

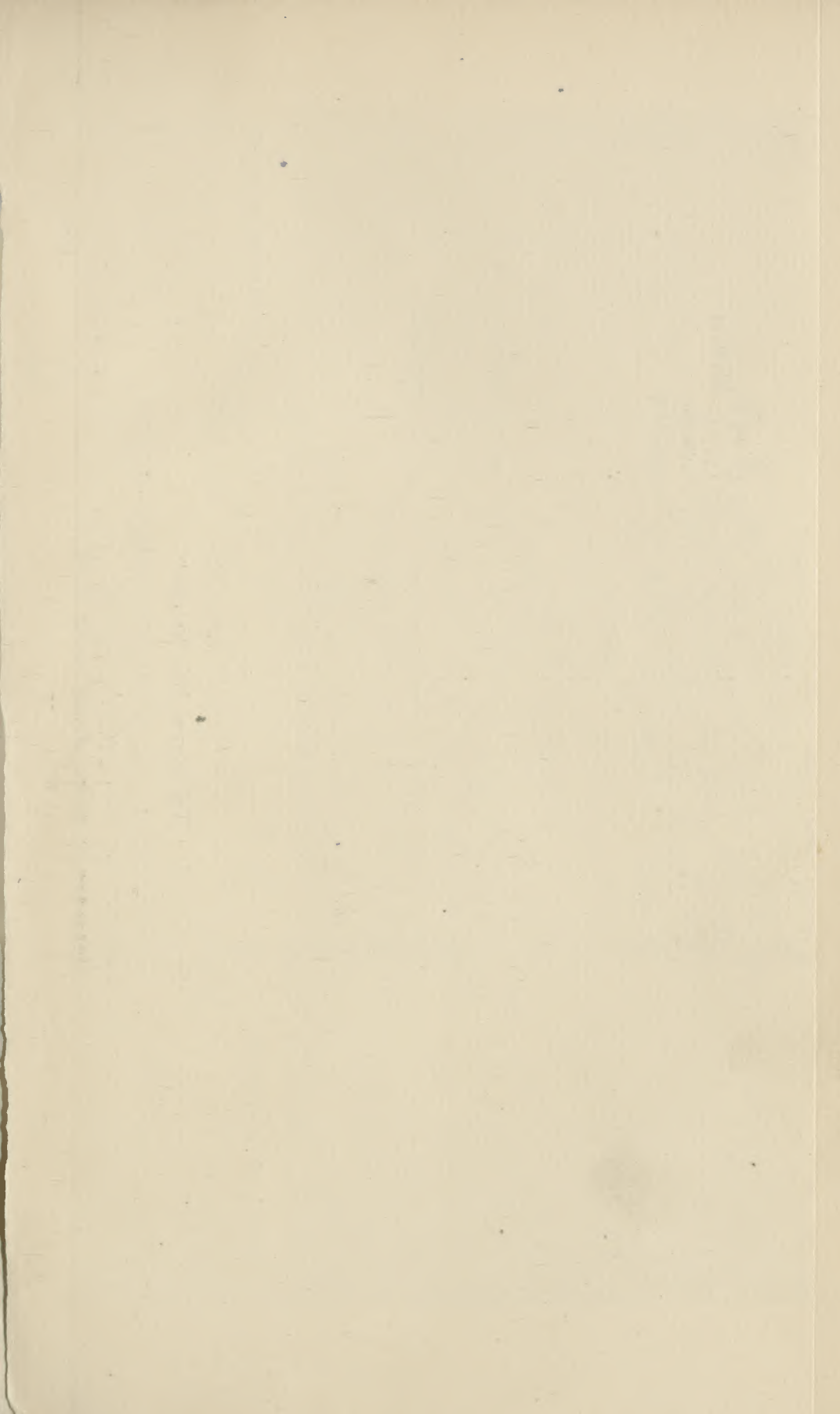


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The Scottish Text Society

THE
Original Chronicle
OF
ANDREW OF WYNTOUN



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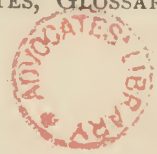
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THE
Original Chronicle
OF
ANDREW OF WYNTOUN

Printed on Parallel Pages from the COTTONIAN
and WEMYSS MSS., with the Variants
of the Other Texts

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY
BY
F. J. AMOURS

VOL. I.
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY, AND INDEX



Printed for the Society by
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

1914

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

	PAGE
PREFACE	xi
MEMOIR OF THE EDITOR (WITH PORTRAIT)	xiii
INTRODUCTION	xvii
Section 1. Editor's material utilised posthumously . .	xvii
Section 2. Saint Serf's Priory	xix
Section 3. Sketch Biography of Andrew of Wyntoun .	xxx
Section 4. Notice of Sir John Wemyss	xli
Section 5. Editions and MS. Texts of the Chronicle .	xliii
Section 6. Special descriptions of the MSS.	lxi
Section 7. General sketch of Contents, Sources, and System of the Chronicle	lxviii
Section 8. Four stages in its development	lxxxvii
Section 9. Wyntoun's anonymous Contributor . . .	xc
Section 10. Appendix of Wemyss MS. Chapter Rubrics	cii
NOTES TO THE CHRONICLE	1-141
GLOSSARY	143-197
INDEX	198-238.

VOLUME II.

BOOK I. OF TEXT OF CHRONICLE.

From Creation to Bel, father of Ninus, King of Assyria	2
--	---

BOOK II. 2052-1182 B.C.

From Ninus, King of Assyria, 2052 B.C., to Destruction of Troy, 1182 B.C.	140
--	-----

BOOK III. 1182 B.C. TO *circa* 752 B.C. 266

From Siege of Troy, 1182 B.C., to Simon Brek's arrival in Ireland	271
Simon Brek's descendants to Fergus More	348

VOLUME III. (752 B.C.-395 A.D.)

BOOK IV. 752 B.C. TO 1 A.D. 2

From Foundation of Rome, 752 B.C., to Birth of Christ	8
Beginning of Scots in Scotland, 452 B.C.	83
Coming of Picts to Scotland, 200 B.C.	134

BOOK V. 1-395 A.D.

From Birth of Christ to the reign of Emperor Theodosius, 395 A.D.	206
Pictish Kings	497

VOLUME IV. (407-1165 A.D.)

BOOK V.—*continued*. 407-716 A.D.

King Arthur, <i>circa</i> 458-475 A.D.	18
St Serf (574 A.D.)	76
Brude, son of Dargard, King of the Picts	81
Kings of Picts from Nectane to Talargan	91

BOOK VI. 724-1065 A.D.

War of Picts and Scots	126
Kings from Constantine, 815 A.D., to Malcolm II., 1003 A.D.	168-201
Duncan I., 1034 A.D.	254
Macbeth, 1040 A.D.	272
Malcolm Canmore, 1057 A.D.	303

BOOK VII. 1065-1165 A.D.

Malcolm Canmore, 1057-1093 A.D.	. . . . .	310
Donald VI., 1093-1094 A.D.	. . . . .	350
Duncan II., 1094-1095 A.D.	. . . . .	352
Donald VI., restored 1095-1098 A.D.	. . . . .	352
Edgar, 1098-1107 A.D.	. . . . .	354
Alexander I., 1107-1124 A.D.	. . . . .	368
David I., 1124-1153 A.D.	. . . . .	382
Malcolm IV., 1153-1165 A.D.	. . . . .	420

VOLUME V. (1165-1332 A.D.)

BOOK VII.—*continued*. 1165-1286 A.D.

William the Lion, 1165-1214 A.D.	. . . . .	2
Alexander II., 1214-1249 A.D.	. . . . .	66
Alexander III., 1249-1286 A.D.	. . . . .	108

BOOK VIII. 1286-1332 A.D. 147

Margaret of Norway, 1286 A.D.	. . . . .	155
Interregnum (1286-1292).	. . . . .	163
John Balliol, 1292-1296 A.D.	. . . . .	266
Interregnum (1296-1306).	. . . . .	297
Robert the Bruce, 1306-1329 A.D.	. . . . .	352
David II., 1329-1332 A.D.	. . . . .	372

VOLUME VI. (1333-1408 A.D.)

BOOK VIII.—*continued*.

David II.— <i>continued</i> . 1333-1371 A.D.	2
--	-----------	---

BOOK IX. 1371-1408 A.D. 257

Robert II., 1371-1390 A.D.	. . . . .	264
Robert III., 1390-1406 A.D.	. . . . .	363
James I., 1406-1408 A.D.	. . . . .	416

LIST OF FACSIMILE PAGES OF MSS.

	At beginning of Volume
R = ROYAL MS. (text Vol. V., p. 369)	I.
W = WEMYSS MS., folio 178 <i>a</i> (text Vol. IV., p. 22)	II.
C = COTTONIAN MS., folio 142 <i>a</i> (text Vol. V., p. 143)	III.
Au = AUCHINLECK MS., folio 71 <i>b</i> (text Vol. IV., p. 123 note)	IV.
E ² = SECOND EDINBURGH MS. (text Vol. IV., p. 123 note)	IV.
E = FIRST EDINBURGH MS. (text Vol. V., p. 369)	V.
A = ST ANDREWS MS. (text Vol. II., p. 347)	VI.

PREFACE.

IN 1900 the Scottish Text Society committed the editorship of Andrew of Wyntoun's 'Original Chronicle' to Mr Francis Joseph Amours, who had previously edited a volume of 'Scottish Alliterative Poems' for the Society. Taking up and pursuing this great task with the utmost assiduity and fidelity, Mr Amours was within sight of its completion when, on 9th September 1910, he died, leaving the text completely printed in five volumes, the Notes, Glossary, and Index in manuscript ready for the press, and only the Introduction unaccomplished. The debt of the Society to Mr Amours for all his learned labour on its behalf can hardly be overstated, and the Society's gratitude for his work, regret for his death, and sense of consequent loss, correspond to the profound personal esteem in which he was widely held. This preface to the *magnum opus* of Mr Amours offers the best and most permanent opportunity for the Society's expression of its grateful tribute to his long-continued and conspicuously successful editorial service to Scottish literature and history. Appended is a reprint of a biographical notice from the 'Scottish Historical Review' for October 1910, with slight revisions and additions.

Acknowledgments (additional to those rendered in vol. ii. pp. vii.-xi.) for many courtesies and facilities would assuredly have been made by Mr Amours himself, especially to Mr R. G. Erskine Wemyss of Wemyss, who kindly lent to the Society the Wemyss MS.; to Mr John Ferguson, Writer, Duns, who similarly lent the Auchinleck MS.; and to Dr W. A. Craigie, Oxford, who communicated some transcriptions and notes. The Society itself desires not only to express its gratitude to these gentlemen, but also to apologise for offering only general acknowledgment to others whose services were helpful to Mr Amours.

The present volume has been put through the press by Mr J. T. T. Brown and Dr Geo. Neilson, who have to thank Dr Maitland Thomson for the communication of most important documents concerning the biography of Wyntoun, and who are also indebted to Miss Mary Love for much attention to the proof-sheets of this volume.

They have also particularly to acknowledge the great helpfulness of Mrs Amours in searching out from her husband's papers, &c., many supplementary materials now used for the Introduction.

October 1914.



Photo by

Warneke, Glasgow.

FRANCIS JOSEPH AMOURS.

MEMOIR.¹

THE death of our distinguished contributor, Monsieur Francis Joseph Amours, has deprived Scotland of a profound student of the national literary antiquities. Perhaps there is no other instance of a Frenchman getting so complete a mastery of Old Scots, and thus winning recognition as a foremost authority. He was born on 23rd November 1841 at the village of Tilleul-Othon in Normandy, in the department of Eure, the son of Pierre Joseph Amours and Rosalie Adèle Conard. So well were the foundations of his education laid by the good curé of Tilleul-Othon that on his going, at the age of eighteen, to the College of Bernay he proved a brilliant student. Under Principal Roger he was dux in all subjects, and carried off the *prix d'honneur* offered by the Minister of Education. He took his degree of Bachelier-ès-Lettres of the University of France at Caen in 1862.

By this time he seems to have given up any idea of entering the Church, and he became for a short while a *Régent* in the College of Lisieux. In 1864 he was granted unlimited leave (*congé d'inactivité sans traitement*) from the Minister of Education, who was then the famous historian, Victor Duruy. Passing over into England, he taught in a private school in Gloucestershire until 1867. He was then appointed assistant to M. Havet, a well-known French master in Edinburgh, where he resided until 1869, when he was chosen French master in Glasgow Academy. After fifteen years there he was preferred to the like position in Glasgow High School, where he remained until his retiral on a pension after twenty years' service in 1904. During those five and thirty years of active teaching in this country he passed through his hands a very large number of students of French, and there are many who remember with gratitude and admiration (chequered, of course, with the godly fear inseparable from the part) his systematic and thorough methods of instruction, and his encouragement of pupils of promise. He long acted also as an examiner in French,—at one time for intermediate

¹ The portrait prefixed reproduces a photograph taken in 1896. The text is, with only the slightest changes, reprinted from the 'Scottish Historical Review' (viii. 101-104) for October 1910, by the permission of the editor, Mr James MacLehose.

education in Ireland, and latterly for degree and other purposes in Glasgow University. Side-products of his profession as a teacher were two schoolbooks, his 'Study of French Verbs' and his 'French Primer,' both in considerable demand.

But it was not as a French grammarian that he was to win his chief distinctions. His study of Old French led him to the study of Old English. For a number of years he paid special attention to the Old French words incorporated in medieval English, and drew up an elaborate list of examples he had found. Early in 1885 he appears to have tendered to Dr J. A. H. Murray, then at work on the first volume of the 'New English Dictionary,' the fruit of his researches. Needless to say Dr Murray warmly accepted from M. Amours what he termed his "generous and enthusiastic offer of help," and in 1888 the preface to the first volume of the Dictionary contains an acknowledgment for "a series of references for early instances of French words in Middle English." So began a connection maintained for five and twenty years, during which the resources of M. Amours' scholarship and reading were steadily utilised in the making of the great Dictionary which is so proud an achievement of collective effort in English study.

The connection of M. Amours with the Alliterative Poems began, as he himself has said, in the happy accident of his making the acquaintance of Sir Frederick Madden's 'Syr Gawayne,' and acquiring a copy of that noble Bannatyne Club volume so fitted to stir a kindred soul to the study of old poetry, and so worthy, by its masterly treatment of palæographical, textual, and glossarial problems, to be a begetter of equally scholarly work in the archæology of literature. With its bases equally Old French, Middle English, and Scots, it presented in its collection of archaic verse many of the glossarial and etymological elements on which M. Amours was already working from the philological standpoint. Henceforward he pursued those researches and studies in early Scottish poetry which resulted in his editing the 'Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas,' of which the text appeared in 1892, followed by the notes in the complete volume for the Scottish Text Society in 1897. That work needs no commending, having earned its own place by its sanity, accuracy, and complex learning, alike in history, philology, and criticism. The alliteratives, before M. Amours took them up, were a "strange dark book"; his glossaries cleared away much of the obscurity; his notes and introduction brought an un hoped-for mass of explanatory learning to the whole cycle; and, in a word, the volume must long hold place as a master-key for early Scottish literature. Conservative in mood, he never pressed discovery beyond the obvious limits of the evidence, so that his propositions, erring if at all on the side of understatement, are invariably characterised by their safety. He had learned to write English in a diction which had all the clearness of the best literary French

without a touch of its rhetoric, and his prefatorial essays are as well turned in phrase as they are restrained in style.

His patient, sure-footed ways of study had set him completely at his ease in a field full of difficulties, due partly to the relative scarcity of material and partly to the deliberate selection of archaic forms by certain fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poets, of whom he became the skilled interpreter. It was no slight conquest to have been made by a Frenchman who in 1864 came to England unable to speak English. His pen had no trace of the French accent, and his speech would only to a quick ear betray the foreigner. His marriage in 1871 with Miss Margaret Marr (now his widow) no doubt furthered his knowledge of the Scottish vernacular, and quickened his power of dealing with its ancient phases. Mrs Amours thus too has her modest though subsidiary place in the studious successes of her husband.

The Alliteratives finished, he set himself with accustomed courage and application to a still longer, although not more difficult task. Wyntoun, the Chronicler, badly needed editing anew, for historical equally with philological reasons, and high gratification was felt by the Scottish Text Society when M. Amours resolved to undertake a parallel double-text edition from the Cottonian and Wemyss manuscripts, with the variants of other texts in footnotes. How steadily he pursued the task, how regularly the volumes came out successively in 1903, 1904, 1906, 1907 and 1908 (when the text was complete in 2150 pages heavy with footnotes), all critical students of Scots history and literature are gratefully aware. Promise and performance went together with this great editor, and beyond doubt, had not life failed him, he would have brought his studies to the termination in 1911 designed, by the final volume in which the editorial introduction and apparatus would have set the last seal of his learning on 'The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun.' But he was not to see that end of his splendid labours: an illness beginning in the previous autumn gradually revealed itself as mortal, and he died on 9th September 1910, grieving only, he said, to leave his wife and his Andrew of Wyntoun. Nine days before his death he was still revising proofs for the 'New English Dictionary.' He had toiled till the last also at Wyntoun. He appealed to his doctor to tinker him up for three weeks to let him complete the work, but the wish could not be gratified. The thought of the book was never absent from him while he lived, and one of his last half-conscious utterances was an exclamation, "Score all that out; I have not time to finish it." Happily, however, there was actually finished enough of his task of annotation to make the projected final volume no mere torso, but a virtually full attainment of his purpose, albeit the invaluable advantage of his ripest opinion and research is lost, and the Chronicle must be shorn of what would surely have been a critical performance in the dis-

cussion of sources, of literary relationships, and of historical values such as to make the introduction a standard of modern historical craftsmanship.

While it may be regretted that Scotland did not by a University honour sufficiently attest her gratitude for an adopted son of such devotion to her service, there was no lack of either public or private appreciation of his learning and merit, or of those sterling qualities of character, that plain "downrightness," and that fearless independence mingling with all the clubable virtues which won him his multitude of friends. When in 1904 the French Government did itself honour by conferring on this exiled but most loyal son of France the dignity of *Officier de l'Instruction Publique*, he was entertained at a public dinner, organised by the Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow. He was then President of that section, in connection with which several of his too few fugitive papers were written, some of them relative to Wyntoun as Prior of St Serf's on Lochleven. One most gratifying fact of his studies was that his estimate of the old Chronicler's personal worth, historical acumen and fidelity, and capacity of poetic expression steadily rose as he critically probed his record to find not only constant and unexpected confirmations of fact but also continual signs of literary power. Perhaps it was not wholly a fanciful conception which saw in the industrious and skilful editor, working with calm and orderly precision by the lamplight at his desk, a vital brotherhood with the chronicler-canon in the Scriptorium of St Serf's. Certainly no aspect of Franco-Scottish alliance can ever be regarded with heartier satisfaction than that constituted by the association across five centuries of those two, eminently worthy of each other, in their united homage to the history of medieval Scotland.

It need only be added that Mr Amours is buried in the Western Necropolis of Glasgow, where his grave is marked by a handsome Celtic cross put up by Mrs Amours. A commemorative tablet or medallion, with his bust in relief, subscribed for by a few of his many friends, is to be erected, probably in the High School.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. THE EDITOR'S UNFINISHED MATERIALS POSTHUMOUSLY UTILISED.

[MR AMOURS lived to complete and see published the text of Andrew of Wyntoun's 'Original Chronicle' in Volumes II., III., IV., V., and VI. At his death, on 9th September 1910, he left in manuscript ready for the press his Notes, Glossary, and Index, all complete save for a few occasional points indicated but not worked out.

Although his introductory essay, which, had it been written, could not have failed to be an illuminating, massive, and terse effort of critical scholarship, was hardly begun, his patient foresight had not failed him even here. A sheet, pencilled "Introduction," contained a number of carefully written pages describing the four stages through which he had tracked the course of the text, from its first version in the prototype of the Wemyss MS. down to the Cottonian text, in which appears the last recorded revision and amendment of the Chronicle from its author's hand. Along with these invaluable memoranda was a collation of the rubrics of the Wemyss text from chapter clxxi. to the end, designed for an appendix. Associated with the same materials for the Introduction was a series

of notes describing the Royal, Wemyss, First Edinburgh, Second Edinburgh, and Auchinleck MSS.

Happily, also, three short essays, written in 1902, 1904, and 1905, had dealt with the general subject of the MSS. of the Chronicle, and with the singularly meagre material in existence for the biography of the chronicler. The essays of 1902 and 1905 were printed, although that of 1904 remained in manuscript. All are now therefore available. While these materials are not a perfectly adequate substitute for the last finished results of the author, expressed in a disquisition summing up his studies and revising his earlier conclusions with the final nicety of critical touch, they yet efficiently occupy a gap which would otherwise have been irreparable.¹ Perhaps at one point only will readers be disappointed of their expectations: Mr Amours left no data for the philological side of the subject, and no attempt has been made to supply the considerable section which would have been required to embrace it. No substitute could have taken the place of his own conclusions, and besides, Wyntoun was first of all and most of all a Historian, and his editor had evidently planned his Introduction as he drew up his Notes on that basis. There is then the less need to apologise for practically restricting the editorial apparatus to the editor's own materials. Although, in the absence of that collective review of the whole matter only possible in the ultimate stage of publication, the Introduction may be expected to reveal certain inconsistencies, and to

¹ [They also sometimes exhibit the conclusions of the editor in course of being formed while his work on the text was proceeding. Probably it ought to be said also that the annotations of Books VIII. and IX. are less exhaustive than they would have been made had Mr Amours himself seen his Notes through the press.]

contain some repetitions, and is not to be received as the editor's last word on every question discussed, it will at least attain the object which every admirer of the dead scholar must approve, of making him as far as possible his own expositor. Perhaps, also, in spite of the inevitable incompleteness, the faithful exposition of Wyntoun by his editor may be regarded as a remarkably intimate demonstration, not only of the manner of composition of a medieval chronicle, but also of the wayward fortunes which attend the scribal transmission of the text.

The few additions, alterations, and notes which have been found necessary are put within square brackets. Saving for these, and the headings of the divisions, the Introduction is the editor's own, and will, it is believed, when eked out with one or two sections and notes equip with most of the requisite apparatus the Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, Prior of St Serf's monastery on a little island in Lochleven. An account of the Priory, including notices of Wyntoun's connection with it, will appropriately introduce the chronicler.]

SECTION 2. ST SERF'S PRIORY.¹

[Written November 1905.]

The small island called by Wyntoun "the Inch within Lochleven" played its part for eight centuries in the religious life of the east of Scotland; but that part was a modest one, and so its annals are scanty. It may not

¹ [This section is abridged from a paper entitled "Saint Serr's Priory in Lochleven," read by Mr Amours as President of the Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow on 22nd November 1905, and printed in that Society's 'Transactions,' 1905-1906, volume xxxvii., 15-28.]

be without interest to gather together all the information available about the house over which the first Scottish Chronicler ruled for more than thirty years.

The first name connected with the island is that of Servanus, or Saint Servan, popularly shortened to Saint Serf. Servanus lived in a dark age, and the legends composed about him long afterwards have not cast much light on his real life.¹ His history is to be extracted from the so-called lives of the Saint himself and from the life of Saint Kentigern. According to the longer legend,² in great part translated by Wyntoun,³ Servanus was the son of the King of Canaan, in the land of Egypt, and of Alpia, the daughter of the King of Arabia. He was baptised and brought up by the Bishop of Alexandria. The Canaanites elected him their bishop. Twenty years after, directed by an angel, he went to Jerusalem, where he was bishop for seven years, then to Constantinople, and from there to Rome, where he was pope also for seven years. The same angel then sent him away again into foreign parts, and with a large company he crossed France and England, till he came to the Forth. Adamnan, who was then an abbot in Scotland, came and met him on Inchkeith, and gave him and his companions all the land of Fife to live and work in, "from the hill of the British to the Ochils." Brude, son of Dargart, king of the country, not having been consulted, objected; but

¹ [His very existence has been challenged by at least one French hagiologist. For comparisons with, and discussions of, the Continental Breton St Servais and St Servan see *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1905, pp. 510-512; *Annales de Bretagne*, tome xix. 321-363, 565-600, 629, 630; *Revue de Bretagne* (1904), tome xxxi. 491-497; *Scottish Historical Review*, iii. 239.]

² Skene's 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' p. 412.

³ 'Chronicle,' V., ll. 5119-5334.

soon after he was cured of dropsy by the Saint, who, as a reward, was allowed to settle in Culross. Afterwards Adamnan gave him the island of Lochleven, where he lived for seven years, founding a monastery and gaining the souls of many. There is no mention here of Kentigern, who, in his own legends, is said to have been brought up and educated by Servanus, then in his old age, who in his youth had been made a bishop by Palladius.

So, if we believe the legends, Saint Servan was a contemporary of Palladius, of Kentigern, and of Adamnan. Now there are historical dates connected with those three. Palladius was sent to Scotia, that is, to Ireland, in 430. The year is given by a contemporary chronicler, Prosper of Aquitaine. Kentigern died in 612 at the latest, and Adamnan was abbot of Iona from 679 to 704. Evidently Saint Servan cannot have been the contemporary of any two of them. The legend contained in the lessons of the Aberdeen Breviary for Saint Servan's day (July 1st), apparently a late compilation, partly eludes the difficulty by stating that there were two saints of that name, one the fellow-bishop of Palladius, the other living at the time of Adamnan.

If we turn from the legends to the chronicles, we tread on ground that is slightly firmer, but still full of pitfalls. The author of the *Scalacronica* has inserted in his book a version of those thirteenth century chronicles of the Picts and Scots, which consist mainly in lists of their respective kings. In the list of the Pictish kings is this entry: "Brude, son of Dergard, reigned 31 years. In his time Saint Servan came to Fife."¹ This Brude died about 706.

¹ Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 201.

Adamnan himself had been converted to Roman use in 688, during his second journey to Northumbria, although he could not persuade his own monks to share his views. The majority of the monks of Iona did not adopt the Roman rites till 716. The Columban monasteries settled among the Picts resisted longest of all, and were expelled in 717 by Nectan, brother and successor of Brude.

Here Saint Boniface comes on the scene, and his Scottish legend¹ runs on the same lines as that of Saint Servan. He also is from the East, he also becomes a pope, he also is sent to convert the Picts, and he baptises Nectan at Restennet. One point to note is that one of the seven bishops who accompany him is called Servandus. Another is that if we turn to an older and more trustworthy Irish document, we learn that his real name was Cuiritan or Quiritinus, and that he was an Irishman. The mother of Servanus, according to another writing of the ninth century, was the daughter of a king of the Cruithne. So everything tends to prove that Boniface and Servan formed part of the new clergy, who came to work among the Picts about the time when the Columbites lost favour with Nectan.

The meetings of Saint Servan with Adamnan need not be accepted literally; yet Adamnan was twice in Northumbria, where he became converted to the new ideas, and he may also have been in Fife, visiting the Pictish monasteries connected with Iona, and trying to bring them over to the Roman ways, that were gaining ground everywhere.

The connection of Servanus with Lochleven does not

¹ Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 421.

rest on the legends alone, but also on a document that deserves special attention. One of the most valuable pieces preserved in the Register of the Priory of Saint Andrews is a short summary of the old donations granted by the kings of Scotland to the church of Saint Servan in the Isle of Lochleven. It was translated in the fourteenth century from an old volume written in the Scottish language "in order that no superfluous questions, and no noisy wranglings should needlessly reach the ears of kings, princes, and bishops." The opening statement reads thus: "*Brude, filius Dergard, qui ultimus regum Pictorum secundum antiquas traditiones fuisse recolitur, contulit insulam Lochleuine Deo omnipotenti et Sancto Servano et Keledeis heremitis ibidem commorantibus et Deo servientibus et servituris in illa insula.*"¹

The Keledei, a Celtic word meaning "*socii Dei*," associates of God, or according to others "*servi Dei*," servants of God, were originally monks that forsook monasteries to lead a more ascetic life under stricter rules, either by themselves as hermits, or in small bodies, dwelling in separate abodes. Those of Lochleven are the only ones called hermits, which points to an early period, so that the successors of Saint Servan and of his fellow workers were probably the first to be known by the name of Keledei.

In the middle of the tenth century they were still occupying the island, and evidently not in a flourishing or safe condition; for their abbot Ronan, a man of wonderful sanctity, gave the place of their cell to the bishop of Saint Andrews in return for food and clothing.

¹ 'Reg. Prior. S. Andree' ('*Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree*'—Bannatyne Club, 1841; see further, Notes, p. 48), p. 113.

A century later, Macbeth (1040-1057), son of Finlach, and Gruoch, daughter of Bode, king and queen of the Scots, gave Kirkness to God Almighty and the Keledei of Lochleven, in return for their prayers. Macbeth also gave "to God and Saint Servan of Lochleven and to the hermits serving God there"¹ Bolgyn, the land of the son of Torfin. Kirkness is close to the eastern part of the Loch, and Bolgyn (now Bogie) in the parish of Abbots-hall. These two grants were destined to be the source of great trouble in the days of Wyntoun.

About the same time, Malduin, bishop of St Andrews (1028-1055), conferred the church of Markinch with all its lands "to God, Saint Servan and the Keledei,"² and his successor, Tuadal (1055-1059), gifted them with the church of Scoonie.³ Fothad the second, the next bishop and the last one of the Celtic church, who celebrated the marriage of Malcolm III. with Margaret, granted the church of Hurkenedorath (Auchterderran?) to the Keledei of Lochleven living there devoutly and honourably in a school of virtues.⁴

To these endowments Malcolm Canmore and his wife added the "villa" of Ballecristin, now Balchristie, in the parish of Newburn.⁵

One last gift has to be recorded, and it belongs to the same period. Ethelred, son of Malcolm, abbot of Dunkeld and earl of Fife, granted Admore (now Auchmoor, near Kirkness) to Saint Servan and the Keledei "with every liberty and free from every exaction or demand from anybody in the world, bishop, king, or earl."

After the death of Fothad, Saint Andrews had re-

¹ 'Reg. Prior. S. Andree,' p. 114.

² Ibid., p. 114.

³ Ibid., p. 116.

⁴ Ibid., p. 117.

⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

mained without a bishop for fifteen years, till Turgot, prior of Durham, was elected in 1108; and in those days, in the words of a chronicler, the whole right of the Keledei throughout the kingdom of Scotia passed into the bishopric of Saint Andrews. In 1115 the first Augustinian canons were brought from England to Scone, by Alexander, and they soon spread over the east of Scotland. They had originated in France as far back as the eighth century, and at the beginning they were anchorites living under rules of their own, very similar to those of the Keledei of Scotland.

In 1144, Bishop Robert, who had been the first prior of the Augustines at Scone, founded a priory of canons-regular in Saint Andrews, and within a few years King David granted to the new house the Island of Lochleven, in order that a canonical order might be established there.¹ In connection with this change there is also a charter of Bishop Robert granting the "Abbey" of Lochleven to the prior of Saint Andrews, that he may establish canons-regular in it.² That charter contains a full list of all the possessions of the Keledei; and lastly, of all their books, the list of which is given in full. Their library contained about a score of volumes, partly church-books, partly Scriptural books and commentaries. Two items deserve to be referred to: a volume of Sentences by the Abbot of Clairvaux proves that the last members of an antiquated establishment were in touch with modern learning, for Saint Bernard was living then; another, called obscurely "Origine," may be meant for some work of Origen, or perhaps, as suggested by Dr Reeves, for

¹ 'Reg. Prior. S. Andree,' p. 188.

² Ibid., p. 43.

some tract "de Origine Mundi." Now, the greater part of Book I. of Wyntoun's Chronicle is literally translated from the "Origo Mundi" of Honorius of Autun,¹ who died about 1140; so we may fondly cherish the thought that the later prior used the very volume that had been left by his predecessors. There is no trace of protest or struggle on the part of the dispossessed monks; so it is probable that they fell in with the new ways, and were satisfied to become canons of Saint Servan's, a cell of the new and well-endowed priory of the chief Scottish see.

The new state of matters lasted for a hundred years.

When all the benefices were taxed in 1275 for the relief of the Holy Land, Saint Serf's was assessed at £106, 13s. 4d., and the priory of Saint Andrews at £3333, 6s. 8d.

Nothing is recorded during the Interregnum, nor during the reigns of Robert I., David, and Robert II., except the presence of a prior of Lochleven at the parliament held in Cambuskenneth on 6th November 1314.² In 1385, Robert of Montrose, prior of Saint Serf's, was elected prior of Saint Andrews. He was stabbed to death by one of his brethren, Thomas Platter, eight years afterwards. It is to be regretted that Bower, who devotes a whole chapter to his life, has not condescended to mention the name of³ his successor.

[David Bell,⁴ formerly abbot of Holyrood, was provided

¹ See p. lxiii. *infra*.

² 'Acts of Parliament,' I., p. 14 [290].

³ [Bower, VI., ch. 54.]

⁴ [The paragraph within square brackets here inserted is substituted for the sentence originally printed, which Mr Amours' own later extract given below from the notes to the 'Charters of Inchaffray Abbey,' along with a letter to him from Mr John Edwards, showed his intention to correct. On the facts at first before him Mr Amours had inferred that most probably Wyntoun had directly succeeded Robert of Montrose in 1385.]

in 1387 to the Priory of Lochleven.¹ Evidently his appointment was disputed, for in 1388 Thomas Mason or Masson, a kinsman of Robert, Earl of Fife, was maintaining a claim² in the Papal Court. Bell must have overcome the opposition, and he continued to hold the benefice, valued, as it was said, at 40 lib. a year.³ In 1391, however, he resigned, and the priory was granted to James Besat or Bisset, canon of St Andrews, bachelor of canon law, and for three years a lecturer in that subject at Paris.⁴ On the death of Robert of Montrose, prior of St Andrews, in 1393, the chapter of St Andrews elected Bisset to succeed him,⁵ and Bisset was prior of St Andrews till his death⁶ in 1416. Presumably about the year 1393 Andrew of Wyntoun was elected⁷ to the priory of St Serf's, left vacant by Bisset's advancement. In the Chronicle Wyntoun makes modest reference⁸ to his selection for the office of "Priour off the Inche within Lochlevin" by his fellow canons of St Andrews.]

Two sets of legal documents, containing the only facts known about the Chronicler, have been inserted at the beginning of the Saint Andrews Register.⁹ They are

¹ "The researches of Dr Maitland Thomson at the Vatican enable us to record that a canon of Inchaffray, David Bell, was provided abbot of Holyrood 13th June 1379 ('Reg. Avin.,' 219, 454). Bell resigned Holyrood in 1386, and was provided in the following year to the Priory of Portmohok (*i.e.*, Lochleven) and made a Papal chaplain. Later on he resigned the Priory, and in 1395 was a simple canon of Holyrood." 'Charters of Inchaffray Abbey' (Scottish History Society), 1908, p. 253.

² ['Calendar of Papal Registers: Petitions,' vol. i. p. 571.]

³ [Ibid., p. 575.]

⁴ [Ibid., pp. 575, 576.]

⁵ [Ibid., p. 594.]

⁶ [Bower, VI., 56.]

⁷ He is named as prior in 1395. 'Reg. Prior. S. Andree,' p. 2.

⁸ [Bk. I., prologue, lines 86-94, quoted in Section 3 of this Introduction.]

⁹ ['Reg. Prior. S. Andree'; see further, section 7, also Notes, p. 82 (VII. 2066).]

quite distinct in character from the other contents of the volume, and from the date of the writing, as well as from internal evidence, they were probably placed there at Wyntoun's own request.

The first set refers to a perambulation of the marches of Kirkness, and opens with a preliminary statement of the prior's case.

This is followed by the official report of the perambulation of the marches between the barony of Kirkness and the barony of Lochore, drawn up by the notary public, Thomas de Karnys. On the 6th of July 1395, specially summoned witnesses assembled on a hill, or rock, at the "villa" of Balbechy, in the west corner of Kirkness. There were also present Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife and Menteith; Michael de Ramsay, lieutenant and sheriff of Fife, and a great multitude of prelates, nobles, and plebeians. The purpose of the meeting was to determine the boundaries between the lands of Kirkness belonging to the priory of the Island of Lochleven, and the lands of the barony of Kynnynmond. After a great deal of inspection and mature deliberation the jurymen of the assize gathered round the earl by the side of the marsh, and Aye Johnson, their spokesman, delivered their unanimous verdict, which was that, as the course of the Lochty ceases to be distinguished where it enters the marsh, a straight line drawn from that point through the bog of Polnabar to a point where the estates of Kirkness and Kynnynmond meet, shall be the true boundary between Kirkness and Lochore. Thereupon Andrew of Wyntoun and John de Bosvyle requested Thomas de Karnys to execute a public instrument as a perpetual record of the finding, which was done on the

spot in presence of Walter, Bishop of Saint Andrews, and Alexander, Bishop of Caithness ; and many others.

The second set of papers deals with a more complicated and more unsatisfactory case ; it lasted more than twenty years, and we do not know how it ended. William de Barclay, lord of Colerny, was the owner of the land of Bolgy, which was burdened at that time with an annual rent of eight bolls of meal and one pig. The prior requested and obtained, on the 19th of February 1406-7, that all the documents should be transcribed in a public and authentic form for further use, as they had become so old and frail that they could not be exhibited when needed. This "instrument of processes" was written by Thomas de Karnys.

In 1411, Wyntoun brought before the court the Register of the Priory of Saint Andrews, the very volume still existing, and requested to have a transcript made of the passages that established his claims on the lands of Bolgy. Shortly afterwards his case was presented again before the official, in a libel dealing with the arrears of rent due at that date. The prior claims for twenty terms 10 chalders of meal, 20 pigs, and 40 shillings of expenses. William de Barclay only put forth some frivolous exceptions, and left the court. Then the official sent him letters, citing him to come and hear the interlocutor as to his exceptions. We know nothing further, except that in 1413, Wyntoun was busy getting another transcript of his titles.

SECTION 3. SKETCH BIOGRAPHY OF ANDREW OF WYNTOUN.¹

[For a biography of Wyntoun scarcely any material is known to exist beyond his Chronicle and two or three mentions of his name in documents concerning his priory. The date of his birth can only be guessed at. In several of the MSS., but not in the Wemyss text, there is an elaborate obituary eulogium of the Duke of Albany (Bk. IX., 2683-2756). As the Duke died on 3rd September 1420, the record of the event in its pages may be deemed proof that the Chronicle, in at any rate its revised forms, must date certainly as late as 1420, and almost certainly before 1424, in view of the absence of any hint of the return of James I. The Chronicle also, in the same manuscripts, and not in the Wemyss, contains (Bk. IX., Prol. 36-49) a passage in which the chronicler bewails the impediments of age. This might perhaps warrant the inference that in 1420 Wyntoun could not well have been much, if at all, under sixty years old. The Dictionary of National Biography countenances the conjecture that he was born about 1350, but the calculation is somewhat vitiated by a misconception regarding the meaning of a couple of lines of Bk. IX.²

¹ [Unfortunately no formal sketch of Wyntoun's life was written by Mr Amours, and what follows is drawn up mainly by piecing together intimations of various kinds contained in the Notes.]

²

[“Sa fyfteyn ȝeire he held that stait
And in þe sexteyn ȝeire he wraite.”

—Bk. IX. 2655.

This sentence on the duration of the reign of Robert III. gives no ground whatever for inference that 1406 was the year in which the author was writing his Chronicle. It merely states, and states with perfect correctness, that the king had completed fifteen years of sovereignty, and that in his charters and writings the official computation made 1406 his sixteenth regnal year.]

It is approximately safe to believe that the date of Wyntoun's birth was between 1350 and 1360, although it may have been even earlier than 1350.

Wyntoun's connection with Sir John Wemyss of Leuchars, extremely interesting as it is for its bearing on the literary impulses of the Chronicle, adds little to the biographical data. Apparently Sir John held the family estates from about 1372 until 1428, and it is reasonable to suppose that the happy suggestion for the writing of the Chronicle was made in the opening years of the fifteenth century, possibly before the death of Robert III. in 1406, as that date of inception of the design would accord with the intermediate *terminus ad quem* at the death of Robert II., designed at one stage for the Chronicle (VII., Prol. 43-46).

Wyntoun's appointment as Prior about 1393 indicates presumably a date earlier than the time to which the actual undertaking of the Chronicle can be assigned. A reference (Bk. VIII., 6361) to a cattle plague in Ireland seems to show the author alluding to an event of recent memory, of which we know the date to have been 1407.

It is from the Prologue of the first book that we derive almost the sole authoritative information about the author himself and the circumstances under which he undertook "off det"—as a duty, again described as a "det to pay,"—the writing of his "treatise." Whether this does not point to some obligation, perhaps in connection with his own upbringing or education incurred by him to his patron, may be an interesting, but would seem to be a fruitless speculation. The modest and simple passage introducing himself and declaring his literary purpose must be allowed to speak for itself.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, there are practically no extraneous facts available to elucidate with fuller particulars his own words:—

“ Suppose this treatise simply I. Prol. 54.
 I maid at the instance of a larde
 That has my seruice in his warde
 Schir Iohne of Wemys¹ be rycht name
 A worthy knycht and of gud fame
 Albeid his lordschip be nocht lik
 To gretare lordis in the kinrik
 He mon of neid be personer portioner
 Off quhat kin blame sa euer I beire
 Syne throuch his bidding and counsaill
 Off det I spendit my travale

Thus set I in like assay I. Prol. 79.
 Wilfully my det to pay
 Symple or sufficient quheper it be
 To bowsumnes ay zeild I me.

And for I will nane beire the blame
 Off my defalt þis is my name
 Be bapteme Andro of Wyntoun
 Off Sanct Androis a channoune
 Regular, bot nocht forthy nocht forthy=nevertheless
 Off þame all þe leste worthy :
 Bot of thare grace and thare fawour
 I wes but merit maid priour
 Off þe Inche within Lochlevin
 Berand þarof my titill evin
 Of Sanct Androis diocy
 Betuix the Lummondis and Wynarty.”²

Wyntoun's place of birth is unknown. Incidental

¹ [Sir John Wemyss of Leuchars and Kincaldrum was the great-grandson of that Sir David Wemyss who was chosen as an ambassador to Norway in 1286 (VIII. 87) partly because he (according to two texts of the Chronicle) “of the language weile couthe ken.” See further Section 4, and Notes, pp. 3, 92.]

² [The Lomonds lie north-east and Benartie south-west from the Inch of St Serf in the eastern part of Lochleven.]

allusions made by him to Wynton in East Lothian, the family of that ilk, and the disturbances in 1347, known as Wynton's War, are not enough to suggest any relationship.¹ Members of the family in the time of Robert III. held lands in Fife as well as in Haddingtonshire.²

Of Wyntoun, substantially all that can be said is that he became a canon-regular in the Augustine Priory of St Andrews; that he was about or shortly after 1393 made Prior of St Serf's in Lochleven; that documentary references show him still in office as prior, apparently until towards the close of 1421; that he undertook his Chronicle on the suggestion of Sir John Wemyss of Leuchars; that he wrote it and was revising it for more than one edition probably during the regency of the Duke of Albany after the death of Robert III. in 1406, and that the Chronicle (which is the only real voucher for his biography) presupposes from its revised text his survivance until after 1420, when Albany died, although it affords no evidence that he lived beyond 1424. The few documentary references to him are chiefly found in the still extant Register of the Priory of St Andrews.³ The diocese, architecture, and history of St Andrews, as well as the lives of its bishops, are constantly recurring themes of keen interest to the author of the Chronicle, who, moreover, derived some of his most valuable early material from the ancient Register, now no longer extant, but which was in Wyntoun's time an important item in the muniments of the Priory.

¹ [VIII. 6335.]

² [Registrum Magni Sigilli, App. II., No. 1919.]

³ ['Reg. Prior. S. Andree.' Entries occur dated 5th July 1395 (p. 2); 19th February 1406-7 (pp. 6, 11); February 1410-11 (p. 13); 22nd December 1413 (p. 17).]

David Laing somewhat ruefully acknowledged that his endeavour to find fresh biographical particulars of Wyntoun had been abortive. "In regard to the personal history of the Prior of St Serf's Inch, Lochleven," he says,¹ "I regret that after long and diligent research so little information can be obtained." It is now nearly forty years since that reluctant acknowledgment was made, but the intervening time has revealed hardly anything additional, except one or two important facts ascertained since Mr Amours' death, and communicated by Dr Maitland Thomson, from the Vatican archives. Thus the sole new discoveries of consequence are contained in the following entries:—

I. PETITION BY JOHN DE CAMERON TO POPE MARTIN V.,
GRANTED 12TH DECEMBER 1421.²

(Petitions to the Pope. Vol. 151 f. 204 *verso*. Martin V.)

Beatissime Pater cum devotus vester Andreas de Wyton (*sic*) prior prioratus Insule lacus de Lewyn ordinis Sancti Augustini Sanctiandree diocesis ex certis causis animum suum ad hoc moventibus eundem prioratum resignare proponat sive exnunc in manibus vestre sanctitatis resignat Supplicat eidem sanctitati vestre devotus vester Johannes de Cameron presbyter canonicus ecclesie cathedralis sive monasterii Sanctiandree ordinis predicti quatenus sibi specialem gratiam facientes de dicto prioratu qui curatus est et a monasterio prefato dependet et qui per canonicos dicti monasterii gubernari consuevit si eundem per resignationem factam vel fiendam vacare contigerit cujusque fructus etc. quadraginta librarum sterlingorum antiquorum secundum communem estimationem valorem annum non excedunt sive per hujusmodi resignationem seu alio

¹ [Laing's edition of Wyntoun's 'Orygynale Cronykil,' vol. iii., Preface (dated 1876), p. ix.]

² [Dr Maitland Thomson most obligingly communicated the terms of the document No. III. from the late Mr W. H. W. Bliss's transcripts from the Vatican. Subsequently, being himself in Rome, Dr Maitland Thomson was so good as to pursue the researches still further among the Vatican archives, with the result that two additional documents (Nos. I. and II.) are now also presented.]

quovis modo aut ex persona domini Thome Mason ejusdem ecclesie aut prioratus olim prior (*sic*)¹ seu ex alterius cujuscunque persona aut per constitutionem Excecrabilis vacet aut tanto tempore quod sedi apostolice reservatus devolutus seu litigiosus existat providere dignemini Non obstantibus dicte ecclesie Sancti Andree privilegiis statutis et ordinationibus regulis cancellarie et aliis in contrarium facientibus quibuscunque cum clausulis opportunis ut in forma.

Fiat ut petitur O. fiat.²

Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum pridie Idus Decembris anno quinto (12th Dec. 1421).

The purport of the document so far as Wyntoun is concerned appears in the preamble, stating to the Pope that "whereas Andrew of Wyntoun, the prior of the priory of the Inch of Lochleven, of the Order of St Augustine, in the diocese of St Andrews, for certain causes moving his mind thereto, proposes to resign said priorate, or now henceforward resigns it in the hands of his holiness." The petitioner, John de Cameron, priest and canon of the cathedral church or monastery of St Andrews, of the foresaid Order, goes on to state that said priory is a benefice with cure of souls dependent upon the foresaid monastery, and has been wont to be governed by the canons thereof (the fruits, according to the common estimate, not exceeding the annual value of forty pounds old sterling); and he supplicates his holiness to provide said priory to him, in case of its happening to be vacant by said resignation, whether it is vacated pursuant to such resignation or in any other manner, either by Sir Thomas Mason, formerly prior of the said church or priory, or

¹ [In the record the word *prior* (after *olim*) has a mark above, denoting the grammatical error.]

² [At this period it was the habit of the Pope to sign Petitions with the initial not of his official name but of his real Christian name. Martin V. was Otho Colonna.]

by any other person, or in terms of the constitution *Execrabilis*,¹ or has been vacant for so long a time that it stands reserved or devolved to the apostolic see or is the subject of litigation. The petition (which craved also that the privileges of the church of St Andrews, the statutes, ordinances, and rules of chancery, should not stand in the way) was granted as craved.

II. PETITION BY JOHN DE CAMERON TO POPE MARTIN V.,
GRANTED 15TH DECEMBER 1421.

(Petitions to the Pope. Vol. 154*f.* 86. Martin V.)

Beatissime Pater cum devotus *ejusdem* (*sic*) sanctitatis Andreas de Wyntorin (*sic*) canonicus regularis ecclesie cathedralis Sanctiandree ordinis Sancti Augustini ac prior prioratus Insule lacus de Lewyn dicte Sanctiandree diocesis ex certis causis animum suum ad hoc moventibus eundem prioratum resignare proponat sive ex nunc in manibus ejusdem sanctitatis resignat per suos certos procuratores ad hoc mandatum speciale habentes Supplicat eidem vestre sanctitati devotus vester Johannes de Cameroun presbyter canonicus expresse professus ordinis et monasterii predictorum Sanctiandree quatenus sibi specialem gratiam facientes de dicto prioratu qui curatus est et non electivus² et qui a prefato monasterio dependet ac per canonicos dicti monasterii gubernari consevit (*sic*) cujusque fructus etc. quadraginta librarum sterlingorum antiquorum secundum communem extimationem valorem annum non excedunt sive per hujusmodi resignationem seu alias quovismodo aut ex persona domini Thome Mason prior (*sic*)³ dicti prioratus et canonicus (*sic*) monasterii supradicti aut ex alterius cujuscunque persona seu per constitutionem *Execrabilis* vacet et si reservatus devolutus seu litigiosus existat eidem Johanni dignemini misere-

¹ [The Constitution regarding pluralities, made by Pope John XXII. in 1317.]

² [That is, that the priorship of St Serf's was not an office filled by election of the canons. It was its resignation into the hands of the Pope which gave the Pope the appointment at this time.]

³ [As in the other Petition, the word *prior* is marked as wrong; but the other mistakes are not noted.]

corditer providere Non obstantibus dicti monasterii privilegiis regulis cancellarie et aliis quibuscunque cum clausulis oportunis quibuscunque ut in forma.

Fiat ut petitur O. fiat.

Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum decimooctavo Kalendas Januarii anno quinto (15th Dec. 1421).

The second petition appears to be a precautionary duplicate of the first with certain alterations, the most subtle of which are that Thomas Mason is referred to as prior of the priory and canon of St Andrews, not as "*olim*" prior, and that the craving asks the pope to provide the priory "*misericorditer* to the said John."

III. OBLIGATION BY JOHN BOWMAKER TO THE PAPAL CAMERA, 28TH JANUARY 1422.

Roman Transcripts,
Series I., vol. 27,
p. 64.

Archivio de Stato,
Diversorum,

Martin V., 1420-1423, f. 83v.

Eodem die (28 Januarii 1422) Johannes Bomakar Rector parochialis ecclesie de Moncabio (*sic*)¹ Glasguensis diocesis tanquam principalis et privata persona obligavit se Camere nomine Johannis de Cameron super annata prioratus Insule lacus de lewyn ordinis sancti Augustini Sancti Andree diocesis cujus fructus xl. librarum sterlingorum antiquorum &c. vacantis per resignationem Andree de Wynron (*sic*) in Curia &c. Item promisit producere mandatum ratificationis infra x. menses. Item dicte bulle fuerunt restitute sine solucione.

From this last it appears that the resignation had become effectual by 28th January 1422.² "John Bowmaker, rector of the parish church of Moniabro, in

¹ [Moncabio: for Monyabroc, Monyabro^t, Monyabro, Moniabroke, Moniabrough, the old name of Kilsyth, in the deanery of Lennox and diocese of Glasgow. John Bowmaker was at this time in Rome, and was litigating for a benefice.]

² [The year is computed as beginning on January 1.]

the diocese of Glasgow, as principal and as a private person, obliged himself to the Roman Camera in name of John of Cameron regarding the annats of the priory of the Isle of Lochleven, of the Order of St Augustine, in the diocese of St Andrews (the fruits of which were not over 40 lib. old sterling, &c.), now vacant by the resignation of Andrew of Wyntoun."

The entry offers the strongest possible confirmation to the probability that Wyntoun's lines on the pressure of age upon him (IX., end of prologue) were no mere poetical figure, but were a very real expression of the chronicler's situation in or about the years 1420-1421.

It may be too that there is a touch accentuated by personal application in the reference (IX. 1909-1914) to "ane aulde abbot," in whose case resignation was a commoner precedent than the abdication or deposition of a king. Be this as it may, we now know that Wyntoun was soon to give up his priory of St Serf's, where he was writing the ninth book of his Chronicle, and 'Elde' (*i.e.*, old age) was mastering him with her briefes.

His historical design was on a scale, in some ways, higher and greater than anything previously attempted in Scotland. John of Fordun, who alone can be compared with him, and whose 'Chronica' and Annals were completed *circa* 1385, was somewhat more narrowly devoted to the story of Scotland in itself. Wyntoun was to write a world-chronicle, and fit Scotland into the chronology. For the metrical vernacular form, and not a little for the national spirit of the narrative of Scottish episodes, the impulse afforded by Barbour's 'Bruce,' written in 1376, is evident enough, were it only from the fact that Wyntoun appropriated Barbour's motto, "storyis to reid ar delecta-

bill" (I. Prol. 31), and apparently kept it before him as a principle of composition. His admiration of Barbour is repeatedly expressed. With regard to Fordun, the case is curiously different. Previous editors believed that Wyntoun had not read Fordun¹ at all, and that he never quoted from him; but in the Notes which follow this Introduction there are given reasons, though not conclusive, for a contrary view, and for a hypothesis that Wyntoun never cited Fordun because he disagreed with him about the origins and descent of the Scots. There is no need to cite Scott's tale of the dispute between the Laird of Monkbarns and Sir Arthur Wardour for the view that different opinions on those problems of Picts and Scots are still tenable, and may even yet kindle animosities. Wyntoun never mentions Fordun in the part of his Chronicle which was his own, though he probably used him as a source,² and it is indisputable that in the part which came from another pen (VIII. 2965–IX. 1120), and which Wyntoun, with cordial acknowledgments to the unnamed author,³ incorporated into his text, contains several passages directly taken from Fordun.⁴ The position that Wyntoun himself was unacquainted with Fordun's work is thus far less conceivable than the view that, for reasons not perhaps easily to be quite distinguished from critical disapproval of the Aberdeen historiographer, the St Andrews canon and metrical chronicler seldom followed, and preferred never to cite,

¹ [Macpherson's Preface in Laing's 'Wyntoun,' I. xxxvi.]

² [Section 9 *infra*, and see, *e.g.*, Notes to Bk. II. 647, 731; VII. 1144, 1161, 1519, 2637.]

³ [VIII. 2956 and IX. 1120–1124; variants in RL, vol. vi. pp. 356, 357.]

⁴ [Notes to Bk. VIII. 875, 926, 1264, 1601, 2965, 2995, 3005, 3025, 3043, 3075, 3127, 3361, 4027, 5049. Cf. p. xcvi. *infra*.]

Fordun as his authority. His attitude towards other authors is almost invariably generous, his acknowledgments are ungrudging, there is not the slightest touch of vanity or self-consciousness. While his praise of others is ready, he deprecates his own powers and quality,¹ he calls himself the "least worthy" of all the chapter of St Andrews;² he thinks of the "blame" he will incur³ as historian, not of the fame he may earn; his unnamed assistant he receives with the full honours of a superior colleague.⁴

"Qwha that it dytyd nevyrtheles
He schawyd hym off mare cunnandnes
Than me, commendis this tretis."

—IX. 1161-63 Royal MS.

Scrupulous and anxious in his own pursuit of accuracy (from which his lapses are, on the whole, surprisingly rare), he is a charitable and gentle critic of the historical fallibility of the authors he followed. Indeed he only criticises in defence, as it were, when his own position has to be made clear, and even then he is apologetic.⁵

No "somniculosus monachus" he! The autobiographic impression left is that of a true and ardent historian, a solid, though not showy, workman of letters, and a thoroughly capable and shrewd, but placid and genial, personality. The estimate of his work is best set forth in the following pages by his editor, Mr Amours himself, who rivalled him in capacity and patient diligence, and was little behind him in placidity and sobriety of judgment.]

¹ [I. Prol. 88.]

² [I. Prol. 88.]

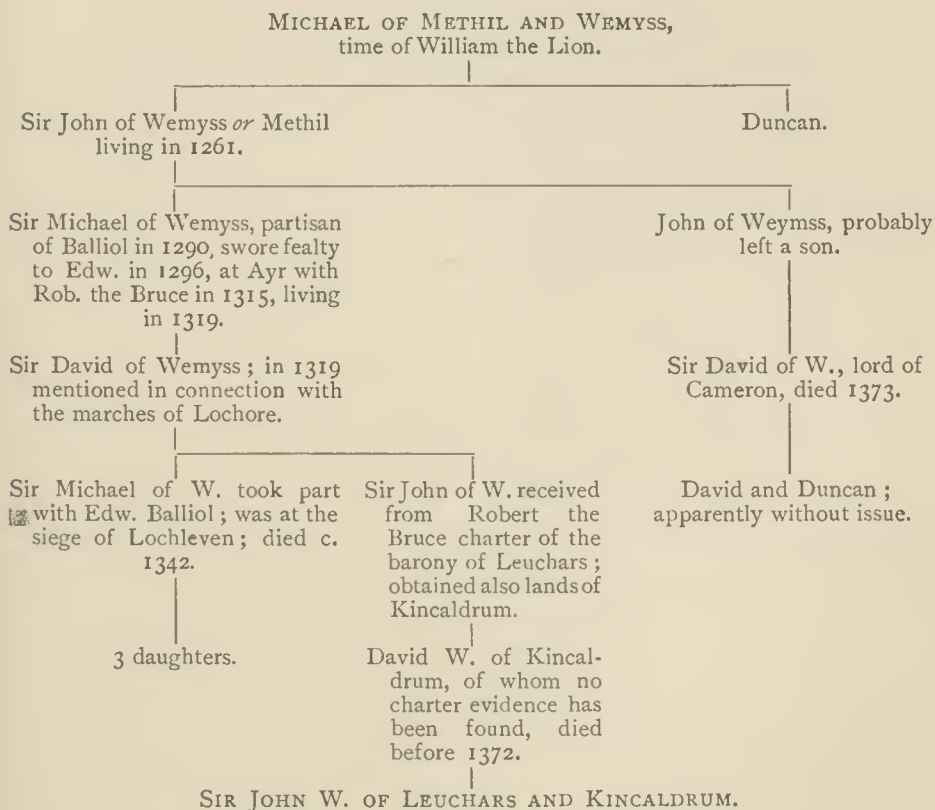
³ [I. Prol. 62.]

⁴ [VIII. 2945-2964.]

⁵ [V. 4284, 4291, 4307.]

SECTION 4. SIR JOHN WEMYSS.

[Regarding Wyntoun's patron, the following extracts¹ from Sir William Fraser's 'Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss,' 1888, give his pedigree, and they are followed by a list of a few entries in the Great Seal Register concerning him. See further, Notes I. Prol. 57, VIII. 87.]



I., p. 44. Sir John Wemyss of Kincaldrum, Reres, and Wemyss.
1372-1428.

Sir John W., who flourished in the latter half of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th as laird of Kincaldrum and Reres, and latterly of Wemyss, has already been shown in a previous memoir to be the

¹ [These memoranda are from Mr Amours' manuscript.]

grandson of Sir John Wemyss, first of Kincaldrum and Leuchars-Wemyss, who was the second son of Sir David Wemyss, the ambassador to Norway. Sir J. W. is first named in a charter of 1372 (R.M.S., p. 116). It is not known what part Sir J. W. took in the public affairs of his time.

p. xl. The tradition as to the descent from the earls of Fife is certainly not of an ancient date, as no such tradition existed . . . when Wyntoun . . . wrote his chronicle. . . . The prior, who was learned in genealogical lore, would not have omitted to give the due tribute to his patron, much less would he have penned the reference to his rank in the following semi-apologetic strain: "Suppos . . . equalitie."

p. 18. Wyntoun states that it was Sir David, son of Sir Michael, who was the ambassador (to Norway). This seems the more probable, as Sir M. must then have been well advanced in life.

'Memorials of the family of Wemyss of Wemyss,' by Sir Wm. Fraser. 1888. 3 vols.

REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI.

1372. Nov. 5 (secundo anno). Confirmation of a donation by John de Wemys to Andrew de Valoniis of the half of the mill at Lochore (Fife).

1392. Oct. 16 (anno tertio Rob. III.). Confirmation of donation of lands in Fife by our brother Robert earl of Fife to John de Wemys 'militi' . . . and of donation by the late Alexander of Abernethy to the late John of Wemys grandfather (avo) of the present John of Wemys.

„ „ Permission to John of Wemys to build a castle at Reres.

1407. Oct. 5. John de Wemys witness to charter.

1408. March 27. „ „ „

„ Oct. 28. „ „ „

—Ex Registro Magni Sigilli.

SECTION 5. EDITIONS AND MSS. OF THE
CHRONICLE.¹

[Written February 1902.]

Any one seeking information about Andrew Wyntoun in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' will be surprised at the scanty list of authorities to be consulted concerning the life and works of the Scottish chronicler. It consists of four items: the two editions of the Chronicle, and two review articles by Mr W. A. Craigie. This is not very creditable to the patriotism of the Scot, who is so fond of his vernacular mediæval literature, and rightly, too, for Scotland can boast of two historians (I am using the term in a broad sense)—Barbour and Wyntoun—who, for individuality, sturdy love of their native land, and raciness of the soil, stand above the English chroniclers of about the same age, such as Robert of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne.

Wyntoun, indeed, has not been neglected as a recorder of facts; the historical student has gleaned pretty exhaustively through his chronological records, but he has been satisfied with the text before him, and has never gone behind it, nor inquired whether the numerous MSS. have been examined sufficiently to enable us to say that we have the right Wyntoun and the entire Wyntoun.

¹ [This section is reprinted almost verbatim from Mr Amours' paper entitled "Editions and MSS. of Wyntoun's Cronykil," read on 17th February 1902, and printed in the Glasgow Royal Philosophical Society's 'Proceedings' 1901-1902, vol. xxxiii. 219-231. It is particularly necessary to note the dates of these various papers; in 1902 the editorial task was at an early stage, and this section must therefore at some points be interpreted accordingly.]

There is one very plausible excuse for this self-satisfied acceptance of the Chronicle as it has been printed for us. It contains about thirty thousand lines, and is found in at least nine MSS.; so it is no light task to compare and check all those texts; it is easier to trust to the print, and take it for granted that the editor had nothing more to give than what he has given.

Now, I must state at once that Wyntoun has not been well used by his editors, and the aim of these remarks is to show, by a short description of the two editions and of the nine principal manuscripts, that there is room for a third edition which will give all the material needed for the working out of the many problems with which the Chronicle bristles. It is impossible, with our present printed texts, to discover what Wyntoun wrote first, what he changed afterwards, how often he altered his work, how much he owes to others, how the different texts are connected with one another, and so on. Surely the Prior of St Serf deserves as much from his native land.

The Original Chronicle was published, for the first time, in London, in 1795, by David Macpherson.¹ It fills two handsome volumes that are seldom met with now, as only 275 copies were printed, at the editor's own cost, 26 of which were still in his hands when he died twenty years later, which proves that antiquarian liter-

¹ [De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, be Androw of Wyntown, Priowr of Sanct Serfis Ynche in Loch Levyn. Now first published with Notes, a Glossary, &c., by David Macpherson. London: Printed by T. Bensley. M.DCC.XCV. Two vols. 8vo.]

David Macpherson was born on 26th October 1746, and died on 1st August 1816. His successor in the task of editing Wyntoun took pains to compile a biographical notice of him, and it is accordingly printed in Laing's edition (see next note), vol. iii. pp. xxxvii-xlix.]

ature did not pay then any better than now. As Macpherson lived in London, he had only access to the manuscripts in the British Museum. They were three in number—the Royal, the Cottonian, and the Harleian. The first two are the best we have of the Chronicle. He knew of the two manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, and obtained a few readings from them through a friend, but they leave hardly a trace in his notes. He adopted the Royal for his text, backing his own judgment with the opinion of Father Innes who, at the the beginning of the century, had been the first to study the MSS. of Wyntoun.

As is well known, the Original Chronicle is so called, not according to the obvious acceptation of the term, for Wyntoun modestly strives not to be original, but because it begins with the origin of things, the creation of the world. Macpherson omitted the whole of the first five books, except the few passages that refer to Britain, that is about the third part of the whole work. That was the fashion of the day, which we deplore now, as it renders almost valueless the noble editions of the old historians, published in the eighteenth century and even later. In spite of this drawback, Macpherson's edition is worth having, even now, for its accuracy, for its learned notes, and especially for its capital index by subjects.

The second edition forms part of the important collection of the 'Historians of Scotland,' which appeared in the seventies. David Laing was the editor. He has done an enormous amount of work, mostly good, in the field of Scottish literature, but it must be said that his last undertaking proved too much for his hand. He was an old man of nearly eighty when the first volume

appeared,¹ and the mere physical labour of seeing three substantial volumes through the press was more than he could do. I shall have to point out deficiencies in his edition as I go on, which cannot be helped, if we are to know exactly how matters stand with our Chronicler.

The edition was to be a reprint of Macpherson's, plus the omitted parts of the first five books; besides, the MSS. unknown to Macpherson were to be examined and collated, and the question of the revision and enlargement of the Chronicle by the author himself was to be considered. The first part, alone, of the programme was carried out satisfactorily. We have now a full text of the Royal MS., and, so far as I know, a fairly truthful one, were it not for the punctuation, which is very fantastic. The question of the revision of the Chronicle has been left untouched, except that Laing printed the Cottonian alterations twice, in the body of the work and in the variants, while Macpherson had given them once only, in the variants. As to the examination of the new MSS., that is where Laing failed most seriously. He had the

¹ [The *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. By Andrew of Wyntoun. Edited by David Laing. In three volumes. Vol. i. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1872. Vol. ii., 1872. Vol. iii., 1879.

David Laing was born in April 1793: he brought out the first two volumes himself; the third had to be posthumously completed. His biographer, in a pathetic passage (after describing the old bibliophile's editorial activities in September 1878, including the preparation of the 'Cronykil,' vol. iii.), writes thus: "The end came all too sadly soon after this. In the Signet Library at his usual duties he was struck down with paralysis. When awakening to consciousness, he, looking round, promptly inquired whether the proof of 'Wyntoun' had been sent up by the printer. After a short lingering in his own house, he expired on 18th October 1878, in his eighty-sixth year."—'David Laing, LL.D. A Memoir of His Life and Literary Work.' By Gilbert Goudie. Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation by T. & A. Constable, 1913, p. 114.]

good fortune to have in his hands three MSS. (Wemyss, Saint Andrews, Auchinleck) that had never been used or read before; but the information he has vouchsafed to us is very scanty, and, what is worse, it is inaccurate and misleading.

This brings me to the contents of the MSS.; but before I proceed any further, it is right to state that my knowledge of the subject is largely derived from two scholarly and original papers published by Mr W. A. Craigie, the one in the 'Scottish Review' (July 1897), and the other in 'Anglia' (vol. xx., 1898). Mr Craigie has gone to the root of the matter; that is to say, he has demonstrated plainly that the conclusions arrived at before him, as to the relations of the different texts, were wrong. Innes had formed a wrong^o opinion, Macpherson adopted it, and Laing repeated it.

Out of the nine old versions which we possess, three ^{Wemyss MS.} represent three different stages or editions of the Chronicle—the Wemyss is the earliest, the Royal the intermediate, and the Cottonian the last. The other six gravitate more or less regularly round them.

I shall have most to say about the Wemyss, as I know it best, and as it plays an important part in the genealogy of the different versions. Laing obtained possession of the manuscript while he was printing the last volume of his edition, so that he could not have made much use of it, even if he had desired to do so; but he must have been struck with the importance of his find, as he printed several extensive passages from it in his Appendix and elsewhere. High hopes were raised by the date assigned to the volume, hopes that have not been fulfilled. Laing describes it as of the

early fifteenth century, and it would have been a priceless boon to have a text almost contemporary with the author; however, from the spelling and writing, we cannot place it higher than 1500.¹ Probably "early fifteenth" is a slip for "early sixteenth"; such slips are not uncommon with the editor. The text is complete at the beginning, a fortunate contrast with the other texts, two only of which contain the Prologue. There we find at once that we have to deal with the early edition. The Chronicle is divided into *seven* books (Bk. I. chap. 2 of Wemyss MS.), and

"The sevint sall mak conclusioun	I. 27 W.
Off the nobill generatioun	
And of the blessit gud lynnage	
That come of the mariage	30
Off Malcolme king of Scotland	
And Mergret aire till Yngland."	

That is to say, the seventh book will end with the death of Alexander III. Such was the original purpose of Wyntoun. The chapters are numbered continuously, an arrangement that was changed afterwards, and readopted later. The headings or rubrics of the chapters are different from those of the other leading texts, and more appropriate to the contents. They play a great part in the classification of the manuscripts. Laing doubtless understood the value of these rubrics, for he took the trouble to print them in the Appendix; but there again the faculty of taking pains failed him. Their importance lies chiefly in the fact that they do not fall in with the divisions in the Royal, which is a remodelled text; therefore, what the reader wishes to know is where the

¹ [Mr Amours' printed article has "1600," but probably this was an erratum. But cf. Section 8 and see the query on the Notes, p. 120, hinting at a date *circa (post)* 1527.]

chapters begin and end in the Wemyss. Laing did make an attempt to indicate the commencement of each chapter, but out of the 196 headings, he left 50 blank, and gave the wrong indication in 26 cases.

So much for the framework; when we consider the text we find it rather perplexing. It is so different from all the others that if we were to divide them all into two classes, the Wemyss would stand alone in one class and all the rest in the second. The manuscript is late, however, and the scribe undoubtedly took liberties with his text, and so the question we have to face is which of the differences are due to the writer, and which belong to the original.¹ The problem will perhaps never be solved completely, but it cannot even be attacked before we have the whole text in print. Besides what is different, there is also plenty that is new and has never seen the light of day. Those passages, which are scattered through the whole Chronicle, are more numerous in the later books, which of course enhances their value. Here are a few instances, selected for their briefness, and each with a point of interest of its own.

In the Fifth Book (ll. 1449-1480), Wyntoun narrates the story of Faustina, the daughter of the emperor "Antone the Mild."

More curious is an episode of the taking of Berwick on the Good Friday of 1296, when the English entered

¹ [To what extent this question was the dominating problem in Mr Amours' mind will appear from the number of his notes on the subject. They disclose a constant and judicial attitude of reconstructive criticism on the subject and an attempt (with far from uniform result) to balance the considerations applicable to the matter throughout the whole course of the Chronicle. See, *e.g.*, Notes IV. 1591, 2466, 2623; VI. 575, 879, 1649, 2317; VII. 71, 1773, 2109, 2167; VIII. 1830, 2625, 2776, 3386, 3454, 3650, 5652.]

the town by treachery and slew the Scots all day,
sparing neither sex nor age, till at last

“This Kyng Edward saw in that tyde VIII. 1833 R.
A woman slayne, and off hyr syde
A barne he saw fall owt sprewland,
Besyd that woman slayne lyand,
'Lasses, Lasses,' than cryid he,
'Leve off, leve off' that word suld be.”

Here the Wemyss adds :

“And of this slauchter mare to speke, VIII. 1783 W.
As I herd say, Antone the Beke,
That than wes bischop of Durhame,
A cruell man and of felloun fame,
Enterit in thare with the formast,
And sa furth throuch the toune he past,
With his hand saynand for dispite,
And biddand thaim fast sla and smyte 1790
The Scottis doune and nane to spaire.
He mycht be callit a clerk and maire,
He wes a bischop of the deuill,
That wes so reddy to ger do euill ;
Forthy with him he has his meid
For all thai bodyis that he gert bleid.”

Antony Bek was the *bête noire* of the Scots in the days of Edward I., and Wyntoun voices the feelings of his countrymen, but I do not see why this outburst is not found in the other texts.

Once at least our MS. rescues a name from oblivion. In 1377 a man of the Earl of March's retinue was slain by the English during a fair at Roxburgh, then in their possession. The Wemyss alone¹ gives the name of the hapless cause of that bloodshed :

“He wes ane of his avne houshald (the Earl's) IX. 53 W.
Donald Taylzeour he wes cald.”

¹ [Notes, p. 130, cf. Bower, xiv. 37.]

I said previously that Wyntoun first divided his Chronicle into seven books, which were to end with the death of Alexander III. He changed his mind early, as we see from the Prologue to the Seventh Book, which ends with these lines :

“Swa now remanys my delyte VII. Prol. 43.
Thare successyowne for to wryte
Till Robert oure secownd king
Hys dayis had drevyn till endyng.”

However, he keeps to his plan of having only seven books. His chapters follow evenly on to the death of Robert II. without any prologue for the eighth and ninth books, so that from the prologue of the seventh book to the end of the text, we have one continuous book numbering about eleven thousand lines, that is to say nearly equal to the whole of the first six books. The manuscript is a few leaves short at the end, but we know from the contents given at the beginning of the volume where it must have ended. Out of these eleven thousand lines, more than six thousand are not by Wyntoun, as he tells us himself; a few hundreds have been borrowed from Barbour's 'Bruce,' and the accounts of the reigns of David and Robert II. were sent by an unknown friend,¹ and gratefully accepted by Wyntoun. I shall close my remarks on the Wemyss by pointing out that it does not give the passages from 'The Bruce' in full, but refers at once to the poem. This may be due to the scribe, who is not above tampering with his text, but I am inclined to believe that we have here the original state of the Chronicle, as there are more references to Barbour than in the other versions, and they are all expressed in similar terms.

¹ [See p. xc. *infra*.]

Royal MS. When we come to the Royal text we find a considerable change. The framework has been altered,¹ the Chronicle is divided into *nine* books, the ninth treating of Robert the Second and his posterity. The chapters are re-numbered, each book beginning with chapter *one*, after the prologue. The metrical headings have been changed, not improved, I am sorry to say, and have frequently been shifted to other places, not always successfully. Each book is preceded by a short list of contents of chapters, which lists are not in the Wemyss. When we reach the end of Book VII. the narrative goes on with Book VIII. without any prologue or list of chapters, just like the Wemyss, which proves that the eighth book had not yet been detached, although the chapters are numbered 1, 2, 3. . . . The important changes begin towards the end of this book, which deals with the last years of David II. The variations are too complicated to be explained in detail; on the whole, they come to this: the Royal leaves out a whole chapter of the Wemyss, the fight of the thirty Frenchmen led by Beaumanoir against thirty Englishmen (VIII. 6637-6826); a good deal of the matter in the Wemyss is re-written or shifted, and new incidents are introduced. We are dealing here with the part not written by Wyntoun, so it is evident that the chronicler has taken in hand the revision of his friend's material, and has added to it. Book IX. begins with a prologue and a list of chapters, unlike Book VIII., which has neither, but the prologue, from the style and versification, may be a later addition. The Royal agrees

¹ [The changes in arrangement and text are the subject of special examination in Section 8, which embodies Mr Amours' latest study of the subject, and briefly recapitulates the evolution of the Chronicle as revealed by collation of the various MSS.]

on the whole with the Wemyss till the end of the latter, or better, to the end of the unknown friend's share, the last line of which is

"Amen, amen, par cherite." IX., 1152.

The First edition probably ended here. Then Wyntoun states that he is not going to stop yet, but will go on and tell the more remarkable things which he has seen in his own time. This he does to the end of his Chronicle, about two thousand lines more.

The third change comes with the Cottonian, which Cottonian
MS proves to be a second revision. The MS. follows the Royal in the general arrangements of books, chapters, headings, prologues, &c., except that Book VIII. gets a prologue and list of chapters all to itself. The text, on the whole, is also the same, with the following exceptions, which are most important. In Book IV., Wyntoun has to relate the beginnings of the Scots and Picts in Scotland, his authorities being the genealogies and legends fabricated before his day, to prove that Scotland had been Christianised, and had been ruled by kings long before England. Under the date 452 B.C., according to the Wemyss and Royal texts, the Scots began to reign in Scotland, their first king being Fergus More, son of Erc. Then follows a short account of a dozen of his successors, and Wyntoun promises that he

"wyll spek mare thareoff swne, IV. 1153 (RL).
Quhen all the lawe till it is dwne."¹

Afterwards, he must have discovered another authority, a trustworthy one this time, that made Fergus the ancestor of Kenneth Macalpine, with ten generations only between

¹ [Vol. III. p. 85, variants.]

them. Now, Kenneth reigned about 840 A.D., so the ten generations had to cover a length of 1200 years, an average of 120 years for each. We know now how the trick had been done by the genealogy makers. They had simply lifted out a whole line of Scottish kings who in reality reigned between the fifth and the eighth centuries of our era, and placed them at the head of a more or less imaginary line of Pictish kings, so as to fill up the whole period between 450 B.C. and 850 A.D. Wyntoun found the problem too hard to solve, so in the Cottonian he drops the whole account of Fergus and his successors, explains the difficulties of the case, and adds—

“Giff othir, of mare sufficians, IV. 1147.
Can fynde bettyr accordance,
This buk at likyn thai may mende.”

Later in the same book, when the Picts appear on the scene two hundred years later [IV. 1753-1850], the passage is altered again on the same grounds.

The last alteration occurs in Book IX., at the beginning of the reign of Robert III. By sundry additions, omissions, and readjustments, the final chapters are linked more firmly to the account of the last days of Robert II., and we are entitled to see there the last touches of the last revision of the Chronicle.

I shall dispose shortly of the remaining six MSS. Three are related to the three leading types, one to each: the other three are of a composite order.

The Harleian (17th cent.), was known to Macpherson, who used it sparingly, one might say reluctantly, for variants which give decidedly better readings than the Royal. Those variants agreeing exactly with the Wemyss,

hopes were raised that the later MS. would be very useful to correct the vagaries of the earlier one, and to replace the few missing leaves. From testing inquiries, it appears that it is an abridged copy of the Wemyss in its present state. Macpherson, probably misled by the lateness of the MS., accuses the transcriber of correcting Wyntoun from Hector Boece. He does not substantiate his assertion in any way, and I do not think that the Wemyss can be later than Boece;¹ the copying, if there is any, may have been the other way. From an allusion to an abbot of Kelso, William of Dalgernow, tutor of David II., Macpherson thought that the manuscript must have been copied from one written in the Abbey of Kelso, as he could find that piece of intelligence nowhere else. This surmise is wrong, as the passage was taken from the Wemyss, which came from Cambuskenneth.

The Lansdowne MS. (c. 1500) Macpherson had heard of, but he did not examine it, as the Marquis of Lansdowne of his day could not find it in his collection. That text was read for Laing, but he made little use of it, except to note the omitted lines, which are very numerous, a negative kind of information of slight value. A collation of the first book shows that the MS. belongs to the same class as the Royal, but it is not copied from it.

The main features of the Cottonian type are reproduced in the First Edinburgh, also belonging to the early part of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, it is defective at the beginning, and wants also a good many leaves at the end.

The first composite text I shall call your attention to is found in the Second Edinburgh, a very neatly written

Lansdowne
MS.

Second
Edinburgh
MS.

¹ [See Notes, p. 120.]

volume, perhaps a little [later]¹ in date than the First Edinburgh. The MS. stands next to the Royal in completeness, and in the very first chapter (missing in most MSS.) we discover that the scribe was working with two texts. In the Wemyss version Wyntoun tells us (I. 2 (W)) that he will divide his work into *seven* books after the seven ages of the world, and in the second (Royal), he divides it into *nine*, after the nine orders of angels (I. 5). The scribe of the Second Edinburgh copies four lines of the first statement about the *seven* books, then discovers that he is going wrong, misses a line quietly, and goes on with the text of the recension, giving the contents of the *nine* books. The text follows the Cottonian in the main, but the writer gives up the numberings and headings of chapters of the two later types, and goes back to the Wemyss for them. As the old headings do not always correspond in position with the new, he sometimes inserts the new ones in their places without numbering them. When he comes to the last part of David's reign he abandons the revised text and partly adopts the early one, which he does also in Book IX., where the last addition to the Chronicle begins.

Auchinleck
MS.

The Auchinleck MS. comes to be examined next. Laing discovered it, as he tells us in his preface,² where he gives a long account of his relations with the Boswell family; but when he comes to the MS., he has only one statement to make, and that statement is wrong. He finds fault with Sir Alex. Boswell for writing that his copy wants forty or fifty lines of what has been published.

¹ [Printed article has "earlier," but Mr Amours' ultimate view is apparently shown by his subsequently written description of these two MSS. in Section 6, p. lxiv.]

² [Laing's 'Wyntoun,' Vol. III. pp. xxvii, xxviii.]

"But lines," adds Laing, "is evidently a misprint for leaves, as the MS. is so defective as to want the whole of the Fourth Book." As a matter of fact the MS. wants not only the fourth, but also the first, second, and third books, and parts of the fifth and ninth. Thanks to the generous courtesy of Mr John Ferguson of Duns, the owner of the MS., I have had the Auchinleck volume in my keeping for several months, and I have collated the whole of the original part. I was struck at once with its close resemblance to the Second Edinburgh, and after a hurried comparison of the two MSS., I have come provisionally to the conclusion that the Second Edinburgh is a copy (direct or indirect) of the Auchinleck. Here is one of my grounds for this belief. In Laing's edition, VIII. 5366-5372, are these lines:—

"Dowglas wes strykyn throw the body ; [VIII. 5364 R.]
 Bot he lywyd efftyr in gud hele.
 Swa couth thai wyth thaire fais delle,
 That thai ware rudly put agayne,
 And off thare folk a few ware slayne ;
 Bot for thare gret ost, that wes by,
 Dowglas wythdrw hym wyttily."

Opposite the first five lines, in the margin, the Auchinleck has in red ink the heading of chapter 171 (172 in Wemyss), which the scribe had forgotten to insert in the body of the text. The writer of the Second Edinburgh inserts it after the third line, that is to say in the middle of a sentence. It is not clear where the Auchinleck scribe meant the rubric to come in ; in the Wemyss, it is rightly placed after l. 5324. A similar mistake occurs at least once again, but in such a complicated way that it cannot be set forth here. It is in connection with a remarkable

passage of sixteen lines¹ concerning the Abbey of Restennet. The passage occurs at the end of Book V., and is only found in these two MSS. From internal evidence I feel inclined to believe that the lines are an interpolation, which may connect the Auchinleck (or its prototype) with that abbey.

The Auchinleck contains also a curious blunder, due to copying from two versions. In chapter 181=Laing's VIII., chap. XLIV., the writer begins with the revised text, copies two lines of it,

"A thousand thre hundyre and fyfty yhere, [VIII. 6817.]
And the sext off oure Lord dere,"

then inserts two lines from the Wemyss version of the same event,

"That zeire the nobill kyng Ihone of France [VIII. 6625 W.]
Was tane at Poteris apone chance,"

then returns to the third line of his former guide,

"Wes borne, and all thir dedis dwne. . . ." [VIII. 6819.]

thus making nonsense of the passage. The two intruding lines have been crossed by a later (?) hand, but there they stand, illustrating the mode of working of the copyist. The mistake is not in the Second Edinburgh.

St Andrews
MS.

The St Andrews MS. also exhibits a combined text, only more so than the two preceding ones. I shall not trouble you with the details. Mr Craigie has brought them out fully in his 'Anglia' paper, after a thorough study of the MS., showing conclusively that the three types have been employed. Here also the scribe has blundered more than once in his combinations. I am sorry to add that

¹ [Notes, p. 51.]

Laing¹ has erred more than usual in his treatment of this manuscript; he has clearly misunderstood the nature of it, and his remarks are mostly unreliable.

In conclusion, we have nine old texts of Wyntoun's Chronicle, containing three different versions of some parts, and several combinations of those versions. Against that we have in print one text from one manuscript. The Royal may be the best, so far as it goes, but it is not perfect, and besides it does not contain many hundreds of lines scattered through the other texts. Wyntoun has been blamed for his bad grammar and halting versification; he is certainly not a stylist, yet his periods flow smoothly enough, except when he is struggling with a difficult piece of Latin, and the octosyllabic measure is such an easy going jingle that one wonders why so many of his lines are too short or too long. The fact is that Wyntoun has suffered greatly from his transcribers, and a comparison of the unprinted texts with the printed one throws light on those supposed shortcomings.

I hope I have proved that historically and philologically, two points of view that should appeal to us, we should be gainers by knowing more about Wyntoun and his work. Wyntoun may not be a poet,² but his Chronicle is a document of the highest value for the history and language of Scotland, and that document we have not in its entirety. The Scottish Text Society has long held that opinion, and has resolved at last that the Original Chronicle should be added to its volumes in as full a form as possible. It has been difficult to settle what that form should be. A

¹ [Laing's 'Wyntoun,' Vol. III. p. xxi.]

² [On this matter it is proper to say that Mr Amours by degrees grew to estimate more and more highly the literary quality of Wyntoun.]

critical edition is out of the question, for there never was a definite text ; it grew, and changed, and shifted several times, and we cannot have these growths and changes represented in one text without altering its unity. I take it that what is wanted is an edition that will reproduce concisely and intelligibly all that is now hidden in the MSS. They are scattered all over the country, and no student can afford to consult them ; if their contents were brought out in print, any one so inclined would be enabled to work out for himself some of the problems that have not been solved yet ; and, let me add, the solutions will be various.

The first idea was to publish the three leading texts ; that was given up as extravagant and impracticable. The Royal having been edited twice, we may rest satisfied with it as it is. The next was to make the Cottonian the only text ; that would have been feasible but for the Wemyss, which is so unlike it that almost every line would require a footnote. So it has been decided to give both the Cottonian and the Wemyss on parallel pages, with the variants of the other texts as footnotes. That will increase the number of pages, but if the printer and the editor do their duty,¹ the whole matter will be clear, and we shall know for the first time all that Wyntoun wrote or others wrote for him.

I need scarcely add that I have been rash enough to assume the responsibility of this arduous undertaking. At the end of the eighteenth century Macpherson confessed that he had undertaken to edit Wyntoun because everybody declined to do it—in the hope that an edition

¹ [It is believed that the Society considers both did so. 'Fra blame than is the auctour quyte.' V. 4327 (W).]

by him would be better than no edition at all. At the beginning of the twentieth century history repeats itself.

[On the evolution of Wyntoun's MS. text in some minor details, compare Mr Amours' later statement of his conclusions in Sections 7 and 8, as well as in the Notes. Additional particulars on the bibliography of Wyntoun and the printed literature of the subject will now be found in 'A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets,' by William Geddie, Scottish Text Society, 1912, pp. x-xiii, 86-94.]

SECTION 6. SPECIAL DESCRIPTIONS OF VARIOUS MSS.

- R = Royal MS.
- C = Cottonian MS.
- W = Wemyss MS.
- E = First Edinburgh MS.
- E² = Second Edinburgh MS.
- A = St Andrews MS.
- Au = Auchinleck MS.
- L = Lansdowne MS.
- H = Harleian MS.

[Mr Amours having been selected as editor, made a very careful examination of the whole MS. material to be dealt with, and found that his closer study of manuscripts unknown to Macpherson, and not exhaustively examined by Laing, revealed the existence of variations and additional passages, imparting a distinct value to every one of the texts. Accordingly he determined, with the approval of the Society, to print the Cottonian, being the latest version of the Chronicle, on the right-hand page, and the Wemyss, representing the text of the earliest version, on the left-hand page, and to indicate the variants by footnotes. He has himself explained his method in the Prefatory Note which he attached to Volume II. It only remains to say that the principal text of Mr Amours' edition consists as follows :—

Wemyss MS., from Bk. I. to Bk. IX. (chapter cxcvi.) 1064, where the Wemyss text ends.

Cottonian MS., from Bk. I. (except for the missing lines 1-687 supplied from MS. E² and E) to Bk. IX. 2534, where the Cottonian text ends.

St Andrews MS., from Bk. IX. 2535 to the end.

The Synoptical Table of Contents prefixed to each volume fully shows in outline the process of collation of the various MSS.

Particular descriptions of the MSS. follow; these are, except when in square brackets, by Mr Amours himself.]

R = THE ROYAL MANUSCRIPT. [Cf. p. lii. *supra*.]

This volume, marked 17 D. XX., is preserved in the British Museum among the King's MSS. gifted to the nation by George II. in 1757. Although it contains the second revision only of the Chronicle, it is the oldest text extant as well as the only complete one. From the writing and spelling, it has been ascribed to a date between 1440 and 1450. From a marginal note on folio 263, the volume seems to have been transcribed for George Barclay of Achrody:—

“ This buik dois perteine
To ane rycht honora^{ll} man
Georg Barclay of Achrody
And mony w^her propirly
Brother german is he
To Sir Patrick of Tollie,
Cheif of Barclays in Scotland
And mony guid deid hes haid in hand.”

The MS. passed afterwards into the hands of William Le Neve, York Herald at the coronation of Charles I. at Edinburgh in 1633, and at his death in 1661 it became part of the Royal Library at St James's.

The volume, which is made up of quires of twenty leaves each, the outside leaf of each quire being vellum, is written by one hand up to folio 258 (VIII. 7038). A second hand begins there and continues on folios 259, 260, 261, 262; ff. 262, 263 are vellum. Folio 262 begins with

“ þe king set syne a certane day.” IX. 29.

The verso was left blank, and has been scribbled over. With folio 263 the old hand resumes at

“ þe last end of þat fayre helde þai.” IX. 64.

About the middle of folio 277, the second hand resumes again at IX. 1433 and continues to the end.

The Chronicle is followed by a ‘Brevis Cronica’¹ filling ten leaves, and written about 1500, and ends with a Scottish translation of a letter sent by Prester John to the Emperor Frederick.

Facsimile at the beginning of Vol. I. = fol. 219 verso Book VIII. 2914-2959: [passage referring to the anonymous contributor].

¹ [Printed in Laing's ‘Wyntoun,’ Vol. III. pp. 321-338.]

C = COTTONIAN MS. [Cf. p. liii. *supra*.]

[This MS. (British Museum, Nero D. XI.) contains 215 folios, 14½ inches by 5¾ inches, and is ascribed to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It is the latest version of the Chronicle, and has lost a few leaves at the beginning. A contraction rare in the Wemyss, very common in the Cottonian, is a downward curl after a final "g": it usually stands for "is," the plural ending, but is commonly met with in nouns certainly in the singular (*see* prefatory note to Vol. II.). Macpherson describing the MS. in his Preface says: "The book is written in folio on paper folded so as to make a long and narrow page. It has been in very bad keeping: several leaves at the beginning and at the end are lost, and the writing at the bottom of many leaves which have been rotted with water is supplied by a later hand upon slips of paper pasted on. When it was rebound by Sir Robert Cotton most of the inner margins have been strengthened with guards, and some marginal notes which however appear to have been of no value have been partly cut off."

Facsimile at the beginning of Vol. III. = Book VII. 3607-VIII. prologue: passage including ballad on death of Alexander III.]

W = THE WEMYSS MANUSCRIPT. [Cf. p. xlvii. *supra*.]

This volume takes its name from the library of Wemyss Castle in Fife, where it has been preserved for a long time. It contains 397 folios, 10½ inches by 7¾ inches. On the first fly-leaf we read—

"This book was giuen me 1639
by dame Jane Ker sister
to Robert Earle of Roxburgh
who was then Lady of
Ennerleith her *ladishipe* gotte
it out of the manuscripts
of the Abossie of Camskinner
neir to Stirling
Itt contines historie of Scotland
To anno 1389."

Then comes one blank leaf followed by a few more filled up with an old ballad which David Laing printed in 1822 in his 'Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland,' 1822; giving it the title *The Fermour and his Dochter*.

[The text of the Chronicle occupies ff. 1-399, and terminates abruptly in the midst of a description of the great joust at Calais in March 1390.]

[The watermark on the paper is in some places a hand and in other places a unicorn. Some scribal characteristics are indicated in the prefatory note to Vol. II. The MS. is incomplete. A table

of contents, of which the first portion is wanting, is preserved at the beginning, for which, extending from ch. clxxi. to the end (ch. cxcvii.), see Appendix to this Introduction, p. ciii. *infra*; also Notes, IX. 1124, as to the probability that the "Amen amen per charite," &c., at end of Wemyss text, were the final words of the early recension. Laing's account of the happy recovery of this MS. given in his edition of 'Wyntoun,' Vol. III. pp. xxiv.-v., adds to its extreme historical interest. For an additional note on the subject, see Mr Gilbert Goudie's 'David Laing, LL.D., a Memoir,' 1913, pp. 112-114].

Facsimile at beginning of Vol. II. = Book V. 4316-51 (W): passage concerning Huchown.]

E = FIRST EDINBURGH MANUSCRIPT. Advocates' Library, 19.2.3.

[Cf. p. lv. *supra*.]

A small paper folio, 11 inches by 6½, belongs to the fifteenth century, about 1480 according to David Laing. It contains over 900 pages, averaging 32 lines to the page. Its origin is unknown. On the old vellum fly-leaf is the name of a former owner, "Johne Ærskine." On page 311 in a hand similar to the MS. is written, "John Feiller w^t my hand." On the top of one page near the end are the following lines:—

"Hic liber est meus Makeawlay cognomina (*sic*) dictus
Portnellan erat natus Matheus ipse vocatus."

The volume is in a fairly good condition, but several folios are missing: one containing II. 540-601, one V. 3490-3554, one VIII. 4260-4330, and about twenty towards the end, IX. 1089-1978, and IX. 2523 to the end of the Chronicle.

Facsimile at the beginning of Vol. V. = Book VIII. 2959-2988: [passage on betrayal of Wallace].

E² = SECOND EDINBURGH MANUSCRIPT.

[Cf. p. lv. *supra*.]

This volume, marked 19.2.4, belongs to the Advocates' Library. It is written on paper 11 inches by 7½, and contains 868 pages, averaging each 36 lines. It is not earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. The binding is old tooled calf, with two clasps in front (now lost). The Chronicle is preceded by an incomplete index of chapters beginning with ch. lxxvii. and ending with the last one, ccxii. The text is pretty complete, two folios only being wanting, but a curious point is that the substance of two other folios, V. 5481-5604, is missing, because the corresponding leaves had been lost out of the Auchinleck before the copying

was done, E² being a close but rather careless copy of Au.¹ On the first page of the text is the autograph of "Hen. Sinclair," similar to what occurs on many books and MSS. about the middle of the sixteenth century. Henry Sinclair, at one time Dean of Glasgow and one of the Lords of Session, died Bishop of Ross in 1565. The MS. came afterwards into the hands of Sir James Balfour of Denmyln, and of Sir Robert Sibbald, at whose death it was purchased by the Faculty of Advocates.

Facsimile at the beginning of Vol. IV. [= Book V. 5813-VI. Prol. 7] contains the interpolated passage about the foundation of Restennet. [*See* Note to Book V. 5797-5816.]

A = ST ANDREWS MS. [Cf. p. lviii. *supra*].

The MS. T.T. 6.6. in the Library of St Andrews University is a foolscap folio of the first half of the sixteenth century. A pretty full account of it is given by Dr W. A. Craigie in 'Anglia' for 1898. Near the middle of the book at the foot of one of the pages there is written :—

" Patrik Lermontht
of Dersy kny^t this book pertines of ryt."

At the end of the book the name of "Jo. Ballingall" is written several times. Collation proves that this MS. is closely related to the Cottonian MS., and discloses repeated contact with the Wemyss MS. as well as interconnections with both of the Edinburgh MSS. Dr Craigie styles it "peculiar as being a combination of the first and third recensions."

Facsimile at the beginning of Vol. VI. = Book III. 1062-88 : passage concerning Coronation Stone.

Au = AUCHINLECK MS. [Cf. p. lvi. *supra*].

The Auchinleck MS., so called by David Laing because it was once in the library of Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck (*d.* 1822), belongs now to Mr John Ferguson of Duns. The name of the former owner "Alex^r. Boswel" is on the fly-leaf, with the following note :—

Andrew Winton's Chronicle
of Scotland.

It is a pretty old Manuscript Copy But was imperfect and some of the imperfections were supplyd before I got it, others of them I caused Alex^r. Tait who copied many old Manuscripts in the Advocates Library supply from an old MS. of this book in the said Library.

¹ At the end of the metrical Chronicle there are eleven leaves of a prose work entitled 'Brevis Cronica,' which is incomplete.

The volume is certainly imperfect: the original writing does not begin till Book V. 1776; several more leaves are lost in the same Book, containing ll. 1919-2049, 2182-2262, 2733-2802, 3353-3622, 3684-3755, 5481-5604. Books VI., VII., and VIII. are complete, all but for one lost leaf, VIII. 127-196. The beginning of Book IX. has been preserved, but from l. 317 to the end all the folios have disappeared except one containing ll. 1613-1679.

The "imperfections supplied" before the manuscript came into Sir Alexander's hands are not of much account. Sixteen leaves at the commencement of the book contain scribbled attempts by several late hands to copy the first part of Book V.; they are careless, disconnected, and of no value. The same may be said of the last part of Book IX. filling folios 273-288 two columns to the page, and ending at l. 2997, which agrees with the Cottonian text. Alexander Tait's share of the work consisted in copying from the Second Edinburgh MS. the missing part of the Fifth Book between ll. 1919-3755. The present binding of the volume was subsequent, but sundry arrangements of the leaves had been attempted previously, judging by the different systems of pagination.

That the Auchinleck MS. was roughly used even in its early days is brought out strikingly by the Second Edinburgh, which may be called a transcript from it, made in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The absence of lines V. 5481-5604 in the middle of a page in the latter proves that the two leaves of the former were missing then, and that the scribe copied on without noticing their absence.

Nothing can be said about former owners except that the name Hamilton appears scribbled in different forms, such as *Johne Hamiltoun*, *Jeames Hammyltoune*, *Jane Hammylstone*.¹ The following deserves to be recorded in full:—

Margaret Hammy [*corner torn*]
Vreittis not veill
And spellis far var.

Facsimile at the beginning of Vol. IV. [= Book V. 5790 *et seq.* Au *note*] contains the curious interpolation about Restennet at the end of the Fifth Book. [See note, pp. 50, 51.]

LANSDOWNE MS. [Cf. p. lv. *supra*].

[This folio (British Museum, Lansdowne 197) contains 257 leaves 15½ inches by 5 inches, and is assigned to the early sixteenth century. It is a considerably abridged version of the same

¹ [The Boswells were kin to the Hamiltons. David Boswell married a daughter of the first Earl of Arran, and for three generations the families are found in close touch.—'Scots Peerage,' iv. 365.]

class as the Royal MS. Among Mr Amours' notes was the following extract.]

Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scot., Feb. 14, 1898.

Notes on the Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn. By Rev. Professor H. J. Lawlor, D.D., F.S.A. Scot., p. 110.

British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 197, Wyntoun's Chronicle. . . . It contains the signatures B and C both in the upper margin of fo. 3 at the beginning of the book. (B = Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow (1550), and subsequently (*circa* 1560) Bishop of Ross., *ob.* 2 Jan. 1564-5. C = Sir William Sinclair . . . succeeded to the estates July 1554. His signature in the Abbotsford MS. of the Book of Battles). It is therefore one of the books which came to Rosslyn about 1565 from Bishop Henry Sinclair of Ross. It had been removed from the Sinclair library at least as early as the beginning of 1629, for we read on fo. 1,

W. Ker of Lintoun
ye 26 day of Marche 1629.

The MS. has been thought to have belonged . . . to Lord Fairfax, and Mr Laing accepts this theory. But the proof seems not altogether convincing. On fo. 1 we find "W. S.—(these letters in a hand which looks very modern . . .)—out of Lord Somers' collection. Sam. E. Umfreville, 1738." On fo. 2 a slip is pasted in, on which is the following note ("of Wm. Guthrie, Esqr.,"¹ as it is inscribed by another hand):—

"This MSS. formerly belong'd to the Sinclairs of Roslyn an Antient family in Louthian and then to the Kers of Kirtony (*sic*, a misreading of 'Lintoun'), and I am apt to think that it had been carry'd from Scotland by Cromwell and presented to Fairfax who was very curious in MSS. collections and probably the Lord Sommers bought it at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham who marry'd Fairfax's Daughter and Heiress."

I know of no other evidence connecting the book with the Cromwellian General.

H = HARLEIAN. [Cf. p. liv. *supra*.]

This MS. (British Museum, Harley 6909), small quarto, 270 folios, dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century.

¹ See pp. 131-140 of 'Documents illustrative of Sir Wm. Wallace.' Extracts and *note* by W. Guthrie.

SECTION 7. SKETCH OF CONTENTS, SOURCES, AND SYSTEM OF THE CHRONICLE.¹

[Written February 1904].

The contents of most of the Chronicles of the middle ages may be divided into two parts, one which deals with the remote period, the other treating of events almost or entirely contemporary with the age of the writer. Those different parts must be studied from a different point of view. When we examine the early parts of their works, we wish to know from what sources they derived their information, not because we believe in it, but because we want to be acquainted with their methods of working, with their tastes and predilection; it is a question of personal, not of historical criticism. When we scrutinise the later part, we do not care for their authorities, we try to find out the truth of their statements by checking them with the help of other accounts of the same events. Then they become historians. Wyntoun should be approached with the same method. His Chronicle is sharply divided into two such parts. I wish to treat meanwhile of the first only, in which he professedly copies and translates what he has selected in his authorities. He repeatedly reminds his readers that he takes his material from the Latin. Some of these selections have become valuable as historical documents, but solely by accident, because the sources which he copied have disappeared. His main object is to tell stories, because

“Stories to rede ar delytabille I. Prol. 31
Suppose that thai be quhyle bot fable.”

[From Mr Amours' own manuscript. It is to be noted that in these essays the textual citations are usually made from Laing's edition of Wyntoun.]

The purpose of these remarks is simply to bring before you the books which he read and translated, and the manner in which he arranged his materials in the compilation of his original Chronicle, over which he must have spent many years in the quiet retreat of the "Inch within Lochleven," between the Lomonds and Benarty.

Wyntoun makes a modest statement at the end of his first prologue concerning his authorities :—

"Few wrytis I redie fand I. Prol. 115
 That I couth draw to my warand,
 Part of the Bibill, with that at Peris
 Comestor ekit in his ȝeris,
 And Orosius and Frer Mertyne
 With Scottis and Ingliss storyis syne,
 And vther incedens seir
 Accordand lyk to this mater."

When Wyntoun wrote these lines, his purpose was to end his Chronicle at the death of Alexander III., and his short list of sources, if properly understood, covers the whole ground from the creation of angels to A.D. 1286. Part of the Bible, with the additions of Peter Comestor, Orosius, Frere Martin, Scottish and English stories, along with that most pregnant item "sundry other incidents," account for the whole of the first seven books. The framework, so to speak, of the first book is taken from Peter Comestor; the second and third books are built on the foundations of the first book of Orosius; Books IV. and V. follow the lines of Frere Martin. I shall therefore begin by saying a few words of those three writers whose names and works were better known in the middle ages than they are now.

Petrus Comestor, or Peter the Devourer, so called for his

voracity in reading the Scriptures, belongs to the end of the twelfth century. His 'Historia Scolastica' is a sort of abridgement of the Old and New Testaments, with additions and commentaries. It gained an immense popularity as a school book, and was regularly read in churches, as it supplied both texts and ready-made sermons.

Orosius, a Spanish priest, flourished in the beginning of the fifth century. He was a friend of St Augustine, at whose suggestion he wrote a history of the world to prove that the world has always been afflicted with wars and calamities, as an answer to the pagan accusation against the Christians that all the troubles of his time were due to the disappearance of the old heathen worship. His work is of importance in its later part, which deals with contemporary events such as the barbaric invasions; but what gave it its great popularity in the middle ages was the carefully dated summary of the history of the early Eastern nations, from Ninus onwards.

Martinus
Polonus.

The writer to whom Wyntoun is more indebted than to any other, and whom he familiarly calls Frere Martin, was known to the world of his day as Martinus Polonus. He was not a Pole, however; he was born at Troppau, in Silesia, spent most of his life in Rome, and died in 1278 on his way to his native country where he had just been appointed archbishop of Gnessen. His Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors is written on a new and ingenious plan that caught the popular taste of his time and of the next two centuries, so that hundreds of MSS. are scattered over all the libraries of Europe. There are several continuations after his death, in Latin and even in French, reaching the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Chronicle has been printed for the last time with

bewildering completeness in the colossal Monumenta Germaniæ of Pertz.

We shall examine now how Wyntoun utilised his three leading authorities in the planning of his separate books. The first, which extends from Adam to Abraham, must be mostly Scriptural, the original sources for that period of history being otherwise scanty. So Petrus Comestor supplies the divisions of the chapters, and a large part of the narrative. Some chapters are closely translated from the 'Historia Scholastica,' such as Cain's generation, the giants, the origin of idols; in other parts, the narrative follows such well-known lines that it is impossible to say that Wyntoun had any other source than his own general biblical knowledge; but even then some point, some detail, crops up, showing that Petrus Comestor was always at hand for reference or inspiration. As an instance, in describing the scene where Noah felt the effects of the newly discovered juice of the wine, Wyntoun has a remark which one would fain put to his credit:—

"I suppose quha than wald seik, I. 451
Amang thaim all was nocht a breik."

The rest of the episode is Wyntoun's, but these two lines are Petrus Comestor's: *In illis diebus femoralibus non utebantur.*

The greater part of the first book, however, is filled with the description of the different countries of the world. No account of the world's history was complete in that age without it. Higden had given the example in his Polycronicon, and both Fordun and Wyntoun followed in his footsteps. No name appears as that of the author followed by Wyntoun; he only refers at the end to the

'Imago
Mundi.'
Honorius.

'Imago Mundi' for anything he may have forgotten. The 'Imago Mundi' is the work of Honorius of Autun, a writer of the first half of the twelfth century. The 'Image of the World' is a treatise on geography, astronomy, zoology, botany, &c. The first part only has been drawn upon by Wyntoun, and he has made a thorough use of it, no part of his Chronicle being so closely and fully translated from a Latin original as his description of Asia, and India with its wonders. He abridges a little in Africa, and more when he comes to Europe with its superabundance of proper names; but whatever may be omitted, there is nothing added to the 'Imago Mundi.'

Orosius.

The second book extends from Abraham to the taking of Troy, or to the coming of Brutus into Great Britain. Orosius commences his history of the world at that point, because

"Fra Abraham and Ninus kinge, II. Prol. 15
Al storeis takis thar beginning,"

and so Wyntoun adopts him as his guide for a time, following the same order and the same division of chapters that exist in the first book of Orosius. There are other chapters interspersed dealing with the Patriarchs up to Joshua, but they fall into their proper place in the plan supplied by Orosius.

With the third book, Orosius gradually drops into the second place as to the sequence of events, and the lead is taken by Martinus, who, in a sort of preface to his parallel Chronicle, gives a short history of Rome from the fall of Troy to Augustus. Indeed a large part of Book III., and almost the whole of Book IV., is a close

translation of Frere Martin's work, so much so that the scribe of the Lansdowne MS. has added the following explicit at the end of Book V.:—

Explicit liber quintus continens in effectu cronicam
Martinianam in parte.

With Book V., the second longest of this Chronicle, we enter the Christian era, and Martinus supplies the chronology and main facts in the lives of popes and emperors throughout; but as the plan of his work does not allow him scope for long stories or legends, Wyntoun begins to introduce more freely his "sundry other incidents." Besides, the early history of Scotland and England, unknown to Martinus, claims his attention, so that when we come to the sixth book, which begins with the days of Kenneth M'Alpine, the long-trusted Frere Martin vanishes gradually, his last appearance being under the date 1012.

Such is the skeleton which had to be covered up and clothed with the sundry other incidents and the Scottish and English Chronicles. Wyntoun complains that he had few writings to consult; however, those few are difficult to discover now, much more so than is the case as a rule with the medieval chroniclers who wrote in Latin, as they simply copied their Latin authorities, with only some verbal changes due more to inattention than to any desire of adding any element of their own; but Wyntoun is not a mere copier, he is a translator; he sometimes abridges, specially when his text is hard to understand; at other times he amplifies when his subject takes his fancy, and so when his story has been narrated by several predecessors, which is often the case, it is difficult to decide

which particular author he has under his eye. He is chary of quoting his authorities, the few names scattered here and there are simply a translation of what he finds in the author he has on hand. Thus, when he quotes Palafat and his incredible wonders, he takes the words from Orosius; Solinus is given as an authority on the climate of Britain, but Wyntoun is then copying Henry of Huntingdon who by the way is wrong, as Solinus was describing the fertility of Ireland. One statement he makes which he supports thus:—

“As Pompeus and Iustyne II. Prol. 17
Orosius says and Frere Martyne,”

but Martinus is quoting Orosius, who quotes Justinus, who copies Pompeius. We must not accuse Wyntoun of attempting to display his learning: his aim is to prove his “soothfastness.”

Vincent of
Beauvais.

Twice our chronicler mentions the name of Vincens, once casually, once in a doubtful passage. This is the celebrated Vincent de Beauvais, the great encyclopedist of the thirteenth century. A part of his immense work, the ‘*Speculum Majus*,’ is called ‘*Speculum Historiale*,’ and seems to have been known to Wyntoun. What a labour the composition of such a work must have been can only be imagined by those who try to search through it. Wyntoun seems to have taken some of his legendary stories out of that huge quarry. Among the longer ones I would mention the reign of Philip, the first Christian emperor, the martyrdom of St Poncius, the quarrel of Theodosius and Ambrosius, the stories of Ninus, of Moris, and of Phocas. A curious point to be noted, however, is

that the passages which may have been taken from Vincent are ascribed by him to Helinand and Hugo de Fleury, two chroniclers not unknown in Scotland in those days.

The 'Golden Legend,' written about the close of the thirteenth century, has probably supplied some lengthy stories. I am inclined to believe that the anecdotes about Nero and Trojan, the conversion of Constantine, the explanation about the Purification, and the martyrdom of St Laurence, are drawn from that compilation. 'Golden Legend.'

Wyntoun keeps clear of poetry : Ovid seems to be the only poet he has borrowed from ; Deucalion's flood, the Minotaur and Daedalus are perhaps only indirectly from him, but the description of the four ages I take to be translated from Ovid's verse ; it is neatly done, and on a higher level than the usual Wyntonian verses.

I come now to the History of the Britons of Geoffrey of Monmouth ; it will form a natural connecting link between the older "writs" and the English and Scottish stories. There is no doubt that Wyntoun extracted some stories from the Latin of Geoffrey, such as the fight of Geomagog and Coryne,¹ the deeds of Kymbelyn, Arviragus, Maxentius, and other heroes of the pseudo Romano-British history ; but when he mentions 'The Brute' as his authority, I am more and more of opinion that he refers to a work, unknown now, of Barbour. Barbour, as we know, has been credited on the sole authority of Wyntoun with a 'Brute,' and a genealogy of the Stewarts. Without going into details, there is a passage in Wyntoun which, I believe, establishes the fact that these two works Geoffrey of Monmouth.
Barbour's 'Bruce.'

¹ [I. 342-368.]

are one and the same. At the end of the life of Brutus are those lines:—

“Of Bruttus lyneage quha will here
He luke the tretis of Barbere
Made intyll a genealogy
Rycht wele, and mare perfytly
Than I can on ony wys
Wyttht all my wyt to yow dewys.”

That is to say, Barbour wrote a genealogy (that of the Stewarts, as we know from another passage) in which he dealt with the lineage of Brutus. Genealogies were fashionable in those days, as the Chronicle testifies. The ancestry of Malcolm Canmore had been traced back on the father's side through Fergus More and Simon Brek and Gedyl-Glays¹ to Japhet and Adam, without a single step being missed, and on the mother's side from St Margaret through Hengist and Woden to Shem and Adam.² So the Archdean of Aberdeen, poet and courtier, could do no less than provide the new royal house with a similar pedigree which, through some fabulous Welsh ancestor, connected the Stewarts with the British kings and their founder Brutus, descended from Dardanus the son of Ninus, the son of Belus, of the seed of Japhet, from whom came "knightis dignite." Probably this genealogical composition contained a summary of the reigns of the British kings, which Wyntoun availed himself of, quoting his source as 'The Brute.'

[Besides the passages directly quoted from Barbour's 'Bruce' pointed out in Notes, pp. 93-107 (mainly comprised

¹ [The eponymus of the Gaedhelic race, Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' Vol. i. 179; iii. 94.]

² [For these pedigrees see II. 928-957, III. 1087-1140, VI. 2307-2316, 2327-2346, and Notes, p. 66.]

in Wyntoun's Book VIII., ll. 123-256 and 2735-2922), there are numerous specific citations of Barbour by Wyntoun. These¹ may with advantage be presented in a consecutive series:—]

WYNTOUN'S CHRONICLE.

- Vol. II. p. 153. Schir Dardane, lord of Frigia,
Fra qwham þe *Archedane* sutelly maister Iohne Bar-
Has made a propyr genealogy bour W, Barbere
Til Robert our secunde kynge RL.
Þat Scotlande had in gouernynge. Bk. II. ll. 132-6.
201. Bot be þe Brut 3hit Barber says II. 769.
315. Off Brutus lynagis qwha wil here
He luk þe treteis þat Barbere II. 621.
Mad in til a genealogy
- Vol. V. p. 167. For þi said Mastyr Iohun Barbere
Þat mekyl tretyt of þat mater :
'A ! blynde folk ful of al foly,' etc. VIII. 177.
224. As writtin is in King Robertis buke W VIII. 915.
227. . . . To þat buk I þaim remyte
Qwhar Master Iohun Barbere, of Abyrdeyn
Archedeyne, as mony has seyn . . . VIII. 978-80 (re-
garding Bruce's
life.)
257. Þe Stewartis Oryginalle
Þe Archedeyne has tretyt haille
In mater fayr, mayr wertusly
Þan I can thynk be my study,
Be gud contynnuacioñ
In successywe generacioñ. VIII. 1445, Bruce
and Balliol's
rights.
286. Quhasa likis he may it luke,
How he endit in King Robertis buke W VIII. 1823, he
= Ed. I.
326. And in King Robertis buke rycht weil
It tellis eftir how it wes wone, etc. W VIII. 2361, it
= Lithgow.
351. Þe Archedeyne in Brwsis buk,
Qwha wil intil it þe *ferde* end luk,
Sayis : Fra Wyk anentis Orknay, etc. As Barbour tellis
(in) Brußbuke W.
fyrst R. VIII. 2733.

¹ [Collected in a MS. note by Mr Amours.]

WYNTOUN'S CHRONICLE.

354. And to record maire of þis taill
It nedis nocht now, for 3e alhail
May fynd it in the Brus buk,
In þe begynnyng quha will luke. W VIII. 2713,
Bruce and Comyn.
367. Qwhat eftir þis Broys Robert
In all his tyme did estyrwart,
The Archedeyne of Abyrdeyne
In Broysis buk he gert be seyne . . . VIII. 2923, end of
last quotation.
379. Of þis mare qwha will heyr,
Baythe þe deid and þe manere,
And ma thyngis I lef behynde,
In Brusis buk men may fynde VIII. 3083, mar-
riage of David
II.
- He may fynd writtin all þe manere
In King Robert þe Brussis buke,
In þe latter end quha will luke) W
383. How at þat was tane on hande
Weil proportis Broysis Buk,
Qwha þar of þe mater wil luk. VIII. 3124,
Douglas and
Bruce's heart.

Library at
Lochleven.

Before dealing with the English and Scottish stories, I must express the regret that almost no record has come down to us of the contents of the libraries in St Andrews and in the Inch of Lochleven. We know that Wyntoun's predecessor, Fordun, travelled far and wide for several years, seeking information on the mainland and in the "Out Isles"; but there is ground for supposing that Wyntoun did not enjoy the same opportunities, as he repeatedly refers to his scanty sources. I said almost no record; there is indeed an inkling, and no more, and of that we must make the best use we can. There were in his day in the Priory of St Serf two important registers,¹ written mostly in the fourteenth century, in which the canons kept all the charters, bulls, and deeds relating to the two Augustine priories of St Andrews

St Andrews'
Register.

¹ See above, section 2; also Notes, VII. 2066.

and St Servan. One has disappeared; the other one has been printed by the Bannatyne Club. In it are preserved the only incidents we know of Wyntoun's life, in the shape of sundry legal papers concerning some law-suits about the delimitation of marches and the payment of teinds. They were written in the Register a little later than Wyntoun's death. The only other matter that might have been of great interest is the reference to the library that the Culdees handed over to the Augustines when these took possession of Lochleven. The library was a small one, only sixteen volumes, mostly books for the choir and the altar, and one or two theological treatises. A record of the benefactions to Lochleven (also an early document) is stated to be abridged from '*vetus volumen antiquo Scotorum idiomate conscriptum*.'¹ Whether the abridgment or the volume itself was still on the shelves of Wyntoun's study we know not, but the Scottish language meant of course the language that was to be called Gaelic in after ages, and not the idiom of the time of Robert III.

There is a kind of romance in the fate of the other register. It was last seen in the possession of the minister of Holyrood in 1660. A list of the contents and some extracts had been taken from it previously, and was in the possession of Sibbald, who communicated it to Father Innes.² That list has disappeared also; but a copy had been taken of it about 1707, and that copy has survived, and is preserved in the Harleian Library.³ The register

¹ ['Reg. Prior. S. Andree,' p. 113.]

² [Thomas Innes, author of the '*Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain*,' 1729.]

³ 'Reg. Prior. S. Andree,' xxv.-xxx.

contained 121 folios, and the list of contents consists of 72 items. All except nine or ten may be said to refer to the private affairs of the priories, and are the same kind of documents as are found in the other register; some in fact seem to be duplicates, so far as one can judge from a mere title. The two extracts copied in full are a list of the priors of St Andrews, which Wyntoun has not utilised, and '*Nomina Regum Scotorum et Pictorum*.' This Chronicle of the Scots and Picts was written in 1259, in the beginning of the reign of Alexander III., with whose death Wyntoun wished to end his work. There are five or six of these Chronicles anterior to Wyntoun, all copied from each other in the early parts; which one he followed is uncertain, but as we know that he perused this special volume in search of arguments for his lawsuits, we may infer that he derived from it those barbarous polysyllabic names that are scattered through his annals during a space of ten centuries. There were sixty Pictish kings, so it is said in all the Chronicles, reigning in Scotland, from Cruthin to Durst, from 200 B.C. till the middle of the eighth century, and Wyntoun has inserted the names of them all at the proper place, working out his chronology according to the number of years they reigned. The Scottish kings began to reign 140 years before the Picts, but the list in the Chronicle contains only twenty-three names that have to cover the ground of more than eleven centuries. Wyntoun saw the difficulty and stopped, after enumerating a dozen of them, promising to continue the series later on, which, however, he did not do. In the second edition, he confessed that he left it to others to solve the riddle; we shall see presently how he managed to extricate himself.

I shall now take up the few historical items that were contained in the Register and that we know now only by their title preserved in the extracts.

The first was a history of the origin of the Scots traced from Egypt to Spain, and thence briefly into Britain. This is the story of Gedyl-Glays, who married Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, who after the Red Sea disaster wandered about Africa, but settled in Spain, and whose descendants occupied Ireland, and later invaded the country that was to be called Scotland, bringing the Stone of Destiny with them. This fundamental legend is found in many books, but with many variations and embroideries, long before Wyntoun; the only point to consider is, which particular version was he following? Comparing him with Fordun and the Scalacronica, we find that he has a good many details in common with them, but those details are all taken from what Fordun calls 'Legenda S. Brandani.' Fordun is lavish of authorities on this subject; he strings them together with the heading *alia chronica, legenda, ex chronicis*, &c., but the Legend of Saint Brandan is the one that agrees with Wyntoun, not only in facts but in words. Scalacronica (p. 112) calls it *la vie saint Brandane*. This Saint Brandan is not the Irish saint whose travels have been related and sung in many languages; it is surmised that he was a Scottish saint about whom nothing has reached us except those few extracts. It is fair enough to assume that Wyntoun translated the story as it was contained in the Register, and that it had been derived from the lost legend.

Another item is the genealogy of the kings of England from Henry II. ascending to Noah on the mother's side. Wyntoun gives the earlier part of it in two instalments,

in a descending line, first from Shem to Woden, and next from Woden to Ine and Inglis (I. 1683, II. 907, VI. 2345). It is in many English Chronicles, but he had no need to go further afield for his information.

Two other items need only be alluded to: the consecration of the great church by Bishop Lamberton, and the relation of "how David, son of King Robert, was knighted by Thomas Ranulf and crowned at Scone." These two events are briefly recorded in the Chronicle, VIII. 3087-3140, but at the beginning of the part which he did not write himself. If another proof was needed that Wyntoun used the Register, it is supplied when he quotes it himself in speaking of the treaty between Richard of England and William, which, he says,

"I cannot lychtly bring to ryme, VII. 2064
But quha likis of it to wyt
To the registrar thame I remit."

The Register contained also¹ a collection of proverbs from Cato, Pamphilus, Maximianus, Ovid, &c., and a tractate of sayings from the Bible. How far Wyntoun availed himself of these ready-made tit-bits we do not know, but he is fond of quoting the wise saws, and Cato's name appears more than once in the Chronicle.

I have kept one heading for the last; it is very short, it consists of a single word, *Historia*.² This is a very comprehensive term, as it covers matter filling 42 folios out of the 121 composing the whole Register. It can hardly be doubted that these 121 pages contained the greatest part of the Scottish history related in the sixth and seventh books of the Chronicle, whether they can

¹ ['Reg. Prior. S. And.,' xxvi.]

² 'Reg. Prior. S. And.,' xxvi.

be traced back to any other source or not. Wyntoun had not the monopoly of that repository of the Scottish annals. Fordun must have used it also, and details common to both may have the same origin. St Andrews was the head of the Scottish Church, and if records were kept anywhere of the past national events, it must have been in that intellectual centre. We may take it, till the contrary is proved, that such stories as the "get" of Malcolm Canmore from Duncan and the daughter of the miller at Forteviot,¹ and the long legendary account² of Macbeth, for which we have no other authority than Wyntoun, were to be found in the *Historia* of the missing Register.

With the accession of Malcolm Canmore the history of Scotland becomes more and more mixed with English history; hence the use of what Wyntoun calls the English stories that he has consulted. So far as I have been able to discover, Aelred of Rievaulx and Henry of Huntingdon are the only two he was acquainted with. Aelred was a friend of David and the mate of his son Henry. His genealogy of the English kings, and his life of Edward the Confessor, among other things contain the story of the knight who intended to kill Malcolm, and the prophecy of the restoration of the Saxon line to the throne of England through Henry II. Henry of Huntingdon is responsible for the description of Britain and Ireland (the stock extract which appears in selections from poets as a specimen of Wyntoun's poetical talents), also for a description of the Picts, and other shorter passages.

Aelred of
Rievaulx.

The Chronicle of Melrose has often been alluded to

¹ VI. 1616-1638.

² VI. ch. 18.

as an important source for Wyntoun. I do not think he ever had the volume in his hands. The Chronicle was a book kept in the Abbey for the use of the Abbey. It was added to from time to time during the course of more than a century, and it ends abruptly in 1274, twelve years before the end of the first part of Wyntoun's Chronicle. There is no doubt that many events in the reign of David and his successors agree in both, but they are just short statements of facts, generally longer in Wyntoun, but such as might have been put down independently both in Melrose and in St Andrews, and probably these summaries were also in the Register. Beside those, the Melrose Chronicle contains within itself, so to speak, another one that has been inserted, at odd places according to date in the beginning of the 14th century, some time after the regular one had been stopped. It has been called the *Chronicon Rhythmicum*¹ or *Chronicon Elegiacum*. It gives the dates of and sometimes a few words more about the early kings of Scotland, beginning with Ewan A.D. 742 and ends with Malcolm the Maiden A.D. 1093. Now Wyntoun uses every word of this document, prose and verse, and even gives the Latin elegiacs along with his translation. That is even the authority he follows after his breakdown in his enumeration of the early Scottish kings I have spoken about before. The question to be settled is, did the Melrose monks obtain that late part of their volume from St Andrews, or did Wyntoun obtain his copy from Melrose, or were there copies of this Chronicle in many monasteries? This last supposition is the likeliest.

'Chronicon
Rhythmi-
cum.'

¹ [For text, &c., of this *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, see Skene's 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' lxi. 332.]

St Serf or St Servan was the first occupant of the Inch within Lochleven, and his life could not be forgotten in a Chronicle compiled on the spot that he had sanctified by his presence. Wyntoun devotes over 200 lines to an account¹ of his life and miracles, not omitting his celebrated theological dispute with the devil, who, of course, had the worst of it and retired: ‘Suddanly theyne passyd he, . . . And nevyr was sene thare till this day.’² There are at least two Latin legends of St Serf, one in the Aberdeen Breviary and a longer one in a Dublin MS. If the office of the Saint was in use in the Inch, Wyntoun did not follow it, as we see from the origin and early history of Servanus. According to the Breviary,³ St Serf was born of Scottish parents; according to the longer legend which Wyntoun takes for his authority, he came from the East, being the son of the king of Canaan, passed by Alexandria and Constantinople led by an angel, and came at last to Rome just at a time when the papal see was vacant. He was elected at once, and after a reign of seven years, he started again on his travels under the same guidance till he landed at Inchkeith, “the ile between Kinghorn and Leith.” How was Wyntoun to fix a place in his annals for this new pope, unknown of course to Martinus, who is his trusted guide for the papal succession during twelve centuries? Nothing easier. St Serf became acquainted with Adamnan in Fife; Adamnan lived in the time of Brude, son of Dargard, king of the Picts; Wyntoun knew from the Pictish chronology that Brude lived about the middle of the sixth century; Pope John III. died about 567, and was succeeded by

¹ V. 5120 *et seq.*

² V. 5323.

³ Brev. (Julius, fo. xv.)

Benedict (Benet) I. So the life of St Serf is introduced with these lines:—

“And quhen this thyrd John was dede V. 5119
Saint Serf sevyn year held his sted,”

and the following chapter commences thus:—

“Efter that St Serf has past V. 5347
Fra Rome, Benet the fyrst als fast
Tuk and twa yere helde that se.”

Whatever we may think of Wyntoun's critical method, we should not doubt his sincere desire to be truthful. He had two authorities before him; he could not but believe that St Serf had been a pope, therefore Martinus was wrong for once, and there was no necessity for adding to his story any discussions on the relative merits of his two sources.

“Fra blame then is the author quite V. 4305
As before him he fand to write”;

as he says of himself in another passage (the only one perhaps in which he tries to reconcile his authorities, with the result that his well-meant attempt has raised more debates than any other part of his Chronicle), and so

“Men of gude discretioun
Suld excuse and love¹ (Wyntoun).”

In this brief and, I am sorry to say, rambling survey of the first seven books, containing about 20,000 lines, I believe I have not left more than from three to four thousand lines completely unaccounted for, many of which time, patience, and a good command of books would no doubt bring to light.

¹ V. 4307.

SECTION 8. FOUR STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRONICLE.¹

There are three stages easily recognisable in the Chronicle, and the Wemyss, the Royal, and the Cottonian texts are the best representatives of each stage. Of course those three texts must be regarded as representing types, and not as confined to the actual manuscripts.

The earliest stage is to be found in W, though the existing copy is the latest in date of all the manuscripts [except the Harleian]. In W, Bk. I. (ch. ii.) 1-32, Wyntoun declares that his Treatise will be divided into seven books, to agree with the seven ages of the world, the seventh concluding with the noble generation of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Margaret "aire till Yngland." In the Prologue of Book VII., ll. 43-46, the Prior either changes his mind or expresses it more clearly by announcing rather abruptly that he will write of the succession of Malcolm and Margaret till the death of Robert II. Ch. cxxxv. closes Book VII., and is immediately followed by ch. cxxxvi., the first chapter of Book VIII., without any Prologue or list of *capitula*. At W VIII. 2719 Wyntoun accepts his unknown friend's contribution,² which carries on the work to the end of the first edition, W IX. 1134:—

"Amen, amen, per cherite."

The Royal contains for the first time the alterations

¹ [From Mr Amours' own manuscript. Cf. p. lii *et seq.*]

² [As to "quha that did" see further section 9: also VIII. 2959, and IX. 1121-1224, variants: and Notes, pp. 108, 135.]

constituting the second stage. In Book I. 1-38 the plan of the work is changed. It is to be divided into nine books in honour of the nine orders of Angels; the seventh will end with the death of Alexander III., the eighth will extend to the coronation of Robert II., and the ninth will treat of him and of his posterity. The next change comes well on in Book VIII., when the Royal omits a chapter of the anonymous Chronicle, ch. clxxx.

“Off a fechting that was tane then VIII. 6577
Betuix þe Franche and Inglismen.”

The latter part of David II.'s reign is considerably augmented; but all the contents of W VIII. 6623-6752 are retained with the exception of ten lines. The new version extends from l. 6817 to l. 7210. See note to VIII. 6817, p. 127. It may be noted that the composition of the additional lines from 7051 to the end of Book VIII. is careless, and the metre very irregular. Book IX. has a prologue and list of *capitula*. The chapter on William Laundells, bishop of St Andrews, W cxci., is re-written and much improved. The last alteration takes place at the end of the Wemyss text. The Royal omits ch. cxcvi., the description of the great jousting near Calais; the rest of the material is preserved, with additions, including an account of the two coronations, the explanation as to the authorship of the latter part of the Chronicle, and the author's intention to continue his work, which he carries on from l. 1125 to l. 3228.

There are other differences between W and R that I have passed over intentionally, because there is doubt as to their cause. Some are due to later scribes.

First, two genealogies have been shortened or suppressed, I. 1424-1434, III. 1087-1140, and a similar passage, V. 3970-4006, has disappeared for the same reason. It is evident from VI. 2311, where W agrees with all the other texts, that Wyntoun himself omitted no person between Adam and Saint Margaret. The rebellion of the men of Galloway, VII. 2849-2876, was probably an addition of R. The additional lines concerning William Wischard of St Andrews, VII. 3353-3376, are so well in keeping with W ch. cxci. referred to above, that evidently both were inserted at the same time.

The curtailment of the quotations from Barbour's 'Bruce' has to be noted next. The lines omitted¹ in the Wemyss are VIII. 150-256 and 2777-2922. In the first case W stood originally as it stands now, and the change made in R, presumably by the author himself, is not an improvement; it introduces a good deal of extraneous matter, and also the incident of the offer of the crown to the Bruce in a wrong place. In the Wemyss that incident is introduced at the right time, but when the writer of R reaches that place he is obliged to omit the lines. If the omission in W had been the act of a lazy scribe, he would not have been at the trouble of remedying it by inserting an extra passage further on. As to the second quotation, from the abrupt way in which W ends ch. cli., there can hardly be any doubt that the omission of the next 150 lines is due to the writer of a late Wemyss text.

In the Cottonian we see the last attempt of the Prior at the amendment of his work. In Book IV. 1109-1156 and

¹ [See Notes, pp. 93, 94, 106.]

1796-1816, he abandons the theory maintained in the two earlier versions as to the early appearance of Scottish kings in the fourth century B.C., on the ground that Fergus More, being only tenth "in gre" from Kenneth, son of Alpine, could not have lived twelve hundred years before him. The next change is the introduction of the Prologue and Table of Contents of Book VIII. However, that new addition belongs more properly to the previous stage, like this Prologue of Book IX., the most logical explanation being that the omission is due to an oversight in the copying of the present Royal text.

The last touch of the reviser's hand appears¹ in IX. 1089-1124, where, by reinserting the Wemyss text, and omitting the recent additions in R, Wyntoun gets rid of the repetition of previous statements,² such as the two separate coronations of Robert III. and Queen Annabella, his grateful acceptance of the anonymous Chronicle, and the superfluous announcement that he is going on with his work. This is a decided improvement on R, and consequently is posterior to it.

SECTION 9. WYNTOUN'S ANONYMOUS CONTRIBUTOR.³

See Bk. VIII., ll. 2931-2964 (Vol. V., pp. 367-369), and Bk. IX., ll. 1120-1124, with the fifty-three variant lines substituted in RL (footnote of Vol. VI., pp. 356-357).⁴

Of John Fordun we know nothing except that he was probably a canon of Aberdeen, and that he died about 1388, that is, towards the end of Robert II.'s reign. For

¹ [See Notes, pp. 134, 135.]

² [Vol. VI. pp. 355-357.]

³ [From Mr Amours' own manuscript.]

⁴ Cf. Notes, VIII. 2959, 5859, 6576-6577, 6816; IX. 1097-1103, 1121-1124.

many years he worked in Scotland, collecting and arranging the material at his disposal. He seems to have written out first the *fifth* book of his Chronicle, from the coming of Malcolm III. to recover his kingdom to the death of David I. Then, not satisfied with the information to be had in this country, he visited England and Ireland, universities and colleges, churches and monasteries, frequenting historians and conversing with chroniclers, as the scribe of the Cupar Scotichronicon proudly describes it. On his return he wrote out the first four books of his Chronicle, and prepared a part of the sixth. At his death his work consisted of the history of Scotland from the earliest times to the death of David I., and of material for a continuation from 1153 to 1386. To this unfinished part of the Chronicle the name of *Gesta Annalia*, or *Annals*, has been given, and these Annals are by far the most valuable portion, historically speaking, of John Fordun's work.¹

Walter Bower, his continuator, is better known to us. He was born in Haddington in 1385, took the habit at the age of eighteen, went through his courses of philosophy and theology at home, then studied law at Paris; became abbot of Inchcolm in 1418, and seems to have been specially engaged on his edition and continuation of Fordun during the last nine years of his life, which ended in 1449. An idea may be formed of what he added to his predecessor's work. The genuine Fordun fills an octavo volume, the Scotichronicon two large folios.²

¹ [Skene's '*Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*' in series of *The Historians of Scotland*, 1871. See Skene's preface.]

² [Goodall's edition of Bower's '*Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon, cum supplementis et continuatione Walteri Boweri*,' 2 vols., 1747, 1759. See Goodall's '*praefatio*.']

The five completed books have been treated in a more systematic manner than the Annals. The original text of the former part has been preserved in its original order, and the new matter can easily be recognised. The editorial manner becomes gradually different when dealing with the Annals. At the commencement, the same principles are adhered to for the first few reigns; but from the War of Independence onwards, Fordun's flow of information decreases, Bower's sources increase correspondingly, with the result that the Annals soon disappear, swallowed up in the Scotichronicon.

I have not adhered to the chronological order in dealing with the three authorities. Wyntoun is the second in order of time, but I have kept him for the last as he stands on a different plane. He may be called a contemporary of both Fordun and Bower. We do not know when he was born, but we know that he was an old man when he was working at the last chapters of his Chronicle, and that one of those chapters was written after the death of the Duke of Albany, that is, after 1420.

When he began to write his Chronicle, his intention was to stop at the death of Alexander III., 1286, that is, at the end of the direct line from Malcolm and St Margaret, and to divide his work into *seven* books. By the time he reached the seventh book, which begins with "Quhen Malcolm was crownit," he had altered his determination, and had decided to write

"Till Robert our second king
His days had driven to ending."

So he says in the prologue of that Book VII., which was to extend to the end of the Chronicle, containing nearly

as much matter as the first six books together. This material held out satisfactorily till the death of Alexander III., his original goal. His treatment of the following period, the interference of Edward I., the reign of John Balliol, the beginning of the War of Independence, is rather unequal and patchy, but with the help of Fordun, of Barbour, and of a good deal of extraneous matter, he reaches the murder of John Comyn at Dumfries in 1306. Then he sends his readers to the 'Bruce':

VIII. 2923

“Qwhat eftir this Broys Robert
 In al his time did eftyrwart,
 The Archedeyne of Abyrdeyne
 In Broysis buk he gert be seyne
 Mar wisely in to writ
 Than I can think in al my wit
 Tharfor I wil now thus lichtly
 Our at this tyme passe the story.”

Then Wyntoun informs us that through an anonymous friend

VIII. 2956

“Befor hym he redde fand
 That in the Kynge Dawyis dayis war done
 The Broysis, and Robertis his sistyr son.
Qwha that did,¹ he wist richt noucht,
 Bot that til hym on casse was { browcht
 wroucht.”

The anonymous contribution² does not begin immediately after Wyntoun's warning. The chronicler fills up the interval between the death of the Comyn and the coronation of David II. with several disconnected paragraphs, such as the death of Wallace, the embassy to

¹ [Cf. pp. lxxxvii., c. A changed view regarding the precise connotation of "*qwha that did*" appears in the Notes, p. 108.]

² [The anonymous chronicle thus incorporated was probably composed, according to the inferences of Mr Amours, about or soon after the year 1390. Notes IX. 1097-1103, p. 135.]

France, the birth and marriage of David, the death of King Robert, and ecclesiastical matters at St Andrews, mostly taken from Fordun's Annals, which supply also the account of the coronation of the new king and queen.

There is no doubt as to the hand that begins at VIII. l. 3143, with the doings of the Regent, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, in his endeavours to maintain justice in the land. The stories of the man who stole his own plough-irons, of the murderers that killed his men near Wigtown, of the Inverness man who had been absolved by the Pope for killing a priest, but had to suffer for killing a "king's liege man," of the misdoers at Eilandonan, whose "fifty heads" adorned the walls of the castle against his coming, are unknown to Fordun, but Bower has copied them all into his own compilation.

The next incident of Twynam Lowrison is also unknown to Fordun; Bower relates it in the same manner as the chronicler, with additional details.

We come now to the landing of Edward Balliol with the disinherited lords at Kinghorn, to their march toward Perth through Dunfermline, and their halt on the banks of the Earn. On the next day, 12th August 1332, the Scots, led by the new Regent, the Earl of Mar, suffered on Dupplin Moor one of the most terrible and unexplainable defeats that ever befell Scotland.

Perhaps Fordun had not the heart to describe it; at least two or three sentences suffice him to give the results of the encounter. In the anonymous chronicle we have about 300 lines of a most stirring and truth-like description of the march of the armies, of their resting-places, of the soldiers' jests by the camp-fire, of the shambles that followed on the night surprise, of the pathetic remark of

an unknown Scottish knight who came back with his men after the defeat, to avenge the death of a kinsman. When he saw the loathsome lump of the dead bodies, he exclaimed :

“ ‘What! sal I eyk to Goddis wengeance? VIII. 3550
 It war to gret cruelte ;
 For the warlde may opinly se
 That this is Goddis deid playnly.’
 His folk he folowit son in hy.”

The details of the battle had increased in number by Bower's time, who, however, borrows some from the Chronicle in his longer account. The coronation of Edward at Scone agrees with Fordun, 'Annals,' ch. 147, and is probably taken from it. He says nothing of the departure of David II. for France, which the Chronicle fixes in the same year as Dupplin. Then follow (VIII. 3651) a score of lines on a dispute between two rivals to St Andrews see. I may say in passing that Wyntoun himself must be held responsible for them. His unknown friend did not deal with church matters.

The retaking of Perth after Edward's departure (VIII. 3673), and his misadventure at Annan, are much fuller in the Chronicle than in Fordun, 'Annals,' ch. 148. Bower is partly independent. The new Regent, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, was taken prisoner at Roxburgh (VIII. 3783) about that time. There is nothing in Fordun about his capture, although later he speaks of his ransoming. Bower follows the Chronicle.

The siege of Berwick by Edward III., and the subsequent battle of Halidon Hill, agree in Fordun and the Chronicle so far as the main facts and actors are concerned,¹

¹ [See Notes, pp. 112, 113.]

but the dramatic details of the siege and the results of the battle are wanting in Fordun, although it must be said that he has found room for recording the famous play on the word Halidon. Bower again mostly agrees with the anonym.

Scotland had fallen lower than ever. Only five castles remained in the hands of the Scottish party: Dumbarton, Lochleven, Urquhart, Kildrummy, and the peel in Lochdoon. The next ten years were spent in regaining quietly and slowly what had been lost at one stroke. Edward Balliol became the liege-man of the English king, and tried to rule over the country as the lieutenant of Edward III. He was not a brilliant ruler: he allowed the disinherited lords who surrounded him to quarrel among themselves, with the result that most of them abandoned him. Edward III. had to come two or three times from England to put matters straight; but his influence did not last longer than his presence. The Balliol was pensioned off, Edward III. appointed other governors, the Earl of Athole, the Earl of Cornwall, the Earl of Lancaster; but the Scots resumed possession of the fortified places, slowly at first, but more quickly when Edward III.'s ambition began to fly at higher game, and entangled himself in a war of which he was not to see the end.

There is no other period of ten years in Scottish history so crowded with heroic deeds and displays of stubborn patriotism. Unfortunately, Fordun is becoming even less full; the main events are stated concisely, and what is more serious, many episodes are wanting altogether. He does not know of the important events in the West of Scotland in 1334-5, when the Stewart came off from Bute

and took his stand in Dumbarton Castle, when the Highlanders came to his help and the "Batal Dormange"¹ was won at Dunoon, when Edward III. hurried from Carlisle to Perth, passing through or near Glasgow. The battle of Kilblain and the death of the Earl of Athole is dismissed in one short sentence. So is the siege of Dunbar in two, and the immortal name of Black Agnes is not recorded.

The dates about this period (1337-41) become very confused. The anonymous annalist, like Barbour, despises dates; his different incidents are connected by such phrases as "at that tyme," "syne after that," "and than," "and syne"; Fordun is careful and correct about the years, but as he has nothing to say about many of the events crowded within them, Bower must be the authority appealed to; but he mostly follows the anonym, plus some Fordun, and the confusion becomes worse. The two outstanding fighters of those days are William Douglas of Liddesdale and the Regent, Andrew Moray of Bothwell. The former is not mentioned by Fordun, and the anonym describes half a score of his plucky and generally successful attacks against the English regardless of their sequence in time; Bower transfers the account to his pages with the same want of order. The last two years of the life of Sir Andrew of Moray² are also crowded with events, and the anonym seems to have gone astray for once. We have here an interesting insight into Wyntoun's way of dealing with his friend's work. Not

¹ [The passage concerning stone-throwing in this battle, VIII. 4345-4348, offers strong confirmation to Macpherson's derivation of the name from Gaelic "*dorneag*, a round stone that a man can cast."]

² [VIII. 5000-5110. See Notes, pp. 117, 118.]

satisfied with the statement of the anonym, he adds another,¹ prefacing it with

“ Bot of our lande sum cornykillis sayis VIII. 5049
Schir Androw of Murray in his last dayis
Assegit the Castel of Stervelyne.”

The chronicle referred to is evidently Fordun's, 'Annals,' ch. 157, which supplies the most trustworthy account of the siege of Stirling, and the right date of it, May and June 1337. Bower has added to the confusion by adopting both Fordun's and Wyntoun's narratives and learnedly appealing to the authority of "a chronicle," unaware that he had been copying the very words of it just previously.

After the death of Andrew of Moray, Robert Stewart was appointed regent, and the English went on losing ground. In December 1341, Henry of Lancaster, captain general of the army of the Scots, made a truce for six months, and arranged for a jousting with William Douglas at Roxburgh, to be followed by a tournament at Berwick.² This was a new experience in the intercourse between the two nations, and yet quite in keeping with the fashion of the age. Fordun does not seem to know anything about it, and Bower has only a summary made up from 300 lines which in the Chronicle are as neat and stirring a story as can be found anywhere in the 'Bruce.'

I can only refer to my Notes for the rest of the events preceding the return of David in 1342 (wrong in Fordun).

The relative position of the three authors is very clear now. Bower, being the latest, has copied into his compilation all that he found in Fordun, and almost every

¹ [See Notes, p. 118.]

² [See Notes, pp. 118, 119.]

line in Wyntoun, and has added some information out of his own knowledge, the whole being put together without much critical discrimination. Wyntoun's friend is to be credited with the greatest part of what we know of the period. Fordun's Annals contain the main events carefully arranged under correct dates; but they do not contain much more. It is a very curious thing that Fordun's knowledge decreases the nearer he comes to his own age. One explanation may be that time failed him. I think a better reason is one that meets Wyntoun's case also. They were both ill acquainted with modern history. There was no information to be had in the country. Since the beginning of the War of Independence, the Scots had been too busy making history to find time to write it. We must not forget that Scotland was not equipped like England with writers of annals. Her first chronicler appears in the second half of the fourteenth century, which is a long way after the Venerable Bede, the father of English history.

The material for the historians of the reigns of David II. and Robert II. was to come from below, from the vernacular, in the same way as the romantic poems of Barbour became the authority for the preceding reign.

[The diagram on next page will help to make clearer some] relations of the anonymous chronicle with the different editions of Wyntoun's Original. This has never been attempted before, because the nameless poet's work has never been printed by itself till now, as it exists in the Wemyss MS. It has always been mixed up with foreign matter in the subsequent revisions, which are represented by R and C. [The subject, however, is intricate, and for

inferences concerning these relationships, the Notes must be consulted on the following passages]:—

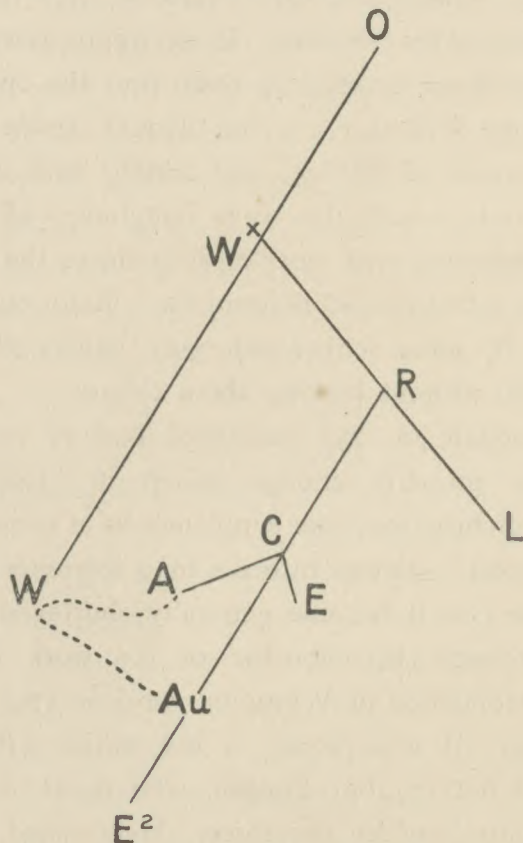
VIII. 5859-938. Return of David II., and consecration of Wm. Laundells. [Note, p. 122.]

VIII. 6577. Combat des Trente. [Note, p. 125.]

VIII. 6817. End of Book VIII. [Note, p. 127.]

IX. 509. St Andrews. [Note, p. 131.]

IX. 1079. End. [Note, p. 133.]



[Diagram illustrating pedigree of Wyntoun MSS.]

WEAuE². Quhat thai did, he wist rycht noucht. VIII. 2959

CA. Quha that did " "

R. Quhat that did " "

L. Quhat that thai did¹ "

¹ [See Note, p. 108, and also consider the parallel phrase "Qwha that it dytyd" in IX. 1161 RL, quoted p. xl *supra*.]

It is time that justice should be done to the obliging friend who relieved Wyntoun in his difficulty. That we do not know his name is probably due to his own modesty. The Prior gives everybody his due in the way of acknowledgment, from Martinus Polonus to the author of the 'Bruce.' However, we cannot explain his silence now. Misfortune soon overtook his—[the] first—poetical annals of his own time. Bower appropriated almost every line of them, translating them into the only recognised language of the day, copying them alongside the more learned passages of Fordun, and adding here and there some information and also some imaginings of his own. This confused mass, with nothing to indicate the different sources, was called the *Scotichronicon*. Many copies were made from it, some scribes enlarging, others shortening, the originals, without making them clearer.

When Goodall, in 1759, published Bower's work in its entirety, he properly enough called it "*Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon, cum supplementis et continuatione Walteri Boweri.*" It was rather a long reference to quote in a footnote; so it became generally shortened to John Fordun, although three-fourths of the work were not his. The publication of Wyntoun's work in 1795 brought little change. It was Skene in his edition (1871-2) of Fordun and nothing but Fordun, who made it possible to differentiate between the three. He insisted specially that authors in their references should carefully distinguish between what belonged to Fordun and what to the *Scotichronicon*, and his insistence has borne fruit; we seldom see now the quotation Fordun, Book II. 12, 13. Fordun, Bower, or the *Scotichronicon*, each has a definite meaning now. Wyntoun alone is still credited with the



authorship of a work which he never claimed as his own. The modest unknown might rest satisfied if a companion volume to the 'Bruce' by John Barbour, to be called the 'Anonymous Chronicle of the reigns of David and Robert,' was published from the early unaltered text of the Wemyss MS. It would form a worthy continuation of the first Scottish poem.

SECTION 10. APPENDIX.

[THE Wemyss MS. at the beginning had a list of headings of chapters ; of this only the latter portion now remains, and is printed below. See Introduction, *supra*, Section 6, also Notes, IX. 1124.]

WEMYSS TEXT.

HEADINGS OF CHAPTERS FROM CLXXI. TO THE END.

CLXXI. How þe gud erll of Darby
Iussit at Berwik of weyr suthly.

VAR. 171 A; 170 AuE²—Iustit *all*; suthly]
manly WA, suytly AuE².

CLXXII. Off gud Schir William of Dowglas
That at galow Rodheide slane wes.

VAR. 172 A; 171 AuE² in different place—at;
at þe W; How Schir Williame of Douglas
At Gallowrode Heid neir slane was AuE².

CLXXIII. Off the assege of Sanct Johnestoune,
And how it wes done and castin doune.

VAR. 173 A; 172 AuE²—assege] segeing W,
assegeyng A, assegis Au, assege E²; And
how it won was and dong doune WA,
And how þat it was castyn down AuE².

CLXXIV. How Edinburgh castell wonnyng wes
Thro Wate of Towrrys was purchas.

VAR. 174 A; 173 AuE²—Walter of Towryis
W, Wate of Curreis AuE²; was] wiß *all*.

CLXXV. Off the gude Alexandere the Ramsay
That pruffit of welling hard assay.

VAR. 175 A; 174 AuE²—of welling] weile at
WA, oft weill at Au, ay weill at E².

The Index omits the heading in W 176, and
so do AuE².

CLXXVI. Off the batall of Durhame
How the king Davy wes tane.

VAR. 176 W; 176 A; 175 AuE².

- CLXXVII. How the weire fell throu Wyntoune
For the 3oung lady of Cetoune.
VAR. 177 A; 176 AuE².
- CLXXVIII. Off messengeris come out of France
To bynd and ferme þe allyance.
VAR. 178 A; 177 Au; *not numbered in E*²—
ferme] afferme W.
- CLXXIX. How the Belliole gaif up his rycht
To þe king Eduard I hycht.
VAR. 179 A; 178 AuE²—I hycht] of
mycht WA.
- CLXXX. Off a fechting þat wes tane then
Betuix France and Inglissmen.
VAR. 180 A; 179 AuE².
- CLXXXI. How Galloway wes brocht to the pese
Throu þe Dowglase or he wold cese.
VAR. 181 A; 180 AuE².
- CLXXXII. How king Davy wes ransomid
For j_e thousand pound.
VAR. 182 A; 181 AuE²—ransomid] ran-
sound WAAuE².
- CLXXXIII. How Robin Stewart wes maid king
Of Scotland and tuke gouernyng.
VAR. 183 A; 182 AuE².
- CLXXXIV. How þe lord of Gordoun faucht
With Lilburne and Musgraif of maucht.
VAR. 184 A; 183 AuE²—and Musgraif of
maucht] and all his maucht WA.
- CLXXXV. How erll William of Dowglase
Brynt Penreth toвне at a rase.
VAR. 185 A; 184 AuE².
- CLXXXVI. How þe duke of Longcastell
Wes banyst out of Ingland haill.
VAR. 186 A; 185 AuE²—How the Duk of
Longcastell throw strang hand Was banyst
out of Ingland A; Was banyst fra
his kynrik haill AuE².
- CLXXXVII. How erll George of gret renovne
Tuke of Graystok þe baroune.
VAR. 187 A; 186 AuE².

- CLXXXVIII. How Inglismen were discomfyte
At þe Qwenys fery þat tyde.
VAR. 188 A; 187 AuE²—þat] at a W, a A.
- CLXXXIX. Quhen Tevidale wes tane to pese
Throu erll William of Dowglase.
VAR. 189 A; 188 AuE²—Quhen] How
AE²; tane] brocht E².
- CXC. How out of France the admirall
Wes send Scotland to suppowall.
VAR. 190 A; 189 E²—send] send in E².
Leaves wanting in WAu.
- CXCI. Quhen William Landellis of hie renovne
Deit bischop of Andirstoune.
VAR. 191 A; 190 E²—Deit] Discessit W.
- CXCII. Quhen king Richard brint þe abbay
Off Melrose and otheris perfay.
VAR. 192 A; 191 E²—the abbay off Melross
brynt W.
- CXCIII. How Schir Williame of Dowglase
Off Niddisdaill renownit was.
VAR. 193 A; 192 E².
- CXCIV. Off þe batall of Ottirburne
And how þe Persy was.
VAR. 194 A; 183 (sic) E²—was tane þat
turn A; And of þe Percy at ane turne E².
- CXCV. How the erll of Fiff with his oste
Raid to pruff erll Merchell boste.
VAR. 195 A; 193 (sic) E².
- CXCVI. Off a gret iustin yat befel
Off sic an vthir I herd nochit tell.
VAR. 196 A; *no number in* E²—a gret] ane E².
- CXCVII. Off Robert our kingis ending
And of his eldest sonis crownyng.
VAR. 197 A.
- CXCVIII. Off þe cronyklis þus endis þe buke
That hecht þe originall quha will luke
Expliciunt capitularia.

NOTES

NOTES.

VOLUME II. BOOK I.

PROLOGUE.

1. The Chronicle is complete at the beginning in three manuscripts only—the Wemyss, the Royal, and the Second Edinburgh.

15. Guido de Columpna, or de Columnis, or delle Colonne, wrote in 1287 a 'Historia Troiana,' plagiarised from the 'Roman de Troie' of Benoit de Sainte-More. The work soon attained an immense popularity through the whole of Europe, and three English metrical versions of it appeared during Wyntoun's lifetime—one attributed to Barbour, of which only two short fragments are known; a second known as the 'Alliterative Destruction of Troy'; and the third by Lydgate. So is explained why Guido stands here in front of Homer and Virgil.

21. Dares Phrygius is the supposed author of a short history of the fall of Troy from the Trojan standpoint, 'De excidio Troiæ Historia.' M. Joly, 'Roman de Troie,' p. 190, ascribes it to the sixth century of our era. Wyntoun doubtless was acquainted with that wretched composition, for he offers it as a model to those who write *in plane manere*.

31, 32. Cf. Barbour's 'Bruce,' the first two lines of the Prologue:—

" Storys to rede ar delitabill,
Suppoß that thai be nocht bot fabill."

57. Sir John the Wemyss, of Leuchars and Kincaldrum, was the great-grandson of Sir David, who was chosen as an ambassador to Norway. See VIII. 87.

67, 68. = "Et ait Samuel . . . Melior est enim obedientia quam victima."—1 Regum, xv. 21.

69-82. = "In the sacrifice the slain, and not the slayer suffers the punishment, so that the slayer has the meed, and the pain he suffers

is slight indeed. So rightly the meed should be greatest to him that suffers most, when obedience enslaves freedom, and when personal taste gives way to awe. Not on bondage under the law, but as liking grace should appear." *Noucht* RE², 77, and *schaw* E², 78, seem best. Perhaps the discovery of the commentary followed by Wyntoun would clear up the obscurity.

94. The modern names of those hills are the Lomonds and Benartie. The Lomonds lie north-east, and Benartie south-west from the Inch of St Serf in the eastern part of Lochleven.

96. Wyntoun never uses the word "Chronicle" in speaking of his work; it is always the "Tretise" or the "Original."

117. For Petrus Comestor, Orosius, Martinus, and other sources employed by Wyntoun, see Introduction, section 7.

126. *That Rose* is the Virgin, whose help the chronicler invokes at the beginning of his labours, as he will do again at the end of the Prologues to Books VIII. and IX.

129. This chapter is of the greatest importance to establish the fact that the Chronicle was revised and partly rewritten once at least. The Wemyss version will be divided into seven books to agree with the seven ages of the world, the seventh book ending with the close of the direct lineage from Malcolm and Margaret—that is, at the death of Alexander III. The other texts divide the work into nine books in honour of the nine orders of Angels. The limits of the first seven agree in the two editions. The eighth will extend as far as the coronation of Robert II., and the ninth will deal with him and his posterity.

The case of the Second Edinburgh is worth noting. The writer began with the first version, and changed to the second in the fifth line. E² is often careless, and we miss the absent [folios] of the Auchinleck, from which it is closely derived. Au E² often borrow from W, while copying the later text. Often bad passages in E² are made quite clear when compared with Au, and probably in this case the latter would have made clear the lines of which we can simply guess the drift.

BOOK I.

39-58. = "Angelorum quippe et hominum naturam ad cognoscendum se Dominus condidit, quam dum consistere ad æternitatem voluit, eam procul dubio ad suam similitudinem creavit. . . . Novem vero angelorum ordines diximus, quia videlicet esse, testante sacro eloquio, scimus angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, thronos, cherubim et seraphim. . . . Græca etenim lingua angeli nuntii, archangeli vero summi nuntii, vocantur. Sciendum quoque quod angelorum vocabulum nomen est officii, non naturæ."

Then follows a description of the three archangels, Michael,

Gabriel, and Raphael. — 'Gregorii Magni XL. Homiliarum in Evangelia,' Libri II., Homil. xxxiv. 6-8.

127-156. = Honorius Augustodunensis, 'De Imagine Mundi,' Libri III., i. 9-10. "In hoc (Paradiso) etiam fons oritur, qui in quatuor flumina dividitur. Quæ quidem flumina infra paradisum terra conduntur; sed in aliis longe regionibus funduntur. Nam Physon, qui et Ganges, in India de monte Orcobares nascitur, et contra orientem fluens Oceano excipitur. Geon, qui et Nilus, juxta montem Athlantem surgens, mox a terra absorbetur, per quam occulto meatu currens, in littore Rubri Maris denuo funditur, Æthiopiam circumiens per Ægyptum labitur, in septem ostia divisus, magnum mare juxta Alexandriam ingreditur. Tigris autem et Euphrates in Armenia de monte Barchoatro funduntur et contra meridiem vergentes Mediterraneo mari junguntur."

185-256. = Petrus Comestor, 'Genesis,' cap. 28. 'De generationibus Cain.' The translation is pretty close, except that Wyntoun has altered the sequence of incidents. The Latin order is as follows: ll. 185-196, 209-224, 229-252, 225-228, 253-256, 197-208.

187. *Enok* is wrong. It was Cain that built the city.

235, 236. = "Una marmorea, altera latericia."

243. = "Marmoream dicit Josephus adhuc esse in terra Syriaca."

256. The Latin simply says, "Noema . . . invenit artem variæ texturæ," which throws no light on *travell or redor, cavale na reduore* or any other variant. *Towell* (L) is possibly the right reading of the first term.

Reduore (R) is the best reading, and the word was evidently unknown to the copyists. The New Eng. Dict., s.v. *Radevore*, has only two instances of it, the earlier being from Chaucer's 'Legend of Good Women,' l. 2352. In Skeat's Chaucer, vol. iii. p. 342, a long note gives all that is known of that obscure word. It is the French *ras de Vaur*; *ras*, a smooth stuff or serge, and *Vaur*, a place in Languedoc, where it was fabricated.

261, 262. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 30.

263. The heading of RL agrees with Comestor, 'Genesis' 29, "De Seth et ejus generatione," but the contents of the chapter are not altogether from that source.

275-278. P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 30., Add. I. "Henoch quasdam litteras invenit et quosdam libros scripsit."

287-294. P. Comestor gives the years of the Septuagint, and of others, but not of the Hebrews.

315-334. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 31. "Potuit etiam esse ut incubi dæmones genuissent gigantes, a magnitudine corporum denominatos, sic dicti a *geos*, quod est terra, quia incubi vel dæmones solent in nocte opprimere mulieres, sed etiam immanitate corporum respondebat immanitas animorum. Post diluvium tamen nati sunt alii gigantes in Hebron, et post fuerunt in Tham civitate Ægypti, a

qua et Titanes dicti sunt, de quorum stirpe fuit Enachin, cujus filii habitaverunt in Hebron, de quibus ortus est Goliath et quidam alii."

335-368. = Geoffrey of Monmouth, I. 16.

359-368. = "Nec mora, Goemagot Corineum maximis viribus astringens, fregit ei tres costas, duas in latere dextro, et unam in sinistro. Unde Corineus, in iram compulsus, suas revocavit vires, et imposuit illum humeris, et imposito, quantum velocitas pro pondere sinebat, ad proxima littora cucurrit. Deinde summitatem excelsæ rupis nactus, excussit se, et prædictum letale monstrum quod super humeros suos ferebat in mare projecit, at ille per abrupta saxa cadens, in mille frustra dilaceratus est, et fluctus sanguine maculavit."

381-386. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 32. "Quasi agricolæ locutus est Dominus ut faceret scilicet navem instar arconii, id est ad conum tendentis."—'Archonium est acervus gelimarum (manipulorum) in imolatus, in summo acutus.' Hugo Cardinalis *in* Ducange.

Unless *crahe*, W 376, be a scribal error for stake=stack, I cannot explain the word.

427. Cf. "Duos habet colores, caeruleum qui est aqueus . . . et rubeum qui est igneus."—P. Com., 'Genesis' 35.

451, 452. = "Patet quod nondum homines utebantur femoralibus."—P. Com., 'Genesis' 36. It is a pity to deprive Wyntoun of the originating of this joke.

475-524. The Four Kingdoms. Not from P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 64, 'De ortu regionum,' although the division is similar. Note the following: "Exortum est regnum Assyriorum anno xxv. Saruch proavi Abræ sub Belo. . . . Regnum autem Sicioniorum ab anno xxiv. Nachor aui Abræ exortum est sub Eugialo, alias Egialeo (*or* Ægialeo). . . . Sicionia autem est regio quæ prius Apia, post Peloponensis dicta est."

527, 528. = "Asia a septentrione per orientem usque ad meridiem . . . extenditur."—'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 7.

533. Honorius, in his treatise 'De Philosophia Mundi,' IV. 4, has a drawing of the earth in the shape of a "roundel" as described here, but the countries are not allocated exactly in the same way.

543-568. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 10, 11.

557. *Euilat* is not mentioned by Honorius.

569-584. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 11. "In hoc etiam Chrysa et Argare insulæ, auro et argento fecundæ et semper floridæ. Ibi sunt et montes aurei, qui propter dracones et gryphes non possunt adiri. . . ."

585-640. Gog and Magog—The wain at the gate. [For the legend see 'Wars of Alexander,' 5483, also P. Meyer, 'Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature Française' (1886), ii. 386.]

641-688. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 11, "De Monstris."

644. = "Garmanos, Orestas, Coatras, quorum sylvæ tangunt æthera."

663-670. = "Item Macrobios duodecim cubitorum longos, qui

bellant contra gryphes, qui corpora leonum, alas et ungulas præferunt aquilarum."

Wyntoun misunderstands the Latin text; the description is meant to apply to the griffins, not to the Macrobitēs.

671. = "Agroctas et Bragmanos."

689-734. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 12.

698. *Bak and bede*, for the body and for the bed, was a common phrase. See New Eng. Dict., "Back," sense 1, 2b.

711-718. = "Ibi sunt et monoculi, et Arimaspi, et Cyclopes. Sunt et Scinopodæ, qui uno tantum fulti pede, auram cursu vincunt, et in terram, positi umbram sibi planta pedis erecta faciunt."

735-828. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 13, "De Bestiis."

740. = "Ibi est bestia Ceucocroca."

754. = "Ibi est alia bestia Eale."—"A large animal found in Ethiopia; according to Cuvier, the two-horned rhinoceros."—Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1879).

759-770. = ". . . Cubitalia cornua habens, quorum unum post tergum reflectit, cum alio pugnat. Illo obtuso, aliud ad certamen vibrat. Nigro colore horret."

772-776. = "Ibi quoque Mantichora bestia, facie homo, triplex in dentibus ordo."

Chesteris is probably the same word as *chestres* (1627), given in the New Eng. Dict. under *Chess-tree*, a nautical term apparently connected with *chase*, a groove. Fr. *chas*. Lat. *capsus*.

790-796. = "Ibi quoque monoceros cujus corpus equi, caput cervi, pedes elephantis, cauda suis."

819-824. = "Indicum quoque mare gignit testudines de quarum testis capacia hospitium sibi faciunt homines, . . . adamantem etiam, qui non nisi hircino sanguine frangi potest."

827, 828. The two texts contradict each other. W is alone against the others, and probably C is correct. So there were at that time accounts of the wonders of India written in English. Is it an allusion to Maundeville's Travels?

829-854. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 14.

836-838. = "Est in ea regio Aracusia, ab oppido Aracusa dicta."

849-860. = "In hac primum orta est ars magica. Persida lapidem pyrrhitem mittit, qui manum prementis urit, et synelitem, cujus candor cum luna crescit et deficit."

857-860. Cf. Book II., ll. 25-28.

867-894. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 15.

878. = "Hunc Nemrod gigas fundavit."

895-932. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 16; 17.

898-900. "Damascus, a Damasco Abraë liberto constructa et dicta, olim Reblata vocata." Nothing said of *Antichia* C, *Antioche* W.

905, 906. = "Est in ea quoque Palæstina, a civitate Palæstin, quæ nunc Ascalon vocatur, dicta."

913-916. Not in Honorius.

933-980. 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 18.

955-968. Cf. "Haec fluvio Nilo undique cincta, in modum Deltæ litteræ est formata, centum millibus villarum inclyta. Hanc nubes non obscurant, pluviae non irrigant, sed Nilus inundans eam fecundat."

981-1023. 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 19.

991-999. "His cohabitant Massagetæ, et Colchi et Sarmatæ. Seres est oppidum Orientis, quo Serica regio et vestis et gens est dicta. Post hanc est Bactra. . . ."

1003-1006. ="Huic jungitur Scythia et Hirnia, quorum gentes sunt quadraginta quatuor."

1017-1023. ="Huic copulatur Iberia. Illi vero Cappadocia, . . . in qua equæ a vento concipiunt; sed fœtus non amplius triennio vivunt."

1024-1044. 'Les Cavales de Cappadoce' [numbered Bucephalus in their progeny ('Wars of Alexander,' 742*). According to Gervase of Tilbury—"in Cappadocia equæ . . . concipiunt vento."]

1045-1102. ='De Imagine Mundi,' I. 20, 21.

1049-1050. This interesting detail is not from Honorius. Ephesus disappeared early in the middle ages. Later the Turks built near its ruins a harbour which became known by the Turkish name of Ayasoulouk, an alteration of the Greek Ἁγίος Θεολόγος, the Holy Divine, St John, patron of Ephesus. Among the western traders the name became Aitologo, Altologo, Hieut Lieu, Haute Loge, &c. The place became well known about the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Nicopolis, when some of the wealthiest prisoners were sent there to wait for the arrival of their ransom. See 'La France en Orient au quatorzième siècle,' Bibliothèque de l'Ecole d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 44, p. 314.

1057-1064. Honorius has no reference to the Council of Nicæa. Cf. V. 2673-78, where Wyntoun follows Martinus Polonus.

1075-1088. ="Huic adjacent Lycania et Caria, ubi fluit Hirnus fluvius aureis arenis famosus. Inde est Lydia. . . . In hac etiam Thyatira. Deinde est Isauria, ab aura qua undique perflatur, dicta."

1117-1150. Cf. 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 32. There is a confusion of *Asia* and *Africa* in the different headings, which can be explained by the fact that in Honorius the description of Africa comes last, after that of Europe. Wyntoun is becoming overwhelmed by the number of the geographical terms, and skips more and more, just selecting those that he considers of importance.

1127-1134. Not in Honorius.

1143, 1144. ="Hujus muri latitudo fuit septem et decem cubitorum." WRL agree best.

1149, 1150. ="Inde est Mauritania. . . . In hac est provincia Stiffenses, alia Cæsariensis, . . . alia Tingitania." Evidently this does not help much for elucidation.

1151-1174. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 33.

1167. *Trogeditis*. Lat. *Troglodyta*.

1173, 1174. = "Deinde est maximus Oceanus, qui solis calore dicitur fervere ut cacabus."

1181-1198. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 22, 23.

1185, 1186. = "Ryphæi montes et Tanais fluvius."

1189-1198. = "A Thanai fluvio est Scythia inferior, quæ versus meridiem usque ad Danubium porrigitur. In hac sunt istæ provinciae, Alania, Dacia, Gothia."

1199-1226. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 24.

1205-1215. = "Germania, . . . quæ a germinando populos dicitur. Versus occasum Rheno, versus Aquilonem Albia fluvio terminatur."

1223, 1224. = "Est in ea Noricus, quæ est Bavaria, in qua est civitas Ratispona. Tum est Orientalis Francia, cui conjungitur Thuringia, quam sequitur Saxonia."

1227-1282. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 25, 26, 27.

1231-1240. = "A Danubio . . . est Messias, a messium proventus dicta, deinde Panonia inferior et Bulgaria."

There is no mention of Bohemia in Honorius; "Vngary" may have been "Bulgary" originally.

1241, 1242. = "Inde Thracia, a Tras filio Japhet dicta."

1247, 1248. = "Graecia . . . terra Cethim olim vocata."

1255, 1258. = "Dalmatia . . . Epirus . . . Chaonia . . . Molosia . . . Elladia . . . Attica . . . Athenæ . . . Beotia."

1263-1266. = "De hac dicuntur Thebani, de alia Thebæi."

1273-1276. = "Ibi est Arcadia, quæ et Sicyonia . . . Arcadia Arbaston lapidem mittit qui semel accensus extinguere non potest."

1283-1318. = 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 28.

1319-1334. Cf. 'De Imagine Mundi,' I. 29. A very short summary of Honorius.

1335-1356. = Henry of Huntingdon, 'Historia Anglorum,' I., col. 801. "Britannia igitur beatissima est insularum, fecunda frugibus et arboribus, copiosa rivis et nemoribus, jucunda volucrum et ferarum venatibus, ferax avium multi et diversi generis terra, mari et fluviis; alendis autem mira pecoribus et jumentis. Unde Solinus: 'Ita pabulosa in quibusdam locis est Britannia, ut pecua, nisi interdum a pastibus arceantur, ad periculum agat satietas.' Fluviis vero abundat valde piscosis, fontibus præclare copiosis. . . ."

1357-1372. = Henry of Huntingdon, 'Historia Anglorum,' I., col. 803. "Habet autem ab oriente Germaniam et Daciam, ab occidente Hiberniam. . . . Quinque autem plagas ab exordio usque ad præsens immisit ultio divina Britanniae . . . primam per Romanos, qui Britanniam expugnaverunt, sed postea recesserunt; secunda per Pictos et Scottos, qui gravissime eam bellis vexaverunt, nec tamen obtinuerunt; tertiam per Anglicos, qui eam debellaverunt, et obtinent; quartum per Dacos, qui eam bellis obtinuerunt, sed postea

deperierunt; quintam per Northmanos, qui eam devicerunt, et Anglis in presentiarum dominantur."

1373-1410. The substance of these lines is found *passim* in the beginning of Henry of Huntingdon.

1377-1382. = "Quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut jam fabula videatur, quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur."

1415-1440. This is the first instalment, from Noah to Gedyl-Glays, of the ancient genealogy of the Scottish kings, which exists also in three* other forms older than Wyntoun's time. The earliest, of 1165, and the next, dated 1185, are printed in Skene's 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' pp. 133 and 144. Fordun's Chronica, V. 50, supplies the latest, which was communicated to the historian by Cardinal Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow. Those three are ascending genealogies, starting from William the Lion or David I., and going back to Noah, or even to Adam 'filii Dei vivi.' Wyntoun having distributed his generations through different books, was obliged to reverse the process and to begin with Noah. It would be unprofitable to compare those four lists of imaginary names, and to discuss their differences; it is sufficient to say that they agree pretty well on the whole in this first part and that they all contain twenty-three or twenty-four names from Noah to Gedyl-Glays.

For the continuations, see II. 927-962, and III. 1087-1140. The shortening of the pedigree in W is due to a late scribe.

1469-1476. = Pet. Comestor, 'Genesis' 58. "In hac divisione nihil novi fecit Deus: quia voces eadem sunt apud omnes gentes; sed dicendi modos et formas diversis generibus divisit."

W has a longer passage, evidently late and very hazy.

1492. = "Nembroth, qui et Saturnus."—Mart. Pol., I. 4.

1506. The extra lines in W are spurious; *vnderlowd*, so written to rime with *proud*, should be *vnderlout*.

1529-1534. = Mart. Pol., I. 2. "Post Saturnum regnavit Picus filius ejus. Post Picum, regnavit Faunus, filius ejus qui fuit pater Latini. Deinde regnavit Latinus, qui Latinam linguam emendavit; et Latini de suo nomine appellati sunt." *Serwyus*, &c., should be *Faunus*.

1591-1646. Cf. P. Ovidii Nasonis 'Metamorphoseon,' Liber I. ll. 89-148:—

1593, 1594. = "Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat."—90.

1595-1597. = "Ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta, nec ullis Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus."—101, 102.

1598-1602. = "Nondum cæsa suis, peregrinum ut viseret orbem,
Montibus, in liquidas pinus descendat undas;
Nullaque mortales, præter sua littora, norant."—94-96.

[* Against this word "three" Mr Amours pencilled the word "change." See Introduction, sections 5, 7, and 8.]

- 1613, 1614. = "Subiit argentea proles
Auro deterior."—114, 115.
- 1615, 1616. = "Pressique jugo genuere iuveni."—124.
- 1617, 1618. = "Tum primum subiere domos. Domus antra fuerunt."—121.
- 1635-1638. = "In quorum subiere locum fraudesque, dolique;
Insidiæque, et vis et amor sceleratus habendi."—130, 131.
- 1639-1646. = "Non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non socer a genero: fratrum quoque gratia rara est.
Filius ante diem patris inquit in annos."—144-148.

1647-1682. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 40. "De morte Beli et ortu idolorum."

1679-1682. = "Sicut enim dictus est Belus ab Assyriis, sic et aliæ nationes secundum idiomata linguæ suæ dixerunt, aliæ Bel, aliæ Beel, aliæ Baal, aliæ Baalim. Imo, et nomina specificaverunt aliæ Belphegor, aliæ Beelzebub dicentes. Sed tandem seriem genealogiæ Sem prosequamur."

It must be noted that this last sentence corresponds to the beginning of the next chapter in Wyntoun.

1683-1700. Of course the first genealogy from Sem is not in P. Comestor, who does not know Woden. It has found a place in almost every early chronicle. The oldest text is in A. S. Chronicle 855. After a comparison with eight or nine different lists, I find that Wyntoun agrees best with William of Malmesbury, p. 172, as to the forms and spellings of names. For the continuation of the genealogy, see II. 913.

1701-1730. These lines are derived, directly or indirectly, from S. Isidori Hispalensis, 'Etymologiarum,' Liber V. ch. 39, Secunda ætas.

1729-1738. This paragraph has gone wrong in C and the texts depending on it. The length of the second age is 1222 years according to the Hebrews, and 1077 according to the Septuagint.

VOLUME II. BOOK II.

PROLOGUE.

1-14. = Orosius, I. 1. "Sunt autem ab Adam, primo homine usque ad Ninum, magnum (ut dicunt) regem, quando natus est Abraam, anni tria millia centum octoginta et quatuor, qui ab omnibus historiographis vel omissi, vel ignorati sunt."

Wyntoun, on taking up his new authority, forgets his previous statements in Book I., ll. 287-294, 1731-1738.

15-16. = Orosius, I. 1. "Omnes propemodum . . . initium scribendi a Nino Beli filio, rege Assyriorum, fecere."

22. Orosius reckons 3184 years from Adam to Abraham, and 2015 from Abraham to the birth of Christ. Martinus Polonus, I. 1, quoting Orosius, reckons 4484 years from the Creation to the foundation of Rome, and 715 from the foundation of Rome to the birth of Christ. Both systems amount to 5199 years, "annos bis centum minus uno millia quinque."

29-34. Orosius and Martinus after him make the foundation of Rome the basis of their chronology. Wyntoun converts all their dates, taking 752 B.C. as the year when Rome was founded. Exceptions and mistakes are not rare; the important ones will be pointed out in their places.

BOOK II.

1-42. = Orosius, I. 4. "Ante annos Urbis conditæ mille trecentos." Wyntoun's chronology can readily be understood from this first instance. He adds 752 to the date supplied by Orosius, and thus obtains his own year. 1300 plus 752 becomes 2052 B.C.

13-24. = "Scythicamque barbariem, adhuc tunc imbellem et innocentem, torpentem excitare sævitiam, vires suas nosse, et non lacte jam pecudum, sed sanguine hominum vivere, ad postremum vincere dum vincitur, edocuit."

24. Cf. above, I. 857-860.

25-42. = "Novissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicæ (ut ferunt) artis repertorem pugna oppressum interfecit. Post ipse, dum deficientem a se oppugnat urbem, sagitta ictus interiit."

The more detailed account of the death of Ninus may be merely an amplification.

43-58. = Vincent. Bellov., I. 103 (quoting Valerius Maximus). "Semiramis cum ei circa cultum capitis sui occupatæ nunciatum esset Babyloniam defecisse, altera parte crinium adhuc soluta, ad eam expugnandam currit; nec prius decorem capillorum in ordinem quam tantam urbem in potestatem redegit."

59-61. = Orosius, I. 4. "Avidosque jam usu sanguinis populos per duos et quadraginta annos cædibus gentium exercuit."

62-76. = Vinc. Bellov., I. 103 (abridging Orosius).

77-92. = Orosius, I. 4.

89-92. = "Quia tunc apud illos nec foris erant ulla incendia bellorum, nec domi tanta exercitia cupiditatum."

115-120. = Vinc. Bell., I. 103 (quoting Justinus). "Semiramis cum filii concubitum petiisset, ab eodem interfecta est."

130. The further history of Assyria comes in Book III. ch. v.

131-144. This is the first reference to the "proper" genealogy made by Barbour for Robert II. We do not know on what authority

Dardanus becomes a son of Ninus. He is always called son of Jupiter and Electra ; but Wyntoun readily accepts the new pedigree against "the fables and fancies that the pagans set in their stories."

145-149. = Orosius, VII. 2. "Nini anno, postquam regnare cœperat, quadragesimo tertio natus est sanctus ille Abraham."

179. All the texts are wrong. Abraham died at the age of one hundred and seventy-five years.

200. The two texts are different, and neither gives a satisfactory meaning. The writer of L wisely dropped the two lines. They contain a proverb implying that "hunger in a *hale* (healthy) stomach is a hard pang."

239-264. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 70. "Eo tempore Phoroneus, filius Inachi et Niobes, primus Græciæ leges dedit, et sub iudice causas agi instituit, locumque iudici destinatum a nomine suo *forum* appellavit. Soror sua Isis in Ægyptum navigavit, et quosdam apices litterarum tradidit Ægyptiis. De agricultura etiam multa docuit eos. Unde cum Io diceretur, Isis ab eis dicta est, quod in lingua eorum terra sonat. Et ob hoc post mortem in numero deorum in Ægypto recepta est. Filius etiam Phoronei, qui Apis dictus est, eo tempore in Ægyptum navigavit, quem quidem virum Isidis fuisse tradunt, et similiter ab Ægyptiis deificatus est et Serapis nominatus."

265-280. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 76.

281-300. = Orosius, I. 7.

281, 282. "Ante annos conditæ urbis MLXX." Wyntoun's calculation is wrong : 1070 *ante* U.C. should be 1822, not 1676 B.C.

285, 286. "Telchines et Carpathii" (v. r. Telchises et Caryathii).

290. "Parapasios" (v. r. Parachasios).

301-320. Cf. Orosius, I. 8. The rest of the story is derived from the Biblical narrative.

333-344. Note the difference between the texts. W's "princess" is better than C's "queen," and represents the early version.

382. The variant *futesairis*, E², for *merchandis* is worth pointing out. It is an unrecorded word ; yet it must have been known about 1500 as a picturesque synonym of "travelling merchant," "pedlar."

419-446. = P. Comestor, 'Genesis' 86.

435-446. = "Dicitur etiam ea tempestate Triptolemus in navi in qua pictus erat draco in Græciam venisse et ampliassse agriculturam. Ceres vero præter instrumenta arandi etiam mensurari granum adinvenit cum prius in arconiis segetes ponerentur et triticum per acervos numerabatur ; unde et a Græcis dicta est Demetra."

447-466. = Orosius, I. 9.

450. "Amphictyon Athenis tertius a Cecrope regnavit." Some versions of Orosius have "Amphitryon" as in Wyntoun.

515-518. I have not been able to discover anything to throw light on the origin or the meaning of these mysterious lines.

522. The two lines from Ovid should read—

“Inde genus durum sumus experiensque laborum,
Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati.”

530. Wyntoun has already used the same expression in connection with the birth of Venus, I. 1557.

531. The date of the plagues of Egypt is taken from Orosius : “Anno ante Urbem conditam dcccv.”

589-630. = P. Comestor, ‘Exodus’ 24.

597-630. = “Unde quidem dies Ægyptiaci dicuntur, quia in his passa est Ægyptus, quorum duos tantum in singulis mensibus notamus ad memoriam, cum plures forte fuerunt. Nec est credendum quod Ægyptii licet astrorum periti deprehenderunt dies hos infaustos in inchoatione operis, vel itineris, vel minutionis. Nota etiam quod quidam Ægyptiorum timentes Ægyptum perituram egressi sunt, ut Cycrops, qui ingressus Græciam urbem condidit quam vocavit Actem, quæ postea dicta est Athenæ. . . . Creditur etiam eadem tempestate egressus Dionysius Bacchus qui et Argos condidit, et usum vineæ Græcis dedit.”

The passage in Wyntoun is obscure, and seems partly corrupt ; the Latin is clearer, and throws light on what the Chronicler meant to say.

The full stop at the end of line 617 should be placed at the end of line 615.

631. The heading in Wemyss is a blunder. The story of Brutus is in Book III. ch. iii. ; W ch. xxxix.

631-646. = “Dominus Neyile siue Neolus rex Schithie in Grecia fuit a Noe xx^{us} descendens de iuniore filio Japhet a quo milicia. Hic fuit pater Gathelos sponsi Scote.”

The above is the beginning of a “Tract on the Scots” printed from the “Black Book of Paisley” in Skene’s ‘Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,’ p. 330. The tract is earlier than Fordun, who quotes from it.

647. The story of Gedyll-Glays and of the conquest of Ireland by his son Heber was told in many ways even before Fordun, who adopted the wise plan of writing the different accounts of each portion of his narrative, carefully giving the names of his authorities, and leaving it to the reader to work out his own selection and arrangement.

‘The Legend of St Brandan,’ from the extracts in the first book of Fordun, is undoubtedly the source drawn from by Wyntoun. Nothing is known of that legend, which is also quoted in the Scalacronica as ‘La Vie de Saint Brandane.’

671-680. = ‘Legenda Sancti Brandani.’ “Gaythelos autem ex Egypto pulsus, et sic per mediterraneum mare vectus navibus ad Hispaniam applicat atque super Hyberym flumen turrin condens

nomine Briganciam, locum et sedem violenter ab incolis usurpavit.”
—Fordun, I. 14.

681-736. Cf. Fordun, I. 16, some parts of which agree with Wyntoun.

731-736. These lines are not in the Wemyss text, and seem out of place here; yet the substance of them can be extracted out of the speech of Gaythelos in Fordun.

737-768. Cf. ‘Legenda Sancti Brandani.’ “Ex filiis Gaythelos unus quidem Yber nomine, juvenis sed de ætate valens, incitatus ad bellum animo cepit arma, paratoque pro posse navigio prædictam aggressus insulam, partem paucorum incolarum, quos reperit, necat, sibi que partem subegit. Sed et totam sibi possidendam et fratribus terram vindicat eam, ex nomine matris, Scociam nuncupando.”—Fordun, I. 16.

740. *Ayr* has been left out in W, as if the writer had suspected some mistake in the line. It is not stated anywhere that Heber was not the heir of Gedyl-Glays.

769, 770. =“ But Barbour, by the Brute, that is speaking by the authority of the Brute, tells the origin of the Irish in a very different way.”

Jamieson, in the notes (p. 427) to his edition of ‘The Bruce’ (Edinburgh, 1820), was the first to misunderstand the meaning of the phrase *by the ‘Brut.’* He inferred from those three words that Barbour had also composed a poem on the Brute. His mistake has been repeated in the subsequent editions of ‘The Bruce,’ as can be seen in Professor Skeat’s edition for the Scottish Text Society, pp. xxxix-xliii.

Wyntoun does not say explicitly where or how Barbour uses the authority of the ‘Brute,’ but there is no doubt that it was in his Genealogy of the Stewarts; see above, II. ll. 131-136. A pedigree extending from Dardanus to Robert II. might include in its early stages the name of Gurgiunt Brabtruc, the son and successor of Belinus.

774-790. =Geof. of Monm., ‘Hist. Britonum,’ III. 12. —“Ea tempestate cum post istam victoriam domum per insulas Orcades rediret, invenit triginta naves viris et mulieribus plenas: et cum causam adventus eorum inquisivisset, accessit ad eum dux ipsorum Partholoim nomine, et adorato eo veniam et pacem rogavit. Dicebat autem se ex partibus Hispaniarum expulsum fuisse, et maria illa circuire ut locum mansionis haberet. . . . Gurgiunt Brabtruc . . . misit homines cum eis ad insulam Hiberniæ quæ tunc vasta ab omni incola erat; eamque eis concessit. Deinde creverunt illic et multiplicati sunt: insulamque usque in hodiernum diem tenuerunt.”

791-854. This third version of the conquest and population of Ireland closely follows Henry of Huntingdon’s ‘Historia,’ I., who in his turn copies Nennius, chaps. ix., x.

819-822. = "Inde autem venerunt Hiberniam post mille et duos annos a transitu Israel per mare rubrum."

843-854. = "Brittones namque in tertia mundi ætate Brittanniam, Scotti in quarta venerunt Hiberniam. Haec cum non certissima sint, hoc tamen certum est, quod ab Hispania Hyberniam venerunt, et inde pars eorum egressa tertiam in Brittannia, Brittonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt; nam et pars, quæ ibi remansit, adhuc eadem utitur lingua, et Navarri vocantur."

855. See Book I., 1415-1440, for the first part of the genealogy.

863. The third age extended from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Captivity, and the fifth from the Captivity to the birth of Christ.

905-926. See Book I., 1683-1700. The names agree here as in the first part. Ines and Inglis are both sons of Conrade or Cenrade, and the descendance is through Inglis.

927-957. See Book I., 1415-1440, for the ancestry of Gedył-Glays. From him to Simon Brek there are about thirty generations; the variations between the lists are greater, and show themselves mostly in the spelling of the names.

958-962. The genealogies do not say anything about the stone being brought from Spain to Ireland by Simon Brek.

963-1028. Cf. Orosius, I. 11. Wyntoun is clearer and slightly fuller than Orosius, as if his borrowing were indirect.

963. "Anno ante Urbem conditam DCCLXXV" should have become 1527 B.C., and not 1542.

977. "Sthenelam, qui eum profugum egentemque exceperat, regno expulit, atque ipse regnavit." *Tenelaum* occurs also.

989-1006. = "Busiridis in Ægypto cruentissimi tyranni crudelis hospitalitas, et crudelior religio tunc fuit: qui innocentem hospitum sanguinem diis, scelerum suorum participibus, propinabat."

1029-1062. The substance of this passage is in Orosius, I. 12, but the borrowing is not direct.

1063-1202. Contain various stories taken from the Book of Joshua.

1081. There is a mistake here. It was Achan who stole the mantle, and he was stoned to death in the valley of Achor.

1203-1246. = Orosius, I. 13. "Anno ante urbem conditam DLX (v. r. DCLX, which agrees with Wyntoun) atrocissimum inter Cretenses et Athenienses certamen fuit: ubi populis utrimque infelicitè profligatis cruentiorem victoriā Cretenses exercuerunt: qui nobilium Atheniensium filios Minotauro, utrum fero homini, an humanæ bestię aptius dicam nescio, devorandos crudeliter addicebant, atque informe prodigium effosis Græciæ luminibus saginabant. Iisdem diebus Lapithæ et Thessali famosis nimium certavere conflictibus. Sed Thessalos Palæphatus, in libro primo Incredibilium prodit ipsos a Lapithis creditos dictosque fuisse centauros (v. r. hippocentauros), eo quod discurrentes in bello equites veluti unum corpus equorum et hominum viderentur."

1247-1356. This chapter on the Minotaur is certainly not directly taken from Ovid.

1311-1314. = "He who was within and wished to get out, entered further in; and he who was out and wished to get in, found himself remaining outside in spite of his skill."

1357-1406. Orosius, I. 14.

1393-1396. = *Universam quoque Ægyptum populavissent in paludibus impediti repellerentur.*

1407-1563. Cf. Orosius, I. 15. Wyntoun is fuller in some places, but the amplification may as well be his own as that of an intermediate writer.

1467. There is no twenty-fourth chapter in the first book of Orosius in the printed editions, but the matter referred to is contained in I. 15.

1481-1497. Cf. "Tunc pace armis quæsita externos concubitus ineunt, editos mares mox enecant, feminas studiose nutriunt, inustis infantium dexterioribus mamillis ne sagittarum iactus impedirentur; unde Amazonæ dictæ."

1498-1506. = "Harum duæ fuere reginæ, Marpesia et Lampeto, quæ agmine diviso in duas partes vicissim curam belli et domus custodiam sortiebantur."

1564-1568. Cf. Orosius, I. 16. "Plurimas fortissimasque mundi partes intraverunt, pervagatæ sunt, deleverunt, centum pene annis evertendo urbes plurimas, atque alias constituendo, tenuerunt."

1569-1656. = Mart. Pol., I. 3. "De personis a quibus Roma condita est."

1654-1656. These lines are not in Martinus, who does not know the legend of Brutus the founder of Britain.

1657-1684. Antenor . . . Francus. [Neither Martinus nor Dares nor Dictys can be cited as source for this curious passage.]

VOLUME II. BOOK III.

PROLOGUE.

7-10. W is different from C, and better.

18. = 'Deuter.' xxxii. 4.

Book III.

1-482. Cf. 'Book of Judges,' *passim*.

21. = "decem et octo annis," III. 14; WRL right.

219-221. = "Si non arassetis in vitula mea, non invenissetis pro-

positionem meam," xiv. 18. W adds an explanation. E²L do not understand the answer.

352-356. = "Si septem nerviceis funibus, necdum siccis et adhuc humentibus, ligatus fuero, infirmus ero ut ceteri homines," xvi. 7.

381. "Novis funibus," xvi. 11. *Bandis*, WR, is the right word.

392-408. These lines are an expansion of "Dixitque Dalila morsum ad eum: Usquequo decipis me, et falsum loqueris?" Note that the speech is direct in W, and indirect in the other texts.

400. W gives the best reading.

429. It is curious that E² alone should have the correct reading. The others have brought down the "seven hairs" from the preceding incident.

483-498. The genealogy from Dardanus to Eneas is not quite correct. All the names are known from classical authors, but their earliest appearance in mediæval chronicles is in the third chapter of Nennius. Wyntoun has confused the two branches ending with Eneas and Priam. The two lines stand thus: (1) Dardanus—Erichthonius—Tros—Assaracus—Capys—Anchises—Eneas—Ascanius. (2) Dardanus—Erichthonius—Tros—Ylus—Laomedon—Priam—Hector.

499-516. Cf. Geoffrey of Monm., I. 3.

517-538. Cf. *ibid.*, I. 11-13.

539-566. Cf. *ibid.*, I. 17, II. 1.

567-620. Cf. *ibid.*, II. 2-7.

603-606. W is wrong as to the sons of Locrine.

613-620. = "Condedit etiam Ebraucus urbem Alclud versus Albaniam, et oppidum montis Agned, quod nunc castellum puelarum dicitur, et montem Dolorosum," II. 8.

"Alclud," of course, is Dumbarton, and not one of the names of Edinburgh. Wyntoun mistranslated Geoffrey of Monmouth.

621-626. It is evident from this passage that the so-called 'Brute' of Barbour is his treatise on the genealogy of the Stewarts.

627-650. = Mart. Pol., chap. iii.

649. *His* (or *Hir*) *guddame* should be *This gud dame*, "this good lady." It is extraordinary that none of the scribes should have discovered the right emendation.

663-712. = Mart. Pol., chap. iii.

667. *Fourty* RLA is right.

671. Martinus has both forms, *Achis* and *Athys*.

713-804. Cf. Orosius, I. 19. The story of Sardanapalus has been expanded and modernised by Wyntoun.

765, 766. "Receiving his spun wool and distributing tow for spinning."

805, 806. = Mart. Pol., chap. iii.

807-896. = Orosius, I. 19.

859-875. = "Pulsa iterum Persarum acies, cum paulatim cederet,

matres et uxores eorum obviam occurrunt, orant, in prælium revertantur: cunctantibus, sublata veste, obscœna corporis ostendunt, quærentes num in uteros matrum vel uxorum vellent refugere.”

897-960. Cf. Orosius, I. 20. Wyntoun is a little fuller, but the details may have been worked in by himself.

916-922. “Adfectans tyranni amicitiam,” is all the light supplied by the Latin; I cannot explain the latter part of the sentence in any text.

961. The date of the first Olympiad is 776 B.C.

995-1038. Mart. Pol., chap. iii.

997. = Amulius Sylvius.

1000. = Numitor, father of Rhea.

1012. = Faustulus.

1039-1064. Wyntoun, having reached the time and place for the insertion of the third part of his genealogy of the Scottish kings, from Simon Brek to Fergus More, prefaces it with a short account of the bringing of the Stone of Destiny from Spain to Ireland. Fordun, I. 26, 27, differs considerably.

1067. There are more than “fifty-five” degrees in the next chapter; the writers of the texts, and perhaps the editor, by wrong punctuation, are responsible for the divergence.

1080. The date should be 1296, not 1310.

1087-1140. The uncouth names of this last part of the genealogy have altered more than those in the preceding parts; yet it can be detected that they agree best with the Genealogy of 1185. See note to I. 1415-1440.

Wemyss omits the list again.

VOLUME III. BOOK IV.

PROLOGUE.

5-8. Cf. Cicero, ‘De Re Publica,’ VI. 8. “Nec (virtus) triumphos arescientibus laureis, sed stabiliora quædam et viridiora præmiorum genera desiderat.”

16. = Ad Timotheum, II. iv. 7, 8. The Wemyss text gives the quotation more fully, and translates it. The Vulgate reads *in reliquo* and *Dominus* instead of *de reliquo* and *Deus*.

BOOK IV.

1. Cf. Orosius, II. 4. “Anno post eversionem Trojæ cccciv, Olympiade autem vi.” The sixth Olympiad began in 756, and ended in 752.

It is impossible to account for the wrong date—715 B.C., as Wyntoun

adopts the year 752 elsewhere for the foundation of Rome, [except by referring to Mart. Pol., I. 1 : "ab urbe condita usque ad nativitatem Christi anni septingenti quindecim colliguntur."]

8-118. Cf. Mart. Pol., I. 8.

[37-42. = Ianuarius et Februarius anno addidit. Cf. Notes to IV. 2491-2498 below.]

58. = "Qui a Roma distabant per octodecim miliaria." RW alone are right.

77-80. = "Circum ad ludos Romæ ædificavit." WR give the best reading.

119-124. Quarta Ætas. [By the normal mediæval computation followed by Wyntoun the First Age was from Adam to Noah, the Second from Noah to Abraham, the Third from Abraham to David, and the Fourth from David to the Captivity under Nebuchadnezzar (Cf. St Matthew, i. 17). Computations varied. Wyntoun's figures show little divergence from those of other writers. For the First "Eld" (I. 289-294) he has 1667 years by the Hebrew and 2244 by the Septuagint calculation ; for the Second (I. 1712-1722, W text) he has 1222 Hebrew and 1077 Septuagint ; for the Third (III. 651-656) he has 942 Heb. and 940 Sept. ; and for the Fourth (IV. 119-124) he has

"Four hundyr wyntir and thre 3here" (C text) ;

"Foure hundreth and thre 3ere" (W text) ;

that is, 403 Hebrew, and

"Foure hundyr 3here four score and foure" (C text) ;

"Foure hundreth 3eris fourty and four" (W text) ;

that is, 484 or 444 according to the Septuagint.

Reference to Bede, 'De Temporibus,' cap. XX., and 'De Temporum Ratione,' cap. LXVI., and to Marianus Scotus, Florence of Worcester, Matthew of Paris, the 'Flores Historiarum,' and Bower's 'Scotichronicon' (I. cap. 7), shows in general nearly corresponding digits. Nearest are M. Paris ('Chronica Majora') and the 'Flores,' the figures there being : First Age, 1656 Hebrew, 2242 Septuagint ; Second Age, 1292 Heb., 1072 Sept. ; Third Age, 942 Heb., 940 Sept. ; and Fourth Age, 473 Heb., 484 Sept. : "Quarta Ætas habens secundum Hebræos annos 473 : secundum Septuaginta interpretes 484." From this collation it may probably be concluded that "wyntir" (IV. 121 C) is a misreading of "sewynti," that "four score" (IV. 124 C) is correct as against "fourty" (124 W), and that the passage in Wyntoun should be read 473 Hebrew and 484 Septuagint.]

125-182. = Mart. Pol., I. 8.

133, 134. = "Cathenas, exilium, tormenta, carceres, compedes, et hujusmodi alia."

158. Two hundred and forty years is right. A similar statement will be found further on, at l. 2397.

The two additional lines in E are repeated from the end of last chapter. The same manuscript has another mistake there, writing the heading as part of the text. The connection between the two blunders does not appear.

175, 176. = "Pythagoras Romæ obiit, et Anaxagoras floruit."

183-192. = Mart. Pol., II. 1. Wyntoun's date, 508 B.C., agrees with 244 U.C. in Martinus and Orosius.

193-198. = Orosius, II. 6.

199-264. Cf. Mart. Pol., I. 1. "Sed Euphrates et alius fluvius obstitit. Quumque unus de suis militibus non solum audacior, verum etiam forma excellentior transitum attentaret, et fluvii rapacitate absorptus fuisset, rex Cyrus, dolens pro milite, iratus protestatus est flumen quod tam præclarum militem vorasset, adeo meabilem se facturum ut genua mulierum transeuntium non tangeret; quod et factum est. Nam per campi amplitudinem in quadringentos sexaginta alveos divisit."

Out of this, or out of some other version of this well-known story, Wyntoun has elaborated the poetical lay of Sir Delarik, or Alarik, who loved Dame Sabil of Pamphilia. It is a remarkable narrative, quite in harmony with the chivalrous ideas of his time; but some parts have suffered in transmission.

219-224. I have no doubt Wyntoun's description of the knight's garment, with its inscription in "broken letters," was intelligible and picturesque originally; with our present resources, the explanation is impossible. Line 220 reminds us of Chaucer's Sir Thopas: "His sadel was of rewel-boon," l. 167.

241. *Bak* C is as good a reading as *bank* W: they fell backwards into the river.

263. W is four lines shorter; some previous scribe failed to notice the repetition of *maide* as a rime word, and another tried to amend the mistake and restore some sort of meaning.

265-298. = Mart. Pol., I. 1. "Et sic per alveum, in luto aquarum multarum, sicut prophetavit Abacuc, hostiliter intravit civitatem, cepitque urbem quam (sicut dicit Orosius) vel humano opere construi, vel humana virtute destrui potuisse pene incredibile apud mortales erat. Nunc civitas in campi planitie sita, undique conspicua, natura loci amœnissima, per quadrum fuit disposita. Murorum ejus latitudo fuit quinquaginta cubitorum, et in altitudinem quater tantum. Murus ejus ex cocto latere atque interfuso bitumine compactus fuit. A fronte murorum centum portas æreas habebat, et circuitus ejus quadringentis et octoginta stadiis ambiebatur, qui ambitus quinquaginta unum miliare continebat."

Wyntoun has taken much care in the translation of this passage; hence I give it in full.

289. Notice that the ell is reckoned as equal to two cubits.

316. The ambiguous answer of the oracle to Cræsus is known under

many forms. The early Greek version has been preserved in the 'Fragments' of Diodorus (Nova Vet. Script. Collectio, ed. Mai, II. p. 26). Cicero's translation is well known :

"Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim."

Crescens in the texts is, of course, a mistake for *Cræsus*, and we must admire the skill with which Wyntoun out of that word discovered that the king of Lydia bore three crescents gules on field of silver.

425-562. Cf. Orosius, II. 7. Wyntoun has amplified his text considerably, but nothing indicates another authority.

433. *Tarmys*. "Tomyris regina." Her name appears also as *Thamyris*.

446-450. WR are better than C and others; the queen sent her young son, *filium adolescentulum*, against Cyrus.

563-578. = Orosius, II. 8.

579-666. = Orosius, II. 8. Closely translated; a few sentences omitted.

579. The date, 460 B.C. (420 in W, 440 in E²) is not equivalent to 245 U.C. in Orosius, which would be 507 B.C. That there is a mistake here is evident from the date at the beginning of next chapter.

587. The name of this king of Scythia is *Attyrus* or *Autyrus* in Orosius.

651-654. = "Tanta in eo bello diversitas certandi, fuit ut ex alia parte viri ad occidendum parati, ex alia pecudes ad moriendum præparatæ putarentur."

667-845. = Orosius, II. 9.

667. 477 B.C. agrees with Orosius 275 U.C.

681. *Schippis gret of toure* = "rostratas naves."

693-696. = "Cujus numerum nunc difficilius est adstrui, quam tunc fuit vinci."

698. Orosius says that Leonidas had four thousand men.

707-710. = "He sent first those who in the field of Marathon had seen their friends slain." Wemyss is wrong.

721-730. These lines are Wyntoun's own.

733. WR are best; "without truce being taken."

745-748. = "Non duorum pugna, sed cædes unius populi fuit."

754. There are two indirect speeches in Orosius, the first addressed to the auxiliaries, the second to the Spartans. Here they become one direct speech, slightly amplified.

793-800. These last lines of the speech are not in the Latin. They are obscure, and in consequence they have easily become corrupt. The sense is: "Honour urges us to attack; venture may often succeed; valour overcomes (?) all danger, and after hope, luck comes sometimes. So excuses will be made for us; we shall be saved from blame and defend our good name."

801-830. Wyntoun is responsible for the greatest part of the description of the battle.

827-830. = "Prælium a principio noctis in maiorem diei partem tractum."

833-839. The statement in Orosius is simply: "Sexcenti viri castra sexcentorum millium inrumpunt."

845-1008. Cf. Orosius, II. 10.

850-862. This long parenthesis refers to what has already been related; see above, ll. 631-656.

871-904. = "(Themistocles) Socios quondam et participes periculorum, nunc autem injuste agentes, apta increpatione corripiens, atque ad antiquorum jure fœderum religiosa adhortatione persuadens: præcipueque admonens, ut commisso prælio cedentium vice inhibeant remos, seseque bello auferant."

This sentence contains the gist of what has been expanded into a long letter by Themistocles to the admiral of the Ionians. The first part is clearer in W than in C.

911-920. "Igitur rex, partem navium sibi detinens, spectator pugnae in littore manet." So Orosius, who has not been followed.

929, 930. = "Ita ut versa vice in viro feminea cautela, in femina virilis audacia spectaretur."

935. Orosius does not mention the death of Artemidora.

951. = "And many fled because they feared the king's anger."

957. The speech is indirect in Latin.

985-990. = "Cujus potentiae, dum montes exciduntur, valles replentur, amnes exhauriuntur, ipsa etiam rerum natura cessisset."

1009-1064. = Orosius, II. 11.

1012. = "Adflatus primum successu brevi, mox in extrema dejectus est." This proves that *chans*, the reading of R, is the right one.

1017. = "Athenienses varia sollicitatione adducere in spem pacis adgressus."

1039-1050. = "Castra regis opibus referta ceperunt." The passage is loosely constructed in both texts.

1069-1076. = "Per Artabanum, præfectum suum, in regia circumventus, occiditur." The details of the murder are not in Orosius.

See Justinus, III. 1.

1079-1086. = "Brevissimo intervallo, de visceribus unius regni decies novies centena millia virorum, tribus proximis regibus, tria bella rapuerunt."

The losses were *nineteen*, not *ninety*, times a hundred thousand, as can be seen from ll. 598, 655, 676, 678 above.

1093-1100. = Mart. Pol., II. 2. "Trecentesimo autem anno ab urbe condita, tempore consulum, leges Atheniensium Romam delatae sunt in decem tabulis: quibus duae additae sunt a Romanis." 300 U.C. is equivalent to 452 B.C.; so WR are right against C.

The chronicle preserved in the inaccurate copy of the Gray MS.

(Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 148) says that the kingdom of Scotland commenced 443 years before the Incarnation.

1104. Two hundred and sixty years and three months in Gray's chronicle.

1109. Here begins the first of the important variations between the principal texts. The Wemyss and the Royal agree with the late chronicles of the Scots and Picts that placed a line of Scottish kings, beginning in the fifth century B.C., before the Pictish kings. Hitherto, in tracing down the descent of the Scottish race from Noah to Gedyl-Glays (I., 1411-1440), from Gedyl-Glays to Simon Brek (II., 927-962), and from Simon Brek to Fergus More (III., 1087-1140), Wyntoun has copied the genealogies; now he discards them, and adopts the chronicles for his guidance. Six of them, anterior to his time, have been published by Skene; they give lists of kings from Fergus More to Kenneth Macalpine, practically identical, except for numerous scribal blunders. Others may have existed, and it is impossible to say which one Wyntoun followed, but the one he agrees best with is the transcript from the lost Register of St Andrews.

The kings enumerated here really reigned in Scotland, and were the first Scottish kings; but they did not come from Ireland to Dalriada till about 480 A.D. For their Celtic names, as they appear in the early Irish annals, see Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. cxxvii, and for the many changes those names underwent down to the time of George Buchanan, one may consult a curious appendix in the 'Critical Essay' of Thomas Innes (Historians of Scotland), p. 410.

1117. Fergus More, the son of Erc, or of Erth, reigned three years beyond the "Drum," or "Drumalban," the "Dorsum Britanniae," or chain of mountains running northwards from Loch Lomond. Inche-gall is an old name for the Hebrides. Cammore, or Stanmore, has not been identified. Other forms of the name in the chronicles are Scuagh munere, Sluaghmaner, Stuagmuner. Macpherson in a long note tries to locate it in the east; but the chronicles originated in the eastern part of Scotland, and "ultra Drumalban" is to be looked for in the west. The earliest of the lists (Colbert MS.) reads: "A monte Drumalban usque *ad mare Hibernie* et ad Inche-gal."

I add the list of the successors of Fergus More, as they appear in the Royal text, which is more complete than the Wemyss.

Dongart, more often called Domangart.

Congal, son of Dongart.

Gowran, or Gabran, son of Dongart.

Conal, son of Congal; fourteen is the number of the years of his reign.

Edan, or Ædan, son of Gowran.

Hecgedbwd, or Eocho buide, or Eochod flavus, son of Edan.

Kynach Ker, or Conad cerr, or Kinat sinister, son of Conal.

Ferchar Makcowny, or Ferchair mac Conaing, or Ferchear the son of Kynach Ker.

Downald Brec, son of Eocho buide.

Maldowny, Dolnawde Downyswne, is absent from some of the lists. He is called in the Chronicle of St Andrews Malduin, son of Donewald dunn, *i.e.*, of Donald Brec.

Ferchar Fodys, or Ferchar Foda, or Fergar longus.

Hecgede Monavele Macdongat, Downad Brec sone, is called in the earliest list Eochal habens curvum nasum, filius Donegarth, filii Doneual varii, *i.e.*, grandson of Donald Brec. He is said to have reigned three years, not twelve.

Arinchellac filius Ferchar who reigned one year is the next king on the lists. His name is not here, nor will it appear when Wyntoun takes up again the history of the Scottish kings at the beginning of Book VI., under entirely different auspices.

1122. So in Gray's Chronicle.

1146. The conclusion reached by Wyntoun in this revision of his work was very near the truth, as near as he could expect to be with the material at his disposal: Picts and Scots had lived and fought together in Scotland after the days of Fergus, son of Erc.

1157-1174. = Mart. Pol., II. 2. 315 U.C. = 437 B.C.

1165. *Hugis*. The ending *is* is contracted in C, and fully written in A; all the others end in *e*.

1175-1186. For the history of Brennius and Belinus, see Geoff. of Monm., III. 1-10. There is no mention of Tuscany in Geoffrey, so that Wyntoun's expression "the Brute" probably refers to another work than the 'Historia Britonum.'

1187-1190. St Augustine, 'De Civitate Dei,' II. 22. "Tunc enim tota Urbe in potestate redacta, solus collis Capitolinus remanserat, qui etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres diis dormientibus vigilarent."

There is a passage in St Ambrose ('Hexameron,' V. xiii. 44) quoted by Fordun, I. 23, which agrees better with Wyntoun's text.

The Chronicle of Lanercost, *anno* 1312, attributes the remark to both fathers in the relation of the siege of Berwick, when the town was saved by the barking of a dog.

1191-1198. = Mart. Pol., II. 3. 365 U.C. = 387 B.C.

1196. *Penestre*, which should be Præneste, is not Wyntoun's error; it is in some copies of Martinus.

1199-1226. = Mart. Pol., II. 3 and I. 6. The hero of the feat, Marcus Curtius, is called "Martinus" in some Latin texts.

1227-1248. = Mart. Pol., II. 3. "Et omnes de suo genere Torquati dicti sunt."

1249-1266. = Mart. Pol., II. 3, 4. 426 U.C. = 326 B.C., so that Wyntoun agrees with his authority; but the real date should be 336 B.C. The extra lines in W are not in Martinus.

1264. This line is corrupt; A is best, but not original.

1267-1308. = Mart. Pol., II. 4.

1309-1342. = Mart. Pol., II. 5, 'De Tarentinis.' 443 U.C. = 309 B.C.

1323-1325. = "Cum . . . centum viginti elephantis, usque ad illud tempus Romanis invisus."

1343-1408. = Mart. Pol., II. 5. 483 U.C. = 269 B.C.

1409-1424. = Mart. Pol., II. 6. 508 U.C. (507 in Orosius) does not tally with 280 B.C.

1411. = "Repentina subversio contigit urbi."

1425-1506. = Mart. Pol., II. 7, 'De Annibale.' 533 U.C. = 219 B.C.

1447-1449. "Tempore Publii Scipionis et Sempronii consulum." Wyntoun makes three consuls out of the two names.

1458. = "Ad planum Italiæ pervenit."

1466. "Annibal eum graviter vulneravit," misunderstood by Wyntoun.

1475. "Sempronius . . . a Sicilia cum exercitu rediit."

1479. All the texts are wrong except RL. It was Sempronius that escaped.

1486. "Primo mense verni." The uncommon word *were*, spring, has misled some of the copyists.

1501. *Fraude* is hardly a fair translation of "arte Annibalis."

1507-1610. = Mart. Pol., II. 8, 'De Lucio Æmilio.' 540 U.C. = 212 B.C. Wyntoun again makes three consuls out of "Lucius Æmilius Paulus et Publius Terentius Varro."

1513. = "Apud Canosam, Apuliæ vicum." Canusium was a town near Cannæ.

1518. = "Quadraginta quatuor millia Romanorum interfecti sunt."

1523-1537. Martinus copies Orosius almost verbatim in his account of the battle; but here he has gone far astray by the omission of a few words. The sentence in Orosius, IV. 16, reads thus: "Periit enim in eo consul Æmilius Paullus, consulares aut prætorii viri viginti interfecti sunt, senatores vel capti vel occisi sunt triginta, nobiles viri trecenti, pedestrium militum quadraginta millia, equitum tria millia quingenti." Martinus omits the last three words, hence the shifting of the other numbers. Wyntoun has been misled by the omission.

Two consuls again have been made out of one name, the meaning of *consulares* not being understood.

1538-1544. = "Varro consul, cum quinquaginta equitibus, Venusiam fugit." Venusia, now Venosa.

1555. The reading of WRL is the original one; it was altered on account of the strange word *mais*, *moys*, from O.Fr. *moi*, *moy*, Lat. *modius*, the very word of the Latin text.

1579. *Funius*, the name of the dictator, is corrupt everywhere.

1589, 1590. = "Tunc Roma desperata, spem habere cœpit."

1591-1610. "Qui tunc (sicut dicit Orosius) Romanam militiam vidisset, rubore perfundi potuisset: quia non nisi aut puer, aut servus, aut sceleratus, aut debitor erat. Et nec sic quidem numerus idoneus erat. Senatus omnis pene novitius videbatur." The two printed

versions vary considerably, W standing alone. A close comparison with the Latin will show that C and the others are earliest, and that W is a late re-arrangement of the paragraph.

1611-1702. = Mart. Pol., II. 9. 543 U.C. = 209 B.C. The date is wrong in WR.

1628. "Usque ad portam Collinam accessit."

1633-1646. = "At ubi congredi debuissent, pluvia cum grandine mixta, tanta se effudit, ut turbata agmina vix possent ad castra redire. Deinde, quum serenitas rediisset, et illi acie iterata ad pugnam disposuissent, rursus violentior venit tempestas, compellens exercitus ad tentoria refugere." Here again W has diverged from the Latin in the course of time.

1635. There is something wrong here; *wiþe, þythe* C rime together and have no meaning; *wycht, þyth* WR make sense and do not rime.

1652. The four additional lines in W are not in Martinus.

1671. = "Et facta pugna cum Pœnis quadraginta millia de adversariis occidit." Nothing is said about the "duk of Affrik."

1703-1752. = Mart. Pol., II. 10.

1713. The statement that Philip succeeded to the throne of Macedonia 120 years after the death of Alexander is not in Martinus; it seems to be an explanation by the chronicler.

1731. = "De Asia per mare in Europam transiens."

1749-1752. = "Multa hic Romanorum bella brevitatis causa transeo."

1753. 200 B.C. is sufficiently accurate as a general date for the coming of the Picts. The chronicle preserved in the Gray MS., the only one that gives the years of the Scots and Picts, says that the Scots ruled 260 years before the Picts, and 443 years before the Incarnation.

1754-1792. The whole passage is from Bede, 'Hist. Eccles.,' Lib. I. 1. It occurs also in Henry of Huntingdon, Lib. I. 1, p. 300, and in Fordun, I. 30.

1792. The additional lines in W are very poor, and even nonsensical.

1796. Wyntoun feels bound to protest once more when coming to the Picts against the impossibility of making ten generations cover 1200 years "and fere mare."

As in chapter VIII. above, the Wemyss and the Royal agree together, and preserve the early version; the Cottonian and the others contain the correction.

1823. = Reckon what was the length of life of each of these ten men(?).

1831. This refers to the next list of the Scottish kings at the beginning of Book VI.

1838-1846. = "Chruthneus, filius Kinne, clemens iudex accepit monarchiam in regno Pictorum et 50 annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 172.

1851-1906. = Mart. Pol., II. 11. 602 U.C. = 150 B.C.

1907-1948. = Ibid., II. 12. 606 U.C. = 146 B.C.

1922. = "Confluxissent in unum." *Qwerne* seems to be the same word as *Kirn* (Jamieson), (1) a churn; (2) metaph. applied to a mire, "The ground's a mere kirn." See N. E. Dic. s.v. KIRN.

1941-1944. This is neither in Martinus nor in Orosius.

1945-1948. "Nam (sicut dicit Orosius) servilis tumultus quanto rarior est, tanto cæteris crudelior."

1949-2012. This so-called "teaching of Aristotle" was a favourite topic in the literature of the middle ages. M. Paul Meyer, in his translation of 'Girart de Roussillon,' p. 28, has brought together many instances of that strange doctrine that serfs were treacherous by nature, and that kings should not entrust them with any charge in the state. The only passage in which such teaching is fathered on Aristotle is in the 'Roman d'Alexandre,' ed. Michelant, pp. 250, 251. We cannot say whether Wyntoun was acquainted with the French poem, but his arguments are quite different. The abstract nature of the "teaching" has spread considerable obscurity over many lines. I shall attempt to explain some of the difficulties, more as a suggestion than a solution.

1967-1971. "When they (the serfs) have grown in wealth and comfort, and risen to unnatural sleepy bliss, to power and might, to honour and unmannerly height, they will shut their ears to pity, &c."

1986-1988. "Wealth and riches always did draw (men) into wilder recklessness than moderate means should, ought to, do."

1996. *Wisse* = wisely? The reading of W is curious, but not very helpful:

"He can buy himself rents, if he be wise!"

2013-2020. = Mart. Pol., II. 12. "Sicilia in hoc miserior fuit, quia insula, et nunquam status sui juris idonea fuit: nunc tyrannis subjecta, nunc servis dominatu improbo exigentibus servitutem."

2021-2038. Mart. Pol., II. 13. Various dates in Martinus and Orosius, none agreeing exactly with Wyntoun.

2039-2092. Mart. Pol., II. 14. 641 U.C. = 111 B.C.

2079. = "Cæsa autem centum sexaginta millia."

2090. = "Quod usque hodie Cymbrinum vocatur."

2093-2102. = Mart. Pol., II. 15. 645 U.C. is not 97 B.C. "Status Romanorum per internum bellum et per discordias sic labefactus est ut pene ad extremum concideret: nisi Marius quinto consul leni persuasione populum commotum sedasset, auctoribus seditionum occisis." There seems to be something corrupt in all the texts; W is the best.

2103-2188. = Mart. Pol., II. 16, which begins with the date 659 U.C.

2105. *Apud Tarentinos, Careptinos*, &c.: sundry readings in M. P. The passage comes from Orosius, V. 18, who has "apud Arretinos," that is, Aretium, in Etruria.

2164-2170. = "Quintus Catulus Syllæ dixit: 'Cum quibus tandem victuri sumus? In bello armatos, in pace inermes occidimus.'"

2189-2246. = Mart. Pol., I. 17. 693 U.C. does not agree with 79 B.C. Perhaps Wyntoun wrote "three score."

2195. = "Trevirorum civitatem vastat."

2197. Martinus does not mention Britain.

2247-2318. = Orosius, VI. 15 (end), 16.

2297-2310 = "Rex ipse adolescens scapha exceptus ut fugeret, multis insilientibus mersis, necatusque est. Corpus ejus ad litus devolutum, indicio lorice aureæ cognitum fuit."

2319-2336. = Mart. Pol., II. 17, and Orosius, VI. 17.

2321, 2322. "Dictator et consul creatus."

2337-2351. = P. Comestor, VI. 42, who copies Suetonius and Richardus.

2352-2394. = Mart. Pol., II. 17, except the explanation of the capital letters.

2395, 2396. "Gede l. annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 149.

2397-2406. = Mart. Pol., II. 17, who gives the years of the kings as 241 or 267, and the years of the consuls as 444. "Three score and seven" would be correct.

2407-2466. Mart. Pol., II. 18. 710 U.C. = 42 B.C.

2462-2466. = "Quod bellum ideo fuit magnum et formidolosum Romanis ut Suetonius dixerit præter Punicum bellum, sive Carthaginense, nullum majus et periculosius fuisse Romanis. Nam tres legiones Romanorum ibi deletæ sunt."

The four extra lines in W belong to the chonicler, or rather to some scribe.

2491-2498. = "From his name the month has been called August to this day. Previously it was called Sextile. In that same way we continue to call the months that follow it by their number, as they are set in order, the first month being March."

The passage is longer in W; the reference is to the terms January and February, already explained above, IV. 37-42.

2505-2512. Mart. Pol., 'De Octaviano Imper.,' II. "Anno ipsius vigesimo sexto Virgilius Brundusii moritur, sed ossa Neapolim transferuntur . . . Anno ejusdem trigesimo quinto Horatius poeta moritur Romæ."

2525-2588. P. Comestor, 'Hist. Evangelica,' IV. Volens Cæsar scire numerum regionum in orbe quæ Romanæ suberant ditioni, numerum etiam civitatum in qualibet regione, nomina quoque capitum in qualibet civitate, præceperat ut de suburbanis, oppidis, vicis et pagis ad suam confluerent homines civitatem, et maxime ubicumque habitarent ad civitatem convenirent unde traherent originem, et quisque denarium argenteum precii decem nummorum usualium unde denarius dicebatur præsi provinciæ tradens se subditum Romano imperio profiteretur. Nam et nummus imaginem præferebat Cæsaris

et superscriptionem nominis. Et quia numerus eorum qui censi capite ferebantur vel ut alii legunt qui censum capitis ferebant certo numero determinabatur et redigebatur in scriptis, ideo professio hujusmodi descriptio vocabatur.

This is evidently the passage that Wyntoun endeavoured to translate and explain. Owing to the abstract nature of the subject, his original rendering was probably not very clear, and the successive copyists have not improved it. A comparison with the Latin will help to explain the mistakes of the different texts.

2529-2540. Within these lines there is a triple repetition of the rimes *regiownys*, *townys*, which has caused disturbances in all the texts except R.

2573. *Polle* is difficult to explain; it must mean the entry in the register, the part of the register allotted to each man.

2611-2652. Mart. Pol., 'De Octaviano,' II.

2623. "Respondit imperatori hoc modo :

'Judicii signum, tellus sudore madescet,
E coelo rex adveniet, per secla futurus,'

et cætera quæ sequuntur."

There are some explanatory lines in W which seem to be original.

2647-2652. = "Ubi nunc est ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ in Capitolio, et hic fratres Minores sunt: ideo dicta est Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ Ara coeli."

2653-2690. = P. Comestor, 'Hist. Evangelica,' V.

2667-2690. "Difficile fuerat pauperibus præ frequentia multorum qui ob id ipsum convenerant vacuas invenire domos, et in communi transitu qui erat inter duas domus operimentum habens quod diversorium dicitur se receperunt, sub quo cives ad colloquendum vel ad convivendum in diebus otii vel pro æris temperie divertebant. Forte ibi Joseph præsepium fecerat bovi et asino quos secum adduxerat in quo repositus est Jesus."

VOLUME III. BOOK V.

PROLOGUE.

1-32. Cf. Mart. Pol., I. 1.

33-64. = Mart. Pol., II. 2.

BOOK V.

1-9. = Ibid., 'De Christo,' I.

31-40. = Ibid.

41-82. = Legenda Aurea, VI., 'De Nativitate.'

107-114. Cf. Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 149.

115-136. = Geoff. of Monm., IV. 11. Nothing said there about the "order of knighthood."

137-192. = Mart. Pol., 'De Christo.'

193-226. = P. Comestor, XXXIII.

227-252. = Mart. Pol., 'De Octaviano.'

241-244. = "Tempore Augusti computati sunt civium Romanorum nonagies quadringenta millia et octoginta millia."

247-252. = "Neque virtutis vitis caruit : serviebat enim libidini ; nam inter duodecim catamites totidemque puellas accubare solebat."

253-290. Mart. Pol., 'De Tyberio,' III.

265-274. = "Satis prudens in armis, satis fortunatus. Cui scientia literarum multa inerat, eloquio clarior ; sed ingenio pessimo, insidioso ; simulans se ea velle quæ nolle."

285, 286. Not in Martinus.

291-324. = Mart. Pol., 'De Tyberio,' III.

333-354. = Ibid.

355-368. = Ibid., 'De S. Petro,' II.

359. = "De vico Bethsaidæ."

369-386. = Mart. Pol., 'Caligula,' IV.

387-391. = Ibid., 'Claudius,' V. "Diebus vigintinovem.

392-420. = Ibid., 'De S. Petro,' II.

398. Twenty-five years, ten months and eight days in Martinus.

412. = "Quia ejus auditor fuit, et filius de baptismo."

421-512. Cf. Geoff. of Monm., IV. 12-15. Every detail in the chronicle will be found in Geoffrey, except *the ferde 3her*, l. 423 ; but Wyntoun was perhaps making use of some abridgment of some vernacular Brut. Such forms as Widen, Viden (425, 450) instead of Guiderius point that way.

436-442. = "Didicerat enim linguam eorum et mores : qui inter Britannos obsides Romæ nutritus fuerat."

Note the curious mistranslation in the Wemyss text. It looks as if Wyntoun himself made the mistake at first, and corrected it in the first revision.

513-552. = Mart. Pol., 'Claudius,' V.

521-532. = "Meditatus est edictum, quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris emittendi ; quum ex continentia præ pudore quendam periclitatum reperisset."

533, 534. = "Cibo vinoque omni tempore et loco intemperatissimus fuit." Wyntoun says the reverse.

553-562. = Mart. Pol., 'De S. Petro,' II., except l. 560.

563-578. Cf. Mart. Pol., 'Nero,' VI. Says that he reigned thirteen years, seven months and nine days.

579-632. = Legenda Aurea, LXXXIX., 'De Sancto Petro Apostolo.' The same story, in the same terms, will be found also in 'Flores Historiarum,' vol. i. p. 120, and in Bower's 'Scotichronicon,' ii. 27.

Wyntoun has omitted some of the details and altered the end.

632. Cf. "Unde et pars illa civitatis, ut aliqui dicunt, ubi rana latuerat, Lateranum a latente rana nomen accepit." This punning derivation of "Lateran" is not explicitly in the Chronicle, but it confirms the correctness of the reading *syne* in WE.

The agreement of WE about this place, say from l. 606 to l. 666, is very remarkable, as will be seen from the variants, which are more numerous than usual. The writer of E finding his text faulty, improved it by borrowing from a manuscript of the W type.

633-658. Mostly from Martinus, 'Nero,' VI.

638. The mention of Philip in WE is a mistake.

649. =(Many other kingdoms) ceased to pay. *And* in C is wrong.

656. "Passi sunt autem Petrus et Paulus ultimo anno Neronis." The punctuation is wrong: the full stop should be at the end of l. 658, and not here. The matter is slightly worse in WE.

659-702. =Mart. Pol., 'De S. Petro,' II.

659-666. ="Tempore autem Cornelii Papæ Græci, furati (sunt) corpora Apostolorum, ut ea in Græciam deferrent, asportabant. Sed dæmones in idolis habitantes, divina coacti virtute clamabant: 'Viri Romani, succurrite, quia dii vestri auferuntur.'"

WE are wrong.

703-732. =Mart. Pol., 'Nero,' VI., quoting Suetonius.

741, 742. ="And will have their proud way, without love or fear of God or man."

Nought should be omitted and the punctuation altered.

743-746. Mart. Pol., 'Galba,' VII.

747-750. Ibid., 'Nero,' VI.

751-760. Ibid., 'Galba,' VII.

761-768. Ibid., 'Linus,' III.

769-772. Ibid., 'Cletus,' IV.

773-784. Ibid., 'Linus,' III. "Linus et Cletus non sederunt ut Pontifices, sed ut summi Pontificis coadjutores: quibus in vita sua beatus Petrus unam tradidit ecclesiasticarum rerum dispensationem. Ipse tamen orationibus et prædicationibus vacabat: propter quod tanta auctoritate dotati meruerunt in catalogo Pontificum poni."

780. I am afraid Wyntoun has missed the meaning of Lat. *dispensationem*=management. I see no sense and no construction possible in "to dispense with."

785-800. =Mart. Pol., 'Cletus,' IV.

790. *Wit* is in C alone, and corresponds to nothing in the Latin.

801-828. =Mart. Pol., 'Vespasianus,' VIII.

823-828. ="Quum morte urgeretur, se erexit, et, 'Stantem,' inquit, 'deceat imperatorem excedere terris.'"

Regretfully one must confess that Wyntoun misunderstood Vespasian's noble saying that an emperor should die standing!

829-837. =Mart. Pol., 'Titus,' IX.

838-861. Cf. Ibid., 'Vespasianus,' VIII., and P. Comestor, X. 6.

862-900. = Mart. Pol., 'Titus,' IX.

901-922. = Ibid., 'Clemens,' V.

910. W has two lines more here; they are original, and not an addition, as they are supported by Martinus.

923-1024. = Mart. Pol., 'Domitianus,' X.

940-944. = "Nullam nisi argenteam vel auream statuam in Capitolio passus est poni." Nothing accounts for *of hymself* in C.

985. "Quum Marcum Agrippam urbis præfectum illuc mittere voluissent. . . ." *Trete* W "to entreat" is better than *thret* C.

1025-1040. = Mart. Pol., 'Nerva,' XI.

1041-1070. = Ibid., 'Anacletus,' VI.

1053-1068. = "Omnes monuit fideles per epistolam ut presbyteri præ cæteris honorentur, dicens quod Deo sacrificantes non debent vexari, sed portari, et ab omnibus venerari, et quod Presbyteri, quando sacrificant, testes secum habeant, maxime Episcopi, ut Domino perfecte sacrificare probentur."

W has gone all astray.

1071-1074. = Mart. Pol., 'Evaristus,' VII. "Annis tredecim."

1075-1102. = Ibid., 'Trajanus,' XII.

1095-1102. = "Romæ et per provincias, omnibus se æqualem exhibens, amicos suos salutandi causa frequentans, vel ægrotantes; liberalis cunctis."

1103-1150. = Mart. Pol., 'Trajanus,' XII.

1151-1160. Cf. 'Henry of Huntingdon,' I. 25. Not in Martinus.

1161-1186. = Mart. Pol., 'Trajanus,' XII.

1189. Duchil is credited with a reign of forty years in the Pictish chronicles.

1193-1210. Cf. *Legenda Aurea*, XLVI., 'De sancto Gregorio,' p. 197. It is also the source of the extra lines in W. Why these lines should have been dropped in subsequent copies of the Chronicle, and inserted again in A, is not apparent.

1211-1246. = Mart. Pol., 'Alexander,' VIII.

1215. "Annis septem."

1219. = "Cessavit episcopatus diebus triginta quinque." WR are correct.

1247-1250. = Mart. Pol., 'Sixtus,' IX.

1251-1308. = Ibid., 'Adrianus,' XIII., *passim*.

1286. "Facundissimus Latino sermone, et Græco eruditissimus fuit." I am afraid "Ebrew" has been brought in as a rime-word.

1298. W adds two lines for which there is no authority in Martinus.

1309-1346. I have not been able to discover a source that might throw light on this obscure disquisition.

1320. = "Unless there were good virtue underneath." (?)

1309-1346.

(?)=When the nobles came to him and told him that it was their will and their counsel that he should call his son Cæsar August; he

said that it was sufficient that he stood in that high state against his will, and reigned as emperor without any merit ; without (*pouche*) that state and honour being wasted (*spyllt*) on another, whether son or brother. No state should succeed (?) by reason of blood, unless there were good virtue underneath. A lord born without merit is not worth a mite, he said ; a king by birth and unworthy reigns unfortunately. The father, he said, and he could well prove it (?), deprives the son of a father's love, if he lays more burdens on his back than he can easily bear ; for so he sets himself to smother his son in all probability (?) and to oppress him under his birth, without helping him to rise with it (?). Therefore men should be well taught in their youth (and so prove by their deeds?) and use the result of their learning wherein they were grounded (?) previously, if they grew so in value through their wit, worth, and virtue, that they were likely to surpass those whom they would precede in honour (??) ; then would they climb, when called upon, and hold their steps steadily on the height where they were placed which they (people) urged them to reach, then, &c.

The whole passage looks like a translation from a stiff piece of Latin. The source should make matters clearer.

1347-1354. Mart. Pol., 'Adrianus,' XIII. "Causam autem silentii in libro suo demonstratur."

1355-1358. "Derordegele (Duordeghall) xx annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 149, 172.

1359-1372. Mart. Pol., 'Sixtus,' IX.

1373-1394. Ibid., 'Telesphorus,' X.

1379. The statement in Martinus is that *Gloria in excelsis* should be sung at the three masses on Christmas Day.

1383. = "Primam in pullorum cantu, circa mediam noctem."

1395-1466. = Mart. Pol., 'Antoninus Pius,' XIV.

1399. = "Annis vigintiduobus, mensibus tribus."

1429-1434. = "Dicitur tale verbum dixisse : 'Malo exemplo Scipionis unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere.'"

1466. W adds ten lines worth special notice, first as a strong common-sense protest against the injustice done to the helpless gladiator, also as containing the earliest instance of a remarkable alliterative proverb.

"Mastry mawis the medow downe ay,"

which is equivalent to the older French saying,

"La force paist le pré."

Godefroy, vol. iv. p. 65, and vol. x. p. 259, has a few instances, the earliest going back to the twelfth century.

The original meaning was that "even shears (O.Fr. *force*, shear ; Mod.Fr. *forces*, shears) cut down the meadow,"—that is to say :

"Perseverance overcomes the greatest difficulties." This is certainly not the meaning in our text, where the sense is: "Masterfulness overcomes all," taking the Fr. *force* with the more common acceptation of "strength," "might." I do not think that the Scottish translator should be found fault with for the mistranslation; the quotations in Godefroy are so few and so vague that it is impossible to come to a decisive conclusion; but it is almost certain that the change of meaning took place in French first.

The Scottish form will be found in [some collection of] Scottish Proverbs, whence Walter Scott probably extracted it and used it in 'The Heart of Midlothian,' ch. 45, &c.

1467-1470. "Derothet (Deokleth) lx annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 149, 172.

1471-1486. = Mart. Pol., 'Iginus,' XI.

1487-1502. = Ibid., 'Pius,' XII.

1503-1544. = Ibid., 'Antoninus Verus,' XV. "Marcus Antoninus Verus, cum fratre Lucio Aurelio Commodo. . ."

1517-1522. "A principio enim vitæ suæ tranquillissimus fuit."

1545-1548. "Combust xx annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 149.

1549-1552. = Mart. Pol., 'Anicetus,' XIII.

1553-1564. Ibid., 'Sother,' XIV.

1565-1624. Ibid., 'Eleutherus,' XV. Further on, v. 5455-5470, Wyntoun gives a different date for the conversion of King Lucius.

1592-1598. These lines are not in Martinus; they agree with a statement in Bede ('Hist. Eccles.,' I., iv.), copied by Henry of Huntingdon: "Susceptamque fidem Britanni usque in tempore Diocletiani principis inviolatam quietam in pace servabunt."

1625-1696. = Mart. Pol., 'Commodus,' XVI.

1694. The two additional lines in W are evidently a joke of the scribe, who prepared his ground by writing *Malicia* instead of *Melancia*.

1697-1714. = Mart. Pol., 'Victor,' XVI.

1709-1714. = "Hic constituit ut, necessitate urgente, quicumque hominum sive in flumine, sive in fonte, sive in mari, tantum Christiana confessione credulitatis clarificata, baptizaretur." Wyntoun did not understand.

1715-1741. = Mart. Pol., 'Pertinax,' XVII.

1742-1750. = Ibid., 'Caracalla,' XVIII.

1751-1762. = Ibid., 'Zepherinus,' XVII.

1763-1769. = Ibid., 'Calixtus,' XVIII.

1770-1784. = Ibid., 'Urbanus,' XIX.

1781-1784. = "Antea enim Ecclesia vivebat ad instar Apostolorum, pecunias tantummodo recipiens pro egenis." The translation is not quite exact.

1785-1797 = Mart. Pol., 'Macrinus,' XIX., 'Marcus Antoninus,' XX.

1789. *Martyne* for *Macrine* is in every text.

1791. "Antonius, alias Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus imperavit annis quatuor."

1798-1802. = Mart. Pol., 'Alexander,' XXI.

1803-1806. "Fevanacherthe (Karanesthrecht) xl annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 149, 172.

1807-1830. Mart. Pol., 'Pontianus,' XX., 'Antheros,' XXI.

1831-1836. Ibid., 'Maximinus,' XXII., 'Gordianus,' XXIII.

1837-1850. Ibid., 'Fabianus,' XXI.

1851-1868. Ibid., 'Philippus,' XXIV.

1869-2124. = 'Vincent. Bellov.,' XI., 33-35.

This long account of the life of Saint Pontius and of the conversion of the two Philips has been derived from Vincent of Beauvais, as Wyntoun tells us. The original is a "Vita" of the Saint written by Valerius, "an ocular witness," which has been printed in the 'Acta Sanctorum,' Maii, vol. III., 14th of May.

1996. The verses in C are from Ps. 113, *In Exitu Israel*, as stated in the text. The quotation is longer in Vincent, and includes the last verse in W, *Neque enim est*, &c., which is from Ps. 134, v. 17.

2003. W has ten lines more than the other texts. They seem intrusive, as there is nothing in the Latin to account for them. The quotation is the fifth verse of Ps. 95, *Cantate Domino canticum novum*.

2053-2071. Not in the 'Acta,' nor in Martinus; taken from the *Legenda Aurea*, CXVII., 'De S. Laurentio Martire.'

2125-2140. Mart. Pol., 'Philippus,' XXIV.

2141-2248. Cf. *Legenda Aurea*, 'De S. Laurentio'; considerably amplified.

2249-2253. = Mart. Pol., 'Cornelius,' XXIII.; "diebus decem."

2254-2256. Ibid., 'Lucius,' XXIV.; "annis tribus, mensibus tribus, diebus tribus."

2257-2260. = Mart. Pol., 'Gallus,' XXVI.

2261-2274. = Ibid., 'Stephanus,' XXV.; "diebus quindecim."

Nothing is said of his "alms." Wemyss wrongly calls him Dionysius.

2275-2298. = Mart. Pol., 'Valerianus,' XXVII.

2287-2298. = "Quamdiu vixit, rex ejusdem provinciæ pedem cervicibus ejus imponere solitus erat, dum ascendere volebat equum."

2299-2308. Cf. Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 149., "Gernarg bolg ix. annis regnavit. Poponeuet xxx. annis regnavit."

2309-2311. = Mart. Pol., 'Sixtus,' XXVI. "Sedit annis tribus, mensibus undecim, diebus sex."

2312-2330. = Mart. Pol., 'Valerianus,' XXVII. "Sanctus Sixtus in Hispaniam profectus, duos juvenes, scilicet Laurentium et Vincentium, cognatos, moribus compositos inspiciens, secum Romam duxit, et Laurentio remanente, Vincentius in Hispaniam rediit."

2339-2348. = Mart. Pol., 'Sixtus,' XXVI.

2349-2357. = Ibid., 'Valerianus,' XXVII.

2358-2428. = 'Legenda Aurea,' CXVII., "De S. Laurentio Martire," *passim*.

2421. This line is certainly corrupt in all the texts. *Off Persse* should probably be *Off preiss* as in E² = "with pressing, with hurry"; there is no reference to Persia in the Latin.

2429-2438. = Mart. Pol., 'Dyonisius,' XXVII.; "... mensibus tribus. . . ."

2439-2440. = Ibid., 'Felix,' XXVIII.; "... mensibus decem."

2441-2444. = Ibid., 'Eutychianus,' XXIX. No mention of "alms-deeds."

2445-2461. = Ibid., *passim*. The reigns of the six emperors amount to about eighteen years.

2462-2464. = "Fiacua albus xxx. annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 149.

2465-2482. = Mart. Pol., 'Caius,' XXX. "... Hic constituit, ut omnes ordines sic in ecclesia ascenderent; ut si aliquis dignus esset, primo Hostiarius, Lector, Exorcista, Acolytus, Subdiaconus, Diaconus, Presbyter, deinde Episcopus ordinaretur."

2483-2524. = Mart. Pol., 'Diocletianus,' XXXIV.; "... annis viginti imperant." Every statement is derived from Martinus, and there is no reason for bringing in the authority of Vincent of Beauvais.

2519, 2520. The enumeration of the martyrs is longer in Martinus. The original names in Wyntoun were probably Agnes, Lucia, Agatha, Anastasia, and Gregorius.

2525-2598. = Mart. Pol., 'Marcellinus,' XXXI., 'Diocletianus,' XXXIV. Wyntoun has combined and improved the material at his disposal.

2566-2572. W alone is right. The corruption of the others must be an early one.

"As before 3he herde me tel"

is wrong, as there is no mention of St Lucina previously, but only of Pope Cornelius, see before, V. 677. Marcel's answer to St Peter, as given by W, is not part of the dialogue in Martinus; but St Lucina's request will be found under 'Cornelius,' XXIII.: "Hic rogatus a sancta Lucina, corpora beatorum Petri et Pauli de Catatumbis levavit."

2599-2608. = Mart. Pol., 'Marcellus,' XXXII.

2609-2612. Ibid., 'Galerius,' XXXV. "Galerius annis duobus imperavit, cum Constantino (*sic*) et Lucinio. Iste Constantinus Hispaniam sibi subegit. . . ." The two colleagues of Galerius were Constantius and Licinius.

2613-2644. = Geoff. of Monm., V. 6.

2639. "Cum undecim anni præteriissent ipse apud Eboracum morti subiacuit." Not *nyne 3here*, but eleven.

2645-2652. Mart. Pol., 'Eusebius,' XXXIII., 'Miltiades,' XXXIV. "Miltiades . . . sedit annis tribus, mensibus sex, diebus octo."

2653-2658. = "Tonaculmel vi. annis regnavit. Donornauch neralles i. anno regnavit. Ferdach fyngal ij. annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 149.

2659-2678. = Mart. Pol., 'Constantinus,' XXXVI., 'Sylvester,' XXXV. Constantine succeeded his father Constantius in 306.

2679-2798. The whole of this is a pretty close translation from the 'Legenda Aurea,' ch. XII., "De Sancto Silvestro." Wyntoun borrows also from Vincent. Bellov., XIII. 47 *et seq.*; or it may be that the authority followed by him was derived from those two sources.

2685-2687. The legend says nothing of the physicians, but Vincent does.

2693-2702. Amplification by the Chronicler.

2723-2726. "Dignitas Romani populi de fonte nascitur pietatis."

2727-2736. Amplification, or from a third source.

2759-2794. = "Quanta ergo erit crudelitas, ut hoc nostris faciamus filiis quod fieri prohibuimus alienis?"

"Quid juvat barbaros superasse, si a crudelitate vincamur? Nam vicisse extraneas nationes ratione virium est bellantium populorum, vincere autem vitia et peccata virtus est morum. In illis ergo præliis fortiores nos existimus illis, in his vero nobis ipsis fortiores sumus. Qui enim fuerit in isto certamine superatus, victoriam obtinet victus, victor enim post victoriam vincitur, si pietas ab impietate superatur. Vincat ergo pietas in isto congressu. Bene enim omnium adversariorum poterimus esse victores, si sola pietate vincamus. Omnium enim se esse dominum comprobant, qui servum se monstraverit pietatis. Melius est ergo me mori salva vita innocentium quam per eorum interitum vitam recuperare crudelem, quam tamen recuperare incertum est, cum tamen certum sit, quod sic recuperata crudelis est."

The end of the last sentence corresponds to ll. 2757-2763. It will be noticed that the Wemyss text is the best in a few lines.

2799-2906. = 'Legenda Aurea,' XII., "De S. Silvestro," ch. 2.

2883-2895. "Ut nullus nisi de licentia sui antistitis ecclesiam ædificet intra muros alicujus civitatis. . . . Ut ad ædificationem ecclesiarum decimæ possessionum regalium tribuantur." Wyntoun improves on his text, and brings it up to date.

2905-2906. "Duodecim cophinos in suis scapulis foras ejecit." CEA are wrong.

2907-2998. The story of the dragon is not from the 'Golden Legend'; it agrees better with Vincent. Bellov., XIII. 53.

3013-3068. = Geoff. of Monm., V. 7, 8. Wyntoun goes back to the beginning of Constantine's reign. Martinus has a short paragraph on Maxentius at the end of 'Galerius,' XXXV.; from it is taken the reference to Saint Catherine. The two extra lines in W are a scribal addition.

3037. "(Constantinus) conduxerat secum Helenæ, tres avunculos Leolinum videlicet et Trahern, necnon et Marium."

3069-3104. = Mart. Pol., 'Constantinus,' XXXVI.

3105-3114. "Constantinus autem Nicomedis moritur. Et paulo ante cometes apparuit."

3115-3134. I cannot understand why the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian rendered the succession to the empire after Constantine's death a difficult matter to settle. Martinus supplies no cue.

3135-3140. This Maximian is a different person from Diocletian's colleague, referred to above, with whom Wyntoun confuses him while passing from the guidance of Martinus to that of Geoffrey. Maximian the emperor died in 306, long before Constantine's death. The Maximianus of Geoffrey, and also of Nennius, is a mistake for Maximus, as in Gildas, ch. xiii.

3141-3278. = Geoff. of Monm., V. 9 to VI. 5. This is a much abridged summary of the History of the Britons; yet every statement is to be found in Geoffrey. Wyntoun gives "the story of the Brute" as his authority, by which he may mean some chronicle based on Geoffrey's work, as he is not in the habit of summarising his sources so elaborately as he has done here. However there is no absolute proof that "the Brute" is not 'Historia Britonum.'

3153. *Baraduk* is a mistake in all the texts for "Caradocus Cornubiæ dux," Geoff. of Monm., V. 9.

3156. Geoffrey does not say that Maximian was one of the emperors. "Sciebat illum, et ex Imperatorum genere, et ex origine Britonum jus in Britanniam habere," V. 9.

3183. "Triginta millia militum," in Geoff. of Monm., V. 14.

3234-3239. ". . . Ad quos jussit construere murum inter Albaniam et Deiram, a mari usque ad mare." The earliest appearance of Thirl Wall or Thirlwal is in Fordun, II. 7.

3279-3286. = Mart. Pol., 'Marcus,' XXXVI.

3287-3301. = Ibid., 'Julius,' XXXVII.

3313. The date 345, given in some texts, is wrong for the accession of the sons of Constantine; it should be 337. That may account for the omission of the two lines in CE AuE².

3313-3398. = Mart. Pol., 'Constantinus,' XXXVII.

3347-3362. "Arrius dum Constantinopolim ad ecclesiam pergeret, adversus nos dimicaturus de fide, divertens per forum Constantii ad necessariam causam, viscera ejus repente simul cum vita effusa sunt."

Wyntoun likes to add a touch of realism when he has the chance.

3399-3418. = Mart. Pol., 'Julianus,' XXXVIII.

3400. The four additional lines in WA are probably original, as Martinus explains the steps by which Julian reached the empire.

3419-3470. Cf. Mart. Pol., 'Julianus,' XXXVIII. "Beatus Basiliscus orans et jejunans cum Christianis, vidit beatam Virginem præci-

piement Mercurio militi, dudum ante in quodam monasterio sepulto, ut se et filium ejus de Juliano vindicaret. Quod et factum est. Et blasphemando, expirans clamavit: 'Vicisti, Galilæe, vicisti.'" Wyntoun must have had another source. Note some important differences between the printed texts.

3444. *Mozyr* R doubtless was the original, but it was avoided in most texts as an unusual word. It is from O.Fr. *meür*, Mod.Fr. *mür*, Lat. *maturus*; cf. Eng. *demure*. For other instances see VI. 2085 and VII. 914.

3471-3476. Mart. Pol., 'Julianus,' XXXVIII. "Hujus tempore beatus Martinus relicta militia floruit." This agrees best with W. Saint Ninian is not known to Martinus.

3477-3486. = "Canath (Garnard) dives xl. annis regnavit. Balarg (Talarg) filius Keothere xxv. annis regnavit." Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 149, 172.

3487-3518. Mart. Pol., 'Liberius,' XXXVIII., 'Felix,' XXXIX., 'Damasus,' XL. Partly rearranged and enlarged.

3514. The Latin line in CA was originally a marginal note that found its way into the text.

3519-3548. Mart. Pol., 'Valentinianus,' XL.

3533-3536. "Hic Saxones, gentem in Oceani littoribus virtute et agilitate Romanis terribilem, subjugavit."

These lines are corrupt or halting in every text.

3537-3542. = "Fuit autem imperator egregius, vultu decens, solers ingenio, sermone cultissimus, quanquam in loquendo parcus."

3549-3552. = "Drust filius Ws (Irb) c. annis vixit et c. per(e)git bella." Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 149, 172.

3553-3557. = Mart. Pol., 'Syricius,' XLI.

3558-3574. = Ibid., 'Theodosius,' XLIII. ". . . Ambrosius post Hilarium hymnos composuit" has been amplified.

3575-3600. Mart. Pol., 'Syricius,' XLI. "Eodem tempore in Emaus castello natus est puer ab umbilico et sursum divisus, ut haberet duo capita et duo pectora, et quilibet proprios sensus: uno edente vel dormiente, alter non comedebat vel dormiebat. Porro postquam duobus annis vixisset, unus mortuus est, altero in tertium diem supervivente."

3601-3622. = Mart. Pol., 'Gratianus,' XLII.

3610. "Apud Argentinam, oppidum Galliæ." The right name is *Argentuarium* = Colmar.

3623-3930. To Paulus Diaconus, 'Historiæ Miscellæ,' Lib. XIII., is due the earliest version of this form of the story. How much Wyntoun took directly from Vincent of Beauvais (Vinc. Bellov., XVI. 53-55,) or from the 'Golden Legend,' LVII., "De S. Ambrosio," is not clear, and is immaterial, as the differences between the two are mostly verbal.

3653-3704. = 'Legenda Aurea,' LVII., "De S. Ambrosio." "Occurrit

ei Ambrosius ad januam eique aditum prohibuit dicens : 'Cur, imperator, post causam tanti furoris non agnoscis molem tuæ præsumtionis? Sed forte recognitionem peccati prohibet potestas imperii. Decet te ut vincat ratio potestatem. (Scienda quippe natura est ejusque mortalitas, atque resolutio et pulvis progenitorum : et ex quo facti, et ad quem redigendi finem sumus : ut non flore purpureo confidentes infirmitatem operi corporis ignoremus nos coequales hominum.—*Vincent. Bellov.*) Princeps es, o imperator, sed conservorum. Quibus ergo oculis adspicies communis Domini templum, quibus pedibus calcabis sanctum pavementum, quomodo manus extends, de quibus adhuc sanguis stillat injustus, qua præsumptione ore tuo poculum sanguinis ejus percipies, dum furore tuorum sermonum tantus injuste sit sanguis effusus? Recede ergo, recede, ne secundo peccato priorem nequitiam augere contendas ; suscipe vinculum, quo te Dominus nunc ligavit, est enim medicina maxima sanitatis.'

The rendering of this speech of St Ambrose shows the chronicler at his best ; W has gone astray more than once.

3969-3990. Mart. Pol., 'Anastasius,' XLII., 'Arcadius,' XLIV.

3991-4006. See Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 150 (Gray's MS.), 172 ('Reg. of St Andrews'), 200 ('Scalacronica'). Wyntoun agrees with the last ; the first two are careless transcripts.

One can understand why the scribe of W left out the list of Pictish kings, but the same reason should not apply to ll. 3969-3990.

VOLUME IV. BOOK V.—*Continued.*

4007-4048. = Mart. Pol., 'Innocentius,' XLIII. 401 A.D. is the right date.

4023. The mistake of *Euxodia* for *Eudoxia* is also in Martinus.

4027, 4028. "Mulieres et puellas." *Formyt fillokis* in W = "mulieres,"—i.e., fully formed, full-grown fillies, hussies.

4049-4054. = Mart. Pol., 'Zozimus,' XLIV.

4055-4072. Ibid., 'Honorius,' XLV.

4056. Four lines omitted in W through repetition of *Theodosius*.

4065-4072. "Quum sibi diceretur cur rebelles non interficeret, respondebat : Utinam mihi possibile esset etiam mortuos ad vitam revocare." C is better than W.

4073-4090. = Mart. Pol., 'Innocentius,' XLIII. "... Asserentem, hominem sine gratia Dei posse salvari : unumquenque suis meritis propria voluntate ad justitiam regi." C better than W.

4091-4112. = Mart. Pol., 'Bonifacius,' XLV., 'Cœlestinus,' XLVI., and *passim*.

4113-4120. "Basso et Antiocho Coss., ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Cœlestino Palladius, et primus episcopus mittitur." S. Prosperi Aquitani, 'Chronicon Integrum' (Migne's

'Patrologia,' vol. li., p. 595). According to the 'Fasti,' Bassus and Antiochus were consuls in 431. The council of Ephesus against Nestorius belongs to the same year. St Prosper's Chronicle ends in 455. Bæda, 'Hist. Eccles.,' I. 13, copies it. Martinus does not mention Palladius, but only St Patrick.

Wyntoun's source apparently was the chronicle in Gray's MS., Skene, p. 152, which gives the date 433. Date preserved in the Wemyss text alone.

4121-4138. = Mart. Pol., 'Theodosius,' XLVI.

4139-4154. = Ibid., 'Cœlestinus,' XLVI. . . . Ut beata Maria Theotocos, id est, Mater Dei appellaretur.

4155-4157. Mart. Pol., 'Sixtus,' XLVII.

4158-4204. Ibid., 'Leo,' XLVIII., except ll. 4171, 4172.

4205-4210. Ibid., 'Theodosius,' XLVI.

4211-4214. Ibid., 'Martianus,' XLVII.

4215-4230. Cf. Geoff. of Monm., VI. 8 *et seq.*

4231. Here and also in ll. 4278 and 4301 "the Brute" means Geoffrey's work, and not Huchoun's poem.

4234. Theodosius II. began to reign in 425.

4237-4256. = Mart. Pol., *passim*. The length of reign of the different popes and emperors agrees exactly with Martinus, and very fairly with history. The real dates for Pope Hilarius are 461-468, and for Emperor Leo I., 458-475.

4257. Cf. Mart. Pol., 'Hilarius,' XLIX. "Per idem tempus ut legitur in hostoria Britonum, in Britannia regnabat Arturus, qui benignitate et probitate sua Flandriam, Franciam, Norvegiam, Daciam, cæterasque marinas insulas sibi servire coegit. In prælio quoque lethaliter vulneratus, secedit ad curandum vulnera in quandam insulam. Deinde Britonibus de vita ejus usque hodie nulla certitudo remansit."

Wyntoun does not follow the above meagre account of the life of Arthur, and I quote the passage because it has an important bearing on parts of the subject as it has been treated by the chronicler.

4259-4266. There can be no doubt that this list of Arthur's conquests has been inspired by the longer list in 'Morte Arthure,' ll. 26-47 :

1. 26 Qwene that the kyng Arthur by conqueste hade wonnyne
Castelles and kyndoms, and contreez many
And he had congrede the coroune of the kyth ryche,
Of alle that Vter in erthe aughte in his tyme
Orgayle and *Orkenay* and alle this *owle-iles*
Ireland vtirly, as Occyane rynnys ;
Scathylle Scottlande by skylle he skyftys as hym lykys,
And *Wales* of were he wane at hys wille,
Bathe *fflaundrez* and *ffracunce* fre til hym seluyne ;
Holaund and *Henawde* they helde of hym bothen,
Burgoyne and *Brabane*, and Bretayne the lesse,

1. 37 *Gyane* and *Gothelande*, and Grece the ryche ;
1. 43 By conqueste fulle cruelle they knewe hym fore lorde
Of Nauerne and *Norwaye*, and *Normaundye* eke,
Of Almayne, of Estriche, and other ynowe ;
Danmarke he dryssede alle by drede of hym seluyne,
1. 47 Fra *Swynne* vnto *Swetherwyke*, with his swerde kene.

A minute examination of the three lists reveals some curious facts. Geoffrey does not give an enumeration of the countries ; they have to be picked out of his story, but he mentions about a dozen names, which are all included in 'Morte Arthure.' The poet, revelling in a wealth of alliterative material, raises the number to over thirty. Wyntoun reduces it to seventeen, all of which are in 'Morte Arthure' with one exception, which tells its own tale. Lombardy is not spoken of in Geoffrey, who does not send Arthur so far before he is called back to Britain, nor in the list of 'Morte Arthure,' because that province is not to do homage to the King till later on. Wyntoun is simply anticipating events, and as the alliterative poem alone speaks of the conquest of Lombardy, we know where the Chronicler obtained his information.

4263. Sweys [probably = Sveones, Svechi, or Suevi, inhabiting Svethia, Suecia, or "Swetheryk."]

4277-4282. The Wemyss text is corrupt, but does not suggest any important difference.

4283. I am afraid this paragraph has not always been taken in the sense the Chronicler wrote it. His purpose is not so much to defend Huchoun as to exculpate himself for venturing to differ from him. As he has always followed "Frere Martyn" for his sequences of popes and emperors, he had to say that Leo was emperor in Arthur's time, and not Lucius, who, of course, is unknown to Martinus and all historians. So, if any man should happen to read his book, and call him, "the author," reckless or ignorant, because he differs from Huchoun, he can say in his own defence that four painstaking authors who have looked over many stories never said that Lucius was emperor, and "the Brute" says that he was procurator in Arthur's time ; therefore he, "the author," is right to put down what was before him.

4287. "Huchoun of the Aule Ryale" is a fancy name assumed by an unknown poet of whom Wyntoun tells us nothing except that he wrote three poems, "a Gest Hystoralle" or "a great Gest of Arthure," "the Auntirs of Gawain," and "the Pistil of Sute Susane." The "Pistil" is still in existence and is the only outside help to guide us in our search for further information. The "Auntirs of Gawain" may be discovered in the "Awntirs of Arthure," an alliterative poem in the closest agreement as to form, vocabulary and other characteristics with the "Pistill." As to the "Gest Historyalle" or "great Gest of Arthure,"

on which Wyntoun relies in this chapter for his account of Arthur and the Round Table, it is difficult not to identify it with the "Morte Arthure" of the Thornton MS. These three poems as we have them belong evidently to the second half of the fourteenth century. About that period there lived and died "the good Sir Hugh of Eglinton," as Dunbar tells us in his "Lament for the Makaris."

"The gude Syr Hew of Eglintoun,
Et eik Heryot et Wyntoun,
He (Death) hes tane out of this cuntre ;
Timor Mortis conturbat me."

Sir Hugh of Eglinton is also the name of a more substantial contemporary character who died in 1376. He was a knight of some importance in the Scottish court, where he filled the function of justiciary, and of an auditor of Exchequer accounts, and was married to Egidia, a sister of Robert II. There is not a tittle of evidence to connect those three personages, but the mere coincidence of names and time has brought it about that the Lord of Eglinton has been identified with Dunbar's good Sir Hugh, and good Sir Hugh with Huchoun.

The claim of the Knight of Eglinton has been presented with great fulness and with enthusiastic conviction by Dr George Neilson in his pamphlet: "Sir Hew of Eglintoun and Huchown off the Awle Ryale, a Biographical Calendar and literary estimate, 1900-1901." The reader is referred to it for the understanding of a subject too complicated for these pages. In the Introduction to the 'Scottish Alliterative Poems,' S. T. Soc., 1897, I had occasion to deal at length with the whole subject (pp. li.-lxxxii.), and I have not hitherto found any ground for altering the belief I expressed then, that Huchoun was the same person as the good Sir Hugh of Dunbar, and therefore a Scottish poet, but that he was not the brother-in-law of Robert II.

I can only add a few corroborative remarks here. The very title of the religious poem, the "Pistill of Suede Susane," is the strongest argument against the authorship of Sir Hugh the knight. The poem was not taken directly from the Book of Daniel, but from an obscure part of a missal. It is the epistle for the mass of the Saturday in the third week of Lent. Was the Lord of Eglinton so conversant with missals and liturgy as to look there for his material? Missals were not handy books for a knightly courtier to carry about. And why should he have been anxious to record in his title the fact that the story was an epistle? Everything becomes plain and plausible if the author was a priest, not otherwise.

The unique phrase "of the Aule Ryale" was the name assumed by the poet himself and copied by Wyntoun. We can understand an unknown priest inventing it jocularly for himself out of a fanciful etymology, and this phrase disappearing afterwards; we cannot accept

it as the serious designation of a high dignitary of the Royal Court. G. Buchanan supplies the explanation in his History. In his description of Cunningham (Book I., p. 9, ed. 1715), he gives the etymology: "Nomen regioni Danicum est, quod eorum lingua *Regis domicilium* significat." "Huchoun of the Aule Ryalle" is Hugh of Cunningham, or Eglinton, and may have been a relation of the historical Sir Hugh.

4295-4298. It is impossible to take much definite sense out of these lines. The four historians have different names in the texts, and some of those names are unexplainable: Iber, Yve, Innocent, Iosaphus, are inventions of scribes at a loss; Orosius may be correct, but it is a useless authority to appeal to, as his History stops short of the period we have now reached.

4296. An unsatisfactory line. RL are the best. "(Who) were diligent in learning stories."

4308. Wyntoun is quite right to say that "men of good discretion should excuse and praise Huchoun," but there was no reason for attaching so much importance to the misuse of the word "emperor." If the Prior had read Geoffrey's book with special attention to the point, he would have seen that Lucius is called *procurator* only once, in the "haughty message," and the term *imperator* is applied to him eight times. Leo, who remains in the background, is given the title of *imperator* twice, and once both Leo and Lucius are referred to as *imperatoribus* (lx. 20). Of course the two distinct meanings of the Latin noun, "ruler of an empire" and "commander of an army," were sure to create confusion in translators' minds. Others than Huchoun made the same slip. A well-known instance is in 'The Bruce,' l. 555,

And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,
That then of Rome wes empcrour.

Another is in a fourteenth century 'Chronicle of England,'

Ant Lucus the emperour, sauntz fayle,
He overcom in bataille.

Ritson's 'Ancient Romances,' II. 282.

These may owe their origin to 'Morte Arthure.' The New Eng. Dictionary, *s.v.* "Emperor" II., supplies other instances of the word in its etymological meaning belonging also to the fourteenth century.

4334. This line is wrong in W, as it anticipates what comes rightly at the end of the paragraph.

4336. *Ducheperis*. Douzepers properly speaking is the name of the twelve peers, "douze pairs," of France. In 'Morte Arthure' the term is applied loosely for the first time to the knights of King Arthur's court.

4341. W adds one word, *þare*, implying that Arthur defeated the "emperor" in Italy, which agrees well with 'Morte Arthur,' in which the king advances as far as Viterbo before he is called back by the bad news from Britain.

4353-4356. It is difficult to understand why Wyntoun declares that he could find no *wryt* about Arthur's *ded and his last ende*, as 'Morte Arthure' devotes thirty lines to his death at Avalon and his funeral at Glastonbury. The Chronicle abides by Martinus (see note to l. 4257), and Martinus is practically the same as Geoffrey, for whom see next note.

4357-4366. = Geoff. of Monm., XI. 2. "Sed et inclutus ille rex Arturus letaliter vulneratus est, qui illinc ad sananda vulnera sua in insulam Avallonis advectus, cognato suo Constantino, filio Cadoris ducis Cornubiæ diadema Britanniae concessit, anno ab incarnatione dominica quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo."

4367-4374. = Mart. Pol., 'Gelasius,' LII. Wyntoun's date is far astray; instead of 522 it should be 493 or 492.

4375-4388. = Mart. Pol., 'Simplicius,' L.

4389-4408. Ibid., 'Leo' (*imperator*), XLVIII. "Hoc tempore Agmundus rex Lombardorum, quum adhuc esset in Pannonia, &c." The story comes from Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Longabardorum*: it is also in 'Legenda Aurea.' Wyntoun alone sets the scene in Rome.

4409-4472. Cf. Mart. Pol., 'Zeno,' XLIX.

4419. *Defere* seems the wrong word here; *desyre* is better, as meaning and rime. The couplet is wanting in W.

4425, 4426. Not in Martinus.

4461. "Urbem Ravennæ se recepit." *Wyen* should be *Rawen*.

4473-4486. Mart. Pol., 'Symmachus,' LIV. Amplified in the Chronicle.

4487-4490. Mart. Pol., 'Anastasius' (pope), LIII. Dates differ.

4491-4534. Ibid., 'Anastasius' (emperor), L. The original story is in Paulus Diaconus (*Historiæ Miscellæ*, p. 448), who gives a better reading of the Latin words: "Baptizo te Barbas, in nomine Patris per filium in Spiritu Sancto," adding as an explanation "minorem scilicet Patre Filium Sanctumque Spiritum asserere cupiens."

4534-4586. Mart. Pol., 'Symmachus,' LIV.

4555-4558. All the texts are unsatisfactory except RL.

The original mistake arose from the repetition of *Remy* at the end of two lines. Three lines were thus missed, and one was left without a rime. EA left the omission uncorrected. CAuE² added another line not very successfully. W goes wrong in a way of its own.

Saint Leonard is not mentioned in Martinus. Wyntoun's authority may have been the life of the Saint, as found now in the Aberdeen Breviary on the 6th of November: "(Leonardum) Clodoueus quondam paganus, sed per predicacionem Sancti Remigii Remensium archiepiscopi ad fidem conversus de sacro fonte levavit, &c."

4587-4590. Mart. Pol., 'Hormisda,' LV.

4591-4624. Ibid., 'Justinus,' LI.

4625-4648. Ibid., 'Joannes,' LVI.

4649-4656. Ibid., 'Justinus,' LI. . . . "Beata virgo Brigida obiit in Scotia."

4657-4664. Martinus simply mentions the name of "Sancta Genovefa" under 'Symmachus.'

4665-4682. Mart. Pol., *passim*.

4683-4746. I have not been able to trace the source of the legend of Theophilus, a very popular story in the middle ages. Martinus assigns it to the time of Pope Vigilius. For sundry versions, see Vincent. Bellov., XI. 69, 70.

4683. *Cicile* = Cilicia.

4747-4774. Mart. Pol., 'Vigilius,' LXII. Nothing is said there of Silverius being "drawn with the horse."

4775-4808. Mart. Pol., 'Justinianus,' LII. . . . "Hic leges condidit, et consummavit libros, scilicet Codicem et Digestum. . . . Abbreviavit leges Romanorum."

4809-4894. = 'Legenda Aurea,' XXXVII., "De Purificatione." Every statement in the Chronicle can be traced to the 'Golden Legend.' Wyntoun has abridged considerably, adding a few explanations of his own.

4877. Sergius is the right name of the Pope, not Pelagius as in W.

4895-4898. Mart. Pol., 'Pelagius,' LXIII. Omitted in W.

4899-4974. From different sources; nothing in Martinus.

4975-4994. = Mart. Pol., 'Justinus,' LIII.

4995-5066. From different sources; see Mart. Pol., 'Justinus,' LIII., and Vincent. Bellov., XXI. 101.

5027-5040. "Sophia hanc Narseti contumeliam mandavit ut Constantinopolim remearet et cum puellis suis in genere feminarum lanarum pensa divideret. Ad quæ verba Narses dicitur respondisse, talem ei telam, orditurum quandiu viveret nunquam deponeret." —Vinc. Bellov.

5045. *Arbure* R is the best: "cum Arbure qui fuit rex ipsorum." Martinus. Alboin, the first king of the Lombards, is meant.

5065, 5066. "Sicut ostenditur ubi de Pipino agitur." So Martinus ends, after enumerating the Lombard kings down to Astolph.

5067-5084. Wyntoun's alliterative moralising is obscure: "Lo! here is a worthy wife to choose! The devil should have dealt out to her his own material; she can only bring out what has been brought in. Her husband may spend without sparing, who can have such a gracious hussy in his house. He hurried rather than he sped, the man that brought that graceless wife to bed."

5081-5084. Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti!

Sæpe etenim mulier quem conjux diligit odit.

—Dion. Catonis Distichorum, l. 8.

5085, 5086. Mart. Pol., 'Pelagius,' LXIII. "Hoc tempore beatus Brendanus in Scotia clarus habetur."

5087-5098. "A.D. 565. Venit autem Britanniam Columba, regnante

Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit. Bede, 'Hist. Eccles.,' III. 4.

"Bridei filius Mailcon xxx annis regnavit. In octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus est sancto a Columba." 'Pictish Chronicle,' p. 7.

As to the exact date which Dr Reeves fixes at 563, see 'Life of Columba,' p. 276.

5099-5118. Cf. Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 150, 173, 201. The various lists of Pictish kings do not agree exactly as to the number and order of kings, nor as to who founded Abernethy. See Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. cvi, *note*. There is no mention of Saint Bride in any of them.

5119. Pope John III. died in 574 and was succeeded by Benedict I., not by Saint Serf, whose name Wyntoun did not find in Martinus. The worthy Prior having just stated that Adamnan was Abbot of Iona at that time, had to find room for Servanus in the catalogue of popes, and assumed the whole responsibility of the selection of a place without taking his readers into his confidence. [See Introduction, section 7.]

5121-5334. The whole of the story of Saint Serf is extracted (with the exception of a few lines) from the manuscript 'Life of Saint Servanus' preserved in Dublin, and printed in Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 412-420.

The office of the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary, 1st of July, contains six short lessons taken from the same source; they seem late and are clumsily put together.

5169-5176. "Postea Sanctus Servanus cum centum tantummodo sociis in comitatu suo venit ad Kinel et virgam quam tenuit transmare projecit, et de ea arbor pomifera crevit, que apud modernos Morglas dicitur." (Skene's 'Chronicles,' 416.)

There is nothing here about Servanus sending his followers to Dysart, but that may be implied, as he landed with a hundred only at Kinneil, on the south of the Forth, opposite Culross.

5181. Brude, son of Dargard, appears about this time as king of the Picts in some of the lists. In others he is called son of Derelei, or of Decili. The Scalacronica calls him "Brude fitz Dergert," and adds, "en quel temps ueint Sains Seruanus en Fiffe." He was succeeded by his brother Nectan, who expelled the Columban clergy in 717. In the Register of the Priory of St Andrews there is a short notice of the old donations granted by the kings of Scotland to the church of Saint Servan in Lochleven. It is a translation made in the fourteenth century from an old volume "antiquo Scotorum idiomate conscripti." The opening statement reads thus: "Brude, filius Dergard, qui ultimus regum Pictorum secundum antiquas traditiones fuisse recolitur, contulit insulam Lochleuine Deo omnipotenti et Sancto Servano, &c." Dr Reeves ('Culdees,' p. 125) thought that this Brude was the son of Feredach, and the last king of the Picts, who died in 843; Haddan and Stubbs ('Councils,' II. p. 147) adopted his opinion.

It seems to me that those high authorities have missed the meaning of the sentence by ignoring part of it. The old document obviously means that Brude was the last king of the Picts *that followed the ancient traditions*, that is, before his brother Nectan had conformed to the Roman ways.

5201, 5202. Not in the Latin text. The upbringing of Saint Mungo by Saint Serf belongs to another legend, contained in the 'Life of Saint Kentigern.' The two saints cannot have been contemporaries. There is no doubt that Kentigern died in or about 612 (Haddan and Stubbs, II. p. 4), and that Servanus belongs to the beginning of the eighth century, to the time of Adamnan (*d.* 704), of Brude, and Nectan.

5209. The scenes of Saint Serf's miracles are all in the neighbourhood of Culross, to the north-west.

5219. *Athren* is the modern Airthrey, or Aithrey, near Stirling.

5233. *In Dubliynge, In Dovyn*, R; the other texts are senseless. The Latin says, *in cella Dunenensi*, which probably means "in a cave in the Devon valley." "Dovan" was the old name for the Devon, and so the reading of R is the nearest. Skene, in the Index, identifies it with Dunning, in Perthshire.

5237. The Legend locates the interview in the cave of the saint at Dysart.

5273, 5274. Not in the Latin.

5296-5298. = "Quia non pertineret ad nos nisi esset de genere Ade." The translation seems to have missed the point. W goes wrong here by omitting some lines.

5326. The Legend says that he died "in cella Dunenensi" and was buried at Culross.

5335, 5346. From Brude Dargardson (*d.* 706) to Talargan (*d.* 782) there is great confusion in the lists. The Chronicle agrees best with the 'Register of St Andrews,' Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 173.

5347-5366. = Mart. Pol., 'Benedictus,' LXV., 'Pelagius,' LXVI.

5367-5414. = Ibid., 'Tiberius,' LIV., except the last two lines.

5415-5442. = Ibid., 'Gregorius,' LXVII., except the consecration of the Easter candle, and the redemption of Trajan's soul. As to the latter, see vol. iii. p. 295. (V. 1193-1210.)

5443-5454. = Mart. Pol., 'Mauritius,' LV.

5455-5494. Wyntoun, following some unascertained authority, forgets what he wrote earlier (v. 1565) when he was copying Martinus. The dates here agree better with Bede, and the calculations end correctly enough with the date A.D. 597 for the coming of Augustine to England.

5495, 5496. This is the right time for Saint Mungo. Cf. above ll. 5201, 5202 and note.

5497-5506. Mart. Pol., 'Mauritius,' LV.

5507-5574. 'Vincent. Bellov.' XXII. 18, is the most likely source for this legend of the Emperor Maurice which appears in many

histories. The original, which is much longer, is in the 'Life of Gregory the Great,' by Paulus Diaconus, iv. 18, 19, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. 75, col. 183.

5575-5586. = Mart. Pol., 'Sabinianus,' LXVIII., 'Bonifacius,' LXIX., 'Bonifacius,' LXX. The mistake "Fabian," instead of "Sabinian," is in all the texts; yet possibly the chronicler is not responsible for it, as can be seen by the shortness of the line. RL attempt a correction by calling the pope Saint Fabian.

5587-5608. Only a short reference in Martinus. Probable source not identified, but see 'Eulogium Historiarum,' vol. i. p. 216.

5609-5618. = Mart. Pol., 'Bonifacius,' LXX.

5619-5670. Ibid., 'Heraclius,' LVII.

5663-5670. These lines would come more naturally after l. 5648.

5671-5762. Mart. Pol., *passim*, under the different popes and emperors.

5672. The usual name of this pope is Deusdedit.

5678. John IV. and Theodorus I.

5709. Mezentius is the right name of the usurper.

5727. The several popes omitted are Deodatus, Donnus, and Agatho.

5741. John III. should be John V.

5747. Wyntoun omits one pope, Leo III., [placed by Mart. Pol., 'Leo,' LXXXVIII.,] between Sergius and John VI., who is followed by John VII. [But Mart. Pol. adds "Hic Leo in Romanorum Chronicis in catalogo pontificum non ponitur." His name does not appear in the modern lists of the Popes.]

5763-5796. = Mart. Pol., 'Leo' (*imperator*), LXVII., "Hujus Leonis tempore, Richardus, dux Phrysorum, ad prædicationem Valurammii Senonensis episcopi adductus ut baptizaretur, cum unum pedem in lavacro imposuisset, alterum retraxit: quærens ubi plures majorum suorum essent, in inferno vel paradiso. Et audiens, quod in inferno, intinctum etiam pedem retraxit. 'Melius est' inquit, 'ut plures quam pauciores sequar.'"

5797-5816. The foundation of Rosemarkie by Nectan rests on the sole authority of the Chronicle. This Nectan Derlyng (Derlyne, W, Derly, R), or better, son of Derelei, is the same as Nectan, son of Dangard, mentioned previously (v. 5336) from a different list of Pictish kings. The date 716 agrees well with the second year of the emperor Anastasius II. (715-718), and with the pontificate of Gregory II. (715-731), and is historically probable, as it was in 717, according to the 'Annals of Tighernac,' that Nectan expelled the Columban clergy. If so, how are we to explain why Wyntoun at the end of the paragraph, without a word of warning, states that the foundation of Rosemarkie took place about A.D. 600, "when Sir Moris was emperor"? The only old document we have about St Boniface is his 'Legend,' preserved in the Aberdeen Breviary,

16th of March, and published in Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 421. It has been cut up into the usual nine lessons, and is full of anachronisms and bad Latin. Some of those shortcomings may be due to the compilers of the Breviary. Such as it is, it may throw a little light on Wyntoun's contradictory statements.

In that legend we are told that Boniface, an Israelite like St Serf, succeeded to Pope Saint Gregory, "Beato Gregorio Pape," and ruled the see for more than seven years. At that time Mauritius was emperor, "Mauricio Romanorum regnante imperatore." When he arrived in Pictland with a large company, he landed not far from Restineth, where Nectan happened to be with an army. The Pictish king was baptised there and then, and gave the place of his baptism to the Saint in the name of the Holy Trinity. There is no doubt that the pope meant here is Saint Gregory, or Gregory I. (590-604), contemporary of the emperor Mauritian; but the anachronism comes in with Nectan, who reigned a century later.

There is another grave difference between the two accounts. Wyntoun states simply that Nectan founded a church at Rosemarkie, that the monastery was endowed by kings afterwards, that it was made into a cathedral, or bishop's see, specially for the northern part of Moray, and that now there are canons secular living there under the protection of Saint Boniface. The legend of the saint is silent about all those facts, and on the other hand Wyntoun is silent about the life of the missionary. The discrepancy in the dates is the only point of contact, although both go wrong in a different way. The explanation is easy enough; legend writers did not trouble themselves about anachronisms; Wyntoun, as a chronicler, was bound to attempt a solution of the problem, and he overdid it.

The interpolation in the Auchinleck MS. is remarkable in several ways. The details about Boniface and his mission agree with the 'Legend,' which, however, contains nothing about Saint Madius and 5804 other saints being buried at Restennet. The priory of Restennet was a house of canons regular of St Augustine (like Rosemarkie), and a cell of Jedburgh. The local knowledge displayed in these additional lines makes it not unlikely that they were written by some one connected with that monastery on the copy of the Chronicle belonging to the place. Such writing, marginal or otherwise, would explain the confusion and omission in the Auchinleck MS., copied and emphasised by the scribe of the Second Edinburgh. The two facsimiles in volume IV. will make the matter clearer than it is in the variants.

VOLUME IV. BOOK VI.

PROLOGUE.

11. The 1060 years are calculated from the coming of the Picts in 200 B.C. (IV. 1753) to the death of Kenneth in 859 (VI. 580).

BOOK VI.

1. The authority for the date 724 is to be sought in the 'Chronicle of Melrose,' which will be Wyntoun's guide for the greater part of Book VI. That Chronicle begins with the year 735, professedly as a continuation of Bede. In the only manuscript known, short notices of the Scottish kings have been inserted afterwards, under the year of their death, in margins and other available places. The first insertion is under the year 741: "Obiit Ewain rex Scottorum, cui successit Mureȝaut filius ejus." The other Latin Chronicles give Ewain a reign of sixteen years, so that Wyntoun's date is sufficiently accurate.

The year 724 also synchronises with the *tenth* of Gregory II. (715-731), but not with the *ninth* of Leo III. (717-741).

13. A curious point arises here. It is stated that Ewain was the *first* that ruled over the Scots while the Picts reigned in Scotland. That such a king ever existed is far from certain, as he is not known to the older Chroniclers. In the later lists his name appears without any special remark, so that his only title to the qualification of *first* is that he is the *first* in the pages of a Chronicle commencing in 735. As the later lists supply no dates, but only the number of years of each reign, the date of the death of each king was worked back from the year 859, when Kenneth died (see l. 580), by deducting the regnal years. The agreement is complete.

17-22. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 741.

23, 24. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 744, which says that the fight was between the Picts and the Britons, not the Scots.

29-66. = Mart. Pol., 'Gregorius,' XCIV.—Gregory III. (731-741). [But lines 31-35 = Mart. Pol., 'Leo,' LXVII. "Hic Leo Imperator a quodam transfuga fidei seductus contra imagines Dei et sanctorum bellum indixit easque ubique deponi et incendi jubet. Pro quo errore, ei Gregorius papa scripsit."]

54. "Synodumque pene mille episcoporum Romæ celebrando."—M. P. Why 418 in Wyntoun? [Lines 55-58 do not represent anything in Mart. Pol., who has nothing but bishops at the synod. They suggest a source either direct or ultimate in the well-known 'Vita Gregorii III.,' by Anastasius (Migne's 'Patrologia Latina,' vol. cxxviii., col. 1023-1025), where the number of bishops is

93 (a figure confirmed in various MSS.), besides the pope, 2 archbishops, and many others,—“numero XCIII. (episcopis) seu presbyteris sanctæ hujus apostolicæ sedis astantibus diaconibus cum cuncto clero nobilibus etiam consulibus.” A transition is conceivable through scribal corruption under which an original *iiij^{xx} xiiij* (93) might by some intermediate misreading of two digits pass into

iiij^c xviiij (418). But of course this is conjecture.]

67-70. Mart. Pol., ‘Zacharias,’ XCV.—Zachary (741-752).

71-74. = ‘Chron. Melrose,’ *anno* 744.

75-80. = ‘Chron. Melrose,’ *anno* 745.

81-102. = Mart. Pol., ‘Stephanus,’ XCVI.—Stephen II. (752-757).

103-136. Mart. Pol., ‘Stephanus,’ II. “De qua translatione tangit Decretalis *Venerabilem*, de electionibus.”

The ensuing remarks are taken from the papal letter, and are not in Martinus.

“Sed et principes recognoscere debent, et utique recognoscunt quod jus et auctoritas examinandi personam electam in regem et promovendam in imperium ad nos spectat, qui eam inungimus, consecramus et coronamus. Est enim regulariter et generaliter observatum, ut ad eum examinatio personæ pertineat, ad quem impositio manus spectat. Nunquid enim si principes, non solum in discordia sed etiam in concordia sacrilegum quemcunque vel excommunicatum in regem, tyrannum vel fatuum, hæreticum eligerent aut paganum, nos inungere, consecrare ac coronare hominem hujusmodi deberemus? Absit omnino.”—Innocentii III., Opera III. 1065 in Migne’s ‘Patrologia Latina,’ vol. ccxvi.

137-142. = ‘Chron. Melrose,’ *anno* 747. “Obiit Ewen rex Scottorum; cui successit Hedabbus filius ejus.” Æda Fin. Latinised into Edalbus.

143-156. = Mart. Pol., ‘Paulus,’ XCVII.—Paul I. (757-767). W agrees best with the Latin.

157-180. = Mart. Pol., *ibid*: “Hoc tempore Sanctus Gingolphus in Burgundia claret. . . . Hic quum uxorem propter adulterium dimisisset, ab adultero clerico occiditur. Sed quum uxor ejus miraculis coruscanti derogaret, et diceret: ‘Si Gingolphus miracula facit, anus meus cantet.’ Quod mox completur; quia quum semper loquebatur, anus ejus cantabat.” [Cf. Bower, ‘Scotichronicon,’ i. cap. 52, “Essais de Michael de Montaigne,” i. ch. 20.]

The point of the additional lines is clearest in R; W has become corrupt and meaningless. CEA have omitted them for an obvious reason.

181-190. = Mart. Pol., *passim*.

191-216. = Mart. Pol., ‘Leo,’ CI.—Leo III. (795-816).

217-224. = Mart. Pol., ‘Adrianus,’ C. “Studium de urbe Parisios transtulit, quod de Græcia illuc translatus fuerat a Romanis.”

225, 226. The statement in C is meaningless or incomplete. On the other hand the two extra lines in W refer to an event that has been spoken of before under the right date (V. 5803), the foundation of Rosemarkie by Nectan Derlyng.

[Here Mr Amours pencilled a marginal query, evidently as an aid in future investigations.] "Why does Wyntoun insist so much on Picts and Scots?"

227-282. = Mart Pol., 'Carolus,' LXXIII., *passim*.

251, 252. "Cibi potusque temperatissimus fuit" is the statement of Martinus; but compare 'Legenda Aurea,' p. 837: "Leporem integrum aut duas gallinas vel anserem edebat."

283-364. = Mart. Pol., 'Constantinus,' LXVIII.

287. "Charllis Marcel" = Charles Martel.

289-292. Wyntoun does not keep to his text in the names of the countries.

314. CEA agree with Martinus; the others are wrong.

371. = Boethius, 'De Consolatione,' II. 6. "Ita fit ut non virtutibus ex dignitate sed ex virtute dignitatibus honor accedat." Or in Chaucer's translation: "And therfor it is thus, that honour ne comth nat to vertu for cause of dignitee, but ayeinward honour comth to dignitee for cause of vertu."

379-392. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose':

Anno 777. Obiit Hed rex Scottorum, cui successit Fergus filius ejus.

780. Obiit Fergus rex Scottorum, cui successit Seluad filius ejus.

804. Obiit Seluad rex Scottorum, cui successit Eokal venenosus.

834. Obiit Eokal rex Scottorum, cui successit Dungal filius ejus.

841. Obiit Dungal rex Scottorum; Alpinus filius Eokal ei successit.

Wyntoun is wrong about Eokall, who was the son of Seluad. "Eokall" was not another name for Seluad.

The dates of the 'Chronicle of Melrose' for the two kings Hed Fyn and his son Fergus are practically exact, but the next four, Selvald or Selvach, Eokal, Dungal and Alpine should precede Hed Fyn. For the shifting of these names in the later chronicles see Skene's 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' p. cxxix, &c.

393-396. = Mart. Pol., 'Lodovicus,' LXXIV.—Lewis I. (814-840).

397-401. = Mart. Pol., 'Stephanus,' CII.—Stephen IV. (816-817); 'Paschalis,' CIII.—Pascal (817-824); 'Eugenius,' CIV.—Eugene II. (824-827); 'Valentinus,' CV.—Valentine (827); 'Gregorius,' CVI.—Gregory IV. (827-844).

The name of Pope Valentine is wrong in all the texts.

402-424. = Mart. Pol., 'Gregorius,' CVI.

425-428. Not in Martinus.

429-431. = Mart. Pol., 'Lodovicus,' LXXIV. The story of the fasting girls seems out of place between the two physical prodigies. From the variants in WA it is probable that the existing texts do not represent the original.

432-434. = Mart. Pol., *ibid.* . . . "Cujus latitudo sex pedum, et longitudo quindecim, et altitudo duorum fuit."

435-440. = Mart. Pol., 'Sergius,' CVII.—Sergius II. (844-847).

441-460. = Mart. Pol., 'Leo,' CVIII.—Leo IV. (847-855). "Hujus tempore Adolphus rex Anglorum, qui primus totius Angliæ obtinuit monarchiam, devotionis causa venit Romam. Et coram Leone papa obtulit tributum beato Petro, de unaquaque domo argenteum denarium unum in anno. Et hoc tributum usque hodie perseverat."

Adolphus is Æthelwulf, the father of Alfred, who went to Rome in 855.

461-496. = Mart. Pol., 'Joannes,' CIX. "Post hunc Leonem Joannes, Anglus, natione Margantinus (*or* Maguntinus), qui alibi legitur fuisse Benedictus tertius, sedit annis duobus, mensibus quinque, diebus quatuor. Et cessavit pontificatus mense uno. Mortuus est Romæ. Hic ut asseritur, fœmina fuit. Et quum in puellari ætate, a quodam suo amasio, in habitu virili, Athenis ducta fuit, in diversis scientiis ita profecit, ut nullus sibi par inveniretur: adeo ut post Romæ trivium legens magnos magistros discipulos et auditores haberet. Et quum in Urbe vita et scientia magnæ opinionis esset, in Papam concorditer eligitur. Sed in papatu per suum familiarem impregnatur. Verum partus tempus ignorans, quum de sancto Petro in Lateranum tenderet, angustiata, inter Coliseum et sancti Clementis ecclesiam peperit. Et postea mortua (ut dicitur) sepulta fuit. Et propterea quod dominus papa eandem viam semper obliquat, creditur omnino a quibusdam quod ob detestationem facti hoc faciat. Nec ideo ponitur in catalogo sanctorum Pontificum, tam propter muliebris sexus, quam propter deformitatem facti."

The story of "Pope Joan" became very popular in the fourteenth century through the Chronicle of Martinus, who however is not responsible for its origin. It was interpolated gradually in the manuscripts of his work written after his death. An exhaustive study of the rise and growth of the legend will be found in Döllinger's 'Fables respecting the Popes during the Middle Ages,' translated by Alfred Plummer (1871).

We are indebted to Wyntoun for one small addition to the mythical story, which is that her father was called 'Hob of Lyne.' Adam de Usk, who was present at the coronation of Innocent VII. in 1404, gives a curious account of a ceremony in St Clement's church, a survival of the old legend. "Pope Joan" with him becomes "Pope Agnes." 'Chronicon Adæ de Usk,' ed. Sir E. M. Thompson (1904) *in anno*.

497, 498. = Mart. Pol., 'Benedictus,' CX.—Benedict III. (855-858).

499-510. "Constantine, son of Fergus, built Dunkeld," is the statement in three Chronicles of the Picts and Scots (Gray's MS, 'Reg. of St Andrews,' and 'Scalacronica'). See Skene's 'Chronicles,' pp. 150, 173, 205.

Constantine died about 820. Iona had been burned in 802 by the Danes, and two churches were built about that time to replace it, Kells in Ireland, and Dunkeld in Scotland.

The two bishoprics of higher repute in Wyntoun's time were St Andrews and Glasgow. "Saint Colme" is Saint Columba. The identification has been doubted, but see on that point the "Life of Saint Columba," p. lxix, in 'Historians of Scotland.'

511-542. "Hungus filius Fergusane ix annis regnavit. Iste edificavit Kilremonth." This statement, in the three later Chronicles mentioned in the preceding note, is Wyntoun's authority for placing the foundation of St Andrews about 820. The rest of the story is taken from the Legend of St Andrew preserved in the 'St Andrews Register,' and contains nothing historical. According to that legend, the victory of Hungus over Athelstan was gained about 345, when the relics of the Saint were brought to Scotland by Regulus. There was no king Athelstan either then or in 820. Fordun (IV. 13) makes him the son of Æthelwulf, king of Wessex (839-858), quoting William of Malmesbury, but there is no evidence that this Athelstan, who reigned over the south of England during his father's time, ever encountered the Picts in the Lothians. William simply says of him, "quando et quo fine defecerit incertum."—'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' II. 108. In the 'Annals of Tighernach,' 761 is the date of the death of Aengus, son of Fergus, King of the Picts.

Wyntoun differs in some points from the legend, which fixes the battle at the mouth of the Tyne, and gives no reasons for Athelstan's death. His head was exposed "in loco qui dicitur Ardchinechun infra portum qui nunc dicitur Portus Reginae." [Skene's 'Chronicles,' 184.]

515, 516. These two lines are out of place or corrupt. They are not in W nor in L; but L has them after l. 536, which seems the right place.

543-554. This account of Alpin is derived from the Latin Chronicles; it is not historical. The Alpin who died in Galloway was the son of Echach, or of Eokall, or of Dougal (VI. 389), and belongs to the first half of the eighth century. He died about 740. Alpin, father of Kenneth, was killed at Pitalpin, now Pitalpie, near Dundee, in 834.

555-574. Kenneth MacAlpin (843-859), 844-860, Skene's 'Celtic Scotland' = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 843. Here begins the 'Chronicon Elegiacum' or 'Rythmicum,' taken by Wyntoun from the 'Chronicle of Melrose,' where it has been inserted in the first year of each king. [See Introduction, section 7.]

563-566. "Hic mira caliditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia in terra Pictorum."—Skene's 'Chronicles,' 151.

575-586. Donald (859-863), 860-864 Skene = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 859. W adds twelve lines of explanation of the Latin "epitaphs."

They probably belong to the original edition, and were omitted subsequently.

587-594. Constantine (863-878) = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 863, and the other Chronicles.

The place where Constantine was killed, *nigra specus*, "Blakden" in the margin of W, is called Inverdofacta, Inverdufatha, Merdofatha, Werdofata, Inbherdubhroda, in the different Chronicles. "At Fifeness there is a cave in the rocks termed Constantine's Cave, in which he is said to have been killed by the Danes."—Skene's 'Fordun,' vol. II. p. 408. In 'Celtic Scotland,' I. p. 327, Skene identifies the spot with Inverdovet, in the parish of Forgan.

595-628. The story of St Adrian and his companions is different in sundry points from the legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen (March 4th), and Wyntoun may have obtained it from the 'Historia' that was once part of the Register. Skene, 'Celtic Scotland,' II. 313, believes they were a body of clerics and laymen that came to Fife about that time, fleeing from the persecution of the Danes that were then devastating the monasteries in Ireland.

598. *Hircany* is a mistake in the majority of the texts for "Hungary," as in AuE². In the Breviary, Adrian was born "in partibus Vngarie regionis prouincie Pannonie."

607. *Caplachi* is now called Caiplie. "There may yet be seen, in a grey weather-beaten cliff at Caplachie or Caiplie, on the shore of Fife, opposite to the Isle of May, a group of caves hollowed out in the rock. Of these, the middle or largest one has many small crosses rudely incised on its walls, while over the cave, and entering from it by steps cut in the rock, there was till lately a little chamber with a bench on its inner side cut in the rock, both of which have been traditionally associated with St Adrian, as his oratory and abode."—"Records of the Priory of the Isle of May," by John Stuart (1868), p. v.

613. Inwary, or Inverry, was the old name of St Monans. See Breviary of Aberdeen, March 1st, "Sancti Monani Confessoris."

617. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 869. "Iwarus et Hubba redeunt in Northumbriam debachantes et per dentes plurimos."

629-632. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 870. "Iwarus et Hubba cum multis Danorum millibus Estangliam veniunt et sanctum Eadmundum occidunt."

633-642. Hed (878, 879), 877, 878 in Skene. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 878. Hed, or Aed, is called Albipes Edhus in the Melrose Chronicle and Hethus Alipes in Fordun. His slayer Grig, or Greg, or Gregor, is not called the son of Alpin anywhere else. *Strahaline*=Strathallan.

643-652. Haldane's Well. [Haldane=Halfdane, who made himself master of Northumbria *anno* 876. The alternative in W clearly indicates Hubba, who was Halfdane's brother, and fell in battle in Devonshire *anno* 878. But the "Well" remains unidentified. Cf.

the "how" made over Hubba's grave. Gaimar, 'Monumenta Historica Britannica,' I. p. 804.]

653-670. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 879. Grig (879-897), 878-889 in Skene.

The date 881 does not agree with Wyntoun's authorities. Pope Nicholas held the see 858-867, Lewis II. was emperor 855-876, and Grig succeeded Hed in 879, according to the Melrose Chronicle. The Chronicles vary considerably in their statements about Grig, Gregor, Giric, or Cyric, son of Dungal; the years of his reign are most frequently given as twelve or eighteen. He ruled over the Picts along with Eocha, son of Run and of a sister of Constantine. The two events of his reign, the conquest of England and the granting of freedom to the Church of Scotland are recorded for the first time in the Chronicle compiled in 1187 (Gray's MS.) The first needs no discussion; the second has been variously interpreted. Haddan and Stubbs ('Councils,' II., part I. p. 144) summarise the different opinions held, and favour the view in Robertson's 'Early Scotland, which "connects the matter with the transfer of the primacy from Dunkeld to St Andrews, which took place about this period."

671-686. Grig deserves this eulogy, because he freed the Church from the tyranny of the Picts.

672. "Dundurn, or Dun-d-earn, at the east end of Loch Earn, near St Fillans."—Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. cxxxvii.

673. *His gylt* is the best reading, *i.e.*, the killing of Hed.

684. See note to 'Golagros' 878 [in Amours' 'Scottish Alliterative Poems'].

687-690. The earliest mention of Kellauch, or Cellach, is in the 'Chronicle of the Picts' (Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 9). He was present at the assembly or council of Scone in the sixth year of Constantine, son of Aed.

691-700. Mart. Pol., 'Adrianus,' CXII., 'Joannes,' CXIII., 'Martinus,' CXIV.=Adrian II. (867-872), John VIII. (872-882), Martin II. (882-884).

A curious mistake has crept in here. Martinus says nothing of legates sent to Britain; but the 'Chronicle of Melrose' has this entry in 786: "Adrianus papa legatos in Britanniam direxit, ut fidem catholicam renovarent et confirmarent." This, however, refers to Adrian I., a century before.

701-704. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 885. Karloman, king of France from 882 to 884.

705-712. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 897. Donald II., son of Constantine (897-908), 889-900 in Skene. Died at Dunfother, now Dunnottar, according to the earlier Chronicles. He is the first called King of Alban.

713-722. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 908. Constantine son of Aed (908-943), 900-942 in Skene.

723-738. = Mart. Pol., 'Carolus,' LXXVII.—Charles II. (not III.), the Bald (876-877).

739-740. The "rise" of Normandy belongs to the reign of the Emperor Charles III. (877-899), as stated in Martinus, 'Carolus,' LXXVIII.

741-746. = Mart. Pol., 'Arnulphus,' LXXIX.—Arnulf (899-902). "Twelve" should be "three."

747-754. = Mart. Pol., 'Adrianus,' CXV.—Adrian III. (884-886). "Hic autem constituit ut Imperator non intrmitteret se de electione papae."

The passage is obscure in all the texts except in W, which is different altogether. EA are best: the emperor is to give neither help nor hindrance.

759-766. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 943. Malcolm, son of Donald (943-952), 942-954 in Skene. The later Chronicles say that Malcolm I. was killed by the men of Moray at Ullurn, near Forres; the Pictish Chronicle, that the deed was done by the men of the Mearns at Fodresach (Fetteresso).

767-788. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 952, except ll. 769-82. Indulf, son of Constantine (952-961), 954-962 in Skene.

769-772. Wyntoun is the earliest authority for the banishment of Fothad by Indulf, one might say the sole one, as the statement in the 'Scotichronicon Supplementum,' Bower, vi. 34, is doubtless copied from the Chronicle.

773-782. Cf. "Conscribi fecit in theca Evangelii Fothet episcopus, maximae vir autoritatis, versus istos:

Hanc Evangelii thecam construxit avari
Fothet qui Scotis Summus Episcopus est."

—"Legend of St Andrew" (circa 1279) from the 'Register of St Andrews,' in Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 190.

"Summus" explains the meaning of "primus" in Wyntoun, and is the better word.

773. *Tystyr, tester, textre, texter, textuere*, W, are different forms of Fr. *textuaire*, book of the Gospels. The word was applied not only to the text of the Gospels, but to the case, often richly ornamented, in which the volume was enclosed. See Du Cange, *s.v.* *Textus*, and Godefroy, *s.v.* *Teste*. AuE² *kyst* = *thecam* of the Latin text.

785. "Colly," Innercolan, Inertolan, in the Latin Chronicles, is Cullen in Banffshire.

789-806. = 'Chron. Melrose,' 961. Duf or Dubh, son of Malcolm (961-965), 962-967 in Skene. Wyntoun is fuller than the 'Chronicon Elegiacum,' but he may be paraphrasing. Skene ('Chronicles,' p. cxliii.) notes that there was an eclipse of the sun on 10th July 967, the year of Duf's death in the 'Annals of Ulster.'

807-818. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 965. Culen, son of Indulf,

(965-969), 967-971 in Skene. The name of his slayer appears as Amdarch or Amodrach elsewhere, and the Lat. *Lovias* stands for Lothian.

819-844. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 969. Kenneth, son of Malcolm (969-994), 971-995 in Skene.

827. *Dunsynnane* may not be the right name. Dunismoen and Dunsion are the only forms given (Gray's MS. and Register).

844. The last line of the "epitaph" is very bad in all texts of Wyntoun. The 'Chronicle of Melrose' reads:

Nate Cuncari Fimberhele fraude cadens. .

846-852. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 994. Constantine, son of Culen (994-995), 995-997 in Skene. The place of the battle is called Rathin-veramon in the Chronicles, and the Bodleian texts of the 'Chronicon Elegiacum' has "Amon" instead of "Awyn," "a place at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, near Scone."—Skene.

Wyntoun omits the second half of the quotation, perhaps because it is corrupt in the Melrose Chronicle.

"In Tegalere, regens uno rex et semis annis,
Ipsum Kinedus Malcolomida ferit."

"In Tegalere" is "In jus regale" in the other version.

853-860. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 995. "Rex Scottorum Grim, sive Kinedus, filius Duf" = Kenneth 997-1004 in Skene. There is a great deal of confusion about this king in the different Chronicles. Note that the 'Chronicle of Melrose' calls him Grim or Kenneth in one place, and in the other Grim son of Kenneth.

858. "Bardory" is a remarkable translation of "Bardorum campus." "The place meant is Monzievaird in Stratherne, which literally means the 'moor of the Bards.'" Skene, 'Fordun,' II. p. 412.

861-882. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1003. Malcolm II., son of Kenneth (1003-1034). The third line of the Latin quotation is different in the two other versions of the 'Chronicon Elegiacum.'

In Wyntoun:—

In vico Glamis rapuit quandamque puellam.

In the 'Chronicle of Melrose':—

In vico Glammis rapuit [mors] libera regem.

In Skene's 'Chronicles,' from Bodleian MS.:—

In vico Glammes rapuit mors improba regem.

None of the Chronicles has anything to say about the "ravishing of a fair maid."

879. The change in W is a late one, and was partly adopted in A. That Bethok should have been the wife of the bishop of Dunkeld was such a shock to the Wemyss scribe that he declined to copy the Latin evidence of so scandalous a fact.

883. Whatever it may refer to, 990 is a wrong date. Benedict VII. was Pope from 975 to 983, and the dates for Otto II. are 973 to 983.

891-960. = Mart. Pol., 'Otto,' LXXXIX. ". . . Agareni et Barbari Calabriæ fines ingressi omnia igne et ferro vastabant." The story ends differently in Martinus, which implies another source in Wyntoun.

962. A.D. 1004 is a wrong date. Wyntoun omits five popes, one of whom was an antipope, between Benedict VII. and Sylvester II. (983-999).

966-1064. = Mart. Pol., 'Sylvester,' CL.—Sylvester II. (999-1003). The legend of Gerbert was a great favourite with all chroniclers. Wyntoun takes his account mostly from Martinus.

971. The monastery of Fleury, in the diocese of Orleans, the oldest Benedictine abbey in France.

1025. The 'Via Laterana' is not in Martinus.

1033-1042. These details agree best with 'Eulogium Historiarum,' vol. I. p. 255.

1052. This celebrated hexameter appears in many forms. The earliest is in Helgaldi Floriacensis "Epitoma Vitæ Regis Rothberti Pii" (Rec. Hist. des Gaules, vol. X. p. 99): "Inter cetera de se lætus et hilaris (Gerbertus) ita in R. litera lusit—

"Scandit ab R. Girbertus in R., post papa viget R."

Some give the line as his epitaph, others as the oracular promise of the Devil.

The explanatory Latin sentence which Wyntoun seems to have taken to be a part of the "verse" partly resembles the corresponding remark in the 'Chronicle of Melrose,' anno 1005.

1058. The Chronicle is not sufficiently explicit; the sequence *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia* was composed by King Robert the Pious, and Martinus says so.

1065-1092. 'Chron. Melrose,' annis 1010, 1011, 1012.

1081. The tribute paid to the Danes is 48,000 pounds in the 'Chronicle of Melrose,' which copies Simeon of Durham, and 8000 pounds in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

1090-1092. = "Ad ultimum quidam Trum nomine, quem pridie confirmarat, impia motus pietate, securim capiti ejus infixit, qui statim in Domino obdormivit." St Elphege was slain on the 19th of May 1012.

1093-1138. = Mart. Pol., 'Benedictus,' CLIV. — Benedict VIII. (1012-1024).

1103. = "Peter Damascenus dixit. . . ." (Martinus).

1120. There is no mention of the Virgin in Martinus.

1135-1138. = "Quod episcopus fideliter expleuit, et episcopatu cedens, monasterium intrauit." (Martinus). C is better than W.

1139-1140. = Mart. Pol., 'Joannes,' CLV.—John XX. (1024-1033).

1141-1172. = Mart. Pol., 'Benedictus,' CLVI. — Benedict IX. (1033-1044).

1150-1156. The texts differ here from each other, and also from the Latin: "Iste Benedictus, qui fuit nepos superioris Benedicti, apparuit iuxta molendinum cuidam in specie cuiusdam monstruosi animalis, cuius caput et cauda asini erat: reliquum corpus sicut ursus."

1171, 1172. Not in Martinus. Wyntoun ends the story abruptly. The dead Pope goes on describing what his tortures are now and what they will be after the day of judgment.

1173. "Henry I." should be "Henry II.," and the numeral should be increased by *one* in the case of the next three emperors called Henry. Martinus and some other historians do not reckon the first of the Henrys among the emperors.

1173-1328. Mart. Pol., 'Conradus,' XCII.—Conrad II. (1024-1039). Wyntoun follows Martinus very closely throughout this popular story, except towards the end, where he adds some details out of his own fancy. The legend is found also in other writers, for instance in Bromton (Twysden, col. 909), in *Legenda Aurea* (Graesse, p. 840), and in Bower (IV. 45), who copies Martinus.

It must be noted that W differs much more than usual from the other texts.

1187. *Ane erle* = "Comes Lupoldus."

1237. *A duk* = "Dux Henricus."

1289. The wording of the letter varies here. "Nam abraso *Ipso die moriatur*, reposuit *Ipso die filia mea sibi tradatur*." (Martinus).

1337-1386. Mart. Pol., 'Henricus,' CXIV. The legate was Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII.

1356-1358. "Quum . . . ille testes qui ipsum accusaverant precio corrupisset." W is the best text.

1387-1416. = Mart. Pol., 'Henricus,' CXIII.

1397. Martinus speaks only of one candle.

1413. The translator is sadly at fault: Pallas, not Turnus, was the son of Evander.

1417-1436. = Mart. Pol., 'Henricus,' CXIII.

1431. Wyntoun spoils the point of the story. "Quod quidam Saracenus . . . quid portenderet intelligens, in Calendis Maii oriente sole, notato termino umbræ illius, reperit infinitum thesaurum."

1437-1452. Mart. Pol., 'Henricus,' CXIV. He does not say that this happened in France.

1453-1464. The dates of Benedict VIII. (1012-1024) and Benedict IX. (1033-1044) are much too late to correspond with the bishops of St Andrews. Malis, Malisius, or Maelbrigde succeeded Fothad, c. 955 and died c. 970. Kellauch II., or Cellach, son of Ferdalaich, succeeded him, according to the Pictish Chronicle, p. 10. Nothing

is known of the second Malis and of Melmore. They are in Bower's list in the same way as here.

1465-1478. Mart. Pol., 'Gregorius,' CLVIII.—Gregory VI. (1056-1058.)

1479-1522. Not in Martinus. Wyntoun seems to have derived the story of the death and funeral of this Pope from Vincent of Beauvais, XXV. 22; however, it is found in other Chronicles.

1522-1594. =Ailred, 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum,' "De rege Ethelredo" (Twysden, col. 362). Closely translated. Reign 978-1016.

1531. *Ane erllis douchtyr*, "filia Thoreti nobilissimi comitis."

1547-1550. An explanation by the author.

1554. =The massacre of the Danes on St Brice's day, 1002.

1595. Duncan I., 1034-1040.

1603. His wife was a sister or cousin of Siward, earl of Northumberland. The two sons meant here were Donald Bane and Melmare, whose descendants were earls of Orkney (Athol?) till 1231.

1610-1638. Wyntoun must accept the whole responsibility for this story. No other chronicler knows anything about the fair daughter of the miller of Forteviot.

1641. The mother of Macbeth, son of Finlaech, "is supposed to have been Donada, second daughter of Malcolm II." Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' p. 17. So Duncan was not Macbeth's uncle, but his cousin.

1649. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1034. In the Wemyss text, the Latin quotation is evidently wrong in the first line; in the third *nepos* may be a better word than *natus* without being the original reading. The eight additional lines are either wrong or a repetition of what has been said before. The whole passage is a late bungling.

1651-1658. WA have two extra lines which are an improvement.

1658. "This is perhaps what is still called the *Miller's Aire* at Forteviot, whereon Edward Balliol and his English associates encamped their little army before the battle of Dupplin."—Macpherson.

1683. Wyntoun returns to the subject of the relationship between Clement VII. and Robert II. in Book IX., chap. xiii. See also note on that passage, IX. 1562.

1693-1794. The date (1039) at the beginning of this chapter indicates the point reached by the Chronicle, the end of Duncan's reign. Edmund Ironside reigned for about a year in 1016. Wyntoun's information is derived from Ailred's 'Genealogia' (Twysden, col. 363.) Ailred's narrative is diffuse and grandiloquent, and does not lend itself to easy translation; but Wyntoun has confined himself to the main events of a short reign, the meeting of Knut and Edmund on the banks of the Severn, and the murder of the English king.

1711-1714. C is different and inferior; all the other texts agree, which is a rare coincidence.

1735-1738. Ailred does not mention Emma.

1743, 1744. "Stansque ante regem Cnuthum, *Salve*, inquit, *Rex solus*." W has the best translation, and is often the better text in this chapter, which contains many verbal differences.

1791. The king of Sweden was Olaf, the half-brother of Cnut. Freeman, 'Norman Conquest,' I. p. 455.

1795-1840. Wyntoun does not abandon Ailred, but he had another source.

1799. Stephen the Saint (d. 1038) was his name; he was married to Gisle, sister of the Emperor Henry II.

1808. There has been a mystery about "Dame Agas" or Agatha from the days of the earliest histories in England and Scotland. See Freeman, vol. II. p. 369, and Appendix Y, p. 622, an exhaustive examination of the whole subject. Wyntoun, with Ailred and many more, makes her the daughter of Henry II. (1014-1024), but it is a matter of history that he had no children. Freeman's conclusion is that "there can be no doubt that Agatha was not a sister, but a more distant kinswoman of the Emperor, most probably a niece."

Ailred, in his 'Life of Edward the Confessor,' changes his mind and makes Agatha a kinswoman of the Emperor. "Imperator Romanus cujus cognatam regis (Edwardi) nepos filius Eadmundi ferrei lateris . . . uxorem duxit." Twysden, col. 375.

1843. The heading of this chapter in W, and also in AAuE² is wrong; in the other texts it comes in at the beginning of Book VII. Perhaps Macbeth was regarded as a usurper, and Malcolm Canmore as the immediate successor to Duncan.

At the beginning of last chapter Wyntoun spoke already of treason being rife in England and in Scotland.

1862. The "three weird sisters" of the original legend became three living witches in the hands of the imaginative Boece, and through Holinshed were immortalised by Shakespeare. Buchanan did not believe in witches, as his countrymen did a century later, and he brought back the story to its first stage, although unconscious of the existence of Wyntoun's 'Chronicle.'

1870. Macbeth became thane or mormaer of Moray in 1032 at the death of Gillacongan.

1877. The only other place where the name of Macbeth's wife is mentioned, is in the record of their donation of the lands of Kirkness to the Culdees of St Serf, preserved in the Register of the Priory of St Andrews. It does not appear anywhere how her first husband was the uncle of Macbeth. She was the daughter of Bodhe, son of Kenneth III.

1887. Macbeth reigned from 1040 to 1057.

1893-1896. = Marianus Scotus, *anno* 1050. "Rex Scottiæ Mac-

bethad Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit." Mari-anus wrote about 1075. This sentence has found its way into later writings, and Wyntoun probably took it from the Melrose Chronicle.

Leo IX. was Pope from 1048 to 1054.

1936. This line yields no clear sense in any text.

1943-1946. The "story" of the supernatural "get" of Macbeth has not been traced, and Wyntoun alone has recorded it. W adds two lines indicating that some people believed it because "his deeds were fell." Skene ('Celtic Scotland,' II. p. 434) suggests that the story "may have been raised by the partisans of Donald to strengthen his claim upon the throne."

1970. Skene ('Fordun,' vol. II. p. 422) is "inclined to accredit Fordun with the entire invention of Macduf, Thane of Fife, and the part which he plays in the reigns of Macbeth and Malcolm." It is true that there is no evidence anterior to Fordun as to the existence of Macduf; but Wyntoun's fuller narrative cannot have been derived from his predecessor, and it proves that they both drew from the same source. In fact some passages here explain Fordun's conciseness, as in ll. 1965-1978, where Fordun briefly says that "the king, one day, took occasion, I know not on what pretext, first to upbraid him, more cruelly than usual, perhaps on account of his disloyalty, with his shortcomings towards him; and then added plainly that he should stoop his neck under the yoke, as that of the ox in a wain." IV. 46.

1976. Here, as in ll. 2007-2011, W adopts the direct speech. In fact that text differs considerably from the others in the whole story, and reads better; but this is not always a proof of anteriority.

To þou (W 2023)="Although thou." "To that thou" would improve the scanning of the line, and "to that,"=although, is a phrase peculiar to the Wemyss text, for which see note to VIII. 2837.

1994. *Portu Ebrayan*. [Unidentified; probably not far from Dundee as Macpherson surmised.]

2061-2070. These lines read best in W.

2071. Fordun (V. 1) differs from Wyntoun, and takes Macduf straight to Malcolm.

2105-2183. The long conversation between Malcolm and Macduf follows the same main lines in both chroniclers, but Wyntoun is much more sober of details. Fordun fills the first six chapters of Book V. with divagations, worthy of Bower himself at his worst, for and against the three vices of lust, greed, and untruthfulness, of which Malcolm accuses himself gratuitously.

2195. Siward, Earl of Northumberland, invaded Scotland in 1054 in help of Malcolm, and defeated Macbeth, probably at Scone; but his victory was not decisive, and, as he died in the following year, he was not present at the last battle as Wyntoun seems to believe.

2200-2240. The battle of Dunsinane, the "flittande wode" and the death of Macbeth at the hands of a knight that "was never born" are only in Wyntoun.

2241. Macbeth was killed on 15th August 1057. Lunfanan in Mar is about three miles north of Kincardine O'Neil.

2246. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1039.

Privileges of E. of Fife. [See Hailes, 'Annals,' *anno* 1292; *Fœdera*, Nov. 21, 1292; *Scalacronica*, 130; *Trivet*, *anno* 1306; *Bower*, V. 9; *Acts Parl. Scot* I. *fragmenta collecta*, cap. 26; also Sir John Skene, 'De Verborum Significatione,' voce 'Clan-Makduff'; the strange essay by James Cunningham on "Macduff's Crosse" (1678) in 'Tracts illustrative of Antiquities of Scotland,' pub. by J. Stillie, 1836, pp. 257-280; and John Stuart's 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,' II. lxxi.-lxxiii.]

2293-2306. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1055 (wrong date).

Lulach "the Fool," son of Gilcomgan and Gruoch, was slain on 17th of March 1058, on the day of St Patrick, says the contemporary Marianus; so he reigned seven months, not three. He was slain at Essy in Strathbolgy.

Wyntoun ends here his borrowings from the 'Chronicon Elegiacum' with the two lines indicating that the preceding kings were buried in Iona. The next paragraph of the 'Chronicon' states that Malcolm was the first interred in Scotland:—

"Hic rex in Scotia primus humatus erat."

2307-2316. The several genealogies from Adam to Malcolm Canmore, in which "no person has been forgotten," are scattered through the previous books: from Adam to Noah, I. 263-286; from Noah to Gedyl-Glays, I. 1415-1440; from Gedyl-Glays to Simon Breck, II. 927-962; from Simon Breck to Fergus More, III. 1087-1140. The other links of the chain are scattered through the 'Chronicle,' and it is not always possible to follow them from Fergus More to Kenneth Macalpin, especially at the beginning of Book VI., when the 'Chronicle of Melrose' is adopted as a guide.

2317-2326. These lines are not in W, but they read as if they belonged to the original work. The length of a generation is given at sixty-four or five years, which of course is excessive; moreover, as Wyntoun has over one hundred and fifty generations from Adam to Robert II., the number of years from the creation would amount to ten thousand, which do not tally with Wyntoun's computations elsewhere.

2327-2346. The genealogy of Queen Margaret from Noah to Woden is in I. 1683-1700, and from Woden to Ine and Inglis in II. 905-926.

2347-2363. The numbers of years and kings given here instead of an unmanageable genealogy are sufficiently correct, except that the

interval between Alfred and Edgar was more than "thretty wyntir." Alfred died in 901 and Edgar began to reign in 959.

It may be pointed out that the compilers of genealogies were more skilful in Scotland than in England. The English chroniclers are satisfied with less than forty generations from King Alfred to Noah.

2387-2468. = Ailred, 'Genealogia,' "De Sancto Edwardo" (col. 366). Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066.

2444. Edward Ætheling arrived in England in 1057, and died in London in the same year.

2464. "Haraldus comes, de genere proditorum." This proves that W and other texts are right against C.

2469-2500. Ailred, 'Genealogia,' "Quomodo Rex Willielmus successit Haraldo" (col. 366).

2495. The name of the landing-place is not in Ailred. Fordun (V. 14) calls it "sinus sanctæ Margaretæ." There are difficulties about the date; it was probably in 1068.

2501-2510. Bower (VI. 24) adds very little to Wyntoun: "Alwynus, qui tribus annis stetit episcopus; Maldwinus filius Gillandris; Tuthald quatuor annis." The 'Annals of Tighernac' supply a useful date: "Anno 1055. Maelduin son of Gilladran, bishop of Alban, died in Christ." From this we can calculate that Alwyn was bishop from 1025 to 1028, Maldwin from 1028 to 1055, and Tualda from 1055 to 1059.

The dates of Nicolas II. are 1058-1061, and of Henry III. 1039-1056.

VOLUME IV. BOOK VII.

PROLOGUE.

12. Saint Jerome in his Prefaces to the Bible complains repeatedly of his envious critics. In the first one, he speaks of those who "in eo se doctos arbitrantur, si aliis detrahant;" in another (*ad Domnionem*) he says: "Optima enim quæque, ut ait Plinius, malunt contemnere plerique, quam discere."

Wyntoun repeats here what he said before in the first Prologue, l. 50.

16. Cf. Prologue to Book I., l. 45.

46. The author declares plainly that he will end his work at the death of Robert II.

BOOK VII.

1. 1056 is the date in the Melrose Chronicle. The right year, on the authority of Marianus, is 1058. Fordun and Wyntoun alone mention the coronation of Malcolm III. at Scone.

21-112. = Ailred, 'Genealogia,' last chapter. Fordun also (V. 9, 10) has taken the story of the treacherous knight from that same source.

71-74. = "Si igitur vales, si audes, si cor habes, imple quod proposuisti." So these four lines, omitted in W, belong to the original.

81-84. = "An insidiaris lectulo? Hoc possunt et adulteræ." C is better than W.

104-108. = "Cum ei de cætero fidelem se et amicum præstito sacramento nominatis que obsidibus promisisset. . . ." W and C differ, and W is nearer the Latin.

113-174. [Cottonian "statis," l. 115, is clearly the correct reading as compared with the Wemyss "Scottis." Cf. ll. 163, 167.]

175-190. Cf. 'Henry of Huntingdon' (Savile, p. 371).

191-222. Ibid., p. 374. These two passages agree in substance with the statements in 'Henry of Huntingdon,' but he may not be the immediate source.

193-202. Wrong and partly unintelligible. Robert Curthose, before starting for the Crusade, in 1095, pledged his lands to William Rufus, not to Henry. His father could not interfere with the bargain, as he died in 1087. There is some confusion with an entry in the 'Chronicle of Melrose' (*anno* 1077) when Robert waged war against his father "eo quod Normanniam sibi . . . promiserat, et non dederat."

205-208. Another error; the pope at that time was Urban II. (1088-1099), and the emperor was Henry IV. (1058-1110). Martinus is perhaps responsible for this.

209-212. The names of these leaders are Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, Robert, count of Flanders, Raimond of Saint Giles, count of Toulouse, and Stephen, count of Blois. *Erll of Frawns* is a mistake in CEA.

223-240. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1099. "Dicatur quod cum rogaretur Deus ut per ignis missionem in vigilia pasche ostenderet quem sibi regem præficerent, et venisset super lanciam Roberti Curthose, respuit illud regnum spe regni Anglorum ille."

245-258. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1067. "Rex Willelmus. . . . Anglis inportabile tributum imposuit."

Ibid., *anno* 1084. "Rex Willelmus de unaquaque hida per Angliam vi. solidos accepit."

Gregory VII. became pope in 1073. The emperor was Henry IV. (1058-1106); but Wyntoun follows the numbering of Martinus, who styles him Henry III.

262. See Book VI., 2489-2500.

263-266. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1086. "Christiana monasterium Rumeseia intravit et sanctimonialem habitum suscepit." This is not inconsistent with her taking the veil at Newcastle, before her sister's marriage. She spent her old age at Romsey, where Queen Margaret entrusted her with the education of her two daughters, Edith and Mary.

268. The date 1067 at the beginning of the chapter does not imply

that the marriage took place in that year. The early chroniclers disagree, and so do modern historians. The most probable date is the beginning of 1069. See Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' p. 27, for a long list of authorities.

273. Fothad II. succeeded Tuthald as bishop of St Andrews, in 1059, and the 'Annals of Ulster' record his death in 1093.

291-294. Under the year 1070, the 'Chronicle of Melrose' says that Malcolm ravaged England as far as Cleveland, "usque Cliue-land." The mistake may be due to the misreading of the name. The paragraph is not in W, and was perhaps added later.

Malcolm raided Lindisfarne in 1061, "violata pace Sancti Cuthberti in Halieilande." 'Chron. Mel.,' *anno* 1061.

295-302. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1072. "Willelmus Scotiam intravit cui occursit rex Malcolmus in loco qui dicitur Abernithi homo suus devenit. Rex Willelmus in reditu de Scottia temere per suos capellanos de sancto Cuthberto explorare volens, territus a Dunelmo et sub velocitate recessit."

Wyntoun ignores the words "homo suus devenit," which can easily be understood; but what is more extraordinary is, that those three words, which were in the MS. of the Melrose Chronicle when Gale published it, "have been so carefully erased from the vellum, that there does not now remain the vestige of a single letter." (J. Stevenson.) Ingulf (Gale, I. 459) explains why William was so "fleyit" at Durham. He had requested two of his chaplains to ascertain by sight and touch the presence of the body of St Cuthbert in the cathedral; but he was smitten with such fever, perspiration, and horror, that he called them back, mounted his horse, and never drew rein till he had crossed the Tees.

W is curiously astray in the last three lines.

303-308. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1074.

309-312. = Ibid., *anno* 1079.

313-318. = Cf. *ibid.*, *anno* 1087.

319-328. Malcolm III. died on 13th November 1093; Edward, his son, was only wounded at Alnwick, and died two days later. W is fuller, and relates how Malcolm was slain by treachery. The story agrees with Fordun (V. 20), and is probably a late addition.

329-338. 'Chron. Melrose,' (*interpolation*, p. 52) "Quod ut audivit felix regina Margareta, immo, ut verius dicam, spiritu sancto præscivit, confessione et commissione susceptis, Deo se precibus commendans, animam sanctam celo reddidit (Nov. 16)."

339-351. Cf. Fordun, V. 21.

352-358. = 'Chronicle of the Scots' (Colbertine MS). "Edmundus vero frater eorum vir strenuissimus et in Dei servicio, dum vitam ageret præsentem valde devotus apud Montem Acutum in quadam videlicet cella Cluniaccensi que ibi sita est requiescit humatus." Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 132.

Montague is in Somersetshire, and it is impossible to explain the extraordinary statement in the Wemyss text.

368. The translation of the body of St Margaret took place on the 19th of June 1250; the ceremony is described in VII. 3103-3146.

369-406. = 'Chron. Melrose' (*interpolation*, p. 25).

376. "Filius . . . Malcolmi, sed nothus." Duncan was the son of Ingibjorg, the first wife of Malcolm, and not illegitimate. William of Malmesbury is the earliest chronicler to cast a slur on his birth, "Duncanum filium Malcolmi nothum." 'Gesta Regum,' V. 400, p. 627.

390. This earl, or mormaer, of the Mearns, is called Malpeder, son of Lorn, in the 'Scottish Chronicles.'

397. The "five" years should be "four"; Wyntoun follows his authority, which allocates a year and a half to Duncan, and three and a half to Donald.

413-417. Turgot was consecrated bishop of St Andrews on the 1st of August 1109 at York; he was prior of Durham in 1093, when the foundation-stones of the cathedral were laid. The see of St Andrews was vacant after the death of Fothad II. in 1093. Bower (VI. 24) mentions four bishops of whom nothing is known, and who died without being consecrated.

417-428. Edgar 1097-1107. The date is wrong here. "Homo erat dulcis et amabilis, . . . nichil tyrannicum, nichil durum, nichil avarum in suos exercens." Ailred, 'Genealogia,' col. 367.

429. The charter granting the lands of Coldingham to the monks of St Cuthbert is still preserved at Durham. The nunnery of St Abb was destroyed by the Danes, c. 870, and was probably in ruins at this time. See Sir A. Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters,' pp. 16 and 252.

433-438. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1098.

439-450. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1100.

451-460. = Ibid., . . . "quam Anselmus archiepiscopus consecravit et coronavit." It was not the archbishop of York, as stated by Wyntoun.

461-588. The long speech of the old knight at the marriage banquet is so complicated that it has puzzled all the scribes, except the writer of the Wemyss, who alone makes the matter clear. There are, properly speaking, two stories here, the first of which has no connection with the marriage of Queen Maud. The two parts are derived from two chapters of Ailred's 'Life of Edward the Confessor': in the first, Ailred describes the death of Godwin; in the second, a vision that Edward had on his deathbed, and related to those that stood round it.

Wyntoun, or somebody before him, completely altered the setting. Here the old knight, in order to explain the prophecy or riddle that "now the tree is set in the root" relates to the wedding company,

how once, when he was standing before King Edward at meat, he witnessed the death of a "suspected traitor," and how, after the body had been cast to the dogs, the king, "wakening out of a study," told them of his two learned friends who, during his exile in Normandy, had foretold that the wretched condition of England would not come to an end until the green tree cut away from its root had returned to it. And now this prophecy was fulfilled by the union of Henry and Matilda.

511-516. No meaning can be extracted out of these lines, but the three corresponding lines in W are quite clear.

545-554. = "Arbor quælibet viridis a suo trunco decisa ad trium jugerum spatium a radice propria separetur, quæ cum nulla manu hominis cogente, nulla urgente necessitate, ad suum truncum reversa in antiquam radicem sese receperit, resumptoque succo rursum floruerit et fructum fecerit, tunc sperandum est aliquod in hac tribulatione solatium, et de ea quam prædiximus adversitate remedium." Ailred, 'Vita Edwardi,' col 400.

555-586. = "*Arbor* hæc regnum Anglorum significat, decorum gloria divitiis deliciisque fæcundum, excellentia regiæ dignitatis sublime. *Radix* ex qua totus honor iste processit regum semen fuit, quod ab Alfredo qui primus Anglorum a summo pontifice unctus et consecratus in regem fertur, recta successionis linea usque ad sanctum Edwardum descendit. *Abscisa est arbor a trunco*, quando regnum a genere regali divisum, ad aliud semen translatum est. *Ad spacium trium jugerum hæc facta est separatio*; quia in trium regum temporibus nulla fuit novis cum antiquo semine regali communio. Haraldus enim successit Edwardo, et Willielmus Haraldo, et Willielmus junior patri Willielmo. *Accessit ad radicem arbor* quando gloriosus rex Henricus . . . abneptem Edwardi Matildem duxit uxorem, semen regum Normannorum et Anglorum conjungens, etc." Col. 401.

Two variations are remarkable. The "root" Alfred has become Locrinus, son of Brutus, which points to an English origin for Wyntoun's source, and the "semen regum Normannorum et Anglorum" is more appropriate than "the Saxon and Scottish blood," which in fact is out of place altogether, and betrays a Scottish hand, perhaps Wyntoun's.

The 'Scalacronica' (p. 24) tells the same story of the two holy men, not as a dream, but as a real conversation with Edward in Normandy, "com deuisent lez cronicles," and doubtless it is from those chronicles that Wyntoun derived it.

589-600. The ceremony of the translation of St Cuthbert took place at Durham on the 4th of September 1104.

605. Edgar died on January 7, 1107, in Edinburgh, not in Dundee. Fordun (V. 27) has the same mistake, due to the place being called Dunedin in some of the chronicles.

619. Sybilla was not the daughter of William the Conqueror, but an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.

621-654. Wyntoun is the earliest authority for this episode, Fordun (V. 28) calls Alexander the Fierce "cognomine Fers," without explaining the origin of the name; Bower's account (V. 36) is the same as this on the whole, but fuller, and different in details. It is doubtful whether this is history or legend; yet as Alexander's expedition in the North is connected with the foundation of the priory of Scone, traditions of it may have been preserved in that monastery.

630. The "Scottis men" are called men of the Mearns and Moray in Bower. They are "Ylismen" in W, which text brings Alexander back from the Isles afterwards!

637. The scene of the encounter is on the Spey in Bower, instead of Stockford, near Beaulieu.

655-662. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1115, "Canonicis tradita est ecclesia de Scon." Sir A. Lawrie ('Early Charters,' pp. 279-288) considers the charter of foundation as spurious, giving strong reasons for his opinion. The Augustine canons came from St Oswald's monastery at Nostell, near Pontefract. [But fresh and important documentary evidence has been made available in 'Scottish Historical Review' (1910), vol. VII. 141.]

663-666. =Ailred, 'Genealogia,' col. 368. "In ordinandis ecclesiis in reliquiis sanctorum perquirendis, in vestibis sacerdotalibus librisque sacris conficiendis et ordinandis studiosissimus."

667-718. = "Legend of St Andrew" (Skene's 'Chronicles' p. 190).

674. Robert was elected bishop in January 1124, four months before the death of Alexander I., who had been waiting for the death of Eadmer before he procured the election of Robert. Eadmer, elected bishop in 1120, did not agree with the king, and resigned the see. Wyntoun does not mention him.

I have inadvertently followed the punctuation of the previous editors. The sentence should end with line 674. The consent of Earl David was given to the foundation at St Andrews, not to the election of the bishop.

684-688. These lines are not clear, and the 'Legend' is not so explicit. The meaning is that the bishop did not give his consent till he was "confirmed," two years later. Bishop Robert was consecrated in 1128, *four*, not *two*, years after the grant of the Boar's Chase was made to the canons.

719-726. [= Mart. Pol., 'Henricus,' XCV.—Henry V. (1106-1125) ". . . non posse nec debere dari per virgam vel per annulum Episcopatum vel aliquam ecclesiasticam juris investituram a Laicali manu." The council of Vienne in 1112 made acceptance of such investiture an act of heresy, and the decision was repeated by the council of Rheims in 1119.]

727-742. Wrong date. The consecration by Thurstin, arch-

bishop of York, took place in 1128 (Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils,' II. p. 214). As Robert died in 1159, he held the see for thirty-one years.

750. Henry the "ferde" is called now Henry V.

763-768. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1108.

769-772. = *Ibid.*, *anno* 1114, refers to the Thames alone; but the Trent is mentioned as dried up in 1109.

773-784. = *Ibid.*, *anno* 1117.

785-788. The date is different in the two texts. W has 1128, the others 1118. W disturbs the chronological order, and may be a later correction; yet it is the more satisfactory date. According to the 'Chronicle of Melrose,' in 1118 Herbert became abbot of Selkirk, "postea primus abbas de Kelchou." "Anno 1128, Fundata est ecclesia de Kelchou, v nonarum Maii" (May 3). In the interval (Bower, V. 36, says in 1126) Herbert had brought his monks from Selkirk to Kelso. This may explain the confusion of dates.

The case of Jedburgh is more important, as Wyntoun is the only authority for the date of the founding of that abbey. Sir A. Lawrie ('Early Scottish Charters,' p. 407) thinks that 1118 is much too early, and that the priory of Jedburgh was founded about 1138, after the return of Bishop John of Glasgow to his diocese. The earliest appearance in record of a prior of Jedburgh is in a charter of 1139.

789-792. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1119.

793-806. *Ibid.*, *anno* 1120. "Willelmus, filius regis, et frater suus nothus, et multi nobiles et feminæ, apud Barlefeot cxi. milites, 1^{ta} naute, cum tribus gubernatoribus, omnes submersi sunt." The celebrated wreck of the White Ship.

804. *Bukys* is evidently a translation of "milites." In the N.E. Dict. *Buck* appears as "applied to a man (in various associations)," with one early quotation, from 'Handlyng Synne,' 3212: "Pese berdede buckys also . . . leue crystyn mennys acyse" (= assise, conduct). The companions of William were "bucks" of a questionable character, if we believe their contemporaries, and perhaps Wyntoun knew more about them than what is recorded by the Melrose chronicler. The writer of W did not understand the rare word and changed it to *barkis*.

807-810. *Ibid.*, *anno* 1121.

811, 812. *Ibid.*, *anno* 1122. "Sibilla, regina Scotiæ obiit iii. idus Julii" (July 13). Others say on the 12th.

813-818. Alexander I. died on April 23, 1124, and was buried on the 25th. See 'Scottish Kings,' pp. 54-56, for an exhaustive analysis of ancient and modern authorities on the exact date of his death.

819-822. Cf. Ailred, 'Genealogia,' col 368. "Clericis et monachis satis humilis et amabilis erat, cæteris subditorum supra modum terribilis." Wyntoun is always inclined to leniency in his judgments.

827-846. This panegyric on David I. is based on Ailred's 'de Sancto Rege Scottorum David,' col. 347.

834. *Luffit* CEA is inferior to *luffand* in the other texts.

845. "Tres vel quatuor" are the words of Ailred. If he, a contemporary, was not certain of the number, greater certainty cannot be expected at the present time. There is no doubt as to the sees of St Andrews and Glasgow. The existence of the bishoprics of Dunkeld and Moray before David depends on the genuineness of two Scone charters granted by Alexander I.

Sir A. Lawrie suspects them ('Early Scottish Charters,' pp. 282, 283); Haddan and Stubbs ('Councils,' II. p. 190) accept their evidence. [Also now see fresh data in their favour, 'Scottish Historical Review,' 1910, vol. vii. 141.]

In 1155, Pope Adrian IV. addresses a letter to all the bishops of Scotland *nominatim*. There are ten names, Glasgow, Whithern, St Andrews, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness. ('Councils,' II. p. 231.) Whithern however was not a Scottish see.

847-860. The Wemyss text is different from the others and is perhaps a later redaction. It is better on two points: it brings Jedburgh and Kelso under the reign of David (see note to ll. 785-788), and it shows clearly that the foundation at South Berwick was for nuns; they were white nuns of the Cistercian order. The dates of those foundations or restorations are well known: Melrose 1136, Holmcultram 1150, Newbattle 1140, Kynloss 1150, all Cistercian Benedictines or White Monks; Holyrood 1128, Cambuskenneth 1147, Canons Regular, or Black Canons. Dunfermline became an abbey in 1128.

861-930. = "Legend of Saint Andrew" (Skene's 'Chronicles,' p. 192).

877-882. "In claustrum, quale illud tunc erat."

914. *Mowit* in C is a guess at an unfamiliar word, *mure* = demure.

945. Matilda was the daughter of Waltheof (not William), Earl of Northumberland, Northampton, and Huntingdon.

955. Earl Henry married Ada, daughter of William, Earl of Warenne.

957. Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and Earl David, the progenitor of many of the competitors in 1291.

960. "Huntingdon" is the reading of all the texts except R. Ada founded the nunnery of Haddington in 1170. There is a place called Huntington near Haddington that belonged to the convent, and may account for the general reading. See John Major's 'History' (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 165.

963-982. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1127.

983-986. = Ibid., *anno* 1128.

987, 988. = Ibid., *anno* 1132.

989-1000. = Ibid., *anno* 1135.

1001-1014. =Ibid., *anno* 1136.

1015-1026. Cf. *ibid.*, *anno* 1138. "Rex David miserabiliter vastavit Northumbriam totam. . . . Fuit bellum in Cuttenemor inter Scotos et Anglos ad standardum xi. kalendas Septembris." Wyntoun does not name the battle, and the Melrose chronicler does not mention the result. All that is known of the battle of the Standard comes from English sources. Ordericus Vitalis alone (V. p. 114) says that some of the Scots were drowned in a great river "*nomine* Zedam."

1027-1044. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1139.

1030. This Matilda was the wife of Stephen, and the daughter of Mary, Countess of Boulogne, sister of "Good Queen Maud."

1045-1058. Wyntoun has gone to another source for this passage, which refers to a date anterior to the battle of the Standard. It agrees in substance with Fordun's 'Capitula ad "Gesta Annalia" prae-fixa,' ch. xxxvii. (Appendix III., p. 433). These "capitula" seem to have been a first draught, or collection of notes that Fordun partly incorporated into his history afterwards. They are not in all the texts.

1053-1058. "Aquilonares Angliæ regiones, videlicet, a flumine These usque flumen Twede, et a Rercors de Stanmor usque ad flumen Esk sibi subjugavit," that is from the Tees on the south to the Tweed on the north, and from the Rere Cross of Stainmore on the west to the Esk on the east. Stainmore is in the north-west corner of Yorkshire and the Esk passes by Whitby. The Wemyss text is wrong.

1059-1070. Stephen was the son of Stephen, count of Blois, and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. He was made count of Mortain by Henry I. his uncle, and married Matilda, daughter of Eustache III., count of Boulogne, and of Mary, daughter of Malcolm III.

1071-1086. Peace was concluded at Durham in 1139.

1087-1104. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1140. The real date is 2nd February 1140-1141 for the capture of Stephen, and 14th September 1141 for that of the Earl of Gloucester.

The Latin text has nothing equivalent to the line—

"For he hir lorde had in kepyng;"

but curiously enough there is an erasure in the MS. at that very place.

1105-1112. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1148. Not in WAuE². Saint Waltheof, second abbot of Melrose, was the son of Queen Matilda by her first husband, Simon de St Liz (Senlis); so he was King David's step-son and the half-brother of Henry of Huntingdon.

The Melrose chronicler is responsible for the mistake.

1113-1122. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1149. Henry was not yet "earl of Anjou." His father died in 1151. See below.

1123-1132. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1150. Wyntoun's date, 29th December, is a mistake. The entry, partly written in large red letters in the Chronicle, gives the day as "xii kalendas Junii," that is, May 21. Kinloss was an offshoot from Melrose.

1133-1136. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1151.

1137-1144. = Ibid., *anno* 1152.

1144-1160. Cf. Fordun, V. 33. The Wemyss text reads better than the others.

1161-1186. = Fordun, V. 34, App. III. 39.

1163. "Dissimulato mœrore super morte unici filii sui." The line is not clear in C; I take it to mean that the king "refrained (*let*) from showing his grief openly (*be sycht*)."

1174. Duncan was the name of the Earl of Fife.

1194, 1195. CEA have gone wrong here, and EA have attempted an emendation, with little success.

1223-1230. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1153.

1226. "Mediantibus venerabilibus Thedbaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo."

1232. Stewyn Styntyng. [An unexplained appellation for King Stephen (perhaps=ceasing?). Bower, V. 42, calls him Stephen "Stentyne."]

1233. The abbey of Reading was founded by Henry I. in 1121. Stephen granted it confirmation charters, but no bequests of his own. 'Victoria History of Berkshire,' II. 63.

The addition in W about Carham does not seem to have any historical foundation. Carham was a cell of Black Canons, subordinate to Kirkham Abbey. 'Dugdale,' VII. p. 379.

1235-1296. The story of the murder of an elder son of David I. is much older than the time of Wyntoun, the only Scottish historian that relates it. Orderic Vital, a contemporary writer (he died about 1150), tells the tale with more convincing, or at least more credible, circumstances. 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' Book VIII., vol. iii. p. 402. The murderer was a wretched clerk (*miserabilis clericus*) who had been deprived of his eyes, feet, and hands in Norway as a punishment for killing a priest at the altar. Earl David, then in England, had befriended him and his little daughter, and the ungrateful wretch, instigated by the devil, pierced cruelly with the iron fingers (*ferreis digitis*) which he used instead of hands the two-year-old son of his benefactor, while pretending to caress him in the arms of his nurse. He was tied to the tails of four wild horses and torn to pieces.

The birth of Henry as a sequel is manifestly wrong. His mother, Queen Matilda, died in 1130 or 1131, and he took an important part in the battle of the Standard in 1138.

1271. *Tympanis*.

The use of the iron fingers is an essential part in the old story; here the "tympanis" are a mere legendary survival, as we are not told that Donald had not the use of his hands.

1297-1306. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1153, and Fordun, 'Annals,' 1.

1307-1322. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1154.

1334. W adds an allusion to the death of Saint Thomas.

1341-1356. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1154. The Latin text says that William had been suspended by Eugenius and restored to his see by Anastasius. Eugenius III. died in 1153 and was succeeded by Anastasius IV.

1351. *His mynyster* CEA should be plural as in the other texts, "proditione, ut dictum est, suorum clericorum."

1356. *Swyk* C is a mistake for *swylk* R, an inferior reading for *swikfull* W.

1357-1366. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1157. C is much better than W.

1367-1370. = Ibid., *anno* 1158.

1371-1384. Cf. *ibid.*, *anno* 1159, and Fordun, 'Annals,' 2.

1384. Malcolm IV. and Henry II. were great-grandsons of Malcolm Canmore.

1385-1402. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1160; cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 3. "Feretauche" is Ferquhart, or Ferteth (more usually Ferthet in charters), earl of Strathearn. The 'Chronicle of Melrose' records his death in 1171.

Wyntoun alone mentions the name of Gillandris Ergemauche. Skene ('Celtic Scotland,' I, p. 472) suggests that he may have been William of Egremont, grandson of King Duncan, whom, according to the Orkneyinga Saga, the Scots wished to take for their king about this time.

W omits the expedition to Galloway.

1403-1430. Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspeare) was elected pope on 3rd December 1155, and died on 1st September 1159. The conquest of Ireland belongs to the year 1172

1431-1450. Cf. Bower, VI. 24, 35. Arnald, or Ernald, was elected on 13th November 1160 ('Chron. Melrose'), and died on the 13th of September 1162 ('Chronicon Sanctæ Crucis'). He was consecrated by William, bishop of Moray, Papal legate.

1465-1474. The Cistercian abbey of Cupar in Angus was founded on 12th of July 1164 ('Chron. Melrose'). The exact year of the foundation of Soltre (in W alone) is not known.

1475-1490. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *annis* 1163, 1165. Arnald died in 1162, and Richard was elected in 1163; he was consecrated by Scottish bishops on Palm Sunday (28th March) 1165. W is wrong in l. 1507, a remarkable blunder, as this was the first consecration of a bishop of St Andrews by the bishops of Scotland.

1491-1504. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1164. "Sowelle" C, "Ardagh" W, &c., are scribal mistakes for Sumerled. The first sentence is a clumsy translation of the Latin. It means that Sumerled, the kinglet (*regulus*) of Argyle had been in a state of rebellion against Malcolm for twelve years. His first revolt was in 1153, immediately after King David's death ('Chronicon Sanctæ Crucis,' 1153, Fordun, 'Annals,' 1). The end of the paragraph scans better in W, but from internal evidence C is nearer the original.

1505-1518. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1165, except the reference to his "cleyne maydynheide." Malcolm was called "The Maiden," because he died young and unmarried. He had a natural son who died before him.

1519-1554. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 6. The "collacion" between the cleric and the king is a neat and careful translation of a Latin metrical composition preserved in Fordun. Skene in his edition gives another version of the poem from MS. C.C.C., Cambridge, 130, in which the arrangement of the lines is slightly different, but agrees exactly with Wyntoun's version. The difference is that the first and seventh lines have changed places. I subjoin the Latin text of the Cambridge MS. that it may be compared with the texts and variants of the 'Chronicle.'

Visio cujusdam clerici de gloria regis Malcolmi cui ad singula interrogata super statu suo in hunc sensum respondit.

Cur sic, care, taces?	Pro me loquitur mea vita.
Cur tenet ima caro?	Spiritus alta tenet.
Torqueris, necne?	Non torqueor, immo quiesco.
Quæ tibi, pœna fuit?	Sors gravis ante necem.
Quis tibi, care, locus?	Paradisus nescia pœnæ.
Cur candet vestis?	Virgo necem subii.
Rex olim, quid agis?	Servus quondam, modo regno.
Eger eras longum.	Jam bene convalui.
Cur te perdidimus?	Ut sancti me reperirent.
Quid tibi displicuit?	Tantus in or(b)e dolus.
Quando reverteris?	Demum cum judice summo.
Scocia te plangit.	Non modo, sed noviter.
Quæ fuga? quidve times?	Ne pristina secla revisem.
Quidque tuis mandas?	Perpetuo valeant.

—Fordun, 'Annals,' 6 appx. VI.

1543. E²Au have the best rendering.

1546. The Latin text has *ore* with the connection *vel orbe* by the same hand in the margin. Wyntoun settles the point.

1553. *wil þou* = *mandas*. . . .

VOLUME V.

1555-1562. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1165.

1563-1578. = Ibid., *anno* 1166, except ll. 1567-1568.

1579, 1580. = Ibid., *anno* 1167.

1581-1618. = Ibid., *anno* 1170. The word *And*, which connects the two accounts of the death of the Empress and of the coronation of young Henry, need not imply that Wyntoun ascribed both events to the same year. Prince Henry was crowned in 1170, but English chroniclers vary as to the day. Wyntoun follows the Melrose chronicler, and both are wrong in some way, as the 22nd of May "xi. kalendas Junii" fell on a Monday. See note in 'Chron. Melrose,' p. 82.

1594. = "Hugonem Dunelmensem et Gilbertum Lundoniensem episcopos."

1619-1624. The right date of the death of Saint Thomas is 1170. Wyntoun has been misled by the 'Melrose Chronicle,' where the years are computed from the 25th of December.

"The fifth day of Christmas week" is equivalent to "quinta die . . . post nativitatem Salvatoris" (December 29th).

1625-1640. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1173.

1633. "Non solum cismarine sed transmarine provincie commote in arma ruunt." This proves that CEA are wrong, and the other texts right.

1641-1654. Fordun, 'Annals,' II. "Rex Willelmus exercitum in Angliam ducens, et Appilbiam obsidens cepit et Waynilandiam, Northumbri quousque ad octavum Penticostes pacem nummis impetrant, et sic, expeditione prospere facta, rediit sine damno."

The meaning of "Waymyrland" or "Wayniland" is doubtful. Most of the Scotchchronicon texts have "Wamerlandiam," which in one case has been changed to "Westmerlandiam" ('Liber Pluscard.' VI. 26). This is probably the right emendation.

"Perhaps it ought to be Wayverland: there is a river called the Waver in Cumberland."—Macpherson.

1651. The transcriber of W has left a blank space as if a word was wanted; but the phrase "of þaris." without any addition, is used by Barbour, as Macpherson points out:—

For oft of thairis till thame gaf thai.

—'The Bruce,' xviii. 199.

The meaning is that William granted them a truce "for (money) of theirs," in return for their money.

1655-1678. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1174, Fordun, 'Annals,' II.

1662-1665. It is difficult to say whether W has the original reading; the men of Galloway are not specially mentioned in connection with

Alnwick on that day, but they distinguished themselves by their savage cruelties during the expedition in that year.

1671. Wyntoun misunderstands the 'Melrose Chronicle.' Henry II. had come hurriedly from Normandy, and was doing penance at the tomb of Thomas of Canterbury, on the 12th of July, the day before the capture of William the Lion. Hoveden (*a.* 1174) says that Henry II. landed at Barfleur on the 8th of August, bringing William with him.

1679-1686. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1174. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 30.

1705. According to the text of the convention of Falaise (8th December 1174) *five* castles were to be delivered up—Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; and the enumeration of hostages contains *twenty-one* names, Prince David heading the list. The treaty of Falaise was ratified at York on 17th August 1175.

1711-1720. All the texts are ungrammatical or wrong: W is the best.

Fordun, 'Annals,' 13, gives the date of King William's return to Scotland on the 2nd of February 1175.

1721-1728. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1175.

1724. "Wyntoun, wishing to extenuate the submission extorted from the unfortunate king, uses the term *Alyawns*, the agreement of contracting equals, instead of *Allegiance*, the obligation of feudal vassals to their overlords."—Macpherson.

1731. "Norham" is a mistake for Northampton, where the celebrated Council took place in January 1176, under Cardinal Uguccone Petra Leonis.

1751. Wyntoun is wrong in stating that the majority of the Scottish bishops were absent from the council. Hoveden, who was present, mentions six of them by name, and adds "et cæteros Episcopos et Abbates et Priores." (Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils,' II., I., p. 241).

The chief cause of the failure of the council was the disagreement between the archbishops of York and of Canterbury, who both claimed supremacy over the Church of Scotland.

1767. The letter of Pope Alexander III. to the Bishops of Scotland, freeing them from subjection to the see of York, is dated July 30, 1176, 'Reg. Episc. Glasg.,' No. 38, in Haddan and Stubbs, II., I., p. 245.

1773. *Mediate* CEA should be *immediate*.

1787, 1788. A repetition of vii. 1383-1384.

1795-1812. The whole of this passage differs considerably in the two texts, not so much in meaning as in form. W is clearer at the beginning, and breaks down towards the end. C is probably nearer the original, and its meaning may be summed up thus:—

"Henry had not this in mind, and he bore himself meanly and unkindly towards William. He treated him and his barons despitely; he made them consent to many things against the law (which

they would not have done had it not been for their love and respect for their natural king, or for their fear of Henry) before they could get William set free by any manner of treaty."

1813. There is uncertainty about the date of the death of Richard, bishop of St Andrews, whose succession caused so much trouble for many years: 1178 is the date in the 'Melrose Chronicle,' 1179 in the 'Chronicle of Holyrood,' 1177 in Bower, VI. 35, and 1180 in Hoveden, who contains the fullest account of the whole dispute (Haddan, 'Councils,' II., I., pp. 251-272). The day of the month, May 3, in Wyntoun, is corroborated by Bower.

1827-1836. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1178.

1837-1908. Cf. *ibid.*, *anno* 1180.

1844. Alexander III. was elected pope in 1159; but "twenty years" is probably equivalent to "a score" and not to be taken literally.

1898. Bishop John was consecrated by his uncle Matthew of Aberdeen in the church of Holyrood on the 15th of June 1180, on Trinity Sunday, or the Octave of Pentecost, as worded in the chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood.

1910. Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, died in 1178, according to the Melrose chronicler, and under that same year he adds that Walter de Bidun was elected bishop, or died bishop-elect, of Dunkeld; the wording is ambiguous. If Wyntoun can be trusted, Walter must have been bishop for some time, and died after 1180. See 'Scottish Hist. Review,' Jan. 1904, p. 202, "The Bishops of Dunkeld," by Bishop Dowden.

1918. The two rival bishops appeared before Pope Lucius III. in 1183, and resigned their claims. Then the pope gave back the see of St Andrews to Hugh, and John was granted the see of Dunkeld. The king objected to the settlement, and the quarrel did not really end till 1188, when Hugh died at Rome on the 4th of August.

1919-1922. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1181. *Rowmyt* is right, not *Renewit* CEA. "Sancti Kentigerni ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit."

1923, 1924. = *Ibid.*, *anno* 1181.

1925-1934. = *Ibid.*, *anno* 1182. "That year" should be "next year." The abbots were Ernald of Melrose and Osbert of Kelso. Their "errand" was about the excommunication of the king and the interdict of his kingdom. The letter of absolution is dated March 17 (Hoveden).

1937-1944. = *Ibid.*, *anno* 1185.

1945-1958. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1186, which is wrong, like Wyntoun and Fordun, 'Annals,' 23, as to the parentage of Ermen-gard. She was the daughter of Richard, Viscount of Beaumont, son of Roscelin, "seigneur de Beaumont le Vicomte," and of Constance, natural daughter of Henry I.

"Henry II. and she, bating the illegitimacy of her grandmother, were first and second cousins, as it is expressed in Scotland."—Macpherson.

1951. "As *Vicecomes* had no other meaning in Scotland in Wyntoun's time than *Shirref*, it was natural for him to translate it so."—Macpherson.

1959, 1960. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1186. "In Hybernia apud civitatem que vocatur Dune." This refers to the translation of the relics of the three patron saints of Ireland at Downpatrick in the presence of the legate Vivian. See Reeves, 'Eccles. Antiquities of Down,' &c., p. 227.

1961-1963. "Et dominus rex Angliæ reddidit ibi regi Scotiæ Castellum Puellarum, quod idem rex Scotiæ statim dedit prædictæ Ermengard, uxori suæ in dotarium." Hoveden, *anno* 1186.

1964-1978. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1186, and Fordun, 'Annals,' 18.

1979-1984. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1185.

The order of the two events has been interverted. It was the victory of Roland over Gilpatrick on Thursday, 4th (not 2nd as in Wyntoun) of July 1185, that brought Henry to Carlisle in the following year.

1985-1990. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1189.

1991-2024. This account of the funeral of Henry II. is in Fordun, 'Annals,' 19. It comes from Benedict of Peterborough, vol. II. p. 71, and has been repeated by other English chroniclers.

2039-2052. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1190.

2066. The Register to which Wyntoun "remit" his readers was the Great Register of the Priory of St Andrews which was lost about 1660. A list of its contents has been preserved in a late manuscript (Harl. MS. 4628), and number fifteen in that list is "Carte Ricardi regis Anglie de restitutione Bervici et Roxburgh Willielmo regi Scotiæ, et omnium cartarum quas pater Ricardi extorsit a dicto Willielmo per ejus captionem; ita ut omnia sint in posterum ut erant tempore Malcolmi Regis." 'Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andree,' p. xxvi. Wyntoun knew the volume well, as he brought it before the court of the Official in his suit against William de Berkeley. [See Introduction, sections 2 and 7.]

2069-2076. This is all wrong. Philip II. and Richard left together for the third Crusade in 1190, but they parted after the taking of Acre in 1192, and it was on his return through Austria that Richard was imprisoned by Duke Leopold.

2089-2100. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1193. "Willelmus rex duo millia marcas argenti ad redemptionem Ricardi regis Anglie de Rokesburch misit."

The differences in the two texts do not affect the meaning.

2109-2122. The texts differ again here; W seems to be the later

of the two. Both have the same mistake about Philip coming to England. The *floure de lice* in W has been suggested by the *fayr floure* of C rather than the reverse.

2123-2134. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1194, Fordun, 'Annals,' 21.

Richard landed at Sandwich on March 13. Fordun says that William remained with him till the 17th of April.

2135, 2136. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1195. "Willielmus rex Scottorum innovavit monetam suam."

2137-2142. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1197. "Pridie nonas Julii (July 6) die dominica." C and W have a different day, *first* W, *ferde* C, both wrong.

2143-2150. The abbey of Arbroath was founded in 1178 (Fordun, 'Annals,' 29, *note*; Bower, VIII. 25). The first abbot, Rainald, died in 1179 ('Chron. Melrose,' *in anno*). The date in Wyntoun, 9th August 1197, may be that of the dedication of the church.

2151-2156. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1198. The statement is wanting in precision. Roger, second son of Robert III., Earl of Leicester, was elected bishop of St Andrews at the death of Hugh in 1188; but he remained bishop-elect for ten years and was consecrated in 1198, on the first Sunday in Lent, the 15th of February.

2157-2166. These lines read badly in all texts except W. For the destruction of St Andrews Castle see Book VIII. ll. 5005, 5006.

2167-2184. I cannot explain why Wyntoun deems it necessary to apologise for what he has said about Bishop Jocelin. He has mentioned him twice only, in connection with the enlargement and with the consecration of the church of St Mungo, ll. 1919-1922, 2137-2142. However, the 'Chronicle' has now reached the year 1199, and in that year Jocelin died at Melrose on the 17th of March, as recorded by the chronicler of that house. Wyntoun may have made some statement about him which was deleted afterwards, the apology remaining untouched. The writer of the W text, noticing something wrong, stops after the first four lines of the passage. L also omits a part of it.

2185-2192. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1199.

2193-2202. = Ibid., *anno* 1201. Alexander was born on 24th August 1198.

2203-2218. Cf. *ibid.*, *annis* 1201, 1202.

2223, 2224. W reads better than C. Langton was Cardinal at the time of his election. He had been made Cardinal-priest of Saint Chrysogonus in 1206.

2225. The see of Canterbury had become vacant in 1205 by the death of Archbishop Hubert. Two parties in the chapter elected Reginald, subprior of the monastery, and John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. King John favoured the latter. Representatives of

both sides went to Rome; Innocent III. quashed both elections and persuaded the monks to elect Stephen of Langton, whom the pope consecrated at Viterbo on June 17, 1207.

2239. *Man C = Men WR*, which is right.

2300. "Robert of the Dalis," Robertus de Vallibus, or Robert de Vaux, Lord of Gillesland. In the Pipe Roll of 12 John 1210, there is a curious entry, not unconnected with his wicked traffic. "Robert de Vallibus owes 5 of his best palfreys that the king may be silent about the wife of Henry Pinel." 'Victoria History of Cumberland,' I. p. 408.

2308. The count of Flanders was Ferrand of Portugal, who had married Jeanne, heiress of Baudoin, first Latin emperor of Constantinople. Ferrand was taken prisoner by Philip at Bovines in the following year (1214).

2314. Pandulph was the name of the papal legate.

2357-2384. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1212. Matthew Paris calls him "heremita quidam Petrus nomine."

2385-2388. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1211.

2396. *Nere* is the right reading. King William, born in 1143, began his reign on 9th December 1165, and died on 4th December 1214.

2397. "The author seems to have concluded the reign of King William here, but on after thoughts has made some additions; and it was not the manner of his age to alter or erase, but to write on."—Macpherson.

2397. Roger of Leicester died in 1202 ('Chron. Melrose'), which was the 37th, not the 32nd, year of William's reign.

2411. The papal legate, John de Salerne, was in Scotland that year on his return from Ireland ('Chron. Melrose').

2419. The treaty was concluded 7th Aug. 1209 at Norham. Margaret and Isabella are given over as hostages, but nothing is said in the document ('Fœdera,' I. p. 103) about their future marriage with the sons of John. The princesses remained in England. In 1220 Henry III. wrote that if he did not find husbands for them "in terra nostra ad honorem nostrum et ipsius Regis Scotiae" within a year from the feast of St Denis he would return them to their brother ('Fœdera,' I. p. 160). There is a very interesting account of the sums expended on their keeping in Bain's 'Calendar,' vol. I. p. xxx.

Margaret was married to Hubert de Burgh in 1221, and Isabella to Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk ('Scottish Kings,' p. 83).

2461. Fifteen thousand marks is the figure in the document; the numbers vary in different chronicles.

2471. See Bain, 'Calendar,' I. No. 625, for abstract of charter granted to Alan, son of Roland, by King John on June 27, 1215.

2477. Alexander, son of the King of Scotland, on Mid Lent Sunday

(4th March 1212) was made a knight at Clerkenwell. Bain, 'Calendar,' I. No. 518.

2494. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1214. The ceremony took place on the 6th of December 1214. Wyntoun gives the wrong year, 1215, which is right, however, for the appeal of the English barons to Philip.

2514. Louis, son of Philip Augustus, landed in England in May 1216.

2533. There is confusion here. Alexander took the town, not the castle,¹ of Carlisle on the 8th of August, and then went south to meet Louis.

2537-2540 King John died on the 19th of October.

2541-2553. There is some confusion here. Innocent III. died on the 16th of July 1216, and was succeeded by Honorius III. It was the former who sent Gualo to France and England in the spring of that year. The legate met Philip at Melun on the 25th of April, and John near Romney on the 21st of May, the day after Louis had landed in the same neighbourhood.

2579. The "mighty earl of France" was Thomas, count of Perche (Bower, IX. 30). Fordun says simply "quodam comite Franciæ." The date is May 20, 1217.

2581-2584. These four lines are curiously different in the two texts. According to W "the Englishmen that fled from Lincoln made for the sea, but the French fleet had been defeated before they arrived there, and so they found themselves 'homeless (?)." C and all the others simply state that the English army passed to the sea, attacked the French fleet and defeated it, which agrees with history.

2585. The admiral of the French fleet was the famous Eustache le Moine; "archipiratum Francorum," the Melrose chronicler calls him. The battle was fought on the 23rd of August 1217.

2625, 2626. WRL="And that he (Gualo) could not get them punished of his own authority." C &c.="And that they should be punished by his (the Pope's) authority." The first reading is the earliest and appears to be the best.

There are many small differences between all the texts about this paragraph.

2634. Fordun, 'Annals,' 36, mentions *three* "executors," the priors of Durham, of Gisburn, and of Tynemouth.

2637-2642. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 39, last sentence.

2643. Alexander II. was absolved by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham at Berwick on the 1st of December 1217. ('Chron. Melrose,' *in anno*.)

¹ [He took the castle not long after the surrender of the town. "Cives tradiderunt ei civitatem . . . et non multum post opidum et arcem vi optinuit." Palgrave's 'Documents,' I. 74.]

2649. Malvoisin returned from Rome in January 1218. ('Chron. Melrose,' *in anno*.)

2659. The "two famous men" appointed by Gualo were William, prior of Durham, and Master Walter de Wisebech, archdeacon of the East Riding ('Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1218). They came about Candlemas (Fordun, 'Annals,' 39).

2661-2710. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 39. Both chroniclers used the same source.

2673-2682. Not in Fordun. W has abridged the passage.

2718. The marriage took place on the 19th of June 1221. 'Chron. Melrose,' *in anno*.

2737-2776. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1222. Fordun, 'Annals,' 41.

2741, 2742. "Pro eo quod decimas et alia jura ecclesiastica a suis subditis exigebat." (Fordun.) W is the only text out of which some meaning can be extracted: *warnyt* = gave warning, intimated; *denyit* = refused is plainly nonsense. The mistake, an early one, as it is in all the texts, is perhaps due to the fact that *warnyt* was commonly used in the sense of "warned off," "refused."

2750. "Una cum commonacho suo, diacono de Neubotle, nomine Serlone." 'Chron. Melrose.'

2756. This line is much better in W.

The bishop was burned at Hawkirk on Sunday, 11th September 1222.

2757. "Comes . . . Cataniæ Johannes." Fordun, 'Annals,' 41.

2769. Honorius III. wrote to some of the bishops of Scotland on January 13, 1223, urging them to assist the king in his efforts to punish the murderers. Theiner, 'Monumenta,' p. 21.

2777-2804. There is confusion here in the sequence of events. The "winning" of Argyle took place after Whitsuntide 1222 (Fordun, 'Annals,' 40), that is before the Caithness murder. Alexander was at Jedburgh on his way to England when he had to return to punish the murderers. It was then that he crossed the Mounth, and he spent Christmas at Aberdeen when coming back.

He had a safe conduct without limit granted him, dated August 13, 1222, to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury (Bain, 'Calendar,' I. No. 831). As his journey was interrupted in 1222, he may have gone in 1223; Fordun is silent on that point. He crossed the Mounth again in that year and returned with the Earl of Caithness to Forfar.

2805-2822. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1230. The difference of one year may be due to a different way of counting the years. The Melrose Chronicle begins them at Christmas, Wyntoun on the 25th of March, and Malcolm may have died in the beginning of the year. In that case 1230 agrees with modern chronology. See note to VII. 1619-1624.

2830. Walter Fitz Alan "was the first to adopt the name of his office as a surname." 'Scots Peerage,' I. p. 12.

2833-2840. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1232, which gives an inter-

esting account of his death. His son died in 1248 at Marseilles, on his way to the Crusade.

2841-2848. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1233. L is correct in stating that the monks of Balmerino were Cistercians; they came from Melrose. The foundation charter is dated 3rd February 1230-1231.

2849-2876. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *annis* 1234, 1235; Fordun, 'Annals,' 43. W omits this paragraph, and the other texts give only the first part of the Galloway trouble.

2852. Wyntoun omits to say that Thomas was illegitimate.

2872. *Conrayit*, a mistaken form of *cumberit*, *cumbrit*, *cumrit*, *cumrayit* (also in 'Bruce,' XIV. 550). Barbour uses the verb in many forms, but stops short of *conray*. The word was not a familiar one to the scribes, who frequently use another one, more or less appropriate. The mistake arose probably from the similarity of contraction for *cum* and *cun*.

2877-2896. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *annis* 1237, 1238.

2879. The meeting took place at York, not at Newcastle as stated in WRL. Is the reading of C a correction? The two kings had met at the latter place in the preceding year. The agreement was signed on the 25th of September 1237. Bain, 'Calendar,' I. No. 1358.

Queen Joan died on March 4, 1238, near London, and was buried at Tarent in Devonshire.

2901. William Malvoisin had been consecrated on the 20th September 1202, and died on the 9th July 1238. Bower, VI. 42.

2906. Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld, and Clement, bishop of Dunblane.

2911-2926. Cf. Bower, VI. 42. Both the pope and the king objected to the election of Geoffrey. The three consecrating bishops were William de Bondington of Glasgow, Hugo of Brechin, and Gilbert de Moray of Caithness. David of Bernham was elected on June 3, 1238, and consecrated on January 22, 1239.

2934. Mary was the daughter of Enguerrand III., surnamed the Great, sire de Coucy (Aisne). The marriage took place on Whitsunday, the 15th of May 1239.

2942. Edward I. was born at Westminster on the 17th of June 1239.

2945-2952. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1241. Wyntoun is wrong in the year. Alexander III. was born at Roxburgh on the 4th of September 1241.

2953-3080. The murder of the Earl of Athole by the Bisets, and their banishment, is fully related by Bower, IX. 59, 60, 61, who agrees in the main facts with Wyntoun. Fordun ignores the whole matter. The cause of the enmity, according to Matthew Paris, 'Chronica Majora,' *anno* 1242, was that the Earl had overthrown Walter Biset in a tournament on the borders.

2979. Bower says that William Biset was still at Aboyne on the night of the crime.

2986. Patrick was the son of Isabella, daughter and heiress of

Henry, Earl of Athole. She had married Thomas of Galloway, son of Roland, and brother of Alan of Galloway.

2998. The relationship between the three Bisets is confused. Wyntoun calls William, John, and Walter brothers; Bower says that Walter was the uncle of the other two: "Willelmus, Johannes et Walterus Biset avunculus." There is documentary evidence that Walter and John were brothers, in Bain, 'Calendar,' I. No. 1674.

Walter married a sister of Alan of Galloway in 1233 ('Chron. Melrose'), so he was the uncle of Patrick.

3023. Ralph de Lambley, bishop of Aberdeen, 1237-1249.

3038. According to Bower, the conference took place at Forfar, where the Bisets came from Aboyne to meet the king. Alexander granted them some delay, and the sentence of banishment was pronounced in Edinburgh on the 26th of November 1242.

3054. Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, had married a granddaughter of Alan of Galloway.

3074. The Bisets did not all go to Ireland after their banishment. Walter received considerable gifts of land in England from Henry III., and is said to have died "far off in Scotland, in a certain island called Arran." Bain, 'Calendar,' I. Introduction, p. xxxvii.

3086. Frederick II. was excommunicated and deposed by Innocent IV. at the council of Lyons in 1245.

3094. Alexander II. died in the island of Kerrera, near Oban, on the 8th of July 1249. 'Chron. Melrose,' *in anno*.

3095. Alexander III. was crowned at Scone on the 13th of July 1249; 1250 in all the texts is wrong, but it is correct for the next event, which is also referred to as in "that year."

3104. The translation of the body of Saint Margaret took place on the 19th of June 1250.

3106. The "fair miracle" is not recorded by Fordun. Bower, X. 3, is fuller than Wyntoun, and his account has been partly incorporated in the Aberdeen Breviary, *pars estiva*, *Proprium Sanctorum*, f. 1.

3113. Robert de Keldeth, the first mitred abbot of Dunfermline, was elected in 1240, and became abbot of Melrose in 1268. 'Chron. Melrose,' *in annis*.

3142. See above, Book VII. ll. 359-368.

3147-3172. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1250. Louis IX. was taken at Damietta on the 5th of April, and ransomed a month afterwards.

3173-3202. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1251. "Alexander III. was 10 years 3 months and 22 days old at the time of his marriage, and his bride, the Princess Margaret, was one year and one day older than her husband." 'Scottish Kings,' p. 96.

3203-3238. Cf. 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1255. Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, had been sent by Henry III. to counsel and help

the party adverse to the Comyns, who then held the young king in their power.

3209. Walter Cumyn was Earl of Menteith in right of his wife.

Cæ W is a better word than *ta* C. The conspirators wanted to drive away Walter rather than take him.

3232. The result of the long conference at Werk was the appointment of a new body of guardians, on the 20th of September 1255. 'Fœdera,' I. p. 329, Bain, 'Calendar,' I. pp. 386, 387.

3238. The king came back alone; Margaret remained at Werk with her mother, who was ill. Bain, I. p. 386.

3239-3256. The date 1252 is wrong. According to the 'Chronicle of Melrose' David Bernham died in 1253, Abel came back from Rome in 1254, and Gamelin was consecrated on the 26th of December 1255. From Theiner's 'Monumenta' we learn that Innocent IV. appointed Abel to the see of St Andrews on February 20, 1254 (p. 59), and that Alexander IV. confirmed the election of Gamelin on the 1st of July 1255 (p. 66). Bower has two accounts: in Book VI. 42, 43, he agrees with the above dates, but in Book X. 8, he adopts Wyntoun's chronology.

3257-3264. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 52.

3265-3268. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1260. Margaret, the future queen of Norway, was born at Windsor on the 28th of February 1261. Fordun, 'Annals,' 54. Her mother had come to England for her confinement in the preceding November. Bain, I. Nos. 2225, 2229.

3267 Fordun, 'Annals,' 55, says that Haco arrived before the new castle of Ayr about the 1st of August 1263. According to the 'Melrose Chronicle,' *anno* 1263, the battle of Largs was fought on the 2nd of October.

3309-3328. Cf. Bower, X. 16.

"Aco, ut fertur, ante mortem diversas literas sigillatas sigillis quorundam nobilium Scotiæ, misit eidem regi Alexandro continentes quomodo illi nobiles scripserunt dicto regi Aconi ut veniret in Scotiam promittentes eidem quod secum forent in auxilio contra regem proprium. Sed non est verisimile; sed verius creditur sicut tradunt alii quod mortuo rege Acone scripserunt Norici sub testimonio sigilli regis sui ut sibi præcaveret de certis nobilibus sui regni rex Scotiæ."

3329-3340. = 'Chron. Melrose,' *anno* 1263. Alexander, son of Alexander III., was born on the 21st of January 1263-1264.

3343. This Malcolm was the nephew of the preceding Earl Malcolm, who died in 1228.

3349. Bishop Gamelin died at Inchmurdach on the 29th of April 1271, and was buried near the high altar in the "new church." Bower, VI. 43.

3358. William Wishart, elect of Glasgow, was consecrated at Scone on October 15, 1273. The reading of RAuE² at Scone is the best.

3360-3370. = "He built nearly the whole body (the nave) of the church. Where he began to work can be seen yet by the evident marks of affinity (of style) above the third pillar from the chancel door, both under and above that south part and the north door, westwards; the west gable was built also in his day."

The passage is difficult to punctuate and to understand. The meaning seems to be that when Bishop Wishart began his work, the church consisted only of the choir and of a short nave extending to the third pillar. WL omit those lines, which may have been added in the first revision of the 'Chronicle.'

3380. Queen Margaret died at Cupar on 26th February 1274-1275. Fordun, 'Annals,' 61.

3385. William Wishart died at Marbottle (Roxburghshire) on the 28th of June 1279, and was buried before the altar of the "new church" at St Andrews. Bower, VI. 43.

3390. William Fraser was consecrated by Pope Nicolas III. on May 19, 1280. Bower, VI. 44.

3398. Fordun, 'Annals,' 63, says that he died in 1281 at the end of June. He was about eight years old.

3404. Margaret was married about the end of August 1281 at Bergen to Eric II., the grandson of Haco.

3417-3434 This passage is unsatisfactory in every text, which points to an early corruption. The correction in l. 3422 is due to Macpherson; it is certainly not the original reading, but it helps to make sense of the sentence. Llewelyn was induced by his brother David (not called, but son of, Gryffyn) to rebel against Edward I. It was while he was besieged in his stronghold of Snowdon that the English suffered a heavy disaster by the breaking-up of a bridge of boats thrown across the Menai Straits on the 6th November 1282. Llewelyn was slain soon afterwards (December 10) in a skirmish on the banks of the Wye.

3458. Langshankis. [The epithet was contemporary. Cf. the Song on the execution of Sir Simon Fraser, which closes with the jibe at the Scots—

Tprot Scot for thi strif
Hang up thyn hachet ant thi knyf
Whil him lasteth the lyf
With the longe shonkes.

—Wright's 'Political Songs,' Camden Society,
1839, p. 223.]

3471. "So the son of Edward III. of England, who, as well as this prince, died before his father, was called 'Edwardus quartus.'"—Macpherson.

3473. Fordun, 'Annals,' 63, says that the marriage was celebrated on the Sunday after Martinmas 1282. In that year that Sunday fell on the 15th of November. Wyntoun differs in the day, but is

right in the year so far, as it was in the same year as the death of the Prince of Wales.

3480. Margaret, queen of Norway, died on the 9th of April 1283. Fordun, 'Annals,' 64.

3490. David continued the struggle for a short time only after his brother's death; he was captured on the 22nd June 1283.

3495. Prince Alexander died on the 28th January 1283-1284.

3499-3518. "Quarto Idus Januarii (Jan. 10, 1285) Rex Alexander apud Sanctum Andream existens ante magnum altare, coram suis satrapis et magnatibus, dedit et concessit Deo et beato Andream percussuram monetæ adeo libere et quiete sicut aliquis episcopus Sancti Andream tempore patris sui Alexandri II. vel alicujus prædecessorum suorum, liberius et quietius habere consuevit, salva sibi declaratione inquisitionis ejusdem super infeodatione habenda." 'Bower' X. 39.

Bower's phraseology denotes that he was copying from a legal document; Wyntoun had also access to the same source. The meaning of the last part was evidently not understood by W. The declaration of the proper time for the coining of money remained with the king.

3519-3524. Earl Duncan succeeded his father in 1270. As he was only eight years old then, he was placed in the ward of Alexander, Prince of Scotland. He obtained possession of the earldom in 1284.

3525-3528. This is almost the earliest mention of Robin Hood. The first one is in 'Piers the Plowman,' B. V. 402 (1377)—

"I can nouȝt perfily my *pater-noster*, as the prest it singeth,
But I can rymes of Robyn Hood, and Randolf erle of Chester."

There is no known reason why Wyntoun chose this date for the recording of the legendary hero.

3537. Maurice, Earl of Menteith had left two daughters: 1, Isabella, who had by her second husband, Sir John Russell, a daughter, also called Isabella, married to William Comyn of Kirkintilloch, brother of John "the Red" Comyn, Lord of Badenoch; 2, Mary, married to Walter Stewart, third son of Walter Fitz-Alan. See above l. 2830.

3549-3564. =Fordun 'Annals,' 67. Yolande (not "Joan") was the daughter of Robert IV., count of Dreux; she was married on St Calixt's day, October 14, 1285.

3568. Alexander III. died on the 19th of March 1285-1286.

3601-3612. = "Poor yeoman, carl (R), or knave, that had the means to own an ox, he gave that man part of a plough; so in the land there was enough corn. Thus it began, and in course of time an *oxgang* of land was measured (was a measure, R). Mighty men, who had more oxen, he made them go in for plough-lands.

A *ploughland* after that was measured by the number of oxen. By that skill he made all his lands produce corn in abundance (RW)."

These lines, originally difficult to understand, have suffered at the hand of the later scribes. R is the best text, and is corroborated at times by W.

A "ploughland," or "plough" was the area of ground that could be tilled by a team of eight oxen in the course of a year; the "oxgang" was the eighth part of it, "varying from ten to eighteen acres, or more widely."—See 'Oxgang' in New Eng. Dict.

3621. This song, or *Cantus*, is generally regarded as the earliest specimen extant of Scottish poetry. Wyntoun does not say when it was composed, but it probably originated in the troublous times about the end of the thirteenth century. During the next hundred years the Scots had many opportunities for recalling regretfully the happy days when Alexander "the Peaceable" was king. The alliteration and the vocabulary are not out of keeping with an early date; the last word alone has a modern ring. Perplexity is a favourite term of Wyntoun's, and its first recorded appearance is in Barbour. An examination of the variants shows the serious changes that took place in the wording during the hundred years following the Chronicler's time, and we can safely assume that the song had undergone other alterations before he preserved it for us.

VOLUME V. BOOK VIII.

3. The sixteenth day after Easter was the 30th of April in 1286. Fordun ('Annals,' 81) says on the second day of April. Some texts of the *Scotichronicon* give the date vaguely "ad quindenam Paschæ," during or at the end of the Easter fortnight, perhaps the expression which Wyntoun meant to translate.

7. "This is the first time that such a meeting is called a Parliament by Wyntoun."—Macpherson.

15. This Duncan was not the *first* Earl of Fife of that name; he is so designated to distinguish him from his son.

87. Sir David of Wemyss was the great-grandfather of Sir John Wemyss of Leuchars and Kincaldrum, Wyntoun's patron. AuE² add a curious detail, that the two envoys were chosen because they knew the language. Fordun ('Annals,' 69) says that it was Sir Michael of Wemyss, that is, the father of Sir David, that was sent to Norway. Wyntoun's authority carries more weight.

93-122. The mystery of the death of the Fair Maid of Norway has never been entirely cleared up. It is a curious fact that the Scottish chroniclers know very little or nothing on the subject. Fordun and

his continuators state barely that "before the matter of the marriage was carried through she died in 1291," which should be 1290. Wyntoun's account refers to another person altogether, as his explanation of the causes of her death proves. He "alleges as the reason of her being thus put to death, that the Norwegians would neither have a female nor one sprung from a foreign race to reign over them, although it was written in their law-books that this might be permitted. . . . It is evident from this that in Wyntoun's time the facts connected with the death of the Princess (if they had ever been fully known in Scotland) had been already obscured and mystified by rumours of the death of the 'False Margaret.'"—"Notes on some entries in the Iceland Annals regarding the death of the Princess Margaret," by Joseph Anderson, 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,' X. 403-419. This "False Margaret" was a German woman who claimed the crown of Norway in 1300 after the death of Eric, who had died without any male issue. She was burnt in 1301.

The statement in the Wemyss text that she was secretly poisoned (W, ll. 99, 100) may refer to the true Margaret, as such a legend may easily have grown in Scotland.

123-256. The whole of this chapter is taken from the First Book of Barbour's poem. This part of 'The Bruce' survives only in one manuscript, the other (there are only two) being incomplete at the beginning. The variants of this single text have been given along with the others, except the long ones, which would have occupied too much room, and which will be dealt with better here. The same will apply to the other borrowings later on.

Altogether Wyntoun has borrowed about 280 lines from 'The Bruce.' Those lines are scattered through the first three thousand lines of Book VIII., dealing with the history of Scotland from the death of the Maid of Norway to the murder of Comyn in Dumfries. That portion of history is touched upon by Barbour so far as it suits his purpose within the first 650 lines of his poem. Now, although Barbour is earlier than Wyntoun by half a century, the surviving texts of his work, being dated 1487 and 1489, are later than some manuscripts of the 'Chronicle'; so, bearing in mind the ways of scribes, the earlier texts will be more trustworthy than the later ones. The reverse has also happened; Barbour has sometimes retained the true reading, and Wyntoun has gone astray in sundry ways. In other cases the changes are such that a choice is hard to make; but the large majority of the lines agree in the main manuscripts.

129. Whenever W agrees with B, as here, against the other texts, the inference is that it represents the earliest stage of the 'Chronicle.' The same remark applies to l. 137 and elsewhere.

148-150. = They (those in favour of Bruce, as in l. 143) maintained quite otherwise; for in that case (in the case of Balliol) the next of

kin would succeed (which would be unlawful). See Notes to 'The Bruce,' vol. II. p. 225.

The quotation from Barbour ends here in the Wemyss. The last two lines were not added, as one might suppose, by a lazy transcriber. Evidently Wyntoun meant to stop here: some of the omitted matter occurs later in W, and, what is more to the point, in a more suitable place. See W, 835-866, and C, 241-256. That passage, which relates the conversation of Edward with Bruce and Balliol, offering them the crown of Scotland on his own conditions, is placed in Wemyss in the right historical sequence of events, that is, at the end of the Scottish deliberations, while in all the other texts it comes much too early, before the king has taken any steps in his arbitration.

153. Robert the Bruce, the Competitor, was Lord of Annandale, but not Earl of Carrick. The mistake, of course, is Barbour's.

194-196. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 65. "Hoc exiit edictum . . . ut nullus Britannici generis . . . infra muratas urbes, castra, fortalicia, seu quascunque munitiones, sub amissionis vitæ membrorumque pœna, pernoctaret." See also next sentence in Fordun.

209-212. These *four* lines in CEA correspond to *two* lines in the other texts. The *first* and the *third* agree with the order of the lines in 'The Bruce,' and the *second* and *fourth* are additions to make sense of what was originally a scribal mistake.

219. *Determyte* is the best reading. It is the past participle of *determe*, to determine, to ordain, to appoint, for which see Jamieson, and glossaries to the 'Kingis Quair' and Bellenden's 'Livy.'

221, 222. Four lines in Barbour:—

"But God, that is of maist poweste,
Reserwyttill his maieste
For to know, in his prescience,
Off alkyn tyme the mowence."

The strangeness of the last word may have caused the omission.

225-228. The corresponding lines in Barbour are—

"And through thar aller hale aßsent
Messengeris till hym thai sent,
That was than in the Haly Land,
On Saracenys warrayand."

Wyntoun has toned down Barbour's extraordinary statement: Edward has only started on his way to the Holy Land. Of course he never was there since his father's death called him back, and in 1291 was in England. The mistake is a strange one, and has never been explained; yet an explanation is suggested by the *Scotichronicon*. Fordun ('Annals,' 70) says merely that the deputation was sent to Edward, who was then *in remotis*; Bower (XI. 3) gives a detailed account of the journey of the deputies to Gascony, where they met Edward at Saintes. Now the King of England was there on the 14-

16th of October 1286, and the date fits in with Bower's story, which tells how, on their return, the messengers heard a rumour that Queen Yolande was thought to be pregnant. This early appeal to Edward is unknown to Fordun, but it is corroborated by Walter of Hemingburgh (vol. II. p. 30); Bower inserts it in the wrong year, after the death of Margaret of Norway; and it is not unlikely that further confusion has mistaken *Saintes* for *Terre Sainte*.

241. See note above to ll. 148-150.

253-256. Different in Barbour:—

The tothir wreyth[*it*] him, and swar
That he suld have it neuir mar :
And turnyt him in wreth away.
Bot schir Ihon the Balleol, perfay,
Assentyt till him, in all his will ;
Quhar-throuch fell eftir mekill ill.

—I. 165-170.

257. The contents of chapters III. and IV. are fuller in Bower, XI. 4-9. These curious opinions of French doctors learned in the law have not been preserved in any English document or chronicle, probably because they are mostly in favour of Bruce's claim.

257-278. This long and intricate passage is much clearer in W than in the other texts.

268. Another instance of the confusion between Robert the Bruce, the Competitor, and his grandson Robert I.

279-298. Agree closely with Bower, XI. 4.

307. W (l. 209) has a curious blunder, for which a late hand must be held responsible.

367-376. = "Nephew, it may be explained, is not the son of either brother or sister; but persons descending lineally from the same stock, in the second or third degree, should be called nephew or pronephew, in speaking of the son's son. In the same way the son of a daughter may be called nephew." W is the only text right.

403-454. = Bower, XI. 4, except ll. 410-416.

409. Pierre de Mornay was bishop of Orleans from 1288 to 1296.

426. "In quacunqe linea descendente, ascendente, vel collaterali" in Bower, with whom WL agree.

455-528. = Bower, XI. 4, except ll. 509-514.

469-472. The repetition of "nerrare" has caused mischief in CEA, which miss the lines 469, 470, 471, being thus left with an odd line. EA have patched up the deficiency by adding an extra line, E after 471, A after 472.

493. (W 396.) The writer of Wemyss must have had a text before him in which some lines were omitted on account of the recurring rimes *liffand*, *regnand*, and he tried to set the matter right by adding a line of his own:—

"As I befor þis baire on hand."

529-626. = Bower, XI. 5.

565. The case of the duchy of Burgundy is not clearly nor correctly stated. Hugues IV., Duke of Burgundy was succeeded in 1272 by his *third* son, Robert II., whom he had instituted his heir by his will. The succession was opposed by Robert III., Count of Flanders and Nevers, in right of his wife Yolande, eldest daughter of Eudes, *eldest* son of Hugues IV., and also by Robert, Count of Clermont, husband of Beatrix, daughter of John, *second* son of Hugues. King Philip, being appealed to, declared in favour of Robert II., who had been betrothed by his father to Agnes, daughter of Louis IX. and sister of the king. *Art de verifier les dates*.

627-736. A summary of Bower, XI. 6, 7, 8.

630. Pierre de la Chapelle, bishop of Carcassonne, 1291-1298, cardinal in 1305.

631. Eleven seems a number used at random. Bower gives about fourteen names.

791-854. Correspond in substance with Bower, XI. 10. Nothing in Fordun.

811-818. W is different in wording. It is impossible to say which version is earlier.

855-874. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 71; Bower, XI. 2, 10.

863. The numbers are not quite correct. Forty were chosen by Bruce, forty by Balliol, and twenty-four by Edward. The lists are given fully in Rymer's 'Fœdera,' I. 776.

875-884. Agree closely with Fordun, end of 71.

885-926. Cf. Fordun, 72; Bower, XI. 11.

916. = "Par le sang de Dieu, vous avez (bien) chante." The Anglo-French sayings of Edward are very corrupt in all the texts.

926. A paragraph of thirty-two lines follows here in W alone, describing the interviews of Edward with the two competitors. No doubt this represents the early version of the 'Chronicle.' We have seen already (see Notes, VIII. 123, 148, and cf. VIII. 2744, 2776, and also Introduction, section 8) that the quotation from Barbour is much shorter in W than in the other texts. If we adopt the hypothesis that the borrowing was extended in the second edition, we see why the passage here in W was left out afterwards, to avoid a repetition of the conversation between Edward and the Bruce. The narrative follows Fordun pretty closely, and has only a few lines taken from 'The Bruce.'

955. It is difficult to say whether the longer passage in W belongs to the original version or whether it is an addition of a later date. The latter is more probable, as it contains several inaccuracies. The Gilbert of Clare (ninth earl) who was present at Berwick was the father of young Gilbert (tenth earl) who died at Bannockburn. He was also son of Richard of Clare (eighth earl) whose sister Isabel was married to Robert the Bruce, the Competitor. Therefore Gilbert

(ninth earl) was first cousin to Robert, Earl of Carrick, and Gilbert (tenth earl) was second cousin to King Robert I., and these were not "cummyn of twa sisteris." See 'Dict. Nat. Biog.' Fordun, 72, relates the incident, and says nothing of the relationship.

985-1006. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 73, 74, and Bower, XI. 12.

1017. The transference of Lady Godiva's legend to the daughter of Malcolm Canmore is easy to explain. Henry I. and Matilda were sneeringly nicknamed Godric and Godiva by the Normans (W. Malmesbury, 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' p. 620); so the Good Queen has been mistaken for the Countess of Leicester. Probably Wyntoun did not originate this new version of the story. It is not in Fordun, but Bower inserts it (V. 39) in terms which read like a rhetorical paraphrase of the 'Chronicle.'

The earliest (?) account of Lady Godiva's ride through Coventry is in Wendover, I. p. 497.

W contains many textual differences, and reads better than the other texts.

1065. Wyntoun's story of the origin of the Comyns will long remain popular, though it lacks corroboration. It is believed that they came from Comines, a place in Flanders. See 'The Scots Peerage,' I. p. 503.

1090. "Donald's daughter's daughter" (WAuE² wrong) was called Hextilda or Histilla. From a confirmation charter of Henry III. of 1262 we learn that David I. and Earl Henry his son granted some lands in Tynedale to Richard Comyn and Histilla his wife, these lands being the heritage of Huctred son of Waldef his said wife's father (Bain, I. No. 2287). Was this Waldef, otherwise unknown, called Earl of Saint Paul? The name of Hextilda's father is not given in John Comyn's claim. In another document (Bain, II. No. 507) Hextilda is called "daughter and heir of Gothrik, son and heir of Donald, king of Scots." So Wyntoun is wrong in calling the husband of Bethok's daughter William. Richard's father was called William, and Richard's son also bore the same name, as in the text l. 1112.

1122. William Comyn, son of Richard, was married twice, and became Earl of Buchan in right of his second wife, Marjory, Countess of Buchan ('Scots Peerage,' *Comyn, Earl of Buchan*, II. p. 250). "The third brother" Alexander, was a son of the second marriage.

1124. This William is wrong; John and Alexander were sons of Alexander, son of William Comyn.

1128. The two daughters were Alicia and Margaret. Alicia became Countess of Buchan after the death of her uncle, John Comyn, and her husband, Henry de Beaumont, was recognised as Earl of Buchan. Margaret, wife of Sir John Ross, left no children.

1135. The names of the five daughters of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, are given as follows in the 'Scots Peerage,' under "Comyn, Earl of Buchan": Marjorie, married to Earl Patrick; Emma (?), to Earl Malise; Elizabeth, to Sir Gilbert Umfraville; Elena, to Sir William of

Brechin ; the name of the fifth is unknown. A query about the name, &c., of the eldest appeared in the 'Scottish Historical Review,' January 1904, p. 228, but it elicited no answer.

1196. This Lord of Moray's name was Andrew, second son of Walter of Moray, first lord of Bothwell.

1199. See further on, note to l. 2178.

1205. Alianora was her name.

1222. The opinion that David was the second brother and older than William is not shared by Wyntoun ; his words, "as sum men saide," may refer to Fordun, who in some versions of his work gives it as a fact. See Fordun, 'Annals,' 74, note 7 ; 75, note 9 ; and Skene's note, vol. ii. p. 426.

1264. "Sister" must be a slip instead of "daughter," as in l. 1205. Dervorgille had no sister called Marjory. Wyntoun closely follows Fordun, 'Annals,' 75, in ll. 1249-1302, but Fordun says that John Balliol's *daughter* Marjory was the wife of John Comyn, whose son was killed at Dumfries. Her name, however, was not Marjory, but Alianora.

1270. Her name was Joan Comyn. Her son, the Earl of Atholl, slain at Kilblain, married Catherine, daughter of Henry of Beaumont and of Alicia heiress of Buchan.

1278-1282. All the texts have gone wrong here. Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, one of the Guardians in 1286, had two sons : John, who succeeded him as Earl, and Alexander, whose daughter Alicia inherited the lands of her uncle John after his death in 1309. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 75, and Bower, XI. 13.

1283. Sir Roger de Quincy married Elena, daughter of Alan of Galloway by a first marriage. Her daughters' names were : 1, Margaret, married to William, Earl of Ferraris ; 2, Elizabeth, or Isabella, or Marjory, wife of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan ; and 3, Elena, wife of Alan de la Zouch.—'Scots Peerage,' *Lords of Galloway*.

1303-1336. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 76 ; Bower, XI. 13.

1328. The "first" sister of Robert I. was Christiana Bruce. She had three husbands : Gartnay, Earl of Mar, Sir Christopher Seton, and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell.—'Scots Peerage,' vol. v., *Earls of Mar*.

1336. Her name was Margaret, and her husband, the first Earl of Douglas, styled himself Earl of Douglas and of Mar.

1365. The "second daughter" of Robert, Earl of Carrick, was called Matilda.

1372. It has been thought from this line that Euphemia was a daughter of Matilda Bruce. Wyntoun does not say so much, but simply states that she was sister of William. That she was the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, by a first marriage, is clearly shown in vol. iv. of the 'Exchequer Rolls,' p. clv.

1383, 1384. In WRAuE² these two lines are omitted here, and appear instead after l. 1412, where they are evidently out of place. The statement contained in them is wrong also. Thomas Dunbar, third Earl of Moray, was the son of John, second Earl, and of Marjorie, daughter of Robert II. by his first wife Elizabeth Mure, and not by Euphemia.

1385, 1386. The reference to the time when the 'Chronicle' was composed, whether it applies to the Earl of Atholl (if we omit the two preceding lines) or to the Earl of Moray, is not very helpful, as the former died in 1437, and the latter about 1422.

1399-1402. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 77.

1403-1436. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 78.

1427. Margaret Bruce was married to William, fifth Earl of Sutherland.

1439. This is wrong. John Hastynge was one of the competitors, claiming as grandson of Ada, third daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, wife of Henry Hastynge.

1456. This line is very remarkable. Wyntoun has been often quoted as an authority on the common origin of the houses of Moray and Douglas, and on "the stars set in like manner." This, however, is the reading of one manuscript only, the Royal, printed by Macpherson. The careful editor noted the reading of the Cottonian in his variants; but as he did not call attention to it in his notes, it has remained unnoticed. The fact is that all the other texts say that the stars are *not* set in like manner, and the omission of "noucht" in the Royal must be a scribal mistake. The context proves that the negative is required: "In their arms they bore the stars not set in like manner; *yet* it seems to many men (*only* in CEA is weak) that they appear as if they had been of one kin by lineal descent or by collateral branches." Indeed the three stars, or mullets, on the shields of the two families are arranged differently: they are placed in one line in the Douglas arms, and in two lines, two and one, on the shield of the Morays of Bothwell. Wyntoun's statement simply amounts to this, that many people believed in the connection between the two families, and that the setting of the stars was an argument against it.

1466. W alone is right, and it is curious that all the other texts have the same blunder when the next sentence was sufficient to set the scribes right.

1477, 1478. These two lines come a little further down in W, perhaps not quite so appropriately. L has omitted them in both places.

1525-1556. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 82; Bower, XI. 11.

1539. Petpoloch, perhaps Petelache, now Pitilok, in Macpherson's 'Geographical Illustrations.' In his Historical Map, he locates it between Markinch and Falkland.

1546. Colbanton, in its modern form, Covington, is near Biggar.

1557-1566. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 85; Bower, XI. 14.

1566. I have inserted "tre" as in AuE² for the sense; but that does not improve the line, which does not scan even without it. W is best.

1567-1682. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 86; cf. Bower, XI. 15, 18.

1569. Macduff was not the brother, but the uncle of Earl Duncan. See Hailes, 'Annals of Scotland,' I. p. 275.

1601. The word "appositions" for "oppositions" is perhaps more than a clerical slip; one of the texts of Fordun also has the Latin "appositiones" instead of "oppositiones."

1651. Wyntoun differs a little from Fordun, who says of the Abbot of Arbroath that he had been sent to England because "propter suas improbitates multis sui regni proceribus et aliis extiterat odibilis."

1656. The letters of protection for the Abbot and Prior of Aberbrothoc, returning home from England, are dated 23rd January 1296 at Thetford.—Stevenson.

1662. The wording of Edward's answer is very corrupt in all the texts of the *Scotichronicon* and of the 'Chronicle'; the meaning, however, is quite plain. The Royal is the least incorrect—

"A ce fol felun tel foly fettis"

which may stand for

A ce fol felun tel folie faite?

= Has this foolish felon done such folly?

or

Ah ! ce fol felun tel folie fait !

= Ah ! this foolish felon does such folly !

The other remark is more intelligible: "If he will not come to us, we shall go to him." Wyntoun has paraphrased both.

1683-1706. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 87; cf. Bower, XI. 18.

1707-1732. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 88; cf. Bower, XI. 18.

1708. Wyntoun does not specify which Robert was thus coaxed by Edward; Fordun calls him "Robertum de Bruyse avum"; but Robert, Earl of Carrick, must be meant here, as his father had resigned his claims in his favour in 1293, and we are now in 1296.

1733-1772. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 89.

1733. The date 1296 may not be right for the beginning of the chapter; it is 1295 in Bower, and Fordun is not sure whether it should be 1294 or 1295.

1742. This is not clear; the reference is to Berwick, not to Fife. The freeholders were chosen to go where the danger was greatest.

1773-1862. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 90, and Bower, XI. 20. In this graphic description of the taking of Berwick and the ensuing massacre of the Scots, the Wemyss text differs greatly from all the others. Whether it represents the first redaction or the modifications of a later hand is a point difficult to decide.

1797-1800. These lines, needed for the sense, are not in W; the re-

currence of similar rimes is the cause of the omission. AuE² omit four lines also for the same reason, but the mistake is not quite identical.

Wyntoun emphasises the fact that such wicked slaughter should have taken place on Good Friday, see ll. 1841, 1853. His date is wrong: Berwick was taken on the Friday after Easter, on the 30th of March. Fordun, agreeing on that point with the English Chroniclers, says "tertio kalendas Aprilis." Easter fell on March 25 in 1296, on which day Edward was at Werk on his way to Berwick. On the other hand, the 'Chronicle of Lanercost' (p. 173) accuses the Scots of murder and burning at Carham on that same Good Friday.

1830. W adds sixteen lines of a scathing indictment against Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham. They agree so well in tone with what precedes that they must belong to the original version. It is a pity that they should have been omitted in the later revisions, perhaps as too violent.

1862. The reference in the additional lines of W is to 'The Bruce,' end of Book IV., where Barbour describes with equal bitterness the death of Edward I.

1863-1876. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 91.

1877-1898. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 92.

1899-1916. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 93.

1908. The Earl of Atholl was John of Strathbogie, father of David mentioned above, l. 1271. He was hanged in London in 1306. Donald, Earl of Mar, d. 1297, was the father of Gartnay. His daughter Isabella was the first wife of Robert I., and his son Gartnay married Christina, sister of Robert I.

1911-1913. These lines are obviously corrupt in CRAL, which are identical. There is an attempted correction in AuE², and another in E. I have adopted Macpherson's emendation, which, although evidently not the original, supplies a satisfactory reading.

1917-1936. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 94.

1920. This Robert the Bruce is the Earl of Carrick, "Robertus de Bruyse senior" in Fordun.

1937-1982. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 95.

1955-1957. The "toom tabard" is not mentioned in Fordun. The reading "of al" in CW may imply that ll. 1955, 1956 are intrusive; or else they may be a parenthesis, which would render the sentence very clumsy.

1983-1988. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 96.

1989-2010. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 97.

2011-2116. Fordun ('Annals,' 98) has only one short sentence about the rise and first exploit of William Wallace: "Eodem anno (1296) Willelmus Walase quasi de latibulis caput levavit, et vicecomitem de Lanark Anglicum, virum strenuum et potentem, in villa de Lanark interfecit." Henry the Minstrel narrates the Lanark

episode at the beginning of Book VI. of his poem. After a long prologue, he starts with the date, probably borrowed from Wyntoun :

"Tuelff hundreth 3er, tharto nynte and sewyn,
Fra Cryst wes born the rychtwis king of hewyn."
—'Schir William Wallace,' vi. 107, 108.

2037-2048. The dialogue between Wallace and the Englishman appears also in Henry's poem, where the lines have been extended from eight to ten syllables :—

Ane maid a scrip, and tyt at his lang suorde :
'Hald still thi hand,' quod he, 'and spek thi word.
"With thi lang suerd thow makis mekill bost."
'Tharoff,' quod he, 'thi deme maid litill cost.'
"Quhat caus has thow to wer that gudlye greyne?"
'My maist caus is bot for to mak the teyne.'
"Quhat suld a Scot do with sa fair a knyff?"
'Sa said the prest that last janglyt thi wyff ;
That woman lang has tillit him so fair,
Quhill that his child worthit to be thine ayr.'
"Me think," quod he, "thow drywys me to scorn."
'Thi deme has beyne japyt or thow was born.'

—VI. 143-154.

These lines are evidently borrowed from the 'Chronicle,' but Wyntoun's earlier version is older than his own time, and belongs to the "gestis" (and "sangis") that he refers to in l. 2300.

2117-2138. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 98.

2123. Evidently W is the only text giving a plain meaning. The phrase *tak on hand*=undertake requires an object.

2139-2182. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 99.

2178. Andrew of Moray was not slain at Stirling Bridge. He survived for some time, and was still living in October, and perhaps on the 9th of November of that year. See Bain's 'Calendar,' II. p. xxx. Fordun's words are "cecidit vulneratus."

2183-2194. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 100.

2189. Allerdale in Cumberland, not Annandale as in W.

2195-2220. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 100 ; Bower, VI. 44. There are more details in Wyntoun than in Fordun.

2208, 2209. These two lines, and also ll. 2215, 2216 were added in the last revision, that is in CEA.

2221-2284. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 101.

2263. John Stewart, who fell at Falkirk, was the younger brother of James Stewart, one of the guardians appointed in 1286.

2285-2298. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 102.

2298. The Wemyss text adds six lines about Wallace going to France and remaining there till his countrymen "sent for him again." That Wallace went to France after his defeat is a historical fact, for

proof of which see 'Scottish Kings,' p. 121, note 10; but Wyntoun here is copying Fordun, who does not mention that journey. If those lines had been in the first version of the 'Chronicle,' there would be no reason for their disappearance from the subsequent revisions. The probability is that they are an addition in a late copy of the Wemyss type, posterior to Blind Harry's poem.

2307-2316. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 103.

2308. This John Comyn, "the Red," was the son of John "the Black" Comyn, one of the guardians in 1286.

2317-2346. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 104.

2347-2378. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 105. The first two lines are wrong in CEA; the other texts agree with Fordun.

2379-2406. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 106.

2397, 2398. The reading of W is certainly the most picturesque; let us hope it was the original one.

2400. W adds a reference to the 'Register,' probably corresponding to the words "in quodam libello scripto per Alanum de Monrose" of Fordun. As to the different documents connected with Baldred Bisset's Process, see Skene's 'Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' p. lxi.

2401-2406. The texts vary here in sundry ways. The reference to Barbour's poem in WA is an awkward addition.

2407-2476. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 107. The date of the battle of Roslin is February 24th, 1302-3. Bain, I. No 1347. "Sexto kalendas Augusti" in Fordun is wrong.

2421-2432. Wyntoun mistranslates Fordun here so seriously as to make nonsense of the passage, which stands thus in the Latin original: "Quod Deo procurante factum esse non ambigitur. Nam si tunc, vel post bellum de Dunbar, et captionem regis Johannis, moram protaxisset, totam terram Scociæ cum habitatoribus aut suo subjugasset imperio, aut eam præter aquas et lapides vastam reddidisset." That is to say, Edward would have done all those things *if* he had remained in Scotland.

2443, 2444. This moral reflection is Wyntoun's own.

2477-2624. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 108. This spirited account of the triple victory of the Scots at Roslin follows the 'Annals' pretty closely, with a few additions and expansions noted below.

2480. "Rauf Comfrere" or "Confrere" is a mistake common to all Scottish chroniclers for "Rauf the Cofferer." His name was Ralph de Manton, and he was the paymaster of the English army, which was led by John Segrave.

2483. There is nothing in Fordun about the number of the English soldiers here, nor of the Scots in l. 2501

2525-2532. There is nothing in Fordun corresponding to those typical lines.

2563-2590. The material supplied by Fordun for this stirring ad-

dress is simply this: "Johannes et Symon, animis imperterriti, simul cum armis officium suscipiunt prædicatorum, eosdem (Scotos) verbis consolantes, promissis exhillarantes, necnon et libertatis generositate, subjectionis vilitatem, et antecessorum suorum indefessos labores, pro patriæ liberatione voluntarie assumptos, ad memoriam reducentes, monitis salubribus ad pugnam animabant." Wyntoun's amplification can compare with any passage in Barbour's 'Bruce.'

2625-2656. The last part of the chapter is not in Fordun. From it we must note the fact that Wyntoun had consulted *some* chronicles as to the number of combatants on both sides at the time of his first edition (W), and that he had read *two more* when he wrote the revision (R).

2627-2636. The Cottonian manuscript is mutilated here, and has been mended in a way to which attention should be called. Two folios, 163 and 164, became torn at an early date, and parts of the text at the bottom of four pages disappeared. A late sixteenth century hand repaired the loss by copying on new patches the corresponding lines taken from a manuscript of the Wemyss type. This accounts for the ten lines 2627-2636. The next six lines, which I have inserted within brackets from R, cannot have formed part of the original writing, as there is not enough space for them in the page; but there might have been room for two lines more, and probably ll. 2641, 2642 were originally in C as they are in AE, which usually follow C. So we have three versions, W=ll. 2625-2636, RLAE²=ll. 2625-2642, CEA=2625-2636 and 2641, 2642. This last is not satisfactory.

2657-2692. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 109, under date 1303.

2659-2662. Fordun says nothing of Edward's temper.

2673-2680. These lines are mostly taken from Barbour; the whole passage is given further on, in note to l. 2735. "In castris et villis firmatis universis sibi redditis suos ordinavit ministros," is the corresponding clause in Fordun. W adds two unimportant lines.

2693, 2694. Not in Fordun.

2695-2706. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 110.

2707-2732. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 111; shorter in Wyntoun.

2729-2732. = "Receptis ad pacem tam majoribus quam minoribus regni Scociæ, excepto Willelmo Wallace solo, redditis castris et villis firmatis universis. . . ." So in Fordun; and Bower adds "a Weyk in Cathenesia usque Mullersnowk in Galweya," borrowing from Wyntoun or from Barbour.

2734. *Ferde end* CE="fourth end" is certainly wrong; *fyrst end* RL="beginning" is a strange phrase, but probably the original one. The other texts are weak attempts at an improvement.

2735-2740. The rest of the chapter is almost entirely taken from Barbour, and the borrowings are somewhat complicated at times. A full quotation of the passage from which Wyntoun copies here will do more to make matters clear than any number of references.

ably from C; so the writer copied the last lines of the chapter in W, which do not fit in with the C text, and left the bottom of the verso blank.

2761-2766. Wyntoun returns to Fordun, 'Annals,' III, last sentence: "Reversus est idem rex, cum principe Walliæ, et universo exercitu suo, in Angliam relicto tamen principali custode, suum locumtenente (Odomaro de Valance, adds Bower, XII. 4), reformandos et corrigendos excessus ceterorum omnium tam Scotorum quam Anglicorum."

2767-2772. = 'The Bruce,' I. 477-484:—

"Thys lord the Brwyß, I spak of ayr,
Saw all the kynryk swa forfayr;
And swa trowblyt the folk saw he,
That he tharoff had gret pitte.
Bot quhat pite that euir he had,
Na contenance thar-off he maid;
Till on a tym Schyr Ihone Cumyn,
As thai come ridand fra Strewillyn,
Said till him . . ."

It has often been pointed out that Wyntoun corrects in the first two lines the blunder committed by Barbour, who confused King Robert with his grandfather the Competitor, the only Bruce mentioned in the beginning of his poem.

2771. Wyntoun takes up 'The Bruce' again at l. 483, omitting a hundred lines containing the beginnings of Sir William Douglas and the comparison of the Scots with the Maccabees.

2776. The abrupt manner in which the Wemyss text ends here in the middle of a sentence proves that such was not the termination of the chapter in the original version of the 'Chronicle.' We must see in this the lazy trick of a late scribe, perhaps the very writer of the existing Wemyss manuscript, who thus saved himself the trouble of copying about 150 lines by referring his readers to a well-known poem.

2802. After this line Wyntoun omits the digression about Troy, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and Arthur.—'The Bruce,' I. 515-560.

2830-2834. = 'The Bruce,' I. 606-612:—

"He wes in full gret auentur
To tyne his lyff; but God of mycht
Preserwyt him till hyer hycht,
That wald nocht that he swa war dede.
The king betaucht hym in that steid
The endentur, the seile to se,
And askyt, gyff it enselyt he."

It is not easy to determine whether Barbour wrote these lines as they stand in the unique manuscript we have of them, but Wyntoun's version is the better one. The intervention of God in the matter is out of place.

2834-2839. The blank space at the bottom of folio 164 in C has been filled up from R. See above notes to ll. 2627-2636 and 2760-2768.

2837. *How that I sympill be* is the reading of R, and also of the MS. of 'The Bruce.' Instead of *How that* we have *Thocht* in AuE², *Thocht that* in L, *Though* in Hart's edition, *To that* in EA and probably also in the lost passage of C. "To that" is a strange and rare phrase that I have not been able to discover anywhere else than in Wyntoun. There are two instances in the Wemyss text, VIII. 151 and 3683, where the meaning "although" is perfectly plain. So in all the texts except two the meaning of the passage is: "Although I am a simple man (without a large retinue), I do not carry my seal about me always; I have a seal-bearer." This is certainly a more apposite and cleverer reply than "How simple (silly) I am!"

2862-2886. With these compare 'The Bruce,' II. 10-16:—

"The marschell till the hall gan ga,
And did hys lordys commanding.
The lord the Bruce, but mar letting,
Gert priuely bryng stedys twa.
He and the clerk, for owtyn ma,
Lap on, for owtyn persawying:
And day and nycht, but soiourning,
Thai raid . . ."

2863. *The Erl of Glowerne*. This Earl of Gloucester was Ralph de Monthermer, who in 1297 married Joan, daughter of Edward I. and widow of Gilbert de Clare, and thus succeeded to the earldom of Gloucester in the right of his wife ('Roll of Caerlaverock,' p. 21). He was taken prisoner at Bannockburn, where his step-son, young Gilbert de Clare, was killed. The latter had become Earl of Gloucester on the death of his mother in 1307.

2905, 2906. = 'The Bruce,' II. 16, 17:—

". . . quhill, on the fyften day,
Cummy n till Louchmaban ar thai."

If we hesitate as to the better reading, *fift* or *fyften*, we can appeal to the 'Morte Arthure,' a contemporary poem. The Roman messengers were ordered to travel from Carlisle to Sandwich within *seven* days. From London to Lochmaben in *five* days is about the same rate of travelling.

"Sixty mile on a day, the somme is bot lyttille,"

says Huchown.

2916-2918. = 'The Bruce,' II. 27-32:—

"The Bruß lap on, and thiddir raid;
And thocht, for owtyn mar letting,
For to qwy t hym his discoueryng.
Thiddir he raid, but langir let,
And with Schyr Ihone the Cumyn met
In the Freris. . ."

2936. *In vii bukis tretit has he.* W is the best reading. The numeral *seven* is the right one for the first edition; it was inadvertently retained after the 'Chronicle' was enlarged to *nine* books.

2941. Wyntoun is anxious that the number of years covered by his work should be accurately known. The aggregate of years in the first five ages of the world, from the Creation to the Incarnation, was usually reckoned as 5199 (See Fordun, I. 5, and Bower, I. 7). As David the Bruce was born in 1323, 6520 years, "or þar by nere," is sufficiently correct.

2959. *Qwha þat did.* Before discussing the important differences in the reading of that phrase in all the texts, I must apologise for having omitted to record at the foot of the page the chief one in R, which is the key to all the others. I cannot account for my carelessness, which was not due to ignorance. The whole line of R will be found in the facsimiles of that MS. at the beginning of this volume. These variants exhibit forcibly and clearly the pedigree of the different texts. W representing the earliest edition reads, *Quhat þai did*; the writer of R, the first revision, by a slip, wrote *Quhat þat did*; C noticing the blunder corrected it, guessing that the meaning might be, *Qwha þat did*, and was copied by A; AuE², which often follow W, returned to the original reading; lastly L, which derives from R, attempted another correction, *Quhat þat þai did*, which is a better solution of the difficulty than that attempted by C. [See further, Introduction, section 8.]

Macpherson, in his edition adopted the reading of C, the only text he had at his disposal to check the mistakes of R, and ever since it has been asserted as a strange fact that Wyntoun knew nothing of the friend who sent him such a welcome addition to his own work. Nothing, however, in the context calls for such a remark from the Prior, who seems to boast of his ignorance of the name of his helper. On the other hand, by confessing that he did not know what was done by David II. and by Robert II., he acknowledged his indebtedness and gratitude to his fellow chronicler.

2965-2980. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 116, and Bower, XII. 8. There is no mention of Glasgow in Fordun.

2981-2994. Cf. Bower, XII. 37.

2995-3024. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 138.

2998-3001. C=By right reckoning, as the Church of Scotland used in the old times, from the month of March. W=By right reckoning, as the clergy of Scotland count the meeting years (*i.e.*, the joining of the years), from the month of March. David II. was born on the 5th of March 1323, old style, 1324 new style.

3005. The sending of the embassy to France comes before the birth of King David in Fordun under the date 1323; in Wyntoun the date becomes 1324. However, some Fordun texts follow the order of the Chronicle. In either case, the date is wrong; the

negotiations with France took place in 1326, when the treaty of Corbeil was signed. 'Inventaire Chronologique' (Abbotsford Club), p. 22.

3025-3074. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 139.

3035-3040. = "Hugonem de Spensa cum patre suo patibulo suspendi jussit et demembrari." All the texts except W are halting and obscure.

3043. Wyntoun misunderstands Fordun's words "unus episcopus Londoniis decollatur." The Bishop beheaded in London was Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, and the King's treasurer. ("Vita Edwardi Secundi," in 'Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.,' vol. ii. p. 289.)

3049, 3050. = "A man might say he had a good stud, that had such a filly in his stable." The meaning is not obvious in WR. This disrespectful remark is not in Fordun.

3075-3090. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 142.

3086. W is more explicit than the other texts, and correctly states that the marriage of David is "in the latter end" of 'The Bruce.' See Book XX. 36 and foll.

3109. Bower, VI. 45, says that James Ben was bishop four years, two weeks, and as many days. "Months" in Wyntoun is probably a mistake for "weeks."

3127. The difference in the headings is remarkable. WA is the best, but it is in the wrong place; AuE² put it more fittingly after the coronation of David II. The anonymous chronicle begins at l. 3143, the preceding paragraph being taken from Fordun.

3127-3142. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 145.

3143-3278. Fordun is silent as to the deeds of Thomas Randolph. Bower has inserted the whole of Wyntoun's narrative in the 'Scoticonicon,' XIII. 18, 19.

3159. *Compt* W was probably the original reading. The other texts have a source where the word was missing; Au added *tyme* as a correction, E² copied it, and L, as usual in a case of difficulty, left out the two lines.

3246. *Alandonan* is Eilan Donan Castle, at the head of Loch Alsh; it was a stronghold of the Earls of Ross.

3277. Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, was guardian from the 7th of June 1329 to the 20th of July 1332, a little "attour" *three* years.

3279-3322. The incident of Twynam Lowrison is not known to Fordun. Bower, XIII. 20, relates it in the same manner as Wyntoun, with additional details.

3324. *Intyscement*=enticement. The scribes were not familiar with the word, hence the forms *intystement* A, *entisting* L, *intystyne* E², *entistying* Au, due to the similarity of the letters *c* and *t* in MSS. of that period.

3333. *Worthi*; *werty* W is a better word; the full form is *averty*, Fr. *averti*, "warned." Cf. Barbour, XVIII. 439:—

"Wiȝ in his deid, and ek verty."

3335. =Walter Comyn, Richard Talbot, and John Moubray.

3351-3352. Barbour, XX. 609, also says that the Earl of Moray was poisoned. Bower, XIII. 19, states that he was poisoned at Wemyss, and died at Musselburgh. Fordun is silent about the cause of his death, as will be seen from the beginning of the next chapter.

3357. Fordun, ch. 147, says five (not fifteen) hundred.

3361-3390. =Fordun, 'Annals,' 146.

3363. The day of Saint Margaret the Virgin is the 20th of July, "tertio decimo kalendas Augusti" in Fordun.

3365. *In hard seiknes* WRAuE² is the best reading; *In heid seknes* CEA is probably a misreading. There is nothing equivalent to either phrase in Fordun.

3379-3384. The Earl of Mar was elected guardian on the 2nd of August, and on that same day the news came to Perth that Edward Balliol had arrived in the Forth on the 31st of July ("pridie kalendas Augusti," in Fordun). The expression "had tan lande" is not quite correct as an equivalent to "in aquam de Forth appli-cuisse." Edward landed at Kinghorn on the 6th of August.

3386. The corresponding line is wrong in W.

3391-3630. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 146, last part, and Bower, XIII. 22, 23, 24. The 'Chronicle' is independent of Fordun for this long account of the battle of Dupplin, and has furnished some details to the longer description of the 'Scotichronicon.'

3394-3396. W is best for these lines.

3413. Instead of *lychtlynes* W has *hechynes*, which is doubtless mistake for *hethynes*. This latter form is not recorded in the New English Dictionary, but it seems to be connected with *hething*, *heythynge*, just above in l. 3408.

3451-3464. These remarks have been reproduced in the Book of Cupar; see note in Bower, XIII. 25, p. 307. The writer of that particular 'Scotichronicon' was doubtless acquainted with Wyntoun's 'Chronicle,' and it was a pleasure to him to quote the very Latin original from which the Chronicler had borrowed his moralisings. They are said to be from Vegetius, 'De re militari, libro II.' but the real reference should be "lib. III. 21."

3454. The omission of *men* is not easily accounted for. Perhaps the conjunction *quhen* was mistaken for the pronoun *quheen*=few. The whole sentence in W yields no obvious meaning, and should be restored so as to agree with C.

3505. *Stamfurde*. Ralf of Stafford is the right name here and in l. 4922.

3475. See note to l. 3705.

3507. *Stand and put, stand a put.* [Probably a phrase of command for pikemen; "put" = push back, repel. Cf. VIII. 5367; also see 'The Bruce,' XII. 355, for the capital example when Randolph's spearmen at Bannockburn "put agane" the horsemen of Clifford and (possibly a cognate word) "reboytit" them.]

3531-3536. This saying does not belong to the Cato who wrote the Distichs, but to M. Porcius Cato, the Elder. "Deinde in aliis rebus, sicut ait Cato, si quid erratum est, potest corrigi, praeliorum delicta emendationem non recipiunt, cum poena statim sequatur errorem." Vegetius, 'De re militari,' I. 13.

3613-3616. Macpherson says in a note that these lines "are surely out of place, and ought to be read after l. 3527, being evidently a part of the account of the battle of Duplin." The same statement is also placed in Fordun, 'Annals,' at the end of Ch. 146.

3631-3638. = Fordun, 'Annals,' 147, where the date of the coronation is the 24th of September 1332.

3650. The additional lines in W about William of Dalgarnow, who accompanied young David II. to Chateau-Gaillard, do not seem to belong to the original text. The composition is rough and unmetrical, one of the couplets has a faulty rime, and the whole thing looks like the work of a late scribe.

3651-3672. Cf. Bower, VI. 45. James Ben died at Bruges on the 22nd of September 1332, and was buried in the monastery of Echkot ("Akewod" in Bower).

3673-3732. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 148 (much shorter), and Bower, XIII. 25.

3683. Alexander was the son of Edward de Bruce, killed at Dundalk.

3692. Perth was taken on October 7, 1332.

3705. Andrew of Moray of Tullibard was accused of indicating a ford on the Earn to the English leaders at Duplin. See a reference to it above, l. 3475.

3717. *Tranoynting* W, *tranownthynge* C, and the similar forms are wrong; the right word is found in RL, *tranwtyng*, *trenwting*. The 'Scalacronica' curiously enough supplies the key to the meaning in the very passage describing this attack on Edward Balliol at Annand: "Le roy Edward de Baillof se delogea a Roxburgh et se trey deuers le west marche a Anand, ou en vn aube de iour Archebald de Douglas oue vn poair dez enemys *trenuyta* sure ly et ly descounfist." P. 161.

Trenuiter (*tresnuitier* in Godefroy) is from Latin *transnoctare* (Ducange), to work through the night; hence *tranuting*, a stolen march at night. The verb and the verbal noun occur several times in 'The Bruce,' 'Wallace,' and 'The Howlat,' always with the intrusive *n*. Macpherson, who knew the word from those poems, corrected his

text, and relegated the right spelling to the "Variants." If he had been less cautious, the meaning and origin of the word might have been discovered long ago and much guess-work avoided.

3727. *On a barme horse* = "super simplicem equum, carentem freno et sella" (Bower); "equo sine freno" (Major, 'History,' V. 11). "The phrase is still used in Angus, where a *barme horse* signifies a horse without a saddle; 'to ride a barme horse,' to ride without a saddle." Jamieson, *s. v.* There seems to be no other record of the word "barme," which is not in the N. E. Dictionary.

3732. The attack at Annan took place on the 16th of December 1332.

3733-3790. Cf. Bower, XIII. 27, which is probably taken from the 'Chronicle.' There is nothing in Fordun about the capture of Andrew of Moray, although he speaks later of his ransoming. Bower gives the date as 1333; the 'Chronicle of Lanercost' and the 'Scala-cronica' place the event before the Annan episode, the former dating it the 14th of October, the day of Saint Calixt. This seems the right sequence of events. See Bain's 'Calendar,' III. p. xl.

VOLUME VI. BOOK VIII.—*continued.*

3795. In the month of April 1333, Edward III. was in the North of England, on his way to Berwick.

3809. This is the first appearance of Sir William of Douglas, the famous Knight of Liddesdale, son of Sir James Douglas of Lothian. He was captured by Sir Anthony de Lucy.

3813. The line is corrupt in CE, and clumsy in the other texts. It means that Edward came to Berwick in the month of April; "*pridie kalendas Aprilis*" in Fordun—*i.e.*, March 31.

3815-3822. Agree closely with Fordun's 'Annals,' 149.

3838. It may be noted that Alexander of Seton is said here to have been captain of Berwick "at that time." That he did not remain so is evident from the fact that Sir William Keith was in command of the town during the last days of the siege, as appears from Rymer's 'Fœdera.'

3897-3900. These lines are clearer and scan better in Wemyss than in the other texts.

3907. The feast of Saint Margaret the Virgin falls on the 20th of July, the day on which the town was to be surrendered, unless it was relieved by the evening of the 19th. The battle was fought on the *eve*, not on the *day*, of the feast. Bower has the same mistake. There are two extra lines in Wemyss (3703, 3704), which make the passage clearer as to the position of the two armies.

3946. The three brothers of Robert Stewart are also mentioned in Bower, XIII. 281, but not in Fordun. The Stewart was only seven-

teen at that time, and was the only son of Walter by his first wife. As to who James, John, and Alan Stewart may have been, see Hailes, II. 368, 369.

3955. The play on the name Halidon (Hallely downe) is also known to Fordun : "Lachrimabile bellum de Halidoun, ubi, juxta interpretationem sui nominis supradicti, Scoti sunt devicti, fere penitus deleti." 'Annals,' 149.

3989-4026. Not in Fordun. Bower, XIII. 28, is exactly the same as Wyntoun, except that Robert of Lauder (4020) is called Thomas. The Cupar text of the 'Scotichronicon' has Robert.

4027-4052. This paragraph, identical almost in every detail with Fordun, 'Annals,' 151, should be placed at the end, not at the beginning of the chapter, as Fordun supplies the exact date, "iv nonas Martii" 1334, that is 4th of March 1334-1335. The sequence of events is right in Fordun, and Bower has the same mistake as Wyntoun. In the beginning of April 1335, the bishop of Brechin and Thomas of Charteris met the ambassadors of the French king at Gedling, near Newark, and on the 4th an armistice was arranged, to last till 24th of June. They had come at the request of the French envoys, "who desired to have a fuller conference (*tractatum pleniorum*) with the men from Scotland." From this it might be inferred that they had been at Perth previously, as stated in the 'Chronicle'; yet it is more probable that the meeting took place at York, as reference is made to an earlier safe-conduct to bring the Scottish envoys to that town. 'Fœdera,' II. 903.

There is no mention at that time of Benedict XII., who was elected Pope in December 1334. Other protracted negotiations for a truce took place in November and December of that same year (1335), at the instance of both the Pope and the King of France.

4062. Sir Philip de Mowbray, brother of Sir Alexander, had left one son, John, and three daughters, married to Anselm de Gyse, Robert Gower, and David Mareschal. It was on the death of the son that Alexander "took away" the heritage of his nieces. Bain, III. 318. This son was probably the Sir John de Mowbray killed at Annan in 1332. See above, vol. V. p. 429 [book VIII. 3724].

4081. This seems to belong to the following year. On 22nd April 1335, Edward III. delivered a safe-conduct to William of Keith and Godfrey of Ros taking Richard Talbot to the Marches of England. 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' I. 334. See further on l. 4905.

4091. Alexander de Mowbray joined the Scottish party about October 1334. His lands were forfeited by the 27th of that month. Bain, III. 206.

4101-4122. The doings of Edward Balliol at Renfrew are not in Fordun. Hailes, II. 215, infers from Bower's expressions that the "mangery" was a Christmas banquet, but Bower agrees exactly with Wyntoun. There is some error in the order of events : the Stewart

must have left Rothesay Castle before the keys were brought to Edward.

4123-4146. The escape of the Stewart to Dumbarton is not in Fordun. All the texts are wrong as to his age. He was eighteen then, as he was born in the early part of 1316.

4140. The place of the crossing has not been identified. Bower calls it Wimmirtannoch.

4150. John of Strivelin, or of Stirling, in spite of his name and of the want of clearness in the passage, was one of the "cleyn Inglis men." He belonged to Tynedale. See Bain, vol. III. p. xliii.

4157. Michael of Arnot was also one of the "men-at-arms" under Sir John of Strivelin in Edinburgh Castle in 1336, 1337. Bain, III. p. 363.

4164. Fordun does not mention the siege of Lochleven Castle. Bower's account (XIII. 30) is different and incredible in some parts.

4253-4262. Not in Fordun; almost in the same terms in Bower, XIII. 32.

4263-4268. Bower, XIII. 32; not in Fordun. Edward III. and Balliol were in or about Glasgow in July 1335; from there they went to Perth, passing by Airth, on the Forth, "near where their ships lay" (27th July-3rd August). The King of England returned to Berwick by way of Edinburgh, where he was 10th-18th Sept. (Bain, III. p. xliii.) Those dates tally pretty well with Wyntoun's vague statements.

4276. This John Comyn was the son of John slain at Dumfries. After his death at Bannockburn, where he fell fighting on the English side, his lands were divided between his two sisters, one of whom, Joan, was the mother of David, eleventh Earl of Atholl. David was appointed lieutenant of Scotland by Edward III. at Perth in August 1335.

4295-4298. "Esto animo forti, quum sis damnatus inique:
Nemo diu gaudet, qui iudice vincit iniquo."
—'Dionysii Catonis Distichorum' . . .
ed. Pauckoucke, 1843.

4299. The chronicler explains here how he has tried to deal with the confusion of events crowded within that one year, 1335. He has dealt with the "mischief" in the preceding part of the chapter, now he is going to tell of the beginning of the "recovery."

4342. This John Gibson who now surrenders the Castle of Rothesay can hardly be the same who helped the Stewart to escape from Bute. See l. 4129.

4397. Robert Stewart and the Earl of Moray were made wardens in April 1335, when they held a parliament at Dairsy. Fordun, 'Annals,' 152.

4439. "Johanne et Johanne de Heryng et Haliburtona militibus." Bower, XIII. 33.

4443-4464. The death of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, is

placed under the wrong year. Fordun gives the right date, 1336. The English historians say nothing about the murder ; but the author of the 'Scalacronica' must have been aware of the rumour prevalent in Scotland, from his passing remark that he "morrust de bele mort." The 'Chronicle of Lanercost' says that he died "in the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin (15th September)."

4477. "Glowere" is an additional mistake in C. "Comes de Gellere" is the name in Fordun, and what is meant here, as the variants show. However, it was the Count of Namur who, on his way from Berwick to join the English army, fought at Borough Muir and surrendered in Edinburgh. The mistake in the Scottish Chronicles is probably due to the fact that in the same year the Count of Juliers, called "le count Gelleris" in 'Scalacronica,' p. 165, was also fighting for Edward III., having entered Scotland with him by Carlisle. Both the Count of Namur and the Count of Juliers received money from Edward about that time (Bain, III. pp. 212, 213). There seems to be no ground for the usual connotation of "Gellere" and Guedre.

4515. Peris of Paris appears in Bower as "Petrus de Paresis, alias Percy." The real name is William of Presfen ('Scalacronica,' 166), who received some lands from Edward III. (10th October 1335) as a reward for the capture of the Earl of Moray. ('Rotuli Scotiæ,' I. 381.) He was keeper of Jedburgh at the time.

4533. The chronicler is going back to an earlier date. Andrew of Moray was ransomed about August 1334 ; Alexander of Mowbray became "his sworn man" about October of that year. See l. 4091.

4536. The parliament of Dairsy was held in April 1335. The rest of the paragraph is rather confused. Fordun ('Annals,' 154) says that Andrew of Moray was made warden on the 21st or 29th of September 1335, a probable date, as the Earl of Moray had been taken about a month before.

4547. This last change of sides on the part of the Earl of Atholl is dated about the 15th of August 1335 by the 'Lanercost Chronicle,' p. 283.

4555. The Earl of Dunbar returned to the Scottish side before February 1335 (Bain, III. pp. 206, 207).

4575-4604. Not in Fordun nor in Bower. The fight at Aberdeen belongs to 1336, as the English knight, Sir Thomas of Roslyne, was still living on the 6th of April in that year (Bain, III. p. 221).

4593-4604. These lines are difficult to follow in all the texts. In W the Scots had the best of it at first ; but the English turned on them, and followed them to the town ; in C the English were victorious from the beginning. Everything points to an early corruption of the original.

4605-4722. Fordun ('Annals,' 154) has only one sentence for the whole subject. Bower, XIII. 36, contains details probably derived from Wyntoun ; the incidents of the fight are only in the 'Chronicle.'

4629. Logirothwane would be a better reading in C, and Logie Ruthven would be the modern equivalent. Logie forms part of several place-names in the neighbourhood, and there is a farm called Nether Ruthven close to and north-east of the hill of Culblean.

4702. "Sir Thomas Browne" is called Thomas, brother of Walter Comyn, in Bower. Note that AuE² omit "Browne."

4705. Near Culblean, in the east end of the parish of Tullich, there is a small lake, called Loch Cannor or Kinnoir, with some islands. On one of them "there once stood a fortress said to have been built and occasionally occupied as a hunting seat by Malcolm Canmore, whence it probably got its name."—'The New Statistical Account of Scotland' (Aberdeen, vol. xii), 1845.

4715. The battle was fought on the 30th of November 1335.

4718. This prophecy is not found among those relating to this period contained in "The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune," edited by Dr Murray, 1875 (E. E. T. Society).

4724. The lands of Sir William de Mowbray were forfeited on the 26th of February 1336 (Bain III. p. 390).

4752. The date of the taking of Dundarg Castle, 1336, is given at the beginning of next chapter. Dundarg is in the northern part of Buchan, near Pitsligo.

4761. The wife of David, Earl of Atholl, was Katherine, daughter of Henry of Beaumont, Earl of Buchan.

4763. Every step in Edward's swift expedition to the relief of Lochindorb can be followed in a contemporary diary printed in 'Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kynloss,' 1839 (Ban. Club), p. xix. From it we see that he did not come near Andrew of Moray at the beginning of his journey. He left Perth on the 12th of July 1336, arrived at Blair on the 13th, and was at Kincardine on Spey on the 15th. Leaving his baggage there, he started again on the same day, in a forced march, "super freno," and when he came within two miles of the Castle, the Scottish scouts discovered his men, and all the besiegers fled as far as Ross. Therefore, Stronkalter, or Stran-kalater, must be located near Lochindorb, and not between Perth and Blair, as suggested by the 'Chronicle.'

4799, 4800. The meaning will be improved by reversing the punctuation of both lines.

4828. Aberdeen was burnt on the 22nd of August. Edward had more than the death of Roslin to avenge. Four days before his arrival fifty English sailors had "rashly" landed in the town and had been put to death by the inhabitants.

4835. Sir Thomas Ughtred may have been appointed at that time; Sir Thomas de Rokeby began his wardenship of Stirling on 26th October 1336; Sir John of Strivelin had succeeded Sir Thomas Roscelin in Edinburgh on 2nd November 1335, and William of Felton was also keeper of Roxburgh in 1335 (Bain, III. pp. 364, 215, 226).

4855. The siege of Dunbar was commenced on the 13th of January 1338, or on the 28th according to Walsingham. Fordun ('Annals,' 157) has only a short account of it. Bower (XIII. 40, 41) is much fuller and contains incidents not in Wyntoun.

4879. "He lay" is not clear, but must refer to the English knight whose death was witnessed by Montague.

4883. It is not necessary to connect the death of Sir Laurence of Preston as to time and place with the siege of Dunbar. It seems as if the ll. 4883-4928 had been inserted here for some unexplained reason between two incidents of the siege.

4905-4924. These lines do not belong to the time of the siege of Dunbar. Richard Talbot was taken prisoner in Lothian in 1335; see l. 4081 above, and note to it. This explains "the *three* years since the Balliol and his men arrived in Scotland." Bower, who evidently copies Wyntoun, saw the discrepancy and changed the "three years" into "five," thus emphasising the mistake of the 'Chronicle.'

4949. The trick played upon the English knight must have become a popular story; hence the different versions of the cry of the Scots when John of Copeland was caught within the gate. In Bower, Black Agnes cries out jeeringly: "Adieu, Monsenȝour Montagow."

4980. The siege of Dunbar was given up on 16th of June 1338.

4988-4992. = "But Fortune, although she overthrew in a fickle manner, will not bring down (all) misfortunes at once. Therefore she set their hearts to wage war in France, that the Scots might live in greater peace." Wemyss is the best text for these lines, though it is not faultless. RE make sense better than CA, and L is bad. *Faulde*, *falde*, is the weak past tense of *fall* used transitively, to cause to fall, to overthrow.

4995-4998. The "carping" of the English reads best in W, and yet it may not be the original. *Ploddeil*, *ploddeyr*, are difficult words to explain. "Origin and sense obscure" according to the N. E. Dict. in which they are connected (as in Macpherson's Glossary) with an old French verb *pelauder*, "to thwack, to belabour." The English verb *plod* may also be suggested. V. *ployd* in Gloss.

4999. The 'Chronicle' turns back now to the early part of 1337. Sir Andrew of Moray, having spent the first part of the winter in Angus, came down to Fife and took possession of several fortresses, St Andrews falling on 28th February 1337. Fordun, 'Annals,' 156.

5010. The Castle of Cupar had been attacked in May 1336, when Sir John of Strivelin, warden of Edinburgh, went over with his garrison and relieved it. The jousting of Sir Alexander de Ramsay may belong to that date.

5019. Bothwell Castle was surrendered in March 1337. Fordun, 'Annals,' 156.

5021. *Bowstoure* is explained in the N. E. Dict. as perhaps from

O.Fr. *boster*, a rare form of *bouter*, to strike, to knock, thus meaning "the striker, the knocker." "The *boaster*, the braggart," is a more obvious explanation. There is no other instance of the word.

5031. There were raids in England during September and October 1337, which are described at length in 'Lanercost Chronicle,' p. 292.

5037. Avacht is now called Avoch, near Fortrose, where ruins of the cathedral of Rosemarkie are still extant.

5049. The 'Chronicle' referred to here in this second version of the last days of the warden is probably Fordun's ('Annals,' 157), which supplies the most trustworthy account of the siege of Stirling, and the right date of it, May and June 1337. The points of agreement are remarkable. It is known from other sources that King Edward came hurriedly from England to the relief of the castle and was at Stirling on the 15th of June (Bain, III. p. 226). The siege therefore took place after the capture of Bothwell, and before the raid into England.

5057. The death of Sir William of Keith is also described later (see l. 5589) as happening during the last siege of Stirling. Fordun's date is probably the right one, as it is supported by Hemingburgh (anno 1337). On the other hand the Cottonian and the Royal texts assert emphatically that he was killed during the latter siege (see l. 5601). No argument can be founded on the presence of a Sir William of Keith at Perth in 1339, who is a different person, clearly distinguished as Keith of Galston.

5127. William de Montague was taken prison in an encounter near Lille in Flanders in 1340. As Flanders became a possession of the house of Burgundy during the second half of the fourteenth century, "Burgone" in W is probably the original reading, altered later to "bargane."

5129. Henry of Lancaster was created Earl of Derby in March 1337, at the same time as Montague was made Earl of Salisbury.

5130. The two additional lines in WAuE² are an unfortunate explanation. The Earl of Derby was not the future Henry IV., but his grandfather. He had a daughter, Blanche, married to John of Gaunt, who succeeded to the earldom in right of his wife and was the father of Henry IV. It is a curious coincidence that Walter Scott commits the same mistake when he deals with these same events in his 'Tales of a Grandfather.' These intrusive lines must be a late addition, as Wyntoun, a contemporary of the king, could not have allowed such a slip to remain.

5132. Henry of Lancaster was appointed captain-general of the army of the Scots on the 10th of October 1341. A truce for six months was signed in December, and he challenged William of Douglas while spending Christmas at Roxburgh. At that time Edward III. was at Melrose. The tournament is wrongly ascribed to the year 1340 by Knyghton (Twysden, col. 2580).

5189. The nature of the shields to be used is not clear. Whether

they were to be "plain," "plated," or "laced up," it is evident from the Earl's objection that such shields would be so strong as to deprive the combatants of any praise. I take it that *vplasisit* W means "fastened, tied up to the arm," and *plate*, *platyt*, strengthened with a plate or board. *Playn* C may be "plain," or "full."

5215. Knyghton says that two Scottish knights were killed, and one English, John Twyford.

5241. Bower (43) spoils a good story by adding "et deinde extracto ligno spiritum in armis reddidit."

P. 114, ch. clxxii. There is no name like "Gallorodheid" in the chapter, nor indeed in the whole 'Chronicle.' Wyntoun ignores the latter part of the life of Sir William Douglas, but it is known from Bower (XIV. 8) that he was slain at Galvord, in Ettrick Forest, in 1353. "Gallorodheid" may be a late corruption, and the line may have been meant to distinguish the Douglas of Liddesdale from the many other Douglasses. The writer of the Auchinleck text, seeing no trace of the death of Douglas in the whole chapter, turned "slane" into "neir slane," and wrote the heading in the margin, opposite an incident where the knight was nearly killed. E², improving on Au, inserted the title in the body of the text and in the middle of a sentence.

5331. The sundry exploits related here belong to several years, and are not in chronological order. Fordun does not speak of them, and Bower's account (XIII. 44) is mostly copied from the 'Chronicle.'

5339. Lord Berkeley was escorting a convoy to Bothwell from Edinburgh when he met Douglas at Blackburn, probably in November 1336, while Edward III. was at Bothwell, fortifying the castle. 'Scalacronica,' p. 166.

5347. The date of the meeting with John of Strivelin at the Craggs of Craggin, near Bathgate, is doubtful. On the 8th of October 1335 King Edward granted him some manors in Northumberland, because he had been made prisoner by the Scots, and required to be heavily ransomed (Bain, III. p. 214). It is not stated by whom he was captured, and he was not in command of Edinburgh Castle till the 1st of November. The 'Chronicle of Lanercost,' p. 293 and p. 296, relates how John of Strivelin was made prisoner by Douglas and conducted to Dumbarton Castle in November 1337.

5353. 'Scalacronica' (p. 167) describes the fight and fixes the date. Sir Andrew of Moray was besieging Edinburgh Castle on his return from Carlisle, *i.e.*, at the end of 1337; the English were hastening to the relief of the Castle; the Scots went and met them at Crichtondene, and the English retreated beyond the Tweed. The name of Douglas does not appear.

5371. Black Solling is called Blaksawing in Bower (XIII. 44).

5391. If it was really on Christmas Eve that Douglas seized the

provisions intended for the royal table at Melrose, it was just at the time when Henry of Lancaster invited him to joust at Roxburgh. See note to l. 5132 above.

5403. Bower says that the provisions that did not reach Melrose were sent to Hermitage Castle, which Douglas had *recently* taken from the English.

5407. Rolland de Vaux was still living on 12th May 1341 (Bain, III. p. 248).

Variations in all the texts. Note rimes.

5417. The capture of Laurence of Abernethy happened in 1338, just before William of Douglas went to France (Bower, XIII. 45).

5461. See note to l. 5057 above.

5467. Galyos de la Husse appears as Ægidius de le Huse in Bower and Gelasius del Huse in Fordun. Giles de la Heuse is probably the French form. See Francisque Michel, 'Les Ecosseis en France,' I. p. 63. His companion is not in Fordun, and Bower calls him Johannes de Braysi.

5515. 'L'Art de vérifier les dates' records an eclipse of the sun on 7th July 1339.

5543. Sir Thomas Ughtred surrendered Perth on 17th August 1339 (Bower, XIII. 45; and compare Bain, III. No. 1332).

5577. Fordun is silent as to this last siege of Stirling. Bower (XIII. 46) implies, like Wyntoun, that it took place immediately after the taking of Perth. There is documentary evidence, however, in the accounts of Sir Thomas de Rokeby for receipts and expenditure keeping the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, that the latter was surrendered on 10th April 1342, from defect of victual (Bain, III. p. 252).

5583-5588. WAuE² read better than the other texts.

5601. 5602. These two lines are wanting in WAuE². They simply emphasise the opinion of the revised text, and do not throw any more light on the time of the death of Sir William Keith. See note to l. 5057 above.

5652. Walter Curry was a bailiff of Edinburgh in 1336 (Bain, III. p. 345), which explains the two extra lines in Wemyss. The same text gives the name as "Walter of Towrys," a scribal error of a late date, which has forced the writer to alter three words for the rime, ll. 5442, 5457, and 5504; the last two being extraordinary mistakes, *hys* instead of *hy*=haste. Boece, describing this siege of Edinburgh, uses the same name: "Walterum quemdam cognomento Turris, virum opulentum admodum sibi devinctum Douglas habebat" (folio 334). Lib. xv. f. 322 in ed. 1574. This coincidence is of some importance. Is the Wemyss MS. later than the first edition of the 'History of Boece,' which was printed in 1527? It is to be noted that the texts AAuE² have "Wate of Curreis" instead of "Walter of Towryis" in the heading.

5655. William Fraser was a son of Alexander Fraser, killed at Dupplin. ('Fraser of Philorth,' I. p. 98.)

5661. An instructive comparison may be made between the different versions of the stratagem by which the castle was captured in Bower, XIII. 47, in the Book of Pluscarden, IX. 38, and in Froissart, livre I. ch. 39. Fordun ('Annals,' 160) dismisses the whole subject in one sentence.

5695. *Barel ferreis* appears in Bower as "cadiferreos," and means casks made of, or strengthened with, iron, as if from Fr. *baril ferré*. *Barell ferraris* (R) points to O.Fr. *ferriere*, an iron vessel in which liquids were carried on journeys. The expression occurs also in Barbour's 'Bruce,' XV. 39, under the two forms, *feris* in one text, and *ferraris* in the other. The combination of the two words is not known in French. See note in 'Bruce' (Skeat), vol. II. p. 278, and N. E. Dict. s. v.

5693, 5694. These two lines are corrupt in C and also in most of the other texts. The first one is best in Au, which must have been derived from an earlier text of the W type before the present W, which has gone wrong by changing *coyle* into *tuke*.

5716. Bower explains *turnpik* as the entrance of the tower: "ad introitum turris . . . qui dicitur *le Turnipyk*."

5738. Edinburgh Castle surrendered on the 16th of August 1341 (Bain, III. p. 252).

5739. The Wemyss text introduces a new heading here which does not seem to have belonged to its prototype, if we can judge from the confusion in the numbering of chapters in WAAuE² about this place. A synoptical view of all the numberings will make the matter clear.

CRLE 33	W 174	A 174	AuE ² 173
	175	175	
34	176	175 (176)	174=W 175
35	176*	176 (177)	175
36	177	177	176

W, having inserted a new chapter, doubled 176 so as to return to the original numbering in 177; A first doubled 177, then corrected it, doubling 175; AuE² saw the mistake and avoided it by committing a more serious one, that is, by inserting W 175 in the wrong place and omitting W 176.

See Table of Contents of Wemyss [in Appendix above, at end of Introduction].

5739-5808. Not in Fordun. Bower (XIII. 47, 48) follows the Cottonian text closely, and does not contain the extra lines in Wemyss (5589-5600).

5764. WAAuE² have two extra lines here which certainly improve the sense, and probably belong to the original text.

5799. Robert Maners was constable of Norham at that time. Hailes places his defeat and capture in the year 1338.

5809. The exchange of the two prisoners was completed about July 1341.

5832. Sir William de Bohun was Earl of Northampton, and not of Southampton as in CEA. It is strange that the mistake should also occur in AuE² which generally follow W.

5839-5842. The meaning is clearer in Wemyss than in the other texts. The general purport of the sentence is that the Earl of Moray took the rents from all the land except from what lay round Lochmaben Castle.

5859-5938. Two subjects are dealt with here: the vacancy of the episcopal seat of St Andrews between the death of James Ben and the consecration of William of Landels, and the return of David II. The order of the narrative is interverted in W alone, where the second subject comes first, and in such a natural manner after the description of the state of the country as to make one feel that it was the original arrangement. It is also better chronologically. From another point of view, the discrepancy is remarkable. It suggests that this part of the 'Chronicle,' which Wyntoun says was not his own, did not, in its original state, treat of ecclesiastical matters, and that these were inserted subsequently by the Prior himself. At the end of the passage we are promised that we shall hear more of the subject further on, which we do (pp. 306-313) in two different accounts of the death of William Landels, one of which cannot be—and probably neither is—due to Wyntoun's unknown friend.

5859-5916. Compare Bower, VI. 45.

5870. Kinkell. [In Garioch district, Aberdeenshire.]

5912. William Landels was promoted to the bishopric on the 18th of February 1341-2, and consecrated on the 17th of March. Fordun, 'Annals,' 160 (*variant*), and Bower, VI. 45.

5928. David II. landed at Inverbervie in Kincardineshire on the 2nd of June 1341. Fordun, 'Annals,' 160.

5939-5962. Short account in Fordun, 'Annals,' 161; Bower, XIII. 49, agrees with Wyntoun, who is fuller.

5941. In 1342 Easter fell on the 31st of March.

5949-5952. These four lines have the same rime, a most unusual occurrence. That accounts for the variations in the texts. It is difficult to decide whether W or R is the best.

5963. Nothing in Fordun about the three raids across the Marches. They are grouped together in Bower, XIII. 49, while here the third comes at the end of the chapter. That may explain why RW alone have the word *thrice*.

5968. The Hall of the Rose, situated between Carlisle and Penrith, belonged to the bishop of Carlisle (Bain, III. 123). The epithet "ryall" in W must be taken metaphorically.

5995. The names of the five knights appear in the same order in Bower and in the same concise form. "Eglyntone" most probably stands for Sir Hugh of Eglinton.

5999-6044. Cf. Fordun, 'Annals,' 162, and Bower, XIII. 50. Both give the 20th of June 1342 as the date of the taking of Sir Alexander Ramsay.

6053. Most of the texts are wrong here in the same way. WAuE² alone are right. Edward III. arrived before Calais on the 3rd of September, and if Philip wrote to King David after that date, a fact on which most chroniclers agree, communications must have been very rapid between France and Scotland, and the preparations very hurried for the expedition that ended so disastrously on the 17th of October, after the Scots had spent a fortnight in England (see l. 6164).

6168. The English troops stopped at the park of Auckland, belonging to the bishop of Durham. The place is now called Bishop Auckland.

6182. The park where the Scots spent the night before the battle was called then Beaurepaire, or in Latin "de Bello Redditu." The present name is Bearpark.

6193. "Forret" is an early scribal error, as it is the reading of four texts, CAAuE², the last two of which rarely follow C against WR. "The ferry of the hill" is now called Ferryhill, or Ferry on the Hill. *Ferry* in the N. E. Dict. is given with the general sense of "passage, crossing," and the only instance is this very line of the 'Chronicle.'

6199. *Sunder Sande* should be Sunderland, now Sunderland Bridge, "Pontes de Sundirland" in Bower.

6214. Sir John the Grahame was called Earl of Menteith in right of his wife. He was taken prisoner (l. 2661) and executed afterwards as a traitor to England.

6224. "Sow sare" [*i.e.*, he made them "smart sorely." Cf. Barbour's 'Bruce,' XVI. 628].

6252. The battle of Durham or Neville's Cross was fought on the 17th of October 1346 near the latter place. A most trustworthy account of it was written immediately afterwards by the Prior of Durham, whose convent owned the manor of Beaurepaire. He fixes the spot exactly in a sentence which deserves full quotation. "Locus ille in quo bellum . . . est commissum inter civitatem Dunolmensem et quendam monticollum qui vocatur Fyndonne noscitur situari; qui quidem monticulus a quodam praesagio sumpsisse nomen creditur cum posse dicatur verisimiliter Fyndonne quasi finem dans, vel finem dandus." This wonderful etymology may be compared, not to its advantage, with the play on words perpetrated by the Scots after Halidon Hill. See l. 3955.

The Prior's letter will be found in 'Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers' (Rolls Series), p. 387.

6269-6274. The variants here are of considerable importance. W

is the best. AuE² have the same lines, and add ten more which contain a great deal of nonsense. The Welshmen were not slain in great numbers at Crécy, and Wales had been "won" long before. I believe these mistakes existed in the original used by Wyntoun; the writer of a later W noticed them and left them out. The version followed by CR and others is a patching up of the passage with moderate success: l. 6269 is redundant, simply repeating what has just been said; ll. 6270 and 6271 are disconnected and unsatisfactory. A strong proof that CR are derived from AuE² is evident in the line

þan was þe bataile of Kersy,

which fits in exactly in AuE² and not in the others.

6277. Tasse W is better than Tassile; his name was Eustache Lorane, or Lorayn.

6285. The line of the march ran along the Lammermoor Hills from Cockburnspath in the east to Soutra in the west; it was extended afterwards further west to Carlops and Crosswood. Corse Cryne is called Crossecarne in Major.

6294. Brynt Ile, now Bruntland, Glasserton, near Whithorn.

6326. This line is best in WAuE², as it explains the cause of the riot. Fordun is silent about Wm. of Moray, and Bower (XIV. 6) refers to him only in connection with the Wyntoun War.

6337-6352. Bower, XIII. 51; nothing in Fordun. The "young lady of Seton" was Margaret, daughter of Alexander Seton, governor of Berwick during the first part of the siege in 1333. She became heiress of Seton after the death of her three brothers.

6353-6360. Wyntoun refers the great pestilence on cocks and hens to 1347, Fordun to 1344, and Bower to 1336, probably a clerical error. W is two lines shorter, and reads better than the other texts.

6361, 6362. [The 'Annals of Connaught' record sub anno 1407 "very inclement weather and a great destruction of cattle this year."]

6370. John Douglas must have been dead in 1342, in which year his younger brother William succeeded to the estates of Douglas. John was at Château Gaillard with David II. in 1340, and may have died there.

6379. The mother of William, Earl of Douglas, was Beatrix, sister of Sir David de Lindsay.

6431. Eugène de Garencières arrived in April 1355. It was not his first appearance in Scotland. His name appears in the 'Accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland' for 1337 (vol. i. pp. 255, 258, 259). He had been in Aberdeen before that date, probably at the time of the fight between Sir William de Mowbray and Sir Thomas de Roslyne in 1336, and had been connected with the wrecking and burning of some houses, for which the owner William Chapman obtained compensation.

6442. The "mouton d'or" bore the figure of a lamb with a cross,

an emblematical representation of the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God. Its value was 12s. 6d. Ducange, s. v. *Multonus*.

6451-6454. W is the best text for these lines.

6455. Thomas Stewart, second Earl of Angus, was the son of Sir John Stewart of Boncle, created Earl of Angus by Robert I. The town of Berwick was taken about the beginning of November 1355.

6469. The place through which the English fled is called by Bower "le Douglas Tour," corroborating the reading of all the texts except W.

6507. Edward III. recovered Berwick on the 13th of January 1355-1356. The following lines are but a brief reference to the harrying and burning of the Lothians by Edward, "le burnt Candlemas" (see Bower, XIV. 13). In point of time they should come after the next paragraph. The sundry deeds connected with the resignation of Edward Balliol are dated January 20-27 at Roxburgh.

6531. This also is out of the right chronological order. The ambush is anterior to the taking of Berwick. Sir Thomas Gray, the warden of Norham, is the author of the Anglo-French chronicle, 'Scalacronica,' which he commenced to write, "having hardly anything else to do," as he says, while a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. One copy only is known of that Chronicle, and it is incomplete, the folios dealing with this period being lost. Fortunately, we have a summary of the whole work written by Leland from this copy when it was complete, or from another manuscript now unknown.

6541. The numbers do not agree: in the words of Leland, Thomas Gray "issuid out of Norham with few mo the[n] 50 menne of the garnison, and a few of the communes." 'Scalacronica,' p. 304.

6555. There is no mention of the son in the 'Scalacronica.' Fordun and Bower call him Thomas, not William, and so does Stevenson, the editor of the Chronicle, who, however, in the genealogy of the Gray family, states that Thomas the son of the author was born in 1359.

6576. The encounter took place at Nisbet, not far from Duns. Fordun and Bower give the month of August as the date; but Sir Thomas Gray, whose authority is more trustworthy, says that it happened twenty-one days before the scaling of Berwick, the date of which was, as stated above, the beginning of November, "circa festum Omnium Sanctorum" (Fordun, 'Annals,' 173).

Ch. clxxx. Here begins the first of the differences between the various texts which characterise the end of Book VIII. Assuming the existence of three distinct editions of the Chronicle, the history of the variations in the MSS. can easily be traced. The earliest version, represented now by W, contained this chapter; the second, represented by RL, omitted it; the third, represented by CE, did the same; AuE²A, which often exhibit signs of contact with W, re-inserted it, with this difference, that AuE² follow the same order of events as W,

while A places the chapter later. This, indeed, is an improvement, whether intentional or not, as the arrangement in W makes a break in the narrative of Scottish matters belonging to the same period.

6577. The story of the famous "Combat des Trente" is more or less fully described by many chroniclers; the earliest accounts are in the 'Chronique de Jean le Bel,' ch. lxxxvi., vol. ii. p. 194 (Soc. de l'Histoire de France), and in Froissart, vol. iv. pp. 110-115, 338-341 (ed. Luce). There is also a poem on the subject printed in Buchon's 'Froissart,' vol. xiv. pp. 301-320, which cannot be much later. Wyntoun has not borrowed from any of them, although he begins with what seems like an echo of the first sentence in 'Jean le Bel': "En celle saison mesmement, avint en Bretaigne ung moult merueilleux fait d'armes que on ne doit pas oublier." The two leaders were Jean IV. de Beaumanoir, governor of Josselin, and Richard Bramborough, captain of Ploermel, and the combat took place half way between those two castles at la Croix-Helléon on the 26th of March 1351. See notes in 'Chronique de Jean le Bel,' vol. ii. pp. 194-198.

6595-6598. I am not able to extract any meaning out of this boastful reply except the two statements that the English are doughtiest, and that one Englishman is worth two Frenchmen. The four texts are corrupt in different ways.

6638. "Be Kane"—By Caen, is evidently original. *Betane* may be a conscious attempt at improvement, or an unconscious blunder, which is immaterial, as the battle was not fought at Caen, nor even in Normandy.

6733. The remainder of the chapter from this point is far from lucid. As a rule, moralisings fare badly when they pass through several hands of copyists. A prose rendering may throw some light on the next fifteen lines:

"The French were greatly praised, because, when they saw their companion withdraw as if afraid, they gave no sign of fear on account of his withdrawing, but they fought on as fiercely as before, and did not hold back. They deserved to be praised, and so did he, who in such a cruel battle as man against man, and inferior in number to them (?), could fight both with skill and with prudence, (and) through whom that battle was won that was then undertaken and ended, where bright ladies, etc."

In l. 6737 *They* should be substituted for *And*, although the latter is the reading of all the texts; and the comma at the end of l. 6740 should be changed into a semicolon or a full stop.

6750-6753. The omission of these four lines in W is due to the repetition of the word *fecht* at the end of ll. 6749 and 6753. They certainly improve the sense and enliven the story.

6767. Note that A following the C text has not these two lines, but the writer carefully adhering to the headings and numbering

of W inserts ch. clxxx. in the margin, although later on, after l. 6816, he will introduce ch. clxxx.

6769-6790. Bower (XIV. 15) says that these events happened after the departure of King Edward from Scotland; he is probably right, but his statement may be only an inference from this Chronicle, which he follows here very closely.

6775. Sir Dougal Macdowal is called Donald in Bower.

6783. Hog of Kylpatrik=Roger of Kirkpatrick.

6791-6804. King David was in Scotland during the latter part of 1350 and the first half of 1351. See Bain, III. Nos. 1557, 1563.

6805-6816. The Lord of Kyle was John Stewart, who was created Earl of Carrick in 1368, and was afterwards King Robert III. The "raid" in Annandale cannot be dated with certainty; Bower's statement that it happened after Edward's departure may be again derived from Wyntoun.

6817. A synopsis of the matters in both printed texts from here to the end of Book VIII. will help to elucidate this complicated part of the Chronicle. W dismisses the last years of David's reign after his return from England in 130 lines, which are expanded to nearly 400 in the subsequent versions. These versions, however, have inserted all the lines in W except ten, with slight alterations, mostly in the connecting links, as will appear from the following table :

W	RL, CE, AuE ² , <i>not</i> A.
6623-6626=6817-6878	Battle of Poitiers.
6627-6704=6879-6956	Return of David, his doings.
	6957-7002 Jacques Bonhomme.
	7003-7022 Lindsay at Carlaverock.
6705-6720=7035-7050	Death of the Queen.
6721-6732=7023-7034	Praise of King David.
6733-6742	Lament on his death <i>omitted</i> .
	7051-7112 French affairs.
	7113-7162 Various incidents, mostly in Scotland.
	7163-7168 Margaret of Logie.
	7169-7188 Succession to the throne.
	7189-7200 The end of David's reign.
6743-6752 7201-7210	His death.

The writer of A has an arrangement of his own, which looks complicated in the distribution of the printed texts, but is simple enough when examined separately. He copies the C text (not W, as can be verified by the variants) up to l. 6956. There he takes up W, and copies that version straight on to the end of chapter clxxxii., that is ll. 6705-6752. Having done this, he returns to the C text, continuing to the end of Book VIII., with the result that he writes twice over the parts of W that are inserted in C, namely, ll. 6705-6720, 6721-6732, and 6743-6752, with this notable exception, that he abruptly omits ll. 7029-7050 of C, corresponding to W 6727-

6732, 6705-6720, noticing doubtless that he was repeating what he had written previously.

AuE² follow W in ll. 6879-6956, as will be seen by the variants, but not in the lines corresponding to W 6705-6752.

6818. Au, which has been relying more and more lately on W, inserts here the two lines in which W refers to the battle of Poitiers. They were crossed afterwards, probably by the scribe himself, and do not appear in E².

6837. "The Marshall of France" was Jean de Clermont, "comes de Clero-Monte," Bower, XIV. 16. He was killed in the battle.

6845, 6846. These obscure lines are omitted in L. They may mean that "as matters were against him there (a reference to the inferior numbers of the Prince of Wales) he had all the more confidence afterwards."

6862. = "So does often presumption." R has the best reading.

6869. Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, was the natural son of Good" Sir James. He became Lord of Galloway in 1369.

6883. CEA are wrong here. It was the Earl of Northampton (not Northumberland) who carried on the unsuccessful negotiations at Berwick in 1353. The need of a new rime to complete the couplet accounts for the other changes. David was allowed to remain near the March in the early part of that year. Bain, III. p. 287.

6899. The final treaty was ratified at Berwick on the 5th of October 1357. The terms of the ransom were one hundred thousand marks (not pounds) payable in ten years (not fourteen). The confusion as to the duration of the truce is perhaps due to the fact that another truce, for fourteen years, was arranged in 1369. See note to IX. 35.

6908-6910. The wording of these lines is clumsy in W and unintelligible in the other texts. W = "In order to make that payment at sundry terms they took a truce for that length of time." "At" = "for the purpose of"; see New Eng. Dict. s. v. vi. 39.

6924. WR supply the right reading. We have here a neat specimen of scribal mistakes and corrections. The manuscript from which C was derived must have left out three lines owing to the repetition of "mace"; the writer of C, finding himself one line short, added l. 6926 as a fill-gap, and so his text stands with four consecutive similar rimes.

6957. The revolt of the French "Carllis," known by the name of Jacquerie, belongs to the year 1358. "Jacques Bonhomme," their leader, was called Guillaume Caillet, who was taken and put to death by Charles le Mauvais, king of Navarre.

7046. "In schort tyme" is rather vague; Queen Joan was in London in 1358-59, but she did not die till 1362.

7051-7074. Evidently taken from Fordun's 'Annals,' 181; cf. Bower, XIV. 22. Metre very irregular from here to end of book.

7066. This line conveys no meaning as it stands, and yet every text

agrees with it. I suggest that "þaim" should be replaced by "trete"; it would make the line scan right, it would make sense, and it would explain "þat trete" in l. 7074. Compare Fordun: "at illi . . . cum eodem rege tractabant de pace, et sui regis liberatione." The reference is to the famous treaty of Bretigny in 1360.

7075-7112. These lines also are derived from Fordun, 'Annals,' 182, but they do not agree so closely.

7099. The reading of R "townys" is better than "tol"; "civitatem de Calise, et civitatem de Gynis" in Fordun, "oppida de Cales et Gynez" in Bower.

7155. "Halde" is a difficult word to explain here, and "ald" in L is not satisfactory.

7165 "Ynch Murthoi," or Inchmurchoch, was a seat of the bishops of St Andrews.

7207. David II. died on the 22nd February 1370-71.

BOOK IX.

1. Wyntoun takes as his text Ps. cxviii. 96 (Vulgate): "Omnis consummationis vidi finem." As commentators vary widely about the interpretation of the sentence, he is entitled to hold an opinion of his own on the subject; unfortunately he does not express it clearly. Is it the "end" or the "prophet" that is to be "commended"? We may assume that Wyntoun's desire is to finish well what he began well. Such is the explanation in the next four lines, two of which are not in RE. However, that is not exactly what Hendyng meant:

"God beginning maketh god endyng,
Quoth Hendyng."

—MS. Harl. 2253, ed. Böddeker, p. 288.

7. It is a pity that we are not told more about that "novel poetry" that teaches how to treat a subject in a fit manner, and in a fair style.

10-20. The wording varies considerably here, and it is impossible to say which text has the best of it.

15. W="Prepared himself to make him (Erskine) turn back"; C="Prepared himself to make him (the Stewart) bare," *i.e.*, to deprive him of the throne. Bower, XIV. 36, is clearer, and a little fuller.

16. George, Earl of Dunbar and March, succeeded Earl Patrick in 1368. His brother John was created Earl of Moray in 1372.

21. The son of the Earl of Douglas was James, who succeeded to the title and was killed at Otterburn. He married Isabel daughter of Robert II.

28. "Fast" is a wrong reading in C for "soft" in all the other texts except E², the agreement of which with C must be a mere coincidence.

35. A truce of fourteen years had been signed in July-August 1369, after the expiry of the ten years' truce agreed to in 1357. It is referred to again, l. 164

49. This breaking of the truce at the Roxburgh fair belongs to the year 1377. See Bain, IV. No. 242. The name of the member of Earl George's household slain by the English appears in W alone as Donald Taylor. This may be a late addition, as it is not reproduced in AuE². Bower's 'Scotichronicon,' in Goodall's edition, leaves a blank space for the insertion of the name, which other texts fill in with the words "nomine de Dunbar."

73-116. = Bower, XIV. 37.

117-146. Cf. Bower, XIV. 38.

144. The reading of AuE² is corroborated by Bower: "lanceas in scapulis ferentes."

147-174. = Bower, XIV. 38; see also 'Chronicon Angliae,' p. 165.

159. Bower agrees with WAuE²: "quibusdam interfectis."

175-224. Cf. Bower, XIV. 43.

175. The date 1356 in W instead of 1380 is a careless blunder, and, what is more careless still, it is repeated in AuE².

202. "hundreth" W, instead of "thousande," is a mistake.

231-294. Cf. Bower, XIV. 46.

238. The truce was taken at Berwick on 1st November 1380.

276. "A lang qwhil" is a relative phrase. John of Gaunt's palace of the Savoy was burnt on the 13th of June 1381, and he was back in England two months later.

295-330. = Bower, XIV. 47.

295. Alexander de Fetherstonhaugh surrendered Lochmaben on the 4th February 1383-84. Fordun, 'Annals,' 190. See Bain, IV. p. xviii.

331-352. Bower, XIV. 47. The capture of Ralph, baron of Graystock, belongs to 1382 (Bain, IV. No. 312). Bower follows the same order of events as Wyntoun, and improves on his source by making this incident a consequence of the previous one.

340. Benrig. [There was a Beanrig at Coldingham, but the place referred to in the passage evidently was Benrig, about 7 miles westward up the Tweed from Roxburgh Castle, and situated at St Boswells.]

353-416. Cf. Bower, XIV. 48. The Duke of Lancaster invaded Scotland in the beginning of April 1385.

380. Bower says that Alexander de Lindsay was accompanied by about fifty men, which is better than "a fewe," "sex or sevin," "fyve or sax," of the different texts.

383. "Coym at richt" may mean "come at the right time, opportunely," or "on the right." Bower says that Sir William of Cunningham was coming from the west, and Thomas Erskine from the east. Probably "a knycht" was the original phrase.

417-442. = Bower, XIV. 49. The conquest of Teviotdale belongs to 1384, as the Earl of Douglas died in that year.

422. *Ay fra Durame*=ever since the battle of Durham.

443-454. =Bower, XIV. 49.

453, 454. E² is the only text that does not repeat the rime of the preceding couplet, and so probably represents the original.

435-508. Both Fordun and Bower relate the French expedition under Jean de Vienne, Marshal of France. Fordun's account is the shortest; it is the second last item in his 'Gesta Annalia,' and the latest date. His continuator does not copy from him, but follows Wyntoun throughout, except in the numbers. They all agree, however, as to the sum of money brought by the French.

509. The two texts vary considerably here. Wyntoun must have considered his unknown friend's account too short for a subject and period so familiar to him; so he re-wrote it, and added the interesting details of the restoration of the Cathedral by Bishop William Laundels and Prior Steven Pay, and of the gifts presented by Bishop Walter Trayl. Possibly both versions are by W. The first version does not deal with ecclesiastical matters.

517. The two prelates present at the funeral were Cardinal Walter (not William, as in W) Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, and John Peebles, bishop of Dunkeld and Chancellor of Scotland.

523. The Cathedral was burnt on the 23rd of September 1378, the day of Saint Thecla and Saint Adamnan (Bower, VI. 46).

553. Walter Trayl died in 1401 (Bower, VI. 46).

555-561. The grammar of these lines is very faulty. I have followed the punctuation of Macpherson and Laing, which will be improved by shifting the full stop in l. 559 to the end of l. 561. What Wyntoun means to say, and he says it in a roundabout way, is that the Bishop and the Prior spent their last years, that is, seven years, five months, and five days, in rebuilding the church. The calculation is very nearly correct: William Laundells was buried on the seventh anniversary of the burning of the Cathedral, Sept. 23, 1385, and Steven Pay died at Alnwick on the 2nd of March 1385-86 (Bower, VI. 53), five months and *seven* days later.

562-570. There is no improvement in the composition here. The similarity of endings in the two couplets 563-4 and 567-8 may explain the omission of four lines in CEA, but not the repetition of "*þe quere*" in 567. By transposing the semi-colon from 568 to 569, and adopting the reading of RL, "*men mycht þaim se,*" the sense and the metre will be slightly bettered. The substance of the passage is that in the choir, in the two aisles of the transept, in the south and north aisles of the nave, and in the "*tofallis twa,*" the whole woodwork was renewed and roofed with lead. I take it that the "*tofallis*" mean the "*lean-to*" roofs on the aisles of the nave.

571. There were two of the pillars that supported the tower with the "*stepil of stane*" in the centre of the transept.

591. coddis=cushions?

596. *Parouris to þaim lik*=parures to match. The alb was often adorned with silver or gold embroidery of the same colour as the rest of the priest's vestments. These embroidered ornaments were called "parura" in Latin, and "paroure" or parure in English. See 'Promptorium Parvulorum,' "Parowre of a vestymēt," and note, p. 384.

601. "Navet" R is the right word here. Macpherson discarded it, perhaps because he did not know the meaning of it, and printed "Ewar," which is evidently wrong, as ewers are spoken of two lines below. The "navet," Fr. *navette*, is the navicula, a small boat-shaped box containing the incense.

613. The 'Chronicle' returns to the war events of 1385 after the ecclesiastical digression of the preceding chapter.

614. *tuk on hande*=took (the matter) on hand is inferior to *W borne on hand*=accused, found fault with. For this meaning of "to bear on hand" see N.E.D., Bear, *v.* 3. e.

623. Richard II. invaded Scotland about the 10th of August (Saint Laurence's day) (Bower, XIV. 50).

643-664. Cf. Bower, XIV. 51.

671. Sir William Douglas, lord of Nithsdale, was a natural son of Sir Archibald the Grim. He married Egidia ("Gilis" in the vernacular), daughter of Robert II. (see l. 705).

689. "At Braidfeylde" (spelt Brandfeylde or Braudfeylde in C) is written in two words in some of the MSS. It may be a place-name or a phrase meaning "in the open." Bower, XIV. 51, has "plano bello."

722-784. Cf. Bower, XIV. 52.

734. Drochda C=Drogheda is wrong. Dundalk, in all the other texts, and also in Bower, is the nearer town to Carlingford.

747. Sir Robert Stewart of Durisdeer (Bower).

785-958. Cf. Bower, XIV. 53, 54. Ch. 53 is mostly derived from Wyntoun; ch. 54 contains the quaint Latin poem of Thomas Barry, Provost of Bothwell, an early account of the battle. Froissart, however, is the earliest and fullest authority (Buchon, vol. xi. pp. 123-174). He obtained his information within two years after the event from knights and squires of England and Scotland who had fought at Otterburn.

831. The battle was fought on Wednesday, 5th of August 1388: "Quinta dies mensis, fuerat quæ Mercurialis" (Thomas Barry).

836. W is two lines short, and so the rimes have gone wrong. The sense does not suffer much.

858. "Schir Maw of the Rede Mayn" is Sir Mathew (not Maurice, as in Bower) de Redman, an English knight well known on the Marches at that time. See Bain, IV. index, *s.v.* Froissart says that he was captain of Berwick, and relates at great length a

mishap that befell him while pursuing the English after the battle.

859. *Thai* would be better than *That*. The passage is clearest in W.

897. Ralph was the name of Henry Percy's brother. "Captus est Anglorum armiductor Henricus Hatspur cum dicto fratre suo Radulpho." Bower, XIV. 54.

929. Sir Thomas of Erskine is not mentioned by Bower. Froissart gives his name as Thomas Aversequin, Auermesquin, Auernesquin, &c. W adds two very remarkable lines, containing an allusion difficult to explain. Why should his scar entitle him "to eat in the great hall of Poitiers?" It is well known that the Black Prince on the evening of the battle of Poitiers gave a supper to the King of France and most of the princes and barons his prisoners, and that he waited on them himself. It may have become a proverb to say that a knight, bearing marks of his doughty deeds, was worthy to sit in such noble company.

939. "Mydmorne" is better than "mydnycht" CEA. Macpherson's edition has "myd morn," which Laing changed to "mydnycht," giving no explanation.

959. All the events in this chapter belong to 1389, except the first. The Earl of Fife was elected Governor of Scotland on 1st December 1388. See Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 165.

979. Thomas (Mowbray), Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marshal of England, was warden of Berwick and of the East March from 1st June 1389 to 1st June 1391. Bain, IV. 389, 413.

989. "Beris bynde." [Perhaps=boast to bind bears? Cf. adage to "take a bear by the tooth."]

1013-1078. Closely translated in Bower, XIV. 56.

1013. The treaty between France and England was signed at Leulinghen, between Boulogne and Calais, on 18th June 1389, and agreed to by Scotland on 18th July 1390.

1020. The two French ambassadors were Pierre Fresnel and Henuart de Campbernart. They obtained a safe-conduct from the English king to pass on to Scotland, dated 3rd July 1389. 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' vol. ii. p. 98.

1027. The companion of Sir Nicholas Dugworth was called John Orewell. See their safe-conduct (6th July), 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' ii. p. 99.

1079. Here begins the last and the most important of the discrepancies between the three versions of the 'Chronicle.' All the texts have the ten lines concerning the meeting of the messengers of the three kings at Boulogne, but two only, W and E², go on with the story of the "great jousting that befell" at Calais. It is introduced with the same apology as the "fighting between the French and English men" in ch. clxxx, that "although it does not belong to the matter on hand, yet men will hear it with pleasure." R and

C omitted both chapters, doubtless because they were foreign to the subject. Neither chapter appeared in Macpherson's edition; Laing inserted the former, which he took from A, but not the latter, which he had before his eyes in W and E². Perhaps Laing's reason for the omission was that both texts are incomplete; fortunately the deficiencies affect different parts. Several leaves are wanting at the end of W, and the top part of the last existing folio is torn. The incompleteness in E² is due to a more indirect cause; the manuscript is entire, but the scribe was copying from a damaged text, the Auchinleck, which, as it has been pointed out already (Introd., section 6), was roughly used early in its existence.

1088. The great feat of arms at Calais is known to most of the contemporary historians. There is even a poem in its honour by an eye-witness: "Joutes de Saint-Inglebert, poème contemporain," published by le baron Jérôme Pichon in 'Partie inédite des Chroniques de Saint-Denis,' 1864. Froissart describes it most minutely and with great liveliness (Buchon, vol. xii. pp. 123-174; Berners, vol. ii. pp. 467-476). See also "Le Livre des Faits du Mareschal de Boucicaut," in 'Petitot,' vol. vi. pp. 424-431. The tournament was held in March 1390 at Saint-Inglevert near Calais. The three challengers were called Boucicaut, Sempy, and Regnault de Roie. Jean le Maingre, Sire de Boucicaut and Marshal of France, distinguished himself at the battle of Nicopolis, 1396, and died in England in 1421, having been taken prisoner at Agincourt. Regnault de Roie died at Nicopolis, and Jean, Sire de Sempy, or Saint-Py, belonged to a noble family of Picardy. Although the lists were to be kept open for thirty days, Froissart says that the tilting began on a Monday, and ended on the following Thursday, no more English champions coming forward. The author of the poem seems more trustworthy, as he gives a list of thirteen meeting days from the 21st of March to the 24th of April, and under each date, the names of the English knights, 105 in all, that came forward. The enumeration is interesting, but the names have been so corrupted that it would be impossible to recognise the twelve barons and the "sevin mychty erlis" of the 'Chronicle.'

1089. It should have been noted in the variants that the number of the chapter in E² is cxcvi.; it has been printed cxcvii. to agree with the numbering of W.

The relation between the three types W, R, C, in the first part of this chapter, can be summed up thus: R retains the whole of W, and adds (1) the account of the two coronations, (2) the explanation as to the authorship of the previous part of the 'Chronicle'; (3) the intention of the author to continue his work. C is much shorter; it borrows nothing from R, re-writes the contents of W, and adds a few connecting lines.

1089-1090. C changes the two lines in W, beginning a new chapter

with a date. R copies W. The reference to the treaty of Boulogne is needed in W for clearness, but it is not needed in the case of R, which, having omitted the whole story of the tournament, thus repeats the same reference twice within ten lines. See l. 1079.

1091-1096. The same in all the texts.

1097-1103. These lines partly replace and partly represent W 1097-1105. R copies W, and adds thirteen lines about the coronations. Note how R changes the construction of the absolute phrase "foroutin maire" to introduce the new matter. Instead of "gaif" E² 1102 the original W doubtless had "gyve" as in R. One feels from the run of the sentence that the author expresses a wish for the future of the new reign. The inference to be drawn from that single word is that the anonymous part of the 'Chronicle' belongs to the first years of the reign of Robert III. The change in E² is probably intentional, the writer wishing to bring his text up to date.

1104-1114. C agrees with W 1106-1116, and also with R.

1112. = "He fed his friends well, and fed himself well also." R has the best reading. For instances of the French word see in Godefroy, "*Viandeor*, celui qui fournit la nourriture, homme hospitalier, libéral." Macpherson explained *wyandour* as "one who lives or feeds well," and Jamieson adopted the explanation; but Wyntoun is praising the late king, and such meaning would be the reverse of complimentary. The feeble line in E² is evidently a late alteration.

1115, 1116. = "He reigned nineteen full years, and began to use the date *in the twentieth year*." The twentieth year of his reign began on the 22nd of February 1389-90. These two lines belong to C alone. They were added in the margin of R by another hand, and unnecessarily, as the same statement appears in a different form in l. 1139 of that text, copied from W.

1117-1119. = WRC. The next line is added in C to complete the couplet.

1121-1124. This takes the place of the ending of the 'Chronicle' in the early version, also preserved in R.

1124. The incomplete table of contents preserved at the beginning of the Wemyss MS. (see Appendix, section 10, at the end of the Introduction) has a concluding couplet:

cxviii. "Off þe cronyklis þus endis þe buke
That hecht þe originall quha will luke."

As W is incomplete at the end, and as E² is now following the revised edition, it is impossible to ascertain whether this heading refers to some new matter or is simply a rounding off of the whole subject. There is no doubt that—

"Amen, Amen, per cherite "

looks like the final words of the early edition.

1125. Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk received a safe-conduct for two months from 1st of April 1390 to come and do feats of arms in England with John de Welles on the 6th of May, as agreed between them. The safe-conduct was renewed afterwards till the end of July. Bain's 'Calendar,' IV. pp. 89, 90. L is wrong in calling him "Erle of Crawford mighty"; he was created Earl in 1398.

1235. "Our good prior seems to have quite forgotten his resolution not to write anything 'that can na profyt bryng' when he ran into this preposterous digression. But it is long since a very great critic observed that even the excellent Homer sometimes nods." Macpherson. It is more than a digression, it is a repetition, sometimes in identical terms, of what has appeared before, in Book IV. ll. 37-42, and *passim* through chapter xxv. A more extraordinary case of repetition will occur further on, at ll. 2977-3004.

1297. Luke ii. 1. These words begin the gospel of Midnight Mass, the first of the three masses on Christmas Day.

1369. The cathedral of Elgin was burnt on 17th June 1390. Wyntoun refrains from mentioning the name of the leader of the Highland men, Alexander Stewart, the brother of the new king.

1377. This chapter has been copied into the Maitland Folio MS., the date of which, 1570-1590, is much later than any of the manuscripts of the 'Chronicle.' So the text has suffered by passing through more hands. David Laing published that extract in his 'Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland,' under the title of "The Duik of Orlyance in defence of the Scots." A few notes will suffice to show the main differences.

The Duke was Louis d'Orléans, second son of Charles V. He was murdered in 1407 by the orders of John, Duke of Burgundy.

1387-1390. Omitted in M.

1393-1396. "And thair sayrlie the Inglismen
The Scottismen diffamit than.
Thai said thair gaddering in to weiris
Micht nocht exceid fyve hundreth speiris."—M.

1413, 1414. Omitted in M.

1415, 1416. "3e say thair gaddering in to weiris
May nocht exceid fyve hundreth speiris."—M.

1423, 1424. Omitted in M.

1433, 1434. Omitted in M.

1437, 1438. "Thus suffer thay on na kyn wyss
3ow of sic micht to do suppryss."—M.

1440. "Or that 3e skaill the market all."—M = ?

1441-1444. Omitted in M.

1447-1450. "The king of France thairfor, think me,
 Suld hald thaim in to mair daintie,
 That so few folk, of so lytill micht,
 Aganis 3ow can manteine thair fecht,
 Vpon the dry merchis lyand,
 As it is gart ws vnderstand.
 Quhen this was said the Inglismen
 War schamit of thair wourdis than,
 And hold thame still, and spak no mair
 In till dispyt as thai did ayr."—M.

1451. The date is 1391 in Bower (XV. 3), who devotes only a few lines to the event. He calls the place of the conflict Glenbrereth, "probably Glenrierachan, about eleven miles north of Gasklune, which is a small village or farm about three miles west from Blair-Gowrie." Macpherson.

1471. "Katenes" = Kettins, close to Cupar-Angus.

1562. Clement VII. was doubtless glad to be able to claim kinship with the Scottish clerics and laymen whom church interests brought to his scantily attended court at Avignon. His claim was perfectly legitimate: he was tenth in descent from Malcolm Canmore, and Robert II. was ninth. If Wyntoun could not describe the connection

"Gre by gre all successijwe,"

it can easily be done now with the help of Moréri, 'l'Art de vérifier les dates,' and other similar works, and it is of some interest to trace shortly the ten steps that separate Pope (or Antipope) Clement VII. from his Scottish ancestor.

(1) Mary, daughter of Malcolm III., was married to Eustache III., count of Blois. (2) Mathilda, their daughter, wife of Stephen of Blois, King of England, had a daughter, (3) Mary, married to Matthew of Flanders. They had a daughter, (4) Mathilda, wife of Henry I., Duke of Brabant. (5) Alix, their daughter, was married to William X., Count of Auvergne, and brought the county of Boulogne into that house. William X. was succeeded in direct line by (6) Robert V., (7) Robert VI., (8) Robert VII., who all bore the title of Counts of Auvergne and Boulogne. Robert VII.'s daughter (9) Mathilda (she is called Mahaud de Boulogne in Moréri) became the wife of Aimon III., Count of Geneva, in 1334, and one of her sons was (10) Robert de Genève, or Clement VII.

1565. The day of the birth of James I. is not known; it was shortly before the 1st of August 1394, as on that day his mother, Queen Annabella, writing to Richard II., speaks of her recent confinement. See Pinkerton's 'History of Scotland,' I. 50.

Sir Archibald Dunbar, 'Scottish Kings,' p. 182, gives December as the month of his birth, relying on a statement of Bower, XVI. 14: "Eodem anno (1425) dominus rex natale suum in castro S.

Andreæ, tenuit festivius ipsum usque festum Epiphaniæ continuando." He did not notice that "natale suum" did not mean "his birthday" but "his Christmas."

1574. Sir James Lindsay's wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir William Keith, Marshal of Scotland.

1607. The four extra lines in R should have been inserted in the text, as they are necessary for the meaning. The recurrence of "twa" twice within four lines is the usual cause of the omission. Skene thinks that the two clans were two branches of the clan Chattan: Clan Quhele were Macintoshes and Clan Yha Macphersons. "In the old MS. histories of the Macintoshes we find Gilchrist Mac Jan at the period, while according to the MS. of 1450 the chief of the Macphersons was Shaw, and his great-grandfather's name is Ferchar, from whom he probably took the patronymic of Fercharson." Skene, 'The Highlanders of Scotland,' II. p. 177. See also 'Celtic Scotland' (2nd ed.), III. pp. 309-311.

The description of the conflict is much longer in Bower (XV. 3); the legends were beginning to gather round it.

1625. The great battle of Nicopolis was fought on 28th September 1396, on the same day as the battle of the clans. The chronicle in the Chartulary of Moray corroborates Wyntoun for the date. Bower disagrees, and gives "the Monday before Michaelmas," which was the 25th in that year.

1643. Barante tells the same story, which was doubtless well known, as he gives no reference. "On disait aussi qu'un grand nécromancien sarrasin lui avait conseillé d'épargner Jean de Bourgogne; car ce prince était destiné à faire couler le sang de plus de chrétiens que tous les Turcs ensemble." 'Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne' (1835), II. p. 56. He succeeded to the title of Duke of Burgundy in 1404, and is known in history as Jean Sans Peur.

1655. The year should be read 1398; the meeting took place in the first half of March 1397-98. Bain, IV. No. 502.

1856. *Al furth* R is preferable to *Al suythe*. I can only find the first half of the sentiment attributed to Valerius Maximus: "Nec mihi cuncta complectendi cupido incessit." The words are part of the first sentence of his book 'Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium.' If this is the source, the final quotation mark should be at the end of this line.

1937. The two keepers of Richard II. were Sir Thomas Swynford (not "Swynburne") and Robert Waterton. Wylie, 'History of Eng. under Henry IV.,' vol. I. p. 111.

1969. Sir John of Montgomerie, Lord of Ardrossan, was the son of John Montgomerie of Eaglesham and of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh of Eglinton.

1977. From these cautious words it may be inferred that Wyntoun believed the man to be an impostor. As a friend of the Duke of

Albany, his bias should have been the other way. Besides, he must have heard a great deal about the false Richard, and may even have seen him.

1991. In 1398, at a council held in Paris, the Gallican Church withdrew her obedience from Benedict XIII., successor to Clement VII. at Avignon. Scotland remained faithful to him till 1417.

2083. Thomas Stewart was an illegitimate son of Robert II.

2164. By "these famous persons" who died within "a little over a year and four months" Wyntoun means the Duke of Rothesay, Queen Annabella, Walter Trail, and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, although their deaths are recorded in three separate chapters. The Duke of Rothesay died on March 27, 1402, the Queen "in the harvest" of 1401, Bishop Trail not earlier than March 25, 1401 (Bower, VI. 46, leaves day and month blank), and so "the four months over" take us back to December 1400, which we may accept as the date of the death of Archibald the Grim.

2259. The battle of Homildon (now Humbledon, near Wooler) was fought on Sept. 14, 1402.

2334. Sir Malcolm Drummond [of Strathurd, brother of Queen Annabella, married circa 1388 the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, Isabella, who in 1393 became Countess of Mar. Drummond died in captivity before November 1402. His widowed Countess, whether by force or by persuasion, became the wife of Alexander Stewart, the "Wolf of Badenoch," and died in 1408. 'Scots Peerage,' V. 587; 'Antiquities of Shires of Aberdeen and Banff' (Spalding Club), IV. 164-167.]

2529. Wyntoun has been often found fault with for this date; yet he is quite right, and the fault lies with those who did not understand him. Two points have to be considered here: first, he does not give dates for every event, and often the date at the beginning of a chapter refers only to the events immediately following, and not to the whole chapter; secondly, the years begin on the 25th of March. So what Wyntoun says is that the decision of Robert III., the sending away of his son, and the death of Sir David Fleming, belong to the end of 1405, old style, that is to the beginning of 1406, new style. It is known from other sources that Sir David was killed about the middle of February 1406. Prince James must have remained at the Bass for some time, as he was captured at sea on Palm Sunday, which in 1406 fell on the 4th of April. When we come to the next chapter, we see that Wyntoun heads it with the year 1406, and rightly again, as the first event belongs to the month of April. In fact, the old king died on the very day of his son's capture, April 4, 1406. It is strange that such a remarkable coincidence should not have been alluded to in the 'Chronicle'; the probable explanation is that chapters xxiii. and xxiv. were not written at the same time; the latter chapter indeed is concerned mostly with the panegyric of the Duke

of Albany, written after his death in 1420. See Dunbar's 'Scottish Kings,' pp. 178, 179, 182, 183.

2551. James Douglas, Lord of Balvany, was the second son of Earl Archibald "the Grim."

2589. Truces were often agreed to and more often broken about this period; there seems to be no doubt, however, about the accuracy of Wyntoun's statement. On March 30, 1406, the King of England orders goods captured at sea "about Michaelmas last," and "lately," from Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh merchants, to be restored without delay. Bain, IV. No. 720.

2629. Alexander of Seton was called Lord of Gordon after his marriage with Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of Sir Adam Gordon, in 1408.

2657. The sixteenth year of the reign of Robert III. began on April 19, 1405. See the same phrase above l. 1116.

2762. In his safe-conduct (April 1407) the Earl of Mar was allowed a retinue of forty persons. Bain, IV. No. 730.

2811. Every text has "sonnis," but "son" is the word wanted; "emys sonnis" = cousins must have been a common expression. James I. and the Earl of Mar were first cousins.

2816. Sir Walter de Lindsay was the son of Alexander de Lindsay and Marjory, daughter of John Stewart of Ralston, brother of Robert II.; so James I. and he were "in the third degree" or second cousins. 'Lives of the Lindsays,' I. p. 51.

2879. "Ihone Baire" = John of Bavaria. He was the son of Albert of Bavaria, count of Holland and Hainault. His brother's name was William. John had been promoted to the episcopal seat of Liege in 1389, at the age of seventeen.

2893. His name was Henry de Horn, Lord of Perweiss, and his son's name was Thierry.

2913. When the citizens of Liège rebelled against him, John of Bavaria took refuge in Maestricht, where he was besieged.

2927. = [?]

2977-3002. We cannot say whether the Duke of Burgundy really compared his wife to Semiramis "in his play" (l. 3006), but we have here an extraordinary instance of Wyntoun's playfulness in his old age. The whole of this passage is a repetition of ll. 31-58 in the Second Book!

3021. Duke John of Burgundy (Jean Sans Peur) had married Margaret of Bavaria, and William of Bavaria had married Margaret of Burgundy.

3053. Francisque Michel ('Les Écossais en France,' I. p. 110) quotes a curious passage from an old French poem on the battle of Liège. That extract mentions the names of these four companions of the Earl of Mar, and of the six new knights that were made

before the battle. Such a coincidence leads one to believe that there was some common foundation for the two poems.

3146-3148. This may be a true statement. The Earl of Mar was in front of the vanguard, and according to Monstrelet the bodies of the Lord of Perweiss and his two sons fell near the banner of the Duke of Burgundy. 'Chronique,' vol. i. p. 364 (Soc. Hist. de France).

3176. The reading of R is the best; *fra* in A is a scribal mistake for *sua*.

3198. The battle was fought on Sept. 23, 1408, at Othée, in Hesbaye, or Hasbain, a district near Tongres.

3222. The deposed bishop married Elizabeth de Gorlitz, widow of Antony of Burgundy, Duke of Luxemburg, in 1418.

3226. Lady Duffel was Mary, daughter and heir of Willhelm van Hoern of Duffel in Brabant, and widow of Thierry of Linden. 'Dic. Nat. Biog.' She died in 1408.

GLOSSARY

References in the Glossary are to *Book* and *line* of Cottonian text (or right-hand page), unless another MS. is indicated—*e.g.*, W (Wemyss).

GLOSSARY.

NOTE.—References here by BOOK and LINE.

- A, *a.* one; his *a* fut, one of his feet, v. 5775.
- Abaising, *s.* downheartedness, W vi. 2164.
- Abandonne, *s.* at abandonne, in disorder, ix. 738.
- Abayssit, *pp.* abashed, awed, viii. 5518.
- Abayssynge, *s.* awe, fear, viii. 5521, 5542.
- Abbasyis, *s.* abbacies, vii. 723.
- Abbece, *s.* A B C, alphabet, vi. 232.
- Abbregit, *pt.* abridged, v. 1427, 4779.
- Abhomynabill, *a.* in abomination, v. 636.
- Abidande, *pr. p.* expecting, iv. 2378.
- Abidyng, *s.* waiting, viii. 4807.
- Abortywe, *a.* born prematurely, v. 4081.
- Abreyt, *pp.* frightened, startled, iv. 2104.
- Abrogit, *pt.*, mistake for abbregit, W v. 4803; abrogat (L).
- Absent, *a.*, vii. 1751; absentis, *s. pl.*, vii. 1754.
- Abussin, *prep.* above, W iv. 2593; *a* mistake for abuffin?
- Accesse, *s.* approach, coming, i. 1657, v. 52; access, intercourse, v. 441; fit, v. 5656.
- Accesse, *s.* excess, v. 651.
- Accion, *s.* action (at law), viii. 616.
- Accordance, *s.* agreement, iv. 1148.
- Accordande, *pr. p.* agreeing, i. 30, ii. 895.
- Accorde, *v.* to agree, ii. 901; accordit, *pp.*, iv. 1781; *pt.*, ii. 1286.
- Accorde, *pp.* accorded, ii. 1459 (*rime-word*).
- Accusatouris, *s.* accusers, vi. 1358.
- Accusit, *pt.* ascribed, laid (the blame), W vii. 3023.
- Ackorne, *s.* acorn, i. 435.
- Acqwyntans, *s.* acquaintance, vii. 2520.
- Acton, *s.* quilted jacket, viii. 4877.
- Adamantis, *s.* diamonds, i. 823.
- Aday, *adv.* on a day, viii. 3825.
- Addrest, *pp.* appointed, vi. 118.
- Adettit, *pp.* indebted, W iv. 1192.
- Adresly, *adv.* skilfully, ix. 3070; adressely, iv. 218.
- Aduersaris, *s.* foes, enemies, iv. 1672; adverseris, viii. 6467.
- Aduert, *v.* to adhere, W viii. 4104.
- Advertit, *pt.* associated, v. 4752 (L).
- Adwent, *s.* advent, v. 562.
- Afauld, *a.* honest, just, vii. 2552 (Au).
- Afferis, *v.* befits, viii. 250; afferit, *pt.* was proper, vi. 2083; afferyt, *pt.* belonged, iv. 2212, viii. 1706.
- Afferme, *v.* to state, to assert, ii. Prol. 20.
- Affrayid, *pt.* frightened, iii. 420; affrayt, vi. 318 (L).
- Affynete, *s.* similarity, connection, vii. 3364.
- Aformentis, *prep.* against, vii. 2452.
- Agane, agan, *adv.* again, i. 705, 854.
- Agane, agayn, *prep.* against, i. 806, 1545.
- Agil, *a.* agile, nimble, iii. 23, ix. 1175.
- Agrewit, *pp.* aggrieved, oppressed, wronged, ii. 667, viii. 2370; agreiffit, W vii. 2331; aggrewide, viii. 2120.
- Aik, *s.* oak, i. 343; ak, viii. 4699.
- Akeris, *s.* acres, iv. 492.
- Akylenthe, *s.*, vii. 548, 575, 578.
- Al anerly, *adv.* only, alone, ii. 341.
- Al but, *prep.* without, iii. 140.
- Al samyn, *adv.* together, viii. 5773.
- Al thir best, *adv.* best of all, viii. 6094.
- Albe, *s.* alb, i. 1062.

- Albeid, *conj.* although, W viii. 1940.
 Albestone, *s.* asbestos, i. 1274.
 Alegeance, *s.* allegiance, vii. 1568.
 Alleggit, *pt.* relieved, ix. 1871.
 Alhail, *adv.* wholly, ii. 208.
 Alhalely, *adv.* all together, W iii. 587.
 Alhalowmes, *s.* All Saints' day, viii. 2187.
 Alienaris, *s.* aliens, v. 3248 (E²).
 Alkynd, every kind, i. 480.
 Alkyne, alkyn, *a.* every, i. 479, 955.
 Allane, *a. adv.* i. 195, 354; allayn, i. 1478, v. 1510.
 Allanerly, *adv.* solely, i. 442.
 Allegeance, *s.* allegiance, viii. 1640.
 Allegis, *v.* to relieve, W ii. 1294.
 Alleggit, *pt.* alleged, put forth, vii. 2229.
 Alleris, *a.* of all, i. 23, W viii. 158.
 Allow, *s.* grant, admission, W viii. 244.
 Almeral, *s.* admiral, iv. 911; almerale, vii. 2585; almeralle, vi. 301.
 Alowide, *pp.* praised, v. 2202.
 Alowit, *pp.* allowed, granted, viii. 3158, 3168.
 Als, *adv.* also, i. 891; as, i. 799.
 Alsson, *adv.* immediately, vii. 329.
 Alsua, *adv.* also, i. 701, 739; so Prol. 25; thus, W vii. 973.
 Aluterly, *adv.* entirely, W vi. 37.
 Al way, *adv.* always, i. 574.
 Alya, *s.* ally, ii. 1040 (in allya W, of allya E², by alliance).
 Alye, *s.* ally, i. 1642 (*rhymes with be*).
 Alyenys, *s.* aliens, ii. 540, 670.
 Alyeyne, *s.* stranger, viii. 6973.
 Alyis, *v.* there lies, i. 1170.
 Amange, *prep.* among, i. 1468.
 Amast, *a.* extreme, topmost, iii. 8.
Probably a mistake for omast.
 Ambassyatouris, *s.* ambassadors, ix. 1077.
 Ameisse, *v.* to appease, to assuage, to calm down, v. 2060; ameyssse, v. 469; amesse, viii. 3015, 4032; amesit, *pt.*, v. 2450; amesyt, *pp.*, vii. 1917.
 Amerwaill, *s.* admiral, W iv. 877.
 Amesing, *s.* resting from the fight, W iv. 738.
 Amowe, *v.* to stir, to wage, viii. 4972.
 Amowit, *pp.* moved, angry, vii. 1832, viii. 3016.
 Amyabil, *a.* friendly, viii. 2344.
 An, *conj.* and, ix. 712, W iv. 1690.
 Anamalyt, *pp.* enamelled, viii. 1483.
 Anarmyde, *pp.* armed, iv. 2167.
 Anayme, *v.* to muster, to call by name, viii. 6154.
 Ancystry, *s.* ancestry, iii. 727.
 And, *conj.* if, ix. 990.
 Andd, *conj.* and, iv. 2429.
 Anelyt, *pt.* aspired, iii. 3384; anelyd, viii. 5873 (R); anelyde (anhelit E² Au), v. 3140.
 Anentis, *prep.* opposite, against, i. 1398, iv. 1764.
 Ane one, *adv.* anon, ii. 1091.
 Anerdance, *s.* adherents, followers, iii. 985.
 Anerly, *adv.* solely, W vii. 1793.
 Anfenner, *s.* antiphoner, v. 3565.
 Angelle, *s.* angel, i. 913.
 Angerit, *pp.* annoyed, W vii. 2765.
 Angrely, *adv.* sorely, vi. 490.
 Angryit, *pt.* angered, W ii. 391.
 Annwyseyr, *a.* anniversary, v. 3078.
 A nopir, *a. pr.* another, i. 1485, iii. 338, 356.
 Anowmeryt, *pp.* numbered, vi. 185.
 Anowrnyt, *pp.* adored, v. 1389.
 Anowrnyt, *pp.* decorated, v. 718.
 Anoyit, *pt.* annoyed, ii. 554; *pp.* ii. 398.
 Anoyntit, *pp.* viii. 280; anoynttit, viii. 3135.
 Anoynttynge, *s.* unction, v. 4018.
 Ansery, *s.* ancestry, viii. 130 (E²).
 Anssuerede, *pp.* answered, ii. 486.
 Ansswer, *s.*, ii. 687.
 Antamys, *s.* anthems, v. 3566.
 Antecedens, *s.* antecedent, viii. 323.
 Antiquite, *s.* antiquity, i. 1381; antiquiteis, *pl.*, i. Prol. 6.
 Anynge, *s.* agreement, vi. 1712; reconciliation, v. 476, 488.
 Anys, *adv.* once, i. 702, 704, ii. 117.
 Anyt, *pt.* promised, agreed, arranged, iii. 524.
 Apayit, *pp.* repaid, viii. 2570.
 Apayn of, *adv.* under penalty of, viii. 2152.
 Apentyssse, *s.* (a) shed, iv. 2674. Fr. *appentis*.
 Apert, *a.* open, bold, viii. 4967, 5214. See Pert.
 Apon, *prep.* upon, i. 784, 1099.
 Aport, *s.* bearing, v. 4064 (R).
 Apostita, *s.* apostate, vi. 975.
 Apoyntment, *s.* a pointing out, indication, viii. Prol. 12.
 Apparell, *s.* baggage, ii. 1386.
 Apper, *v.* to appear, i. 638; apperis, 3 *pl.*, ii. 500.

- Appert, *s.* outward appearance, ii. 77.
 Appert, *a.* open, evident, ii. 594.
 Appertly, *adv.* openly, ii. 1534.
 Appetyte, *s.* desire, ii. 1485, viii. Prol. 3.
 Apposicionnys, *s.* objections, answers, viii. 1601.
 Appostil, *s.* apostle, v. 5488.
 Approwit, *pp.* accepted, viii. 421.
 Appruff, *v.* to approve, v. 1500; *appruffit*, *pp.* W viii. 325.
 Aqwhille, *adv.* for some time, i. 1180; *aqwhille*, iii. 979.
 Aqwyt, *pt.* acquitted, viii. 1235.
 Aras, *v.* to pull out, viii. 5237.
 Aray, *s.* clothing, i. 103.
 Arayande, *pr. p.* arraying, ii. 46.
 Arbitrary, *s.* decision, viii. 161.
 Arbuste, *s.* shrub, i. 110.
 Archar, *s.* archer, ii. 37.
 Archedeyne, *s.* archdeacon, viii. 2925, ix. 2082.
 Archidiacre, *s.* archdeacon, viii. 2925 (L).
 Archwesque, *s.* archbishop, vii. 731 (L).
 Are, *adv.* previously, i. 1504, ii. 642.
 Are, *s.* hare, vi. 251.
 Aresonnyt, *pt.* questioned, iii. 260.
 Arest, *s.* rest, viii. 3436; a rest (R), arrest (E).
 Arestyt, *pp.* arrested, v. 962; *arestyd*, rested, viii. 3436 (Au).
 Argh, *a.* afraid, W ii. 1447.
 Arghnes, *s.* timidity, W viii. 1613.
 Argu, *v.* to oppose, to dispute, iv. 170; *argw*, to discuss, to doubt, v. 4286; *arguyt*, *pp.* found fault with, remonstrated with, ii. 1146, v. 3909; *arguyt*, *pt.* accused, blamed, ii. 1126, vii. 891.
 Argument, *s.* discussion, dispute, i. 632; *argwment*, viii. 2034.
 Aris, *s.* heirs, iv. 1794.
 Aris, *s.* oars, ii. 704.
 Arly, *adv.* early, viii. 1797.
 Arme, *v.* to arm, iv. 1218; *armyt*, *pp.* i. 799, 988.
 Armynge, *s.* armour, viii. 5592; *armyne*, W ii. 51.
 Armys, *s.* arms (of the body), i. 814.
 Artis, *v.* urges, presses, W iv. 797.
 Artis, *s.* parts, directions, ii. 1362.
 Artikyllis, *s.* articles, i. 1557; *articulis*, ii. 530.
 Artyt, *pp.* hard pressed, iv. 1740.
 Arowe, *s.* arrow, i. 198; *arow*, ii. 40.
 Arywit, *pt.* arrived, landed, ii. 1600.
 As now, now, ii. 142; as that day, on that day, iv. 660.
 As, *s.* ass, i. 743, iv. 2684.
 As, *s.* ask, newt, iv. 1974.
 Aschamyt, *pp.*, ii. 1306.
 Aschapit, *pt.* escaped, iii. 336.
 Asiamendis, *s.* easements, W vii. 724.
 Ask, *s.* newt, i. 1389, W iv. 1980.
 Askyn, *s.* request, iv. 2278; *askynge*, vi. 2269.
 Asport, *s.* conduct, bearing, v. 4064 (A).
 Assawte, *s.* assault, ii. 35.
 Assayle, *v.* to attack, ii. 82; *assail-zeande*, *pr. p.*, ii. 34.
 Assay, *s.* attempt, i. Prol. 79.
 Assay, *v.* to attempt, to try, i. 1460, ii. 1087, to consult, v. 4293; *assayis*, *pres. 2 sing.* triest, v. 3750; *assayit*, *pp.* engaged, iii. 810, tasted, iv. 465; *assayid*, *pt.* tried, iii. 419.
 Asseige, *s.* siege, iii. 1; *asseigis*, *sing.* ii. 33, viii. 1781 (a sege R, assege E, assegis Au, a segis W).
 Asseigis, *v.* to besiege, ii. 1162.
 Assegeande, *pr. p.* besieging, ii. 1560.
 Assegit, *pt.* besieged, viii. 2008.
 Assemblande, *s.* appearance, air, v. 1522.
 Assemblyn, *s.* meeting, viii. 4893.
 Assemyt, *pt.* befitted, beseeemed, W ix. 513.
 Assent, *s.*, iii. 1295.
 Assentit, *pp.* consenting, v. 475.
 Asses, *s.* siege? viii. 4993 (L).
 Asseueryt, *pp.* assured, granted, vii. 3075; *asseueryt*, secured, made safe, viii. 5171.
 Assignyt, *pp.* assigned, v. 2436.
 Assise, *s.* meeting, viii. 879.
 Assoilzeide, *pp.* absolved, viii. 3215; *assoilzeid*, *pt.*, vii. 2645 (*absolzeit*, W).
 Assoilzeide, *pt.* solved, iii. 228.
 Assouerit, *pp.* assured, granted, vii. 3075 (EAAuE²); assured, made safe, viii. 5171, 5173 (EAuE²), W viii. 4971, 4973.
 Assuffryd, *pp.* assured, granted, vii. 3175 (R).
 Assuryd, *pp.* secured, made safe, viii. 5171, 5173 (R).
 Assyis, *s.* assize, trial, ix. 2288, 2289, 2291.
 Assythe, *v.* to satisfy, to compensate, ii. 1296; *assyth*, W viii. 622; *assythit*, *pp.*, vii. 1915; *pt.*, vii. 3008; *assith*, *pp.*, W vii. 1929.
 Assythe, *s.* compensation, viii. 2811.

- Astmalyt, *for* astonayit, ix. 20 (R).
 Astring. *See* Auster.
 Astronomy, *s.*, i. 881, ii. 160, 602.
 Asure, *s.* azure, iv. 227.
 Asyamentis, *s.* casements, vii. 2328.
 At, *pr.* that, i. 93, 117.
 At, *conj.* that, i. 1110, 1577.
 Athe, *s.* oath, ii. 1122.
 Athere, *a.* either, W v. 3567; athire, W viii. 1873.
 Atis, *s.* oats, i. 1340; atys, vii. 3613.
 Attentik, *a.* authentic, true, ii. 1463, vii. 2176.
 Attittillit, *pp.* named, v. 4890 (E).
 Attour, attoure, *adv.* over, above, i. 832, 946, 1388.
 Attyr cope, *s.* spider, viii. 1778.
 At vndyr, *adv.* inferior, beaten, v. 4503.
 Atysment, *s.* enticement, W viii. 3106.
 Aucht, *pt.* owned, ii. 462, 918, iii. 553, v. 509; was due, iv. 2608; owed, viii. 1639; *pp.* owed, due, viii. 389.
 Aucht, *a.* eight, i. 694, 710.
 Auchtand, *a.* eighth, i. 25.
 Auchteyn, *a.* eighteen, i. 1060, viii. 1757.
 Auctorite, *s.* authority, ii. 1463.
 Auctouris, *s.* authors, ii. 595.
 Audiens, *s.* hearing, viii. 3549.
 Afully, *adv.* solemnly, v. 4529.
 Auld, aulde, *a.* old, i. 219, 1244, 1647.
 Auster, *a.* stern, austere, v. 276 (austern E, astring W), v. 2681 (austery E, austerne W).
 Autentik, *a.* authentic, viii. 2400, W iii. 1112.
 Autorite, *s.*, i. 66.
 Avangard, *s.* vanguard, vi. 2261 (L).
 Avenand, *a.* apt, iv. 2015.
 Aw, *v.* to owe, v. 3941.
 Aw, *s.* fear, v. 552.
 Awaileide, *pt.* availed, v. 2686.
 Awalande, *pr. p.* setting, ii. 1174; descending, ix. 854.
 Awansit, *pp.* promoted, raised, vi. 58.
 Awant, *s.* want, failure, viii. 5517.
 Awantage, *s.* advantage, ii. 203; help, viii. 5377; awantagis, ii. 662, vii. 1770; a wantage, iv. 1566.
 A ward, *s.* award, W viii. 458.
 Awawnsit, *pt.* advanced, promoted, viii. 1870.
 Awawarde, *adv.* away, viii. 3605 (awaywartis W).
 Awayementis, *s.* declarations, viii. 875.
 Awblasteris, *s.* crossbows, viii. 4227.
 Awere. *See* Weire.
 Awesy, *a.* wise, cautious, ii. 95. *See* Awise.
 Awfulle, *a.* imposing, iv. 1892.
 Awise, *a.* prudent, iv. 310, *rimes with* he. Fr. *avisé*.
 Awise [*s.* *See* Awisement], iv. 793.
 Awisement, *s.* counsel, deliberation, iv. 2612; awissment, v. 3124.
 Awisit, *pp.* advised, viii. 2842.
 Awisse, *a.* knowing, wise, viii. 5978. *See* Awise.
 Awmeral, *s.* admiral, iv. 1735; awmerall, W iv. 923.
 Awmouris, *s.* love tokens, viii. 4882.
 Awncistry, *s.* ancestry, viii. 130.
 Awowe, *s.* advocate, protectress, i. 1566, v. 2949.
 Awowit, *pt.* vowed, iii. 116.
 Awtouris, *s.* authors, i. 1489.
 Awyn, *a.* own, i. 1602.
 Awysment, *s.* reflection, vii. 1757.
 Aye, ay, *adv.* always, i. Prol. 82, i. 700, 780.
 Aynde, *s.* breath, iv. 740; aynd, viii. 6698.
 Ayr, ayre, *s.* air, i. 727, 1086, 1338.
 Ayr, *s.* appearance, i. 1385, vii. 51.
 Ayr, *s.* heir, ii. 123; ayris, *pl.*, ii. 127, 579, iii. 817.
 Ayr, *v.* to inherit, viii. 113.
 Ayrls, *a.* without heirs, vii. 132.
 Bad, *pt.* ordered, i. 1507, ii. 562.
 Bad, *pt.* remained, iii. 55; bade, ii. 1607.
 Bade, *s.* delay, iv. 1567; bad, waiting, v. 3772 (R).
 Baggit, *pp.* filled (with foal), i. 1042.
 Bail fyre, *s.* bale fire, iii. 776.
 Baill, *s.* woe, misery, i. 624; baile, i. 624.
 Bailzeis, *s.* bailies, viii. 2465.
 Bair, *a.* bare, i. 450.
 Bak, *s.* back, i. 698; on bak, back, viii. 4945; on bak ga, to flee, viii. 2512; ta the bak, to flee, W viii. 2474.
 Bakbytynge, *pp.* slandered, attacked, vii. Prol. 10.
 Bakkatis, *s.* buckets, troughs, W v. 2957, v. 2906 (R). Fr. *baquet*.
 Bakwart, *adv.* backwards, i. 1109.
 Band, bande, *s.* bond, ii. 1144, v. 5046, vii. 1777.
 Bande, *pt.* bound, tied, iii. 394, iv. 2687.

- Bane, *s.* bone, i. 90, 749; *banys*, *pl.*, ii. 488.
 Baneouris, *s.* banner-bearers, viii. 2613.
 Bankat, *s.* banquet, ix. 2852.
 Bankis, *s.* banks, i. 368, 1028.
 Bannaowre, *s.* banner-bearer, ix. 3097, 3191; *bannere*, ix. 3055.
 Banyssynge, *s.* banishment, iv. 134.
 Banyst, *pp.* banished, ii. 975; *pl.*, ii. 670.
 Bapteme, *s.* baptism, i. Prol. 85, W v. 2158.
 Baptisyne, *s.* baptism, v. 2118.
 Bar, bare, *pt.* bore, i. 364, 1508, 1522, 1527.
 Barand, *a.* bearing, fertile, W ii. 316.
 Barbayr, *s.* barber, iii. 435.
 Bare, *s.* boar, i. 757.
 Bare hewide, *a.* bareheaded, v. 3976.
 Barel ferreis, *barel ferraris* (R), barrels with iron hoops, viii. 5695.
See note, p. 121.
 Barfut, *a.* barefoot, v. 2898.
 Bargane, *bargan*, *s.* quarrel, fight, i. 702, ii. 17, viii. 5128.
 Barganyt, *pt.* attacked, ix. 381.
 Barly, *adv.* simply, wholly, vii. 725.
 Barne, *a.* [saddleless], viii. 3727.
 Barnage, *s.* baronage, nobles, ii. 536.
 Barne, *s.* child, ii. 1032; *barnis*, *barnys*, i. 1527, ii. 558; *barnnys*, i. 1511.
 Barne, *s.* baronage, v. 3164, *rimes with* he.
 Barnlik, *adv.* childishly, ix. 1905.
 Barne tyme, *s.* family, progeny, vii. 409.
 Barneheide, *s.* childhood, v. 144.
 Barnnys, *s.* barons, vii. 1800.
 Barowny, *s.* barony, vii. 3547.
 Barras, *s.* outwork, defence, W viii. 4535, 4739 (R); *barref*, W viii. 3383; *barres*, ix. 682; *barrys*, viii. 4739 (Au).
 Barreris, *s.* barriers, outwork, viii. 4739, ix. 808, ix. 682 (R).
 Barres, *s.* *sing.* lists, viii. 6676; *barras* W.
 Barrit, *pp.* barred, iii. 330.
 Barslet, *s.* hound, vi. 1610 (Au).
 Basnet, *s.* bacinet, ii. 50; *bassynatis*, *pl.*, viii. 2527.
 Batel, *s.* battle, i. 1501; *bataill*, i. 666; *bataileze*, ii. 1506.
 Batellit, *pt.* embattled, ii. 110.
 Batheris, *a.* of both, W v. 1992.
 Battaile, *s.* battle array, ii. 81.
 Battin, *pp.* bitten, attacked, W vii. Prol. 10.
 Batwart, *s.* boatman, ferryman, vi. 1651, 1990.
 Baudissand, *pr. p.* exciting, exerting, ii. 1276 (E²). Fr. *baudir*.
 Baulde, *v.* to make brighter, to add to (fires), iv. 459.
 Bawdkynmys, *s.* bawdkin hangings, canopies? ix. 602.
 Bawmyt, *pt.* embalmed, viii. 1480.
 Bayerde, *s.* bay horse, iv. 729.
 Bayis, *v.* barks, v. 3749.
 Bayssit, *pp.* abashed, viii. 5786.
 Baythyng, *s.* bathings, v. 2705.
 Be, *prep.* by, i. 829, 1294.
 Be, *prep.* except, viii. 7030.
 Becoyne, *pt.* became, ii. 324.
 Becummerit, *pt.* overwhelmed, ix. 2262 (E²).
 Beddit, *pp.* cohabited, v. 548.
 Bede, *s.* bed; *bak* and *bede*, i. 698.
See note, p. 7.
 Bedis, *s.* prayers, v. 3772, *wrong* for *byding*.
 Bedeyn, *adv.* in succession, v. 3485; quickly, at once, ix. 394; *bedenys*, also, vi. 245 (E²).
 Be eft, *prep.* after, v. 94.
 Befere, *adv.* by far, i. 1614; *befer*, ii. 88; *befar*, v. 2772.
 Befit, *pt.* struck, v. 1956.
 Beforne, *adv.* before, i. 802.
 Begouth, *pt.* began, i. 1713, iii. 22; *begouythe*, i. 1681, ii. 498.
 Begynnys, *s.* beginnings, W v. Prol. 6.
 Behaldynge, *s.* watching, ix. 870.
 Behuffit, *pt.* behoved, had to, ii. 294, 390, 1168.
 Beik, *s.* beak, i. 419.
 Beillit, *pt.* seethed, W i. 395.
 Beire, *v.* to bear children, W ii. 566 (*corrupt?*).
 Beire, *s.* lament, W v. 2000.
 Beis, *v. imper.* be ye, ii. 1346; *subj.* 2 *pl.*, viii. 901.
 Belche, *belghe*, *s.* belly, iii. 47.
 Beleft, *pt.* remained, v. 3166, W v. 2933.
 Belid, *pt.* boiled, seethed, i. 401; *belyt*, viii. 1775.
 Belif, *adv.* quickly, i. 419; *belywe*, ii. 1160, iii. 530.
 Belist, *pp.* adorned, iv. 1979.
 Belisyng, *s.* ornament, ii. 432.
 Beltit, *belyt*, *pp.* encircled, belted, i. 1046, 1115, vii. 2000; *beltande*, *pr. p.*, i. 1252.
 Bende, *s.* bending, v. 159.

- Benefest, *pp.* beneficed, ix. 2905.
 Benevolence, *s.* goodwill, iii. 918;
 benewolence, vii. 1343.
 Benygnyte, *s.* kindness, v. 895, 1523,
 viii. 778.
 Benyson, *s.* blessing, ii. 214.
 Berare, *s.* bearer, vi. 1283, viii. 1650;
 berere, vi. 292.
 Berde, *pt.* roared, v. 1902 (R).
 Bere, *v.* to bear, i. 733; *ber*, ii. 430;
 beir, Prol. 62.
 Bere, *s.* bear, vi. 1156.
 Bere, *s.* barley, i. 1340, vii. 3615.
 Bergh, *s.* birth, child, W v. 4843.
 Beris, *v.* roars, bellows, v. 2935;
 berit, *pt.* v. 1945.
 Berys bynde [to bind bears?], ix. 989.
 Berkande, *pr. p.* barking, i. 700;
 berkand, v. 3751.
 Bernandly, *adv.* burningly, hotly, W
 v. 1776.
 Berthe, *s.* anger, fury, spite, v. 3806,
 4508, vii. 2864. *Var.* brethe,
 breith, breth, bretht.
 Bertisse, *s.* bratice, wooden defence,
 viii. 3593 (brettys R W).
 Berynge, *s.* birth, iii. 507.
 Bese, *a.* busy, iii. Prol. 14.
 Besek, *v.* to beseech, i. Prol. 126; *be-*
 sought, *pt.* ii. 782.
 Besely, *adv.* busily, ii. 344.
 Beseyn = be seen, viii. 3930.
 Best, beste, *s.* beast, i. 393, 692.
 Bestly, *adv.* like a beast, vi. 1167
 (bestialy W).
 Bestuffit, *pp.* filled, W viii. 3917.
 Besynes, *s.* business, i. Prol. 52, i. 160.
 Bet, *v.* to beat, i. 252.
 Betakyn, *v.* to betoken, ii. 490; *be-*
 takynny, 3 *sing.* i. 1010.
 Betaulde, *pp.* related, narrated, ii.
 758.
 Beteche, *v.* to betake, to commit,
 viii. 3785.
 Betuix, *prep.* jointly by, W vii. 2871.
 Beute, *s.* beauty, v. 4653.
 Bewis, *s.* boughs, i. 1351.
 Beylde, *s.* comfort, protection, i.
 1335, v. 1121.
 Beyr, *s.* cry, sound, i. 752, 781.
 Beyre, *s.* bier; brought on beyre, v.
 2640.
 Beys, *s.* bees, iii. 145.
 Bidand, *pr. p.* staying, waiting, i.
 1668, iii. 749.
 Biddyn, *s.* precept, command, iii.
 Prol. 3, v. 2694; *biddin*, i. Prol.
 63; *biddyng*, ii. 748, 1084, 1347.
 Biddyn, *pp.* remained, stood, iv. 468.
 Biddyng, *s.* delay, iii. 63.
 Bide, *v.* to bid, v. 2591.
 Bidyng, *s.* tarrying, viii. 1935.
 Big, *v.* to construct, to found, iv.
 973; *biggande*, iv. 1568; *biggit*,
 ii. 676, 1509, vii. 2170.
 Bigamy, *s.*, i. 193.
 Bigane, *pp.* past, iv. 2419.
 Biggyn, *s.* building, i. 1479, 1617, iv.
 1418; *biggynny*, *pl.* iv. 1416;
 biggyng, v. 717, 2889.
 Bil, *s.* bill, letter, iv. 869.
 Bilis, *s.* boils, tumours, ii. 575.
 Billit, *pp.* written, iv. 222.
 Birgh, *s.* birth, W vii. 986.
 Bisyn, *a.* monstrous, ii. 1302, vi.
 1151.
 Blaberande, *pr. p.* blabbering, i.
 1468.
 Blaksum, *a.* loathsome, ii. 1012 (E²).
 Blase, *s.* blast, breath, W vi. 2024.
 Blason, *v.* to display, iii. 725.
 Blassone, *v.* shield, viii. 4875.
 Bledderis, *s.* bladders, ii. 575.
 Blenk, *v.* to blink, v. 2238; *blenkit*,
 pt. v. 5789.
 Blerit, *pt.* bleared, deceived, ii. 1356.
 Blessis, *s.* blazes, beams, v. 3107,
 4861.
 Blethe, *a.* merry, happy, vii. 2522
 (bliht W).
 Bletyt, *pt.* bleated, v. 5230.
 Bleyss, *s.* blaze, vii. 223; *bleyssis*,
 brands, iii. 243.
 Blist, *s.* blast, vi. 1403.
 Blith, *a.* gentle, i. 124; *blithtar*,
 more glad, v. 2210.
 Blithtly, *adv.* joyfully, v. 2396.
 Blithtnes, *s.* joy, v. 2382.
 Globe, *s.* clot, v. 621.
 Blok, *v.* to block, to impede, vii.
 Prol. 21.
 Bludlik, *a.* bloody in colour, vii.
 784.
 Blyn, *v.* to cease, to stop, ii. 905, vi.
 2327.
 Blyhtles, *a.* joyless, v. 5074.
 Bodely, *adv.* in the body, i. 313; in
 person, v. 3766, 3775, vii. 3004.
 Bodin, *pp.* prepared, armed, viii.
 2630; *bodyn*, enabled, vii. 2699.
 Boggis, *s.* bogs, i. 401.
 Bok, *s.* throwing up, W v. 625.
 Bol, *s.* boll, measure, ii. 441, vii.
 3612; *bolli*, *pl.*, iv. 1555.
 Bollyn, *v.* to swell, to puff up, iv.
 997; *bolnande*, *pr. p.*, iv. 436;
 bolnyt, *pp.*, iii. 285, vii. 2576; *pl.*,
 ii. 575.

- Bolne, *pp.*, W iv. 440.
 Bone, *s.* boon, favour, W viii. 997.
 Bonde, *s.* bondsman, iv. 1601.
 Borch, *borche*, *s.* pledge, v. 1132, viii. 2847, 2850.
 Bordaile, *s.* brothel, iii. 1019; *bor-dale*, v. 538.
 Bordowris, *s.* borders, viii. 1685.
 Borowit, *pt.* took on pledge, vii. 2801.
 Boste, *s.* boasting, iii. 285.
 Bot, *adv.* only, i. Prol. 19; but, *conj.* i. 793; bot gif, unless, ii. 202.
 Boulst, *s.* bolt, i. 198.
 Bourde, *v.* to play, ii. 1277.
 Bourde, *s.* play, ii. 1280; jest, v. 2236.
 Bourdour, *s.* jester, iii. 453.
 Bourdyn, *s.* jesting, fun, iii. 453 (A).
 Bow, *s.* arch, W viii. 2889.
 Bow, *v.* to submit, ii. 1364, viii. 1698; *bowis*, 3 *pl.* bend, i. 1351; *swerve*, turn away, W v. 1180; *bowit*, *pt.* bowed, obeyed, i. 86.
 Bowalis, *s.* entrails, v. 588.
 Bowcht, *s.* sheep pen, i. 220.
 Bowdraucht, *s.* distance a bow will carry, viii. 3435.
 Bowne, *a.* ready, obedient, ii. 748, iv. 1561, viii. 3557.
 Bownyt, *pt.* made ready, W ii. 346.
 Bownyt, *pp.* elated, ix. 3172.
 Bowrgis, *s.* enclosure, circus, W iv. 77.
 Bowsum, *a.* obedient, ii. 986.
 Bowsumnes, *s.* obedience, i. Prol. 67.
 Bowtyd, *pt.* bolted, rushed, ix. 876.
 Boye, *s.* lad, attendant, iii. 457.
 Boyis, *s.* fetters, iv. 134.
 Boyr, *pp.* born, iv. 2407.
 Boytouris, *s.* bitterns, i. 1622.
 Bra, *s.* steep bank, hillside, iii. 1009, iv. 237.
 Brachet, *s.* hound, W vi. 1642.
 Bradis, *v.* 2 *sing.* (thou resemblest), W vi. 2221. *See* N. E. D. Braid, *v.* 10.
 Brage, *s.* bragging, iii. 285.
 Braid, *s.* start, iii. 389.
 Braide, *s.* passion, rage, v. 2124.
 Braide, *a.* broad, ii. 40.
 Brandesande, *pr. p.* displaying, ii. 1276.
 Brandreth, *s.* iron tripod, trivet, viii. 6997.
 Branewod, *a.* mad, i. 207.
 Brankand, *pr. p.* prancing, raving, v. 2124.
 Braseris, *s.* bracers, ix. 845.
 Brasit, *pt.* embraced, i. 358.
 Braucht, *pt.* brought, v. 5074.
 Brayde, *s.* jerk, v. 159.
 Brayne, *adv.* furiously, W iv. 1906.
 Brayne woyde, *a.* mad, frenzied, viii. 2061, 2662.
 Bred, *s.* bird, i. 958.
 Breid, *s.* bread, i. 161.
 Breid, *s.* breadth, iii. 946.
 Breiffit, *pp.* written, recorded, W iv. 222, 2561.
 Breik, *brek*, *v.* to break, i. 718, 824; *brek* on end, come out, i. 136.
 Breik, *s.* breech, i. 452.
 Breit, *pt.* terrified, iv. 1939, vi. 318.
 Breith, *s.* anger, spite, i. Prol. 49; *brethe*, viii. 1775.
 Brekaris, *s.* breakers, viii. 2490.
 Breslet, *s.* hunting dog, vi. 1610.
 Breþir, *s.* brothers, ii. 321, 379.
 Bretyss. *See* Bertisse.
 Bretowne, *s.* Briton, v. 3007; Bretoner, W v. 439.
 Brew, *v.* to cause, v. 1907.
 Brewis, *s.* mandates, ix. Prol. 39.
 Breyd, *pp.* frightened, iv. 2104 (R).
 Breyff, *s.* letter, viii. 1593.
 Bridalle, *s.* wedding, iii. 165; *bry-dale*, iii. 154.
 Brist, *v.* to burst, to break, i. 1348, W ix. 1062; *bristyt*, *pt.*, iv. 2108, v. 2988, vii. 2012; *brissit*, W iii. 398.
 Brod, *s.* prick, prod, vi. 1405; *broddis*, *pl.*, i. 1616.
 Brokyn letteris, irregular, scattered? iv. 221.
 Browdyn, *pp.* embroidered, vii. 2002.
 Bruk, *s.* tumour, boil, ii. 576.
 Bruke, *v.* to enjoy, to hold, W viii. 196.
 Brukit, *a.* speckled, "brocked," i. 217.
 Brukil, *a.* frail, v. 5308.
 Bruscht, *pt.* burst open, rushed, viii. 2080, 2103, 6718, W iii. 339, iv. 1940, 2114.
 Brusse, *s.* crash, iv. 2383.
 Brybry, *s.* part, parcel, W viii. 5644.
 Brym, *a.* raging, viii. 1775.
 Bryn, *v.* to burn, ii. 1098; *brynt*, *pt.*, i. 919.
 Bryssit, *pt.* bruised, v. 1956.
 Bryst, *v.* to burst, iii. 308.
 Bukkis, *s.* of a buck, i. 824.
 Buklare, *s.* shield, viii. 2060.
 Bukys, *s.* ['bucks' = "milites." *See* note, p. 73], vii. 803.
 Bulzeande, *pr. p.* boiling, v. 4647.
 Bund, *pp.* bound, tied up? W v. 3805.

- Bundyn, *pp.* bound, ii. 1122, iv. 2046; burde, s. board, vii. 2590.
 Bunding, *pp.* bound, W iii. 361, iv. 1910, 2052, vii. 2563.
 Burdin, *a.* wooden, W viii. 2063.
 Burding, s. burden, charge, W vii. 1476.
 Burdis, s. boards, table, iii. 13.
 Burdone, s. staff, viii. 5698.
 Bure, *pt.* bore, iv. 1158.
 Burgesse, s. burgesses, v. 241; burgesh, viii. 2154.
 Burionand, *pr. p.* blossoming, ix. 2748.
 Buriownynge, s. budding, i. 1206.
 Burowis, s. burghs, viii. 2135.
 Busche, s. bushel, W ii. 444.
 Buschement, s. ambush, iii. 326, vii. 2529, viii. 3192.
 Busk, s. bush, i. 205, vi. 2212.
 Buskande, *pr. p.* preparing, hastening, v. 5694.
 Buskyt, *pt.* made ready, ii. 413, 1658.
 But, *prep.* without, ii. 76, v. 5071.
 But, *adv.* outside, v. 3445, 3879, 3882, 5070.
 But, s. boot, v. 1111, ix. 1507.
 Bute, s. good, profit, i. 624.
 Buthis, s. booths, iv. 2679, ix. 187.
 Buton, s. button, the smallest thing, vi. 2142.
 Buyl, s. bull, ii. 1269, 1299.
 By, *v.* to buy, ii. 383.
 By, *prep.* in addition to, viii. 3293.
 Byaris, s. buyers, v. 854.
 Byd, *v.* to remain, to wait, i. 455.
 Byddyn, *pp.* commanded, ii. 568.
 Bydrawis, *v.* sets aside, annuls, viii. 435, 657.
 Byk, s. hive, iii. 207.
 Bykkerynge, s. fighting, viii. 5497.
 Bykkyr, *v.* to skirmish, viii. 4869.
 Byrthe, s. crop, i. 1351; child, i. 1508.
 Byrtht, s. child, iv. 2689; birth, v. 2659.
 Ca, *v.* to call, to start (speaking), W ii. 500.
 Cadence, s. rhythm, v. 4321.
 Caldron, s. cauldron, i. 1173.
 Can, *pt.* began, i. 102, ii. 847.
 Can, *v.* knows, is skilled in, iv. 2004; can þow, knowest thou, v. 3659.
 Canys, s. hair, i. 703. (*Not found anywhere.*)
 Capillis, s. horses, i. 1037.
 Capitale, *a.* chief, great, vi. 2285; deadly, viii. 3020.
 Capitane, s. captain, chief, viii. 1740.
 Captywis, s. prisoners, iv. 1718, v. 5645.
 Carion, s. carrion, corpse, vii. 510; carioun, i. 415.
 Carl, s. man, churl, iii. 48; carlle, iv. 1601.
 Carling, s. woman, hussie, W iii. 772, W v. 4783. *See* Kerlynge.
 Carpe, *v.* to speak, iii. Prol. 22; carpit, *pt.*, v. 1112.
 Carping, carpyng, s. talk, remark, viii. 380, 4994.
 Cassacionnys, s. quashings, annullations, ix. 2208.
 Casse, s. case; of casse, by chance, accidentally, iii. 506, v. 1721, vi. 445.
 Castellanis, s. castle-keepers, vii. 4218, 5732 (castellwartis W); castelleris, viii. 5732 (L).
 Castis, s. casts; throws, ii. 509.
 Castyn, *pp.* foaled, i. 1043; castyn doun, destroyed, ii. 1578.
 Catel, s. cattle, i. 1342; beasts of burden, iv. 1492.
 Cathedralle, *a.* belonging to a bishop's see, vi. 505.
 Catyrtens, s. Ember days, v. 1769. *Fr. Quatre-Temps.*
 Causse, s. cause; for cause, because, i. 1669, ii. 426; causis, law cases, ii. 244.
 Cavale, s. [horse], i. 256 (R). *See note*, p. 5.
 Cawe, s. cave, ii. 1190; cawisse, *pl.*, v. 3095.
 Caytefly, *adv.* meanly, ii. 736.
 Caytefte, s. wretchedness, iv. 2014.
 Cense, s. incense, i. 884.
 Certane, s. certainty, truth, iv. 1177, v. 1940.
 Certis, *adv.* certainly, i. 1395.
 Cessit, *pt.* ceased, i. 1479; cesyde, resigned, v. 1815.
 Cessyt, *pt.* seized, viii. 3998.
 Cete, s. city, i. 18, 151.
 Cetesonris, s. citizens, v. 241 (E²).
 Chafits, s. jaws, iii. 146.
 Chalange, s. accusation, viii. 3197 (W challans).
 Chalange, *v.* to accuse, v. 2473.
 Chalice, s., v. 1370, vii. 3197.
 Changynge, s. change, transformation, i. 1469, ii. 1249; *pl.*, ii. 1251.
 Channoun, s. canon, i. Prol. 86.
 Chantry, s. chantries, W viii. 1482.
 Chapatere, s. chapter, ii. 1469.
 Chapit, *pt.* escaped, iii. 66, iv. 1696.
 Chaplanryis, s. chapelries, viii. 1516.

- Chaplayn, *s.*, vii. 1834.
 Char, *v.* to turn away, to stop, W ix. 15.
 Chare, *s.* chariot, iv. 1722, v. 2703.
 Charge, *s.* message, iii. 34; chargis, burdens, sins, vii. 337.
 Chargit, *pp.* entrusted, iv. 1446; deputed, viii. 530, 3867; instructed, viii. 50.
 Charteryt, *pp.* endowed by charter, vii. 925, ix. 404.
 Chas, *s.* pursuit, i. 1543; chasse, v. 431.
 Chassande, *pr. p.* chasing, ii. 823.
 Chassit, *pp.* pursued, viii. 2077; *pt.*, ii. 1166.
 Chasty, *v.* to chasten, viii. 209; to chastise, W vii. 2790; chasteit, *pp.* restrained, tamed, iv. 171, v. 175; chastit, *pt.* chastened, v. 1967; punished, vii. 2736.
 Chathedrall, *a.* cathedral, v. 5807.
 Chaunscellar, *s.* chancellor, vii. 3197; vii. 3366=[chancel. *See note*, p. 90].
 Chawdmelle, *s.* fight, quarrel, vi. 2271.
 Chawmirlayn, *s.* chamberlain, vi. 3197.
 Chawmyr, *s.* chamber, ii. 45, iii. 52.
 Chawmyr play, *s.* sexual intercourse, ii. 1352.
 Cheik bane, *s.* jaw-bone, iii. 291.
 Chekare, *s.* exchequer, viii. 3160.
 Chekynngs, *s.* chickens, viii. 3779.
 Chellouris, *s.* *See* Chullouris.
 Chepmen, *s.* chapmen, iv. 2679.
 Chesabil, *s.* chasuble, ix. 598; chessa-bil, v. 1240.
 Chesit, *pt.* chose, ii. 742. *See* Cheyssit.
 Chesoyne, *s.* objection, v. 480.
 Chesteris, *s.* grooves, rows, i. 776. *See note*, p. 7.
 Chete, *s.* escheat, W vii. 2269.
 Chewalry, *s.* knights, ix. 145, 668.
 Cheyff, *s.* principal town, iv. 1335.
 Cheyssit, *pt.* chose, ii. 1527, iv. 1875.
 Chiar, *s.* chair, iii. 41.
 Chiftane, *s.* captain, ii. 586.
 Childe il, *s.* confinement, vi. 489.
 Childer, *s.* children, W v. 3415, 5591.
 Chullit, *pt.* bandied about, W viii. 1685.
 Chullouris, *s.* beggarly, treacherous fellows, W ii. 1141; chellouris, W v. 4612.
 Chyar, *s.* chair, v. 5519.
 Chymmys, *s.* chief town, chief stronghold, i. 1084, iv. 1287, vii. 3543; chymisse, iv. 273.
 Cikil, *s.* cycle? recurring day, ix. 2143.
 Circulit, *pp.* encircled, i. 537.
 Circumsicion, *s.*, ii. 173, v. 21; Circumsicion day, 1st January, vii. 973.
 Circumscription, *s.* writing around, W iv. 2581.
 Circumvencion, *s.*, ii. 1138.
 Citazanis, *s.* citizens, iv. 1858.
 Claif, *pt.* gaped, split, iv. 2110.
 Clamyt, *pt.* claimed, appealed to, W viii. 1550.
 Clarit, *pp.* declared, v. 2482 (E).
 Cled, clede, *pp.* clad, ii. 272, 1331.
 Cleggis, gadflies, ii. 572, 573.
 Cleiff, *v.* to cleave, to fasten, vi. 1444.
 Cleith, *v.* to clothe, W ii. 272.
 Clengynge, *s.* cleansing, v. 4812.
 Clergy, *s.* learning, vi. 486.
 Clerkly, *a.* learned, v. 4164 (W clerlik).
 Clething, *s.* clothing, i. 100.
 Clewis, *s.* ravines, i. 112.
 Cleyff, *v.* to cleave, vi. 1444.
 Cleyn, *a.* real, by birth, viii. 4155.
 Cleynly, *adv.* neatly, ii. 1074.
 Cleyr, *adv.* completely, ii. Prol. 8.
 Cleyrnes, *s.* light, v. 2632.
 Cleyssit, *pt.* closed, vi. 1291.
 Cliftis, *s.* cliffs, i. 112.
 Clinkand, *pr. p.* clinking, i. 227.
 Closure, *s.* enclosure, W ii. 1306; clousur, i. 613.
 Cloyssse, *v.* to close, to enclose, iii. Prol. 34; cloyssse in, to seal, iv. 906; cloyssyt, *pp.* closed up, iv. 1213; cloyssit, surrounded, viii. 3466.
 Clym, *v.* to climb, i. 1459, v. 2292.
 Cobbit, *pp.* hit, sore? viii. 1777. *See* Cob, *v.*, in N. E. D.
 Cobil, *s.* coble, boat, vi. 29.
 Coddis, *s.* cushions? ix. 591.
 Cofyne, cophyne, *s.* coffer, casket, case, viii. 1481, 1486, 4801.
 Cofyr, *s.* coffer, box, W viii. 4597.
 Coge, *s.* a kind of ship, viii. 4370; cogar (E²).
 Coif, *s.* cave, ii. 1191. *See* Cowe.
 Coil, *s.* coal, viii. 5693.
 Coit, *v.* could? W i. 1564, 1629.
 Colet, *s.* acolyte, v. 2469.
 Colacion, collacion, *s.* conference, conversation, v. 5246, vii. 1524; collation, conference, sermon, ix. 1329, 1343.
 Collateralle, *a.*, iv. 1813, viii. Prol. 14, viii. 114, 165, 301.

- Colis, *s.* cinders, ashes, viii. 1972.
 Combryt, *pt.* harassed, viii. 2512 (cummyryt E²).
 Come, *s.* coming, i. 283.
 Comfort, *pt.* comforted, v. 1968, W viii. 2522.
 Commawndour, *s.* general, v. 4324.
 Commend, *v.* to leave, i. 61.
 Commodite, *s.* anything of use, i. 922.
 Common, *a.* populous, v. 418.
 Commonalte, *s.* people, inhabitants, W viii. 5344.
 Commonis, *s.* carls, W v. 4927; commonys, commons, subjects, v. 1533.
 Commownys, *s.* common soldiers, rank and file, viii. 4698.
 Commwnynte, *s.* subjects, people, v. 3879, viii. 5549, 5930.
 Comowne, *s.* common, daily use, v. 4374.
 Compagn3own, *s.* companion, vii. 2097.
 Competent, *s.* competence, ix. 1918.
 Compil, *v.* to gather, ii. Prol. 24.
 Complexion, *s.* temperament, ii. 611.
 Composytoure, *s.* arbiter, umpire, viii. 174, 2344.
 Compromysion, *s.* agreement, arrangement, viii. 259; compremysion, ix. 2188.
 Comprysse, *v.* to comprehend, to include, v. 4849; comprysst, *pp.* ix. 1018.
 Compt, *s.* account, W viii. 2947.
 Comptis, *v. imper.* reckon ye on, W iv. 781; reckons, W viii. 2788.
 Computacion, *s.* viii. 2998.
 Concorde, *pp.* agreeing, unanimous, vi. 482, ix. 2081.
 Concurrant, *pp.* meeting, joining, W viii. 2788.
 Condyte, condite, *s.* safe-conduct, vi. 524, vii. 1969, viii. 1655, ix. 1128.
 Confabilacion, *s.* conversation, iv. 2675.
 Confermyt, *pp.* confirmed, approved, vii. 688.
 Conferred, *pt.* conversed, vii. 885.
 Confideracion, *s.* alliance, iv. 1734, viii. 2336, 3329.
 Conformacioun, *s.* confirmation, vii. 732.
 Confoundande, *pr. p.* bringing to confusion, v. 740.
 Congregacion, *s.*, v. 1483.
 Connande, *s.* agreement, promise, covenant, vii. 3325, viii. 2720; *pl.*, vii. 1700.
 Connande, *pr. p.* learned, knowing, cunning, ii. 625, v. 4034.
 Connandnes, *s.* knowledge, ii. 314.
 Conrayit, *pt.* cumbered, harassed, vii. 2872; conrayide, viii. 1752; cwnrayid, viii. 2512 (R); conrayde, ix. 755; cunraid, W viii. 1708. *See note*, p. 87.
 Consaiff, *v.* to conceive, iv. 1136.
 Consail, consaile, *s.* counsel, ii. 380, 508; consail, council, v. 1701; consal, council, advisers, v. 3147.
 Consalit, *pp.* advised, iii. 340.
 Consanguinyte, *s.*, vii. 1957.
 Consawit, *pp.* understood, i. 65, made pregnant, i. 1020 (W conseward).
 Consayt, *s.* thought, idea, whim, vi. 1255, viii. 2876.
 Consciens, *s.* consciousness, remorse, viii. 1709.
 Consel, *s.* council, consuls? iv. 1528.
 Consellis, *s.* deliberations, vii. 1877.
 Consent, *s.* accord, arrangement, v. 3133.
 Consequens, *s.* conclusion, viii. 324.
 Conserwit, *pp.* preserved, vii. 2183.
 Consillar, *s.*, *a mistake for* consul, iv. 2322 (W counsall).
 Consord, *s.* consort, ix. 2728.
 Consules, *s.* consuls (*rimed with was*), iv. 1526.
 Contemporane, *a.* contemporary, iii. 644.
 Contenand, contenande, *pr. p.* continuing, i. 37, ii. Prol. 7, ii. 307; contenynt, *pp.* continued, iv. 2180.
 Contenys, *v.* contains, i. 1731.
 Contrare, *v.* to go against, vi. 1360; contrariis, W viii. 3902.
 Contrary, *v.* to contradict, ii. 832; contraryit, *pp.*, W vi. 165.
 Contrauersyis, *s.* controversies, vii. 904.
 Contriblit, *pp.* [more than trebled?], W viii. 2601.
 Contribucione, *s.* payment, iv. 2590, v. 650.
 Contruffit, *pt.* contrived, iii. 350.
 Conuenient, *a.* proper, fitting, W iii. Prol. 30.
 Conuenyens, *s.* fitness, iii. Prol. 28.
 Convoying, *s.* guidance, W viii. 5747.
 Conwayne, *v.* to escort, viii. 4508.
 Conwencion, *s.* agreement, vi. 1765.
 Conwentalle, *a.* of a monastery, viii. 2204.
 Conwenyt, *pt.* summoned, vii. 890; *pp.*, viii. 3295.

- Conwerssande, *pr. p.* dwelling, vi. 2422.
 Conwickyt, *pp.* convicted, v. 867, 1294, vii. 836.
 Conwoyand, *pr. p.* accompanying, W iv. 607.
 Conze, *s.* corner-stone, iii. 332.
 Conzheide, *pp.* coined, vii. 768.
 Copy, *s.* plenty, ii. 68, 102, 1284, v. 540.
 Corbet, *s.* corbel, iii. 332 (A).
 Corby, *s.* raven, i. 416.
 Cornyclide, *pt.* chronicled, iv. 1424.
 Cornykil, *s.* chronicle, ii. 306.
 Corporalle, *s.* corporal, v. 1365.
 Corpokit, *pt.* punished, vii. 2872 (A).
 Corruptit, *pp.* bribed, paid, vi. 1356, vii. 2309.
 Corrupcion, *s.* bribery, vii. 2259.
 Cors, *s.* body, i. 777, 791; *corse*, iv. 1322; *corssis*, *pl.*, ii. 1012.
 Corskirk, *s.* transept? ix. 565.
 Corsit, *pt.* crossed, W viii. 4450.
 Coruyt, *pp.* carved, W v. 724.
 Corynt, *s.* Corinthian metal, iv. 1926.
 Cost, *s.* expense, outlay, vii. 2773, viii. 2040.
 Costayand, *pr. p.* keeping close to, iv. 605; *costayede*, *pp.* flanked closely, ix. 638; *costay*, v. ix. 367 (R).
 Costewartis, *s.* keepers of the marches, viii. 5771 (E).
 Costis, *s.* coasts, ii. 811, 1595.
 Costlyk, *a.* magnificent, lavish, ix. 1720.
 Countabill, *a.* to be counted, i. 17.
 Coursis, *s.* courses (in hunting), W vii. 46.
 Couythe, *pt.* could, i. 1641, ii. 96; *couyth*, knew, vi. 932.
 Covate, *pt.* coveted, W vi. 991.
 Cowartly, *adv.* cowardly, i. 183.
 Cowe, *s.* cove, cave, ii. 479, 487, 490, iii. 251 (*coife*, *coif* W).
 Cownttyre, *s.* encounter, ix. 3133.
 Cowrt, *s.* retinue, army, vii. 1644.
 Coyff, *s.* cove, v. 167. *See* Cowe.
 Coyme, *coym*, *pt.* came, ii. 117, 1020, iv. 2666, v. 424.
 Coyme, *s.* coming, viii. 3262.
 Craar, *s.* a small trading vessel, i. 1600.
 Crabbytnes, *s.* harshness, vi. 2411.
 Crage, *s.* neck, v. 2293.
 Craiff, *v.* to crave, v. 3227.
 Crak, *s.* "crepitus ventris," viii. 3407.
 Crane, *s.*? W i. 376. *See* note, p. 6.
 Crakkyt, *pt.* broke, iii. 368.
 Crakyn, *s.* cackle, iv. 1165; *crakynge*, iv. 1172.
 Crap, *pt.* crept, ii. 1190; *crape*, closed up, iv. 1224.
 Creatur, *creature*, *s.* creator, i. 97, 1497, 1698.
 Creddillis, *s.* cradles, viii. 6967.
 Crede, *s.* Creed, i. 1557, ii. 530.
 Credence, *s.* message, credentials, ii. 1110; *credens*, viii. 1658.
 Crelis, *s.* creels, baskets, viii. 5693, 5715.
 Cressande, *s.* crescent, iv. 317, 322.
 Cresse, *s.* grease, fat, iii. 49 (*cresche* W).
 Crewalte, *s.* cruelty, ii. 9.
 Crewell, *a.* cruel, ii. 594.
 Crewellare, *a.* more cruel, ii. 992.
 Creyme, *s.* chrism, v. 1841.
 Cribbe, *crib*, *s.* manger, iv. 2685, v. 11.
 Cripillis, *s.* cripples, W iv. 1613.
 Cronyclaris, *s.* chroniclers, i. Prol. 112.
 Crope, *s.* crop, i. 546; *top*, iv. 354; *stomach*, *throat*, viii. 1777.
 Crote, *s.* small piece, bit, crust, ii. 1495, vii. 499.
 Crownar, *s.* coroner, viii. 3246.
 Crowne, *s.* victory, viii. 2650.
 Crowne bennet, *s.* tonsured clerk, v. 2469.
 Crownynge, *s.* coronation, ix. 30.
 Croyse, *s.* sign of the cross, v. 2981.
 Crukis, *s.* hooks, v. 3253.
 Crummys, *s.* crumbs, iii. 14.
 Cry, *crye*, *s.* proclamation, vi. 2291, vii. 2981 (W *crya*).
 Cryme, *v.* to accuse, W v. 1314.
 Cubiculare, *s.* chamberlain, vi. 484.
 Cuchowris, *s.* cowards, ii. 1141 (R).
 Culoure, *s.* pretext, semblance, v. 2227, vi. 1790; *culouris*, *pl.* colours, i. 1655.
 Culture, *s.* cultivation, ii. 106, 254, 438.
 Culyr, *s.* coulter, iii. 80.
 Cumbranf, *s.* trouble, distress, W v. 3850.
 Cumbrisse, *v.* encumbers, ix. Prol. 38.
 Cumbyr, *s.* encumbrance, burden, v. 3704, 5127.
 Cummaris, *s.* gossips, ii. 1439.
 Cummerit, *cwinmerit*, *pt.* cumbered, harassed, vii. 2872, viii. 1752, 2512 (AuE²).
 Cumpynable, *a.* friendly, v. 1718.
 Cumryt, *pp.* cumbered, annoyed, viii. 2064.
 Cun, *v.* to learn, to know, v. 4296.

- Cunnandly, *adv.* learnedly, v. 4281.
 Cunnandnes, s. skill, iii. 723.
 Cuppill, s. pair of rafters ? ix. 604 (R).
 Curatour, s. guardian, vii. 841.
 Cure, s. care, ii. 105, 1499, vii. 842.
 Cursoure, s. steed, ii. 52; curssour, iv. 217; curseris, *pl.*, iii. 758.
 Cusche, s. thigh plate, viii. 4798; cusheis, ix. 845.
 Custum, s. duty, toll, iv. 106.
 Custummabil, *a.* usual, vi. 734.
 Custummalle, *a.* according to custom, viii. 526.
 Cusynas, s. female cousin, vii. 1948 (E).
 Cutkane, s. "pudenda muliebria," iii. 876.
 Cuneryt, *pp.* *pt.* covered, iii. 93, v. 768; recovered, v. 1465.
 Cuwatysse, s. covetise, i. 1638, ii. 91.
 Cuwyne, s. cunning, treachery, secret agreement, iv. 940, viii. 3359, 4935.
 Cuyle, *v.* to cool, ii. 1482.
 Cwmmerit, *pt.* cumbered, chastised, vii. 2872 (E²).
 Cwnrayid, *pt.*, viii. 2511 (R). *See* Conrayit.
 Cwntis, s. "pudenda muliebria," iii. 876 (A).
 Daft, *a.* stupid, foolish, v. 2101, W vi. 342.
 Dagare, s. dagger, ix. 1186.
 Dail, s. dale, i. 1082.
 Dalnatyk, s. dalmatic, ix. 595.
 Damyseil, s. damsel, iv. 379, viii. 4863; damysellis, *pl.*, v. 4028.
 Dane, s. Sir, viii. 1648, ix. 2095, 2222; dene, W viii. 1610; den, W vii. 1499.
 Dange, *pt.* struck, beat, ii. 704, vii. 2748.
 Danger, s. power, superiority, vii. 2050, 4920; but dangere, without reluctance, readily, viii. 5254, W viii. 4942.
 Dante, s. dainty, i. 440.
 Dantely, *adv.* nicely, i. 574.
 Dar, *v.* dares, i. 547, 1160, 1171.
 Dargart, s. dagger, vii. 61.
 Dasit, *a.* dazed, mad, vi. 338.
 Daw, s. day; don of daw, dead, viii. 3389; dawis, days, ii. 241.
 Daw, *v.* to dawn, vii. 2749; dawande, *pr. p.*, viii. 3500.
 Dawnityt, *pp.* daunted, tamed, i. 808; dawintyt, *pt.* overcame, ii. 10.
 Dawwerk, s. day's work, viii. 2620, ix. 1494; dawerk, ix. 1538.
 Dawynge, s. dawn, v. 1386.
 Daylle, s. dealing, v. 5068.
 Daynte, s. esteem, affection, liking, i. 1308, ii. 325.
 Dayntit, *pt.* tamed, trained, i. 1621.
 Dayspring, s. dawn, W viii. 1760.
 De, *v.* to die, i. 730.
 Debilite, s. feebleness, v. 2386.
 Debonare, *a.* kind, ix. 1111.
 Debonerte, s. kindness, viii. 7034.
 Decerne, *v.* to decide, vi. 346, viii. 939. *See* Discerne.
 Decerne, *v.* to discern, ix. Prol. 25.
 Declyne, *v.* to deprecate, i. 628.
 Decrete, s. decree, vii. 1841, ix. 2097.
 Decretis, *v.* decrees, W v. 3798; decretyt, *pp.*, viii. 765; *pt.*, vi. 354.
 Ded, dede, deid, *a.* dead, i. 486, 921, 1607.
 Dede, dedde, deid, s. death, i. 162, ii. 988, 1086.
 Dede, deid, ded, s. deed, i. 626, 1461, ii. 633.
 Dedeyne, s. lowering, scorn, W v. 3968.
 Dedenzhe, *v.* to deign, viii. 2374.
 Dedlyk, *a.* mortal, viii. 836.
 Defamacionys, s. defamations, v. 4328.
 Defame, s. dishonour, ii. 1462 (W diffame).
 Defamouris, s. defamers, W v. 4611.
 Defamyt, *pp.* found fault with, blamed, viii. Prol. 24.
 Defawte, s. failure, ii. 56; want, iv. 1435; fault, misdeed, v. 3768.
 Defend, *v.* to explain, i. 62.
 Defere, *v.* to take away (to oneself), v. 4419.
 Deformyte, s. iv. 1598, v. 3980.
 Deforssit, *pt.* violated, iv. 138.
 Defoule, s. outrage, iv. 142; defoulle, foul deeds, v. 3454; shame, failure, viii. 3414.
 Defoulyt, *pt.* ill-treated, iv. 1314.
 Deil, *v.* to deal, i. 355; delt, *pp.* divided, i. 529, 1122.
 Deill, s. deal; na deill, not at all, none, viii. 6684.
 Dekyn, s. deacon, v. 2470; dekyngs, *pl.*, v. 2265.
 Delet, *pp.* destroyed, iv. 1910, v. 933.
 Delf, s. digging, hole, vi. 321.
 Deliuier, *a.* delivered, confined, ii. 190, 1002, 1303; delyuir, v. 8; dyliuer, vii. 3091.
 Deliuierare, s. giver, distributor, W v. 2374.

- Deluwy, *s.* deluge, ii. 478.
 Delwyn, *pp.* buried, viii. 7204.
 Delyuerance, *s.* judgment, ii. 1157 ;
 order, viii. 1875 ; mission, vii. 293 ;
 surrender, viii. 3871.
 Delyuir, *s.* to allow, to set free, ii.
 565 ; delyuirit, *pp.* declared, viii.
 493 ; delyuerit, delyuirit, *pt.* de-
 liberated, viii. 8, 1632 ; resolved,
 ii. 1150 ; gave up, ii. 1547.
 Delyuerly, *adv.* readily, quickly, iv.
 240 ; delyuirly, ii. 413.
 Demayndis, *s.* demands, viii. 540.
 Demayne, *s.* demesne, possession, ii.
 366 ; in demayn, in his power, v.
 3044.
 Demaynit, *pp.* treated, kept down, iii.
 521 ; *pt.* ill-treated, v. 3019, ix.
 2280.
 Demaynnit, *pt.* ill-treated, viii. 1057.
 Demembyre, *v.* to dismember, to
 maim, viii. 6964 ; demembryt, *pt.*,
 vii. 1264, viii. 3040.
 Demynge, *s.* opinion, judgment, vi.
 1330, viii. 204.
 Denere, *s.* penny, "denarius," iv. 2553.
 Denze, *v.* to deign, viii. 2374 (E).
 Departande, *pr. p.* dividing, v. 5153.
 Departit, *pp. pt.* separated, iii. 230,
 W vii. 503 ; depertit, vii. 270.
 Departynge, *s.* separation, iv. 734.
 Depute, *pp.* deputed, v. 327 ; *pt.*, vii.
 1173.
 Deputys, *s.* deputed, lieutenants, v.
 3039, 5043.
 Der, *a.* dear, i. 264.
 Deroy, *s.* disturbance, ado, v. 5009.
 Derf, *a.* violent, hard, W viii. 2015.
 Derrare, *a.* dearer, viii. 3238.
 Desayt, *s.* deceit, v. 4136.
 Descensioun, *s.* dissension, W vii.
 2259.
 Desesit, *pt.* damaged, v. 5362.
 Desserit, *pp.* disinherited, v. 546 ;
var. desheryd, disherist, dysseryst.
 Dessese, *v.* to annoy, v. 1168.
 Dessewerit, *pp.* separated, ii. 861.
 Destyne, *s.* destiny, vi. 1326 (W
 destany).
 Det, dett, *s.* debt, right, duty, i. Prol.
 64, 65, i. 620 ; of det, as a duty,
 due, iii. Prol. 19, vii. 2332, viii. 279.
 Determy nacion, *s.* solution, viii. 562.
 Determyte, *pp.* ordained, viii. 219.
See note, p. 94.
 Detful, *a.* due, proper, v. 4520, vii.
 1568.
 Detfully, *adv.* duly, properly, vii.
 2260.
 Dettyt, *pp.* indebted, obliged, bound,
 iv. 1188, v. 1118, 5387.
 Deuotly, *adv.* devoutly, ii. 1002,
 1178.
 Deutouf, *a.* dreadful, W vi. 324.
 Devine, *a.* divine, i. 2.
 Devisit, *pp.* divided, W v. 3349.
 Devit, *pt.* divided, W viii. 2236.
 Dewidit, *pp. pt.* divided, i. 1220, viii.
 1902, 1904, 2284.
 Dewisande, *pr. p.* dividing, iv. 2097.
 Dewise, *v.* to explain, i. Prol. 49.
 Dewise, dewisse, *s.* at dewise, per-
 fectly, completely, i. 77, viii. 4727 ;
 at all dewise, i. 106, 372.
 Dewisit, *pp.* divided, ii. 870, v. 1424.
 Dewisse, *s.* division, disposition, vi.
 1041.
 Dewit, *pt.* deaved, worried, v. 2714.
 Dewor, dewore, *s.* duty, v. 1068,
 2015.
 Dewoydit, *pt.* retired, iv. 463.
 Dewynyt, *pp.* foretold, iii. 502.
 Dewysse, *v.* to devise, iii. 626.
 Deyhgne, *v.* to deign, viii. 2374 (R).
 Deyr, *s.* deer, i. 714, viii. 5565.
 Dicht, *pp.* ; dicht to ded, put to
 death, iii. 846, v. 430.
 Dik, *s.* wall, iv. 16 ; dikis, *pl.* ditches,
 iv. 101.
 Dilapidacion, *s.*, ix. 1910.
 Dingand, *pr. p.* striking, viii. 2026.
 Diocye, *s.* diocese, i. Prol. 92 ; diosy,
 W vi. 986.
 Dippande, *pr. p.* descending, v.
 2985.
 Discandande, *pr. p.* descending, i.
 1684.
 Discendit, *pt.* departed (from), vi. 36
 (dissentit R).
 Discens, *s.* descent, vi. 2314, viii.
 1459.
 Discencioun, *s.* descent, W vi. 2376.
 Discerne, *v.* to discern, to decide, viii.
 110, W v. 3793, vi. 350.
 Discomfit, *pp.* confounded, i. Prol.
 46 ; *pt.* vanquished, iii. 116.
 Discorde, *v.* to disagree, ii. Prol.
 29 ; discordand, *pr. p.*, ii. 613, vii.
 1018 ; discorde, *pt.*, v. 4564.
 Discrepans, *s.* discrepancy, ii. 899.
 Discription, discripcion, *s.* writing, iii.
 982, iv. 2568, 2575.
 Discurreouris, *s.* scouts, viii. 3564,
 4659, 4778 ; discouerouris, W viii.
 3354.
 Diseryson, *s.* disinheriting, vi. 2475.
 Disful, *s.* dishful, ii. 207.
 Disher, *s.* to disinherit, v. 3017.

- Dismaille. *s.* evil days, v. 1908.
O.Fr. *dis mal*, Lat. *dies mali*.
- Dispayrande, *pr. p.* in despair, iii. 62.
- Dispayrit, *pp.* in despair, iii. 426, iv. 1560.
- Dispendar, *s.* distributor, v. 2332.
- Dispendit, *pp.* spent, v. 2370, W v. 1561.
- Dispens, *s.* cost, expense, vii. 2666, viii. 6912.
- Dispenssit, *pt.*, v. 780. *See note*, p. 32.
- Dispitousse, *a.* pitiless, ii. 1206; dis-
pittuousse, ill-disposed, iii. 231;
dispituousse, spiteful, vii. 2609.
- Disputusly, *adv.* spitefully, ii. 554.
- Displeyssance, *s.* displeasure, viii. 846.
- Dispoil, *v.* to rob, to deprive, v. 3944
(dispule E, dispulze W); dispoyl-
zeide, *pp.*, ii. 194; dispoylzeide,
pt., viii. 1953.
- Disponar, *s.* giver, v. 2332 (E).
- Disprisit, *pp.* despised, viii. 2014 (L);
pt. held cheap, vi. 86 (L).
- Dispyte, *s.* injury, ii. 1444.
- Disputusly, *adv.* despitefully, vii. 1799.
- Dissawarray, *adv.* in disorder, iii.
597 (dissewer W).
- Dissawit, *pp. pt.* deceived, iii. 86,
424.
- Dissayt, *s.* deceit, ii. 1093.
- Disserison, *s.* disinheriting, vii. 2858.
- Dissert, *s.* merit, v. 1315.
- Disses, *s.* disease, v. 7.
- Dissese, *s.* evil state, vii. 2655.
- Dissese, *v.* to harm, to grieve, to
annoy, v. 2472, vii. 2451; dissesit,
dissesyt, *pp. pt.*, v. 2464, 2468, vii.
2449, viii. 3902.
- Dissesful, *a.* troublesome, i. 1610.
- Dissymbilit, *pt.* dissembled, iv. 519
(dissimulit E²).
- Dissymylacion, *s.* dissembling, viii.
1787 (dissymbelatyown R).
- Distance, *s.* space, i. 1202; dispute,
viii. 404.
- Distent, *v.* to spread out, v. 2174.
- Distreynghede, *pp.* restrained, i. 1346.
- Distreynzheide, *pt.* harassed, v. 5041,
viii. 5041.
- Distrowblans, *s.* disturbance, viii.
2486, 6960.
- Distrublit, *pt.* troubled, annoyed, W
viii. 2424.
- Distynccion, *s.* division, part, vi.
Prol. 5.
- Distyntly, *adv.* distinctly, ii. 870, v.
3508.
- Distynyt, *pp.* distinguished, v. 1476,
3301.
- Dite, *v.* to compose, i. Prol. 4; dytit,
pp., i. Prol. 15; dited, *pt.*, v. 5434.
- Ditour, *s.* dictator, iv. 2321.
- Diuersiteis, *s.* differences, i. Prol. 2.
- Diuersnes, *s.* diversity, i. Prol. 14.
- Do, *v.* to place, to set, iii. 796; a
do, to be done, viii. 6667.
- Doar, *s.* doer, worker, v. 300; doaris,
pl., v. 273.
- Doggitly, *adv.* strongly, sternly, iii.
472, 844, vii. 507.
- Doloure, *s.* grief, v. 4710; dolour,
W viii. 5822.
- Dolorus, *a.* grieved, W viii. 912.
- Dolwyn, *pp.* buried, iii. 1008; dollin,
viii. 7204 (E); dolne, *pt.*, i. 1517.
- Don, *s.* dun horse, iv. 729.
- Don, *v.* to do, vii. 1872; done
downe, defeated, viii. 3989.
- Dongeon, *s.* prison, iii. 442, v. 4637.
- Dongyn, *pp.* driven, viii. 3826.
- Dortour, *s.* dormitory, vii. 879.
- Dotatioun, *s.* gift, endowment, W vi.
536.
- Doht, *v.* is able, v. 4502 (L).
- Dottor, *s.* doctor, vii. Prol. 1.
- Doucht, *pt.* were of any use, v.
856.
- Doun, *s.* hill, i. 1082.
- Doun gangynge, *s.* setting (of the
sun), ix. 890.
- Doungin, *pp.* driven, viii. 6678.
- Doure, *a.* hard, ii. 524.
- Doure, dour, *s.* a sturdy man, iii.
845, iv. 932, v. 430.
- Dournes, *s.* stubbornness, viii. 1651
(Au).
- Dout, *s.* fear, ii. 90; doubt, ii. 1292.
- Douthy, *a.* doughty, iii. 812.
- Douttousse, *a.* treacherous, v. 268.
- Dow, *s.* dove, i. 417.
- Dowde, *s.* a dowdy person, iii. 761,
796.
- Dowin, *pp.* dug, W ii. 1392; buried,
viii. 7204 (R).
- Downes, *s.* hardship, i. 1629.
- Downtis, *s.* fears, dangers, viii. 794.
- Downttousse, *a.* doubtful, ii. 1378.
- Dowtwise, *a.* dreading, ii. 1449;
dreadful, vii. 2413.
- Dowtwisse, *a.* doubtful, ii. 833.
- Dowtyt, dowtlyt, *pt.* feared, ii. 803,
1097, 1512.
- Doyn, *pp.* done, viii. 580.
- Doytyt, *a.* foolish, v. 4027.
- Draiff, *pt.* drove, sailed, ii. 1594.
- Draucht, *s.* draught, v. 597.

- Draw, *v.* to come, ii. 1369; to bring forth, *v.* 2475; drawand, *pr. p.* drawing, going, ii. 358; drawin, *pp.* drawn away, i. 376.
 Drawar, *s.* driver, ploughman, viii. 3179 (dravere R, dryvere W).
 Drawkyt, *pp.* drenched, iv. 1037.
 Drechyng, *s.* repining, v. 472.
 Drede, *pt.* dreaded, iv. 1544.
 Dreiche; on dreiche, away, aside, iii. 33.
 Dreidles, *adv.* doubtless, viii. 314.
 Dreiffing, *pp.* driven, W ii. 810.
 Dressit, *pt.* addressed, received, ii. 702.
 Drew, *pt.* approached, i. 860; came, rose, ii. 1257.
 Drewcht, *pt.* drew, ix. 2987.
 Drewyn, *pp.* driven, ii. 810.
 Driffand, *pr. p.* driving, leading, i. 162.
 Drownyt, *pt.* were drowned, ii. 158, 656.
 Druge, *v.* to drag, to pull, i. 1619.
 Drury, *a.* dreary, uninteresting, W iii. 771.
 Druwy, *a.* dry, mean? iii. 761 (drowy R, drowrie E², drouby L).
 Drwry, *s.* love, vi. 180 (R).
 Dryff, *v.* to spend, v. 5168.
 Drynkles, *a.* without drink, vii. 1295.
 Drywande, *pr. p.* carrying out, iii. Prol. 33.
 Duche, *a.* German, iv. 2044.
 Duche, *s.* duchy, vii. 182 (duchery A, dukry E²).
 Ducheperis, *s.* the twelve peers, v. 4336.
 Duchere, *s.* duchy, viii. 583, 608.
 Duk, *s.* leader, ii. 1064, iii. 4.
 Dul, *v.* to dull, ii. 878; dule, iv. 1751.
 Dule, *s.* sorrow, mourning, i. 180, iv. 620.
 Duleful, *a.* doleful, i. 162; dulful, v. 1952.
 Durand, *pr. p.* lasting, viii. 2702.
 Dure, *s.* sturdy one, vii. 3488.
 Dusche, *s.* blow, iv. 723; dusch, viii. 2525; dus, ix. 3163.
 Duschit, *pt.* struck, beat, i. 367, iii. 845.
 Duyl, *s.* grief, viii. 3884.
 Dwyn, dwyne, *pp.* done, beaten, viii. 3989 (R), 6786 (R); done or dongin in other texts.
 Dykit, *pp.* walled, W v. 239.
 Dynar, *s.* dinner, ii. 198.
 Dyocysi, *s.* diocese, vii. 3028.
 Dyscomfyt, *pt.* vanquished, ii. 1186.
 Dyssatwysly, *adv.* deceitfully, iv. 1313 (R).
 Dyssesit, *pp.* annoyed, v. 3546.
 Dyt, dyte, *v.* to close up, to fill up, iv. 1971, viii. 3585; dyttit, *pp.*, ii. 1192.
 Dytour, *s.* dictator, iv. 189.
 E, *s.* eye, i. 712, ii. 1356.
 Eb, *v.* to ebb, v. 916.
 Ebrewe, *s.* Hebrew, ii. 156.
 Eddyr, *s.* adder, i. 1399, iv. 1372; edderis, *pl.*, i. 782, 1172.
 Eere, *adv.* before, W v. 3380.
 Effectioun, *s.* affection, v. 126.
 Effectuousse, *a.* effective, v. 1223.
 Effectusly, *adv.* effectually, viii. 5902.
 Effeire, *s.* business, W ii. 96; efferis, deeds, viii. 6702.
 Efferme, *s.* to affirm, i. Prol. 109.
 Effet, *s.* effect, result, viii. 381.
 Effeyr, *s.* appearance, iv. 1981.
 Effray, *s.* fighting, iv. 351.
 Effraye, *s.* affray, fright, iv. 2386, ix. 130.
 Est, *adv.* again, iii. 598.
 Eftyrhende, *adv.* afterwards, iii. 119.
 Eggis, *s.* edges, iii. 28.
 Egil, *s.* eagle, ii. 1031.
 Eise, *s.* ease, i. 441, 461.
 Eit, *v.* to eat, i. 161.
 Ekande, *pr. p.* augmenting, adding, iv. 2426, ix. 1284; ekit, *pt.* added, i. Prol. 118.
 Ekyn, *s.* increase, iii. 454, viii. 1515.
 Elbatis, *s.* ? ix. 599 (L).
 Eld, *a.* old, iii. 823; eldast, ii. 185; eldest, ii. 204.
 Eld, *s.* age, i. 287; *pl.* eldis, W i. 129. See Eylde
 Elderis, *s.* old people, i. 675.
 Eldfadyr, *s.* grandfather, vii. 1784, viii. 307.
 Elik, elike, *adv.* like, likewise, i. 568, 780, W vi. 1168, viii. 354 (A).
 Elne, *s.* ell, i. 346, 663.
 Eloquentis, *s.* eloquence, v. 275 (E).
 Elwyn, *s.* ells, i. 810, iv. 289, 291; *sing.*, i. 760.
 Elys, *s.* eels, i. 810.
 Elyte, *s.* (bishop) elect, vii. 1484.
 Eme, *s.* uncle, vi. 1847.
 Empereal, *a.* imperial, viii. 440.
 Empresoneis, *s.* prisoners, vii. 2116, viii. 2513; empresowneris, viii. 2535.
 Emprice, *s.* empress, vii. 751.

- Empryce, *s.* deed, enterprise, ix. 1078, 1081.
- Enarmyt, *pt.* armed, clad, W viii. 5384.
- Enbandownyt, *pt.* subdued, overcame, v. 5628.
- Enbuschement, *s.* ambush, viii. 6549 (R).
- Enchantment, *s.* witchery, iii. 1005.
- Enday, *s.* last day, i. 180.
- Endit, *pp.* dead, ii. 121.
- Endlange, *prep.* along, viii. 4651.
- Endorit, *pt.* endured, W v. 3372.
- Enffors, *v.* to strengthen, viii. 6956; to repress, ix. 41.
- Engrewit, *pt.* did harm, viii. 5300; engrewide, viii. 5302.
- Engyne, *s.* mind, v. 268.
- Enherde, *v.* to adhere, to associate, viii. 4310; enherdit, *pt.*, v. 4752.
- Enhornyt, *pt.* adorned, W ix. 541.
- Enname, *v.* to call up, to muster, viii. 6154 (Au).
- Enpresone, *s.* prisoner, viii. 3804, ix. 2612; enpressowne, ix. 2527; enpresoneis, *pl.* viii. 1761.
- Enschatit, *a.* ashamed, ii. 1306 (L).
- Ensemblit, *pt.* assembled, viii. 2500 (L).
- Entail, *s.* carving, v. 46.
- Entent, *s.* intention, wish, i. 598, 1481; spirit, will, ii. 1057; ententis, *pl.* designs, iii. 906; mind, vii. 2015.
- Entently, *adv.* carefully, viii. 2835 (ententably Au, ententisly L).
- Ententyment, *s.*, viii. 3863 (R), *a* mistake for enticement.
- Entermellit, *pt.* alternated, W ix. 1052.
- Enteryt, *pt.* became a bishop, vi. 1353.
- Entre, *s.* entry, going in, i. 925, 1041; taking possession, occupying, ii. 890, vi. 1372, 1380; entrance, ix. 1250.
- Entre, *v.* to enter, i. 1582; entyr, to bring in, viii. 2845, 2852.
- Entyrcomonynge, *s.* intercourse, communication, iv. 869.
- Entyrditit, *pt.* interdicted, vi. 41, vii. 2284.
- Entyrit, *pp.* buried, ii. 1589.
- Entyscement, *s.* allurement, viii. 3863.
- Entysing, *s.* enticement, W viii. 3112 (entysyn R, entisting L, entistynge Au).
- Enweroun, *v.* to go round, viii. 4642; enwrounyt, *pt.* surrounded, viii. 3626.
- Enwert, *v.* to advert, to adhere, viii. 4310 (Au).
- Epitaphi, *s.* epitaph, vi. 670, 859; epithafy, W vi. 591.
- Equalitie, *s.* equal rank, i. Prol. 60; eqwalite, v. 3310.
- Erare, *adv.* sooner, rather, iii. 265, iv. 1871.
- Erd, erde, *s.* earth, land, ii. 103, 503.
- Erddyng, *s.* earthquake, v. 4381.
- Erdit, *pp.* buried, ix. 1233.
- Ere, *s.* ear, i. 748.
- Ere, *v.* are, iv. 1264.
- Ere, *v.* to till, i. 1620.
- Erllis, *s.* prelude, foretaste, viii. 3811.
- Ernes, *s.* eagles, i. 670.
- Errast, *adv.* first, viii. 440.
- Errasyis, *s.* heresies, W v. 4622.
- Erratik, *s.* heretic, v. 2472.
- Errayide, *pp.* arrayed, iv. 1028.
- Errit, *pp.* led astray, W v. 5728.
- Ersse, *s.* arse, v. 175.
- Eschappis, *v.* escapes, i. 1038; eschapit, *pt.* fled, iv. 951.
- Eschete, *s.* escheat, vii. 2271; eschet, v. 2875; eschaetis, *pl.*, vii. 3371.
- Escheil, *s.* troop, squadron, viii. 6207; eschellis, *pl.*, viii. 6205.
- Esclippis, *s.* eclipse, viii. 5515 (eclipse W).
- Eschewe, *v.* to avoid, to escape, viii. 1768; eschewis, runs away, shirks, viii. 5206.
- Esely, *adv.* near, nicely, iv. 1297.
- Esful, *a.* full of ease, convenient, needful, vi. 2432, vii. 2552.
- Esse, *s.* ease; to do his esse, to relieve himself, vi. 1729; at esse, easily, iv. 2600.
- Esse, *v.* to rest, viii. 5038.
- Essely, *adv.* easily, v. 2297.
- Essoune, *v.* to hesitate, to be anxious, viii. 6118 (L); *v.* soyne.
- Estir, *a.* more eastern, W viii. 2884.
- Esyt, *pt.* hesitated, wondered? ii. 491. *See variants.*
- Et, ete, *v.* to eat, i. 433, 785, ii. 1018; etyn, *pp.* ii. 1227.
- Ethchowe, *v.* to eschew, viii. 1768 (R).
- Ethe, *a.* easy, ii. 693, 719, viii. 638.
- Etlit, *pt.* strove, tried, W vii. 3372, W viii. 2398.
- Euidentis, *s.* evidence, W v. 2513, W viii. 2341, 2353.
- Euill, *adv.* ill, W vi. 2183.
- Ewacion, *s.* evasion, viii. 112.
- Ewaris, *s.* ewers, ix. 603.
- Ewcarist, *s.* Eucharist, v. 1761.
- Ewour, *s.* ivory, v. 721.

- Ewyn, *a.* even, ii. Prol. 32, iii. 662 ; level, iv. 987, viii. 5558 ; straight-forward, v. 3743.
- Ewyn, *adv.* even, straight, exactly, i. 798, 864, ii. 432.
- Ewyn, *s.* evening, eve, v. 519, 4203.
- Ewyn elyk, *a.* moderate, wise, v. 3540 (ewynlyk R).
- Ewynelyk, *adv.* evenly, vi. 1401.
- Ewynlik, *a.* even, direct, viii. 337, 354 ; right, correct, viii. 2998.
- Ewynlik, *adv.* equally, iii. 25.
- Ewynly, *adv.* regularly, ii. 128.
- Ewynlykly, *adv.* directly, viii. 369.
- Excedandly, *adv.* exceedingly, W v. 3604.
- Excellent, *a* mistake for excelland, or excellit, vi. 1201.
- Excusande, *pr. p.* saving, ii. 1156.
- Excusatioune, *s.* excuse, reason, i. 175 ; excusacyonys, *pl.*, v. 4327.
- Excusit, *pp.* free from blame, ii. 1140.
- Executuris, *s.* executors, vii. 2292.
- Exempil, *s.* instance, ii. 805.
- Exequies, *s.* funeral, vii. 2025, ix. 520.
- Exile, *s.* banished, i. 120.
- Exilit, *pp. pt.* banished, ii. 1259, v. 4967, vii. 1598.
- Exortacionys, *s.* exhortations, vii. 2276.
- Expendis, *v.* lays outs, holds, W iv. 120.
- Exposicionys, *s.* interpretations, ii. 320.
- Expownddyt, *pt.* set forth, v. 2678 (exponit E²).
- Extorsion, *s.* viii. 1648 ; extorsyonys, *pl.*, v. 5007, vii. 2048.
- Eyk, *v.* to increase, to add, iv. 2006, v. 3701, viii. 3550.
- Eylde, age, ii. 182, iv. 2486 ; old age, viii. 1842 ; eyldis, *pl.*, ii. Prol. 5.
- Eyne, *s.* eyes, i. 722, 779.
- Eyrnyst, *s.* earnest, pledge, viii. 3811 (A).
- Eyssis, *s.* easements, vii. 704.
- Faculte, *s.* possession, iv. 1983.
- Facund, *a.* eloquent, learned, v. 1286, W v. 4336.
- Facunde, *s.* eloquence, v. 4314.
- Fadyt, *pt.* defiled, dimmed, vii. 69.
- Fail, *s.* turf, sod, iv. 16 ; faille, v. 237.
- Faill, *a.* many, W vi. 549.
- Failze, *v.* to fail, i. 1044 ; failzeide, *pt.*, i. 1518.
- Failzeynge, *s.* fault, ii. 56.
- Faintly, *adv.* feebly, ii. 735.
- Fais, *s.* foes, ii. 1185.
- Falaw, *s.* companion, vii. 2750.
- Fall, *v.* to bring down, to overthrow, viii. 4989 ; faulde, *pt.*, viii. 4988.
- Fallande il, *s.* epilepsy, v. 5655.
- Fallasse, *s.* wile, viii. 1730.
- Falling, *pp.* fallen, W iv. 813.
- Falset, *s.* falseness, treachery, ii. 92, viii. 1932.
- Famale, *a.* female, iv. 1786.
- Famyl, *s.* attendants, iii. 51 ; famyle, family, iv. 2024.
- Famlylar, famyliere, *s.* intimate friend, v. 644, 3501 ; *pl.*, vii. 2695.
- Fande, *v.* to attempt, to try, to set to, ii. 1376, vii. 67, 1695 ; fandit, *pt.*, viii. 128.
- Fande, *pt.* found, i. 1111.
- Fandynge, *s.* attempt, iv. 1652.
- Fane, *pt.* finished, stopped, W vii. 874.
- Fannon, *s.* maniple, ix. 597.
- Fant, *s.* font, v. 4521, 5773.
- Fantasy, *s.* fancy, vi. 1873 ; fantasiis, *pl.*, W. ii. 140.
- Fantly, *adv.* faintly, cowardly, iii. 856.
- Fanton, *a.* fanciful, v. 2204.
- Fantumlik, *a.* fantastic, iv. 295.
- Fantysse, *s.* fancy, ii. 138.
- Farcost, *s.* a small ship, i. 1600.
- Farssit, *pp.* stuffed, spiced, iii. 830.
- Fastnes, *s.* fastening, W vii. 1276.
- Fastyn, *s.* fast, v. 556.
- Fat, *s.* vat, iv. 554 ; holy-water vessel, ix. 599.
- Fauld, *s.* sheepfold, i. 220.
- Faulle, *a.* foul, viii. Prol. 5.
- Faullely, *adv.* foully, viii. 6964.
- Fauythe, *s.* fulness, abundance, i. 1346 (fwlth R, foulth E²).
- Fawklys, *a.* ? ii. 1373 (R). [*Perhaps* feckless.]
- Faworyt, *pt.* favoured, viii. 1903.
- Fawte, *s.* want, defect, i. 734, iii. 949.
- Faynde, *v.* to counsel, to press, vi. 2118.
- Faynt, *a.* feeble, ii. 1450.
- Fayntsum, *a.* imaginary, W vi. 2268.
- Fayr, *v.* to go, to fare, ii. 1667.
- Fayr, *s.* way, habit, iii. 994 ; conduct, vi. 464 ; passage money, vi. 2068.
- Fe, *s.* cattle, i. 1345 ; pay, iv. 36, v. 5027.
- Febilte, *s.* weakness, W v. 2424.
- Feche, *v.* to bring, W v. 3962.

- Fechtaris, *s.* fighters, ii. 1058; feych-
 taris, *v.* 3205.
 Fefst, *pt.* endowed, iii. 3005.
 Fefstment, *s.* feoffment, W vii. 2352,
 3445.
 Feid, *s.* hatred, feud, W viii. 1588.
 Feis, *s.* fees, viii. 144, 968.
 Feil, *a.* numerous, i. 1337.
 Feit, *pt.* feoffed, W vi. 1696.
 Fekyl, *a.* fickle, viii. 2980.
 Felde, *pt.* felt, *v.* 4685.
 Fellar, *a.* more fell, iii. 56.
 Fellow, *a.* cruel, dire, terrible, i. 803,
 1543, vi. 425.
 Fellowly, *adv.* cruelly, ii. 6, 974;
 fellowly, stoutly, viii. 7194.
 Fellony, *s.* villany, wrath, i. 1525,
 1542.
 Fend, *v.* to defend, W viii. 1956.
 Fenss, *s.* defence, W vi. 2002; fens,
 ix. 2004.
 Fen3he, *v.* to feign, to deceive, i.
 1524; fen3heide, *pt.*, i. 1494, viii.
 1795, 2383; *pp.* feigned, false, ii.
 1029.
 Fen3heyng, *s.* deceit, iii. 399.
 Fer, fere, *adj.* distant, ii. 1106, 1111;
adv., i. 60.
 Ferby, *adv.* away, W viii. 3781.
 Ferd, ferde, *a.* fourth, i. 23, 1535,
 1632.
 Ferdness, *s.* dread, fear, W ii. 1387,
 vi. 1149.
 Fere, *s.* manner, ii. 1022.
 Feris, *v.* appertains, is meet, iii. 160.
 Ferleful, *a.* awful, viii. 3580.
 Ferlefully, *adv.* wonderfully, fearfully,
 viii. 3573, 5061.
 Ferleide, *pt.* wondered, iv. 2633;
 ferleit, *v.* 1896; ferleyt, ii. 496.
 Ferly, *s.* wonder, i. 1023, 1377.
 Ferly, *a.* strange, vi. 1900.
 Ferly, *adv.* wonderfully, W viii. 4839.
 Ferlyful, *a.* wonderful, ii. 1252.
 Ferme, *s.* farm, rent, ii. 367.
 Ferme, *v.* to strengthen, W viii.
 2796.
 Ferme, *a.* safe, vii. 2713; *adv.*
 strongly, viii. 3008.
 Fermly, *adv.* strongly, ii. 1591.
 Ferrare, *adv.* further, W viii. 152.
 Ferreis. *See* Barel.
 Ferry, *s.* passage, crossing, viii.
 6193 (R).
 Fers, *a.* fierce, strong, i. 304, 548,
 1482.
 Fersly, *adv.* fiercely, W viii. 2470.
 Ferschamit, *pp.* put to shame, vi.
 179 (E).
 Fertilitie, *s.* plenty, ii. 304.
 Fery, *a.* [in good health, vigorous,
 the opposite of 'infirm.' *See* Acts
 Parl. Scot. (1 Dec. 1388), vol. i.
 p. 556], ix. 968.
 Festenans, *s.* confinement, prison, ix.
 2333 (E²).
 Festynnyng, *s.* binding, vi. 1036.
 Festynnyt, *pp.* fastened, bound, iv.
 910, vi. 1040, ix. 2592; festnyt, *pt.*,
 iii. 362.
 Festyt, *pt.* feasted, welcomed, vi.
 448, ix. 263.
 Festywalis, *s.* festivities, v. 2066.
 Festywalle, *a.* of a feast, solemn, v.
 5663 (festuall W).
 Festiwrite, *s.* feast, *v.* 56.
 Fet, *v.* to fetch, vi. 944 (E).
 Fetasse, *a.* handsome, iv. 207 (fetys
 R).
 Fetheramys, *s.* plumage, feathers, ii.
 1330.
 Fetlyt, *pt.* set, prepared (themselves),
 viii. 2603.
 Fetyss, *a.* neat, iii. 938.
 Feuer3her, *s.* February, iv. 41.
 Fey, *a.* doomed, iv. 1005.
 Feyne, *v.* to pretend, v. 434.
 Feyr, *s.* companion, ii. 1039; feyre,
 colleague, viii. 2348.
 Feyrde, *a.* fourth, ii. 845.
 Feythment, *s.* feoffment, vii. 2354,
 3516. *See* feftment.
 Fichit, *pt.* fixed, set, vii. 578.
 Filly, *s.* young mare, viii. 3050.
 Filtht, *s.* filth, i. 920.
 Filyt, *pt.* defiled, vii. 2119.
 Fine, *s.* end, ix. Prol. 5.
 Firmys, *s.* *pt.* forms, i. 1475.
 Firslaught, *s.* lightning, vi. 425 (W
 fyreflaucht).
 Fischeare, *s.* fisher, v. 694.
 Fischyn, *s.* fishing, i. 1355.
 Flatlingis, *adv.* flat, flatly, viii. 2104,
 ix. 1147.
 Flattys, *s.* fields, plains, iii. 239.
 Flawis, *s.* sparks, flashes, vi. 78.
 Flawmande, *pr. p.* shining, iv. 228.
 Fle, *s.* fly, W iv. 771.
 Fleande, *pr. p.* flying, vi. 77.
 Fleche, *v.* to coax, to flatter, iii. 184;
 flechand, *pr. p.* W vi. 1809; fleche-
 ande, viii. 1708.
 Flechouris, *s.* flatterers, vi. 1771.
 Flechyng, *s.* flattery, coaxing, iii.
 341, 375, vi. 1777; *pt.*, viii.
 2708.
 Flemyt, *pp.* banished, ii. 779, iii. 512.
 Fleschly, *a.* carnal, ii. 118, 1273.

- Flewour, *s.* smell, i. 1039; flewoure, iv. 275.
- Fleworande, *pr. p.* smelling, viii. 1478.
- Fleycht, *s.* flight, ii. 1339.
- Fleyit, *pp.* frightened, vi. 322, 1924.
- Flitande, *pr. p.* quarrelling, iii. 763.
- Flittande, *pr. p.* moving, vi. 2223.
- Flot, *s.* fleet, vii. 2585, viii. 3384; flote, iv. 849.
- Flour de lice, *s.* "fleur de lis," W vii. 2131.
- Flowrit, *pt.* flowered, decked up, viii. 3268.
- Floys, *s.* pool, iv. 234 (flosche W).
- Flude, *flud, s.* flood, river, i. 231, 959, ii. 457; fludis, rivers, i. 129.
- Flum, *s.* river, i. 904, 925.
- Flurisses, *v.* are thriving, i. 574; flureist, *pt.* adorned, i. Prol. 10.
- Flurynys, *s.* florins, W ix. 1059.
- Flux, *s.* dysentery, v. 821 (flukis W).
- Flygand, *s.* flight, flying one? W vi. 2289.
- Flyttit, *pp.* removed, vii. 781; flyttynge, *s.* baggage, viii. 5692.
- Folk, *s.* people, nation, ii. 285 (a folkis W); folk, ii. 290.
- Folowis, *s.* companions, iv. 1475.
- Foly, *a.* foolish, W ii. 1451, W viii. 1624.
- For; bot for, although, because, viii. 5337, 5341. N. E. D. But, *c.* 29.
- Forbere, *v.* to pass by, to omit, to shun, ii. 1029, 1060, v. 3933; forbar, *pt.*, iii. 822.
- Forbodyn, *pp.* forbidden, ii. 598, 604.
- Forborn, *pp.* borne with, v. 3954.
- Forbyssenynge, *s.* presage, viii. 6119.
- Fordeide, *s.* benefit, ii. 980.
- Fordid, *pt.* destroyed, slew, W v. 941, W v. 5258; fordide, v. 3961.
- Fordillit, *pp.* hidden, kept concealed, ii. 874 (fordelyd R).
- Fordo, *v.* to oppress, W v. 3842; to confound, W viii. 5538.
- For elderis, *s.* ancestors, ix. 1606.
- Foret, *s.* forehead, i. 721, 746.
- For faughtyn, *pp.* exhausted with fighting, iii. 298.
- Forfet, *pp.* forfeited, vii. 2272.
- Forga, *v.* to forfeit, v. 594.
- Forletit, *pp.* given up, forgotten, W ii. 876.
- Forly, *v.* to lie with, viii. 2741.
- Formale, *a.* formal, proper, right, ix. Prol. 58 (formabill L).
- Formast, *a.* first, W v. 4886; formest, W vi. 1461.
- Formyt, *pp.* fully formed, ripe, mature, W v. 4047.
- For out, *prep.* without, viii. 184.
- Forouth, *adv.* previously, W ii. 658.
- Forouttyn, *prep.* without, i. 923, 1405, ii. 205; forouttin maire, without delay, immediately, W ix. 1100.
- Forow, *prep.* before, iv. 2382.
- For quhy, *conj.* because, W ii. 201.
- Forrayide, *pt.* plundered, ix. 637.
- Forreouris, *s.* foragers, iv. 453, viii. 6194.
- Forret, *s.* forehead, v. 5396; front, top? viii. 6193.
- For rewit, *pt.* rued greatly, vii. 3297.
- Forrow, *prep.* before, viii. 2381 (L).
- Fors, *s.* strength, i. 976, ii. 30; on fors, of fors, violently, by strong means, i. 1036, ii. 1600, 1638; wij forssis, with force, i. 403.
- Forsawycht, *pp.* premeditated, vii. 2988; forsauycht, vii. 3017.
- Forseying, *s.* foresight, W vi. 2545.
- Forslatis, *s.* small forts, W viii. 4007.
- Forspokyn, *pp.* previously arranged, viii. 2852.
- Forssit, *pt.* enforced, endeavoured, viii. 5608.
- Forstaris, *s.* forresters, vi. 738.
- Fortaleis, *s.* forts, viii. 1717.
- Forteris, *s.* fortresses, viii. 5008.
- For thi, *conj.* therefore, i. 1193, ii. 495.
- Forpirmare, *adv.* further, ii. 862.
- Forthynek, *v.* to repent of, v. 5309; forthocht, *pt.*, W vii. 3257.
- Forthocht, *pp.* premeditated, W vii. 2954; forthowcht, vii. 2988 (R), vii. 3017 (R).
- Fortres, *s.* fortress, viii. 3697.
- Fortulice, *s.* fortalice, viii. 4177, 4211.
- Fortyrit, *pp.* exhausted, iv. 739, v. 148.
- For wakyn, *pp.* exhausted with waking, viii. 2547.
- Forzet, *pp.* forgotten, vii. 3146; forzet, *pt.* forgot, iii. 969; forzhēt, vii. 1782.
- Fosterit, *pp.* brought up, iii. 637; fostorit, i. 1538.
- Foundar, *v.* 1336.
- Founde, *v.* to depart, to go, viii. 6905, 7072.
- Foundit, *pp.* founded, i. 868, 1704; grounded, W viii. 317; foundyt of, relying on, vi. Prol. 15.
- Fourtid, *a.* fortieth, v. 405.
- Foyle, *s.* foal, i. 1042.

- Foysson, *s.* plenty, vi. 1433.
 Fra that, *conj.* from the time that, i. Prol. 27.
 Fraist, *v.* to test, to try, W vi. 2242.
 Franche, *s.* French language, viii. 1661.
 Franchis, *s.* freedom, i. 938, 1100, viii. 64 (*franchtis* Au); *franchisse*, liberty, right, v. 1308; *frenschess*, W i. 926.
 Frankys, *a.* French, of France, vi. 969.
 Fransche, *a.* Gaulish, iv. 2044.
 Fratoure, *s.* refectory, vii. 880.
 Fraucht, *s.* freight, vi. 2069.
 Fraucht, *pp.* carried, vi. 2059; *frauchtit*, vi. 2070.
 Fraudful, *a.* treacherous, viii. 5075.
 Frawort, *a.* adverse, iv. 949.
 Frayn, *v.* to enquire, iii. 376; *fraynit*, *pt.* prayed, begged, viii. 1023.
 Fre haldandis, *s.* freeholders, viii. 1741; *fre haldaris in the other texts*.
 Frecke, *s.* man, i. 359.
 Frelage, *s.* freedom, privilege, W Chap. xvii. (*heading*).
 Freris, *s.* monks, W v. 2026.
 Freschly, *adv.* eagerly, with full vigour, viii. 2508.
 Frete, *pp.* fretted, worried? vi. 872 (E).
 Fretis, *s.* superstitions, omens, imaginings, v. 4845, vi. 2204, vii. 1409.
 Freyid, *pp.* freed, iv. 2035; *frethit*, set free, W viii. 5802.
 Freyndful, *a.* friendly, viii. 174 (*frenswm* R).
 Freyndit, *pp.* made friendly, ii. 1094.
 Freyr, *s.* friar, viii. 1819.
 Freyte, *s.* fruit, advantage, i. 1310.
 Frogis, *s.* frocks, viii. 5699.
 Froyt, *s.* fruit, profit, value, viii. 7058.
 Frusch, *s.* crash, W iv. 2389.
 Fruschit, *pt.* crushed, i. 368. *See* to *fruschit*.
 Fry, *s.* spawn, v. 598.
 Fude, *s.* person, maid, vii. 584.
 Ful, *a.* full, i. 915, *adv.*, i. 1027; at *ful*, fully, ii. 1266.
 Fulfil, *v.* to fill, to satisfy, ii. 118.
 Fullely, *adv.* fully, iii. 1058, 1186.
 Funding, *pp.* found, W iv. 660, 2720, W viii. 239.
 Fundyn, *pp.* found, ii. 175, 267, viii. 146.
 Funzeit, *pt.* fenced, viii. 6692 (*fenzeit* W).
 Fur, *s.* furrow, ix. 429.
 Furde, *s.* ford, viii. 3475, 4685; *furdis*, *pt.*, iii. 74.
 Furis, *s.* furrows, iv. 234.
 Furlet, *s.* firlet, a measure, ii. 442.
 Furme, *s.* form, shape, i. 1534, ii. 78, viii. Prol. 6.
 Furmyt, *pp.* built, founded, iii. 647.
 Furthe, *adv.* forth, i. 767, ii. Prol. 20; out, ix. 1108.
 Furtheryng, *s.* in furtheryng, henceforth, vii. 2673.
 Furthir, *v.* to advance, ii. 143; *furtherit*, *pp.* carried out, vii. 1712; *pt.*, led forth, spent, v. 3956.
 Furbirles, *s.* purposeless, useless, ii. 1373.
 Futesairis, *s.* merchants [peddlers], ii. 383 (E²).
 Fute steppande, *pr. p.* marching, viii. 4942.
 Fuyt, *s.* fool, viii. 1665.
 Fuyt, *a.* foolish, ii. 1455.
 Fylit, *pp.* defiled, W v. 3752; *pt.*, W viii. 762.
 Fyllokis, *s.* hussies, W v. 4047.
 Fylth, *s.* fulness, W i. 1334.
 Fyndar, *s.* finder, ii. 27.
 Fyndyng, *s.* means of living, v. 2388.
 Fyne, *s.* end, iv. 312, v. 3515.
 Fyre housse, *s.* a house with a fireplace, vi. 454.
 Fyrslaucht, *s.* lightning, iv. 2364.
 Fyrthe, *firth*, *s.* frith, i. 405, 1386.
 Gabbynis, *s.* idle words? vii. 2708 (L).
 Gait, *s.* goats, i. 216.
 Galon, *s.* a measure, vii. 2691.
 Galousse, *s.* gallows, viii. 3875; *gallousse*, viii. 3185; *galows*, ii. 1196 (*gallo* W).
 Gamyn, *s.* amusement, mirth, iii. 447.
 Gamysse, *s.* games, pleasures, viii. 5937.
 Ganecalling, *s.* opposition, W iv. 1810.
 Gane come, *s.* return, vi. 2246; *gane coyme*, v. 1130.
 Gane turnyng, *s.* turning back, ix. 764.
 Gangande, *pr. p.* going, walking; a *gangande childe*, vii. 1257.
 Gannyr, *s.* gander, iv. 1164 (*ganare* W).
 Ganyt, *pt.* availed, W v. 2432.
 Ganthe, *s.* bolt, viii. 5503.
 Gar, *s.* gore, v. 3359.

- Garison, *s.* garrison (garnysown R).
 Gast, *s.* ghost, ii. 180.
 Gat, *s.* way, road, iii. 292, viii. 238;
 gate, iii. 274; gat syde, roadside
 v. 4393.
 Gattyn, *pp.* begotten, iv. 1252; got,
 obtained, viii. 2855.
 Gaynande, *a.* profitable, advantage-
 ous, v. 2394, viii. 4170; gaynnande,
 i. 956.
 Gayne giffynge, *s.* giving back, viii.
 203.
 Gaynestude, *pt.* resisted, W v. 4498.
 Gawdis, *s.* deceits, viii. 1727.
 Gawille, *s.* gable, vii. 3369.
 Gayt, *s.* goats, ii. 22, 578.
 Geande, *s.* giant, ii. 452, 1655.
 Geas, *s.* the earth, i. 322; geoy, i.
 324.
 Gebet, *s.* gibbet, W vi. 1796, W vii.
 2367.
 Geire, *s.* armour, W vii. 326.
 Geistis, *s.* gests, i. Prol. 8.
 Geldit, *pp.* gelded, i. 1506, 1567, v.
 1645.
 Geldynge, *s.* eunuch, v. 1652, 5016.
 Gendyr, *v.* to cause, iv. 1752;
 genderis, begets, vi. Prol. 3.
 Genealogy, *s.*, ii. 134; genelogy, i.
 1683; geneologies, *pl.*, ii. 857.
 Generatiwe, *a.* procreating, vi. 2324.
 Gentil, *a.* noble, iv. 1531; gentil
 mennis, gentlemen's, ii. 1217.
 Gentillis, *s.* nobles, gentlemen, viii. 6961.
 Gentyl, *s.* Gentile, v. 301.
 Ger, *s.* armour, iv. 228; prewe ger,
 privy parts, iii. 866.
 Gerris, *v.* makes, causes, i. 225, 677,
 817, v. 1919; gert, *pt.*, i. 187, 847,
 954.
 Gersse, *s.* grass, ii. 1271; girse, i.
 568.
 Gest, *s.* joist, beam, viii. 4746.
 Gest, *s.* guest, i. 1639; gestis, *pl.*, ii.
 995.
 Gestis, *s.* gests, stories, vi. 273, 283.
 Gestnyng, *s.* stay, lodging, W vi.
 1666.
 Gesyne, *s.* childbed, v. 19.
 Get, *s.* offspring, progeny, vi. 2306,
 vii. Prol. 39, viii. 517; origin,
 begetting, vi. 1944.
 Gwyn, *s.* giving, gifts, viii. 7033.
 Giandis, *s.* giants, i. 304.
 Gif þat, *conj.* if, ii. 855.
 Giffin, *s.* giving, gifts, W vi. 1409.
 Gilry, *s.* cunning, v. 5593.
 Girnand, *pr. p.* grinning, W viii.
 3058.
 Girpand, *pr. p.* griping, snatching?
 ii. 1271 (L).
 Gladschip, *s.* pleasure, W vi. 1778.
 Gle, *s.* joy, ii. 966, viii. 176.
 Gleddis, *s.* hawks, vii. 3464.
 Glew, *s.* glee, viii 904, *rimes with*
rew.
 Glomyng, *s.* twilight, iv. 827.
 Gluffis, *s.* gloves, vii. 1999.
 Glute, *s.* filth, sewage, iv. 83, 88
 (glyt W).
 Gnype, *v.* to nip, to eat, v. 605;
 gnyppe, *pr. p.*, ii. 1271.
 Goddes, *s.* goddess, ii. 256, 440, 482.
 Godlyk, *a.* kind, ix. 1522.
 Gomes, *s.* gums, i. 457.
 Gor, *s.* gore, blod, iii. 49.
 Gottyn, *pp.* begotten, ii. 1652.
 Gownys, *s.*, ix. 834.
 Gouvernalle, *s.* governing, ruling, ii.
 1539, iv. 1599; provision, vi. 1436;
 gouernayle, i. 1368.
 Gouvernance, *s.* government, ii. 94,
 W ii. 728.
 Gouvernyt, *pp.* commanded, led, vi.
 2267.
 Gowlande, *pr. p.* howling, iv. 2122;
 gowlit, *pt.*, iii. 370.
 Gowlis, *s.* gules, iv. 321.
 Gowrd, *a.* dull, W ii. 1276.
 Goys, *s.* goose, geese, iv. 1172
 (guþ W).
 Graciously, *adv.* in a state of grace,
 ix. 2023.
 Graf, *s.* grave, vi. 314.
 Graif, *v.* to engrave, i. 252.
 Graith, *s.* readiness, good order, W
 iv. Prol. 20.
 Grantschire, *s.* grandfather, W vi.
 2530, W vii. 1804.
 Granyt, *pt.* groaned, iv. 812.
 Grasse, *s.* grace; of grasse, by favour,
 ii. 782.
 Grawal, *s.* gravel, v. 2906.
 Grawyn, *pp.* graven, engraved, vi.
 778.
 Grawyn, *pp.* buried, v. 2592.
 Grawynge, *s.* burial, v. 2590.
 Gre, *s.* degree, rank, position, i. 479,
 ii. 203, 209, W vi. 562; superiority,
 victory, iii. 972; greis, *pl.*, iii.
 162.
 Grecis, *s.* steps, degrees, v. 2985.
 Gredy, *adv.* greedily, i. 415.
 Greif, *s.* injury, hardship, v. 2730.
 Greiffit, *pp.* wronged, W viii. 2080.
 Greis, *s.* greaves, ix. 845.
 Greit, *a.* ready, willing, vi. 1052
 (greyd R, greyt W).

- Gretande, *pr. p.* weeping, v. 1950, vii. 2021; *gret, pt.*, W v. 899.
 Grete, *s.* weeping, iii. 392.
 Gret wayme, pregnant, v. 4823.
 Gretchynge, *s.* weeping, iv. 1681, 2244.
 Grew, *s.* Greek language, vi. 920, 2437.
 Grewis, *s.* grievances, vii. 1881, 2365.
 Grewis, *v.* grieves, ix. Prol. 40.
 Grewousse, *a.* hurtful, vii. 2610.
 Greyn, *s.* grass field, ii. 1270; battle-field, iv. 1519, 1634.
 Gripis, *s.* griffins, i. 576, 666.
 Growysar, *a.* more grievous? W iv. 1656.
 Grucheande, *pr. p.* grudging, objecting, iii. 198, v. 2078.
 Gryphys, *s.* griffins, i. 666 (R).
 Gryppit, *pt.* seized, viii. 203.
 Gud, *s.* possessions, goods, ii. 170, 1417, v. 5559; of gude, of means, iv. 2668.
 Gud, *adv.* fully, i. 397.
 Guddame; read gud dame, iii. 649. *See note*, p. 18.
 Gudfadyr, *s.* grandfather, vii. 1362.
 Gudlely, *adv.* kindly, vi. 2086 (gudlykly R).
 Gudsyre, *s.* grandfather, iii. 1036, vi. 2488.
 Gule, *s.* gullet; in þar gule, on their mind, v. 2922.
 Gunnare, *s.* gunner, W viii. 4537.
 Guttis, *s.* guts, v. 3357.
 Gydit, *pp.* led, W ix. 596.
 Gyrrall, *v.* to crenellate, W. ii. 109.
 Gyrrned, *pt.* grinned, i. 447.
 Gyrrth, *s.* protection, refuge, i. 1661; gyrrthe, vii. Prol. 27; gyrrtht, v. 2882.
 Habade, *pt.* stood, iv. 2062.
 Habaide, *s.* delay, ii. 53, iv. 265.
 Habandon, *v.* to subjugate, to subdue, to overcome, ii. 804, 986; habandoun, v. 3666; habowndonyt, *pt.*, v. 3536.
 Habandoune, *s.* power, possession, W viii. 2681.
 Habitable, *a.* inhabitable, iv. 1768.
 Habitacion, *s.* dwelling, iv. 2026.
 Haboundance, *s.* abundance, ii. 552; habundance, i. 94.
 Haboundand, *a.* abounding, abundant, i. 107; habundande, i. 1235.
 Haboundandly, *adv.* abundantly, i. 1038.
 Haboundly, *adv.* plentifully, i. 1344.
 Habyrioune, *s.* cuirass, "lorica," iv. 2308; habyrione, viii. 4876.
 Had, *pt.* held on, went, v. 2980.
 Haf, *v.* to have, i. 954; haff, i. 1447; haffand, *pr. p.*, ii. 39.
 Haffynge, *s.* behaviour, manners, iv. 1991, v. 741, vii. 741; haiffand (*a mistake for haiffing*), ix. 2713.
 Hail, haile, *a.* whole, i. 815, 840, 1081.
 Haill, *adv.* wholly, i. 249.
 Hair, *a.* hoar, i. 449.
 Hak, *s.* hacking, W viii. 2212.
 Hakkit, *pp.* shattered, W vii. 3130.
 Hald, *v.* to hold, i. 88; halde, i. 1404; holde, i. 1559; haldyn, *pp.*, ii. 1354; haldyng, *pp.*, W v. 4458, W viii. 3633.
 Halde, *s.* lying place, lair, v. 2974.
 Haldyn, *s.* holding, ix. 1073, viii. 3148 (R), W halding.
 Halfis, *s.* parts, W ii. 1210, 1378.
 Hallely, *adv.* wholly, ii. 59, 202.
 Halow, *v.* to bless, ii. 1075.
 Halowis, *s.* saints, vi. 35.
 Hals, *s.* neck, ii. 574.
 Halsing, *s.* embrace, W viii. 4949.
 Haltand, *a.* haughty, W viii. 3296.
 Hamly, *a.* tame, iv. 2113; homely, simple, viii. 805.
 Hamlynes, *s.* tameness, iv. 2118.
 Hammer heid, *s.* the head of a hammer, viii. 6694.
 Hamprede, *pp.* hindered, v. 5250.
 Hamyr, *s.* hammer, iii. 100; hameris, *pl.*, i. 227.
 Hand; bere on hande, to assert, to maintain, viii. 4918; bare on hand, maintained, viii. 148; borne on hand, blamed, accused, W ix. 546.
 Handewerk, *s.* handiwork, iii. 958.
 Handil, *v.* to handle, v. 1368; handillit, *pt.* dealt with, treated, iv. 1353, viii. 3213; handlit, handlyt, harassed, mauled, iv. 604, vii. 1275.
 Hange, *v.* to hang, vii. 2372. *See* Hyng.
 Hank, *s.* coil, iii. 361.
 Hannis, *v.* barks? v. 3749 (E²).
 Hant, *s.* haunt, W iv. 2121.
 Hanting, *s.* frequenting, W v. 54.
 Hantit, *pp.* filled, possessed, W vii. 3400; *pt.* used, practised, W vii. 2703, W viii. 5682.
 Hap, *s.* fortune, luck, vi. 48.
 Happely, *adv.* by good fortune, i. 1573.
 Happit, *pt.* covered up, W iii. 93.
 Harde, *s.* pain? W v. 3403.

- Hardely, *adv.* holdly, viii. 5679.
 Hardement, *s.* courage, iv. 2186.
 Hardnyt, *pt.* urged, iv. 239.
 Hardy, *a.* daring, iii. 495.
 Hardymment, *s.* boldness, viii. 3453, 3458.
 Harlle, *v.* to drag, to draw, iv. 1602 viii. 3185; harlit, *pt.*, W viii. 2075.
 Harnast, *pp.* dressed, viii. 5592.
 Harnes, *s.* privy members, i. 449.
 Harnys, *s.* brains, v. 640, viii. 4895.
 Harreage, *s.* stud, viii. 3049. Fr. *haras*.
 Has, *v.* 1 *sing.* have, ii. 328.
 Hast, *v.* to hasten, iii. Prol. 37; hast, *pp.* hastened, hastening, v. 2363.
 Hasterit, *mistake for* hastenit? W iv. 1760.
 Hat, *pt.* was called, i. 870, 1088, v. 2633.
 Hate, *a.* hot, i. 1161; keen, ix. 545.
 Hattyne, *pp.* called, W ii. 278, 642, 911.
 Haw, *v.* to have, to hold, v. 742, 3838.
 Haw, *v.* *pres.* ought to, iv. 1988 (W *aw*).
 Hawin, *s.* haven, i. 409.
 Hawit, *pt.* behaved, ix. 3073.
 Hawkyn, *s.* hawking, i. 1354 (halking W).
 Hawtan, *a.* proud, v. 741, ix. 1418; hawthane, viii. 2680.
 Hawtanlly, *adv.* haughtily, vi. 892.
 Hawynge, *s.* means, fortune, iv. 1988.
 Haylssum, *a.* wholesome, i. 1338.
 Haylstanys, *s.* hailstones, ii. 1169.
 Haym, *adv.* home, ii. 167.
 Haymly, *adv.* familiarly, v. 871 (hamelely W).
 Hear, *a.* higher, iii. 497, viii. 2184.
 Heast, *a.* highest, ii. 470.
 Hecht, *pp.* called, W vi. 2429.
 Hedgere, *s.* head-dress, v. 1529.
 Hedyt, *pp.* beheaded, viii. 4703.
 Hee, *a.* high, viii. 2105; he, ix. 3039.
 Heicht, *pt.* promised, viii. 1714.
 Heif, *v.* to lift, v. 3693.
 Heil, *s.* good, profit, ii. 407; health, v. 2684.
 Heill, *v.* to cover, W viii. 5492.
 Heipit, *vp.* *pp.* heaped up, W ii. 446.
 Helde, *pt.* held; helde at vndyr, scorned, vi. 2414.
 Helely, *adv.* highly, angrily, vii. 1632 (hely W).
 Helping, *s.* plot? W viii. 601.
 Hely, *adv.* highly, i. 362; loudly, viii. 3484.
 Hemmynis, *s.* skins of the shanks (of deer), viii. 4420.
 Hende, *adv.* next, immediately, v. 2777.
 Hendyr, *v.* to hinder, vi. 1510.
 Herandis, *s.* errand, business, vii. 1567.
 Herbery, *s.* dwelling, shelter, iv. 2672; herbry, i. 213; herbereis, *pl.*, vi. 153.
 Herbry, *v.* to lodge, to dwell; herbryt, *pt.*, vii. 2968.
 Here, *s.* threads? iii. 724.
 Hereide, *pt.* harried, viii. 2431, 5765; hereyde, vii. 2864.
 Heretabilly, *adv.* heritably, ii. 730.
 Heris, *s.* masters? W iv. 1968.
 Herratis, *s.* heralds, viii. 5283 (harrotis W).
 Herrotik, *s.* heretic, v. 3336, 4596; heretik, v. 3455.
 Herroure, *s.* error, v. 4616.
 Herschip, *s.* harrying, plundering, viii. 2426, 3852; herschipe, ix. 1048.
 Herse, *s.* quoting? vi. 818 (E).
 Hert, *s.* hart, i. 1301, iii. 353; hertys, *pl.*, viii. 4420.
 Hery, *v.* to harry, vii. 3050; heryt, *pp.*, vii. 3044.
 Herytabyll, *a.* that will inherit, ix. 3093.
 Het, *heit*, *s.* heat, i. 1172, 1174.
 Het, *pt.* warmed, iv. 356.
 Hething, *s.* scorn, i. 464.
 Hethynes, *s.* derision, W viii. 3203.
 Hew, *s.* precipice, viii. 5734; hewis, *pl.*, i. 545.
 Hewid, *s.* head, i. 696, 704; hewit, i. 138.
 Hewit, *pp.* raised, v. 2090; *pt.* heaved, i. 362.
 Hewit, *pt.* cut, slashed, W viii. 2212.
 Hewit, *a.* coloured, hues, vii. 796.
 Hewy, *a.* heavy, ii. 1170.
 Hewynes, *s.* sorrow, iv. 2084.
 Heycht, *s.* promise, viii. 2718.
 Heycht, *pt.* promised, iii. 227.
 Heyt, *pp.* raised, exalted, viii. 6078.
 Heythyng, *s.* derision, scorn, iii. 836, iv. 702, viii. 4993.
 Heythtyn, *a.* heathen, v. 4604.
 Heythynnes, *s.* paganism, v. 5452, vi. 621.
 Heythynnys, *s.* heathens, v. 5616.
 Hicht, *s.* height, i. 837, viii. 2491.
 Hid, *s.* hide (of land), vii. 255.

- Hidillis, *s.* hiding-place, i. 182, W viii. 1500; hidlis, viii. 2091.
 Hidis, *v.* 3 *pl.* cover, conceal, i. 1350.
 Hidwise, *a.* hideous, W iv. 1209; hiddwis, vi. 1021 (E²).
 Hi, *hy, v.* to hasten, viii. 3758.
 Hie, *a.* high, i. 407, 861.
 Hie, *v.* to raise, to increase, i. 1456.
 Hiely, *a.* haughty, W v. 657 (halye E).
 Hirdis, *s.* shepherds, i. 213, v. 1388.
 Hiris, *pr.* hers, W v. 4448, W vi. 1698.
 Hirssal, *s.* herd, lot, viii. 1765.
 Hirst, *s.* hillock, mound, i. 400.
 Historyalle, *s.* historical, v. 4288, vi. 284 (his story haill WA).
 Hiwit, *pp.* hived, iii. 146.
 Ho, *s.* stop, pause, vi. 1374.
 Hofferande, *pr. p.* hesitating, iv. 2062.
 Hol, *a.* hollow, iii. 926.
 Holme, *s.* holm, flat land, i. 1350, vi. 1611, viii. 2491.
 Hone, *s.* delay, W viii. 4862.
 Honorable, *a.* honourable, v. 1262; honerabil, viii. 785; honerabil, vi. 1680.
 Honerably, *adv.* honourably, viii. 2208, 2989; honerably, vi. 136, vii. 405, 869.
 Honest, *a.* honourable, ii. 714, iv. 1572.
 Honeste, *s.* honour, viii. 6140, *rimes with cuntre*.
 Hop, *s.* hope, i. 1566, vi. 1848.
 Hope, *s.* a small valley, W vii. 51.
 Horribilite, *s.*, v. 2960 (*variant*).
 Hostlar, *s.* hosteler, innkeeper, ii. 990. *See note*, p. 16.
 Houerande, *pr. p.* waiting, iv. 2377.
 Housse, *v.* to keep in a house, v. 5072.
 Houssil, *s.* communion, v. 2129.
 Howe, *s.* hough, v. 1683.
 Howerynge, *s.* hesitation, doubt, vi. 2459.
 Howgatis, *adv.* how, W viii. 4008.
 Howit, *pp.* void? viii. 4583 (L).
 Howk, *s.* hulk, bulky mass, i. 362 (husk W *wrong*).
 Howyn, *pp.* baptized, v. 293.
 Hoys, *s.* hose, ii. 1103.
 Hoyn, *s.* delay, ii. 1194; hoyne, iii. 772.
 Huffit, *pp.* waited, ix. 1009; *pt.* halted, viii. 3572.
 Huffyng, *s.* waiting, iv. 229.
 Hugis, *a.* huge, loud, i. 812, 877, iv. 1165.
 Hugisly, *adv.* greatly, ii. 496.
 Hugsum, *a.* awful, iv. 1203.
 Hukys, *s.* barbs (of an arrow) ii. 41.
 Huld, *a.* gracious, loyal, v. 5072.
See Hold a. in N. E. D.
 Humage, *c.* homage, viii. 1987.
 Humyll, *a.* humble, ix. 2718.
 Hurde, *s.* hoard, v. 5410, vii. 2589.
 Hure, *s.* whore, iii. 369.
 Husbande, *s.* master of the household, ii. 1500; husbandis, husbandmen, v. 3181.
 Husbandry, *s.* tillage, ii. 367.
 Husy, *s.* hussy, v. 5072.
 Huyche, *s.* heugh, precipice, vii. 509.
 Hy, *s.* haste, ii. 393.
 Hyndyr, *a.* hundred, vi. 2357.
 Hynge, *v.* to hang, vii. 2369, 'viii. 3186; hyngande, *pr. p.*, vi. 1279.
 Ianuar, *s.* January, iv. 40; Ianuere, ii. 600.
 Iapyt, *pt.* abused, viii. 2044 (Au).
 Il, *s.* illness; dedil, deathbed, vii. 3324.
 Ilde, *pt.* would not, viii. 2131, *instead of nilde*.
 Ilk, *a.* same, i. 308.
 Ilk, *a.* each, every, i. Prol. 43, i. 694.
 Ilk ane, *pr.* each one, i. 358; ilkan, i. 760.
 Illumynynt, *pt.* enlightened, vii. 843.
 Immedyate, *a.* direct, directly, vi. Prol. 20, viii. 834, vii. 1773 (R).
 Impedymnt, *s.* obstacle, i. 1482, ii. 1448, ix. Prol. 36.
 Implyide, *pp.* involved, v. 2092.
 Imposicionys, *s.* charges, taxes, v. 1534, 5008.
 Impray, *v.* to harry, W ix. 590.
 Imbuschit, *pt.* ambushed, concealed, iii. 319.
 Imbuschmentis, *s.* ambushes, W viii. 3989.
 Incedens, incidence, *s.* incidents, i. Prol. 121, ii. 835 (incedentis W), iii. Prol. 27; *a.* incidental, iv. Prol. 29 (incedentis W).
 Inclynynt, *pt.* obeyed, vii. 2281.
 Inconvenyentis, *s.* hardships, vii. 1802.
 Increly, *adv.* earnestly, eagerly, ii. 1272.
 In cummyng, *s.* entrance, iii. 70.
 Indenture, endenture, *s.*, viii. 2801, 2807, 2829.
 Indifferent, *a.*, vi. Prol. 35.

Inducit, *pt.* induced, viii. 3314.
 Industry, *s.*, ii. 549.
 Infest, *pp.* tormented, iii. 349.
 Information, *s.* learning, W v. 2017.
 Inforton, *s.* calamity, v. 3113.
 Infurmyt, *pp.* informed, trained, iv. 1610, vii. 2256.
 Ingyne, *s.* art, ii. 549.
 Inhabit, *pp.* inhabited, ii. 787; *pt.*, ii. 298, iii. 545.
 In habitand, *pr. p.* inhabiting, iv. 2532.
 Inhabitioun, *s.* dwelling, W iv. 2032.
 Inhabyde, *pt.* inhabited, ii. 1676; inhabyde, iv. 1796, *rimes with occupyde*.
 Inherdans, *s.* followers, successors, W viii. 997.
 Inhibicion, *s.* forbidding, v. 3654.
 Inione, *v.* to enjoin, v. 3809; iniwnyt, *pp.*, viii. 3220; *pt.*, v. 2856.
 Inkirly, *adv.* earnestly, viii. 180.
 In mediate, *adv.* directly, vii. 1422 (immediate R).
 Innocentis, *s.* innocent people, viii. 1915.
 Innymy, *s.* enemy, ii. 64.
 Innys, *s.* inns, lodgings, iii. 747, iv. 2665, viii. 2100.
 Inquisicion, *s.* examination? viii. 3516. *See note*, p. 91.
 Insample, *s.* example, i. 1673.
 Insawmpil, *s.* instance, viii. 564.
 Insesit, *pp.* seized, viii. 7089.
 Insignyis, *s.* insignia, viii. 1957.
 Instance, instans, *s.* request, appeal, i. Prol. 55, v. 1573, vii. 3039.
 Intentlyfully, *adv.* carefully, viii. 2835 (E); intentykly (A).
 Instruckyt, *pp.* instructed, viii. 2364 (instruct RW, instruit Au).
 Instructour, *s.* manager, leader, ix. 2096.
 Interpretouris, *s.* translators, i. 1734.
 Interrupcion, *s.* break.
 Interuallit, *pp.* alternating, W ix. 1052.
 Intrucion, *s.* usurpation, vii. 574; intrusion, v. 2421.
 Intrusit, *pp.* intruded, v. 4575.
 Intyscement, *s.* enticement, viii. 3318, 3324 (*see variants*).
 Invyroune, *adv.* around, W iv. 2582.
 Inwart, *adv.* within, iv. 2002.
 Inwiolat, *a.* pure, ix. 2756.
 Inwith, *adv.* inside, W iii. 966.
 Inwy, *s.* envy, jealousy, ii. 91, 322, 553, viii. 133; inwy, ii. 380.

Inwyus, *a.* envious, v. 5261.
 Ioly, *a.* merry, v. 289.
 Iourne, *s.* battle, iv. 1537; jousting, ix. 1136; piece of work, vi. 1921; iournayis, one day's journeys, i. 874.
 Iowalle, *s.* jewel, iii. 1049; iowelle, vi. 1932; ioweille, jewelry, iv. 2220.
 Ioyis, *v.* to enjoy, ix. 1915; ioif, W viii. 166; ioyis, viii. 338; ioyssit, *pt.*, vii. 1902.
 Irm, *s.* iron, i. 800, 1634.
 Irous, *a.* angry, vii. 1392.
 Irusly, *adv.* fiercely, angrily, ii. 1541, iv. 239.
 Is, *v.* =(you) are, v. 3919.
 Ischit, *pp.* gone away, iv. 466.
 Ithande, *a.* continual, steady, i. 1407, v. 5354.
 Ithandly, *adv.* eagerly, ii. 1623.
 Iubile, *s.* jubilee, ii. 174.
 Iugisment, *s.* judgement, W i. 1582, W v. 3876, W vii. 1030.
 Iuperdy, *s.* difficulty, i. Prol. 48; iuperdyis, *pl.* encounters, fight, ii. 1050.
 Iuperty, *s.* battle, ii. 1089.
 Iurisdiccion, *s.* jurisdiction, viii. 3286.
 Iust, *v.* to joust, viii. 5157.
 Iustaris, *s.* justers, tilters, viii. 5321.
 Iustyng, *s.* justing, tilting, vii. 1573, viii. 5318.
 Iustry, *s.* court of justice, viii. 3188; iustrice, viii. 7198; iustryis, *pl.*, vii. 2735.
 Karyt, *pt.* carried, vi. 793.
 Kechyn, *s.* kitchen, vii. 2753.
 Kem, *v.* to comb, ii. 271.
 Ken, *v.* to know, ii. 315; kende, *pp.*, ii. Prol. 6; *pt.*, ii. 386.
 Ken, *v.* to teach, to show, v. 2974, vii. Prol. 12; kende, *pp.*, iv. 1610; *pt.*, ii. 19, 159.
 Kennere, *s.* teacher, v. 300.
 Kennit, *pt.* acknowledged, v. 2043; kennyt, *pt.* taught, W ii. 173.
 Kep, *v.* to keep, to bring up, iii. 1022; kepyt, *pt.* attended, vii. 2128.
 Kepe, *s.* care, watching, attention, ii. 997, iii. 101.
 Keping, *s.* government, viii. 2309; kepyng, viii. 2309.
 Kerlyng, *s.* bad woman, v. 4759, iii. 762. *See Carling*.
 Kerse, *s.* cress, i. 434.
 Kest, *pt.* cast, threw, i. 1551, ii. 1448.

- Keyl, *v.* to kill, viii. 6428.
 Keyn, *a.* keen, shrill, eager, ii. 342, 1058, 1273.
 Keynd, *a.* kind, W vi. 1285.
 Kirtil, *s.* coat, plain tunic, viii. 5200.
 Knakkit, *pt.* mocked, tricked, viii. 1728.
 Knowlagis, *s.* knowledge, i. 827, ii. 385.
 Knaiff barnys, *s.* male children, ii. 558; knaif barnys, ii. 1491.
 Knychthade, *s.* knighthood, ii. 640.
 Knyt, *v.* to tie, to close up, viii. 3151; *pp.* bound, united, iv. 1440, 2066; *pt.* allied, joined, iv. 149; gathered, viii. 2601.
 Kocekane, *s.* "pudenda muliebria," W iii. 886.
 Kokcrawe, *s.* dawn, v. 1383.
 Kuthillis, *s.* groves, v. 4904 (kuchlis W).
 Ky, *s.* cows, ii. 22, vii. 3045.
 Kyd, *pp.* known, ii. 388.
 Kynbute, *s.* fine for the death of a kinsman, vi. 2278.
 Kynde, *s.* nature, ii. 523, 1286; sex, viii. 1842; "semen," i. 1038.
 Kyndil, *v.* to kindle, iii. 948.
 Kyndly, *a.* natural; kyndly tyme, time of confinement, v. 1970.
 Kyndly, *adv.* naturally, iii. 112, iv. 2119, vi. 1945.
 Kyning, *s.* kind, W vi. 1802.
 Kynryk, *s.* kingdom, i. 876, 907.
 Kyrkyt, *pp.* brought to church, v. 4887.
 Kyrkjarde, *s.* churchyard, v. 2432.
 Kyrnale, *s.* battlement, ii. 37.
 Kyrnalett, *pp.* fortified, v. Prol. 12; kyrnalyt, *pt.*, ii. 109.
 Kyrtil, *s.* coat, tunic, v. 5498; kyrtillis, *pl.*, iii. 166.
 Kyst, *s.* chest, box, i. 1625.
 Kytht, *s.* kith, kindred, ii. 1417; kythte, iv. 1777.
 Laberynt, *s.* labyrinth, ii. 1315.
 Lach, *adv.* low, iv. 1372 (RA), or a mistake for lath = loath.
 Laf, *s.* remainder, ii. 392, 1434, iii. 111, vii. 2166.
 Laid, *pp.* sent (to sea), ii. 1580.
 Laide, *pp.*, v. 1240, a mistake for vplaid, which see.
 Laif, *s.* remainder, i. 1122, ii. 86; laiff, iii. 602, vii. 1605.
 Laiff, *s.* loaf, vi. 1984; laf, vi. 1988.
 Laigh, *adv.* low, W viii. 5352.
 Lair, *s.* learning, knowledge, v. 2026; laire, W iii. 1006.
 Laising, *s.* lacing (of the armour), W viii. 4986.
 Laithe, *a.* loath, iv. 1372.
 Lak, *v.* to blame, to disparage, to despise, viii. 6757, ix. 1407; lakit, *pt.*, W iv. 1076; lakkit, *pp.*, W viii. 1614, 1633.
 Lakkest, *a.* most deficient, worst, iv. 1546 (L).
 Lame, *s.* hurt, W viii. 5210, 5228. See Layme.
 Lammes day, 1st of August, v. 4112 (Lambes day W).
 Langagis, *s.* language, i. 1533.
 Langagit, *pp.* learned in languages, W v. 1308.
 Langer, *adv.* more fully, iv. 1308.
 Langit, *pt.* pertained, vii. 3376.
 Langlestande, *a.* of long duration, ix. 1564.
 Langschankis; Eduard . . . with the langschankis, W iii. 1087.
 Langsum, *a.* too long, iii. 799.
 Langsumnes, *s.* prolixity, vi. Prol. 2.
 Lan3her, *s.* thong, viii. 4798.
 Lap, *s.* fold, iv. 2345.
 Lapande, *pr. p.* lapping, iii. 310.
 Lape, *v.* to leap, v. 2298; lap, *pt.* ii. 52, viii. 2884; lape, iv. 2264, viii. 2916.
 Lar, *s.* lore, teaching, v. 3935.
 Larde, *s.* lord, ii. 339.
 Lardschip, *s.* lordship, i. Prol. 59.
 Largeas, *s.* generosity, v. 873.
 Largenes, *s.* size, vii. 878 (largisnes A).
 Larges, *s.* size, i. 386; lairges, vii. 878 (Au).
 Largis, *a.* large, great, iii. 926, iv. 1662; largis, iv. 690, iv. 692 (A); larges, vii. 882 (R).
 Largite, *s.* generosity, W viii. 6731; largyte, W iv. 2542.
 Lasit, *pp.* laced = Lat. "torquati," iv. 1248.
 Lasse, *s.* cord, iv. 1233.
 Lat, *adv.* late, vii. 3000.
 Lathit, *pp.* despised, iv. 1068.
 Latis, *s. pl.* looks, manners, iv. 2524.
 Latthe, *a.* loath, ii. 17.
 Lattis, *v.* prevents, viii. 5527; keeps from, viii. 5530; lattit, *pt.* refrained, viii. 6740.
 Latty, *a.* latty day, last day of life, i. 1575, vii. 2290.
 Laubour, *s.* cultivation, ii. 254 (L).
 Lauche, *s.* law, ii. 374.

- Lauche, *adv.* low, v. 2291.
 Lauchfully, *adv.* lawfully, ii. 1140.
 Law, *s.* glow, v. 3108 (low W).
 Law, *s.* lowness, humility, v. 2580, 2581 (laich E).
 Law, *adv.* low, ii. 1337, v. 5392; lawche, v. 5403; lauyche, v. 5409.
 Lawche, *a.* low, iv. 2349.
 Lawd, *a.* rude, worthless, W iii. 1108.
 Lawd, *pp.* lauded? W iv. 952.
 Lawde, *s.* praise? W iv. 2013.
 Lawiche, *adv.* low, ix. 1188.
 Lawid, *a.* lay, unlearned, vii. 720, viii. 1819.
 Lawit, *pp.* lowered, W viii. 2354.
 Lawnde, *s.* plain, vii. 50.
 Lawnes, *s.* lowness, W v. 2622.
 Lay, *v.* to send, to launch (ships), vi. 2429.
 Lay, *s.* delay? W v. 509.
 Layde, *pp.* made, prepared, iii. 352.
 Laykkande, *pr. p.* sporting, amusing (herself), ii. 1268.
 Laykkyng, *s.* sport, jousting, viii. 5186.
 Layme, *s.* hurt, wound, viii. 5245.
 Layne, *v.* to conceal, viii. 3479, W v. 1138.
 Layne, *s.* concealment, lie, W v. 3057.
 Layr, *s.* burial-place, vii. 3245.
 Layr, *s.* teaching, vi. 1053.
 Laythe, *a.* loath, unwilling, ii. 1135; unpleasant, ii. 1145.
 Laythly, *adv.* gruesomely, viii. 3547.
 Le, *s.* peace, quiet, vii. 3622, 4992.
 Leaute, *s.* loyalty, ii. 1148.
 Lecherness, *s.* lechery, W vi. 355.
 Lechit, *pp.* cured, attended to, v. 4359.
 Lechory, *s.* lechery, ii. 60.
 Led, *v.* to lead, iii. 262.
 Ledar, *s.* leader, ii. 781, v. 5139; ledeyr, vi. 2254.
 Leding, *s.* governing, W v. 472.
 Lef, *v.* to leave off, i. 826, 932, ii. 1678; to refrain, vii. 2061; leff, iii. Prol. 7.
 Lefiar, *adv.* rather, v. 3246 (levare W).
 Left, *pt.* was left, remained, iv. 1183.
 Lefull, *a.* allowable, just, W vii. 2550 (leiffull A).
 Legioun, *s.*; definition of the word, W v. 3101.
 Leid, *s.* lead, i. 251.
 Leid, *s.* language, W iv. 2684, W viii. 1625.
 Leide, *pt.* lied, ix. 1160.
 Leide, *s.* people, v. 5784.
 Leif, *s.* leave, iii. 131, v. 159, vi. 2167.
 Leif, *a.* dear, v. 4927.
 Leif, *v.* to live, ii. 736.
 Leiff, *v.* to remain, to be left, v. 5038.
 Leill, *a.* true, i. 66, 372.
 Leire, *v.* to learn, W ii. 270.
 Leisch, *s.* leash, vi. 1858.
 Leit, *pt.* let, allowed, vii. 2648.
 Leit, *pt.* thought, viii. 3410, 6593; lett, viii. 5757.
 Lemande, *pr. p.* shining, v. 1922, vii. 233.
 Lemman, *s.* concubine, mistress, vi. 1632, vii. 609, viii. 2075, ix. 1273; applied to Ganymede, ii. 1036.
 Lenage, *s.* lineage, vi. 1782, W vi. 2469.
 Lent, *pt.* rested, set, iv. 231.
 Lentyn, *s.* Lent, v. 556.
 Lenythe, *s.* length, i. 815, iii. 946.
 Lep, *v.* to leap, v. 1110.
 Lepyr, *s.* leprosy, v. 2682.
 Lerit, *pt.* taught, vi. 257; learned, iii. 1355.
 Lerit, *a.* learned, viii. 1819.
 Lessit, *pp.* lost, ii. 1014.
 Lesse, *s.* lies, ii. 843; but les, truly, i. 1169.
 Lest, least; be þe lest, at least, ii. 983.
 Lestyng, *s.* duration, v. 3322.
 Lesuris, *v.* 3 *pl.* pasture, i. 212; (lesowyde *pt.* R, lesurit W).
 Lesyng, *s.* lying, i. 1473.
 Let, *v.* to hinder, ii. 1496; to prevent, v. 3755; *pt.* gave out, struck, iii. 294; made as though, tried, v. 1961; forbore, refrained, vii. 1163; allowed to be, viii. 4952.
 Let, *s.* delay, prohibition, ii. 205, vii. 2308; but let, without delay, i. 651, ii. 1405, iii. 317.
 Leth, *s.* hatred, disgust, iii. 229, iv. 1752, vi. Prol. 3, ix. 2929; lethe, viii. 2287.
 Lethirnes, *s.* idleness, vi. 351.
 Lettande, *pr. p.* saying, boasting? ix. 989.
 Letteris, *s.* letters, characters, i. 276; brokyn letteris, v. 72.
 Letterit, *pp.* learned, v. 1284, 1494; lettryt, vii. 1157.
 Lettrature, *s.* letters, ii. 253.
 Lettyt, *pp.* prevented, iv. 1648 (lettyne W).
 Leuacion, *s.* elevation (of the host), v. 1242, 1364.
 Leuch, *pt.* laughed, i. 455.

- Lew tenande, *s.* lieutenant, v. 4470.
 Lewar, *adv.* rather, v. 1430.
 Lewaris, *s.* levers, v. 3255 (E²).
 Lewis, *s.* leaves, i. 102.
 Lewit, *pt.* allowed, v. 707; gave up, v. 1277.
 Leyf, *s.* leave; of leyf, with leave, vii. 2891.
 Leyffit, *pp.* granted, allowed, vi. 1271; *pt.*, vi. 1264.
 Leyssit, *pt.* lost, v. 645.
 Leyssynge, *s.* lie, vii. 2370.
 Libel, *s.* small book, v. 3364.
 Librare, *s.* library, v. 1289.
 Licherousse, *a.* lecherous, vi. 2122.
 Lichery, *s.* lechery, i. 194.
 Licht, *v.* to alight, to fall, i. 366, ii. 1170.
 Lichtare, *a.* lighter, delivered of a child, iv. 1426; lichtare, vi. 1206; lichtere, i. 1514.
 Licht hewiddid, *a.* light-headed, ii. 1419.
 Lichtly, *adv.* briefly, i. 1103.
 Lichtlyast, *adv.* more readily, v. 2206.
 Lichtyt, *pt.* alighted, viii. 3151.
 Lief, *v.* to leave, to quit, ii. 735.
 Liffynge, *s.* living, viii. 4100, *a* mistake for lovinge?
 Lift, *s.* sky, iv. 2112.
 Lige, *v.* to lie, vi. 798.
 Lik, *v.* to please, viii. 5198; likyt, *pt.*, viii. 2793.
 Lik, *adv.* likely, v. 1339.
 Likande, *pr. p.* pleasing, ii. 74, 378, iii. 172.
 Likandly, *adv.* with pleasure, vii. 2295.
 Liken, *s.* liking, pleasure, viii. 5638; to likkin, to (their) liking, suitable, viii. 1751; in likyn, amicably, vii. 2886.
 Likly, *a.* pleasing, suitable, iii. 1060.
 Liklynes, *s.* resemblance, i. 45.
 Liknes, *s.* resemblance, i. 1304.
 Likyn, *a.* pleasing, agreeable, i. 1604; *a* mistake for likand?
 Likyn, *s.* pleasure, love, lust, ii. 44, 65, 71, iii. 397.
 Likynge, *s.* love, v. 252.
 Lil for lall, tit for tat, iii. 263 (lil for law E²); lil for lal, ix. 1439 (leil for law E²).
 Lippyn, *v.* to expect, to trust, v. 3303, vii. 554; lippynnyt, *pt.*, iv. 937, viii. 1890.
 Lippenynge, *s.* trusting, confidence, vii. 2242.
 Lippyr, *s.* leprosy, v. 2819.
 Listfully, *adv.* attentively, W vi. Prol. 24.
 Lit, *s.* dye, v. 1367.
 Lite, *s.* elect, ix. 556.
 Lithe, *s.* limb, joint, iii. 8, iv. 2522, vi. 1910.
 Liverit, *pp.* delivered, given up, ii. 1225 (L).
 Lof, *v.* to praise; lof God, God be praised, v. 3889; loffit, *pt.*, v. 4202, vii. 234.
 Loge, *s.* lake, W ii. 266.
 Lokkyt, *pp.* locked, iii. 330, viii. 1484.
 Lollardis, *s.* heretics, v. 3960 (lolaris E²); lollaris, ix. 2702 (lollard R).
 Lomys, *s.* privy parts, i. 1550; lomes, i. 458.
 Lordschipe, *s.* power, ii. 6; lordscippis, dominions, ii. 292.
 Lorkit, *pt.* went stealthily, W iv. 990.
 Lossit, *pt.* caused to lose, W v. 1992.
 Louche, *s.* lake, pond, ii. 266, vi. 650.
 Lourde, *a.* heavy, dull, sullen, ii. 1278, v. 2235 (lowryde R), viii. 1670 (lowryd R).
 Lourdnes, *s.* heaviness, dulness, viii. 1673 (louryntnes AuE²).
 Lousse, *v.* loose, ix. 135.
 Lousse, *v.* to set loose, to relieve, to break up, v. 617, 3777; lousit, *pp.*, vii. 3161; lousit, vii. 1776; lousit, *pt.*, iv. 980.
 Low, *s.* flame, iv. 2111, v. 578.
 Lowe, *v.* to allow, W vii. 853; lowit, *pt.*, W v. 713.
 Lowing, *s.* praise, viii. 6644.
 Lowis, *v.* 3 *sing.* praises, i. 3; lowit, *pt.*, v. 4199.
 Lowis, *s.* lakes, vii. 1026, 3425.
 Lownderaris, *s.* skulkers, cowards, ii. 736 (cowartis E²).
 Lowrande, *pr. p.* frowning, threatening, iv. 984.
 Lowrdnes, *s.* heaviness, viii. 1651 (dournes Au).
 Lowsit, *pp.* loosed, i. 590.
 Lowssynge, *s.* release, viii. 6805.
 Lowynge, *s.* praise, iv. Prol. 46.
 Loyff, *v.* to praise, v. 4308.
 Loyme, *s.* contrivance, iii. 937.
 Luf, *s.* course (at sea), iv. 902, 945.
 Luf, *s.* love, i. 1560.
 Luffis, *v.* 2 *sing.* likest, v. 2577; luffit, *pp.*, ii. 186; *pt.*, ii. 376.
 Luftennande, *s.* lieutenant, viii. 2086; luftennande, ii. 352.

- Lufrent, *s.* love, W v. 513, W v. 2369.
 Luyngis, *s.* lodgings, i. 822.
 Lummanry, *s.* adultery, W viii. 3082 (lemmanry Au).
 Lumpe, *s.* lump, mass, v. 2099; whole, viii. Prol. 23; heap, viii. 3547.
 Lune, *s.* moon, i. 854.
 Lurdane, *s.* churl, clown, vi. 1090.
 Lurdanes, *s.* heaviness, dullness, vii. 3467 (lourdnes in other texts).
 Lurkand, *pr. p.* hiding, i. 205.
 Lust, *s.* pleasure, will, W viii. 702.
 Lustely, *adv.* in lust, v. 4390; lustly, vi. 1168 (lustfully W).
 Luyche, *pt.* laughed, iii. 835, v. 4402.
 Ly, *v.* to lie; ly by, to sleep with, ii. 116.
 Lychtit, *pt.* alighted, v. 1847.
 Lychtly, *adv.* gently, vi. Prol. 30.
 Lychtlyast, *adv.* most easily, iii. 412.
 Lychtlynes, *s.* carelessness, viii. 3413.
 Lychtynge, *s.* alighting, viii. 5387.
 Lyin, *v.* to lie, ii. 337; *pp.* lain, ii. 343, v. 3892.
 I.yin, *s.* carnal connexion, ii. 1008.
 Lyk, *v.* to lick, viii. 4501.
 Lyklyly, *adv.* naturally, vii. 3465.
 Lyklynes, *s.* likelihood, probability, v. 1330, vii. 3431, ix. 1904.
 Lys, *s.* lice, vi. 745.
 Lym, *s.* limb, i. 742; lymmys, *pl.*, iii. 867.
 Lyne, *pp.* lain, W v. 3760.
 Lynalle, *a.* in a direct line, vi. 2314; lineall, i. 492; lynealle, viii. Prol. 13; lynyalle, viii. 302.
 Lynealy, *adv.*, ii. 218; lyneally, viii. 286.
 Lynge, *s.* line, viii. 3567.
 Lyngit, *pt.*; lyngit on, kept on, iv. 344 (lyggit R).
 Lynt, *s.* flax, i. 101; linen, v. 1366.
 Lyppynnyng, *s.* hope, iv. 1394.
 Lyre, *s.* flesh, W vii. 2750.
 Lyte, *s.* elect, vii. 741, 1849.
 Lytis, *s.* strifes, fights, W iv. 1242.
 Lywe, *s.* life, ii. 1190.
 Ma, *v.* to make, i. 768; walde paim ma, would endeavour, iii. 608.
 Madynhade, *s.* virginity, iii. 1014; maydynheide, ii. 1522.
 Maile, *s.* rent, tax, ii. 369.
 Mailzet, *s.* mallet, iii. 104.
 Mais, *v.* makes, i. 1730.
 Maif, *s.* bushels, W iv. 1567.
 Maistry, *s.* mastery, i. 317.
 Makaris, *s.* makers, founders, i. 1308.
 Makles, *a.* matchless, v. 149.
 Makyn, *s.* action, deed, vi. 843.
 Malancoly, *s.* vexation, anger, viii. 6040; malancolyne, v. 2409.
 Malediction, *s.* curse, i. 465 (male-soune W).
 Malis, *s.* dues, taxes, viii. 5840.
 Malwis, *s.* mallows, i. 434 (mawis W, mawe R).
 Man, *v.* must, i. Prol. 61.
 Manans, *s.* menace, i. 1664, ii. 1280.
 Mandely, *adv.* manfully, v. 5643; mandly, v. 5716.
 Maner, *s.* manor, vii. 626.
 Mangery, *s.* feast, repast, iii. 836, viii. 1671; maniory, ii. 1011, vii. 461, ix. 2855.
 Manky, *pp.* maimed, iii. 15, vii. 2061.
 Manlik, *a.* manly, viii. 2125.
 Manlykly, *adv.* manfully, viii. 2073 (R).
 Marchandysse, *s.* bargain, business, occupation, v. 3434.
 Marcheand, *pr. p.* bordering, near, iv. 2444, viii. 187.
 Marchearis, *s.* neighbours, iv. 1316; marcheris, ii. 1428.
 Marchis, *v.* borders, is near, ii. 1662.
 Marcii, *s.* month of March, viii. 3001.
 Mare, *s.* mayor, iv. 2581; maris, headmen, vii. 124.
 Marschael, *s.* marshal, chief officer, vi. 2001, viii. 2856.
 Martyry, *s.* martyrdom, v. 1183, vii. 1622; martery, v. 2273; martary, slaughter, ix. 894; martyr, slaughter, W ix. 123.
 Mas, *s.* undivided mass, v. 3579.
 Massy, *a.* massive, iv. 1917.
 Mastry, *s.* mastery, power, ii. 1424, iv. 1676, W v. 1499; mastres, *pl.*, i. 1460 (maysterys R), not in variants.
 Mastres, *s.* mistress, ix. Prol. 39.
 Mastyr, *s.* need, ix. 40.
 Mate, *a.* beaten, vanquished, iv. 2299; helpless, vii. 142.
 Maucht, *s.* might, W iii. 784.
 Maungery, *s.* feasting, v. 2952.
 Maw, *s.* stomach, ii. 200.
 Mawche, *s.* son-in-law, ii. 1631 (mayghe W); mawiche, i. 1641, v. 1401.
 Mawis, *s.* mavis, i. 1352.
 Mawis. See Malwis. W iv. 1969, a mistake for wawis.

- Mawis, *v.* mows, W v. 1499.
 Mawite, *s.* malice, viii. 216.
 Mawmentry, *s.* idolatry, i. 1682, 1713.
 Mawmet, *s.* idol, v. 5588; mawment, v. 5590.
 Mawtelent, *s.* ill-will, viii. 6000.
 May merry, ii. 1011 (E²), *for* manitory.
 Maye, *s.* maiden, viii. 45.
 Mayne, *s.* power, strength, i. 964, W vi. 2151.
 Mayne, *s.* plaint, lament, moan, ii. 1439, iv. 620, vii. 152.
 Maynfull, *a.* strong, ix. 1145 (manful *others*).
 Maynteinyng, *s.* support, help, viii. 5671.
 Mays, *v.* 3 *sing.* makes, i. 1042; 3 *plur.*, ii. 596.
 Medful, *a.* worthy of reward, vii. 3578 (R); meidfull, vii. Prol. 42.
 Mediate, *a.*, *mistake for* immediate, vii. 1773.
 Medycynare, *s.* physician, v. 1411, 2684.
 Mekit, *pt.* humbled, v. 2589.
 Meitly, *adv.* properly, meetly, W v. 1352.
 Melis, *v.* 3 *plur.* speak, *sing.* i. 1352.
 Mell, *s.* hammer, viii. 6731.
 Mell, *v.* to meet in battle, viii. 2239 (mellay R); mellit, *pt.*, ii. 1380, iii. 587; *pp.*, v. 2837.
 Melle, *s.* fight, iii. 26, 535.
 Meltyn, *pp.* molten, W iv. 1937.
 Memore, *s.* memory, i. 1652, *rimes with* befor; memor, memorial, v. 1049.
 Memoryalle, *s.* chronicle, record, viii. 2953; memoriall, *a.* as a record, worthy of remembrance, iii. Prol. 16.
 Menande, *pr. p.* mourning, deploring, ii. 1440, v. 3710.
 Mende, *v.* to amend, to atone for, vi. 2136.
 Mending, *s.* relief, W v. 2426.
 Menstrailssy, *s.* music, singing, iii. 974, v. 2631 (minstraly W).
 Mensk, *s.* honour, W v. 410.
 Menyng, *s.* record, mention, viii. 6048.
 Menyng, *s.* lamenting, viii. 6025.
 Menynt, *pt.* deplored, lamented, iii. 393, v. 2804, vii. 151, ix. 1986.
 Menynt, *pt.* meant, W viii. 992, 1626.
 Men3e, *family*, followers, ii. 170.
 Merd, *pp.* grieved, W vi. 1234.
 Merget, *s.* market, W iv. 2365.
 Meris, *s.* boundaries, i. 1202, viii. 4018.
 Meris, *s.* mares, i. 1019, 1032.
 Merl, *s.* blackbird, i. 1352.
 Merowre, *s.* mirror, vi. 680.
 Merrit, *pt.* thwarted, v. 662.
 Merryng, *s.* harm, viii. 4861.
 Merwalus, *a.* marvellous, ii. 1254.
 Mesoure, *s.* middle course, ii. 1348; measure, ii. 441.
 Mesoure, *a.* measured, W v. 3490.
 Messelry, *s.* leprosy, v. 2683.
 Mesynge, *s.* calming, resting, iv. 734.
 Met, *s.* food, i. 1346; booty, iii. 257.
 Met, *v.* to measure, ii. 441; met, *pp.*, iv. 1555.
 Met, *v.* to meet, i. 1034.
 Metane, *s.* glove, viii. 5399 (myttane W).
 Mete, *a.* fitting, viii. 7000.
 Metis, *s.* boundaries, W i. 1190.
 Metropolitane, *s.*, vii. 1747.
 Meyn, *v.* to mean, ii. 1279; to mention, v. Prol. 14.
 Meyne, *a.* intermediate, vi. Prol. 23, viii. 835.
 Meyne, *v.* to lament, to regret, iv. 1999.
 Midlenteryn, *s.* Midlent, viii. 4165.
 Mir, *s.* myrrh, v. 92.
 Misfaire, *v.* to fare badly, to fail, W iv. 1006.
 Modyr nakyt, stark naked, vii. 2747.
 Moffand, *pr. p.* waging (war), iii. 896.
 Molde, *s.* earth, vii. 572.
 Moltynnyt, *pt.* melted, iv. 1921.
 Mon, *v.* must, i. 628.
 Mona, *s.* month, viii. 3813 (R).
 Monarchi, *s.* monarchy, iv. 2438.
 Mone, *s.* money, vii. 196; mone3, ii. 361, vii. 197.
 Monest, *v.* to admonish, v. 4529.
 Monethe, *s.* month, ii. 599; *pl.*, i. 1403, 1581.
 Monte, *s.* mountain, ii. 588.
 Monwmentis, *s.* written documents, iii. 660.
 Monycionys, *s.* admonitions, vii. 2275.
 Morel, *s.* black horse, iv. 729.
 Morn, *s.* morrow, v. 920.
 Mortalite, *s.* death, i. 116; pestilence, ii. 513, 581; mortal nature, v. 3668.
 Mossit, *pt.* mused? W ii. 492, 499.
 Mot, *v.* must, ii. 244; may, viii. 6576.
 Moucht, *pt.* might, could, ought, ii. 1285, vi. 92, vii. 2282, viii. 4897.
 Moueth, *s.* mouth, iv. 2570.

- Movare, *s.* mover, cause, W iv. 2108.
 Movyr, *a.* quiet, steady, gentle, v. 3444 (R) (mure L); mowyr, i. 967 (R) (muyre E², mure L); movir, vii. 914 (R) (moyre W, moir L). *See note*, p. 40.
 Moverly, *adv.* soberly, gently, vi. 2085 (R).
 Mowis, *v.* 3 *pl.* move, i. 964; mowande, *pr. p.* moving? v. 3444; mowit, *pp. pt.*, ii. 310, 612, iii. 522, iv. 1614.
 Mowlyt, *a.* mouldy, ii. 1104.
 Mowtownys, *s.* gold coins, "moutons," viii. 6442.
 Mowynge, *a.* moving? i. 967.
 Moyf, *v.* to move, to urge, iii. Prol. 14; moyff, ii. 17.
 Moys, *s.* bushels, iv. 1555 (R).
 Moythe, *a.* [bold, *see* Mudy], ix. 1618 (muth R).
 Mude, *s.* mud, clay, iv. 16.
 Mude, *s.* courage, viii. 3987.
 Mudewal, *s.* earth wall, viii. 5556.
 Mudy, *a.* angry [bold], W ix. 909.
 Multyr, *s.*; multyr fre, free from multure, viii. 4355.
 Mulyd, *pt.* whined, mewled, iii. 370 (R).
 Murmurit, *pp.* murmured against, vi. 1486.
 Murthir, *s.* murder, ii. 1010, vi. 2368 (murthure W).
 Murthereris, *s.* murderers, iv. 1581.
 Murtheris, *v.* to kill, viii. 3200; murthrist, *pp.*, vi. 709.
 Mute, *v.* to speak, W vi. 893.
 Mwde, *s.* mud, v. 237.
 Mwdy, *a.* [bold, *see* Mudy], ix. 995 (E²).
 Mwssande, *pr. p.* musing, vii. 512.
 Mwyle, *s.* mill, vi. 1153 (myll R, mylne Au).
 Myddillar, *a.* more moderate, v. 3734.
 Myddis, *s.* middle, i. 798, iv. 1201.
 Myde, *a.* middle, iv. 2368.
 Mydfynger, *s.* middle finger, ii. 430.
 Mydyngge, *s.* manure-heap, midden, viii. 3766.
 Mydwaxande, *s.* first quarter (of the moon), ii. 1176.
 Myn, *a.* less, ii. 1070, iv. 2542; mynne, viii. 731.
 Mynowris, *s.* miners, viii. 5535.
 Mynstracion, *s.* power of ministering, vii. 1488.
 Mynt, *v.* to aim at, iv. 821, viii. 2606, ix. 3164.
 Myris, *s.* swamps, bogs, viii. 5979, 5984.
 Myrk, *a.* dark, vi. 1197.
 Myrknyt, *pp.* darkened, i. 200.
 Mysdemyngis, *s.* wrong judgments, W v. 4352.
 Mysdoaris, *s.* evil-doers, iv. 1583.
 Mysdon, *pp.* done badly, i. 1413, vii. 2177.
 Mysdoynge, *s.* wrong-doing, v. 4330.
 Myse, *s.* mice, vi. 1440; mysse, vi. 1446.
 Myse, *s.* harm, iii. 825; mysse, i. 1665 (myifs W).
 Mysfure, *pt.* miscarried, W viii. 2254.
 Myskende, *pp.* not understood, ii. Prol. 12.
 Myslewynge, *s.* mistrust, iii. 407, v. 446.
 Mysrewlit, *a.* unlawful, ix. 3137 (R).
 Myifs, *adv.* amiss, viii. 6764.
 Myssomyr, *s.* midsummer, vii. 368.
 Mystar, *s.* need, v. 2388.
 Mystarit, *pt.* needed, viii. 3267.
 Mystely, *adv.* obscurely, mysteriously, ii. 1247, v. 4217, 5432, W viii. 4515.
 Myster *s.* business, ii. 90; mystere, need, i. 100, iv. 1626.
 Mystilyk, *a.* mysterious, not clear, ix. 3137.
 Mystrow, *v.* to disbelieve, i. 1556.
 Mysty, *a.* obscure, mysterious, ii. 319 (mystyk R), vii. 473.
 Myte, *s.* mite, smallest quantity, v. 1146.
 Na, *conj.* than, i. 1628; na war, were it not, iii. 854, v. 1279.
 Nakyn, *a.* no, no kind of, i. 962, 965, ii. 89.
 Name, *v.* to call the roll of, W viii. 5956.
 Nanys; for þe nanys, now, iii. 871.
 Narrowly, *adv.* strictly, closely, viii. 3252 (naroly W).
 Natywite, *s.* birth, v. 332; Christmas, v. 561.
 Navet, *s.* incense-boat, ix. 601.
 Nawil, *s.* navel, v. 3578.
 Nawyn, *s.* navy, fleet, ii. 251, 436, iii. 573, viii. 1748.
 Neide, *s.*; on neide, of necessity, ii. 391; of neid, i. Prol. 61.
 Neiff, *s.* fist, hand, ix. 1210.
 Nemmyt, *pp.* called, said to be, iv. 597 (namit W).
 Nere, *adv.* nearer, viii. 5523.
 Ner hand, *prep.* near, i. 576.

- Nerrast, *a.* nearest, i. 873; nerrest, iv. 1454.
 Nesse, *s.* nose, i. 924.
 Nessethrillis, *s.* nostrils, vii. 2011.
 Nethir, *a.* lower, W viii. 4449.
 New; of new, anew, again, ii. 155, 510, iv. 931, vii. Prol. 6 (o new W, on new R).
 Newingis [*?* see note, p. 112], viii. 3813 (newing E).
 Newis, *s.* fists, viii. 6970.
 Newlingis, *adv.* newly, W v. 1696.
 Newow, *s.* nephew, ii. 1258; newowe, grandson, v. 381, viii. 341, 358, 367, 372.
 Neyche, *v.* to approach, i. 1160.
 Neyde, *s.* lack, vi. 2132.
 Neythe, *adv.* below, v. 3580.
 None, *s.* nun, vi. 1824, viii. 1819.
 Notis, *v.* denotes, vii. 3138.
 Notis, *s.* [*?*], W vi. 566.
 Nought for þi, *adv.* nevertheless, ii. 601.
 Nowel, *a.* novel, new, ix. Prol. 7.
 Nowelry, *s.* novelty, v. 2924.
 Nowice, *a.* novice, untaught, iv. 1610.
 Nowmeryt, *pp.* numbered, ii. 969.
 Nowte, *s.* cattle, ii. 578, vii. 3045; bull, iii. 936.
 Nowtherane, nor any one? W v. 2510.
 Noye, *v.* to annoy, v. 5321.
 Noye, *s.* annoyance, viii. 5648.
 Noynty, *pp.* anointed, viii. 280 (Au).
 Nummyn, *pp.* taken, W ix. 966.
 Nuryse, *v.* to nurse, to bring up, ii. 1492; nuryst, *pp.* brought up, ii. 276.
 Nwk, *s.* corner, v. 3102.
 Nwrice, *v.* to fertilize, i. 130.
 Nwre, *s.* adopted son, v. 381.
 Nycete, *s.* simplicity, stupidity, i. Prol. 45, vii. Prol. 16.
 Nyche, *v.* to approach, viii. 6941; nyth *a* mistake in W.
 Nychtyt, *pt.* became dark, viii. 3437.
 Nygramenseris, *s.* necromancers, iv. 365.
 Nygromancy, *s.* necromancy, ii. 27.
 Nymmylnes, *s.* ability, nimbleness, iv. 737.
 Nyt, *pt.* denied, viii. 138.
 Nythterdaill, *s.* night time, W ix. 79.
 Obedienciaris, *s.* obedienciaris, owing allegiance, vii. 1745.
 Obeys, *v.* to obey, ii. 1424; obeys-sande, *pr. p.*, ii. 680, 1480.
 Obligator, *a.* binding, vii. 3311.
 Obligis, *v.* I *sing.* I obligis, v. 3813.
 Oblist, *pp.* obliged, bound, ii. 1116, v. 1408, viii. 1694; *pt.*, iii. 265.
 Obseques, *s.* funeral, ix. 533.
 Occiane, *s.* Ocean, i. 738, 1250.
 Ode, *a.* odd, ii. Prol. 32, iii. 662.
 Of, *prep.*; commendit of, commended as, vii. 529; of cause, for that reason, v. 4964; of, some of, viii. 5984.
 Offerand, *s.* offering, i. 174.
 Officeris, *s.* officials, viii. 2677.
 Offrande, *s.* offertory, v. 3855.
 Of stere, *v.* to go astray? iv. 992.
 Ogert, *s.* presumption, iv. 330.
 Olif, *s.* olive, i. 420.
 Olifantis, *s.* elephants, W iv. 1335.
 Omast, *a.* extreme, topmost, iii. 8 (A).
 Omely, *s.* homily, i. 39; omelyis, *pt.*, v. 5423.
 On ane, *adv.* soon, anon, iv. 1401; on one, ii. 1161.
 Onykyn, *a.* any, vi. 1451.
 Opinlike, *adv.* openly, W v. 308.
 Oportunyte, *s.* occasion, chance, v. 2080, 3774; fitness, propriety, ix. Prol. 10.
 Opponyonys, *s.* opinions, i. 1490.
 Opposityownis, *s.* objections, answers, viii. 1601 (R).
 Or, *conj.* before, i. 1584.
 Oratoure, *s.* oratory, v. 2885.
 Ordanyt, *pp.* arranged, ii. 1503; *pt.* ordained, ordered, ii. 245; ordande, iv. 1854, v. 1361.
 Ordynal, *adv.* in order, v. 3507.
 Ordynans, *s.* good order, viii. 3529.
 Originall, *s.* origin, i. 69; (heading), ii. p. 191; oryginalle, v. Prol. 4.
 Originall, *a.* concerning the origin, from the beginning, i. Prol. 96, iii. Prol. 15; orygnalle, ii. 887, vi. 283.
 Osprynge, *s.* offspring, v. 3152, vii. 2343.
 Ost, *s.* army, ii. 54.
 Ost, *s.* host, v. 1231.
 Ostays, *v.* 3 *pt.* fight in war, viii. 5195.
 Ostilage, *s.* hostelry, harbouring, W v. 441.
 Ostlare, *s.* host, i. 1640.
 Oþir, *a.* other; oþir half, one and a half, vi. 849.
 Oulkis, *s.* weeks, W v. 559 (olkis E).
 Our burde, *adv.* overboard, vii. 2590.
 Our byde, *v.* to pass over, iv. 2070; ourbaid, *pt.* outlasted, ii. 471.

- Ourdraif, *pl.* spent, v. 3465.
 Our drawkyt, *pl.* drenched, iii. 90.
 Ourdrewyn, *pp.* spent, v. 2829, vii. 4.
 Our drywande, *pr. p.* spending, passing, viii. 1792.
 Our fletis, *v.* overflows, i. 966.
 Ourfret, *pl.* covered up, swallowed up, i. 405.
 Ourga, *v.* to overcome, i. 231; ourgane, *pp.* elapsed, i. 424, vi. 1092.
 Ourhail, *v.* to go over, to describe, i. 1104; ourhayllit, *pp.*, i. 1412; ourhande, *s.* victory, superiority, viii. 5415.
 Our hasty, *a.* too hasty, v. 3841.
 Ourlarde, *s.* overlord, viii. 555.
 Oure leiffit, *pp.* left over, surviving, W iv. 1800.
 Oure man, *s.* ruler, chief, v. 2300; our men, *pl.*, vi. 1568; ouerman, i. 890.
 Ourpassit, *pl.* passed over, ii. 1067.
 Our rayde, *pl.* invaded, iv. 2201, viii. 7056.
 Oure ryot, *v.* to riot over, to waste, iv. 528.
 Oursessyt, *pl.* passed, v. 3832.
 Ourta, *v.* to overtake, i. 232; ourtane, *pp.*, i. 1361; ourtais, overtake, i. 714.
 Ourthort, *adv.* across, viii. 4654 (ourequhort A); ourthowrt, viii. 4677 (oureqwort A).
 Oure tyrand, *a.* too tiresome, W iii. 809.
 Ourtyrwe, *v.* to upset, viii. 6089.
 Ourzhuyde, *pl.* overran, overcame, ii. 570, 1566.
 Outhe, *adv.* above, over, iii. 99, 335, v. 3580; outht, i. 1577, v. 3443; owthe, iv. 2573.
 Outwart, *a.* exterior, iv. 2001.
 Outwith, *prep.* above, W vi. 856, 871; *adv.*, W iii. 965.
 Oxcange, *s.*, vii. 3606. *See note*, p. 91.
 Oyll3e, *s.* oil, i. 957.
 Oyntyd, *pp.* anointed, viii. 280 (R), 3135 (R); oynt, viii. 3135 (L).
 Oysse, *s.* use, i. 1310, ii. 246; habit, way of life, vii. 1218.
 Oysse, *v.* to use, i. 1265; oyse, i. 1218.
 Pade, *s.* frog, i. 1389.
 Paddok, *s.* frog, v. 621 (paddo W); padok, v. 598; paddokys, *pl.*, ii. 570.
 Paganry, *s.* paganism, W vi. 635.
 Pair, *v.* to impair, to become worse, i. 471.
 Pak, *s.* pack, lot, iii. 762; pakkis, *pl.*, iv. 2680.
 Pape, *s.* pap, breast, ii. 1494; pappis, *pl.*, viii. 1504, 6965.
 Parage, *s.* rank, viii. 190.
 Paramoure, *adv.* with illicit love, ii. 1604; peramowris, iv. 215.
 Parcenary, *s.* partnership, iv. 1759.
 Pare, *s.* pair, viii. 2869.
 Parifyis, *v.* compares, equals, v. Prol. 2; parifyide, *pp.*, iv. 1304.
 Paroche, *s.* parish, v. 2888, viii. 857; parochy, v. 2435, 2884; parochis, *pl.*, v. 2433.
 Parouris, *s.* embroidered ornaments, ix. 596.
 Part, *adv.* partly, in part, ii. 836.
 Partanys, *s.* crabs, i. 813.
 Partles, *a.* having no share (in), free (from), vi. 2284, 2412, vii. 1536.
 Party, *s.* part, i. 1364; a party, in part, partly, iii. 354; in to gud party, in a fair way, W viii. 4554.
 Partyner, *s.* partner, v. 1859.
 Pask, *s.* Easter, v. 555; Pask day, vi. 2395; Pask candil, v. 5433.
 Passande, *pr. p.* passing, vi. 2063 (W passang a scribal slip).
 Passande, *adv.* passing, exceedingly, W ii. 333.
 Passe, *s.* Easter, viii. 3.
 Passe, *s.* passage, chapter, ii. 1062.
 Passe, *s.* *pl.* paces, i. 1452.
 Passing, *s.* crossing, sea passage, i. 586, W vi. 2476.
 Pastoryne, *s.* pasture, W i. 1330.
 Pathement, *s.* pavement, v. 3850.
 Pax, *s.* kiss of peace, v. 4013, 5738, vii. 996.
 Payit, *pp.* pleased, vii. 1673.
 Payn, *v.* to exert, viii. 5000.
 Payne, *s.* punishment, vi. 1179, viii. 3536; difficulty, viii. 3194.
 Paynttoure, *s.* painting, i. 1654; payntoure, v. 48; payntour, W v. 952.
 Paythment, *s.* pavement, v. 3690, 5400.
 Peax, *s.* peace, W vii. 1239.
 Peil, *s.* peel, viii. 2404.
 Pek, *s.* peck, measure, ii. 442.
 Pelff, *s.* plunder, booty, viii. 2598, 2653.
 Pellour, *s.* fur, viii. 1955.
 Pennowne, *s.* pennon, iv. 225, viii. 2614.
 Pentysse, *s.* sheds, v. 3107.
 Per, *prep.* by, ii. 1501; per ordyr, in order, v. 2842, 4940.

- Peralousse, *a.* dangerous, ii. 1378; peralous, ii. 1531.
 Peramowris. *See* Paramoure.
 Perdrowry, *adv.* illicitly, i. 1562.
 Pere, *s.* peer; but pere, peerless, i. 127.
 Pere, *s.* pear, a small quantity, iv. 769.
 Perfurnyst, *pt.* supplied, viii. 5443.
 Perfytyl, *adv.* entirely, v. 2343.
 Perk, *s.* perch, pole, W v. 645.
 Perles, *a.*, a mistake for partles? W vi. 2458.
 Peroffer, *s.* offer, proffer, viii. 1243; perofferis, *pl.*, viii. 41.
 Perofferit, *pt.* offered, vii. 3007, 3059, viii. 1231.
 Perplexite, *s.*, ii. 615, iv. 2096, v. 2930, vii. 3628.
 Persawyt, *pp.* seen, vii. 1664; *pt.*, ii. 1189.
 Persecutour, *s.*, v. 3531.
 Persenere, *s.* partner, ii. 1003.
 Person, *s.* parson, viii. 1865.
 Personage, *s.* parish church, ix. 2017.
 Personere, *s.* partner, v. 2486; personer, i. Prol. 61.
 Persoune, *s.* priest, W vi. 1297.
 Pert, *a.* expert, skilled, v. 275; open, bold, v. 3539. *See* Apert.
 Pertinacioun, *s.* obstinacy? W viii. 1659.
 Pertrackyt, *pp.* accomplished, carried out, vi. 1846 (pertract E).
 Pessabil, *a.* peaceable, vi. 1524 (pessabilis AuE², corrupted from pessabilis, peaceable's in W); pessabil, vii. 3576.
 Pesse, *s.* peace, i. 1642.
 Pesse, *s.* piece, viii. Prol. 21; peysse, vi. 1656.
 Pete, *s.* pity, ii. 483; piety, vi. 159.
 Pete pot, *s.* peat hole, viii. 3172, 3182.
 Phialis, *s.* phials, flagons, ix. 588 (phibbys E).
 Pigh, *s.* pith, strength, W iv. 1759, 1814.
 Pipis, *s.* casks, viii. 3591.
 Pithtis, *s.* *pl.* pith, valour, ii. 18.
 Plaister, *s.* plaster? i. 235.
 Plane, *a.* plain, evident, his own, W viii. 5774.
 Plat, *pt.* put on, ii. 50.
 Platit, *pp.* plated, overlaid, vi. 775.
 Play, *s.*; chawmyr play, love play, ii. 67; playis, *pl.* displays, sports, iv. 216.
 Playne, *s.* field, iv. 1458.
 Playne, *a.* full, open (battle), ii. 81, 1533.
 Playne, *a.* level, viii. 5384.
 Playner, *a.* full, plenar, viii. 2846.
 Playnly, *adv.* fully, viii. 5337.
 Playntit, *pt.* set, laid, viii. 3818.
 Playokis, *s.* playthings? ix. 588 (R), a misreading for phiallis.
 Plede, pleid, pleide, *s.* plea, pleading, i. 1594, ii. 244, v. 2876, viii. 442, 1600.
 Pley, *s.* plea, W viii. 346.
 Plentuosite, *s.* plenty, W ii. 304.
 Plenyst, *pp.* stocked, W ix. 586.
 Plew, *s.* plough, plough land, hide of land, vii. 3611; pluyche, vii. 3603; plewyche, vii. 3609; plewis, *pl.*, vii. 3608, viii. 3162.
 Plewchirnys, *s.* plough irons, viii. 3163, 3171, 3174.
 Pleynzheide, *pt.* complained, iii. 371.
 Pleyssance, *s.* pleasingness, viii. Prol. 9; pleyssans, welcome, ix. 264.
 Pleyt, *s.* state, condition, W ix. 1104.
 Ploddeir, *s.* [*see note*, p. 117], viii. 4996 (ploddeill W).
 Ploid, *v.* [?], W ix. 47. [*See note*, p. 117. Perhaps 'ploid' (cf. 'plod,' English, and *polander*, French)=to be at chronic strife, with its attendant 'trucidationes praedationes . . . et captiones,' for which see Bower, xiv. 37, and cf. 'Destruction of Troy,' 12,862.]
 Pluk, *v.* to rob, to plunder, ix. 47 (A).
 Plumat, *s.* pommel, iii. 46 (plomat W).
 Ply, *s.* plight, condition, v. 1714; fold, viii. 4877, ix. 1508.
 Pointalis, *s.* daggers, iv. 2339 (L).
 Polakis, *s.* pole-axes, viii. 2528; poll-axis, iv. 728.
 Polesy, *s.* policy, organisation, W vii. 957.
 Poll, *s.* head, iv. 2544, 2551, 2573.
 Pollute, *a.* foul, v. 1663.
 Pombil, *a.* pomely, dappled, iv. 217.
 Pompus, *a.* proud, v. 2151.
 Ponzane, *s.* encounter, fight, viii. 5354 (ponyhe R, ponze A).
 Portculyce, *s.* portcullis, viii. 4946, 5713.
 Portrature, *s.* picture, representation, v. 944.
 Porturyt, *pp.* represented, depicted, v. 5394 (A).
 Portynance, *s.* appurtenances, viii. 7088.

- Posseid, *v.* to possess, W viii. 240 ;
 possessedand, *pr. p.*, W iv. 2556.
 Possibilite, *s.* what is possible, i.
 Prol. 66.
 Postremys, *s.* posterns, W iv. 277.
 Postulacion, *s.* [incomplete election],
 ix. 2213.
 Postulat, *s.* nominated, postulated
 (bishop), vii. 2912 (L).
 Postule, *v.* to postulate, ix. 2215 ;
 postulit, *pt.*, vii. 2912 (poistyllyt
 Au).
 Potage, *s.* ; pai potage, that pottage,
 W ii. 209.
 Potent, *s.* powerful, ix. 1261.
 Pouerall, *s.* poor people, rabble, W
 iv. 1665.
 Pouste, *s.* power, ii. 326, 1364.
 Poyntis, *s.* points, v. 2148, vii. 2884
 (punctis E).
 Poyndis, *s.* pouds, pointed cattle, ix.
 48.
 Poynt, *s.* state, degree, W ii. 386.
 Poyntment, *s.* pointing out, distinc-
 tion, viii. 2947.
 Poynzhe, *s.* encounter, ix. 217 ; poynzhe,
 W viii. 5154 ; poynzheis, *pl.*, W vii.
 3366.
 Practykyd, *pp.* performed, vi. 1846
 (R).
 Prayis, *s.* preys, spoils, iii. 257, viii.
 2419.
 Prebendaris, *s.* holders of prebends,
 canons, ix. 2905.
 Prechis, *s.* preachings, W v. 3392.
 Prefacion, *s.* preface (of the Mass),
 v. 1363.
 Prefer, *v.* to be preferred, viii. 358 ;
 preferrende, *pr. p.* preferable, viii.
 356.
 Preiß, *s.* pressing, hurry, v. 2421 (E²).
 Prekande, *pr. p.* riding, spurring, ii.
 1188 ; prekis, 2 *sing.*, vi. 2232 ;
 prekyt, *pt.*, viii. 2258.
 Prematiwis, *s.* elements, v. 1985.
 Premissioun, *s.* promise, W ii. 1114
 (promissyowne R).
 Prenwsticacion, *s.* prognostication,
 viii. 429.
 Prerogatywe, *s.* privilege, iv. 1789
 (*adjective in W*).
 Pres, *s.* press, ii. 296 ; hurry, iv.
 978.
 Presande, *s.* present, iii. 939 ; in til
 presande, as a present, viii. 3799.
 Prescripcion, *s.*, loss [by lapse of
 time. *See note*, p. 32], v. 649.
 Present, *pt.* presented, vi. 1299.
 Preson, *s.* prisoner, v. 2284.
 Presse, *s.* pressing need, viii. 4229 ;
 but presse, easily, iv. 1620.
 Presumpcion, *s.* foreboding, ii. 402 ;
 assuming (the crown), vii. 380.
 Pretor, *s.* "prætores," iv. 1527.
 Previt, *pp.* deprived, W vi. 218.
 Preuocatioun, *s.*, W viii. 4085, *a*
mistake for prognostication.
 Prewae, *a.* privy, secret, ix. 1723.
 Prewaleggit, *pp.* privileged, vii. 2231.
 Prewaly, *adv.* secretly, privily, ii.
 119, iii. 65.
 Prewate, *s.* secrecy, iii. 428 ; pre-
 wateis, privacies, iii. 339.
 Prewes, *s.* privy, iii. 54, vi. 1728.
 Prewenyt, *pt.* anticipated, forestalled,
 ii. 212.
 Preyff, *v.* to prove? iv. 1978 ; to put
 to the test, v. 542 ; prewit, *pt.*
 proved to be, ii. 78.
 Prik, *v.* to ride, ii. 1244.
 Prik, *s.* pole, v. 639 ; pointed instru-
 ment, vi. 1406.
 Primas, *s.* primate, vii. 1334.
 Prince3, *s.* princess, W ii. 334.
 Prisonynge, *s.* imprisonment, iv. 133.
 Prissit, *pp.* prized, held, iv. 1656.
 Priually, *adv.* secretly, ii. 973 ; priw-
 ally, ii. 1353.
 Procesß, processe, *s.* progressive course,
 narrative, i. Prol. 98, ii. 767, 962,
 iv. 1156, vi. 2308.
 Procuratoure, *s.*, v. 4303, 4319 ; pro-
 curatouris, *pl.*, v. 279, viii. 1620.
 Procure, *v.* to provide for, to treat,
 vi. 357 ; procurit, *pp.*, viii. 3648 ;
pt., ix. 2488.
 Profession, *s.* declaration, iv. 2569.
 Proffer, *v.*, *a mistake for* prefer? vi.
 1774.
 Prole, *s.* offspring, ix. 2755.
 Prolixite, *s.*, vi. Prol. 1 ; prolexite, viii.
 5838 (A), *a mistake for* perplexite.
 Promissyowne, *s.* promise, ii. 1114
 (R).
 Promotour, *s.* promoter, vi. 995 (pro-
 movare W).
 Promowit, *pp.* promoted, vii. 2246.
 Pronewow, *s.* great-grandson, viii.
 342, 357, 372.
 Pronowns, *v.* to declare, v. 4284.
 Proponit, *pt. pp.* proposed, viii. 52,
 57.
 Proportis, *v.* relates, set forth, viii.
 3125.
 Proportyonyt, *pp.*, vi. 1909.
 Propyrte, *s.* right, ii. 1446 ; in
 propyrte, properly, i. 691, 1205, ii.
 525, 1350.

- Proscripcion, *s.*, iv. 2172.
 Proscrywit, *pp.* proscribed, iv. 2173.
 Protestacion, *s.* protest, viii. 2335.
 Prow, *s.* advantage, W vii. 666.
 Prowest, *s.* prefect, v. 983, 1682.
 Prowit, *pt.* proved, displayed, vii. 1571.
 Prowocacion, *s.* incitement, viii. 2976.
 Pruff, *v.* to prove, to test, ii. 18, iii. 946; *pruffit*, *pp.* displayed, ii. 375, vii. 3151.
 Prynceheide, *s.* princehood, kingship, vii. 3466.
 Pryne, *s.* pirn, bobbin, v. 5037.
 Prysse, *v.* to appraise, to judge, viii. 5289.
 Prysse, *s.* price, v. 858, 5559.
 Prysse, *a.* high, great, v. 4332.
 Prywacion, *s.* deprivation, viii. 1866; deposition, viii. 1701.
 Public, *a.* public, i. 1656; *publik*, vi. 177 (*publict* E², *publy* Au).
 Publissyng, *s.* making public, v. 3825.
 Pulder, *s.* powder, dust, ashes? v. 629 (L).
 Pvnsonnys, *s.* poniards, iv. 2339.
 Punysson, *s.* punishment, viii. 3240.
 Pupill, *s.* people, ii. 823.
 Purchans, *adv.* perhaps, ix. 906.
 Purchas, *purchases*, *s.* arrangement, contrivance, iv. 1234, v. 5573, viii. 1661; of *purchas*, illegitimate, vii. 395, 1251, viii. 5742.
 Purches, *v.* to gain, to seek, to solicit, iv. 736; *purchessande*, *pr. p.*, viii. 5328; *purchest*, *pt.*, vii. 3249, 6796.
 Purgator, *s.* purgatory, v. 5510.
 Purge, *v.* to exculpate, to acquit, vii. 3006; *purgit*, *pp.*, vii. 2764.
 Purificacion, *s.*, v. 22.
 Purposse, *s.* intention, end, aim, ii. 144, 618, 1532; *purpas*, vii. 1781.
 Purpur, *s.* purple, v. 5721.
 Purwaide, *pp.* provided for, viii. 3249.
 Put, *v.*; stand and put, viii. 3507 (*stand a put* WR); *put agayne*, *pp.*, viii. 5367. *See note*, p. 111.
 Putry, *s.* whoredom, v. 4389.
 Puy, *s.* pool, vi. 797.
 Pygh, *s.* pith, strength, W iii. 349.
 Pyncyllis, *s.* "virgæ viriles," iv. 1931, *instead of* pyntyllis?
 Pyne, *v.* to torture, ii. 1142; *pynande*, *pr. p.*, iii. 951; *pynys*, wears out, overcomes, iv. 795.
 Pyne, *s.* suffering, misery, i. 1102, 1549.
 Pynouris, *s.* toilers, ii. 555, 1154 (*pynowraris* W).
 Pyntillis, *s.*, W iv. 1937. *See* Pyncyllis.
 Pythe, *s.* violence, iv. 1636.
 Quayntance, *s.* acquaintance, friendship, W vii. 2518.
 Quell, *v.* to kill, W viii. 6234.
 Queyn, *s.* few, v. 3197.
 Queyn, *s.* heifer, iii. 220, *a mistake?* *See* Qwy.
 Quhewe! *interj.*, viii. 4949 (Au); *quhow* W.
 Quhy, *s.* reason, W ii. 1128.
 Qwantysse, *s.* skill, cunning, i. 1637, iii. 184, v. 2668; *qwanteis*, ii. 363.
 Qwantite, *s.* size, ii. 698.
 Qwartaris, *s.* quarters, limbs, iii. 829.
 Qwartarit, *pp.* quartered, viii. 2970.
 Qwawe, *s.* quagmire, viii. 5979.
 Qwenys, *s.* queans, v. 4027.
 Qwerne, *s.* mass? iv. 1922. *See note*, p. 28.
 Qwet, *s.* wheat, iii. 240; *qwhet*, ii. 101.
 Qwepirwart, *adv.* in what direction, vi. 2008.
 Qweyr, *s.* choir, v. 3505, vii. Prol. 7.
 Qwhalme, *s.* pestilence, ii. 577; *qwhalmys*, *pl.* calamities, vii. 3429.
 Qwhatkyn, *a.* of what kind, what kind of, ii. Prol. 1; *qwhatkyn* . . . *sa euir*, whatever, ii. 1314.
 Qwhayne, *s.* few, iv. 740; *qwheyn*, iv. 491.
 Qwhedyr, *adv.* whither, v. 2361; *qwepir*, v. 2363.
 Qwhedyr, *conj.* yet, nevertheless, viii. 4791 (*þe quheþer* W); *þe qwhedyr*, viii. 6949; *neuer þe quheþer*, W viii. 5298.
 Qwhile he . . . *qwhile* he, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, v. 3163 (*quhillis* he . . . *quhillis* he E²).
 Qwhit, *qwhite*, *v.* to requite, to pay back, ii. 1443, iii. 263, iv. 899.
 Qwhit, *adv.* quite, ii. 1185, iii. 113.
 Qwhit, *a.* white, i. 703, 1010.
 Qwhit clemyt, *pt.* gave up, set free, vii. 2046, ix. 1873.
 Qwiknyt, *pt.* revived, ii. 412.
 Qwy, *s.* heifer, iii. 220 (R).
 Qwyet, *s.* wheat, vii. 3617.
 Qwyete, *s.* rest, iii. 314.
 Qwyntice, *s.* skill, iv. 865.
 Qwyntly, *adv.* skillfully, artfully, ii. 212, 1128.
 Qwyte for qwyte, blow for blow, iii. 294.

- Qwyte, *a.* requited, paid, W Prol. 66.
 Qwyte clayme, *s.* release, vii. 2057.
 Qwyte, *a.* free, vi. 1696; deprived, iv. 1619.
 Qwytyly, *adv.* entirely, i. 1584.
- Rabit, *s.* groove, iii. 332.
 Rabours, *s.*; to rabours, the wrong way, ix. 762 (at rebourf W).
 Raboytit, *pp.* repulsed, ii. 1228 (reboitit W), iv. 956.
 Racorde, *v.* to record, to bring to mind, ii. 902, iv. 1467, vii. 3137.
 Racorde, *s.* record, ii. 1460.
 Racowntryt, *pt.* met, encountered, iv. 1500.
 Racuuerynge, *s.* recovery, viii. 4301.
 Rad, rade, *s.* afraid, ii. 1320, iii. 859, v. 1882, viii. 2551.
 Raddour, *s.* dread, W iv. 1630, W vii. 1919.
 Raddour, *s.* sternness, severity, vii. 910, viii. 6931, W viii. 1948.
 Rade, *s.* roadstead, vi. 922.
 Rade, *s.* expedition, raid, viii. 5103.
 Rade, *a.* red, iv. 1595.
 Radnes, *s.* dread, fear, ii. 1391, iv. 951, v. 172.
 Radowne, *v.* to redound, iv. Prol. 46 (redwne R).
 Raff, *pt.* tore up, burst, v. 3357.
 Raggit, *pp.* torn up, v. 4648.
 Ragman, *s.* agreement, treaty, v. 2147, vi. 1720.
 Rahers, *v.* to repeat, to quote, ii. 522, iii. 1081; raherssit, *pt.*, vi. 1375; reherssit, ii. 527.
 Rahers, *s.* relation, ii. 1027.
 Raif, *v.* to rave, vii. 3454.
 Raiff, *pt.* tore, v. 2709.
 Raik, *s.* way, journey, iii. 38, 98.
 Raikit, *pt.* ran, spread, W viii. 3190.
 Rak, *s.* onset, blow; rak for rak, iii. 331.
 Rakkis, *v.* travels, reaches (over), i. 1040.
 Rakkit, *pt.* pulled, broke, W iii. 374.
 Rakles, *a.* reckless, v. 514, vii. 2112.
 Raklesnes, *s.* recklessness, iii. 824.
 Raleiff, *s.* relief, help, iii. 730.
 Ramaynit, *pt.* remained, ii. 666.
 Ramede, *s.* remedy, ii. 312, 1085, iii. 62.
 Ramoyff, *v.* to go away, to depart, iv. 1872; remowit, *pt.* shifted, iii. 268.
 Randon, *s.* straight course, ii. 1334; randowne, viii. 4492.
 Rangaille, *s.* common soldiers, viii. 5357.
- Ranowne, *s.* renown, fame, ii. 1664, iii. 498.
 Ranowne, *s.* fame, ix. 712; *rimes with* bounte.
 Ranyis, *v.* whines? W v. 2987.
 Ranys, *s.* rains, i. 402.
 Rapayr, *s.* stay, residence, ii. 1034, iii. 316, 337; intercourse, vi. 1622, 1625.
 Rape, *s.* blow, viii. 2526; rappis, *pt.*, iv. 724.
 Rapis, *pt.* [translation of Latin "saeviret" = 'wedit,' v. 385, 'acted like a madman'], W v. 389.
 Raqweyr, *v.* to request, vi. 5263.
 Rare, *v.* to roar, i. 804, iii. 935; rarande, *pr. p.*, ii. 342.
 Rase, *s.* rise, source, i. 154.
 Rasse, *pt.* arose, ii. 148, 533; rase, ii. 537.
 Rasse, *v.* to pull out, viii. 5237. *See* Aras.
 Ratournyt, *pt.* returned, ix. 1221.
 Raucht, *pt.* gave, W vi. 2030.
 Rauestit, *pp.* clothed, i. 1062; rawest, v. 2676; rawestytyt, vi. 1019.
 Rawin, *s.* raven, i. 410.
 Rawmpande, *a.* rampant, iv. 226.
 Rawppit, *pt.* shouted, iii. 872 (raopit W).
 Rax, *v.* to expand, v. 604; raxit, *pt.* ruled, held sway, W ii. 1516, W iii. 548, W v. 4434.
 Raye, *a.* striped, ix. 593.
 Rayit, *pp.* arrayed, vii. 3375.
 Rayk, *s.* walk, v. 3444; invasion, v. 4614.
 Raykit, *pt.* proceeded, v. 3463.
 Rayne, *s.* tedious talk, ii. 879; viii. Prol. 24.
 Rebellit, *pt.* resisted, W viii. 303.
 Rebellouris, *s.* rebels, W v. 4080.
 Rebellouf, *a.* rebel, W vii. 2611.
 Recche, *a.* strong, violent, raging, v. 3819 (reche R); reche, R i. 1027, iv. 1962, v. 1902; *all mistakes for* Rethe, Reythe.
 Recomfort, *pp.* comforted, viii. 5476.
 Recowerit, *pt.* returned, went back, ix. 2819, 3227.
 Recowntteryt, *pt.* encountered, met, viii. 5721, ix. 2262.
 Recreation, *s.* entertainment, iv. 2676.
 Recuenance, *s.* recovery, viii. 7060.
 Red, *pp.* taken away, W viii. 1508.
 Red, *v.* to read, to solve, iii. 180.
 Redact, *pp.* brought together, v. Prol. 30.

- Reddeande, *pr. p.* preparing, viii. 6211.
- Reddit, *pt.* cleared, viii. 4018.
- Reddy, *a.* ready, ii. 516, 1346.
- Rede, *s.* counsel, advice, ii. 1436, vii. 2678, viii. 3455.
- Rede, *v.* to counsel, ii. 505.
- Rede, *v.* to clear, v. 5179.
- Rede, *v.* to read, ii. 529; rede, *pt.* read, explained, ii. 317.
- Rede, *v.*, *a* mistake for rerde? v. 604.
- Redempcion, *s.* ransoming, vii. 2078.
- Redemyt, *pt.* redeemed, ii. 365.
- Redly, *a.* readily? ii. 499 (rydelie R).
- Redour, *s.* some kind of cloth, i. 256 (Freduore R). *See note*, p. 5.
- Referrit, *pt.* repeated, told back, v. 3764.
- Reff, *s.* spoliation, vi. 1130.
- Reffoys, *v.* to refuse, vi. 123; reffoysitt, *pt.*, ii. 338.
- Reformacion, *s.* rebuilding, ii. 108; new creation, ii. 520.
- Refrendare, *s.* referendary, ix. 552.
- Reft, *pp.* taken away, ii. 1041; *pt.*, ii. 120, viii. 2922.
- Refurmyt, *pp.* created again, ii. 466, 484.
- Regale, *s.* regality, kingly rights, vii. 681, 707; regalyis, *pl.*, ix. 1881.
- Regalite, *s.* kingly jurisdiction, vi. 536.
- Regestir, *v.*, to register, iv. 2544; regestride, *pp.*, ix. 1289.
- Regnatioun, *s.* reign, W Chap. cxxv.
- Reiche, *a.* strong, violent, iv. 200 (reich W); reich, W i. 1015; mistakes for Reith, Reth.
- Reid, *s.* counsel, adviser, W v. 902.
- Reif, *s.* plunder, W i. 1625.
- Reiff, *v.* to reave, to take away, vi. 1928.
- Reiff, *v.* to reeve, to wind, v. 5036; reif, viii. 6670.
- Reik, *s.* smoke, i. 661.
- Reincidens, *s.* fresh offence, relapse, vii. 2680.
- Reistit, *pp.* arrested, v. 962 (E²).
- Reith, *a.* severe, terrible, W i. 394, W iv. 1414; reithe, i. 1027 (A); reitht, v. 3819 (A).
- Rekis, *v.* 3 *pl.* trust.
- Rekkyn, *v.* to reckon, ii. 4, 812; reknande, *pr. p.*, ii. Prol. 32; rekinyt, *pp.*, i. 894; rekynt, ii. 114; reknynt, iv. 1320; rekynt, ii. 114; reknynt, *pt.*, ii. Prol. 33.
- Reklesly, *adv.* carelessly, ii. Prol. 11.
- Reknyng, *s.* calculation, i. 295.
- Releif, *s.* remainder, remains, v. 2952.
- Relewe, *v.* to raise, to improve, v. 4598; relewit, *pp.*, v. 4322, vi. 983; *pt.* relieved, made up for, iv. 1879.
- Releyff, *v.* to raise, iv. 1959, ix. 1406.
- Releyschit, *pt.* released, gave up, v. 1543.
- Religion, *s.* religious house, vii. 906, 918; *a.* religious, vii. 156.
- Remyte, *v.* to refer, vii. 2066; remyttit, *pp.* sent back, viii. 3216.
- Renewit, *pt.* repaired, vii. 1922.
- Renge, *s.* ring, iv. 2238, vii. 2001.
- Renge, *v.* to reign, to rule, iv. 161 (W regne), vii. Prol. 18.
- Renown, *v.* to record, vii. Prol. 37.
- Rentyt, *pp.* endowed, vii. 2694; rentit, W vii. 442, 2161.
- Renunciation, *s.* giving up, v. 3395.
- Repayr, *s.* frequentation, i. 1657, v. 418, 440; repayre, place of meeting, iv. 2677.
- Repel, *v.* to repeal, viii. 5315; repeill, W viii. 871.
- Replenyst, *pp.* filled, ii. 99.
- Reposyt, *pp.* laid, placed, v. 5502.
- Repromysson, *s.* promise, ii. 238.
- Repruff, *v.* to find fault, vii. Prol. 12; repruffande, *pr. p.*, ii. 731.
- Reput, *s.* repute, W vi. 380.
- Repute, *pp.* reputed, vi. 376.
- Reqwerit, *pt.* requested, iii. 458.
- Rerde, *s.* roar, i. 804.
- Rerde, *v.* to make a noise, v. 604 (R); rerd, *pt.*, W v. 1930.
- Reset, *s.* retiring place, dwelling, iii. 318.
- Resistens, *s.* resistance, iv. 638.
- Reskewit, *pt.* saved, ii. 169.
- Reskowrs, *s.* rescue, viii. 3873; rescours, viii. 5028 (R).
- Respayr, *v.* to hope again, iv. 1590 (respair, *s.*, E²).
- Respirit, *pt.* breathed again, W iv. 1602 (respyre R).
- Respondis, *s.* responsories, v. 3566.
- Ressawit, *pt.* received, ii. 1120, iii. 85.
- Resset, *s.* abode, residence, ii. 1421, v. 5199, viii. 5750.
- Ressioun, *s.* ? W ii. 522.
- Resson, *s.* motto, iv. 222.
- Rested, *pt.* stopped? i. 402.
- Restoyr, *v.* to replace, v. 4756.
- Retorik, *s.* rhetoric, iv. Prol. 1.
- Retche, *a.* strong, i. 1027, *a* mistake for Reythe. *See* Reythe.

- Retowrit, *pp.* returned, brought, viii. 1592.
- Retrete, *v.* to withdraw, to take back, W vii. 926, viii. 933.
- Retrete, *s.* signal for retiring, ix. 190.
- Rethe, *a.* strong, raging, terrible, i. 402 (R); *retthe*, iv. 1414.
- Reuerry, *s.* plunder, pillage, v. 739, 2168.
- Reuery, *s.* wildness, iv. 878; *reuer-ryse*, *pl.* wild fancies, v. 4845, 4857.
- Reuocacion, *s.* calling back, v. 281.
- Rew, *v.* to rue, iv. 894, viii. 903.
- Rew, *s.* village, district, v. 359, 632.
- Rewaris, *s.* rivers, iv. 1962.
- Rewaris, *s.* plunderers, iii. 1031.
- Reweil, *v.* to reveal, v. 2919.
- Rewel, *s.* bar, wedge, "regulam," ii. 1082.
- Rewel, *s.* [?], iv. 220. *See note*, p. 21.
- Rewelnyns, *s.* shoes, viii. 4419.
- Rewengeance, *s.* revenge, ii. 1444; *rewengeansse*, iii. 467.
- Rewengit, *pp.* revenged, ii. 1115.
- Rewere, *s.* pirate, viii. 5487.
- Reweryis, *s.* robberies, vii. 2736.
- Rewerssit, *pp.* reversed, viii. 938.
- Rewis, *v.* takes away, iv. 878.
- Rewis, *v.* to ravish, ii. 1032; *rewist*, *pp.*, vi. 868; *pl.*, vi. 815.
- Rewithe, *s.* pity, iv. 1971.
- Rawlacion, *s.* revelation, vii. 331.
- Rewlyt, *pp.* commanded, viii. 3534.
- Rewmys, *v.* [bellows], v. 2935 (R).
- Rewokit, *pp.* revoked, v. 3741.
- Rewyn, *pp.* torn, ripped, ii. 1103, vi. 703; *riven*, i. 747.
- Reyk, *s.* smoke, vi. 458.
- Reyk penny, *s.* house tax, vi. 458.
- Reythe, *a.* fierce, strong, iv. 1962, v. 1902.
- Rialty, *s.* royal array, ii. 1096.
- Ribaldaile, *s.* rabble, viii. 191.
- Ribbalde, *s.* churl, v. 4917.
- Riche, *a.*, i. 402, iv. 1414, 1962, *mistakes in E for Reythe*.
- Richit, *pl.* enriched, viii. 5034.
- Richtwisly, *adv.* rightly, i. 844.
- Richtwisnes, *s.* righteousness, ii. 182.
- Riddill, *s.* riddle, iii. 164, vii. 543.
- Riffil, *s.* rifling, iii. 793.
- Rifflyt, *pl.* plundered, v. Prol. 23.
- Rift, *s.* gap, iv. 1204; *riftis*, *riftings*, v. 523.
- Rigour, *s.* sternness, W v. 2772.
- Rik, *a.* rich, ix. 150.
- Rinnys, *v.* runs? v. 2935.
- Ripe, *v.* to rip, to cut up, v. 589; *ripit*, *pl.* opened up, dug, vi. 315, 803; *s.* rocks, i. 605.
- Roches, *s.* rocks, i. 605.
- Roide, *a.* rude, ii. 1022.
- Roith, *a.* fierce, v. 1902 (E), 3819 (E), *for* Reythe.
- Rok, *s.* distaff, iii. 721.
- Rol, *s.* roll, list, iv. 2543.
- Roll, *v.* ? [in spinning], W iii. 731.
- Rollyt, *pp.* enrolled, ix. 1289.
- Rome, *s.* [place? *Perhaps mistake for 'rout'*], W ix. 686.
- Rondely, *adv.* round, v. 5608 (A).
- Ronnynge, *s.* running, iii. 89.
- Rore, *s.* roar, iii. 872; *roris*, *pl.*, v. 1902.
- Roundall, *s.* a round figure, i. 533.
- Routh, *s.* rowing? W vi. 2114.
- Routh, *a.*, i. 1027 (E), *for* Reythe, *Rethe*.
- Rowme, *a.* roomy, iii. 927, iv. 692.
- Rowmyt, *pp.* cleared, ix. 3182; *pl.* enlarged, W vii. 1936.
- Rowne, *v.* to talk, viii. 890.
- Rowt, *s.* troop, army, ii. 1433, 1523.
- Rowt, *v.* to roar, iii. 953; *rowtande*, *pr. p.* snoring, iii. 102.
- Royde, *a.* rude, uncivilised, vii. 937; *coarse*, rough, viii. 5699.
- Royn, *a.* [roan], viii. 4802 (rone R).
- Rubbryis, *s.* robberies, W vii. 2730.
- Rude, *s.* rood, hide, vii. 255 (E).
- Ruge, *s.* rug, pull, iii. 367.
- Ruggit, *pl.* pulled, iii. 472.
- Rulzeande, *pr. p.* [?], v. 4648.
- Rummesis, *rumnys*, *v.* [bellows], v. 2935 (EL).
- Rusche, *s.* rush, onset, iv. 724, 2384, viii. 2526.
- Ruschit, *pl.* forced with a rush, iii. 333; *ruschyt*, viii. 2103 (Au).
- Rusk, *s.* blow, i. 206.
- Rute, *s.* root, vii. 468.
- Rutowris, *s.* howlers, v. 4648.
- Ruyde, *a.* rough, viii. 1651.
- Ryalis, *s.* persons of kingly rank, viii. 103.
- Ryalte, *s.* realm, ii. 664, 1605, viii. 62.
- Rychit, *pl.* enriched, ix. 1120.
- Ryft, *s.* rift, opening, iv. 2111.
- Rynge, *s.* ring, ii. 434.
- Rynge, *v.* to reign, viii. 164.
- Ryollis, *s.* people of royal descent, ix. 2093.
- Ryolte, *s.* royal dignity, v. 4467.
- Ryote, *s.* ravaging, iv. 1675.
- Ryote, *v.* to harry, viii. 4553.
- Rywere, *s.* river, i. 1040, 1184.

- Sacryfy, *v.* to sacrifice, ii. 1001.
 Sacryfys, *s.* sacrifice, ii. 566.
 Sacryte, *pp.* consecrated, vii. 2924.
 Sad, *a.* weary, tired, ii. 67; sade, *v.* 539.
 Sadill syde [*? see note*, p. 21], iv. 220.
 Sadly, *adv.* deeply, soundly, ii. 998, iii. 360; strongly, iv. 290.
 Sagatis, *adv.* in that way, thus, W iii. 360, W v. 64, 5419, W vii. 2507.
 Saill, *v.* to assail, W vi. 2330.
 Sakles, *a.* innocent, ii. 12, v. 284.
 Salfit, *pp.* saved, ii. 1078.
 Salt, *s.* attack, W iv. 104.
 Saltare, *s.* psalter, v. 3502.
 Salus, *s.* salutation, viii. 5149.
 Salust, *pt.* saluted, viii. 5267.
 Sampil, *s.* example, instance, ii. 1465.
 Samyn, *adv.* together, i. 358.
 Sandalis, *s.* sandals, vii. 2001.
 Sange, *s.* song; he made na sange, he made no boast, no display, vi. 1981.
 Sariandis, *s.* servants, v. 2694 (R).
 Sariat, *s.* frock, over garment, W iv. 219.
 Saris, *v.* 3 *sing.* hurts, ix. Prol. 40.
 Sarraly, *adv.* closely, unitedly, viii. 2249; sarrely, W viii. 2565.
 Sary, *a.* sorry, ii. 48, v. 290.
 Saucht, *pp.* reconciled, iv. 1180, *v.* 510.
 Sauchtenynge, *s.* reconciliation, *v.* 3165.
 Sauff, *v.* to save, ii. 1190; to sauff, except, iii. 541; sauff fail3e, without fail, ix. 1138.
 Sauff condyte, *s.* safe-conduct, viii. 793, 839.
 Saull heill, *s.* good of the soul, W vi. 924.
 Saw, *s.* language, i. Prol. 30.
 Saw, *v.* to sow, i. 1620.
 Sawe, *v.* to save, viii. 3739.
 Sawage, *a.* cruel, W ii. 567.
 Saworande, *pr. p.* tasting, savouring, i. 728, viii. 1477.
 Sawowre, *s.* perfume, i. Prol. 126 (R).
 Sawyn, *pp.* cut, vii. 545 (sewin W).
 Saynand, *pr. p.* signing, W viii. 1789.
 Scaith, *s.* harm, W ii. 1436.
 Scaithis, *v.* to do harm, W ix. 650.
 Scalyt, *pt.* withdrew, viii. 1791.
 Scantly, *adv.* with difficulty, iv. 1358.
 Schaiff, *v.* to shave, iv. 1723, v. 1069.
 Schankis, *s.* legs, vii. 2668.
 Schape, *v.*; schape away, to turn away, W viii. 5583.
 Schaply, *adv.* in a shapely manner, iv. 219.
 Schappin, *pp.* made, shaped, i. 75; schapyn, created, viii. 2272.
 Schare, *pt.* carved, vi. 1251.
 Scharpit, *pp.* sharpened, roused, W viii. 2224.
 Schaulde, *a.* shallow, vii. 769; schawlde, iv. 255.
 Schaw, *s.* wood, thicket, viii. 5976.
 Schawadouris, *s.* wanderers, viii. 4363.
 Schawyne, *pp.* shaved, iii. 430.
 Schenande, *pr. p.* shining, i. 1002.
 Scher, *v.* to cut, ii. 1000.
 Schere, *s.* groin, iii. 865.
 Schet, *s.* shroud, v. 3945.
 Schew, *pt.* showed, W ii. 1287; schewit, ii. 1289.
 Scheyn, *s.* fair lady, viii. 1281.
 Schidis, *s.* brands, logs, iii. 775; schidys, v. 2490.
 Schiltrum, *s.* band, body, viii. 1769.
 Schip, *pt.* prepared, ix. 128.
 Schip brokyn, shipwrecked, iv. 1038.
 Schippyn, *s.* shipping, ii. 1324, v. 5155.
 Schire, *adv.* brightly, iii. 775, v. 2490.
 Schirefdome, *s.* county, vii. 1168.
 Schirawe, *s.* sheriff, viii. 2085; schir-raif, viii. 3154; schirrayis, *pl.*, viii. 2451.
 Schone, *a.* bright? W iv. 1654.
 Schone, *v.* to shun, to hesitate? W viii. 5922 (schwne R). *See* Soyne.
 Schore, *pt.* cut, ii. 1015; schorn, *pp.* cut open, vi. 2238, vii. 1283.
 Schot, *pt.* pushed, viii. 4945.
 Schottis, *s.* showers, i. 404.
 Schoure, *s.* shower, ii. 1171.
 Schoyn, *s.* shoes, ii. 1103.
 Schoyt, *s.* shot, shooting, ii. 1496.
 Schrywe, *v.* to shrive, viii. 5229; schrewyn, *pp.*, v. 1760, viii. 5233.
 Schulture, *s.* sculpture, iii. 1028.
 Schupe, *pt.* prepared, disposed, made ready, W iii. 858, W v. 1991, W viii. 3652; schuppe, viii. 3422; schup, ix. 15.
 Schut, *v.* to rush, viii. 5792.
 Schyre, *a.* bright, burning, iv. 1920, v. 578, viii. 1772.
 Scisma, *s.* schism, vi. 1099.
 Scisum, *s.* division, iii. 678.
 Sciwill, *a.* civil, viii. 416.
 Sclandyr, *s.* defamation, v. 2474.
 Scholar, *s.* pupil, v. 412; scoleris, *pl.*, v. 3368.

- Scowerouris, *s.* scouts, W viii. 4455 (surreouris Au).
 Scriptione, *s.* inscription, iv. 2562.
 Scry, *s.* cry, W viii. 5510.
 Scrywe, *v.* to strive, viii. 5224, 5275.
 Scuy, *s.* school, v. 1992.
 Scumfeit, *pp.* vanquished, ii. 1186 (L).
 Sed, *conj.* although, vi. 2405.
 Segeand, *pr. p.* besieging, W vii. 2560.
 Sege, *s.* siege, ii. 33 (WR). *See* Asseige.
 Segit, *pp.* set, placed, iii. 1084.
 Seige, *s.* seat, throne, iii. 795.
 Seil, *v.* to seal, v. 2147.
 Seil, *s.* bliss? iv. 1968. *See* Seyl.
 Seyr, seyre, *a.* many, i. 689, 825, 893, 931.
 Seythis, *v.* 3 *pl.* boil, i. 677.
 Sekyry, *adv.* certainly, i. 1471.
 Selche, *s.* [seal], iii. 48 (selghe W).
 Seldenare, *a.* rarer, iv. 1947.
 Semblande, *s.* assembly, vi. 2398.
 Senage, *s.* senate, iv. 1853, 2133.
 Sennonys, *s.* sinews, iii. 353 (cynownys R).
 Sens, *s.* incense, v. 92.
 Sens, *v.* to incense, v. 1558.
 Senyphes, *s.* [gnats, Latin Vulgate "sciniphes" ("cinifes")], ii. 571.
 Senzhe, *s.* council, i. 1059, vi. 53.
 Senzhory, *s.* lordship, power, i. 1293, ii. 803, viii. 4270.
 Sepulture, *s.* sepulchre, ii. 714, 1668.
 Sequens, *s.* prose, vi. 1060.
 Serde, *pl.* served? viii. 2044 (sard E).
 Serenyte, *s.* serene weather, iv. 1642.
 Serf, *v.* to serve, i. 470.
 Sergis, *s.* large candles, vi. 1397.
 Sermonde, *s.* sermon, ix. 1357.
 Seruice, *v.* 3 *pl.* serve.
 Servitut, *s.* slavery, i. 496.
 Serwandis, *s.* slaves, iv. 1897.
 Serwiciabill, *a.* useful, v. 182.
 Serwile, *a.* servile, iv. 1938.
 Serwill, *adv.* [?], ii. 70 (seruily E).
 Serwis, *s.* service, ii. 1116.
 Serwitute, *s.* slavery, ii. 535, iv. 1725, 1904.
 Set, *conj.* although, ii. 93.
 Set, *s.* seat, ii. 245.
 Set, *s.* a waiting place (in hunting), vi. 1857; setis, *pl.*, vi. 1609, vii. 46; traps, snares, viii. 5570.
 Sethit, *pl.* boiled, ii. 1017.
 Settyrday, *s.* Saturday, v. 4019.
 Seueralle, *a.* distinct, ii. 292.
 Seuerally, *adv.* separately, i. 1334.
 Sew, *pl.* sowed, scattered, vi. 1895.
 Seweralle, *a.* special, v. 5808.
 Sextile, *s.* month of August, ix. 1235.
 Seyl, *s.* happiness, v. 2406. *See* Seil.
 Seyldyn, *adv.* seldom, v. 281.
 Seym, *s.* seam, v. 5498.
 Seymly, *a.* seemly, i. 947, vii. 1660.
 Seyne, *s.* arms, coat of arms, v. 433 (senze W).
 Seynzhe, *s.* council, v. 2678.
 Seythe, *v.* to boil, to cook, v. 3904.
 Sherynge, *s.* cutting, viii. 4808.
 Shrewyn, *pp.* shriven, confessed, viii. 1851.
 Sib, *s.* relation, i. 82, W vii. 1962.
 Sibrent, *s.* relationship, ii. 75.
 Sickyr, *a.* sure, i. 1640.
 Sik, *s.* narrow marsh, viii. 5379.
 Similation, *s.* simulation, W v. 3452.
 Sistence, *s.* resistance, viii. 1783 (L).
 Sittande on kneis, kneeling, v. 18.
 Siwille, *s.* civil law, v. 4783.
 Skab, *s.* scab, ii. 576.
 Skathit, *pp.* injured, v. 3237.
 Skayl, *v.* to scatter, to disperse, viii. 6217; skalis, viii. 2443; skalyt, *pp.*, ii. 1433, iv. 742, viii. 3854; *pl.*, iv. 525, vii. 1396.
 Skaythe, *s.* harm, injury, damage, iii. 246, iv. 619, viii. 168.
 Sklandyr, *v.* to slander, to blame, vii. 912, viii. 396.
 Sklysse, *s.* splinter, viii. 5153.
 Skonerande, *pr. p.* loathing, dreading, ii. 1451.
 Skout, *s.* small boat, iv. 977.
 Skoyr, *s.* score, twenty, ii. 1569.
 Skryt, *s.* lap, iii. 434 (skyrt RE).
 Skyl, *s.* reason, argument, ii. 613, iv. 167, viii. 5297.
 Skynnoris, *s.* skimmers, viii. 6150.
 Skyristhurisday, Thursday before Easter, v. 1842.
 Skyrays, *s.* [? in skyrsays = Latin Vulgate "in frustra"], ii. 1104.
 Slaar, *s.* slayer, ii. 1052, vi. 854.
 Slaid, *pl.* went away, slid, W ii. 466, W viii. 5524.
 Slak, hollow, vi. 1611.
 Slak, *a.* weak, W vii. 3281.
 Slakit, viii. 1791 (L), *a* mistake for skalit?
 Slang, *pl.* flung, W vi. 810.
 Sleely, *adv.* cunningly, slyly, secretly, ii. 211; slely, iii. 435, viii. 238.
 Slewcht, *pl.* slew, ix. 2988.
 Sleyf, *s.* sleeve, v. 3696.
 Slicht, *s.* stratagem, trick, ix. 2026; slichtis, *pl.*, vii. 2708.

- Sloik, *v.* to quench, iii. 307 (slok in W).
- Slokynnyt, *pp.* slaked, quenched, i. 1275, vi. 1402.
- Sloppis, *s.* gaps, openings, v. 3256.
- Slychte, *s.* cunning, v. 5653.
- Slychty, *a.* deceitful, v. 5594.
- Slyde, *v.* to escape, iv. 411.
- Slyk, slyik, *s.* mud, slime, iv. 263, 267.
- Smat, *pt.* smote, struck, W viii. 2018.
- Smedye, *s.* smithy, i. 228.
- Smertly, *adv.* quickly, smartly, iii. 43, viii. 5272.
- Smethly, *adv.* smoothly, quietly, W viii. 5072.
- Smore, *v.* to smother, to crush, v. 1330; smoryt, *pp. pt.*, iii. 477, viii. 3520.
- Smyt, *s.* stain, spot, v. 8; smyte, ix. 1858.
- Smyt, *v.* to defile, to besmirch, ix. 1446.
- Smytht, *s.* smith, iii. 914.
- Smyttit, *pp.* defiled, iii. 606; *pt.*, viii. 854.
- Snayllis, *s.* turtles, tortoises, i. 820.
- Snell, *a.* keen, piercing, i. 404; snelle, iv. 1490.
- Snyb, *v.* to reprimand, to chide, W v. 584; snybbit, *pt.*, v. 1974, W v. 4965.
- Snybbis, *s.* checks, W viii. 6107.
- Snykkyt, *pt.*, v. 1974 (A), *a mistake [or variant] for snybbit?*
- Sobbyne, *s.* sobbing, v. 891.
- Sobyry, *adv.* seriously, v. 2085.
- Soddin, *pp.* boiled, i. 439.
- Solatyouss, *a.* full of solace, vii. Prol. 20.
- Solempne3, *a.* solemn, viii. 410, 3134; solempne, i. 1059, viii. 415.
- Solempnite, *s.*, ii. 715.
- Solempnytyl, *adv.* solemnly, ix. 521; solemply, vii. 2283.
- Soleynare, *a.* rarer, more scarce, W iv. 1953.
- Solis, *s.* soles, i. 693; on solis, on his feet, iii. 366.
- Sommond, *v.* to summon, viii. 1594; sommonde, *pp.*, viii. 1609.
- Sowmyt, *pp.* summed up, reckoned, ix. 1470.
- Sonles, *a.* without sons, vii. 131.
- Sonnar, *adv.* sooner, ii. 500; first, previously, v. 1446.
- Sonodayis, *s.* Sunday's, v. 5.
- Sons, *s.* abundance, vii. 3623.
- Son3e, *s.* excuse, W vi. 2186.
- Son3eing, *s.* excuse, viii. 160 (E).
- Sonzeit, *pt.* found an excuse, refrained, W viii. 6550 (sonyeit A). See Soyne.
- Sote, *s.* fool, iii. 795; sottis, *pl.*, ii. 721, 731.
- Souerane, *a.* supreme, ii. 164, 1035.
- Souerandly, *adv.* supremely, ii. 376.
- Soukkand, *pr. p.* sucking, viii. 1824; sowkande, iii. 1029.
- Sow, *v.* to sting, to wound, viii. 6224.
- Sowithe, *s.* south, ii. 1360; souythe, i. 939; southt, i. 1324.
- Sowme, *s.* sum, ii. 828; sum (of theology), viii. 747.
- Sowmyt, *pp.* summed up, v. 3638, vi. 1070, viii. 2644.
- Sowndis, *v.* sounds, signifies, iv. 26.
- Sowtoris, *s.* cobblers, viii. 6150.
- Soyne, *v.* to hesitate, to find excuses, viii. 6118 (sone E, swñ Au, swoun E²). See Sonzeit.
- Spa man, *s.* diviner, wise man, v. 3389; spamen, *pl.*, v. 3386.
- Spanialle, *s.* Spaniard, v. 1417.
- Spanys, *v.* 3 *sing.* blossoms, i. Prol. 126.
- Sparrit, *pp.* barred, iii. 330 (L); sparit, *pt.*, viii. 4947.
- Spate, *s.* flood, i. 280, 967, ii. 158.
- Spayit, *pt.* foretold, vii. 439 (E²).
- Special, *a.* friendly, intimate, vii. 2038; specyalle, v. 1096, vii. 2608.
- Specialte, *s.* special purpose, viii. 1920; special affection, viii. 7040.
- Specifyis, *v.* mentions specially, W viii. 2737; specifit, *pp.* laid down, W viii. 57; specifyit, specified, mentioned separately, W ix. 946.
- Speid, *v.* to speed, iii. Prol. 37; spedis, profits, i. 992, ii. 812; sped, *pt.*, hastened, ii. 1405.
- Speide, *s.* advantage, v. 2761; speed, i. 714, 783.
- Speik, *s.* speech, viii. 1617.
- Speit, *s.* spit, W vi. 1769.
- Spek, *s.* contention, viii. 3298; language, i. 1465.
- Spekar, *s.* advocate, procurator, viii. 1612.
- Spekin, *s.* conference, vii. 1970; spekyn, speech, word, v. 4928, viii. 6804.
- Spel, *s.* narrative, i. 1413, 1520.
- Spell, *v.* to write, i. 276.
- Spensar, *s.* spencer, ii. 1037; spenseyr, vi. 1983.
- Spere, *v.* to ask, to inquire, iv. 1446; sperit, *pt.*, ii. 685.
- Spikyn, *s.* spike, nail, iii. 415.
- Spil, *v.* to spoil, vii. Prol. 21.

- Spirit, *pp.* inspired, v. 4914.
 Spisis, *s.* spices, iii. 830.
 Spönnynge, *pp.* spun, v. 5032.
 Sport, *s.* bearing, conduct, v. 4064.
 Spousalle, *s.* marriage, vi. 1323.
 Spousse, *s.* husband, vi. 2312.
 Spousse, *s.* to give in marriage, vi. 1290.
 Spoussage, *s.* marriage, viii. 1128.
 Spreithe, *s.* prey, booty, viii. 6467; *sprethe*, viii. 6473.
 Sprethande, *pr. p.* plundering, viii. 6471.
 Sprewlande, *pr. p.* sprawling, viii. 3779.
 Spryngalde, *s.* catapult, viii. 5503.
 Spurn, *v.* to spur, to ride, vi. 684, W viii. 910; to ride away, to flee, viii. 1343; *spurnyt*, *pt.* spurred, v. 5073.
 Spylt, *pp.* wasted, v. 1317.
 Spyndil, *s.* spindle, iii. 724.
 Spynnyng, *pp.* spun, iii. 765 (spönnyn R, *spunnyng* W); *perhaps a mistake in C.*
 Spynnyng, *s.* spinning, iii. 766.
 Squyarit, *pt.* conducted, accompanied, W viii. 5495.
 Spyttit, *pt.* spat, v. 3988.
 Stabile, *s.* appointed place, *tryst*, vii. 46; *stable*, vi. 1609.
 Stabil, *v.* to fix, to settle, ix. Prol. 35.
 Stabilist, *pp.* established, set, iii. Prol. 25.
 Stabilnes, *s.* steadiness, v. 1519.
 Stablit, *pt.* stabled, vi. 406.
 Stablyt, *pp.* fixed, set, viii. Prol. 11.
 Stad, *stade*, *pp.* beset, hard pressed, ii. 1596, iii. 26, 860, viii. 865.
 Stageis, *s.* stades, "stadia," iv. 284 (stadys R, stadiis W).
 Stail, *s.* stand, fixed position, viii. 3767, ix. 809; *staill*, W vi. 1641. *See* Stayl.
 Stak, *s.* stack, heap, i. 382, ii. 442.
 Stake, *v.* [*? cf.* 'strik'], W vi. 935.
 Stakrande, *pr. p.* staggering, iv. 813.
 Stal, *pt.* stole, ii. 1084, viii. 5537; *stall*, stole away, fled, W viii. 2210.
 Stalon, *s.* stallion, i. 1019.
 Stamerande, *pr. p.* stammering, trembling, iii. 870.
 Stamp, *v.* to tread, v. 3690.
 Stanche, *v.* to satisfy, to quench, ii. 1406 (E); to put an end to, ix. 2192; *stanchit*, *pt.* appeased, viii. 5729.
 Standyn, *pp.* stood, ix. 139.
 Stane still, without moving, W ix. 741.
 Stangis, *s.* stings, i. 658.
 Stank, *s.* pool, v. 4393.
 Stape [*?*], iv. 1555 (stop A).
 Stare, *s.* stair, i. 948.
 Starkynnyt, *pt.* grew strong, i. 1540.
 Starne, *s.* stern, back, posteriors, W v. 528.
 Statur, *s.* figure, size, i. 59, 306.
 Statute, *a.*; *lawche* statute, v. 24; *statute lawche*, v. 2863.
 Stauer, *v.* to totter, iii. 797; *staweride*, *pt.*, iv. 816.
 Stawis, *s.* clubs, vi. 1443.
 Staye, *a.* steep, i. 862, viii. 3911.
 Stayl, *s.* strong position, ix. 67. *See* Stail.
 Steddis, *s.* places, v. 1051.
 Steddit, *pp.* settled, iii. 568.
 Stedfastnes, *s.* safety, v. 3091.
 Stedles, *a.* without any special abode, "non localis," v. 5249.
 Stedye, *s.* anvil, i. 227.
 Steid, *s.* stead, place, i. 724; *steide*, i. 1719; *stede*, i. 1608; *stedis*, *pl.*, i. 1344.
 Steid, *s.* steed, i. 1030.
 Steik, *v.* to stick, to stab, to pierce, iii. 416; *stekande*, *pr. p.*, iii. 47, iv. 2342; *stekit*, *pp.*, viii. 3483; *pt.*, ii. 1172, iv. 507, viii. 5596.
 Stek, *v.* to close, to shut, to stop, iii. 947, iv. 438; *steik*, ix. 2751; *stekyt*, *pp.*, v. 3729, vi. 1515.
 Stell, *s.* steel, i. 800; *steill*, i. 251.
 Stel, *v.* to steal, vi. 1221.
 Stelely, *adv.* [*for* 'sleely'], W ii. 213; *sleely* *all*.
 Stende, *s.* spring, stride, iv. 236.
 Stentit, *pt.* pitched, set up, viii. 2496, ix. 1041.
 Stepil, *s.* steeple, ix. 576.
 Sterape, *s.* stirrup, v. 1109, 2297.
 Steraplethir, *s.* stirrup strap, ix. 1507.
 Stere, *v.* to move, to stir, ii. 1282; *sterande*, *pr. p.*, ii. 476, iv. 480; *steris*, 3 *sing.*, v. 2936.
 Stere, *s.* stir; on *stere*, *astir*, disturbed, vii. 398.
 Stere, *a.* [*for* *stour*, *stout*], viii. 2052 (*stwre* R).
 Sterrn, *s.* stars, viii. 1456 (*sternis* W).
 Stert, *pt.* started, iii. 366.
 Sterynge, *s.* stir, ii. 1360, vi. 1958.
 Stewart, *s.* steward, ii. 352, 1351.
 Steyr, *v.* to rule, iii. 22.
 Stik, *s.* holy water sprinkler, ix. 600.
 Stile, *s.* gate, v. 3652.
 Stillely, *adv.* quietly, ii. 999.

- Stilly, *a.* still? W iv. 1970.
 Sting, *s.*, *a* mistake for ring, also in AuE², W vii. 736.
 Stoil, *s.* stole, ix. 597.
 Stok, *s.* stem, vi. 1664, viii. 341.
 Stokkys, *s.* stocks (punishment), iv. 134.
 Stokys, *s.* thrusts, iv. 816.
 Stollyn, *pp.* stolen, viii. 5540.
 Stompe, *s.* stump, v. 4193.
 Stottit, *pt.* stopped, W vii. 651.
 Stound, *s.* short space of time, viii. 4678.
 Stoure, *s.* fight, ii. 1172; tumult of waters, iv. 242.
 Stouth, *s.* theft, W viii. 2966.
 Stowpis, *s.* posts, stakes, viii. 6678.
 Stra, *s.* straw, vi. 2170.
 Straif, *pt.* strove, vii. 1243.
 Straitnes, *s.* tightness, i. 584.
 Strak, *s.* striking (of money), vii. 3508.
 Strake, *s.* ['straik' in measuring grain], W ii. 445.
 Strange, *a.* foreign, ii. 322; *strangis*, ii. 382.
 Straucht, *adv.* straight, v. 5153.
 Strayff, *pt.* strove, iv. 1178.
 Strayt, *a.* strict, hard, iv. 1859, vii. 2047.
 Strayt, *s.* strait, pass, defile, narrow place, i. 1128, ix. 998; *straytis*, *pl.*, ii. 1422, iv. 445, viii. 2495.
 Straytare, *a.* narrower, ii. 1432 (*strater* W).
 Straytly, *adv.* narrowly, ii. 1309; keenly, ii. 1283; straight off, ii. 1604; closely, viii. 880.
 Straytnes, *s.* narrowness, iv. 1976.
 Streik, *v.* to stretch, i. 717; *strekand*, *pr. p.*, i. 146; *strekis*, i. 553; *strikys*, i. 763; *strykis*, i. 527; *strekyt*, *pp.*, i. 1188.
 Streke, *v.*, *a* mistake for steke, to close? W iv. 617.
 Strekande, *pr. p.* striking, going, ii. 432.
 Strekyn, *pp.* fought, viii. 4717.
 Strenth, *s.* strong place, W ix. 926.
 Strenthis, *s.* strength, iii. 251.
 Strenythe, *s.* strength, i. 812, 816.
 Strik, *v.* to arrive, to reach, vi. 923; *pp.*, *strikkyn*, ii. 1614.
 Strikyn, *pp.* fought, ii. 16.
 Strive, *s.* strife, W vii. 406.
 Strynd, *s.* race, i. 331.
 Stud, *pp.* set, placed, iv. 2096.
 Stude, *pt.* was intent, ii. 1610; lasted, ii. 65.
 Stude, *s.* stud, viii. 3050.
 Studeand, *pr. p.* studying, iii. 177; *studeit*, *pt.*, ii. 497.
 Study, *s.* dreaming, musing, vii. 515.
 Studyousse, *a.* learned, viii. 666.
 Stuf, *s.* troop, body, i. 124; garrison, viii. 4205.
 Stuffit, *pp.* provided, stored, ii. 1530, v. Prol. 11; *pt.* filled, ii. 98, 361, 511, vii. 3216.
 Stultht, *s.* theft, viii. 3178; stealth, viii. 3310 (*stouth* E).
 Stumpe, *s.* stump, viii. 2062.
 Sturdly, *adv.* boldly, strongly, W v. 432, viii. 2103.
 Sturt, *s.* trouble, v. 1874 (Au).
 Stwre, *a.* strong, keen, viii. 2052 (R).
 Stwrlly, *adv.* violently, viii. 2103 (R).
 Styfyne, *s.* [*? mistake for* scysme], W iii. 688.
 Styk, *v.* to stab, vi. 1072.
 Styngis, *s.* blows? W vi. 1475.
 Stynt, *v.* to stop, to refrain, v. 3208, vii. 3456, viii. 2056.
 Styntyngne, *a.* stingy? vii. 1232; nickname of King Stephen [*see note*, p. 76].
 Stythtly, *adv.* strongly, viii. 5011.
 Suage, *v.* to fall, to diminish, i. 412; *suagit*, *pp.*, i. 422; *swagit*, i. 1016.
 Subdekin, *s.* subdeacon, v. 2470.
 Subdit, *a.* subjected, brought under, iv. Prol. 38, v. 4270.
 Subdye, *s.* subject, vii. 2380.
 Subieccion, *s.* subjection, iii. 20; *subiettion*, ix. 1422.
 Subiet, *a.* subject, iv. 2434.
 Subitane, *a.* sudden, ii. 712.
 Submersion, *s.* flooding, iv. 1411.
 Submyttit, *pp.* submitted, obedient, vii. 1742, 1773.
 Substraccion, *s.* withdrawal, ix. 1992.
 Subtile, *a.* ingenious, i. Prol. 24.
 Subtilite, *s.* ingeniousness, i. 373 (*sutylte* R).
 Suburbanys, *s.* dwellers in the suburbs, v. 2914.
 Subwrbs, *s.* suburbs, W ix. 613 (*suburbanys* C).
 Successiffis, *s.* successive, W viii. 422.
 Succession, *s.* successors, ii. 299.
 Successywe, *a.* succeeding, vi. 1175, viii. 520.
 Succoure, *s.* help, i. 1666; *succouris*, *pl.*, iv. 1608.
 Succudry, *s.* overweening, presumption, viii. 1236.
 Sueit, *s.* sweat, i. 161.

- Suelit, *pp.* swaddled, v. 10 (suedlyt E²); suelyt, v. 1388 (suedleit E²).
 Suelly, *v.* to swallow, v. 597; suellyt, *pp.* eaten, ii. 1226, iv. 1374.
 Suel, *pp.* died, viii. 5310.
 Suet, *pt.* sweated, v. 1953.
 Sufficians, *s.* sufficient ability, ii. 900, viii. Prol. 10; sufficient knowledge, iv. 1147; sufficient means, ii. 551, iv. 2001.
 Suffraganys, *s.*, vii. 1750.
 Sugjournynge, *s.* sojourn, abiding, delay, viii. 184; sugjournynge, iv. 2068.
 Suionnande, *pr. p.* sojourning, ii. 1607.
 Sumdeil, *adv.* somehow, viii. 5783.
 Summyr casteil, *s.* pavilion, ix. 1195.
 Summite, *s.* height, i. 984; *rimes with se.*
 Sumqwhile, *adv.* some time, i. 1348, ii. 276.
 Sumthyng, *adv.* in some way, ix. 2001.
 Superyorite, *s.* overlordship, viii. 807, 825.
 Superscriptioun, *s.*, W vii. 3444. *See note*, p. 91.
 Supple, *v.* to strengthen, W v. 4624.
 Suppose, *v.* dare say, i. 451; *conj.* although, Prol. i. 54, i. 1390.
 Suppowale, *v.* to succour, iv. 334.
 Suppowale, *s.* support, assistance, ii. 1164, 1621; suppowalle, iii. 582.
 Suppressit, *pt.* oppressed, ii. 29.
 Supprice, *s.* defeat, W vi. 1749; supprif, wrong, W vii. 2132; suppris, oppression, W viii. 4902.
 Supprission, *s.* oppression, iv. 2020.
 Supprysse, *v.* to overcome, to oppress, ii. 92, 1376; suppryssit, *pp.*, vi. 1709.
 Surname, *s.*, v. 372; surnayme, iii. 670, viii. 2360; surnowne, ix. 334; surnowme, viii. 1178 (R); surname, ix. 334 (E).
 Surrypcioñ, *s.* subreption, ii. 1137 (surreptioun W).
 Suspekyt, *pp.* suspected, iv. 482.
 Suspendit, *pt.* suspended, vii. 1605.
 Sustentacion, *s.*, v. 2894.
 Sustenynt, *pp.* sustained, ii. 194.
 'Susus geta' [motto not explained, *see note*, p. 21], iv. 223.
 Sutelly, *adv.* skilfully, ii. 133, 1308.
 Suthin, *for* suthly, viii. 4735 (R).
 Suythfast, *a.* true, i. 1554.
 Suythfastnes, *s.* truth, iii. 197.
 Suythtly, *adv.* in truth, viii. 4735.
 Swagait, *adv.* thus, i. 460.
 Swagyn, *s.* going down, decrease, iv. 230.
 Swak, *v.* to cast, iv. 382, 557; swakit, *pt.*, i. 365.
 Swak, *s.* blow, ix. 1506.
 Swane, *s.* swain, i. 365; swanys, *pl.*, viii. 5572 (R).
 Swappit, *pt.* flung, W viii. 2022.
 Swat, *s.* sweat, iii. 90.
 Swelt, *pt.* died, W vii. 1290, 1294.
 Swikfull, *a.* treacherous, W vii. 1373.
 Swommande, *pr. p.* swimming, iv. 2264.
 Swownys, *v.* swoons, v. 1953.
 Swyk, *s.* treachery, vii. 1592, 3025.
 Swykfully, *adv.* treacherously, vi. 1549, viii. 386, ix. 2444.
 Swyrrilis, *s.* winding streams, iv. 261.
 Swywit, *pp.* carnally known, viii. 2048 (swiffit W).
 Syik, *s.* marshy ground, viii. 3910.
 Syment, *s.* cement, iv. 290, v. 239.
 Symylaker, *s.* idol, v. 2095.
 Syndrely, *adv.* separately, ii. 127, 1502; syndryli, in sundry ways, viii. 1453.
 Syndrynes, *s.* sundry things, viii. 2443.
 Syng, *s.* sign, ix. 2832.
 Syre, *s.* master, iii. 808.
 Syt, *v.* to stand at a tryst, vii. 43.
 Syþ, *v.* to satisfy? W v. 3970.
 Ta, *v.* to take, i. 254; tais, takes, i. 925; tane, *pp.*, i. 807.
 Ta; the ta, the one, i. 530, 1029, v. 3591.
 Tabart, *s.* tabard, viii. 295, 296.
 Tabernacle, tabernakyl, *s.*, v. 3442, 3459.
 Tabernary, *s.* tavern keepers, v. 4054.
 Tade, *s.* toad, i. 1389, v. 603.
 Taggis, *s.* shreds, v. 1897.
 Tail, *s.* tale, ii. 1379.
 Tail, *s.* account, i. 1394; taill, W vi. 1923; tayl, viii. 3440.
 Taill, *v.* to prepare? W viii. 6736.
 Taill, *s.* entail? W vii. 966.
 Tailze, *s.* arrangement, agreement, ix. 1137, 2786.
 Tailzeid, *pp.* agreed upon, ix. 2788.
 Taistre, *s.* [? cloister, "locus secretus"], vii. 876 (L).
 Takyn, *s.* token, sign, figure, v. 5393, vi. Prol. 14.
 Talent, *s.* inclination, desire, i. Prol. 26, ii. 1296.
 Talyt, *pp.* arranged, viii. 5309 (talzeit W).

- Tane ; the tane, the one, i. 335, ii. 49 ; the tayn, ii. 1013.
 Tapyt, *s.* carpet, iii. 94.
 Tareid, *pp.* delayed, detained, vii. 2102 ; tareit, ii. 389 ; tareide, *pt.*, viii. 2083 ; taryt, detained, impeded, v. 5210.
 Taucht, *pp.* delivered, ix. 289.
 Taur, *s.* bull, ii. 1269.
 Tavernaris, *s.* tavern keepers, W v. 4072.
 Taxt, *s.* tax, W v. 1568.
 Taverne, *s.* tavern, v. 34.
 Tayllyt, *pp.* tailed, i. 758.
 Taynctyt, *pp.* attainted, convicted, v. 5231.
 Tays, *s.* toes, i. 694, 795.
 Techit, *pt.* taught, i. 1094.
 Techour, *s.* tutor, W viii. 3443.
 Tenderare, *a.* kinder, iv. 1117.
 Tenendreis, *s.* lands held by tenants, ii. 364, viii. 4105.
 Tennance, *s.* confinement, ix. 2333.
 Tennandis, *s.* tenants, vii. 2356.
 Tenor, *s.* contents, terms, v. 810 ; tenoure, vii. 2058.
 Tent, *s.* attention, care, viii. 183.
 Terande, *s.* tyrant, iii. 940.
 Terandry, *s.* tyranny, cruelty, ii. 93, 994, v. 586.
 Terandyis, *s.* tyranny, v. 3025 ; tyrandyis, v. 3025.
 Terestral, *a.* earthly, i. 117.
 Tersse, *s.* tierce, v. 1392.
 Terroure, *s.* terror, v. 3754.
 Terssit, *pt.* carried, viii. 4602.
 Testymonyalle, *a.* bearing witness, as a mark, vi. 234.
 Tewgh, *a.* hard, keen, W vii. 3029.
 Teyllis, *s.* tails, iii. 237.
 Teyn, *s.* complaint, iii. 370.
 Teynd, *s.* tife, i. 174 ; teyndis, *pl.*, ii. 162, v. 1783.
 Teyne, *a.* annoyed, iii. 768, viii. 2042.
 Teyt, *pp.* tied, ix. 1159 ; teyde, ix. 1168.
 Thak, *s.* roofing, vii. 3373, ix. 564.
 That, *pr.* what, vi. 2158.
 Thawche, *conj.* although, viii. 117 ; þauche, ii. 210.
 Thawyng, *s.* thong, viii. 4803, 4808.
 Thayndomys, *s.* thanedoms, vi. 1870.
 Theis, *s.* thighs, v. 3588.
 Thekit, *pp.* roofed, ix. 566.
 Theologe, *s.* theologian, ix. 1364 ; theologis, viii. 744.
 Thesaure, *s.* treasure, W iv. 2428.
 Thesaurare, *s.* treasurer, W viii. 2103.
 Thewis, *s.* thieves, iii. 1032, v. 284.
 Thewis, *s.* manners, morals, iv. 1981.
 Þis, *adv.* thus, vi. 1592 ; *common in E².*
 Thoil, *v.* to suffer, to obey, i. 1616, ii. 1347.
 Tholyne, *s.* suffering, allowing, W v. 1960 ; tholing, W v. 1969.
 Thoughtful, *a.* mindful, ii. 1346.
 Thoughty, *a.* thinking, bent, vi. 1608, viii. 3979.
 Thowlace, *a.* wanton, heedless, viii. 3292 ; thowles, viii. 5933.
 Thowlesnes, *s.* listlessness, vi. 264.
 Thra, *a.* eager, obstinate, ii. 1293, v. 3421.
 Thrall, *s.* servant, slave, i. Prol. 75.
 Thrally, *adv.* eagerly, strongly, ii. 105, 270, 685, iii. 341.
 Thranes, *s.* ill-will, spite, v. 5019.
 Thrange, *pt.* rushed in, viii. 1812.
 Thraw, *s.* throe, iii. 954, v. 823 ; hardship, ii. 199.
 Thraw, *s.* occasion, time, viii. 4777.
 Thra, *a.* perverse, v. 1103.
 Thrawande, *pr. p.* wrenching, distorting, v. 3355.
 Thrawinge, *s.* pain, v. 7.
 Thrawyne, *pp.* twisted, iv. 1233.
 Threpit, *pt.* contended, insisted, ii. 387.
 Thret, *pp.* compelled, vi. 872.
 Thret, *s.* necessity, vi. 2496.
 Thretynge, *s.* force, pang? v. 7.
 Thril, *v.* to pierce through, viii. 2251 (thyrlyl R).
 Thrildom, *s.* thraldom, iii. 516.
 Thrillage, *s.* thraldom, ii. 535 ; thryllage, ii. 564.
 Thrillis, *s.* slaves, iv. 1568.
 Thrin, *a.* three, triple, viii. 5256 ; *a mistake for twin?*
 Thrist, *s.* thirst, iii. 308.
 Thrist, *v.* to thrust, vi. 1404 ; thristit *pt.* pushed, handled, i. 359 ; tortured, v. 3355.
 Thristing, *s.* suffering, W v. 7.
 Thristis, *s.* pains, pangs, v. 581, 3355.
 Thristit, *pt.* thirsted, longed, iv. 1640.
 Throt, *s.* throat, viii. 2114.
 Throt bollis, *s.* windpipes, ii. 1000 (thropyll boll R, throppillis E).
 Throungin, *pp.* drawn, viii. 6677.
 Throwing, *s.* fall? iii. 400 (R).
 Thryn, *a.* three, triple, i. 776. *See* Thrin.
 Thude, *s.* thud, iv. 2383.
 Thus gatis, *adv.* in this manner, W v. 2343.
 Thynk, *v.* ; me thynk, I think, v. 3748.

- Tilche, *s.* tilth, tillage, ploughing, iii. 219 (telche W).
- Tild, *s.* [building material], i. 235.
- Tit, *pt.* took, i. 1550, iii. 43; tit *vp.* pulled up, iii. 865.
- To, *conj.* until, W vi. 1644; to, although, W vi. 2023; to that, although, viii. 2837 (EA), W viii. 151, W viii. 3683.
- Tofallis, *s.* pent-houses, ix. 568.
- To fruschit, *pt.* were crushed, i. 368; *pp.* crushed, iv. 546, 726.
- Tokyn, *s.* token, i. 1291; tokynnys, *pl.*, ii. 1105.
- Tol, *s.* toll, dues, iv. 108, 2552, viii. 7099.
- Tome, *a.* empty, viii. 6145.
- Tonsoure, *s.* tonsure, v. 1070.
- Top castellis, *s.* top-castles, vii. 3276.
- Torcysse, *s.* torches, v. 4861 (tortys W).
- To rewyn, *pp.* torn, iv. 726.
- To samyn, *adv.* together, assembled, iv. 1633.
- Topir; be topir, the other, i. 1644; the second, vii. 1110, viii. 371, W viii. 904.
- Tournays, *a.*; punde tournays, *livres tournois*, vi. 237.
- Towale, *s.* towel, v. 1370; towalle, altar cloth, ix. 593.
- Towart [*? prep.* toward], viii. 30.
- Towmbis, *s.* tombs, viii. 2209 (towmys W).
- Toyme, *a.* empty, ix. 1148.
- Trade, traid, traide, *s.* road, way, journey (by sea), ii. 1613, vi. 921, 2064, W vii. 3266; trayde, ii. 776.
- Traist, *a.* trusty, W vi. 2241.
- Traitoury, *s.* treason, ix. 2286.
- Tramp, *v.* to tread, v. 3690 (E²).
- Tranownttynge, *s.* night march, viii. 3717 (tranwtyng R is the best reading). See note, p. 111.
- Transferit, *pp.* transferred, v. 1830.
- Transgression, *s.*, vi. 132.
- Translatit, *pp.* transferred, v. 3373.
- Trasse, *s.* course, vii. 3306.
- Tratlys, *v.* (you) talk, chatter, vii. 3454.
- Trawalle, *s.* labour, toil, ii. 1231; trawale, vi. 1965; trawal, vii. 2774.
- Trawele, *v.* to travel, i. 731; trawal-ande, *pr.* *p.* labouring, ii. 1287; trawalyt, *pp.* harassed, v. 1942, vii. 2418; trawalyt, *pt.* toiled, i. 1464, viii. 185.
- Trawalouris, *s.* labourers, ii. 1153.
- Traylit, *pt.* dragged, viii. 2115.
- Trayne, *v.* to entice, ix. 2432.
- Trayne, *s.* plot, stratagem, treachery, ii. 1429, v. 4417, viii. 6534.
- Trayst, *a.* trusty, ii. 300, viii. 2849.
- Traythouris, *s.* traitors, ii. 1141.
- Tresowrare, *s.* treasurer, v. 2240; tressourare, viii. 2145.
- Trespas, *s.* death, W ii. 121.
- Trespassis, *v.* 3 *pl.* do wrong, viii. 3533.
- Trespassouris, *s.* law-breakers, W vii. 2789.
- Tret, *v.* to entreat, to request, vii. 2243; tretyt, *pp.*, v. 5766; *pt.*, vi. 33, ix. 2184.
- Trete, *v.* to treat, to relate, to write, i. 7; tretis, i. 1024, ii. 792, 1576; tretyt, *pt.* treated with, viii. 4088.
- Trete, *s.* treaty, iv. 401, v. 3747; tretif, *sing.*, W ix. 1008, 1089.
- Tretise, tretis, etc., *s.* the Chronicle, i. Prol. 54, 95, ii. Prol. 2, 20, iii. 601, W iv. 2521, v. 1354, vi. Prol. 5; tretis, Barbour's genealogy, iii. 622; treiteis, *pl.* writings, poems, i. Prol. 17; tretis, iv. Prol. 31.
- Trew, *s.* truce, iv. 1713.
- Trewagis, *s.* tribute, v. 285; *in* v. 1543 *rimes with* homage.
- Trewit, *pp.* included in a truce, vii. 1654.
- Treyn, *a.* wooden, ix. 563.
- Tribulit, *pp.* worried, iv. 370.
- Tribus, *s.* tribes, ii. 232, 235.
- Tributer, *a.* tributary, iii. 803, iv. 1198.
- Tribyl, *a.* triple, viii. 2643.
- Troncheon, *s.* stump, viii. 5238.
- Trow [*? v. imper.* believe], W iii. 125.
- Trowable, *a.* believable, v. 296.
- Trowit, *pt.* trusted, ii. 1120.
- Trumpande, *pr.* *p.* trumpeting, vi. 178.
- Tryst, *s.* appointment, appointed place, place of meeting, v. 4693, vii. 2518, 2976; ix. 1670.
- Trystyd, *pt.* arranged, appointed, iv. 1640 (R).
- Tuggit, *pt.* pulled, W iii. 480, v. 1897.
- Tulze, *v.* to harass, to rob, vi. 1477.
- Tunakyl, *s.* tunic, ix. 595.
- Turnamentis, *s.* tournaments, v. 2067, vii. 1573.
- Turnpik, *s.* winding stair, viii. 5716.
- Tursit, *pt.* carried, W ix. 3996.
- Tuyl, *s.* broil, v. 3943 (tulze W).
- Tuyme, *a.* empty; tuyme tabart, viii. 296.

- Twa faulde, doubled up, viii. 5595.
 Twechit, *pt.* touched, ii. 1462 (tuichit W).
 Twyñ, *v.* to separate, iv. 1237.
 Twyn tongit, *a.* double-tongued, iv. 1955.
 Tympanys, *s.* drums, iii. 122; hooks? vii. 1271.
 Tyne, *v.* to lose, ii. 1454; tyñys, loses, viii. 3464; tynt, *pt.*, i. 1370.
 Tynsale, *s.* loss, v. 2530; tynsaile, iii. 188.
 Tyrít, *pt.* buried, interred, ix. 1096.
 Tyrít, *pt.* tarried? ix. 2398.
 Tystyr, *s.* case, cover, vi. 773; tistar, vi. 781 (textuere, texter W). *See* note, p. 59.
 Tyt, *pp.* drawn, viii. 2050; *pt.*, pulled, iii. 421, v. 2709.
 Tyt, *s.* pull, snap, iii. 289, viii. 2037.
 Tythttande, *s.* news, viii. 1774, 2142.
 Tythngis, *s.* tidings, news, iv. 1445, viii. 2478 (titland R).
 Tytlyt, *pp.* written out? vii. 709.
 Vacacion, *s.* time, occupation, v. 777.
 Vagand, *pr. p.* wandering, v. 3380 (R).
 Vale, *v.* to avail, v. 2403 (E).
 Valoure, *s.* value, W v. 191; valeur, vi. 2170 (E).
 Vandit, *pt.* dreaded, W viii. 6166.
 Velanusly, *adv.* unfairly, W viii. 4956.
 Venamous, *a.* deadly, W viii. 3135.
 Vertely, *adv.* [prudently, *from* avertly], viii. 5376 (L).
 Vesynes, *s.* prudence, caution, W viii. 6555.
 Vgly, *a.*, ii. 1012; *adv.*, i. 770, viii. 3270.
 Vgsum, *a.* foul, horrible, ii. 1011, viii. 2589.
 Vgwise, *a.* hideous, vi. 1021.
 Victour, *s.* victory, W ix. 821.
 Villerynis, *s.*, vi. 1477 (L), *a* mistake for pilgramys?
 Vire, *s.* crossbow-bolt, i. 198.
 Virgynyte, *s.*, iii. 130, iv. Prol. 43.
 Vifment, *s.* reflection, W viii. 843.
 Vmast, *a.* extreme, outmost, [uppermost], viii. 4652; vmaist, iii. 8 (E).
 Vmbekest, *pt.* cast about, W vii. 2029.
 Vnccione, *s.* anointing, ix. 1340; last unccion, extreme unction, ix. 1340.
 Vnctit, *pp.* anointed, W viii. 2930.
 Vndeliuerit [= deliberate], W v. 3172 (vndeliberait L).
 Vnderlowd, *wrong form* W i. 1492.
 Vndirstandyn, *pp.* understood, viii. 1928.
 Vndoyn, *pr. p.* undone, ii. 465, 477; translated, explained, viii. 367.
 Vndoynge, *s.* overcoming, defeat, ii. 628, iii. 378; translation, iv. 2576.
 Vndyr, *prep.*; at vndyr, in subjection, in scorn, iv. 2010, v. 950, 2354, vi. 2416, viii. 2476.
 Vndyrlout, *v.* to obey, to be subject, ii. 80, 1476, iii. 814.
 Vndyrloute, *a.* subjected, iv. 2017, vi. 2172.
 Vnfailleand, *a.* unfailing, i. 242.
 Vnfreyndis, *s.* enemies, viii. 4094.
 Vngayne, *a.* unfavourable, wild, W i. 952.
 Vnhewis, *v.* changes the colour, v. 3696 (A).
 Vnkend, *a.* unknown, i. 135.
 Vnkyndly, *a.* unnatural, iv. 1968.
 Vnlyk, *a.* unlike (any other)? viii. 2630.
 Vnreuillis, *s.* unruly deeds, W v. 3724.
 Vnreuillit, *pp.* badly led, W viii. 3324.
 Vnrycht, *a.* wrong, W viii. 3324 (at vnricht Au).
 Vnskilfull, *a.* unwise, W v. 1218.
 Vntit, *pp.* anointed, W viii. 180.
 Vnwaydandly, *adv.* lavishly, W vi. 1526.
 Vnyte, *s.* peace, reconciliation, ix. 1014.
 Vpbiggit, *pp.* rebuilt, W v. 1280.
 Vplaid, *pp.* held up, lifted up, W v. 1262.
 Vplaisit, *pp.* laced up, fastened, tied, W viii. 4989.
 Vprif, *v.* to arrive? W vii. 3275.
 Vpset, *s.* revolt, rebellion, v. 3634, viii. 699, 3041.
 Vre, *s.* luck, fortune, ii. 1500, viii. 5330, W ii. 1373.
 Vsuale, *a.*, iv. 2559.
 Vsurpande, *pr. p.* encroaching, v. 2438.
 Vmast, *a.* extreme, outmost, W iii. 8 (vmaist E).
 Vtouth, *adv.* outside, iii. 955; vtouth, *prep.*, W v. 3710.
 Vttraly, *adv.* utterly, altogether, i. 1556, ii. 201.
 Vult, *s.* visage, v. 3539.
 Vynys, *s.* vines or wines, ii. 624.
 Vyß, *s.* use? W ii. 376.
 Wa, *s.* woe, i. 615, 1571.

- Wacacione, *s.* vacancy, viii. 5897.
 Wacande, *a.* vacant, vii. 2164.
 Wache, *s.* watch, watcher, iii. 95;
 wachis, *pl.* spies, sentries, iii. 321,
 iv. 1173.
 Wadand, *pr. p.* dreading, viii. 6299.
 Wageouris, *s.* mercenaries, hired men,
 iv. 679, viii. 3030, W viii. 3197.
 Waiche, *a.* [roving], i. 1035.
 Waikyt, *pt.* was vacant, viii. 5892.
 Wail, *s.* vale, i. 328.
 Wail, *s.* veil, vii. 264, v. 1563.
 Wail, *v.* to choose, iv. 73.
 Waill, *adv.* greatly, very, (well?), W
 vi. 232 (wail A), W vi. 321, W
 viii. 2057, W viii. 5391, W viii.
 5412 or *adj.* ?
 Waif, *s.* ways, journey, W ii. 675.
 Waist, *a.* devoid, W v. 2916.
 Wait, *v.* to know, W vi. 1987.
 Waith, *waithe*, *s.* chase, hunting ?
 iii. 235, 533.
 Waittyt, *pt.* watched for, ii. 1612.
 Wakande, *a.* vacant, viii. 27, 258.
 Wakyn, *s.* vigil, v. 4187.
 Waknyt, *pt.* awoke, iii. 389.
 Wakyt, *pt.* was vacant, v. 1218,
 4096.
 Wal in, *v.* to wall in, v. 1303.
 Waland, *pr. p.* coming down, ix.
 854 (E²).
 Walapande, *pr. p.* galloping, iv. 234;
 waloppand, ix. 854 (A).
 Walcaris, *s.* fuller's, v. 639.
 Walde, *s.* power, ruling, iv. 252.
 Walde, *v.* to wield, vi. 2097.
 Walde, *pt.* would be, viii. 4776;
 would go, W viii. 4595.
 Waldin [*pp.* able, trained], W iii. 23.
 Walew, *s.* value, worth, ii. 721, vi.
 2170.
 Walknyt, *pp.* wakened, W iv. 815.
 Walle, *s.* valley, i. 73.
 Wallis, *s.* waves, i. 399 (wawis W),
 W iv. 203.
 Wallowit, *pp.* withered, i. Prol. 123.
 Walx, *s.* wax, W ii. 101.
 Wamyt, *pp.*; *gret wamyt*, pregnant,
 W v. 1906.
 Wan, *pp.* won, viii. 5018.
 Wan, *pt.* won, gained, ii. 85, 209;
 wan fra, escaped from, iv. 1480;
 went, W vii. 2771.
 Wan, *a.* colourless, v. 622.
 Wand, *s.*, i. 344, viii. 1963; *wandis*,
 iii. 381, *a mistake for bandis* W.
 Wandande, *pr. p.* dreading, swerving,
 viii. 6299 (A).
 Wandit, *pt.* refrained, ii. 62.
 Wandlande, *pr. p.* winding, iii. 764.
 Wande, *pt.*, *a mistake for wende* ?
 vi. 676.
 Wane, *s.* wain, i. 640.
 Wanhewis, *v.* stains, v. 3696.
 Wanlesse, *wanles*, *s.* [*literally* a deer-
 trap or ambush; Mediæval Latin,
 "wenelacia"], iii. 510, vii. 446.
 Wannand, *pr. p.* dwelling, W v. 3430.
 Wanton, *a.* light, lavish, vi. 464
 (*wantoun* W).
 Wantones, *s.* wantonness, iii. 348, iv.
 1987.
 Wanwit, *s.* want of knowledge, vi.
 Prol. 48.
 Wanys, *v.* wanes, decreases, i. 854.
 Wanys, *s.* dwelling, iii. 250.
 Wappit, *pt.* wrapped, W viii. 1989.
 War, *v.* were; *na war at*, were it not
 that, viii. 4816.
 War, *v.* to look after, to defend, viii.
 894.
 War, *a.* knowing, careful, v. 4329.
 Warande, *s.* protection, safety, de-
 fence, vi. 1450, viii. 4413; *war-*
 rand, i. Prol. 116.
 Wardane, *s.* guardian, W vii. 2175;
 wardanys, *pl.*, viii. 9.
 Wardanry, *s.* wardenship, viii. 5036.
 Warde, *s.* keeping, i. Prol. 56, ii. 340;
 body of troops, v. 454.
 Wardropere, *s.* keeper of the ward-
 robe, viii. 2867; *wardropar*, viii.
 2877.
 Ware, *a.* variegated, i. 217.
 Ware, *v.* to use, v. 2405.
 Ware, *s.* doubt, W viii. 4462.
 Wareande, *pr. p.* varying, iv. 1816.
 Warely, *adv.* cautiously, W viii. 2032;
 warly, iii. Prol. 22.
 Wargit, *s.* warden? W viii. 5272.
 Warite, *pp.* cursed, i. 159.
 Warn, *v.* to keep off, vi. 486; *warnyt*,
 pt. refused, ii. 201; *warned*, in-
 timated, W vii. 2735.
 Warnynge, *s.* denying, refusal, iii.
 977, iv. 592.
 Warnyst, *pp.* provided, ii. 648; *pt.*
 fortified, strengthened, iv. 1315.
 Warp, *s.*, v. 5039.
 Warpit, *pp. pt.* threw, cast about, W
 v. 1707, W viii. 2009, viii. 4743.
 Warray, *v.* to wage war against, ii. 7;
 warry, ii. 1526; *warraande*, *pr. p.*,
 iv. 2459, v. 228; *warraide*, *pt.*, iv.
 1228; *warrayt*, i. 1363; *warrayit*,
 i. 1369.
 Wart, *pt.* wrote, v. 4168, v. 5033, vii.
 1854, ix. 1116 (R).

- Waryis, *v.* vary, *v.* 1598.
 Waryson, *s.* reward, requital, iii. 227, vi. 959.
 Waschael, *s.* vessel, plate, iv. 1925.
 Waste, *a.* waste, ii. 787.
 Wastande, *pr. p.* destroying, ii. 1567.
 Wastoure, *s.* waster, v. 5375.
 Wat, *v.* (you) know, *v.* 2931 (wait W); wate, knowest, *v.* 5247 (wait W).
 Wate, *a.* wet, i. 968.
 Wauer, *v.* to waver, to wander, iii. 798; wauerand, *pr. p.*, i. 179, ii. 780; waverand, W iv. 1838; wauerande, *v.* 4318; wawerande, *v.* 2696; waueryde, *pt.*, iv. 815.
 Wauer, *v.* to surge, iv. 1963; wauerande, *pr. p.*, *v.* 845; wawerit, *pt.*, i. 399.
 Waulde, *v.* to wield, vii. 1304.
 Waw, *s.* wave, iv. 258; wawis, *pl.*, *v.* 845.
 Wawarde, *s.* vanguard, vi. 2261.
 Wax, *v.* to grow, *v.* 603; waxen, *pp.* risen, W *v.* 852.
 Wayknyt, *pt.* wakened, iv. 1167.
 Wayme, *s.* belly, iii. 45; womb, vi. 2238; gret wayme, with child, pregnant, iv. 2664, *v.* 1878, vii. 1281.
 Wayn, *s.* abundance, iii. 310 (wane W).
 Wayn, *s.* thought, purpose, i. 1486; wayne? iii. 874.
 Wayndit, *pt.* refrained, hesitated, swerved, W *v.* 3961, W vi. 1596, W viii. 3061; wayndand, *pr. p.*, viii. 6299 (Au.)
 Wayne, *s.* vein, ii. 432.
 Wayn glore, *s.* vainglory, iv. 2610.
 Wayt, *v.* to watch for, vi. 1220, viii. 2744; waytit, *pt.*, *v.* 3062.
 Waythe, *a.* wandering, i. 1446.
 Waythmen, *s.* outlaws, vii. 3526.
 Waywarde, *s.* vanguard, viii. 4672.
 We, *s.* short time, viii. 5788.
 Wechecraft, *s.* witchcraft, i. 856, ii. 28.
 Wechis, *s.* witches, iv. 365, *v.* 3386.
 Wecht, *s.* weight, iii. 764.
 Weddyr, *s.* weather, i. 718.
 Wedit, *see* Weide.
 Weide, *s.* clothing, iv. 1572.
 Weide, *v.* to be mad, to rave, to rage, *v.* 1179, 3783, ix. 2136; wedande, wedand, *pr. p.*, iv. 2162, *v.* 1903, 4624, viii. 1776; wedit, *pt.*, *v.* 385.
 Weiff, *v.* to weave, *v.* 5035, vi. 261.
 Weiffing, *s.* weaving, i. 255.
 Weil, *s.* weal, iv. 1967.
 Weill willandis, *s.* well-wishers, vii. 3048.
 Weire, *s.* direction, governing, ii. 1498 (L).
 Weirelyk, *a.* warlike, ix. 3114.
 Weissing, *s.*, *for* weiffing? W iii. 733.
 Welans, *a.* villanous? W viii. 2632.
 Welansly, *adv.* shamefully, *v.* 1676.
 Welcummynge, *s.* welcome, ii. 978.
 Wellyit, *pp.* swallowed, W iv. 1386, *a* mistake?
 Weltrande, *pr. p.* rising, surging, iv. 203 (welland W); welterand, W *v.* 851.
 Wencusse, *v.* to vanquish, ii. 23 (vincuf W).
 Wende, *pt.* believed, ii. 1280, iii. 53.
 Wenenows, *a.* venomous, vi. 319, viii. 3347 (venamuf W).
 Went, *pp.* gone, viii. 4592; *pt.* went him = went, W viii. 4638.
 Wenynges, *s.* belief, ii. 1241.
 Wepyn, *s.* weapon, viii. 2005.
 Werand, *pr. p.*; him werand, bearing himself, W viii. 2032.
 Werde, *s.* fortune, fate, lot, ii. 1345, 1377, iii. 804, iv. 1746; wyrdis, *pl.*, iii. 371; werdis, iii. 393.
 Werd systeris, *s.* witches, vi. 1862.
 Were, *v.* to wear, ii. 429.
 Were, *v.* to defend, iv. 770.
 Were, *s.* war, i. 587, 731, 1588; wer, ii. 95: of weyre, in war, ii. 1562; aware, by war, *v.* 4444.
 Were, *s.* doubt, i. 566; weyr, i. 735.
 Were, *s.* spring, iv. 1486.
 Were, wer, *a.* worse, ii. 87, 991, vii. 3430.
 Wereit, *pp. pt.* devoured, ii. 332, iii. 611, vii. 504. *See* Weryit.
 Werit out, *pp.* past, over, ii. 1301.
 Werraly, *adv.* truly, ii. 178.
 Wersse, *s.* verse, ii. 521; wersis, *pl.*, iii. Prol. 18.
 Werssikyls, *s.* versicles, *v.* 3567.
 Wersslete, *s.* hunting dog, vi. 1610 (R).
 Wersslynge, *s.* wrestling, iii. 974; werstling, i. 340.
 Werthit, *pt.* behoved, vi. 333 (worthy R).
 Wertuall, *a.* full of strength, of virtue, vii. Prol. 4; wertual, vii. 1218; wertuale, vii. 2206.
 Wertuousse, *s. pl.* virtues, vi. 529, 1204, vii. 1204.
 Wertusly, *adv.* virtuously, ii. 153; with talent, skill, viii. 981.

- Wertuwise, *a.* virtuous, iv. 1982 ;
wertuousse, vi. 830.
- Werty, *a.* cautious, prudent, W viii.
3121.
- Weryit, *pp.* strangled, choked, W
vii. 514 (wyrryd R); *pt.*, v. 4384.
See Wereit.
- Weschael, *s.* vessel, dish, plate, ship,
iii. 829, v. 1458, ix. 343, 743 ;
weschaell, viii. 1492 ; weschealle,
v. 836 ; wesschaelle, ii. 1073.
- Wesit, *v.* to visit, ii. 1668 (visit W).
- Westment, *s.* garment, v. 1898 ; westi-
mentis, *pl.*, v. 836.
- Westit, *pp.* invested, viii. 7089.
- Wesy, *v.* to visit, v. 3899.
- Wet, *pt.* wetted, dipped, ii. 330, iv.
1644, v. 1954.
- Wetheis, *s.* withes, vii. 2874.
- Wexit, *pp.* annoyed, W iii. 355.
- Weyis, *s.* balance, v. 693.
- Weyn, *s.* doubt, iii. 54.
- Weynge, *s.* wing, viii. 2518, 2520.
- Weyre, *s.* manner? v. 2479.
- Wichauf, *v.* to vouchsafe, viii. 2374
(A).
- Wichtmen, *s.* warriors, W iii. 275.
- Wichtnes, *s.* vigour, iii. 310.
- Wil, *s.* wile, cunning, iv. 929.
- Wil, *s.* will ; at wil, favourable, ii.
710.
- Wil, will, *a.* wild, uncertain, won-
dering, i. 179, ii. 1436, iv. 1987,
vi. 1614, 1615, 1652, 2455, W
iii. 62.
- Wil, *v.* [= Latin "mandas," *see note*,
p. 78], vii. 1553.
- Wile, *a.* vile, ii. 576.
- Willaus, *a.* vile, villainous, vii. 1796
(velaus W).
- Willausly, *adv.* shamefully, basely, iv.
165 ; wilausly, v. 4564.
- Willany, *s.* villainy, ii. 981.
- Wille, *a.* vile, ii. 731.
- Willis, *s.* plur. will, pleasure, iii. 88,
305, 346.
- Willy, *a.* (wyly W, wyle Au).
- Wirlyk, *a.* warlike, ix. 1704.
- Wise, *s.* screw? ; bowis of wise, viii.
4227.
- Wisman, *s.* sage, v. 296.
- Wisment, *s.* reflection, v. 988.
- Wisse, wisely? iv. 1996.
- Wissit, *pt.* visited, v. 1887.
- Wit, *s.* knowledge, v. 1936 ; learning,
viii. 403.
- Wit, *v.* to know, i. 691.
- Wit, *pt.* went, vanished? W vi. 1187.
- Withe, *pr.* by, v. 2253, vii. 2905 ;
withe pi þat, provided that, viii.
5171.
- Witsonday, *s.* Pentecost, v. 1923, vi.
1062.
- Witschaif, *v.* to vouchsafe, W viii.
2332.
- Wittail, *s.* food, ii. 383, viii. 2690 ;
wittaille, ii. 359 ; wittal, i. 564 ;
wictalis, *pl.*, viii. 5027.
- Wittely, *adv.* cleverly, skilfully, v.
3187, W viii. 3817.
- Wittering, *s.* knowledge, i. 411, W i.
457, W viii. 4002.
- Witterly, *adv.* for certain, W v. 4637.
- Witting, *s.* knowledge, i. 463.
- Witting, *pp.* known, W viii. 435.
- Wittulyt, *pp.* provisioned, ii. 1580.
- Wlatsum, *a.* loathsome, ii. 1012.
- Wmbelappit, *pt.* surrounded, iv. 2627.
- Wmbeset, *pp.* surrounded, viii. 1813 ;
pt., vi. 1440.
- Wmbethocht, *pp.* *pt.* bethought, iv.
130, viii. 180.
- Wmgange, *s.* circuit, iv. 285.
- Wnabayssitly, *adv.* boldly, fearlessly,
v. 2984, vi. 1107, viii. 821.
- Wnarayit, *a.* unarmed, ii. 1538.
- Wnarmyt, *pt.* disarmed, W ix. 761.
- Wnawisytly, *adv.* thoughtlessly, vii.
1659 (Au).
- Wnconnandnes, *s.* ignorance? v.
4718.
- Wncouythe, *a.* strange, iv. 2362 ; wn-
couthe, v. 5784.
- Wndirstandyn, *pp.* understood, iv.
Prol. 11 (W wnderstanding).
- Wndo, *v.* to solve, iii. 163 ; wndoyñ,
pp. ended, ii. 129 ; overcome, vii.
1630 ; left undone? v. 3910 ; wn-
dyde, *pt.* opened, v. 2399 ; wndit,
abolished, viii. 1046.
- Wndraw, *v.* to withdraw, iv. 1973
(E²).
- Wndoynge, *s.* translation, ii. 1250.
- Wnesse, *adv.* with difficulty, iv. 1034.
- Wnfaillande, *a.* without fail, ix. 2146.
- Wnflit, *a.* undefiled, v. 4824.
- Wngrawyn, *pp.* unburied, v. 2552.
- Wnhap, *s.* mishap, v. 968.
- Wnhawande, *a.* unmannerly, over-
bearing, iv. 1970.
- Wnhonest, *a.* dishonest, ii. 70, iii.
194.
- Wnhoneste, *s.* indecency, iv. 2350.
- Wnlefful, *a.* unlawful, viii. 824.
- Wnmoderly, *adv.* immoderately,
cruelly, ii. 702. Mid. E. "moder,"
to moderate.
- Wnmowande, *a.* not moving, ii. 1180.

- Wnnowmirable, *a.* numberless, iv. 2161.
 Wnoccupyde, *a.* uninhabited, iv. 1762.
 Wnperyst, *a.* not dead, v. 2968.
 Wnplet, *a.* unplaited, ii. 49.
 Wnprowable, *a.* unprovable, ix. 2042.
 Wnpurwaide, *a.* unprepared, ii. 1537.
 Wnrayid, *a.* unarmed, iii. 322.
 Wnrewllit, *a.* unruly, v. 3666, 4717.
 Wnslayne, *a.* alive, safe, iv. 1480, v. 1431.
 Wntendyrly, *adv.* harshly, vii. 128.
 Wnwachit, *a.* unguarded, iv. 495.
 Wnwalewit, *a.* unfaded, iv. Prol. 7.
 Wnwarnyst, *a.* unprepared, ii. 1538.
 Wnwarnyt, *a.* unwarned, iii. 324.
 Wnwisly, *adv.* rashly, vii. 1659.
 Wnwtyl, *a.* useless, ii. 700.
 Wnzoldyn, *a.* unyielded, viii. 1764.
 Wod, *a.* mad, raging, furious, i. 238, 398; woid, i. 1035; woide, iv. 1963.
 Wolum, *s.* book, part, iv. Prol. 25.
 Women, *s.* woman, ii. 1078.
 Wompyll, *s.* wimple, ix. 2992.
 Woñ, *s.* habit, viii. 3292.
 Woñ, *a.* accustomed, viii. 5516.
 Wondyn, *pp.* wound, v. 3945.
 Wondyr, *adv.* wonderfully, viii. 5041.
 Wongis, *s.* cheeks, v. 1954.
 Wonnyn, *pp.* won, W viii. 4816.
 Wonnynge, *pp.* won, conquered, defeated, ii. 36, 775, iv. 299, 1159, viii. 4357.
 Wonnynge, *s.* dwelling, ii. 784, iv. 918.
 Wont, *a.* accustomed, ii. 438.
 Wontsumnes, *s.* habit, W iv. 2124.
 Worsche, *s.* [see Worschep], v. 4558.
 Worschep, *s.* worth, honour, respect, ii. 339, 1521, v. 571.
 Worschipfully, *adv.* honourably, W vii. 2784.
 Worth, *a.* able, v. 4502.
 Worthis, *v.* becomes, i. 706; worth, *pt.* became, W viii. 2681; worthit, *pt.* became, i. 314, iii. 444; had to, was obliged, i. 158; worthid, iv. 202; worthing, *pp.* become, W iv. 1654; worthit, *pp.* become, viii. 401 (worthin W).
 Wouk, *s.* week, vii. 1623; wouyk, iv. 2375; woukkis, *pl.*, v. 1378; woukis, v. 557 (wox, oxis, olkis, woulkis, wolkis, *variants*).
 Woundit, *pp.* wound up, W v. 4003.
 Wowit, *pt.* wooed, ii. 344.
 Wox, *pt.* grew, i. 398, W v. 217.
 Woyage, *s.* journey, ii. 607 (wyage W).
 Wpbleiss, *v.* to burn up, iii. 250 (A).
 Wpcast, to throw open, viii. 1810.
 Wpe set, *pp.* erected, iv. 2367.
 Wptane, *pp.* taken, iv. 1169.
 Wrakys, *s.* plagues, i. 1361, ii. 533.
 Wraith, *a.* wroth, W vi. 2023.
 Wrangwisse, *a.* wrongful, viii. 2372; wranguise, i. 626.
 Wratt, *pt.* wrote, ii. 157.
 Wraucht, *pt.* wrought, v. 5314.
 Wreslyne, *s.* wrestling, i. 356.
 Wreþande, *pr. p.* railing at, raging against, v. 5082 (wrythand A, wreande E²).
 Wrethe, *s.* anger, iii. 320.
 Wrethyn, *pp.* writhed, vi. 1974 (wrythin WR, wrythand A).
 Wrichtis, *s.* wrights, ii. 1154; gunners, viii. 4741.
 Writh, *v.* to swerve, to go astray, i. 621; writhand, *pr. p.*, i. 636.
 Wrokyn, *pp.* wreaked, avenged, i. 1511.
 Wryte, *s.* writing, i. Prol. 40, vi. 1427; wryt, i. 940.
 Wrythit, *pt.* writhed, viii. 1776; wrythand, *pr. p.* raging, W v. 5102.
 Wttrely, *adv.* utterly, ii. Prol. 12.
 Wulde, *a.* wild, v. 4384.
 Wust, *pt.* knew, viii. 6505.
 Wy, *s.* man, viii. 2660 (A).
 Wyandoure, *s.* provider, host, ix. 1112.
 Wychtast, *a.* noblest, bravest, ii. 1527.
 Wympil, *s.* wimple, ii. 46.
 Wyn, *v.* to win, i. 158; to obtain, to reap, i. 374, 447, 659, ii. 106; wyn to, to reach, iv. 144; wyn out, to depart, i. 608.
 Wyncouth, *a.* uncouth, i. 1470.
 Wyncust, *pp.* vanquished, ii. 290, iii. 882; *pt.*, ii. 1385.
 Wyndyrta, *v.* to undertake, v. 999.
 Wynnys, *v.* dwells, W ii. 789.
 Wynnynge, *s.* dwelling, W ii. 665.
 Wynnynge, *s.* produce, ii. 370.
 Wynnynge, *pp.* won, iv. 1712 (wonnyng W); wynnynne, viii. 5018 (E²).
 Wyse, *s.* manner, ii. 112.
 Wyse, *a.* wise, iii. 655.
 Wyte, *s.* knowledge, vii. 2761.
 Wytride, *pp.* made conscious, vi. 2220.
 Wythryng, *s.* knowledge, viii. 4206 (E).

- Wyttynge, *s.* knowledge, ii. 1124 ;
but wyttyng, without it being
known, v. 676.
- Wyttyr, *v.* to inform, to teach, ii.
483.
- Y-borne, *pp.* born, W v. 3635.
- Ymagyne, *s.* imagining, skill, W ii.
553.
- Yre, *s.* anger, i. 176.
- Yrk, *a.* tired, v. 539.
- Yrne, *s.* iron, i. 251.
- Ȝalde, *pl.* gave up, ii. 180.
- Ȝalow, *a.* yellow, i. 779.
- Ȝarne, *s.* yarn, v. 5032, 5036.
- Ȝarnynge, *s.* desire, ii. 66, 1609.
- Ȝarnyt, *pl.* coveted, v. 260, 4750.
- Ȝauld, *pl.* delivered, gave up, iii.
280.
- Ȝede, *pl.* went, i. 425.
- Ȝeldin, *pp.* given up, iii. 276.
- Ȝeldyn, *s.* surrender, viii. 3833.
- Ȝemit, *pl.* watched, W v. 183.
- Ȝet, *v.* [to cast metal], W i. 252.
- Ȝhet, *s.* gate, iv. 280 ; Ȝettis, iv. 279 ;
Ȝhat, viii. 5704.
- Ȝheide, *pl.* went, iii. 195 ; intended,
meant, viii. 1030.
- Ȝhelde, *v.* to yield, ii. 316 ; Ȝheylde,
iii. 399 ; Ȝheldyn, *pp.* vanquished,
v. 2284.
- Ȝhellande, *pr. p.* yelling, iv. 2116.
- Ȝhemsail, *s.* keeping, viii. 4352.
- Ȝherdis, *s.* yards, v. 3588.
- Ȝhomen, *s.* yeomen, viii. 1825 ; Ȝomen,
viii. 5166 (Ȝemen W).
- Ȝhuyde, *pl.* went, ii. 330 ; Ȝude, ii.
38.
- Ȝhuyk, *v.* to sting? [to itch], ii. 574
(Ȝuke W).
- Ȝoil day, *s.* Christmas, v. 1381.
- Ȝok, *s.* yoke, i. 1615 ; team, vi. 1966.
- Ȝoldyn, *pp.* yielded, iv. 1239, 1436.

INDEX.

NOTE.—The references in the Index are to VOLUME and PAGE,—as distinguished from those in the Glossary, which are to Book and Line.

- Abbyrbrothok. See Arbroath.
 Abel, son of Adam, ii. 25, 33.
 Abel, bishop of St Andrews, v. 119.
 Aberdeen, v. 87, 293; vi. 61, 79.
 — (Radulphus) bishop of, denounces the murderers of Earl Patrick of Atholl, v. 103.
 Abernethy founded, iv. 75, 347; vi. 398.
 — Lawrens of, encounters William Douglas, vi. 123.
 — Lord of, enjoys the privileges of Macduff, iv. 305.
 — Patrick of, slays Duncan, Earl of Fife, v. 265.
 — William of, abets his brother Patrick, v. 265.
 Abiran, v. 205.
 Aboyne (Obyne), Alexander II. lodges there, v. 99.
 Abraham, ii. 13, 49, 93, 139, 141, 155, 157.
 Abyour, ii. 115.
 Acclande, Atland, the mountain Atlas, ii. 23.
 Achab (Acab), king of Judah, ii. 319.
 Achaia (Akay), ii. 105.
 Achilles, Egyptian general, iii. 171.
 Achor, ii. 223.
 Acir-Cirare, ii. 351.
 Ada (Ade), wife of Lamech, ii. 27, 29.
 Ada (Ade), wife of Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, iv. 393.
 Adam, the first man, ii. 19-25, 33, 141; iv. 87, 307.
 Adam, bishop of Caithness, murdered, v. 83.
 Adamnan, St, abbot of Icolmkill, iv. 77; meets Saint Serf at Inchkeith, 79.
 Adra, the Oder, iii. 185.
 Adre, ii. 135.
 Adrian, legend of St, iv. 177-179.
 Adrian I., pope, iv. 145.
 Adrian II., pope, iv. 185.
 Adrian IV., pope, iv. 425.
 Adrian, emperor, iii. 299-307, 311, 407.
 Adulphus, Aethelwulf, father of King Alfred, iv. 165.
 Affer, Afer, descended from Abraham, ii. 93.
 Affrica, Affrik, Effrica, Africa, ii. 49, 53, 93-97, 163, 203, 261, 315; iii. 105, 107, 129, 175; iv. 55.
 Africans, iii. 113.
 Agapitus, pope, iv. 47, 55.
 Agar, the country of the Agareni, iv. 203.
 Agarenys, the Agarenes, ii. 79.
 Agas, St Agatha, iii. 393.
 Agatha (Agas), wife of Edward, son of Edmond Ironside, iv. 271, 311, 315.
 Agenor, ii. 83, 103.
 Agnes, St, iii. 392.
 Agnoyme, ii. 115.
 Agret, the "Agroctae," a tribe in India, ii. 61.
 Agrigentines, ii. 333.
 Agrippa, king of the Latins, ii. 319.
 Agrippa, Marcus, iii. 279.
 Akas, king of Judah, ii. 13.
 Akay. See Achaia.
 Akownt, abbey of, near Bruges, v. 423.
 Alba, the Elb, iii. 185.
 Alba Sylwius, king of the Latins, ii. 317.
 Albanach, Albanacht, Albanaccus, son of Brutus, ii. 309, 311, 313.

- Albane, Alba, a town in Italy, ii. 263.
- Albany, Alania, ii. 99.
- Albany, Albania, ii. 85.
- Albany, Scotland, ii. 309, 311.
- Albany, Duke of, has the false Richard in keeping, vi. 391; restores the Earl of March, 394, 395; favours the election of Walter of Danielston, 398, 401; succours James of Gledstane against Percy, 405, 406; meets the Duke of Northumberland at Perth, 409, 410; keeps Henry, Percy's son, in Scotland, 411; governor of Scotland, 417; his panegyric, 417-419. See Fife.
- Alberton, Northallerton, v. 81.
- Albeus, the Elbe, ii. 101.
- Albion, ii. 309.
- Albula, the Tiber, ii. 319.
- Aldoyt, ii. 211.
- Aldroen, king of Brittany, iii. 443.
- Alexander, king of Macedonia, ii. 53, 83, 151; iii. 83, 95-97, 149; vi. 433.
- Alexander I., pope, iii. 297, 299.
- Alexander III., pope, v. 5, 17, 23, 27.
- Alexander, emperor, iii. 341, 407.
- Alexander I., king of Scotland, son of Malcolm III., iv. 345; banished by Donald, 353; present at the translation of St Cuthbert, 369; his reign, 369-377; buried at Dunfermline, 383, 389.
- Alexander II. acknowledged as heir, v. 45; crowned at Scone, 67; meets Lewis at Dover, 69; takes Carlisle, 69; cursed by the Pope, 75; sends to Rome, 77; absolved, 77; his marriages, 81; friendship with Henry III., 83; punishes the murderers of Bishop Adam, 85; subdues Argyle, 85; holds his Yule in Aberdeen, 87; goes to Canterbury, 87; in the North, 87; at Elgin, Montrose, and St Andrews, 89; subdues Galloway, 91; meets Henry III., 93; marries Mary of Coucy, 97; goes to Moray and to Aboyne, 97; to Lothian, 99; dies, 107; his genealogy, 227; renders homage for Huntingdon to King John, v. 65.
- Alexander III., ii. 13; born, v. 83, 97; crowned at Scone, 109; present at the translation of St Margaret, 109; knighted by Henry III., 115; married, 115; dwells at Edinburgh Castle, 115; meets Henry III. at Wark, 117; taken from Kinross by William Comyn, 119; defeats Haco at Largs, 121; grants the striking of money to St Andrews, 137; at Scone, 139; his second marriage, 139; his death, 141, 155, 161, 165, 207, 227, 241.
- Alexander, son of Alexander III., born, v. 125; married, 135; dies, 135.
- Alexandria (Alexander), town in Egypt, ii. 23, 83; iii. 169, 171, 329; iv. 77.
- Alexis, legate of pope Alexander III., v. 23.
- Alfred (Alwerede), king of England, iv. 309.
- All Hallows, feast of, instituted, iv. 111.
- Allynclude, Alcluyd, name wrongly given to Edinburgh, ii. 313. See note, p. 18.
- Allyrdail, Allerdale, in Cumberland, raided by Wallace, v. 311.
- Almayne, Germany, ii. 101; iv. 73, 149, 153; v. 37.
- Almanys, Germans, iv. 39, 139, 203.
- Alnwick, iv. 349, 403; v. 9; vi. 309.
- Alondonane, Eilan Donan, v. 393.
- Alps, mountains, ii. 99, 105, 107.
- Alpyne, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
- Alpyne Makteneagus, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
- Alpyne, son of Dougal, king of Scots, iv. 159, 173.
- Alten, ii. 213.
- Alwerede. See Alfred.
- Alwyn, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 319.
- Alyn, the river Halys, iii. 31.
- Amana, the Taurus, ii. 91.
- Amasias, king of Judah, ii. 321.
- Amazons, ii. 85, 89, 247-257.
- Amhrose, Saint, his conflict with Theodosius, iii. 467-495.
- Amiens (Ameas), vi. 368.
- Ammonites, ii. 77.
- Amphytrion, father of Hercules, ii. 177.
- Amprotyre, Amprotynes, king of Sycthia, iii. 49.
- Amylyus, son of Procas, iii. 207.
- Amylius Silwyus, king of the Latins, ii. 339-343.
- An, a mistake for Agnes, Saint, iii. 393.
- Anaclete, pope, iii. 285.
- Anastace. See Athanasius.
- Anastas, Saint Anastasia, iii. 393.

- Anastasius I., pope, iii. 495.
 Anastasius II., pope, iv. 35, 39.
 Anastasius I., emperor, iv. 19, 35, 41.
 Anastasius II., emperor, iv. 119, 123.
 Anaxagoras, iii. 21.
 Anchises, ii. 259, 305.
 Ancus, king of Rome, iii. 13.
 Andrew, Saint, iii. 235; his body translated to Constantinople, iii. 453; iv. 171, 173, 389; v. 339; Saint Andrew's day, vi. 71.
 Andyrston. See St Andrews.
 Angus, iv. 281; vi. 435.
 — See Umfraville.
 — Conquor, Conchar, Earl of, iv. 197.
 — (George Douglas), Earl of, at Haudenstank, vi. 379.
 — Thomlyn Stewart, Earl of, surprises Berwick, vi. 201.
 Angus-Fire, ii. 351.
 Angus-Turnet, ii. 349.
 Anicetus (Anycent), pope, iii. 321.
 Annabil, queen of Robert III., crowned, vi. 355 (*variants*), 367; her death, 396.
 Annan (Anande), v. 425, 427; vi. 85.
 Annandale (Anandrydaylle), v. 249; vi. 45, 153, 187, 225; men of, taken at Lochmaben, vi. 3.
 Annes, Annote, countess of Dunbar, vi. 81, 91.
 [Anonymous chronicler incorporated by Wyntoun, v. 369; vi. 35. See *Introd.*, section 9.]
 Antenor, founder of Venice, ii. 265.
 Antherus, pope, iii. 341, 343.
 Anthony, vi. 364-366.
 Antioch, ii. 77; iii. 237; destroyed by an earthquake, iv. 47.
 Antiochus, declares war to the Romans, iii. 133.
 Antiope, queen of the Amazons, ii. 255, 257.
 Anton, Marcus Antonius, Mark Anthony, iii. 183, 189.
 Anton the Mild, Antoninus Pius, emperor, iii. 311-315.
 Antonius, Marcus, brother of Aurelius, iii. 319.
 Antonius, Antoninus Heliogabalus, emperor, iii. 339.
 Anycent. See Anicetus.
 Apis, ii. 163.
 Appleby (Apilby), v. 9.
 Apocalipsis, iii. 279.
 Appennyne, the Apennines, ii. 105; iii. 115.
 Appolynar, St Appolinaris, iii. 239.
 Appolyne, Apollo, iii. 29, 215; iv. 63.
 Appule, Apulia, iv. 243. See Poylle.
 Aquisgrayne, Aix la Chapelle, iv. 151.
 Aquitain (Eqwyttane), ii. 109.
 Ara, ii. 115.
 Ara Celi, the church of, iii. 199.
 Araby, Arabia, ii. 77.
 Aracusse, Aracusa, a hill, ii. 73.
 Aracusy, Aracusia, ii. 73.
 Ararat, ii. 85.
 Araxes, river, iii. 39.
 Arbatus, Arbate, king of Media, ii. 321-325; iii. 207.
 Arbroath (Abbyrbrothok), abbey of, founded, v. 43, 59, 79, 273.
 Arbure, Arbure, Arbour, king of the Lombards, iv. 73.
 Archad, Arkady, Arcadia, ii. 51, 105.
 Archad, Arcadius, emperor, iii. 495; iv. 3, 5.
 Archedeyne, the. See Barbour.
 Archeflamynes, high pontiffs, iii. 325.
 Archelaus, brother of Herod, iii. 225.
 Ardagh, Somerled of Argyle, iv. 430.
 Aremulus Silwyus, king of the Latins, ii. 319.
 Argentyne, a town in Gaul, Colmar, iii. 471. See note, p. 40.
 Argyle, iv. 175; subdued by Alexander II., v. 85; vi. 41.
 — Alexander of, v. 241.
 Argos, ii. 165, 189, 215.
 Argue, Argare, ii. 55.
 Aristotle, iii. 21, 149; vi. 433.
 Arius (Arryus, Erryus), the heresiarch, iii. 447, 451, 465, 471.
 Arkada, ii. 213.
 Arkady. See Archad.
 Arle (Aurely W), Arles, ii. 109.
 Armarik, Armorica, iii. 439.
 Armony, Armenia, ii. 25, 43, 85; iii. 301; iv. 103.
 Armyspy, the Arimaspy, ii. 65.
 Arnald, abbot of Kelso, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 427; his death, 429.
 Arnot, Michael of, at the siege of Lochleven Castle, vi. 29.
 Arnulphus, emperor, iv. 189.
 Arpallus, ii. 329.
 Arphaxat, ii. 137.
 Arthur, king of Britain, iv. 19-27.
 Artoyt, ii. 115.
 Artymydor, Artemidora, queen of Halicarnassus, iii. 71.
 Arviragus, son of Kymbelinus, iii. 243-245.
 Arynden, ii. 349.
 Asa, king of Judah, ii. 319.

- Ascalon, Asculum, iii. 163.
 Askalon, Ascalon, ii. 79, 287.
 Askaneus, Ascanius, son of Eneas, ii. 259-263, 307.
 Astolf (Astulf), king of the Lombards, iv. 137.
 Assumption of Our Lady, vi. 367.
 Assur, son of Shem, ii. 73.
 Assyry, Assery, Assyria, ii. 9, 11, 49, 73, 133, 137, 145, 321-327; iii. 27, 49.
 Astyages (Astrages), king of Media, ii. 327-333.
 Asy, Asye, Asia, ii. 21, 49-53, 91, 99, 101, 145, 151, 175, 219, 253; iii. 21, 51, 81, 169, 287, 319, 375.
 Asyanis, Asiatics, ii. 255.
 Athanasius (Anastace), bishop, iii. 447.
 Athelstan (Adhelstane), king of England, defeated by Hungus, iv. 171.
 Athens, ii. 103, 177, 189, 231, 235; iii. 83, 285, 303; iv. 147, 167.
 Athenians, iii. 51, 67-79.
 Athis Silwyus, king of the Latins, ii. 317.
 Atholl, David (I.), Earl of, married a daughter of John Comyn, slain at Duffries, v. 245.
 — David (II.), Earl of, son of David (I.), v. 245; marries a daughter of Henry of Beaumont, 247; follower of E. Balliol, 399; abandons him, vi. 23; passes to Lochindorb, 25; obtains the lands of the Stewart, 25; seizes the lands of the Stewart and of John Comyn, 39; won over by the Earl of Moray, 47; forsakes the Scottish side, 57-59; besieges Kildrummy, vi. 59; slain at Kilblain, 67-69, v. 247.
 — (John), Earl of, father of David (I.), favours Robert the Bruce, v. 291.
 — Patrick, Earl of, burnt to death at Haddington, v. 101, 103.
 — Countess of, at Lochindorb, vi. 75.
 Athren, Airthrey, near Stirling, iv. 83.
 Atlande, king of Africa, ii. 175.
 Atropos, one of the Fates, vi. 244.
 Attik, Attica, ii. 103.
 Attilius Regulus, consul, iii. 105-107.
 Auchtyrlawny, William of, slain at Gasklune, vi. 374.
 August Octavius (Octovian), emperor, ii. 13; iii. 5, 181-201, 219, 229, 281, 287, 311; vi. 364-366.
 August, month of, explained, vi. 365.
 Augustine (Austyne), Saint, of Hippone, ii. 95; iii. 83, 91, 467, 469; his death, iv. 9.
 — sent to convert England, iv. 99-103.
 Augustine canons, at Scone, iv. 373; consulted by Edward I., v. 203.
 Aurelian, emperor, iii. 387.
 Aurelius Ambrosius, iv. 17.
 Aurelius, emperor, iii. 319.
 Aurelyeus, Orleans, iv. 209.
 Austriche, Austria, iv. 153, 155.
 Avacht, in Ross, vi. 95.
 Avignon (Awynnone), iv. 263; vi. 396.
 Awentyne, king of Italy, ii. 321.
Awntyrol Gawane, poem by Huchoun, iv. 23.
 Awyne, river Almond in Perthshire, iv. 199.
 Aymer. See Ulster.
 Ayot, Aod, ii. 273, 275.
 Ayr (Are), v. 397; vi. 47, 189.
 Baal, ii. 135.
 Babel (Babil), ii. 77, 117.
 Babeta (Bakka W), Bactria, ii. 85.
 Badenoch, lord of. See Comyn, John (the Red), (I.).
 Babylon, ii. 9, 11, 77, 139, 151, 323-327; seige by Cyrus, iii. 21-29, 31, 49, 207, 209, 287, 301.
 Babylon, a town in Egypt, ii. 83.
 Babylyis, Babylonians, iii. 31.
 Bacchus (Bacus), ii. 121; iv. 59; Dynys Bacus, ii. 189.
 Bagrada, a river in Africa, iii. 105.
 Baire. See Bavaria.
 Baktryanis, Baktranyis, Bactrians, ii. 75, 147.
 Balliol, Edward, son of John, v. 245; sent to London with his father, 295; induced to come to Scotland, 397; confederates with lords in England, 399; lands at Kinghorn, 405; crowned at Scone, 421; goes to south of Scotland, 425, 427; escapes from Annan, 429; at Roxburgh, 431; at the siege of Berwick, vi. 5; dissension among his men at Perth, 23; gives lands to his friends, 25; takes possession of castles in the West and in the East, 25, 27; comes to Glasgow and passes to England, 37, 85; in Galloway, 187; makes a raid through Scotland, 189; gives up his rights to Edward III., 205.

- Balliol, Henry de, fights sturdily at Annan, v. 427.
 — John, the husband of Derworgille, v. 241, 245, 259.
 — John, king of Scotland. See John.
 Balmoryne, the Sep of, ii. 95.
 Balmerino, abbey founded, v. 91.
 Balvany, James of Douglas, lord of, kills Sir David Fleming at Langhirdmanston, vi. 412.
 Balyne. See Belinus.
 Bamborough, v. 99.
 Bannockburn, v. 224, 241; vi. 15.
 Barabas, an Arian bishop, iv. 37.
 Baraduk, Caradocus, Duke of Cornwall, iii. 437, 439.
 Barak, ii. 277.
 Barbary, iv. 203.
 Barbour, John (Barber, Barbere "the Archedeyne"), 'The Bruce' quoted, v. 167, 351; referred to, v. 224, 227, 286, 326, 354, 367, 379, 383; 'The Stewartis Originalle' referred to, ii. 153, 201, 315; v. 257. [See *Introd.*, section 7.]
 Bardew, Lord of, vi. 409.
 Bardory, "Bardorum campus," iv. 199.
 Bareflete, Barfleur, iv. 383.
 Baris Raik, the Boar's Rake in St Andrews, iv. 375, 391.
 Barnayme. See Bernham.
 Barnsdale (Bernnysdaile), in the West Riding of Yorkshire, v. 137.
 Basil, Saint, iii. 455-459.
 Bass, the, vi. 89, 412.
 Batall Dormange, the, vi. 43.
 Batwartis Land, Boatman's land, iv. 261.
 Bavaria (Bawar, Bawer), ii. 101; iv. 153.
 — John of (Baire), bishop-elect of Liège, vi. 424; deprived at the Council of Constance, 436.
 Beaumanoir (Bewinanour), the French leader at the combat of the Thirty, vi. 211-221.
 Beaumont (Bewmonde), Henry of, marries the daughter (Alicia) of Alexander Comyn (II.), v. 237, 247; joins E. Balliol, 399, 405; at Dupplin, 413; at Perth, 419; abandons Balliol, vi. 23; builds Dundarg Castle, 23; attacked at Dundarg, 71; yields and returns to England, 73.
 — Patrick, viscount of, father of Queen Ermengarde, v. 29.
 Beaumont, Lord of, vi. 421.
 Beck, Anton the, bishop of Durham, sent to Scotland to treat of the marriage of Margaret, v. 159; gives advice to Edward I., 217; his conduct at the massacre of Berwick, 284; at Falkirk, 317.
 Bedagyus, son of Woden, ii. 211.
 Bekett, Thomas, v. 5; put to death, 7.
 Bel, ii. 135.
 Belinus (Balyne, Belyne), brother of Brennius, iii. 89, 91.
 Bell, William, dean of Dunkeld, bishop-elect of St Andrews, v. 423; at the court of Rome, vi. 157.
 Belthibub, Beelzebub, ii. 135.
 Belus, ii. 49, 117, 133.
 Belyall, ii. 135; iv. 45.
 Ben, James, bishop of St Andrews, v. 381; crowns David II., 385, 423; vi. 157.
 Benedict I. (Benet), pope, iv. 93.
 Benedict II., pope, iv. 119.
 Benedict III., pope, iv. 169.
 Benedict VII., pope, iv. 203, 209.
 Benedict VIII., pope, iv. 219, 221, 223, 245.
 Benedict IX., pope, iv. 223, 245, 247.
 Benedict XII., pope, vi. 21; promotes Laundells to the see of St Andrews, 159.
 Benedict XIII., pope, vi. 374; besieged at Avignon, 396; appoints Henry Wardlaw bishop of St Andrews, 401.
 Benedict, Saint, iv. 63-67.
 Benjamin, son of Jacob, ii. 175.
 Benrig, near Roxburgh, vi. 291.
 Berclay, Lord, fights against William Douglas, vi. 117.
 — David, captain of Perth Castle, vi. 129.
 — John, appointed keeper of Roxburgh, vi. 167.
 Berike, Berica, ii. 89.
 Bernham (Barnayme), David of, bishop of St Andrews, v. 95, 109, 119.
 Bernnysdaile. See Barnsdale.
 Berry, vi. 247.
 Berwick, given up for the ransom of William the Lion, v. 13; restored to Scotland, 35, 63; Edward I. meets the States of Scotland there, 215-225; siege and capture by Edward I., 279-287, 429; siege

- by Edward III., vi. 5, 105, 137, 201, 287, 299, 357.
- Berwick, South, nunnery founded, iv. 387.
- Berwick, near Shrewsbury, vi. 406, 407, 408.
- Bervie, vi. 161.
- Besancy, Bysantium, iii. 13.
- Besat, Beset. See Biset.
- Betheron, ii. 229.
- Bethlehem, iii. 199, 217; iv. 9, 205.
- Bethok, daughter of Malcolm II., wife of Cryny, abbot of Dunkeld, iv. 201.
- Bethok, daughter of Donald, king of Scotland, iv. 413; v. 231; married to the son of the Earl of Saint Paul, 235.
- Bethsaida, iii. 235.
- Bewmanoure. See Beaumanoir.
- Bewmonde. See Beaumont.
- Bezak, Adonibezek, ii. 271.
- Bible, the*, ii. 49, 155, 161, 231, 267, 277.
- Biggar, v. 333.
- Birnam. See Brynnane.
- Biset (Beset), Baldred, sent to Pope Boniface VIII., v. 323, 325.
- Bisets, the, William, John, and Walter, and the murder of the Earl of Atholl, v. 99-107; a daughter of the Bisets married to the Lord of the Isles, vi. 390.
- Bithynia, ii. 89.
- Blackburn, vi. 117.
- Black Canons, iv. 47.
- Black Friars of Perth, vi. 127, 377.
- Black Sollyng, vi. 116, 118, 119.
- Blair (Blare), vi. 79.
- Blois (Blese), the earl of, iv. 341.
- Boe, ii. 115.
- Boece, Boethius, iv. 33, 45; quoted, 159.
- Boecy, Boeotia, ii. 103; iii. 81.
- Bohemia (Boemy, Boeme), ii. 103; iii. 185.
- Bona copia, a name of Egypt, ii. 81.
- (Bondington), William of, bishop of Glasgow, v. 95, 119.
- Boniface, Saint, Rosemarkie dedicated to him, baptizes Nectan at Restennet, iv. 123.
- Boniface I., pope, iv. 9.
- Boniface II., pope, iv. 47.
- Boniface III., pope, iv. 109.
- Boniface IV., pope, iv. 109, 111, 115.
- Boniface V., pope, iv. 115.
- Boniface VIII., pope, v. 323, 325.
- Boroughmuir (Borow Moyr), battle of, vi. 53.
- Bothwell, John of, with the Earl of Mar at Liège, vi. 430.
- Bothwell, vi. 93, 392.
- Boucicant, Boucicaut. See Bransagant.
- Boulogne, Eustace, Earl of, vi. 375, 401.
- Boulogne, a treaty signed there between France and England, vi. 343, 349, 354.
- Bourty, fight at the church of, vi. 376.
- Bowstoure, an engine of war, vi. 93.
- Boyd, taken prisoner by Robert Ogle, vi. 165.
- Boyd, Alan, dies at the siege of Perth, vi. 129.
- Brabant, iv. 19; vi. 435, 436.
- Brady, Robert, vi. 69.
- Bragmanyis, the Brachmani, ii. 61.
- Braidfield, vi. 319.
- Brandan, Saint, iv. 75.
- Brandans of Bute, killed at Falkirk, v. 317; join Robert Stewart, vi. 43.
- Bransagant, Sir, Boncicaut, at the tournament near Boulogne, vi. 350.
- Brata, ii. 213.
- Brechin [Gregory], bishop of, v. 95.
- William of, v. 239.
- William (II.), his son, v. 239.
- Brennius, Brennus, leader of the Gauls, iii. 89, 93.
- Brettane. See Britain, Brittany.
- Brettis, British language, ii. 113.
- Brettis Se, the English Channel, v. 6.
- Bride, Saint, iv. 45; Abernethy dedicated to her, 75; her body found (translated), v. 31.
- Brigancy, ii. 193, 195.
- Brig of Forth, battle of, v. 309.
- Briges. See Bruges.
- Britain (Brettane), Great Britain, ii. 13, 37, 39; description, 107-115, 201, 205, 207, 265, 309; iii. 91, 167, 219, 231, 241, 243, 295; conquered by Severus, 335, 391, 429; iv. 6; first conversion, 101.
- Britanny (Brettane), iii. 439; vi. 211.
- See Less Bretan.
- Britons, ii. 205; iii. 139.
- Broge, ii. 213.
- Brogen, ii. 213.
- Brondyus, ii. 211.
- Browne, Sir Thomas, taken and beheaded at Kilblain, vi. 69.
- Bruce, the (Broyis, Bruss), genealogy of the family, v. 249.

- Bruce, Alexander the, brother of King Robert I., v. 249.
- Alexander the, lord of Carrick and Galloway, sides with Edward Balliol, v. 425; taken at Annan, 429.
- Edward the, brother of King Robert, v. 249, 365.
- John the, companion of William Douglas, vi. 125; jousts with David Berclay at Perth, vi. 129.
- Neil, brother of King Robert, v. 249.
- Robert the, father of the Competitor, marries Isabel, daughter of David of Huntingdon, v. 249.
- Robert the, Lord of Annandale, the Competitor, v. 167, 249; is offered the crown, 173, 183, 220; arguments in his favour, 181, 193, 207; Edward I. warned against him, 217; protests against Edward's award, 223; does homage to Edward, 267.
- Robert the, son of the Competitor, marries the Countess of Carrick, v. 249; offered the crown by Edward I., 277; Edward refuses to keep his promise, 291; Robert retires to England, 293.
- Robert I., king of Scotland, his ancestry, v. 249; marries Isabel while Earl of Carrick, 255; marries the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, 255; at Falkirk with Edward I., 315; his quarrel with John Comyn, 353-367; his death, 383; vi. 317.
- Robert the, a son of Robert I., at Dupplin, v. 411; dies there, 413.
- Thomline the, rises in Kyle, vi. 45.
- Dame Cristian the, holds the castle of Kildrummy, vi. 19, 59.
- Brude, king of the Picts, iv. 77.
- Dargardis son, king of the Picts, persecutes Saint Serf, iv. 81; gives him the Inch of Lochleven, 83; his death, 91.
- Maktengusse, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
- Methonysson, king of the Picts, baptised by Saint Columba, iv. 75.
- Bruges (Briges, Burges), v. 423; vi. 424, 431.
- Brute*, 'The Brut,' the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey or a translation of it, ii. 201; iii. 91, 247, 435; iv. 17, 21, 23.
- Brutus, Brute, Brut, the founder of Britain, ii. 13, 37, 39, 307, 309, 311, 315; iii. 139, 445; iv. 367.
- Brutus, the first Roman consul, iii. 19, 21.
- Brutus, murderer of Cæsar, iii. 175.
- Brwnddis, Brwndyis, Brundisium, ii. 107; iii. 189.
- Brynnane, Birnam, wodd of, iv. 299.
- Brynt Ile, vi. 187.
- Buchan (Buchgwane), vi. 23.
- Alexander Comyn, earl of, prosecutes the Bisets, v. 105; is made warden, 157; his family, 237; marries a daughter of Roger de Quincy, 247.
- Alexander (II.) Comyn, Earl of, v. 237, 247.
- John Comyn, Earl of, v. 237; invades the north of England, 297.
- Earls of. See Comyn.
- See Beaumont, Henry of.
- Bulgary, iv. 33.
- Bullock, William, keeper of Cupar Castle, vi. 27; defends it, 93; surrenders it to William Douglas, 127; at the siege of Edinburgh Castle, 139.
- Burges. See Bruges.
- Burgundy (Burgon, Burgownde), iv. 19, 143, 357.
- Duke of, v. 195-199.
- Duke of (Jean Sans Peur), befriends the Earl of Mar, vi. 423; takes the part of the bishop-elect of Liège, 426; obtains the services of the Earl of Mar, 429.
- Busiris, ii. 217.
- Bute (But), island of, v. 317; vi. 27.
- Bykkyrstone, Walter of, lord of Lufnok, vi. 421.
- Byland (Bilande), battle of, referred to, v. 15.
- Cacrakandoad, ii. 351.
- Cadak - Resedek - Corbre - Ridaga, ii. 351.
- Cadmus (Gadnilus), ii. 103.
- Cador, duke of Cornwall, iv. 27.
- Cain (Caym), ii. 25-31, 35.
- Cainan (Caynen), ii. 33, 137.
- Caithness (Catenes), v. 87.
- bishop of, v. 95.
- earl of, v. 85; meets Alexander II. at Forfar, v. 87; (Walter Stewart), vi. 395.
- Caius. See Gayus.
- Calais (Calace), vi. 169, 247; a jousting near, 348-354.

- Calabria (Calaber), iv. 69, 203.
 Calcasus. See Caucasus.
 Calde, Chaldea, ii. 77; iii. 15, 313.
 Caldeis, Chaldeans, ii. 155.
 Calixt, pope, iii. 337.
 Cam, son of Noah, ii. 45-49, 97, 117, 147.
 Camber, son of Brutus, ii. 309, 311.
 Cambises, ii. 83.
 Cambises, son of Cyrus, iii. 47.
 Cambry, Cumbria, Wales, ii. 309.
 Cambuskenel, abbey founded by David I., iv. 387; states meet there, v. 377.
 Campania. See Chawnpene.
 Campbell, Dougal, comes to the help of Robert Stewart, vi. 41.
 Canaan, ii. 47, 99; iv. 77.
 Canaculmel, king of the Picts, iii. 401.
 Cande, modern name of Crete, iv. 11.
 Candlemass, origin and meaning of, iv. 59-63.
 Canniore, vi. 69.
 Canos, Cannæ or Canusium, iii. 117.
 Canterbury (Cawntyrbury), iv. 217, 313, 387; v. 47, 49, 87, 93.
 — archbishop of, slain, vi. 283.
 Cantulus, Quintus Catulus, iii. 163.
 Caonya, Chaonia, ii. 103.
 Capadocy, Cappadocia, ii. 87; iii. 23, 455.
 Capis Silvius, king of the Latins, ii. 319.
 Capitol, built, iii. 15; saved by the geese, 89, 199.
 Caplachi, in Fife, iv. 179.
 Capua (Capwa), iii. 99.
 Caracalla, emperor, iii. 337.
 Caradocus. See Baraduk.
 Caramacert, king of the Picts, iii. 341.
 Caratays, ii. 165.
 Carbre Fynmore, ii. 351.
 Carcasson (Carkason), bishop of, v. 199.
 Caren, ii. 349.
 Carentynes, the Tarentines, inhabitants of Tarentum, iii. 101.
 Cardross, v. 383.
 Careptine, Carentyne, iii. 161. See note.
 Carham-on-Tweed, founded by King Stephen, iv. 412; vi. 273.
 Carlaverock, vi. 225.
 Carlingford (Karlyngfurde), vi. 323.
 Carlisle (Karlel), iv. 405, 409, 423; v. 19, 31, 69, 299; vi. 305.
 — bishop of, sent to Scotland by Edward I., v. 159.
 Carmelites, v. 203.
 Carncors, slain at Gasklune, vi. 374.
 Carnarvon, Edward of, at Perth, v. 347; returns to England, 353.
 Caroloman, son of Charles Martel, iv. 153, 155.
 Carpent, king of the Latins, ii. 319.
 Carrick, vi. 47, 187.
 — Alexander the Bruce, Earl of, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
 — Earl of (Robert III.), raids Annandale, vi. 225.
 — John, Earl of, protects the Marches, vi. 267.
 — Earl of, receives the Duke of Lancaster in Scotland, vi. 285.
 — Sir David, Earl of, at Hawdanskank, vi. 379, 380.
 — Countess of, wife of Robert the Bruce, son of the Competitor, v. 249.
 Carruthers, William of, overruns Annandale, vi. 45.
 Carsyngame. See Cressingham.
 Carthage, ii. 95, 107, 315; iii. 99, 103-107, 129, 141-145; council held there, iv. 9, 37.
 Carthage, New, iii. 127.
 Carus (Clarus), emperor, iii. 387.
 Casinius, ii. 51.
 Caspis, the hill of, ii. 55.
 Caspis Se, Caspian Sea, ii. 83.
 Cassius, murderer of Cæsar, iii. 175.
 Castell Galliard, Castel of Galyarde, Château-Gaillard, in Normandy, v. 422; vi. 101, 123.
 Catan, ii. 349.
 Catenes, Catania, in Sicily, iii. 155.
 Catenes. See Caithness.
 Catherine, Saint (Kateryne), iii. 427.
 Cato (the Elder), quoted, v. 415.
 Cato, Dionysius, iv. 75; vi. 39.
 Catynel, ii. 351.
 Caucasus (Cawcasus, Calcasus, Calcases), ii. 53, 55, 81, 83, 175.
 Caym. See Cain.
 Caynen. See Cainan.
 Cealffyne, ii. 211.
 Cecille, Saint Cecilia, iii. 339.
 Cecrops (Cyerope), ii. 177, 189.
 Celestine, pope, iv. 9, 11, 13.
 Celland (?), iv. 18.
 Celwald, ii. 211.
 Cenocrata, a beast, ii. 67.
 Ceres (Geres), the goddess, ii. 175.
 Ceres (Seras), John of, fights by the side of Earl of Mar, vi. 433.
 Cerces. See Xerxes.
 Cesar, Cæsariensis provincia, ii. 95.
 Cesar, Julius, vi. 366.

- Cesar August, the title to be given to the son of Adrian, iii. 305.
 Cethim. See Setyne.
 Chaldea. See Calde.
 Charlemagne (Charlis), ii. 13; iv. 139, 145, 147-151, 159, 161, 169, 173.
 Charles III., emperor, iv. 189.
 Charles Martel, iv. 153, 155.
 Charlis, "a king of France," Carloman, iv. 187.
 Château-Gaillard. See Castell Gaillard.
 Chawmpane, Champayne, Campania, ii. 319; iii. 97, 99, 231, 311, 393. See Schawmpane.
 Chester, iv. 421.
 Chore, v. 205.
 Christ (Crist), iii. 231-235.
 Christian (Cristiane), daughter of Edward, sister of St Margaret, iv. 271; comes to England, 315; a nun at Newcastle, 310, 345.
 Chrysostom, John, iv. 5.
 Cibeles, Cybele, iii. 281.
 Cicile, Cilicia, iv. 47.
 Cicile, Cizille. See Sicily.
 Cirillus, pope, iii. 275, *a mistake*.
 Citeaux (Cisteous, Sistrousse), abbey of, foundation, iv. 357, 387, 405, 429; v. 263.
 Clans, battle of the, at Perth, vi. 377.
 Clare. See Gloucester.
 Clarus. See Carus.
 Claudius, emperor, iii. 237, 241-251.
 Claudius, emperor with Aurelian, iii. 387.
 Clement, Saint, pope, ii. 91; iii. 275.
 Clement VII., pope, iv. 261, 263; vi. 309; descended from Malcolm Canmore, 374, 375.
 Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, iii. 175; vi. 364.
 Clodoueus, Clovis, king of France, iv. 39.
 Cluny monastery, iv. 351.
 Clydesdale, v. 265, 299; vi. 45, 125.
 Clydis Wall, the Roman wall, iii. 442.
 Coartane, Tingitania, ii. 95.
 Cockermouth (Kokyrmyouthe), vi. 315.
 Coel, king of Britain, iii. 399.
 Coggyn-Clynnyn, ii. 115.
 Cokburn, William of, vi. 421.
 Coklawis (Koklawis), in Teviotdale, vi. 405.
 Colbantoun, v. 265.
 Colbrandis Pethe, vi. 187.
 Colchos. See Kolcos.
 Coldingham founded, iv. 357.
 Colly. See Cullen.
 Collyne, the Colline gate, iii. 125.
 Colme, St, Saint Columba, comes to Scotland, iv. 75, 171; his body found, v. 31.
 Coloyne, Culane, Cologne, iii. 341; iv. 149.
 ——— archbishop of, vi. 424.
 Combust, king of the Picts, iii. 321.
 Comernoulde. See Cumbernauld.
 Comestor, Perys, ii. 11, 119.
 Comfrere, Rauf, Ralph the Cofferer, v. 333, 343.
 Commodus, emperor, iii. 327.
 Commogen, Comagena, ii. 77.
 Comota, ii. 349.
 Comyn, origin and pedigree of the family, v. 233-241.
 ——— John (the Black), one of the wardens, v. 157; married a daughter of Dervorgille, 241, 245; dies at Lochindorb, 259.
 ——— John (the Red) (I.), lord of Badenoch, v. 139, 239.
 ——— John (the Red) (II.), his family, v. 245; guardian of Scotland after Wallace, 319, 323; harasses the friends of England, 331; defeats the English at Roslyn, 333-345; submits after Roslyn, 321; his agreement with the Bruce, 353; he betrays him, 355; killed at Dumfries, 365.
 ——— John, lord of Strabolgy, submits to Edward I., v. 293.
 ——— John, his lands seized by David, Earl of Atholl, vi. 39.
 ——— Richard, son of William (II.), v. 235; heir to his brother Walter, 237, 239.
 ——— Walter, follower of Edw. Balliol, v. 399; slain at Kilblain, vi. 69.
 ——— William (I.), comes from Normandy, doorkeeper to King William, v. 233; marries the daughter of Bethok, 235.
 ——— William (II.), Earl of Buchan, v. 235.
 ——— William, son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, v. 237 (*wrong, never existed*).
 ——— William of Kirkintilloch, brother of the Lord of Badenoch, obtains part of the earldom of Menteith, v. 139.
 ——— See under Menteith.
 Comyns, the, favour John Balliol, v.

- 291; unfriendly to Wallace, 315, 317, 319.
 Conal Macongall, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
 Conane Meryaduk, nephew of Octavius, iii. 437, 445.
 Conar, ii. 351.
 Congal, son of Dongart, king of the Scots, iii. 84, 86.
 Connaught, swine plague in, vi. 193.
 Conon, pope, iv. 119.
 Conquor. See Angus.
 Conrad, emperor, iv. 225-237.
 Constantius, emperor, father of Constantine I., iii. 399-401.
 Constantius, son of Constantine I., iii. 449, 455.
 Constantine I., pope, iv. 119.
 Constantine II., pope, iv. 145.
 Constantine I., emperor, iii. 401, 403-435, 449, 461.
 Constantine II., emperor, iii. 449, 453.
 Constantine, emperor, son of Heraclius, iv. 111, 115, 117.
 Constantine IV., emperor, son of above, iv. 117, 119.
 Constantine V., emperor, iv. 73, 137.
 Constantine VI., emperor, iv. 145.
 Constantine, king of Britain, brother of Conan, iii. 445.
 Constantine, king of Britain, iv. 27.
 Constantine, king of the Picts, founds Dunkeld, iv. 169.
 Constantine, king of the Scots, iv. 177, 181, 187.
 Constantine, son of Hed, king of the Scots, iv. 187; retires to St Andrews, 187; dies, 191.
 Constantine, son of Cullen, king of the Scots, iv. 199.
 Constantinople, ii. 103; iii. 13, 451, 453, 489, 495; iv. 5, 13, 33, 45, 57, 71, 77, 117, 205.
 Copeland, John of, taken at the siege of Dunbar, vi. 87; at the battle of Durham, 179; takes David II. prisoner, 185; at Roxburgh, 195; comes to the relief of Berwick, 201.
 Corbre-Congyn, ii. 351.
 Cordeliers, v. 203.
 Corinth, ii. 105; iii. 147.
 Cornelius, pope, iii. 259, 373; finding of the bodies of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 395.
 Cornhill (Cornwall), vi. 303.
 Corse Cryne, vi. 187.
 Coryne, the giant Corineus, ii. 39.
 Cosdroe, king of Persia, iv. 111, 115.
 Costek-Kaelbrek, ii. 349.
 Cotra, the Coatræ, ii. 59.
 Coucy, Ingram of, v. 81, 97.
 — Mary of, wife of Alexander II., v. 97.
 Couer-Moer, ii. 351.
 Cowal, vi. 27, 43.
 Cowgate (Kowzheth) of Berwick, vi. 201.
 Crag, in Edinburgh, vi. 55.
 Crag, John of the, vi. 65.
 Craggyne, the crags by, vi. 117.
 Cragie, taken prisoner by Robert Ogle, vi. 165.
 Crawford. See Lindsay.
 Crecy (Kersy), vi. 185.
 Crcichtone Deyne, vi. 117.
 Crenston, William of, vi. 421.
 Cressingham (Carsyngame), Hugh of, v. 307, 309, 315.
 Cresus, king of Lydia, iii. 29-37.
 Crete, ii. 125, 231, 235; iv. 11.
 Cretens, Cretans, ii. 233.
 Crudid, ii. 351.
 Cryny, Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, iv. 201.
 Cryste Cleik, vi. 133.
 Cruthne-Makryny, first king of the Picts, iii. 141.
 Crwmbathy, Cromarty, Macbeth thane of, iv. 275.
 Culane, Culone. See Cologne.
 Culdee. See Kilde.
 Culen, king of the Scots, iv. 195, 197.
 Cullen (Colly), Indulf died there, iv. 193.
 Culross, white monks there, iv. 80, 81, 91; abbey founded, v. 89.
 Cumberland, iv. 397.
 Cumbernauld (Comernalde), the Lord of, has the keeping of the *false* Richard, vi. 391.
 Cunnock Kirk, vi. 223.
 Cunningham (Conyngame), William of, attacks the English fleet at Queensferry, vi. 295.
 Cunningham, district of, v. 121, 425; vi. 45, 47, 189.
 Cupar in Angus, abbey founded, iv. 429; castle, vi. 93, 127.
 Cupar in Fife, iv. 305.
 Cure, ii. 349.
 Curry, Peris of, killed at Largs, v. 121.
 — Wat of, helps William Douglas at the taking of Edinburgh Castle, vi. 139-143.
 Cus, ii. 117, 121.

- Cuthbert, Saint, honoured at Coldingham, iv. 357; translation of his body to Durham, 367; honoured at Carham, 412.
- Cutwyne, ii. 211.
- Cycrope. See Cecrops.
- Cymbry, Gauls, iii. 157, 159.
- Cyriak, pope, iii. 341.
- Cyrus, grandson of Astyages, ii. 329-333.
- Cyrus, king of Persia, iii. 17, 21-47.
- Cyzille. See Sicily.
- Dacia (Dace), ii. 99; iii. 439.
- Dalis, Robert of the, Robert de Vaux, v. 53.
- Dalgarnow, William of, abbot of Kelso, v. 422.
- Dagon, ii. 303.
- Dalhousie (Dalwolsy), vi. 392.
- Dalida, Delilah, ii. 295-305.
- Dalmatia, ii. 103.
- Dalphyn, Dauphine, iii. 235.
- Dalswinton Castle, vi. 223.
- Damascus (Damask), ii. 77.
- Damasius, pope, iii. 461, 463, 467.
- Damyane, Damianus sent to convert Britain, iii. 325.
- Danaus (Schyrr Danaye), ii. 81, 215.
- Danielston, Walter of, occupies Dumbarton Castle, vi. 391; elected bishop of St Andrews, 398; his death, 399.
- Danoy, the Danube, ii. 99, 101, 103, 105; iii. 51; Danweus, ii. 101.
- Dardanus (Dardane), ii. 89, 153, 221, 305.
- Dardanya, ii. 89.
- Dar-Dowrmer, ii. 351.
- Dares of Phrygia, ii. 5, 259.
- Darius, king of Persia, iii. 47-55, 67.
- Darius, son of Xerxes, iii. 83.
- Datan, v. 205.
- Dauphine. See Dalphyn.
- David (Dawy), king of Israel, ii. 315, 317; iii. 199.
- David I., king of Scotland, son of Malcolm III., iv. 345; banished by Donald, 353; present, as Earl of Huntingdon, at the foundation of St Andrews priory, 375; founds the abbeys of Jedburgh and Kelso, 381 (see note, p. 73); becomes king, his character, 385; founds bishoprics and abbeys, 387; endows the priory of St Andrews, 389-393; marries Matilda, daughter of William, Earl of Huntingdon; his son and grandchildren, 393; takes the side of Empress Matilda, 395; obtains Cumberland, 397; defeated in Northumberland, 399; wages war against Stephen, 401; knights Henry of Anjou, 405; dies, 409; his eulogy, 411; one of his sons killed by Donald, 415; v. 19, 227.
- David II., king of Scotland, v. 257; his birth, 367, 373; his marriage, 379; his coronation, 383, 421; sent to France, 423; vi. 21; called king by the children of Scotland, 39; at Château-Gaillard, 101, 137; writes to the Pope in favour of William Laundells, 157; leaves France and lands at Bervie, 161; makes a fruitless raid in England, 169; invades England at the instigation of the king of France, 171; joined at Perth by the men of the North, 173; takes Liddesdale Peel, 175; passes by Hexham Abbey on his way to Durham, 177; taken prisoner, 185; comes to Scotland and returns soon to England, 225; comes to Berwick, 231; returns to London a second time, 233; his ransom, 233; often at Melrose, 237; condemns Iakkis de Lindsay to death, 241; goes to London with the queen, 243; holds his Yule at Kinloss, 249; besieges Kildrummy Castle, 251; marries Margaret of Logy, 251; proposes that a son of Edward III. should succeed him, 253; his death, 255, 246.
- David, son of Henry of Huntingdon, iv. 393.
- David, son of Alexander III., dies, v. 129.
- David, son of Gryffyne, rebels against Edward I., v. 131; taken prisoner, 135.
- Dead Sea, ii. 79.
- Decius, emperor, iii. 359, 365-373, 379, 425; iv. 17.
- Decius the Younger, iii. 379, 381-385.
- Dedaa, ii. 349.
- Dedalus, ii. 235-241.
- Dee, river, vi. 65.
- Dekochet, king of the Picts, iii. 315.
- Delarik, Sir, of Cappadocia, iii. 23.
- Delbora, ii. 277.
- Demetra, name of Ceres, ii. 177.
- Den, ii. 213.
- Denis, Saint, iii. 279.

- Denmark, ii. 101, 111, 201; iii. 301, 391; iv. 21, 179, 181, 316.
- Denmarkis, Danes, iv. 215, 217, 251, 253, 317.
- Derby, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of, challenges William Douglas, vi. 101; at the jousting of Berwick, vi. 103-109.
- Earl of, banished by Richard II., vi. 381, 382.
- Dersy, council at, vi. 57.
- Derworgille, wife of John Balliol, v. 241, 245, 259-263; founds Sweetheart Abbey, 263.
- Deucalion, ii. 177-183.
- Deworcenauche-Netalis, king of the Picts, iii. 401.
- Dido, queen of Carthage, ii. 95, 261, 315.
- Difful, Lady of, married to Earl of Mar, vi. 436.
- Diocles, ii. 327.
- Diocletian, emperor, iii. 325, 389-397, 435; iv. 101.
- Dirleton, Lord of, vi. 412.
- Dishington, at Hawthornden, vi. 149.
- Doat, ii. 213.
- Dogwort, Nicol of, vi. 343.
- Dominus-Dedit, Deus-Dedit, pope, iv. 115; called Anastase in W.
- Domitian, emperor, iii. 275-283.
- Domus Dedaly, ii. 239.
- Donald (Downalde), brother of Kenneth MacAlpine, succeeds him, iv. 175; killed at Scone, 177.
- Donald, son of Constantine, king of the Scots, succeeds Greg, killed at Forres, iv. 187.
- Donald, succeeds his brother Malcolm III., iv. 351; expelled by Duncan, his nephew, 353; restored by the Earl of Mearns, 353; taken and imprisoned by Edgar, 355; kills a young son of David I., 413-417; father of Bethok, v. 231.
- Donat, a bishop, iii. 497.
- Donat, grammarian, iii. 453.
- Dongart, son of Fergus More, king of the Scots, iii. 84, 86.
- Dougal, son of Sewald, king of the Scots, iv. 159.
- Douglas, county of, v. 251; castle of, v. 265; vi. 299.
- Douglas Tower, in Berwick, vi. 201.
- Douglas, family of, v. 257.
- Archibald of, brother of Sir James, comes upon Edw. Balliol at Annan, v. 427; warden of Scotland, invades England, vi. 7; slain at Halidon Hill, 13, 193.
- Douglas, Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and later 2nd Earl of, taken prisoner at Poitiers, vi. 231; ransomed by William de Ramsay, 231; meets the Duke of Lancaster at Haddington, 285; at the siege of Lochmaben, 289; on the Marches with John de Vienne, 303, 305; raids in England, 315, 317, 341; appealed to by the English envoys, 345; at Haldanstank, 379, 380; his death, 392.
- Archibald (II.), Earl of, takes possession of Dunbar Castle, vi. 394; defeated at Homildon, 401; wounded and taken at Shrewsbury, 407, 408.
- James, Sir, goes to the Holy Land, v. 383; detained in Scotland, 395, 397.
- James of, brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale, vi. 57.
- James, 2nd Earl of, v. 251; raids in England as far as Newcastle, vi. 301; on the Marches with John de Vienne, 303, 305; raids in England, 315; goes as far as Newcastle and returns homewards, 327; killed at Otterburn, 329-337; inherits Garviauch and Mar, 403.
- John of, son of Archibald, brother of Sir James, dies "beyond the sea," vi. 193.
- William, 1st earl of, son of Archibald, brother of Sir James, captain of Edinburgh Castle, vi. 147; takes possession of Douglasdale, 193; joins his uncle, Sir David de Lindsay in Edinburgh, 193; becomes keeper of the Castle, 195; invades the Forest and Teviotdale, 195; takes Thomas Gray prisoner at Norham, 207; subdues Galloway, 223; escapes from Poitiers, 231; opposes the succession of Robert II., 265; raids Penrith; the English follow across the Solway, 279-281; meets the Duke of Lancaster at Haddington, 285; at the siege and taking of Lochmaben, 289; takes prisoner the Baron of Graystock, 291; wins the rest of Teviotdale, 299; dies at Douglas, 299; interred at Melrose, 301; married a sister of Thomas, Earl of Mar, v. 251; his daughter

- marries Sir Malcolm Drummond, vi. 403.
- Douglas, William, of Liddesdale, taken at Lochmaben, vi. 5; returns from England, 49; at Boroughmuir, 53; escapes from Peris of Paris, 55-57; sides with Andrew of Moray, 57; joins him against the Earl of Atholl, 63; attacks the Earl at Kilblain, 67; challenged by the Earl of Derby, 101; wounded at the jousting, 103; his sundry prowesses, 117-123; joins David II. in France, 123; returns from France, 125; takes Cupar Castle, 127; wounded at Perth, 129; seizes Edinburgh Castle by stratagem, 139-145; makes William the elder of Douglas captain of Edinburgh, 147; retires to the Forest, 147; raids the English Marches, 153; imprisons Alexander Ramsay at the Hermitage, 165, 167; becomes sheriff of Roxburgh, 169; advises David II. not to go to England, 177; defeated at Sondyr Sand (Sunderland), 181; taken at the battle of Durham, 181-185.
- William, Lord of Nithsdale, son of Sir Archibald, burns the suburbs of Carlisle, vi. 317; victorious at Braidfield and on the Solway, 319; marries a daughter of Robert II., 321; in Ireland, 321-325; returns to Scotland and joins the Earl of Fife, 325.
- William of, brother of Sir James, vi. 57.
- Dover (Dowir), v. 69.
- Downald Brec, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
- Doyt, ii. 115.
- Dreux (Drwyssis), Count of, v. 139.
- Drogheda (Drochda), vi. 323. See Notes, p. 132.
- Drome, Drwm, Drumalban, "Dorsum Britannia," iii. 86. See Notes, p. 24.
- Drummond, Malcolm of, v. 251; married the heiress of Garviach and Mar, vi. 403; dies in prison, 404.
- Dryburgh, abbey founded, iv. 405; vi. 315.
- Duat-Locres, ii. 349.
- Duchlande, Germany, ii. 101; iii. 167, 185, 263, 327, 391; iv. 17.
- Duche men, Teutons, iii. 157.
- Duchil, king of the Picts, iii. 219, 295.
- Dulf (Duf), king of the Scots, succeeds Indulf, iv. 193, 195.
- Dumfries (Drumfres), v. 245, 365; vi. 241.
- Dunbar, battle at, v. 289, 291; castle, v. 293; siege of, vi. 81-91, 293, 393.
- John of, brother of Earl George, vi. 265.
- Patrick (I.), Earl of, dies, v. 89.
- Patrick (II.), Earl of, v. 91.
- Patrick (III.), Earl of, removes Walter Comyn from Alexander III., v. 115.
- Patrick (IV.), Earl of, and of March, marries the eldest sister of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, v. 237.
- Patrick (V.), Earl of, v. 237; warden south of the Forth, 407; arrives at Auchterarder with his army, 409, 415; goes to Perth and retires, 417; keeper of Berwick Castle, 429; becomes Edward's man and repairs Dunbar, vi. 17; makes a raid in England, 59; joins Andrew of Moray against the Earl of Atholl, 63; breaks his promise, 79; at the siege of Perth with Robert Stewart, 125, 127; at Hawthornden, 149; escapes after the battle of Durham, 186, 201; at Norham with William Douglas, 207.
- See under March.
- Dunbarton, vi. 19, 29, 45, 265, 391.
- Dunblane (Clement), bishop of, at the funeral of bishop of St Andrews, v. 95.
- Duncan I., king of Scotland, succeeds his grandfather Malcolm II., iv. 257, 263, 275; has a son (Malcolm III.) by the daughter of the miller at Forteviot, 259; killed at Elgin by Macbeth, 259, 325.
- Duncan II., king of Scotland, son of Malcolm III., succeeds his uncle Donald, is slain by the Earl of Mearns, iv. 353.
- Duncanson, Thomas, Patrick and Gibon, chiefs of the Highland men at Gasklune, vi. 371.
- Dundarg, vi. 71.
- Dundee, iv. 369; Friars at, v. 263; besieged by Wallace, 307; vi. 139, 372, 430.
- Dundonald, vi. 355, 415.
- Dundorn, on Loch Earn, iv. 185.
- Dunfermline, iv. 351, 369, 383, 387,

- 409, 433; v. 129, 135, 141, 347, 373, 383, 405; vi. 33, 35, 345, 375.
- Dunkeld, founded by Constantine, king of the Picts, iv. 169, 201.
- bishops of, v. 27, 95, 157.
- John, bishop of, present at the funeral of William Laundells, vi. 307.
- Dunning (Dublynge), in Perthshire, iv. 85.
- Dunnotar, vi. 61, 63.
- Duns, vi. 275.
- Duns Park, near Berwick, vi. 7.
- Dunsinane, iv. 197, 281, 283, 287, 299.
- Dunoon (Dwnhone), vi. 25, 43.
- Dupplin (Duplyn), battle of, v. 245, 297, 411-415; vi. 91.
- Durham, abbey of, founded, iv. 347, 355, 367, 369, 401; bishop of, crowns Henry II., v. 5; prior of, carries out the sentence of ex-communication against Scotland, 77, 99; battle of, vi. 181-187, 299.
- Durst, king of the Picts (Brude-Bilis son), iv. 77.
- Durst-Gortynot, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
- Durst-Gygnowr, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
- Durst-Haddyrynge, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
- Durst-Hirbson, king of the Picts, iii. 465.
- Durst Makmanethy, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
- Durst Maktalarge, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
- Durward, Alan, v. 115.
- Dynysse, Dyonyse, pope, iii. 385.
- Dysart (Disart), iv. 81.
- Eakak-Aldecen, ii. 349.
- Eakak-Vadek, ii. 349.
- Eale, a beast, ii. 67.
- Earlsferry (Erlys Fery), iv. 287.
- Earn (Ern), water of, iv. 283, 285; v. 407.
- Eb, Saint, iv. 357.
- Ebar, Heber, son of Sale, ii. 137.
- Eber-Stywut, ii. 211.
- Ebes, Hebe, ii. 219.
- Ebrawce, Ebraucus, ii. 313.
- Ebrewis. See Hebrews.
- Ebron. See Hebron.
- Ectore. See Hector.
- Edan Makgowran, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
- Edarstynel, ii. 351.
- Edeym, ii. 213.
- Edgar, king of England, iv. 251, 309.
- Edgar Etheling, son of Edward, iv. 271, 311, 315, 317.
- Edgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, iv. 345; banished by Donald, 353; succeeds him, 353, 355; imprisons him, 355, 413; v. 231; marries his sister Matilda to Henry I., iv. 359; his death, 369.
- Edinburgh, ii. 313; iv. 349; v. 13, 31, 103, 105, 117, 293; v. 53, 79, 117, 137, 139-145, 189, 193, 205, 255, 265, 285, 295, 315, 339, 392, 412.
- Edippus, CEdipus, ii. 221.
- Edmund, Saint, king of East England, iv. 175, 181.
- Edmund Ironside, son of Ethelred, iv. 251, 255; his death, 263-267; his sons, 269, 311.
- Edmund, elder son of Edmund Ironside, iv. 269; marries the daughter of the king of Hungary, 271; dies in Hungary, 311.
- Edmund, son of Malcolm Canmore, iv. 345; dies at Montague, 351.
- Ednam, Hude of, at the taking of Roxburgh, vi. 161.
- Edward, younger son of Edmund Ironside, sent to Sweden by Knute, iv. 269; thence goes to Hungary, 269; marries Agatha, 271; his children, 311; comes to England, 315.
- Edward, Saint, son of Ethelred, iv. 253; half-brother to Hardenute, 271; in Normandy, 273; receives Malcolm and his brothers, 281; receives Macduff, 289, 297; returns from Normandy, 313; welcomes Edgar Atheling and his family, 315; his death, 315; his old steward relates a story about him, 361-367.
- Edward, son of Malcolm Canmore, iv. 345; slain at Alnwick, 349; buried at Dunfermline, 351.
- Edward I., king of England, ii. 347; born, v. 97; in Wales, 133, 135; sends to Scotland concerning the marriage of Margaret of Norway, 157, 167, 171, 183, 185, 203; comes to Norham, 209; summons John Balliol to London, 269, 275, 277; takes Berwick, 281-287, 289, 291, 293, 307, 315, 321, 325, 327, 331, 333, 345; besieges Stirling, 349, 353, 365.

- Edward II. of Carnarvon, to be married to Margaret of Norway, v. 159; comes to relieve Stirling, 222; imprisoned, 375, 379.
- Edward III. of Windsor, crowned, v. 377, 379, 429; besieges Berwick, vi. 5; refuses to see the French envoys, 21; comes to Glasgow and passes to England, 37; kills his brother John of Eltham, 51; returns to England, 53; comes to Lochindorb, 75; burns Aberdeen and returns south, 79; leaves Montague to besiege Dunbar, 81; calls him back, 89; at Melrose, 121; retakes Berwick, 203; comes to Edinburgh, 205; meets Balliol at Roxburgh, 205; called Edward of Windsor, 227; invades France and returns to England, 245; his terms for King John's ransom, 247; one of his sons to succeed David II., 253.
- Egestus, Ægyptus, king of Egypt, ii. 81, 215.
- Eglinton, taken prisoner by Robert Ogle, vi. 165.
- Eglisam, William of, v. 323.
- Eglon, ii. 273.
- Egypt, ii. 23, 51, 81-83, 163, 167-175, 183-189, 193, 215, 243; iii. 169, 175; vi. 364.
- Egyptis, Egyptians, ii. 157, 185, 189, 191, 193, 203, 245.
- Eif. See Eve.
- Eilan Donan. See Alondonane.
- Elala, ii. 349.
- Elane. See Helen.
- Eleazar, v. 203.
- Elcho (Elhok), nunnery of, vi. 175.
- Electra, ii. 153.
- Elela-Clasiaclek, ii. 349.
- Elesyus, ii. 211.
- Eleutherius, pope, iii. 323-327; sends two clerks to Lucius, king of Britain, iv. 101.
- Elffeus, ii. 211.
- Elgin, iv. 259; v. 89, 99; vi. 251, 368.
- Elhok. See Elcho.
- Elizabeth, queen of England, wife of Edward II., v. 375.
- Ellady, Elladia, ii. 103.
- Ellala, ii. 349.
- Elphege, Saint, bishop of Canterbury, iv. 217.
- Elstanfurde, Athelstaneford, iv. 171.
- Eltham, John of, burns Lesmahagow Abbey, vi. 51; killed by Edward III., 51.
- Ely, Ethelred murdered there, iv. 253.
- Elyus, Ælius Pertinax, emperor, iii. 335.
- Emawse, Emmaus, iii. 467.
- Eme, Emma, daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy, wife of Ethelred, iv. 251; wife of Knute, 255; shares in the murder of Edmund Ironside, 265; mother of Hardcnote, 271.
- Emelius, Æmilius, consul, iii. 107.
- Enbata, ii. 213.
- Eneas, ii. 259-265, 305, 307, 315.
- Eneas, son of Postumus Silvius, ii. 315.
- England (Ingland), ii. 11, 309, 311, 347; iii. 391; iv. 99; pays "reek penny," 165, 183; divided between Edmund and Knute, 265, 273, 289, 315.
- Engus-Byntynnyt, ii. 351.
- Enok, the town of Henoch, ii. 27.
- Enok, son of Cain, ii. 27.
- Enok, descendant of Seth, ii. 33, 155.
- Enos, ii. 33.
- Eogen, ii. 349.
- Eokall, or Sewald, king of the Scots, iv. 159.
- Eolus, ii. 121; iv. 59.
- Eoyme-Duff, ii. 213.
- Ephesus (Ephison), ii. 89, 253, 277, 283; council of, iv. 13.
- Epirus (Epir), ii. 103.
- Eqwytane. See Aquitain.
- Ercildone (Erssiltone), Thomas of, vi. 71.
- Ercules. See Hercules.
- Erictoniws, ii. 305.
- Erllis Fery. See Earlsferry.
- Ermedyus, ii. 135.
- Ermege, Dame, Ermengarde, married to William the Lion, v. 29; dies, 91.
- Ermeon-Malaansede, ii. 213.
- Erose? iv. 164.
- Erskine, Robert of, aids Robert II. to become king, vi. 265.
- Thomas of, attacks the English fleet at Queensferry, vi. 295; wounded at Otterburn, 337.
- Erte, or Erch, ii. 351.
- Erwyn. See Irvine.
- Esaw, Esau, ii. 157-159.
- Esk, water of, iv. 401.
- Eskulayn, Esculanus, father of Linus, iii. 265.

- Esraw (Israw), ii. 115.
 Esseg, in Strathbolgie, iv. 305.
 Est Frank, "Orientalis Francia," iii. 101.
 Ethelred, king of England, son of Edgar, iv. 251-255, 309.
 Ethelred, son of Ethelred and Emma, iv. 253.
 Ethelred, son of Malcolm III., iv. 345; takes his mother's body to Dunfermline, 349; buried there, 351.
 Ethiocles, ii. 221.
 Ethiopia, ii. 23, 95, 97, 149.
 Ethna, the mountain, iii. 147, 155.
 Etoyr, ii. 115.
 Etoyr, ii. 213.
 Eudoxia (Ewxodia), wife of Arcadius, iv. 3.
 Eugenius I., pope, iv. 117.
 Eugenius II., pope, iv. 161.
 Eugenius III., pope, iv. 421.
 Eugenius, or Eugenia, a woman-abbot, iii. 329-333.
 Euilat, ii. 53.
 Euphemia (Ewfame), daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, queen of Scotland, v. 253.
 Euphrates, river, ii. 23, 75, 77; iii. 21.
 Europe, ii. 49, 83, 93, 97, 99, 115, 253.
 Eustache, Saint (Eustas), iii. 293.
 Eustache (Eustas), Earl of Boulogne, v. 231.
 Eve (Eif), ii. 19, 23; iv. 87.
 Ewan, "first" king of the Scots, iv. 131, 133.
 Ewan, king of the Scots, son of Murthac, iv. 137; his death, 141.
 Ewandir, Evander, ii. 261, 263.
 Ewesham, iv. 347.
 Ewgws-Olmwgt, ii. 213.
 Ewsebius, pope, iii. 401.
 Ewtyciane, Eutychianus, pope, iii. 387.
 Ewxia, a name of Egypt, ii. 81.
 Ewxodia. See Eudoxia.
 Exaltation of the Cross, feast instituted, iv. 115.
 Exodi, the book of Exodus, ii. 187.
 Ezechias, king of Judah, iii. 11.
 Ezechiel, iv. 99.
 Fabian, Saint, pope, iii. 343, 363, 365, 371.
 Fabyane, Sabinianus, pope, iv. 107.
 Falaise (Fales), in Normandy, v. 11.
 Falaris, Phalaris, ii. 333-339.
 Falkirk (the Faw Kirk), battle at, v. 315, 327; vi. 189.
 Farquharson (Forqwaris son), one of the leaders at the battle of the Clans, vi. 377.
 Farywa, Phanua, daughter of Cræsus, iii. 33, 35.
 Faustine, daughter of Antoninus Pius, iii. 313-315.
 Faustulus (Fawsculus), ii. 343.
 Fawthua-Qwhit, king of the Picts, iii. 389.
 Fayr, Ile of, Pharos, iii. 171.
 Februa, goddess, iv. 61.
 Fedenet-Aslugeg, ii. 351.
 Fedomek, ii. 351.
 Felix I., pope, iii. 387.
 Felix II., pope, iii. 461.
 Felix III., pope, iv. 19.
 Felix IV., pope, iv. 47.
 Felton (Feutone), William of, keeper of Roxburgh, vi. 79, 163.
 Fembel (Fynbelle, Sembel, Sibil), daughter of Conquor Earl of Angus, causes the death of King Kenneth, iv. 197.
 Ferchar Fodys, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
 Ferchar Makcowny, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
 Feredauch-Fyngel, king of the Picts, iii. 401.
 Feretauche, rebels against Malcolm IV., iv. 423.
 Fergo, ii. 349.
 Fergus Erchson, Fergus More, king of the Scots, ii. 347, 351; iii. 84, 85, 86, 139.
 Fergus Fynnys son, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
 Fergus, son of Hede Qwhite, king of the Scots, iv. 159.
 Feroret, ii. 349.
 Ferraris, Lord of, marries a daughter of Rodger de Quincy, v. 247.
 Ferres, Lord de, at the battle of Durham, vi. 179.
 Fethirstanhawche, surrenders Lochmaben, vi. 289.
 Fethirkern, Fettercairn, iv. 197.
 Fiakak-Bolgeg, ii. 349.
 Fife, iv. 81, 179, 281; vi. 27, 93, 417.
 — Thane of, iv. 305.
 — Colban, Earl of, succeeds his father Malcolm, his death, v. 125, 137, 265.
 — Duncan, Earl of, son of Colban, does homage for the earldom, v.

- 137; appointed warden, 157; slain, 265, 267.
- Fife, Duncan, Earl of, son of Duncan, taken at Dupplin, v. 419; at the coronation of E. Balliol, 421; taken prisoner at Perth, 425; prisoner at Durham, vi. 185.
- Malcolm, Earl of, his death, v. 87; buried in Culross which he had founded, 89.
- Malcolm, Earl of (nephew of preceding), marries a daughter of Sir Lewlyne, v. 89; dies, 125.
- Robert Stewart, Earl of, protects the Marches, vi. 267; at Roxburgh with John de Vienne, 305; makes a raid as far as Cockermouth, 315; another foray in England, 321; joined by William Douglas in Riddesdale, 325; at Stanemuir, 327; returns home, 337; made guardian, 339; offers battle to the Earl Marshall, 341; receives the French ambassadours, 345; at Haudenstank, 379; created Duke of Albany, 384. See Albany.
- men of, sent to defend Berwick, v. 277; at the coronation of E. Balliol, 421.
- Findhorn (Fyndrane), iv. 195.
- Firmartine, vi. 376.
- Fivie (Fiwy), vi. 376.
- Fiwis Ness, v. 327.
- Flaminius (Schir Flamyn), consul, iii. 115, 131.
- Flamynes, pontiffs of idols, iii. 325.
- Flanders, iv. 19; becomes an earldom, 189.
- Earl of, goes to the crusade, iv. 341.
- Earl of, slain at mass, iv. 395.
- Earl of, prevents Philip from coming to England, v. 53.
- Fleming, David, of Cumbernauld, accompanies Prince James to North Berwick, vi. 411; killed at Langhirdmanston, 412; buried at Holyrood, 412.
- Fleming, Malcolm, captain of Dunbarton, vi. 19; receives Robert Stewart in the castle, 29.
- Floriacens, abbey of Fleury, iv. 209.
- Florianus (Floryne), emperor, iii. 387.
- Foras, Forres, iv. 187, 193.
- Forbes, Sir Alexander of, vi. 421.
- Ford (Furde), vi. 303.
- Forest, the, of Ettrick, vi. 101, 147, 153, 187, 195.
- Forfar, v. 87, 97, 101, 293.
- Forfare, slain at Gasklune, vi. 374.
- Forqwaris son. See Farquharson.
- Forteviot, iv. 175; the miller of, iv. 257-261; v. 407.
- Forth, iv. 79, 81, 179, 299, 319; v. 319, 327; vi. 37, 401.
- Forum, the, ii. 161.
- Fothad (Fotauche, Fodauche), bishop of St Andrews, iv. 193.
- Fothad II., bishop of St Andrews, marries Malcolm III. and Margaret, iv. 345.
- Fothrik, Fothryffe, men of, v. 421.
- France, ii. 101, 107, 181, 265, 309; iii. 89, 91, 167, 359, 387, 391; iv. 19, 39, 45, 79, 157, 245, 337.
- Francus, ii. 265.
- Frankkis men, Gauls, iii. 93, 94, 109.
- Fraortes, ii. 327.
- Fraser, Alexander, marries a daughter of William, Earl of Ross, v. 255.
- Alexander (young), at Dupplin, v. 411; slain there, 413.
- Andrew, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
- James, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
- Simon, takes Perth, v. 425; killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
- Simon, harasses the English, v. 331; at Roslyn, 333, 337.
- William, at the siege of Edinburgh Castle, vi. 139.
- William, bishop of St Andrews, consecrated by the pope, v. 129; appointed guardian, 157; dies at Paris, 311.
- Freia, a goddess, Friday named after her, iv. 309.
- Frealffy, ii. 137.
- Frederik II., emperor, v. 107.
- Fredgar, ii. 211.
- Fredwalde, ii. 137.
- Fresare, Fresel. See Fraser.
- Frewyne, ii. 211.
- Freyr Martyn. See Martin.
- Friars (Frisis), orders of, v. 203; Fris Mynoris, iii. 199.
- Friars Prechours, church of, in Paris, v. 311.
- Friars, church of the, at Dumfries, v. 365.
- Friars Wynd, in Edinburgh, vi. 53.
- Friday, origin of, iv. 309.
- Friesland (Fresland), iv. 18.
- Frigi, Frigia. See Phrygia.
- Frissis, Friesland, the duke of, refuses baptism, iv. 121.

- Fugane, sent to convert Britain, iii. 325.
 Fullarton, taken prisoner by Robert Ogle, vi. 165.
 Fulvius, consul, iii. 107, 125.
 Fyabak-Labien, ii. 213.
 Fyacrak, ii. 351.
 Fyarak, ii. 349.
 Fydeacek, ii. 351.
 Fyer-Auroet, ii. 349.
 Fyndrane. See Findhorn.
 Fyneas-Farset, ii. 115.
 Fynny, ii. 137.
 Fyr-Amael, ii. 349.
 Fyr-Cetaroet, ii. 349.
 Fyr-Roet, ii. 349.
 Fyrtht. See Forth.
- Gabaon, ii. 223, 229.
 Gabaonites, ii. 223, 225.
 Gabriel, the Archangel, ii. 17, 79.
 Gad, ii. 315.
 Gaddulfus, ii. 137.
 Gadnilus. See Cadmus.
 Gaglade, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
 Gakak-Mawrea-More, ii. 351.
 Galargan, king of the Picts, iv. 77.
 Galadyte, Galaadite, ii. 279.
 Galba, emperor, iii. 263.
 Galen (Galyen), physician, iii. 311.
 Galens. See Valens.
 Galerius (Valerius), emperor, iii. 399.
 Galew, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
 Galicia, Galatia, ii. 89.
 Galien, emperor, iii. 375, 379.
 Galilee, ii. 79; iii. 199, 225, 235.
 Galis, Galicia, ii. 193.
 Galorodheid, vi. 114. See note, p. 119.
 Galloway, iv. 173, 425; v. 9, 47, 91, 263, 351; vi. 187, 223, 231.
 — Alan of, obtains lands in Ireland, v. 65; his death, 91; his marriage and daughters, 245, 247, 259.
 — Roland, Earl of, v. 31.
 — Thomas of, son of Alan, v. 91.
 Gallus, emperor, iii. 373.
 Galo, papal legate, comes to England, v. 71; interdicts Scotland, 75.
 Galyen. See Galen.
 Gamelin (Gamyl), bishop of St Andrews, consecrated, v. 119; his death, 125; his tomb, 313, 381.
 Ganelon (Ganelyon), iv. 149.
 Ganges, ii. 23, 65, 71.
 Ganymede, ii. 219.
 Garancières. See Grawncheris.
 Garmyanis, the Garmani, ii. 59.
- Garnach Makferach, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
 Garnak Makdownache, king of the Picts, iv. 75.
 Garnard Bolge, king of the Picts, iii. 377.
 Garnart Riche, king of the Picts, iii. 461.
 Garnat Makdonalde, king of the Picts, iv. 77.
 Garyauch, v. 244, 251; vi. 376, 403, 404.
 — David, Earl of. See under Huntingdon.
 Gascony, iv. 19; vi. 5, 247.
 Gask, v. 411.
 Gasklune, vi. 372-374, 378.
 Gattyws, ii. 137.
 Gawter. See Walter.
 Gaydes, Gades, ii. 95.
 Gayus, Caius, pope, iii. 389.
 Gayus Gallycula, Caius Caligula, emperor, iii. 237.
 Gaza, ii. 293.
 Gede, king of the Picts, iii. 141, 181.
 Gedeon, ii. 279.
 Gedyl-Glays, ii. 117, 191-197, 207, 211.
 Gedwert, Gedworth. See Jedburgh.
 Gelasius, pope, iv. 19, 27, 35.
 Geller (Glowere), Earl of, defeated at Boroughmuir, vi. 53.
Genesis, ii. 161.
 Genevieve, Saint (Genewof), iv. 47.
 Gengulphus, Saint, his legend, iv. 143.
 Genides, ii. 211.
 Genoa (Geyne), vi. 87.
 Geoffrey (Gothray), Earl of Anjou, marries Empress Matilda, iv. 379; opposes Stephen, 399; dies, 405; father of Henry II., 419.
 Geomagog, ii. 39.
 Germany, ii. 101, 111; iii. 185.
 Gerwert, Gerbert, Silvester II., iv. 215.
Gest of Arthure, poem by Huchoun, iv. 23.
 Getro. See Jethro.
 Getuly, Getulia, ii. 95.
 Geyne. See Genoa.
 Giane, Gisone, the Nile, ii. 23.
 Gibson, John, helps Robert Stewart to escape from Bute, vi. 27; captain of Rothesay Castle, 43.
 Gilis, Dame, daughter of Robert II., vi. 321.
 Gillandris Ergemauche, rebels against Malcolm IV., iv. 423.

- Gilpatrick. See Kilpatrick.
 Gisburn, prior of, v. 77.
 Glaes, ii. 213.
 Glammys, iv. 201.
 Glasgow, v. 371, 395; vi. 37, 189, 400.
 — Bishops of, see Saint Mungo; Jocelin; Malvoisin, William; Bondington, William of; Wishart, Robert; Wardlaw, Walter of; Glendonwyn, Mathew of.
 Gledstanes, James of, Lord of Cocklaws, asks Robert III. for help, vi. 405.
 Glendale, vi. 401.
 Glendonwyn (Glendenwynge), Sir Mathew, bishop of Glasgow, at the funeral of Robert II. and the coronation of Robert III., vi. 366, 367.
 Glenesk, vi. 359.
 Gloucester (Glowarn), Robert, Earl of, taken prisoner and exchanged for King Stephen, iv. 403.
 — Richard of Clare, Earl of, v. 115.
 — Gilbert of Clare, Earl of, v. 222, 223, 224. See note.
 — Earl of (Ralph de Monthermer), helps the Bruce to escape, v. 361.
 Glowere. See Geller.
 Godthra, lord of Lorraine, leader of the Crusade, iv. 341.
 Godwyne, murders Ethelred, iv. 253; his death related by an old knight, 361.
 Gog and Magog, ii. 53.
 Golarge, king of the Picts, iv. 77.
 Golarge-Makamyll, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
 Golding, Rauf, v. 431.
 Gomer, ii. 115.
 Gomore, Gomorrah, ii. 79.
 Gordian, emperor, iii. 343.
 Gordon, John of, taken by Sir John Lisborne at Carham, vi. 271-273; takes Thomas Musgrave between Berwick and Duns, 414.
 Gordon, Lord of, vi. 414.
 Gornat-Gignoure, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
 Gothland, ii. 99; iii. 375; iv. 19, 31.
 Goths, the, iv. 5, 33, 67, 71.
 Gothray. See Geoffrey.
 Gowran, son of Dongart, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
 Gowry, men of, v. 421.
 Graham, John the, Earl of Menteith, at the battle of Durham, vi. 181. See Menteith.
 Graham (Grayme), Patrick the, v. 289.
 — Peter the, jousts at Berwick, vi. 111, 115.
 Gratian I., emperor, iii. 439, 469.
 Gratian II., emperor, iii. 471.
 Gratian Municeps, iii. 441.
 Grawncceris, Sir Ewyn de, Eugène de Garancières sent by the king of France, vi. 199; at the capture of Berwick, 203; at the ambush near Norham, 207.
 Gray, Sir Patrick, wounded at Gasklune, vi. 372, 373.
 Gray, Thomas, taken prisoner at Norham, vi. 207.
 — William, knighted by his father at Norham, vi. 207.
 Grayme. See Graham.
 Graystock, baron of, taken by Earl of Douglas at Benrig, and brought to Dunbar, vi. 291.
 Greece, ii. 51, 103-105, 161, 165, 175, 177, 189, 191, 219, 231, 233, 255, 307, 319, 339, 341; iii. 161, 375.
 Greeks, ii. 233, 257, 259; iv. 139.
 Greenlaw, Gilbert of, bishop of Aberdeen, postulated for St Andrews, vi. 400.
 Gregor. See Grig and Gregor.
 Gregory, Saint, martyr, iii. 393.
 Gregory I., Saint, pope, ii. 15; iii. 295; iv. 97-103, 107.
 Gregory II., pope, iv. 119, 123, 131.
 Gregory III., pope, iv. 133, 135.
 Gregory IV., pope, iv. 161, 163.
 Gregory VI., pope, iv. 247-251.
 Gregory VII., pope, iv. 339, 343.
 Grekis Se, the Grecian Sea, ii. 77, 81.
 Gret Se, the Mediterranean, iii. 103.
 Grig (Gregor) Macalpin, king of the Scots, slays Hed Fyn, iv. 181; gives freedom to the Church, 183; his conquests, 183; dies at Dundorn, 185, 187.
 Gruoch (Dame Grewok), the wife of Macbeth, iv. 275.
 Grym, king of the Scots, iv. 199, 201.
 Guido de Columpna, ii. 3.
 Guines (Gynys), vi. 247.
 Gurgwnt-Badruk, ii. 201.
 Guthery, slain at Gasklune, vi. 374.
 Guyenne (Gyane), ii. 109; iv. 19, 153; vi. 247.
 Gwale, ii. 135.

- Gyffart, William, remains with Prince James in England, vi. 415.
- Haco, king of Norway, defeated at Largs, v. 121-123.
- Haddington, iv. 171; v. 101, 103; vi. 285; (?) nunnery founded there, iv. 393.
- Hainault (Hennaud), iv. 19; vi. 435.
- Haldane, a Danish leader, iv. 179, 181.
- Haldane's well, iv. 181.
- Haliburton, lord of, joins the Scottish party, vi. 51; at Hawthornden, 147.
- John of, killed near Norham, vi. 209.
- Halicarnassus (Hilicarnysy), iii. 71.
- Halidon Hill, battle of, vi. 11-15, 91.
- Italy. See under Holy.
- Halys. See Alyn.
- Hamo, iii. 241, 243.
- Hannibal the Elder, iii. 103.
- Hannibal, iii. 111-133.
- Harald, king of England, iv. 317, 367.
- Hardknowt, king of England, iv. 271, 311.
- Hastings, Henry of, marries third daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, v. 257.
- Hawdanstank, vi. 379.
- Hawick, vi. 165.
- Hawtelog (Haltyloge W), a medieval name of Ephesus, ii. 89.
- Hawthornden, Cove of, vi. 147.
- Haye, ii. 223, 225.
- Haye, John the, dies of wounds at the Berwick tilting, vi. 109.
- Hay, Gilbert the, knighted at Liège, vi. 432.
- Hebar. See Eber.
- Hebe. See Ebes.
- Hebrews (Ebrewis), Hebrew writers, ii. 35, 41, 139, 317; iii. 17.
- Hebron (Ebron), ii. 19, 295; iv. 87.
- Hecgedbwd, king of the Scots, iii. 85.
- Hecgede Monavele Makdongat, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
- Hector (Ectore), ii. 305.
- Hed Qwhit, Hed Albus, Hedfin, king of the Scots, iv. 141, 159.
- Hed, Aed, king of the Scots, iv. 181, 183.
- Hekfurde, William of, official of Glasgow, v. 395.
- Helen (Helyne, Elane), mother of Constantine the Great, iii. 401, 403, 427, 429.
- Hendyne, quoted, vi. 257.
- Henhald, a soldier from Hainault, v. 404.
- Hennaud. See Hainault.
- Hennygawis, the Huns, ii. 311.
- Henry I. (*should be* II.), emperor, iv. 225.
- Henry II. (III.), emperor, iv. 237.
- Henry III. (*better* IV.), emperor, father of Agas, the mother of Queen Margaret, iv. 271, 315, 319, 341, 343.
- Henry IV. (*better* V.), emperor, the husband of Empress Matilda, iv. 379, 419.
- Henry I., king of England, William leaves him his treasure, iv. 337; Robert sells him a part of Normandy, 339; succeeds William Rufus, 357; marries Matilda, 359, 367, 379; loses his sons in the White Ship, 383; his death, 395, 401; v. 229.
- Henry II., king of England, descended from the miller of Forteviot, iv. 261; his parents, 379; supported by David I., 399; knighted by him at Carlisle, 403; becomes Earl of Anjou, 405; makes peace with Stephen, 411; king of England, 419; Malcolm IV. becomes his man at Chester, 421; both meet at Carlisle, 423; they go to France together, 423; obtains possession of Ireland, 425, 427; goes to France, v. 3; dissensions with his son Henry, 7; orders William the Lion to be taken to Falaise, 11; meets William at Norham, 15, 17, 19; goes to Carlisle against Roland of Galloway, 31; his funeral, 33.
- Henry III., king of England, crowned at Winchester, v. 71, 81-83; meets Alexander II., 93, 115, 117.
- Henry IV., king of England, vi. 392; at the battle of Shrewsbury, 408; receives Prince James, 414; receives the Earl of Mar, 420. See Lancaster.
- Henry, crowned by his father, v. 5; dies, 7, 9.
- Henry, dean of Arbroath, sent to Edward I., v. 273.
- Heraclius, emperor, iv. 111, 113, 115.
- Hercules (Ercules), ii. 177, 255, 257.
- Hercules, pillars of, ii. 95.

- Hermes (Ernes W), the river Hirnus, ii. 91.
Hermes, a doctor of the Church, iii. 317.
Hermysda. See Hormysdas.
Hermitage Castle, vi. 121, 167.
Herod (Herrot), king, iii. 217, 224, 233, 235.
Herodiad, Herod's wife, iii. 235.
Heron, William, wounded on the Marches, vi. 151.
— ? at the battle of Durham, vi. 178.
Hert, Robert, killed at Otterburn, vi. 337.
Heryat, William, vi. 27.
Herynge, joins the Scottish party, vi. 51; at Hawthornden, 147.
Hexham Abbey, vi. 177.
Hiber, Hiberius, son of Gedil-Glays, ii. 197, 199.
Hibery, the Ebro, ii. 193.
Hicary, Caria, ii. 91.
Hilar, S. Hilarius, pope, iv. 19.
Hilar, Saint, bishop, iii. 447.
Hilderik, king of France, iv. 157.
Hilicarnysy. See Halicarnassus.
Hippone ('Ippone), ii. 95; iv. 9.
Hircany, Hyrcany, ii. 85, 333; *a mistake for Hungary*, iv. 177.
Hirdmanston, Lord of, vi. 412.
Hirnus. See Hermes.
Histere, the Danube, ii. 105.
Hob of Lyne, father of Pope Joan, iv. 167.
Holland, iv. 19; vi. 435.
— Duke of, refuses his aid to the bishop-elect of Liège, vi. 425.
Holmcultrayn, abbey founded, iv. 387.
Holy Island (Haly Elande), Lindisfarne, iv. 347, 369.
Holy Land, iv. 339, 341; v. 37, 41, 173, 383, 397; vi. 193.
Holyrood (Halirud), abbey founded, iv. 387, 395; v. 25; vi. 285.
Homer, ii. 3, 259, 319.
Homildon, battle of, vi. 401, 402, 405, 407.
Honorius I., pope, iv. 115.
Honorius III., pope, v. 71.
Honorius, emperor, iii. 495; iv. 5, 11.
Horace (Oras), the poet, iii. 189.
Hormysdas (Hermysda), pope, iv. 37, 41-45.
Horne, Henry, his quarrel with the bishop-elect of Liège, vi. 424-436; his death, 433.
Howpyl, a river, vi. 127.
Hub, a Danish chief, iv. 179, 180.
Huchon of the Aule Realle, iv. 21-25.
Hude, Robert (Robyne), the outlaw, v. 137.
Hugh (Hew), chaplain of William the Lion, v. 21; bishop of St Andrews, 27, 43.
Humbyre, the Humber, ii. 311, 313.
Hungary (Wngary), ii. 103, 267; iii. 185; iv. 71, 311; vi. 378.
— King of, receives the children of Edmond Ironside, iv. 269, 271.
Hungus, king of the Picts, defeats Athelstan, iv. 171.
Huntingdon, earldom of, iv. 403, 407, 421; v. 29, 65.
— David, Earl of, and of the Garyauch, at the siege of Leicester, v. 11; his pedigree, 227, 243, 245, 249, 257.
— Henry, Earl of, son of David I., accompanies his father to St Andrews, iv. 387-391; his titles, his wife, his children, 393; earl of Northumberland, 399, 401; his birth, 417; his death, 405; v. 227.
— William, Earl of, iv. 393.
Huntingdon, nunnery founded at, by Ada, wife of Earl Henry, v. 393. See note, p. 74.
Husse, Galyos de la, companion of William Douglas, vi. 125.
Hwnya, the country of the Huns, ii. 85, 313.
Hwnys, the Huns, ii. 313.
Hyngar, a Danish chief, iv. 179.
Hyperbory, Hyperborean mountains, ii. 85.
Hywere, the Hebrus, ii. 103.
Iber, Hyber, Yve? iv. 23.
Iberia (Ybery), ii. 87.
Icarus (Ycan), ii. 241.
Icolmkil. See Ycolmkyll.
Idumeis, the Idumeans, ii. 77.
Ignys, Iginus, pope, iii. 315.
Ile, water of, vi. 372.
Ilion (Ylion), ii. 89, 305.
Ilis in the Se, Hebrides, iv. 21.
Ilus (Ylus), ii. 305.
Imago Mundi, ii. 115.
Inch (of Lochleven), iv. 83.
Inchegall, the Hebrides, iii. 86.
Inchemurthew, v. 125; vi. 251.
Inchkeith, iv. 79; vi. 141.
Ind, Inde, India, ii. 23, 53-73, 137, 149, 151; iii. 287, 319.

- Indulf, king of the Scots, iv. 191;
 slain at Cullen, 193.
 Indus (Inde, Yndus), the river, ii.
 53, 75, 93.
 Indus Occiane, the Indian Ocean,
 67; Yndis Se, ii. 71.
 Ine, brother of Inglis, ii. 211; iv.
 309.
 Ingilwode, forest of, v. 137.
 Inglande. See England.
 Inglis, brother of Ine, ii. 211; iv.
 309.
 Inglis, English language, ii. 113.
 Innacus, Inachus, ii. 161.
 Innocentis, the Holy Innocents, iii.
 217.
 Innocent I., pope, iv. 3-5.
 Innocent III., pope, iv. 139; v. 51,
 57.
 Innocent IV., pope, holds a council
 at Lyons, v. 107.
 Innocent VI., pope, imprisons a
 Friar Minor for his prophecies, vi.
 249.
 Inogen, ii. 309.
 Inverness, v. 389.
 Inverwik, vi. 406.
 Inwary, old name of St Monans, iv.
 179.
 Inwergowry, iv. 371, 373.
 Inwikip, vi. 27.
 Ionians (Yonas), iii. 51, 67-73.
 Ippone. See Hipponé.
 Ireland, ii. 113, 201, 205, 207, 213,
 345; iii. 135, 263, 441; iv. 21,
 183, 425; conquered by Henry II.,
 427, 431; v. 47, 55, 65, 169.
 Irischery, the Irish people, ii. 199,
 201, 203; iii. 84; iv. 317.
 Irvine (Erwyn), Alexander of,
 knighted at Liège, vi. 432.
 Irvine, v. 425.
 Isaac (Ysaak), ii. 139, 157.
 Isabel, second daughter of William
 the Lion, v. 61.
 Isabel, daughter of David, Earl of
 Huntingdon, v. 249.
 Isabel, Countess of Carrick, first wife
 of Robert the Bruce, daughter of
 Earl of Gartney, v. 255.
 Isaiah (Ysai), ii. 13.
 Isauria (Ysawria), ii. 91.
 Ishmaelites, ii. 79.
 Isis, ii. 163.
 Isles, Lord of the, vi. 390. See
 Raynald.
 Israel, ii. 13, 161, 175, 183, 191, 205,
 209, 221, 271, 273, 275, 279, 305,
 309, 315, 319.
 Israel, name of Jacob, ii. 161.
 Israelites, ii. 185, 223, 225.
 Israw, ii. 115.
 Italic (Ytalik), iii. 265.
 Italy (Ytaly), ii. 101, 105-107, 125,
 127, 261, 265, 317, 341; iii. 113,
 129, 169; iv. 31, 55, 67, 69, 73,
 135, 161, 163, 381.
 Jabel, ii. 29.
 Jacincte, Hyacinthus, a eunuch, iii.
 329.
 Jacob, ii. 157-161, 167, 183.
 Jacob (Iustus), James, brother of
 Jesus, iii. 255.
 Jacques Bonhomme, vi. 237-241.
 Jacobites, v. 203.
 Jael, ii. 277.
 Jaer, ii. 349.
 Jaer-Alphata, ii. 213.
 James, Saint, ii. 193.
 James I., king of Scotland, born in
 Dunfermline, vi. 375; sent to
 France, 411; taken prisoner on
 the way, 413; prisoner in England,
 414, 415; proclaimed king, 416,
 421.
 Japhet, ii. 47, 49, 115, 191.
 Jara, ii. 115.
 Jared (Irād), ii. 27.
 Jedburgh (Jedworth, Gedwert), abbey
 founded, iv. 381, 386; Malcolm
 IV. dies there, 431; v. 125; vi.
 137, 299, 357, 380.
 Jephthe (Iopte), ii. 279.
 Jericho, ii. 221.
 Jerit, Jared, descendant of Seth, ii.
 33.
 Jero, ii. 349.
 Jeroboam, ii. 319.
 Jerome, Saint, iii. 302, 453, 461, 463,
 467; dies, iv. 9; quoted, 321.
 Jerusalem, ii. 79, 137, 265; iii. 217,
 225; destroyed, 267-271; rebuilt,
 301; iv. 103, 113, 205, 211, 341.
 Jerusalem, a church in Rome, iv.
 213.
 Jethro (Getro), ii. 77.
 Jesus (Ihesu), ii. 49, 205; iii. 213.
 Jewry (Iowry), iv. 111.
 Jews (Iowis), iii. 15, 217, 231, 271,
 303; iv. 111.
 Joachim, king of Judah, iii. 15.
 Joan (Ione), first wife of Alexander
 II., v. 81; dies at Canterbury, 93.
 Joan (Johun), daughter of the Count
 of Dreux, wife of Alexander III.,
 v. 139.
 Joan (Johun) of the Towris, queen of

- David II., v. 379; vi. 161; dies in London, 243.
 Joas, king of Judah, ii. 321.
 Job, book of, iv. 99.
 Jocelin, Joce, bishop of Glasgow, enlarges his cathedral, v. 27; consecrates it, 43; apology about him, 45.
 Joffray, bishop of Dunkeld, v. 95.
 John the Baptist, iii. 233; iv. 63.
 John the Evangelist, ii. 89; iii. 277, 283.
 John (Ione), father of Saint Peter, iii. 235.
 John, a martyr, iii. 455.
 John I., pope, iv. 45, 47.
 John II., pope, iv. 47.
 John III., pope, iv. 69, 77.
 John IV., pope, iv. 115.
 John V., pope, iv. 119.
 John VI., pope, iv. 119.
 John VII., pope, iv. 119.
 John VIII., pope, iv. 185, 189, 191.
 John XX., pope, iv. 221.
 John XXII., pope, v. 385.
 John (Iohun Magwntyn), the female pope, iv. 167, 169.
 John Balliol, king of Scotland, v. 165, 175, 183, 193, 207, 217; obtains the crown, 223, 225, 259; crowned at Scone, 267; called to London, 269; returns to Scotland, 271; refuses to do homage, 275; backed by the Comyns, 291; degraded, 293; goes to France, 295, 329.
 John, king of England, his quarrel with the pope, v. 45, 51-59; conquers Wales, 59; his dealings with William the Lion, 61-65; war with the barons, 67; dies, 69, 185.
 John, king of France, defeated at Poitiers, vi. 227; brought prisoner to London, 229; terms of his ransom, 247.
 John of Salerne, papal legate, holds a council at Perth, v. 47; translates Bishop Malvoisin from Glasgow to St Andrews, 61.
 John of the Isles, vi. 53.
 Johnson, Cristy, a leader at the battle of the clans, vi. 377.
 Johnston, John of, defeats the English on the Solway, vi. 277.
 Jopte. See Jephthe.
 Jordan, the river, ii. 77, 79, 221, 275; vi. 364.
 Josaphat, ii. 319.
 Josaphus (?), iv. 22.
 Josas, Josias, king of Judah, iii. 13.
 Joseph, son of Jacob, ii. 167-173, 183.
 Joseph, Saint, iii. 199; in Egypt, 221-225.
 Josephus, the Jewish historian, iii. 231.
 Joshua (Josue), ii. 221-231.
 Jowyne, Jovinian, emperor, iii. 463.
 Jubal, ii. 29.
 Jubile, ii. 157.
 Juda, Jude, Judah, Judæa, ii. 13, 79, 289, 291, 319, 321; iii. 11, 13, 15, 199, 233, 263; vi. 364.
 Judah (Judas), son of Jacob, ii. 161.
 Judas, judge in Israel, ii. 271.
 Judges, the, ii. 143.
 Julia (July), mother of Saint Pontius, iii. 345.
 Julian, emperor, iii. 453-459, 461, 463.
 Julius, pope, iii. 447, 461.
 Julius Cesar, iii. 161, 167-181, 221, 231.
 Junius, dictator, iii. 121.
 Jupiter, ii. 121-129, 153, 219, 339; iii. 33, 347.
 Justin, Justinus, the historian, ii. 141; iii. 313.
 Justin I., emperor, iv. 31, 43, 45, 47.
 Justin II., emperor, iv. 69-75.
 Justinian I., emperor, iv. 47, 55, 69.
 Justinian II., emperor, iv. 119.
 Justinian III., emperor, iv. 119.
 Kane, Caen (?), vi. 212.
 Karlel. See Carlisle.
 Kateryne. See Catherine.
 Katenes, Kettins, near Cupar Angus, vi. 372.
 Kayrbroic, York, ii. 313.
 Keith, Alexander of, knighted at Liège, vi. 432.
 — Robert the, v. 425.
 — Robert of, besieges the Lord of Crawford's wife in Fyvie, vi. 375, 376.
 — William of, killed at Stirling, vi. 95, 135.
 — William of, of Galston, takes Richard Talbot prisoner, vi. 85; at the siege of Perth with Robert Stewart, 125.
 Keldelethe, Robert of, abbot of Dunfermline, v. 109.
 Kellauch, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 185.
 Kellauch II., bishop of St Andrews, iv. 245, 247.

- Kelso, abbey founded, iv. 381, 405, 427; v. 119.
- Kelso (Osbert), abbot of, sent to Rome by William the Lion, v. 27.
- Kennawchty, Kennoway, iv. 285, 287.
- Kennedy, John, makes war in Gallo-way, vi. 187.
- Kenneth. See Kyned.
- Kent, Earl of, tilts with the Earl of Mar, vi. 421.
- Ker, Thom, prisoner at Homildon, and put to death, vi. 402.
- Kerdicy, ii. 211.
- Kerlynfurde. See Carlingford.
- Kerlynlippis, vi. 187.
- Kersy. See Crecy.
- Keynyaucht, Keynauche, Kenyach Makalpyne, iii. 87, 139.
- Kilblain, battle of, v. 247; vi. 65-71.
- Kilde, Culdee, iv. 187.
- Kildrummy Castle, vi. 19, 59, 65, 404.
- Kilpatrick (Gilpatrik) slain, v. 31.
- Hog of, subdues Nithsdale, vi. 223; killed at Carlaverock, 241.
- Kincardine in Neil, vi. 391.
- Kings, the Book of*, ii. 97.
- Kinghorn, iv. 79; v. 141, 229, 405.
- Kinloss, abbey founded, iv. 387, 405; vi. 249.
- Kinross, v. 119.
- Knowt, son of Swanus, chief of the Danes, iv. 253, 255, 263-271, 311.
- Kolcos, Colchos, ii. 85.
- Krys, Chrisa, ii. 55.
- Kude, ii. 211.
- Kybturane, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
- Kyle, vi. 45, 47.
- Lord of (Robert III.), vi. 225.
- Kymbeline, king of the Britons, iii. 219, 241.
- Kynach Ker Makcolnal, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
- Kynbuk, Joachim of, at the siege of Edinburgh Castle, vi. 139.
- Kyncardyn, iv. 301.
- Kynclewyn, vi. 401.
- Kynede, Kenneth, son of Malcolm, king of the Scots, iv. 197, 199.
- Kenneth Macalpyne, king of the Scots, iv. 159, 173, 175, 181.
- Kynel Makluchren, king of the Picts, iv. 77.
- Kynkel, parish of, vi. 154.
- Kyneil, Saint Serf lands at, iv. 81.
- Kynnymount, Eles of, with the Earl of Mar at Liège, vi. 430.
- Kynrycius, ii. 211.
- Lair. See Loire.
- Lamberton, William of, bishop of St Andrews, v. 313; dedicates his cathedral, 371; dies, 381.
- Lamby, Iackys, of St Andrews, vi. 33.
- Lambyrkyn, near Perth, v. 417.
- Lamek, descendant of Cain, ii. 27-31.
- Lamek, father of Noah, ii. 33.
- Lampet, an Amazon, ii. 253.
- Lamyne, ii. 115.
- Lanark, v. 301.
- Lancaster (Loncastel), Sir Henry of. See Derby.
- Duke of (John of Gaunt), makes a truce at Berwick, and takes refuge in Scotland, vi. 283-287; returns to England, 287; sent to Scotland with an army, 293; reaches Edinburgh, 295; returns to England, 297; accompanies Richard II. in Scotland, 313; saves Holyrood from burning, 315.
- John, Duke of, vi. 368; at Hawdenstank, 380; his death, 383.
- Henry, Duke of, returns from France, vi. 385; becomes king, 388, 389. See Henry IV. of England.
- Landels, William, bishop of St Andrews, v. 423; vi. 157-159, 251; his death and funeral, 307; his gifts to the cathedral, 311.
- Langhirdmanston, vi. 412.
- Laphitis, the Lapithæ, ii. 233.
- Largs, battle of, v. 121.
- Lateran, a part of Rome, iii. 255.
- Latyne, Latinus, king of Italy, ii. 125, 263, 315.
- Latyne, Latinus, grandson of Postumus Silvius, ii. 315, 317.
- Lauder, Robert of, keeper of Urquhart Castle, vi. 19.
- Laurens, Saint, iii. 373, 377-385; day of, vi. 269.
- Laurentia, ii. 343.
- Laurentius, antipope, iv. 41.
- Lawndalis, Laundells. See Landels.
- Lawrisson, Twyname, v. 397.
- Lawyne, Lavinia, ii. 263, 315.
- Leamydon, Laomedon, father of Priam, ii. 305.
- Lectw, Lectow, land, ii. 99.
- Leicester, v. 11.
- Leicester, Earl of, v. 43.
- Leith, iv. 79; vi. 303, 392.
- Leo I., pope, iv. 13, 17, 19.
- Leo II., pope, iv. 119.
- Leo III., pope, iv. 145, 147, 161.
- Leo IV., pope, iv. 165, 167, 169.

- Leo IX. (*X. wrongly*), pope, iv. 277.
 Leo I., emperor, iv. 19, 29.
 Leo II., emperor, iv. 29, 119.
 Leo III., emperor, iv. 131, 133.
 Leonard, Saint, iv. 39 (*variant*).
 Leonidas (Leonyde), iii. 57-69.
 Les Brettan, Brittany, iv. 17.
 Les Frigi, Lesser Phrygia, ii. 89.
 Lesly, Walter of, marries a daughter of William, Earl of Ross, v. 253, 255.
 Leuchars (Lukrys), peel of, vi. 93.
 Lewlyne, prince of Wales, v. 89; his death, 131.
 Libane, Lebanon, ii. 77.
 Liber, Liberius, pope, iii. 461.
 Liby, Lybia, ii. 81, 95.
 Licinius (Lucyne), emperor, iii. 399.
 Liddesdale, peel of, vi. 175.
 Lidis, Lydia, ii. 91; iii. 29, 31, 35.
 Liège, war about the bishoprick of, vi. 424-436.
 Lilburn, Sir John of, at Carham, vi. 271.
 Lincoln, iv. 403; siege of, v. 71.
 Lincolnshire, iv. 217.
 Lindsay, the, comes from France, v. 259.
 — Alexander de, attacks the English fleet at Queensferry, vi. 295.
 — David de, keeper of Edinburgh Castle, vi. 191, 193.
 — David de, Lord of Glenesk, jousts with the Lord of the Wells, vi. 359-362; wounded at Gasklune, 371-373; at Haudenstank, 379-381; created Earl of Crawford, vi. 383.
 — Iakkis de, slays Hog of Kilpatrick, vi. 241; condemned to death, 241.
 — James of, Lord of Crawford, defeats Robert of Keith at Bourty, vi. 376.
 — Walter of, jousts with the Lord of Beaumont, vi. 421; third cousin to James I., 422.
 Linlithgow, peel of, v. 327; vi. 265, 391.
 Linus. See Lyne.
 Litol Asy, Asia Minor, ii. 89.
 Litol Brettane, Brittany, iii. 439.
 Little John, the outlaw, v. 137.
 Lochaber (Louchqwhabyr), vi. 49.
 Loch Awe (Louchaw), vi. 41.
 Loch Doon, peel of, vi. 19.
 Lochindorb, v. 239, 347; vi. 25, 75, 79.
 Lochleven, the Inch of, ii. 9; iv. 83; the Castle of, vi. 19.
 Lochmaben, v. 365; vi. 3, 137, 153, 289, 293.
 Lochryan, vi. 325.
 Locryne, Locrinus, son of Brutus, ii. 309, 311, 313; iv. 367.
 Logry, Logria, ii. 309, 311.
 Logyrothvan, vi. 65.
 Loire (Lair, Layr), the river, ii. 109; iii. 387.
 London (Lundyn), ii. 311, 347; iv. 255, 267, 395; v. 5, 35, 71, 229, 273, 357; vi. 177, 243.
 London, bishops of, v. 5, 377.
 Lorane, Tassile, keeper of Roxburgh Castle, vi. 187.
 Lorne, Ewyne of, v. 241.
 — John of, v. 241.
 Lothe, Lot, ii. 157.
 Lothar, emperor, iv. 163.
 Lothian, v. 99, 101, 293; vi. 49, 53, 57, 125, 189, 191, 297, 315, 391, 411, 421.
 Lowis IX., king of France, taken prisoner in the Crusade, v. 111, 191.
 Lowis (Lowice), son of the king of France, his expedition to England, v. 67-75.
 Lowis I., emperor, son of Charlemagne, iv. 161, 163, 169, 173.
 Lowis II., emperor, iv. 183.
 Lucius Hyberius, procurator, *not* emperor, iv. 21, 25.
 Lucius, king of Britain, iii. 323, 325; iv. 101.
 Lucius, first consul, iii. 19.
 Lucius, pope, iii. 373.
 Lucius III., pope, v. 27.
 Lucius Æmilius Paulus, consul, iii. 117.
 Lucretia, iii. 17.
 Lucy, Saint, iii. 393.
 Lucy, Lord de, at the battle of Durham, vi. 179.
 Lucyne, Saint, iii. 395.
 Lucyne. See Licinius.
 Lugnoys Allodeg, ii. 351.
 Luke, Saint, iii. 225, 309, 453.
 Lukrys. See Leuchars.
 Lulauch Fuyll, Lulach the Fool, king of the Scots, iv. 305, 325.
 Lumbardy, ii. 107; iii. 91, 473; iv. 19, 29, 69, 73, 137.
 Lumbardis, iv. 71, 163.
 Lunfannan, Lumphanan, iv. 299, 301.
 Lummondish, the Lomonds, ii. 9.
 Lundoris, v. 135; vi. 398.

- Lya, Laban's daughter, ii. 161.
 Lyall, Alexander the, vi. 435.
 Lybia. See Liby.
 Lychtown, Wat of, slain at Gasklune, vi. 373.
 Lycia, ii. 91.
 Lydia. See Lidis.
 Lykaon, Lycaonia, ii. 91.
 Lyle, Alan de, sheriff of Bute, vi. 27; killed, 43.
 Lyne, Linus, pope, iii. 265.
 Lyons sur Rone, ii. 109; iii. 233; v. 107.
 Macbeth, Fynlach, murders Duncan at Elgin, iv. 259; his dream, 273; his marriage, 275; his reign, 277; goes to Rome, 277; his birth, 277-279; his quarrel with Macduff, 281-287; his defeat and death, 297-301, 303, 325.
 Macdowall, Dowgal, submits to William, Lord of Douglas, vi. 223.
 Macduff, thane of Fife, incurs the displeasure of Macbeth, iv. 281; passes over to England, 285; persuades Malcolm to come back, 289-297; his reward, 303.
 — Lord of Kilconquhar, appeals to Edward I. against John Balliol, v. 267; killed at Falkirk, 317.
 Macedon, Macedony, Macedonia, ii. 105; iii. 51, 131.
 Machomet, Mahomet, iv. 113.
 Macrinus (Martyne), emperor, iii. 339.
 Madaine, Maddan, son of Locrinus, ii. 313.
 Madeane, Saint, buried at Restennet, iv. 123.
 Madian, ii. 77, 279.
 Magalama-Steg, ii. 351.
 Magnus. See Mawnys.
 Magon, brother of Hannibal, iii. 127.
 Magowntyne, Mayence, iv. 149, 167.
 Mailville. See Melville.
 Maire, ii. 115.
 Makrobitis, the Macrobian, ii. 61.
 Malcolm I., Makdownald, king of Scotland, iv. 191.
 Malcolm II., son of Kenneth, king of Scotland, iv. 199; leaves a daughter Bethok, 201, 255.
 Malcolm III., Canmore, ii. 13; his birth, iv. 259, 261; flees to England, 281; urged by Macduff to return to Scotland, 291; his reasons for declining, 293-297; returns with Earl Seward, 297; defeats Macbeth, 299-301; rewards Macduff, 303; gets Lulach put to death, 305; his descent, 307, 311, 319, 323; crowned, 325; his revenge on a false knight, 327-333, 337; his marriage, 345; invades England repeatedly, 347; his death, 349, 351, 353, 355, 391, 401, 413; his descendants, v. 227-231; ancestor of Clement VII., vi. 374.
 Malcolm IV., the Maiden, son of Henry of Huntingdon, iv. 393; sent through Scotland, 407; crowned, 417; meets Henry II. at Chester, 421; and at Carlisle, 423; accompanies him to France, 423; besieged in Perth, 423; subdues Galloway, 425; present at the foundation of the 'gret' church of St Andrews, 427; dies, 431; his apparition, 433; v. 3, 227, 243.
 Maldowny Dolnawde Downysone, king of the Scots, iii. 85, 86.
 Maldowny Makgillandris, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 319.
 Malilyell, Malaleel, ii. 33.
 Malis, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 245.
 Malys II., bishop of St Andrews, iv. 247.
 Malmore, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 247.
 Malvoisin (Mawwicynne), bishop of St Andrews, translated from Glasgow, v. 61; his death, 93.
 Malyn, son of Maddan, ii. 313.
 Mamert, bishop of Vienne, institutes the Rogations, iv. 27.
 Man, Isle of, ii. 113; vi. 325.
 Manasse, king of Judah, iii. 11.
 Maneris, Robert de, taken prisoner on the Marches, vi. 151.
 Mantichora (Mantyr), a fabulous beast, ii. 69.
 Mar, Alexander Stewart, Earl of, goes to England, where he takes part in a tournament, vi. 420-422; stays in France for a time, 422, 423; at Bruges, 424; fights against the citizens of Liège, 429-436; marries the Lady of Duffel, 436.
 — (Donald), Earl of, favours the Bruce, v. 291.
 — Donald, Earl of, son of Gartnay, v. 251; elected guardian, 403; comes to Perth, 407; fights at Dupplin, 411; dies there, 413.
 — Gartnay, Earl of, marries a sister of Robert I., v. 251.

- Mar, Thomas, Earl of, son of Donald, v. 251; loses and gets back Kil-drummy, vi. 251.
- Margaret, sister of Earl Thomas and his heiress, v. 251.
- Marathon (Maryton), iii. 53, 57, 69.
- Marcelline, pope, iii. 393-397.
- Marcellus, pope, iii. 395-399.
- March, George, Earl of, favours the succession of Robert II., vi. 265; avenges the death of his man at Roxburgh fair, 269; Lord Percy enters his lands, 273; at the siege of Lochmaben, 289; loses and recovers Dunbar Castle, 393; with the king of England at Shrewsbury, 408.
- See under Dunbar.
- Marches, the, v. 251; vi. 149.
- Marcuryus, a knight, iii. 457.
- Marcus, father of Saint Pontius, iii. 345-359.
- Marcus Antonius, iii. 183.
- Marcus Curtius (Martyne), iii. 93.
- Mardonyus, Mardone, general of Xerxes, iii. 73-81.
- Mare Brettane, Great Britain, v. 263.
- Mare Frigia, Greater Phrygia, ii. 89.
- Margaret, the Virgin, day of, vi. 11.
- Margaret, Saint, wife of Malcolm III., ii. 13; her parentage, iv. 271, 311; her genealogy, 307; comes to England, 315; sails to Scotland, 319, 323; her marriage, her children, 345; her death, 349; her burial and translation, 351, 353, 355, 391, 401; her translation, v. 109-111; her descendants, 227, 339; vi. 375, 419; her feast day, vi. 33.
- Margaret, eldest daughter of William the Lion, v. 61.
- Margaret, daughter of Henry III., married to Alexander III., v. 115, 117; dies, 127.
- Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Flanders, married to Alexander, son of Alexander III., v. 135.
- Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., born, v. 119; married to Eric, 129; dies, 135.
- Margaret (the Fair Maid of Norway), v. 159-163.
- Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, wife of Alan of Galloway, v. 245.
- Margaret, daughter of Robert I., v. 257.
- Marjory, sister of Derworgille, v. 245. See note, p. 98.
- Marjory, daughter of Robert I. and Isabel, v. 255.
- Mark, evangelist, iii. 239.
- Mark, pope, iii. 445.
- Marrak, Morocco, ii. 95.
- Mars, god of war, ii. 121; iv. 59, 61.
- Marseilles (Marsyle), provost of, v. 189.
- Marshal, the Earl, threatens to avenge Otterburn, vi. 341.
- Martianus (Marcyane), emperor, iv. 13, 17.
- Martin, Saint, of Tours, iii. 459; iv. 63.
- Martin I., pope, iv. 115, 117.
- Martin II., pope, iv. 185, 191.
- Martyne, Freyr, Martinus Polonus, ii. 11, 121, 141; iii. 17, 93, 95, 99, 119, 163, 181, 185, 227, 299, 391; iv. 3, 17, 23, 45, 103, 165, 189, 223, 247.
- Martyne. See Macrinus, Marcus Curtius.
- Mary, the Virgin, ii. 49, 161, 205; iii. 199.
- Mary, the Rotunde, iii. 279.
- Mary, second daughter of Malcolm III., Countess of Boulogne, iv. 261, 347, 401; v. 231; vi. 375.
- Mary of Coucy, second wife of Alexander II., v. 81, 97.
- Marytan, Mortagne (?), Stephen, Earl of, iv. 401.
- Maryton. See Marathon.
- Masepia, Marpesia, an Amazon, ii. 253, 255.
- Massagetis, ii. 85.
- Massaline, Messalina, iii. 247.
- Mathew, evangelist, iii. 239.
- Mathew, bishop of Aberdeen, v. 23, 25.
- Matilda (Mauld), daughter of Malcolm III., wife of Henry I., iv. 261, 345; her marriage, 359-367; her daughter Matilda, 379; her son William, 383, 395; her ride through London, v. 229; vi. 375.
- Matilda, daughter of Henry I., empress, countess of Anjou, iv. 261, 379, 395, 399, 419; her death, v. 5.
- Matilda, wife of David I., daughter of William, Earl of Huntingdon, iv. 393.
- Matilda, wife of King Stephen, iv. 399, 401, 403, 405.
- Matilda, daughter of Robert I., v. 257.

- Matusaell, ii. 27.
 Matusaelle, Mathusala, ii. 33.
 Mauritius (Morys), emperor, iv. 103-107, 125.
 Maw of the Rede Mayn, at Otterburn, vi. 331.
 Mawe, ii. 349.
 Mawnys, Magnus, king of Norway, adds the Out Isles to his possessions, iv. 357.
 Mawre, Saint Maur, sent to France by Saint Benedict, iv. 63; dies, 69.
 Mawritane, Mauritania, ii. 95.
 Mawtelande, Robert, takes Dunbar Castle, vi. 393.
 Mawvall, Maviael, ii. 27.
 Mawwycyne. See Malvoisin.
 Maxentius, a tyrant in Rome, iii. 427.
 Maximyane, Maximinus, emperor, iii. 343.
 Maximian, emperor with Diocletian, iii. 389-397; 435, see note; iv. 101.
 Maximian (of Britain), iii. 435-439.
 May, Isle of, iv. 179.
 Maydyn, Castel, Edinburgh, ii. 315.
 Mayhone, Sir Walter of, keeper of Kildrummy Castle, vi. 251.
 Mearns, the (Mernnys), iv. 197.
 — the Earl of, iv. 353.
 Medy, Mede, Media, ii. 73, 151, 321-333; iii. 455; iv. 55.
 Medis, the Medes, ii. 325-333.
 Medus, king, ii. 73.
 Mekyl Grece, Italy, ii. 105.
 Mekyl Se, the ocean, ii. 103; the Mediterranean, ii. 23, 103, 105, 265; iv. 11.
 Melancia, Melanthia, iii. 331.
 Melayne. See Milan.
 Melchiades. See Miltiades.
 Melchisedek, ii. 49, 155.
 Melge, ii. 349.
 Melos, Molosia, ii. 103.
 Melrose, abbey founded by David I., iv. 387, 397, 403; v. 251; vi. 121, 237, 301, 315.
 — (Ernald), abbot of, sent to Rome by William the Lion, v. 27.
 — Adam, abbot of, becomes bishop of Caithness, v. 83.
 Melville (Mailville), Richard of, at the siege of Lochleven Castle, vi. 31.
 Membrot, Nemrod, ii. 77, 117, 121.
 Menalympe, ii. 255.
 Meneus, king of Egypt, ii. 51.
 Menpris, Mempricius, iii. 313.
 Menteith, vi. 417.
 Menteith, Walter Comyn, Earl of, v. 117, 119, 235, 239.
 — Murthok, Earl of, slain at Dupplin, v. 411, 413.
 — John of, takes Wallace, v. 371.
 — Earl of, John the Graham, prisoner at Durham, vi. 185. See Graham.
 Menzies, John the, knighted at Liège, vi. 432; banner-bearer to Earl of Mar, 435.
 — Robert, vi. 69.
 Mere Mediterrayne, ii. 103, 193; vi. 364.
 Merencyus, Mezentius, a usurper, iv. 197.
 Merlyne, iv. 17.
 Mernnys. See Mearns.
 Mersse, the, vi. 187, 279.
 Mesopotamia, ii. 75.
 Messalina. See Massalyne.
 Messia, ii. 103.
 Michael, the Archangel, ii. 17.
 Michaelmas, v. 5.
 Milan (Melayne), iii. 473, 495.
 Mile, ii. 213.
 Milet of Spayne, ii. 213.
 Miller's Acre, v. 407.
 Miltiades, Athenian general, iii. 53.
 Miltiades (Melchiades), pope, iii. 401, 403.
 Minerva, ii. 163.
 Minos, ii. 235, 239.
 Minotaur, ii. 233, 239.
 Moab, ii. 273.
 Moabites, ii. 77, 277.
 Modred, nephew of King Arthur, iv. 25.
 Molosia (Melos), ii. 103.
 Monane, Saint, settles at Inwary, iv. 179.
 Mongowe, Saint, brought up by St Serf, iv. 83; bishop of Glasgow, 103.
 Montague, a cell of Cluny, in Somerset, iv. 351.
 Montague, William, besieges Dunbar Castle, vi. 81-91; called back from Dunbar by Edward III., 89; Earl of Salisbury, 151.
 Montgomery, Lord of, the *false* Richard sent to him, vi. 391.
 Montrose (Monros), v. 89, 293.
 Monyceros, the unicorn, ii. 69.
 Moray, family of, v. 257.
 Moray (Murray) district, iv. 123, 187, 191, 193.
 — Macbeth, thane of, iv. 275.
 — John, Earl of, surprises Edward

- Balliol at Annan, v. 427; arrives at Dumbarton from France, vi. 45; made a warden, 47; wins over the Earl of Atholl, 47; confers with John of the Isles, 53; defeats Earl of Geller at Boroughmuir, 53; taken prisoner, 55-57; exchanged, 151; goes to Annandale, 153; killed at Durham, 181-185.
- Moray, John of Dunbar, Earl of, at Otterburn, vi. 331.
- Thomas, Earl of, guardian, v. 385-395; dies of poison, 399-401, 403.
- Thomas, 'young,' Earl of, killed at Dupplin, v. 411, 413.
- Thomas, Earl of, at Haudens-tank, vi. 379; earl when the Chronicle was written, v. 253, 254. ('Scottish Kings,' p. 167.)
- Andrew, Lord of, marries the fourth daughter of the Red Comyn, v. 241.
- Andrew (II.) of, v. 241; avenges the death of Duncan, Earl of Fife, 265; slain at Stirling Bridge, 309.
- Andrew (III.) of, made warden, v. 429, 431; taken at Roxburgh, 433; brought to the king of England, vi. 3; joined by Alexander of Mowbray, 25; returns home and is chosen warden again, 57; raises a force against the Earl of Atholl, 63; at Kilblain, 65-69; takes Dundarg, 71; at Stronkalter, 75-79; takes castles in Fife, 93; takes Bothwell, 93; invades England, 95; besieges Stirling and Edinburgh, 95-97; his death, 97; his character, 99, 101; reference to the taking of St Andrews Castle, v. 43.
- Moris of (Earl of Strathern), at the siege of Perth with Robert Stewart, vi. 125; has the keeping of Stirling, 137; killed at Durham, 185.
- Thomas of, dies in London of the plague, vi. 249.
- William of, keeper of Edinburgh Castle, vi. 189, 191; dies at Dirlerton, 189.
- Morglas, name given to Kynneil, iv. 81.
- Morys, Saint, ii. 83.
- Morys, Sir, bishop of London, crowns Henry I., iv. 359.
- Morys. See Mauritius.
- Moses (Moyses), ii. 77, 185-187; iii. 213; iv. 11, 57; v. 203, 205.
- Mounth, the, iv. 299, 371; v. 87, 89, 347; vi. 39, 65, 73, 376.
- Mowbray, Alexander de, supported by Edward Balliol, vi. 23; joins Andrew of Moray, vi. 25.
- Godfrey (I.), his family, v. 239.
- Godfrey (II.), son of (I.), v. 241.
- John, son of Godfrey (I.), v. 239; follower of E. Balliol, 399; slain at Annan, 429.
- Philip, son of Godfrey (I.), v. 241.
- Roger, son of Godfrey (I.), v. 241.
- William, son of Godfrey (I.), v. 239; meets Thomas of Roslyn at Dunnotar, vi. 61; distinguishes himself at Dundarg, vi. 71.
- Moyses. See Moses.
- Mullyrrisnik, the Mull of Galloway, v. 351.
- Mure, Adam, at Dupplin, v. 417.
- Murthak, king of the Scots, iv. 133, 137.
- Musgrave, Thomas, taken by John Gordon, between Berwick and Duns, vi. 277.
- Musselburgh (Mwskylburghe), v. 45.
- Mwnytoure, Numitor, ii. 341-343.
- Myadad-Fael, ii. 213.
- Mygdony, Migdonia, ii. 89.
- Mytton, battle of, vi. 15.
- Nabateis, the Nabathæi, ii. 79.
- Nabugodonosor, iii. 15.
- Naples, iii. 189.
- Narbonne, ii. 109.
- Narses, iv. 67-75.
- Natan, Nathan, ii. 315.
- Nator, ii. 137, 139.
- Nauchtane, William of the, with the Earl of Mar at Liège, vi. 430, 432.
- Navarre (Naverne), ii. 207.
- King of, puts down the rebellion of Jacques Bonhomme, vi. 239.
- Nawarry, inhabitants of Navarre, ii. 207.
- Nazareth, ii. 79; iii. 199, 225.
- Neande, ii. 213.
- Nectan-Kellounot, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
- Nectan (Nattan), Fodis son, king of the Picts, iv. 77.
- Nectan (Nattan) Derlynge, Dargardis son, king of the Picts, iv. 91; founds Rosemarkin, 123; baptised at Restennet, 124, 146.

- Neoma, Noema, ii. 31.
 Neoren, ii. 349.
 Neptune, ii. 121-125; iv. 59.
 Nero, emperor, iii. 249, 251-263, 277.
 Nerva, emperor, iii. 283.
 Nestor, Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, iv. 13.
 Nethir Germany, Lower Germany, ii. 101.
 Nethir Sithia, Lower Scythia, ii. 99.
 Nevers, Earl of, v. 195-199.
 — Earl of, son of the Duke of Burgundy, vi. 378. See also under Burgundy.
 Neville (Newel), Lord the, at the battle of Durham, vi. 179.
 New Abbey, Sweet Heart Abbey, v. 263.
 Newark, v. 69.
 Newbotle abbey, founded, iv. 387; vi. 315.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne, iv. 310, 345, 401, 407; v. 99; vi. 301, 327.
 New Forest, iv. 357.
 Newile, father of Gedyll-Glays, ii. 115, 117, 191.
Newmeri, Book of Numbers, v. 203.
 Nicea, ii. 89; iii. 403, 447.
 Nicholas I., pope, iv. 183, 185.
 Nicholas II., pope, iv. 319.
 Nicholas III., pope, v. 129.
 Nicholas, Saint, bishop, iii. 447.
 Nile, ii. 23, 83.
 Ninian, Saint, iii. 461; v. 339.
 Ninias, son of Ninus, ii. 153.
 Ninive, ii. 75.
 Ninus, ii. 9, 13, 75, 133, 141, 145-153, 155, 321; iii. 207, 311.
 Niobe (Nyabe), ii. 161.
 Nithsdale (Niddisdail), vi. 189, 223, 321.
 Noah (Noye, Noe), ii. 31, 41-47, 87, 115, 117, 155, 191, 207, 317; iv. 307.
 Node, ii. 211.
 Norham, castle founded, iv. 383; v. 99, 211, 215; vi. 207.
 Normandy, ii. 113; iv. 19, 189, 253, 335, 339, 363, 379; v. 11, 41; vi. 157.
 Normans (Normandeis), ii. 111.
 Norowis, Norsemen, iv. 177, 193.
 Northampton, William of Bohun, Earl of, in Lochmaben Castle, vi. 153; meets David II. at Berwick, 231.
 North Berwick, vi. 411.
 Northumberland, iv. 297, 349, 393, 397, 399, 401, 407, 409; v. 9; vi. 329.
 Northumberland, Henry, Earl of. See under Percy.
 Northumbrians (Northumbris), v. 11.
 Norway, ii. 101; iii. 391; iv. 21, 357; v. 159.
 Norwich, iv. 49.
 Nory, William, detained by the pope at Avignon, vi. 395; returns to the papal court, 400.
 Nottingham, Earl Marshall of, banished by Richard II., vi. 381, 382.
 Nouael, ii. 211.
 Numa Pompilius, iii. 11; vi. 363.
 Numidia, ii. 95.
 Numitor. See Mwnytoure.
 Obyne. See Aboyne.
 Ochosias, king of Judah, ii. 319.
 Octavius (Ottaveus), king of Britain, iii. 429-431, 435.
 Octovian. See Augustus.
 Odonacer, Odoacer, iv. 31, 33.
 Oengusse, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
 Oengusse Frwrdson, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
 Ogil, Robert of, takes five Scottish knights, vi. 163; at the battle of Durham, 179; his son killed at Berwick, 201; at Otterburn, 331.
 Ogilby, Walter of, sheriff of Angus, killed at Gasklune, vi. 372-374.
 Ogoleus, Agialeus, ii. 51.
 Olyfant, William, captain of Stirling Castle, v. 351.
 Olympi, Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, iii. 95.
 Olympi, Olympias, the Olympic games, ii. 339.
 Olympias, Olympiad, iii. 9.
 Olympius, bishop of Carthage, iv. 37.
 Olympus (Olimphus), the mountain, ii. 105.
 Olynthus (Olinyte), a city of Thrace, iii. 79.
 Oras. See Horace.
 Oreb, mount Horeb, ii. 77.
 Orestas, the Orestæ, ii. 59.
 Orient, the East, iii. 165, 217, 391.
 Origen (Orygyne), iii. 341.
Original Chronicle, the, [i. cv.] ii. 3, 9; v. 253, 367.
 Orithia, ii. 255, 257.
 Orknay, ii. 113, 201; iv. 21; v. 123, 351.
 — Earl of, attends Prince James, vi. 413; taken and released, 414.

- Orleans. See Aurelyens, iii. 387.
 — Duke of, praises the Scots, vi. 369, 370.
 — Bishop of, consulted by Edward I., v. 185, 199.
 Orosius (Oros), the historian, ii. 11, 141, 143, 231, 251; iii. 27, 83, 99, 121, 185, 207, 209, 469; iv. 23.
 Oskbares, Oscobares, ii. 23.
 Osten, Ostia, iii. 13.
 Otho II., emperor, iv. 203-207.
 Otho III., emperor, pupil of Sylvester II., iv. 215.
 Otoy, ii. 115.
 Otto, a Roman general, iii. 263.
 Otterburne, battle of, v. 251; vi. 329-337, 339, 341.
 Ouchtyrarder, v. 409, 415.
 Out Ilis, the Outer Hebrides, ii. 113; iii. 491; iv. 357; vi. 390.
 Overcunnok, vi. 29.
 Ovid (Ovide), the poet, ii. 91, 129, 181, 218, 235; iii. 233.
 Owir Pannony, Upper Pannonia, ii. 105.
 Owir Sithi, Upper Scythia, ii. 99.
 Oxford University, v. 263.
 Paisley, vi. 415.
 Palaphat, Palæphatus, ii. 232.
 Palestine, iii. 269.
 Palestine, a town, ii. 79.
 Palladius (Palady), Saint, sent to Scotland, iv. 11.
 Pallande, a giant, ii. 163.
 Pallas, the goddess, ii. 163.
 Pallas, son of Evander, ii. 263; iv. 243.
 Palofat, Palæphatus, ii. 233.
 Pamphilia (Pawphilia), ii. 91; iii. 23.
 Pannony, ii. 103, 267; iii. 183, 185; iv. 33, 71.
 Pantesilia. See Penthesilea.
 Pantheon, iii. 279; iv. 109.
 Paradise, ii. 19-25, 53.
 Parakasi, ii. 165.
 Paris, iii. 279; iv. 47, 69, 147; vi. 245, 391.
 — University of, v. 177.
 — Bishop of, consulted by Edward I., v. 189, 199.
 Parnassus, ii. 177.
 Parthia (Parthy), ii. 73.
 Partoloy, occupies Ireland, ii. 201.
 Paschal, pope, iv. 161.
 Pasiphæ (Phasife), ii. 235-243.
 Patmos, iii. 279.
 Patras, iii. 453.
 Patrick, Saint, sent to Ireland, iv. 11; his body found, v. 31.
 Paul, Saint, ii. 91; iii. 3, 257-261, 411, 415.
 Paul, Saint, a martyr, iii. 455.
 Paul I., pope, iv. 141, 145.
 Pavia (Pawi), iv. 35.
 Pawns. See Pontus.
 Pay, Stewyn, bishop-elect of St Andrews, dies at Alnwick, vi. 309.
 Peace, temple of, iii. 215.
 Peblis, John of, bishop of Dunkeld, crowns Queen Annabel, vi. 367.
 Pedagys, ii. 135.
 Peichtis, Pechtis. See Picts.
 Pelagius I., pope, iv. 63, 69.
 Pelagius II., pope, iv. 93, 97.
 Pelagius, heretic, iv. 7.
 Pelops, Peloponnesus, ii. 105.
 Pelops, son of Tantalus, ii. 219.
 Penestre, Præneste, taken by the Romans, iii. 91.
 Penrith (Pennyry), vi. 279.
 Pentapolis, ii. 95.
 Penthesilea (Pentesilia), queen of the Amazons, ii. 257.
 Pepin (Pippyne), father of Charles Martel, iv. 153.
 Pepin, son of Charles Martel, king of France, iv. 73, 145, 155, 157.
 Percy [Henry], Lord the, at the battle of Durham, vi. 179; gets Roxburgh Castle, 187; accompanies E. Balliol, 189.
 — Lord the, Earl of Northumberland, comes to Duns, vi. 273; his horses run away, 275; returns from exile, 385; takes refuge at St Andrews, 409; at Perth, 409; killed at Tadcaster, 410.
 — Henry the [Hotspur], follows the Earl of Douglas to Otterburn, vi. 329; made prisoner there, 329-335, 341; at Haudenstank, 380; victorious at Homildon, 401-403; prophecy as to his death, 403; killed at Berwick, near Shrewsbury, 406-408; his body quartered, 409; his son remains in Scotland, 410.
 — Walter of, v. 265.
 Perillus, ii. 335.
 Peris of Paris, defeats Earl of Moray, vi. 55.
 Peris Carl, his prophecy against King John of England, v. 57.
 Pers, Persia, ii. 75, 151, 219, 333; iii. 17, 21, 29, 35-83, 287, 375, 385, 455; iv. 55, 103, 111, 113.

- Perseus, first king of Persia, ii. 75, 219, 221.
 Persoyis, Persantis, the Persians, ii. 329-333; iii. 31, 41-83, 279.
 Perth, iv. 423; v. 47, 407, 415, 417, 421; vi. 21, 51, 75, 79, 409. See Saint Johnston.
 Pesse. See Peace.
 Pestilence, first in Scotland, vi. 197; second, 249; third, 283; fourth, 396.
 Pestilence on fowls, vi. 193.
 Peter, Saint, iii. 235, 237, 239, 249, 257-261, 265, 267, 285, 395, 411, 415, 431; St Peter's Church, iii. 419.
 Peter Damian quoted, iv. 219.
 Petirmes, Saint Peter's day, vi. 37.
 Petpoloche, Duncan, Earl of Fife, slain there, v. 265.
 Peycht, Pictish language, ii. 113.
 Phalaris. See Falaris.
 Phalek, son of Heber, ii. 137.
 Phalek, son of Etoyr, ii. 213.
 Phanua. See Fariwa.
 Pharaoh, ii. 117, 191.
 Pharos. See Fayr.
 Phasife. See Pasiphæ.
 Phebus, iii. 33.
 Phenys, Phenicia, ii. 77.
 Philip, king of Macedonia, iii. 131.
 Philip, the apostle, iii. 254.
 Philip, governor of Alexandria, iii. 329-333.
 Philip, first Christian emperor, iii. 345-371, 425.
 Philip, the younger, son of emperor Philip, iii. 371, 373.
 Philip II., emperor, iv. 119.
 Philip, a friend of emperor Mauritius, iv. 105, 107.
 Philip II., king of France, goes to the Crusade, v. 37, 39, 41; intends to invade England, 53.
 Philip III., king of France, v. 191, 321.
 Philip VI., king of France, sends envoys to Scotland, vi. 21.
 Philisteis, Philistines, ii. 277, 289-305.
 Philomene, ii. 217.
 Phisone, Ganges, ii. 23.
 Phocas, emperor, iv. 105-111.
 Phorone, Forone, ii. 161, 163, 165.
 Phrygia (Frigia), ii. 153, 305.
 Picardy, vi. 348.
 Picts (Peichtis), ii. 13; win Britain, 111; no traces of them left, 113, 205, 313; iii. 85-89, 135-141, 307, 315, 389, 401, 465, 497; converted for the first time, iv. 75; put out of Scotland, 127, 173, 131, 133, 147.
 Picus, son of Saturn, ii. 123.
 Pigmeis, the Pygmies, ii. 59.
 Pilate of Powns, Pontius Pilate, iii. 233.
 Pirra, Pyrray, Pirrha, ii. 179-183.
 Pirrus. See Pyrrhus.
 Pistil of Suet Susane, iv. 23.
 Pittagoras. See Pythagoras, iii. 21.
 Pius, pope, iii. 317, 321.
 Placil, Dame, wife of Theodosius, iii. 491.
 Placidus, Placidus, Saint Eustache, iii. 293.
 Plato, iii. 21.
 Plinius, ii. 247.
 Plinius, the younger, iii. 293.
 Pluto, ii. 121-125; iv. 61.
 Poitiers, ii. 309; battle of, vi. 227-229; the hall of, 336.
 Pollux, ii. 121.
 Polynytes, Polynices, ii. 221.
 Pompeyus, Pompey, iii. 163-171.
 Pompeyus, Trogius Pompeius, ii. 141; iii. 311.
 Pontianus, pope, iii. 341, 357, 359.
 Pontius, Saint, iii. 357-363.
 Pontus (Pawns, Powns), ii. 91, 101; iii. 233.
 Portu Ebrayan, Portnebyan, Portu de Payne, a ferry on the Earn, iv. 283.
 Postumus Silwyus, ii. 315, 317.
 Poylle, Poyl, Apulia, ii. 107; iii. 97; iv. 69, 163.
 Poyl land, Poland, iii. 185.
 Premonstrans order, iv. 381, 403.
 Preston, Laurence of, joins the Scottish party, vi. 49; at Boroughmuir, 53; joins Andrew of Moray against the Earl of Atholl, 63; killed, 83.
 Priam, ii. 305.
 Probus, emperor, iii. 387.
 Procas, ii. 327, 331; iii. 207, 209.
 Prognas, ii. 217.
 Prometheus, ii. 175.
 Proserpina, iv. 61.
 Prote, Prothus, a eunuch, iii. 329.
 Provence (Prowynce), iv. 153, 155.
 Ptolemy (Tholome), iii. 169.
 Ptolemy, astronomer, iii. 311.
 Publius Tarentyne (and) Warro, Publius Terentius Varro, iii. 117-119.
 Punic (war), iii. 145.
 Purification, feast of, established, iv. 57.
 Pygmeis. See Pigmeis.

- Pyrrhus (Pirrus), king of Greece, iii. 101.
 Pythagoras (Pittagoras), iii. 21.
 Pyrenees, iii. 113.
- Queensferry, iv. 171; vi. 295.
 Quincy, Roger de, v. 247.
 Qwhitby. See Whitby.
- Rachel, ii. 161.
 Ragaet, ii. 115.
 Ragew, ii. 137.
 Ramsay, Alexander de, at Dupplin, v. 417; joins the Scottish party, vi. 49; at Borroughmuir, 53; joins Andrew of Moray against the Earl of Atholl, 63; relieves Dunbar, 89; before Cupar Castle, 93; accompanies William Douglas to the jousting with Earl of Derby, 103; at the jousting of Berwick, 103-109; retires to the Cove of Hawthornden, 147; raids the Marches, 149, 155; wins Roxburgh, 161; sheriff of Teviotdale, 163; sundry raids in England, 163; taken by William Douglas, dies in prison at the Hermitage, 167.
 — William de, grievously wounded at the Berwick jousting, vi. 109.
 — William de, ransoms Archibald Douglas at Poitiers, vi. 231.
 Ranulf, bishop of Durlham, iv. 383.
 Raphael, the archangel, ii. 17.
 Ratisbon (Respoyne), ii. 101.
 Ravenna (Rawen), iii. 239; iv. 41, 211. See Wyen.
 Raynald of the Iles, joins David II. at Perth, vi. 173; killed at Elcho, 175.
 Rea, Rhea, ii. 341.
 Reading (Reddynys), abbey founded, iv. 413.
 Rebecca (Rubeca), ii. 157.
 Red Sea, thc, ii. 23, 53, 81, 191, 203; iii. 287.
Register, the, v. 326. [Intro., lxxviii.-lxxxi.]
 Regyn, ii. 349.
 Remus, ii. 341; iii. 5.
 Remy, Saint, iv. 39.
 Renfrew, iv. 431; vi. 25, 45.
 Rephynek, ii. 351.
 Respoyne. See Ratisbon.
 Restennet, founded, iv. 123.
 Rew, ii. 137.
 Rewaws. See Rievaulx.
 Reyn, ii. 115.
 Rheims (Ryens), iv. 211.
 Rhine (Ryne), ii. 101; iii. 167, 185.
 Rhodes (Rodis), ii. 165.
 Rhone (Royne), the river, ii. 109.
 Richard, Duke of Normandy, father of Queen Emma, iv. 251.
 Richard I., king of England, at his father's funeral, v. 33; crowned, 35; goes to the Crusade, 37; made prisoner in Germany, 37; returns to England, 41; dies, 45, 233.
 Richard II., burns abbeys in Scotland, vi. 313; present at the jousting between David Lindsay and Lord of the Wells, 362; banishes the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshall, 381, 382; goes to Ireland, 384; takes refuge in Flint Castle, 385; resigns the crown, 386; imprisoned in Pomfret and said to have died there, 390; the *false* Richard, 390, 391.
 Richard, bishop of St Andrews, goes to Normandy, iv. 431; v. 11; dies, 21.
 Richmond Castle, William the Lion taken there, v. 11.
 Riddisdale, vi. 325, 329.
 Rievaulx (Rewaws), abbey founded, iv. 395.
 Riphey, "Ryphaei montes," ii. 99.
 Robert II., king of Scotland, ii. 13, 153; iv. 307, 323; son of Walter Stewart and Isabel, v. 255, 253, 369; accepted as heir, 379; succeeds David II., vi. 265; crowned, 267; receives the ambassadors of England and France, 347; his death, 355, 363; his character, 357; his funeral, 366; cousin to Clement VII., iv. 263; vi. 375.
 Robert III. succeeds his father, vi. 357; his coronation, 366-368; receives the *false* Richard, vi. 391; creates Alexander Stewart earl of Mar, 404; sends his son James to France, 411; dies at Dundonald, 415; buried at Paisley, 415.
 Robert, king of France, iv. 215.
 Robert Curtose, son of William the Conqueror, iv. 337; goes to the Holy Land, 339-343, 395; v. 29.
 Robert, prior of Scone, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 373; confirmed by the archbishop of York, 377; receives David I. at St Andrews, 387-393; his death, 427.
 Robert, bishop of Glasgow. See Wishart.

- Roboam, ii. 319.
 Roblata, Reblata, ii. 77.
 Rodard, slays Cullen, king of the Scots, iv. 195.
 Rodis. See Rhodes.
 Rogations, instituted, iv. 27.
 Roger, son of the Earl of Leicester, bishop of St Andrews, v. 43; dies, 59.
 Rogers, archbishop of York, crowns "young" Henry king of England, v. 5.
 Rokeby. See Rukby.
 Roland, death of, iv. 149.
 Romans, the, ii. 111; iv. 203.
 Rome, ii. 13, 105, 107, 209, 261, 317, 319; iii. 5, 9-15, 83, 207, 209; iv. 33, 93, 161, 241; iv. 53, 55, 59, 67, 77, 109, 163, 165, 207.
 Romulus, ii. 105, 341; iii. 5, 9-11, 207, 215, 359; his statue, iv. 109, 111.
 Rose, the Hall of the, Rose Castle, Cumberland, vi. 163.
 Roslyn, battle of, v. 321, 333-345; vi. 17, 63.
 — Thomas of, killed at Aberdeen, vi. 61; his death avenged, vi. 79.
 Rosemarkin Cathedral, foundation of, iv. 123, 146; vi. 95.
 Ross, iv. 123, 371; v. 87, 255; vi. 95.
 — Hugh, Earl of, marries daughter of Robert, Earl of Carrick, v. 253; killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 11, 13.
 — William, Earl of, v. 253; prisoner at Dunbar, 289; at the siege of Perth with the Stewart, vi. 125, 127, 131; returns home, 135; kills Raynald of the Isles, 175.
 — John the, marries a daughter of Alexander (II.) Comyn, v. 237.
 — Gotheray the (Rose), sheriff of Ayr, submits to Robert Stewart, vi. 45.
 Rosyn, ii. 349.
 Roteyr, ii. 349.
 Rothesay (Rosay), vi. 25, 27.
 — Duke of, his death, vi. 398.
 Roxburgh, given up for William the Lion's ransom, v. 13; given back, 35, 39, 97, 135, 431; vi. 79, 137, 163, 167, 169, 187, 195, 205, 275, 291, 299, 357.
 Roy, Rinald de, vi. 350.
 Royme. See Rhone.
 Rufinus, iii. 477-481.
 Rukby, Thomas of Rokeby, keeper of Stirling, vi. 79; yields the castle, 135; at Durham, 179.
 Rukby [Richard], kills the Duke of Northumberland, vi. 410.
 Ryens. See Rheims.
 Ryne. See Rhine.
- Saba, ii. 77, 95.
 Sabil, Dame, iii. 23.
 Sabines, the (Saybayns), iii. 21.
 Sabinianus. See Fabyane.
 Sagownt, Saguntum, iii. 111.
 Saint Andrew, abbey of, founded by Carloman, iv. 155.
 Saint Andrews (Andirstoun), iv. 187, 373, 375, 376, 387; v. 89, 137, 347, 349; vi. 33, 395, 399.
 — Canons, ii. 9; iv. 373.
 — Castle, built, v. 43; vi. 27; taken and destroyed, 93.
 — Churches, iv. 173, 193; church founded, 427; the Auld Kirk, v. 21, 59, 313; dedication of the Cathedral, 373, 381; rebuilt, vi. 309-313.
 — See of, dependent on York, iv. 377.
 — Bishops. See Robert, Arnald, Richard, Scot, Hugh, Roger, Malvoisin, Joffray, Bernham, Abel, Gamelin, Wischard, Fraser, Lambert, Ben, Laundells, Pay, Trail, Stewart, Danielston, Greenlaw, Wardlaw.
 Saint David, bishop of, at Hawdents-tank, vi. 380.
 Saint Denis, abbey of, iv. 153.
 Saint Giles, the earl of, iv. 341.
 Saint Johnston, Perth, v. 103, 329, 347, 403, 407, 425, 427; vi. 23, 33, 125, 173, 377, 416. See Perth.
 Saint Margaret's Hope, iv. 319.
 Saint Mongo, church of, Glasgow, v. 27, 43, 61.
 Saint Oswald, abbey of, iv. 373.
 Saint Paul, earl of, v. 235.
 Saint Saviour, church of, iii. 431.
 Saint Silvester, abbey of, founded by Carloman, iv. 155.
 Salamon. See Solomon.
 Salisburghe, Salzburch, iv. 149.
 Salisbury. See Montague.
 Salphat, case of, v. 203-207.
 Samary, Samaria, ii. 79, 137.
 Samby, Lord, vi. 348, 352.
 Sampnyt, Samnium, iii. 161.
 Sampnytis, Samnites, iii. 97-99.
 Sampson, ii. 281-305, 309.

- Sangar, ii. 277.
 Sanyge Syde, near Berwick, vi. 7.
 Saphat, near Jerusalem, iv. 103.
 Sapor, king of Persia, iii. 375.
 Saracens (Sarazenis), ii. 77, 79; iv. 113, 149, 161; v. 173.
 Sarah (Sarray), ii. 157.
 Sardanapalus, ii. 321-325.
 Sardinia (Sardyny), iii. 341.
 Saruk, ii. 137.
 Sathanas, iv. 87.
 Saturnus, ii. 121-129.
 Savoy (Sowway), manor of, destroyed, vi. 283.
 Sawlle, Saul, Saint Paul, iii. 233.
 Sawns, Sens; the men of Sawns, "Senones Galli," iii. 89.
 Saxon, Saxony, ii. 101; iv. 153, 309.
 Saxon, West, West Saxony, ii. 211.
 Saxons, ii. 111; iii. 465; arrive in England, iv. 17; converted, 99.
 Sayle, Sale, ii. 137.
 Scealdy, ii. 137.
 Scealfy, ii. 137.
 Schawmpane, Campania, ii. 107; iii. 123. See Chawmpane.
 Scilicia, Cilicia, ii. 91.
 Scipio Africanus, iii. 119, 127-133, 143-145; quoted, v. 409.
 Scipio, Publius, consul, iii. 111-115.
 Scolopecyus, ii. 247.
 Scone, ii. 347; iv. 177, 325; abbey founded, 373, 391; iv. 417; v. 67, 109, 139, 155, 267, 271, 297, 383, 421; vi. 251, 355, 367, 368.
 Scot, John, chosen bishop of St Andrews, v. 21; bishop of Dunkeld, 27.
 — Michael, of Balwery, sent to Norway, v. 161.
 Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, ii. 117, 191, 199.
 Scote, the Scottish language, ii. 113.
 Scotland, ii. 13, 153, 199, 207, 213, 309, 311, 313, 347; iii. 85, 119; iv. 173, 179, 183, 289, 327, 337, 353.
 Scottis, the Scots, ii. 13, 199, 205, 207, 313, 347; iii. 85-89, 135-141; iv. 127, 131, 133, 147, 175.
 Scottis Se, the Forth, v. 331.
 Scrimgeour (Scrynmwre), James, standard-bearer to the king, vi. 430.
 Scythia (Sithi), ii. 51, 73, 85, 101, 137, 145, 191, 243, 247, 253; iii. 21, 39-51, 135, 439.
 Scythians (Sitikis), ii. 203, 245; iii. 41-47, 51.
 Secundus, philosopher, iii. 307.
 Sedechias, king of Judah, iii. 15.
 Selby, Walter of, keeper of Liddesdale Peel, vi. 175.
 Sella, ii. 27.
 Sem, ii. 47, 49, 51, 93, 135, 137, 191; iv. 307.
 Semiramis, ii. 147-155; vi. 427, 428.
 Sempronius. See Sympronius.
 Seneca, iii. 257.
 Sennaar, ii. 117.
 Sens. See Sawns.
 Serapis. See Syropis.
 Seras, Seres. See Ceres.
 Seres, an Eastern country, ii. 85.
 Serf, Saint, his legend, iv. 77-91. [Introd., sections 2 and 7.]
 Sergius I., pope, iv. 61, 119.
 Sergius II., pope, iv. 163, 165.
 Servia, Sarmatia? ii. 85.
 Servius Tullius, king of Rome, iii. 15.
 Servius, son of Picus, ii. 123, *a mistake for* Faunus.
 Seth, ii. 33.
 Seton, Alexander of, killed in opposing the landing of E. Balliol, v. 405.
 — Alexander of, governor of Berwick, v. 429; captain of Berwick, vi. 7, 9.
 — Alexander of, prisoner with Prince James, is released, vi. 414.
 — Thomas of, hostage for the surrender of Berwick, vi. 7; is hanged, 9.
 — William of, drowned at Berwick, vi. 5.
 — Lady of, marries Alan of Wynthoun, vi. 191.
 Setyme, Cethim, the old name of Greece, ii. 103.
 Seven Sleepers, rising of the, iv. 17.
 Seventy, the, the Septuagint writers, ii. 139, 317; iii. 17.
 Severinus, pope, iv. 115.
 Severus, emperor, iii. 335.
 Sewalde, or Eokall, king of the Scots, iv. 159.
 Sextile month, changed to August, iii. 187.
 Shrewsbury, battle of, vi. 407-409.
 Siancormek, ii. 351.
 Sibil, wife of Alexander I., iv. 371; her death, 383.
 Sibyl Erythia, the Erythrean Sibyl, iii. 11.
 Sibyl Samia, the Samian Sibyl, iii. 13.

- Sibyl Triburtine, the Sibyl of Tibur, iii. 195.
 Sicily (Cizille), ii. 259, 333, 335; iii. 103, 113, 147, 153; iv. 163, 207.
 Sidon, Sydon, ii. 77, 299.
 Signifere, the zodiac, ii. 127.
 Silla, Sylla, iii. 163, 165.
 Silverius, pope, iv. 47, 53.
 Silvester I., pope, ii. 89; iii. 259, 403, 413-425, 431-433, 445.
 Silvester II., pope, iv. 209-215.
 Silvius, father of Brutus, ii. 265, 307.
 Simeon, Jacob's son, ii. 173.
 Simeon, at the Purification, iv. 59.
 Simplicius, pope, iv. 19.
 Sinai. See Synay.
 Sinclair (Synglare), William, bishop of Dunkeld, v. 421.
 Sirne-Elkade, ii. 213.
 Sysinnius, pope, iv. 119.
 Sistrousse. See Citeaux.
 Sithioun, Sicione, Sycion, ii. 49, 105, 137.
 Sitikis, Sithi. See Scythians, Scythia.
 Sixt I., pope, iii. 301, 307.
 Sixt II., pope, iii. 371, 373, 377-385.
 Sixt III., pope, iv. 13.
 Smyrna, ii. 89, 253.
 Socrates, death of, iii. 21.
 Sodom, ii. 79.
 Solomon (Salamon), ii. 97, 317.
 Soltre (Sowtray), abbey founded by Malcolm IV., iv. 428; vi. 187.
 Solway (Sulway), vi. 277, 281, 315, 317, 319, 339.
 Solynus, ii. 109.
 Somerled. See Sowellle.
 Sophi, Sophia, empress, wife of Justin, iv. 69.
 Sorrowful Hill, Edinburgh, ii. 315.
 Sother, pope, iii. 321.
 South Inch (of Perth), vi. 127.
 Sowdan, the Sultan, called to Italy, iv. 161.
 Sowellle, Somerled of Argyle, slain at Renfrew, iv. 431.
 Sowllis, John the, v. 239; guardian with John Comyn, v. 321; sends ambassadors to the Pope, 323.
 — Nicol of, v. 239.
 — William of, son of Nicol, v. 239.
 Spain (Spanzhe), ii. 109, 193, 203, 205, 207, 213, 309, 345; iii. 111, 127, 169, 175, 183, 377, 379, 391, 399; iv. 149.
 Spaniards (Spanzellis), ii. 201.
 Spartans, ii. 221; iii. 59, 61, 65.
 Spartany, Sparta, iii. 13, 53, 57, 67.
 Spencer, Hugh de, v. 375.
 Spens, William of, at the siege of Dunbar, vi. 83.
 Stace, ii. 221.
 Stafford (Stamfurde), Ralph of, a follower of E. Balliol at Dupplin, v. 413; vi. 85.
 Stanemore, Stanemuir, of Rere Corsse, iv. 401; vi. 327.
 Stanmore, or Cammore, iii. 84, 86.
 Stemonius, ii. 135.
 Stephen (Stewyn), Saint, iii. 223.
 Stephen I., pope, iii. 373, 377.
 Stephen II., pope, iv. 137, 141.
 Stephen III., pope, iv. 145.
 Stephen IV., pope, iv. 161.
 Stephen, king of England, iv. 397; receives Northumberland from David I., 397; his opponents, 399; his marriage, 401; taken prisoner at Lincoln, 403; treats with Henry, Duke of Normandy, 411; his nickname, 413; his death, 417.
 Stephen of Langton, made cardinal, v. 47; made archbishop of Canterbury, v. 51.
 Stewart, Alan, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
 — Alan, makes war in Galloway, vi. 187.
 — Alexander, son of the Earl of Buchan, marries the heiress of Mar, v. 251; vi. 404.
 — Andrew, knighted at Liège, vi. 432.
 — David, made Duke of Rothesay, vi. 384.
 — James, made warden, v. 157.
 — James, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
 — John, killed at Falkirk, v. 317.
 — John, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
 — Morthow, son of the Duke of Albany, defeated at Homildon, vi. 401.
 — Robert, his lands given away by E. Balliol, vi. 25; comes from Rothesay to Dumbarton, 27; his lands seized by David, Earl of Atholl, 39; obtains the help of Dougal Campbell, 41; gets possession of lower Clydesdale, 45; made a warden, 47, 101; besieges and takes Perth, 125-133; besieges and takes St Andrews, 133-137; intercedes for William Douglas, 169; at the battle of Durham, 181; escapes, 186; chosen warden again,

- 189; strengthens Berwick, 203.
See further under Robert II.
- Stewart, Robert (of Durisdeer?), goes to Ireland with William Douglas, vi. 323; killed at Shrewsbury, vi. 408.
- Thomas, bishop-elect of St Andrews, vi. 395, 398.
- Walter Alanson, Steward, v. 89, 95.
- Walter, granted part and title of the earldom of Menteith, v. 139.
- Walter, marries Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce and Isabel, v. 255.
- Walter, Earl of Atholl and Caithness, when the Chronicle was written, v. 253.
- William, of Teviotdale, executed as traitor after Homildon, vi. 402.
- taken prisoner by Robert Ogle, vi. 165.
- Stirling, iv. 383, 387; v. 129, 241, 293, 309, 349, 353, 377; vi. 79, 93, 133, 265.
- Stirling (Streuelyne), John of, besieges Lochleven Castle, vi. 29-37; keeper of Edinburgh Castle, 79; taken prisoner by William Douglas, 117.
- John of, killed at the siege of Perth, vi. 129.
- Stokfurde, in Ross, iv. 371.
- Stormonde, the, vi. 372.
- Stramyanis, the Garmani, ii. 59.
- Strathalan, Hed killed there, iv. 181.
- Strathbolgy (Strabolgyn), iv. 305; v. 293.
- Strathern (Straythern), iv. 75.
- Malice, Earl of, marries the second daughter of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, v. 237.
- Malice (II.), Earl of, v. 237.
- Earl of. *See* Moris of Moray.
- men of, at the coronation of E. Balliol, v. 421.
- Suard, Richard, v. 239; captain of Dunbar Castle, 289.
- Sunder Sand, Sunderland, vi. 181.
- Surry, Syria, ii. 31, 77, 79; iii. 175, 263, 267, 301.
- Susane, The Pistil of Suet*, iv. 23.
- Sutherland, v. 87.
- John, Earl of, son of [William], v. 257.
- Kennawche, Earl of, killed at Halidon Hill, vi. 13.
- [William], Earl of, marries Margaret, daughter of Robert I., v. 257; vi. 185.
- Sutherland, John of, knighted at Liège, vi. 431.
- son of Earl of, dies in England of the plague, vi. 249.
- Suyche, Lord of, marries a daughter of Roger de Quincy, v. 247.
- Swanus, Swayne, chief of the Danes, iv. 253, 255.
- Sward, Lord of Northumberland, accompanies Malcolm against Macbeth, iv. 297.
- Swawyne, Suabia, ii. 101; iv. 153.
- Sweet Heart Abbey, v. 263.
- Swetherik, Sweden, iv. 21, 269, 311.
- Sweys, iv. 21.
- Swynburne, entrusted with the keeping of Richard II., vi. 390.
- Sydon, Pisidia, ii. 91.
- Symmachus, pope, iv. 39, 41.
- Symeon, Jacob's son, ii. 173.
- Symon Brek, ii. 213, 345, 349; iii. 84.
- Sympronius, Sempronius, consul, iii. 111-115.
- Syn, ii. 349.
- Synay, ii. 77, 187.
- Synope, ii. 255.
- Synreta, ii. 213.
- Syrapis, Serapis, ii. 163.
- Syria. *See* Surry.
- Syricius, pope, iii. 467, 495.
- Sysara, ii. 277, 279.
- Taber, hill of, ii. 79.
- Tabil Rounde, Arthur's Round Table, iv. 25.
- Tabrobane, island of, ii. 55.
- Tacitus (Tatikus), emperor, iii. 387.
- Tadcaster, vi. 410.
- Talarg, king of the Picts, iii. 461.
- Talarg-Makmordely, king of the Picts, iii. 497.
- Talargan, king of the Picts, iv. 91.
- Talbot, Richard, follower of E. Balliol, v. 399; abandons him, vi. 23; taken in Lothian, 25; taken again, 85; jousts at Berwick, 111, 115.
- Taljeour, Donald, killed at Roxburgh fair, vi. 268.
- Tanais, river, ii. 99.
- Tantalus, ii. 219.
- Taram, king of the Picts, iii. 219.
- Tarbert, vi. 53.
- Tare, Thare, father of Abraham, ii. 139, 155.
- Tarentines. *See* Carentynys.
- Tarmis, Thamyris *or* Tomyris, queen of Scythia, iii. 39.

- Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome, iii. 13.
 Tarquinius the Proud, king of Rome, iii. 15-19.
 Tarsus, ii. 91; iii. 319.
 Tatikus. See Tacitus.
 Taurus, ii. 91.
 Tay, river, iv. 169, 299, 369; v. 79, 405; vi. 127, 367.
 Tees (Teyse), river, iv. 401.
 Telchises, Telcheis, ii. 165.
 Telephorus, pope, iii. 309, 315.
 Temaht, ii. 213.
 Tenawnt, Tennantius, king of the Britons, iii. 219.
 Tenelayus, king of Argos, ii. 215.
 Tereus, ii. 217.
 Teyse. See Tees.
 Teviotdale (Tewydale), vi. 137, 163, 187, 195, 405.
 Thames (Themys), river, iv. 381.
 Thebany, the Thebans in Greece, ii. 105, 221.
 Thebey, the Thebans in Egypt, ii. 105.
 Thebis, Thebes in Egypt, ii. 83, 103, 105.
 Thebis, Thebes in Greece, ii. 105.
 Themistocles, iii. 67-75.
 Theodark, king of the Goths, iv. 31.
 Theodora, empress, iv. 53.
 Theodoric, king of the Goths, iv. 31, 33, 41, 43.
 Theodorus (Theoderik), pope, iv. 115.
 Theodosius, emperor, iii. 471-495.
 Theodosius, the younger, emperor, iv. 5-11, 17, 19.
 Theodosius III., emperor, iv. 119.
 Theophilus, legend of, iv. 47-53.
 Theseus (Tesis), ii. 257.
 Thessalians (Tessalyis), ii. 233.
 Thessalonica (Tessalonyk, Tessaly), ii. 105; iii. 471.
 Thessaly, ii. 105, 177.
 "Thirty," combat of the, vi. 209-221.
 Tholome. See Ptolemy.
 Thomas, Saint, of Canterbury, iv. 261, 379, 419, 429; Arbroath dedicated to him, v. 43.
 Thomas, bishop of Galloway, vi. 367.
 Thomasson, John, keeper of Loch Doon peel, vi. 19.
 Thracia (Tracia), ii. 103, 163.
 Thril Wal, the Roman wall, iii. 443.
 Thule (Tyle), ii. 115.
 Thuringia (Twringe), ii. 101; iv. 153, 155.
 Thyatira (Tyatera), ii. 91.
 Tiber, the, ii. 261, 319, 341; iii. 13, 19, 109, 213.
 Tiberius, king of the Latins, ii. 319.
 Tiberius, Tiber, emperor, iii. 185, 229-237; iv. 93.
 Tiberius, *wrong for* Theodosius III., iv. 119.
 Tigris (Tigir), the river, ii. 23, 73, 75.
 Timothy (Tymotheum), iii. 3.
 Tin Plate, an inn in Paris, vi. 422.
 Titus, emperor, iii. 269-273, 275, 407.
 Titus Livius, ii. 319.
 Toom Tabard, nickname of John Balliol, v. 295.
 Totila, king of the Goths, iv. 63, 65.
 Toulouse, iv. 423.
 Tours (Turon), iv. 423.
 Towris, John de, killed at Otterburn, vi. 337.
 — William of the, at the Berwick jousting, vi. 107; first at the attack on Berwick, 201.
 Tove, ii. 115.
 Traen, Trahern, uncle of Helen, iii. 429, 431.
 Trail, Walter, bishop of St Andrews, his tomb, v. 381; vi. 309; gives ornaments to the Cathedral, 311; at the coronation of Robert II., 366; goes to France as envoy, 368; at Hawdenstank, 379; his death, 395.
 Trajan, emperor, iii. 287-295, 301, 407; his soul redeemed by Saint Gregory, iv. 99.
 Trent, river, iv. 381; vi. 179.
 Treere, ii. 349.
 Treves (Trewir), iii. 167, 439; iv. 149.
 Tribuny, the Tribunes created, iii. 91.
 Triduane, Saint, iv. 123.
 Trinity Church at Berwick, v. 214.
 Tripoli (Tripil), ii. 95.
 Triptolemus (Trycolomus), ii. 175.
 Troglodites (Trogeditis), ii. 97.
 Trojans, the, ii. 5.
 Troy, ii. 89, 107, 221, 257, 259-265, 271, 305, 307.
 Troynewant, New Troy, London, ii. 311.
 Troyus, founder of Troy, ii. 89, 305.
 Tubalcain, ii. 31.
 Tullius (Tullus) Hostilius, king of Rome, ii. 11.
 Tullius, Cicero, quoted, iii. 3.
 Tulybardy, one of the Morays of, v. 417.

- Tulybardy, Andrew of, v. 427.
 Tulybothy, Tullibody, iv. 83.
 Tulycultry, Tillicoultry, iv. 83.
 Turgot, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 355.
 Turkey, ii. 89, 305.
 Turnbull, James, killed at Norham, vi. 209.
 Turnus, ii. 263; iv. 243.
 Turon. See Tours.
 Tuscany (Tuskan), ii. 107, 263; iii. 91, 115, 265; iv. 163.
 Tuskany, the Tuscans, iii. 19.
 Twalda, bishop of St Andrews, iv. 319.
 Tweed, river, iv. 401; v. 211; vi. 275.
 Tweeddale, vi. 187.
 Tweedmouth Castle, v. 63.
 Twringe. See Thuringia.
 Tyatera. See Thyatira.
 Tygernek, ii. 213.
 Tyle. See Thule.
 Tyne, river, iv. 347.
 Tynedale, v. 233.
 Tyras, ii. 103.
 Tyre, ii. 77; iii. 169, 319.
 Tytyws, ii. 137.
 Uchtred (Witherithe, Vchterrede), keeper of Perth, vi. 79; surrenders it, 131.
 Ulster, Aymer, Earl of, his daughter married to Robert I., v. 255.
 Umfraville, Gilbert of, Earl of Angus and of Riddesdale, v. 237.
 — Robert of, son of Gilbert, v. 237.
 University transferred from Rome to Paris, iv. 147.
 Upsetlington, v. 211.
 Urbanus, pope, iii. 339.
 Urquhart Castle (Wrqwharde), vi. 19.
 Usnemoer, ii. 349.
 Uter Pendragon, iv. 17.
 Valens (Galens, Walens), emperor, iii. 465, 469.
 Valentinian (Walentyntyane), emperor, iii. 463, 465, 469, 471; iv. 11.
 Valentinus, emperor, iv. 17.
 Valerian, pope, *a mistake for Valentine*, iv. 161.
 Valerian, emperor, iii. 375, 379.
 Valerian, husband of Saint Cecilia, iii. 339.
 Valerius. See Galerius.
 Valerius Maximus, quoted, vi. 386.
 Varro. See Publius.
 Vaux. See Dalis.
Venerabilem Decretal, iv. 139.
 Venice (Venes), ii. 265.
 Venus, ii. 125.
 Verona, iii. 367.
 Vespasian, emperor, iii. 245, 263, 267-271, 275, 407.
 Vesta, the goddess, iii. 421.
 Vicellus. See Vitellius.
 Victor, pope, iii. 333.
 Vienne (Wyen), John of, admiral of France, lands at Leith, vi. 301; rides on the Marches, 303; declines to assail Roxburgh, 305; dies fighting against the Saracens, 378.
 Vienne (Wyen), iii. 235; iv. 27.
 Vigilius, pope, iv. 47, 53, 55, 63.
 Vincent, Saint, iii. 377, 379.
 Vincent of Beauvais, iii. 355, 391; iv. 23.
 Virgil, ii. 3; iii. 189.
 Vitalian, pope, iv. 119.
 Vitellius (Vicellus), emperor, iii. 263.
 Volusianus, emperor, iii. 373.
 Vulcan, the devil, iv. 45.
 Vynartie, Benartie, ii. 9.
 Wales, ii. 309; conquered by King John, v. 59; by Edward I., 131, 169; vi. 5.
 — Prince of, gains the battle of Poitiers, vi. 227.
 Waltheof (Waldewe), saint, son of David I., iv. 403.
 Wallace, William, v. 241, 299; at Lanark, 301-305; made leader, 307; besieges Dundee, 309; at Stirling Bridge, 309; at Falkirk, 315; gives up the guardianship, 319; goes to France and is called back, 318; stands against Edward I., 351; his death, 371.
 Walter (Gawter), archdeacon of York, v. 77.
 Wardlaw, Henry, Cardinal, at the funeral of William Laundells, vi. 307; becomes bishop of St Andrews, 400, 401; receives the Earl of Northumberland in his castle, 409.
 Warrene (Warwyne), Earl of, iv. 393.
 Warwick, Earl of, vi. 423.
 Waterton, keeper of Richard II. at Pontefract, vi. 390.
 Waus, Rolland, slain by William Douglas, vi. 121.
 Waymyrlande, v. 9.
 Wedale, black priest of, iv. 305.
 Wednesday, origin of, iv. 309.

- Wegentis, the Veientes, inhabitants of Veii, iii. 89.
- Wells, Lord of the, vanquished by David de Lindsay in a tournament, vi. 359-362.
- Wemyss, Sir David, sent to Norway, v. 161.
- David of, at the siege of Lochleven, vi. 29.
- John the, ii. 7.
- Michael of, at the siege of Lochleven, vi. 29.
- The, Thomas, Earl of Moray, dies there, v. 401.
- Wenys, Venusium, iii. 119.
- Werk Castle, v. 117; vi. 303.
- Wersozes, ii. 243-245.
- Wertogerne. See Wortigern.
- West Mynstere, iv. 315, 347.
- Whitby (Qwhitby), abbey founded, iv. 347.
- Widen, Guiderius, son of Kymbelinus, iii. 241, 243.
- Wiggys, ii. 211.
- Wight (Withe), Isle of, ii. 113.
- Wigton, Earl of, prisoner at Durham, vi. 185.
- Wigton, Friars at, v. 263, 389.
- Willers, Gilmyn de, yields Bothwell Castle, vi. 93.
- William, Bastard, William I. of England, slays Harald, iv. 317; his reign, 333-337; oppresses his subjects, 343; comes to Scotland, 347, 367, 401; v. 229.
- William Rufus (the Rede), king of England, iv. 337, 339, 347, 353; his death, 357, 367; v. 229.
- William the Lion, king of Scotland, son of Henry of Huntingdon, iv. 393; obtains Northumberland after his father's death, 407; king, v. 3; accompanies Henry II. to France, 3; invades England, 9; taken at Alnwick, 11; sent to Falaise, 11; released, 13; interferes in the election of the bishop of St Andrews, 21-27; receives a golden rose from the Pope, 29; earldom of Huntingdon restored to him, 29; his marriage, 29; treaty with Richard I., 35-39; renews his money, 41; his death, 59; his dealings with King John, 61-65; v. 193, 227, 229; gives lands in Tynedale to William Comyn, 233, 241, 243.
- William, son of Henry I., drowned (in the White Ship), iv. 383.
- William Long Sword, 'Earl' of Flanders, son of Robert Curthose, iv. 395.
- William, bishop of St Andrews, v. 77.
- William, bishop of Glasgow, v. 119.
- William, archbishop of York, poisoned, iv. 421.
- William, archdeacon of Lothian, v. 323.
- Winchester, iv. 313; v. 71.
- Windsor, v. 29.
- Wipont (Wippunde), Alan of, captain of Lochleven Castle, vi. 19, 31.
- Wischart, William, bishop of St Andrews, v. 125; builds a large part of the church, 127; dies, 129.
- [Wishart] Robert, bishop of Glasgow, warden, v. 157; his speech to Edward I., 213; favours the Bruce, 291.
- Wisman (Wysman), Steven, killed before Bothwell, vi. 93.
- Wissil, the Vistula, iii. 185.
- Withe. See Wight.
- Witherithe. See Uchtred.
- Wlen, Ulum? iv. 191.
- Wngary. See Hungary.
- Woden, ii. 137, 211; iv. 307, 309.
- Wollar, Thomas of, lieutenant of E. Balliol in Bute, vi. 27.
- Wolster, Thomas, Earl of, slain at Shrewsbury, vi. 408.
- Wolwis Crag, vi. 37.
- Wordegel, king of the Picts, iii. 307.
- Wordofotha, iv. 177.
- Wortigern (Wertogerne), iv. 17.
- Wyck, v. 351.
- Wy Laterane, "Via Laterana," iv. 213.
- Wyen. See Vienne.
- Wyen, *a mistake for* Ravenna, iv. 33.
- Wynton, Winchester, iv. 313.
- Wynton, Alan of, war of, vi. 191; dies in the Holy Land, 193.
- Ingram of, vi. 251.
- William of, vi. 193.
- Margaret of, vi. 193.
- Wyntoun, Andrew of, ii. 9; v. 367.
- Wypopenet, king of the Picts, iii. 377.
- Xerxes (Cerses), son of Darius, iii. 55-83.
- Y. See also under I.
- Ybery. See Iberia.
- Ycari. See Icarus.
- Ycolmkyl, ii. 347; iv. 77, 175, 177, 181, 183, 187, 191, 193, 307.

- Ylion. See Ilion.
 Ylus. See Ilus.
 Ynchkeyth. See Inchkeith.
 Ynch Murtho. See Inchmurthew.
 Yonas, Yonyis. See Ionians.
 York, ii. 313; iii. 337; iv. 313, 347,
 359, 377; Church of Scotland to
 be submitted to York, v. 15, 115;
 vi. 329, 403, 410.
 — Archbishop of, absolves Alex-
 ander II., v. 77.
 — Archbishop of, at the battle of
 Durham, vi. 179.
 Ypolites, an Amazon, ii. 257.
- Yppocentauris, Hippocentaurs, ii.
 233.
 Yppyn. See Hippone.
 Ysaak. See Isaac.
 Ysai. See Isaiah.
 Ysawria. See Isauria.
 Ysmalitis. See Ishmaelites.
 Ytaly. See Italy.
- 3achary, pope, iv. 135, 157.
 3eno, emperor, iv. 19, 29, 31, 35.
 3epherinus, pope, iii. 337.
 3orastas, 3orastes, ii. 75, 147.
 3o3imus (3o3ynys), pope, iv. 5, 9.

THE END.



