

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND

A CRITICAL EDITION

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VOLUME THREE

- * APPENDIX ON CHARTIER
- ** APPENDIX - WEDDERBURN POEMS
IN BANNATYNE MS.
- *** COMMENTARY ON THE COMPLAYNT

APPENDIX

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE COMPLAYNT,
AND CHARTIER'S QUADRILOGUE and
L'ESPERANCE, AND THE ENGLISH
TRANSLATION IN RAWLINSON MS A.338

For convenience there is first appended a table of parallels, showing where the Complayner would appear to have used Chartier as a 'source'. The first column shows the folio of the original, the second column shows the page and line in J.A.H. Murray's edition, of the Complaynt (EETS, 1872), the third column refers to the page and line of the modern edition of the Quadrilogue Invecitif (ed. Droz, CFMA, 1950), and in the case of the Traité de l'Esperance refers to the page of the 1617 edition by Duchesne, as quoted by Dr. M.S. Blayney. The last column refers to the volume page and line of Dr. Margaret S. Blayney's thesis, "Fifteenth Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's Le Traité de L'Esperance and Le Quadrilogue Invecitif"; Bodleian MS.D.Phil.d.3718 and MS.D. Phil.d.3719, 2 vols., 1966.

In volume two of her thesis, Dr. Blayney has given parallel texts of two translations of the 'Quadrilogue', viz. from Rawlinson MS.A.338, and University College MS 85; for clarity, column 4 of the table refers only to Rawlinson MS.

The table has been compiled largely from two articles: William Allen Neilson: "The Original of the Complaynt of Scotlande", J.E.G.P., I (1897) pages 411-430: Margaret S. and Glenn H. Blayney: "Alain Chartier and the Complaynt of Scotlande", R.E.S., IX (1958) pages 8-17. In addition M.S. Blayney has repeated the matter of the RES article in an appendix to her thesis (pp. clxiv-clxxix).

I am most indebted to Dr. Blayney for her generous permission to use her thesis.

<u>C.S. Folio</u> ^a	<u>C.S. (J.A.H.M.)</u> ^b page, line	<u>Q.I. (Droz)</u> ^c page, line <u>Esperance</u> (Duchesne) page	<u>Blayney</u> ^d vol, page, line
9R	10,2 - 10,10	QI.65/25 - 65/30	II.163/20 - 163/24
15R/15V	17,31- 18, 2	QI.66/ 2 - 66/ 8	II.163/28 - 165/ 3
15V/16R	19, 1- 19,18	QI. 1/10 - 2/ 3	II. 1/10 - 3/ 3
16R/18R	19,18- 22, 8	QI. 2/25 - 4/21	II. 3/22 - 9/ 4
19R	23,15- 23,34	QI. 4/31 - 5/11	II. 9/14 - 9/27
22R/22V	27,27- 28,23	Esp. p. 295 Esp. p. 295 Esp. p. 312 Esp. p. 312	I. 45/ 7 - 45/14 I. 44/22 - 45/ 2 I. 67/24 - 67/27 I. 67/21 - 67/23
54V-58V	68,13- 74, 4	QI. 7/ 4 - 8/ 3 QI. 8/ 9 - 8/32 QI.10/ 1 - 10/19 QI.10/24 - 10/29 QI.10/29 - 11/ 2 QI.11/ 4 - 11/16 QI.11/24 - 11/29 QI.11/29 - 12/ 4 QI.12/16 - 12/33	II. 13/25 - 17/ 2 II. 17/ 8 - 19/ 4 II. 21/ 3 - 21/21 II. 21/26 - 21/28 II. 23/ 2 - 23/ 5 II. 23/ 7 - 23/14 II. 23/21 - 23/25 II. 23/25 - 25/ 8 II. 25/22 - 27/11
61R/61V	77,11- 77,25	Esp. p. 361	I.134/6 - 134/18
61V	77,25- 78, 3	Esp. p. 362	I.135/15 - 135/24
64R	80,21- 81,23	Esp. p. 364/5	I.138/20 - 140/17
67V/68V	85,17- 86,31	QI.17/24 - 18/15	II. 39/ 3 - 39/26
68R/V	113, 5- 113, 7	QI.35/23 - 35/25	II. 83/20 - 83/24
96V/97R	122,19- 123/27	QI.20/1 - 20/26	II. 43/25 - 45/24
97V/99R	124,10- 126,16	QI.21/5 - 21/8 QI.22/14 - 22/18 QI.23/32 - 24/ 7 QI.24/ 7 - 25/ 7 QI.37/25 - 38/25 followed by 'two pages of free translation	II. 47/8 - 47/11 II. 49/22 - 49/27 II. 53/20 - 53/27 II. 53/27 - 57/ 7 II. 89/11 - 91/13
116V	147,16- 147,31	QI.60/17 - 60/21	II.151/ 8 - 151/12

^a C.S. Folio	^b G.S. (J.A.H.M.) page, line	^c Q.I. (Droz) page, line <u>Esperance</u> (Duchesne) page	^d <u>Blayney</u> vol, page, line
122V	155, 1 - 155, 5	Esp. p. 314	I. 69/26 - 70/ 1
123R	155,25 - 155,27	Esp. p. 313	I. 68/24 - 68/27
126V/127R	160,18 - 160,25	Esp. p. 307	I. 61/16 - 61/23
127R	160,35 - 161, 5	Esp. p. 305/6	I. 60/ 2 - 60/ 8
130V/131V	165,18 - 166,16	Esp. p. 324	I. 83/20 - 84/24
138V	175,20 - 177,30	QI.36/ 3 - 36/16	II. 85/ 5 - 85/18

The references are:

- (a) folio of original edition of the Complaynt
- (b) pages and lines in Murray's edition of the Complaynt
- (c) pages and lines in Droz's edition of the Quadrilogue
- (d) pages and lines in Blayney's transcript of Rawlinson MS A 338

The sections referred to in (c) and (d) are quoted 'in extenso' only where thought appropriate, and only exceptionally in the case of the Esperance, as reference can be made to the article in the Review of English Studies 9 (1958), 8 - 17.

- (a) - fol 9R
- (b) - Cs 10,2 - 10,10
- (c) - QI 65/25 - 65/30
- (d) Eng B II 163/20 - 163/24

(c) Quad invec.

Et puis que Dieu ne t'a donné force de corps ne usaige
d'armes, sers a la chose publique de ce que tu pués, car
tant exaulça la gloire des Rommains et renforça leurs
courage a vertu la plume et la langue des orateurs comme
les glaives des combatans. (65/25-30)

- (d) 163/20
fol 9R

And forasmuche as God hath nat yeve the strength of body nor
vsage to wer harneys, I woll that thou seue the comon wele
as ferforthe as thou maiste. For the penne and the tonge
of oratours enhauncid as moche the glory of Rome as did the
feighters.

- (a) - fol 15R/V
- (b) - CS 17/31 - 18/2
- (c) - QI 66/2 - 66/8
- (d) - Eng B II 163/28 - 165/7

(a) - fol 15: "Nou for conclusionne - ... vane gloir."

- (c) - QI 66,2 - 8

et a chascun lecteur prie le vouldoir interpreter favourable-
ment et y jugier a cognoistre la bonne affection plus que
la gloire de l'ouвраige. Car je afferme loiaument que
l'esmouvement de cest oeuvre est plus par compassion de
la necessité publique que par presumption d'entendement et
pour profiter par bonne exhortacion que pour autrui reprendre.

/(d) ...

(d) - Eng B II 163/28 - 165/7

Wherfor I pray euery man that thei woll favourably declare and iuge to knowe rathir tha[t] I do it for good affeccion thanne for glory of the werke. For I certify to you trewly that the mocion of this werke was more labourid for compassion and necessite of the common wele thanne for presumpcion of vndirstonding, and rathir for profiting by good exortacion thanne for any repref to any persone.

(a) - fol 15V, 16R

(b) - CS 19,1 - 19,18

(c) - Q I 1/10 - 2/3

(d) - Eng B II 1/11 - 3/3

(a) As the hie monarchis hes arrogantly misknaven hym.

(c) Comme les haultes dignitez des seigneuries soient establies soubz la divine et infinie puissance qui les eslieve en florissant, en prosperité et en glorieuse renomnee, it est à croire et tenir fermement que, ainsi que leurs commencemens et leurs accroissances sont maintenues et adrecees par la divine providence ainsi est leur fin et leur detrimet par sentence donnee ou hault conseil de la souveraine sapience, qui les aucuns verse du hault trosne de imperial seigneurie en la basse fosse de servitude et de magnificence en ruine et fait des vainqueurs vaincus et ceulx obeir par crainte qui commander souloient par autorité. Mais quant douce misericorde entremeslee avecques droicturiere justice donne sur les princes et sur le peuple le decret de plus attrempee punicion, l'orgueil de trop outrecuidié pouvoir qui se descognoist est rabaissié par puissance ennemie, la superfluité des biens mondains, qui est nourrice de sedicions et de murmure, est chastiee par sa mesme nourreture et l'ingratitude

(d) For like as the high digniteys of lordeshippes ben
stablished vndir the divine and infinite Power, the
(which) reisith them in flourishing, prosperite and
gloriose renome, it is to be belevid and to be holdyn
for veray certeynte that in like wise as their
begynnynges and their encresynges ben mayntened and
adressed by the divine prouidence, so in like wise is
their ende and their disencresce ageine gevine by /
sentence in the high counsell of the soueraigne Sapience,
the which subuertith some from their high trone of
imperiall lordeshippes into the diepe pitte of
thralldom and from their high magnificence into ruyne,
and makith also them that war victoriouse for to be
ovircome and them also to obey for drede which war wonte
by auctorite to commaunde. But whanne swete mercy, enter-
medled with right-wisnes-iustice, yeuith ouir the princes
and the people the sentence of [ateprate] punytion,
the pryde than of foles ouirtrowed power that know nat
Him is ouirthrowen by the high power enemye; the super-
fluite of worldly richesse, which is norice of discorde
and murmur, ys chastised by His own norishing;

- (a) - fol 16R/V Ane pottar exterminacione
- (b) - CS 19,18 - 20,11
- (c) - QI 2/25 - 3/8
- (d) - Eng B II 3/22 - 5/14

(c) Et il, qui est infiny en hault pouoir, met commencement,
moyen, & fin en toutes ses oevres soubz le mouvement des
cieulx; comme le potier qui a tour de sa roe fait d'une
mesme masse divers pots de differentes facons et
grandeurs, et les grans decasse et derompt, se bien ne
lui plaisent, pour en faire des petiz, et de la matiere
des mendres refait il les plus grans.

Et se memoire vous puet aucune chose ramentevoir
et les anciens livres de noz peres apprendre à cognois-
tre nos faiz par les leurs, toutes anciennes escriptures
/sont pleines

sont pleines de mutacions, subversions, et changemens des royaumes et des principautez, car comme les enfants naiscent et croissent en hommes parfaiz et puis declinent a viellesce et a mort, ainsi ont seigneuries leur commencement, leur accroissement et leur declin.

(d) 3/22 - 5/14

So thanne He that all may departith and dividith the powers, and He by His perdurable eternite movith the thinges which renneth their course vndir the tyme. And He which (is) infi/nite in high power puttith the begynnyng, the myddis and the ende in all His werkis vndir the moveyng of the hevynes, lyke as dothe a potter, by moving of his whele maketh of one maner of matir diuerse pottis of sundry factiones and gretnesse and ofttymes brekyth the grete pottis if thei lyke him nat and maketh small pottis, and of the matir of the small pottis he maketh ageine grete pottis.

And so we may haue knowlich of some thingis by remembrance as in thaunciente bookis of owr forefadirs we may allday see and knowe many grete mutationes, subuersions, chaunging of realmes and principaliteys.

For lyke as childern encresin and growe till thei come vnto the perfect age of man and aftirwarde decline to grete age and so to deth, in lyke wise the lordeshippes haue their beginning, their encresing and their declyne.

(a) - fol 16V, 17R/V, 18R

(b) - CS 19,1 - 19,18: 19,18 - 22,8

(c) - QI 3/8 - 4/3: 4/3 - 4/23

(d) - Eng II 5/14 - 7/17: 7/17 - 9/6

(c) Ou est Ninive, la grant cité qui duroit trois journees de chemin? Qu'est devenue Babillone, qui fut edifiee de matiere artificieuse pour plus durer aux hommes, et maintenant est habitee de serpens? Que dira l'en de Troye la renommee et la tresriche, et de Ylion, le
/chastel sans per

chastel sans per dont les portes furent d'ivoire et les columpnes d'argent, et maintenant à paine reste le pié des fondemens que les haulx buissons forcloent de la veue des hommes? Thebes, qui fut fondee de Cadmus, fils d'Agenor, et la plus peuplee de dessus la terre en son temps, en quelle part pourroit l'en trouver tant de reliques de son nom que gens se puissent monstrer nez de sa semence? Lacedemone, par qui les lois vindrent à diverses naciones desquelles encores nous usons, ne pout oncques tant estroitement garder les lois de Ligurgus le droicturier, qui furent faictes pour sa perpetuation, que sa vertu ne soit estaincte et aneantie. Athenes, fontaine de sapience et source des haultes doctrines de philosophie, n'est elle pas en subvertion et les ruisseaulx de son escolle tariz et assechiez? Cartage la batailleresse, qui avoit dompte les elephans à batailler et qui jadis fut tant redoutable aux Romains, où a elle tourné sa grant gloire sinon en la cendre du feu dont elle fut arse et embrasee?

Mais parlons de Romme, qui fut derreniere en souveraine magesté et excellente en vertu, et notons bien la parolle de Lucan qui dit que d'elle mesmes, par sa pesanteur, elle decheut, car les trop pesants fais font les grievves choistes. Par ceste maniere, chascune en son tour et en son ordre, si changent, rabbaissent ou subvertissent, les eureuses fortunes et le bruit des royaumes, ainsi comme la monarchie du monde et la dignité du souverain empire fut jadiz translatee des Assiriens aux Persans et des Persans aux Grecs, des Grecs aux Romains, des Romains es mains des François et des Germains. Et combien que ces choses soient assez evidentes et cognoistre, si y errent les pluseurs. Car, en racontant les faiz qu'ilz cognoissent a l'oeil, ilz demeurent en descognoissance de la cause. Et pour ce que les jugemens de Dieu, sans qui riens ne se fait, sont une abisme parfonde ou nul entendement humain ne sceit prendre fons et que noz sens sont trop foibles, noz ans trop cours et

/noz affections

noz affections trop fraelles à les comprendre, nous imputons a Fortune, qui est chose faincte et vaine et ne se peut reuencer, la juste uenjanee que Dieu prent de noz faultes, laquelle, ainsi que dit Vallere, uient bien à tart, mais la longue attente est recompensee par aggrauement de peine.

(d) - Eng II 5/14 - 9/6

16V

O wher is now the royall cite of Nynive, which was in compas thre dayes iournay? Wher is become also the noble cite of Babilone, which was edified by crafte / of masonrye so stronge that the makers supposed neuir to haue failed, and now it is enhabited with serpentis? What shall men say of the grete renowme of Troye and of the riche castell called Yllion, which was withowte pere, wherof the yates were made of yuory and the pylers of siluir? And now vnneth shall ye fynde any parte of the fundation bycause of the grete multitude of bushis and breres there growing, which takyth away the syght thereof fro the people. Thebes also, which was foundid by one named Cadmus, sone of Aginor, wherein were most plente of people in his dayes above all othir citees, where shall a man fynde any such fruyte nough comyng thereof through which a manne might be releued? Lacedemoyne also, whens the lawes came fro vnto diuerse nationns, whereof some ben vsid yet at this day, made by Ligurgus through his grete vertue, but in processe of yeris thei were extincte? Also noble cite of Athenes, which was the veray founteyne of sapience and the spring of high doctri/nes of philosophie, is it nat nough in subuersion and the fresch brok of his scoole dried vp? Yes certeyn. The noble cite of Cartage, wherin were the good fighters and wise men of warre, of which somtyme the Romayns had grete doubte, where is nough become the grete excellence and glory therof? Sothly by force of fyre it is turnid into ashes. Yet let vs speke of the royall cite of Rome, which [was] last in souerangne mageste and excellent vertue, and let vs noote right wele the wordis of Lucan, which seith that
/the grete weight

the grete weight and peice of the said cite hath causid his own fall, for hevy dedis mak grevouse falles. And so by thes meanys euery man in his turne and aftir his ordir chaungith, rebateth or subuertith from the happy fortunes and grete brute of realmys, like as the grete monarchy of the worlde and souerange dignite of thempyre, which was somtyme translated fro the Asseriens vnto the Perciens, and from the Perciens vnto the Grekes, and from the Grekes vnto the Romayns, and from the Romayns, vnto the Frenshmen and Germayns. And though so be that thes matirs ben opynly knowyn, yett moche people woll not vndirstonde them. For though the dedis ben tolde them which opynly apperith afore their yghen, yet dwellyn thei in the vnknowyng of the cause. And forasmoch as the iugementis of God, withowt whom nothing is but as a diepe derkenes which no man may clerely vndirstonde, and also that oure wittes ben so feble, oure yeris so shorte, and our affections to frele, we therefore compleyne vpon fortune, which is a thing veyne and voide and may nat revenge the iuste vengeaunce that our Lorde taketh on vs for our defaultes, for as Valere saith, 'Good come but lately, yet the long abydyng is recompencid through the gretenes of the peyne.'

(a) - fol 18R/V

(b) - CS 22/4 - 22/34

The discussion of Fortune is an amplification of

(c) - QI 4/16 - 4/21

(d) - Eng B II 9/7 - 9/14

- (a) - fol 19R
- (b) - CS 23,15 - 23,34
- (c) - QI 4/31 - 5/11
- (d) - Eng II 9/14 - 9/27

(a) Al thir thingis considrit distitute of mennis
supple

(c) j'ay conclut en ma pensee que la main de Dieu est sur nous et que sa fureur a mis en oeuvre ce flaiel de persecution, et ay curieusement encerchié par les discours des Saintes Escriptions les faultes et les punicions de noz peres et des primerains et en grant craincte debatu en ma pensee se ceste douloureuse affliction en est en verge de pere pour nostre chastement ou en rigueur de juge pour nostre exterminacion. Et entre autres escriptions, comme je leusse le tiers chapitre de Ysaie, le cueur m'est troublé de freeur et les yeulx obscurciz de larmes, quant je voy sur nous les coups feruz qui sont signes de mort et donnent ensaignes de la divine indignacion, se nous n'y querons briefves medicines.

(d) 9/14 wherefore I conclude in myn opinyon the hande of God hangith ouir vs and hath put in vre for His displesaunce the scourge of persecution. For I haue sought owt curiously by the course of holy scripturis the defaultis and punycions of oure forefaders and feerfully debatid in my mynde whethir this ferefull punycion be the rodd of the fadir for our chastising or ellis a rigorous iugement for our vttirmest vndoynge. And amonge othir scriptures whanne I rede the thridde chapitre of Ysaie, myne herte was for verey feere sor troublid and myne yghen made derke with multitude of terys whanne I sawe ouir vs the stroke strikin which ben wourthi the deth and yeuith vs ensauple of diuine indignation in less that we fynde soone a medicyne.

- (a) - fol 22R/V
- (b) - CS 22/27 - 28/5
- (c) - Esperance p 295
- (d) - Eng I 45/7 - 45/14

(a) Quha listis to reide the prophesye of ysaye
..... ande vthir venesum beystis.

- (a) - fol 22V
- (b) - CS 28/5 - 28/16
- (c) - Esp. p 295
- (d) - Eng I 44/22 - 45/2

(a) Euyrie thing is corrupit brakkis the vand ande
castis it in the fyir.

- (a) - fol 22V (metaphor of file)
- (b) - CS 28,5 - 28,13
- (c) - Esperance p 295
- (d) - Eng I 44/22 - 45/2

(c) L'Esperance

Vn fer lime l'autre. Et vn pecheur chastie son semblable,
& deuient instrument de la diuine Iustice. La lime se vse,
& puis est delectee comme inutile. Et le fer limé, par
l'amendement du maistre est reabilité, & mis à proffit.

- (a) - fol 22V ('father punishing son' image)
- (b) - CS 28,13 - 28,16
- (c) - Esp. p 295

(c) L'Esperance

Le pere prent la verge pour battre son enfant, & au battre
la froisse & derrompt; & puis la met ou feu, quant il
est appaisié.

- (a) - fol 22V (ox metaphor)
- (b) - CS 28,16 - 28,20 : 28,20 - 28, 23
Complayner reverses order of
- (c) - Esperance p 312
- (d) - Eng I 67/24 - 67/27 : 67/21 - 67/23

- (c) i Et se vn fils empoigne par rebellion la verge de son pere, le pere recourt au baston qui est plus dur, & oblie le chastement de discipline pour la rigueur de punition.
- (c) ii Le beuf qui estriue contre l'aguillon est point doublement. Et qui resiste à discipline, & mesprise correction, sera mesprisé du correcteur. p. 312

- (a) - fol 35R (Cincinnatus example)
- (b) - CS
- (c) - QI 59/3 - 59/12
- (d) - Eng II 147/3 - 147/13
(Valerius Maximus IV. 4,7 : Livy III, 26)

- (d) 147/3

And to this we may wele be moevid by the stories of our auncient fadirs, but yet we shuld be rathir constrained by the myscheves and foliship that we see byfore our yen for lacke of obeisaunce. Wherfor and reding of stories may profight them anythyng ayeinst suche pryde, latte vs rede Titus / L[i]v[ius], and we shulde fynde that the dictatours and consulis of Rome which had the condyte of Romayne bataills were oftentymes chosen and take owte of the feeldis from their labours, lyke as it is founde of Fabricius, Lucius Quintus and of diuerse o~~per~~er which war streightly obeied. 147/13

- (a) - fol 54V, 55R
- (b) - CS 68,13f.
- (c) - QI 7/4 - 8/3
- (d) - Eng II 13/22 - 17/2

/(a)

- (a) In my dullit dreyme ande sopit visione ...
 ... mony politic verkmanlumis for mecanyc craftis.
- (c) Or me fut advis en sommeillant que je veisse en ung
 païs en fresche une dame dont le hault port et seigneury
 maintien signifioit sa tresexcellente extraction, mais
 tant fut dolente et esplouree que bien sembloit dame
 decheue de plus hault honneur que pour lors son estat
 ne demonstroit. Et bien apparissoit à son semblant que
 forment feust espoventee et douteuse de plus grant
 maleurté et douleur advenir. Et en signe de ce, ses
 blons cheveulx, qui à fin or estrivoient de couleur,
 veissez espanduz et degetiez sans acournement au travers de
 ses espauls et une couronne d'or fin sur son chief portoit,
 qui par divers hurs si fort estoit esbranlee que je penchoit
 de costé, enclinee moult durement.¹ De sa vesture ne me
 puis je ^{pas} passer ne taire, et mesmement du mantel ou paille
 qui son corps couvroit, dont le merueilleux artifice fait
 à ramentevoir. De trois paires d'ouvraiges sembloit
 avoir esté tissu et assemblé,. Premièrement, en chief,
 d'ancienne brodeure enrichi de moult precieuses pierres
 y estoient figurees les nobles fleurs de lis tout en travers
 semees de banieres, gonphanons et ensaignes des anciens
 roys et princes françois, en memoire de leurs renommées
 victoires et de leurs loables entreprises. Ou my lieu
 se monstroient entaillees lectres, caratheres et figures
 de diverses sciences qui esclarcissoyent les entendemens
 et adrecoyent les oeuvres des homes. A la partie d'embas,
 qui vers terre pendoit, assez povoit on veoir pourtraitures
 et entremeslees bestes, pluseurs / plantes, ^rruiz et semences
 tendans de leurs branches en hault, et naissans de la
 bordeure d'embas comme de terre plantureuse et fertile.

/(d)

¹ (Interpolation in Complaynt reference to Red Lion of Scotland:
Quadrilogue refers (8/16) to 'fleurs de liz')

(d)

p.13/22

And the meane while that my vndirstondyng was thus troubled bytwene hoope and dispare, a [light] / slombir fell vpone me like as aftir the hevines of the furste slepe fallisth oftentymes it comith towa[r]d the day. And as I laye thus half sleping me thought I saughe in a waste cuntre a lady of whom the high poorte and the lordly countenaunce shewed that she was com of royall lygne. But she was so soroufull and so soor bewepte that she semid a lady that was fallen from a gretter worschip than at that tyme hir estate shewid. And it semid wele by hir countenaunce that she was dowtefull and sore aferd of a gretter inconuenience and sorow that was to come, in tokenyng wherof ye might see hir her, which shone as the golde, was cast aboute hir shuldurs, not dressid but vnarayed; and on hir heede she ware a crowne of fyne golde which by diuerse punchingis was so soore brwsid that hit hynge ryght soor on the one syde; and specialy of the mantell that couerid hir body, of which the mervelous werkmanship ought to be remembrid, for it was wrought of thre maner werkis. And furst the high/est part was of auncient enbrowdour enrichid with many precious stones, wherin war figurid the noble flour-de-lyce sowen all abrode, and also banaris, penovns and sygnes of othir auncient kyngis and princis of Fraunce in remembraunce of [their] victorious renowns and of [thair] worshipfull enterprises. And in the myddes of this mantell was shewid diuers lettirs, carectis and figuris of diuers sciencis which lightnyd the vndirstondingis and workyngis of men. And in the lowest part of the saide mantell, which was next the erthe, men might see many diuers portraturis entirmedled with bestis, with diuerse plantis, with fruytis and seedis stretching vpward their braunches and growing from the bordwr byneth as it ware from the plentuous erthe.

- (a) - fol 55R/V
- (b) - CS 69,1 - 70/9
- (c) - QI p8,9 - 8,32
- (d) - Eng II 17/8 - 19/4

(a) This mantil altrit fra the fyrst fassone

(c) mais tant lui despleut l'excellence et duree de si parfaite œuvre qu'elle tourna son pervers et senestré coste et ouvry voyes dont cellui mantel, assemblé par la souveraine industrie des predecesseurs, estoit desja par violentes mains froisseez et derompuz et aucunes pieces violementement arrachees, si que la partie de dessus se monstroist obscurcie et pou de fleurs de liz y apparissoient qui ne fussent debrisees ou salies. Ne demande nul se la partie moyenne estoit neantmoins demouree entiere ne conjointe, et les lectres formees et assises en leur ordre, car si separees, decharpies et desordonnees furent que pou s'en pouvoit assembler qui portast proufitable sentence. Mais se nous venons a parler de la basse partie, ceste chose seule en peut on dire, que tant la veoit on usee, en gast et en destruction, par rudement frapper, tirer et detraîner, que en plusieurs lieux l'emprainte de la terre apparoist descouverte et les arbres et semences comme desracinees, gectees et pendans au travers par paleteaux, si que on n'y peust cognoistre ordonnance ne esperer fruit. En somme tant estoit cellui habit changié par empirement de couleur et de beauté que ceulx qui tel le bastirent a paine y cognoistroient leur ouvraige.

[Here follow 30 lines describing the ruined state of the lady's palace, not represented in C.S.]

/(d)

(d) 17/8 - 19/4

But the duryng of so excellent a werke so moch was displesaunt vnto the seid fortune that she turnyd therto hir shrewed left side and openid such wayes wherthrough this [saide] mantell, which was made by soueraigne wisdom of the predecessours, was at that tyme by violent handis brwsid and brokyn into diuers pecis so that the highest parte therof was right derke to looke vpon and few apperid of the flour-de-lice but all thei war brokyn or soylid. And therefor let no man thinke but that the myddill partye was as well defa[c]id as the tothir, for the lettirs, carectis and fyguris war so brusid and brokyn that vnnethe might a man vndirstonde eny sentence in the same. But and we come to speke on the lowar partie of the seid mantell, it was so vsid in waste and in distructione by [s]oor strokis, drawyng and halyng that in diuerse placis the ground of the same mantell apperid vncoverid and the treys and seedis semyd as thei had ben pullid vp by the rootis, casten hiddir and thiddir vppon hepis that no man cowde vn/dirstonde non ordynaunce ne fruyte growyng. And so this mantell was in such wise empeyred both of colour and of feyirnes that vnneth the workm[en] that made it cowde nat know their own werkmanship.

(a) - fol 56R

(b) - CS 70,18 - 72

(c) - QI 10,1 - 10,19

(d) - Eng II 21,1 - 21,21

(a) sche persauit cummand touart hyr.....disparit of remede. (71,1.2) (omit to end of chapter) "O ignorant, abusit and dissaitful pepil extreme ruuyne

/(c)

(c) Et a celle heure apperceut trois de ses enfans, l'un estant droit en armes appuyé sur sa hasche, effrayé et songeux, l'autre en vestement long sur ung siege de costé, escoutant et taisant, le tiers, en vil habit, reversé sur la terre, plaintif et langoureux. Comme doncques elle les eust choisiz à l'ueil, indignee en son hault couraige, vers eulx les prist a reprendre de leur oiseuse lacheté par parolles entrerpompues souvent de douloureux soupirs qui de cuer adollé lui mouvoient, leur disant en ceste maniere:

FRANCE

O hommes forvoiez du chemin de bonne cognoissance, feminins de couraiges et de meurs, loingtains de vertuz, forlignez de la constance de voz peres, qui pour delicieusement vivre choisissez a mourir sans honneur, quelle musardie ou chetiveté de cuer vous tient les mains ployees et les vouleitez amaties que vous bastez en regardant devant voz yeulx vostre commune desertion:

(d)

21/1

Thanne she, tornyng hir visage abowte, with yghen full of teeris, as a woman constrayned of veray nede to desyre socour, furthwithall apperid vnto hir thre of hir childern, which the toon stode armyd, lenyng on his axe, ferefull and pensif; the tothir was in long clothing, sitting in a chayer, herkenyng and holdyng his peese; the thrid was in a poor habite, lying platte vpon the erthe, compleyning and full of langour. But whanne she sawe them byfor hir, she, as a woman having to them an/ indignation, spake with an high corage and reprevid them of their ydill slwethe by queinte and straunge wordis with sorowfull syghes, seing to them aftir the maner followynge:

[Fraunce]

O ye men owte of the way of good knowlych, femynne of coragis and of maneres, ferr from vertue and forlynyd owte of the constaunce of your forefadirs, which for
/delicious lyuyng

delicious lyuyngge cheese the meanys to deye shamefully,
alas what dulnesse or what caytifnes of herte aylyth
yow, which that have your hondis close and your will
mayte, that ye debate within yourself, in seyng byfor yowre
yghen your comune distruction,...

- (a) - fol 57V
- (b) - CS 72,10 - 72,14
- (c) - QI 10/24 - 11/3
- (d) - Eng II 21/26 - 21/28

Note Complayner's omission of reference to 'le lien de
foy Catholique'

- (a) - fol 57V 58R
- (b) - CS 72,22 - 73,4
- (c) - QI 11,4 - 11,16
- (d) - Eng II 21/22 - 23/14

- (a) Allace the natiuite sepulture is in it.
- (c) Encore dy je que peu doit priser sa naissance et mains
desirer la continuation de sa vie qui passe ses jours, ainsi
que fait homme nez pour soy seulment, sans fructifier a
la commune utilité, et comme cellui qui estaint sa
memoire avecques sa vie. Helas! tant est es anciens
couraiges prouchaine et si inseparablement enracinee
l'amour naturelle du paiz que le corps tent a y retourner
de toutes pars comme en son propre lieu, le cuer y est
donné come a celle habitacion qui plus lui est agreable,
la vie et la sancté y croissent et amendent l'omme y quiert
sa sceurté, sa paix, son refuge, le repos de sa vieillesce
et sa derreniere sepulture.
- (d) and muse as abiding on what party or whennese the bourdon
of your naturale herbergage shall fall or subuerte, which
might all tobruse yow and ynclose youre rvyne vndir his?
Yet woll not ye put to your hondis by your travale and
labour, thorough which I myght be socourid. / Who is he
that canne sufficiently blame your slow and delicat con-
ditions wherin / yow be norisched? And yet it semith
/me that ye woll

me that ye woll continue in the same. What sharpe wourdis might I speke to repreve the grete vnkyndnes that ye have shewed vnto me? For I may wele lay byfore yow that, aftir the feith Catholike, nature byndith yow to fortelye (þe) comon wele of the londe wherin ye wer borne and to defende the lordeship [vndyr] the which God hath lent the grace to be born vnto [and haue lyfe]. Alas hough grete war the coragis of our elders byfor vs rootit in the naturale love of theire cuntre that their bodyes desire to retourne in euery parte as into their propir place, for their hartis war yovin to it as [to] that habitacion which is most agreable to him. Wher his lyff and helth growith and amendith the man sekith his suerties, his peece, his refuge, the rest in his age and his last sepulture. 23/14

- (a) - fol 58R
- (b) - CS 73,5 - 16
- (c) - QI 11,24 - 11,29
- (d) - Eng II 23/21 - 25/5

- (a) "I maye say ande conferme be raisonemair brutal nor brutal beystis".
- (c) Si est force de dire que ceulx sont desnatures, qui au commun besoing et pour le salut de leur paiz et seigneurie n'efforcent leur povoir, et mieulx veulent soy laisser perdre avecques la chose publique que pour icelle soy exposer a peril.
- (d) For it may right wele be seide that suche people ben vnnaturall that woll not enforce themself for the susten-
[ta]tion of the comon wele and levir suffir themself to be lost with the comon wele thanne dispose themself to perile for the same.

- (a) - fol 58R
- (b) - CS 73,16 - 74,4
- (c) - QI 11,29 - 12,4
- (d) - Eng II 23/25 - 25/8

- (a) "it aperis that the lau of naturethere tethe & feit."
- (c) Donc pouroit il sembler que la loy de Nature, / qui toutes choses soubz le ciel oblige par lien indissoluble, seroit plus parfaictement es bestes mues que en vous autres, et que vous seriez trouver plus desnaturez que elles, qui n'ont pas entendement de raison, quant les oyseaulx au bec et aux ungles defendent leurs nits et les ours et les lyons gardent leurs cavernes a la force de leurs gris et de leurs dens.
- (d) 23/25 wherthrough it shulde seme that naturall lawe, which bindyth all thing vndir hevyn, shulde be more perfightly accomplisshid in dombe beestis thanne in any of yow and also yow shal be founde more vnkynde thanne thei which have no reason of vndirstonding. For the briddis of the eyre with their beeke and talons defendyn their nestis; the lyouns and beeris also kepe their cavis, defending them thorough force of their tethe and clawis.

- (a) - fol 58V
 (b) - CS 73,24
 (c) - QI 12,5 - 12,16
 (d) - _____

The example referring to Scythia and Darius in (c) QI 12,5 - 12,16 is omitted at fol 58V in the Complaynt but used later at folio 64V.

- (a) - fol 58V
 (b) - CS 73,24 - 74,4
 (c) - QI 12,17 - 12,33
 (d) - Esp II 25/22 - 27/11

- (a) Allace this sair complaynt gude reul ande gouernance
- (c) Dure chose est a moy que ainsi me convient plaindre, mais plus dure et de mains de reconfort que vous, qui me devez soustenir, defendre et relever, estes adversaires de ma
 /prosperité,

prosperité, et en lieu de guerdon querez ma destruction et l'avancement de voz singuliers desirs. Mes anciens ennemis et adversaires me guerroient au dehors par feu et par glaive, et vous par dedans me guerriez par voz couvoitises et mauvaises ambitions. Les naturelz ennemis quierent moy oster liberté pour tenir en leur miserable subjection, et vous me asservicez à l'usage de voz desordonnances et lachetez, en cuidant demourer delivres des dangiers de ma fortune. Ilz me portent dommage comme partie contraire pour leur entreprinse d'armes et de chevalerie. Et vous, soubz umbre d'amis et le nom d'amis et deffenseurs, parachevez ma perte et desertion par faulte de gouvernement convenable.

(d) 25/22 - 27/11

Alas this is to me an hard thing thus to compleyne. Yet it is to me a mor hard thyng and lasse comfort to se yow which ought to susteyne, defende and releve me ben most aduersaries vnto my most prosperite, and instedde of my reward ye sechin my distruction for the avaancement of your singular desiris. Myne auncient enemys maken warr on me withowte by fyre and sworde, and ye make me warr withinne by your / vnstaunchable couetis and cursid ambicions. The naturall enemyes sechin to put me from liberte and ke(pe) me in their miserable subieccion, and ye mak me bond thorough your des(or)dinat and slowe vsage, wenyng to be [delyueryd] from the daungers of my fortune. Myne owtward enemyes don me daunger and hurte as partye contrarye by the enterprise of knyghthod and armys, and ye vndir the shadow of frendis, and namely of frendelynes and defendours, ye put me in grete losse of myne enheritaunce thorough defaulte of covenable gouernaunce.

- (a) - fol 61R/V
- (b) - CS 77,11 - 25
- (c) - Esperance p. 361
- (d) - Eng I 134/6 - 18

"Historical and religious examples in Chartier's works have also been found useful by the writer of The Complaynt in developing his ideas. Yet many of the stories about great men which he has taken partially from Chartier he knew well from other sources too, and he has often expanded

in detail accordingly, as in his account of Mithridates (80/27 - 81/2; L'Esperance, p. 364)"

"In Chapter IX, the author of The Complaynt again resorted to L'Esperance for some of his illustrative material: he directly translated some of the examples and at least had in mind others used by the character of Hope to prove that 'hope in God' will aid mankind and that great conquerors often have great falls. Following a general statement (75/14-24) which echoes ideas in both Le Quadrilogue and L'Esperance, The Complaynt has the example of Mattathias and his sons, used in both of Chartier's works.

The Complaynt is much fuller than either; but the Scot's use of at least the account in L'Esperance is made probable by the last sentence in the example:

(b) "his thrid sone, callit Iudas machabeus,

.....
quhar for, throucht the mycht of God, venqueist men be cam conqueriours, and fugityuis be cam assailzeours, and humil affligit pepil of ane lytil nummer be cam lordis and maisters of ane gryt multiplie of tirrans.

(CS 77/11-25; French p. 361; English I 134/6-18)"

(c) Et tu scés comme si peu de gens chassez, garniz de bonne Esperance, & entre les cas desesperez endurez à tout souffrir, deliurerent leur pais, restablirent les loix, & redarguerent par puissance & par iugement les reniez de leur loy, & les traistres & turbateurs du pays commun. Puis que tant apparurent vertueux ceux qui n'auoient apparence de remede, il est à croire qu'ils forcerent leurs sens à esperer maugré fortune, & faire vertu de leur nécessité: & que la deffiance de humaine puissance tourna leurs cueurs en Esperance diuine conceüe en hault couraige, & conduite par ferme entreprinse; & les fit de vaincus vainqueurs, & de chassez assailleurs, & de humbles & deboutez les seigneurs & les maisters.

L'Esperance p 361

(d) (not quoted)

(a) - fol 59V - 61R

(b) - CS p75 - p77

(c) - QI

(d) - Eng II 117/15 - 119/11

(d) And thereof may we take ensaumple of the vertuouse and coragious man namyd Mathathias and his chyldern, as whanne the Machabees, in the persecucion that the Kyng Antiochus didd vpon the childern of Israell thorough the instaunce and grette vntrough of certeyne of the same people, which warr turnid to the kyng afore rehercid; but aftir that the cite / of Ierusalem was by treason robbid, pillid and brente withe grette and lamentable occision of people and brought in seruage and some disperpulid hidir and thidir where thei might fynde any place to reste themself in, this wourshipfull Mathathias and his sones afore said, which ware withdrawn into the mowntaynes, wente and gadird togedir them at war fledde and destitute, which war right fewe in numbir, and affermed them suche wise in their coragis that they chose rathir to suffre dethe thanne to see the grette affliccion and fall of their people and of their brethirn. Wherupon thes folkis that wer hidde in the mountaignes, whanne they wer gadered togedir, thei war so vertuously gouerned that thei, thorough schedyng of their bloode and suffryng of deth, bought agayn the servage and desolacion of their people and restorid ageyn the realme of Iuda vnto his olde fraunchise / and also to his high dignite.

(a) - fol 61V

(b) - CS 77/25 - 78/3

(c) - Esp. p.362

(d) - Eng I 135/15 - 24

/(a)

- (a) "There is ane vthir exempel of gedeon
it is possibil to be done."
- (c) Que aduint-il de Gedeon, ou temps de l'oppression que
fit le Roy de Madian sur Israël? ne desconfit-il pas
avec trois cens combatans, cent & vingt mil hommes, &
deliura par haulte Esperance son peuple de langueur & de
misere? Toutesuoies estoit il poure laboureur, homme
non congneu, de petit estat, & de basse famille en la
lignee de Manasse. Mais où grace de Dieu & vertu d'homme
se adioignent, rien n'est impossible à faire ne illicite
à esperer. Et bien souuent met Dieu au pouoir de
homme, ce que homme ne puet comprendre en sa pensee.

Esperance p 362

- (d) (not quoted)

The Complaynt continues with long accounts of Darius and Xerxes, used as examples of how Athens and Lacedemon, after being in captivity and desolation, arose again to great glory and prosperity. Perhaps the mere suggestion for these expansions came from a sentence in L'Esperance (French, p. 362; English, I 136/13-8), which follows closely the Gedeon passage:

"Ailleurs pourras lire comme Athenes, Lacedemone, & Thebes furent tant de fois asseruies, destruites, & desolees ou temps de Xerxes, de Philippes, & de Alexandre: qui depuis si glorieusement se ressourdirent."

The example of Robert Bruce, as one would expect, is also made much of by the Scottish writer to show the final triumph of afflicted people: it is similarly used in L'Esperance (English, I 141/24 - 142/8), although the passage has not been directly translated in The Complaynt.

"The Complaynt continues here with long accounts of Darius, Xerxes, and Robert Bruce, which are not translated from L'Esperance, although Chartier also has these figures as examples in the section used by the Scottish writer in

/this chapter

this chapter (L'Esperance, pp. 363-6). Then almost immediately come the stories of Semiramis, Hercules, Mithridates, Philip, Alexander, Xerxes, Cyrus, and Hannibal, to a great extent directly translated, with the usual expansions and omissions. In this passage the author of The Complaynt has gone one step farther than Chartier (usually considered the 'father of French eloquence' by the rhetoricians) in using a rhetorical pattern of repetitive parallelism taken from Chartier's one use of the phrase, 'Alixandre n'estoit pas content de la conqueste de toute la terre': the Scottish examples begin 'The queen semeramis was nocht contentit vitht sirrie and babillon', 'Hercules was nocht content vitht the gryt cuntray of lihie and of creit', 'kyng philip was nocht content of the ryche realme of macedone', and so forth. Both passages end by sending the reader for further examples to Seneca and Boccaccio.

Another observation about the methods of the Scottish writer may be made by looking at his two passages about the downfall of Babylon, one from Le Quadrilogue and the other from L'Esperance. In rendering freely the clause 'et maintenant est habitee de serpens' (Quad. invect., 3/11), in a passage translated from the French he has written 'bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis' (20/25-26). Somewhat later he has freely translated a passage from L'Esperance, which also has a reference to Babylon: here '& fist Babiloine inhabitable' becomes in The Complaynt 'ande maid it ane desert inhabitabil for serpens ande vthir venesum beystis' (28/4-5), in recollection of his own earlier rendering from Le Quadrilogue.

Thus, the translations from Le Quadrilogue invectif and Le Traité de l'Esperance in The Complaynt, with the Scottish author's additions, expansions, omissions, rearrangements, and combinations of material, are often so loose and free that the reader suspects that the writer was merely remembering some passage of the French, as he was wont to do; but suddenly this suspicion may be rudely dispelled when

/the reader

the reader comes upon a sentence, clause, or phrase translated word for word, often with unusual cognates, from the French.¹ This eclectic technique in The Complaynt of Scotlande makes the work, for anyone familiar with the author's sources, one of the strangest in the literature of Britain. It might indeed be called 'one of the most remarkable works' of the sixteenth century, but not, as C.S. Lewis and other critics seem to imply, because of its originality in sincerity and earnestness of tone (this tone depends to a great extent upon the author's use of Chartier), nor because of its Renaissance use of classical sources (many of the examples have been taken by the author from secondary sources), but instead because of the unusual way in which the author uses the French of Chartier."

¹ The extensive French influence in the vocabulary of The Complaynt has been noted by Neilson and others.

- (a) - fol 64R/V
- (b) - CS 80/21 - 81/23
- (c) - Esp. p 364-5
- (d) - Eng I 138/26 - 140/17

(a) The queen semeramis vas nocht contentit
mak ane mischeuous ende.

- i. (a) - folio
- (b) - CS 85/17 - 86/2
- (c) - French 17/24 - 29
- (d) - Eng II 39/3-6

- ii. (a)
- (b) - CS 86/3 - 86/11
- (c) - QI 17,28 - 18,3
- (d) - Eng II 39/3 - 39/14

(a) Thir vordis befor rehersit oniust veyris
Quhen ze hef veil socht the verite posterite
fra the realme.

- ii. (c) CS 86/3 - 86/11; QI 17,28 - 18,3; Eng II 39/3 - 39/14; 68R
Et se bien en enquerez, c'est la lignee de Sergestus
et de Hangestus les Saxons, qui comme souldoyers vindrent
au secours du Roy de la grant Bretaigne oppresse de dures
guerres. Et depuis occuperent & prindrent le pays pour
eulx, quant ilz le sentirent despourueu par guerre de sa
bonne Chevalerie, & par trahison soubz faintise de paix
occirent le surplus de la noblesse du pays.

- ii. (d) 39/3 - 39/14
For nough I am come to that poynte to shewe yow shortly
the encheson of the quarell which owght to putt in yow
the hardnes of corage. For lette vs furst vndirstonde
what people thei be that mak yow this warre. And yf ye

/serche wele

serche wele thei be come of the lyne of Forgestus and/
Engestus, Saxons which as souldiours comen to reskew
the Kyng of Grette Brytaine, which was oppressid with
long werris, and eftirward toke the londe and kept it to
their own vse whanne thei founde the kyng dispurveid of
his good knyghtis thorough meenys of the werre, and vndir
a feynid colour [cf] peece slowghen the remenaunt of
the noblest of the londe.

folio 68V

"Then in the Complaynt, 86/11-31 (English, 39/14-6, 40/15-7),
a series of examples is given obviously to illustrate the
next sentence of Le Quadrilogue:

C'est la lignee qui debouta et occist son souverain
seigneur, roy d'Angleterre, pour usurper tirannique-
ment sa seigneurie.

Some of the French manuscripts (e.g., Bodleian 421, B.M.
Add. 15,300, and Harleian 4402) add 'Richart' before
'roy'. Richard II is one of the examples used in The
Complaynt: 'syklik Richart the sycond vas cruelly slane
be his auen men'. The passage following these examples
points again to an author with his eyes on Chartier's next
sentence:

Al this veil considerit, suld inflam 3our hartis
vitht curage to resist ther cruel vrangus assaltis,
& to menteine be vail3eantnes the iust defens of
3our natyf cuntre. 3e knau quhou thai and there
forbears hes beene 3our ald mortal enemes tuelf
hundreht 3eirris by past, makand cruel veir contrar
3our predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly distroyand
3our feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vytht ane
ferme purpos to denud scotland fra 3our generatione..
(C.S., 86/31-87/5; French, 18/5-9, 13-5; English, II,
39/16-26, 40/17-27)

In the remainder of this chapter the Scottish author dis-
cusses many of the same ideas that occupied Chartier -
the noble deeds of the forefathers of the land in contrast
/to the deeds of

to the deeds of his own generation, the dissension within the country, which was partially responsible for the success of the enemies, and so forth; but none of this material seems to have been written with any particular passages in Chartier before the author."

(Blayney, pp clxvii - clxviii)

- (a) - folio 68V
- (b) - CS 86/11 - 31 - 87/5
- (c) - QI 18/5 - 18/9, 18/13 - 18/15
- (d) - Esp. II 39/14 - 39/26

- (d) 39/14 - 39/26

Thes ben of the lyne of him that putt owte and slewghe his soueraigne lord, Kyng of Englund, and tyrauntly vsurpid vpon his lordshippis. /Also thei be the same that oftentymes haue made werre vpon your fadirs and predecessours, brent and wastid your feldis and townes and vtterly haue desiurd to destroye and bryng to nought your noble generacion. It be thei also that be ioynid and alyid with your rebellis and vntrue people of this realme, and in fortifyng of their vnreasonable quarelle thei haue ioynid them to the sustentacion and mayntenaunce of your vntrue subgettis. / Yet on that othir parte I woll shewe yow reason which ought to enflame your coragis and geue yow suerte and confidence./

- (a) - fol 89R
- (b) - CS 113/1 - 113/8
- (c) - QI 35/16 - 35/24

The Q.I. mentions the example of Hannibal and Fabius Maximus, and Varro (cf fol 101V, CS 129 'of poor origins) at Cannae: and includes the phrase (Q.I. 35/23)

'troys muys des anneaulx d'or' (based on Val. Max. V. 2. 4.) which is found in 89R; CS 113,5.

In the Q.I. there follows the reference to Hannibal and

/Fabius Maximus

Fabius Maximus and Municius which the Complayner expands later at fol. 138V - 140V; (CS p. 175 - p. 177).

folios 96V - 98V

The ideas; not verbally

97R-V

- i. (b) JAHM 123,27 - 124,10
(c) QI 20,26 - 21,5
(d) Eng II 45/24 - 47/8; (46/20 - 48/10)
- ii. (b) JAHM (97V) 124/10 - 124/12
(c) QI 21,5 - 21,8
(d) Eng II 47/8 - 47/11; (48/10 - 48/13)
- iii. (b) JAHM (97V) 124,13 - 124,16
(c) QI 22,14 - 22,18
(d) Eng II 49/22 - 49/27; (50/25 - 50/28)
- iv. (b) JAHM (97V/98R) 124,16 - 124,24
(c) QI 23,32 - 24,7
(d) Eng II 53/20 - 53/27; (54/16 - 54/25)
- v. (b) JAHM 124,24 - 124,33
(c) QI 24,7 - 24,14
(d) Blayney II 53/27 - 55/6
- vi. (b) JAHM 124,33 - 125,28
(c) QI 24,13 - 25,7
(d) Blayney II 55/5 - 57/7; (56/5 - 58/7)
- vii. (b) JAHM 125,23 - 125,28
compounded of
(c) QI 24,27 - 28; 24,15-17; 25,5-6
(d) See Blayney ^{RES} p. 12
- viii. (b) JAHM 125,28 - 126,16
(c) QI 37,25 - 38,25
(d) Blayney II 89/11 - 91/13; (90/10 - 92/13)
- ix. (b) JAHM 126,7 - 126,9
(c) QI 38,16 - 38,18
(d) Blayney II 91/4 - 91/6
- x. (b) JAHM 126,13 - 126,16
(c) QI 38,22 - 38,25
(d) Blayney II 91/10 - 91/13
- xi. (b) JAHM 126,16 f.. two pages of free translation

97 - 98

98R/V

99R

(a) - fol 96V - 99R

(b,c) - CS { 122,19 - 123,18 = QI 20/ 1 - 20/20
CS { 123,18 - 123,27 = QI 20/20 - 20/26
CS 124,10 - 124,12 = QI 21/ 5 - 21/ 8
CS 124,13 - 124,16 = QI 22/14 - 22/18
CS 124,16 - 124,24 = QI 23/32 - 24/7
CS 124,24 - 124,33 = QI 24/ 7 - 24/14
CS 124,33 - 125,28 = QI 24/13 - 25/7

(d) - Eng II 43/25 - 45/24: 47/8 -

(a) - Ch XV "O my dolorous mother

... miserabil lyif for the ingratitude of my tua brether
ther dissolutione and the myscknaulage of god."

(c) QI 20/1

Haa, mere, jadiz habondant et plantureuse de prosperité
et ores angoisseuse et triste du declin de ta lignee, je
recoy bien en gré ta correction et cognois que tes plaintes
ne sont point desraisonnables ne sans cause, maiz trop
m'est amere desplaisance que j'aye de ce meschief la perte
et le reproche ensemble et que m'en doiez en riens tenir
suspect quant d'autruy coulpe je porte la tresaspre
penitance. Je suis comme l'asne qui soustient fardel
importable et si suis aguillonné et batu pour faire et
souffrir ce que je ne puis. Je suis le bersault contre
qui chascun tire sajettes de tribulacion.. Haa, chetif
douloureux, dont vient ceste usance qui a si bestourné
l'ordre de justice que chascun a sur moy tant de droit
comme sa force lui en donne? Le labour de mes mains
nourrist les lasches et les oyseux et ilz me persecutent
de fain et de glaive. Je soustien leur vie a la sueur
et travail de mon corps et ils guerroient la moye par
leurs outraiges dont je suys en mendicité. Ilz vivent
de moy et je meur pour eulx.

(c) QI

97R

Ilz me deussent garder des ennemis, hélas, hélas, et ilz
me gardent bien de menger mon pain en sceurté. Comment
auroit homme en ce party pacience parfaite, quant a ma
persecution ne peut on riens adjouster que la mort.
Je meur et transiz par default et nécessité des biens
que j'ay gaignez;

20/20-26

[The Peple]

Allas modir, which somtyme haddist grette habundaunce of plenteuous prosperite and now full of anguysch and hertely sorow and in maner of declyne from the royall ligne, I beleve right wele and take in gree thi correccion, knowing that thi compleintis be nat vnreasonable ne without cause. Wherfor I take a bittir displesaunce in the same forasmoch as the grete myschef, the reproof and hurte lyeth vpon me, and therfor ye ought nat to haue me suspecte. But inasmoch as I bere the blame and the scharpe penaunce of othir personis, I may be wele likened [to] the asse that / berith the inportable chargis, and am betyn and prikkid to do [and] suffur suche thyngis as is nat in my power. [I am allso the butt ayenst whom] euery man shotith the arous of tribulacion. O vnhappy and soroufull caytif, from whens comyth this false vsage that thus turnyth vp so downe the ordir of iustice, which euery man hath ouir me as moche power as myght woll geve him. The labour of my hondis norischith the slowthe [of] idill people, and thei rewarde me ageyn with persecucion of hungir and of sworde. I susteyne their lyf with my swete and travaile of my body, and thei make me werre with ther outragis, which hath brought me to lyve as a begger. Thei lyve vpon me, and I dey for them. Thei ought to kepe and diffende me from [the] enemyes, but allas thei kepe (me) wele inough from etyng my brede in suerte. O Lorde God, hough myght eny man in this werke haue perfight pacience whanne to my persecucion may nothing / be ioyned but deth? I dey evyn as I go on the erthe for defaulte of myn own goodis that I haue gotyn.

Also I see wele that labour hath lost [his] hoope; marchaundise canne fynde no [redy] way to have his dew course; all goodis ar takyn away save onely suche as is [defendid] by the spere and the sworde. Wherfor I haue non othir of hoope in my lyve save by dispeyr leve my staate and do as thei do that haue dispoiled [me],

which louith

which louith bettir the prey than honours of the werre that is in this realme. But it is a pryve robbery, a thefte which takith away by foorce the comon wele of realme vndir the colour of armys, and is ravischid away by violence for defaute of iustice and good gouernaunce.

- (a) - fol 97V
- i. (b) - CS 124/10 - 124/12
- (c) - QI 21/5 - 21/8
- (d) - Eng II 47/8 - 47/11

- ii.(b) - CS 124/13 - 124/16
- (c) - QI 22/14 - 22/18
- (d) - Eng II 49/22 - 49/27

i. the veyr is cryit contrar ingland
miserabil lyif.

ii. my complaynt suld defend me.

i. (c) Les armes sont criees et les estendars levez / contre les ennemis, mais les espoiz sont contre moy a la destruction de ma povre substance et de ma miserable vie.

21/5-8

i.. (d) 47/8

The werris ben cried and the standardis be reysid on hight ayenst the enemyes, but the exploit of their dedis be ayenst me to the distruccion of my powr sustenaunce and of my wretchid lyfe.

ii.(c) Ennuyeuse chose est a raconter et plus grieve a soustenir ma piteuse desolation, car je suys en exil en ma maison, prisonnier de mes amis, assailli de mes defendeurs et guerroyé aux souldees dont le paiement est fait de mon propre chatel.

22/14-18

ii. (d) O it is a full noyous thing to speke of this, but (it) is a more [grevous] thing to susteyne my [pituous] desolacion, for I am put in exile, prisoner in my howse, assailid of my frendis and of them that shold be my defendours, and I werre with souldiours wherof the payment is made with my propir goodis.

- (a) - fol 97V, 98R
- (b) - CS 124/16 - 124/24
- (c) - QI 23/32 - 24/7
- (d) - Eng II 53/20 - 53/27

(a) the lauberaris ar ane notabil membyr
body be cummis consumit.

(c) Le peuple si est membre notable d'un royaume, sans lequel les nobles ne le clergé ne pevent suffire a faire corps de police ne a soustenir leurs estas ne leur vie, et ne me puis trop donner de merveille qu'il doye si estre habandonné a toute infelicité et persecuté par les autres membres subgiez a son mesme chief, ne je ne voy meilleur similitude a ce propos sinon que nostre police françoise est comme l'omme furieux qui de ses dens mort et dessire ses autres membres.

23/32 - 24/7

(d) 53/20

The people of a realme ben full feble whanne the nobles and the clergy may nat suffice to kepe vp the body of policie ne susteyne their lif and ther estate. And yet I mervaile not that it is thus abandoned to all infelicite, for I se no similitude to this body but that the policie of Frenshmen may be likenid vnto a wodman which with his tethe bitith and raseth away his own membres.

- (a) - fol 98R
- (b) - CS 124/24, 124/31
- (c) - QI 24/7 - 24/13
- (d) - Eng II 55/5 - 55/7

(a) the romans in ald tymes vrangus oppressours.

- (a) - fol 98V
- (b) - CS 124/24 - 124/33
- (c) - QI 24/7 - 24/13
- (d) - Eng II 55/5

(c) 24/7

Trop bien pourueurent a tel inconuenient les anciens Rommains, quant pour garder les parties de leur communauté chascun en sa dignité & en son ordre, ilz establirent les Tribuns du peuple, qui auoient l'office d'icelluy soustenir, & deffendre sa franchise contre le Senat & la puissance des nobles hommes. Ainsi n'est pas. Car sans aide ne secours ie suis delaisié es mains des rauisseurs.....

- (b) - CS 124/33 - 125/28
- (c) - QI 24/13 - 25/7
- (d) - Eng II 55/5 - 55/7

Partial translation, "with expansion and omission":
 ("bot allace it is nocht this miserabil lyif".)

fol 99R

"Although Neilson records after this a short translated passage ('the romans in ald tymes rauisseurs') (124/24-33), again he does not note the partial translation, with customary freedom of addition, rearrangement, and omission, in a long passage which follows (124/33 - 125/28; Quad. invec., 24/13 - 25/7). The end of this passage offers a particularly striking illustration of the methods of the writer of The Complaynt."

fol 99R - continued

"... the last sentence of the passage is a composite of clauses and phrases picked from here and there throughout the corresponding French passage. The Scottish

Therfor (o thou my mother) sen I am in dangeir of the deitht, and disparit of my lyif, necessite pulsis and constrenzes me to cry on god, and to desire vengeance on them that persecutis me, in hope that he vil releif me, or els to tak me furtht of this miserabil lyif, for the ingratitude of my tua brethir.

is compounded from the following French constructions:

'Et je, qui suys en attente de ma mort et desesperé de ma vie' (24/27-28); 'autres qui me contraignent a crier a Dieu vengeance contre eulx de l'importable et dure affliction qu'ilz me donnent' (24/15-17); and 'dont Dieu par sa pitié me vueille gectier et mectre briefment hors de ceste languoureuse vie' (25/5-6)"

Blayney, RES, 9 (1958), p.12.

- (a) - folio 99R
- (d) - II, 53/27 - 57/7

Wherfor the auncient Romayns purueid them wele ayeinst suche grette inconueniences; for keypyng the parties of their commynte, euery man in his dignite and in his ordre, stablisch/ed/ the tribus of the people, [(tribunus plebis)] whoos office was to susteyne, defende and kepe in fredome the comons ayeinst / the senatours and the power of Pe nobles. But her it is nat so, for I am lette fall in the handis of robbers takyng their praye, which constrayne me to crye vengeance to Allmayghty God for the inportable and soore afflictions which thei haue putt vnto me for lacke of helpe. For it is oftentimes founde in the olde writyngis that for the myserye of the powr
/people

people [and] the wepyngis and sorowis of them that must nedis suffur, the diuine iugementis hath yevyn full egre and sharpe punycion. Wherfor I counseile euery man that fyndith hymself gilti in this trespas that he bewar, for it is not to thynke that the turmentis of so many coragis and the pituous and lamentable voice which addressyn their cryes, wepyngis and compleintis vp to the high hevyn move nat with pite the mekenes of the right mercifull and all-puysaunt Creatour[e], that His iusti[ce] procedith nat to the confusion of them pat cause the iniquityf wikednes..

And I, abydyng my deth and in dis/payre of my lif, can seche no ferther for my recoueriere.. And in thes wise, my right doubted modir, I discharge myn herte and exempte myself from the grevous blame of which I ber the peyne. And I reporte me to thi good iugement whoo ought to bere this blame. I may be holde as excused and put owt of this reproof and blame, for sorow and mysease chasen me to the dethe so straitely that I am dryed vp in pe brest withowte hoope of any amendement. Wherfor I canne no more but curse theym that don me this cruelle, pleynnyng my hert sorow owte of the which Almyghty God for his grete pyte sende me shortely an ende, for I may nat dwelle therin longe (but) as a wretche owte of all conforte..

- (a) - fol 99R
- (b) - CS 125/28 - 126/16
- (c) - QI 37/25 - 38/25
- (d) - Eng II 89/11 - 91/13

"for the ingratitude of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione

.....vitht out desolatione and sklandyr."

Breakdown (b): (c): (=d) II 89/11 - 91/13:

- CS 125,28 - 126,3 = QI 37/25 - 38/3
- CS 126,7 - 126,8 = QI 38/16 - 38/18
- CS 126,13 - 126,16 = QI 38/22 - 38/25

(c) - Quad. invec.

Pour ce te dy que de la grant planté de biens et des richesses du temps paisible les puissans et les nobles hommes ont usé en gast et dissolution de vie et en ingratitude et desconnoissance de Dieu, qui a suscité contre eulx le murmure du peuple. Si est vostre desmesuree vie et vostre desordonné gouvernement cause de nostre impaciencie et commencement de noz maulx, car, lors que les biens et les richesses multiplioient par le royaume et que les finances y habondoient comme source d'eaue vive, voz pompes desmesurees, voz oisivetez auillees de toutes delices et la desconnoissance de vous mesmes vous avoit ja et a bestourné le sens, si que ambition d'estaz, convoitise d'avoir et envie de gouverner, vous commengoient a mener a la confusion ou vous estes..

37/25 - 38/9

Et comme la soif aux ydropiques en bevant leur croist et augmente, ainsi qui plus en avoit plus en convoitoit avoir..

38/16-18

Or est ainsi que d'oultraige et de desordonnance vient murmure, de murmure rumeur et de rumeur division et de division desolation et esclandre.

38/22-25

(d) 89/7 - 91/13

Wherfor Itell the that the grete plente of goodis and richesses of tyme passed whanne pees was among vs, thenne the grette men and the nobles vsed them in wast and dissollucion of lyving and in vnkyndnes / of the mysknowlege of God, which hath now reysid ayeinst him murmur of the people, which is causid by your vnmesurable lyuyng and your disordinate gouernaunce and dryvith vs to inpaciencie, which is the beginnyng of our evile.. For when the goodis and the rychesses multiplied in /the realme

the realme with haboundaunce, as watir that comyth owt of a quick spryng, right so your vnmesurable pompes, youre ydill slouthe applyed to all maner of delytes and to the disknowlegyng of yourself hathe suche wise turnid youre sheldis that the grette ambicion of estatis, couetise to gette good and envye for to governe hathe brought you to the confusion wher ye be at this howr. And by thes thre thingis was and is consumed the royall money, and [the] treasure of lordeshippis wastid in the tyme of plente. For neithir the multiplicacion of the goodis which at that tyme war for to come on euery / parte nor the consideracione of necessite that was for to come myght neuir move your corages to knowe that it was expedient to reserve to the prince nor to purvey for him at his nede, but at all tymes it shulde be spendid afore or it myght come in. For lyke as drynke augmentith and encreasith the drynesse of the ydropique, likewise who that had most was most sette on couetice. So is the voice of the people like as the voice of tyteleris which by their crye denouncen the comyng of the see floode. For our talis which thow callist murmurs signified at that tyme the myschevis that war for to come. Novgh it is soo that thorough outrage and discorde comyth murmur, vpon murmur rumour, vpon rumour diuision, vpon diuision desolacion and sclaudir.

- (a) - fol 116V
- (b) - CS p. 147,16 - 147,31
- (c) - QI 60/17 - 60/21
- (d) - Eng II 151/8 - 151/12

(Example of degenerate son of Scipio Africanus)

- (d) 149/25 - 151/12

Yet ther is a thing that gruggeth me more thanne this that I haue rehercid, for I se hough the nobles and wourshipfull men take so litill hede to themself that (there) is no difference of rewle and condicion bytween /them and the

them and the mysgouerned folkis, nothir in their willis nor in feere of their soueraignes, ne taketh no hede hough evill name thei gette, ayeinst which euery noble herte ought make more mortall werre thanne ayeinst their enemyes, for thei ought suche wise to guyde hemself that their werkis myght make them to be knowe from othir mysgouerned people and that in / noon of them may be founde any spotte of reproche in lasse that thei make therfor a remedye, like as did the Sipiouns at Rome whanne thei toke away from oon of the eyres of Scipion Affrican a rynge wherin was enprentid the ymage of the wourthi Scipion forasmoche as he followed nat the werkis of hym of which he bare the tokyn.

- (a) - foliōs 122V, 123R
- (b) - CS 155,1 - 155,5
- (c) - Esp. p. 314
- (d) - I, 69/26 - 70/1

"Again in Chapter XVII, the author of The Complaynt translated briefly from L'Esperance. After a long discussion, with examples, about the meaning of nobility, most of which is not related to the French, although a thought from Le Quadrilogue or L'Esperance is echoed occasionally, two sentences in The Complaynt, both on page 155, recall several sentences in L'Esperance, also near to each other:

ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal lyif ve var naikyrt
and vepand, and quhen ve depart ve sal be vile and
abhominabil, ande ve sal carye no thing furtht of
this varld boþ the coulpe of our synnis, orthe merit¹
of our vertu.

(C.S., 155/1-5; French, p. 314; English, I, 69/26 - 70/1)

¹There is partial Scriptural basis for this statement in Job 1:21.

the nychtis ar ouer schort to gentil men to commit
there libedeneus lust, and the dayis ar ouer schgrt
to them to commit extorsions on the pure pepil.²
(C.S., 155/25-7; French, p. 313; English, I, 68/24-7)

²Because the rendering of this sentence in the English is so free, I quote the French: 'Les nuits leur ont éste trop courtes pour leurs desuergondees plaisances, & les iours trop briefs pour dormir és liz sans exploit prouffitabile.'¹

- (a) - folio 126V, 127R
- (b) - CS 160,18 - 160,25
- (c) - Esp. p. 307
- (d) - I 61/16 - 61/23

"Again in the next chapter, there is a strong possibility that the author of The Complaynt had within reading distance, or was remembering, useful images from one of the passages in L'Esperance treating the same subject -- abuses within the clergy. The image and some of the wording in this passage seem to have come from Chartier:

&quhou beit that the rute of thir scismes and sectis be in germane, denmark and ingland, 3it nochtheles the branchis of them ar spred athort al cristin realmis in sic ane sort, that tha hef maye fauoraris nor aduersaris, for diuerse men desiris ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrk, be cause of the abusione and euyll exempil of the kyrk men.

(C.S., 160/18-25; French, p. 307; English, I, 61/16-23)"

(Blayney, p. clxxvii)

- (c) Car celle secte perilleuse a plus de fauteurs que d'aduersaires. Et se la racine en est en Bahainge, les branches & les rainsseaulx s'estendront ailleurs..

p.307

- (a) - fol 127R
- (b) - 160,35 - 161,5
- (c) - Esp. pp. 305-6
- (d) - I, 60/2 - 60/8

"In this same section of The Complaynt an image about pouring oil on a fire may have been suggested to the author by a similar image in L'Esperance used in the passage from which the above image is taken.

(C.S., 160/35 - 161/5; French, pp. 305-6; English, I, 60/2-9.)"

(Blayney, p. clxxvii)

- (a) - fol 130V, 131R/V
Ch. XX.: "Oze my thre sonnys, i hef accusit
.....zour auen veil fair and prosperite."
- (b) - CS 165/18 - 166/16
- (c) - Esperance p.. 324
- (d) - Eng I 83/20 - 84/24

- (a) - fol 138V - 140V
- (b) - CS p. 175 - p. 177
- (c) - QI 35/25 - 36/16
- (d) - Eng II 83/6 - 85/18
(Fabius Maximus and Municius)

(d) 83/6

Ther is a grette difference in the counseill of a prince that is vrous and in prosperite, that woll kepe the / same and deffende it, and anothis prince which fortune sheweith nat his fauour vnto and yet wold fayne ryse ageyne and take awaye the victory from the victour. To this caase ar we brought wherin lyith gretter watche and gretter wisdom thanne the werkis of hasty buffettis, as in lyke caase the wourthy Romaine named Fabius Maximus shewid ful well in the tyme that he occupied the office of dictatour aftir the innumerable losses pat the Romayns hadde thorough the folisch enterprise of Varo, which was a consull of Rome, at the grete Bataille of Caves ayeinst Haniball, which at that tyme was reisivd vp in grette pryde thorough the highnes of his victories, in the which bataille ther wer so many noble men slayne that for to magnifi his victorye the seid Haniball sente vnto Cartage thre tonnefullis of ryngis of goulde which war take of the fyngirs of dede bodyes. But aftyr that, this noble Fabyus helde his hoste / togedir and costeyed his enemyes and grevid them litill and litill, bothe of their men and of per vitailles. And though so were that Haniball provokid hym to bataille and that the people murmurid ayeinst him for bycause he wold nat feight with hym, yet for all that wold natphe at the Romayn cheualry, which wer somtyme grette
/Victours,

victours, shuld be myschevid all at a tyme, but helde his men so long back that thei, contrary in a maner to his wourship, arraysid and made anothis dictatour namyd Munycious and made hym master of the horsemen. So thanne he that was subget befor was made a fellowe to Fabius, whervpon the seid Municius thought that he wold fullfill the will of the people to feyght ayeinst Hanyball. But he was shamefully discomfited and had lost all his legions if Fabius had nat socourid hym and put away his enemyes. And thanne was he feyne to yeve thankngis to him which he had sclau/dird before and toke for a grette vertu the constaunce of Fabius which afortyme callid hym latches and slowe.. But thorough his meanys thei war so streight vpon Haniball that with a litle losse of the Romayne knyghtis þe seid Haniball was chasid oute of Ytaly into Affrike and at the last ouircome and shamefully slayne..

** APPENDIX - WEDDERBURN POEMS IN THE
BANNATYNE MS

I. BANNATYNE MS POEM 345

VOL. IV, 28-30.

BANNATYNE MS
VOL. IV, PAGE 28

My luv was fals and full of flattry
W^t cullerit lesingis full of dowbilneß
Quhen pat scho spak hir toung was wonder sle
W^t fals semblance and fenzeit humylneß
And inconstance payntit w^t steidfastneß 5
hir frane was cwverit w^t ane piteous face
quhilk was þe causß þat oft I cryd allace

Scho luvit ane vdir bettir than scho luvit me
betuix þame twa thay draif me to grit skorne
ffor it that I tald hir in priuitie 10
Scho tald it to hir luv vpon þe morn
and sa betuix þame twa I gat þe horne
3it I could no^t persais thair fals consait
becausß thru^t birnand lust I was growin blait

The skorne þat I gatt nicht bene maid ane farß 15
quhilk excedit þe skorne of absolone
quhen þe hett culter wes schott in his herß
be clerk nicolus and his luv allesone

Page 576 As canterberry Tallis makis mentioun fol. 260 b
3it I suspekkit no^t bot scho wes trew 20
Bot I wes all begylit quhilk sair I rew

zung pirance the sone of erle dragabald
Was dirlit w^t lufe of fair meridiane
Scho promest him hir luv evin as he wald
And in ane secret place gart him remane 25

POEM 345

BANNATYNE MS.

29

Blawand ane kandill be art magicane
in frost and snaw quhill daylight on þe morne
Bot my fillok did me far grittar skorne

Virgill quhillk was prudent graif and saige
Was lichtleit be his luv w'tout remeid 30
And for dispyt scho hang him in ane caige
And aristotill quhillk diuers doctrynis maid
his lady patt ane brydill in his heid
bot all thay skornis can no^t compairt be
Till half the schame pat my luv gart me dre 35

Sicylk scho wald be grit subtilitie
Ressaif fra me luv drwreiß belt and ring
And than w^t thay same giftis offir wald sche
hir paramo^r and lait him want no thing
Vpoun the morne the same ringis he wald bring 40
And weir þame for dispyt befoir my face
To gar me ken he was mair in hir grace

God wait quhat wo had troyelus in deid
quhen he beheld the belt þe broch and ring
hingand vpoun þe speir of diomeid 45
quhillk troyellus gaif to cresseid in luv taikning
On þat same sort scho did to me maling
ffor tha giftis þat I gafe till hir all hour
W^t þame scho did posses hir paramour

Bot quhan scho was in to necessitie 50
Than flattir me scho wald w^t woirdis fair
Ane fenzeit teir scho wald thrist fra hir E
Lyk as for luv of me scho wald forfair
hir fenzeit wo did sop my hart ¹ w^t cair
than pety gart me grant till hir desyre 55
Becaufs the luv brunt me lyk þe bald ² fyre

¹ frome deleted.

² Should it read bale? The first letter is slightly blotted.

30

BANNATYNE MS.

So day be day scho plaid w^t me buk hud
W^t Mony skornis and morkis behind my bak
hir subtill wylis gart me spend all my gud
quhill þat my clayis grew threidbair on my back 60
My vane þersut gart me vin schame & lak
Quhill fra sic foly my hart dois now refrane
The devill ressaue me And I doid Agane

ffinis q weddirburne

IV, p76

Page 613 I think thir men Ar verry fals and vane fol. 279 a

That wemenis hono^r degraidis or ¹ estait
 And thay deserf pvnitoun and pane
 Quhen thay *persome* in to pair vane consait
 To say or do pat may pair fame defait 5
 For wemen ar of sic tryvmphand gre
 That aboif men thay haif awtoritie

ffor quhy þe warld may weill *persaif* & ken
 That wemen tryvmphis in hie dignitie
 And in all honor pai do *perfer* men 10
 In prudens ² constans and in nobilitie
 And god pat knawis wemenis nobilitie
 Wafs of ane woman born As 3e ma reid
 And no^t *consaivit* be menis polute seid

And quhen chryst Iesu raifs fra deid to lyif 15
 Till holy wemen he did first appeir
 Becausf of pair constans *superlatyif*
 Till his appostillis he drew no^t first neir
 For men in till all maleifs hes no peir
 Ane man did sell Iesus quhilk is o^r heid 20
 And als be men was crusifixt & deid

¹ pair deleted.² in deleted.

POEM 367.

BANNATYNE MS.

77

Sanct petir did thryis Refuse & deny
Chryst Iesus befoir pilattis Trybunall
Bott wemen did confes him hardely
Quhen he wes accusit in cayphas hall 25
Syne to þe croce togidder thay past all
Quhen he wes deid thay wemen tuke grit cure
To spyce his body in þe sepulture

I can not wrytt nor zit ma I reherfs
The noble holy wemen that hes bene 30
The quhilkis in every vertew did *convers*
As in to dyvers volomis may be sene
Matheynis virgenis and mony holy quene
As in þe goldin legend men may reid
And als plutarq reherffs of pair deid 35

Ane awld proverb in storeis did I fynd
quhilk solone said that prudent man of witt
q he na man sould spitt Aganis þe wynd
In dreid it cum on him þat did it spitt
This proverb signifeis be my pure witt 40
That men þat sklanderis wemen to pair defame
That same sklander Redoundis to pair awin schame

Men ar ay reddy to schaw wemenis vyce
bot pair awin vyce thay wald excuse & hyd
& zit howbeit þat men mak it sa nyce 45
god will gud wemenis fame defend & gyd
The trew will schaw þe fructis q^r werkis all tyd
Page 614 in till all bukis þat I cowlde fynd or reid fol. 279 b
The crymes of men dois wemenis vyce exceid

We may *persaif* in storeis ane & vddir 50
how Adame brak eternall goddis command
And how Caen slew Iust Abell his bruder
And pharo kepit Israell in captiue band

POEM 367

78

BANNATYNE MS.

Nobagodonasar 3e ma vndirstand
quha for his wicketnefs was made ane beist 55
& diucefs kingis wes pvneist for incest

To tell of Nerone and commodius
quhilk wer supreme heidis of all þe Impyre
And vpir empriot's owtragioufs
The quhilk patt holy men to sowrd & fyre 60
To reherfs all it will bott gar me tyre
quhilk daly did commit ane crewall cryme
Bot wemen did nevir sic thing all þair tyme

Quha wafs mair crewall nor calligula
Or philaris or dionisius 65
And quha hes done mair tressone ny^t or da
Nor did þe fals cedussar symon magu^{fs}
Quha did mair errasy nor Arrius
W^t þe evill sort of pelligrians als
As to chafas non wes kend so fals 70

Siclyk Anna^{fs} that fenzeit Ipocreit
And fals pilatt þat condampnit chryst to de
Paip Iuliane that fals paip of dispytt
W^t vpir ma full of Idolatre
Vnnvmerable þair is and sa salbe 75
Off crewale vicuis men in every toun
q^{lk} bringis pure peple to confusioun

ffor sum ar tyrantis Sum ar commoun thevis
Sum myrdresaris committand homicyd
Sum ar wirkaris of all kynd of mischevis 80
& Sum to sathan ar bay^t pilatt & gyd
Sum ar mensworne ffull of fals callumnationis
And commoun Learis Inwentand accusationis

POEM 367

BANNATYNE MS.	79
And ȝit howbeit sum wemen falt be cace Be Ignorance Or thurch grit Libertie	85
ȝit men sowld no ^t allage in to no place That all wemen ar of sic vilitie <i>p</i> erticular prefferris no ^t vniuersalitie howbeit ane hes bene temptit w ^t þe devill	90
That fallowis no ^t þat all þe laif ar evill	
Quhairfoir I mervell þat men ar sa rud For to detract gud wemen evin and morne Ar we no ^t maid of wemenis flesch and blud And in þair bosum we ar bred and borne	95
Thairfoir we sowld do þame na skaith nor skorne All men þat gevis to wemen evill commend I pray to god þat thay mak ane ill end	
finis q Weddirburne	

III. BANNATYNE MS POEM 378

VOL IV, 98-102.

<u>IV</u>			
PAGE 98	Page 630	O man transformit and vnnaturall O trublit spreit possesst w ^t frenesye Allace is all thy wit prudenciall In vane consaittis and profound fantasy Thru ^t apprehensionis of mallancoly generit thru ^t lust of sensuall affectione quhilk hes exylit ressonne & affectione	fol. 287 b 5
		Quhair is thy knowlege and Intendment And thy ryp wit in solist bissinefs Quhair is thy wisdome & gud Iugement Quhair is thy pastance and solaciusnefs Quhair is thy strenth sowlde mortefy distres Quhair is thy prudent verteu ^s conversatioun Quhill vulgaris hald ^s of sa grit estimatioun	 10

POEM 378

BANNATYNE MS.		99
	Thow dois becum war nor ane brutall beist	15
	In profound pane provokand thy awin deid	
	Quhen thow in luvè lyis lyk ane gryislic gaist	
	Heit as þe fyre and calder nor þe leid	
	W ^t vane consaitis all farsit is thy heid	
	Destitut of vertew and of grace	20
	Lamentand vane consaitis cryand allace	
	W ^t sobbis and sichis and mony ane suspyir	
	Tormentand þair thy self in till ane trance	
	The quhilk haldis all thy body in ane fyre	
	Becaufs thy heid is full of variance	25
	And blynd ^{is} thy richt spreitis w ^t dull Ignorance	
	Provokand thy desyre to leif solitar	
	To end thy dayis in langissing and cair	
	¹	
	Thow garris me marvell mair than I can mene	
	Becaufs thow art þe maist fule now on lyfe	30
	The dropis be pairis fallis fra thy ene	
	Rarand lyk ane zung barne or ane seik wyfe	
	Desyrand thy awin deid w ^t swerd or knyf	
	Thairfoir vyce men sowld mak for þe no mane	
	Becaus thow art all w ^t þe glaik ^{is} ourgane	35
To cild	And þe auld man þour puerilitie	
	Is gane lang syne and thow art cum till aige	
	Thairfoir thy cild sowld end w ^t honestie	
	And in lufe to rammeis and to rege	
	For paramo ^{is} in ² ald men is dottage	40
	Thow sowld vpoun thy buk ^{is} and beid ^{is} contempill	
	The quhilk sowld be to zung men gud exempill	
Page 631	The devyne prudent plato sayis exprefs	fol. 288 a
	That quhan men ^{is} ene becumis bleird and obscure	
	And quhan þair cheikis ar full of skrumpilnefs	λ 45

¹ W^t sobbis *deleted*.

² amo^{is} *deleted*.

POEM 378

100

BANNATYNE MS.

¹ or quhan pair he[jidis] na exceß in [drynk] ind[ure] ¹
Than thay sowld provyd for pair sepulture
And to convers in vertew day & hour
And No^t to leif in lust and paramour

And Thus sирcht ² quhillk was sapient 50
he held thre vycis maist abhominable
Ane was quhan men of riches or of rent
Vsit to lie lesingis detestable
The secund was nane sowld hald for a fable
That is quhen men ar in pouerty pynd 55
Syne growis in hicht w^t ane ambitius mynd

And the thrid vyce he held maist odius
Becaufs it is pe vylest of pe thre
That is quhen men of Aige ar vicious
Vsand pair lust and sensualitie 60
Wemen takkis als grit plesour for to se
ane man of aige in amor^{is} for to carp
As quhen thay heir ane Aß play on a harp

Ry^t seyndill in to landis quhair I haif bene
I saw nevir auld men oft luvè paramour 65
Nor 3it it wes nevir in no cuntre sene
That wemen did luvè auld men day or hour
Tho^t sum wemen be sene be avingtour
To kiß and clap auld men be luvè feir
Sic fenzeit luvè thay schaw to get thair geir 70

Thairfoir thow sowld richt prudently perpend
The denger The dishon^r and ³ defame
Off povertie or ane mischevous end

¹—¹ or quhan pair he } written on margin after λ. The bracketed
na exceß in } letters are cut by the inlay.
ind }

² Sic.

³ pe deleted.

POEM 378

BANNATYNE MS.

101

Quhilk cumis of men of Aige that tynis gud name
Quhan zung men dois sic thing It is na schame 75
Becaufs zowtheid garris thair blude flow & rege
bot auld menis Lust proceidis of daft dotage

And sen thy blude Is becum cawld and dry
And als thy flesche and banis consumys for eild
Thairfoir thou sowld leif wantone chevalry 80
Off venus warkis And to gif our þe feild
And nevir to beir in amoris speir nor scheild
Bot rathir at ane hett fyre the to hold
Wt ane sydgoun to keip the fra þe cold

Thow hes mair mistir of ane dowbill cap 85
Nor of þe farest lady in to france

Page 632 Wt mittanis warme thy tendir handis to hap fol. 258 b
Nor for to se thy deir lufe sing or dance
Restoratyvis be wyifs menis ordinance
Wt sweit confectionis sowld be thy confort 90
Rathir nor wt fresche ladeis for till sport

The messingeris of deid dois the asselze
The quhilk no man nor woman may ganestand
Thy memberis and thy strenth begynnis to felze 95
for butt ane staff thou may not skantlie stand
Thairfoir gif thou be wyifs do my command
And to putt wemen cleir fur^t of thy mynd
Becaufs to men of Aige thay ar vnkynd

Tho^t thou be coistlie cled in cap and gown
Lyk the zung galzard gallandis in all thing 100
And als thy clais maid of þe new fassoun
And on thy fingeris mony Ioly ring
git thy gray berd zung wemen sall maling
Thairfoir thou sall putt thame fur^t of thy mynd
Becaufs to men of aige thay ar vnkynd 105

POEM 378

102

BANNATYNE MS.

To the
madin

And noble ladeis and sweit creator^{is}
I exort 3ow naturaly to Intend
The crewall and vnhappy avento^{is}
Be Iugement devyne quhilk god dois send
Schame pouerty or ane vyle suddane end
On pame that maculattis pudicitie
Adherand to pair sensualitie

110

The noble giftis of chestitie precell
Off vertewis it is Maist principall
Na *persone* can expreme defyne nor tell
The godly vertew virginiall
ffor the devyne theologgis vniuersall
And auld awtto^{is} of maist excellent gre
Aboif all giftis thay prefer chestitie

115

Thairfoir gif 3e wald keip pudicitie
3e sowl Extremely detest vane amo^{is}
And to fle evill occasioun specialie
As is foirsaid be ornat orato^{is}
And als 3e sowl preprend bay^t day & ho^{is}
To grit mischeif misery and neid
ffra paramo^{is} dois evir mair succid

120

125

finis q weddirburne

*** NOTES TO THE COMPLAYNT

Epistle

fol.2r

Dedication to 'the excellent ande illystir Marie
Quene of Scotlande, the margareit ande perle of princessis.'

The Index of Dedications in the Short Term Catalogue (STC) reveals that only three works extant appear to have been dedicated to Mary of Guise: STC 5458, Patrick Cockburn, in dominicam orationem pia meditatio, 8^o St. Andrews, 15 Cal.Oct., J.Sect, 1555; STC 15066, John Knox, Letter to Mary of Guise ? Geneva, 1556; STC 22009, the Complaynt. (cf. Franklin B. Williams, Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641, Bibliographical Society, (London, 1962)).

The Heading 'Ane Epistil to the Quenis Grace' is similar, as Leyden (pp.78-9) indicates, to Lindsay's 'Epistill to the Kingis Grace' prefaced to the 'Dreme', and his 'Epistill Nuncupatorie' prefaced to the 'Monarchie'.

The dedicatory epistle and the following prologue have the rhetorical function of winning over the reader. As Cicero, De Inv. I,xv,20 puts it: "Exordium est oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam dictionem; quod eveniet si eum benivolum, attentum, docilem confecerit."

The panegyric epistle is like the opening of the graduation address, of a newly created Master of Theology at St. Andrews, delivered about 1546. It begins: "Aegrestis moribus, conuersatione inciuilis, tenuis minerva, ingenio rudis, inops scientiis, literarum omnia inexpertus et qui nunc quod nouerim fore discipulus hodie in magistrum sum erectus, vestris coram splendissimis reverentiis, O reverendissimi patres et domini qui in circuitu assidetis universi. Nescius certe docere meipsum (hodie cernentibus vobis) ut alics docere proeuctus sum. Indignus qui remigis fungor officio in gubernacione nauis positus..." (The address is quoted in extenso from MSS leaves in a copy of William Manderston's Bipartitum (Paris, 1548) (Glasgow Univ.Lib. BE 6b11) (Formerly belonging to Robert Anderson, Regent in Salvator's College) by John Durkan, SUMA, 184-197.) The reference in the dedication to Marie as 'the margareit ande perle of princessis', refers to a very fruitful symbol.

The 'margareit' in French referred both to the daisy and to the pearl as well as being a woman's name, and the 'flower of flowers' reference was a commonplace found in the works of Machaut, Froissart and Deschamps. (cf. F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957) comment on lines 40-65 of the 'Legend of Good Women', pages 839-841).

"Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses" was the title given to the poems of Margaret of Navarre (1492-1549). (cf. historical introduction on Paris in the Mid-Thirties; cf. Tilley, Literature of the French Renaissance (New York, 1959), 115, 120.)

The pearl in the biblical parable and the pearl of the medieval lapidary are evoked in Dunbar's Homage to Queen Margaret, "Gladeth Thoue Queyne of Scottis Regioun", especially lines 33-40, (ed W.M. Mackenzie, B. Dickins, The Poems of William Dunbar (London, 1960), 180).

The daisy, the day's eye, (cf. Froissart's, 'Dittie de la Flour de la Margherite', of Machaut's 'Dit de la Marguerite', of Deschamps 'Ley de Franchise' for example) is more fruitful in the pearl symbolism in Middle English.

On the symbolism of the pearl cf. e.g. E.V. Gordon, Pearl (Oxford, 1953), xxvii-xxix; and references there; ed. J. Conley; The Middle English 'Pearl': Critical Essays (Notre Dame, Ind., 1970), 18-26.

Public weal

The mention of Mary of Guise's "magnanime auansing of the public veil of the affligit realme of scotlande", touches on a key idea of the Complaynt |

For the importance of the idea of the Commonwealth see Philip Styles' article in Shakespeare in His Own Time; Shakespeare Survey 17 (Cambridge, 1964), ch.8, 103-119.

The figure of John the Commonweal, in Lindsay's Satyre and Dreame, the 'bcoustius berne', whose raiment was all 'raggit rewyn, & rent" (Lindsay, Works, IV, 210, note to 'Satyre', line 2417) springs to mind.

Public weal and common weal are contrasted with particular weal, self interest, in the Complaynt.

folio 2v catalogue of heroines

The exemplum (or paradigma) was a form of rhetorical proof by

analogy, using the deeds of historical or legendary figures (eikon, imago). (cf. EELMA, 54-61; Huizinga, 218-9).

The Complayner refers to Plutarch and Boccaccio as his 'source', or as a 'parallel' source.

Boccaccio's scholarly writings were of great importance to Scots humanists of the Renaissance.

In the De Claris Mulieribus (see ed. G.A. Guarino, Boccaccio; Concerning Famous Women (London, 1964),) we find Penelope, wife of Ulysses (81-3); Lucretia, wife of Collantinus (101-3), Thamyris, Queen of Scythia (104-6); Cloelia, a Roman Virgin (114-5); Semiramis, Queen of the Assyrians (4-7); Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons (65-6), but not Valeria or Cornelia.

It is much more likely, as we have tried to show in the introduction, that the Complayner has taken the list from elsewhere, or from memory, and mentions vaguely an authoritative source.

Cloelia (Liv.ii,13); Lucretia (Liv,57,58); Penelope (Hyginus, Fabularum Liber 125,126; Ovid, Hercides,i); Semiramis (Justinus,Trogi Pompei Historiarum Philippicarum Epitoma,i.I,2; Val.Max.ix.3. ext.4; Orosii Historiarum Adversus Paganos,i,4); Thamyris (Just.i,8); Penthesilea (Just,ii,4.), are so often described that there is no need to seek any one source, especially as they are only named.

On the ladies' subsequent literary careers, see for example E. Frenzel, Stoffe der Weltliteratur, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart,1963).

Semiramis is mentioned by Chartier (ed Droz.p.16), and the editor suggests that Chartier borrowed from Val.Max.9.3.4. For Thamyris the Complayner knew his Bible well enough not to have to borrow from Carion (as Leyden suggests, p.40-1). Penthesilea might, as Leyden suggests (p.75) have been from Lydgate's Troy Book, and Ysicrata from Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's Fall of Princes, but this is not certain. Lindsay uses the same examples as the Complayner; e.g. Lucretia (Works, I,37); Cyrus (Works,III,382); Semiramis (Works,I,283-296,III,363) This does not imply borrowing. It indicates the conventional nature of the example, as is further shown, e.g. by Douglas referring to "How chaist Lucrece, the gudliest and best,/Be Sextus Tarquine was cruellie opprest." (Palice of Honour, lines 1664-5, in ed P.J.Bawcutt, The Minor Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS (Edinburgh, 1967)

The enumeration of exemplary figures is only one example of the use the Complayner makes of the device of 'catalogues', as we have seen in the introduction.

fol. 2v, 3r rauand sauuage volffis.

Reference to the English as 'wolves', and (fol. 68v) as 'our mortal ald enemeis', raises the question of 'tags' or jibes.

Chartier refers to the English as wolves also, and speaks of the King of England as "ancien adversaire de ceste seigneurie" (ed. Droz, Q.I., 4, 25).

The favourite jibe, recalled by the Complayner's reference to 'ald subtil doggis' (fol. 68v), is the reference to the English as 'tailed men'. See G. Neilson, "Caudatus Anglicus: A Medieval Slander", Transactions of the Glasgow Archeological Society, XXIX(1895)441-447. Cf. G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce (London, 1965) 101, 135; W.M. Mackenzie, B. Dickins, The Poems of William Dunbar (London, 1960) 199, note to 'Flyting' lines 125, 351; Major, History, 91; J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley, & L.A., 1950) 505-7, and notes 81-3 to Ch. 23; cf. Skelton's poem against Dundas, ed. P. Henderson, The Complete Poems of John Skelton, Laureate, (London, 1964), p. 147.f.

fol. 2v the universal pestilens

See the reference to plague, in the introduction. To the plague we owe the Bannatyne Manuscript, including Henryson's 'Ane Prayer for the Pest' (ed. H.H. Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, (Edinburgh, London, 1958), 163-5.)

fol. 3r Death of James V.

James V apparently died at Falkland on Thursday, 14th December, 1542, although various alternative dates have been mentioned. See Dunbar, Scot Kings, 237, 240-2.

fol. 3r. 'the cruel philaris the protector of ingland'

cf. 64v "There for i hope in god that wihth in schort days the protectour of ingland, and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the

croniklis in as abhominabil stile as vas philaris, *dionysius*, nero, callugala, or donician, the quhilkis maid ane mischeuous ende, for the violent inuasions of vthir princis cuntreis but ony iust titil"

The reference to the Protector Somerset (see historical introduction), as a tyrant, is linked with the idea of the scourge (see introduction). Jean de Beaugué, writing in 1556 his 'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse Pendant les Campagnes 1548 et 1549', says (ed. J. Bain, Maitland Club) (Edinburgh, 1830), page 12: "Dieu... cree quelques fois executeurs de sa iustice les Tyrans, les barbares, et les Turcs mesmes, comme il permit a Cam Zoroast d'affliger les Italiens, a Nembrtoth les Babiloniens, a Sardanapale les Persans & Arabes, a Pharao la posterite d'Abraham, a Attyla les Francois, & de fresche memoire a Mahumet Otthoman les Grecs & Chrestiens Orientaux. Et non sans grand'raison ie dy que Dieu etoit irrite contre les Escossois... Il faut donq croire que le iuste iugement de Dieu permette, qu'un peuple seuffre ces desauantures, pour luy donner exercer sa foy, & luy faire reconnoistre ses faultes..." This passage is also a significant parallel to the Complayner's views in that it mentions the Turks. The Complayner compares the English to Saracens (fol. 130r/v) which justifies war against them as a Crusade. See introduction; the view of history, the message of the Complaynt.

Esther was another common exemplary figure. Around 1540, when Wedderburn's brother was in Germany, Hans Sachs employed the figure. Judith was popular in the sixteenth century. Cf. Edna Purdie, The Story of Judith in German and English Literature (Paris, 1927); E. Frenzel, Stoffe der Weltliteratur (Stuttgart, 1963), 326-8. Gavin Douglas in 'The Pallice of Honour' (lines 1563-4) tells, "...how Iudith Holiphernes heid of straik/ Be nichtis tyde, and fred hir toun fra wraik."

fol. 3v Mary Queen of Scots in France

Mary Queen of Scots was born at Linlithgow on 7th or 8th December, 1542 and was Queen of Scots from 14th December, 1542.

The young queen went to Dumbarton at the end of February 1547/8, and after a stay of five months she embarked there, about the 7th August and landed in France about 13th August, 1548. (Dunbar, Scott Kings, 249).

Marie de Lorraine, the Queen Dowager herself left Leith on 8th August, 1550 for France, and returned to Scotland about 30th November, 1551 (Dunbar, Scot.Kings, 250)

Thus the section appears to have been written between August 1548 and August 1550, as it refers (fol.3v) to "zour grace beand absent fra zour only zong dochter....quha is presentlye veil tretit in the gouernance of hyr fadir of lau...", and Mary Queen of Scots is (fol.3v) 'that tendir pupil' and (fol.24r) "nocht entrit in the aige of puberte".

Mary did not marry the Dauphin, Francois, son of Henri II, king of France, till 24th April, 1558; (Dunbar, Scot.Kings, 251), but the marriage was arranged, soon after Henry succeeded Francis I in the spring of 1547, by the Treaty of Haddington, July 1548. (See D.Hay Fleming, Mary Queen of Scots, 2nd ed. (London, 1898), 14, 194-5).

fol. 3r

The comparison of the Scots and the Maccabees is common. See. Barbour, Bruce (Skeat), I, 19-20: Bk. I, Lines 465f.: 'Scoti assimilantur Sanctis Machabeis' "Thai was lik to the Machabeys..."

Major, History, 83 links the Scots and the Maccabees in the 'topos' of the 'Nine Just Men', a 'topos' which the Complayner also mentions (fol.4r).

See A.A.M.Duncan, The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath, (London, 1970), espec. p. 18, 35.

fol.4r-6r

The catalogue of Marie de Lorraine's distinguished ancestors is a conventional feature of a dedication.

fol. 4r. Godfrey de Bouillon

Godefroi, duke of Lower Lorraine, was leader of the First Crusade. He was Protector (Advocatus) of the Holy Sepulchre, 1099-1100. He died in 1100. He was not really 'kyng of iherusalem' as the Complayner says. His successor, his brother, Baldwin I, was the king of Jerusalem (1100-1118).

Godefroi's appearance links Marie and Scotland with the Nine Nobles (see note, fol. 4r below).

As Major (History, 83) indicates, the English stress their link with Arthur and thus with the Nine Nobles. Here the Complayner stresses

Scotland's link with the principal of the Nine Nobles.

Wedderburn, as Chamberlain to the Knights of St. John, at Torphichen, would be aware of Godfrey's 'Donation' to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (the French text of which is reprinted (Ex Cod. papyrac.Biblioth.Vaticanae, N.3136,p.19), at Appendix III, in Whitworth Porter, A History of the Knights of Malta (rev ed.)(London, 1883),698.).

See Mary N. Colvin, Godeffroy of Boloynne or the Siege and Conqueste of Jerusalem by William, Archbishop of Tyre. Translated from the French by William Caxton and printed by him in 1481 EETS ES 64 (London,1893); see pages xxix-xli for a Life of Godfrey.

Murray erroneously glosses 'foir grandscheir' in the margin of his edition as 'great grandfather', but of course Godefroid was not her great grandfather but a forebear or a forefather.

fol.4r. Nine Nobles

The triple trio, the three pagans, three Jews and three Christians; Hector, Alexander, Caesar, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Boulogne, seem to have first appeared in Jacques de Longuyon's "Voeux du Paon", at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The 'Neuf Preux' or the Nine Worthies were popular subjects in literature, and the visual arts; they feature even on a seventeenth century ceiling in Crathes Castle.

See ed.I.Gollancz, 'The Parlement of the Three Ages', in Select Early English Poems, II(London,1915)300-583; M.Y.Offord, The Parlement of the Three Ages, EETS OS 246 (London,1967),xl-xlii, and xlv.; ed O.L.Triggs, Lydgate's Assembly of the Gods, EETS ES 69(1957),463-9; ed H.N.McCracken, Lydgate's Minor Poems, EETS OS 192,II (London,1961), 811,830; Hawes, Pastime of Pleasure, lines 5523-85; P.J.Bawcutt, Minor Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS (Edinburgh,1968), 'Palice of Honour',1.2019.

Sometimes the Nine Nobles appeared in connection with the 'Ubi sunt' topos, as in Machaut's 'Dit dou Lyon', lines 1315-1320; Deschamps, Poemes, 12,239,403; Pisan, Cent Ballades, XCII, as D.A. Pearsall points out (ed D.A.Pearsall, The Flours and the Leafe, (London,1962), 148-9, note to line 504).

The 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles', De Novem Nobilibus', which, according to H.S. Bennett (Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century,(Oxford,

1947), 303) was 'first printed by Law, Scotichronicon, 1521', is reprinted by D. Laing, Select Remains (1822 and later editions), 186-191; by ed. W.A.Craigie, "The Ballet of the Nine Nobles", Anglia, XXI(N.F.), Bd.IX(1899), 359-369; R.L.G.Ritchie, The Buik of Alexander, Vol.I, pages cxxxiv-cl.; ed I.Collanz, The Parlement of the Three Ages (London, 1915), Appendix X.

As W.A.Craigie and R.L.G.Ritchie stress, the aim of the 'Ballet' is to suggest that Robert the Bruce is not inferior to any of the Nine Nobles, that in fact he is a Tenth Worthy. Major (History, 83) disagrees with the inclusion of Arthur among the 'Nine Just Men'.

fol.4v

It vil be ouer prolix to rehers...

This is the rhetorical device of 'occupatio'; see e.g. L.A.Sonnino, A Handbook to Sixteenth Century Rhetoric (London, 1968), 135-6.

fol.4v. Rene 'invictissime kyng of secilie duc of calabre ande loran zour gudscheir'.

René II (1451-1508), Claude de Lorraine's father, and Marie de Lorraine's grandfather, was duc de Lorraine (1473-1508), and 'duc de Bar' (1480-1508). The title of 'kyng of secilie' seems to have lapsed after René I of Anjou (1408-1480), who was titular king of Naples Sicily and Jerusalem, until it was renewed by Antoine, in 1530. Thus perhaps the Complainer is being flattering to René II. (see Balcarres Papers, frontispiece).

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433-1477) was killed on January 6th, 1477 at the relief of Nancy, which he had been besieging since René retook it on October 6th 1476. (see Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., V, 288).

fol.4v. antonius duc of calabre loran ande of bar

Antoine le Bon (1489-1544) duke of Lorraine and of Bar (1508-44).

fol.5r. that maist sapient prince and prelat fadir in gode, ihone of loran, be the permissione diuynne, Cardinal of the apostolic seige, archebisshop of narbon, abbot of eluny, fekkem, and of sanct ouyne...

Jean de Lorraine (1498-1550), was from 1518 on, Cardinal de Lorraine; and archbishop of Reims and of Lyons. The Complayner has a full dossier on him, and his diplomatic missions.

fol.5v. the duc of guise, lieutenant general to the kyng of France, of all the cuntre of champayngze ande brie

Claude the first duke of Guise (1496-1550) was a son of RenéII, de Lorraine, who inherited Guise from a cousin Charlotte d'Armagnac. Claude adopted French nationality in 1506 and became a peer and duke of Guise in 1528. He was also Count of Guise and Aumale, Marquis d'Elbeuf, Marquis de Mayenne, and Baron de Joinville. Marie de Lorraine's mother was Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter of Francois de Bourbon, Count Vendome.

fol.5v. St. Quentin.

The famous siege of St. Quentin is that of 10th August, 1557, when the Spanish defeated the French and captured this town in East Picardy.

St. Quentin since the 3rd century a pilgrimage centre, was on an invasion route at the meeting of five military roads, and even as Augusta Veromanduorum it must have been under siege. As Mary's father died in 1550 the event in the Complaynt must have been an earlier siege.

Peronne was besieged, for example, in 1536, when Charles V's troops under the Count of Nassau failed to take Peronne which held out under the command of Fleuranges.

fol.6r. Saverne

Claude had become governor of Champagne and Burgundy in 1523. With Antoine, Duke of Lorraine, Claude defeated the peasants in mid-May 1525 at Lupstein, near Saverne (Zaborn) and, according to Leonard von Eck, the Bavarian chancellor, Antoine destroyed some 20,000 peasants in Alsace.

See e.g. A.F.Pollard, "Social Revolution and Catholic Reaction in Germany", Camb.Mod.Hist.II:The Reformation, (Cambridge,1904), Ch.VI, 177-194, an older but useful account; the most convenient selection

of documents is Klaus Kaczerowsky, Flugschriften des Bauernkrieges, (Reinbek, 1970); the standard collections are Gunther Franz, Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg (Darmstadt, 1968), Vol.II; and his Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges (Darmstadt, 1963).

Leyden (p. 76) quotes Carion in Lynne's translation (fol. 207), but it is of interest as a 'parallel' not as a borrowing.

On the social background of Germany at the time see the item by E.W.Zeeden in the bibliography.

In folio 132v reference is made to the Peasants' Revolt and the 'fürstlichen Landsknechte' and the Dukes of Hesse and Saxony. Philip Landgrave of Hesse (1504-1567) who succeeded his father Wilhelm in 1509 and came of age in 1518, married in 1523, Christina, daughter of George Duke of Saxony. In 1522 and 1523 he helped to quell an uprising of Franz von Sickingen. In 1525 he linked forces with the Duke of Brunswick and Duke John of Saxony (who succeeded his brother Frederick as Elector of Saxony on May 5th, 1525). In a combined operation they crushed the peasants at Frankenhausen on 15th May, 1525, and captured Münzer.

fol. 6v. ane tracteit of the fyrst laubir of my pen

For a discussion of this remark see introduction.

fol. 6v. i began to reualue the librarye of my vndirstanding, ande i socht all the secreit corneris of my gazophile

W.A.Craigie, in an article in The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature (1898-9) 267-269, noted that in a manuscript (B.N.Arsenal 5108) of a rendering of Ovid's Epistles by Octovien de St Gelais, Bishop of Angoulême, there occurs in the preface dedicating the work to Charles VIII, the phrase: "Après avoir tournoyé la petite libraire de mon entendement & visité les anletz de mon gazophile".

The word 'gazophile' is used in the Vulgate (eg, Mark 12, 41-4; Luke 21, 1-4). Boethius also speaks of the library or chamber of the mind; which is like 'the cabinet of my interior thoctis'.

fol. 7r. The Poor man and Derius

This story is told for example in Plutarch, III, 455 (Artaxerxes).

Cato Disticha, I, 20 is the source for the margin quote.

fol. 7r/v The Widow's mite topos

fol. 7v Prologue

fol. 7v Amasis (569-526 B.C.), fifth legislator of Egypt.

see C.H. Oldfather, Diodorus Siculus; Library of History, Bk. I, Vol. I, (London, 1933), Book I, 95, 1. The Bibliotheca Historica of Diodorus Siculus translated by John Skelton has been edited for the EETS (OS 233, 239) by F.M. Salter and H.L.R. Edwards, (London, 1950, 1954).

Indigetes "heroes elevated to the rank of gods after their death and regarded as the patron deities of their countries: patri Dii sunt, qui praesunt singulis civitatibus ut Minerva Athenis, Juno Carthagini: Indigetes autem proprie sunt Dii ex hominibus facti, quasi in Diis agentes: Servius Honoratus, comment on Vergil Georgics, 1, 498." (Lewis & Short). H. Steuning in his Greek and Roman Mythology and Heroic Legend (London, 1901), 108, says: "Quite peculiar to Roman religion and conceived without any traits of personal character are the Indigetes or "Workers Within", the spirits bringing to pass any particular activity in certain persons or things. To each of these beings was ascribed one single strictly limited sphere of operation which was exactly determined by the spirit's name; hence heed had to be paid that the right Indiges should be called upon for aid at the right moment...." These 'spirits of actions' were not as Servius suggests, etymologically from 'in diis agentes', but were as A. Sidgwick points out "from indu-old form of in, and ga- stem of Gigno: the word meaning 'born-in-the-land', i.e. hero of the race." A. Sidgwick, P. Vergili Maronis Opera 2 vols (Cambridge, 1890), Vol. II, p. 67, note to Vergil. Georg. I, 498). The Complayner refers to the posthumously deified Pharaoh thus.

fol. 8r. Gymnosophists

The gymnosophists appear to be Hindu naked vegetarian hermit

philosophers practising the yoga of renunciation (samnyasa). Cf. S.Radhakrishnan, The Bhagavadgita (London, 1948), 187. Lewis & Short define the gymnosophists as "Indian ascetics... who disregarded the decencies of life, Pliny. 7.2.2. sect.22; Lucius Apuleius, Florida, p. 351;... Cf. Cicero, Tusc. 5.27.77; Val.Max. 3.3. ext.6." Higden, Polychronicon, Bk.I, Ch.XI., (in Rolls Series, Vol.I, p.82) relates: "Sunt ibi gymnosophistae philosophi, qui per diem quasi immobiles irreverberatis oculis solem contemplantur." The fakir with his bed of nails and other tricks, is obvious material for travellers' tales. Oriental philosophy on the other hand no doubt reached the Hebrew and Graeco-Roman apperceptions partly via Egypt, partly via accounts of Alexander the Great. Herodotus for example (bk.II) and Diodorus (Bk.I) are interested in Egyptian religion. Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots, (Edinburgh, London, 1902), 305, refers to Plutarch, Alex. 64; cf. ed. J.S.Westlake, The Prose Life of Alexander, EETS OS 143 (London, 1911), 73.

fol. 8r. Sesostris

C.H.Oldfather, Diodorus of Sicily; Library of History, Vol.I, (London, 1933) I., 53.1, and note p. 185: Sesoösis: "practically all the Greek and Latin writers called him Sesostris, and about him stories gathered as about no other ruler in ancient history with the exception of Alexander the Great. In Greek times Sesostris had long since become but a legendary figure which can not be identified with any particular king. But certain facts narrated in connection with him were certainly drawn from memories of the reign of Ramses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty."

Sesostris' ordinance

Diodorus I.53.1.: "Now at the birth of Sesoösis his father did a thing worthy of a great man and a king. Gathering together from over all Egypt the male children which had been born on the same day and assigning to them nurses and guardians he prescribed the same training and education for them all, on the theory that those who had been reared in the closest companionship and had enjoyed the same frank relationship would be most loyal and as fellow-combatants in the wars most brave. He amply provided for their every need and then trained the youths by unremitting exercises and hardships: for no one of them

was allowed to have anything to eat unless he had first run one hundred and eighty stades." A footnote estimates the distance at about twenty miles. (ed. C.H.Oldfather, Loeb edn, 1933:187).

fol.8v.

'numquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosum" De Officiis, 3.1.1. See introduction; the Complainer quotes from the De Officiis again, in folios 14r,57r,147r. This quotation is reported again by Cicero Rep. 1,17.27: 'Africanum solitum esse dicere, se numquam minus solum esse, quam cum solus esset.' The Complainer quotes the version meaning Scipio is never less at leisure than when free from official business. Scipio Africanus Major (c234 BC-c 183 BC) is a favourite exemplary figure. The Complainer (in fol.116v) following Chartier (Q.I.,60,18) contrasts Scipio's virtue's with the vices of his degenerate son (borrowing from Val.Max.3.5.1.) as proof that true nobility is not inherited.

On the importance of the reputed dream of Scipio, see W.H.Stahl, Macrobius:On the Dream of Scipio (Columbia,1952), and C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image, (Cambridge,1967) 60-69.

fol.8v.

The Complainer describes his own activity as "the laubir vitht the pen & the studie on speculations of vertu" and (in folio 9r) by implication also as "traductione compiling or teaching", and also (folio 10v), as "ane gude verk tyl induce the pepil to vertu"; and (folio 13v,14r) he aims "to vndirtak to correct the imperfections of ane comont veil..." His motive has been, he concludes (folio 15r) "the compassionne that i hef of the public necessite". This moral purpose stated in the prologue is reinforced by frequent recourse to the authority of scripture, and the 'Exempla' of Biblical and Classical Antiquity, and, as we see in the 'Introduction, the basic message of the Complaynt is the spiritual universal constant extracted from the apparent chaos of events and only apparently meaningless vicissitudes of the contemporary scene.

fol.9r. ande nou sen gode.....men of veyr.

This passage which might be taken for an autobiographical

statement is in fact paralleled by Chartier's words in the Quadrilogue (p.65,25-30): "Et puis que Dieu ne t'a donne force de corps ne usaige d'armes, sers a la chose publique de ce que tu pues, car autant exaulca la gloire des Rammains et renforca leurs couraiges a vertu la plume et la langue des orateurs comme les glaives des combatans." See appendix on Chartier. This passage from Chartier shows the fallacy of accepting as autobiographical, statements in any rhetorical setting. The remark in the French that the Roman orators achieved as much by the pen as warriors did by sword, is a view not shared by the Complayner. He says (fol.65r): "...realmis ar nocht conquest be buikis bot rather be bluid."

fol.9r.

'as Cicero sais in the thrid of his paradoxis'
ed. O.Plasberg, Cicero:Paradoxa Stoicorum, Teubner (Leipzig,1908),12.

fol.9v.

'Hurt nature' As Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots (Edinburgh, London, 1902), 305, remarks, this is a parallel usage to the expression 'hurt-majesty'. The phrase is repeated in folio 10r. According to Leyden the phrase 'hurt-nature' is a reference to the doctrine of Original Sin (p.82-4), which it might indeed be, in the Complayner's context, if not in Aristotle's. See comment on 'gladius delphicus'.

fol.9v and margin. gladius delphicus

A delphic 'machaira' is mentioned in the Greek text of Aristotle, Pol. 1.2.3., but as the marginal note is in Latin this suggests that Complayner did not go to the original Greek. Nicole Oresme (c.1330-81) made a version about 1370-1. As early as about 1280 William of Moerbeke had made a version. I think however it is even more likely that the Complayner took the account from Erasmus and added the appropriate note in the margin from a Latin Aristotle he consulted. In Erasmus' Adagia the passage is as follows: Delphicus gladius... Arist. Id est, Delphicus gladius. De re dicebatur ad diversos usus accommodabili. Nam Delphicus gladius ad eum modum erat fabrefactus,

ut eodem simul & sacras mactarent victimas, & nocentes afficerent supplicio. Sicebit & in setium sensum accommodare proverbium, ut si quis eruditioem, Delphicum appellet gladium, quod in omni aetate, omni vitae conditione sit usui. Nam litterae juvenibus sunt necessariae, senibus jucundae, pauperibus opes suppeditant, opulentis adjungunt ornamentum, in rebus adversis solatio sunt, in secundis ploriae, clar natis genere splendorem augent obscuro genere natis claritatis imitium conciliant." (Adagiorum D.Erasmi Roterodami Epitome, W.Hall (Oxford, 1666) p.51). Even if he did not take it from Erasmus directly he might have heard the example or read it, for example, in Major's Preface "In Matthaëum" (1518) (see Major, History 435-6). In Aristotle's context the comment is on Nature's generosity, which is in contrast to the parsimonious attitude of men. Nature makes objects with one sole use, an instrument is only perfect if used for the unique function for which it was made.

fol. 10 margin

Mille hominum...viuitur. Persius Sat. V, 51-2; (not Sat. IV, as in Murray's footnote).

fol. 10r. Quot homines tot sententiae

is quoted by the Complainer from Cicero, De Fin. 1.5.15; but Cicero is quoting from Terence, Phormio, II,4,14. Horace also quotes Terence (Horace, Satures, II,1,27.) Chaucer in the Squires Tale, 202, translates: "As many hedes, as many wittes ther ben."

fol. 10r.

Heracleon, sent for by the citizens of Cartomat, was the painter Zeuxis of Heraclea, and Cartomat is Crotona. The story is mentioned by Cicero, De Inventione, 2.1.(2) The reputed masterpiece of Zeuxis (fl. 425-400 B.C.) was this picture of Helena which he painted for Crotona, combining the beauty of five maidens. Shakespeare refers to Zeuxis' reputed realism when in "Venus and Adonis", he uses the simile: "Even as poor birds, deceived with painted grapes,/ Do surfeit by the eye, and pine the maw." (601-2). Zeuxis is supposed to have painted grapes so well that birds came and pecked at his painting.

fol. 10r.

'hurt nature' is a construction like 'lèse-majesté' in French.
See comment on hurt-nature in fol. 9v.

fol. 10v. margin Non in omnes omnia conveniunt. Cic. pro roscio amerino.

The quotation from Pro Roscio Amerino, 122 reads in fact: ... "non in omnes arbitrator omnia convenire." The Complayner is quoting 'ad sensum' possibly from memory too. See introduction. Vergil in the Eclogues (8,63) expresses a similar view: Non omnia possumus omnes. (ed. H.R. Fairclough, Virgil, Eclogues; Georgics; Aeneid, Loeb (London, 1916) Vol. I, 60-1). F.L. Schoell, Études sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance, (Paris, 1926), p. 58, n. mentions that Erasmus cites "Non omnis fert omnis tellus", which Chapman translates: "All natures are not capable of all gifts."

fol. 10v. Non tam eaque recta sunt probantur, quam quae prava sunt fastidiis adherent. Cic. de ora

See introduction: these are not Cicero's exact words. Cic. De Oratore. 1.61.258 reads: Non tam eaque de recta essent probari, quam quae prave sunt fastidiis adhaerescere.

fol. 11r.

B.J. Whiting Med. Studies, XIII (1951), 106, quotes this as a proverbial saying: -"OCEAN 'he...that intendis to compile ane verk to content euerys man he suld fyrst drynk furtht the ocean see'. Tilley 09."

fol. 11r.

The anecdote of the hen finding the knife which cuts her throat and the example of Phormio, occur in Guevara's Relox de Principes. See M.P. McDiarmid, "The Complaynte of Scotlande: Patrick Cockburn, Antonio de Guevara, Antonio de Fregoso," Notes and Queries (1959) 245-8. On the general influence of Guevara see e.g. P.M. Smith, The Anti Courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century French Literature (Geneva, 1966) espec. 32-38.

For convenience Thomas North's translation "The Diall of Princes, 1557 (STC.12427) is quoted rather than Lorloge des Princes the French translation of 1540-2 (P.M.Smith,p.36) the exemplar probably used by the Complayner.

fol. 11r-13v.

Thomas North translated the Relox (c.1529) into English as The Diall of Princes (1557)(STC.12427) This passage in the introduction is translated as follows: (p.4) "Paulus diaconus the historiographer, in the seconde booke of his commentaries, sheweth an antiquitie, righte worthy to remember, and also, pleasaunt to reade. Although in ded, to the hinderaunce of my selfe, I shal reherse it.

It is, as of the henne, who by longe scrapinge on the dongehil, discouereth the knife, that shall cut hir owne throte. Thus was the case. Hannibal, the most renowned captains of Carthage (after he was vainquished by the aduenturous Scipio) fled into Asia, to kinge Antiochus, a prince then living, of great vertue, who received him into his realme, tooke him into his protection, and right honourably entertained him, in his house. And certes, the king Antiochus, did herein, as a pitefull prince, for there is nothings, whereby Prynces approue them selues more noble, than by succouring those which are noble, in their necessitie. These two princes used of custome, ofte to hunte in the mountaynes, ofte to dysporte them in the fieldes, ofte to vewe their armies: But most of all, they wente to the schooles to here Philosophers. And trulye they dyd like wyse and skilfull men. For there is no hower in a daye otherwise so well employed, as in hearinge a wise pleasaunt tonged man. There was at that time in Ephesus, a famous philosopher called Phormio, which openly red, and taught, the people of that realme. And one daye as these prynces came into the schole, the Philosopher Phormio, chaunged the matter, wherupon he red, and of a sodayne, began to talke of the meanes, and wayes, that prynces ought to use in warre, and of thorder to be keapte in geuing battayle. Suche, so straunge, and high phrased was the matter, whiche he talked of, that not onely they merueiled, which neuer before sawe him: but euen those also, that of longe time, had dayly hearde him. For herein, curious, and flourisshing wittes, shewe their excellencye, in that they neuer

neuer wante freshe mater, to entreate upon. Greatlye gloried the kinge Antiochus, that this Philosopher (in presence of this straunge prynce) had so excellently spoken, so that straungers might understand, that he had his realme stoked with wise men.

For, couragious and noble prynces, esteme nothing so precious, as to have men valiaunt, to defende their frontiers, and syse, to gouerne their common weales. The king Antiochus demaunded of the prince Hannibal, how he liked the talke of the philosopher Phormio, to whome, Hanniball stoutely aunswered, and in his answere, shewed hym selfe to be of the same stoutnes, that he was the same daye, whan he wanne the greate battayle at Camas (sic!). For although, noble harted and couragious princes, lose all their estates, and realmes: yet they wyll neuer confesse their hartes to be ouerthrowen, nor vaynquysshed. And these were the wordes, that at that time Hanniball said. Thou shalt understand king Antiuchus, that I haue seen dyuerse doting olde men, yet I neuer sawe a more dootarde foole, than Phormio, whom thou cauleth such a great philosopher. For the greatest kinde of foly is, whan a man, that hath onely a little vaine science, presumeth to teache, not those which haue onely science, but also suche, as haue most certeine experience. Tel me (Kinge Antiochus) what harte can brooke with pacience, or what tonge can suffer with silence, to see a sely man (as this philosopher is) nourisshed all his life time, in a corner of Grece, studieng philosophie, to presume (as he hath done) to talke before the prince Hanniball, of the affaires of warre, as though he had ben, either lorde of Affrike, or captaine of Rome. Certes, he either ful little knoweth hym selfe, or els but little estemeth vs. For it appeareth by his vaine wordes, he would seme to know more in matters of warre, by that he hath red in bookes, than dothe Hanniball, by the sondry and great battayles, which he hath fought in the fieldes. O Kinge Antiochus, how farre, and how great is the difference, betwene the state of philosophers, and the state of captaynes: betwene the skil to reade in schole, and the knowledge to rule an armye, betwene the science, that these haue in bookes, and the experience, that thothers haue in warre, betwene one, that for his pastime is set round with deskes of bookes: and an other, in peril of life, compassed with troupes of enemyes. For many there are, which with great eloquence in blasing deedes done in warres, can use their tonges: but fewe are those that at the brunte, haue hartes to aduenture their liues. This sely philosopher, neuer sawe man of warre

in the fyeld, neuer sawe one armye of men, discomfited by an other, neuer hearde the terrible trumpet, sounde to the horrible and cruel slaughter of men, neuer sawe the tresons of some, nor understode the cowardnes of other, neuer sawe how fewe they be that fight, nor how many there are that ronne away Finallye, I saye, as it is semelye for a philosopher and a learned man, to prayse the profittes of peace: even so it is in his mouthe a thinge uncomely, to prate of the perilles of warre. Yf this philosopher, hath seene no one thinge with his eyes, that he hathe spoken, but onelye reade them in sondry bookes: let hym recounte them to such, as haue neither seen, nor redde them. For warlike feates, are better learned in the bloody fieldes of Affrike, than in the beautiful schooles of Grece. Thou knowest right wel (king Antiochus) that for the space of 36 yeares, I had contynuall, and daungerous warres, as wel in Italye, as in Spayne, in the which, fortune did not fauour me (as alwayes her custome is to doe, to those, which by great hardines, and manfulnes, enterpryse high thynges, and of greate dyffycultye) a witnes whoreof, thou seest me heare, who before my berde began to growe, was serued, & now whan it is hore I my selfe begynne to serue, I sweare unto the, by the god Mars, (King Antiochus) that if any man did aske me, how he should use and behaue him selfe in warre, I would not aunswere him one worde. For they are thinges, that are learned by experience of dedes, & not by pratinge in wordes. Although princes beginne warres by iustice, and follow them with wisdom, yet the ende, standeth upon fickle fortune. Diuerse other thinges Hanniball said unto Antiochus, and to the curious Phormio, who so euer wil see them, let him reade the apothemes of Plutarche..."

The Complayner also says, "the ende of the veyris consistis in the chance of fortune" (see introduction, discussion of Fortune). and the Complayner also refers to Plutarch's "apothignatis". Like Guevara he continues too: "This exempil tendis..." North translated: "This example (noble prince) tendeth to this ende that a man may condemne my boldnes, and not commende my enterprise, saieng, that thaffaires of the common wealth, be as unknowen to me, as the daungers of the warres were to Phormio." The reference to the common weal is of course in consonance with the Complayner's whole message.

fol. 12r.

The reference in the passage from Guevara to fortune and the

Complayner's reference to Dame Fortune both allude to the very fruitful personification of Fortune. See the discussion in the introduction. The Complayner discusses Juvenal's view of Fortune in fol. 18r. See commentary on fol. 18r.

fol. 12r. mirror

the mirroure of folye

On the mirror as metaphor see, E.R.Curtius, ELIMA, 336 and fn. 56. On the mirror for princes, see ELIMA, 177. The expression recalls Nigel Wireker's title Speculum Stultorum.

fol. 13v. Plutarque...Apothigmatis

The reference is as we have seen in Guevara. This confirms our view, mentioned in the introduction, that the Complayner, when he mentions sources, only gives vague sources from memory, or second hand references to authors who confirm the main anecdote, which he cheerfully pillages from the unnamed source. Cf. Cicero, De Oratore, 2, 18. 75.

fol. 14r. Nullus locus nobis dulcior esse debet patria

This is from Cicero's Epistulae ad Familiares (Ad Marcellum Familiarem) 4.9.3.: Nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria. The Complayner quotes 'ad sensum'. Like the Complayner's quotation from Cicero, De Officiis, 1.17.57, in folio 57r, this patriotic quotation like Horace's "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" (Odes III.2.13) is a view which we must take into consideration when evaluating the problem Nationalism, Patriotism. See Introduction. The Complayner as is argued there, is a patriot in the Ciceronian sense that he is urging a 'concordia ordinum'.

fol. 14r. Sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis ne ut quidam Graeca verba inculcantes jure optimo rideamur. Cicero, De Officiis, 1.31.111.

This introduces the whole topic of the use of the vernacular and the problem this involves. See introduction. Folios 14r-15v are very important for their literary theory. See the discussion in the

introduction of the 'modesty topos', the vernacular, 'copiousness' and 'aureate terms'.

fol. 14r. barbir agrest terms 'reggit naykyt tracteit'; 'my dul rude brane';

Cf.

- a) Lindsay, Works, I, 386
Monarche lines 6334-5
"All gentyll Redaris hertlye I Implore
For tyll excuse my rurall rude Indyte."
- b) Lindsay, Works, I, 214-9
Monarche, 537-684: contains "Ane exclamatioun to the Redar,
Twycheyng the wrytting of Vulgare and Maternall language."
- c) Lindsay, Works, I, 63: Papyngo's First 'Epystyll to Kyng James the Pyft' beginning (line 227) "Prepotent Prince peirles of pulchritude"... refers (Line 246) to what he is going to write as "my barbour rusticall indyte".
- d) Lindsay, Works, I, 204
In the Prol. to the Monarche, lines 202-9 speaks of his "raggit rurall vers"... and says he will write (line 213) "With roustye termes".

fol. 14r.

Hermes and his use of "lang tailit vordis" 'conturbabuntur, constantinopolitani, innumerabilibus, sollicitudinibus'.

The Complayner again mentions Hermes at folio 126r quoting Hermes' comparison of a bad man in authority to a bad ship's captain.

Hermes Trismegistus was the supposed author of many works on magic and alchemy. The name was given by the Greeks to the Egyptian god Thoth, whose wisdom was held to be preserved in certain 'Hermetical' books, dating from the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries.

Cf. L. Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science (London, 1923), II, 214ff.: A.-D. Nock, A.J. Festugière, Corpus Hermeticum 4 vols.

(Paris, 1945); G.R.S.Mead; Thrice-Greatest Hermes... 3 vols (London 1906, repr. 1964); ed. W.Scott, Hermetica, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1924-36 repr. 1968).

The works are important as being Neoplatonist documents, and suggest the possibility of salvation without a saviour, through true 'gnosis' which is attained by instruction and initiation. They also refer to astrological influences on the world.

On the influence of the Neo-Platonists (Plotinus and Proclus, for example) on Coleridge, and of Taylor's influence on Wordsworth, Blake and Shelley, see A.C.Baugh, A Literary History of England, (London, 1948), 1150, and F.B.Evans, "Thomas Taylor, Platonist", PMLA, LV (1940), 1060-79.

The main influence of 'Hermes' was, in the sixteenth century, through the neo-platonists Pico and Ficino. See C.S.Lewis, Eng. Lit. in the 16th Century (Oxford, 1954) 8-14; 618-620. See F. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, (London, 1964).

The importance of the Complainer's rejection of Hermes is firstly that he is discussing style, and secondly that the Complainer is perhaps also rejecting the Platonic theology of Pico (1463-94) & Ficino (1433-99) of Florence. The Florentines appear in a poor light in fol. 96r. The Complainer mentions too that Petrarch was a 'Florentyne' (fol. 118v).

fol. 14r. 'langtaillit vordis'

This is the vice which Horace, Ars Poetica, 97, mentions; 'sesquipedalia' polysyllables. Cf. T.S.Dorsch, Classical Literary Criticism; Aristotle; Horace; Longinus (Harmondsworth, 1965) 82. Sesquipedalia verba, words a foot and a half long, are found in early Latin dramatists; Gellius 19.7. quotes from Laevius rather harmless examples like 'foedifragus, pudoricolor, trisaeclicenex, dulcioriloquens! etc: Pacuvius wrote 'Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus' (T.E.Page, A.Palmer, A.S.Wilkins, Q.Horati Flacci Opera (London, 1896), 598-9.)

In the sixteenth century, Tory and The Complainer seems to take the abuse seriously; Rabelais and Shakespeare make fun of it.

Geoffroy Tory in his preface to his Champ Fleury (1529) distinguishes three classes of offenders who corrupt language;

'escumeurs de latin'; 'plaisanteurs'; 'jargonneurs'. The first group, the 'escumeurs de latin' are those who perpetrate such atrocities as "despumon la verbocination latiale et transfreton la Sequane au diluctule et crepuscule, puis deambulon, par les quadrives et platees de Lutece et comme verisimules amorabundes captivon la benivolence de l'omnigene et omniforme sexe feminin." This example is quoted from *Tory* almost word for word by Rabelais, who alters the tone of the context, putting it in the mouth of the figure of the Limousin scholar (who is perhaps meant to represent Jean Dorat). See V.L.Saulnier, Francois Rabelais: Pantagruel (Paris, 1946), p. xxxiii, 32; see J.M.Cohen, Rabelais: Gargantua and Pantagruel (Harmondsworth, 1955), 184.

Similarly Shakespeare who also quotes 'honorificabilitudinitatibus' in Love's Labour's Lost Act V, puts it in the mouth of Costard who plays with the word, as with the word 'remuneration' in Act III, and uses it to make fun of Holofernes and Sir Nathaniel. Even today entertainment is derived from long words such as 'antidisestablishmentarianism' and words like, 'floccinaucinihilipilification', and of course the enormous compounds to which German lends itself.

Wilson's 'Arte of Rhetorique' (1553) gives the classic reference to 'inkhorn terms'. See introduction on 'aureate' language. Cf. J.M.Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry, 1485-1547 (New York, 1920) 139-140.

fol. 14v. 'honorificabilitudinitatibus'

See note by H.H.Furness to the use of the word in Love's Labour's Lost, V.1.43-4. (New Variorum Edition, 3rd ed)(Philadelphia, 1910) 215-7. Furness does not (as C.F.Bühler, in his note in American Notes & Queries, 3 (1964-5), 131, remarks) quote the Complaynt as the first example of the word. Max Hermann points out that the word 'honorificabilitudinitas' occurs, for example, in a manuscript of Hugoccio of Pisa's Liber Derivationum (Hugo died 1210)(Max Hermann, Euphorion I, 1 (1894)p.283, quoted by Furness). Furness also mentions Dante's use of the word 'onorificabilitudinitate' in his De vulgari eloquentia (c.1300). That the dative case gives a longer form than the nominative is no great stroke of inventive genius. In any case, the Complayner specifically says he is quoting someone, he cannot

remember who? Du Cange quotes Mussatus around 1300 as using honorificabilitudinitas, see N.E.D./O.E.D. 'Honorificabilitudinitas'.

fol. 14v. loquere verbis presentibus et utere moribus antiquis

The nearest I can find to this phrase is Ovid's 'Laudamus veteres sed nostris utimur annis' (Fasti, L,225): we praise the past but use our present years.

fol 14v. Verba inventa sunt, non que impedirent, sed que indicarent voluntatem, Cic. Caecin. 53

Cicero's words are "Verba reperta sunt..." A similar sentiment is Dionysius Cato's "Sermo hominum mores et celat et indicat idem" (Disticha Moribus, I,26).

fol. 14v.

"oure scottis tong is nocht sa copeus as is the lateen tong"
On this aim of copiousness: see introduction.

fol. 15r.

"Non tam ea..." this quotation, as we noted in folio 10v, does not give Cicero's exact words, see Cicero De Oratore, 1,61.258.: 'Non tam eaque recta essent probari, quam quae prave sunt fastidiis adhaerescere.'

fol. 15r. homo est animal

Oresme in his prologue to his translation of Aristotle's Ethics (1488) says: et comme il soit ainsi que le latin est à present plus parfait et plus habondant langaige que francais, par plus forte raison l'en ne pourroit translater proprement tout latin en francois, sicomme entre ennombrables exemples peult apparoir de ceste proposition, homo est animal..." (quoted G.W.Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his 'Livre de Divinacions (Liverpool, 1952), note 14, p.182.). That this was almost a commonplace is shown by Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1949), 107.: and

D.F.C.Coldwell, Gavin Douglas: Aeneid (STS) (Edinburgh, 1957-64), I, 148, and II, p. 13 (Douglas' own footnote) Coldwell says "The Complaynt may have been influenced by Douglas' marginal note, but citing 'homo' as an example of the difficulty of translating is conventional, being the case, for example, in Nicholas Oresme and Pierre Bercuire (v.Petit de Julleville, Hist.Litt. II,ii,pp.261-3, 474 ff.)"

Douglas in his footnote to the line "Lat thame interprit 'animal' and 'homo'", says (II, 13,fn.): "As for animal and homo in our language is nocht a propir term, and thai be bot bestis that expouns animal for a beste. Ane beste is callit in Latyn bestia and pecus, and animal betekynnys all corporall substans that hass ane saull quhilk felis payn, icy or ennoy. And vndyr animal beyn contenyt all mankynd, beist, byrd, fowll, fisch, serpent, and all othir sik thingis at lyfis and steris, that hass a body, for al sik and euery ane of thame may be properly callit animal. And thus animal is ane general name for al sik maner thingis quhatsumeuer. Homo betekynnys baith a man and a woman, and we haue na term correspondent tharto, nor ~~git~~ that signifyis baith twa in a term alanerly."

See introduction; and article by Priscilla Preston, N & Q (1957) 431-2.

fol. 15r/v Nou for conclusionone... vane gloir.

This is paralleled by Chartier, Q.I., p.66. lines 2-8: "et a chascun lecteur prie le vouldoir interpreter favorablement et y jugier a cognoistre la bonne affection plus que la gloire de l'ourraige. Car je afferme loiaument que l'esmouvement de cest oeuvre est plus par compassion de la necessite publique que par presumption d'entendement et pour profiter par bonne exhortacion que pour autrui reprendre."

See introduction on Chartier and appendix.

fol. 15v. our fragil peregrinatione

This refers to the topos' of 'Life as a Pilgrimage.'

See introduction; cf. fol. 29v.

fol. 15v, 16r. Mutations of Monarches

The chapter heading: 'The Fyrst Cheptovr declaris the cause of the

Mutations of Monarches.': is, as the Complayner indicates in his margin quotation, from the Biblical source, 'Regnum a gente in gentem transit propter iniusticias & uniuersos dolos. Eccle.10' The full quotation is 'Regnum a gente in gentem transfertur propter injustitias et injurias et contumelias et diversos dolos', (Ecclesiasticus 10,8); "Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is transferred from one people to another." As E.R.Curtius remarks, (ELIMA, 28-9), the word 'transfertur' ('is transferred') gives rise to the concept of translatio (transference) which is basic for medieval historical theory.

As the New English Bible heads this chapter the topic is 'Man's Life under divine providence' and it outlines the idea that punishments are sent as 'scourges', and that the transference of dominion is a result of disobedience to God. See introduction; message of the Complaynt; scourges and ministers. See later comment on folio 18r, 21v, 28v, 29r, 46r/v, 63v, 135v, 147v.

fol. 16v. As the hie...misknauen hym

Chartier, Q.I., page 1, line 10- page 2, line 3; "Comme les hautes...nourreture."

fol. 16r - 18r.

The image of the potter "Ane pottar...philosophie" is adapted from Chartier, Q.I., p.2, line 25 - page 4, line 21; "Et lui...a tart"; see appendix.

fol. 16v - 17r

The passage with the "Ubi sunt topos" is taken from Chartier. Nineveh, Babylon, Troy, Thebes (Cadmus, Agenor) Lacedemonia, Athens Carthage and Rome, all occur in the Quadrilogue. See Appendix.

fol. 17r

"conformand to the vordis of lucan, quha said that the vecht of rome, suld gar it ryue in mony partis:" This is mentioned by

Chartier, Q.I., page 4, line 1; the Complayner adds the moral however. The passage is in Lucan's De Bello Civili, book I, 71-74: (ed. J.D.Duff, Lucan: The Civil War, Loeb (London, 1928), p.7.)

'Fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
 Immensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furentem
 Impulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi
Invida fatorum series summisque negatum
Stare diu nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus
Nec se Roma ferens.'

"My mind moves me to set forth the causes of these great events. Huge is the task that opens before me - to show what cause drove peace from earth and forced a frenzied nation to take up arms. It was the chain of jealous fate, and the speedy fall which no eminence can escape; it was the grievous collapse of excessive weight, and Rome unable to support her own greatness."

Lucan goes on to expand this, (Book I, line 160f, Loeb, p.15) in terms echoed in the Complaynt: "... such were the motives of the leaders. But among the people there were hidden causes of war - the causes which have ever brought down ruin upon imperial races. For when Rome had conquered the world and Fortune showered excess of wealth upon her, virtue was dethroned by prosperity, and the spoil taken from the enemy lured men to extravagance: they set no limit to their wealth or their dwellings; greed rejected the food that once sufficed; men seized for their garments scarce decent for women to wear; poverty the mother of manhood, became a bugbear; and from all the earth was brought the special bane of each nation."

fol. 17r

The parallel passage in Chartier is (p.4, line 1): "la parolle de Lucan qui dit que d'elle mesmes, par sa pesanteur, elle decheut." This is rendered in the Rawlinson MS (Blayney, II, 7/12-17) as "the wordis of Lucan which seith that the grete weight and peice of the said cite hath caused his own fall, for hev y dedes mak grevouse falles."

The Complayner interprets the word weight as meaning the weight of the extor^tions.

fol 17v.

"euere thyng hes ane tyme". This phrase is isolated by B.J. Whiting in his "Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from Scottish Writings before 1600", Med. Studies XI (1949), XIII(1951), XI, 164, as a proverbial saying. Whiting quotes the following 'parallels': 'All thing has tyme', this sais Ecclesiaste (Kingis Quair, 33, 133); al thing has tyme wald men tak heid (Consail 76, 353);...Chaucer, T.C., ii, 989; Ecclesiastes iii, 1;... The Complayner is obviously not quoting from the Kingis Quair.

The Consail, refers to ed. R.Girvan, Ratis Raving and other Scots Poems on Morals, STS (Edinburgh, 1939), pages 66-79, "The Consail Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif his Sons"; it would be surprising in such a context if the source were not the Bible!

fol. 17v. Quis enim cogitabit sensum domini aut quis consiliarius eius Sapien. 9.

This quotation is not from Sapien 9. but is from Rom. 11, 34. which is a parallel passage. There are three parallel

- a) Liber Sapientiae, 9, 13: Quis enim hominum poterit scire consilium Dei? aut quis poterit cogitare quid velit Deus.;
- b) Isaiah, 40, 13: Quis adiuvit spiritum Domini? aut quis consiliarius eius fuit, et ostendit illi?;
- c) Rom. 11, 34: Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?

This quotation is another demonstration of the Complayner's habit of quoting from memory, or 'ad sensum', in a way which reveals his familiarity with the Bible, and e.g. with the works of Cicero.

fol. 18r margin Intellexi quem omnium operum dei nullum possit homo invenire rationem eorum que fiunt sub sole.
Eccl. 8.

The exact words are: Et intellexi quod omnium operum Dei nullam possit homo invenire rationem eorum quae fiunt sub sole.

Ecclesiastes 8, 17.

fol. 18r. Fortune

The Complayner refutes Juvenal's view of the role of Fortune, quoting Ecclesiasticus, xi.

The Complayner's argument is that the gifts of good things and bad things, life and death, poverty and honesty, are all sent by God and not by Fortune. Chartier similarly (Q.I., p.4, lines 18 to 23) says it is wrong to credit things to Fortune; "Fortune, qui est chose faincte et vaine et ne se peut revancher...: The Complayner compares belief in fortune to idolatry, quoting Isaiah 65,11. The Complayner also has practical political reasons for condemning belief in Fortune. This belief is likely to lead to political apathy and resignation. See introduction.

fol. 18r.

Juvenal 7,194f is quoted by H.Patch, p.145-6, and translated as follows: "It makes a difference what stars receive you when you begin your first wailings, when you are still rosy from your mother. If Fortune wills, from a rhetorician you shall become a consul; by the same token if she wills the consul will become a rhetorician. What of the case of Ventidius? What of Tullius? anything there but the stars, the wondrous power of secret destiny? The fates will give kingdoms to slaves, to captive the triumphal procession."

fol. 18r.

"esaye...in the lxx.chetour ve qui fortune ponitis mensam tanquam dee." Isaiah 65,11: "qui ponitis Fortunae mensam et libatis super eam... The Complayner is quoting 'ad sensum'. See fol.12r,49v (sapiens dominabitur astris) and introduction.

fol. 18v. Pinkie, 10th Sept.1547.

See historical introduction, for discussion of 'Musselburgh Field', or 'Seton field', or 'Pynky Clewch' (Lindsay, Works, IV,165) or 'Fawside', or 'Gladsmuir', as the battle was variously termed. The significance for us of the reference is that it is one of the dates

which helps us to fix the 'terminus a quo' for the writing of the Complaynt. The significance for the contemporaries was that it was a disastrous defeat followed by morale-destroying occupation.

fol. 19r Searched scriptures for the cause of Pinkie: the 'scourge' topos.

See introduction. This passage "Al thir thingis.... supple" is paralleled by Chartier, Q.I., page 4, line 31 to page 5, line 11.; "J' ay conclut...medecine." See appendix on Chartier. See ref. to Deut. 28, in fol. 19v; to Leviticus 26, in fol. 20r; to Isaiah 3 in fol. 20r; and fol.24v.

fol. 19v Deut.28,15.f ad sensum in text
Leviticus,26.14f

fol. 20r (margin and in text,) Isaiah 3. Cf.fol.23v "I sal gyf them zong childer to be ther kynges"

This quotation from Isaiah 3,4. is echoed in folio 24v by the quotation from Ecclesiastes 10.16, "cursit be the eird that hes ane zong prince."

The succession of minorities in Scotland (James I,II,III,IV,V, Mary, James VI) encouraged a literal reading of Ecclesiastes 10.16 in Scotland. The Complayner in his fuller reference in folio 24v turns the harshness of the quote, in view of his dedication of the work to Mary of Lorraine, whose daughter was also still 'ane tendir pupil', by introducing the 'puer-senex' topos (Curtius, ELIMA, 98-101), saying that age is not to be measured in years but in wisdom (Wisdom of Solomon, 4.8f.)

Abell in his "Roit or Quheill of Tyme" (Nat.Lib.M.S. 1746), referring to Scotland in 1513, remarks (fol.116r) of the king: "He was skant thre zere quhen he wes crownit. Than wes wersit the word of the wisman. We terre vbi puer est rex. Wa is the kinrik quhare the king is ane barne for than nowdir pece nor iustice rang."

Lindsay (Works, I,34;III,43,note), similarly says, (Dreme, lines 1010-00): "that prouerbe is full trew wo to the realme that hes our zong ane king."

Similarly, in Lindsay's Complaint (Works, I, 44), lines 153-4 refer to the year 1524 and the twelve-year-old monarch:

"I pray God lat me neuer se ryng,

In to this realme, so zoung ane hyng."

The pejorative implications of youth are underlined as P.J. Bawcutt points out, in Douglas' King Hart (line 629, zoung Counsale); in The Thre Prestis of Peblis (lines 456-462); in 'Wyt and Wille' (Twenty Six Political and Other Poems, ed. J. Kail, EETS, 1904, line 27); and in Stewart's 'To the King', (Maitland Folio, cxxviii, line 43).

In Shakespeare's 'Richard III' (II, 3, 11), First Citizen says: "Woe to the land that's govern'd by a child."

The most interesting example of this pejorative reference to youth is Walther von der Vogelweide's reference to the youth of a Pope who was in fact aged about thirty-eight!

fol. 20v. Rosaria wife of Darius

The more usual form of the name is Roxana or Rosan. Cf. eg. ed. J. Westlake, The Prose Life of Alexander from the Thornton M.S., EETS OS 143 (London, 1913) p. 56, line 14; p. 59, line 21.

fol. 20v, 21r. Caesar that "gat .xxii. straikis vitht penknyuis in the capitol

There were at least six versions of the Caesar story that were popular from the Middle Ages on; Lucan; Suetonius; Valerius; Jean de Tuim; Vincent de Beauvais; Boccaccio. (Cf. F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957), 750, note to 'Monk's Tale', lines 2671f.)

The Complainer in his reference to 'Triumphs' (fol. 117v) would seem to be referring to Jean de Tuim's version; ed. Settegast, Jean de Tuim: Hystoire de Julius Cesar, (Halle, 1881). Cf. ed. B. Perrin, Plutarch's Lives, Vol. VII, Loeb (London, 1958), pages 598-9; Caesar LXVI.7: Caesar... "now lay prostrate... quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three; and as many of the conspirators were wounded by one another as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body."

fol. 21r. Leviticus 26, 3, 4 and 6.

The marginal note is abbreviated from verses 3,4, and 6:

3.Si in praeceptis meis ambulaveritis, et mandata mea custodieritis et feceritis ea, dabo vobis pluvias temporibus suis, 4 et terra gignet germen suum et pomis arbores replebuntur:...6.Dabo pacem in finibus vestris; dormietis et non erit qui exterreat.

fol. 21v. margin Regnum a gente in gentem transit, propter iniusticias universos dolos. Eccle. 10.

See note to folios 15v, 16r, 'Mutations of Monarches' and introduction.

The quotation from Job.2.6, that God permitted Satan to scourge Job, demonstrates the theory that tyrants are chosen by God to act as 'scourges' or 'Wands of correction', but only so long as God requires them as 'instruments'. The moral the Complayner draws is; the way to get revenge on the English is to repent, for then the English will have served their purpose and God will dispose of them.

fol. 21v,22r. boreaus and hangmen...ane boreau or hang man

This may be either the rhetorical device of duplication, or translation. The word Dunbar uses is 'loikman'. eg. in the 'Flyting', line 302: "Ay loungand, lyk ane loikman on ane ledder". Henryson uses the word 'bowcher'.

fol. 22r supreme plasmator of hauyn

The word 'plasmator' is ecclesiastical latin, meaning 'creator, maker, fashioner', and is from the Greek noun meaning a thing formed or moulded, or the verb, to form or mould. Tertullian (Adv.Jud.2) refers to "deus hominis plasmator" (Lewis & Short). Gavin Douglas also uses the phrase: "Hie plasmator of thingis universall" (Aeneid,X,prologue line 1.) and Lindsay (Works, I,310) at line 3726 of the Monarchie refers to "God the Plasmator of all."

fol.22v.

The metaphors of the file and the ox are found in Chartier's

'Esperance' See appendix.

fol. 22v, 23r.

The reference to the 'wand of correction' and the theory of divine punishment is a central idea in the Complaynt. See introduction: 'Scourge' topos.

fol. 23r.

The literal reading of Isaiah 3 applied to Scotland, in the short chapter, is a central idea to the Complaynt, also. The number of marginal biblical quotations used to substantiate the argument shows this: Deut. 28, Leviticus 26 and Isaiah 3, are used in several folios (fol. 19r f.) Here he refers also to other 'examples' and other 'authorities' (Justin and Cicero) also.

On plagues in Scotland see historical introduction, and note to folio 2v. ('pestilens').

fol. 23v.

The Complayner attacks judges, saying that "gode maye sende vs bettir quhen he pl@ysis." He also mentions 'preachers' saying that they are answerable to God. This refusal to judge the clergy points to a critic who is himself a clergyman who believes in the need for reform of the Church but from within; not by heretic sects from without (cf. fol. 126v, 127v, 132r/v). He later also states his disapproval of inquisition methods against the Hydra of scisms; the only cure for which is "gyf the ministers reforme & correct ther auen abusione" (fol. 127v)

fol. 23v Isaiah 3.4 "Et dabo pueros principes eorum et effeminati dominabuntur eis.

Cf. folio 20r; cf. Quadrilogue, p.5 line 7, also refers to Isaiah 3; see appendix.

The marginal reference to Sardanapalus reinforces the second part of the verse from Isaiah 3.4. Sardanapalus The semi-mythical exemplary figure of the seventh-century B.C. effeminate king of Assyria is

mentioned by Justin in the Epitoma of Pompeius Trogus (an abbreviation from Livy) Book i, 3.1. "Postremus apud eos regnavit Sardanapalus, vir muliere corruptior...Arbactus...invenit eum (inter feortorum greges) purpuram colonentem, & muliebri habitu, cum mollitia corporis (& oculorum lascivia) omnes feminas anteiret, pensa, inter virgines partientem." The 'roc' on which he span, is the 'colus' or distaff, or spinning wheel, (not the 'collis'), like the widow in Henryson's 'Sir Chanteclair', "Quilk wair hir ffude off spinning on hir Rok" (ed. H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson (Edinburgh, London, 1958), 17, lines 411-412). Sardanapalus is an 'example' of effeminacy e.g. in Juvenal's Satire X, 362; in Lindsay's Monarchie, lines 3288 f, 3293, 3308 (Works, I, 296). A. Lange overlooks the commonplace character of the 'example' when he suggests that Lindsay borrowed the example from Carion. (A. Lange, Lyndesays Monarchie und die Chronica Carionis (Halle, 1904), page 29, f.) Sardanapalus appears at length too in Adam Abell's "Roit or Quheill of Tyme", (Nat. Lib. M.S., fol. 9a); and in the "Proheme upon the Cosmographe", prefixed to the Mar Lodge Translation of Boece, ed. G. Watson, S.T.S. (Edinburgh, 1946), I, 10.

fol. 23v.

Scipio also appears in the Quadrilogue (page 15, line 3, page 49, line 6, page 60, line 18) as an 'exemplum', as a brave, non-effeminate man who is 'magnanime'. (cf. fol. 8v) Camillus M. Furius Camillus conquered Veii, and set Rome free from the Gauls. Cf. Cicero, Rep. 13.6.; Livy, 5.19.2; Plutarch's Lives.

fol. 24r.

Puberty was attained at the age of twelve in the case of girls, according to law (C.20.q.2.c.2). Cf. W.W. Buckland, Textbook of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1932), 159. Cf. note on Mary Queen of Scots, fol. 3v.; and note to fol. 20r on Isaiah 3. See introduction, on Mary of Lorraine's 'de facto' Regency long before 1554.

fol. 24r. Roboam

3 Reg 12.1 to 3 Reg. 13.32.

fol. 24v.

References to Leviticus 26, Deut. 28, Isaiah, 3: See folios 19r/v, 20r.

fol. 24v.

'cursit be the eird that hes ane zong prince' and marginal reference to Ecclesiastes 10.16. This is the 'puer-senex' topos, based on Wisdom, 4.8.f (cf. Curtius, ELIMA, 98-101) see note fol. 20r.

fol. 24v.

1.Cor.14: is 'adsensum' from Cor. 13.11: Cum essem parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, aspicebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus, quando autem factus sum vir, evacuavi quae erant parvuli.

fol. 25r.

Romans 15.4. Quaecumque enim scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt, ut per patientiam, et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus.

fol. 25r.

Reference to "inuyful calumniaturis" and "secret detrackers" sounds more than just the 'anti-envy' topos. The Complayner in fol. 10v already referred to 'inuyful clerkis', and again in fol. 15r to 'the detractiōne of inuyful gramariaris', and in fol. 24v to 'inuyful detrakkers' again.

fol. 25v The cause of the 'scourge' is disobedience.

See introduction; 'scourge' topos

fol. 25v.

marginal note: Luke 16.9. Mammon, the Aramaic word for riches, is a personification in the Everyman morality: here it is still 'it'. The Complayner also refers to the parallel reference in Matthew 6.24., which echoes Luke 16.13.

fol. 26r.

Ther is mony that speikis of the varld, & zit thai vait nocht quhat thing is the varld.

This is classified as a 'proverbial saying' by B.J. Whiting (Med. Studies, XIII (1951), 162)

The sentence further down seems to me to warrant the description much more. "the maist part of ther ignorance... excedit the maist part of ther knaulage..." In Guevara's Relox, Chapter 39, this saying comes after the catalogue of 'authorities'. North translates the sentence as follows (fol. 215) "For the least parte of that they knewe not, was much greater: then al that whiche they euer knewe." The Complayner has brought forward the quotation to precede the catalogue,

fol. 26r/v.

Pythagoras, Thales Metrodorus, Seleucus, Plato, Epicurus, Empedocles, Socrates

This section is borrowed from Guevara, from Chapter 39 of the Pelox. Thomas North translates the passage in the Diall of Princes (1557) (STC 12427), (fol. 215) as follows:

"Plato, Aristotle, Pithagoras Espedocles Democrites, Seuleucus, Epicurus, Diogenes, Thales & Methrodorus, had amonge them so great contencion to describe, the world, his beginning and propertye, that in mainteyning euery one his opinion they made greater warres with their pennes: then their enemyes haue done with their launces. Pithagoras sayd, that that which we call the world is one thing, and that that which we call the uniuersal is an other. The philosopher Thales sayde, that there was no more but one world: and to the contrary; Metrodorus the astronomer affirmed, there were infinite

worldes. Diogenes said, that the world was euerlasting. Seuleucus
 said that it was not true: but that it had an end, Aristotel
 seemed to say, that the world was eternall. But Plato sayde
 clerelye that the worlde hath had beginning, and shall also haue
 endinge. Epicurus sayd that it was rounde as a ball. Empidocles
 sayd that it was not as a bowle: but as an egge. Chilo the
 philosopher (in the high mount Olympus) dysputed, that the world
 was as men are: that is to wete, that he had an intellectible,
 and sensible soule. Socrates in his scole sayeth, and in his
 doctrine wrate, that after 37 thousand yeares, all thinges shoulde
 retourne as they had bene before. That is to wete, that he him
 selfe should be borne anew, and should be norished and should rede
 in Athens. And Dennis the tiraunt should retourne to play the
 tiraunt in Siracuse. Iulius Cesar to rule in Rome. Hannibal to
 conquere Italy: and Scipio to make warre against Carthage.
 Alexander to fight agaynst Kynge Darius, and so forth in all others
 past. In such and other vayne questions, and speculations, the
~~A~~ncient philosophers consumed many years. They in writinge manye
 bokes haue troubled their sprites, consumed long time, trauayled
 many countreys, and suffered innumerable daungers: and in the end
 they haue set forth few truthes, and many lyes. For the least
 parte of that they knewe not, was much greater: then al that which
 they euer knewe. When I toke of my penne in my hande, to write the
 vanity of the world: my entencion was not, to reprove this material
 worlde, the whiche of the .iiii. elementes is compounded... When
 the painter of the world came into the world it is not to be beleued,
 that he reprovod the water which bare him, when he wente upon it: nor
 the ayre that ceased to blow in the sea, nor the earthe that trembled
 at his deathe, nor the light which ceased to lighte, nor the stones
 which brake in sonder, nor the fishe which suffered theym selues
 to be taken, nor the trees that suffered theym selues to be dry, nor
 the monumentes that suffered theym selues to be opened. For the
 creature knowledged in his creator omnipotency, and the creator
 founded in the creature due obedience. ...Oftentimes and of many
 parsons we here say, o woful world, o miserable world, o subtile
 worlde, o world unstable and unconstaunt. And therefore it is
 reason we knowe what the worlde is, wherof the worlde is, from whence
 thys world is, wherof this world is made, & who is lord of this worlde:

sins in it all thinges are unstable, al thinges are miserable, all disceytfull, and all thinges are malicious which can not be understood of this materiall world. For in the fire, in the ayre, in the earth, and in the water, in the lighte, in the planets, in the stones, and in the trees, there are no sorowes, there are no miseryes, there are no disceyt, not yet any malice. The worlde wherein we are borne, where we liue, and where we dye, differeth much from the world, wherof we do complayne: for the world against whom we fight, suffreth us not to be in quiet one houre in the day. To declare therefore my entencion, this wicked worlde is no other thinge, but the euel life of the worldinges where the earth is the desire, the fire the couetise, the water the inconstancy, the ayre the follye, the stones are the pride, the flowers of the trees, the thoughtes, the depe sea the harte... Finally I saye that the sonne of this world is the prosperity: and the moone, is the continuall change. The prince of this so euel a world is the deuell, of whom Jesus christ sayd. The prince of this worlde shall nowe be cast out:

and this the redemer of the world sayeth. For he called the worldinges and their worldly lives, the world. For sins (=since) they must be seruauantes of sinne, of necessity they must be subiectes of the deuel. The pride, the auarice, the enuye, the blasphemye, the pleasures, the lechery, the negligence, the glotony, the yre, the malice, the vanity and the follye. This is the world against which we fyght all our life, and where the good are prynces of vices and the vices are lordes of the vicious. Let us compare the trauailes which we suffer of the elementes, with those which we endure of the vices, and we shall se, that litle is the peril we haue on the sea, and the land, in respect of that which increaseth of our euell life...

fol. 26v.

Galen held as his fundamental theory of nature that view which was to prevail through the Middle Ages, that all natural objects upon this globe are composed of four elements,; earth, air, fire, water; and the cognate view, which he says Hippocrates first introduced and Aristotle later demonstrated, that all natural objects are characterized by four qualities; hot, cold, dry, moist. From the combination of these four are produced various secondary qualities.

See L.Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science, I,139.

See also e.g. Haskins, Studies in Medieval Science, pages 92-6

The Four Elements.

"The four elementary qualities or contraries by combination in pairs produced the four elements:- earth (cold and dry); air (hot and moist); water (cold and moist), fire (hot and dry). Similarly the fundamental contraries were held to combine in the four HUMOURS: Blood (hot and moist); phlegm (cold and moist); yellow bile (hot and dry); black bile (cold and dry)." (F.N.Robinson,p.662) See ed.

I.Müller, Galen: De Placitiis Hippocratis et Platonis, (Leipzig,1874) Bk.viii,pp.667ff.

E.M.W.Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, (Harmondsworth, 1963) 77-83,87, gives a table (p.87):

ELEMENT	HUMOUR	COMMON QUALITY
Earth	Melancholy	Cold and dry
Water	Phlegm	Cold and moist
Air	Blood	Hot and moist
Fire	Choler	Hot and dry

Melancholy corresponds to black bile, choler to yellow bile. See ed. W.E.Mead, Hawes, Pastime of Pleasure, EETS OS 173 (London,1928), lines 1864-74 and Mead's note, pp.234-5.

The Four Elements figure frequently in the earlier poets. Cf. ed. G.C.Macaulay, Gower, Confessio Amantis, Book VII, 203-392. Cf. too Bk.I, Pt.iii,ch. 'c'. Cf. ed. O.H.Prior, Caxton's Mirrour of the World, EETS ES 110 (London, 1966), 50-7, chap.xci; 'How the Four Elements ben sette'. Bartholomeus, De Proprietatibus Rerum (translated by Trevisa, and printed by W. De Worde, 1495) treats in Book IV of the elements and their qualities, humours etc., See also Book X, espec.ch.iii.

Cf. Shakespeare: 'Antony and Cleopatra,' V,2,292; 'Julius Caesar' V,5,73; Twelfth Night, II,3,9,10.

See Lindsay, Works, III, 14 and Hamer's diagram to the 'Dreme', showing the 'Correspondences' to the Zodiac.

fol. 27r.

Nunc iudicium est mundi: nunc princeps huius mundi. John 12,31.

fol. 27r.

Variations on the list of moral defects are rung at intervals, see e.g. fol. 36r/v. The Complayner speaks of these vices as 'seven Elements', which like the four elements are to be found in the microcosm man. These are not the 'Seven Deadly Sins'. Taking the idea from Guevara, but making up his own list, the Complayner mentions, avarice, ambition, luxury, cruelty, deceit, unfaithfulness, dissimulation, insatiable cupidity.

The Seven Deadly Sins are: Pride ('superbia' the opposite of 'humilitas'); Envy ('invidia', the opposite of 'mansuetudo', benignity or friendship); Wrath ('ira', the opposite of temperance, discretion, measure); these three Pride, Envy and Wrath are denials of 'Caritas'; Sloth ('accidia', the opposite of prowess) is indifference to 'Caritas': Covetousness ('avaritia', the opposite of 'misericordia', generosity, mercy); Gluttony ('gula' or 'Luxuria', the opposite of 'sobrietas'); Lechery ('gula or 'luxuria', or the opposite of chastity); these three, Covetousness, Gluttony, Lechery, are perversions of 'Caritas'.

The literature on the Seven Deadly Sins is vast. See. E.J. Arnould, Le Manuel des Péchés (Paris, 1940); N.W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1952); R. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery (Princeton, 1966) Ch. II, and pages 442-3. To select only one example see Dunbar's "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins".

fol. 27v.

Ecclesiastes 2.11.: "Cumque me convertissem ad universa opera quae fecerant manus meae et ad labores in quibus frustra sudaveram, vidi in omnibus vanitatem et afflictionem animi, et nihil permanere sub sole".

This quotation about the emptiness of all endeavour touches on the 'Vanitas Mundi' 'topos' the 'fragilitas mundi', the idea (which haunted T.S. Eliot) that for everything there is a 'season', the idea of the mutability of things, the idea of the mutability of monarchies. See introduction. This links later with the 'Ash Wednesday' theme in folio 122r: and in folio 134v again to the vanity of the world.

fol. 27v the vmbre or the schaddou

This use of the Latin or French form and also the Germanic form, is a stylistic device we noted in folio 21v: 'Boreaus and Hangmen'

fol. 28r fragil nature

Cf. fol. 9v 'hurt nature'

fol. 28r

The marginal quotation "Iam vivunt homines tamquam mors nulla sequatur & velut infernus fabula ficta foret", is repeated in fol. 135r. It does not appear to be from Vergil, Aeneid VI as the Complayner asserts. The metre is wrong for that. It does not appear to be in Ovid, or Propertius, or Tibullus either. It sounds more like early Christian Latin. Cicero speaks of a 'fabula ficta', meaning that the story of Gyges and the ring is 'wrongly ascribed to' Plato (De Off. 3.39). Cicero also has (Rep.2.10) "antiquas receipt fabulas fictas etiam non numquam incondite..."

Wilson in the Arte of Rhetorique (1553), fol. 105v, also ^{speaks} of "feigned fables, such as are attributed unto brute beastes". Lyndsay uses the phrase in the Dreme, line 40: "And oft tymes have I feinzeit mony fabyll." (Lindsay, Works, I,5). Adam Abell in "The Roit or Quehill of Tyme", (Nat.Lib.Scot.M.S,1746, folio 46b), speaking of Arthur, says, "mony fenzet fabilis ar writtin of him & his knyhttis". J.MacQueen discusses Boccaccio's definition of the 'fable' and the importance for Henryson (John MacQueen, Robert Henryson, (Oxford,1967) espec.97-8.) On Boccaccio's influence see e.g. H.G.Wright, Boccaccio in England from Chaucer to Tennyson, (London,1957).

fol. 28r Socrates estimate of 37,000 years

This estimate refers to the 'precession of the equinoxes', to the time required for the celestial pole to describe a circle around the pole of the ecliptic as a result of precession". The Great or Mundane or Platonic or Perfect Year was variously estimated. The Complayner has the same figure as Guevara. (See note to fol.26r/v)

Macrobius estimated that the 'Magnus Annus' was 15,000 ordinary

solar years. The Greek and Hindu astronomers estimated 25,000 years; the Chaldeans, 25,920 years; the Egyptians estimated 30,000 years, the Arabians estimated 49,000 years. Ptolemy estimated 36,000 years. The present estimate is 25,800 years. (See Ake Wallenquist, Penguin Dictionary of Astronomy, under 'precession'; Platonic Year; year, etc.)

Lindsay in the Dreme (lines 495-7; Works, I, 19) also quotes the time as 37,000 years, apparently agreeing with the Complayner and Guevara.

R.G.Bury in a note to Plato, Timaeus 39 (ed R.G.Bury, Plato Loeb, (London, 1929) Vol.VII, p.83) suggests: "Plato seems to have put (the Complete Year of the Great-World Year) at 36,000 years if Rep. 546B ff is a reference to the Perfect Number."

On the 'Magnus Annus' see F.R.Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England, (Baltimore, 1937) p.51.: on sixteenth century science in general see L.Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York, 1941), Volume V.; on astronomy see F.R.Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645 (Baltimore, 1937), Appendix A, pages 301-335 listing books on astronomy printed in England, including some ten titles between 1481 and 1547.

fol. 28v.

Carion

See "Carion, Wedderburn, Lindsay", Aberdeen University Review Vol.XLIV.3, No.147 (Spring, 1972), pages 271-274.

The Complayner in fact borrows very little from Carion.

Carion "allegis the prophesye of helie..." that the world is to last 6,000 years.

Lindsay, (Works, I, 355-6) discusses in the Monarche, lines 5268-5306, the same topic of the time the world is to last. Lindsay says that Daniel's prophecy has been variously interpreted; some writers divide, the world into Six Ages (as the Fasciculus Temporum

and the Cronica Cronicarum), but he continues,

"Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The warld deuydit is in thre;
As cunnyng Maister Carioun
Hes maid plane expositioun,..."

The usual three 2,000-year periods are 1) From Adam to Abraham; 2) From Abraham to the Incarnation; 3) From the Incarnation to the Last Advent. As we see (fol.29r) Matthew 24.22 is quoted to support the view that the last 2,000 years will be shortened.

According to Rabbinical legend the world is to last six thousand years for several reasons: because the name Yahweh contains six letters; because the Hebrew letter m occurs six times in the book of Genesis; because the patriarch Enoch, who was taken to heaven without dying, was the sixth generation from Adam (Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalael, Jared, Enoch); because God created the world in six days; because six contains three binaries- the first two were for the law of nature (*lex naturalis*), the next two thousand years were for the written law (*lex scripta*), and the last two thousand for the law of grace (*tempus gratiae*). The construction of the synthesis of world history by the Christian fathers involved taking over the Jewish scriptures, and justifying doing so. It meant constructing a new chronology with the Old Testament record as the centre and standard. This involved demonstrating the superiority of the Jewish chronicles and their priority and superior reliability. This was done for example by showing that the Science and philosophy of Classical antiquity were derived from the Hebrews. This adds immense significance to the Seth reference (in fol. 37r/v). In addition, the providential view of history also involved the Ages of Man myth, and the doctrine of the kingdoms and the mutation of monarchies (*translatio imperii*), as well as the Last Day and signs of the Day of Judgment and the importance of 'prodigia'; all mentioned in the Complaynt. See introduction, and commentary on e.g. fol. 46r/v. See Curtius, ELIMA, 320; G.W.Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his 'Livre de Divinacions' (Liverpool, 1952), 190-1; J.MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), 32.

"Ages of Man" Myth

The idea of the '*translatio imperii*' from the Assyrians to the Persians, to the Greeks, to the Romans; was linked with the myth of the ages of the world, found in Hesiod's "Work and Days".

The Golden Age, Silver, Bronze, Heroic and Iron Ages, are described, for example, by J.L.Vives in his commentary on St. Augustine: The City of God. (See ed. R.V.G. Tasker, Augustine: The City of God (London, 1945), II,417). See also e.g. G.Hight, Juvenal the Satirist, (Oxford, 1954), 142; E.R.Curtius, ELIMA, 169.

Lindsay further expounds the correspondences to Nebuchadnezzar's figure in Daniel II. The Golden Head is equated with the Assyrians (lines 3750-1); the silver breast corresponds to the Persians (3752-3); the 'wame of copper or brasse' corresponds to the Greeks (3754-5); the loins and limbs of iron and steel are equated with the Romans (3756-8); the feet, partly iron and partly clay, he equates with "this letter day/ Quhen that the world sulde be deuydit" (3762-4); the stone (3745) is Christ (3766) (See Lindsay, Works, I, 310-311).

fol. 29r.

The calculation that only 452 years remain of the two thousand also gives us the date c.1548.

fol. 29r/v

The references to Matthew 24.22; Matthew 24.36; Matthew 24.42; all refer to the fact that the Day of Judgment will be brought forward for the sake of the elect, and that signs will be given. This motif recurs, by implication at least, (in folio 46v) with all the references to prodigia, and in fol. 88r by reference to 'impossibilia'.

Jerome's 'Fifteen Signs of the Day of Judgment' are discussed by Hamer in his note to Lindsay's Monarchie, lines 5318-5321 (Lindsay, Works, III, 455-6)

The Complayner links this with the idea (fol. 29v) that therefore the world is to be held in 'detestatione' and 'abominatione'.

This is the commonplace 'contemptus mundi' topos.

fol. 29v. Ane Monolog of the Actor

This section (see introduction) begins with the device of the writer deciding to take a break from writing the previous part of the work, and he describes a pastoral setting.

C.S.Lewis states that the Monologue is indebted to Alanus de Insulis.

(See R.H.Green, "Alain of Lille's 'De Planctu Naturae', Speculum, 31 (1956)649-674; Alain's text is in Migne Patrologia Latina, Vol.210).

However the Complayner owes as much to earlier Scottish and French poetry probably. Dunbar provides a similar setting in the 'Golden Targe'. (See ed. W.M.Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, (London,1960),112-119;) the Complayner mentions the Golden Targe in his list of tales (fol.51r). This ideal landscape (ELIMA,183-202) is also embellished with the 'reueir cleir as berial' (fol.30r). This image is found in Gavin Douglas' Palice of Honour (ed.P.J. Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS (Edinburgh,1967), 75, lines 1144-1152):

Our horsis pasturit in ane plesand plane
 Law at the fute of ane fair grene Montane
 Amid ane Meid schaddowit with Cedar treis;
 Saif fra all heit thair nicht we weill remane.
 All kind of herbis, flouris, frute and grane
 With euerie growand tre thair men nicht cheis.
 The beriall stremis rinnand our stanagerie greis
 Made sober noyis: the Schaw dinnit agane
 For birdis sang and sounding of the beis.

(The Beryl symbolism is discussed by H.R.Patch in MIN, L, page 312ff.)
 Cf. B.J.Whiting, Med.Studies, XI (1949),139; Whiting quotes one other example, from ed. W.B.B. Turnbull, The Buiks of the Chroniclis of Scotland or a Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece, by William Stewart, 3 vols. (Rolls Series)(London,1858),I,432,13477-8:
 "In curage cleir as ory buriall bricht,

As lamp or laterne with ane hevinlie lycht."

The beryl is a stone found in Aberdeenshire, which makes Dunbar's line all the more appropriate, "Blyth Aberdein, thow beriall of all tounis". In the 'Golden Targe', Dunbar mentions how "The ruby skyes of the orient/Kest beriall bemes on emerant bewis grene." See Lindsay, Works, IV,171: where Lindsay in the Monarche (line 6203) speaks of "the Heuines brycht lyke buriall". Gavin Douglas in the Palice of Honour returns to the beryl, in lines 1452 and 1478, where he refers to "poleist beriall stone", and speaks "of beriall, cristall, glas or birneist steill". Cf. ed. J.Evans, M.S.Serjeantson, English Medieval Lapidaries EETS OS 190 (London,1960), 28:

"Berille is a stone that is a colour like to water when the sonne shyneth... The boke seith that berill norissheth loue betwene mane and woman."

fol.30r in accordis of mesure of diapason prolations tripla ande dyatesseron See folio 51v: in gude accordis and reportis of dyapason prolations and dyatesseron.

The use of technical terms of musical intervals is common: 'diapason' means the concord through all the notes, the entire range or compass of musical tones, and expresses a 'ratio dupla' (2:1); 'diatessaron' means concord through four notes, it 'runs through four strings', and has 'ratio sesquitercia' (4:3); the word diatessaron is sometimes applied to a harmony of the Four Gospels. As G.Gregory Smith remarks, "diapason here used attributively to prolations (=continuations) is probably to be taken in a general sense of range, melody, or harmony, rather than in the technical sense of an interval of an octave" (G.G.Smith, Specimens, p.305) The idea of diapason came to mean harmony and thus was connected with the idea of the microcosm.

Musical terms are used by Henryson in 'Orpheus and Eurydice' (lines 219 f.) where, as Professor MacQueen indicates, the use of these musical terms, which indicate arithmetical ratio, proportion, harmony, reason, has the symbolic function of expressing the recovery of reason by Orpheus. By tuning in to these abstract rational harmonics of the spheres, Orpheus is retrieved from his fallen sensual state; he returns from passion to reason.

Higden's Polychronicon, (1495), quoted by the Complayner (fol.67v), also discusses musical terms. (Cd J.R.Lumby, Trevisa's Translation of Higden's Polychronicon, (Rolls Series)(London,1871) vol.III, pages, 207-211 with diagram (MS Harl.2261). J.MacQueen also refers to Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae, III.xiv; and to Boethius, De Arithmetica and De Musica (P.L.63, 1079-1300). Cf. P.J.Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS, (Edinburgh, 1967). Gavin Douglas in The Palice of Honour (lines 490-507) makes use of the technical terms of music:

Concordis sweet, diuers entoned reportis.

Proportionis fine with sound Celestiall

Duplat, triplat, diatesseriall,
Seque altera and decupla resortis

Diapason of mony sindrie sortis. (lines 492-5)

He also uses the Amphion comparison (lines 511-512); and like the Complayner referring to his use of the sea-scene terms (fol.32r - "i herd mony vordis amang the marynalis bot i vist nocht quhat thai menit") Gavin Douglas adds, lines 517-8

"Na mare I vnderstude thir noumeris fyne
Be god than dois a gekgo or a swyne..."

See ed. W.E.Mead, Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure EETS OS 173 (London, 1927), lines 1469 f. and note, p.232, and preface, p.1xxii, where Mead draws attention to a 'source' in the Margarita Philosophica (Bk.V.Tr.1, ch.viii) where the pupil asks: "Quae consonantiae sint partes?" and the Master replies "Consonantae simplices & perfectae tres sunt, scilicet: Diapason, Diapente, Diatesseron. Ex his aliae miscentur: ut puta Diapente cum Diapason, bis diapason. Sic diapente & diatesseron unum constituunt diapason, & c".: cf. John Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700, (Princeton, 1961), page 82; Cf. ed. E.Blom, Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1954) Vol.IV, 519-524, "Intervals".

fol. 30r. June 6th

Though fruitless, it is tempting to speculate on the Complayner's choice of the 6th of June as a date to demonstrate his computing abilities. Dunbar in his 'Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo' (line 27), writes: "All full of flurist fairheid, as flouris in June..." This suggests that for Scottish writers the conventional pastoral month of May is more reasonably replaced by June. On the significance of phases of the moon, solstices, and the like, see e.g. J.MacQueen, Allegory, (London, 1970) pages 32-3.

The computation of dates is considerably simplified by consultation of Hans Lietzmann, Kurt Aland, Zeitrechnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1 - 2000 nach Christus 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1956); and for Scottish events and festivals e.g. by A.H.Dunbar, Scottish Kings; A Revised Chronology of Scottish History 1005-1625, with...Tables, Calendar, etc. 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1906).

fol.30v.

margin Iamque rubescebat stellis surora fugatis. eneo 2. In fact Aeneid III, 521, which Gavin Douglas renders:

Be this the dawyng gan at morn walx red
And chasit away the starnys fra euery sted;

(ed. D.F.C.Coldwell, Gavin Douglas: Virgil's Aeneid, STS(Edinburgh, 1957),II,p.136: (Bk.III,C.viii, 29-30).

fol. 30v. 'the borial blastis of the thre borouing dais of marche'

See M.M.Banks, British Calendar Customs: Scotland, 3 vols. (London, 1937-41),Vol.II,191-2:

29th30th31st March

1. Name. The Borrowing Days. These days being generally stormy, our forefathers have endeavoured to account for this circumstance by pretending that March borrowed them from April that he might extend his power so much longer (Jamieson). They are also called the three HOG days, hog being a young sheep. They are perhaps the days called in Tیره, 'tri latha na bom ruaidhe', three days of the Red Cow. (Witchcraft & Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, ed. J.Gregorson Campbell, (London, 1900-3), 255) This name is that used in Ireland where the cow takes the place of the hogs. (M.M.Banks).

2. Rhymes, Sayings:

March said to Aperill
I saw three hoggs on yonder hill,
An' if you'll lend me dayis three
I'll find a way to gar them dee.
The first o' them was wind an' weet,
The neist o' them was snaw an' sleet,
The third o' them was sic a freeze
It friz the birds' nebs til the trees;
An' when the three days were past an' gane,
The silly poor hoggis cam' hirplin' hame.

(James Ferguson, "Old Scottish Sayings", Chambers Journal, (Feb. 1916),p.107.)...

Chambers Popular Rhymes of Scotland, pages 368-9 points out that these days are Old Style and would now be 18th, 19th, 20th March.

M.M.Banks also quotes another version from N.E. Scotland (Rev. W.Gregor, "Notes on the Folklore of the North East of Scotland, pub. for FLS (1881) p.150):

March borrowed from April
 Three days and they were ill;
 The first it was snaw an' sleet,
 The Second it was caul' an' weet,
 The third it was sic a freeze,
 The birds' nebs stack t' the trees.

Chambers publishes two versions, one from Brand's Popular Antiquities, and the second a Stirlingshire version which are like the two quoted by M.M.Banks, except that half of each corresponds to half of the other, as follows:

(Chambers p.368, quoting Brand:)

"March borrowed from April
 Three days and they were ill:
 The first o' them was wind and weet;
 The second o' them was snaw and sleet:
 The third o' them was sic a freeze,
 It froze the birds' nebs to the trees."

(Chambers' Stirlingshire version):

March said to Averill:
 "I see three hoggs on yonder hil;
 And if you'll lend me dayis three,
 i'll find a way to gar them dee!"
 The first o' them was wind and weet;
 The second o' them was snaw and sleet;
 The third o' them was sic a freeze,
 It froze the birds' feet to the trees.
 When the three days were past and gane,
 The silly poor hoggs came hirpling hame."

...M.M.Banks goes on in her 5th section to discuss "5. Observances".

5. Observances.

a) Things unlucky or forbidden

Borrowing or Lending. In Sc. N.& Q., 3rd ser., II (1924), 39, D.Grewar, The superstitious would neither borrow nor lend at this period, for the Israelites borrowed extensively from the Egyptians with no intention of repaying the loan. J.Gregorson Campbell, Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland

(1900-1903), page 254; "There is a Highland explanation also connecting these days with the departure from Egypt. These were the days borrowed by the Israelites for the killing of the Paschal Lamb." Major, History, 183-4 speaks of 'Egyptian Days', Cf. F.N. Robinson's note to Chaucer's Book of the Duchess, line 1206 on the word "dismal" (Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p.777)

fol. 31r eccho

Echo and Narcissus, Ovid Metamorphoses, 3.358 ff. See fol.32r, 'ecco'

fol. 31r/v Catalogues

Catalogues in the Complaynt include catalogues which are enumerations of exemplary figures, where enumeration adds weight to the evidence. C.S.Lewis enumerates famous catalogues in literature (see C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1967) page 199.) such as Chaucer's enumeration of virtuous women in the Franklin's Tale (F 1367 sq); of musicians in the Hous of Fame (III,1201 sq.); or Henryson's enumeration of beasts in the Trial of the Fox (Fables, 881 sq); or the catalogues of stones, fish, flowers, trees, birds and beasts in the Court of Sapience.

Catalogues are, C.S.Lewis implies, there because they have a place in the 'Model' (p.198), and because of the writer's 'belief in a world of built-in significance' (p.204). As we mentioned, there are catalogues with an obvious didactic purpose in the Complaynt. Other catalogues, particularly in the Monologue do not appear to have this function. These catalogues are perhaps best explicable, in a fashion I have not seen discussed elsewhere, in terms of the linguistic ritual of naming with its feeling of accompanying 'magic power'. See introduction. There is the effect of the sound of a catalogue, too, which in the story-teller's art plays an important role. The Arabs who are still an oral - aural - orientated folk lay great store by the sound of a language or of a work or art. Once again Gavin Douglas' Pallice of Honour is the kind of Scots model the Complayner may have had in mind. See folios 50v - 54r.

fol. 31r/v animals and birds

Chaucer in his Parlement of Fowls (lines 323-364) enumerates 'foules of ravyne, foules smale, water-foul.' He lists, 'royal egle; other egles of a lowere kynde; goshawk; gentyl faucon; hardy sperhuk; merlioun; douve; jelous swan; oule; crane; clough; janglyne pye; skoraynge jay; heroun; false lapwyng; the stare; tame ruddock; coward dyte; kok; sparwe; nyghtyngale; swalwe; wedded turtill; pekok; fesaunt; waker goos; cukkow; popynjay; drake; stork; cormeraunt; raven; crowe; throstil; feldefare.' It is however most likely that the Complayner derived inspiration from e.g. Gavin Douglas, who in 'The Proloug of the XII Buke of Eneados' has a pastoral scene, and mentions flowers (p.70) and birds (p.71, 73) especially (p.73, lines 234 f):

The merl, the mavyss and the nyghtyngale;
 ...the cowschet...the styrlyng; sparrow;
 Goldspynk and lyntquhite; gukgo; quail, larkis.

See too catalogues in The Buke of the Howlat and Montgomery's Cherrie and the Slae.

Cf. Erwin Kreitz, Die Tiere in den Hauptwerken der älteren schottischen Literatur (Diss. Halle)(Bad Lauchstädt, 1932)

Thevisnek Also occurs at line 823 of the Buke of the Howlat.

oszil

Holland in the 'Buke of the Howlat' (ed. F.J.Amours, Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas, STS (Edinburgh, 1891-2), Pt.I, pages 47-81) mentions the ouzle too (in line 713). Amours glosses the word, 'ouzle, mistle-thrush or dipper' and notes (p.307): "Osillis, ousels, a name that has been applied to several song-birds. In A.S. & M.E. vocabularies osle is translated by Latin merula. Palgrave (p.250) gives 'Osyll, a byrde, estourneau'. Swanson has 'ousel' as one of the names of the blackbird."

fol. 32r. galiasse gayly grathit for the veyr

The SEA-SCENE (Folios 32r-34r) is described and commented by Alan Moore, in the Navy Records Society Vol. XL. Naval Miscellany, ed.

by Sir J.K. Laughton (London, 1912) pp. 67-84. Professor C.C. Lloyd, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, who is at present editor of the Navy Records, confirming the reliability of this commentary, states, "Admiral Moore was a very distinguished naval archaeologist... and had the advice of Carr Laughton the nautical philologist."

Murray (pp. lxxix-lxxii) quotes notes 'which Mr. Furnivall has kindly procured.. from a friend of ample naval experience, Mr. G.M. Hantler.' As Moore states, (p.69), "Unfortunately Mr. Hantler was unacquainted with the seamanship of the ages preceding his own, for which reason his notes are of little value."

I am indebted to Professor Lloyd and the Navy Records Society for permission to utilize Moore's material.

Interesting in this connection is the Pilgrims' Song, MS Trinity Coll. Camb. 599, f. 208r, printed in: The Stations of Rome, the Pilgrims' Sea-voyage... EETS 15 (1867) pp. 37-40, ed. by Furnivall. It is also printed elsewhere, cf. item 2148 in the Index of Middle English Verse, edd. Carleton Brown, Rossell Hope Robbins, (Columbia UP, 1943).

As both Leyden (p.47) and Murray (p.lxxviii) point out, Lindsay's Dreme also ends with a sea-fight. See the conclusion of Dunbar's Golden Targe. Leyden (pp. 109-127) quotes, an inventory of the great barke Vyenywyd; Lindsay's Interlude; Ramsay's 'Evergreen' poem 'The Fleming Bark'; the Maitland MS Quyntene Schaw's Advice to a Courtier; Lindsay of Pitscottie's description of the Great Michael; and (pp. 124-127) Alex. Hume (1598) on the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. galliasse Moore p. 71.

"Galliasse was a word that at this time was loosely applied, and about which accurate information is not easily obtained. The earliest example of the word given by the NED is 1544, and this passage is quoted for the next oldest. The best attempt to describe a galliasse is probably to be found in Julian Corbett's Drake and the Tudor Navy but much remains obscure. Her essentials seem to have been the possession of oars and sails, greater length in proportion to her beam than a ship built only for sailing, and considerable size. She may be considered to have been something between a galley and a galleon. A galley was built with a view to her propulsion by oars, though she carried sails; a galliasse depended more upon her sails but relied largely upon her oars; while the galleon was a sailing ship,



to be rowed laboriously in calms when necessary, but not expecting to use her oars in battle. The rig of the galliasse varied, sometimes, probably always in the Mediterranean, she carried alien sails only, sometimes as in this case, she was square rigged after the usual fashion of a sailing ship of the period, which was of a type that began in Henry VII's reign, and lasted to the end of Elizabeth's....

Such a ship carried a long tapering bowsprit with a great steeve, upon which was set a spritsail, which with its yard was stowed in the head when not in use. Right forward was the foremast, square rigged and raking over the stem, surmounted by a great round top, above which was a little topmast, stepped probably in Henry VIII's time, abaft the lower mast head. Amidships rose the tail mainmast, also with its top and topmast, square rigged like the foremast, and aft was the mizen, or in great ships were the main and bonaventure mizen masts, not usually carrying topmasts, but often with an oddly shaped half-top at the mast head. These Mizen masts carried lateen sails, the clew of the aftermast being commonly spread by a spar projecting from the stern known as the outlicker. All these masts were ponderously rigged with the exception of the bowsprit, which had no rigging of its own save as was required for setting the spritsail. No mention is made of this sail in the Complaynt but neither were it expected, for the ship is represented as coming to the wind as soon as she is under way, a point of sailing on which the spritsail could not be carried; and later when she was sailing large, she began to make ready for battle, and the spritsail was not a fighting sail, and had it been set would have had to have been taken in almost at once. Whether she carried a foretopsail or not is not clear, for though topsails are mentioned in the plural, yet the detail of setting only the main topsail is described. It is quite probable that she did not carry one, for it was commonly not fitted in small ships; and it is not unlikely that a large one which counted so much on her oars was also without it."

fol. 32r. JAHM 40, 5-6

herd mony vordis among the marynalis bot i vist nocht ouhat thai merit
 Moore (p.70) comments' He said that he heard the words of the sailors without understanding their meaning'; and here we disagree with him;

he knew very well what they meant, unless indeed some other hand wrote this part of the book. No man ignorant of terms so numerous and varied as those recorded, could put them down from memory in right order and application, unless he were frequently at sea, and then, no one, who, like the author, displayed such an interest in things around him, would long remain unlearned therein. Be it as it may however, he gave no explanation of what must, even in his own time, have been obscure to many readers.'

In saying that he does not understand the mariners, the Complayner may be imitating Gavin Douglas in the Palice of Honour (ed. P.J.Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas STS (Edinburgh, 1967) page 41, lines 517-9) who after discussing technical terms of music, adds:

"Na mare I vnderstude thir noumeris fyne
Be god than dois a gekgo or a swyne..."

fol. 32r f.

Moore (p.70) narrates the sequence of events as follows.

While the author watched, the master sent the boatswain aloft to keep a look out for possible enemies, and in a short time he reported a sail in sight - a great ship. Immediately came the master's whistle, and the order to weigh, followed by the song of the men at the capstan, and then their cries as they catted and fished the anchor. When the shank painter was fast, the master whistled again, and ordered the men aloft to the fore yard to let fall the foresail, and then came the command to board the starboard fore tack, tally aft the sheet, and haul the fore bowline.

fol. 32r. contd.

Moore p.71.

Next the mainsail and maintopsail were set, and hardly had the order to belay the main bowline been given, than the master decided to lace a bonnet to the course. This done, the mainyard had to be hoisted, no small effort, and requiring much song, and then it naturally followed that the topsail needed hoisting too; when the sail was high enough, and the maintop bowline taut, the order was given to change the mizen, and get the yard to leeward. The man at the helm was told to keep her full and by....

(p.72) The galliasse was not kept long upon a wind, presumably only till she was clear of some point or shelf to leeward, for the order to bear up and keep her on a new course was soon given. She then prepared for battle, her flag was shaken out, and her topsails (or topsail) handed ammunition was sent aloft, and all the ordnance both great and small artillery, made ready, together with bows and weapons for hand to hand fighting. For better speed, studding sails were set and her oars got out. It might at first sight seem strange that a ship should take in her topsails when speed was important, previous to setting her studding sails; but it must be remembered that the topsail at this time was but a small sail, and that the men in the top would be much hindered by it, were it to remain set, for since the ship was before the wind, as long as it was set it would be like a curtain between them and the enemy, which would prevent them from throwing out line intended to blow to leeward and confound their antagonist before they actually fell on board of him. The discharge of arrows and top-pieces would also be hindered. The people were made to keep still that the ship might sail the better, and so in a short time they came within hail of the enemy; and his replies being presumably satisfactory, they loosed off great guns and small till the air was full of noise and smoke and smell, which, not liking, the author returned to the fields whence he came, as though a naval engagement were something that anyone might see when out for a walk, should his way lie by the sea shore.

fol. 32r. contd. hyr salis in hou

'Hou' refers to anything hollow. DOST only gives an interrogation mark. Moore (p.75)(fn.8) suggests: 'Perhaps here the word refers to the manner in which the sails were furled: under the yards, not upon them in the modern way, in which if well stowed, the sails can hardly be seen at a distance; whereas in the old fashion great bellies and bunches of sail protruded between the gaskets, if the old pictures may be trusted. Or it may be meant that the sails were loosed, but that they were still controlled by the ropes which at that time served for the modern clewgarnets, buntlines, leechlines, etc..!

fol. 32r

cabilstok DOST = capstan. Moore (p.76, fn.1) adds 'or perhaps windlass. 'Stok' means a piece of wood, a stock. Cf. anchor-stock for that part of the anchor that was formerly, and sometimes still is, wooden.'

fol. 32r. ecco in ane hou heuch

Cf. folio 31r, p.38.1.31: Ovid, Met. 3,358f.

fol. 32v cryit.....veyra veyra, veyra, veyra

Moore (p.76, fn.3) Virer: to turn about or wind about; virer au cabestan. - Lescallier, Vocabulaire de la Marine, 1777. Almost as we should say now, 'heave around'.

fol. 32v pourbossa, pourbossa.

Moore (p.76, fn.4) Bosses du bossoir: the anchor stoppers at the cat-head. Bosser le cable: to stopper the cable. - Falconer, Dictionary of the Marine, 1769. Bosse! an order to the sailors who are hauling upon any rope to stopper or belay it. - Lescallier. Bossa means a stopper according to M.Jal: 'pour', he says in his Archeologie Navale 'is an English prefix signifying haste'; but this seems to be speculation. On the whole, judging by the context, 'pourbossa' seems to mean 'vast heaving'.

fol. 32v caupon, caupona, caupon caupona. caupun hola, caupun hola caupun holt, caupon holt.

Moore (p.77): 'Capon: the cat-tackle. Caponner: to cat (the anchor).- Lescallier. Caponne: the order to cat the anchor.

fol. 32v sarrabossa.

Serre-bosses: certain short ropes making the office of a shank-painter; and which serve to hold the flukes of the anchor up to the ship's side. - Lescallier. Serre-bosse: the shank-painter. -

Falconer and also Neuman, Marine Dictionary, 1799. The whole process of weighing is thus described: heaving up, catting and fishing. The cries 'caupon caupona', etc., ending in the abrupt 'caupon holt', have a fine suggestion of heavy hauling completed with effort.

fol. 32v foir ra

(Moore 77, fn. 4) 'Fore yard'

fol. 32v raibandis

Moore (p.77,fn.5.) 'In the Royal Navy, until sails were abolished, 'robands was the name of the short pieces of stuff with which the sails were bent to the jackstay, or in former times the yard. In the merchant service the word has become corrupted to 'rovings' and probably few seamen think that the first syllable means 'yard'. Here the raibandis were evidently what are now called gaskets, or at least were used for the same purpose. It is not a little strange that in pictures of this period and earlier, in which ships are represented at anchor with sails furled, no distinction is usually made between robands and gaskets; where the sail is bent to the yard, there also the furling line is passed. At the present day it is the practice among beachmen and others who use lug sails to leave the ends of the knittles with which the sail is bent to the yard long, which long ends are used in making up the sail, which is thus bent and stowed by the same lines. Some such practice may have been in use in ships in remote times, leaving a tradition that a sail in furling should be made fast at the points of its attachments to the yard. At this period under discussion separate ropes were used for bending and furling as the context shows, for the order is to 'cut the raibandis'. 'To cut sail' was the regular expression where we should say 'to loose sail'. Hence perhaps the phrase, 'to cut and run.'

fol. 32v hail doune the steir burde lufe

Moore (p.78, fn.1.) That is to say, to board the starboard fore tack, which of course tautened the luff (lufe) of the foresail.

fol. 32v hou, hou. pulpela, pulpela. boulena, boulena. darta, darta.

Moore (p.78) says hou, hou is presumably equivalent with 'yohoe'; pulpela and darta are unexplained, though darta, Moore says, "seems to imply haste or effort; perhaps it may be rendered, 'bear a hand'."

fol. 32v hard out steif, hard out steif.

Moore (p.78): In illustration of this Neuman's Dictionary may be quoted: 'Die bulinien steif aus oder an-holen, to haul up the bowlines.'

fol. 33r god foir lend. god foir lend.

Murray (p.1xx) 'translates' as "good foreland" which suggests as Murray says, (p.78,fn.6) "good land-fall."

fol. 33r stou, stou

Moore (p.78,fn.7) Stop, avast. This is like the slang expression 'pack it in', meaning 'stop it', perhaps.

fol. 33r renze

Moore (p.78,fn.8): 'Renze' means to 'to rein' according to Jamieson but this is the only instance given. Perhaps 'range a bonnet' is meant, i.e. spread it ready for lacing to the course.

fol. 33r renze ane bonet

Moore (p.78,fn.9): "At this time the usual method of reducing sail was by taking off a bonnet, not by taking in a reef. Mr. H.H.Brindley has drawn attention to the fact that reefs were in use in very early times as well as bonnets. Nevertheless reefs are very seldom mentioned in the sixteenth century, and the writer knows of no example between 1540 and 1650. Bonnets were in use for the courses until 1720, as appears from a document at the British Museum, A proportion of sea stores for six months for the boatswains of H.M. Ships (Cup. 651 e (28)) At the present time (i.e. 1912) the French fishermen that

sail out of Boulogne use them for their mizens; and in England the east coast barges which carry hay-stacks sometimes have them to diminish the area of their staysails, not for the wind but for hay. The Norfolk wherries also use them instead of reefing."

fol. 33r. vire the trossis

Moore (p.79,fn.1): Veer the trusses. At this period the gear for keeping the yard to the mast was complicated and ponderous, and required first slacking and then setting up every time the yard was hoisted or lowered. 'Trosse' is the German word for cable or hawser. German 'Gieren' means to 'loosen'.

fol. 33r nou heise.. to heis vp.. cryand heisau, heisau.

Moore (p.79,fn.2) 'Heise' is 'hoist'; 'heisau' may be taken as meaning 'heave ho!' (Gi'e 's a heist up = give me a helping push or pull up, is common at least in Perthshire) (schoolboys climbing a wall)

fol. 33r vorsa, vorsa

Moore (p.79,fn.3): 'Vorser' says Professor Skeat 'is a rare spelling of verser, to overturn or simply to turn.' The crew may have been hoisting the yard with the jeer capstan, though 'ane lang draucht' suggests hauling with the arms.

fol. 33r vou, vou

This exclamation recalls Burns' Tam o' Shanter:

And, vow! Tam saw an unco sight!

Perhaps it is like the plosive grunts of a tug-of-war team, a sign to pull-together,

fol. 33r

Murray p.1xx. renders this "wow! wow! a long draught, more might, young blood, more mood, false flesh, lie aback, long swack (= jerk), that, that! there, there! yellow hair, hips bare, to him all,

gallow-birds all, great and small young and all, hoist all."

fol. 33r mair mude, mair mude.

Moore (p.79,fn.5): Strength, courage.

fol. 33r. lang suak, lang suak

Moore (p.79,fn.6): Swack - a large quantity, or a large draught of liquor. It agrees well, therefore, with the modern word 'swig', for we swig off a full bowl, and get a swig of the halyards, and the thought of the former helps us in the performance of the latter,

fol. 33r. VIDDEFULL

VIDDEFULL(IS) Murray explains as "one deserving to fill a widdy or halter, a gallow's bird." This is the meaning adopted by Hamer, Vol. IV, Lindsay's Works, Glossary, p.419 Widdiefow, Sat. 2181,3986; widdiefows, Sat. 3676.; and note to line 2181, Satyre.

Leyden (p.382, Glossary) says Viddeful = wrathful, peevish, angry, but quotes the word in contexts where JAHM's meaning also suits.

fol. 33r. heisau heisau.

As Moore (p.79,fn.8) points out "the text from "heisau, heisau" to "heisau heisau" is a 'true hauling shanty: perhaps the earliest known. Its matter does not differ very greatly from that of the modern variety, which is sung but not printed. It affords a possible explanation of the author's disclaimer of understanding what the sailors cried."

fol. 33r. theyrs

Moore (p.80,fn.1): perhaps 'tyes'. In later times the yard hung by the ties and was hoisted by the halyards, as topsails are hoisted at the present day. But in Henry VIII's time it is not quite clear that 'tye' was not sometimes used for the hauling part.

fol. 33r. topinellis

Moore quotes Jamieson, who in his turn has quoted Leyden: (Moore is puzzled by the reference 'Gl.Compl.', which of course is just Glossary, Complaynt.) Topinellis: 'The lines for haling the topsails.' "Toppenants: lifts. - Neuman. Probably the topsail halyards."

fol. 33r. vire zour liftaris and zour topsail trossis

Moore (p.80,fn.3): At first sight the meaning seems clear: veer or come up your lifts; but why should the lifts be let go when the sail was to be hoisted? (fn.4) 'Vire' might have a meaning something like that of the French 'virer', to turn or wind, and so perhaps obliquely to hoist or tauten; but if this be the meaning, then we are in a difficulty with the topsail trusses. If 'vire' means veer, it is right for the trusses, and wrong for the lifts. It is just possible that 'trossis' were not trusses but braces. (Cf. Trissen der blinde: the spritsail braces. --Neuman.) In that case one would expect the braces to be slacked when the sail was sheeted home. But the order to vire the trossis comes before that to hoist the sail, ('& heise the topsail hear') therefore 'vire' should mean 'veer', and we are in the same difficulty as we were when we supposed 'trossis' to mean 'trusses.' On the whole since, though the operation seems unnecessary, yet the veering of the lifts would not prevent the topsail from being hoisted, while tautening trusses or braces would, and since slacking trusses would be necessary before the yard could be hoisted, it is probable that 'vire' means 'veer' and 'trossis', 'trusses.'

fol. 33r. change (the myszen) ouer to leuart

Moore (p.80,fn.5.) Change the mizen, was the ordinary command for shifting it from one side of the mast to the other. The evolution was the equivalent of dipping a lugsail.

fol. 33r. hail the linche

Moore (p.80,fn.6.): The 'linche' is probably the leach: if so then 'hail the linches and the scheitis' means little more than,

haul the mizen sheet. Cf. supra. (folio 32v; JAHM 40,31-32; Moore p.78,fn.1), 'lufe' or luff used where tack had been expected; boarding the tack would tauten the luff of the foresail just as hauling the sheet would tauten the leach of the mizen.

fol. 33r. cūmna hiear

Moore (p.81,fn.1.): This conning admirably suggests that there was some point to be weathered. 'Full and by' is still in common use; 'a luf', as we should now say 'luff'; 'cumna hiear', 'high enough', or 'no nearer'. Then, the point rounded, comes the order to bear up and go large.

fol. 33r. holabar...

Moore (p.81,fn.2.): Holabar: haut la barre-Jal., Arch.Nav., i.e. up helm.

fol. 33r. arryua

Moore (p.81,fn.4): Arriver: to bear up the helm-Jal, Gloss.Naut.: to bear away - Lescallier, Vocab.; 'No nearer! Arrive!' - Falconer. Professor C.R. Boxer suggests it is the same as "arriba" meaning "Bear up!"

fol. 33r. steir clene vp the helme

Moore (p.81,fn.4): The mixture of expressions, some referring to the ship and some to the helm, is well exemplified in this passage. 'Bear up' of course refers to the tiller, which being borne up the ship bears away. 'steir clene vp the helme' probably means, 'bear the helm right up', as we should say, 'Hard up.'

fol. 33r. this and so

Moore (p.81,fn.5): 'as you go', corresponding with the naval 'very well dice' or thus.

fol. 33v. pul doune the nok of the ra in daggar vyise

Moore (p.81,fn.6.): 'The nok of the ra' means the yard arm, which was notched or shapen so that the earrings kept at the yard arms and did not slip inwards. ('Nock' nowadays means the upper inner corner of a gaff-sail, or staysail with a luff; in a gaff-sail more commonly called the throat. The name may have been originally given to the gaff-jaws, and then have been transferred to the sail.) The meaning of the passage, stow the yard with one yard-arm in the top. In the Navy of Venice by Alethen Wiel several pictures are reproduced showing this method of stowing the topsail yard. Why daggerwise is not apparent; perhaps because the yard made an angle with the mast like that at which a dagger was hung from the belt.

fol. 33v.

Moore (p.81,fn.7.): "Mr. R.Morton Nance points out that 'craklene pokis' are the craneline pokes or bags, by which ammunition was sent to the top. The craneline with bags attached is frequently shown in old pictures. A sort of davit projected from the top through which the craneline was rove. It may be that in craklene a line over the a has been omitted; from craneline to cranklene were an easy step. Craneline afterwards had other meanings totally different." Leyden suggests (Glossary,p.322): 'Craklene, crackling; to crackle. Fr craquer. Craklene polis, bags for holding artificial fire-works and combustibles, employed in naval engagements. Hence crakys; small bombs, used sometimes for fireworks...' and Leyden refers to Barbour's Bruce. A look at Skeat's Glossary shows this use of the word "Crakkis s.pl.cracks, explosions; gynis for crakkis, engines for explosions, i.e. cannon, 17.250; crakkis of wer, lit. cracks of war, i.e. cannon, 19.399." This is an illustration to folio 34r, JAHM 42, 15' the cannons and gunnis mak mony hiddeus crak', but need not necessarily disprove Moore's view: in fact, craklene for cranklene could be probably a printer's omission of the sign of abbreviation.

fol. 33v. paueis veil the top, vitht pauesis...

Moore (p.82,fn.1) Pavases were painted wooden shields, used also about the bulwarks (Murray copies Leyden (p.360)).

fol. 33v.

"This seems a great weight of ordnance for a ship of the period, though we know that great numbers of guns were carried. The pieces were usually small ones, and 'cannons' were rarely taken to sea according to Capt. John Smith about seventy years later. Most of the names occur frequently in books and MSS. of the period though the weight of both guns and shot varied widely. William Bourne's 'Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnance', 1587, differs considerably from Smith's table, 1626. This being so, it is impossible to give more than a general idea of the different guns."

"Cannons were heavy pieces weighing about 8000 lb. and throwing a shot of 60 or 70 lb.

Culverene moyens or demi-culverins, were heavy for their shot; between 3000 and 4000 lb. with a shot of 9 to 12 lb.

A bastard culverin was a little smaller than a demi-culverin.

Falcons and half falcons were light guns throwing a ball of 2 or 3 lb.

Sakers seem to have been nearly as heavy as demi-culverins, but to have had a shot of no more than 5 to 7 lb.

Slings were small pieces.

Hede stikkis, can only be guessed at. Mr. Carr Laughton suggests that stikkis is the same word as the German Stück a gun.

Murdresaris or murderers were small pieces for clearing the waist of boarders, being shot from the cubbridge heads.

Passe volant: the N.E.D. gives a reference to Hakluyt 1599.

Doggis: the N.E.D. gives this passage and one other, Art.

Reddition Edin. Castle. 1650. '28 short brasse munkeys alias dogs.'

Bersis or bases were heavy pieces throwing a light shot.

Hagbutis of croche, or harquebuzes a crock, were hand guns with a forked rest to give ease and precision of aim.

Half-haggis were probably small harquebuses.

Culuerenis probably means culverin shot, perhaps used collectively for the shot of the great guns, while hail shot may stand for all small bullets. Hail shot pieces are sometimes met with."

Sea-scene

See Pitscottie, Historie, I, 228-9: Sir Andrew Wood, fighting

against Stewin Bull in 1490, "sett his quarter maisteris and captanis everie man in his awin rowme, syne caussit his gounaris to charge his arteillzerie..." and he ordered them (p.229, lines 11-15): "sett zour selffis in order everie man to his awin rowme lat the gounaris chairage thair artaillze and the croce bowis and make thame redy, with thair lyme pottis and fyre ballis in our toppis and tua handit sourdis in zour for-rowmes..."

Sea Scene

See David W. Waters, The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times, (London, 1958): E.G.R. Taylor, "French Cosmographers and Navigators in England and Scotland, 1542-1547", Scot. Geog. Mag. Vol. 46, 1 (Jan. 1930) (Henry VIII called in French mariners to train English Pilots): L.G. Carr Laughton, "A Bibliography of Nautical Dictionaries (i) English, (ii) French, Mariner's Mirror, Vol. I, No. 3, (March, 1911); L.G. Carr Laughton, "The Way of a Ship", Mariner's Mirror, Vol. 14, No. 2 (April, 1928).

fol. 34r

'as plutois paleis hed been birnand in ane bald fyir'

The use of euphemisms as a device to ward off evil is common. Thus people preferred to refer to Hades, the god of the Nether World, as Pluto, the Giver of Wealth, whereas in fact what they probably thought, was, the opposite, namely Hades was the Taker of Wealth. There is too probably a fusion in peoples' minds with Plutus the god of wealth mentioned by Phaedrus, (4.12.5). Roman synonyms were Dis, Orcus and Tartarus. Pluto was fused into the god of wealth that springs from the soil so it is easy to see how the identification with the infernal Zeus occurred. Leonidas spoke to the three hundred Spartans before Thermopylae of the dead 'supping with Pluto'. This banquet would no doubt take place in the infernal regions in Pluto's palace 'birnand in ane bald fyir'. Thereafter the dead warriors expected to proceed to Elysium or Tartarus.

fol. 34r.

The topic of a sea-battle ending in cannon-fire and smoke, is found in Dunbar's Golden Targe (lines 235 f.) (ed W.M.Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, London, 1960), 118. See Lyndsay (Works, I, 35) The Dreame, (lines 1023-9):

All hir Cannounis sche leit craik of at onis:
 Down schuke the stremaris frome the topcastell;
 Thay sparit nocht the poulder, nor the stonis;
 Thay schot thare boltis, & doun thar ankeris fell;
 The Marenaris, thay did so zoule and zell;
 That naistalie I stert out of my dreme,
 Half in ane fray, and spedalie past hame,...

fol. 34v f.

Examples of 'kyngis and princis' who chose 'pastoral and rustical occupatione'

This catalogue of mixed representatives; riche kyng amphion; kyng dauid; appollo, 'that the poiettis callis the god of sapiens'; quintus cincinatus, 'the prudent... quha vas... dictatur of rome'; the sapient porcus cathon censor of rome'; romulus, 'the fyrst kyng of rome'; fabricius and curius dentatus; numa pompilius; paris; Scipio; lucullus, the consul; the nobil Empriour dioclesian; duc perecles; Abraam; Isaac; Jacob; the patriarchis, the 'princis & prophetis' of Israel, are all examples of the Cyclical quality of human life mentioned by John Major (History, p.46), 'kings drew their origin from shepherds, and shepherds again drew their origin from kings' (see also Major, History, 397-400; in Major's In Quartum Sententiarum, in the 14th question of the 24th distinction.) This reference is linked with the idea of the commonwealth and the body politic and the idea that no state is to be despised, as it necessary to the frame of the commonwealth. This metaphor of the parts of the body (politic) is only one aspect of the allusion. It is also linked to the debate about true nobility, found in the Complaynt (fol. 102r, 112v, 114r-118r, 120r) and also in Major, which is also a 'topos' in the attack on the 'nobles', and like the list of famous men who were proud of their humble origins (fol. 101v) is a strand in the 'anti-Cortegiano' literature. Praise of shepherds is

dispraise of court and city life.

fol. 35r. Golden World

The myth of the Golden Age plays an important role in literature and history. It is an element in the historiography which is described in the introduction, and in the notes on fol. 15v, 16r, 28r. See W. Veit, "Toposforschung" Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift, 37 (1963), 120-163, espec. 152-4, where Veit summarizes his own thesis, W. Veit, "Studien zur Geschichte des Topos der Goldenen Zeit von der Antike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert", (Diss.) (Köln, 1961). See E. R. Curtius, ELIMA, 82, reference to dreamlands and dream ages, Elysium and the Golden Age. See H. C. Baldry, "Who Invented the Golden Age?", Classical Quarterly, 46 (1952) 83-92. See Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (London, 1970); though Levin's thesis that the myth emphasizes free will, the ethic of hedonism and a cult of beauty may apply in general, but it is not used in this way by the Complayner, for whom it is a (political) Utopia which is attainable or recoverable.

fol. 35r. Amphion

Reference to Amphion is so common that no particular 'source' need be assumed, but in Gavin Douglas 'Palice of Honour the reference occurs in a similar context in lines 511-512. See notes on fol. 30r, 51v. The Complayner may also have been thinking of Horace Ars Poetica (lines 391-403) or the corresponding lines in the French translation by Jacques Peletier du Mans in 1545 (fol. 20r);

"Et Amphion, le quel Thebes Bastit
Si douusement une harpe batit
Que par son chant les pierres assembloit
Les conduisant là ou bon lui sembloit."

Mention of Amphion recurs at folio 51v; the singing of the shepherds is said to be better than even Amphion's singing. This is a comparison Chaucer uses in The Maunciple's Tale (lines 116-8):

"Certes the kyng of Thebes, Amphioun
That with his syngng walled that citee,
Koude never syngen half so wel as hee."

In folio 52r, too, the shepherds are said to play better than 'king' Amphion harped while tending sheep. Amphion is often coupled with Orpheus to exemplify the power of music and poetry. (See e.g. G. Shepherd, Sidney: Apology for Poetry (London, 1965) p.96, line 28 f., and note p. 147; see J. MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970) 5-6.)

fol. 36r.

for ther is na faculte stait nor vacatione in the vniuersal varld, than can be comparit til oure stait... for al vthir staitis of al degreis, baytht temporal and speritual...

This underlines the whole notion of a hierarchical order in society. The use of the word "degreis" suggests the "degree speech" of Ulysses in 'Troilus and Cressida' (Act I, sc.3, lines 85 f.), and the analogy 'macrocosm, body politic' (E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, (Harmondsworth, 1963) 108 f.) and the whole idea of the 'Chain of Being.'

fol. 36r. auareis; inuy; hatrent; dispyit; discention & mony vthir detestabil viciis

This list rings the changes on the vices already mentioned at fol. 27r/v, and again mentioned fol. 36r.

fol. 36v

Cities engender corruption

The literal and metaphorical aspects are united here. This is the sort of practical statement one finds in a time of pestilence. It is also a topos of 'anti-Cortegiano' literature.

fol. 37r. the nyne hauynis

The Complayner goes on to enumerate the Nine Heavens in folios 38r-39r. These Nine Heavens are enclosed within the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile. On this topic see Hamer's full notes on Lindsay's Dreme (Lindsay, Works, III, 20-29) Lindsay reverses the order of the ninth and tenth spheres. The usual order is: fixed stars,

crystalline sphere, primum mobile as the Complayner mentions the order.

Moving from the centre which is the Earth or the sublunary "regione elementair", we have first the circular sphere of the Moon; then Mercury; Venus; the Sun; Mars; Jupiter; Saturn; then eighth, the "sphere of the sternis", or the 'Firmament' or Caelum Stellatum', or the sphere of the Fixed Stars; then ninth, we have the Ninth Sphere, or Crystalline Sphere, or "hauyn cristellyne"; then last we have, moving in the opposite direction, that is, from East to West the "Fyrst Mobil" or Primum Mobile, the Tenth Sphere, which keeps the nine concentric spheres within it, in this geocentric world picture.

The number of Nine is a fruitful source of allegory. Being a triple trinity, nine is a perfect number. Besides the Nine Worthies, the Nine Muses, we have these nine spheres of the "regione celest" which give the 'Quinta Essentia'. We have all the many "correspondances" evoked by this scheme; the idea of the perfect number, gives the idea of the 'diapason' (fol. 30r, 51v) and the idea of harmony, man as the full chord, microcosm, macrocosm, the linking of the elements, the spheres, the music of the spheres, the signs of the zodiac, the elements, the humours, and the linking of the zodiac, the stars, the empyrean paradise, the fate of men. The concatenation is so interwoven as to be endless. The geocentric world picture was still the accepted view even after the Copernican theory was accepted by scientists.

Ptolemy (c.90-c.170) prepared the Almagest, as his Megale Syntaxis is best known, about 140 A.D. Reaching the West via Arabic translations, this geocentric astronomy was still the standard work in the mid-sixteenth century. It could be read e.g. in 'Regiomontanus' Epitoma (1496) or in Latin translation (1515, 1528), or in the original eventually in 1538.

Shortly after the Greek ^{editio} princeps was published, Copernicus (1473-1543) published his heliocentric theory in his De revolutionibus orbium Coelestium in 1543. See G. Sarton, Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Science During the Renaissance, 1450-1600 (u. Penn. P, 1955), 162. The popular Sacrobosco "welded together Macrobius and Ptolemy and frosted it over with Alfraganus", but nevertheless Sacrobosco's Sphere was basically also Ptolemy's Almagest. (L. Thorndike, The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators (Chicago, 1949), page 21.) See W.P.D. Wightman, Science and the Renaissance, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1962)

I, p. 112 for a diagram of the scheme, found in Petrus Apianus' Cosmographia per Gemma Phrysius restituta (Antwerp, 1539). See E.M.W. Tillyard, Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth, 1963), p. 14; C.S. Lewis, The Discarded Image, (Cambridge, 1967), 92-121.

fol. 37r/v Seth

Reference to Seth and to Hebrew Science was part of the patristic demonstration of the primacy of Hebrew science and philosophy and the originality of the Hebrew apperception; and thus the derivative nature of pagan science and philosophy was also demonstrated. This was part of the Orosian synthesis of world history, which we discuss in the introduction and at folio 28v. See G.W. Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers (Liverpool, 1952), 190-1; Karl Löwith, Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1961), espec. 148-174.

fol. 37r/v

Seth's children, according to Josephus, "were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the volume and quantity of water, they made two pillars; the one of brick, the other of stone; they inscribed their discoveries in them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by flood the pillar of stone might remain and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them..." (ed. William Whiston, The Works of Flavius Josephus (Edinburgh, n.d.) page 27; Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, Bk. I, Ch. II, sect. 3) Whiston remarks that "Josephus is here mistaken, confusing Seth, the son of Adam, and Seth or Sesostris King of Egypt, who erected a pillar in Siroi." Josephus knew what he was doing, as my previous note shows. See note on Sesostris; note to fol. 8r. Rameses and his son Merneptah had a habit of erecting pillars and columns or taking other peoples' columns and altering the engraving on them. The main point of the anecdote is not the factual truth but (as we remark in

connection with the 'Barns of Ayr' incident) that the historical fiction is thought to be true and serves its propaganda function.

fol. 37r. ihosephus the historiographour that treittis of the
antiquite of the ieuis

Flavius Josephus (A.D.37-c.98) opposed Vespasian during a siege, and won Vespasian's attention by predicting Vespasian would become Emperor. After the siege of Jerusalem Titus gave Josephus certain sacred books, and an estate in Judea. Titus took Josephus to Rome where he was honoured with Roman citizenship. He wrote in Greek the 'History of the Jewish Wars' and 'Jewish Antiquities' (a history of the Jews down to A.D.66). (See ed. B.Niese, Flavii Iosephi Opera, repr.5 vols. (Berlin, 1955); edd H.St.J.Thackeray, R.Marcus, &c, Works of Josephus 9 vols. Loeb (London, 1926-65). Leyden points out that Lydgate in his 'Bochas' (folio 51 of the 1561 edition) refers to the two 'pyllers': and Higden in Ranulf's Polychronicon, folio 59 of the 1495 edition mentions them too. (Leyden pages 171-2). (This is in Vol.II of the Rolls Series, p.233: in Bk.II, ch.V.)

fol.39r-49v.

Folios 39r-49v are largely taken from Pliny Natural History Book II. (see ed. H.Rackham, Pliny, Natural History, Loeb (London,1949) Vol.I.) (Comets,II,xxiii,89-92, pages 231-3 and 235; three suns, three moons II,xxxi-xxxii, 99, page 243; rain,II, xxxix,...)

fol. 39r the pole artic boreal or septemtrional

See Lindsay, Works, III, 257-8, note on Monarche, lines 165-7

fol. 39v alrukaba

This is a corruption meaning 'the knee' and refers to the second star in Cassiopeia, Ruchbah or Ruckbak. In the "Map of the Heavens" in the National Geographic Magazine, Vol CXII, No.6 (December,1957), the stars are named as: Cassiopeia, Ruchbah, Gamma Cassiopeiae, Schedar and Caph. See Charles Whyte, The Constellations and their

History, (London,1928), 165-6: on the Pole Star, pages 214-226.

The Poles are discussed by Pliny, N.H.,II,XIII,63,p.211.

fol. 40r solstices and equinoxes

On the importance of the equinoxes and solstices, see J.MacQueen, Allegory, (London,1970) 33, 40-41; A.VonBrandt, Werkzeug des Historikers (Stuttgart, 1966), 36-47.

equinoxes "The two points of intersection between the ecliptic and the celestial equator on the celestial sphere. The vernal equinox (in the constellation of Pisces) is the point of intersection where the sun changes from south to north declination. The opposite point is the autumnal equinox (in the constellation of Virgo). When the sun reaches the equinoxes (on about 21 March and 23 September respectively) days and nights are equal (equinox' means 'equal day and night')."

solstices "The extreme positions of the sun in its apparent annual path among the stars, when its declination has reached greatest northern value (summer solstice) or greatest southern value (winter solstice)."

ecliptic "The great circle on the celestial sphere which is the sun's apparent annual path. The ecliptic is inclined $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to the celestial equator." (See A.Wallenquist, Penguin Dictionary of Astronomy, 1968)

fol. 40v,41r. Antipodes

Pliny, Natural History, II,LXV,161 (p.297, Loeb,I). "Ingens... mirentur illi."; "On this point there is a great contest between the learned and the vulgar. We maintain that there are men dispersed over every part of the earth, that they stand with their feet turned towards each other, that the vault of the heavens appears alike to all of them and that they, all of them, appear to tread equally on the middle of the earth. If any one should ask why those situated opposite to us do not fall, we directly ask in return, whether those on the opposite side do not wonder that we do not fall."

As Leyden (p.175) points out the Polychronicon also contains a discussion of this point (Rolls series ed. Vol.II, pages 204-207: Bk.II,Ch.ii; just before the discussion of Seth). The Polychronicon

refutes the idea of Antipodes. The Complayner affirms the existence of the Antipodes. He has the support of Pliny and also his favourite authority Cicero (Cf. W.H.Stahl, Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio (New York, 1952),61). See C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1966), 28,31,140.

The device of refuting a contrary argument is of course a recommended trick of rhetoric, and he is on safe ground with allies like Pliny and Cicero.

The passage in Augustine is in De Civ.Dei. 16.9 (ed. R.V.G. Tasker, Saint Augustine: City of God 2 vols. (London, 1945) Vol.II., page 108).

fol. 41r Augustine.

The reference is De Civ Dei, Bk. 16,Ch.9. Lactantius Firmianus (C.250 - c.335) the 'Christian Cicero' mentions the Antipodes in Divinae Institutiones, 3.23. Once again the Complayner seems to be quoting from memory.

fol. 41v. Proof that the earth is round

Proof that the earth is round is given by the two different views from the ship's desk and masthead. This example is given in Pliny, Natural History, Bk. II, LXV,164 (Loeb ed.,I,299)

fol. 41v,42r. Two summers and two winters in same latitudes

Two summers and two winters in same latitudes:paraphrase of Pliny, Natural History, II,LXXVII,186 (Loeb ed.,I,319).

fol. 42v. Saturn is of a cold and frozen nature

See Pliny, Natural History, Bk.II,VI,34 (Loeb,I,191).

fol. 42v. Jupiter revolves in 12 years

See Pliny, Natural History,II,VI,34 (Loeb,I,191).

fol. 43r. Mars

"The third star is Mars, called by some Hercules: owing to the proximity of the sun it has a fiery glow; it revolves once in about two years, and consequently owing to its excessive heat and Saturn's frost, Jupiter being situated between them combines the influence of each and is rendered unhealthy"

Pliny, Natural History, II,VI,34 (Loeb,I,191)

fol. 43r. Venus

Pliny, Natural History, II,VI,36-8 (Loeb,I,191-3) "Below the sun revolves a very large star named Venus, which varies its course alternately and whose alternative names in themselves indicate its rivalry with the sun and moon - when in advance and rising before dawn it receives the name of Lucifer, as being another sun and bringing the dawn, whereas when it shines after sunset it is named Vesper, as prolonging the daylight, or as being a deputy for the moon... Further it surpasses all the other stars in magnitude, and is so brilliant that alone among stars it casts a shadow by its rays. Consequently there is a great competition to give it a name, some having called it Juno, others Isis, others the Mother of the Gods. Its influence is the cause of the birth of all things upon earth; at both of its risings it scatters a genital dew with which it not only fills the conceptive organs of the earth, but also stimulates those of all animals. It completes the circuit of the zodiac every 348 days, and according to Timaeus is never more than 46 degrees distant from the Sun."

fol. 43r/v Mercury

Pliny, Natural History, II,VI,39 (Loeb,I,193): "The star next to Venus is Mercury, by some called Apollo: it has a similar orbit, but it is by no means similar in magnitude or power. It travels in a lower circle, with a revolution nine days quicker, shining sometimes before sunrise and sometimes after sunset, but according to Cidenas and Sosigenes never more than 22 degrees away from the sun."

fol. 43v-44v. The Moon

Pliny, Natural History, II,VI,41-44 (Loeb,I,193-7): "But the wonder of everyone is vanquished by the last star, the one most familiar to the earth, and devised by nature to serve as a remedy for the shadows of darkness - the moon. (Significantly the Complainer replaces 'Nature' by "the creator of al thingis" in the above sentence.) By the riddle of her transformations she has racked the wits of observers who are ashamed that the star which is nearest should be the one about which we know least - always waxing or waning, and now curved into the horns of a sickle, now just halved in size, now rounded into a circle; spotted and then suddenly shining clear; vast and full-orbed, and then all of a sudden not there at all; at one time shining all night and at another rising late and for a part of the day augmenting the light of the sun, eclipsed and nevertheless visible during the eclipse, invisible at the end of the month when she is not believed to be in trouble (labor). (The Complainer says: sun tyme it vald be thre dais to gyddir nocht sene...) (The Complainer omits the short section referring to Endymion, in which Pliny laments the fact that people usually omit reference to her, and instead do what the Complainer does, they concentrate on "news" stories which are but catalogues of horrors.)

The Complainer continues from Pliny, Natural History, II,VI,44 (Loeb,I,195): "The moon then is nearest the pole, and therefore has the smallest orbit, completing the same distance every 27 and a third days, that Saturn the highest star covers, as we have said, in 30 years."

Folio 44r paraphrases Pliny, Natural History, II,VI,44-5 (Loeb,I,197)... "she is governed by the sun's radiance as are the rest of the stars, as in fact she shines with a light entirely borrowed from him..."

fol. 44v,45r. eclipses of the sun and moon

This is summarized from Pliny, Natural History, II,VII,47 (Loeb,I,197f.) Eclipses were of importance in medical astrology. See table of eclipses for the years 1547-1551, in "Arzneibuch", MS 93 of the Western MSS on Medicine & Science in the Wellcome

Historical Medical Library, folios 44v-46.

fol. 45r/v the influence of the stars

This section is taken from Pliny, Natural History, II, XXXIX, 106 (Loeb, I, 249f) especially from II, XLI, 108 (Loeb, I, 251 f)

See discussion of 'sapiens dominabitur astris' in introduction.

fol. 45v. in the equinoctial of Libra or in the solstice of capricorn

Pliny, Natural History, II, XXXIX, 106 "Moreover also the parts of some constellations have an influence of their own - for instance at the autumnal equinox and at midwinter, when we learn by the storms that the sun is completing its orbit; and not only by falls of rain and storms but by many things that happen to our bodies and to the fields. Some men are paralysed by a star, others suffer periodic disturbances of the stomach or sinews or head or mind. ("fluxis, caterris, collic, and gut."). The olive and white poplar and willow turn round their leaves at the solstice. Fleabane (herba pulei) hung up in the house to dry flowers exactly on midwinter day... (The Complayner says: "the dry mint that hingis in ane house, resauis sum vertu of the eird, quhen the soun eentris in the fyrst degree of capricorne."). This may surprise one who does not notice in daily experience that one plant, called heliotrope ("the quhilk the vulgaris callis soucy") always looks towards the sun as it passes and at every hour of the day turns with it, even when it is obscured by a cloud." Turner calls the 'heliotrope' "Scorpiones tayle", and adds "It is hote in the thyrde degree and dry in the second." (ed. J. Britten, Turner's Names of Herbes, A.D. 1548, (London, 1881-2) page 41.)

fol. 46r

Pliny, Natural History, II, XLI, 109 (Loeb, I, 251): "Indeed persistent research has discovered that the influence of the moon causes the shells of oysters, cockles and all shell-fish (ostrearum conchyliorumque et concharum omnium) to grow larger and again

smaller in bulk..."

fol. 46r

The Complayner then moves back in Pliny to II,XL,107, (Loeb,I,251) where reference is made to the Lesser Dog Star: "For who is not aware that the heat of the sun increases at the rising of the Lesser Dog-Star (*caniculae exortu*), whose effects are felt on earth very widely? At its rise the seas are rough, wine in the cellars ripples in waves (*fluctuant in cellis vina*), marshes are stirred (*moventur stagna*). (The Complayner omits a sentence referring to the oryx or gazelle, an animal still found in the Empty Quarter fringe areas in the deserts of Arabia). It is indeed beyond doubt that dogs throughout the whole of that period are specially liable to rabies."

For dating events referred to by the names of consuls, see T.Robert, S.Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, American Philological Association, (n.d.n.p.) 2 vols.Vol.I = 509 - 100 B.C.

On prodigies see also ed. W.A.Falconer, Cicero: De Divinatione, (with De Senectute and De Amicitia) Loeb (London,1959)pp.214-539.

fol. 46v. Prodigies

The Complayner has taken his examples of 'prodigia' from Pliny, Natural History, Book II. Portents were eagerly noted, especially at the beginnings of centuries. A 'prodigium' was an event contrary to the normal working of nature. Livy quotes examples which were collected by Julius Obsequens in his Prodigiorum liber. Divination and the interpretation of 'ostenta, portenta, monstra, prodigia', were widely practised, to the sixteenth century, when astrology, and the tendency to give everything a symbolic meaning fostered the vogue of prophecies and 'prognostications'. Chroniclers, like Carion, Sebastian Franck, Hartmann Schedel and Johannes Sleidan, who wrote world chronicles all had the view of history we have already described (introduction, note to fol. 28v) in which the imminent End of the World led to the search for Signs of the Day of Judgment. (See E.W.Zeeden, Deutsche Kultur in der Fr̄hen Neuzeit (Frankfurt, 1968), 414-428,495:)

The reference to "ane taikyn and sing of prodigeis" links the prodigies with Jerome's Fifteen Signs of the Day of Judgment: the rising of the sea; the sinking of the sea; the sea becoming 'even' as at first; the fish making a great noise; the sea burning; a dew like blood falling; buildings falling; rocks striking against each other; earthquakes; the earth becoming a plain; men coming out of caves; the stars falling; the dead rising; the living dying; the world burning. (See Lindsay, Works, III, 455-6,460). The Complayner mentions the rain of blood here. In fol. 88r he uses one sign, as an 'impossibilium' (fish speaking Hebrew...)

fol. 46v.

Franco Simone, The French Renaissance (London, 1969) p.155 says of the sixteenth century: "Yet another century was heralded by prodigies... In 1499 three suns were seen in a single night. On another occasion the sky appeared to show three moons and to rain blood and milk. In 1500 a thousand monstrous births were recorded in Germany; in Greece the sky seemed bloody, and a crown, shields and flaming swords were seen. Ghosts and cries filled the air; vast floods covered the earth." Pope Alexander VI was apparently almost struck by lightning!

Boece in his Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen describes how at Foveran, a village ten miles from Aberdeen, an infant was born with two heads and two bodies but only two legs (Boece, Vitae, p.109). Knox in his History of the Reformation mentioned how a comet caused a calf with two heads (Knox, History, 124) and in Bellenden, Chronicles, II,402 we read that:

"In the tyme of King Iames the First
 war sundry marwellis sene in Albion.
 Ane sow had ane litter with doggis heddis
 Ane calf was sene with ane horss hede
 Ane comette apperitt afoir the kingis dede
 with terribill bemys; and sa vehement
 frost was the wyntir afoir that wyne and
 ayill was sauld be pund wechtis,
 and meltit agane be the fyre.
 Ane suerde was sene fleand in the air,
 to na les dredoure than admiracioun of the pepill."

Similarly in the Mar Lodge Translation of Boece, STS Vol.I,p.244 we find in folio LXX in Book IV, references to ships in the sky, rains of stones in Atholl, and of 'paddokis' in Angus, and to the fact that "thir strange ferlyis astonist mekill the pepill"

fol. 46v Three suns and three moons

See Pliny, Natural History, II,XXXII,99 (Loeb,I,243): "Trinos soles antiqui saepius videre...Lunae quoque trinae, ut Cn.Domitio, C.Fannio consulibus, apparuere."

fol. 46v. Comets; Milky Way

The Complayner's examples are from Pliny, Natural History, II,XXII,89, (Loeb,Vol.I.,pp.231-3 et seq.)

"...lyik lang bludy hayr,...lyik ane dart...lyik ane bludy speyr... lyik ane sourd...lyik ane trumpet...lyik tua gait buckis justand contrar vthirs." This corresponds to Pliny's: crinitae (stellae) 'Long-haired stars' "because they have a blood-red shock of what looks like shaggy hair at their top.": "Javelin-stars (acontiae) quiver like a dart": the 'xipiae' (daggers) "have a gleam like the flash of a sword",: the reference to the trumpet may be a misprint in the Complayner's edition; 'tubae' for "iubae effigies" the mane-shaped comet "that changed into a spear": the reference to goats may be just expanded from Pliny's "fiunt et hirci villorum specie et nube aliqua circumdate", which Rackham translates (Loeb, p.233) "There also occur 'Goat comets', enringed with a sort of cloud resembling tufts of hair."

The reference to the Milky Way which precedes the Complayner's list occurs after Pliny's list (N.H.Loeb, Vol.I,Bk.II,xxiii,91,p.235) "Some comets move, like planets but others are fixed and stationary, almost all of them towards the due North, not in any particular part of it, though chiefly in the luminous region called the Milky Way". (sed maxime in candida (parte) quae lactei circuli nomen accepit).

Pliny also mentions: Pogoniae (bearded stars); Discei (quoit-stars); pithei (cask-shaped stars);ceratias (or the horn-shaped star); lampadias (the torch-star); hippeus (the horse-star).

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross in 1570 in his History of Scotland

(1436-1561) (Bannatyne Club, 1830) in describing events of the reign of James IV speaks of a comet as follows:

"Ane comette marvellus appeirit in the southe, the xvij day of Januer till the xvij day of Februar, castand gret beames of licht touart the south, and wes placet betuix the pole and the pleyadis callit the sevin starnis, quhilk the astrologis did afferme to be ane signe of mony marvellus changes in the world."

John Major (History, p.79) says that comets portend the deaths of princes. (see footnote, *ibid.*) See too e.g. J.D.Duff, Lucan: The Civil War, Loeb, Vol.II, p.40, lines 522-532. "...portents. The darkness of night saw stars before unknown, the sky blazing with fire lights shooting athwart the boid of heaven, and the hair of the baleful star ("crinemque timendi/sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen") the comet which portends change to monarchs..." See 'Henry VI,' Part, I, I, 1, 2:

"Comets, importing change of time and states,"

Reference to a comet seen at the death of Caesar, also Virg. Georg 1, 488: Sen.N.Q.7,17,2: Plut.Caes.69: Dio.Cass.45,7: Suet Iul 88: Obseq, 68.

As Durkan & Ross (Libraries, p.146) indicate, the Rector in Glasgow had a copy in 1452 of Julius Obsequens' Prodigiorum Liber. See ed A.C.Schlesinger; Livy, Loeb, (London, 1967) Vol.XIV.

fol. 46v. vatlant streit

The reference to the 'Circulus Lacteus' or Milky Way, as 'Watling Street' is paralleled by the usage by Oresme of 'le chemin de Saint Jaques' (G.W.Coopland Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers (Liverpool, 1952) p.88 and this may be because of the resemblance of the words Galaxy and Galicia, which the pilgrims on their way to St. James' sepulchre at Compostella in Galicia might confuse. The Milky Way was also termed 'la strada di Roma', possibly on the basis that all roads lead to Rome.

Henryson also refers to Watling Street, in Orpheus and Eurydice (line 188).

Gavin Douglas in Aeneid, III, viii, (ed D.F.C.Coldwell, Vol.II, 136) also mentions (line 22) "Watlyng Streit" for the Milky Way.

(Cf. F.N.Robinson, note to Chaucer's House of Fame, II,939, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957) p.783). Modern French uses, 'la Voie lactee' or 'la Galaxie', and German uses 'die Milchstrasse'. On the Milky Way, see A.Wallenquist, The Penguin Dictionary of Astronomy pages 89-92, 138-9.

fol. 46v,47r. Cause of rain

See Pliny, Natural History, II,XXXIX, 105 (Loeb,I,249).

fol. 47r. in the antiant dais...

See Pliny, Natural History, II,LVII,147 (Loeb,I,283-285). "Besides these events in the lower sky, it is entered in the records that in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Porcius it rained milk and blood (lacte et sanguine), and that frequently on other occasions there it has rained flesh (carne) for instance in the consulship of Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius, and that none of the flesh left unplundered by birds of prey went bad; and similarly that it rained iron (ferro) in the district of Lucania in the year before Marcus Crassus was killed by the Parthians and with him all the Lucanian soldiers of whom there was a large contingent in his army; the shape of the iron that fell resembled sponges; the augurs prophesied wounds from above. But in the consulship of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus it rained wool (lena) in the vicinity of Compsa Castle, near which Titus Annius Milo was killed a year later. It is recorded in the annals of that year that while Milo was pleading a case in court it rained baked bricks (lateribus coctis).

fol. 47v. hail stonis

Pliny, Natural History, II,LX, 152 (Loeb,I,289):

"hail is produced from frozen rain, and snow from the same fluid less solidly condensed, but hoar frost from cold dew."

fol. 47v,48r. thunder, thunderbolts

The Complayner omits Pliny's more fanciful causes of thunderbolts

and thunder, then (fol. 47v,48r) continues where Pliny continues (II,LV,142: Loeb,I,279): "It is certain that when thunder and lightning occur simultaneously, the flash is seen before the thunderclap is heard (this not being surprising, as light travels more swiftly than sound);..." (Loeb,I,283): "A man struck while awake is found with his eyes shut; while asleep with them open..." Then the Complayner turns back to Pliny, Natural History,II,LII,137 (Loeb,I,275): "There is a third sort (of thunderbolt) called 'bright thunderbolts', of an extremely remarkable nature; this kind drains casks dry without damaging their lids and without leaving any other trace and melts gold and copper and silver in their bags without singeing the bags themselves at all, and even without melting the wax seal. Marcia, a lady of high station at Rome, was struck by lightning when enceinte, and though the child was killed, she herself survived without being otherwise injured."

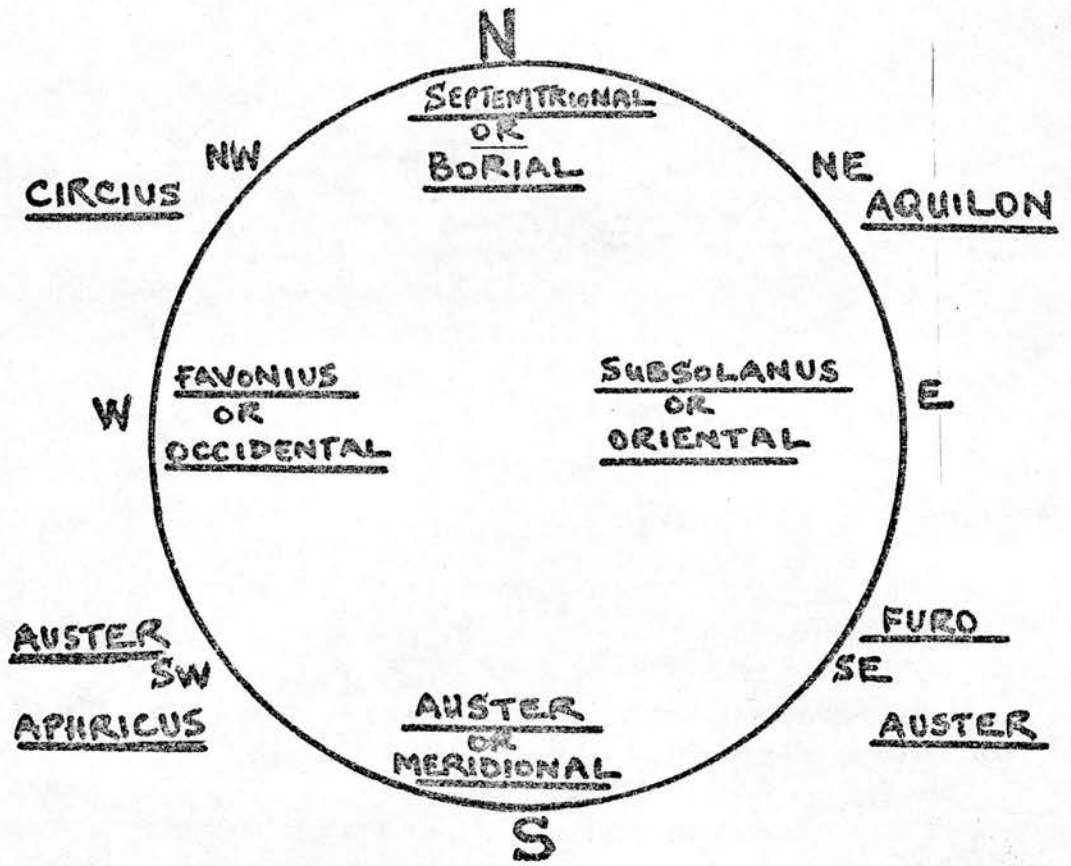
The Complayner then returns to Pliny, Natural HistoryII,LVI, 146 (Loeb,I,283): "Among things that grow in the grounds, it does not strike a laurel bush. It never penetrates more than five feet into the earth; consequently when in fear of lightning men think caves of greater depth are the safest, or else a tent made of the skin of the creatures called sea-calves (vituli), because that alone among marine animals lightning does not strike, just as it does not strike the eagle among birds..." ("quae ob hoc armigera huius teli fingitur.")

fol. 48v,49v. The winds

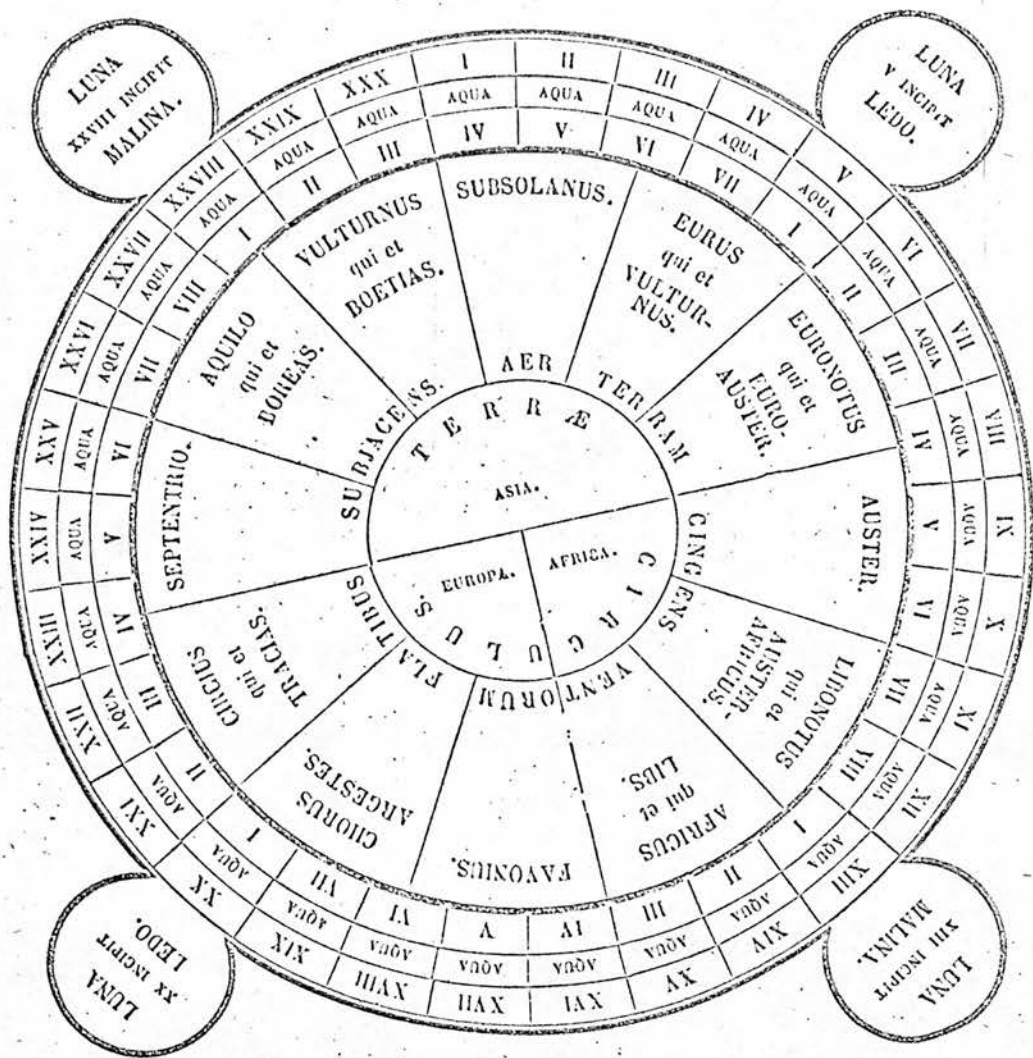
In Navigation the directions were referred to as "winds". To the four "quarters", N,S,E,W., distinguished by the Norsemen, were added the combinations giving 28 intermediate directions giving the 32 "rhumb" (direction) lines, the 'rhumbs' of the winds on the "windrose". See David W.Waters, The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times (London,1958) page 21.

The Complayner's list of 'winds' is: 1) Auster or meridional (S); 2) Subsolanus or oriental (E); 3) Septentrional or borial (N); 4) Fauonius or occidental (W); 5) Auster aphricus (SW); 6) Furo auster (SE); 7) Aquilon (NE); 8) Circius (NW).

The Complayner may have taken the general idea of describing



(De concordia maris et lunæ.)



the causes of the winds and the designations from Pliny, Natural History, II, XLV-XLVIII, 116-119 (Loeb, I, 257-267), but he has not copied. The Complayner (or his alternative 'source') rearranges the winds, replacing Pliny's Vulturnus or Eurus (SE) by Furo Auster, which should probably be Euro Auster (as in the diagram illustrating Bede's Didascalica genuina, Bedae Venerabilis Operum Pars I, Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. 90 (1850) col. 259-260; Glossae et Scholia to Caput XL. "Cur mare non crescat.") The Complayner has also replaced Pliny's Libs (SW) by Auster Aphricus (which the above illustration to Bede uses for SSW, which in Pliny is Libotonus). He has replaced Pliny's Corus or Argestes (NW) by Circius (which is Pliny's WNW, and prevalent in the Narbonne area). Circius is NNW in the diagram to Bede.

The Complayner also equates Boreas and Septentrio (N): whereas Boreas, in Pliny and the Bede diagram, is equated with Aquilo (NE) Thus the Complayner seems to be referring to some recent 'rutter', 'computus' or 'lunar-tide-wheel', or using notes from his own observation or questioning of sailors, whose answers might vary slightly.

Robert Wedderburn in Dundee, on his trip from the Baltic in 1546, when the timber ship was forced back by 'contrarie' winds to seek shelter in Ripperwicke, would have a special interest in the character of winds and opportunity to study them.

The Knights of St. John at Torphichen and sailors at Blackness could also have supplied information. Sandilands' library might have had a manual, although the secrets of navigation were apparently a closely guarded professional secret.

fol. 49v. Sapiens dominabitur astris

See introduction.

Influences

The above phrase 'sapiens dominabitur astris' ascribed to Ptolemy, is also the view of Major who holds that stars influence things and animals but not man, an animal with reason.

On the concept of 'influences' underlying much of astrology, and leading to the fatal political apathy which a belief in 'fortune' engenders as Chartier and the Complayner note (fol. 18r), see

C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1967) 103-5; see too E.M.W.Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth, 1963), 68-77. See Pliny Natural History, II,XLI,108 (Loeb,I,251).

fol. 50v,51r.

The list of tales, songs, dances and tunes, was commented on by John Leyden, in his 1801 edition (pages 221-245 in particular). Leyden already drew attention (p.246f.) to Captain Cox's list of books and ballads. F.J.Furnivall in his edition of Robert Laneham's Letter (edited for the Ballad Society, 1871; reissued in the Shakespeare Society series,) (London,1907), gives a full commentary utilizing Leyden's notes (see p.cxxxvii-clxvi of the 1907 edition). J.A.H.Murray in the EETS edition of the Complaynt (1872) reprints Furnivall's comments in his introduction (pages lxxxii-xci). Later comments such as e.g. R.M.Wilson's discussion of the tales (pp.130-2) and the lyrics (pp.188,190,191) in The Lost Literature of Medieval England (London, 1952) adopt Furnivall's comments.

As Gillian Beer remarks, the romance has always flourished in periods of rapid change (The Romance, (London,1970) p.78), and in this respect the twelfth, sixteenth, and twentieth centuries are akin. As C.S.Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic to 1400, (New York, 1928) points out, (pages 260-1) the romance flourished with the interest in the vernacular.

Later in the sixteenth century, however, there was opposition to the romances, among the aristocratic Elizabethan poetologists, and earlier among the Humanists (Erasmus, Vives). (See C.S.Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1954) p.29).

The continuing popularity of these tales is further vouched for by Francis Meres' comment in his Palladis Tamia (1598). (See G.Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays (Oxford, 1964) II,308). His list includes 'Beuis of Hampton' and the 'Four Sonnes of Aymon', which also appear in the Complaynt. Similarly Nash in his Anatomic of Absurditie (1589) (see G.G. Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays (Oxford, 1964) I,323) mentions, in his list, Arthur of Little Britain, and the 'Foure Sons of Amon', both in the Complaynt. Puttenham, in The Arte of English Poesie (1589), (see G.G.Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, Vol. II, pages 43-4) mentions 'Sir

Bevis of Southampton; referring to it again (II,87). Thus, while condemning the romances, these aristocratic Elizabethan poetologists indicate the popularity of the romances. Puttenham says (G.G.Smith, II,87) they were made "purposely for the recreation of the common people at Christmasse diners & brideales, and in tauernes & alehouses, and such other places of base resort..." Ascham in his Toxophilus for example, disapproved of the romances as "propagating an evil combination of lust and Catholicism" (Berdan,p.323). As G.Gregory Smith indicates (introduction to Elizabethan Critical Essays, I,p.xxxvi), the rejection of romances was part of the general rejection of the Middle Ages as being barbarous and Gothic.

However in the Complayner's time of uncertainty and change, he could still quote the storytelling of the shepherds, without adding censure, Lindsay too can refer to Bevis (Cupar Banns, 244-5), Eger (Sq.Mel.1318), the Red Etin (Dreme 45) Golagros and Gawane (Sq.Mel. 1315), also without censure, with approval.

As a useful prefix to the comment on these four dozen tales, we might note J.M.Berdan's 'caveat' that in Elizabethan literature, and presumably therefore in 1550 too, it does not follow that allusions to romances imply that the writer had ever read the romance he mentions. The names had become familiar. "The hero had become a type. Or the allusion may have been due to childish memories, as we know Jack the Giant Killer." (J.M.Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry (N.Y.,1920) 497-8).

This might well be a note of the reading of the Knights of St. John at Torphichen; possibly even a note of books in Sandilands' library there.

For another such catalogue of tales see ed. P.Henderson, The Complete Poems of John Skelton 4th ed. (London, 1964), pages 77-79. The list includes, the Canterbury Tales, Gawain, the Golden Fleece, Arthur, Sir Lancelot de Lake, Quater Fylz Amund.. Hope Emily Allen, "The Speculum Vitae: Addendum", PMLA 32 (1917)133-162, includes a comment on this use of catalogues of romances (p.140,fn.15), which were common in Old French and Anglo-Norman works (H.E.Allen refers to Romania XII,147; Warton, II, pp.122,125; etc., and 'Sir Thopas!')

This pastoral scene with musical revels is paralleled in Colkelbie Sow. See e.g. ed. D.Laing, Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland, rev ed. J.Small, (Edinburgh,

London, 1885) pages 233-265, especially pages 247-250.

In commenting on the list of romances and tales, etc., I have consulted the usual reference works (C.B.E.L., Billings, Wells,), but have found most useful: W.L.Renwick, H.Orton, M.F.Wakelyn, The Beginnings of English Literature to Skelton, 1509 (London, 1966). I have also consulted W.H.Schofield, English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer (London, 1906); H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1883), Vol.I.; Ernest Langlois, Table des Noms Propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées, (Paris, 1904): Brian Woledge, Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500, (Geneva, Paris, 1954): Robert Bossuat, Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature Française du Moyen Age, (Melun, 1951), Supplement, for 1949-53 (Paris, 1955): ed. U.T.Holmes, D.Cabeen, A Critical Bibliography of French Literature: The Medieval Period, 2nd rev, ed. (Syracuse, 1952): Louis Fernand Flutre, Table des Noms Propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les Romans du Moyen Age écrits en Français ou en Provençal et actuellement publiés ou analysés (Poitiers, 1962): Laura H. Hibbard, Medieval Romance in England: A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances (New York, 1963).

fol. 50v. List of Tales

No. 1. The Canterbury Tales

See F.N.Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957); and items in Bibliography under 'Chaucer'.

No. 2. Robert le Dyabil duc of Normandie

Karl Breul in his edition of Sir Gowther (Oppeln, 1886) describes the origins and spread of the Robert the Devil legends in the numerous versions which show how popular and widespread the tale has been. Breul traces motifs back to fairytale origins (Eisenhans, Werweiss, Grindkopf), and sees the earliest written version in the Latin prose story by the thirteenth century Dominican friar Etienne de Bourbon, (p.50): 'De multiplici utilitate penitencie. Penitencia vincit et superat hostes, et a casu et a miseria elevat.'

Breul prints this version as an appendix (pp. 208-210) to his edition of Sir Gowther, taking the text from Lecoy de la Marche's "Anecdotes historiques legendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIIIe siècle", (Paris, 1877) pages 145-148. F.J.Furnivall in his introduction (p.cxl) to Robert Laneham's Letter, quotes Sir Frederic Madden's opinion that the "foundation story of 'Robert the Devil' and Robert of Sicily' is the tale of Jovinianus which is told at considerable length in the English and Latin Gesta" (Romanorum). Breul, while admitting a certain affinity in some of the motifs, dismisses (p. 65) Madden's view. The anonymous 13th century French MS (BNfr.25516) 'roman' (Bossuat, 1392ff.) has been edited by E.Lðseth (S.A.T.F.,1903). An analysis of the 'roman', which appears to be by a Picard author, but may be based on an earlier Norman version, is to be found in HLF, XXII,880 (Histoire littéraire de la France, commencé par des religieux benedictins de la congregation de Saint-Maur et continué par des membres de l'Institut (Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres), Paris, 1733 et seq.). Charles Maxwell Lancaster has given an English rendering in Saints and Sinners in Old Romance, Poems of Feudal France and England, Vanderbilt U.P. (Nashville, 1942) pp. 46-192. As Lancaster points out (p. 424), the Saint Alexis story, written approximately 150 years earlier, contains a similar conception of penance and renunciation. According to Lancaster too, the birth of Robert recalls the Merlin theme and the discussion of diabolical intervention in the mysteries of procreation contained in the pseudo-Augustinus. As Breul points out, (p.120), there is an affinity too with Wyntoun's discussion of the supernatural birth of Macbeth, the beginning of the Sir Degare Romance and the Lai de Tydorel, (Romania VIII,66ff.) Motifs in the romance have been further seen as linking it with various fairytales, sagas and legends (Breul, pp.114-134). Breul sees the development as being from a secular fairytale to a sanctified adaptation which gradually developed into a 'roman'. In addition to the 13th century version edited by Lðseth, there is a 14th century poem or 'Dit', an extract from which Breul prints (pp. 464-509) and which (Flutre,p.164) would appear to be a re-working in quatrains of alexandrines of the earlier 'roman'. There is also a 'Miracle' version. The first printed version is (Breul, p.56) included in the old chronicles of

Normandy printed at Rouen in 1487. The first separate printed version is the edition printed at Lyons in 1496 and in Paris in 1497. This edition appear (Breul, p.58) to be the basis of later versions, which were adapted to current taste. This version printed at Lyons in 1496 is entitled: "La vie du terrible Robert le dyable." The story begins with the extended title: "Cy commence la terrible et merueilleuse vie de robert le dyable lequel apres fut nomme lomme dieu" and has the colophon "Imprime a Lyon par Pierre mareschal & Bernabe chaussard. Le VII iour du moys de may. Lan mil quatrezens quatre vingtz & seze". Breul (p.199) further lists editions of 1497, ca.1525, 1510-25, 1545 and ca.1550, any of which might have been an exemplar referred to by the author of the "Complaynt". The tale was "not extant in Middle English" (R.M.Wilson, p.131), but a translation from the French was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Breul adds the conjectural date 1510. Breul lists two exemplars (p.204), (in the British Museum and in Cambridge) which he asserts (pp.62,63) are not identical. The B.M. copy (C.21.c) is entitled: "Robert the deuyll". On the following side we have: "Here begynneth the lyfe of the moost myscheuoust Robert the deuyll whiche was afterwarde called the seruaunt of god." At the end of the story we have: "Here endeth the lyfe of the moost ferefullust - and vnmercyfullust and myscheuous Robert yedeuyll whiche was afterwards called the seruant of our Lorde Jhesu cryste. Emprynted in the fletestrete in the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde." In "Printers of Fleet Street and St. Paul's Churchyard in the Sixteenth Century" (F.C.Avis, 26, Gordonbrock Rd., London S.E.4), it is stated (pp.7,14) that Wynkyn de Worde was at 'The Sun' (opposite Shoe Lane) between 1500 and 1535. This Wynkyn de Worde version has been reprinted by W.J.Thomas in 1827 and 1858, and by Henry Morley in "Early Prose Romances", in 1889. Breul lists 106 items in his Bibliography (pp.198-207); of which 53 are from France (eleven of them pre-sixteenth century); 16 from Spain; 3 from Portugal; 5 from the Netherlands; 13 from Germany (mainly Volksbücher); 11 from England (none of them before the 15th century); all of them versions of the Robert the Devil legend. The "Sir Gowther" version, which (Renwick & Orton, pp.419,420) is "the life-story of a man who commits every sin, is later converted and atones appropriately", is generally agreed (Breul, pp.64,65,120) to be dependent on a Breton 'lai'. The important role of the Breton 'conteur' is discussed, for example, by Roger Sherman Loomis in "The Development of

Arthurian Romance, ('Hutchinson),(London, 1963). The "Sir Gowther" story appears to have been "composed about 1400 in the N.E. Midlands or else in the North and (is) extant in the 15th-c. MSS. Advocates' Lib. Edin. 19.3.1. and Royal 17.B.43" (Renwick & Orton, p.420.) Furnivall would appear to assume that the 'Complayner' is referring to the Wynkyn de Worde version, but the title as given in the "Complaynt" (French with English 'of'), is by no means a clear reference to the English translation. Even at a much later date original French texts of Romances would appear to have been popular reading among those with the leisure to read, as a glance at the shelves of the library in Blair Castle, for example, would appear to indicate. Was there a historical counterpart to the legendary Robert? The categorical ascription of the epithet 'le Diable' to Robert, sixth duke of Normandy, who died in 1035, does not appear entirely justifiable, despite the sanction of 'The Oxford Companion to English Literature, "Encyclopaedia Britannica" Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable', etc. Lancaster (p.424) says "Liebrecht, Breul, Gaston Paris, Cosquin, Beneze, Tardel and Panzer think not. According to them the poem is an ecclesiastical reconstitution of the 'Teigneux' stories. Only Borinski supports the thesis that one Robert Guiscard of Normandy was his flesh and blood prototype." According to Breul (p.107,fn.2) it would appear to have been as late as 1631 that a historian Dumoulin affixed the tag 'Le Diable' to Robert, the younger son of Richard II, duke of Normandy (d.1026) and the father of William the Conqueror. Robert succeeded his brother Richard III in 1028. He was apparently suspected of having poisoned Richard, and fratricide would perhaps qualify him for the epithet; but other historians called him 'Robert the Magnificent' and 'Robert the Liberal', a verdict which the two sentences in the 'Encyclopedia Britannica' would tend to verify. "Robert sheltered the exiled English princes, Edward, afterwards Edward the Confessor, and his brother Alfred, and fitted out a fleet for the purpose of restoring them to their inheritance, but this was scattered by a storm. When returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he died at Nicaea on July 22, 1035." In war the friend of one side is a fiend to the other side. Perhaps the epithet may originally have been an admiring comment of prowess at arms, rather than an ethical condemnation.

The PLOT of the Wynkyn de Worde version tells how Robert the Devil,

the son of a duke and duchess of Normandy has grown up as a wicked youth. His mother explains that he was born in answer to prayers addressed to the Devil, Robert is directed by the Pope to consult a hermit, who imposes penances. Robert must "kepe and counterfete the wayes of a fole, and be as he were dombe; and he may ete no maner of mete, but that he can take it from the dogges; and in this wyse... must he be tyll tyme that it pleases God to shewe hym that his synne be forgyuen." (Morley, p.189) Robert becomes court fool to the emperor in Rome. In disguise he delivers the city from three attacks by the 'Senesshall' (a natural choice for the role of villain, being the 'bete noire' of minstrels?) and the Saracens (cf. W.W.Comfort: "~~Saracens~~ in the French Epic", PMLA, LV (1940).) The miraculous recovery of speech by the dumb daughter of the emperor enables her to tell that the mysterious knight was none other than the court fool. Robert marries the emperor's daughter 'at the commaundement of God', and happy in the knowledge that his sins have been forgiven, returns to Normandy. In the other version (summarized by Breul, pp.47-49; rendered in English by C.M.Lancaster) Robert refuses the offer of the hand of the princess and he ends his days as a hermit.

No. 3. The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end.

As Leyden (p.234) points out 'The Well o' the World's End' survives in allusions in folklore. See Robert Chambers Popular Rhymes of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1870), pages 105-7; (reprinted e.g. E.W.Grierson, The Scottish Fairy Book (London, 1911), Tale No. 36.) Murray (p.lxxiii) reprints F.J.Furnivall's notes from his edition of Robert Laneham's Letter: Describing a Part of the Entertainment Unto Queen Elizabeth at the Castle of Kenilworth in 1575 originally for the Ballad Society in 1871 and re-edited in the Shakespeare Library (London, 1907). In his introduction, Furnivall describes the books in Captain Cox's List and the list in the Complaynt. Furnivall says that Chambers' tale, from Fife, is of a well, "whither a nasty queen with a nastier daughter sends the nicer daughter of a king to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer and marries a bonnie young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler who licks her every day with a strap."

(Furnivall, p.cxl) R.M.Wilson remarks that it is uncertain whether the fairy tale goes back as far as medieval times. (R.M.Wilson, The Lost Literature of Medieval England, (London, 1952).) Leyden's version (p.234) involves a 'frog prince'. See K.M.Briggs A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language, incorporating the F.J.Norton Collection Part A - Folk Narratives, Vol.I, (London, 1970) pages 167-8;563-4. K.M.Briggs points out that this is Type 440, the Frog King type of story, and she lists the Motifs as: H 1023.2; B.211.7.1; D.711.1.162.

No. 4. Ferrand erl of Flanderis that mareit the deuyl

The Complayner again mentions Ferrand (at folio 67r) as an 'example' of placing one's trust in ambiguous oracles. This is the story told by Barbour, in the Bruce, IV, lines 241-307; ed. W.W.Skeat, The Bruce...by Master John Barbour, STS (Edinburgh,1894), Vol.I, pages 90-93. The ultimate source of both the Complayner and Barbour's account is almost certainly Guillaume Le Breton (1159-69, d.1216) who wrote a Latin prose chronicle probably between 1216 and 122-, and whose work is connected with St. Denis, (which Barbour visited in 1365,) and known as the 'Historia Sancti Dionysi' See R.L.G.Ritchie, The Buik of Alexander STS (Edinburgh, 1925), Vol.I, pages clxiii,clxx: G.W.Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers (Liverpool, 1952) pages, 34,73,200:

The obvious pun on 'enfer' (hell) and Ferrand is one reason why the legends should have accreted. Ferrand, son of Pancho I of Portugal, became Earl of Flanders by marrying Jane the daughter of Baldwin IX, Earl of Flanders. He was defeated at Bouvines in 1214 by Philippe Auguste of France.

Ferrand also appears briefly in the 'Morte Arthure' (2760, quoted R.L.G.Ritchie, p.clxiii) where it is mentioned "the fend was his fadyre" Barbour says his mother was a 'nygramansour' (Bk.IV,241). Skeat thinks the story of Ferrand was "evidently some story resembling the Tale of Melusine". [Leyden (p.237) suggests that it is probably "the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel," (Otia Imperialia ap. Script.Rer. Brunsvic.vol.I.p.978), and by Bowmaker, of the ancestor of the Plantagenet family (Forduni Scotichron. a Goodall, vol.2.p.9.)."] Furnivall in 'Laneham's Letter'

p.cxl, has turned Bowmaker into "Bournaker" and Murray (p.lxiii) follows. R.M.Wilson (p.131) says it is "Probably a story similar to that which Giraldus tells of the origins of the Plantagenets, but none with Ferrand as the hero is known." The paragraph above is quoted as a demonstration of how badly a new commentary is needed.] See note on Fol. 67v.

No.5. The tayl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis.

This tale is also mentioned by Lindsay (Works, III, 12) in the Dreme (line 45), as Leyden (p.319), and Murray /Furnivall note. As Leyden (p.235) remarks, popular etymology derived the name from 'eating red, raw flesh' and thus saw the Etin (as in Jack and the Beanstalk) as a man-eating giant. Murray thinks that tale No.8. 'of the giantis that eit quyk men' is of 'Jack and the Beanstalk'. Robert Chambers, Popular Rhymes of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1870), 89-94, has, as Murray/Furnivall notes, a tale of the 'Red Etin of Ireland', a three headed giant. Latterday tales have a habit of being written to fit exciting titles, as in the case of the "Well at the World's End", so that it is difficult to know if presentday versions are those to which the Complayner is referring.

No. 6. The taill ouhou perseus sauit andromeda fra the cruel monstir.

The Tale of Perseus and Andromeda is told for example in Ovid's Metamorphoses, iv,663 ff. Tales, Nos. 6;14;39;40;41;42;43;45;47;48; are all from the 'Matter of Antiquity'.

No. 7. The prophysie of merlyne

Merlin has been the subject of so much enquiry that a full account would fill a volume. As H.L.D.Ward in his Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1883), Vol,I, pages 292-327, indicates, there are, as well as numerous lives of Merlin, also extant manuscripts of 'prophysie', such as: (page 312) Harley 1717, see David Laing, (Waldegrave's Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies in Alliterative Verse,1603,

for the Bannatyne Club (No.44) (Edinburgh, 1833): J.R.Lumby, Bernardus De Cura Rei Famularis, Early Scottish Prophecies &c. EETS OS 42 (London, 1870, repr. 1965): J.A.H.Murray, The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune, EETS OS 61 (London, 1875), (Appendix II): Leyden's introduction (pages 221-224), Murray (pages xlii-xlvi); Hamer, (Lindsay, Works, IV,238) in a note to the Satyre (line 4590) (Hamer cross references Dreme 43; Cupar Banns, 252 and Satyre, 4591-3; and refers to J.R.Lumby, Ratis Raving, EETS OS 43 (London, 1870): G.H.Gerould, "A Text of Merlin's Prophecies", Speculum XXIII (1948): L.A.Paton, Les Prophécies de Merlin, 2 vols. (New York, 1926-7): P.Zunthor, Merlin le Prophète: un thème de la littérature polemique, de l'historiographie et des romans (Lausanne, 1943): J.S.P.Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions, (Berkeley, L.A., 1950); chapter V, 'Merlin' (pages 171-7); and chapter XVII, 'The Prophecies of Merlin' (pages 403-421): Rupert Taylor, The Political Prophecy in England (New York, 1911). On Merlin, see Rachel Bromwich, Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Welsh Triads (Cardiff, 1961). Merlin, a central character in the Arthurian 'industry', is important for the Complayner for a specific reason. Whereas Abell, for example, is interested in Merlin for his 'marvellous' birth ("The Roit or Quheil of Tyme", fol. 43a), the Complayner is forced to deal with Merlin (folios 50v,65v,66r,67r,148v) because Merlin was a pawn in the propaganda game. Tales of Merlin and his prophecies are not just innocuous tales (as in the Morte d'Arthure perhaps), but are arguments in English claims of suzerainty over Scotland. By classifying the prophecies as mere tales the Complayner is, like Major (History, 72-8,81,224,254), deliberately attempting to disarm these propaganda weapons. See remarks, in the introduction, on propaganda, and on the folklore interest of Pinkie, and on the mutation of monarchies as interpreted by the Complayner.

No. 8. the tayl of the giantis that eit cuyk men

Leyden and Furnivall, followed by Murray and R.M.Wilson, say that this tale is probably some version of Jack the Giant Killer or Jack and the Beanstalk.

Murray is perhaps wrong to overemphasise the nursery bogey aspect

of the tale. Giants belong very firmly in the literary tradition, from Genesis (6), Homer, Ovid to Mandeville (See P.Hamelius, Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 153 (London, repr. 1960), I,189 (Ch.XXXII, line 2829),) where it is said of them that they "eat more gladly man's flesh than any other flesh". Roger O. Iredale, "Giants and Tyrants in Book Five of the Faerie Queene", R E S N.S.17,68 (1966) 373-381, discusses the traditions of the Giants and (page 376) mentions how Thomas Cooper's Chronicle (London,1560) refers (on page 46) to giants who "fed with man's fleshe".

As E.R.Curtius points out (ELIMA, 215,219), the war of the Giants against Zeus corresponds to the story of the Tower of Babel in the harmonizing of Judaeo-Christian revelation and Greek thought. The Anthropophagi (Othello.1.2.144) represent the strong sacrilegious, defiant, arrogant, stupid, outrageous villains, troublemakers and tyrants who are outsmarted by the good clever little people despite all the odds against them. (See Stith Thompson, F.911.5; F 531.2.6; F531.3.11; G.691.1; G.11.2; G.84.) See note to tale No. 5.

No. 9. On fut by fortht as i culd found.

Furnivall remarks: 'That is, "On foot by Forth, as I did go." A ballad not now known.' This may be a reference to 'Master Robert Hendersonis dreame, On fut by forth', listed in a table of contents to a part of the Asloan MS which is lost. The linguistic usage is paralleled for example in King Hart (line 603): "That I no fut micht find" (that I could go no step); and by No.18 in Volume I, of the Bannatyne MS (STS, Vol.I, page cxi) page 25) "Furth throw ane forest as I fund".

No. 10. Vallace.

See ed. M.P.McDiarmid, Hary's Wallace, c.1478 2 vols. STS (Edinburgh, 1968-9). See folio 73v.

No. 11. The Bruce

See W.W.Skeat, Barbour's Bruce, EETS ES,11,21,29,55; 2 vols.,

(London, repr. 1968). Cf. G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce (London, 1965).
See folios 67r, 73v.

No. 12. Ypomedon.

See ed. E. K8lbing, Ipomedon (Breslau, 1899) The original Anglo-Norman romance (see M.D. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background, (Oxford, 1963), 85-9), led to three extant ME versions (see W.L. Renwick, H. Orton, M.F. Wakelyn, The Beginnings of English Literature to Skelton, 1509, 3rd ed. (London, 1966), 422.) See H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the B.M. (London, 1883), Vol. I, pages 728-746; 755-7. (BM.M.S. Cotton, Vespasian. A.vii., folios 37-104; BM.M.S. Harley 2252, printed by H. Weber, Metrical Romances (Edinburgh, 1810), Vol. II, 279-365).

No. 13. the tail of the thre futtit dog of norrouay

As Leyden (p.235-6) states, the 'Black Bull of Norway' is a popular Scots tale; and Robert Chambers published it in The Popular Rhymes of Scotland (first published 1826) (Edinburgh, 1870) 95-99. Chambers also prints an abbreviated and apparently English version of the story as 'The Red Bull of Norroway' (pages 99-101). The story contains the motifs of seven years service, glass mountain which can only be climbed by metal shoes, and the 'recognition token' motif, that the maid can wash the blood-stained shirt and thus marry her enchanted prince. Of the story, as Hibbard points out (L.H. Hibbard, Mediaeval Romance in England (New York, repr. 1963), p.234, fn.), there is a Gaelic version, found in Campbell's Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Vol. IV, pages 267ff, told about 1812 by a serving maid, in which the Norwegian prince is turned into a great grey dog.

No. 14. the tayl ouhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis.

No particular source need be assumed for such a common story. See Ovid Metamorphoses, ix.70. The Complayner again uses the image of the Hydra in folio 127v referring to schisms. Lindsay refers to

the Hydra too (Dreme.37; Sq.Mel.1403; Mon.3562).

No. 15. the tail quhou the hynge of est mure land mareit the hyngeis dochtir of vest mure land.

As Leyden remarks (page 226) this may be a reference to some version of the ballad of King Estmere (ed. H.C.Sargent, G.L. Kittredge, English and Scottish Popular Ballads, (Boston, & N.Y., 1904) pages 111-114. As Leyden and Scott, ignored by Furnivall/Murray, indicate (Leyden, p.226, Scott in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, ed. T.Henderson, (London, 1931), pages 442-3), the ballad of 'Fause Foodrage' includes references to King Easter and King Wester. In Sargent & Kittredge, 'Fause Foodrage' (pages 188-191) version B (from Motherwell's MS,p.341) contains the forms "The Eastmure king, and the Westmure king..." As Scott points out (page 443) there is likewise a 'King Estmere of Spain' in one of Percy's ballads. Ritson disagreed with Scott's view that Northumberland and Westmoreland were being referred to, and suggested that the reference is to some form of the old metrical romance of 'Kyng Horn' or 'Horn Child', where the names 'Westnesse' and 'Estnesse' occur; where in the French original Westir is said to have been an old name of Ireland, and Sudene was a name for Britain, "but here again it is inconsistent", as Henderson the editor remarks. (He might as well say it is a reference to Labrador because Milton refers to Estotiland in 'Paradise Lost' (X,686)). On King Horn see Fenwick & Orton, pages 385-7; H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue,p.447-469.

No. 16. Skail gillenderson, the kyngeis sone of skellye.

Leyden (p.227) makes no comment. Murray says: "Some Scandinavian legend". R.M.Wilson (p.131) comments: "Some old Norse legend which can not now be identified." (It might of course be a corrupt form of the name. As W.M.Alexander, Place Names of Aberdeenshire Third Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1952), page 290 mentions, there is Glanderston in West Aberdeenshire near Wardhouse, which was conveyed by David of Garioch to Hugh the Breton "His name proves the former owner Gillandres Buch from whom the land took its designation, to have been a native Celt." Near Torphichen there is also a

Glanderston. The Viking element is nearer home than 'Scandinavian' and 'Norse' suggest, as a trip to the Isles shows.)

See Glossary - "gillenderson" - for another theory.

No. 17. the tayl of the four sonnys of aymon

This French romance of the Charlemagne cycle (see H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue, p.619-625) was translated into English by Caxton (N.F.Blake, Caxton and His World (London, 1969) 224-239 (No. 44): See ed. Octavia Richardson Charlemagne Romances, 10,11: The Foure Sonnes of Aymon, EETS ES 44,45 (London, 1884-5). Caxton would appear to have translated from the Lyons edition of 1480 by Renaud de Montauban, based on a late 14th century chanson de geste. Aymon's sons were Reynaud, Guiscard, Alard and Richard, and they and their horse Bayard appeared in many romances and poems and chapbooks (see Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered', and Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso'). See ed. T.Crockett, The Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis STS (Edinburgh, 1913) Vol. II, pages 5-100; espec. Canto 2 ff. 'Roland Furiovs', which brings in Bayard and the four sons of Aymon. (pages 15 ff.)

No. 18. the tayl of the brig of the mantribil

Barbour, Bruce (Skeat), III, line 455 says,

"And wan mantrybill and passit flagot".

Skeat comments that it is "evidently an episode in the romance of 'Fierabras' and accordingly in the 'Sowdone of Babylon' I find that Mauntribile is Lavan's 'chief cite' and that the giant Alagolofure was warden of the 'brigge' over the river Flagote that led to it. Richard of Normandy swam his horse over the river, killed the giant and won the bridge."

See Renwick & Orton, p. 407-8: H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue..., I, 616-9.

No. 19. the tail of syr euan arthours knyght.

As Flutre (L-F. Flutre, Table des Noms Propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les Romans du Moyen Age écrits en Français ou en Provençal et actuellement publiés ou analysés (Poitiers, 1962), page 110) shows, the name is extremely common, Ivain, Evain, Ewein,

Iain, Ien, Iewan, Ivonet, Yvain, etc., all occur in French versions. In English, Scots or Welsh tales the name also occurs. Leyden however (p.227) thinks it is a tale of Arthurian Lothian, R.M.Wilson (p.130) states "possibly a version of the extant Ywain & Gawain or perhaps a romance on Ywain now lost." Furnivall thinks it is the poem of Ywaine and Gawin as in Cotton MS Galba E ix. (H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue... I, p.392). It may equally well have been Chretien's version or Hartmann's, or even as Leyden mentions (p.256) a version such as that mentioned "in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS in the Royal Library of Stockholm... Sagan af Event, England Kappe;- the history of Ewain, Arthur's best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks..."

No. 20. Rauf collzear

The earliest printed version we have is that printed by Robert Lekpreuk in 1572 at St. Andrews. A facsimile reprint edited by Professor William Beattie was published by the National Library in 1966. See Renwick & Orton, pages 410,450-1. The Lekpreuk edition was reprinted: by David Laing, in 1822, and again by J.Small in his 1885 edition of David Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland (Edinburgh, London, 1885), pages 1-40: S.J.Herrtage, Charlemagne Romances: 6. Rauf Coilyear, Roland, Otuel, &c. EETS ES 39 (London, 1882, repr. 1969): F.J.Amours Scottish Alliterative Poems, STS (Edinburgh, 1891-7) pages 82-114, 317-328. As Leyden points out (p.227) Douglas mentions 'Raf Coilzear' in the Palice of Honour, (line 1711): See (ed. P.J.Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas STS (Edinburgh, 1967), page 109.) See ed. W.M.Mackay, The Poems of William Dunbar (London, 1960) pages 41-3, 'To the King', line 33: "Kyne of Rauf Colyard and Johine the Reif" (note, p.207). This democratic romance is a Scottish alliterative poem of the late 14th century satirizing the conventions of medieval courtly romance in the version we have in the National Library copy (H.29.c.9.). John the Reeve is a similar English tale about Edward I. There is also a similar German tale about Charlemagne dealing with a bluff charcoal burner, though I suspect it is modern.

No. 21. The seige of millan

See ed. S.J.Herrtage, Charlemagne Romances: 2. The Seige of Melayne, Sir Otuel &c. EETS ES 35 (London, 1880): H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue...I, pages 953-4: BM Add.MS.31,042.

No. 22. Gauen and gallogras

See Renwick & Orton, pages 399-403: F.J.Amours, Scottish Alliterative Poems STS (Edinburgh, 1891-7) 1-46: G.Stevenson, Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS. together with The Chepman and Myllar Prints, STS (Edinburgh, 1918), pages 67-110: Lindsay, Works, III, 218 (Sq.Mel.1315; Cupar Banns, 246): F.Madden, Sir Gawayne, Bannatyne Club 61 (Edinburgh, 1839): David Laing, Select Remains. As Leyden (p.228) indicates, Dunbar, in his "Lament for the Makaris" (ed. W.M.Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar (London, 1960) pages 20-23), mentions: "Clerk of Tranent eik he hes tane,/That maid the Anteris of Gawane..." Wynton, as Leyden says, ascribes the tale apparently to 'Huchowne of the Awle ryall'.

No. 23. Lancelot du lac

See Renwick & Orton, pages 388-9: H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue...I, pages 345-356: ed. W.W.Skeat, Lancelot of the Laik, EETS OS 6, (London, 1865, repr. 1965): ed. G.Hutchings Le Roman en Prose de Lancelot du Lac, Le Conte de la Charette (Paris, 1938). Furnivall implies that the Complayner is referring to the Scots version as in Camb. Univ. MS.K.k.i.5. This need not be the case. See ed. W.W.Comfort Chrétien de Troyes: Arthurian Romances (London, repr. 1968), p.270-359, 371-2. The French romances were read in French at an even later date in Scotland, as the Library at Blair Castle reveals. D.C.Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad (Durham, N.C., 1968) page 133, discussing Bishop Percy's Folio MS, which contains abridgements of famous medieval romances says: "Sir Lancelot of Dulake" (MS, p.36) is an epitome in ballad stanza of the Tarquin episode in Sir Thomas Malory's Morte d'Arthur no doubt taken from the original published in Deloney's Garland of Good Will." M.M.Gray edited Lancelot of the Laik, also from the

Cambridge MS, for the STS (Edinburgh, 1911).

No. 24. Arthour knyght he raid on nycht
vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht.

Leyden (p.229) sees these lines as the introduction to a romance. Furnivall does not believe Leyden: he thinks it was probably a ballad. R.M.Wilson (p.130) says "they read more like the beginning of a ballad than of a romance."

No. 25. the tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon
be the see.

Leyden (p.229-230) notes that the name 'Florent of Albanie' occurs in Roswall and Lilian. Florimont of Albania is the central figure of the poem BM. MS Harley 4487, folios 3-86: see H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue...I, 156-159. The poem by Aime de Varennes (according to folio 56) is about Florimont the son of the Duke of Albania who married the heiress of Macedon and was the father of Philip, and grandfather of Alexander the Great. This includes a duel between Florimont's father-in-law and a lion. (Ward, p.158; folio 7b). The story is thus one of the Alexander cycle apparently. See A.Hilka, Aimon de Varennes: Florimont (Breslau, 1932-3). There are a number of MSS (BN. 12566; BN. 1490; Paris Ars. 3476; BN. 1488); see e.g. Brian Woledge, Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500 (Geneva, Lille, 1954), page 43, Nos. 58-61. Thus, R.M.Wilson's remark (p.131) "not now known", can only refer to a ~~missing~~ English version.

*According to M.P.McDiarmid
a copy has been located in the SRO recently. 1st April, 1973.

No. 26. the tail of syr valtir the bald leslye

Leyden (p.230) says this "seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun, 'coeperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David' (Scotichronicon, Bk.xvi,c.15)." There is a ballad of Walter Leslie, (Sargent & Kittredge, No. 296, pages 623-624) which is late. A tale about Crusades is the sort of reading Knights of St. John at Torphichen would enjoy.

No. 27. the tail of the pure tynt

Leyden (p.236) says that this is probably "the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycot', a common nursery tale." The story of 'Rashie Coat' is commonly reprinted as a Scots Cinderella. See R.Chambers, Popular Rhymes of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1870), pages 66-68.

There is however a slight possibility that in fact the Complayner is referring to a gest about a lost purse. The absence of a noun in the title, if it is 'the poor lost'; and the blurred type in the original, which reads like "the 'purs' ~~tynt~~"; both suggest that we look for a tale about a lost purse.

No. 28. Claryades and maliades.

See Ward Catalogue, I, 383. BM. MS Royal 20, C.ii, Art.I., folios 1-209b, contains 'Clariadus et Meliadicé', which Antoine Verard published (Paris, 1495). The Maitland Club edition, E.Piper, Clariodus (Edinburgh, 1830) reproduces a mid-sixteenth century English version. See B.Woledge, Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs a 1500 (Geneva, Lille, 1954), listing some ten manuscripts, beginning with "Chantilly 650 (1437) XVe s."; and five groups of editions of the French version. Woledge attaches it to the Round Table cycle. Cf. F.J.Curtis, "An Investigation of the Times and Phonology of the Middle Scotch Romance Clariodus", Anglia XVI (1894) 387-450: XVII (1895) 125-160. Clariadus is mentioned, for example, by Stewart of Baldynneis in his 'Roland Furievs' (STS ed. Vol. II, p.78, line 179) in a comparison; which presumes fame.

No. 29. Arthour of lital bertangze

See H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue, I, 382-3, note on BM Add.MS.10,295, 'Artus de Bretagne'. "Published in 1493, under the title of Le petit artus de bretagne, and republished at Lyons in 1496, and at Paris in 1502 and 1514. John Bouchier, Lord Berners, made a translation of it, the 2nd edition of which was published (about 1520-30) by Robert Redborne, and republished, with a critical preface,

by E.V.Uttersson, in 1814." See Woledge, item 116, for details of French MSS and editions. On Berners see Berdan, pages 369-370, 494-5. John Bouchier, Lord Berners also translated Froissart, Huon of Bordeaux, and Guevara's 'golden boke of Marke Aurelie' (from Bertaut's French version).

No. 30. Robene hude and litil ihone

Leyden (p.230) refers to the Chepman and Myllar prints ^(Low Countries') version and to Wynkyn de Worde's 'Geste of Robyn Hode'. As Leyden remarks, The Robin Hood 'songs' in their style have some resemblance to the historical ballads of the Border. Since 1801 when Leyden was writing it has been usual to consider them with the popular ballads. See David C.Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad, (Durham, N.C., 1968), pages 12, 66 (fn.2), 67 (fn.5): though there is doubt about their being sung. The Complayner mentions among the dances too (No. 92) 'Robene hude'.

No. 31. the meruellis of mandiuail

See Renwick & Orton, pages 320-1. See ed. P.Hamelius, Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 153,154 (London, repr. 1961); M.C.Seymour, The Bodley Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 253 (London, 1963); ed. M.C.Seymour, The Metrical Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 269 (forthcoming).

No. 32, No. 33. the tayl of the zong tamlene and of the bald braband

Is this one tale or two? Leyden (p.231) says that Young 'Tamlene' "seems to have been originally a romance of Faery, and was probably converted, by a popular tradition into a historical ballad, which is still preserved and published in Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." Leyden would then consider the tale of the Bald Braband a separate romance. Dr. E.B.Lyle in her "Study of Thomas the Rhymer and Tam Lin in Literature and Tradition" (Ph.D.thesis Leeds, 1967), tends to the opinion that the tale is "probably some story 'not now known' rather than Tam Lin". In this she agrees with

R.M.Wilson (p.132); but the name may be a reference to some other corruption of a French romance name such as Talamon, Tamblin, Canblin (see Langlois, p. 629) which would bring Tamlene into the orbit of the 'ducs de Brabant' (Langlois, p. 110). The Complayner mentions "thou of lyn" as a dance tune (No. 93). On Tam Lin see:

E.B.Lyle, "The Teind to Hell in 'Tam Lin'", Folklore, Vol.81 (1970), 177-181; F.Collinson, The Traditional and National Music of Scotland (London, 1966), pages 15, 16, 27, 28.

No. 34. The ryng of the roy robert

See ed. W.A.Craigie, The Maitland Folio Manuscript 2 vols. STS (Edinburgh, 1919-27), Vol.I, pages 127-133: Poem XLI. "D.Steel. The Ring of the Roy Robert". This poem, as David Laing remarks, Early Scottish Metrical Tales, new ed. (London, 1889) page 35, seems to have been circulating in Henry VIII's reign, and of course it is also a rejection, as is the Complaynt, of the English kings' claim to suzerainty over Scotland, claiming they are usurpers even in England. The name "dene dauid steill" appears in the 'colophon', as the makar.

No. 35. sir egeir and syr gryme

See Hamer's full note to Scouyer Meldrun, line 1318 (Lindsay, Works, III, 219,220). The earliest mention is in Accounts for 1497; the first extant manuscript is Percy Folio MS (c.1650); the first printed version extant is Robert Sanders' small black-letter volume (Glasgow, 1669). Thus the first extant written version is a century later than the reference here. For a recent edition see Isabel Van Duzee, A Medieval Romance of Friendship: Eger and Grime (New York, 1963).

No. 36. Beuis of southamtoun

See Renwick & Orton, page 391-2. As Leyden (p.233) notes the Auchinleck MS (ca. 1330-40) seems to be the earliest M.E. version. (Nat.Lib.Scot.Adv.MS.19.2.1.) See ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull, Sir Beves of Hamtoun, Maitland Club, 4A (1838). See ed. E.Kulbing, Sir Beves of Hamtoun, EETS MS 46,48,65. (London, 1885-94). On the French

version see B.Wolledge item 24, 'Beuve de Hantome'.

No. 37. the goldin targe

See Renwick & Orton, 455-458. Dunbar's 'Golden Targe' was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508. See ed. G. Stevenson, Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS together with the Chepman and Myllar Prints STS (Edinburgh, 1918); ed. W.M. Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, (London, 1960) 112-119; Tom Scott, Dunbar: A Critical Exposition of the Poems (Edinburgh, London, 1966), 40-55. Cf. Denton Fox, "Dunbar's 'The Golden Targe'", EIH XXVI (1959), 311-334.

No. 38. the paleis of honour

See ed. P.J. Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas STS (Edinburgh, 1967), 17-133; 173-214.

No. 39. the tayl cuhou acteon was transformit in ene hart and syne slane be his auen doggis

The Complayner later applies this story figuratively to the nobles of Scotland (fol. 123r/v). This story and the following tale (No. 40 'Piramus and tesbe') are best known in Ovid's Metamorphoses' setting (iii, 155; iv, 55). Gavin Douglas in the Palice of Honour (lines 745-748) quotes :

"How that Diane transformit Acteone,
And Iune eik as for a kow gart keip
The fair Yo that lang was wobegone."

The Complayner also quotes the tale (No. 42) 'quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ene cou'.

No. 40. the tayl of piramus and tesbe

Furnivall stresses that there is not extant any translation into English as early as this. This is surely to miss the point. Ovid was known to every schoolchild. Besides, as Gilbert Highet mentions (The Classical Tradition, (Oxford, 1967), 57-62), Ovid was a major source for the love element in romances. Piramus and Thisbe (p. 60,

Hight) is of course a favourite tale, taken by, Chaucer, Gower, Boccaccio, Tasso and of course, by Shakespeare some years after the Complayner. Ovid, 'moralisé', was around from the early 14th century, despite his pagan origins.

No. 41. the tail of the amours of leander and hero

Furnivall suggests that this may refer to a 'broadside'. The Greek legend of the youth from Abycos and the priestess of Aphrodite in Sestos was told by Musaios in the 5th or 6th Century AD. There are earlier allusions to the pair in Vergil's Georgica; and Ovid's Heroica includes letters purporting to be by them. The references in Ovid are probably all that was needed. Musaios was not translated till later, into English.

No. 42. the tail ouhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo
in ane cou.

See note to tale No. 39. This story is in Ovid, Metamorphoses. On Ovid's influence, through French literature, on romances, see Gilbert Hight, The Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1967), 57-62, 116.

No. 43. the tail ouhou that iason van the goldin fleice

See note to tale No. 40. See Ovid, Met.7. Caxton's version is from Raoul Lefevre's version which in its turn is from Guido delle Colonne's Historia Destructionis Troiae. (See Woledge, item 134). The story is, as Hight mentions (page 50), also in Benoit de Sainte Maure's Roman de Troie. See H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue, I, 35-f (Harley 4482; Harley 4123; etc.; Benoit's and Guido's recensions). See ed. J.Munro, Caxton's History of Jason, The Text, Part I EETS ES III (London, 1912).

No. 44. Opheus kynng of portingal

We have the romance of Torrent of Portyngale; see ed. E.Adam, Torrent of Portyngale, EETS ES 51 (London, 1887). Leyden (p.243) refers to the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Auchinleck MS, but Furnivall rejects this. Furnivall also says it is not a reference to

Henryson's Orpheus who is King of Thrace. On Torrent see Renwick & Orton, p. 416.

No. 45. the tayl of the goldin appil

Furnivall comments: "That of Eris inscribed 'to the fairest', thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-Ages. Plenty of stories of it - long to shorten, short to translate, - were there to serve as the original of the Complaynt tale."

No. 46. the tail of the thre veird systirs.

The story from Ovid, Metamorphoses, XV of the three sisters, Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos. 'Weird' here refers to 'fate', as in the phrase 'to dree your weird'. Henryson, in his Orpheus (line 264) has another trio, "Electo, Mygra and Thesaphone": These are the Eumenides or Furies, Alecto Megaera and Tisiphone (ed. H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1958), pages 137, 262).

Bellenden refers to Macbeth's witches too as the "weird sisteris", meaning cunning in weirds, destinies, prophecies, fates. Whether we have here Macbeth's witches, the Parcae, the Moirae, or Norns, the stories are all spellbinding. (See Bellenden, Chronicles, II, 150).

No. 47. the tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip
the monster minotaurus.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, viii. See note to tale No. 40.

No. 48. the tail quhou that kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on
his hede be cause of his auereis.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, xi. The last phrase suggests that the Complayner is interested in Ovid 'moralized'. Midas was awarded asses' ears because he preferred Pan's music to Apollo's. (Ovid, Metamorphoses xi, 146ff.)

fol. 51r. the foure marmadyns that sang quhen thetis was mareit
on mount pillion... quhilkis ar callit to name,
Parthenopie leucolia, illigeatempora the feyrd callit legia...

The mermaids are fused with the sirens, a fact which in another context caused C.S.Lewis some surprise (see The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1967) page 150). The sirens number as many as eleven in Greek myth (see R.Graves, The Greek Myths (Harmondsworth, 1960) II, 408). Graves' list includes, Parthenope (= maiden face); Leucosia (= white being); Ligeia (= shrill); though no 'illigeatempora'. Thetis had marine connections, which would also explain the siren/mermaid confusion. Thetis married Peleus. The 'tail of the goldin appil' was Eris' contribution to the wedding. Thetis was Achilles' mother. Peleus was king of the Myrmidons. These 'ant'-men, and the mermaidens, could easily be confused; 'mermadyns' and 'myrmidons' are confused when the King of the Myrmidons marries the Nereid Thetis on Mount Pelion.

fol. 51v. Amphion

See also fol. 52r for another reference to Amphion; we have already commented on Amphion (folio 35r), the builder of Thebes.

fol. 51r/v. sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite

The following list (in fol. 51v, 52r) has been commented on: by John Leyden (1801); by J.A.H.Murray, who reprints the remarks by F.J.Furnivall, Robert Laneham's Letter (London, 1907), (pages, cxlix-clxii). W.Dauney, Ancient Scottish Melodies, Bannatyne Club, 59 (Edinburgh, 1838) (pages 52-54) mentions the list, and adds some comments. John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London, 1961) also adds a few points about some of the tunes. In a book, The Songs of Scotland: Chronologically Arranged, published without author's name, by Maurice Ogle (Glasgow, 1871), the introduction places the list in the Complaynt in the history of Scottish song. (pages xxvii-xxix). Scott in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (ed. T.Henderson, (London, 1931))., discusses a number of items in the catalogue in these folios, e.g. De la Bastie (p.21,fn.2);

Tamlane (p.56,65), Raf Coilyear (p.104-5), Hunting of Cheviot (p.124), Armstrong (p.151-2), Tamlane again (p.325 f), 'Brume, brume on hill', (p.349), Estmureland (p.442-3), Sir Eger (p.508), Battle of Harlaw, (p.514,529), the 'thre futtit dog of Norway' (p.639-640), although Leyden has made most of the points.

On the later formal court music in sixteenth century Scotland, see K.Elliott, H.M.Shire, Musica Britannica XV: Music of Scotland, 1500-1700 (London, 1700), and H.M.Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge, 1969).

fol. 51v. in melodijs music in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron.

See the earlier description of the many small birds "singand melodijs reportis of natural music in accordis of mesure of diapason prolations, tripla and dyatesseron." (fol. 30r).

The Complayner uses terms of medieval musical theory: the dances (fol. 52v) he mentions are modern mid-sixteenth ones. His use of the terms of musical theory suggest that he is using them either for mystification or more likely (at least in folio 30r) to fit in with the 'aureation' and 'alliteration' and sonorous quality of the words he uses in the pastoral description.

Accords are chords and the use of the word with reportis shows that the latter has a specialised meaning. Reportis is used for example in the heading to a version of "Psalm 113" printed in the Musica Britannica XV, page 136. We have first Psalm 113 and setting. Below we have "Psalm 113 in Reports". This refers to the fact that whereas the first version is in block chords, the second has the voices coming in with imitative entries. A colleague, Dr. Chew, suggests that the word means 'imitation', referring to a sort of contrapuntal treatment. The word accord refers to pitch and is vague and equivocal, meaning 'harmony, tuning, singing with due regard to the rules of musica mundana', etc., as well as 'chord'.

'Mesure' refers not to pitch but to rhythm, the division into beats; 'diapason' refers to pitch again, and means the 'perfect octave'; prolations and tripla again refer to rhythm; diatessaron refers to pitch, and means the 'perfect fourth'. See W.Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953)

pages 96 f; 155 f. Prolation is a time signature in medieval musical theory, usually expressing the relation between minima and semi-brevis. The notes in descending order of length were maxima, longa, brevis, minima and semiminima. A note was either twice or three times as long as the note below. The relation between longa and maxima was known as maximodus; the relation between brevis and longa was known as modus, (modus perfectus expressed a relation 3 breves to one longa, modus imperfectus referred to a relation 2 breves to one longa); the relation between semibrevis and brevis was known as tempus, (tempus perfectum, 3 S=B; tempus imperfectum, 2 S= B); the relation between minima and semibrevis was known as prolatio (prolatio perfecta, 3M=S, prolatio imperfecta, 2 M=S); See "Mensural Notation", in W.Appel, Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, Mass., 1956). Tripla refers to proportia tripla in musical mensural notation. The Complayner would no doubt be amused to see attempts to explain phrases included for their sound effect.

No. 49. Pastance vitht gude companye

This is usually identified with 'The Kynges Ballade' a song linked with Henry VIII. It is apparently in BM Add.MS. 5665, which once belonged to J.Ritson; and was printed by Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time. A facsimile reprint from another MS which apparently belonged to Henry VIII is in Archaeologia, xii, 372. John Stevens (Appendix B, Song 257) classifies it as "H 7 of Henry VIII's MS" (J.Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, (London, 1961), p.388). What is probably a 'moralized' version of the same song, by Maitland, is in W.A.Craigie, Maitland Quarto Manuscript, STS (Edinburgh, 1927), No. XXIV, page 63, and in W.A.Craigie, The Maitland Folio Manuscript STS, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1919-27), No. CXIII, Vol.I, p.336-7. See too Lindsay, Works, IV, 170 (Hamer's note to 'Satyre', lines 105, 417).

No. 50. the breir byndis me soir

No. 51. Stil vndir the leyuis grene

See ed. W.A.Craigie, The Maitland Folio MS, STS, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1919-27), Vol. I, pages 360-4, Poem No. CXXX, "Anon.

The Murning Maiden".

No. 52. Cou thou me the raschis grene.

See John Stevens, Appendix B, Song No. 71. Daunev (p.52) refers to Ritson, Ancient Songs, p. 54 for music and words. Furnivall refers to BM Royal MSS 58; Fayrfax MS, fol.2. The Fayrfax MS is discussed, as Stevens mentions, by B.Fehr, in Archiv 106 (1901). B.Fehr discusses MS Sloane 2593, in Archiv 109 (1902.) Stevens also refers to Chappell (1893), i,38.

No. 53. allace i vyit zour tua fayr ene

Furnivall indicates that David Laing connects song No. 53 and song No. 55 with Alexander Scott.

No. 54. gode zou gude day vil boy

No. 55. lady help zour presoneir

Daunev (p.52) conjectures that this is the poem "Sen that I am a prisoneir" in the Bannatyne MS., (Vol.III, 249), which follows a poem ascribed to Alexander Scott, and is followed by one ascribed to Henryson. (Cf. W.Geddie, A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets, STS (Edinburgh, 1912), pages 318-328 on Alexander Scott, and ascriptions.)

No. 56. kyng villzamis note

This is conjecturally identified by Ritson, Ancient Songs (London, 1829), I,lix, with the "kynge's noote" in Chaucer's Miller's Tale (line 3217). Leyden (p.277) thought this improbable. See F.N.Robinson's note on this (The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957) page 684.) Commentators appear to have confused No. 56 and No. 49, as F.N.Robinson indicates.

No. 57. the long nounenou (= nonny no?)

As Daunev (p.52) remarks, the songs Nos. 57, 60, 61 all have the

'Nou' element, which was a common 'chorus'. Dauney refers to Ritson, Ancient Songs, pp. 64, 270 for examples of 'burdens'.

No. 58. the cheapel valk

As H.H.Wood remarks, the title of Henryson's poem 'Abbey Walk' was given to the poem by Lord Hailes in imitation of this song - title (H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, (Edinburgh, 1958), page xxix).

No. 59. faytht is there none

No. 60. skald abellis nou

See note to No. 57.

No. 61. the abirdenis nou

See note to No. 57. The Address to Aberdeen by Dunbar, "Blyth Aberdeane, thow beriall of all tounis" (ed. W.M.Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, (London, 1960), pages 137-9) does not have any 'nou' chorus; it is interesting to conjecture that there was some Bon Accord 'signature' tune. The reference to the dance No. 91 'lang plat fut of gariau' (Garioch) also indicates an area connection. Garioch was connected with Lindores.

No. 62. brume brume on hil

Furnivall comments on this (pages cxxviii-cxxix) in Captain Cox's list. It is not "The Broom of Cowden Knowes", dealt with in detail by W.Chappell, Popular Music, ii, 458-461, Furnivall says, Chappell, and Furnivall both refer to the lines by Moros in Wager's interlude. W.Wager's "The Longer thou livest, the more fool thou art" was edited by A.Brandl from BM C.34.e.37 (probably ca 1568-80) in the Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft XXXVI (Berlin, 1900) pages 1-64. Brandl in his note (pages 8,9) says it is only a refrain, which could be attached to ballads; and he mentions: 'Leesome Brand', 'Sheath and Knife', 'The Broom of the Cathery Knowes' and 'The Broom of

Cowden Knowes'; and it occurs too in 'art' ballads of the 17th century (see Chappell, pages 458-460). R.Mark Benbow, in his edition of Wager (London, 1968) makes no comment at all on the refrain. I am indebted to Prof. T.W.Craik for the Brandl reference.

No. 63. allone i veip in grit distres

There is a 'godlified' version of this: ed. A.F.Mitchell, A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis' STS (Edinburgh, 1897), page 147.

No. 64. trolee lolee lemnen dou

This refrain occurs, as Furnivall indicates (Robert Laneham's Letter (London, 1907) pages cxxix-cxxx) in Sloane MS 1584, fol. 45v., reprinted by Ritson, Ancient Songs (London, 1790) page 92; and in Chappell's article in Archaeologia xli, 372; etc. As Hamer indicates (Lindsay, Works, III, 57; note to Compl. 245) this phrase "Trolly Lolly" occurs in Colkelbie Sow. See ed. D.Laing, J.Small, Select Remains of Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland (Edinburgh, London, 1885), page 248, line 302. This whole section of Colkelbie Sow is an interesting parallel, as Dauney (p.45) also notes. Claude Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (Rutgers, New Brunswick, 1966) discusses a dance which is mentioned in the Complaynt(No. 89 huntis vp); in her discussion she prints (p.326) six lines which are of interest in connection with our songs No. 57, 60,61 and 64. (Thomas Ravenscroft, Briefe Discourse, 1614)

"The Birds they sing, the Deare they fling,

hey nony nony nony no,

The Hounds they crye, the Hunters they flye,

hey tro li lo, tro lo li lo, hey tro lo li lo li li lo

(Chorus) The hunt is vp, the hunt is vp,

Sing merrily wee, the hunt is vp."

No. 65. bille vil thou cum by a lute and belt the in sanct
Francis cord

Leyden (p.279) quotes a couplet

"Bille will ye cum by a lute
And tuich it with your pin trow low."

The lines are introduced into a medley in Constable's MS. Cantus, he adds.

No. 66. the frog cam to the myl dur

Both Daunev (p.53) and Furnivall refer to Pinkerton, Select Ballads, Vol.ii, page 33, who says that "the froggie came to the mill door" was sung on the Edinburgh stage 'shortly prior to 1784'. Daunev also refers to the "Froggies Gagliard" in the Skene MS. Daunev and Furnivall also follow Leyden (page 279) in referring to the ballad, of the wedding of the frog and the mouse, licence for which was entered in the Stationer's Register in 1580. 'Froggie would a'woeing go' sounds like a descendant.

No. 67. the sang of gilgohiskar

No. 68. rycht soirly musing in my mynde

See J.Stevens, p.141, fn.32. (Musing greatly in my mind): BM Add.MS.18752, fol 88v. (ed. Reed, No. 17).

This appears to be the poem 'godlified' in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis (pages 61-62; 165-7; 178-180).

No. 69. god sen the duc hed byddin in France and delaubaute
hed neuyr cum hame

This song must have been a ballad about the murder of Anthony d'Arcy, Seigneur de la Bastie, appointed Warden of the East Marches by Albany in place of Lord Home who had been executed in 1516. De la Bastie, heading for Langton in the Merse, was ambushed at Battie's Bog. Pitscottie relates that 'monsieur tilebatie', or Tillabatie, or Dilabatie, was acting as regent during the Duke of Albany's absence in France. Pitscottie adds (Pitscottie, Historie, I, 300-1): "It was said his hair was long lyke wemens and plat in ane heid lace, the quhilk Dawid Home of Wedderburne knitt on his saidill bow," after he had decapitated d'Arcy.

A.H.Dunbar (Scot.Kings, 227) dates the incident, 19th or 20th Sept.1517.

Albany left for France on 8th June 1517, and did not return till 19th November, 1521. Cf. ed. W.M.Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar (London, 1960) pages 181-2: "To the Governour in France".

No. 70. al musing of meruellis amys hef i gone

Leyden (p.279) quotes a verse like this from Constable's MS Cantus.

No. 71. mastres fayr ze vil forfayr

No. 72. O lusty maye vitht flora quene

This reads like the opening lines of the "maying or disport of Chaucer" in the Chepman and Myllar Prints. (See ed. G.Stevenson, Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS together with the Chepman and Myllar Prints, STS (Edinburgh, 1918), page 181.

Leyden also refers to Forbes 'Aberdeen Cantus', and to the Bannatyne MS. See ed. W.Tod Ritchie, The Bannatyne Manuscript STS (Edinburgh, 1928) Vol.III, page 300. This song has been attributed to Alexander Scott. See W.Geddie, A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets, STS (Edinburgh, 1912), page 318.

No. 73. O myne hart hay this is my sang

A 'godlified' version is found in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis', "All myne hart ay this is my sang," (pages 139-140).

No. 74. the battel of the hayrlaw

On Alexander Stewart and the "Red Barlaw" see W.Douglas Simpson, The Earldom of Mar (Aberdeen, 1949), pages 42-61. This Battle of the Garioch was fought in 1411. There are a number of ballads. Gavin Greig published a version in his Folk-Song in Buchan and Folk-Song of the North-East, edd. K.S.Goldstein, A.Argo, (Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1963), pages 62-63, and XI, 1-3. Greig labels Ransay's version as a purely literary production, a historical poem, 'not at all a ballad in the true sense'. Greig then proceeds to quote the traditional ballad.

THE BATTLE OF HARLAW

edd. K. S. Goldstein, A. Argo, GAVIN GREIG: FOLK-SONG

IN BUCHAN AND FOLK-SONG OF THE NORTH-EAST

(Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1963), pages 62-3.

"The Battle of Harlaw" exemplifies the martial ballad sung to a vigorous tune in common time with a refrain. The ballad is too long for reproduction here, and besides it is already in print and fairly well known. We give the tune with one verse (not the first) and the refrain.—

Oh cam' ye frae the Highlands, man,
Or cam' ye a' the wye?
Or did ye see Macdonald's men
Come frae the Isle o' Skye?
Wi' a dadium a derry-dee,
A dadium a die.

The Battle of Harlaw.

The image shows three staves of musical notation in G major (one sharp) and common time. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style. Below the first staff, the lyrics are written in a cursive hand: "Oh cam' ye frae the Highlands, man, or cam' ye a' the wye? Or did ye see Macdonald's men, come frae the Isle o' Skye? Wi' a dadium a derry-dee, a dadium a die; Wi' a dadium a derry-dee, a dadium a dee." The second and third staves continue the melody, with the lyrics "a' the wye? Or did ye see Macdonald's men, come" and "frae the Isle o' Skye? Wi' a dadium a derry-dee, a dadium a die; Wi' a" respectively. The final staff concludes with the lyrics "dadium a derry-dee, a dadium a dee."

The version of the tune here given has been communicated by Mr W. Forbes, Newark, Ellon. I have got another version from Mr James Knox, Peterhead, who caught it from the singing of a beggar woman; and I have noted another from a local singer. In Child there is given a version got in the Garioch by Mr W. Walker, Aberdeen. It is noted in 6-8th rhythm, but this is a detail which the musician can discount. These four sets of the air are all pretty much alike. Mr Walker's version is pentatonic, and this is presumably the oldest form. Mr Forbes thinks that the air is the original from which Nath. Gow worked up his "Miller o' Drone," the order of the strains being reversed. Rev. Mr Duncan has noted a version which, both in notes and in the order of the strains, is just Gow's "Miller." The refrain as I have heard it rendered is sung with a strong bagpipe grind.

Folk-Song of the North-East,

BY

GAVIN GREIG, New Deer.

XI.

THE BATTLE OF HARLAW.

ONE cannot visit the Garioch in minstrel mood without thinking of Harlaw. The grim battle, fought in 1411, takes us back almost half a millennium to the time and the occasion at once critical and inevitable when Lowlander and Highlander had to settle which of the two was to have political supremacy in Scotland. The issue indeed was of the very highest moment; for it may well be maintained that a Highland victory at Harlaw would have affected the subsequent history of Scotland in a more radical way than an English victory at Bannockburn would have done. Meantime, however, we are not historians but balladists, and are chiefly concerned with the presentation of the event in popular minstrelsy.

In *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549) "The battle of the Hayrlaw" is mentioned as a song then popular; but it seems to have been lost. In Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen* (1724) appears a long poem on the battle which has been pretty generally copied into ballad collections. The following is the opening stanza:—

Frae Dunideir as I cam through,
Doun by the hill of Banochie,
Allangst the lands of Garioch,
Grit pitie was to heir and se
The noys and dulesum hermonie
That evir that driery day did daw,
Cryand the corynoch on his,
"Alas, Alas! for the Harlaw!"

Some authorities think that the poem had been written by Ramsay himself, while others are prepared to believe that it is genuinely old. For our own part we do not think the poem looks like Ramsay's work; and we can quite believe that it is earlier than his day. All this, however, is, from our point of view, quite immaterial; for "The Battle of Harlaw" as printed in the *Evergreen* is purely a literary production—a historical poem, and not a ballad at all in the true sense. The true ballad was *always* sung; and the production in question, we are convinced, was *never* sung. Its stanza demands a tune of two strains; and the genuine ballad never has, as it never needs, a second strain. The tune given in Johnson's *Museum* is precisely like the "ballad" itself—just the kind of thing that one never encounters except in print. If the test which we apply were not, as it always is, final, one might point out that the poem, long, circumstantial, and painfully precise,—closely following Boece's narrative—could never have been memorised by the ballad singer.

All the time that editors in general were copying this pseudo-ballad into their collections they might any day have heard in the north a genuine ballad on Harlaw sung to a genuine folk-tune in the true traditional way. But, like the man who elects to study natural history in a museum, they found it easier to sit among books and manuscripts than to go abroad and study the live net of life at first hand. The museum student is now of little account; yet, as compared with the student in battle, he has the better of us; for while his knowledge is rather inadequate than wrong, the composition of our

balladist are frequently wrong as well as always inadequate.

The following is the traditional ballad which is still sung in Aberdeenshire:—

As I cam in by Dunidier,
And doon by Netherha,
There was fifty thoosan' Hielanmen
A' marchin' to Harlaw,
Wi' my dirrum du, dirrum du,
Daddie dirrum day.

As I cam on and farther on,
And doon and by Balquhain,
Oh there I met Sir James the Rose,
Wi' him Sir John the Graeme,
Wi' my &c.

O cam ye frae the Hielans, man?
Or cam ye a' the wye?
Saw ye Macdonell and his men
As they cam frae the Skye?

Yes, me cam frae the Hielans, man,
And me cam a' the wye;
And she saw Macdonell and his men
As they cam frae the Skye.

Oh was ye near Macdonell's men?
Did ye their numbers see?
Come tell to me, John Hielanman,
What might their numbers be.

Yes, me was near and near enouch,
And me their numbers saw;
There was fifty thoosan' Hielanmen
A' marchin' to Harlaw.

Gin that be true, says James the Rose,
We'll no come meikle speed;
We'll cry upon our merry men
And turn our horses' heid.

Oh no, oh no, says John the Graeme,
That thing maun never be;
The gallant Graemes were never beat,
We'll try what we can dee.

As I cam on and farther on,
And doon and by Harlaw,
They fell fu' close on ilka side,
Siccan straits ye never saw.

They fell fu' close on ilka side,
Siccan straits ye never saw;
For ilka sword gaed clash for clash
At the battle o' Harlaw.

The Hielanmen wi' their lang swords
They laid on us fu' sair;
And they drave back our merry men
Three acres breadth and mair.

Brave Forbes to his brither did say,
O brither, dinna ye see
They beat us back on ilka side,
And we'll be forced to flee!

Oh no, oh no, my brither dear,
That thing maun never be;
Ye'll tak' your guid sword in your hand,
And ye'll gang in wi' me.

Oh no, oh no, my brither dear,
The claus they are owre strang;
And they drave back our merry men
Wi' swords baith sharp and lang.

Sit doon, my weary wrochtien man,
And rest yersel a while,
And I'll send on my servant lad
To fetch your coat o' mail.

THE BATTLE OF HARLAW

The servant he did ride wi' speed,
His horse it didna fail,
For in twa hoors and a quarter
He brocht the coat o' mail.

Then back to back the brithers twa
Gaed in amo' the thrang,
And they hewed doon the Hielanmen
Wi' swords bath sharp and lang.

The first ae straik that Forbes strack,
He gart Macdonell reel;
And the neist ae straik that Forbes strack,
The great Macdonell fell.

And syne siccan a lirachie
I'm sure ye never saw
As was an-o' the Hielanmen,
When they saw Macdonell fa.'

And when they saw that he was dead,
They turned and ran awa;
And they buried him in Leggett's Den,
A lang mile frae Harlaw.

They rade, they ran, and some did gang,
They were o' sma' record;
But Forbes and his merry men
They slew them a' the road.

On Monanday, at mornin',
The battle it began;
On Saturday, at gloamin',
Ye'd scarce kent wha had wan.

And sic a weary buryin'
I'm sure ye never saw
As was the Sunday after that
On the muirs aneath Harlaw.

Gin onybody spier at you
For them we took awa',
Ye may tell them plain and plain eneuch
They're sleepin' at Harlaw.

The air to which our ballad is sung has a certain marked individuality, as compared with the average folk-tune. It seems to us to have had an instrumental origin, showing affinities with bagpipe music. The refrain in particular, as traditionally rendered, strongly suggests the characteristic grind of that instrument. It was indeed quite natural that the singer should get on to a tune of this kind when he had in hand a ballad with so much of John Highlandman in it. Stenhouse in his *Museum Illustrations* prints a pibroch called "Battle of Harlaw" from a folio manuscript of Scots tunes of considerable antiquity. Between this tune and our ballad air we can trace as much affinity as inclines us to believe that both may derive from the same original—some old bagpipe tune. Mr Forbes, Newark, thinks that our Aberdeenshire air is the original from which Nath Gow worked up his well-known Strathspey "The Miller of Droon," the order of the strains being reversed.

See H.C.Sargent, G.L.Kittredge, English and Scottish Popular Ballads (Boston, New York, 1904) page 400, No. 163, "The Battle of Harlaw", Dauneay quotes music from the Rowallan MS (1620)(Dauneay, p.120, 138, 349).

Furnivall also mentions BM Add.MS.10444 fol. 4v. which gives a dance tune.

No. 75. the hunttis of cheuet

David C.Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad (Durham, N.C., 1968), gives the following two references (page 182) to the ballad of this name: D.S.Bland, "The Evolution of 'Chevy Chase' and 'The Battle of Otterburn', Notes and Queries, CXCVI (1951) 160f.; D.C.Fowler, "The Hunting of the Cheviots' and 'The Battle of Otterburn'", Western Folklore XXV (1960) 163-171. See Sargent & Kittredge, page 393: Version A, the Ashmolean MS 48, is as near as we can now get to an 'original' version. Cf. (Lindsay, Works, III,221).

No. 76. sal i go vitht zou to runbelo fayr

Murray(pages lxxxv-lxxxvi) borrowing, without acknowledgement, from D.Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry, ed. J.A.Carlyle (Edinburgh, 1861) page 80, mentions parallel uses of 'rumbylow', in Fabyan, in Skelton and in 'Peblis to the Play'.

No. 77. greuit is my sorrou

Furnivall quotes a version from Sloane MS. 1584, fol. 85, printed by Ritson, Ancient Songs (1790), page 93. See Gude and Godlie Ballatis, p. 151; "Creuous is my sorrow".

No. 78. turne the sueit ville to me

No. 79. My lufe is lyand seik
send hym ioy, send hym ioy

No. 80. fayr luf lent thou me thy mantil ioy

Leyden (p.279) quotes what seems to be a parody, including a

refrain with the words "with the mantle jo!". It begins: "Our guidman's away to the Merse:.."

No. 81. the persee & the mongunrye met

See Sargent & Kittredge, pages 386-393 on the Battle of Otterburn, 1388. Version B, stanza 9 begins: "Then Percy and Montgomery met..." In Version A, stanza 69 appears to refer to the same incident. In Version C, stanza 35 refers to the encounter too. Sir Harry Percy and Sir Hugh Montgomery both emerge as exemplary courteous knights. Song No. 75 appears to refer to another incident in the same campaign.

No. 82. that day that day that gentil day

Furnivall compares this with a song in BM.Add. MS. 5465, folio 108v.: "This day day dawes"; but does not say they are identical. He rejects the idea that this is a further reference to the same song as No. 75 the hunttis of cheuet, despite the fact that, as Child, Ballads, vii, 34 note, noticed, there is in that ballad the line (Sargent & Kittredge, page 395, stanza 24) "That day that day that dreadful day"

On Furnivall's "This day day dawes" see J. Stevens, Appendix B, item No. 313. Furnivall also rejects Daune's decision (p. 45) to run the two lines together, making Nos. 81 and 82 into one ballad opening.

No. 83. my luf is laid upon ane knyght.

No. 84. allace that samyn sueit face

There is a 'godlified' version in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis'.

No. 85. in ane myrthful morou

No. 86. my hert is leiuit on the land

On the ballad I have consulted with profit, M.J.C. Hodgart, The Ballads, (London, 1964); and Gordon Hall Gerould, The Ballad of Tradition (New York, repr. 1957), as well as the works quoted in

the comments above.

fol. 52r. Instruments

The list of instruments in the Complaynt is paralleled by the list in Gavin Douglas' 'Palice of Honour', (ed. P.J.Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS (Edinburgh, 1967) page 39, lines 499-507) and by the list in the 'Buke of the Howlat' (ed. F.J.Amours, Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas STS (Edinburgh, 1891-2), Part I, pages 47-81), where in Stanza LIX Holland lists instruments. See Amours note to line 757, in Part II (1896-7), pages 309-311. M.P.McDiarmid suggests ("Richard Holland's Buke of the Howlat: An Interpretation", Medium Aevum, XXXVIII (1969), 277-290) that this list in Holland builds up the theme of divine harmony and McDiarmid suggests that "it conveys a sense of serious relevance", and he quotes (p. 290, fn.42) similar listings to "represent the extraordinary harmony of a place or occasion", mentioning 'Palice of Honour', lines 490-507; Clariodus, II, 1634-55; The Sevyne Sagis, 2520-4. P.J.Bawcutt mentions (p.181) in her note to lines 502-5: Gower, Confessio Amantis, VIII, 2676-2680; The Court of Sapience, lines 2089-2093; and Buke of the Howlat, lines 757-767.

The Complayner mentions eight instruments:

the drone bagpipe; the pipe maid of ane bleddir and ane reid; ane trump; ane corne pipe; ane pipe maid of ane gait horne; ane recorder; ane fiddil; ane quhissil. The bagpipe in the sixteenth century seems to have had two drones (F.W.Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music: Their History and Character (London, 1910), page 178.) The next instrument sounds like the 'goose', or bagpipes with the drones blocked or missing, used by learners (bladderpipe). The trump, identified by Amours (in his note to line 760 of the Howlat) as 'the more dignified trumpet' is more likely to be the Jew's Harp, which as Galpin (p.268) says is the 'Guimbarde' or 'Rebute'. Galpin adds that the Jew's Harp seems to have been involved in witchcraft cases, and is "a Trump without a blast, a Harp without a string." (pages 267-9). W.Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), page 383, says the name is perhaps a perversion of Jaws' Harp.

The 'corne pipe' (like the bagpipe and the hornpipe and the stockhorn and the chalumeau) is one of the clarinet family, and is identified

by Galpin (p.171) as the 'pibcorn' or 'pibgorn'. (Cf. Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, page 152, illustration to Clarinet family; page 632 'Reed II')

The 'pipe maid of ane gait horne' seems to be the stockhorn. See Galpin, p.172; Apel, Harvard Dict., p.153, 'Clarinet IV'. (Cf. Grove, IV, 172, V, 141.)

The recorder is also mentioned in the Howlat (line 759) and in Colkelbie's Sow. According to Ohl (in Apel, Harvard Dict.: 'Recorder', p. 631) in the sixteenth century, this was a whole family of instruments, "from treble to bass which played an important part in the music of the late Renaissance."

The 'quhissil' is the simple whistle or flageolet.

fol. 52v. The dances

The Complayner refers to "base dansis". The Basse danse was "a French dance of the period 1450-1550 in which it plays a prominent role as the ceremonial court dance of the Burgundian culture... Frequently the basse danse is followed by a recoupe and a tordion, thus forming a sort of suite... Around 1525 the chief vogue of the French basse danse was succeeded by that of the Spanish pavane." (Apel, Harvard Dict.Music, pp. 78-9).

The pavan was "executed in slow, solemn movements and with dignified gestures"... "The international adoption of the Spanish pavane as the ceremonial court dance, instead of the earlier (French) basse danse, is a characteristic symptom of the shift in cultural leadership which took place around 1500. The pavane is usually in slow duple meter..." (Apel, Harvard Dict. Music, p. 561)

The galliard was in "moderately quick triple time, with or without upbeat. It was executed with exaggerated leaps... After 1550 the galliard usually appears as an after-dance to the pavane." (Apel, p.290)

The "turdions" occur in a suite of dances, basse danse-recoupe-tordion according to Apel (p.79) in P. Attaingnant's publication: Dixhuit basses garnies de recoupes et tordions (1529) which contains nineteen basse danses, despite the title.

The Complayner's "braulis and branglis" both seem to be the same dance. The "braille" or "bransle" was a popular group dance. Musicians refer

us to : ed. C.W.Beaumont, Toinot Arbeau alias Jean Tabourot: 'Orchesographie, 1588' (1925), for 26 species of local varieties of 'branle'. Many of them were "of the 'follow-the-leader' type, similar to the farandole and the cotillon. It was accompanied by singing and apparently included some 'swaying' (French 'branler') movements of the body or of the hands... In England the dance was known under the name "brangill" or "brawl" (cf. Shakespeare, 'Love's Labour's Lost, 'iii.i.')." (Apel, 95).

The 'buffons' were dances by costumed dancers or comedians or 'bouffons' "probably similar to those who performed the morisca and the matasin" (Apel, p. 92).

The morisca, or 'Mooresque' dance, occurs as "a dance between two groups representing a sword-fight between Christians and Mohammedans. The latter type was known also as Danse des Bouffons... They have survived particularly in England under the name Morris dance." (Apel, p. 457).

The Matasin, on the other hand, was a costumed dance too, but was a 'Dance of Death', or 'Danse Macabre'.

The theme of the Crusades is appropriate to the Complaynt.

The "Bass" is mentioned in Colkelbie's Sow (ed. D.Laing, rev. ed. J.Small. Select Remains... (1885), p.248, line 301).

The names of the dances

No. 87. Al cristyn mennis dance

Furnivall and Murray omit to mention that there exists in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis what appears to be a 'godlified' version: "Be blyith all Christia men and sing,/ Dance & mak myrth with al zour nicht;..." (ed. A.F.Mitchell, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis STS (Edinburgh, 1897), page 46).

The significance of the reference is that, if it refers to the same musical composition as that in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis (see A.F.Mitchell, GCB, pages xxxix, 46, 248-9), then that might indicate that John Wedderburn translated Luther's hymn ("Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein, und lasst uns fröhlich springen") so long before 1550 that the old dance tune was now referred to by the new name.

No. 88. the northt of scotland

No. 89. the huntis vp

G. Gregory-Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays (Oxford, 1964), II, p.17.: D.Laing, A Compendious Book of Psalmes and Spiritual Songs commonly known as "The Gude and Godlie Ballates" (Edinburgh, 1868) pages 254-255; Claude M.Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (N. Brunswick, 1966), pages 323-327 (I am indebted to Dr. E.B.Lyle for this reference;) J.Stevens, Appendix B, item No.116. There is also a 'godlified' version, see A.F.Mitchell, GGB, pages 174-175.

Futterham mentions how William Gray was on good terms with Henry VIII and with Protector Somerset for making certain "merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was The hunte is vp, the hunte is vp..."

As Claude Simpson cautions (p.326) this is a general 'reveille' phrase so that it is difficult to identify one specific 'original'.

Laing (p.255) refers to Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time..., Vol.I, p.60; Rimbault's Little Book of Songs and Ballads (London, 1851) p.67; Alexander Scott's poem, "Of May" (see W.Geddie, Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets (Edinburgh, 1912) page 318); H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, (Edinburgh, London, 1958), p.72, line 2083, The Fox, the Wolf and the Cadger "The Cadgear sang 'huntis up, up, upon hie!" H.H.Wood refers (p.244) to Romeo and Juliet, III, v.34.

No. 90. the comount entray

No. 91. lang plat fut of gariau

Gariau must refer to the Garioch (the "Geery") where the Abbot of Lindores had his summer residence at Hatton of Pintray. It was Lindores northern granary. It is in this area too that the Battle of Harlaw (no. 74) took place. The founder of St. Mary's Dundee, where Robert Wedderburn was Vicar, was David Lord of Garioch.

No. 92. robene hude

This dance of 'robene hude' and tale No. 30 of 'robene hude and

F. Collinson: The Traditional and National
Music of Scotland

(London, 1966), pages 15, 16,
27, 28.

The next inversion of the seven-note scale brings us to the very rare Lydian Mode, of which Cecil Sharp said he never found it in English folk-song (*English Folk-song, Some Conclusions*, page 54. Novello, 1907). Its characteristic is the interval of the *augmented fourth* in an otherwise major scale:

Lydian Mode

fa sol la te doh' ray' mi' fa'

4 5 6 7 1 2 3 (4)

It does exist in both Lowland Scots and Gaelic melody, though the writer has so far found but two examples of it, one in the waulking-song-type of tune of 'Smi'm shuidh air creagan a' Chiuil and one in a tune for the ballad of Tam Lane, both from the School of Scottish Studies collections:

THE NATIVE IDIOM

TAM LANE

(Sung by Bessie Johnstone, Glasgow)

Recorded by Hamish Henderson

As she kill-ed up her pet-ti-coats, it's
up to them she ran; and when she came to those
mer-ry green woods she pu'd those branch-es
down my dear, she pu'd those branch-es down.

Scale

fa sol la te doh' ray' mi' fa'

4 5 6 7 1 2 3 (4)

Occasionally a downward grace-note may leap from a wide interval above the principal note. Here is an extract from the 'diddling' of the tune of a ballad, of which he had forgotten the words, by an Aberdeenshire tinker, and which he attested as being the tune of 'Sir Hugh of Lincoln' or 'The Jew's Daughter'. Here one of the grace-notes leaps from the unusual height of a whole octave and a fourth, i.e. an *eleventh*, above the principal note:

Air of SIR HUGH OF LINCOLN
or THE JEW'S DAUGHTER

Singer: Willie Whyte, Aberdeenshire

Recorded by Hamish Henderson
Transcribed F.C.

Da-di ay ri deed-ie - um dlo ho; Da-di
ay ri ra-ri tam da-di deed-le tum. etc.

These widely-spaced falling grace-notes, though seldom of as large an interval as this, are characteristic of a number of Lowland and Scottish Gaelic singers. They probably derive from the bagpipe, of which both the style and the music have a widely-pervading influence on much Scottish traditional music.

The tune in part quoted above is identical with one which the same singer sang to the ballad of Tamlane. John Leyden, in his introduction,

THE NATIVE IDIOM

written in 1807, to his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotland*, notes that 'The air of Tamlane is extremely similar to that of "The Jew's Daughter."' This similarity, here confirmed in the singing of this Aberdeenshire tinker has apparently never been found by other collectors until now. For the Tamlane version see page 16.

litol ihone' both show that Robin Hood's nationality was not held against him. Anna Jean Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1927) remarks (page 22) "whether the dance of 'Robene hude' in the Complaynt of Scotland is a genuine carole, and supplies the missing link between folk play and ballad minstrelsy" is a question which cannot be answered.

David C. Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad (Durham, N.C., 1968) page 12, says "it might even be argued that the interesting narrative symmetry of some of the rhymes of Robin Hood are attributable not to oral composition but to the shaping effect of a musical setting. This is indeed a possibility but for the present I still think that most of the early Robin Hood pieces give no indication that they were ever sung." In a footnote to this Fowler notes the dance in the Complaynt and also 'Robene hude and litol ihone' among the tales, "which are for the most part romances and definitely not 'songs'..." Fowler believes E.K. Chambers' argument (E.K. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1945), 122-184) that the early Robin Hood narratives were recited; despite such expressions, as those found in Walter Bower, "speaking of the currency of exploits of Robin Hood and Little John in 'romanciis, mimos, et bardanos', uses the words cantitare delectantur as well as recitantur." (Fowler, p.66); Similarly Fowler (p.67 fn.5) quotes Major History, where the Latin version (1521, as quoted by Child, ESPB, III, 41) reports that the deeds of Robin Hood are known all over England "incantibus". Fowler could have added Furnivall's example from Cotgrave of a Chanson de Robin. See Furnivall, Robert Lancham's Letter (London, 1907), pages li-liv. See G. Stevenson, Makculloch and Gray MSS STS (Edinburgh, 1918), pages 267-290; the "gest of Robyn Hode" in the Chezman and Myllar Prints. See Sargent & Kittredge, pages 254-368.

No. 93. Thom of lyn.

See note to tale No. 32.

See ed

.T. Henderson, Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (London, 1934) pages 56, 65fn., 288-334, especially p.325 f. Scott's comment (p.325) is: "The Tale of the Young Tamlane is mentioned in the

Complaynt of Scotland; and the air, to which it was chaunted, seems to have been accommodated to a particular dance; for the dance of Thom of Lynn, another variation of Thomalin, likewise occurs in the same performance." Scott thus seems to be of a different opinion from E.K.Chambers and D.C.Fowler, quoted above (No.92).

For the reference in Wager's interlude see A.Brandl, "Wager: 'The Longer thou livest, the more fool thou art'" Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, XXXVI (Berlin, 1900), 1-64, page 9. See Child, ESPB, I, 340; III, 505; Sargent & Kittredge, pages 66-69.

No. 94. Freris al.

No. 95. Ennyrnes (= Inverness)

No. 96. The loch of slene

Furnivall adds (= Slyne).

No. 97. The gosseps dance

No. 98. Ieuis grene

See No. 51.

No. 99. Makky

No. 100. The Speyde

No. 101. The flail

No. 102. The lammes vynde

No. 103. Soutra

No. 104. Cum kyttil (tickle) me naykyt vantounly

No. 105. Schayke leg fut befor gossep

No. 106. Rank at the rute

No. 107. Bawlap and al.

No. 108. Ihonne armistrangis dance

Pitscottie, Historie, I, 335 tells how Johnnie Armstrong and accomplices were hanged, and he adds "of the quhilk thair was werie mony sorrowfull bath in Ingland and Scotland". See ed. T. A. Henderson, Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (London, 1931) pages 151-2.

See Sargent & Kittredge, pages 413-418: See Dunbar, Scot. Kings, p. 231: "Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, a border chief, and about fifty of his followers - Armstrongs, Elliots, Littills, Irwens, etc. - were arrested by order of the king and tried: Armstrong and those who were convicted of theft were hanged." See folio 133r. (1529 or 1530).

No. 109. the alman haye

This has nothing to do with 'winding hay' originally, despite one commentator's suggestion. The title means the 'German hedge', possibly referring to the two lines of dancers. The figure of the 'haye' sounds like the "chain" or "figure-of-eight".

No. 110. the bace of voragon

See note on 'basse danse'.

No. 111. dangeir

No. 112. the beye

No. 113. the dede dance

Furnivall refers to Chappell, Popular Music, i, 85.; "The Doleful Dance and Song of Death", which he identifies with "The Shaking of the Sheet". See note on 'buffons' earlier; this could be a 'Matasin'.

No. 114. the dance of kylryne

No. 115. The vod and the val

No. 116. Schaik a trot.

By listing the unidentified dances as well, perhaps we can persuade music researchers to look again at this list.

fol. 53r.

The list of "hoilsum flouris, gyrsis and eirbis" does not appear to have been taken directly from any one single work among the more obvious sources, antique, medieval or contemporary.

The idea of including a catalogue of herbal remedies may have been suggested by Pliny's Natural History, which the Complayner uses for his references to "mithridate" (fol. 64r) as well as for folios 39r-49v as we have seen.

Robert Wedderburn in Torphichen could have had access to some dispensary notebook, and to the Hospitaliers' herb-garden. By the mid-sixteenth century printed herbals were popular. Peter Schöffer's Herbarius (Mainz, 1484), which was a compilation based on Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides and Pliny, appeared in France as Le Grand Herbiere (1522) and this was the basis for the Grete Herball (1526) printed by Peter Treveris one year after the appearance of Bancke's Herball (1525), which was probably the first English printed herbal. Other seminal works were: Otto Brunfels' Herbarium (Strassburg, 1530-6); Leonhard Fuchs' Historia Stirpium (Basel, 1542); Hieronymus Bock, Kreutter Buch (1539); as Karl Eugen Heilmann mentions in his Kräuterbücher in Bild und Geschichte (Munich-Allau, 1966).

The medicinal use of plants had of course been studied throughout the centuries. Heilmann mentions Wahlfried Strabo, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Arnoldus de Villanova (Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatum) Platearius (Circa Instans), Albertus Magnus. On earlier material, see edd. T.O.Cockayne, C.Singer, Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England, repr. 3 vols. (London, 1961); Margaret B.Freeman, Herbs for the Mediaeval Household for Cooking, Healing and divers Uses (New York, 1943); Wilfred Bonser, The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England (London, 1963), Ch. 23, pp. 306-340; ed. M.S.Ogden,

Liber de Diversis Medicinis, EETS OS 207 (London, 1970): E.S.Rohde, The Old English Herbals (London, 1922); Gosta Frisk, Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum: A M.E. translation: Macer of the Vertues of Herbs (Uppsala, 1949), Elizabeth Brunskill, A Medieval Book of Herbs and Medicine (Arbroath, 1952); Agnes Arber, Herbals Their Origin and Evolution: A Chapter in the History of Botany, 1470-1670 rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1938), Ch.III, 38-51.

As the introduction to the early printed herbals show (see A.Arber, p.43,45) the medical virtues of plants were linked with the celestial constellations; and pharmacy was a branch of astrology.

Theories about 'correspondences' and links with the theories about the four elements and the four humours were also involved.

As well as curative medicinal plant prescriptions there were preventative plant regimens with rules for health and diet: see ed. F.J.Furnivall, Early English Meals and Manners EETS OS 32 (London, 1868): in the Moray Muniments there is a copy of "Rules of Health" from ca 1580-90 (DOST transcription), which has six short sections: 1. air; 2. 'affections' of the mind; 3. watching and sleep; 4. labour and rest; 5. "inamition" and repletion; 6. meat and drink; It quotes Galen: see ed. F.J.Furnivall, Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547; Dyetary of Helth, 1542; Barnes in Defence of the Berde, 1542-3, EETS ES 10 (London, 1870); see ed. G.Stevenson, Pieces from the Makculloch MS and the Gray MSS together with the Chepman and Myllar Prints STS (Edinburgh, 1918), pages 32-34, item xiv, "For hail of body keip fra cald thi heid", see also note, page 296, referring to Lydgate. Dieters are in turn often linked by association of ideas with notions of good housekeeping and husbandry, see e.g. W.W.Skeat, Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry, 1534 (London, 1882) which for example rejects (pages 102-3) too "delicious" meat and drink, though rather on economic and moral grounds than for health reasons. This in turn connects with the abundant literature on rules of behaviour, 'Mirrors for Princes' and 'anti-Courtier' literature, deploring the unhealthy life of the towns and of the court, and praising country life.

The herbs here listed are best identified by reference to a contemporary list; ed. J.Britten, Turner's Names of Herbes. A.D.1548 (London, 1881-2); cf. too J.Britten, R.Holland, A Dictionary of English Plant Names 3 parts, (London, 1878, 1880, 1886).

1) barba aaron "for emoroyades of the fundament":

Almost certainly Arum Maculatum, as this is the only British species of Arum and the only one common in Northern France.

2) virnet "for ane febil stomac";

This refers to Artemisia Basinthium or wormwood: v. Turner: 'Absinthium'.

3) sourakkis "for the blac gulset"

Sourocks, sourkocke, wood-dock, sorrel, is Rumex Acetosa: v. Turner: 'Rumex'. 'Blac gulset' seems to be 'black bile'.

4) grene seggis "to prouoke the flouris of vemen":

One of the genus Carex (or Iris pseudacorus, or Iris foetidissima): v. Turner: 'Carex'.

5) vattir lille "contrar gomoria"

Seems to be Nymphaea (or Nuphar, or Iris pseudacorus)

6) tansay "to purge the neiris";

Tanacetum (vulgare): cf. Hazlitt, Brand, Ellis, p.580: "good for the stomach"; "to remove phlegm": v. Turner: 'Arthemisia'.

7) ennetseidis "that consumis the ventositeis of the stomac":

Probably Pimpinella anisum, anise-seed: v. Turner: 'Anisum'.

8) mugwart "for the suffocatione of ane vomans bayrnis hed":

Probably Artemisia (vulgaris), mugwort: v. Turner: 'Arthemisia'.
Turner links with tansay.

9) veyton "decoctione... for ane sair hede"

Murray glosses "whitten".

10) betis "contrar constipatione":

Probably Beta maritima (or Polygonum bistorta): v. Turner: 'Bistorta'.
Turner says it is not mentioned by any ancient writer; but see Pliny, NH, XX,xxvii.

11) borage "to confort the hart":

Borago officinalis

12) cammauyne "for ane scabbit moutht":

Anthemis (nobilis,) camomile (which I am told, botanists spell 'chamomile', which is interesting in view of the etymology; see Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology.)

13) hemp "coagulis the flux of the sparne":

Canabis sativa

14) madyn hayr "sirop" against "infectione of the melt":

Maidenhair Fern is Adiantum Capillus-Veneris: (Bancke refers to Capillus Veneris, cf. A.Arber, p.41): v. Turner: 'Galion'.

15) celidone "for the sycht of the ene":

Probably Chelidonium majus, the greater celandine: v. Turner: 'Hirundaria': (cf. Leechdoms, II, p.97, No. 22: contra Glaucomata) Pliny's "Swallow-wort".

16) cipresses "for fluxis of the bellye":

Cupressus sempervirens (or Tamarix gallica, or Cyperus longus ?)

17) corriandir "for ane ald hoste":

Coriandrum sativum

18) finkil against "virmis of the bellye":

Foeniculum Vulgare. Bancke's recommendation for worms is 'wormwood' ! Fennel is an aphrodisiac, according to Henry IV, Part II, II, iv; a symbol of flattery according to Hamlet, IV.v.; the food of serpents, and good for clearing the sight, according to others, as Brewer reports. v. Turner's: 'feniculum'.

19) fumeterre "that tempris ane heyt lyuyr":

Pliny's "capnos trunca, quae pedes gallinacei" or "dwarfed smoke" the latin 'chicken feet' (fennel). It was supposed to grow without seed from vapours rising from the earth: possibly because of the smell of nitric acid fumes given off by the root: another explanation of the name is the white blue smoke colour of the plant.

20) brume "to vome ald feume":

Possibly Sarothamnus scoparius (or Genista, which is unlikely, as it is less common): v. Turner: 'Genista'.

21) raschis "to sleip":

A species of Juncus

22) ysope "to purge congelit fleume of the lychtis":

Hyssopus officinalis. Cf. Leechdoms, II, p. 17, No. 14, Hyssop, is mentioned as a lung salve.

fol. 54v. Vision

"On the Vision-type see Langlois, Origins et Sources du Roman de la Rose, pp. 56, 57; Triggs, edition of Lydgate's Assembly of Gods, pp. 1v f.; and Schick's introduction to The Temple of Glas, cxviiiif. On the season-motif, see Triggs, Assembly of Gods, liii. On the dating of visions and other poems, see C.G.Osgood's Introduction to Pearl, p.xvi (Boston, 1906). For visions opening with the season-motif, the walk, and the sleep: The Vision of Piers Plowman; The Parlement of the Thre Ages; Winnere and Wastour; Death and Life in the Percy Folio MS; Douglas's Prologue to the "13th" book of the Aeneid; Dunbar's Golden Targe; Henryson's Prologue to his Moral Fables... For visions without the walk and the outdoor description, though often with mention of the season: Lydgate's Assembly of Gods and Temple of Glas; Dunbar's Dance of the Seven Deadly Synnis, Amendis to the Telyouris and Sowtaris and the Fenyeit Freir of Tunland; The Romaunt of the Rose and The Boke of the Duchesse (in which the May morning description appears in the dream); The Parlement of Foules; The Hous of Fame; Adam Davy's Visions; Boethius, for ladies of one sort or another in visions: Boethius, Pearl, Death and Life, etc..." (Josephine M. Burnham, "Study of Thomas of Erceldoune", PMLA 23 (1908) pages 375-420; this footnote page 385).

folios 54v-58v. Dame Scotia

Chartier's description inspired one artist to produce a fine

miniature which is reproduced by P.Champion, Histoire Poétique du XVe siècle (Paris, 1923).

This section, folios 54v-58v, is taken from Chartier (page 7 line 4 to page 12, line 33). See appendix for parallels. The Complayner's contribution is the addition of parallel marginal quotations from Cicero to reinforce the patriotic appeal. See introduction, on Cicero, and on patriotism.

fol. 56v, 57r. Nihil est tam mirabile quam ex beato (effeci) miser. Cic. part. ora.

See ed A.S.Wilkins, Partitiones Oratoriae (Oxford, 1903), 'De Partitione Oratoria, '57.

Cari sunt liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est (complectitur) pro qua cuius (nemo) bonus dubitet (dubitabit) mortem oppetere si ei sit profuturus. The Complayner had omitted Cicero's reference 'Cari sunt parentes', and has turned a rhetorical question into a clear statement.: We love our children, we love our relatives and our friends, but the love of our native land embraces all these affections: for his country therefore no good patriot will refuse to endure death, if by so doing he can confer any benefit on it. Cicero, De Officiis, 1.57.; ed. C.Atzert, Teubner (Leipzig, 1923), p.28.

fol. 57v. Vim neque parenti neque patri offerre oportet. Cic. Lentule

This comes from Cicero: Epp. ad Familiares.; Epistula ad Lentulum, I, ix, 18 ed. L.C.Purser (Oxford, 1901)

Non est magis vituperandus proditor patrie quam communis utilitatis aut salutis desector propter suam salutem aut utilitatem. Cic de fini, ed. Th.Schiche, Cicero: De Finibus, Teubner (Stuttgart, 1961) p.114, Cicero: De Finibus, 3.64. The Complayner repeats such phrases throughout. See introduction, the 'message' of the Complaynt, 'Commonwealth', etc.

fol. 58r/v Bestie pro suo partu ita propugnant ut vulnera excipiant,
nulles impetus nullos casus reformident. Cic.5.tus.

See folio IIIv. Cicero Tusculanae Disp.5.79: the second last word is now read 'ictus'; as usual the Complainer is shortening the sentence and quoting 'ad sensum'.

fol. 59. assurit

For a discussion of Assured Scots see Marcus H.Merriman, "The Assured Scots - Scots collaborators with England during the Rough Wooing", The Scottish Historical Review (SHR) XLVII,1.No.143. (April, 1968), pages 10-34; Dr. T.I.Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603, (Edinburgh, 1966).

fol. 59v. Ecce non est abbreviata manus domini, ut saluare nequiat

Isaiah. 59.1.

fol. 59v, 60r.

"Following a general statement (Murray, 75, 14-24), which echoes ideas in both Le Quadrilogue and L'Esperance, The Complainer has the example of Mattathias and his sons used in both of Chartier's works." "Dr. M.S.Blayney points this out (MS D.Phil.d.3719, Bodleian (1966) p.clxxiii.) See appendix on Chartier. The Complainer has only had to collect the usual parallels quoted in the Vulgate to adorn his margin in folios 60r/v, 61r/v.

See M.S.Blayney, G.H.Blayney, "Alain Chartier and the Complainer of Scotland", R.E.S.IX,33(1958), pp. 15,16: "It is odd also to find that even when he undoubtedly could have written his own account, he has not been able to refrain from translating loosely some of Chartier's applications of a story, as in this adaptation of the narrative of Mattathias and his sons... Immediately after this passage comes the example of Gideon, this time taken directly from the French..." See appendix on Chartier, and introduction on the Complainer's methods.

fol. 60v margin Joseph' de anti.Li.12.c.8.

See ed. S.A.Naber, Flavius Josephus: Antiquitates Judicae (Leipzig, 1888-96), pages 122-127. Chartier and the Bible are probably also in the Complayner's mind.

folios 60v, 61r.

The marginal references are those listed in footnotes to good editions of the Vulgate as obvious parallels: Genesis 22.2. referring to Abraham and Isaac; Genesis 41.40 referring to Pharaoh's dream and Joseph's foodstores; the Complayner inserts Genesis 4, a reference to Cain and Abel, (and omits reference to Num.25.11, or Eccli.45.28-30.); Jos.1.2. is next; he (omits reference to Caleb and) goes on with 2.Sam.2.4. which is the same as David II. Reg.2.4; (he omits Elias.4.Reg.2.11) Dan.3.50 and Dan.6.22. end the list.

fol. 61r/v his thrid sone...tirrans

This is paralleled in Chartier's Esperance. See appendix: Blayney I, 134/16-134/18.

fol. 61v. There is ane vthir exempil of gedeon...be done

This is probably from Chartier. See appendix: Blayney, I, 135/15-135/24.

fol. 62r.

The examples may also be taken from Chartier's Esperance See Blayney, RES IX (1958), pp. 16-7. The stories of Darius, Xerxes, Bruce, are not translated directly, but those of Semiramis, Hercules, Mithridates, Philip, Alexander, and the later reference to Xerxes and Cyrus and Hannibal are perhaps "to a great extent directly translated, with the usual expansions and omissions."

fol. 63v.

Reference to Bruce's flight to Norway after losing thirteen

battles alludes to the mystery of where Bruce spent the winter of 1306/1307. This is discussed by G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce (London, 1965), pages 237-238.

Wedderburn was in Norway at Ripperwicke. See introduction.

fol. 63v margin Ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci/
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni

Juvenal, Satura, X, lines 112-113.

fol. 63v.

The reference to God punishing such tyrants and overreachers as Semiramis, Hercules, Xerxes and Cyrus, whatever the Complayner's source, is a reiteration of his theme of the 'scourge' (See introduction); and the explicit parallel is drawn between tyrants of Classical Antiquity and Somerset the Protector.

The problem of tyrants was discussed by Cicero (De Officiis, II,7;III,6); by Seneca (De Clementia, I.xi.); Dio Cassius (Orationes, VI,IXII); and by Plutarch incidentally in his Moralia. See for example too Plutarch's Life of Publicola, who gave his name to the Valerian Law which made it lawful to kill a man who should seek supreme power.

The first philosophical doctrine of tyrannicide appears to have been formulated by John of Salisbury. See ed. C.C.J. Webb, Iohannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), II, 345. See Hans Liebeschütz, Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury (London, 1950), pages 50-55, on the tyrant.

The Complayner would share John of Salisbury's view and apply it to England, when as Liebeschütz says (page 51), "he speaks of a commonwealth of the impious symbolized by a body whose head is a tyrant and whose limbs are his helpmates down to the feet which represent the evildoers in the humble walks of life. The soul of this body politic of sin is formed by sacrilegious heretics and schismatic priests."

This is exactly the situation in England with the Protector's a

cruel 'Phalaris', and his followers the 'incredule seid', the 'auld' enemies, heretics and schismatics.

The image links the idea of 'scourges' and 'ministers' with the idea of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, and the concept of 'translatio imperii' (see introduction), and the whole view of history.

The morality of tyrannicide was debated in the sixteenth century, as it still is. Erasmus, John Knox and George Buchanan were only three. See W.A.Gatherer, The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart (Edinburgh, 1958). W.A.Armstrong discusses "The Doctrine of the Tyrant in the Renaissance" (in Renaissance Drama), in R.E.S. 22 (1946) 161-181.

Catalogues of tyrants were common. See, for example, John Skelton's "Ware the Hawk" (ed. Philip Henderson, The Complete Poems of John Skelton, Laureate 4th ed (London, 1964), page 106). Skelton includes Diocletian, Domitian, Phalaris ('rehearsed in Valery' i.e. in Valerius Maximus), Sardanapalus, Nero, etc.

For the Renaissance view of punishment see R.W.Battenhouse, Marlowe's Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy (Nashville, 1966) pages 108-113.

fol. 64r. India and Judea

These two are confused for example in Othello, V.2, in Othello's final speech. German commentators, such as Düntzer gave elaborate explanations, and 'Indean' and 'Iudean' were interchanged to suit.

fol. 64r. The queen Semeramis

The Complayner, according to Blayney, borrowed this example from Chartier's Esperance (Blayney, I, 138/26 to 140/17. See appendix on Chartier.

fol. 64r Regimen of Mithridates

The prescription. is from Pliny, Natural History.XXIII,8(77) (Loeb,VII,xx-xxiii): In Sanctuariis Mithridatis maximi regis, devicti Cn.Pompeius invenit in peculiari commentario ipsius manu

compositionem antidoti e II nucibus siccis, item ficis totidem et rutae foliis xx simul tritis, addito salis grano: ei, qui hoc ieiunus sumat, nullum venenum nociturum illo die."

This anecdote about Mithridates VII the Great, King of Pontus (120 B.C-63 B.C), is mentioned by Gilbert Watson, Theriac and Mithridatium: A Study in Therapeutics (London, 1966), pages 34-35:

"Among the booty found by Pompey in the royal palace was, according to him, a notebook in which, written in the King's hand, was a prescription for an antidote to poison. It consisted of two dried walnuts, two figs, and twenty leaves of rue, to be pounded together and a pinch of salt added." Watson does not mention the Complaynt, nor Pliny, for that matter.

Juvenal at the end of his Satire on Woman's treachery mentions the story (Juvenal, Sat.6,660-1). Housman *also* uses the image. In the sixty-second poem of A Shropshire Lad, Housman recommends his readers to digest the bitter poems in order to immunize themselves against the bitterness of life, as did King Mithridates. Cf. Dorothy Sayers, Strong Poison. (I am indebted to Professor MacQueen for this reference).

The confection mithridate in the form of an electuary, that is, as a paste of ingredients with honey or syrup, was regarded as an antidote against poison and infectious diseases.

Occasionally the plant rue is used in English for its symbolic value. In Richard II, III.iv the plant is a symbol of repentance. It is sometimes called the plant of grace, as in the lines in Richard II.

"Here did she fall a tear; here in this place,
I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace;
Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,
In ^{the} remembrance of a weeping queen."

fol. 64v

The reference to Tomyris echoes folio 2v.

The Complayner's source is not the Bible here, but as the marginal reference indicates, one of the more picturesque accounts such as that by the second-century historian Justin in his Historiarum Philippicarum Libri XLIV abbreviated from the lost Greek Historiae Philippicae of the early first century Augustan historian Pompeius

Trogus. Justin's account of Tomyris is in Book I, chapters 4-8: "Caput Cyri amputatum, in utrem humane sanguine repletum conjici regina iubet, cum hac exprobratione crudelitatis: Satiata te, inquit, sanguine quem sitisti cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti." This story was a great favourite. Lyndsay too tells the story in the Monarche, lines 3624-3639 (Lindsay, Works, I, 307): Experience says of Cyrus:

"Bot, efter his gret conquessyng
 Rycht miserabyll wes his endyng.
 As Herodotus doith discryfe
 In Scythia he lost his lyfe,
 Quhare the vndantit Scethianis
 Vincuste those nobyll Persianis.
 And, efter that Cerus wes dede,
 Quene Tomyre hakkit of his hede,
 Quhilk wes the quhene of Scethianis,
 In the dispyte of Persianis.
 Scho kesp his heid, for to concludde,
 In tyll ane vessell full of blude,
 And said thir wourdis, creuellye:
 Drynk now thy fyll, gyf thow be drye,
 For thow did aye blude shedding thryste.
 Now drynk at laser, gyf thow lyste."

As Leyden mentions (page 41), the same example is also mentioned in Lynne's translation of Carion (fol. 36), and Tomyris "cast his hede into a pottful of mens blood and sayde, wyth hygh reproch, Satiata the selfe now wyth blude, wherwyth thou neuer couldest be fylled."

Boccaccio tells the story in his De Claris Mulieribus. See Gustav Schleich, Mittelenglische Umdichtung von Boccaccios De claribus mulieribus (Leipzig, 1924) pages 77-81; the phrase in Latin is "in utrem", the corresponding phrase in the Middle-English version (BM Add.MS.10304, fol. 2-46) at line 1616 is "Put the hedd into a grete botell, Full of blode, that shede was in batell..."

Herodotus, quoted by Lindsay, actually uses a waterskin (Herodotus, I, 205 f.). Cf. G.A.Guarino, Boccaccio: Concerning Famous Women (London, 1964), pages 104-6. Guarini translates Boccaccio showing Thamyris having the head placed in a leather bottle filled with the blood of her men.

fol. 64v. Tyrants

See note on folio 63v. See introduction on 'scourge'. Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas or Agrigentum in Sicilly, 570-554 B.C., perished in a mob riot. He is noted for the brazen bull which he tried out first on its inventor Perillus.

Adam Abell tells the story in "The Roit or Quheill of Tyme", folio 10b/11a: "The time of Amon...Phalayr in agrigentin excersit tyrannadge innocentis crewellie he put to deid. In this meynntyme there was a pottair or ane tynclar. He was callit pirill. He desirit frendschip of the tirran. He maid ane buyll of bras with entres in the side at thai that war condemnit to deid mycht entir thare and quhen thai war in, fire wes put ondir sa men and wemen rostit inwith thai cryit with woce of buyll apperandlie and nocht of men. This instrument he gaif to the tiran phaleir for punism of men This tirand considerand the entent and crewelnes of pirill he gart put him in first to preif his prettik with fire ondir him and sa miserablie he deit and fell in his awin fous at he maid. Incidit in foueam quam fecit."

Dionysius the Elder the Tyrant of Syracuse (c.432BC-367BC) was a 'strategos autokrator'. See folio 105v which is taken from Valerius Maximus.6.2. and tells the story of Dionysius and the old woman of Syracuse who prayed for him. Nero, Emperor, AD. 54-68. (Lactantius deals with his downfall.) Caligula, Emperor, AD. 37-41, nicknamed thus because of his footwear according to Seneca (De Constantia, XVIII,4-5; Loeb Seneca, Vol.I,p.101). Caligula is supposed to have had a horse Incitatus, which had an ivory manger, and drank wine out of a golden pail, and was made a priest and consul. Domitian, Emperor, AD. 81-96. M.Cary in his History of Rome (London, 1949), p.766 says: "the evidence of martyrdoms at Rome under Domitian is of the slightest."

fol. 64v. buik of the ruuyne of nobillis

The Complayner's reference to Boccaccio (c.1313-1375) are restricted to his Latin works of an erudite compilatory nature, such as De casibus virorum illustrium; De claris mulieribus; De genealogiis deorum gentillium.

Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium was expanded by Laurent de Premierfait as Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes and this was translated by Lydgate as The Fall of Princes (Pynson, 1494). Thus the Complayner may be referring to the original version, the French or the English version. The Complayner where he mentions an authority appears to be doing so only as additional confirmation of information from some other source. See introduction on method.

See ed. Henry Bergen, Lydgate's Fall of Princes EETS ES 121, 124 (London, repr. 1967): see H.G. Wright, Boccaccio in England from Chaucer to Tennyson (London, 1951).

fol. 64v. senecue in his tragedeis...the tragedies of lucius senecue

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the Latin Stoic philosopher (c.4 B.C-65 A.D.) wrote nine tragedies: Hercules Furens; Troades; Phoenissae (or Thebais); Medea; Phaedra (or Hippolytus); Oedipus; Aramemnon; Thyestes; Hercules Oetaeus. Inferior MSS add Octauia, which is probably not by Seneca.; See J.W. & A.M. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (London, 1964), page 199. On Seneca's influence, see e.g. G. Highet, The Classical Tradition, (Oxford, 1967), espec. 131-3, 617-8. See fol. 102v.

fol. 65r. Merlin

See introduction, on propaganda and prophecies. See note to tale No. 7. in folio 50v f.

The significance of the mention of Merlin here is that historians employed Merlin and his prophecies to bolster claims of overlordship, and used his prophecies as weapons in psychological warfare. John Major (History, 72-7) devotes a chapter to Merlin and also mentions his prophecies, (pages 224, 254) but adds (p. 254): "I confess that I lay no great store by his misty dicta, for they are no more than mist in the clouds of the air." Obviously people did believe the prophecies however, as they were adduced as arguments in propaganda tracts (see introduction) as well as in chronicles.

The Complayner is referring, here, as we have seen in the introduction, to such documents as Somerset's Epistle, Somerset's Proclamatioun, Bodrugan's Epitome, Johne Eldar Clarke's Proposal,

Patten's Diary, Henryson's Exhortacion and The Godly and Golden Book (CSP, I, 140-5).

The tracts stressed, as their titles show:, the 'just' causes for the Rough Wooing; the advantages of Union (justice and reformed religion); the King of England's entitlement to sovereignty over Scotland; the consequences of not accepting "assurance" (see note to fol. 59). Marcus Merriman, in "The Struggle for the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots - English and French intervention in Scotland, 1543-1550," (Ph.D. thesis for London), of which he kindly showed me a chapter in draft, discusses in chapter 8 this battle of the tracts. His views in no way alter those already mentioned in my introduction. He perhaps underrates Merlin.

fol. 65r margin

This quotation from De Civitate Dei Bk.I, ch.I means "and hereupon the towns that have been planted and peopled by other greater cities (as one hive of bees produces divers) are called colonies..." (See Everyman edition, p.274). The Complayner is refuting the English description of Scotland as a colony, by defining a colony.

fol. 66r - 67r. The misinterpretation of oracles

I think the Complayner found reference to Ferrand and Croesus together in Guillaume Le Breton then went back and expanded the example of Croesus and prefixed the example of Caiaphas, and interpolated the reference to Pyrrhus. He then as usual added his margin references as added authority. (This is only my feeling about his method, and not vital to the result.)

This digression about doubtful replies reveals the current interest in divination and prodigies, prognostications, prophecies, etc..

fol. 66r.

Croesus last King of Lydia, reigned 560-546 B.C. He expanded the Lydian Empire as far East as the river Halys. The answer Croesus received when he consulted the oracle at Delphos was "Cresus perdet almi transgressa maxima regna" according to the Complayner. Cicero

in his Div. 2.115 quotes this as "Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum viam". Chalcidius in his commentary to Plato's Timaeus 167 has "Perdet Croesus Halyn transgressus maxima regna". (Dr. E. Gebhardt supplied this reference). The original form seems to have been Herodotus' (I, 53, 91) quoted by Aristotle in his Rhetoric (III, 5.4-6) as a classical example of ambiguity (see ed. J. H. Freese, Aristotle: The Art of Rhetoric Loeb (London, 1959) pages 372-373. It looks as if the Complainer is quoting from memory, "correcting" the form 'Alim' (in Guillaume Le Breton) into the genitive form 'Almi', not realising that 'Alim' represents 'Halyn'. The alteration may have been by the printer.

fol. 66v. dico te Pirre romanos vincere posse

This is another classic example. Brewer quotes a number of such oracular ambiguous replies. "Aio te, Aeacide, Romanos vincere posse," is the usual form.

fol. 67r. Ferrand, Earl of Flanders

See note to tale No. 4. (fol. 50v f.). The oracular reply refers to the Battle of Bouvines, 27th July, 1214. Against Philippe Auguste of France was an army with Renaud, Count of Boulogne, on the right wing, the forces of Otto IV in the middle, and King John Lackland's troops headed by William of Salisbury, and Ferrand of Flanders, on the left wing. Otto fled, and Renaud, William of Salisbury and Ferrand were captured, and led in chains (enferre) to Paris. This tale is told by Barbour in the Bruce as we have said. The "source", noted by R. L. G. Ritchie (The Buik of Alexander STS (Edinburgh, 1925), Vol. I, page clxx) is Guillaume le Breton's 'Historia Sancti Dionysi': "Sicut etiam fame loquacitate cognovimus, ipsa vetula comitissa Flandriae, Hispana genere, matertera ipsius Ferrandi, filia regis Portugalensis... prestigiis et sortilegiis eventus belli scire desiderans, ab angelis qui hujusmodi modi artibus presunt, secundum morem Hispanorum tale meruerat habuisse responsum: 'Pugnabitur, et in ipsa pugna rex prosternetur in terram, et equorum pedibus conculcabitur, et carebit sepultura. Ferrandus post victoriam cum maxima pompa a Parilianis recipietur.' Hec omnia recte intelligente possunt interpretari in verum. Consuetudo enim

demonis est semper talibus qui eum colunt amphibologice loqui, eorum desideria palliata veritate involvens, ut suos semper cultores decipiat, et ut ipsi de se bona semper credant dici que Deus ad eorum confusione, et aliorum honorem fieri disponit. Unde illud:

Cresus perdet Alim transgressus maxima regna,

Et Juvenalis:

Et semel ambiguo deceptus Apolline Cresus... omnes ad vitas catervatim ruentes... et casu mirabili duo equi ejus coloris qui hoc nomen equis imponit, ipsum in lectica vehebat."

I first noted this in G.W.Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his 'Livre de Divinacions' (Liverpool, 1952), page 200,fn.148. The context of 'Divination' and the dabbling in the occult (against the advice of Deuteronomy 18) and in particular the reviving of corpses by Necromancy, and black magic, all were the dangers inherent in attempts by the uninitiated to raise spirits with which they could not cope; and the Complainer is using this psychological trick to discredit Merlin's prophecies by linking belief in them with the idea of meddling with malicious elemental spirits. Cicero De Divinatione II.56 also warns against oracles. Coopland (page 95) quotes Oresme's comment..."Tully in the De Divinatione says, 'Apollo thy responses are sometimes true, sometimes false, according to chance, in part doubtful and obscure, so much so that the expositor has need of another expositor.'"

fol. 67v beuk callit polichornicon

See edd. C.Babington, J.R.Lumby, Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis: together with the English Translations of John of Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer in the 15th century 9 vols. (Rolls Series), (London, 1865-1886).

fol. 68r. Hengist and Horsa

They also appear in Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif (page 17, line 28 to page 18, line 3; see appendix). Droz suggests that Chartier probably knew some version of the Brut.

John Major refers to Hengist and Horsa, and in the chapter on

Merlin he connects the name Anglia and Engist land (Major History, 70,72).

Fordun also mentions the pair (Chron.Fordun, II, 89-94). Vortigern's version of the prophecy of the mutation of monarchies is also given. (p.94).

Bellenden, Chronicles (p.322 f) and the 'Proheme Apon the Cosmographe', prefixed to the Mar Lodge Translation of Boece (page 15) also mention them.

fol. 68r - fol. 68v.

The Complayner takes up the suggestion by Chartier (ed. Droz, page 18, lines 3 to 5): "C'est la ligne qui debouta et occist son souverain seigneur, roy d'Angleterre, pour usurper tiranniquement sa seigneurie." See appendix on Chartier.

Cf. S.T.Bindoff, Tudor England (Harmondsworth, 1950), page 7. "By 1485 Englishmen had grown wearily accustomed to a polity in which rival factions contended for the crown and 'he who lost the day lost the kingdom also'. The middle-aged could remember its happening three times before. In 1461 Henry VI had lost the kingdom at Towton to the Earl of March who then became Edward IV. In 1470 Edward lost it to his own former henchman Warwick, the 'Kingmaker' who restored the puppet Henry VI. Eight months later Warwick and Henry VI were beaten by the returning Edward who succeeded in keeping the throne until his death in 1483. And now Richard III, who had murdered, instead of fighting his way to the throne had lost thrones and life to Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses we call them..."

folios 70v, 71r/v

These folios warn against the evils which ruin Scotland: (discord, dissension, civil wars, injustice, division; dissension, discord, hatred; hatred, division, avaricious living; dissension; dissension, sedition; avaricious living, hatred, envy;): thus by repetition, the Complayner stresses the main vices dividing the country instead of uniting for its common weal.

fol. 70v of this sort the kynge of ingland playit vitht baytht
the handis

B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies XI (1949), p.184, considers this to have the quality of a proverb. He refers to Fitscottie, II, 237, 19-21; II, 275,5-6, for parallel usage.

fol. 72r

See folio 84r for more extensive remarks on the character of the English, and their "subtilite".

fol. 72v

The comparison of the Jews and Scots and the reference to David and Judas Macchabeus (two of the Nine Nobles) was a common comparison. See folio 3v, 60r, etc. See A.A.M.Duncan, The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath (London, 1970), page 35: "like another Maccabeus or Joshua".

fol. 73v. the bernis of ayre

See also folio 81v.

The Complayner stresses this "incident", mentioning it in folios 73v, 74r, 75r (twice) and folio 81v. Leyden (page 187-9) says this episode "rests on the authority of Henry the Minstrel, and the relations of Blair... and is supposed to have been mentioned in the chapters of the XI. book of the Scotichronicon amissing in the Scottish MSS." See M.P.McDiarmid, Hary's Wallace STS (Edinburgh, 1968), Vol.I, page 7, lines 175-177:

"Hangitt barrownys, and wrocht full mekill cayr.

It was weylle dkawyn, in the bernys of Ayr,

Xviii score putt to that dispitfull dede!"

The variant line reads "Thair auchtene put to ane felloun dreid".

See too M.P.McDiarmid's remarks, Vol.I, page lxiii, fn.3; and Vol.II (1969), pages 138-140.

The incident appears to be an invention of Hary the historical novelist, based on the suggestion in Barbour's Bruce, Bk.IV, lines 35-38:

"Thus gate endyt his worthynes

Off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes

And Schir Brys als the blar,

Hangyt in-till A berne in ar."

Major, (History, 196) describes Wallace taking his revenge for the

above incident: "He set fire by night to the barns of Ayr in which were some of the chief men amongst the English and those who escaped the flames fell to his sword. This won for him so much renown that some amongst his country's nobles, and of higher birth than his own, betook themselves to him. Among these were two whose names were widely known - John Graham, knight, and Robert Boyd, both of them men of tried courage." McDiarmid accepts that the episodes may have been in the missing chapters of Book XI of the *Scotichronicon*, and adds (page lxiii, fn.3.) "Mair's reference to this event (Lib.IV.cap.14) has been quoted as independent authority for its having occurred but his mention of Robert Boyd, who is not named in Relationes, and his actual wording, show that he follows Hary: 'Anglorum insignes viros apud horrea Aeriae residentes de nocte incedit, & qui a voraci flamma evaserunt ejus mucrone occubuerunt'."

The Complayner's reference to the English burning the Scots reduces Hary's total from 360 to 320. Even if the total were the Lekpreuik estimate of 18 only, the number is not the main point. The Complayner uses the phrase "tua and tua ouer ane balk" and this echoes lines 268-271 in Book VII of Hary's 'Wallace' (see STS ed. Vol.I,p.146):

"O fers Wallace, feill tempest is befall.

Our men ar slayne that pete is to se

As bestiall houndis hangit our a tre.

Our trew barrouns be twa and twa past In."

The Complayner also mentions the tale "Wallace" (tale No. 10, folio 50v).

fol. 74r/v Sextus and Tarquin

The story of how Sextus, son of Tarquin the Proud, last of the Roman kings, pretended to be a deserter from Rome to Gabii, in order to deliver the town to his father, is told in Livy, History, I, 53-54. Leyden suggests (pp.181-3) that the Complayner took the passage from Bellenden's version. The story is also found in Valerius Maximus, VII, 2, where the key phrase is "maxima et altissima papauerum capita baculo decussit". This shows that the Complayner's "chasbollis" (fol. 74v) are poppies, and not onions in this case, as Murray wrongly glosses them. Turner in his Names of Herbes, A.D.1548 lists 'chesboul' as being the 'papaver (sonniferum)'. Cf.

F.J. Amours, Scottish Alliterative Poems STS (Edinburgh, 1891-7), p.372, note on 'The Pistill of Susan' (line 105), mentions how the 'sybow' and 'onion' were confused.

fol. 75r. "the bernis of ayre"

See note to fol. 73v.

fol. 76r. Bannockburn

Cf. Major, History, p.232. Major derives the name from the fact that along the banks of the burn there were mills making bannocks.

fol. 76r - 77r. Conraldus

Perhaps the variant, rejected by M.P. McDiarmid, in his edition of Hary's 'Wallace' STS (Edinburgh, 1968), page 2, line 37: "As Conus cornykliis bers on hand",... alludes to the same figure.

fol. 76r.

On Wappinshaws see e.g. M.M. Banks, British Calendar Customs-Scotland (London, 1937), Vol.I, page 121 f. For detailed references see Gladys Dickinson, "Some Notes on the Scottish Army in the first half of the Sixteenth Century," S.H.R. 28 (1949), 133-145, espec. p.133,fn.2.: "To keep the lieges in war-like trim wappinschaws were ordered to be held in all parts of the realm. Each sheriff was to gather together and enroi the able men to take wages and commissioners were deputed to choose men to be 'wagoured to serve for defence of the realms and libertie thairof.' Special times were laid down for the holding of the wappinschaws... in 1540 twice a year (Reg. Privy Council,xiv, Addenda 7 (1549): Acts Parl.Scot. ii, 48,c.6; 226,c.13; 362-3,cc.23-7: Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs; 5,9 (1513); 10,16 (1514); 382 (1532); 504 (1541). See also Sheriff Court Book of Fife (SHS),pages xli-xliiii.) The burghs held frequent wappinschaws: piper and drummer turned out and, in Ayr at least, drinks were provided at the public expense (Ayr Burgh Accounts (Scot.Hist.Soc.), cv, 181,237, 281). Absentees were fined; so were persons who turned up in borrowed gear (Aberdeen

Records (Spalding Club), i, 59-60, 99). The sheriff was also responsible for the state of the weapons, and an Act of 1483 ordered him to keep a list of all weapons and 'fencibles' in his shire and to bring his list to the host, under his own seal and the seals of four barons of the shire (Acts Parl. Scot., ii, 164, c.I.)" Cf. W. Daune, Ancient Scottish Melodies, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1838), note to "Put your shirt on Monday". Cf. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869-92; vol. for years 1525-1557, page 237 (Feb. 24, 1555/6); for years 1557-1571, page 5 (July 18, 1557)). Cf. Sir Walter Scott, Old Mortality. Cf. Dunbar, Scot. Kings, p. 236: "The Army of Scotland". (A.R.S. ii, 362, items No. 22, No. 23).

fol. 77r/v Incerti sunt...

Cicero, Pro T. Annio Milone, 56 (ed. A.C. Clark, Cicero: Orationes, II, (Oxford, 1918).) See fol. 47r. This quote is 'ad sensum' only. See introduction: 'Cicero'. "Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum Martemque communem, qui saepe spoliante iam et exultantem evertit et perculit ab abiecto; adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis qui..." etc.

fol. 77v titus veterius... spurnius posthunius

Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius (or Postuminus) were consuls in 334 B.C. and 321 B.C. (433 AUC and 420 AUC): see T. Robert, S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, 2 vols American Philological Association (n.p., n.d.), Vol. I. 509 B.C. - 100 B.C., "T. Veturius Calvinus and Sp. Postumius Albinus".

fol. 77v. furce caudide = Furcae Caudinae (Lucan, 2, 137)

cf. Val. Max. VII, 2. "apud furcas Caudinas"...

fol. 81v. In duobus malis...

This quotation is not from "Cice. Quintu fratre.", as the Complayner says. It is found in Pseudo-Cicero, Epistula ad

Octavianum, 8.: see ed. W.S.Watt, M.Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae, Vol. III (Oxford, 1958), page 217, lines 19-20: "In duobus autem malis cum fugiendum maius sit, levius est eligendum". See also folio 129r.

This popular proverbial saying is found in Plato's Pythagoras, ascribed to Socrates; and in Aristotle's Nic.Eth. V.3.16; and in Cicero, De Officiis, III. 29. 105, "minima de malis"; and again in the De Officiis, III.1.3. "ex malis eligere minima."

John Orr, Old French and Modern English Idiom (Oxford, 1962), page 150, points out that the proverb was adopted early in French too: "De deus maus le meyndre": (cf. J.Morawski, Proverbs fr. anterieur au XVe s., CFMA (Paris, 1925), No. 486.)

Thomas a Kempis (III.12) has also "De duobus malis minus est semper eligendum." Erasmus also has, in his Adagia, "E duobus malis minimum eligendum."

See F.N.Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, 1957) page 818, note to 'Troilus and Criseyde', II, 470; with further references. Cf. B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies, XI (1949), p. 164; Whiting refers to John Rolland: The Sevin Seages, 1560 (lines 9218-9), and to ed. E.Beveridge, Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs, 1641, STS, (Edinburgh, 1924), 84 (671). etc.

fol. 81v. blac parlament at the bernis of ayr

See note to folio 73v.

fol. 81v

Wharton's and Lennox's Raid took place in 1548, not as Murray says 1547. The Complayner mentions March, 1547, but this is 1547/1548. See introduction and appendix to historical introduction. See George Neilson, "Repentance Tower and Its Tradition", T.G.A.S. N.S.II (1888-95), 340-363; I am indebted to Dr. T.I.Rae for giving me the periodical reference for the pamphlet reprint of the article (n.p., n.d.) See Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, I, pages 81-3. See William Fraser, The Douglas Book, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1885), Vol. II, p. 279 f., Vol. IV., pages 168-170. This reference gives us another 'terminus a quo' for the writing of the Complaynt.

fol. 82r Assured Scots

Leyden (pp. 191-2) quotes evidence of some seven thousand borderers of the West Marches being forced to 'take assurance' in 1547. On Assured Scots see T.I.Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603 (Edinburgh, 1966), and M.Merriman, "The Assured Scots, Scottish Collaborators with England During the Rough Wooing", SHR XLVII, 143 (April, 1968), pages 10-34, and references in both.

fol. 82v. The king of England "vald be rycht glaid sa that euerye scottis man hed ane withyr scottis man in his bellye."

See B.J.Whiting, Med. Stud. XI (1949), p. 138 : Whiting classifies this as one of his "Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings..."

fol. 83r/v. "for i loue bot the trason that cumis to my effect and louis nocht the tratours that committis the trason"...

... "the kyng of ingland louis the traison that scottis men committis contrar ther prince zit he louis nocht the tratours that committis the traison." B.J.Whiting, Med. Stud.XIII (1951), page 144, quotes these as proverbial sayings, and mentions a parallel in Sat. Poems, 247,88; etc.

fol. 83v.

This chapter is headed Chap. XIII. in the original, and the Initial letter T in one of the four copies is inverted. A printed initial has been cut out and pasted over the original inverted T, the right way up.

fol. 84r. Scots and English character compared

The picture of the Scots as 'facile', 'humain', but 'furious' when in subjection, and 'merciful' when they are victorious, is contrasted with that of the English who are 'subtil', 'ambitius' in prosperity, 'humil' in subjection, and 'cruel' in victory is summed up in an animal comparison, Scots sheep and English wolves.

Fordun similarly discusses the English (Chron.Fordun,ii, 170-1) and their trend to uni-sex dress fashion, and he mentions other traits: "in bearing, they are players; in address, fiddlers; gluttons in feeding; hucksters in business; swaggerers in dress; like Argus for gain; like Daedalus in wariness; like Sardanapalus in bed; puppets at church; thunderers in the courts..."

Leyden quotes (pages 200-1) the different picture painted by Higden (folio 56).

The Complayner has possibly Cicero's words in mind (Cicero, De Officiis, I, xxvi): "Again, when Fortune smile... let us diligently avoid all arrogance, haughtiness and pride. For it is as much a sign of weakness to give way to one's feelings in success as it is in adversity." (ed. W.Miller, Loeb ed, (London, 1913) pages 91-3). Cicero ends "Atque etiam in rebus prosperis... superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque fugiamus."

fol. 84r quintus cursius

Quintus Curtius Rufus is thought to have written his history of Alexander the Great in the reign of Claudius because of reference to an event identified with one that happened in 41 A.D. Of the ten books, the first two are lost and parts of the remaining eight are also missing. See J.W.Duff. A.M.Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age from Tiberius to Hadrian 3rd ed. (London, 1964), pages 81-91, 540. See J.C.Rolfe, Curtius, History of Alexander 2 vols., Loeb (London, 1946).

fol. 84v. Scots and English

The Complayner precludes the possibility of peaceful coexistence, comparing it to a 'prodigium' or one of the 'impossibilia' of nature.

fol. 85r.

The Complayner's reference to peace on the Borders "thir seyn zeir bygane" is not taken literally by B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies XIII (1951) page 163, who quotes many examples of references to 'seven years'. Cf. J.MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), 32-34 on

numerical allegory involving the number seven.

fol. 85r. "ane herand damysele and ane spekand castel sal neuyr
end vith honour"

The Complayner calls this "ane ald prouerb", yet it is quoted as the first example in English (e.g. by M.P.Tilley, C.122.) It does not appear to have been noted that the proverb is a straight translation of the French proverb quoted in the contemporary diary by Patten. W.Patten in "The Expedition into Scotlande" (written by 28th January 1548) under the date "Tuysday the xx of September" (1547) quotes a "prophecy among the Frenchmen, which sayeth, Chasteau que parloit et femme que escote: Lung voet rendre, et l'autre;.." (J.G.Dalyell, Fragments of Scottish History (Edinburgh, 1798), page 84.)

Cf. E.Beveridge, Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs STS (Edinburgh, 1924), page 17, line 175: "A speaking castle and ane hearing maiden are easy wone". Cf. M.L.Anderson, 'The Carmichaell Collection' p.57, folio 2b, No. 187: "A still man is a castell and keeps him from wo." Whiting refers to Andrew Cheviot, Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions and Popular Rhymes of Scotland (Paisley, 1896), 40.

fol. 85v. annibal and vtheris grit captans

This use of "vtheris", either as a substantive use of the word, in apposition; or the adjective being inflected to agree with the noun, is worth noting.

fol. 86r. for eueryie thing is to sel in rome for monye

This is mentioned, for example, by Erasmus, (page 373, ed.cit.) "M.Tullius ait, hoc omnium sermone percubuisse, non apud Romanos tantum, verum etiam apud exter (n) as nationes, in iudiciis illorum temporum, pecuniosum quam vis sit nocens, neminem posse damnari. Huic affine est: Romae esse venalia omnia." Erasmus also quotes "Pecuniae obediunt omnia", which, although Erasmus does not say so, is taken from Eccl. 10.19.

fol. 86r/v Treason

The incidence of treason is confirmed by the communications from "Ye wait Cuha" to Wharton, for example, in the Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, Vol. I (1547-1563) (Edinburgh, 1898): See CSP Scot, I, 9, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23, 98, 178. Grey of Wilton complains to Somerset (CSP Scot, I, 178) that the informers are expensive.

fol. 86v. Valerius Maximus Lib. 3 c. 3.

Val. Max. III. 3. 2.: "Pompei etiam probabilis virtus, qui, qui, dum legationis officio fungitur, a rege Gentio interceptus, cum senatus consilia prodere iuberetur, ardenti lucernae admotum digitum cremandum praeiuit eaque patientia regi simul et desperationem tormentis quicquam ex se cognoscendi incussit et expetendae populi Romani amicitiae magnam cupiditatem ingeneravit."

fol. 87r/v Valerius maximus Libro 7.: Metellus "sark".

Val. Max. VII. 4. 5. (ed. C. Kempf, Teubner (Leipzig, 1888) p. 348, line 4 f.): "... nam si huius consilii mei interiorem tunicam consciam esse sensero, continuo eam cremari iubebo."

fol. 88r "onpossibil to gar ane fishe of the dene flude speik hebreu or greik"

Normally fish were regarded as being mute (cf. Erasmus, Adagia, 192D, quoted by Tilley F 30: "magis mutus quam pisces"). Therefore fish making a noise are marvels of nature. See H. R. Patch, The Other World according to descriptions in Mediaeval Literature (1950), p. 166.

Gavin Douglas in the Palice of Honour, lines 145 f. mentions This laithlie flude runland as thounder routit
In quhome the fisch zelland as eluis schoutit
Their zelpis wilde my heiring all fordeifit.
See P. J. Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS, (Edinburgh,

1967), page 176.

The Complayner would also be aware that fish making a noise is one of the fifteen signs of the Day of Judgment. The reference need not come as J.M. Smith suggests (The French Background of Middle Scots Literature (Edinburgh, London, 1934), page 112) from "some Celtic fairy tale, some slandered troutling of the sacred well". The Complayner is outdoing the marvels even of the Day of Judgment in order to ensure that his impossibility is really impossible. Cf. Lindsay, Works, I, 361; III, 460-461. Lindsay in the Monarche, lines 5468-9f, says:

"Gret Quhalis sall rummeis, rowte, and rair,

Quhose sound redound sall in the air.

All fysche and Monstouris marvellous

Sall cry with soundis olious,..."

Hamer refers to Peter Comestor, Hist. Schol. in Evengelia, cap. cxli,:

"Tertia marinae belluae apparentes super mare, dabunt rugitus usque ad coelum.": he also refers to Rolle, Prick of Conscience, lines 4771-4773:

"the mast wondreful fisshes of the se

Sal com to-gyder and mak swilk romyng

that it sal be hydus til mans heryng."

fol. 88v. Accessorium sequitur naturam sui prencipalis

This is a legal maxim which is axiomatic and therefore transfers the burden of proof in an argument to the opponent. Cf. Accessorium principale sequitur, the accessory goes with its principal, which implies something like, if you buy a field you generally get the crops on it too: Accessorium sequitur naturam rei cui accedit, the accessory follows the nature of the thing to which it accedes, as for example when fixtures become heritable by accession.

fol. 89r. thre muis of gold ringis

This is from Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif where we find (ed E. Droz, page 35, lines 23-25) "pour magnifier sa victoire Hannibal envoya a Cartage troys muis des anneaulz d'or qui orent este prins en leurs dois..." Cf. Blayney, Rawl. MS A. 338, II. 83/20-83/24: "for to magnifi his victorie the seid Haniball sente vnto Cartage thre tonnefullis of ryngs of goulde which war take of the fyngirs

of dede bodyes..." See appendix on Chartier. In Livy 23.12 we find "ut metientibus dimidium (anulorum aureorum) super tres modios explesse..."

As Leyden mentions (pages 41-2) we have in Lindsay's Monarchie (lines 4186-8) a description of Hannibal:

"At Cannae, where he (=Hannibal) wan the victorie,
On Romanis handis that dede lay on the ground,
Thre hepit buschellis wer of Ryngis found..."

As Hamer remarks (Lindsay, Works, III, 409): "Lindsay's account of Hannibal is not taken from Carion who says nothing about three heaped bushels of rings, the thirty or eighty senators and twenty lords nor of the death of Hannibal." Perhaps the Complayner and Lindsay had the same source, perhaps Livy 23.12; in the Complayner's case via Chartier; or perhaps Lindsay had read the Complaynt?

Adam Abell, "The Roit or Cuheill of Tyme", Nat.Lib.MS 1746, folios 15v,16r (DOST transcription), speaks of "3 bollis of goldin ringis" The word "muid" or "muis" or "moy" comes from O.F. mui, Mod.Fr. 'muid', from Latin 'modius' (q.v. Du Cange) see OED, MUD sb². The phrase "twenty twa moys of gryt salt" occurs in Aberdeen Reg.XVI, 693, (1535). See folio 115v for mention of a ring as a gift as a distinction and sign of 'nobility'. See folio 137v where the phrase "three muis ful of gold ringis" is again mentioned.

folios 91r - 94r

These folios are based ultimately on Thucydides I, 128-135. Folios 141v, 142r, 147r also are from Thucydides, who like Herodotus "was given a famous Latin commentary by Valla (1452) which became the basis for translations into modern languages: into French by Claude de Seyssel, bishop of Marseilles, about 1512... and into English from Seyssel's version by Thomas Nichols in 1550..." (C.Hight, The Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1967) page 117; cf. p.574).

fol. 93v. for my guide service

Is the spelling of "guide", a variant on the Complayner's usual "gude", of significance?

fol. 94r margin

The reference "Samuel cap.2" is corrected in the body of the text to "in the fyrst cheptor of the second beuk of samuel", i.e. 2.Sam.ch.1.

fol. 94v, 95r

2 Sam. chapter 5. "fyft be cheptor". This looks as if the printer's compositor began to set "beuk" and altered it to "cheptor", but forgot to delete the "be".

fol. 95r

ebron hil (2 Sam.ch.4, verse 5) The Vulgate has "suspenderunt eos super piscinam".

fol. 95r/v Bessus

The story of Alexander's treatment of Bessus is told by Plutarch (ed. Sentenis, Plutarch, III, p. 329) in Alexander.43. "Bessus afterwards fell into his hands and he punished his parricide in this manner. He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil". (J. & W. Langhorne, Plutarch's Lives (London, 1869), page 483. Cf. Everyman edition of Plutarch's Lives, Vol.II,p.502.)

fol. 95v, 96r

The story of the poisoning of the Emperor Henry VII by a black Jacobin who was subsequently quartered by four horses is from Jacques de Longuyon's Voeux du Paon, and the derivative Voeux de l'Espervier.

The story is that Henry VII of Luxemburg had a dream in which he saw himself being killed by one of his favourite black and white hounds, the allusion being to the black and white habit of the Dominicans (domini-canes) by whom Henry is (erroneously) said to

have been poisoned. The name Jacobin was given to the Dominicans in Paris because they lived in the Rue St. Jacques. The alleged poisoning is related by R.L.G.Ritchie, The Buik of Alexander, STS (Edinburgh, 1925) page xxxviii, who also refers to the account "by the Canon of Bridlington in 'Chron. Edward I and II' (Rolls Series) (London, 1883), vol. II, p. 44., and in the Scalachronica, p.135." Ritchie also points out (I,ccxxx) that "Moray, like Alexander, was commonly said to have been poisoned, and like the Emperor Henry VII in the colophon of the Voeux du Paon, by a friar, "of black habite ane freir" (Bk.Cron.Sc.51.630)".

The punishment of the friar is that of being torn in four by horses, as in 'Child Owlet' (Child, No.291); Sargent & Kittredge (No.291), p. 617.

folios 96v, 97r.

This passage is paralleled by Chartier's Quadrilogue (ed Droz p. 20, lines 1 to 20, and lines 20 to 26.) See appendix on Chartier, This passage appears to contain a mistranslation by the Complayner, as Blayney remarks: Chartier, Q.I. p. 20 lines 24-5: "Je meur et transiz par default et necessite des biens que j'ay gaigne;... which Rawlinson MS A 338 translates: "I dey evyn as I go on the erthe for defaulte of myn own goodis that I haue gotyn."... which the Complayner translates: "I dee daly in ane transe trocht the necessite that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyr..." For someone as skilled in Latin as the Complayner this may be his interpretation that he had a cataleptic trance fit, rather than a simple mistranslation of Chartier's 'elegant variation'.

fol. 97r

"exilit fra my takkis and fra my steddyngis, the malis and fermes of the grond that i laubyr". Malis and fermes are rents. See farm; mail²; stead; tack²; in the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology.

See Lindsay, Works, IV, 186, 213,; notes on Satyre, lines 1041 and 2575. See Henryson, 'Fable of the Wolf and the Lamb', "Moralitas", lines 2761-2, which echoes Lindsay's phrase "Vp to the hevin on zou ane vengeance cry" with the words "For it cryis ane vengeance

unto the heveinnis hie..." Hamer notes the parallel in the Complaynt, which is however an echo of Chartier (Q.I.p.24 line 23), and biblical (Psalm 108).

The maillis were made more unbearable by the gersum, the premium for each lease. As leases were short the gersum (grassum) was a burden.

The "takings" were farms in the maintenance of the tenant. See R.H.Tawney and E.Power, Tudor Economic Documents, (London, 1924) III, 206, ('A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, 1549'; usually attributed to John Hales): those holding "takkis" seem to have done well out of rising food prices, for "where they pay after the old rate (of rent) they sell after the new, that is, they pay for their good land cheap, and sell all things growing therof dear..." Thus it was doubly hard to be turned out when one was on a profitable tide of rising food prices. On the move towards a money economy and the feu-ferme in connection with Wedderburn, see Aberdeen University Review, XLIII (1970), pages 403-407.

fol. 98r ryn and rashe in arrage & carrage

I am indebted to Dr. James Craigie for drawing my attention to James Colville, "The Complaynt of Scotland: A Tract for the Times", The Scottish Review 23 (January/April 1894), pages 90-107. Colville remarks: The arage and carriage refer to the crofter's obligation to supply carts and horses to plough the laird's land, fetch fuel and carry in the harvest. Arage = average (Low Latin averagium from habere to have) and primarily meant property in general (cp. chattel, cattle, capital) especially such a beast of burden as the horse, often called an aiver, cf. Burns' Dream: "Yet aft a ragged colt's been known / To mak a noble aiver."

fol. 97v, 98r/v, 99r.

These folios are composed from Chartier's Quadrilogue (ed Droz, page 21, lines 5-8; page 22, lines 14-18; page 23, line 32 to page 24, line 7; page 24, lines 7 to 14; page 24 line 13 to page 25 line 7; page 37 line 25 to page 38, line 9; and a compound of page 24 lines 27-28, page 24 lines 15-17 and page 25, lines 5-6; and page 38, lines 16-18, and page 38, lines 22 to 25.) See appendix

fol. 98v propter inopum et gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam dicat dominus

These "vordis of the prophet" are in fact from the Psalm, Salvum me fac, nowadays Psalm 12 verse 5. The older numbering would be Psalm 11.6 because Psalm 9 is now divided into two Psalms 9 and 10, and the superscription is not now numbered so that verse 6 old style is now verse 5.

The Complayner has taken this from Chartier who says, (Q.I., 24, line 17): "Car comme souvent repetent les anciens escrips, pour la misere des povres et gemissemens des souffreteux la divine justice donne sentence de tresaigne punicion."

fol. 99r the edropic the quhilk the mair that he drynk the mair he hes desire to drynk

This example is borrowed from Chartier, Quadrilogue (ed. Droz), page 38, lines 16-18.: "Et comme la soif aux ydropiques en bevant leur croist et augmente, ainsi que plus en avoit plus en convoitoit avoir."

(Cf. (Blayney II, page 91, lines 4-6); see appendix on Chartier.)

fol. 99v. 100r

Catalogue of good and bad, kings, priests, prophets, widows 'pastors and hirds', rich men, apostles. M.P.McDiarmid suggests that the list is from Guevara via the French translation "Le Mepris.." by Allegre, folio 10. (see Notes & Queries (July, August, 1959), page 248.)

fol. 100r it is vrytin in the 7 cheptor of genesis that god sauit loht and his famile be cause of there obediens....

Genesis 7 is still immersed in the flood; Lot appears in Genesis 19.

fol. 100v there is ane prouerb that sais parce sepulto that is to saye spair hym that is in his sepulture.

As a proverb this is like 'Nihil de mortuis', but, though I can

find no source, I have the impression that this phrase was the Roman equivalent of R.I.P., a common inscription on graves; where it may even have had the force of the warning to body-snatchers at Shakespeare's burial place. *The source is Aeneid 3. 41. probably.*

Cf. B.J. Whiting, Med. Studies, XIII (1951), 122.

fol. 100v The Seven Sages of Rome

See ed. K. Brunner, The Seven Sages, EETS OS 191 (London, 1932-3);

ed. G.F. Black, John Rolland: The Seven Sages STS (Edinburgh, 1932).

Rolland names the Seven Sages of Rome as: 1) Pantyllas; 2) Lentalus; 3) Craton; 4) Malquydrak; 5) Josephus; 6) Cleophas; 7) "the seuint greit Maister & doctour". (Rolland, it is thought, wrote c.1560). On the French redactions, see G. Paris, Deux Redactions des Sept Sages, SATF (Paris, 1876) and Jean Misrahi Le Roman en Vers des Sept Sages de Rome (Paris, 1933).

Cf. Asloan MS.

Mimus Publianus

Crudelis in re aduersa est obiurgatio

The quotation that 'rebuke is cruel in adversity' is in fact a quotation from Publilius Syrus. (See J.W. & A.M. Duff, Minor Latin Poets, Loeb (London, 1935) page 26, No. 101.).

The Complayner may have been misled by the title of his probable source: D. Erasmus, Disticha Moralia titulo Catonis....Mimi Publiani (cum scholiis Erasmi)... (London, 1514) (see note of title, Minor Latin Poets, p.8). N. Udall translating Erasmus Apophthegmes, 1562-4 (Boston, 1877), page 156) quotes Publius Mimus: "Beneficium dando accepit quid digno dedit."

The Complayner at folio 112v again quotes "Mimus Publianus": "lapis index auri, aurum hominum" (see note, fol. 112v).

fol. 101v Catalogue of famous men of humble origins

Valerius Maximus quotes most of the examples. See ed. C. Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri novem... Teubner (Leipzig 1888), page 135: Val Max. 3.4.: "De His Qui Humili Loco Nati Clari Evaserunt". Valerius Maximus mentions Tullius Hostilius, Tarquinius, Varro, Perpenna; Marcus Porcius Cato,

Socrates, Euripides, Demosthenes. The Complayner has added David and Agathocles. Agathocles is mentioned in Rlybius, 12.15, where we learn that his father made 'Karkinos' (clay pots), as the Complayner says, he was the son of "ane pottar that formit clay pottis". The Complayner again mentions Agathocles in folio 119v, 120r as an example of pride in humble origins. Agathocles is also mentioned, with the fact that his father was a potter, by Plutarch, see ed. G.N.Bernardakis, Plutarch Apophthegmata (Leipzig, 1889), II.13.20. Chartier frequently quotes from Valerius Maximus too.

fol. 102v. L.A.Seneca (c.4 B.C. - A.D.65)

the prudent senecque gyuis cummand to repreif viht out iniure, and to loue viht out flattery

The injunction to reprove without anger is the tenor of Lucius Annaeus Seneca's essay 'De Ira' and implied too in his 'De Constantia', and 'De Clementia'. See, ed. J.W.Basore, Seneca: Moral Essays, Loeb (London, 1928), Vol.I. pages 119-121, 'De Ira', I.vi.1. "Quid ergo? Non aliquando castigatio necessaria est? Quidni? Sed haec sine ira, cum ratione;..." Cf. Loeb ed., page 123. "Vir bonus inquit (Plato), non laedit (Repub.i,335D); page 142: "non sine castigatione, sed sine ira"; page 144, "non oportet peccata corrigere peccantem"; cf. p.419 ('De Clementia').

The Complayner refers to Seneca's tragedies (fol. 64v), and quotes from Seneca at folio 134v.

fol. 103r. pausanias sleu philip kyng of macedon

See ed. C.Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dectorum Memorabilium libri novem... (Leipzig, 1888), page 53 lines 19-25: Val Max. Bk.I,Ch.8 (ext.9). (Pausanias Philippi regis interfector). See ed. J.Warrington, Everyman's Classical Dictionary (London, 1961), p.387: Pausanias (1) "Young Macedonian nobleman who assassinated Philip II in 336 B.C. possibly with the connivance of Olympias. According to Aristotle (Pol. 1311.b.) the king had allowed one Attalus and his circle to indulge their unnatural propensities at Pausanias' expense, and the murder was committed as an act of revenge."

fol. 103r. ferrand kyng of spangze

This seems to be a reference to Ferdinand V of Castile and Leon, and II of Aragon ("the Catholic") (1452-1516).

fol. 103v basit quhilk vas fathere to solomanuis the grit that ringis nou presentlye

Soliman the Magnificent (1494-1566) was not the son but the grandson of Bayazid II (1477-1512). Bayazid II reigned from 1481 to 1512, and was succeeded by Selim I (1465-1521) in 1512, and by Selim I's son, Soliman the Magnificent, in 1520. Cf. A.J.Rustum, C.Z.Zurayk, Provisional Readings in the History of the Arabs and Arabic Culture (American University) (Beirut, n.d.), pages 344-355.

fol. 104r in the fyrst beuk of titus liuius

Leyden (pages 182-3) quotes Bellenden's version. The incident follows the account of the incident quoted by the Complainer in folio 74r (Sextus and the 'chesbollis'). The story (told in folio 107v) of Brutus pretending to be 'glaykit' is also in Livy, I. 51.. Cf. Val.Max.VII.3.2.

fol. 104v dinus

According to Plutarch, Alexander.49, he was called "Linus"; According to Diodorus Siculus, Bibl.Hist. 17.19, the name was "Dimnus".

fol. 105r the 108 psalme

The words quoted are a compound of the second half of verse 8, the first half of verse 9 and an 'ad sensum' rendering of verse 28 of psalm 108 (Deus laudem...) (Modern numbering, Psalm 109, verses 7,8,27); 108, 8..."et episcopatum dius accipiat alter. 9. Fiant filii eius orphani.... 28... qui insurgunt in me confundantur" (prefixed as "Etenim occiduntur qui nos perturbant...").

fol. 105v margin Valerius Maximus li.2.ca.6.

This reference should read Valerius Maximus, li.6.ca.2. See ed. C.Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri novem (Leipzig, 1888) page 284, Val.Max. Book VI, Ch.2: Dionysius and the old woman. This incident is mentioned also in the Polychronicon Bk.III, Ch.XXI (Rolls Series, Vol.III, pages 324-5) though the Complayner appears to have gone to Val.Max. Dionysius is also mentioned by the Complayner in the catalogue of tyrants in folio 64v. Robert Wedderburn's brother James Wedderburn apparently wrote a "Historie of Dionysius the Tyranne, in forme of a comedie, which was acted in the play-feild of the said burgh", (Dundee), as Calderwood relates (History, I, 142). Robert Wedderburn was interested in tyrannicide, as Calderwood reports that the passengers returning from the 'Eastern Countries' in 1546 had a debate about Cardinal Beaton. In Poem 367 in the Bannatyne MS, Vol.IV, pages 76-79, ascribed to Wedderburn, we find a catalogue of tyrants (page 78 lines 57 f.) including Dionysius (line 65), paired with 'Philaris' (see fol. 3r.64v).

fol. 106v, 107r.

The stylistic device of repetition is used here. The repetition of "assurance", "assurit" is frequent and deliberate, and is continued, after the examples from Livy and Valerius Maximus, at folio 108r.

fol. 107v

The example of quick-wittedness is found as indicated in Valerius Maximus VII.3.2. (ed.cit.Teubner, page 334). It is also in Livy I.56. The Complayner has both versions in mind as his reference to Lucretia (from Livy) shows. See reference to Lucretia in fol.2v.

fol. 108v sophistic

See F.Quinn, J.de Irlandia: The Meroure of Wyssdome (1490) STS (Edinburgh, 1965) Vol.II, p.172; note on Lib.IV,c.1.82.29. (see

glossary: sophist, sophistaris, sophistic).

fol. 109r Cice, pro font.

Cicero, Pro M. Fonteio Oratio. 24. The beginning of the text is only 'adsensum', and the words at the end of the Complayner's note: "ementiuntur enim sepe in eos quos oderunt", are not in Cicero at that point. Cicero's words are:... "noluerunt ei qui iudicabant hanc patere inimicitiiis viam, quem quisque odisset, ut eum testimonio posset tollere..." See introduction, Cicero and the Complayner's method.

fol. 109r Math. 7 Luce 6

ane grit balk... ane lital strey...

Matthew 7.3: Luke 6.41. Cf. B.J. Whiting, Med. Studies XI (1949), p.134; refers to Rolland: Sevin Seages, p.232 (lines 7562-4), etc.

fol. 109v

The Complayner refers to Persius Sat. IV. 23-24, which runs "ut nemo in sese temptat discendere, nemo/sed precedenti spectatur mantica tergo." Persius however only gives each person one wallet, on his back. The example with two wallets is probably from Phaedrus IV.x. Erasmus (wrongly) ascribes it to Aesop (Nicolas Udall, The Apophthegmes of Erasmus (repr. from 1562-4 edition) Robert Roberts, Strait Bar Gate (Boston, Lincs., 1877) at p.363: "Modestia", and p. 428: "Philautia".) If the Complayner was using Erasmus as an 'aide-mémoire' he would find only a reference to Persius. The example however also occurs in Seneca's 'de Ira', II. xxviii.8 (Loeb ed., p.229): "Aliena vitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt." (The Complayner refers to Seneca in folios 64v, 102v, 134v.) The example also occurs in Catullus, xxii. 21. "suus... cuique attributus est error;/sed non videmus manticae quod in tergo est." See J.W. & A.M. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (London, 1964, page 116.

fol. 109v. Accusare debent... possint.

This quotation is not as the margin suggests, "Cicero de divinatione vera". It is in fact an 'ad sensum' quote from Cicero, Divinatio in Q.Caecilium. 34. (ed. W.Peterson, Cicero, Orationes, VXXX (Oxford, 1917) Vol.III, page 10, lines 34: "Quapropter si tibi indicium postulas dari quod tecum una fecerit, concedo, si id lege permittitur; sin autem de accusatione dicimus, concedas oportet iis qui nullo suo peccato impediuntur quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint."

fol. 110v ze hef flyttyn ande berkit but ryme or rason...

B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies, XIII (1951), p. 117, gives parallels to this usage of "but ryme or rason".

fol. 110v "Variance"

B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies, XIII (1951), p.122: (Sea (2)), quotes "Chaucer's CT IV (E), 995-1001 (Robinson, p.112)" as a parallel: "O stormy people!... lyk the moone ay wexe ye and wane..."

fol. 110v Cicero pro domo sua

Cicero, 'De Domo Sua'.4. in ed. W.Peterson, Cicero, Orationes (Oxford, 1911) Vol.V,: Ad Pontifices: "Itane vero? quod in imperitia multitudine est vitiosissimum varietas et inconstantia et crebra tanquam tempestatum sic sententiarum commutatio, hoc tu ad hos transferas, quos ab inconstantia gravitas, a libidinosa sententia certum et definitum ius religionem, vetustas exemplorum auctoritas litterarum monumentorumque deterret?"

fol. 111r. gravior & validior...

The word "validior" does not appear in Cicero's speeches. This is an 'ad sensum' quote based on 'Pro Cn.Plancio Oratio' (ed. A.C.Clark, Cicero Orationes: Vol.VI (Oxford, 1911), page 9. "Si me dius fidius decem soli essent in ciuitate viri boni sapientes, iusti,

graves, qui te indignum aedilitate iudicavissent gravius de te iudicatum putarem quem est hoc quod tu metuis ne a populo iudicatum esse videatur."

fol. 114v. bestie pro partu suo

Cicero, Questi.Tusc. 5.79. is the reference. See folio 58r/v.

fol. 112v lapis index auri, aurum hominum

This is ascribed to Mimus Publianus (who is credited (fol.100v) also with: "crudelis in re adversa est obiurgatio" which is in fact a quote from Publilius Syrus). This quotation appears to be from Erasmus. It is for example in Adagiorum D. Erasmi Roterodami Ebitome (Amsterdam, 1653), p. 305: "Judicandi recte, secus/ Quod index auro, id aurum homini. In saxeis coticulis aurum exploratur, evidens praebens specimen. In Auro vero proborum pariter & improborum ingenium deprehenditur... Opes ut index hominis ingenium arguunt."

fol. 112v asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum

"Nothing is so cruel as a man raised from lowly station to prosperity," is Claudian's comment on the eunuch Eutropius who became virtual governor in the East on the death of Rufinus in A.D. 395. See ed. M.Platnauer, Claudian, 2 vols. (London, 1922), Vol.I, pages 152-3; "In Eutropium", I, line 181. The works of Claudius Claudianus the "last poet of classical Rome" (c.370.A.D. - c.404 A.D.) were printed at least six times between 1482 and 1534, according to Platnauer (p.xxii), but the Complayner perhaps found the quotation in an anthology or is quoting from memory.

fol. 112v barbarici animi est cum fortuna mutare fidem

This probably refers to the remark Livy makes about Abellux the noble Spaniard of Saguntum: "Loyal hitherto to the Phoenicians - he had now - as barbarians are for the most part prone to do - altered his allegiance with the alteration in their fortune:"

(Livy, 22.22.7): Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis: tum, qualia plerunque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem." (ed. B.O.Foster, Livy, Loeb (London, 1963), Vol. V, pages 272-3). There is a similar thought in Livy, 28.17.6.: "Cum Carthaginiensibus erat, quod haud gravius sanctiusque quam uolgo barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides, ratus fore, oratorem ad eum C." P.Velleius Paterculus also refers approvingly to a Roman taken prisoner in the disaster to the army of Crassus: "qui cum fortuna non animum mutasset." (Vell.2.82.2.), ed. F.W.Shipley, Velleius Paterculus: Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Loeb, (London, 1924), pages 224-5.

fol. 113r quhy that burges ayris thryuis nocht to the thrid ayr

Maister Johne tells how a king summons the three estates; and asks the burgessees why merchant princes' wealth is squandered before the third generation; he asks the Lords why they are perpetually feuding; he asks the clergy why they "warie" (p.11, line 161). See ed. T.D.Robb, The Thre Prestis of Peblis STS (Edinburgh, 1920), pages 6,7 line 94: "Quhy Burges beirns thryues not to the thrid air..." Robb says (p.xxiv) that "the fate of the 'tertiusheres' is the theme of many an ancient proverb, and this Scottish version is probably one of the many adaptations of the Latin "sentences" that formed the staple texts of the pulpit oratory of early times." The Complainer, by asking one question which he applies not only to the burgessees, is also by implication asking the other two questions. On the currency of this proverbial saying, see, B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies XI (1949), 144-5. Lindsay (Works, II, 365, lines 4086-7, Satyre) has "Dissait" predict that prosperity will not go "Farther nor the fourth air." Cf. Donald Macdonald, "Henryson and 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis'", Neophilologus, 51,2 (1967), 168-177.

fol. 114r/v fol. 115r that goldin varld is past... ane yrn varld

See introduction. The mention of the 'goldin varld' in folio 114r and again in 115r where the World-Upside-Down topos is introduced, are references which tap the whole tradition of the topos of the Golden Age, and the myth of the ages of man, and the

whole background of historiography we have discussed in the introduction, in connection with the "translatio imperii" topos and the Day of Judgment, and Nebuchadnezzar's dream.

See W. Veit, "Toposforschung", Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift XXXVII (1963), 120-163, espec. 152-155, where Veit summarizes his thesis "Studien zur Geschichte des Topos der Goldenen Zeit von der Antike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," (Cologne, 1961). See Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953) page 169. See Lindsay, Works, I, 310-311 (lines 3724-3733 of the Monarchie); I, 324 (lines 4224 f, Monarchie). See G. Hignet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954) page 142. See ed. R. V. G. Tasker, Saint Augustine: The City of God (London, 1945), Vol. II, page 417: J. L. Vives, Commentary, III, 10: "Hesiod in his Opera et Dies feigneth five ages of mortality. This did Virgil, Ovid and others imitate. The first age is the 'golden' one, and they say was under Saturn, without wars or will to wars. Humanity was locked in unity, neither were men contentious or clamorous, These were called Saturnian days. The next age was called 'silver' under Jove. Then war began to bustle; so did her daughters, care, hate and deceit. The third, 'brazen', when war hurls all upon heaps, and quaffeth lives and blood. The fourth, of the 'half-gods', 'heroes', who thought they loved justice yet their bosoms harboured an eager thirst of wars. The fifth, 'iron', where mischief goeth beyond bound and limit, and all miseries breaking their prisons assault men's fortunes. Open deceit, open hate, open wars, slaughters, vastations, burnings, rapes and rapines, are all open, violent, and common." Cf. John MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), 38-9.

fol. 115r policie

Cf. Lindsay, Works, I, 30: in the Dreme (line 848), Dame Remembrance is asked: "Than quharein lvis our Inprosperitie?" and she replies (lines 860-1):

"Wanting of Iustice, polycie, and peace,
Ar cause of thir vnhappynes, allace..."

fol. 115r electuars to prouoke the pepil til ane disordinat appetit

The Complayner is thinking of an electuary as some sort of

aperitif or aphrodisiac, for, his electuaries are "confekkit drynkis" containing "spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis & succur". See the concoction described by J.M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry (New York, 1920), pages 27-8. An electuary is usually a medicinal preparation sweetened with honey which, being like a conserve or paste, is licked off a spoon (cf. Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology: "probably connected with the Greek word meaning 'to lick up'"). The reference to luxurious living, together with later references, such as that to the expensive outlay on dogs, of which Lindsay also complains, contradict J.M. Smith's statement (The French Background..., page 146) : "Chartier stresses the shameful luxury of his countrymen; this is entirely omitted from the Complaynt. There was little opportunity for soft living in the Scotland of those days." See Lindsay, Works, III, pages 111-112. See later folios 123r f.

fol. 115v butin and spulze

The Complayner as earlier (boreaus and hangmen) likes the device of using 'synonyms' together. Perhaps he is hoping to enrich the vernacular by having both words adopted, however, English has accepted 'booty' as a "synonym" for 'spoil', though 'butin' lasted till the 18th century (Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, "booty".)

folios 115v - 122v True Nobility

After discussing the origins of nobility, and marks of distinction as rewards for valour, the Complayner discusses the common topic of True Nobility. The Complayner understands aristocracy as meritocracy, an idea shared with John Major and found already in Classical Antiquity. Juvenal in Satire 8, lines 19-20 says: "Although your hall is lined on every side with ancient portraits, the only badge of noble rank is virtue"; "nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus". (G.Highet, Juvenal the Satirist, (Oxford, 1954), 113-116, 272). Valerius Maximus, a favourite author of Chartier and the Complayner also has much to say on the subject. (Cf. ed. C.Kempf, Valerii Maximi Factorum et

Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem (Leipzig, 1888), page 138 f.

(Val. Max. III,V); See folio 116v marginal reference.

In the Middle Ages the idea was much discussed. See E.R.Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, (New York, 1953), page 179. As Huizinga indicates, (The Waning of the Middle Ages (Hammondsworth, 1965) page 63), the reason for these "admonitions on the subject of true nobility and human equality generally lies in the stimulus they impart to the nobles to adapt themselves to the true ideal of knighthood and thereby to support and purify the world." On the purifying role of chivalry the literature is vast. (See for example the debate on "The Chivalric System of the Virtues" to which Curtius' contribution is at Excursus XVIII, pages 519-537 in European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.) See too F.N.M.Diekstra, A Dialogue Between Reason and Adversity: A Late M.E. version of Petrarch's 'De Remediis' edited from MS.I.VI.39. of Univ.Lib. Cambridge. (Assen, 1968); pages 46, ("There is no kyng but he kam of seruantes": Seneca Ep.Mor.44.4); and pages 56, 57; references to Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Bk.XIX (which is more about 'goodness', and, chapter xxv, about virtue only being possible with true religion); St. Thomas, Summa Contra Gentiles, III.1.; Platina, De Vera Nobilitate; Bonacorso da Montemagno, De Nobilitate; St. John Chrysostom, Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, IX.7. See John Major (History, pages 397-400). See Bellenden, Chronicles, I, 17-18; (quoting Seneca).

fol. 115v. 'nobilis and gentilmen'

The reference suggests, as Leyden notes (pages 203-8) (Chartier's Porteous of Noblenes. Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots (Edinburgh, 1902) prints (p.70 f) the relevant part (cf. Asloan MS; cf. fragment in Chepman and Myllar Prints, repr. in Makculloch and Gray MSS (STS) and facsimile by W.Beattie, Edin. Biblio. Soc., 1950. see Bibliography). The 'breviary' requires twelve virtues without which a person is not noble. See Nat. Lib. MS. 1513; Symphorien Champier, 1535-40, "Le Fondement et Origine des Tiltres de Noblesse" (fol.1) and "Le Dyalogue de Noblesse" (fol. 82).

fol. 116r. ane alman

On the customs of the ancient Germans we have Tacitus Germania

ch. 31 about the Chatti, and Paulus Diaconus too mentions initiation ceremonies. See William Dudley Foulke, History of the Langobards by Paul the Deacon (Philadelphia, 1907); Bk.III.7; IV.38; VI.53.) e.g. (p.100)... "six thousand of the Saxons who survived the war made a vow that they would cut neither beard nor hair until they avenged themselves upon their Suabian enemies..."; (p.187) "he whose beard is shaved and whose hair is cut has arrived at the state of manhood"; "About these times Charles the ruler of the Franks dispatched his son Pipin to Liutprand that the latter should take his hair according to custom. And the king, cutting his hair, became a father to him and sent him back to his father enriched with many royal gifts." (p.296).

fol. 116v. Valerius Maximus Lib.3 ca.5.

ed. C.Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem (Leipzig, 1888) page 138; (Val. Max. III.V.1.), but in fact the Complainer took the hint from Chartier, Quadrilogue (ed. Droz) page 60, lines 17-21: "comme firent les Scipions a Rome quant ilz osterent a l'un des hoirs de Scipion l'Auffricain l'anel qu'il portoit, ou estoit empraint l'imaige du vailant Scipion pour ce qu'il ne faisoit pas les oeuvres de cellui dont il portoit si noble ensaigne.": "insuperque e manu eius anulum, in quo caput Africani sculptum erat, detraxerunt." (Val. Max. ed. cit., p. 139).

fol. 117r (118r) Orders of Knighthood

the empriour makkis the ordur of knyghted of the fleise, the kyng of France makkis the ordour of the cokkil the kyng of ingland makkis the ordour of knyghthede of the gartan

That these orders were used by rulers, as nowadays, as diplomatic weapons, is clear. See Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: James V to James VI (Edinburgh, 1965), page 24 f.: "Charles conferred on James V the order of the Golden Fleece (May 1532) and - so at least James claimed - promised to recognise him as heir presumptive to England." Henry conferred the Garter on James (February 1534/5).

Francis sent James the Collar of St. Michael (April, 1536).
Sir David Lindsay had the unenviable task of handing back the
insignia.

The Order of the Golden Fleece

The Order was founded 1429/1430 in Bruges by Philip the Good,
Duke of Burgundy on his marriage with the Infanta Isabella of
Portugal. The badge was a golden sheepskin with head and feet
attached, and the motto was "Pretium laborum non vile". The Fleece
represented not only the Vellus Jasonis, but also the fleece of
Gideon, one of the symbols of the Annunciation. Guillaume Filastre
pointed out that the Bible referred to four more fleeces (Genesis
30. 32; 2 Kings 3; Job 31.20; Ps. 71.6.) associated with Jacob, King
Mesay of Moab, Job and David. On the "religion" of the Fleece, see
J.Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1965)
pages 84-86. N.F.Blake, Caxton and his World (London, 1969) prints
as a frontispiece, a plate from MS.J.187, folio 129, Camb.
Fitzwilliam Museum, depicting Charles the Bold presiding over a
Chapter of the Golden Fleece, in 1473.

The Order of the Cockle

This is the Order of St. Michael, so called because of the
cockle-shells with which the collar was adorned.

The order of the Garter

The order of the Garter is supposed to have been instituted by
Edward III, about 1348.

Cf. ed. A.T.Byles, Caxton's Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye EETS
OS 189 (London, 1932); ed. J.Stevenson, Gilbert of the Haye's Prose
MS (1456) 2 vols. STS (Edinburgh, 1899-1909)

fol. 117v Valerius Maximus in the cheptor of tryumphe

The Complayner refers to Valerius Maximus II.7.8., (ed. C.Kempf

Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilia libri novem,
(Leipzig, 1888) but his reference to the "ornamenta", the palm of gold, the "croune of laure tre" and the "tropheum", suggests that he has in mind some more elaborate account, Isidore, Bk.18, Ch.22, or the account by Jehan de Tuim in the French version of Lucan, (ed. F.Settegast, Li Hystore de Julius Cesar (Halle, 1881), pages 8 ff, 244 ff.), and Livy, 10.7.9. and 30. 15. 11.

fol. 118v. tarsites

The remark about Thersites is probably from Juvenal 8.269. The Complayner may have of course obtained it, as he says, from Petrarch, secondhand, or from some collection. The example is, however, common in Scots literature. It is mentioned by John Major (History, p.400) in a passage on Nobility, from the Fourteenth Question of the Twenty-Fourth Distinction of the In Quartum Sententiarum. It is also in Bellenden (Chronicles, II, 405) in the "Ballat", headed, "The Translator sayis to his Buke":

"Better is to be, sais Juuenale the poete,
Tersites sone havand Achilles spreit
With manly forss his purpos to fulfill
Than to be lord of euery land and streit,
And syne mayst coward, cumin of Achill".

It is also in the Mar Lodge Translation (page 29) with only orthographic differences.

fol. 118v, 119r. Iphicrates (c 415-353 B.C.)

Iphicrates the famous Athenian general was the son of a shoemaker but he was never king. In Pseudo-Plutarch, VII.272, "Pro Nobilitate" we have the words: "Meum genus a me initium sumit, tuum autem in te finit." (Hermodius is more usually Harmodius.)

fol. 120r nobilitas sola est animus que moribus ornat

Juvenal Sat. VIII.20: "Nobilitas sola est et unica virtus". See note on fol. 115v. on True Nobility. See G.Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954), pages 113-6:.

fol. 120r quid...Non census nec clarum nomen aurorum / Sed probitas
magnum ingeniumque facit

This quotation is from Ovid, "Ex Ponto" I,9.39.:

"Si modo non census nec clarum nomen aurorum

Sed probitas magnum ingeniumque facit."

See ed. S.G.Owen, Ovid: Epistulae ex Ponto (Oxford, 1915), E.P.I.9.39.

fol. 120r Boetius de consolatione philosophiae, li.3.

The quotation is in Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae, III, pr.6.: "Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit ab ortu unus enim rerum pater est, unus cuncta ministrat."

fol. 120r/v sycond cheptour of genesis, Formavit igitur hominem
de limo terre

Genesis 2. 7.: "Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae..."

fol. 120v quid superbis terra et cinis

Ecclesiasticus 10.9.: Quid superbit terra et cinis? What has man to be so proud of? he is only dust and ashes.

fol. 120v the 18 cheptour of genesis, loquar ad dominum cum sim
pulis & cinis

Genesis, 18.27. May I presume to speak to the Lord, dust and ashes that I am?

fol. 120v in the 17 cheptour of ecclesiasticus. Omnes homines terra
et cinis, al men ar eird ande else.

Ecclesiasticus 17.31. (New Eng. Bible; Ecclesiasticus 17.32)
"The Lord marshals the armies of high heaven, but all men are dust and ashes."

fol. 120v there peregrinations of this mortal lyif

See introduction, Pilgrimage of Life topos. See folio 133v.
Cf. John MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), p.63.

fol. 121r Cyrus defeated Croesus.

Cyrus defeated Croesus king of Lydia (who reigned c.560-546 B.C.) in 546 B.C.; but spared Croesus. Cyrus was killed in 529 B.C. and Tomyris decapitated the bloodthirsty 'overreacher'. (see folio 64v).

fol. 122r

The two quotations from Sapien 7 are verses 1 and 5.

fol. 122v ve sal carye no thing furtht of this varld bot the
coulpe of our synnis, or the meritis of our vertu

As Blayney remarks, the preceding lines seem to come from Job, I, 21, (Blayney, p. clxxvi, fn. 1) but I do not think he required a reminder from Chartier's 'Esperance' (see Blayney, I, 69/26-70/1: see appendix on Chartier). The continuation above seems to be a statement that we require justification by works as well as by faith. The Complainer prefers, as we have seen, Ecclesiasticus. Ecclesiasticus 16, 15, for example says: "unicuique secundum meritum operum suorum, et secundum intellectum peregrinationis ipsius."

fol. 123r mortui sunt nobiles, & innobiles sunt filij eorum

Cf. Job 14. 21. Sive nobiles fuerint filii eius Sive ignobiles non intelliget.

fol. 123r the nyctis ar ouer schort to gentil men to commit there
libideneus lust and the dayis ar ouer schort to them to
commit extorsions on the pure pepil

This is parallel to a sentence in Chartier's 'Esperance' "Les nuits leur ont este trop courtes pour leurs desuergondees plaisances, & les iours trops briefs pour dormir es liz sans exploit prouffitabile."

See M.S.Blayne, p.clxxvi.fn.2.

fol. 123r prodig expensis that thai mak on horse and doggis

The cost of keeping dogs is mentioned by Lindsay, in Bagsche, see Hamer's note (Lindsay, Works, III, pages 111-112.) Hamer quotes Comp.Thes. V.439., showing that from 1531, the King's 'Doggis' had a special section in the accounts; after 1543 the items disappear but reappear in 1543. See too W.Murison, Sir David Lyndsay: Poet and Satirist of the Old Church in Scotland (Cambridge, 1938). See folio 115r referring to "electuars".

folios 123r/v The stories of Diomedes and Actaeon applied figuratively to Scotland

The horses eat up the food so that there is none left for people; and the people are 'going to the dogs'. The Complayner mentions Actaeon in (tale No.39) in folio 51r.

folios 124v, 125r malachias...labia enim sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam, & legem requirent ex ore eius, quia angelus domini exercituum est

"For men hang upon the words of the priest and seek knowledge and instruction from him, because he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts". Malachi 2.7. (New English Bible version). The form 'custodient' is more usual than the Complayner's 'custodiunt'.

fol. 125v sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, vt videant opera vestra bona ...

Matthew 5. 16: the parallels are Mark 4.21; Luke 8.16; Luke 11.33.

fol. 126r Hermes

See fol. 14r. 'lang-taillit' words.

fol. 126r Fable of the "partan"

The fable of the crab is from the Fables of Avian, and not from Plutarch. See Avianus, "De Cancro et Matre Eius" in ed. J.W. & A.M.Duff, Minor Latin Poets, Loeb, (London, 1935), pages 686-7.

fol. 126v ane reul of the lau

The Complayner defends himself by "irrefutable appeal, first to natural law, secondly to moral law and thirdly to civil and canon law, the three systems on which human society is built." (J.MacQueen, Robert Henryson (Oxford, 1967) page 132, referring to the 'Lamb'.) See fol. 129v.

Civil Law (Canon Law is quoted, folio 130r)

The Corpus Iuris Civilis comprises: a) The Digest or Pandects; b) The Institutes; c) The New Codex; d) Novels.

The Digest or Pandects of Justinian is a compendium comprising 50 books arranged by subject-matter, and divided into numerous "titles". Each "title" contains numerous "fragments" (fr.), called by medieval jurists "leges". The Digest used to be referred to as "ff.", which, as Professor A.H.Campbell suggests, may have been a scribe's variant of a 'barred letter d' (d[†]), or, alternatively, as Calasso suggests, the "ff." may be a corruption of a Greek Π, for Pandecta (Francesco Calasso, Medio Evo del Diritto (Milan, 1954), page 544).

Similarly the Codex comprised twelve books, divided into "titles" and "fragments" (sometimes known as "constitutions"). The Codex was abbreviated to C in references.

The old way of citation, used by the Glossators and Commentators was simply by 'rubric' of "title" and the opening word of the "lex". They knew the Corpus well enough to be able to place any title.

The modern way of citation is by number of book, title, and fragment or paragraph: e.g. Inst.I,iii,3; Dig. (or'D').IX,2.7.1; C.I,xviii,12: the Novels are cited by number e.g. Nov.118.

fol. 126v ..L.cum furti ff de condi.furti.the quhilk reul sais
comparatiuus presupponit posituum

The "title" de condi.furti ("de condictione furtiva") does exist at 13,1; but there is no "rule" there "cum furti". On the other hand we find at 12.3.9.: "L.cum furti agitur. ff. de in litem iurandi" where the gloss gives the explanation "id est condictio furtiva" which the Complainer has somehow apparently taken for the "title". The text Cum furti agitur explains that if you are suing in an action for theft, and have to value the thing stolen, the appropriate way of swearing to the value of the thing stolen, is to express the value at the time the theft was committed, and it is not appropriate to add the words "or more", because, if the article was worth "more", the extra should be incorporated in it. This is a commonplace. The greater always includes the lesser.

For the above explanation (excluding any error) I am indebted to Professor P.G.Stein. For elucidation of points about Civil Law I am also indebted to Professor A.H.Campbell. (Cf. fol. 145r). See D.M.Walker, The Scottish Legal System, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1963), espec. pages 35-105 ("The Scottish Legal Tradition"); pages 111-121 ("Civil or Roman Law"); pages 121-3 ("Canon Law"). I also consulted Stephen Daoy, Iuris Civilis Index, 1618; X.Ochoa, A.Diez, Indices Corporis Iuris Civilis (Rome, 1965); Krueger, Mommsen, Schoel, Corpus Iuris Civilis, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1904-6). See folio 145v.

fol. 127r Extortions of the Clergy

There were even five forms of funeral dues, which were among the hardships classed as 'Extortions'. These five dues were : munera pro exequiis (donation for funeral offices); oblagia (gifts of bread, wine and other produce); iudicium anime (Legacy left to the Church other than the parish church chosen for burial); mortuaria or mortilogia (articles used at the funeral such as candles, funeral cloth, a noble's horse with his arms, which fall to the church); remedium (the "kirkryt"). The remedium might be the deathbed, the best animal, or a fixed percentage of the dead man's dues. The remedium seems to have originated as a recompense for a lifetime's dues left unpaid. Of these dues the parish priest is entitled to his canonical portion if the deceased is buried elsewhere. See

John C. Barry, "William Hay of Aberdeen: A Sixteenth Century Scottish Theologian and Canonist", Innes Review 2 (1951), 82-99, espec. p.95, fn.47. See too, the poor man's plea to Divine Correction in the case of the widow's three cows, in Lindsay's Three Estates. See D. Patrick, Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559 (Edinburgh, 1907), page 178.

fol. 127r

The image of pouring oil on a fire is also found in Chartier's Traite de l'Esperance. See appendix on Chartier.

fol. 127v hydra

The tale of Hercules' second labour is also the subject of tale No. 14. in folio 50v.

fol. 129r felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum

This is a common quotation. See Henryson, "The Trial of the Fox", line 1033, (ed. H.H. Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson (Edinburgh, London, 1958) page 38, and note, p. 239. Adam Abell, "The Roit or Quheil of Tyme" (Nat. Lib. MS. 1746; DOST transcription), folio 1a.: "eftir the sentence of the poeit Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum He is happy that the fate of wthir men makis wis or were..." This idea is expressed too by Publilius Syrus, sententia No. 177: "Ex vitio alterius sapiens emendat suum." (edd. J.W. & A.M. Duff, Minor Latin Poets, Loeb (London, 1935), pages 38-9); see also Columbanus, line 19: "Felix alterius cui sunt documenta flagella" (Minor Latin Poets, pages 630-1.); see also "Collectio Monostichorum", (Minor Latin Poets, pages 626-7, line 38): "Quid cautus caveas aliena exempla docebunt": Caution and care you'll learn from others' case.'

fol. 129r my lord gouvernour

James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, was chosen Governor 22nd December, 1542, was declared 'tutor lawful to the Queen's Grace, and Governor of this realm, by the Three Estates of Parliament at Edinburgh, on the 13th March, 1542/3. He resigned the office on

12th April, 1554. (Dunbar, Scot. Kings, 247, 250.), though as we have seen, (historical introduction) Mary of Lorraine was 'de facto' Regent from about 1544. By putting the military role on Hamilton's shoulders, the Complainer is giving him the burden of the blame for Pinkie.

fol. 129r in duobus malis fugiendum maius, leuius est elegendum

See folio 81r. *This* is from Pseudo-Cicero, Ep.ad Octavianum 8.

fol. 129v f. Canon Law

The Complainer by appealing to "goddis lau, the lau of natur, positie lau, ciuil and cannon lau" (fol. 129v) , as we have seen (fol. 126v note), is appealing to the systems on which human society is built.

The Corpus Iuris Canonici comprises: a) the Decretum of Gratian (Decretum) (1148); b) Decretals of Gregory IX (Decretales Extravagantes) (meaning 'extra Decretum vagantes') (1234); c) Sext of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) (Liber Sextus) (1298); d) The Clementines of Clement V (1305-1314) (Clementinae (1314)); e) Extravagants of John XXII (1316-1334), (Extravagantes: meaning extra Collectiones publicas); f) Extravagants Common (Extravagantes Communes) (of several Popes down to Sixtus IV) (1484).

Apparently the Corpus Iuris Canonici was given its name after Gregory XIII's Bull "Cum pro munere" (1st July 1580). After the Council of Trent, pontifical constitutions continued to appear. A revised Codex Iuris Canonici was promulgated by Benedict XV in 1917. See ed. E.Friedberg, Corpus Iuris Canonici, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879-1881). See E.R.Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953), p.256. See folio 126v note.

fol. 130 Quotations from Canon Law

As they are not direct simple quotations I am indebted to Monsignor J.C.Barry for tracing them, and giving interesting independent confirmation of our speculations about the Complainer's methods.

1. "in the xxiii distinctione in the feyrd questione in the cheptour Si non as eftir follouis sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit bellare: sic & modernis, dummodo non bellent desiderio fundenti sanguinem: sed rem publicam ampliando"
 Decreti Secunda Pars, Causa XXIII, Quaest. IV, c.49 = C.xxiii, q.4, c.49. The words 'sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit' are quoted ad. lit., the rest ad sensum. Monsignor Barry comments: "Nowhere have I found literal quotations. I therefore surmise that the author is either quoting from memory, or more likely, quoting the sense of the passage, as so often happened in those days. This is in some sense confirmed by the fact that he quotes from Distinction xxiii, which is in Part I of the Decretum of Gratian, whereas in fact all his material is taken from Part II, namely from Causa xxiii."

fol. 130r

2. "in the xxiii distinctione in the vii questione, as eftir follouis, Saraceni bellantes contra cristianos, iuste a cristianis impugnantur."
 In fact = C xxiii, q.8, c.7 ad sens. and c.11.
3. "in the xxiii distinctione in the fyifte question, bella sumpta contra excommunicatos & infideles Meritoria sunt"
 "Many passages in C.xxiii, q.5 mention the meritoriousness of fighting against evil men. Chapters 42-47 deal explicitly with excommunicated persons, "sacrilegi", and schismatics (though I don't think with heretics), notably 44, 46 and 47."
4. "in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione callit an episcopo liceat ad bellum proficisci sine licentia pape"
 "There is evidently a development (or at least a divergence) of doctrine in C.xxiii, q.8. Clerics are flatly refused leave to fight in cc.4-6, and bishops in c.19 and c.20. However Gratian (dictum post c.20) explains how Pope Leo IV said he proceeded against the Saracens (c.7). Later chapters expressly demand that a bishop have the Pope's permission (c.26) and priests that of their bishop (27-28). This is explained 'tant bien que mal' by Gratian in his dictum after

after c.28. Hence c.26 is the reference, though the inference drawn (by the Complayner) seems unwarranted."

fol. 130v Fighting priests

The Complayner's concern, as shown above, in quotation 4., is, as we mention in the historical introduction of interest in connection with Pinkie and also with the fact that Robert Wedderburn, as Chamberlain to a military and religious order, obviously subscribed, despite his 'cure of souls' as Vicar, to the idea that in the case of a 'Just War' (see folio 146v), especially against virtual Saracens like the English, that even priests are justified in fighting. See St. Thomas Aquinas, II,ii,q.40. In Q.40, Art.2 which discusses this question whether it is lawful for clerics and bishops to fight, we have in Obj.4: "Further, whatever is right and meritorious in itself, is lawful for prelates and clerics. Now it is sometimes right and meritorious to make war, for it is written (XXIII,Q.cau.Omni timore) that if a man die for the true faith, or to save his country, or in defence of Christians, God will give him a heavenly reward. Therefore it is lawful for bishops and clerics to fight." In the Objections, St. Thomas Aquinas says it is unlawful for clerics to be combatants because they are "bound to a yet greater good" than merely waging a meritorious just war. This question was obviously of concern to Crusaders, and there was a gap between theory and practice. See James A.Brundage, Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader (Madison, London, 1969) especially p.28,fn.99. (Brundage refers to specialised article: Ferminio Poggiaspalla, "La chiesa e la partecipazione conciliare fino alla Decretali di Gregorio IX", Ephemerides iuris canonici 15 (1959), 140-153.). See St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica 22 vols. (London, 1917), vol.9, page 503 f. Cf. J.Tooke, The Just War in Aquinas and Grotius (London, 1965).

fol. 130v, 131v

See appendix on Chartier. As M.S.Blayney indicates there is a parallel passage in Chartier's 'Traite de l'Espérance'.

fol. 131v Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur

Matthew 12.25 is paralleled by Mark 3, 24 and by Luke 11,17.

The Complayner has quoted 'ad sensum'. Matthew reads "divisum contra se", Mark has "si... in se dividatur", Luke has "in seipsum divisum".

fol. 131v Justin

The Complayner is not quoting from Justin, Bk.I. I have not found the source of the list, but various types of war are listed, e.g. by Isidore and St. Augustine. See ed. G.E.McCracken, St. Augustine: De Civ. Dei Loeb (London, 1957) Vol.I,p.370: De Civ. Dei, 3.23 and 3.26: "bella socialia, bella servilia, bella civilia", and later (p.378) "seditiones, socialia bella, bellum servile, bella civilia, bella piratarum." See ed. W.M.Lindsay, Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX (Oxford, 1910). Isidore (Lib.18.1.5.) distinguishes: "bella itaque dicuntur interna, externa, servilia, socialia, piratica..."

The use of the word "asephales" would indicate a later source. The word is used in Classical Latin in metrical contexts. In 'Middle' Latin it appears to have been restricted to meaning 'heretical'. (See O.Prinz, J.Schneider, Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch, (Munich, 1967), Vol.I,A-B.). The word is listed in the meaning "leaderless" in ed. R.E.Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources (Oxford, 1965).

The Complayner refers to Justin also in folios 62r, 64v., and relates the story of Sardanapalus (Justin, Lib.I,ch.iii) and Tomyris (Justin, Lib.I,ch.viii).

John Major also uses the adjective "acephalus", referring to a leaderless army: "Epaminundas exercitum sine duce cernens video (inquit) bellum sine capite, sic sine tuo numine & auspicio nostra haec tentilla editio investis & acephala exiret in proscenium". (Preface "In Matthaum", 1518; History, 435-436.)

fol. 132 v duc of saxon and the langraue of hasse...

See note to folio 6r. See E.W. Zeeden, Deutsche Kultur in der frühen Neuzeit (Frankfurt, 1968) for illustrations of these two worthies; and K.Kaczorowsky, Flugschriften des Bauernkrieges

(Reinbek, 1970), for the eye-witness accounts by Kessler (pages 215-256).

fol. 132v the comontis of ingland the zeir of 1533 zenis

Cf. ed C.H.Williams, English Historical Documents Vol.V., 1485-1558 (London, 1967) especially pages 223-386; "The Theory of the Commonweal", including an extract from "A Supplication of the Poore Commons, 1546", (pages 276-292), cf. bibliography, pages 230-248. Cf. A.Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions (London, 1968).

fol. 133r "i hef sene nyne or ten thousand gadyr to giddir vitht out ony commissione of the kynris letteris"

The musters at the royal command are gatherings such as that mentioned by T.I.Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603 (Edinburgh, 1966), page 262, item No. 17.: July 1530, "a muster for James V, of groups from: Edinburgh, Linlithgow, the sheriffdoms and constabulary of Haddington; Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, sheriffdoms (i.e. East and Middle Marches); Stirling, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton sheriffdoms; Fife, Forfar, Kinross, Clackmannan (Perth) and the stewartries of Strathearn and Menteith; and part of the North-East sheriffdoms; were all summoned to meet at Peebles and Dumfries on 26th June, 1530 for 40 days. (Rae gives 8,000 to 12,000 men as the number.) Thieves and pledges were taken. John Armstrong of Gilnockie was hanged with 36 others; six pledges were taken who were later executed." This is the event mentioned in the note above, to folio 52v, dance No. 108.

The illegal gathering described by the Complayner is identified by M.P.McDiarmid with the Raid of Jedwood Forest, described in Drummond of Hawthornden's History of Scotland (1655), pages 171-4. (M.P.McDiarmid, in Notes & Queries (1959), p.254.) As the Complayner's 'first laubir of the pen' is c.1550, an event a decade later than 1520 would seem more likely.

fol. 133v. heraclites and democrites

The Complayner, as his quotation in folio 134v shows, has

consulted the story of the two philosophers as told by Seneca in his De Ira, II,x,5. See ed. J.W.Basore Seneca: Moral Essays, Loeb, (London, 1928), Vol.I,p.187. See too Juvenal, Satire X.28.

On Democritus of Abdera (c.460-357 B.C.), see, Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, (London, 1966), pages 335-340. He was nicknamed the 'laughing' philosopher because he derided human activity, folly and vanity.

Heraclitus was born at Ephesus c.540 B.C. and died c.475 B.C. He held true wisdom to be the perception of the activity of Logos or Order. See B.Fuller, History of Greek Philosophy (London, 1923), pp. 118 ff.

Seneca mentions Heraclitus and Democritus and their attitudes and concludes "Where in all this is there room for anger. Everything gives cause for either laughter or tears."

fol. 133v the schort peregrinatione of this miserabil lyif

'Pilgrimage of Life' topos. See folio 120v.

fol. 134r M.Antonio phiremo fregoso

See introduction: Fregoso.

The lines quoted are by Bartolomeo Simonetta, a Milanese friend of Antonio Phileremo (or Filaremo) Fregoso. Simonetta provided the lines as an epigram printed below the frontispiece picture of the two philosophers in Fregoso's "Riso di Democrati e pianto d'Eraclite", published first about 1506, by Peter Martyr in Milan; then in Venice by Rusconi in 1511, 1514; in Milan by Zanotto da Castione and by Andrea de Brachis in 1515; in Venice again, by Rusconi, 1517, 1522; in Venice by Alesandro and Benedetto Bindoni, 1520; in Venice by Zoppino, in 1528; in Venice, by Bindoni again, in 1542. (For these details I am indebted to the Director of the Centro Nazionale di Informazioni Bibliografiche of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II (Pos. 11B.Prot.N.5238 of 25.9.64). Cf. Enciclopedia Italiana (Milan, 1932) Vol. 16,p.55: According to this, Antoniotto Fregoso was the son of Spinetta II Campofregoso of Genoa, who joined the Sforza court about 1464. In 1473 he settled near Pavia. He was made a 'cavaliere' in 1478, but after 1500 retired to

a villa in Colturano where because of his love of solitude he received the nickname 'Fileremo', and he lived there till his death in 1532.

Seneca:

fol. 134v "Aut ridenda omnia aut flenda sunt."

Seneca 'De Ira', II.x.5. See ed. J.W. Basore, Seneca: Moral Essays, (Loeb (London, 1928) Vol. I, p. 187. See note above to fol. 133v on Heraclitus and Democritus.

fol. 134v vanite

See introduction: 'Vanitas', 'Fragilitas Mundi' topos. This is connected with the theme of pilgrimage and estrangements, and the Day of Judgment, and thus with the whole historiography implied by the Complayner. Contempt for worldly honours, and the appeal to Ecclesiastes 2, 1-11 reinforces this.

fol. 134v ze suld be solist to ken zour selfis

It is as if the Complayner had decided suddenly to enrich his text with a few proverbial sayings. He begins with this one, which is the Greek saying inscribed over the temple of Apollo at Delphos (gnothi seauton) and attributed to one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, usually Thales, or to Chilon. It is taken up by Cicero (Tusc. Disp. I, 22, 52: "Nosce te ipsum", and is best known in English in Pope's formulation in the Essay on Man (Epistle, ii, 1-2):

"Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of mankind is man."

fol. 135r Vincentius

Vincentius Lerinensis (fl. c. 434) of the monastery of Lerins wrote the Commonitorium. This 'Aid to Memory' is intended as a guide "tyl al them that desiris to lyue verteouslye indurand the schort tyme of this oure fragil peregrinatione", like the "nyxt verkis that i intend to set furth", as the Complayner says (fol. 15v). The Commonitorium was first printed about 1528 and the first translation into Scots was published in 1563 in Antwerp. Ninian Winzet, who had

been a teacher in the grammar school of Linlithgow for the decade from 1551/2, and also provost of St. Michael's there, translated "Vincentius Lerinensis of the Natioun of Gallis for the Antiquitie and Verities of the Catholik Fayth aganis the Prophane Nouationis of al haereiseis". See ed. J.K.Hewison, Ninian Winzet, Certain Tractates together with the Book of Four Score Three Questions and a Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis 2 vols. STS (Edinburgh, 1888, 1890), Vol.II.

The Commonitorium or Peregrini aduersum haereticos as Gennadius calls it, recalls the theme of the 'peregrinatione' or pilgrimage of life, the idea of being a traveller, a wanderer, a stranger, an alien, in this world. It also has associations of a monk or recluse withdrawing to seek salvation.

The deliberate reference to Vincentius for a rather trivial proverbial saying needing no ascription, indicates, it would seem, the Complayner's search for a pretext to mention Vincentius. This also reinforces the references to "the schort peregrinatione of this miserabil lyif" in folio 133v.

Cf. R.S.Moxon, The Commonitorium of Vincentius of Lerins, (Cambridge, 1915); N.K.Chadwick, Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul (London, 1955); B.Altaner, Patrology (Edinburgh, 1960).

fol. 135r quanto gradus altior, tanto casus gravior

I have not found this in Vincentius, but there are two similar quotations, at least, in the Patrologia Latina: Petr, Chysol. (Migne, P.L. 52, col 273 c): "quanto altius ascendit homo, lapsus tanto altius cadet"; and Hieron. reg. monarch. 15 (Migne, P.L. 30, col 417 c): "quanto altior est ascensus tanto durior descensus". It is so 'axiomatic' and common that it is surprising that the Complayner specifically attributes the saying, unless to draw attention to the truth, based on "oecumenicity, antiquity and general consent", expounded by Vincentius. Cf. B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies, XI (1949), p. 188 ("High (2)") for parallels, e.g. Pitscottie, Historie, I, 392, 7-9.

See Seneca, 'De Brevitate Vitae; 17,4.: "Quoque altius surrexerit, opportunius est in occasum."

fol. 135r "for the gritest green tre..."

See B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies XIII (1951), 144-5, for parallels, e.g. ed. A.O.Belfour, Twelfth Century Homilies EETS OS 137 (London, 1962), I, 130.

fol. 135r "summa petit liuor: perfluant altissima venti."

This is from Ovid, Remedia Amoris 369.

"Envy attacks the noblest. Stronger blow the winds upon the heights." (Ovid continues: Summa petunt dextra fulmina: the hand of Jove hurls his thunder upon the mountain tops.) The verb is usually "perflant".

fol. 135r Iam viuunt homines tanquam mors nulla sequatur, Et velud infernus fabula ficta foret

The Complainer in folio 28r says this is from Vergil, Aeneid, VI. He appears to be mistaken. (See note to folio 28r).

fol. 135r/v Nihil enim est tectum quod non sit relegendum & nihil occultum, quum futurum sit vt sciatur

The Complainer is quoting 'ad sensum'. The saying is in Matthew, 10.26; Mark 4.22; Luke 8.17; Luke 12.2.

fol. 135v "for euerye thing is subieckit to the proces of tyme... green treis

Cf. B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies, XIII (1951), 141, for parallels.

fol. 135v Thales

The Complainer refers to Thales in folio 26r, where he borrowed from Guevara as we have seen. Thales, the Ionian philosopher, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, is thought to have been born c.636 B.C. at Miletus and died c.546 B.C. He is credited with the view that everything is from water. (I have not found an ascription to Thales

of the view that the gods know men's works and also their thoughts and intentions.)

fol. 136r the three plagues

See J.D.Comrie, History of Scottish Medicine 2nd ed. (London 1932), Vol.I, 202-221, on the plagues in Scotland, including references.

fol. 136r/v Cirillus and the bundle of twigs

This refers to the story of Scilurus, told by Plutarch in the Moralia (Sec.511 c): "And Scilurus, king of the Scythians, left behind him eighty sons: when he was dying, he asked for a bundle of spearshafts and bade his sons take it and break it in pieces, tied closely together as the shafts were. When they gave up the task, he himself drew all the spears out one by one and easily broke them in two, thus revealing that the harmony and concord of his sons was a strong and invincible thing, but that their disunion would be weak and unstable." ed. W.C.Hembold, Plutarch, Moralia, Loeb (London, 1939), Vol. VI, pages 446-7.

fol. 137v Marcus Emilius Lepedus, Fulvius Flaccus

The reference to Fulvius Flaccus, is expanded from Chartier, who is borrowing from Valerius Maximus. IX,III,ext.4. See folio 90r. I do not think that Marcus Aemilius Lepedus was consul with Fulvius Flaccus.

fol. 137v three 'muis ful of gold ringis'

This echoes Chartier, Quadrilogue, page 35, lines 23-25. See note to folio 89r.

fol. 138r Claudius nero...liuius salsinator

Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator were consuls in 207.B.C.

Nero and Livius were both censors in 204.B.C. and Livius imposed a salt-tax which earned him the nickname 'Salinator'.

fol. 138v ane fut bal

The Romans' revenge, playing football with Hasdrubal's head is like the Thomaris incident (folios 2v, 64v); and the De La Bastie incident, implied in song No. 69 in folio 51v; posthumous dishonour of the enemy.

fol. 138v - 140v Munitius

Municius Rufus is mentioned by Chartier, Quadrilogue pages 35-36. This is based on Valerius Maximus, V,II,4. See appendix on Chartier.

fol. 140v cresus or medas

See other references to Croesus, fol. 66r, 121r/v, 122r; and to Midas, in folio 51r, tale No. 48.

fol. 140v Iudas Machabeus

See folio 3v, the nyne noblis; folio 60r and note.

fol. 141r europa

This reference to Europe is interesting. All the arms from the Continent would not help the Scots without unity.

fol. 141r Treason

See folios 82v f., espec. note to folio 86r/v.

fol. 141v steddingis and takkis

See note to folio 97r.

fol. 141v tucidides

See folio 91r, 147r. French translation by Claude de Seyssel, ca. 1512. See Thucydides, 2, 34 f.

fol. 141v pericles

Pericles (c. 490 B.C. - 429 B.C.), the famous Athenian resisted the Peloponnesian army under Archidamas which invaded Attica in 431 and 430 and 429 B.C.

Archidamas

This is the king of Sparta who reigned B.C. 469 - 429. He is the second of five Spartan kings of the same name.

fol. 142v Fabius

See folio 89r, 137v - 140v. The Complayner appears to have taken a suggestion from Chartier and expanded by going to Valerius Maximus, etc.

fol. 143r The Rough Wooing

See historical introduction. On the Treaty of Greenwich see e.g., D.Hay Fleming, Mary Queen of Scots, (London, 1898) pages 3 - 14, 177 - 198. See A.F.Pollard, England Under the Protector Somerset (London, 1902) for the later phase.

fol. 143v - 144v 'the'cordinar' and his'tua corbeis'

The anecdote is related by Macrobius, in The Saturnalia (Bk.2, Ch.4, 29).

See Percival Vaughan Davies, Macrobius: The Saturnalia (New York, London, 1969), pages 174 - 5.

"Among those who welcomed him on his return in state from his victory at Actium was a man with a raven which he had taught to say: 'Greetings to Caesar, our victorious commander.'" Augustus was charmed by this compliment and gave the man twenty thousand sesterces for the bird. But the bird's trainer had a partner, and when none

of this large sum of money had come his way, he told the Emperor that the man had another raven and suggested that he should be made to produce it as well. The bird was produced and repeated the words which it had been taught to say: they were: 'Greetings to Antony, our victorious commander.' Augustus however, instead of being at all angry, simply told the first man to share the money with his mate."

(I am indebted to Dr. A.W.Lintott for indicating Macrobius as the source.) The Complainer is here obviously telling the story from memory.

fol. 144v quem fugiam scio quem sequar nescio

Professor W.S.Watt suggests that this is probably 'ad sensum' from Cicero, Ad Att. 8.7.2.: 'Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.' It is also related by Macrobius, in the Saturnalia (20 30 70); Cf. ed. P.V.Davies, (New York, London, 1969), page 167.

fol. 145v thir freuole sophistaris that marthirs and sklandirs
the text of aristotel

This remark sounds like a declaration of affiliation to a school of thought. It might refer perhaps to the Complainer's preference for the humanist attitude like that shown, with regard to legal texts, by those opposed to the 'mos italicus' of the Bartolists and their successors, and in favour of the 'mos gallicus' as exemplified by Pierre Lorioz' Commentary (1545).

On Aristotle's scientific method and the value for lawyers, see, P.G.Stein, Regulae Juris (Edinburgh, 1966), pages 34-6, and 166.

fol. 145r ane reul of the lau de vsu L.creditor, cum ibi no C, & L.
fi vsuras... Ambigua solutio promeliori & certiori parte
est interpretanda et intelligenda

The title de usuris in the Codex does have a lex beginning creditor and another beginning si vsuras (C 4.32.7; C 4.32.21). There are other titles beginning de usu but there is no other lex beginning

si usuras. In neither of these leges are there the words quoted.

If the Complayner is quoting 'ad sensum' there are a number of passages conveying similar sentiments. See P.G.Stein, Regulae Juris (Edinburgh, 1966) p.119 and fn.; discussing D 50.17.56, "semper in dubiis benigniora praeferenda sunt"; cf. too D.50.17.192; D.34.5.12 (13); D.45.1.80; D.50.17.172; D 45.1.80; D.50.17.96. There is also a similar sentiment in Canon Law; see Friedberg, Vol.II, sect.927: Decretal Gregory IX, Lib.V, Titulus XLI, cap.II. : "Dubia in meliorem partem interpretari debent."

fol. 145v Aliquid est iustum cuius contrarium est iustius.
L.exigendi.C.de procu, per glo. the tothir reul sais.
Aliquid est malum cuius contrarium est deterius. ff.de
re in L. quotiens.

The reference is to the gloss non iniuste ad C.2.12. (13).12., de procuratoribus 1. exigendi.

In D.50.17 (De diversis regulis) there are five different leges beginning quotiens (D.50.17.20; D.50.17.67; D.50.17.91; D.50.17.98; D.50.17.200) None of these contains the words quoted. The nearest note seems to be gl. quotiens ad D.50.17.200: "quotiens nihil ubicunque dicitur aliquid est aequius aequo vel iniquius iniquo": and that is not very near.

They sound like the sort of generalisations which a commentator would use to justify the conclusions reached by a lawyer. On Civil Law see folio 126v, note.

fol. 146v ane cheptour in the xxiii^d distinctione in the fyrst
question quhilk sais. Non pax queritur vt bellum
exerceatur, sed bellum geritur vt pax acquiratur.

This is from Decreta Pars II, Causa XXIII, Quest.I, c.III (ccl.892), and it continues, "Esto ergo bellando pacificus, ut eos quos expugnas, ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas."

Cicero in the De Officiis which the Complayner quotes elsewhere (e.g.fol. 57r) also mentions a preventive war.: "Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam, ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur...": "The only excuse therefore, for going to war is that

we may live in peace unharmed." ed. W. Miller Cicero: De Officiis, Loeb (London, 1913), pages 36-7; De Off. I, xi, 35.

Augustine in his letter (Ep. CLXXXIX) says: "Non enim pax quaeritur ut bellum excitetur, sed bellum geritur ut pax acquiratur. Esto ergo etiam bellando pacificus, ut eos quos expugnas, ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas: Beati enim pacifici, ait Dominus, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. v, 9)." (Migne, P. L. XXXIII: S. Augustini Episcopi Epistolarum Classis III, col. 856, 6.

Aquinas similarly in the Summa Theologica discusses the Just War, in Q. XL. The three conditions of a just war are: it must be on the authority of the sovereign (auctoritas principis); the cause must be just (justa causa); the belligerents must have a rightful intention (recta intentio), that is they must be intending the advancement of good or the avoidance of evil. (S. Th. 2.2.40.1)

See also Gilbert of the Haye: Buke of the Law of Armys IV, 52, STS edition, p. 168.

See Major, History, 284: "In a just war it is lawful to make use of a feint and of craftiness". This is an explanation of the Complayner's approval (in fol. 81v) of the deceit of the laird of Drumlanrig.

fol. 146v pax est repudianda si sub eius nomine latitet bellum

This quotation is 'ad sensum' Cicero, Philippics, 12.17. "pacem, ipsam si adferrent, quoniam sub nomine pacis bellum lateret, repudiandam."

fol. 146v tucidides

The quotation is from Thucydides I.120,3

fol. 147r Cicero

The quotation is virtually verbatim from Cicero, De Officiis, I, 35: "Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur."

fol. 147r Tucidides li.2.ca.9.

This is from Thucydides, 2, 62, (3). -It is one of the important points in Pericles' speeches, that it is a greater dishonour to lose what one inherits, than to fail to acquire from one's enemy.

fol. 147v. Cicero

The final quotation is from Cicero, De Finibus 2.50.: Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam, ex insipientium sermone pendere. The Complayner turns the rhetorical question into a statement: Nihil est... See discussion of this quotation in the introduction. The Complayner follows the common rhetorical convention of ending with a general idea with a moral application. "But what can be baser than to make the conduct of the wise man depend upon the gossip of the foolish."

.....