The Bruce;
or,
The Book of the most excellent and noble prince
Robert de Broyss, King of Scots.
The Bruce;

or,

The Book of the most excellent and noble prince,

Robert de Brouss, King of Scots:

compiled by

Master John Barbour,

Archdeacon of Aberdeen,

A.D. 1375.

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PREFACE, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIAL INDEX,

BY THE

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"O who may tell the sons of fame
That at King Robert's bidding came
To battle for the right!"

Lord of the Isles, vi. 5.

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Book IV. (A.D. 1306, 1307.) Robert, bishop of Glasgow, is imprisoned. Setoun is betrayed by Macnab, and hung. The queen of Scotland and her daughter Margery leave Kildrummy, and take sanctuary at Tain; but are delivered up to the English and imprisoned. Edward sends his son, Prince Edward of Wales, to besiege Kildrummy castle, which is held by Sir Neill Bruce. A traitor named Osbarn fires the castle, which is taken, and the defenders are imprisoned. Edward advances with an army against Scotland, but dies in Northumberland, in a town called Burgh-in-the-Sand, fulfilling the prophecy that he should die in a borough, which he thought must mean the city of Jerusalem. Remarks on the juggling answers given by fiends to those who enquire of them; especially in the case of the prophecy made to the mother of Earl Ferrand of Flanders. The prisoners taken at Kildrummy are brought before Edward, who condemns them to death in his dying moments. James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd go to Arran, and take Brodic castle from the English. The king lands in Arran, and Douglas recognises the sound of the blast of his horn. Their joyful meeting. The king sends a spy, named Cuthbert, to Carrick, who is to make a fire on Turnberry nook when it is safe for him and his men to land there. Carrick was then held by Sir Henry Percy, and Cuthbert determines not to light the fire. Nevertheless, the king and his men believe they see the signal, and prepare to embark. The king's hostess tells him his fortune, that he must go through great peril. Discussion of astrology and necromancy. (775 lines; 774 lines in P.)

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and they enter the town noiselessly, slaying all their foes without mercy, except one Macdowell and the garrison of the castle. The king finds secret friends in Carrick, and learns about the imprisonment of the queen and the death of Setoun. Sir Henry Percy escapes to England. Douglas takes leave of the king, and determines to recover his lands. He repairs to Douglasdale, and finds Tom Dickson, an old servant, who secretly collects a small host. They agree to attack the English on Palm Sunday, when the cry of ‘Douglas’ is raised. The cry is raised somewhat too soon, and Dickson is slain; but Douglas and the rest attack the English, who are in the church, and who are all taken or slain. Douglas goes to the castle, and despoils it. He puts all the victuals that his men cannot carry away, mixed with wheat, flour, meal, and malt, in the wine-cellar, slays the prisoners there, and broaches the wine. This was called ‘the Douglas’ larder.’ He then retires, and his men disperse. The castle is rebuilt by Clifford, and held by Thirlwall. Sir Ingraham Bell bribes a one-eyed man to slay the king; but Bruce is warned of treachery. The man and his two sons endeavour to surprise the king, when accompanied only by a page. Bruce slays the three traitors, and escapes unharmed. (658 lines; 656 lines in P.) . 105

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Book X. (a.d. 1308—1313). John of Lorn tries to surprise Bruce in the pass below Ben Cruachan; but, with the help of Douglas, he defeats his assailants. Bruce takes the castle of Dunstaffnage, and makes peace with Alexander, Lord of Argyle. He goes to Perth. The castle of Linlithgow, held by the English, was taken on this wise. One Bunnock, a farmer, took a wain of hay, with 8 men hid within it, to the castle, and at the same time set men in ambush. When the wain is half-way through the castle-gate, he gives a signal, and slays the porter; and the 8 men and the men in ambush seize the castle. Bruce makes Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, and wins him over to his side. Sir Thomas Randolph endeavours to seize Edinburgh castle, then held for king Edward II. by Sir Piers Lumbard. Meanwhile Douglas attempts to win the castle of Roxburgh, with the help of Sim of the Ledows. The castle is at last taken and destroyed. Sir Thomas Randolph, with the help of William "Frances as guide, scales the cliff beneath Edinburgh castle, with 30 men, who surprise the garrison in the night. Daring conduct of Alexander at the siege of Tyre. The taking of Edinburgh castle foretold by saint Margaret. Sir Edward Bruce takes Dundee, and besieges Stirling, which is to be given up if not relieved within a year. (830 lines; 825 in P.)
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Book XVIII. (a.d. 1318; 1322). Sir Edward Bruce rashly resolves to attack a superior force under Sir Richard Clare. His Irish allies withdraw. Sir Edward's armour is worn by Gib Harper. Sir Edward Bruce, Sir John Stewart, and Sir John de Soulis are all slain. John Thomasson, leader of the men of Carrick, takes refuge with an Irish king, and helps Sir Philip Mowbray to escape to Carrickfergus. Gib Harper's head is sent to England, in the belief that it is that of Sir Edward Bruce. The Scotch retreat to Carrickfergus, and finally to Scotland. Edward II. invades Scotland again, and reaches Edinburgh. They send out foragers, who find only one cow. Earl Warren says it is very dear beef. The English retreat, are surprised by Douglas, and flee. King Robert pursues the English to Byland, where they occupy a hill. Advance of the Scotch and defeat of the English. Sir John Breton and two French knights are taken prisoners. King Edward flees southwards, and the English are chased as far as York. Sir John Breton is ransomed, but the two French knights are set free without ransom. Great rejoicing of the Scotch, who take much spoil. (569 lines; 568 lines in P.)

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PREFACE.

MEMOIR OF JOHN BARBOUR.

That the name of the author of The Bruce was John Barbour, who was Archdeacon of Aberdeen in the reigns of David II. and Robert II. of Scotland, rests on the express and indubitable evidence of Wyntoun. The passages from this author which testify to this fact are quoted below; pp. xxxv—xxxvii.

The author's name being thus ascertained, we are enabled, by help of various records and charters, to obtain certain particulars concerning him which, though somewhat meagre, are at any rate undoubted. These particulars are, upon the whole, nearly sufficient; the chief defect in them being that it is impossible to fix precisely the date of his birth.

The best accounts of Barbour seem to me to be that in Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, which may also be found (with the signature D. I., for David Irving) in the Encyclopædia Britannica; and that by Mr. John Small in the ninth edition of the same Encyclopædia. The prefaces to the editions of The Bruce by Jamieson and Innes are also excellent; and it is chiefly by help of these four accounts that the present memoir has been compiled.

The only improvements that have suggested themselves to me are the following. I find that in none of these accounts is there a complete list of all the records of Barbour; and, what is still more remarkable, in none of them is a strict chronological order observed. It has, accordingly, appeared to me desirable to
aim at a certain degree of completeness, and to obviate all confusion of dates, by first producing an exact list of authorities in their true order, leaving all comments as to the results to be obtained from them to be discussed afterwards.

The following is, accordingly, a collection of the data from which a memoir of Barbour must be constructed. The chief sources of information are Rymer's Foedera, Rotuli Scotiae, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (ed. C. Innes, Edinb. 1845, 4to., for the Spalding Club), and the Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland; all of which are of unimpeachable authority. A few notices are omitted which are mere duplicates of those here recited.


Sciat quod ad supplicationem David de Bruys susceprimus Johannaem Barber, archidiaconum de Abredene, veniendo cum tribus scolaribus in comitiva sua in regnum nostrum Anglice, causa studendi in universitate Oxonia & ibidem actus scholastics exercendo, morando, & exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo, in protectionem & defensionem nostram, necon in salvm & securum conductum nostrum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eadem archidiacono, &c. In eius, &c. per annum annum duraturas. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xiiij. die Augusti. Per ipsum regem."

Rymer's Foedera (1825), iii. pt. i. 364; Rotuli Scotiae, i. 808.

2. 1357, Sept. 13.—Deed of Alexander, "episcopus Aberdonensis," dated at Fetherin [Aberdeenshire], in our diocese, Sept. 13, 1357. Begins :—"Noveritis quod nos facimus, constituimus, ac etiam ordinamus, per presentes, reverendum in Xto patrem & dominum, dominum P. Dei gratia Brechinensem episcopum, ac venerabiles & discretos viros, magistrum David de Mar, domini nostri Pape capellanum, canonicum, & dominum Johanne archidiaconum nostrae ecclesiae Aberdonensis, nostros procuratores
generales," &c. [to deliberate at Edinburgh, with a view to the ransom of David II. of Scotland, then a prisoner in England.]

Rymer's Fœdæra, vol. iii. pt. i. 369.

3. 1364, Nov. 4.—[Salvi conductus pro quibus clericis Scoticis in Angliâ causa studendi moraturis.]

Amongst the names of those to whom the safe-conducts are granted is that of "Johannes Barber archidiaconus Aberdonensis cum quatuor equitibus."

Rotuli Scotiæ, i. 886.

4. 1365, Oct. 16.—[Salvi conductus pro quibusdam Scotis peregre profecturis.]

A safe conduct for one year is granted to Sir Archibald Douglas.

At the same time, other safe conducts are granted; amongst the names we find—"Johannes Barbere archidiaconus Aberdonensis cum sex sociis suis equitibus usque Sanctum Dionisium."

Rymer's Fœdæra, iii. pt. 2. 776; Rotuli Scotiæ, i. 897.

5. 1368, Nov. 30. . . "Magister Johannes Barber de Scotia clericus habet literas Regis de conductu veniendi cum duobus vallettis & duobus equis per regnum Regis Anglice & alibi per dominium & potestatem Regis tam per terram quam per mare, ibidem morando, ac exinde versus partes Francie causa studendi transeundo, & exinde in Scotiam redeundo, per annum annum duraturas. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxx. die Novembris. Per consilium."

Rotuli Scotiæ, i. 926.

6. 1372, Feb. 7.—"Compotum balliunorum de Hadyngtoun, redditum apud Perth [date], coram venerabilibus et discretis viris, ac nobilibus, domino Johanne de Carryk, canonico Glasguensi, cancellario Scocie . . . Johanne Barber, archidiacono Aberdonensi, clericio probacionis [domus domini nostri regis]," &c.

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ii. 385.

7. 1373, Feb. 18.—"Compotum domini Walteri de Byger, rectoris ecclesie de Erole, camerarii Scocie, redditum apud Perth [date] coram venerabilibus et discretis viris . . . Johanne Barber, archidiacono Abirdonensi, clericio probacionis domus domini
nondis regis, . . . compotorum auditoribus ad hoc specialiter deputatis," &c.

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ii. 428¹; also in
The Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, Edin. 1817; ii. 19.

8. 1376, Aug. 20.—Barbour subscribes his name to a "Confirmatio episcopi [de Aberdene] super petia terre."

Registrum episc. Aberdonensis, i. 195.

9. 1377, March 14.—"Compotum . . custumariorum burgi de Abirdene, redditum apud Dunde [date], de omnibus receptis et expensis per custumam dicti burgi, a quinto die Februrii, anno, &c. vsque in diem huius compoti [i. e. from Feb. 5, 1376, to March 14, 1377.] . . . Expense eorundem . . . Et domino archidiacono Abirdonensi, de mandato regis, per literam ostensam, super compotum, x. li."

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ii. 565.

10. 1378, August 29.—"Preceptum super pensione de firmis burgi de Aberdein Johanni Barber per regem concessa.

Robertus Dei gratia, rex Scotorum, omnibus . . salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus dilecto clerico nostro Johanni Barber archidiacono Aberdonensi viginti solidos sterlingorum de firmis nostris burgi de Aberden annuatim, percipiendos ad festum beati Martini in yeme [Nov. 11], habendos et percipiendos dicto Johanni et assignatis suis quibuscunque imperpetuum . . . concessimus insuper eidem Johanni quod ipsos viginti solidos annuos dare possit et assignare ad manum mortuam cuicunque pro loco vel personis quibuscunque, pro salute anime sue . . . Apud Kyndrocht in Marre vicesimo nono die mensis Augusti anno regni nostro octavo."

Registrum episc. Aberdonensis, i. 120.

11. 1379, February 12; at Aberdeen.—"Compotum . . . ballivorum burgi de Aberden, &c. Expense eorundem . . . Et domino Johanni Barber, archidiacono Aberdonensi, percipienti per cartam hereditarie, pro se et quibuscunque assignatis suis,

¹ The editor also refers us to p. 469. This is a mistake. The person there mentioned is David Bell, archdeacon of Dunblane.
eciam ad manum mortuam, viginti solidos de firmis dicti burgi per annum, ut patet per literas dicti archidiaconi de recepto, ostensas super compotum, xx. s."

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 25.

12. 1379, March 31.—“Compotum balliuorum burgi de Abreden, &c. . . de omnibus receptis suis et expensis de firmis et exitibus dicti burgi, &c.

. . . Et domino Johanni Barber, archidiacono Aberdonensi, percipienti per cartam hereditarie, pro se et quibuscunque assignatis suis, eciam ad manum mortuam, viginti solidos de firmis dicti burgi per annum, que quidem carta ostensa fuit super compotum, vt patet per literas dicti archidiaconi, de recepto eciam ostensas super compotum, xx s.”

The same; ii. 597.

13. 1380, June 24.—“Concessio eiusdem pensionis per J. Barber ecclesia cathedrali Aberdonensi.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentes literas visuris vel audituris Johannes dictus Barber archidiaconus Aberdonensis salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit vniuersitas vestra quod ego conscientia ductus, et pro salute anime mee, parentum meorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confermai Deo et beate Marie et ecclesia cathedrali Aberdonensi illam annuam pensionem viginti solidorum quam excellentissinus princeps dominus Robertus secundus, Rex Scotorum illustris, mihi dedit, concessit, et carta sua confermauit de firmis burgi sui de Aberden, cum licentia et autoritate mortificandi, et in manum mortuam ponendi, pro libito mee voluntatis imperpetuum in forma que sequitur, et est talis, viz. quod venerables viri et discreti dominus decanus [ecclesie] Aberdonensis et canonici eiusdem, qui pro tempore fuerint, necnon et capellani ac alij ministri in dicta ecclesia officiantes annuatim, imperpetuum, a die consecutionis presentium, celebrabunt solempniter in anno semel, videlicet feria tertia post dominicam qua cantatur quasi modo geniti annuersarium meum pro anima mea, parentum meorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum superius vt est tactum ; et quilibet canonicus qui interfuerit vigiliis et misse
habebit in duplo plusquam capellanus, et quilibet capellanus plus
in duplo quam diaconus vel subdiaconus, qui in portione per-
cipienda erunt equales; deductis de totali summa duodecim
denariis qui distribuentur inter sacristas pulsantes campanas in
vigiliis et in missa; et quilibet capellanus tunc extra officium
celebrandi existens habebit die anniversarij mei missam celebrare
pro anima mea, parentum meorum, et omnium fidelium defunc-
torum, pro eadem missam vel coram Deo in extremo examine
respondere; et volo et concedo quod decanus qui pro tempore
fuerit vel eius locumtenens dictam summam pecunie petat et
recipiat a ballivis dicti burgi qui pro tempore fuerint annuatim, et
[per] censuram ecclesiasticam compellere faciat, si ncessesse fuerit
pro eadem: et quod decanus vel eius locumtenens prefatum pecunie
summam diuidat et distribuat inter canonicos, capellanos, et
ministros supradictos pro rata portiones, vt est superius ordinatum.
In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui et
ad maiorem huius rei evidenciam sigillum reuerendi in Christo
patris domini Alexandri Dei gratia episcopi Aberdonensis apponi
procuraui. Datum apud Rane die dominica in festo beati Johannis
Baptiste anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo octuagesimo.”

Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, i. 130.

14. 1381, March 5 ; at Perth.—“Compotum ballivorum burgi
de Aberdien,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barber, £1 ; as on Feb. 12,
1379.] Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 76.

15. 1382, Feb. 6 ; at Perth.—“Compotum Johannis de
Caernys, &c. . . . dominis Johanne Barbour, archidiacono Aber-
donensi, &c. . . . auditoribus compotorum, per ipsum dominum
regem specialiter deputatis.” The same ; iii. 84.

16. 1382, Feb. 10 ; at Perth.—“Compotum ballivorum de
Abirden,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barber, £1 ; as before.]
The same ; iii. 101.

17. 1382, Feb. 18 ; at Perth.—“Compotum domini Roberti
comitis de Fyff . . . coram . . . domino Johanne Barbour, archi-
diacono Aberdonensi . . . auditoribus compotorum,” &c.
The same ; iii. 657.
[Among the payments]—"Et archidiacono Abredenensi, consideratis laboribus et expensis suis, vj li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d."

The same; iii. 661.

18. 1382, July 5.—Barbour subscribes to an instrument— "De tenura Reginaldi de Chyne in terris de Clyntre"; and again, on July 31, to another—"De tenura Alexandri de Irvyne in terras de Duhmayok."

Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, i. 142, 143.

19. 1382-3, Feb. 27.—Barbour’s name appears in “Absolutio Johannis de Camera... a sentencia excommunicationis.”

Regist. Episc. Aberd. i. 163.

20. 1383, March 10; at Perth.—“Compotum... coram... domino Johanne Barbier, archidiacono Aberdonensi... comotorum auditoribus,” &c.

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 663.

21. 1384, March 7; at Stirling.—“Compotum... ballivorum burgi de Abirden,” &c.

[Paid to Sir John Barber, £1; as before.]

The same; iii. 125.

22. 1384, March 7; at Stirling.—“Compotum... coram... magistro Johanne Barbier, archidiacono Aberdonensi... comotorum auditoribus per ipsum regem specialiter deputatis.”

The same; iii. 111.

23. 1384, March 18; at Stirling.—“Compotum... coram... magistro Johanne Barbier,” &c. The same; iii. 670.

[Among the expenses]—"Et domino Johanni Barbere. archidiacono Aberdonensi, de dono regis, sub periculo computantis, ipso domino Johanne fatente receptum super computum, x li."

The same; iii. 675.

24. 1386, March 30; at Perth.—“Compotum... custumario burgi de Aberdene. ... Et in solucione archidiacono Aberdonensi, ex dono regis, ut patet per literas archidiaconi de recepto ostendas super computum, camerario faciente fidem de precepto, v. li.”

The same; iii. 136.
25. 1386, March 30; at Perth.—“Compotum ballivorum de Abirdene,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barbier, £1; as before.]

The same; iii. 141.

26. 1386, April 2; at Perth.—“Compotum,” &c. [Among the expenses]—“Et magistro Johanni Barbier, archidiacono Aberdonensi, ex dono regis, ut patet per unam literam regis sub signeto suo ostensam super compotum, et ipsius archidiaconi de recepto ostensam super compotum, vj. li. xiiij. s. iiiij. d.”

The same; iii. 681.

27. 1387, May 13; at Edinburgh.—“Compotum ballivorum burgi de Aberdeene,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barbier, £1; as before.]

The same; iii. 156.

28. 1388, June 17; at Stirling.—“Compotum ballivorum burgi de Aberden,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barbier, £1; as before.]

The same; iii. 185.

29. 1388, Dec. 5.—“Robertus dei gracia rex Scottorum: Omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes litterae pro-venerint, salutem: Sciatis quod concessimus dilecto nostro Johanni Barbier, archidiacono Aberdonensi, pro suo fidelis servitio nobis impenso, decem libras sterlignorum annuatim, percipiendas per manus camerarii nostri qui pro tempore fuerit, de magna custuma burgi nostri de Aberden: Tenendas et habendas ac percipiendas eadem Johanni pro toto tempore vite sue ad duo anni terminos consuetos, Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in yeme, per equales porciones, &c. . . . Data sub testimonio nostri magni sigilli apud Edynburgh, quinto die Decembris, anno regni nostro octodecimo.”

The same; iii. 208.

30. 1389, Feb. 10; at Perth.—“Compotum ballivorum burgi de Aberden,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barbier, £2; from the fermes.]

The same; iii. 217.

31. 1389, Feb. 11; at Perth.—“Compotum . . . custumario-rum burgi de Aberdene, &c.

. . . Et domino Johanni Barbier, archidiacono Aberdonensi, percipienti pro tempore vite decem libras, de dono regis, ut patet per literas regis de precepto et ipsius domini Johannis de recepto ostensas super compotum, x. li.; ad duas scilicet anni terminos,
The same; iii. 208.

32. 1390, Feb. 18; at Perth.—"Comptum . . . custumariorum burgi de Abirden, &c. . . . Et domino Johanni Barbar . . . x. li." [As in 1389, Feb. 11.] The same; iii. 223.

33. 1390, Feb. 20; at Perth.—"Comptum ballivorum burgi de Abyrden," &c. [Paid to Sir John Barber, £1.]

The same; iii. 233.

34. 1391, Mar. 17; at Perth.—"Comptum . . . custumariorum burgi de Aberdene," &c. [Paid to Sir John Barber, £10.]

The same; iii. 251.

35. 1391, March 17; at Perth.—"Comptum ballivorum burgi de Abirdene," &c. . . . [Paid to Sir John Barber, £1.]

The same; iii. 261.

36. 1391, July 5.—Barbour subscribes his name to an agreement "super terra de Lurgyndaspok" between the bishop of Aberdeen and "dominus de Forbes;" and again, on Dec. 21, to an "instrumentum super vna marca de terris de Fothil."

Regist. Episcop. Aberd. i. 188, 189, 190.

37. 1392, Jan. 29; at Perth.—"Comptum . . . custumariorum burgi de Abirdene," &c. . . . [Paid to the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, £10.] Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 299.

38. 1392, Jan. 31; at Perth.—"Comptum ballivorum burgi de Abirdene," &c. [Paid to Sir John Barber, £1.]

The same; iii. 306.

39. 1392, April 24.—Barbour subscribes his name to "Asse dacio terrarum de Byrnes domino Willemo Lange."

Regist. Episcop. Aberd. i. 186.

He again subscribes his name on the Monday after quasi modo geniti, i.e. on the second Monday after Easter, which in 1392 fell on April 14. This gives the date April 22, two days previously to the former. Ibid. i. 194, 195.

40. 1393, March 23; at Perth.—"Comptum ballivorum burgi de Abirden." [Paid to Sir John Barber, £1.]

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 336.
41. 1393, Mar. 25; at Perth.—“Compotum... custumariorum burgi de Abyrden,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barbar, £10; as before.]

The same; iii. 327.

42. [1395, March 13.] In a list of “Obitus,” arranged according to days of the year, we find:

“JOHANNES BARBOUR.

“Secundo Idus Marcij; obitus bone memorie domini Johannis Barbore archidiaconi Aberdonensis, de quo commemoracio de viginti solidis de balliuis de Aberdene, soluendis in festo sancti Martini in yeme [Nov. 11] de firmis burgi de Aberdene annuatim.”

Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii. 201.

[Secundo Idus Marcij ought to mean pridie idus, or March 14, but it clearly means March 13, as that was the day on which Barbour's anniversary was celebrated. See Innes, Pref. to Barbour, vi., and see no. 43 below.]

43. [1395], March 13.—In a list of “anniuersaria mensis Martii,” we find:—“Decimo tertio: anniuersarium pro anima magistri Johannis Barbour olim archidiaconi Aberdonensis, xx. s. de custumis Abirdonensibus, videlicet de ly vatir-malis; qui obiit anno Domini. m. ccc. xc.”

Regist. Episc. Aberd. ii. 211.

44. 1395, April 3; at Perth. (From Mar. 25, 1393, to date.) “Compotum... custumariorum burgi de Abirdene,” &c. [Paid to Sir John Barbar, £10; as before; for the year 1394.]

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 360.

45. 1395, April 5; at Perth.—“Compotum ballivorum burgi de Abirden... [from March 25, 1393, to date]... Et domino Johanni Barbar, archidiacono Aberdonensi, ad presens, ut patet per literas suas de recepto ostensas super compotum, xx. s.” [for 1394.]

The same; iii. 368.

46. 1396, April 25; at Perth. (From April 5, 1395, to date.) “Compotum ballivorum de Abyrden... Et allocate computantibus per solucionem factam decano et capitulo cathedrales ecclesie

1 The editor notes that this is an error for “m.ccc.xe.v.” Perhaps the “v.” could not be read.
MEMOIR OF JOHN BARBOUR.

Aberdonensis, percipientibus annuam pensionem viginti solidorum quam recolende memorie dominus Robertus secundus rex Scotorum dedit, concessit, et carta sua confirmavit quondam domino Johanni Barber, archidiacono Aberdonensi, cum licencia mortificandi et in manum mortuam ponendi imperpetuum de firmis burgi sui de Abirden, sic scilicet quod decanus et canonici Aberdonenses qui pro tempore fuerint, neenon capellani et alii ministri qui pro tempore fuerint in dicta ecclesia officiantes, annuatim imperpetuum celebrabunt solemniter semel in anno, videlicet feria tercia post Dominicam qua cantatur Quasimodo geniti, anniversarium suum, pro anima dicti quondam domini Johannis, parentum suorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, ut patet per cartam suam sub magno sigillo regis Roberti secundi de confirma: cione ostensam super compotum in forma majori, et literas ipsorum decani et capituli de recepto, ostensas super compotum, xx. s."

*The same*; iii. 395.

47. 1397, May 8; at Perth.—"Compotum ballivorum burgi de Abirdene." [Paid to the Chapter, for Anniversary of John Barber, £1; as in 1396.]

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 421.

The same payment made in 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405. See Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iii. 449, 480, 506, 530, 554, 579, 607, 640; Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, ii. 402, 467, 526, 582.

48. 1398, Aug. 10.—"Inquisitio super tertia parte terrarum de Ledyntoschach et Rotmase." [Speaks of a ward, who was heir to a third part (worth 43s. 4d. per annum) of some land 'de Ledyntoschach et Rotmase' in the hands of Alexander de Abercrumby]—"tanquam warda per quondum dominum Johannem Barber archidiaconum Aberdonensem ex libera donatione dicti domini archidiaconi, qui habuit ex donatione domini nostri regis Roberti nuper defuncti [Rob. II. died 1390], sede vacante causa mortis dicti Johannis de Tulydeff, et a tempore mortis dicti domini archidiaconi, scilicet per duos annos cum dimidio et ultra." 1


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1 Really 3 years and 5 months after Barbour's death.
49. 1428, April 30; at Dundee.—"Compotum . . . ballivorum burgi de Aberdene . . . Et decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Aberdonensis, percipientibus annuatim viginti solidos de firmis dicti burgi, ex infeodacione quondam domini regis Roberti secundi ad manum mortuam perpetuam, ut patet in rotulis computorum precedencium, pro anniversario quondam magistri Johannis Barbare, archidiacono Aberdonensis, qui compilavit librum de gestis illustissimi principis quondam domini regis Roberti Bruys, sub periculo computancium, de anno computi, xx. s." Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, iv. 457.

50. Notices of the annual payment of the 20 sh. for Barbour’s anniversary appear regularly and in due order in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vols. iv. v. vi. vii. viii., down to A.D. 1479. Prof. Innes says they continued down to the period of the Reformation.

51. In a catalogue of the books in the Aberdeen cathedral library we find the note:—

"Libri Decretalium absentes.

Item: Decretum perditum per magistrum Johannem Barbour.”

Regist. Episc. Aberd. ii. 133.

52. About 1420.—Wyntoun, in his Cronykil of Scotland, repeatedly attributes the ‘Bruce’ to Barbour. See extracts below; pp. xxxvi, xxxvii. The author of ‘Wallace’ bears like testimony; bk. xi. l. 1213.

Whilst the materials for a memoir of Barbour are thus meagre, they are at the same time certain; and we are enabled to say that many of the conjectures as to his parentage, &c., are wholly baseless. The early historians knew less about him than we do, and had fewer facts to go upon; we must therefore confine ourselves solely to what the records tell us.

The poet’s name is variously spelt Barber, Barbar, Barbier, Barbour, and Barboure. The reason for this is that the French termination -our (Lat. acc. -atorem) had the same agential sense as the English termination -er (A.S. -ere); and the similarity in sound caused them to be confused, though different in origin, not only in this case, but in many others. The Anglo-French words
bouchour, minour, barbour, daubour, foundour, &c., are now spelt butcher, miner, barber, dauber, founder. We may therefore adopt the form Barbour, as being the true old form of the word; and it is also convenient as being that most generally adopted. We may draw the inference that one of the poet's ancestors was by trade a barber; just as one of Chaucer's ancestors was a maker of hose.

It will be observed that Barbour's name is hardly ever mentioned without the addition "archidiaconus Aberdonensis." He was archdeacon of Aberdeen from the time when his name is first mentioned in August, 1357, to the day of his death, being the 13th of March, 1395; i.e. for a period of 38 years.

The year of his birth is not quite certain; but it is safest to date it about 1320, which would make his age at the time of his death to be about 75 years. The year has been guessed by some to be 1326, on no evidence whatever; and, as this seemed to be too late, Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes) subtracted 10 years, thus evolving the date 1316. Both of these are somewhat extreme; for, if we take the date as 1326, we make him to have been already archdeacon at the age of 31 years, which is not very probable; whilst, if, on the other hand, we take the date as 1316, we make him to have lived to the age of 79, and to have been still engaged on 'the Bruce' when he was nearly 60. It is likely that the truth lies between these dates, both of which were merely guessed at; and we may safely assume that the date of 1320 cannot, in any case, be far wrong. We should then make him to have been archdeacon at the age of 37, to have finished 'the Bruce' at the age of 55, or soon afterwards, and to have died at the age of 75. Professor Innes practically adopts this view, in saying that "he was born within a very few years after Bruce's crowning victory at Bannockburn," i.e. after 1314.

On the 13th of August, 1357, he was already archdeacon (as said above); and we find that King Edward III. granted him a safe-conduct (see no. 1 above), to last for the space of a year, to go with three scholars in his company to the university of Oxford for the purposes of study there. The sense of "ibidem
"actus scolasticos excercendo" is not quite clear, as he was already qualified in theology; but it probably refers to his prosecution of theological studies, and he may have wished to take an Oxford degree. At any rate the clause does not refer to the "three scholars," as Pinkerton puts it, because excercendo is not plural.

The Fetherin deed (no. 2) shows that, a month afterwards, the Archbishop of Aberdeen appointed Barbour as one of his commissioners to meet at Edinburgh with a view to arranging for paying to the English a ransom for King David II., then a prisoner in England. As Jamieson well remarks, this appointment was merely complimentary; the bishop could not well omit his own archdeacon, and it was "an appointment meant to be dispensed with on account of his circumstances." In fact, the deed specially contemplates the absence of some of the commissioners, and provides accordingly. Probably Barbour did not really attend it, but set out on his journey to Oxford.

In Nov. 1364, a second safe-conduct (no. 3) was granted to Barbour, with permission to pass through England with four knights, and to study at Oxford or elsewhere.

In Oct. 1365, a safe-conduct (no. 4) was again granted to him by Edward III. to pass through England with six companions, and to go as far as St. Denis, beside Paris.

In Nov. 1368, Edward III. granted him a safe-conduct for one year (no. 5) to travel with two servants and two horses throughout his dominions towards France, for the purpose of study, and to return.

It is interesting to find that Barbour, after he had already been promoted to the archdeaconry, continued his studies with such diligence that he obtained from the King of England four passports for the purpose of studying at Oxford and at Paris, the last of them bearing date eleven years later than the first. His studies were evidently prosecuted for the love of learning, and not with a view to advancement.

In 1372, we find him at Perth (no. 6), appointed as clerk of audit (probacionis) of the king's household.
In 1373, we again find him at Perth (no. 7), both as clerk of audit of the king's household and also one of the auditors of the exchequier. In 1376 or 1377 he received ten pounds by the king's command, probably for his poem of *The Bruce* (no. 9). We again find him acting as one of the auditors of exchequer at Perth in 1382 (no. 15), when he received £6. 13s. 4d. (no. 17). In 1383 he was auditor of exchequer at Perth (no. 20). In 1384 he was auditor of exchequer at Stirling (no. 22); for which he received £10 (no. 23). It will be observed that Barbour was not employed as auditor in 1374 or 1375, while he was engaged upon his poem (see p. 332), nor for some time afterwards.

In a grant dated Aug. 29, 1378 (no. 10), we find that King Robert II. granted to "our beloved clerk John Barber" 20 shillings sterling, to be paid yearly from the fermes¹ of the borough of Aberdeen on Nov. 11. The sum was granted not only to himself but to his heirs and assigns for ever, even though he should assign it in mortmain for the good of his soul. We may suppose that Barbour was especially solicitous for the insertion of the last clause, because, as a matter of fact, he did so assign it very shortly afterwards (no. 13).

As this pension was bestowed very shortly after the completion by the poet of his great poem, it is highly probable that it was conferred upon him on account of it. That it actually was so, is generally accepted or assumed. The actual mention of "the Bruce" in the account for 1428 (no. 49), and in later accounts, fairly bears out this assumption.

This pension was regularly paid by the bailiffs of Aberdeen throughout his lifetime; as appears by the regular mention of it in the accounts (nos. 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 35, 38, 40, 45). After his death, it was regularly paid to the dean and chapter of Aberdeen, to whom he had assigned it (nos. 46, 47, 49, 50). These payments continued certainly till 1479, and probably later.

In June, 1380, Barbour assigned his pension of £1 per annum

¹ Viz. from the water-tolls (*by vatir-malis*); see no. 43.
to the dean and chapter of Aberdeen (no. 13). As this is the most interesting document in the series, I subjoin a translation.

"Grant of the same pension by J. Barber to the cathedral church of Aberdeen.

To all sons of holy mother church who shall see or hear the present writing, John, surnamed Barber, archdeacon of Aberdeen, eternal greeting in the Lord. Be it known to your incorporation that I, at the suggestion of my conscience, and for the good of my soul, and of the souls of my relatives and of all the faithful dead, have given, granted, and by this present deed have confirmed, to God and Saint Mary and the cathedral church of Aberdeen, that annual pension of twenty shillings which the most excellent prince our lord, Robert the Second, illustrious king of Scots, gave, granted, and by charter confirmed to me from the fermes of his borough of Aberdeen, with licence and authority to assign and grant in mortmain, at the disposal of my free will for ever, in the form following, being such, viz. that the venerable and discreet men, the Dean of the church of Aberdeen and the canons of the same for the time being, as well as the chaplains and other ministers officiating in the said church shall yearly, from the day of the making of these presents for ever after, once in every year, viz. on the Wednesday after the Sunday on which Quasi modo geniti \(^1\) is sung, solemnly celebrate my anniversary for my soul, and for the souls of my relatives, and of all the faithful dead as is touched upon above; and every canon who shall be present at the vigils and the mass shall have twice as much as a chaplain, and every chaplain twice as much as a deacon or sub-deacon, who shall each receive an equal portion; twelve pence being deducted from the whole sum, which shall be distributed amongst the sacristans that ring the bell at the vigils and the mass; and every chaplain who is then absent from the office of celebration shall have to celebrate a mass on the day of my anniversary for me, and for my relatives, and for all the faithful dead, as he or they will answer before God in the last judgment.

\(^1\) Quasi modo geniti (1 Pet. ii. 2), introit and name of the 1st Sunday after Easter.
And I will and grant that the Dean for the time being or his deputy shall ask and receive from the bailiffs of the said borough for the time being the said sum of money every year, and shall compel them to pay, if it be necessary, under ecclesiastical censure; and that the Dean or his deputy shall divide the aforesaid sum of money, and distribute among the canons, chaplains, and ministers aforesaid, the proportional shares, as is above ordained. In witness of which thing I have affixed my seal to these presents, and for the greater confirmation of this deed I have procured the seal to be affixed of the reverend father in Christ Sir Alexander, by the grace of God bishop of Aberdeen.¹

Given at Rayne on Sunday, the feast of Saint John the Baptist [June 24], in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty."

In March, 1386, the sum of £5 was given to Barbour "ex dono regis," as a royal gift (no. 24). A second sum of £6. 13s. 4d. was given to him a few weeks afterwards on the 2nd of April (no. 26). No reason is assigned; but see p. xliii, note.

On Dec. 5, 1388, King Robert II. granted by charter to the archdeacon the sum of ten pounds yearly during his life-time, to be paid out of the great customs of Aberdeen. The sum was granted him for his faithful service paid to us—"pro suo fidelis servicio nobis impenso"; and was to be paid half-yearly, at Pentecost and on Nov. 11. The accounts show that this sum was regularly paid for 6 years, viz. for 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, and 1394 (nos. 31, 32, 34, 37, 41, 44). The payments ceased with his death, in 1395.

Barbour's death took place on the 13th of March, 1395. The year is inferred from the cessation of the payments to him, but is most clearly shown by the document no. 46, in which the whole of the annual sum of 20 shillings was paid to the dean and chapter of Aberdeen for the period from April 5, 1395, to April 25, 1396. The days of payment were Whitsunday (May 30), 1395, and Nov. 11, 1395; so that he could not have been alive at

¹ Alexander de Kyninmund, second of that name, who died July 29, 1380, little more than a month afterwards. See Regist. Episc. Aberd. i. p. xxxii.

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the earlier of the two former dates. The day is ascertained from no. 42, where the death of John Barbor is said to be "secundo idus Marciij." This is doubtless a scribal error for "tertio idus"; for there is no such date as "secundo idus" in the calendar. The 14th is "pridie idus," and the preceding day was properly "tertio idus." All doubt is removed by the use of "decimo tertio" in no. 43; and Professor Innes has also noted the fact, that Barbour's death was actually commemorated on the 13th. It may be observed that this commemoration did not, according to this account, take place on the day he had suggested, viz. on the Wednesday after Low Sunday (see p. xxxii), unless his anniversary was celebrated twice, which is hardly credible.

Incidental notices of Barbour occur in a few other ways. In 1382 (July 5), he subscribes his name to an instrument concerning the tenure of some land by Reginald de Chyne; and again (July 31) to a second instrument relating to a tenure by Alexander de Irving (no. 18). In 1383 (Feb. 27), his name is appended to an absolution from a sentence of excommunication (no. 19). In 1391 (July 5), he subscribes an agreement between his bishop and another concerning some land (no. 36).

In 1392, we find his signature twice, once on April 22, and again two days later (no. 39).

From an inquisition concerning some land (no. 48), we learn incidentally that he had a gift from Robert II. of the ward of a minor, which Professor Innes dates in the year 1380-1, and concerning which he makes the following apt remarks. "Besides these pensions [of £1 a year from 1378, and of £10 a year from 1388], and the revenue of his prebend (the whole tithes and dues of the parish of Rayne, in the Garioch), as well as an indefinite but considerable income from his judicial office of Archdeacon, Barbour, in 1380-1, had a gift from the crown of the ward of a minor, whose estate lay within his parish. But this was probably of small emolument, and such grants were often made really for the benefit of the young heir. Nor should it have been mentioned here, but for the curious coincidence that we find Chaucer obtaining from the King of England a similar grant
of the custody and marriage of a minor heir (Edmond Staplegate)\(^1\) five years earlier, which in his case was very lucrative."

Lastly, we learn (from no. 51) that Barbour once lost a Book of Decretals from his cathedral library. For this he has amply atoned by giving the world a poem of his own composition, which most of us would probably prefer to the lost volume.

The above statements comprise all that is really known concerning the life of the poet from historical sources; and all other statements concerning it must necessarily be founded on fiction. The guess that he was born at Aberdeen is certainly probable, but rests on no evidence; whilst the speculations concerning his parentage are all imaginary. Several such speculations are discussed and refuted by Jamieson, and need no further discussion here.

LITERARY WORK OF JOHN BARBOUR.

Concerning Barbour's literary work, we learn something from his own poem of *The Bruce*, and something from his admirer and imitator Wyntoun. It will be convenient to consider here the external testimony of the latter.

Andrew Wyntoun was a Canon regular of the priory of St. Andrews, and subsequently Prior of the monastery of St. Serf's inch in Loch Levin. He was born about A.D. 1350, and died between 1420 and 1430. He wrote a metrical history in the same metre as that employed by Barbour, entitled the *Orygyynale Cronykil of Scotland*, which was finished about 1420, or shortly afterwards. I use the edition by David Laing, published at Edinburgh in 1872-9, in 3 vols. 8vo.

In the course of this work he cites (bk. viii. c. 2 and c. 18) about 280 lines from Barbour's Bruce; and, as the two principal MSS. in which his work is extant, viz. MS. Royal 17 D. 20, and MS. Cotton Nero D. 11 (both in the British Museum), are actually older than either of the extant MSS. of the Bruce, the text given by Wyntoun of these lines is actually superior in some respects to that of the text in the present edition of *The

\(^1\) Printed 'Stapleton'; this is a mere slip of the pen.
**Bruce.** We cannot, however, be quite sure as to the extent to which he modified the language of the MS. which he must have had before him. However this may be, it is obvious that, to complete my edition of *The Bruce*, it is highly desirable to quote the whole of the chapters above-mentioned, viz. chapters 2 and 18 of the 8th Book. I accordingly do so in an Appendix to this Preface. See below, p. lxxxii.

Besides this, Wyntoun refers to Barbour's works repeatedly, and I now proceed to quote, from Laing's edition, these rather numerous allusions.

(a) The following passage refers to the general contents of *The Bruce*.

Quhat that folwyd efft yrwert,
How Robertoure kyng recoveryd his land
That occupyid wyth his fays he fand,
And it restoryd in all fredwme
Qwyty till hys ayris off all threldwme,
Quha that lykis that for to wyt,
To that Buke l tham remyt,
Quhare Maystere Iohn Barbery, off Abbypden
Archeden, as mony has sene,
Hys dedis dytyd mare wertusly
Than I can thynk in all study,
Haldand in all lele suthfastnes,
Set all he wrat noucht his prowes.

Wyntoun; *Chron.* viii. 970.

(b) He next refers to a passage in *The Bruce* which will be found in Book xx. ll. 36—127; pp. 496—9.

A thowsand and thre hwndyre yhere
And awcht and twenty to tha clere,
The Kyng Robertis swne Dawy
In Berwyk weddyt a fayr lady,
Dame Ihone off the Towris, that wes then
Edwardis dowchtir off Carnarwen,
That Kyng off Ingland wes before,
Than Edwardis systyr the Wyndesore.
Off this mare qwlia wyll here,
Bathe the deyde and the manere,
And ma thyngis I leve behynd,
In *Brusys Buk* quhare men may fynd.—viii. 3075.
(c) A third reference is to the burial of the king, and Douglas's expedition; see Book xx. 284—476; pp. 506—514.

In the kyrk off Dwmfermlyne
Hys [Bruce's] body wes enteryd syne.
And gud Iamys off Dowglas
Hys hart tuk, as fyrst ordanyd was,
For to bere in the haly land.
How that that wes tane on hand,
Well proportis Bresys Buk,
Quhay will tharoff the materc luk.—viii. 3119.

From the next seven passages we learn a new fact about Barbour, viz. that he also composed a poem, now lost, with the title of The Brut; and from the fulness of some of the allusions, it is easy to see that the subject closely resembled that of the poem of the same name by Layamon, i.e. it related the usual fabulous stories about the history of the Britons, from the time when Brutus, a descendant of Æneas of Troy, is said to have arrived in England and founded the line of the British kings, until the conquest of Britain by the English; according to the 'history' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The same series of stories is to be found in Higden's Polychronicon, and in the early part of Fabyan's Chronicles. The first extract refers to the first colonization of Ireland by certain Spaniards, in the reign of Gurguntius of Britain. This will be found in Layamon, ii. 6177—6278; Higden, bk. iii. e. 21; Fabyan, part ii. c. 32.

(a) Off Hiber thai come halyly
Tha we oys to call Yrscchy, &c. . . .
Bot, be the Brute, yit Barbare sayis,
Of Yrscchy all othir-wayis,
That Gurgwnt-Badrak quhille wes kyng,
And Bretayne had in governyng;
Worthy, wycht, and wyse wes he; &c.—ii. 767.

The story says that he had won Denmark; and, sailing thence, came to Orkney. There he found 30 ships, containing exiled Spaniards. Their leader, Partoloym [or Bartholomew, or (in Layamon) Pantolaus], besought the above-named king to give them land. He sent them with some of his men to Ireland, then
lying waste. From these men were descended the Irish, who still dwell in Ireland.

(b) The next extract relates to Brennius and Belinus, kings of Britain, the former of whom was ridiculously identified with the Brennus who besieged Rome. Belinus was the father of the Gurguntius above-mentioned, so that this account should have preceded the former. See Layamon, ll. 4288—6005; Higden, bk. iii. c. 19; Fabyan, pt. ii. c. 29.

The story tells how the cackling of geese saved Rome from being taken by Brennus.

This Brennyus and Belyne
Bredyre ware and knychtis syne;
Of thame quha will the certane hawe,
How that thai for Bretane strawe
Ilkane wyht othir, and for it faucht;
And how thaire modyre made thaim saucht;
How thai wan Frauns and Lumbardy,
Tuskane, and Rome nere halily;
How Brennyus syne left in Tuskane,
And Belyne come hame in Bretane;
Thai rede the Brute, and thai sall se
Ferlys gret off thare bownte.—iv. 1173.

(c) The third passage relates to the days of Arviragus, king of Britain. This is Shakespeare's Arviragus, the younger son of Cymbeline. See Layamon, ll. 9552—9893; Fabyan, pt. iii. c. 55.

The story tells of the emperor Claudius Cæsar (of Rome) and Arviragus, king of Britain. Claudius went to attack the "Owte Ylis," apparently the Hebrides, and Arviragus supported him, conquering the islands, and rendering them tributary to Rome.

How that empyrour thare-efft
That kyng hys lutennand lefft
Off all the landys that marchyd than
Nere wyht the kynryk off Brettan,
Hame tyll Rome quhen that he
Agayn passyd wyht hys reawte;
And how that kyng syne mad delay,
And hale denyit for to pay
Till Rome the trewage off Brettane,
Quhyll Claudyus send Wespasyane
Wytht that kyng to fecht or threte,
Swa that for luwe, or than for threte,
Off fors he suld pay at he awcht;
And how the queyne thare made thame saucht,
The Brute tellys it sa oppynly
That I wyll lat it now ga by.—v. 497.

(d) We next come to the reign of Octavius, king of Britain, who was succeeded by Maximus, in spite of the attempt of Conan-Meridok to gain the kingdom for himself. See Layamon, ll. 11194—11673; Fabyan, pt. v. c. 71.
The story speaks of the time of the Emperor Maximian.

Octaveus in-to thai dayis,
As off The Brute the story sayis,
Off al Brettayne hale wes kyng,
And had that land in governyng.
He had a daughter yhong and fayre,
That off laucht than wes his ayre;
Hys counsale mast part thowght, that he
Suld ger that douthyr maryd be
Wyth sum ryche man for his ryches;
And Conane-Meryaduk, that was
Hys neuven, neyst hym suld be kyng, &c.—v. 3153.

(e) We next come to a summary of the long story of Vortigern's treachery and misfortunes, the flight of Aurelius and Uther to Brittany, and the invasion of Britain by Hengist. See Layamon, ll. 12910—15378; Fabyan, pt. v. ch. 81—83, 89—91.

How Vortygerne wytht hys falshe
Off Brettane made the kyngis dede;
How Utere and Awrelius,
Till surname cald Ambrosius,
Off Ingland passyt prewaly than
And efftyr bad in Less-Brettan;
And the Saxonys wyth thare slycht
In Yngland come, and ay thare mycht
Wes ekyd, that in multitude
Thare wes slayne downe the Brettis blud;
And Ingland thare-efftyre ay
Thai hawe yhit haldyn to this day,
The Brute tellys oppynly;
Thare-for I lewe now that story.—v. 4233.
(f) and (g). The last two passages refer to the insulting message sent to Arthur, king of Britain, by an emperor of Rome who was by some called Leo, and by others Lucius. Barbour says Lucius was only procurator, but Layamon makes him emperor, and ignores Leo. See Layamon, ll. 24731—24830.

According to Wyntoun, Leo, emperor of Rome, addressing king Arthur of Britain—

The hawtane message till hym send,
That wryttyyn in the Brute is kend.—v. 4291.

(g) . . . Kyng off Brettane wes Arthoure.
But off the Brute the story sayis,
That Lucyus Hiberius in hys dayis
Wes off the hey state [Rome] Procurature,
Nowthir cald kyng, na Empryowre.—v. 4314.

I. e. some say Leo was emperor in Arthur’s time, and some say Lucius Iberius; but Lucius, according to Barbour, was only procurator. We may hence fairly conclude that Barbour’s poem of The Brut was written after The Bruce was completed. For, at the time of writing the last-mentioned poem, Barbour had the idea that Lucius Iberius, and not Leo, was really the emperor; an idea which he must afterwards have rejected on finding that the word is ‘procurator’ in Geoffrey of Monmouth. Compare the very interesting passage at p. 22 of the present edition (bk. i. l. 549)—

‘Als Artur, that throw chevalry
Maid Bretane maistres & lady
Off xij kinrykis that he wan;
And alsua, as A noble man,
He wan throw bataill Fraunce all fre;
And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,
That then of Rome wes emperour:
Bot 3eit, for all his gret valour,
Modreyt his systir son him slew,
And gud men als, ma then Inew,
Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes;
The Broite beris tharoff wytnes.’

It is clear that The Broite here means the Latin original, which Barbour had not as yet translated; and that he
afterwards took upon himself to introduce the 'correction' in question, when making his own translation.

It is easily ascertained that every one of the above passages from Wyntoun refer to stories which are told at great length in Layamon's Brut, and practically cover a considerable portion of the whole, viz. ll. 4288—6005, 6177—6278, 9552—9893, 11194—11673, 12910—15378, and 24731—24830. This leaves no doubt whatever as to the general contents of this lost work.

But Wyntoun tells us still more. In three passages he tells of yet another lost poem by Barbour, which seems to have been called either 'The Stewartis Original,' or 'The Stewartis Genealogy.' It contained a regular pedigree of the family of the Stewarts, 'in successive generation,' beginning with Ninus, the builder of Nineveh, and ending with King Robert II. of Scotland. The line of succession included Brutus, the descendant of Aeneas, and consequently King Priam of Troy. This curious work is clearly set forth in the following passages.

(a) This Nynus had a sone alsua,  
  Sere Dardane, lord de Frygya,  
  Fra quhome Barbere sutely  
  Has made a propyr genealogy  
  Tyll Robert oure Secownd, kyng,  
  That Scotland had in governyng.—ii. 131.

(b) Off Bruttus lyneage quha wyll here,  
  He luke the Tretis of Barbere,  
  Mad in-tyll a Genealogy  
  Rycht wele, and mare perfytly  
  Than I can on ony wys  
  Wytht all my wyt to yowe dewys.—iii. 621.

(c) The ‘Stewartis Orygenalle’  
  The Archedekyne has tretyd hale,  
  In metyre fayre, mare wertysly  
  Than I can thynk be my study,  
  Be gud contynnuatyon  
  In successyve generatyown.—viii. 1445.

It is clear that this work is quite separate from the former, though founded upon it. We can easily tell what it was like; for a great part of the said 'genealogy' is given in the Chronicles
of Scotland by Hector Boece, and in Bellenden’s translation of it; bk. xii. c. 5. It makes out that Fleance, the son of Banquo, had a son Walter, who became steward of Scotland; after whom came, in lineal succession, Alan Stewart, Alexander Stewart, Walter, Alexander, John, and Walter (the third).

The last Walter, according to this account, was he who married King Robert’s daughter Marjory, as Barbour tells us in The Bruce; xiii. 691 (p. 332). Holinshed gives the same genealogy, and hence we find it introduced into Shakespeare’s Macbeth, Act iv. sc. 1. The whole story is, of course, a fiction, and hardly needs serious confutation. However, the reader will find an article ‘On the Origin of the House of Stewart’ in Sir David Dalrymple’s Annals of Scotland, Edinb. 1776, vol. i. p. 358, wherein it is shown that there is ‘no evidence that such a person as Walter Stewart of Scotland in the reign of Malcolm III. [i.e. the reputed son of Fleance] did ever exist.’

It is worth notice that Barbour gives no hint of Walter Stewart’s pedigree in The Bruce, and probably never thought of it till after both that poem and The Brut had been completed. Further, as there is no earlier trace of this pedigree, Barbour may have invented it himself. Such seems to be the opinion of the editor of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, who remarks, in his Preface, that ‘Bower accuses Barbour of misrepresenting the origin of the Stewarts¹; and there seems strong reason to suspect him of having originated the long-accepted story of their descent from the Scottish King Ethus through the fabulous Banquo and his son Fleance. The true pedigree of the family and their relationship to the English FitzAlans was perfectly well known in Barbour’s time;² but the Archdeacon was too much of a courtier to assign to his sovereign a common descent with any English family.’

¹ ‘Scotichronicon, i. ix. c. 48.’
² ‘In 1336, as shown by Chalmers, Edward III. purchased the stewardship of Scotland from Robert earl of Arundel, while Edward Balliol as king of Scotland ratified the transaction, the sale being a political fiction, founded on the supposed forfeiture of the Scottish branch of the family by which the hereditary office reverted to the English line (Chalmers’ Caledonia, i. p. 574).’
We thus see that we are justified in asserting, on the authority of Wyntoun, that Barbour was the author of three poems at least, viz. (1) The Bruce; (2) The Brut; (3) The Original of the Stuarts; and further, it is highly probable that they were written precisely in this order. The date of the first is 1375.¹

It remains to ask, whether there are any other poems that can be attributed to him?

Seeing that Barbour was familiar with the story of The Brut, he must have been also familiar with the closely allied story of the Siege of Troy, as told in the then familiar Latin prose version by Guido de Colonna, who ingeniously concealed his indebtedness to Benoit de Saint More by the misleading statement that he had drawn his veracious history from Dares of Phrygia and Dictys of Crete. But we need not speculate as to this; for there is a passage in The Bruce (i. 521—8) which proves that the author knew his 'Guido' well enough.

'Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane,
Quhen x 3eris of the wer wes gane?
Then slayn wes mone thousand
Off thaim with-owt, throw strenth of hand,
As Dares in his buk he wrate,
And Dytis, that knew all thar state.'

Now it so happens that we possess a translation of this Siege of Troy by Lydgate. There is a copy of this in MS. Kk. v. 30 in the Cambridge University Library; and the following peculiarities of this MS. were pointed out by Mr. Bradshaw in a communication printed for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, vol. iii. p. 117. The MS. is imperfect at the beginning, having lost the first ten leaves. Leaf 11 (now leaf 1) begins with the words:—

'And Dyomedes byrdes þai war
Callit thar-éftre mony a þhere ' ; &c.

These lines answer to a passage in cap. ii. of Guido de Colonna's Historia Destructionis Troie:—'que aues Diomedec
dicte sunt, eam naturam habentes vt cognoscant hominem

¹ For this date, see 13.703 (p. 332). Perhaps the £6. 13s. 4d., given to Barbour in 1386, and the pension in 1388, were given him for poem No. 3.
Latinum a Greco discernere; quare Grecos, Calabrie incolas, colunt et Latinos fugiunt, si qui sunt. Sed si tante perdicionis causa fuerit subsequenter boni causa finalis, ut humana mens habet in dubio. Nam subsequenter describit historia,' &c.¹ On leaf 19 (now leaf 9) we find the lines:—

'And ek in-to gramancye  
of all that lyffyt in hyr quhill;  
So soueranly scho was subtill  
That þar was neuir nane hyr lyk,  
No neuir sall be, pure no ryk.²

**Here endis barbour and begynnys þe monk.**  
Because of certane Interleueraciounys (*sic*)  
Of dyuerse cercles & revolucions  
That maked bene in the heven aloft'; &c.³

The rest of the MS. contains Lydgate's *Siege of Troy*, with the exception of another long passage at the end. On the back of leaf 304 we come to the following rubric, &c.

**'Her endis the monk and bygynnys Barbour.**  
The kyng, when þis counsell was done,⁴  
In hys hall pryvely ryght sone  
Entrcyt, and in-to full mony  
Of weete terys ryght sorowfully  
Brest out, for rycht moche dysese,' &c.

This version is continued to the end of the MS., which is imperfect. The last lines are:—

'Thus as they hye brayes he sought,  
He fond a fayre pleyn, wher he thought.'⁵

Nor is this the sole trace of this peculiar version of the story; for there is another copy of it in MS. Douce 148, in the Bodleian

¹ The rest of this sentence is printed at p. 12 of the *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troye*, ed. Panton and Donaldson (E. E. T. S.): l. 6 from bottom. I quote the preceding sentence because it is purposely omitted there.  
² The nearest corresponding line in the *Gest Hystoriale* is l. 431.  
³ This does not join on quite at the right place; but begins a little further back; cf. *Gest Hystoriale*, l. 427; and see Lydgate's *Siege of Troye*, ed. 1555, leaf 130, back.  
⁴ Cf. the *Gest Hystoriale*, l. 11347.  
⁵ Cf. the *Gest Hystoriale*, l. 12400.
Library. The Douce MS. does not contain the former of the two fragments, but at fol. 290 we find the fragment beginning:

‘The kyng, when pis console was done,
In hys hall pryvely rycht sone,’ &c.

It goes on down to the above-quoted lines:

‘Thus as þai hie brayes he socht,
He fand a fair playne, quhare he thocht’

immediately followed by:

‘Was awenande a towne to set’; &c.

And, in fact, it continues the poem for 1556 lines further.

At first sight, we should certainly be inclined to say that we have here two fragments of a version of the *Siege of Troy* by Barbour, which have been inserted into a copy of Lydgate's version of the same, in order, presumably, to fill up certain gaps in the latter. In fact, the whole of these two fragments have been conveniently printed by Horstmann, in a work entitled—

‘Barbour's des schottischen nationaldichters Legendensammlung, nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges; zum ersten Mal herausgegeben und kritisch bearbeitet von C. Horstmann; 2 vols. Heilbronn, 1882.' See vol. ii. pp. 215—307. But a closer inspection shows that the scribe of MS. Kk. v. 30, who attributed this version to Barbour, has made a very natural mistake. Observing that the metre differed from Lydgate's, but agreed with that of Barbour's *Bruce*, he naturally thought of that work, and too hastily assumed that these fragments were also written by our author, who was certainly a learned man and conversant with the story, on his own showing. (See p. xliii.) That he was mistaken, appears clearly enough from the internal evidence, which reveals wide differences in the language. This point has been so well worked out by Dr. Emil Köppel, in his article entitled ‘Die Fragmente von Barbour's Trojanerkrieg,' printed in *Englische Studien*, x. 373, that I have nothing to add to his arguments. The same conclusion was arrived at in an able article by P. Buss, printed in *Anglia*, ix. 493, entitled—‘Sind die von Horstmann herausgegeben schottischen Legenden ein
Werk Barbere's? I have much pleasure in referring readers to these admirable articles; and, as I fully accept their results, it seems unnecessary to repeat their arguments, at length. I give, however, a summary of the more material observations, for the use of such readers as have no copies of the above-named periodicals at hand.

It should be noticed, beforehand, that there is not a tittle of evidence in favour of attributing these fragments to our poet beyond the following facts, viz. (1) that a fifteenth-century scribe ascribes them to 'Barbour'; and (2) that the metre and dialect resemble that of The Bruce. But the moment any serious examination is made of the language of the poems, all real resemblance vanishes. It is seldom that internal evidence is so overwhelming. The following are some of Dr. Köppel's points.

1. Barbour is very fond of alliteration, especially where one of the alliterated words occurs at the end of a line. Thus he ends lines with wycht and wyss or wyss and wycht at least twelve times (1. 22, 401, &c.) or with wycht and worthy (2. 334) or worthy and wicht (8. 267) at least nine times. So also he frequently has stalward and stout (8. 267); stalwart and stith (5. 458); stith and stout (9. 343); so sturdy and so stout (13. 312), &c. Again, he uses such phrases as douchty deid (1. 532, &c.); hardy . . off hart and hand (1. 28); wekill mayn (1. 444); will of wane (1. 323); and other such, all very common.

These mannerisms are not found in the Troy-book Fragments.

2. Barbour is fond of gat in the compounds thusgat, swagat, all-gat, how-gat, nagat, yon gat, mony gatis, agatis; more than forty times.

In the Troy-book thusgat occurs twice (2. 2576, 2868); and the other compounds not at all.

3. Barbour has many other very favourite expressions; thus 'a little time' is, with him, in a throw, in a stound.

In the Troy-book we only find a litill stert (1. 64); and this phrase Barbour does not use.

I omit the numerous references, for brevity; all the phrases here mentioned are common. See wicht, wycht, &c., in the Glossary.
4. In battles, Barbour often brings in the verb to rusch, which he uses rather oddly (see Glossary).

In the Troy-book, battles are described without it, or it is used as in modern English.

5. Alliteration, so common in Barbour, is rare in the Troy-book. The few examples in the latter include mayne and mude (2. 613); pyth and peye (2. 107, 1421); and tymsale and tene (2. 1278); of which phrases Barbour uses none.

6. The Troy-book is a somewhat weak production, abounding in expletives, such as certanly, certane, certanys, in certane, in-to certane, ine certeynis. Barbour sometimes uses expletives, but less frequently; and when he wants to express ‘certainly,’ his word is certis, and never one of the above expressions.

7. The following words occur in the Troy-book, none of which are in Barbour: anerd, to adhere (2. 946, 1404, 1407); cleped (2. 413); contuned (2. 1852); emplese (2. 1440, 2254); gowyt (1. 305); gyrnede, caught in a snare (2. 366, 2694); kyth, make known (2. 612); kyde, made known (2. 18, 436); leve has lauct, has taken leave (1. 187); mansweris, swears falsely (2. 592); mansworne, forsworn (2. 585); nummyn, taken, pp. (2. 2050, 2386); oure-tyrve, to overturn (2. 890, 908, 1717); refetynge, reflection (2. 1445); refettyld (2. 1766); uyy, to dread (2. 853, 1097). Also gynre, a snare (2. 999, 2173); hattrend, hattrent (1. 422, 2. 1112); scantely, scarcely (2. 1633, 2374); thistely (2. 271, 623). Also the phrases per aventure (1. 127, 150); perchaunce (2. 1331, 1685).

8. The rimes are different. The Troy-book expresses ‘remembrance’ by memore, riming with before (2. 1139, 2973). But in the Bruce, it is memóry, and rimes with story (1. 13). Only once in the Bruce do we find e riming with i, as in tendirnys, properly tendernes, is (3. 533); but in the Troy-book we actually find lordshipe, r. w. kepe (2. 1235); cautéles, r. w. whyles (2. 1359); and even such extraordinary rimes as mayne, drawyne (= drayne! 2. 813); execute (!), a travesty of the verb to ‘execute,’ forced to rime with mude (2. 613). It would be too bad to suppose Barbour capable of this.
At this point Dr. Köppel remarks that 'the variations in poetical expression, in small technical usages and in the rimes appear to me so numerous and so fundamental that any doubt as to the difference of the authorship is scarcely possible.' Nevertheless, he proceeds to show a great difference in the use of prepositions, of conjunctions, and of relative pronouns. For example, the Troy-book has such expressions as because, for-quhy, cans why, nevir the les, nocht thane, the which. But how is it that the Bruce has none of these? On the other hand, Barbour uses the quhethir and nocht-for-thi over and over again; and how is it that the Troy-book has neither of these? This is decisive, surely.

We may perhaps allow that these fragments of the Troy-book were written by a man named Barbour; but we know, at any rate, that he was not the particular John Barbour who was arch-deacon of Aberdeen. Before that can even be thought of, it has to be shown that these fragments have the same poetical spirit that we find in Barbour,¹ that they are older than the fifteenth century, and that they are connected with Aberdeen.

But the differences noted above are by no means all. Even if they could all be explained away, there remain the difficulties caused by the differences in the rimes; for which see the acute and searching essay by P. Buss (Anglia, ix. 493). It is needless to enter into all the details. I take, as a specimen, his statement that Barbour never allows such a word as he, high, or e, eye, to rime with words like be, be, or he, he; the reason being that he, high, must in his time have been pronounced with a final guttural or after-sound (heh or hey), and e, eye, must still have been ey, with an after-sound in place of the g of the A.S. ēage. Yet he allows he (or rather heh or hey), high, to rime with e (or rather ey), eye; because both these words had after-sounds after the vowels; see 7. 191. But in the Troy-book, which is of later date, such distinctions are wholly lost, and we find hie (miswritten for he), high, riming with se, to see (2. 1697, 1801), or even with a French word like seeree (2. 2873), which Barbour carefully avoids.

¹ Their poetical value is partly due to the Latin original. A favourable specimen occurs in ll. 251-480; but it does not remind us of Barbour's style.
This is indeed a searching test; and when we find many more of
the same kind, there is absolutely no more to be said. Any one
may convince himself by taking a 'Book' of _The Bruce_ at
random, and looking at the lines ending in _e_. I will take Book
V., and I find these rimes in which the _e_ is 'pure,' i.e. has no
after-sound; _menz_ _e_, _be_ (16); _se_ (sea), _he_ (36); _se_ (see), _me_ (54);
_menz_ _he_, _se_ (sea, 58); _be_, _se_ (sea, 68); _svelte_ _e_, _be_ (88); _thre_, _he_
(120); _he_, _be_ (126); _cunte_, _de_ (134); _laynte_, _he_ (142); _cunte_,
_se_ (sea, 146); _me_, _laupte_ (162); _pouste_, _be_ (165); _me_, _be_ (170);
_pite_, _be_ (174); and thirty-two more such. But at l. 624, we find
_fle_ (fly) riming with _e_ (eye); simply because, in Barbour's own
time, these were still _fley_ (A.S. _flegaun_ and _ey_ (A.S. _eage_), and in
A.S. both vowels were followed by _g_. This is one of the neatest
tests I ever remember to have seen.

In the Troy-book, on the other hand, we find such rimes as
_hie_, for _he_, high (_heu_ or _hie_ in Barbour, _hwa_ in A.S.), riming with
_se_ twice, once with the sense of 'sea,' and once with the sense of
'see' (2. 1697, 1801); also with _secre_ (2. 2874). Again, _dye_, for
_de_, to die (_dey_ in Barbour, Icel. _deyja_), twice riming with _he_, _he_
(2. 2824, 3054); _le_, a lie (_ley_ in Barbour, from A.S. _legan_),
riming with _se_, _sea_ (2. 2522); and _fle_, to flee (_fley_ in Barbour, A.S.
_flegan_), riming with _he_, _he_ (2. 2756). No answer can be made to
the argument thus supplied.

I must also draw attention to the manner in which MS.
Douce 148 (which nowhere mentions Barbour) comes to an end.

It continues in the same metre down to l. 3118 (ed. Horst-
mann, ii. 304), after which follow 38 more lines in a longer
measure; and then comes the colophon—'Heir endis þe sege of
Troye, writtin & mendit at þe Instance of ane honr chaplane _sir_
Thomas owyn in Edinburgh.' There is a change of handwriting
at l. 829 (ed. Horstmann, ii. 251), where the editor, having
assumed that the preceding part of the MS. is written in the
dialect of Aberdeen, remarks that the latter part is written in
the dialect of Edinburgh, evidently because the colophon mentions
this place. I am very sceptical as to the fact of the dialect
changing with the handwriting, nor do I presume to be able to
distinguish between the dialects of those two cities as employed in the fifteenth century. I should be content to suppose that the whole MS. is in the same dialect, and that the colophon may be believed. I see nothing whatever to connect these fragments with Aberdeen, and I am altogether of Dr. Köppel's opinion, that they belong rather to the fifteenth than the fourteenth century. Whether the word *writin* in the colophon refers to the translator or to the scribe, I cannot say. I take the word *mendit* to refer to the fact that the scribe found a gap in the poem, ll. 920—1180, and filled it up by copying in the corresponding part from the version by Lydgate; see Horstmann, ii. 254—262. If this be the right explanation of *mendit*, then the word *writin* refers merely to the scribe, and we learn nothing as to the author. My own conclusions are, in short, that there is no sufficient reason for assigning to Barbour these two Edinburgh fragments in the language of the fifteenth century; that the scribe of MS. Kk. v. 30 made a very natural mistake; and that, if Barbour really wrote a poem, or a portion of a poem, on the then favourite theme of the Siege of Troy, it has not, at any rate, come down to us. In the opinion of H. Buss (*Anglia*, ix. 495), these fragments of the Siege of Troy are of very slight poetical merit, and quite unworthy of Barbour.

There is yet one more point to be considered. Mr. Bradshaw's article above-mentioned (Camb. Antiquarian Society, iii. 111—117) was entitled—'On two hitherto unknown poems by John Barbour, author of the *Brus*.' In this article, he not only ascribed to Barbour the two fragments of the Siege of Troy, for which he had MS. authority, but also suggested that Barbour may well have been the author of the large collection of the *Lives of Saints* which is extant in MS. Gg. ii. 6 in the Cambridge University Library. This MS. has also been printed by Horstmann in the above-named books entitled Barbour's *Legenden-sammlung*; and a new edition is now being prepared for the Scottish Text Society by the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe. The presumption in favour of the connection of these *Lives of Saints* with Barbour lies in the facts that they are in a similar metre
and dialect, and that they contain Lives of St. Machar (or Machor) and St. Ninian, both of whom are connected with Aberdeen. The former of these lives is omitted in Horstmann’s *Legendensammlung*, because it had already been printed by him in his *Alteenglische Legenden* (Neue Folge, 1881), p. 189. Horstmann tells us that no Latin original has yet been found of the Life of St. Machor, otherwise called St. Moris. The saint’s name was originally Mocumba or Mocumma; he was christened as Machor by St. Columba, who was his teacher, and was afterwards appointed *Bishop of Aberdeen* with the name of Moris. He probably lived in the sixth and seventh centuries; see the article on *St. Deveniclc* (a cotemporary of St. Columba) in the *Dict. of Christian Biography* by Smith and Wace. The colophon at the end of the Life is—‘Explicit vita sancti Macharij.’

St. Ninian’s day is Sept. 16. According to Alban Butler, he was the son of a prince among the Cumbrian Britons, and built a stone church at Whithern in Galloway (Wigtonshire), where he was the first bishop. He died A.D. 432. The Latin life of him was written by Ailred of Rievaulx about 1150, and is printed in full by Horstmann, vol. ii. p. 138. His festival was particularly observed at Aberdeen, and Horstmann prints (p. 147) the Officium Niniani, extracted from the Breviarium Aberdonense, pars aestiv. fol. cvii, headed—‘In festo sancti patris nostri Niniani episcopi et confessoris.’

The *Lives of Saints*, in MS. Gg. ii. 6, extend to a portentous length, but it is probable that the same writer was the author of them all.1 The arguments of H. Buss in the article already noticed (*Anglia*, ix. 493) show that the internal evidence is conclusive as against Barbour’s authorship. One very marked feature of the *Lives of Saints* is the very frequent use of assonances, such as the riming of name with tane (vol. i. p. 146, l. 251), with nane (i. 121. 77), and with aye (i. 122, 125); whereas in *The Bruce* we find but one such instance, viz. in bk. xviii. l. 473, where Bretane rimes with hame. And the exception

1 *Anglia*, ix. 495.
tests\(^1\) the rule; for \textit{Bretoun} is a proper name, and some slight poetical licence is allowable in the case of proper names.

I well remember my own first impression on reading \textit{The Saints' Lives}, which I may as well record. It was, that the language seemed to be as strikingly unlike Barbour as it well could be, considering that it is in a similar metre and dialect.

It thus appears that we cannot well assign to Barbour either the fragments on the Trojan War or the vast volume of the Lives of Saints. We must content ourselves with ascribing to him three poems only, viz. the three mentioned above (p. xliii). Of these, only \textit{The Bruce} is now known to be extant; so that the present edition contains all of his work that we now possess. Wyntoun's references to \textit{The Brut} imply that he does not quote that poem of Barbour's \textit{verbalem}.

\textbf{LITERARY ALLUSIONS, \&c. IN \textit{THE BRUCE}.}

That Barbour was a man of considerable learning is shown from various allusions that are made in the work. It will be interesting to point out most of these, and to give references to some of the more interesting observations that serve to adorn the poem. The copious indexes numbered I., II., and V. (pp. 616, 625, 755) are of considerable assistance in ascertaining the whereabouts of any required passage; whilst index IV. takes note of all the more remarkable words.

We find allusions to the story of Troy, as told by Guido de Colonna (1. 395, 521); the story of the Machabees (1. 465); the celebrated romance of Alexander (1. 533, 3. 73, 10. 706), with which we may compare \textit{The Wars of Alexander} (ed. Skeat), pp. 277, 62, 76; the story of the death of Julius Cæsar, and the account of his activity of mind (1. 537, 3. 277, with which cf. Lucan's \textit{Pharsalia}, ii. 657); the story of King Arthur, as told in \textit{The Brut} (1. 549); a prophecy of Thomas of Ercildoun

\(^1\) \textit{Exceptio probat regulam}; the usual translation, viz. 'the exception proves the rule,' is misleading. People have forgotten that \textit{proves} formerly meant \textit{tests}, and consequently use \textit{proves} with its modern meaning, which is mere nonsense. Every exception invalidates a rule; but, if there is a reason for such exception, the rule may still hold.
(2. 86); the famous Story of Thebes (2. 528, 6. 183); the courage of Goll Macmorna in attacking Fingal (3. 68); the story of Hannibal's successes, probably from Plutarch (3. 208); the romance of Fierabras or Ferumbras, which Robert Bruce is said to have read to his men for their encouragement (3. 436); a story of the war between the French and the Flemings (4. 240); a story or fable of the Fox and the Fisherman (19. 648); and the story of the conduct of Fabricius towards Pyrrhus (20. 521). We find him also quoting Dionysius Cato (1. 343; cf. p. 612); Vergil (2. 520, from Ecl. x. 69—' Omnia uincit amor'); 3. 561, 705; 5. 87); and Lucan (3. 281). Proverbs or phrases of the nature of proverbs are adduced here and there (1. 121, 582; 2. 326, 330, 548; 3. 287, 518, 540, 561; 4. 119, 5. 263, 11. 24). There is a long discussion on astrology (4. 674) and on necromancy (4. 747), which are condemned as being vain arts; yet the author seems to believe in the fulfilment of old prophecies (4. 639, 772; 10. 740, 15. 292), though he strongly denounces the lying oracles uttered by juggling fiends (4. 224). He has some instances that betray a certain grim humour. Thus when Sir Richard Clare sent out scouts to spy the number of a Scottish army, they return with the report that the Scotch are so few as to be scarcely 'half a dinner' for them (14. 187). When the Irish king O'Dymsy endeavoured to drown the Scottish host by suddenly flooding their place of encampment, we are told that he gave them good entertainment; for, if they failed to get enough meat, they had at any rate plenty to drink (14. 365). When Douglas surprised an English company whilst at dinner, and slew nearly all of them, we are told that they had a cruel entremes (entremet) at their meal (16. 457). When the English foragers returned from an expedition with only one cow, Earl Warren remarks that it was the dearest beef he ever saw, and must have cost about a thousand pounds (18. 282). Of a similar character is the account of 'the Douglas' larder;' when meal, malt, wine,
and the blood of beheaded prisoners were all mixed up in his castle's cellar; and the account of the battle in Yorkshire, where so many priests were slain that the combat was called 'the chapter of Mitton.' He records two interesting retorts. When an Irish prisoner, after a terrible defeat at the hands of the Scotch, is discovered by Bruce to be weeping, and says he is sorrowing for the heavy loss sustained by the Irish, Bruce replies that he has far more reason to be glad, because of his own fortunate escape (16. 226). When a certain Spanish knight, whose face was scarred with wound-marks, beheld Douglas, the hero of so many battles, and expressed his astonishment at finding his face unmarked by any such scar, Douglas replies that he always had hands to defend his face (20. 372). In some passages, Barbour exhibits real power of poetical description, as, e.g., in his account of the fire at Kildrummy castle (4. 113—138); in his lines about spring (5. 1—13); his account of the gallant appearance of the English knights, glittering in their armour as angels of heaven (8. 225—234; 11. 188—193); his description of May (16. 63—71). Other excellent or interesting passages are the following, viz. his allusion to the Salic law (1. 57); the celebrated and oft-quoted apostrophe to freedom (1. 225—274); his description of Sir James Douglas (1. 360—396); his notice of the faithful and enduring friendship between Bruce and Douglas (1. 267—274); his praise of true valour (6. 325—358); his remarks on the value of a good captain (9. 63—100); on rash boldness (9. 632—635, 661—671), and on the strange vicissitudes of Fortune (13. 632—660). We should also give him due credit for the beautiful story of Bruce and the poor laundress (16. 270—292); and for his laments over the deaths of Bruce and Douglas (20. 255—283, 507—520). It is interesting to note that he has an allusion to the use of the mariner's needle (5. 23). He asserts that the description of Douglas was obtained from men who knew him (1. 388). In his account of the defeat of 1500 Englishmen by 50 Scotchmen under the command of Douglas, he says that he had the story from one of the Scotchmen then engaged, viz. Sir Allan of Cathcart, who, as he says—
“Tald me this taill as I sall tell” (9. 576).

When speaking of the feat of arms performed by Sir John de Soulis, who with fifty men defeated Sir Andrew Herclay with 300 men, he says that young women still sing ballads about it, which may any day be heard (16. 520). He tells us that he himself had often heard say, how Englishwomen, when wishing to frighten their children into obedience, threatened to give them to ‘the black Douglas,’ as being ‘more fell than any devil’ (15. 534). He particularly notes that John Crab, the Flemish engineer who assisted the Scotch to defend Berwick, had no cannon for the purpose (17. 250); and that the first cannon ever seen by Scotchmen were some which the English brought to Weardale in 1327 (19. 399). The latter occasion was also, he tells us, the first on which wooden crests were seen upon helmets. In this statement, he can hardly be quite right; at least, they were probably used earlier in England. Barbour gives us the date when he was engaged upon this work, viz. 1375, in bk. xiii. l. 703 (see note on p. 588). It is worth while also to note that the very first line of his poem (ll. 1—36 being merely introductory) is quoted from an old ballad; see note to l. 37, on p. 544. Lines 37—444 also form a sort of Prologue, since the next lines are:

“Lordinis, quha likis for till her,
The Romanys now begyynys her.”

We thus see that Barbour actually claimed for his poem the title of a ROMANCE, and this accounts for the contents of it well enough. We are hardly to regard it in the light of an exact history, but rather as a succession of episodes telling us various stories about the great perils and adventures of the heroes, the chief of whom are Robert Bruce, his brother Edward, Sir James Douglas, and Sir Thomas Randolph, afterwards earl of Murray.

With the account of the deaths of Bruce, Douglas, and Murray, the poem comes to rather a sudden end:

“The lordis deit apon this viss” (20. 611).
The 9 lines that follow are merely a concluding form of prayer. There was, in fact, no more to be said.

HISTORICAL VALUE AND POETICAL MERIT OF THE BRUCE.

What is the precise historical value of Barbour's poem, I leave it for historians to determine. Nearly all the historical points are pointed out and discussed, to the best of my ability, in the Notes. The most extraordinary of the author's errors is certainly that in which he confuses Robert Bruce the grandfather with Robert Bruce the grandson, as pointed out in the note to bk. i. l. 477 (p. 547). This is enough to render us cautious as to believing any of his statements without additional evidence; and it is clear that he has, with the usual licence of a professed writer of Romance, embellished his stories wherever he thought he could do so effectively. We must not, for example, inquire too closely into his arithmetic; whilst the almost invariable success of the Scotch against the English, however great the number of the latter, becomes somewhat monotonous. Some

1 See some account of the curious errors in Barbour in the Saturday Review, Jan. 20, 1872. The latest and most careful inquiry into the historical character of Barbour's work is, on the whole, decidedly favourable to its general correctness. In the Introduction (p. ix) to the Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. iii., the editor, Mr. J. Bain, pronounces the following verdict. "Beside the Chronicon de Lanercost, the Genea Annalit of Fordun, and works of that class, there are two other authorities of the highest value for the period embraced in this volume. These are the Scala Chronicæ of Sir Thomas Gray of Heton (Maitland Club, 1836, ed. J. Stevenson), and the Metrical History of the Brus, by archdeacon John Barbour. The statements in both of these have been tested by many entries in this volume, the bearing of which attentive readers will not fail to discover for themselves. Barbour abounds in graphic pictures of his hero's career, and of those who served with or against the King of Scots. In these details he is almost always correct, with occasional errors in names. Writing as he did at a long interval of time, about half a century after King Robert's death, the arrangement of his story is often imperfect, the succession of events transposed, and wrong dates given, capable, however, of being corrected by other authority, and detracting little from the real historical value of The Brus. . . . The Scala Chronicæ is more correct in the order of its dates and events than The Brus, and, though not free from minor errors in names, is corroborated by the records in this volume."

2 He admits that Bruce got the worst of it at the battle of Methven (2.134); but this is almost the sole instance of such a mishap in a well-contested battle, excepting that in which Sir Edward Bruce perished.
of the figures are curious; we find the Scotch, at various times, having 300 against 1500 (7. 616); 60 against a vague number (8. 31); 600 against 3000 (8. 197); 50 against 1500 (9. 571); 30,000 against 100,000 (at Bannockburn, where the slain amount to 30,000, being the precise number of the whole of the Scotch army); 6000 against 20,000 (14. 38, 51); one against every two (15. 345); one against five (16. 187); one against eight (16. 189); 50 against 10,000, which is really astonishing (16. 496); 50 against 300 (16. 514); 15,000 against 20,000, very moderate odds (17. 508, 544); and finally, 2000 against 40,000, on which occasion, however, Sir Edward Bruce was warned, truly enough, that he was courting defeat and death (18. 91). The king himself performs great feats; at one time killing 3 men (3. 93), at another 3 more (5. 521); next, 14 at once (6. 312); then 4 (6. 648); another 3 (7. 222); and, with the help of his hound, his last 3 (7. 484).

But the right way to regard The Bruce is not to look at it too critically. The author is at his best in his picturesque and spirited anecdotes, where he is evidently bent on telling a good story. The best examples of his method are just those which are most likely to strike the reader, such as the accounts of the battle of Methven (2. 347); Bruce’s victory over Lorn’s three men (3. 93); his adventures among the mountains (3. 367); the siege of Kildrummy castle (4. 85); how Bruce sent a spy to Carrick (4. 517), and his success after landing there (5. 1); how Douglas took his own castle of Douglas (5. 227), and made his ‘lairder’ (5. 395); Bruce’s slaughter of the three traitors (5. 521); how he was hunted with a sleuth-hound (6. 25); the story of Tydeus (6. 179); how Bruce was hunted with a sleuth-hound for the second time (6. 484); how he slew a second set of three traitors (7. 79); and even a third set (7. 400); how Douglas took his own castle for the second time (8. 437); the siege of Perth (9. 324); the feats of Sir Edward Bruce (9. 472); the fight in the pass below Ben Cruachan (10. 1); the taking of Linlithgow castle (10. 137); the taking of Roxburgh castle (10. 352); the taking of Edinburgh castle (10. 507); the battle of Bannockburn (11. 69), though this is, pardonably enough, told with too great prolixity,
being so spun out as to fill more than 1800 lines; the adventures of Sir Edward Bruce in Ireland (14. 1); the feats of the fighting bishop, Sir William Sinclair (16. 572); the taking of the town of Berwick (17. 1); the siege of Berwick by the English (17. 327, 589); the last fight of Sir Edward Bruce (18. 1); the struggle in Weardale (19. 279); and the expedition of Douglas with the Bruce's heart (20. 299).

But the highest tribute to the real merits of Barbour is to be found in the fact that Sir Walter Scott not only studied the poem closely, but borrowed from it several striking incidents in no less than three separate works. His beautiful poem of The Lord of the Isles is considerably indebted to it (see references on p. 626, at bottom). His novel of Castle Dangerous is almost wholly founded upon it, as he himself tells us in the introduction to that work. In the Appendix to that Introduction he quotes two long passages (5. 255—462, 6. 379—434); and the very title, 'Castle Dangerous,' is borrowed from Barbour's expression—'The auenturus castell off Douglas' (8. 495). Lastly, he has borrowed several incidents from it to embellish his Tales of a Grandfather (see references on p. 627, at top); and Sir Walter's excellent and easy prose forms a capital commentary upon Barbour's verse.

The best estimate of Barbour's poetry is, I think, that given in the admirable remarks made by Cosmo Innes in the Preface to his edition of the poem for the Spalding Club; from which I give some extracts for the reader's benefit. Speaking of Barbour, he says (at p. viii):—"His remarkable poem is not to be criticised as a chronicle in rhyme. Its author had an object independent of strict correctness in the order or dates, or even the facts of his story. His theme was Freedom, not personal liberty, which, in the abstract, was then hardly understood, but exemption from that most hated tyranny, the violent dominion of a foreign people. . . . Satisfied to have real persons and events, and an outline of history for his guide, and to preserve the true character of things, he did not trouble himself about accuracy of detail. It suited his purpose to place Bruce altogether right, Edward outrageously wrong, in the first discussion of the dis-
puted succession. It suited his views of poetical justice, that the Bruce, who had been so unjustly dealt with, should be the Bruce who took vengeance for that injustice at Bannockburn; though the former was the grandfather, the other the grandson. His hero is not to be degraded by announcing that he had once sworn fealty to Edward, and once done homage to Balliol, or ever joined any party but that of his country and of freedom.”

Again, at p. xxv, he says:—“The plan and conduct of his poem are exceedingly simple. There is no artificial or far-sought ornament, no invention of machinery, no imitation of the ancient epic. None of the miracles afterwards told of Bannockburn are traced to Barbour. There is not a superhuman being nor a supernatural incident introduced into his poem. We do not meet even with the name of a god or goddess of classical antiquity.1 We are left in doubt whether the author was acquainted with Homer and Virgil.2 Barbour claims the single merit of telling a ‘soothfast story’ in verse, and with some of the graces of the fables of romance; and he was the first who did so . . . The Archdeacon is no common chronicler. He has an eye for all beauty and a heart for every kind of nobleness. He delights in describing the evolutions of troops and all the pomp and circumstance of war. He paints like an artist the assembling of the English king’s host of many nations (so effectively named), in multitude overspreading the land, hiding both hill and valley; the war-horses and the knights, shields and spears and burnished arms; banners and pennons glancing to the sun’s beam, that all the land was in a blaze (11. 76, 188). On the other hand, the hardy countenance of the Scotch army, Bruce’s homely manner of cheering his soldiers, speaking good words here and there (11. 257), and their confidence in their tried leader, are very skilfully contrasted with the glitter and pride of the English squadrons.”

1 Yes, we do; Minerva is +; but the mention of her is quite incidental. The same passage involves the supernatural.
2 Certainly not with Homer, as Greek was unknown, and Guido de Columna’s was then the standard ‘Historia Troiae.’ But Barbour quotes Virgil three or four times.
ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The two MSS. (C. and E.) and the principal editions (H., A., P., J., and I.) are briefly mentioned at p. 640. A somewhat fuller notice of them is here given.

C.—The Cambridge MS., in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, where its class-mark is G. 23. This MS., imperfect at the beginning, contains in its present condition 143 leaves, the size of each leaf being about 8½ inches in length, and 5½ in breadth. Each leaf contains about 82 lines, written in a single column. The first extant line is l. 57 of Book IV. Hence the number of missing lines is 630 (in Book I.), together with 592 (in Book III.), and 56 (in Book IV.), or 2040 lines in all. We may safely assume 25 leaves to have been lost, as these would contain about 2050 lines. This can be easily verified in another way; for most of the quires consist of 12 leaves, and the first extant quire has lost its first leaf. The loss of 2 quires and a leaf would give precisely 25 as the number of missing leaves. We conclude that, in its original state, the MS. must have contained 168 leaves in 14 quires, all of which consisted of 12 leaves except the sixth (f'), which has 14 leaves (or 2 too many), and the fourteenth, which has but 10 leaves (or 2 too few); whence the whole number was 14 × 12 = 168. The writing is fairly neat and regular, and the colophon, printed at p. 520, tells us that the last page of The Bruce was written out on Aug. 28, 1487, by the hand of 'J. de R. chaplain.' It can hardly be doubted that 'J. de R.' means John Ramsay, who wrote out the other MS. of The Bruce in 1489; see the description of the Edinburgh MS. below.

The same MS. also contains two short poems, written out by the same hand at the same time. Both are printed, for the sake of completeness, in the present volume. The former is a copy of 'How the good wife taught her daughter,' for which see p. 523;

1 MS. E. has only 589; but probably MS. C. (usually more perfect) had the 3 extra lines found in Hart's edition, and numbered 243*—245*.
2 In l. 5, p. 520, for 'capellaneum' read 'capellani.'
and observe that we have, at the end, the colophon—'Explicit documentum matris ad filiam, per manum J. de R. capellani;' see p. 536.¹ The latter is a copy of a poem by Lydgate, here turned into the Lowland Scottish dialect; see p. 537.

This MS., though imperfect at the beginning, is certainly, as far as it goes, the better of the two, and is two years earlier in date. It has therefore been taken as the basis of the text, from l. 57 of Book IV. to the end. I have introduced, but rather sparingly, several corrections from MS. E. and the old printed editions; such corrections are all denoted by the use of square brackets, as in bk. iv. ll. 98, 100, 117, 119, 120, 124, &c. I have usually preferred to keep the reading of this MS. C. where I could; but I dare say there are a few passages, not corrected by me, where the reading of MS. E. is preferable. However, as the footnotes give the various readings in that MS., the reader has the materials for making emendations.²

In Book V., MS. C. has two lines, 507*, 508*, which MS. E. wrongly omits. In Book VI., MS. C. has eight additional lines, viz. 85*—92*. In Book VII., MS. C. has two additional lines, 203*, 204*; also five additional lines, 301*—305*, omitted in E. because the eye of the scribe passed from truistly at the end of l. 300 in that MS. (see footnote) to truistly at the end of l. 305*. In Book VIII., MS. C. has two additional lines, 493* and 495*; observe the rhymes. In Book IX., MS. C. has four additional lines, 374*—377*, omitted in E. owing to the repetition of 'Toward the toun' at the beginning of ll. 374* and 374. In Book X., it has two additional lines, 154*, 155*. In Book XI., it has four additional lines, 103*—106*. In Book XII., it has two additional lines, 406*, 407*. In Book XIII., it has ten

¹ On p. 526, for 'capm' read 'capnl,' i.e. capellani.
² Dr. Köppel points out an instance in which I have failed to do this. In Book xvii. l. 812—'And certanly, I hard nevir say,' Jamieson (bk. xii. l. 552) gives the reading 'certis' for 'certanly,' which improves the scansion. I may observe that I do not follow Jamieson's edition, but MS. E. itself, which is not always the same thing. Still, I dare say Jamieson is right here, and, in that case, I have missed the variation. This was accidental, not intentional. I have done my best.
additional lines, 447*—450*, 651*—656*, omitted in E. because of the repetition of *fand*, and of words riming with *hicht*. In Book XV., it has four additional lines, 271*—274* (omitted in E. because of the repetition of *menzhe*); also twenty additional lines, 337*—344* (omitted in E. because of the repetition of *he*) and 345*—356* (omitted in E. because of the repetition of *ky*); and two more, 539*, 540*, which are of considerable interest. In Book XVI., it has four additional lines, 209*—212*, omitted in E. because of the repetition of *mycht*. In Book XVIII., l. 537*, found in this MS. only, is probably spurious, as it makes three lines rime together. In Book XIX., it has two additional lines, 375*, 376*. In Book XX., it has six additional lines, 206*—211*; whilst it arranges ll. 285—298 in a different and better order. On the other hand, it omits a few lines here and there, viz. v. 109—112 (four lines), vi. 101—106 (six lines), ix. 210, 211 (two lines), xv. 228—231 (four lines), xviii. 451—454 and 539—546 (twelve lines), xix. 540—543 (four lines), xx. 16 (one line), xx. 44—49 (six lines), making 39 lines in all; all of which are preserved in MS. E. As far then as the MSS. C. and E. run parallel to each other, the former has 80 lines (1 being spurious) which are not in the latter; whilst the latter has 39 lines not in the former; hence, from this point of view, MS. C. is the better by 40 lines. It is curious that Hart's edition was printed from a MS. (now lost) which was fuller than either of these, so that by its help 39 more lines have been recovered, as noted below in the description of that edition.

Although this MS. C. is clearly the older and better of the two extant MSS., it seems to have been little known. Neither Pinkerton nor Jamieson were aware of it, so that their editions omit the additional lines which it contains, besides giving some very inferior readings in various passages. The only edition, besides the present, in which it has been recognised, is that printed by Cosmo Innes for the Spalding Club, who observes (p. xiv, note b) that 'a very careful collation of the Cambridge MS. on the margins of a copy of Dr. Jamieson's edition, made for the present edition by Mr. J. B. Brichan, I propose to deposit in the
Advocates' Library. Innes has made much use of this MS.; in fact, his edition is founded, like my own, chiefly upon a collation of the two MSS. See the description of his edition below.

E.—The Edinburgh MS. This MS. consists of two parts, which have been transposed in the binding. The latter part contains a copy of The Wallace, and was first written in 1488. The former part contains The Bruce, and was written in the following year, 1489. Both are in the same handwriting, that of John Ramsay, though it varies a good deal in character and in the colour of the ink in various places. The fact that The Wallace was first written is of some importance, as it determined, in a manner, the size of the page. Having longer lines to write, Ramsay chose a larger size of leaf than he had used for MS. C.; namely, one about 10½ inches in length by 7½ inches broad. And having done this, he found, when he came to write out The Bruce, that he could easily get two columns instead of one into the breadth of the page. Hence this copy is written in double columns, with about 47 lines in each column, giving about 94 lines on a page, or 188 on a leaf; but some leaves contain more. The whole of The Bruce is, in fact, contained in 70 leaves, distributed into 7 quires; but the quires are very unevenly made up, viz. A (2 leaves), B (12 leaves), C (2), D (16), E (16), F (14), G (8). In the copy of The Wallace, the quires are more nearly uniform. It contains 124 leaves, distributed into 6 quires, viz. A (20 leaves), B (22), C (20), D (20), E (20), F (22). The Wallace ends on what is now the last page of the MS. with the colophon—'Explicit vita nobilissimi defensoris seocie videlicet Willelmi Wallace militis, per me Ihoannem Ramsay anno domini m° cccc° octuagesimo octano (flourish here) deo [gratias]'; the last word being illegible, though 'gratias' would be expected. See the latest edition of Wallace, edited by J. Moir for the Scottish Text Society, 1884—6. The last leaf of The Bruce is leaf 70, and the poem ends at the bottom of the first column on the front of it. This colophon is given, with the contractions marked by italic letters, at p. 520 below. I regret to say there are two errors in it. In my fifth line, 'lochmaleny' should rather be
lochmalony,' as printed by Jamieson; the MS. may be read either way. In my ninth line, I have followed previous editors in printing 'per dei manum,' which gives no sense. On re-examining the MS., I find the word is certainly 'miam,' which stands, as usual, for 'misericordiam'; and the correction, when once pointed out, is obvious enough. The colophon tells us, that this part of the MS. was 'Raptim scriptus' or written hurriedly, and that it was written by John Ramsay, at command of Sir Symon Lochmalony of Ouchtirmunysye, vicar, in 1489. Jamieson refers us to Sibbald's History of Fife, pp. 82, 83, 86, 89, for the information that Lochmalony was the name of a family in Fife, who took it from lands so called in the parish of Kilmeny, in the north-east part of Fife; and that the parish church of Moonsie, about two miles north-west from Cupar in Fife, is called Auchtermoney (i.e. 'Monsey-head') in a record dated March 31, 1517. This connects John Ramsay with Fife; and we learn, on the whole, that he was occupied in 1487 with writing out MS. C. of The Bruce; in 1488, with writing out The Wallace; and in 1489 with writing out a second copy (MS. E.) of The Bruce; and it was to mark his sense of the greater haste with which the latter copy was made that he has noted that it was 'raptim scriptus.' In fact, he has on several occasions skipt lines in the latter copy, by carelessly losing his place; as has been shown above. It is clear that he must have parted with the older copy before writing

1 From Gael. uachdar, the top (Macleod and Dewar); cf. O. Irish nachtar, öchtar, the top, upper part (Windisch). Mr. J. T. Clark, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, kindly refers me to the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ix. 648, for a mention of 'Alexander Lyndesay de Ochtermonsy' under the date 1485; and to p. 683 of the same, where, under the date 1484, there is a mention of Alexander Lochmalony of Lochmalony. He further informs me, on the authority of one of the family, Geo. Burnet Esq., Lyon King at Arms, that Alexander of Leys (possibly the one whose 'pen was led,' as he died a very old man) represented the family from 1529 to 1574. Among his younger sons were William of Easter Slowie and Alexander of Kynneskie. Christian, daughter of Alexander of Kynneskie, married (in 1579) Alexander Jaffray of Kingswells, whose son was provost of Aberdeen and father of 'Jaffray's Diary.' The other Alexander mentioned on this page of MS. E. was probably great-grandson of Alexander of Leys, and practically succeeded his great-grandfather in the estates in 1578.
out the later, and he does not seem to have drawn from precisely the same source as before. At least, the copies differ more than they should do in many places. But it seems useless to speculate upon the contents of the copies from which he drew, as they must long ago have perished. The various rubrics in this MS., such as that printed at the top of p. 3, are often the merest scribbles, and written anywhere in the margin, or at the top or bottom of the page. They were probably added afterwards. The rubrics in MS. C. are less numerous, and more carefully written, probably at the same time as the text.

I have said that the text ends at the end of col. 1 on the front of leaf 70. A blank space is left in the second column. The back of this leaf was originally the outermost page of the MS., and the only blank page in it. Hence it has come to be scribbled over with the names of its successive owners. The oldest entry is—'This buik pertenis to ane honorabill man, wm. burnat of ester slowy.' Somewhat later is—'This Buike pertenis to ane honorable man Alexander Burnet of leys: qui longos viuet letosque [dies?]. A third entry is—'Alexander burnet of kynnesky withe my hand . . Mr. Robertus Jafray' . . .

A fourth entry—'Alexander burnat with my hand at the pene led at the command off my maister.' A fifth entry is like the fourth, but with 'pen' for 'pene.' We thus learn that the MS. belonged formerly to the Burnets of Aberdeenshire, according to Jamieson (pref. p. xxiii).2

Owing to the loss of 25 leaves at the beginning of MS. C., I have necessarily printed MS. E. as the text, from p. 1 to p. 78, l. 56; with a few corrections from the editions by Hart and Anderson, and (very seldom) from Wyntoun's Chronicle, as to which see below. In Book II., E. omits ll. 243*-245*, owing to a repetition of mycht, which I have supplied from the editions. From Book IV. l. 57 to the end, MS. E. has been collated

1 Jamieson has—'withe my hand.' Ita est. Mr. Robertus Jafray Notarius ad hec."

2 Probably one of this family gave it to the Advocates' Library; but it is not known whether the donor was James Burnett, Lord Monboddo.
throughout, and the various readings given, as far as I have observed them. The variations are given in the footnotes, and are either marked 'E.', or have no letter appended to them.

Wyntoun.—After this description of the two MSS., it is necessary to add a few words here about Wyntoun's Chronicle. It has already been said that Wyntoun has preserved for us about 280 lines of The Bruce, in a better form (in the main) than is found in MS. E.; (MS. C. omits them). The exact passages thus preserved are the following: i. 37—132; 135, 136; four lines similar to i. 137—140; i. 141—164; four lines similar to i. 167—170; i. 187—194, 197—202, 205—212; two lines similar to i. 215, 216; 275—280; four lines equivalent in sense to i. 477—482; 483—514; six lines parallel to i. 561—566; four lines parallel to i. 569—572; i. 589—ii. 9; one line parallel to ii. 10; seven lines parallel to ii. 12—18; ii. 19—28; two lines parallel to ii. 31, 32; and ii. 33—36; making about 280 lines in all.

I have given a few corrections from Wyntoun in the footnotes, but I might have given just one or two more, as I failed to observe the quoted passages after l. 280. Thus, in i. 489, Wyntoun supplies full, so that he gives the line as—'And 30 than off full lord suld be.' In i. 501, Wyntoun has thay ne for than, which seems better. However, the extracts from Wyntoun are given in full in the Appendix to this Preface; p. lxxxii.

ACCOUNT OF THE PRINTED EDITIONS.

Innes remarks—'The first known edition of Barbour's Bruce is believed to have been printed about 1570-1. Only one imperfect copy is known to exist, and I have not had the advantage of seeing it. It is described by its possessor [Mr. D. Laing] as a small quarto, black letter, apparently printed at Edinburgh about the year 1570 (Memoir prefixed to Dunbar's Poems, 1834, p. 40, note). More lately, Mr. Laing informs us, it is printed 'apparently in 1571,' at the expense of Henrie Charteris, Edinburgh
(Bannatyne Miscellany, iii. 160).” On application to Mr. Laing, I was informed that it nowhere differed materially from Hart's edition, which is next described.

H.—Hart's edition, 1616. Innes remarks that he had never heard of the existence of more than two copies, one in the Bodleian library, formerly belonging to John Selden, and 'another and more perfect copy, formerly in the Anstruther Library, in the collection of Mr. Maidment, advocate.' However, the Bodleian copy is quite perfect; it is only misbound, one leaf of 'the Table' being placed before the last seven leaves. The Title is—'The Actes and Life of the most Victorious Conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. Wherein also are contained the martiaell deeds of the valiant Princes, Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglas, Erle Thomas Randel, Walter Stewart, &c. . . . Newly corrected and conferred with the best and most ancient Manuscripts. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, 1616.'

The text has been collated throughout with this copy, and all variations have been given that seemed of any importance. Hart seems to have had access to several excellent MSS., now lost. The chief gain of Hart's edition is that it helps to supply missing lines. Most of the lines found in MS. C., but omitted in MS. E., are found in H. (Hart). More than this, we sometimes find lines in H., almost certainly genuine, which occur in neither of the MSS. Such lines are: ii. 243*-245*, xii. 209*-212*; xiii. 131*-144*; xvi. 197*, 198*; xvii. 903*, 904*, 905*, 906*; xx. 421*-432*. By help of H., we thus recover no less than 39 lines, which are worth having; in particular, the 12 remarkable lines in bk. xx. give us an additional and remarkable anecdote, only otherwise preserved in Holland's poem of The Howlat; see note to line 421* on p. 611. I have not included l. 187 of Book I. in the above list, since this line, though omitted in E., is preserved by Wyntoun.

Prefixed to this edition of 1616, is 'The Printers Preface to the Reader.' I extract the opening paragraph of this, and another paragraph at the end. The latter is of some interest, as it contains a reference to the happy union of Scotland with
England under James I., printed only 13 years after that king's accession.

[From the Preface to Hart's edition of The Bruce, 1616.]

"THE PRINTERS PREFACE
to the Reader.

There is nothing vnto which the minde of man doth more aspire than to renown and immortality: therefore it is, that no time hath bene so barbarous, no countries so vncliile, but they haue had a care to preserue worthie actions from the injurie of oblivion, and laboured that the names of these that were vertuous, while they liued, should not perish with their breath. And amongst all the strange and diuerse fashions of remembi-ing the dead, no record hath bene found to be compared to that of bookes, and amongst all bookes none so lasting as these in verse, which how so euer rudely done, yet seeme to haue striuen with dayes, and euen to compass time, beeing the first remembrances that either Greece or Rome haue, and apparantly shall be the last.

Howe curious our Antecestours in this Islle haue bene to extend their memory to after ages, many olde monuments yet to be seene, can beare witnesse, but more than any, that fame of which many yeres since was amongst forners (sic) of their ancient Poets the Bardes, who wrote in verse the deedes of their most valiant men, and song them in the wilde Forrests and mountaines, with which (though long time after) the many records wee haue of the ancient defenders of our Countrie, may be brought forth: and amongst all the rest, this storie of the valiant Bryce is not the least: it speaketh the language of that time; if it spake ours, it would not bee it selfe: yet as an antique it is venerable.

[The writer goes on to explain the general contents of the poem, and the events which it relates. The Preface concludes in the following manner.]

This is hee\(^1\) of whom it may be said, that was said of that Roman Scipio, unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. Into

\(^1\) Referring, of course, to Robert Bruce.
what bondage found he his Nation? To what liberty did he restore it? Since the times of the old Heroes none hath more excelled in all vertues. Who more courageous in warre? Who more temperate in peace? Who euer had a fortoun more hard? Who euer did more hardly leade Fortoun captiue, and lesse regarded her frownes? a constant course of victorie still enabling all his enterprises, whose mind would not bin broken, much more bowed vnder such heaps of miseries? whose constancie would not be queld to have his wife taken captiue, his foure brethren slaine, his friends with all mischiefes opprest: to have himselfe not only barred of his patrimonie and estate, but of a Kingdome? and all done against faith, by a prince the mightiest of that age. Beside all these calamities, thralled, and brought to the extreamest of want: hee neither doubted of the recoverie of his Crowne, nor was at any time seene to commit any thing vnworthie of a kingly mind. Let Rome boast of her Camillus and Scipio, France of her Charles, Epirus of the great Scandeberge, Scotland shal not forget this Prince, for she cannot. And if hee be not so renoumed as these, it is not for that he is not as worthie: but for that he hath not had so braue trumpeters of his fame, beeing borne in so vnpolished an age: which time the destroyer and restorer of every thing may perhaps hereafter in these more learned dayes amend. There be some who hold the opinion that the publishing of those bookes is hurtful, as embers of consumed discord, but it is not the publishing of the simplicitie of our predecessours that can diuide vs, or cause any discord, but rather our owne too great subteltie, ambition and avarice, and the turning the pages of Tacitus, and of Secretar Machianell that can breed an ague in our state. Can the reading of the warres betwixt Langcaster and Yorke separate the red and white Roses? I thinke no. But I am perswaded that all men of sound minds wil rather abhorre discord in reading of these bookes, seeing what the miseries and horrible calamities these warres bring forth, and what great occasion we of both Nations haue to maguifie Gods goodnes, that in our daies since the Gospell hath bene in sinceritie published
amongst vs, hath turned all these bloodie broyles into a peaceable
Calme, especially now in the person of our dread Soueraigne: So
that now, as the Prophet sayeth, *Our swords are broken into
mattocks, and our speares into sithes.* But if we would consider
what means haue beene vsed, what paines taken, and plots laide
by the wisest of both Nations, to knit vp this vnion, and yet
could neuer effectate the same, vntill it pleased God to cut downe
this partition wall of long debate, in the person of our most
gracious Soveraigne.

GOD giue vs grace to bee
thankfull for it.

A M E N.

ROBERTVS BRVSSIVS.

Regni instaurator, ac penè novus con-
ditor, in omni Fortuna invictus.

*QVis varios casus, quis dura pericula Brvssi,*
*Fatorumque vices commemorare quest ?*
*Qui victus toties, toties qui victor et hostis,*
*In vacuo fixit Martia signa solo.*
*Qui domitis Fatis, pugnando restituit rem ;*
*Civibus et patriam, jusque suum patriae.*
*Cum tot acerba virum, cim tot cumulata suorum*
*Funera funeribus cerneret ante oculos ;*
*Mens generosa animi Fortune excelsior omni*
*Imperio, stabili perstittit usque gradu ?*
*Scotia quae statues Victor iusta tropca ?*
* Qui Fati, ac hostis, Victor et ipse Sui est.*

The same in English.

Who can the Hazards hard, the chances strange
Of *Bruce* report, a *Mark of Fortunes* change?
Oft was he thrall’d, his Foes oft from him fled,
Oft ensignes on the purple Plaines he spred.
He danted *Fates*, his native Soyle o’rethrowne,
Her to her owne, to her brought back a Crowne.
By fight he all restor’d, and hauing scene
So many funerall heapes before his eene,
His Mind vnquell’d reach’t *Fortunes* wheele aboue,
And in the Sphare of *Courage* fift did moue.
Where hast thou *(Scotland)* for his Trophees room,
Who *Fates*, Foes, and himselfe for thee o’recome?*
The next edition is that of 1620, also printed by Hart. Lowndes says it is in 8vo, black-letter, pp. 444. Jamieson had a copy of this in his own possession, and he gives the title-page, which agrees with that of 1616, except in the date. Innes remarks that this edition is, at first sight extremely like the preceding one. 'The type is the same, the page of letter is the same size in both, and the paging corresponds almost throughout. They are, however, essentially different.' He gives also a list of words which, in this edition, appear in a more modern spelling than in the foregoing; thus Captaine is substituted for Capitaine, allone for allane, two for twa, more for mare, them for thame, most for maist, so for sa, wold for wald, if for gif, old for ald, &c. All these are changes for the worse. I have neither examined, nor collated this edition, as I did not see what good was likely to come of it. There is a copy of this edition in the Advocates' Library, and it is probably not uncommon. Lowndes mentions later reprints of this edition, to which he assigns the dates 1648 and 1665.

A.—An edition by Andrew Anderson, Edinburgh, 1670; 12mo. There is a copy in the Cambridge University Library, which I have found useful. I have given occasional readings, marked 'A.' But it is considerably inferior to Hart's edition, from which it was probably derived, notwithstanding several alterations.\(^1\) Lowndes mentions a later edition, in 1671.

1672.—An edition printed by Robert Saunders, Glasgow, 1672; 18mo. (Innes). I am told there is a copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; but it is described as '12mo.'

1715.—Innes describes it as by 'Robert Freebairn, Edinburgh, 1715 or 1716; 4to, black-letter; in language much modernised. Issued with a false title-page in 1758.' I have seen one of these quartos; they are of a miserable quality, and may be described as almost worthless.

\(^1\) Shortly after I had finished my collations, this book was lost, and has never since been found. I succeeded in obtaining another copy, which I sold to the library for less than half price. Fortunately for me, it was not lost whilst I was consulting it.
1737.—By ‘Carmichal and Miller, Edinburgh, 1737; 18mo;’ (Innes). I have a note that there is a Glasgow edition of the same date, in the Advocates’ Library. In a book-catalogue it is described as—‘Life and Acts of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, with the Martial Deeds, &c., and with a Glossary of Words, thick 12mo., printed at Glasgow in 1737.’

1758.—A re-issue of ed. 1715; see above.

P.—The Bruce; or the History of Robert I., king of Scotland. Written in Scottish verse by John Barbour. The first genuine edition, published from a MS. dated 1489; with Notes and a Glossary; by J. Pinkerton. London, 1790. Fcap. 8vo. 3 vols. Instead of merely reprinting the old editions, Pinkerton printed MS. E. for the first time from a transcript made for him. He seems to have made little use of the black-letter editions, though he supplied l. 187 of Book I. from one of them. The idea of printing the MS. was an extremely good one, and the edition, being well printed and of convenient form, is a useful one. Pinkerton also printed some ‘Ancient Scottish Poems,’ in 2 vols., which I have, in various places, compared with the MSS. It is worth observing that, whilst much of his work is quite correct, he is, as an editor, seldom to be relied upon, as he frequently misreads or misprints a word which is clearly written in the MS. The reason is obvious, viz. that he was not acquainted with the language of the Middle-English period. It seems to have been the belief, in the last century and even later, that any one who was fairly acquainted with Greek and Latin was ‘a scholar,’ and by virtue of that ‘scholarship’ could edit works written in a language of which he knew neither the grammar nor the vocabulary. Indeed, I suppose the same belief still prevails in England; but it is a great snare, and is the source of much bad work.

It was Pinkerton who first divided the poem, which extends to more than 13,550 lines in MS. E., into twenty books. There are no divisions in the MS., except occasionally at the beginning of a new paragraph. These paragraphs are of unequal length,

1 Lowndes says 12mo., to indicate the size, as usual. The confusion on this subject is much to be regretted.
and do not always agree in the two MSS. Pinkerton's division is so convenient that I have gladly adopted it in the present edition; especially as it was adopted by Jamieson in his Dictionary, so that the references in that work are the same as here.

The chief defect in Pinkerton's edition is that it sometimes omits a line which is extant in the MS. In order to keep wholly to his numbering, I have been obliged to mark such lines with an asterisk, as well as the lines which I have supplied from MS. C. and from Hart's edition. The lines which exist in E., but are omitted in P., are these, viz. iv. 681*, ix. 104*—274*, xi. 97*, 98*, 132*, xix. 185*, 186*, xx. 127*—130*; making 14 lines in all.¹

J.—The Bruce, &c., published from a MS. dated 1489, with Notes and a Memoir of the Life of the Author. [To which is added,] Wallace, or the Life of Sir Wm. Wallace of Ellerslie, from a MS. dated 1488, by John Jamieson, D.D. Edinburgh; 1820. 2 vols. 4to. (250 copies printed). The Bruce and the Wallace are both printed from the same MS. E., but in separate volumes; and the volumes can sometimes be had separately. They form, in fact, distinct works, except that the meagre 'Glossary' to the 'Bruce' is incorporated with that to 'Wallace' in the second volume. Jamieson has printed the same MS. E. with much more care; he collated Pinkerton edition with the MS., and removed several mistakes. His acquaintance with the vocabulary was very considerable, as evidenced by his very useful Dictionary, in which a large number of the words in 'The Bruce' are well explained. Of course I am greatly indebted to his work, which has much assisted me. In going over his work I have found a few errors in it; and these are particularly discussed in Index VII., at p. 776. It is with something like a shock that one realises the fact that

¹ All these 14 lines are in Jamieson's edition. The present edition adds 80 lines from C., and 39 lines from H., and thus contains 119 lines more than J., and 133 more than P. The edition by lines is complete, but some of the additional lines do not appear in the text, being relegated to the notes. I give them all in the text, as being most convenient. The only line which seems to be spurious is xviii. 537*. The odd number of lines in Book IV. is due to the three Latin lines (249—251).
he had no particular acquaintance with Middle-English grammar, and sometimes misread some very easy words. Thus he supposes that betane could be the pp. of the weak verb betynen, and that wandyst could be the past tense of wandiun, to fear. It remains to be said that the MS. does not clearly distinguish between u and n, between c and t, or between s and f. Hence Jamieson has misprinted belenes for beleues, cleue for cleene, pantener for pantener, renk for renk, and skownrand for skownrand. Also, char for thar, and conversely tyre for cyre. Also, syclit for fycht (ii. 388), enchausyt for evchaufyt, sordid for fordid, lessyt for Ifffyt, stout-lynys for frontlynys, syvewarm for fyswarin (Fitzwarren). Again, he prints slalk for slakk; but this can be explained by the fact that the scribes actually write what looks like Ik, lb, merely to save themselves a little trouble in doubling the letters k and b; as explained in my article on Ghost-words (Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885-6, p. 369). I may illustrate this by noting that in Dr. Furnivall's print of 'The Legend of Women,' l. 756, MS. Gg. has the reading—'Thus wolde they seyn alas thow welkede wal'; where the other MSS. have wikked, wyked, wicked, wykkyd. The correct reading is, of course, wikked, for which some lazy scribe wrote what looked like wilked. The scribe of MS. Gg. perhaps thought that it meant 'withered,' and preferred to spell it welkede; but he need not have added the third e.

A few misprints also occur in Jamieson; as eftir for esyr (i. 40); debate for debat (i. 149); reweate for reawte (i. 164); commandyt for commaundyt (i. 258); Androws for Androwes (i. 353); likynt for likuyt (i. 396); he for ye, MS. ye (i. 494); tak for tuk (i. 589); and others of a like kind, easily corrected by collation with the MS.

In 1869, a convenient reprint of Jamieson’s edition of 1820 was published by Ogle and Co. of Glasgow. It is called ‘A new edition,’ but it is really a faithful reprint, page for page, of the former edition, and reproduces all the same misprints. There are ‘a few trivial, but necessary, alterations in the Notes.’ The

1 In Gawayu and Galogras; but it affects his explanation of belewyl.
Glossary to the ‘Bruce’ is not in the same volume, but is incorporated into that to the ‘Wallace,’ which is also reprinted separately. An account of this edition is given in *The Athenaeum*, Sept. 25, 1869.

Jamieson contrived to make one very great and quite inexcusable mistake. In order to distinguish his edition from Pinkerton’s, he rejected Pinkerton’s division of the poem into 20 books, and re-divided it into 14 books; although he had used Pinkerton’s method throughout his Dictionary. The result is that his own edition does not give the right references to his own Dictionary. I know of nothing more perverse in the history of editing. It is the more to be regretted because his method of division is decidedly inferior; it makes some of the books too long, and the places of division are not so well chosen. Jamieson’s arrangement is explained in detail at p. 541.

I.—The Brus. From a collation of the Cambridge and Edinburgh Manuscripts. Aberdeen: Printed for the Spalding Club, 1866. [Edited by one of the members of the club, Cosmo Innes, Advocate, of Edinburgh. The preface is signed C. Innes.] Pp. xliv, 524. 4to.

This is the first edition for which MS. C. was consulted. I am much indebted to the Preface, and have made some use of the Notes. The text is pleasant to read for those who only want the story, as unnecessary final es are almost uniformly dropped; but for philological purposes it must, I fear, be held to be worthless. The alleged ‘consistent orthography’ does not truly represent the Middle-English sounds, but is the mere result of ignorant caprice, and indefensible. I understand that the text was prepared by another hand, though the editor adopts it in the words with which he concludes his Preface:—“If I have, by allowable means, adjusted a consistent orthography, and further, by due comparison settled the text on a good foundation, my aim is in great measure gained, however much the edition may come short of the wishes of the philologist and student of language.” I must here add, that I can never forget the kindly way in which, on the only occasion of a personal
meeting, Professor Innes wished me all success with my own edition, and told me I was heartily welcome to make use of his labours.

The story, as given in this edition, is fairly complete, many emendations being due to the use of both MSS. and of Hart's edition. I may just remark that the adjustment of the spelling has, in some places, given rise to some otherwise unknown forms. Thus, in 10. 164 (sect. 76, l. 20 in Innes), Jamieson turned *cleune* into *cleue*; and this is the origin of the unmeaning form *clef* in Innes. See p. 230, footnote.

It is much to be regretted that, in this edition, yet a third method of numbering the lines was adopted. The poem is neither divided into 20 books (as in P.), nor into 14 books (as in J.), but into 150 paragraphs or sections of variable length. For some account of this method of division, see p. 542.

**PLAN OF THE PRESENT EDITION.**

The plan of the present edition may be described in a few words. By collating the two MSS. with Hart's edition (H.), I have secured a complete text. I follow MS. E. mainly as far as Book IV. l. 56, with corrections from H.; and afterwards MS. C., with corrections from E. and H. Some readings are added from A. (Anderson), and from Wyntoun.

In Books I—III., the rubrics not included within square brackets are from E.; the rest are from H. In Books IV—XX., the rubrics not included within square brackets are from C.; the rest are from E. or H., as noted. They are printed in clarendon type, for clearness. All alterations and emendations of the text, by help of other sources, are included within square brackets. Thus, in l. 16, the MS. reading *tyme of lenth* (obviously wrong) is supplanted by *lenth of tyme*, which is the reading in H. The MSS. are exactly followed, except that I have, of course, supplied the punctuation. I mark all expansions of contractions by printing them in italic letters; *th* being substituted for the MS.(214,948),(494,979) symbol 'y,' written just like the true y in such a word as 'heryn.' Thus in l. 2, the MS. has 'y‡ yai' for
'that thai,' and 'no' for 'noch't.' The substitution of 'th' for 'y' had to be used so frequently, whilst the advantage of marking it is so slight, and the disfigurement of the page so great, that I ceased to record it beyond p. 256, at the end of Book X. The gain in clearness was so great that it would have been better if I had printed 'th' in roman type all through; it is only necessary to say, once for all, that the symbols for 'th' and for 'y' are precisely alike in the MSS. The symbol 'o' is employed to represent a very similar symbol in the MS. Its proper signification is 'ss'; but it is frequently used in place of final s, as in l. 1, 2, and 3. In a few cases, it has to be taken to represent a final 'sis,' as in the case of 'houf' = 'housis,' vii. 163, viii. 514. When this symbol stands alone, it represents 'schir' or 'sir'; and I have so expanded it. The symbol lk is used for kk in a few words. I have printed the words wakl, waklnyt, walk, walkyn, as they are written; but they should rather have been printed wakk, wakknyt, wakk, wakkyn. It is certain, however, that Scottish scribes came, in course of time, to regard walk as a correct spelling, and understood it to mean l, k. It must be borne in mind that both MSS. were written out more than a century after the true date of the poem.

In the use of capital letters, I follow the MSS. Thus we find 'A' for 'a' in l. 13, and 'It' for 'it' in l. 15; and conversely, 'carrik' for 'Carrik' in l. 67; &c. The modern English j is invariably written as i or I; commonly the latter, as in 'Iugyt,' i.e. judged, in l. 89. Hyphens are inserted in compound words, when the component parts are written apart in the MSS.; as in 'with-in,' l. 107, written 'w i n' in the MS. The footnotes give the various readings. After l. 56 of Book IV., those to which no letter is appended are from MS. E., as explained in the footnote to l. 57 on p. 78. The side-notes give an abstract of the story, and the head-lines a still briefer one; these are helpful in finding the place. Compare also the 'Argument' at p. v. The side-notes also give the folios of the MS.; as, e.g. at p. 81, where l. 123 begins fol. 12 of E., and l. 140 begins fol. 27 of C. The folio-marks in E. are very helpful in finding the place in Jamieson's edition, with its different numbering of lines. Thus 'fol.
12 a’ occurs in Jamieson’s edition on p. 68, and shows that Book IV. 1. 123 of the present edition answers to Book III. 1. 351 in Jamieson. For the scheme showing the references to the editions by Jamieson and Innes, see p. 541. For a brief list of the MSS. and chief editions, see p. 640. For a general account of the whole contents of the volume, see p. 785, or the Table of Contents at pp. v—xvi.

Whilst I have endeavoured to correct some of the errors into which previous editors fell, I am quite conscious that some still remain; and some misprints have been discovered since the sheets were printed off. See the List of Errata and Addenda at p. 782, and the same List (but with some additions) at p. xcvi. I am afraid that even the latter of these is not quite exhaustive.

I beg leave to draw attention to the following articles on the subject of The Bruce. (See also p. 625.)

“An Inquiry into the Phonetic peculiarities of Barbour’s Bruce. Von Dr. Ernst Regel. Gera: Druck von Issleib & Rietzschel. (Nachgelieferte Arbeit zum Programm der Realschule erster Ordnung mit Vorschule zu Gera; Ostern, 1877).”

This gives an account of the vowels and consonants as employed in the MSS. of Barbour, and is founded upon the first ten books of the poem as printed in the present edition. See also a brief notice of this article in Englische Studien, iii. 194.

“Die Fragmenten von Barbour’s Trojanerkrieg”; by E. Köppel; in Englische Studien, x. 373. In this article a case is clearly made out against the ascription to Barbour of the two fragments of the Troy-book discussed above (p. xliii). I give a short summary of some of Dr. Köppel’s arguments at p. xlvi.


“Darstellung der Flexionslehre in John Barbour’s Bruce . . .
PLAN OF THE PRESENT EDITION.


"Sind die von Horstmann herausgegeben Schottischen Legenden ein Werk Barberes?" By P. Buss; in Anglia, ix. 493.

The author proves, by a rigorous examination of the rimes, &c., that these Legends cannot have been written by Barbour. See above, p. li.

"The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland: its Pronunciation, Grammar, and Historical relations. With Appendix and Map. By Dr. James A. H. Murray." In the Philological Society's Transactions for 1870-2. (Also published separately.)

This work should be consulted for remarks on the language of Barbour and other early poets of Scotland. See note, p. xciii.

I must not conclude this Preface without acknowledging my obligations to the previous editors of this poem, and to the help I have received from various quarters. The Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, afforded me great facility of access to their MS. The successive librarians of the Advocates' Library, Mr. Halkett, Mr. John Hill Jamieson, and Mr. Clark, gave me their help at Edinburgh. I am deeply indebted to the late Dr. Small, Librarian of the University of Edinburgh, for assistance in the collation of the Edinburgh MS. and for frequently comparing the proof-sheets with that MS. in order to secure accuracy; as also to Mr. D. Donaldson, of Glasgow, author of the latest Supplement to Jamieson's Dictionary, for collating a considerable portion of the poem with the same MS., and for various help. Mr. G. Parker, of the Bodleian Library, much assisted me in the collation with Hart's edition of 1616. I have also received other help, in the preparation of the work, for which I am greatly obliged.

I regret that the writing of this Preface has been so long, but unavoidably, delayed; and can now only hope that it will prove acceptable at last.

W. W. S.

APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE.

EXTRACTS FROM "ANDROW OF WYNTOUN'S ORYGYNALE CRONYKIL OF SCOTLAND."

Book VIII; Chap. II. (ed. Laing).

[Wyntoun here quotes from 'The Bruce,' bk. i. 37-132; 135-164; 167-170.]

Off the compromissyowne

Made off the Successyowne.

WHEN Alysandyre oure kyng wes dede,
That Scotland had to stere and lede,
The land sex yhere, and mayr perfay,
Wes desolate efftyr his day.
The barnage off Scotland at the last
Assemblyd thame, and fandyt fast
To chés a kyng thare land to stere,
That off awncestry cummyn were
Off kyngis, that aucht that reawté,
And must had rycht thare kyng to be.

Bot Inwy, that is sa fellowne,
Amang thame mad dissen.siown:
For sum wald have the Ballyolle kyng,
For he wes cumyn off that ofspryng,
That off the eldest systere was:
And othir sum nyt all that cas,

The text is from R (Royal 17 D. xx), re-read with the MS.: various readings from C (Cotton Nero D. 11). E. denotes the Edinburgh MS. of the Bruce. Expansions of contractions, and ˘ for á, are not noted. 123. For oure, E. has the. 126. Wes] Lay E. 127. E. has—Till that the barnage at the last. 133. Harl. 6909 has sa ; R. om. 134. E. has—Maid amang thaim gret dissen.sioun. 136. For that, E. has the. 137. That off the] Off hyr that E.
And sayd, that he thare kyng suld be, 140
That wes in als nere degre, 140
And cunnyn wes off the nerrast male 140
In thai brawnclys collateralle.

Thai sayd, successyown off kynryk 144
Wes nought to lawre feys lyk;
Thare mycht succed na female,
Quhill fundyn mycht be ony male
That be lyne war dissendand.
Thai bare al othirwais on hand,
For than the nest cummyn of that sede,
Man or woman, suld succede.

And declared for Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick.

Be this resown that part thowcht hale,
That the Lord off Anandyrdale,
Robert the brwyf, Erle off karryk,
Aucht to succed to that kynryke.
The barownys thus war at discord,
That on na maner thai mycht accord;
Quhill at the last thai all accordyt
That all thare spek suld be recordyt
Till Schyr Edward, off Ingland kyng;
And he suld swere, that, but feyhnnyng,
He suld that arbytry declare,
Off thir twa that I tald off are,
Quhilk sulde succed till sic hycht,
And lat hym ryng, that had the rycht.

This ordynawns thame thowcht the best:
For at that tyme wes pes and rest
Betwix Scotland and Ingland bathe;

They knew not what mischief was in store,
That towarde thame wes apperand,

For that the kyng off Ingland
Held sic frendschepe and cumpany
To thare kyng, that wes worthy,
Thai trowyd, that he, as gud nychtbore,
And as frenswm composytore,
Wald hawe Iugyd in lawte:
Bot othirwayis all yhed the gle.

For-thi sayd mayster Ihon Barbere,
That mekyll tretyd off that materere;
A! blynd folk fulle off all foly,
Had yhe wmbethoweht 3owe Inkkyrly,
Quhat peryle to 3owe mycht appere,
Yhe had noucht wroucht on this maner.
Had yhe tane kepe, how that that kyng
Off walys, for-owntyn sudIowrnyng,
Trawalyd to wyn the senyhowry,
And throw his mycht till occupy
Landys, that ware till hym marchand,
As walys wes, and als Irland,
That he put till sic threllage,
That thai, that ware off hey parage,
Suld Ryn on fwte, as rybalddale,
Quhen ony folk he wald assale.
Durst nane off walis in batale ryd,
Na yhit, fra evyn fell, a-byde
Castell or wallyd towne within,
Than he suld lyff and lymmys tyne.
In-till swylk thryllage thame held he,
That he ooure-come with his powste.
Yhe mycht se, he suld occupy
Throwch slycht, that he na mycht throw maystri.

Had yhe tane kepe, quhat was threllage,

170. that the] that at the E. 172. worthy] swa worthy E. 177, 178.
These two lines are, of course, not in Barbour. 180. Inkkyrly] enkryd E.
182. this] that E. 183. that that] at that E. 184. Off walys] Always E.
185. to] for to E. 189. till] to E. 192. Quhen he wald our
folk E. 196. That he ne suld E. 198. with] throw E.
And had consydryd his oysage,
That grypyd ay, but gayne-gyvyng,
Yhe suld, for-owtyn his demyng,
Hawe chosyn yhowe a kyng, that mycht
Hawe haldyn welle yhoure land at rycht.
Walis ensawmpill mycht hawe bene
To yhow, had yhe It before sene.
Quha will be othir hym-selff chasty,
Wyf men sayis, he is happy.
And perylowf thyngis may fall, perfay,
Als well to-morne, as yhystir-day.

Bot yhe trastyd in leawte
As sympill folk, but mawvite,
And wyst noucht, qwhat suld efftiv tyde.
For in this warld, that is sa wyld,
Is nane, determyne may, na sall
Knaw thyngis, that ar for to fall:
For god, that is off mast powste,
Reserwys that till hys maieste.
[Two lines of Barbour omitted here.]
On this manere assentyd ware
The barownys, as I sayd yhow are ;
[The next four lines vary.]
And messyngerys send till this Edwart,
That had his wayage tane onwart
For till pa5 in the haly land,
On Saracenys to be thare warrayand.
And fra he wyst quhat charge thai had,
He buskyd hym, but mare abad,
And lefft purpos that he had tane,
And till Ingland agane is gane:

And swene till Scotland wordes send he,  
That thai suld mak ane assemblé;
And he in hy suld cum to do.  
In all thyng, as thai wrat hym to.  
For he throwcht welle, throwch thare debate  
That he suld slely fynd the gate,  
How that he all the senyhowry,  
Throwch his gret mycht, suld occupy.  
And to Robert the brows said he,  
"Gyve thow will hald in cheff off me  
For euir-mare, and thi ofspryng,  
I sall do swa, thow sall be kyng."  
"Schyre," sayd he, "sa god me sawe,  
The kynryk yharne I nocht till have,  
Bot gyff It fall off rycht to me:  
And gyve god will that It swa be,  
I sall als frely in all thyng  
Hald It, as afferis a kyng,  
Or as my eldrys be-for me  
Held It in freast reawte."

[Two lines of Barbour are here omitted; and l. 251 varies.]

Wyth this Robert past his way.

Schyre Ihon the Ballyoll perfay
Assentyd to do all hys will:
Thare-off efftir fell gret Iwill.

BOOK VIII; CHAP. XVIII.

Qwhen that Ilk Edwarde syne

The towne assegide off stryvelyne.

[The lines in which Barbour is not quoted are printed in italics.]

A thousand thre hundir yhere and soure,
Fra he his lentyren thus held oure,
Fra Saynt Andrewys he passyd syne,

Fra 

Edward besieges Stirling.

And set his sege abowt Stryvelyn.
Than bathe the Castell and the town
Wes yholdyn, wyth condyceyown,
That all the Scottis men suld be
Off all harmys qwyt and fre,
That wyth-in the castell ware
In lettyre that was wyrtyn thare.

Stirling is given up.

To that this kyng gert put his selle:
Bot in that heycht he wes noucht lele.
Fra he the castell than had gottyn,
That cunnand swne he had for-yhottyn.
For Willame olyfant, that wes than
Off that castell Carytan,
He gert be tane, and lwndyn fast;
And in-to Lwndyn at the last
He gert put hym into prisown:
Thare sat he lang in that dwngeown.

Edward does not keep faith.

He imprisons Sir William Olijant.

Thus efftir the Pasce monethys thre
Bidand in oure land wes he;
And all the land drwe till his pes:
Bot Willame Wallays agayne hym wes.
Wes nothire castell, na wallyd town,
That he na had in possessyown.
The Archedene, in Brursis Buk,
Quha will In It the fyirst end luk;
Sayis, fra wek anent orknyay
Till Mullyryssnwk in Gallway

Sir William Wallace still holds out.

Castell bath and wallyd town
He drew till hys possessyown,
And stuffyd all wyth Inglis men.
Schyrravys and bayhllys mad he then,
And all-kyn othir offyceris,

2725. C. in-to; R. in.
2726. C. Pasche; R. Pasce.
2727. C. Pasche; R. Pasce.
2731. 2. Cf.
Bruce, i. 185, 186.
2732. E. omits; Hart retains.
2733. C. in-lil;
R. in.
2734. E. omits; Hart retains.
2735. Cf. Bruce, i. 185, 186.
2736. Till] To E.
in] in-till C.
2673, 4. Cf. Bruce, i. 185, 186.
That till all govirnale afferis,

[End of insertion from Chap. xvii.]

He put in Inglis nacyown,

That worthyd so Rwyde, and so fellown,

[Two lines of Barbour are here omitted.]

That Scottis men mycht do na thyng,
That euir mycht ples to thare lykyng.
Thare wywys wald thai offt forly,
And thare dowchtryrs dyspytwsly;
And gyve ony thare-at war wrath,
Wayt hym welle with a grettar skath.

[Two lines of Barbour are here omitted.]

And gyve that ony man thame by
Had ony thyng that wes worthy,
As horf, or hwnd, or ony thyng,
That plesand ware to thare likyng,
With rycht or wrang It have wald thai.
And gyve ony wald thame withsay,
Thai wald swa do, that thai suld tyne
Othir land, or lyff, or lyve in pyne.

[Two lines of Barbour are here omitted.]

Thai demyd offt rycht fellowny,
And knychtis slw, that ware worthy.

[ Fifty-eight lines of Barbour are here omitted. ]

Thus lyvyd the Scottis in threllage,
Bath sympill, and off hey parrage.
And oiff gret lordis sum thai slwe,
Sum thai hangyd, sum thai drwe;
And sum thai pwt in hard prisown,
But ony caws or enchowsen.

And hame agayn in-till Ingland

Syne passyd Edward this tyrand,

2678. That for to govern land afferis E. 2678. He maid off Inglis E.
2737. He maid off Inglis E. 2738. so-so] than sa ryth E. 2744. Thai watyt hym wele with gret scaith E.
Bruce; i. 197. C. grettar; R. gret. 2747. ong] othir E. 2751. wald] suld E. 2753. A!
Bruce; i. 275. quhat thai dempt thaim felonly E. 2754. For gud knychtis that E. 2755.
Bruce; i. 275. Thus-gat levyt thai, & in sic thrillage E. 2756. sympill and] pur and thai E.
2757. And-gret] For off the E. 2758. Sum] And sum E. sum] and sum E.
And his son off Carnarvon,
Edward, prince off Walys then.
Bot his butenandis be-bynd leffit he,
To gere his statutis haldyn be.

Quhen all this sawe the Brwss Robert,
That bare the crowne swone efftirwart,
Gret pytte off the folk he had,
Set few wordis tharoff he mad.

A-pon a tyme Schyr Iphon Cwmyn,
To-gyddyre ryland fra streylvyn,
Sayd till hym, “Schyr, will yhe nocht se,
How that govirnyd is this cuntre?
Thai sla oure folk but Enchesown,
And haldis this land agayne resown;
And yhe thar-off full lord suld be.
For-thi, gyve yhe will trow to me,
Yhe sall gere mak yhow thare-off kyng;
And I sall be in yhoure helpyng,
With-thi yhe gyve me all the land,
That yhe have now in-till yhoure hand.
And gyve that yhe will noucht do swa,
Na swilk a state a-pon yhowe ta,
All hale my landis sall yhowris be;
And lat me ta the state on me,
And bryng this land owt off thryllage.
For thare is nothir man na page
In all this land, that thay ne sal be
Fayne to mak thame-selfyn fre.”

The lord the Brws hard his karpyng,
And wend, he spak bot faythfull thyng:
And for It lykyd till his will,
He gave swne his consent thare-till,

And sayd, “syne yhe will It be swa,
I will blythly a-pon me ta
The state; for I wate, I hawe rycht:
And rycht offt makis the febill wycht.”
Thus thir twa lordis accordyt are;
That Ilke nycht than wryttyne war
Thare indentwris, and athis made,
Till hald all that thai spokyn had.

[Forty-six lines of Barbour are here omitted.]

It fell efftir this band-makyn,
Ihon the Cwmyne rade to the kyng
Off Ingland, and tald all the cañ,
To trow, nocht all yhit as It was.
Bot the Indenture till hym gave he,
Off thare cummandis pruff to be.
And quhen that lettir the kyng had sene,
Withowtyn doun he wes rycht tene,
And thowchtfull assyth to ta,
And vengeance of the Brwis alssua.

[Sixteen lines of Barbour are here omitted.]

Than Cwmyne hys leve tuk, and hame went.

And the Kyng a parlement
Gert set thare-efftir hastily:
And thiddir he sownownd rycht stratly
The Barownys off his reawte.
And to the Lord the Brwñ send he
Word to cum to that gaddryng.
And he, that had than na wyttyng
Off tresown, na of that falset,
Rade to the kyng, but langir let,
And In Lundyn hym herberyd he

The fyrst day off thare assemble.
Sync on the morne to Court he went.
On the morne in his parleament
Before his cownsalle thare priwe
This lord the Brwफ than callyd he,
And schawyd hym the Indenture.
He wes in-till gret awenture
To tyne his lyff, bot gyve he mycht
Help hym-selff thare with sum slycht.

Edward shows Bruce the indenture,
and asks if he sealed it.

The kyng thare bad hym tak and se
Gywe that Indenture selyd he.
The Brwफ it lukydf ententely,
And awnsweryd the kyng ryght mekely,
And sayd, "How that I sympill be!
My selle all tyme is noucht with me:
I hawe ane othir It to bere.
Tharefore, gywe yhowre willis were,
I ask [3ow] respyt, for to se
The lettir, and awysyd to be
Till to-morne, that yhe be set:
And than, forowtyn langir let,
I salt entyre this lettir here
Before yhowre cownsall all playnere.
And that to do, in bowrch drawe I
Myn herytage all halyly."

Bruce asks for time to consider,
and pledges his lands for his appearance.

The kyng thowght, he wes trayst Inwch,
Syn he in borch his landis drwch;
And lete hym with the lettir paф,
Till entyre It, as forspokyn waф.

[BOOK II. OF ‘THE BRUCE.’]

THE Brwfs went till his Innys swyth;
Bot, wyt yhe welle, he wes rycht blyth,
That he had gottyn that respyt.
He callyd his marschell till hym tyte,
And bade hym luk in all maynere
For till mak till his men gud chere;
For he wald in his chawmbyre be
A welle gret quhille in privare,
With hym a clerk, for-owtyn ma.
The marschell, as he bad, dyde swa.

The Earl of Gloucester
That saw apperand gret peryle
Tyl the lord the Brwss, Robert,
The quhilk he lwyyd with all hys hart,
Prevaly hys wardropere
He gert to this Robert here
A pare off spwris, and with tha
He send twelff pennys wyth hym alsua;
And bade hym to this Robert say,
That that sylvyre ykystirday
He had borowydfra hym; therfore
But mare delay he wald restore.
The Brwss than be this payment
Consayt had off the Erlys Intent.
The sylvir to the wardropere
He gave, and levyd hym haym to fare.
And alsafast as this was dwne,
But mar delay, or langare hwne,
Robert the Brws in privare

2853. his C E; R. om.  2854. rycht] full E.  2855. in] on E.  2858. For—mak] That he ma E.  2862. Answers to 2 lincs in E.—The marschell
till the hall gan ga And did hys lordys commanding.  2863. Here Wyntown
inserts a story not in Barbour.  2870. He C; And R.  2878. haym C; R.
repeats hym.  2881—3. Answers to 2 lincs in E.—The lord the bruce,
but mar letting, Gert prinely byrng Stedys twa.
Bruce; ii. 13. *Till hym gert twa steddis be
Browcht, and swene on thae*

Bruce and his clerk ride off.

He and his clerk lap on, but ma;

And furth, for-owtyn persayvyng,

[And] day and nycht, bwt swiowrnyng,

Thai held on. *Swa, on a day,
As rydand throwch the land ware thai,
Nere owre marche than rydand,*

They notice a man who avoids them.

Thai persawyd by thaim gangand

A man, that, as to thame wes sene,

By thame rycht fayme than wald have bene.

On hym than thai cald sa fast,

That hym behovyd byde at the last.

In sic karpyng than fell thai thare,

That thai wyst, that he lettrys bare;

Thai lettrys fra that man thai gat,

And Red thame all owre efftir that.

Be the tennowre full weil thai kend,

That Iohn thae Cumyne thai lettrys send

Till off Ingland the kyng Edwart

For till wudo the Brivss Robert.

He gert strok off thare off that man

The hewyd, and on hys way held than.

They and letters upon him,

which betray Cumyn's treachery.

That Iohn the Cumyne thai lettrys send

Till off Ingland the kyng Edwart

For till wudo the Brivss Robert.

He gert strok off thare off that man

The hewyd, and on hys way held than.

Bruce; ii. 17.

They ride to Lochmaben in 15 days.

Till Lochmaben than come thai.

Hys brodir Edward thare he fand,

That thowcht ferly, he tuk on hand

To cum hame sa priwaly.

Bruce teils his brother of his escape.

He tald his brodir halily,

How he chapyd, and all the caf,
How be-fore all hapnyd wa\$.
   Sa fell It, In the samyn tyde,
That at Dwnfres, rycht there besyd,
Schyre Ihon the Cwmyne his duellyng made;
The Brws lap on, and thiddir rade.

[Here 2 lines of Barbour are omitted.]

Thaire togyddir as thai mete,
But gret delay, or langere lete,
In the freris, at the hey awtere,
He schawyd hym with hewy chere

Hys Indenture ; than with a knyfl
He rewyd hym in that sted the lyff.

Quhat that effir this Brws Robert
In all hys tyne dyde effirwart,

The Archedene off Abbyrdene
In Brwyss hys Buk has gert be sene,
Mare wysly tretysde in-to wryt

Than I can thynk with all my wyt.

Therefore I will now thus lychtly
Oure at this tyne passe the story.


Note.—"In the later transcription of Barbour [in MS. E.] we note the greater frequency of the orthographic peculiarities of the Scottish writers of the Middle period, ai, ay, and ei, ey, being used for the older a and e [in Wyntoun]. Thus, deid, leid, weil, cheys, steyr, kep—travayll, batalill, thaim, thair, mayst, maid, traist, haiff, haid, Faynd, represet the older dece, teir, weil, chese, stere, kep—travall, batall, tham, thair, mast, maid, trast, have, had, fand. In the 16th century all long a's and e's were represented by ai and ei, which in early times were used only for an original diphthong, Anglo-Saxon or French. Observe also the change of the Ags. and Eng. past participle in d, assemblyd, travallyd, wallayd, consydryd, gryppyd, trastyd, used by Wyntoun, into the Middle Scotch form in t, assemblyt, travallyt, wallyt, consideryt, gryppyt, trastyt."—Dr. Murray, Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland; p. 35.
The following interesting relics connected with Bruce and his
time were brought together and exhibited at the Glasgow Exhibition
in 1888. It seems to me well worth while to make a note of them
here, as they will soon be dispersed again. I quote the descriptions
from the catalogue, which is entitled 'The Book of the Bishop's
Castle, and Handbook of the Archeological Collection. Printed
by T. and A. Constable, Printers to her Majesty, 1888.' The relics
were exhibited in a building called 'The Bishop's Castle.'

121 The Douglas Clephane Horn. This horn has been in the possession of
the Clephanes of Kirkness and Carslogie from time immemorial. It is
said that it was used by the inmates of one castle to summon those of the
other to repulse attacks. The ornamentation of it is Carlovian work
of the 9th century, in imitation of Byzantine, and consists of carvings of
chariot-races, and combats of men and animals. Figured and described
Lent by the Marquis of Northampton.

122 The Iron Hand of the Douglas Clephanes of Carslogie. This hand is
said to have been made by order of the Bruce for his faithful follower
De Clephane, who lost his left hand in one of the Bruce battles, and was
intended to enable him to hold his horse's reins when riding. Figured
Lent by the Marquis of Northampton.

123 Two-handed Sword, with which Sir Christopher Seton defended his
king and brother-in-law, Robert the Bruce, at the Battle of Methven
in 1306. Engraved and described in Dr. Daniel Wilson's Archeology of
Scotland. [See Bruce, ii. 418.] Lent by George Seton.

124 A Two-handed Sword, formerly preserved at Clackmannan Tower as
having belonged to King Robert Bruce, by whose successor, David II.,
that stronghold, with the manor and other lands, was granted, in 1359,
to his kinsman, Robert de Bruys, ancestor of the Bruces, Baron of Clack-
mannan. According to local tradition, Robert Bruce had actually resided
there, and certain vestiges had long been regarded with veneration as
associated with his history; among these was the sword. The descent of
the Barons of Clackmannan may be seen in Douglas's Baronage, p. 239.
The line became extinct on the death of Henry Bruce of Clackmannan in
1772. 'His relict, Catherine Bruce,' Douglas relates, 'survived till
November 1791.' At her death she bequeathed the sword and a helmet,
both said to have been used by Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn, to
the Earl of Elgin, considering his Lordship as the chief of the family.
They are now preserved at Lord Elgin's seat, Broomhall, Fifeshire.
Lent by the Earl of Elgin.
125 The Sword which King Robert the Bruce on his deathbed gave to Sir James Douglas, called the ‘Good Sir James.’ [Bruce, xx. 219.] On one side of the blade is the engraving of a heart, to which two hands point. Over the one hand are the letters ‘K.R.B.,’ and over the other the letters ‘I.D.’ On the other side are shown the Royal Arms of Scotland. The following legend is engraved, in capital letters, on the two sides:—

‘SO MONY QVID AS OF THE DOUGLAS BEINE,
OF ANE SIRNAME, WER NEVER IN SCOTLAND SEINE;
I WIL YE CHARGE, EVER YAT I DEPAR,
TO HOLY GRAVE AND THEIR ERE MY HART,
LET IT REMANE, EVER BOTH TYME AND HOVR,
TO YE LAST DAY I SIE MY SAVIOVR,
SO I PROTEST, IN TIME OF AL MY RINGE,
YE LYK SUBJECTS HAD NEVER ONY KEING.’

Lent by the Earl of Home.

127 Two-handed Sword, with Scabbard, used by the Laird of Lundie at Bannockburn. Lent by the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby.

128 Oriental Cane Staff, which belonged to the Laird of Lundie, in the time of Robert the Bruce.

Lent by the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby.

129 The Brooch of Lorne, said to have been borne by Robert the Bruce, and which fastened his plaid at the battle of Dal-Righ (the King’s Field) with the Lord of Lorne, Allaster or Alexander M'Dougall, on the borders of Argyllshire, August 1306, and which he had to leave along with his plaid in the dying grasp of the M'Keochs. [Bruce, iii. 93; see p. 556.]

The brooch was long preserved at Dunolly Castle, the seat of the Lords of Lorne, but disappeared in the 17th century, when the castle was burned by the M'Neils, assisted by the Campbells of Bar-Gleann. It was believed in the country to have been carried off by the latter, while the former was either seeking or ransacking the charter-chest. The Bar-Gleann family, however, overawed by the neighbourhood of their powerful enemies, never displayed the brooch or boasted of its possession; but having lately fallen into decay, they are reported to have sold it no longer ago than the year 1822. Soon after it is said to have been observed by General Campbell, of Lochneill, in the window of a jeweller in London. The General, a near neighbour of M'Dougall, recognizing, if not the Brooch of Lorne, which he never saw, a very curious and ancient Highland relic, entered the shop and inquired its history, when he was told it was the lost Brooch of Lorne; and, with very generous feeling, immediately purchased the valuable relic and presented it to its hereditary owner. Another account says this relic continued in the M'Dougall family till the year 1674, when the castle of Goalen, in the island of Kerrera, having been taken, sacked, and burnt by General Leslie's troops, Campbell of Inveraw possessed himself of the Brooch of Lorne; in that family it remained until it passed into the hands of a cadet of that house who, fully aware of its value, appointed it by testament to be sold, and the proceeds to be divided among his younger children. It was accordingly sent to Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, London, to be exposed for sale at the price of £1000. It is said that the late George IV., then Prince Regent offered £500 for it; this sum was refused, and the brooch with-
drawn. Ultimately, in 1825, General Campbell of Lochnell, being anxious to bestow some mark of grateful regard on his esteemed friend and neighbour, M'Dougall, purchased the brooch, and presented it to him through his chief, the Duke of Argyll, at a social meeting of the landholders of the county.

The said Brooch of Lorne was borne by Captain M'Dougall, R.N., of Lorne, in full Highland garb, who commanded and steered the royal barge in which the Queen and Prince Albert sailed up Loch Tay during the time they were the guests of the Marquis of Breadalbane at Taymouth Castle, on their visit to Scotland in 1842. Lord Breadalbane presented the wearer to the Queen, mentioning his profession, and that he bore the celebrated Brooch of Lorne which belonged to Robert the Bruce. The Queen took the brooch in her hand and examined it minutely, asking about the centre stone, &c.

The following description of the brooch, along with part of the foregoing, is from Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's *Royal Progress in Scotland in 1842*:

'It is of silver, of very curious form and ancient workmanship, and consists of a circular plate about four inches in diameter, with a tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The margin of the upper side has a rim rising from it, with hollows cut in the edge at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From the circle within this rim eight very delicately-wrought tapering cones start up at regular intervals to the height of an inch and a quarter, each having a large pearl in its apex. Concentric with these there is an inner circle, also ornamented with carved work, within which there is a raised circular case occupying the whole disc of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the cones. The circle exterior to this case projects into eight semi-cylinders, relieving it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is also very elegantly carved, and the centre is filled by a very large unpolished gem. Nobody has yet been able to determine the nature of this central stone. The present proprietor had it examined by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge of London, but they could form no judgment regarding it without its being polished, which, of course, he had too much antiquarian feeling to allow.' — Lent by Colonel C. A. M'Dougall.

130 Calthrop, from Field of Bannockburn. One of King Robert Bruce's expedients for harassing the English cavalry, was the stewing of Calthrops on the battlefield in order to lame the horses of the enemy. This curious relic was found while draining the field of Bannockburn. [It simply consists of four spikes, each about two inches long, projecting from a common centre. It looks too small to have wrought much harm.]

Lent by the Trustees of the Smith Institute, Stirling.

131 Portion of the Leathern Shroud of King Robert the Bruce, from his tomb before the High Altar in Dunfermline Abbey. The tomb was accidentally come upon in 1818, in digging the foundation of a new church, and this relic, together with a piece of the Toile d'Or in which the body was wrapped, was presented to the late Mr. Downing Bruce, by the Rev. Peter Chalmers, then Minister of the Abbey Church, Dunfermline. [Bruce, xx. 291.] Lent by Mrs. Downing Bruce.
132 Piece of the Toile d'Or in which the body of King Robert the Bruce was wrapped; from his tomb in Dunfermline Abbey. [Bruce, xx. 286.]
   Lent by Mrs. Downing Bruce.

133 Lock of Hair of Elizabeth de Burgh, second wife of Robert the Bruce.
   Lent by Mrs. Downing Bruce.

134 Battle-Axe which belonged to King Robert the Bruce.
   Lent by A. J. H. Campbell.

135 Spur which belonged to King Robert the Bruce.
   Lent by A. J. H. Campbell.

136 Stirrups which belonged to King Robert the Bruce. These relics (Nos. 134, 135, 136) from Dunstaffnage were, according to tradition, left by the Bruce when he handed over the castle to the Campbells. [Bruce, iii. 120, 121; x. 119.]
   Lent by A. J. H. Campbell.

137 Silver Spurs of Robert the Bruce, taken by a workman from his tomb in Dunfermline Abbey when it was discovered in 1818, during the digging of the foundation of the new church. Bruce, the last monarch interred in Dunfermline, was buried there in 1322, 'in medio chori, debito eum honore.' [Bruce, xx. 293.]
   Lent by Mrs. James Kay Brown.

139 Sword of Sir John Grahame, bearing Legend:—'SIR IONE YE GRAME VERRY VICH'T AND VISE, ONE OF YE CHIF RESKEVIT SKOTLAND THYRS. FAVCHT VITH YIS SWORD AND NEVER THOLT SCHAME. COMANDIT NANE TO BEIR IT BOT HIS NAME.' Dated 1406, with initials 'S. I. G.'
   Lent by the Duke of Montrose.

With respect to the relics numbered 131, 132, and 137, the reader may consult the article "On the Discovery of the Remains of Robert Bruce," printed in Blackwood's Magazine, vol. vi. p. 297; Dec. 1819. The most interesting fact was the discovery that one of the king's ribs had been sawn through in order to extract the heart; see Bruce, xx. 288.

A beautiful ballad entitled 'The Heart of the Bruce' appeared in the same magazine, vol. lvi. p. 15; July, 1844. It was written by W. E. Aytoun, and is reprinted in his 'Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers.'

An article on 'King Robert Bruce in St. Andrew's Cathedral,' with a poem annexed to it, both by J. C. Shairp, appeared in 'Good Words' for the year 1874, at p. 593.
ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

A list of Errata and Addenda has already been given at pp. 782-4, and some Additional Notes may be found at pp. 612, 613. I here repeat the list of Errata, &c. in a fuller form, for greater convenience. The more important of the Errata, &c. are marked with an asterisk.

Pp. 3—8. Most of the lines in Book i. 37—170 are quoted by Wyntoun. See the text of these lines at pp. Ixxxix—lxxxv. Most of the variations are duly noted in the footnotes on pp. 3-8. I here notice a few others.

P. 3, l. 40. For Lay, Wyntoun has Wes.
   ,, l. 41. Wyntoun has—The barnage off Scotland, at the last.
   ,, l. 55. For neist, Wyntoun has nerrast.
   ,, l. 56. Wyntoun has—In thai brawnchys collateralle.

P. 4, l. 59. Wyntoun omits For.
   ,, l. 63, 68. For the, Wyntoun has that.
   ,, l. 70. Wyntoun inserts thai after maner.
   ,, l. 71. For Till, Wyntoun has Quhill.
   ,, l. 77. Wyntoun has till for to, and omits A.
   ,, l. 84. Wyntoun omits at.

P. 5, l. 86. Wyntoun omits swa.
   ,, l. 92. For enkrel, Wyntoun has Inkkyrly.
   ,, l. 94. For that, Wyntoun has this.
   ,, l. 95. For at, Wyntoun has that.
   ,, l. 104. Wyntoun has—Quhen ony folk he wald assale.
   *,, l. 108. Wyntoun omits ne. (But it is required for the sense, and the line is to be scanned by reading he n’ for he ne, precisely as in l. 112 (where Wyntoun, or his scribe, has the inferior reading na). Compare the note to p. 5, l. 112 on p. 783.
So in l. 2789 of Wyntoun (at p. lxxxviii) the Royal MS. actually has the reading *thayne*, to signify that the two words *thay ne* are to be pronounced as *thay n'*.

P. 6, l. 121. Wyntoun omits And, transposes lines 121 and 122, and varies in l. 122. Cf. note on p. 612.

,, l. 129. Wyntoun has—Is nane, determyne may, na sall.

,, l. 132. Wyntoun has—Reserwys that till. He omits ll. 133, 134.

P. 7, ll. 137—140. Different in Wyntoun (see ll. 223—226 on p. lxxxiv).

,, l. 145. For syne, Wyntoun has swne.

,, l. 149. For But, W. has For.

* P. 8, l. 165. For wreyth, *it were better to read wreythit*; see note to this line on p. 783.

,, ll. 165—167. W. has here but one line; see l. 251 on p. lxxxv.

,, l. 168. W. omits Bot.

,, l. 170. W. has—Thare-off efftir fell gret Iwill; and then passes on to l. 187 (see l. 2735 on p. lxxxvi).

,, l. 187. This line is deficient in two syllables.

,, l. 192. The text of Wyntoun here quoted in the footnotes is quoted from Macpherson’s edition, and so offers some very slight variations of spelling, here and elsewhere.

P. 9, l. 193. W. has—He put in Inglis nacyown.

,, l. 202. W. has—Wayt hym welle with a grettar skath. (Here wayt is an infinitive, governed by wald understood.)

,, l. 207. For othir, W. has ony.

,, l. 211. For suld, W. has wald.

,, l. 215, 216. Here Wyntoun varies, and passes on to l. 275.

P. 10, l. 218. See note on p. 783.

P. 12, l. 275. W. has—Thus lyvyd the Scottis in threllige.

,, l. 277. W. has—And off gret lordis.

,, l. 278. W. omits both And and and.
P. 12, l. 280. W. passes on to l. 483 (see l. 2771 on p. lxxxviii).

* P. 13, l. 301. Supply that after For; see the footnote.

P. 19, l. 458. See the note on p. 784.

,, ll. 477—482. Cf. Wyntoun; ll. 2767—2770 on p. lxxxviii. Lines 483—514 are quoted by Wyntoun in full. See note to l. 481, on p. 548.

,, l. 483. For Till on, W. has A-pon (= upon).

,, l. 484. W. has—To-gyddyre rydand.

* P. 20, l. 489. W. has—And yhe thar-off full lord suld be.

Cf. note on p. 784.

,, l. 490. W. has—Forthi, gyve yhe.

,, l. 497. For land, W. has landis.

,, l. 501. Read that thay ne—as in the Royal MS. See note to l. 108 just above, p. xcviii.

,, l. 504. For suthfast, W. has faythfull.

,, l. 506. W. has—He gave swne his consent.

,, l. 509. W. (like Hart) omits that.

*, l. 510. For mayss, W. has makis; and Hart has makes (for which takes in the footnote on p. 20 is a misprint).

,, l. 512. In the margin, for 51 read 512.

,, ll. 511—514. Wyntoun varies; see ll. 2799—2802 on p. lxxxix. W. then passes on to l. 561.


,, l. 563. W. (like Hart) has the for this.

,, l. 564. W. has—To trow, nocht all yhit as it was. W. then varies, and passes on to l. 589.

P. 23, l. 592. W. has—And thiddir he sownmownd rycht stratly.

,, l. 595. For Bydding, W. has Word.

,, l. 596. W. has—had than na wyttyng.

,, l. 597. W. has—Off tresown, na of that falset.

P. 24, ll. 602—625. W. somewhat varies; see p. xc.

P. 25, l. 6. W. has—For till mak till.

,, ll. 10, 11. W. has only—The marschell, as he bad,
dyde swa. (For the additional story in W., see note to l. 1, on p. 550.)

P. 25, ll. 12—17. See l. 2881 (p. xci)—2886 (p. xcii); and note to l. 16 on p. 550. From l. 2887 in Wyntoun, pass on to l. 2905 when comparing the text with Barbour.

*,, l. 23. This halting line may be much improved by reading—How that before al hapnyd was—nearly as in W.

* P. 30, l. 138. For wreth we should read wrethyt. Cf. note above, to p. 8, l. 165, on p. xcix.
* P. 33, l. 214. See note on p. 784.
P. 45, footnote to l. 529. Insert ; after H.
* P. 51, l. 86. Read Danklyne. See note on p. 612.
P. 52, l. 120. Perhaps omit his, as in H.
P. 115, l. 296. Cf. note on p. 784. I suppose that the second u in mauren is due to the older form manwden.

P. 132. The eight lines following l. 84 should have been marked with asterisks at the beginning. They are not in the Edinburgh MS.
* P. 138, footnote to l. 268. For “Cf. l. 378” read “Cf. l. 178.”
* P. 178, fourth sidenote. Transpose the words “north” and “south.”
* P. 190, l. 351. Insert a hyphen in “to-ga.” Compare the other four passages in which the word occurs, the references to which will be found in the Glossary, s. v. To-ga. Cf. “the w[o]lclne to-gas,” the clouds disperse; O. E. Homil. ed. Morris, i. 239 (reprinted in Spec. of Eng. First Series, p. 7, l. 169); “yet thaj the fourme of brede to-go,” yet though the form of the bread may disappear; Shoreham’s Poems, p. 29. But Barbour’s use of to-ga as a past tense is certainly ungrammatical.
* P. 216, l. 522. Keep the reading buttill of MS. C. See note to the line, p. 576.
P. 233, footnote to l. 188. For sindry read syndry.
**P. 238, l. 324.** Add a semicolon or a full stop at the end of the line.

P. 240, footnote to l. 361. *For Irne C read Irne E.*

P. 255, footnote to l. 788; at end. *Read Iupertyss E; jeopardies H.*

* P. 256, l. 816. Supply a full stop at the end of the line.

* P. 271, l. 361. Delete the full stop at the end of the line.

P. 286, fourth sidenote; at the end. *For al read all.*

* P. 296, l. 360. *For rown and read rownand, i. e. whispering. See note, p. 583.*

* P. 307, l. 46. Add a full stop at the end of the line.

P. 311, first footnote. *For u read us.*

P. 386. The two lines following l. 196 should have been marked with an asterisk at the beginning. They occur only in Hart's edition.

P. 387, l. 204; margin. *For 20 read 204.*

P. 398. The four lines following l. 500 should have been marked with asterisks at the beginning. They are not in MS. E.

* P. 399. The first and second sidenotes are wrong. Read—"The third was in Eskdale, when Sir John de Soulis with 50 men opposed Sir Andrew Harcla and 300 men, and defeated them." See note to l. 508; p. 599.*

P. 408, footnote to l. 73. *Insert & after Barvike.*

* P. 432, fifth sidenote. *For besiegers read besieged.*

P. 440. The pairs of lines following lines 902 and 904 respectively should have been also marked with asterisks at the beginning. They occur only in the printed editions.

P. 462. Line 537 *should have been marked with an asterisk at the beginning, as it is not in MS. E. Though found in MS. C., it is probably spurious, as it makes three lines to rime together, of which we have no other example in Barbour.*

P. 463, second sidenote. *For Beauvoir read Beverley.*

P. 520, l. 5. *For "capellanum" read "capellani."
P. 520, l. 16. For lochmaleny read lochmalony. (In the MS. it may be read either way.)

*,, l. 20. For "Dei manum" read "Dei misericordiam."
The MS. has "miam."

P. 536, at end of colophon. For "capm." read "capni." ; i.e. capellani.

* P. 545 ; note to i. 122. See additional note at p. 612.
* P. 556 ; note to iii. 73. See additional note at p. 612. Moreover, Gadres is the O.F. form of Gaza, which is, accordingly, the place referred to. (This I learn from M. Paul Meyer.)

*,, ; note to iii. 99. See the additional note at p. 612.

* P. 558 ; note to iii. 455. See additional note at p. 613; and p. liii, note i.

* P. 561 ; note to iv. 181. Mr. J. Moir informs me that the name of 'Snow Tower' is still given to a large round tower, which is the chief feature of Kildrummy Castle as now standing. The origin of the name is unknown.

* P. 562 ; note to iv. 249. But Bosbek may be right. There was such a place, viz. in West Flanders, to the west of Courtray; and the traveller and ambassador usually called Busbecquius was named from it; see the Life of Busbecq.

* P. 571, note to viii. 14. I am not at all sure that this is the right explanation of helde, though it is a possible one. The M.E. helden, A.S. heldan, or more commonly hyldan, means to incline, bend down, lean over; so that the line may mean—"He caused to incline to his dominian." This is the more likely because, in v. 153, the word heldand plainly means 'inclinig,' and is wrongly explained in the Glossary.

* P. 574 ; note to ix. 107. Mr. J. Moir has no doubt that Prof. Innes is right here, and that the Sleevach is precisely Sliach, in the parish of Drumblade, some 16 mi. N.W. of Inverury. He observes that 'Sliach is just outside the Garioch; you reach it through a narrow road, the Glens of Foudland, which could easily be defended. The Garioch is a large plain, and the Hills of Foudland form one of its barriers.' At p. 517 of his edition, Innes has an additional note, in which he says that Mr. Joseph
Robertson quotes an anonymous authority—"In this paroch (Drumblade) is the park of Sliach, noted for its being the place where King Robert Bruce encamped in his sickness before the battle of Old Meldrum, where he defeat (sic) the Cummins." For this he refers us to J. Robertson's Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 476. See the next note, viz. to l. 110.

* P. 579; note to x. 516, last line. Delete the words 'power to avoid.' See Woidre in the Glossary; p. 750.
* P. 589; note to xiv. 33. See additional note at p. 613.
* P. 593; note to xiv. 522. See additional note at p. 613.
* P. 594; note to xv. 39. See additional note at p. 783.
P. 641, l. 5. For pt. pl. read pr. pl.

GLOSSARY.

Assale; p. 645. In l. 4, for "7.369" read "17.369."
* Barell-feris; p. 649. See note (to p. 594) on p. 783.
Cumrayd; p. 660. Add—"Cumrit, pt. s. stood in (their) way, proved (their) ruin, overwhelmed (them), 7.486."

Draw; p. 665. Add—"Drawis, pr. s. draws, inclines (one), 7.175."

Eschap; p. 669. Add—"Eschaping, s. escape, 7.54."
Evin, s.; p. 670. For vyn read Evyn. A letter has dropped out.
* Ger; p. 679. But perhaps gert helde means 'caused to incline'; see note to p. 571, just above, on p. ciii.

Hand; p. 682. Add—'At his hand, close at hand, 7.72.'

Havyn; p. 683. After this insert—'Havyng, s. behaviour, 7.412."

Leynd; p. 693. After this insert—'Leysche, s. leash, 7.414.'

Mellyne; p. 698. Add—'Mellyng, s. encounter, 7.481.'
On; p. 703. Add—'on slepe, asleep, 7.192.'
Shallest; p. 722. After this insert—'Shame, v. feel ashamed, 7.436.'

Sow, s.; p. 724. After this insert—'Sow, v. gall, 16.391 (E). See Minot's Poems, ed. Hall, note to sect. v. l. 12.'

Stane-cast; p. 726. After this insert—'Stane-ded, adj. stone-dead, 7.471.'

Sythyn; p. 731. After this insert—'Syttyn, pp. sat, 7.407.'

To-morn; p. 736. After this insert—'Top our taill, head over heels, 7.455.'

Travaill; p. 737. Add—'Tranell, 7.45.'

P. 783. The note to 'P. 691, s. v. Lechis, &c.' is needless, as the required corrections have been made in the printing.

P. 784; last line. Add—'Perhaps the forms manrent, lufrent are due to the fuller forms manreden, lufreden.'
The Bruce.

[BOOK I.]

Incipit liber compositus per magistrum Ihoannem Barber, Archidiaconum Abyrdonensem: de gestis, bellis, et virtutibus domini Roberti de Brwyss, regis Socie illustrissimi, et de conquestu regni Socie per eundem, et de domino Iacobo de douglas.

StoryØ to rede ar delitabill,
SuppoØ that that be nocht bot fabill;
Than suld storyØ that suthfast wer,
And thai war said on gud maner,
Hawe doubill plesance in herynge.
The fyrst plesance is the carpyng,
And the tothir the suthfastnes,
That schawys the thing rycht as it wes;
And suth thyngis that ar likand

[Gal. 1 a.]
Fabulous stories please,
but true ones please doubly.

The various readings marked H are from Hart's edition of 1616. The Edinburgh MS. is denoted by E; the Cambridge MS. (beginning at Bk. iv, l. 57), by C; after which line the unmarked readings are from E. A denotes Anderson's edition (1670); P 'Pinkerton's edition (1790); J Jamieson's edition (1820); I Innes's edition (1856).

1. delitabill] delectable H.
2. that—nocht] they nought contain H.
3. And—on] If they be spoken in H.
4. plesance] pleasure H.
5. plesance—the] is their pleasant H.
6. And—tothir] The other is H.
7. suth] soothfast H. Printed such PJ.
Therefore I essay to write a true story.

Old stories shew men the very actors, just as they were.

Tyll mannys heryng, ar plesand.
Tharfor I wald fayne set my will,
Giff my wyt mycht suffice thartill,
To put in wryt A suthfast story,
That it lest ay furth in memory,
Swa that na [lenth of tyme] It let,
Na ger it halys be forget.

For aulde storys that men redys,
Representis to thaim the dedys
Of stalwart folk that lywyrt ar,
Rycht as thai than in presence war.
And, certis, thai suld weill howe pryf
That in thar tyme war wycht and wyf,
And led thar lyff in gret travaill,
And oft in hard stour off bataill
Wan [richt] gret price off chewalry,
And war woydyt off cowardy.

As wes king Robert off Scotland,
That hardy wes off hart and hand ;
And gud Schyr Iames off douglas,
That in his tyme sa worthy was,
That off hys price & hys bounte
In fer landis renownyt wes he.

Off thaim I thynk this buk to ma;
Now god gyff grace that I may swa
Tret It, and bryng It till endyng,
That I say nocht bot suthfast thing !

14. lest—furth] may last H.
15. [lenth of tyme] tyme of length
E (an obvious error); length of timo
H. It] may H.
17. aulde storys] The MS. has aul.
...... rys; also the beginnings of
lines 1 to 17 are obliterated or torn
away; but there is no doubt about the
readings. H has ald Stories.
19. lywyrt ar] liued air H.
20. in presence] present H.
24. intill H; in A.
25. [richt H] right A; E omits.
26. war—off ] was voyde of all H.
28. That hardy wes of hart and hand.
29. And gud Schyr Iames off douglas.
30. That in his tyme sa worthy was.
31. price] praise H.
32. fer—wes] sindrie lands honour
wan H.
34. gyff ] of H.
35. till] to gude H.
Quow the lordis of scotland tuk the King of Ingland to be arbitar at the last.

Quhen Alexander the king wes deid,
That Scotland haid to steyr and leid,
The land vj 3er, and mayr perfay,
Lay desolat eftyr hys day;
Till that the barnage at the last
Assemblyt thaim, and fayndyt fast
To cheyō a king thar land to ster,
That off awncestry cummyn wer
Off kingis, that aucyth that reawte,
And mayst had rycht thair king to be.
Bot enwy, that is sa feloune,
[Amang thaim maid] discenciouī.
For sum wald haiiff the balleoll king;
For he wes cummyn off the offspryng
Off hyr that eldest Systir was.
And othir sum nyt all that cafo;
And said, that he thair king suld be
That [wes] in alsner degre,
And cummyn [wes] of the neist male,
And in branch collaterale.
That said, successioun of kyngrik
Was nocht to lawer feys lik;

Rubric. Loosely written in margin of E; the last ten words are uncertain, and scarcely legible.
37—132. Quoted by Wyntown, bk. viii. ch. ii. ll. 1—54, and 57—98.
37. the] oure in Wyntown.
39. vj] sex H; six A.
41. that—barnage] all the Barouns H.
42. fayndyt] that full H.
44. awncestry] the ancestree H.
45. aucyth—reawte] had that Royallie H.
46. mayst had] had maist H.

At the death of Alexander III., the land lay desolate six years.

Dispute as to the succession.

Some would choose Baliol.

Others said that no one could succeed through a female.

[Amang—maid] Amang ūame mad in Wyntown; Maid amang thaim gret E; but H and A omit gret, and so does Wyntown.
50. the] fat in Wyntown.
52. And—all] Uther sum contrary-it that H.
54, 55. [wes] so in Wyntown; was HA; war E. in alsner] of als neir HA. neist] first H.
56. in branch] of Branches H.
58. feys lik] state alike H.
JOHN BALIOL AND ROBERT BRUCE.

For thar mycht succed na female,
Quhilk foundyn mycht be ony male
[That were in lyne] ewyn descendand;
Thai bar all othir wayis on hand,
For than the neyst cummyn off the seid,
Man or woman, suld succeed.

All agree that King Edward I.
shall decide.

They knew not what mischief
was in store.

For thar mycht succed na female,
Quhilk foundyn mycht be ony male
[That were in lyne] ewyn descendand;
Thai bar all othir wayis on hand,
For than the neyst cummyn off the seid,
Man or woman, suld succeed.

Be this resoun that part thocht hale,
That the lord off anandyrdaile,
Robert the brwyf, Erle off carryk,
Aucht to succeed to the kynryk.
The barownys thus war at discord,
That on na maner mycht accord;
Till at the last thai all concordyt,
That all thar spek suld be recordyt.

Till Schyr Eduuard, off yngland king;
And he suld swer that, but fenȝeyng,
He suld that arbytre disclar,
Off thir twa that I tauld off ar,
Quhilk [suld] succeed to sic A hycht;
And lat him ryng that had the rycht.
This ordynance thaim thocht the best,
For at that tyme wes peʃ and rest
Betwyx Scotland and Ingland bath;
And thai couth nocht persawe the skaith
That towart thaim wes apperand;
For that at the king off Ingland
Held swylk freyndschip and cumpyiy;

59. succed na] not succeed a H.
60. [That—lyne] so in H; this is more sense than the reading in E—
   How that in his ewyn descendand.
61. [That—lyne] in the form—pat
   be lyne war descendand (Bk. viii. ch. ii. 1. 25).
62. bar] beir H.
63. the (1)] thair H.
64. [that part] the Lords H.
65. that part] the Lords H.
66. anandyrdaile] Annandaill H.
67. [that part] the Lords H.
68. [that part] the Lords H.
69. at] in H.
70. That] And H.
71. concordyt] accordyt in Wyn-
   town; accordit H.
72. that] H omits.
73. that arbytre] as arbiter H.
74. that] H omits.
75. Quhilk] Quha H. [suld] sulde
   in Wynont; sould H; should A;
   E omits. sic A] sit on H.
76. thaim] thay H; they A.
77. And] That H.
78. And] That H.
79. that at] why H.
To that king, that was swa worthy, 
*That trowyt* that he, as gud nychtbur, 
And as freynosome compositur, 
Wald have Uygut in lawte; 
Bot othir wayis all ȝheid the gle. 
A! blynd folk full off all foly! 
Haid ȝe wmbethocht ȝow erkrey, 
Quhat perell to ȝow mycht apper, 
ȝe had nocht wrocht on that maner: 
Haid ȝe tane keip how at that king 
Alwaysis, for-owtyn soiournyng, 
Trawayllyt for to wyn senȝhory, 
And throw his mycht till occupy 
Landis, that war till him marcheand, 
As walis was, and als Ireland; 
*That* he put to swyłk thrillage, 
That thai, that war off hey parage, 
Suld ryn on fute, as rebaldail, 
Quhen he wald [ony] folk assail. 
Durst nane of Walys in bataill ride; 
Na yhet, fra ewyn fell, abyd 
Castell or wallyt tonne with-in, 
*That* he ne suld lyff and lymmys tyne. 
In-to swilk thrillage thaim held he, 
*That* he ourcome throw his powste. 
ȝe mycht se he suld occupy 
Throw slycht, *that* he ne mycht throw maistri. 

86. *To*] With H. *swa*] H om. 
88. *freyndsome*] friendfull H. 
89. *lawte*] lede Lawtie H. 
91. *blynd—all*] Folke blinded full of great H. 
92. *wmbethocht—enkrey*] be-thought once earnestly H. 
93. *to—mycht*] might to you A. 
95. *at that*] that this H. 
96. *Always*] Wyntown has of Walys, and to wyyn þe instead of for to wyn in l. 97. *forowlyn soiournyng*] withouten fainyeeing H. 
98. *till*] did H. 
100. *als*] all H. 
101. *to*] into H. 
103. *rebaldaill*] Ribalds all H. 
104. *[ony] so in Wyntown; any H; anie A; our E. 
108. *That—lyff*] But he should lith H. 
109. *held*] led H. 
HE OUGHT NOT TO HAVE BEEN CONSULTED. [BOOK I.

Had ye tane kep quhat was thrillag,
And had considery his usage,
That gryppyt ay, but gayne-gvyng,
3e suld, for-owtyn his demyng,
Haiiff choysyn 3ow a king, that mycht
Have haldyn veyle the land in rycht.
Walys ensample mycht have bene
To 3ow, had ye It forow sene.
And wyf men sayis he is happy,
That be othir will him chastie.
For wnfayr things may fall perfay,
Alle weill to-morn as thisterday.

Bot ye trusted in
his good faith.

But ye should have
chosen a king
without him.

Thus, by assent
of the barons,

O
on this maner assentyt war
The baronis, as I said 3ow ar:

113. thrillag] thirlage H.
116. forowtyn—demyng] withoutten
his denying H; without his devysing A.
118. reyle—yn] well your Land at
H; so also in Wyntown.
120. forow sene] well foreseene H;
before sene in Wyntown.
121, 122. Wrongly transposed in
E (and in PJ); but H and A have—
And wise men say he is happie That
will therein himselfe chastie.
123. For wnfayr] Wyntown has—
And perylows.
124. Also—as] The morne, as they
did H.
125. in] into H; unto A.

116. mycht] might H.
129. determinatly H] determinat E.
130. things—ar] any thing that’s
H. [for] so in Wyntown and H; E
omits.
132. Reserwyt] Reseru’d it H.
134. allyn] appears like allryn in
E, the k being loosely made; printed
allryn PJ; allryn 1; but there is no
such word. H has—Of things to come
the contingence.
135. On] In H. Printed In PJ.
The MS. has no large letter here, but
a space is left for it, and a small o
And through thar aller hale assent, Messingeris till hym thai sent, That was than in the haly land, On saracenys warrayand.

And fra he wyst qahat charge thai had, He buskyt hym, but mar abad, And left purpos that he had tane; And till Ingland agayne is gayne. And syne till Scotland word send he, That thai suld mak ane assemble; And he in hy suld cum to do In all thing, as thai wrayt him to. But he thocht weile, through thar debat, That he suld slely fynd the gate How that he all the senȝhowry, Throw his gret mycht, suld occupy. And to Robert the brwyD said he, “Gyff thow will hald in cheyff off me For euirmar, and thine ofspryng, I sall do swa thow sall be king.” “Schyr,” said he, “sa god me save, The kynryk ȝharn I nocht to have, Bot gyff It fall off rycht to me: And gyff god will thât It sa be, I sall als frely in all thing Hald It, as It afferis to king; Or as myn eldrifs forouch me Held It in freyast reawte.”

written in it, as a direction to the rubricator. Wyntown has On, and quotes this line and the next. 137. aller] awin H; owne A. 138. sent] went H. 139, 140. Then to the holy land boun was he To Saracens to weepe surely H. For weepe A has warre. 141—164 and 168—170. Quoted by Wyntown (bk, viii. ch. ii. ll. 105—128, and 130—132). 143, 144. Transposed in II and A. 148. wrayt] write H. 150. the] sum H. 162. It afferis to] langes to a H; afferis a in Wyntown. 163, forouch] before H and Wyntown. 164, reawte] Royaltie H.
Edward is wroth. *The tothir wryth him, and swar That he suld have It neuir mar: And turnyt him in wretch away.*

But Baliol assents. *Bot schir Ithon the balleoll perfay Assentyt till him, in all his will ; Quhar-through fell eftir mekill Ill.*

He is king, but not for long, *He was king bot A litill quhile ; And through gret suitelte and ghyle, For litill enchesone or nane, He was arestyt syne and tane, And degradyt syne wes he Off honour and off dignite.*

being soon degraded. *Quher-throuch fell eftir mekill Il.*

He was king hot A litill quhile; And thiouch gret suitelte and ghyle, Tor litill enchesone or nane, He was arestyt syne and tane, And degradyt syne wes he Off honour and off dignite. *Quhethir it wes through wrang or rycyth, God wat It, that is maist off mycht!*  

When Edward had degraded Baliol, *Q uhen schir Edward, the mychty king, Had on this wyf done his likyng Off Ihone the balleoll, that swa sone Was all defawtyt & wndone, To Scotland went he than in hy, And all the land gan occupy : Sa hale, that bath castell and toune War in-till his possessioune,*

he occupied all Scotland, *[Fra Weik anent Orknay] To mullyr-swnyk in gallaway : And stuffyt all with Ingliß men. Schyrreffys and bail3heys maid he then ; And alkyn othir officeris,*

from Wick to the Mull of Galloway. *All his officers there were Englishmen, That for to govern land afferis,*


Wyntown. 187. *From H and Wyntown; E omits, 1, 186 being the last on the page. A has the same, with From for Fra.* 188. *mullyr-swnyk* Mulesnuke H. 192. *for—land*] to gouverne the land H ; Wyntown has til all governale.
BOOK I.

He maid off Inglis nation;
That worthyt than sa ryth fellone,
And sa wykkyt and cowatousf,
And swa hawtane and dispitousf,
That Scottis men mycht do na thing
That euir mycht playf to thar liking.
Thar wyfis wald thai oft forly,
And thar dochtry dispitously;
And gyff ony thar-at war wrath,
Thai watyt hym wele with gret seaith;
For thai suld fynd sone enchesone
To put hym to destructione.
And gyff that ony man thaim by
Had ony thing that wes worthy,
As horf, or hund, or othir thing,
That plesand war to thar liking,
With ryacht or wrang It have wald thai.
And gyf ony wald thaim withsay,
Thai suld swa do, that thai suld tyne
Othir land or lyff, or leyff in pyne.
For thai dempt thaim eftir thar will,
Takand na kep to ryacht na skill.
A ! quhat thai dempt thaim felonly!
For gud knychtis that war worthy,
For litill enchesone or than nane,

who outraged the Scotch.
If any man had a valuable thing, they took it.
They did as they pleased.

194. H has—Then worthit they sa feirs and felloun ; Wyntown has—put worthyd so rwyde and so felloun.
196. H has—Sa heuy, and sa conetous.
197—212. Quoted by Wyntown, except 203, 204.
201. E inserts of thaim after ony; but Wyntown and II omitt it.
202. watyt—with] wald him wait with a II.
205. that—man] ony man neir II.
207. As—hund] Hound, or hors II.
208. E has war plesand, but Wyntown has plesand ware ; cf. pleasand was H.
210. withsay] ganesay H.
211. suld (1)] wald H. thay] he A.
212. land—lyff] lyic, or land H.
213. dempt] or demyt ; the MS. seems to have dempt, altered to demyt ; damplit H ; damnit A.
214. na skill] nor ill A.
215. A quhat] Alace H.
217. or than] and oft for H.
Thus were the Scotch wickedly handled.

Ah! freedom is a noble thing!

A noble heart cannot live without it.

He who has been a thrall prizes freedom more than gold.

The thrall can call nothing his.

Thay hangyt be the neckane.

All[s]! that folk, that euir wes fre,
And in fredome wount for to be,
Throw thar gret myschance and foly,
War tretyt than sa wykkytly,
That thar fays thar Ingis war;
Quhat wrechitnes may man have mar?
A! fredome is A noble thing!
Fredome may0 man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at e0 that frely levys!
A noble hart may haiff nane e0,
Na ellys nocht that may him plef0,
Gyff fredome fail3he ; for fre liking
Is 3harnyt our all othir thing.
Na he, that ay ha0 levyt fre,
May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,
The anger, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyrdome.
Bot gyff he had assayit It,
Than all perquer he suld It wyt;
And suld think fredome mar to pry0
Than all the gold in warld that Is.
Thus contrar thingis euir-mar,
Discoveryngis off the tothir ar.
And he that thryll Is has nocht his,
All that he ha3 enbandownyt Is

218. Were hanged by the neckes ilkane H.
219. Alas[ ] Alas E; but H has Alace, which the sense requires. that folk] they fore H.
220. in] ay in H. wount for] was wont H.
221. gret] H om. and] and their H.
222. tretyt] thirled H.
225. A—A] O how freedome is H.
226. Fredome] For it H.
Till yhs lord, quhat cuir he be.
Yheyt has he nocht sa mekhill fre
As fre [liking] to leyve, or do

That at hys hart hym drawis to.

Than mayf clerkis questioun,
Quhen thai fall in disputacioun,
That giff man bad his thryll owcht do,
And in the samyn tym come him to

His wyff, and askyt hym hyr det,
Quhefhir he his lordis neid suld let,
And pay fryst that he awchyt, & syne
Do furth his lordis commandyne ;
Or leve onpayit his wyff, and do
[It] that commandyt Is him to ?
I leve all the solucioun
Till thaim that ar off mar renoun.

Bot sen thai mak sic comperyng
Betwix the dettis off wedding,
And lordis bidding till his threll ;
3e may weile se, thoucht nane 3ow tell,
How hard A thing that thryldome Is ;
For men may weile se, that ar wyf,
That wedding is the hardest band
That ony man may tak on hand.
And thryldome is well wer than deid ;
For quhill A thryll his lyff may leid,

247. [liking] so in HA; E has wyll, which clips the line.
248. That at] It that H. hym drawis] draws him H.
249. Than—clerkis] And yet Clarkes make H.
251. That giff] If a H.
254. lordis] Lords H; wives A. let] bet H; beet A; printed bet PJ;
but I read the word as let, as required by the sense. Mr Innes (following A) has wifis ned suld bet, but I do not think this the right solution; sec l.

253. avchyt] ow H.
255. onpayit—wyff] his Wife un-payde H.
257. is] that H. For It E has Thai thingis, which spoils the line.
260. To men of mare discretion H.
263. till—threll] to their will thirt H.
264. 3ow] should H.
266. se] wit HA.
None can tell what thraldom is.

Schortly to say, is nane can tell

The halle condicioun off A threll.

Thus-gat levyt thai, & in sic thrillage;
Bath pur, and thai off hey parage.

For off the lordis sum thai slew;
And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew;
And sum thai put in [hard] presoune,
For-owtyn cauf or enchesoun.

And amang othir, off dowglas
Put in presoun schir Wiljam was,

That off dowglas was lord and syr;
Off him thai makyt A martyr.
Fra thai in presoune him sleuch,

Hys [landis] that [war] fayr Inewch,

That to the lord off clyfiurd gave.
He had A sone, A litill knave,

That wes than bot a litill page;
Bot syne he wes off gret waslage,

Hys fadyr dede he wengyt sua.

That in Ingland, I wndirta,

Wes nane off lyve that hym ne dred;
For he sa fele off harnys schel,

That nane that lyvys thaim can tell.

271. body] both body H.
272. bot] not, but H.
273. can] to H.
274. halle] sore H.
275—280. Quoted by Wyntown, bk. viii. ch. xviii. 49—54.
275. levyt—sic] they liued in H.
276. thai] rich H.
276. pur—thai] sympli and in Wyntown.
279. in] into H. [hard] supplied from Wyntown; EH omit.
280. For-owtyn] Withouten H;
But ony in Wyntown.

272. Sir Williame put in prison was H. schir] PJ om.
284. makyt] haue made H.
286. Hys—war] And his lands that were H. E has land that is; but see 1. 316.
287. [to H] E om.
288. had] left H.
290. Bot—off] And syne came to H.
293. that—ne] but they him H.
294. off harnys] in armes H.
295. thaim can] can it H.
Bot wondirly hard thing[is] fell
Till him, or he till state wes brocht.
That air wes nane auentur that mocht
Stunay hys hart, na ger him let
To do the thing he wes on set;
For he thocht ay encrily
To do his deid awysily.
He thocht weill he wes worth na seyle,
That mycht of nane anoyis feyle;
& als for till escheve gret thingis,
And hard trawalys, and barganyngis,
That suld ger his price dowblyt be.
Quharfor, in all his lyve-tyme, he
Wes in gret payn, ec gret trawaill;
And neuir wald for myschieff faill,
Bot dryve the thing rycht to the end,
And tak the vre that god wald send.
Hys name wes James of douglas;
& quhen he herd his faidir was
Put in pressoun so fellounly,
And at his landis halyly
War gevyn to the clyffurd, perfay,
He wyst nocht quhat to do na say;
For he had na thing to dispand,

296. *Bot wondirly] Sa wonder H. things] thinges H; thing E (but the contraction for is is obviously omitted). fell] befell H.
298. *Thair] Bot there H.
300. he] that he in E, which spoils the line; but H omits that, and for he has it.
301. How that he ay thocht ernisty H; A the same, but with For for How.
303. weill—seyle] he was not worth na weill H.
304. of nane] not of H.
305. als—eschere] that for to encheif H.
308. *Quharfor] Therefore H.
309. Forsuik neuer paine nor trauell H. ce] cc or et E.
310. *And] Nor H.
312. vre] chance H.
316. *halyly] sa haillely H.
318. na] or H.
319. to] for to E; but H omits for.
None would help him.

He determined to go abroad to Paris.

There he lived awhile in apparently profitless mirth.

Robert, Earl of Artois, often feigned similar gaiety.

Cato says it is well to feign folly sometimes.

\[
\text{Na thar wes nane that euir [him] kend}
\]

\[
\text{Wald do sa mekill for him, that he Mycht sufficiantly fundyn be.}
\]

\[
\text{Than wes he wondir will off wane;}
\]

\[
\text{And sodanly in hart has tane,}
\]

\[
\text{That he wald travaile our the se,}
\]

\[
\text{And A quhile in paryf be,}
\]

\[
\text{And dre myscheiff quhar nane hym kend,}
\]

\[
\text{Till god sum succours till him send.}
\]

\[
\text{And, as he thocht, he did rycht sua,}
\]

\[
\text{And sone to paryf can he ga ;}
\]

\[
\text{And levyt thar full symplyly.}
\]

\[
\text{The qhethir he glaid was and Ioly ;}
\]

\[
\text{And till swylk thowlesnes he 3eid,}
\]

\[
\text{As the courf askis off 3owtheid ;}
\]

\[
\text{And wmqhull in-to rybbaldaiill :}
\]

\[
\text{And that may mony tyme awaill.}
\]

\[
\text{For knawlage off mony statis}
\]

\[
\text{May quhile awail3e full mony gatis ;}
\]

\[
\text{As to the gud Erle off Artayis,}
\]

\[
\text{Robert, befell in[till] his dayis ;}
\]

\[
\text{For oft feyn3eyng off rybbaldy}
\]

\[
\text{Await3eit him, and that gretly.}
\]

\[
\text{And Catone sayis ws, in his wryt,}
\]

\[
\text{To fenythe foly quhile is wyt.}
\]

\[
\text{In parys ner thre 3er duellyt he ;}
\]

\[
\text{And then come tythandis our the se,}
\]

\[
\text{That his fadyr wes done to ded.}
\]

322. sufficiently] with sufficiency H.
323. Than] Thus H; the initial T is a two-line letter in H.
326. [in] into H.
328. succours] succour H.
332. The quethir] Quhere that H.
333. till—thowlesnes] to sic exercise oft H.
334. the] H om, askis] craues H.
335, 336. And quhiles in play and vanitie, The quhilk sumtime may
337. statis] estates H.
339. Artayis] Artois H.
340. [intill HA] in E.
343. [vs in] intill H.
344. To] That to E; but HA omit That.
346. tythandis] tything H.
The Value of Fidelity.

Then wes he wa and will of red;
And thocht that he wald hame agayne,
To luk gyff he, throw ony payn,
Mycht wyn agayn his heritage,
And his men out off all thryllage.

[The first rising of Lord Dowglas.]

To sanct Androws he come in hy,
Quhar the byschop full curtasly
Resavyt him, and gert him wer
His knyvys, forouch him to scher;
And cled him rycht honorabilly,
And gert ordayn quhar he suld ly.
A weile gret quhile thar dueltyt he;
All men lufyt him for his bounte;
For he wes off full fayr effer,
Wyf, curtai$, and deboner;
Larg and luffand als wes he,
And our all thing luffyt lawte.
Leavte to luff is gretumly;
Throuch leavte liffis men rychtwisly:
With A wertu [of] leavte
A man may zeit sufficyand be:
And but leavte may nane haiff price,
Quhethir he be wycht or he be wyf;
For quhar It fail3eys, na wertu
May be off price, na off valu,
To mak A man sa gud, that he
May symply gud man callyt be.
He was always leal.

He was in all his dedis lele;
For him dedeyn3eit nocht to dele
With trechery, na with falset.
His hart on hey honour wes set;
And hym contenyt on sic maner,
That all him luflyt that war him ner.

Bot he wes nocht sa fayr, that we
Suld spek gretyly off his beaute:
In wysage wes he sumdeill gray,
And had blak har, as Ie hard say;
Bot off lymmys he wes weil maid,
With banyts grety & schuldrys braid.

He lisped somewhat.

His body wes weyll [maid and lenye,]
As thai that saw hym said to me.
Quhen he wes blyth, he wes lufly,
And meyk and sweyt in cumpany:
Bot quha in battaill mycht him se,
All othir contendance had he.

And in spek wlispyt he sum deill;
Bot that sat him rycht wondre wlell.
Till gud Ector of troy mycht he
In mony thingis liknyt be.
Ector had blak har as he had,
And stark lymmys and rycht weil maid;
And wlispyt alsua as did he,
And wes fullfilyt of leawte,
& wes curtaif and wyf and wycht.
Bot off manheid and mekill mycht,
Till Ector dar I nane comper
Off all that euir in warldys wer.

376. him dedeyn3eit] he dedeinyed
H; he denied A.
377. trechery] tratourie H.
379. contenyt] contenied H.
385. Bot] But then H.
387. wes] H om. [maid—lenye]
made and lenye H; made and lenye L; blank space in E.
392. All othir] Another H.
393. spek—he] his speech lisped H.
400. leawte] all bountic H.
401. and wyf] wise H.
404. warldys] warld H (which seems better).
The qu[...]

He duellyt thar, quhill on A tid,
The king Eduuard, with mekill prid, 408 King Edward comes to Stirling.
Come to strevillyne with gret meng3e,
For till hald thar ane assemble.
Thiddirwart went mony barouno; 412 Bishop William leads Douglas to King Edward,
Byschop Wyl3ane off lambyttoun
Raid thiddyr als, and with him was
This squyer Iames of dowglas.
The byschop led him to the king,
And said, “schir, heyr to 3ow I bryng 416 saying that he claims the lordship of Douglas.
This child, that clemys 3our man to be;
And pray[...]
That 3e resave her his homage,
And grantis him his heritage.”
“Quhat land/is clemys he?” said the king.
“Schyr, giff that It be 3our liking,
He clemys the lordschip off douglas;
For lord tharoff hys fadir was.”
The king then wretkyt him encerely,
And said, “schir byschop, sekyrly,
Gyff thow wald kep th3 fewte,
Thow maid nane sic speking to me. 428
Hys fadyr ay wes my fay feloune,
And deyt tharfor in my presoun;
And wes agayne my maieste:

405. The qu[...]
407. quhill[...]
409. strevillyne Starling H; Sterling A.
411. Thiddirwart[...]
412. Byschop[...]
413. Raid[...]
414. This squyer[...]

BRUCE.

416. to—T] to you I HA; I to 3ow E.
418. prayis] prayeth H; prays E.
420. grantis] grant to H.
425. wretkyt — encerely] wrythed him angrily H.
428. maid] mak H; make A;
(which seems better).
429. fay] HA om.
Tharfor hys ayr I aucht to be. 432
Ga purches land quhar euir he may;
For tharoff haffys he nane perfay:
The Clyffurd sall thaim haiff, for he
Ay lely has serwy to me." 436
The byschop hard him swa anser,
And durst than spek till him na mar;
Bot fra his presence went in hy,
For he dred sayr his felouny:
Swa that he na mar spak tharto.
The king did that he com to do;
And went till Ingland syn again,
With mony man off mekill mayn. 444

Scoti assimilantur Sanctis Machabeis.

Here begins the Romance.

Lordis, quha likis for till her,
The Romanys now begynys her,
Off men that war in gret distref,
And assayit full gret hardynes,
Or that mycht cum till thar entent:
Bot syne our lord sic grace thaim sent,
That thai syne, throw thar gret walour,
Come till gret hycht & till honour,
Magre thar fayis euirkane,
That war sa fele, that [ay for] ane
Off thaim, thai war weil a thousand.
Bot quhar god helpys, quhat may withstand?
Bot and we say the suthfastnes,

RUBRIC. Written in margin, with reference to 1.465.

432. hys—aucht] I aucht his aire

434. haffys] gets H.

435. thaim haiff] hane them H.


442. The king] But H. com] came for H.

443. And—syn] The king in England went H.

446. Romanys] Romanes H; Romance A.

451. syn] sensyne HA. thar]

452. till (2)] he H.

454. [ay for HA] ane till E (which makes no sense).

456. quhat] quha H; who A.

457. Bot and] Zet yif H.
Thai war sum tyme erar may then les.
Bot god, that maist is of all mycht,
Preserwyt thaim in his forsycht,
To weng the harme and the contrer,
At that fele folk and pautener
Dyd till Sympill folk and worthy,
That couth nocht help thaim-self ; for-thi
Thai war lik to the machabeyis,
That, as men in the bibill seys,
Throw thair gret worship and warlour,
Fawcht in-to mony stalwart stour,
For to delyuir thar countre
Fra folk that, throw Iniquite,
Held thaim and thairis in thrillage :
Thai wrocht sua throw thar wasseilage,
That with few folk thai had victory
Off mychtly kingis, as sayis the story,
And delyueryt thar land all fre ;
Quharfor thar name suld lovyt be.

Thys lord the brwylf, 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, "schir, will zc nocht se
How that gouernyt is this countre ?
Thai sla our folk but enchesoune,
And haldis this land agayne resoun, 488
And 3e tharoff suld lord be.
And gyff that 3e will trow to me, 492
3e sall ger mak [yow] tharoff king, With-thi 3e giff me all the land, That 3e haiff now in-till 3our hand;
And I sall be in 3our helping; Na swylk A state apon yow ta, 496
In exchange for his lands;
Or to give his own lands to Bruce, All hale my land sall 3ouris be;
and be king himself.
And lat me ta the state on me, And bring this land out off thyrlage.
For thar is nothir man na page, In all this land than thai sall be
The lord the brwiß hard his carping, Fayn to mak thaim-selwyn fie.”
And wend he spak bot suthfast thing. 500
He gave his assent sone thartill:
And for It likit till his will, And said, “sen 3e will It be swa,
He gave his assent sone thattill: I will blythly apon me ta
And said, “sen 3e will It be swa, The state, for I wate that I have rycht;
I will blythly apon me ta And rycht mayß oft the feble wycht.”

THE barownys thus accordyt ar, 512
And that Ilk nycht writyn war
Thair Endenturis, and aythis maid,
To hald that thai forspokyn haid.
Bot off all thing, wa worth tresoun!
For thar is nothir duk ne baroun,

488. haldis] hes HA.
491. Ye shall thereof gar make you king H. [yow] you HA; E om.
494. 3e] printed ye P; he J.
501. than] but H. sall] will H.
502. Fayn] With vs H.
504. wend] weinde H.
510. mayss] takes H.
511. The] written ye in E.
513. and] H om.
516. duk] Earle H.
Na Erie, narynce, na king off mycht,
Thocht he be neuir sa wyf na wyfch,
For wyf, worship, price, na renoun,
That euir may waunch hym with tresoune!
Wes nocht all troy with tresoune tane,
Quhen x 3eris of the wer wes gane?
Then slayn wes mone thowsand
Off thaim with-owt, throw strentch of hand,
As Dares in his buk he wrate,
And Dydis, that knew all thar state.
Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tane throw mycht,
Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.
And Alexander the conqueroure,
That conquertyt Babilonys tour,
And all this wold off lenth and breid,
In xij yher, throw his douchty deid,
Wes syne destroyit throw wsoune,
In his awyne howfi, throw gret tresoune.
Bot, or hy deit, his land delt he :
To se his dede wes gret pite.
Iulius Cesar als, that wan
Bretane and frauntce, as dowchty man,
Affryk, arrabe, egipt, Surry,
And all evrope halily;
And for his worship & valour
Off Rome wes fryst maid Emperour;
Syne in hys capitole wes he,
Throw thaim of his consaill pruie,
Slayne with pu[n]soune rycht to the ded.

But who can guard against treason?
The siege of Troy,
as told by Dares and Dictys.
Alexander was destroyed by treason.
Julius Cesar,
Emperor of Rome,
was slain treasonably.

517. Erle] Duke H.
519. price] praise H.
520. waunch—with] keepe him fra H.
522. x] ten H. ver] siege H.
523. Where there was slaine aught
hunder thousand H.
525. he] did H.
526. And dyted their battell and
their state H.
532. xij] twelue H.
534. gret] H om.
538. dowchty] worthy H.
539. Surry] and Syria H.
540. all evrope] als Europe all H.
545. pusoune] pousoun (==punchion in Halliwell) is the reading of Frechairs's edition; E has pusoune, misswritten for pousoune; H has bot-
kins, evidently a gloss upon pousoune.
And quhen he saw thar wes na rede,
Hys Eyn with his hand closit he,
For to dey with mar honeste. 548

**King Arthur,**
Als Arthur, _that_ throw chevalry
Maid Bretane maistres & lady
Off xij kin[rykis] _that_ he wan ;
And alsna, as A noble man,
He wan throw bataill fraunce all fre ;

And Lucius yber wencusyt he,
_That then_ of Rome wes emperour :
Bot zeit, for all his gret valour,
Modreyt his Systir Son him slew,
And gud men als, ma _then_ Inew,
Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes,
_The_ broite beris _tharoff_ wytnes. 560
Sa fell of _this_ conand making :
For _the_ Cwmyn raid to _the_ king
Off Ingland, & _tald_ all _this_ caf,
Bot, I trow, nocht all as _It_ was. 564

Bot _the_ Endentur till him gaf he,
_That_ soune schavyt _the_ Iniquite ;
Quharfor syne he tholyt ded ;
_Than_ he couth set _tharfor_ na rede. 568

**Edward swears he will take vengeance,**
Q uhen _the_ king saw _the_ Endentur,
He wes angry out of mesur,
And _swour_ that _he_ suld wengeance ta

**[Fol. 4.]**

Off _that_ brwyf, _that_ presumyt swa 572
Aganys him to brawle or ryfe,
Or to conspyr on sic A wyfi.
And to Schyr Ihou cumyn said he,
That he suld, for his leawte,
Be rewardyt and that hely:
And he him thankit humly.
Than thocht he to have the leding
Off all Scotland, but gane-saying,
Fra at the browce to dede war brocht.
Bot oft failzeis the fulis thocht;
And wyfi mennyys etling
Cummyys nocht ay to that ending
That thai think It sall cum to;
For god wate weil quhat is to do.
Off hys etling rycht swa It fell,
As I sall eftirwartis tell.
He tuk his leve and hame is wont;
And the king A parlyament
Gert set thareftir hastely:
And thiddir Somownys he in hy
The barownys of his reawte.
And to the lord the bruce send he
Bydding to com to that gadryng.
And he, that had na persawyng
Off the tresoun, na the falset,
Raid to the king but langir let;
And in lunden hym herberyd he
The fyrst day off thar assemble.
Syn on the morn to court he went,

576 and promises to reward Comyn.
579 Than—he] And thought well
581 that H. dede] death H.
582 the] that H.
583 etling] etling H.
584 All does not happen as expected.
585 It sall] that it sould H.
586 wate weil] wats H. to do]
      ado H.
588 eftirwartis] afterwards you H.
590 And] And then A. A] so in
     A; cummed a H.
591 Gert—thareftir] Hes set,
     then after H.
592 thiddir Somownys] hidder
     summon H.; hidder summond A.
593 reawte] fewtie H.
594 send] sent H.
Edward shows Bruce the indenture,

The kyng sat into parleament;
And forouch hys consaile priue,
The lord the bruce thar callyt he,
And schawyt hym the Endentur.
He wes in full gret auentur
To tyne his lyff; bot god of mycht
Preserwyt him till hyer hycht,
That wald nocht that he swa war dede.
The king betaught hym in that steid
The Endentur, the Seile to Se,

and asks if he sealed it.

And askyt, gyff It enselyt he ?
He lukyit the Seyle ententily,
And answertyt till hym humyly,
And sayd, “how that I Sympill be !
My Seyle is nocht all tyne with me ;
Ik have ane othir It to ber.

Bruce asks for time to consider,

Tharfor giff that your willis wer,
Ic ask 3ow respyt for to Se
This lettir, and tharwith awysit be,
Till to morn, that 3e be set.
And then, for-owtyu langir let,
This lettir sall I entyr heyr,
Befor all 3our consaill planer ;

and pledges his lands for his appearance.

And thar-till in-to borwch draw I
Myn herytage all halily.”
The king thoct he wes traist Inewch,
Sen he in borwch hys landis drewch ;
And let hym with the lettir passe,
Till entyr It, as for-spokin was.

603. forouch] before H.
608. Preserwyt] Reserved H.
610. betaught] besought H.
612. It enselyt] that it sealde H.
613. ententily] full tentiuely H.
614. till—hummyly] him full meakely H.
615. how] through H (quite wrongly).
617. Ik] I H.
620. This] The H. awysit be] cause me H.
621. to] the H.
622. for-owtyr] but only H.
623. This] The H.
624. all] H om. consaill planer] Court planycere H.
625. borwch] broch H ; a bourgh A.
628. Sen—landis] Gif he his land in Borrow H.
[BOOK II.]

Quhow the bruce escheuit king edwardis deseit.

[The escaping of the Bruce, and the deade of John Cuming.]

The bruys went till his Innys swyth;
    Bot wyt 3e weile he was full blyth,
That he had gottyn that respyt.
He callit his marschall till him tyt,
    And bad him luk on all maner,
That he ma till his men gud cher;
For he wald in his chambre be,
A weil gret qwhile in private,
With him A clerk for-owtyn ma.
The marschell till the hall gan ga,
And did hys lordys commanding.
The lord the bruce, but mar letting,
Gert priucly bryng Stedys twa.
He and the clerk, for-owtyn ma,
Lap on, for-owtyn persawyng:
And day and nycht, but soiournyng,
Thai raid; quhill, on the fyften day.

The Bruce goes to his lodging.

He tells his marshal he wishes to be private.

He and his clerk get steeds.

RUBRIC. The first rubric is in E, the second in H.
1. Begins in E with ye, the small y being written in a square space.
2. Bot] And H.
6. ma till] made to H.
7. wald] will H.

9. A] ane H; one A. for-owtyn]
14. He] And he H. for-owtyn]
15. for-owtyn] withouten H.
17. fyften] fyft H.
and ride to Lochmaben in 15 days:

Bruce tells his brother of his escape.

At this time Comyn was at Dumfries:

Bruce shows Comyn the indenture in the Friars' church, and slays him.

Cummyn till louchmaban ar thai.
Hys brodir Eduard thar thai fand,

That thocht ferly, Ic tak on hand,
That thai come hame sa priuely:

He tauld hys brodyr halily,
How that he thar socht was,
And how he chapyt wes throw caf.

Hic Iohannes cumyn & alii occiduntur in ecclesia
Fratrum.

Sa fell It in the Samyn tid,

That at Dumfref, rycht thar besid,
Schir Ihone the Cumyn soiormyng maid ;
The bruf lap on, and thiddir raid ;

And thocht, for-owtyn mar letting,
For to qwyt hym his discoueryng.

Thiddir he raid, but langir let,
And with Schyr Ihone the Cumyn met,

In the freris, at the hye Awter,
And schawyt him, with lauchand cher,
The Endentur ; syne with A knyff,
Rycht in that sted, hym reft the lyff.

Schyr Edmund cumyn als wes slayn,
And othir [als] off mekill mayn.
[And] nocht-for-thi zeit sum men sayis,
At that debat fell othir wayis :

But quhat sa enyr maid the debate,

Thar-throughe he deyt, weill I wat.

[fol. 4 b.]

18. louchmaban] Lochmabene H.
20. Ic tak] he tooke H.
21. That thai] For to H.
23. sough] summond H.
24. chapyt wes] escaped H.
27. the—soiormyng] Cumyng soiourne H.
28. and—raid] but ony bade H.
31. Thiddir] Hidder H.
32. And Sir John Cumyng there he met H.
33. freris] Friers H. 
34. 
35. sted—tha] place he reft his H.
37. Edmund] Edward H.
38. [als HA] mony E.
40. At] That H.
41. maid tha] fell in H.
42. wat] waite H.
He mysdyd that gretly, but wer,
That gave na gyth to the Awter.
That for sa hard myscheiff him fell,
That Ik herd neuir in Romanys tell
Off man sa hard [sted] as wes he,
That eftirwart com to sic bounte.  

Hic rex anglie inquirit Robertum bruce, sed non inuenit.

Now agayne to the king ga we;
That on the morn, with his barne,
Sat in till his parlement;
And eftyr the lord the brwys he sent,
Rycht till his In, with knychtis kene.
Quhen he oft tyme had callit bene,
And his men eftir him askit thai,
That Said that he, sen zhystirday,
Duetl in his chambyr ythanly,
With A clerk with him anerly.
Than knokyt thai at his chamur thar;
And quhen thai hard nane mak ansuar,
Thai brak the dur; but thai fand nocht,
The quhether the chambre hale thai socht.
Thai tauld the king than hale the cads,
And how that he eschapyt was.
He wes off his eschap sary;
And swour In Ire, full stalwartly,
That he suld drawyn and hangit be.
He manausyt as him theocht: bot he

43. [thar] that H.  Perhaps gretly should precede thar.
44. [gyth] so in HA.  Awter]
Alteere H.
46. [Romanyes] Romanes H.
47. [sted HA] frayit E.
48. [That — com] And after came H.
RUBRIC.  From E; not in H.
50. [morn] morrow H; barne]
barnle H; baronic A.

Bruce sinned in this, and afterwards suffered much hardship.

52. King Edward sends for Bruce.

His door is broken open, but he is gone.

Edward swears to hang Bruce.
THE NEWS SPREADS OF COMYN'S DEATH.  [BOOK II.

Thocht that suld paæ ane othir way.

**Hic robertus bruce mittit literas ad conuocandum.**

And quhen he, as ye hard me say,
In-till the kyrr Schyr Ihone haid slayn,
Till louchmabane he went agayne ;
And gert men, with his lettres, ryd
To freyndis apon Ilk[a] sid,
That come to hym with thar meng3e ;
& his men als assemblit he :
And thocth that he wald mak him king.

Our all the land the word gan spryng,
That the bruce the cumyn had slayn ;
And, amang othir, lettres ar gayn
To the byschop off Androwf towne,
That tauld how slayn wes that baroun.
The lettr tauld hym all the deid :
And he till his men [can it] reid ;
And sythyn said thaim, “sekyrly
I hop [that] Thomas prophecy
Off hersildoune sall [verray] be
In him ; for, swa our lord help me !
I haiff gret hop he sall be king.
And haiff this land all in leding.”

[The Dowglas meeting with King Robert.]

James off dowglas, that ay-quat
All-wayis befir the byschop schar,
Had weill hard all the lettir red ;

---

69. that] it H.
RUBRIC. From E; not in H.
71. Schyr Ihone] John Cumyng H.
72. louchmabane] Lochmabene H.
74. Ilka] E has Ilk ; but I propose to read Ilka, to fill up the line ; besides, H has ilke.
75. That come] They came H.
78. gan] can H.
79. tho—had] had the Cumyng H.
82. that] the H.
83. all] haill H.
84. [can it HA] gert E.
85. And—thaim] And then he said, full H.
86. [that HA] E omits.
87. hersildoune] Erstiltoun H.
[verry HA] weryfyd E.
88. help me] me see H.
RUBRIC. From H; not in E.
93. Had—all] He had well heard H.
And he tuk alsua full gud hed
To [all] that the byschop had said.
And quhen the burdys doune war laid,
Till chamyr went thai then in hy:
And Iames off dowglas priuely
Said to the byschop; "schir, 3e se
How Inglis men, throw thar powste,
Dysherysys me off my land;
And men has gert 3ow wndirstand
Als that the Erle off Carryk
Clamys to govern the kynryk:
And, for 3on man that he has slayn,
All Inglis men ar him agayn,
And wald disherys hym blythly;
*The quhe^tir with him duell wald I.*
*Tharfor, Schir, giff It war 3our will,*
I wald tak with hym gud & Ill.
Throw hym I trow my land to wyn,
Magre the clyffurd and his kyn."
*The byschop hard, and had pite,*
And said: "swet son, sa god help me!
I wald blythly that thow war thar.
Bot, at I nocht reprowyt war,
On this maner weile wyrk thou may;
*Thow sall tak ferrand my palfrey*;
For thar na horss is in this land
Sa [wycht], na 3eit sa weill at hand;

95. [all HA] E om.
96. *burdys* boordes H.
97. *thai* he H.
98. *Dysherysys—off* Disherites me of all H.
99. *has* haue H.
100. *the* this H.
101. *ar* at HA (evidently wrong).
102. And in a Lyne with him an I H.
103. *war* be H.
104. *trow* thinke H.
105. *help me*] me see H.
106. *thow* ye H.
107. *Bot ar* Sa that H.
108. *sall—ferrand* salt take farrand H.
109. *For—is* E really has And for thar is na horss; but H has For thar na horse is (far better).
110. [wycht] wight HA; swycht E (probably by confusion between wight and swift). *at hand* ] rinnand H.
Douglas takes the Bishop's horse.

Tak him as off thine awyne [heid],
As I had gevyn thar-to na reid.
And gyff his 3hemar ought gruchys,
Luk that thow tak him magre his;
Swa sall I weill assonzeit be.

The bishop blesses him.

[Almychty] god, for his powste,
Graunt that he thow passis to,
& thow [sa weill all tyme may] do,
That 3e 3ow fra 3owr fayis defend!"
He taucht him siluer to dispand;
& syne gaiff him [his benisoun],
& bad him paô [his way off toun];
For he ne wald spek till he war gane.

Douglas takes the bishop's horse.
The dowglas then his way has tane
Rycht to the horf, as he him bad:
Bot he, that him in 3hemsell had,
Than wartynt hym dispitously.
Bot he, that wreth him encrèle,
Fellyt hym with A suerdys dynt.

[Almychty] Almighty H.
assonyied H.

And syne, for-owtyn langir stynt,
The horf he sadylt hastely,
And lap on hym delyuerly;
And passyt furth but leve-taking.
Der god, that Is off hevyn king,
Sawff hym, and scheld him fra his fayis!
All him alane the way he tais

121. [heid] hewid E; head HA; but heid is clearly required here.
123. 3hemar—gruchys] keeper oft grunches H; but for oft A has ought.
125. weill] mair H. assonzeit] assonyied H.
126. [Almychty] Almighty HA; Mychyty E.
127. E has—that he that; but the second that should be omitted, as in HA.
128. [sa—do] sa well all time may do HA; in all tyme sa weill to do E (badly).
130. to dispend] for to spend H.
131. [his benisoun] his bennisoun E. gud day E (two syllables short).
132. [his—town H] furth on his way E.
133. ne—spek] wald sleepe H.
136. 3hemsell] keeping H.
138. wreth—encrèle] wraithes him angrily H.
140. for-owtyn] but ony H.
144. off hevyn] ouer all things H.
Towart the towne off louchmabane,
And, A litill fra Aryk-stane,
The bruce with A gret rout he met,
That raid to Scone, for to be set
In kingis stole, and to be king.
& quhen dowglas saw hys cummyng,
He raid, and hailsyt him in hy,
And lowtyt him Full curtasly;
And tauld him haly all his state,
& quhat he was, & als how-gat
The Clyffurd held his heritage:
And that he come to mak homage
Till him as till his rychtwys king;
And at he bounw wes, in all thing,
To tak with him the gud and Ill.
And quhen the bruce had herd his will,
He resawyt him in gret daynte,
And men, and armys, till him gaff he.
He thocht weile he suld be worthy;
For all his eldris war douchty.
Thusgat maid thai thar aquentance,
That neuir sync, for nakyn chance,
Departyt quhill thai lyffland war.
Thair friendschip woux ay mar & mar:
For he serwyt ay lelely;
And the tothir full wilfully,
That was bath worthy, wycht, & wyf,
Rewardyt him weile his seruice.

Douglas goes to Lochmaben,
and meets Bruce;
and tells him his grudge against Clifford.
Bruce receives him.

Their friendship was unbroken.

148. Aryk] Ayrik H.
150. That] He H.
154. him Full] to him H.
156. how-gat] what gate H.
161. the] baith H.
164. gaff] taught H.
165. thocht] trowed H.
166. eldris] friends H.
168. sync—chance] yet for na mis-
170. voux ay] ay waxt H.
172. tothir full] other ay H.
CORONATION OF BRUCE.

[Coronatio Regis Roberti.]

Bruce rides to Glasgow, and thence to Scone, and is crowned.

Bruce receives homage.

He expects to have hard fighting.

Edward hears of Comyn's death.

THE lord the bruce to glaskow raid, & send about him, quhill he haid
Off his freyndis A gret men3lie.
& syne to Scone in hy raid he, And wes maid king but langir let,
And in the kingis stole wes set ; As in that tyme wes the maner.
Bot off thar nobleis gret affer, Thar service, na thar realte,
3e sall her na thing now for me ; Owtane that he off the barnage,
That thiddir come, tok homage ; And syne went our all the land,
Frendis, and frendschip purchesand, To maynteym that he had begunyn.
He wyst, or all the land war wonny, He suld fynd full hard bargainyng
With him that wes off Ingland king : For thar wes nane off lyff sa fell,
Sa pautener, na sa cruel.
And quhen to king Eduuard wes tauld, How at the brwyl, that wes sa bauld,
Had brocht the cumyn till ending, & how he syne had maid him king,
Owt off his wyt he went weill ner ; And callit till him Schir amer

RUBRIC. From H; not in E.
175. A blank space is left for the initial Y (= TH). Glasgow H.
180. stole] stoole he H.
182. nobleis gret] noble and great H; printed noble gret PJ.
184. na—for] now nothing of H.
186. thiddir] hider H. tok] tooke their H.
187. went our] he went ouer H.
189. maynteym] so in E; maintte

H. begunyn] begun H.
190. land—wonnaoy] lands were win H.
191. He] That he H.
193. of] in H.
194. pautener] printed pantener H; proud, sa hie H.
197. till] to an H.
198. sync had] had syne H.
199. went weill] yeed full H.
200. callit till] syne gart call H.
The wallang, that wes wyf and wycht, and sends Sir Aymer de Valence to Scotland,
And off his hand A worthy knycht,
And bad him men off armys ta, to seize Fife.
& in [all] hy till Scotland ga,
And byrn, and slay, and raif dragoun,
And hycht all fyfe in warysoun
Till him, that mycht othir ta or sla
Robert the bruce, that wes his fa.
Sir Aymer goes, with Sir Philip de Mowbray and Sir Ingram de Umfraville.
Schir aymer did as he him bad,
Gret chewalry with him he had;
With him wes philip the mowbray,
And Ingram the wmfrawill perfay,
That wes bath wyf and awerty, 204
& full of gret chewalry; 208
& off Scotland the maist party
Thaï had in-till thar cumpany.
Sir Aymer de Valence to Scotland.

[The first speaking of King Robert with Sir Aymer.]

For yheit then mckill off the land
Wes in-till Inglis mennys hand.
Till perth then went thair in A rout 220
That then wes wallyt all about
With feile towris, rycht hey battaillyt,
To defend giff It war assaylit.
Thar-in duellyt schir Amery, where Sir Aymer dwelt.
With all his gret chewalry.
The king Robert wysst he wes thair,
And quhat-kyn chyftanys with him war,
And assemblyt all his meng3e.

201. The wallang] Of Wallans II. 212. Sir Ingrayne Umfraywile, BRUCE,
202. [hand A worthy] hands a perfay H. 213. awerty] als worthie H.
doughtie H. 214. full] fulfikle H. But see II.
203. aff] and H. 245, 335.
204. [all H.A] E om. 219. then—in] they went into H.
205. dragoun] Dungoun (!) H. 220. To] For to H. assaylit] sail-
207. mycht—ta] othir might take yeid H.

II. 222. To] For to H. assaylit] sail-

3. 224. To] For to H. assaylit] sail-

yeid H.
The English outnumbered the Scotch by 1500.

With Bruce were the earls of Lennox and Athole, and others of note; also Sir Christopher Seton and Sir Robert Boyd.

Bruce defies Sir Aymer.

He had feyle off full gret bounte;
Bot thar fayis war may then thai,
Be xv.c., as Ik herd say.
The quethir he had thar, at that ned,
Full feill that war doughty off deid;
And barownys that war bauld as bar.
Twa Erlis alsua with him war;
Off Leunax and Atholl war thai.
Eduard the bruce wes thar alsua,
Thomas Randell, and hew de le hay,
And schir Daud the berclay,
Fresale, somerueile, and Ichmertyn;
James off dowglas thar wes syne,
That yheyt than wes bot litill of mycht;
And othir fele folk, forsy in fycht:
*[Als was good Cristall of Setoun,
*And Robert Boyle of great Renoun,
*And other feill men of meekle might,]
Bot I can nocht tell quhat thai hycht.
Thocht thai war qwheyn, thai war worthy,
And full of gret chewalry.
And in bataill, in gud aray,
Befor Sanct Ihonystoun com thai,
And bad Schyr Amery Isch to fycht;
And he, that in the mekill mycht
Traistyt off thaim that wes him by,

228. He—full] And had feill folke of H.
229. xv.c.] fifteene hunder H. Ik]
I H.
230. The quethir] And yet H.
231. Feill folke that doughtie were
indeed H.
232. bar] Baire H.
233. alsua] als was H. war] thare H.
234. Leunax] Lennox H.
235. And good Sir Daud de Barclay H; but see I. 408.
236. Fresell, Somerwell, and Inche-
Bad his men arme thaim hastily.

Bot Schir Ingram thow sawerfull
Thocht It war all to gret peryll
In playne bataill to thaim to ga,
[While that] thai war arayit sa:
And till Schyr Amer [then] said he;
"Schir, giff that 3e will trow to me,
3e sall nocht Ische thaim till assaile,
Till thai ar purwayt in bataill.
For thar ledar is [wyf and wycht],
And off his hand A noble knycht;
And he has in his cumpany
Mony A gud man & worthi,
That sall be hard for till assay,
[While] thai ar in sa gud aray.

For It suld be full mekill mycht,
That now suld put thaim to the flycht:
For quhen [thai] folk ar weill arayit,
And for the bataill weill purwait,
With-thi that thai all gud men be,
Thai sall fer mar be awise,
And weill mar for to dreid, then thai
War set sumdele out off aray.

Thar for 3e may, schir, say thaim till,
That thai may this nycht, and thai will,
Gang herbery thaim, and slep and rest;
And at to morn, but langar [frest],
3e sall Isch furth to the bataill,
And fecht with thaim, but gyf thai faile.
Sa till thar herbery [wend] sall thai,
And sum sall [wend] to the forray;
And thai that duellis at the logyng,
Sen thai come owt off travelling,
They will soon be unarmed.
Sall in schort tyme wnarmyt be.
Then on our best maner may we,
With all our fayr chewalry,
Then we can attack them.
Ryd towart thaim rycht hardlyly;
And thai that wenys to rest all nycht
Quhen thai se ws arayit to fycht,
Cummand on thaim sa sudanly,
They will be taken by surprise,
Thai sall affrayit be gretumly,
And or thai [knit] in bataill be,
We sall speid ws swagat that we
Sall be all redy till assembill.
and will be scared."

Then the Parke of Methwen.

Sir Aymer puts off the fight.

As he awisyt, now have thai done;
And till thaim wtouth send thai sone,
And bad thaim herbery thaim that nycht,
And on the morn cum to the fycht.
Quhen thai saw thai mycht no mar,
Toward Meffayn then gan thai far;

280, 281. [wend HA] gone E. H has—Sa sall they went to their har-
brie, Some sall to Forray passe sickerly.
283. Sen] Gif H.
292. [knit HA] cunnyn E.
293. swagat] sie sort H.
294. till assembill] for to semble H.
295. Sum man] That some H.
eryness] erynesse H. will] sall H.
296. assayit] assailyde H.
RUBRIC. From H; not in E.
298. awisyt now] deuyed, so H.
299. wtouth] outwth H. send thai] sent he H.
302. no] doe na H.
303. Meffayn — gan] Methwen soone can H; Methven soone can A.

[The ludging of King Robert in the Parke of Methwen.]
BOOK II.]

THE ENGLISH TRY TO SURPRISE BRUCE. 37

And in the woud thaim logyt thai; 304 The Scotch halt
The thrid part went to the forray; at Methven.
And the lave sone wnarmyt war,
And skalyt to loge thaim her & thar.

Schyr Amer then, but mar abaid, 308 Sir Aymer
With all the folk he with him haid, attacks them,
Ischyt In-forcecly to the fycht;
And raid, in-till A randoun rycht,
The strawcht way towart meffen.

The king, that wes wnarmyt then, 312 The king bids
Saw thaim cum swa inforcecly ; his men arm.
Then till his men gan hely cry,
"Till armys swyth, and makys 3ow zar !
Her at our hand our fayis ar!"

And thai did swa in full greth hy ;
And on thar horf0 lap hastily.

The king displayit his baner, 320 He displays his
Quhen that his folk assemblyt wer ;
And said, "lordingis, now may z e se
That zone folk all, throw sutelte,
Schapis thaim to do with slycht,
That at thai drede to do with mycht.
Now I persawe, he that will trew
His fa, It sail him sum tyme rew.

And nocht-for-thi, thocht thai be fele, 328 saying, "He that
God may rycht weill our werdis dele ;
For multitud mai0 na victory ;
As men has red in mony story,
That few folk [oft has] wencusyt ma.
Trow we that we sall do rycht sua.

310. In-forcecly] enforcedly H.
312. meffen] Methven H ; Methven A.
314. swa inforcecly] on enforcedly H.
316. makys] make H.
322. And] Ile H.
323. all] H om.
So attack them as to save your honour."

They see their foes at hand.

They are Ilkan wycht and worthy,
And full of gret chewalry;
And wate ryczth weill quhat honour Is.

Wyrk the then apon swylk wyf,
That your honour be sawyt ay.
And A thing will I to yow say,
That he that [deis] for his cuntre
Sall herbryit in-till hewyn be."

Quhen this wes said, thai saw cumand
Thar fayis ridand, ner at the hand,
Arayet ryczth awisely,
Willful to do chewalry.

The battle.

On athir syd thys war thai yhar,
And till assemble all redy war.

Thai straucht thar speris, on athir syd,
And swa ruydly gan Samyn ryd,
That speris [all] to-fruyscht war,
And feyle men dede, and woundyt sar ;

The blud owt at thar byrnys brest.
For the best, and the worthiest,
That wilfull war to wyn honour,
Plungyt in the stalwart stour,
And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang.

Men mycht haiff seyn in-to that thrang
Knychtis that wycht and hardy war,
Wndyr horf feyt desoulyt thar ;

337. then—swylk] therefore on sic a H.
339. A] one H.
340. [deis] dois E (an obvious error); dies HA.
341. In hight of heaucn sail harbred be H.
343. ridand—thec] ryding at their H.
349. gan Samyn] can raging H.
350. [all HA] at E. war] are H.
352. at—byrnys] of the beirnes H.
353. For—and] Of best and of H.
355. in the] into that H.
358. hardy] worthy H.
Sum woundyt, and sum all ded:
The gref woux off the blud all rede,
And thai, that held on horf, in hy
Swappyt owt swerdis sturdyly;
And swa fell strakys gave and tuk,
That all the renk about thaim quouk.
The bruysf folk full hardly
Schawyt thar gret chewalry:
And he him-selff, atour the lave,
Sa hard and hewy dynts gave,
That qhar he come thai maid him way.
His folk thaim put in hard assay,
To stynt thar fais mekill mycht,
That then so fayr had off the fycht,
That thai wan feild ay mar & mar:
The kingis small folk ner wencusyt ar.
And quhen the king his folk has sene
_begyn to faile, for propyr tene,
Hys assen;he gan he cry;
And in the stour sa hardyly
He ruschyt, that all the sembl schuk:
He all till-hewyt that he our-tuk;
And dang on thaim quhill he mycht drey.
And till his folk he criyt hey;
"On thaim! On thaim! thai feble fast!"
This bargane neuir may langer last!"
And with that word sa wilfully
He dang on, and sa hardly,
That quha had sene him in that fycht

360. The grass grows red.
364. That.
368. Bruce bears himself bravely.
372. That.
376. He sees his folk begin to fail.
380. He charges fiercely.
384. He encourages his men.
Said hald him for A doughty knycht.
But thoacht he wes stout and hardy,
And othir als off his cunpany,
Thar mychta na worschip thar awailde; 392
For thar small folk begouth to failde,
And fled all skalyt her and thar.
Bot the gude, at enchaufyt war
Off Ire, abade and held the stour 396
To conquyr thaim endles honour.
And quhen schir Amer has sene
The small folk fle all bedene,
And sa few abid to fycht,
He releyt to him mony A knycht;
And in the stour sa hardlyly
He ruschyt with his chewalry,
That he ruschyt his fayis Ilkane. 400
Schir Thomas Randell thar wes tane,
That then wes A young bacheler;
And schir Alexander fraseyr;
And schir dauid the breklay,
Incolmertyne, and hew de le hay,
And somerweil, and othir ma;
And the king him-selff alsua
Wes set in-till full hard assay, 412
Throw schir philip the mowbray,
That raid till him full hardlyly,
And hynt his renge, and syne gan cry:
"Help! help! I have the new maid king!" 416

390. *wes stout*] stout was H.
393. *begouth to*] all haill they H.
394. *all*] and H.
395. *enchaufyt*] printed enchausyt PJ; enchausit I (which is nonsense); escaped HA (which is little better).
396. Baide fighting in that stalwart stour H.
399. *the all*] fleeing haill H.
400. *sa—to*] saw sa few abade the

H.
401. *releyt*] drew H.
403. *chewalry*] cunpany H.
407. *fraseyr*] the Fraser H.
408. *breklay*] Barclay II.
412. *in-till full*] into sa II.
413. *schir*] good Sir H.
415. *renge*] renye H; renye A.
439. *syne gan*] then can H.
With that come gyrdand, in A lyng,
Crystall off Seytoun, quhen he swa
Saw the king sesyt with his fa;
And to philip sic rout he raucht,
That thocht he wes off mekill maucht,
He gert him galay disyly;
And haid till erd gane fullyly,
Ne war he hynt him by his sted;
Then off his hand the brydill yhed;
And the king his essense gan cry,
Relyet his men that war him by,
That war sa few that thai na mycht
Endur the forð mar off the fycht.
Thai prîkyt then out off the pref;
And the king, that angry wes,
For he his men saw fle him fra.

Said then: “lordingis, sen It is swa
That vre rymmgs agane ws her,
Gud Is we pað off thar daunger,
Till god ws send eftsonys grace:
And zeyt may fall, giff thain will chace,
Quyt thain torn but sum-dеле we sall.”
To this word thain assentyt all,
And fra thain walopyt owyr mar.

Thar fayis alsua wery war,
That off thain all thar chassyt naïc:
Bot with prisoneris, that thain had tane,
Rycht to the toune thai held thar way,
Rycht glaid and Joyfull off thar pray.
That nycht [thai] lay all in the toun;
Thar wes nane off sa gret renown,
Na zeit sa hardly off thaim all,
That durst herbery with-out the wall.
Sa dred thai sar the gayne-cummyng
Off schir Robert, the douchty king.
And to the king off Ingland sone,
Thai wrate haly as thai haid done;
And he wes blyth off that tithing,
And for dispyte bad draw and hing
All the prisoneris, thocht thai war ma.
Bot Schyr amery did nocht sua;
To sum bath land and lyff gaiff he,
To leve the bruysφ fewte,
And serve the king off Ingland,
And off him for to hald the land,
And werray the bruφ as thar fa.
Thomas Randell wes ane off tha,
That for his lyff become thar man.
Off othir, that war takyn than,
Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew,
And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew.

Hic rex cum suis magnam patitur penuriam.

In this maner [rebutyf] was
The bruysφ, that mekill murnyn maiφ
For his men that war slayne and tane.

444. thar] the H.
445. [thai] misswritten yφ in E, but printed thai PJ; thia I; they HA.
448. Na zeit] Nor none H.
457. amery] Aymer H. nocht]
458. land—lyff] life and land H.
459. bruysis] Bruce and his H.
461. the] their H.
465. othir] others H.
466. ransownyf] ransomde, and H.
468. In] so in HA; E has only a blank space for the capital. [rebutyf] rebuted HA; E has Robert (!)
469. mekill murnyn] great mourning H.
And he wes als sa will off wane,
That he trowit in nane sekyrly,
Owtane thaim off his cumpany;
That war sa few that thai mycht be
V.c. ner off all mengy.

His brodir always wes him by,
Schyr Eduard, that wes sa hardy;
And with him wes A bauld baroun,
Schyr Wil3am the boroundoun;
The Erle off athole als wes thar.

Bot ay syn thai discomfyt war,
The Erle off the Leuenax wes away,
And wes put to full hard assay,
Or he met with the king agayn:
Bot always, as A man off mayn,
He mayntemyt him full mauly.
The king had in his cumpany
Iames alsua of doAvglas,
That wycht, wyß, and awerty was.
Schyr gilbert de le hay alsua,
Schir Nele Cambell, and othir ma,
That I thar namys can nocht say,
As wtelauns went mony day;
Dreeand in the month thar pyne;
Eyfe flesch, and drank watir syne.
He durst nocht to the planys ga,
For all the commownys went him fra;

472. That] For H.
473. Owtane] Except H.
474. that that] they scarce H.
475. Fiue hunder men of haill
mengy H.
477. hardy] worthy H.
479. boroundoun] Halyburtoun H.
480. als] he H.
482. the Leuenax] Lennox H.
484. Or] Ere H.
486. He him maintained manfully
H. Cf. l. 189.
488. alsua] also Lord H.
489. That wise, wight, and worthy
was H.
492. say] tell H.
493. And Outlawes went to daill
and fell H.
494. Dreeand] Dreeing H. month
thar] mountaines H.
495. Eyfe] And eat H.
That for thar liflis war full fayn.
To pa$ to the Inglis pes agayn.
Sa fayris [it] ay commounly ;
In commownys may nane affy,
Bot he that may thar warand be.
Sa fur thai then with him ; for he
Thaim fra thar fais mycht nocth warand,
Thai turnyt to the tothir hand.
Bot thredlome, that men gert thaim fele,
Gert thaim ay 3arne that he fur wele.

Hic rex robertus cum suis vadit vsque abberde$n.

That It all paynys makis lych[t] ;
And mony tyme mai$ tendir wychtis
Off swilk strenthtis, and swilk mychtis,
That thai may mekill paynys endur,
And forsakis nane auentur
That euyr may fall, with-thi that thai
That throw succiur thair liflys may.
Men redys, quhen thebes wes tane,
And kyng [Adrastus] men war slane,
That assailyt the cite,
That the women off his cuntre
Come for to fech him hame agayne,
Quhen thai hard all his folk wes slayne;
Quhar [that] the king campaneus,
Throw the help off menesteus,
That come percaft ridand tharby,
With ij.c. in cumpany,
That throw the kingis prayer assailyt,
That zeit to tak the toun had failzeit;
Then war the wiffys thyrlan the wall
With pikks, quhar the [assailyeours] all
Entryt, and dystroyit the tour,
And slew the pupill but recour.
Syn quhen the duk his way wes gayne,
And all the kingis men war slayne,
The wiffis had him till his cuntre,
Quhar wes na man leiffand bot he.
In women mekill comfort lyis;

523. Als of sik strength and of sik
might H.
524. paynys] paine H.
525. forsakis] to forsake H.
528. Men] Men H.
529. [Adrastus A] Adrestus H
aristas E.
530. assailyt] assieged H.
531. That] All H.
534. [that HA E v. om. campaneus]
Campeus H.
535. help] Oast H ; host A. me-
nestens] Menesthes H.
536. That came through eace ryd-
ing them by H.
537. iii.c.] three hunder H.
539. That] And H.
540. War not the Wines that thrilde
the wall H.
541. [assailyeours] assailyeours H;
asassailyeis E.
542. tour] toun H.
543. pupill] people H. recour]
ransoun H.
544. way] wayes H.
547. man leiffand] liiuing man H.

The women of
his country came
to fetch home
king Aristas (Adrastus).
BRUCE AVOIDS HIS ENEMIES. [BOOK II.

And gret solace on mony wif.
Sa [fell it] her, for thar cumynyng
Reiosyt rycht gretumly the king ;
The quhythir Ilk nyght him-selwyn wouk,
And his rest apon dais touk.
A gud quhile thar he Soijournyt then,
And esyt wondir weill his men ;
Till that the Inglis men herd say
That he thar with his mengye lay,
[At alkyn] ese and sekyrly.

The English hope to surprise him.

Assemblit thai thar ost in hy ;
And thar him trowit to suppríð.
Bot he, that in his deid wes wyð,
Wyst thai assemblyt war, & quhar ;
And wyst that thar sa mony war,
That he mycht nocht agayne thaim fycht.
His men in hy he gert be dycht,
And buskyt of the toune to ryd ;
The ladyis raid rycht by his syd.
Then to the hill thai raid thar way,
Quhar gret deaut off mete had thai.
Bot worthy Iames off dowglas
Ay trawailland and besy was,
For to purches the ladyis mete ;
And It on mony wif wald get.
For quhile he venesoun thaim brocht :
And with his handys quhile he wrocht
Gynny's, to tak geddís & salmonys,

550. [fell it HA] fellyt E.
551. Reiosyt rycht] Comforted H.
552. For why euerik night he woke H.
553. apon dais] on the day he H.
558. [At alkyn] At all kin H ; All at E.
559. Assemblit—ost] Their Oust assembled they H.
560. thar—trowit] trowed there him H.
566. buskyt] buske them H.
568. hill—raid] billes they held H.
571. trawailland] tranedle he H.
573. It on] celes in H.
574, 575. quhile] whyles H.
576. Gynny's] Girnes H ; Girns A.
Trowtis, elys, and als menovyns.
And quhill thai went to the forray;
And swa thar purchesyn maids thai.
Ilk man traweiylt for to get
And purches thaim that thai mycht etc.
Bot off all that euir thai war,
Thar wes nocht ane amang thaim thar,
That to the ladys profyt was
Mar then Iamys of dowglas;
And the king oft comfort[yt] wes
Throw his wyt, and his besynes.
On this maner thaim gouernyt thai,
Till thai come to the hed off tay.

None were of more profit to the ladies than Douglas.
THE LORD OF LORN ATTACKS BRUCE. [BOOK III.]

Hic dominus de Lorne inuadit regem propter mortem Io. cumyn.

[How Iohn of Lorne discomfite King Robert.]

The Lord of Lorn hopes to avenge Comyn's death.

With a thousand men, he attacks the king.

THE lord off lorne wonnyt thar-by,
That was capitale ennymy
To the king, for his Emys sak,
Ihon comyn; and thochn for to tak
Wengeance apon cruell maner.
Quhen he the king wysst wes sa ner,
He assemblyt his men in hy;
And had in-till his cumpany
The barownys off Argyle alsa;
Thai war A thowsand weill or ma:
And come for to supprif the king,
That weill wes war of thar cummyng.
Bot all to few with him he had,
The quethir he bauldly thaim abaid;
And weill ost, at thar fryst metyng,
War layd at erd, but recoveryng.
The kingis folk full weill thaim bar,

Rubric. The first rubric is from E; the second from H.
1. Initial y (for TH). wonnyt] winned H.
6. he] H om. wees] he was H

(which reverses the sense).
10. weill or] well and H.
11. And come] That came H.
12. weill wes] was well H.
14. The quethir] And yet H.
15. weill ost] feill of them H.
And slew, and felllyt, and woundyty sar.

Bob the folk off the tothir party
Fawcht with axys sa [felounly],
For thai on fute war euir-Ilkane,
That thai feile off than horO has slayn;
And till sum gaiff thai woundiS wid.

Iames off dowglas wes hurt that tyd;
And als Schyr gilbert de le hay.
The [king his] men saw in affray,
And his ensen3e can he cry;
And amang thaim rycht hardly.
He rad, that he thaim ruschyt all;
And fele of thaim thar gert he fall.
Bot quhen he saw thai war sa feill,
And saw thaim swa gret dyntiS deill,
He dred to tyne his folk, forthi
His men till him he gan rely,
And said: “Lordyngis, foly It War
Tyll ws for till assembler mar,
For thai fele off our horO has slayn;
And gyff [we] fecht with thaim agayn,
We sall tyne off our small meng3e,
And our-selfs sall in perill be.
Tharfors me thynk maist awenand
To withdraw ws, ws defendand,
Till we cum owt off thar daunger,
For owr strenth at our hand is neer.”

Then thai withdrew thaim haley:

18. felllyt and] seill H.
20. [felounly] selounlly HA; felllyy E (which is an impossible word).
22. That] Bot H.
26. [king his HA] kingis E (which is absurd); printed king his J.
27. can he] right fast gan H.
28, 29. And in the stour full hardly
He rade, and rushed amang them all H.

The king’s men fight bravely.

20

24. Douglas is wounded.
28. The king cries his war-cry, and charges.
32. Fearing defeat, he advises a retreat.

[Fol. 7 b.]

33. folk] men H.
34. men] folke H.
35. foly—War] it folly were H.
37. has] hane H.
38. [we HA] yhe E.
40. self] selues H.
41. awenand] according H.
42. defendand] defending H.
44. For] H om. at—is] is at our hand well H.
BRUCE COVERS HIS MEN'S RETREAT.

Bot that-wes nocht full cowartly;
For samyn in-till A sop held thai;
And the king him abandonyt ay
To defend behind his meng3e.
And through his worship sa wrouch[t] he,
That he reskewyt all the fearis,
And styntyt swagat the chassaris,
That nane durst owt off batall chaf,
For always at thar hand he was.
Sa weile defendyt he his men,
That quha sa euir had seyne him then
Prowe sa worthely wascelage,
And turn sa oft sythis the wisage,
He suld say he awcht weill to be
A king of A Gret Rewate.

Q
when that the lord of lorne saw
His men stand off him ane sik aw,
That thai durst nocht folow the chase,
Rycht angry in his hart he was;
And for wondyr that he suld swa
Stot thaim, him [allane] but ma,
He said: "me think, marthokys sone,
Rycht as golmakmorn was won
To haiff fra [Fyngall] his mengne,
Rycht swa all his fra ws has he."
He set ensample thus myldlike,
The quhethir he mycht, mar manerlik,

46. nocht full] nathing H.
52. And sa astonisht all the chasers
H.
54. always] H om. he] always he H.
57. Proue] Proue H. worthely]
worthy H.
58. sythis the] time his H.
60. A—Rewate] full great Royaltie H; great Royaltie A.
62. ane] H om.

65. for wondyr] sair wondred H.
66. Stot] Stoney H. [allane H] alone A; ane E.
67. marthokys] Martheokes H.
68. golmakmorn] Gownmakmore A.
69 [Fyngall HA] hym all E (which is nonsense).
70. all—ws] fra vs all his H.
71. myldlike] hym like H.
72. quhethir] whilk H.
Lyknyt hym to gaudifer de laryf,
Quhen that the mycht y duk betyf
Assailȝet in gadyrris the forrayours.
And quhen the king thaim maid rescours,
Duk betyf tuk on him the flycht,
That wald ne mar abid to fycht.
Bot gud gaudifer the worthi
Abandonyt him so worthyly,
For [to] reskew all the fleieris,
And for to stonay the chasseris,
That Alysandir to erth he bar;
And alsua did he tholimar,
And gud coneus alsua,
Danklyne alsua, & othir ma.
But at the last thar slayne he wes:
In that failȝet the liklynes.
For the king, full chewalrusly,
Defendyt all his cumpany,
And wes set in full gret danger;
And zeit eschapyt haile and fer.

[How the king slew the three men that swore his death.]
Their name was Macindrosser, or "sons of the doorkeeper."

They attack him in a narrow pass.

One catches him by the bridle;

Bruce cuts off his arm.

Another catches him by the leg,

but Bruce spurs his horse forward.

The third leaps behind him on the horse;

That thair suld dcy, or then hym sla.

That surname wes makyne-drosser;

That is al-so mekill to say her

As "the Durwarth sonyns" perfay.

Off thair cowyne the thrid had thair

That wes rycht, stout, Ill, and feloune.

Quhen thair the king of gud renoune

Saw sua behind his mengne rid,

And saw him torne sa mony tid,

Thair abaid till thait he was

Entryt in ane narow place,

Betuix a louchside and a bra;

That wes sa strait, Ik wnderta,

That he mycht nocht weill turn his sted.

Then with A will till thaim thair 3ede;

And ane him by the bridill hynt:

Bot he raucht till him sic A dynt,

That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra.

With thait ane othir gan him ta

Be the lege, and his hand gan schute

Betuix the sterap and his fute:

And quhen the king felt thair his hand,

In his sterapys stythly gan he stand,

And strak with spuris the stede in hy;

And he lansyt furth delyuerly,

Swa thait the tothir failȝeit fete;

And nocht-for-thi his hand wes ȝeit

Wndyr the sterap, magre his.

The thrid, with full gret hy, with this

Rycht till the bra syd he ȝeid,

And stert be-hynd hym on his sted.

99. makyne-drosser] Makindorser

II.

101. the Durwarth] Durwarts II.

102. cowyne] conune H.

106. tid] a tyde H.

107. till] ay while H.

108. in ane] into a H.

120. his] H om. gan he] can he vp H.

122. lansyt furth] lanced II.

126. with (1)] in H.

127. bra] braes H.
The king wes then in full gret prest;  
*The quethir* he thocht, as he *that* wes  
In all hys dedys awise,  
To do ane owtrageouȝ bounte.

And syne hyme *that* behynd hym waf,  
All magre his will, him gan he raȝ  
Fra be-hynd hym, *thocht* he had sworn,  
He laid hym ewyn him beforne.

Syne with the suerd sic dynt hym gave,  
*That* he *the* heid till *the* harnys clave.  
H e rouschet doun off blud all rede,  
As he *that* stound feld off dede.

And *then* the king, in full gret hy,  
Strak at *the* tothir wigorusly,  
*That* he eftir his sterap drew,  
*That* at *the* fyrst strak he him slew.

On *this* wiȝ him delynerit he  
Off all thai felloun fayis thre.

Quhen thai of Lorne has sene *the* king  
Set in hym-self* sa* gret helping,  
And [defend] him *sa* manlely;  
Wes nane amang *thaim* *sa* hardy

*That* durst assailȝe him mar in fycht:  
Sa dred *thai* for his mekill mycht.  
*Thar* wes a baroune maknauchtan,  
*That* in his hert gret kep hâs tane

[Vnto] *the* kingis chevalry,  
And prisyt hym in hert gretly.

130. *quethir—thocht*] whilk be-

133. *And syne] He hint H.*

134. *And magre him, he can him*

raise H.

136. *He] And H.*

137. *the] his H. *dynt] dints H.*

138. *the (2)] H om.*

140. *dewe] the dead H.*

143, 144. *Transposed in H, with* And *for the second That.

147. *thai] John H.*

148. *in] for H.*

149. *[defend] HA] defendy E.*

152. *for] of H.*

155. *[Vnto HA] To E. *chevalry]*

156. *prisyt] praise H ; praised A.*

132. Bruce drags him forward,

136. and slays him.

140. Lastly, he slays the second, who held by the stirrup.

144.

148. No more dare attack him.

152. macnachtan laudat regem.  
One Macnaughtan much praised the king,

156. And *for the second That.*
saying to the Lord of Lorn, And to the lord off lorne said he;
"Sekyrly now may 3e se
Betane the starkest pundelan,
That ewyr 3our lyf-tyme 3e saw tane.
For zone knycht, throw his doucht deid,
And throw his owtrageous manheid,
Has fellyt in-till litill tyd
Thre men of mekil [mycht and] prid :
And stonayit all our meng3e swa,
That eftyr him dar na man ga ;
And tournys sa mony tyme his stede,
That semys off ws he had na dred."
Lorn says, "You seem to like it!
Then gane the lord off lorn say ;
"It semys It likis the perfay,
That he slayis zongat our meng3e."
"Scher," said he, "sa our lord me se !
To sauff 3our presence, It [is] nocht swa.
Bot quhether sa [he] be freynd or fa,
Thatwynnys pry6 off chewalry,
Men suld spek tharoff lelyly."
And sekyrly, in all my tyme,
Ik hard neuir, in sang na ryime,
Tell off A man that swa smertly
Eschewyt swa gret chewalry."
Sie speking off the king thai maid :
And he eftyr his meng3e raid ;
And in-till saufte thaim led,
Quhar he his fayis na thing dred.
And thai off lorne agayn ar gayn,
Menand the scaith that thai haiiff tayn.

158. Sekyrly [Surely Sir H.
159. pundelan] pondlayne H ;
pondlyane A.
160. ewyr [in H.
162. owtrageous] courageous H.
163. in-till] into a H.
164. [mycht and] might and HA ;
160. That] it H.
173. presence] peace H. [is HA]
E. om.
174. [he HA] yhe E.
180. Eschewyt] Encheefed H.
The king that nycht his wachtis set,
And gert ordayne that thai mychte et;
And bad [thaim comfort] to thaim tak,
And at thar mychtis mery mak.
"For disconford," as then said he,
"Is the worst thing that may be.
For throw mekill disconforting
Men fallis off in-to disparyng.
And fra A man disparyt be,
Then wtraly wencusyt Is he.
And fra the hart be discumfytt,
The body is nocht worth A myt.
Tharfor," he said, "atour all thing,
Kepys 3ow fra disparyng:
And thynk though we now harmys fele,
That god may zeit relewe ws weill.
Men redys off mony men that war
Fer hardar stad then we yhet ar;
And syne our lord sic grace thaim lent,
That thai come weill till thar entent.
For Rome quhilum sa hard wes stad,
Quhen hanniball thaim wencusyt had,
That, off Iyngis with rich [stane],
That war off kynghtis syngerys [tane],
He send thre bollis to cartage:
And syne to Rome tuk his wiage,
Thar to Distroye the Cite all.
And thai with-in, bath gret and small,
HOW HANNIBAL WAS DEFEATED AT LAST.  

Had fled, quhen thai saw his cummyng:

Had nocht bene Scipio the [ying];

That, or thai fled, wald thaim haiff slayn,

And swagat turnyt thaim agayn.

Syne for to defend the Cite,

Serwandis and threllis mad he fre ;

And maid thaim knychtis euirlkane :

And syne has off the templis tane

The armys, that thar eldrys bar,

In name off wicity offerryt thar.

And quhen thai armyt war, and dycht,

That stalwart karlis war and wycht,

And saw that thai war fre alsua,

Thaim thocht that thai had leuir ta

The dede, na lat the toune be tane.

And with commowne assent, as ane,

Thai Ischit off the toune to fycht,

Qihar hannyball his mekill mycht

Aganys thaim arayit was.

Bot, throw, mycht off goddis grace,

It ranyt sa hard and hewly,

That thar wes nane sa hardy

That durst in-to that place abid ;

Bot sped thaim in-till hy to rid :

The ta part to thar pailzownys,

The tothir part went in the toune Is.
The rayne thus lettyt the fechtyng:
Sa did It twyf thar-aftir syn.
Quhen hanibal saw this ferly,
With all his gret chewalry
He left the toune, & held his way;
And synne wes put to sik assay,
Throw the power off that Cite,
Thar his lyff and his land tyrte he.
Be thir quheyne, that sa worthily
Wane sic A king, and sa mycht,
3e may weill be ensampill se,
That na man suld disparyt be:
Na let his hart be wencusyt all,
For na myscheiff that euir may fall.
For nane wate, in how litill space
That god wmquhile will send [his] grace.
Had thai fled, and thar wayis gane,
Thar fayis swith the toune had tane.
Tharfor men, that werrayand [ar],
Suld set thar etlyng euir-mar
To stand agayne thar fayis mycht,
Wmquhile with strenth, & quhile with slycht;
And ay think to cum to purpos:
And giff that thaim war set in chof,
To dey, or to leyff cowartly,
Thai suld erar déy chewalrusly.”

244. which stopped the battle three times.
248. Hannibal was afterwards defeated.
252. None should despair.
256. Always withstand your foes.
264. Prefer death to a coward’s life.”
He often told them old stories, and encouraged them.

"Julius Caesar was always busy."

Therefore he did great things.

Perseverance ensures partial success.

Thus he often comfort[ed] the king;
And, to comfort them, gan Inbryng Auld storys off men that wer
Set in-tyll hard assayis ser,
And that fortoun contraryt fast,
And come to purpoþ at the last.
Tharfor he said, “that that that wald Thar harts wndiscumfyt hald
Suld ay thynk [ythankly] to bryng
All thor enpreþ to gud ending:
As quhile did Cesar the worthy,
That traweillyt ay so besyly,
With all his mycht, folowing to mak
To end the purpoþ that he wald tak,
That hym thocht he had doyne rycht nocht,
Ay quhill to do him levyt ocht:

For-thi gret thingis eschewyt he,
As men may in his story se.
Men may se be his [ythand] will,
And It suld als accord to skill,
That quha taÝ purpos sekyrly,
And followis It syne [ythankly],
For-owt fayntice, or yheit faynding,
With-thi It be conabill thing,
Bot he the mar be whnappy,

He sall eschew It In party.

---

267. The initial is y (for TH). comfort[ed] comforted HA; comfort E; but see l. 365.
268. gan Inbryng] in can bring H.
270. ser] seere H.
273. thai] wha H; he A; but see next line.
276. enpress] purposes H.
277. quhile] whylum H.
280. To end] End of H.
282. Ay to doc while he left oght

II.

283. eschewyt] encheeued H.
285. [ythand] Ithand HA; ythen (an obvious error) E.
287. sekyrly] intierly H.
289. Withouten fainting or falding

II.

290. conabill] cunnable H.
292. eschew—In] encheeue it be H.
And haiff he lyff-dayis, weill mai fall

*That* he sall eschew It all.

For-thi suld [nane] haiff disparing

For till eschew A full gret thing:

For giff It fall he *thar-off failze,*

*The fawt may be in his trawailze.*"

HE *prechyt thaim on this maner;*

And fenzeit to mak bettiir cher,

Then he had matir to, be fer:

For his cauf 3eid fra ill to wer.

Thai war ay in sa hard trawaill,

Till the ladyis began to fayle,

*That mycht the trawaill drey na mar;*

Sa did *othir als that war thar.*

*The Erle Ihone wes aue off tha,*

Off athole, *that quhen he saw sua*

*The king be discumfyft twyr6,*

And sa feile folk agayne him ry6;

And lyff in sic trawaill and dout,

His hart began to faile all-out.

And to the king, apon a day,

He said: *“gyff I durst to 3ow say,*

We lyff in-to sa mckill dreyd,

And haiffis oft-sy6 off met sik ned,

And Is ay in sic trawailling,

With cauld, and hungir, and waking;

*That I [set] off my-selwyn sua,*

sometimes entire success;"

His cause grows worse daily.

The ladies cannot hold out.

John of Athol says,

*“We are often in great need;*

[Fol. 9.]

293. *And* H om. *weill—fall* it may befall H.

294. *eschew*] well encheene H.

295. *[nane H] none A; E omits.*

296. *eschew* encheene H.

298. *be* by H.

306. *war thar* were there HA; E has thar war (which is harsher).

308. *that quhen* when that H, *sua* say H; sa A.

309. *be* thus be H; *but see last line. Perhaps we should read to be.*

311. *lyff* leaue him H.

316. *And of meant hes sa meickle need H.*

319. *[set HA] am sad E (which is clearly corrupt). my-selwyn* my selfe in H; *my selfe am A. sua* sa H; so A.
That I count nocht my lyff A stra.

Thir angrys may I [na] mar drey,
For thoucht me tharfor worthit dey,
I mon soiourne, quhar-euir It be.

Levys me tharfor, par cheryte."

The king saw that he sa wes failyt,
And that he Ik wes for-trawaillyt.
He said: "schir Erle, we sall sone Se,
& ordayne how It best may be.
Quhar-euir ze be, our lord 3ow send
Grace, fra 3our fais 3ow to defend !"

With that in hy to him callyt he

Thaim, that till him war mast priue :
Then amang thaim thai thocht It best,
And ordanyt for the liklyest,

That the queyne, and the erle alsua,
And the ladyis, in hy suld ga,
With Nele the bruce, till kildromy.
For thaim thocht thai mycht sekyrly
Duell thar, quhill thai war wictaillit weile :
For swa stalwart wes the castell,

That It with strenth war hard to get,
Quhill that thar-in war men and mete.
As thai ordanyt, thai did in hy :

The queyne, and all hyr cunpany,
Lap on thar hord, and furth thai far.
Men mycht haiff sene, quha had bene thar,

At leve-takyng the ladyis gret,
And mak thar face with teris wet :

The ladies weep at taking leave.
And knychtis, for thar luffis sak,
Baith sich, and wep, and murnyng mak.
Thai kyssyt thar luffis, at thar partyng,
The king wmbethocht him off A thing;
That he fra-thine on fute wald ga,
And tak on fute bath weill and wa;
And wald na horf-men with him haiff.
Tharfor his horf all haile he gaiff
To the ladyis, that mystir had.
The queyn furth on hyr wayis rade;
And sawfily come to the castell,
Quhar hyr folk war recessawyt weill;
And esyt weill with meyt and drynk.
Bot mycht nane eyf0 let hyr to think
On the king, that sa sar wes stad,
That bot ij.C. with him had.
The [quhilk] thaim weill confortyt ay:
God help him, that all mychtis may!

[The paines of King Robert amang the Mountains.]

THE queyne dnelt thus in kyldromy:
And the king, and his cuminumy,
That war ij.C., and na ma,
Fra thai had send thar horf thaim fra,
Wandryt emang the hey montanys
Quhar he and his oft tholyt paynys.

351. partyng] departing A.
352. wmbethocht] betought H.
356. Fra them there all haill they
gae H.
363. sa—wes] sa hard was H;
wes sa sar (a harsh order of words) E.
364. ij.C.] twa hunder H.
365. E has—The quhethir thaim
weill confortyt he ay; but he must be
rejected, and therefore quhethir must
become quhilk; hence H has—The
whilke them wel governed ay (where
governed should be confortyt; see l.
267).
366. him] them H.
Rubric. From H; not in E.
367. The initial letter is y (for
TH).
369. ij.C.] twa hunder H.
371. Wandryt] Waured H; Wanded A.
It is winter.

For It wes to the wynter ner;
And sa feile fayis about him wer,
That all the countre thaim werrayit.
Sa hard anoy thaim then assayit,
Off hungir, cauld, with schowris snell,
That nane that levys can weill It tell.
The king saw how his folk wes stad,
And quhat anoyis that thai had;
And saw wynter wes cummand ner;
And that he mycht on na wyf der,
In the hillys, the cauld lying,
Na the lang nychtis waking.
He thocht he to kyntyr wald ga,
And swa lang soiournyng thar ma,
Till wyntir weddir war away:
And then he thocht, but mar delay,
In-to the manland till arywe,
And till the end hys werdis dryw[e].—
And for kyntyr lyis in the Se,
Schyr Nele Cambel befor send he,
For to get him nawyn and meite:
And certane tyme till him he sete,
Quhen he suld meite him at the se.
Schir Nele cambell, with his meng3e,
Went his way, but mar letting,
And left his brothir with the king.
And in xij dayis sua truweillit he,
That he gat schippynge gud plente,

374. him] them H.
376. Sa—then] With sa hard noy they them H.
377. with] and H.
378. That] Is H. can—It] that can H.
380. anoyis] annoy els H.
381. cummand] drawing H.
382. wyss der] maneere H.
383. In] Dree in H.
384. Na] Nor yet H.
385. to—wald] wald to Kintyre H.
386. soiournyng thar] soiourn there to H.
389. In—to] In H. till] for to H.
390. werdis] weirds H. dryw[e] dryw E ; drive H.
393. nawyn] Nauing H.
394. And] A H.
And wictalis in gret aboundance:
Sa maid he nobill chewisance.
For his Sibmen wonnyt thar-by,
That helpyt him full wilfully.

[How the king past over Loch Lowmond.]
The king, effir that he wes gane,
To lowchomond the way has tane,
And come thar on the thrid day.
Bot thar-about na bait faud thai,
That mycht thaim our the wa'tir ber:
Than war thai wa on gret maner:
For It wes fer about to ga;
And thai war in-to dout alsua,
To meyt thar fayis that spred war wyd.
Tharfor, endlang the louchhis syd,
Sa besyly thai socht, and fast,
Tyll Iamys of dowglas, at the last,
Fand A litill sonkyn bate,
And to the land It drew, fut hate.
Bot It sa litill wes, that It
Mycht our the wat'tir bot thresum flyt.
Thai send thar-off word to the king,
That wes Ioyfull off that fynding;
And fyrst in-to the bate is gane,
With him dowglas; the thrid wes ane
That rowyt thaim our delicery,
And set thaim on the land all dry:
And rowyt sa oft-syß to & fra,
Eechand ay our twa & twa,
That in A nycht and in A day,
Cummyn owt our the louch ar thai.
BRUCE READS THE ROMANCE OF FIERABRAS. [BOOK III.

For sum off thaim couth swome full weill,
And on his bak ber a fardele.

Swa with swymmyng, and with rowynge,
That brocht thaim our, and all thar thing.

The king, the quhilis, meryly
Red to thaim, that war him by,

Romanys off worthi ferambrace,
That worthily our-cummyn was
Throw the rycht douchty olywer;

And how the duk-peris wer
Assegyt In-till egymor,
Quhar king lawyne lay thaim befor,
With may thowsandis then I can say.

And bot xi within war thai,
And A woman: and war sa stad,
That thai na mete thar-within had,
Bot as thai fra thar fayis wan.

Yheyte sua contenyt thaim than,
That thaim the tour held manlily,
Till that Rychard off Normandy,
Magre his fayis, warnyt the king,
That wes Ioyfull of this tithing;
For he wend thai had all bene slayne.

Tharfor he turnyt in hy agayne,
And wan mantrybill and passit flagot;
And syne lawyne and all his flot
Dispitusly discumfyt he:

And deliueryt his men all fre,
And wan the naylis, and the sper,

439. *Thor* [With H.]
440. *duk-peris* [doughtie Dutch-
peeres H (where doughtie is repeated
from 1. 439)].
442. *lawyne* [Lauyn H; Lanyn A.
444. *xi*] eleuen H.
445. *and* [that H.]
446. *within* [with them H.]
447. *wan* [it wan H.]
448. *sua—thaim* [they conteined
sa them H.]
449. *toun* [toun H.
452. *this*] that H.
455. *mantrybill*] Monetribill H.
flagot] Flagote H.
456. *lauyne* [Lauyn H; Lanyn A.
flag] flote H.
And the croone, that Ihesu couth ber;
And off the croice A gret party
He wan throw his chevalry.
The gud king, apon this maner,
Comfort[yt] thaim that war him ner;
And maid thaim gamyn [and] solace,
Till that his folk all passyt was.

460. *counth ber*] beare H. *Perhaps that should be omitted.*
462. *his*] his great H.
464. *Comfortyt]* Comforted II; E.
466. *folk-passyt*] men ouerpassed H.
467. *war*] had H.

They were glad when they had all crossed over.

Thus the Bruce comforted his men.

They divide into two parties to seek venison.

The earl of Lennox was then among the hills,

460. *holy nails,* spear, crown, and part of the cross.
470. *Nocht*] Yet not H.
475. *schir*] good Sir H.
480. But litle good gate they to eat H.
481. *at*] in H. *percass*] through cace H.
482. *the Lenenax*] Lennox H.
484. *sa*] sik H.
486. *spyryt*] spyped H.

BRUCE.
and knew the
king was near.

He thought the
king had been
dead.

Therefore he
welcomed him
bithely.

Many weep for
joy.

Such weeping
was not real
weeping.

That [he] knew that It was the king:
And then, for-owtyn mar duelling,
With all thaim off his cumpaney,
He went rycht till the king in hy,
Sa blyth and sa Joysfull, that he
Mycht on na maner blyther be.
For he the king wend had bene ded;
And he wes alsua will of red,
That he durst rest in-to na place;
Na, sen the king discumfyt was
At meffan, he herd neuir thing
That euir wes certane off the king.
Tharfor, in-to full gret daynte,
The king full humyly haylist he;
And he him welcummyt rycht blythly,
And [kyssyt] him full tendrly.
And all the lordis, that war that,
Rycht Joysfull off thar meting war,
And kyssyt him in gret daynte.
It wes gret pite for till Se
How thai for Ioy and pite gret,
Quhen that thai with thar falow[is] met,
That thai wend had bene dede ; forthi
Thai welcummyt him mar hartfully.
And he for pite gret agayne,
That neuir off metying wes sa fayne.
Thocht I say that thai gret, sothly
It wes na greting propyrly :

487. [he HA] E om. that] well H.
488. for-owtyn] but ony H.
490. Right to the King he went in hy H.
495. rest] nocht rest E; but H omits nocht, which is not wanted.
496. Na sen] Sen that H.
497. meffan] Methwen H ; Methven A. thing] tithing H.
498. wes certane] certaine was H.
499. in-to] in H.
500. humyly] harmil. H. haylist] so in E ; haild H.
502. [kyssyt] kissed HA; askyt E; cf. 1. 505.
503. war thar] there were H.
508. falowis] fellowes H ; falow E.
For I trow traiystly, that gretlyng
Cummys to men for mysliking;
And that nane may but [anger] gret,
Bot It be wemen, that can wet
\[Thair chekys, quhen thaim list, with teris,
The quethir weill oft thaim na thing deris.\]
Bot I wate weill, but lesyng,
Qhate euir men say off sic greting,
\[That mekill Joy, or zeit pete,\]
May ger men sua amoWyt be,
\[That watir fra the hart will ryf,\]
And weyt the eyne on sic a wyf,
\[That [It] is lik to be greting,\]
Thocht It be nocht sua in all thing.
For quhen men gretis enkrelly,
The hart is sorrowfull or angry.
Bot for pite, I trow, gretlyng
Be na thing bot one opynnyng
Off hart, that schawis the tendirnys
Off rewth that in It closyit Is.
The barownys, apon this maner,
Throw goddis grace, assemblyt wer.
\[The Erle had mete, and that plente,\]
And with glaid hart It thaim gaiff he;
And thai eyt It with full gud will,
\[That soucht [nane othir] salo thar-till\]
Bot appetyt, that oft men takys;

516. for] through H.
517. [anger HA] angry E.
518. quhen] quhen euir E; but HA omit euir.
520. The whilk oft times nane ill them deere H.
521. weill] right weill H.
523. or zeit] and great H.
525. the] their H.
526. the] their H. a wyss] E has

516. for] through H.
517. [anger HA] angry E.
518. quhen] quhen euir E; but HA omit euir.
520. The whilk oft times nane ill them deere H.
521. weill] right weill H.
523. or zeit] and great H.
525. the] their H.
526. the] their H. a wyss] E has

Women can weep at anything;
men sometimes weep for great joy,
but only really weep for sorrow or anger.

The carle gives them all plenty of meat.

awyss; a wise HA.
527. [It] it HA; E om.
528. be] misprinted to be J. sua]
like H.
529. enkrelly] inkerly H.
538. glaid] blyth H. It thaim]
them it H.
540. That] And H. [nane othir]
nane other H; na nothir E (probably miswritten for nane othir). salss]
sauce H.

awayss; a wise HA.
527. [It] it HA; E om.
528. be] misprinted to be J. sua]
like H.
529. enkrelly] inkerly H.
538. glaid] blyth H. It thaim]
them it H.
540. That] And H. [nane othir]
nane other H; na nothir E (probably miswritten for nane othir). salss]
sauce H.
All eat and drink.

They tell the king their adventures.

For well scowrty war thar stomakys.

All feel pity and pleasure.

And he tells them his.

And till our lord synE lowyng maid,
And thankit him, with full gud cher,

_That thai war met on that maner._

_The king then at thaim speryt 3arne,_

How thai, sen he thaim seyne, had farne ;

And thai full pitwysly gan tell

_Auenturis that thaim befell,_

And gret anoyis, and powerte.

_The king thar-at had gret pite :_

_And tauld thaim petwisly agayne_

_The noy, the trawail, and the payne,_

_That he had tholyt, sen he thaim saw._

Wes nae amang thaim, hey na law,

_That he ne had pite and plesaunce,_

Quhen that he herd mak remembrance

_Off the perellys that passyt war._

[For] quhen men oucht at liking ar,

To tell off paynys passyt by

_Plesys to heryng [wonderly] ;_

_And to reherD thar auld disese_

_Dois thaim oft-syf confort and ese ;_

_With-thi thar-to folow na blame,_

_Dishonour, wikytnes, na schame._

---

542. _weill_] E has rycht well, but
544. _our_] the H. synE lowyng]
546. _met_] so in H.; badly spelt
547. _speryt_] asked H.
548. _How—seyne_] Sen he them
550. _Auenturis_] Of auentures H.

---

544. That—ne] But he H.
560. [For HA] Bot E.
562. _wonderly_] wondrously HA
563. _disese_] diseases HA.
564. Does them oft comfort, and

---

556. _na_] nor H.
557. _That—ne_] But he H.
560. [For HA] Bot E.
562. _wonderly_] wondrously HA
563. _disese_] diseases HA.
How the king past to the sea, and how the Erle of Lennox was chais.

Eftir the mete sone raið the king,
Quhen he had lewyt hys speryn ;
And buskyt him, with his meng3e,
And went in hy towarf the Se ;
Quhar schir Nele Cambell thaim met,
Bath with schippis, and with meyte ;
Saylys, ayris, and uther thing,
That wes spedfull to thar passyng.
Then schippyt thai, for-owtyn mar ;
Sum went till ster, and sum till ar,
And rowyt be the Ille of but.
Men mycht se mony frely fute
About the cost[is] thar lukan,
As thay on ayris raið rowand :
And newys thay stalwart war & squar,
That wont to spayn gret speris war,
Swa spaynyt aris, that men mycht Se
Full of the hyde leve on the tre.
For all war doand, knycht and knawe ;
Wes nane that euir disport mycht have
Fra steryng, and fra rowyng,
To furthyr thaim off thar flætyn.

Hic comes de levenax insequitur a sui proditoribus.

Bot in the samyn tyme at thai

RUBRIC. From H; not in E.
568. speryn] speaking H.
571. thaim]When A. thaim
soune thay H. met] so in H; spelt mete in E.
574. passyn] faring H.
575. for-ovtyn] withouten H.
576. ar] Aire H.
577. be] about H. but] Boot. I'.
579. costis] Coastes H; Coasts A;
cost E. lukan] bowing H.
580. raiss rowand] were rowing H.
581. newys] nceues H.
582. spayn] span H.
583. spaynyt] so printed in P; misprinted spanyt J; spanned H.
584. Feele of their Hyde left on the tree H. hyde] the first two letters of this word indistinct in E.
585. war] was H.
586. euir] other H.
587. Fra Steere, fra Aire, and fra rowing (which is tautology) H.
588. off] in H. flætyn] flitting H.
RUBRIC. From E; not in H.
589. the] A om.
The earl of Lennox with his galley is left behind, and is pursued. War in schipping, as 3e hard me say, The Erle off the leuenax was,
I can nocht tell 3ow throw quhat caif, Lewyt behynd with his galay, Till the king wes fer on his way.
Quhen that thai off his cuntre Wyst that so duelt behynd wes he, Be Se with Schippys thai him socht;
And he, that saw that he wes nocht Off pith to fecht with thai traytours, And that he had na ner socouris

[Fol. 10b.] Then the kingis flote, for-thi

He makes all speed,

He sped eftir thaim in hy.
Bot the trautouris hym folowyt sua,
That thai weill ner hym gan our-ta.
For all the mycht that he mycht do,
Ay ner and ner thai come him to.

but, seeing his enemies gain upon him,

And quhen he saw thai war sa ner
That he mycht weill thar manauce her,
And saw thaim ner and ner cum ay,
Then till his meng3e gan he say;

"Bot giff we fynd sum suetelte,
Ourtane all sone sall we be.
Tharfor I rede, but mar letting,
That, owtakyn our armynge,

We must cast our things into the sea."

We sall weill eschaip thaim fra;

590. in schipping] shipped H. 604. hym gan] can him H.
591. The] The good H. the 608. manauce] so in P; manance leuenax] Lennox H. HJ.
595. Quhen] And when HA. 612. We sall all soone ouertaken
596. duelt] left H. be H. 615. our—in] all thing into H.
601. Then] Nor H. 617. swa] all H.
BOOK III.

THE EARL OF LENNOX ESCAPES.

Apon the Se, to tak our thing;
And we sall row but resting ay,
Till we eschapyt be away."
As he denisyt thai have done;
And thar schip thai lyghtyt sone:
And rowyt syne, with all thar mycht;
And scho, that swa wes maid lycht,
Raykyt slidand throw the Se.
And quhen thar fayis gan thaim Se
Forowth thaim always, mar and mar,
The thingis that thar fletand war
Thai tuk; and turnyt syne agayne;
And [swa] thai lesyt all thar payne.

Q uhen that the Erle on this maner,
And hys mengye, eschapyt wer,
Eftyr the king he gan hym hy,
That then, with all his cumpany,
In-to kyntyr arywyt was.
The Erle tauld him all his caſt;
How he wes chasyt on the Se,
With thaim that suld his awyn be;
And how he had bene tane but dout,
Na war It that he warpyt owt
All that he had, him lyght to ma;
And swa eschapyt [he] thaim fra.

"Schyr Erle," Said the king, "perlay,
Syn thow eschapyt is away,
Off [thi] tynsell is na plenſeing.

620. away] them fray H.
623. thai have] so hauve they H.
624. thai] hauve they H.
625. syne] soon A.
626. And when their ship was sa
made light H.
627. Raykyt] Sho raiked H.
629. Foronth] Before H.
632. [swa] sa H; so A; be that E

(which makes the line too long).
622. 623. tauld] he told H.
624. anyn] awne men H.
625. Na—It] War not it H.
626. Warpyt] wapped H.
627. [he HA] E om.
629. Syn] Gif H.
644. [thi] thy HA; the E.
"you should not part company from me."

Bot I will say the weile a thing;
That thear will fall the gret folly
To paβ oft fra my cumpany.
For feele Syf, quhen theow art away,
Thow art set inn-till hard assay.
Tharfor me thynk [it] best to the,
To hald the always ner by me."

"Sire, I will never again go far from you."

I sall na wyf paβ fer 3ow fra,
Till god giff grace we be of mycht
Agayne our fayis to hald our stycht."

Angus off Ile that tyme wes Syr,
And lord and ledar off kyntyr.
The king rycht weill resawyt he;
And wndertuk his man to be:
And him and his, on mony wyf,
He abandownyt till his service.

Angus, lord of Cantire, receives
the king kindly,

and gives him
his castle of Dunaverty.

The king is afraid of treason,

He dwells in
Dunaverty for three days,

Bot I will say the weile a thing;
That thar will fall the gret folly
To paβ oft fra my cumpany.
For feele Syf, quhen thow art away,
Thow art set in-nill hard assay.
Tharfor me thynk [it] best to the,
To hald the always ner by me."

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The king is
afraid of treason.

He dwells in
Dunaverty for three days,

Angus of Islay receives the Bruce.

[Book III.

648. say] tell H.
651. fene] oft H.
652. in-nill] in full H.
653. we] we A. [it HA] E om.
658. stycht] stycht or flycht in E (but more like the former): printed flycht P.1, but stycht I; right HA.
659. Anguiss] And anguss E, but
   HA omit And. Ile] the Iles H.
660. Donavardyne] Donabardyne H.
666. Donavardyne] Donabardyne H.
668. gretumly] greatly H.
670. Nocht] Yet not H.
677. donavardyne] Donabardyn H.
For-owtyne mar, then duelyt he.
Syne gert he his mengy3e mak thaim 3ar,
Toward Rauchryne be se to far.

*That* is ane Ile in[to] the Se ;
And may well in mydwart be
Betuix kynyr and Irland :
Quhar als gret stremys ar rymand,
And als peralous, and mar,
Till our-saile thaim in-to schipfair,
As Is the raiß of breng3e,
Or strait off marrok in-to span3e.

*Thair* schippys to the Se thai set ;
And maid redy, but langer let,
Ankyrs, rapys, bath saile and ar,
And all that nedyt to schipfar.

Quhen thai war bonne, to saile thai went :
The wynd wes wele to thair talent.
*Tha*i raysyt saile, and furth thai far ;
And by the mole thai passyt 3ar,
And entryt sone in-to the rase,
Quhar *that* the strem sa sturdy was,
*That* wawys wyd [that] brekand war
Weltryt as hillys her and *thar*.

*The* schippys our *the* wawys slayd,
For wynd at poynit blawand thai had.
Some ships are seen on the summit of waves, others down in the deep.

They often lose sight of land. Yet all arrive safely at Rathlin, and disembark. The people of the island flee to a castle.

Bot nocht-for-thi quha had thar bene,
A gret sterling he mycht haiff seyne
Off Schippys ; for quhilum sum wald be
Rycht on the wawys [summite] ;
And sum wald slyd fra heycht to law,
Rycht as thai doune till hell wald draw ;
Syne on the waw stert sodanly.

And olthir schippys, that war thar-by,
Delieuerly drew to the depe.
It wes gret cunnannes to kep
Thar takill in-till sic A thrang,
And wyth sic wawis ; for, ay amang,
The wawys refth thar sycht of land.
Quhen thai the land wes rycht ner hand,
And quhen Schippys war sailand ner,
The Se wald ryf on sic maner,
That off the wawys the weltrand hycht
Wald refe thaim oft off thar sycht.
Bot in-to Rauchryne, nocht-forthi,
Thai arywyty Ilkane sawffily :
Blyth, and glaid, that thai war sua
Eschapyt thai hidwynf wawis fra.

In Rauchryne thai arywyty ar ;

And to the land thai went but mar,
Armyt upon thar best maner.

Quhen the folk, that thar wonnand wer,
Saw men off Armys in thar cunte
Aryve in-to sic quantite,
Thai fled in hy, with thar catell,
Toward A rycht stalwart castell,
That in the land wes ner thar-by.
Men mycht her wemen hely cry,
And fle with cataill her and thar.
Bot the kingis folk, that war
Deliever off fute, thaim gan our-hy;
And thaim arestyt hastely,
And brocht thaim to the king agayne,
Swa that nane off thaim all wes slayne.
Then with thaim tretyt swa the king,
That thai, to fullfill hys zarnyug,
Become his men eu'rilkane:
And has him trewly wndertane
That thai and thairis, loud and still,
Suld be in all thing at his will:
And, quhill him likit thar to leynd,
Eu'rilk day thai suld him seynd
Wictalis for iij C. men:
And thai as lord suld him ken;
Bot at thar possessioure suld be,
For all his men, thar awyn fre.
The cunnand on this wyf was maid;
And on the morn, but lang'ir baid,
Off all rauchryne bath man & page
Knelyt, and maid the king homage;
And tharwith swour him fewte,
To serve him ay in lawte:
And held him rycht weill cunnand.
For quhill he duelt in-to the land,
Thai fand meit till his cumpany;
And servyt him full humely.

733. thar-by] them by H.
738. hastely] haillely H.
749. iij C.] three hundred (sic) H.
750. And ay for Lord they sould him ken H.
751. Sa that their Fortresses might be H.
736. But the king's men follow them, and capture them.
740. They become his men.
744. and agree to send him food for 300 men daily.
748. The men of Rathlin do him homage.
752. The men of Rathlin do him homage.
756. full humely] right faithfully H.
[BOOK IV.]

[How the QVEENE and other ladies were tane, & imprisoned & her men slaine.]

In rauchryne leve we now the king
In rest, for-owtyn barganyng;
And off his fayis A quhile spek we
That, throw thar mycht and thar powste,
Maid sic A perseucucioune,
Sa hard, sa strayt, and sa feloune,
On thaim that till hym luffand wer,
Or kyn, or freynd on ony maner,
That [it] till her is gret pite.
For thai sparyt, off na degre,
Thaim that thai trowit his freynd wer,
Nothir off the kyrk, na seculer.
For off glaskow byschop Robert,
And [Marcus] off man thai stythly speryt
Bath in fetrys and in presoune.
And worthy crystoll off Seytoun
In-to Loudon betresyt was,
Throw A discipull off Iulas,
Maknab, A fals tratour, that ay
Wes off his duelling, nycht & day;
Qumph to he maid gud cumpany.
It wes fer wer than tratoury
For to betray th sic A persoune,
So nobill, and off sic renoune;
Bot thar-off had he na pite:
In hell condampnyt mot he be!
For quhen he him betrasyt had,
The Ingli men rycht with him rad
In hy, in Ingland, to the king,
That gert draw hym, & hede, & hing,
For-owtyn pete, or mercy.
It wes gret sorow sekyrly,
That so worthy persoune as he
Suld on sic maner hangyt be;
Thusgate endyt his worthynes.
Off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes,
And schir bruce als the blar
Hangyt in-till A berne in ar.
The queyn, & als dame marioriy,
Hyr dochtir, that syne worthily
Wes coupillyt in-to goddf/s band
With Walter stewart off Scotland;
That wald on na wyf langar ly
In [the] castell off Kyldromy
To byd A sege, ar ridin raith—
With knyhtis and [with] squyeris bath
Throw Roft, rycht to the gyrth off tayne;
Bot that trowail thai maid in wayne.

19. *Maknab*] Maknagt H.
20. *off his*] with him H.
24. *sic*] sa good H.
30. *That*] And H.
35. *his*] the H.
36. *Off*] And off E; but H omits
And, which is not wanted. *Ranald*
47. *tayne*] Thane H.

It was worse than treachery to betray so noble a person.
The Englishmen take him to King Edward,
who had him drawn, beheaded, and hung.
The queen and her daughter
would not remain at Kildrummy,
but ride to the sanctuary at
Tain.

Sir Ranald
Crauford is hung in a barn in Ayr.
The queen and her daughter
Margery

Bryse H. *the blar*] of the Blaire H.
38. *in ar*] at Aire H.
44. *[the HA] E om.*
45. *ar*] Bot H.
46. *[with HA] E om.*

Peynald H.
The people of Ross deliver them up to the English.

[fol. 26. Cambridge MS.]

It was great pite for their folk till be tribulit on this maner.

How prynce eduard of yngland assegit kyndrwmy.

That tym wes in-to kyndrummy. Men that wicht war and hardy,

Schir neill the bryf, I wat weill,

And thar wes the erll of adeill.

The castell weill vittalit thai,

With met and Fwaill can purvay,

And inforsit the castell sua,

Thame thocht that na strinth mycht It ta.

And quhen that it the king wes tald

Of yngland, how thai schup to hald

49. that] they H.
50. na zeit] nor na H.
52. [has send (sic) HA] E om.
55. in] into H.
56. sum] and some H.
57. Here begins the Cambridge MS. (C), which is adopted for the text from this point to the end. It must be noted that readings to which no letter is appended are from the Edinburgh MS., which is also sometimes denoted by E; viz. chiefly when it is also necessary to give readings from Hart's edition (H).
57. to] till.
58. Folk till] The folk. till be] H om. this] sik H.
RUBRIC: So in C; Hic castellum de kyldrome obsidetur & predicione capitur E; How Englishmen sieged the Castle of Kildromy H.
59. That] Yat C; with large Y.
60. Men] Wyth men E; Good men H.
61. bryse] bruce. I wat] and I wate E; this wate ye H.
62. And] That. wes the erll] the erle wes E; the Erle also H. adeill]
Adheill E; Atholl H.
63. The] In the. weill] right well H. thai] ay.
64. With] And EH.
67. that it] It to.
68. to] till.
That castell, he wes all angry.
He callit his son till him in hy,
The eldest and apperande air,
A young bachiller, stark and fair,
Schir Eduard callit of carnervinane,
That wes the starkest man of ane,
That men fynd mycht in ony cuntre;
Prynce of valys that tym wes he.
He gert als call erlis twa,
Glowsister and herfurth war thai,
And bad thame wend in-to scotland,
And set a sege with stalward hand
To the castell of kyndrwmy;
And all the haldaris halely
He bad distroye without ransoune,
Or bring thame till him in presoune.

[**Hic rex anglie congregat suos in scociam**].

Quhen thai the mandment all had tane,
Thai assemblit ane ost on-ane,
And to the castell went in hy,
And assegit rygorusly;
And mony tyme full hard assalit,
Bot for to tak it zeit thame falit.
For thai within war richt vorthy,
And thame defendit douchtely,
And ruschit thair fais oft agane,
Sum-best voundit, and sum ves slane.
And mony tymes ysche thai wald,
And bargane at the barras hald,
And wound their fais oft and sla.
Suthly thai [thaim contenyt] swa,
That thai without disparit war,
And thought [till] yngland for to far.
For thai sa stith saw the casteill,
And wist that it wes varnist weill,
And saw the men defend thame swa,
That thai na hop had thame to ta.
Nane had thai done all that sesoune,
Gif na had beyn thair fals tresoune.

But a traitor, named Osbarn,
Throws a red-hot coultar
Into a heap of corn in the hall.

The besiegers think of returning home.

For thar within wes a tratour,
A fals lurzane, ane losengeour,
Osbarn to name, maid the tresoun ;
I wat nocht for quhat enchesoun,
Na quham with he maid the cowyne.
Bot as thai said, that war thar-in,
He tuk a culter hat glowand,
That het wes in a fyre byrnynd,
And went in to the mekill hall,
That tham with corne wes fillit all,
And heych vpon a mow [It] did,
Bot it full lang wes thar nocht hyd.
For men sais [oft], that fire, na pryd,
But discoueryng, may no man hyd.
The pomp of pryde ay furth shawis,
Or ellis the gret bost that it blawis ;

96. barras] barrass.
98. Suthly] Shortly E; Surely H.
[thaim contenyt E] them contenued
H; continuet C.
100. [till E] to A; in CH.
101. stith] starke H.
102. wist] with E; thought H.
varnist] varnynt E; weaponde H.
106. na—thair] It ne had bene E;
it not war right II.
107. within] with thaim.
111. the] that. cowyne] conwyne
E; conuyne H.
114. het] zeit E; red H. byrnynd]
brynynd.
115. in-to] him to.
117. vpon] wp in. [It E] it H; he C.
118. thar nocht] nocht thar.
119. [oft EH] Com.
121. The—ay] For the pomp of the pride E; For the pomp of the pride H.
122. bost] boist.
The fire overcomes the defenders.

And that may no man fire sa covir, [Bot] low or reyk sall it discovir. 124 Fire soon bursts out
So fell it heir; for fyre all cler
Soyn throu the thik burd can appeir,
Ferst as a stern, syne as a moyne,
And wele bradar that-etter soyn.
128
The fyre out syne in blasis brast,
And the reik rait richt vounder fast.
The fyre our all the castell spred,
Thar mycht no fors of men it red.
132
That at that tym wes battalit all
Within, richt as it wes with-out.
That battalyng, withouten dout,
Saffit that lifis, for it brak
Blesis that wald thame outak.
And quhen that fais the myscheiff saw,
Till Armys went that in a thraw,
And assalit the castell fast,
Quhar that durst cum for fyris blast.
140 [Fol. 27. C]
Bot that within, that myster had,
Sa gret defens ande worthy maid,
That that full oft thatais ruschit,
For that nakyn peralis refusit.
144
Thai trawaill for to sauf that lifis,
Bot weld, that to the end ay drifis
The vardis thingis, sa thame travalit,
That that on twa halfis war assalit;
Within with fyre, that thame sa brul3et,

123. And—no] Na that may na.
fire] E om. 124. [Bot H] That E; That C.
143. that] E om.
126. thik] thak E; tichke H.
145. ruschit] ruflyt E; rushed H.
burd] so in E; boord H.
146. peralis] perall.
127. moyne] mone.
147. travaill] travailltyt.
129. blasis] blesis.
148. to] till.
133. till] to.
151. Within] In. brul3et] broil3it.
155. as] missprinted at J.
The entrance-gate is burnt.

The assailants wait till day-break.

How kyng Eduarde deit in-to burch in sand.

Without with folk that thaim sa tulc, 152
That thai brynt magre thairis the set;
Bot for the fyre, that wes so het,
Thai durst nocht enter swa in hy.

Thar folk thar-for thai can rely,
And went to rest, for it wes nycht,
Till on the morn, that day wes lycht.

A t sic myscheiff, as the herd say,
War thai within; the quhethir thai 160
Euir thame defendit worthely,
And thame contenit sa manfully,
That thai or day, throu mekill pane,
Had mwryt vp the set agane.

Bot on the morn, quhen day wes lycht,
And sone wes ryssyn schynand brych,
Thai without in hale battale
Com purvait, reddy till assale; 168
Bot thai within, that sa war stad,
That na wittaill na fwaill had,
Quhar-with thai mycht the castell hald,
Tretit ferst, and syne thame 3ald,
To be in-to the kyngis will,
That than to scottis wes full Ill.

And that soyn after wes weill knawin,
For thai war hangit all and drawin.

156. Thar—thar-for] Tharfor thar
folk. can E; gart H.

Rubric. From C. Hic edwardus
a demone decipitur & mortitur E.
159. her] her.
160. thai] ay.
161. Euir] Thai. worthely] dowch-

162. thame contenit] conteyntthaim.
163. thai] E om.
164. Had] Thai had. mwryt]
tymered H. the] thar.
167. na (1)] thai E; they na H.
170. Bot that ay to scottis men wes
Ill.
175. And that] As. weill] weill wes.
QuHEN this cunning and thus tretit wes,  
And aftermit with seikirnes,  
Tha[ i] tuk [tha’im] of the castell soyn,  
And in[till] schort tym swa has done,  
That all a quarter of snawdoune,  
Rytcht to the erd, tha[ i] tumlit doune.  
Syne toward ynglandtha[ i] wend tha[ r] way;  
Bot quhen the king Eduard herd say,  
How neyll the bruce held kyndrummy  
Agane his sone sa stallwardly,  
He gaderit a gret cheuelry,  
And toward scotland went in hy.  
And as in-to northumbirland  
He wes with his [gret] rowt Rydand,  
A Seiknes tuk him in the vay,  
And put him in sa hard assay,  
That he mycht nouthir gang no ryde.  
Him worthit, magre his, abyde  
In till ane hamelat neir thair-by,  
A litill toune and vnworthy.  
With gret payn thiddir tha[ i] hym brocht;  
He wes sa stad that he na mocht  
His aynd bot with gret panys draw,  
Na spek, bot gif it war weill law.  
The quhethir he bad tha[ i] suld him say  
Quhat toune wes that, that he in lay.  
"Schir," tha[ i] said, "bowrch-in-the-sand  
Men callis this toune, in-to this land."
"Call tha[ i] it burch? allace," said he,  
"My hope is now fordone to me."  

179. [tha’im E] them H; hym C.  
180. [intill E] in CH. swa sa H;  
E om. has] haue they H.  
183. tha[ i] wend] went.  
185. kyndrummy] kildrony.  
187. a] E om.  
170. [Fol. 27 b. C.]  
180. and are made prisoners.  
184. King Edward  
188. but is attacked by sickness on reaching Northumberland,  
192. at a small town.  
200. He asks the name of the town.  
204. It is called Burgh-on-the-sand.
Fiends Deceive Men by False Answers.

"I thought," he says, "to reach the borough of Jerusalem.

For I wend nevir to thole the payn
Of deke, quhill I, throu mekill mayn,
The burch of Jerusalem had tane;
My lif wend I thair suld be gane.
In burch I wist weill I suld de,

Bot I wes nouthir wid no sle
Till othir burchis kepe to ta;
Now may I no wid forthir ga."
Thus plenyeit he off his folye,

As he had mater sekirly,
Quhen he wend to wit certante
Of thait that nane may certane be.
The quhethir men said, enclosit he had
Ane spirit, that hym anser mad
Of thingis that he vald Inqueir.
Bot he wes fule, forouten weir,
That gaf treuth to that Creature.
For fendis ar of sic nature,
That thai to mankynd has Invy;
For thai wat weill and wittirly,
That thai that weill ar liffand heir
Sall wyn the segis, quhar-of thai weir
Tumlit doune throu thair mekill pryde.
Qiharfor oftymis will betyde,
That quhen fendis distren3it ar
For till apper and mak ansuar,
Throu force of coyniracioun,

That thai sa fals ar and sa fellouñe,
That thai mak ay thair ansering

---

213. *burchis*] burch.
217. *wend*] weird H; E om. to *wit*] written towyt in E, and printed cowyt in J; but Y has to wyt.
218. *that* (2)] it.
219. *enclosit he*] he chesy H; in-close he H.
220. *Aue*] A.
222. *res fule*] was foole H; fulyt E.
223. *trewth*] traist H; throuth E; printed through J.
228. *segis*] sege E; Siege H.
229. *douné*] E om.
230. *Qiharfor*] Qihar throw.
234. *sa* (2)] E mo.
In-till dowbill vndirstanding,
Till dissaf thame that will thame trow.
Ensampill will I set heir now,
Of a were, as I herde tell,
Betuix france and [the] flemyanis fell.

The erll ferrandis moder was
Ane nygramansour, and sathanas
Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
Quhat sund worth of the fichtyne
Betuix the franch kyng and hir sone,
And [he], as he all tyme wes wono,
In-to dissat maid his answar,
And said to hir thir versis heir.

[Versus Belli de Bosbek.]

Rex Ruet in bello tumulique carebit honore;
Ferrandus, comitissa, tius, mea cara minervae,
Parisius veniet, magna comitante caturea.

This wes the spek he maid, perfay;
As is in ynglis for to say,
‘The king sail fall in the fighting,
And sail fale honor of Erding,
And thi ferrand, mynerff my deir,
Sall richt to paris went, but weir,
Followand him gret cunpany
Of nobill men and of worthy.’

This is the sentens off the saw,
That he in latyne can hir schaw.

---

236. till] to (here and in more places than need be specified; cf. H. 189, 204, &c.)
240. [the EH] Com. flemyanis
241. ferrandis] of Flanders H.
245. franch] frunce E; French H.
246. [he EH] Com. he all tymr]
all tyme he.
248. versis] thrre wers.
Rubric. In H; C has Nota versus.
250. cara] chara H. minervae] miswritten menerua in C; but E has minerva.
251. Parisius] Parasieus E; printed Parisios HJ; Parisis P; Parisius I. Parisius is for Parisios.
253. As] And. for] thus H; to an E.
257. went] so in E; wend H.
260. the (2)] this.
261. he in] the.
HOW THE FIEND'S PROPHETY CAME TRUE. [BOOK IV.

He callit hir his deir mynerfe,
For mynerfe ay wes wont to serfe

Hym fuluely at all deuif; 264
And for scho maid him the sam service,

[His] mynerfe hir callit he;
And als, throu his gret sultute,
He callit hir deir, sone till dissaf,
That scho the titar suld consaf
Of his spek the vndirstanding,
That plesit mast to hir liking.

His doubill spek hir sua dissauit,
That throu hir feill the ded resauit.
For scho wes of his answr blith,
And till hir sone scho tald it swith,
And bad him till the battale spede,
For he suld victor haf but drede.
And he, that herd hir sermonyng,
Sped hym in hy to the fichting,
Quhar he discumfit wes & schent,
And takyn, and to parif sent.
Bot in the fechting nocht-for-thi
The kyng, throu his cheuelry,
Wes lайд at Erd and lamyt bath;
Bot his men horsit hym weill rath.
And quhen ferrand/is moder herd
How hir sone in the Battale ferd,
And that he swa wes discumfit,
Scho rasit the euill spirit als tit,

262. deir] E om.
263. to] E om.
264. fuluely at all] Scho leffyt
   at his. For leffyt, H misprints leesced,
P and J leessyt.
266. [His EH] Hir C.
267. gret] E om.
268. sone] hyr.
271. plesit—to] mast plesyt till.
272. His] This. hir sua] sua hyr.
273. feill] foly (?) E; some H
274. his] hyr.
277. victor] victory.
284. Erd] the erd. lamyt] lawit
E; lamed H.
285. horsit] helpyt E; horsed H.
288. that] at (here, and in places
too numerous to be worth specifying;
cf. 1. 218.)
289. euill] Ill.
And askit quhy he gabbit had
Of the Anser that he hir mad.
And he said that he suth said all:—

"I said [the], that the kyng suld fall
In the Battale, and sua did he,
And fals Erdyng, as men may se!
And I said, that thi sone suld ga
To pariß, and he did rycht sua,
Followand hym sic a men3he,
That neuir in his liftyme he
Had sic men3 at his leding;
Now seis thow I mak na gabbing."

The vif confusit wes, perfay,
And durst no mair on-till him say.
Thusgat, throu doubill vndirstanding,
That bargane come to sic ending,
That the ta part dissauit was;
Richt sua-gat fell it in this caO.

At Jerusalem thus trowit he
Gravyn in the burch to be;
The quhelhir [at] burch in-to the sand
He suelt rycht in his awne land.
And quhen he to the ded wes ner,
The folk that at kyndrummy wer,
Com with the presoners at thai had tane,
And syne [vn]to the kyng ar gane.
And for to confort him thai tald,
How thai the castell to thame 3ald,
And how thai to his will var brocht,
Till do of thame quhat euir he thocht;

292. that—said] he had said suth.
293. [the] E thec H; C om.
295. fals] fail yeid.
298. kyng] E om.
300. sic] sic a. at his] in.
301. wak] maid.
302. confusit] convic ted H.
303. on-till] than till.
308. thus] E om.
310. [at E] the C. H has—At the
whoilk Burgh, &c.
313. kyndrummy] kildromy.
314. the] E om. at] that E; H
om.
315. [vnto H] to CE.
319. thame] that E; them H.
He says,
"Hang and draw them!"

And askit quhat thai suld of thaim do.
Than lukit he awfully thame to,
And said, gynand, "hangis & drawis!"

It wes gret vounder of sic sawis,
That he, that to the ded wes neir,
Suld answer apon sic maneir,
Forouten menyng of mercy.

How mycht he trastly on hym cry,
That suthfastly demys all thing,
To haf mercy for his crying
Of him that, throu his felony,
In-to sic poynt had no mercy?

His men his mandment has all done,
And he deit thar-eitir soine;
And syne wes brocht to berynes;
His son syne eftir kyng he wes.

[How Iames of Dowglas past into Arrane.]

To kyng robert agane ga we,

That in [rauchryne], with his menȝe,
Lay till the vyntir neir wes gane,
And of that Ile his met has tane.

James of douglas wes angry

That thai so lang suld ydill ly,
And to schir robert boyd said he;
"The pouir folk of this cuntre
Ar chargit apon gret maner
Of vs, that ydill lyis her.

320. thai] men.
321. awfully] angyrly.
322. gynand] gynmand E; gyn-
ing H. hang-is—drawis] gar hang
and draw H.
323. It] That E; It H. gret] great H; omitted in E, but there is a
small blank space.
326. of] and.
327. trastly on hym] traist on hym
to.
332. all] E om.
334. berynes] Burying H.
335. eftir kyng he] king eftir. H
has—His sonne syne after him was
King.

RUBRIC. From H; not in CE.
336. kyng] the king.
337. [rauchryne E] Raughring H;
rathyryn or rachgyrn C.
338. th] E om.
341. so lang] langer E.
And I heir say, *that* in arane,
In-till a stith castell of stañe,
Ar ynglis men *that*, with strang hand,
Haldis *the* lordschip of *the* land.
Ga we thiddir; and weill may fall,
Anoy *thame in sum thing we sall*.
Schir Robert said, "I grant *thar-till"
To ly heir mair war litill skill:
*Tharfor till Arane pas will we,
For I knaw rycht weill *that* cuntre,
And *the* castell alsua knaw I.
We sall cum *thair sa preuely,*
*That* *thai sall haft na persavyng,
Na zeit witting of our cuamyn.
And we sall neir enbuschit be,
Quhar we *thair out-cummyng may se,*
Sa sall it on na maner fall,
*Than scath thame on sum vis* we sall."
With *that* *thai buskit thame on-ane,*
And at *the* kyng *thair leyf has tañe,*
And went [*thaim*] furth syne on *thair way.*
In-to kentyre soyn cumin ar *thai.*
Syne rowit all-wayis by *the* land,
Till at *the* nycht wes neir at hand;
*Than till Arane thai went thair way,*
And sauflly *thair arivit thai,*
And vnder ane bra *thair galay dreuch,*
And syne it helit weill eneuch.
*Thair takill, ayris, and thair stere,*
*Thai hyde all on *the* sam manere.

346. [*Ik.*]
353. To—*mair*] Till her mar ly E;
To ly here mair H.
355. *that*] the.
356. *alsua*] rycht swa.
351. *out-cummyng*] outcomm H.
362. *na*] E om.

363. *Than*] Bot H; Na E. *scaeth*
catch H.
366. [*thaim E*] soone H; C om.
369. *at (2)]* on.
372. *vnder ane bra*] in A gln

EH.
375. *sam*] samyn.
They set an 

unbush near the 
castle.

Sir John 

Hastings was 

then in Brodic 
castle.

And held thair way rycht in the nycht,

Sa that, or day wes dawyn lycht,

Thai war enbuschit the castell neir,

Arayit on the best maneir;

And thouch thai wate war and wery,

And for lang fastyng all hungry,

Thai thocht to hald thame all preue,

Till that thai weil thair p[o]ynt mycht se.

Schir Iohne the hastyngis, at that tyde,

With knychtis of full mekill pryde,

With squyaris and gude 3hemanyr,

That war a [weill] gret cumpany,

Wes in the castell of brathwek.

And oftsiô quhen it wald him lik,

He went to hunt with his men3he,

And sua the land abandonit he,

That nane durst warn [to] do his will.

He wes in-to the castell still,

The tym that Iames of douglaf,

As I haf tald, enbuschit was.

Sa hapnyt at that tyme throu chans,

With vittalis and ek purvians,

And with clething and armynge,

The day befor, in the evynnyng,

The vndirwardane arivit was

With thre batis, weill neir the place,

Quhar that the folk I spak off ere

Preuely enbuschit were.

Soyn fra the batis saw thai ga

379. Arayit—[the] Armyt apon thair.
380. poynt] so in E; pynt C; time
382. nane durst] durst nane.
383. pynt] so in E; pynt C; time
384. That war] And that E; And
385. I] Ik. As—tald] Sa neere
386. H. hand by H.
388. brathwek] brathwik.
389. to hunt] till huntyng. men-
Of ynglis men thretty and ma,
Chargit all with syndry thing,
Sum bare vyne and sum armyng,
The remanand all chargit were
With thingis on syndry manere.
And othir syndry 3eid thame by,
As thai war masteris, ydilly.

Thai that enbuschit war thame saw,
Ande, for-outen dreed or aw,
Thai buschement apon thame brak,
And slew all that thai mycht 3ourtak.

The cry raiȝ hydwisly and hee,
For thai, that dreedand war to de,
Ryght as bestis can rair and cry,
And thai slew fast without mercy.
Swa that, in[to] the samyn sted,
Weill neir to fourty thar war ded.

Quhen [thai that] in the castell war,
Herd the folk sa cry and rair,
[Thai] yschit furth to the fechtyng;
Bot quhen douglas saw thar cummyng,
His men till hym he can rely,
And went till meit thame hastely.
And quhen thai of the castell saw
Hym cum on [thaim] forouten aw,
Thai fled forouten mair debate;
And thai thame followit to the 3ate,
And slew of thame, as thai in past.

Bot thai thair ȝet barrit so fast,
Douglas sees 30 Englishmen well provided with things.

408

412

416

420

424

428

432

Douglas kills nearly 40 Englishmen.
Douglas attacks the men of the castle.

407. armyng] armynys.
409. on] off.
412. thame] that.
413. Ande] All E; And then H.
419. And] E om. fast without] thaim for-owtyn E; them without H.
420. [into EH] in C.
421. to fourty] xl.
422. [thai that] so in E; that thai C; but cf. l. 412, 417, 438.
424. [Thai E] They H; That C.
425. douglas] the dowglas,
429. [thaim E] them H; hym C. forouten] but dread or H.
433. so] E om.
DOUGLAS RETURNS IN GREAT TRIUMPH. [BOOK IV.

At thai mycht do at thame no mair.
Tharfor thai left thame ilkane thair,
And turnit to the see agane,
Quhar that the men war forrow slane.
And quhen thai that war in the batis

[Saw thair cummyng, and wist how-gatis
Thai had discusfit thair mën;he,
In hy thai put thame to the se,
And rowit fast with all thare mayn.
Bot the vynde wes thame agayn,
That it gert sa the land-brist ryf,
That thai mycht weld the se na vi6; 
Na thai durst nocht cum to the land,
Bot held thame thair so lang hobland,
That of thre batis drownyt twa;
And quhen douglas saw it wes swa,
He tuk the Armyng and clethyng,
Wittalis, vyne, and othir thyng
At thai fand thar, and held thair way,
Richt glad and Joyfull of thair pray.

The cuming of king robert bruce in arane.

O

On this wi6 James of douglas,
And his mën;e, throu goddis grace,
War weill releiyt with Armyng,
With vittale als, and with clethyng;
Syne till a strait thai held thair way,
And thame full manly gouernit thai.

The king himself
Till on the tend day, at the kyng,
With all that war in his ledyng,

437. forrow] forowth or forowch.
438. thai that] so in E; they that
H : C transpose these words.
444. it—sa] swa hey gert. H has
—And sa great the land byrst rise.
446. Na] Then E; Nor H.
448. thre] the thre. H omits the.
450. thv] E om.

RUBRIC. From C.
454. On—wiss] On this maner II; Quhen this E.
457. With—als] And with wictaill, with (2)] als H; E om.
458. strate] strait H; strenth E.
459. thai] they II; ay E.
Arivit in-to that cuntre,
Vith thretty small galais and thre.
The kyng arivit in Arran,
And syne to the land is gane,
And in a toune tuk his herbery;
And sperit syne full specialy,
Giff ony man couth tell tithand
Of any strange man in that land.
"3ai," said a woman, "schir, perfay,
Of strange men I can 3ow say,
That [ar] cumin in this cuntre;
And schort qhull sen, throu thare bounte,
Thai [haff] discumfit our varlañe,
And mony of his folk has slane.
In-till a stalward place heir-by
Reparis all thair cumpany."
"Dame," said the king, "wald thou me viö
To that place quhar thair repair is,
I wald revard the but lesing:
For thair ar all of my duelling;
And I richt blithly vald thame se,
And richt sua trow I thai vald me."
"3ia," said scho, "schir, I will blithly
Ga with 3ow and 3our cumpany,
Till that I schaw 3ow thair repair."
"That is eneuch, my sister fair;
Now ga furthwardis," said the kyng.
Than went thai furth but mair letting,
Followand hir, as scho thame led,
Till at the last scho schewit the sted,
She leads Bruce to a glen.

Till the king, in a woddy glen,
And said, "schir, heir I saw the men,
That the speir efter, mak lugging."

Heir trow I be thair reparyng."

The king blows his horn.

The king than blew his horn in hy,
And gert the men that war him by,
Hald thame all still than preue,
And syne agane his horn blew he.

Douglas knows the blast.

Iames of douglas herd him blaw,
And he the blast all soyn can knaw,
And said, "suthly, 3on is the kyng,
I knaw lang quhill syne his blawyng."

The thrid tyme thar-with-all he, blew,
And than schir robert boyde It knew,
And said, "3on is the kyng, but dreid;
Ga we furth till hym bettir speid."

Than went thai to the kyng in hy,
And hym salusit full curtasly;
And blithly welcuit thame the kyng,
That Ioyfull wes of thair metyng,
And kyssit thame, and sperit syne
How thai had fari in thair [h]ontyne.
And thai hym tald [all] but lesyng:
Syne lovit thai god of thair metyng.
Syne with the kyng to his herbry
Thai wend, bath Ioyfull ande Ioly.

492. \textit{Till} To. \textit{woddy} wode.
498. \textit{all—thain} still and all, \textit{all}
\textit{—preue} still in pruittie H.
501. \textit{he—blast} at the last. H has
\textit{—And well the blast soone can he
know.}
503. \textit{knav—syne} ken him well by
H.
509. \textit{hym—full} him Inclyn yt E;

492. to him inclined H.
511. \textit{That—wes} And wes Ioyfull.
513. \textit{hontyne} ontyn e C; huntyn
\textit{E}; huntyn H.
514. \textit{[all EH] Com.}
515. \textit{lorit} lowyt.
517. \textit{Thai wend} Went. \textit{Ioyfull—}
\textit{Ioly} blyth and joyfully H.
[How the king sent his man to spy in Carrik, who were to him friendly.]  

**The king apon **the tothir day  
Can till his preue menze say,  
"3e knaw all weill, and wele may se,  
How we ar out of our cunte  
Banyst, throu ynglis mennys mycht;  
And it, **that ounis** suld be of richt,  
Throu their mastrice **thai** occupye,  
And vald alsua, without mercy,  
Gif thai had mycht, distroy vs all.  
Bot god forbeid **that  it suld fall**  
Till vs, as **thai mak mannasying!**  
For than war **thair na recoueryng.**  
And mankynd biddis vs **that we**  
To procur vengeans besy be.  
And 3e may se we haf thre thingis,  
**That makis vs amonestyngis**  
For to be worthy, wi5, and vicht,  
And till anoy thame at our mycht.  
Ane is our liffis savite,  
**That suld on na vi5 savit be,**  
Gif thai had vs at their liking.  
**The tothir that makis vs Egging,**  
Is **that thai our possessioune**  
Haldis with strinthe agane resoune.  
**The thrid is the Ioy [that] we abyde,**  
Gif **that it hapyn,** as weill may tyde,

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Rubric. From II.  
518. C has large Y, for TH.  
520. wele] 3e. But H has well.  
523. it] that. it that] that whilke  
H. ounis—be] suld be owris.  
524. mastrice] mastrys. But H has mastric.  
525. without] for-owtyne.  
527. that—suld] it suld sa.

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The king says  
they all know  
how they are  
exiles,

[Fol. 31 b. C.]  
and exHORTS them  
to vengeance,  
for three reasons:

1. To preserve  
their own lives.

2. Because the  
English hold  
their fortresses.

3. Because of the  
hope of victory.
That we haf victor and mastry
Till ourcum their felony.
That for we sold our hertis raif,
Sua that na myscheif vs abai6;
And schape all-wayis to that ending
That beris mensk and ek lovyng.
And tharfor, lordis, gif 3he se
Emang 3ow that it spedfull be,
I will send a man to carrik,
To spy and speir how the kynrik
Is led, or quha is frend or fa.
And gif he seis we land may ta,
On turnberyis nwk he may
Mak a fyre, on a certane day,
And mak taknyng till vs, that we
May thair ariffe in-to saufte.
And gif he seis we may nocht swa,
Luk on na vi6 the fyre he ma.
Swa that we may haff vittering—
Of our passage, or our duelling.”
To this spek all assentit ar,
And than the king, withouten mair,
Callit till him ane that wes preue,
And born of carrik, his cuntre:
And chargit him, in lef and mare,
As 3e herd me deni6 it are :
And set him certane day to may
The fyre, gif he saw it wes sway
That thai had possibilite

544. haf victor] wyn wictour.
549. beris] beris in It E; beares in
it H. [ck] Eli om.
550. lordis] lordingis E; Lordings
H.
551. that] giff that.
552. to] in Eli.
553. how the] our.
554. Is—is] How It is led and.
556. turnberyis nwk] turnberys snuke.
559. in-to] in.
562. that—may] may we thar-
throw.
567. born] E om.
571. wes] war.
To manteme were in that cuntre.
And he, that wes richt weill in will
His lordis zarnyng to fulfill,
As he that worthy wes and leill,
And couth secretis rycht weill conceal,
Said he wes boune in-till all thing
For till fulfill his commaunding;
And said he suld do sa wisly,
That na reprei suld eftir ly.
Syne at the kyng his leif has tane,
And furth apon his vay is gane.

Now gais the messinger his vay,
That hat cuthbert, as I herd say;
In carrik soyn arivit he,
And passit throu all the cuntre.
Bot he fand few thair-in, perfay,
That gud wald of his mastir say.
For feill of thame durst nocht for dreid,
And othir sum, rycht in-to ded,
War fais to the nobill kyng,
That rewit syne thair barganyng.
[ Fol. 14 b. E. ]
Bath hye and law, the land wes then
All occupyit with ynglis men;
That dyspitit, atour all thing,
Robert the bruce, the douchty kyng.
Carrik wes gevyn than halely
To sir henry the lord persy;
That in turnberyis castell then
Wes, with weill neir thre hundreth men;
And danüt suagat all the land,
That all wes till hym obeysand.
This cuthbert saw thair felony,

573. were] the wer.
577. secretis—weill] rycht weill
secretis E; his secret well H.
585. cuthbert] cuthbert.
602. dantit] dawntyt.
And saw the folk sa halely
Be [worthyn] ynglis, rych and pure,
That he to nane durst hym discure,
Bot thought to leif the fyre vmmaid,
Syne till his mastir to vend but baid,
And all thair cowyne till hym tell,
That wes sa angry and sa fell.

[Of the fire the king saw burning.]

The king looks to see if the fire is lighted.

THE kynge that in-to Arane lay,
Quen that cumin wes the day,
That he set till his messyngere,
As I deuisit 30w lang ere,
Eftir the fyre he lukieth fast.
And als soyn as the moyn wes past,
Hym thought weill that he saw a fyre,
By turnberry byrmand weill schyre ;
And till his menye can it schaw ;
Ilk man thought weill that he it saw.
Than with blith hert the folk can cry,
"Gud king, speid 30w deliuerly,
Swa that we soyn in the evymyng
Arif, withouten persavyng !"
"I grant," said he, "now mak 30w 3air ;
God furthir vs in-till our fair !"
Than in schort tym men mycht thaim se
Schute all thair galais to the se,
Ande beir to se bath ayr and steir,
And othir thyngis that mystir weir.

[Hic hospita predicit regi futura, et dat ei ij. filios.]
And as the king apon the land
Wes gangand vp and doun, bydand
Till that his men3he reddy war,
His hostes com rycht till hym thar.
And quhen that scho him halsit had,
A preue spek till hym scho mad,
And said, "ta gude tent to my saw
For, or 3e pa3, I sall 3ow schaw
Of 3our fortoun a gret party,
And atour all thing specialy
A witt[er]ing heir I sall 3ow may,
Quhat end that 3our purpo3 sall ta;
For in this varld is na3e trewly
Wat thingis to cum sa weill as I.
3e pas now furth [on] 3our w[i]age,
To venge the harme and the outrage,
That ynglis men has to 3ow done;
Bot 3e wat nocht quhat-kyn forto3
3he mon dre in 3our warraying.
Bot wit 3he weill, without lesing,
That fra 3e now haf takyn land,
Thair sal no mycht, no strinth of hand
Ger 3ow furth pas of this cuntre,
Quhill all to 3ow abandonyt be.
Within schort tym 3e sall be king,
And haf the land at 3our liking,
And ourcum 3our fayis all.
Bot feill anoyis thoill 3he sall,

The king talks to his hostess,
who tells him his fortune.

She says he little knows what he must go through;
yet no power shall ever drive him away again.
The power of prediction is wonderful. [Book IV.

Or that your purpose ende hath taken;
Bot thame ourdriff ilkaine.
And, that thou dost speak certainly,
My twa sonnys with yow shall I
Send to tak with yow [your] travell;
For I wait well that shall nocht fail
Till be rewardit well at richt,
Quhen ye ar heit on to yow hicht!"
The kyng, that herd all hir carpyng,
Than thankit hir in mekill thing;
For scho confortit hym sumdeill;
The quethir he trowit nocht full weill
Hir spek, for he had gret ferly
How scho suld wit it sekrily.
As it was wouderfull, perfay,
How ony man throu steris may
Know the thingis that ar to cum
Determinably, all or sum,
Bot giff that he espirit war
Of him, that all thing euirmar
Seis in his presciens,
*As it war ay in his presens:
Yet David and the prophets could foretell things by inspiration.

[Page 15. E.] Bot feill folk ar sa curioufs,

664. with your] part of EH. [your
E] your H; C om.
667. heit on to] heityt to E; raised to H.
670. confortit] confort.
675. man—steris] manynys science.
676. the] E om.
680. his] his awne H.

660* his] E om. P omits this line, by accident.
682. afterward] eftir.
685. that] the E; thay H.
686. their—nane] nane in eird now E; nane in eird may now H.
And to wit thingis sa covatous;

That thair, throu thair gret clery,
Or ellis throu thair deuilry,
Of thir twyn maners makis fanding
Of thingis to cum to haf knawing.
Ane of thame is astrology,
Quhar-throu clerkis, that ar vitty,
May knaw coniunctioun of planetis,
And quhethir that thair cours thaim settis
In soft segis, or in angry;
And of the hevyln all hateely
How that the disposicioun
Suld apon thingis virk heir doune,
On regiones, or on [climatis],
That virkis nocht ay-quhar a gatis,
Bot sum ar lef, sum othir mair,
Eftir as thair bemys strekit air,
Owthir all evin, or on wry.
But me think it war gret mastry
Till ony astrolog to say,
This sall fall heir, and on this day.
For thouch a man his lifly haly
Studeit [swa] in astrology,
That on the sternis his hed he brak,
Wil men sais he suld nocht mak,
His lifyme, certane domys thre;
And zeit suld he ay daut quhill he

Many are so curious to know the future, that they attempt to learn it by astrology,
CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER MEN’S DISPOSITIONS. [BOOK IV.

Saw how that it com till ending: 
Than is thar na certane demyng.
Or gif thai men, that will study
In the craft of astrology,
Knew all meenis nacioune,
And als the constillacioune,
That kyndly maneris giffis thaim til
For till Incline to gud or Ill;
How that thai, throu craft of clergy,
Or throu slight of astrology,
[Coith] tell quhatkyn perell apperis
To thame that haldis kyndly maneris,
I trow that thai suld faill to say
The thingis that thame happyn may.
For quelhie ir sa men Inclynit be
till virtu or to mawite,
He may richt well reffrenze his vill,
Outhiir throu nwrtour or throu skil,
And to the contrar turne him all.
And men has mony tymis seyn fall,
That men, kyndly to I[wil]l giffin,
Throu thair gret vit avay has drivin
Thair ewill, and vorthyn of gret renoune,
Magre the constillacioune.
As aresstoll, gif, as men redis,
[He] had followit his kyndly dedis,
He had beyn fals and conatu6;
Bot his vit maid him virtuous.

716. thar] that.
720. als] knew.
723. craft] science.
725. [Coith E] To C.
726. kyndly] kyndlik.
727. Yet may they faile the trueth
to say II.
728. The] In H.
729. sa men] that man II.
730. to mawite] iniquitie II.
732. nwrtour] nurtur E; vertue II; apparently miswritten nwrtour in C.
733. him] it H.
734. tymis] tyme.
735. [Iwill E] Ill C; ill are H; see l. 737.
737. ewill] Ill EH; gret] H om.
740. [He EH] C om.
And syn men may on this kyn vis6
Virk agane that cours, that is
Principal caus of their demyng,
Me think their dome na certane thing.
Nigramansy ane othir is,
That kennys men, on syndry vis6,
Throu stalward coniuraciones,
And throu [exorcizaciones],
To ger spiritis to thame apeir,
And gif ansuer on seir maneir.
That quhilom did the [Pithones],
That, quhen saull abasit [wes]
Of the philistianis mycht,
Rasit, throu [hyr] mekill [slycht],
Samuell sperit als tit,
Or in his sted the euill spirit,
That gaf [rycht] gra[i]th ansuer hir to :
Bot of hir-self rycht nocht wist scho.
And man is in-to dreding ay
Of thingis that he has herd say,
And namly of thingis to cum, quhill he
Haue of the end the certante.
And sen thai ar in sic venyng,
Forouten certane vitting,
Me think, quha sais he knawis thingis
To cum, he makis gret gabbingis.
But quhethir scho [that] tald the king
How his purpos suld tak ending,
Yet, in this case, "Wenit, or vist it vitterly,
It fell eftir all haley
As scho said: for syne king wes he,
And of full mekill [renomme].

772. It] C has Bot It, but EH omit poustie H. H has—And reigned into free poustie.
774. [renomme E] renowne C;
[BOOK V.]

[Hic rex robertus applicat nauigio ad carryk.]

[Of the kings hansaling in Carrik, at his first arriuing.]

This was in spring,

This was in spring,

4 when small birds began to sing,

[Fol. 15 b. E.]

4 when small birds began to sing,

[Fol. 34 b. C.]

4 when small birds began to sing,

and trees to blossom.

Then the king with 300 men

1. For initial TH, C has Y. were]
2. Sane
3. Sane
4. thristill] turturis (added afterwards in a previously blank space) E; Turtle H.
5. meraly] sariely E; sweetly for H.
6. in—syning] their solacing H.
7. Syndry] Swete.
8. melody] melodys.
9. hevede] hewid E; hede C (but note the rime); head H.
11. gressys E; gersse H.
12. In-to that] In that sweet H.
puts to sea. [Wes] to the se, furth of Arañe,
A litill forrow the evyn gañe.
Thaï rowit fast with all thar mycht,
Till that apon thame fell the nycht,
That It wox myrk on gret maner,
Swa that thaï wist nocht quhar thaï wer.
For thaï na nedill had na stane,
Bat rowit always in-till añe,
Stemmand always apon the fyre,
That thaï saw byrmand licht and schire!
It wes bot auentur that thame led:
And thaï in schort tym swa thame sped,
That at the fyre arivit thaï,
And went to land but mair delay.
And cuthbert, that has seyn the fyre,
Wes full of angir and of Ie,
For he durst nocht do it avay;
And he wes alsua doutand ay
That his lord suld paþ the se.

It grows very dark.

They have no needle or stone.

They land near the fire.

Cuthbert awaits them,

and tells the king that all are his foes there,

and Perey’s men are close by,

17. [Wes] such must be the right reading; wrongly altered to Went in CH; but E has Is. furth] owte.
18. the] E om. gane] ar gañe C;
wæs gane H; but E has gane only.
The insertion of ar or was arose from altering Wes into Went.
24. in-till] foorth in H.

[BOOK V.

Sir Henry H.
Fulfilit of dispit and pride.
Bot mair than twa part of his rout
War herbreit in the toune tharout;
"And dispisis 3ow mair, schir king,
Than men may dispis ony thing."
Than said the kyng, in full gret Iris;
"Tratour, quhy maid thou on the fyre?"
"A! schir," he said, "sa god me se!
That fyre wes neuir maid on me.
Na, or this nycht I wist it nocht;
Bot fra I wist it, weill I thocht
That 3he, and haly 3our men3he,
In hy suld put 3ow to the se.
Forthi I com to meit 3ow her,
To tell peralis that may aper."

The king wes of his spek angry,
And askit his preue men in hy,
Qulat at thame thought wes best to do?
Schir Eduard ferst ansuerd thar-to,
His brothir, that wes so hardy,
And said, "I say 3ow sekrily,
Thar sall na peralis that may be
[Dryve] me eftsonis to the se;
Myne auenture heir tak will I,
Quheitir it be eisfull or angry."
"Brothir," he said, "sen thou vill [sa],
It is gud that we sammyn ta
Dise or ese, [or] pyne or play,
Eftir as god will vs purvay.
And sen men sais that the persy

47. part] partis.
48. tharout] without.
49. dispisis] despises II; dyspyt E.
50. dispiss] despise II; dispyt E.
52. on] than; but cf. l. 54.
55. this] the.
61. angry] rycht angry C; but EH omit rycht.
67. peralis] perell.
68. [Dryre EII] Draw C.
71. [sa H] sua E; say C.
73. [or EII] C om.
Myne heritage will occupy,
And his men se naeir vs lyis,
That vs [dispytis] mony vi,0,
Ga we wenge sum of the dispit,
And that we may haft don als-tit ;
For thai ly trastly, but dreding
Of vs, and of our heir-cummyng.
And though we slepand slew thaim all,
Repreif vs tharof na man sall.
For veriour na fors suld ma,
Qubethir he mycht ourcum his fa
Throu strynth, or throu sutilte ;
Bot at gud fa[i]th ay haldin be."

[**Hic rex intrat villam latenter, occidens omnes.**]

Quhen this wes said, thai went thare way ;
And till the toun soyn cumin ar thai
Sa preuely, bot noyfo making,
That naie persaut thair cummyng.
Thai scalit throu the toune in hy,
And brak vp dures sturdely,
And slew all that thai mycht outak :
And thai that na defens mycht mak,
Full pitwisly couth rair and cry ;
And thai slew thame dispitwisly,
As thai that war in-to gud will
To wenge the angir and the Ill,
That thai and thairis had to thaim vrocht ;
Thai with so felloun will thaim socht,
That thai slew thame euivilkañe,
Outtak makdowall hym allane,

78. [dispytis E] dispiss (≡ dispisis)
C ; despires H ; but see next line.
79. we] we and.
80. we may] may we.
82. and] or.
84. vs] E om.
85. veriour] werrayour EH ; veri-
ours in C ; but see next line.

88. faith] so in EH ; fath C.
89. couth] gan.
98. dispitwisly] dispitously.
99. in-to] in full.
101. to] E om.
That eschapat, throu gret slight,
And throu the myrknès of the nycht.
In the castell the lorde persy
Herd well the noyis and the cry.
[Sa did the men, that with-in wer,
And full effraytly gat their ger.
But off thaim wes nane sa hardy,
That euir ischt fourth to the cry.]
In sic a-fray thai baid that nycht,
Till on the morn, that day wes licht;
And than cesit in-to party
The noyis, slauchtir, and the cry.
The king gert be departit then
All hail the reif amang his men;
And duelt all still their dais thre.
Sic hansell to the folk gaf he,
Richt in the first begynnyng,
Newly at his ariwyn.

[Quedam domina regis consanguinea venit ad
eum cum xl.]

When at the king and his folk ware
Arivit, as I tald 3ow are,
A quhill in carrik lendit he,
To se qha frend or fa vald be.
Bot he sand litill tenderines;
And nocht-for-thi the pepill wes
Inclynit to hym in-to party;
Bot ynglis men sa angirly
Led thame with danger & wyth aw,

107. persy] the persy.
109—112. From E; also in H; C
om.
109. Sa] And sa H. that with-in]
with him H.
110. effraytly] infrainly H.
112. H ħas—And durst ishe foorth
to cry.
113. a-fray] effray.
116. slauchtir] the slauchtyr.
118. reif] reff E; spraith H.
120. the] that.
Rubric. From E.
125. lendit] leyndyt.
129. to] till. in-to] in.
A lady and relative comes to him with 15 men.

She tells him all about the siege of Kildrummy, and how Seton was slain.

**A LADY TELLS BRUCE SAD NEWS.**

*That thai na frendship durst him schaw.*
Bot a lady of *that cunte*,
*That wes till hym in neir degre*
Of cosynage, wes vounder blith
*Of his arivale, and als swith*
Sped hir till hym in ful gret hy,
*With xv men in Cumpany,*
And betacht *thame all to the king,*
To help hym in his warrayng.

And he resauit *thame in daynte,*
And hir full gretly thankit he,
*And sperit tithandis of the queyn,*
And of his frendis all bedeyn,
*That he had left in that cunte,*
Quhen *that he put hym to the se.*

She tells him all about the siege of Kildrummy,

[Fol. 36. C.]

And scho hym tald, sychand full sair,
How *that his brothir takyn wair*
In the castell of kyndrummy,
*And syne distroyit vilonysly;*
And of the erll addell alsua;
*And how the queyn & othir ma,*
*That till his party war heldand,*
War tane & led in-to ynghland,
*And put in-to [feloun] presonne;*
*And how that cristole of Setouñ*
Wes slane, gretand scho tald the king,
*That soronfull wes of that tithing;*
[And] saide, quhen he had thought a thraw,
*Thir wordis that I sall 3ow schaw:—*
"Allas!" he said, "for luf of me,
And for mekill gud laute,

138. *w*] fourty E; fourtie H.
140. *To]* Till.
149. *kyndrummy*] kyldromy.
150. *syne distroyit*] destroyit sa.
151. *of*] E om. *addell*] off Athall
154. *in-to*] in.
155. *in-to*] in. [feloun E] felloun
159. [And EH] That C.
162. *mekill gud*] thar mekill E; their meekle leele H.
Thai nobill men and thai worthy
Ar distroyit sa vilonishly!
Bot and I lif in lege pouste,
Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be.
The king, the quhethir, of yngland
Thought that the kinrik of scotland
Wes to litill to hym and me;
Tharfor I will it all myn be.
Bot of gud cristal of Setoune,
That wes of sa nobill renoune,
That he suld de war gret pite,
Bot quhar vorschip mycht prufit be."

[Hiu henricus percy fleys in Ingland.]

The kyng thus sychand maid his mayn,
And the lady hir leif has tane,
And went [hys] hame to hir wounyng.
And seill si& confort scho the kyng
Bath with siluer and vith met,
As scho in-to the land mycht get.
And he oft ryot to the land,
And maid all his that euir he faud ;
And syne he drew him to the hicht,
To stynt bettir his fai's mycht.
In all that tym wes the persy,
With a full sympill cumpany,
In turnberyis castell lyand ;
For the king robert sua dredand,
That he durst nocht ysche out to fair,
Fra thine to the castell of air,

The king laments,
but vows revenge.

He mourns for Setonn.

The lady takes her leave,
and often sends him silver and meat.

Meanwhile Percy lies in Turnberry
castle,

sall follows weill in E.
hym] thaim.
I] he. all myn] myn all.
Rurhic. From E.
For initial TH, C has a Y. thus sychand] sichand thus.
[hyr E] C om. went—hame]
WALTER DE LISLE AND ROGER ST JOHN.  

[BOOK V.]

That than wes full of ynglis men;
Bot [lay] lurkand as in a den,
To the men of northumberland
Suld cum armyt, & with strang hand,
Till convoy him till his cunte;
For his saynd to thame send he.
And thai in hy assemblit then,
Passand, [y trow], a thousand men,
And askit avisment thame emang,
Quethir at thai suld duell or gang.
Bot thai war schonand vounder sair
Sa fer in scotland for to fair.

[For] a knycht, schir gawter the lile,
Said it wes to gret perell,
So neir the schavaldwris to ga.

His spek discomfort thame all sua,
That thai had left haill that viage,
Na war a knycht of gret corage,

That schir roger of Sanct Iohne hicht,

That thame confort with all his mycht;
And sic wordis can till thame say,

That thai all sammyn held thair way

To turnsbery; quhar the persy
Lap on, and went with thaim in hy

In-to yngland, his castell till,

WVithout distrowbiling or Ill.

N
ow in yngland is the persy
Quhar he, I trow, a quhill sall ly,

191. than wes] wes then.
192. [lay EH] thai C.
193. To] Tyll E; While H.
195. Till] E om
198. Passand, y trow] miswritten
Passandly trowand in C; Passing attour H; Passand I weyne E.
201. schonand] skownrand E; stonish H.
203. [For EH] Bot C. the] de H.

204. to] all to.
205. schavalddris] sodiourys E; Souldiers H.
206. all] E om.
211. can—thame] to thaim gan.
215. In-to] In.
216. Without distrowbiling] For—

owtyn distrowblyne. or] or ony C; but E omits ony.
218. he follows trow in E.
Or that he schap hym for to fair
To warray carrik than no mair.
For he wist that he had no richt,
And als he dred the kyngis mycht,
That in carrik wes travalland,
Quhar the mast strynth wes of the land.
Quhar Iames of douglas, on a day,
Com to the kyng and can him say:
"Schir, with your leiff, I vald ga se
How that thai do in my cuitre;
And how my men demanit are.
For it anoyis me vounder sare,
That the [clyffurd] sa pesabilly
Brukis and haldis the sensory,
That suld be myn with alkyn rycht.
Bot quhill I liff, and may haf mycht
To lede A 3heman or a swaife,
He sall nocht bruk it but bargane!"
The kyun said, "certis I can nocht se
How that thou zeit may sekir be
In-to that cuitre for to fair,
Quhar yngli0 men sa mychtty are;
And thou vat nocht quha is thi frend."
He said, "schir, neidwais I will wend,
And tak auentur that god will giff,
Quhethir sa it be till de or liff."a
The kyun said, "sen that it is sua,
That thou sic 3arnyng has to ga,
Thou sall pas furth with my blessing,
And gif the hapnys ony thing,
That anoyus or scathfull be,
I pray the, speid the soyne to me;

220. than no] ony.
221. that] E om.
223. [clyffurd E] castell C (an ob-

Percy is afraid
of the Bruce.

Douglas asks
leave to go to
Douglasdale.

[Fol. 37. C.]

The king advises
him not to go.

Douglas says he
will take his
chance.

The king en-
courages him.

BRUCE.
Douglas goes to Douglasdale.

Tak we sammy quhat euir ma fall.”
“I grant,” he said; and thar-with-all
He lowtit, and his leyf has tañe,
And is towart his cuntre gane.

The passing of Iames of douglas to douglass daill,
his heritage

Now takis Iames his viage
Toward douglas, his heritage,
Vith twa thomen, forouten ma;
That ves A sympill stuff to ta,
A land or castell for to vyn!
The quethir he jarmit to begyn,
To bryng his purpos till ending,
For [gude help is in] begynnynge.
For gude begynnynge and hardly,
And it be followit vitelie,
May ger oftsi6 vunikly thing
Cum to full [conabill] endyng.
Sa did it her; bot he wes vif,
And saw he mycht, on nakyn wif,
Warray his fais vith evyn mycht;
Tharfor he thought to virk with slieght.
In douglasdaill, his awn cuntre,
Apon ane evynnynge enterit he,
And vith a man woomit thar-by,
That wes of frends rycht mychty,

251. Tak] And tak.
254. And towart his cuntre is he gayne.
Rubric. From C. E has—hic la. douglas vadit ad recuperandum
snu8 heritagium. H has—The first winning of the Castle of Dooglas.
258. stuff” store H.
259. or—for] or A castell. H has
—Castle or land of weere to win.
261. his] E om.
262. E has—For gud help is in
266. full conabill] so in E; full
gud C; right good and fair H.
269. fail] fa.
273. with] than.
274. rycht] weill.
And rich of mwbill and catell,
And had beyn till his fader lele;
And till him-self in his southheid,
He had done mony thankfull deid.
Thom dieson wes his name, perfay,
Till him he send, and can him pray,
That he wald cum all anerly,
For to spek with hym preuely.
And he but danger till him gais;
But fra he talid him quhat he wes,
He gret for Ioy and for pite,
And hym richt till his houf had he;
Qurar, in a chalmer preualy,
He held him and his cumpany,
That nane of him had persaving.
Of mete [ & ] drink, and othir thing,
That mycht thame ei¿, thai had plente.
Swa wroucht he than throu suteselle,
That all the leill men of the land,
That with his fader wes duelland,
This gud man gert cum a¿ & a¿,
And mak him manrent [ cuir ] ilkane,
And he him-self first homage maid.
Douglas in hert gret blithnes had,
That the gud men of his cuntre
Wald swa-gat bundin till him be.
He sperit the cowyn of the land,
And quha the castell had in hand,
And thai him talid all halely,
And syne emang thame preualy

275. mwbill] noble E; money H.
and] and off.
278. mony thankful] mony A
thankfull.
283. of—had] had off him.
290. [ & EH] Com.
293. that] that.
294. wes war.
296. [ cuir E] cuer H; C om.
298. blithnes] gladschip E; glad-
nesse H.
300. bundin—him] till him bundyn.
301. cowyn ] conwyne E; conueene
H.
DOUGLAS PLANS HIS MODE OF ATTACK. [BOOK V.

His friends tell him to wait till Palm Sunday.

Thai ordanit, that he still suld be
In hyddillis and in preuate,
Till palmesonday that ves neir hand,
The third day eftir followand.
For than the folk of the cuntre
Assemblit at the kirk vall be,

The men of the castle would then come to church.

And thai that in the castell were
Vald als be thar [thar] palmys to bere,
As folk that had na dreid of Ill,
For thai thoucht all wes at thar will.
Than suld he cum with his twa men;
Bot, for that men suld nocht him ken,

He is to wear an old mantle.

He suld a mantill haf, ald and bare,
[And] A flaill, as he a taskar ware;
Vndir the mantill, nocht-for-thi,

[fol. 38. c.]

He suld be Armyt preualy;
And quhen the men of his cuntre,
That suld all bown befor him be,
His ensen3he mycht heir him cry,
Than suld thai, full enforsaly,
Richt in myddis the kirk assale
The ynglis men witb hard battale,
Swa that nane mycht eschap thaim fra;
For thar-throu trowit thai to ta
The castell, that besyde wes neir.

When his men hear his warcry, they are to set upon the English.

And quhen this, that I [tell] 3ow her,
Wes deuisit and vndirtane,
Ilkane till his houf is gane;
And held the spek in preuate,
Till the day of their assemble.

309. the (2/) that.
312. [thar E] their H ; C om.
318. [And EH] C om. taskar
Tasker H ; threescher E.
325. in myddis] ymyddys.
330. [tell EH] tald C.
332. till] hame to H. is] hame is.
333. the] this.
[Here Ja: of douglas slayis thaim in the kyrk.]

He folk apon the Sononday
Held to Sanct brydis kirk thar way;
And thair that in the castell were
Yschit out, bath left and mare,
And went thair palmys for to bere;
Outane a cuke and a portere.
Iames of douglas of thare cummyng,
And quhat thair war, had vittering;
And sped him to the kirk in hy.
Bot or he com, [to] hastily
Ane of his cryit, "douglas! douglas!"
Thomas dicsone, that nerest was
Till thame that war of the castel,
That war all [innouth the chancell],
And quhen he "douglas" sa herd cry,
Drew out his suerd, and [fellely]
Ruschit emang thame to and fra,
And ane othir forouten ma;
Bot thair in hy war left lyand.
With that douglas com rycht at hand,
That than enforsit on thame the cry,
Bot thair chancer full sturdely
Thai held, and [thaim] defendit weill,
Till of thair men war slane sundeill.
Bot the douglas so weil he bare,

RUBRIC. From E. H has—How
Dowglas in Sanct Brydes Kirke, With
the Englishmen can wirke.
335. C has Y for initial TH.
Sononday] Palmesunday H.
342. wittering] witting E; good
witting H.
344. [to E] till C; sa H.
345. his] his men CH; but E omits
men.
346. dicsone] dikson.
348. [innouth the chancell] In-
with the Chancell H; now the
chanser C.

All repair on the Sunday to St.
Bride's church,
336
except acook
and a porter.
340
One man cries
"Douglas!" too
soon.
344
Dickson draws
his sword,
348
Douglas attacks
the English,
352
but is slain.
That all the men that with hym ware
Had confort of his well-doing,
And he him sparit na kyn thing,

Bot pruif swa his fors in ficht,
That throu his vorschip & his mycht
His men sa kenly helpit he than,

That thai the chanser on thame van.
Than dang thai on thame sa hardly,
That in schort tym men mycht se ly
The twapart ded, or than deand.
The laiff war sesit soyn in hand;

Swa [that] of xxx wes levit nane,
Na thai war slane ilkane, or tane.

Iames of douglas, quhen this ves done,
The presoners has tane alsone;
And, with thame of his cumpany,
Towart the castell went in hy,
Or ony noyf or cry suld rif.
And for he vald thame soyn supprif,

That levit in the castell were,
That war bot twa forouten mare,
Fiffe men or sex befor send he,
[That] fand all oppyn the entre;
And enterit, and the portar tuk
Rycht at the 3at, and syne the cuk.
Vith that douglas com to the 3et,
And enterit in forout debat,

And fand the met all reddy grathit,
Vith burdis set and clathis laid.

363. pruif] prowyt.
365. he] E om.
366. chanser] chansell.
367. thame] E om.

Rubric. From E.
374. has] has he.
382. [That EH] And C. oppyn
386. foront] for-owtyn.
388. laid] layit.
The jettis than he gert thame spare,  
And sat and ete at all lasare.  

Syne all the gudis tursit thai,  
Thai thought that thai mycht haf away,  
And namly vapnsys and armyng,  
Siluer, tresour, and ek clething.  
Vittalis, that mycht nocht tursit be,  
On this maner distroict he.  

All the vittale, outakin salt,  
As quihet, flour, meill, & malt,  
In the vyne-sellar gert he bryug,  
And sammyn on the flure all flyug,  
And the presoners that he had tane,  
Richt tharin gert he hed ilkane.  
Syne of [the] tunnys the hedis out-strak,  
A foull melle thair can he mak;  
For meill, malt, blude, and vyfie  
Ran all to-gidder in a mellyne,  
That wes [wnsemly] for to se;  
Tharfor the men of that entre,  
For sic thingis thar mellit were,  
Callit it "the douglas lardenere."  
Syne tuk he salt, as I herd tell,  
And ded horfi, and fordid the well,  
And syne brynt all, outakyn stane;  
And is furth with his menzhe gane  
Till his reset, for him thocht weill,  
Gif he had halthin the casteill,  

389. thame] E om.  390. and etc] at meat H. at all]  
so in H.; all at E.  
392. Thai—that] That thaim  
thocht.  
394. E inserts and before tresour,  
and omits ek.  
397. vittale outakin] wicalis  
owntane.  
398. flour] & flour. meill] & meill,  
402. hied] heid.

His men pack up the valubles.  
He puts wheat,  
flour, meal, and malt in the cellar,  
slays the priso- 
ners, and 
broaches the 
wine.  
[Fol. 39. C.]  

392  396  400  404  408  412  416

This men called  
"the douglas"  
larder."  

403. the tunnys] tunnys C; the  
townnys E.  
407. wnsemly E] vnsymle C.  
409. sir thingis] swa felo.  
410, and after 1. 410 inserts —  
And will be called this many yeere,  
411. I] Ie.  
412. fordid] so in CEI; forded H;  
sordid P; sordid J.  
413. synce] E om.
It suld haue beyn assegit rath,  
And that him thought to mekill vath;  
For he na hop had of reskewing,  
And it is to perelouf thing  
In castell till assegit be,  
Quhar that ane vantis of thir thre,  
Vittale, or men with their armyng,  
Or than gud hop of reskewing.  
And for he dred thir thingis suld fale,  
He chesit forthward to travale,  
Quhar he mycht at his large be,  
And sua driff furth his destane.  

Thus was the castle taken.  
On this vifs wes the castell tane,  
And slane that var tharin ilkañe.  
The douglas syn[e] all his menȝe  
Gert in seir placis departit be.  
For men suld lef wit quhar thai var,  
Thaie ȝeid departit here and thar.  
That war voundit gert he ly  
In-till hyddillis all preuely,  
And gert gud lechis to thame bryng,  
Quhill that thai war in-to helynge.  
And him-self with a few menȝhe,  
Quhile ane, quhill twa, & quhile thre,  
And vmquhile all hym allane,  
In hyddillis throu the land is gane.  
Sa dred he ynglis mennys mycht,  
That he durst nocht weill cum in sicht;  
For thai that tyme war all weldand,  
As mast lordis our all the land.

417. *suld haue* had.  
418. *vath* waith E; skaith H.  
419. *na hop had* ne had hop.  
421. *till assegit* assegit to.  
422. *E has—Quhar want is off thir thingis thre*.  
431. *[all EH] and C.*
[Here clifffurd byggis the castel agayn.]

Bot the tithandis var scalit sone,
Of the deid douglas had done,
Com to the cliffrurdis ere in hy,
That for his tynsale wes sary,
And menit his men that he had slane,
And syne has till his purpose tane,
To byg the castell vp agane.
Tharfor, as man of mekill mane,
He assemblit gret cumpany,
And till douglas he vent in hy,
And biggit vp the castell swith,
And maid it rycht stalward & stith,
And put thar-in vittale and men.
Ane of the thrill-wallis then
He left behynd hym capitaine,
And syne till yngland went agane.

[How one man and his sonnes twa
Vndertooke King Robert to sla.]}

In-to carrik zeit wes the king,
With a full sympill gaderyng.
He passit nocht twa hundreth men.
Bot schir eduard his brothir then
Wes in [galloway], weill neir tharby;
With hym ane othir cumpany.
Thai held the srynthis of the land;
For thai durst nocht zeit tak on hand
Till our-ride the land planly.
For of vallanch schir amery
Wes in-till Edinburgh lyand,

RUBRIC. From E.
447. the] E om. var scalit] that scalis.
448. the] this. deid] deid that.
449. cliffrurdis] cliffrud his.
452. till his] to.
459. vittale] wictalis.

448  He rebuilds the castle.
450  and leaves Thirl-wall there as captain.
456  He rebuilds the castle.
460  The king dwells in Carrick.
464  and his brother in Galloway.
468  The king dwells in Carrick.
472  [Fol. 18. E.]
Sir Aymer de Valence is in Edinburgh.

Sir Aymer sends Sir Ingrahame Bell to Ayr.

Sir Ingrahame hears of a Carrick man

who is a favourite with the Bruce,

as are also his two sons.

That was vardane of the land
Vnder-neth the ynglis kyng.
And quhen he herd of the cummyng
Of king Robert and his men
In-to carrik, and how that he
Had slane of the persyis men,
His consell he assemblit then,
And with assent of his consale
He send till are, hym till assale,
Schir yngerame bell, that ves hardy,
And with hym a gret cumpany.

[Heire the Inglis Knycht feys a tratour.]

And quhen yngerame euan ves thair,
Him thought nocht speidfull for to fair
Till assale hym in-to the hicht.

Thatfor he thought to virk with slicht,
And lay still in the castell than,
Till he gat spering at a man
Of carrik, that ves sle and vicht,
And als a man of mekill mycht,
As of the men of that cuntre,
And to king Robert wes prewe,
As he that wes his sib-man neir,
And quhen he vald, for-out danger,
Micht to the kyngis presens ga;
The quhethir he and his sonnis twa
War vonand still in the cuntre,
For thai vald nocht persauit be,
That thai war speciall to the king;
[Thai] maid him mony tyme varnyng,
Quhen that thai his tynsale mycht se;

474. That] That ȝeyt E; And als H.
482. ar'] ar E; Aire H.
RUBRIC. From E.
485. yngerame] schir Ingrame.
490. at'] that E; of H.
For-thi in thame affyit he.
His name I can nocht tell, perfay;
Bot I herd syndir men oft say
*Forsuth that his ane E ves out;
*Bot he sa sturdy wes and stout,
That he wes the mast worthly man
That in-to carrik liffit than.
And quhen schir yungerame gat vittering,
Forsuth that [this] wes no gabbing,
Effir hym in hy he sent,
And he com at his commandment.
Schir yungerame, that wes sle and vif,
Tretit with hym [than] on sic vif,
That he maid sekir vndirtaking
In tresone for to slay the king;
And he suld haue for his service,
Gif he fulfillit thair deuif,
Weill fourte pundis worth of land,
Till hym and his ayris lestand.

How the man & his twa sonnis ves set to slay the
gud king robert bruce at the preve.

THE tresone thus is vndirtane;
And he hame till his houf is gane,
And vatit opportunite
For to fulfill his mawite.
In gret perell than wes the king,
That of his tresone wist na thing,
[Fol. 40b, c.] For [he], that he trowit mast of ane, His dede falsly had vueltirane; And nane may tresen do titar than he That man in trouis l[e]awte.

For [he], that he trowit mast of ane, His dede falsly had vueltirane; And nane may tresen do titar than he That man in trouis l[e]awte.

The king tris ted him, but had warning of his treachery.

The king in hym trastit; for-thi He had fullilit his felony, Na war the king, throu goddis grace, Gat hale vittering of his purchafi, And how, & for how mekill land, He tuk his slauchtri vpon hand. I vat nocht quha the varnyng maid, Bot in all tym he sic hap had, That quhen men schupe hym to betrAi0, He gat vitting theta ro f always.

Bruce was often warned by women.

And mony tyme, as I herd say, Throu women that he vald with play, That vald tell all that thai mycht here; And sua mycht happyn that it fell here. Bot how that euir it fell, perle, I trow he sal the vvarrr be.

The traitor seeks to fulfill his purpose.

Nocht-for-thi this tratour ay Had in his thocth bath nycht & day, How he mycht best bring till ending This tresonabill vueltiraking. Till he vmbethoicht him at the last, And in his hert can vmbecast, That the king had in custum ay

527. [he EH] him C. trowit [traistit.]
528. falsly] fully H. had] has E; hes H.
529. And] H ow. tresen do] betravys E; betraise H.
530. leave[lab] so in E; lawtie C; into lawtie H.
533. Ne war] Ne war E; Were not H.
534. vittering] witting. H has—Gate warning how his purpose was.
538. in] on. he sic hap] sic hap he.
For to ris airly euirilk day,
And pas weill fer fra his menze,
Quhen he vald pas to the preue,
And seik a covert him alane,
Or at the mast haf with him aine.
Thair thought he, with his sonnys twa,
For to suppir the king and slay;
And syne vend to the vod avay;
Bot zeit of purpoë falzeit thai.
And nocht-for-thi thai com all thre
In a covert that wes prewe,
Quhar the king wes oft vount to ga
His preue nedis for to ma.
Thair hid thai thame till his cummyng.
And the king in the mornynge
Raiô, quhen that his liking wes,
And richt towart thair covert gais,
Quhar liand war the tratouris thre,
For till do thar his preuate.
To treson tuk he than na heid:
Bot he ves vount, quhar-euir he zeid,
His suerd about his hals to bere;
And that avalit hym gretly thar.
For had nocht god all-veldand
Set help in-till his awne hand,
He had beñ ded withouten draid.
A chalmir page thar vith him zeid;
And sua, forouten followis ma,
Toward the covert can he ga.

[Heire the nobill kynge slays 3 tratowris
hym allane.]
BRUCE BORROWS HIS PAGE’S BOW. [BOOK V.

God help the king!

Now, bot god help the nobill king,
He is neir hand till his ending!
For that covert that he seid till,
Wes on the tothir syde of a hill,
That none of his men mycht it se.
Thiddirward vent his page & he;
And quhen he cumin wes in the schaw,
He saw thai thre cum all on raw
Aganis him full sturdely,
Than till his boy he said in hy,
“3hone men will slay vs & thai may!
Quhat vappyn has thou?” “a! schir! perfay,
I haf a bow, bot and a vyre.”
“Gif me thame smerty [baith].” “a! syre,
How-gat will 3he than that I do?”
“Stand [on] fer and behald vs to.
Gif thou seis me abovin be,
Thou sall haf vapyns in gret plente:
Ande gif I de, withdraw the soyne.”
With thai wordis, forouten hoyn,
He tit the bow out of his hand,
For the tratour[is] ves neir cumand.
The fader had a swerd but mair,
The tothir bath swerd and hand-ax bair;
The thrid a swerd had and a speir.
The king persauit be thair effeir,
That all wes suth men till hym tald.
“Tratour,” he said, “thou has me said.
Cum na forthir, bot hald the thair,
I will thou cum na forthir mair.”

586. of] E omits; H retains.
587. it] him H.
588. his] this.
589. quhen] E om.
593. 1] lt. a—bot] bot a bow.
H has—I hane a bow, bot and a wyre.
596. [baith] E he said H; C om.
597. than] E om.
"A! schir, vmbethink[is] 3ow," said he,
"How neir to 3ow that I suld be;
Q tha suld cum neir to 3ow bot I?"
The king said, "I will sekirly
That thou at this tym cum nocht ner,
Thou may say quhat thou vill on fer."
Bot he, vith fals vordis flechand,
Ves vith his sonys ay cumand.
Quhen the king saw he vald nocht let,
Bot ay cum on, fen3eand falset,
He tasit the vyre and leit it fle,
And hit the fader in the E,
Till it rycht in the harnys ran;
And he bakward fell doun rycht than.
The brothir that the hand-ax bar,
That saw his fader lyand thar,
A gyrd rycht to the king can mak,
And vith the ax he him ourstrak;
Bot he, that had his suerd on hicht,
Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt,
Richt he the hed to harnif clafe,
And him doun ded to the erd draife.
The tothir brothir that bare the spere,
Saw his brothir sa fallin ther,
With his speir, as angry man,
In a rai3 to the king he ran;
Bot the king, that him dred sum-thing,
Vatit the sper in the cummyng,

613. vmbethinkis] wmbethinkis E;
vmbethink C; bethink H.
614. to—suld] that I suld to 3ow.
615. to] E om.
620. sonnys ay] twa Sonnys.
622. fen3eand] with fleeching H.
623. tasit] taisyt E; takes H.
628. That] Swa. lyand] felled H.
629. can] he couth.
630. he] E om.; can H. ourstrak]
ouertake H.

616. Bruce tells them all to stand off,
620. but they come on.
624. Bruce kills the father,
next the brother with the axe,
628. and lastly meets the brother with the spear,
636. With his] And with the.

633. Richt] That. to] till the E; to H.
634. And dede doun till the erd him draiff.
636. sa] E om.; was H.
637. With his] And with the.
And with a wysk the hee of-strak.
And or the tothir had toym to tak
His suerde, the king sic [swak] him gaiff,
That he the hede till harnys claif,
[He] Ruschit doune of blude all rede.
And quhen the king saw thai war ded,
All thre lyand, he wyppit his brand:
With that his boy com fast rynand,
And said, "our lord mot lovit be,
That grantit sow mycht and powste,
To fell the felony and pride
Of thir thre in sa litill tyde!"
The king said, "sa our lord me se!
Thai had beyn worthy men all thre,
Had thai nocht beyn full of tresouñe;
Bot that maid thair confusiouñe."
[BOOK VI.]

THE king is went till his lusing,
And of his dede soyn com tithing
To schir yngerame de vmpfrewell,
That thoncht [his] sutelte and gyle
Had all falzeit in-to that place ;
Tharfor anoyit sair he wes,
That he agane to lowdiañe
To schir Amer his gate has tañe,
And till him tald all haill the caß,
That tharof all forvuonderit waß,
How ony man sa suddandy
Micht do sa gret a cheuelry,
As did the king, [that], him alane,
Vengeans of the thre tratouris has tañe.
He said, "certis, I may weill se
That it is all gret certante,
That vre helpis ay hardy men,
As by this deid 3e may weill ken.
Var he nocht outrageouß hardy,
He had nocht swa vnabasitly

1. C has Y for initial TH.
2. his] this.
3. yngerame de vmpfrewell] In-
grame the wmpfrawill.
4. [his EH] with C.
5. in-to] in.
6. saix] swa.
7. lowdiane] lothyane E ; Loch-
mabane H.

BRUCE.

[Fol. 42. C.]

Sir Ingram de
Umfraville finds
his plot has
failed,

4

Sir Aymer
praises the
Bruce's prowess.
12

8 and tells Sir
Aymer of it.

16
Sa smertly seyn his avantage.
I dreid *that* his greth wassalage
And his trawell will bring til end
It *that* men quhile full litill vend."

**Heire gallowayis sekis hym.**

The king wanders about in Carrick,

Sic spekyng maid he of *the* king,
That ay, forouten sudiornyng,
Travalit in carrik heir and *thair*.

His men fra him sua scailt war,
Till purcheseth *thame* necessite,
And als *the* cunte for to se,
That *thair* left nocht with him sexty.

And quhen *the* gallowais vist suthly,
*That* he wes with a few *men*3he,
*Thai* maid a preue assemble
Of weill twa hundreth men & ma.
Ane sluth-hwnd with *thaim* can *thai* ta ;
For *thai* thoucht him for to supprif ;
And gif he fled ony vi5, To follow him with *the* hunde swa,
*That* he suld nocht eschape *thaim* fra.

They attempt to surprise the king,

*Thai* schupe *thame*, in ane evynynyng,
Suddandy to supprif *the* king,
And till him held *thai* straucht *thare* way ;
Bot he, *that* had his vachis ay

On ilk syde, of *thar* cummyng, Lang or *thai* com, had vittering ;
Quhat and how feill at *thai* mycht be.
*Tharfor* he thoucht, with his men3he,
To withdraw him out of the place,

---

21. *seyn*] resembles soyn in C;
23. *will*] may.
24. *that*] *That* at E ; *The thing*
that H. *wend*] wend.
29. *thame*] *thar*.
31. *thair*] *thai*.
33. *a*] sa.
36. *Ane sluth-hwnd*] & sleuth-
hundis E ; *And* a slooth-Hound H. *can thai*] gan.
42. To suppriss sodanly the king.
47. *Quhat*] E om. H has—And how feill folke that, &c.
For the nycht nei fallyn was.
And for nycht wes, he thought that thai
Suld nocht hane sicht to hald the vay,
Quhill he war passit with his mense.
And, as he thought, richt sua did he;
And vent hym doune till a marraf;
On a vattir that rynand was;
And in a bog he fand a place
Veill strate, that well twa bowdraucht was,
Fra thai the vattir passit had:
He said, "heir may thae mak abade,
And rest 3ow all a quhile and ly.
I will ga vach 3ow preuely,
Giff I heir oucht of thar cummyng;
And gif I may heir ony thyng,
I sall ger varn 3ow, sua that we
Sall ay at our avantage be."

How kynge robert the bruce ves socht vyth the
sleuth-hunde.
[Heire he fechtis allan agan ij hundir.]

The king takis his gat to ga,
And with him tuk he serverandis twa.
And schir gilbert de [la] hay left he
Thar, for to rest with his men3he.
To the vattir he com in hy,
And lisnyt full ententily
Gif he oucht herd of thare cummyng;
Bot ztiet than mycht he heir na thing.

He plans a retreat.
He goes to a morass beside a stream,
and selects a place near the spot where his men had crossed over.

He watches.

50. neir] well E; neere hand H.
51. nycht wes] the nycht E; the night H.
54. a] the.
55. thai] that H; E puts thai after passit.
56. Our] your H.
57. From C; the second rubric from E. II has—How he discomfist him allane, Twae hunder, and slew fifteene certaine.
58. C has Y for TH. takis] now takys.
59. serverandis] sergeandis.
60. [la E] le C.
61. than] then E (which PJ omit).
BRUCE UNDERTAKES TO WATCH ALONE.  

Endlang the vattir than 3eid he
On athir syde gret quantite;
He saw the brayis hye standand,
The vattir holl throu slie rynand,
And fand na fund that men mycht pas
Bot quhar hymself [our] passit was.
And sua strate wes the vp-cummyng,
That twa men mycht nocht sammyrn thryng,
Na on na maner pres thame sua,
That thai sammyrn the land mycht ta.
His twa men bad he than in hy
Ga to thair feris to rest and ly;
For he vald vach thar com to se.

"Schir," said thai, "quha sall vith 3ow be?"
"God," he said, "forouten ma;
Pas on, for I will it be swa."

Thair did as he thame biddin had,
And he thar all allane abaid.
Qhuen he a quhile had biddin thare,
And herbryit, he herd as it war
A hundis quhistlyng apon fer,
That ay com till him ner & ner.
He stude still for till herkyn mair,
And ay the langer quhill he wes thair,
Both he thair still thought he vald stand,
Till that he herd mair takynnyng;
For, for a hundis quhestlyng,
He wald necht walkyn his menȝhe.
Tharfor he walde abyde and se
Quhat folk thai war, & quethir thai
Held toward him the richt vay,
Or pas[syt] ane othir way fer by.
The moyn wes schynand rycht cleirly,
[Sa lang he stude that he mycht her
The noyis of thaim that cummand wer;
Than his twa men in hy send he
To warne & walkyn his menȝe;
And thai ar furth thor wayis gane,
And he left thar all hym allane.]
And sua lang stude he herkynand,
Till that he saw cum at his hand
The haill rowt, in full gret hy;
Than he vmbethoucht him hastely,
Gif he zeid to feche his menȝhe,
That, or he mycht reparit be,
Thai suld be passit the furde ilkañe.
And than behuift, he chesit him ane
Of thir twa, outhir to fle or de.
Bot his hert, that wes stout and he,
Consalit hym allane to byde,
And kep thame at the furdis syde,
And defend weill the vp-cummyng,
Sen he wes varnysit of Armyng
That he thair Arravis [thurt] nocht dreed.
For gif he war of gret manhcid,
They could only attack him one at a time.

They rush into the water.

He smites down the first one.

whose horse encumbers the pass,

Bruce kills the horse.

He slays five in the ford.

They draw back.

One of them exhorts the rest.

He mycht stonay thane [euir] ilkane,
Sen than mycht cum bot ane and ane.
He did rycht as his hert hym bad;
Stark outrageous curage he had,
Quhen he sa stoutly hym allane,
For litill strynt of erd, has tanė
To ficht with twa hundreth & ma.

[fol. 43 b. C.] That-vith he to the furd can ga;
And than, apon the tothir party,
That saw him stand thanair anerly,
Thryngand in-[till] the vattir raid;
For of him litill dount than had,
And raid till him in full gret hy.

He smat the first sa rygorusly
With his sper, that richt scharply schare,
Till he doun to the erd hym bare.
The laif com than in a randouñe,
Bot his hors, that wes born douñe,
Cummerit thanim the vpgang to ta.
And quhen the kyng saw it wes sua,
He stekit the hors, and he can flyng,
And syne fell at the vpcummyng.
The laif with that com [with] a schowt,
And he that stalward wes and stout,
Met thane richt stoutly at the bra,
And sa gud payment can thanim ma,
That fiff sum in the furd he slew.
The laif than sumdeill thanim with-drew,
That dred his strakis voundir sare;
For he in na thing thane forbare.
Than ane said, “certis, we ar to blame;
Quhat sall we say quhen we cum hame,

CH om.
124. mycht] ne mycht.
133. in-till] so in E; in CH. 153. ane said] said ane.
Quhen a man fechtis agains vs all?
Quha vist euir men sa fouly fall
As vs, gif that we thusgat leif?"
With that all haill a schout thaim [geve,]
And cryit, 'on hym! he may nocht [last.']
With that thaim presit hym so fast,
That, had he nocht the bettir beyn,
He had beyn ded forouten veyn.
Bot he sa gret defens can mak,
That, quhar he hit with evin strak,
Thar mycht no thing agane it stand.
In litill space he left lyand
Sa feill, that the vpcom wes then
Dittit with slayn hors and men ;
Swa that his fayis, for that stopping,
Micht nocht cum to the vp-cunnyn.
A! deir god! quha had beyn by,
And seyn how he sa hardely
Adressit hym agane thame all,
I wat weill that thaim suld him call
The best that liffit in-till his day ;
And gif that I the suth sall say,
I herd neur in na tyme gane
Ane stynt sa mony hym allane.

[Example: how Tydeus slew forty nine men,
And the Lieutenant tholde shame & paine.]
Tydeus was sent from Polynices to Eteocles, to demand the kingdom of Thebes.

Wes send tedeus in-to message,
Till ask haly the heritage
Of thebes till hald for a 3eir,
For thai cummyn of a byrth weir;
Thai straif, for athir kyng vald be,
Bot the barnage of thear cuntre
Gert thame assent on this maner,
That the tañe sule be kyng a 3ere,
And than the tothir, na his men3he,
Suld nocht be fundin in the cuntre,
Qhull the first brothir ryngand were;
Syne sule the tothir ryng a 3ere,
Ande syne the first suld leif the land,
Qhull that the tothir war ryngand.
Thus ay a 3eir suld ryng the tañe,
The tothir a 3eir fra that war gane.
To ask halting of this assent,
Thedeus wes to thebes went;
And sua spak for polynices,

That of thebes Ethiocles
Bad his constabill with hym ta
Fifty weill Armyt, and forouth ga
To meit thedeus in the way,
And slay hym but langar delay.
The constabill his vay is gane,
And nyne and fourty with him has tane,
Swa that he with thame maid fifty.
In-till the evynnyng, preuely,
Thai set enbuschement in the vay,
Qhhar thedeus behufit away,

Eteocles bids his constable to waylay Tydeus with fifty men.

[Fol. 20. E.]
The brothers were to reign by turns, a year each.

[181. tedeus] to Thedeus E; to Thебes H (both wrong). in-to] in.
[184. cummyn] twynys. H has —
Twa twynnes of ane baith they were.
[189. na] &.
[191. ryngand] regnand. And so
in l. 194.
[193. synce] then.
[199. polynices] see note to l. 180.
[206. has] E om.
[210. avay] away E; to ga H.
Betuix [ane] hye crag and the se.
And he, that of their mavite
Wist na thing, his vay has tané,
And toward grece agane is gane.
And as he raid in-to the nycht,
Sa saw he with the monys licht
Schynynge of scheldis grete plente;
He had voundir quhat it mycht be.
Vith that all haill thai gaf a cry,
And he, that herd sa suddenly
Sie noyis, sumdeill affrayit wes;
Bot in short tym he till him tais
His spiritis richt full hardely;
For his gentill hert and worthy
Assurit him in-till that neide.

Than with the spuris he strak his steide,
And ruschit in amang thame all.
The first he met, he gert [him] fall,
And syne his suerd he swappit out,
And raucht about him mony a rout,
And [slew] sex sum weill soyn and ma,
Than vndir him his hors thai sla,
And he fell; bot he smertly raift,
And, strikand, rowm about him mais,
And slew of thame a quantite,
Bot voundit voundir sair ves he.
With that a litill rod he fand
Vp toward the crag strikand.
Thiddir went he in full grete hy,
Defendand him full doughtely,
Till in the crag he clam sum deill,

Tydeus rides homewards.
He sees shields in the moonlight.
They all rush upon him.
He encounters them all.
He slays six.
He falls, but recovers.
He finds a narrow pass up the cliff, and climbs up.

211. [ane E] an H; the C.
213. his] he his C; but EH omit he.
214. grece agane] so also in H;
gret bargane (!) E.
218. He] And.
219. [ane E] an H; the C.
222. richt] E om.
226. his] the.
228. [him EH] thaim C.
230. a] E om.
231. [slew EH] C om.
And fand a place enclosit weill,
Quhar nane but ane mycht him asseale.

*Thair stude he and gaf thame battale;
And thai assalit euirilkane,*

And oft fell, quhen *that* he slew ane,
As he doun to the erd vald drift,
He vald beir doun weill four or siff.

*Thair stude he and defendit swa,*
Till he had slaune *thame half & ma.*

A gret stane *than* by him saw he,
*That throu the gret ancidente*
Was [lowsyt], redy for to fall;

And quhen he saw *thaim cuumand all,*
He tumlit doun on *thaim the stane,*
And viij men *tharwith has he slaane,*
And sua stonait *the remandand,*

*That thai war weill neir reeryand.*

Than wald he preson hald no mare,
Bot on *thame ran with suerd al bare,*
And hewit & slew with all his mayn,
Till he had nyne and fourty slaane.

*The constabill syne can he ta,*
And gert him suere, *that he suld ga*
To king ethiocytes, and tell

*The aventure that thame befell.*

*Thedens bare him douchtely,*
*That our-com [him] allane fifty,*

3he *that [this] redis, Inugis 3he*
Quhethir *that mair suld presit be :

*The king, that with avisment*
Vndirtuk sic hardilyment,
As for to stynt, him ane, but fer,

252. *the—anciente*] gret a maaw-
yte (1) E; the great manitie (1) H.

253. [lowsyt C] lowesd H; lochit C.

256. *tharwith—he] thar with It*
has.

262. *had] has.*


269. [this EH] C om. *Inugis*
Thai folk that weill twa hundreth wer,
Or thedeus, [that] suddenly,
Fra thai had rasit on him the cry,
Throu hardyment that he had tane,
[Wan] fifty men, all him allane.
Thai did thair dede bath in the nycht,
And faucht bath with the monys licht;
Bot the king discumfit ma,
And thedeus [the] ma can sla.
Now demys, quethair mair lovyng
Suld tedens haf, or the king!

In this maner that I haf tald,
The king that stout ves, stark & bald,
Wes fechtand on the furdis syde,
Gyffand and takand roundis vyde,
Till he sic martirdome thair maid,
That he the furde all stoppit had,
That nane of thame mycht till him ryde.
Than thoucht thame foly for to byde,
And haley the flicht can ta,
And went hamvard quhar thai com fra.
For the kingis men with that cry
Valknyt, and full affrailyt
Com for to seik thair lord the king.
The galloway men herd thair cummyng,
And fled, that durst nocht byde no mair.
The kingis men, that dreaund wair
For thair lord, full spedaly

275. [that EH] sa C.
276. Fra] For E; but H has Fra.
278. [Wan H] Wane E; On C.
280. monys] mone.
282. [the H] then E; C om.
283. lorgyn] lowing.
285. In] On (with large initial) E.
279. thair] thar has.
294. hamvard] hammwastis.
295. that] the.
296. and] E om.
299. that] and.
BRUCE SLAYS FOURTEEN MEN SINGLE-HANDED. [BOOK VI.

Com to the furde, and soyn in hy
Thai fand the kyng sytand alone,
That of his basnet than had tañe
To tak the air, for he wes hate;

Than sperit thai at him of his stat;
And he talid thaim all hail the caf,
Howgat that he assalët it was,
And how that god hym helpit sua,
That he eschapit hail thame fra.

They find him alone.

Thirteen, and find fourteen.

They count the slai/n, and find fourteen.

They are of good courage.

Then lukit thai how feill war ded,
And thai fand liand in that sted
Fourteyn, that slayn war with his hand.
Than lovit thai god fast, all-veddand,
That thai thar lord fand hail and feir;
And said, "thai[m] byrd on na maner

Dreid thair fais, sen thair chiftane
Wes of sic hert and of sic mane,
Tha thar for thame had vndirtane
With sa feill folk to ficht him aëc."

Syk vordis spak thai of the kyng.
And, for his hye vndirtaking,
[Farlyit, and 3arnyt hym] to se,
That vith hym ay wes vount to be.

A! quhat vorschip is prisit thing,
For it makis men to haf loving,
Gif it be followit ythandal;
Bot prif of vorschip, nocht-forthi,
Is [hard] to vyn but gret travale;
Oft till defende and oft assale,
And till be in thair dedis wif;
Gerris men of vorschip vyn the prif.

That may no man haf worthyde,
Bot he haf wit to steir his stede,
And se quhat is to leif or ta.

Vorschip Extremyteis has twa;
Fule-hardyment the formast is,
And the tothir is cowardif,
And thai ar bath for to forsak.

Fule-hardyment will all vndirtak,
Als weill thingis to leiff as ta;
Bot cowardif dois na thing sua,
Bot vtherly forsak'is all;
And that war voundir for to fall,
Na war falt of discrecione.

For-thi has vorschip sic renoune,
That it is [mene] betuix thai twa,
And takis that is till vndirta,
And levis that is to leif; for it
Has so gret varnasyng of vit,
That it all peralis weill can se,
And all avantagis that may be.

It [wald] till hardyment [hald] haly,
With-thi away war the foly.
For hardyment vith foly is vilf;
Bot hardyment, that mellit is
Vith vit, [Is] vorschip ay, per-de;
For, but vit, vorschip may nocht be.

Continually to fight gains men the prize of valour.

Valour has two extremities; the one foolhardiness, the other faintheartedness.

Valour is the mean between them.

It is prudent.

Hardiness, mingled with wit, becomes valour.
This nobill kyng that we of Reid,
Mengit all tyme wth vit manheid;
That men may be this melle se.
His vit hym schawit the strat entre
Of the furde, and the ysche alsua;
He thought that thai mycht nevir our-ga
Apon a man that wes worthy.
Tharfor his hardyment hastely
Thought weill it mycht be vndirtane,
Sen that anis mycht assale bot aine.
Thus hardyment, gouernit wth vit,
That he all tym vald samyn knyt,
Gert him of vorschipe ha the prif,
And oft our-cum his enmyf.

How douglas slew thrillvall.

[Here the Inglis captan & othir ar slayn.]

The king in carrick duelt all stilly;
His men assemblit fast him till,
That in the land war traualande,
Quhen thai of this deid herd tithand.

For thai thar vre wth him vald ta,
Gif he war eft assalzheht swa.
Bot zeit than Iames of douglas
In douglasdaill traualand was,
Or ellis weill neirhand thar-by,
In hiddillis sum-deill preuely.
For he valde se his gouernyng,

360. Mengit] Mellyt E ; Melled H.  
361. men may] may men.  
362. hym schawit] schawyt hym.  
363. ysche] wschyng E ; ishing H.  
364. That, as him thoche, war hard  
to ta E ; That him thought was hard  
to ta H.  
365. wes] war.  
367. weill] well H ; E places it  
after be.  
369. gouernit] gouernit he C ; but

EH omit he.
371. haf] winne H.

Rubric. From C ; second rubric  
from E : H has—How Iames of Dow-  
glas with a traine, Slew Thriswaile,  
and his men of maine.

373. C has Y for TH.  all] ay E ;  
then H.

377. with him vald] wald with  
hym.
378. he war eft] that he eft war.
BOOK VI. ] DOUGLAS SETS AN AMBUSH FOR THIRLWALL. 143

That hade the castell in keping;
And gert mak mony a Iuperdy,
To se quhethir he wald ysche blithly.
Quhen he persauit weill that he
Vald blithly ysche with his menʒhe,
He maid a gadder ing preuely
Of thame that war of his party,
That wes so feill that thai durst ficht
With thrill-wall and all the mycht
Of thame that in the castell were.
He schup him in the nycht to fare
To sandylandis; and neir thar-by
He him enbuschit preuely,
And fand a few a trayn to ma;
That so̱ne in the mornyng can ta
Cattale, that wes the castell by,
And syne with-drew thame halely
Toward thame that enbuschit ware.
Than thriller-wall, forouten mare,
Gert arme his men forouten baid,
And yschit with all the men he had,
And followit fast eftir the ky.
He wes arayit at poyst clenly,
Outakyn that his hede wes bair.
Than with the men that with him war
The cattale followit he gude speid,
Richt as a man that had no dreid,
Till that he of thame gat a sicht,

384. Douglas plots against Thirlwall.
388. [Fol. 46 b. C.]
392. He sets an ambush near Sandylands.
396. Thirlwall sallies out,
400. after some cattle.
404. ner in J; but P has it right).
397. sau̱d] send E; sent H.
398. tu] ga.
400. halely] hastily.
405. ky] so in H; cry PJ (but I read ky in E).
406. arayit] armyt E; armed H.
407. that] E om.
411. of thame gat] gat off thaim.
The men in ambush start out,

Than prikit thai with all their mycht,
Followand thame out of aray,
And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai
Fer by thar buschement war all past;
And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray;
And for thai war out of Aray,
Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid;
And douglas, that thar with him had
A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
And in schort tym cummerit thaim sua,
That weill nañe eschapat thaim fra.

Thirlwall is slain.

Than prikit thai with all their mycht,
Followand thame out of aray,
And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai
Fer by thar buschement war all past;
And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray;
And for thai war out of Aray,
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And douglas, that thar with him had
A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
And in schort tym cummerit thaim sua,
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Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
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And for thai war out of Aray,
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And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
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And for thai war out of Aray,
Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid;
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A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
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Fer by thar buschement war all past;
And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray;
And for thai war out of Aray,
Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid;
And douglas, that thar with him had
A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
And in schort tym cummerit thaim sua,
That weill nañe eschapat thaim fra.

Thirlwall is slain.

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Followand thame out of aray,
And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai
Fer by thar buschement war all past;
And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray;
And for thai war out of Aray,
Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid;
And douglas, that thar with him had
A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
And in schort tym cummerit thaim su-,
That weill nañe eschapat thaim fra.

Thirlwall is slain.

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Followand thame out of aray,
And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai
Fer by thar buschement war all past;
And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray;
And for thai war out of Aray,
Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid;
And douglas, that thar with him had
A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
And in schort tym cummerit thaim sua,
That weill nañe eschapat thaim fra.

Thirlwall is slain.

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Followand thame out of aray,
And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai
Fer by thar buschement war all past;
And thrill-wall euir chasit on fast.
And than thai that enbuschit war
Yschit till him, bath les and mar,
And rasit suddandly the cry;
And thai that saw sa suddandly
That folk sa egirly cum prikand
Betuix thame and thair varrand,
Thai war in-to full gret affray;
And for thai war out of Aray,
Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid;
And douglas, that thar with him had
A gret menzé, full egirly
Assalit, and scalit thame hastely,
And in schort tym cummerit thaim su-

[book VI.

Douglas’s men slay Thirlwall.

415. all[ ] E om. C ; cumbred H ; ourraíd E.
416. evir] ay. on] E om. 430. That] C has That thair; but
421. sa—cum] come egirly. EH omit thair.
omits Rycht.
441. forout] forowtyn.
Saw [thaim] slay of thair men thaim by,
Thai sparit the zettis hastely,
And in hy to the vallis ran.
Iames of douglas [his] men3he than
Sesit weill hastely in hand
At thai about the castell fand ;
Till thar reset syne went thair vay.
Thusgat yschit thrillvall that day.

Q when thrillwall on this maner
Had yschit, as I tell 3ow heir,
Iames of douglas and his men
Buskit thame all sammyn then,
And went thair vay toward the kyng,
In gret hy ; for thai herd tithyng,
That of vallanch schir Amery,
With a full gret cheuelry
Bath of ynglis and scottis men,
With gret felony war reddy then
Assemblit [for] to seik the kyng,
That wes that tym with his gaderyng
In [cumnok], quhar it stratset was.
Thiddir went Iames of douglas,
That wes richt welcum to the kyng ;
And quhen he tald had that tithing,
How that schir amer wes cumand
For to hunt hym out of the land,
With hund and horn, rycht as he were
A volf, [a] theif, or thefis fere,
Than said the king, "it may weill fall,
Thouch he cum and his power all,

443. [thaim E] them H ; C om.
446. [his E] the C ; H om. Cf. 1.
455. 
448. At] That.
450. Thus Thriswaile ished to that
essay H.
459. ynglis and scottis] Scottis &
   H.

Douglas seizes booty, and retreats.
Douglas joins the king.
Sir Aymer de Valence seeks the king in Cumnock.
Douglas tells Bruce of it.
We all abide in this cuntre,
And gif he cumis, we sall him se."

[Heire folows the king R. schir emery & Iohn of lorn with a sleuthhound.]

The king spak apen this maner;
And of vallanche schir amere
Assemblit a gret company
Of nobill men and of vorthy,
Of yngland and of lowdiane,
And he has alsua with him tane
Iohnie of lorn, and all his mycht,
That had of vorthy men and vicht
With him viij hundreth men & ma.

A sleuthhound had he thar alsua
Sa gude, that change vald for na thing;
And sum men sais zeit that the kyng
As a strecour hym uwryst had,
And ay sa mekill of hym maid,
That with his hand he vald hym feyd,
He followit hym quhar euir he zeid;
Swa that the hwnd hym lufit swa,
That he vald part na viȝ hym fra.

Bot how that Iohn of lorn him had,
I herd neuir mencione be made;
Bot men sais it wes certane thing
That he had him in his sesing,
And throu hym thoughte the kyng to ta.
For he wist he hym lufit swa,
That fra he mycht anys feill
The kyngis sent, he wist rycht well
That he vald change it for na thyng.

RUBRIC. From E.
476. vallanche] Walence.
479. lowdiane] lowthiane.
485. change vald] wald chang.
487. strecour] traytour E; Trait-
tour II.
488. ay] E om. maid] he maid.
489. with—he] hys awyn handis.
491. lufit] folowyt E; loued H.
496. sesing] leading H.
Here H wrongly inserts II. 497, 498.
This Iohn of lorñ hatit the kyng
For schir Iohnë ewmyn his emys sak;
Micht he hym outhir sla or tak,
He wald nocht priñ his liff a stra,
With-thi he vengeans on hym mycht ta.

[How Sir Aymer and Iohn of Lorne
Chased the King with Hound and horne.]
The vardane than, schir Amery,
With Iohnë of lorñ in cumpny,
And othir of gud renoune alsa;
Thomas randale wes añe of thai
That cum in cumnok to seik the kyng,
That wes weill war of thar cummyng,
And wes vp in the strethys then
And with hym weill thre hundreth men.
His brothir that tyme with hym was,
And alsua James of douglas.
Schir Ameryis rout he saw,
That held the playn ay & the law,
And in hail battale always raid.
The kyng, that na supposing had
[That] thai war mair than he saw thair,
Till thame, and nouthir ellis-quhar,
Had [ey, &] vroucht vnvittandly.
For Iohnë of lorn full sutelly
Behynd thought to supprif the kyng.
Tharfor with all his gaderyng
About añe hill he held his way,
And held hym in-to cowert ay,
Till he so neir com to the kyng
Or he persaui his cummyng,

John of Lorn hated the king.

The king has 300 men in Cumnock.
The king only regards Sir Aymer de Valence;
for John of Lorn keeps behind a hill.
The king is in great jeopardy.

He divides his men into three companies.

John of Lorn sets the hound on the king's trace.

The hound is set on the king's trace. [Book VI.

That he wes cummyng on hym weill neir.

The tothir host [&] schir amer

Presit on the tothir party.

The kyng wes in gret Iuperdy,

That wes on athir syde vmbeset

With fayis that to slay hym thret;

And the lest party of thame twa

Wes starkar fer na he and ma.

And quhen he saw thame preso him to,

He thought in hy quhat wes to do,

And said, "lordis, we haf no mycht

At this tyme, for to stand and ficht.

Thar-for departis vs in thre,

All sall nocht swa assalzet be;

And in thre parteis hald our vay."

Syne till his consall can he say

Betuix thame, in-to preuate,

In quhat stede thar repair suld be.

With that thair gat all ar thai gaane,

Ande in thre partis thair vay has taane.

Than Iohn of lorn com to the plañ

Quhar-fra the kyng departit was,

And in his traif the hund he set,

That than, forouten langar let,

Held evyn the vay eftir the kyng,

Richt as he had of hym knawyng,

And left the tothir parteis twa,

As he na kepe to thame vald ta.

And quhen the kyng saw [his] cummyng,

Eftir his rout in-till A lyng,

He thought he knew that it wes he.

532. [≠ E] and H; than C. H.
537. thame] the. 533. traiss] trace. 559. [his EH] thair C; but cf. 1.
542. At] As at. for] E om. 561. he] thai E; they H.
546. consall] priwe folk E; Menyie
Tharfor he had till his men; he
3eit than in thre depart thame soñe, And thai did sua forouten hoyn,
And held thair way in thre partieis.
The hund did than sa gret mastris, That he held ay, forout changing,
Eftir the rout quhar wes the kyng. And quhen the kyng has seyn thaim sua
All in a rout eftir hym ta The way, and follow nocht his men,
He had a gret persavyng then That thai knew [him]; for-thi in hy
He bad his men richt hastily Scale, and ilk man hald his way
All be hym-self, and sua did thai.
Ilk man a syndri gat is gane, And the kyng has with him tane
His forstir brothir, forouten ma, And sammyyn held thair gat thai twa.
The hund alwais followit the kyng,
And changit nocht for na parting,
Bot ay followit the kyngis trañ, But vañeryng, as he passit was.
And quhen that Iohne of lorn saw The [hund] so hard eftir hym draw,
And followit straucht eftir thai twa,
He knew the kyng wes ane of thai.
He bad v of his cumpany

564. [houn] hone.
566. than] thar.
570. ta] to ta C (but to is not wanted); ga EII.
573. [him EII] C om.
575. ilk man] Ilkan.
576. be] by H; E om.
580. gat] E om.
581. alwaist followit] folowyt al-
582. nocht] E om. parting] de-
583. trass] trace.
584. vañeryng] waweryng.
585. that] E om.
586. [hund] E Hound H; hundis C.
587. straucht] strak E; fast H.
589. He] And. v] so in E; fiue H.
John of Lorn sends five men to take him.

That war richt wicht men and hardly,
And als on fute spediast ware
Of all that in that rout war thar,
Ryn eftir hym, and him our-ta—
"And let hym na-vif paño 3ow fra."

[Heire v chosyn men ar send to tak the kyng.]

And fra thai herd had the biddyng,
Thai held the vay eftir the kyng,
And followit hym so spedely,
That thai him well soyn can our-hy.

The five men overtake him.

The king than saw thame cumand ner,
And wes anoyit in gret maner,
For he thought, gif thai war vorthy,
Thai mycht hym trawale and tary,
And hald hym suagat taryand,
Till the remanand suld cum at hand.
Bot had he dred bot anerly
Thame v., I trow all sekirly
He suld nocht haf full mekill dreib.
And till his fallow, as he 3eid,
He said, "3on v ar fast cumand,
Thai ar weill neir now at our hand.
Swa is thair ony help with the?"
For we sall soyn assalit be."
"3ha, schir," he said, "all that I may."
"Thou sais weill," said the kyng, "perfay,
I se thame cumand till vs neir.
I will na forthir, bot richt heir

591. [om] off.
592. [that (2)] thair. [thar] E om.
503. [H has—That they might finde amang them there.
594. [3ow] thaim E; but H has you.
Rubric. From E.
595. [herd had] had herd.
596. [the (1)] thair.
598. Here H has the rubric—How the King slew the fiue men, That John

of Lorne sent to him then.
599. [than] that.
600. [And] E om.
602. Catchword—And hald him suagat taryand.
604. [suld cum] com.
607. [nocht—full] have had na.
609. [3on] thir.
611. [with] at E; in H.
Byde, quhill that I am in aynd,
And se quhat fors that thai can faynd.

The kyang than stude full sturdely,
And the v soyn, in full gret hy,
Com vith gret schoyr and mannasyng.
Thre of thame went on-to the kyang;
And till his man the tothir twa
Vith sword in hand can stoutly ga.

The kyang met thame that till hym socht,
And till the first sic rowt he rocht,
That ere and cheik doun in the half
He schare, and of the schuldir als.
He [ruschyt] doun all desaly;
The twa that saw sa suddanly
Thair fallow fall, effrayit var,
And stert a litill ouirmair.

The kyang vith that blenkyt hym by,
And saw the twa full sturdely
Agane his man gret melle ma.
Vith that he left his awn twa,
And till thame that faucht vith his man
A lowp richt lychtly maid he than,
And smat the heid of of the tane.
To mete his awn syne is he gane,
That com on hym Ryczht hardely.

He met the first sa egyrly,
That vith his sword, that scharply schare,
The arm he fra the body bare.
Qhat strakis thai gaf I can nocht tell,
Bot to the kyang so fair befell,

Three attack the king, and two his man.

Bruce kills the foremost.

He next kills one of the two who attack his man.

He soon after kills two more of them.
That, thouch he trauale had & payn,
He of his famen four has slayn. 648

His fostir brothir eftir soyn
The fifth has out of dawis doyn.
And quhen the kyng saw that all fif

War on that vi0 brought out of lif,
Till his follow than can he say,
"Thou has helpit richt weill, perfay."
“It likis 3ow to say sua,” said he,
“Bot till gret part to 3ow tuk 3e,
That slew four or I slew aîe!"

The kyng said, “as the glew is gane,
Bettir than thou I mycht It do,
For I had mair lasair thar-to.
The twa fallowis that detl vyth the,
Quhen thai me saw assalzei vith thre,
Of me richt na kyn dout thai had ;
For thai wend I wes stratly stad.
And for-thi that thai dred me nocht,
Noy thame fer out the mair I moucht.”
Vith that the kyng lukyt hym by,
And saw of lorn the Cumpany
Neir vith thair sleuthhund fast cumand.

Than till a vod, that wes neir hand,
He went with his follow in hy ;
God sauf thame for his gret mercy!

649. eftir] thar-eftir.
650. E puts has before done (=
doyn).
654. richt] E om.
656. till] the E ; over H.
657. That slew iij off the fyve 3ow
ane E ; Ye slew foure of the fiue alane
H.

660. [] Ik.
661. The] For the.
662. me saw] saw me.
664. wes stratly] sa stratly war.
666. Noy] so in EH ; so also in P ;
but I actually prints Nothir (!).
How Iohn of lorne sough the gud kyng ro... string in a vale.

The kyng toward the vod is gane,
Wery for-swat and vill of vayn;
In-till the vod soyn enterit he,
And held doun toward a vale,
Quhar throu the vod a vattir ran.
Thiddir in gret hy went he than,
And begouth to rest hym thair,
And said he mycht no forthirmar.

His man said, "schir, that may nocht be;
Abyde 3he heir, 3e sal soyn se
V hundreth 3arnand 3ou to sla,
And thai ar fele aganis twa;
And sen we may nocht deill wyth mycht,
Help vs all that we may vyth slycht."
The kyng said, "sen that thou will swa,
Ga furth, and I sall woth the ga.

Bot I haf herd oftisio say,
That quha endlang a vattir ay

Rubric. From C. H has—How
the King seaped fra his faes, And how
the sloothhound slaine was.
1. C has Y for TH.
2. for-swat] for-swat E; for sweit
H. vayn] wane.
6. went] wend.

4 Bruce finds a stream in a vale.
8 [Fol. 50. C.] He says he can go no further.
12 His man cheers him on.
16
Wald vayd a bow-draucht, he suld ger
Bath the sleuth-hund & the ledar
Tyne the sleuth men gert him ta;
Pruf we gif it will now do swa.
For war 3on deuillis hund a-vay,
I rought nought of the layff, perfay."  

[He rades down the stream for some distance.]

As he deuisit, thai haf doane,
And enterit in the wattir soine,
And held on endlang it thair way,
And syne to the land 3eid thai,
And held thair way as thai did ere.
And Iohn of lorn, with gret effere,
Com with his rout richt to the place
Quhar that his v men slaun was.
He menyt thame quhen he thaim saw,
And said eftir a litill thraw,
That he suld wenge in hy thar blude;
Bot othir wayis the gannyn 3ude.
Thair vald he mak no mair duelling,
Bot furth in hy followit the king.
Richt to the burn [thai] passit ar;
Bot the sleuth-hund maid stynting thar,
And vaueryt lang tyme to and fra,
That he na certane gat couth ga.
Till at the last thair Iohn of lorn
Persauit the hund the sleuth had lorn,
And said, "we haf tynt this trauell;
To pas forthir may nocht avale;
For the wode is bath braid and vyde,
And he is weill fer be this tyde.

20. the (2)] his.
21. sleuth] Sent that H.
22. now do) so in EH; do now C.
24. rought] rek H.
Rubric. From E.
27. on] doun E; downe H. it] in H; E om.
Tharfor I rede we turn agane,
And vast no mair travale in vayn."
Vith that releyt he his menȝhe,
And his way to the host tuk he.

[Or ellis he wes slane with an arrow.]

Thus eschapit the nobill kyng;
Bot sum men sais, this [eschaping]
Apon ane othir maner fell
Than throu the vading; for thai tell,
That the kyng a gud archer had,
And quhen he saw his lord swa stad,
That he wes left swa anerly,
He ran on fut always hym by,
Till he in-till the wod wes gañe.
That said he till hym-self allane,
That he arest rycht thair vald ma,
And luk gif he the hund mycht sla.
For gif the hund mycht lest on lif,
He vist full weill that thai vald [d]rif
The kyngis traD till thai hym ta;
Than wist he weill thai vald him sla.
And for he wald his lord succour,
He put his lif in auentur,
And stud in-till a busk lurkand
Quhill that the hund com at his hand,
And vith ane arrow soyn hym slew,
And throu the wod sync hym withdrew.

49. I rede] is gud E; is good H.
51. releyt] relyt.
Rubric. From E; the MS. has
... ellis, which J. prints tells, but
marks it as doubtful.
53. C has Y for TH.
54. [eschaping E] escaping H; en-
chaping C; but cf. last line.
55. fell] C has it fell; but EH
omits it.

Some say that
Bruce was saved
by an archer,

who lurked in
the wood,

and shot the
hound with an
arrow.
At any rate, the
king escaped at
[fol. 23. e.]
that stream.

Bot quhethir his [eschaping] fell
As I tald first, or now I tell,
I wat it weill, without lesynng,
At that burn eschapat the king.

**How the thre men that bare the veddir schep**
**thought to haf slayn kyng robert bruce.**

THE king has furth his vayis tañe,
And Iohne of lorne agane is gene
To schir Amer, that fra the chash
With his men than reparit waö,
That litill sped in their chasing;
For [t]how that thai maid following
Full egirly, thai wan bot small;
Their fayis nei eschapat all.

Men sais, schir thomas randale than,
Chassand, the kyngis baner van,
Quhar-throu in yngland vyth the kyng
He had rycht gret price and lovyng.
Quhen the chaseris releit war,
And Iohñe of lorn had met thaim thar,
[He] tald schir Amer all the caö,
How that the king eschapat was,
And how that he his v men slew,
And syne he to the vod hym drew.

Quhen schir Amer herd this, in hy
He sanyt hym for the ferly,
And said, "he is gretly to prifö,
For I knaw nane that lissand is

**75. his [or in H; this E; thus his**
C. [eschaping E] escaping H; engapin C.

**77. it E om.**

**78. At that E.** That at the.

**rubric.** From C. H has—What
maner that the thieues three, Made to
the King slight lawtie.

**79. C has Y for TH. has furth**
so in E; furth has C; is fourth H.

**83. litill—in] sped lytill.**

**84. For thow] Thought E; And**
thought H; For how C. following]
gret folowing.

**88. van] wan.**

**90. lovyng] lowing.**

**91. releit] relyit.**

**93. [He EH] And C.**

**96. he] E om. vod] wode.**

**98. sanyt] sained H.**
That at myscieif can help hym swa;
I trow he sulde be hard to sla,
And he war bodyn all evynly;”
On this við spak schir Amery.

[Here iij tratowris metis the king with a weddir.]
And the gud kyng held furth his way,
He and his man, ay quhith that thai
Passit [owt] throu the forest war.
Syne in a mwre thai enterit ar,
That wes bathhee [&] lang & braid;
And or thai half it passit had,
Thai saw on syde thre men cumand,
Lik to licht men and vauerand.
Swerdis thai had and axis als,
And ane of thame apon his hals
A mekill bundyn weddir bare.
Thai met the kyng and halist [him] thar;
And the kyng thame thar halsing 3ald,
And askit thame quhethir thai vald.
Thai said, “robert the bruce thai socht,
To meit vith hym gif that thai mocht;
Thair duelling with hym wald thai ma.”
The kyng said, “gif that 3he will swa,
Haldis furth 3our vay with me,
And I sal3 ger 3ow soyn hym se.”
Thai persauit be his spekyng,
And his effer, he wes the kyng.
Thai changit contenan30 and late,
And held nocht in the first stat;

102. slat] ta H.
103. all] EH om.
106. E has—Betux him & his man quhith thai; so in H.
107. [owt E] out H; Com.
108. a] so in H; the E.
109. That] E has yt (= that), which PJ misprint as It. [≠ E] C
112. vauerand] vauerand.
116. halist] halist E; hailsed H.
[him E H] Com. thar] faire H.
120. To] so in H; For E.
126. effer] afeeres H. E has—
127. Thai] &.
128. stat] state E; estate H.
They were foes to Bruce.  For thai var fayis to the kyng,
And thoncht to cum in-to scowkyng,
And duell with hym quhill that thai saw
Thar tym, and bryng hym than of daw.
Thai grantit till his spek for-thi;
Bot the kyng, that wes vitty,
Persauit weill be thair [h]awyng
That thai luft hym in na thing.

The king makes them walk apart.
He said "fallowis, 3he man all thre,
Forthir aquynt quhill that we be,
All be 3our-self forrouth ga,
And on the samynyn vif we twa
Sall fallow 3ow behynd weill neir."
Quod thai, "schir, it is na mysteir
To trow in-till vs any Ill."

"Nane do I," said he, "bot I will
That 3he ga forrow vs, quhill we
Bettir with othir knawyn be."
"We grant," thai said, "sen 3e will swa;"
And furth apon thair gat can ga.
Thus 3eid thai till the nycht wes neir,
And than the formast cumin weir
Till a vast husbandis houf, & thar
Thai slew the veddir at thai bar,
And [strake] fyre for to rost thar met,
And askit the kyng gif he vald et,
And rest hym till the met war dicht ?

130. scowkyng] sculking E ; talk- has—Ye ga before vs a little wie.
ing H.
132. tym] poynth EH.
135. hawyng] hawing E ; hauing has—Ye ga before vs a little wie.
H ; awyng C.
136. in] well H ; E om.
137. man] mon E ; must H.
139. self] selwyn. forrouth] furth E ; before vs H.
141. zow] you H ; E om.
143. in-till] into H ; in E.
145. forrow vs] fourth thus. H has—Ye ga before vs a little wie.
149. Here H has the Rubric—The slaying of the thieues three, And how the King his death was nie.
151. vast] waist E ; waste H.
husbandis] husbandis E (printed husband P1); husband H.
152. veddir] wethir E ; wedder H.
153. [strake H] slew CE (evidently copied from l. 152). rost] make H.
The kyng, that hungry wes, I hicht,  
Assentit to thair speke in hy,  
Bot he said, 'he vald anerly  
Betuyx hym & his fallow be  
At a fyre, and thai all thre  
In the End of the houf, suld ma  
Ane othir fyre ;' and thai did swa.  
Thai drew thame in the houf end,  
And half the veddir till hym send ;  
And thai rostit in hy thair met,  
And fell rycht frokly for till et.  
The kyng weill lang he [fastyt] had,  
And had rycht mekil travale made ;  
Tharfor he ete richt egyrly.  
And quhen he etyn had hastely,  
He had to slepe sa mekil vill,  
That he myccht set na let thar-till.  
For quhen the vanys fillit ar,  
The body vorthis hevy euirmar ;  
And to slepe drawis hevynes.  
The kyng that all for-travalit [wes],  
Saw that hym vorthit slep neidwais ;  
Till his fostir brothir he sais,  
"May I trast the me to walk,  
Till I a litill slepyng tak ?"  
"3ha, schir," he said, "till I may dre."  
The kyng than vynkit a litill we,
He sleeps very lightly. And sleipt nocht [full] yukurly, [Bot glifnyt vp oft] suddandyly; 184
For he had drede of thai thre men, That at the tothir fyre war then. 188
That thai his fayis war he wyst, Tharfor he slepit as foul on twist.

[Heire he slew the iiij. tratowris.]

The kyng slepit bot litill than,
Quhen sic a slepe fell on his man,
That he mycht not hald vp his E,
Bot fell on slepe and routit he. 192
Now is the kyng in gret perell,
For slepe he swa a litill quhile,
He sall be ded forouten dred.

For the thre tratouris tuk gud hede, 196
That he on slep wes and his man.
In full gret hy thai raif vp than,
And drew their swerdis hastely,
And went toward the kyng in hy,
Quhen that thai saw he slepit swa,
And slepand thought thai vald hym sla.
*Till hym thai seid a full gret paif,
*Bot in that tym, throu goddis grace,
The kyng blenkit vp hastely,
And saw his man slepand him by,
And saw cumand the tratouris thre.
Delyuerly on fat gat he,
And drew his suerd out and thame met,
And as he zeid, his fat he set
Apon his man weill hevaly;
He valknyt, and raif all desaly;
For the sleip masterit hym swa,
That, or he gat vp, ane of thai
That com for to sla the kyng,
Gaf hym a strake in his rysying,
Swa that he mycht help hym no mair.

The kyng so strately stad wes their,
That he wes neuer zeit swa stad;
Na war the Armyng that he had,
He had beyn ded foroutyn weyr.
Bot nocht-for-thi on sic maneir
He helpit hym swa in that bargane,
That thae thre traitouris he has slaif,
Throu goddis grace and his manheid.
His fostir brothir thair wes ded.
Than wes he vounder will of vayn,
Quhen he saw he wes left allaif.
His fostir brothir menyt he,
And waryt all the tothir thre,
And syne his vay tuk hym allaif,
And richt toward his trist is gan.

[Here gais the kyng til his triste.]

The kyng went furth vrath & angry,
Menand his man full tendirly,
And held his vay all hym allane,
And richt toward the hou0 is gan
Quhar he set trist to mete his men.
It wes weil lat of nycht be then,

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208 He stirs him up,
212 but one of the three cuts the man down.
216
220 Bruce fights against all three, and slays them all.
224 He lemoans his foster-brother.
228

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225. vayn] wayn.
226. he wes] him.
228. waryt] waryt.

KUBRIC. From E. The MS. has BRUCE.

232 The king repairs to his place of tryst.
236 lat of] inwyth E; neere the H.
BRUCE IS WELCOMED BY THE GOODWIFE.  

He finds the goodwife.  
He com soyn in the houf, and fand  
The gud vif on the bynk sytand.  
Scho askit hym soyn quhat he wes,  
And quhyne he com, and quhar he gais.  
"A travalland man, dame," said he,  
"That traualys heir throu the cuntre."  
She says she welcomes all wanderers for the sake of one,  
Scho said, "all that traualand ere,  
For saik of añe, ar velcom here."  
The kyng said, "gud dame, quhat is he  
That garris 3ow haue sic speciale  
Till men that traualis?" "schir, perfay,"  
Quod the gud wif, "I sail 3ow say;  
Gud kyng robert the bruce is he,  
That is rycht lord of this cuntre.  
His fayis hym haldis now in thrang,  
Bot I thynk to se or oucht lang  
who will be king of all the country.  
Hym lord and kyng our all the land,  
That na fayis sail hym withstand."  
"Dame, lufis thou hym sa weill?" said he.  
[fol. 24. e.]  
"3ha, schir," scho said, "sa god me se."  
"Dame," said he, "lo! hym here the by,  
He reveals himself.  
For I am he?"—"sa 3he suthly?"  
"3ha, certis, dame?"—"and quhar ar gane  
3our men, quhen 3e ar thus allane?"  
"At his tyme, dame, I haue no ma."  
She makes her two sons become his liegemen.  
Scho said, "it may no vif be swa;  
I haue twa sommys wicht and hardy,  
Thai sall becum thay men in hy."  
As scho denisit, thay haue done,  
His sworn men becom thay soine.  
The wif gart soyn hym [syt] and et;  
238. [bynk] henk.  
240. quhyne] quhen E; whence H.  
244. saik of añe] ane his sak E;  
anes snke H.  
237. [lo] E om.  
258. sa 3he] I say the.  
261. [I] k.  
263. [I] k.  
[syt E] sit H; set C.
Bot he had schort quhil at the met
Sittyn, quhen he herd gret stampyng
About the hons; than, but lettyng,
Thai stert vp, the hons to defend;
Bot soyn effir, the kyng has kend
Iames of douglas; than wes he blith,
And bad oppyn the dures swith;
And thai com in, all at thai ware.
Schir Eduard the bruce wes thare,
And Iames als of douglas,
That wes eschapit fra the chas,
And vith the kyngis brother met.
Syne to the trist that thame ves set
Thai sped thame with thair Cumpany,
That war ane hundreth and fifty.

[Heire metis he with his men;e.]

And quhen at thai has seyn the kyng,
Thai war Ioyfull of thair metyng,
And askit how he eschapit was,
And he [thaim] tald all haill the caf,
How the v men hym presit fast,
And how [he] thron the vattir past,
And how he met the thevis thre,
And [how] he slepand slayn suld be,
Quhen he valknýt thron goddis grace;
And how his fostyr brothir [was]
[Slaye], he tald thame haley.
Than lovyt thai god all comonly,
That thair lord wes eschapit swa.

268. [had] has.
271. [to] for to.
275. thai (2)] they H; thar E.
276. the bruce] his brother H.
277. als] alsua.
282. fifty] weilie ffty.
Rubric. From E.
285. he] that he.

268. They hear a noise of feet.
272. It is James of Douglas;
276. also Sir Edward Bruce.
280. [Fol. 53 b. C.] They have 150 men.
284. He tells them how he escaped,
288. and how his foster-brother was slain.
BRUCE PROPOSES TO SURPRISE THE FOE. [BOOK VII.

Than spak thai vordis to and fra,
Till at the last the kyng can say,
“Fortoun has tranalit [vs] this day,
That scalit vs so suddandly.
Our fayis th3s nycht sail trastly ly;
*For thai trow we so scalit ar,
*And fled to-vauerand her and thar,
*That we sail nocht thir dayis thre
*All to-giddir assemblit be.
*Tharfor th3s nycht thai sail trastly,
But vachis, tak thair eif and ly.
Qumarfor, quha knew thair herbery,
And vald cum on thame suddenly,
Vith few [menye] mycht soyn thame scath,
And 3het eshape withouten vath.”
“Perfay,” quod James of douglas,
“As I com hiddirward, per-ca0
I com so neir thair herbery,
That I can bryng 3ow quhar thai ly.
And vald 3he spied 3ow, 3eit or day
It may sa happyn that 3he may
Do thame a gretar scath well scotyn,
[fol. 54. C.]
Than thai vs all the day has done;
For thair ly scalit as thame lest.”
Than thocht thay all it ves the best
To spied thame to thaim hastely;
And thai did swa in full gret hy,
And com on thame in the dawyn,

298. has] hes H; ws E. [vs] vs fast H; thus C; fast E (but note that
E already has ws for has).
300. this] to. trastly ly] ly trastly.
301*-305*. Also in H; but not
in E. scalit] skalit H.
302*. to-vauerand] to warrand H.
304. [menye] Menyie men H;
mengye men (where men is wrongly
added) E; men C. soyn] EH om.
305. 3het] E om. vath] wait
EH.
306. Rubric in H—Here tra-
noynted the Noble King, And to his
faces made an affraying.
307. C wrongly has yiddirward.
311. sa] well H. 3ke] we EH.
313. the] E om.
315. thai] thaim.
Richt as the day begouth to spryng.

[Heyre the kyng with his men;e cumis hastely
apon thar enimys & slew mony.]  

So fell it that A cumpny  
Had in a toune tañe thair herbry,
Weill fra the host A myle or mair;
Men said that thai twa thousand war.

Thar assemblit the nobill kyng,
And soyn eftir thair assemblyng,
Thai that slepand assalʒeit war
Rycht hydvisly can cry and rar.

And othir sum, that herd the cry,
Ran furth rycht swa effraytly,
That sum of thame all nakyt war,
Fleand to-vauerand heir and thair;
And sum [thair] armys [with thaim] drew:
And thai without mercy thame slew,
And swa cruell vengeans can ta,
That the twa part of thame and ma
War slayn rycht in that ilk sted;
Till thar host the remanand fled.

The host, that herd the noyis and cry,
And saw thair men sa vrechidly
Cum nakit fleand heir and thair,
Sum hail, and sum voundit sair,
In-to full gret affray thai raif,
And ilk man to his baner gais,

RUBRIC. From E.

323. twa thousand] twa hunder H;
j. C. E. But see H. 282, 304.
329. Run furth] Rass sa. swa] E om. H has—Run forth sa right ef-
frayedly.
330. all] E om.
331. to-vauerand] to warrand E;
to warrand H. See 1. 302*.
332. [thair] their H; his CE. 
armys] harness H. [with thair]
with him E; to them H; hym vith (altered to vith hym) C. Mr Innes
reads—thar armis till tham.
333. without] for-owtyn.
334. cruell] ewyll.
335. part] partis.
336. rycht—ilk] into that samine H.

337. host] oist.
338. host] oyst.
340. Cum] Sum E; Come H.
341. hail] all hailc. and] E om.
SIR AYMER PRAISES BRUCE’S VALOUR. [BOOK VII.

Swa *that the* host wes all on steir.

The kyng and *thai* that with hym veir,

Quhen *thai* on steir *the* host saw swa,

Toward *thair* varrand can *thai* ga,

And tharin swith *cumyn* ar *thai.*

[ Fol. 24 b. E. ]

And quhen schir amery herd say,

How *that the* kyng *thar* men had slayn,

[Fol. 54 b. C. ]

Sir Aymer praises the Bruce’s hardihood.

And how *thai* turnit var agâne,

He said, “now may we clairly se,

*That* nobill hert, quhar-euir it be,

Is hard till *ourcum* throu maistry ;

For quhar a hert is rycht worthy,

Agane stoutnes [It] is ay stout ;

And, as I trow, *thair* may na dowt

Ger it all out discumfit be,

Qhill body *liifand* is all fre ;

[As] be *this melle* may be seyn.

“*We thought* Bruce was beaten,

We vend robert *the* bruce had beyñ

Swa discumfit *that*, be gud skill,

He suld nouthir haff hert no will

Swilk Iperdy till vndirta ;

For he ves put at vndir swa,

*That* he ves left all hym allañe,

And all his folk var fra hym gañe.

And he ves sa fortravalit

To put of *thame* *that* hym assatil,

*That* he suld haf ñharnit restyng

Mair *than* fechtyng or travalyng.

345. *veir*] wer.

346. *thai*] E om.

347. *varrand*] varrand.

348. And *thar* in sawete com *thai*

E ; And there in sauitie came thay H.

349. *amery*] Aymer EH.

350. *Is*] It is.

354. *a*] ane.

356. [It E] it H ; *C om.*

357. And *Na.


*all fre*] in poustie H.

360. [ *As EH* ] And C.

361. *wend*] wend.

363. *no*] ne.

365. *ves put*] put was.

368. *ves sa*] sagat E ; was sa H.

369. *of thame*] thaim off EH.

371. So in H. *This nycht atour* all *othir* thing E.
Bot his hert fillit [Is] of bownte,
Swa that it vencust may nocht be."

[Heire schir emery passis til carlile.]

On this viO spak schir Amery,
And quhen thai of his cumpany
Saw how thai traualit had in vane,
And how the kyng thar men had slaine,
That at his largeE wes all fre,
Thame thought it ves a nyfte
For to mak thair lang[er] duellyng,
Sen thai mycht nocht anoy the kyng,
And said that to schir Amery ;
That vmbethought hym hastely
That he to carleill thar vald gu,
And a quhill thar-in soiorn ma,
And haf his spyis on the kyng,
[To] knaw awais his contenyng.
For quhen that he his poynt mycht se,
He thought that vith a gret men;he
He suld schute on hym sodanly ;
Tharfor with all his Cumpany
Till yngland he the vay has taíne,
And ilk man till his houí is gane.
In hy to carleill went is he,
And thar-in thynkí is for to be
Till he his poynt saw of the kyng,
That thar with all his gaderyng
Wes in carrik, quhar vmbestount
He vald vend vith his men till hount.

378. And that his wes gane al fre E. 379. nysste] nycete.
387. [To EII] And C. 388. [Fol. 55. C.}
Here the kyng metis iij. tratowris.

Swa hapnyt it that on a day,
He vent till hwnt, for till assay
Quhat gamyn wes in that cuntre;
And sa hapnyt [that] day that he
By a vode-syde to sett is gaunce,
Vith his twa hundis hym allane;
Bot he his swerd ay vith hym bare.
He had bot schort quhill syttyn thare,
Quhen he saw fra the vode cunand
Thre men with bowis in thar hand,
That toward hym com spedely,
And he persauit that in hy,
Be thair effeir and thair havyng,
That thai luflt hym na kyn thyng.
He raiȝ & his leysche till him drew he,
And leit his houndis gang all fre.
God help the kyng now for his mycht!
For, bot he now be viȝ and vicht,
He sail be set in mekill preȝ.
For thai thre men, withouten leȝ,
War his fayis all vtrely,
And had vachit so besaly,
To se quhen thai vengeans mycht tak
Of the kyng for Iohne cwmynys sak,
That thai thought than thai laser had;
And sen he hym allane wes stad,
In hy thought thai suld him sla,

RUBRIC. From E. H has—How the King and his Hounds twa, Three men in the Wood can sla.

400. hapnyt it] hapynnyt. that on] vpon H.
403. [that EH] a C.
404. sett] a seate H; hunt (added in a left space) E.
411. persauit that] perceined them H; that persaywyt E.

414. leysche] leysche or leyschis C; leysche E; Leesh H.
419. withouten] for-owtyn, less] so in E; lies H.
421. had vachit] wachyt him E; waited him H. so] ay H.
423. cwmynys] comyn his,
424. thai (1)] so in E; they H; C seems to have thaim; cf. 1. 430. laser] layser E; leasure H.
And gif that thai mycht chevif swa, 428 They hoped to kill him and then flee.
Fra that thai the kyng had slayn,
That thai mycht vyn the vode agayn,
His men, thai thought, thai suld nocht dreid.
In hy towart the kyng thai zeid,
And bend their bowis quhen thai var neir;
And he, that dred in gret maneir
Their arowis, for he nakit was,
In hy ane spekyng to thame mais,
And said, "3he aucht to shame, perde,
Syn I am aine and 3he ar thre,
For to schut at me on Fer!
Bot haf 3he hardynment, cum ner
With your swordis, me till assay;
Wyn me on sic vif, gif 3he may;
3he sall weil mair all prisit be."
"Perfay," quod aine than of the thre,
"Sall no man say we drede the swa,
That we with Arrowis sail the sla."
With that their bowis avay thai kest,
And com on [fast] but langar frest.
The kyng thame met full hardely,
And smat the first so Rigorously,
That he fell ded doun on the greyf.
And quhen the kyngis hounde has seyn
That men assale his mastir swa,
He lap till aine and can hym ta

427. cheviss] chewyss.
428, 429. Transposed in H.
430. that] thaim.
432. bend] bent.
433. in] on.
436. 3he] sov.
437. 1] he.
438. on] apon.
439. haf] had. cum] to cum.
441. on] apon.
442. mair all] owte mar.

[fol. 55 b. C.] 432

436 He tells them they ought to be ashamed of using bows.

444 [Fol. 25. E.]

They attack him with swords.

448 One of the hounds helps the king.

449. Rigorously] rigorously H; wygorusly E.
451. hounde] hounde or houndis C; hund E; Hounds H.
452. his] their H. Throughout this passage H has the plural, with reference to both hounds, but CE have the singular, and tell the story of only one of the hounds.
Richt be the nek full felonly,  
Till top our taill he gert hym ly.

And the kyng, that his swerd vp had,  
Saw he so fair succour hym maid,  
Or he that [fallyn] wes mycht ryf,  
Had hym assal3eit on sic wif

That he the bak strak evyn in twa.  
The thrid that saw his fallowis swa

Forouten recoueryng be slaynfe,  
Tuk till the vod his vay agaüe.

Bot the kyng followit spedely ;

And als the hound that wes hym by,

Quhen he the man saw gang hym fra,

Schot till hym soyn, & can hym ta

Richt be the nek, and till hym dreuch ;

And the kyng that ves neir eneuch,

In his risyng sic rowt hym gaf,

That stane-ded till the erd he draf.

[fol. 56. C.]

The kyngis menze that war neir,
Quhen at thai saw on sic maneir
The kyng assalit sa suddandly,
Thai sped thame toward hym in hy,
And askit how that caf3 befell.

And he all haly can thaim tell,

How thai assal3eit hym all thre.

"Perfay," quod thai, "we may weill se
That it is hard till vndirtak

Sic mellyng vith 30w for to mak,
That so smertly has slayn thir thre
Forouten hurt:

170  BRUCE'S HOUND HELPS HIM AT NEED.  [BOOK VII.

454. *felonly*] sturdyly.
456. *vp* out.
457. *hym* the Hounds sik
458. [fallyn E] fallen H; fallit C.
459. *had* H.  
460. [printed E] men war than.
461. *starke H.  eird] eird H; E actually has end, which is printed end P; eird J. *he* so in E; him H.
462. *fle.*
464. [printed C]
468. [printed E] men war than.
471. *eird* J. *he* so in E; him H.
472. men—war].
"I slew bot a\n e forouten ma,
God and my hound has slane the twa.
Thair tresoune cumavit thame perfay,
For richt vicht men all thre var thae."

[Heire schir emery settis the kyng in gret Iuperty.]

On this maner eschapit was,
He blew his horne, and than in hy
His gud men till hym can rely;
Than hamvard\n is buskit he to fair,
For that day vald he hunt no mair.
In glentrue\n well all a quhile he lay,
And went weill oft to hunt & play,
For to purchase thame venysoun,
For than the deir war in sesoun.
In all that tyme schir Amery,
With nobill men In Cumpany,
In carleill lay, his poynt to se;
And quhen he herd the certante
That in glentrue\n well wes the king,
And went to hunt and to playing,
He thought than with his cheuelry
To cum ap\n on hym suddanly,
Fra carleill all on ny\n chs ryde,
And in covert on dayis byde,
And swagat with sic tranonting
He thought he suld suppris\n the kyng.
Than he assemblit a gret men\n he

484, 485. God and my hound has slayn the twa, The thrid eschapyt nocht alsua E. H like C, but with Hounds for hound.
RUBRIC. From E; written—heire schir emery settis the kyng in gret Iuperty.
488. [that EH] C om.
491. glentrue\n well all] glentruel all or glentrewall E; Glentrolle H.
497. the] E om.
500. In—lay] Lay in carlele,
502. glentrue\n well] gentrewle E; Glentrolle H.
503. to] till (twice).
504. than] E om.
SIR AYMER SENDS A WOMAN AS SPY. [BOOK VII.

Of folk of full gret renowne,

Bath of scottis and ynglið men.

Thair vay all sammyyn held thai then,
And raid on nychtis so preualy,

Till thai com to the wode nei by
Glentrwell, quhar lugit wes the kyng,

That vist richt nocht of thair cummyng.
In-to gret perell now is he,

For, bot god throu his gret powste
Saif hym, he sall be tane or slane;

For thai war sex quhar he wes ane.

How schir amer valla[n]ce [sent] the woman to spy king robert in glentrwell.

512. Bath of Scottis 'and ynglið men.

516. Till thai com to the wode nei by

520. For thai war sex quhar he wes ane.

524. Wes cum so nei the king that thai

528. For he said thame, that the king wes

532. Lugit in-to so strate a place,

536. Of thair cummyng ma varnit be:

Sir Aymer sends a woman to spy

Sir Aymer arrives within a mile of Bruce.

Sir Aymer in Glentrolle.

The English come to Glentrolle.

511. gret] gud. renowne] Ren-

514. nychtis] nycht.

515. to the] in A.

516. Glentrwell] Glentruele E ;

Glentrolle H.

519. god] E om.

520. tane or slane] slayn or tane.

Rubric. From C. H has—How
BOOK VII.  THE SPY REVEALS SIR AYMER'S PLAN. 173

Scho may ask met per cherite;
   And se their cowyne halely,
And on quhat maner at thai ly,
The quhilis we and our menzhe
Cumand throu-out the vod may be
On fut, arayit as we ar.
May we do swa, that we cum thar
On thaim or thai vit our cummynge,
We sall fynd in thame no stynting."
This consall thought thaim wes the best,
Than send thai furth, but langar first,
The womyn that suld be thar spy,
And scho hir way can hald in hy
Richt to the [logis], quhar the kyng,
That had no dreid of supprising,
3eid vnarmyt, mery and blith.
The womyn has he seyn aswith,
He saw hir vncouth, and for-thi
He beheld hir mayr ynkirly,
And by hir countenans hym thought,
That for gud cummyn wes scho nocht.
Than gert he men in hy hir ta;
And scho, that dred men suld hir sla,
Tald thame how that schir Amery,
With the cliffurd in Cumpyany,
And the flour of northumbirland,
War [cummand] on thame at thar hand.

538. conyne] conwyn.
539. on] apon. * at E om.
540. quhilis] quhiles E; printed quhil J; quhill P.
541. throw-out] owt throw.
542. arayit] all armyt.
544. vit] wyt.
545. stynting] so in H; stinting or startung in E; I read it stinting;
HJ have startung.
546. the] to.
550. [logis E] luge C; Ladging H.

540 Sir Aymer proposes to follow her on foot with his men.
544 The spy comes to Bruce.
550 He makes her confess the truth.

538. H adds—For in Glentrolle was the King That was neere brought to suprising.
552. vnarmyt misswritten vnarmyt C; vnarmyt E; vnarmed H.
555. ynkirly] incely E; tentinely H.
550. thame E om.
563. [cummand E] comming H; cummyn C.
They see the English approaching.

They collect 300 men.

They slay the foremost man with an arrow.

The king slays the foremost man with an arrow.

The king collects 300 men.

Quhen at the king herd that tithing,
He Armyt hym but mair duelling;
Sa did thai all that euir the war,
Syne in a sop assemblit ar,
I trow thai war thre hundreth ner.
And quhen thai all assemblit wer,
The king his baner gert display,
And set his men in gude aray.
Thai had nocht stand[yn] bot a throw,
Richt at thair hand quhen at thai saw
Thair fayis throu the wod cumand,
Armyt on fut, vith sper in hand,
That sped thame full enforsaly.
The noyis begouth soyne and the cry;
For the gud king, that formast was,
Stoutly towart his fayis gais,
And hint out of a manis hand,
That neir besyde him wes gangand,
A bow and a braid arrow als,
And hyt the formast in the hals,
Till throppill and vassand zeid in twa;
And he doune to the erd can ga.

[Heir wes xv hundir discumfet with few scottis.]
The laiff with that maid a stopping;
Than, but mair baid, the nobill king
Hynt fra his baneour the banar,
And said, "apon thame! for thai ar
Discomfit all!" and vith that vord
He swappit swifty out his sword,
And on thame ran so hardely,

566, thar war] wes thar. H has —Sa did they all that with him were.
572, Thai—standyn] Bot thai had standyn E; Bot they standen had H.
579, Stoutly] Sutelly.
581, him wes] so in E; him was H; wes him C.
That all thai of his Cumpany
Tuk hardyment of his gude dede.
For sum, that first thar wayis zede,
Again com to the ficht in hy,
And met thair fayis so rygorusly,
That all the formast rushit war.
And quhen thai that war [hendirmar]
Saw that the formast left the stede,
Thai turnit soyn the bak and fled,
And of the wod thai thame vith-drew,
The king a few men of thame slew,
For thai richt soyn thair gat can ga;
It discumfit thame all swa
That the king with his menz3e was
All armyt to defend that plaf,
That thai wend throu thar tranonting
Till haue wonym for-out fichting,
That thai effrayit war suddanly;
And he thame soucht so angryly,
That thai in full gret hy agane
Out of the woud ran to the plane.
For thai fal3eit of thair entent,
Thai war that tym sa fowly schent,
That xv hundreth men & ma
Wyth fewar war rebutit swa,
That thai vith-drew thaim schamfully.
Tharfor emang thame sudanly
Thair rai3 debate and gret distans
Ilkane vith othir of thar myschans;
Clyffurd and wauf3 maid a melle,

593. [first] fryst.
597. so] H om. rygorusly] vigorously E; vigorously H.
599. [hendirmar E] enyrmrar C; backermaire H.

[Fol. 57 b. C.] 596 His men follow boldly.
599. [hendirmar E] enyrmrar C; backermaire H.
600 The English flee in haste.
604 For thai richt soyn thair gat can ga;
612 That thai in full gret hy agane
616 Thus 1500 men were beaten by 300.
620 Ilkane vith othir of thar myschans;

Clifford and Vaux quarrel.
Clifford and Vaux Quarrel.

[Book VII.

Clifford strikes Vaux.

Quhar cliffurd raucht him a cole,
And athir syne drew to partis. 624

Sir Aj'mer parts them,

Bot schir Amer, that wes vif,
Departit thame with mekill pañe,
And went [till] yngland hame agane.
He wist, fra stryff raif thame amang,
He suld thame nocht hald sammyyn lang
For-outen debat or melle;
Tharfor till Inglind turnit he
With mair schaym than he com of touñe;
Quhen sa mony of sic renoun
[Saw] sa few [men bid] thaim battale,

623. raucht—cole] rought nocht
634. [Saw EH] Quhen C. [men
him to lee E; raught him routes EH] C om. [bid E] byde H; baid
three H.
627. [till E] to H; in C. Cf. 1.
631. 635. ne—hardy] right hardy were
632. com'] went EH.
THE king, fra schir Amer wes gane,
Gaderit his menze euirilkane,
And lef bath woddis and montanis,
And held his vay straucht to the planys;
For he vald Fayn that end var maid
Of that at he begonnyn had,
And he wist weill he mycht nocht bring
It to gud end but traualyng.
To kyle first went he, & that land
He maid till him all obeysand;
The men mast fors com till his peß.
Syne eftirward, or he wald ceß,
Of cwnyngame the mast party
He gert helde till his senßory.
In bothwell th'an schir Amer was,
That in his hert gret angyr has.
For th'ai of cwnyngame and kyle,
That war obeysand till hym quhile,
Left the yngliß menis fewte.
Tharof Fayn wengit vald he be;

1. H has the Rubric—How James
   of Dowglas discomfit than, At Eder-
   foord Philip Mowbray with mony
   man. C has Y for initial TH.
4. straucht to] strak till. his—to]
   the straight way to H.
6. at] that.
9. first—he] went he fryst.

BRUCE.

10. till—all] all till him.
13. cwnyngame] conyngayme E;
   Cuninghame II.
17. thai] thaim. cwnyngame]
   Cunyngame.
19. Left the] And had left II.
   the] E om.
Douglas holds a pass at Ederford. [Book VIII.]

Sir Aymer sends Philip de Mowbray to Kyle.

James of Douglas is aware of it.

With 60 men he goes to Ederford, beside Makynock water (near Kilmarnock).

There is a pass on the north, and a bad place on the south.

Douglas sets an ambush.

And send schir Philip the Mowbray,
With A thousand, as I herd say,
Of men that war in his leading,
To kyle, to varray the nobill kyng.
Bot James of Douglas, that al tyde
Had spyis out on Ilka syde,
Wist of thar cummyng, & that thai
Vald hald doune [makynokis] vay.
He tuk with hym all preuely
Thame that war of his cumpany,
That war sixty withouten ma;
Syne till a strate place can he ga,
That is in [makynokis] vay,
The edry-furd it hat perfay;
It lyis betuix marraí twa,
Quhar that na hors on lif ma ga.

On the south half, quhar James was,
[Is] ane vpgang, ane narrow plas,
And on the north half is the vay
Sa Ill, as it apperis to-day.

Douglas, vith thame he vith hym had,
Enbuschit hym, and thame abaid.
He mycht weill fer se thair cummyng;
Bot thai mycht so of hym na thing.

Thai maid enbuschement all the nycht,
And, quhen the sone wes schynand brycht,
Thai saw in battale cum Arayit

22. I] lk.  
23. Of—that] That armed H.  
28. [makynokis E] Makynoks H; marchyn-noxis C.  
31. sixty] sixtie H; xlti E.  
32. ga] so in EH; miswritten gay in C.  
33. [makynokis E] Makynoks H; makynoks C.  
34. edry-furd] Nether foord H (but see rubric above); nethir-ford E.  
35. marrass] marraí E; Marrayes H; (marrass = marrasis).  
38. [Is EH] In C. pass E; place H.  
45. maid enbuschement] baid inbuschement (sic) E; bade in bus-ment H.  
47. battale] battaillyng.
The vaward with baner displayit,
And sync soyn the remanand
Thai saw weill neir behynd cumand.

Than held thai thaim still and prewe,
Till the formast of their men3he
War enterit in the furde thame by;
Than schot thai on thame vyth a cry,
And vith vapnys that scharply schare
Sum in the furde thai bakward bare,
And sum vith arrowes barblyt braid
Sa gret martirdome on thame maid,
That thai [gan draw to voyd the place];
Bot behinde thame so stoppit vas
The vay, that thai fast mycht nocht fle,
And that gert of thaim mony de.
For thai on na syde mycht avay
Bot as thai com, Bot gif at thai
Vald throu thair fayis hald thar gat;
Bot that vay thought thame all to hat.
Thair fayis met thame so sturdely,
And continit the ficht [so] hardly,
That thai so dredand war at thai,
Quha first mycht fle, first fleied away.
And quhen the reirward saw thaim swa
Discumfit, and thair vayis ga,
Thai fled on fer, and held thair vay.
Bot schir philip the mowbray,
That vith the formast rydand ves,
That enterit war in-to the plaist,
Quhan that he saw how he ves stad,
Throu the gret vorschipp that he had,
With spuryis he strak the steid of priof,
And, magre all his enmyf,
Throu the thikkest of thame he raid,
And but challants ischapat had,
Ne war ane hynt hym by the brand;
Bot the gud steid, that vald nocht stand,
He lansit furth deliuerly;
Bot the tolthir sa stalwardly
Held, that the belt brist of the brand,
That sword and belt left in his hand;
And he, but sword, his vayis raid
Weill otow thame, and thair abaid,
Behaldand how his men3e fled,
And how his fais clengit the sted
That war betuix him & his men;
Tharfor the vayis tuk he then
Till kylmerno[k] and killwynyn,
And till ardrossan eftir syne,
Synye throu the laryf him allañe
Till Ennirkyp the vay has tañe,
Richt till the castell that ves then
Stuffit all with ynglif men,
That hym resuait in gret dante;
And, fra thai wist how-gat that he
So fer had ryddyn hym allañe
Throu thame that war his fais ilkañe.

76. war] wes E; was H. in-to] in.
82. challanss] challance E; taking
H.
83. ane hynt] so in H; a knyght (corruptly) E.
85. He] so in H; E om.
88. That] And.
90. otow] otowth E; outwith H.
91. Behaldand how] & beheld how
that.
Thai prisit hym so greetumly,  
And alsua lovit his cheuelry.

Schir philip thus eschapit was,  
And douglas, that wes in the plas,

Quhar he sexty has slane & ma;  
The laiff fouly thar gat can ga,
And fled to bothwell hame agane;
Quhar schir amer wes na thing faue,
Quhen he herd tell on qhat maner  
That his menz discumfit wer.

Bot quem to king robert ves tald,  
How the gud douglaf, that wes bald,
Wencust sa feyll with few menz,
Rycht Joyfull in his hert wes he.
And all his men confortit war:
For thame thought weill, bath lefo & mair,
That thai suld lefo thair fayis drede,
Sen thair purpos sa wyth thaim zeide.

[Heire schir emery eggis bargan in the plane.]

The kyng lay in-to gawlistoun  
That is rycht evyn anent lowdoun;  
And till his pefo tuk the cuntre.

Quhen schir amer and his menz
Herd how he rewlit all the land,
And how that nane durst him withstand,
He wes in-till his hert angry;
And vith ake of his cuumpany
He send him vord, andie said, 'gif he

105. so] full EH.
106. alsua lovit] lovyt fast E; loued mekle H.
113. quhat] that.
RUBRIC in H, after l, 114—How the King vnder Lowdon hill, Discom-
quist H.
116. the gud] that the. bald] sa
117. Wencust] Wencussyt E; Van-
118. Joyfull in] glad into H.
119. men] menz E; men H.
RUBRIC. From E.
123. in-to gawlistoun] in galston
127. rewlit all] ryotyt E; rioted
129. angry] sory H.
Durst hym in[to] the planys se,
He suld the x day of may
Cum vndir lowdoun hill away:
And gif that he vald met him thair,
He said, 'his vorschip sulde be mair,
And mair be turnit to nobillay,
To vyn hym in the playn avay
Vith hard dyntis, in evyn fichting,
Than till do fer mair in scowking.'
The king that herd his messinger,
Had despit apen gret maner,
That schir amer spak sa hely,
Thar-for he ansuerd ernystfully,
And till the messynger said he,
"Sa to thi lord that, gif I be
In lif, he sall me se that day
Weill neir, gif he dar hald the vay
That he has said; for seikly
By lowdoun hill mete hym sall I."

[Heire king R. providis for wantag in the
place quhar thai suld fecht.]
The messinger, but mair abade,
Till his mastir his vais raide,
And his ansuer he tald alswith;
Than wes na neid to mak him blithe,
For he thought, throu his mekill mycht,
Gif the king durst apeir to ficht,
That, throu the gret cheuelry.

132. [into EH] in C.
133. the x] the x E (printed the
    tent j); on the tent H.
137. to] in. nobillay] Noblenesse
    H.
138. the] that. H has—To meete
    him in the Plaine hard wayes,
140. in scowking] with skulking
    E; into stalking H.
143. hely] proudly H.
144. ernystfully] irusly E; angrily
    H.
146. that gif] giff that EH.
Rubric. From E.
152. his (2)] the.
153. he] him.
154. That was no neede to make him
    blyth H; Qubar-of he was bath glaid
    & blyth E.
156. apeir] cum E; appeare H.
That suld be in his company,
He suld swa ourcum the kyng,
That thar suld be na recoveryng.
And the kyng, on the thothir party,
That wes ay wið and a-verty,
Raid for to se and cheif the plað;
And saw the hye-gat lyand wað
Apon a fair feld evin and dry;
But apon athir syde [thar-by]
Wes a gret moð, mekill & braid,
That fra the vay wes, quhar men raid,
A bowdraucht neir on athir syde:
And that place thocht hym all to vyde
Till abyde men that horsit war.
Tharfor thre dykis ourthwort he schar,
Fra bath the mosð to the vay:
That war sa fer fra othir, that thai
War in-twyn a bow-draucht & mar.
Sa holl & hye the dykis war,
That men mycht nocht, but mekill pane,
Pað thaim, though nane var thaim agane.
Bot sloppis in the vay left he,
So large, and of sic quantite,
That fyffle humdir mycht sammyn ryde
In at the sloppis, syde for syde.
Thar thocht he battale for to beid,
And bargane thaim; for he na drede
Had at thai suld on syde assale;

158. suld be[he sould] lead H. 160. ourthwort] our-thuurt.
162. ay] all. a-verty] a verti C; 173. mosssi = mossis; so also in
auerty E; right witty H. E; H has Mosses.
165. Apon] Neere H. 175 in-twyn] ytwyn E; euen H.
166. [thar-by] tharby E; there-by 182 for] so in H; be E.
H; thame by C. 183 he] C has he but; EH omit
170. And] Bot H. 184. drede] dryd E; dread E.
169. neir] weile E; well H. 185. at] that. on] ony.

Na zeit behynd gif him battele.
And befyr hym thocht veill that he
Suld fra thar mycht defendit be. 188
Thre deip dykis he gert thar ma;
For gif he mycht nocht veill our-ta
To met thame at the first, that he
Suld haf the tothir at his pouste;
Or than the thrid, gif it war swa
At thai had passit the tothir twa.
On this wið him ordanit he,
And syne Assemblit his menze,
That war sex hundreth fechtand men,
But rangald, that wes with him then,
That war als feill as thai, or ma.
With all that menþhe can he ga,
The evyn befyr the battale suld be,
To litill lowdoun, quhar that he
Wald abide to se thair cummyng.
[Syne] with the men of his leding
He thought to speid hym, swa that he
Suld at the dik befyr thame be.

[Heire schir emery cumis with his host in sycht.]

Sir Aymer comes there with 3000 men.

Scher Amer, on the tothir party,
Gaderit so gret cheuery,
That he mycht be thre thousand neir,
Armyt and dicht in gud maner;
And than, as man of gret [noblay.]

186. him thaim.
191. thame at] that E (corruptly).
192. at] on.
193. Or] Be. war fell H.
195. him] than him C; E omits than; H omits both than and him.
ordanit] ordanys.
198. rangald] rangale,
201. evyn] miswritten evymyng C;
evyn E; Euen H. befor] or that E;
forow H. battale] field H.
202. litill lowdoun] Lowdon Bog H.
204. [Syne EH] Evin C.
206. dik] dykes H.
RUBRIC. From E.
209. mycht be] was well H.
210. in] on.
211. And—as] That as a E. [noblary EH] nobilay C.
He held toward the trist his vay.  
And quhen the set day cumin was,  
He sped him fast toward the place  
That he had nemmyt for to ficht.  
The sone wes rysyn schynand bricht,  
That blenkynt on the scheldis braid.

In twa [escheleis] ordanit he had  
The folk that he had in leding,  
Saw first cumand thair first [eschele]  
Arrait sarraly and weil,  
And at thair bak, sum-deill neirhand,  
He saw the tothir followand.  
Thair basnetis burnyst var all bryccht,  
Agane the soñe [glemand] of licht;  
Thair speris, thair pennonyys, & thar scheldis  
Of licht Illumynit all the feldis.  
Thair best [&] browdyn bricht baneris,  
And hors hewit on seir maneris,  
And cot-armouris off seir colour,  
And hawbrekis, that war quhit as flour,  
Maid thame glittervand, as thai war lik  
Till angellis he, of [hewinis] rik!

[Heire king robert metis hym with few.]

212. the] his.  
213. And] E om.  
215. had] E om.  
217. blenkynt] blenked H; schawyt  
(added afterwords) E.  
218. [escheleis] E] battalis C; battels  
H.  
219. in] so in E; in-to C; in his  
H.  
221. [eschele E] battale C; battell  
H.  
222. Arrayed seemely, and wonder well H.  
223. sum-deill neirhand] they saw cummand H.  
224. He—tothir] The other battell H.  
225. basnetis] bassynettis E.  
228. var] E om. bryccht] E om. H has—Their  
Basnets burnisht all were bright.  
226. [glemand E] lemand H;  
glemyt C. licht lyght all E (see note in J).  
227. thair (2)] EH om.  
229. [y EH] C om. browdyn  
browdred H; browdyn wes E.  
231. colour] colouris EH.  
232. flour] flouris EH.  
234. [hewinis] hewin so (wrongly)  
C; hewynys E; heauen H.  
RUBRIC. From E.
The king exhorts his men. [Fol. 61. c.]

The king said, "lordingis, now the se how 3on men, throu thar gret pouste, Wald, and thai mycht fulfill thar will, Slay vs, and mak sembland thar-till. And sen we knaw thair felony, Ga we and meit thame hardely, That the stoutest of thair men, the Of our metyng abaisyte be.  
For gif the formast egirly 
Be met, the sall se suddanly 
The hemmast sall abasit be; 
And thouch that thai be [ma] than we, That suld abaine vs litill thing; 
For quhen we cum to the fichting, Thar may met vs no ma than we. 
Tharfor, lordingis, ilkae suld be 
Of vorschip and of gret valour, 
For till mayntene heir our honour. 
Thinkis quhat gladschip vs abydis, 
Gif that we may, as vs betydis, 
Haf victour of our fayis heir! 
For thar is nane her, fer no neir, 
In all this land that vs thar dout."

"Meet the foremost boldly, and the hindmost will be terrified.

Think what happiness attends victory!"

"Schir, gif god will, we sall sa do 
That no repruf sall ly thar-to."

"Than ga we furth now," said the king. 
"And he, that maid of nocht all thing, 
Leyd vs and sauf vs for his mycht, 
And help vs for till hald our richt!"

235. lordingis] lordis. 
246. [ma E] may C; far ma H. 
251. vorschip and] ws worthi. 
252. till] to. 
253. gladschip] worship H. 
254. vs] weile. 
236. her] than. 
256. than. 
257. that vs] C repeats, thar] so in E; but misprinted char PJ. vs thar] we then H. 
260. ly] so in H; fall E. thar-to] vs to H. 
262. And] Qihar.
With *that* *thai* held *thar* vay in hy,
Veill sex hundreth in Cumpany,
Stalward and stout, vorthy and vicht.
Bot *thai* war all to few, I hicht,
Agane so feill to stand in stour,
Ne war *thair* outrageous valour.

Now gais the nobill kyng his way,
Richt stoutly and in gude aray,
And to *the* formast dyk is gashe,
And in *the* slop *the* feld has tane.
The cariage-men and *the* pouerale,
*That* wes nocht worth in *the* battale,
Behynd [him] levit he al still,
Standand all samyn on *the* hill.
Schir amery the kyng haf seyn,
Vith his men *that* [war cant] and keyn,
Cum to the playn doune fra *the* hill,
As him thought in-to full gud will
For to defend or till assaill,
Gif ony wald hym byde battale.
*Tharfor* his men confortit he,
And bad *thame* wicht and worthy be,
For gif *at* *thai* mycht vyn *the* kyng,
And victor haf of *the* fechting,
*Thai* suld richt weill revardit be,
And grely ek *thair* renownee.
With [that] *thai* war weill neir *the* kyng,
And he left his amonystyng,

268. *[Fol. 27 b. E.]*
272. *[Fol. 61 b. C.]*
276. Sir Aymer sees the Scottich in the plain,
280. and encourages his men.
284. and enencourages his men.
288. *his* E; that *H*.
290. *grely ek* ek grely.
291. *[that E] C om.*
292. *amonystyng* amonesting.

Bruce's 600 men advance.

*Book VIII.* BRUCE AWAITS THE ENGLISH ATTACK. 187
BATTLE BETWEEN BRUCE AND SIR AYMER.  [BOOK VIII.

Trumpets sound.

And gert trumpe to the assemble;
And the formast of his menze
Enbrasit with that thar scheldis braid,
And richt sarray to-gidder raid.

With hedis stowpand and speris straucht
Richt to the kyng thar vay thai rancht,
That met thame with sa gret vigour,
That the best and of mast valour

Var laid at erd at thair metyng;
Quhar men mycht [her] sic a brekyng
Of speris that [to-fruschyt] war,
And [the] woundit so cry and rar,
That it [anoyus] wes till her.

For thai, that first assemblit wer,
Fwnyteit and fawcht all sturdely;
The noyis begouth than and the cry.

[Heir kyng R. wynnis in plane battale.]

A ! mychty god! quha thair had beyn,
And had the kyngis vorschip seyn,
And his brothir that wes hym by,
That contenit thame so hardly,
That thair gud deid and thar bounte
[Gaiff gret confort to] thair men3he,
And how dowglas so manfully
Confortit thame that war hym by,
He suld weill say, that [thai] had will
To vyn honor and cum thair-till!

293. trumpe] trumpe vp H.
294. And] With H.
295. that thar] the E. They embraced to them shields brade H.
296. sarray] sarray E; syne H.
298. vay thai] waysis.
300. mast] the maist.
302. [her E] heare H; se C. Cf.
1. 305.
303. [to-fruschyt E] too frushed H: toufruscht C.
304. [the EH] of C.
The king's men, that worthy war,  
With thair speris that scharply schar,  
Stekit men and stedis bath,  
Till red blude ran of woundis rath.  
The hors that [woundyt] war can fling,  
And ruschit the folk in thair flyning,  
Swa that thai that than formast war  
War stekit in soppis heir and thar.  
The king that saw thame ruschit swa,  
And saw thame reland to and fra,  
Ran apon thaim so egirly,  
And dang on thame so hardely,  
He gert feill of his fayis fall.  
The feld wes weill neir couerit all  
Bath with slayn hors and with men;  
For the gud king thame followit then  
With weill v hundreth that vapnys bar,  
That vald thair fayis no thing spar.  
[Thai] dang on thame so hardely  
That in schort tyme men mycht se ly  
At erd ane hundreth weill, and mar;  
The remanand the vaykar war.  
Than thai begouth thame to withdraw;  
And quhen thai of the reirward saw  
Thair vawarde be [sa] discomfit,  
Thai flede vithouten mair respit.

319. that] sa E; so H.  
320. With thair] That with E;  
That with their H.  
321. Stekit] Thai stekyt E; They  
stikked H.  
323. [woundyt E] stikked H; thar  
C. war] war than C; EH omitt than.  
324. the] thar.  
325. than] the.  
326. stekit] stikked H; skalyt E.  
soppis] sloppes H.  
327. that] E om.  
332. weill] E om.  
334. thame] thar.  
335. weill] EH om. v hundreth]  
v C in E. that] with H.  
337. [Thai E] They H; That C.  
339. reiil and] and wele.  
340. the vaykar] well the weaker  
H; sa fineit E.  
343. vawarde] avawarde C; wa-  
ward E; Vanguard H. [sa EH] C  
om.  
344. vithouten] for-owtyn.
Sir Aymer is

grieved,

And quhen schir amer [hes] seyn
His men fleand haly bedeyn,
Wit 3e weill, he wes full way ;
Bot he mycht nocht amonist swa
That ony for him vald tunne agane.
And quhen he saw he tynt his pane,
He turnit his bridill, and to ga :
For the gud king thame presit swa
That sum war ded, and sum war tan ;
The remanand thar gat ar gane.

[(Heire schir emery passis in Ingland.)]

Sir Aymer rides

back to Bothwell,

THE folk fled apon this maner
For-outen arest, and schir amer
Agane to bothwell is he gane,
Menand the scath that he had tan ;
So schamfull that he vencust wes,
That till ynglande in hy he gais
Richt till the king, and schamfully
He gaf vp thar his vordanry ;
Na neuer syne, for na kyne thing,
Bot gif he com richt with the king,
Com he to varra Scotland.
So heuely he tuk on hand
That the king, in set battal3e,
With a quheyn lik poueralt3e,
Vencust him with a gret men3e,
That ves renownit of gret bounte.

[Fol. 62 b. C.]

and next goes

back to England,

and resigns his command.

So grieved was he

at his defeat.

[T H E R E M A N A N D ] And the laiff
E; And all the lane H. ar] were H.

RUBRIC. From E. C has Y for
TH.

Sic anoy had schir Amery.
And king Robert, that ves hardy,
Abaid all still in-to the plaf;
Till that his men left all the chað;
Syne with presoners that he had tañe
That ar towart their Innys gane,
Fast lovand god of their veillfair.
Men mycht haf seyn, quha had beyn their,
A folk that mery war and glad
For their victour; and als their had
A lord so swet and debonar,
So curtað and of [sa] fair effer,
So blith als and so veill bowrdand,
And in battale so stith to stand,
So viñ, and richt sua avise,
That [their] had gret cauf blith to be.
So war their blith forownten dout;
For feill that wonnyt thaim about,
[Fra] their the king saw help him swa,
Till them their homage can their ma.
Than vox his power mair and mair;
And he thought weill that he vald fair
Outour the month with his menzè,
To luk quha that his frend vald be.
In-to schir alexandir the freser
He strastit, for their [cosyngis] wer,
And in his brother Symon, their twa.

373. all] rycht.
374. left all] had left.
375. he] their.
379. mery war] war mery C; mery wes E.
381. so swet] that sa swete wes.
383. als and] and als EH.
385. arise] avise.
386. [their E] they H; he C. See next line.
388. wonnyt] wynyn E; winned II.
389. [Fra EH] For C.
391. vox] woux E; wuxt H.
393. month] mounth.
396. trastit] traistyt EH. [cosyngis E] Cousins H; frendis C.
397. in] EH om. thai twa] alswa H.
He had myster weill of ma,
For he hade fais mony aìne;
Schir Iohnē ewmyne Erll of bouchane,
And schir Iohnē the mowbray syne,
And gud schir dauid of brechynē,
Vith all the folk in their leding,
War fayis to the nobill king.
And, for he vist thai war his fayis,
His [wiage] northwardis he tais;
For he wald se quhat-kyn ending
Thai walde mak of their manasing.

How the gud king robert the bruce passit north
be-3ounde the month.

THE king buskit and maid him 3ar,
Northwardis with his men to fair.

His broðir can he with hym ta,
And [schir] gilbert de le hay alsua;
The Erll of lennax als wes thar,
That with the king wes our all quhar;
Schir robert boyd and othir ma.
The king can furth his vais ta,
And left Iames of doulaß,
Vith all the folk that with him vaß,
Behynd hym, for till luk gif he
Micht reconer his cuntre.
He left him in-to gret perill;
Bot eftir, in aì ne litill quhill,
Throu his gret vorschip [sa] he vrocht,
That to the kingis peò he brocht.

400. ewmyne] Cumyn. bouchane
bouchquhane.
403. in] off.
406. [wiage E] voyage H; wayis
than C. northwardis] thiddirwart
E; hitherward H.
408. mak of] set on.

RUBRIC. From C. E has—heire
kyng R. passis our the month.
410. men] folk.
412. [schir E] Sir H; C om.
421. left—in-to] left in-to full E;
put himselfe in full H.
423. [sa EH] C om.
The forest of selceryk all hale,
And alsua did he douglasdale,
And gedword forest alsua.
And quha sa veill on hand [couth] ta
To tell [his worschippis] ane and añe,
He suld fynd of thaim mony añe.
For in his tym, as men said me,
xiiij tymes vencust wes he,
And victory van sevin & fifty.
He semyt nocht lang ydill to ly,
Be his trauale he had na vill;
Me think men suld him luf of skill.

[Heire schir Iames he vynnis mony men, & makys
fyrst a trane on the castal.]

This Iames, quhen the king ves gañe,
All preuely his men has tañe,
And went to douglasdaill agañe,
And maid all preuely a trane
Till thaim that in the castell war.
A buschement [slely] maid he thair;
And of his men fourteyn and ma
He gert, as thair war, sekkis ta
Fillit vith gyrʃ, and syne thaine lay
Apon thair horʃ, and hald thair vay
Richt as thai wald to lanrik fair,
Otow quhar the enbuschement var.
And quhen thae of the castell saw
So feill ladis gang on raw,

425. selceryk] Ettrik H.
426. alsua] euen sa H.
427. gedword] Iedworthis E; Iedburgh H.
428. [couth E] wald H; can C.
429. [his worschippis EH] the worschip C.
433. victory van] had wictouris E; had victorie times H.
436. of] with,
437. Rubric. From E; H has—

the forest of Selkirk and Douglasdale.

Douglas was beaten 13 times, and victor 57 times.

Douglas lays a train against the garrison of the castle.

He sends 14 men with sacks full of grass laid on horses' backs.

How Iames of Dowglas slew Webtoun
And wan his Castell, and kest it downe.

422. [slely EH] suddanly C.
443. and] or.
445. gyrʃs] gress.
447. lanrik] Lanerik H; lanark E.

448. Owtouth quhar thae enbuschyt war.
The garrison tell their captain, who bids them make a sally.

Of that sight war thai vondir fayn,
And told it to their capitaine,
That hicht schir Iohne of webitoune.
He wes bath young, stout, and felloun,
Richt Ioly als, and volageous;
And for that he wes amourous,
He vald ysche fer the blithlyer;

[He] gert his men all tak thar ger,
And yschit to get that vittale,
For thar vittale all [fast] south fale.
Thai yschit all abandounly,
And prikit furth sa vilfully
To vyn the ladis at thai saw pafo,

452 456

The men with the sacks cast them down, jump on the horses, and attack the garrison-men,

Quhill that douglas with his men was
All betuix thame and the castell.
The layd-men that persaunt weill,
Thai kest thair ladis doun in hy,
And thair gownys deliuerly,
That helit thame, thai kest away,
And in gret hy thair hors hint thai,
And stert apon thame sturdely,
And met thair fay vith A cry;
That had gret voundir, quhen thai saw
Thaim that war ere lurkand full law
Com apon thame so hardely;
Thai wox abasyd suddandy,
And at the castell vald haf beyn;
Quhen thai, on the othir half, has seyn
Douglas brek his enbuschement,

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461. abandounly
462. prikit prykyt.
464. men E om.
465. All H om.
474. full sa.
476. wox woux.
478. the E om. When on the other side they haue scene H.

457. blithlyer] lightier H.
458. [He EH] And C. all tak
all take H; tak all E.
459. yschit] Isch. that thaim.
460. all—south] all south C; gan fast thaim E; fast did H.
That again thame [rycht] stoutly went.
Thair wist nocht quhat till do no say,
Thair fayis at thair hand saw thair,
That strak on thame forout sparing,
And thair mycht help thaim-self no thing,
Bot fled to varrand quhar thair mocht;
And thair so angerly on thame socht,
That of thame all eschapit nane.

Schir Iohne of webitoun thar ves slane;
And quhen he ded wes, as he her,
Thair fand in-till his awmener
A letter, that him send ane lady
That he luft per drowry.

*The letter spak on this maner,
That said, 'quhen he had zemyt a zer
In wer, as ane gude bachiller,
*And gouernit weill, in all maner,
The [auenturus] castell [off] douglas,
That to kepe so perelous was,
Than mycht he weill ask ane lady
Hir amouris and hir drowry;'
The letter spak on this maner.
And quhen thai slayn on this vif wer,
Douglas richt to the castell raid,
And thair so gret debate he maid,
That in the castell enterit he.

430. [rycht E] sa H ; C om.
431. no] na E ; or H.
432. at—hand] on athir sid.
433. forout] for-owtyn.
434. self] selwyn.
436. or] EH om.
490. avmener] Awmaneere H ; coffeir (added afterwards, and indistinct) E.
491. ane] A.
492. drowry] drowry H ; drouery E.
493*. EH omit.
494. ane] A.
495*. EH omit. C wrongly inserts him before weill.
495. The auenturiss of the castell douglas C ; The auenturas [or auenturis] castell off douglas E ; The auentrous Castell of Dowglas H.
497. ane] A.
498. amouris] apparently miss-written amourus C ; amowris E ; Amours H. drowry] drowry H ; drouery E.

Sir John of Webtoun had a letter in his pouch from a lady, who said he must keep Douglas castle a year, to gain her love.
DOUGLAS DESTROYS HIS CASTLE.  

I wat nocht all the certante,  
Quhethir it wes throu strinth or slcith,  
Bot he vrocht swa, throu his gret mycht,  
That the constabill and all the lafe  
That war thair-in, bath man and knaf,  
He tuk, and gaf thame dispensing,  
And send thame hame, but mair greving,  
Till the cliffurde in thair cuntre.  
Ande syne so besely wrocht he,  
That he all tumult doune the vall,  
And distroit the houf all:  
Syne till the forest held his vay,  
Quhar he had mony harde assay,  
And mony fair poynst of wer befell;  
Quha couth thame all reherf and tell,  
He suld say that his name suld be  
Lestande in full gret ranowne.

506. *vrocht*] wrocht. *throu—gret*] with mekill E; with his great H.  
508. *knaf*] knaw.  
510. *send*] sent.  
513. *all—doune*] tumblit doun all.  
514. *houses*] howss (= howsis) E; houses H. *The plural is meant.*  
516. *mony*] mony ane.  
520. *ranowne*] renounie E; Renounie H.
BOOK IX.

BRUCE MEETS THE FRASERS.

How gud king robert lay seik in Enuerrowry.

Now leif we in-to the forest
Douglaβ, that sall haf litill rest,
Till the cuntrę deliuerit be
Of yngliβ men and their pouste:
And turne we to the nobill kyng;
That, with the folk of his leding,
Toward the month has tane the vay
Richt stoutly, in-to gud aray,
Quhar alexandir freser [him] met,
And als his brother, symon [het],
With all the folk thai vith thaim hade.
The kyng gud counternans thaim maid,
That ves richt blith of their cummyng.
Thai tald the king all the covyng
Of Iohn cwmyne the Erll of boucaňe,
That till help him had vith him tane
Schir Iohn mowbra, and othir ma,
Schir dauird the brechyne alsua,

Rubric. E has—heire king R. fel
seyk at Inuerowry. H has—How
ouer the Month past the King, And
there fell sicke in his passing.
  2. haf] haue H; bot E.
  7. the] his.
  8. in-to] and in-till E; into full H.
  9. Quhar] Quhar schir C; but EH
  omit schir. freser] frayser. [him
  EH] C om.
  10. [het H] hat C; E has Symonet (!). See Havelok, I. 2348.
  15. the] EH om.
  18. Schir] And schir CH; but E
  omits And. the] off E; H om.
Vith all the folk of thair leading,
"And zarnis mair than ony thing
Vengeans on zow, schir kyng, to tak,
For Schir Iohn the cwynnis sak,
That quhilom in Drumfre"ves slayn."
The king said, "sa our lord me sayn,
I had gret cauº hym for to slay;
And syn that thae on hand vill ta
Becauº of hym to varra me,
I sall thoill all a quhile, and se
On quhat vifº that thae preif thar mycht;
And gif it fall at thae vill ficht,
Gif thae assal3e, we mon defend;
Syne fall quhat euir that god vill send."
Eftir this spek the kyng in hy
Held straucht the vay till Enuerrowry;
And thair him tuk sic aine seiknes,
That put him till full hard disstræº,[29. E.]
[That] he forbare bath drink and met.
His men no medicine couth get
That euir mycht to the king avail3e;
His strinth so haly can him fal3e,
That he mycht nouthir ryde no ga.
Than, vit 3e weill, his men wes wa!
For nane wes in that Cumpany,
That vald haf beyn half so sary
For till haf seyn his brother ded,
Lyand befor hym in that sted,

20. than] na.
21. on] off.
22. the cwynnis] the cumin his E;
Cumyng his Emes H.
25. I] Ik.
27. varra] werray.
28. thoill all] thole E; abide H.
29. preif] pruwe.
30. at] that.
32. quhat—that] eftre quhat.
34. the] his. Enuerrowry] enrowry Eff.
35. ane] A.
36. full] sa H.
37. That H] CE om.
40. strinth] force E; heart H. sc—him] gan him halyly E; all haill begouth to H.
42. weill] that. wes] war.
As thai war [all] for his sekues;
For all thair confort in him wes.
But gud schir Eduard the worthy,
His brothr, that wes so hardy,
And vió and vicht, set mekill payñ
To confort thame with all his mayn.
And quhen the lordis that var thair
Saw that the Eull ay mair and mair
Traualit the king, thai thought in hy
It war nocht speidfull thair to ly.
For thair all playn wes the cuntre,
And thai war bot añe few menge
To ly, but strinth, in-to the playñ.
For-thi, till that thair Capitane
War couerit of his mekill Ill,
Thai thought to vend sum strinth soyn til.
For folk for-outen Capitane,
Bot thai the bettir be a-pane,
Sall nocht be all so gud in deid,
As thai añe lorde had thame to leid,
That dar put him in aventure,
But abasing, to tak the vre
That god will send; for quhen that he
Is of sic will and sic bounte,
That he dar put him till assay,
His folk sall tak ensampill ay
Of his gud deid and his bounte,
That añe of thame sall be worth thre
Of thame that vikkid chiftane has;
His vrechidnes so in thame gais,

Edward Bruce comforts the king's men.

They determine to go to a stronger place.

Men are of little use without a captain.

Edward Bruce comforts the king's men.

47. [all H] CE om.
53. var thair] thar war.
54. Eull] so in H; ill E.
55. thair] thaim.
58. añe] A.
62. strinth sayn] streththis.
64. a-pane] apayn E; in paine H.
65. Sall] Sa sall.
66. añe] A.
70. Is—will] Of sic will is.
74. That] And.
75. vikkid] wilkýt (≡ wikkýt).
76. vrechidnes] wreachitness.
MEN ARE USELESS WITHOUT A LEADER.

That thai thair manlynes sall tyne
Throu vrechidnes of his covyne.

For quhen the lord at thame suld leid,
May do nocht bot as he var ded,
Or fra his folk haldis his vay
Fleand, trow 3e nocht than that thai
Sall vencust in thair hertis be?
3hus, sall thai, as I trow, per de,
Bot gif thair hertis be so hye
Thai will nocht for thair vorschip fle;
And thouch sum be of sic bounte,
Quhen thai the lord and his men3e
Seis fle, 3it sall thai fle a-payn;
For all men fleis the ded richt fayn.
Se quhat he dois, that swa fowly
Fleis thus for his cowardy!
Bath him and his, vencust is he,
And gerris his fayis abovin be.

Bot he that, throu his gret nobillay,
To perellis him abaw[n]donys ay
For to reconfort his men3e,
Gerris thame be of so gret bounte,
That mony tym vnlikly thing
Thai bring richt weill to gud ending.
So did this king that I of reid,

And, for his outrageou[s] manheid,
Confortit his men on sic maneir,
That name had radnes qnhar he wer.

78. vrechidnes] wreichiness E; wickenesse H. coryne] convyn E; conuyne H.
79. at] that.
83. vencus] wencusyt.
84. 3hus] 3is E; Yes H.
86. Thai—nocht] That thai na will E; They will not H.
87. thouch] thocht.
89. a-payn] apayn E; a paine H.
90. richt] full H.
93. vencus] wencusyt E; vanquishes H.
94. aborin] abowne.
97. For] retained in H; E om.
98. thame] that he.
101. I] Ik.
103. men] H retains; E om.
THE EARL OF BUCHAN GATHERS MEN.

Bruce's men will not fight whilst he is ill.

*Thai vald nocht ficht quhill that he ves
Liand in-till sic seiknes;
Tharfor in littar thai [him] lay,
And till the slevach held thair vay,
And thought thair in that strinth to ly,
Till passit war his malady.

[Heir the erl of buchquhan gaderis agan the king.]

Bot fra the Erll of bouchañe
Wist that thai war thiddir gañe,
And vist that swa seik wes the king
That men doutit of his coueryng,
He send eftir his men in hy,
And assemblit gret Cumpany.
For all his awne men war thar,
And als his frendis with him war;
That wes schir Iohñe the mowbray,
And his brothir, as I herd say,
And als schir danid of brechynye,
Vith fele folk in thair leding.
And quha[n] thai all assemblit war,
In hy thai tuk thair vay till fair
To the slevach, with all thar men,
For till assaill the king, that then
Wes liand in-till his seiknes.
This wes eftir the martymes,
Quhen snaw had helit all the land.
Till the slevach thai com neirhand,

105*. In E, but omitted in P. quhill] till.
105. sic] his E; sik great H.
106. [him EH] in C.
107. slevach] sleuauch or slenauch
(as in J) E; Slenath H.
108. thair in] into H.
Rubric. From E. If has—How the Kings men with feghting, Defended the King in his lying.
110. bouchane] buchan.

The earl of Buchan gathers a host,

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105. vizt] wyst E; knew H. that swa] sa that E; that sa H.
112. visf] wyst E; knew H. that swa] sa that E; that sa H.
115. gret] A gret.
116. awne] awine.
117. als] so in H; all E.
118. That] so in E; There H.
119. ] Ik.
120. als] E om. brechynye] brechynge.
124. slevach. See note to 1. 107.
125. that] H retains; E om.
THE ARCHERS SKIRMISH FOR THREE DAYS. [BOOK IX.

Arayit on thair best maneir.
And than the kingis men that wer
War of thair com, thame apparailet
Till defend, gif thai thame assalit;
And, nocht-for-thi, thair fayis war
Ay twa for ane that thai war thair.
The Erlis men neir cumande war,
Trumpand, and makand mekill fair,
And maid knychtis quhen thai var neir.
And thai that in the wodsyde weir,
Stude in aray richt sarraly,
And thought to byde thair hardly
The cummyng of thair Enymys.
Bot thai vald apon nakyn við
Ysche till assale thame in fichting,
Till couerit war the nobill kyng.
Bot gif othir wald thame-assalǝ,
Thai wald defend, avalǝ que valǝ.
And quhen the Erlis Cunpany
Saw that thai vrought so besaly,
That thai that strinth schup to defend,
Thair archaris furth to thame thair send
To bykkir thame, as men of mayn.
And thai send archaris thame agayn,
That bykkirrit thame so sturdely,
Till thai of the Erlis party
In-to thair battale withdrawin war.
Thre dayis on this við lay thai thar,
And bikkirrit thame cuirilke day;
Bot thar bowmen the wer had [ay].

132. com] come E; com and C; comming H.
135. that—thair] or els maire H.
139. wodsyde] woddis sid.
146. gif] and. assalǝ] assalǝ.
147. avalǝ—valǝ] wailǝ que withdrawin] drywyn E; driuen H.
(printed quod J) wailǝ E; vailye quoth (!) vailye H.

149. besaly] wisely E.H.
150. that] thar.
152. as] so in H; and E.
153. thai] they H; E om.
156. In-to] Intill E; Right to H.
157. Thre] Foure H.
159. [ay E.H] thai C.
And quhen the kingis cumpany
Saw thair fayis befor thame ly,
That ilka day wox ma and ma,
And thai war quhoyn, [and] stad war swa
That thai had no-thing for to et,
Bot gif thai traualit it to get,
Tharfor thai tuk console in hy,
That thai wald thar no langer ly,
Bot hald thair way quhar thai mycht get
Till thame and thairis vittale and met.

In a litar the kyng thai lay,
And redyit thame and held thar way,
That all thair fayis mycht thame se,
Ilk man buskit in his degre
To ficht, gif thai assalʒeit war.
In myddis thame the king thai bair,
And ʒeid about hym sarraly,
And nocht full gretly can thame hy.
The Erl, and thai that vith him var,
Saw thai buskit thame to fair,
And saw how [with] so litill affray
Thai held furth with the king thar vay,
Reddy to ficht quha walde assale,
Thair hertis all begouth to fale,
And in peʃ lete thame paʃ thar vay,
And till thair houʃ hame vent thai.

160. that C.
162. ilk]. ilk EH.
163. quhoyn] quhone E ; wheene H.
164. that EH] that C.
164. to] till.
165. in] in-to.
166. thar] thar C.
167. vittale] wictaillis.
168. thame] H.
169. buskit] buskyt him E ; but H omits him.
170. saw'] H om. [with EH] that C.
171. redyit—held] graithed them upon H.
172. thame] it H.
173. buskit] buskyt him E ; but H omits him.
174. can thame] thaim gan.
175. saw] H om. [with EH] that C.
176. furth] wrongly placed after king in C.
177. all begouth] begouth all.
178. hous] put for housis ; houses H.
THE EARL OF BUCHAN'S ADVANCE.

[Heir the king wox hale throw bost.]

Til Bruce lies in Strath Bogie,
And schir Eduard the broy̤ is gane
Richt to strabogy with the kyng,
And swa lang thair maid soiornyng
Till he begouth to couer and ga,
And syne thair wayis can thai ta
Till Ennurowry straucht agâne ;
For thai vald ly in-till the plane
The vyn̤ir sesoune, for vitale
In-to the playn mycht nocht thame fale.
The Erll wist that thai war thar,
And gaderit his men thir heir and thar ;
Brechyne, mowbra, and thair men
All to the Erll assemblit then,
And [war] a full gret Cumpany
Of men arayit Iolely.
Till ald meldrom thai held the vay,
And thar with thair[f] men lugit thai
Befor 3oill-evyn âne nycht [bot] mair ;
Ane thousand, trow I weill, thai war.
Thai lugit thame all thair that nycht,
And on the morn, quhen day ves licht,
The lord of brechine schir davy
[Is went towart Innurowry,
To luk gyff he, on ony wyf,

RUBRIC. From E. H has—How the King disconfist at Enrowry, The Erle of Buchane shamefully.
188, strabogy] strabolghy E ; Strabogie H.
192. Ennurowry] Innerrowry E ; Enrowry H.
195. nocht thame] thaim nocht.
197. his] A E ; H om.
198. mowbra] and mowbray E ; H omits and.
199. tu] till.

200. And] They H. [war E] were H ; C om.
202. held] so in H ; 3cid E.
203. thair] thai C ; thair E ; their H.
204. 3oill] yule E ; Yule H. [bot E] but H ; & C.
209-211. From E ; also in H. C has only one line—Till he is vent till Ennerrowry—which is placed after l. 213.
Mycht do skaith till his ennemys.
In-to the End of Enuerrowry
He com ridand so suddandly,
[That] of the kingis men he slew
A part, and othir sum thaim withdrew,
And fled thair vay toward the king,
[That with] the mast of his gaderyng,
On 30nd half, doun wes than lyand.
And quhen men talde him the tithand,
How schir dauid had slayn his men,
His horf in hy he askit then,
And bad his men all mak thame zare
In-to gret hy, for he wald fare
To Bargane with his Enemy.

With that he buskit for to rifi,
That wes nocht all weill couerit then.
[Then] said sum of his preue men,
"Quhat ? think ze, schir, thusgat to fair
To ficht, and zeit nocht couerit ar ?"
"3his," said the kyng, "forouten wer;
Thair bost has maid me haill & fer.
For suld no medicine so soyne
Haff couerit me, as thai haf done !
Tharfor, sa god him-self me se !
I sall outhir haf thaim, or thai me."
And quhen his men has herd the king
Set him so haill for the fechting,
Of his covering all blith thai war,
And maid thame for the battale 3ar.

[Heire the erl of bowchquhane fleys, & schir dautid brechen 3eldis hym to the king.]

THE nobill king and his men3e,
That mycht weill neir vij hundreth be,
Toward ald meldrome tuk the way,
Quhar the erll and his men3e lay.
The discurrouris saw thame cumande
With baneris to the vynd wafand,
And tald it to thar lord in hy,
That gert arm his men hastely,
And thame arayit for battale.
Behynd thame set thai thar merdale,
And maid gude sembland for the ficht.
The king com on with mekill mycht;
And [thai] abaid, makand gret fair,
Till thai neir at assemble war.
Bot quhen thai saw the nobill king
Cum stoutly on without stinting,
A litill on bridill thai thaim with-drew;
And the king, that [rycht] weill knew
That thai war all discumfit neir,
Pressit on thame with his baneir;
And thai with-drew thaim mair & mair.
And quhen the small folk thai had thar
Saw thar lordis with-draw thame swa,

Thai turnit thar bak all, and to-ga,
And fled, all scalt heir and thair.

238. covering] recovering H.
Rubric. From E.
242. tuk] held H.
245. wafand] wawand E; waiuand H.
246. taid it] tauld it H; 3eid E.
249. merdale] pouraill H; blank space in E.
250. the] to EH.
252. [thai E] they H; ay C.
253. at assemble] at assembling E; assembled H.
255. without stinting] for-owtyn feneinge, H like C.
257. [rycht E] right H; thame C.
260. thaim] them H; E om.
263. thar] their H; the E. all and] and hail H.
The lordis, that zeit to-giddir war,
Saw that their small folk war fleand,
And saw the kyng stoutly cumand,
Thai war ilkane abasit swa
That thai the bakkis gaf, & to-ga.
A litill stound sammyn held thai,
And syny ilk man has tane his way.
Fell neuir [men] so foull myschans
Eftir so sturdy cuntynans.
For quhen the kyngis cumpany
Saw at thai fled so fowlely,
Thai chassit thame with all thar mayn,
[And] sum thai tuk, and sum var slayn.
The remanand war fleand ay,
Quha had gud horfo, gat best avay!
Till yngland fled the erll of bouchane,
Schir Iohn e mowbray is with him gane,
And war resettit with the king.
[Bot] thai had bath bot schort lesting,
For thai deit soyn eftir syne.
And schir dauid of brechyne
Fled to brechine, his awn castele,
And varnyst it bath fair and wele.
Bot the Erll of adell, davy,
His sone that wes in kyndromy,
Com syne, and him assegit thar.
And he, that wald hald veyr no mair,
Nor bargane with the nobill kyng,
[Com syne] his man with gude treting.
Now ga we to the king agane,  
That of his victor wes richt fane,  
And gert his men burn all bouchane  
Fra end till end, and sparit nane;  
And herit thame on sic maneir,  
That eftir that, neir fifty thair,  
Men menyt the heirschip of bouchane.  
The king than till his peð has tane  
The north cuntre, that hwmylly  
Obeysit till his senjory,  
Swa that be north the month var nañe,  
That thai ne war his men ilkane.  
His lordschip wox ay mair and mair.  
Toward anguð than couth he fair,  
[And] thought soyn to mak [all] fre  
[Apon] north half the scottis se.  
The castell of forfer wes then  
Stuffit all vith ynglið men.  
Bot philip [the forster], of platan,  
Has of his frendis vith him tañe,  
And vith ledderis all preuely  
To the castell he can hym hy,  
And clam out-our the vall of stane,  
And swagat has the castell tan,
Throu falt of vach, with litill payn.
And syn all that he fand has slayn,
Syne 3ald the castell to the king,
That maid hym richt gud rewarding;
And syne gert brek doune the vall,
And fordid [well and] castell all.

How gud king robert the bruce segit the toun of perth.
Q
when that the castell of forfar
And all the towris tumlit var
doun to the erd, as I haf tald,
The vis6 king, that ves vicht and bald,
That thought that he vald mak all fre
Apon north half the scottis Se,
Till perth is went with all his rout
And vmbeset the toune about,
And till it has aune sege soyn set.
Bot quhill it mycht haf men & met,
It mycht nocht, but gret payn, be tañe.
For the wallis war all of stañe,
Vith thik towris and yhe standand.
And that tym war thar-in duelland
[Bk. V. 1. 412.]

318. faile] faute. 322. gert] he gart H ; but CE omit he.
323. [well and EH] the C. Cf. Bk. v. 1. 412.
325. tumlit] tumblyt E ; down tumbled H.
326. t] Ik.
327. The king that wycht wes, wyss, & bauld E ; The king that stout was, starke and bauld II.
329. Apon] Apon the E ; Upon H.
330. is] he H.
332. has—soyn] A sege has E ; hes a Siege H.
333. it] they H.
335. the—all] all the wall wes then E ; all the walles were then H.
336. vith thik] And wycht E ; And thicke H.
337. war—duelland] were there in winning H.

Bruce goes to besiege Perth.
320. He yields the castl] to Bruce.
[Fol. 30 b. E.]
**How Bruce Thought to Win Perth.**

Thair twa the toun had all in yard.

Of strathern als the Erll wes thar;
Bot his soûn and of his men var
Without, in-to the kingis rout.

Thar wes oft bikkyrring stith & stout,
And men slayn apon ilk party.

Bot the gud king, that all vitty
Wes in his dedis endrikane,
Saw the vall so stith of staûne,
And saw defens at thair can ma,

And how the toun wes hard to ta
With oppyn assale, be strinth or mycht,
Tharfor he thought to virk with slicht.

And all the tym that he thair lay
He spyit, and sley gert assay
Quhar of the dik the schwasted was;
Till at the last he fand a place,
That men mycht to thair schulderis vaid.

And quhen he that place fundyn had,
He gert his menȝe busk ilkane,
Quhen sex owkis of the sege ves gagne.

Thair tursit thair harnaf halely,
And left the sege all oppinly,
And furth with all his folk can fair,
As he wald do thar-to no mair.

[Heire he gettis it with Iuperty.]

And thair that war within the touûe,
Quhen thair to fair so saw hym bouûe,
Thai schowtit hym and scornyng maid;

339. *all—yard* in their hands H.
347. *vall* wallis EH.
348. *defens* the fence H.
350. *assale* sawt E; assault H.
352. *all the* in all EH.
354. *of* at H; E om. *dik* dykes strathern.
356. *men* they H.
358. *menȝe* men.
359. *owkis* Oulkes H; woukis E.
360. *Thair* And EH.

RUBRIC. *From E.*
And he furth on his wayis raid,
As he na will had agane to turne,
Na besyde thame to mak sooirne.
Bot in aucht dais, nocht-for-thi,
He gert mak ledderis preuely,
That mycht suffice till his entent,
And in a myrk nycht syne is went
*Toward the touñ with his menȝe.
*Bot hors and knafis all left he
*Fer fra the touñ, and syne has tañe
*Thair ledderis; and on fut ar gañe
Toward the toune all preuely;
Thai herd no vachis spek no cry.
For *thai that war within, ma fall,
As men that drede nocht, slepit all.
Thei had no dreid than of the king,
For thai of hym herd no tithing
All thai thre dais befor and mair,
Tharfor sekir and trast thai war.
And quhen the king herd thame nocht steir,
He wes blith upon gret maneir,
And his leddir in hand can ta,
Ensampill till his men till ma,
Arayit weill in all his geir,
Schot in the dik, and vith his speir
Tastit, quhill he weill our woude,
Bot till his throt the vattir stude.
That tym wes in his cumpany
A knycht of france, wicht and hardy,
And quhen he in the vattir swa

368. *na—had] ne had will.
375*. *Bot] And H. all left]
leaved H.
377*. Thair ledderis] His ladders H.
A French knight is smitten with wonder,

Saw the king pas, and with him ta

His leddir vnabasitly,

He sanyt hym for the ferly,

And said, "A lord! quhat sall we say

Of our lordis of france, that ay

With gud morsellis farsis their panch,

And will bot et [and] drynk and dance,

Quhen sic a knycht, sa richt waryth,

As this is throu his cheuelry,

In-to sic perill has hym set

To vyn aie vrechit hamlet!"

and follows Bruce’s example.

With that vord to the dik he ran,

And our eftir the kyng he wan.

And quhen the kyngis menze saw

Thar lord pas our, in-till a throw

Thai passit the dik, and but mar let

Thair ledderis to the wall thai set;

And to clym vp fast pressit thai;

And the gud kyng, as I herd say,

Wes the tothir man that tuk the vall,

And baid their till his menze all

War cummyn our in full gret hy;

Seit raið thar nouthir noif nor cry.

Bot soyn eftir thai noysis maid,

That of thame first persaving had,

So that the cry raið throu the touñe;

Bot he, that with his men wes bouñe

Till assale, [to] the touñe is went,

[Fol. 31. E.]

397. [ay] thai.
398. [pance] pawnehis.
399. [and EH] C om. dance
dawnis.
400. knycht] King H. sa richt
and sa EH.
401. is] E om.
403. una] A. hamlet] hamilet E;
Hamelet H.
407. pas] owt. pas our] the King
H.
408. Thai passit] Past to H.
412. tothir] secund E; second H.
man—tuk] man tuk E; yeed ouer H.
414. our] wp E; vp H.
415. raiss thar] than raiss E; then
raise H. nor] na.
420. [to EH] C om.
And the mast of his men sent
All scalit throu the toun, bot he
Held with him-self a gret menye,
Swa that he mycht be appurvaite
To defend, gif he war assayit.
Bot thai, that he send throu the toune,
Put soyn to gret confusiounе
Thair fayis, that in beddis war,
Or scalit, fleand heir and thair,
That, or the sone raif, thai had tanе
Thair fayis, and discumfit ilkaе.
The wardanis bath tharin war tane,
And malis of strathern is gane
Till his fader, the Erll malib,
And with strenth tuk him & all his;
Syne, for his sake, the nobill king
Gaf hym his land in gouernyng.
The laif, that ran out throu the toune,
Sesit to thame in gret fusioyne
Men, armyng, and marchandis,
And othir gudis on syndri vif,
Qhill thai, that war eir pouver and bare,
Of that gude rich and mychty war.
Bot thair wes few slayn; for the king
Had gevin thame in commandyng,
On gret payn, thai suld slay naе,
That, but gret bargane, mycht be tane;
For thai war kynye to the cuntre,
He wist, and had of thame pite.

On this maner the toun wes tañe,

And syne the towris enervilkâne

And vallis gert he tummyll douënê;

He levit nocht about that touñe

Tour standand, stane no wall,

That he na haly gert [stroy] all.

And presoneris that thair tuk he,

He send quhar that mycht haldin be,

And till his peò tuk all the land;

Wes nane that durst him than vithstand.

[Heire all scottis obeys the king excep lorne.]

Apon north half the scottis Se

Obeyesit all till his maïeste,

Outane the lord of lorâe, and thai

Of argile, that vald vith him ga.

He held euir agâne the king,

And hatit hymne atour all thing.

Bot ëit, or all the gammyn ga,

I trow weil that the king sall ta

Vengeans of his gret cruelte,

And that him sair repent sall he,

That he the king contraryit ay,

May fall, quhen he no mend it may.

[Heire is mekyl commendyt schir edward bruss.]

The kingis brothir, quhen the touñe

Wes takyn thus and doungyn douënê,

Schir Eduard, that wes so worthy,

Tuk with him a gret Cumpany,
And tuk his gat toward galloway.
For vith his men he valde assay
Gif he recouer mycht that land,
And vyn fra ynglið menny hande.
This Schir Edward for-south, I hicht,
Wes of his handis a nobill knyght,
And in blithnes swet and Ioly;
Bot he wes outrageously hardly,
And of so hye vndir-takings,
That he neuir had none abasing
Of multitude of men; for-thi
He discumfit commonly
Mony vith quheyn; tharfor had he
Outour his peris renouyne.
For quha reherð wald all his deid,
Of [his] hye vorschipe and manheid
Men mycht mony romanys mak;
And, nocht-for-thi, I think till tak
On hand, off hym to say sum thing,
Bot nocht the tend part his travaling.
This gud knyght that I spek of heir,
With all the folk that vyth hym weir,
Veill soyn to galloway cummin is,
All that he fund he maid it [h]is;
And ryotit gretly the lande.
Bot than in galloway war vonnand

476. toward] till E; in H.
478. recouer mycht] mycht recouer.
479. vyn] wyn it EH.
480. forsouth] the Bruce H. J] Ik.
481. handis] hand EH.
485. neuir had none] haid neuir
sein EH.
488. quheyn] quhone E; wheene H.
489. Ooutour] Owt ouer E; Attour
H. renouerne] renomme.
490. For] And. reherß wald]
wald reherß. his] the.
491. [his E] CH om. and] and
his H.
492. mony] a mekill E.H. romanys]
Romanes H; blank space in E.
493. till] to.
494. off hym] wrongly put at the
end of the line in E.
495. the] EH om. tend part]
tendpart C; tende part E: teind part H.
496. RUBRIC in H—How Sir Ed-
ward discomfit at Cree, Sir Ingrame
Vnrfrauile, and Aymeric.
499. maid it] makyt E; makes all
H. [his E] is C.
500. ryotit] ryotyt E; aryotit C; heryed H.
Sir Ingram de Umfraville

Sir Edward de- feats them at Cree, and they flee to Bothwell Castle.

Sir Amery Saint John and he go against Sir Edward.

Schir yungerame vmphevrell, that ves Renownit of so hye prowes,

That he of vorschip passit the rout.

Tharfor he gert ay ber about Apon a sper ane red bonet,

In-to the takyn that he wes set

In[to] the hicht of cheuclry;

Of Sanct Iohné als am[er]y.

Thai twa the land had in sterung,

And quhen thai herd of the cuumyung

Of schir Eduard, that so planly

Our-raid the land, than in gret hy

Thai assemblit all their mençe,

I trow twelf hundreth thai mycht be.

[Heire schir edward bruss discumfis the inglis

men at cre.]

Bot he vith fewar folk thaim met

Besyde Cre, and so hard thame set

With hard battale in stalwarde ficht,

That he thame all put to the flicht,

And slew twa hundreth wele & ma,

Ande the chiftanis in hy can ta

Thair way to [Bothwell], for till be

Resanit in-to gude savite.

And schir Eduard thame chasit fast ;

Bot [till] the castell at the last

[Gat] schir ygerame and schir am[er]y;

Bot the best of their cumpány

504

508

512

516

520

524
Left ded behynd thame in the plaf. 528
And queben schir Eduard saw the chaô
West failt, he gert [seyfî] the pray, 532
And swa gret cattell had avay,
That it war woundir for till se.
Of [bothwell] tour, thay saw how he
Gert his men drif with him thar pray;
Bot no let set tharin mycht thay.
Throu [his] chewelrous chewelry
Galloway wes stonayit gretumly,
And douit hym for his bounte.
Sum of the men of the Cunte
Com till his pefô, and maid him ath.
Bot schir am[er]y, that had the scath
Of the Bargane I told of er,
Raid till yngland, and purchast theer
Of armayt men gret cumpany,
To venge hym of the velany,
[That] schir Eduarde the nobill knycht
Hym did by cre in-till the ficht.
Of gude men he assemblit thair
Weill xv hundreth men and mar,
That war of richt gude renowne;
His way with all that folk tuk he,
And in the land all preuely
He enterit with [that] chewelry,
Thinkand schir Eduard to supprifô,
Gif that he mycht on ony viô.

530. [seyss E] sese H; cess C.
531. gret] seil H.
532. till] to.
533. Of—tours] Of buttil tour C;
Of Bothwell Towre H; Out of bothwell E.
534. drif] dryu. thar] the EH.
535. set tharin] so in E; there till set H.
536. [his EH] this C. chewelrous] chewulrous E; courageous H.
538. douit hym] hym douit C;
but H has doubted him; he dowtyt E.
541. amery E] Aymer H; any C.
543. and purchase] till purchase E;
to purchase H.
547. by] at H.
550. renowne] renowne.
553. He] EH om. [that EH] thair C.
For he thought he vald hym assale,
Or that he left, in playn battale.
Now may ye heir of gret ferly,
And of richt yhe cheuelry.
For schir Edwar in-to the land
Wes with his men3e neir at hand ;
And in the mornyng richt airly
He herd the eunte men mak cry,
That had vittering of thair cummyng.
Than buskit he him but delaying,
And lap on hors deliverly.
He had than in his rowt fifty,
Apon gude hors armyt richt veill.
His small folk gert he ilk deill
With-draw thame till a strate neir by,
And he raid furth with his fifty.

[Heire he discumfis fer ma manfully, that is to say
XV.C. with L.]

A knycht that than wes in his rout,
Vorthy [and] vicht, stalward and stout,
Curta6 [and] fair, and of gude fame,
Schir alane of [catcart] be name,
Tald me this taill as I sall tell.
Gret myst in-to the mornyng fell,
Swa that men mycht nocht se thaim by,
For myst, aue bow-draucht fullely.
So hapnyt that thai fand the traif6
Quhar at the rout furth passit was6
Of thair fai$ that forouth raid.

558. RUBRIC in H—How Sir Ed-
ward with rubric, Wan fiftenee hundreth,
and Sir Aymery.
561. neir at] rycht neir.
563. He] E om.
564. That] And EH. vittering] wyttryng E; a witting H.
567. his] E om.
568. Apon] All apon E; All lap on
RUBRIC. From E.
573. [and EH] Com.
574. [and EH] Com.
575. [catcart] carcat (evidently
miswritten for cateart) E; Cathcart
E; Cathkart H.
576. as—sall] I to you H.
578. that men] thai.
579. ane] A.
Sir Edward, that gret 3arnyng had
All tyme for till do cheuelry,
Vith all his rout in full gret hy
Followit the taf3 quhar gane var thai.
And befor myd-morne of the day,
The myst wox cler [all] suddanly ;
War nocht a3e bow-draucht fra the rout.
Than schot thai on thame vith a schout ;
For gif thai fled, thai vist that thai
Suld nocht welll Ferd part get away,
Tharfor In auenture till de
He vald him put, or he vald fle.
And quhen the yngli3 cumpany
Saw on thame cum so suddanly
Sic folk, forouten abasing,
Thai war stonayit for affraying.
And the tothir, but mair abaid,
So hardely emang thame raid,
That fele of thame to erde thai bare.
Richt gretly thus stonayit thai vare
Throu [the] fors of that first assay,
That thai war in-to gret affray,
And vend be fer thai had beyn ma,
For that thai war assal3it swa.
And syne schir Eduardis cumpany,
Quhen thai had thrillit thame hastely,
Set stoutly in the hedis agane,
Ande at that cours borne doun & sla3e

584. tyme—till] tymys to.
588. [all EH] and C.
589. Than] And than EH. all]
EH om.
590. ane] A.
593. ferld] feyrd E; fourt H.
599. stonayit for] put into great H.
601. emang] amang.
603. Stonayit sa gretly than thai war E; Astoneyed sa greatly they
were H.
604. [the EH] C om.
606. be fer] by far H; befor E, ma] so in EH; may C.
608, 609. So in H, but omitting syne. Quhen thai had thyrl ty thaim hastily Than schir Eduardis cumpany E.
610. hedis] heid E; head H.
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THE FIFTEEN HUNDRED ARE DEFEATED. [Book IX.

The English are frightened.

[fol. 32. E.]

War of thair fai's a gret party,
That than affrait war so gretly,
That thai var slacit gretly then.

And quhen schir Eduard and his men
Saw thame in-to so Ill aray,

At the third charge, the English flee.

[fol. 71. C.]

The thrid tyme on thame prikid thai.
And thai that saw thame so stoutly
Cum on thame, dreid thame gretumly,

That all thair rout, bath les and mair,
Fled, ilkane slacit heir and thair.

Wes nane emang thame so hardy
To byde, bot all comonly
Fled to varrand; and he can chaif,

That vilfull till distroy thame vaof.

Sir Aymery escapes to England.

For sum he tuk, and sum war slayn;

[Bot] schir Aym[er]y with meckill payn
Eschapit, and his gat is gane.

His men discumfit war ilkane;
Sum tame, sum slayn, sum gat avay;
This wes a richt fair poynit, perfay!

Schir edward bruss in a 3ere wan xij castellis.

Rash boldness is often successful.

Lo! how hardyment tame suddanly,

And drivin syne till end scarply,
May ger oft-si6 vnlikly thyngis
Cum to richt fair and gud endingis!

Richt as it fell in this case heir;

For hardyment withouten weir
Wan xj hundreth with fifty,

613. than affrait] thai efrayit.
617. on—prikid] on thaim prekyt
E; on them preiked H; prikid on thame C.
619. thame (1)] E om. thame (2)]
thaim sa. dreid—gretumly] and sa hardly H.
621. ilkane] prekyd E; ilkane H.
622. emang] amang.
623. comonly] comonly.
624. varrand] varend.
626. For] And EH. war] hes H.
627. [Bot E] But H; And C.
Aymery] so in E; Aymery H; Amy C.
631. This] It.
632. tame] tame sa.
633. synque till] synque to the H; to the E.
636. As It fell in to this case her.
BOOK IX.] SIR EDWARD WINS THIRTEEN CASTLES. 221

Quhar ay for ane thai var thretty.
And twa men ar a manis her;
Botvre thame led on sic maner,
That thai discussit war Ilkaue.
Schir Am[ey]y hame his gat is gane,
Richt blith that he so gat away,
I trow he sall noct mony a day
Hane will to warra that cuntre,
With-thi Schir Eduard therin be!
Ande he duelt furth in-to the land,
Thame that rebelland war warrand,
And in a 3eir so warrait he,
That he wan quytly that cuntre
Till his brothiris peò the kyng;
Bot that wes nocht but hard fichting.
For in that tyme thair him befell
Mony fair poyn, as I herd tell,
The quhilk that ar nocht vritin heir.
Bot weill I wat that, in that 3eir,
xii Castellis with strynth he wan,
And ourom mony A mody man,
Quha-sa the suth of hym vald reid.
Had he had mesur in his deid,
I trow that worthyar than he
Micht nocht in his tyme fundyn be,
Outakyn his brothir anyrly,
To quhom, in-to gude cheuelry,
I dar peir nane, wes in his day.

639. var] wes. thretty] threttie
H; twenty (!) E.
640. So in E, with mannis for
manis. H has—And twa men is ouer
mony heere.
641. [we] thame] so in E; they
were H. sic] swilk.
643. Amery E] Amy C; Aymer H.
645. a] E om.
648. [he] so in H; E om.
649. rebelland—warrand] rebell
war werrayand.
650. warrait] werrayit.
651. quytly] quyt E; quyte all H.
657. weill—wat] I wate weile.
660. the—hym] of him the south.
665. gude] good H; E om.
666. I—wes] Lyk wes nane E; I
dare compare nane, was H.
For he led hym with mesure ay,
And with gret vit his chenelry
He gouernit ay so worthely
That he oft full vnlikly thing
Brocht [rycht] weill to full gud ending.

[Heire schir Iames dowglas metis with schir
alexander stewart lord bonkle.]

In all this tym Iames of douglas
[And] it throu hardyment and slight
Occupyit, magre all the mycht
Of his feill fayis, the quhethir thai
Set him full oft in hard assay.
Bot oft throu wit and throu bounte
His purpof to gud end brocht he.
In-till that tym him fell, throu caf,
A nycht, as he traualand was,
And thought for till haue tan restyne
In a houf on the watter of lyne ;
And as he com with his menże
Neirhand the houf, swa lisnyt he,
And herd thair sawis ilke deill.
And by that he persauit weill
At thair war strange men at thair
That nycht thair-in herberyit wair.
And as he thought, it fell, per cas ;

668. gret vit] wyt E; wit all H.
669. ay] so in H; E om.
671. [rycht E] right H; C om.
676. frill] fell.
677. full—in] oft in full E; oft
syes in H.
681. A] On ane E; Ane H.
682. for] E om. tan] E om. for
—tan] to haue had his H.
683. a] ane. on] by H.
686. thair—deill] their Sawes
eurilike deill H; ane say tharin, the
dewill (!) E.
689. herberyit] herbyrd.
For of bonkill the Lord thar was,  
Alexander steward hat he,  
And  

And othir ma of gret bounte,  
Thomas randole of gret renown,  
And Adame alsua of gordoun,  
That com thair with gret company,  
And thought in the forest to ly,  
And occupy it throu thar gret mycht,  
Bath with travale and stailwart ficht,  
To chaüs Douglas of that cuntre.  
Bot  

That strange men had tane harbreyng  
In the place quhar he schupe to ly,  
He till the hous went hastily,  
And wmbeset it all about.  
Quhen thai within herd sic a rout  
About the hous, thair raiʃ in hy,  
And tuk thair geir rycht hastely,  
And schot furth, fra thai harnast war.  
Thair fayis thaim met with vapnys bar,  
And assaljet richt hardely.  
And thai defendit douch[t]ely  
With all thair mycht, till at the last  
Thair fais pressit thame so fast,
That thair folk falzeit thame ilkañe.

Thomas randoll thair haf thai tañe,
And alexander stewarte alsua
Wes voundit in a place or twa.

Adam of Gordon escapes.
Adame of gordoun fra the ficht,
Quhat throu sliecht & quhat throu mycht,
Eschapit, and feill of his men;
Bot thae that war arestit then
War of thair taking voundir wa;
Bot nedlyngis thame behuift be swa.

Douglas is very kind to Stewart and Randolph,
That mycht the gud lord of Douglas
Maid to schir alexander, that was
His Emys son, richt gladsum cheir;
Sa did he als forouten weir
Till thomas randole, for that he
Wes till the king in neir degré
Of blude, for his sister him bare.
And on the morn, forouten mare,
Toward the nobill king he raid,
And with him bath thai twa he had.
The king of his cummyng wes blith,
And thankit him tarof feill sith.
And till his nevo can he say,
"Thou has a quhill renyit thi fay;
Bot thou reconsalit now mon be."
Than to the king soyn ansuerd he,
And saide, "ze chastye me, bot zhe
Aw bettir chastyit for till be.

[Heire schir Iames dowglas cumis to the king with schir alexander stewart and thomas randale.]

717. haf thai] wes E ; was H.
721. sliecht] strength H ; his strenth E. 3—throw] and his E;
and what through H. mycht] slight H.
722. ser E ; als seire H.
725. thame—be] them behouode be
716. thair folk falzeit thame ilkañe.
720. thair haf thai tañe,
724. voundir wa;
728. richt gladsum cheir;
732. forouten weir
736. Cummyng wes blith,
740. thou reconsalit now mon be."
743. Aught] Aucht E ; Aught H.
For sen that 3he warrait the king
Of yngland In-to playn fichting,
3he suld prefo till deren 3our richt,
And nocht with woidre na with slight."
The king said, "zeit, may fall, it may
Cum, or oucht lang, to sic assay.
Bot sen thou spekis so raly,
It is gret skill at men chasty
Thi proud vourdis, till at thou knaw
The richt, and bow it as thou aw." The king for-out mair delaying
Send hym to be in ferm keping,
Quhar that he all a quhill suld be
Nocht all apon his awn pouste.

744. that EH om. warrait] werrayit.
745. In-to] so in H; in E.
746. 3our] you H; E om.
747. woidre] cowardy. H has—
With might, and not yet with slight.
748. may (1)] EH om.
750. raly] rudly E; rudely H.
751. skill] reason H. at] that H;
[BOOK X.]

[Heire the king passis agayn Ion of lorn.]

Q when thomas Randol on this vi6
Wes takyn, as I heir deuif,
And send to duell in gud keping,
For the speke he spak to the king ;
The gud king, that thought on the scath,
The dispit and the felony bath,
That Iohn of lorn had till him done,
His host assemblit he than soyn,
And toward lorn he tak the vay,
With his men in-to gude aray.
Bot Iohn of lorn of his cummyng
Lang or he com, had vitteryng ;
And men on Ilk syde gaderit he,
I trow twa thousand thai mycht be,
And send Ihañe for to stop the vay
Quhar the king behufit to ga.
And that wes in ane euill place,
That so strat and so narrow was,
That twa men samyn mycht nocht ryde

Rubric. From E. H has—How
the King at Gleclaben, Discomfist John
of Lornes men.
2. ] 1k.
3. ] firme H.
4. ] his H; E om. he] that he.
6. ] E om. felony] felny

E; velany H.
10. ] all his H.
12. vitteryng] wittering E; good witting H.
16. ] gud king. to ga] so in H; spelt to gay in C; away E.
In sum place of the hyllis syde.
The nethir half wes perelouf;
For a schoir crag, hye ande hydvouf,
Raucht till the se doun fra the [paft].
On the owthir half a\n\na montane was
So cumrouf, and ek so stay,
That it wes hard to pas that way.
Crechanben hecht that montane,
I trow that nocht in all bretau\n\nA\n\nTh\n\n\nThar Iohn of lor\n\negt his men3he
Enbuschit be abovyn the vay;
For gif the gud king held that way,
He thoughte he suld soyn vencust be;
And hym-self held hym on the se,
Weill neir the [paft], vith his galays.
Bot the king, that in all assays
Wes fundyn wif\n\n[\n\nPersauit their subtillite,
And that he neid that gat suld ga.
His men departit he in twa;
And to the gud lorde of Douglas,
Quham In all vit and vorschip was,
He taucht the archaris euirilka\n\nAnd this gud lord has with him ta\n\nSchir alexander freser the vicht,
And villiame vif3man, A gud knycht,
And with thame gud schir androu gray.
Thir with thair menze held thar vay,
Ande clam the hill delyuerly.
And or thai of the tothir party
Persauit thame, thai had ilkane
The hicht [abovyn] thair fayis tane.

The king, with his own men, enters the pass, and is attacked,
The king and his men held thar way,
And quhen in-to the [pafs] war thai
Enterit, the folk off lornie in hy
Apon the king rasit aie cry,
And schot, and tumult on hym stanys,
Richt gret and hevy for the nanys.
Bot thai seathit nocht [gretly] the king ;
For he had thair in his leding
Men that licht and delyuer war,
And licht armynag had on thaim thar,
Swa that thai stoutly clam the hill,
And lettit thair fayis to fullfill
The mast part off thar felony.
And als apon the tothir party
Com Iames of douglas and his rout,
And schot apon thame with a schout,
And voundit thame with arrowis fast.
Syne with thair swerdis at the last
Thai ruschit emang thame hardly.
For thai of lorn full manfully
Grete and [apert] defens can ma.

47. gud] syne E ; then H.
48. After this line C wrongly inserts—And quhen in to the place war thai The king and his menze held thar vay.
49. abovyn] abowyne E ; abone H ; apon C ; cf. 1. 31. RUBRIC from E.
50. [pass E] place CH.
51. ane] the.
52. hym] them H.
53. seathit] scaith E ; skaithed H. [gretly E] greatly H ; C om.
54. armynag] armouris E ; armours H. had—thar] upon them bare H.
55. lettit] stopped H.
58. [apert E] a peart H ; pert C. can] gan. ma ] so in EH ; may C.
Bot quhen thai saw at thai war swa
Assaljeit apon twa partecis,
And saw weill that their enmywis
Had all the farer off the ficht,
In full gret hy thai tuk the ficht ;
And thai a felloun chað can ma,
And slew all at thai mycht ourta.
And thai that mycht eschap, perfay,
Richt till añe vattir held their vay,
That ran doun by the hillis syde,
And wes rycht styth, bath deip & wyde,
That men in na place mycht it pað
Bot at añe Brig beneth thaim was.
To that brig held thai fast their way,
And till brek it can fast assay ;
Bot thai that chassit, quhen thai thaim saw
Mak their arest, but dreid or aw
Thai ruschit apon thame hardly,
And discumfit thame vtrely
And held the brig haill, quhill the king,
With all the folk of his leding,
Passit the bryg all at their ese.
Till Iohne of lorn's it suld dispelse,
I trow, quhen he his men mycht se,
Out of his schippis fra the se,
Be slain, and chassit fra the hill,
And he mycht set no help thar-till.
For it angeris als gretumly
To gud hertis that ar worthy,

Lorn's men, finding themselves attacked on both sides,
\[ \text{Fol. 73 b. C.} \]
Others run down beside a stream, to find the bridge below,
which they try to break down.

Bruce's men prevent them.

John of Lorn helplessly beholds his men perish.

76. \text{farer} \] fayerer.
77. \text{fayerer} \] so in H; but delay E.
78. \text{eschap} \] It E; That H. \text{rycht styth} \] sa strait H. \text{bath} \] and E; sa II.
79. \text{thaim} \] that beneath. \text{beneth} thaim \] that narrow H.
80. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
81. \text{eschap} \] so E; thai held C. \text{fast} \] straucht.
82. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
83. \text{eschap} \] so E; thai held C. \text{fast} \] straucht.
84. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
85. \text{fast} \] straucht.
86. \text{benefit} \] that beneath. \text{beneth thaim} \] that narrow H.
87. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
88. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
89. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
90. \text{thaim} \] them H; E om.
91. \text{hardly} \] hastily H.
92. \text{thame} \] thame all C; but EII omit all.
93. \text{thame} \] thame all C; but EII omit all.
94. \text{fro} \] into H.
95. \text{fro} \] in.
96. \text{fro} \] into H.
97. \text{fro} \] in.
98. \text{fro} \] into H.
99. \text{fro} \] in.
100. \text{fro} \] into H.
Till se their fais fulfill their will,
As to thame-self to thole the Ill.

[Heire the king segis & wynnis dunstaffinch castell.]

At sic myscheiff war thai of Lorne;
For feill the lyffis their has lorne,
And othir sum thai flede away.
The kyng in hy gert se the pray
Of all the land; quhar men mycht se
So gret aboundans cum off fe,
That it war voundir till behald.
The king that stout wes, stark and bald,
Till Dunstaffynch richt suddanely
He past, and segit it sturdely,
And assal3eit, the castell to get.
And in schort tym he has thame set
In sic thrang, that tharin war than,
That, magre theiris, he it van;
And a gud vardane their-in set,
And betaucht hym bath men & met,
Swa that he their lang tym mycht be,
Magre thaim all of that cuntre.

Schir alexander of Argill, that saw
The king distroy vp, cleyn and law,
His land, send tretis to the king,
And com his man [but] tarying.

And he resauit him till his pef.

RUBRIC. From E; but castell is supplied from conjecture. H has—
How Linlithgow-Peill winnen was Through William Binnie, & his purchase.

106. lorne] forlorne H.
107. thai] war E; had H. away] away H; their way E.
108. hy] haste H.
113. Dunstaffynch] Dunstaffage H.
114. A sege set and besyly E; A Siege set, and busily H.
115. And] EH om. the] that H. to] it to E; for to H.
117. sic] swil. that] that thai C; but EH omit thai.
119. a] ane.
121. their—tym] lang tyme thar.
124. cleyn] cleane H; printed cleane P; cleene J; clef () L.
125. tretis] treyteris E; treitise H.
Bot Iohne of lorn his sone zeit wes 
Rebell, as he wes wont to be,
And fled vitl schippes to the see,
Bot thai that left upon the land
Var to the king all obeysand;
And he thar homage all haif tane;
Sync toward pert[h] is passit agane,
To play hym thair in-to the playn:
Zeit lowdyan wes him agayn.
And at lythkow ves than a peill,
Mekill and stark, and stuffit weill
With ynngis men, that ves reset
Till thaim that vith armouris [or] met
Fra edinburgh vald to strewilling ga,
And fra strewilling again alsua;
And till the cuntre did gret Ill.
Now may 3e heir, gif that 3e vill,
Interladys and Iuperlyf,
That men assayit on mony vi6,
Castellis and pelis for till ta.
And this lythkow ves aine of thai;
[And] I sall tell how it wes tan.
In the cuntre thar vunyt aine
That husband ves, and vith his fee
Oftsif hay to the peill led he;
Witzaime [bunnok] to nayme he hicht,

128. zeit] that.
129. Rebell] Rebelland E; Sittell H.
130. And] He. to] on.
133. homage] hostage E; pledges H.
134. Synce] And. perth] so E; pert C. is—agane] agayne is gane.
136. lowdyan] lothiane.
137. lythkow] Linlithgow H, peill] pele.
139. that] and.
140. [or E] ar C; and H.
141. strewilling] strewelyn.
128. John of Lorn escapes.
132. Bruce goes to Perth.
[Fol. 33 b. E.] The castle of Linlithgow is held by English.
140 I will tell you how it was taken.
144 A farmer, named William Bunnock,
That stalward man was in fight.
He saw so hard the cunte stad.
That he gret noy and pite had,
Throu fortrassis that war then
Gouernit and led with ynglis men,
That travalit men outour mesur.
He wes a stout carle and a sture,
And of him-self dour and hardy,
And had frendis vonnand hym by,
And schew till sum his preuate;
That apon his cowyn gat he
Men that mycht [ane] enbuschement ma,
Quhill that he vith his vayn suld ga
Till lede thaim hay in-to the peill.
Bot his vayn suld be stuffit weill;
For viij men armyt in the body
Of his vayn suld syt preualy,
And vith hay helyt be about.
And hym-self, that wes dour & stout,
Suld by the vayn gang ydilly,
And a yeoman wicht and hardy
Befor suld dryf the vayn, and ber
Ane hachit, that war scharp to scher,
Vndir his belt; and quhen the set
Wes opnyt, and that war thar-at,
Quhen he herd hym cry sturdely,

At a given signal, ["Call all! call all!" than hastily]

154*. E omits. H has—A stalward
man he was in feght.
155*. E omits. H has—That he
great noy and pitie had.
155. So in H; E has—Throw the
gret force that It wes then.
157. That] Thai E; Then H.
159. dour] richt dour C; but EH
omt richt. Cf. l. 170.
161. schew] schwyt E; shawed H.
163. [ane E] CH om.
164, 166. vayn] wayn.
He suld] stryk with the ax in twa
The hede-soyme; than in hy suld thai,
That var within the vayn, cum out,
And mak debat, quhill at thar rout,
That suld neir by enbuschit be,
Cum for to maynteme the melle.
This ves in-till the harvist tyde,
Qhuen feldis, that var fair and vyde,
Chargit with corne assouerit var;
For syndri cornys that thai bair
Woxe rype to wyn to mannys fude,
And the treis all sammyn stude
Chargit with froytis on syndri vi0.
That sammyn tym, as I deui0,
Thai of the peill had vonyn hay,
And vith this bunnock spokin had thai
To leid thair hay, for he wes neir;
And he consentit but dangeir,
And said, that in-to the mornyng
Veill soyn ane fudyr he suld bring
Farer [and] greter and weill mor
Than eny he broucht that 7er befor.
And held thaim cunnand sekirly;
For that nycht [warnyt] he preualy
Thaim that in the vayn suld ga,
And bad the buschement be alsua,

180. hede-soyme than] soyme and than E; chenyies; and then H. In C soyme is miswritten soyne, but see 1, 233.
182. at] that.
184. maynteme] manteyme.
186. ear] were H; or E.
187. assouerit] all fully E; and furnish H.
188. syndri] sindry.
190. sammyn] chargyt E; charged H.
With seire H. froytis] frutis.
192. That sammyn] In this suete

180. the men in the wain were to come out.
184. This was at harvest-time.
188. The men of the castle had asked Bunnoch to carry some hay for them.
192. He makes all ready.
196. EII. as] so in H; that E.
193. vonyn] wonyn.
194. bunnock] Binny H.
196. consentit] assentyt.
197. in-to] be in.
198. ane—he] a sothyr in.
199. [and EII] Com.
200. eny—brough] he brocht ony E; he did ony H.
202. [warnyt E] warned H; gat C.
203. rayn] wayne.
204. bad—buschement] that in the buschement suld E; them that bushed sould H.
Some lie in ambush.

Bunnock puts eight men in the wain.

The porter opens the gate,

and when the wain is halfway through, the signal is given.

And \( \text{that} \) so grathly sped \( \text{thaim thar} \),
\( \text{That or day that} \) enbuschit \( \text{war} \)
Veill neir the peill, quhar \( \text{that} \) mycht heir
\( \text{The cry alsoyne as ony weir,} \)
And held \( \text{thaim swa} \) still but stering,
\( \text{That nane of thaim had persavyng.} \)

\( \text{And this} \) bunnok fast can him payn
Till [dref] his menȝe [in] his vayn,
And al a quhile befor the day,
He had \( \text{thaim helit with the hay;} \)
\( \text{Than maid he him to } 30k \) his fee,

\[ \text{Fol. } 75. \ C \]

Till men the soñe schynande mycht se.
And sum that \( \text{war within the peill} \)
War yschit on their awn vnseill,
To vyn their harvist neir \( \text{thar-bye.} \)
\( \text{Than bwnnok, with the cunpany} \)
\( \text{That in his wayn closit he had,} \)
Went on his way but mair abaid,
And callit his wayn toward \( \text{the peill.} \)

And \( \text{the portar, that saw hym weil} \)
Cum neir the ȝat, \( \text{It opnyt soyn.} \)
And \( \text{than bwnnok, forouten hoyn,} \)
Gert call \( \text{the wayn deliuerly;} \)
And quhen it [wes] set evinly
Betuix the chekys of the ȝet,
[\( \text{Swa that men mycht It spar na gat,} \)]
\( \text{He} \) cryit, \( \text{“theif! call all! call all!”} \)
\( \text{And [than] he leyt the gadwand fall,} \)

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208. \text{weir] wer E; weere H.}  
211. \text{bunnok] Bonnok E; Binny H.}  
214. \text{with the] weile with.}  
215. \text{Than—he] And made.}  
218. \text{vnseill] vnsele E; Seele H.}  
220. \text{226. bunnok] bonnok E; Binny H.}  
222. \text{abaid] debaid.}
And hewit in twa the soym in hy.
Bunnoek with that deliuerly
[Raucht till] the portar sic ane rout,
That blude and harnys bath com out.
And thai that war within the wayn
Lap out belif, and soyn has slayn
Men of the castell that war by.
Than in a quhill begouth [the] cry,
And thai that neir enbuschit war
Lap out, and com with swerdis bar,
And tuk the castell all but payn,
And thame that tharin wes has slayn.
And thai that war went furth befor,
Quhen thai the castell saw forlorn,
[the] fled to warrand to and fra;
And sum till Edinburgh can ga;
And till strevilling ar othir gane,
And sum in-to the way war slayn.

How Erll thomas the randale com man to the gud king robert the bruce.

Bunnoek on this wiʃ, wyth his wayn,
The peill tuk, and the men has slayn;
Syne taucht it to the kyng in hy,
That hym rewardit worthely,
And gert doun driff it to the ground;
And syne our all the land can found,
Settand in peʃ all the cunte,

Raught to H ; He gaf C. ane] A.
239. that—by] hailyle H.
240. [the EH] to C.
244. has] precedes thame in E.
247. to—fra] here and there H.
248. can] gan. ga] fare H.
249. strevilling] strewilline.
othir] so arranged in EH ; othir ar C.

236. the porter.
240. The men in ambush seize the castle.
244. Some of the garrison escape.

230. way] gat E ; gaite H.
Rubric. From C. E has—Heire
is mekyl commendit thomas randale;
II has—How Thomas Randel came
to the Kings peace And was made
Erle withouten lies.
252. The—tuk] Wan the Peill H.
253. taucht] gave.
255. down—it] dOWne drive it H ;
dryue It doun E.
256. can] gan. found] send H
That till hym obeisand wald be.

And quhen a litill tym wes went
Eftir thomas randale he sent,
And vith hym so well tretit he,
That he his man hecht for till be;
And the king hym soyn forgaf,
Ande for till hye his stat, hym gaf
Murref, and tharof Erll hym maid,
And othir syndri landis braid
He gaf him in-till heritage.
He knew his worthy wassalage,
And his gret wit and his avif,
His trast hert and his leill servið.
Tharfor in hym aßyit he,
And maid him ryche of land and fee,
As it wes certis richt worthy.

*For, and men spek of him trewly,
*He was so curageous a knycht,
*So wif, so worthy, and so wycht,
And of so souern grente bontae,
That mekill of hym may spokin be.
Therfor I think of hym to reid,
And till schaw part of his gud deid,
And till discryve 3ow his fassouñ
With part of his Condicionñ.

He was a courageous knight,
of good stature,
And portraite weill at all mesure,

258. *till—obeisand] vnto him obey-
259. *went] spent H.
260. *vith—weill] sa weile with
261. hym soyn] his Ire him E; his
262. anger there him H.
263. for till hyc] for to hey E; to
264. mantaine H.
265. Murref] Murreff E; Murray
266. tharof Erll] erle tharoff.
267. syndri] syndry E; printed
268. sundry J,
269. That makynge terms with Randolph.
270. trast] traist E; trastic H.
271. maid—ryche maid H.
272. him.
273. it] he H.
274*—276*. These three lines are
275* a] ane.
277. And till I will. 3ow] now.
278. With] And.
279. portrait—all] weill porturat
280. at E; all well portrayed at H.
With braid visage, plesand and fair, 
Curtas at poynt, and debonar,
And of richt sekir contenyng. 
Laute he luft atour all thing;
Falsade, tresoune, and felony 
He stude agane ay ythandly;
He hyet honor and largei, 
And ay mantemyt Richtwisnes; 
In cumpany solacius
He wes, and thar-with amorus,
And gud knycht/s he luft ay.
For gif that I the suth sall say,
He wes fullfillit of all bwnte,
And off all vertwis maid wes he.
I will commend him heir no mar,
Bot 3e sall weill heir forthirmar
That he, for his dedis worthy,
Suld weill be prisit soueranly.

Q when the king ves thus with him saucht, 
And gret lordschippis had him betaucht,
He wex so wi0 and avise,
That his land first [weill] stablist he.
And syne he sped him to the were,
Till help his Eym and his effere,
Vith the consent of the gud kynge,

286. Falsade] Falset. C has Falsade and, but EH omit and. 
287. ythandly] enerely. H has—
289. mantemyt] so in E; mantained ed H. 
290. solacius] he was solacious H. 
291. And with that, blyth, and amorous H. 
293. For] And. that] E om. 
294. all] E om. 
284. very loyal and honourable; 
288. pleasant in company, 
292. and made of all virtues. 
296. [Fol. 76. C.] 
300. Randolph, thus enriched, 
304. with Bruce’s consent,
Bot with A sympill apparayling.
Till Edinburgh he went in hy,
With gud men in-till cumpany,
And set a sege to the castele,
That than wes varnyst vondir wele
With men and wittale at all Richt,
So that it dred no mannis mycht.
Bot this gud Erii nocht-for-thi
The Sege tuk full aperly,
And presyt the folk that thar-in ves,
Swa that nocht aue the 3et durst pas.
Thai may abyde thar-in and et
[Thair wictaill, quhill thai oucht] mycht get;
Bot I trow thai sall lettit be
To purchas mair in the cuntre.

Edward II. had made Sir Piers Lumbard governor of the castle;

That tym Eduard, of Ingland kyng,
Had gevin the castell in keping
Till schir peripj lumbard, a gascoun
And quhen thai of his varnysou\nSaw the sege set thair stithly,
Thai mystrowit hym of tratory,
For that he spokin had with the king.
And, for that ilk mystrowing,
Thai tuk him and put in presoun;
And of thair awne nacioun
Thai maid a constabill thaim to leid,
Richt war and vif, and vicht of deid.

311. varnyst] varnyst E; garnisht H.
313. it] they H. mycht] might
H: fycht E.
315. So E. Set a Siege to it full
peartly H.
319. [Thair—oucht E] Their vit-
taille, while they ought H; Vittale, till
thai ony C.
323. the] that.
324. lumbard] lombert E; Libald
H. a] so H; of E.
325. varnysoun] Warnisoun H;
blank in E.
326. stithly] sa stithly.
327. mystrowit] mystrow E; mis-
traisted H.
330. in] so in EH; in to C.
332. a] ane.
335. Richt war] Bath wyss E;
Baith wittie H. viss] war E; ware H.
And he set vit [and] strinth and slicht
To kepe the castell at his mycht.
Bot now of thame I will be still,
And spek a litill quhill I will
Of the doughty lord dowglaft;
At that tym in the forest was,
Quhar he full mony a Iuperdye,
And fair poyntis off cheuelry
Preuit, als weill be nycht as day,
Till thame that in the castell[is] lay
Off roxburgh and Iedwo[r]th; bot I
Will let fele of thame pas [forby].
For I can nocht rehers thame all,
And though I couth, trow weill 3e sall
That I mycht nocht suffice thar-to,
Sa mekill suld be thair ado.
Bot thai that I wat vittirly
Eftir my wit rehers sall I.

The vynnyng of the castell of Roxburgh be the
dowglas throu the slicht of Iohn ledowss.

This tym that the gud Erl thomas
Assegit, as the lettir sais,
Edinburgh, Iames of douglas
Set all his vit for till purchas
How roxburgh throu subtililte,
Or ony craft, mycht wonyn be;

334. [and EH] C om.
335. [lord] lord off EH.
336. At—in] That left into H.
343. the] so in H; his E. castellis
E] castell CH.
345. [forby E] [er by C. pas forby] now passe by H.
336. {ofol. 34 b. E. [I now speak of Douglas,
340. who displayed his valour at Roxburgh and Jedworth.
344. [Fol. 76 b. E.]}
348. [Fol. 76 b. C.]
351. sall] will.
352. James of Douglas tries to win Roxburgh castle.
356. subtililte] sutex.
Sym “of the Ledows” makes rope-ladders,

Till he gert sym of the ledows,
[A crafty man and A curious!]
Of hempyn rapis ledederis ma,
With treyn steppis bundin swa,
That vald brek apen na kyn wis.
A cruk thair maid, at thair deuiß,
Of Irn, that wes styth and square;
That, fra it in ane kynnaill ware,
And the leddir thar-fra stratly
Strekit, it suld stand sekinly.
This lord of douglas than, alsoyn
As thòs deuisit wes and done,
Gaderit gud men in preuate;
Douglas and GO
Thre score I trow at thòis mycht be.
And on the fasteryn evyn rycht,
In the begynnyng of the nycht,
Till the castell thòi tuk the yay.
With blak froggis all helit thòi
The Armouris at thòi on thòi me had.
Thòi com ner by thar but abaid,
And send haly thòir hors thòi me fra,
And on range in ane rod can ga
On handis and feit, quhen thòi war neir,
Richt as thòi ky and oxin weir,
That war [vnboundyn] left therout.

358. ledowss] leidhous E; Led-house H.
359. From E; so in H. C has—
That wes a man rycht craftyus.
360. ma] to ma C; but EH omit to.
361. treyn] treene H; Irne C.
362. rald—apou] brek wald noch
on E; they wald breake on H.
364. Irn] Irne E; Yrane H.
366. thar-fra] thòi thar-fra C; but
EH omit thòi.
366, 367. Festened, it sould hing
thereby, And the ladder therefra
straitly H.
368. lord] gud lord. than] EH om.
371. at] that H; E om.
372. fasteryn] fasteryngis E; Fast-
ings H. rycht] full rycht C; but EH
omit full.
376. at] that.
377. but] and H.
379. on range] thòi on rawnge E;
in a raying H. rod] route.
381. and] or.
382. [vnboundyn] vnbounden H;
vnbawndonit C; but the right read-
ing is evident as given; E has—
That war wont to be bondyn, which
spoils the metre.
It was richt merk, forouten dout;

The quhethir aûe, on the wall that lay,

Besyde him till his feir can say,

"This man thinkis to mak gude chere"—

And nemmyt aûe husband thar-by nei—

"That has left all his oxyne out."

The tolthir said, "[It] is na dout;
He sall mak merye this nyght, thouch thai
Be with the douglas led away."

That wende the douglas and his men

Had beyn oxyñe, for thai séid then

On handis and feit, ay aûe & aûe.

The dowglas rycht gud tent has tañe

Till all thar speke, bot als-soyn thai

Held carpand Inward on thar way.

The douglas men thar-of wes blith,

And till the wall thai sped thame swith,

And soyn has vp thair ledderis set,

That maid a clap, quhen the cleket

Wes festnyt fast in the kyrnell.

That herd aûe of the vachis wele,

And buskit thiddirward but baid;

Bot Ledouß, that the leddyr maid,

Sped hym to clym first to the wall;

Bot, or he wes vp gottin all,

He at that vard had in kepïng,

Met him rycht at the vp-cummyng;

And for he thought to dyng hym douñe,

He maid na noys, [na] cry na sowñe,

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383. forouten] with-owtyn.
389. [It E] that CII.
390. merye] good cheare H. this to.
391. douglas] blacke Dowglas H.
396. all] E om. als-soyn] all sonc E; right sonc H.
397. on] baith H; E om.
398. The] EII om.

BRUCE.
Bot schot till him deliuerly.
And he that wes in Inperdy
Till de, a lanſe till him he maid,
And gat him be the neck but baid,
And stekit him vpward with ane knyff,
Qhilhill in his hand he left the liff.
And quhen he ded sa saw him ly,
Vpon the wall he went in hy,
And doune the body kest thame till,
And said, "all gangis as we will;
Speid 3ow vpward deliuerly."
And thai did swa in full gret hy.
Bot, or thai wan vp, thar com ane,
And saw ledowſe stand him allane,
And knew he wes nocht of thar mei.
In hy he ruschit till hym then,
And hym assal3eit sturdely;
Bot he hym slēw deliuerly;
For he wes armyt and wes vycht,
The tothir nakyt wes, I hicht,
And had nocht for till stynt no strak.
Sic melle †harup can he mak,
Qhillhill douglas and his men3e he all
War wonyn vp apon the wall.
Than in the tour thai vent in hy.
The folk that tym wes halely
In-to the hall at thair dansyng,
Synging, and othir wayis playing,
As apon fastryn evyn is
The custom, to mak Ioy and blis,
To folk that ar in-to savite;

414. lanſe] launce E; loup H. till

415. wonyn] sumyn.

416. that—xes] wes that tyne.

420. is] it is C; but EH have no
it. E has—And apon fasteryngis
ewyn this.

431. I] Ik.

432. no] the E; a H.
435. wonyn] sumyn.
437. that—xes] wes that tyne.
440. is] it is C; but EH have no
it. E has—And apon fasteryngis
ewyn this.
441. The custom] As custume Is.
442. savite] saultie H; pouste E.
Swa trowit that tym to be.
[Bot], or thai wist, rycht in the hall
Douglas and his men cummyn var all,
And cryit on hicht, “douglas! douglas!”
And thai, that ma war than he was,
Herd “dowglas!” cryit rycht hydwisly,
Thai war abasit for the cry,
And schupe richt na defens to ma.
And thai but pite can thatame sla,
Till thai had gottyn the ovir hand.
The tothir fled to seyk varrand,
That out-our mesure dede can driend.
The vardane saw how that it zeid,
That callit wes gylmyne de fenif,
In the gret toure he gotten Is,
And othir of his Cumpany,
And sparit the entre hastely.
The layff that levit war without
War tane or slañe, forouten dont,
Bot giff that ony lap the wall.
The douglas held that nycht the hall,
All-thouc his fais that-of wes wa.
His men war gangand to and fra
Throu-out the castell all that nycht,
Till on the morn that day wes lycht.
The wardane that wes [in] the tour,
That wes a man of gret valour,
Gylmyne de fynf, quhen he saw

444. [Bot EH] For C.
445. men] rout EH. cummyn var var cummyn C; cummyn war E.
  came H.
447. ma] so in EH; spelt may C.
448. cryit rycht] cryt E; cryt sa H.
452. ovir] our E; ypper H.
453. varrand] varand.
454. out-our] owt off.
455. vardane] wardane.
456. gylmyne—feniss] Gilmyn de Fynys E; Gilmyn de Pyrmes H.
459. sparit] sparryt E; closed H. entre] sets H.
461. forouten] this is na.
463. held—nycht] that nycht held.
464. wes] war.
465. war] was.
468. [in EH] within C.
470. de fyne] the fynys.
The castell tynt, bath hye and law,
He set his mycht for till defende

tries to hold it.

The tour; bot thai without him send
Arrowes In so gret quantite,

He is wounded in the face,

That anoyit tharof wes he.

and comes to terms.

Bot to the tolhur day nocht-for-thi

He held the tour full sturdely,

The warden dies soon after.

And than, at aunc assalt, he wes
Woundit so felly in the face,

That he and all that vith hym weir
Suld saufly paô in-to Ingland.

Edward Bruce destroys the castle,

Douglas held thame gud cuqand,
And convoyit thame to thair cuntre,

But thar full schort tym liffit he;
For throu [the] vound in-till his face

He deit soyn, and beryit was.

Douglas the castell sesit all,
At than wes closit vith stalward vall,
And send thhis ledoufô to the kyng,
That maid hym full gret rewarding.

That he was dreedand of his lif,

And his brothir in full gret hy,
Schir Eduard, that wes sa douchty,

He send thiddir to twmmyll doune

Bath tour, castell, and dungeoune.
And he com vith gret Cumpany,
And gert travale so besaly,
That tour and wall rycht to the ground 500
War tumlyt in ane litill stound:
And duelt still thear, quhill tevydale
Com to the kyngis po6 all haill,
Outane Jedworth and ither that neir
The ynglis mennis bowndis weir.

[Heire schir thomas randale segis edynburgh.]

Q when Roxborgh von ves on this vi6,
The Erll thomas, that hye Enpris
Set ay apon Souerane bounte,
At Edinburgh with his menze
War lyand at the Sege, as I
Tald 3ow befor all oppyny.
Bot fra he herd how roxburgh was
Tane with a trane, all his purchas,
With wit and besynes, I hicht,
He set to purches [him sum] slicht,
How he mycht help hym throu victory,
Mellit with full hie cheuelry,
To wyn the wall of the castell
Throu sumkyn slicht; for he vist veill
That no strinth mycht it planly get,
Quhill thei within had men and met.
Tharfor preuely sperit he
Gif ony man mycht fundin be,
That couth ony gude Iupardye

501. tumlyt] tumblit. War—
one] He gart cast downe in H.
502. still] EH om. quhill] quhill
all E; while that H.
RUBRIC. From E; H has—How
William Frances led Thomas Randell,
Up to the Craig of Edinburgh Cas
tell.
506. von ves] womyn was.
508. apon] on. bounte] he bontie E; hie bontie H.
510. the] A.
515. to] for to. [him sum] him
some H; sum E; than with C.
516. victory] so in H; body E.
The true reading is probably lost.
517. fall] EH om.
524. ony gude] fynd ony.
To clym the wallis preueyle;  
And he suld haf his varisounè.  
For it wes his entencione

Till put him in-to aventure,  
Or at that sege [on] him forfure.

One William  
Francois

That in-till his southe had beyn  
In the castell; quhen he has seyn  
The Eyll sa ynkirly hym set  
Sum sutielle or [wile] to get,

Quhar-throu the castell haf myacht he,  
He com till hym in preuate,

And said, "me think, 3e vald blithly  
That men faud 30w sum Iuperdy,  
How 3e myacht our the wallis vyn;  
And certis, gif 3he will begyn

For till assay on sic a viñ,  
I vndirtak for my service,

For to ken 30w to clym the wall,  
And I sall formast be off all;  
Quhar with a schort leddir may we,  
I trow of tuelf fut it may be,

Clym to the wall vp all quytly.  
And gif that 3e will wit how I

Wat this, I sall 30w lichtly say.

Quhen I wes 3oung this hendir day,  
My fader wes kepár of 3on houñ;

526. varisone] warysoun.  
528. in-to] till all E; selfe in H.  
529. [on EH] Com. forfure] mis-

fure EH.  
530. franccass] Francuss E; Fran-
ces H. Cf. l. 601.  
531. pert] apert E; expert H.  
532. riss] wyss E; wise H. curtass] cour-
tes H; curynss E.  
533. ynkirly] enkerly E; ernestly H.
And I was sum dele volageous,
And lust aene vench her in the toune;
And, for I but suspicious
Micht repair till hir preuely,
Of Rapis aene leddir to me maid I,
And [tharwith] our the wall I slaid;
Aene strate rod that I spyit had
[In-till] the crag syne doune I went,
And oftsif com to myne entent;
And quhen it neir drew to the day,
I held agane that ilke way,
And ay com In but persaving.
I oysit lang that travalling,
So that I can that rod ga richt,
Thouch men se neu'r so myrk the nycht.
And gif 30w thinkis 3e will assay
To pa6 [wp] eftir me that way,
Vp to the wall I sall 30w bring,
Gif god vs kepis fra persaving
Of tha'me that wachis on the wall.
And gif that vs so fair may fall,
That we our leddir wp may set,
Giff a man on the vall may get,
He sall defend, gif it beis acid,
Quhill the Remanand vp thaim speid."
The Erll wes blith of his carping,
And hecht him full fair revardyling;
And vndirtuk that gat to ga,

556. and he himself used to go up and down the rock.
558. volageous] walageous E; lecherous H.
554. vench] wench.
553. [tharwith] E] therewith H; with that C.
560. [In-till E] Into H; Till C.
563. Ik. ilke] Ik E; samine H.
565. Toysit] Ik wsty E; I vsed sa H.
FRANCOIS GUIDES THE EARL AND HIS MEN. [BOOK X.

And bids him make a ladder.
And bad him soyn his leddir ma,
And hald him preve, quhill thai mycht
Set for thair purpo6 on aie nycht.

The vynnyng of the castell of Edinburgh be gud
earl thomas Randall.

Soyn eftir wes the leddir maid,
And than the Efl, but mai argent,
Purvait hym on a nycht preuany,
With thritty myr, wicht and hardy,
And in ane myrk nycht held thar vay.

Thai put thame in full hard assay,
And to gret perell sekyrly.
I trow, mycht thai haf seyn cleirly,
That gat had nocht beyn vndirtañe,
Thouch thai to let thame had nocht ane.

For the creg wes hye and [hydwonf]
And the elmyng rycht perelu6.
For hapnyt ony to slyde or fall,
He suld be soynye to-fruscht all.
The nycht wes myrk, as I herd say,
And till the fut soynye cumyn ar thai
Of the creg, that wes hye and schore,

Than williane franco6 thame befor
Clam in the crykis forouth thaim ay,
And at the bak him followit thai,
With mekill payne, quhill to, quhill fra;

Thai clam in-to the crykis swa,

RUBRIC. From C. E has—Heire omit wes.
is the castel of edynburgh won.
586. on] EH om. 596. or] and.
588. ane] A. 597. be soyne] some be.
590. to] in to C; but EH omit
in.
594. hye] hey. [hydwone E]
hiddeous H; hydwise C.
595. rycht] wes rycht C; but EII
hiddeous H; hiddeous H.

Crookes H. 602. the] so in H; E om. crykis

Frances H. 601. francoes H; francoys E;

Crookes H. 605. the] so in H; thai E. crykis

Crookes H.
Quhill half the cragges thai clummyn had;
And their ane place thai fand so braid,
That thai mycht syt on anerly.
[And] thai war ayndlef and wery,
And their abaid their aynd to ta.
And Richt as thai war syttand swa,
Abovyn thaême, apon the wall,
The chak-wachis assemblit all.
Now help thame god that all thing may,
For in full gret perell ar thai;
For, mycht thai se thaême, their suld nañe
Eschap out of that place vnslañe;
Till ded with stanys thai suld thaim dyng,
That thai mycht help thaême-self no thing.
Bot wondir myrk wes all the nycht,
Swa that thai had of tha-même na sycht;
And nocht-for-thi zeít ves thar añe
Of thaême that swappit doun a stañe,
And said, "away, I se 3ow weill!"
The quhether he saw thaême nocht a deill.
Out-our thair hedis flaw the stañe,
And thai sat still, lurkande ilkâñe.
The vachis, quhen thai herd nocht stere,
Fra that [ward] passit all sammyn were,
And carpand held fer by thair vay.
Erll thomas than alsoyne, and thai
[That] on the crag thar satt hym by,

606. cragis] crag. thai clummyn] clummyn thai C; thai clumbyn E.
608. anerly] alanerly H.
609. [And EH] Quhen C. ayndless] handles (!)
612. Aboryn thame] Rycht abone thaim wp E; Right abone them H.
618. Till] To EH.
619. That] For II (which seems better). self] selwyn E; selues II.
620. wes all] there was H; wes E.

When half way up, they sit down and rest.

608

The watchmen do not see them.

616

A stone, flung down, passes near them.

620

The watchmen go away.

628

623. swappit] swakked H.
624. away] away E; away Traitour H.
625. Howbeit he saw of them na deill H.
629. [ward E] place H; vord (for vard) C. passit—were] samyn all passit er E; passed all in feare II.
630. fer by] they foorth H.
632. [That EH] Than C.
They climb over the castle-wall.

Toward the wall clam hastily,
And thiddir com with mekill mayne,
And nocht but gret perell and payne.

[For] fra-thine vp wes grevonsar
To clym vp, na be-neth be fer.
Bot quhatkyne payn at euir thai had,
Richt to the wall thai com but baid,
That had weill neir tuelf fut on hicht.
And [for-owt] persaving or sicht,
Thae set thair ledder to the wall,
And syne francouß befor thâme all
Clam vp, and syne schir andrôu gray,
And syne the Ërll him-self perfay
Wes the thrid man the wall can ta.
Quhen thai thair doun thair lord swa
Saw clymen vp [apon] the wall,
As wood men thai clame effir all.
Bot or vp cumynyn all wef thai,
Thai that war vachis till assay

The way becomes still steeper.
Francois, Sir Andrew Gray,
and the Earl climb over the wall.

Herd bath stering and ek speking,
And [alswa fraying] of Armysg,
And on thame schot full sturdely.
And thai met thâme richt hardly,
And slaw of thâme dispitwisly.
Than throu the castell raß the cry,
"Tresoune! tresoune!" thai cryit fast.
Than sum of thâme war sa agast,
That thai fled and lap our the wall.

The rest follow.
A cry of "treason!" is raised.

633. wall] Craig H.
634. com] E om.
636. [For EH] Bot C.
638. at] sa H; sa H.
640. had] was H; on sa H; of E.
641. [for-owt E] forouten C; with-outen H.
642. ledder] so EH; leddcris C.
646. man] that.
648. clymen] clymyne. [apon E]
vpon H; agane C.
649. clame] clamb.
650. vp—all] all vp clumbene.
652. bath—ek] steryng and priue.
653. [alswa fraying E] als efraying C; also framing H.
654. schot] set H.
657. rass] raiss.
Bot to say suth, thai fled nocht all;
For the constabill, that wes hardy,
All Armyt, schot furth to the cry,
And with him feill hardy & stout.

3eit wes the Erll with all his rout
Fechtand with thane apon the wall;
Bot soyn he thane discomfit all.
Be that his men war cummȳ Ilkāe
Vp at the wall, and he [has] tañe
His way douñe to the castell soyne.
In gret perell he has hym done;
For thair wes fer ma men thatarin,
And thai had beyn of gude cowyn,
Than he; bot thai effrayit war.
And nocht-for-thi with vapnys bar
The constabill and his cumpany
Met hym and his richt hardely,
That men mycht se gret bargane ryf.
For with vapnys, on mony wif,
Thai dang on othir [at] thar mycht,
Quhill swerdis, that war fair and brycht,
War till the hyltis all bludy.
Than hydwisly begouth the cry;
For thair that fellit or stekit war
With gret noyis can cry and rar.
The gud Erll and his Cumpany
Faucht in that ficht sa sturdely,
That all thair fayis ruschit war.
The constabill wes slayn richt thar;

664 The earl's men come up.
668 He hurries to the castle.
672 The constable meets him.
680 A severe struggle takes place.
684 The constable is slain.
And fra he fell, the Remanand
Fled quhar thai best mycht to varrand;
Thaï durst nocht byde na mak debat. 692

The Earl wes handlyt thair so hat,
That had it nocht hapnyt throw cañô
That the constabbil thair slayn was,
He had beyn in gret perell thar;
Bot than thai fled, thar was no mar,
Ilke man for to sauf his lif, 696
And furth his dayis for to drif;
And sum slaid douñe [out] our the wall.

The Earl has tane the castell all,
For than wes nane durst him withstand.
I herd neuir quhar in ane land
Wes castell tane so hardely,
Outakyn tyre all anerly;
Quhen alexander the conquerour,
That conquerit babilonys tour,
Lap fra [a] berfroif on the wall; 700
Quhar he emang his fayis al
Defendit him full doughtely,
Quhill that his nobill cheuelry
With ledderis our the wallis 3eid,
That nouther left for ded no dreid;
[For] fra thai wist weil at the king
Wes in the toune, ther was no thing
In-till that tymie that stint thame mocht;
For all perell thai set at nocht.

Thaï clam the wallis, quhar arestee

691. varrand] warrand.
692. na mak] written no mak C;
nor make H; to ma E.
695. slayn] slane then; H like C.
697. than] then H; quhen E.
699. And] Fled EH. (But furth
belongs to drif.)
700. [out EII] Com.
703. quhar—ane] quhar in nakin

E; into na H.
705. tyre] Treile (wrongly).
708. [a H]; Com. fra—on on
bar fors fra (!) E; fra a Bar fourth to
(!) H.
711. that] E om.
712. wallis] wall.
714. [For EII] Bot C. at] that.
718. wallis] wall EH. quhar] and
EH. arestee] Ariste EH.
BOOK X. \ BEHAVED AT THE SIEGE OF TYRE. 253

Com first to the gude king, quhar he
Defendit him with all his mycht,
That than was set so hard, I hicht,
That he was fellit on a kne.
He till his bak had set ane tre,
For dreid thai suld behynd assalzhe.
Arestee than to the battalzhe
Sped him in all hye sturdely,
And daug on thame so douch[t]ely,
That the kyng weill reskewit was.
For his men, in-to syndry plas,
Clam our the wall, and sough the kyng,
And him reskewit with hard fichting,
And wan the toune deliinerly.
Outakyne this [takyng] all anerly,
I hard neuir in na tyme gañe
[Quhar castell] wes so stoutly tañe ;
And of this [takyng] that I meyne,
Sanct mergare, the gud haly queyne,
Vist in hir tyme, throw reveling
Of him that knewis and wat all thing.
Tharfor, in stede of prophesye,
Scho left ane takyne Richt Ioly ;
That is, that scho in hir chapell
Gert weill be portrait ane castell,
A leddir wp to the wall stadarl
And a man thar-on clymande,

720. \ and fought till he was nearly killed, 
721. \ And they sa hard were 
722. \ stad in fight H. 
723. \ and in time.
724. \ but was succoured
725. \ Arestee 1 Ariste E ; Arste H. 
726. \ all hye] by sa H. 
727. \ douch[tely] douchtely E ;
    douchely C ; doggedly H. 
728. \ douchely C ; doggedly H. 
730. \ wall] walles H. 
732. \ Outakyne this [takyng] all anerly, 
733. \ [takyng EH] takyne C. all
    E om. all anerly] alankerly H. 
735. \ [Quhar castell E] Where 
    Castell H ; Castell that C. 
736. \ [takyng EH] takyne C. 
740. \ viz. by a picture of a castle and a 
    ladder, 
741. \ takyne] taknyng E ; taikning 
    H, Richt] full H. 
742. \ that—in] zeit in-till E ; there 
    in H. 
743. \ Scho gert weile portray a 
    castell EH, 
744. \ thar-on] wp thar-apon. 
745. \ thar-on] wp thar-apon.
And wrat owth him, as old men sayis, 748
In franch: *gardiss wond de francois*.
And for *this* word scho gert vrit swa,
Men wend the franch-men suld it ta.
Bot, [for] francois hattyn wes he,
That swa elam wp in preunate,
Scho wrat *that* as in prophesy;
And it fell efterward sulty
[Richt as scho said; for tane it wes,
And francois led thame vp that place.

On *this vif* Edinburgh wes tane;
And thai that *war* tharin ilkañe
War tane, [or] slañe, or lap *the* wall;
Thair gudis haff thai sessit all,
And soucht the houis euirikañe.
Schir peris lumbard *that* wes tane,
As I said ere befor, *thai* fand
In presouñe, fettërit with boyis, sittand.
*Thai* [brought] hym to the Erll in hy,
And he gert low Ѐ hym hastely;
Than he becom *the* kingis man.
*Thai* send vord to the king rycht than,
And *tald* how the castell wes tane;
And he in hy is *thiddir* gañe,
With mony men in cumpany,
And gert [myne] douñe all haley

746. *owth*] oocht E; on H.
747. *franch*] Frankis E; French H. *gardiss* miswritten gardiss C; gardys E; Garde H. *vouss* vouyss E; vous H. *francois* Fransais.
749. *franch*] Frankis E; French H.
750. [for E] CH om. *hattyn* called H.
755. *place* so H; pass E.
758. *War* Othir E; Outher H.
759. *sessit* lesyt E; leaned H.
761. *lumbard*] Lubant E; Libald H. Cf. l. 324.
762. *befor*] in Boyes H. *Cf. next line.*
763. In boyis and hard festnyng sittand E; And into hard festning sittand H.
764. [brought E] brought H; had C.
768. *tald*] tald him C; but EH omit him.
770. *men*] ane.
771. [myne E] mynde C; cast H.
Bath tour and wall richt to the ground; And sync our all the land can found, Sesand the cuntre till his pe\x00f. Of this deid, that so worthy wes, The Er\x001f wes prisit gretumly. The king, that saw him sa worthy, Wes blith and joyfull our the laif, And to manteym his stat, him gaff Rentis and landis fair eneuch; And he to sa gret vorschip dreuch, That all spak of his gret bounte. His fayis gretly stonayit he, For he fled nei\x001f throu for\x00f of sicht. Quhat sall I mair say of his mycht? His gret manheid and his bountee Gerris him zeit oft renownyt be.

In this tyme that thir Iuperdyif\x00f On thir castellis, that I deuif\x00f, War eschewit swa hardly, Schir Eduard the broi\x00f the vorthy Had all galloway and nyddis-daill Wonnyn till his liking all haill; And doungyn doune the castellis all Rict in the dik, bath tour and wall. He herd than say, and knew it weill, That in ruglyne wes anche peill. Thiddir he went with his menze, And [wonnyn It] in schort tym has he. Syne till dunde he tuk the way,

And takes it. 

He next attacks
Stirling,
governed by Sir
Philip Mowbray.

The siege lasts
from Lent to
Midsummer.

Sir Philip says
he will yield it
if it is not
relieved in a
year's time.

---

That than wes haldin, as I herd say,
Agane the king; tharfor in hy
He set aíc sege thar-to stoutly,
And lay thair quhill it 3oldyn was.
Till strevilling syne the vay he tais,
Qhaur gud schir philip the mowbra,
That wes full douchty at assay,
Wes vardane, and had in keping
That castell of the ynglis Kyng.
Thar-till aíc sege he set [stythly];
Thai bykkirrit oftsfô sturdely;
Bot gret cheuelry done wes nañe.
Schir Eduard, fra the sege wes tañe,
A weill lang tyme about it lay,
Fra the lenteryne, that is to say,
Qhill forrouth the saint Iohnnis meô
The ynglisô folk that thar-in wes
Begouth to fale the vittale than,
Than schir philip, the douchty man,
Tretit, qhull thai consentit weir,
That, gif at mydsummer tymé aíc 3eir
To eumn, it war nocht with bata[i]ll
Reskewit, than, withouten faill,
He suld the castell 3eld quilty;
That cuumand band thai sekirly.

801. [I] Ic.
803. [anc] A.
807. [full] sa.
810. [anc] A. he] thai. [stythly
815. [lenterynę] Lenteryne E; Len-
trone H.
818. [fale—vittale] fail3e wictaill be E; failyie vittaile by H.
819. [thel] that-E; as H.
820. [weir] war.
821. [tyme anc] the neist E; then a
H.
822. [bataill] bataile E; batall C.
823. [than] then that E; that then
H. [withouten] for-owtyn.
824. [3eld] sauld.
825. [band] brake (l) H.
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