DUNBAR.

I.	...	...	...	*	...	*	*	...	...	...	The Freiris of Berwik.
2.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	Doun by ane Rever as I red.
3.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	Fane wald I lufe, but quhair abowt?
4.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	Faine wald I, with all diligece.
5.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	*	...	Gif 3e wald lufe and luvit be.
6.	...	*	*	...	...	...	*	...	...	†	Ane littill Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play.
7.	*	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	In all oure gardyn growis thare na flouris.
8.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	Jerusalem reioiss for joy.
9.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	*	...	Now glaidith euery liffis creature.
10.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	*	...	*	O lusty flour of 3owth, benyng and bricht.
11.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	The sterne is rissin of our Redemptioun.
	I	I	I	I	...	I	II	I	2	2	

V.—HISTORICAL NOTICES OF PERSONS ALLUDED
TO IN DUNBAR'S POEMS.¹

ABIRAM. *Flyting*, l. 250.—See Numbers xvi. 1.

ABSALOME. *Flyting*, l. 12.—The son of David.

ACHILLES. *Of Man's Mortalitie*, l. 10.—The Greek champion in the siege of Troy.

AFFLEK, JAMES. *Lament*, l. 58.—Laing identifies Afflek with James Auchinleck, these names having been pronounced the same way. Master James Auchinleck, shortened to Achlik, styled "servitour to the Earl of Rosse," witnesses an indenture of marriage between Alexander, son of John of Rosse, and Margaret, daughter of Hector (M'Gillevin) MacLean of Lochbuie, at Dingwall, 6th Feb. 1474, recorded in the Acta Dominorum Concilii, 30th June 1494. In the Privy Council Records for 1497, the Chantory of Caithness was given by James IV., on the decease of "Master James Auchinleck," to James Beaton, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews. This is presumed to be the same person, and if so, he is proved to have been in holy orders. A poem, "The Quair of Jealousy," in the Selden MS., Auch. B. 24, which ends "Explicit quod Auchin," is conjectured by Laing to be by this poet. No other poem of his is known.

The dates of the life of James Auchinleck, who must have been alive in 1474 and dead in 1497, agree sufficiently well with his place in "The Lament for the Makaris."

ALBANY, DUKE OF. See Stewart, John.

ALEXANDER. *Of Man's Mortalitie*, l. 11.—Alexander the Great, whose story was a familiar subject of legend.

ALLANE. *Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy*, l. 12.—Who blind Allan was has not been discovered. Probably the line—

"Na blind Allane wait of the mone,"—

was a proverb now lost. It is alluded to by Lyndsay—

¹ These Notices have been under such frequent obligations to Mr Laing's Memoir and Notes to his edition of Dunbar, that a general acknowledgment of the compiler's share in the debt of all who attempt to write after Mr Laing may, however inadequate, owing to considerations of space, be allowed.

" I understand no science spiritual,
No more than dyd blind Alane of the mone."

—'The Tragedy of the Cardinal,' ll. 395, 396.

ANDREW OF WYNTOUN. *Lament*, l. 54.—Prior of the Convent of St Serf's Inch, in Lochleven, author of the 'Cronykall Oryginale,' written between 1395 and 1424. It was called "Oryginale" because it traced the history of the world, but chiefly of Scotland, from its origin. It is the earliest history in the vernacular, as well as the earliest long poem with the exception of Barbour's "Bruce." It is composed in rhyming couplets and lines of eight syllables, with some deviations into ten and six. Wyntoun and Barbour adhere more strictly to this metre which was borrowed from France than their English contemporaries (Schipper, 'Altenglische Metrik,' vol. i. p. 264). It was first printed by Macpherson, 1795, but the best edition is by Laing, 'Scottish Historians,' Paterson, 1872, which embodies Macpherson's Notes.

ANN (AN), St. *To the King, that he war Johne Thomosunis Man*, l. 31.—The mother of the Virgin. The development of the worship of the Virgin led to her relations being included in the Calendar as Saints, with altars dedicated to them. St Ann had such altars in many Scottish churches, as in the chapel at Holyrood and the great Church of St Michael at Linlithgow, where a chaplain was kept to minister at it.—'Register of Special Evidents of Linlithgow.'

The Collegiate Church at Glasgow was founded by James Houston, Sub-Dean of the Cathedral and Rector of the University, in 1528, in honour of our Lady the Blessed Virgin and St Ann.—'Liber Collegii Nostræ Dominæ B.V. Mariæ et S. Annæ,' Maitland Club.

The Franciscans specially favoured the worship of the Virgin. The Immaculate Conception was an article of their belief long before it was made a dogma of the Church. Sixtus IV., Pope (1471-84), and general of their Order, issued in 1477 a special office for the festival of her conception, and dedicated the churches of S. Maria del Popolo and S. Maria della Pace at Rome to her. But by a decree in 1483 he recognised the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as open, though he had himself written a book in its support.—Crichton's 'History of the Papacy,' vol. iii. p. 113.

"A rich and copious legend," says Milman ('Latin Christianity,' vol. vi., p. 241), "revealed the whole history of her [the Virgin Mary's] birth and life, of which the sacred Scriptures were altogether silent, but of which the spurious Gospels furnished many incidents. The latest question raised about the Virgin, her absolute immunity from the sin of Adam, is the best illustration of the strength and vitality of the belief. . . . It divided the Franciscans and the Dominicans into hostile camps;" and he adds in a note: "When the stranger in

Spain arrived at midnight at a convent gate and uttered his 'Santisima Virgin,' he knew by the answer, 'Sen pecado concebida,' or by the silence with which the gate was opened, whether it was a Franciscan or a Dominican."

That Dunbar should pray to "God and sweet Saint An" was a reminiscence of his Franciscan training, which is also seen in his poems to the Virgin, pp. 269 and 273. He alludes, perhaps, to the immaculate conception in the line "Haile, moder and maid but makle!"—"Ane Ballat of our Lady," p. 269, l. 22—and does not hesitate to call the Virgin, "to God gret suffragane," l. 68, and "moder of God"—"Roiss Mary most of Vertew Virginall," l. 44.

ANTANE, Sanct. *Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy*, l. 60.—St Antony, a Coptic monk (b. 251, d. 356), the contemporary and friend of Athanasius, by whom his life was written. In 1095 the first hospital of St Antony was founded by Gaston, a gentleman of Dauphine, for the Benedictine monks of Grammont, near Vienne (where his body was said to be), for the cure of the sick, especially those afflicted by the disease called St Antony's fire (erysipelas). In 1297 the community of St Antony withdrew from the Benedictines, and became a separate congregation, following the rule of St Augustine, under a bull of Boniface VIII. Their only house in Scotland was at Leith, which was endowed by Logan of Restalrig in 1435. Their houses were called hospitals, and their governors preceptors. William Gray, mentioned in this poem, was the preceptor of the hospital at Leith, which had attached to it the Chapel of St Antony on Arthur's Seat, near which is the well still called St Antony's Well.—See 'Acta Sanctorum,' Jan. 17; Keith's "Religious Houses," appended to his 'Catalogue of Scottish Bishops,' p. 241; 'Historical Notices of St Antony's, Leith,' Grampian Club, 1877.

ANTENOR. *Flyting*, l. 529.—A Trojan, who, when sent to Agamemnon as an envoy, betrayed Troy to, and was spared by, the Greeks. As a traitor, Dunbar is called his kinsman by Kennedy.—See Chaucer, "Troilus and Cryseyde," vol. v. p. 187 (Bell's edition); 'The Boke of the Duchesse,' vol. vi. p. 171. See also Gower's 'Confessio Amantis,' vol. i. p. 79 (Pauli's edition).

ARISTOTLE. *Ballate against Evil Women*, p. 267, l. 31.

ARTHUR. *The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart*, l. 59.—The hero of British romance, in Scotland as in England. It is still a matter of dispute whether Arthur was a mythical or historical hero; and if historical, whether the scene of his exploits was South Wales and the south-west of England—the neighbourhood of Bath and Glastonbury—or the south-west of Scotland and north-west of England and Wales, where,

especially in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, his name is preserved in many places. The English theory is maintained by Dr Guest and Mr Pearson (note, p. 133, of Mr Stewart Glennie's 'Arthurian Localities'), and the Scottish by Mr Skene ('Four Books of Ancient Wales,' vol. i. p. 51) and by Mr Glennie. A fair statement of the grounds on which the opposite theories are based is given by Mr Keary in the life of Arthur in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' This writer declines to pre-judge the question whether Arthur belongs to history at all. What is certain is, that he was a Cymric as distinguished from a Gaelic hero; and that, while the 'Vita Sancti Gildæ,' and the early medieval chroniclers generally, favour the view of his kingdom and battles having been in the southern district, the Cymric poems (in Skene's 'Ancient Books of Wales') and the early English or Scottish alliterative poem of the "Awntrys of Arthur at the Tarnwathlan" (Tarn Wadling), and others, written early in the fourteenth century, support the view that he belonged to the northern branch of the Cymric race, and fought in modern Scotland and the north-west district of England. The most important account of him and his twelve battles, because the earliest in date, is given by Nennius in his 'Historia Britonum,' p. 56. The situations of the places of these battles have been identified by the supporters of the two views, according to their respective theories, but cannot be said to be ascertained. Modern Scotland and Cumberland are distinctly richer in Arthurian place-names than southern England, and there is much force in the argument that the nucleus of the romantic legends which surround his name, the favourite material of so many poets of recent as well as earlier times, travelled from north to south rather than the reverse. It became incrustated with a later tradition invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth (1130), and elaborated by Sir Thomas Malory, whose collection of the Arthurian Legends was published by Caxton in 1485, and who brought it back from the French Brittany to Britain at a time when a Welsh or southern English site for the legend was more popular than one on Scottish ground. The romance of Arthur was familiar in Scotland in the reign of James IV., owing to the attempt of the king to re-enact his character, as well as from the tradition of the alliterative poetry describing his adventures and those of his principal knights.—See Gawaine.

AUGUSTINE, Sanct, of Canterbury. *Flyting*, l. 125.—The line—

"And he that dang Sanct Augustine with ane rumpel,"—

is explained by the following curious passage in Bellenden's translation of Boece: "Finalie quhen this haly man, Sanct Austin, was precheand to the Saxons in Miglinton, they wer nocht onlie rebelland to his precheing, bot in his contemptioun thay sewit fische talis on his abyement. Otheris allegis *thay dang him with skait rumpellis*."—Book ix., ch. 18. See also Rowles's "Cursing," l. 207.

BAAL. *Flyting*, ll. 533 and 541.—Wyntoun, in describing the origin of idolatry, writes: "Sum Bell thai called and sum Baal, sum Beelzebub and sum Belial."—Vol. i. p. 64.

BABINGTON, DOCTOR. *Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 15.—The Queen's Almoner, or Almaser, came with Margaret Tudor to Scotland on her marriage, and was appointed in 1506-1507 Dean of Aberdeen, when "£39 great Flemish money" was paid for expediting the bull of the Deanery (Treasurer's Accounts, 6th August 1506 to 6th August 1507). His half-year's fee as Almoner ("£10 Inglis, quilk in Scottis money is £35") was paid from 13th December 1503 to 8th February 1506—*ib.* After he was appointed Dean he seems to have given up the office of Almoner. Amongst the minor events which ran in favour of the Union, and in the end overcame the prejudice of the Scottish people against it, must be reckoned the introduction of English settlers like Babington belonging to the suite of Margaret Tudor.

Babington may have been a member of the family originally of Northumberland, but afterwards settled in Nottinghamshire, one of whom, Sir William, was Chief Justice of the Common Bench, and died in 1455. The Chief Justice, who was a benefactor of the Church, left two sons.—See Foss, 'Judges of England,' vol. iv. p. 285.

BALIOLL, JOHN. *Flyting*, l. 265.

BARBOUR, JOHN. *Lament*, l. 61. Archdeacon of Aberdeen, b. 1316, d. 1395. Author of 'The Bruce,' the earliest in date of the Scottish poets, often called the father of Scottish poetry. Besides the poem on which his fame rests, he is now generally believed to have written the version of the 'Legends of the Saints,' of which the only MS. is in the Cambridge University Library, where it was discovered by the late Mr Bradshaw, its librarian. It was published by Horstmann, in his collection of 'Altenglische Legenden,' and is now, under the editorship of the Rev. Mr Metcalfe, in course of publication for the Scottish Text Society. More recently doubts have been cast on Barbour's authorship of these legends (see Köppel, 'Englische Studien,' 1887, vol. x. p. 373). And Professor Skeat inclines to think these doubts well founded. But they rest chiefly, if not solely, on an argument from the dialect used in 'The Lives of the Saints.' Writers who approach the subject from another point of view, still think the internal evidence is in favour of Barbour's authorship, and that any linguistic differences between them and 'The Bruce' is sufficiently accounted for by the poet's frequent visits to England. He also wrote a poem on the 'Legend of Troy,' of which fragments are appended to two MSS. of Lydgate's 'Troy Book,' printed by the Early English Text Society, and by Horstmann, Barbour's

'Legenden Sammlung,' vol. ii. p. 218. Andrew of Wyntoun, his successor in the list of Scottish poets, appears to ascribe to Barbour the composition of another poem on the genealogy of the Stuarts:—

"The Stuarts oryginale
The Archdeykne has tretet hale
In metyr fayre."

—Wyntoun's 'Cronykal,' VII. vii. 143.

Dunbar has no poetical affinity to Barbour. The mention of his name, as well as that of Wyntoun, attests his catholic taste in poetry. For the life of Barbour, the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' vol. iii., may be referred to. 'The Bruce' has been often published. The best editions are those of the Spalding Club, edited by Mr Cosmo Innes, and of the Early English Text Society, edited by Professor Skeat.

BARTILMO. *Flyting*, l. 126.—St Bartholomew, according to the legend of his martyrdom, was flayed with a knife in Armenia. The 'Roman Breviary,' vol. ii. pp. 1237, 1238, gives this account:—

"The apostle Bartholomew was a Galilæan. In the division of the world among the apostles, it fell to his lot to preach the Gospel in hither India. He went thither and preached to those nations the coming of the Lord Jesus according to the Gospel of St Matthew. When he had turned many in that province to Jesus Christ, and had endured many toils and woes, he came into the greater Armenia. There he brought to the Christian faith Polymius the king and his wife, and likewise the inhabitants of twelve cities. This stirred up a great hatred against him among the priests of that nation. They so inflamed against the apostle Astyages, the brother of King Polymius, that he savagely ordered Bartholomew to be flayed alive and beheaded, under which martyrdom he gave up his soul to God."

In 'The Legends of the Saints' the story runs thus:—

" & rycht as þai sik spek gane mak,
Mene tald, þe kingis god, Baldak,
Wes fallyne downe & brokyne smal.
þe kinge fore Ire þane raf his pal
Of purpur, þat he Ine wes clede,
& gerte þe apostil in þat stede
With gret stawis be dongyng sare
& þe skyne of hyme be flayne þare."

—ix., ll. 283-290. Horstmann, p. 86.

At the Abbey of Croyland, down to the middle of the 15th century, knives were presented to all who visited on the Saint's day, 24th August, in memory of this.—Dugdale, 'Monast. Anglic.,' vol. ii. p. 104.

BEELZEBUB. *Flyting*, l. 533.—See Milton, 'Par. Lost,' Book I., ll. 78-81; Book II., ll. 299-309.

BELL, ALLAN. *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 28.—A misnomer for Adam Bell, celebrated in the early English ballad, "Adam Bell, Clym of the Cleugh, and William of Cloudisle." This ballad is printed by Percy, 'Reliques,' vol. i. p. 106; and also in the Collections of Ancient Popular Poetry by Mr Ritson and by Mr W. C. Hazlitt. An early edition was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, or his apprentice, Robert Copland, perhaps as early as 1520, and another by William Copland, and there are repeated reprints of this popular ballad (see Hazlitt, vol. ii. p. 131). "Its heroes," says Percy, "were three noted outlaws, whose skill in archery rendered them as famous in the north of England as Robin Hood and his fellows were in the Midland. Their place of residence was in the forest of Inglewood, not far from Carlisle. Henry IV., on 14th April, in the seventh year of his reign, granted a pension of £4, 10s. to Adam Bell out of the fee-farm of Clipston, in the forest of Sherwood; and this Adam Bell violated his allegiance by adhering to the Scots, whereupon his pension was resumed."¹ Probably Adam Bell was by origin a Scotsman or Borderer. Bishop Percy states, "The Bells were noted rogues in the north so late as the time of Queen Elizabeth; see in Rymer's 'Fœdera' a letter from Lord W. Howard, wherein he mentions them." The compiler of the second and later part of the ballad added in 1605, and some other ballad-writers, make Bell the contemporary of Robin Hood. The popularity of this class of ballads was due to the love of a free life common to all free races, but also to the odium of the cruel forest laws of the Norman kings. They seem never to have been so severe or so rigidly enforced by the Scottish as by the English kings. But in this, as in other matters, the Scottish Lowlanders shared the traditional feelings of their English neighbours. The scenery and incidents of these ballads, though laid in Sherwood and Inglewood, would be eagerly followed by the natives of Jedburgh and Selkirk.

BEVIS. *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 35.—Sir Bevis of South Hampton. Of the poem on this hero of romance Professor Ten Brink ('Early English Literature,' p. 246, Kennedy's Translation) says: "Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton are both names unknown to English history. They are also unknown to Saga, until they emerge as heroes of Anglo-Norman poems of the twelfth century. Each offers a motley mixture of knightly adventure such as delighted the imagination of the age of the Crusades. . . . He who possesses the fancy of the true student of folk-lore will discern a rejuvenation of Beowulf, the victor over Grendal and Grendal's mother, in Bevis, who kills the dreaded boar of King Grendal's forest, and who, hurried weaponless into King Grendal's dungeon, by means of a cudgel accidentally found overcomes two dragons; while the other dragon-fight of Bevis in the vicinity of Cologne will recall Siegfried and the

¹ Hunter's 'New Illustrations of Shakespeare,' vol. i. p. 245.

Drachenfels." Bevis is still depicted as a giant on the bar-gate of Southampton.

The metrical tale of Sir Bevis, although its scene is laid in England, and he is represented as a Christian champion against the heathen Danes in the reign of Edgar I., became famous in the hands of French romance-writers during or after the Crusades (Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' vol. i. p. 122). It may have had an Anglo-Saxon original, now lost. It was brought back to England by translations or copies of the French tale before the time of Chaucer. Of these there are two MSS. at Cambridge University Library, No. 690, § 31, and Caius College, Class A-9. 5; and there is another, Advocates' Library, Auchinleck MS., W. iv., No. xxii. Chaucer's reference in the "Rhyme of Sir Thopas" is well known:—

" Men speken of romaunces of pris,
Of Horne Child and of Ipotis,
Of Bevis and Sir Guy."

It was first printed by Richard Pynson, without date, 4to, and next by Wynkyn de Worde, and very frequently since (see Lowndes's 'Bibliographical Dictionary'). It was closely copied by the author of "The Seven Champions of Christendom," Richard Johnson, who wrote in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. (Percy's 'Reliques,' Bell & Sons' ed., vol. ii. p. 258), and it was burlesqued in the ballad of "The Dragon of Wantley" (Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' and the Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances by Percy, 'Reliques,' vol. ii. p. 80). Dunbar must have known this romance from Chaucer's allusions, and probably may have read or heard parts of it recited. It is one of the tales mentioned in the "Complaynt of Scotland," which, the author says, were told by the shepherds—

" Sum war in prose and some in verse ;
Sum war storeis and sum war flet taylis."

—P. 63, Murray's edition.

BLAK BELLY and BAWSY BROWN. *Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis*, l. 30.—These were probably the Scotch names for spirits or brownies (see Scott's 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' Introduction, p. iv.) "Belly Bassy with his bagges" is mentioned in Rowles's "Cursing," line 2251. There is also in "Cockelbie's Sow" the lines (ll. 286, 287)—

" Ballybrass and Belly
Dansit,"—

which suggests that these names were altered at will by the comic poets.—See Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' vol. iii. p. 215.

BRUCE. *Flyting*, l. 265; *Blyth Aberdein*, l. 33.—Robert the Bruce,

whose history was a household word to Dunbar, as to all his countrymen, through Barbour's poems and the Chronicle of Wyntoun. It is interesting to know that he was represented in the masque or pageant in honour of the queen in Aberdeen, in 1511, as he might be to-day by the erection of a statue.

The description of him by Dunbar as "richt awfull strang and large of portratour," is that of a poet who does not disdain to use common epithets.

BUTE, JOHN. *Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 19.—One of the king's fools. He is first mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts in November 1506, and continued to receive allowances during the rest of James IV.'s reign. In December 1506 he was granted "a gown of chamelot, lined with grey and purflett with skins," a hood, a fustian doublet, hose, and a grey bonnet. His servant John Spark got at the same time a russet gown, a fustian doublet, and hose of carsay (the stuff called kersey, from a village in Suffolk where the woollen trade was carried on). His brother also got a grant which is mentioned in the same accounts on 20th September 1512. The fools of this time well knew how to obtain favours for their friends and relations. That both Bute and Curry, who were only of the second rank and inferior to Sir Thomas Norray, should have had servants to attend them, shows the consideration in which they were held.—See also Curry; Norray, Sir Thomas; Rig, Cuddy.

CAYM. *Flyting*, l. 513.—"Cankrit Caym" seems to be Ham, the son of Noah.—See 'Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum,' J. Weiri Opera, 1660, p. 659. Cf. Wyntoun, vol. i. p. 24—

"The Caim that was the middle brother."

CAYPHAS. *Flyting*, l. 534.—Caiphas, the high priest who charged Jesus with blasphemy, is called the "sectour" of Dunbar. A "sector" was one who made accusations in order to get a share of the confiscated goods of the accused when sold by auction. "Sectores vocantur qui publica bona mercantur."—Gaius, Dig., vol. iv. p. 146. "Cum de bonis et de cæde agatur testimonium dicturus est is qui et sector est et sicarius; hoc est qui et illorum ipsorum bonorum de quibus agitur emptor atque possessor est."—Cicero, Rosc. Am., 36, 103. The definition in Ducange is "Abscissor cultor usurpator." Skeat gives "sector" = executor.—Cf. Dalzell's 'Poems of the 16th Century,' p. 29.

CHAUCER, GEOFFREY. *Lament*, l. 50; *The Goldyn Targe*, l. 253.—Dunbar in both poems recognises Chaucer as the source of Scottish as well as English poetry. Chaucer was born about 1340 and died about 1400, so that he was at least a generation older than Dunbar. But the ideas of the Renaissance had reached England, by contact

with Italy, much earlier than Scotland, which received them chiefly from France, and Chaucer is in some respects more modern in his style and language than Dunbar. His poems were first printed as a whole in 1532, by Thomas Godfray, and Dunbar's knowledge of them must have been derived either from MSS. or from Caxton's editions of the "Canterbury Tales," printed in 1475 and 1495, or Pynson's, printed in 1491. The second edition by Pynson was not printed till 1526, and was the first in which other poems of Chaucer's were added to the "Canterbury Tales." The terms in which Dunbar speaks of Chaucer, in "The Goldyn Targe," and especially his allusion to the "fresch amalit termes celicall," apply more naturally to his other poems than to the Tales, so that it appears probable that Dunbar was acquainted with MSS. of the English poet. Such MSS. had undoubtedly reached Scotland before he wrote.

The influence of Chaucer on Dunbar is seen rather in his language than in direct imitation of particular poems. Such imitation may, however, be traced in "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo," which, both in subject and mode of treatment, recalls the "Wife of Bath's Tale"; and in the verses to the king beginning—

" Sanct Saluatour ! send siluer sorrow ;
It grevis me both evin and morrow,"—

with the refrain—

" My panefull purss so pricliiss me,"—

there is perhaps a reminiscence of Chaucer's lines "To his Empty Purse" (Moxon's ed., p. 431). In the "Assembly of Foulis" (Moxon's ed., p. 340) there are several passages which prove that Dunbar must have been a careful reader of that poem. The garden with a river running through it, and birds singing on every bough, and the assembly of heathen gods, is imitated in "The Goldyn Targe." Beauty in Chaucer's poem has similar allegorical persons in her train as in Dunbar's "Beauty and the Prisoner." St Valentine's Day is celebrated as the time when every bird may choose "his mate," to which there is an allusion in "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo"; and the eagle is described as—

" The foule royall above you all in degree,"

as in "The Thistle and the Rose."

CLERK, IOHNE. *Lament*, l. 58; *Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy*, l. 81.—The legacy to John Clerk, in the poem called "Andro Kennedy's Testament," of "Goddis malisone and myne," is put into the mouth of Kennedy. Lord Hailes supposed Clerk to have been an ignorant practitioner in medicine, from the reference to him in the Testament as "scribendo dentes sine de." Laing regards this as an unsatisfactory explanation, but is unable to suggest another. There

seems little doubt that it is the same person who is referred to in the poem, as he has the same Christian name, and is distinguished by the title of Master in both, which proves he had taken a degree—of course in arts, for medicine was not yet taught at the universities. But no poem attributed to John Clerk is known. The profession of medicine had scarcely yet come into existence in Scotland, and its practitioners were often in clerical orders. It was, however, fashionable to practise it, as is shown by the instances of James IV. himself (but Buchanan attributes this to old Scotch custom), Scheve³, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and John Damian, the French leech. The absence of any professional training or qualification gave opportunities for imposture and quackery which are satirised in the well-known description of the Doctor of Physick in Chaucer,—

“ For he was grounded in Astronomye,
He kept his patient wonderly wel
In houris by his magik naturel ; ”—

in Henryson's Poem, “Some Practyses of Medecyne,” and Dunbar's allusion to the French leech Damian's murderous art.—See Damian, and Schaw, Robert.

CLERK, , of Tranent. *Lament*, l. 65.—Nothing is known of this poet except the statement of Dunbar in this passage, that he “maid the Anteris [adventures] of Gawane.”

This poem was, no doubt, one of the circle of poems belonging to the Arthurian legend, and affords proof of its currency in Scotland. Ten Brink notices, in his ‘Early English Literature,’ that “the verse combining alliteration and rhyme seems to have been more fully developed and adapted to a wider range of subjects in the north-western counties, and chiefly in Lancashire. It occurs earliest in romances having to do with Gawayne: this was a favourite theme of poetry in the north, as was the Arthurian saga in general. Cumberland, Westmoreland, the districts between the Tyne and Tweed, and all the south of the Scotland of to-day, are rich in names of places that point to a localising and a more or less independent growth of the Arthurian traditions in that region. This phenomenon is accounted for by the long duration of British rule in Strathclyde, and the intercourse kept up by these Britons with their own race, on the one side, in Wales, and with the Gaels of Caledonia on the other.”

There are at least two early alliterative poems in which Gawayne is hero, of which manuscripts have been preserved: (1) “The Awnteris of Arthur at the Tarnewathelan” (Adventures of Arthur at Tarn Wadling), first printed under the name of “Sir Gawayne and Sir Galoran of Galloway” (Pinkerton, ‘Scottish Poems,’ 1792), and afterwards in Laing's ‘Select Remains of Early Scottish Poetry’; and (2) “Sir Gawayne and Gologras,” printed by Chepman and Myllar, 1508. Wyntoun attributes a poem which he calls the “Awntyre of Gawayne,”

as well as "The gret Gest of Arthure" and other poems, to Hutchoun (Hugh) of the Awle Ryale (Royal Hall).

Sibbald, in his 'Chronicle of Scottish Poetry,' vol. i. p. xvi, hazarded an alternative conjecture that Hutchoun in Dunbar's poem might be the Christian name of Clerk of Tranent, or might be the same as Sir Hugh of Eglinton, mentioned in the same "Lament." The latter appears the more probable hypothesis, and has been maintained in an able article in the 'Scottish Review' for March 1888 by Mr McNeil. All that can be said with certainty as to Clerk of Tranent is that he chose the subject of his poem from the same cycle of romance.—See Hew, Sir, of Eglinton.

COILZEAR, RAUF. *To the King*, l. 33.—See Rauf Colzard.

CORSPATRICK, Earl of March. *Flying*, l. 262.—Cors- or Gospatrick was created Earl of Dunbar and March by Malcolm Canmore. He was the Saxon Earl of Northumberland who was deprived of that earldom by William the Conqueror, and as an exile received by the Scottish king—(Simeon of Durham, *sub anno* 1072, p. 92). Assuming Dunbar to be descended from this line, he was a Saxon by origin. So Kennedy flytes Dunbar:—

"Happy n thow to be hangit in Northumbir,
Than all thy kyn ar wel quyte of thy cumbir"—(ll. 478, 479).

Dunbar, or rather Kennedy—for he is the author of this part of the "Flying"—states, of course erroneously, that he fought against Wallace, whom he called "King in Kyle" (l. 284). This is a confusion of Corspatrick the first with Corspatrick the fourth Earl of March, who submitted to Edward I. as one of the competitors for the Scottish crown after the death of the Maid of Norway. His contest with Wallace, whom he called King of Kyle, and who in turn denounced him as a traitor at a council at St Johnstone (Perth), is described by Blind Harry in his Eighth Book.—See Hary, Blind.

* CURRY. *Cf. Sir Thomas Norray*, ll. 43, 48.—Curry, one of the king's fools, is mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts first in May 1496, when payment of three shillings was made "to the lad that kepit Curry." A similar payment occurred of two shillings and twopence on the 10th June "to the chield that kepis Curry." On 27th April 1497 there is a payment "to Curryis man to pay for his bedding al the tyme the king was in Strivelin, xxviijd.," and another of seven shillings "to Curry and his man to remain in Strivelin quhil the kingis agane cummyng." On the 17th May Curry again receives three shillings and sixpence for his bed in Stirling, and to bear him to Edinburgh; and on the 20th of the same month, eightpence "for drink be the gait," apparently of Linlithgow. On the 12th June 1497 Curry receives sixteen pence "to pay for his bed." On the 13th

December 1497 he has two shillings "to red him furth of Strivelin and to haf him at Falkland;" and on the 17th of the same month he receives a larger payment of three pounds six shillings and eightpence "for horse to ride over the mounth agane" (that is, before Yule).

He must have gone with or before the king to Aberdeen, in 1497, for a payment is made on 5th January "to Curryis man to bide with Curry in Aberdeen until the king's incuming agane;" and on the 2d March six shillings and eightpence was paid to Curry "for his stabil hire in Abirdene and his owne costis, and two shillings more to haf him to Bervie,"—no doubt in the king's company on his return south. There are further entries in the same Accounts down to the 2d of June 1506, when a payment "of 46s. 8d. was made for the tyrment [interment] and expenses maid on the furth bringing of Curry;" and also of 41s. "to John Knox wif for keeping walking and expenses of Curry liand seik," and of 18s. on the 13th of the same month "be the king's command to the wif quhair Curry lay seik." From these entries Laing conjectures that Curry must have died about the end of May 1506. There are also references to Curry's "knave," or servant lad; to "Curry's moder;" "Daft Anne, Curry's wif;" and "Peter Curry, Curry's broder."—See Dickson, Preface to 'Treasurer's Accounts,' vol. i. p. cxcix.

CUTHBERT, . *Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy*, l. 24.—Probably St Cuthbert, but why he should be selected as the saint who had no love for Andrew Kennedy the drunkard, is not clear. He is called "Sweet," the same epithet which Dunbar applies to St Anne.

DAMIAN, JOHN. *The Fenzzeit Freir of Tunglund*, l. 23; *Lucina schynnyng in silence of the nicht*, l. 23.—This impostor first appears under the name of the "French leich," "Maister John, the French leich," "Maister John, the French medicinar," and "French Maister John," in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1501. On 3d March 1501-2, there were sent to him four nobles "to multiply to Stirling," and on the 4th of the same month nine pounds five shillings were disbursed to the king and the "French leich" to "play at the cartis." On 29th May 1502, £31, 4s. was paid to Robert Bertoun, one of the king's mariners, "for droggis brocht home by him to the French leich;" and on 30th May 300 French crowns, equivalent to £210 Scots, was allowed the "French leich," who was then, probably, going on a visit to the Continent. He must have returned in 1504, for on 5th January 1504 there is an entry "to Maister John to buy bells for the morris-dance, 28s.," and various other payments for the dresses of the dancers, which is called "French Maister John's Dance," and seems to have been the novelty of the New Year amusements of the year. From entries on the 11th and 12th March of the same year, he appears to have been newly made Abbot of Tunglund, a monastery of the

Premonstratensians in Galloway. On the former of these days, Gareoch, pursuivant, got 14s. to pass to Tungland for the abbacy for the "French Maister John," which probably means to take possession of it for him; and next day £25 was paid to Bardus Altovite, a Lombard banker, for "Maister John, the French medicinar, new made Abbot of Tungland, quhilk he aucht to the said Bardus." Bardus was probably the banker who paid the fees for the confirmation of the gift of the abbacy at Rome. On the 17th of the same month Maister John himself got £7 from the treasurer. On 27th July 1507 the entry occurs, "Lent be kingis command to the Abbot of Tungland, and can nocht be gottin frae him, £33, 6s. 8½d." He cannot have been in the good graces of the treasurer's clerk who made this entry. It was shortly after this that the incident of Dunbar's satire occurred. On 27th September 1507 an embassy was sent from Scotland to France, and the Abbot of Tungland boasted that he would fly there before the ambassadors arrived. His failure is recorded in Leslie's History, Bannatyne Club ed., 1830, p. 76, as well as in this ballad. Dunbar contributes a few additional circumstances. He alleges Damian to have been of Eastern origin, calling him a "Turk of Barbary," and not an Italian or a Frenchman, and gives currency to rumours evidently then repeated, whether true or not, that he had slain a friar in Lombardy and passed himself off in his habit in France; that he had next adopted the little understood profession of physician or surgeon, in which he had killed more patients than he cured, and secured for himself fees and perquisites. In Scotland he first essayed to make the quintessence or gold of the medieval alchemist, and having failed, as a new trick made the attempt to fly with wings, which is the subject of the poem. In this also he came to grief, but, by some means unknown to us, did not lose the support of King James. On 13th October 1507, £6 was paid by the treasurer for "a puncheon of wine to the Abbot of Tungland to mak quinta essentia" (Treasurer's Accounts). Between October 1507 and August 1508 there are frequent notices of his playing dice and cards with the king; and on 8th September 1508, Damian, Abbot of Tungland, had a licence "to pass out of the realm, and remain in what place he pleases at the study or any other lawful occupation, without any prejudice, hurt, or skaith to his right to the abbey." He appears to have returned shortly before the expiry of the five years; for on 29th March 1513, £20 was paid "to the Abbot of Tungland to pas to the myne of Crawford Muir," where James IV., shortly before Flodden, was still occupied with the search for the precious metals. This is the last appearance in history of this Cagliostro of the sixteenth century, who played the parts of a feigned friar and quack doctor, and also of alchemist, boon companion, stage-manager, aeronaut, and mining engineer. No wonder Dunbar's wrath was moved when such a charlatan became an abbot. It was a favourable age, and the

Scottish Court was a favourable place, for impostors. The most successful was Perkin Warbeck, to whom it is singular there is no allusion in Dunbar's poems. There is a curious reference to Damian in the dedication to James VI., by Dr Thomas Morison, of his 'Liber novus de metallorum causis et transubstantioni,' Franco., 1593—"Taceo avum tuum felicioris memoriæ Jacobum Quintum cum suâ creaturâ Abbate Tunlandiæ qui dum in multiplicationis verba assentitur Rex eum circumducit ingentibus pecuniis." James V. is, of course, an error for James IV.

DATHAN. *Flyting*, l. 249.—See Numbers xvi. 1.

DOIG, JAMES. *Of James Doig, Kepar of the Quenis Wardrop; Of the same James, quhen he had plesett him; Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 199.—Doig, the pronunciation of whose name in Scotch in the same way as dog gave play to the wit of Dunbar (who had a liking for a pun—a form of humour more English than Scotch), was originally one of the servitors of James IV., having the charge of the king's wardrobe, and there are constant references to him in the Treasurer's Accounts from 1489 onwards. In that year he received three bonnets for the king at Linlithgow, when he was to meet the Spanish ambassador; and there are similar entries of articles of clothing received for the king in 1494, 1495, and 1497, and also of clothing given from the king's wardrobe to Perkin Warbeck, called the Duke of York. On 30th October 1490, 20 "louys" were sent to the king at Biggar by his hands; and on the 3d June 1491 he carried 20 unicorns to the king at the Water of Leith. In 1494 he received a payment of 20s. to hang the arras and to furnish the king's chamber for the reception of the Chancellor of Denmark. There are also sundry entries of livery given to him for his own use, and of payments to him for the expenses of furnishing the king's lodgings (grathing of the king's chambers, and bent-silver for the grass with which the floors were strewn). Strewing the floors with grass or rushes was a common custom before the days of carpets. There is a survival of it in the annual ceremony of the rush-bearing day, still celebrated in some English villages. The position of keeper of the wardrobe in Scotland, as in England, through the practice of giving rewards by liveries instead of money, which was scarce at the Scottish Court, became that of a sort of petty treasurer, who had much influence with the king, and whose favour was sought by the retainers of the Court. Doig had acquired sufficient means to buy the estate of Duntober, in Perthshire, on 12th May 1500 ('Privy Seal Register,' vol. ii. p. 1). After the king's marriage he became wardrober to Queen Margaret, and continued in her service at least down to 1523, when Surrey writes on 24th October to Wolsey from Newcastle that James Doig, the Queen of Scots' servant,

had come to him (Cotton MS., Calig., b. xvi. f. 311). His name last appears in December 1526. His son, James Doig, younger, had been appointed on 17th September 1524 yeoman of the king's wardrobe, with livery and duties, used and wont ('Privy Seal Register,' vol. vii.) Doig had a grant of the ward and relief of Johnston of Drongey, and the marriage of his heir on 4th August 1523 ('Privy Seal Register,' vol. v. f. 152).

The references to him in the poems of Dunbar well bring out his character as an old and trusty servant, zealous in discharging his duties to his mistress, and somewhat crusty to others. He was of the same stuff, in an earlier age, as Andrew Fairservice, and the old Scotch servants "who were master and mair" in the anecdotes of Dean Ramsay.

DONALD OWRE. *Against Treason: An Epitaph on Donald Owre.*—Donald "Owre"—more commonly called "Dubh," the Black—was a son of Angus, Lord of the Isles, by a daughter, according to tradition, of the Earl of Argyle. This Angus was a natural son of John, Earl of Ross, forfeited for treason by James III. in the Parliament of 1475. He surrendered to the royal army, and his earldom was annexed to the Crown, and conferred on the second son of the king, Alexander, Earl of Ross and Archbishop of St Andrews. The rest of his estates, except Kintyre and Knapdale, were regranted to him, with remainder to his natural sons, Angus and John, and he was created a peer of Parliament under the title of Lord of the Isles. Angus, Lord of the Isles, was killed by an Irish harper at Inverness in 1490. His son, Donald Dubh, was always treated by the Scottish Court as illegitimate. When an infant, about the year 1480, he was captured by the Earl of Athole, who delivered him to the Earl of Argyle, by whom he was kept in custody in the Castle of Inch Connell. Before 1494 he had escaped, and received for several years the king's pay (Exchequer Records). But in 1501 we find him at the head of the Islanders and western clans as Lord of the Isles. In 1503 he wasted Badenoch, and the royal forces under Huntly had to be called out. James in person, with his southern levy, crushed the rebellion in 1505-1506, when Donald Owre was taken prisoner and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. Dunbar's poem was probably written after this date, as Donald Owre, though forfeited as a traitor, was not executed. About forty years later he made his escape during the regency of Arran, and is described in a proclamation by the Privy Council as "Donald alleging himself of the Isles." He again attempted to establish his title by raising the clans of the west, and entered into a treaty with Henry VIII. But failing in this attempt, he fled to Ireland, and died at Drogheda.

The following extracts from the 'Black Book of Clanranald' give the history, unfortunately without dates, of Donald Dubh, as it was related by the Macvurichs, the hereditary sennachies of the clan :—

“Angus Og, son of Eoin [John], who was called the heir of Eoin, married the daughter of MacCaillin [Earl of Argyle], and a disagreement arose between him and his father about the division of his territory, in consequence of which a war broke out between the chiefs of Innisgall and the tribe of Macdonald—the tribe having joined Angus and the chiefs Eoin. Eoin went to MacCaillin and gave him all that lay between the river Add and the lands of Knapdale for going with him before the king to complain of his son. Shortly after Angus Og had a large entertainment with the men of the north side at Inverness, when he was murdered by MacIcairbhre, his harper. His father lived a year after him, and all the territories submitted to him, but he restored many of them to the king. The daughter of MacCaillin, the wife of Angus, was pregnant when he was killed, and she was kept in custody until she was confined, and she bore a son, and Donald was given as a name to him, and he was kept in custody until he arrived at the age of thirty, when the men of Glencoe brought him out by a Fenian exploit. He came to Innisgall, and the nobles of Innisgall rallied round him. . . . And he and the Earl of Lennox made an agreement to raise a large army for the purpose of his getting into possession of his own property, and a ship came from England to Sound of Mull with money to help them in the war. The money was given to Maclean of Duart to divide among the leaders: they did not get as much as they desired, and therefore the army broke up. When the Earl of Lennox heard that, he dispersed his own army and made an agreement with the king. Macdonald [*i.e.*, Donald Dubh?] then proceeded to him to request a force to carry on the war, and on his way to Dublin he died at Drogheda of a fever of four nights' extent, leaving a son and a daughter.”—Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' vol. iii. pp. 404-406.

This account identifies the Donald claiming to be Lord of the Isles, who headed the rising in 1545, and acted in concert with Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and Henry VIII., with the grandson of John, Earl of Ross, who was kept in custody by the Earl of Argyle from infancy to manhood; but it omits, probably by design, his earlier escape, his rising against James IV., and his reception when he was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh in 1505 or 1506. The view of Mr Tytler, that there were two Donalds, Lords of the Isles, in the sixteenth century, does not appear well founded. The credit of unravelling this tangled skein of Highland history is due to Mr Gregory, whom Mr Skene has followed. Mr Burton has not touched the subject, which is one of difficulty, and may yet receive further elucidation.—See Gregory's 'History of the Western Highlands,' entries in index under "Lord of the Isles, Donald Dubh," p. 437; Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' vol. iii. p. 299.

DOUNTEBOUR, Dame. *Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 36.—

Supposed to be a cant name for a woman of light character. This is scarcely in accordance with the plan of the poem, which names in all other cases real persons; but who is meant has not been discovered.

DUNBAR, ARCHIBALD. *Flyting*, l. 299.—This Archibald Dunbar in the year 1446 took the castle of Hailes, in Haddingtonshire, but immediately afterwards surrendered it to James, Master of Douglas. This is the betrayal referred to here. The 'Short Chronicle' of James II.'s reign relates the incident briefly: "The samyn yer Archebald of Dunbar tuke the Castell of Halis on Sanctandrowis day the Apostle and syn cowardlie gaf it owr to the Master of Douglas sodanlie;" and Pitscottie says: "Archibald Dunbar seiged the castle of Hales in Lothian, and at the first assault he won the same and slew them all that he found therein; but shortly thereafter he was seiged by James Douglas, in whose will he put himself and castle without any further debate." Hailes, a castle in Prestonkirk parish, belonged to the Hepburns. Adam Hepburn of Hailes had taken part in the seizure of Dunbar some years before, in the reign of James I., when George, eleventh Earl of Dunbar and March, had been forfeited and deprived of his estates. It appears from the Exchequer Accounts that he had the custody of Dunbar between 1440 and 1444; but soon after 15th July 1445, when the Queen-Dowager died at Dunbar, Adam Hepburn gave it over by treaty to the king ('Short Chronicle,' p. 37). Patrick, his son, had again treasonably seized the castle before 28th April 1446, as appears from a letter of James II. of that date in the Coldingham Chartulary. The attack upon the house of Hailes was no doubt a retaliation for the part the Hepburns had taken in the seizure of Dunbar,—

"Because the young lord had Dunbar to keep."

DUNBAR of Westfield. *Flyting*, l. 388.—Sir Alexander Dunbar, son of James, Earl of Murray, by Isabel, daughter of Sir William Innes, was the founder of the family of Westfield in Moray, which held the hereditary sheriffdom of that district. One of his descendants, Sir Alexander, married the daughter of Dunbar of Cumnock in 1474, and died in 1505. It is to him, probably, that the reference in the poem is intended; or it may be no more than an allusion to the loyalty of the Westfield family, in contrast to the disaffection of the Dunbars of the south, who were attainted in the person of George, the tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, by James I. in January 1434.

EDWART LANGSCHANKIS. *Flyting*, l. 270.—The Scottish nickname for Edward I. It was perhaps first given him in the old Scotch poem of which a fragment remains—

"What brings Kinge Edwarde, with his lang shankys,
To hae wonnen Berwik al our unthankys?
Gaes pyke hym,
And after gaes dyke hym."

It is somewhat corrupted, but "presents," says Mr Murray, "characteristically northern inflections."

EGEAS. *Flyting*, l. 537.—Ægæon, son of Uranus by Gaia, is probably intended. He and his brothers, Gyges and Cottus, called the Uranids in Greek mythology, were represented as monsters with a hundred arms and fifty heads. Homer says: "Men called him Ægæon, but the gods Briareus" (*Iliad*, i. 403). The Uranids sided with Zeus in his contest with, and victory over, the Titans (*Hesiod*, *Theog.*, ll. 147-153).

EGIPYA. *Flyting*, l. 530.—Egypt is represented as the mother, as Pharo is the father, of Dunbar.

ENEAS. *Flyting*, l. 539.—Æneas, the grandson of Tros, and son of Anchises by Aphrodite. It does not appear clear why Dunbar is called his kinsman in the "Flyting," but perhaps it was because Æneas forsook Dido.—See Chaucer, 'House of Fame,' vi. p. 203.

EUSTASE. *Flyting*, l. 321.—As Kennedy called Dunbar "Strait Gibbonis air" (l. 209), so Kennedy retorts here that Dunbar was "fals Eustase air," for the skill of the Flyter was shown by such quips; but who false Eustase was has not been discovered.

EYOBULUS. *Flyting*, l. 541.—It is not known who this is intended for.

FRANCIS, St. *The Visitation of St Francis*, l. 2.—The founder and patron of the Franciscan Order, which had many houses in Scotland. They were called *Fratres Minores*, or *Minorites*—a name given to them by St Francis himself as a token of humility, in distinction to the older Orders, the *Canons Regular of St Augustine* and the *Benedictines*—and sometimes *Grey Friars*, from the colour of their dress, which distinguished them from the *Black Friars* or *Dominicans*, and the *Carmelites* or *White Friars*. The Franciscans were divided into *Conventuals*—the original Order, established by St Francis of Assisi in 1206, and confirmed by Innocent III. in 1209; and *Observantines*, a reform by Bernardine of Siena, in the year 1419, who took their name from a claim to observe more strictly the rule of St Francis. The *Conventuals*, who came to Scotland in 1219, had convents at Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Dundee, Haddington, Lanark, Kirkcudbright, and Inverkeithing. The *Observantines* were first brought to Scotland by James I., who founded a convent of their Order in Edinburgh. Bishop Kennedy commenced, and Archbishop Graham, his successor, completed, a convent for them at St Andrews about 1478. Bishop Laing of Glasgow founded one in 1476 in that city.

The town of Aberdeen founded one in 1450, the town of Ayr another in 1472, Lord Oliphant one in Perth in 1460, James IV. one in Stirling in 1494 ('*Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*,' vol. i. p. 23), and they had also establishments at Elgin and Jedburgh.

In 1516 Patrick Panther, the secretary of James IV. and of the Regent Albany, obtained an Act of Parliament sanctioning the conversion of the House of the Virgin Mary at Montrose into an Observantine convent. Henry VII. also favoured the Observantines, for whom he founded convents at Newark, Greenwich, and Richmond, and from whom, as his son-in-law James IV., he chose his confessor. The two kings resembled each other in their strict compliance with the rules of the Church as to attendance on divine service, doubtless an injunction of their confessors. There are traces that Observantine friars passing from England to Scotland played a part in political business. One of them was employed by Henry VIII. to remonstrate with Margaret for her conduct after her husband's death. The reform and new foundations of the Franciscans towards the close of the fifteenth century were probably due to the initiation of Sixtus IV., who had been a general of their Order. He confirmed and enlarged the privileges of both the Mendicant Orders, and specially favoured the tenets of the Franciscans, who were winning their way in popular theology. Two bulls in 1474 and 1479 mark the highest advance of the Mendicants: "Their exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinaries, the privileges of their churches, their power of hearing confessions and administering the sacraments against the will of parish priests, were acknowledged in ample terms. Moreover, Sixtus IV. strongly adhered to the favourite belief of the Franciscans in the immaculate conception of the Virgin."—Crichton, '*History of the Papacy*,' vol. iii. p. 112.

Dunbar the poet in all probability had become a novice in the house of the Observantines at St Andrews, founded the year before he took his degree of M.A. at that University. The religious revival, for so it may be called, which led to the Observantine reform of the Franciscans, reached Scotland at this period, but if Dunbar is to be relied on, the reformed Franciscans were not more strict than the original Order. He was again brought into contact with these friars by the frequent resort of his patron James IV. to their house at Stirling for the purpose of penance, which the poet ridicules in his poem of the "Dirge to the King at Stirling." St Francis himself had been called to found his Order by a vision, and it seemed appropriate that his followers should also be converted by a vision of a saint. Such miracles were commonly believed in, and often made the subject of representation in art. Dunbar astonishes us by the boldness with which he makes the vision which appeared to him not St Francis, but a fiend who counterfeited the saint, in his poem, "The Visitation of St Francis." The order is again satirised in "The Freiris of Berwik."

GAWANE, GAWAN, OR GAVIN. *Ane Littill Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play*, l. 93.—Sir Gavin, one of the knights of the Arthurian legend, well known to Dunbar and the Scotch poets by the metrical tales of "Gawane and Gologras" and "Sir Gawan and Sir Galoran of Gallo-way, or the Awntyrs of Arthur." It was no obstacle to these romances forming part of the common stock of Scottish traditional poetry, that they had sprung from the British portion of the modern Scottish race, and that their scenes were usually in the western part of the island, and most frequently south of the modern Scottish border. In this poem Dunbar speaks in the mouth of the dwarf, who was descended from Fyn M'Coul, quite naturally of the "bairns of Britain," along with King Arthur and Gavin, as dead before the dwarf could wield a spear. Gavin had become a common Christian name in Scotland, and had in Dunbar's time two eminent representatives—Gavin Douglas, the poet Bishop of Dunkeld, and Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen.

GIRNEGA, St. *The Tournament*, l. 44.—The patron saint of shoemakers. Cf. "Sym Skynnar and Schir Garnega" in Rowles's "Cursing," l. 99. Girnegae was a name for a peevish person (Jame-son's Dictionary).

GOG AND MAGOG. *Flyting*, l. 528.—Wyntoun describes the hill near the Caspian, I. x., l. 384—

"Thar Gog and Magog at felown wes,
Closyt ar in gret straytness."

He also tells the story of Gog and Magog's wrestling-match with Coryn, King of Cornwall (I. vii., l. 352 *et seq.*) See Fairholt's 'Gog and Magog' (London: Hotten, 1859), a small book of much learning about giants. These are first named in the Old Testament—Genesis, ch. x., and I Chronicles v. 4. Their adoption in the mythical history of England was due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who makes one Gog-Magog out of the two, and represents him as opposing Brutus on his invasion of Albion, and as killed in a wrestling-match with Corineus. The two giants in Guildhall are supposed to represent Gog-Magog and Corineus.

GOLYAS. *Flyting*, l. 529.—Cf. Wyntoun:—

"In Egypt some men said alswa
Geanties grewe, and of that kind
Came Enathym, and off his strynd
Came Golyath that Davy yhing
Slew with the stane cast of a sling."—Vol. i. p. 21.

See I Sam. xvii.

GOWER, JOHN. *Lament*, l. 51.—Gower (1320-1402), a poet who lives

chiefly in the history of English literature, and whose poems are now read only by the students of that literature, and not by the lovers of poetry in itself. His chief work, 'Chronica Tripartita,' was to consist of three parts—'Speculum Meditantis,' 'Vox Clamantis,' and 'Confessio Amantis.' The first does not exist, and perhaps was never written. The 'Vox Clamantis,' which refers to the rising of Wat Tyler, was first printed by the Roxburghe Club. The 'Confessio Amantis' was most widely known from having been printed by Caxton in 1483, and frequently since, and on it the fame of Gower rests. It consists of a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, and is modelled upon the 'Romance of the Rose,' by John de Meung. Except in the allegorical representation of such abstract ideas as Idleness, Avarice, &c., it is not in the style of Dunbar; and his reference to Gower, with whose work he was no doubt acquainted, must be taken rather as a conforming to the fashion of the times, which held Gower the next poet to Chaucer, than as an acknowledgment that Dunbar had really borrowed from him. Occleve, in his 'De Regimine Principum,' in like manner to Dunbar laments the death of Chaucer "flower of eloquence" and "my master Gower." It is somewhat curious that the manuscript of some of Gower's minor poems in Latin, French, and English was acquired by Lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, when in Scotland, from "that learned gentleman Charles Gedde, Esq., of St Andrews, in Scotland." This MS. is stated in the Roxburghe Club edition to be in the library of the Marquis of Stafford at Trentham; E. Stengel—who has recently reprinted them in his 'Ausgaben aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie,' Marburg, 1886—appears to have been informed that it now belongs to the Earl of Ellesmere, but he failed to get access to it. It may be hoped so interesting a MS. is not lost. Who was Charles Gedde, the learned gentleman of St Andrews? Sibbald, in his 'History of Fife,' p. 45, gives a Latin couplet by him on the light of the Isle of May, for which a tower was erected in 1635.

Henry VII., while Earl of Richmond, had been a former owner of this MS.; but it may have found its way to Scotland, and been seen by Dunbar. The poems in it are those printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1818, and contain fifty *ballades* in French, which are more in the style, as regards metre, of Dunbar, than Gower's English work; but they treat love, which is their topic, in a different spirit.—See Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' Hazlitt's edition, 1871, vol. iii. pp. 15-37.

Gower was a friend of Chaucer, who refers to him in the close of "Troilus and Creseide"—

"O, moral Gower ! this Bokè I directe
To the, and to the philosophicall Strode ;
To vouchsafe, where nede is, for to correcte,
Of your benignitie and zeles gode."

Gower repays the compliment in the 'Confessio Amantis,' written in 1392-93, where Venus says—

" And grete well Chaucer when ye mete
As my disciple and my poet."

When Chaucer was sent on a mission to Lombardy in 1378, John Gower was one of two attorneys he nominated by a writ to act for him for one year.—See Sir Harris Nicholas's *Life of Chaucer in Aldine Poets*, p. 99.

GRAY, WALTER. *Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy*, l. 61.—Gray is described in this satirical poem as Master of St Antony—*i.e.*, the Hospital of St Antony at Leith. He was master of it at the period when Dunbar wrote, but nothing more is known of him to justify the character of mendacity given to him in these verses.—See Antane, Sanct.

GUY (GY). *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 28.—Sir Guy of Gysburne, a market-town in the West Riding of York, on the borders of Lancashire, was a daring knight who went out to slay Robin Hood, but met his own fate, as is described in the ballad, "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne" (Ritson's 'Ballads of Robin Hood,' vol. iv. p. 83; Percy's 'Reliques,' vol. i. p. 56). He is not to be confounded with Guy of Warwick, the hero of an early metrical romance.—See Bevis.

HARRY, BLIND; or, HARRY THE MINSTREL. *Lament*, l. 69.—The author of "Wallace," one of the many minstrels of Scotland during the reigns of the first Stuarts. Major the historian, who lived to old age, and probably died in 1549 or 1550, states that during his infancy "Henry, a man blind from birth, composed from the traditions and wrote in the language of the common people, in which he was skilled, a complete book on William Wallace." He adds: "I give credit to such writings only in part. The author, by reciting his history before nobles, gained food and clothing, of which he was worthy."—Major's *History*, ed. 1740, p. 169. Blind Harry recited his poems at the Court of James IV., and received rewards for doing so.—See 'Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer,' pp. 133, 174, 176, 181, and 184. The first of these references is on 26th April 1490, when he received 18s. at Stirling, and the last on 2d January 1492, when a payment of 9s. was made to him at Linlithgow. It is not improbable that he died soon after the latter of these dates. The date of the unique contemporary MS. of his poem on Wallace in the Advocates' Library is 1488. It is bound with a MS. of Barbour's "Bruce," and both were transcribed by John Ramsay of Lochmalonie, in Fife, but "The Bruce," though bound first, was transcribed in the following year, 1489.

Mr Laing, in the preface to "Gologras and Gawain," refers to fragments of an edition of Blind Harry's "Wallace" which he had seen, and considered to have been printed about 1508. But the first com-

plete edition, of which there is a unique copy in the British Museum, was printed by Robert Lekprevik, at the expenses of Henry Charteris, 1570, 4to. It has been repeatedly printed since. No poem was more popular in Scotland, and copies were to be found in many Scottish cottages, of which, with Barbour's "Bruce," it formed almost the only secular literature. The best edition till recently was that of Dr Jamieson; but it has now been edited with a revised text and learned introduction by Mr Moir, of Aberdeen, for the Scottish Text Society. These poems supplied the Scottish people with themes which supplanted the romantic adventures and gestic of Arthur and of Robin Hood—

"Wallace off hand, sen Arthur had na mak."

Dunbar and Kennedy must both have been familiar with Blind Harry's poem. Dunbar showed a better appreciation of his genius than Major, when he gave him a place amongst the Scottish "makaris." Whatever may be thought of the value of his work in history—a problem on which the last word has not yet been said—Blind Harry was a true poet. In his work and that of Barbour, Scotland already possessed two epic, or, as they might more properly be called, heroic poems.

HAY, Sir GILBERT. *Lament*, l. 67.—Sir Gilbert Hay, one of the many Scotchmen who took service in the Court of France, was Chamberlain to Charles VI. Mackenzie, 'Lives of Scots Writers,' vol. iii. p. 1, gives a meagre biography of Hay and a brief analysis of his works, of which he appears (p. 8) to have possessed a MS., perhaps that now in the Abbotsford Library. He was probably the son of Sir William Hay of Locharret, born about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. He studied at St Andrews, where he became a Determinant or Bachelor, 1418, and Licentiate or Master of Arts, 1419. He went to France soon after, perhaps in the capacity of an archer in the Scottish Guard, whose origin may be traced to the reign of Charles VI., and he remained in France for twenty-four years. The alliance between the two countries had been strengthened by the marriage of Margaret, eldest daughter of James I., to the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. On his return to Scotland Hay lived at Roslin with William Sinclair, third Earl of Orkney, the founder of Roslin Chapel, with whom he was perhaps connected by the marriage of a sister of Orkney to Hay of Errol. By desire of the Earl, Hay translated in 1456 three French works: (1) 'L'Arbre de Batailles,' an early treatise on international law, by Honore Bonnet, Prior of Salon, in France. The version in the Scottish vernacular in the Abbotsford Library is not yet printed, although it deserves to be so, both from its contents and as a specimen of Scottish prose prior to the fifteenth century. (2) 'Le Livre de l'Ordre de Chevelerie,' an anonymous work on knighthood which was translated by Caxton, and forms one of the rarest issues

of his press. It was reprinted by Mr Beriah Botfeld for the Abbotsford Club. (3) 'Le Gouvernement des Princes,' a translation of a popular work of the middle ages, 'Secretum Secretorum,' falsely attributed to Aristotle. Hay also translated a French metrical romance on Alexander the Great, at the request of Thomas, first Lord Erskine and second Earl of Mar of the name of Erskine, who died in 1494. It would appear from a note on the MS. of this translation that Hay had died some years previously. It has been reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, 1831, from a MS. of Lord Breadalbane at Taymouth. Dunbar's reference suggests that Hay had written original poems, but if so, none have yet been discovered, and perhaps the translation of the romance or story of Alexander the Great sufficiently accounts for his being included in Dunbar's list of poets, along with the author of the "Adventures of Arthur." Few stories were more commonly treated by the romance-writers of the middle ages than that of Alexander the Great, which gives its name to a special variety of verse, the Alexandrine (see Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' vol. ii. p. 140). The translation by Hay does not show poetical ability, but is of importance as a link in the connection between the poetry of France and Scotland at the time when Scottish poetry was still in its infancy.

HECTOR. *Ballate against Evil Women*, p. 267, l. 32.

HENRYSON, ROBERT. *Lament*, l. 82.—This poet, the most important of the precursors of Dunbar, flourished in the reigns of James III. and IV., and was probably born not later than 1425. He does not appear to have been educated at St Andrews or Glasgow, but was incorporated or admitted "ad eundem" in the latter university on 10th September 1462. He is described in its register as "venerabilis vir Magister Robertus Henryson in Artibus Licentiatu et in Decretis Bachelarius"—degrees which he had probably taken in Paris or Louvain. He afterwards became master of the school at Dunfermline attached to the convent of Benedictines. He was also a notary public. He has generally been supposed to have belonged to the family of Henryson of Fordel; but Laing has pointed out, in the memoir prefixed to his edition of Henryson's poems, Edinburgh, 1865, that there is no sufficient proof of this. The name was common, and two other persons who bore it in the sixteenth century were celebrated lawyers, and may have been relations of the poet,—James Henryson, the founder of the Fordel family, King's Advocate of James IV., and Lord Justice-Clerk in 1507; and Dr Edward Henryson, the author of several works on the civil law, who studied and taught the civil law at Bourges, and, passing as advocate in 1557, became one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh in 1564, and died in 1585. There was also, by a curious and scarcely fortuitous coincidence, a John Henryson,

"master of the grammar school within the Abbey of Dunfermline" in 1573. Further details of the family will be found in the memoir prefixed to Laing's edition of Henryson's poems.

HEROD. *Flying*, l. 537.—Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, who killed John the Baptist, is made by Kennedy, in this satirical fictitious genealogy of Dunbar, his "othir eme"—*i.e.*, apparently uncle on the mother's side, as Vespasian was his uncle on the father's.—See Jamieson's Dict., Supplement, *sub voce* "Eme."

HERYOT. *Lament*, l. 54.—This poet is not known by any other mention of his name or by any extant poems.

HEW, Sir, of Eglinton. *Lament*, l. 53.—A person of this name and family distinguished himself in the reigns of David II. and Robert II., and probably lived 1320-1376. He was knighted by David II. (according to a conjecture of Dr Irving) in 1342, for his services in the English wars, but was afterwards taken prisoner by Robert Ogle (Wyntoun's 'Chronicle,' Book viii. l. 6007; vol. ii. p. 468 of Laing's ed.) In 1361 he was Justiciary of Lothian, and in 1367 a commissioner for negotiating a treaty with England. He married Egidia, half-sister of Robert II., and widow of Sir James Lindsay of Crawford (Irving's 'History of Scottish Poetry,' p. 82). This was probably the poet. His name frequently occurs in accounts of the Great Chamberlain from 1348 to 1375; and in the 'Rotuli Scotorum,' vol. i. p. 822, and other places, mention is made of safe-conducts granted to him for journeys to England. He died in 1381, and his widow married Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. His daughter Elizabeth was the ancestress of the Earls of Eglinton, who received that title in 1507.

No poems with the name of Sir Hew of Eglinton are known. On the other hand, there lived in the fourteenth century a Scottish poet, commonly called Huchown of the Awle Royale (Royal Hall or Aula Regia), and it is a question which affords much room for ingenious criticism whether he is the same person as Hew of Eglinton. Wyntoun, who wrote soon after Huchown's death, says—

" He made the gret Gest off Arthure,
And the Awntyre off Gawane,
The Pystyll also off swete Susane.
He was curyws in hys style,
Fayre off facund and subtile,
And ay to plesans and delyte
Made in metyre mete his dyte,
Lytyll or nowcht nevyrtheles
Waverand fra the suthfastness."

—Vol. xii. l. 4324; Laing's ed., vol. ii. p. 12.

Three poems have been preserved, which, although this point

has been disputed by Mr Morris on linguistic grounds, answer so exactly to those named by Wyntoun that it would be singular if the same three subjects had been treated about the same date by a second author. The first of them is published by Mr Morris in 'Early English Alliterative Poems,' Early English Text Society, from a MS. written by Robert of Thornton, Archdeacon of Bedford, 1439, in the Lincoln Cathedral Library. This poem fairly answers to "The gret Gest of Arthure" or "Gest Historicale" of the above passage of Wyntoun; and Mr McNeill has shown, in a learned paper in the 'Scottish Review,' March 1888, that the defence of Huchown by Wyntoun for the supposed error of calling Lucius, the contemporary of Arthur, Emperor instead of Procurator, against some critic of his time, actually applies to this poem. Such a coincidence is more conclusive than the dialect which led Mr Morris (but Professor Schipper differs as to this) to ascribe it to a writer south of the Scottish border.

The second poem, according to Mr McNeill, is the romance of "Sir Gawane and the Grene Knight," printed for the Bannatyne Club, under the editorship of Sir F. Madden, and by the Early English Text Society in 1864, from a MS. (Cotton. Nero A x) in the British Museum, of which a full analysis is given by Mr McNeill and also by Ten Brink ('Early English Literature,' p. 337). It is very similar in nature and style to the first poem; and though Morris, followed by Ten Brink and some German scholars, assigns its dialect to Lancashire, Morris admits that it is not improbable it may have been copied from a Scottish poem. It must not be overlooked, however, that there are several other poems in which Gawane figures that may contend for the honour of being by Huchown, as that of "Sir Gawane and Gologras" (printed by Pinkerton, 1792, and Bannatyne Club), and "Sir Gawane and Galoran of Galloway," now commonly called "The Awntyrs of Arthur at the Tern Wathelan" (printed by Pinkerton, Madden, and Laing), of which there are three MSS.—See Laing, 'Select Remains,' 2d. ed., p. 84. The third poem is the "Pystil of swete Susan," printed by Laing, 'Select Remains' (p. 167), from the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian. Whether "The Pearl," "Cleanness or Purity," and "Patience," three poems of a moral or religious caste, also in the same MS. collections as "Sir Gawane and the Grene Knight," are by Huchown, as Mr McNeill contends, is more doubtful; but even without these, "Huchown of the Aule Royale" must have been a poet of considerable mark in the age before Barbour.

The identification of him with Sir Hew of Eglinton is not absolutely proved, but is highly probable. Huchown is an old Scottish diminutive for Hugh. The public offices and royal connection of Sir Hew of Eglinton make it not unlikely that he should be called "of the Royal Hall." The alliterative style of the three poems corresponds with the poetic diction in use during Sir Hew's life. Dunbar is not likely to have omitted in his list so important a name as Huchown of the Awle

Royale. Chalmers, followed by Laing, are great authorities in support of the identification. On the other hand, no poem bears the name of Hew or of Eglinton, and Hew of Eglinton held no office specially attached to the royal person. Mr Morris and the German scholars generally are against the identification, on the ground that these poems are not in the Scottish but rather in Midland English dialect. On the whole, the writer of this note is inclined to accept the conclusion of Mr McNeill, in whose paper will be found additional arguments in its support. The subject will no doubt be further elucidated by the editor of the forthcoming volume of Scottish Alliterative Poems for the Scottish Text Society.

HILLHOUSE, Laird of. *Flying*, l. 515.—Probably Sir John Sandilands of Hillhouse in Linlithgowshire, frequently referred to in the Records between 12th July 1480 ('Acta Dominorum Concilii') and 8th December 1501 ('Treasurer's Accounts'). He appears to have been employed in the Artillery service, from the entries in these accounts of 11th September 1496 and 31st July 1497; and he received on 8th December 1501, 28s., when "he cam furth of England from the Lordis, be the Kingis command." This was the embassy on which Dunbar also served, so he probably was a friend of the Laird, as Kennedy describes him as "air to Hillhouse."

HOLLAND. *Lament*, l. 61.—Sir Richard Holland, the author of the "Howlatt," a poem written in the reign of James II., about 1453, in the alliterative style. Holland was a follower of the Douglasses, and his poem is perhaps a satire on James II., though this has been doubted. It is preserved in the Bannatyne and Asloan MSS., and has been printed by Pinkerton, 'Collection of Scottish Poems,' 1792, vol. iii.; and for the Bannatyne Club, 1823, by Laing, and more recently by Mr Donaldson (Gardiner, Paisley). The "Howlatt" is alluded to by Blind Harry in his description of the battle of Falkirk, and Holland is mentioned by Lyndsay in the Prologue to the "Complaint of the Papingo."

HOMER. *The Goldyn Targé*, l. 67.—The first edition of a Greek Homer was printed at Florence, by Demetrius Chalcondylas, in 1488. But Homer was probably known to Dunbar only at third hand from Lydgate's 'Troy Book,' which was copied from Guido de Colonna's 'Historia Trojana,' written in the 13th century, and itself taken from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. George Dundas, Master of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, a younger contemporary of Dunbar, is described in 1522 by Boece, in his 'Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld,' as learned in Greek as well as Latin, and probably was one of the first Scotchmen who knew Greek well. There is no reason to suppose that Dunbar had any knowledge of it.

JAMES IV. *Poems to the King*, passim; *The Thistle and the Rose*,

p. 113; *Of Deming*, p. 92; and other poems.—James IV. was king during Dunbar's manhood and prime. At his Court the poet lived, and to or for him, in the first instance, his chief poems were written. Although it is not the intention of these notes to draw historical characters at full length, it is necessary to give an outline of the reign of James in its bearing on the life and poetry of Dunbar. The eldest son of James and Margaret of Denmark, James IV. was born on 17th March 1472, so was about twelve years Dunbar's junior. He succeeded to the crown by the death of his father at Sauchie on 11th June 1488. Three years after, Dunbar probably entered the royal service. In that year, 1491, the first of a series of embassies, which seriously aimed at securing the king's marriage, for it had been talked of since the commencement of his reign, was sent to France. Besides renewing the ancient league, it was directed to search for a wife to the king, who was to be a "noble princess, born and descended from some worshipful house of ancient honour and dignity." The embassy was to consist of a bishop, an earl, a lord of Parliament, and a clerk. The bishop chosen was Blackadder of Glasgow; the earl was Hepburn, Lord Bothwell; the lord of Parliament was Lord Monypenny. There is reason to suppose that Dunbar may have been the clerk, for they sailed in the Catherine from North Berwick, the vessel in which Dunbar is said in the "Flyting" to have gone to France. His entry into the royal service was thus intimately connected with the marriage of the king, which must have been for many years a subject constantly in his thoughts. James himself was not anxious to be fettered by matrimony. Besides other less honourable connections—one of which is described in "The Kinges Wowing quhen he wes in Dumfermeling"—he had formed an attachment for Margaret, the daughter of Lord Drummond. It was even reported that he obtained a dispensation from the Pope allowing him to marry her. This would have been required, not on account of her inferior rank, but of her relationship; for a member of her family, Annabella, had married Robert III., and another had been the second wife of David II. A royal marriage might seem not beyond the ambition of the Drummonds. Some such hope probably tempted the daughters of other nobles, both before and after Margaret Drummond, to accept the position of mistress of the king. None of them seem to have had the same place in his affections as Margaret Drummond. The poem, set to a popular air, "On Tayis Bankis," describes her when resident at her father's house of Stobhall perhaps in the language of her lover. She was treated with great state, and bore him a daughter in 1497. Though the Spanish ambassador Ayala states that he then sent her to her father and married her to a nobleman, there is no other proof of this. The connection between them probably continued until the marriage negotiations with Henry VII. in 1501. Margaret Drummond and two sisters died at one time in 1502, and it

is not wonderful that this gave rise to rumours of poisoning, which were not dispelled during the whole of James's reign. Suspicion pointed, some said, to the Kennedys, a family which also produced a royal mistress; but according to a letter of Queen Margaret to Dacre in 1523, to Lord Fleming, the husband of one of Margaret Drummond's own sisters. Her death again awakened the often sensitive but often slumbering conscience of James, who had felt deeply the death of his father on the field of Stirling. Masses were sung till the close of his reign for Margaret Drummond at Dunblane, where she was buried, as they were for his father and mother at Cambuskenneth, at Tain, and in the Blackfriars' Church in Edinburgh (see Dickson, Preface, 'Treasurer's Accounts,' ccxxx.) The pilgrimages of James to St Duthac's at Tain and to St Ninian's at Whithorn, his retreat at Easter to the Convent of the Observants at Stirling, which he had founded and from whom he received a confessor, and the iron belt he wore, were acts of expiation which reveal in part the secrets of the confessional. But James was unstable and incontinent. Historians have remarked a curious proximity between the places of his pilgrimage and the residences of his mistresses. Dunbar's poem of "Beauty and the Prisoner" probably refers to the abandonment for a time of illicit connections when "Matremony, that nobill king," banished "Sklander to the west se cost." James was too energetic to devote his whole time either to love or to religion. He had been plunged when a youth of sixteen into the duties of manhood. The example of his father warned him against leaving the government in any hands but his own. He began his reign by suppressing the rebellion of Lord Lennox and Lord Lyle, and he easily crushed the conspiracy of Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, for delivering him into the hands of the English. In 1494, and again in the following year, he visited the Western Isles. The first important episode in his reign was the support he gave to the adventurer Perkin Warbeck, who came to Scotland in 1495. James recognised him as Duke of York, gave him his kinswoman Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of Lord Huntly, in marriage, and twice supported him in raids on the north of England. Whether James was really deceived, or, like the Duchess of Burgundy, allowed himself to be deceived, as to the real origin of Perkin, is uncertain. He refused to give him up to Henry VII., and when Perkin sailed for Ireland in July 1497, it was in a ship fitted out at the royal cost. The king and Perkin parted with compliments, as became a host and his guest. But the negotiations with Henry VII., promoted by the diplomatic skill of Fox, Bishop of Durham, and the goodwill of the Spanish ambassador, who thus escaped from a promise to find him a Spanish princess as a bride, were already on foot. A truce was signed at Ayton on 30th September 1497, to last for seven years. James had reached what the Scotch law called the perfect age of twenty-five years in 1498. The truce with England, converted into

a peace by the marriage treaty of 1502, enabled him to apply himself to the affairs of his own kingdom, and he proved himself a vigorous monarch. With the counsel of Sir Andrew Wood, he developed the Scottish navy. He never tired of expeditions to the most remote parts of his kingdom—the Highlands or the Isles, Ross or Galloway—for the purpose of suppressing rebellion and of administering justice. He reformed the courts by the institution of new sheriffdoms in the Highlands, and of the Daily Council at Edinburgh, to which there are many allusions by Dunbar, as well as the special poem "Tidings from the Session," which shows that the reform was not so thorough as might have been desired. Inheriting his father's taste for building, he continued the improvements at the royal palaces of Holyrood, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Falkland. The interests of agriculture were promoted by statutes favouring the tenure of feu-farm and protecting the implements of poor husbandmen from distress; those of trade by putting down piracy, as well as by treaties and correspondence with foreign powers. He appears to have been really kindly to the poor, not merely a distributor of official charity. He furthered education by the statute requiring all barons to send their sons to school to learn Latin at the age of nine, and after school to the Schools of Art and Jure (Law), as the Universities are called in the Act, to fit themselves for judicial duties; and he aided the wise efforts of Bishop Elphinston to create a northern University, which received the name of the King's College, at Aberdeen, in 1500. At the instance of the same prelate he introduced a few years later, in 1507, the art of printing into Scotland, to which there is reference in one of Dunbar's poems, as was natural in the first Scotch poet who saw his own poems in print. The education of James, according to the Spanish ambassador, embraced six foreign languages—Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish—as well as the Scotch and Gaelic of his own subjects. He was well read in history, both Latin and French, and familiar with the Bible and books of devotion. The same observer, whose narrative is evidently highly coloured, praises the king, as befitted the representative of Ferdinand and the Catholic, for his observance of the offices of the Church; his favour for priests, especially the Friars Observant; his justice, liberality, truthfulness, courage, and good judgment. Erasmus, who was also something of a courtier, and to whom James intrusted the education of his favourite natural son, Alexander, afterwards Archbishop and Chancellor, joins in this panegyric: "His personal appearance was such, that from a distance you would recognise the king. He had a wonderful force of intellect, an incredible knowledge of all things, an invincible magnanimity, the sublimity of a truly royal heart, the largest charity, and the most profuse liberality. There was no virtue which became a great prince in which he did not so excel as to gain the praise even of his enemies."

But while the credit of these varied talents and of activity and foresight in government cannot be denied, there were points of weakness in his character, almost unwittingly revealed even by his panegyrists, which become palpable the more we search the records of his reign, and which, overpowering all his virtues, produced its lamentable close. His liberality was pushed to extravagance, and Buchanan remarks that he so impoverished the Exchequer that he had to resort to odious measures to replenish it. His courage became rashness. His general good judgment was perverted into neglect of the judgment of others, even on subjects they knew better. His zeal for knowledge of all kinds led him to dabble in unworthy and dangerous subjects,—not merely the rude beginnings of scientific experiments, but alchemy and astrology, which made him the prey of impostors. His outward piety, which was constant, was the expression of a religious feeling which was intermittent, and led to startling inconsistencies. Worst of all, his licentiousness corrupted not merely his own morals, but those of his Court, and was neither restrained by marriage, nor, if we credit the story of Lady Ford, by the duties or the dangers of war.

The periods from 1501 to 1503, and again from 1507 to 1508, were the most brilliant of his reign, and it is for these that Dunbar's poetry affords the most important light. In the former period his marriage with Margaret Tudor was at last consummated. In the embassy of Lord Bothwell and Archbishop Blackadder to England in 1501, Dunbar went probably as a notary, or clerk, who could if required play the poet at the Court of Henry, which appreciated rather than possessed poetical talent. His poems confirm the remark of Bacon as to the popularity of the marriage in London, whose inhabitants did not share the hatred of the English Borderers for their Scotch neighbours. They express also the sympathy of a Lowland Scot inclined to England with an event it was hoped would end the enmity between the two nations, and perhaps unite their crowns. Bacon, writing after the Union, even hints that the popular instinct foresaw it. Certainly it was discussed as a possibility by the kings and their ministers, for only a single life then intervened between Margaret and the English succession. The saying of Henry VII. is well known, that if the marriage led to a Union, the larger would attract the smaller country. James, a monarch given to magnificence, was determined the pomp of his nuptials should be worthy of the occasion. Masques and plays, hunts and tournaments, were followed by banquets, dances, and songs. Dunbar, now again in Scotland, was employed as the Court poet. It has been conjectured in the introduction that his allegories of the "Goldyn Targe" and "Beauty and the Prisoner" were composed in contemplation of the marriage. "The Thistle and the Rose" was certainly written for it. "The Ballad to the Queen" was probably sung after the banquet at Holyrood on the evening of the marriage, 8th August 1503. Amongst the amusements of the time it seems

almost certain that the "Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play" was represented, possibly by John Inglis and his company, who had come with the Queen from England, more probably by some rival Scotch players. In this singular poem the Dwarf or Droich, who is descended, strangely enough, from Highland ancestors, partly in jest, partly it may be to represent the distant origin of the Scottish monarchy, narrates in a boisterous style of jollity that he has come to dwell in Edinburgh. No guest would have been less welcome to the Edinburgh citizens of that age than a full-bred Highlander. Then, by one of those surprises in which Dunbar delighted, the Dwarf turns out to be a Giant, Wealth, who had determined to take up his abode in the Scottish capital in preference to Turkey, the realm of the Soudan, or Lombardy, in which the French armies had created dearth. The lawless condition of the Scandinavian kingdoms, and even of the States of the Low Countries, made them undesirable. Ireland was still worse. Dunbar's lines on it may seem sadly prophetic, but are not, it may be hoped, final :—

" Yrland for evir I haif reffusit,
All wyismen will hald me excusit,
For nevir in land quhair Eriche was vsit,
To dwell had I dellyte."

The preference of Wealth for Edinburgh, a poor capital, was sure to delight the auditors ; nor could any occasion be more suitable for the suggestion than the king's marriage. Money was then flowing freely into the town, and the English alliance gave hopes of profitable trade. Such, at least, seems the secret meaning of this poem, which can only be read by the use of an historical key.

In the year 1507, and the first half of 1508, the bright aspect of James's reign was still in the ascendant. The king was courted by foreign powers. His administration of home affairs had been in the main successful. The Court was more brilliant than it had ever been in Scotland. A small and poor country had attained a European position it had never before possessed. But there was no longer the high excitement of the time of the marriage festivities. Even the few years which had passed had disappointed some hopes. Dunbar's poems faithfully reflect this change. The queen, too early married, had not borne an heir who survived infancy, and a "plant was still desired of her succession." The king had shown, indeed, great energy in suppressing the rising of Black Donald of the Isles ; but in the opinion of others besides Dunbar there had been undue leniency in extirpating treason, as the poet indicated in his "Epitaph on Donald Owre," whose life had been spared. It was a testimony to the soundness of this judgment that the Highland fox, many years after, again broke loose, and had to be hunted out of the country. These amusements of the Court, serviceable enough as an occasional diversion from the strain of serious work, had become its

chief business, as is described in the poem of "Solistaris in Court." They had exceeded the permissible bounds of folly when a fool like Sir Thomas Norray was knighted, and a tournament held in honour of a Blackamoor woman, and an abbacy conferred on a charlatan like Damian. The poet's own circumstances, no doubt, heightened his satire, but his empty purse was a symptom of the poverty to which the exchequer had been reduced. There was no measure in the demands or in the success of the hangers-on of the Court, as he points out in his poems on Discretion in Asking, Giving, and Taking. The vacant benefices were recklessly given away. The courts of justice were beset with suitors and others who had no desire for justice, and were even themselves corrupt, as is portrayed in "Tidings from the Session," and the poem of "Lady Solistaris."

In the latter half of 1508 the handwriting could be seen on the wall, and the Scotch poet was quick, like the Hebrew prophet, to read and declare its meaning. He detected what escaped the common eye, the rottenness which underlay the apparent bloom. Sickness and Death were the teachers of a careless and dissolute generation. Dunbar had already, at an earlier period, spoken a warning word, as in the poem to the queen on the profligacy of her courtiers; but now he was himself, perhaps for the first time, really alarmed. In his own sickness, his thoughts turned to the dead and dying poets, one of them his chief rival, Kennedy, and he wrote "The Lament for the Makaris." The death of the brave D'Aubigny imposed on Dunbar the task of writing an elegy only a short month after he had written a panegyric. No sermon could have been half so scathing a censure of the vices of the Court as "The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis." In 1509 occurred the death of Henry VII., soon followed by that of the grandmother of the queen, the wise and virtuous Countess of Richmond. The accession of Henry VIII. produced altered and strained relations between the two Courts, so closely connected that there was no room for any mean between love and jealousy. Instead of a loving father and pacific king, James and Margaret had now to reckon with a grasping brother and a king who would tolerate no will but his own. A series of comparatively trifling disputes during the next four years led to a complete rupture between Scotland and England. The precipitancy of James led to the brief war in which he himself perished, and his kingdom was all but ruined. Henry VIII., on his accession, refused to deliver the jewels left by his father to his sister, the Scottish queen. In 1510, Andrew Barton, after Wood the most distinguished naval commander of Scotland, was killed, and his ships taken by Howard, the English High Admiral. When James demanded redress, he got for answer that the fate of pirates should not be a question between princes. Andrew Ker, about the same time, avenged the death of his father, Sir Robert, by killing Starhead, an English subject, in cold blood, and fixing his head on the Edinburgh Tolbooth. In 1511

Henry formed a league with Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, the Pope Julius II., and the Venetians, against France.

In 1512 James renewed the ancient alliance of his country with France, and received a ring from Anne of Brittany, its queen, as a sign that he was to be her champion. Both kings now occupied themselves with preparations for war; but Henry, before proceeding in person to France, sent two embassies under Dr West to his brother-in-law to attempt to detach him from the French alliance. West was received with courtesy, but civilly dismissed. It was plain to all that war was inevitable. In the beginning of April 1513, a new league was formed on the accession of the new Pope, Leo X., between the same great European Powers against France, and on 30th June Henry crossed the Channel and opened hostilities by the siege of Terouenne. While in his camp before that town, the Ross Herald arrived with a declaration of war. On the day of his departure, Arran was sent with the Scotch fleet—to prepare which had been a darling object of James—to aid France, but, in treasonable disobedience of orders, sailed to Ireland. Before his return, James had crossed the Border, imprudently accepted the challenge of Surrey to fight, on Friday, the 9th of September, at Flodden, where he fell, surrounded with the flower of his prelates, nobles, and commons. It was the same Surrey who, only twelve years before, had brought Margaret Tudor as a bride to Edinburgh, and of whose influence with James she had felt a girlish jealousy. His body, found with difficulty—for he had put several men into the same dress he wore—but identified by several persons, amongst others Sir John Forman, the brother of the bishop, and Lord Dacre,—was carried to Berwick. According to the view of Leo X., an ally of Henry, James had broken the treaty with Henry VII., which he had made under pain of excommunication for its breach; and on the recital that James, when dying, had shown some signs of penitence such as could be shown at such an hour, the Pope, on 29th November 1513, went through the solemn mockery, at Henry's request, of issuing a bull allowing Henry to bury his dead enemy in St Paul's. It is doubtful whether this licence was used. According to Stow, the corpse lay at the Convent of Shene till its dissolution, where he saw it in the reign of Edward VI.; after which "the workmen for their foolish pleasure cut off the head," and the body only reached its last resting-place in some obscure churchyard in London, at the hands of Lancelot Young, Master Glazier of Queen Elizabeth.

It was hinted in Scotland that James had not been killed, for no body was found on the field with the iron belt. Busy rumour told various tales—that he had secretly gone to Jerusalem to fulfil a vow, or that he had been slain, not in battle but in flight. But there seems no doubt that he fell fighting. Courage was the one quality of a general he possessed; in all others he was lacking. By declaring

war against the advice of his Council and the wish of many of his subjects; by dallying at Ford to enjoy the company of its lady, according to a constant tradition of early date on both sides of the Border; by fighting on the ground chosen by Surrey, against the remonstrance of Lindsay of the Byres and Angus Bell-the-Cat; by recklessly exposing his own person, he maintained to the last the unwise obstinacy which was one of his characteristics.

Dunbar was silent after Flodden. Apart from his religious poems, there are only the single poem to the Queen-Dowager and the two relating to the Regent Albany which can be ascribed to a later date. The troubles of Scotland which followed during the minority of James V. may be a sufficient reason for this silence. Had he spoken, what would have been his judgment on a reign he had watched so keenly and a king he had so long served and counselled? He was not given to the pathetic feeling which moved the hearts of so many Scottish poets, both at the time and later, to weep for their countrymen who fell at Flodden. If he wrote, it must have been either an invective on the cause of the deaths which put every town and family into mourning, or a lament on the uncertainty of life and the vanity of earthly things. It was, in fact, in the latter vein that he composed the poems of his later period, if the date of his religious poems has been correctly assigned.

JOHN, Sanct. *Flying*, l. 124.—St John the Baptist, or a hermit of the same name, but what the special allusion is to hiding his eyes with a wimple has not been discovered.

JOHNE THE REIF. *Schir, zit remembir as of befoir*, l. 33.—The hero of an old English poem of the end of the fourteenth century. Douglas refers to the same poem in the "Palice of Honour":—

" I saw Raf Colȝear with his thrawn brow,
Crukit Johne the Reif, and auld Cockelbie's Sow,"—

and by Sir D. Lyndsay, who refers to Archbishop Beatoun as "bot disgyset like John the Reif, he said," in the "Testament of the Papingo." It is in Bishop Percy's Folio MS., and relates to an adventure between Edward I. and one of his reeves or bailiffs. It has been printed in Laing's 'Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland,' 2d edition, p. 46.

JOHNSTON, PATRICK. *Lament*, l. 71.—A person of this name is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls and Treasurer's Accounts in the reign of James III. as performing plays before the king at Christmas and Shrovetide 1476 (vol. viii. p. 33; and 1477 and Christmas 1478, p. 512). He seems to have been a man of substance, and to have had grants of lands or rents from the king (vol. ix. pp. 16, 106, 172, 243, 400, 466,

641). From the entry, 8th November 1486, he appears to have had the liferent of the lands called Kingsfield, near Linlithgow, no doubt as a payment for his services. He appears on 5th August 1488 as apparently the chief of the players at Linlithgow who played before the king, and he is again mentioned in the same character in the following year, where the entry is to "Patrick Johnson and his fallowis that playt a play to the king at Lythgow." Payments were made to him at Epiphany 1489 and 1490, which is the last mention of his name. His association with other persons who received payments at the same time appears to indicate that he may have been one of the clerks at the king's chapel. The choristers, both clerks and boys, frequently took part in the early masques and plays. James III. is said to have doubled the number of these at the Chapel Royal, so that half of them might be free to contribute to his amusement in this way, while the other half sang in its services (Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, Preface, lxxvii., xcii., ccxxxix., and ccxlv., and pp. 91, 118, 128, 174). In the accounts rendered for the period from 12th June 1494 to 14th August 1495, Johnston is referred to as dead (Exch. Rolls, vol. x. pp. 33, 177, 276, 330, 408, 495). As he was living at a period of the former account, he must have died soon after 12th June 1494.

JOK THE FULE. *Testament of Andro Kennedy*, l. 73.—Laing supposes this was "John Walass" the fool, sometimes called "Daft Jok the Fule," who was with the king at St Andrews, October 1504, and for whose "tyrment" or burial 16s. was paid on 19th June 1508. But Kennedy seems to refer to some richer fool, as he says of him:—

" Of corne and cattall, gold and fe,
Ipse habet valde multum,
And ʒit he bleris my lordis E
Fingendo eum fore stultum."

—See Bute, Curry, Norray.

JONET THE WEIDO. *Lucina schynnyng in silence of the nicht*, l. 34.—One of the witches of Scotch tradition. The besoms or brooms of the witches are referred to in a trial for witchcraft (Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' vol. iii. p. 608).

JUDAS ISCARIOT. *Flyting*, l. 524.—The juxtaposition of his name with "Jow, Juglour, Lollard laureate," is characteristic of Kennedy, who wrote against the Lollards in another poem, and affords proof that this part of "The Flyting" was really written by Kennedy.

KENNEDY, ANDREW. *Testament of Andro Kennedy*.—A person of this name appears in the Treasurer's Accounts, 21st August 1502: "Item, For ane hors bought to Jock Balye, and syne was geffin to

Andrew Kennedy be the Kingis command, 50s." He had received a gift of 28s. two days before, and on 8th September 1503 there occurs another entry of 14s. given to Andrew Kennedy, "in maij bypast to pas to Wigton to the King with ane relique of Sanct Niniane." He is also the recipient of a grant referred to in the Privy Seal Register on 13th May 1501. This is no doubt the Kennedy of the poem, from which we glean a few other particulars about him. He was probably a physician, and so is made, as a rival, to abuse Clerk for his ignorance—

"Scribendo dentes sine de."

His own superior knowledge of Latin is shown by the tags of dog-Latin he mixes with his English rhymes, a kind of composition the student of the time practised, as may be seen in a curious ballad by an English student in Paris to his sweetheart (Ten Brink, 'Early English Literature,' p. 303). Andrew Kennedy was, according to the poem, a drunken and dissolute Bohemian of Dunbar's day, but able, as such characters sometimes are, to see through the hypocrisy of false professors. Dunbar perhaps uses him to express his own freethinking mood, and to say things he did not like to say in his own person. Thus Kennedy is made to denounce the fraud and guile of Gray, the Master of St Antony's Hospital, and the pretences of the false friars who sang masses for the sake of lucre. He scoffs at absurd claims to good family—a weakness of his countrymen—by treating the head of the Kennedys as his chief, though he did not know who he was, and at the same time by a double-edged thrust at the Celtic custom of *caupe*,—an instrument of extortion by which "the best aucht," or piece of movable property of a deceased clansman, was the right of the chief. He strikes one of Dunbar's favourite blows at the worldly wisdom of the fools who became wealthy, and the folly of those who entertained and kept them. The residue of his goods—in his case, as in some testaments, less than nothing—he leaves to his bastards. The general ceremonies of the time are travestied by the use of emblems of his drunken habits. With reckless audacity and profanity, he does not hesitate to declare on his deathbed that he had no belief, that he will have no priests to sing at his burial, and that he leaves, in the name of God, his soul till doomsday to the wine-cellar, and his body to a dunghill in the town of Ayr. It is a terrible picture of the dregs of fallen human nature. That neither Dunbar nor the society in which he lived thought such a subject outside the pale of poetry is shown by the fact that this poem was one of those the poet himself printed, or allowed to be printed, at the press of Chepman and Myllar in 1508.

KENNEDY, WALTER. *Flyting; Lament*.—This poet, who seems to have been the chief rival of Dunbar, was born in Ayrshire, probably before 1460; he was third son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, and was educated at Glasgow College. He matriculated there in

1475, and is described in the College Register as a nobleman who had for his tutor James Black, probably a student like himself in the Faculty of Arts. He took the decree of Bachelor of Arts in 1476, and that of Licentiate, or Master, in 1478. In November 1481 he was one of the examiners. He appears to have acted as Bailie-Depute of Carrick under David, third Lord Kennedy, in 1491-92. Mr Laing conjectures that he may have been the son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, who was appointed Provost of the Collegiate Church of Maybole in 1494. He is described by Dunbar as lying at the point of death when "The Lament for the Makaris" was written, so he probably died in 1507 or 1508. Besides his part in the "Flyting," a few of his poems have been preserved, and are printed by Laing in the second volume of his edition of Dunbar. (1.) "The Praise of Age;" (2.) "Ane agit Manis invective against Mouth Thankless;" (3.) "Ane Ballat in praise of our Lady;" (4.) "Pious Counsale;" (5.) "The Passioun of Christ." He is referred to by Gavin Douglas in the "Palice of Honour" as "Greit Kennedie" (line 14), and by Sir David Lindsay in the lines—

" Or quha can now contrefait
Off Kennedie the terms aureait."

The clan of Kennedy was one of the Celtic clans of Carrick, and Gilbert, the father of Walter Kennedy, had a charter dated 13th February 1451, declaring him head of his tribe, and heritable bailie of Carrick. This is alluded to by Dunbar in the "Testament of Andro Kennedy," who is made to leave his "best aucht" to the head of his clan as the customary due, called in old Gaelic *caufe*. Gilbert Kennedy was the son of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, and Mary, the second daughter of Robert III., and sister of James I., and this connection made Walter Kennedy claim the "Flyting" to be of king's kin. His uncle was Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews, the faithful councillor of James III. The poet was a more staunch adherent of the Church of Rome than Dunbar, as is shown by the denunciation of the Lollards in several of his poems. The name Kennedy has been derived from Kenneth by the historian of the family of the seventeenth century, but by the editor of his work, Mr Pitcairn, is supposed to mean the head of the house or family,—a distinction which had been granted to their ancestors as far back as 1256, and confirmed by Alexander III. on 20th January 1276.—'Historical Account of the Families of Kennedy from Original MS.' (Edinburgh, 1830), p. 75.

KITTOK. *Ballad of Kynd Kittok*.—Kittok, or Kitty, the female taverner, whose ale-house was at some place now unknown, called France, on the Falkland fells, perhaps from its having been the residence of French servants of the Court.

LAWRANCE, Sanct. *Flyting*, l. 123.—St Lawrence was martyred

by roasting on a gridiron by Decius, or his successor Valerian. The legend is told by Barbour, or whoever may be the writer of the Northern or Scottish Legends (Horstmann, 'Altenglischen Legenden,' Barbour's 'Legenden Sammlung,' vol. i. p. 191). St Lawrence was appointed an Archdeacon of the Roman Church by Pope Sixtus II. on his accession to the Papacy, A.D. 257. Before his own martyrdom Sixtus charged Lawrence to distribute the property of the Roman Church among the poor. Lawrence, according to the legend, wished to share the fate of Sixtus, and said to him, "Whither art thou going, O my father, without thy son?" to whom Sixtus answered, "I do not forsake thee, O my son; there are yet greater conflicts behind, which thou hast to undergo for the faith of Christ: within three days thou, as a dutiful deacon, shalt follow me, thy bishop." He was arrested and grilled alive on a gridiron on the night between the 9th and 10th of August.

"þane Decius al fore wrak
A gryt fyre sone gert mak
Vndir þe rost-yrne, þat brint fast,
& salt & oyle þare-one gert cast;
& lourdanis mad þame al bowne
With scharpe forkis & hald hyme done.

þane sad Laurens with gud chere:
'Lord Jhesu, I lowe þe here!
& with þat wpe þe ene he brad,
And to Decius he sayd:
'þe rostit syd turne vpe & ete,
& it at raw is turne & het!
& þis sayand thankis he 3ald
To god, erand 3onge and auld:
'Lord Jhesu, ay lowyt mot þu be,
Fore I ame worthy to haf entre
Within þe 3atis of þi blyse,
& 3auld þe spryt, sayand þus."

—Legends of the Saints, xxii. ll. 465-470, 485-496.

This martyr is celebrated in several hymns.—See 'Daniel,' vol. i. p. 103; vol. ii. pp. 20, 163.

LODOVICK. *Elegy on Bernard Stewart*, l. 1.—Louis XII., King of France, by whom Bernard Stewart was sent on the embassy to Scotland in 1508.

LOKERT or LOCKHART OF THE LE, Sir MUNGO. *Lament*, l. 63.—A person of this name is mentioned in a suit recorded in "Acta Dominorum Concilii," 27th February 1487, when he was dead, his wife being referred to as "Agnes Lindsay, spouse of umquhile Sir Mungo Lockhart, knyght." No poem of his is known, but the date makes it not improbable he is the Lockhart referred to by Dunbar. The family of Lockhart of the Lee, in Lanarkshire, is descended from Sir Simon

Lockhart, who accompanied Douglas in his expedition against the Saracens (1330), when he carried the heart of Bruce. It has produced several distinguished members—James Lockhart, Lord Lee, a Scottish judge; William Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador; and Sir George Lockhart, the Lord President of the Court of Session—but the name of Mungo does not appear in the family genealogies.

LYDGATE. *Goldyn Targe*, l. 262; *Lament*, l. 50.—This poet, a monk of Bury (see "Lament," l. 50), who lived 1375 to 1460, was the immediate follower of Chaucer, but, like Gower, far inferior to his master. An account of his principal poems is given by Warton ('History of English Poetry,' p. 68 *et seq.*) These were "The Fall of Princes," "The Siege of Thebes," and "The Destruction of Troy." His Minor Poems have been edited by Mr J. O. Halliwell for the Percy Society, in which the following lines may be cited as parallels to passages in Dunbar's poems :—

" Be glad, O London, be glad and make gret joy,
City of cities, of nobleness precellyng,
In the beginning called New Troy :"—

this may have suggested the reference to Troynovaunt in Dunbar's poem in praise of London. The moral to be drawn from the death of the great men of the past, which is the theme of Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris," had also attracted Lydgate, who writes—

" Where now is David, the most worthy king?"

—Lydgate's Minor Poems, p. 24.

It had been taken by both poets either from the medieval Latin hymns referred to in the Introduction, or from Villon's "Ballade on Dead Heroes." In one of the poems attributed, perhaps wrongly, to Lydgate, entitled "London Lackpenny," there is much satire directed against the lawyers and the courts in a style similar to Dunbar's "Tidings from the Session" and "Lady Solistaris." Dunbar styles Lydgate "laureate," but it is not probable that he was Poet-laureate of the Court. The history of that title, originally given by the university to graduates, then apparently confined to distinguished scholars, and first perhaps applied to the Latin poet Andrew Bernard of Toulouse, who held the office under Henry VII. and Henry VIII., is given by Warton ('History of English Poetry,' vol. iii. p. 125 *et seq.*); yet Chaucer, who certainly did not hold any such office, and Skelton, are occasionally called "laureate," possibly only as a eulogistic epithet. Skelton applies the term to the learned men of all nations in his allegory, "The Garland of Laurel." The list closes with Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who first adorned the English tongue. The same three poets are mentioned in the prologue to "The Terens in English," printed by J. Nastall about 1510 (Warton, vol. iii. p. 282). Skelton himself was a contemporary of Dunbar, for he flourished from 1490, the date of his

laureation at Oxford, to 1529, when he died. His furious attacks on the Scotch, and the doggerel character of most of his poetry, account for his never being mentioned by Dunbar, on whom he did not exercise any influence. To prefer Skelton to Dunbar, as Mr Lowell does, is a singular instance of a false verdict by a usually good critic.

MACHOMETE. *Flyting*, l. 537.—Also MAHOUN. *Lucina schynning in silence of the nicht*, l. 32.—See Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 53; and “The Gyre Carling,” Laing’s ‘Select Remains,’ p. 275, where Mahomet is called Mahoun. See Montgomerie’s ‘Flyting,’ l. 429, and note, p. 317.

MACKCOWLL, FYN. *Ane Littill Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play*, l. 33.—Fingal, the hero of Ossian and of many Irish and Highland tales, is represented as the great-grandfather of the Dwarf in Dunbar’s poem, and the father of Gow Makmorne. They are associated also by Douglas in “The Palice of Honour”—

“Great Gow Mackmorne and Fyn Mackcowll, and how
They should be goddis in Ireland, as they say.”

The Ossianic legend was probably known to the Court of James IV. by the recitations and songs of Gaelic bards and harpers. “The Book of the Dean of Lismore,” one of the earliest collections of Ossianic poems made in Scotland, was compiled between 1512 and 1542 by Sir James Macgregor. Sir James was a notary public at least as early as 1511, and Dean in 1514. The frequent visits of James IV. to the Highlands, and the suppression of the rising of Donald Owre, made the knowledge of Gaelic a useful accomplishment; and Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, records that James could himself speak it. The dialect spoken was still called “Ersch,” or Irish, and until the extinction of the Lordship of the Isles in 1545, “the Irish sennachies and bards were heads of a school which included the West Highlands, and the Highland sennachies were either of Irish descent, or, if of native origin, resorted to bardic schools in Ireland for instruction in the language and accomplishments of their art. Perhaps the last of them was Taedg, son of Aodh O’Coffry, who is designed chief teacher of poetry in Erin and Alban, in the record of his death, in 1554, in ‘The Annals of Ulster.’”—Preface to ‘Book of Dean of Lismore.’

MAKFADYANE. *Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis*, l. 110.—Lord Hailes’s conjecture, that Makfadyane was used as one of the harshest of Highland names, does not appear a sufficient explanation. The reference is to the opponent of Wallace described by Blind Harry:—

“This Makfadzane till Inglismen was suorn;
Eduard gaiff him bath Argill and Lorn;”

—vii. 627, 628.

and the following line, that he was—

“Fetched far northwart in a nuke,”

is explained by the lines of Blind Harry :—

“ Makfadjane fled, for all his felloun stryff,
On till a cave within a clyff of stayne,
Under Cragmor, with xv is he gayne ;”

where he was surprised and killed by Duncan of Lorn. His head was brought to Wallace and Neil Campbell of Lochow :—

“ The lord Cambell syne hynt it by the har ;
Heich in Cragmor he maid it for to stand,
Steild on a stayne for honour off Irland.”

—vii. 866-868.

This story is told by Blind Harry only, and not by any of the Chroniclers. There was nothing improbable in Edward receiving aid from a Scoto-Irish chief, as he did from the Earl of Ulster at the battle of Stirling in 1296, and Blind Harry's story receives confirmation from the fact that a hill near the Pass of Brander is still called Macfadyane's promontory.—Carrick's 'Life of Wallace,' p. 96.

MARCION. *Flyting*, l. 538.—A Roman Emperor of the East, 450-7.

MARGARET TUDOR. *The Thistle and the Rose; To the Queen; Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer; To the Queen-Dowager;* and other poems.—The life of this queen has been well written by Miss Strickland. All that it is intended to notice here are the points in her life and character which bear on the life and poems of Dunbar. The eldest daughter of Henry VII., the Welsh Tudor who claimed to represent the House of Lancaster, and Elizabeth of York, she was born at Westminster, 29th November 1489, so was seventeen years younger than James IV., and twenty-nine years younger than Dunbar. While an infant, projects were already set on foot to betroth her to James IV., but he was then occupied with other love-affairs. She was brought up along with her brothers Arthur and Henry, but had no taste for letters. The death of Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1501, made her a more eligible match, and the death of Margaret Drummond in 1502 removed the last obstacle to it.

Negotiations, begun some years before by Fox, Bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Bothwell, were brought to a point in 1501, when Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Bothwell were sent to London to arrange the terms of the marriage treaty; and the espousals were celebrated at Richmond on 24th June 1502. Dunbar's poem in praise of London, recited at the banquet given by the Mayor to the Ambassadors on Christmas Day 1502, makes no personal allusion to Margaret.

Anticipating the time fixed by the treaty, Margaret, attended by Lord and Lady Surrey and a large suite, and, contrary to his usual parsimony, munificently furnished by her father with the *trousseau* of

a bride, and with the parting gift of a Book of Hours commending "her loving father to her prayers," left Richmond on 16th June 1503. She reached the Border before the end of July. On August 3d she was met at Dalkeith by James, who showed the ardour of a young, and the ceremonious courtesy of an older, lover. The marriage was celebrated at Holyrood on the 8th of August, and was succeeded, as it had been preceded, by amusements of all kinds—hunting and jousting, dancing, singing, and plays. "The Thistle and the Rose" was written by Dunbar to celebrate the joyful event. Despite his attentions, Margaret did not take kindly to James. Young, the Somerset Herald, in his minute official account of the ceremonies, says she was "merry." But a letter to her father, sent by one of her ladies who returned to England, and who was to give him more of her thoughts, tells a different tale. She complains petulantly of Surrey's influence with the king that no attention is paid to her chamberlain, "who would speak better for her part;" and adds a postscript in her own hand, "with a wish I were with your Grace now and many times more." Her principal request was to show favour to her footman Thomas, who had been a servant of her mother. She probably shared the opinion of her attendants, who admired the manhood or courage more than the manners of the Scotch. The wayward character of the girl of scarcely fourteen called on to be a wife and queen is strikingly brought out in this letter. Her too early marriage had the unfortunate result of the death of her children soon after birth. It was not till 1512 that she bore the heir who succeeded to the crown. Her own life was often in jeopardy. But if we may accept the evidence of Dunbar's poems, as she grew older she took part with relish in the amusements, sometimes not of a refined character, of the Court, and showed her appreciation of the poet's part in them by pleading for him with the king. He calls her "his advocate both fair and sweet," and expresses a wish that the king listened more to her counsels. James did not prove a faithful husband. Lady Jane Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, succeeded Margaret Drummond as his chief mistress. In a letter from Margaret to Henry VIII., just before his fatal expedition which ended at Flodden, she says: "And we lak nathing; *oure husband is ever the langir the bettir to us, as knawis God!*" This perhaps expressed her feelings at that time, but her object in writing was to make her brother feel somewhat ashamed of withholding the jewels left her by her father. Still, it is possible that the birth of the future James V., and the knowledge that she was to be his guardian should anything befall her husband, improved the relations between James IV. and Margaret. Her first child, a girl, was born on 10th February 1506, and died on 17th February 1507. It was between these dates that James made a pilgrimage to St Ninians, to pray for her recovery; and after it she herself went to the same shrine to offer thanks. But the king had used his pilgrimage to visit Lady Jane

Kennedy. The kind of diversions going on at Court is indicated by entries in the Treasurer's Accounts :—

“Feb. 16. Item to Wantouness, that sang to the king, xiijs
 Item to Wantouness, that the king fecht and
 gert her sing in the Queen's chalmer, xiijs.”

If the conjecture founded on the date of Fastern's Eve, which fell this year on 16th February, be correct, and Dunbar then wrote his “Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis,” we can understand why he chose such a subject for his muse, and appreciate the boldness of the Court poet. Probably the last persons to suppose that any reflection on their conduct was intended, were James and his courtiers.

The round of amusements still went merrily on. In June 1507, the king gave the tournament in honour of Black Elen, the Moor. This was probably thought a piece of great fun by the young courtiers and the royal parasites. But in truth it made tournaments ridiculous, and degraded the king and those who took part in it, as Dunbar hints in his poem.

The year 1508 ran a similar course. At Easter, James made his usual visit to St Ninians, and to Lady Jane Kennedy. In June there was jousting before the queen in Edinburgh, when the wild knight who won the prize turned out to be James in disguise. An embassy from England, of which Dr West was the chief, came to remove complaints which James had made as to the conduct of his father-in-law; and another from France, of which D'Aubigny was the head, came to consult with James on behalf of Louis XII. The object of the former was to prevent, that of the latter to obtain, the renewal of the league with France. The queen's name appears at one point of these diplomatic intrigues. The English ambassador found the detention of the Earl of Arran in England an obstacle to his persuading James to break with France. Sir Patrick Hamilton, Arran's brother, according to West, had reported to the queen that Arran was well treated by Henry, but had told the opposite to the king. The Scotch, both nobles and commons, West reports, were inclined to favour France. Only the king himself, the queen, and Forman, the Bishop of Moray, were on the English side. But the astute diplomatist was deceived in his estimate, and we cannot entirely rely on what he states. James, as the event proved, really leant towards France. The Bishop of Moray was his chief adviser in hurrying on, four years later, the English war. Whether Margaret really supported her brother, we cannot be quite sure. Probably she did; but if so, her influence with her husband was overruled. In this year the series of Dunbar's poems were printed which included the Ballad on Aubigny, who came to Scotland in May and died in the following year, and the “Lament for the Makaris” who were dead or dying. Death was busy. On the 22d April of the next year, 1509, her father, Henry VII., died, and soon after her grandmother, the Countess of Richmond.

In autumn she bore a prince, named Arthur, in memory of her brother ; but the sickly child died in July 1511, and its mother was also "sore vexit with sickness." In August she went on a pilgrimage to St Duthac's at Tain, and took the opportunity of visiting Aberdeen. Dunbar was in her suite, and celebrated her reception by the poem, "Blyth Aberdein, thow beriall of all tounis." On 11th April 1512, she gave birth at Linlithgow to her child, who lived to be the future king.

The accession of Henry VIII. changed the relations between the two countries. England now had a young king ambitious of the honours of war. James was not disposed to refuse him the opportunity. A series of petty quarrels of the kind Henry VII. had succeeded in laying were fostered by both monarchs into an open rupture. Although an embassy under Lord Dacre and Dr West was sent to try if possible to detach James from the French league, they soon found it was a vain effort. One of these quarrels was about the jewels Henry VII. had left his daughter. At a meeting with the queen on 4th May she asked, as soon as the ambassadors were introduced, "If her legacy had been sent?" West replied, "Yes ; if the king would promise to keep the treaty of peace." "And not else?" she rejoined. "No," replied West ; "and if the King of Scotland persists in war, the King of England will not only keep it, but take the best towns in Scotland." Margaret's answer to this speech was never spoken, for the king came into her room, and the conversation was interrupted. Both countries were actively preparing for war. James had been busy with making gunpowder for some time ; and Henry, who had succeeded in gaining the Pope as well as the Emperor as allies, was collecting his troops for the French war. He sailed on 1st June, and Catharine of Aragon, and Lord Surrey who was left behind to defend the Borders, were zealous in mustering and equipping the necessary forces. West was again, in spring 1513, in Edinburgh, when he saw or heard of little else than the victualling of ships and the mounting of guns. He could get no definite answer from James to any of his requests except for leave to go home. Before he went, he paid a visit to Margaret at Linlithgow, on Sunday the 10th of June. She showed, as might be expected, a more favourable disposition than her husband, said nothing about the jewels, and remarked that she was right sorry James would not promise to keep the peace with England, "for now her brother was in the right, and her husband in the wrong." So at least West reported to Henry. The precise feelings of Margaret at this juncture are not quite certain. In a letter written two days before her interview with West, she had taunted her brother about the jewels, expressing her regret that so much fuss had been made about them, and her confidence that her husband would recompense her for their loss. But the belief in Scotland was that she was against the war. Pitscottie says she warned James of its danger. It was even rumoured

that the strange apparition at Linlithgow Kirk was of her contrivance, to deter him by playing on his superstitious feelings. James, in spite of all warnings and the advice of his most prudent counsellors, left Linlithgow about the end of July, mustered his troops at the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh, and marching south met Surrey, and fell at Flodden on 9th September. According to tradition, Margaret watched his departure from one of the towers of Linlithgow, which still bears her name. Before leaving he made a will by which she was named tutor of their infant so long as she remained a widow, and gave her an order for a large sum, the last subsidy of the French Court. She gave birth to a posthumous son, the Duke of Ross, on 20th April 1514; but before her year of mourning was over, she privately married at the Chapel of Kinnoull, on 6th August 1514, the young Earl of Angus. Dunbar was probably one of the Scotchmen who had been averse to the war, and the queen had been more his friend than the king. She was still only twenty-three years old, and a second marriage was not unnatural, perhaps politic. Still, we cannot but regret that Dunbar should have written the poem beginning

" O lusty flour of 3owth, benyng and bricht,"

in which he describes her as

" 3ung brekand blosom, 3it on the stalkis grene,"

and exhorts her

" Faid nocht with weping thy visage fair of hew ;
 O lufsum lusty lady, wyse and trew,
 Cast out all cair, and comfort do incress,
 Exyll all sichand, on thy scherwand rew !
 Dewoyd langour, and leif in lustiness."

His name is not attached to it in the Bannatyne MS., but the style is his, and it is difficult to differ from Mr Small, who attributes it to him. It was evidently written not long after Flodden, and before the marriage with Angus was declared. The consequences of her rashness speedily followed. She was deprived of all share in the government by the nobles, who disliked the preference shown for the young and ambitious Angus, and summoned the Duke of Albany from France to assume the regency. He forced her to give up the custody of her children, and to fly to England, where she gave birth at Harbottle, on 7th October 1515, to Margaret Douglas, afterwards Lady Lennox, mother of Darnley, the ill-starred youth in whom flowed the dregs of the Tudor blood. She was well received by her brother, but soon quarrelled with her husband, and, returning to Scotland in 1517, entered into relations with the Duke of Albany, which caused scandal, for his wife was still living, but seem to have been really due to the fact that he was more favourable to the divorce on which she had set her heart than her brother, who reserved for himself that remedy for an unhappy marriage. Her persistency, and the influence of

Albany, at last gained her end, but not till 1528. She soon found a third husband in Henry Stewart, created Lord Methven—a match not more fortunate than those which preceded it; and she again wished a divorce. She died of palsy at Methven on 25th November 1541. Her dying request to her son James V. was, that he should rely on her divorced husband Angus. But this latter period of her life lies outside that of Dunbar, who does not once allude to her after 1514. His hopes in her had been disappointed, as much as in her husband. The poet's judgment of character, usually so acute, seems to have been blinded by the presence of royalty. He knew well and expressed boldly the corruption of the Court, but even he had not foreseen the pitiable end,—the king's death at Flodden when still in the prime of life, and the premature old age of the fair girl he had welcomed as queen. The tragedies of Scotland have not been written for the stage, but acted in history.

MARY MAGDALENE. *Of the Resurrection*, l. 5.

MARY SALAME or SALOME. *Of the Resurrection*, l. 7.—Daughter of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin.

MARY, The Virgin. *Hymns in her honour*, pp. 269 and 272.—See Ann, St.

MAXENTIUS. *Flyting*, l. 538.—The son of Maximian, and one of the rivals of Constantine, who defeated him at Saxa Rubra, near Rome, in 312, when he was drowned in the Tiber at the Milvian Bridge. He is represented by Roman writers as a monster of rapacity, cruelty, and lust. Wyntoun describes him :—

“ In Rome that tyme a tyrand
 Cruell and austere was regnand
 That had to name Maxentius.

 He put to death Saynet Katarine,
 That glorious and that pious virgin.”

—i. p. 391.

MERCURIUS. *Flyting*, l. 490.—Mercury, the messenger from the gods to men, and the god of merchants and of thieves, to whom magic powers were attributed by the Roman popular belief. But what is “the great eclipse” referred to in l. 489?

MERSER. *Lament*, l. 73.—Several persons of this name are mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts, with the Christian names of James, Peter, and William, who received grants of dress or money from the king between 1494 and 1503. There is also an Andrew Merser, one of the grooms of the chamber from 1503 to 1508. But whether any of

these is the poet referred to by Dunbar is uncertain. Sir David Lindsay also mentions the poet Merse in the lines—

“ Quintyn, Merse, Rowl, Henryson, Hay, and Holland,
Thocht thay be deid their libels bene levand,
Quhilks to rehearse maketh readeris to reiose.”

—Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 285.

Only one of Merse's poems has survived, entitled “Perrell in Paramours,” printed in Hailes's ‘Ancient Scottish Poems,’ p. 156, and in Irving's ‘History of Scottish Poetry,’ p. 203.

MURE. *Complaint against Mure*.—It has not been discovered who this poet was who had dared to tamper with Dunbar's verses. But as Dunbar, in the concluding stanza, consigns him to the company of Cuddy Rig, the Dumfries Fool, he was probably a worthless and envious bard who used this means to get Dunbar into trouble with the Lords he represented him as satirising.

MURRAY, Earl of Dunbar. *Flyting*, l. 386.—Dunbar, the Earl of Murray of the second creation. Agnes, the daughter of Randolph, Earl of Murray of the first creation, married Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and March, and on the death of her brother at Homildon in 1347 became Countess, and her husband in her right Earl, of Murray. Her eldest son George was tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, and her second son John became Earl of Murray, who married Marjory, daughter of Robert II. Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, Sheriff of Moray or Elgin, was descended from this Earl. His eldest son, Sir James Dunbar I. of Westfield, succeeded to the sheriffdom, which became hereditary in his family. He died in 1505, and left a son, Sir James Dunbar II., who died in 1539. One of these was the Dunbar of Westfield, knight. Could we be sure which, it would help to fix the date of “The Flyting.” Probably the first is intended.

MUSGRAEFFE, Mrs. *Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 26.—This was one, probably the principal, of the ladies in Queen Margaret's suite who accompanied her from England, and remained in Scotland. She was the wife of Sir John Musgrave, and is usually styled in the accounts “The Lady Maistress,” either because she was wife of a knight, or perhaps because she held the office of Mistress of the Queen's Wardrobe. She received a fee of £13, 6s. 8d. English = £46, 13s. 4d. Scots, half-yearly, besides many special payments. On 21st February 1507, for bringing the news of the birth of a prince to the king, she was given 100 unicorns = £90 Scots, and a cup of silver. She appears last in the Accounts in 1513. The suggestion which has been based on this line in the poem, that Dunbar was really in love with her, is thought not to be well founded, for reasons stated in the Introduction. May her husband have been a relation of Giles Musgrave, handed down to infamy in the poem of “Flodden Field,” who

deceived James as to the movements of the English, in order to induce him to come down the hill and fight on the plain?—

“ Giles Musgrave was a guileful Greek,
And friend familiar with the king,
Who said, Sir King, if you do seek
To know the Englishmen's meaning,

Your marches they mean for to sack,
And borders fair to harry and burn,
Wherefore it's best that we go back,
From such intent them for to turn.
This Musgrave was a man of skill,
And spake thus for a policy,
To cause the king come down the hill,
That so the battle tried might be.”

—“ Flodden Field,” Weber's edition, l. 1869 *et seq.*

NORRAY, Sir THOMAS. *Of Sir Thomas Norray.*—Thomas Norrie or Norray, one of the king's fools, frequently mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts. In August 1503 he received a doublet of brige satin and a pair of yellow carsey (kersey) hose. In April 1504, a coat of yellow and black camelot, a doublet of brige satin, and a pair of red and yellow carsey hose, also a coat of the same materials and colours, and a doublet of grey Milan fustian. In May 1505 there is a payment of £3, 10s. “to the wife quhair Norrie lay sick,” and on 23d July “for ane horss to Norrie, £3.” In August of the same year he went with the king to Whithorn, and *when the king went north*, 10s. was paid to him. It was probably after this northern expedition of the king to Ross and Moray, in which Norray had accompanied him, that this poem in his honour was written. On 24th March 1512 he received 56s. “at his passage to Sanct James in Elsinore;” and on 5th August “ane pair schone, price 16d.” In several of these entries he is styled “*Sir Thomas Norrie*,” and it may be doubted whether this was in derision, for which the Treasurer's Accounts do not seem an appropriate place. More probably the king in some festive moment had actually knighted him, just as he held a tournament in honour of the Blackamore lady. Or it is just possible that Norray had performed some trifling exploit on the field (which here Dunbar laughs at by exaggerating), that justified the king in knighting him. This would give more point to Dunbar's poem, in which he “crowns him lord of every fule,” and would also explain the satire on chivalry which was implied in making a fool a knight. The unexpected line, “that of a high renowned knight he wants nothing but bells,” is as if to say a knight-errant as well as a fool should carry bells. The number of these fools at the Scottish Court at this period whose names Laing has collected from the Accounts is extraordinary, and seems to show they were more appreciated in Scotland even than in other countries. The following list is not exhaustive, for there were “gestours” besides: John Bute,

and John Bute's man ; Curry, and Law, Curry's man ; Spark ; John Wallace ; Joly John, the English Fool ; Hamilton ; Jōhñ Rouch ; Jok, the Dundee Fool ; another Jok, the Aberdeen Fool ; Cuddy Rig, the Dumfries Fool ; Sir William Murray's Fool ; Quhissil Gibbon in Falkland ; and Bille Hoes,—all in the reign of James IV. Some of them were no doubt naturals—the village fool of later times, living on alms ; but others were shrewd fellows passing off their wisdom as folly, such as Jok the "fule" referred to in "The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy," who acquired corn and cattle, gold and land, and "bleris my lordis E" by feigning to be foolish.

OLIBRIUS. *Flyting*, l. 540.—Olibrius is Olybrius, the President of the East, who caused St Margaret, the Christian daughter of a heathen priest at Antioch in Syria, to be beheaded in the year 275, because she refused to renounce Christianity. According to one form of the legend, Olybrius called in the aid of Satan, who, in the shape of a dragon, swallowed Margaret alive ; but she by a miracle extricated herself. The legend is contained in Barbour—'Legenden Sammlung,' Horstmann, vol. ii. p. 1. St Margaret was held in special reverence as the type of the virgin martyr, and her murderer accordingly in special detestation.

PHARO. *Flyting*, l. 530.—Kennedy represents Pharaoh, King of Egypt, as Dunbar's father. The mythical descent of the Scotch kings from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, made the poet familiar with his name.

PLUTO. *Flyting*, l. 535.—The god of the infernal regions is made by Kennedy the head of the kin or name of Dunbar, following out the fanciful etymology of Dunbar as derived from "Deulbere."

POLLEXEN. *Gladethe thoue Queyne of Scottis regioun*, l. 11.—Polyxena, daughter of Priam, whose beauty, according to the later versions of the story of Troy, led to the death of Achilles. As Dunbar here praises Queen Margaret as "of port surmounting Pollexen of Troy," so Lydgate, in his "Life of Our Lady," from which this comparison may be taken, had praised the Virgin as surpassing Polyxena in beauty. The story of Polyxena is told in the fragment of Barbour's Troy Booke (MS. Camb. KK., and Douce, 148), and Horstmann, 'Legenden Sammlung,' vol. ii. p. 256 *et seq.* The common sources of poetic comparison were not so numerous in that age as in ours, and the "Tale of Troy," the "Romance of Alexander the Great," and the Arthurian cycle of poems, will be found to furnish most of those of Dunbar, whose knowledge of classical literature seems to have been limited. Aristotle, Homer, and Cicero (Tullius) are the only classical authors he names.—See Homer.

PUTTIDEW. *Flyting*, l. 541.—What form of the Devil's name is meant by this is not known.

PYLAT. *Flyting*, l. 524.—Pontius Pilate.

QUHENTYNE, or QUINTYNE, or QUINTING SCHAW.—This now rare but formerly common name of Quintyn occurs in several places in Dunbar's poems. In the "*Flyting*," ll. 34 and 131, there is a reference by Kennedy to

" My cousing Quintene and my commissar,"

who compiled, along with Kennedy, a poem in their own praise (see l. 3), which led Dunbar to send his part of the "*Flyting*" to his friend Sir John the Ross. In the poem "*Of Sir Thomas Norray*," l. 36, Dunbar rebukes Quhentyne for disparaging Norray. In "*The Lament for the Makaris*," l. 86, Quintyne Schaw is mentioned :—

" And he has now tane, last of aw,
Gud gentill Stobo et Quintyne Schaw."

Probably these are the same person. Shaw is an Ayrshire family, and Quhentyne Schaw seems to have been the son of John Schaw of Haily, in that county, who received a charter to that estate on 20th June 1489 as his father's heir. John Schaw had been one of the ambassadors who negotiated the marriage of James III. with Margaret of Denmark in 1467, and a relationship between the Shaws and the Kennedys, also an Ayrshire family, is highly probable. Quhentyne Schaw is referred to in a suit before the Lords Auditors on 5th June 1479, when he appeared as procurator for his brother William ('*Acta Auditorum*,' p. 61); and on 19th March 1479, decree was given against him for £7 at the suit of Margaret Lamb, widow of Alexander Halyburton (*ibid.*, p. 81). He is frequently mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts between 14th April 1489 and 8th July 1504 as a pensioner in receipt of £10 a-year, and also as getting a gown and other articles of dress. Although he is not stated to have held any office, these are just the same kind of rewards as were given to Dunbar himself and other poets of the Court. The only poem which has come down with his name is one entitled "*Advyce to the Courtiers*," in the Maitland MS., and printed by Pinkerton in his '*Early Scottish Poems*.' Gavin Douglas, in the "*Palice of Honour*," refers to

" Quintyn with ane huttock on his heid,"

along with Kennedy and Dunbar; and Sir David Lyndsay also names him amongst the Scottish poets.

QUHETTANE CLAN. *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 16.—Clan Chattan or Quhele. This was the clan which fought the Clan Kay in the famous combat on the North Inch of Perth, as described by Wyntoun

and other chroniclers, and by Scott in the 'Fair Maid of Perth.' They are supposed now to be represented by the Macphersons or the Mackintoshes, but the identity with either is not proved.

RAUF COLZARD. *Schir, zit remembir as of befoir*, l. 33.—"Ralph the Collier," an old Scottish poem, referred to also by Gavin Douglas in the "Palice of Honour"—

"I saw Raf Collzear with his thrawin brow"—

and in the "Complaint of Scotland," Murray's edition, p. 63. It was printed at St Andrews by Lekprevik in 1572, and there is a reprint from the unique copy of this edition in the Advocates' Library in Laing's 'Select Remains,' p. 9. It relates an adventure of Charlemagne with a collier. Irving gives an outline of the story ('History of Scottish Poetry,' pp. 88-92).

REID, Sir JOHN. See Stobo.

RIG, CUDDY. *Complaint against Mure*, l. 24.—He is here styled the "Dumfries fule"; and in the Treasurer's Accounts for 11th September 1504, when the king was at Dumfries, with, amongst others, four Italian minstrels in his suite, Cuddy Rig appears to have taken "the tabroun" of a tabroner who accompanied the king, and who was given 28s. in recompense for the instrument by the king's command. He is referred to in the same accounts on 17th September 1504, 13th June 1508, 2d January 1512, and 28th February 1512, as receiving small payments. The "yellow and red" in the poem was the customary livery of the fool. Dunbar ironically describes Mure as worthy to receive this livery at Yule, along with a bauble to play with. Cuddy Rig seems to have been one of the lowest of the fraternity of fools.

ROBIN UNDER BEWCHE. *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 25.—Robin Hood. See Robyn Hude.

ROBYN HUDE. *Ane Littil Interlud of the Droichis part of the Play*, l. 142.—"Robin under the boughs," the "greenwood tree" of the English ballads, is Robin Hood. The followers of the Droich who plays the part of Wealth in the Interlude, and proclaims himself a giant, are humorously told to put on the green livery of Robin Hood. Robyn Hude, first noticed in "Piers Plowman," 1377, is referred to (about 1420) by Wyntoun, and (1450) by Bower in his addition to Fordoun (*sub anno* 1266), who mentions the popularity of his songs and of the festival in his honour. Major, writing in 1505, says all Britain sang the songs of his exploits. "A Littil Gest of Robin Hude" was one of the prints of the press of Chepman and Myllar in 1508, at the same time as Dunbar's seven poems, so must have been well known to Dunbar.

Mr Ritson, in his notes and illustrations to 'The Robin Hood Ballads,' remarks that English historians pass over Robin Hood because of his enmity to the ecclesiastics, but he has collected the following references to him by Scottish historians. Bower, in his addition to John of Fordoun's Chronicle, speaking of Robin Hood, Little John, and their accomplices, says: "Of whom the foolish vulgar in comedies and tragedies make lewd entertainment, and are delighted to hear the jesters and minstrels sing them above all other ballads." He calls Robin "*ille famosissimus sicarius*" (*sub anno 1266*). John Major writes: "*Circa hæc tempora (i.e., Richardi primi) ut auguror, Robertus Hudus Anglus et parvus Joannes, latrones famatissimi, in nemoribus latuerunt, solum opulentorum hominum bona diripientes. Nullum nisi eis invadentem vel resistentem pro suarum rerum tuitione ceciderunt. C sagittarios ad pugnam aptissimos Robertus latrociniiis aluit, quos CCC viri fortissimi invadere non audebant. Rebus hujus Roberti gestis tota Britannia in cantibus utitur. Fœminam nullam opprimi permisit, nec pauperum bona surripuit, verum eos ex abbatum bonis ablatis opipare pavit. Viri rapinam improbo, sed latronum omnium humanissimus et princeps erat.*"—'De Gestis Scotorum,' iv. 56.

"The 'Lytil Gest,'" Ritson further notes, "is probably the oldest thing upon the subject we now possess; but a legend apparently of the same species was once extant of perhaps a still earlier date,"—of which he gives a fragment from a volume of old printed ballads in the British Museum (Ritson, 'Robin Hood,' 2d ed., 1823, p. lvi). Hector Boece gives a tradition, according to which "the lance of lytle Johne remains in great admiration of the pepill in the kirke of Pette in Murray land;" and he also refers to "that waithman Robin Hude, with his fallow, litile Johne, of quhom ar mony fabillis and mony sportes sung among the vulgar pepill."

But the most curious, and perhaps the earliest, notice of Robin Hood's name is in a rhyming Latin poem in the British Museum, with the title, "*Prioris Alnwicensis de bello Scotico apud Dumbarr, tempore regis Edwardi I. dictamen sive rithmus Latinus, in quo de Willelmo Wallasse, Scotico illo Robin Whoood, plura sed invidiose canit*" (Ritson, p. xxxiv). The game of Robin Hood continued to be a favourite diversion amongst the common people of Scotland even after the Reformation. It was celebrated in the month of May, and it was found necessary to repress it by statute. In 1561 a mob had to be put down by arms by the magistrates of Edinburgh for attempting to "make a Robin Hood"; and as late as 1592 the General Assembly complained of the profanation of the Sabbath by the making of Robin Hood plays (Arnot's 'History of Edinburgh,' p. 27). Scott in 'The Abbot' gives a lively description of the Robin Hood plays in Scotland, and, Note iii. p. 194, quotes from Bishop Latimer's sixth sermon before King Edward, "a very *naïve* account of the manner in which, bishop

as he was, he found himself compelled to give place to Robin Hood and his followers."

Robin Hood was the hero of the popular, as Arthur was of the chivalric, romance of the middle ages in Scotland, as well as in England. The favourable view taken by Major of his character and exploits deserves special notice.

ROGER of Clekkinskewch. *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 26.—Possibly "Clym of the Cleuch," the associate of "William of Cloudesle" in the ballad, who rescued Allan Bell, their comrade, when about to be executed at Carlisle (see Hazlitt, 'Ancient Popular Poetry,' p. 131). If so, Clym would be his by- or to- name, and Roger his Christian name. Or Roger may have been one of Robin Hood's good men, whose name has not been preserved in any of the ballads which have come down to our time.—See Bell.

ROSS, Sir JOHN THE. *Lament*, l. 83; *Flyting*, ll. 1 and 39.—This poet and friend of Dunbar was chosen by him as the correspondent to whom he addressed the "Flyting." The designation is so peculiar, that there appears little doubt that he is "John the Ross" to whom 20 unicorns were paid in February 1490, and who also received another payment, of which the amount cannot be read in the Treasurer's Accounts, on 21st April 1498. He may have been a priest, and so received the courtesy title of "Sir," as was common in the case of "the Pope's knights" at that time—and this is the conjecture of Lord Hailes; or a layman who had not in 1498 been yet knighted. If the latter is the correct surmise, it gives the date of the "Flyting" as subsequent to 1498. There seems no ground for Mr Chalmers's conjecture that he was the well-known Sir John Ross of Montgrennan, the king's advocate of James III., who was forfeited for siding with that king at Sauchie against James IV. Nor can he have been Sir John Ross of Hawkhead, Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, 1479-83. It is more probable that he was designed "the Ross" to distinguish him from Ross of Montgrennan and Ross of Hawkhead. Perhaps he had some connection with the shire of Ross, as the last entry in 1498 in the Treasurer's Accounts bears that the payment then made to him was "to mak his expensis in Ros . . ."

ROWL of Aberdeen. *Lament*, l. 77.—"It has been conjectured that the Rowl of Aberdeen belonged to the same family as Thomas Rowl, chief magistrate of Aberdeen 1416"—'Bards of Bon Accord,' by William Walker (Aberdeen: Edmond & Spark, 1887), p. 17.

ROWL of Corstorphine. *Lament*, l. 79.—There is a poem called "Sir John Rowlis Cursing" in the Bannatyne MS. with the lines prefixed—

" This tragedy is callit but dreid
Rowlis Cursing quha will it reid."

It is printed in Laing's 'Select Remains of the Ancient Poetry of Scotland,' 2d ed., p. 211. But which, if either, of the two poets named by Dunbar wrote it is not known, nor has any other poem or notice of either Rowl been preserved. Perhaps the Rowl of Corstorphine is called "Gentill Rowl of Corstorphine" to distinguish him from the author of the "Cursing," to whom that epithet would not be appropriate. The "Cursing" refers to Alexander VI. as Pope, so must have been written between 1492 and 1503.

SALAMON=SOLOMON. *Ballate against Evil Women*, l. 30.

SAMPSON. *Ballate against Evil Women*, p. 267, l. 31.

SCHAW, QUINTYNE. *Lament*, l. 86.—See Quhentyne.

SCHAW, ROBERT. *Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 8.—Robert Schaw receives various sums in the Treasurer's Accounts between 1502 and 1508, and also gifts of dress, one of which was a gown of scarlet lined with "birge satin." He appears to have been a Court physician—perhaps the fashionable lady's doctor of the time—from the following entries: "28th May 1504—Item, to Master Robert Schaw be the kingis command quhen he passit to Bothwell to the ladye lyand sick, £7." "9th February 1504-5—Item, to the said William (Fowler, pottinger) for ane blude stane and three unce uther stuf for the Quene for bleding of the neis [nose], after ane receipt of Master Robert Schaw, 22s." Like Damian, the Abbot of Tunland, he became a priest, and the king gave at his first mass 10 French crowns=£7, on 14th May 1508. There are three other doctors or physicians amongst Dunbar's portraits—Damian, the quack doctor; Andrew Kennedy, the drunken doctor; John Clerk, the illiterate doctor. Dunbar can have had no liking for those who practised that calling in his day.—See Kennedy, Andrew.

SIMONES SONNES of Quhynfell. *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, l. 29.—The same family of freebooters is mentioned as the name of an old song in "Cockelbie's Sow" (Laing's 'Select Remains of Ancient Scottish Poetry,' p. 249, l. 314), and were doubtless associates of Adam Bell, the Robin Hood of northern England. Quhynfell is doubtless Whinfell, part of Inglewood Forest, now a bare hilly tract four miles south of Penrith, whose last remnants, "The Harts Horn Inn,"—where

" Hercules killed Hart a Grise,¹
And Hart a Grise killed Hercules,"—

and "The Three Brothers," the giant survivors of its old oaks, have

¹ *I.e.*, *grais*, or fat.

now disappeared. It was in this forest that Adam Bell, Clym of the Clouch, and William of Cloudele, pursued their venery.

“ Then went they down into a land,
Thir noble archers three ;
Each of them slew a hart of grise,
The best that they could see.”

—Percy's ‘ Reliques.’

—See Bell, and Robyn Hude.

SINCLAIR, Sir JOHN. *Of a Dance in the Quenis Chalmer*, l. 1.—Sir John Sinclair of Dryden, one of the royal suite, seems to have been specially attached to the queen's person, as he is called “the Quenis knycht” in the poem. This might be supposed to refer to his being one of those knighted at her marriage, but the entry in the Treasurer's Accounts shows he was a knight before its date. He is mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts between 1490 and 1506. On 20th June 1501, there was “giffin to the king himself that he playit at the rowbowlis with the Prothonotar (Andrew Forman) and Schir John Sinclair, 56s.” In July 1503, he received a gift of clothes for the king's marriage. On 27th September 1504, the entry occurs—“That samyn nicht to the king to play at the cartes with Sir John Sinclair, 10 French crowns and tynt £7.” On 3d November 1506, “To Sir John Sinclair be the king's command, £28.” This is the last mention of his name in the Records, but his wife received gifts of £10 on the New Year of 1512 and 1513. He must, however, have been alive in April 1513, for Dr West, the ambassador of Henry VIII., mentions in a letter to the king on 13th April : “On Sunday afternone I rode to Linlithgow, and came thider by iiij of clok at afternone, and as sone as I was cumon her grace (Queen Margaret) sent for me by *Sir John Sincler*, which brought me to her grace.”—Ellis, ‘Original Letters,’ first series, vol. i. p. 73.

STEWART, BERNARD, Lord of Aubigny. *The Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart*, p. 59; *Elegy on the Death of Bernard Stewart*, p. 63.—Bernard or Berault Stewart, third Lord of Aubigny, was grandson of John Stewart of Dernely or Darnley, in Renfrewshire—the branch of the Stewarts which received the title of Earl of Lennox in 1488. John Stewart of Darnley entered the service of France, and became a captain of the Scots who fought for Charles VII., and formed the nucleus of the Scots Guard. In return for his services he received the fief of Aubigny in Berry, and was killed at the siege of Orleans in 1429. His third son John Stewart, second Lord of Aubigny, Captain of the Scots Guard, and Chevalier of the Order of St Michael, died in 1482, and left, by his wife Beatrice d'Apeche, an only son, Bernard, who succeeded to his father in 1483. He appears to have added the Comté de Beaumont le Roger, in Normandy, to the estates of his family by grant from Louis XI. (Normandie Illustré). In 1484 Bernard was sent by Charles VIII. as ambassador to Scotland, to renew the

ancient league between France and Scotland, and succeeded in obtaining its confirmation by James III. on 22d March 1484.

In 1485 he led the French auxiliaries who fought for Henry VII. at Bosworth Field. His share in the victory is celebrated by Sir John Beaumont in his poem on that battle :—

“ Besides these soldiers born within this isle,
 We must not of the part their French beguile,
 Whom Charles for Harry's success did provide,—
 A lord of Scotland, Bernard, was their guide ;
 A blossom of the Stewart's happy line,
 Which is on Britain's throne ordained to shine.
 The sun, whose rays the heavens with beauty crown,
 From his ascending to his going down
 Saw not a braver leader in that age,
 And Bosworth field must be the glorious stage
 In which this northern eagle learns to fly,
 And tries those wings which after bare him high,
 When he beyond the snowy Alps renowned
 Shall plant French lillies on Italian ground,
 And cause the craggy Apennines to know
 What fruits on Caledonian mountains grow.”

In December 1493 he became Captain of the Scots Guard. In 1494 he was sent to Rome and other Italian states to support the claims of Charles VIII., as heir of the house of Aragon, to the kingdom of Naples. On his return, at Milan he received from Charles, who now knew he must make good his claim by arms, a command in the army ; and on the king's return in the following year, he was left behind as lieutenant-general of the French forces. In that year he won the great battle of Seminara over Ferdinand of Spain and the great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova. This victory gave possession for a short time to the French of the kingdom of Naples ; so Dunbar calls him, in the title of the ballad, “ Conqueror of Naples.” The ill-health of D'Aubigny, from a fever contracted in the campaign, prevented him from pushing his victory, and Gonsalvo de Cordova, along with several Spanish commanders, escaped before the surrender of the town of Seminara. This illness, and the chief rule of the conquered kingdom being left in the hands of the young Monseigneur de Montpensier, led to the decline of the French power, although Calabria, in which D'Aubigny himself commanded with the title of Grand Constable, was for a time retained. Philip de Comines contrasts the two commanders in a few words : “ Pur Chef y demeura (à Naples) Mr. de Montpensier de la Maison de Bourbon, *bon chevalier et hardy mais peu sage. Il ne se levoit pas qu'il ne fut midi* : en Calabre laissa Mr. d'Aubigny de la nation d'Ecosse, *bon chevalier et sage, bon et honorable, que fut Grand Connetable du royaume* ; et lui donna le Roi le Comté d'Arci et le Marquisat de Spilazzo.” No reference has been found to a place called “ Bonaffre ” amongst D'Aubigny's titles.

The despatches of D'Aubigny were published under the title, 'Lettres escriptes par Monsieur d'Aubigny au roy nostre sire du camp de S. Leon du xxi. jour de juing.' In 1496 Gonsalvo, having already gained some places in Calabria, and D'Aubigny being still in feeble health, was allowed to return by land to France, and the brief conquest of the kingdom of Naples by the French was at an end. D'Aubigny continued in favour, and received the Order of St Michael for his services. In the reign of Louis XII. he was again sent as commander of the French forces to Calabria, where he gained a second memorable victory over the Spaniards, led by Hugo de Gonsalvo, at Terra Nuova in 1503. Paulus Jovius, the historian of Gonsalvo de Cordova, attributes this victory to the skill of D'Aubigny and the prowess of the Scottish men-at-arms, who broke the ranks of the Spanish cavalry. D'Aubigny himself showed great courage at the risk of his life. He was thrown from his horse, and his helmet pulled off by some Spanish horsemen, who were about to cut his throat when he was rescued by the troops of the Prince of Salerno (P. Jovii 'Historia de Vita et Actis Gonsalvi de Cordova,' vol. ii. p. 217). But soon after, on 21st April in the same year, Hugo de Cordova, having recruited his army, defeated D'Aubigny near Seminara,—“on the very same ground,” says Guicciardini ('Historia d'Italia,' Book V.), “where, but a few years before, he had, with so much glory, overcome Ferdinand and Gonsalvo; so inconstant is Fortune in dispensing her favours, and of so short a duration is a course of prosperity.” D'Aubigny retired to the fortress of Angertola, but the Duc de Nemours, the chief of the French army, having been defeated and slain at Cerignola, he was compelled to surrender. Jovius praises his magnanimity in making it one of the terms of the surrender that all his company except himself should be set at liberty. He adds: “D'Aubigny sharply reproved two young lords, his kinsmen, for that more faintly than was fit for men—*namely, for their being Scotsmen and of the blood-royal*—they did bewail the unfortunate success of the war; not remembering that valiant men should never be disheartened, but seek by a fresh endeavour of valour, revived and grown invincible, to recover Fortune's favour.” D'Aubigny was himself soon released, and in 1507 went with the French king on his expedition against Geneva, and was present at Savona in June 1507, where Louis and Ferdinand of Spain vied with each other in chivalric courtesy to his former foes. Gonsalvo de Cordova was the hero of the day, but it is noted that the King of Spain visited D'Aubigny in his own lodgings, where he was kept a prisoner by the gout. In the next year D'Aubigny was a second time sent on an embassy to Scotland, where he arrived on 9th May 1508. The statement that he came to Scotland on a similar mission in 1504 is due to the inaccuracy of Lindsay of Pitscottie as to dates, who places his embassy in 1504 and not in 1508. The Treasurer's Accounts show that in the former year one of his servants had been sent to the Scottish Court, and that James gave him a white horse as a present to his master in France.

When D'Aubigny, in person, came in 1508, he was received, as was natural, with great respect by the king, who coveted the honours of war, and with enthusiasm by the nation as their most renowned hero. James made him sit at the royal table, styled him the Father of War, and named him judge in the tournaments, which were the favourite sport of the Scottish as of the French Court. But D'Aubigny was again to prove the uncertainty of fortune. He seems never to have shaken off the effects of the Calabrian fever, and suffered also from gout. He died at Edinburgh before 8th June 1508, and was buried at the kirk of Corstorphine. His will, and an inventory of his effects, have been preserved (Stewart's 'Genealogy of the Stewarts,' p. 207). His portrait was seen by Andrew Stewart at the Chateau D'Aubigny when he visited it in 1788, and it may be hoped is still in the possession of the Duke of Richmond, the representative of the house of Lennox. He had married Anne de Maumont, by whom he left an only daughter, Anne Stewart, who became the wife of her cousin, Robert Stewart, second son of John, first Lord Darnley and Earl of Lennox. Bernard Stewart had taken a vow when fighting in Italy to make a pilgrimage to St Ninians, in Galloway, and James sent his heart there. Dunbar had intended to write a longer poem to celebrate the exploits of D'Aubigny (*see* l. 84 of "The Ballad"); but this intention was frustrated by his untimely death, and the eulogy was turned into an elegy, in which the Scottish nation

" Intill his lyff quhom most he did affy,"

are exhorted

" To pray for him, the flour of chavelric."

What would Scotland not have given for the counsels of such a commander on the field of Flodden? Brantôme, than whom no writer expresses better the military spirit of the age, includes amongst the great captains whom Louis XII. trained "in his beautiful wars," "D'Aubigné, a Scot and great Lord, who did honour to his nation in such a manner that some of our French annalists have styled him 'grand Chevalier sans reproche;' " but the gallant Bayard, his companion-in-arms, has more commonly received that title. No contemporary of Dunbar could better represent the Scot abroad than D'Aubigny, who sustained the military fame of his countrymen in so many fields from Bosworth to Seminara, and who formed a link in the chain of affection which attached the Scots to the French. He stands in marked contrast to his cousin Albany. The latter represents the class of Scottish emigrants who abandon, the former the class who never forget, the soil from which they sprang.

STEWART, JOHN, Duke of Albany. *Ane Orisoun: quhen the Governour past in France*, p. 235; *We Lordis hes chosin a Chiftane merwellus*, p. 237.—John Stewart was the son of Alexander, second son of James II., and third Duke of Albany. His father, forfeited for

intriguing with England against James III., took refuge in France, where he married, as his second wife, Anne de la Tour, daughter of Bertrand, Count of Auvergne. John, their only son, was born in 1481, and in 1485 succeeded his father, who was killed by the splinter of a lance in a tournament. In 1505 he married his cousin Anne de la Tour, Countess of Auvergne, and heiress of its large fiefs. On the death of James IV. in 1513, the Queen-Dowager became regent; but a convention of estates at Perth, at the instance of Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Lord Hume, the chamberlain, determined that Albany should be summoned to govern the kingdom during the minority. Henry VIII., jealous of the influence Albany was likely to exercise, sent the Earl of Suffolk to France to prevent his return, but Francis I. refused to detain him. Albany was slow in responding to the invitation of the Scotch Estates; but at last, on 18th May 1515, he sailed from St Malo, and before the 22d landed in Scotland. He was installed as regent in July, and declared protector of the kingdom till the king reached his eighteenth year. He at once used his power to curb the influence of the Douglasses, depriving their adherents of office, and putting several in ward. A threat to besiege Stirling forced the queen to give up her children, the young king and his brother the Duke of Ross. Margaret then fled to England, where she was followed by her husband and Lord Hume. After the birth of Lady Margaret Douglas at Harbottle on 7th October, she wrote to Albany demanding the custody of her other children. The Scottish Council replied that she had by her second marriage forfeited her rights, and that the Estates had chosen Albany as regent. Angus, Hume, and Arran thereupon entered into a league by which they pledged themselves to deliver the young princes, and to make no terms with Albany. Dacre, the English warden, did all he could to assist them, by fomenting Border raids and the quarrels of the nobles. "The Humes," he wrote to Henry VIII., "are resolved to annoy the Duke, who is well weary of the continued spoiling, burning, and slaughter in Scotland." Wolsey described Albany as "a coward, and a grievous and wilful fool." But although his character was passionate and impulsive, and he showed pusillanimity, if not cowardice, in war, the English had underestimated him. At this time, as on other occasions of his life, he showed both prudence and vigour. He used conciliatory language, though without effect, to induce Margaret and her husband to return to Scotland. He seized Arran's castles, but promised him a free pardon if he would submit, and so succeeded in detaching him from the league. The death of the young Duke of Ross, towards the close of the year, gave an opportunity for Margaret again to pour forth her wrath against Albany, whom she accused of causing his death. In the beginning of 1516, Albany made a tour into England, to which he sent an embassy. Angus and Hume now returned to Scotland, and were allowed to reside on their estates, and on 11th June the truce

with England was converted into a peace to endure till 1517. Henry, notwithstanding, addressed a letter to the Scottish Estates, requiring them to dismiss Albany, which met with a decided refusal; and although Albany entered into a secret correspondence with Wolsey, and offered to visit Henry VIII., this offer, probably only made to gain time, and distrusted by Wolsey, was not accepted, and nothing came of it. In the Parliament of September, Hume was condemned for treason, and along with his brother beheaded in October—their heads being fixed on the Tolbooth. In November, when the Parliament again met, Albany obtained an Act bastardising his elder brother, a son of his father's first marriage, and declaring himself next heir to the kingdom. Almost immediately after this great concession to his vanity or ambition, he astonished the Parliament by suddenly requesting leave to return to France. He was at heart a Frenchman, and had been requested by Francis I., whom he called his master, and with whom he was on intimate terms, to return as soon as he could. This leave was at first refused. His popularity in Scotland was waning, but it was felt that his absence would leave the country without a head, and produce anarchy. He at last succeeded in procuring a reluctant assent to his going for four months, by pleading the necessity of visiting his wife and his French estates, and he sailed from Dumbarton on 7th June 1517. A council of regency was appointed, consisting of the two archbishops, Foreman and Beaton, and four earls, Huntly, Argyle, Angus, and Arran. Sir Antony d'Arcy de la Bastie, a French knight, well known in Scotland from his prowess in the tournaments of James IV., was appointed Warden of the East Marches, in succession to Hume, and the fortresses of Dunbar, Dumbarton, and Inchgarvie were placed in the hands of French garrisons. This attempt to divide the power between the leading Scottish nobles and the French representative of Albany did not, as might have been anticipated, succeed. The return of Margaret to Scotland on 15th June added to the dissensions of the unhappy country. Her husband, Angus, met her, but was coldly received. They had quarrelled before, and soon again parted company. She was not allowed to take any part in the government, or even to visit her son. Towards the end of July, or beginning of August, De la Bastie was murdered by Home of Wedderburn at Langton, in revenge for the death of his chief and the appointment of the Frenchman to his office. Home gloried in the deed, and carried the head of his victim at his saddle-bow to his own house; but the treachery of the deed, and the chivalrous character of this victim to the feuds of Scotland, excited general indignation. Arran was then appointed Warden, an important office which Angus coveted. In spite of the protests of Francis I., no effective steps were taken to punish the murderers; for although Home and his brother were condemned, and Arran seized their fortresses, they were soon afterwards pardoned. There was a practical surcease both of the Courts and of Parliament, and a handful of nobles and

prelates governed, or rather misgoverned. They could not agree amongst themselves. The nobles were jealous of each other. The churchmen, to use Dunbar's words, "yearned for benefices." The next few years were occupied with a contest for power between Angus and Arran, into which the various feuds gradually merged. It was during this period, probably in 1517, that Dunbar wrote his poem, "Ane Orisoun: quhen the Governour past in France." It is somewhat general in phraseology, and there is no direct allusion to the murder of De la Bastie. But its purport is to pray God to be the Protector of the realm, left forlorn by the departure of Albany, and "in partyis all deydit." Possibly the lines,

"Rew on our syn, befor 3our sicht decydit;
Spair our trespas, quhilk may nocht be expremit,"

may be a guarded reference to the murder. Albany had received full powers, though out of Scotland, to conduct its foreign affairs; and on 26th August 1517 he concluded the important treaty of Rouen with the Duke d'Alençon, by which France and Scotland made an offensive and defensive alliance against England. He had great influence at the Vatican, being connected by marriage with Leo X., and he used it to obtain from the Pope the confirmation of the privileges of the Scotch kingdom. A letter in name of the Scotch Estates, but really dictated by Albany, was sent to the Pope in January 1519, begging him to use his influence with Francis I. to procure Albany's return to Scotland. In June of the following year he went to Rome, and while there, Margaret, whose quarrel with Angus had now become acute, procured from him the aid her brother refused in prosecuting her suit for a divorce. After he went back to Paris, his agent continued to defray the expenses of the suit. In return, she deserted for a time the English interest, and did what she could to favour his recall to Scotland. The Scotch people generally had become every year more desirous that Albany should resume the office of regent. The dissensions between the parties of the Hamiltons, with Arran at their head, and the Douglasses, of whom Angus was the chief, had increased to the dimensions of a petty but exasperating civil war, which distracted the nation. In 1518 Arran, whose power chiefly lay in the west, had tried to force an entrance into Edinburgh, to secure the office of provost, but had been repulsed with bloodshed. In April 1520 he made another attempt, which ended in the street fight of Cleanse-the-Causeway. The partisans of Angus were again successful; those of Arran were killed or driven out of the town. One of the slain was Sir Patrick Hamilton, the brother of Arran. Angus remained master of the capital, but he failed in the following August to surprise his rival at Stirling, and the Hamiltons still maintained their predominance in the western shires. It was shortly after this, probably, that Dunbar wrote his last poem to which we can attach a date.

The first lines refer to the absence of Albany for more than three years :—

“ We Lordis hes chosin a chiftane mervellus,
That left hes ws in grit perplexitie,
And him absentis, with wylis cautelus,
3eiris and dayis mo than two or thre.”

Though nominally addressed to Albany, it is not likely to have been sent him, for it does not disguise his faults. It was written to be read in Edinburgh, and expresses the feeling of its citizens. It refers to the “ wylis ” of Albany, who, although he had pretended to wish to return, had really delayed his voyage. He might well hesitate to attempt a second time so difficult a task as the government of Scotland. Dunbar’s hint that his continued absence was due to love of money—

“ Thy prudent wit we think thow hes abusit,
Absentand the for ony warldly geir,”—

is borne out by the avarice which was one of the traits of his character. But his presence was at least better than anarchy. That the kingdom was going to ruin for want of justice, or, as Dunbar expresses it—

“ In lak of iustice this realme is schent allace,”—

receives signal confirmation from the despatches of Dacre, the unscrupulous Warden of the English Marches, who desired nothing more than disorders in Scotland as an opportunity for English intervention. They are thus epitomised by Mr Brewis : “ If Henry and Wolsey prospered in their purpose to prevent Albany’s return, Scotland, as Dacre expressed his conviction, would go to ruin for lack of justice ; the Scotch lords would never consent to be ruled by one of their peers, and their ancient feuds would be renewed with greater animosity than ever.”—Brewis, ‘ Henry VIII., ’ vol. i. p. 541.

At last, in spite of all the endeavours of the English king and his minister to prevent it, by alternately cajoling and threatening Francis I., and at one time actually succeeding in getting Albany put for a short period in ward, he sailed from France, and landed in Scotland on 21st November 1521. His subsequent career lies beyond the period of Dunbar’s life ; for although a recent biographer, Mr Bayne, has with some hesitation adopted the view that the poet survived till 1530, this is contrary to the opinion of those who have previously written his life or studied his poems, none of which contain any reference to events subsequent to 1520. A few leading facts may be briefly noted. Albany succeeded in obtaining complete possession of the government, and became on such intimate terms with Margaret, the Queen-Dowager, that scandal suggested, and Henry VIII., with whom she had now quarrelled, readily adopted the idea, that she wished to marry him, and advanced to the English border. But, alarmed by the force Dacre collected to oppose him, and inadequately supported by France, he made at Solam an abstinence or truce for one month

on 10th September. He at once disbanded his army, and on 27th October returned to France, deputing the regency to certain bishops and lords, and promising to return before 15th August 1523. He in fact returned on 25th September in that year, and again invaded England with a large force of foreign troops, with which, and the Scotch levies, he undertook the siege of Wark. Here he a second time proved his incompetency as a general. Though Wark was defended only by a small garrison, it succeeded in repulsing a first assault; and Surrey, the Lord High Admiral, advancing to its relief, Albany, in spite of the remonstrance of his Scotch troops, who were eager for battle, abandoned the siege. A ballad of Skelton taunted him with his flight:—

“ Your chief chieftain
 Void of all brain
 Duke of Albany
 Than shamefully
 He reculed back
 To his great lack
 When he heard tell
 That my Lord Amrell
 Was coming down
 To make him frown.”

What remained of his prestige in Scotland was now wholly lost, and he went back to France in May 1524 unregretted, and never to return. Having failed to keep his promise to return to Scotland on 1st September, he was dismissed from the regency by the Scottish Parliament in November. He lived in France, his native country, till his death on 2d June 1536, taking a certain interest in the foreign affairs of Scotland, aiding Margaret in procuring in 1528 her long-desired divorce, and James V. in his negotiations with the Pope for the establishment of the Court of Session, but he never desired to see Scotland again. He is reported to have said that “he wished he had lost his legs before he ever set foot in it.”

A picture belonging to Lord Bute represents him, along with Queen Margaret, and a third figure of a man in Court livery pointing to him with his finger. It has been engraved by Pinkerton in his ‘Iconographia Scotica,’ and in Mr Small’s life of Gavin Douglas. The conjecture that it has some reference to the scandal that he and the Queen-Dowager, both of whom had spouses living, were too intimate, is not borne out by the character of the picture. Margaret is depicted as handing Albany, without looking at him, a letter or a small box; and Albany with a rose in his hand, which he appears to have no intention of giving to her. The purpose of the picture is enigmatical, but the faces are well drawn. Margaret is comely and stout, with good eyes and features, but a sensuous mouth. Her beauty had not yet been destroyed by the smallpox. Albany is also of large make, with a broad face, straight nose, somewhat doubtful-looking

eyes, a thick short beard, and no hair on the upper lip. Neither the vanity nor the hot temper with which he was credited by contemporaries appears in the representation of him. His real character may be judged by his acts and his correspondence. He cared little for Scotland; and if ambitious projects had floated through his mind with regard to Margaret Tudor, and the conversion of his regency into a monarchy, he either did not sufficiently care or he had not sufficient determination to effect them. He regarded France as his home, and its king as his master. He had the ingratiating manners of the Stewarts, and, notwithstanding his neglect, was popular with the Scotch till he showed his incapacity. His passionate nature, of which many anecdotes were told, as that he threw his cap into the fire if anything displeased him, was probably of the quick, not of the sullen kind, and such fits soon passed off. He had no genius for war, in which he missed great opportunities; but he was a skilful negotiator or agent, and generally succeeded in matters of business to which he applied himself. His diplomacy, which in that age required cunning and allowed deceit as one of its methods, succeeded more than once in baffling the great minister and zealous agents of Henry VIII., who counted themselves, and really were, masters of the art.

STOBO. *Flyting*, l. 331; *Lament*, l. 86.—John Reid or Rede, *alias* Stobo, appears in the Records as early as 1473, when he received a half-yearly pension of £5. This was increased to £20 a-year for life by James III., who granted him a charter under the Great Seal, which recites as its cause—"pro gratuitis serviciis per eundem quondam progenitori nostro et nobis impensis in scripturam literarum nostrorum secretorum et patri nostro Pape et diversis Regibus Principibus et Magnatis ultra regnum nostrum missarum et in expensis suis in pergameno papiro cerâ albâ et rubrâ et sustentis et pro toto tempore vitæ suæ faciendis et sustenandis et in sui supportacionem ad expensas antedictas." He is also designed Sir John Reid, public notar, in 'Acta Auditorum,' 19th October 1470. The position he occupied was that of head of one of the branches of the Secretary's office, receiving, as in some offices at the present day, an allowance for the expenses as well as services of the office. From the charter quoted, he appears to have entered the royal service as far back as the reign of James II., so before 1460. The Secretary of James III. was Whitelaw, who was succeeded by Patrick Panther, and the employment given under them seems to have been a favourite career for young men of talent. Chepman, the first printer, served in this office, and so probably did Dunbar, though he seems to have been employed in external missions rather than at home in writing despatches. That Stobo befriended him is shown by the line in the "Flyting"—

"And syne ger Stobo for thy lyfe protest."

The familiar byname of Stobo, whether taken from the place of

his birth or some Church preferment he may have held, as well as Dunbar's epithets, "gud gentill Stobo," in the "Lament for the Makaris," proves him to have been a general favourite. In charters of the Great Seal, 10th December 1488 and 9th and 10th May 1491, he is designed "Rector de Kirkcristo," but which Christ's Kirk is intended is not known, but the name Stobo is probably from Stobo on Tweed-side.

The last entries referring to him in the Treasurer's Accounts are on 6th May 1585: "Item, be the kingis command to Stobo liand sicke, £5;" and 27th May, "Item, to Stobo liand sicke, be the kingis command, 5 French crounis, £3, 10s." "The Lament for the Makaris" having been written in 1507 or 1508, he must have died before the latter, probably in the former, year. No poem has survived with his name attached to it. Dunbar, perhaps, owed to him his introduction to the royal service. The brief references to the various persons with whom the poet came in contact indicate, as might be expected, his discrimination of character. The gentle Stobo will be remembered by his verse, as will be the surly Doig, the envious Mure, the impostor Damian, Norray the chief of fools, the beauty Musgrave, the black Lady with the thick lips, and the Lady without rew ("La belle Dame sans merci"), whose name he conceals. This is the more remarkable, as Dunbar is by no means prodigal in epithets, and does not hesitate to repeat common ones, as "guid," "gentle," "sweet," and "lusty."

STRAIT GIBBON. *Flying*, l. 209.—Dunbar calls Kennedy *Strait Gibbonis air*, and there is an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, 6th July 1503: "Item, to Strait Gibbon, be the kingis command." Probably he was one of the fools or jesters of the Court. Possibly he is the same person as "Quhissil Gibbone in Falkland," to whom 5s. was paid "at the kings command" on 12th December 1497.—Treasurer's Accounts.

THOMSON, JOHN or JOAN. *To the King*, p. 218.—A Scottish proverbial expression for a husband under his wife's government. "He is John Thomsoun's man, crouching carle."—Ferguson's Proverbs, ed. 1641. "John Thomson's bairns" is another Scotch proverbial expression.

THROP. *Flying*, l. 540.—"Throp thy neere nece." Some error may be suspected in the printing of this unintelligible name in Chepman's print of the "Flying."

TRAILL, SANDY or ALEXANDER. *Lament*, l. 69.—No trace has yet been found of this poet or any of his poems. The familiar "Sandy" looks as if Dunbar had known him, or if not, that he had been a popular favourite, like "Davy Lyndsay."

TULLIUS. *The Goldyn Targe*, l. 69.—Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, whose works were as much read in the middle ages by poets as by scholars and philosophers, so that rhetoric became the name for the art of poetry. Dunbar in this passage couples Cicero with Homer, and he calls his master Chaucer, “rose of rethoris all.” The vision or dream, a favourite form of medieval poetry, of which Dunbar has left several specimens, is supposed to have taken its rise from Cicero’s “*Somnium Scipionis*.” This part of the ‘*De Republicâ*’ was preserved, with a commentary by Macrobius, “and attracted the attention of readers who were fond of the marvellous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired classic than Tully. It was printed at Venice, subjoined to Tully’s Offices, in 1470.” It is frequently quoted by Chaucer, as in the introduction to the “*Assembly of Fowles*.”—Warton’s ‘*History of English Poetry*.’

WALLACE. *Flyting*, l. 272.—Cospatrick, Earl of March, sided with the English against Wallace, whom he called “*King of Kyle*” (“*Blind Harry*,” viii. l. 21), in one of the engagements which was fought on the Lammermuirs (perhaps near Spot, so here called Spottismuir), and is described by Blind Harry in his Eighth Book.

WASPASIUS. *Flyting*, l. 532.—Vespasian, the Roman Emperor.

WYNTOUN. See Andrew of Wyntoun.

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NOTE AS TO FACSIMILES.

The photographic facsimiles represent—

1. Dunbar's poem of "Welcum to Margaret Tudor as Queen of Scotland," from the MS. in the British Museum, with the Music, forming 15 verso 16 recto of Appendix to Royal MSS., No. 58. Photographed by Mr Charles Praetorius.
2. The opening lines of "The Goldyn Targe," from the MS. of George Bannatyne, in the Advocates' Library. Photographed by Messrs Wood & Son, Edinburgh.
3. The same lines from the edition of Chepman & Millar in 1508, from the unique copy in the Advocates' Library. Photographed also by Messrs Wood & Son, Edinburgh.

These early traces of Scottish Music and the Scottish press have a historical interest besides their connection with the works of Dunbar.

A single staff of handwritten musical notation. The notes are written in a cursive style on a five-line staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The piece ends with a double bar line and a fermata.

♪ pleasant and
 so fond to be
 with blode fresh
 to be quene

Sicut

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND."

ow fayre fayrest off sye fayre princes most plesant and
 preclare the lustyest one & hove that byue welai of scotland to be
 quene young tender plant of pulcritud descendyng of Juyvall blode freshe
 fragrant floure of ffayre hede shene welai of scotland to be quene

Sipet

I.—FACSIMILE OF VERSES OF POEM OF "WELCUM TO MARGARET TUDOR AS QUEEN OF SCOTLAND."

FROM THE MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

hymne
me

me

ms
first
ms
20 vol of Lit

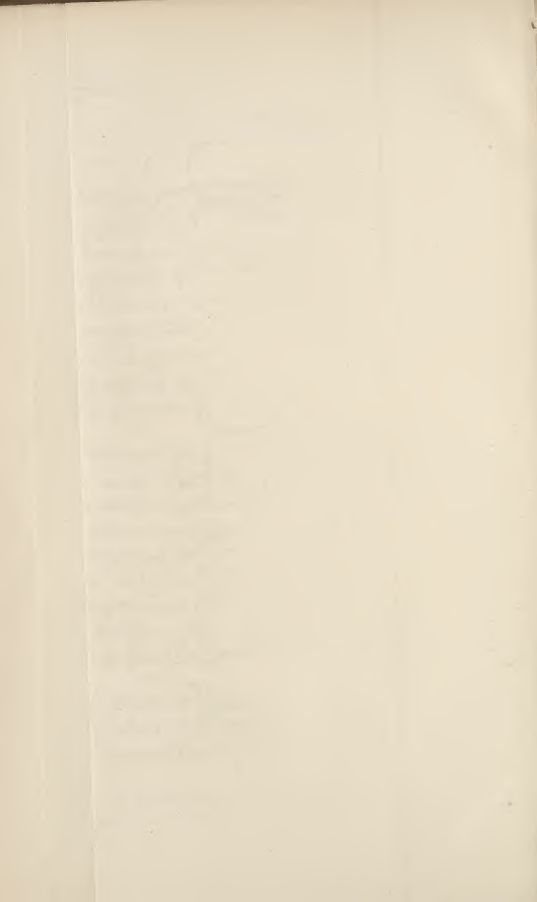
ms
2 vol

GE."

Explicit of Imitation

Followed the goldyn targe

Right as the forme of day began to shyne
Wher they gone to bed was before and duntyme
I reist and by a roser did me rest
Up sprang ye goldyn tandle matutyme
Wher cleir deparit becomyd to cristalline
Gladmy ye miry forest in thair nest
Or phobus was in purpore Corp reddest
Up sprang ye last the hertis mostvall fyne
In may in till a moreen mytefuller
Full angelis this bnde sang yare hours
In thair courtynge grene wth thair bowis
Apparelit wth quhayte and red wth blumys frist
Sunnematit was ye feld wth all tullowis
So perlit droppis shynle as in floure shouris
Wher all in balme did burne and to bed yit
Depart fro phobus did amere greit
His cristall teiris I saw hmy on ye floure
Wher he for lufe all drad wth his boit
For myth of may wth stippis and wth hoppis
The bndis sang wpon the tendre croppis
Wher amere myth as wms chapell clark



Here begynnys ane litil tretie intitult the goldyn
targe compilid be Maister Wilyam dunbar



III.—FACSIMILE OF THE OPENING LINES OF "THE GOLDYN TARGE."

Byght as the stern of day begouth to schyne
Duben gone to bed War vesper and lucyne
Frasle and by a rosere did me rest
Wp sprang the goldyn candill matutine
With clere depurit bemes cristallyne
Glading the mery foulis in thair nett
D: phebus Was in purpur cape reuuest
Wpraise the lark: the hebyns menstrale fyne
In may/in till a morow my: th fullest

full angellike thir birdis sang thair houris
Within thair courtyns grene in to thair bouris.
Apparalit quhite and rede Wyth blomes suete
Anamalit Was the felde Wyth all colouris
The perly droppis schake in silvir schouris.
Dubill all in balne did branch and leuis flete
To part fra phebus did auroza grete
Hir cristall teris I saw hyng on the flouris
Dubillk he forlufe all drank by Wyth his hete

for mirth of may Wyth skippis and Wyth happis
The birdis sang vpon the tender croppis
With curiouse nose as venus chapell clerkis
The rosis yong new spreding of thair knopis
War powdit by Wyth hevynly beriall droppis
Throu bemes rede birnyng as ruby sperkis.
The skyes rang for schoutyng of the larkis
The purpur hebyn our scathis in silvir sloppis
Durgilt the treis branchis lef: barkis

Down throu the ryce a rquir ran Wyth stremys
So lustily agayn thair lyhand lemys
That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht.

