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# THE BRUCE

BY  
JOHN BARBOUR  
ARCHDEACON OF ABERDEEN

EDITED FROM THE BEST TEXTS  
WITH LITERARY AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, NOTES  
AND APPENDICES, AND A GLOSSARY

BY  
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# PREFACE

## 1. MSS. AND EDITIONS.

The poem *The Bruce*, by John Barbour, is preserved in only two manuscripts, one in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the other in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The former is hereafter denoted by the letter C, the latter by E. Of these E alone is complete in the sense of having both beginning and end; the first three Books and Book IV. 1-56 are missing in C. On the other hand, C bears to have been completed in 1487, E in 1489. Other things being equal, the earlier MS. must, of course, be preferred. Here, however, intervenes a series of extracts, numbering 280 lines from Books I. and II., embedded in Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, and the two MSS. of the *Cronykil* are actually older than those of *The Bruce*. This raises a difficulty, as Wyntoun's extracts show a goodly proportion of variations in language from the corresponding passages in E, the only other MS. which covers the same ground. Professor Skeat considers that Wyntoun's lines are "in a better form (in the main)" than those of E;<sup>[1]</sup> but, on the other hand, we do not know Wyntoun's method of working in such a case—how far he transcribed verbatim, how far "he modified the language of the MS. which he must have had before him."<sup>[2]</sup> Many lines he omits, and others he obviously paraphrases; he incorporates matter from another source; and his version of *The Bruce* lines may quite well be due to memorial reproduction after a hurried reading. It is not otherwise easy to account for scraps of a few lines of the poem being here and there embedded in narrative independently worded or derived. There is thus no warrant for erecting this chopped-up, second-hand version of the lines in question into a canon or standard for a purely scribal transcript made for its own sake. It is needful to enter this plea in view of the separatist theory of Mr. J. T. T. Brown, for whom the passages in Wyntoun represent so much of the original or *ur-Bruce*, out of which our MS. and printed versions have been elaborated by a fifteenth-century editor, who, to do so, borrowed freely and with no great cunning from the works of contemporary authors.<sup>[3]</sup>

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The earliest printed versions of *The Bruce* raise yet another issue bearing on the purity of the text. The first is apparently of the year 1571, and only one copy is known to exist.<sup>[4]</sup> It does not, however, differ materially from that of "Andro Hart" (H), published at Edinburgh in 1616. In this the language is modernized; still more so is it in the edition of four years later from the same publisher. And these seem to have been the basis of the gradually worsening issues so common in the eighteenth century, until in 1790 Pinkerton reverted to the sound critical method of having a transcript made directly from the Edinburgh MS. This again was the origin of Jamieson's more careful edition of 1820, reprinted with a few corrections in 1869. Meantime Cosmo Innes had prepared for the Spalding Club (1856) a version which, for the first time, introduced readings from the Cambridge MS., but which, in being dressed up in a "consistent orthography," so far reverted to the evil example of Hart. Subsequently, for the Early English Text Society, and later, for the Scottish Text Society, Professor Skeat, basing on C, but also utilizing E and H with a few readings from Wyntoun and Anderson's issue of 1670, produced, for the first time, a full and in all respects competent text. To Skeat's edition the present one is essentially indebted.

The main point about Hart's edition (H) is that it supplies 39 lines not found in either MS., with an expansion of two others into eight, 45 new lines in all. The expanded portion Skeat perforce relegates to the footnotes. Twelve lines from Hart in the last book he at first accepted as genuine, but finally discarded as an interpolation.<sup>[5]</sup> He might justifiably have gone further, for he seems to me to have erred in attaching undue importance to Hart's unsupported contributions.

This is made clear by considering the question as between C and E. Each MS. has portions not found in the other. The scribe of E furnishes his own excuse; his copy was "hurriedly written" (*raptim scriptus*). Consequently we are not surprised to find that he has dropped 81 lines found in C. On the other hand, the more careful Cambridge scribe has overlooked, as the best of copyists might, 39 lines preserved in the Edinburgh version. Upon analysis of these two groups a satisfactory test of character emerges. In one case only—C, Bk. VI. \*85-\*92, E, Bk. VI. 101-106—do we find an unexplained confusion, traces of two alternative accounts of one incident, a possibility to which Barbour refers in several instances. One line from C Skeat rejects because it results in a triple rhyme.<sup>[6]</sup> Having eliminated these, we find that of the remaining omissions in E two lines are the result of the misplacing of one;<sup>[7]</sup> eight lines are couplets which have been overlooked; four lines are necessary to complete couplets, so that their loss is due to sheer carelessness; while the bulk of the missing lines, 57 out of 80, is accounted for by the recurrence of the same word or words at the beginning or end of the line, whereby the eye of the scribe has run on from, *e.g.*, "Toward the toun" in Bk. IX. \*374 to "Toward the toun" in 374, and from "thai fand" in Bk. XIII. 446 to "thai fand," in \*450, missing all between. A parallel result is given by analysis of the 39 lines wanting in C but present in E. Six are involved in the mutual perplexity of Bk. VI.; one is merely a careless oversight, and the remaining 32 come under the main category of omission through recurrence, within a short space, of the same word or rhyme. On the whole, then, with the reservation noted above, the condition of things as between the two MSS. is quite normal; the omissions are explicable on ordinary grounds, and as the missing lines, with but one real exception, take their places again without disturbance of their neighbours, we may conclude that C and E are individual versions of a single original poem, and complementary to each other. But copyists were only mortal; an author too might see cause to alter a MS.; and the variations of reading, even with those of Wyntoun thrown in, after all supply a less serious illustration of such possibilities than do the MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales* from the Ellesmere to the so disturbing

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Harleian.

As for the lines found only in Hart's edition, their every feature arouses distrust and suspicion. Skeat's judgment of "almost certainly genuine" he has had to retract for 18 out of the total of 45, including the eight-line version of a couplet in the MSS.<sup>[8]</sup> Those on the heart-throwing episode, Bk. XX. \*421-\*432, have been referred to above. Not a single example of the remaining accretions meets the test of repetition operative in the case of the MSS., or suggests its own explanation. The couplet in Bk. II., p. 25, is nothing either way; that on p. 283 is awkward; the intrusive lines on p. 321 are neither sense nor grammar; those on pp. 215, 216 can find a place only by an unwarrantable alteration of the succeeding line in both MSS., a liberty which Mr. Brown, on purely speculative grounds, lightly accepts from the very passage in question.<sup>[9]</sup> On the untimely harangue into which Bruce is made to pass on p. 239 I have spoken in its place. In general it may be said that Hart's contributions are clear misfits. Moreover, the circumstantial evidence seems to clinch the main conclusion. Hart, or his editor, had a turn for rhyme: to him are due the rhyming rubrics, and he added at the close of the poem a halting colophon of six lines, which in the later corrupt editions was simply merged in the poem, and is quoted as a specimen thereof in a critical historical work of 1702.<sup>[10]</sup> In XX. 610 he has barefacedly substituted a line for that of the MSS., which introduces a detail not found before the time of Bower and no doubt taken from him.<sup>[11]</sup> This throws a strong light on the origin of other lines in the same Book.<sup>[12]</sup> Thus we prove capability and inclination. Hart "modernized" the language of *The Bruce*, and from "modernization" to "improvement" is a tempting transition.

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## 2. THE SCRIBES.

The Cambridge MS. bears witness that it was completed on August 18, 1487, by the hand of "John de R., chaplain"; the Edinburgh MS. that it was "hurriedly written" by "John Ramsay" in 1489, for a Fife vicar; and the latter signature is attached to the only MS. of *The Wallace*, which accompanies that of *The Bruce* but was transcribed two years earlier. Skeat immediately pronounces that the names signify but one person, that "John de R." is also "John Ramsay," apparently on the logic of Wonderland, because both surnames begin with the same letter.<sup>[13]</sup> Mr. Brown, however, points out that this equation of alternative forms was highly improbable for fifteenth-century Scotland, and substitutes a reading of his own whereby the scribes are still merged in one personality as "John Ramsay" otherwise "Sir John the Ross," one of Dunbar's *makars*, the real author of *The Wallace*, and the wholesale redactor of *The Bruce*. The details of Mr. Brown's argument and all that flows therefrom must be read in *The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied*.<sup>[14]</sup> Mr. Brown (if I may say so) never fails to be suggestive and interesting, and even the light which led him astray was real critical illumination; but John Ramsay, who, "as a chaplain"—which *he* does not claim to have been—"was entitled to the courtesy title of *Sir*,"<sup>[15]</sup> and took his alternative name from his office as "Ross Herald or Ross Secretary";<sup>[16]</sup> who lightened the toil of transcribing Acts of Parliament by dropping into verse on the margin—an unjustifiable accusation;<sup>[17]</sup> and who, from the seed of Blind Harry's "gests," raised the prickly bloom of *The Wallace*, and grafted enough borrowed material on to the rough stock of the original Bruce to make it something substantially different, and did all this without leaving even a cipher as a hint to posterity—of this complex and composite personage Mr. Brown is the only begetter, and his brief and inglorious career may be followed in *The Athenæum*, November 17-December 8, 1900, February 9, 1901. Mr. Brown, of course, can still claim that the problem of late redaction remains, whoever the guilty one may have been.<sup>[18]</sup> On this understanding I deal with it elsewhere.<sup>[19]</sup>

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For the MSS., it needs but a slight examination to show that they are from different hands. The fifteenth century had no "consistent orthography," but a scribe would probably have of himself; would not, at the least, exhibit the systematic differences that mark the MSS. in question. That the differences *are* due to the scribes is indicated by their occurrence even in proper names where E is, on the whole, much more accurate than C.<sup>[20]</sup> Add that C offers more traces of southern English influences; that it invariably gives the weak form *I* for the *Ic* or *Ik* of E, and substitutes *can* for the latter's *gan*; that it regularly prefers *of* to the *off* which distinguishes E and in certain positions *i* for *y*—these with other minor peculiarities, not being vital in character, are certainly due to individual idiosyncrasies in spelling. Ramsay is an honest scribe, who, at places, cannot read his original, and leaves a blank which must be supplied from the copy of the chaplain.<sup>[21]</sup> There is thus not the faintest reason for supposing but one scribe to have been at work. At the same time the essential agreement of the two transcripts shows that we are dealing with a single, complete, familiar poem which has suffered in precision of copying from the usual mishaps incident to its manner of publication and preservation.

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## 3. THE PRESENT EDITION.

The present edition of *The Bruce* is based upon the printed text of the Cambridge MS., collated throughout with that of E—that is, upon the versions of Skeat and Jamieson. I have, however, adopted rather more readings from E than does Skeat, also a few more from Wyntoun, and offer some slight emendations—*e.g.*, *luffys* for *liffys* in Bk. II. 527, *oft* for *off* in III. 194, *Fyn all* for *Fyngall* in II. 69, etc. I have profited, too, by criticism of the published text as in the adoption of Dr. Neilson's *corn-but* in Bk. II. 438. The question of Hart's version has been discussed above; it

is valid only as a check upon the MSS. Variants of any interest or importance are given in the footnotes.

There has been no modernization of the language save in the case of the rubrics, which are no part of the text proper and have been contributed by the scribes or editors in order to facilitate the understanding of the poem. I have thus adhered to the spirit while modifying the letter of their work. But while avoiding any change in the language of the poem or even any attempt at a uniform spelling, I have taken a few harmless liberties with its alphabet and restricted certain of the letters to their modern values, substituting for others a modern equivalent. Skeat did this in the matter of the ancient "thorn" letter = *th*. In consideration of the general reader, I have gone somewhat farther, viz.:

1 The *s* with the ornamental curl I read as merely *s*; Jamieson and Skeat take it as, generally, = *ss*. But such alternative forms as *Parys*,<sup>[22]</sup> *purches*,<sup>[23]</sup> and *purpos*,<sup>[24]</sup> on the one hand, and the actual use of the tailed letter following the ordinary type in *dress*, *press*,<sup>[25]</sup> fix the usage I have adopted.<sup>[26]</sup> There are a few exceptions in which this letter is probably a contraction for *is*—*e.g.*, II. 366, 459.

2. I have distributed their modern values to *i, j, u, v, w*. There is no advantage in preserving such forms as *iugis*, *Evrope*, *wndyr*: the hedge of the language—to use Lowell's simile—is prickly enough without these accessories. Moreover, I have throughout written *Edward* for *Eduuard* or *Eduard* and *Inglis* for *Ynglis* (C).

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3. As Skeat has substituted "*th*" for the "thorn" (*þ*), I have done likewise with the ancient English *g* (*ȝ*), the "yok" letter, resolving it into the digraph *yh*. As ultimately, in almost every case, significant of the consonantal *y*, I might have simply replaced it by that letter. But alternative forms, nearly without exception, show the digraph, both in *The Bruce* and in Wyntoun, giving *yhe*, *yhet*, *yharnit*, *fenyhe*, etc., and in Wyntoun's extracts *feyhnyng*, *senyhoury*, *yhystir-day*, *bayhlllys*, etc. Even with the original letter the *h* is added as often as not. Apparently the usage, which had practically disappeared from the southern practice, was in a transitional stage on its way to its full revival in later Scots, where it became fixed, at the hands of the printers, as *z*, and survives in such forms as *Cadzow*, *capercailzie*, etc.<sup>[27]</sup> In I. 16, however, it has been read as *g* in *forget*, though *foryhet* is to be found in *Ratis Raving*, and in XV. 75 it is obviously *z* in *Fi(t)z-Waryne*.

4. The placing of the capital letters and the punctuation are, of course, modern.

Further, the poem in MSS. is not divided into Books, but paragraphs are denoted by the insertion of a large capital; these, as in C, are similarly marked in the text. The division into twenty Books was first made by Pinkerton, and, as the most convenient, has been adopted by Skeat in his editions. From Pinkerton also Skeat adopts the numbering of the lines. Jamieson, however, made a division into fourteen Books with a numbering to suit. Cosmo Innes gave up the Books in favour of Cantos, with a fresh renumbering. To avoid confusion I have adhered to Skeat's divisions and numbering, which are those of Pinkerton; inconvenient though the duplicate numbers certainly are, a totally new and fourth arrangement would be much more so. To break up and make more accessible the matter, I have also introduced, where possible, the paragraphs of Jamieson distinguished by spaces, some of these, however, being found in C. They are merely for the convenience of the reader. I may, perhaps, draw attention to the critical treatment of *The Bruce* as an historic document without which we move greatly in the dark. The historical notes of the early editors are few and superficial. Skeat does not profess to deal with the work strictly on this line (*note*, vol. ii., p. 224), though he does not fail to pass unnecessary censure at several places. But some such examination as I have tried to make seems necessary in the interests of Scottish historiography.

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. "THE BRUCE" AS ROMANCE.

The literary relationships of *The Bruce* may be briefly indicated. It stands at the beginning of Scottish literature; of its predecessors and contemporaries we have but the names, or possible versions whose place of origin is in dispute. In form and technique, including the octosyllabic couplet, it plainly depends on the French metrical romance, the most fruitful branch of a literature which, for quite two centuries, had been the mother of literatures in Western Europe. The opening line of *The Bruce* characterizes at once the poem itself, and what was best and most abundant in the literature of the Middle Ages. Barbour, too, it is never overlooked, announces his work as a "romance," but as such, we gather from what precedes, only in a technical sense; and no mediæval writer would consider this popular method of treatment incompatible with strict accuracy and reality of subject: that is a modern refinement. Barbour certainly did not, nor did those who followed and used him; his selection of the model is simply the expression of his desire to do his work in "gud manere." He anticipated Macaulay's ambition in that his history was to differ from the most attractive literary matter only in being true. There were already in French many examples of contemporary history presented in this way as a succession of incidents on the lines of personal memoirs, though history had in the end succeeded in widening its outlook, and consequently found more fitting expression in prose. But that was of Barbour's own age, and indeed Froissart had made his first essay, as an historian, in verse, which later he recast and continued in the form we know. All the necessities of Barbour's case, however, led him the other way—the despised condition of the prose vernacular as a literary medium, from which, indeed, it never fully emerged; the character of his audience, which would be either learned or aristocratic; and the nature and associations of his subject, for which only the literature of romance could furnish a parallel or supply the appropriate setting. The literary qualities of *The Bruce* are, therefore, those of its model; it is a clear, vivid, easy-flowing narrative, and if it is also, as romances tended to be, loose in construction and discursive, it is never tedious, for it deals with real persons and events of real interest, depicted with an admiring fidelity.

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## 2. JOHN BARBOUR.

The year of John Barbour's birth we do not know, an item which is lacking also for Chaucer: 1320 is a good round guess. Nor have we any knowledge of his family. If, however, the *St. Ninian* in the *Legends of the Saints* be of Barbour, a claim for which there is much to be said,<sup>[28]</sup> it may give us a clue. The adventure of Jak. Trumpoure, there told, connects with the fact that Jaq. (James) Trampour had land in Aferdeen bordering on that of an Andrew Barbour.<sup>[29]</sup> It may be conjectured that the latter was John Barbour's father, or other near relative, since the vivid personal details of the affair in the *St. Ninian* must have come from Trumpour himself, and the fact that he was a neighbour of the Barbours would explain how.

The name Barbour (*Barbitonsoris*) is obviously plebeian. Some ancestor followed the business of barber, as some one of Chaucer's possibly did that of "hose-making." The established spelling, Barbour, shows a French termination which takes also the form Barbier, whence Mr. Henderson concludes that John Barbour "was of Norman origin."<sup>[30]</sup> But the spelling is merely an accident of transcription; the oldest form is Barber(e) (1357, 1365),<sup>[31]</sup> which the scribe of the Edinburgh MS. also uses, and which Wyntoun rhymes with *here* and *matere*; in a few cases it is Barbar. As we might expect, the name was common enough in the English-speaking districts of Scotland.

All our information about John Barbour, except the little to be gleaned from the complimentary references of later authors, is drawn from official sources,<sup>[32]</sup> and is thus, of course, perfectly precise, but meagre and uncharacteristic. We learn something of what Barbour did and got, but not what sort of man he was, or what he was like. By 1357, at the latest, he is Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the most important official of the diocese after the bishop, having as his prebend the parish of Rayne, in Garioch; and in the same year (August 13) he has a safe-conduct to go with three scholars, for purposes of study, to Oxford, where he may have seen John Wycliffe. There was, of course, no University in Scotland as yet, and scholars desirous of academic advantages had to seek them at least across the Border, a patronage which Edward III., in his own interests, readily encouraged. Seven years later he is again in England on a similar mission with four horsemen,<sup>[33]</sup> and on October 16 of the year following he goes to St. Denis, near Paris, this time with six companions on horseback; in 1368-69 he once more visits France "with two servants (*vallettis*) and two horses." The University of Paris had the highest reputation for the study of philosophy and canon law, and Barbour, whose duty it was to administer the jurisdiction of his bishop, would necessarily be something of a lawyer, though his allusion to the clerkly "disputations" in this field does not suggest much personal interest in legal refinements.

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His next appearance is in a different though related capacity. In 1372 he is clerk of the audit of the King's household, that of Robert II., who had come to the throne in the previous year as the first of the Stewart Kings. The year after he is also an auditor of exchequer. The Stewarts were good friends to Barbour, and we see the result in his kindly, almost affectionate, references to the family in his poem. He wrote up their genealogy, but that piece of work is lost. After a long interval he reappears as an auditor of exchequer in 1382, 1383, 1384. For some part, at least, of this interval he was engaged upon *The Bruce*, and its completion in the course of 1376<sup>[34]</sup> suggestively approximates to a grant of £10, by the King's order, from the customs of Aberdeen,



first recorded in the accounts of March 14, 1377. So also does a pension of twenty shillings sterling from certain revenues of the same city, granted on August 29, 1378, to himself and his assignees for ever.<sup>[35]</sup> Accordingly, two years later Barbour assigned his pension, on his death, to the cathedral church of Aberdeen, as payment for a yearly mass for his own soul and for the souls of his relatives and all the faithful dead. The practice of these payments can be traced for a considerable time afterwards, but the financial readjustments of the Reformation sent Barbour's legacy elsewhere.

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But the royal bounty had not dried up. In 1386 the poet had gifts of £10 and £6 13s. 4d., no doubt in recognition of further literary labours. And on December 5, 1388, he had a fresh pension of £10 for life "for faithful service," to be paid in equal portions at Pentecost and Martinmas. This he enjoyed for only a few years. On April 25, 1396, the first payment of twenty shillings is made to the Dean and Chapter of Aberdeen, so that Barbour must have been dead before April 5, 1395, when the accounts for the year began. As his "anniversary" fell on March 13, that date in 1395 was, in all probability, the day of his death. Thus born under the great Bruce, he had lived through the reigns of David II. and Robert II., and five years of Robert III.

Some stray notices of Barbour in other connections add nothing of importance. One, however, lets us know that he was responsible for the loss of a volume on law from the library of his cathedral.

We have really learned nothing as to the personality of the poet. That he was a keen student and a great reader as well as a trustworthy official, and stood high in the royal favour, may be inferred. The respectful and admiring references of Wyntoun and Bower attest his high reputation as a writer and authority on history. But *The Bruce* of itself would suggest neither the cleric nor the accountant. His pious reflections would be commonplaces even for a lay writer, and his handling of figures is not in any way distinctive. Even of Scotland in the background we get but casual, fleeting glimpses. Barbour is occupied entirely with his heroes and their performances. It is these he undertakes to celebrate, not, primarily, even the great cause which called them forth; and personal loyalty is his master virtue.<sup>[36]</sup> That he so conceived and developed his subject, his hurried passage from incident to incident, his grim, practical humour, his impatience of inaction or commonplace achievement, his actively descriptive vocabulary, and his vivid realization of the details of movement and conflict—all contribute to the impression of a man of lively, energetic temperament, with a delight in action and the concrete, and so, as his time and circumstances would make him, an amateur and idealist of chivalry.

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Besides *The Bruce*, Wyntoun credits Barbour with *The Stewartis Oryginalle*, a metrical genealogy starting from "Sere Dardane, lord de Frygya"(!), which has not survived.<sup>[37]</sup> Skeat has also suggested, basing on certain references by Wyntoun, that Barbour wrote a *Brut* on the mythical colonization of Britain by Brutus, but the inference is disputed by Mr. Brown,<sup>[38]</sup> and Wyntoun's language is too vague for a definite opinion. On better grounds there has been attributed to him a *Trojan War* or *Troy Book*, portions of which have been used to fill up gaps in a MS. of Lydgate's *Siege* with the rubric, "Here endis Barbour and begynnys the monk," and again conversely. An independent MS. gives a larger number of lines in continuation. These fragments have been subjected to close linguistic and metrical criticism by P. Buss in *Anglia*, ix., pp. 493-514, and by E. Koeppl in *Englische Studien*, x., pp. 373-382, and their reasoning on differences of verbal and grammatical usages has been summarized by Skeat,<sup>[39]</sup> who concurs with their conclusion against Barbour's authorship. But there are other elements of evidence, and the sceptical discussion of Medea's alleged astronomical powers with the affirmation,

Bot na gude Cristene mane her-to  
Sulde gif credence—that I defend,<sup>[40]</sup>

is significantly similar to the argumentation on astrology in *The Bruce*, Bk. IV. 706 to end.<sup>[41]</sup> Faced with the plain statement of the fifteenth-century scribe, Skeat can only suggest that the poem was not by our Barbour, but by another person of the same name—surely the extremity of destructive literary criticism. And every argument of the German scholars against the *Troy* fragments would clinch the case for Barbour's claims on the *Alexander*, with which I deal elsewhere. The garrulous and dreary *Legends of the Saints* probably contain, at least, contributions by Barbour; even Buss admits peculiar features in the *St. Ninian*,<sup>[42]</sup> and *St. Machar* is a purely Aberdeen worthy, in whom the poet, too, professes a special interest; these may well have come from Barbour's pen as the uncongenial but meritorious labour of his old age. Such, at any rate, was the normal progress of a poetic clerk, from translation to original work, to decline at the close upon versions of saintly biographies.

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### 3. HISTORIC VALUE OF "THE BRUCE."

A comparison of judgments on the value of *The Bruce* as a contribution to history plunges us into a thicket of contradictions. Green's verdict that it is "historically worthless"<sup>[43]</sup> is but a petulant aside. It repeats itself, however, in the pronouncement of Mr. Brown that "in no true sense is it an historical document,"<sup>[44]</sup> but Mr. Brown selects, as illustrative of this, examples, such as the Simon Fraser identification,<sup>[45]</sup> and the Stanhope Park inference,<sup>[46]</sup> which recoil to the confusion of the critic.<sup>[47]</sup> Mr. Cosmo Innes has sought to discriminate, unfortunately upon wrong lines. Of Barbour as historian, he writes: "Satisfied to have real persons and events, and an

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outline of history for his guide, and to preserve the true character of things, he did not trouble himself about accuracy of detail.”<sup>[48]</sup> As it happens, it is just in his outline—that is, in his dates and succession of events—that Barbour may be adjudged most careless; his details contain the most remarkable examples of his accuracy. The latest expression of opinion on this head is not even self-consistent. In the *Cambridge History of English Literature* it is thus written of *The Bruce*: first, that “it is in no real sense a history ... though, strange to say, it has been regarded from his own time to this as, in all details, a trustworthy source for the history of the period”—a clear exaggeration,<sup>[49]</sup> and then a few pages farther on: “While Barbour’s narrative contains a certain amount of anecdotal matter derived from tradition, and, on some occasions, deviates from the truth of history, it is, on the whole, moderate, truthful, and historical”<sup>[50]</sup>—which is quite another pair of sleeves.

The fact is that these wayward judgments rest upon too narrow a basis of induction, and that induction, too, usually irrelevant or uncertain—considerations as to the nature of Romance, Barbour’s literary awkwardness and literary dressing, with inadequate examination of the external evidence. But if Barbour professes to write history, as he does profess, and as he gives every evidence of honestly trying to do, he can surely claim to be tried by the appropriate tests—those of official records or other contemporary accounts, and, in the last resource, by his performance so far as these carry us, and by an estimate of the probable sources of what is peculiar to himself. Nor must the quality of his critical equipment be overlooked; he frankly lets us know that of certain incidents different versions were in circulation—some said that the fatal quarrel between Bruce and Comyn fell otherwise than as he has related, and he includes the divergent accounts of how Bruce and his man escaped the hound; and there are other matters for which, lacking certainty himself, he is content to cite popular report. Towards prevailing and attractive superstitions, necromancy, astrology, and the like, his attitude is bluntly sceptical; yet an apparently well-attested case of prophecy—not one, it must be owned, exhibiting any exceptional degree of penetration—he does record, with very distinct reservation of judgment.<sup>[51]</sup> There is no supernatural machinery in *The Bruce*, no visions, miraculous agencies, or other such distractions: for these we must go to sober prose. But such is not the manner of popular romance with which it has been usual to class the manner of *The Bruce*. Barbour is not writing a conventional romance with historic persons and incidents for his material; he is writing history which has all the qualities of romance in real life. Of the same type were the exploits of Edward Bruce, which of themselves, he says, would furnish material for many romances.<sup>[52]</sup>

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So comes it, then, that a careful and most competent investigator like Joseph Bain can authoritatively pronounce *The Bruce* to be “of the highest value for the period,”<sup>[53]</sup> and affirm that “in these details he is almost always correct, with occasional errors in names.”<sup>[54]</sup> Barbour’s errors, indeed, lie on the surface, and are typical of his time, not wilful perversions on his part—events are transposed, wrong dates given, figures almost always exaggerated. On the other side a study of the notes to the present volume will show how trustworthy he is in the main, and, repeatedly, how strikingly and minutely accurate. His profession to tell a truthful story, so far as his knowledge will take him, must be accepted as fully borne out.

Moreover the reflection is forced upon us at many points that, in addition to the oral accounts of which he makes use, those of actual participators like Sir Allan of Cathcart, and John Thomson for the Irish campaigns, besides relations and reminiscences otherwise derived, Barbour had various contemporary writings at his command. Such was certainly the case with Sir Thomas Gray, who wrote, a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, twenty years before. His *Scalacronica* embodies the results of research in the library of his prison where he found Scottish chronicles in verse and prose, in Latin, French, and English, and he expressly refers to such chronicles in his account of Bruce, letting us know that there was in existence a description of the Battle of Bannockburn, and, incidentally, that Barbour even has not exhausted the fund of stories of adventure told of the fugitive King. More curious and suggestive is the citation, in the bye-going, by Jean le Bel, Canon of Liège, of a “history made by the said King Robert” (*en hystoire faite par le dit roy Robert*), that is the King Robert whom, he tells us, Edward I. had chased by hounds in the forests.<sup>[55]</sup> It is an allowable inference that these accessible materials were known to the learned and inquiring Barbour, when he took to deal with a subject familiar to him from his earliest years, and so congenial to his instincts, literary and national.

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It is worth noting that Sir Walter Scott, on the publication of the *Lord of the Isles*, which draws so handsomely upon *The Bruce*, was accused of a lack of proper patriotism, meaning the pungent and rather aggressive patriotism of a long-irritated Scotland distinctive of *The Wallace* and certain subsequent productions, but not of *The Bruce*, the spirit of which, too, was in harmony with that of the great reviver of romance. There is no malice in *The Bruce*; the malice and bitterness are in the contemporary war-literature of the other side. And Barbour is no sentimentalist; his patriotism is not pretentious or exclusive, nor such as leads him to depreciate an opponent, and is therefore not a distorting influence on facts, as Mr. Henderson postulates it must have been.<sup>[56]</sup> It is not possible to point to a single error on Barbour’s part which is fairly traceable to this cause. And his faults and errors, such as they are, may be paralleled over and over again from the most reputable of that century’s historians, to say nothing of those who, in later times, had to weave their web from less tangled and broken material.

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[Pg 1]

# THE BRUCE

# BOOK I.

STORYS to rede ar delitabill,  
Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill:  
Than suld storys that suthfast wer,  
And thai war said on gud maner,  
Have doubill plesance in heryng. 5  
The fyrst plesance is the carpyng,  
And the tothir the suthfastnes  
That schawys the thing rycht as it wes:  
And suth thyngis that ar likand 10  
Tyll mannys heryng ar plesand.  
Tharfor I wald fayne set my will,  
Giff my wyt mycht suffice thartill,  
To put in wryt a suthfast story,  
That it lest ay furth in memory,  
Swa that na tyme of lenth it let,<sup>[†]</sup> 15  
Na ger it haly be forget.  
For aulde storys that men redys,  
Representis to thaim the dedys  
Of stalwart folk that lyvyt ar,  
Rycht as thai than in presence war.  
And certis, thai suld weill have prys 20  
That in thar tyme war wucht and wys,  
And led thar lyff in gret travaill,  
And oft, in hard stour off bataill,  
Wan richt gret price off chevalry, 25  
And war voydyt off cowardy.  
As wes King Robert off Scotland,  
That hardy wes off hart and hand;  
And gud Schyr James off Douglas,  
That in his tyme sa worthy was, 30  
That off hys price and hys bounte,  
In fer landis renownyt wes he.  
Off thaim I thynk this buk to ma:  
Now God gyff grace that I may swa  
Tret it, and bryng it till endyng, 35  
That I say nocht bot suthfast thing!

[Pg 2]

## How the Lords of Scotland took the King of England to be Arbiter at the last.

QUHEN Alexander the King was deid,  
That Scotland haid to steyr and leid, 1290  
The land sex yher, and mayr perfay, *Discord over*  
Lay desolat eftyr hys day; *the*  
Till that the barnage at the last *Succession*  
Assemblt thaim, and fayndyt fast 40  
To cheys a king thar land to ster,  
That, off awncestry, cummyn wer  
Off kingis that aucht that reawte, 45  
And mayst had rycht thair king to be.  
Bot envy, that is sa feloune,  
Maid amang thaim discencioun.<sup>[†]</sup>  
For sum wald haiff the Balleoll king;  
For he wes cummyn off the offspryng 50  
Off hyr that eldest systir was.  
And othir sum nyt all that cas;  
And said, that he thair king suld be  
That wes in als nere degre.<sup>[†]</sup> 55  
And cummyn wes of the neist male,  
And in branch collaterale.  
Thai said, successioun of kyngrik  
Was nocht to lower feys lik;  
For thar mycht succed na female,  
Quhill foundyn mycht be ony male 60  
That were in lyne evyn descendand.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thai bar all othir wayis on hand,  
For than the neyst cummyn off the seid,  
Man or woman, suld succeid. 65  
Be this resoun that part thocht hale,  
That the lord off Anandrydale,  
Robert the Bruce, Erie off Cornw...

[Pg 3]

ROBERT THE BRUYS RIE OIL CATTYK,  
Aucht to succeed to the kynryk.  
The barownys thus war at discord,  
That on na maner mycht accord;  
Till at the last thai all concordyt,  
That all thar spek suld be recordyt  
Till Schyr Edward off Inghland King;  
And he suld swer that, but  
fenyheyng,

1291 *The  
Dispute is  
referred to  
Edward I*

He suld that arbytre disclar,  
Off thir twa that I tauld off ar,  
Quhilk sulde succed to sic a hycht;<sup>[†]</sup>  
And lat him ryng that had the rycht.  
This ordynance thaim thocht the best,  
For at that tyme wes pes and rest  
Betwyx Scotland and Inghland bath;  
And thai couth nocht persave the skaith  
That towart thaim wes apperand;  
For that at the King off Inghland  
Held swylk freyndschip and cumpany  
To thar King, that wes swa worthy,  
Thai trowyt that he, as gud nychtbur,  
And as freyndsosome compositur,  
Wald have jugyt in lawte:  
Bot othir wayis all yheid the gle.

A! blynd folk full off all foly!  
Haid yhe umbethoucht yhow enkrely,  
Quhat perell to yhow mycht apper,  
Yhe had nocht wrocht on that maner:  
Haid yhe tane keip how at that King  
Always, for-owtyn sojournyng,  
Travayllyt for to wyn senyhory,  
And, throw his mycht, till occupy  
Landis that war till him marcheand,  
As Walis was, and als Ireland;  
That he put to swylk thrillage,  
That thai that war off hey parage  
Suld ryn on fute, as rebaldail,  
Quhen he wald ony folk assaill.  
Durst nane of Walis in bataill ride;  
Na yhet, fra evyn fell, abyd  
Castell or wallyt toune with-in,  
That he ne suld lyff and lymmys tyne.  
In-to swilk thrillage thaim held he,  
That he ourcome throw his powste.  
The mycht se he suld occupy  
Throw slycht, that he ne mycht throw maistri.  
Had yhe tane kep quhat was thrillag,  
And had consideryt his usage,  
That gryppyt ay, but gayne-gevyng,  
Yhe suld, for-owtyn his demyng,  
Haiff chosyn yhow a king, that mycht  
Have haldyn weyle the land in rycht.  
Walys ensample mycht have bene  
To yhow, had yhe it forow sene.  
And wys men sayis he is happy  
That be othir will him chasty.  
For unfayr thingis may fall, perfay,  
Als weill to-morn as yhisterday.  
Bot yhe traistyt in lawte,  
As sympile folk, but mavyte;  
And wyst nocht quhat suld eftir tyd.  
For in this warld, that is sa wyde,  
Is nane determynat that sall<sup>[†]</sup>  
Knew thingis that ar for to fall:<sup>[†]</sup>  
But God, that is off maist poweste,  
Reservyt till his majeste  
For to know, in his prescience,  
Off alkyn tyme the mowence.

ON this maner assentyt war  
The barownis, as I said yhow ar:  
And through thar aller hale assent,  
Messingeris till hym thai sent,  
That was than in the haly land,

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[Pg 4]

[Pg 5]

On Saraceny's warryand. 140  
 And fra he wust quhat charge thai had,  
 He buskyt hym, but mar abad,  
 And left purpos that he had tane;  
 And till Ingland agayne is gayne.  
 And syne till Scotland word send he, 145  
 That thai suld mak ane assemble;  
 And he in hy suld cum to do  
 In all thing, as thai wrayt him to.  
 But he thought weile, through thar debate,  
 That he suld slely fynd the gate 150  
 How that he all the senyhowry,  
 Throw his gret mycht, suld occupy.  
 And to Robert the Bruys said he;  
 "Gyff thow will hald in cheyff off me  
 "For evirmar, and thine ofspryng, 155  
 "I sall do swa thou sall be king."  
 'Schyr,' said he, 'sa God me save,  
 'The kynryk yharn I nocht to have,  
 'Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me:  
 'And gyff God will that it sa be, 160  
 'I sall als frely in all thing  
 'Hald it, as it afferis to king;  
 'Or as myn eldris forouch me  
 'Held it in freyast rewate.'  
 The tothir wreythyt him, and swar 165  
 That he suld have it nevir mar:  
 And turnyt him in wreth away.  
 Bot Schyr Jhon the Balleoll, perfay,  
 Assentyt till him, in all his will;  
 Quhar-through fell eftir mekill ill. 170  
 He was king bot a litill quhile;  
 And through gret sutelte and ghyle,  
 For litill enchesone, or nane,  
 He was arestyt syne and tane,  
 And degradyt syne wes he 175  
 Off honour and off dignite.  
 Quhethir it wes through wrang or rycht,  
 God wat it, that is maist off mycht.

QUHEN Schyr Edward, the mychty  
 king, 180  
 Had on this wys done his likyng  
 Off Jhone the Balleoll, that swa sone  
 Was all defawtyt and undone, *1292-1296*  
 To Scotland went he than in hy, *Edward*  
 And all the land gan occupy: *takes*  
 Sa hale, that bath castell and toune *Possession of*  
 War in-till his possessioun, *Scotland* 185  
 Fra Weik anent Orknay,  
 To Mullyr-snuk in Gallaway;  
 And stuffyt all with Inglis men.  
 Schyrreffys and bailyheys maid he then; 190  
 And alkyn othir officeris,  
 That for to govern land afferis,  
 He maid off Inglis nation;  
 That worthyt than sa ryth fellone,  
 And sa wykkyt and covatous, 195  
 And swa hawtane and dispitous,  
 That Scottis men mycht do na thing  
 That evir mycht pley to thar liking.  
 Thar wyffis wald thai oft forly,  
 And thar dochtrys dispitously: 200  
 And gyff ony thar-at war wrath,  
 Thai watyt hym wele with gret scaith;  
 For thai suld fynd sone enchesone  
 To put hym to destructione.  
 And gyff that ony man thaim by 205  
 Had ony thing that wes worthy,  
 As hors, or hund, or othir thing,  
 That plesand war to thar liking,  
 With rycht or wrang it have wald thai.  
 And gyf ony wald thaim withsay, 210  
 Thai suld swa do, that thai suld tyne  
 Othir land or lyff, or leyff in pyne.

For thai dempt thaim eftir thar will,  
Takand na kep to rycht na skill.  
A! quhat thai dempt thaim felonly! 215  
For gud knychtis that war worthy,  
For litill enchesoune or than nane,  
Thai hangyt be the nekbane.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Alas that folk, that evir wes fre,  
And in fredome wount for to be, 220  
Throw thar gret myschance and foly,  
War trefyt than sa wykkytly,  
That thar fays thar jugis war:  
Quhat wrechitnes may man have mar?

A! fredome is a noble thing! 225  
Fredome mays man to haiff liking;  
Fredome all solace to man giffis:  
He levys at es that frely levys.  
A noble hart may haiff nane es,  
Na ellys nocht that may him ples, 230  
Gyff fredome failyhe: for fre liking  
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.  
Na he, that ay has levyt fre,  
May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,  
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome, 235  
That is cowplyt to foule thyrdome.  
Bot gyff he had assayit it,  
Than all perquer he suld it wyt;  
And suld think fredome mar to prys,  
Than all the gold in warld that is. 240  
Thus contrar thingis evir-mar,  
Discoveryngis off the tothir ar.  
And he that thryll is has nocht his;  
All that he has enbandownyt is  
Till hys lord, quhat-evir he be. 245  
Yheyt has he nocht sa mekill fre  
As fre liking to leyve, or do<sup>[†]</sup>  
That at hys hart hym drawis to.  
Than mays clerkis questioun,  
Quhen thai fall in disputacioun, 250  
That gyff man bad his thryll owcht do,  
And in the samyn tym come him to  
His wyff, and askyt hym hyr det,  
Quhethir he his lordis neid suld let,  
And pay fryst that he awcht, and syne 255  
Do furth his lordis commandyne;  
Or leve onpayit his wyff, and do  
It that commaundyt is him to?<sup>[†]</sup>  
I leve all the solucioun  
Till thaim that ar off mar renoun. 260  
Bot sen thai mek sic comperyng  
Betwix the dettis off wedding,  
And lordis bidding till his threll,  
Yhe may weile se, thought nane yhow tell,  
How hard a thing that threldome is. 265  
For men may weile se, that ar wys,  
That wedding is the hardest band,  
That ony man may tak on hand:  
And thryldome is weill wer than deid;  
For quhill a thryll his lyff may leid, 270  
It merrys him, body and banys;  
And dede anoyis him bot anys.  
Schortly to say, is nane can tell  
The halle condicioun off a threll.

THUS-GAT levyt thai, and in sic  
thrillage; 275  
Bath pur, and thai off hey parage.  
For off the lordis sum thai slew,  
And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai  
drew;

1298-1299  
*Harsh  
Treatment of  
the Scots*

And sum thai put in hard presoune,<sup>[†]</sup>  
For-owtyn caus or enchesoun. 280  
And, amang othir, off Dowglas  
Put in presoun Sir Wilyham was,  
That off Dowglas was lord and svr:

Off him thai makyt a martyr.  
 Fra thai in presoune him sleuch, 285  
 Hys landis, that war fayr inewch,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thai to the lord off Clyffurd gave.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He had a sone, a litill knave,  
 That wes than bot a litill page,  
 Bot syne he wes off gret vaslage; 290  
 Hys fadyr dede he vengyt sua,  
 That in Ingland, I underta,  
 Wes nane off lyve that hym ne dred;  
 For he sa fele off harnys sched,  
 That nane that lyvys thaim can tell. 295  
 Bot wondirly hard thingis fell  
 Till him, or he till state wes brocht.  
 Thair wes nane aventur that mocht  
 Stunay hys hart, na ger him let  
 To do the thing he wes on set;<sup>[†]</sup> 300  
 For he thoct ay encrely  
 To do his deid avysily.  
 He thoct weill he wes worth na seyle,  
 That mycht of nane anoyis feyle;  
 And als for till escheve gret thingis, 305  
 And hard travalyis, and barganyngis,  
 That suld ger his price dowblyt be.  
 Quharfor, in all hys lyve-tyme, he  
 Wes in gret payn, et gret travaill;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And nevir wald for myscheiff fail, 310  
 Bot dryve the thing rycht to the end,  
 And tak the ure that God wald send.  
 Hys name wes James of Douglas:  
 And quhen he heard his fadir was  
 Put in presoune sa fellounly, 315  
 And at his landis halyly  
 War gevyn to the Clyffurd, perfay  
 He wyst nocht quhat to do na say;  
 For he had na thing to dispend,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Na thar wes nane that evir him kend 320  
 Wald do sa mekill for him, that he  
 Mycht sufficiently fundyn be.  
 Than wes he wondir will off wane;  
 And sodanly in hart has tane,  
 That he wald travaile our the se, 325  
 And a quhile in Parys be,  
 And dre myscheiff quhar nane hym kend,  
 Till God sum succouris till hym send.  
 And as he thoct he did rycht sua,  
 And sone to Parys can he ga; 330  
 And levyt thar full sympylly.  
 The-quhethir he glaid was and joly;  
 And till swylk thowlesnes he yheid,  
 As the cours askis off yhowtheid;  
 And umquhill in-to rybbaldaill: 335  
 And that may mony tyme avail.  
 For knowlage off mony statis  
 May quhile availyhe full mony gatis;  
 As to the gud Erle off Artayis  
 Robert, befell in-till his dayis. 340  
 For oft feynyheyng oft rybbaldy  
 Availyheit him, and that gretly.  
 And Catone sayis us, in his wryt,  
 That to fenyhe foly quhile is wyt.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 In Parys ner thre yher duellyt he; 345  
 And then come tythandis our the se,  
 That his fadyr wes done to ded  
 Then wes he wa, and will of red;  
 And thoct that he wald hame agayne,  
 To luk gyff he, throw ony payn, 350  
 Mycht wyn agayn his heritage,  
 And his men out off all thryllage.

[Pg 10]

[Pg 11]

### The First Rising of Lord Douglas.

To Sanct Andrews he come in hy, [.....]



Qunar the byschop full curtasy  
 Resavyt him, and gert him wer  
 His knyvys forouch him to scher;  
 And cled him rycht honorabilly,  
 And gert ordayn quhar he suld ly.  
 A weile gret quhile thar duellyt he;  
 All men lufyt him for his bounte;  
 For he wes off full fayr effer,  
 Wys, curtais, and deboner;  
 Larg and luffand als wes he,  
 And our all thing luffyt lawte.

1299-1303  
*James  
 Douglas  
 returns from  
 Paris*

Leaute to luff is gretumly;  
 Throuch leaute liffis men rychtwisly:  
 With a vertu of leaute  
 A man may yheit sufficyand be:  
 And but leawte may nane haiff price,  
 Quhethir he be wycht, or he be wys;  
 For quhar it failyheys, na vertu  
 May be off price, na off valu,  
 To mak a man sa gud that he  
 May symply callyt gud man be.

He wes in all his dedis lele;  
 For him dedeynyheit nocht to dele  
 With trechery, na with falset.  
 His hart on hey honour wes set:  
 And hym contenyt on sic maner,  
 That all him luffyt that war him ner.  
 Bot he wes nocht so fayr, that we  
 Suld spek gretly off his beaute:  
 In vysage wes he sumdeill gray,  
 And had blak har, as Ic hard say;  
 Bot off lymmys he wes weill maid,  
 With banys gret, and schuldrys braid.  
 His body wes weyll maid and lenye,  
 As thai that saw hym said to me.  
 Quhen he wes blyth he wes lufly,  
 And meyk and sweyt in cumpany:  
 Bot quha in battail mycht him se  
 All other contenance had he.  
 And in spek wlyspyt he sum deill;  
 Bot that sat him rycht wondre weill.  
 Till gud Ector of Troy mycht he  
 In mony thingis liknyt be.  
 Ector had blak har, as he had,  
 And stark lymmys, and rycht weill maid;  
 And wlyspit alsua as did he,  
 And wes fulfillyt of leawte,  
 And wes curtais and wys and wycht.  
 Bot off manheid and mekill mycht,  
 Till Ector dar I nane comper  
 Off all that evir in warldys wer.  
 The-quhethyr in his tyme sa wrocht he,  
 That he suld gretly lovyt be.

[Pg 12]

He duellyt thar, quhill on a tid,  
 The King Edward, with mekill prid,  
 Come to Strevillyne with gret  
 mengyhe,  
 For till hald thar ane assemble.  
 Thiddirwart went mony baroune;  
 Byschop Wylyhame off Lambyrtoun  
 Raid thiddyr als, and with him was  
 This squyer James of Dowglas.  
 The byschop led him to the King,  
 And said: "Schyr, heyr I to yhow bryng  
 "This child, that clemys yhour man to be;  
 "And prayis yhow par cheryte,  
 "That yhe resave her his homage,  
 "And grantis him his heritage."  
 "Quhat landis clemys he?" said the King.  
 "Schyr, giff that it be yhour liking,  
 "He clemys the lordschip off Douglas;  
 "For lord tharoff hys fadir was."  
 The King then wrethyt him encrely,

1304-1305  
*Edward  
 refuses  
 Douglas*

[Pg 13]

And said; 'Schyr byschop, sekырly 425  
 'Gyff thow wald kep thi fewte,  
 'Thow maid nane sic speking to me.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'Hys fadyr ay wes my fay feloune,  
 'And deyt tharfor in my presoun; 430  
 'And wes agayne my majeste:  
 'Tharfor hys ayr I aucht to be.  
 'Ga purches land quhar-evir he may,  
 'For tharoff haffys he nane, perfay:  
 'The Cliffurd sall thaim haiff, for he 435  
 'Ay lely has servyt to me.'  
 The byschop hard him swa ansuer,  
 And durst than spek till him na mar;  
 Bot fra his presence went in hy,  
 For he dred sayr his felouny: 440  
 Swa that he na mar spak tharto.  
 The King did that he com to do;  
 And went till Inghland syn agayn,  
 With mony man off mekyll mayn.

### The Scots are likened to the Holy Maccabees.

LORDINGIS, quha likis for till her, 445  
 The Romanys now begynnys her,  
 Off men that war in gret distres,  
 And assayit full gret hardynes,  
 Or thai mycht cum till thar entent:  
 Bot syne our Lord sic grace thaim sent, 450  
 That thai syne, throw thar gret valour,  
 Come till gret hycht, and till honour,  
 Magre thair fayis evirilkane,  
 That war sa fele, that ay for ane  
 Off thaim thai war weill a thowsand. 455  
 Bot quhar God helpys quhat may withstand?  
 Bot, and we say the suthfastnes,  
 Thai war sum tyme erar may then les.  
 Bot God that maist is of all mycht, 460  
 Preservyt thaim in his forsycht,  
 To veng the harme and the contrer,  
 At that fele folk and pautener  
 Dyd till sympill folk and worthy,  
 That couth nocht help thaim self: for-thi,  
 Thai war lik to the Machabeys, 465  
 That, as men in the Bibill seys,  
 Throw thair gret worschip and valour,  
 Fawcht in-to mony stalwart stour,  
 For to delyvir thar countre  
 Fra folk that, throw iniquite, 470  
 Held thaim and thairis in thrillage:  
 Thai wrocht sua throw thar vassalage,  
 That, with few folk, thai had victory  
 Off mychty kingis, as sayis the story,  
 And delyveryt thar land all fre; 475  
 Quharfor thar name suld lovyt be.

THYS lord the Bruys, I spak of ayr,  
 Saw all the kynryk swa forfayr;  
 And swa trowblyt the folk saw he,  
 That he tharoff had gret pitte.  
 Bot quhat pite that evir he had,  
 Na contenance thar-off he maid;  
 Till, on a tym, Schyr Jhone Cumyn,  
 As thai come ridand fra Strevillyn,  
 Said till him; "Schir, will yhe nocht se,  
 "How that governyt is this countre?  
 "Thai sla our folk but enchesoune,  
 "And haldis this land agayne resoune,  
 "And yhe tharoff full suld lord be.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "And gyff that yhe will trow to me,  
 "Ye sall ger mak yhow tharoff king,  
 "And I sall be in yhour helping;  
 "With-thi yhe giff me all the land  
 "That he haiff now in till yhour hand:

1305-1306  
 Bruce  
 accepts  
 Comyn's  
 Proposal

"And gyff that yhe will nocht do sua, 495  
 "Na swylk a state upon yow ta,  
 "All hale my land sall yhouris be;  
 "And lat me ta the state on me,  
 "And bring this land out off thyrlage.  
 "For thar is nothir man na page, 500  
 "In all this land that ne sall be<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Fayn to mak thaim-selvyn fre."  
 The lord the Bruis hard his carping,  
 And wend he spak bot suthfast thing.  
 And, for it likit till his will, 505  
 He gave sone his assent thartill:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And said, 'Sen yhe will it be swa,  
 'I will blythly apon me ta  
 'The state, for I wate I have rycht;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'And rycht mays off the feble wycht.' 510

THE barownys thus accordyt ar:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And that ilk nycht than writyn war<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thair endenturis, and aythis maid  
 To hald that thai forspokyn haid.  
 Bot off all thing wa worth tresoun! 515  
 For thar is nothir duk ne baroun,  
 Na erle, na prynce, na king off mycht,  
 Thocht he be nevir sa wys na wycht,  
 For wyt, worschip, price, na renoun,  
 That evir may wauch hym with tresoune. 520  
 Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane,  
 Quhen ten yheris of the wer wes gane?  
 Then slayn wes mone thowsand  
 Off thaim with-owt, throw strenth of hand;  
 As Dares in his buk he wrate, 525  
 And Dytis, that knew all thar state.  
 Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tane throw mycht,  
 Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.  
 And Alexander the Conqueroure,  
 That conquest Babilonys tour, 530  
 And all this warld off lenth and breid,  
 In twelf yher, throw his douchty deid,  
 Wes syne destroyit throw pusoune,  
 In his awyne hows, throw gret tresoune.  
 Bot, or he deit, his land delt he: 535  
 To se his dede wes gret pite.  
 Julius Cesar als, that wan  
 Bretane and Fraunce, as dowchty man,  
 Affryk, Arrabe, Egipt, Surry,  
 And all Europe halyly; 540  
 And for his worschip and valour  
 Off Rome wes fryst maid emperour;  
 Syne in hys capitole wes he,  
 Throw thaim of his consaill prive,  
 Slayne with punsoune, rycht to the ded: 545  
 And quhen he saw thair wes na rede,  
 Hys eyn with his hand closit he,  
 For to dey with mar honeste.

Als Arthur, that throw chevalry  
 Maid Bretane maistres and lady 550  
 Off twelf kinrykis that he wan;  
 And alsua, as a noble man,  
 He wan throw bataill Fraunce all fre;  
 And Lucius Yber vencusyt he,  
 That then of Rome was emperour: 555  
 Bot yheit, for all his gret valour,  
 Modreyt his systir son him slew;  
 And gud men als ma then inew,  
 Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes;  
 The Broite beris tharoff wytnes. 560  
 Sa fell off this conand-making:  
 For the Cumyn raid to the King  
 Off Ingland, and tald all this cas;  
 Bot, I trow, nocht all as it was.  
 Bot the endentur till him gaf he, 565  
 That soune schawyt the iniquite:  
 Quharfor syne he tholyt ded;  
 Then he south est tharfor no rede

Inan he could set marior na rede.  
 Quhen the King saw the endentur,  
 He wes angry out of mesur,  
 And swour that he suld vengeance  
 ta

1306  
*Edward  
 sends for  
 Bruce*

570

Off that Bruys, that presumyt swa  
 Aganys him to brawle or rys,  
 Or to conspyr on sic a wys.  
 And to Schyr Jhon Cumyn said he,  
 That he suld, for his leawte,  
 Be rewardyt, and that hely:  
 And he him thankit humyly.

575

Than thocht he to have the leding  
 Off all Scotland, but gane-saying,  
 Fra at the Bruce to dede war brocht.  
 Bot oft failyheis the fulis thocht;  
 And wys mennys etling

580

Cummys nocht ay to that ending  
 That thai think it sall cum to;  
 For God wate weill quhat is to do.  
 Off hys etlyng rycht swa it fell,  
 As I sall efterwartis tell.

585

He tuk his leve, and hame is went;  
 And the King a parlyament  
 Gert set thareftir hastely;  
 And thidder somownys he in hy  
 The barownys of his reawte.

590

And to the lord the Bruce send he  
 Bydding to come to that gadryng.  
 And he that had na persavyng  
 Off the tresoun, na the falset,  
 Raid to the King but langir let;

595

And in Lunden hym herberyd he  
 The fyrst day off thar assemble;  
 Syn on the morn to court he went.  
 The Kyng sat into parleament;  
 And forouch hys consaile prive,  
 The lord the Bruce than callyt he,<sup>[†]</sup>

600

And schawyt hym the endentur.  
 He wes in full gret aventur  
 To tyne his lyff; bot God of mycht  
 Preservyt him till hyer hycht,  
 That wald nocht that he swa war dede.

605

The King betaucht hym in that steid  
 The endentur, the seile to se,  
 The askyt, gyff it enselyt he?

610

He lukyit the seyle ententily,  
 And answeryt till hym humyly,  
 And sayd; "How that I sympill be,  
 "My seyle is nocht all tyme with me;

615

"Ik have ane othir it to ber.  
 "Tharfor giff that yhour willis wer,  
 "Ic ask yhow respyt for to se  
 "This lettir, and avysit be,<sup>[†]</sup>

620

"Till to morn that yhe be set:  
 "And then, for-owtyn langir let,  
 "This lettir sall I entyr heyr,  
 "Befor all yhour consaill planer;

625

"And thair-till in-to bourch draw I<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Myn herytage all halily."

The King thocht he wes traist inewch,  
 Sen he in bowrch hys landis drewch;  
 And let hym with the lettir passe,  
 Till entyr it, as for-spokin was.

630

## BOOK II.

### How the Bruce avoided King Edward's Deceit.

THE Bruys went till his innys swyth;  
 Bot, wyt yhe weile, he wes full blyth,  
 That he had gottyn that respyt.  
 He callit his marschall till him tvt.

JAN. 1306  
*Bruce and  
 the Clerk*

Escape

And bad him luk on all maner, 5  
 That he ma till his men gud cher;  
 For he wald in his chambre be  
 A weill gret quhile in private,  
 With him a clerk for-owtyn ma. 10  
 The marschell till the hall gan ga,  
 And did hys lordys commanding.  
 The lord the Bruce, but mar letting,  
 Gert prively bryng stedys twa.  
 He and the clerk, for-owtyn ma, 15  
 Lap on, for-owtyn persavyng:  
 And day and nycht, but sojournyng,  
 Thai raid; quhill, on the fyften day,  
 Cumbyn till Louchmaban ar thai.  
 Hys brodyr Edward thar thai fand, 20  
 That thocht ferly, Ic tak on hand,  
 That thai come hame sa prively:  
 He tauld hys brodyr halyly,  
 How that he thar soucht was,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And how he chapyt wes throw cas.

### Here John Comyn and Others are Slain in the Friars' Kirk.

Sa fell it in the samyn tid, 25  
 That at Dumfres, rycht thar besid,  
 Schir Jhone the Cumyn sojornyng maid;  
 The Brus lap on and thiddir raid;  
 And thocht, for-owtyn mar letting, 30  
 For to quyt hym his discoveryng.  
 Thiddir he raid, but langir let,  
 And with Schyr Jhone the Cumyn met,  
 In the Freris, at the hye awter,  
 And schawyt him, with lauchand cher,<sup>[†]</sup> 35  
 The endentur; syne with a knyff,  
 Rycht in that sted, hym reft the lyff.  
 Schyr Edmund Cumyn als wes slayn,  
 And othir mony off mekill mayn.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Nocht-for-thi yheit sum men sayis,<sup>[†]</sup> 40  
 At that debat fell othir wayis;  
 But quhat sa evyr maid the debate,  
 Thar-through he deyt, weill I wat.  
 He mysdyd thar gretly, but wer,  
 That gave na gyrth to the awter. 45  
 Tharfor sa hard myscheiff him fell,  
 That Ik herd nevir in romanys tell  
 Off man sa hard frayit as wes he,  
 That eftirwart com to sic bounte.<sup>[†]</sup>

### Here the King of England seeks for Robert Bruce, but does not find Him.

Now agayne to the King ga we, 50  
 That on the morn, with his barne,  
 Sat in-till his parlement;  
 And eftyr the lord the Bruys he sent,  
 Rycht till his in, with knychtis kene.  
 Quhen he oft tyme had callit bene, 55  
 And his men eftir him askit thai,  
 Thai said that he, sen yhytirday,  
 Duelt in his chambyr ythanly,  
 With a clerk with him anerly.  
 Than knokyt thai at his chamur thar;  
 And quhen thai hard nane mak ansuar 60  
 Thai brak the dur; bot thai fand nocht,  
 The-quhethir the chambre hale thai socht.  
 Thai tauld the King than hale the cas,  
 And how that he eschapyt was.  
 He wes off his eschap sary; 65  
 And swour in ire, full stalwartly,  
 That he suld drawyn and hangit be.  
 He manausyt as him thocht: bot he  
 Thocht that suld pas ane othir way.

## Here Robert Bruce sends Letters for an Assembly.

And quhen he, as ye hard me say, 70  
 In-till the kyrk Schyr Jhone haid slayn,  
 Till Louchmabane he went agayne;  
 And gert men, with his lettres, ryd  
 To freyndis apon ilke sid,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That come to hym with thar mengyhe; 75  
 And his men als assemblit he:  
 And thocht that he wald mak him king.  
 Our all the land the word gan spryng,  
 That the Bruce the Cumyn had slayn;  
 And, amang othir, lettres ar gayn 80  
 To the byschop off Androws towne,  
 That tauld how slayn wes that baroun,  
 The lettir tauld hym all the deid:  
 And he till his men can it reid;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And sythyn said thaim; "Sekyrly 85  
 "I hop that Thomas prophecy<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Off Hersildoune sall veryfyd be<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "In him; for, swa our Lord help me!  
 "I haiff gret hop he sall be king,  
 "And haiff this land all in leding." 90

## The Douglas meeting with King Robert.

James off Dowglas, that ay-quhar  
 All-ways befor the byschop schar,  
 Had weill hard all the lettir red;  
 And he tuk alsua full gud hed  
 To that the byschop had said.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And quhen the burdys down war  
 laid, 95  
 Till chamyr went thai then in hy;  
 And James off Dowglas prively  
 Said to the byschop; "Schyr, yhe se  
 "How Inglis men, throw thair powste, 100  
 "Dysherysys me off my land;  
 "And men has gert yhow undirstand,  
 "Als that the Erle off Carryk  
 "Clamys to govern the kynryk:  
 "And, for yhon man that he has slayn, 105  
 "All Inglis men ar him agayn,  
 "And wald disherys hym blythly;  
 "The-quhethir with him dwell wald I.  
 "Tharfor, Schir, giff it war yhour will,  
 "I wald tak with him gud and ill. 110  
 "Throw hym I trow my land to wyn,  
 "Magre the Clyffurd and his kyn."  
 The byschop hard, and had pite,  
 And said; 'Swet son, sa God help me!  
 'I wald blythly that thow war thar, 115  
 'Bot at I nocht reprovyt war.  
 'On this maner weile wyrk thou may,  
 'Thow sall tak Ferrand my palfray;  
 'And for thair na is hors in this land  
 'Sa wucht, na yheit sa weill at hand; 120  
 'Tak him as off thine awyne heid,  
 'As I had gevyn thar-to na reid.  
 'And gyff his yhemar oucht gruchys,  
 'Luk that thow tak hym magre his;  
 'Swa sall I weill assonyheit be. 125  
 'Almychty God, for his powste,  
 'Graunt that he thow passis to,  
 'And thow, sa weill all tyme may do,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'That yhe yhow fra yhowr fayis defend!' 130  
 He taucht him silver to dispend;  
 And syne gaiff him his benisoun.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And bad him pass his way off toun;  
 For he na wald spek till he war gane.  
 The Dowglas then his way has tane

FEB. 1306  
*Douglas  
 hears  
 Bruce's  
 Letter*

Rycht to the hors, as he him bad: 135  
 Bot he, that him in yhemsell had,  
 Than warnyt hym dispitously.  
 Bot he, that wrethyt him encrely,  
 Fellyt hym with a suerdys dynt.  
 And syne, for-owtyn langir stynt, 140  
 The hors he sadylt hastely,  
 And lap on him delyverly;  
 And passyt furth but leve-taking.  
 Der God, that is off hevyn king,  
 Sawff hym, and scheld him fra his fayis! 145  
 All him alane the way he tais  
 Towart the towne off Louchmabane;  
 And, a litill fra Aryk-stane,  
 The Bruce with a gret rout he met,  
 That raid to Scone, for to be set 150  
 In kingis stole, and to be king.  
 And quhen Dowglas saw hys  
     cummyng,  
 He raid, and hailstyt hym in hy,  
 And lowtyt him full curtasly;  
 And tauld him haly all his state, 155  
 And quhat he was, and als how-gat  
 The Clyffurd held his heritage:  
 And that he come to mak homage  
 Till him as till his rychtwis king;  
 And at he boune wes, in all thing, 160  
 To tak with him the gud and ill.  
 And quhen the Bruce had herd his will,  
 He resavyt him in gret daynte,  
 And men and armys till him gaff he.  
 He thought weile he suld be worthy; 165  
 For all his eldris war douchty.  
 Thusgat maid thai thar aquentance,  
 That nevir syne, for nakyn chance,  
 Departyt quhill thai lyffand war.  
 Thair frendschip woux ay mar and mar: 170  
 For he servyt ay lelely;  
 And the tothir full wilfully,  
 That was bath worthy, wycht, and wys,  
 Rewardyt him weile his service.

MARCH 1306  
*Meeting of  
 Bruce and  
 Douglas*

### The Crowning of King Robert.

THE lord of the Bruce to Glaskow raid, 175  
 And send about him, quhill he haid  
 Off his freyndis a gret menyhe.  
 And syne to Scone in hy raid he,  
 And wes maid king but langir let,  
 And in the kingis stole wes set; 180  
 As in that tyme wes the maner.  
 Bot off thar nobleis gret affer,  
 Thar service, na thar realte,  
 Yhe sall her na thing now for me;  
 Owtane that he off the barnage 185  
 That thiddir come, tok homage;  
 And syne went our all the land,  
 Frendis and frendschip purchesand,  
 To maynteym that he had begunnyn.  
 He wyst, or all the land war wonnyn, 190  
 He suld fynd full hard barganyng  
 With him that wes off Inland King:  
 For thar wes nane off lyff sa fell,  
 Sa pautener, na sa cruell.  
 And quhen to King Edward wes tauld, 195  
 How at the Bruys, that wes sa bauld,  
 Had brocht the Cumyn till ending,  
 And how he syne had maid him king,  
 Owt off his wyt he went weill ner;  
 And callit till him Schir Amer 200  
 The Vallang, that wes wys and wycht,  
 And off his hand a worthy knyght,  
 And bad him men off armys ta,  
 And in all hy till Scotland ga,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And hvrn. and slav. and rais dragoun:

And hycht all Fyfe in warysoun 205  
Till him, that mycht othir ta or sla  
Robert the Bruce, that wes his fa.  
Schir Aymer did as he him bad,  
Gret chevalry with him he had; 210  
With him wes Philip the Mowbray,  
And Ingram the Umfravill perfay,  
That wes bath wys and averty,  
And full of gret chevalry;  
And off Scotland the maist party 215  
Thai had in-till thar company.

### The First Speaking of King Robert with Sir Aymer.

For yheit then mekill off the land  
Wes in-till Inglis mennys hand. 1306  
Till Perth then went thai in a rout, *Valence*  
That then wes wallyt all about *occupies* 220  
With feile towris, rycht hey bataillyt, *Perth*  
To defend giff it war assaylit.  
Thar-in duellyt Schir Amery,  
With all his gret chevalry.  
The King Robert wyst he wes thar, 225  
And quhat-kyn chyftanys with him war,  
And assemblyt all his mengyhe.  
He had feyle off full gret bounte;  
Bot thar fayis war may then thai,  
Be fiteene hunder, as lk herd say. 230  
The-quhethir he had thar, at that ned,  
Full feill that war douchty off deid;  
And barownys that war bauld as bar.  
Twa erlis alsua with him war;  
Off Levynax and Atholl war thai. 235  
Edward the Bruce wes thar alsua,  
Thomas Randell, and Hew de le Hay,  
And Schyr David the Berclay,  
Fresale, Somerveile, and Inchmertyn;  
James of Dowglas thar wes syne, 240  
That yheyt than wes bot litill off mycht;  
And othir fele folk forsye in fycht:  
Bot I can nocht tell quhat thai hycht.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thocht thai war qwheyn, thai war worthy, 245  
And full of gret chevalry.  
And in bataill, in gud aray,  
Befor Sanct Jhonystoun com thai,  
And bad Schyr Amery isch to fycht;  
And he, that in the mekill mycht  
Traistyt off thaim that wes him by, 250  
Bad his men arme thaim hastily.  
Bot Schir Ingram the Umfravill  
Thocht it war all to gret perill  
In playne bataill to thaim to ga,  
Or quhill thai war arayit sa.<sup>[†]</sup> 255  
And till Schyr Amer then said he,<sup>[†]</sup>  
'Schir, giff that yhe will trow to me,  
'Yhe sall nocht ische thaim till assaile,  
'Till thai ar purvayt in bataill.  
'For thar ledar is wys and wycht, 260  
'And off his hand a noble knycht;  
'And he has in his cumpany  
'Mony a gud man and worthi,  
'That sall be hard for till assay,  
'While thai ar in sa gud aray.<sup>[†]</sup> 265  
'For it suld be full mekill mycht  
'That now suld put thaim to the flycht:  
'For quhen thai folk ar weill arayit,  
'And for the bataill weill purvait,  
'With-thi that thai all gud men be, 270  
'Thai sall fer mar be avise,  
'And weill mar for to dreid, then thai  
'War set sumdele out off aray.  
'Thairfor yhe may, schir, say thaim till,  
'That thai may this nycht, and thai will



'That thai may this nycht, and thai will, 275  
 'Gang herbery thaim and slep and rest;  
 'And at to morn, but langar frest,  
 'The sall isch furth to the bataill,  
 'And fecht with thaim bot gyf thai faile.  
 'Sa till thar herbery wend sall thai,<sup>[†]</sup> 280  
 'And sum sall wend to the forray;  
 'And thai that duellis at the logyng,  
 'Sen thai come owt off travelling,  
 'Sall in schort tyme unarmyt be.  
 'Then on our best maner may we, 285  
 'With all our fayr chevalry,  
 'Ryd towart thaim rycht hardyly;  
 'And thai that wenys to rest all nycht  
 'Quhen thai se us arayit to fycht,  
 'Cummand on thaim sa sudanly, 290  
 'Thai sall affrayit be gretumly.  
 'And or thai cummyn in bataill be,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'We sall speid us swagat that we  
 'Sall be all redy till assemblill.  
 'Sum man for erylles will trymbill, 295  
 'Quhen he assayit is sodanly,  
 'That with avisement is douchty.'

[Pg 27]

### The Lodging of King Robert in the Park of Methven.

As he avisyt now have thai done;  
 And till thaim utouth send thai sone,  
 And bad thaim herbery thaim that  
 nycht, 300  
 And on the morn cum to the fycht.  
 Quhen thai saw thai mycht no mar,  
 Towart Meffayn then gan thai far;  
 And in the woud thaim logyt thai;  
 The thrid part went to the forray; 305  
 And the lave sone unarmyt war.  
 And skalyt to loge thaim her and thar.  
 Schyr Amer then, but mar abaid,  
 With all the folk he with him haid,  
 Ischyt in-forcely to the fycht; 310  
 And raid, in-till a randoun rycht,  
 The strawcht way towart Meffen.  
 The King, that wes unarmyt then,  
 Saw thaim cum swa inforcely;  
 Then till his men gan hely cry, 315  
 "Till armys swyth, and makys yhow yhar!  
 "Her at our hand our fayis ar!"  
 And thai did swa in full gret hy;  
 And on thair hors lap hastily. 320  
 The King displayit his baner,  
 Quhen that his folk assemblyt wer;  
 And said, "Lordingis, now may yhe se  
 "That yhone folk all, throw sutelte,  
 "Schapis thaim to do with slycht, 325  
 "That at thai drede to do with mycht.  
 "Now I persave he that will trew  
 "His fa, it sall him sum tyme rew.  
 "And nocht-for-thi, thocht thai be fele,  
 "God may rycht weill our werdis dele; 330  
 "For multitud mais na victory,  
 "As men has red in mony story,  
 "That few folk has oft vencusyt ma.  
 "Trow we that we sall do rycht sua.  
 "Yhe are ilkan wycht and worthy,  
 "And full of gret chevalry; 335  
 "And wate rycht weill quhat honour is.  
 "Wyrk yhe then apon swylk wys,  
 "That yhour honour be savyt ay.  
 "And a thing will I to yow say,  
 "That he that dois for his cuntre<sup>[†]</sup> 340  
 "Sall herbryit in-till hevyn be."  
 Quhen this wes said, thai saw cumand  
 Thar fayis ridand, ner at the hand,  
 Arayit rycht avisely

JUNE 26, 1306  
*The Scots  
 are  
 Surprised*

[Pg 28]

## The Battle of Methven and the First Discomfiture of King Robert

ON athir syd thus war thai yhar,  
And till assemble all redy war.  
Thai straucht their speris, on athir  
syd,

JUNE 26, 1306  
*The Scots  
give way*

And swa ruydly gan samyn ryd,  
That speris all to-fruschyt war,  
And feyle men dede, and woundyt sar;  
The blud owt at their byrnys brest.

350

[Pg 29]

For the best and the worthiest,  
That wilfull war to wyn honour,  
Plungyt in the stalwart stour,  
And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang.

355

Men mycht haiff seyn in-to that thrang  
Knychtis that wucht and hardy war,  
Undyr hors feyt defoulyt thar,  
Sum woundyt, and sum all ded:

360

The gress woux off the blud all rede.  
And thai, that held on hors, in hy  
Swappyt owt swerdis sturdyly;

And swa fell strakys gave and tuk,  
That all the renk about thaim quouk.

365

The Bruysis folk full hardely  
Schawyt thair gret chevalry:

And he him-selff, atour the lave,  
Sa hard and hevy dyntis gave,  
That quhar he come thai maid him way.

370

His folk thaim put in hard assay,  
To stynt thar fais mekill mycht,  
That then so fayr had off the fycht,  
That thai wan feild ay mar and mar:

375

The Kingis small folk ner vencusyt ar.  
And quhen the King his folk has sene  
Begyn to faile, for propyr tene

Hys assenyhe gan he cry;  
And in the stour sa hardyly  
He ruschyt, that all the semble schuk;

380

He all till-hewyt that he our-tuk;  
And dang on thaim quhill he mycht drey.

And till his folk he criyt hey;  
"On thaim! On thaim! Thai feble fast!

385

"This bargane nevir may langar last!"  
And with that word sa wilfully

He dang on, and sa hardely,  
That quha had sene him in that fycht  
Suld hald him for a douchty knycht.

390

Bot thocht he wes stout and hardy,  
And othir als off his cumpany,  
Thar mycht na worschip thar availyhe;  
For thar small folk begouth to failyhe,  
And fled all skalyt her and thar.

395

Bot the gude, at enchaufyt war  
Off ire, abade and held the stour  
To conquyr thaim endles honour.

[Pg 30]

And quhen Schyr Amer has sene  
The small folk fle all bedene,  
And sa few abid to fycht,

400

He releyt to him mony a knycht;  
And in the stour sa hardyly,  
He ruschyt with hys chevalry,  
That he ruschyt his fayis ilkane.

405

Schir Thomas Randell thar wes tane,  
That then wes a yyoung bachelor;  
And Schyr Alexander Fraseyr,  
And Schyr David the Breklay,

Inchmertyne, and Hew de le Hay,  
And Somerveil, and othir ma;

410

And the King him-selff alsua  
Wes set in-till full hard assay,  
Therfor Schyr Philip the Monk...

Inrow Schyr Philip the mowdray,  
 That raid till him full hardyly,  
 And hynt hys rengyhe, and syne gan cry; 415  
 "Help! help! I have the new maid king!"  
 With that come gyrdand, in a lyng,  
 Crystall of Seytoun, quhen he swa  
 Saw the King sesyt with his fa;  
 And to Philip sic rout he raucht, 420  
 That thocht he wes off mekill maucht,  
 He gert hym galay disyly;  
 And haid till erd gane fullyly,  
 Ne war he hynt him by his sted.  
 Then off his hand the brydill yhed; 425  
 And the King his enssenyhe gan cry,  
 Releyt his men that war him by,  
 That war sa few that thai na mycht  
 Endur the fors mar off the fycht.  
 Thai prikyt then out off the pres; 430  
 And the King that angry wes,  
 For he his men saw fle him fra,  
 Said then; "Lordingis, sen it is swa  
 "That ure rynnys agane us her,  
 "Gud is we pass off thar daunger, 435  
 "Till God us send eftsonys grace:  
 "And yheyt may fall, giff thai will chace,  
 "Quyt thaim corn-but sum-dele we sall."  
 To this word thai assentyt all,  
 And fra thaim walopyt owyr mar. 440  
 Thar fayis alsua wery war,  
 That off thaim all thar chassyt nane:  
 Bot with prisoneris, that thai had tane,  
 Rycht to the toune thai held thar way,  
 Rycht glaid and joyfull off thar pray. 445  
 That nycht thai lay all in the toun;  
 Ther wes nane off sa gret renoun,  
 Na yheit sa hardy off thaim all,  
 That durst herbery with-out the wall.  
 Sa dred thai sar the gayne-cummyng 450  
 Off Schir Robert, the douchty King.  
 And to the King off England sone,  
 Thai wrate haly as thai haid done;  
 And he wes blyth off that tithing,  
 And for dispyte bad draw and hing 455  
 All the prisoneris, thocht thai war ma.  
 Bot Schyr Amery did nocht sua;  
 To sum bath land and lyff gaiff he,  
 To leve the Bruysis fewte, 460  
 And serve the King off England,  
 And off him for to hald the land,  
 And werray the Brus as thar fa.  
 Thomas Randell wes ane off tha,  
 That for his lyff become thar man.  
 Off othir, that war takyn than, 465  
 Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew,  
 And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew.

[Pg 31]

1306 *Fate  
of the  
Prisoners*

### Here the King and his Men Suffer Great Want.

In this maner rebutyt was  
 The Bruys, that mekill murnyn mais  
 For his men that war slayne and tane. 470  
 And he wes als sa will off wane,  
 That he trowit in nane sekyrly,  
 Owtane thaim off his cumpany;  
 That war sa few that thai mycht be  
 Five hunder ner off all mengyhe. 475  
 His brodir always wes him by,  
 Schyr Edward, that wes sa hardy;  
 And with him wes a bauld baroun,  
 Schyr Wilyham the Boroundoun;  
 The Erle off Athole als wes thar. 480  
 Bot ay syn thai discomfyt war,  
 The Erle off the Levenax wes away,  
 And wes put to full hard assay

[Pg 32]

Or he met with the King agayn: 485  
 Bot always, as a man off mayn,  
 He mayntemyt him full manlyly.  
 The King had in his cumpany  
 James alsua of Dowglas,  
 That wucht, wys, and averty was. 490  
 Schyr Gilbert de le Hay alsua,  
 Schir Nele Cambell, and othir ma,  
 That I thar namys can nocht say,  
 As utelaufs went mony day;  
 Dreand in the Month thar pyne; 495  
 Eyte flesch, and drank watir syne.  
 He durst nocht to the planys ga,  
 For all the commownys went him fra;  
 That for thar liffis war full fayn  
 To pas to the Inglis pes agayn.  
 Sa fayris it ay commounly; 500  
 In commownys may nane affy,  
 Bot he that may thar warand be.  
 Sa fur thai then with him; for he  
 Thaim fra thar fais mycht nocht warand: [Pg 33]  
 Thai turnyt to the tothir hand. 505  
 Bot threldome, that men gert thaim fele,  
 Gert thaim ay yharne that he fur wele.

### Here King Robert with his Men goes as far as Aberdeen.

THUS in the hyllis levyt he,  
 Till the maist part off his menyhe  
 Wes revyn and rent; na schoyne thai  
 had, 1306 *Of the Scottish Ladies* 510  
 Bot as thai thaim off hydys mad.  
 Tharfor thai went till Abyrdeyne,  
 Quhar Nele the Bruys come, and the Queyn,  
 And othir ladyis fayr and farand, 515  
 Ilkane for luff off thar husband;  
 That for leyle luff, and leawte,  
 Wald partenerys off thair paynys be.  
 Thai chesyt tyttar with thaim to ta  
 Angyr, and payn, na be thaim fra.  
 For luff is off sa mekill mycht, 520  
 That it all paynys makis lycht;  
 And mony tyme mais tendir wuchtis  
 Off swilk strenthtis, and swilk mychtis,  
 That thai may mekill paynys endur,  
 And forsakis nane aventur 525  
 That evyr may fall, with-thi that thai  
 Thar-throw succur thair luffys may.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Men redys, quhen Thebes wes tane,  
 And King Adrastus men war slane,  
 That assailyt the cite, 530  
 That the wemen off his cuntre  
 Come for to fech him hame agayne,  
 Quhen thai hard all his folk wes slayne;  
 Quhar the King Campaneus,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Throw the help off Menesteus, 535  
 That come percas ridand tharby,  
 With three hunder in cumpany,  
 That throw the kingis prayer assailyt,  
 That yheit to tak the toun had failyheit.  
 Then war the wiffys thyrland the wall 540  
 With pikkis, quhar the assailyheours all  
 Entryt, and dystroyit the tour,  
 And slew the pupill but recour.  
 Syn quhen the duk his way wes gayne,  
 And all the kingis men war slayne, 545  
 The wiffis had him till his cuntre,  
 Quhar wes na man leiffand bot he.  
 In wemen mekill comfort lyis;  
 And gret solace on mony wis.  
 Sa fell it her, for thar cummyng 550  
 Rejosyt rycht gretumly the King;  
 The-quhethir ilk nycht him-selvyn wouk

And his rest apon daus touk.  
 A gud quhile thar he sojournyt then,  
 And esyt wondir weill his men; 555  
 Till that the Inglis men herd say  
 That he thair with his mengyhe lay,  
 All at ese and sekyrly.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Assemblit thai thar ost in hy,  
 And thar him trowit to suppris. 560  
 Bot he, that in his deid wes wys,  
 Wyst thai assemblyt war, and quhar;  
 And wyst that thai sa mony war,  
 That he mycht nocht agayne thaim fycht.  
 His men in hy he gert be dycht, 565  
 And buskyt of the toune to ryd:  
 The ladyis raid rycht by his syd.  
 Then to the hill thai raid thar way,  
 Quhar gret default off mete had thai.  
 Bot worthy James off Dowglas 570  
 Ay travailland and besy was,  
 For to purches the ladyis mete;  
 And it on mony wis wald get.  
 For quhile he venesoun thaim  
 brocht:  
 And with his handys quhile he wrocht 575  
 Gynnys, to tak geddis and salmonys,  
 Trowtis, elys, and als menounys.  
 And quhill thai went to the forray;  
 And swa thar purchesyng maid thai.  
 Ilk man traveillyt for to get 580  
 And purches thaim that thai mycht ete.  
 Bot off all that evir thai war,  
 Thar wes nocht ane amang thaim thar,  
 That to the ladyis profyt was  
 Mar then Jamys of Dowglas. 585  
 And the King oft confortyt wes,  
 Throw his wyt and his besynes.  
 On this maner thaim governyt thai,  
 Till they come to the hed of Tay.

1306 *The  
Labours of  
Douglas*

[Pg 35]

### BOOK III.

#### Here the Lord of Lorn attacks the King because of the Death of John Comyn.

THE Lord off Lorne wonnyt thar-by,  
 That wes capitale ennymy  
 To the King, for his emys sak,  
 Jhon Comyn; and thocht for to tak  
 Vengeance apon cruell maner. 5  
 Quhen he the King wyst wes sa ner,  
 He assemblyt his men in hy;  
 And had in-till his cumpany  
 The barownys off Argyle alsua,  
 Thai war a thowsand weill or ma: 10  
 And come for to suppris the King,  
 That weill wes war of thair cummyng.  
 Bot all to few with him he had,  
 The-quhethir he bauldly thaim abaid;  
 And weill ost, at thar fryst metyng, 15  
 War layd at erd, but recoveryng.  
 The Kingis folk full weill thaim bar,  
 And slew, and fellyt, and woundyt sar.  
 Bot the folk off the tothir party  
 Fawcht with axys sa felounly 20  
 For thai on fute war evir-ilkane,  
 That thai feile off thar hors has slayne;  
 And till sum gaiff thai woundis wid.  
 James off Dowglas wes hurt that tyd;  
 And als Schyr Gilbert de le Hay. 25  
 The King his men saw in affray,  
 And his ensenyhe can he cry;  
 And amang thaim rycht hardyly  
 He rad, that he thaim ruschyt all;  
 And fele of thaim thar gert he fall. 30

[Pg 36]

Bot quhen he saw thai war sa feill,  
 And saw thaim swa gret dyntis deill,  
 He dred to tyne his folk, forthi  
 His men till him he gan rely,  
 And said; 'Lordyngis, foly it war 35  
 'Tyll us for till assemblill mar,  
 'For thai fele off our hors has slayn;  
 'And gyff we fecht with thaim agayn  
 'We sall tyne off our small mengyhe,  
 'And our-selft sall in perill be. 40  
 'Tharfor me thynk maist avenand  
 'To withdraw us, us defendand,  
 'Till we cum owt off thar daunger,  
 'For owr strenth at our hand is ner.'

Then thai withdrew thaim halely; 45  
 Bot that wes nocht full cowardly;  
 For samyn in-till a sop held thai;  
 And the King him abandonyt ay  
 To defend behind his mengyhe.  
 And throw his worschip sa wroucht he, 50  
 That he reskewyt all the flearis,  
 And styntyt swagat the chassaris,  
 That nane durst owt off batall chas  
 For always at thar hand he was.  
 Sa weile defendyt he his men, 55  
 That quha-sa-evir had seyne him then  
 Prove sa worthely vasselage,  
 And turn sa oft sythis the visage,  
 He suld say he awcht weill to be  
 A king of gret rewate. 60

QUHEN that the Lord of Lorne saw  
 His men stand off him ane sik aw,  
 That thai durst nocht folow the  
 chase,

1306 Bruce  
 compared to  
 Gaudifer

Rycht angry in his hart he was;  
 And for wondyr that he suld swa 65  
 Stot thaim, him allane but ma,  
 He said; "Me think, Marthokys sone,  
 "Rycht as Golmakmorn was wone  
 "To haiff fra Fyn all his mengne,  
 "Rycht swa all his fra us has he." 70  
 He set ensample thus mydlike,  
 The-quhethir he micht, mar manerlik,  
 Lyknyt hym to Gaudifer de Larys,  
 Quhen that the mychty duk Betys  
 Assailyheit in Gadyrris the forrayours. 75  
 And quhen the King thaim made rescours,  
 Duk Betys tuk on him the flycht,  
 That wald ne mar abid to fycht.  
 Bot gud Gaudifer the worthi  
 Abandonyt him so worthyly, 80  
 For to reskew all the fleieris,  
 And for to stonay the chasseris,  
 That Alysandir to erth he bar;  
 And alsua did he Tholimar,  
 And gud Coneus alsua, 85  
 Danklyne alsua, and othir ma.  
 But at the last thar slayne he wes:  
 In that failyheit the liklynes.  
 For the King, full chevalrusly,  
 Defendyt all his cumpany, 90  
 And wes set in full gret danger;  
 And yheit eschapyt haile and fer.

### How the King slew the Three Men that swore his Death.

Twa brethir war into that land,  
 That war the hardiest off hand  
 That war in-till all that cuntre; 95  
 And thai had sworn, iff thai micht se  
 The Bruys, quhar thai mycht him our-ta,  
 That thai suld dey, or then hym sla.

Thar surname wes Makyne-drosser; 100  
 That is al-so mekill to say her  
 As "the Durwarth sonnys" perfay.  
 Off thar covyne the thrid had thai,  
 That wes rycht stout, ill, and feloune.  
 Quhen thai the King of gud renoune  
 Saw sua behind his mengne rid, 105  
 And saw him torne sa mony tid,  
 Thai abaid till that he was  
 Entryt in ane narow place,  
 Betuix a louchside and a bra;  
 That wes sa strait, Ik underta, 110  
 That he mycht nocht weill turn his sted.  
 Then with a will till him thai yhede;  
 And ane him by the bridill hynt:  
 But he raucht till him sic a dynt,  
 That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra. 115  
 With that ane othir gan him ta  
 Be the lege, and his hand gan schute  
 Betuix the sterap and his fute:  
 And quhen the King felt thar his hand.  
 In sterapys stythly gan he stand, 120  
 And strak with spuris the stede in hy,  
 And he lansyt furth delyverly,  
 Swa that the tothir failyheit fete;  
 And nocht-for-thi his hand wes yheit  
 Undyr the sterap, magre his. 125  
 The thrid, with full gret hy, with this  
 Rycht till the bra-syd he yheid,  
 And stert be-hynd hym on his sted.  
 The King wes then in full gret pres;  
 The-quhethir he thocht, as he that wes 130  
 In all hys dedys avise,  
 To do ane owtrageous bounte.  
 And syne hyme that behynd hym was,  
 All magre his will, him gan he ras  
 Fra be-hynd hym, thocht he had sworn, 135  
 He laid hym evyn him beforne.  
 Syne with the suerd sic dynt hym gave,  
 That he the heid till the harnys clave.  
 He rouschit doun off blud all rede,  
 As he that stound feld off dede. 140  
 And then the King, in full gret hy,  
 Strak at the tothir vigorously,  
 That he eftir his sterap drew,  
 That at the fyrst strak he him slew.  
 On this wis him delyverit he 145  
 Off all thai felloun fayis thre.

QUHEN thai of Lorne has sene the  
 King

Set in hym-selff sa gret helping,  
 And defend him sa manlely;  
 Wes nane amang thaim sa hardy  
 That durst assailyhe him mar in  
 fycht:

1306  
*Macnaughton*  
*praises*  
*Bruce*

Sa dred thai for his mekill mycht.  
 Thar wes a baroune Maknaughtan,  
 That in his hart gret kep has tane  
 Unto the Kingis chevalry, 155  
 And prisyt hym in hert gretly.  
 And to the Lord off Lorne said he;  
 'Sekyrly now may yhe se  
 'Betane the starkest pundelan,  
 'That evyr yhour lyff-tyme yhe saw tane. 160  
 'For yhone knyght, throw his douchti deid,  
 'And throw his owtrageous manheid,  
 'Has fellyt in-till litill tyd  
 'Thre men of mekill mycht and prid:  
 'And stonayit all our mengyhe swa, 165  
 'That eftyr him dar na man ga;  
 'And tournys sa mony tyme his stede,  
 'That semys off us he had na dred.'  
 Then gane the Lord off Lorn say;  
 "It semys it likis the perfay, 170

"That he slayis yhongat our mengyhe."  
 'Schyr,' said he, 'sa our Lord me se!  
 To sauff yhour presence it is nocht swa.  
 'Bot quethir sa he be freynd or fa,  
 'That wynnys prys off chevalry,  
 'Men suld spek tharoff lelyly.  
 'And sekyrly, in all my tyme,  
 'Ik hard nevir, in sang na ryme,  
 'Tell off a man that swa smertly  
 'Eschevyt swa gret chevalry.'  
 Sic speking off the King thai maid:  
 And he eftyr his mengyhe raid;  
 And in-till saufte thaim led,  
 Quhar he his fayis na thing dred.  
 And thai off Lorne agayn ar gayn,  
 Menand the scaith that thai haiff tayn.

175

[Pg 40]

180

185

THE King that nycht his wachis set,  
 And gert ordayne that thai mycht et;  
 And bad thaim comford to thaim  
 tak,<sup>[†]</sup>

1306 *How  
 Hannibal  
 failed at  
 Rome*

190

And at thar mychtis mery mak.  
 'For disconford,' as then said he,  
 'Is the werst thing that may be.  
 'For throw mekill disconforting  
 'Men fallis oft in-to disparyng.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'And fra a man disparyt be,  
 'Then utterly vencusyit is he.  
 'And fra the hart be discumfyt,  
 'The body is nocht worth a myt.  
 'Tharfor,' he said, 'atour all thing,  
 'Kepys yhow fra disparyng:

195

200

'And thynk, thouch we now harmys fele,  
 'That God may yheit releve us weill.  
 'Men redys off mony men that war  
 'Fer hardar stad then we yhet ar;  
 'And syne our lord sic grace thaim lent,  
 'That thai come weill till thair entent.

205

'For Rome quhilum sa hard wes stad,  
 'Quhen Hanniball thaim vencusyit had,  
 'That, off ryngis with rich stane,

210

'That war off knychtis fyngerys tane,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'He send thre bollis to Cartage:  
 'And syne to Rome tuk his viage,  
 'Thar to distroye the cite all.  
 'And thai with-in, bath gret and small,  
 'Had fled, quhen thai saw his cummyng,  
 'Had nocht bene Scipio the king,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'That, or thai fled, wald thaim haiff slayn,  
 'And swagat turnyt he thaim agayn.

215

'Syne for to defend the cite,  
 'Servandis and threllis mad he fre;  
 'And maid thaim knychtis evirilkane:  
 'And syne has off the templis tane  
 'The armys, that thar eldrys bar,  
 'In name off victory offerryt thar.  
 'And quhen thai armyt war and dycht,  
 'That stalwart karlis war and wycht,  
 'And saw that thai war fre alsua,  
 'Thaim thocht that thai had levir ta  
 'The dede, na lat the toun be tane.

220

225

'And with commowne assent, as ane,  
 'Thai ischit off the toune to fycht,  
 'Quhar Hannyball his mekill mycht  
 'Aganys thaim arayit was.

230

'Bot, throw mycht off Goddis grace,  
 'It ranyt sa hard and hevlyly,  
 'That thar wes nane sa hardy  
 'That durst in-to that place abid;  
 'Bot sped thaim in-till hy to rid;

235

'The ta part to thar pailyhownys,  
 'The tothyr part went in the toune is.  
 'The rayne thus lettyt the fechtyn:  
 'Sa did it twys thar-efitir syne.

240

'Quhen Hannibal saw this ferly

[Pg 41]



'With all his gret chevalry  
 'He left the toune, and held his way; 245  
 'And syne wes put to sik assay,  
 'Throw the power off that cite,  
 'That his lyff and his land tynt he.  
 'Be thir quheyne, that sa worthily  
 'Wane sik a king, and sa mychty, 250  
 'The may weill be ensampill se,  
 'That na man suld disparyt be:  
 'Na lat his hart be vencusyrt all,  
 'For na myscheiff that evir may fall.  
 'For nane wate, in how litill space, 255  
 'That God umquhile will send his grace.  
 'Had thai fled and thar wayis gane,  
 'Thar fayis swith the toune had tane.  
 'Tharfor men, that werrayand ar,  
 'Suld set thair etlyng evir-mar 260  
 'To stand agayne thar fayis mycht,  
 'Umquhile with strenth, and quhile with slycht;  
 'And ay thynk to cum to purpos:  
 'And giff that thaim war set in chos,  
 'To dey, or to leyff cowartly, 265  
 'Thai suld erar dey chevalrusly.'

THUSGAT thaim confortyt the King;  
 And, to confort thaim, gan inbryng  
 Auld storys off men that wer  
 Set in-tyll hard assayis ser, 270  
 And that fortoun contraryit fast,  
 And come to purpos at the last.  
 Tharfor he said, that thai that wald  
 Thar hartis undiscumfyt hald  
 Suld ay thynk ythandly to bryng<sup>[†]</sup> 275  
 All thar enpres to gud ending:  
 As quhile did Cesar the worthy,  
 That traveillyt ay so besyly,  
 With all his mycht, folowing to mak  
 To end the purpos that he wald tak; 280  
 That hym thocht he had doyne rycht nocht,  
 Ay quhill to do him levyt ocht:  
 For-thi gret thingis eschevyt he,  
 As men may in his story se.  
 Men may se be his ythand will, 285  
 And it suld als accord to skill,  
 That quha tais purpos sekyrly,  
 And followis it syne ythandly,  
 For-owt fayntice, or yheit faynding,  
 With-thi it be conabill thing, 290  
 Bot he the mar be unhappy,  
 He sall eschev it in party.  
 And haiff he lyff-dayis, weill mai fall,  
 That he sall eschev it all.  
 For-thi suld nane haiff disparing 295  
 For till eschev a full gret thing:  
 For giff it fall he thar off failyhe,  
 The fawt may be in his trawailyhe.

HE prechyt thaim on this maner;  
 And fenyheit to mak bettir cher,  
 Then he had matir to, be fer:  
 For his caus yheid fra ill to wer.  
 Thai war ay in sa hard travaill,  
 Till the ladyis began to fayle,  
 That mycht the travaill drey na mar; 305  
 Sa did othir als that war thar.  
 The Erle Jhone wes ane off tha,  
 Off Athole, that quhen he saw sua  
 The King be discumfyt twys,  
 And sa feile folk agayne him rys; 310  
 And lyff in sic travaill and dout,  
 His hart begane to faile all out.  
 And to the King, apon a day,  
 He said; "Gyff I durst to yhow say,  
 "We lyff in-to sa mekill dreid, 315  
 "And haffis oft-svs off met sik ned.

1306 *The Ladies are worn out*

"And is ay in sic travailling,  
 "With cauld, and hungir, and waking;  
 "That I set off my-selvyn sua,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "That I count nocht my liff a stra. 320  
 "Thir angrys may I na mar drey,  
 "For thought me tharfor worthit dey, [Pg 44]  
 "I mon sojourne, quhar-evir it be.  
 "Levys me tharfor par cheryte."  
 The King saw that he sa wes failyt, 325  
 And that he ik wes for-travailyt.  
 He said; 'Schir Erle, we sall sone se,  
 'And ordayne how it best may be.  
 'Quhar-evyr yhe be, our Lord yhow send  
 'Grace, fra yhour fais yhow to defend!' 330  
 With that in hy to him callyt he  
 Thaim, that till him war mast prive:  
 Then amang thaim thai thocht it best,  
 And ordanyt for the liklyest,  
 That the Queyne, and the Erle alsua, 335  
 And the ladyis, in hy suld ga,  
 With Nele the Bruce, till Kildromy.  
 For thaim thocht thai mycht sekyrly  
 Duell thar, quhill thai war victaillit weile:  
 For swa stalwart wes the castell, 340  
 That it with strenth war hard to get,  
 Quhill that thar-in were men and mete.  
 As thai ordanyt thai did in hy:  
 The Queyne, and all hyr cumpany,  
 Lap on thar hors, and furth thai far. 345  
 Men mycht haiff sene, quha had bene thar,  
 At leve-takyn the ladyis gret,  
 And mak thar face with teris wet:  
 And knychtis, for thar luffis sak,  
 Baith sich, and wep, and murnyng mak. 350  
 Thai kyssyt thair luffis at thair partyng,  
 The King umbethocht him off a thing;  
 That he fra-thine on fute wald ga,  
 And tak on fute bath weill and wa;  
 And wald na hors-men with him haiff. 355  
 Tharfor his hors all haile he gaiff  
 To the ladyis, that mystir had.  
 The Queyn furth on hyr wayis rade;  
 And sawffly come to the castell,  
 Quhar hyr folk war ressavyt weill; 360  
 And esyt weill with meyt and drynk.  
 Bot mycht nane eys let hyr to think  
 On the King, that sa sar wes stad,  
 That bot twa hunder with him had,  
 The quhethir thaim weill confort he ay:<sup>[†]</sup> 365  
 God help him, that all mychtis may!

### The Pains of King Robert among the Mountains.

THE Queyne duelt thus in Kyldromy:  
 And the King and his cumpany,  
 That war twa hunder, and na ma,  
 Fra thai had send thar hors thaim  
 fra, 370  
 Wandryt emang the hey montanys  
 Quhar he and his oft tholyt paynys.  
 For it wes to the wynter ner;  
 And sa feile fayis about him wer,  
 That all the countre thaim werrayit. 375  
 Sa hard anoy thaim then assayit,  
 Off hungir, cauld, with schowris snell,  
 That nane that levys can weill it tell.  
 The King saw how his folk wes stad,  
 And quhat anoyis that thai had; 380  
 And saw wynter wes cummand ner;  
 And that he mycht on na wys der,  
 In the hillys, the cauld lying,  
 Na the lang nychtis waking.  
 He thocht he to Kyntyr wald ga, 385

1306 Bruce  
 will go to  
 Kintyre

And swa lang sojowrnyng thar ma,  
 Till wynter weddir war away:  
 And then he thoct, but mar delay,  
 In-to the manland till aryve,  
 And till the end hys werdis dryve. 390  
 And for Kyntyr lysis in the se,  
 Schyr Nele Cambel befor send he,  
 For to get him navyn and meite:  
 And certane tyme till him he sete,  
 Quhen he suld meite him at the se. 395  
 Schir Nele Cambel, with his mengyhe,  
 Went his way, but mar letting,  
 And left his brothir with the King.  
 And in twelve dayis sua traveillit he,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That he gat schippyne gud plente, 400  
 And victalis in gret aboundance:  
 Sa maid he nobill chevisance.  
 For his sibmen wonnyt thar-by,  
 That helpyt him full wilfully.

[Pg 46]

### How the King passed over Loch Lomond.

The King, eftir that he wes gane, 405  
 To Lowchlomond the way has tane,  
 And come thar on the thrid day.  
 Bot thar-about na bait fand thai,  
 That mycht thaim our the watir ber:  
 Than war thai wa on gret maner: 410  
 For it wes fer about to ga;  
 And thai war in-to dout alsua,  
 To meyt thair fayis that spred war wyd.  
 Tharfor, endlang the louch his syd,  
 Sa besyly thai socht, and fast, 415  
 Tyll Jamys of Dowglas, at the last,  
 Fand a litill sonkyn bate,  
 And to the land it drew, fut-hate.  
 But it sa litill wes that it  
 Mycht our the wattir bot thresum flyt. 420  
 Thai send thar-off word to the King,  
 That wes joyfull off that fynding;  
 And fyrst in-to the bate is gane,  
 With him Dowglas; the thrid wes ane  
 That rowyt thaim our deliverly, 425  
 And set thaim on the land all dry:  
 And rowyt sa oft-sys to and fra,  
 Fechand ay our twa and twa,  
 That in a nycht and in a day,  
 Cummyn owt-our the louch ar thai. 430  
 For sum off thaim couth swome full weill,  
 And on his bak ber a fardele.  
 Swa with swymmyng, and with rowyng,  
 Thai brocht thaim our, and all thair thing.

[Pg 47]

The King, the quhilis, meryly 435  
 Red to thaim, that war him by,  
 Romanys off worthi Ferambrace,  
 That worthily our-cummyn was,  
 Throw the rycht douchty Olyver;  
 And how the Duk-Peris wer 440  
 Assegyt in-till Egrymor,  
 Quhar King Lavyne lay thaim befor,  
 With may thowsandis then I can say.  
 And bot eleven within war thai,  
 And a woman: and war sa stad, 445  
 That thai na mete thar-within had,  
 Bot as thai fra thar fayis wan.  
 Yheyte sua contenyt thai thaim than,  
 That thai the tour held manlily,  
 Till that Rychard off Normandy, 450  
 Magre his fayis, warnyt the King,  
 That wes joyfull off this tithing:  
 For he wend thai had all bene slayne.  
 Tharfor he turnyt in hy agayne,  
 And wan Mantrybill and passit Flagot; 455  
 And syne Lavyne and all his flot,

1306 Bruce  
reads aloud a  
Romance

Dispitusly discumfyt he:  
 And deliveryt his men all fre,  
 And wan the naylis, and the sper, 460  
 And the croune that Jesu couth ber;  
 And off the croice a gret party  
 He wan throw his chevalry.  
 The gud King, apon this maner,  
 Comfortyt thaim that war him ner;  
 And maid thaim gamyn and solace,<sup>[†]</sup> 465  
 Till that his folk all passyt was.

[Pg 48]

QUHEN thai war passit the watir brad,  
 Suppos thai fele off fayis had,  
 Thai maid thaim mery, and war blyth;  
 Nocht-for-thi full fele syth 470  
 Thai had full gret default off mete,  
 And tharfor venesoun to get  
 In twa partys ar thai gayne.  
 The King him-selff was in-till ane,  
 And Schir James off Dowglas 475  
 In-to the tothir party was.  
 Then to the hycht thai held thar way,  
 And huntyt lang quhill off the day;  
 And soucht schawys, and setis set;  
 Bot thai gat litill for till ete. 480  
 Then hapnyt at that tyme percas,  
 That the Erle of the Levenax was  
 Amang the hillis ner tharby;  
 And quhen he hard sa blaw and cry,  
 He had wondir quhat it mycht be; 485  
 And on sic maner spyryt he,  
 That he knew that it wes the King  
 And then, for-owtyn mar duelling,  
 With all thaim off his company,  
 He went rycht till the King in hy, 490  
 Sa blyth and sa joyfull, that he  
 Mycht on na maner blyther be.  
 For he the King wend had bene ded;  
 And he wes alsua will off red,  
 That he durst rest in-to na place<sup>[†]</sup> 495  
 Na, sen the King discumfyt was  
 At Meffan, he herd nevir thing  
 That evir wes certane off the King.  
 Tharfor in-to full gret daynte,  
 The King full humyly haylsit he; 500  
 And he him welcummyt rycht blythly,  
 And kyssyt him full tendirly.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And all the lordis, that war thar,  
 Rycht joyfull off thar meting war,  
 And kyssyt him in gret daynte. 505  
 It wes gret pite for till se  
 How thai for joy and pite gret,  
 Quhen that thai with thar falow met,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That thai wend had bene dede; forthi  
 Thai welcummyt him mar hartfully. 510  
 And he for pite gret agayne,  
 That nevir off metyng wes say fayne.

Thocht I say that thai gret, sothly  
 It wes na greting propyrly:  
 For I trow traistly that gretyng 515  
 Cummys to men for mysliking;  
 And that nane may but anger gret,  
 Bot it be wemen, that can wet  
 Thair chekys quhen-evir thaim list with teris,  
 The-quhethir weill oft thaim na thing deris. 520  
 Bot I wate richt weill, but lesyng,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Quhat-evir men say off sic greting,  
 That mekill joy, or yheit pete,  
 May ger men sua amovyt be,  
 That watir fra the hart will rys, 525  
 And weyt the eyne on sic avys,  
 That it is lik to be greting,  
 Thocht it to be nocht sua in all thing.

1306 *How  
men weep*

[Pg 49]

For quhen men gretis enkrely,  
 The hart is sorowfull or angry. 530  
 Bot for pite, I trow, gretyng  
 Be na thing bot ane opynnyng  
 Off hart, that schawis the tendirnys  
 Off rewth that in it closyt is.  
 The barownys apon this maner, 535  
 Throw Goddis grace, assemblyt wer.  
 The Erle had mete, and that plente,  
 And with glaid hart it thaim gaiff he;  
 And thai eyt it with full gud will,  
 That soucht nane othir sals thar-till 540  
 Bot appetyt, that oft men takys;  
 For rycht weill scowryt war thar stomakys.  
 Thai eit and drank sic as thai had;  
 And till our Lord syne lovyng maid,  
 And thankit him, with full gud cher, 545  
 That thai war met on that maner.  
 The King then at thaim speryt yharne,  
 How thai, sen he thaim saw, had farne;  
 And thai full petwysly gan tell  
 Aventuris that thaim befell, 550  
 And gret anoyis, and poverté.  
 The King thar-at had gret pite:  
 And tauld thaim petwisly agayne  
 The noy, the travaill, and the payne,  
 That he had tholyt, sen he thaim saw. 555  
 Wes nane amang thaim, hey na law,  
 That he ne had pite and plesaunce,  
 Quhen that he herd mak remembrance  
 Off the perellys that passyt war.  
 For, quhen men oucht at liking ar, 560  
 To tell off paynys passyt by  
 Plesys to heryng wonderly;  
 And to rehers thar auld disese,  
 Dois thaim oft-sys confort and ese;  
 With-thi thar-to folow na blame, 565  
 Dishonour, wikytne, na shame.

[Pg 50]

### How the King passed to the Sea, and how the Earl of Lennox was chased.

EFTIR the mete sone rais the King,  
 Quhen he had levyt hys speryng;  
 And buskyt him, with his mengyhe,  
 And went in hy towart the se;  
 Quhar Schir Nele Cambell thaim  
 mete, 570  
 Bath with schippis, and with meyte;  
 Saylys, ayris, and othir thing,  
 That wes spedfull to thar passyng.  
 Then schippyt thai, for-owtyn mar;  
 Sum went till ster, and sum till ar, 575  
 And rowyt be the ile of But.  
 Men mycht se mony frely fute  
 About the costis thar lukand,  
 As thai on ayris rais rowand: 580  
 And nevys that stalwart war and squar,  
 That wont to spayn gret speris war,  
 Swa spaynyt aris, that men mycht se  
 Full oft the hyde leve on the tre.  
 For all war doand, knycht and knave; 585  
 Wes nane that evir disport mycht have  
 Fra steryng, and fra rowyng,  
 To furthyr thaim off thar fletyng.

1306 *The  
Knights at  
the Oars*

[Pg 51]

### Here the Earl of Lennox is followed by Traitors.

Bot in the samyn tyme at thai  
 War in schipping, as yhe hard me say, 590  
 The Erle off the Levenax was,  
 I can nocht tell yhow throw quhat cas.  
 Levyt behynd with his galay,  
 Till the King was far on his way

In the King wes ter on his way.  
 Quhen that thai off his cuntre 595  
 Wyst that so duelt behynd wes he,  
 Be se with schippys thai him soucht;  
 And he that saw that he wes nocht  
 Off pith to fecht with thai traytouris,  
 And that he had na ner socouris 600  
 Then the Kingis flote, for-thi  
 He sped him eftir thaim in hy.  
 Bot the tratouris hym folowyt sua,  
 That thai weill ner hym gan our-ta.  
 For all the mycht that he mycht do, 605  
 Ay ner and ner thai come him to.  
 And quhen he saw thai war sa ner  
 That he mycht weill thar manauce her,  
 And saw thaim ner and ner cum ay,  
 Then till his mengyhe gan he say; 610  
 "Bot giff we fynd sum sutelte,  
 "Ourtane all sone sall we be.  
 "Tharfor I rede, but mar letting,  
 "That, owtakyn our armyng,  
 "We kast our thing all in the se: 615  
 "And fra our schip swa lychtyt be,  
 "We sall swa row, and speid us sua,  
 "That we sall weill eschaip thaim fra;  
 "With that thai sall mak duelling  
 "Apon the se, to tak our thing; 620  
 "And we sall row but resting ay,  
 "Till we eschapyt be away."  
 As he devisyt thai have done;  
 And thar schip thai lychtyt sone:  
 And rowyt syne, with all thar mycht; 625  
 And scho, that swa wes maid lycht,  
 Raykyt slidand throw the se.  
 And quhen thar fayis gan thaim se  
 Forowth thaim always, mar and mar,  
 The thingis that thar fletand war 630  
 Thai tuk; and turnyt syne agayne,  
 Swa that thai lesyt all thar payne.

QUHEN that the Erle on this maner,  
 And hys mengyhe, eschapyt wer,  
 Eftyr the King he gan hym hy, 635  
 That then, with all his cumpany,  
 In-to Kyntyr aryvyt was.  
 The Erle tauld him all his cas;  
 How he wes chasyt on the se,  
 With thaim that suld his awyn be; 640  
 And how he had bene tane but dout,  
 Na war it that he warpyt owt  
 All that he had, him lycht to ma;  
 And swa eschapyt he thaim fra.  
 "Schyr Erle," said the King, "perfay 645  
 "Syn thow eschapyt is away,  
 "Off the tynsell is na plenyheing.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Bot I will say the weile a thing;  
 "That thar will fall the gret foly 650  
 "To pas oft fra my cumpany.  
 "For fele sys, quhen thow art away,  
 "Thow art set in-till hard assay.  
 "Tharfor me thynk it best to the  
 "To hald the always ner by me."  
 'Schyr,' said the Erle, 'it sall be swa. 655  
 'I sall na wys pas fer yhow fra,  
 'Till God giff grace we be of mycht  
 'Agayne our fayis to hald our stycht.'<sup>[†]</sup>

Angus off Ile that tyme wes syr,  
 And lord and ledar off Kyntyr. 660  
 The King rycht weill resavyt he;  
 And undretuk his man to be:  
 And him and his, on mony wys,  
 He abandownyt till his service.  
 And, for mar sekyrnes, gaiff him syne 665  
 Hys castell off Donavardyne,  
 To dwell thair at his liking.

1306 *Angus  
 of Islay joins  
 Bruce*

io queen tharin at his iking.  
 Full gretumly thankyt him the King,  
 And resavyt his service. 670  
 Nocht-for-thi, on mony wys,  
 He wes dredand for tresoun ay:  
 And tharfor, as Ik hard men say,  
 He traistyt in nane sekyrly,  
 Till that he knew him utraly.  
 Bot quhatkyn dred that evir he had, 675  
 Fayr contenance to thaim he maid.  
 And in Donavardyne dayis thre,  
 For-owtyne mar, then duellyt he.  
 Syne gert he his mengyhe mak thaim yhar,  
 Towart Rauchryne be se to far, 680  
 That is ane ile in-to the se;  
 And may weill in mydwart be  
 Betuix Kyntyr and Irland:  
 Quhar als gret stremys ar rynnand,  
 And als peralous and mar 685  
 Till our-saile thaim in-to schipfair,  
 As is the rais of Bretangyhe,  
 Or strait off Marrok in-to Spanyhe.

Thair schippys to the se thai set;  
 And maid redy but langer let, 690  
 Ankyrs, rapys, bath saile and ar,  
 And all that nedyt to schipfar.  
 Quhen thai war boune, to saile thai went:  
 The wynd wes wele to thar talent.  
 Thai raysyt saile, and furth thai far; 695  
 And by the mole thai passyt yhar,  
 And entryt sone in-to the rase,  
 Quhar that the strem sa sturdy was  
 That wavys wycht, that brekand war,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Weltryt as hillys her and thar. 700  
 The schippys our the wavys slayd,  
 For wynd at poynt blawand thai had.  
 Bot nocht-for-thi quha had thar bene,  
 A gret stertling he mycht haiff seyne  
 Off schippys; for quhilum sum wald be 705  
 Rycht on the wavys, as on mounte,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And sum wald slyd fro heycht to law,  
 Rycht as thai doune till hell wald draw;  
 Syne on the wav stert sodanly.  
 And othyr schippis, that war thar-by, 710  
 Deliverly drew to the depe.  
 It wes gret cunnannes to kep  
 Thar takill in-till sic a thrang,  
 And wyth sic wavis; for, ay amang,  
 The wavys reft thar sycht of land. 715  
 Quhen thai the land wes rycht ner hand,  
 And quhen schippys war sailand ner,  
 The se wald rys on sic maner,  
 That off the wavys the weltrand hycht  
 Wald refe thaim oft off thar sycht. 720

Bot in to Rauchryne, nocht-forthi,  
 Thai aryvyt ilkane sawffly:  
 Blyth, and glaid, that thai war sua  
 Eschapyt thai hidwyss wavis fra.  
 In Rauchryne thai aryvyt ar;  
 And to the land thai went but mar,  
 Armyt upon thar best maner.  
 Quhen the folk, that thar wonnand wer,  
 Saw men off armys in thar cuntre  
 Aryve in-to sic quantite, 730  
 Thai fled in hy, with thar catell,  
 Towart a rycht stalwart castell,  
 That in the land wes ner thar-by.  
 Men mycht her wemen hely cry,  
 And fle with cataill her and thar. 735  
 Bot the Kingis folk, that war  
 Deliver off fute, thaim gan our-hy;  
 And thaim arestyt haillely,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And brocht thaim to the King agayne,

1306 *The  
 King settles  
 in Rathein*

Swa that nane off thaim all wes slayne. 740  
 Then with thaim tretyt swa the King,  
 That thai, to fullfill hys yarning,  
 Become his men evirilkane:  
 And has him trewly undretane  
 That thai and thairis, loud and still, 745  
 Suld be in all thing at his will:  
 And, quhill him likit thar to leynd,  
 Evirilk day thai suld him seynd  
 Victalis for three hunder men:  
 And ay as lord thai suld him ken;<sup>[†]</sup> 750  
 Bot at thar possessioun suld be,  
 For all his men, thair awyn fre.

The cunnand on this wys was maid.  
 And on the morn, but langir baid  
 Off all Rauchryne bath man and page 755  
 Knelyt, and maid the King homage;  
 And tharwith swour him fewte,  
 To serve him ay in lawte:  
 And held him rycht weill cunnand. 760  
 For quhill he duelt in-to the land,  
 Thai fand meit till his cumpany;  
 And servyt him full humely.

[Pg 56]

## BOOK IV.

### How the Queen and Other Ladies were taken and imprisoned and her Men slain.

IN Rauchryne leve we now the King  
 In rest, for-owtyn barganyng;  
 And off his fayis a quhile spek we,  
 That, throw thar mycht and thar powste, 5  
 Maid sic a persecucioun,  
 Sa hard, sa strait, and sa feloun,  
 On thaim that till hym luffand wer,  
 Or kyn, or freynd on ony maner;  
 That it till her is gret pite.  
 For thai sparyt, off na degre, 10  
 Thaim that thai trowit his freynd wer,  
 Nothir off the kyrk, na seculer.  
 For off Glaskow byschop Robert,  
 And Marcus off Man thai stythly speryt, 15  
 Bath in fetrys and in presoun.  
 And worthy Crystoll off Seytoun  
 In-to Lochdon betresyt was,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Throw a discipill off Judas.  
 Maknab, a fals tratour, that ay  
 Wes off his duelling, nycht and day; 20  
 Quhom-to he maid gud cumpany.  
 It wes fer wer than tratoury  
 For to betreys sic a persoun,  
 So nobill, and off sic renoun.  
 Bot thar-off had he na pite: 25  
 In hell condampnyt mot he be!  
 For quhen he him betrasyt had,  
 The Inglis men rycht with him rad  
 In hy, in England, to the King,  
 That gert draw hym, and hede, and hing, 30  
 For-owtyn pete, or mercy.  
 It wes gret sorow sekyrly,  
 That so worthy persoun as he  
 Suld on sic maner hangyt be.  
 Thusgate endyt his worthynes. 35  
 And off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes.  
 And Schyr Bruce als the Blar,  
 Hangyt in-till a berne in Ar.

[Pg 57]

The Queyn, and als dame Marjory,  
 Hyr dochtyr that syne worthily 40  
 Wes couplyt in-to Goddis band  
 With Walter, Stewart off Scotland;  
 That wald on na wys langar ly

1306 *The Queen goes to Tain*



In the castell off Kyldromy, 45  
 To byd a sege, ar ridin raith  
 With knyghtis and with squyeris bath,  
 Throw Ros, rycht to the gyrth off Tayne.  
 Bot that travaill thai maid in vayne;  
 For thai off Ros, that wald nocht ber  
 For thaim na blayme, na yheit danger, 50  
 Owt off the gyrth thame all has tayne;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And syne has send thaim evirilkane  
 Rycht in-till Inghland, to the King,  
 That gert draw all the men, and hing;  
 And put the ladyis in presoune, 55  
 Sum in-till castell, sum in dongeoun.  
 It wes gret pite for till heir  
 Folk till be troublty on this maneir.<sup>[†]</sup>

### **How Prince Edward of England besieged Kyldrummy.**

[Pg 58]

THAT tyme wes in-to Kyldromy, 60  
 With men, that wycht war and hardy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Schyr Neile the Bruce: and I wate weile<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That thar the Erle wes off Adheill.  
 The castell weill victalyt thai,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And mete and fuell gan purvay;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And inforsit the castell sua, 65  
 That thaim thocht na strenth mycht it ta.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And quhen that it the King wes tald  
 Off Inghland, how thai schup to hald  
 That castell, he wes all angry;  
 And callit his sone till hym in hy, 70  
 The eldest and apperande air,  
 A yyoung bachiller, stark and fair,  
 Schyr Edward callit off Carnavirname,  
 That wes the starkest man off ane  
 That men fynd mycht in ony cuntre; 75  
 Prynce off Walys that tym wes he.  
 And he gert als call erlis twa,  
 Glowsister and Herfurd war thai;  
 And bad thame wend in-to Scotland  
 And set a sege, with stalward hand, 80  
 To the castell of Kildromy.  
 And all the haldaris halely  
 He bad distroy, without ransoun,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Or bring thame till him in presoune.

### **Here the King of England collects his Men in Scotland.**

Quhen thai the mandment all had tane, 85  
 Thai assemblit ane ost on-ane,  
 And to the castell went in hy,  
 And it assegyt vigorously,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And mony tyme full hard assalit;  
 Bot for to tak it yheit thame falit. 90  
 For thai within war rycht worthy,  
 And thame defendit douchtely;  
 And ruschit thair fayis oft agayne;  
 Sum best woundit, and sum wes slayne.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And mony tymes ysche thai wald, 95  
 And bargane at the barras hald;  
 And wound thair fayis oft and sla.  
 Schortly thai thaim contenynt swa,  
 That thai without disparit war,  
 And thought till Inghland for to far; 100  
 For thai sa stith saw the casteill,  
 And wist that it wes warnist weill;  
 And saw the men defend thame swa,  
 That thai na hop had thame to ta.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Nane had thai done all that sesoune, 105  
 Gyff na had beyn thair fals tresoune.

[Pg 59]

For thar within wes a tratour, *Kildrummy is  
set on Fire*  
 A fals lurdane, ane losengeour,  
 Osborn to name, maid the tresoun,  
 I wate nocht for quhat enchesoun, 110  
 Na quham-with he maid that covyne:  
 Bot as thai said, that war thar-in,  
 He tuk a culter hat glowand,  
 That het wes in a fyre byrnand,  
 And went in-to the mekill hall, 115  
 That than with corne wes fillit all,  
 And heych up on a mow it did,  
 Bot it full lang wes thar nocht hyd.  
 For men sais oft that fyr, na pryd,  
 But discovering may na man hyd. 120  
 For the pomp oft the prid furth shawis,  
 Or ellis the gret bost that it blawis.  
 Na mar may na man fyr sa covyr,<sup>[f]</sup> [Pg 60]  
 Than low or rek sall it discovyr.  
 So fell it heir, for fyre all cleir 125  
 Soyn throu the thik burd can appeir,  
 Ferst as a sterne, syne as a moyne,  
 And weill bradar thar-efter soyn  
 The fyre out syne in blasis brast;  
 And the reik rais rycht wounder fast. 130  
 The fyre our all the castell spred,  
 Thar mycht no fors of men it red.  
 Than thai within drew till the wall,  
 That at that tym wes battalit all  
 Within, rycht as it wes with-out. 135  
 That battalyng, withouten dout,  
 Saffit thair liffis, for it brak  
 Blesis that wald thame ourtak.  
 And quhen thair fayis the myscheiff saw,  
 Till armys went thai in a thraw; 140  
 And assalit the castell fast,  
 Quhar thai durst come for fyris blast,  
 Bot thai, within that myster had,  
 Sa gret defens ande worthy maid,  
 That thai full oft thair fayis ruschit, 145  
 For thai nakyn peralis refusit.  
 Thai travaill for to sauf thair lifis:  
 Bot werd, that to the end ay driffis  
 The warldis thingis, sua thame travalit,  
 That thai on twa halfis war assalit. 150  
 Within with fyr, that thame sa brulyheit;  
 Without with folk, that thaim sa tulyheit,  
 That thai brynt magre thairis the yhet,  
 Bot for the fyre, that wes so het,  
 Thai durst nocht enter swa in hy. 155  
 Thar folk thar-for thai can rely,  
 And went to rest, for it wes nycht;  
 Till on the morn that day wes lycht.

### How King Edward died in Burgh-in-Sand.

At sic myscheiff, as yhe herd say,  
 War thai within; the-quethir thai SEP. 1306  
*Kildrummy is  
surrendered* 160  
 Evir thame defendit worthely,  
 And thame contenit sa manfully,  
 That thai or day, throu mekill pane,  
 Had muryt up the yhet agane.  
 Bot on the morn, quhen day wes lycht, 165  
 And sone wes ryssyn schynand brycht,  
 Thai without in hale battale,  
 Com purvait, reddy till assale.  
 Bot thai within, that sa war stad,  
 That na wittaill na fuaill had, 170  
 Quhar-with thai mycht the castell hald,  
 Tretit ferst, and syne thame yhald  
 To be in-to the Kyngis will,  
 That than to Scottis wes full ill;  
 As soyn efter wes weill knawin, 175  
 For thai war hangit all and drawin.

Quhen this cunnand thus tretit wes,

And affermit with sekirnes,  
 Thai tuk thaim of the castell soyn. 180  
 And in till schort tyme has swa done,  
 That all a quarter off Snawdoune,  
 Rycht to the erd, thai tumlit doune.  
 Syne toward Inghland wend thar way.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot quhen the King Edward herd say  
 How Neyll the Bruce held Kildrummy 185  
 Agane his sone sa stallwardly;  
 He gaderit a gret chevelry,  
 And toward Scotland went in hy.

And as in-to Northumbirland 190  
 He wes, with his gret rowt, rydand,  
 A seiknes tuk him in the way;  
 And put him in sa hard assay,  
 That he mycht nouthir gang no ryde. [Pg 62]  
 Him worthit, magre his, abyde 195  
 In-till ane hamelat neir thair-by,  
 A litill toune, and unworthy.  
 With gret payn thiddir thai hym brocht;  
 He wes sa stad that he na mocht  
 Hys aynd bot with gret panys draw; 200  
 Na spek bot gif it war weill law.  
 The-quethir he bad thai suld him say  
 Quhat toune wes that, that he in lay.  
 "Schir," thai said, "Bowrch-in-the-Sand  
 "Men callis this toune, in-to this land."  
 'Call thai it Burch? Allace!' said he, 205  
 'My hope is now fordone to me.  
 'For I wend nevir to thole the payn  
 'Of dede, quhill I, throu mekyll mayn,  
 'The Burch of Jerusalem had tane;  
 'My lif wend I thair suld be gane. 210  
 'In Burch I wist weill I suld de:  
 'Bot I was nouthir wis, no sle,  
 'Till othir burchis kepe to ta.  
 'Now may I no wis forthir ga.'  
 Thus plenyheit he off his folye; 215  
 As he had mater sekirly,  
 Quhen he wend to wit certante  
 Of that at nane may certane be.<sup>[†]</sup>

The-quhethir, men said enclosit he had 220  
 Ane spirit, that hym ansuer mad  
 Of thingis that he wald inqueir.  
 Bot he wes fule, forouten weir,  
 That gaf treuth to that creature.  
 For fendis ar of sic nature, 225  
 That thai to mankynd has invy;  
 For thai wat weill and wittirly,  
 That thai that weill ar liffand heir  
 Sall wyn the segis, quhar-of thai weir  
 Tumlit doune throu thair mekill pryde. 230  
 Quharfor oftymis will betyde.  
 That quhen fendis distrenyheit ar  
 For till apper and mak answar,  
 Throu force of conjuracioune,  
 That thai sa fals ar and felloune.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That thai mak ay thair ansuering, 235  
 In-till dowbill undirstanding,  
 Till dissaf thame that will thame trow.  
 Ensampill will I set heir now  
 Of a were, as I herde tell,  
 Betuix France and the Flemynniss fell. 240

The Erl Ferrandis moder was  
 Ane nygramansour; and Sathanas  
 Scho rasit; and him askit syne, 245  
 Quhat suld worth off the fichtyne.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Betuix the Franch king and hir sone.  
 And he, as he all tyme wes wone,  
 In-to dissat maid his ansuer;  
 And said to hir thir versis heir.

1306 *How  
 Ferrand's  
 Mother was  
 deceived*

## The Lines about the War of Bosbek.

*Rex ruet in bello tumulique carebit honore*  
*Ferrandus, comitissa, tuus, mea cara Minerva,* 250  
*Parisius veniet, magna comitante caterva.*  
This wes the spek he maid, perfay;  
And is in Inglis for to say;  
"The king sall fall in the fichting,  
"And sall fale honor of erding; 255  
"And thi Ferrand, Mynerff my deir,  
"Sall rycht to Paris went, but weir;  
"Followand him gret cumpany  
"Of nobill men and of worthy."  
This is the sentens off the saw, 260  
That he in Latyne can hir schaw.  
He callit hir his deir Mynerfe,  
For Mynerfe ay wes wont to serfe  
Him fullely at his devis.  
And for scho maid the samyn service,<sup>[†]</sup> 265  
His Minerf hir callit he:  
And als, throu his gret sutelte,  
He callit hir deir, hir till dissaf,<sup>[†]</sup>  
That scho the titar suld consaf  
Of his spek the undirstanding, 270  
That plesit mast to hir liking.

His doubill spek hir sua dissavit,  
That throu hir feill the ded resavit;  
For scho was of his ansuer blith,  
And till hir sone scho tald it swith; 275  
And bad him till the battale spede,  
For he suld victor haf but drede.  
And he, that herd hir sermonyng,  
Sped hym in hy to the fichting;  
Quhar he discumfit wes and schent, 280  
And takyn, and to Paris sent.  
Bot in the fechting nocht-for-thi  
The kyng, throu his chevelry,  
Wes laid at erd, and lamyt bath,  
Bot his men horsit hym weill rath. 285  
And quhen Ferrandis moder herd  
How hir sone in the battale ferd,  
And that he swa wes discumfit,  
Scho rasit the evill spirit als tit:  
And askit quhy he gabbit had 290  
Of the ansuer that he hir mad.  
And he said that he suth said all;  
"I said the that the kyng suld fall  
"In the battale, and sua did he;  
"And falys erding, as men may se. 295  
"And I said that thi sone suld ga  
"To Paris, and he did he rycht sua;  
"Followand him sic a mengyhe,  
"That nevir, in his lif-tyme, he  
"Had sic mengyhe at his leding. 300  
"Now seis thow I maid na gabbing."<sup>[†]</sup>  
The wif confusit wes, perfay,  
And durst no mair on-till him say.

[Pg 64]

Thusgat, throu doubill  
undirstanding, 304  
That bargane come to sic ending,  
That the ta part dissavit was:  
Richt sua-gat fell it in this cas:  
At Jerusalem thus trowit he 308  
Gravyn in the burch to be;  
The-quethir at Burch in-to the Sand  
He suelt rycht in his awne land.  
And quhen he to the ded wes ner, 312  
The folk, that at Kyldrummy wer,  
Com with the presoners at thai had tane,  
And syne unto the Kyng ar gane.  
And for to confort him thai tald 316  
How thai the castell to thame yhald;

JULY 7, 1307  
Edward I.  
dies at  
Burgh-on-  
Sand

[Pg 65]

And how thai to his will war brocht,  
 Till do of thame quhat-evir he thoct;  
 And askit quhat thai suld of thaim do. 320  
 Than lukit he angryly thame to,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And said gyrnand, "Hangis and drawis."  
 It wes gret wounder of sic sawis;  
 That he, that to the ded wes neir, 324  
 Suld ansuer apon sic maneir  
 Forouten menyng of mercy,  
 How mycht he trastly on hym cry,  
 That suthfastly demys all thing 328  
 To haf mercy for his crying  
 Of him that, throu his felony,  
 In-to sic poynt had no mercy?  
 His men his mandment has all done: 332  
 And he deit thar-efrir sone;  
 And syne wes brocht till berynes:  
 His son syne eftir kyng he wes.

### How James of Douglas passed into Arran.

To Kyng Robert agane ga we, 336  
 That in Rauchryne, with his menyhe,  
 Lay till the wyntir neir wes gane,  
 And of that ile his met has tane.  
 James of Douglas wes angry 340  
 That thai so lang suld ydill ly;  
 And to Schir Robert Boyd said he;  
 "The pour folk of this countre  
 "Ar chargit apon gret maner 344  
 "Of us, that ydill lysis her.  
 "And I heir say that in Arane,  
 "Intill a stith castell of stane,  
 "Ar Inglis men that with strang hand 348  
 "Haldis the lordschip of the land.  
 "Ga we thiddir; and weill may fall,  
 "Anoy thame in sum thing we sall."  
 Schir Robert said, "I grant thar-till. 352  
 'To ly heir mair war litill skill:  
 'Tharfor till Arane pass will we,  
 'For I knaw rycht weill that cuntre.  
 'And the castell alsua knaw I. 356  
 'We sall come thair sa prevely,  
 'That thai sall haff na persavyng,  
 'Na yheit witting of our cummyng.  
 'And we sall neir enbuschit be, 360  
 'Quhar we thair out-cummyng may se.  
 'Sa sall it on na maner fall,  
 'Than scath thame on sum wis we sall.'

With that thai buskit thame on-  
 ane: 364  
 And at the Kyng thair leyf has tane,  
 And went thaim furth syne on thair  
 way.

1307  
*Douglas is in  
 Ambush*

In-to Kentyre soyn cumin ar thai:  
 Syne rowit all-waxis by the land, 368  
 Till at the nycht wes neir at hand;  
 Than till Arane thai went thair way,  
 And saufly thair arivit thai.  
 And under ane bra thair galay dreuch,<sup>[†]</sup> 372  
 And syne it helit weill ineuch;  
 Thair takill, ayris, and thair stere,  
 Thai hyde all on the samyn maner:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And held thair way rycht in the nycht, 376  
 Sa that, or day wes dawyn lycht,  
 Thai war enbuschit the castell neir,  
 Arayit on the best maneir.  
 And thouch thai wate war and wery, 380  
 And for lang fastyng all hungry,  
 Thai thocht to hald thame all preve,  
 Till that thai weill thair poynt mycht se.

Schir John the Hastyngis, at that tyde, 384  
 With knvchtis of full mekvll brvde.

And squyaris and gude yhemanry,  
 That war a weill gret cumpany,  
 Wes in the castell of Brathwik. 388  
 And oftsis, quhen it wald him lik,  
 He went to hunt with his menyhe  
 And sua the land abandonit he,  
 That nane durst warn to do his will. 392  
 He wes in-to the castell still,  
 The tym that James of Douglas,  
 As I haf tald, enbuschit was.  
 Sa hapnyt at that tyme, throu chans, 396  
 With vittalis and ek purvians,  
 And with clething, and with armyng,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The day befor, in the evynnyng,  
 The undirwardane arivit was, 400  
 With thre batis, weill neir the place  
 Quhar that the folk I spak off ar<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Prevely enbuschit war.  
 Soyn fra the batis saw thai ga 404  
 Of Inglis men thretty and ma,  
 Chargit all with syndry thing,  
 Sum bare wyne, and sum armyng:  
 The remanand all chargit were 408  
 With thingis on syndry manere:  
 And othir syndry yheid thame by,  
 As thai war masteris, ydilly.  
 Thai that enbuschit war thame saw, 412  
 Ande, for-outen dreid or aw,  
 Thair buschement apon thame thai brak,<sup>[†]</sup> [Pg 68]  
 And slew all that thai mycht ourtak.  
 The cry rais hydwisly and hee: 416  
 For thai, that dredand war to de,  
 Rycht as bestis can rair and cry,  
 Thai slew thaim for-outen mercy;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Swa that, in-to the samyn sted, 420  
 Weill neir to fourty thar war ded.  
  
 Quhen thai, that in the castell war,  
 Herd the folk sa cry and rair,  
 Thai yschit furth to the fechtynng; 424  
 Bot quhen Douglas saw thar cummyng,  
 His men till hym he can rely,  
 And went till meit thame hastely.  
 And quhen thai of the castell saw 428  
 Hym cum on thaim forouten aw,  
 Thai fled forouten mair debate;  
 And thai thame followit to the yhate,  
 And slew of thame, as thai in past. 432  
 Bot thai thair yhet barrit so fast,  
 At thai mycht do at thame no mair:  
 Tharfor thai left thame ilkane thair,  
 And turnit to the see agane, 436  
 Quhar that the men war forrow slane.  
 And quhen thai that war in the batis  
 Saw thair cummyng, and wist how-gatis  
 Thai had discumfit thair menyhe, 440  
 In hy thai put thame to the se,  
 And rowit fast with all thare mayn.  
 Bot the wynde wes thame agayn,  
 That it gert sa the land-brid rist, 444  
 That thai mycht weld the se na wis.  
 Na thai durst nocht cum to the land,  
 Bot hald thame thair so lang hobland,  
 That of thre batis drownyt twa, 448  
 And quhen Dowglas saw it wes swa,  
 He tuk the armyng, and cleything,  
 Vittalis, wyne, and othir thing  
 At thai fand thar; and held thair way 452  
 Rycht glad and joyfull of thair pray.

### The Coming of King Robert Bruce to Arran.

ON this wis James of Douglas. ....

And hys menyhe, throu Goddis  
 grace,  
 War weill releyit with armying,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 With vittale als and with clething;  
 Syne till a strenth thai held thair way,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And thame full manly governit thai;  
 Till on the tend day at the King,  
 With all that war in his ledyng,  
 Arivit in-to that cuntre,  
 With thretty small galais and thre.  
 The King arivit in Arane;  
 And syne to the land is gane,  
 And in a toune tuk his herbery:  
 And sperit syne full specialy,  
 Giff ony man couth tell tithand  
 Of ony strange men in that land.  
 "Yhai," said a woman, "Schir, perfay,  
 "Of strange men I can yhow say,  
 "That ar cumin in this cuntre,  
 "And schort quhile sen, throu thare bounte,  
 "Thai haff discumfit our wardane,  
 "And mony of his folk has slane.  
 "In-till a stalward place heir-by  
 "Reparis all thair cumpany."  
 'Dame,' said the King, 'wald thou me wis  
 'To that place quhar thair repair is,  
 'I sall reward the but lesing,  
 'For thai ar all of my duelling;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 'And I richt blithly wald thame se,  
 'And richt sua trow I thai wald me.'  
 "Yhis," said scho, "Schir, I will blithly  
 "Ga with yhow and yhour cumpany,  
 "Till that I schaw yhow thair repair."  
 'That is eneuch, my sister fair;  
 'Now ga furthwardis,' said the Kyng.  
 Than went thai furth but mair letting,  
 Followand hir as scho thame led,  
 Till at the last scho schewit a sted  
 Till the King, in a woddy glen,  
 And said; "Schir, heir I saw the men,  
 "That yhe speir eftir, mak lusing:  
 "Heir trow I be thair reparyng."  
  
 The King than blew his horn in hy;  
 And gert the men, that war him by,  
 Hald thaim still, and all prive;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And syne agane his horn blew he.  
 James of Dowglas herd him blaw,  
 And he the blast all soyn can knaw;  
 And said, "Suthly yhon is the Kyng:  
 "I knaw lang quhill syne his blawyng."  
 The thrid tym thar-with-all he blew,  
 And than Schir Robert Boyde it knew,  
 And said, "Yhon is the King, but dreid;  
 "Ga we furth till hym bettir speid."  
 Than went thai till the King in hy,  
 And him salusit full curtasly;  
 And blithly welcumit thame the Kyng,  
 That joyfull wes of thair meting,  
 And kyssit thame, and sperit syne  
 How thai had farn in thair huntyne.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And thai hym tald all but lesyng:  
 Syne lovit thai God of thair meting.  
 Syne with the Kyng to his herbry  
 Thai wend, bath joyfull ande joly.

1307 Bruce  
gets News of  
Douglas

[Pg 70]

### How the King sent his Man to spy in Carrick who were to him Friendly.

[Pg 71]

THE King upon the tothir day  
 Can till his preve menyhe say;  
 "Yhe knaw all weill, and wele may  
 se,  
 "How we ar out of our cuntre

1307  
Reasons for  
Vengeance

520

"Banyst, throu Inglis mennys mycht;  
 "And that, that ouris suld be of richt,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Throu thair mastrice thai occupy; 524  
 "And wald alsua, without mercy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Gif thai had mycht, distroy us all.  
 "Bot God forbeid that it suld fall  
 "Till us, as thai mak mannasynge! 528  
 "For than war thair na recoveryng.  
 "And mankynd biddis us that we  
 "To procur vengeans besy be.  
 "For yhe may se we haf thre thingis 532  
 "That makis us amonestyngis  
 "For to be worthy, wis, and wicht,  
 "And till any thame at our mycht.  
 "Ane is our liffis savite,<sup>[†]</sup> 536  
 "That suld on na wis savit be,  
 "Gif thai had us at thair liking.  
 "The tothir that makis us egging,  
 "Is that thai our possessioure 540  
 "Haldis with strinth agane resoune.  
 "The thrid is the joy that we abyde,  
 "Gif that it hapyn, as weill may tyde,  
 "That we haf victor and mastry 544  
 "Till ourcum thair felony.  
 "Tharfor we suld our hertis rais,  
 "Sua that na myscheif us abais;  
 "And schape all-ways to that ending 548  
 "That beris mensk and ek lovyng.  
 "And tharfor, lordis, gif yhe se  
 "Emang yhow that it spedfull be,  
 "I will send a man to Carrik, 552  
 "To spy and speir how the kynrik,  
 "Is led, or quha is frend or fa.  
 "And gif he seis we land may ta,  
 "On Turnberys snuke he may<sup>[†]</sup> 556  
 "Mak a fyre, on a certane day,  
 "And mak taknyng till us, that we  
 "May thair ariffe in-to saufte.  
 "And gif he seis we may nocht swa; 560  
 "Luk on na wis the fyre he ma.  
 "Swa may we thar throw haff wittering  
 "Of our passage, or our duelling."

To this spek all assentit ar. 564  
 And than the King, withouten mair,  
 Callit till him ane that wes preve,  
 And born of Carrik his cuntre:  
 And chargit him, in les and mare, 568  
 As yhe herd me devis it are;  
 And set him certane day to may  
 The fyr, gif he saw it wes sway  
 That thai had possibilite 572  
 To manteme were in that cuntre.  
 And he, that wes richt weill in will  
 His lordis yharnyng to fulfill,  
 As he that worthy wes and leill, 576  
 And couth secretis rycht weill conceil,  
 Said, he wes boune in-till all thing  
 For till fullfill his commaunding:  
 And said he suld do sa wisly, 580  
 That na repreif suld eftir ly,  
 Syne at the King his leif has tane;  
 And furth apon his way is gane.

Now gais the messinger his way, 584  
 That hat Cutbert, as I herd say.  
 In Carrik soyn arivit he,  
 And passit throu all the cuntre.  
 Bot he fand few thair-in, perfay, 588  
 That gud wald of his mastir say.  
 For feill of thame durst nocht for dreid,  
 And othir-sum rycht in-to ded  
 War fais to the nobill Kyng, 592  
 That rewit syne thair barganyng.



Bath hie and law, the land wes then  
 All occupyit with Inglis men; 596  
 That dyspittit, atour all thing,  
 Robert the Bruce the douchty Kyng.  
 Carrik wes gevyn than halely  
 To Sir Henry the lord Persy;  
 That in Turnberyis castell then 600  
 Wes, with weill neir thre hundreth men;  
 And dantit suagat all the land,  
 That all wes till hym obeysand.  
 This Cutbert saw thair felony, 604  
 And saw the folk sa halely  
 Be worthyn Inglis, rich and pure,  
 That he to nane durst hym discure.  
 Bot thought to leif the fyre unmaid, 608  
 Syne till his mastir to wend but baid,  
 And all thair covyne till hym tell,  
 That wes sa angry and sa fell.

### Of the Fire the King saw Burning.

THE Kyng, that in-to Arane lay, 612  
 Quhen that cumin wes the day,  
 That he set till his messyngere, 1307 Bruce  
sees the Fire  
 As I devisit yhow lang ere,  
 Eftir the fyre he lukit fast;<sup>[†]</sup> 616  
 And als soyn as the moyn wes past,  
 Hym thought weill that he saw a fyre,  
 By Turnbery byrnand weill schyre;  
 And till his menyhe can it schaw: 620  
 Ilk man thought weill that he it saw.  
 Than with blith hert the folk can cry;  
 "Gud king, speid yhow deliverly;  
 "Swa that we soyn in the evynnyng 624  
 "Arif, withouten persavyng."  
 'I grant,' said he, 'now mak yhow yhair.  
 'God furthir us in-till our fair!'

Than in schort tym men mycht thaim se 628  
 Schute all thair galais to the se,  
 Ande beir to se bath ayr and steir,  
 And othir thyngis that mystir weir.

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### Here the King's Hostess foretells what is to be, and gives him her Two Sons.

And as the King apon the land 632  
 Wes gangand up and doun, bydand  
 Till that his menyhe reddy war,  
 His hostes come rycht till hym thar.  
 And quhen that scho him halsit had, 636  
 A preve spek till hym scho mad,  
 And said, "Ta gude tent to my saw:  
 "For or yhe pas I sall yhow schaw  
 "Of yhour fortoun a gret party. 640  
 "And atour all thing specialy  
 "A wittering heir I sall yhow may,  
 "Quhat end that your purpos sall ta.  
 "For in this warld is nane trewly<sup>[†]</sup> 644  
 "Wat thingis to cum sa weill as I.  
 "Yhe pas now furth on yhour viage,  
 "To venge the harme and the outrage  
 "That Inglis men has to yhow done; 648  
 "Bot yhe wat nocht quhat-kyn forton  
 "Yhe mon dre in yhour warraying.  
 "Bot wit yhe weill, without lesing,  
 "That fra yhe now haf takyn land, 652  
 "Thair sal no micht, no strinth of hand,  
 "Ger yhow furth pas of this cuntre  
 "Quhill all to yhow abandonyt be.  
 "Within schort tym yhe sall be king, 656  
 "And haf the land at yhour liking,  
 "And ourcum yhour fayis all;  
 "Bot feill anoyis thoill yhe sall,

"Or that yhour purpos ende nat tane; 660  
 "Bot yhe sall thame ourdriff ilkane.  
 "And, that yhe trow this sekirly,  
 "My twa sonnys with yhow sall I  
 "Send to tak with yhow yhour travell; 664  
 "For I wat weill thai sall nocht fale  
 "Till be rewardit weill at rycht,  
 "Quhen yhe ar heyt on to yhour hicht."

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The Kyng, that herd all hir  
 carpyng, 668  
 Than thankit hir in mekill thing;  
 For scho confortit hym sumdeill:  
 The-quhethir he trowit nocht full weill  
 Hir spek, for he had gret ferly 672  
 How scho suld wit it sekirly:  
 As it wes wouderfull, perfay,  
 How ony man throu steris may  
 Know the thingis that ar to cum 676  
 Determinabilly, all or sum,  
 Bot gif that he enspirit war  
 Of him, that all thing evirmar  
 Seis in his presciens, 680  
 \*As it war ay in his presens:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 As David wes, and Jeromy,  
 Samuell, Joell, and Ysay,  
 That throu his haly grace can tell  
 Feill thingis that eftirward befell. 684  
 Bot thai prophetis so thyn ar sawin,  
 That nane in erd now is knawin.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot feill folk ar sa curious,  
 And to wit thingis sa covatous, 688  
 That thai, throu thair gret clergy,  
 Or ellis throu thair devilry,  
 On thir twyn maners makis fanding  
 Of thingis to cum to haf knawing. 692  
 Ane of thame is astrology,  
 Quhar-throu clerkis, that ar witty,  
 May knaw conjunccion of planetis,  
 And quhethir that thair cours thaim settis 696  
 In soft segis, or in angry;  
 And of the hevyn all halely  
 How that the disposicioune  
 Suld apon thingis wirk heir doune, 700  
 On regiones, or on climatis,  
 That wirkis nocht ay-quhar a-gatis,  
 Bot sum ar les, sum othir mair,  
 Eftir as thair bemys strekit air, 704  
 Owthir all evin, or on wry.  
 Bot me think it war gret mastry  
 Till ony astrolog to say  
 This sall fall heir, and on this day. 708  
 For thouch a man his liff haly  
 Studeit swa in astrology,  
 That on the sternis his hed he brak,  
 Wis men sais he suld nocht mak, 712  
 His lifyme, certane domys thre;  
 And yheit suld he ay dout quhill he  
 Saw how that it com till ending:  
 Than is thar na certane demyng. 716  
 Or gif thai men that will study  
 In the craft of astrology,  
 Knaw all mennis nacioune,  
 And als the constillacioune 720  
 That kyndly maneris giffis thaim til,  
 For till inclyne to gud or ill;  
 How that thai throu craft of clergy,  
 Or throu slicht of astrology, 724  
 Couth tell quhatkyn perell apperis  
 To thame that haldis kyndly maneris;  
 I trow that thai suld fail to say  
 The thingis that thame happyn may. 728  
 For quhethir sa men inclynit be  
 Till vertu or to mavite,  
 He may richt weill refrenyhe his will,

1307 Of  
Astrology

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Outhir throu nurtour or throu skill, 732  
 And to the contrar turne him all.  
 And men has mony tymis seyn fall,  
 That men, kyndly to ivill giffin,  
 Throu thair gret wit away has drivin 736  
 Thair evill, and worthyn of gret renoune,  
 Magre the constillacioune.  
 As Arestotill, gif, as men redis,  
 He had followit his kyndly dedis, 740  
 He had beyn fals and covatous;  
 Bot his wit maid him virtuous.  
 And syn men may on this kyn wis  
 Wirk agane that cours, that is 744  
 Principal caus of thair demyng,  
 Me think thair dome na certane thing.  
 Nigramansy ane othir is,  
 That kennys men on syndry wis, 748  
 Throw stalward conjuraciones, *1307 Of  
Necromancy*  
 And throw exorcizaciones,  
 To ger spiritis to thame apeir,  
 And gif ansuer on seir maneir. 752  
 As quhilom did the Phitones,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That, quhen Saull abasit wes  
 Of the Philistianis mycht,  
 Rasit, throu hyr mekill slycht, 756  
 Samuelis sperit als tit,  
 Or in his sted the evill spirit,  
 That gaf rycht graith ansueir hir to.  
 Bot of hir-self rycht nocht wist scho. 760  
 And man is in-to dreding ay  
 Of thingis that he has herd say,  
 And namly of thingis to cum, quhill he  
 Have of the end the certante.<sup>[†]</sup> 764  
 And sen thai ar in sic wenyng,  
 Fourouten certane witting,  
 Me think, quha sayis he knawis thingis  
 To cum, he makis gret gabbingis. 768  
 Bot quhethir scho that tald the King  
 How his purpos suld tak ending,  
 Wenit, or wist it witterly;  
 It fell eftir all halely 772  
 As scho said: for syne king wes he,  
 And of full mekill renomme.

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## BOOK V.

### Of the King's Handseling in Carrick at his First Arrival.

THIS wes in vere, quhen wyntir tyde,  
 With his blastis hydwis to byde,  
 Wes ourdriffin: and byrdis smale,  
 As thristill and the nychtingale, 4  
 Begouth rycht meraly to syng,  
 And for to mak in thair synging  
 Syndry notis, and soundis sere,  
 And melody plesande to here. 8  
 And the treis begouth to ma  
 Burgeonys, and brycht blumys alsua,  
 To wyn the heling of thar hevede.  
 That wikkit wyntir had thame revede; 12  
 And all grevis begouth to spryng.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 In-to that tyme the nobill King,  
 With his flot and a few menyhe,  
 Thre hundir I trow thai mycht weill be, 16  
 Is to the se, furth of Arane<sup>[†]</sup>  
 A litill forrow the evyn gane.

Thai rowit fast with all thar mycht,  
 Till that apon thame fell the nycht,  
 That it wox myrk on gret maner,  
 Swa that thai wist nocht quhar thai  
 wer. 20  
 For thair no nedill had no stene

*1307 Who  
made the  
Fire?*

For thai na nequii naa na stane; 24  
 Bot rowyt always in-till ane,  
 Stemmand always upon the fyre,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That thai saw byrnand licht and schire.  
 It wes bot aventur that thame led:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And thai in schort tyme swa thame sped, 28  
 That at the fyre arivit thai,  
 And went to land but mair delay.  
 And Cuthbert, that has seyn the fyre,  
 Wes full of angir and of ire, 32  
 For he durst nocht do it away;  
 And he wes alsua doutand ay  
 That his lord suld pas the se.  
 Tharfor thair cummyng watit he,<sup>36</sup>  
 And met thame at thair ariving.  
 He wes weill soyne brocht to the King,  
 That sperit at hym how he had done.  
 And he with sair hert tald him sone, 40  
 How that he fand nane weill willand,  
 Bot all war fais that evir he fand:  
 And at the lord the Persy,  
 With neir thre hundreth in cumpany, 44  
 Was in the castell thar besyde,  
 Fulfillit of dispit and pride.  
 Bot mair than twa part of his rowt  
 War herbreit in the toune tharout; 48  
 "And dispis yhow mair, Schir King,  
 "Than men may dispis ony thing."  
 Than said the Kyng, in full gret ire,  
 "Tratour, quhy maid thou on the fyre?" 52  
 "A! Schir," said he, "sa God me se!  
 "That fyre wes nevir maid on for me.  
 "Na, or this nycht, I wist it nocht;  
 "Bot fra I wist it, weill I thocht 56  
 "That yhe, and haly yhour menyhe,  
 "In hy suld put yhow to the se.  
 "Forthi I com to meit yhow her,  
 "To tell peralis that may aper." 60

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The King wes of his spek angry,  
 And askit his preve men in hy,  
 Quhat at thame thocht wes best to do.  
 Schir Edward ferst answerd thar-to, 64  
 His brothir that wes so hardy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And said: "I say yhow sekirly  
 "Thar sall na peralis that may be,  
 "Dryve me eftsonis to the se. 68  
 "Myne aventure heir tak will I,  
 "Quhethir it be eisfull or angry."  
 'Brothir,' he said, 'sen thou will sa,  
 'It is gud that we sammyn ta 72  
 'Dises or ese, or pyne or play,  
 'Eftir as God will us purvay.  
 'And sen men sais that the Persy  
 'Myne heritage will occupy, 76  
 'And his menyhe sa neir us lysis,  
 'That us dispytis mony wys;  
 'Ga we venge sum of the dispit,  
 'And that we may haf don als-tit; 80  
 'For thai ly trastly, but dreding  
 'Of us, or of our heir-cummyng.  
 'And thouch we slepand slew thaim all,  
 'Repreif us tharof na man sall. 84  
 'For weriour na fors suld ma,  
 'Quhethir he mycht ourcum his fa  
 'Throu strynth, or throu sutelte;  
 'Bot at gud faith ay haldin be.' 88

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### **Here the King secretly enters the Town and slays All.**

Quhen this wes said thai went thare way;  
 And till the toun soyn cumin ar thai,  
 Sa prevely, bot noys making,  
 That nane persavit thair cummyng

That nane persavit thair cunningyng. 92  
 Thai scalyt throu the toune in hy,  
 And brak up dures sturdily,  
 And slew all that thai mycht ourtak:  
 And thai that na defens mycht mak, 96  
 Full pitwisly couth rair and cry;  
 And thai slew thame dispitwisly,  
 As thai that war in-to gud will  
 To venge the angir and the ill, 100  
 That thai and thairis had to thaim wrocht;  
 Thai with so felloun will thaim socht,  
 That thai slew thame evirilkane,  
 Outtak Makdowall hym allane, 104  
 That eschakit throu gret slicht,  
 And throu the myrknes of the nycht.

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In the castell the lorde Persy  
 Herd weill the noyis and the cry: 108  
 Sa did the men, that with-in wer,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And full effraytly gat thair ger.  
 But off thaim wes nane sa hardy,  
 That evir ischyt fourth to the cry, 112  
 In sic afray thai baid that nycht,  
 Till on the morn that day wes licht:  
 And than cesit in-to party  
 The noyis, slauchtir, and the cry. 116  
 The King gert be departit then  
 All hail the reif amang his men;  
 And duelt all still thair dais thre.  
 Sic hansell to the folk gaf he, 120  
 Richt in the first begynnyng,  
 Newly at his arivyng.

1307 *The  
Carrick Men  
are  
Overawed*

### **A Certain Lady, a Relative of the King, comes to him with Forty Men.**

Qwhen at the King and his folk ware  
 Arivit, as I tald yhow are, 124  
 A quhill in Carrik lendit he,  
 To se quha frend or fa wald be.  
 Bot he fand litill tendirnes:  
 And nocht-for-thi the pepill wes 128  
 Inclynit to hym in-to party;  
 Bot Inglis men sa angirly  
 Led thame with danger and wyth aw,  
 That thai na frendschip durst him schaw. 132  
 Bot a lady of that cuntre,  
 That wes till hym in neir degre  
 Of cosynage, wes wounder blith  
 Of his arivale, and als swith 136  
 Sped hir till hym, in full gret hy,  
 With fourty men in cumpany,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And betacht thame all to the King,  
 To help hym in his warrayng. 140  
 And he resavit thame in daynte,  
 And hir full gretly thankit he;  
 And sperit tithandis of the Queyn,  
 And of his frendis all bedeyn, 144  
 That he had left in that cuntre,  
 Quhen that he put hym to the se.  
 And scho hym tald, sychand full sair,  
 How that his brothir takyn wair 148  
 In the castell of Kildrummy,  
 And syne destroyit sa vilonysly;  
 And of the Erl Adell alsua:  
 And how the Queyn and othir ma 152  
 That till his party war heldand,  
 War tane and led in-to Inghland,  
 And put in-to feloun presoune.  
 And how that Cristole of Setoun 156  
 Wes slane, gretand scho tald the King,  
 That soroufull wes of that tithing;  
 And saide, quhen he had thought a thraw,  
 Thir wordis that I sall yhow schaw:— 160  
 "Allas," he said, "for luf of me,

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"And for thair mekill laute,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Thai nobill men and thai worthy,  
 "Ar distroyit sa vilonisly! 164  
 "Bot and I lif in lege pouste,  
 "Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be.  
 "The King the-quehethir of Ingland  
 "Thocht that the kinrik of Scotland 168  
 "Wes to litill to hym and me;  
 "Tharfor I will it all myn be.  
 "Bot of gud Cristal of Setoune,  
 "That wes of sa nobill renoune, 172  
 "That he suld de war gret pite,  
 "Bot quhar worschip mycht prufit be."

### Here Henry Percy flies to England.

[Pg 83]

THE Kyng thus sychand maid his  
 mayn,  
 And the lady hir leif has tane,  
 And went hyr hame to her wonnyng. 176  
 And feill sis confort scho the Kyng  
 Bath with silver and with met,  
 As scho in-to the land mycht get. 180  
 And he oft ryot to the land,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And maid all his that evir he fand;  
 And syne he drew him to the hicht,  
 To stynt bettir his fayis mycht. 184  
 In all that tym wes the Persy,  
 With a full sympill cumpany,  
 In Turnberyis castell lyand;  
 For the King Robert sua dredand, 188  
 That he durst nocht ysche out to fair,  
 Fra thine to the castell of Air,  
 That than wes full of Inglismen;  
 Bot lay lurkand as in a den, 192  
 To the men of Northumberland  
 Suld cum armyt, and with strang hand,  
 Till convoy him till his cuntre.  
 For his saynd till thame send he: 196  
 And thai in hy assemblyt then,  
 Passand, I trow, a thousand men,  
 And askit avisment thame emang.  
 Quhethir at thai suld duell or gang. 200  
 Bot thai war schonand wounder sair  
 So fer in Scotland for to fair.  
 For a knycht, Schir Gawter the Lile,  
 Said it wes all to gret perell<sup>[†]</sup> 204  
 So neir the schavalduris to ga.  
 His spek discomfort thame all sua,  
 That thai had left all that viage,  
 Na war a knycht of gret corage, 208  
 That Schir Roger of Sanct Johne hicht,  
 That thame confort with all his mycht;  
 And sic wordis can till thame say,  
 That thai all sammyn held thair way 212  
 To Turnbery; quhar the Persy  
 Lap on, and went with thaim in hy  
 In-to Ingland his castell till,  
 Without distrowbilling or ill. 216

1307 *The  
Englishmen  
are Afraid*

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Now in Ingland is the Persy,  
 Quhar he, I trow, a quhill sall ly,  
 Or that he schap hym for to fair  
 To warray Carrik ony mar.<sup>[†]</sup> 220  
 For he wist that he had no richt;  
 And als he dred the Kyngis mycht,  
 That in Carrik wes travalland,  
 Quhar the mast stryngth wes of the land. 224  
 Quhar James of Douglas, on a day,  
 Com to the Kyng, and can him say;  
 "Schir, with yhour leiff, I wald ga se  
 "How that thai do in my cuntre; 228  
 "And how my men demanit are.  
 "For it anoyis me wounder sare,

"That the Clyffurd sa pesabilly  
 "Brukis and haldis the senyhory, 232  
 "That suld be myn with alkyn rycht.  
 "Bot quhill I liff, and may haf mycht  
 "To lede a yheman or a swane,  
 "He sall nocht bruk it but bargane." 236  
 The Kyng said; 'Certis I can nocht se  
 'How that thou yheit may sekir be  
 'In-to that cuntre for to fair.  
 'Quhar Inglis men sa mychty are; 240  
 'And thou wat nocht quha is thi frend.'  
 He said, "Schir, neidwais I will wend,  
 "And tak aventur that God will giff,  
 "Quhethir sa it be till de or liff." 244  
 The King said, 'Sen that it is sua,  
 'That thou sic yharnyng has to ga,  
 'Thou sall pas furth with my blessing.  
 'And gif the hapnys ony thing 248  
 'That anoyus or scathfull be,  
 'I pray the, speid the soyne to me;  
 'Tak we sammyn quhat-evir may fall.'  
 "I grant," he said; and thar-with-all 252  
 He lowtit, and his leyf has tane,  
 And is towart his cuntre gane.

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### The Passing of James of Douglas to Douglas-dale, his Heritage.

Now takis James his viage  
 Toward Douglas, his heritage, 256  
 With twa yhomen, forouten ma;  
 That wes a sympill stuff to ta,  
 A land or castell for to wyn!  
 The-quhethir he yharnyt to begyn 260  
 To bryng his purpos till ending;  
 For gude help is in begynnyng.  
 For gude begynnyng and hardy,  
 And it be followit wittely, 264  
 May ger oftsis unlikely thing  
 Cum to full conabill endyng.  
 Sa did it her: bot he wes wis,  
 And saw he mycht, on nakyn wis, 268  
 Warray his fais with evyn mycht;  
 Tharfor he thought to wirk with slight.  
 In Douglasdaill, his awn cuntre,  
 Apon ane evynnyng enterit he, 272  
 And with a man wonnit thar-by,  
 That wes of frendis richt mychty,  
 And rich of mubill and catell,  
 And had been till his fader lele; 276  
 And till him-self, in his yhoutheid,  
 He had done mony thankfull deid.  
 Thom Dicson wes his name, perfay.  
 Till him he send and can him pray, 280  
 That he wald cum all anerly  
 For to spek with hym prevely.  
 And he but danger till him gais: 284  
 Bot fra he tald him quhat he wes,  
 He gret for joy and for pite,  
 And hym richt till his hous had he;  
 Quhar in a chalmer prevaly  
 He held him and his cumpany, 288  
 That nane of him had persaving.  
 Of mete and drink and othir thing,  
 That mycht thaim eis, thai had plente.  
 Swa wroucht he than throu sutelte, 292  
 That all the leill men of the land,  
 That with his fader wes duelland,  
 This gud man gert cum, ane and ane,  
 And mak him manrent evirilkane; 296  
 And he him-self first homage maid.  
 Douglas in hert gret blithnes had,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That the gud men of his cuntre  
 Wald swa-gat bundin till him be. 300  
 He sperit the crown of the land

1307  
Douglas  
sends for  
Dickson

[Pg 86]

He sporn the covyn of the land,  
 And quha the castell had in hand.  
 And thai him tald all halely;  
 And syne emang thame prevaly 304  
 Thai ordanit, that he still suld be  
 In hyddillis, and in prevate,  
 Till Palme Sondag that wes neir hand,  
 The thrid day eftir followand. 308  
 For than the folk of the cuntre  
 Assemblit at the kirk wald be;  
 And thai that in the castell were,  
 Wald als be thar, thar palmys to bere, 312  
 As folk that had na dreid of ill;  
 For thai thought all wes at thar will.  
 Than suld he cum with his twa men.  
 Bot, for that men suld nocht him ken, 316  
 He suld a mantill haf, ald and bare,  
 And a flail, as he a taskar war.  
 Undir the mantill nocht-for-thi  
 He suld be armyt prevaly; 320  
 And quhen the men of his cuntre,  
 That suld all bown befor him be,  
 His ensenyhe mycht heir him cry,  
 Than suld thai, full enforsaly, 324  
 Richt in myddis the kirk assale  
 The Inglis men with hard batale,  
 Swa that nane mycht eschap thaim fra;  
 For thar-throu trowit thai to ta 328  
 The castell, that besyde wes neir.  
 And quhen this, that I tell yhow her,  
 Wes devisit and undirtane,  
 Ilkane till his hous is gane; 332  
 And held the spek in prevate,  
 Till the day of thair assemble.

[Pg 87]

### Here James of Douglas slays them in the Kirk.

THE folk apoun the Sononday  
 Held to Sanct Brydis kirk thair way; 336  
 And thai that in the castell were  
 Ischit out, bath les and mare,  
 And went thair palmys for to bere;  
 Outane a cuke and a portere. 340  
 James of Douglas of thare cummyng  
 And quhat thai war, had wittering;  
 And sped him to the kirk in hy.  
 Bot, or he com, to hastely 344  
 Ane of his cryit, "Douglas! Douglas!"  
 Thomas Dicsone, that nerest was  
 Till thame that war of the castel,  
 That war all innouth the chancell, 348  
 And quhen he "Douglas!" sa herd cry,  
 Drew out his suerd, and fellely  
 Ruschit emang thame to and fra.  
 And ane othir forouten ma; 352  
 Bot thai in hy war left lyand.  
 With that Douglas com rycht at hand,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That than enforsit on thame the cry,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot thair chancer full sturdely 356  
 Thai held, and thaim defendit weill,  
 Till of thair men war slayne sumdeill.  
 Bot the Douglas so weill him bare,  
 That all the men that with hym ware, 360  
 Had confort of his weill-doing;  
 And he him sparit na-kyn thing,  
 Bot prufit swa his foris in ficht,  
 That throu his worschip, and his mycht, 364  
 His men sa kenly helpit he than,  
 That thai the chanser on thame wan.  
 Than dang thai on thame sa hardely,  
 That in schort tym men mycht se ly 368  
 The twapart ded, or than deand.  
 The laiff war sesit soyn in hand.  
 Swa that of threttie wes levit nane [†]

1307  
Douglas!  
Douglas!

[Pg 88]



### Here makes he "the Douglas Larder."

James of Douglas, quhen this wes  
done,  
The presoners has tane alsone;  
And with thame of his cumpany  
Toward the castell went in hy,  
Or ony noys or cry suld ris.  
And for he wald thame soyn suppris,  
That levit in the castell were,  
That war but twa forouten mare,  
Fiffe men or sex befor send he,  
That fand all oppyn the entre;  
And enterit, and the portar tuk  
Richt at the yhat, and syne the cuk.  
With that Douglas come to the yhet,  
And enterit in forout debat,  
And fand the met all reddy grathit,  
With burdis set, and clathis layit.<sup>[f]</sup>  
The yhettis than he gert thame spare,  
And sat and ete all at lasare.  
Syne all the gudis tursit thai,  
Thai thought that thai mycht haf away;  
And namly wapnys and armyng,  
Silver, tresour, and ek clethyng.  
Vittalis, that mycht nocht tursit be,  
On this maner distroit he.  
All the vittale outakin salt,  
As quhet, flour, meill and malt,  
In the wyne-sellar gert he bryng;  
And sammyn on the flure all flyng.  
And the presoners that he had tane  
Richt tharin gert he hed ilkane;  
Syne of the tunnys the hedis out-strak:  
A foul melle thair can he mak.  
For meill, malt, blude, and wyne,  
Ran all to-gidder in a mellyne  
That wes unsemly for to se;  
Tharfor the men of that cuntre  
For sic thingis thar mellit were,  
Callit it "the Douglas Lardenere."  
Syne tuk he salt, as I herd tell,  
And ded hors, and fordid the well;  
And syne brynt all, outakyn stane;  
And is furth with his menyhe gane  
Till his reset; for him thocht weill,  
Gif he had haldin the casteill,  
It suld have beyn assegit rath,  
And that him thought to mekill vath;  
For he na hop had of reskewyng.  
And it is to perelous thing  
In castell till assegit be,  
Quhar that ane wantis of thir thre,  
Vittale, or men with thair armyng,  
Or than gud hop of reskewing.  
And for he dred thir thingis suld fale,  
He chesit forthward to travale,  
Quhar he mycht at his larges be,  
And sua driff furth his destane.

1307  
*Douglas  
burns his  
Castle*

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[Pg 89]

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428

[Pg 90]

ON this wis wes the castell tane,  
And slane that war tharin ilkane.  
The Douglas syne all his menyhe  
Gert in seir placis departit be;  
For men suld les wit quhar thai war,  
That yheid departit here and thar.  
Thame that war woundit gert he ly  
In-till hyddillis all prevely;  
And gert gud lechis to thame bryng,  
Quhill that thai war in-to helyng.  
And him-self, with a few menyhe,  
Quhile ane, quhill twa, and quhile thre,  
And unquhile all hym allone

432

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440

And unquame an hym anane,  
In hyddillis throu the land is gane.  
Sa dred he Inglis mennys mycht,  
That he durst nocht weill cum in sicht;  
For thai that tyme war all weldand  
As mast lordis our all the land.

444

### Here Clifford builds the Castle again.

Bot tythandis, that scalis sone,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Of the deid Douglas had done,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Com to the Cliffurdis ere in hy,  
That for his tynsale wes sary,  
And menit his men that he had slayne,  
And syne has till his purpos tane  
To byg the castell up agane,  
Tharfor, as man of mekill mane,  
He assemblit gret cumpany,  
And till Douglas he went in hy.  
And biggit up the castell swith,  
And made it rycht stalward and stith;  
And put thar-in vittale and men.  
Ane of the Thrill-wallis then  
He left behynd hym capitane,  
And syne till Inglan went agane.

448

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460

### How one Man and his Two Sons undertook to slay King Robert.

[Pg 91]

In-to Carrik yheit wes the King,  
With a full sympill gaderyng;  
He passit nocht twa hundreth men.  
Bot Schir Edward his brothir then  
Wes in Galloway, weill neir tharby;  
With hym ane othir cumpany.  
Thai held the strynthis of the land;  
For thai durst nocht yheit tak on hand  
Till our-ride the land planly.  
For of Vallanch Schir Amery  
Wes in-till Edinburgh lyand,  
That wes wardane of the land  
Under-neth the Inglis kyng.  
And quhen he herd of the cummyng  
Of King Robert and his menyhe  
In-to Carrik; and how that he  
Had slane of the Persyis men;  
His consell he assemblit then,  
And, with assent of his consale,  
He send till Are, hym till assale,  
Schir Ingerame Bell, that wes hardy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
And with hym a gret cumpany.

1307 Bruce  
in Carrick

464

468

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### Here the English Knight fees a Traitor.

And quhen Ingerame cumin wes thair,  
Him thoudt nocht speidfull for to fair  
Till assale hym in-to the hicht.  
Tharfor he thoudt to wirk with slycht,  
And lay still in the castell than,  
Till he gat spering at a man  
Of Carrik, that wes sle and wicht,  
And als a man of mekill mycht,  
As of the men of that cuntre  
And to King Robert wes preve.  
As he that wes his sib-man neir,  
And quhen he wald, for-out danger,  
Micht to the Kyngis presens ga.  
The-quhethir he and his sonnys twa  
War wonand still in the cuntre,  
For thai wald nocht persavit be,  
That thai war speciall to the King;  
Thai maid him mony tyme warnyng,  
Quhen that thai his tynsale mycht se;  
For-thi in thame affyit he.

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500

504

[Pg 92]

His name I can nocht tell perfay;  
 Bot I herd syndir men oft say  
 \*Forsuth that his ane e wes out,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 \*Bot he sa sturdy wes and stout,  
 That he wes the mast dowtit man<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That in-to Carrik liffit than. 508  
 And quhen Schir Ingerame gat wittering  
 Forsuth that this wes no gabbing,  
 Eftir him in hy he sent,  
 And he com at his commandment. 512  
 Schir Ingerame, that wes sle and wis,  
 Tretit with hym than on sic wis,  
 That he maid sekir undirtaking  
 In tresone for to slay the King; 516  
 And he suld have for his service,  
 Gif he fulfillit thair devis,  
 Weill fourte pundis worth of land  
 Till hym and his ayris lestand. 520

### Here King Robert is in Great Peril.

THE tresone thus is undirtane;  
 And he hame till his hous is gane,  
 And watit opportunitie  
 For to fulfill his mavite. 524  
 In gret perell than wes the King,  
 That of his tresone wist na thing.  
 For he, that he trowit mast of ane,  
 His dede falsly had undirtane: 528  
 And nane may treson do titar than he  
 That man in trowis leawte.  
 The King in hym trastit; for-thi  
 He had fulfillit his felony, 532  
 Na war the King, throu Goddis grace,  
 Gat hale wittering of his purchas,  
 And how, and for how mekill land,  
 He tuk his slauchtir upon hand. 536  
 I wat nocht quha the warnyng maid,  
 Bot in all tym he sic hap had,  
 That quhen men schupe him to betrais,  
 He gat witting tharof always: 540  
 And mony tyme, as I herd say,  
 Throu women, that he wald with play,  
 That wald tell all that thai mycht here.  
 And sua mycht happyn that it fell here. 544

1307 *The  
King is  
Warned*

Bot how that evir it fell, perde,  
 I trow he sall the warrar be.  
 Nocht-for-thi, this tratour ay  
 Had in his thocht, bath nycht and day, 548  
 How he mycht best bring till ending  
 His tresonabill undirtaking;  
 Till he umbethocht him at the last,  
 In till his hert can umbecast, 552  
 That the King had in custum ay  
 For to ris airly evirilk day,  
 And pas weill fer fra his menyhe,  
 Quhen he wald pas to the preve, 556  
 And seik a covert him alane,  
 Or at the mast haf with him ane.  
 Thair thought he, with his sonnys twa,  
 For to suppris the King, and slay, 560  
 And syne wend to the wod away:  
 Bot yheit of purpos falyheit thai.  
 And nocht-for-thi thai com all thre  
 In a covert that wes preve, 564  
 Quhar the King wes oft wount to ga,  
 His preve nedis for to ma.  
 Thair hid thai thame till his cummyng.  
 And the King in the mornyng, 568  
 Rais quhen that his liking wes,  
 And richt towart that covert gais,  
 Quhar liand war the traitouris thre,  
 For till do thar his prevate. 572  
 To treson tuk he than no heid:

But he wes wount, quhar-evir he yheid,  
 His suerd about his hals to bere;  
 that avalit hym gretly ther.<sup>[†]</sup> 576  
 For had nocht God, all thing weldand,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Set help in-till his awne hand,  
 He had ben ded withouten dreid.  
 A chalmir page thar with him yheid. 580  
 And sua, forouten followis ma,  
 Towart the covert can he ga.

### Here the Noble King slays three Traitors, Himself, Alone.

Now, bot God help the nobill King,  
 He is neir hand till his ending! 584  
 For that covert that he yheid till, 1307 *The  
King Fights  
with Three*  
 Wes on the tothir syde a hill,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That nane of his men mycht it se.  
 Thiddirward went his page and he; 588  
 And quhen he cummin wes in the schaw,  
 He saw thai thre cum all on raw  
 Aganis him full sturdely.  
 Than till his boy he said in hy, 592  
 "Yhone men will slay us and thai may!  
 "Quhat wappyn has thou?" 'A Schir! perfay,  
 'I haf a bow bot and a vyre.'  
 "Gif me thame smertly baith." 'A! Syre, 596  
 'How-gat will yhe than that I do?'  
 "Stand on fer and behald us to.  
 "Gif thow seis me abovin be,  
 "Thou sall haf wapnys in gret plente: 600  
 "Ande gif I de, withdraw the soyne."  
 With thai wordis, forouten hoyn,  
 He tit the bow out of his hand, 604  
 For the tratouris wes neir cumand. [Pg 95]  
 The fader had a suerd but mair,  
 The tothir bath suerd and hand-ax bair,  
 The thrid a suerd had and a speir. 608  
 The King persavit, be thair effeir,  
 That all wes suth men till hym tald.  
 "Tratour," he said, "thou has me sald.  
 "Cum na forthir, bot hald the thair,  
 "I will thou cum na forthir mair." 612  
 'A! Schir, umbethinkis yhow,' said he,  
 'How neir to yhow that I suld be;  
 'Quha suld cum neir to yhow bot I?'  
 The King said, "I will sekirly 616  
 "That thou at this tym cum nocht ner,  
 "Thou may say quhat thou will on fer."  
 Bot he, with fals wordis flechand,  
 Wes with his sonnys ay cumand. 620  
 Quhen the King saw he wald nocht let,  
 Bot ay cum on fenyheand falset,  
 He tasit the vyre and leit it fle,  
 And hit the fader in the e, 624  
 Till it rycht in the harnys ran;  
 And he backward fell doun rycht than.  
 The brothir, that the hand-ax bar,  
 That saw his fader lyand thar, 628  
 A gyrd rycht to the King can mak,  
 And with the ax he him ourstrak.  
 Bot he, that had his suerd on hicht,  
 Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt. 632  
 That he the hed to harnis clafe,  
 And him doun ded to the erd drafe.  
 The tothir brothir, that bare the spere,  
 Saw his brothir sa fallin ther, 636  
 With his speir, as angry man,  
 In a rais till the King he ran.  
 Bot the King, that him dred sum-thing,  
 Watit the sper in the cummyng, 640  
 And with a wysk the hed of-strak;  
 And or the tothir had toym to tak  
 His suerde. the King sic swak him gaiff. [Pg 96]

That he the hede till harnys claif: 644  
 He ruschit doune of blude all rede.  
 And quhen the King saw thai war ded,  
 All thre lyand, he wyppit his brand.  
 With that his boy com fast rynand, 648  
 And said; "Our Lord mot lovit be,  
 "That grantit yhow mycht and powste  
 "To fell the felony and pride  
 "Of thir thre in sa litill tyde." 652  
 The King said; 'Sa our Lord me se!  
 'Thai had beyn worthy men all thre,  
 'Had thai nocht beyn full of tresoune;  
 'Bot that maid thair confusione.' 656

## BOOK VI.

The King is went till his lusing.  
 And of his dede soyn com tithing  
 To Schir Ingerame the Umphrevell,  
 That thought his sutelte and gyle 4  
 Had all falyheit in-to that place.  
 Tharfor anoyit swa he wes,  
 That he agane to Lowdiane.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 To Schir Amer his gate has tane; 8  
 And till him tald all haill the cas,  
 That tharof all forwounderit was,  
 How ony man sa suddandly  
 Micht do so gret a chevelry, 12  
 As did the King, that, him alane,  
 Vengeans of thre tratouris has tane.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He said, "Certis I may weill se  
 "That it is all gret certante 16  
 "That ure helpis ay hardy men;  
 "As be this deid yhe may weill ken.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "War he nocht outrageous hardy  
 "He had nocht swa unabasitly 20  
 "Sa smertly seyn his advantage.  
 "I dreid that his gret vassalage,  
 "And his travell will bring til end  
 "That at men quhile full litill wend."<sup>[†]</sup> 24

### Here Galloway Men seek him.

Sik speking maid he of the King,  
 That ay, forouten sudjornyng,  
 Travalit in Carrik heir and thair.  
 His men fra him sua scalit war,  
 Till purches thame necessite 28  
 And als the cuntre for to se,  
 That thai left nocht with him sixty.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And quhen the Gallowais wist suthly 32  
 That he wes with a few menyhe,  
 Thai maid a preve assemble  
 Of weill twa hundreth men and ma;  
 Ane sluth-hund with thaim can thai ta, 36  
 For thai thought him for to suppris;  
 And gif he fled on ony wis,  
 To follow him with the hunde swa,  
 That he suld nocht eschape thaim fra. 40

1307 Bruce  
 has only  
 Sixty Men

Thai schupe, thame in ane evynnyng,  
 Suddandly to suppris the King,  
 And till him held thai straucht thare way.  
 Bot he, that had his wachis ay 44  
 On ilk syde, of thar cummyng,  
 Lang or thai com, had wittering,  
 Quhat and how feill at thai mycht be.  
 Tharfor he thought, with his menyhe, 48  
 To withdraw him out of the place,  
 For the nycht neir fallyn was.  
 And for nycht wes he thought that thai  
 Suld nocht have sicht to hald the way 52  
 Quhill he war passit with his menyhe.

And as he thocht rycht sua did he:  
 And went hym doune till a marras,  
 Our a wattir that rynand was,<sup>[†]</sup> 56  
 And in a bog he fand a place  
 Weill strate, that weill twa bowdraucht was  
 Fra thai the wattir passit had.  
 He said, 'Heir may yhe mak abade, 60  
 "And rest yhow all a quhile and ly.  
 "I will ga wach all preuely,  
 "Giff I heir oucht of thar cummyng;  
 "And gif I may heir ony thyng, 64  
 "I sall ger warn yhow, sua that we  
 "Sall ay at our avantage be."

### Here he fights alone against Two Hundred.

THE King now takis his gat to ga,  
 And with him tuk he servandis twa. 68  
 And Schir Gilbert de la Hay left he  
 Thar, for to rest with his menyhe. 1307 The  
King hears a  
Hound  
 To the wattir he com in hy, 72  
 And lisnyt full entently  
 Gif he oucht herd of thare cummyng;  
 Bot yheit than mycht he heir na thing.  
 Endlang the wattir than yheid he 76  
 On athir syde gret quantite;  
 And saw the brayis hye standand,  
 The wattir holl throu slike rynand,  
 And fand na furd that men mycht pas  
 Bot quhar himself our passit was. 80  
 And sua strate wes the up-cummyng  
 That twa men mycht nocht sammyn thryng,  
 Na on na maner pres thame sua  
 That thai sammyn the land mycht ta.<sup>[†]</sup> 84  
 His twa men bad he than in hy<sup>[†]</sup> \*85  
 Ga to thair feris to rest and ly;  
 For he wald wach thar com to se.  
 "Schir," said thai, "quha sall with yhow be?" \*88  
 "God," he said, "forouten ma;  
 "Pas on, for I will it be swa."  
 Thai did as he thame biddin had,  
 And he thar all allane abaid. \*92  
 Quhen he a quhile had biddin thare,  
 And herbryit, he herd as it war  
 A hundis quhistlyng apon fer,  
 That ay com till him ner and ner. 88  
 He stude still for till herkyn mair,  
 And ay the langer quhill he wes thair,  
 He herd it ner and ner cumand:  
 Bot he thocht he thair still wald stand,<sup>[†]</sup> 92  
 Till that he herd mair taknyng,  
 For, for a hundis quhestlyng,  
 He wald nocht walkyn his menyhe.  
 Tharfor he walde abyde and se 96  
 Quhat folk thai war, and quethir thai  
 Held toward him the richt way;  
 Or passyt ane othir way fer by:  
 The moyn wes schynand rycht cleirly. 100  
 Sa lang he stude, that he mycht her  
 The noyis of thaim that cummand wer.  
 Than his twa men in hy send he  
 To warne and walkyn his menyhe. 104  
 And thai ar furth thar wayis gane;  
 And he left thar all hym allane.  
 And sua lang stude he herkynand,  
 Till that he saw cum at his hand 108  
 The haill rowt, in full gret hy;  
 Than he umbethoucht him hastely,  
 Gif he yheid to feche his menyhe,  
 That, or he mycht reparit be, 112  
 Thai suld be passit the furde ilkane.  
 And than behufit he chesit him ane  
 Of thir twa, outhir to fle or de.

Bot his hert, that wes stout and he, 116  
 Consalit hym allane to byde  
 And kep thame at the furdis syde,  
 And defend weill the up-cummyng,  
 Sen he wes warnysit of armyng 120  
 That he thair arrawis thurt nocht dreid.  
 And gif he war of gret manheid,  
 He mycht stonay thame evirilkane,  
 Sen thai mycht cum bot ane and ane. 124  
 He did rycht as his hert hym bad;  
 Stark outrageous curage he had,  
 Quhen he sa stoutly hym allane,  
 For litill stryngth of erd, has tane 128  
 To ficht with twa hundreth and ma.  
 Thar-with he to the furd can ga.  
 And thai, apon the tothir party,  
 That saw him stand thair anerly, 132  
 Thryngand in-till the wattir raid,  
 For of him litill dout thai had;  
 And raid till him in full gret hy.  
 He smat the first sa rygorusly 136  
 With his spere, that richt scharply  
 schare,  
 Till he doun to the erd hym bare.  
 The laif com than in a randoune;  
 Bot his hors, that wes born doune, 140  
 Cummerit thaim the upgang to ta.  
 And quhen the Kyng saw it wes sua,  
 He stekit the hors, and he can flyng,  
 And syne fell at the upcummyng. 144  
 The laif with that com with a schowt;  
 And he, that stalward wes and stout,  
 Met thame richt stoutly at the bra,  
 And sa gud payment can thaim ma 148  
 That fiff-sum in the furd he slew.  
 The laif than sumdeill thaim with-drew,  
 That dred his strakis woundir sare,  
 For he in nathing thame forbare. 152  
 Than ane said: "Certis, we ar to blame;  
 "Quhat sall we say quhen we cum hame,  
 "Quhen a man fechtis agains us all?  
 "Quha wist evir men sa fouly fall 156  
 "As us, gif that we thusgat leif?"  
 With that all haill a schout thai geve,  
 And cryit, "On hym! he may nocht last."  
 With that thai presit hym so fast, 160  
 That, had he nocht the bettir beyn,  
 He had beyn ded forouten weyn.  
 Bot he sa gret defens can mak,  
 That, quhar he hit with evin strak, 164  
 Thar mycht no thing agane it stand.  
 In litill space he left lyand  
 Sa feill, that the upcom wes then  
 Dittit with slayn hors and men; 168  
 Swa that his fayis, for that stopping,  
 Micht nocht cum to the up-cummyng.  
 A! deir God! quha had beyn by,  
 And seyn how he sa hardely 172  
 Adressit hym agane thame all,  
 I wat weill that thai suld him call  
 The best that liffit in-till his day.  
 And gif that I the suth sall say, 176  
 I herd nevir in na tyme gane  
 Ane stynt sa mony hym allane.

1307 Bruce  
beats them  
off

**Example: how Tydeus slew Forty-nine Men,  
And the Lieutenant tholed Shame and Paine.**

SUTH is, quhen till Ethiocles  
 Fra his brothir Polynices 180  
 Wes send Thedeus in-to message  
 Till ask haly the heritage  
 Of Thebes till hald for a yheir,  
 For thai cummyn of a byrth weir;<sup>[†]</sup> 184  
 Thai straif, for athir kyng wald be.

Bot the barnage of thar cuntre  
 Gert thame assent on this maner,  
 That the tane suld be kyng a yhere; 188  
 And than the tothir, na his menyhe,  
 Suld nocht be fundin in the cuntre,  
 Quhill the first brothir ryngand were.  
 Syne suld the tothir ryng a yhere; 192  
 Ande syne the first suld leif the land,  
 Quhill that the tothir war ryngand.  
 Thus ay a yheir suld ryng the tane,  
 The tothir a yheir fra that war gane. 196  
 To ask halding of this assent,  
 Thedeus wes to Thebes went;  
 And sua spak for Polynices,  
 That of Thebes Ethiocles 200  
 Bad his constabill with hym ta  
 Fifty weill armyt, and forouth ga  
 To meit Thedeus in the way,  
 And slay hym but langar delay. 204  
 The constabill his way is gane,  
 And nyne and fourty with him has tane,  
 Swa that he with thame maid fifty.  
 In-till the evynnyng, prevely 208  
 Thai set enbuschement in the way,  
 Quhar Thedeus behufit away  
 Betuix ane hye crag and the se.  
 And he, that of thair mavite 212  
 Wist na thing, his way has tane,  
 And toward Grece agane is gane.  
 And as he raid in-to the nycht,  
 Sa saw he, with the monys licht, 216  
 Schynnyng of scheldis gret plente;  
 And had woundir quhat it mycht be.  
 With that all haill thai gaf a cry,  
 And he, that herd sa suddanly 220  
 Sic noyis, sumdeill affrayit was;  
 Bot in schort time he till him tais  
 His spiritis full hardely;  
 For his gentill hert and worthy, 224  
 Assurit him in-till that neide.  
 Then with the spuris he strak his steide,  
 And ruschit in amang thame all.  
 The first he met he gert him fall, 228  
 And syne his suerd he swappit out,  
 And raucht about him mony a rout,  
 And slew sex-sum weill soyn and ma,  
 Than undir him his hors thai sla. 232  
 And he fell; bot he smertly rais,  
 And, strikand, rowm about him mais,  
 And slew of thame a quantite:  
 Bot woundit woundir sair wes he. 236

[Pg 102]

With that a litill rod he fand,  
 Up toward the crag strikand.  
 Thiddir went he in full gret hy,  
 Defendand him full douchtely, 240  
 Till in the crag he clam sum-deill;  
 And fand a place enclosit weill,  
 Quhar nane but ane mycht him assale.  
 Thair stude he and gaf thame battale: 244  
 And thai assalit evirilkane;  
 And oft fell, quhen that he slew ane,  
 As he doun to the erd wald driff,  
 He wald beir doun weill four or fiff. 248  
 Thair stude he and defendit swa,  
 Till he had slane thame half and ma.  
 A gret stane than by him saw he,  
 That throu the gret anciente, 252  
 Was lowsyt reddy for to fall;  
 And quhen he saw thaim cumand all,  
 He tumlit doun on thaim the stane;  
 And aucht men tharwith has he slane, 256  
 And sua stonait the remanand,  
 That thai war weill neir recryand.  
 Then wald he preson hald no mare,

1307 *How*  
*Tydeus*  
*overcame*  
*Fifty*

[Pg 103]



Bot on thame ran with suerd al bare, 260  
 And hewit and slew with all his mayn  
 Till he had nyne and fourty slane.  
 The constabill syne can he ta,  
 And gert him suere that he suld ga 264  
 To King Ethiocles, and tell  
 The aventure that thame befell.  
 Thedeus bare him douchtely,  
 That our-com him allane fyfty. 268

Yhe that this redis, jugis yhe,  
 Quhethir that mair suld presit be:  
 The King, that, with avisement, [Pg 104]  
 Undirtuk sic hardyment 272  
 As for to stynt, him ane but fer,  
 Thai folk that weill twa hundreth wer;  
 Or Thedeus, that suddanly,  
 Fra thai had rasis on him the cry, 276  
 Throu hardyment that he had tane,  
 Wan fifty men all him allane.  
 Thai did thair dede bath in the nycht,  
 And faucht bath with the monys licht; 280  
 Bot the King discumfit ma,  
 And Thedeus the ma can sla.  
 Now demys, quhethir mair lovyng  
 Suld Tedeus haf, or the King! 284

In this maner that I haf tald,  
 The King, that stout wes, stark and bald,  
 Wes fechtand on the furdis syde,  
 Gyffand and takand rowtis ryde;[†] 288  
 Till he sic martirdome thair maid  
 That he the furde all stoppit had,  
 That nane of thame mycht till him ryde.  
 Than thought thame foly for to byde, 292  
 And halely the flicht can ta,  
 And went hamward quhar thai com fra.  
 For the Kingis men with that cry  
 Walknyt, and full affraitly, 296  
 Com for to seik thair lord the King.  
 The Galloway men herd thair cummyng  
 And fled, that durst nocht byde no mair.  
 The Kingis men, that dredand wair 300  
 For thair lord, full spedaly  
 Com to the furde, and soyn in hy  
 Thai fand the Kyng sytand alane,  
 That of his basnet than had tane, 304  
 To tak the air, for he wes hate;  
 Than sperit thai at him of his stat;  
 And he tald thaim all hail the cas,  
 Howgat that he assalyheit was; 308  
 And how that God hym helpit sua,  
 That he eschapit hail thame fra.  
 Than lukit thai how feill war ded,  
 And thai fand liand in that sted 312  
 Fourteyn, that slayn war with his hand.  
 Than lovit thai God fast, all-weldand,  
 That thai thar lord fand hail and feir;  
 And said, "Thaim byrd on na maner 316  
 "Dreid thair fayis, sen thair chiftane  
 "Wes of sic hert and of sic mane,  
 "That he for thame had undertane  
 "With sa feill folk to ficht him ane." 320

Syk wordis spak thai of the Kyng:  
 And, for his hye undertaking  
 Farlyit, and yharnyt hym to se,  
 That with hym ay wes wount to be. 324  
 A! quhat worschip is prisit thing! [†]  
 For it makis men to haf loving,  
 Gif it be followit ythandly.  
 For pris of worschip nocht-forthi 328  
 Is hard to wyn but gret travale;  
 Oft till defende and oft assale,  
 And till be in thair dedis wis,

1307 True  
 Courage is a  
 Mean

Gerris men of worschip wyn the pris. 332  
 That may no man haf worthyhede,  
 Bot he haf wit to steir his stede  
 And se quhat is to leif or ta.  
 Worschip extremyteis has twa; 336  
 Fule-hardyment the formast is,  
 And the tothir is cowardis:  
 And thai ar bath for to forsak.  
 Fule-hardyment will all undertak, 340  
 Als weill thingis to leiff as ta;  
 Bot cowardis dois na thing sua,  
 Bot uterly forsakis all;  
 And that war woundir for to fall, 344  
 Na war falt of discrecione.  
 For-thi has worschip sic renoune,  
 That it is mene betuix thai twa,  
 And takis that is till undirta, 348  
 And levis that is to leif; for it  
 Has so gret warnasyng of wit,  
 That it all peralis weill can se,  
 And all avantagis that may be. 352  
 It wald till hardyment hald haly,  
 With-thi away war the foly.  
 For hardyment with foly is wis.  
 Bot hardyment that mellit is 356  
 With wit, is worschipay, per de,  
 For, but wit, worschip may nocht be.

[Pg 106]

This nobill Kyng, that we of reid, 360  
 Mengit all tyme with wit manheid;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That may men be this melle se.  
 His wit hym schawit the strat entre  
 Of the furde, and the ysche alsua;  
 He thoucht that thai mycht nevir our-ga<sup>[†]</sup> 364  
 Apon a man that wes worthy.  
 Tharfor his hardyment hastely  
 Thoucht weill it mycht be undirtane,  
 Sen that anis mycht assale bot ane. 368  
 Thus hardyment, governit with wit,  
 That he all tym wald sammyn knyt,  
 Gert him off worschipe haf the pris,  
 And oft our-cum his enmys. 372

### How Douglas slew Thirlwall.

THE King in Carrik duelt all still:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 His men assemblit fast him till,  
 That in the land war travalande,  
 Quhen thai of this deid herd tithand. 376  
 For thai thar ure with him wald ta,  
 Gif he war eft assalyheit swa.  
 Bot yheit than James of Douglas  
 In Douglasdail travaland was; 380  
 Or ellis weill neirhand thar-by,  
 In hiddillis sum-deill prevely.  
 For he walde se his governyng,  
 That hade the castell in keping: 384  
 And gert mak mony a juperdy,  
 To se quethir he wald ysche blithly.  
 Quhen he persavit weill that he  
 Wald blithly ysche with his menyhe, 388  
 He maid a gaddering prevely  
 Of thame that war of his party;  
 That wes so feill that thai durst ficht  
 With Thrillwall and all the mycht 392  
 Of thame that in the castell were.  
 He schup him in the nycht to fare  
 To Sandylandis; and neir thar-by  
 He him enbuschit prevely, 396  
 And fand a few a trayn to ma;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That sone in the mornyng can ta,  
 Cattale, that wes the castell by,  
 And syne with-drew thame halely 400  
 Toward thame that enbuschit ware.  
 Then Thirlwall forefter mare

1307  
*Thirlwall  
 would seize  
 the Castle*

[Pg 107]

than thurwall, forouten mare,  
 Gert arme his men forouten baid;  
 And yschit with all the men he had, 404  
 And followit fast eftir the ky.  
 He wes arayit at poynt clenly,  
 Outakyn that his hede wes bair.  
 Than, with the men that with him war, 408  
 The cattale followit he gude speid,  
 Richt as a man that had no dreid,  
 Till that he of thame gat a sicht.  
 Than prikit thai with all thair mycht, 412  
 Followand thame out of aray;  
 And thai sped thame fleand, quhill thai  
 Fer by thar buschement war all past;  
 And Thrillwall evir chasit on fast. 416  
 And than thai that enbuschit war  
 Yschit till him, bath les and mar,  
 And rasit suddandly the cry;  
 And thai that saw sa suddandly 420  
 That folk sa egirly cum prikand  
 Betuix thame and thair warrand,  
 Thai war in-to full gret affray.  
 And, for thai war out of aray, 424  
 Sum of thaim fled, and sum abaid:  
 And Douglas, that thar with him had  
 A gret menyhe, full egirly  
 Assalit, and scalit thame hastely, 428  
 And in schort tym cummerit thaim sua,  
 That weill nane eschapit thaim fra.  
 Thrillwall, that wes thair capitane,  
 Wes thair in-to the bargane slane, 432  
 And of his men the mast party;  
 The laif fled full affrayitly.  
 Douglas his menyhe fast can chas,  
 And the flearis thair wais tais 436  
 To the castell in full gret hy;  
 The formast enterit spedely,  
 Bot the chassaris sped thame so fast,  
 That thai ourtuk sum at the last, 440  
 And thame forout mercy can sla.  
 And quhen thai of the castell swa  
 Saw thaim slay of thair men thaim by,  
 Thai sparit the yhettis hastely, 444  
 And in hy to the wallis ran.  
 James of Douglas his menyhe than  
 Sesit weill hastely in hand  
 At thai about the castell fand; 448  
 Till thair reset syne went thair way.  
 Thusgat yschit Thrillwall that day.

[Pg 108]

QWHEN Thrillwall on this maner  
 Had yschit, as I tell yhow heir, 452  
 James of Douglas and his men  
 Buskit thame all sammyn then,  
 And went thair way toward the Kyng  
 In gret hy; for thai herd tithyng 456  
 That of Vallanch Schir Amery,  
 With a full gret chevelry  
 Bath of Inglis and Scottis men,  
 With gret felony war reddy then 460  
 Assemblit for to seik the Kyng,  
 That wes that tym with his gaderyng  
 In Cumnok, quhar it stratest was.  
 Thiddir went James of Douglas, 464  
 That wes richt welcum to the Kyng.  
 And quhen he tald had that tithing,  
 How that Schir Amer wes cumand  
 For to hunt hym out of the land 468  
 With hund and horn, rycht as he were  
 A wolf, a theif, or thefis fere;  
 Than said the King: "It may weill fall,  
 "Thouch he cum and his power all, 472  
 "We sall abyde in this cuntre;  
 "And gif he cumis we sall him se."

[Pg 109]

**Here Sir Aymer and John of Lorn follow**

**HERE SIR AYMER AND JOHN OF LORN FOLLOW  
King Robert with a Sleuth-hound.**

The King spak apon this maner;  
And of Vallanch Schir Amer 476  
Assemblit a gret cumpany  
Of nobill men and of worthy,  
Of Ingland and of Lowdiane.  
And he has alsua with him tane 480  
Johne of Lorn and all his mycht,  
That had of worthy men and wicht  
With him aucht hundreth men and ma.  
A sleuthhund had he thar alsua, 484  
Sa gude that change wald for na thing.  
And sum men sayis yheit that the King  
As a strecour him nurist had, 488  
And ay sa mekill of hym maid,  
That with his hand he wald hym feyd.  
He followit hym quhar-evir he yheid;  
Swa that the hund hym lufit swa,  
That he wald part na wis him fra. 492  
Bot how that John of Lorn him had,  
I herd nevir mencione be made.  
Bot men sais it wes certane thing  
That he had him in his sesing, 496  
And throu hym thought the Kyng to ta;  
For he wist he hym luffit swa,  
That fra he mycht anys feill  
The Kyngis sent, he wist rycht weill 500  
That he wald change it for na thyng.  
This John of Lorn hatit the King  
For Schir John Cumyn his emys sak;  
Micht he him outhir sla or tak, 504  
He wald nocht pris his liff a stra,  
With-thi he vengeans on hym mycht ta.

1307  
*Valence goes  
to hunt  
Bruce*

[Pg 110]

**How Sir Aymer and John of Lorn  
Chased the King with Hound and Horn.**

The wardane than, Schir Amery,  
With Johne of Lorne in cumpany, 508  
And othir of gud renoune alsua,  
Thomas Randle was ane of thai,  
Come in-till Cumnok to seik the  
King,<sup>[†]</sup>  
That wes weill war of thar cummyng, 512  
And wes up in the strenthis then,  
And with hym weill thre hundreth men.<sup>[†]</sup>  
His brothir that tyme with him was,  
And alsua James of Douglas. 516  
Schir Ameryis rout he saw,  
That held the playn ay and the law,  
And in haill battale always raid.  
The Kyng, that na supposing had 520  
That thai war mair than he saw thair,  
Till thame, and nouthir ellis-quhar,  
Had ey, and wroucht unwittandly.  
For Johne of Lorn full sutelly 524  
Behynd thought to suppris the Kyng.  
Tharfor with all his gaderyng,  
About ane hill he held his way,  
And held hym in-to covert ay, 528  
Till he so neir com to the Kyng,  
Or he persavit his cummyng,  
That he wes cummyn on hym weill neir.  
The tothir host and Schir Amer 532  
Presit on the tothir party.  
The Kyng wes in gret juperdy,  
That wes on athir syde umbeset  
With fayis that to slay hym thret, 536  
And the lest party of thame twa  
Was starkar fer na he, and ma.  
And quhen he saw thame pres him to,  
He thought in hy quhat wes to do, 540  
And said, "Lordis, we haf no mycht

1307 *Bruce  
divides his  
Men*

[Pg 111]

"As at this tyme for to stand and ficht.  
 "Thar-for departis us in thre,  
 "All sall nocht swa assalyheit be: 544  
 "And in thre parteis hald our way."  
 Syne till his consall can he say,  
 Betuix thame in-to prevate,  
 In quhat stede thar repair suld be. 548

With that thair gat all ar thai gane,  
 Ande in thre partis thair way has tane.  
 Than John of Lorn com to the plas  
 Quhar-fra the Kyng departit was, 552  
 And in his trais the hund he set,  
 That than, forouten langar let,  
 Held evyn the way eftir the Kyng,  
 Richt as he had of him knawing, 556  
 And left the tothir parteis twa,  
 As he na kepe to thame wald ta.  
 And quhen the Kyng saw his cummyng, [Pg 112]  
 Eftir his route in-till a lyng, 560  
 He thought thai knew that it wes he:[†]  
 Tharfor he bad till his menyhe  
 Yheit than in thre depart thame sone;  
 And thai did sua forouten hoyn, 564  
 And held thair way in thre parteis.  
 The hund did than sa gret mastris,  
 That he held ay, forout changing,  
 Eftir the rout quhar wes the Kyng. 568

And quhen the Kyng has seyn thaim sua  
 All in a rout eftir hym ta  
 The way, and follow nocht his men,  
 He had a gret persavying then 572  
 That thai knew him; for-thi in hy  
 He bad his men richt hastely  
 Scale, and ilk man hald his way  
 All be hym-self, and sua did thai. 576  
 Ilk man a syndri gat is gane,  
 And the King has with him tane  
 His forstir brothir, forouten ma,  
 And sammyn held thair gat thai twa. 580  
 The hund alwais followit the Kyng,  
 And changit nocht for na parting,  
 Bot ay followit the Kyngis tras,  
 But wavering, as he passit was. 584  
 And quhen that Johne of Lorn saw  
 The hund so hard eftir hym draw,  
 And followit straucht eftir thai twa,  
 He knew the Kyng wes ane of thai, 588  
 And bad five of his cumpany,  
 That war richt wicht men and hardy,  
 And als on fute spediast ware  
 Of all that in that rout war thar, 592  
 Ryn eftir hym, and him our-ta,  
 And lat him na wys pas thaim fra.[†]

**Here Five Chosen Men are sent to take  
the King.**

And fra thai herd had the biddyng,  
 Thai held the way eftir the Kyng. 596  
 And followit hym so spedely,  
 That thai him weill soyn can our-hy.  
 The King than saw thame cumand ner,  
 And wes anoyit in gret maner, 600  
 For he thought, gif thai war worthy,  
 Thai mycht hym travale and tary,  
 And hald hym suagat taryand  
 Till the remanand suld cum at hand. 604  
 Bot had he dred bot anerly  
 Thame five, I trow all sekirly  
 He suld nocht haf full mekill dreid.  
 And till his fallow, as he yheid, 608  
 He said, "Yhon five ar fast cumand:  
 "Thai ar weill neir now at our hand.

"Swa is thair ony help with the?  
 "For we sall soyn assalit be." 612  
 'Yha, Schir,' he said, 'all that I may.'  
 "Thou sais weill," said the Kyng, "perfay."  
 "I se thame cumand till us neir.  
 "I will na forthir, bot richt heir 616  
 "Byde, quhill that I am in aynd,  
 "And se quhat fors that thai can faynd."

**\*How the King slew the five men  
 That John of Lorn sent to him then.<sup>[†]</sup>**

The Kyng than stude full sturdely,  
 And the five soyn, in full gret hy, 620  
 Com with gret schoyr and  
 mannasynng.

1307 *Bruce  
 and Another  
 against Five*

Thre of thame went on-to the Kyng;  
 And till his man the tothir twa  
 With swerd in hand can stoutly ga. 624

The Kyng met thame that till hym socht,  
 And till the first sic rowt he rocht,  
 That ere and cheik down in the hals  
 He schare, and of the schuldir als 628  
 He ruschyt down all desaly.

[Pg 114]

The twa, that saw sa suddanly  
 Thair fallow fall, effrayit war,  
 And stert a litill ouirmair. 632

The Kyng with that blenkyt him by,  
 And saw the twa full sturdely  
 Agane his man gret melle ma.  
 With that he left his awn twa, 636

And till thame that faucht with his man  
 A lowp richt lychtly maid he than,  
 And smat the hed of of the tane.  
 To mete his awn syne is he gane. 640

Thai com on hym rycht hardely.  
 He met the first sa egyrly,  
 That with his swerd, that scharply schare,  
 The arm he fra the body bare. 644

Quhat strakis thai gaf I can nocht tell,  
 Bot to the Kyng so fair befell,  
 That, though he travale had and payn,  
 He of his famen four has slayn. 648

His fostir brothir eftir soyn  
 The fift has out of dawis done.

And when the King saw that all fiff  
 War on that wis broucht out of lif, 652  
 Till his fallow than can he say,  
 "Thou has helpit richt weill, perfay."

'It likis yhow to say sua,' said he,  
 'Bot the gret part to yhow tuk yhe,<sup>[†]</sup> 656  
 'That slew four off the fyve, yhow ane.<sup>[†]</sup>

The Kyng said; "As the glew is gane,  
 "Bettir than thou I mycht it do,  
 "For I had mair lasair thar-to. 660

"For the twa fallowis that delt wyth the,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Quhen thai me saw assalyheit with thre,  
 "Of me richt na kyn dout thai had;  
 "For thai wend I wes stratly stad. 664

[Pg 115]

"And for-thi that thai dred me nocht,  
 "Noy thaim fer out the mair I moucht."  
 With that the Kyng lukyt hym by,  
 And saw of Lorn the cumpany 668

Neir, with thair sleuthhund fast cumand;  
 Than till a wod, that wes neir hand,  
 He went with his fallow in hy.  
 God sauf thame for his gret mercy! 672

**BOOK VII.**

**How John of Lorn sought the Good King  
 Robert Bruce with the Sleuth-hound.**

THE Kyng toward the wod is gane,  
 Wery, for-swat, and will of wayn. 1307 *Bruce*  
 In-till the wod soyn enterit he, *takes to the*  
 And held down toward a vale *Water* 4  
 Quhar throu the wod a wattir ran.  
 Thiddir in gret hy went he than,  
 And begouth to rest hym thair,  
 And said he mycht no forthirmar. 8  
 His man said; "Schir, that may nocht be:  
 "Abyde yhe heir, yhe sal soyn se  
 "Five hundreth yharnand yhou to sla,  
 "And thai ar fele aganis twa; 12  
 "And, sen we may nocht deill wyth mycht,  
 "Help us all that we may wyth slycht."  
 The King said; 'Sen that thou will swa,  
 'Ga furth, and I sall with the ga. 16  
 'Bot I haf herd oftsis say,  
 'That quha endlang a wattir ay  
 'Wald wayd a bow-draucht, he suld ger  
 'Bath the sleuthhund and the ledar, 20  
 'Tyne the sleuth men gert him ta,  
 'Pruf we gif it will now do swa.  
 'For war yhon devillis hund a-way,  
 'I roucht nocht of the layff, perfay.' 24

### Here the Sleuth-hound lost his Scent.

As he devisit thai haf done,  
 And enterit in the wattir sone,  
 And held on endlang it thar way, 28  
 And syne to the land yheid thai,  
 And held thair way as thai did ere.  
 And John of Lorn, with gret effere,  
 Com with his rout richt to the place,  
 Quhar that his five men slan was. 32  
 He menynt thame quhen he thaim saw;  
 And said, eftir a litill thraw,  
 That he suld wenge in hy thar blude:  
 Bot othir wayis the gammyn yhude. 36  
 Thair wald he mak no mair duelling,  
 Bot furth in hy followit the King,  
 Richt to the burn thai passit ar;  
 Bot the sleuth-hund maid stynting thar, 40  
 And waveryt lang tyme to and fra,  
 That he na certane gat couth ga;  
 Till at the last than Johne of Lorn  
 Persavit the hund the sleuth had lorn, 44  
 And said; "We haf tynt this travell;  
 "To pas forthir may nocht avale;  
 "For the wode is bath braid and wyde,  
 "And he is weill fer be this tyde. 48  
 "Tharfor I rede we turn agane,  
 "And wast no mair travale in vayn."  
 With that releyt he his menyhe,  
 And his way to the host tuk he. 52

### Or else he was Slain with an Arrow.

THUS eschapit the nobill Kyng.  
 Bot sum men sais, this eschaping  
 Apone othir maner fell 1307 *The*  
 Than throu the wading; for thai tell *King Escapes* 56  
 That the Kyng a gud archer had,  
 And quhen he saw his lord swa stad,  
 That he wes left swa anerly,  
 He ran on fut alwayis him by, 60  
 Till he in-till the wod wes gane.  
 Then said he till hym-self allane,  
 That he arest rycht thair wald ma,  
 And luk gif he the hund mycht sla. 64  
 For gif the hund mycht lest on lif,  
 He wist full weill that thai wald drif  
 The Kyngis tras till thai hym ta;  
 Than wist he weill thai wald him sla. 68

And for he wald his lord succour,  
 He put his lif in aventur.  
 And stud in-till a busk lurkand 72  
 Quhill that the hund com at his hand,  
 And with ane arrow soyn him slew,  
 And throu the wod syne hym withdrew.  
 Bot quhethir his eschaping fell  
 As I tald first, or now I tell, 76  
 I wat it weill, without lesyng,  
 At that burn eschapit the King.

### **How the Three Men that bare the Wedder Sheep thought to have slain King Robert Bruce.**

THE King has furth his wayis tane.  
 And Johne of Lorn agane is gane 80  
 To Schir Amer, that fra the chas  
 With his men than reparit was,  
 That litill sped in thair chassing;  
 For thow that thai maid following 84  
 Full egirly, thai wan bot small;  
 Thair fayis neir eschapit all.  
 Men sais, Schir Thomas Randale than,  
 Chassand, the Kyngis baner wan; 88  
 Quhar-throu in Ingland wyth the Kyng  
 He had rycht gret price and lovyng.  
 Quhen the chaseris releit war,  
 And Johne of Lorn had met thaim thar, 92  
 He tald Schir Amer all the cas,  
 How that the King eschapit was;  
 And how that he his fif men slew,  
 And syne he to the wod hym drew. 96  
 Quhen Schir Amer herd this, in hy  
 He sanyt hym for the ferly,  
 And said; "He is gretly to pris;  
 "For I knaw nane that liffand is 100  
 "That at myscheif can help hym swa.  
 "I trow he suld be hard to sla  
 "And he war bodyn all evynly."  
 On this wis spak Schir Amery. 104

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### **Here Three Traitours meet the King, with a Wedder.**

And the gud Kyng held furth his way,  
 He and his man, ay quhill that thai  
 Passit owt throu the forest war;  
 Syne in a mure thai enterit ar. 108  
 That wes bath hee and lang and braid;  
 And or thai half it passit had,  
 Thai saw on syde thre men cumand,  
 Lik to licht men and waverand. 112  
 Swerdis thai had and axis als,  
 And ane of thame apon his hals  
 A mekill bundyn weddir bare.  
 Thai met the Kyng, and halsit him thar: 116  
 And the Kyng thame thar halsing yhald,  
 And askit thame quhethir thai wald.  
 Thai said, Robert the Bruce thai socht,  
 To meit with hym gif that thai mocht, 120  
 Thair duelling with hym wald thai ma.  
 The King said, "Gif that yhe will swa,  
 "Haldis furth yhour way with me,  
 "And I sall ger yhow soyn him se." 124

Thai persavit be his spekyng<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And his effer, he wes the Kyng.  
 Thai changit contenans and late,  
 And held nocht in the first stat;  
 For thai war fayis to the Kyng;  
 And thought to cum in-to scowkyng,  
 And duell with hym quhill that thai saw  
 Thar tym, and bryng hym than of daw. 128  
 132

1307 *The  
King goes  
with the Men*

[Pg 119]



Thai grantit till his spek for-thi,  
 Bot the Kyng, that wes witty,  
 Persavit weill be thair havyng  
 That thai lufit hym in na thing: 136  
 He said; "Fallowis, yhe man all thre  
 "Forthir aquynt quhill that we be,  
 "All be yhour-self forrouth ga,  
 "And, on the sammyn wis, we twa 140  
 "Sall fallow yhow behynd weill neir."  
 Quod thai; 'Schir, it is na mysteir  
 'To trow in-till us any ill.'  
 "Nane do I," said he, "bot I will 144  
 "That yhe ga forrow us, quhill we  
 "Bettir with othir knawyn be."  
 'We grant,' thai said, 'sen yhe will swa:'  
 And furth apon thair gat can ga. 148

Thus yheid thai till the nycht wes neir.  
 And than the formast cumin weir  
 Till a wast husbandis hous; and thar  
 Thai slew the weddir at thai bar, 152  
 And slew fyre for to rost thar met,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And askit the Kyng gif he wald et,  
 And rest hym till the met war dicht?  
 The Kyng, that hungry wes I hicht, 156  
 Assentit to thair speke in hy:  
 Bot he said, he wald anerly  
 Betuyx hym and his fallow be  
 At a fyre, and thai all thre 160  
 In the end of the hous suld ma  
 Ane othir fyre; and thai did swa.  
 Thai drew thame in the hous end,  
 And half the weddir till him send; 164  
 And thai rostit in hy thair met,  
 And fell rycht frakly for till et.  
 The King weill lang he fastyt had,  
 And had rycht mekill travale made: 168  
 Tharfor he ete richt egyrly.  
 And quhen he etyn had hastely,  
 He had to slepe sa mekill will,  
 That he mycht set na let thar-till. 172  
 For quhen the wanys fillit ar,  
 The body worthis hevy evirmar;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And to slepe drawis hevynes.  
 The Kyng, that all for-travalit wes, 176  
 Saw that hym worthit slep neidwais;  
 Till his fostir brothir he sais,  
 "May I trast the me to walk,  
 "Till I a litill slepyng tak?" 180  
 'Yha, Schir,' he said, 'till I may dre.'<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The Kyng than wynkit a litill we,  
 And slepit nocht full ynkurly,  
 Bot gliffnyt up oft suddandly; 184  
 For he had drede of thai thre men,  
 That at the tothir fyre war then.  
 That thai his fais war he wyst;  
 Tharfor he slepit as foul on twist. 188

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### Here he slew the three traitors.

The Kyng slepit bot litill than,  
 Quhen sic a slepe fell on his man  
 That he mycht nocht hald up his e,  
 Bot fell on slepe and routit he. 192  
 Now is the King in gret perell:  
 For slepe he swa a litill quhile,  
 He sall be ded, forouten dred.  
 For the thre tratouris tuk gud hede,  
 That he on slep wes and his man. 196  
 In full gret hy thai rais up than,  
 And drew thair swerdis hastely,  
 And went toward the King in hy, 200  
 Quhen that thai saw he slepit swa,  
 And slepand thocht thai wald hym sla.

1307  
 Bruce's  
 Foster-  
 Brother is  
 Slain

[Pg 121]

\*Till hym thai yheid a full gret pas,<sup>[1]</sup> \*204  
 Bot in that tym, throu Goddis grace,  
 The Kyng blenkit up hastely, 204  
 And saw his man slepand him by,  
 And saw cumand the tratouris thre.  
 Delyverly on fut gat he,  
 And drew his suerd out and thame met,  
 And, as he yheid, his fut he set 208  
 Apon his man weill hevaly.  
 He walkynt, and rais all desaly:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 For the sleip maisterit hym swa,  
 That, or he gat up, ane of thai, 212  
 That com for to sla the Kyng,  
 Gaf hym a strake in his rysyng,  
 Swa that he mycht help hym no mair.  
 The Kyng so stratly stad wes thair, 216  
 That he wes never yheit swa stad;  
 Na war the armyng that he had,  
 He had beyn ded foroutyn weyr.  
 Bot nocht-for-thi on sic maneir 220  
 He helpit hym swa in that bargane,  
 That thai thre tratouris he has slane,  
 Throu Goddis grace and his manheid.  
 His fostir-brothir thair wes ded. 224  
 Than wes he wounder will of wayn,  
 Quhen he saw he wes left allane.  
 His fostir-brothir menynt he,  
 And waryit all the tothir thre, 228  
 And syne his way tuk hym allane,  
 And richt toward his trist is gane.

### **Here the King goes to his Tryst.**

THE Kyng went furth wrath and angry,  
 Menand his man full tendirly, 232  
 And held his way all hym allane,  
 And richt toward the hous is gane,  
 Quhar he set trist to mete his men;  
 It wes weill lat of nycht be then.<sup>[†]</sup> 236  
 He come soyn in the hous, and fand  
 The gud wif on the bynk sytand  
 Scho askit hym soyn quhat he wes,  
 And quhyne he com, and quhar he gais. 240  
 "A travalland man, dame," said he,  
 "That travalys heir throu the cuntre."  
 Scho said, 'All that travaland ere,  
 'For saik of ane, ar welcom here.' 244  
 The Kyng said, "Gud dame, quhat is he  
 "That garris yhow have sik specialte  
 "Till men that travalis?" 'Schir, perfay,'  
 Quod the gud wif, 'I sal yhow say; 248  
 'Gud Kyng Robert the Bruce is he,  
 'That is rycht lord of this cuntre.  
 'His fayis him haldis now in thrang;  
 'Bot I thynk to se or oucht lang 252  
 'Hym lord and kyng our all the land,  
 'That na fayis sall hym withstand.'  
 "Dame, lufis thou hym sa weill?" said he.  
 'Yha Schyr,' scho said, 'sa God me se!' 256  
 "Dame," said he, "lo! hym her the by,  
 "For I am he";—'Sa yhe suthly?'  
 "Yha, certis, dame."—'And quhar are gane  
 'Yhour men, quhen yhe ar thus allane?' 260  
 "At this tyme, dame, I have no ma."  
 Scho said, 'It may no wis be swa;  
 'I have twa sonnys wicht and hardy,  
 'Thai sall becum yhour men in hy.' 264  
 As scho devisit thai have done,  
 His sworn men becom thai sone.  
 The wif gart soyn him syt and et.  
 Bot he had schort quhil at the met 268  
 Sittyn, quhen he herd gret stampyng  
 About the hous; than, but lettyng,  
 Thai stert up, the hous to defend;  
 Bot soyn eftir the Kyng has kend

James of Douglas: than wes he blith,  
And bad oppyn the dures swith:  
And thai com in, all at thai ware.  
Schir Edward the Bruce wes thare,  
And James als of Douglas,  
That wes eschapit fra the chas,  
And with the Kyngis brothir met.  
Syne to the trist that thame wes set  
Thai sped thame with thair cumpany,  
That war ane hundreth and fyfty.

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### Here meets he with his Company.

And quhen at thai has seyn the  
Kyng,  
Thai war joyfull of thair metyng:  
And askit how he eschapit was,  
And he thaim tald all hail the cas;  
How the five men him presit fast,  
And how he throu the wattir past,  
And how he met the thevis thre,  
And how he slepand slayn suld be,  
Quhen he walknyt, throu Goddis grace;  
And how his fostyr-brothir was  
Slayne, he tald thame halely.  
Than lovyt thai God all comonly,  
That thair lord wes eschapit swa.  
Than spak thai wordis to and fra,  
Till at the last the Kyng can say;  
“Fortoun has travalet us this day,  
“That scalit us sa suddandly.  
“Our fayis this nycht sall trastly ly;”  
For thai trow we so scalit ar<sup>[†]</sup>  
\*And fled to-waverand her and thar,  
\*That we sall nocht thir dayis thre  
All to-giddir assemblit be  
\*Tharfor this nycht thai sall trastly.  
“But wachis, tak thair eis and ly.  
“Quharfor, quha knew thair herbery,  
“And wald cum on thame suddandly,  
“With few menyhe mycht soyn thame scath,  
“And yhet eschape withouten vath.”  
‘Perfay,’ quoth James of Douglas,  
‘As I com hiddirward, per-cas  
‘I com so neir thair herbery,  
‘That I can bring yhow quhar thai ly.  
‘And wald yhe speid yhow, yheit or day  
‘It may sa happyn that yhe may  
‘Do thame a gretar scath weill soyn  
‘Than thai us all the day has done,  
‘For thai ly scalit as thame lest.’  
Than thocht thai all it wes the best  
To speid thame to thaim hastely;  
And thai did swa in full gret hy,  
And com on thame in the dawyng,  
Richt as the day begouth to spryng.

1307 Bruce  
Plans a  
Surprise

284

288

292

296

300

\*301

\*304

304

[Pg 124]

308

312

316

### Here the King and his Company come hastily upon their Enemies, and slay Many.

So fell it that a cumpany  
Had in toune tane thair herbry,  
Weill fra the host a myle or mair;  
Men said that thai twa thousand  
war.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thar assemblit the nobill Kyng.  
And soyn eftir thair assemblyng,  
Thai, that slepand assalyheit war,  
Rycht hyduisly can cry and rar;  
And othir-sum, that herd the cry,  
Ran furth rycht swa effraytly,  
That sum of thame all nakyt war,

1307 Sir  
Aymer  
praises  
Bruce

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324

328

Fleand to-waverand heir and thair;<sup>[1]</sup>  
 And sum thair armys with thaim drew; 332  
 And thai without mercy thame slew;  
 And swa cruell vengeans can ta,  
 That the twa part of thame and ma,  
 War slayn rycht in that ilk sted; 336  
 Till thar host the remanand fled.  
 The host, that herd the noyis and cry,  
 And saw thair men sa wrechidly  
 Cum nakit, fleand heir and thair, 340  
 Sum haill, and sum woundit sair,  
 In-to full gret affray thai rais,  
 And ilk man to his baner gais:  
 Swa that the host wes all on steir. 344  
 The Kyng and thai that with hym weir,  
 Quhen thai on steir the host saw swa,  
 Toward thair warrand can thai ga,  
 And tharin swith cummyn ar thai. 348  
 And quhen Schir Amery herd say  
 How that the Kyng thar men had slayn,  
 And how thai turnit war agane,  
 He said, "Now may we cleirly se 352  
 "That nobill hert, quhar-evir it be,  
 "Is hard till ourcum throu mastery.  
 "For quhar a hert is rycht worthy  
 "Agane stoutnes it is ay stout; 356  
 "And, as I trow, thair may na dowt  
 "Ger it all out discumfit be,  
 "Quhill body liffand is and fre;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "As be this melle may be seyn. 360  
 "We wend Robert the Bruce had beyn  
 "Swa discumfit that, be gud skill,  
 "He suld nouthir haff hert no will  
 "Swilk juperdy till undirta; 364  
 "For he wes put at undir swa  
 "That he wes left all hym allane,  
 "And all his folk war fra hym gane;  
 "And he wes sa fortravalit, 368  
 "To put of thame that hym assalit,  
 "That he suld haf yharnit restyng  
 "Mair than fechtyng or travalyng.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Bot his hert fillit is of bownte, 372  
 "Swa that it vencust may nocht be."

[Pg 125]

### Here Sir Aymer passes to Carlisle.

[Pg 126]

ON this wis spak Schir Amery.  
 And quhen thai of his cumpany  
 Saw how thai travalit had in vane, 376  
 And how the Kyng thar men had slane,  
 That at his larges wes all free,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thame thought it wes a nyste  
 For to mak thair langer duellyng, 380  
 Sen thai mycht nocht anoy the Kyng;  
 And said that to Schir Amery,  
 That umbethoucht hym hastely  
 That he to Carleill than wald ga, 384  
 And a quhill thar-in sojorn ma;  
 And haf his spyis on the Kyng,  
 To knaw alwais his contenyng.  
 For quhen that he his poynt mycht se, 388  
 He thought that with a gret menyhe  
 He suld schute on hym sodanly.  
 Tharfor, with all his cumpany,  
 Till Ingland he the way has tane, 392  
 And ilk man till his hous is gane.  
 In hy till Carleill went is he.  
 And thar-in thynkis for to be  
 Till he his poynt saw of the Kyng, 396  
 That than with all his gaderyng  
 Wes in Carrik, quhar umbestount  
 He wald went with his men till hount.

### Here the King meets three Traitors.

Swa hapnyt it that on a day 400  
 He went till hunt, for till assay  
 Quhat gammyn wes in that cuntre. 1307 *Bruce*  
 And swa hapnyt that day that he *taunts the*  
 By a wode-syde to sett is gane, 404 *Bowmen*  
 With his twa hundis, hym allane;  
 Bot he his swerd ay with hym bare.  
 He had bot schort quhill syttyn thare,  
 Quhen he saw fra the wode cumand 408  
 Thre men with bowis in thar hand,  
 That toward hym com spedely;  
 And he persavit that in hy,  
 Be thair effeir and thair havynng, 412  
 That thai lufit hym na kyn thyng.  
 He rais and his leysche till him drew he,  
 And leit his houndis gang all fre.  
 God help the Kyng now for his mycht! 416  
 For bot he now be wis and wicht,  
 He sall be set in mekill pres.  
 For thai thre men, withouten les,  
 War his fayis all utrely; 420  
 And had wachit so besaly,  
 To se quhen thai vengeans mycht tak  
 Of the Kyng for Jhone Cumynys sak,  
 That thai thought than thai laser had; 424  
 And, sen he hym allane wes stad,  
 In hy thai thought thai suld him sla:  
 And gif that thai mycht chevis swa,  
 Fra that thai the Kyng had slayn, 428  
 That thai mycht wyn the wode agayn,  
 His men, thai thought, thai suld nocht dreid.  
 In hy towart the Kyng thai yheid,  
 And bend thair bowis quhen thai war neir; 432  
 And he, that dred in gret maneir  
 Thar arowis, for he nakit was,  
 In hy ane spekyng to thame mais,  
 And said; "Yhe aucht to shame, perde, 436  
 "Syn I am ane and yhe ar thre,  
 "For to schut at me on fer.  
 "Bot haf yhe hardyment, cum ner  
 "With yhour swerdis me till assay; 440  
 "Wyn me on sic wis gif yhe may;  
 "Yhe sall weill mair all prisit be."  
 'Perfay,' quod ane than of the thre,  
 'Sall no man say we drede the swa, 444  
 'That we with arrowis sall the sla.'

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With that thair bowis away thai kest,  
 And com on fast, but langar frest.  
 The Kyng thame met full hardely, 448  
 And smat the first so rigorously,  
 That he fell ded down on the greyn.  
 And quhen the Kyngis hounde has seyn  
 Thai men assale his mastir swa, 452  
 He lap till ane and can hym ta  
 Richt be the nek full felony,  
 Till top our taill he gert hym ly.  
 And the Kyng, that his swerd up had, 456  
 Saw he so fair succour hym maid,  
 Or he that fallyn wes mycht rys,  
 He hym assalyheit on sic wis,<sup>[1]</sup>  
 That he the bak strak evyn in twa. 460  
 The thrid, that saw his fallowis swa  
 Forouten recoveryng, be slayne,  
 Tuk till the wod his way agane.  
 Bot the Kyng followit spedely; 464  
 And als the hound that wes hym by,  
 Quhen he the man saw gang hym fra,  
 Schot till hym soyn, and can him ta  
 Richt be the nek, and till hym dreuch; 468  
 And the Kyng, that wes neir eneuch,  
 In his risyng sik rowt hym gaf,  
 That stane-ded till the erd he draf.

[Pg 128]

The Kyngis men who that war neir

The Kyngis menyhe that war men, 472  
 Quhen at thai saw on sic maneir  
 The Kyng assalit sa suddandly,  
 Thai sped thame toward hym in hy,  
 And askit how that cas befell? 476  
 And he all haly can thaim tell,  
 How thai assalyheit hym all thre.  
 "Perfay," quod thai, "we may weill se  
 "That it is hard till undirtak 480  
 "Sic mellyng with yhow for to mak,  
 "That so smertly has slayn thir thre  
 "Forouten hurt." 'Perfay,' said he,  
 'I slew bot ane forouten ma,<sup>[t]</sup> 484  
 'God and my hund has slane the twa;  
 'Thair tresoune cumrit thame, perfay,  
 'For richt wicht men all thre war thai.'

[Pg 129]

### Here Sir Aymer sets the King in Great Jeopardy.

Qwhen that the Kyng, throu 488  
 Goddis grace  
 On this maner eschapit was,  
 He blew his home, and than in hy  
 His gud men till hym can rely;  
 Than hamwardis buskit he to fair, 492  
 For that day wald he hunt no mair.  
 In Glentruell a quhile he lay,<sup>[t]</sup>  
 And went weill oft to hunt and play,  
 For to purchase thame venysoun, 496  
 For than the deir war in sesoun.  
 In all that tyme Schir Amery,  
 With nobill men in cumpany,  
 In Carleill lay, his poynt to se; 500  
 And quhen he herd the certante  
 That in Glentruell wes the King,  
 And went to hunt and to playing,  
 He thought than with his chevelry, 504  
 To cum apon hym suddandly;  
 Fra Carleill all on nychtis ryde,  
 And in covert on dayis byde. 508  
 And swagat, with sic tranonting,  
 He thought he suld suppris the Kyng.  
 Than he assemblit a gret menyhe  
 Of folk of full gret renowne.  
 Bath of Scottis and Inglis men. 512  
 Thair way all sammyn held thai then,  
 And raid on nychtis so prevaly,  
 Till thai com to the wode neir by  
 Glentruell, quhar lugit wes the Kyng, 516  
 That wist richt nocht of thair cummyng.  
 In-to gret perell now is he,  
 For, bot God throu his gret powste,  
 Saif hym, he sall be tane or slane; 520  
 For thai war sex quhar he wes ane.

1307 Bruce  
is in  
Glentrool

[Pg 130]

### How Sir Aymer Valence sent the Woman to spy King Robert in Glentrool.

Qwhen Schir Amer, as I herd tald,  
 With his men that wes stout and bald,  
 Wes cum so neir the Kyng that thai 524  
 War bot a myle fra hym away,  
 He tuk avisment with his men,  
 On quhat maner thai suld do then.  
 For he said thame, that the King wes 528  
 Lugit in-to so strate a place,  
 That hors-men mycht hym nocht assale;  
 And gif fut-men gaf hym battale,  
 He suld be hard to wyn, gif he 532  
 Of thair cummyng ma warnit be:  
 "Tharfor I rede, all prevaly  
 "We send a woman hym to spy,  
 "That pouerly arayit be. 536  
 "She may sek what we chait

Scno may ask met per cnerite,  
 "And se thair covyne halely,  
 "And on quhat maner at thai ly,  
 "The quhilis we and our menyhe, 540  
 "Cumand throu-out the wod may be  
 "On fut, all arayit as we ar.  
 "May we do swa, that we cum thar  
 "On thaim or thai wit our cummyng 544  
 "We sall fynd in thame no styntyng."

This consall thought thaim wes the  
 best,  
 Than send thai furth, but langar  
 frest, 1307 *The  
 Woman  
 Discloses the  
 Plot* 548  
 The woman that suld be thar spy,  
 And scho hir way can hald in hy  
 Richt to the logis, quhar the King,  
 That had no dreid of supprising, 552  
 Yheid unarmyt, mery and blith.  
 The woman has he seyn alswith,  
 He saw hir uncouth, and for-thi  
 He beheld hir mayr ynkirly,  
 And by hir countenans hym thought<sup>[f]</sup> 556  
 That for gud cummyng wes scho nocht.  
 Than gert he men in hy hir ta;  
 And scho, that dred men suld hir sla,  
 Tald thame how that Schir Amery, 560  
 With the Cliffurd in cumpany,  
 And the flour of Northumbirland,  
 War cummand on thame at thar hand.

Quhen at the King herd that tithing, 564  
 He armyt hym but mair duelling;  
 Sa did thai all that evir thar war,  
 Syne in a sop assemblit ar:  
 I trow they war thre hundreth ner. 568  
 And quhen thai all assemblit wer,  
 The King his baner gert display,  
 And set his men in gude aray.  
 Thai had nocht standyn bot a thraw, 572  
 Richt at thair hand quhen at thai saw  
 Thair fayis throu the wod cumand,  
 Armyt on fut, with sper in hand,  
 That sped thame full enforsaly. 576  
 The noyis begouth soyne and the cry;  
 For the gud King, that formast was,  
 Stoutly towart his fayis gais,  
 And hint out of a manis hand, 580  
 That neir besyde him wes gangand,  
 A bow and a braid arrow als,  
 And hyt the formast in the hals,  
 Till throppill and wassand yheid in twa, 584  
 And he doune to the erd can ga.

### Here were Fifteen Hundred discomfited with Few Scots.

The laiff with that maid a stopping;  
 Than, but mair baid, the nobill King  
 Hynt fra his baneour the banar, 588  
 And said, "Apon thame! for thai ar  
 "Discomfit all!" and with that word  
 He swappit swiftly out his sword,  
 And on thame ran so hardely, 592  
 That all thai of his cumpany  
 Tuk hardyment of his gud dede.  
 For sum, that first thar wayis yhede,  
 Again com to the ficht in hy, 596  
 And met thair fayis so rigorously,  
 That all the formast ruschit war.  
 And quhen thai that war hendirmar  
 Saw that the formast left the stede, 600  
 Thai turnit soyn the bak and fled,  
 And of the wod thai thaim with-drew.  
 The King a few men of thame slew,

For thai rycht soyn thair gat can ga; 604  
 It discomfortyt thame all swa,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That the King with his menyhe was  
 All armyt to defend that plas,  
 That thai wend throu thar tranonting 608  
 Till have wonnyn for-out fichting,  
 That thai effrayit war suddanly.  
 And he thame soucht so angryly,  
 That thai in full gret hy agane 612  
 Out of the woud ran to the plane.  
 For thai falyheit of thair entent,  
 Thai war that tym sa fowly schent,  
 That fiften hundreth men and ma 616  
 Wyth fewar war rebutit swa,  
 That thai with-drew thaim schamfully.  
 Tharfor emang thame sudanly  
 Thair rais debate and gret distans 620  
 Ilkane with othir of thar myschans;  
 Clyffurd and Vaus maid a melle,  
 Quhar Cliffurd raucht him a cole;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And athir syne drew to partis. 624  
 Bot Schir Amer, that wes wis,  
 Departit thame with mekill pane,  
 And went till Inghland hame agane. [Pg 133]  
 He wist, fra stryff rais thame amang, 628  
 He suld thame nocht hald sammyn lang  
 For-outen debat or melle;  
 Tharfor till Inghland turnit he  
 With mar schaym than he com of toune; 632  
 Quhen sa mony of sic renoun  
 Saw sa few men bid thaim battale,  
 Quhar thai ne war hardy to assale.

## BOOK VIII

### How James of Douglas discomfited then At Ederford Philip Mowbray with many men.

THE King, fra Schir Amer was  
 gane,  
 Gadert his menyhe evirilkane;  
 And left bath woddis and montanis,  
 And held his way straucht to the  
 planys. 4  
 For he wald fayn that end war maid  
 Of that at he begonnyng had,  
 And he wist weill he mycht nocht bring  
 It to gud end but travalyng. 8  
 To Kyle first went he, and that land  
 He maid till him all obeysand:  
 The men mast fors com till his pes.  
 Syne eftirward, or he wald ces, 12  
 Of Cunyngame the mast party  
 He gert helde till his senyhory.

In Bothwell than Schir Amer was,  
 That in his hert gret angry has; 16  
 For thai of Cunyngame and Kyle,  
 That war obeysand till hym quhile,  
 Left the Inglis menis fewte:  
 Tharof fayn vengit wald he be; 20  
 And send Schir Philip the Mowbray,  
 With a thousand, as I herd say,  
 Of men that war in his leding,  
 To Kyle to warray the nobill Kyng. 24  
 Bot James of Douglas, that all tyde,  
 Had spyis out on ilka syde,  
 Wist of thar cummyng, and that thai  
 Wald hald doune Makyrnokis way.<sup>[†]</sup> 28  
 He tuk with hym all prevely  
 Thame that war of his cumpany,  
 That war sixty withouten ma.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Syne till a strate place can he ga, 32

1307 Bruce  
leaves the  
Mountains



That is in Makyrnokis way,  
 The Edry-furd it hat perfay;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 It lyis betuix marras twa,  
 Quhar that na hors on lif ma ga. 36  
 On the south half, quhar James was,  
 Is ane upgang, ane narrow plas,  
 And on the north half is the way  
 Sa ill, as it apperis to day. 40

Douglas, with thame he with hym  
 had,  
 Enbuschit hym, and thame abaid. 1307  
 He mycht weill fer se thair *Mowbray*  
 cummyng, *escapes with*  
 Bot thai mycht se of hym na thing. 44 *Difficulty*  
 Thai maid enbuschement all the nycht,  
 And quhen the sone wes schynand brycht,  
 Thai saw in battale cum arayit  
 The vaward with baner displayit, 48  
 And syne soyn the remanand  
 Thai saw weill neir behynd cumand.  
 Than held thai thaim still and preve,  
 Till the formast of thair menyhe 52  
 War enterit in the furde thame by;  
 Than schot thai on thame wyth a cry;  
 And with wapnys that scharply schare  
 Sum in the furde thai bakward bare, 56  
 And sum, with arrowes barblyt braid,  
 Sa gret martirdome on thame maid,  
 That thai gan draw to voyd the place;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot behinde thame so stoppit was 60  
 The way, that thai fast mycht nocht fle,  
 And that gert of thaim mony de.  
 For thai on na syde mycht away  
 Bot as thai com, bot gif at thai 64  
 Wald throu thair fayis hald thar gat;  
 Bot that way thoucht thame all to hat.  
 Thair fayis met thame so sturdely,  
 And continit the ficht so hardely, 68  
 That thai so dredand war at thai  
 Quha first mycht fle, first fled away.  
 And quhen the reirward saw thaim swa  
 Discumfit, and thair wayis ga, 72  
 Thai fled on fer, and held thair way.  
 Bot Schir Philip the Mowbray,  
 That with the formast rydand was,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That enterit war in-to the plas, 76  
 Quhen that he saw how he wes stad,  
 Throu the gret worschip that he had,  
 With spurys he strak the steid of pris,  
 And, magre all his enymys, 80  
 Throu the thikkest of thame he raid,  
 And but challans eschapit had,  
 Ne war ane hynt hym by the brand;  
 Bot the guid steid, that wald nocht stand, 84  
 He lansit furth deliverly;  
 Bot the tothir sa stalwardly  
 Held, that the belt brist of the brand,  
 That swerd and belt left in his hand. 88  
 And he but swerd his wayis raid,  
 Weill otow thame, and thair abaid,  
 Behaldand how his menyhe fled,  
 And how his fais clengit the sted 92  
 That war betuix him and his men;  
 Tharfor the wayis tuk he then  
 To Kylmernok and Killwynnyn,  
 And till Ardrossan eftir syne. 96  
 Syne throu the Largys, him allane,  
 Till Ennirkyp the way has tane,  
 Richt till the castell that wes then  
 Stuffit all with Inglis men, 100  
 That him resavit in gret dante.  
 And fra thai wist how-gat that he  
 Sa fer had ryddyn, hym allane,  
 Throu thame that war his fais ilkane

THOU THINE that war his mane,  
Thai prisit him so gretumly, 104  
And alsua lovit his chevelry.

SCHIR Philip thus eschakit was,  
And Douglas, that wes in the plas, 108  
Quhar he sexty has slane and ma;  
The laiff fouly thar gat can ga,  
And fled to Bothwell hame agane;  
Quhen Schir Amer wes na thing fane, 112  
Quhen he herd tell on quhat maner  
That his menyhe discumfit wer.  
Bot quhen to King Robert wes tald,  
How the gud Douglas, that wes bald, 116  
Vencust sa feyll with few menyhe,  
Richt joyfull in his hert wes he.  
And all his men confortit war:  
For thame thought weill, bath les and mair 120  
That thai suld les thar fayis drede,  
Sen thair purpos sa wyth thaim yheide.

### Here Sir Aymer urges a Fight on the Plain.

The Kyng lay in-to Gawlistoun,  
That is rycht evyn anent Lowdown; 124  
And till his pes tuk the cuntre.  
Quhen Schir Amer and his menyhe,  
Herd how he rewlit all the land, 128  
And how that nane durst him withstand,  
He wes in-till his hert angry;  
And with ane of his cumpany  
He send him word ande said, gif he  
Durst hym in-to the planys se, 132  
He suld the tend day of May  
Cum undir Lowdown hill away:  
And gif that he wald met him thair,  
He said, his worschip sulde be mair, 136  
And mair be turnit to nobillay,  
To wyn him in the playn away,  
With hard dyntis in evyn fichting,  
Than till do fer mair in scowking. 140  
The King, that herd his messinger,  
Had despit apon gret maner,  
That Schir Amer spak sa hely,  
Tharfor he ansuerd irusly,<sup>[†]</sup> 144  
And till the messynger said he;  
"Sa to thi lord that, gif I be  
"In lif, he sall me se that day  
"Weill neir, gif he dar hald the way 148  
"That he has said; for sekirly  
"By Lowdown hill mete hym sall I."

1307 Bruce  
accepts the  
Challenge

[Pg 137]

### Here King Robert provides for Advantage in the Place where they should Fight.

The messinger, but mair abade,  
Till his mastir his wais raide, 152  
And his ansuer him tald alswith;  
Than wes na neid to mak him blithe,<sup>[†]</sup>  
For he thought, throu his mekill mycht,  
Gif the King durst apeir to ficht, 156  
That, throu the gret chevelry  
That suld be in his cumpany,  
He suld swa ourcum the Kyng,  
That thar suld be na recoveryng. 160  
And the Kyng, on the tothir party,  
That wes ay wis and a-verty,  
Raid for to se and ches the plas,  
And saw the hye-gat lyand was 164  
Apon a fair feild, evin and dry;  
Bot apon athir syde thar-by  
Wes a gret mos, mekill and braid,  
That fra the way wes, quhar men raid, 168  
A howdraucht neir on athir syde.

[Pg 138]

And that place thocht hym all to wyde  
 Till abyde men that horsit war.  
 Tharfor thre dykis ourthwort he schar, 172  
 Fra bath the mosis to the way:  
 That war sa fer fra othir, that thai  
 War in-twyn a bow-draucht and mar.  
 Sa holl and hye the dykis war, 176  
 That men mycht nocht, but mekill pane,  
 Pas thaim, thouch nane war thaim agane.  
 Bot sloppis in the way left he,  
 So large, and of sic quantite, 180  
 That fyffe hundir mycht sammyn ryde  
 In at the sloppis, syde for syde.  
 Thar thocht he battale for to beid,  
 And bargane thaim; for he na drede 184  
 Had at thai suld on syde assale,  
 Na yheit behynd gif him battale.  
 And befor hym thocht weill that he  
 Suld fra thar mycht defendit be. 188  
 Thre deip dykis he gert thar ma;  
 For gif he mycht nocht weill our-ta  
 To met thame at the first, that he  
 Suld haf the tothir at his pouste; 192  
 Or than the thrid, gif it war swa  
 At thai had passit the tothir twa.  
 On this wis him ordanit he,  
 And syne assemblit his menyhe, 196  
 That war sex hundreth fechtand men,  
 But rangald, that wes with him then,  
 That war als feill as thai, or ma.  
 With all that menyhe can he ga, 200  
 The evyn befor the battale suld be,  
 To litill Lowdown, quhar that he  
 Wald abide to se thair cummyng;  
 Syne with the men of his leding 204  
 He thocht to speid hym, swa that he  
 Suld at the dik befor thaim be.

### Here Sir Aymer comes with his Host in Sight.

Schir Amer, on the tothir party,  
 Gaderit so great chevelry, 208  
 That he mycht be thre thousand  
 neir,  
 Armyt and dicht in gud maner;  
 And than, as man of gret noblay,  
 He held toward the trist his way. 212  
 And quhen the set day cumin was,  
 He sped him fast toward the place  
 That he had nemmyt for to ficht.  
 The sone wes rysyn schynand bricht, 216  
 That blenknyt on the scheldis braid.  
 In twa eschelis ordanit he had  
 The folk that he had in leding.  
 The Kyng, weill soyn in the mornyng, 220  
 Saw first cumand thair first eschele,  
 Arrait sarraly and weill,  
 And at thair bak, sum-deill neirhand,  
 He saw the tothir followand: 224  
 Thair basnetis burnyst war all brycht,  
 Agane the sone glemand of licht;  
 Thair speris, thair pennownys, and thar scheldis  
 Of licht illumynit all the feldis. 228  
 Thair best and browdyn bricht baneris,  
 And hors hewit on seir maneris,  
 And cot-armouris off seir colour,  
 And hawbrekis, that war quhit as flour, 232  
 Maid thame glitterand, as thai war lik  
 Till angellis he of hevinis rik.

1307 *The  
Splendid  
Array of the  
English*

### Here King Robert meets him with Few.

The King said; "Lordingis, now yhe se

"How yhon men, throu thar gret pouste, 236  
 "Wald, and thai mycht fulfill thar will,  
 "Slay us, and mak sembland thar-till.  
 "And sen we know thair felony,  
 "Ga we and meit thame hardely, 240  
 "That the stoutest of thair menyhe,  
 "Of our metyng abaysit be.  
 "For gif the formast egirly  
 "Be met, yhe sall se suddanly 244  
 "The henmast sall abasit be;  
 "And thouch that thai be ma than we,  
 "That suld abais us litill thing;  
 "For quhen we cum to the fichting, 248  
 "Thar may met us no ma than we.  
 "Tharfor, lordingis, ilkane suld be  
 "Of worschip and of gret valour,  
 "For till maynteme heir our honour. 252  
 "Thinkis quhat gladschip us abydis,  
 "Gif that we may, as us betydis,  
 "Haf victour of our fayis heir!  
 "For thar is nane her, fer no neir, 256  
 "In all this land that us thar dout."  
 Than said thai all that stude about,  
 'Schir, gif God will, we sall sa do,  
 "That no reprof sall ly thar-to.' 260  
 "Than ga we furth now," said the King,  
 "And he, that maid of nocht all thing,  
 "Leyd us, and sauf us for his mycht,  
 "And help us for till hald our richt!" 264  
 With that thai held thar way in hy,  
 Weill sex hundreth in cumpany,  
 Stalward and stout, worthy and wicht:  
 Bot thai war all to few, I hicht, 268  
 Agane so feill to stand in stour,  
 Ne war thair outrageous valour.

[Pg 140]

Now gais the nobill Kyng his way,  
 Richt stoutly and in gude aray, 272  
 And to the formast dyk is gane,  
 And in the slop the feld has tane.  
 The cariage-men and the pouverale,  
 That wes nocht worth in the batale, 276  
 Behynd him levit he al still,  
 Standand all sammyn on the hill.  
 Schir Amery the King has seyn,  
 With his men that war cant and keyn, 280  
 Cum to the playn doune fra the hill,  
 As him thought in-to full gud will  
 For to defend or till assaill,  
 Gif ony wald hym byde battale. 284  
 Tharfor his men confortit he,  
 And bad thame wicht and worthy be;  
 For gif at thai mycht wyn the Kyng,  
 And victor haf of the fechting, 288  
 Thai suld richt weill rewardit be,  
 And gretly ek thair renownee.  
 With that thai war weill neir the Kyng,  
 And he left his amonystyng, 292  
 And gert trumpe to the assemble;  
 And the formast of his menyhe  
 Enbrasit with that thar scheldis braid,  
 And rycht sarray to-gidder raid, 296  
 With hedis stowpand and speris straucht  
 Richt to the Kyng thar way thai raucht;  
 That met thame with sa gret vigour,  
 That the best and of mast valour 300  
 War laid at erd at thair metyng;  
 Quhar men mycht her sic a brekyng  
 Of speris that to-fruschynt war,  
 And the woundit so cry and rar, 304  
 That it anoyus wes till her.  
 For thai, that first assemblit wer,  
 Funyheit and fawcht full sturdely;  
 The noyis begouth than and the cry. 308

MAY 10, 1307  
*The Battle  
 of Loudoun  
 Hill*

[Pg 141]

## Here King Robert wins in Plain Battle.

A! mychty God! quha thair had beyn,  
And had the Kyngis worschip seyn,  
And his brothir that wes hym by,  
That contenit thame so hardely, 312  
That thair gud deid and thar bounte,  
Gaiff gret confort to thair menyhe;  
And how Dowglas so manfully  
Confortit thame that war hym by; 316  
He suld weill say that thai had will  
To wyn honor and cum thair-till.  
The Kingis men, that worthy war,  
With thair speris that scharply schar, 320  
Stekit men and stedis bath,  
Till red blud ran of woundis rath.  
The hors that woundyt war can fling,  
And ruschit the folk in thair flynging, 324  
Swa that thai that than formast war  
War skalyt in soppis heir and thar.<sup>[†]</sup>  
The King that saw thame ruschit swa,  
And saw thame reland to and fra, 328  
Ran apon thaim so egirly,  
And dang on thame sa hardely,  
He gert feill of his fayis fall.  
The feld wes weill neir coverit all 332  
Bath with slayn hors and with men;  
For the gud King thame followit then,  
With weill fif hundreth that wapnys bar,  
That wald thair fayis no thing spar. 336  
Thai dang on thame so hardely,  
That in schort tyme men mycht se ly  
At erd ane hundreth and wele mar.<sup>[†]</sup>  
The remanand the waykar war, 340  
Than thai begouth thame to withdraw;  
And quhen thai of the reirward saw  
Thair vawarde be sa discomfit,  
Thai flede withouten mair respit. 344  
And quhen Schir Amer hes seyn  
His men fleand haly bedeyn,  
Wit yhe weill he wes full way;  
Bot he mycht nocht amonist swa 348  
That ony for him wald turne agane.  
And quhen he saw he tynt his pane,  
He turnit his bridill, and to-ga:  
For the gud King thame presit swa 352  
That sum war dede, and sum war tane;  
The remanand thar gat ar gane.

[Pg 142]

## Here Sir Aymer passes to England.

[Pg 143]

THE folk fled apon this maner  
For-outen arest, and Schir Amer 356  
Agane to Bothwell is he gane,  
Menand the scath that he had tane;  
Sa schamfull that he vencust wes,  
That till Inglande in hy he gais 360  
Richt till the King, and schamfully  
He gaf up thar his wardanry.  
Na never syne, for na kyne thing,  
Bot gif he com richt with the King, 364  
Com he to warra Scotland.  
Sa hevely he tuk on hand,  
That the King, in set battalyhe,  
With a quheyn lik poueralyhe, 368  
Vencust him with a gret menyhe,  
That wes renownit of gret bounte.  
Sic anoy had Schir Amery:  
And King Robert, that wes hardy, 372  
Abaid all still in-to the plas,  
Till that his men left all the chas;  
Syne with presoners that thai had tane,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thai ar towart thair innys gane, 376  
Fast lovand God of thair weillfair.  
Men mycht hef com, quha had hown thair

MAY, 1307  
*The  
Rejoicing of  
the Scots*

men mycni þai seyn, quia þau þeyn thair,  
 A folk that mery war and glad  
 For thair victour; and als thai haid 380  
 A lord so swet and deboner,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 So curtas, and of sa fair effer,  
 So blith als, and so weill bowrdand,  
 And in battale so stith to stand, 384  
 So wis, and richt sua avise,  
 That thai had gret caus blith to be.  
 So war thai blith forouten dout;  
 For feill, that wonnyt thaim about, 388  
 Fra thai the King saw help him swa,  
 Till him thar homage can thai ma.  
 Than vox his power mair and mair,  
 And he thocht weill that he wald fair 392  
 Outour the Month with his menyhe,  
 To luk quha that his frend wald be.  
 In-to Schir Alexandir the Freser  
 He trastit, for thai cosyngis wer, 396  
 And his brothir Symon, thai twa.  
 He had myster weill of ma,  
 For he hade fais mony ane;  
 Schir Johne Cumyne Erl of Bouchane, 400  
 And Schir Johne the Mowbray syne,  
 And gud Schir David of Brechyne,  
 With all the folk in thair leding,  
 War fayis to the nobill King. 404  
 And, for he wist thai war his fayis,  
 His viage northwardis he tais;  
 For he wald se quhat-kyn ending  
 Thai walde mak of thair manasing. 408

[Pg 144]

### How the Good King Robert the Bruce passed North beyond the Mounth.

THE king buskit and maid him yhar,  
 Northwardis with his men to fair.  
 His brothir can he with hym ta,  
 And Schir Gilbert de le Hay alsua; 412  
 The Erl of Lennax als wes thar,  
 That with the King was our all quhar;  
 Schir Robert Boyd and othir ma.  
 The King can furth his wais ta, 416  
 And left James of Douglas,  
 With all the folk that with him was,  
 Behynd hym, for till luk gif he  
 Micht recover his cuntre. 420  
 He left him in-to gret perill;  
 Bot eftir, in ane litill quhill,  
 Throu his gret worschip sa he wrocht,  
 That to the Kingis pes he brocht 424  
 The forest of Selcryk all hale,  
 And alsua did he Douglasdale,  
 And Gedword forest alsua.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And quha sa weill on hand couth ta 428  
 To tell his worschippis ane and ane,  
 He suld fynd of thaim mony ane.  
 For in his tym, as men said me,  
 Threttene tymes vencust wes he, 432  
 And victory wan sevin and fifty.  
 He semyt nocht lang ydill to ly,  
 Be his travale he had na will;  
 Me think men suld him luf of skill. 436

[Pg 145]

### Here Sir James wins Many Men, and makes First a Train on the Castle.

This James, quhen the King wes  
 gane,  
 All prevely his men has tane,  
 And went to Douglasdaill agane,  
 And maid all prevely a trane  
 Till thaim that in the castell war.  
 A buschement slely maid he thair;

1307 *The  
Activity of  
Douglas*

440

And of his men tourteyn and ma  
 He gert, as thai war, sekkis ta 444  
 Fillit with gyrs, and syne thame lay  
 Apon thair hors, and hald thair way  
 Richt as thai wald to Lanrik fair,  
 Otow quhar the enbuschement war. 448  
 And quhen thai of the castell saw  
 So feill ladis gang on raw,  
 Of that sight war thai wondir fayn,  
 And tald it to thair capitane, 452  
 That nicht Schir Johne off Webitoune.  
 He wes bath yhoung, stout, and felloun,  
 Richt joly als, and volageous;  
 And for that he was amourous, 456  
 He wald ysche fer the blithlyer.  
 He gert his men all tak thar ger,  
 And yschit to get that vittale,  
 For thar vittale all fast couth fale. 460  
 Thai yschit all abaundanly,  
 And prikit furth sa wilfully  
 To win the ladis at thai saw pas,  
 Quhill that Douglas with his men was 464  
 All betuix thame and the castell.  
 The layd-men that persavit weill  
 Thai kest thair ladis doun in hy,  
 And thair gownys deliverly, 468  
 That helit thame, thai kest away,  
 And in gret hy thair hors hint thai,  
 And stert upon thame sturdely,  
 And met thair fayis with a cry; 472  
 That had gret woundir, quhen thai saw  
 Thaim that war ere lurkand full law,  
 Cum apon thame so hardely,  
 Thai wox abasyd suddandly, 476  
 And at the castell wald haf beyn.  
 Quhen thai, on the othir haf, has seyn  
 Douglas brek his enbuschement,  
 That agane thame rycht stoutly went, 480  
 Thai wist nocht quhat till do no say.  
 Thar fayis at thair hand saw thai,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That strak on thame forout sparing,  
 And thai mycht help thaim-self no thing, 484  
 Bot fled to warrand quhar thai mocht;  
 And thai so angirly on thame socht,  
 That of thame all eschakit nane.  
 Schir Jhone of Webitoun thar wes slaine; 488  
 And quhen he ded wes, as yhe her,  
 Thai fand in-till his awmener  
 A letter, that him send ane lady,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That he lufit per drowry; 492  
 The letter spak on this maner,<sup>[†]</sup> \*493  
 That said, quhen he had yhemyt a yher  
 In wer, as ane gud bachiller,  
 And governit weill, in all maner, \*495  
 The aventurus castell off Douglas,  
 That to kepe so perelous was, 496  
 Than mycht he weill ask ane lady  
 Hir amouris and hir drowry.

[Pg 146]

The letter spak on this maner.  
 And quhen thai slayn on this wis  
 wer, 500  
 Douglas richt to the castell raid,  
 And thair so gret debate he maid,  
 That in the castell enterit he.  
 I wat nocht all the certante, 504  
 Quhethir it wes throu strinth or slicht,  
 Bot he wrocht swa, throu his gret mycht,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That the constabill and all the lafe  
 That war thar-in, bath man and knaf, 508  
 He tuk, and gaf thame dispending,  
 And send thame hame, but mair greving,  
 Till the Cliffurde in thair cuntre.  
 Ande syne so besely wrocht he, 512  
 That he all tumlit doune the wall

1307  
 Douglas  
 destroys his  
 Castle

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That he an tairnt doone the way,  
 And distroit the hous all:  
 Syne till the Forest held his way,  
 Quhar he had mony harde assay, 516  
 And mony fair poynt of wer befell;  
 Quha couth thame all rehers and tell,  
 He suld say that his name suld be  
 Lestande in full gret renoune.<sup>[†]</sup> 520

## BOOK IX

### How Good King Robert lay Sick in Inverury.

Now leif we in-to the Forest  
 Douglas, that sall haf litil rest,  
 Till the cuntre deliverit be  
 Of Inglis men and thair pouste: 4  
 And turne we to the nobill Kyng;  
 That, with the folk of his leding,  
 Toward the Month has tane the way  
 Richt stoutly, in-to gud aray; 8  
 Quhar Alysandir Freser him met,  
 And als his brothir, Symon het,  
 With all the folk thai with thaim hade.  
 The Kyng gud counternans thaim maid, 12  
 That wes richt blith of thair cummyng.  
 Thai tald the King all the covyng  
 Of Jhone Cumyne the Erll of Bouchane,  
 That till help him had with him tane 16  
 Schir John Mowbra and othir ma,  
 Schir David the Brechyne alsua,  
 With all the folk of thair leding,  
 "And yharnis mair than ony thing 20  
 "Vengeans on yhow, Schir Kyng, to tak,  
 "For Schir John the Cumynis sak,  
 "That quhilom in Drumfreis wes slayn."  
 The King said, 'Sa our lord me sayn, 24  
 'I had gret caus hym for to slay.  
 'And syn that thai on hand will ta,  
 'Beclus of hym, to warra me,  
 'I sall thoill all a quhile, and se 28  
 'On quhat wis that thai preif thar mycht.  
 'And gif it fall at thai will ficht,  
 'Giff thai assalyhe we mon defend;  
 'Syne fall quhatevir that God will send.' 32

Eftir this spek the Kyng in hy  
 Held straucht the way till Enverrowry:  
 And thair him tuk sic ane seiknes,  
 That put him till full hard distres, 36  
 That he forbare bath drink and met.  
 His men no medicine couth get  
 That evir mycht to the King avalyhe.  
 His strinth so haly can him falyhe, 40  
 That he mycht nouthir ryde no ga.  
 Than, wit yhe weill his, men wes wa!  
 For nane wes in that cumpany,  
 That wald haf beyn half so sary 44  
 For till half seyn his brothir ded  
 Lyand befor hym in that sted,  
 As thai war all for his sekness;  
 For all thair confort in him wes. 48

But gud Schir Edward the worthy,  
 His brothir that wes so hardy,  
 And wis and wicht, set mekill payn  
 To confort thame with all his mayn. 52  
 And quhen the lordis that war thair  
 Saw that the evill ay mair and mair  
 Travalit the King, thai thocht in hy  
 It war nocht speidfull thair to ly: 56  
 For thair all playn wes the cuntre,  
 And thai war bot ane few menyhe  
 To lv. but strinth. in-to the plavn.

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For-thi, till that thair capitane  
War coverit of his mekill ill,  
Thai thocht to wend sum strinth soyn til. 60

For folk for-ouen capitane,  
Bot thai the bettir be a-pane, 64  
Sall nocht be all so gud in deid,  
As thai ane lord had thame to leid,  
That dar put him in aventure,  
But abasing, to tak the ure 68  
That God will send: for quhen that he  
Is of sic will and sic bounte,  
That he dar put him till assay, 72  
His folk sall tak ensampill ay  
Of his gud deid and his bounte,  
That ane of thame sall be worth thre  
Of thame that wikkid chiftane has; 76  
His wrechidnes so in thame gais,  
That thai thair manlynes sall tyne  
Throu wrechidnes of his covyne.  
For quhen the lord at thame suld leid,  
May do nocht bot as he war ded, 80  
Or fra his folk haldis his way  
Fleand, trow yhe nocht than that thai  
Sall vencust in thair hertis be? 84  
Yhus, sall thai, as I trow, per de,  
Bot gif thair hertis be so hye  
Thai will nocht for thair worschip fle.  
And thouch sum be of sic bounte,  
Quhen thai the lord and his menyhe 88  
Seis fle, yhit sall thai fle a-payn;  
For all men fleis the ded richt fayn.  
Se quhat he dois, that swa fowly  
Fleis thus for his cowardy! 92  
Bath him and his, vencust is he,  
And gerris his fayis abovin be.  
Bot he that, throu his gret nobillay,  
To perellis him abawndonys ay 96  
For to reconfort his menyhe,  
Gerris thame be of so gret bounte,  
That mony tym unlikly thing  
Thai bring richt weill to gud ending. 100

So did this King that I of reid,  
And, for his outrageous manheid,  
Confortit his men on sic maneir,  
That nane had radnes quhar he wer. 104  
\*Thai wald nocht ficht quhill that he wes  
Liand in-till sic seiknes;  
Tharfor in littar thai him lay,  
And till the Slevach held their way,  
And thocht thair in that strinth to ly, 108  
Till passit war his malady.

### Here the Earl of Buchan gathers against the King.

BOT fra the Erll of Bouchane  
Wist that thai war thiddir gane,  
And wist that swa seik wes the King 112  
That men doutit of his coveryng,  
He send eftir his men in hy,  
And assemblit gret cumpany. 116  
For all his awne men war thar,  
And als frendis with him war;  
That wes Schir Johne the Mowbray,  
And his brothir, as I herd say,  
And als Schir David of Brechyne, 120  
With fele folk in thair leding.  
And quhan thai all assemblit war,  
In hy thai tuk thair way till fair  
To the Slevach, with all thar men, 124  
For till assaill the King, that then  
Wes liand in-till his seiknes.  
This was eftir the Martvmes.

1307 *The  
Importance  
of a Captain*

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NOV.-DEC.  
1307  
*Skirmishing  
at Slevach*

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Quhen snaw had helit all the land, 128  
 To the Slevach thai com neirhand,  
 Arayit on thair best maneir.  
 And than the Kingis men, that wer  
 War of thair com, thame apparalit 132  
 Till defend, gif thai thame assalit.  
 And nocht-for-thi thair fayis war  
 Ay twa for ane that thai war thair.  
 The Erlis men neir cumande war, 136  
 Trumpan and makand mekill fair,  
 And maid knychtis quhen thai war neir.  
 And thai, that in the wodsye weir,  
 Stude in aray richt sarraly, 140  
 And thought to byde thair hardely  
 The cummyng of thair enymys.  
 Bot thai wald apon nakyn wis  
 Ysche till assale thame in fichting, 144  
 Till coverit war the nobill Kyng.  
 Bot gif othir wald thame assalyhe,  
 Thai wald defend, avalyhe que valyhe.<sup>[t]</sup>

And quhen the Erlis cumpany 148  
 Saw that thai wroucht so besaly,  
 That thai that strinth schup to defend,  
 Thair archaris furth to thame thai send  
 To bykkir thame, as men of mayn. 152  
 And thai send archaris thame agayn,  
 That bykkirrit thame so sturdely,  
 Till thai of the Erlis party  
 In-to thair battale withdrawin war. 156  
 Thre dayis on this wis lay thai thar,  
 And bikkirrit thame evirilke day:  
 Bot thar bowmen the wer had ay.  
 And quhen the Kingis cumpany 160  
 Saw thair fayis befor thame ly,  
 That ilka day wox ma and ma,  
 And thai war quhoyn, and stad war swa  
 That thai had no-thing for to et, 164  
 Bot gif thai travalit it to get,  
 Tharfor thai tuk consale in hy  
 That thai wald thar no langer ly,  
 Bot hald thair way quhar thai mycht get, 168  
 Till thaim and thairis vittale and met.

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In a littar the Kyng thai lay,  
 And redyit thame and held thar way,  
 That all thair fayis mycht thame se; 172  
 Ilk man buskit in his degre,  
 To ficht gif thai assalyheit war.  
 In myddis thame the King thai bair,  
 And yheid about hym sarraly, 176  
 And nocht full gretly can thame hy.  
 The Erll, and thai that with him war,  
 Saw that thai buskit thame to fair;  
 And saw how with so litill affray 180  
 Thai held furth with the King thar way,  
 Reddy to ficht quha walde assale,  
 Thair hertis all begouth to fale,  
 And in pes let thame pas thar way, 184  
 And till thair hous hame went thai.

**How the King discomfited at Inverury  
The Earl of Buchan shamefully.**

THE Erll his way tuk to Bouchane;  
 And Schir Edward the Broys is gane  
 Richt to Strabogy, with the Kyng; 188  
 And swa lang thair maid sojornyng,  
 Till he begouth to cover and ga,  
 And syne thair wayis can thai ta  
 Till Enverrowry straucht agane; 192  
 For thai wald ly in-till the plane,  
 The wyntir sesoune; for vittale  
 In-to the playn mycht nocht thame fale.  
 The Erll wist that thai war thar, 196

DEC. 23, 1307  
*Brechin  
 attacks at  
 Inverury*

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And gaderit his menyhe heir and thar,  
 Brechyne, Mowbra, and thair men,  
 All to the Erll assemblit then,  
 And war a full gret cumpany 200  
 Of men arayit jolely.  
 Till Ald Meldrom thai held the way,  
 And thar with thair men lugit thai,  
 Before Yhoill-evyn ane nycht bot mair; 204  
 And thousand, trow I weill, thai war.  
 Thai lugit thame all thair that nycht;  
 And on the morn, quhen day wes licht,  
 The lord of Brechine, Schir Davy, 208  
 Is went towart Inverrowry,  
 To luk gyff he on ony wys<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Mycht do skaith till his ennemys.  
 In-to the end of Enverrowry 212  
 He com ridand so suddandly,  
 That of the Kingis men he slew  
 A part, and othir-sum thaim withdrew,  
 And fled thair way toward the King, 216  
 That, with the mast of his gaderyng,  
 On yhond half down wes than lyand.  
 And quhen men tald him the tithand,  
 How Schir David had slayn his men, 220  
 His hors in hy he askit then,  
 And bad his men all mak thame yhare  
 In-to gret hy, for he wald fare  
 To bargane with his enymys. 224  
 With that he buskit for to ris,  
 That wes nocht all weill coverit then.  
 Then said sum of his preve men;  
 "Quhat think yhe, Schir, thusgat to fair 228  
 "To ficht, and yheit nocht coverit ar?"  
 'Yhis,' said the Kyng, 'forouten wer;  
 'Thair bost has maid me haill and fer. 232  
 'For suld no medicine so soyne  
 'Haff coverit me, as thai haf done.  
 'Tharfor, sa God him-self me se!  
 'I sall outhir haf thaim, or thai me.' 236  
 And quhen his men has herd the King  
 Set him so haill for the fechting,  
 Of his covering all blith thai war,  
 And maid thame for the battale yhar.

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### **Here the Earl of Buchan flies, and Sir David Brechin yields himself to the King.**

THE nobill King ande his menyhe, 240  
 That mycht weill neir sevin hundreth be,  
 Toward Ald Meldrome tuk the way,  
 Quhar the Erll and his menyhe lay. 244  
 The discourouris saw thame comande  
 With baneris to the wynd wafand;  
 And tald it to thar lord in hy,  
 That gert arm his men hastely, 248  
 And thame arayit for battale.  
 Behynd thame set thai thar merdale,  
 And maid gude sembland for the ficht.  
 The King com on with mekill mycht;  
 And thai abaid, makand gret fair, 252  
 Till thai neir at assemble war.  
 Bot quhen thai saw the nobill King  
 Cum stoutly on without stinting,  
 A litill on bridill thai thaim with-drew; 256  
 And the King, that rycht weill knew<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That thai war all discumfit neir,  
 Pressit on thame with his baneir;  
 And thai with-drew thaim mair and mair. 260  
 And quhen the small folk thai had thar,  
 Saw thair lordis with-draw thame swa,  
 Thai turnit thar bak all, and to-ga;  
 And fled all scalit heir and thair. 264  
 The lordis, that yheit to-giddir war,  
 Saw that thair small folk war fleand,

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And saw the kyng stoutly cumand,  
Thai war ilkane abasit swa, 268  
That thai the bakkis gaf, and to-ga.  
A litill stound sammyn held thai,  
And syne ilk man has tane his way.

Fell nevir men so foull myschans 272  
Eftir so sturdy cuntyrnans.  
For quhen the Kyngis cumpany  
Saw at thai fled so fowlely,  
Thai chasyt thame with all thar  
mayn, 276

DEC. 23, 1307  
*Buchan is  
Defeated*

And sum thai tuk, and sum war slayn.  
The remanand war fleand ay;  
Quha had gud hors gat best away!  
Till Inghland fled the Erl of Bouchane, 280  
Schir Johne Mowbray is with him gane,  
And war resettit with the King.

Bot thai had bath bot schort lesting,  
For thai deit soyn eftir syne. 284  
And Schir David of Brechyne  
Fled to Brechine, his awn castele,  
And warnyst it bath fair and wele. 288

Bot the Erl of Adell Davy, 288  
His sone that wes in Kyldromy,  
Com syne, and him assegit thar.  
And he, that wald hald weyr no mair,  
Nor bargane with the nobill Kyng, 292  
Com syne his man with gud treteng.

### **Here the King burns all Buchan, and gets the Castle of Forfar and destroys it.**

Now ga we to the King agane,  
That of his victor wes richt fane,  
And gert his men burn all Bouchane 296  
Fra end till end, and sparit nane;  
And heryit thame on sic maneir,

That eftir that, weile fifty yheir,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Men menyit "the heirschip of Bouchane." 300  
The King than till his pes has tane  
The north cuntre, that humylyly  
Obeyisit till his senyhory.

Swa that be north the Month war nane 304  
That thai ne war his men ilkane.  
His lordschip wox ay mair and mair.  
Toward Angus than couth he fair,  
And thought soyn to mak all fre 308

Apon north half the Scottis Se.<sup>[†]</sup>  
The castell of Forfer wes then  
Stuffit all with Inglis men. 312  
Bot Philip the Forster of Platan  
Has of his frendis with him tane,

And with ledderis all prevely  
To the castell he can hym hy,  
And clam out-our the wall of stane, 316  
And swagat has the castell tan,  
Throu falt of wach, with litill payn.

And syn all that he fand has slayn: 320  
Syne yhald the castell to the King,  
That maid hym richt gud rewarding,  
And syne gert brek doune the wall,  
And fordid well and castell all.

### **How Good King Robert the Bruce besieged the Town of Perth.**

QWHEN that the castell of Forfar, 324  
And all the towris tumlit war  
Doun to the erd, as I haf tald,  
The wis king, that wes wicht and  
bauld,

JAN. 1313  
*Perth is too  
Strong for  
Assault*

That thought that he wald mak all  
fre 328  
Apon north half the Scottis Se

Apon north nau the SCOTTIS se,  
 Till Perth is went with all his rout,  
 And umbeset the toune about,  
 And till it has ane sege soyn set. 332 [Pg 157]  
 Bot quhill it mycht haf men and met,  
 It mycht nocht, but gret payn, be tane  
 For the wallis war all of stane,  
 With thik towris and hie standand. 336  
 And that tym war thar-in duelland  
 Moffat, and als Olyfard;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thai twa the toun had all in ward.  
 Of Strathern als the Erll wes thar; 340  
 Bot his sone and of his men war  
 Without, in-to the Kingis rout.  
 Thar wes oft bikkyrring stith and stout,  
 And men slayn apon ilk party. 344  
 Bot the gud King, that all vitty  
 We in his dedis evirilkane,  
 Saw the wall so stith of stane,  
 And saw defens at thai can ma, 348  
 And how the toun wes hard to ta  
 With oppyn assale, be strinth or mycht,  
 Tharfor he thocht to wirk with slicht.  
 And all the tym that he thair lay 352  
 He spyit, and slely gert assay  
 Quhar of the dik the schawdest was;  
 Till at the last he fand a place  
 That men mycht to thair schulderis waid. 356  
 And quhen he that place fundyn had,  
 He gert his menyhe busk ilkane,  
 Quhen sex woukis of the sege wes gane.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thai tursit thair harnas halely, 360  
 And left the sege all oppinly,  
 And furth with all his folk can fair,  
 As he wald do thar-to no mair.

### Here he gets it with Jeopardy.

And thai that war within the toune, 364  
 Quhen thai to fair so saw him boune,  
 Thai schowtit hym and scornynng maid; [Pg 158]  
 And he furth on his wayis raid,  
 As he na will had agane to turne, 368  
 Na besyde thame to mak sojorne.  
 Bot in aucht dais nocht-for-thi,  
 He gert mak ledderis prevely,  
 That mycht suffice till his entent, 372  
 And in a myrk nycht syne is went  
 \*Toward the toun with his menyhe.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 \*Bot hors and knafis all left he  
 Fer fra the toun, and syne has tane \*376  
 \*Thair ledderis, and on fut are gane  
 Toward the toune all prevely.  
 Thai herd no wachis spek no cry:  
 For thai that war within, ma fall, 376  
 As men that drede nocht, slepit all.  
 Thai had no dreid than of the King,  
 For thai of hym herd no tithing  
 All thai thre dais befor and mair; 380  
 Tharfor sekir and trast thai war.  
 And quhen the King herd thame nocht steir,  
 He wes blith apon gret maneir;  
 And his leddir in hand can ta, 384  
 Ensampill till his men till ma,  
 Arayit weill in all his geir,  
 Schot in the dik, and with his speir  
 Tastit, quhill he weill our woude, 388  
 Bot till his throt the wattir stude.

That tym wes in his cumpany  
 A knycht of France, wicht and  
 hardy;  
 And quhen he in the wattir swa  
 Saw the King pas, and with him ta  
 His leddir unabasitlv.

JAN. 1313  
*Perth is  
 captured*

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Ha sanyt him for the ferly,  
 And said; "A Lord! quhat sall we say 396  
 "Of our lordis of France, that ay  
 "With gud morsellis farsis thair panch,  
 "And will bot et and drynk and dance,  
 "Quhen sic a knycht, sa richt worthy 400  
 "As this is throu his chevelry,  
 "In-to sic perill has hym set,  
 "To wyn ane wrechit hamlet?"  
 With that word to the dik he ran, 404  
 And our eftir the Kyng he wan.  
 And quhen the Kyngis menyhe saw  
 Thar lord pas our, in-till a thraw  
 Thai passit the dik, and, but mar let, 408  
 Thair ledderis to the wall thai set;  
 And to clym up fast pressit thai;  
 Bot the gud Kyng, as I herd say,  
 Was the tothir man that tuk the wall, 412  
 And baid thair, till his menyhe all  
 War cummyn our in full gret hy;  
 Yheit rais thar nouthir nois nor cry.  
 Bot soyn eftir thai noyis maid, 416  
 That of thame first persaving had,  
 So that the cry rais throu the toune;  
 Bot he, that with his men wes boune  
 Till assale, to the toune is went, 420  
 And the mast of his menyhe sent  
 All scalit throu the toun, bot he  
 Held with him-self a gret menyhe,  
 Swa that he mycht be appurvait, 424  
 To defend, gif he war assayit.

[Pg 159]

Bot thai, that he send throu the toune,  
 Put soyn to gret confusioune  
 Thair fayis, that in beddis war, 428  
 Or scalit, fleand heir and thair;  
 That, or the sone rais, thai had tane  
 Thair fayis, or discumfit ilkane.  
 The wardanis bath tharin war tane: 432  
 And Malis of Strathern is gane  
 Till his fader, the Erl Malis,  
 And with strinth tuk him and all his;  
 Syne, for his sake, the nobill King 436  
 Gaf hym his land in governyng.  
 The laif, that ran out throu the toune,  
 Sesit to thame in gret fusioune 440  
 Men, armyng and marchandis,  
 And othir gudis on syndri wis;  
 Quhill thai, that war eir pouer and bare,  
 Of that gude rych and mychty war. 444  
 Bot thair wes few slayne; for the King,  
 Had gevin thame in commandyng,  
 On gret payn, thai suld slay nane,  
 That, but gret bargane, mycht be tane; 448  
 That thai war kynde to the cuntre  
 He wist, and had of thame pite.

[Pg 160]

ON this maner the toun wes tane.  
 And syne the towris everilkane  
 And wallis gert he tummyll doune: 452  
 He levit nocht about that toune  
 Tour standand, stane no wall,  
 That he na haly gert distroy all.  
 And presoneris, that thair tuk he, 456  
 He send quhar thai mycht haldin be,  
 And till his pes tuk all the land;  
 Wes nane that durst him than withstand.

### Here All Scots obey the King except Lorn.

Apon north half the Scottis Se 460  
 Obeysit all till his majeste,  
 Outane the Lord of Lorn, and thai  
 Of Argile that wald with him ga.  
 He held evir agane the King, 464

And hatit hyme atour all thing.  
Bot yheit, or all the gammyn ga,  
I trow weill that the King sall ta  
Vengeans of his gret cruelte,  
And that him sair repent sall he,  
That he the King contraryit ay,  
May fall, quhen he no mend it may.

468

[Pg 161]

### Here Sir Edward Bruce is much commended.

The Kingis brothir, quhen the  
towne  
Wes takyn thus and doungyn doune,  
Schir Edward, that wes so worthy,  
Tuk with him a gret cumpany,  
And tuk his gat toward Galloway.  
For with his men he walde assay  
Gif he recover mycht that land,  
And wyn fra Inglis mennys hande.  
This Schir Edward, forsuth, I hicht,  
Wes of his handis a nobill knycht,  
And in blithnes swet and joly;  
Bot he wes outrageous hardy,  
And of so hye undirtaking,  
That he had nevir none abasing  
Of multitude of men; for-thi  
He discumfit commonly  
Mony with quheyn: tharfor had he  
Outour his peris renowne.  
And quha rehers wald all his deid,  
Of his hye worschipe and manheid  
Men mycht mony romanys mak;  
And, nocht-for-thi, I think till tak  
On hand off hym to say sum thing,  
Bot nocht the tend part his traving.

JUNE 1308  
*Edward  
Bruce is in  
Galloway*

472

476

480

484

488

492

This gud knycht, that I spek of heir,  
With all the folk that with hym weir,  
Weill soyn to Galloway cummyn is,  
All that he fand he maid it his;  
And ryotit gretly the lande.  
Bot than in Galloway war wonnand  
Schir Ingerame Umphrevell, that wes  
Renownit of so hye prowes,  
That he of worschip passit the rout:  
Tharfor he gert ay ber about  
Apon a sper ane red bonat,  
In-to the takyn that he wes set  
In-to the hicht of chevelry;  
Of Sanct Johne als Schir Amery.  
Thai twa the land had in stering,  
And quhen thai herd of the cummyng  
Of Schir Edward, that so planly  
Our-raid the land, than in gret hy  
Thai assemblit all thair menyhe.  
I trow twelf hundreth thai mycht be.

496

500

504

508

512

[Pg 162]

### Here Sir Edward Bruce discomfits the Englishmen at Cree.

Bot he with fewar folk thaim met  
Besyde Cre, and so hard thame set,  
With hard battale in stalwarde ficht,  
That he thame all put to the flicht,  
And slew twa hundreth wele and ma,  
And the chiftanis in hy can ta  
Thair way to Buttill, for till be  
Resavit in-to gude savite.  
And Schir Edward thame chasit fast;  
Bot till the castell at the last  
Gat Schir Ingerame and Schir Amery;  
Both the best of thair cumpany  
Left ded behynd thame in the plas.  
And when Schir Edward saw the chas

516

520

524

528

And quene Schir Edward saw the chas  
Wes falit, he gert seys the pray;  
A swa gret cattell had away,  
That it war woundir for till se. 532  
Of Buttill tour thai saw how he  
Gert his men drif with him thar pray,  
Bot no let set tharin mycht thai.

Throu his chevelrous chevelry 536  
Galloway wes stonayit gretumly,  
And doutit hym for his bounthe.  
Sum of the men of the cuntre  
Com till his pes, and maid him ath. 540  
Both Schir Amery, that had the  
scath

JUNE 1308  
*Umfraville*  
*thinks to*  
*surprise*  
*Edward*

Of the bargane I tald of er,  
Raid till Inland, and purchast ther  
Of armyt men gret cumpany, 544  
To venge hym of the velany  
That Schir Edwarde, the nobill knyght,  
Him did by Cre in-till the ficht.  
Of gude men he assemblit thair 548  
Weill fyftene hundreth men and mar,  
That war of rycht gude renowne.  
His way with all that folk tuk he,  
And in the land, all prevely, 552  
He enterit with that chevelry;  
Thinkand Schir Edward to suppris,  
Gif that he mycht on ony wis:  
For he thought he wald him assale, 556  
Or that he left, in playn batale.  
Now may yhe heir of gret ferly,  
And of richt hye chevelry.  
For Schir Edward into the land 560  
Wes with his menyhe neir at hand;  
And in the mornyng richt airly  
He herd the cuntre men mak cry,  
And had wittering of thair cummyng. 564  
Than buskit he him but delaying.  
And lap on hors deliverly.  
He had than in his rowt fifty,  
Apon gude hors armyt richt weill. 568  
His small folk gert he ilk deill  
With-draw thame till a strate neir by:  
And he raid furth with his fifty.

[Pg 163]

**Here he discomfits far more manfully,  
that is to say, Fifteen Hundred with Fifty.**

A knyght, that than wes in his rout, 572  
Worthy and wicht, stalward and stout,  
Curtas and fair, and of gude fame,  
Schir Alane of Catkert be name,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Tald me this tail as I sall tell. 576  
Gret myst in-to the mornyng fell,  
Swa that men mycht nocht se thaim by,  
For myst, ane bow-draucht fullely.  
Sa hapnyt that thai fand the trais, 580  
Quhar at the rout furth passit was  
Of thair fayis, that forouth raid.  
Schir Edward, that gret yharnyng had  
All tyme for till do chevelry, 584  
With all his rout in full gret hy,  
Followit the tras quhar gane war thai:  
And, before myd-morne of the day  
The myst wox cleir all suddanly; 588  
Than he and all his cumpany  
War nocht ane bow-draucht fra the rout.  
Than schot thai on thame with a schout;  
For gif thai fled, thai wist that thai 592  
Suld nocht weill ferd part get away.  
Tharfor in aventure till de  
He wald him put or he wald fle.  
And quhen the Inglis cumpany 596  
Saw on thame cum so suddanly

[Pg 164]



Sic folk, forouten abasing,  
 Thai war stonayit for affraying. 600  
 And the tothir, but mair abaid,  
 So hardely emang thame raid,  
 That fele of thame to erde thai bare.  
 Richt gretly thus stonayit thai ware 604  
 Throu the fors of that first assay,  
 That thai war in-to gret affray,  
 And wend be fer thai had beyn ma,  
 For that thai war assalyhit swa. 608  
 And syne Schir Edwardis cumpany,  
 Quhen thai had thrillit thame hastely,  
 Set stoutly in the hedis agane,  
 And at that cours borne down and slane 612  
 War of thair fais a gret party,  
 That than affrait war so gretly,  
 That thai war scalit gretly then.  
 And quhen Schir Edward and his men 616  
 Saw thame in-to so ill aray,  
 The thrid tyme on thame prikid thai.  
 And thai that saw thame so stoutly  
 Cum on thame, dred thame gretumly,  
 That all thair rout, bath les and mair, 620  
 Fled, ilkane scalit, heir and thair.  
 Wes nane emang thame so hardy  
 To hyde, bot all comonly 624  
 Fled to warand; and he can chas,  
 That wilfull till distroy thame was:  
 For sum he tuk, and sum war slayn,  
 Bot Schir Amery with mekill payn  
 Eschapit, and his gat is gane. 628  
 His men discumfit war ilkane;  
 Sum tane, sum slayn, sum gat away.  
 This wes a richt fair point, perfay!

[Pg 165]

### Sir Edward Bruce in a Year won Thirteen Castles.

Lo! how hardyment tane suddanly, 632  
 And drivin syne till end scharply,  
 May ger oft-sis unlikly thyngis  
 Cum to richt fair and gud endingis!  
 Richt as it fell in this case heir; 636  
 For hardyment, withouten weir,  
 Wan fyftene hundreth with fifty,  
 Quhar ay for ane thai war thretty:  
 And twa men ar a manis her; 640  
 Bot ure thame led on sic maner,  
 That thai discumfit war ilkane.  
 Schir Amery hame his gate is gane,  
 Richt blith that he so gat away. 644  
 I trow he sall nocht mony day  
 Have will to warra that cuntre,  
 With-thi Schir Edward tharin be!  
 Ande he duelt furth in-to the land, 648  
 Thame that rebelland war warrand,  
 And in a yheir so warrait he,  
 That he wan quytyly that cuntre  
 Till his brothiris pes, the king; 652  
 Bot that wes nocht but hard fichting.  
 For in that time thair him befell  
 Mony fair poynt, as I herd tell,  
 The quhilk that ar nocht writin heir. 656  
 Bot weill I wat that, in that yheir,  
 Thretten castellis with strynth he wan,  
 And ourcom mony a mody man.  
 Quha-sa the suth of hym wald reid; 660  
 Had he had mesur in his deid,  
 I trow that worthyar than he  
 Micht nocht in his tyme fundyn be,  
 Outakyn his brothir anyrly, 664  
 To quhom, in-to gude chevelry,  
 I dar peir nane wes in his day.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 For he led hym with mesure ay,  
 And with gret wit his chevelry

1308  
Edward  
Bruce  
subdues  
Galloway

[Pg 166]

And with gret wil his cheverry  
He governit ay sa worthely,  
That he oft full unlikly thing  
Brocht rycht weill to gud ending.<sup>[†]</sup>

668

### Here Sir James Douglas meets with Sir Alexander Stewart, Lord Bonkill.

In all this tym James of Douglas  
In the Forest travaland was,  
And it throu hardiment and slicht  
Occupyit, magre all the mycht  
Of his feill fayis, the-quhethir thai  
Set him full oft in hard assay.  
Bot oft throu wit and throu bounte  
His purpos to gud end brocht he.  
In-till that tym him fell, throu cas,  
A nycht, as he travaland was,  
And thought for till have tan restyne  
In a hous on the wattir of Lyne;  
And as he com with his menyhe  
Neirhand the hous, swa lisnyt he,  
And herd thair sawis ilke deill,<sup>[†]</sup>  
And be that he persavit weill  
At thai war strange men at thair  
That nycht thar-in herberyit wair.  
And as he thocht it fell, per cas;  
For of Bonkill the lord thar was,  
Alysander Stewart hat he,  
With othir ma of gret bounte,  
Thomas Randole of gret renown,  
And Adame alsua of Gordoun,  
That com thair with gret cumpany,  
And thocht in the Forest to ly,  
And occupy it throu thar gret mycht,  
Bath with travale and stallwart ficht,  
To chas Douglas of that cuntre;  
Bot othir wayis than yheid the gle.

672

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680

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688

[Pg 167]

692

696

700

For quhen James had witteryng  
That strange men had tane  
herbreyng  
In the place quhar he schupe to ly,  
He till the hous went hastely,  
And umbeset it all about.  
Quhen thai within herd sic a rout  
About the hous, thai rais in hy,  
And tuk thair geir rycht hastely,  
And schot furth, fra thai harnast war.  
Thair fayis thaim met with wapnys bar,  
And assalyheit richt hardely;  
And thai defendit douchtely  
With all thair mycht, till at the last  
Thar fais pressit thame so fast,  
That thair folk falyheit thame ilkane.  
Thomas Randoll thar wes tane;  
And Alexander Stewarde alsua  
Wes woundit in a place or twa.  
Adame of Gordoun fra the ficht,  
Quhat throu slicht and quhat throu mycht,  
Eschapit, and feill of his men;  
Bot thai that war arestit then,  
War of thair taking woundir wa;  
Bot nedlyngis thame behufit be swa.

1308  
*Randolph is  
Taken*

704

708

712

716

720

724

### Here Sir James Douglas comes to the King with Sir Alexander Stewart and Thomas Randolph.

That nycht the gud lord of Douglas  
Maid to Schir Alysander, that was  
His emys son, richt gladsum cheir:  
Sa did he als, forouten weir,  
Till Thomas Randole, for that he

728

[Pg 168]

Wes till the King in neir degre  
 Of blude, for his sister him bare. 732  
 And on the morn, forouten mare,  
 Toward the nobill King he raid,  
 And with him bath thai twa he had.  
 The King of his cummyng wes blith, 736  
 And thankit him tharof feill sith.  
 And till his nevo can he say,  
 "Thou has a quhill renyit thi fay;  
 "Bot thou reconsalit now mon be." 740  
 Then to the King soyn anseurd he,  
 And saide, 'Yhe chasty me, bot yhe  
 'Aw bettir chastyit for till be.  
 'For sen that yhe warrait the King 744  
 'Of Ingland in-to playn fighting  
 'Yhe suld pres till derenyhe yhour richt,  
 'And nocht with voidre na with slicht.'  
 The King said; "Yheit may fall it may 748  
 "Cum, or oucht lang, to sic assay.  
 "Bot sen thou spekis so ryaly,  
 "It is gret skill at men chasty  
 "Thi proud wourdis till at thou know 752  
 "The richt, and bow it as thou aw."  
 The King, for-out mair delaying,  
 Send hym to be in ferm keping,  
 Quhar that he all a quhill suld be, 756  
 Nocht all apon his awn pouste.

[Pg 169]

## BOOK X

### Here the King passes against John of Lorn.

QWHEN Thomas Randol, on this wis  
 Wes takyn, as I heir devis,  
 And send to duell in gud keping,  
 For the speke he spak to the King;  
 The gud King, that thought on the  
 scath, 4  
 The dispit and felony bath,  
 That John of Lorne had till him done,  
 His host assemblit he than soyn, 8  
 And toward Lorn he tuk the way,  
 With his men in-to gude aray.  
 Bot Johne of Lorn of his cummyng,  
 Lang or he com, had witteryng; 12  
 And men on ilk syde gaderit he,  
 I trow twa thousand thai mycht be;  
 And send thame for to stop the way,  
 Quhar the King behufit to ga: 16  
 And that wes in ane evill place,  
 That so strat and so narrow was,  
 That twa men sammyn mycht nocht ryde  
 In sum place of the hyllis syde. 20  
 The nethir half wes perelous;  
 For a schoir crag, hye and hyduous,  
 Raucht till the se, doun fra the pas.  
 On the owthir half ane montane was 24  
 So cumrous and ek so stay,  
 That it wes hard to pas that way.  
 Crechanben hecht that montane. 28  
 I trow that nocht in all Bretane,  
 Aye hyer hill may fundyn be.  
 Thar Johne of Lorne gert his menyhe  
 Enbuschit be abovyn the way; 32  
 For, gif the gud King held that way,  
 He thought he suld soyn vencust be;  
 And hym-self held hym on the se,  
 Weill neir the pas with his galays. 36  
 Bot the King, that in all assays  
 Wes fundyn wis and averte,  
 Persavit thair subtilite,  
 And that he neid that gat suld ga.  
 His men departit he in twa; 40

1308 *John of Lorn occupies a Pass*

[Pg 170]

And to the gud lorde of Douglas,  
 Quham in all wit and worschip was,  
 He taucht the archaris evirilkane.  
 And this gud lord has with him tane 44  
 Schir Alysander Freser the wicht,  
 And Williame Wisman, a gud knycht,  
 And with thame gud Schir Androu Gray:  
 Thir with thair menyhe held thar way, 48  
 And clam the hill delyverly.  
 And, or thai of the tothir party  
 Persavit thame, thai had ilkane  
 The hicht abovyn thair fayis tane. 52

### Here the King meets with John of Lorn's Company.

The King and his men held thar  
 way,  
 And quhen in-to the pas war thai  
 Enterit, the folk off Lorne in hy  
 Apon the King rasit ane cry, 56  
 And schot, and tumlit on hym stanys,  
 Richt gret and hevly for the nanys.  
 Bot thai scathit nocht gretly the King;  
 For he had thar, in his leding, 60  
 Men that licht and delyver war,  
 And licht arming had on thaim thar,  
 Swa that thai stoutly clam the hill,  
 And lettit thair fayis to fullfill 64  
 The mast part off thar felony.  
 And als, apon the tothir party,  
 Com James of Douglas and his rout,  
 And schot apon thame with a schout, 68  
 And woundit thame with arrowis fast.  
 Syne with thair swerdis, at the last,  
 Thai ruschit emang thame hardely.  
 For thai of Lorn, full manlely,<sup>[†]</sup> 72  
 Grete and apert defens can ma.  
 Bet quhen thai saw at thai war swa  
 Assalyheit apon twa parteis,  
 And saw weill that thair enmyis 76  
 Had all the farer off the ficht,  
 In full gret hy thai tuk the flicht.  
 And thai a felloun chas can ma,  
 And slew all at thai mycht ourta. 80  
 And thai that mycht eschap, perfay,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Richt till ane wattir held thair way,  
 That ran down by the hillis syde,  
 And wes rycht styth, bath deip and wyde, 84  
 That men in na place mycht it pas  
 Bot at ane brig beneth thaim was.  
 To that brig held thai fast thair way,  
 And till brek it can fast assay. 88  
 Bot thai that chassit, quhen thai thaim saw,  
 Mak thair arest, but dreid or aw  
 Thai ruschit apon thame hardely,  
 And discumfit thame utrely, 92  
 And held the brig haill, quhill the King,  
 With all the folk of his leding,  
 Passit the bryg all at thair ese.  
 Till Johne of Lorne it suld displese, 96  
 I trow, quhen he his men mycht se,  
 Out of his schippis fra the se,  
 Be slayn and chassit fra the hill,  
 And he mycht set no help thar-till. 100  
 For it angeris als gretumly,  
 To gud hertis that ar worthy,  
 Till se thair fais fulfill thair will,  
 As to thame-self to thole the ill. 104

1308 *The  
 Fight for the  
 Bridge*

[Pg 171]

### Here the King besieges and wins Dunstaffnage Castle.

[Pg 172]

At sic myscheiff war thai of Lorne;

For feill the lyffis thair has lorne,  
 And othir sum thai flede away.  
 The Kyng in hy gert ses the pray 108  
 Of all the land; quhar men mycht se  
 So gret aboundans cum off fe,  
 That it war woundir till behald.  
 The King, that stout wes, stark and bald, 112  
 Till Dunstaffynch richt suddanely<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He past, and segit it sturdely  
 And assalyheit, the castell to get.  
 And in schort tyme he has thame set 116  
 In sic thrang, that tharin war than,  
 That, magre tharis, he it wan,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And a gud wardane thair-in set,  
 And betaucht hym bath men and met, 120  
 Swa that he thair lang tym mycht be,  
 Magre thaim all of that cuntre.  
 Schir Alexander of Argill that saw  
 The King distroy up, cleyne and law, 124  
 His land, send tretis to the King,  
 And com his man but tarying,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And he resavit him till his pes.  
 But Johne of Lorn his son yheit wes 128  
 Rebell, as he wes wont to be,  
 And fled with schippes to the see.

Bot thai that left apon the land  
 War to the King all obeysand; 132  
 And he thar homage all has tane;  
 Syne toward Perth is passit agane,  
 To play hym thair in-to the playn:  
 Yheit Lowdyan wes him agayn. 136  
 And at Lythkow wes than a peill,  
 Mekill and stark, and stuffit weill  
 With Inglis men, that wes reset  
 Till thaim that with armouris or met 140  
 Fra Edinburgh wald to Strevilling ga,  
 And fra Strevilling again alsua;  
 And till the cuntre did gret ill.  
 Now may yhe heir, gif that yhe will, 144  
 Interludys and juperdys,  
 That men assayit on mony wis,  
 Castellis and pelis for till ta.  
 And this Lithkow wes ane of thai; 148  
 And I sall tell how it wes tane.  
 In the cuntre thar wonnyt ane  
 That husband wes, and with his fee  
 Oftsis hay to the peill led he. 152  
 Wilyhame Bunnok to nayme he hicht,  
 \*That stalward man wes in-to ficht.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He saw sa hard the cuntre stad,  
 \*That he gret noy and pite had  
 Throu fortrassis that war then 156  
 Governit and led with Inglis men,  
 Thai travailit men outour mesur.  
 He wes a stout carle and a sture,  
 And of him-self dour and hardy,  
 And had frendis wonnand hym by, 160  
 And schew till sum his prevate;  
 That apon his covyn gat he  
 Men that mycht ane enbuschement ma,  
 Quhill that he with his wayn suld ga 164  
 Till lede thaim hay in-to the peill.  
 Bot his wayn suld be stuffit weill:  
 For aucht men armyt in the body  
 Of his wayn suld syt prevaly, 168  
 And with hay helyt be about.  
 And hym-self, that wes dour and stout,  
 Suld by the wayn gang ydilly;  
 And ane yheman, wicht and hardy, 172  
 Befor suld dryf the wayn, and ber  
 Ane hachit, that war scharp to scher,  
 Undir his belt; and quhen the yhet  
 Wes opnyt, and thai war thar-at, 176  
 Quhen he herd hym cry sturdely

1313  
 William  
 Bunnock's  
 Stratagem

Quhen he herd hym cry sturdely,  
 "Call all! Call all!" than hastyly  
 He suld stryk with the ax in twa  
 The hede-soyme; than in hy suld thai, 180  
 That war within the wayn, cum out,  
 And mak debat, quhill at thar rout,  
 That suld neir by enbuscht be,  
 Cum for to manteyme the melle. 184

This wes in-till the harvist tyde,  
 Quhen feldis, that war fair and wyde,  
 Chargit with corne assoverit war;  
 For syndri cornys that thai bair 188  
 Woxe rype to wyn to mannys fude;  
 And the treis all sammyn stude  
 Chargit with froytis on syndri wis.  
 That sammyn tym, as I devis,<sup>[†]</sup> 192  
 Thai of the peill had wonnyn hay,  
 And with this Bunnok spokin had thai  
 To leid thair hay, for he wes neir;  
 And he consentit but dangeir, 196  
 And said that in-to the mornynng  
 Weill soyn ane fudyr he suld bring,  
 Farer and greter, and weill mor  
 Than eny he broucht that yher befor: 200  
 And held thaim cunnand sekirly.  
 For that nycht warnyt he prevaly  
 Thaim that in the wayn suld ga,  
 And bad the buschement be alsua. 204  
 And thai so grathly sped thaim thar,  
 That or day thai enbuschit war  
 Weill neir the peill, quhar thai mycht heir  
 The cry alsoyne as ony weir, 208  
 And held thame swa still but stering,  
 That nane of thame had persavyng.

And this Bunnok fast can him payn,  
 Till dres his menyhe in his wayn; 212  
 And all a quhile befor the day,  
 He had thaim helit with the hay;  
 Than maid he him to yhok his fee,  
 Till men the sone schynande mycht  
 se. 216

1313  
*Linlithgow  
 Castle is  
 Taken*

And sum that war within the peill  
 War yschit, on thair awn unseill,  
 To wyn thair harvist neir thar-by.  
 Than Bunnok, with the cumpany 220  
 That in his wayn closit he had,  
 Went on his way but mair abaid,  
 And callit his wayn toward the peill.  
 And the portar, that saw hym weill 224  
 Cum neir the yhat, it opnyt soyn:  
 And than Bunnok, forouten hoyn,  
 Gert call the wayn deliverly.  
 And quhen it wes set evinly 228  
 Betuix the chekys of the yhet,  
 Swa that men mycht it spar na gat,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He cryit, "Theif! Call all! Call all!"  
 And he than leyt the gadwand fall, 232  
 And hewit in twa the soym in hy.  
 Bunnok with that deliverly  
 Raucht till the portar sic ane rout  
 That blude and harnys bath com out. 236  
 And thai that war within the wayn  
 Lap out belif, and soyn has slayn  
 Men of the castell that war by.  
 Than in a quhill begouth the cry: 240  
 And thai that neir enbuschit war  
 Lap out, and com with swerdis bar,  
 And tuk the castell all but payn,  
 And thame that tharin wes has slayn. 244  
 And thai that war went furth befor,  
 Quhen thai the castell saw forlorn,  
 Thai fled to warrand to and fra;  
 And sum till Edinburgh can ga, 248  
 And till Stravilling or thair gona

## How Earl Thomas Randolph became Man to the Good King Robert the Bruce.

BUNNOK on this wis, wyth his wayn,  
The peill tuk, and the men has slayn; 252  
Syne taucht it to the Kyng in hy,  
That hym rewardit worthely;  
And gert doun driff it to the ground;  
And syne our all the land can found, 256  
Settand in pes all the cuntre,  
That till hym obeisand wald be.

And quhen a litill tym wes went,  
Eftir Thomas Randale he sent, 260  
And with hym so weill tretit he,  
That he his man hecht for till be.

And the king him soyn forgaf:  
Ande, for till hye his stat, hym gaf 264  
Murref, and tharof Erlil hym maid  
And othir syndri landis braid  
He gaf him in-till heritage.

He knew his worthy vassalage, 268  
And his gret wit and his avis,  
His trast hart and his leill servis.

Tharfor in hym affyit he,  
And maid him rych of land and fee, 272  
As it wes certis richt worthy.

\*For, and men spek of him trewly,<sup>[†]</sup>

\*He was so curageous a knycht,

\*So wis, so worthy, and so wucht,

And of so soverane gret bounte,  
That mekill of him may spokin be.

Therfor I think of hym to reid, 276  
And till schaw part of his gud deid,  
And till discryve yhow his fassoun  
With part of his condicioun.

He wes of mesurabill stature, 280  
And portrait weill at all mesure,  
With braid visage, plesand and fair,  
Curtas at poynt, and debonar;  
And of richt sekir contenyng. 284

Laute he lufit atour all thing;  
Falsade, tresoune, and felony,

He stude agayne ay ythandly. 288  
He hyet honour and larges,  
And ay mantemyt richtwisnes.

In cumpany solacious  
He wes, and thar-with amorus. 292  
And gud knychtis he lufit ay.

For gif that I the suth sall say,  
He wes fullfillit of all bunte,  
And off all vertuis maid wes he.

I will commend him heir no mar, 296  
Bot yhe sall weill heir forthirmar  
That he, for his dedis worthy,  
Suld weill be prisit soveranly.

QWHEN the King wes thus with him  
saucht,  
And gret lordschippis had him  
betaucht,

1314  
*Randolph  
besieges  
Edinburgh  
Castle*

He wex so wis and avise,  
That his land first weill stablist he;  
And syne he sped him to the were, 304

Till help his eym and his effere.<sup>[†]</sup>  
With the consent of the gud Kyng,  
Bot with a sympill apparalyng,

Till Edinburgh he went in hy, 308  
With gud men in-till cumpany,  
And set a sege to the castele,  
That than wes warnyst wondir wele  
With men and vittale at all richt, 312

So that it dred no mannis mycht.  
 Bot this gud Erll nocht-for-thi  
 The sege tuk full apertly:  
 And presyt the folk that thar-in was<sup>[†]</sup> 316  
 Swa that nocht ane the yhet durst pas.  
 Thai may abyde thar-in and et  
 Their victaill, quhill thai oucht mai get:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot I trow thai sall lettit be 320  
 To purchas mair in the cuntre.

THAT tym Edward, of Ingland Kyng,  
 Had gevin the castell in keping [Pg 178] 324  
 Till Schir Peris Lumbard a Gascoun.  
 And quhen thai of his warnysoun  
 Saw the sege set thair stithly,  
 Thai mystrowit hym of tratory, 328  
 For that he spokin had with the King.  
 And, for that ilk mystrowing  
 Thai tuk him and put in presoun;  
 And off thair awne nacioun  
 Thai maid a constabill thaim to leid, 332  
 Richt war and wis and wicht of deid.  
 And he set wit and strinth and slicht  
 To kepe the castell at his mycht.

But now of thame I will be still, 336  
 And spek a litill quhill I will  
 Of the douchty lord Dowglas,  
 At that tym in the Forest was.  
 Quhar he full mony a juperdye, 340  
 And fair poyntis off chevelry,  
 Previt, als weill be nycht as day,  
 Till thame that in the castellis lay,  
 Off Roxburgh and Jedworth; bot I 344  
 Will let fele of thame pas forby.  
 For I can nocht rehers thame all,  
 And thouch I couth, trow weill yhe sall,  
 That I might nocht suffice thar-to, 348  
 Sa mekill suld be thair ado.  
 Bot thai that I wat wittirly,  
 Eftir my wit rehers sall I.

### The winning of the Castle of Roxburgh by the Douglas through the Sleight of John Ledhouse.

THIS tym that the gud Erll Thomas 352  
 Assegit, as the lettir sais,  
 Edinburgh, James of Douglas  
 Set all his wit for till purchas  
 How Roxburgh throu subtilite 356  
 Or ony craft, mycht wonnyn be;  
 Till he gert Sym of the Ledows,  
 A crafty man and a curious,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Of hempyn rapis ledderis ma, 360  
 With treyn steppis bundin swa,  
 That wald brek apon nakyn wis.  
 A cruk thai maid, at thair devis,  
 Of irn, that wes styth and square; 364  
 That, fra it in ane kyrnaill ware,  
 And the leddir thar-fra stratly  
 Strekit, it suld stand sekirly.  
 This lord of Douglas than, alsoyn 368  
 As this devisit wes and done,  
 Gaderit gud men in prevate;  
 Thre score I trow at thai mycht be.  
 And on the Fasteryn evyn rycht, 372  
 In the begynnyng of the nycht,  
 Till the castell thai tuk the way.  
 With blak froggis all helit thai  
 The armouris at thai on thame had. 376  
 Thai com ner by thar but abaid,  
 And send haly thair hors thame fra,  
 And on range in ane rod can ga

FEB. 27, 1314  
*The Scots  
 are taken for  
 Oxen*



On handis and feit, quhen thai war neir, 380  
 Richt as thai ky and oxin weir,  
 That war unbondyn left therout.  
 It wes richt merk forouten dout:  
 The-quhethir ane, on the wall that lay, 384  
 Besyde him till his feir can say,  
 "This man thinkis to mak gude chere,"  
 (And nemmyt ane husband thar-by neir)  
 "That has left all his oxyne out." 388  
 The tothir said, 'It is na dout  
 'He sall mak merye this nycht, thouch thai  
 'Be with the Douglas led away.'  
 Thai wende the Douglas and his men 392  
 Had beyn oxyne, for thai yheid then  
 On handis and feit, ay ane and ane.  
 The Dowglas rycht gud tent has tane  
 Till all thar speke, bot als-soyn thai 396  
 Held carpand inward on thar way.

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The Douglas men thar-of wes blith.  
 And till the wall thai sped thame swith,  
 And soyn has up thair ledderis set, 400  
 That maid a clap, quhen the cleket  
 Wes festnyt fast in the kyrnell.  
 That herd ane of the wachis wele,  
 And buskit thiddirward but baid; 404  
 Bot Ledous, that the leddyr maid,  
 Sped hym to clym first to the wall:  
 Bot, or he wes up gottin all,  
 He at that ward had in keping, 408  
 Met him rycht at the up-cummyng;  
 And for he thoucht to dyng hym doune,  
 He maid na noyis na cry na sowne,  
 Bot schot till him deliverly. 412  
 And he that wes in juperdy  
 Till de, a lans till him he maid,  
 And gat him be the nek but baid,  
 And stekit him upward with ane knyff, 416  
 Quhill in his hand he left the liff.  
 And quhen he ded sa saw him ly,  
 Upon the wall he went in hy,  
 And doune the body kest thame till, 420  
 And said, "All gangis as we will.  
 "Speid yhow upward deliverly."  
 And thai did swa in full gret hy.  
 Bot, or thai wan up, thar com ane, 424  
 And saw Ledows stand him allane,  
 And knew he wes nocht of thar men.  
 In hy he ruschit till hym then,  
 And hym assalyheit sturdely; 428  
 Bot he hym slew deliverly,  
 For he wes armyt and wes wycht,  
 The tothir nakyt wes, I hicht,  
 And had nocht for till stynt no strak. 432  
 Sic melle tharup can he mak,  
 Quhill Douglas, and his menyhe all  
 War wonnyn up apon the wall.

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Than in the tour thai went in hy. 436  
 The folk that tym wes halely  
 In-to the hall at thair dansyng,  
 Synging, and othir wayis playing:  
 As apon Fastryn evyn is  
 The custom to mak joy and blis,  
 To folk that ar in-to savite;  
 Swa trowit thai that tym to be.  
 Bot, or thai wist, rycht in the hall 444  
 Douglas and his men cummyn war all.  
 And cryit on hicht, "Douglas! Douglas!"  
 And thai, that ma war than he was,  
 Herd "Dowglas!" cryit richt hidwisly, 448  
 Thai war abasit for the cry,  
 And schupe richt na defens to ma.  
 And thai but pite can thame sla,  
 Till thai had gottyn the ovir hand. 452  
 The tothir fled to seek warrant

FEB. 27, 1314  
*Douglas*  
*holds the*  
*Hall*

The tourne he to seyk warrant,  
 That out-our mesure dede can dreid.  
 The wardane saw how that it yheid,  
 That callit wes Gylmyne de Fenis, 456  
 In the gret toure he gotten is,  
 And othir of his cumpany,  
 And sparit the entre hastily.  
 The layff, that levit war without, 460  
 War tane or slane, forouten dout,  
 Bot giff that ony lap the wall.  
 The Douglas held that nycht the hall,  
 All-thouch his fais thar-of wes wa. 464  
 His men war gangand to and fra  
 Throu-out the castell all that nycht,  
 Till on the morn that day wes lycht.  
 The wardane that wes in the tour, 468  
 That wes a man of gret valour,  
 Gylmyne the Fynis, quhen he saw  
 The castell tynt, bath hye and law,<sup>[f]</sup>  
 He set his mycht for till defende 472  
 The tour; but thai without him send  
 Arrowes in so gret quantite,  
 That anoyit tharof wes he.  
 Bot to the tothir day nocht-for-thi 476  
 He held the tour full sturdely,  
 And than at ane assalt he was  
 Woundit so felly in the face,  
 That he wes dredand of his lif: 480  
 Tharfor he tretit thame belif,  
 And yhald the tour on sic maner,  
 That he and all that with hym weir  
 Suld saufly pas in-to Ingland. 484  
 Douglas held thame gud cunnand,  
 And convoyit thame to thair cuntre.  
 Bot thar full schort tym liffit he;  
 For throu the wound in-till the face 488  
 He deit soyn, and beryit was.  
 Douglas the castell sesit all,  
 At than wes closit with stalward wall,  
 And send this Leydous till the Kyng, 492  
 That maid hym full gret rewarding.  
 And his brothir in full gret hy,  
 Schir Edward, that wes sa douchty,  
 He send thiddir to tummyll it doune 496  
 Bath tour, castell, and dungeoune.  
 And he com with gret cumpany,  
 And gert travale so besaly,  
 That tour and wall rycht to the ground 500  
 War tumlyt in ane litill stound:  
 And duelt still thar, quhill Teyvdaie  
 Com to the Kyngis pes all haill,  
 Outane Jedworth and othir that neir, 504  
 The Inglis mennis bowndis weir.

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### Here Sir Thomas Randolph besieges Edinburgh.

QWHEN Roxborgh won wes on this wis,  
 The Erl Thomas, that hye enpris  
 Set ay apon soverane bounte, 508  
 At Edinburgh with his menyhe  
 Was lyand at the sege, as I  
 Tald yhow befor all oppynly.  
 Bot fra he herd how Roxburgh was 512  
 Tane with a trane, all his purchas,  
 With wit and besynes, I hicht,  
 He set to purches him sum slicht,  
 How he mycht help hym throu body<sup>[f]</sup> 516  
 Mellit with full hye chevelry,  
 To wyn the wall of the castell  
 Throu sumkyn slicht; for he wist weill  
 That no strinth mycht it planly get, 520  
 Quhill thai within had men and met.  
 Tharfor prevely sperit he  
 Gif ony man mycht fundin be.

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That couth ony gude jupardye 524  
To clym the wallis prevelye;  
And he suld haf his warisoune.  
For it wes his entencioune  
Till put him in-to aventure, 528  
Or at that sege on him forfure.<sup>[†]</sup>

Than wes thair ane William  
Francas,  
Wicht and apert, wis and curtas,<sup>[†]</sup>  
That in-till his yhouthede had beyn  
In the castell; quhen he has seyn  
The Erl sa ynkirly hym set  
Sum sutelte or wile to get,  
Quhar-throu the castell haf mycht he, 536  
He com till hym in prevate,  
And said; "Me think yhe wald blithly  
"That men fand yhow sum juperdy,  
"How yhe mycht our the wallis wyn: 540  
"And certis gif yhe will begyn  
"For till assay on sic a wis,  
"I undirtak, for my service,  
"For to ken yhow to clym the wall, 544  
"And I sall formast be off all;  
"Quhar with a schort leddir may we,  
"I trow of tuelf fut it may be,  
"Clym to the wall up all quytyly. 548  
"And gif that yhe will wit how I  
"Wat this, I sall yhow lichtly say.  
"Quhen I wes yhoung this hendir day,  
"My fader wes kepar of yhon hous, 552  
"And I wes sumdele volageous,  
"And lufit ane wench her in the toune;  
"And for I, but suspicioun,  
"Micht repair till hir prevely, 556  
"Of rapis ane leddir to me maid I,  
"And tharwith our the wall I slaid.  
"Ane strat rod, that I spyit had  
"In-till the crag, syne doune I went; 560  
"And oftsis com to myne entent;  
"And quhen it neir drew to the day,  
"I held agane that ilke way,  
"And ay com in but persaving. 564  
"I oysit lang that travailing,  
"So that I can that rod ga richt,  
"Thouch men se nevir so myrk the nycht.  
"And gif yhow thinkis yhe will assay<sup>[†]</sup> 568  
"To pass up eftir me that way,  
"Up to the wall I sall yhow bring,  
"Gif God us kepis fra persaving  
"Of thame that wachis on the wall. 572  
"And gif that us so fair may fall,  
"That we our leddir up may set,  
"Giff a man on the wall may get,  
"He sall defend, gif it beis neid, 576  
"Quhill the remanand up thaim speid."  
The Erl wes blith of his carping,  
And hicht him full fair rewardyng;  
And undirtuk that gat to ga, 580  
And bad him soyn his leddir ma,  
And hald him preve quhill thai mycht  
Set for thair purpos on ane nycht.

MARCH, 1314  
*William  
Francis  
offers to  
Guide*

[Pg 184]

### **The winning of the Castle of Edinburgh by Good Earl Thomas Randolph.**

Soyne eftir wes the leddir maid;  
And than the Erl, but mair abaid,  
Purvait hym on a nycht prevaly,  
With thritty men, wicht and hardy;  
And in ane myrk nycht held thar  
way.  
Thai put thame in full hard assay,  
And to gret perell sekyrly.

MARCH 14,  
1314 A  
*Dangerous  
Climb*

[Pg 185]

584

588

I trow, mycht thai haf seyne cleirly,  
 That gat had nocht beyn undirtane, 592  
 Thouch thai to let thame had nocht ane.  
 For the crag wes hye and hidwous,  
 And the clymbyng rycht perelus:  
 For hapnyt ony to slyde or fall, 596  
 He suld be soyne to-fruschit all.  
 The nycht wes myrk, as I herd say,  
 And till the fut soyn cummyn ar thai  
 Of the crag, that wes hye and schore, 600  
 Than Williame Francous thame befor  
 Clam in the crykis forouth thaim ay,  
 And at the bak him followit thai,  
 With mekill payne, quhill to, quhill fra; 604  
 Thai clam in-to the crykis swa,  
 Quhill half the craggis thai clummyn had,  
 And thair ane place thai fand so braid,  
 That thai mycht syt on anerly. 608  
 And thai war ayndles and wery,  
 And thair abaid thair aynd to ta.  
 And richt as thai war syttand swa,  
 Abovyn thame, apon the wall, 612  
 The chak-wachis assemblit all.  
 Now help thame God that all thing may!  
 For in full gret perell ar thai.  
 For, mycht thai se thame, thair suld nane 616  
 Eschap out of that place unslane;  
 Till ded with stanys thai suld thaim dyng,  
 That thai mycht help thame-self no thing.

[Pg 186]

Bot wondir myrk wes all the nycht, 620  
 Swa that thai had of thame na sycht.  
 And nocht-for-thi yheit wes thar ane  
 Of thame that swappit doun a stane,  
 And said, "Away! I se yhow weill." 624  
 The-quhethir he saw thame nocht a deill.  
 Out-our thair hedis flaw the stane,  
 And thai sat still, lurkande ilkane.  
 The wachis, quhen thai herd nocht stere, 628  
 Fra that ward passit all sammyn were,  
 And carpand held fer by thair way.  
 Erl Thomas than alsoyne, and thai  
 That on the crag thar satt hym by, 632  
 Toward the wall clam hastely,  
 And thiddir com with mekill mayne,  
 And nocht but gret perell and payne.  
 For fra-thine up wes grevousar 636  
 To clym up, na be-neth be fer.  
 Bot quhatkyn payn at evir thai had,  
 Richt to the wall thai com but baid,  
 That had weill neir tuelf fut on hicht. 640  
 And, for-owt persaving or sicht,  
 Thai set their ledder to the wall,  
 And syne Francous, befor thame all,  
 Clam up, and syne Schir Androu Gray, 644  
 And syne the Erl him-self, perfay,  
 Wes the thrid man the wall can ta.  
 Quhen thai thair doun thair lord swa  
 Saw clymen up apon the wall, 648  
 As wood men thai clame eftir all.

Bot or up cummyn all wer thai,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thai that war wachis till assay  
 Herd bath stering and ek speking, 652  
 And alswa fraying of armyng,  
 And on thame schot full sturdely:  
 And thai met thame richt hardely;  
 And slaw off thame dispitwisly. 656  
 Than throu the castell ras the cry,  
 "Tresoune! Tresoune!" thai cryit fast.  
 Than sum of tham war sa agast,  
 That thai fled and lap our the wall. 660  
 Bot to say suth, thai fled nocht all;  
 For the constabill, that wes hardy,  
 All armyt schot furth to the cry,

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And with him feill hardy and stout. 664  
 Yheit wes the Erl with his rout,  
 Fechtand with thame apone the wall;  
 Bot soyn he thame discomfit all.  
 Be that his men war cummyn ilkane 668  
 Up at the wall, and he has tane  
 His way doune to the castell soyne.  
 In gret perell he has hym done;  
 For thair wes fer ma men tharin, 672  
 And thai had beyn of gude covyn,  
 Than he; bot thai effrayit war.  
 And nocht-for-thi with wapnys bar,  
 The constabill and his cumpany 676  
 Met hym and his richt hardely,

Thar men nicht se gret bargane  
 rys,  
 For with wapnys, on mony wis,  
 Thai dang on othir at thar mycht,  
 Quhill swerdis, that war fayr and  
 brycht,

MARCH 14,  
 1314 *The*  
*Fight for the*  
*Castle*

War till the hyltis all bludy.  
 Then hidwisly begouth the cry;  
 For thai that fellit or stekit war 684  
 With gret noyis can cry and rar.  
 The gud Erl and his cumpany  
 Faucht in that ficht so sturdely,  
 That all thair fayis ruschit war. 688  
 The constabill wes slayn richt thar:  
 And fra he fell, the remanand  
 Fled quhar thai best mycht to warrand:  
 Thai durst nocht byde na mak debat. 692  
 The Erl wes handlyt thair sa hat,  
 That had it nocht hapnyt throw cas,  
 That the constabill thair slayn was,  
 He had beyn in gret perell thar; 696  
 Bot than thai fled, thar was no mar,  
 Ilke man for to sauf his lif,  
 And furth his dayis for to drif;  
 And sum slaid doune out our the wall. 700  
 The Erl has tane the castell all,  
 For than wes nane durst him withstand.  
 I hard nevir quhar in ane land,  
 Wes castell tane so hardely, 704  
 Outakyn Tyre all anerly,  
 Quhen Alexander the Conquerour,  
 That conquerit Babilonys tour,  
 Lap fra a berfrois on the wall; 708  
 Quhar he emang his fayis al  
 Defendit him full douchtely,  
 Quhill that his noble chevelry  
 With ledderis our the wallis yheid, 712  
 That nouthir left for ded no dreid;  
 For fra thai wist weill at the king  
 Wes in the toune, ther wes no thing  
 In-till that tyme that stint thame mocht, 716  
 For all perell thai set at nocht.  
 Thai clam the wallis, quhar Arestee  
 Com first to the gude king, quhar he  
 Defendit him with all his mycht, 720  
 That than wes set so hard, I hicht,  
 That he wes fellit on a kne:  
 He till his bak had set ane tre,  
 For dreid thai suld behynd assalyhe. 724  
 Arestee then to the battalyhe  
 Sped him in all hye sturdely,  
 And dang on thame so douchtely,  
 That the king weill reskewit was. 728  
 For his men, in-to syndry plas,  
 Clam our the wall and soucht the kyng,  
 And him reskewit with hard fichting;  
 And wan the toune deliverly. 732  
 Outakyn this takyng all anerly,  
 I herd nevir in na tyme gane  
 Quhar castell wes sa stoutly tane.

And of this takyng that I meyne,  
 Sanct Mergaret, the gud haly  
 queyne,  
 Wist in hir tyme, throw reveling  
 Of him that knawis and wat all  
 thing.

1314 *The  
 Prophecy of  
 Queen  
 Margaret*

736

Tharfor, in stede of prophesye,  
 Scho left ane takyne richt joly,  
 That is that scho in hir chapell<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Gert weill be portrait ane castell,  
 A leddir up to the wall standand  
 And a man thar-on clymande,  
 And wrat owth him, as old men sayis,  
 In Franch, *Gardis vous de Francois*.  
 And for this word scho gert writ swa,  
 Men wend the Franch-men suld it ta.  
 Bot for Francois hattyn wes he,  
 That swa clam up in prevate,  
 Scho wrat that as in prophesy:  
 And it fell eftirward suthly  
 Richt as scho said; for tane it was,  
 And *Francois* led thame up that place.

740

744

748

752

ON this wis Edinburgh wes tane;  
 And thai that war tharin ilkane  
 War tane, or slane, or lap the wall;  
 Thair gudis haff thai sessit all,  
 And soucht the housis evirilkane.  
 Schir Peris Lumbard that wes tane,  
 As I said ere befor, thai fand  
 In presoune, fetterit with boyis, sittand.  
 Thai broucht hym to the Erl in hy,  
 And he gert lows hym hastely;  
 Than he becom the Kingis man.  
 Thai send word to the King rycht than,  
 And tald how the castell wes tane;  
 And he in hy is thiddir gane,  
 With mony men in cumpany,  
 And gert myne doune all halely  
 Bath tour and wall richt to the ground:  
 And syne our all the land can found,  
 Sesand the cuntre till his pes.  
 Of this deid, that so worthy wes,  
 The Erl wes prisit gretumly.  
 The King, that saw him sa worthy,  
 Wes blith and joyfull our the laif,  
 And to manteym his stat, him gaff  
 Rentis and landis fair eneuch.  
 And he to sa gret worschip dreuch,  
 That all spak of his gret bounte.  
 His fayis gretly stonayit he,  
 For he fled nevir throu fors of ficht.  
 Quhat sall I mair say of his mycht?  
 His gret manheid, and his bountee  
 Gerris him yheit oft renownyt be.

756

760

764

768

772

776

780

784

### **How Sir Edward won Ru'glen peel And Dundee, then Stirling, besieged well.**

IN this tyme that thir juperdyis  
 On thir castellis, that I devis,  
 War eschevit swa hardely,  
 Schir Edward the Brois, the worthy,  
 Had all Galloway and Nyddis-dail  
 Wonnyn till his liking all haill;  
 And doungyn doune the castellis all  
 Richt in the dik, bath tour and wall.  
 He herd than say, and knew it weill,  
 That in Ruglyne wes ane peill.  
 Thiddir he went with his menyhe,  
 And wonnyn it in schort tym has he.  
 Syne till Dundee he tuk the way,  
 That than wes haldin, as I herd say,  
 Agane the King; tharfor in hy  
 He set ane sege thar-to stoutly

788

792

796

800

And lay thar quhill it yholdyn was. 804  
 Till Strevilling syne the way he tais,  
 Quhar gud Schir Philip the Mowbra,  
 That wes full douchty at assay,  
 Wes wardane, and had in keping 808  
 That castell of the Inglis Kyng.  
 Thar-till ane sege he set stythly;  
 Thai bykkirrit oftsis sturdely;  
 Bot gret chevelry done wes nane. 812  
 Schir Edward, fra the sege wes tane,  
 A weill lang tyme about it lay,  
 Fra the Lenteryne, that is to say,  
 Quhill forrouth the Saint Johnnis mes. 816  
 The Inglis folk, that tha-rin wes,  
 Begouth to fale the vittale than.  
 Than Schir Philip, the douchty man,  
 Tretit, quhill thai consentit weir, 820  
 That gif at Mydsummer tyme ane yheir  
 To cum, it war nocht with bataill  
 Reskewit, that than, withouten fail,  
 He suld the castell yheld quyly. 824  
 That cunnand band thai sekirly.

[Pg 191]

## BOOK XI

AND quhen this cunnand thus wes  
 maid,  
 Schir Philip in-to Ingland raid,  
 And tald the King all haill this tale,  
 How he a tuelf moneth all hale  
 Had, as it writtin wes in thair tale, 5  
 Till reskew Strevilling with battale.  
 And quhen he herd Schir Philip say  
 That Scottis men had set ane day  
 To fecht, and at sic space he had  
 Till purvay hym, he wes rycht glad; 10  
 And said, it wes gret succuddry  
 That set thame apon sic folye;  
 For he thocht to be, or that day,  
 So purvait, and in sic aray,  
 That thair suld na strinth him with-stand. 15  
 And quhen the lordis of Ingland  
 Herd at this day wes set planly,  
 Thai jugit it to gret foly,  
 And thought till haff all thair liking,  
 Giff men abaid thame in fechting. 20  
 Bot oft falyheis the fulys thought:  
 And wis mennis etling cumis nocht  
 Till sic end as thai weyn alwaysis.  
 A litill stane oft, as men sayis,  
 May ger weltir a mekill wane. 25  
 Na manis mycht may stand agane  
 The grace of God, that all thing steris;  
 He wat quhat-to all thing efferis,  
 And disponis at his liking,  
 Eftir his ordinans, all thyng. 30

1313 *The  
Compact  
about  
Stirling*

[Pg 192]

### **The winning of Stirling by Sir Edward the Bruce, though the Battle was set over a Year and a Day, betwixt him and Sir Philip the Mowbray.**

QWHEN Schir Edward, as I yhow say,  
 Had gevyn sa outrageous a day  
 To yheld or reskew Strevilling,  
 Richt soyne he went on-to the King. 35  
 And tald quhat tretis he had maid,  
 And quhat day he thame gevyn had.  
 The King said, quhen he herd the day,  
 "That wes unwisly done, perfay;  
 "I herd nevir quhar so lang warnyng  
 "Wes gevin to so mychty ane Kyng 40  
 "As is the Kyng of England.

"For he has now in-till his hand  
 "Ingland, Irland, and Walys alsua,  
 "And Akatane yhet, with all tha  
 "That duellis undir his senyhory, 45  
 "And of Scotland a gret party.  
 "And off tresour so stuffit is he,  
 "That he may wageowris haf plente.  
 "And we ar qwheyn agane so fele;  
 "God may richt weill our werdis deill, 50  
 "Bot we ar set in juperdy  
 "To tyne or wyn than hastely."  
 Schir Edward said; 'Sa God me reid!  
 "Thouch he and all that he may leid  
 'Cum, we sall fecht, all war thai ma.' 55  
 Quhen the King herd his brothir swa  
 Spek to the battale so hardely,  
 He prysit hym in his hert gretly,  
 And said; "Brothir, sen swa is gane  
 "At this thing thus is undirtane, 60  
 "Schap we us tharfor manfully;  
 "And all that lufis us tendirly  
 "And the fredome of this cuntre,  
 "Purway thaim at that time to be  
 "Bowne with all mycht that evir thai may; 65  
 "Swa that gif our fayis assay  
 "To reskew Strevillyng throu battale,  
 "That we of purpos ger thame fail."

[Pg 193]

**The assembling of the English host,  
That with great power came and boast.**

TILL this all thai assentit ar,  
 And bad thair men all mak thaim  
     yhare  
 For to be boune agane that day  
 On the best wis that evir thai may. 70  
 Than all, that worthi war to ficht  
 Of Scotland, set all hail thair mycht  
 Till purway thame agane that day; 75  
 Wapnys and armowris purvayit thai,  
 And all that efferis to fighting.  
 And of Ingland the mychty Kyng  
 Purvait hym on so gret aray,  
 That certis nevir I herd yheit say 80  
 That Inglis men mair aparaile  
 Maid, than thai did than for battale.  
 And quhen the tym wes cummyn ner,  
 He assemblit all his power.  
 And, but his awne chevelry, 85  
 That wes so gret it wes ferly,  
 He had of mony a fer cuntre  
 With hym gud men of gret bounte.  
 Of Frans ane worthy chevelry  
 He had in-till his cumpany; 90  
 The Erl of Hennaut als wes thar,  
 And wyth him men that worthy war;  
 Of Gascon and of Almanyhe;  
 Of Duche als and of Bretanyhe<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He had wicht men and weill farrand, 95  
 Armyt clenly at fut and hand.  
 Of Ingland hale the chevelry<sup>[†]</sup> \*97  
 He had thair gaderit so clenly, \*98  
 That he left nane mycht wapnys welde,  
 Or worthy war to ficht in felde.  
 Of Walis als wyth hym had he,  
 And of Irlande ane gret menyhe; 100  
 Of Pouty, Aquytane, and Bayon  
 He had full mony of gret renoun.  
 And of Scotland he had yheit then<sup>[†]</sup> \*103  
 \*A gret menyhe of worthy men.  
 \*Quhen all thir sammyn assemblit war,  
 He had of fechtaris with hym thar. \*106  
 Ane hundreth thousand men and ma:  
 And fourty thousand war of tha  
 Armyt on hors, bath hede and hand.

1314 *The  
Preparations  
in both  
Countries*

[Pg 194]



And yheit of thai war thre thousand 105  
 Wyth helit hors in plate and mailyhe,  
 Till mak the front of the batailyhe  
 And fifty thousand of archerys<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He had, forouten hoblerys; 110  
 With men on fut and small rangale,  
 That yhemyt harnas and vittale  
 He had so fele it wes ferly.  
 Of cartis als that yheid thame by  
 So feill that, but all thai that bar 115  
 Harnas, and als that chargit war  
 Of palyheonys and veschall with-all,  
 And apparall of chalmyr and hall,  
 And wyne and wax, schot and vittale,  
 Four scor wes chargit with fewale.<sup>[†]</sup> 120  
 Thai war so fele quhar at thai raid,  
 And thar batalis war ek so braid,  
 And so gret rowme held thar charre,  
 That men that mekill host mycht se  
 Our-tak the landis so largely. 125  
 Men mycht se than, that had beyn by,  
 Mony ane worthy man and wucht,  
 And mony ane gayly armyt knyght,  
 And mony ane sturdy sterand steid  
 Arayit in-till so ryche weid; 130  
 And mony helmys, and hawbyrschownys,  
 \*Scheldis and speris, and pennownys,  
 And so mony a cumly knyght,  
 At semyt weill that in-to ficht  
 Thai suld vencus the warld all hale.  
 Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale? 135  
 Till Berwik ar thai cummyn ilkane,  
 And sum thar-in thar innys has tane,  
 And sum lugit without the townys,  
 In tentis and in palyheownis.

JUNE, 1314  
*The English  
 Host at  
 Berwick*

**How Englishmen menaced at will  
 The Scots and dealt their lands till.**

AND quhen the Kyng his host has seyne 140  
 So gret, so gud men, and so cleyne,  
 He wes richt joyfull in his thought,  
 And weil presumyt thar wes nocht  
 In warld a Kyng mycht him withstand.  
 Hym thought all wonnyn till his hand, 145  
 And largely emang his men  
 The landis of Scotland delt he then.  
 Of othir mennis landis large wes he.  
 And thai, that war of his menyhe,  
 Mannausit the Scottis men halely 150  
 With gret wordis; but, nocht-for-thi,  
 Or thai cum all to thair entent,  
 Howis in haill clath sall be rent!

**In ten battles the English men  
 Were dealt and taught to chieftains then.**

The Kyng, throu consall of his men,  
 His folk he delt in battalis ten. 155  
 In ilkane war weill ten thousand,  
 That thought thai stalwardly suld stand  
 In the battale and stoutly ficht,  
 And leif nocht for thair fayis mycht.  
 He set ledaris till ilk battale, 160  
 Knawyn war of gud governale.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And till renownyt erllis twa,  
 Of Glowcister and Herfurd war thai,  
 He gaf the vangard in ledyng, 165  
 With mony men at thar bydding,  
 Ordanit in-till full gret aray.  
 Thai war so chevelrus, that thai  
 Trowit, gif thai com to the ficht,  
 Thair suld no strynth with-stand thar mycht.  
 And the Kyng, quhen his menyhe wer 170  
 Devisit in-to battalis ser.

His awne battale ordanit he,  
And quha suld at his bridill be.  
Schir Gyls de Argente he set  
Upon ane half, hys renyhe to get;  
And of Vallanch Schir Amery  
On othir half, that wes worthy;  
For in thair soverane gret bownte  
Atour the layff affyit he.

175

**How all the noble chivalry  
At Edinburgh took harbery.**

AND quhen the Kyng, apou this wis,  
Had ordanit, as I heir devis,  
His battalis and his stering,  
Arly he rais in ane mornyng,  
And fra Berwik he tuk the way.  
Bath hyllis and valayis helit thai,  
And the battalis that war so braid  
Departit, our the feldis raid.  
The sonne wes brycht and schynand cler,  
And armys, that new burnyst wer,  
So blenknyt with the sonnys beyme,  
That all the land wes in ane leyne<sup>[†]</sup>  
With baneris richt freschly flawmand,  
And pensalis to the wynd waffand,  
So fele thai war of ser quyntis,  
That it war gret slicht to devis.  
For suld I tell all thar effer,  
Thair countynans and thar maner,  
Thouch I couth, I suld cummerryt be.  
The King, with all that gret menyhe,  
Till Edinburgh he raid on rycht.  
Thai war all out to fele to ficht  
With few folk of ane sympill land;  
Bot quhar God helpis quhat may withstand?

180

JUNE 18, 1314  
*The  
Splendour of  
the English  
March*

185

[Pg 197]

190

195

200

**How in this time assembled then,  
To King Robert have certain men.**

THE Kyng Robert, quhen he herd say  
That Inglis men in sic aray  
And in-to sa gret quantite,  
Com in his land, in hy gert he  
His men be summond generaly;  
And thai come all full willfully  
To the Torwod, quhar at the Kyng  
Had ordanit to mak thar meting.  
Schir Edward the Bruce, that wes worthy,  
Com with a full gret cumpany  
Of gud men, armyt weill and dicht,  
Hardy and forsy for the ficht.  
Waltir, Steward of Scotland, syne,  
That than wes bot ane berdlas hyne,  
Com with a rout of nobill men,  
That all be contynans mycht ken.  
And the gud lord Dowglas alsua  
Brocht with him men, I undir-ta,  
That weill war oysit in fichting;  
Thai sall the les haf abaysing,  
Giff men betyd in thrang to be;  
And advantage sall tytar se  
For till stonay thar fayis mycht,  
Than men that oysis nocht to ficht.  
The Erl of Murreff, with his men  
Arrayit weill, com alsua then  
In-to gud covyne for to ficht,  
In gret will to maynteyme thar rycht;  
With othir mony gud baroune,  
And knychtis of full gret renoune,  
Com with thair men full stalwardly.  
Quhen thai assemblit halely,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Of fechtand men I trow thai ware  
Thretty thousand and sum deill mare,  
Foroutvn cariaae and pouerale.

205

210

215

220

225

230

235

[Pg 198]

That yhemyt harnas and vittale.

Our all the host than yheid the Kyng, 240  
And beheld to thair contenyng,  
And saw thame of full fair effer;  
Of hardy contynans thai wer,  
Be liklynes the mast cowart  
Semyt till do richt weill his part. 245  
The King has seyn all thair having,  
That knew hym weill in-to sic thing,  
And saw thame all comonly  
Of sekyr contynans and hardy,  
Forouten effray or abaysyng. 250  
In his hert had he gret liking.  
And thought that men of sa gret will,  
Gif thai wald set thair mycht thair-till,  
Suld be full hard till wyn, perfay.  
Ay as he met thame in the way, 255  
He welcummyt thame with gladsum fair,  
Spekand gud wordis heir and thair.  
And thai, that thar lord so mekly  
Saw welcum thame and so hamly,<sup>[t]</sup>  
Joyfull thai war, and thought at thai 260  
Micht weill put thame in-till assay  
Of hard fechtng in stalwart stour,  
For till maynteym weill his honour.

**The parting of the Scots men,  
That in four battles dealt were then.**

THE worthy Kyng, quhen he has seyn 265  
His host assemblit all bedeyn,  
And saw thame wilfull to fulfill  
His liking, with gud hert and will;  
And to maynteym weill thair  
franchis,  
He wes rejosit on mony wis;  
And callit all his consell preve, 270  
And said thame; "Lordingis, now yhe se  
"That Inglis men with mekill mycht  
"Has all disponit thame for the ficht;  
"For thai yhon castell wald reskew.  
"Tharfor is gud we ordane now 275  
"How we may let thame of purpos,  
"And swa to thame the wayis clos  
"That thai pas nocht but gret lettyng.  
"We haf heir with us at byddyng  
"Weill thretty thousand men and ma. 280  
"Mak we four battalis of all thai;  
"And ordane us on sic maner,  
"That, quhen our fayis cummys neir,  
"We till the New Park hald our way;  
"For thair behufis thaim pas, perfay,<sup>[t]</sup> 285  
"Bot gif that thai beneth us ga  
"And our the marras pas, and swa<sup>[t]</sup>  
"We sall be at avantage thair.  
"For me think that richt speidfull war  
"To gang on fut to this fechtng, 290  
"Armyt bot in-to licht armyng;  
"For schupe we us on hors to ficht,  
"Syn our fayis ar mar of mycht,  
"And bettir horsit than ar we,  
"We suld in-to gret perell be. 295  
"And gif we fecht on fut, perfay,  
"At avantage we sall be ay;  
"For in the park emang the treis,  
"The hors men alwais cummerit beis.  
"And the sykis alswa thair doune, 300  
"Sall put thame to confusioune."

All thai consentit to that saw,  
And than, in-till ane litill thraw,  
Thair four battalis ordanit thai.  
And to the Erl Thomas, perfay, 305  
He gaf the vaward in leding:

JUNE, 1314  
Bruce  
explains his  
Plan

[Pg 199]

[Pg 200]

For in his nobill governyng  
 And in his hie chevelry  
 Thai assoueryt rycht soveranly.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And, for to maynteym his baner, 310  
 Lordis, that of gret worschip wer,  
 War assignit with thair menyhe,  
 In-till his battale for till be.  
 The tothir battale wes gevin to lede  
 Till hym that douchty wes of dede, 315  
 And prisit of gret chevelry,  
 That wes Schir Edward the worthy;  
 I trow he sall manteyme him swa  
 That, how sa evir the gammyn ga,  
 His fayis to plenyhe sall mater haf. 320  
 And syne the thrid battale he gaf  
 To Waltir Stewart for to leid,  
 And till Dowglas douchty of deid.  
 Thai war cosyngis in neir degre,  
 Tharfor till hym betaucht wes he, 325  
 For he wes yhoung; but nocht-for-thi<sup>[†]</sup>  
 I trow he sall sa manfully  
 Do his devour, and wirk so weill,  
 That hym sall neyd no mar yheimseill.  
 The ferd battalle the nobill Kyng 330  
 Tuk till hym-self in governyng,  
 And had in-till his cumpany  
 The men of Carryk all halely,  
 And of Argile and of Kentyre,  
 And of the Ilis, quhar-off wes syre 335  
 Angus of Ile, and But, all tha.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He of the playne-land had alsua  
 Of armyt men ane mekill rout;  
 His battale stalward wes and stout.  
 He said the rerward he wald ma, 340  
 And evyn forrouth hym suld ga  
 The vaward, and on athir hand  
 The tothir battalis suld be gangand  
 Behynd, on syde a litell space:  
 And the Kyng, that behynd thaim was, 345  
 Suld se quhar thair war mast mystir,  
 And relief thaim with his baneir.

[Pg 201]

**How King Robert gart pots make  
 And cover them well, I undertake.**

THE King thus, that wes wicht and  
 wis,  
 And richt worthy at all devis,  
 And hardy als atour all thing,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Ordanit his men for the fechtng. 350  
 And on the morn, on Settirday,  
 The King herd his discourouris say  
 That Inglis men with mekill mycht  
 Had lyin at Edinburgh that nycht. 355  
 Tharfor, forouten mair delay,  
 He to the New Park held his way  
 With all that in his leding war,  
 And in the Park thame herbryit thar.  
 And in ane playne feld, by the way, 360  
 Quhar he thocht neid behufit away  
 The Inglis men, gif that thai wald  
 Throw the Park to the castell hald,  
 He gert men mony pottis ma,  
 Of a fut breid round, and all tha 365  
 War deip up till ane manis kne,  
 Swa thik, that thai mycht liknyt be  
 Till ane wax-cayme that beis mais.  
 All that nycht travaland he was;  
 Swa that, or day wes, he had maid 370  
 Thai pottis, and thame helit had  
 With stikis and with gyrs al greyne,  
 Swa that thai mycht nocht weill be seyne.

JUNE 21, 1314  
*The Scots  
 march to the  
 New Park*

[Pg 202]

On Sunday than in the mornyng,

weill soyn ertir the sonne-rising, 375  
 Thai herd the mes full reverently,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And mony shraf thame devoutly,  
 That thought till de in that melle,  
 Or than to mak thar cuntre fre.  
 To God for thair richt prayit thai. 380  
 Thair dynit nane of thame that day,  
 Bot, for the vigill of Sanct Johne,  
 Thai fastit bred and wattir ilkone.  
 The King, quhen that the mes wes done,  
 Went for to se the pottys soyne; 385  
 And at his liking saw thaim maid.  
 On athir syde the way weill braid  
 It wes pottit, as I haf tald.  
 Gif that thair fais on hors will hald  
 Furth in that way, I trow thai sall 390  
 Nocht weill eschew foroutyn fall.  
 Throu-out the host syne gert he cry  
 That all suld arme thame hastely,  
 And busk thame on thar best maner.  
 And quhen thai all essemblit wer, 395  
 He gert aray thame for the ficht,  
 And syne our all gert cry on hicht,  
 That quhat sa evir he war that fand  
 His hert nocht sekir for till stand  
 To wyn all or de with honour, 400  
 For to maynteyme that stalward stour,  
 That he be tyme suld tak his way;  
 And nane suld duell with him bot thai  
 That wald stand with him to the end,  
 And tak the ure that God wald send. 405  
 Then all ansuerd with a cry,  
 And with a voce said generaly;  
 That nane for dout of dede suld fale,  
 Quhill discumfit war the battale.

QWHEN the gud King had herd his 410  
     men  
 Sa hardely him ansuer then,  
 Sayand that nouthir ded no dreid  
 Till sic discomfourt suld thame leid,  
 That thai suld eschew the fechting, 415  
 In hert he had gret rejosyng.  
 For him thought men of sic covyne,  
 So gud so hardy and so fyne,  
 Suld weill in battall hald thair rycht  
 Agane men of full mekill mycht. 420  
 Syne all the small folk and pouerale  
 He send with harnase and vittale  
 In-till the Park, weill fer him fra,  
 And fra the battall gert thame ga;  
 And as he bad, thai went thair way;  
 Twenty thousand weill neir war thai. 425  
 Thair way thai held till ane vale,  
 The King left with ane clene menyhe;  
 The-quhethir thai war thretty thowsand.  
 I trow they stalwardly sall stand,  
 And do thair devour as thai aw. 430  
 Thai stude than rangit all on raw,  
 Reddy for till byde battale,  
 Gif ony folk wald thame assale.

JUNE 23, 1314  
*The Camp-  
 followers in a  
 Valley*

**How the King bad the Earl Murray  
 To keep beside the Kirk the way.**

The King gert thame all buskit be,  
 For he wist in-to certante 435  
 That his fayis all nycht lay  
 At the Fawkirk, and syne at thai  
 Held toward him the way all straucht,  
 With mony men of mekill mawcht.  
 Tharfor till his nevo bad he,<sup>[†]</sup> 440  
 The Erl of Murreff, with his menyhe,  
 Besyd the kirk till kepe the way,  
 That na man pass that gat away,<sup>[†]</sup>

For-out debat, to the castele. 445  
 And he said, that him-self suld wele  
 Kepe the entre with his battale,  
 Gif that ony wald thair assale.  
 And syne his brothir, Schir Edward,  
 And yhoung Waltir, the gud Steward,  
 And the lord Dowglas alsua, 450  
 With thair menyhe, gud tent suld ta,  
 Quhilk of thaim had of help mister,  
 And help with thame that with him weir.<sup>[t]</sup>

The King send than James of  
 Douglas  
 And Schir Robert of Keth, that wes 455  
 Marshal of all the host of fee,  
 The Inglis mennys com to se.  
 And thai lap on and furth thai raid;  
 Weill horsit men with thame thai had:  
 And soyn the gret host haf thai seyne 460  
 Quhar scheldis schynand war so scheyne,  
 And basnetis weill burnyst bricht,  
 That gaf agane the sonne gret licht.  
 Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris,  
 Standartis, pennownys and speris, 465  
 And so feill knychtis apon stedis,  
 All flawamand in-to thair wedis,  
 And so fele battalis and so braid,  
 That tuk so gret rowme as thai raid,  
 That the mast host and the stoutest 470  
 Of Crystyndome, and ek the best,  
 Suld be abasit for till se  
 Thair fais in-to sic quantite,  
 And swa arayit for to ficht.  
 Quhen the discourrowris has had sicht 475  
 Of thair fais, as I herd say,  
 Towart the King thai tuk the way,  
 And tald him, in gret prevate,  
 The multitude and the bewte  
 Of thair fais, that comme so braid, 480  
 And of the gret mycht at thai had.  
 Than the King bad thame thai suld ma  
 Na contynans that it war swa;  
 Bot bad thame in-to commoune say  
 That thai com in-till evill aray, 485  
 And confort his man on that wis.  
 For oftsis of ane word may ris  
 Discomfort and tynsall with-all.  
 And throu a word, als weill may fall,  
 Confort may ris and hardiment, 490  
 That gerris men cum to thair entent.  
 And on the sammyn wis it did her;  
 Thair comfort and thair hardy cher  
 Confortit thame so gretumly,  
 That of thar host the lest hardy 495  
 Be countinans, wald formast be  
 For till begin the gret melle.

JUNE 23, 1314  
*The Scots  
 are  
 Encouraged*

[Pg 205]

**How with a hundred the Earl Murray  
 To eight hundred battle gave.**

APON this wis the nobill King  
 Gaf all his men reconforting, 500  
 Throu hardy countynans and cher  
 That he maid on sa gud maner.  
 Thame thocht that na myscheif mycht be  
 Sa gret with-thi thai him mycht se  
 Befor thame, that suld swa engreiff,  
 That na hys worschip suld thame releif. 505  
 His worschip thame confortit swa,  
 And contenans that he can ma,  
 That the mast coward wes hardy.  
 On athir half, full stalwardly,  
 The Inglis men, in sic aray 510  
 As yhe haf herd me forouth say,  
 Com with thair battalis approachand,

[Pg 206]

I ne banerys to the wynd warrand.  
And quhen thai cummyn war so neir,  
That bot twa myle betuix thaim wer, 515  
Thai chesit ane gud cumpany  
Of men that wicht war and hardy,  
On fair courseris armyt at rycht:  
Thre banrentis of full mekill mycht<sup>[†]</sup>  
War capitany of all that rout: 520  
The lord Clyffurd, that wes so stout,  
Wes of thame all soverane ledeir,  
Aucht hundreth armyt, I trow, thai weir.  
Thai war all yhong men and joly,  
And yharnand till do chevelry; 525  
The best of all the host war thai  
Off contenans and of aray:<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thai war the farast cumpany  
That men mycht find of sa mony.

To the castell thai thought to fair: 530  
For, gif that thai mycht weill cum  
thair,  
Thai thought it suld reskewit be.  
Furth on thair way held this  
menyhe,

JUNE 23, 1314  
*The English  
pass Murray*

And toward Strevilling tuk the way.  
The New Park all eschewit thai, 535  
For thai wist weill the King wes thair;  
Beneth the New Park can thai fair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Quhill neuth the kirk, in-till a rout.<sup>[†]</sup>  
The Erl Thomas, that wes so stout,  
Quhen he saw thame swa tak the playne, 540  
In gret hye went he thame agane  
With fif hundreth, forouten ma,  
Anoyit in his hert and wa  
That thai so fer war passit by.  
For the King had said hym roydly, 545  
That ane rose of his chaplet

Wes faldyn; for, quhar he wes set<sup>[†]</sup>  
To kep the way, thai men war past.  
Tharfor he hastit hym so fast  
That cummyn in schort tyme wes he 550  
To the playn feld with his menyhe.  
For he thought that he suld amend  
That he trespassit had, or than end.  
And quhen the Inglis men him saw  
Cum on, forouten dreid or aw, 555  
And tak sa hardely the playne,  
In hy thai sped thame him agane,  
And strak with spuris the stedis stith,  
That bar thame evyn hard and swith.  
And quhen the Erl saw that menyhe 560  
Cum so stoutly, tiil his said he;  
"Beis nocht abasit for thair schor,  
"Bot settis speris yhow befor,  
"And bak to bak set all yhour rout  
"And all the speris poyntis out; 565  
"Swagat defend us best may we,  
"Enveronyt with thame gif we be."

And as he bad thame thai haf  
done;  
And the tothir come alsoyne. 570  
Before thame all thair com prikand  
A knycht, hardy of hert and hand;  
He wes a weill gret lord at hame,  
Schir Wilyhame Dencort wes his name;  
He prekit on thame so hardely, 575  
And thai him met so sturdely,  
That he and hors war born all doune  
And slayne rycht thair for-out ransoune.  
With Inglis men gretly wes he  
Menyt that day, and his bountee.  
The layffe com on thame sturdely; 580  
Bot nane of thame so hardely  
Ruschit emang thame as did he

JUNE 13, 1314  
*The Dusk  
darkens the  
Air*

Bot with fer mair maturite,  
 Thai assemblit all in ane rout,  
 And enveronyt thame all about, 585  
 Assalyheand thame on ilka syde.  
 And thai with speris woundis wyde  
 Gaf to the hors that com thame neir:  
 And thai that rydand on thame weir,  
 That doune war born, lossit the lyvis. 590  
 And mony speris, dartis and knyvis,  
 And wapnys apon seir maneir,  
 Kest emang thame that fechtand weir,  
 That thame defendit so wittandly  
 That thair fayis had gret ferly. 595  
 For sum wald schut out of thar rout,  
 And of thame that assalyheit about,  
 Stryk stedis, and ber doune men.  
 The Inglis men so roydly then  
 Kest emang thame swerdis and mas, 600  
 That inwith thame ane montane was  
 Of wapnys, that war warpit thair.  
 The Erl and his thus fechtand war  
 At gret myscheiff, as I yhow say;  
 For quhenar, be full fer, war thai 605  
 Than thair fayis, and all about  
 Enveronyt war, quhar mony a rout  
 War roucht, and full dyspittfully—  
 Thair fayis demanit thaim rycht stratly.  
 On athir half thai war so stad, 610  
 For the rycht gret heit that thai had  
 Of fechtng and of sonnys het,  
 That all thair flesche of swat wes wete.  
 And sic ane stew rais owth thame then  
 Of aynding, bath of hors and men, 615  
 And of powdir, that sic myrknes  
 In-till the ayr abovyn thame wes,  
 That it wes woundir for till se:  
 Thai war in gret perplexite.  
 Bot with gret travale nocht-for-thi 620  
 Thai thame defendit manfully,  
 And set bath will and strenth and mycht  
 Till rusch thair fais in that ficht,  
 That than demanit thame angrely.  
 Bot gif God help thame hastely, 625  
 Thai sall thar fill haf of fechtynng!

### **How good James of Douglas asked of King Robert the Bruce Leave to go to support Earl Thomas Randolph.**

Bot quhen the nobill renownyt Kyng,  
 With othir lordis that war hym by,  
 Saw how the Erl abaundonly 630  
 Tuk the playn feld, James of Douglas  
 Come to the Kyng richt quhar he was,  
 And said; "A Schir! Sanct Mary!  
 "The Erl of Murreff oppynly  
 "Takis the playne feld with his menyhe. 635  
 "He is in perell bot giff he be  
 "Soyne helpit, for his fayis ar ma  
 "Than he, and horssit weill alsua.  
 "And, with yhour leif, I will me speid  
 "To help him, for that he has neid;  
 "All enveronyt with fayis is he." 640  
 The King said; 'Sa our Lord me se,  
 'A fut till hym thou sall nocht ga.  
 'Giff he weill dois, let him weill ta.  
 'Quhethir him happin to win or los,  
 'I will nocht for him brek purpos.' 645  
 "Certis," he said, "I will no wis  
 "Se that his fayis him suppris,  
 "Quhen that I may set help thar-till.  
 "With yhour leiff, sekirly I will  
 "Help hym, or de in-to the payne." 650  
 'Do than, and speid the soyn agane,'



The King said: and he held his way.  
 Gyff he may cum in tyme, perfay,  
 I trow he sall hym help so weill,  
 That of his fayis sum sall it feill!<sup>[†]</sup>

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## BOOK XII.

### How the King slew Sir Henry Boune, With his handaxe, and struck him down.

Now Douglas furth his wayis tais,  
 And in that self tyme fell, throu cas,  
 That the Kyng of England, quhen he  
 Wes cummyn with his gret menyhe  
 Neir to the place, as I said air, 5  
 Quhar Scottis men arayit war,  
 He gert arest all his battale  
 At othir als to tak consale,  
 Quhethir thai wald herbery thame that nycht,  
 Or than, but mair, ga to the ficht. 10  
 The vaward, that wist no kyn thing  
 Of this arest na thair duelling,  
 Raid to the Park all straucht thar way,  
 Forout styntyng, in gude aray.  
 And quhen the Kyng wist at thai weir 15  
 In haill battale cummand so neir,  
 His battale gert he weill aray.  
 He raid apon ane gray palfray,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Litill and joly, arayande  
 His battall, with ane ax in hande; 20  
 And on his basnet hye he bar  
 Ane hat off quyrbolle ay-quhar,  
 And thar-upon, in-to taknyng,  
 Ane hye croune, that he wes ane kyng.

And quhen Glowcister and  
 Herfurd wer,<sup>[†]</sup> 25  
 With thair battalis, approachand ner,  
 Befor thame all thar com rydand,  
 With helme on hed and sper in hand,  
 Schir Henry of Boune, the worthy,  
 That wes ane gud knycht and hardy, 30  
 And to the Erl of Herfurd cosyne,  
 Armyt in armys gude and fyne;  
 Com on a steid, a merk-schote neir,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Before all othir that thair wer,  
 And knew the King, for that he saw 35  
 Hym swa araynge his men on raw,  
 And be the croun that wes set  
 Abovin his hed on the basnet;  
 And toward him he went in hy.  
 And quhen the Kyng so apertly 40  
 Saw hym cum forrouth all his feris,  
 In hy till hym his hors he steris;  
 And quhen Schir Henry saw the Kyng  
 Cum on for-outen abaysyng,  
 Till him he raid in full gret hy. 45  
 He thought that he suld weill lightly  
 Wyn him, and haf hym at his will,  
 Sen he hym horsit saw so ill.  
 Than sprent thai sammyn in-till a lyng;  
 Schir Henry myssit the nobill Kyng; 50  
 And he, that in his sterapis stude,  
 With ax that wes bath hard and gude  
 With so gret mayn roucht hym ane dynt,  
 That nouthir hat no helm mycht stynt  
 The hevy dusche that he him gaf, 55  
 That he the hed till harnys claf.  
 The hand-ax-schaft frushcit in twa,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And he doune till the erd can ga  
 All flatlyngis, for hym falyheit mycht;  
 This wes the first strak of the ficht 60  
 That wes performyst douchtely.  
 And quhen the Kingis men so stoutly

JUNE 23, 1314  
*Bruce and  
 De Boune*

<p>           Saw him, richt at the first metyng,            For-outen dout or abaysing,            Have slayn ane knycht swa at ane strak,            Sic hardyment than can thai tak,            That thai com on richt hardely.            Quhen Inglis men saw thame stoutly            Cum on, thai had gret abaysyng;            And specialy, for that the Kyng            So smertly that gud knycht had slayne;            Than thai with-drew thaim evir-ilkane,            And durst nocht than abyde to ficht,            Sa dred thai the Kyngis mycht.         </p>	<p>65</p> <p>70</p>	<p>[Pg 212]</p>	
<p>           And quhen the Kyngis men thame saw            Swa in haill battale thame withdraw,            A gret schot till thame can thai mak,            And thai in hy tuk all the bak,            And thai, that followit thame, has slayne            Sum of thame that thai haf our-tane.            Bot thai war few, forsuth to say;            Thar hors fete had ner all away.            Bot, how sa quheyn deit thair,            Rebotyt fellely thai war,            And raid thair gait with weill mair schame,            Be full fer, than thai com fra hame.         </p>	<p>75</p> <p>80</p> <p>85</p>		
<p>           Q<small>WHEN</small> at the King reparit was,<sup>[†]</sup>            That gert his men leif all the chas,            The lordis of his cumpany            Blamyt him, as thai durst, gretly,            That he hym put in aventure            To mete so stith a knycht and sture,            In sic poynt as he than wes seyn;            For thai said, weill it mycht haf beyne            Caus of thair tynsale evirilkane.            The King thame answer maid he nane,            Bot menyt his hand-ax-schaft, that swa            Wes with ane strak brokyn in twa.         </p>	<p>90</p> <p>95</p>		
<p>           The Erl Thomas wes yheit            fechtand            With fayis apon athyr hand,            And slew of thame ane quantite,            Bot wery war his men and he.            The-quhethir with wapnys sturdely            Thai thame defendit manfully,            Quhill that the lord Dowglas come neir,            That sped hyme apon gret maneir.            The Inglis men, that war fechtand,            Quhen thai the Douglas saw at hand,            Thai wayndist and maid ane opnyng.            Schir James Dowglas, be thair relyng,            Knew at thai war discumfit neir:            Than bad he thame that with him weir            Stand still, and pres no forthirmar;            "For thai that yhondir fechtand ar,"            He said, "ar of sa gret bounte,            "That thair fayis weill soyn sall be            "Discumfit throu thair awn mycht,            "Thouch no man help thaim for to ficht.            "And cum we now in-to fechtung,<sup>[†]</sup>            "Quhen thai ar at discumfyting,            "Men suld say we thame ruschit had,<sup>[†]</sup>            "And swa suld thai, that caus has mad            "With gret travaill and hard fechtung,            "Leis ane part of thair lovyng.            "And it war syn to leis his prys,            "That of sa soverane bounte is,            "That he, throu playn and hard fechtung,            "Has heir eschewit unlikly thing;            "He sall haf that he wonnyn has."            The Erl with thame that fechtand was,            Quhen he his fayis saw brawll swa,            In hy apon thame can he ga,            And pressit thame so woundir fast         </p>	<p>100</p> <p>105</p> <p>110</p> <p>115</p> <p>120</p> <p>125</p> <p>130</p>	<div style="border: 1px dashed black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;"> <p style="text-align: center;">             JUNE 23, 1314  <i>Randolph's              Success</i> </p> </div>	<p>[Pg 213]</p>

And pressit thame so wouddan last  
 With hard strakis, quhill, at the last,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thai fled and durst nocht byde no mar.  
 Bath men and horse slayn left thai thar,  
 And held thair way in full gret hy,  
 Nocht all to-gidder bot syndrely,  
 And thai that war ourtane war slayne.  
 The layff went to thair host agane,  
 Off thair tynsall sary and wa.  
 The Erl, that had hym helpit swa,  
 And his men als that war wery,  
 Hynt of thair basnetis in-till hy  
 Till avent thame, for thai war hat,  
 Thai war all helit in-to swat.  
 Thame semyt men forsuth, I hicht,  
 That had fayndit thair fayis in ficht;  
 And swa thai did full douchtely.  
 Thai fand of all thair cumpany  
 That thar wes bot ane yheman slayn,  
 Than lovit thai God and war full fayn,  
 And blith that thai eschapid swa.  
 Toward the King than can thai ga,  
 And till him soyne weill cumin ar.  
 He askit thame of thair weill-fair,  
 And gladsum cher to thame he maid,  
 For thai so weill than born thame had.  
 Than all ran in-to gret dantee  
 The Erl of Murreff for till se;  
 For his hye worschip and valour  
 All yharnit till do him honour.  
 So fast thai ran till se hym thair,  
 That neir all sammyn assemblit war.  
 And quhen the gud King can thaim se  
 Befor him swa assemblit be,  
 Blith and glad that thair fayis war  
 Sa reboytit, as said wes ar,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 A litill quhil he held him still,  
 Syne on this wis he said thame till.

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"LORDYNGIS," he said, "we aucht to luf  
 "Almychty God that sittis abuf,  
 "That sendis us so fair begynnyng.  
 "It is ane gret disconfortyng  
 "Till our fais, that on this wis  
 "Sa soyn reboytit has beyn twis.

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"For quhen thai of thair host sall  
 heir,

"And knaw suthly on quhat maneir  
 "Thair awaward, that wes so stout,  
 "And syne yhon othir joly rout,

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*The Scots  
 determine to  
 Fight*

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"That I trow of the best men war  
 "That thai mycht get emang thame thar,  
 "War reboytit so suddandly,  
 "I trow, and knawis it all cleirly,  
 "That mony ane hert sall waverand be  
 "That semyt ere of gret bounte.

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"And fra the hert be discumfite,  
 "The body is nocht worth a myt.  
 "Thar-for I trow that gud ending  
 "Sall follow till our begynnyng.

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"The-quhethir I say nocht this yhow till,  
 "For that yhe suld follow my will  
 "To ficht, for in yhow sall all be.  
 "For gif yhe think spedfull that we  
 "Fecht, we sall ficht; and gif yhe will,  
 "We leiff, yhour liking to fulfill.

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"I shall consent on alkyn wis  
 "Till do richt as yhe will devis;  
 "Tharfor sais on yhour will planly."  
 Than with ane voce all can thai cry;  
 'Gud King, forouten mair delay,  
 "To-morn als soyn as yhe se day,  
 'Ordane yhow hail for the battale,  
 'For dout of ded we sall nocht fale;  
 'No nane norn sall refreit be

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iva name payn sau telusit be  
'Quhill we have maid our cuntre fre!'<sup>[†]</sup>

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QWHEN the King herd thaim so manly,  
Spek to the ficht and hardely,  
In hert gret gladschip can he ta,<sup>[†]</sup>  
And said; "Lordyngis, sen yhe will  
sa,

JUNE 23, 1314  
*Bruce's  
Address to  
his Men*

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"Schapis us tharfor in the mornyng  
"Swa that we, be the sonne-rysing,  
"Haf herd mes, and be buskit weill  
"Ilk man in-till his awne yscheill,<sup>[†]</sup>  
"Without the palyhownys arayit

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"In battales with baneris displayit.<sup>[†]</sup>  
"And luk yhe na way brek aray;  
"And, as yhe luf me, I yhow pray  
"That ilk man for his awne honour  
"Purway hym a gud baneour.  
"And quhen it cummys to the ficht,  
"Ilk man set his hert and mycht  
"To stynt our fais mekill pryd.

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"On hors thai sall arayit ryd,  
"And cum on yhow in weill gret hy;  
"Meit thame with speris hardely,  
"And wreik on thame the mekill ill  
"That thai and tharis has done us till,

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"And ar in will yheit for till do,  
"Gif thai haf mycht till cum thar-to.  
"And, certis, me think weill that we,  
"Forout abasyng, aucht till be  
"Worthy and of gret vassalage;

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"For we have thre gret advantage.<sup>[†]</sup>  
"The first is, that we haf the richt;  
"And for the richt ay God will ficht.  
"The tothir is, thai ar cummyn heir  
"For lypnyng in thair gret power,  
"To seik us in our awne land;

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"And has broucht her, richt till our hand,  
"Riches in-to so gret plentee,  
"That the pouerest of yhow sall be  
"Bath rych, and mychty thar-with-all,  
"Gif that we wyn, as weill may fall.

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"The thrid is, that we for our lyvis  
"And for our childer and our wyvis,<sup>[†]</sup>  
"And for the fredome of our land,  
"Ar strenyheit in battale for to stand.  
"And thai for thair mycht anerly,

245

"And for thai leit of us lichtly,  
"And for thai wald distroy us all,  
"Mais thame to ficht: bot yhet ma fall  
"That thai sall rew thar barganyng.  
"And, certis, I warne yhow of a thing,

250

"That happyn thame (as God forbeid).<sup>[†]</sup>  
"Till fynd fantis in-till our deid,<sup>[†]</sup>

255

"Swa that thai wyn us opynly,  
"Thai sall haf of us no mercy.  
"And, sen we know thar felloune will,  
"Me think it suld accorde till skill  
"To set stoutnes agane felony,  
"And mak swagat ane juperdy.

260

"Quharfor I yhow requeir and pray,  
"That, with all mycht that evir yhe may,  
"Yhe pres yhow at the begynnyng,  
"But cowardis or abaysing,

265

"To meit thame that first sall assemmyll  
"So stoutly that the henmast trymmyll.  
"And menys on yhour gret manheid,  
"Yhour worschip, and yhour douchty deid,  
"And of the joy that yhe abyd,  
"Giff that us fallis, as weill may tyd,  
"Hap to vencus the gret battale.

270

"In-till yhour handis, forouten fail  
"Yhe ber honour, pris, and riches,  
"Fredome, welth, and gret blithnes,

275

[Pg 216]

[Pg 217]

"Gif yhe conteyn yhow manfully;  
 "And the contrar all halely  
 "Sall fall, gif yhe let cowardis  
 "And wikkidness yhour hertis surpris. 280  
 "Yhe mycht haf lifit in-to thrildome,  
 "Bot, for yhe yharnt till haf fredome,  
 "Yhe ar assemblit heir with me;  
 "Tharfor is neidful that yhe be  
 "Worthy and wicht but abaysing. 285  
 "I warne yhow weill yheit of a thing,  
 "That mair myscheif may fall us nane  
 "Than in thair handis to be tane:  
 "For thai suld slay us, I wat weill,  
 "Richt as thai did my brothir Neill. 290  
 "Bot quhen I meyn of yhour stoutnes,  
 "And on the mony gret prowes  
 "That yhe have done so worthely,  
 "I trast and trowis sekirly  
 "Till have playne victor in this ficht. 295  
 "For thouch our fayis have mekill mycht,  
 "Thai haf the wrang, and succudry  
 "And covatis of senyhory  
 "Amovis thame forouten mor.  
 "Na us thar dreid thame bot befor; 300  
 "For strynth of this place, as yhe se,  
 "Sall let us enveronyt to be.  
 "And I pray yhow als specialy,  
 "Both mor and les all comonly,  
 "That nane of yhow for gredynes 305  
 "Haf e till tak of thair riches,  
 "Na presoners yheit for till ta,  
 "Quhill yhe se thame cumrayit swa,  
 "That the feld planly ouris be.  
 "And than, at yhour liking, may yhe 310  
 "Tak all the riches that thar is.  
 "Gif yhe will wirk apon this wis,  
 "Yhe sall haf victor sekirly.  
 "I wat nocht quhat mar say sall I;  
 "Yhe wat weill all quhat honour is, 315  
 "Conteyn yhow tharfor on sic wis  
 "That yhour honour ay savit be.  
 "And I hecht heir, in my lawte,  
 "Gif ony deis in this battaill,  
 "His air, but ward, releif, or taill, 320  
 "On the first day his land sall weild,  
 "All be he nevir so yhoung of eild.  
 "Now makis yhow reddy till the ficht.  
 "God help us, that is mast of mycht!  
 "I red armyt all nycht yhe be, 325  
 "Purvait in battale, sa that we  
 "To meit our fais ay be boune."  
 Than ansuerd thai all with a sowne,  
 'As yhe devis sa sall be done.'  
 Than till thair innys went thai soyne, 330  
 And ordanit thame for the fichting;  
 Syne assemblit in the evynnyng,  
 And swa-gat all the nycht baid thai  
 Till on the morn that it wes day.

QWHEN the Cliffurd, as I sayd air, 335  
 And all his rowt reboytit war,  
 And thar gret vaward alsua  
 Wes distrenyheit the bak till ta,  
 And thai haf tald thair reboying,  
 Thai of the vaward, how the King 340  
 Slew at a strak, sa apertly,

JUNE 23, 1314  
*The English  
 are  
 Discouraged*

A knycht that wycht wes and hardy;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And how all haill the Kyngis battaill  
 Schupe thame richt stoutly till assaill, 345  
 And Schir Edward the Brus alsua,  
 Quhen thai all haill the bak can ta:  
 And how thai lessit off thair men:  
 And Cliffurd had tald alsua then,  
 How Thomas Randall tuk the playne  
 With few folk, and how he has slayne 350

Schir Wilyhame Dancort the worthy;  
 And how the Erlr faucht manfully,  
 That, as ane hyrcheoune, all his rout  
 Gert set out speris all about;  
 And how at thai war put agane, 355  
 And part of thair gud men wes slane:  
 The Inglis men sic abaysing  
 Tuk, and sik dreid of that tithing,  
 That in fyve hundreth placis and ma  
 Men mycht thame sammyn se rownand ga, 360  
 Sayand; "Our lordis, for thar mycht,  
 "Will all-gat ficht agane the richt.  
 "Bot quha sa warrayis wrangwisly,  
 "Thai faynd God all too gretumly,  
 "And thai may happin to mysfall; 365  
 "And sa may tyd that her we sall."  
 And quhen thir lordis had persaving  
 Of the discomford, and the rownyng,  
 That thai held sammyn twa and twa,  
 Throu-out the hoost soyne gert thai ga 370  
 Heraldis, for till mak ane crye,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That nane discomford suld it be;  
 For in punyheis is oft hapnyne  
 Quhill for to wyne, and quhill to tyne;  
 And that, in-to the gret battale, 375  
 That apon na maner may fale;  
 Bot, gif the Scottis flee away,  
 Sall all amendit be, perfay.  
 Tharfor thai monyst thame to be  
 Of gret worschip and of bounte, 380  
 And stithly in the battale stand,  
 And tak amendis at thair hand.  
 Thai may weill monyss as thai will,  
 And thai may als hecht till fulfill  
 With stalwart strakis thair byddingis all; 385  
 Bot nocht-for-thi I trow thai sall  
 In-till thair hertis dredande be.  
 The King, with his consell preve,  
 Has tane to rede that he wald nocht  
 Fecht or the morne, bot he war socht. 390  
 Thair thai herbryit thame that nycht  
 Doune in the Kers, and gert all  
 dicht, JUNE 24, 1314  
*The English  
 encamp on  
 the Carse*  
 And mak reddy ther apparale,  
 Agane the morne for the battale. 395  
 And, for in the Kers pulis war,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Howsis and thak thai brak, and bar  
 To mak bryggis quhar thai mycht pas.<sup>[†]</sup> [Pg 221]  
 And sum sais yheit, the folk that wes  
 In the castell, quhen nycht can fall,  
 For at thai knew thair myscheiff all, 400  
 Thai went furth neir all at thai war,  
 And durys and wyndowis with thaim bar,  
 Swa that thai had befor the day  
 Briggit the pollis, swa that thai  
 War passit our evir-ilkane,<sup>[†]</sup> 405  
 And the hard feld on hors has tane.<sup>[†]</sup> \*406  
 All reddy for till gif battale, \*407  
 Arayit in till thair apparail.

### The Battle of Bannockburn.

THE Scottis men, quhen it wes day,  
 Thair mes devoutly herd thai say,  
 Syne tuk a sop, and maid thame yhar.  
 And quhen thai all assemblit war, 410  
 And in thair battalis all purvait,  
 With thair braid baneris all displayit,  
 Thai maid knychtis, as it afferis  
 To men that oysis thai mysteris.  
 The Kyng maid Walter Stewart knycht, 415  
 And James of Douglas, that wes wicht,  
 And othir als of gret bounte  
 He maid, ilkane in thair degre.

Quhen this wes done, that I yhou say,  
 Thai went all furth in gud aray, 420  
 And tuk the playne full apertly.  
 Mony wicht man, gud and hardy,  
 That wer fulfillit of gret bounte,  
 In-till thair rowtis men mycht se.  
 The Inglis men in othir party, 425  
 That richt as angelis schane brichtly,  
 War nocht arayit on sic maner;  
 For all thair batalis sammyn wer  
 In a schiltrum; bot quethir it wes  
 Throu the gret stratnes of the plas 430  
 That thai war in, till byd fichting,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Or that it wes for abaysing,  
 I wat nocht; bot in a schiltrum  
 It semyt thai war all and some,  
 Outane the vaward anerly, 435  
 That with ane richt gret cumpany  
 Be thame-selvin arayit war.  
 Quha had bene by mycht have sene thar<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That folk ourtak ane mekill feld  
 On breid; quhar mony a schynand scheld, 440  
 And mony a burnyst bricht armour,  
 And mony man of gret valour,  
 And mony a baner bricht and scheyne,  
 Micht in that gret schiltrum be seyne.

And quhen the Kyng of Ingland 445  
 Saw Scottis men saw tak on hand  
 To tak the hard feild sa opynly,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And apon fut, he had ferly,  
 And said, "Quhat! will yhon Scottis  
 ficht?"

JUNE 24, 1314  
*The Scots  
 kneel in  
 Prayer*

'Yhaa sekirly, Schir!' than said a knycht, 450  
 Schir Ingerame the Umphrevell hat he,  
 And said, 'Forsuth, Schir, now I se  
 'All the mast ferlifull sycht  
 'That evir I saw, quhen for to ficht  
 'The Scottis men has tane on hand, 455  
 'Agane the gret mycht of Ingland,  
 'In plane hard feild to gif battale.  
 'Bot and yhe will trow my consale,  
 'Yhe sall discomfit thame lichtly.  
 'Withdraws yhow hyne suddanly,<sup>[†]</sup> 460  
 'With battalis, baneris and pennownys,  
 'Quhill that we pas our palyheownys;  
 'And yhe sall se als soyne at thai,  
 'Magre thair lordis, sall brek aray,  
 'And scale thame our harnes to ta. 465  
 'And, quhen we se thame scalit swa,  
 'Prik we than on thame hardely,  
 'And we sall haf thame weill lichtly.  
 'For than sall nane be knyt to ficht,  
 'That may withstand our mekill mycht.' 470  
 "I will nocht," said the King, "perfay,  
 "Do sa: for ther sall no man say,  
 "That I suld eschewe the battale,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Na withdraw me for sic rangale."  
 Quhen this wes said that er said I, 475  
 The Scottis men full devoutly  
 Knelyt all doune, till God to pray,  
 And a schort prayer thair maid thai  
 Till God, till help thame in that ficht.  
 And quhen the Inglis King had sicht 480  
 Of thame kneland, he said in hy—  
 "Yhon folk knelis till ask mercy."  
 Schir Ingerame said; 'Yhe say suth now;  
 'Thai ask mercy, bot nocht at yhow:  
 'For thair trespas to God thai cry. 485  
 'I tell yhow a thing sekirly,  
 'That yhon men will wyn all or de,  
 'For dout of ded thar sall nane fle.'  
 "Now be it swa," than said the Kyng.  
 And than, but langar delaving,<sup>[†]</sup> 490

Thai gert trump up to the assemble.  
On athir syd than men mycht se  
Full mony wycht men and worthy,  
All ready till do chevelry.

THUS war thai boune on athir syde; 495  
And Inglis men, with mekill prid,  
That war in-till thar avaward,  
Till the battall that Schir Edward  
Governyt and led, held straucht thair way.

The hors with spuris hardnyt thai, 500  
And prikit apon thame sturdely;  
And thai met thame richt hardely:

Swa that, at the assemble thair, 505  
Sic a frusching of speris wair  
That fer away men mycht it her.

At thar metyng, for outen wer,  
Wer stedis stekit mony ane;  
Mony gud man borne doune and slane,  
And mony ane hardyment douchtely 510  
Wes thair eschevit full hardely.

Thai dang on othir with wapnys ser;  
Sum of the hors, that stekit wer,  
Ruscht and relit rycht royldy.

Bot the remanant, nocht-for-thi,  
That mycht cum to the assembling, 515  
For that lat maid rycht no stynting,  
Bot assemblit full hardely.

And thai met thame full sturdely,  
With speris that wer scharp to scher,  
And axis that weill grundyn wer, 520  
Quhar-with wes roucht full mony rout.

The ficht wes thair so fell and stout,  
That mony worthy men and wicht  
Throu fors wes fellit in that ficht,  
That had no mycht to rys agane. 525

The Scottis men fast can thame payne  
Thair fais mekill mycht to rus.<sup>[†]</sup>  
I trow thai sall no payne refus,  
Na perell, quhill thar fais be  
Set in-till herd proplexite. 530

AND quhen the Erl of Murref sa  
Thair avaward saw stoutly ta  
The way to Schir Edward all  
straucht,  
That met thame with full mekill  
maucht.

JUNE 24, 1314  
*The Earl of  
Murray  
attacks*

He held his way with his baner 535  
Till the gret rout, quhar sammyn wer

The nyne battales that wes so braid,  
That so feill baneris with thame had,  
And of men sa gret quantite,  
That it war wonder for to se. 540

The gud Erl thiddir tuk the way  
With his battale in gud aray,  
And assemblit so hardely,

That men mycht her, that had beyn by,<sup>[†]</sup> 545  
A gret frusche of the speres that brast.

For thair fais assalyheit fast,  
That on stedis, with mekill prid,  
Com prikan as thai wald our-ryd  
The Erl and all his cumpany. 550

Bot thai met thame so sturdely,  
That mony of thame till erd thai bar.  
For mony a steid wes stekit thar,  
And mony gud man fellit undir feit  
That had no power to ris yheit. 555

Ther men mycht se ane hard battale,  
And sum defend and sum assale,  
And mony a riall rymmyll ryde  
Be roucht thair, apon athir syde,  
Quhill throu the byrneis brist the blud,  
That till the erd doune stremand yhud. 560  
The Erl of Murreff and his men



So stoutly thame contenit then,  
 That thai wan plas ay mair and mair  
 On thair fais; the-quhethir thai war  
 Ay ten for ane, or ma, perfay; 565  
 Swa that it semyt weill that thai  
 War tynt emang so gret menyhe,  
 As thai war plungit in the se.  
 And quhen the Inglis men has seyne  
 The Erll and all his men be-deyne 570  
 Fecht sa stoutly, but effraying,  
 Rycht as thai had nane abaysing,  
 Thai pressit thame with all thar mycht.  
 And thai, with speris and suerdis brycht,  
 And axis that rycht scharply schar, 575  
 In-myd the visage met thame thar.  
 Thar men mycht se a stalwart stour,  
 And mony men of gret valour  
 With speris, macys, and with knyvis,  
 And othyr wapnys, vissill thair lyvis, 580  
 Swa that mony fell doune all ded;  
 The gyrs wox with the blude all red.  
 The Erll, that wicht wes and worthy,  
 And his men faucht so manfully,  
 That quha sa had seyne thaim that day, 585  
 I trow forsuth that thai suld say  
 That thai suld do thair devour wele,  
 Swa that thair fayis suld it feill.

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## BOOK XIII.

### How Walter Stewart and Douglas Came with their battle that worthy was.

QWHEN that thir twa first batellis wer  
 Assemblit, as I said yhow er,  
 The Steward, Walter that than was,<sup>[t]</sup>  
 And the gud lord als of Douglas, 5  
 In a battale quhen that thai saw  
 The Erll, for outen dreid or aw,  
 Assemmyll with his cumpany  
 On all the folk so sturdely,  
 For till help him thai held thar way  
 With thar battale in gud aray, 10  
 And assemmyllit so hardely  
 Besyd the Erll a litill by,  
 Thair fais feld thair cummyng weill;  
 For with wapnys stalwart of steill  
 Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht. 15  
 Thar fayis resavit them weill, I hycht,  
 With swerdis, speris, and with macys.  
 The battale thair so felloune was,  
 And sua richt gret spilling of blud,  
 That on the erd the flus it stud. 20  
 The Scottis men so weill thame bar,  
 And sua gret slauchtir maid thai thar,  
 And fra so feill the livis revit,  
 That all the feild wes bludy levit. 25  
 That tym thir three battalis wer  
 All syde be syde fechtand weill neir.  
 Thar mycht man her richt mony dynt,  
 And wapnys apon armour stynt,  
 And see tummyll knychtis and stedis,  
 With mony rich and ryoll wedis 30  
 Defoulit roydly under feit.  
 Sum held on loft, sum tynt the suet.  
 A long quhill thus fechtand thai wer,  
 That men no noyis na cry mycht her;  
 Men hard nocht ellis bot granys and dyntis 35  
 That slew fire, as men dois on flyntis.  
 Sa faucht thai ilkane egirly,  
 That thai maid nouthir noyis no cry,  
 Bot dang on othir at thar mycht,  
 With wapnys that war burnyst brycht. 40  
 The arrows als so thik thai flaw,

[Pg 227]

That thai mycht say weill, at thaim saw,  
That thai ane hydwis schour can ma:  
For quhar thai fell, I undirta,  
Thai left eftir thame taknyng 45  
That sall neid, as I trow, lechyng.

The Inglis archeris schot so fast,  
That, mycht thar schot haf had last,  
It had beyne hard to Scottis men.  
Bot King Robert, that weill can ken 50  
That the archeris war perelous,  
And thar schot hard and richt  
grevous,

JUNE 24, 1314  
*The English  
Archers  
dispersed*

Ordanit forrouth the assemble  
His Marschall with a gret menyhe,  
Fiff hundreth armyt weill in steill 55  
That on licht hors war horsyt weill,  
For to prik emang the archeris,  
And sua assailyhe thame with speris  
That thai no laser haf to schute.

This Marschall that I of mut, 60  
That Schir Robert of Keth wes cald,  
As I befor has to yhow tald,  
Quhen that he saw the battalis swa

Assemmyll and to-giddir ga,  
And saw the archeris schut stoutly, 65  
With all thame of his cumpany  
In hy apon thame can he ryde,  
And our-tuk thame at a syde,

And rushit emang thame sa roydly,  
Strikand thame sua dispitfully, 70  
And in sic fusioune berand doune,  
And slayand thame without ransoune,  
That thai thame scalit evirilkane;

And fra that time furth ther wes nane  
That assemlyt sic schot till ma. 75  
Quhen Scottis archeris saw at swa  
Thai war rebutit, thai wox hardy,  
With all thar mycht schot egirly

Emang the hors-men that thar raid,  
And woundis wyde to thame thai maid, 80  
And slew of thame a wele gret dele;  
Thai bar thame hardely and weill.  
For fra thair fais archeris were

Scalit, as I have said yhow ere, 85  
That ma than thai war be gret thing,  
Swa that thai dred nocht thar schuting,  
Thai wox so hardy that thame thought  
Thai suld set all thair fais at noucht.

THE Marschall and his cumpany  
Wes yheit, as to yhow ere said I,  
Among the archeris, quhar thai  
maid 90  
With speris rowme quhar at thai  
raid,

JUNE 24, 1314  
*Bruce  
brings up his  
Reserve*

And slew all that thai mycht ourta.  
And thai weill lichtly mycht do swa,  
For thai had nocht a strak to stynt, 95  
Na for to hald agane a dynt.  
And agane armyt men to ficht  
May nakit men haff litill mycht.  
Thai scalit thame on sic maner,

That sum to thar gret battelis wer 100  
Withdrawin thaim in full gret hy,  
And sum war fled all utrely.  
Bot the folk that behynd thame was,  
That for thair awne folk had no space

Yheit than to cum to the assemblyng, 105  
In agane smertly can thai ding  
The archeris, that thai met fleand,  
That than war maid so recryand,  
That thair hertis war tynt cleirly,<sup>[†]</sup>

I trow thai sall nocht scath gretly 110  
The Scottis men with schot that day.

That than war maid so recryand,  
That thair hertis war tynt cleirly,<sup>[†]</sup>

I trow thai sall nocht scath gretly 110  
The Scottis men with schot that day.

The Scottis men with schot that day.

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The Scottis men with schot that day.

The Scottis men with schot that day.

The Scottis men with schot that day.

And the gud King Robert, that ay  
 Was fillit of full gret bounte,  
 Saw how that his battellis thre  
 So hardely assemblit thar, 115  
 And so weill in the ficht thame bar,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And so fast on thair fais can dyng  
 That him thought nane had abaysing,  
 And how the archeris war scalit then,  
 He was all blith, and till his men 120  
 He said; "Lordingis, now luk that yhe  
 "Worthy and of gud covyne be  
 "At this assemble, and hardy;  
 "And assemmyll so sturdely  
 "That no thing may befor yhow stand. 125  
 "Our men so freschly ar fechtand,  
 "That thai thair fais has cumrait swa<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "That, be thai presit, I undirta,  
 "A litill fastar, yhe sall se  
 "That thai discumfit soyn sall be." 130

Quhen this wes said, thai held  
 thar way,<sup>[†]</sup>

JUNE 24, 1314  
*The English  
 Van driven  
 back*

And on a syde assemblit thai  
 So stoutly, that at thar cummyng  
 Thair fais wer ruschit a gret thing. 135  
 Ther men mycht se men freschly ficht,  
 And men that worthy war and wycht  
 Do mony worthy vassalage;  
 Thai faucht as thai war in a rage.  
 For quhen the Scottis ynkirly  
 Saw thair fais sa sturdely 140  
 Stand in-to battale thame agane,  
 With all thar mycht and all thar mayne  
 Thai layd on, as men out of wit;  
 And quhar thai with full strak mycht hit,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thar mycht no armyng stynt thar strak; 145  
 Thai to-fruschit thame thai mycht our-tak,  
 And with axis sic duschis gaff  
 That thai helmys and hedis claff.  
 And thair fais richt hardely  
 Met thame, and dang on douchtely 150  
 With wapnys that war stith of steill:  
 Thar wes the battell strikyn weill.  
 So gret dynnyng ther wes of dyntis,  
 As wapnys apon armor styntis,  
 And of speris so gret bristing, 155  
 And sic thrawing and sic thristing,  
 Sic gyrnyng, granyng, and so gret  
 A noyis, as thai can othir bet,  
 And cryit ensenyheis on everilk syd,  
 Gifand and takand woundis wyd, 160  
 That it wes hydwiss for till her  
 All four the bataillis wicht that wer  
 Fechtand in-till a front haly.  
 Almychty God! how douchtely<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Schir Edward the Brus and his men 165  
 Among thair fais contenynt thame then!  
 Fechtand in-to sa gud covyne,  
 So hardy, worthy and so fyne,  
 That thar avaward ruschit was,  
 And, magre tharis, left the plas, 170  
 And to thar gret rowt to warrand  
 Thai went, that than had apon hand  
 So gret not, that thai war effrait,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 For Scottis men thame hard assait,  
 That than war in ane schiltrum all. 175  
 Quha hapnit in that ficht to fall,  
 I trow agane he suld nocht ris.  
 Ther men mycht se on mony wis  
 Hardyment eschevit douchtely,  
 And mony that wicht war and hardy 180  
 Doune under feit lyand all dede,  
 Quhar all the feild of blud wes red.  
 Armoris and quyntis that thai bare,<sup>[†]</sup>

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With blud wes swa defowlit thar,  
 That thai mycht nocht discrivit be. 185  
 A! mychty God! quha than mycht se  
 The Steward, Walter, and his rout  
 And the gud Douglas that wes stout  
 Fechtand in-to that stalward stour,  
 He suld say that till all honour 190  
 Thai war worthy, that in that ficht  
 Sa fast presit thair fais mycht,  
 That thai thame ruschit quhar thai yheid.  
 Thair mycht men se mony a steid  
 Fleand on stray, that lord had nane. 195  
 A! Lord! quha than gud tent had tane  
 To the gud Erl off Murreff  
 And his, that swa gret rowtis gaf,  
 And faucht sa fast in that battale,  
 Tholand sic payne and sic travale, 200  
 That thai and thairis maid sic debat,  
 That quhar thai come thai maid thaim gat.  
 Than mycht men heir ensenyheis cry,  
 And Scottis men cry hardely,  
 "On thame! On thame! On thame! Thai fail!" 205  
 With that so hard thai can assaill,  
 And slew all that thai mycht our-ta.  
 And the Scottis archeris alsua  
 Schot emang thame so sturdely,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Ingrevand thame so gretumly, 210  
 That quhat for thame that with thame faucht  
 And swa gret rowtis to thame raucht,  
 And presit thame full egirly;  
 And quhat for arrowes that felly  
 Mony gret woundis can thame ma, 215  
 And slew fast of thair hors alsua,  
 That thai wayndist a litell we;  
 Thai dred so gretly thane till de  
 That thair covyne wes war than eir:  
 For thai that with thame fechtand weir, 220  
 Set hardyment and strynth and will  
 And hart and corage als, thar-till,  
 And all thair mayne, and all thar mycht,  
 To put thame fully to the flycht.<sup>[†]</sup>

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### **How the Yeomen and the Poor Men made of Sheets the Manner of Banners in Support of King Robert the Bruce and his Folk.**

In this tyme that I tell of her, 225  
 That the battall on this maner  
 Wes strikin, quhar on athir party  
 Thai war fechtand richt manfully,  
 Yhemen, swanys, and pouerail,  
 That in the Parc to yheyme vittale  
 War left; quhen thai wist but lesing  
 That thair lordis, with fell fichtyng,  
 On thair fais assemblit war,  
 Ane of them-selvyne that wes thar  
 Capitane of thame all thai maid; 235  
 And schetis, that war sum-deill braid,  
 Thai festnyt in steid of baneris  
 Apon lang treis and on speris,  
 And said that thai wald se the ficht,  
 And help thar lordis at thar mycht. 240  
 Quhen her-till all assentit war,  
 And in a rowt assemblit ar,  
 Fiften thousand thai war and ma.  
 And than in gret hy thai can ga  
 With thair baneris all in a rout, 245  
 As thai had men beyn stith and stout.  
 Thai com, with all that assemble,  
 Richt quhill thai mycht the battale se;  
 Than all at anys thai gaf ane cry,  
 "Sla! sla! Apon thaim hastily!"<sup>[†]</sup> 250  
 And thar with all cumend ar thair

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*The Camp-followers appear*

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And thai with an cumpany at thai,  
 Bot thai war yheit weill far away,  
 And Inglis men, that ruschit war  
 Throu fors of ficht, as I said air,  
 Quhen thai saw cum with sic a cry 255  
 Toward thame sic ane cumpany,  
 That thai thocht weill als mony war  
 As at war fechtand with thame thar,  
 And thai befor had thame nocht seyne,  
 Than, wit yhe weill, withouten weyne, 260  
 Thai war abasit so gretumly,  
 That the best and the mast hardy  
 That war in-till the oost that day,  
 Wald with thair mensk have beyn away.

The King Robert be thair relyng, 265  
 Saw thai war neir discomfyting,  
 And his ensenyhe can hely cry.  
 Than, with thame of his cumpany,  
 His fais presit so fast that thai  
 Wer than in-till sa gret effray, 270  
 That thai left place ay mar and mar.  
 For all the Scottis men that war thar,  
 Quhen thai saw thame eschew the ficht,  
 Dang on thame swa with all thar mycht,  
 That thai scalit in tropellis ser, 275  
 And till discumfitur war ner;  
 And sum of thame fled all planly.  
 Bot thai that wicht war and hardy,  
 That schame letit till ta the flicht,  
 At gret myschef mantemyt the ficht, 280  
 And stithly in the stour can stand.  
 And quhen the King of England  
 Saw his men fle in syndry place,  
 And saw his fais rout, that was  
 Worthyn so wicht and so hardy, 285  
 That all his folk war halely  
 Swa stonayit, that thai had no mycht  
 To stynt thair fais in the ficht,  
 He was abaysit so gretumly  
 That he and all his cumpany, 290  
 Fif hundreth armyt weill at rycht,  
 In-till a frusche all tuk the flycht,  
 And till the castell held ther way.  
 And yheit, as I herd sum men say,  
 That of Vallanch Schir Amer, 295  
 Quhen he the feld saw vencust ner,  
 By the renyhe led away the King,  
 Agane his will, fra the fichting.

And quhen Schir Gelis de  
 Argente<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Saw the King thus and his menyhe  
 Schape thame to fle so spedely,  
 He com richt to the King in hy  
 And said; "Schir, sen that it is swa  
 "That yhe thusgat yhour gat will ga,  
 "Haffis gud day! for agane will I: 305  
 "Yheit fled I nevir sekirly,  
 "And I cheis heir to byde and de  
 "Than till lif heir and schamfully fle."<sup>[†]</sup>  
 His brydill than but mar abaid  
 He turnyt, and agane he raid, 310  
 And on Schir Edward the Brusis rout,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That wes so sturdy and so stout,  
 As dreid of nakyn thing had he,  
 He prikit, cryand, "Argente!"  
 And thai with speris swa him met, 315  
 And swa feill speris on hym set,  
 That he and hors war chargit swa  
 That bath doune to the erd can ga:  
 And in that place than slayne wes he.  
 Of his ded wes rycht gret pite. 320  
 He wes the thrid best knycht, perfay,  
 That men wist liffand in his day:

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*Death of  
 Argentine*

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He did mony a fair journe.  
 On Sarisenis thre derenyheis did he;  
 And in-till ilk derenyhe of thai, 325  
 He vencust Sarisenis twa;  
 His gret worschip tuk thar ending.  
 And fra Schir Amer with the King  
 Wes fled, wes nane that durst abyde,  
 Bot fled, scalit on ilka syde. 330  
 And thair fais thame presit fast,  
 Thai war, to say suth, all agast,  
 And fled swa, richt effrayitly,  
 That of thame a full gret party  
 Fled to the wattir of Forth; and thar 335  
 The mast part of thame drownit war.  
 And Bannokburn, betuix the brais,  
 Of hors and men so chargit was,  
 That apon drownit hors and men  
 Men mycht pass dry atour it then. 340  
 And laddis, swanys, and rangall,  
 Quhen thai saw vencust the battall,  
 Ran emang thame, and swa can sla  
 Thai folk that na defens mycht ma,  
 That it war pite for to se. 345  
 I herd nevir quhar, in na cuntre,  
 Folk at swa gret myschef war stad;  
 On a syde thai thair fais had,  
 That slew thame doune without mercy,  
 And thai had on the tothir party 350  
 Bannokburne, that sa cummyrsum was  
 Of slyk and depnes, for till pas,  
 That thair mycht nane atour it ryde.  
 Thame worthit, magre tharis, abyde;  
 Swa that sum slayne, sum drownit war; 355  
 Micht nane eschap that evir com thar.  
 The-quhethir mony gat away,  
 That ellis-whar fled, as I herd say.

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The Kyng, with thame he with him  
 had, 360  
 In a rout till the castell raid,  
 And wald have beyn tharin, for thai  
 Wist nocht quhat gat to get away.  
 Bot Philip the Mowbray said him till,  
 "The castell, Schir, is at yhour will;  
 "Bot, cum yhe in it, yhe sall se 365  
 "That yhe sall soyne assegit be.  
 "And thar sall nane of all Inghland  
 "To mak yhow rescours tak on hand.  
 "And, but rescours, may no castele  
 "Be haldin lang, yhe wat this wele. 370  
 "Tharfor confort yhow, and relye  
 "Your men about yhow richt straitlye,  
 "And haldis about the Park the way.  
 "Knyt yhow als sadly as yhe may,  
 "For I trow that nane sall haf mycht, 375  
 "That chassis, with so feill to ficht."  
 And as he consalit thai have done;<sup>[f]</sup>  
 Beneth the castell went thai soyne,  
 Richt by the Rownde Tabill thair way,  
 And syne the Park enveronyt thai, 380  
 And toward Lithkew held in hy.  
 But, I trow, thai sall hastely  
 Be convoyit with folk that thai,  
 I trow, mycht suffer weill away!  
 For Schir James, lord of Douglas, 385  
 Com till his Kyng and askit the chas,  
 And he gaf him leif but abaid.  
 Bot all to few of hors he hade;  
 He had nocht in his rowt sixty,  
 The-quhethir he sped him hastely 390  
 The way eftir the King to ta.  
 Now let him on his wayis ga,  
 And eftir this we sall weill tell  
 Quhat till hym in his chas byfell.

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## How Good Douglas chased the King of England after the Battles of Bannockburn.

Qwhen the gret battell on this wis 395  
 Wes discumfit, as I devis,  
 Quhar thretty thousand thar wes ded,  
 Or drownit in-to that ilk sted;  
 And sum war in-to handis tane;  
 And othir sum thair gat wes gane; 400  
 The Erl of Herfurd fra the melle  
 Departit, with a gret menyhe  
 And straucht to Bothwell tuk the vay,  
 That than at Inglis mennys fay  
 Wes, and haldin as place of wer. 405  
 Schir Walter Gilbertson wes ther<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Capitane, and it had in ward.  
 The Erl of Herfurde thiddirward  
 Held, and wes tane in our the wall,  
 And fyfty of his men with-all, 410  
 And sett in housis syndrely,  
 Swa that thai had thar no mastry.  
 The layff went toward Inland.  
 Bot of that rout, I tak on hand,  
 The thre parteis war tane or slayne: 415  
 The layff with gret payne hame ar gane.

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Schir Moris alsua de Berclay<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Fra the gret battell held his way,  
 With a gret rout of Walis men;  
 Quhar-evir thai yheid men mycht tham ken; 420  
 For thai weill neir all nakid war,  
 Or lynyng clothis had but mair.  
 Thai held thair wayis in full gret hy;  
 Bot mony of thair cumpany,  
 Or thai till Inland com, war tane, 425  
 And mony als of thame war slane.  
 Thai fled als othir wais ser,  
 Bot to the castell, that wes ner,  
 Of Strevilling fled sic a menyhe,  
 That it wes wonder for to se; 430  
 For the craggis all helit war  
 About the castell, heir and thar,  
 Of thame that, for strinth of that sted,  
 Thiddirward till warrande fled.  
 And for thai war sa feill that thair 435  
 Flede under the castell war,  
 The King Robert, that wes witty,  
 Held ay his gude men neir him by,  
 For dreid that ris againe suld thai.  
 This wes the caus, forsuth to say, 440  
 Quhar-throu the King of Inland  
 Eschapid hame in-to his land.

QWHEN that the feld so cleyn wes maid  
 Of Inglis men, that nane abad, 445  
 The Scottis men soyne tuk in hand  
 Of tharis all that evir thai fand,  
 As silver, gold, clathis, and armyng,<sup>[†]</sup> \*447  
 With vessel and all other thing  
 That evir thai mycht lay on thar hand;  
 So gret a riches thair thai fand, \*450  
 That mony man wes mychty maid  
 Of the riches that thai thar had.

Quhen this wes done that ere said  
 I, 450  
 The King send a gret cumpany  
 Up to the crag, thame till assale  
 That war fled fra the gret battale;  
 And thai thame yhald for-out debat,  
 And in hand has thame tane fut-hat,  
 Syne to the Kyng thai went thar way. 455  
 Thai dispendit haly that day  
 In spoulyheing and riches taking

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*The Knights  
 who fell*

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in spulyheit and riches larkny,  
 Fra end wes maid of the fechtyn,  
 And quhen thai nakit spulyheit war  
 That war slayne in the battale thar, 460  
 It wes forsuth a gret ferly  
 Till se sammyn so feill dede ly.  
 Twa hundreth payr of spuris rede<sup>[†]</sup>  
 War tane of knychtis that war dede.  
 The Erl of Glowcister ded wes thar, 465  
 That men callit Schir Gilbert of Clar;  
 And Schir Gelis de Argente alsua,  
 And Payne Typtot, and othir ma,  
 That thair namys nocht tell can I.  
 And apon Scottis mennis party 470  
 Thar wes slayne worthy knychtis twa;  
 Wilyhame Vepownt wes ane of tha,  
 And Schir Walter the Ros ane othir,  
 That Schir Edward, the Kyngis brothir,  
 Lufit, and held in sic dante 475  
 That as him-self him lufit he.  
 And quhen he wist that he wes dede,  
 He wes so wa and will of rede,  
 That he said, makand full evill cher,  
 That him war levar that journye wer 480  
 Undone, than he swa ded had bene.  
 Outaken him, men has nocht seyn  
 Quhar he for ony man maid menyng;  
 And the caus wes of his lufing,  
 That he his sistir paramouris<sup>[†]</sup> 485  
 Lufit, and held all at rebouris  
 His awyne wif dame Esobell.  
 And tharfor swa gret distans fell  
 Betwix him and the Erl Davy  
 Of Adell, brother to this lady,<sup>[†]</sup> 490  
 That he, apon Sanct Johnnis nycht,  
 Quhen bath the Kyngis war boune to ficht,  
 In Cambuskynneth the Kyngis vittale<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He tuk, and sadly gert assale  
 Schir Wilyham of Herth, and him slew,<sup>[†]</sup> 495  
 And with hym ma men than enew.  
 Quharfor syne in-till Inghland  
 He wes banyst, and all his land  
 Was sesit and forfalt to the Kyng,  
 That did tharof syne his likyng. 500

QWHEN the feld, as I said air,  
 Wes dispulyheit and left all bair,  
 The King and all his cumpany  
 Joyfull and blyth war and mery  
 Of the grace that thame fallyn was,  
 Towards thar innys thair wayis tais  
 Till rest thame; for thai wery war.  
 Bot for the Erl Gilbert of Clar,  
 That slayne wes in the battale-place,  
 The king somdeill anoyit was, 510  
 For till hym neir syb wes he.  
 Than till a kirk he gert hym be  
 Brocht, and walkit all that nycht.  
 And on the morn, quhen day wes licht,  
 The king rais, as his wille was; 515  
 Than till ane Inglis knycht, throu cas,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Hapnyt that he yheid waverand,  
 Swa that na man laid on hym hand,  
 And in a busk hyd his armyng,  
 And waytit quhill he saw the Kyng 520  
 In the mornyng cum forth airly:  
 Till him than is he went in hy.

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*Stirling  
 Castle is  
 surrendered*

Schir Marmeduk the Twengue he hecht.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He rakit till the Kyng all richt,  
 And halsit hym apon his kne. 525  
 "Welcome, Schir Marmeduk," said he,  
 "Tui quhat man art thou presoner?"  
 "To nane," he said, 'bot till yhow her  
 'I yheld me at yhour will to be.'



"And I resaitt the, Schir," saide he. 530  
 Than gert he trete hym curtasly.  
 He dwelt lang in his cumpany:  
 And syne in Ingland him send he  
 Arayit weill, but ransoune fre,  
 And gaf hym gret giftis thar-to; 535  
 A worthy man that wald swa do  
 Micht mak him gretly for to pris.  
 Quhen Marmeduk, apon this wis,  
 Wes yholden, as I to yhow say,  
 Than com Schir Philip the Mowbray, 540  
 And to the king yhald the castele;  
 His cunnand has he haldyne wele,  
 And with him tretit swa the King,  
 That he become of his duellyng;  
 And held him lelely his fay 545  
 Quhill the last end of his lyf-day.

Now will we of the Lord Dowglas  
 Tell, how that he followit the chas.  
 He had quheyne in his cumpany,  
 Bot he sped him in full gret hy, 550  
 And as he by the Torwode fur,  
 Sa met he, rydand on the mur  
 Schir Lowrens of Abyrnethy,  
 That, with four scor in cumpany,  
 Com for till help the Inglis men, 555  
 For he was Inglis man yheit then.  
 Bot quhen that he herd how it wes,  
 He left the Inglis mennys pes,  
 And till the lord Douglas richt thar  
 For till be leill and trew he swar; 560  
 And than thai bath followit the chas.  
 And, or the Kyng of Ingland was  
 Passit Lythkew, thai com so neir,  
 With all the folk that with thame wer,  
 That weill emang thame schut thai mycht; 565  
 Bot thai thocht thame our few to ficht  
 With the gret rowt that thai had thar,  
 For fif hundreth men armyt thai war.  
 To-giddir sarraly raid thai,  
 And held thame apon brydill ay. 570  
 Thai war governit full wittely;  
 For it semit ay thai war redy  
 For till defend thame at thar mycht,  
 Gif thai assalyheit war in ficht.  
 And the lord Douglas and his men 575  
 Thocht thai wald nocht purpos then  
 For to ficht with thame all planly,  
 He convoyit thame so narrowly,  
 That of the henmast ay tuk he:  
 Micht nane behynd his fallowis be 580  
 Nocht a stane cast, bot he in hy<sup>[t]</sup>  
 Wes ded, or tane delyverly,  
 That nane rescours wald till hym ma,  
 All-though he lufit hym nevir swa.

On this wis thame convoyit he, 585  
 Quhill at the Kyng and his menyhe  
 To Wynchburch all cummyne ar.  
 Than lichtit thai, all that war thar,  
 Till bayt thar hors that war wery; 590  
 Then Douglas and his cumpany  
 Baytit alsua besyde thame neir.  
 Thai war so feill, withouten weir,  
 And in armys so clenly dicht,  
 And swa arayit ay to ficht,  
 And he so quheyne and but gadering;<sup>[t]</sup> 595  
 That he wald nocht in playne fichting,  
 Assaill thaim; bot ay raid thame by,  
 Waytand his poynt ay yhandly.  
 A litill quhile thai baitit thar,  
 And syne lap on, and furth thai fair; 600  
 And he wes alwais by thame neir;  
 He leit thame nocht haf sic laseir

1314 *The English King escapes*

As anys wattir for to ma;  
 And gif ony stad war swa,  
 That behynd war left ony space, 605  
 Sesit all soyne in hand he was.  
 Thai convoit thame apon this wis,  
 Quhill that the King and his rout is  
 Cummynto the castell of Dunbar,  
 Quhar he and sum of his men war 610  
 Resavit richt weill; for yheit than  
 The Erlk Patrik wes Inglis man,  
 That gert with met and drink alsua  
 Refresche thame weill, and syne gert ta  
 A bate, and send the King by se, 615  
 Till Balmeburch in his awne cuntre.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thair hors thar left thai all on stray,  
 Bot sesit wele soyne I trow war thai:  
 The laiff, that levit war without,  
 Adressit thame in-till ane rout, 620  
 And till Berwik helde straucht the way  
 In rout; bot, and we suth sall say,  
 Thai levit of thair rout party,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Or thai come thar; bot nocht for-thi,  
 Thai come till Berwik weill; and thar 625  
 In-till the toune resavit war;  
 Ellis at gret myscheiff had thai beyne.  
 And quhen the lord Douglas has seyne  
 That he had lesit thar his payne,  
 Toward the King he went agane. 630

THE Kyng eschakit on this wis.  
 Lo! quhat falding in fortoune is!  
 That quhile apon a man will smyle,  
 And prik him syne ane othir quhile.  
 In na tyme stabilly can sche stande. 635  
 This mychty Kyng of England  
 Scho had set on her quheill on hicht,  
 Quhen, with so ferlifull a mycht,  
 Of men of armys and archeris,  
 And of fute men and hobleris, 640  
 He com rydand out of his land,  
 As I befor has borne on hand.  
 And in a nycht syne and a day,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Scho set hym in so hard assay,  
 That he, with sevintene, in a bat,<sup>[†]</sup> 645  
 Wes fayne for to hald hame his gat!  
 Bot of this ilk quhelis turnyng  
 Kyng Robert suld mak no murnyng;  
 For on his syd the quheyle on hycht<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Raiss, quhen the tothyr doun gan lycht. 650  
 For twa contraris yhe may wit wele,<sup>[†]</sup> \*651  
 \*Set agane othir on a quhele;  
 \*Quhen ane is hye, the tothir is law,  
 \*And gif it fall that fortoune thraw  
 \*The quheill about, it that on hicht  
 Was ere, on force it most doune lycht; 656  
 And it, that wondir lawch were ere,  
 Mon lowp on loft in the contrere.  
 So fure it of thir Kyngis twa;  
 Quhen that King Robert stad wes sua,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That in his gret myscheiff wes he, 655  
 The tothir wes in his majeste.  
 And quhen the Kyng Edwardis mycht  
 Wes lawit, Kyng Robert lap on hicht:  
 And now sic fortoune fell hym till,  
 That he wes hye and at his will. 660

At Strevilling wes he yheit lyand;  
 And the gret lordis that he fand  
 Ded in the felde, he gert berye  
 In haly placis honorabilly;  
 And the laiff syne that dede war  
 thar  
 In-to gret pittes erdit war.  
 The castell and the towrys syne

1314 *The*  
*Exchange of*  
*Prisoners*

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665

Richt to the grund doune gert he myne,  
 And syne to Bothwell send has he  
 Schyr Edward with a gret menyhe; 670  
 For thar wes fra thine send him worde  
 That the riche Erll of Herfurde,  
 And othir mychty als, wes thar.  
 Soyne tretit he with Schir Waltar,  
 That Erle and castell and the laiff 675  
 In-to Schir Edwardis hand he gaf.  
 And to the King the Erll send he,  
 That gert him richt weill yhemyt be,  
 Quhill at the last thai tretit swa  
 That he till Ingland hame suld ga 680  
 Without paying of ransoune, fre;  
 And that for hym suld changit be  
 Bischop Robert, that blynd wes maid,  
 With the queyne, that thai takin had  
 In presoune, as befor said I, 685  
 And hyr douchtir dame Marjory.  
 The Erll wes changit for thir thre;  
 And, quhen they cummyn hame war fre,  
 The Kyngis douchter, that wes fair,  
 And wes als his apperand air, 690  
 With Walter Stewart can he wed;  
 And thai weill soyne gat of thar bed  
 Ane knaiff child, throu our Lordis grace,  
 That eftir his gude eld-fadir was  
 Callit Robert, and syne wes King, 695  
 And had the land in governyng,  
 Eftir his worthy eyne, Davy,  
 That regnyt twa yher and fourty;  
 And in tyme of the compyling  
 Of this buk, this Robert wes Kyng. 700  
 And of his kynrik passit was  
 Fif yheir; and wes the yher of grace  
 Ane thousand thre hundreth and sevinty  
 And fif, and of his elde sixty.

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And that wes aftir that the gud King,  
 Robert, wes brocht till his ending, 705  
 Sex and fourty wyntir but mar.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 God grant that thai, that cummyne ar,  
 Of his ofspring, maynteyme the land,  
 And hald the folk weill to warrand; 710  
 And manteyme rycht and ek laute,  
 As weill as in his tyme did he!

KYNG Robert now wes weill at hycht,  
 For ilk day than grew mair his  
 mycht.

1314-15  
*The Scots  
 abound in  
 Riches*

His men war rich, and his cuntre  
 Aboundanit weill of corne and fee, 715  
 And of alkynd othir riches:  
 Myrth, solas and ek blithnes  
 Wes in the land all comonly,  
 For ilk man blith wes and joly. 720  
 The King, eftir the gret journee,  
 Throu consell of his folk preve,  
 In seir townys gert cry on hicht,  
 That quha so clamyt to haf richt  
 To hald in Scotland land or fe, 725  
 That in that tuelf moneth suld he  
 Cum and clayme it; and tharfor do  
 To the King that pertenynt thar-to.  
 And gif thai come nocht in that yher,  
 Than suld thai wit, withouten weir, 730  
 That herd thar-efter nane suld be.  
 The King, that wes of gret bounte  
 And besynes, quhen this wes done,  
 Ane hoost gert summond eftir sone,  
 And went syne soyne in-till Ingland, 735  
 And our-raid all Northumbirland,  
 And brynt hous, and tuk the pray,  
 And syne went hame agane thar way.  
 I let it shortly pass for-by;  
 For thair wes done na chevelry 740

Provit, that is till spek of heir.  
The King went oft on this maneir  
In Ingland, for till riche his men,  
That in riches aboundanit then.

## BOOK XIV.

### How the Earl of Carrick passed into Ireland to win it, and with him Earl Thomas Randolph and Sir Philip the Mowbray, Sir John Stewart, Sir John Soulis, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse.

THE Erll of Carrik, Schir Edward,  
That stowtar wes than ane libbard,  
And had no will till be in pes,  
Thought that Scotland to litill wes  
Till his brothir and him alsua; 5  
Tharfor till purpos can he ta,  
That he of Irland wald be kyng.  
Tharfor he send and had treting  
With the Erischry of Irland,  
That in thar lawte tuk on hand 10  
Of Irland for to mak hym king,  
With-thi that he with hard fechting  
Micht our-cum the Inglis men,  
That in the land war wonnand then;  
And thai suld help with all thair mycht. 15  
And he, that hard thame mak sic hicht,  
In-till his hert had gret liking:  
And, with the consent of the King,  
Gaderit hym men of gret bounte,  
And at Air syne schippit he, 20  
In-till the next moneth of Maii;  
Till Irland held he straucht his way.  
He had thair in his cumpany  
The Erll Thomas that wes worthy,  
And good Schir Philip the Mowbray, 25  
That sekir wes in herd assay;  
Schir Johne the Sowlis, a gude knycht,  
And Schir Johne Steward that wes wicht;  
The Ramsay als of Ouchtirhous,  
That wes richt wicht and chevelrous; 30  
And Schir Fergus de Ardrossane,  
And othir knychtis mony ane.

In Wokingis Fyrth arivit thai<sup>[†]</sup>  
Saufly, but bargane or assay, 35  
And send thair schippis home ilkane.  
A gret thing have thai undertane,  
That with sa quheyne as thai war thar,  
That wes sex thousand men but mar,  
Schupe for to warray all Irland,  
Quhar thai sall se mony thousand 40  
Cum armyt on thame for to ficht.  
Bot thouch thai quheyne war, thai war wicht,  
And, for-outen dreid or effray,  
In twa battelis thai tuk the way  
Toward Cragfergus it to se. 45  
Bot the lordis of that cuntre,  
Maundwell, Byset, and Logane,  
Thar men assemblit evirilkane;  
The Savagis wes alsua thair<sup>[†]</sup>  
And quhen thai all assemblit war, 50  
Thai war weill neir twenty thousand.  
Quhen thai wist that in-till thar land  
Sic a menyhe arivit war,  
With all the folk that thai had thar  
Thai went toward thame in gret hy. 55  
And fra Schir Edward wist suthly  
That neir till him cumand war thai,  
His men he gert richt weill aray.  
The vaward had the Erll Thomas,

### The first battle that Sir Edward Won in Ireland, with fighting hard.

Thar fais approachit to the fighting,  
 And thai met thame but abaysing.  
 Thar mycht men se a gret melle  
 For Erl Thomas and his menyhe  
 Dang on thair fais sa douchtely,  
 That in schort tym men mycht se ly  
 Ane hundreth that all bludy war.  
 For hobynis, that war stekit thar,  
 Rerit, and flang, and gret rowme maid,  
 And kest thame that apon thame raid.  
 And Schir Edwardis cumpany  
 Assemblit syne so hardely  
 That thai thar fais ruschit all.  
 Quha hapnyt in that ficht to fall,  
 It wes perell of his risyng.  
 The Scottis men in that fechtung  
 Swa apertly and weille thame bar,  
 That thair fayis swa ruschit war,  
 That thai haly the flicht has tane.  
 In that battale wes tane or slane  
 All hale the flour of Ullister.  
 The Erl of Murreff gret pris had ther;  
 For his richt worthy chevelry  
 Confortit all his cumpany.  
 That wes a full fair begynnyng;  
 For, newlyngis at thair arivyng,  
 In playne ficht thai discomfit thar  
 Thar fais, that ay fowr for ane war.  
 Syne to Cragfergus ar thai gane,  
 And in the toune has innys tane.  
 The castell wele wes stuffit then  
 Of-new with vittale and with men;  
 Thar-till thai set ane sege in hy.  
 Mony ysche full apertly  
 Wes maid, quhill thar the sege lay,  
 Quhill trewis at the last tuk thai.

1315 *The  
Flower of  
Ulster  
defeated*

65

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### The Withletting of the Pass of Endnellan

Quhen that the folk of Ullister  
 Till his pes haly cummyn wer,  
 For Schir Edward wald tak on hand  
 Till ryde forthirmar in the land,  
 Thair come till hym and maide fewte  
 Sum of the kyngis of that cuntre,  
 Weill ten or tuelf, as I herd say:  
 Bot thai held hym schort quhile thar fay.  
 For twa of thame, ane Makfulchiane,  
 And ane othir hat Makartane,  
 With-set ane place in-till his way,  
 Quhar him behufit neyd away,  
 With twa thousand of men with speris,  
 And als mony of thair archeris;  
 And all the cattale of the land  
 War drawin thidder to warrand.  
 Men callis that place Endwillane:  
 In all Irland strater is nane.  
 For Schir Edward that kepit thai;  
 Thai thought he suld nocht thar away.  
 Bot he his viage soyne has tane,  
 And straucht toward the plas is gane.  
 The Erl of Murreff, Schir Thomas,  
 That put hym ay first till assayis,  
 Lichtit on fut, with his menyhe,  
 And apertly the plas tuk he.  
 Thir Erische kyngis I spak of ar,  
 With al the folk that with thame war,  
 Met him richt sturdely; bot he  
 Assalyheit swa with his menyhe,  
 That, magre thairis, thai wan the plas:

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Slayne of thair rayis reie thar was.  
Throu-out the wod thame chasit thai,  
And sesit in sic fusione thar pray, 130  
That all the folk of thar host war  
Refreshit weill ane owk or mair.

At Kilsaggart Schir Edward lay;  
And thar weill soyne he has herd  
say, 1315  
That at Dundawk wes ane assemble  
Maid of the lordis of that cuntre; 135  
In host thai war assemblit thar.

1315  
*Edward  
Bruce  
marches to  
Dundalk*

Thar wes first Schir Richard of Clare,  
That in all Irland luf-tenand 140  
Was off the King of England.

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The Erl of Desmownt als wes thar,  
And the Erl alsua of Kyldare;  
The Bremayne with the Wardoune;  
Thir war lordis of gret renoune.

The Butler alsua thair was, 145  
And Schir Moris le Fyss-Thomas.

Thir with thair men ar cummyn thar,  
A rycht gret hoost forsuth thai war.<sup>[†]</sup>  
And quhen Schir Edward wist suthly  
That thar wes sic ane chevelry, 150

His host in hy he gert aray,  
And thiddirwardis he tuk the way;  
And neir the toune he tuk herbery.

Bot for he wyst all utirly  
That in the toune wes mony men, 155  
His battalis he arrayit then,  
And stude arayit in battale  
To kep thame, gif thai wald assale.

And quhen that Schir Richard of Clare,  
And othir lordis that war thare, 160

Wist at the Scottis men so neir  
With thar battellis than cummyne weir,  
Thai tuk to consell at that nycht,  
For it wes layt, thai wald nocht ficht: 165

Bot on the morne in the mornyng,  
Weill soyn eftir the sone-rysing,  
Thai suld ysch furth all that war thair;  
Therfor that nycht thai did no mair:

Bot herbreyt thame on athir party.  
That nycht the Scottis cumpany 170  
War wachit rycht weill, all at richt;

And on the morn, quhen day wes licht,  
In twa battellis thai thame arayit;  
Thai stude with baneris all displayit,  
For the battell all reddy boune. 175

And thai that war within the toune,  
Quhen sone wes rysyn schynand clere,  
Send furth of thame that within were<sup>[†]</sup>

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Fifty, till se the contenyng  
Of Scottis men and thar cummyng. 180

And thai raid furth and saw thaim soyne,  
Syne come agane forouten hoyne.

And quhen thai sammyn lichtit war,  
Thai tald thair lordis that wes thar,  
That Scottis men semyt to be 185

Worthye and of full gret bounte,  
"Bot thai ar nocht, withouten wer,  
"Half-deill ane dyner till us here!"

The lordis had of this tithyng  
Gret joy and gret reconforting; 190  
And gert men throu the cité cry  
That all suld arme thame hastely.

Quhen thai war armyt and  
purvayit, 195

JUNE 29, 1315  
*The Scots  
enter  
Dundalk*

And for to ficht all hail arayit,  
Than went thai furth in gude aray;  
Soyn with thair fayis assemblit thai,  
That kepit thame richt hardely.

The stour begoun thair cruely;  
 For athir part set all thair mycht  
 Till rusche thair fayis in the ficht; 200  
 And with all mycht on other dang.  
 The stalward stour lestit weill lang,  
 That men mycht nocht persave, no se,  
 Quha mast at thar abovin mycht be.  
 For fra soyn eftir the sone-rysyng, 205  
 Quhill eftir mydmorne, the fichting  
 Lestit in-till sic ane dout;  
 Bot than Schir Edward, that wes stout,  
 With all thame of his cumpany,  
 Schot apon thame so sturdely, 210  
 That thai mycht thole no mar the ficht.  
 All in a frusche thai tuk the flicht,  
 And thai followit full egirly:  
 In-to the toune all comonly  
 Thai enterit bath intermelle. 215  
 Thair mycht men felloune slauchtir se;  
 For the richt nobil Erl Thomas,  
 That with his rout followit the chas,  
 Maid sic a slauchtir in the toune,  
 And swa felloune occisioune, 220  
 That the rewis all bludy war  
 Of slayne men that war liand thar.  
 The lords war gottin all away.  
 And quhen the toune, as I yhow say,  
 Wes throu gret fors of fechting tane, 225  
 And all thair fayis fled or slane,  
 Thai herbryit thame all in the toune,  
 Quhar of vittale was sic fusione,  
 And swa gret aboundans of wyne,  
 That the gud Erl had gret dowtyne 230  
 That of thair men suld dronken be,  
 And mak in drunkynnes sum melle.  
 Tharfor he maid of wyne lufre  
 Till ilk man, that he payit suld be;  
 And thai had all yneuch, perfay. 235  
 That nycht rycht weill at eis war thai,  
 And richt blith of the gret honour  
 That thame befell for thair valour.

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### **The third battle in Ireland That good Sir Edward took on hand.**

EFTIR this ficht thai sojornyt thair,  
 In-to Dundawk, thre dayis and mar; 240  
 Syne tuk thai southwardis thar way.  
 The Erl Thomas wes forrouth ay.  
 And, as thai raid throu the cuntre,  
 Thai mycht apon the hillis se  
 Sa mony men, it wes ferly. 245  
 And quhen the Erl wald sturdely  
 Dress him to thame with his baner,  
 Thai wald fle all that evir thai wer,  
 Swa that in ficht nocht ane abaid.  
 And thai southwardis thair wais raid, 250  
 Quhill till a gret forest come thai;  
 Kilros it hat, as I herd say:  
 And thai tuk all thar herbiry thair.  
 In all this tyme Richard of Clare,  
 That wes the Kyngis luf-tenand, 255  
 Of all of the barnage of Irland  
 A gret hoost he assemblit had.  
 Thai war fyve bataillis, gret and braid,  
 That soucht Schir Edward and his men;  
 Weill neir him war thai cummyn then. 260  
 He gat soyne wittyng that thai weir  
 Cumand on him, and war so neir.  
 His men addressit he thame agane,  
 And gert thame stoutly tak the plane;  
 And syne the Erl thar come to se, 265  
 And Schir Philip the Mowbra send he,  
 And Schir Johne Steward went alsua,  
 Furth till discovir thair way thai ta.  
 Thai saw the host cum sovne at hand:

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Thai war, to ges, fifty thousand. 270  
 Haym to Schir Edward raid thai then,  
 And said weill thai war mony men.  
 He said agane, "The ma thai be,  
 "The mair honour allout have we,  
 "Gif that we beir us manfully. 275  
 "We are set heir in juperdy  
 "Till wyn honour, or for till de.  
 "We ar fra hayme to fer to fley,  
 "Tharfor let ilk man worthy be.  
 "Yhone ar gadering of the cuntre; 280  
 "And thai sall fle, I trow, lichtly,  
 "And men assail thaim manfully."  
 All said thai than, thai weill suld do.  
 With that approchand neir thame to,  
 The battellis come, reddy to ficht; 285  
 And thai met thame with mekill mycht,  
 That war ten thousand worthy men.  
 The Scottis all on fut war then,  
 And thai on stedis trappit weill,  
 Sum helyt all in irne and steill. 290

Bot Scottis men, at thair metyng,  
 With speris perssit thar armyng,  
 And stekit hors, and men doune bar.  
 Ane felloune fechting wes than  
 thair.

1315 *The  
Scots make  
merry in the  
Forest*

I can nocht tell thair strakis all, 395  
 Na quha in ficht gert othir fall;  
 Bot in schort tyme, I undirta,  
 Thai of Irland war cummyrrit swa  
 That thai durst nane abyde no mar,  
 Bot fled scalit, all that thai war, 300  
 And levit in the battell-stede  
 Weill mony of thar gud men ded.  
 Of wapnys, armyng, and ded men  
 The feld wes haly strewit then.  
 That gret hoost roydly ruschit wes; 305  
 Bot Schir Edward leit no man chas;  
 Bot with presoners, that thai had tane,  
 Thai till the wod agane ar gane,  
 Quhar that thair harnes levit wer.  
 That nycht thai maid thame mery cher, 310  
 And lovit God fast of his grace.  
 This gud knycht, that so worthy was,  
 Till Judas, Machabeus that hicht,  
 Micht liknyt weill be in that ficht;  
 Na multitud he forsuk of men, 315  
 Quhill he hade ane aganis ten.

THUS, as I said, Richard of Clare  
 And his gret hoost rebutit war.  
 Bot he about him nocht-for-thi  
 Wes gaderand men ay ythandly: 320  
 For he thought yheit to covir his cast.  
 It angerit him richt ferly fast,  
 That twis in-to battell wes he  
 Discumfit with ane few menyhe.  
 And Scottis men, that in the forest 325  
 War ryddin, for till tak thair rest,  
 All thai twa nychtis thair thai lay,  
 And maid thame myrth, solace, and play.  
 Toward Odymsey syne thai rayde,  
 Ane Erische kyng, that ayth had mayd 330  
 Till Schir Edwarde of fewte.  
 For forrouth that him prayit he  
 To se his land, and na vittale,  
 Na nocht that mycht him help, suld fale. 335  
 Schir Edward trowit in his hicht,  
 And with his rout raid thiddir richt.  
 A gret revar he gert hym pas;  
 And in a richt fair place, that was  
 Lawch by a brym, he gert thame ta<sup>[t]</sup>  
 Thair herbry, and said he wald ga 340  
 To qer men vittale to thame bring.



He held his way but mair duelling:  
For till betrais thame wes his thought.  
In sic ane place he has thame broucht,  
Quhar of journeis weill twa and mair 345  
All the cattell withdrawin war.  
Swa that thai in that land mycht get  
No thing that worth war for to et.  
With hungyr he thought thaim to feblis,  
Syne bring on thame thair enymys. 350

This fals tratour his men had  
maid, 1315  
A litell owth quhar he herbryit hade *Thomas of*  
Schir Edward and the Scottis men, *Dun rescues*  
The ysche of a louch to den;<sup>[†]</sup> *the Scots* 355  
And leit it out in-to the nycht.  
The wattir than, with sic a mycht,  
On Schir Edwardis men come doune,  
That thai in perell war till droune;  
For, or thai wist, on flot war thai;  
With mekill payne thai gat away, 360  
And held thar livis, as God gaf gras,  
Bot of thair harnes tynt ther was.  
He maid thame na gud fest, perfay,  
And nocht-for-thi yneuch had thai.  
For thouch thame failit of the met, 365  
I warne yhow weill thai war weill wet.  
In gret distres thair war thai stad,  
For gret defalt of mete thai had;  
For thai betuix thai riveris tway  
War set, and mycht pas nane of thai. 370  
The Bane, that is ane arme of se,  
That with hors may nocht passit be,  
Wes betuix thame and Ullister.  
Thai had beyn in grett perell ther,  
Ne war ane scummar of the se, 375  
Thomas of Dun hattyn wes he,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Herd that the host so stratly than  
Wes stad, and salyt up the Ban,  
Quhill he com weill neir quhar thai lay.  
Thai knew him weill, and blith war thai. 380  
Than, with four schippes that he had tane,  
He set thame our the Ban ilkane.  
And quhen thai come in biggit land,  
Vittale and mete yneuch thai fand:  
And in a wode thame herbryit thai. 385  
Nane of the land wist quhar thai lay;  
Thai esyt thame and maid gud cher.

In-till that tyme, besyde thame ner,  
With a gret host, Richarde of Clar,  
And othir gret of Irlande, war 390  
Herbryit in-till a forest syde.  
And ilke day thai gert men ryde  
To bring vittalis, on ser maneris,  
Till thame fra the toune of Coigneris,  
That weill ten gret myle wes thaim fra. 395  
Ilk day, as thai wald cum and ga,  
Thai come the Scottis host so ner,  
That bot twa myle betuix thaim wer.

### **How Sir Thomas of Randell Won from the Irish their Vittell.**

And quhen Erl Thomas had persaving  
Of thair come and thair gaderyng, 400  
He gat him a gud cumpany,  
Thre hundreth on hors, wucht and hardy.  
Thar wes Schir Philip the Mowbray,  
And Sir Johne Stewart als, perfay,  
With Schir Alane Stewart alsua, 405  
Schir Robert Boyde, and other ma.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thai raid till meit the vittelleris,  
That with ther vittale fra Coigneris  
Com. haldand to the host the way.

So suddanly on thame schot thai, 410  
That thai war sa abaysit all,  
That thai leit all thair wapnys fall,  
And mercy pitwysly can cry.  
And thai tuk thame in thair mercy,  
And has thame up so clenly tane, 415  
That of thame all eschapit nane.

The Erl of thame gat wittering  
That of thair host, in the evynnyng,  
Wald cum out at the woddis syde  
And aganis thair vittale ryde. 420  
He thocht than on a juperdy,  
And gert his menyhe halely  
Dicht thame in the presoners aray;  
Thair pennownys als with thame tuk thai.  
And quhill the nycht wes neir thai baid, 425  
And syne toward the host thai raid.  
Sum of thair mekill host has seyne  
Thair come, and wende weill thai had beyne  
Thair vittelouris; tharfor thai raid  
Agane thame scalit, for thai hade 430  
Na dreid that thai thair fayis wer;  
And thame hungerit alsua weill sair;  
Tharfor thai come abandonly.  
And quhen thai neir war, in gret hy  
The Erl, and all that with him war, 435  
Ruschit on thame with wapnys bar,  
And thair ensenyheis hye can cry;  
Than thai, that saw so sudandly  
Thair fayis dyng on thame, wes rad,  
That thai no hert till help thame had; 440  
Bot to thar host the way can ta;  
And thai chasit, and feill can sla,  
That all the feldis strowit war;  
Ma than ane thowsand ded wes thar.  
Rycht to thar hoost thai can thame chass, 445  
And syne agane thair wayis tais.

ON this wiss wes the vittal tane,  
And of the Erysche men mony slane. 450  
The Erl syne, with his cumpany,  
Presoners and vittalis halely  
Has brocht till Schir Edward als  
swith;

1315 *Irish  
Spies are  
captured*

And he wes of thair cummyng blith.  
That nycht thai maid thame merye cher;  
Richt all than at thair eis thai wer.  
Thai war all wachit sekyrly, 455  
And thair fais, on the tothir party,  
Quhen thai herd how thar men was slane,  
And how thar vittal all wes tane,  
Thai tuk to consell at thai wald  
Thair wayis towart Coigneris hald, 460  
And herbry in the cite ta.  
And in gret hye thai have done swa;  
And raid on nycht to the cite.  
Thai fand thair vittale of gret plente,  
And maid thame merely gud cher; 465  
For all trast in the toune thai wer.  
Apon the morn thai send to spy  
Quhar Scottis men had tane herbery.  
Bot thai war met with all, and tane,  
And brocht richt till the hoost agane. 470  
The Erl of Murreff richt mekly  
Sperit at ane of thar cumpany,  
Quhar thar host wes, and quhat thai thocht  
Till do; and said him, gif he moucht  
Fynd that till hym the suth said he, 475  
He suld gang hame but ransoune fre.  
"Forsuth," he said, "I sall yhow say,  
"Thai thynk, the morn, quhen it is day,<sup>[†]</sup>  
"To seik yhow with all thair menyhe,  
"Giff thai may get wit quhar yhe be. 480  
"Thai haf gert throu the cuntre cry,

"On payne of liff, full felounly,  
 "That all the men of this cuntre  
 "This nycht in-to the cite be.  
 "And trewly thai sall be so feill, 485  
 "That yhe sall no wis with thame deill."  
 'De pardew,' said he, 'weill may be!'  
 To Schir Edward with that yheid he,  
 And tald hym utrely this taill. 490  
 Than haf thai tane for consell haill,  
 That thai wald ryde to the cite  
 That ilk nycht, swa that thai mycht be  
 Betuix the toune, with all thar rout,  
 And thame that war the toune without.

As thai devisit swa have thai done; 495

Befor the toune thai come alsoyne: 1315 A  
 And bot half deill a myle of way *Great*  
 Fra the cite, thar rest tuk thai. *Gathering*  
 And quhen the day wes dawin licht, *against the*  
 Fifty on hobynis, that war wicht, *Scots* 500

Com till a litill hill, that was<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot fra the toune a litill spas,  
 And saw Schir Edwardis herbery,  
 And of the sicht had gret ferly, 505  
 That sa quheyn durst on ony wis  
 Undertak sa hye empris,

As for till cum sa hardely  
 Apon all the gret chevelry  
 Of Irland, for till byde battale. 510  
 And swa it wes, forouten fale;

For agane thame war gaderit thair,  
 With the wardane Richard of Clar,  
 The Butler, with the Erllis twa, 515  
 Of Desmund and Kildar war tha,

Bruman, Wardun, and Fiz-Waryn,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And Schir Pascale a Florentyn,  
 That wes ane knyght of Lumbardy,  
 And wes full of gret chevelry. 520

The Maundvilis war thar alsua,  
 Besatis, Loganys, and othir ma; 520  
 Savagis als; and yheit wes ane,

Hat Schir Nycholl of Kylkenane,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And with thir lordis so feill wes then,  
 That, for ane of the Scottis men,  
 I trow that thai war fiff or ma. 525

Quhen thair discourrowris seyne has swa  
 The Scottis host, thai went in hy  
 And tald thair lordis all opynly,  
 How thai till thaim wer cummand ner; 530  
 To seik thame fer wes na myster.

And quhen the Erl Thomas had seyne  
 That thai men at the hill had beyne,  
 He tuk with him a gude menyhe,  
 On hors ane hundreth thai mycht be, 535  
 And till the hill thai tuk the way.

In a slak thame enbuschit thai:  
 And, in schort tyme, fra the cite  
 Thai saw cum rydand a menyhe,  
 For till discover, to the hill. 540

Than war thai blith, and held thame still  
 Quhill thai war cummyn to thame ner;  
 Than in a frusche, all that thar wer,  
 Thai schot apon thame hardely. 545

And thai that saw so suddandly  
 That folk cum on, abaysit war. 545  
 And nocht-for-thi sum of thame thar  
 Abaid stoutly to mak debat;  
 And othir sum ar fled thar gat.

And in-to weill schort tyme war thai,  
 That maid arest, cumrayit swa, 550  
 That thai fled halely thair gat;

And thai thame chassit richt to the yhate,  
 And a gret part of thame has slane,  
 And syne went till thar host agane.

## BOOK XV.

### The fourth battle in Ireland That Sir Edward won with strong hand.

Qwhen thai within has seyn swa slane  
Thair men, and chassit hame agane,  
Thai war all wa, and in gret hy  
"Till armys!" hely can thai cry.  
Than armyt thame all at thar war, 5  
And for the battale maid thame yhar.  
Thai yschit out, all weill arayit,  
In battale with baneris displayit;  
Bowne on thar best wis till assale  
Thair fayis in-to fell battale. 10  
And quhen Schir Philip the Mowbray  
Saw thame ysche in sa gud aray,  
Till Schir Edward the Brus went he  
And said, "Schir, it is gude that we  
"Schape for sum slicht that may availl 15  
"Till help us in this gret battaill.  
"Our men ar quheyn, bot thai haf will  
"Till do mair than thai may fullfill.  
"Tharfor I rede, our caryage,  
"Forouten ony man or page, 20  
"By thame-selvyne arayit be;  
"And thai sall seyme fer ma than we.  
"Set we before thame our baneris;  
"Yhon folk that cummys out of Coigneris,  
"Quhen thai our baneris thair may se, 25  
"Sall trow trastly that thair ar we,  
"And thidder in gret hy sall ryde.  
"Cum we than on thame at a syde,  
"And we sall be at avantage;  
"For, fra thai in our caryage 30  
"Be enterit, thai sall cummyrrit be;  
"And than with all our mycht may we  
"Lay on, and do all that we may."  
All as he ordanit done haf thai.<sup>[†]</sup>  
And thai that com out of Coigneris 35  
Adressit thame to the baneris;  
And smat with spures the hors in hy,  
Ruschand emang thame sodanly.  
The barell-ferraris that war thar  
Cumrayd thame fast that rydand war. 40

And than the Erll, with his battale,  
Com on, and sadly can assale.  
And Schir Edward, a litill by,  
Assemblit swa richt hardely,  
That mony fey fell under feit; 45  
The felde wox soyne of blud all weit.  
With so gret felony thar thai faucht,  
And sic rowtis till othir raucht,  
With stok, with stane, and with retrete,  
As athir part can othir bet, 50  
That it wes hidwys for to se  
How thai mantemyt that gret melle  
So knychtlik apou athir syde,  
Giffand and takand woundis wyde,<sup>[†]</sup>  
That pryme wes passit, or men mycht se 55  
Quha mast at thair abovin mycht be.  
Bot soyne eftir that pryme wes past,  
The Scottis men dang on so fast,  
And schot on thame at abandoune,  
As ilk man war a campioun, 60  
That all thar fayis tuk the flicht.  
Wes nane of thame that wes so wicht,  
That evir durst abyde his fere;  
Bot ilkane fled thair wayis sere.  
Till the toune fled the mast party. 65  
And Erll Thomas sa ynkirly,  
And his rout, chassit with swerdis bar,  
That all emanø thame mellit war.

SEPT. 1315  
*Battle of  
Connor*

And all to-gidder come in the toune.  
 Than wes the slauchter so felloune, 70  
 That all the rewis ran of blude.  
 Thame that thai gat to dede all yhude,  
 Swa that than thar weill neir wes ded  
 Als feill as in the battell-sted.

The Fizwaryne wes taken thar; 75  
 Bot so rad wes Richard of Clar,  
 That he held to the sowth cuntre.  
 All that moneth I trow that he  
 Sall haf no gret will for to ficht.  
 Schir Johne Steward, ane nobill knycht, 80  
 Wes woundit throu the body thair  
 With a sper that richt scharply schair.  
 To the Mont-peleris went he syne,  
 And lay thair lang in-to helyne,  
 And at the last helit wes he. 85  
 Schir Edward than, with his menyhe,  
 Tuk in the toune thair herbery.  
 That nycht thai blith war and joly  
 For the victory that thai had thar.  
 And on the morn, forouten mar, 90  
 Schir Edward gert men gang and se  
 All the vitalis of that cite.  
 And thai fand sic fusioune thar-in  
 Of corn and flour and wax and wyne,  
 That thai had of it gret ferly; 95  
 And Schir Edward gert halely  
 To Cragferguss it cartit be.  
 Syne thidder went his men and he,  
 And helde the sege full stalwardly,  
 Quhill Palme Sondag wes passit by. 100  
 Than, quhill the Tysday in Pask-owk,  
 On athir half thai trowis tuk;  
 Swa that thai mycht that haly tyd  
 In pennance and in prayer byd.

Bot apon Paske evin all richt 105  
 To the castell, in-till the nycht,  
 Fra Devilling come schippis fyftene,  
 Chargit with armit men bedeyne;  
 Four thousand, trow I weill, thai  
 war:

APRIL 10-11,  
 1316  
*Attempt to  
 surprise the  
 Scots*

In the castell thai enterit thair. 110  
 The Mawndvell, ald Schir Thomas,  
 Capitane of that menyhe he was.  
 In the castell all prevaly  
 Thai enterit, for that thai gert spy  
 That mony of Schir Edwardis men 115  
 War scalit in the cuntre then.  
 Tharfor thai thought in the mornyng  
 Till ysche, but langer delaying,  
 And till suppris thame suddanely;  
 For thai thought thai suld traistly ly, 120  
 For the trewis that taken war.  
 Bot I trow falsat evirmar  
 Sall have unfair and evill ending.  
 Schir Edward wist of this na thing,  
 For of tresoune had he na thought. 125  
 Bot for the trewis he lefit noucht  
 Wachis till set to the castele;  
 Ilk nycht he gert men wach it wele.  
 And Neyll Flemyng wachit that nycht  
 With sixty men worthy and wicht. 130  
 And als soyne as the day wox cleir,  
 Thai that within the castell weir  
 Had armyt thame, and maid thame boune,  
 And syne the bryg ahaled doune,  
 And yschit in-till gret plente. 135  
 And quhen Neyll Flemyng can thaim se,  
 He send ane till the Kyng in hy;  
 And said to thame that war hym by,  
 "Now sall men se, I undirtak,  
 "Quha dar de for his lordis sak! 140

"Now beir yhow weill, for sekirly  
 "With all thir menyhe fecht will I.  
 "In-till bargane thame hald sall we,  
 "Quhill that our mastir armyt be."  
 And with that worde assemblit thai; 145  
 Thai war to few all out, perfay,  
 With sic a gret rout for to ficht.  
 Fot nocht-for-thi with al thar mycht  
 Thai dang on thame so hardely,  
 That all thair fayis had gret ferly, 150  
 That thai war all of sic manheid,  
 That thai no dreid had of thar dede.  
 Bot thar fell fayis sa can assaill,  
 That thar mycht no worschip availl  
 That thai ne war slayn evirilkane 155  
 So cleyn, that thar eschapit nane.

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### How the King of Ireland called Edward came upon the Scotsmen

And the man that went till the Kyng,  
 For till warn hym of thair ysching,  
 Warnit him in-till full gret hy.  
 Schir Edward wes comonly 160  
 Callit the Kyng of Irland,  
 Quhen that he herd sic hy on hand,  
 In full gret hast he gat his ger.  
 Tuelf wicht men in his chalmer wer  
 That armyt thame in full gret hy. 165  
 Syne with his baneris hardely  
 The myddis of the toune he tais.  
 With that neir cummand war his fais,  
 That had delt all thar men in thre.  
 The Mawndvell, with a gret menyhe, 170  
 Richt throu the toune his way held doune;  
 The layff on athir syde the toune  
 Held to meit thame that fleand war;  
 Thai thought that all that thai fand thar  
 Suld de but ransoune evirilkane: 175  
 Bot othir wayis the gle is gane.  
 For Schir Edward, with his baner,  
 And his men that I tald of ere,  
 On all that rout so hardely  
 Assemblit, that it wes ferly. 180  
 For Gib Harpar befor him yheid,  
 That wes the douchtyest of deid  
 That than wes liffand of his stat,  
 And with ane ax maid him sic gat  
 That he the first fellit to the grounde; 185  
 And eftir, in a litill stounde,  
 The Mawndvell be his armyng<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He knew, and roucht him sic a swyng  
 That he till erd yheid hastely.  
 Schir Edward, that wes neir hym by, 190  
 Reversit hym, and with a knyff  
 Richt in that place him reft the liff.

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With that of Ardrossane Fergus,  
 That wes ane knycht rycht  
 curageous,  
 Assemblit with sixty and ma. 195  
 Thai pressit than thair fayis swa,  
 That thai, that saw thair lord slayne,  
 Tynt hert, and wald have beyn agane.  
 And ay, as Scottis men mycht be  
 Armyt, thai come to the melle; 200  
 And dang apon thai fayis swa,  
 That thai all hale the bak can ta,  
 And thai thame chassit to the yhat;  
 Thar wes hard ficht and gret debat.  
 Thar slew Schir Edward, with his hand 205  
 A knycht, that of all Irland  
 Wes callit best, and of mast bounte,  
 To surname Mawndvell hecht he,  
 His propir navme I can nocht sav.

APRIL 11,  
 1316 *The*  
*Maundeilles*  
*are slain*

Bot his folk till so hard assay 210  
 War set, that thai of the dungeune  
 Durst oppyn no yhat, na bryg let doune.  
 And Schir Edward, I tak on hand,  
 Soucht thame that fled thar to warrand,  
 So felly, that of all, perfay, 215  
 That yschit apon hym that day,  
 Eschakit of thaim nevir ane,  
 That thai ne war outhir tane or slane.  
 For to the ficht Maknakill then  
 Come with twa hundreth of gude sper-men, 220  
 And slew all they mycht to wyn.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 This ilk Maknakill, with a gyn,  
 Wan of thair schippes four or fiff,  
 And halely reft the men thair liff.  
 Quhen end wes maid of this fechting, 225  
 Yheit then wes liffand Neill Fleming.  
 Schir Edward went him for to se;  
 About him slayne lay his menyhe  
 All in a lump, on athyr hand,  
 And he, redy to dey, throwand. 230  
 Schir Edward had of him pite,  
 And him full gretly menyte he,  
 And regratit his gret manhede,  
 And his worschyp with douchty dede.  
 Sic mayn he maid, thai had ferly; 235  
 For he wes nocht costumabilly  
 Wount for till meyne ony thing,  
 Na wald nocht heir men mak menyng.  
 He stude thar by quhill he wes ded,  
 And syne had him till haly sted, 240  
 And him with worschip gert he be  
 Erdit, with gret solempnite.

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### How King Robert Bruce passed through the Tarbats, and won the Isles.

On this wis yschit the Mawndvele;  
 Bot sekirly falsat and gyle  
 Sall evir have ane evill ending, 245  
 As weill wes seyn be this ysching.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 In tyme of trewis yschit thai,  
 And in sic tyme as on Paske day,  
 Quhen God rais for to sauf mankyne  
 Fra wem of ald Adammis syne. 250  
 Tharfor sic gret myschans thame fell,  
 That ilkane, as yhe herd me tell,  
 War slane up, or than takyn thar.  
 And thai that in the castell war  
 War set in-till sic fray that hour, 255  
 For thai couth se quhar na succour  
 Suld come to releif thame, that thai  
 Shortly swa tretit, and on a day  
 The castell till him yhald thai fre,  
 Till sauf thame thair liffis; and he 260  
 Held thame full well all his cunnand.  
 The castell tuk he in his hand,  
 And vittalit it weill, and has set  
 A gud wardane it for to get;  
 And a quhile thair than restit he. 265  
 Of him no mair now spek will we,  
 Bot till King Robert will we gang,  
 That we haf left unspokyn of lang.  
 Quhen he convoyit had to the se  
 His brothir Edward, and his menyhe, 270  
 With his shippes he maid him yhar.<sup>[†]</sup> \*271  
 \*In-till the Ilis for till fare.  
 \*Walter Steward with hym tuk he,  
 His mawch, and with him gret menyhe; \*274  
 And othir men of gret nobillay.  
 Till the Tarbard thai held thar way  
 In galayis ordanit for thair fair.  
 Bot thame worthit draw thar schippes thar:  
 And a myle wes betuix the seis,

1315 *King  
Robert is  
drawn  
Overland*

[Pg 269]

Bot that wes lownyt all with treis.<sup>[†]</sup> 275  
 The Kyng his schippis thar gert draw,  
 And for the wynd can stoutly blaw  
 Apon thair bak, as thai wald ga,  
 He gert men rapis and mastis ta, 280  
 And set thame in the schippis hye,  
 And salys to the toppis te,  
 And gert men gang thar-by drawand.  
 The wynd thame helpit, that wes blawand;  
 Swa that, in-till a litill spas, 285  
 Thar flot all weill our-drawyn was.

And quhen thai that in the Ilis war,  
 Herd tell how the gud Kyng had thar  
 Gert schippis with the salys ga 290  
 Out-our betuix the Tarbartis twa,  
 Thai war abasit all utrely.  
 For thai wist throu ald prophesy  
 That he that suld ger schippis swa  
 Betuix the seis with salis ga,  
 Suld wyn the Ilis swa till hand, 295  
 That nane with strynth suld him withstand.  
 Tharfor thai come all to the Kyng;  
 Wes nane that withstude his biddyng,  
 Outaken Johne of Lorne alane.  
 Bot Weill soyne eftir he wes tane, 300  
 And presentit wes to the Kyng.  
 And thai that war of his leding,  
 That to the King had brokyn fay,  
 War all ded, and distroyit away.  
 The Kyng this Johne of Lorne has tane, 305  
 And send soyne him till Dumbertane,  
 A quhile in presone thair till be,  
 And to Louchlevin syne send wes he,  
 Quhar he wes lang tyme in festnyng:  
 Thair-in, I trow, he maid endyng. 310  
 The King, quhen all the Iles war  
 Brocht till his liking, les and mar,  
 Still all that sesoune thar duelt he  
 At huntyng, and gammyne, and gle.

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### The Battle betwixt the Lord Douglas and the Lord Nevill of England.

Qwhen the King on this maner 315  
 Dantit the Iles, as I tell her,  
 The gud Schir James of Dowglas  
 In-till the Forest duelland was,  
 Defendand worthely the land.  
 That tyme in Berwik wes wonnand 320  
 Edmund de Cailow, a Gascoune,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That wes a knycht of gret renoune;  
 And in-till Gascone, his cuntre,  
 Lord of gret senyheroy wes he. 325  
 He had than Berwik in keping,  
 And maid ane preve gadding,  
 And gat him a gret cumpany  
 Of wicht men armit jolely.  
 And the nethir end of Tevydail  
 He prayit doune till him all hail, 330  
 And of the Mers ane gret party;  
 Syne toward Berwik went in hy.  
 Schir Adam of Gordoune, that than  
 Wes becummyne a Scottis man,  
 Saw thame swa drif away thar fe, 335  
 And wend thai had beyn quheyn, for he  
 Saw bot the fleand scaill, perfay,<sup>[†]</sup> \*337  
 \*And thame that sesyt on the pray.  
 \*Than till Schir James of Douglas  
 In-to gret hye the way he tais; 340  
 \*And tald how Inglis men thair pray  
 \*Had tane; and syne went thar way  
 \*Toward Berwik with all thar fee,  
 \*And said they quheyn war; and gif he

FEB. 14, 1316  
*Douglas  
 attacks the  
 Forayers*

[Pg 271]



Wald speid him, he suld weill lichtly  
 Wyn thame, and reskew all the ky.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Schir James richt soyne gaf his assent \*345  
 \*Till follow thame, and furth is went,  
 \*Bot with the men that he had thair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 \*And met hym by the gat but mair.  
 \*Thai followit thame in full gret hy,  
 And com weill neir thame hastely; \*350  
 \*For, or thay mycht thame fully se,  
 \*Thai come weill neir with thair menyhe.  
 \*And than bath the forreouris and the scail  
 \*In-till a childrome knyt all hail,  
 \*And wes a richt fair cumpany.  
 Befor thame gert thai driff the ky \*356  
 With knavis and swanys, that na mycht  
 Had for till stand in feild to ficht. 340  
 The laiff behynd thame maid a stail.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The Dowglass saw thair purpos hail,  
 And saw thame of sa gud covyne,  
 And at thai war sa mony syne,  
 That thai for ane of his war twa. 345  
 "Lordingis," he said, "sen it is swa  
 "That we haff chassit on sic maner,  
 "That we now cummyn ar so ner  
 "That we may nocht eschewe the ficht  
 "Bot gif we fowly tak the flicht, 350  
 "Lat ilk man on his luf than meyne,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "And how he mony tyme has beyne  
 "In grat thrang, and come weill away.  
 "Think we till do richt swa this day;  
 "And tak we of this furde heir-by 355  
 "Our advantage, for in gret hy  
 "Thai sall come on us for to ficht.  
 "Set we than will, and strynth, and mycht  
 "For till meyt thame richt hardely."  
 And, with that word, full hastely, 360  
 He hes displayit his baner;  
 For his fayis war cumand neir,  
 That, quhen thai saw he wes so quhoyne,  
 Thai thought with thame soyne till haf done,  
 And assemblit full hardely. 365  
 Thar men mycht se men fecht felly,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And richt ane cruell melle mak,  
 And mony strakis giff and tak.

The Douglass thair weill hard wes  
 stad,  
 Bot the gret hardyment that he had 1316  
 Comfort his men apon sic wis,<sup>[†]</sup> *Neville is*  
 That no man thought on cowardis; *jealous of*  
 Bot faucht so fast with all thar mayne, *Douglas*  
 That thai feill of thair fayis has slayne.  
 And thouch thai wer be fer full ma 375  
 Than thai, yheit ure demanyt thaim swa,  
 That Edmound de Cailow wes ded.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Richt in that ilk fechting-sted.  
 And all the lave, fra he wes done,  
 War planly thair discumfit sone; 380  
 And thai that chassit sum has slayne,  
 And turnyt the prayis haill agane.  
 The hardest fechting forsuth this wes  
 That evir the gud lord of Dowglas  
 Wes in, as of sa few menyhe. 385  
 For, had nocht beyne his gret bounte  
 That slew thair chiftane in the ficht,  
 His men till ded had all beyne dicht.  
 He had in-till custum all-way,  
 Quhen evir he com till hard assay, 390  
 To press hym the chiftane to sla;  
 And hap him fell that he did swa,  
 That gert him victor have feill sis.  
 Quhen Schir Edmound apon this wis  
 Wes ded, the gud lord of Douglas 395  
 Till the Forest his way he tais.

His fayis gretly can hym dreid;  
 The word weill fer sprang of this deid,  
 Swa that in Ingland neir thar-by  
 Men spak of it weill comonly. 400  
 Schir Robert de Nevell in that tyde  
 Wonnyt at Berwyk, neir besyde  
 The marchis, quhar the lord Dowglas  
 In the Forest reparande was,  
 And had at him full gret invy, 405  
 For he him saw so manfully  
 Mak his boundis ay mar and mar.  
 He herd the folk that with him war  
 Spek of the lorde Dowglasis mycht,  
 And how forsy he wes in fycht, 410  
 And how hym oft fell fayr fortoune.  
 He wrethit him thar-at all soyne,  
 And said, "Quhat weyn yhe, is thar nane  
 "That evir is worth bot hym alane?  
 "Yhe set hym as he war but peir: 415  
 "But I avow, befor yhow heir,  
 "Gif evir he cum in-till this land,  
 "He sall fynd me neir at his hand.  
 "And giff I evir his baneir  
 "May see displayit apon wer, 420  
 "I sall assebill on hym but dout,  
 "All thouch yhe hald him nevir sa stout."

Of this avow soyne bodword was  
 Brocht till Schir James of Douglas,  
 That said, "Giff he will hald his hicht, 425  
 "I sall do swa he sall haf sicht  
 "Of me and of my cumpany,  
 "Yheit or oucht lang, weill neir hym by."

His reten new than gaderit he,  
 That war gud men of gret bounte, 430  
 And to the marchis in gud aray  
 Apon ane nycht he tuk the way;  
 Swa that, in the mornyng airyly,  
 He wes, with all his cumpany,  
 Before Berwyk; and thair he maid 435  
 Men to display his baner braid.  
 And of his menyhe sum send he  
 For till burne townys twa or thre,  
 And bad thame soyn agane thame speid;  
 Swa that on hand, gif thar com neyd, 440  
 Thai mycht be for the ficht redy.  
 The Nevell that wist verraly.

That Dowglas cummyn wes so neir,  
 And saw all braid stand his baneir,  
 Than with the folk that with hym wer, 445  
 (And he had a gret menyhe thar;  
 For all the gud of that cuntre  
 In-till that tyme with hym had he;  
 Swa that he with hym thar had then  
 Weill may then wes the Scottis men) 450  
 He held his way up till ane hill,  
 And said; "Lordyngis, it war my will

"Till mak end of the gret deray  
 "That Dowglass makis us ilk day. 455  
 "Bot me think it speidful that we  
 "Abyde, quhill his men scalit be  
 "Throu the cuntre to tak the pray:  
 "Than fersly schute on hym we may,  
 "And we sall have thame at our will."

Thus all thai gaiff consent thar-till, 460  
 And on the hill abaid huvande.  
 The men fast gadderit of the land,  
 And drew till hym in full gret hy.  
 The Douglas than, that wes worthy,  
 Thoucht it wes foly mair till byde. 465  
 Toward the hill than can he ryde;  
 And quhen the Nevell saw at thai  
 Wald nocht pass furth to the forray,  
 Bot pressit till thame with thar mycht,  
 He wist weill than that thai wald ficht, 470

And till his menyhe can he say;  
 "Lordingis, now hald we furth our way.  
 "Heir is the flour of this cuntre,  
 "And ma than thai alsua ar we.  
 "Assemmyll we than hardely: 475  
 "For Douglas with yhon yhemanry,  
 "Sall haf no mycht till us, perfay."  
 Than in a frusche assemblit thai.  
 Than mycht men heir the speris brast,  
 And men dyng apon othir fast, 480  
 And blude brist out at woundis wyde.  
 Thai faucht fast apon athir syde;  
 For athir party can thame payne  
 Till put thair fais on-bak agane.

The lordis of Nevell and Douglas, 485  
 Quhen that the fichting fellest was,  
 Met to-giddir richt in the pres.  
 Betuix thame than gret bargane  
 wes;  
 Thai faucht felly with all thair  
 maucht,

1316 *The  
 Fight  
 between  
 Douglas and  
 Neville*

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Gret rowtis athir till othir raucht. 490  
 Bot Douglas sterkar wes, I hicht,  
 And mair usit alsua to ficht,  
 And he set hert, and will alsua,  
 For till delyver him of his fa;  
 Quhill at the last, with mekill mayne, 495  
 Throu fors the Nevell has he slayne.  
 Than his ensenyhe he can hye cry,  
 And on the laiff so hardely  
 He ruschit, with all his menyhe,  
 That in-till schort tym men mycht se 500  
 Thair fayis tak on thame the flicht.  
 And thai thame chassit with all thar mycht.

Schir Ralf the Nevell, in the chas,  
 And the Baroun of Hiltoun was  
 Takin, and othyr of mekill mycht. 505

Thar wes fele slayne in-to that fycht,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That worthy in thar tyme had beyn.  
 And quhen the feld wes clengit cleyn,  
 Swa that thair fayis evirilkane  
 War slayn, or chassit away or tane, 510  
 Than gert he forray all the land,  
 And sessit all that evir he fand,  
 And brynt the townys in thar way;  
 Syne haill and feir haym cummyn ar thai.

The pray soyne emang his menyhe, 515  
 Eftir thar meritis, delit he,  
 And held no thing till his behuf.  
 Sic dedis aucht till ger men luf  
 Thair lorde, and swa thai did, perfay.  
 He tretit thame so wisly ay, 520  
 And with so mekill luf alsua,  
 And sic a countenans wald ma  
 Of thair deid, that the mast coward  
 Stoutar he maid than a libard;  
 With cherising thusgat maid he 525  
 His men wicht, and of gret bounte.

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QWHEN Nevell thus wes brought to  
 ground,  
 And of Cailow Schir Edmound,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The dreid of the lorde Dowglas,  
 And his renoun, swa scalit was 530  
 Throu-out the marchis of Ingland,  
 That all that war thar-in duelland  
 Thai dred him as the devill of hell.  
 And yheit haf I herd oftsis tell,  
 That he so gretly dred wes than 535  
 That quhen wiffis wald thar childir ban,  
 Thai wald with rycht ane angry face,  
 Beteche thaim "to the blak Dowglas."  
 \*For, with thair taill, he wes mair fell  
 \*Than wes ony devill in hell.

1316 *The  
 English  
 dread of  
 Douglas*

Throu his gret worschip and bounte,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Swa with his fayis dred wes he 540  
 That thaim growyt till heir his name.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He may at eis now duell at hame  
 A quhile, for I trow he sall nocht  
 With fais all a quhile be socht.  
 Now let him in the Forest be: 545  
 Of him no mair spek will we.  
 Bot of Schir Edward the worthy,  
 That with all his gude chevelry,  
 Wes at Cragfergus yheit liand,  
 To spek mair will we tak on hand. 550

## BOOK XVI.

### Here passed in Ireland the noble King To his brother with great gathering.

Quhen Schir Edward, as I tald air,  
 Had discumfit Richard of Clair,  
 And of Irland all the barnage  
 Thris, throu his worthy vassalage,  
 And syne with all his men of mayne 5  
 Till Cragfergus wes cummyn agayn,  
 The gud Erl of Murreff, Thomas,  
 Tuk leiff in Scotland for till pas.  
 And he hym leivit with a gruching,  
 And syne him chargin to the King, 10  
 Till pray him specialy that he  
 Suld cum in Irland him to se.  
 For, war thai bath in-to that land,  
 Thai suld fynd nane suld thaim withstand.  
 The Erl furth than his way has tane, 15  
 And till his schippes is he gane,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And salit out weill our the se,  
 In Scotland soyne arivit he.  
 Syne to the king he went in hy:  
 And he resavit hym gladsumly; 20  
 And sperit of his brotheris fair,  
 And of journeis that he had thair;  
 And he him tald all but lesyng.  
 Quhen the King had left spering,  
 His charge to the gud king tald he. 25  
 And he said, he wald blithly se  
 His brothir, and als all the effeire  
 Of that cuntre and of thar were.  
 A gret menyhe than gaderit he:  
 And twa lordis of gret bounte, 30  
 The tane the Steward Walter was,  
 The tothir, James of Dowglas,  
 Wardanis in his absens maid he,  
 For till manteym weill the cuntre.  
 Syne to the se he tuk his way; 35  
 And at Lowchryan in Galloway  
 He schippit, with all his menyhe;  
 Till Cragfergus soyne cummyn is he.  
 Schir Edward of his com wes blith,  
 And went down for to meit him swith, 40  
 And welcumyt him with gladsum cher:  
 Sa did he all that with him wer;  
 And specialy the Erl Thomas  
 Of Murreff, that his nevo was.  
 Syne to the castell went thai thar, 45  
 And maid thame mekill fest and far.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thai sojournyt thair dayis thre<sup>[†]</sup>  
 In gret myrth and in rialte.<sup>[†]</sup>

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### How King Robert the Bruce passed in Ireland with his brother Edward.

KING ROBERT, apon thiskyn wis,  
 In-till Irland arivit is: 50  
 And quhen in Cragfergus had he

With his men sojournt dais thre, May  
 Thai tuk to consell that thai wald,  
 With all thar folk, thar wayis hald  
 Throu all Irland, fra end to othir. 55  
 Schir Edward than, the Kingis brothir,  
 Befor in the avaward raid;  
 The Kyng him-self the reirward maid,  
 That had in-till his cumpany  
 The Erll Thomas, that wes worthy. 60  
 Thair wayis furthwarde haf thai tane,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And soyne are passit Inderwillane.  
 This wes in the moneth of May,  
 Quhen byrdis syngis on the spray;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Melland thair notys with sydry sowne,<sup>[†]</sup> 65  
 For softnes of that sweit sesoune;  
 And levis on the branchis spredis,  
 And blomys bricht besyd thame bredis  
 And feldis florist ar with flowris<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Well savourit, of seir colowris;<sup>[†]</sup> 70  
 And all thing worthis blith and gay;  
 Quhen that this gud king tuk his way  
 To ryd furthward, as I said are.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The wardane than, Richard of Clare,  
 Wist the Kyng wes arivit swa, 75  
 And wist that he schupe for till ta  
 His way toward the south cuntre.  
 Of all Irland assemblit he  
 Bath burges and chevalry<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And hobilleris and yhumanry; 80  
 Quhill he had neir fourty thousand.  
 Both he wald nocht yheit tak on hand  
 With all his fayis in field to ficht,  
 But umbethoucht him of a slicht;  
 That he with all that gret menyhe 85  
 Wald in a wode enbuschit be,  
 And prevely besyde the way,  
 Quhar at thar fayis suld pas away,  
 And let the vaward pas fer by,  
 And syne assemmyll hardely 90  
 On the reirward, with all thar men.  
 Thai did as thai devisit then.  
 In a wode thai enbuschit wer:  
 The Scottis hoost raid by thame nere;  
 For thai na schawing of thame maid. 95  
 Schir Edward weill fer forrouth raid  
 With thame that war of his menyhe;  
 To the reirward na tent tuk he.

And Schir Richard of Clare in hy,  
 Quhen Schir Edward wes passit by, 100  
 Send wicht yhomen, that weill couth schut,  
 To bikkir the reirward apon fut.  
 Than twa of thame that send furth war  
 At the wode-syde thame bykkirrit thar,  
 And schot emang the Scottis men. 105  
 The King, that had thar with him then  
 Five thousand wicht and ek hardy,  
 Saw thai twa sa abaundonly  
 Schut emang thaim, and cum so neir;  
 He wist richt weill, withouten weir, 110  
 That thai weill neir suppowal had.  
 Tharfor a bydding has he mad,  
 That no man suld be so hardy  
 Till prik till thame, but sarraly  
 Ryde reddy ay in-till battale, 115  
 Till defend gif men wald assale.  
 "For we sall soyne, I undirta,"  
 He said, "haf for till do with ma."

Bot Schir Colyne Cammell, that  
 ner  
 Wes by quhar thai twa yhomen wer,  
 Schutand emang thame hardely,  
 Prikit on thame in full gret by

1317 Bruce  
 strikes Sir  
 Colin  
 Campbell

120

That on thame in ran gretly,  
 And soyne the tane he has our-tane,  
 And with his sper him soyne has slayne. 125  
 The tothir turnyt and schot agayne,  
 And at a schot his hors has slayne.  
 With that the King come hastely,  
 And, in his gret malancole,  
 With ane trunsione in-till his nave  
 To Schir Colyne sic dusche he gave, 130  
 That he dynnyt on his arsoune.  
 The King bad smertly tyt hym doune,  
 Bot othir lordis, that war him by,  
 Ameysst the King in sum party.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He said, "The breking of bydding 135  
 "Micht caus be of discomfiting.  
 "Weyn yhe yhon rebaldis durst assale  
 "Us so neir, in-till our battale,  
 "Bot gif thai had suppowale neir?  
 "I wat richt weill, forouten weir, 140  
 "That we sall have till do in hy;  
 "Tharfor luk ilk man be reddy."  
 With that weill neir thretty and ma  
 Of bowmen com, and bykkyrrit swa  
 That thai hurt of the Kyngis men. 145  
 The King has gert his archeris then  
 Schute for till put thaim than agayne.  
 With that thai enterit in ane playne,  
 And saw arayit agane thame stand,  
 In four battellis, forty thousand. 150

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The king said, "Now, lordingis, lat  
 se  
 "Quha worthy in this ficht sall be.  
 "On thame forouten mair abaid!" 1317  
 So stoutly than on thame thai raid, *Success of  
 the Scots*  
 And assemblit so hardely 155  
 That of thair fayis a gret party  
 War laid at erd at thar meting.  
 Thar wes of speris sic bristing,  
 As athir apon othir raid,  
 That it a weill gret frusche has maid. 160  
 Hors com thair fruschand, hed for hed,  
 Swa that feill on the grund fell ded.  
 Mony a wycht and worthy man,  
 As athir apon othir ran,  
 War duschit ded doune to the ground; 165  
 The rede blude out of mony a wound  
 Ruschit in sa gret fusioune than,  
 That of the blude the stremes ran.  
 And thai, that wrath war and angry,  
 Dang on othir so hardely, 170  
 With wapnys that war bricht and bar,  
 That mony a wicht man ded wes thar.  
 For thai that hardy war and wicht,  
 And frontly with thar fayis can ficht,  
 Pressit thame formast for till be. 175  
 Thair mycht men cruell bargane se,  
 And hard battall, I tak on hand.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 In all the weir of Irland.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 So hard ane fichting wes nocht seyne:  
 The-quhethir of gret victoris nyntheyne 180  
 Schir Edward had, withouten wer,  
 In-till les than in-to thre yheir;  
 And in syndry battellis off thai  
 He vencust twenty thousand and ma.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 With trappit hors richt to the feit. 185  
 Bot in all tymis he wes yheit  
 Ay ane for fyve, quhen lest wes he,  
 Bot the Kyng, in-to this melle,  
 Had allwayis aucht of his famen  
 For ane, bot he swa bar him then, 190  
 That his gud deid and his bounte  
 Confortit swa all his menyhe,  
 That the mast coward hardy wes.  
 For, quhar he saw the thykkest pres,

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So hardely on thame he raid, 195  
 That ay about hym rowme he maid.  
 And Erll Thomas, the worthy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Wes in all tymis neir hym by,  
 And faucht as he war in a rage;  
 Swa that, throu thar gret vassalage, 200  
 Thar men sic hardyment can tak,  
 That thai no perell wald forsak;  
 Bot thame abaundonyt so stoutly,  
 And dang on thame so hardely,  
 That all thair fayis afrayit war. 205  
 And thai, that saw weill, be thair fair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That thai eschewit sumdeill the ficht,  
 Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht,  
 And pressit thame dyngand so fast,<sup>[†]</sup> \*209  
 \*That thai the bak gaf at the last,  
 \*And thai, that saw thaim tak the flicht,  
 Pressit thame than with all thar mycht, \*212  
 And in thair fleying feill can sla.  
 The Kingis men has chasit swa, 210  
 That thai war scalit evirilkane.  
 Richard of Clare the way has tane  
 To Devillyng, in full gret hy,  
 With othir lordis that fled him by,  
 And warnyst bath castell and townys 215  
 That war in thair possessiownis.

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Thai war so felly fleyit thar,  
 That, as I trow, Richard of Clar  
 Sall haf no will to faynd hys mycht  
 In battell, na in fors of fycht, 220  
 Quhill King Robert and his menyhe  
 Is duelland in-to that cuntre.  
 Thai stuffit strynthis on this wis;  
 And the King, that wes sa till pris,  
 Saw in the feild richt mony slayn. 225  
 And ane of thame that thar wes tane,  
 That wes arayit jolely,  
 He saw greit wondir tendirly,  
 And askit him quhy he maid sic cher:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He said him, "Schir, forouten wer, 230  
 "It is no wonder thouch I grete,  
 "I se feill heir fellit to fete,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "The flour of all north Irland,  
 "That hardyest wes of hert and hand,  
 "And mast doutit in hard assay." 235  
 The King said, "Thou has wrang, perfay;  
 'Thou has mair caus myrthis till ma,  
 'For thou the ded eschapit swa.'

RYCHARD of Clare on this maner,  
 And all his folk, discumfit wer, 240  
 With few folk, as I to yhow tald.  
 And quhen Edward the Bruce so  
 bald,

1317 *The  
 King and the  
 Laundress*

Wist at the King had fouchten swa,  
 With sa feill folk, and he thar-fra,  
 Micht no man se ane wrathar man. 245  
 Bot the gude King said till hym than,  
 That it wes in his awn foly,  
 For he raid sa unwittandly  
 So fer befor, and no avaward  
 Maid to thame of the reirward, 250  
 For, he said, quha on were wald ryde  
 In the vaward, he suld na tyde  
 Press fra his rerward fer of sycht;  
 For gret perell so fall thair mycht.  
 Of this ficht will we spek no mair. 255  
 The King, and all that with him war,  
 Raid furthwarde in-to bettir aray,  
 And neir to-giddir than ere did thai.  
 Throu all the land planly thai raid;  
 Thai fand nane that thame warnyng maid.<sup>[†]</sup> 260  
 Thai raid evin forrouth Drouchyndra,

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And forrouth Devilling syne alsua:  
 Bot to gif battale nane thai fand.  
 Syne thai went forthwarde in the land,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And sowth till Lynrike held their way,<sup>[†][†]</sup> 265  
 That is the southmast toune, perfay,  
 That in Irland may fundyn be.  
 Thair lay thai dayis twa or thre,  
 And buskit syne agane to fare.  
 And quhen that thai all reddy war, 270  
 The King has herd ane woman cry,  
 He askit quhat that wes in hy.  
 "It is ane landar, schir," said ane,  
 "That hir childyne richt now has tane;  
 "And mon leve now behynd us her, 275  
 "Tharfor scho makis yhon evill cher."  
 The King said; 'Certis, it war pite  
 'That scho in that poynt left suld be;  
 'For certis, I trow, thar is no man  
 'That he ne will rew a woman than.'<sup>[†]</sup> 280  
 His host all than arestit he,  
 And gert ane tent soyne stentit be,  
 And gert her gang in hastely,  
 And othir women till be hir by,  
 Quhill scho delyver wes, he bad; 285  
 And syne furth on his wayis raid;  
 And how scho furth suld caryit be,  
 Or evir he fure, than ordanit he.  
 This wes a full gret curtasy,  
 That sic a Kyng and swa mychty, 290  
 Gert his men duell on this maner  
 Bot for a full pour laynder.  
 Northward agane thai tuk the way,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Throu all Irland thus passit thai,  
 Throw Conage richt to Devilling,<sup>[†]</sup> 295  
 And throu all Myth, and Irell syne,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And Monester, and Lenester,  
 And syne haly throu Ullister,  
 To Cragfergus, forout battell;  
 For thar wes nane durst thame assale. 300  
 The kingis than of the Eryschrye  
 Come to Schir Edwarde halely;  
 And thair manrent till him ma,  
 Bot gif that it war ane or twa.  
 Till Cragfergus thai come agane; 305  
 In all that way wes no bargane,  
 Bot gif that ony punyhe wer,  
 That is nocht for till spek of her.  
 The Erische kyngis than evirilkane  
 Hayme till thar awne repar ar gane, 310  
 And undirtuk in all-kyn thyng  
 For till obeys till the bidding  
 Of Schir Edward, that thar king call thai.  
 He wes weill set now in gud way  
 To conquest the land all halely; 315  
 For he had apon his party  
 The Eryschry and Ullister,  
 And he wes swa furth of his wer  
 That he was passit throu all Irland,  
 Fra end till end throu strynth of hand. 320  
 Couth he haf governit hym throu skill,  
 And fallowit nocht to fast his will,  
 Bot with mesour haf led his deid,  
 It wes weill lik, withouten dreid,  
 That he mycht haff conquerit weill 325  
 The land of Irland everilk deill.  
 Bot his outrageous succudry  
 And will, that mar wes than hardy,  
 Of purpos letit hym, perfay,  
 As I heir-efrir sall yhow say. 330

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## How the Good Douglas slew the Earl Richmond of England.

New laiff we heir the nobill King



NOW IEM WE HEIR THE NOBIL KING  
 All at his eis, and his liking,  
 And spek we of the lord Douglas,  
 That left to kep the marchis was.  
 He gert get wrichtis that wes sle,  
 And in the hawch of Lyntoun-le<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He gert thame mak a fair maner.  
 And quhen the housis biggit wer,  
 He gert purvay him richt weill thar;  
 For he thought for till make infair,  
 And till mak gud cher till his men.  
 In Rychmond wes thar wonnand then  
 Ane Erll men callit Schir Thomas.  
 He had invy at the Dowglas,  
 And said, gif that he his baner  
 Micht se displayit apon wer,  
 That soyn assemble on it suld he.  
 He herd how Dowglas thought to be  
 At Lyntoun-le ane fest till ma.  
 And he had wittying weill alsua,  
 That the King and a gret menyhe,  
 War passit than of the cuntre,  
 And the Erll of Murref, Thomas.  
 Tharfor he thought the cuntre was  
 Febill of men for till withstand  
 Men that thame soucht with stalward hand:  
 And of the marchis than had he  
 The governale, and the pouste.  
 He gaderit folk about hym then,  
 Quhill he wes neir ten thousand men,  
 And wode-axis gert with hym tak;  
 For he thought he his men wald mak  
 Till hew doune Jedward forest cleyne,  
 That na tre suld tharin be seyne.

APRIL 1317  
*Douglas at  
 Lintalee*

335

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Thai held thaim furthward on thar  
 way;  
 Bot the gud lord of Dowglas ay  
 Had spyis out on ilka syde,  
 And had gud witting that thai wald  
 ryde,

APRIL, 1317  
*Douglas  
 slays  
 Richmond*

365

And cum apon hym suddanly.  
 Than gaderit he richt hastely  
 Thame that he mycht of his menyhe.  
 I trow that than with hym had he  
 Fifty, that worthy war and wicht,  
 At all poynt armyt weill and dicht;  
 And of archeris a gret menyhe  
 Assemblit als with hym had he.  
 A place thar was thar in the way,  
 Quhar he wist weill thai wald away,  
 That had wode apon athir syde;  
 The entre wes weill large and wyde;  
 And as ane schelde it narrowit ay  
 Quhill that, in-till ane place, the way  
 Wes nocht a penny-stane cast of breid.  
 The lord of Douglas thidder yheid,  
 Quhen he wist thai war neir cumand,  
 And in a clewch on the ta hand,  
 All his archeris enbuschit he,  
 And bad thame hald thame all preve  
 Quhill that thai herd him rais the cry,  
 And than suld thai schute hardely  
 Emang thar fayis, and hald thame thar<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Quhill that he throu thame passit war;  
 And syne with him furth hald suld thai.  
 Than byrkis on athir syde the way,  
 That yyoung and thik wes growand ner,  
 He knyt to-giddir on sic maner,  
 That men mycht nocht weill throu thame ryde.  
 Quhen this wes done, he can abyde  
 Apon the tothir half the way:  
 And Richmond in-till gude aray  
 Com rydand in the first escheill.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The lorde Dowglas has sevn him weill.<sup>[†]</sup>

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[Pg 289]

And gert his men all hald thame still,  
 Quhill richt at hand thai com thame till  
 And enterit in the narrow way. 405  
 Than with a schout on thame schot thai,  
 Cryand on hicht, "Douglas! Douglas!"  
 Than Richmonde, that rycht worthy was,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Quhen he has herd sa ris the cry,  
 And Dowglas baner saw planly, 410  
 He dressit him thiddir-ward in hy.  
 And thai come on sa hardely,  
 That thai throu thame maid thame gud way;  
 All at thai met till erd bar thai.  
 The Richmond borne doune thar was; 415  
 On hym arestit the Dowglas,  
 And him reversit, syne with a knyff  
 Richt in that place hym reft the liff.  
 Ane hat apon his helm he bare,  
 And that tuk Douglas with him thar 420  
 In taknyng, for it furrit was.  
 And syne in hy his way he tais,  
 Quhill in the wode thai enterit war.  
 The archeris weill has borne thame thar;  
 For weill and hardely schot thai. 425  
 The Inglis rout in gret effray  
 War set, for Douglas suddandly,  
 With all thame of his cumpany,  
 Or evir thai wist, war in thar rout,  
 And thrillit thame weill neir throuout; 430  
 And had almost all done his deid,  
 Or thai till help thame couth take hede.

And quhen thai saw thar lord wes slayne,  
 Thai tuk him up, and turnyt agayne<sup>[†]</sup> [Pg 290]  
 Till draw thame fra the schot away. 435  
 Than in ane playne assemblit thai;  
 And, for thar lord that thar wes ded,  
 Thai schupe thame in that ilke sted  
 For till take herbery all that nycht.  
 And than the Douglas, that wes wicht, 440  
 Gat wittering that ane clerk, Elys,  
 With weill thre hundreth enymys,  
 All straucht till Lyntoun-le war gane,  
 And herbery for thair host had tane.  
 Than thiddir is he went in hy, 445  
 With all thame of his cumpany,  
 And fand clerk Elis at the met,  
 And all his rout about him set.  
 And thai com on thaim stoutly thair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And with suerdis that scharply schar 450  
 Thai servit thame full egyrly.  
 Thai war slayn doune so halely,  
 That thar weill neir eschapit nane;  
 Thai servit thame in sa gret wayne  
 With scherand swerdis and with knyvis, 455  
 That weill neir all lesyt thar livis.  
 Thai had ane felloune entremas,  
 For that surcharge to chargeand was!  
 Thai that eschapit thair throu cas  
 Richt till thar host thar wayis tais, 460  
 And tald how that thar men war slayne  
 So cleyne that neir eschapit nane.  
 And quhen thai of the host has herd  
 How that the Dowglas with thame ferd,  
 That had thar herbreouris all slayne, 465  
 And ruschit als thame-self agane,  
 And slew thar lord in-myd thar rowt,  
 Ther wes nane of thame all sa stowt,  
 That mair will had than till assale  
 The Dowglas; tharfor till consale 470  
 Thai yheid, and till purpos has tane  
 Till wend hamward, and haym ar gane;  
 And sped thame swa apon thair way,  
 That in Inland soyne cummyn ar thai.  
 The forest left thai standand still; 475  
 Till how it then thai had no will

I III new it than thai had no will:  
 And specialy quhill the Dowglas  
 So neir hand by thair nychtbour was.  
 And he, that saw thame turn agane,  
 Persavit weill thar lord wes slane, 480  
 And by the hat that he had tane  
 He wist alsua weill; for ane,  
 That takyn wes, said him suthly,  
 That the Richmond commonly  
 Wes wount that furrir hat to were. 485  
 Than Dowglas blithar wes than ere;  
 For he weill wist that the Richmond,  
 His felloune fa, wes broucht to ground.

SCHIR James of Dowglas, on this wis,  
 Throu his worschip and gret empris, 490  
 Defendit worthely the land. 1317 *Three*  
 This poynt of weir, I tak on hand, *Feats by*  
 Wes undirstane so apertly, *Fifty Men*

And eschevit richt hardely.  
 For he stonayit, withouten weir, 495  
 The folk that weill ten thousand weir,  
 With fifty armyt men but ma.

I can als tell yhow othir twa  
 Poyntis, that weill eschevit weir  
 With fifty men; and, but all weir, 500

Thai war done swa richt hardely,<sup>[†]</sup> \*501

\*That thai war prisit soveranly,  
 \*Atour all othir poyntis of wer  
 That in thar tym eschevit wer. \*504

This wes the first, that sa stoutly  
 Wes broucht till end weill with fifty.  
 In Galloway the tothir fell;

Quhen, as yhe forrouth herd me tell,  
 Schir Edward the Bruys, with fifty,<sup>[†]</sup> 505

Vencust of Saint Johne Schir Amery,  
 And fiteene hundreth men be tale,<sup>[†]</sup>

The thrid fell in-to Eske-dale,  
 Quhen that Schir Jhone the Sowlis was  
 The governour of all that plas, 510

That to Schir Androu the Herdclay  
 With fifty men withset the way,  
 That had thar in his cumpany  
 Thre hundreth horsit jolely.

This Schir Jhone in-to plane melle, 515  
 Throu hardyment and soverane bounte  
 Vencust thame sturdely ilkane,  
 And Schir Androu in hand has tane.

I will nocht rehers all the maner;  
 For quha sa likis, thai may heir 520

Yyoung women, quhen thai will play,  
 Syng it emang thame ilke day.  
 Thir war the worthy poyntis thre,  
 That, I trow, evirmar sall be 525

Prisit, quhill men may on thaim meyn.  
 It is weill worth, forouten weyn,  
 That thar namys for evirmar,

That in thar tyme so worthy war  
 That men till heir yheit has dantee  
 Of thair worschip and gret bounte, 530

Be lestand ay furth in lovyng:  
 Quhare he, that is of hevyn the king,  
 Bring thame hye up till hevynnis blis,  
 Quhar alway lestand loving is!

IN-TILL this tyme that the Rychmond 535  
 Was on this maner broucht to  
 ground, 1317 *An*  
 Men of the cost of Inghland, *English Fleet*  
 That duelt on Hummyr or neirhand, *in the Forth*

Gaderit thame a gret menyhe,  
 And went with schippes to the se, 540

And toward Scotland went in hy,  
 And in the Firth com hastely.  
 Thai wend till haf all thar liking:

For thai wist richt weill at the King  
 Wes than fer out of the cuntre, 545  
 And with him mony of gret bounte.  
 Tharfor in-to the Firth com thai  
 And endlang it up held thai thar way,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Quhill thai, besyde Enverkethyne,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 On west half, toward Dunfermyne,<sup>[†]</sup> 550  
 Tuk land, and fast begouth to reif.  
 The Erl of Fiff and the schirreff  
 Saw till thar cost schippes approachand:  
 Thai gaderit till defend thair land,  
 And ay forgane the schippis ay, 555  
 As thai salit, thai held thar way,  
 And thought till let thame land to tak,  
 And quhen the schipmen saw thame mak  
 Sie contenans in sic aray,  
 Thai said emang thaim all, that thai 560  
 Wald nocht let for thame land to ta,  
 Than to the land thai sped thame swa,  
 That thai com thair in full gret hy  
 And arivit full hardely.  
 The Scottis men saw thair cummyng, 565  
 And had of thame sic abasyng,  
 That thai all sammyn raid thame fra,  
 And the land letles leit thame ta.  
 Thai durst nocht fecht with thame, for-thi  
 Thai withdrew thame all halely; 570  
 The-quhethir thai war fyve hundreth ner.  
 Quhen thai away thus ridand wer,  
 And na defens begouth to schop,  
 Of Dunkelden the gude bischop,  
 That men callit Willyhame Syncler 575  
 Com with a rout in gud manere,  
 I trow on hors thai war sixty.  
 Hym-self wes armyt jolely,  
 And raid apon a stalward steid. [Pg 294]  
 A chemeyr, for till heill his weid, 580  
 Above his armyng had he then;  
 And als weill armyt wes his men.  
 The Erl with the schirreff met he,  
 Awayward with thar gret menyhe:  
 And askyt thame weill soyn, quhat hy 585  
 Maid thame till turne so hastely.  
 Thai said, thair fais with stalward hand  
 Had in sic fusioune takyne land,  
 That thai thought thame allout to fele,  
 And thame to few with thame to dele. 590  
 Quhen the bischop herd it wes sa,  
 He said; "The King aucht weill to ma  
 "Of yhow, that takis sa weill on hand  
 "In his absens till wer the land.  
 "Certis, gif he gert serve yhow weill, 595  
 "The gilt spuris, richt by the heill,  
 "He suld in hy ger hew yhow fra;  
 "Richt wald with cowardis men did swa.  
 "Quha lufis his lord and his cuntre,  
 "Turne smertly now agane with me!" 600  
 With that he kest of his chemer,  
 And hynt in hand a stalward sper,  
 And raid toward his fayis in hy.  
 All turnyt with hym halely;  
 For he had thame reprevit swa, 605  
 That of thame all nane went him fra.  
 He raid befor thame sturdely,  
 And thai hym followyt sarraly,  
 Quhill that thai com neir approachand  
 To thar fais that had tane land. 610  
 And sum war knyt in gud aray,  
 And sum war set to the forray.

The gud bischop, quhen he thame  
 saw,  
 He said; "Lordingis, but dreid or aw,  
 "Prek we apon thame hardely,  
 "And we sall haf thame weill lichtlv.

1317 *The  
 Wonderful  
 Feat of an  
 Englishman*

615

"Se thai us cum but abaysing,  
 "Swa that we mak heir na stynting,  
 "Thai sall weill soyne discumfit be.  
 "Now dois weill; for men sall se, 620  
 "Quha lufis the Kyngis mensk to-day."  
 Than all to-giddir in gud aray  
 Thai prekit apon thame sturdely.  
 The bischop, that wes richt hardy  
 And mekill and stark, raid forrouth ay. 625  
 Than in a frusche assemblit thai.  
 And thai that, at the first metyng  
 Of speris, feld so sair sowing,  
 Wayndist and wald haf beyn away;  
 Toward thar schippis in hy held thai, 630  
 And thai com chassand felonly,  
 And slew thame sa dispitfully,  
 That all the feldis strowit war  
 Of Inglis men that slayn wes thar.  
 And thai that yheit held unslayn, 635  
 Pressit thame to the se agane.  
 And Scottis men, that chassit swa,  
 Slew all that thai mycht our-ta.  
 Bot thai that fled yheit, nocht-for-thi,  
 Swa till thar schippis can thame hy, 640  
 And in sum bargis sa feill can ga,  
 And thair fais thame chasit swa,  
 That thai ourtummyllit, and the men  
 That war thar-in all drownit then.  
 Thar did ane Inglis man, perfay, 645  
 A weill gret strynth, as I herd say.  
 For quhen he chassit wes to the bat,  
 A Scottis man, that him handlyt hat,  
 He hynt than by the armys twa;  
 And, war him weill or war him wa, 650  
 He evin apon his bak hym flang,  
 And with hym till the bat can gang,  
 And kest him in, all magre his.  
 This wes ane weill gret strynth, i-wis.  
 The Inglis men, that wan away, 655  
 Till thair schippes in hy went thai.  
 And salit hayme, angry and wa  
 That thai had beyn reboytit swa.

### How Good King Robert the Bruce came Home again from Ireland.

QWHEN that the schipmen on this wis  
 War discumfit, as I devis, 660  
 The bischop, that so weill hym bare  
 That he all hertit that was thar,  
 Wes yheit in-to the fechting-sted,  
 Quhar that fyve hundreth neir wes  
 ded,  
 Forouten thame that drownyt war. 665  
 And quhen the feld wes spulyheit bare,  
 Thai went all hayme to thar repare.  
 To the bischop is fallen faire,  
 That, throu his pris and his bounte,  
 Has eschevit sa gret journee; 670  
 The Kyng tharfor, ay fra that day,  
 Hym lufit, honorit and prisit ay,  
 And held hym in-to sic daynte  
 That "his awne bischop" him callit he.  
 Thus thai defendit the cuntre 675  
 Apon bath halfis the Scottis Se,  
 Quhill that the King wes out of land,  
 That than, as I have borne on hand,  
 Throu all Irland his cours had maid,  
 And agane to Cragfergus raid. 680  
 And quhen his brothir, as he war King,  
 Had all Erischry at his bidding,  
 And halely Ulcister alsua,  
 He buskit hame his way to ta.  
 Of his men that war mast hardy 685  
 And pryt of all abaynter

1318 *King  
Robert  
returns from  
Ireland*

And prisit of all cneveiry,  
With his brothir gret part left he,  
And syne he went on-to the se.  
Quhen thair levis on athir party  
Wes tane, he went to schip in hy.  
The Erl Thomas with him he had;  
Thai rasit salys but abaid,  
And in the land of Gallowa,  
Forouten perell, arivit thai.

690

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## BOOK XVII.

### The Winning of the Town of Berwick by the Scots Men, through the Means of Sim of Spalding.

The lordis of the land wes fayne  
Quhen thai wist he wes cummyn agane,  
And till him went in full gret hy,  
And he resavit thame richt gladly,  
And maid a fest and gladsum cher.  
And thai so wondirly blith wer  
Of his come, that na toung mycht say;  
Gret fest and fair till him maid thai.  
Quhar-evir he raid, all the cuntre  
Gaderit in daynte him to se.

5

10

Gret gladschip than wes in the land;  
All than wes wonnyne till his hand;  
Fra Redis Swyr till Orkynnay  
Wes nocht of Scotland fra his fay,  
Outaken Berwik it allane.

15

That tyme thar-in wonnyt ane,  
That capitane wes of the toune.  
All Scottis men in suspicioune  
He held, and tretit thame richt ill;  
He had ay at thame hevy will,  
And had thame fast at undir ay.  
Quhill that it fell, apon a day,  
That a burgess, Sym of Spaldyng,  
Thought it wes richt ane angry thing  
Ay swagat till reboytit be;  
Tharfor in-till his hert thought he,  
That he wald slely mak covyne  
With the marschall, quhais cosyne  
He had weddit on-till his wiff;  
And as he thought he did beliff.  
Letteris till him he send in hy  
With a trast man all prevaly;

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And set hym tym to cum a nycht<sup>[†]</sup>  
With ledderis and gud men and wicht,  
Till the Kow-yhet all prevely;  
And bad him hald his trast treuly,  
And he suld meit thame at the wall;  
For his wach thar that nycht suld fall.  
Quhen the marschall the letteris saw,  
He umbethoucht him than a thraw;  
For he wist, be him-selvin he  
Micht nocht of mycht na power be  
For till escheve so gret a thing:  
And gif he tuk till his helping,  
Ane or othir suld wrethit be.

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Tharfor richt till the King yheid he,  
And schawit him betuix thai twa  
The lettir and the charge alsua.  
Quhen that the King herd that this trane  
Wes spokin in-to sic certane,  
That him thought thar-in na fantys,  
He said him; "Certis, thou wroucht has wis,  
"That thou discoverit first till me;  
"For gif thou had discoverit thee  
"Till my nevo, the Erl Thomas,  
"Thou suld disples the lord Douglas;  
"And him alsua in the contrer.

50

55

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"Bot I sall wirk on sic maner,  
 "That thou at thine entent sall be,  
 "And have of nane of thame magre. 60  
 "Thou sall tak kep weill to thi day,  
 "And with thame that thou purches may  
 "At evin thou sall enbuschit be  
 "In Duns park; bot be preve.  
 "And I sall ger the Erl Thomas, 65  
 "And the lord alsua of Dowglas,  
 "Athir with ane quheyne of men,  
 "Be thair till do as thou sall ken."

The marschall than but mair delay  
 Tuk lief, and held on furth his way; 70  
 And held the spek preve and still,  
 Quhill the day that wes set him till.  
 Than of the best of Lowdyane  
 He with him till his trist has tane;  
 For schirreff thar-off than wes he. 75  
 Till Duns park with his menyhe  
 He come at evyn all prevely.  
 And syne, with a gude cumpany,  
 Soyne eftir come the Erl Thomas,  
 That wes met with the lord Douglas. 80  
 A richt fair cumpany thai war,  
 Quhen thai war met to-giddir thar.  
 And quhen the marschall the covyne  
 Till bath the lordis, lyne be lyne,  
 Had tald, thai went on furth thar way; 85  
 Fer fra the toun thar hors left thai.  
 Till mak it schort, swa thai wroucht than  
 That, but seying of ony man,  
 Outane Sym of Spaldyne allane,  
 That gert the deid be undirtane, 90  
 Thai set thair ledderis to the wall,  
 And, but persaving, com up all;  
 And held thame in ane nuke preve,  
 Quhill at the nycht suld passit be. 95  
 And ordanit that the mast party  
 Of thair men suld gang sarraly  
 With thar lordis, and hald a staill,  
 And the remanand suld all haill  
 Scail throu the toun, and tak and sla  
 The men that thai mycht our-ta. 100

APRIL, 1318  
*The Scots  
 enter  
 Berwick  
 secretly*

Bot soyn thar ordinans brak thai;  
 For, als soyn as it dawit day,  
 The twa part of thair men and ma,  
 All scalit, throu the toun to-ga;  
 Sa gredy war thai till the gude,  
 That thai ran richt as thai war  
 woude,

APRIL, 1318  
*The Bravery  
 of Sir  
 William Keith*

And sesit housis and slew men.  
 And thai that saw thair fais then  
 Cum upon thame suddanly,  
 Throu-out the toun thai rasis the cry, 110  
 And schot to-gidder heir and thair:  
 And ay, as thai assemblit war,  
 Thai wald abyde and mak debat.  
 Had thai beyn warnyt, weill I wat,  
 Thai suld haf sald thair dedis der; 115  
 For thai war gud men, and thai wer  
 Fer ma than thai war at thame soucht;  
 Bot thai war scalit sa at thai moucht  
 On na maner assemblit be.  
 Thar wes gret melleis twa or thre; 120  
 Bot Scottis men so weill thame bar  
 That thair fais ay ruschit war;  
 And cumrayit at the last war swa  
 That thai haly the bak can ta.  
 Sum gat the castell, bot nocht all; 125  
 And sum ar slyddin our the wall,  
 And sum war in-to handis tane,  
 And sum war in the bargane slane.  
 On this wis thame contenit thai,  
 Quhill it was noir nome of the day.

Quhan it wes men hoine of the day; 130  
 Than thai that in the castell war,  
 And othir that fled to thame thar,  
 That war a richt gret cumpany,  
 Quhan thai the baner saw sympilly  
 Swa standand, stuffit with sa quhoyn, 135  
 Thar yhettis haf thai opnyt soyn,  
 And yschit on thame hardely.  
 Than Erl Thomas, that wes worthy  
 And als the gude lord of Douglas,  
 With the few folk that with thame was, 140  
 Met thame stoutly with wapnys seir;  
 Thar men mycht se, that had beyn neir,  
 Men abaundoune thame hardely.  
 The Inglis men faucht cruelly,  
 And with all mychtis can thame payne 145  
 Till rusche the Scottis men agane.  
 I trow thai had swa done, perfay,  
 For thai war fewar far than thai,  
 Gif it ne had beyn ane new maid knycht,  
 That till his name Schyr Wilyhame hicht 150  
 Of Keth, and of the Gawlistoune  
 He hecht, throu difference of sur-noune,  
 That bair him sa rycht weill that day,  
 And put him till sa hard assay,  
 And sic dyntis about him dang, 155  
 That, quhar he saw the thikast thrang,  
 He prikit with sa mekill mycht,  
 And sua enforsaly can ficht,  
 That he maid till his menyhe way:  
 And thai that neir war by him ay 160  
 Dang on thair fayis sa hardely,  
 That thai haf tane the bak haly  
 And till the castell held thair way.  
 And at gret myscheiff enterit thai,  
 For thai war pressit thair so fast, 165  
 That thai feill lesit of the last;  
 Bot thai that enterit, nocht-for-thi,  
 Sparit thair yhettis hastely;  
 And in hy to the wallis ran,  
 For thai war nocht all sekir than. 170

THE toune wes takyn on this wis  
 Throu gret worschip and hye empris;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And all the gud that thai thar fand  
 Wes sesit smertly in-till hand.  
 Vittail thai fand in gret fusionne, 175  
 And all that fell till stuff of toune;  
 That kepit that fra distroying,  
 And syne has word send to the King.  
 And he wes of that tithing blith,  
 And sped him thiddirward full swith. 180  
 And as he throu the cuntre raid  
 Men gaderit till him, quhill he had  
 A mekill rout of worthy men.  
 And the folk that war wonand then  
 In-till the Mers and Tevidail, 185  
 And in the Forest als all haill,  
 And the est end of Lowdiane,  
 Befor that the King com, ar gane  
 To Berwik with a stalward hand,  
 That nane that wes that tyme wonand 190  
 On yhond half Tweid durst weill apeir.  
 And thai that in the castell weir,  
 Quhen thai thair fais in sic plente  
 Saw forrouth thame assemblit be,  
 And had na hope of reskewyng, 195  
 Thai war abasit in gret thing.  
 Bot thai the castell, nocht-for-thi,  
 Held thai fiff dayis sturdely,  
 Syne yhald it on the sext day,  
 And till thair cuntre syne went thai. 200

**Here Walter Stewart took of the King  
 Both town and castle in keeping.**



Thus wes the castell and the toune  
 Till Scottis mennys possessioun<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Broucht: and soyn eftir the King  
 Com ridand with his gadering  
 Till Berwik; and in the casteill 205  
 He herbryit is, bath fair and weill  
 And all his gret lordis hym by.  
 The remanand all comonly  
 Till herbry in the toun ar gane.  
 The King has than till consell tane, 210  
 That he wald nocht brek doune the wall,  
 Bot castell, and the toune with-all,  
 Stuff weill with men and with vittail  
 And alkynd othir apparail  
 That mycht availl, or yheit mysteir 215  
 Till hald castell or toune of wer.

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And Walter, Steward of Scotland,  
 That than wes yyoung and avenand,  
 And sone-in-law wes to the King,  
 Had sa gret will and sic yharnyng, 220  
 Neirhand the marchis for till be,  
 At Berwik to yhemsall tuk he;  
 And resavit of the Kyng the toune,  
 Bath the castell and the dungeoune.

The king gert men of gret nobillay 225  
 Ryde in-till England for till pray,  
 That broucht out gret plente of fee;  
 And sum cuntreis trewit he  
 For vittale, that in gret foysoune

1318  
*Berwick  
 prepared for  
 Siege*

He gert bring smertly to the toune, 230  
 Swa that bath toune and castell war  
 Weill stuffit for ane yheir and mair.  
 The gude Steward of Scotland then  
 Send for his frendis and his men,

Quhill he had with him, but archeris, 235  
 But burges and botoblesteris,  
 Fiff hundreth men wicht and worthy,  
 That armys bar of ancistry.

Johne Crab, a Flemyne, als had he,  
 That wes of gret subtilite, 240  
 Till ordane till mak aparale  
 For till defend and till assale  
 Castell of wer or than cite,  
 That nane slear mycht fundin be.

He gert engynis and trammys ma,<sup>[†]</sup> 245  
 And purvait grec fyre alsua;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Spryngaldis and schotis on seir maneris  
 That till defend castell afferis,  
 He purvait in-till full gret wane.

Bot gynis for crakkis had he nane; 250  
 For in Scotland yheit than, but wene,  
 The oys of thame had nocht beyn sene  
 And quhen the toune apou this wis  
 Wes stuffit, as I heir devis,

[Pg 304]

The nobill King his way has tane 255  
 And ryddin toward Lowiane.  
 And Walter Steward, that wes stout,  
 He left in Berwik with his rout,  
 And ordanit fast for apparail  
 Till defend gif men wald assaill. 260

QWHEN till the King of England  
 Wes tald how that, with stalward  
 hand,

AUG.-SEPT.,  
 1319  
*Berwick  
 beset by  
 Land and  
 Sea*

Berwik wes tane, and stuffit syne  
 With men and vittale and armyne,  
 He wes anoyit gretumly;  
 And gert assembl hastely  
 His consale, and has tane to rede  
 That he his host wald thiddir leid,  
 And, with all mycht that he mycht get,  
 To the toune ane assege set, 270  
 And gert dilt thame as stalward. [†]

And gert dik thame so stairwardy,<sup>[1]</sup>  
 That, quhill thame likit thair to ly,  
 Thai suld fer out the traster be.  
 And gif the men of the cuntre  
 With strynth of men wald thame assale, 275  
 At thair dykis in-to battale,  
 Thai suld advantage have gretly,  
 And thouch all suth, for gret foly  
 War till assaill in-to fechting  
 At his dikis so stark a thing. 280  
 Quhen his consell on this maneir  
 Wes tane, he gert bath fer and neir  
 His host haly assemblit be:  
 A gret folk than with him had he.  
 Of Lancister the Erl Thomas,<sup>[†]</sup> 285  
 That syne wes sanctit, as men sais,  
 In-till his cumpany wes thar,  
 And all the erllis als that war  
 In Ingland worthy for to ficht,  
 And baronis als of mekill mycht, 290  
 With him to that assege had he:  
 And gert the schippes by the se  
 Bring schot and othir apparale,  
 With gret warnysing of vittale.  
 To Berwik with all this menyhe, 295  
 With his bataillis arayit, come he;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And till gret lordis, ilkane syndri,  
 Ordanit ane felde for thar herbry.  
 That men mycht se soyne palyheonis  
 Be stentit on syndry fassownys, 300  
 So feill that thai a toune maid thair  
 Mair than bath toune and castell war.  
 On othir half syne, on the se,  
 The schippis com in sic plente,  
 With vittale, armyng, and with men, 305  
 That all the havyn wes stoppit then.

And quhen thai that war in the toune  
 Saw thair fais in sic foyssoune  
 By land and se cum sturdely,  
 Thai, as wicht men and richt worthy 310  
 Schupe thame for till defend thar stede,  
 That thai in aventur of dede  
 Suld put thame, or than rusche agane  
 Thar fais; for thair capitane  
 Tretit thame sa lusumly, 315  
 And thar-with-all the mast party  
 Of thame that armyt with hym wer,  
 War of his blude and sib him ner,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Or ellis thai war his allye. 320  
 Of sic confort men mycht thaim se,  
 And of sa richt fair contenyng,  
 As nane of thame had abasing.  
 On dayis arayit weill war thai,  
 And on the nycht weill wachit ay. 325  
 Weill sex dais thai swa abaid,  
 That thai na full gret bargane maid.

### How Walter Stewart was assailed in Berwick by the King of England.

In-till this tym that I tell here,  
 That thai withouten bargane wer,  
 The Inglis-men sa closit had  
 Thar host with dikis at thai maid, 330  
 That thai war strynthit gretumly.  
 Syne with all handis besaly  
 Thai schupe thame with thar apparale  
 Thame of the toune for till assale.  
 And of our Ladeis evin Mary, 335  
 That bare the byrth that all can by,  
 That men callis hir Nativite,  
 Soyn in the mornyng men mycht se  
 The Inglis host arme thame in hy,  
 And displav baneris sturdely.

And display baneris sturdey, 340  
And assemmyll till thar baneris  
With instrumentis on seir maneris,  
As scaffaldis, ledderis, and coveryngis,<sup>[t]</sup>  
Pykis, howis, and ek staff-slyngis;  
Till ilk lord and his battale 345  
Wes ordanit quhar he suld assale.  
And thai within, quhen that thai saw  
That menyhe raynge thame swa on raw,  
Till thar wardis thai went in hy,  
That war stuffit rycht stalwardly 350  
With stanys, schot, and othir thing  
That nedit till thair defending:  
And in-to sic maner abaid  
Thair fais that till assayl thame maid.

Quhen thai without war all redy, 355  
Thai trumpet till ane sawt in hy;  
And ilk man with his apparale,  
Quhar he suld be, went till assaile.  
Till ilk kyrneill that wes thair  
Archeris till schute assignit war. 360  
And quhen on this wis thai war boune,  
Thai went in hy toward the toune,  
And fillit dykis richt hastely,  
Syne to the wallis hardely  
Thai went with ledderis that thai haid; 365  
Bot thai so gret defens has maid,  
That war abovin apon the wall,  
That oft ledderis, and men with-all,  
Thai gert fall flatlynges to the grounde.  
Than men mycht se in litill stound 370  
Men assalyheand richt hardely,  
Dressand up ledderis douchtely,  
And sum on ledderis pressand war;  
Bot thai that on the wall wes thar  
Till all perellis can abandoune 375  
Thame, till thair fais war doungyn doune.  
At gret myschef defendit thai  
Thair toune; for, gif we suth sall say,  
The wallis of the toune than wer  
Sa law, that a man with a sper 380  
Micht strike ane othir up in the face.  
And the schot als so thik thar was  
That it wes wonder for till se.  
Walter Steward, with a menyhe,  
Raid ay about, for to se quhar 385  
That for till help mast myster war:  
And quhar men pressit mast, he maid  
Succoure till his that myster had.  
The mekill folk that wes without  
Haid enveronyt the toune about, 390  
Swa that na part of it wes fre.  
Thar mycht men the assailyheouris se  
Abandoune thame richt hardely;  
And the defendouris douchtely  
With all thar mychtis can thame payne 395  
Till put thair fais fors agane.

On this wis thame contenit thai  
Quhill noyne wes passit of the day.  
Than thai that in the schippes war  
Ordanit a schip with full gret far  
Till cum with all hir apparale  
Richt to the wall, for till assale.  
Till myd-mast up thair bat thai drew,  
With armyt men tharin inew:  
A brig thai had for till lat fall 400  
Richt fra the bat apon the wall.  
With bargis by hir can thai row,  
And pressit thame full fast to tow  
Hir by the brighous to the wall:  
On that entent thai set thame all. 410  
Thai broucht hir quhill scho com weill neir:  
Than mycht men se on seir maner  
Sum men defend. and sum assale

SEPT. 7, 1319  
*A Fierce  
Attack and  
Defence*

[Pg 307]

[Pg 308]

Full besaly with gret travale. 415  
 Thai of the toune so weill thame bare,  
 That the schipmen sa handillit war,  
 That thai the schip on na maner  
 Mycht ger cum till the wall so neir,  
 That thar fall-brig mycht reik thar-till, 420  
 So lang abaid thai fechtand still<sup>[t]</sup>  
 Quhill that scho ebbit on the ground;  
 Than mycht men, in a litill stound,  
 Se thame be fer of war covyne  
 Than thai war eir, that war hir in. 425  
 And quhen the se wes ebbit sa,  
 That men all dry till hir mycht ga,  
 Out of the toune yschit in hy  
 Till hir a weill gret cumpany,  
 And fyre till hir has kendlyt soyne: 430  
 In-till schort tyme swa haf thai done,  
 That thai in fyre has gert hir bryn.  
 And sum war slayn that war hir in,  
 And sum fled and away are gane.  
 Ane engynour thair haf thai tane,  
 That sleast wes of that mister 435  
 That men wist outhir fer or ner;  
 In-to the toun syne enterit thai.  
 It fell thame happely, perfay,  
 That thai gat in so hastely; 440  
 For thar come a gret cumpany  
 In full gret hy up by the se,  
 Quhen thai the schip saw byrnand be.  
 Bot or thai com, the tothir war past,  
 The yhet thai barrit and closit fast. 445  
 That folk assalyheit fast that day,  
 And thai within defendit ay  
 On sic a wis, that thai that war  
 With gret enfors assalyheand thar  
 Mycht do thar will on na maner. 450  
 And quhen that evynsang-tym wes neir,  
 The folk without, that wer wery,  
 And sum woundit full cruelly,  
 Saw thame within defend thaim swa;  
 And saw it wes nocht eyth till ta 455  
 The toune, with sic defens wes maid<sup>[t]</sup>  
 By thaim, that it in stering had.  
 The host saw that thar schip wes brynt,  
 And of thame that thar-in war tynt,  
 And thar folk woundit and wery; 460  
 Thai gert blaw the retret in hy.  
 Fra the schipmen reboytit war,  
 Thai let the tothir assale no mar;  
 For throu the schip thai wend ilkane  
 That thai the toune weill suld haf tane. 465  
 Men sais that ma schippis than swa  
 Pressit that tyme the toune till ta;  
 Bot for that thar wes brynt bot ane,  
 And the gynour tharin wes tane.  
 Now heir tharfor mencione maid I 470  
 Bot off a schip all anerly.

QWHEN thai had blawen the ratret,  
 Thai folk, that tholit had panys gret,  
 Withdrew thame haly fra the wall;  
 The assalt haf thai levit all. 475  
 And thai within, that wery war,  
 And many of thame woundit sar,  
 War blith and glad quhen at thai saw  
 Thair fais swagat thame withdraw.  
 And, fra thai wist suthly that thai 480  
 Held to thair palyheonys thair way,  
 Thai set gud wachis to thar wall;  
 Syne to thar innys went thai all,  
 And esyt thame that wery war.  
 And othir, that war woundit sar, 485  
 Had lechis gude forsuth, I hicht,  
 That helpit thame as thai best mycht.  
 On othir syde wery war thai.

On auld syde wery war thair,  
That nycht thai did no mair perfay.  
Fiff dayis thar-efter thai war still,  
That nane till othir did mekill ill.

490

Now leiff we thir folk heir liand  
All still, as I haf borne on hand,  
And turn the cours of our carpyng  
Till Schir Robert the douchty King,  
That assemblit bath fer and neir,

1319 *The  
Scots raid  
England*

495

Ane host, quhen that he wist, but weir,<sup>[t]</sup>

That the king swa of England  
Had assegit with stalward hand  
Berwik, quhar Walter Steward was.

500

Till purpos with his men he tais,  
That he wald nocht sa soyne assale  
The King of England with battale,  
And at his dykis specially,  
For it mycht weill turn to foly.

505

Tharfor he ordanit lordis twa,  
The Erl of Murreff wes ane of tha,  
The tothir wes the Lord Dowglas,  
With fyftene thousand men to pas  
In England, for till burn and sla,

510

And swa gret ryot thar till ma,  
That thai that lay segande the toune,  
Quhen thai herd the distructione,  
That thai suld in-till England ma,  
Suld be sa dredand, and sa wa

515

For thair childir and for thair wiffis,  
That thai suld dreid suld leis thar liffis,  
And thar gudis alsua, that thai  
Suld dreid than suld be had away,  
That thai suld leif the sege in hy,  
And wend to reskew hastely

520

Thair gude, thair frendis, and thair land.  
Tharfor, as I haf borne on hand,

Thir lordis send he furth in hy;  
And thai thair way tuk hastely,  
And in England gert byrn and sla,  
And wroucht tharin so mekill wa  
As thai forrayit the cuntre,

525

That it wes pite for to se  
Till thame that wald it ony gude,  
For thai distroyit all as thai yhude.  
So lang thai raid distroyande swa,  
As thai traversit to and fra,

530

That thai ar cummyne till Repoune,  
And distroyit haly that toune.  
At Burrow-brig syne thar herbry  
Thai tuk, and at Mytoun thar-by.

535

And quhen the men of that cuntre  
Saw thar land sa distroyit be,  
Thai gaderit, in-till full gret hy,  
Archeris, burges, with yhementry,  
Prestis, clerkis, monkis, and freris,  
Husbandis, and men of all mysteris,  
Quhill at thai sammyn assemmyllit war  
Weill twenty thousand men and mair.

545

Richt gud armyng eneuch thai had.  
The archbisshop of York thai maid  
Thair capitane; and to consale  
Has tane, that thai in playn battale  
Wald assale the Scottis men,  
That fer fewar than thai war then.

550

Than he displayit his baneir,  
And othir bischoppes, that thar wer,  
Gert display baneris alsua.

555

All in a rout furth can thai ga  
Toward Mytoun the reddy way;  
And quhen that Scottis men herd say  
That thai war till thame cumand neir,  
Thai buskit thame on thar best maneir,  
And delit thame in-till battellis twa.  
Dowglas the vaward he can ma:

[Pg 311]

[Pg 312]

The reirward maid the Erll Thomas, 560  
 For chiftane of the host he was.  
 And, sua ordanit in gude aray,  
 Toward thair fais thai held their way.  
 Quhen athir had of othir sicht, 565  
 Thai pressit on bath halfis to ficht.  
 The Inglis men com on sadly  
 With gud contenans and hardy,  
 Rycht in a frount with a baner,  
 Quhill thai thair fayis com so neir, 570  
 That thai thar visage weill mycht se.  
 Thre sper-lynth, I trow weill, mycht be  
 Betuix thame, quhen sic abasing  
 Tuk thame, but mar, in-to a swyng,  
 Thai gaf the bak all, and to-ga. 575  
 Quhen Scottis men has seyn thame swa  
 Affrayitly fle all thar way,  
 In gret hy apon thame schot thai,  
 And slew and tuk a gret party.  
 The laiff fled full effrayitly 580  
 As thai best mycht, to seik warrand.  
 Thai war chassit so neir at hand,  
 That weill ane thousand deit thar;  
 And of thaim yheit thre hundreth war  
 Prestis, that deit in-to that chas. 585  
 Tharfor that bargane callit was  
 "The Chaptour of Mytoun;" for thare  
 Slayn sa mony prestis ware.

[Pg 313]

QWHEN thir folk thus discumfit was,  
 And Scottis men had left the chas,  
 Thai went thame furthwarde in the  
 land 590

1319 *The  
'Sow' and  
the 'Crane'*

Slayand, distroyand, and byrnand,  
 And thai that at the sege lay,  
 Or it wes passit the fift day,  
 Had made thame syndry apparale 595  
 To gang eftsonis till assale.  
 Of gret gestis ane Sow thai maid,  
 That stalward heling owth it had,  
 With armyt men enew thar-in,  
 And instrumentis als for to myne. 600  
 Syndry scaffaldis thai maid with-all,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That war weill hyar than the wall,  
 And ordanit als that by the se  
 The toune suld weill assalyheit be.  
 And thai within, that saw thame swa 605  
 So gret apparale schap till ma,  
 Throu Crabbis consale, that wes sle,  
 Ane cren thai haif gert dres up hey  
 Rynand on quhelis, that thai mycht bring  
 It quhar neid war of mast helping. 610  
 And pik and ter als haf thai tane,  
 And lynt and hardis with brynstane,  
 And dry treis that weill wald brin;  
 And mellit syne athir othir in:  
 And gret flaggatis tharof thai maid, 615  
 Gyrdit with irne bandis braid.  
 Of thai flaggatis mycht mesurit be  
 Till a gret tunnys quantite.  
 Thai flaggatis byrnand in a baill  
 With thair cren thoucht thai till avail. 620  
 And gif the Sow come to the wall,  
 Till lat thame byrnand on hir fall,  
 And with ane stark cheyne hald thame thar  
 Quhill all war brint up that thar war.  
 Engynys alsua for till cast 625  
 Thai ordanit, and maid redy fast,  
 And set ilk man syne till his ward.  
 And Schir Walter, the gude Steward,  
 With armyt men suld ryde about,  
 And se quhar at thar war mast dout; 630  
 And succur thar with his menyhe.  
 And quhen thai in-to sic degre  
 Had maid thame for thair asaling.

[Pg 314]

On the Rude-evyn, in the dawing, 635  
 The Inglis host blew till assale.  
 Than mycht men with ser apparale  
 Se that gret host cum sturdely;  
 The toune enveremyt thai in hy,  
 And assalit with sa gud will, 640  
 For all thair mycht thai set thar-till,  
 That thai thame pressit fast of the toune.  
 Bot thai, that can thame abandoune  
 Till ded, or than till woundis sare,  
 Sa weill has thame defendit thare, 645  
 That ledderis to the ground thai flang,  
 And with stanys so fast thai dang  
 Thair fais, that feill thai left lyand,  
 Sum ded, sum hurt, and sum swonand.

Bot thai that held on fut in hy 650  
 Drew thame away deliverly,  
 And skunnyrrit tharfor na-kyn thing,  
 Bot went stoutly till assalyng.  
 And thai abovin defendit ay,  
 And set thame till so harde assay,  
 Quhill that feill of thame woundit war: 655  
 And thai so gret defens maid thar,  
 That thai styntit thair fais mycht.  
 Apon sic maner can thai ficht,  
 Quhill it wes neir noyne of the day;  
 Than thai without, in gret aray, 660  
 Pressit thair Sow toward the wall;  
 And thai within weill soyne gert call  
 The engynour that takyne was,  
 And gret manans till him mais;  
 And swoir that he suld de, bot he 665  
 Provit on the Sow sic sutelte,  
 That he to-fruschynt hir ilke deill.  
 And he, that has persavit weill  
 That the dede wes weill neir hym till,  
 Bot gif he mycht fulfill thar will, 670  
 Thought that he all his mycht wald do;  
 Bendit in gret hy than wes scho,  
 And till the Sow wes evin set.  
 In hye he gert draw the cleket,  
 And smertly swappit out the stane 675  
 That evyn out-our the Sow is gane,  
 And behynd hir a litill we  
 It fell, and than thai cryit hey  
 That war in hir, "Furth to the wall.  
 "For dreidles it is ouris all!" 680  
 The engynour that deliverly  
 Gert bend the gyne in full gret hy,  
 And the stane smertly swappit out:  
 It flaw out, quhedirand, with a rout,  
 And fell richt evin befor the Sow. 685  
 Thair hertis than begouth till grow;  
 Bot yheit than, with thair mychtis all,  
 Thai pressit the Sow toward the wall,  
 And has hir set thar-to juntly.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The gynour than gert bend in hy 690  
 The gyne, and wappyt out the stane,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That evin toward the lift is gane,  
 And with gret wecht syne duschit doune  
 Richt by the wall, in a randoune,  
 And hyt the Sow in sic maner, 695  
 That it, that wes the mast summer  
 And starkast for till stynt a strak,  
 In-sundir with that dusche he brak.  
 The men ran out in full gret hy,  
 And on the wallis thai can cry, 700  
 That thair Sow ferryit wes thair.  
 Johne Crab, that had his geir all yhar,  
 In his fagattis has set the fyre,  
 And our the wall syne can thame vyre,  
 And brynt the Sow till brandis bair. 705  
 With all this, fast assalyheand war  
 The folk without with felloun fight

SEPT. 13,  
 1319 *The*  
*'Sow' is*  
*smashed*

THE FOLK WITHOUT WITH REHOUNE HEHT,  
And thai within with mekill mycht  
Defendit manfully thar stede,  
In-till gret aventur of dede. 710

The schipmen, with gret apparale,  
Com with thair schippes till assale,  
With top-castellis warnist weill,  
And wicht men armyt in-till steill. 715  
Thair batis up apon thair mastis  
Drawyn weill hye and festnyt fast is,  
And pressit with that gret atour  
Toward the wall, bot the gynour  
Hit in ane espyne with a stayne, 720  
And the men that war thar-in gane,  
Sum dede, sum dosnyt, come doun wyndland.  
Fra thine-furth durst nane tak on hand  
With schippes pres thame to the wall.  
Bot the laiff war assalyheand all 725  
On ilka syde sa egyrly,  
That certis it wes gret ferly,  
That thai folk sic defens has maid,  
For the gret myscheif that they had.  
For thair wallis so law than weir, 730  
That a man richt weill with a sper  
Micht strik ane othir up in the face,  
As eir befor tald till yhow was.  
And feill of thame war woundit sare,  
And the layf so fast travaland war, 735  
That nane had tume rest for till ta,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thair adversouris assalyheit swa.

Thai war within sa stratly stad  
That thar wardane, that with him  
had  
Ane hundreth men in cumpany  
Armyt, that wicht war and hardy,  
And raid about for till se quhar  
That his folk hardest pressit war,  
To relief thame that had mister,  
Com syndry tymes in placis ser  
Quhar sum of the defensouris war 745  
All dede, and othir woundit sare;  
Swa that he of his cumpany  
Behufit to leiff thair party:  
Swa that, be he a cours had maid  
About, of all the men he had 750  
Thar wes levit with him bot ane,  
That he ne had thame left ilkane  
To releve quhar he saw mister.  
And the folk, that assalyheand wer  
At Mary-yhet, to-hewyn had 755  
The barras, and a fyre had maid  
At the draw-brig, and brynt it doune;  
And war thringand in gret foyssoune  
Rycht to the yhet ane fyre till ma.  
Than thai within gert smertly ga 760  
Ane to the wardane, for till say  
How thai war set in hard assay.  
And quhen Schir Walter Steward herd  
How men sa stratly with thame ferd,  
He gert cum of the castell then 765  
All that war thar of armyt men,  
For thar that day assalyheit nane,  
And with that rout in hy is gane  
To Mary-yhet, and till the wall  
Is went, and saw the myscheif all: 770  
And umbethoucht him suddandly  
Bot gif gret help war set in hy  
Thar-to, thai suld burne up the yhet  
That fra the wall thai suld nocht let.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Tharfor apon gret hardyment 775  
He suddanly set his entent;  
And gert all wyde set up the yhet,  
And the fyre that he fand thar-at  
With a straik of men he put away

SEPT. 13,  
1319 *The  
Drawbridge  
is burnt  
down*

740

[Pg 317]

745

750

755

760

765

770

775



with surin of men he put away.  
 He set him in full hard assay; 780  
 For thai that war assalyheand thar  
 Pressit on hym with wapnys bair,  
 And he defendit with all his mycht.  
 Thar mycht men se a felloune sicht,  
 With staffing, stoking, and striking.<sup>[†]</sup> 785  
 Thar maid thai sturdy defending;  
 For with gret strynth of men the yhet  
 Thai defendit, and stude thar-at,  
 Magre thair fais, quhill the nycht  
 Gert thame on bath halfis leif the ficht. 790

THAI of the host, quhen nycht can fall,  
 Fra the assalt with-drew thame all,  
 Woundit, and wery, and forbefit.  
 With mate cher the assalt thai left,  
 And till thar innys went in hy 795  
 And set thar wachis hastely.  
 The laif thame esit as thai mycht best;  
 For thai had gret myster of rest.  
 That nycht thai spak al comonly  
 Of thame within, and had ferly 800  
 That thai sa stout defens has maid  
 Agane the gret assalt thai had.  
 And thai within, on othir party,  
 Quhen thai thair fayis so halely  
 Saw thame withdraw, thai war all blith, 805  
 And wachis has ordanit swith;  
 And syne ar till thar innys gane.  
 Thar wes bot few of thame wes slaine,  
 Bot feill war woundit wikidly,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The laiff our mesur war wery. 810  
 It wes ane hard assalt, perfay,  
 And certis, I hard nevir say.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Quhar quheyn men mair defens had maid,  
 That swa richt hard assalyheing had.  
 And of a thing that thair befell 815  
 I haf ferly, that I of tell;  
 That is, that in-till all that day,  
 Quhen all thair mast assalyheit thai,  
 And the schot thikkest wes with-all,  
 Women with child and childir small 820  
 In arme-fullis gaderit up, and bair  
 Till thame that on the wallis war  
 Arowes, and nocht ane slayne wes thar,  
 Na yheit woundit; and that wes mar  
 The myrakill of God Almychty, 825  
 And to nocht ellis it set can I.

On athir syde that nycht thai war  
 All still, and on the morne, but mar,  
 Thar come tithandis out of England,  
 Till thame of the host, that bare on  
 hand

SEPT. 14,  
 1319 A  
*Division in  
 the English  
 Council*

How that by Borrow-brig and  
 Mytoun 830  
 Thair men war slayne and dungin doune;  
 And at Scottis-men throu-out the land  
 Raid yheit byrnand and distroyand.  
 And quhen the King has herd this taill, 835  
 His consell he assemblit haill,  
 Till se quethir farar war him till  
 Till ly about the toune all still,  
 And assaill quhill it wonnyne war,  
 Or than in England for till fare 840  
 And reskew his land and men.  
 His consell fast discordit then;  
 For Southren men wald that he maid  
 Arest thar, quhill he wonnyn had  
 The toune and the castell alsua. 845  
 Bot Northir men wald no-thing swa,  
 That dred thar friendis for till tyne,  
 And mast part of thar gudis syne  
 Throu Scottis mennys cruelte;

Thai wald he leit the sege be 850  
 And raid for till reskew the land.  
 Of Longcastell, I tak on hand,  
 The Erl Thomas wes ane of thai  
 That consalit the King hame to ga.  
 And, for that mair enclynit he 855 [Pg 320]  
 Till the folk of the south cuntre  
 Than till the northir mennys will,  
 He tuk it to sa mekill ill  
 That he gert turs his geir in hy,  
 And with his batall halely, 860  
 That of the host neir thrid part was,  
 Till Ingland hame his way he tais.  
 But leiff he hame has tane his gat:  
 Tharfor fell eftir sic debat  
 Betuix him and the King, that ay 865  
 Lestit quhill Androu Herdclay,  
 That throu the King wes on him set,  
 Tuk hym syne in-to Pomfret,  
 And on the hill besyde the tounne  
 Strake of his hede but ransoune; 870  
 Tharfor syne drawin and hangit wes he,  
 And with him weill a fair menyhe.  
 Men said syne eftir, this Thomas,  
 That on this wis maid martir was,  
 Was sanctit and myraclis did, 875  
 Bot envy syne gert thame be hid.  
 Bot quhethir he haly wes or nane,  
 At Pomfret thusgat was he slane.  
 And syne the King of Ingland,  
 Quhen that he saw hym tak on hand 880  
 Till pass his way sa oppinly,  
 Hym thoucht it wes perell to ly  
 Thar with the laiff of his menyhe;  
 And his harnas tursit has he  
 And in-till Ingland hame can far. 885  
 The Scottis men, that distroyand  
 war

SEPT., 1319  
*The Return  
 of the Scots*

In Ingland, herd soyne tell tithyng<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Of this gret sege the departing.  
 Tharfor thai tuk westward the way,  
 And by Carlele hame went ar thai 890 [Pg 321]  
 With prayis and with presoneris,  
 And othir gudis on seir maneris.  
 The lordis till the King ar gane,  
 And the laiff has thar wayis tane;  
 Ilk man till his repair is gane. 895  
 The King, iwis, was woundir fayne  
 That thai war cummyn haile and feir,  
 And at thai sped on sic maner,  
 That thai thair fais discumfit had,  
 And, but tynsale of men, had maid 900  
 Reskowris to thame that in Berwik  
 War assegit richt till thar dik.  
 And quhen the Kyng had sperit tithand<sup>[†]</sup>  
 How thai had faryne in-till Ingland,  
 And thai haf tald hym all thar fair, 905  
 How Inglis men discumfit war,  
 Richt blith in-till his hert wes he,  
 And maid thame fest with gammyn and gle.

BERWIK wes on this maner  
 Reskewit, and thai that thar-in wer. 910  
 He wes worthy ane prince till be,  
 Throu manheid and subtilite,  
 That couth throu wit sa hye a thyng,  
 But tynsale, bryng till gude ending.  
 Till Berwik syne the way he tais: 915  
 And quhen he herd thar how it was  
 Defendit swa richt apertly,  
 He lovit thame that war thar gretly.  
 Walter Stewardis gret bounte  
 Atour the laif commendit he, 920  
 For the richt gret defens he maid  
 At the vhet. auhar men brvnt had<sup>[†]</sup>

The brig, as yhe herd me devis.  
 And certis he wes weill till pris,  
 That sa stoutly with playne fecthing 925  
 At oppyn yhet maid defending.  
 Mycht he haf lifit quhill he had beyne  
 Of perfit elde, withouten weyne,  
 His renoune suld haf strekit fer.  
 Bot dede, that wachis ay to mar 930  
 With all hyr mycht waik and worthy,  
 Had at his worschip gret invy;  
 That in the flour of his yhoutheid  
 Scho endit all his douchty deid,  
 As I sall tell yhow forthirmar. 935  
 Quhen the King had a quhill beyne thar  
 He send for masonis fer and neir,  
 That sleast wes of that misteir,  
 And gert weill ten fute hye the wall  
 About Berwikis toune our all.<sup>[†]</sup> 940  
 And syne soyne toward Lowdyane  
 With his menyhe his gat has gane;  
 And syne he gert ordane in hy  
 Bath armyt men and yhemanry  
 In-till Irland in hy till fair 945  
 Till help his brothir that wes thair.

## BOOK XVIII.

### How Sir Edward the Bruce was slain in Ireland.

Bot he, that rest anoyit ay,  
 And wald in travaill be all-way,  
 A day forrouth thair arivyng  
 That war send till hym fra the King,  
 He tuk his way south-wart to fare.<sup>[†]</sup> 5  
 Magre them all that with hym war.  
 For he had nocht than in that land  
 Of all men, I trow, twa thousand,  
 Outane the kyngis off Erischry  
 That in gret rowtis raid hym by. 10  
 Toward Dundawk he tuk the way:  
 And quhen Richard of Clare herd say  
 That he com with ane few menyhe,  
 All that he mycht assemblit he,  
 Of all Irland, of armyt men: 15  
 Swa that he had thar with him then  
 Of trappit hors twenty thousand,  
 But thaim that war on fut gangand;  
 And held furth northwarde on his way.  
 And quhen Schir Edward has herd say 20  
 That cummyn neir till hym wes he,  
 He send discourouris hym till se:  
 The Sowlis and the Steward war thai,  
 And als Schir Philip the Mowbray.  
 And quhen thai seyn had thar cummyng, 25  
 Thai went agane to tell the King,  
 And said weill thai war mony men.  
 In hie Schir Edward ansuered then,  
 And said that he suld fecht that day  
 Thouch tryplit or quadruplit war thai.<sup>[†]</sup> 30  
 Schir Johne Steward said, "Sekirly,  
 "I red ye nocht ficht in sic hy.  
 "Men sais my brothir is cumand  
 "With fyftene hundreth men neir hand;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "And war thai knyt with yhow, yhe mycht 35  
 "The trastlyar abyde to ficht."  
 Schir Edward lukit richt angrely,  
 And till the Sowlis said in hy,  
 'Quhat sais thou?' "Schir," he said, "perfay,  
 "As my fallow has said, I say." 40  
 And than till Schir Philippe than said he,  
 "Schir," said he, "sa our Lord me se!  
 "Me think it na foly to byde

OCT. 14, 1318  
*Edward  
 Bruce is bent  
 on Fighting*

"Yhour men, that spedis thame to ryde. 45  
 "For we ar few, our fais ar feill;  
 "God may rycht weill our weirdis deill;  
 "Bot it war woundir that our mycht  
 "Suld ourcum so feill in ficht."  
 Than, with gret ire, 'Allas,' said he,  
 'I wend nevir till here that of the! 50  
 'Now help quha will, for sekirly  
 'This day, but mair baid, fecht will I.  
 'Sa na man say, quhill I may dre,  
 'That strynth of men sall ger me fle!  
 'God scheld that ony suld us blame, 55  
 'That we defoull our noble name.'  
 "Now be it swagat than," quod thai,  
 "We sall tak that God will purvay."

And quhen the kyngis of Erischry  
 Herd say, and wist all sekirly, 60  
 That that King, with sa quheyn,  
 wald ficht

OCT. 14, 1318  
*Edward  
 Bruce is slain*

Agane folk of sa mekill mycht,  
 Thai come till him in full gret hy,  
 And consalit hym full tendirly  
 For till abid his men; and thai 65  
 Suld hald thar fais all that day  
 Doand, and on the morne alsua,  
 With thar saltis that thai suld ma.

Bot thair mycht na consel availl,  
 He wald all-gat haff the battaill. 70  
 And quhen thai saw he wes so thra  
 To fecht, thai said; "Yhe may weill ga  
 "To ficht with yhon gret cumpany;

"Bot we acquyt us utirly,  
 "That nane of us will stand to ficht, 75  
 "Assuris nocht tharfor in our mycht.  
 "For our maner is of this land

"To follow and ficht, and ficht fleand,  
 "And nocht till stand in plane melle 80  
 "Quhill the ta part discumfit be."

He said; 'Sen that your custum is,  
 'Ik ask no mair at yhow bot this,  
 'That is, that yhe and yhour menyhe  
 'Wald all to-giddir arayit be, 85  
 'And stand on fer, but departing,  
 'And se our ficht and our endyng.'

Thai said weill at thai suld do swa,  
 And syne toward thair men can ga,  
 That war weill forty thousand neir.<sup>[†]</sup> 90

Edward, with thame that with him weir,  
 That war nocht fully twa thousand,  
 Arayit thame stalwardly till stand  
 Agane fourty thousand and ma.

Schir Edward that day wald nocht ta  
 His cot-armour; bot Gib Harper, 95  
 That men held als withouten peir  
 Of his estat, had on that day  
 All haill Schir Edwardis aray.

The ficht abaid thai on this wis;  
 And in gret hy thair enymys 100  
 Com, till assemmyll all reddy,  
 And thai met thame richt hardely.

Thai war sa few, forsuth to say,  
 That ruschit with thair fais war thai;  
 And thai that pressit mast to stand 105  
 War slane doune, and the remanand  
 Fled till Erischry for succour.

Schyr Edward, that had sic valour,  
 Wes ded, and Johne Steward alsua;  
 And Johne de Sowlis als with thai, 110  
 And othir als of thair cumpany.

Thai vencust war sa suddanly  
 That few in-till the place war slayne;  
 For the laif has thair wayis tane  
 Till the Erische kyngis that wes thar, 115  
 And in haill battale howand war.

Johne Tomassun, that wes leder<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Of thame of Carrik that thair wer,  
 Quhen he saw the discumfiting,  
 With-drew him till ane Erische king 120  
 That of his acqyntans had he;  
 And he resavit him in lawte.  
 And quhen Johne cummyn wes to that king,  
 He saw be led fra the fechting  
 Schir Philipe the Mowbray, the wicht, 125  
 That had beyne doysnyt in the ficht.  
 And be the armys led was he  
 With twa men, apon the cawse  
 That wes betuix thame and the toune,  
 That strekit lang in a randoune. 130  
 Toward the toune thai held thair way,  
 And quhen in myd cawse war thai,  
 Schir Philip of his desynais  
 Ourcome, and persavit he wes  
 Tane, and swagat led with twa: 135  
 The tane he swappit soyne him fra,  
 And syne the tothir in gret hy;  
 Syne drew his suerde deliverly,  
 And till the fecht the way he tais  
 Endlang the cawse, that than was 140  
 Fillit in-to sa gret foysoune  
 Of men that than went to the toune.  
 And he, that met thame, can thame ma  
 Sic payment, quhar he can ga,  
 That weill ane hundreth men gert he 145  
 Leiff, magre thairis, the cawsee;  
 As Johne Tomassun said suthly,  
 That saw his deid all halely.  
 Toward the battall evyn he yheid.  
 Johne Tomassun, that tuk gud heid 150  
 That thai war vencust all planly,  
 Cryit on hym in full gret hy,  
 And said, "Cum heir, for thar is nane  
 "On liff, for thai ar dede ilkane."  
 Than stude he still a quhile, and saw 155  
 That thai war all done out of daw;  
 Syne went toward him sarraly.  
 This Johne wroucht syne sa wittely  
 That all that thidder fled than wer,  
 Thouch that thai lesit of thair ger, 160  
 Com till Cragfergus haill and feir.  
 And thai, that at the fechting weir  
 Soucht Schir Edward, to get his hede,  
 Emange the folk that thar wes ded;  
 And fand Gib Harper in his ger: 165  
 And, for sa gude his armys wer,  
 Thai strak his hed of; and syne it  
 Thai haf gert saltit in-till a kyt,  
 And send it syne in-till Ingland,  
 To Edward King in-till presand. 170  
 Thai wend Schir Edwardis it had beyne;  
 Bot, for the armyng that wes scheyne,  
 Thai of the hed dissavit war,  
 All-thouch Schir Edward deit thar.

On this wis war thai nobill men 175  
 Throu wilfulnes all losit then;  
 And that wes syn and gret pite.  
 For had thair outrageous bounte  
 Beyne led with wit and with mesure,  
 Bot gif the mair misadventure 180  
 Befell thame, it suld richt hard thing  
 Be till leid thame till outrayng.  
 Bot gret outrageous succudry  
 Gert thame all deir thair worschip by.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And thai, that fled fra the melle, 185  
 Sped thame in hy toward the se,  
 And to Cragfergus cummyn ar thai.  
 And thai that war in-to the way,  
 To Schir Edward send fra the King,

OCT., 1318  
*The Skillful  
 Retreat of  
 the Scots*

Quhen thai herd the discumfiting, 190  
 Till Cragfergus thai went agane:  
 And that wes nocht forouten pane.  
 For thai war many tymes that day  
 Assalit with Erischry, bot thai  
 Ay held to-gidder sarraly, 195  
 Defendand thame so wittely  
 That thai eschapit oft throu mycht,  
 And many tymes als throu slycht;  
 For oft of thairis till thame gaf thai  
 Till let thame scathles pass thar way, 200  
 And to Cragfergus com thai swa.  
 Than batis and schippes can thai ta,  
 And salit till Scotland in hy,  
 And thar arivit all saufly.  
 Quhen thai of Scotland had wittering 205  
 Of Schir Edwardis discomfiting,  
 Thai menynt hym full tendrely  
 Our all the land comonly;  
 And thai that with him slane war thar  
 Full tendrely als menynt war. 210

[Pg 328]

### **How King Edward came again to Scotland with his Power, to Edinburgh, after the Death of Good Sir Edward the Bruce in Ireland.**

EDWARD the Bruce, as I said air,  
 Wes discumfit on this manare.  
 And quhen the feld wes clengit  
 cleyne,  
 Sa that na resisteris wes seyne,  
 The wardane than, Richard of Clare, 215  
 And all the folk that with him war,  
 Toward Dundaw has tane the way;  
 Swa that richt na debat maid thai  
 At that tyme with the Erischrye,  
 Bot to the toune thai held in hy. 220  
 And syne has send furth to the King,  
 That Ingland had in governyng,  
 Gib Harperis hed in-till ane kyt.  
Johne Mawpas till the King had it.  
 Quhilk he resavit in gret dayntee;<sup>[†]</sup> 225  
 Richt blith of that present wes he;  
 For he was swa glad that he wes swa  
 Deliverit of sic felloune a fa.  
 In hert tharof he tuk sic pryde,  
 That he tuk purpos for to ryde 230  
 With a gret host in-till Scotland,  
 Till revenge hym, with stalward hand,  
 Of the tray, travaill, and of teyne  
 That done till hym thar-in had beyne.  
 And a richt gret hoost gaderit he, 235  
 And gert his schippes by the se  
 Cum with gret foysoune of vittale;  
 For at that tyme he thought all hale  
 For till distroy so cleyn Scotland<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That nane suld be thar-in liffand; 240  
 And with his folk, in gret aray,  
 Toward Scotland he tuk the way.  
 And quhen King Robert wist that he  
 Com on hym with sic ane menyhe,  
 He gaderit men, bath fer and neir, 245  
 Quhill sa feill till him cummyn weir,  
 And war als for till cum hym to,  
 That him weill thought he suld weill do.  
 He gert with-draw all the catele  
 Of Lowdiane, evirilk deill, 250  
 And till strynthis gert thame be send,  
 And ordanit men thame to defend.  
 And with his hoost all still he lay  
 At Culros, for he walde assay  
 Till ger his fais throu fasting 255  
 Be feblist. and throu lang walking:

AUG., 1322  
*The English  
 invade  
 Scotland*

[Pg 329]

And fra he feblist had thair mycht  
Assemmyll he wald with thame till ficht.

He thocht till wirk upon this wis;  
And Inglis men with gret mastris  
Com with thar hoost in Lowdiane,  
And soyne till Edinburgh ar gane,  
And thair abaid thai dayis thre.

AUG.-SEPT.,  
1322 *The  
Skirmish at  
Melrose*

260

Thair schippes that war on the se  
Had the wynd contrar till thame ay,  
Swa that apon no maner thai  
Had power till the Fyrth till bring  
Thair vittale, till releiff the King.

265

And thai of the host that falit met,  
Quhen thai saw that thai mycht nocht get  
Thair vittalis to thame by the se,  
Than send thai furth a gret menyhe  
For till forray all Lowdiane;  
Bot cattell haf thai fundyn nane,

270

Outane a kow that wes haltand,<sup>[t]</sup>  
That in Tranentis corne thai fand;  
Thai broucht hir till thair hoost agane.

275

And quhen the Erll of Warane  
That cow saw anerly cum swa,  
He askit gif thai gat no ma.  
And thai haf said all till him, "Nay."

280

"Than, certis," said he, "I dar say  
"This is the derrest beiff that I<sup>[t]</sup>  
"Saw evir yheit; for sekirly

285

"It cost ane thousand pund and mar!"  
And quhen the King and thai that war  
Of his consell saw thai mycht get  
Na catell till thar host till et,

That than of fasting had gret payne,  
Till Inglannd turnyt thai hame agayne.

290

At Melros schupe thai for till ly,  
And send befor ane cumpany,  
Thre hundreth neir of armyt men.  
Bot the lord Dowglas, that wes then  
Besyde in-till the Forest neir,

295

Wist of thar com and quhat thai weir;  
And with thame of his cumpany  
In-till Melros all prevely  
He hufit in-till ane enbuschement.

300

And a richt sturdy frer he sent  
Without the yhet, thar com till se,  
And bad him hald him all preve,  
Quhill that he saw thame cumand all  
Richt till the cunyhe of the wall,  
And than crye hye, "Dowglas! Dowglas!"

305

The frer furth than his way he tais,  
That wes derff, stout, and ek hardy;  
His mekill hude helit haly

[Pg 331]

The armyng that he on hym had;  
Apon a stalward hors he raid,  
And in his hand he had a spere,  
Abydand apon that maner  
Quhill that he saw thame cumand neir.

310

And quhen the formast passit weir  
The cunyhe, he cryit, "Dowglas! Dowglas!"  
Than till thame all ane cours he mais,  
And bare ane doune deliverly;

315

And Dowglas, with his cumpany,  
Yschit apon thame with a schout.  
And quhen thai saw sa gret a rout  
Cum apon thame sa suddanly,

320

Thai war abaysit richt gretumly,  
And gaf the bak but mar abaid.  
The Scottis men emang thaim raid,  
And slew all thaim thai mycht ourta;

325

Ane gret martirdome thair can thai ma.  
And thai that eschapit unslayne  
Ar till thar gret host went agane,  
And tald thame quhat kyn welcummyng  
Dowglas thaim maid at thair motyng

Dowglas thaim maid at thaim metyng,  
Convoyand thame agane roydly,  
And warnyt thame the playn herbery.

330

### How the Good King Robert the Bruce followed King Edward of England South into his own Land.

THE King of England and his men,  
That saw thair herbreouris then  
Cum reboytit on that maneir  
Anoyit gretly in hert thai wer,  
And thought that it war gret foly  
In-to the wode till tak herbery.  
Tharfor by Driburgh, in the playne,  
Thai herbryit thame; and syne agane  
Ar went till Inghland haym thar way.  
And quhen the King Robert herd say  
That thai war turnyt hame agane,  
And how thair herbreouris war slane,  
In hy his host assemblit he,  
And went south our the Scottis Se,  
And till Inghland his way he tais.  
Quhen his host all assemblit was,  
Auchty thowsand he wes and ma,  
And aucht battellis he maid of tha:  
In ilk battell wes ten thousand.  
Syne went he furth on to Inghland,  
And in hale rout followit sa fast  
The Inglis King, quhill at the last  
He com approachand to Byland,  
Quhar, at that tyme, thar wes liand  
The King of Inghland with his men.  
Kyng Robert, that had wittering then  
That he lay thair with mekill mycht,  
Tranontit swa on hym ane nycht,  
That, be the morne that it wes day,  
Cummyn in-till playn feld war thai,  
Fra Biland bot ane litill space.  
Bot betuix thaim and it thar was  
Ane craggy bra, strekit weill lang,  
And a gret peth up for to gang.  
Othirwayis mycht thai nocht away  
Till pass till Bilandis abbay,  
Bot gif thai passit fer about.  
And quhen the mekill Inglis rout  
Herd at King Robert wes so neir,  
The mast part of thame that thar weir  
Went to the path and tuk the bra,  
Thair thought thai thair defens to ma.  
Thair baneris thair thai gert display  
And thair battellis on breid aray,  
And thought weill to defend the place.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Quhen King Robert persavit has  
That thai thame thought thair to defend,  
Eftir his consell has he send,  
And askit quhat wes best till do.  
The lord Dowglas ansuerd thar-to,  
And said, "Schir, I will undir-ta  
"That in schort tyme I sall do swa,  
"That I sall wyn yhon place planly,  
"Or than ger all yhon cumpany  
"Cum down till yhow heir in this plane."  
The King than said till him agane,  
'Do than,' he said, 'and God the speid!'  
Than he furth on his wayis yheid,  
And of the host the mast party<sup>[†]</sup>  
Put thame in-till his cumpany,  
And held thar way toward the plas.  
The gud Erl of Murreff, Thomas,  
Left his battell, and in gret hy  
Bot with thre men of his cumpany,<sup>[†]</sup>  
Com till the lordis rout of Dowglas;  
And, or he enterit in the plas,

OCT. 21, 1322  
*The Fight at  
Byland*

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Befor thame all the place tuk he;<sup>[†]</sup> 400  
 For he wald that men suld him se.  
 And quhen Schir James of Dowglas  
 Saw that he swagat cummyn was,  
 He prisit him thar-of gretly,  
 And welcummyt hym full humyly,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And syne the place can sammyn ta. 405  
 Quhen Inglis men saw thaim do swa,  
 Thai lichtit and agane thame yheid.  
 Twa knychtis, that douchty war of deid,  
 Thomas Ouchtre ane hat to name,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The tothir Schir Rauf of Cobhame,<sup>[†]</sup> 410  
 Com doune befor all thair menyhe.  
 Thai war bath of full gret bounte,  
 And met thair fais richt manly;  
 Bot thai war pressit gretumly.  
 Thair mycht men se men weill assale, 415  
 And men defend with stout battale,  
 And arrowes fle in gret foysoune,  
 And thai that owth war tummyl doune  
 Stanis apon thame fra the hicht. 420  
 Bot thai that set bath will and mycht  
 To wyn the peth, thame pressit swa,  
 That Schir Raulf of Cobhame can ta  
 The way richt till his host in hy,  
 And left Schir Thomas manfully  
 Defendand with gret mycht the plas, 425  
 Quhill that he swa supprisit was,  
 That he wes tane throu herd fechting.  
 And tharfor syne, quhill his ending,  
 He wes renownyt for best of hand  
 Of a knycht wes in all England. 430  
 For this ilk Schyr Raulf of Cobhame,  
 In all England he had the name  
 For the best knycht of all the land;  
 And for Schir Thomas duelt fechtand  
 Quhar Schir Raulf, as befor saide we, 435  
 With-drew him, prisit our hym wes he.

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### **The discomfiting of Englishmen At Bylands Path into the glen.**

THUS war thai fechtande in the plas;  
 And quhen the King Robert, that was  
 Wis in his deid and averty,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Saw his men ay swa douchtely 440  
 The peth apon thair fayis ta;  
 And saw his fais defend thame swa,  
 Than gert he all the Erischry  
 That war in-till his cumpany,  
 Of Argyle and the Ilis alsua, 445  
 Spede tham in hy on-to the bra:  
 He bad thame leiff the peth haly  
 And clym up in the craggis by,  
 And speid thame fast the hicht to ta.  
 And thai in gret hy has done swa,<sup>[†]</sup> 450  
 And clymb allgait up to the hycht,<sup>[†][†]</sup>  
 And leve nocht for thair fayis mycht.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Magre thair fayis, thai bar thaim swa,  
 That thai ar gottyn aboun the bra.  
 Than mycht men se thame ficht felly, 455  
 And rusche thair fais sturdely.  
 And thai that till the pass war gane,  
 Magre thair fais, the hycht has tane.  
 Than layd thai on with all thar mycht:  
 Thair mycht men se men felly ficht. 460  
 Ther wes ane perelus bargane:  
 For a knycht, hat Schir Johne Bretane,  
 That lichtit wes abovyn the bra,  
 With his men gret defens can ma.  
 And Scottis men sa can assaill, 465  
 That gaf thame so felloune battale,  
 That thai war set in sic affray  
 That thai, that fle mycht, fled away.

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Schir Johne of Bretane thar wes tane,  
And richt feill of his folk war slane. 470  
Of Frans thar tane wes knychtis twa;  
The lord of Souly wes ane of tha,  
The tothir wes the marschall Bretane,  
That wes a weill gret lord at hame.  
The laiff sum deid and sum war tane, 475  
The remanand thai fled ilkane.

And quhen the King of England,  
That yheit at Biland wes liand, OCT. 21, 1322  
*The King of  
England flies* 480  
Saw his men discumfyt planly,  
He tuk his way in full gret hy,  
And southwardis fled with all his  
mycht.

The Scottis men chast hym herd, I hycht,  
And in the chas has mony tane.  
The king quyttly away is gane,  
And the mast part of his menyhe. 485  
Walter Stewart, that gret bounte  
Set ay on hye chevelry,  
With fyve hundreth in cumpany,  
Till Yorkis yhettis chas can ma,

And thair sum of thair men can sla, 490  
And abaid thair quhill neir the nycht,  
To se gif ony wald ysche to ficht.  
And quhen he saw nane wald cum out,  
He turnyt agane with all his rout,  
And till the host is went in hy, 495  
That than tane had thair herbery  
In-till the abbay of Biland

And Riveus that wes by neir hand.<sup>[†]</sup>  
Thai delt emang thame that war ther  
The King of Englandis ger, 500  
That he had levit in-to Biland;  
All gert thai lepe out our thar hand,  
And maid thame all glaid and ek mery.  
And quhen the King had tane herbery,  
That broucht till him the presoneris 505  
All unarmyt, as it efferis;

And quhen he saw Johne of Bretane  
He had at hym richt gret disdeyne;  
For he wount wes to spek hely  
At hayme, and our dispitfully; 510  
And bad haf him away in hy,  
And luk he keptit war stratly,  
And said, "War it nocht that he war  
"Sic a catiff, he sulde by sair

"His wourdis that war sa angry;" 515  
And mekly he hym cryit mercy.  
Thai led him furth, forouten mair,  
And keptit hym weill ay quhill thai war  
Cummyn hame to their awne cuntre.  
Lang eftir syne ransonyt wes he 520  
For twenty thousand pund to pay,  
As I haf herd mony men say.

QWHEN that the King this spek had  
maid,  
The Franche knychtis, that tane  
men had, OCT., 1322  
*The Scots  
return with  
much  
Plunder* 525  
Wes broucht richt thar byfor the  
King;

And he maid thame fair welcummyng,  
And said; "I wat richt weill that yhe,  
"For yhour gret worschip and bounte  
"Com for till se the fichting heir. 530  
"For sen yhe in the cuntre war,  
"Yhour strinth, yhour worschip, and yhour mycht  
"Wald nocht thoill yhow escheve the ficht.  
"And sen that caus yhow led thar-till,  
"And nouthir wreth na evil will,  
"As frendis yhe sall resavit be, 535  
"Quhar welcum heir all tym be yhe."<sup>[†]</sup>

Thai knelit and thankit him gretly <sup>[†]</sup>

And he maid thame fair welcummyng,  
And said; "I wat richt weill that yhe,  
"For yhour gret worschip and bounte  
"Com for till se the fichting heir. 530  
"For sen yhe in the cuntre war,  
"Yhour strinth, yhour worschip, and yhour mycht  
"Wald nocht thoill yhow escheve the ficht.  
"And sen that caus yhow led thar-till,  
"And nouthir wreth na evil will,  
"As frendis yhe sall resavit be, 535  
"Quhar welcum heir all tym be yhe."<sup>[†]</sup>

Thai knelit and thankit him gretly <sup>[†]</sup>

And he gert tret thame curtasly;  
 And lang quhill with him thaim had he,  
 And did thaim honour and bounte. 540  
 And quhen thai yharnyt to thair land,  
 To the King of Fraunce in presand  
 He sent thaim quit, but ransoun fre,  
 And gret gyftis to thaim gaff he.  
 His frendis thusgat curtasly 545  
 He couth ressave, and hamely,  
 And his fais stoutly to-stonay.  
 At Biland all that nycht he lay.  
 For thair victor all blith thai war.  
 And on the morn, forouten mair, 550  
 Thai haff furthwarde tane thair way.  
 So fer at that tyme travalit thai,  
 Byrnand, slayand, and distroyand,  
 Thair fayis with thair mycht noyand,  
 Quhill to the Wald cummyn war thai. 555  
 Syne northwarde tuk thai hame thar way;  
 And distroyit, in thair repair,  
 The vale haly of Beauvare.  
 And syne with presoners and catele,  
 Riches, and mony fair jowele, 560  
 Till Scotland tuk thai hame thar way,  
 Blith and glad, joyfull and gay.  
 And ilk-man went to thair repair,  
 And lovit God thame fell so fair,  
 That thai the King of England, 565  
 Throu worschip and throu strinth of hand,  
 And throu thair lordis gret bounte,  
 Discumfit in his awne cuntre.

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## BOOK XIX.

### How the Lord Soulis thought through Treason with his Accomplices to have put down Good King Robert the Bruce, and how he was warned by a Lady.

THAN wes the land a quhile in pes;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot covatis, that can nocht ces  
 Till set men apon felony,  
 Till ger thame cum till senyhory,  
 Gert lordis of full gret renoune  
 Mak a fell conjuracioune  
 Agane Robert, the douchty King;  
 Thai thought till bring him till ending,  
 And for till bruke, eftir his dede,  
 The kynrik, and ryng in his sted. 10  
 The lord of Sowlis, Schir Wilyhame,  
 Of that purchas had mast defame;  
 For principall tharoff wes he,  
 Bath of assent and cruelte.  
 He had gert be with him syndri: 15  
 Gilbert Male-herbe, Johne of Logy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thir war the knychtis I tell of heir,  
 And Richard Broune als, a squyeir;  
 And gud Schir David the Brechyne  
 Wes of this deid arettit syne, 20  
 As I sall tell yhow forthirmair.  
 Bot thai ilkane discoverit war  
 Throu ane lady, as I herd say,  
 Or till thair purpos cum mycht thai.  
 For scho tald haly to the King 25  
 Thair purpos and thair ordanyng,  
 And how that he suld haf beyn ded,  
 And Sowlis ryng in-till his sted;  
 And tald him werray takynnyng  
 That this purches wes suthfast thing. 30  
 And quhen the King wist it wes swa,  
 Sa sutell purchas can he ma,  
 That he gert tak thame evirilkane.  
 And quhar the lord Sowlis wes tane.

AUG., 1320  
*The  
 Conspiracy  
 against King  
 Robert*

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Thre hundreth and sexte had he 35  
 Of squyeris, cled in his liverye,  
 At that tyme in his cumpany,  
 Outane knychtis that war joly.  
 In-to Berwik than takyn wes he;  
 Than mycht men all his menyhe se 40  
 Sary and wa; for, suth to say,  
 The king leit thame all pass thar way;  
 And held thame that he takyn had.  
 The lord Sowlis syne eftir maid  
Playn granting of all that purchas. 45  
 A parliament tharfor set thar was,  
 And thiddir broucht thir menyhe war.  
 The lord Sowlis has grantit thar  
 The deid in-to plane parliament.  
 Thar soyn eftir he wes sent 50  
 Till his penans till Dumbertane,  
 And deit in that tour of stane.

Schir Gilbert Maleherbe, and  
 Logy,  
 And Richard Broune, thir thre planly  
 War with ane assis than ourtane.  
 Tharfor thai drawin war ilkane,  
 And hyngit and hedit als thar-to,  
 As men had demyt thame till do.  
 And gud Schir David the Brechyne  
 Thai gert challans richt stratly syne;  
 And he grantit that of that thing  
 Wes maid till hym discoveryng,  
 Bot he thar-till gaf na consent.  
 And for he helit thair entent  
 And discoverit it nocht to the King, 65  
 That he held of all his halding,  
 And had maid till him his fewte,  
 Jugit to hang and draw wes he.  
 And as thai drew him for to hyng,  
 The pepill ferly fast gan thring, 70  
 Him and his myscheiff for to se,  
 That to behald wes gret pite.  
 Schir Ingerame Umphravell, that than  
 Wes with the King as Scottis man,  
 Quhen he that gret mischeif can se, 75  
 "Lordis," he said, "quhar-to press yhe?  
 "To se at myscheiff sic a knycht,  
 "That wes so worthy and so wicht,  
 "That I haf seyn ma pres to se  
 "Him for his richt soverane bounte, 80  
 "Than now dois for till se him heir!"  
 And quhen thir wordis spoken weir,  
 With sary cher he held him still  
 Quhill men had done of him thar will.  
 Syne, with the leiff of the King, 85  
 He broucht him menskfully till erding.  
 And syne to the King thus said he;  
 "A thing, pray I yhow, grant to me;  
 "That is, that yhe of all my land,  
 "That in-to Scotland is lyand, 90  
 "Wald gif me leiff till do my will."  
 The King than soyne has said him till,  
 'I will weill graunt that it swa be;  
 'Bot tell me quhat anoyis the?'  
 He said agane, "Grant me mercy, 95  
 "And I sall tell yhow it planly.  
 "Myne hert giffis me no mor to be  
 "With yhow duelland in this cuntre.  
 "Tharfor, bot at it nocht yhow greiff,  
 "I pray yhow hertly of yhour leiff. 100  
 "For quhar sa richt worthy a knycht,  
 "And sa chevelrus and sa wicht,  
 "And sa renownit of worschip syne  
 "As gud Schir David the Brechyne,  
 "And sa fulfillit of all manheid, 105  
 "Wes put to sa felloune a ded,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "Mv hert forsuth mav nocht dif me

1320  
*Umfraville  
 returns to  
 England*

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"Till duell, for na thing that may be."  
 The King syne said; 'Sen thou will swa,  
 'Quhen-evir thou likis thou may ga,<sup>[†]</sup> 110  
 'And thou sall haiff gud leiff thar-to  
 'Thi liking of thi land till do.'  
 And he him thankit gretumly,  
 And of his land, in full gret hy,  
 As him thought best, disponit he. 115  
 Syne at the King of gret bounte,  
 Befor all thai that with him war,  
 He tuk his leyff for evirmair;  
 And went in Ingland to the King,  
 That maid him richt fair welcummyng, 120  
 And askit him of the north tithing.  
 And he him tald all, but lesing,  
 How thai knyghtis distroyit war.  
 And all as I tald till yhow air;  
 And of the Kyngis curtasye, 125  
 That levit him debonarly  
 Till do of his land his liking.  
 In that tyme war send fra the King  
 Of Scotland messingeris to tret  
 Of pes, gif that thai mycht it get, 130  
 As thai oftsis befor war send,  
 Quhar that thai couth nocht bring till end.  
 For the gud King had in entent,  
 Sen God sa fair grace till him sent,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That he had wonnyn all his land 135  
 Throu strinth of armys till his hand,  
 That he pes in his land wald ma,  
 And all the landis stabill swa,  
 That his air eftir hym suld be  
 In peis, gif men held thair laute. 140

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In this tyme now that Umphrevele,  
 As I bair yhow on hand eir-quhil,  
 Com till the King of Ingland,  
 The Scottis messingeres thar he  
 fand

MAY-JUNE,  
 1323 A  
*Thirteen  
 Years' Truce*

Of pes and rest to haf tretis. 145  
 The King wist Schir Ingerame wes wis,  
 And askit his consell thair-to,  
 Quhat he wald rede him for till do.  
 For him, said he, thought herd to ma  
 Pes wyth King Robert Bruce his fa, 150  
 Quhill that he of him vengit war.  
 Schir Ingerame till hym maid ansuar  
 And said, "He delt sa curtasly  
 "With me, that on na wis suld I  
 "Giff consell till his merring." 155  
 "The behufis neid-way,' said the King,  
 "To this thing heir say thine avis.'  
 "Schir," said he, "sen yhour willis is  
 "That I say, wyt yhe sekirly,  
 "For all yhour gret chevelry, 160  
 "Till deill with hym yhe haf no mycht.  
 "His men ar worthyn all sa wicht  
 "For lang usage of gret fechting,  
 "That has beyne norist in sic thing,  
 "That ilk yheman is sa wicht 165  
 "Of his, that he is worth a knycht.  
 "Bot and yhe think yhour weir to bring  
 "Till your purpos and gud liking,  
 "Lang trewis with hym tak sall yhe.  
 "Than sall the mast of his menyhe, 170  
 "That ar bot sympill yhemanry,  
 "Be distrenyheit all comonly  
 "To wyn thair met with thair travale.  
 "And sum of thame neid mon thame call  
 "With plewch and harrow for to get, 175  
 "And othir ser craftis, thair met;  
 "Swa that thair armyng sall worth ald,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "And sall be rottyn, distroyit, or sald;  
 "And feill, that now of weir ar sle,  
 "To till a lang trewis call do

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in-thi a lang trewis sail ae, 180  
 "And othir in thair sted sall ris  
 "That sall cun litill of sic mastris.  
 "And quhen thai thus disusyt ar,  
 "Than may yhe move on thame yhour wer,  
 "And sall richt weill, as I suppos,<sup>[†]</sup> \*185  
 "Bring yhour entent to gud purpos." \*186  
 Till this assentit thai ilkane. 185  
 And eftir syne war trewis tane,  
 Betuix the twa Kyngis, that wer  
 Talit to lest for thretten yheir:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And on the marchis gert thame cry.  
 The Scottis men kept thame lely, 190  
 Bot Inglis men apon the se  
 Dstroyit, throu gret iniquite,  
 Marchand-schippis, that saland war  
 Fra Scotland to Flandris with war,  
 And dstroyit the men ilkane, 195  
 And till thar oys thar gude has tane.  
 The King send oft till ask redres,  
 Bot nocht thar-of redres ther wes;  
 And he abaid all tyme askand.  
 The trewis on his half gert he stand 200  
 Apon the marchis stabilly,  
 And gert men kep thame lelely.

### The Death of Good Sir Walter Steward.

IN this tyme that the trewis war  
 Lestand on marchis, as I said ar,  
 Walter Steward, that worthy was, 205  
 At Bathket a gret seknes tais.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 His evill it wox ay mair and mair,  
 Quhill men persavit by his fair,  
 That hym worthit neyd to pay the det  
 That na man for till pay may let. 210  
 Schrevyn, and als repentand wele,  
 Quhen all wes done him ilke deill  
 That nedit Cristin man till haf,  
 As gud Crystyn the gast he gaf.  
 Than mycht men heir folk gret and cry, 215  
 And mony a knycht and ek lady  
 Mak in apert richt evill cher;  
 Sa did thai all that evir thair wer:  
 All men hym menyt comonly,  
 For of his elde he wes worthy. 220  
 Quhen thai lang tyme thar dule had maid,  
 The cors to Paslay haf thai had,  
 And thar with gret solempnite,  
 And with gret dule, erdyt wes he.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 God, for his mycht, his saull he bring 225  
 Quhar joy ay lestis but endyng!

EFTIR his ded, as I said air,  
 The trewis that swa takyn war,  
 For till haf lestit thretten yheir,  
 Quhen twa yheir of thame passit weir, 230  
 And ane half, as I trow, alsua,  
 Kyng Robert saw men wald nocht ma  
 Redres of schippes that war tane,  
 And of the men als that war slane;  
 Bot continuit thair mavite 235  
 Quhen evir thai met thame on the se.  
 He send and acqyt hym all planly,  
 And gaf the trewis up oppinly.  
 And, in vengeans of this trespas,  
 The gud Erll of Murreff, Thomas, 240  
 And Donald Erll of Mar alsua,  
 And James of Douglas with thaim twa,  
 And James Steward, that ledar wes,  
 Eftir his gud brother disses,  
 Of all his brothir men in weir, 245  
 He gert apon thar best maner  
 With mony men bown thaim to ga  
 In Inland for to burne and sla

in England, for to bairne and sira.  
 And thai held furth soyn till England—  
 Thai war of gud men ten thousand— 250  
 Thai brynt and slew in-to thair way;  
 Thair fais fast distroyit thai.  
 And swagat furthward can thai fair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Till Wardill quhill thai cummyn war.  
 That tyme Edward of Carnavarane, 255  
 The King, wes ded, and laid in stane;  
 And Edward, his sone, that wes yhyng,  
 In England crownyt wes for Kyng,  
 And surname had of Wyndissoyr. 260  
 He had in France beyn of befor  
 With his moder dame Isabell;  
 And wes weddid, as I herd tell,  
 Till a yhoung lady fair of face  
 That the Erllis douchter was 265  
 Of Hennaut; and of that cuntre  
 Broucht with him men of gret bounte.  
 Schir Johne of Hennaut wes thar leder,  
 That was richt wis and wicht in wer.

And that tym that Scottis men war 270  
 At Wardale, as I said yhow ar,  
 In-to York wes the new maid King,  
 And herd tell of the distroying  
 That Scottis men maid in his cuntre.  
 A gret host till him gaderit he:  
 He wes weill neir fifty thousand. 275  
 Than held he northwarde in the land  
 In haill battale with that menyhe.  
 Auchtene yheir ald that tyme wes he.  
 The Scottis men all Cokdail.  
 Fra end till end thai heryit haill, 280  
 And till Wardaill agane thai raid.  
 Thar discurriouris that sicht has had<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Of cummyng of the Inglis men,  
 To thair lordis thai tald it then. 285  
 Than the lord Douglas, in a lyng,  
 Raid furth for till se thair cummyng;  
 And saw that sevyn battellis war thai,  
 That com rydand in gud aray.  
 Quhen he that folk behaldin had, 290  
 Toward his host agane he raid.  
 The Erl sperit giff he had seyne  
 The Inglis host; “Yha, Schir, but weyne.”  
 ‘Quhat folk ar thai?’ “Schir, mony men.”  
 The Erl his ayth has suorn him then, 295  
 ‘We sall ficht with thame, thouch thai war  
 ‘Yheit ma eftsonis than thai ar.’  
 ‘Schir, lovit be God,’ he said agane,  
 ‘That we have sic ane capitane,  
 ‘That swa gret thyng dar undirta. 300  
 ‘Bot, be Saint Bryde, it beis nocht swa,  
 ‘Giff my consaill may trowit be.  
 ‘For fecht on na maner sall we  
 ‘Bot be it at our avantage.  
 ‘For me think it war nane outrage<sup>[†]</sup>  
 ‘Till fewar folk aganys ma 305  
 ‘Avantage, quhen thai ma, to ta.’  
 As thai war on this wis spekand,  
 Our ane hye rig thai saw rydand,  
 Toward thame evyn, a battell braid;  
 Baneris displayit enew thai had. 310  
 And ane othir come eftir neir:  
 And rycht apon the sammyn maner  
 Thai com, quhill seven battellis braid  
 Out-our that high ryg passit had.  
 The Scottis men war thar liand 315  
 On north half Wer, toward Scotland.  
 The daill wes strekit weill, I hicht;  
 On athir syde thar wes ane hicht  
 Till the wattir doune, sum-deill stay.  
 The Scottis men in gud aray, 320  
 On thair best wis buskit ilkane,

JUNE, 1327  
*The Scots in  
 Weardale*

Stude in the strynth that thai had tane;  
 And that wes fra the wattir of Wer  
 A quartir of ane myle weill ner:  
 Thai stude thar battell till abyd. 325  
 And Inglis men on athyr syd  
 Com ridand downward, quhill thai  
 wer  
 To Weris wattir cummyn ner,  
 And on othir half thair fais war. AUG., 1327  
Attack by the  
English  
Archers  
 Than haf thai maid a-rest richt thar: 330  
 And send out archeris a thousand  
 With hudis of, and bowis in hand,  
 And gert thaim weill drink of the wyne,  
 And bad thaim gang to bykkyr syne  
 The Scottis host in abandoune 335  
 And luk if thai mycht dyng thaim doun:<sup>[†]</sup>  
 For mycht thai ger thame brek aray,  
 Till have thaim at thar will thocht thai.  
 Armyt men doune with thame thai send,  
 Thame at the watter till defend. 340

The lord Dowglas has seyn thair fair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And men, that richt weill horsit war  
 And armyt, a gret cumpany,  
 Behynd the battell prevely  
 He gert hufe, to byd thair cummyng: 345  
 And quhen he maid to thame taknyng,  
 Thai suld com prikand fast, and sla  
 With speris that thai mycht our-ta.  
 Donald of Mar thar chiftane was,  
 And Archbald with hym of Dowglas. 350  
 The lord Dowglas toward thaim raid;  
 A gown on his armyng he had,  
 And traversit always up agane  
 Thame neir his battell for till trayne.  
 And thai, that drunkyn had of the wyne, 355  
 Com ay up endlang in a lyne,  
 Quhill thai the battell com so neir  
 That arrowis fell emang thaim seir.  
 Robert of Ogill, a gud squyer,  
 Com prekand than on a courser, 360  
 And on the archeris cryit agane,  
 “Yhe wat nocht quha mais yhow that traine!  
 “It is the lord Dowglas, that will  
 “Sum of his playis ken yhow till.”  
 And quhen thai herd spek of Dowglas, 365  
 The hardyest affrayit was,  
 And agane returnit halely.

His takyn maid he than in hy;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And the folk that enbuschit war  
 So stoutly prekit on thame thar, 370  
 That weill thre hundreth haf thai slayne,  
 And till the wattir hame agayne  
 The remanand all can thai chas.  
 Schir Williame of Erskyn that was  
 Newlingis makyn knyght that day,<sup>[†]</sup> \*375  
 Weill horsit intill gud aray, \*376  
 Chassit with othir that war thar 375  
 Sa fer-furth, that his hors him bar  
 Emang the lump of Inglis men,  
 That with strang hand he tane wes then.  
 Bot of hym weill soyn chaynge wes maid  
 For othir that men takyn had. 380  
 Fra thir Inglis archeris wer slayne,  
 Thai folk raid till thar host agane.  
 And richt swa did the lord Douglas;  
 And quhen that he reparit was,  
 Thai mycht emang thair fayis se 385  
 Thair palyheownys soyne stentit be.  
 Than thai persavit soyne in hy  
 That thai that nycht wald tak herbery,  
 And schap till do no mar that day.  
 Tharfor alsua thame herbreit thai, 390  
 And stentit palyheownys soyne in hy;  
 Tentis and huggis als thair-by



Tents and tuggis als than-by  
 Thai gert mak, and set all on raw.  
 Twa novelreis that day thai saw,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That forrouth in Scotland had beyn nane: 395  
 Tymbrys for helmys wes the tane,  
 That thame thought than of gret bewte,  
 And alsua wounder for to se;  
 The tothir crakkis war of wer,  
 That thai befor herd nevir eir. 400  
 Of thir twa thyngis thai had ferly.  
 That nycht thai wachit stalwardly:  
 The mast part of thame armyt lay,  
 Quhill on the morne that it wes day.

THE Inglis men thame umbethoucht, 405  
 Apon quhat maner that they moucht  
 Ger Scottis leve thair avantage;  
 For thame thought foly and outrage  
 To gang up to thame till assale  
 Thame at thar strynthis in playn  
 battale. 410

AUG., 1327  
*The English  
 try an  
 Ambush*

Tharfor of gud men ane thousand,  
 Armyt on hors bath fut and hand,  
 Thai send, behynd thair fayis to be  
 Enbuschit in-till a vale:

And schup thair battellis, as thai wald 415  
 Apon thame till the fechting hald.  
 For thame thought Scottis men sic will  
 Had, that thai mycht nocht hald thaim still:

For thai knew thame of sic corage,  
 That thai trowit strenth and avantage 420  
 That suld leyff, and meit thame planly;  
 Than suld thar buschement hastely

Behynd prek on thame at the bak;  
 Sa thought thai weill thai suld thaim mak  
 For till repent thame of thair play. 425

Thair enbuschement furth send haf thai,  
 That thame enbuschit prevaly.  
 And on the morn, sum-deill airly,  
 In-till the host syne trumpit thai,

And gert thair battell braid aray; 430  
 And, all arayit for to ficht,  
 Thai held toward the wattir richt.

Scottis men, that saw thame do swa,  
 Bown on thair best wis can thaim ma;  
 And in battell planly arayit, 435

With baneris to the wynd displayit,  
 Thai left thair strynth, and all planly  
 Com doune to meit thame hardely,  
 In als gud maner as thai mowcht,  
 Richt as thair fayis befor had thought. 440

Bot the lord Dowglas, that ay-quhar  
 Set out wachis heir and thar,  
 Gat wit of thair enbuschement.

Than in gret hy soyn is he went  
 Befor the battellis, and stoutly 445  
 He bad ilk man turn hym in hy,  
 Richt as he stud, and turnit swa

Up till thair strynth he bad thaim ga,  
 Swa that na let thar-in be maid.  
 And thai did as he biddin had, 450  
 Quhill to thair strynth thai com agayn.

Than turnyt thai thame with mekill mayn,  
 And stude reddy to giff battale,  
 Giff thair fayis wald thame assale. 455

Quhen Inglis men has seyn thaim swa  
 Toward thar strynth agane up ga,  
 Thai cryit hey, "Thai fley thar way!"  
 Schir Johne de Hennaut said: "Perfay,  
 "Yhone fleying is richt degyse.

"Thair armyt men behynd I se, 460  
 "And thair baneris, swa that thai thar  
 "Bot turne thame as thai standand war,  
 "And be arayit for the ficht,  
 "Gif ony pressis thame with mycht.

"Thai haf come our enbuschement

Thai maid seyne our enbuschement,  
 "And agane to thar strinth ar went. 465  
 "Yhone folk ar governyt wittely;  
 "And he that ledis thame war worthy  
 "For a-vis, worschip, and wisdom, [Pg 351]  
 "To governe the empyre of Rome." 470  
 Thus spak that worthy knyght that day;  
 And the enbuschement, fra that thai  
 Saw that thai swa discoverit war,  
 Toward thar host agane thai far.  
 And the battell of Inglis men, 475  
 Quhen thai saw thai had falit then  
 Of thar purpos, to thair herbery  
 Thai went, and lugit thame in hy.  
 On othir half richt swa did thai,  
 Thai maid no mar debat that day. 480

QWEN thai that day ourdrivyn had,  
 Fyres in gret foysoune thai maid,  
 Als soyne as the nycht fallen was.  
 Than the gud lord of Dowglas,  
 That spyt had a plas thar-by,  
 Twa myle fra thine, quhar mar  
 trastly

AUG., 1327  
*The Scots  
 shift to a  
 New Position*

The Scottis host mycht herbery ta,  
 And defend thame bettir alsua  
 Than ellis in ony place thar-by;  
 It wes a park, that halely 490  
 Wes enveronyt about with wall;  
 It wes neir full of treis all,  
 Bot a gret plain in-till it was;  
 Thiddir thocht the lord Dowglas  
 Be nychtirtale thair host to bryng. 495  
 Tharfor, forouten mair duelling,  
 Thai bet thair fyres and maid thame mair,  
 And syne all sammyn furth thai fair,  
 And till the park, without tynsele,  
 Thai come, and herbryit thaim richt wele 500  
 Upon the wattir, and als neir  
 Till it as thai be forrouth weir.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And on the morn, quhen it wes day,  
 The Inglis host myssit away  
 The Scottis men, and had ferly, 505  
 And gert discurriouris hastely  
 Prek to se quhar thai war away.  
 And, by thair fyres, persavit thai  
 That thai in the park of Wardale  
 Had gert herbery thar host all hail. 510

Tharfor thair host but mair abaid  
 Buskit, and evin anent thaim raid,  
 And on othir half the watter of Wer  
 Gert stent thair palyheownys, als  
 neir

AUG., 1327 A  
*Night Attack  
 on the  
 English*

As that befor stentit war thai. 515  
 Aucht dayis on bath halffis swa thai lay,  
 That Inglis men durst nocht assale  
 The Scottys men with playne battale,  
 For strinth of erd that thai had ther.  
 Thar wes ilk day justyng of wer, 520  
 And scrymmyng maid full apertly,  
 And men tane on ather party.  
 And thai that tane war on a day  
 On ane othir changit war thai.  
 Bot othir dedis nane war done, 525  
 That gretly is apone till mone;  
 Quhill it fell, on the nynt day,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The lord Dowglas had spyt a way,  
 How that he mycht about thame ryd,  
 And cum apon the ferrest syd. 530  
 And at evyn him purvayit he,  
 And tuk with him a gude menyhe,  
 Fyve hundreth on hors, wicht and hardy;<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And in the nycht, all prevely,  
 For-out noyis so fer he raid, 535

Quhill that he neir enveremyt had  
 Thar host, and on the ferrer syd  
 Toward thame slely can he ryd,  
 And half the men that with hym war  
 He gert in hand have suerdis bar; 540  
 And bad thaim hew rapys in twa,  
 That thai the pailyhownys mycht ma  
 To fall on thaim that in thaim war.  
 Than suld the laiff, that forouth ar,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Stab doune with speres sturdely. 545  
 And, quhen thai herd his horne, in hy  
 To the wattir hald down the way.  
 Quhen this wes said that I here say,  
 Toward thair fais fast thai raid,  
 That on that syd no wachis had. 550  
 And as thai neir war approchand,  
 Ane Inglis man, that lay bekand  
 Hym by a fyre, said to his feir,  
 "I wat nocht quhat may tyd us heir,  
 "Bot a richt gret growyng me tais; 555  
 "I dred me sair for the blak Dowglas."  
 And he, that herd him, said, 'Perfay,  
 'Thou sall haf caus, gif that I may!'

[Pg 353]

With that, with all his cumpany,  
 He ruschit on thame hardely, 560  
 And prowd palyheownys doune he bare,  
 And with speris that scharply schar  
 Thai stekit men dispituusly.  
 The noyis weill soyn rais, and the cry;  
 Thai stabbit, stekit, and thai slew; 565  
 And mony palyheownys down thai drew.  
 A felloun slauchtir maid thai thair,  
 That thai, that liand nakit war,  
 Hed na power defens to ma;  
 And thai but pite can thame sla. 570  
 Thai gert thame wit that gret foly  
 Wes, neir thair fayis for to ly,  
 Bot gif thai trastly wachit war.  
 The Scottis men war slaand thar  
 Thair fayis on this wis, quhill the cry 575  
 Rais throu the gret host comonly,  
 That lord and othir war on steir.  
 And quhen the Dowglas wist thai weir  
 Armand thame all comonly,  
 He blew his horne for till rely 580  
 His men, and bad thame hald thar way  
 Toward the wattir, and swa did thai;  
 And he abaid henmast, to se  
 That nane of his suld lefit be.  
 And, as he swa abaid hufand, 585  
 Swa come ane with a club in hand,  
 And swa gret rowtis till him raucht,  
 That, had nocht beyn his mekill maucht  
 And his richt soverane gret manhede,  
 In-till that plas he had beyne ded. 590  
 Bot he, that na tyme was affrayit,  
 Thouch he weill oft wes herd assayit,  
 Thou mekill strynth and gret manheid,  
 Has brocht the tothir on-to ded,  
 His men, that to the wattir doune 595  
 War rydyn in-till a randoune,  
 Myssit thar lord quhen thai com thar.  
 Than war thai dredand for him sar;  
 Ilkane at othir sperit tithing,  
 Bot yheit of hym thai herd no thing. 600  
 Than can thai consale sammyn ta,  
 That thai to sek hym up wald ga.  
 And, as thai war in sic affray,  
 A tutlyng of his horne herd thai.  
 And thai, that has it knawin swith, 605  
 War of his cummyng woundir blith,  
 And sperit at him of his abaid;  
 And he tald how a carll him maid  
 With his club richt ane felloune pay,

[Pg 354]

That met him stoutly in the way, 610  
 That, had nocht ure helpit the mair  
 He had beyn in great perell thair,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Thusgatis spekand thai held thar way,  
 Quhill till thar host cummyn ar thai,  
 That on fut, armyt, thame abaid, 615  
 For till help, gif thai myster had.  
 And, als soyne as the lord Dowglas  
 Met with the Erll of Murreff was,  
 The Erll sperit at hym tithing  
 How he had farn in his outyng. 620  
 "Schir," said he, "we haf drawyn blude."  
 The Erll, that wes of mekill mude,  
 Said, 'And we had all thiddir gane,  
 'We had discumfit thame ilkane.'  
 "It mycht haf fallyn weill," said he, 625  
 "Bot sekerly enew war we  
 "To put us in yhon aventur.  
 "For, had thai maid discumfitur  
 "On us, that yhondir passit wer,  
 "It suld all stonay that ar heir." 630

The Erle said, 'Sen that it swa is,  
 'That we may nocht with juperdis  
 'Our felloune fais fors assale,  
 'We sal it do in playn battale.'  
 Lord Douglas said then; "Be Saint  
 Bryd,

AUG., 1327  
*Douglas*  
*restrains*  
*Murray*

"It war gret foly, at this tyd,  
 "Till us with sic ane host till ficht,  
 "That ilk day growis of mycht,  
 "And vittale has thar-with plente. 640  
 "And in thar cuntre heir ar we,  
 "Quhar thar may cum us na succours;  
 "Herd is to mak us heir rescours;  
 "Na we may forra for to get met,  
 "Sic as we haf heir mon we et.  
 "Do we with our fayis tharfor 645  
 "That ar heir liand us befor,  
 "As I herd tell this othir yher  
 "How that a fox did with a fischer."

### How the Fox played with the Fisher.

'How did the fox?' the Erll can say.  
 He said; "A fischar quhilome lay 650  
 "Besyde a ryver for till get  
 "His nettis that he had thar set.  
 "A litill luge thar had he maid;  
 "And thar-within a bed he had,  
 "And ek a litill fyre alsua; 655  
 "A dure ther wes, withouten ma.  
 "A nycht, his nettis for till se  
 "He rais, and thair weill lang duelt he.  
 "And quhen that he has done his ded,  
 "Toward his luge agane he yhed, 660  
 "And with licht of the litill fyre,  
 "That in the luge was byrnand schyre,  
 "In-till his luge a fox he saw,  
 "That fast can on a salmond gnaw.  
 "Than till the dure he went in hy,  
 "And drew ane swerd deliverly 665  
 "And said, 'Reiffar, thou mon heir out.'<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "The fox, that wes in full gret dout,  
 "Lukit about sum hoill to se;  
 "Bot nane ysche thar couth he se, 670  
 "Bot quhar the man stude sturdely.  
 "A lawchtane mantill than hym by,  
 "Lyand apon the bed, he saw;  
 "And with his teyth he can it draw  
 "Atour the fyre; and, quhen the man 675  
 "Saw his mantill ly byrnand than,  
 "Till red it ran he hastely.  
 "The fox gat out than in gret hy,  
 "And held his way his warand till.

"The man leit hym begilit ill, 680  
 "That he his salmond swa had tynt,  
 "And alsua had his mantill brynt,  
 "And the fox scathles gat his way.  
 "This ensampill I may weill say  
 "By yhon folk and us that ar heir; 685  
 "We ar the fox, and thai the fischer,  
 "That stekis forouth us the way.  
 "Thai weyne we may nocht get away,  
 "Bot richt quhar that thai ly; perde,  
 "All as thai think it sall nocht be. 690  
 "For I haf gert spy us a gat,  
 "Suppos that it be sum-deill wat,  
 "A page of ouris we sall nocht tyne. [Pg 357]  
 "Our fayis, for this small tranontyne,  
 "Wenys we sall weill pryd us swa, 695  
 "That we planly on hand sall ta  
 "To gif thame oppynly battale;  
 "Bot at this tyme thair thought sall fale.  
 "For we to-morne heir, all the day,  
 "Sall mak als mery as we may, 700  
 "And mak us boune agane the nycht;  
 "And than ger mak our fyres bricht,  
 "And blaw our hornys, and mak fair  
 "As all the warld our awne it war,  
 "Quhill that the nycht weill fallyn be. 705  
 "And than, with all our harnas, we  
 "Sall tak our way hamward in hy.  
 "And we sall gyit be richt graithly  
 "Quhill we be out of thair danger,  
 "That lysis now enclosit her. 710  
 "Than sall we all be at our will,  
 "And thai sall let thame trumpit ill,  
 "Fra thai wit weill we be away."  
 To this haly assentit thai;  
 And maid thame gud cher all that nycht 715  
 Quhill on the morn that day was licht.

APON the morne, all prevaly,  
 Thai turst harnas and maid reddy;  
 Swa that, or evyn, all boun war thai.  
 Thair fayis, that agane thame lay,  
 Gert haf thair men that thar wes  
 ded

AUG., 1327  
*The Scots  
 prepare to  
 depart*

In cartis till ane haly sted.  
 All that day caryand thai war  
 With cartis, men that slayne war thar. 725  
 That thai war feill men mycht weill se,  
 That in carying so lang sud be.  
 The hostis bath all that day wer  
 In pes; and quhen the nycht wes ner,  
 The Scottis folk, that lyand war  
 In-till the park, maid fest and far; 730  
 And blew hornys and fyres maid,  
 And gert thame bryn bath bricht and braid,  
 Swa that thair fyres that nycht war mair  
 Than ony tyme befor thai war.  
 And quhen the nycht wes fallyn wele, 735  
 With all thair harnas ilke deill  
 All prevaly thai raid thair way.  
 Soyn in a mos enterit ar thai,  
 That had weill a lang myle on breid,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Out-our that moss on fut thai yheid, 740  
 And in thair hand thair hors led thai.  
 It wes richt ane noyus way,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And nocht-for-thi all that thar wer  
 Com weill outour it, haill and fer,  
 And tynt bot litill of thar ger, 745  
 Bot gif it war ony summer  
 That in the mos wes left liand.  
 Quhen all, as I haf born on hand,  
 Out-our the mos, that wes so braid,  
 War cummyn, a gret gladschip thai had, 750  
 And raid furth hamwarde on thar way.  
 And on the morn quhen it wes day

The Inglis men saw the herbery,  
 Quhar Scottis men war wount to ly,  
 All voyd; thai wonderit gretly then, 755  
 And send furth syndry of thar men  
 To spy quhar thai war gane away,  
 Quhill at the last thair tras fand thai,  
 That till the mekill mos thame had,  
 That wes so hidwis for till waid, 760  
 That aventur thame thar-to durst nane;  
 Bot till thar host agane ar gane,  
 And tald how that thai passit war,  
 Quhar nevir man wes passit ar. 765  
 Quhen Inglis men hard it wes swa,  
 In hy till consale can thai ta,  
 That thai wald follow thaim no mar.  
 Thair host richt than thai scalit thar,  
 And ilk man till his awn he raid.  
 Kyng Robert than that witteryng  
 had 770  
 That his men in the park swa lay,  
 And at quhat myscheiff thar war  
 thai,  
 Ana host assemblit he in hy.  
 And ten thousand men, wicht and hardy,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He send furth has with Erllis twa, 775  
 Of Marche and Angous war thai,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 The host in Wardale till releiff;  
 And, gif thai mycht so weill escheiff  
 That sammyn nycht be thai and thai,  
 Tha thocht thair fayis till assay. 780

So fell it that, on the sammyn day  
 That the mos, as yhe herd me say,  
 Wes passit, the discourouris that thar  
 Rydand befor the hostis war,  
 Of athir host has gottin sicht. 785  
 And thai, that worthy war and wicht,  
 At tha metyng justit of wer.  
 Ensenyheis hye thai cryit ther;  
 And be thair cry persavit thai,  
 That thai war frendis, and at a fay. 790  
 Than mycht men se thame glad and blith;  
 And tald it to thair lordis swith.  
 The hostis bath met sammyn syne;  
 Thar wes richt hamly welcummyne  
 Maid emang gret lordis thar; 795  
 Of thair metyng joyfull thai war.  
 The Erll Patrik and his menyhe  
 Had vittale with thame gret plente,  
 And thar-with weill relevit thai  
 Thar frendis; for, the suth to say, 800  
 Quhill thai in Wardall liand war,  
 Thai had defalt of met, bot thar  
 Thai war relevit with gret plente.  
 Toward Scotland, with gammyn and gle,  
 Thai went, and hame weill cummyn ar thai; 805  
 And scalit syne ilk man thar way.  
 The lordis ar went on-to the King,  
 That maid thame richt fair welcummyng.  
 For of thar come richt glad wes he;  
 And that thai sic perplexite. 810  
 For-out tynsale eschapit had.  
 Thai war blith all and mery made.

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AUG., 1327  
*King Robert  
 sends a  
 Relief*

[Pg 360]

## BOOK XX.

### How Good King Robert the Bruce crowned his Young Son David and Dame Johann, his Spouse.

SOYNE eftir that the Erll Thomas  
 Fra Wardale thus reparit was,  
 The King assemblit all his mycht,

1327-28 A  
*Treaty of*

And left nane that wes worth to  
ficht.

*Peace*

A gret host than assemblit he, 5  
And delt his host in parties thre.  
A part to Norhame went but let,  
And thair ane strat assege was set,  
And held thame in, richt at thar dik.  
The tothir part on to Awnwyk 10  
Is went, and thar ane sege set thai;  
And quhill at thir assegis lay  
At the castellis, I spak of ar,  
Apert assaltis maid thai thar:  
And mony fair gud chevelry 15  
Eschevyt wes full douchtely,<sup>[†]</sup>  
The king at thai castellis liand  
Left his folk, as I bare on hand,  
And with the thrid ost held his way  
Fra park to park, hym for to play, 20  
Huntand as all his awn it war.  
And till thame that war with him thar  
The landis of Northumbirland,  
That next Scotland thar wes liand,  
In fe and heritage gaf he, 25  
And thai payit for the selys fee.  
On this wis raid he distroyand,  
Quhill that the Kyng of Inghland,  
Throu consell of the Mortymer  
And his moder, at that tym wer 30  
Ledaris of hym, that than yhoung wes,  
To Kyng Robert, till tret of pes  
Send messyngers, and swa sped thai  
That thai assentit on this way,  
Than a perpetuall pes to tak, 35  
And thai a mariage suld mak  
Of King Robertis sone, Davy,  
That than bot fiff yheir had scarsly,  
And of dame Johane als of the Tour,  
That syne wes of full gret valour. 40  
Sistir scho was to the yhoung King<sup>[†]</sup>  
That Inghland had in governyng,  
That than of eild had sevin yher.  
And monymentis and lettrys ser,<sup>[†]</sup>  
That thai off Inghland that time had, 45  
That oucht agayn Scotland maid,  
In till that tretys up thai gaff;  
And all the clame that thai mycht haff  
In-till Scotland on ony maner.  
And King Robert, for scathes ser, 50  
That he till thame of Inghland  
Had done of weir, with stalward hand,  
Full twenty thousand pund suld pay  
Of sylvir in-to gude monay.  
Quhen men thir thyngis forspokin had, 55  
And, with selys and athis, maid  
Fesnyng of frendschip and of pes,  
That nevir for na chans suld ces;  
The maryage syne ordanit thai  
Till be at Berwyk, and the day 60  
Thai have set quhen that it suld be;  
Syne went ilk man till his cuntre.

[Pg 361]

Thus maid wes pes quhar wer wes air,  
And syne the assegis rasit wair.  
The Kyng Robert ordanit till pay 65  
The silvir, and, agane the day,  
He gert weill for the mangery  
Ordane, quhen that his sone Davy  
Suld weddit be; and Erll Thomas,  
And the gud lord als of Douglas, 70  
In-till his stede ordanit he  
Devysouris of that fest till be;  
For ane male-es tuk hym so sare,  
That he on na wis mycht be thar.  
His mail-eis of ane fundyng 75  
Bequoth; for, throu his cald lvingr.

[Pg 362]

Quhen in his gret myschef wes he,  
 Him fell that herd perplexite.  
 At Cardros all that tym he lay; 80  
 And quhen neir cummyne wes the day  
 That ordanit for the wedding wes,  
 The Erl and the lord Dowglas  
 To Berwik come with mekill fair,  
 And broucht yyoung Davy with thame thair. 85  
 And the Queyne and Mortymer,  
 On othir party cummyn wer  
 With gret affeir and rialte,  
 The yyoung lady, of gret bewte,  
 Thidder thai broucht with rich affeir. 90  
 The wedding have thai maid richt ther  
 With gret fest and solempnite,  
 Thair mycht men myrth and gladschip se:  
 For full gret fest thai maid richt thar,  
 And Inglis men and Scottis war 95  
 To-gidder in joy and in solas:  
 Na felloune spek betuix thame was.

[Pg 363]

The fest a weill lang tyme held  
 thai;  
 And quhen thai buskit till fair away,  
 The queyn hes left hir douchter thar 100  
 With gret riches and ryall far.  
 I trow that lang quhill no lady  
 To hous wes gevin so richly.  
 The Erl and the Lord Dowglas,  
 Hir in dante resavit has,  
 As it wes worthy, sekyrly; 105  
 For scho wes syne the best lady  
 And the farest, that men mycht se.  
 Eftir this gret solempnite,  
 Quhen on bath halfis levis wes tane,  
 The queyne till Inland hame is gane, 110  
 And had with hir the Mortymer.  
 The Erl and thai that levit wer,  
 Quhen thai a quhile hir convoyit had,  
 Toward Berwik agane thai raid,  
 And syne, with all thar cumpany, 115  
 Toward the King thai went in hy,  
 And had with thame the yyoung Davy,  
 And als dame Johane the yyoung lady.  
 The Kyng maid thame fair welcummyng,  
 And eftir, but lang delaying, 120  
 He has gert set ane parliament,  
 And thidder with mony men is went.  
 For he thought he wald, in his liff,  
 Croune his yyoung sone and his wif  
 At that parliament, and swa did he; 125  
 With gret fair and solempnite,  
 The kyng Davy wes crownyt thar,  
 And all the lordis at thar war,<sup>[†]</sup> \*127  
 \*And als of the comminite,  
 \*Maid hym manrent and fewte. \*130  
 And forouth that thai crownit war,  
 The King Robert gert ordane thar,  
 Gif it fell that his sone Davy  
 Deit, but air male of his body 130  
 Gottyn, Robert Stewart suld be<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Kyng, and bruk all the rialte  
 That his douchter bar, Marjory.  
 And at this tailyhe suld lelely<sup>[†]</sup> 135  
 Be haldin, all the lordis swar,  
 And it with selys affermyt thar.  
 And gif it hapnyt Robert the Kyng  
 To pass till God, quhill thai war yhyng,  
 The gud Erle of Murref, Thomas,  
 With the lord alsua of Dowglas, 140  
 Suld have thame in-to governyng,  
 Quhill thai had wit to steir thar thing;  
 And than the lordschip suld thai ta.  
 Heir-till thar athis can thai ma.  
 And all the lordis that was thar

[Pg 364]



And all the lordis that wes thar  
To thir twa wardanys atthes swar  
Till obeis thame in-to lawte,  
Gif thame hapnyt wardanys to be.

145

QUHEN all this thing thus tretit wes,  
And affermyt with sekirnes,  
The king till Cardross went in hy;  
And thar hym tuk sa felonly  
The seknes, and him travalyt swa,  
That he wist him behufit ma  
Of all this liff the commoune end,  
That is the ded, quhen God will send.  
Tharfor his lettres soyne send he  
For the lordis of his cuntre,  
And thai com as he biddyn had.  
His testament than has he maid,  
Befor bath lordis and prelatis;  
And till religioune of seir statis,  
For heill of his saull, gaf he  
Silvir in-to gret quantite.

MAY-JUNE,  
1329 *The  
Mission of  
the King's  
Heart*

150

155

He ordanit for his saull richt weill.  
And quhen at this wes done ilk deill,  
"Lordingis," he said, "swa is it gane  
"With me, that thar is nocht bot ane  
"That is, the ded, withouten dreid,  
"That ilk man mon thole on neid.  
"And I thank God that has me sent  
"Spas in this liff me till repent.  
"For throu me and my warraying  
"Of blud thar has beyne gret spilling,  
"Quhar mony sakles men wes slayne;  
"Tharfor this seknes and this payne  
"I tak in thank for my trespas.  
"And my hert fyschit fermly was,  
"Quhen I wes in prosperite,  
"Of my synnys till savit be

165

160

170

"To travell apon Goddis fayis.  
"And sen he now me till hym tais,  
"That the body may on na wis  
"Fulfill that the hert can devis,  
"I wald the hert war thiddir sent,  
"Quhar-in consavit wes that entent.  
"Tharfor I pray yhow evir-ilkane,  
"That yhe emang yhow cheis me ane  
"That be honest, wis, and wicht,  
"And of his hand ane nobill knycht,  
"On Goddis fayis myne hert to bere  
"Quhen saull and cors disseverit er.

175

180

185

"For I wald it war worthely  
"Broucht thar, sen God will nocht that I  
"Have power thiddirward till ga."  
Than war thair hertis all so wa,  
That nayne mycht hald hym fra greting.  
He bad thame leiff thair sorowyng;  
For it, he said, mycht nocht releif,  
And mycht thaimself gretly engreif.  
And prayit thame in hy till do  
The thyng that thai war chargin to.  
Than went thai furth with drery mude.  
And emang thame thai thought it gude  
That the worthy lord Dowglas

195

200

205

Quham in bath wit and worschip was<sup>[†]</sup>  
\*Suld tak this travaill apon hand;  
\*Heir-till thai war an accordand.  
\*Syne till the Kyng that went in hy  
\*And tald hym at thai thought trewly,  
That the douchty lord Dowglas  
Best schapen for that travell was.  
And quhen the King hard at thai swa  
Had ordanit hym his hert till ta,  
That he mast yharnit suld it haf,  
He said, "Sa God him-self me saff!  
"I hald me richt weill payit that yhe  
"Has chosyn hym; for his bounthe,  
"And his worschip, set myn ommun

\*206

\*211

210

[Pg 365]

[Pg 366]

And nis worschip set my ynarnyng,  
 "Ay sen I thought till do this thyng,  
 "That he it with hym thar suld ber. 215  
 "And sen yhe all assentit er,  
 "It is the mar likand till me.  
 "Lat se now quhat thar-till sayis he."  
 And quhen the gud lord of Dowglas  
 Wist at the Kyng thus spokyn has, 220  
 He com and knelit to the Kyng,  
 And on this wis maid him thanking.  
 'I thank yhow gretly, lorde,' said he,  
 'Of mony large and gret bounte,  
 'That yhe haf done till me feill sis 225  
 'Sen fyrst I come to yhour servis.  
 'Bot our all thing I mak thanking,  
 'That yhe so digne and worthy thing  
 'As yhour hert, that illumynyt wes  
 'Of all bounte and worthynes, 230  
 'Will that I in my yheemsell tak.  
 'For yhow, Schir, will I blithly mak  
 'This travell, gif God will me gif  
 'Laser and space so lange till liff.'  
 The Kyng him thankit tendirly. 235  
 Than wes nane in that cumpany  
 That thai ne wepit for pite;  
 Thair cher anoyus wes to se.

[Pg 367]

### Death of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland.

QUHEN the Lord Dowglas, on this  
 wis, 240  
 Had undirtane so hye empris,  
 As the gud Kyngis hert till ber  
 On Goddis fayis apon wer,  
 Prisit for his enpris wes he.  
 And the Kingis infermite  
 Woxe mair and mair, quhill at the last 245  
 The dulfull dede approachit fast.  
 And quhen he had gert till hym do  
 All that gud Cristin man fell to,  
 With werray repentans he gaf  
 The gast, that God till hevin couth haf, 250  
 Emang his chosyn folk till be  
 In joy, solace, and angell gle.  
 And fra his folk wist he wes ded,  
 The sorow rais fra sted to sted.  
 Thair mycht men se men rif thar hare, 255  
 And cumly knychtis gret full sar,  
 And thar nevis oft sammyn driff,  
 And as wode men thair clathes rif,  
 Regratand his worthy bounte,  
 His wit, strynth, and his honeste; 260  
 And, our all, the gret cumpany  
 That he oft maid thame curtesly.  
 "All our defens," thai said, "allas!  
 "And he that all our confort was,  
 "Our wit, and all our governyng, 265  
 "Is brought, alas! heir till ending.  
 "His worschip and his mekill mycht  
 "Maid all that war with him so wicht,  
 "That thai mycht nevir abaysit be,  
 "Quhill forouth thame thai mycht him se. 270  
 "Allas! quhat sall we do or say?  
 "For in liff quhill he lestit ay,  
 "With all our fais dred war we.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 "And in-till mony fer cuntre  
 "Of our worschip ran the renoune: 275  
 "And that wes all for his persoune."  
 With sic wordis thai maid thair mayne;  
 And sekirly wonder wes nane:  
 For better governour than he  
 Mycht in na cuntre fundyn be. 280  
 I hop that nane that is on lif  
 The lamentacioune suld discrif  
 That thai folk for thair lord maid.

JUNE, 1329  
*The Sorrow  
 for the King's  
 Death*

[Pg 368]

And quhen thai lang thus sorowit had,  
 And he debowalit wes clenly,<sup>[†]</sup> [293] 285  
 And hawlmyt eyne full richly,  
 And the worthy lord Dowglas [295]  
 His hert, as it forspokyn was,  
 Has resavit in gret dantee,  
 With gret fair and solempnite [298] 290  
 Thai have him had till Dunfermylne,  
 And hym solempnly erdit syne, [285]  
 And in a fair towne in the queyr.  
 Bischoppes and prelatis that thar weir  
 Assolyheit hym, quhen the servis 295  
 Wes done as thai couth best devis; [290]  
 And syne, apon the toder day,  
 Sary and wa ar went thar way. [292]

QUHEN at the gud King beriit was,  
 The Erll of Murreff, Schir Thomas, 300  
 Tuk all the lande in governyng;  
 All obeysit till his bidding.  
 And the gud lord of Dowglas syne  
 Gert mak ane cas of silvir fyne  
 Anamalyt throu subtilite: 305

JULY-AUG.,  
 1330  
*Douglas*  
*reaches*  
*Spain*

Thar-in the Kyngis hert did he,  
 And ay about his hals it bare,  
 And fast him bownyt for his fare.  
 His testament devisit he,  
 And ordanit how his land suld be 310  
 Governit, quhill his agane-cummyng,  
 Of frendis; and all othir thing,  
 That till him partenit ony wis,  
 With sa gude forsicht and sa wis,  
 Or his furth-passyng, ordanit he, 315  
 That na thing mycht amendit be.

And quhen that he his leif has tane,  
 To schip till Berwik is he gane;  
 And with ane nobill cumpany  
 Of knychtis and of squyary, 320  
 He put him thar in-to the se.  
 A lang way furthwarde salyt he;  
 Betuyx Cornwale and Bretanyhe

He salit, and left the Grunye of Spanyhe<sup>[†]</sup>  
 On north half hym; and held thar way 325  
 Quhill till Savill the Graunt com thai.<sup>[†]</sup>  
 Bot gretly war his men and he  
 Travaled with tempest on the se;  
 Bot, thouch thai gretly travalit war,  
 Hail and feir thai cummyn ar. 330  
 Thai arivit at gret Savill,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 And eftir, in a litill quhill,  
 Thar hors to land thai drew ilkane,  
 And in the toune has herbery tane.

He hym contenyt richt richly; 335  
 For he had a fayr cumpany,  
 And gold eneuch for till despend.  
 The Kyng all soyne eftir hym send,  
 And him richt weill resavit he,  
 And profferit hym in gret plente 340  
 Gold and tresour, hors and armyng;  
 Bot he wald tak thar-of na thyng;  
 For, he said, he tuk that viage  
 To pass in-till his pilgrimage  
 On Goddis fais, that his travale 345  
 Micht eftir till his saull avale.

And sen he wist that he had were  
 With Sarazenis, he wald dwell ther,  
 And help him at his mycht lely.  
 The King him thankit curtesly, 350  
 And betaucht him gud men that were  
 Weill knawin of that landis wer,  
 And the maner thar-of alsua.  
 Syne till his innys can he ga.

Quhen that the King him levit had.

Quhen that the King him to the King,  
A weil gret sojourne thar he mad.<sup>[†]</sup> 355  
Knychtis that com of fer cuntre  
Com in gret rowtis hym to se,  
And honorit him full gretumly.  
And our all men mast soveranly, 360  
The Inglis knychtis that war thar  
Honour and cumpany him bar.

Emang thame wes ane strange knycht,  
That wes haldyn so woundir wicht,  
That for ane of the gude wes he 365  
Prisit of all the Cristianite.  
Sa fast till-hewyn wes all his face  
That it our all neir wemmyt was.  
Or he the lord Dowglas had seyne,  
He wend his face had wemmyt beyne, 370  
Bot nevir ane hurt in it had he.  
Quhen he unwemmyt can it se,  
He said that he had gret ferly  
That sic a knycht and sa worthy,  
And prisit of sa gret bounte, 375  
Mycht in the face unwemmyt be.  
And he ansuerd thar-till mekly,  
And said, "Love God, all tym had I<sup>[†]</sup> [Pg 371]  
"Handis myne hede for till were."  
Quha wald tak tent to this ansuer<sup>[†]</sup> 380  
Suld se in it undirstanding,  
That, and he that maid askyng,  
Had had handis to wer, his face,  
That, for defalt of fens so was 385  
To-fruschit into placis ser,  
Suld haf, may fall, left haille and fer.  
The gud knychtis, that than war by,  
Prisit this ansuer gretumly;  
For it wes maid with meke speking,  
And had richt hye undirstanding. 390

Apon this maner still thai lay,  
Quhill throu the cuntre thai herd say: 395  
That the hey King of Balmeryne,<sup>[†]</sup>  
With mony a mudy Sarasyne,  
Wes enterit in the land off Spanyhe  
All haille the cuntre till demanyhe.  
The Kyng of Spanyhe, on othir party,  
Gaderit his host delyverly,  
And delt thame in-to battellis thre. 400  
And to the lord Dowglas gaf he  
The vaward for to leid and steir;  
All haille the strangeris with him weir,  
And the gret mastir of Saint Jak  
The tothir battell gert he tak. 405  
The reirward maid him-selvyn thar.  
Thusgat devisit, furth thai war  
To mete thair fayis, that in battale  
Arayit, reddy to assale,  
Com agane thame full sturdely. 410  
The Dowglas than, that wes worthy,  
Quhen he to thame of his ledyng  
Had maid ane fair amonestyng  
Till do weil and na dede to dreid,  
For hevynnys blis suld be thair meid,  
Gif that thai deit in Goddis servis; 415  
Than, as gud werriours and wis,  
With thame stoutly assemblit he.  
Thar mycht men felloune fechtig se;  
For thai war all wicht and hardy  
That war on the Cristyn party; 420  
So fast thai faucht, with all thar mayne,<sup>[†]</sup>  
That of Sarasenys war mony slayne;  
The-quhethir, with mony fell fachoune,  
Mony Cristyn thai dang thar doune.

Bot at the last the lord Douglas, 425  
And the gret rout that with hym

AUG. 25, 1330  
*A Battle  
with the  
Saracens*

AUG. 25, 1330

was,  
 Pressit fast the Sarasenys swa  
 That thai haly the bak can ta.  
 And thai chassit with all thar mayn,  
 And mony in the chas has slayn. 430  
 So fer chassit the lord Dowglas,  
 With few folk, that he passit wes  
 All the folk that wes chassand then.  
 He had nocht with him atour ten  
 Of all men that war with him thar. 435  
 Quhen he saw all reparit war  
 Toward his host than turnit he.  
 And quhen the Saryzynys gan se<sup>[†]</sup>  
 That the chasseris turnyt agane,  
 Thai relyit with mekill mayne.<sup>[†]</sup> 440  
 And as the gud lorde Dowglas,  
 As I said air, reparand was,  
 So saw he, richt besyd him ner,  
 Quhar that Schir Wilyhame de Sancler  
 With a gret rout enveremyt was. 445  
 He wes anoyit, and said; "Allas!  
 "Yhone worthy knyght will soyn be ded,  
 "Bot he haf help throu our manhed.  
 "God biddis us help him in gret hy,  
 "Sen that we ar so neir him by. 450  
 "And God wat weill our entent is  
 "Till lif and de in his servis;  
 "His will in all thing do sall we,  
 "Sall na perell eschevit be  
 "Quhill he be put out of yhone payne, 455  
 "Or than we all be with hym slayn."  
 With that with spurris spedely  
 Thai strak the hors, and in gret hy  
 Amang the Saracenys soyne thai raid,  
 And rowme about thame haf thai maid. 460  
 Thai dang on fast with all thair mycht,  
 And feill of thame to ded has dicht.  
 Gretar defens maid nevir sa quhoyne  
 Agane so feill, as thai have doyne.  
 Quhill thai mycht lest to gif battale. 465  
 Bot mycht no worschip thar avale  
 That tym, for ilkan war slayn thar;  
 For Sarasynys sa mony war  
 That thai war twenty neir for ane.  
 The gud lord Douglas thar wes slane, 470  
 And Wilyhame Sancler syne alsua;  
 And other worthy knyghtis twa,  
 Schir Robert Logan hat the tane,  
 And the tothir Walter Logane;  
 Quhar our Lord, for his mekill mycht, 475  
 Thar saulys have to hevynnis hycht!<sup>[†]</sup>

THE gud lord Douglas thus wes ded;  
 And the Sarasenys in that sted  
 Abaid no mair, bot held thar way;  
 Thai knyghtis ded thar levit thai. 480  
 Sum of the lord Douglassis men,  
 That thar lord ded had fundyn then,  
 Yheid weill neir wood for dule and wa.  
 Lang quhile our hym thai sorowit swa,  
 And with gret dule syne hame him bar. 485  
 The Kyngis hert have thai fundyn thar,  
 And that haym with thame have thai tane,  
 And ar toward thair innys gane  
 With greting and with evill cher;  
 Thair sorow angyr wes to her. 490  
 And quhen of Keth gud Schir Wilyhame,  
 That all that day had beyn at hame—  
 For at sa gret myschef wes he,  
 That he come nocht to the journee,  
 For his arme wes brokyne in twa— 495  
 Quhen he that folk sic dule saw ma,<sup>[†]</sup>  
 He askyt quhat it wes in hy.  
 And thai him tauld all opynly,  
 How that thair doughty lord wes slayn

How that than douchtly lord wes slayn  
 With Sarazynys that releyt agayn. 500  
 And quhen he wyst that it was sua,  
 Atour all other he wes mast wa,  
 And maid so woundir evill cher  
 That all wounderit that by him wer.  
 Bot till tell of thair sorowynng 505  
 Anoyis, and helpis litill thing.  
 Men may weill wit, thouch nane thaim tell,  
 How angry, sorowfull, and how fell  
 Is till tyne sic ane lord as he  
 Till thame that war of his menyhe. 510  
 For he wes swete, and debonar,  
 And weill couth tret his frendis far,  
 And his fais richt felony  
 Stonay, throu his gret chevelry.  
 The-quhethir of litill effer wes he, 515  
 Bot our all thing he lufit lawte;  
 At tresoune growyt he so gretly,  
 That na tratour mycht be hym by,  
 That he mycht wit, na he suld be  
 Weill punyst of his cruelte. 520

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I trow, the leill Fabricius,  
 That fra Rome to warray Pirrus  
 Wes send with a gret menyhe,  
 Hatit tresoune na les than he. 525  
 The-quhethir quhen the Pirrus had  
 On him and on his menyhe, mayd  
 Ane outrageous discumfitour,  
 Quhar he eschapit throu aventour,  
 And mony of his men war slane,  
 And he gaderit ane host againe, 530  
 A gret mastir of medicyne,  
 That Pirrus had in governyne,  
 Profferit to this Fabricius  
 In tresoune for to slay Pirrus;  
 For, in his first potacioune, 535  
 He suld him gif dedly poysoune.  
 Fabricius than, that wouder had  
 That he sic proffer till hym maid  
 Said; "Certis, Rome is wele of mycht  
 "Throu strynth of armys in-to ficht, 540  
 "Till vencus weill thar fais, thouch thair  
 "Consent to tresoune be na way.  
 "And for thou wald do sic tresoune,  
 "Thou sall, to get thi warisoune,  
 "Ga to Pirrus, and lat hym do 545  
 "Quhat evir in hert hym lysis the to."  
 Than till Pirrus he sende in hy  
 This mastir, and gert him oppenly  
 Fra end till end tell all this tale.  
 Quhen Pirrus had it herd all hale, 550  
 He said; 'Wes nevir man that swa  
 'For laute bar hym till his fa,  
 'As heir Fabricius dois till me;  
 'It is als ill to ger hym be  
 'Turnyt fra way of richtwisnes, 555  
 'Or to consent till wikidnes,  
 'As at mydday to turne agane  
 'The sone that ryannis his cours all playn.'  
 Thus said he of Fabricius,  
 That syne vencust this ilk Pirrus 560  
 In playne battell throu hard fechting.  
 His honest lawte gert me bryng  
 In this ensampell her, for he  
 Had soverane pris of his lawte.  
 And richt sua had the lord Douglas, 565  
 That honest, leill, and worthy was;  
 That ded wes, as befor said we;  
 All menyt hym, strange and preve.

1330 *How  
Fabricius  
punished a  
Traitor*

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Quhen his men lang had maid murnyng,  
 The debowellit hyme, and syne 570  
 Gert seth him, swa that mycht be tane  
 The flesche all haly fra the bane.

The carioune thair in haly plas  
 Erdit with richt gret worschip was. 575  
 The banys have thai with thame tane,  
 And syne ar till thair schippes gane.  
 Quhen thai war levit of the Kyng,  
 That dule had of thar sorowyng.  
 Till se thai went, gud wynd thai had,  
 Thair cours till Inland haf thai maid, 580  
 And thair saufly arivit thai;  
 Syne toward Scotland held thar way,  
 And thar ar cummyne in full gret hy.  
 And the banys richt honorabilly  
 In-till the kirk of Dowglas war 585  
 Erdit, with dule and mekill car.  
 Schir Archibald his sone gert syne  
 Of alabast bath fair and fyne  
 Ordane a towme full richly,  
 As it behufit till swa worthy. 590

Q<sup>WHEN</sup> that on this wis Schir  
 Wilyhame  
 Of Keyth had broucht his banis  
 hame,  
 And the gud Kyngis hert alsua,  
 And men had richly gert ma  
 With fair affeir his sepulture,  
 The Erle of Murreff, that the cure  
 That tyme of Scotland had haly,  
 With gret worschip has gert bery  
 The Kyngis hert at the abbay  
 Of Melros, quhar men prayis ay 600  
 That he and his haffe paradis.  
 Quhen this wes done that I devis,  
 The gud Erl governit the land,  
 And held the pure weill to warand.  
 The law sa weill mantemyt he, 605  
 And held in pes swa the cuntre,  
 That it wes nevir led or his day  
 So weill, as I herd ald men say.  
 Bot syne, allas! poysonyt wes he;  
 To se his ded wes gret pite.<sup>[†]</sup> 610

JULY 20, 1332  
*Death of the  
 Earl of  
 Murray*

The lordis deit apon this wis.  
 He, that hye Lord of all thing is,  
 Up till his mekill blis thame bryng,  
 And grant his grace, that thar ofspryng  
 Leid weill the land, and ententif 615  
 Be to folow, in all thair liff,  
 Thair nobill elderis gret bounte!  
 The afald God in Trinite  
 Bring us hye up till hevynnis blis,  
 Quhar all-wayis lestand liking is!—AMEN. 620

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# NOTES

*For fuller details of the more important works referred to see Bibliographical List.*

## BOOK I.

4 *on gud maner*. The best expansion of this phrase as an expression of Barbour's ideal of style is in the *Alexander*:

*To mak it on sa gud manere,  
Sa oppin sentence and sa clere  
As is the Frenche" (p. 441).*

15 *tyme of lenth*. In modern phrase, "length of time," and Skeat accordingly follows Hart's edition in so reading it. But "of lenth" is a common attributive phrase and may quite well stand here, though awkward to modern ears. In line 531 we have *this warld of lenth* for "the length of this world," which is a close enough parallel, and will not admit of alteration. In *Wyntoun*, too, occur such phrases as, "a merke schot large of lenth" (*Bk. ix. 27, 419*).

37 *Quhen Alexander the King was deid*. As in the first line of the well-known double verse given by Wyntoun as a fragment of the time; "Quhen Alexander our Kinge was dede." Wyntoun, in his extract from *The Bruce*, here reads *oure*. Alexander III. was killed by falling, with his horse, over the cliff at Kinghorn in Fife, on March 19, 1286.

39 *six yher*. Rather less. Alexander "was dead" on March 19, 1286, which Barbour would reckon as 1285. The dispute over the succession began on the death of Queen Margaret on September 26, 1290.

40 *lay desolat*. Barbour, it may be from considerations of space or symmetry, or as a Bruce partisan, omits all mention of the child-Queen Margaret (1286-1290); Bruce "the Competitor," indeed, held that his claim was superior to hers, and on Alexander's death started a rising apparently against the succession of a female contrary to the ancient customs of the country. In his pleadings before Edward he claims to be "higher in degree and more worthy in blood" even than she (*Palgrave*, pp. 30-31). To the reign of Balliol (1292-1296) there is reference later; but no notice is taken of the rising under Wallace (1297-1298) nor of the Barons' War (1299-1304); the former was carried on in the name of King John, and the latter was mainly a Comyn affair. Robert Bruce (King) took a fitful share in both operations on the national side, but ended as an active partisan of Edward I. (but see note on 611).

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49 *sum wald haiff the Balleol king*. The active heads of his party were Sir John Comyn of Badenoch and William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, two of the Guardians (*Palgrave*, p. 18). These two had assumed the control of the government (p. 16).

51 *eldest systir was*. The direct line of William the Lyon having failed, recourse was had to that of his brother, David Earl of Huntingdon. David's only son died without issue. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was the mother of Devorgoil, or Devorgilla, mother of John Balliol who was thus the great-grandson of the Earl, and of the senior female branch. David's second daughter, Isabella, had married Robert Bruce of Annandale father of the Competitor, who was thus the son of the second daughter, as Devorgilla was the daughter of the first.

54 *in als nere degree*. The legal phraseology used throughout by Barbour corresponds with the pleadings submitted by Bruce. These (Anglo-French) are given in full by Palgrave in his *Documents and Records*, vol. i.; the Latin version from the *Great Roll*, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., is only a notarial summary. Barbour, however, does not put the issue clearly. In the "branch collaterale" (*en lyne collateral*) of Earl David, Bruce was "in als nere degre" (*aussi pres en degre*) as Devorgilla. But Devorgilla was dead before the vacancy in the throne occurred; she had never been vested in the succession, and thus had no rights to transmit to her son (*cf.* 59, 60). The heritage, therefore, on the death of its possessor, came by law to him who was then nearest in blood—that is, to Bruce, as grandson of Earl David; for John Balliol, as great-grandson, was a degree further away (*qe en Sire Roberd de Brus meilleur dreyt deit reposer qe est plus procheyn du saunk qe en Sire Johan de Balliol qe est en plus loyngteyn degree*.—*Palgrave*, p. 34, § 8). Though modern historians have scouted Bruce's plea, it was quite sound for the Middle Ages. Bruce himself cites a contemporary case in Castile, where a younger brother was, by the law of the Visigoths—*i.e.*, their version of Roman law—preferred to the son of the elder.

58 *nocht to lawer feys lik*. Balliol urged that the same law applied to kingdoms as to earldoms, and that thus a kingdom should pass to the next heir by seniority, "without any regard to nearness of degree" (*Palgrave*, 27, § 3). To this Bruce replies that kings are above the laws, and that the right to a kingdom should not be judged by common law, nor by laws applying to subjects and subject fiefs (29, § 5; 27, § 3), but by "the laws by which kings reign," the "law of nations" (*dreit naturel*, 25, § 5); and he therefore appeals to Edward as "his Emperor" to judge accordingly (29, § 6), on the analogy of the German or Holy Roman Emperor, who was, in theory, the superior of Christian kings in temporal matters (*cf.* on 153). Balliol rebuts this with the further contention that the issue is not one of "imperial law," since "the kingdom of Scotland is held of the Crown of England and of no Empire"; and that it would be to the prejudice of Edward's Crown rights (*en prejudice de la coroune notre Seigneur le Roi*) if he judged the matter in his Court by imperial law (p. 43). Bruce, it will be observed, takes higher ground than Balliol,

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and presents a special interpretation of the (alleged) overlordship, on which see further note on 153. The distinction may seem over-refined to modern minds, but to the medieval mind, with its own “imperial” idea, it was both real and important. Bruce had other pleas in support of his main position, but on these Barbour does not touch (*cf.* on 153).

61 *in lyne evyn descendand*. The correct reading is fixed by the legal phrase, *en la dreyte lyne descendant* (Palgrave, p. 31, § 2).

62 *Thai bar ... on hand*. Skeat says that “to bear on hand often signified to ‘assert strongly,’” and interprets it here as, “They asserted.” But this is meaningless in the present context, and the correct significance is as in Chaucer, “For *he bar hir on honde* of trecherye” (*Complaynt of Faire Anelida*, line 158); and in *Troilus* (1154-1155), “She *bar him on honde* that this was don for malice”: hence, here “accused” in the sense of “controverted,” on the lines laid down in 59-64. The weaker sense is probably seen in *Prologue of the W. of B.’s Tale*, 380, 575, etc.

67 *Erle off Carryk*. The Competitor was not Earl; it was his son, father of King Robert, who married the widowed Countess of Carrick.

71-5. *thai all concordyt*. “The nobles, by unanimous consent, decreed among themselves to send serious (*solemnes*) messages to Edward King of England that in this cause he should be their higher judge” (Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, lxx.). The parties were at bitter variance, and there was no other authority strong enough to enforce a decision (*ibid.*). In fact, civil war was impending. On this account, Bishop Fraser of St. Andrews had already written to Edward on the matter (October, 1290). From this letter we gather that Balliol was about to approach Edward on his own behalf. The “Seven Earls” appealed in support of their own rights to elect a king (Palgrave, p. 14). Bruce submitted his claim to Edward, as against the guardians, who favoured Balliol (*ibid.*, pp. 17, 18). Hemingburgh says that the Guardians of Scotland, fearing a popular outbreak, by the advice of the magnates sent to the King of England, that in a matter of such great doubt they might have the benefit of his advice (*ejus consilio fruere*ntur, ii., p. 31).

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88 *as freyndsosome compositur—i.e.*, “as a friendly arbiter” (*cf.* Hemingburgh in previous note). Fordun urges that the appeal did not imply any confession of overlordship, but Edward was appealed to as a “friendly and distinguished neighbour” (*amicabilis et vicinus præstantior*), to settle the difference “in the manner of a friendly compositor and for the sake of neighbourliness” (*Gesta Annalia*, lxx.). The first notice in Sir Thomas Gray’s *Scalacronica* puts it that the Scots asked Edward to interfere in the interests of peace, and that he replied that he would consider the matter. At Norham the Scottish magnates are said to have asked him to try the case as sovereign lord (pp. 112, 119).

100 *Walis ... Ireland*. Edward I. crushed the main Welsh rising in 1282, and in 1284 annexed the principality. He took no special part in the conquest of Ireland, which belongs to the reign of Henry II. (1171).

103 *ryn on fute*. This, I take it, reflects the fact that Edward usually drew upon Wales and Ireland for the foot in his army. At Falkirk, indeed, Hemingburgh says that nearly all the English foot were Welsh. *Cf.* also XIII. 419 *ff.*

140 *on Saracenys warryand*. Edward was in England. His crusading took place before he ascended the throne (1270-1272). The *Scalacronica* says he was at Ghent (p. 112).

146 *ane assemble*. Edward met the prelates and barons of Scotland at Norham, May 10, 1291. In his safe-conduct granted to these, Edward declares “that this shall not be a precedent to the prejudice of Scotland” (Bain’s *Calendar*, ii., No. 474): *i.e.*, their meeting him on English ground.

151 *all the senyhowry*. Edward had meanwhile (March 8, 23) sent writs to the cathedrals and chief monasteries of England, requesting to be furnished with extracts from histories and chronicles respecting the relations between England and Scotland. The responses are given in *Bain*, ii., No. 478, and *Palgrave*, pp. xcvi-cxv (see next note).

153 *to Robert the Bruys said he*. Palgrave points out that Bruce was the first to appeal to Edward as overlord, in conjunction with the “Seven Earls” with whom he was acting; all submitting themselves—relatives, friends, adherents, lands and goods—to the protection of the King and Crown of England (pp. xlvi, 15, 18). In this he finds nothing inconsistent with the speech here attributed to Bruce, which he takes, not from Barbour, but from Fordun, who gives the same account as Barbour of Edward’s offer and Bruce’s reply (*Gesta*, lxxii.). For Palgrave regards the original historic supremacy as a vague imperial relation, to which Edward tried to give a narrow feudal precision (p. xliii). Bruce, he says, could properly regard himself “as the *Laensman* of the Monarch who represented the Bretwald, the Emperor or Basileus of Albion, or of Britain, and not the vassal of the King of England and Duke of Normandy” (p. xlix). Bruce, indeed, in one section of his pleadings addresses Edward as “his Sovereign Lord and his Emperor” (p. 29, § 6), but his pleading was against the purely feudal relationship (see on 58), the holding “*in cheyff*” (154), which would allow Edward the *dominium* or ownership of Scotland, as contrasted with the *suzerainty*, which would grant a power of control. Edward insisted on the former.

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169 *Assentyt till him*. After a delay of three weeks (June 2-3, 1292), nine of the Competitors made full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the King of England; the others acquiesced on August 3 (*Bain*, ii. 483, 507). The issue was finally narrowed down to a consideration of the respective claims of Balliol and Bruce. Barbour is misleading.

171 *He was king*. Judgment in favour of Balliol was given on November 17, 1292, at Berwick. Balliol resigned “his kingdom and people to” the King of England on July 7, 1296, “a litill quhile,” three years and seven months after.

173 *For litill enchesone*. Balliol was treated as an ordinary vassal, and finally summoned, with the Scottish magnates, to attend Edward on an expedition into France (June 29, 1294). Balliol, however, made a treaty with King Philip IV. In October he wrote Edward renouncing "the homage extorted from him by violence" (*Bain*, ii., No. 722). This was followed up by a raid into England in the spring of 1296. Meantime the government had been taken out of Balliol's hands, and was administered by twelve Scottish barons and prelates.

189 *And stuffyt all*. The list of castles and towns committed to Englishmen and Scottish supporters of Edward is given in *Bain*, ii., No. 853. Gray says Edward took possession of all the castles of Scotland (*Scala*, p. 123).

193 *He maid off Inglis nation*. The offices of Governor, Treasurer, and Justiciar, as well as minor ones, were filled by Englishmen. Some of the appointments of Sheriffs, etc., are given in *Bain* as above, and in Stevenson's *Historical Documents*, II., pp. 90, 91. Barbour overstates the case.

194 *That worthyt than sa ryth felloune*. Gray says that the revolt of the conquered territories in Scotland under Robert Bruce was in great measure due to "the bad government of the ministers of the King, who governed them with too great harshness for their own personal gain" (*qi trop asprement lez governoient pur singuler profit*.—*Scala*, p. 140).

250 *in disputacioun*. For the "disputations" of clerks, cf. Chaucer, *Nun's Priest's Tale* and *Franklin's Tale*, 162.

259 *I leve all the solucioun*. As Mr. Neilson has pointed out (*An English Miscellany*, p. 383), this is a quite serious reference to a class of questions discussed by ecclesiastical lawyers. A whole book (ix.) is devoted to the *Redditio Debiti Conjugali* in the volume by Thomas Sanchez, one of the Salamanca doctors (*De Sto. Matrimonii Sacramento*; Venice, 1625). Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* has some characteristic remarks on the same subject:

"Why sholde men elles in hir bookes sette  
That man shal yelde to hys wyf hire dette?"  
(*Prologue to Tale*, 129, 130. Cf. also 154, 155).

282 *Put in presoun Sir Wilyham was*. Sir William Douglas, "the bold" (*le Hardi*), joined Bruce and the other lords who followed Wallace in rising, and formed a camp at Irvine in July, 1297. When these submitted and surrendered, Douglas, for not fulfilling his terms of surrender, was confined in Berwick Castle. Thence he was taken to the Tower, where he died before January, 1299. His Scottish lands were given to Sir Robert de Clifford (cf. lines 285-7).

293 *that hym ne dred*. Cf. note on *Bk. XX*. 514.

313 *James of Douglas*. "James is, in general, dissyllabic in Barbour" (Skeat).

323 *will off wane*. See glossary, and note on *Bk. II*. 471.

339 *Erle off Artayis*. This is probably the Count Robert of Artois, who was a friend of Queen Isabella and her son Edward III. He was driven from France (*Le Bel*, i., chap. xix., and notes in ed. 1904). He wandered from place to place, after quarrelling with King Philip, for three years; then crossed to England, disguised as a merchant (1334), which fact Barbour probably has here in his mind (*Mémoires de l'Académie Royale*, vol. x., p. 635. Paris, 1733).

343 *Catone sayis*. Dionysius Cato, a writer of the fourth century. The reference is to his line, "To pretend foolishness is, at times, the highest wisdom" (*Stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est. Disticha de Moribus*, Bk. ii. xviii; Ed. Amsterdam, 1754, p. 178).

346 *then come*. See on 282.

354 *the byschop*. William Lamberton. Edward sent to the Pope a lengthy list of charges against Lamberton, who had broken his most solemn oaths of fealty and shared in the "rebellions" against him. He had, when Chancellor of Glasgow, supported Wallace, and had himself chosen Bishop of St. Andrews, on Fraser's death, without Edward's consent. Then, with other lords, he went to France to do all the mischief he could there against Edward, and sent letters of encouragement to Wallace. After the suppression of the rising, he again submitted and took the oaths (see on 412), and was made chief of the Guardians of Scotland. He was suspected of complicity in the murder of Comyn (see on 611), and immediately supported Bruce. Arrested after Methven, he was imprisoned with Bishop Wishart of Glasgow, though not guilty of so many perjuries as he. These two bishops (with the other Scottish clergy), were the principal "abettors and maintainers" of Bruce's rising (*Palgrave*, pp. 331-340; also *Bain*, ii., as indexed). Lamberton was released in 1308, on giving securities for good behaviour and swearing fealty to Edward II. (*Bain*, iii., No. 50). Thereafter he acted as a negotiator between England and Scotland (*Bain*, iii.). He was excommunicated, and was one of the four bishops (St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray) summoned by the Pope in 1319 to answer for their support of Bruce (*Lanercost*, p. 423). He died some time before June, 1329 (*Bain*, iii., p. 316).

356 *forouth him to scher*. So did Chaucer's Squire: "And carf biforn his fader at the table" (*Prologue*, 100).

381-2. *But he wes nocht so fayr, etc.* Cf. of Porrus, in the *Alexander*.

“Bot he was nocht so fare suthly,  
That men *need* speke of him gretly,  
For he was broun red in visage” (p. 176).

399 *And wlyspit alsua*. Guido delle Colonne says that Hector “stammered a little in his speech” (*parum vero erat balbutiens in loquela*. See on 525); and so in the *Gest. Hystoriale* of Hector, “a little he stotid” (stammered) (line 3881).

403 *Till Ector*. In the *Alexander* that monarch is the incomparable hero:

“Bot Alexander I tak beforne,  
To him I mak na man compeir” (p. 110).

406 *lovvt*. “praised” (see Glossary).

412 *Byschop Wylyhame*. Lamberton, as Edward says, went to him at Stirling on May 4, 1304, and again took the oath of fealty, receiving from Edward’s hands the temporality of his bishopric (*Palgrave*, p. 334). “Strevellyne,” with several variations of spelling, is the usual form in contemporary records.

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429 *my fay feloune*. See on 282.

455 *thaim thai*. “Thaim” refers to the Scots; “thai” to the English. Barbour is particularly careless in the use of this pronoun. In 458 “thai” is again the English, who were sometimes rather more (“erar may”) in proportion; in 460 “thaim” is the Scots.

466 *in the Bibill*. The deeds of the Jewish patriots, as recorded in the apocryphal Books of the Maccabees, were, of course, included in the Vulgate Bible of the Church. The rising of the Maccabees and their supporters against the over-rule of the Seleucids in the latter half of the second century B.C. was, for the medieval writers, the prime example of a national uprising against foreign dominance. (See also *Bks. II. 330; XIV. 313.*)

477 *I spak of ayr*. Here Barbour appears to refer to the Competitor, last mentioned in line 153, thereby confusing him with his grandson Robert the King. Much grave reproof has accordingly been wasted upon the poet. According to Maxwell, the poem “has been almost irretrievably discredited as a chronicle by a monstrous liberty which the author takes in rolling three personages” (Competitor, Robert “the elder,” and the King) “into one ideal hero” (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 6). Mr. Brown accuses Barbour of having “deliberately and consciously perpetrated the fabrication” of making his hero a trinity of these three (*The Wallace and Bruce Restudied*, p. 93). Barbour, it is to be observed, at worst only combines two, grandson and grandfather—he says nothing of the intermediate Robert; unless we force what is said in line 67 to this sense. One chronicler alone distinctly achieves the feat of making the three one person—Geoffrey Baker of Swinbroke (pp. 100-1)—but so far he has escaped censure, and no one rejects his work on that account. Surely in Barbour’s case it is but a striking case of his frequent carelessness of reference (see on 445). He started with King Robert, his subject, in line 25, and it is not too much to ask that “I spak of ayr” goes back to that point. This is a simpler way out than that inconsistently taken by Mr. Brown, who argues that, after all, the reading is probably wrong, and proposes to restore “the original” from Wyntoun’s lines, a paraphrase of Barbour (p. 95). Wyntoun was not deceived, nor was anyone likely to be. Barbour had nothing to gain by purposeless perversity, not even a literary point as has been suggested, for the “Romance” proper begins at line 445, and for it there is but one Robert.

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478 *swa forfayr*. “Going to ruin.” Cf. *Gest. Hystoriale*, “Fele folk *forfaren*,” ready to perish (1438). Modern Scots in sense of “neglected,” as in Thom’s *Mitherless Bairn*; “sairly *forfairn*.”

485 *Said till him*. Gray gives a similar account of the alternative proposals here made, putting them, however, into the mouth of Robert Bruce, who, with him, takes the initiative, and stating that they were made upon the occasion of the meeting in the Greyfriars Church, where Comyn refused to listen to them. It must be remembered that Barbour admits the existence of various accounts. Gray supplies also the significant motive: “for now is the old age of the present English King” (*qar ore est temps en veillesce de cesty roy Engles*, p. 130). Bruce, in this account, speaks of the land being in servitude to the English by fault of Balliol, “who suffered his right and his freedom of the kingdom to be lost” (*qe son droit et la fraunchise du realme ad lesse perdre*, p. 129). The account in Fordun gives Bruce the initiative in making the offer on the ride from Stirling, and dates it 1304 (*Gesta Annalia*, cxiii.). See note on *Bk. II. 35.*

525-6 *Dares ... and Dytis*. These two represented to the medieval mind the more trustworthy authorities on the Siege of Troy; Homer, whom they knew only through the Latin classics, being obviously biassed in favour of the Greeks, a strong objection to historians who loved to attribute the beginnings of their nation to a colony of Trojan fugitives—*e.g.*, Brutus, who founded Albion or Britain. Dares Phrygius, whose *De Excidio Trojæ* is merely a good-sized pamphlet, here comes first as the favourite. Figuring as a priest of Hephæstus, he gives the Trojan side. The point of the present reference is that he makes Troy fall by the treachery of Æneas and others, who admit the Greeks by night at the Scæan gate on the outside of which “was painted the head of a horse” (ed. London, 1825, p. 336); thus rationalizing the story of the wooden horse as he does Homer’s other remarkable incidents. The book is in Latin, and is late—not much earlier than the twelfth century. It professes, however, to have been translated from a Greek manuscript found at Athens by the translator, Cornelius Nepos! Dictys Cretensis, styled companion of Idomeneus, stands for the

Greek side, giving, however, a more impartial account than Homer. His MS. (*Ephemeris Belli Trojani*) was found, it is alleged, in Gnosus, Crete, in one of the tin (lead) coffers, examples of which have been found in the recent explorations of the great palace. It was translated from the original Punic into Greek in the time of Nero and again translated into Latin. It is the older production of the two by a few centuries; both, of course, are fabrications. On them Benoit de Sainte-More based his *Roman de Troie*, which Guido delle Colonne turned into a Latin *Historia Trojana* and successfully passed off on the Middle Ages as his own work. Scotland came under the spell of Guido, and it is from him Barbour takes his information.

533 *throw pusoune*. The account of the medieval romances of Alexander. He really died in 323 B.C., of a combination of malarial fever and hard drinking—which was much too tame an end for his admirers.

542 *fryst maid emperour*. A usual medieval error, but Julius Cæsar did not become Emperor. Chaucer says the same thing (*Monk's Tale*). Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks of "Julius Cæsar and the rest of the Roman kings"—a double error (*Edit. Giles, 1844, p. 176*). See below on 554.

549 *Als Arthur*. Arthur's European conquests are enumerated in the contemporary, *Morte Arthure*, p. 2. The Eastern ones, such as "Surry" (Syria), follow the triumph over Rome.

554 *Lucius Yber*. "Sir Lucius Iberius, the Emperor of Rome," is a leading figure in *Morte Arthure*. Wyntoun observes that his correct title was Procurator, as the Emperor proper was Leo, but excuses the earlier author for calling him Emperor on that ground that,

"Ane empyroure in propyrté (in especial)  
A comawndoure suld callyt be" (*Bk. v., Chap. xii.*):

*i.e.*, Emperor is simple *imperator*. In fact, Geoffrey styles him "Lucius Respublicæ procurator" to begin, but in the account of his death, "Lucius imperator" (ed. cited, pp. 174, 198). In the *Gest. Hystoriale*, Agamemnon is "Emperor" of the Greeks. On conclusions from this passage, see *Appendix F.i.c.*

611 *The endentur, the seile to se*. Fordun, too, tells of "indentures" (*indenturas*) between the barons, and of Comyn's disclosure to Edward, but gives a different account of Edward's action and Bruce's escape. Wyntoun adopts Barbour's version in his own words, so that we may take it that, substantially, the story was the current explanation in Scotland. Gray, too, it must be remembered, drew upon a Scottish chronicle (see on 485 and *Introd., ii.*). It may just be that there was a confusion as to the origin of the indenture which caused the mischief. There actually was an indenture or bond between Bruce and Bishop Lamberton, drawn up, too, in 1304, the year to which Fordun attributes that between Bruce and Comyn. In this the parties bound themselves to act together, in matters affecting them, against all persons whatever, and provided that neither should attempt any "difficult business" without consulting the other, and that, in the case of any peril threatening, each should warn and shield the other to the utmost of his power. The implication is clear: a fresh rising was in contemplation, probably on the death of Edward I. (*cf.* Gray in note on 485). A copy of this document came into Edward's hands—certainly not, however, through the agency of Comyn—and Lamberton was charged before witnesses at Newcastle on August 3, 1306. He was asked whether the seal was his (*cf.* line 612), and whether it had been affixed with his will and knowledge; to which he answered in the affirmative (*Palgrave, 323-5*). The story of this indenture may have got worked into what was known of Comyn's refusal to cooperate with Bruce. The records give no hint of anything else of the kind in Edward's possession, and the knowledge of it, had it existed, would not have been suppressed (see also note on *Bk. II. 17*).

625-6 *into bouch, etc. I.e.*, Bruce pledges his lands as bail for his appearance. There is no record of such a Parliament, nor is any such procedure at all probable.

## BOOK II.

17 *Thai raid*. The account in Fordun is that one night, "when the wine was giving its colour in the cup" (*cum merum splenderet in calice*), Edward, on his way to bed, explained that on the morrow Bruce would lose his life. Thereupon the hint of his danger was conveyed to Bruce by the Earl of Gloucester (*i.e.*, Randolph or Ralph de Monthermer), in the form of twelve silver pennies and a pair of spurs (*Gesta Annalia, cxiv.*). Gloucester was presently in the field against Bruce. Edward declared that up to the time of the rupture, Bruce had enjoyed his "full confidence" (*Fœdera, ii., p. 988*).

17 *on the fyften day*. Bower says the seventh day (*Scotich, Lib. xii., Cap. vii.*). But the news of Comyn's murder on February 10 seems to have reached Edward (at Winchester) not long before the 23rd, probably only a day or so (*Bain, ii., No. 1746*), and this would be carried quickly.

18 *Louchmaban*. Bruce's castle in Annandale.

32 *Schyr Jhone the Cumyn*. According to both Gray and Hemingburgh, Bruce first sent his two brothers, Thomas and Neil, to ask Comyn to meet him at Dumfries; Gray says that they might kill him on the way, which, to Bruce's disquiet, they failed to do; Hemingburgh that he might discuss with Bruce certain matters affecting them both (*Scala., p. 129; Chronicon, ii., p. 245*). Sir John Comyn "the Red" was Balliol's nephew, the son of his third sister (*Scala., p. 121*), and his wife was a sister of Aymer de Valence. He came to Dumfries from Dalswinton, not far away.

33 *In the Freris, at the hye awter*. Edward informed the Pope that Comyn was murdered "in the

church of the Friars Minor (Franciscans) of Dumfries, near the high altar" (*Palgrave*, i., pp. 335, 346). The "high altar" is part of the setting in all the accounts. The date is February 10, 1306.

34 *with lauchand cher*. Hemingburgh says they embraced in the cloister (*mutuo se receperunt in osculum*, p. 245).

35 *The endentur*. According to Fordun, Bruce, on his way home, had met a messenger of Comyn carrying to Edward letters advising the imprisonment or death of Bruce. He had killed the messenger and taken the letters, and it was with these he now confronted Comyn (*Gesta Annal.*, cxv.). Gray relates that Bruce now made Comyn the proposal described in note on *Bk. I. 485*, which Comyn refused to entertain, whereupon Bruce said: "I had other hopes of you from the promises of both you and your friends; *you have betrayed me to the King by your letters*, and, since you cannot live to accomplish my wish, take your reward" (*pur quoi viaunt ne pousse eschever moun vouloir, tu auras toun guerdon.—Scala.*, p. 130). Hemingburgh's version is that Bruce accused Comyn of treason, *in that he had denounced him to the King of England*, and lowered his standing to his loss (p. 246). Edward's account to the Pope is that Comyn would not assent to the treason which Bruce proposed—that is, to renew the war against him, and make himself, by force, King of Scotland (*Palgrave*, 335).

36 *hym reft the lyff*. The other accounts are more detailed, and agree in stating that Bruce merely wounded Comyn, and that his followers completed the work: "In the middle of the church, before the altar," says Gray; "on the steps of the high altar, which was stained with his blood," according to Hemingburgh (as cited).

37-38 *Schyr Edmund Comyn ... And othir mony*. Barbour is wrong in the name; it was Sir Robert Comyn, John's uncle (*Fordun, Lanercost, Gray, Hemingburgh, Palgrave*, as cited). Sir Edmund fell at Bannockburn (*Annal. London*, p. 251). No other fatalities are mentioned. Hemingburgh adds that Bruce took the Castle and forced the English justices, then holding court, to surrender, but allowed them to depart in safety (p. 246).

40 *that debat fell othir wayis*. "That the quarrel came about otherwise." Barbour was familiar with, at least, another version. *Cf.* previous notes.

67 *drawyn and hangit*. See note on *Bk. IV. 322*.

81 *the byschop of Androws towne*. On June 9 Lamberton writes to Aymer de Valence, Edward's lieutenant in Scotland, that no blame attached to him in the matter of the death of John Comyn and his uncle, or for the beginning of this war (*Palgrave*, p. 322).

86 *Thomas prophecy*. Thomas of "Hersildoune" is Thomas of Ercildoune (now Earlston), or Thomas Rhymer whose alleged prophecies had a great vogue in Scotland for hundreds of years, especially at a national crisis. One such was current with the Jacobites of the Forty-Five. A MS. of the first quarter of the fourteenth century gives a long prediction by Thomas in answer to the question when the Scottish War should end (*Thomas of Ercildoune*, E.E.T.S., pp. xviii, xix). It contains the line, "When Bambourne (? Bannockburn) is donged wyth dede men." *Cf. Bk. XIII. 336-340*.

92 *befor the byschop schar*. See note on *Bk. I. 356*.

96 *the burdys down war laid*. *I.e.*, the boards which formed the table were removed from the trestles after dinner.

107 *wald disherys*. Bruce's lands had been immediately confiscated and distributed to others (*Bain*, ii.; s.v. Earl of Carrick).

112 *the Clyffurd*. See note on *Bk. I. 282*.

118 *Ferrand*. Also the name of the horse of Emynedus, Alexander's comrade, in the *Alexander*. "Ferrand" means "iron-grey," as in *Morte Arthure*: "one *ferant* stedez" (2259, etc.). Like "Blanchard" (white) a common name for a horse.

148 *Aryk stane*. At the head of Annandale.

179 *wes maid king*. On the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1306 (*Lanercost*, 203; *Hemingburgh*, 247; *Scala.*, 130).

187 *went out our the land*. Malise, Earl of Strathearn, presented a memorial to the King of England, explaining how Bruce, after his coronation, had summoned him to give homage, how he had refused at first, but was apprehended, and submitted in order to save his life (*Palgrave*, pp. 319-21). According to Hemingburgh, it was after Comyn's murder that Bruce went round Scotland (*circuivit terram Scociae*), seizing and fortifying castles, etc. (II., p. 246). There was scarcely time at that stage.

200-1 *Schir Amer the Vallang*. Sir Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, sent to put down Robert Bruce, etc., April 15, 1306 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1762). In Barbour's spelling the "g" is soft. Valence had taken an active part in the Scots' war since Falkirk, and figures, as before that date, in the *Wallace*. He was now about twenty-six years of age and practically a professional soldier.

204 *in all hy*. Valence was to enter Scotland at once; the Prince of Wales and then Edward himself were to follow. Edward, however, wished to hear of "some good exploit, if possible, before their arrival" (*Bain*, ii., No. 1773).

205 *And byrn, and slay, and rais dragoun*. Edward, writing to Valence on June 12, is "well pleased to hear he has burned Sir Simon Fraser's lands in Selkirk Forest." He is "to do the same to all enemies on his march," "to burn, destroy, and waste their houses, lands, and goods" (*Bain*, ii.,

No. 1782). In later letters these commands are repeated for specific instances. On June 28 he is "referring to his orders to put to death all enemies and rebels already or hereafter taken" (No. 1790). The expression "rais dragoun" has been fully explained and illustrated by Mr. Neilson in the *Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xii., No. 48. His summary is as follows: "In the middle of the fourteenth century, and later, there was still prevalent the conception ... that the dragon banner was a token of hostility more deadly than the ordinary conditions of feudal and chivalric warfare countenanced. Its display in every example adduced was against subjects in revolt, however supposititious, as at Crecy, the claim of sovereignty might be" (p. 151). The origin and development of this association is the subject of Mr. Neilson's article. Cf. also in *Morte Arthure*, "For thare es noghte bot dede thare the dragone es raissede!" (line 2057).

211 *Philip the Mowbray*. He is among those with Valence given by Gray (*Scala.*, p. 130). See on Mowbray, *Bk. XIII.* 363.

212 *Ingram the Umfravill*. He had taken an active part in previous years on the national side. He is among the "Scotsmen and late rebels" who, on October 10, 1305, had their lands in Scotland and England restored on renewing their fealty to Edward (*Bain*, ii., No. 1696).

215 *off Scotland the maist party*. It is not clear what Barbour precisely means. But, according to Gray, Valence had with him several Scottish barons, friends of Comyn, opposed to Bruce (*Scala.*, p. 130); and a fortnight before the battle Edward was requesting Valence "to inform the King's foresters of Selkirk how they have loyally and painfully served the King, and done well" (*Bain*, ii., No. 1782). Fordun says that Valence had in Perth "a great power of both English and Scots" (*Gesta Annalia*, cxix).

235 *Levynax*. I.e., Lennox, otherwise *Levenauch*. Malcolm "Comte de Levenaux" is on *Ragman Roll* (*Bain*, ii., p. 209). He was the fifth in the line of Celtic Earls. Cf. on 482.

Atholl is John de Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl. He was among the first to join Bruce, and it was by his advice that the safe-conduct to Strathearn was broken and the Earl confined in Inchmacolm (see on 187). He was captured after Methven, and, as he was of royal blood, was spared torture, but was hanged "higher than the rest" (*Hemingburgh*, ii., p. 250): on a gallows thirty feet higher (*Scala.*, p. 131). He was alleged to be the son of Edward's aunt, but see *Genealogist*, N.S. xxii., p. 105.

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236 *Edward the Bruce*. Robert's brother.

237 *Thomas Randell*. Thomas Randolph, the King's nephew, afterwards Earl of Moray. For his change of side, see on 463. *Hew de le Hay* is on *Ragman Roll*, apparently of Fife (*Bain*, ii., p. 204); brother of Gilbert de la Hay, afterwards Constable of Scotland and ancestor of the Earls of Errol.

238 *David the Berclay*. David de Berkele on *Ragman Roll* (*Bain*, ii., 209); of Cairns, in Fife (*Hailes*, ii., p. 2. Ed. 1797). Cf. on *Bk. XIX.* 19.

239 *Fresale, Somerveile, and Inchmertyn*. *Fresale* is "Alexander Fraser" (see line 407). Jamieson identifies him as "the brother of Simon Fraser, of Oliver Castle, in Tweeddale," which is Hailes's statement (*Annals*, vol. ii., p. 2), and Skeat follows, whence arises a serious confusion in *Bk. VIII.* 397. Sir Simon Fraser, "filius," of Oliver, to distinguish him from his father ("pater"), and grandfather of the same name, the hero of the English defeat at Roslin in 1302, was captured and executed as a traitor in 1306. His brother was Thomas Fraser, and neither seems to have left any descendants (Lord Saltoun's *Frasers of Philorth*, ii., p. 94). This Alexander Fraser was of the same stock, but was the elder son of Sir Andrew Fraser of Touch-Fraser, Stirlingshire, Sheriff of Stirling in 1293, and was afterwards Bruce's Chamberlain of Scotland (*ibid.*, p. 125). He was not "Sir" Alexander till after 1312 (*ibid.*, i., pp. 49, 54). Bruce granted him "Tulch-fraser" afresh (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, p. 17, 86). He had a brother Simon, but a different Simon from the one Jamieson refers to (see note on *Bk. VIII.* 397). "Fresale," Jamieson adds, "is still the vulgar pronunciation of the name in Lothian." *John de Somerville* was second son of Sir Walter de Somerville of Linton and Carnwath (*Memorie of the Somervills*, i., 83, 86). *Inchmertyn* is David de Inchmartyn, who was, according to Hailes, the ancestor of the Earls of Findlater and Airlie, and of Lord Banff (*Annals*, vol. ii., p. 3, note. Ed. 1797). *John de Somerville* and *David de Inchmartyn* are among the fifteen Scots captured at Methven and sentenced to death at Carlisle on August 4, without being allowed to plead, under the charge of "feloniously and wickedly slaying some of the King's liegemen" at that battle. They were all hanged (*Bain*, ii., No. 1811).

\*243 *Cristall of Setoun*. See line 418 and note on *Bk. IV.* 16. He was married to Cristina Bruce, Robert's sister (*Bain*, ii., No. 1910): twenty-eight years of age.

\*244 *Robert Boyd*. Ancestor of the Viscounts of Kilmarnock (Robertson's *Index of Charters*, p. 6, No. 46). He was captured at Kildrummy (*Bain*, ii., No. 1829), but must either have escaped or been released, as he appears again. See *Bk. IV.* 342; VIII. 415.

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247 *Sanct Johnstoun*. Perth. The church was dedicated to St. John.

248 *bad Schyr Amery isch to fycht*. Hemingburgh writes that Bruce sent a message that the English should either come out to fight or surrender (ii., p. 248); Gray that Bruce offered battle to the Earl (of Pembroke), and remained before the town from the early morning till after noon (*Scalacronica*, p. 130). Noon would be dinner-time. Trivet briefly says that Bruce "invited" Valence to come out and fight (*Annals*, p. 409); similarly Rishanger (*Chronica*, p. 230).

252 *Schir Ingram*. According to Gray, Pembroke acted on the advice of his Scottish lords, and lay low (*se teint tot coy*, p. 130).

279 *bot gyf thai faile*. "If they do not fail on their part."

301 *on the morn cum*. The English, "seeing they were fewer in number, cautiously replied that they would not come out then, because it was a feast day (Sunday, June 26), but would gladly fight with him on the morrow" (*Hemingburgh*, ii., p. 249. Cf. also Trivet's *Annals*, p. 410; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 230).

305 *went to the forray*. The English had calculated that the Scots would be occupied in preparing food (*Hemingburgh*).

310 *Ischyt in-forcelly*. At vespers (*Hemingburgh: Trivet*).

313 *wes unarmyt then*. Had put off his armour. Hemingburgh says they found the Scots carelessly resting (*recumbentes secure*: as cited); Trivet that they came on the Scots suddenly, and slew many unarmed (p. 410). Bruce and some others speedily armed themselves and resisted (*ibid.*).

319 *on thair hors lap*. According to Hemingburgh, the English attacked before all the Scots could mount. Gray says they formed up hastily, and all on horseback attacked the English (*Scala.*, p. 131).

330 *For multitud mais na victory*. "For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host" (I. *Maccabees*, Chap. iii., 19).

340-1 Cf. in *Alexander*:

"Quha for his Lord dois he sall be  
Harbreid with Angellis gle" (p. 21).

365 *all the renk*. Skeat has a note on this word explaining renk as "a rank of fighting men," and citing "the plur. form renges" in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* (Globe, *Chaucer*, A 2594). But while there is a form renk = rank, that is not the word or the sense here. The proper explanation comes from the *Alexander*, in such examples as:

"Ane renk about him hes he made,  
Quhair evir he straik nane him abade" (p. 145, 8-9).

and

"Ane renk about him hes he maid,  
He sparit nane that him abaid" (p. 231, 20-21);

while we have a similar use in the *Morte Arthure*:

"Ryde throughte all the rowtte, rerewarde and other,  
Redy wayes to make, and rennkes full rowme."

Another passage from the *Alexander* gives us the sense in the setting and phraseology of the passage on hand:

"The woundit gave cryis and granes,  
Trumpettis and hornes blew atanes,  
*It seemit all the cowntre quok*" (p. 412, 29-31).

*Renk*, then, has nothing to do with "rank," but signifies "an open or clear space"; here "all the place about them quaked." It is, in fact, our modern "rink," and appears to be a form of "ring," as in "prize-ring" (Skeat's *Etymol. Dict.*). It has nothing to do with "range" in the sense of "rove," as Mr. Amours thinks (*Alliterative Poems*, S.T.S.). H actually reads *rinke*.

415 *hynt hys rengyhe*. The account in Gray is that Bruce's rein was seized by John de Haliburton, who let him go immediately when he saw who he was. The difficulty about recognition was due to the fact that Bruce showed no coat of arms, having on a white tunic (*un chemys blank*. —*Scalacronica*, p. 131). Hemingburgh says that all the mounted Scots, in their approach to Perth, had these white overalls (*super omnia arma vestem lineam*), so that they could not be identified (ii., p. 248).

438 *corn-but*. This reading for the obscure *torn-but* of E (*t* and *c* are often indistinguishable in MS.) and *combat* of H is due to Mr. George Neilson, basing on a passage in the *Morte Arthure* (*Scottish Antiquary*, July, 1902, p. 51). The "heathen king" is down with a mortal wound from Sir Cadur, who exclaims:

"Thow has *corne botte*, sir kynge, there God gyfe the sorowe,  
Thow killyde my cosyn, my kare is the less" (1837-8).

Though the general meaning of "revenge," "tit-for-tat," is clear, no satisfactory analysis of the phrase has been offered. Skeat and Gollancz think that the first part of the term is French —*corne*, a horn "as the symbol of pride"—and that the compound signifies "a requital for pride, a

taking down." The passages will scarcely bear this. Moreover, *bōt* is admittedly old English—"remedy, atonement"—and one shies at a solitary compound in such a case. *Mann-bōt* was a fine paid to the lord of a murdered man; *brycgbot* was a levy for the repair of bridges; *corn-gesc(e)ot* was a contribution of corn. *Corn-bot* may thus have been a fine for the destruction of corn, and have taken on a general sense of requital or revenge. It does not seem to require the force of a specially intense revenge (*ausserlessene busse*. Holshausen), but appears to have been a slang term, whence its rare occurrence in literature. It is not given in the *New English Dic.* (See further *Scottish Antiquary*. June, 1903, pp. 121-123; *Notes and Queries*, 9 Series, x. 61, 115, 253).

463 *Thomas Randell*. He was given in ward to Sir Adam de Gordon to be kept till the King's arrival in Inverkip Castle (*Bain*, ii., No. 1807). Gray says he was released at the instance of Gordon, when he remained English till his recapture (*Scala*, p. 131).

467 *sum thai hangyt*. See on 235, 239.

471 *will of wane*. "Astray in thought (weening); distracted, at a loss. *Will* = modern English *wild*, astray, bewildered (Icel. *villr*). Cf. in the *Gest. Hystoriale*: "All wery I wex and *wyll of my gate*" = out of my way (line 2369).

479 *the Boroundoun*. This name has puzzled editors and given rise to a good deal of conjecture. But a Sir Walter de Borondone was constable of Carstairs Castle in 1305-1306 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1880), and he is the same person as Sir Walter de Bourghdon, constable there in 1301-1302 (*ibid.*, No. 1290), of Roxburghshire (*ibid.*, p. 199). He was an English officer.

482 *The Erle of the Levenax wes away*. Fordun, however, says that Lennox and De la Hay alone followed Bruce, and became "his inseparable companions (*comites individui*) in every tribulation" (*Gesta Annal.*, cxxi.). Cf. *Bk.* III. 591.

491 *Schir Nele Cambell*. Ancestor of the Campbells of Lochow, or Loch Awe, and so of the Argyll family. He married Mary Bruce, the King's sister, but not, it would seem, before 1312 (*Scots Peerage*, i., p. 323; but see on xvi. 119). The grant of "Lauchaw" was to their son Colin (Robertson's *Index*, pp. 16, 18).

494 *the Month*. "The mountain which is called the Mound, which stretches from the western to the eastern sea" (*De Situ Albaniae*, MS. Paris; cited in *Historians of Scotland*, *Innes' Essay*, p. 412). The modern Grampians.

513 *Nele the Bruys ... and the Queyn*. Neil or Nigel (Nigellus) Bruce was the King's brother. His Queen was Bruce's second wife, a daughter of Richard de Burgh Earl of Ulster.

514 *othir ladyis*. Fordun says all the ladies went with their husbands and the King, hiding in the woods, etc. (*Gesta Annal.*, cxix.).

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529 *King Adrastus*. One of "the Seven against Thebes," and the only one who returned home in safety. Barbour follows neither the Greek sources nor the Thebaid of Statius, but one of the many French romances on the subject. See *Appendix F*.

534 *Campaneus*. Properly *Capaneus*, who was struck with lightning by Zeus, whom he had defied, while attempting to scale the walls of Thebes.

542 *the tour*. See note on *Bk.* XVII. 224.

### BOOK III.

1 *The Lord of Lorne*. Strictly this should be Alexander Macdougall of Argyll or of Lorn, but probably his son, John of Lorn, is meant, as on September 14 Edward writes to the Prince of Wales how "Sir John of Argyll has well served him and the Prince" (*Bain*, ii., No. 1830).

3 *his emys sak*. Alexander of Argyle, according to Wyntoun (*Bk.* viii., Chap. vi., 1171) had married an aunt of the murdered John Comyn, a daughter of Sir John Comyn "the Red" (!), of Badenoch, his grandfather. He was thus the "eym" or uncle of Comyn, not his nephew (*Scots Peerage*, i., 507).

15 *thar fryst metyng*. According to Fordun, this skirmish took place at Dalry ("the King's field"), near Tyndrum, in the west of Perthshire, on August 11, 1306 (*Gesta Ann.*, cxx.). Bruce was making his way westwards by Glen Dochart. There is the usual "King's Cave" in Balquhiddar (Jamieson).

62 *ane sik aw*. "In such awe." For this form, cf. *Alexander* (78, 5), "he stude of thame lytill aw," and *Wallace* (*Bk.* v. 929), "On thaim he raid, and stud bot litill aw." This usage is a stage in the grammatical development of the modern phrase from the original type, "Awe of one stood men" (*dat.*), for which see N.E.D.

67 *Marthokys sone*. Jamieson suggests *Marthok* to be for *Muratach* (*Muredach*) = *Murdoch*; so "Marthokys sone" = MacVurich (*MacMhuirich*).

69 *Fyn all*. Here E gives *hym all*, which is clearly wrong. Skeat adopts *Fyngall* from H and A. Better, however, is the more ancient and correct form, *Fyn*, which the scribe has turned into *hym*, while the "all" is preserved to balance the "all" in the next line. Golmakmorn is *Goll mac Morna*, head of the Clann Morna, the rivals of the *Fianna*, and the reference is to the detachment of members of his band from Finn by Goll; Finn, indeed, perished in a conflict with rebel followers.

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75 *in Gadyrris the forrayours*. The reference is to one of the later episodes in the *Romance of*



*Alexander*, appearing in the Scottish *Alexander* as *The Forray of Gadderis (La Fuelle de Gades)*. Alexander, while besieging Tyre, sends out a body of men to forage in the "vale of Josaphas." On their return with the cattle, they are set upon by a large army under Betys of "Gaderis," one of whose followers was Gaudifer. Only the timely arrival of Alexander saved his men, and, on the flight of Betys, Gaudifer maintained the struggle till he was slain. Skeat says that Barbour could not have used the Scottish translation, dated 1438, but "must have seen it in an earlier form." Lines 81, 82, however, correspond literally, with one exception, to the passage in the *Alexander*, and, according to Neilson, they have no place in the original French (*John Barbour*, p. 55):

"For to defend all the flearis  
And for to stony the chassaris" (p. 88, 20).

*Coneus* (line 85) is there *Corneus* (pp. 88, 89), and *Danklyne, Danclyne* or *Danclene*—in the French original *Corneus* and *Dans Clins*. Cf. Brown's *Wallace* and *Bruce*, p. 101, where, however, Mr. Brown's transcription of the names in the *Alexander* must be checked; and see further Appendix E. In the *Wallace* there is a similar reference to *The Forray*, Bk. x. 340-2.

101 "*the Durwarth sonnys*." "The Durward or door-ward's sons," a translation of the Gaelic name *Mac-na-dorsair*, "son of the door-man." Skeat has a long note, contributed by Dr. Murray, claiming that "no writer seems to have seen the point of this passage." Reference is accordingly made to the trouble caused by Alan Durward in the reign of Alexander III., and the connection of Durward with Nicholas de Soulis, one of the Competitors (see also on Bk. XIX. 11). Whence it is inferred that these "men were the clansmen of Alan the Durward, who, like the Comyns of Badenoch, the Baliols, and others, were almost more dangerous to Bruce than the arms of England." That can scarcely have been the case, since it must also be taken into account (1) that the Bruces were of the Durward party in the reign of Alexander III., and (2) that an Alan Durward was hanged with Nigel Bruce at Berwick, having, apparently, been captured at Kildrummy (*Scala*, p. 131).

153 *a baroune Maknauchtan*. The chief of the Macnaughtons (? Ferchar or Farquhar), whose father was of the time of Alexander III., an ancient clan having lands near Loch Awe (Cf. *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, p. 51). There is no "Duncan" (Jamieson following Nisbet, *Heraldry*) in the genealogy.

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162 *his owtrageous manheid*. Cf. in *Alexander*, "outragius hardement" (p. 184, 16). This use of "outrageous" = extreme or excessive, is common, if not peculiar, to the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. Cf. in *Bruce*, vi. 126; viii. 270; ix. 101; xi. 32: *Alexander*, 235, 8; 258, 30; 335, 9.

172 "*sa our Lord me se*." "May our Lord watch over me," as in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, "Now, lordes, God yow see" (Group C, line 715).

208 *Hanniball*. The reference is to Hannibal's crushing defeat of the Romans at Cannae, 216 B.C. Barbour takes his details in a rather huddled fashion from *Martinus Polonus*, a popular monkish historian of the thirteenth century (*Chronicon de Gestis Romanorum*, etc.), who again bases on *Paulus Orosius*, of the beginning of the fifth century. Wyntoun confessedly reproduces the chapters of Polonus at greater length and more accurately than Barbour, and on this fact, viewed in the light of the general relation of Wyntoun to Barbour, and certain peculiarities in the present case, Mr. Brown bases an argument that the Hannibal passage is "derived from the *Cronyki*" and "an interpolation" in the *Bruce*. On this see Appendix F, v. Mr. Brown gives in full the relevant portions of the text of Polonus and Orosius (*Wallace and Bruce*, pp. 120-7).

211 *thre bollis, etc.* "Tres modios aureorum anulorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus interfectorum nobilium extraxerat" (*Mart. Pol.*).

216 *Scipio the king*. For the medieval usage in titles, cf. also note on Bk. I. 554. Polonus calls Scipio *Tribunus militum*; Barbour (and Wyntoun) translate *milites*, from the contemporary use of the word, as "knights"; whence "the Tribune of the knights" naturally suggests the title "King," Wyntoun preferring "chytane." Cf. also what is said in the footnote. It may, however, be considered that in the *Alexander* we have "Gaudifer the yhing" (121, 20), and "Ideas the yhing" (161, 26).

221 *knychtis*. Really only "soldiers" (*milites fecerunt*).

231 *Thai ischit*. Barbour hurries over the interval of four years between the Battle of Cannae and Hannibal's appearance before the walls of Rome, 212 B.C.

234 *throw mycht of Goddis grace. Divina miseratio* in *Mart. Pol.* and *Orosius*.

242 *twys thar-efitir*. No; only twice altogether. But Barbour is apparently summarizing from memory, though Mr. Brown repudiates the suggestion (p. 126).

281-2 *That hym thocht, etc.* From Lucan's *Pharsalia: Nil actum credens, si quid superesset agendum* (ii. 657).

337 *Kildromy*. Kildrummy Castle, in Aberdeenshire, on the Don, a royal castle which Edward had ordered Bruce, in September, 1305, to place "in the keeping of one for whom he shall answer" (*Bain*, ii., No. 1691).

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365 H has flatly misunderstood this line, and Skeat's partial emendation therefrom introduces a use of *the quhilk* rare in Barbour (see on XVIII. 225). Moreover, as Koeppl further points out, the sense of the passage implies an antithesis such as E gives. The only difficulty is the redundant syllable *yt*, and for *confort* alone, cf. V. 210, XV. 371 (*Englische Studien*, x., p. 380, note).

373 *to the wynter ner*. Kildrummy fell before the middle of September, 1306, but August is

scarcely "near" winter, even in Scotland.

390 *hys werdis, etc.* "Follow out his fate (werdis) to the end."

392 *Nele Cambel*. See note on *Bk. II. 491*.

437 *Ferambrace*. The romance of *Fierabras* or *Ferumbras* (*ferri brachium*, "iron-arm" or "strong-arm") was the most popular of the Charlemagne romances. It still circulates among the French peasantry. There are two versions of it in English of the fifteenth century, *Syr Ferumbras* (E.E.T.S.) and *The Sowdone of Babylone* (E.E.T.S.). The latter also has the peculiar form *Lavyne* from *Laban* for *Balan*, the Sowdone or Sultan and father of Fierabras. On these points see *Appendix F, iii*. *Olyver* (439) is Oliver, one of the "duk-peris" (440) or "twelve peers" (*douze pairs*) of Charlemagne, and *Syr Ferumbras* opens with the account of how he defeated Fierabras in single combat, which also begins the second division of the Sowdone. The French knights are, however, trapped by the Saracens and confined in the castle of *Egrymor* (441), or Aigremont, in Spain, but are released and joined by Floripas, the daughter of Balan, and make themselves masters of "the tower" (449). They are the twelve peers, though Barbour makes them "bot eleven" (444), probably with reference to the one who was slain in the defence. But they lack provisions, and news of their plight is carried to Charlemagne by Richard of Normandy (450). Charlemagne, who, supposing them slain, was on his way home to France, turned back with his army, seized the marble bridge over the river *Flagot*, which was warded by a giant, and captured the great tower of *Mantrible* on the other side (445). Thereafter Lavyne, or Balan, is defeated and captured, and, later, executed; the Christians recover from Floripas the sacred relics carried off by Fierabras from St. Peter's, Rome. The "sper" (459) is the spear with which the side of the crucified Jesus was pierced by the Roman soldier; the crown is the crown of thorns; "the naylis" are the nails with which he was fixed to the cross. In the *Complaynt of Scotlande* (E.E.T.S., p. 63) is a reference to the *Tail (tale) of the Brig of the Mantrible*. Readers of *Don Quixote* will recall "the balsam of Fierabras," which also figures in the romance. On Mr. Brown's treatment of this passage, see *Appendix F, iii*.

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493 *will of red*. "At a loss what to do"; *red* = "rede," counsel, advice. See note on *Bk. II. 471*.

517 *but anger*. "Without trouble or sorrow."

561 *To tell of paynys, etc.* An allusion to Virgil: *Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit* (*Aeneid*, i. 203).

578 *mony frely fute*. "Many a handsome *child*" is Skeat's explanation, taking "fute = fode, one fed or nourished up." But in the *Morte Arthure*, Gawain says to Mordred, who was no child, "Fals fosterde *foode*, the fende have thy bonys" (3376); and "frelly" also occurs as in, "Thow arte *frelly* and faire," etc. (970); whence Barbour just means, "many a goodly or handsome person."

584 *the hyde leve on the tre*. "They left the skin on the wood of the oars," being unaccustomed to the rough work of rowing.

588 *To furthyr thaim, etc.* "To carry them on in their floating."

658 *our stycht*. "Our fixed purpose or determination." Cf. A.S. *stihtan*, to establish (Skeat). The *Morte Arthure* has the related verb, "styhtyll tha steryn men"—*i.e.*, "place these stern men" (line 157): *styhtlen*, to dispose.

659 *Angus of Ile*. Angus Macdonald, known as Angus Oig ("the younger"). His elder brother, Alexander of Islay, or of the Isles, was in the English interest, and had married Juliana of Lorn, sister of John of Lorn. Their father, Angus Mor ("the big or elder"), had supported the Bruce party during his life, taking an active part with it in 1286. Angus also was English (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 40, 41) till the appearance of Bruce. His lands were in Kintyre (see further *Scots Peerage*, i., 36, 37).

666 *Donavardyne*. The castle of Dunaverty, at the south end of Kintyre. It was being besieged, for some days at least, before September 22, by the English pursuing Bruce (*Bain*, ii., Nos. 1833, 1834), who believed that he was inside (*Hemingburgh*, ii. 249; *Trivet*, p. 410).

680 *Rauchryne*. Now Rathlinn, off the north coast of Ireland towards Kintyre. Dean Monro (1549) calls it *Rachlinn*, but Jamieson gives ten variations of the name from Archdall's *Monastic Hibern.*, including *Rachryne* and *Rochrinne*, "from the multitude of trees with which it abounded in ancient times." Surprise has been expressed that Bruce should have chosen for retreat an island four miles off the Irish coast, which was within the territory of the Bissets of Antrim, strong English partisans, and in which he could be trapped by a fleet. Not, however, till January 29-30, 1307, do we find a fleet in being, supplied by Hugh Bysset and John de Mentieth, which was to operate in "the Isles on the Scottish coast" "in putting down Robert de Brus and his accomplices lurking there, and destroying their retreat" (*Bain*, ii., p. xlix, Nos. 1888, 1889). Hemingburgh says (and *Trivet*, 410) that Bruce had gone "to the farthest isles of that region" (*in extremas insulas*, ii. 249). "Was lurking in remote island" is the account in *Lanercost*, p. 205.

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688 *strait off Marrok*. The Strait of Gibraltar, so called also by Chaucer in the *Man of Lawes Tale*.

696 *the mole*. The "Mull" of Kintyre. Gaelic *maoil* = a promontory, a borrow of the Norse *múli*. It is "le Moel de Kintyr" in an indenture in *Bain*, ii., No. 1941.

745 *loud and still*. A romance phrase for "in all ways," "under all circumstances." Henryson has it in his *Robene and Makyne*, "I haif thee luvit *loud and still*."

10-12 *off na degree ... Nothir of the kyrk*, etc. The Lanercost writer notes that among those hanged at this time were not only “common folk and countrymen” (*simplices laici et rurales*), but also “knights, clerics, and prebendaries”—the latter in spite of their profession that they were “members of the church” (p. 204).

13 *byschop Robert*. Robert Wischard, or Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow since 1273. He had been, at one time, a Guardian of the Kingdom, and up to 1306 had taken the oath of fealty to Edward six times. He had taken a share in the rising of Wallace, had absolved Bruce for his murder of Comyn, and had furnished the robes for his coronation, further stirring up the people by declaring that to fight against Edward was as meritorious as to go on a Crusade. Edward sent to the Pope a long list of charges on these lines (*Palgrave*, pp. 340-350). He was captured, “as a man of war,” in the castle of Cupar, Fife, shortly before June 18 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1780; *Palgrave*, p. 349); at which Edward was “almost as much pleased as if it had been the Earl of Carrick” (*Bain*, ii., 1786). He was kept a prisoner till after Bannockburn (see note on *Bks.* I. 354, XIII. 687; and *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. v., pp. 86-88).

14 *Marcus of Man*. Mark, Bishop of Sodor (*i.e.*, of the “Sudereys,” the “South Isles,” or Hebrides, or of Man and the Isles), had been imprisoned with Wishart in 1299. He had taken a prominent part in Scottish affairs on the national side, and had been one of the “auditors” in the case of the Competitors (*Palgrave*, p. 53). Apparently, however, he had died some years before, in 1303, so that Barbour is post-dating his imprisonment (Keith’s *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, ed. 1824, p. 301).

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16 *Crystoll of Seytoun*. See note on *Bk.* II. \*243. Hemingburgh says he was captured in “the castle of Lochdor,” for which we should probably read “Lochdon,” which fixes the reading in the text (*Hem.*, ii. 250). Lochdon or Loch Doon, source of the river Doon, in Ayrshire, had a castle of which Sir Gilbert de Carrick, ancestor of the Earls of Cassilis, was hereditary keeper. Its traitorous surrender was the subject of a remission “of all rancour of mind conceived” on this account by King Robert to Sir Gilbert (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., p. 115, 8). The castle was being besieged on August 10 by Sir Henry de Percy, and had fallen before October (*Bain*, ii., Nos. 1819, 1841). Jamieson had identified his “London” with Lochdon, and has a long note on the matter.

19 *Maknab*. In the remission above referred to, the castle is said to have been surrendered “into the hands of the English” by Sir Gilbert’s son-in-law, when Seton was given up.

29 *in Inghland*. In this Barbour seems to be wrong. Hemingburgh says Edward ordered him to be taken to Dumfries, and there to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded (ii. 251). Gray, too, says he was executed at Dumfries, but erroneously adds that he had been captured at Kildrummy (*Scala.*, p. 131). He was “the late” Christopher de Seton on October 4 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1841). Hemingburgh and Gray both explain that Seton was an Englishman, and had killed a knight at Dumfries. Bruce founded and endowed a chapel to his memory near that town (Robertson’s *Index*, p. 13, No. 89).

36 *Schyr Ranald Crauford*. Sir Ranald, or Reginald, Crauford, Edward’s Sheriff of Ayr in 1296 (*Bain*, ii., No. 853). Under March, 1307, there is a list of rewards by Edward to Dougal Macdowall and others of Galloway for the capture of “Sir Ranald de Crauford and other enemies” (*Bain*, ii., No. 1915), these being Robert’s brothers Alexander and Thomas, and their friends, who made a descent on Galloway, with the result stated above, February 17, 1307 (*Lanerc.*, p. 205; *Bain* iv. p. 489).

37 *Schyr Bruce the Blair*. As Jamieson points out in his note, the reading “Bruce” (S) should more properly be *Bryce* or *Brice*. Sir Bryce was an ancestor of the Blairs of Blair, in Ayrshire. In the *Wallace* it is “Schyr Bryss the Blayr” (*Bk.* vii. 209). Conversely Brys for Bruce (IV. 61, etc.).

38 *a berne in Ar*. The *Bruce* being undoubtedly one of the sources of the *Wallace* this is—in part, at least—the origin of the famous outrage of “The Barns of Ayr,” there told in *Bk.* VII. as before the Battle of Stirling Bridge, 1297. Crawford and Blair are expressly named among the sufferers on that occasion. Crawford is claimed as Wallace’s uncle (*Bk.* i. 25-27).

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39 *dame Marjory*. Bruce’s daughter by his first wife, Isabel, daughter of Donald Earl of Mar. She afterwards married Walter, the High Steward (see *Bk.* XIII. 689).

47 *the gyirth of Tayne*. The enclosure or “sanctuary” attached to the chapel of St. Duthac, at Tain, Ross-shire, a favourite place of pilgrimage with the Scottish kings, especially James IV. There was, however, no privilege of sanctuary for treason. William Earl of Ross was in the English interest, and on May 20, 1308, is the recipient of thanks from Edward II. “for faithful service to his father and himself” (*Bain*, iii., No. 43). Hemingburgh says “the new Queen” was taken in Kildrummy (ii. 249); Gray that Cristina Bruce was captured there, and the Queen and Nigel Bruce in Dunaverty (*Scala.*, p. 131); Trivet agrees with the second statement, but obviously confuses (p. 410); according to Fordun the Queen was taken at Tain, and many ladies at “Kyndrumy” (*Gesta Ann.*, cxx.).

49 *thai of Ros*. Fordun says the Queen was seized at St. Duthac’s by the Earl of Ross (*Gesta Ann.*, cxx.).

55 *put the ladyis in presoune*. On November 7, 1306, there are “further orders for the custody of the Countesses of Carrick (the Queen) and Buchan, Marie, and Christine, the sisters, and Margerie the daughter, of Robert de Bruce ... three of the ladies to be in ‘kages.’” (*Bain*, ii., No. 1851). The Countess of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce, was to be placed in a cage of wooden bars and lattice in one of the turrets of Berwick Castle (*Palgrave*, p. 358; *Scala.*, p. 131); Marie Bruce in a “kage” in Roxburgh (*Palgrave*, 359); Marjory in a “kage” in the Tower of London (359); Cristina in ward in England (*ibid.*). The Queen was to be in custody at “Brustewik” (p. 357); was

removed thence by an order of June 22, 1308 (*Bain*, iii., No. 48). Marjory was in ward at Wattone in March, 1307 (*Bain*, ii., 1910). By 1311-1312 Maria de Brus is a prisoner in Newcastle (*Bain*, iii., 227, 340).

57-65 The Cambridge MS. begins at line 57. Lines 59-66 do not read satisfactorily in either MS., and the text is a composition from both with a view to clearness.

80 *And set a sege*. The Prince of Wales was in command at Kildrummy when it fell, shortly before September 13 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1829). Gray says the castle was invested by Thomas Earl of Lancaster and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (*Scala*, p. 131).

83 *He bad distroy*. Cf. note on *Bk. II. 205*.

96 *bargane at the barras*. "Barras" or "barrace" is a "barrier" or outwork before a fortress, usually of wood. Cf. *Wallace*:

"Off hewyn temyr in haist he gert thaim tak  
Syllys off ayk, and a stark *barres* mak" (*Bk. x. 829-30*).

115 *the mekill hall*. One form of the tradition is that the corn or forage was stored in the chapel of the castle and there set on fire (O.S.A., xviii. 417); another, that on the east side is the "Black Lardner," so called because it was burnt in the siege (Macfarlane's *Geog. Coll.*, i., p. 29). Fordun says simply that the castle was lost by treachery (*Gesta Annalia*, cxx.).

134 *wes battalit all*, etc.—*i.e.*, had battlements on the inside of the wall, as well as on the outside. The former case was unusual, but fortunate here because the besieged could thus shelter themselves from the fire within.

181 *Snawdoun*. Kildrummy is said to have had seven towers, of which one on the west side still stands, with the name of the "Snow Tower" (*Geog. Coll.*, i., p. 28). There was a "Snowdoun" also at Stirling, and Sir David Lindsay, in the *Complaynt of the Papingo*, addresses Stirling Castle as "fair Snowdoun." Nisbet speaks of a Snowdoun Castle in the county of Ross as an ancient residence of the Scottish kings (*Heraldry*, ii. 166). The name is, undoubtedly, old, and in its present form probably a corrupt assimilation to more familiar syllables.

189 *in-to Northumberland*. Edward was certainly in Northumberland in the autumn of 1306, being at Newcastle on August 8 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1816), at Newburgh, in Tynedale, August 28 (*Fœdera*, ii., p. 1018). He was delayed in Northumberland by sickness but passed the winter of 1306-1307 at Lanercost, near Carlisle, to which, on "account of old age and weakness," he came by easy stages in a horse-litter, arriving on September 29, and staying till Easter of the following year, March 26, 1307 (*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 205). Barbour thus antedates his death, which took place at Burgh-on-Sand, "three (about five) miles north of Carlisle," on July 7, 1307 (*ibid.*, 207; *Hem.*, ii., p. 266).

211 *In Burch I wist weill*, etc. This is a familiar type of story, the "dowbill undirstanding," told of several historic personages: of Henry IV., to whom it had been prophesied that he should die in Jerusalem, and who died in the "Jerusalem chamber," Westminster (Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV.*, Act IV., Scene 5); of Cardinal Wolsey, and others.

220 *Ane spirit*. Archbishop Sharpe was reported to have a "familiar spirit," which he carried in a snuff-box in the form of a bee!

241 *Erle Ferrandis moder*. Ferrand was an historical personage, a Prince of Portugal, who, by marriage, became Earl of Flanders. The story of the oracle which can be read in two ways, is also one of which there are many examples from that of the utterance of the Delphic oracle to Croesus, as told by Herodotus. Ferrand is in the *Morte Arthure*:

"One sir Feraunt before, upon a fayre stede,  
Was fosterde in Famacoste, *the fend was his fadyre*"  
(2760-61).

*Famacoste* is Famagosta, in Cyprus.

249 *Bosbek* or Busbecq was in Flanders, west of Courtrai.

253 *in Inglis*. Barbour calls his own language English, as the Scots poets do down till the fifteenth century (see on *Language*, *Appendix G*).

256 *Mynerff*. Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, etc. For the early and mediæval Christians, the ancient deities were demons.

282 *in the fechting*. Ferrand and the Emperor Otho IV. were defeated at Bouvines, between Lille and Tournai, July 27, 1214.

322 *"hangis and drawis"*. It was Edward I. who regularized the horrible form of punishment allotted to traitors, several examples of which have already been noted. The victim was first drawn by horses on a rough cart through the principal streets, as Fraser was through the streets of London, then hanged, next taken down before he was dead and decapitated. The head was then stuck up on a public place, if the victim was sufficiently notorious, and the limbs might be similarly exposed, as was done with Wallace. Fraser's heart and entrails were burned, and his body was again hung up till about three weeks afterwards, when it and the gallows were burned together. For Fraser's case, see *Ann. Paul*, pp. 148, 149. For the grammatical forms, see

336 *To King Robert*. The narrative now goes back to the closing months of 1306.

338 *till the wyntir neir wes gane*. Too long a period. On February 1, 1307, Edward is ordering out ships to hunt for Bruce "towards Ayr" (*Bain*, ii., 1893).

367 *In-to Kintyre*. Hemingburgh has it that about September 29, 1306, Bruce came back from the islands and waited in Kintyre, and sent some men over to Carrick, who lifted his rents for Martinmas. Trivet has an account which is simply a careless abridgment of Hemingburgh (*Hemingburgh*, ii. 251; *Trivet*, 410). Nothing is said of Arran, but these writers are not strong in geography. Hemingburgh says Bruce had a force of "Irish" (*Hibernicis*) and Scots (*ibid.*). "Irish" suggests Rathlin, or they may be west-islanders.

384 *Schir John the Hastyngis*. Sir John de Hastings had been the most important of the Competitors, next to Balliol and Bruce, being the grandson of the youngest daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. On May 22, 1306, he received from Edward a grant "of the Earldom of Mentethe in Scotland, with the Isles" (*Bain*, ii., No. 1771). In July or August, 1307, he is one of the garrison of Ayr Castle (*ibid.*, 1901).

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388 *Brathwik*. Brodick.

421 *neid to fourty*. In line 405 he says the English were in all "thretty and ma"!

464 *The King arivit*. On the west side of the island, opposite Campbelltown, is the *King's Cove*, where, as tradition says, "King Robert de Bruce and his retinue lodged ... for some time when taking shelter in retired places" (*Old. Stat. Acct.*, vol. ix., p. 167).

466 *in a toune*. Not "in a town" in the modern sense, but in the Scots meaning of any group of houses or buildings—*e.g.*, a farm "toun."

556 *Turnberys snuke*. Turnberry Point, on the coast of Ayrshire, the site of the castle of the Earls of Carrick. The castle was in possession of Henry Percy, to whom Edward had granted Bruce's Earldom, as is stated in lines 599-600 (*Hem.*, ii. 251). The point at Berwick was known as "le Snoke" (*Hist. Docts.*, ii. p. 160). S reads "nuk" from C.

682-3 *Jeromy* = Jeremiah. *Ysay* = Isaiah.

720-1 "The constellation that gives to them kindly manners"—*i.e.*, natural dispositions. *Cf.* "kyndly" = naturally, in line 735. For "manners" = character, *cf.* Chaucer. *The Dethe of Blaunche*:

"She used gladly to do wel,  
These were hir *maners* everydel" (1012-13).

747 *Nigramansy*. "Necromancy," or the art of revealing the future through communication with the dead (Gr. *nekros*, a dead body); appearing in mediæval Latin as *nigromanteia*; O.F., *nygromancie*, the first part of the compound being confused and identified with Latin *niger*, black—whence "the black art."

753 *the Phitones*. The *Pithoness* or *Pythoness*, which usually appears in the M.E. writers as in the text. *Cf.* Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, iii. 171: "And *phitonesses*, charmeresses," etc. Pythia was the oracle-giving priestess of Apollo at Delphi; hence a woman who prophesies or divines. The name was given, as in the reference here, to the witch of Endor (1 *Chron.* x. 13), as in Bacon, *Prophecies*, etc., "Said the *Pythonissa* to Saul," etc.

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## BOOK V.

1 *in vere*. "In spring"—February, 1307 (see note on *Bk. IV.* 338.) The description here is really of the "Poets' May."

23 *na nedill had na stane; i.e.*, neither an actual needle magnetized, nor a piece of magnetic iron, loadstone, to serve as a compass.

24 *in-till ane*. "In a straight course," guiding themselves by the fire.

90 *till the toune*. *Cf.* note on III. 556. Hemingburgh's account is that Bruce, coming on him suddenly, attacked Percy by night and slew a few of his company (ii. 251). *Cf.* 95, etc. Fordun says Bruce captured and destroyed one of his own castles, slew the garrison, and divided arms and other spoils among his men (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxi.). This is not Barbour's version, which is the right one. *Cf.* on 107, 118.

104 *Makdowall*. Probably, as Jamieson suggests, the Dougall Macdowall who, about this time, defeated and captured Bruce's brothers in Galloway. See on *Bk. IV.* 36.

107 *In the castell*. See above on 90. According to Hemingburgh, "Bruce besieged Percy in the castell till the siege was raised by an English army" (ii. 251). There were desertions, February 18, among troops called out to deal with Bruce (*Parliam. Writs*, i., p. 379).

118 *All haill the reif*. Bruce had captured their steeds and silver plate (*Hemingburgh*, as cited); steeds and much other spoil (*Trivet's Annals*, p. 410).

133 *a lady of that cuntre*. Fordun says that Bruce was assisted in returning to Carrick by Christian "of the Isles," who "had a kindness for him" (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxi.), but the lady here would seem to be of Carrick, and a relative. *Cf.* on *Bk. IV.* 367. Fordun is probably right as to the

name, and Barbour as to the location, for "Cristiane de Carric" had, afterwards, a pension of forty shillings "at the King's (Robert's) pleasure" (*Excheq. Rolls*, i., p. 114).

151 *the Erle Adell*. See on *Bk. II. 235*.

153 *till his party war heldand*. There were others who were no longer "inclining" to his party; Allan, "late Earl of Menteith," Sirs Patrick de Graham, Hugh Lovel, William de Moray of Sandford, Walter de Moray, and other adherents, had "come to the King's (Edward's) peace to be in law" in November of the previous year; and Thomas Randolph, too, had gone over (*cf. Bk. II. 463 note*).

156 *Cristole of Setoun*. See note on *Bk. IV. 16*.

174 *Bot quhar worschip; i.e.*, in fair fight on the field of battle.

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192 *Bot lay lurkand*. On February 6 there is a letter from Edward to the Bishop of Chester, his Treasurer, expressing "great wonder at hearing no news of Sir Aymer de Valence and his forces since he went to Ayr," and requesting him to order Valence, Percy, Sir John de St. John and others to send particulars of what they are doing and of the state of affairs. He states also that "he hears they have done so badly that they do not wish him to know" (*Bain*, ii., No. 1895). On February 11 there are letters to the same effect, sent direct to Valence, the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, St. John, and Percy (*ibid.*, 1896).

203 *Schir Gauter the Lile*. Sir Walter de Lisle.

205 *schavalduris*. Skeat explains this as "wanderers," and says "the right form seems to be *shaveldour*, a vagrant" (Glossary). Jamieson takes it to mean "wanderers in the woods, subsisting by hunting." There were bands of "schavaldurs" on the Border, who robbed and plundered (*Bain*, iii., No. 675); but John de Harcla had "schavaldurs" in his employment (*ibid.*, p. 128). Clerk "Helias" was a *schavaldus nobilis* (*Stevenson*, p. 2; *Bk. XVI. 441 note*). The exact force of the word is not yet clear. Probably they were what later times knew as "broken men."

231 *the Clyffurd*. *Cf.* note on *Bk. I. 282*. Ancestor of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland.

256 *Toward Douglas*. In the valley of the Douglas (Gael: *dubh glas*, black water), a tributary of the Clyde, in Upper Lanarkshire. In *Bain's Calendar* is a petition from one of the garrison in Douglas Castle, "when Sir Robert de Brus and Sir James de Douglas attacked it, the year when the late King (Edward I.) died" (iii., No. 682).

296 *manrent*. "Homage"; Scots form of "manred" (A.S. *mannraéden*, homage, allegiance). "Bonds of manrent" are a familiar form of association with some great noble in later Scottish history.

307 *Palme Sunday*. March 19, 1307.

317 *mantill*. For long a mantle or cloak was the upper garment of the Scots, rich and poor.

336 *Sanct Brydis*. The church of Douglas was dedicated to St. Bridget, or Bride, a Celtic Saint.

388 *With burdys set*. On trestles, as the dinner-table. *Cf.* note on *Bk. II. 96*.

403 "Knocked out the heads of the wine barrels."

410 *the Dowglas Lardener*. "The Douglas Larder," a North English and Scottish form of A.F. *lardiner*: here with the double meaning of a store of food and a slaughter. For the latter, *cf.* "The knyghtes of the round table made soche *lardare* through the field" (*Merlin*, cited N.E.D.). In the *Alexander* it is said of the slaughter accomplished by Porrus:

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"Of handis and heidis baith braune and blude  
He maid ane *lardnare* quhare he stood" (p. 233, 5).

Dr. Neilson says, "there is nothing corresponding in the French," and claims that the lines in the *Bruce* are the source of the "lurid and telling phrase" (*John Barbour*, p. 56). But this does not follow, as the word occurs in this sense elsewhere (see N.E.D.), and the simple sense of "slaughter" in the *Alexander* is not quite parallel to the full significance of the word in the *Bruce*, where the "meile, malt, blude and wyne" fill out the suggestiveness of its use. According to Hume of Godscroft, the Douglas historian, the "wyne-sellar" of line 399 is identified with a cellar "called yet the Douglas Lairder" (*History of the House of Douglas*, p. 28, ed. 1644).

460 *The thrill-wallis*. May be "John de Thirlewal, vallet of Sir Adam de Swynburne," who, "with a barbed horse," was one of a company hunting Bruce in Glentroot, April, 1307 (*Bain*, ii., p. 572).

483 *Schyr Ingrame Bell*. Evidently a misreading of "Ingrame Umphrevell," as is clear from *Bk. VI. 3*; not the other way, as Skeat puts it. There was no such person as "Bell." Umfraville was holding Cumnock Castle on May 18 (*Bain*, ii., 1931). Later in the year he is at Ayr, July or August, sent there by Valence (*ibid.*, No. 1961).

575 *about his hals*. Hung from his neck. A two-handed sword too long to be supported by a waist-belt.

642 *toym*. "Leisure." Modern Scots *toom* = empty; not time. The distinction is clearly marked in the *Gest. Historiale*: "But this *tyme* is so tore (inconvenient), and we no *tome* have" (644).

## BOOK VI.

3 *the Umphrevell*. See *Bk. V. 483, 513, etc.*

69 *Gilbert de la Hay*. See note on *Bk. II. 237*.

120 "Since he was provided with armour."

121 *thurt*. "Needed." The word occurs once in *Morte Arthure*, in the present impersonal: "Hym *thare* be ferde (afraid) for no faces" (403). Cf. also *Bk. VIII. 257*.

128 *For litill stry nth of erd*. "On account of a slight natural defence in the character of the ground."

149 *fiff-sum*. "Five together." The compound is still familiar in Scotland—*e.g.*, a "three-some reel," a "four-some" in golf. Cf. "sex-sum" in line 231.

179 The story is from the *Thebaid* of Statius through some intermediate source which cannot now be identified. See *Appendix F, § iv*.

195-6 "First the one should reign a year, then the other for a year from the expiry of the previous term," and so on.

201 *his constabill*. Defined in the *Alexander*:

"That of the duke's hoist all hale,  
Was *constabill* and chief ledere" (73; 14, 15).

252 *the gret anciente*. "Through its great antiquity."

314 "Then they praised greatly God the all-mighty." The comparative *fastar* is in *Bk. XIII. 129*.

316 *Thaim byrd*. "It behoved or was necessary for them." (O.E. *byrian*, impersonal verb). Cf. "Sa *byrd* al Galouya hyme honoure" (*Lives of the Saints, Ninian, 932*): "Me *byrd* be blyth" in same (*Martha, 152*). Frequent in the *Alexander*. Cf. on *Bk. I. 381*.

336 *Worschip extremyteis has twa*. Valour as a mean between two extremes is an Aristotelian notion (cf. line 347).

339 "And they are both to be avoided."

341 "Things which should be left alone as well as those which should be done" (cf. lines 348-9).

463 *In Cumnok*. A town and parish in Kyle, Ayrshire.

481 *Johne of Lorn*. See note on *Bk. III. 1*.

483 *aucht hundreth men and ma*. On July 19, 1307, there is a command from Aymer de Valence, the King's lieutenant, for aid to John of Lorn "guarding the town of Ayr and parts adjacent." Lorn had 22 men-at-arms and 800 foot, so that Barbour's statement is remarkably accurate, while his details enable us to fix the date of the events (*Bain ii.*, No. 1957).

484 *A sleuthhund*. Jean le Bel has a reference to some such occurrence as this, though he credits it to Edward I., and distorts the course of events. He explains that one time Edward had Robert Bruce chased through great forests for the space of three or four days, "by dogs and sleuth-hounds" (*par chiens et limiers*), and gives as his authority not only popular report (*ce dit on*), but also "an account composed by the said King Robert" (*et le treuve on en hystoire faitte par le dit roy Robert. Chronique i.*, chap. xxii.). Sleuth-hounds were common for police purposes: "That thar sal nane lat (obstruct) a sluthe hund passand or the men that are cumand with hym for to follow theyffis or to tak mysdvaris," etc. (1289) (*Acta Parl. Scot.*, I. 108). See on VII. 17.

487 *a strecour*. A fast runner, a dog for the chase; from the verb *streke*, to go rapidly (*Skeat*).

503 *his emys sak*. See note on *Bk. III. 3*.

507 *Schir Amery*. Valence is at Glenken, Kirkcudbrightshire, on July 24, and at Doon-side on July 31, 1307 (*Bain ii.*, Nos. 1958, 1959).

510 *Thomas Randle*. Thomas Randolph, on the English side. See note on *Bk. II. 463*.

558 "He would pay no attention to the others."

650 *Out of dawis doyn*. "Done out of days"—*i.e.*, killed.

657 *yhow ane*. "Yourself alone"—a rather awkward expression, but the reading in H supports E.

665-6 "As they did not fear me, I could do them much more harm."

## BOOK VII.

2 *will of wayn*. "Wild of weening" or thought—*i.e.*, quite at a loss. See on II. 471.

10 *yhe*. *Ye* from an inferior to a superior; *you* on the part of the latter, as in line 15.

17 *I haf herd*, etc. In a note to the *Wallace, Bk. v. 25*, Jamieson cites from "Bellenden, after Boece," a long passage on bloodhounds, in which this occurs: "And thocht the thevis oftymes cors the wattir, quhair thai pas, to caus the hound to tyne the sent of thaym and the guddis, yit he serchis heir and thair with sic deligence, that be his fut he fyndis baith the trace of the theiff and the guddis" (*Description of Albion, chap. xi.*). See on VI. 484.

48 "And he is a good distance off by this time."

90 *price and loving*. "Honour and praise." Cf. 99, 294.

103 *war bodyn all evynly*. "Were armed equally well," equipped for fighting.

132 *bryng hym than of daw*. "Bring him then out of day"—*i.e.*, kill him. *Cf.* on *Bk.* VI. 650.

163 *housis*. MSS. give "hous" with flourished "s," here expanded to "is." See *Preface* 3.

177 *slep*. "To sleep," infinitive, not a substantive.

188 *as foul on twist*. "Like a bird on a bough."

\*302 *to-waverand*. "To-wavering"—*i.e.*, distracted, uncertain. *Waverand* occurs in line 112 above, and in the *Wallace* in "waverand wynd" (*Bk.* iv. 340). "To" is intensive = German *zer*. In *Morte Arthure* we have "to-stonayede" = astounded (1436) and "to-briste" = burst asunder (3982). Skeat gives for the text, "wandering uncertainly in different directions," but "her and thar" follows.

330 *nakyt*. "Without armour," as always in the poem.

423 *for Jhon Cumyng's sak*. That this feeling did operate in certain quarters we gather, further, from a story told in the *Scalacronica*, citing "the chronicles of his (Bruce's) actions," in which two men ferry Bruce, whom they did not know, over a passage between two islands. They ask about Bruce, and express a wish that they had him in their hands, that they might kill him. Bruce inquired why, and the answer is, "Because he murdered John Comyn, our lord." This incident is placed after Loudon Hill, and the precise locality is not mentioned. Bruce discloses his identity in parting from them (*Scala.*, pp. 132-3).

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455 *top our teill*. "Top over tail," head over heels. The phrase occurs in the *Alexander* (72, 8).

468 *till him dreuch*. "Drew the man towards him."

494 *Glentruell*. Glen Trool and Loch Trool are in the west of Kirkcudbright. See below on 622.

497 *the deir war in sesoun*. June or July, and so after Loudon Hill in *Bk.* VIII.

561 *the Clyffurd*. Sir Robert Clifford. See note on 622 and on *Bk.* I. 282.

588 *his baneour*. "His banner-bearer," as in *Morte Arthure*, "He byddys his *baneoure*, Buske yow," etc. (3732).

622 *Vaus*. "Vaux" = *de vallibus*, like Clifford, a Cumberland family. Sir John de Vaus is on service under Valence against Bruce in June, 1307 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1938). We have a set of memoranda relative to expeditions against Bruce in Galloway, dated February 12 to May 3, 1307, for wages to horse, foot, and archers under different commanders, "in the valley of Nith," "beyond the water of Cree," "Glentruil, riding in search of Robert de Brus," "on the raid to Glentruyl, against said Sir Robert," "in Carrick and Glentruyl"; and among the leaders is Sir Robert de Clifford (*Bain*, ii., No. 1923).

623 *raucht him a colè*. "Reached him a blow." Skeat explains *colè* as from O.F. *colee*, from *col* (*cou*), the neck. *Cf.* *acolade*, a blow with the flat of a sword in dubbing a knight.

624 "Both drew up their men in sides," for a fight.

632 *than he com of toun*. "Than when he set out," a general phrase.

## BOOK VIII.

9 *Kyle*. The central division of Ayrshire, between *Carrick* to the south and *Cunningham* (13) in the north.

14 *He gert helde*. "He made to submit" (O.E., *hieldan*, to incline; Anglian *haeldan*). *Cursor Mundi*, "All folk to Rome suld *heild*" (22,235, N.E.D.).

15 *Bothweill*. Bothwell Castle, on the Clyde. It had seen a good deal of fighting in the earlier war. In August, 1301, the castle and barony, which had belonged to William de Moray, were presented to Aymer de Valence and his heirs (*Bain*, ii., No. 1214). See also note on *Bk.* xiii. 409.

21 *Philip the Mowbray*. More probably Sir John de Mowbray serving in Ayr for Valence, with others, in June to August, 1307 (*Bain*, ii., Nos. 1938, 1961).

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28 *Makyrnokis way*. Godscroft gives the name in the form *Machanacks*; but David Macpherson, supporting the spelling in the text, says it is "a narrow pass on the bank of Makyrnok wattyr," which he located near Kilmarnock (*Geog. Illust.*, s.v.).

34 *Edry-furd*. The meaning of this name appears to be given in the line below, "betwix marras twa," in which case *Edry* is for Gaelic *Eadar*, "between," as in other ancient names—*e.g.*, *Eddirdail* for the Black Isle, being *Eadar-da-dhail*, "between two dales." "Furd," of course, is English, and we may conjecture that the place was first known as "the ford," with a Gaelic name beginning with *Eadar*, and signifying "between the marshes"; then that the unwieldy title was telescoped, the latter part of the Gaelic compound dropping out, and reduced to the hybrid "Eadar-ford," finally to the form given.

95 *Kilwynnyn*. Kilwinning is west of Kilmarnock, near Ardrossan. At Ardrossan they turned north by the coast road and passed Largs on to Inverkip, where are still the remains of the castle. In 1301 Edward I., after capturing Bothwell Castle, went on to besiege that of Inverkip, and in July, 1306, after Methven, Thomas Randolph was imprisoned there (*Bain*, ii., Nos. 1224, 1807).

123 *Gawlistoun*. Galston is a little east of Kilmarnock. Beyond it rises Loudon Hill.

133 *the tend day of May*. May 10. The memoranda cited in note to *Bk.* VII. 622, relating to the



pursuit of Bruce in Galloway, extend to May 3. The battle of Loudon Hill was fought before May 15. See note on 362.

164 *The hye-gat*. "The high-road" to Ayr, as we learn also from the *Wallace*, Bk. iii. That hero, with his men, there lay in wait for "Persey's caryage," which was being convoyed up Avondale (78) to Ayr (63). The waggons of supplies "took Loudon Hill" (116), on which Wallace had prepared a position (100). Loudon Hill itself is a bold, outstanding eminence commanding the valley of the Avon. The road must have crossed the lower slope (line 165).

172 *thre dykis*. On each side of the road, but a bowshot (150 to 200 yards) away (169), was a moss, impassable for horsemen. Further to narrow the hard ground (170), Bruce dug inwards from "the mosses" three ditches up to the road (173), each a bowshot behind the other (175). In the ditches he left gaps ("stoppis") for the road (179), wide enough for 500 men to ride abreast (? 650 to 700 yards). Thus he could not be outflanked (185) or attacked in the rear (186), and he had sufficient men to deal with a frontal attack (187, 188). If he could not check the English at the first ditch, he could retreat to the next, and so to the third, if necessary (189-194). Bruce's tactics was thus to make a position defensible by a small number on foot, and open only to an attack in front. Maxwell's suggestion that the ditches were to shelter the Scots from the archers has no warrant in the text (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 164). In the *Wallace*:

"A maner *dyk*, off stanys thai had maid,  
*Narrowyt the way quhar* through thair thikar raid"  
(iii. 133-4).

The incident in the *Wallace* is certainly derived from *The Bruce*, but Barbour's "dykis" = ditches, as in the modern English sense, has become a stone dike in the *Wallace*, where "dyk" has been taken in its modern Scots sense = a wall.

216 *The sone wes rysyn schynand bricht*. So too in the *Wallace*. He took up his position "in the gray dawing," and then "The sone was rysyne our landis schenand brycht" (Bk. iii. 119).

232 *quhit as flour*. See on Bk. II. 415; XI. 131. Barbour here must mean the white linen garment covering the armour—the surcoat.

257 *that us thar dout*. "Whom it needs us to fear." See for "thar" = needs, note on Bk. VI. 121.

280 *cant and keyn*. *Cant* = lively, brisk; cf. *canty*. *Keyn* (keen) is probably in the sense of "bold" or "valiant." The words are almost synonymous. Cf. *Morte Arthure*:

"The knyhte coveride (got) on his knees with a *kaunt herte*" (2195).

326 *skalyt in soppis*. "Scattered in groups." The *Wallace* simply paraphrases:

"The Inglissmen, that besye was in wer,  
*Befors ordand in sondyr thaim to ber*" (163-4).

339 *At erd ane hundreth and weill mar*. So in *Wallace*:

"A hundreth dede in feild was levyt thar" (205).

351 *to-ga*. A past tense: "went off in a hurry." See note on Bk. VII. \*302.

362 *He gaf up thar his wardanry*. Loudon Hill was fought in May, 1307; Valence was still "warden of Scotland" in July 31 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1959), but was replaced by Sir John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, on September 13 (*Foedera*, iii., p. 10). An anonymous letter of May 15 says that "the King (Edward I.) was much enraged that the guardian and his force had retreated before 'King Hobbe'"; also that James Douglas "sent and begged to be received, but when he saw the King's forces retreat, he drew back" (*Bain*, ii. 1979).

380 *For that victour*. There exists a letter written by "some high official" at Forfar on May 15, which appears to refer to the events of this year. Bain gives it in full in Anglo-French in vol. ii., pp. 536-7, and an abstract on p. 513. The writer says that "the news of these parts are as follows: so far as I am able to understand, Sir Robert de Bruys has never before had the good will of the people even half so fully as at the present moment" (*ne avoyt onkes sa en arere si avaunt la volunte des gentz ne la moyte si entierement cum il ad ore aparmeymes*); "and that now they consider it manifest that he is in the right, and that God is clearly on his side, since he has now discomfited and defeated the full power of the King, as well English as Scots" (*ausint bien les Engleis cum les Escoteys*), "on which account the power of England is in full retreat before his men, not to return."

391 *Than wox his power*. According to Hemingburgh, who sets Bruce riding through Lothian "a little after Easter," before the battle of Loudon Hill, many then joined him who had been "exiled" by the English justiciars in the former year when they "sat" upon malefactors and supporters of "the new king." "And because, according to the English law, they were sentencing them to burning, being drawn on horses and hanging, on that account they rose unanimously and went with him (Bruce), preferring to die rather than be judged by English laws" (ii., p. 265). Then follows the account of Valence's defeat at Loudon Hill, the driving of the Earl of Gloucester into Ayr Castle, and Bruce's subsequent defeat, after which he lurked "in moors and marshes" with

ten thousand foot; and how Bruce always “slipped out of the hands” of his pursuers—clearly a misplaced account of the Galloway operations. Of the late summer and autumn of this year the Lanercost chronicler says that “Robert Bruce, with his brother Edward and many others adhering to him, without any opposition from the English guardians, wanders about in Scotland wherever he wished, and especially in Galloway, and took tribute from that country on condition that it should be left in peace; for, *on account of the number of people who then adhered to him*, they were not able to resist him” (*Chron.*, p. 210). See also *Foedera*, iii., p. 14, for the official English description of Bruce’s raids on Galloway in August to September of this year.

393 *Outour the Month*. The writer of the letter cited above says that he learns from those who are watching the place beyond and on this side of the mountains, “that if Sir Robert Bruce is able to get away in any direction without inconvenience” (*saun dreytes*), “or towards the districts of Ross, he will find them all ready to his will more wholly than ever.” For “the Month,” see note on *Bk. II. 494*.

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395 *Sir Alexander the Fraser*. See note on *Bk. II. 239*, and next note.

397 *his brother Symon*. See on *Bk. II. 239*. Skeat thinks this mention and that in *Bk. IX. 10* “odd,” because he identifies him with the Sir Simon executed in 1306. Hence one of Barbour’s “errors.” Sir Alexander Fraser, sheriff of Kincardine, and “Simon Fraser his brother” are witnesses to a charter not dated, but later than 1312. (*Fraser’s of Philorth*, ii., p. 126). Simon Fraser is one of the honorary burgesses of Aberdeen in 1317 (*Miscellany of Spalding Club*, v., p. 283). He fell at Halidon Hill, 1333. In line 396 C reads *frendis* where E gives *cosyngis* and H *cousings* in the general sense of “relatives.” Bruce gifted the Earl of Atholl’s lands in part to Alexander Fraser’s wife, Marie, his own sister (Robertson’s *Index*, p. 19, 105). The gift must be after 1315 (*Bk. XIII. 490*).

400 *Schir Johne Cumyne*. On September 26, 1306, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, is forgiven his debts to the Exchequer (England), on account of the loss sustained “in the death of Sir John Comyn his cousin” (*Bain*, ii., No. 1835).

401 *Schir Johne the Mowbray*. Had the custody of “the late John Comyn’s” lands in England from February 23, 1306; on duty in Ayr, June and July, 1307 (*Bain*, ii., Nos. 1746, 1938, 1961).

402 *Schir David of Brechyne*. Also serving Edward in Ayr, July or August, 1307 (*ibid.*, No. 1961); of Forfarshire (*ibid.*, p. 199). See on *Bk. IX. 293*.

413 *The Erle of Lennox*. See on *Bk. II. 235*. With line 414 *cf.* extract from Fordun on *Bk. II. 482*.

415 *Schir Robert Boyd*. See on *Bk. IV. 342*.

425 *The forest of Selcryk*. Sir Walter Scott has a note (45) to *The Lord of the Isles* on “The forest of Selkirk, or Ettrick,” which, he says, “embraced the neighbouring dales of Tweeddale, and at least the upper ward of Clydesdale.” But Gray distinguishes between “the forests of Selkirk and of Etryk” (*Scala.*, p. 127); and Douglas, later, had a grant of the forests of Ettrick, Selkirk, and Traquair (Robertson’s *Index*, p. 10, No. 24).

427 *Gedward Forest*. “Jedworth,” or Jedburgh Forest. “The vulgar, and, indeed, almost universal, pronunciation, Jethart” (Jamieson on the *Wallace*, *Bk. vii. 1277*). See further on *Bk. XVI. 363*.

447 *Lanrik fair*. No doubt “Lanark” fair, as it appears in Godscroft’s account (*History*, p. 30, ed. 1644). “Lanerik” is an old form of the name in charters, etc.

449 *gang on raw*. “Go in a row.”

453 *Schir Johne of Webitoune*. In Godscroft “Sir John Walton,” under which name Sir John de Walton, he figures in Scott’s *Castle Dangerous*. The citation from Godscroft will be found in the Appendix to the Introduction to that tale.

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492 *per drowry*. *Drowry* is O.F. *druerie*, *droerie*, love, friendship; here = “as a sweetheart,” apparently in a sinister sense. *Cf.* Chaucer:

“To be loved is not worthy,  
Or bere the name of *druerie*.”  
(*Romaunt of the Rose*, 5063).

In the *Alexander*, as here, “And yharnes to lufe *be droury*” (126, 21).

## BOOK IX.

34 *Enverrowry*. Inverury, on the Don, fifteen miles north-west of Aberdeen.

64 *a-pane*. A curious use of the French adverbial phrase *a peine*, in, or with, difficulty; here = “hardly,” “scarcely.” The sense seems to be that even in a case in which a company is successful without a captain, which they can be only with difficulty, still they will not accomplish as much as if they had one.

107 *the Slevach*. Sliach in Drumblade parish, about sixteen miles north-west of Inverurie. Certain archæological features in the district are connected with Bruce’s visit, the “Meet-hillock,” “Robin’s Height,” etc. (*Old. Stat. Acct.*, iv., p. 55; Macpherson’s *Geograph. Coll.*, i., pp. 8, 19).

117 *And als frendis*. According to Fordun, whose account is independent of that of Barbour, Buchan had many nobles, both English and Scots, when he went to attack Bruce at Sliach (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxii.).

118 *Schir Johne the Mowbray*. See note on *Bk. VIII. 21*.

127 *Martyms*. Martinmas, November 11, 1307.

153 *thai send*. This second "thai" refers to the Scots of Bruce's party.

183 *begouth to fale*. "They retired, overcome with shame and in confusion" (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxii.). But in Fordun the reference is to Christmas Day. See below, 204.

188 *Strabogy*. Strathbogie.

190 *cover and ga*. "Recover and go about."

202 *Ald Meldrom*. About five miles north-east of Inverury.

204 *Before Yhoill-evyn nycht*. "One night before Christmas Eve." Fordun records an attack by Brechin on Bruce on Christmas Day (see above on 183), but the battle of Old Meldrum he puts on to 1308 (cxxiv.). But he sends Bruce north right away after his landing in Carrick and capture of Turnberry to destroy Inverness and other fortresses (cxxi.), whereas Bruce could scarcely go north before the autumn, as he was in Galloway on September 30 (*Foedera*, iii., p. 14). After his victory at Inverury, Bruce ravages Buchan, subdues the north, and, according to Fordun, is in Argyll by August, 1308 (cxxvi.). This would be quick work, even for Bruce, and Lord Saltoun therefore argues that Barbour is right in his chronology (*Frasers of Philorth*, ii. 183-194).

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221 *His horse ... he askit*. When the King heard of the attack, says Fordun, "though he was still prostrated by great weakness, he rose from the litter on which he was constantly carried, and ordered his men to arm him and place him on his horse" (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxiv.).

249 *merdale*. "Rabble"; O.F. *merdaille*, "a dirty crowd." Cf. *Alexander*, "For thay war pure, small mardale" (379; 14); also *Lives of the Saints; Ninian*, 921.

289 "The son of him (the Earl of Atholl) that was in Kildrummy." But see note on *Bk. XIII. 489*. Atholl was English, and Barbour must be wrong.

293 *Com syne his man*. But on May 20, 1308, Edward II. was expressing his thanks to "David de Breghyn," etc. (*Bain*, iii., No. 43). This would support Fordun's date for the battle, if, as Barbour says, Brechin submitted soon after. But "Sir David de Breghyn" is receiving wine from Edward II. on July 12, 1310 (*Bain*, iii., No. 121). See further on *Bk. XIX. 19*.

296 *all Bouchane*. The district of Buchan is in the north-east of Aberdeenshire.

307 *Toward Angus*. In the north of Forfarshire.

309 *the Scottis Se*. The Firth of Forth (see on 461). Of old it marked the boundary between the land of the Gaelic-speaking Scots and the English Lowlands.

312 *Philip the Forster of Platan*. Jamieson explains that there is still a *Forest-muir* in Angus, "the name of a great track of waste ground a few miles to the north of Forfar" and about two miles east of it, "a village vulgarly named *Forster-seat* ... said to be properly designed *Forester-seat*, as having been the place where the forester anciently resided." He identifies *Platan* with *Platter*, a forest which is the subject of a grant by Robert Bruce (*Index Chart.*, p. 4, No. 43); while a charter of Robert II. confers on Alexander de Lindsay the office of Forester of the Forest of Plater, "in the sheriffdom of Forfar" (*ibid.*, p. 120, 63).

330 *Till Perth is went*. According to Gray, it was the Earl of Atholl who captured Perth for Bruce (*Scala.*, p. 140). This is quite wrong; Atholl was English.

335 *the wallis war all of stane*. Perth was an exceptional case, the larger Scottish towns, except Berwick, being fortified only with ditch and palisade (*de bons fossez et de bons palis. Le Bel*, I., xxii.). And so was Berwick till 1296.

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338 *Olyfard*. Barbour is about four years too soon with the capture of Perth. William de Olifard (modern Oliphant) was still holding it for Edward II. in February, 1312 (*Bain*, iii., No. 247). Oliphant was a Scot, and the state of the garrison for July, 1312, shows a great number to have been Scotsmen (*ibid.*, pp. 425-7). Fordun says Perth fell on January 8, 1313; the *Chron. de Lanercost* gives the date as January 10, 1313 (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxix., *Lanerc.*, p. 221). According to the Lanercost writer, the Scots climbed the walls on ladders during the night, and captured the place through the neglect or lack of sentinels and defenders (*propter defectum vigillum et custodum*, p. 222).

340 *Of Stratherne als the Erll*. But see below on 433.

354 *the dik*. The burgesses of Perth had, by order, made "a pielle and fosse"—*i.e.*, a tower and a ditch—"when Robert de Brus broke the peace" (*Bain*, iii., No. 68).

371, 373 *mak ledderis ... in a myrk nycht*. See above on 338.

377 *slepit all*. See on 338.

391 *A knycht of France*. In the *Wallace* it is explained that this was Sir Thomas de Longueville, a French pirate and a friend of Wallace. Such an identification is in the usual plagiarising fashion of the author of the *Wallace*.

405 *eftir the Kyng*. Cf. preceding note.

412 *the tothir man that tuk the wall*. "The second man to reach the top of the wall."

433 *Malis of Strathern*. Barbour is quite wrong in placing the Earl of Strathearn in Perth, and his son on the Scottish side. Both were still in the English interest. Malise of Stratherne, son of the

Earl of Stratherne, is in English pay November, 1309 (*Bain*, iii., No. 121). The Earl appears to have been at Berwick during the winter of 1310-1311 (*Bain*, iii., No. 208); and it is no doubt his son who on January 28, 1313, after the fall of Perth (see on 338), is still in receipt of an allowance from Edward II. (*ibid.*, No. 299). Malis, Earl of Strathearn, is among the signatories to the 1320 letter to the Pope (*Act. Parl. Scot.* I., p. 114).

448 *thai war kynde to the cuntre*. "They were related to the country"—*i.e.*, they were Scots (see on 338). The *Lanercost* account is the contrary of this; it is there said that on the morrow of the capture, a Tuesday, Bruce had the chief burgesses of the town (*meliores burgenses*), who were of the Scottish nation, put to death, but allowed the English to depart in freedom. This writer errs, however, as to the fate of Olifard, a Scot, who, he says, was sent in bonds (*ligatus*) far off to the Isles (p. 222); for Olifard was in England a few months afterwards, and there is no mention of any escape or exchange (*Bain*, iii., p. xviii). Fordun's version is that the treacherous folk (*perfidia gens*), both Scots and English, were slain, but that Bruce, in his mercy, spared the common people (*plebi*), and gave pardon to those who asked for it (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxix.).

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452 *wallis gert he tummyll doune*. Bruce's usual policy with fortified places. See on *Bk. X.* 496. The *Lanercost* chronicler says he completely destroyed the town (p. 222); Fordun that he destroyed the wall and ditches, and burned everything else (*ibid.*).

461 *Obeysit all*. Not quite, in 1308. Dundee was in English hands in April, 1312, when reinforcements were being sent to its "rescue" (*Bain*, iii., p. 401); and in 1313, according to Barbour himself (*Bk. X.* 800-1). So was Banff (Watt's *History of Aberdeen and Banff*, p. 68). Bain assigns to June, 1308, a note of instructions regarding Scotland, in which two wardens are appointed for "beyond the Scottish sea between the Forth and Orkeneye," with 120 men-at-arms, "besides garrisons." The "guardians of Scotland," however, are told "that it is the King's pleasure they take truce from Robert de Bruys, as from themselves, as long as they can"—an indication of the growing power of Bruce, emphasized by Barbour (*Bain*, iii., No. 47).

497 *With all the folk*, etc. The *Lanercost* writer explains this raid as being on account of the discord between the English King and his barons. With Edward Bruce, he says, went Robert himself, Alexander de Lindsay, and James Douglas, with their following, which they had brought together "from the remote isles of Scotland" (p. 212).

500 *ryotit gretly the lande*. The people of Galloway had paid tribute to be left alone (see on *Bk. VIII.* 391), but, says the *Lanercost* writer, they made no account of this, and in one day slew many of the more noble men of Galloway, and subjugated nearly the whole country, the Galloway men who could escape flying to England (p. 212).

502 *Ingrame the Umphrevell*. In June, 1308, Umfraville, with two others, was made a warden of Galloway, Annandale, and Carrick (*Bain*, iii., No. 47).

509 *als Amery*. Amery St. John; but there is no one on record of this name. Aymer de Valence was still a warden, but in September, 1307, when Bruce was raiding Galloway (see on *Bk. VIII.* 391), John de St. John was one of "the greater men" there (*Bain*, iii., No. 15). "Amery St. John" is referred to again in *Bk. XVI.* 506.

517 *Besyde Cre*. The River Cre divides Kirkcudbrightshire from Wigtown. Fordun says the battle was on the Dee, and dates it June 29, 1308 (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxv.). The Dee flows into the Solway at the town of Kirkcudbright. Though Barbour's position is universally accepted, Fordun is probably right. See next note.

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522 *Buttil*. Here, at least, C is more correct in a place-name than E, which gives Bothwell, on the Clyde, an absurd distance away, across mountains. The castle is that at Buittle, near Dalbeattie, a Balliol hold. It is a few miles east of the Dee, which seems to bear out Fordun as in the preceding note; *cf.* also lines 533-5. Edward's operations by the Cree could hardly be seen from Buittle.

547 *by Cre*. A second battle by the Cree, or, more probably, one following on the English reverse by the Dee.

575 *Schir Alane of Catcart*. Cathcart is near Glasgow. Sir William de Cathcart (Kethker) is a knight of Roxburgh garrison (English) in December, 1309 (*Bain*, iii., No. 121).

610 "Directed their heads inwards again"—*i.e.*, turned their horses to make a fresh charge from the rear.

658 *Thretten castellis*. Small castles, Border "peels"—ditch and palisade.

683 *the wattir of Lyne*. In Peeblesshire, flowing into the Tweed from the north, a short distance west of Peebles.

692 *Alysander Stewart*. In C, *Alexander Bonkill*. Son of Sir John Stewart, who married the heiress of Sir Alexander de Bonkyl in Berwickshire, and grandson of the fourth High Steward. He died, apparently, in 1319, and his son John was created by Bruce Earl of Angus (*Scots Peerage*, i. 13, 169).

694 *Thomas Randole*. Randolph. See note on *Bk. II.* 463.

695 *Adame ... of Gordoun*. See note on *Bk. II.* 463; XI. 46; XV. 333.

728 *His emys son*. The mother of Douglas was Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, the fourth High Steward, and her elder brother was Sir John Stewart, father of Alexander Stewart, of Bonkil. *Cf.* on 692. Thus Douglas and Sir Alexander were cousins.

9 *toward Lorn*. Barbour's chronology is here not specific, but he apparently places the expedition against Lorn in the late summer or autumn of 1308. So does Fordun (see on *Bk. IX. 204*). On the other hand, there exists a letter from John of Lorn to Edward II., clearly referring to the present expedition. Unfortunately, it is not dated further than as an acknowledgment of the receipt of the King's letters of March 11. About that date, in 1308, Bruce must have been in the North, beyond the Mounth (see on *Bk. IX. 204*). On June 16, 1309, Alexander of Lorn and John are in council with Edward at Westminster (*Bain, iii., No. 95*). Meantime Alexander of Argyll is in the sederunt of Bruce's first Parliament, March 16, 1309, at St. Andrews (*Act. Parl. Scot., vol. i., p. 160*). Either, then, Bruce's expedition is to be placed in the spring and early summer of 1309, or, after the defeat at Loch Awe, John of Lorn held out during the winter, and Dunstaffnage fell at some date between March 11, 1308, and June 16, 1309.

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14 *twa thousand*. In the letter referred to above, John of Lorn says that "Robert Bruce had approached his territories with 10,000 or 15,000 men, it was said, both by land and sea. He had no more than 800 to oppose him, 500 of these being in his pay to keep his borders, and the barons of Argyll gave him no aid.... He has three castles to guard, and a lake 24 leagues (miles) long on which he has vessels properly manned, but is not sure of his neighbours" (*Bain, iii., No. 80*). Lorn's estimate of Bruce's strength is clearly exaggerated. Hemingburgh similarly gives Bruce 10,000 men in his Galloway wanderings (*ii., p. 265*).

17 *Ane evill place*. From the description, the Pass of Brander through which the River Awe flows from Loch Awe to Loch Etive, a sea-loch. The Callander-Oban Railway follows this route. The Pass is three miles long.

27 *Crechanben*. Cruachan Ben, or Ben Cruachan, on the north side, 3,689 feet.

34-35 *on the se ... with his galays*. Skeat says this must be "Loch Etive, a sea-loch, not the inland Loch Awe, from which the ships could not have escaped." He is thinking of line 130, but the flight there mentioned has no connection with the present case. Loch Etive is not "weill neir the pas" (35; *cf.* also 97, 98), but Loch Awe is, and we see from Lorn's letter (note on 14) that he had ships on that loch. He says further that he "was on sick-bed" when he received Edward's letters, "and had been for half a year"; which probably accounts for his presence in a galley, or large Highland row-boat, as the Marquis of Argyll was, for a like reason, when his forces were cut to pieces by Montrose at Inverlochry in 1645.

46 *William Wisman*. A "William Wysman" was made Edward's Sheriff at Elgin in 1305 (*Bain, ii., p. 458*). The wife of "Monsieur William Wysman" was among the ladies captured in 1306, and was sent to Roxburgh (*Foedera, ii., p. 1014*). William Wyseman was at the St. Andrews Parliament, 1309 (*Act. Parl. Scot., i., p. 160*). It was a Moray name.

47 *Schir Androu Gray*. Ancestor of the Lords Gray. Sir Andrew Gray received from Bruce in 1315 the barony of Longforgan and other lands in Perthshire and Forfarshire, which had belonged to Edmond Hastings (Robertson's *Index, p. 26, No. 19*; Crawford's *Peerage, p. 179, ed. 1716*).

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82 *ane wattir*. The River Awe. The river here is wide, deep, and broken by rapids.

88 *till brek it*. The bridge, of course, was of wood. It was probably beyond the lower extremity of the Pass, somewhere near the present bridge.

113 *Dunstaffynch*. In Fordun *Dunstaffynch*; Dunstaffnage Castle at the mouth of Loch Etive.

126 *And com his man*. As has already been noted (see on 9), Alexander of Argyll is, with the other "barons" of Argyll and the Hebrides, present at Bruce's Parliament at St. Andrews, which, if correct, indicates that Barbour, so far, is right. Lorn wrote to Edward that, "though he and his were few in respect of his power, Robert de Brus had asked a truce from him, which he granted for a short space, and received the like, till the King sends him succours. He hears that Robert, when he came, was boasting and saying that the writer had come to his peace at the report that many others would rise in his aid, which God and the writer know is not true. Should the King hear this from others, he is not to believe it" (*Bain, as cited*). Fordun's story is that Bruce besieged Alexander of Argyll in Dunstaffnage, that the castle was surrendered, but Alexander refused to do homage and was allowed a safe-conduct for himself and friends to England (*Gesta Annalia, cxxvi.*).

137 *at Lythkow wes than a peill*. Linlithgow "peel" was constructed by Edward I. in 1301-1302. Barbour's chronology is again at fault, or he is not concerned about it. Linlithgow was still being munitioned against the Scots in August, 1313 (*Bain, iii., No. 330*). Barbour appears to be simply grouping the different captures of castles together (see lines 144-7). Strictly a "peel" was a fortification consisting of a stockade and ditch, enclosing the buildings of the garrison (see lines 144-7).

153 *Wilyhame Bunnok*. See note on 254. C reads *Bowne* here, but *Bunnok* in line 194.

180 *the hede-soyme*. That is, the "trace" or "traces" connecting the animals with the cart would be cut, when the waggon would block the gateway. By a similar trick, in which the agents are dressed as carters and the traces are loosened by withdrawing the pins, Oudenarde was captured in 1384 (*Froissart, Johnes, ii., chap. cli.*).

185 *the harvist tyde*. September or October, 1313. See above on 137.

195 *To leid thair hay*. To "lead" the hay, still the usual country phrase, is to bring it in from the field to the place of storage. Bunnok was to gather the hay and cart it to the castle.

196 *but dangeir*. "Without difficulty," readily.

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223 *callit his wayn*. "Drove" or "urged forward" his waggon. The word occurs in this sense in the *Wallace* "Thir cartaris ... *callyt* furth the cartis weill" (*Bk. ix.* 717-8), where, as usual, the incident is borrowed from the *Bruce*. Cf. Burns: "Ca the yowes to the knowes."

232 *he leyt the gadwand fall*. "He" is not Bunnock, but the driver, who drops his goad and cuts the trace.

254 *hym rewardit worthely*. According to Nisbet's *Heraldry*, Bunnock is the same name as *Binning*, and the arms of Binning of Easter-Binning are "placed on the bend of a waggon argent"; and he gives as an explanation that "one of the heads of that family, with his seven sons, went in a waggon covered with hay, surprised and took the castle of Linlithgow, then in the possession of the English, in the reign of David II." (I. 100, ed. 1816). The reference is clearly to the present incident, though "sons" is a later development, and the date is wrong. Jamieson is highly suspicious over the identification, and it seems, in fact, to be a case of ancestry manufacture.

265-6 *Murref ... And othir syndri landis braid*. "Murref" is English transcription of the Gaelic form, *muirraibh*, dative plural of *muir*, the sea. The grant to Randolph was most extensive, including lands from the mouth of the Spey to Lochaber and Mamore, and "the marches of northern Argyll," and covering 2,550 square miles in Banff, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness (Robertson's *Index of Charters*, p. xlix; Rampini's *Moray and Nairn*, p. 140).

324 *Schir Peris Lombard*. Peter de Loubaud (Lybaud, Libaut) was constable of Edinburgh Castle and the peel of Linlithgow in March, 1312 (*Bain*, iii., No. 254). Edinburgh Castle was captured during Lent, 1314 (*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 223; Fordun says March 14, 1314), by Randolph (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxx.); March 24, apparently, in *Gesta Edw. de Carn.* (p. 45), where it is said that Roxburgh and Edinburgh fell between February 29 and March 24, 1314. Hailes goes a year wrong in these dates, and Skeat adopts. For the intrusion of "m" before "b," cf. *Ferumbrace* for *Fierabras* in *Bk. III.* 437.

327 *mystrowit hym of tratory*. So we have it in the *Vita Edw. Sec.* that Edinburgh Castle was captured "by the betrayal of a certain Gascon, who was known as Peter de Gavestone, to whom the King had committed the custody of the castle. He, a perjured traitor, adhered to Robert the Bruce, and betrayed the castle" (p. 199). Cf. on 766.

360-1 *ledderis ... With treyn steppis*, etc. Ladders of this sort are carefully described by the Carlisle friar as having been used at an unsuccessful siege of Berwick by Bruce in 1312. Two strong ropes were taken, of a length according to the height of the wall. These were knotted at intervals of a foot and a half; on these knots rested wooden (*treyn*) steps two and a half feet long by half a foot broad, sufficient for one man at a time, and every third step had a projection inwards, to keep the ladder out from the wall. At the top end was a curved iron (cf. "a cruk ... of iron"), one end of which, about a foot long, lay on the top of the wall, while the other hung down, was pierced with a hole, and had a ring on each side for the rope. In the hole a sufficiently long spear was inserted, by which the ladder was put in position by two men. When the Scots had placed two ladders for a night attack, a dog barked, and Berwick was saved, the Scots making off and leaving their ladders behind to be hung up in derision of the Scots by the garrison (p. 221).

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372 *on the fasteryn evyn*. "Fastern's Eve," Shrove Tuesday, February 27, 1314. So, too, in Fordun (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxx.), and in *Scalacronica*, the night of Shrove Tuesday (p. 140); in *Lanercost* the capture is dated the day after, February 28, the first day of Lent, 1314 (p. 223). The castle was still in English hands on February 7, 1314 (*Bain*, iii., No. 352), but lost before May 29 (No. 358), in 1314 (894).

400 *up thair ledderis set*. "For James (Douglas) himself on a certain night secretly approached the castle (of Roxburgh), and placed ladders, which had been carried up in concealment (*latenter*) against the wall, and so by these ascended the wall," etc. (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 200).

441 *The custom*. It was the custom to spend the day before the beginning of the fast of Lent in feasting and jollity. This practice continued in Scotland long after the Reformation, when Lent was no more observed. The *Vita Edw.* says that the garrison were sleeping or off their guard.

456-7 *Gylmyne de Fenis ... in the gret toure*, etc. "They (the Scots) took the whole castle except one tower, to which, with difficulty, had escaped the warden of the castle, Sir Gilminus de Fenes, a Gascon knight, and his men with him, but that tower the Scots had soon afterwards" (*Lanercost*, p. 223). Sir William de Filinge (Filling, Felynges) was constable of Roxburgh since 1312 at least (*Bain*, iii., Nos., 332, 337, 351). On the conduct of Roxburgh garrison see on *Bk. XI.* 46.

479 *Woundit so felly*. According to Gray, "Guillemyng Fenygges" was killed by an arrow while holding the great tower (*Scala.*, p. 140).

496 *to tummyll it doune*. "And all this beautiful castle, as with all the other castles which they were able to get, they laid level with the ground, that the English might never afterwards by holding the castles be able to dominate the country" (*Lanercost*, p. 223). So also *Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 199, and *Gesta Edw.*, p. 45, where it is alleged that Bruce did this to prevent the Scottish nobles taking refuge therein instead of helping him. See on *Bk. IX.* 452, and below on 771.

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504 *Outane Jedworth*. There was fighting about Jedburgh in 1315, 1316 (*Bain*, iii., No. 494), but it was still in English hands in 1321 (*ibid.*, 746).

509 *At Edinburgh*. Edinburgh Castle was still in English hands in August, 1313 (*Bain*, iii., No. 330). See further note on 324.

513 *all his purchas*. "By his own procurement."

516 *voidry*. Skeat's suggestion. See footnote. It means "cunning, stratagem" (S).

529 "Ere that siege should miscarry, or go wrong." Cf. on *Bk. I.* 478. The mood here is subjunctive, past tense.

530 *William Francas*. Francis or "Fraunceys" appears from Bain to have been a common name in the Lothians. A "William Francis" got lands from Bruce in Roxburgh in 1322. His grant just precedes one to John Crab (Robertson's *Index to Charters*, p. 15, No. 20; cf. *Bk. XVII.* 239).

701 *The Erll has tane the castell all*. The *Lanercost* historian says the castle was captured in this manner: "Those besieging the same castle, one day in the evening, made a bold assault on the south gate, because on account of the position of the castle, there was no other place where an assault could be given. But those within, all collecting at the gate, resisted them stoutly; meanwhile, however, others of the Scots climbed the rock on the north side, which was very high and steep, up to the foundation of the wall, and there, placing their ladders against the wall, they climbed up in such numbers that those within could make no resistance; and so they (the Scots) opened the gates and brought in their friends, and took the whole castle and slew the English" (p. 223). The *Scalacronica* account is that Moray took the castle at the highest part of the rock, where there was no thought of danger (*a quoi il ne se dotoit*) (p. 140).

708 *Lap fra a berfrois*. For a "beffroi," see on *Bk. XVI.* 597. O.F., "berfroi," etc. For form "belfry," cf. "pilgrim," from "peregrinus"; in English not before the fifteenth century. French dropped the "r" (N.E.D.). The reference here is to one of the *Alexander* romances, of which there was no translation, and is indicative of Barbour's familiarity with this literature. Cf. *Appendix E*.

740 *in stede of prophesye*. "In the way of, or as, a prophecy."

742 *hir chapell*. St. Margaret's Chapel, built for Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore. She died in Edinburgh Castle in 1093. In 1336 the chapel was fitted with four windows of glass (*Bain*, iii., p. 335).

746 *as old men sayis*. The picture and inscription were, therefore, no longer extant.

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747 "Gardez-vous de Francois." "Beware of Francis or of the French."

766 *he becom the Kingis man*. Gray tells how "Lebaud" went over to Bruce, but, because he was in heart English (*qil estoit Engles qe quer*), Bruce had him accused of treason and hanged (*Scala.*, p. 140). The official record is that he was convicted of treason, and, from his forfeitures, he seems to have received large holdings in Lothian (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, where he is styled *Peter Luband*, p. 3, 3; p. 13, 63, 64, 66).

771 *myne doune all halely*. The *Lanercost* writer adds that the Scots levelled Edinburgh Castle to the ground, as they had done Roxburgh.

815 *Fra the lenteryne*. Lent, 1313. In the *Vita Edw.* it is said that Mowbray brought the news of his pact at the beginning of Lent, which must be Lent, 1314, suggesting a considerable difference in dates (p. 200).

816 *Quhill ... Saint Johnnis mess*. That is, by June 24, 1313, the English garrison began to find their food running short. "Their victual was insufficient" (*Vita Edw.*, p. 200).

822-3 *it was nocht with battaill Reskewit*. So, too, in *Vita Edw. Sec.*, where the agreement is that Mowbray "would either procure the King of England to come to the defence of the castle, or, if he should not be able to induce the King to do this, that he would summarily (*indilate*) surrender the castle." St. John's day is fixed as the limiting date. The writer makes Robert Bruce himself conduct the siege (p. 200). So does Gray, who says that the castle was to be surrendered, "unless the English army came within three leagues of the said castle within eight days after St. John's day in the summer next to come" (*dedenz viii jours apres le Saint Johan en este adonques procheine avenir*, p. 141). But cf. *Bk. XI.* 8-9.

## BOOK XI.

32 *outrageous a day*. "Day" has here the meaning of "a space of time," as in Berners' *Froissart*. "The truce is not expired, but hath *day* to endure unto the first day of Maye next" (I. ccxiii., N.E.D.): a sense of the Latin *dies*. For "outrageous," see on *Bk. III.* 162.

44 *Akatane*. Aquitaine, the ancient southern duchy of France, the hereditary possession of the Kings of England.

46 The *Lanercost* chronicler affirms (1311) that in the war the Scots were so divided that sometimes a father was with the Scots and his son with the English, or brothers were on opposite sides, or even the same person at one time on the Scottish side, at another on that of England; but that it was a pretence, either because the English seemed to get the better or to save their English lands, "for their hearts, if not their bodies, were always with their own people" (p. 217). Thus, at this time, there were still to be found among supporters of the English King such names as Stewart, Graham, Kirkpatrick, Maxwell, St. Clair, etc. (*Bain*, iii., *Introd.*, pp. xvi, xvii). As many of these were Border lairds—some, indeed, are of Annandale—even their Scottish lands were specially exposed to English attack. Late in 1313 (October or November) we have a *Petition to the King* (of England) *from the People of Scotland, by their envoys, Sir Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, and Sir Adam de Gordon*, complaining of the great losses they have suffered "by their enemies"—*i.e.*, the Bruce party—also of the brigandage of the English garrison in Berwick and Roxburgh (*Bain*, iii., No. 337). One of the results of Bannockburn was to bring many of these waverers over to the national side. Adam de Gordon, indeed, was already under suspicion, and

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apparently was a waverer. He had, in fact, a grant of the lands of Strathbogie in 1309, according to Robertson (*Index*, p. 2; 40). *Cf.* also 103-4.\* For Gordon, see also *Bk. IX.* 720, etc.; XV. 333; and on March, *Bk. XIX.* 776, note.

79-82 *Cf.*, as bearing out Barbour's assertion, the comment by the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* on the army when assembled at Berwick: "There were in that assemblage amply sufficient men (*satis sufficientes*) to traverse all Scotland, and, in the judgment of some, if the whole of Scotland had been brought together, it could not make a stand against the army of the King (*cf.* line 150). Indeed, it was confessed by the whole host that, in our time, such an army had not gone out of England" (*Chronicles of Ed. I. and Ed. II.*, ii., pp. 201-2).

91 *Erl of Hennaut.* Count William of Hainault, Flanders. *Cf.* on *Bk. XIX.* 262.

93. *Almanyhe:* Germany. Friar Baston says four German knights came "gratis" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xix., p. 507).

100 of *Irlande ane gret menyhe.* In *Foedera* we have the list of twenty-five Irish chiefs summoned to the campaign against the Scots—O'Donald, O'Neil, MacMahon, O'Bryn, O'Dymsey, etc. The Irish contingent was commanded by Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, Bruce's father-in-law (III., pp. 476-478).

\*103-4 See note on 46.

103 *Ane hundreth thousand men and ma.* See *Appendix C.*

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105 *Armyt on hors.* That is, the men alone wore armour, being thus distinguished from the knights "with helit hors," or horses armoured also in *bardings* of leather or mail. Skeat rejects the reading of E in favour of "playn male," taking "playn" to represent the French *plein* = "complete mail," on the ground of Innes's remark that the distinction between mail or ring-armour and plate, "if known, was not so specific in Barbour's age." But plates had been coming into use since the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and by 1300 the practice of attaching such additional defences was rapidly developing. See note on 131. In 1316 we read of "200 men armed in plate," who were sent to Ireland from England (*Bain*, iii., p. 99, No. 519).

114 *Of cartis.* "The multitude of waggons (*multitudo quadrigarum*), if it had been extended in a line one behind the other, would have taken up a space of twenty leagues" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 202). The meaning of "league" is uncertain; apparently it was just a mile.

117 *veschall.* In *Vita Edw. Sec.* (pp. 206-7) the author speaks of "costly garments and gold (or gilt) plate" (*vasa aurea*). Baker of Swinbroke, in his *Chronicon Angliæ* (p. 55), also mentions the "plate of gold and silver," and affirms that, in addition to an abundant supply of victuals, the English brought with them things which were wont to be seen only in times of peace on the luxurious tables of princes. Among the ornaments of the high altar of Aberdeen Cathedral in 1549 was "an old hood made of cloth of gold ... from the spoil of the Battle of Bannockburn" (*Reg. Episc. Aberd.*, ii., p. 189).

119 *schot.* Arrows, and bolts for cross-bows. *Cf.* *Bk. XIII.* 311, and below, note on 544.

130 *ryche weid.* The rich flowing housings or drapery of the steeds, covering the armour, if any, as the "surcoat" of the knight did his.

131-132. Armour was in a state of rapid transition, and so at this time is very complicated. An English brass of 1325 shows a knight wearing (1) a *gambeson*, or close-fitting quilted tunic, to ease the pressure of the armour; (2) a *hauberk* of *banded* or *chain mail*, with half-plates on the upper arm; (3) an *habergeon* ("hawbyrschown"), or lighter hauberk, apparently of small plates; (4) a *haketon*, another padded coat like the gambeson; (5) and a short *surcoat*. He has leggings of mail covering also the feet, and half-plates in addition from the knees to the toes: a hood of mail continued upward from the hauberk and a *bascinet*, or pointed, nut-shaped helmet, with no visor. Over this he would wear in battle such a heavy, closed, flat-topped *helm* as we see on the seal of Robert I. He carries a small triangular shield on his left arm, and his sword, a little more than half the body in length, hangs in front from a waist-belt. Such was probably the equipment of the leading knights at Bannockburn.

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136 *Till Berwick.* The army was to assemble at Werk on the Tweed by Monday, June 10, 1314 (*Foedera*, iii., p. 481). But the start was made from Berwick on June 17 or 18 (*Vita Edw.*, 201).

150 *Mannaustt the Scottis.* *Cf.* note on 79-82.

163 *Glowcister.* Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, nephew of the King, and a young man of twenty-three. *Herfurd.* Humphrey de Bohun, or Boun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England. "The Earl of Gloucester and the Earl of Herford commanded the first line" (*primam aciem*, *Vit. Edw. Sec.*, p. 202). The *Scalacronica* says Gloucester commanded "the advance guard" (p. 141), but does not mention Hereford (see note on *Bk. XIII.* 466).

174 *Schir Gyls de Argente.* Sir Giles d'Argentine, popularly regarded as one of the three most eminent men of the time, the others being the Emperor Henry and Robert Bruce (*Scotich. Lib.*, xiii. 16). He "guided the King's bridle" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 204). *Cf.* also *Scalacronica* (p. 143), *votre reyne me fust baillez*—"your rein was entrusted to me": among others (p. 142).

210 *the Torwood.* Stretching north and west from Falkirk. It reached to near Bannockburn, a little south of which is "Torwoodhead" Castle.

237 See note on 103.

250 *abaysing.* Fear which grew to panic. *Morale*, or firm courage, is always an important element



in warfare, but in medieval times it seems to have been specially important (*cf.* IV. 191-200, and XII. 184-8). The remarkable successes of the Scots against larger numbers were often due to the “abaysing,” for one reason or other, of their opponents. Footmen were peculiarly liable to this loss of nerve, as they received no mercy, as a rule, from the mounted knights. Bruce was all along most anxious to guard against the rise of any such spirit of “funk” among his men. “Success in battle,” said Napoleon, “depends not so much upon the number of men killed as upon the number frightened.”

277 *the wayis*. As Bruce explains in the lines that follow, there were two “ways” of advance to Stirling; one through the wooded New Park, and the other by the level below St. Ninian’s, extending to the “pools” or lagoons along the side of the Forth. The trees of the New Park seem to have extended from above the banks of the burn to St. Ninian’s on the one side and Stirling, or near it, on the other (*cf.* note on *Bk.* XII. 58). It was made as late as 1264 by Alexander III., and enclosed with a paling in 1288 (*Excheq. Rolls*, I. 24, 38); whence the name “New.”

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291 *licht armyng*. “Everyone of them (the Scots) was protected by light armour” (*levi armatura*). (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 203). See further, note on *Bk.* XII. 448.

296 *ficht on fut*. Fighting was still regarded as almost entirely the business of armoured men on horseback, the footmen serving only for minor purposes. That an army all on foot should oppose chivalry was a new departure. Bruce was an original general. Sir Thomas Gray says that the Scots “took example from the Flemings,” who, in 1302, at Courtrai had in this way defeated the French knights (*Scalacronica*, p. 142). But this is an after-thought. The *Vita Edwardi Sec.* also draws the parallel with Courtrai (p. 206). But the Scots could take the hint from the tactics at Falkirk in 1298, where Wallace was only defeated by the English archers. An English chronicler of about 1330 suggests that the Scots were made to fight on foot to avoid the mischance at Falkirk when their little body of cavalry fled at the sight of the English advance (*Annales Johannis de Trokelowe*, p. 84).

300 *the sykis*. No doubt shallow lagoons with a muddy bottom, about the Bannock, where it entered the Forth, flooded by the tide. Jamieson, in his *Dictionary*, defines *syk* as “a marshy bottom, with a small stream in it.” A rivulet in Selkirkshire is known as the Red Syke (Chambers’ *Popular Rhymes*, p. 17, ed. 1826).

333-6 Pinkerton suggests in his edition that Bruce could not trust the Highlanders and Islesmen, and so put them in the rear, and stiffened their ranks with his own followers from Carrick. For this there is no warrant. The “barons of Argyll and Inchgallye” (the Hebrides) attended Bruce’s Parliament at St. Andrews in March, 1309 (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i. 99). *Cf.* also note on X. 14. In any case on the Sunday afternoon Bruce took the *front* position in the New Park with these very men (445, 446).

360 *ane playne feld by the way*. *I.e.*, an open, level part by the road through the park, just outside the wood. The historians have shifted the position to suit their various and erroneous ideas of the field of battle. Barbour, it is to be noted, says nothing of bogs, nor of Buchanan’s “calthrops of iron” (*Scot. Hist.*, ed. 1762, p. 213). Friar Baston, captured at Bannockburn, in his Latin poem, says there were stakes in the pits (*Scotichronicon*, lib. xii., chap. xxii.). Geoffrey Baker, of Swinbroke, enlarges them to long ditches covered with hurdles, an utter misapprehension (*Chronicon*, pp. 56, 57. *Cf.* notes on *Bk.* XII. 536, 537). At Cressy (1346) the English dug “many pits” (*multa foramina*) of the depth and width of a foot in front of their first line as a defence against possible pursuit by the French cavalry (*Baker*, p. 166). An analagous device is described by Herodotus as having been successfully used by the Phocians to destroy Messalian cavalry (Book viii., chap. xxviii.).

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426 *till ane vale*. Apparently in the valley behind Coxet Hill. “Gillies Hill” is said to have taken its name from these “gillies,” or servants (Nimmo’s *History of Stirlingshire*, second edition, p. 219). Barbour never calls them “gillies,” and why a Gaelic name? The writer of the description of the district in the *Old Statistical Account* (1796) makes no mention of this “tradition,” and suggests a derivation from the personal name Gill or Gillies. “The names both of Gillies and Morison occur in the muirlands” (vol. xviii., p. 392).

437 *the Fawkirk*. A Scots translation of the original Gaelic name (in twelfth century) *Eaglais breac*, “the speckled or particoloured church,” in reference to the stone of which it was built. In “Falkirk” the “l” has been substituted for “w,” as a sign of length in the vowel (see *Language I*, App. G). Local pronunciation does not sound the “l.” The English chroniclers write the name *Foukyrk* (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 205), or *Faukirke* (*Annales London.*, p. 104).

440-453 Acting on the information received, and unaware, as yet, which road the English would choose for an advance to Stirling, Bruce makes a fresh disposition of his troops, departing from that laid down in lines 305-347, so as to be ready for either line of advance. He himself occupies the “entry” to the Park road, which was a continuation of the medieval (Roman?) highway passing west of St. Ninian’s, with his mixed brigade of Highlanders and Lowlanders; while Randolph is posted at St. Ninian’s Kirk overlooking the level about seventy feet below. Apparently (see below) both divisions are masked by the wood. The others are in reserve to reinforce when it should turn out to be necessary. The historians, ignoring this alteration in dispositions, land themselves, as a result, in unintelligible confusion. Douglas later trapped an English column in the “entre” of Jedburgh Forest (*Bk.* XVI. 310 *et seq.*).

486 *confort his men*. See note on 250.

523 *Aucht hundreth*. Gray says they were only three hundred, under the command of Robert Lord de Clifford and Henry de Beaumont (*Scalacronica*, p. 141). We learn from the same author that

Philip de Mowbray, constable of Stirling, went out and met Edward when the army was *three leagues*, or miles, from the castle, and suggested that he should advance no farther as, the English having come so far, and being within touch, he considered himself relieved; besides, he said, the Scots had blocked the narrow ways (*lez estroitiz chemyns*) of the wood—*i.e.*, of the New Park. But from the conditions, as we have seen (*Bk. X. 822*), the castle could not be held to be relieved so long as the Scots were in force before it. We note that Mowbray also expected the army to come by the Park roads. Now Barbour says that Clifford's detachment left the main body *two miles* away (515). Apparently, then, this movement was the result of Mowbray's information (see next note). However, it was known to Edward when he summoned his army that the Scots had taken up a position between him and Stirling in strong, marshy places difficult for horsemen (*Foedera*, ii., p. 481).

532 *it suld reskewit be*. So the Scots might conclude, but the version of the *Lanercost* chronicler better fits the case: "After dinner" (*post prandium*—say, about midday) "the army of the King (Edward) came to the neighbourhood of the Torwood" (he takes the Park to be an extension of the larger forest), "and when it was known that the Scots were in the wood" (from Mowbray), "the first line (*prima acies*) of the King, whose leader was Lord Clifford, wished to surround the wood so that the Scots should not escape in flight" (p. 225). This is in harmony with the self-confidence of the English, and explains why the horsemen did not, as they might have done, avoid Randolph's foot, if they were only making for the castle. There was apparently no obstacle to Mowbray communicating personally with the relieving army, and he cannot have gone alone; so that the parties were actually in touch, and, as Mowbray argued, a technical "relief" had been performed.

536 *thai wist weill*. From Mowbray probably, but *cf.* note on 523. Aymer de Valence, too, had gone on before the army to prepare its line of march and carefully examine the stratagems of the Scots (*insidias Scotorum. Vit. Edw.*, p. 201).

537 *Beneth the Park*. "Made a circuit upon the other side of the wood towards the castle, keeping the open ground" (*as beaux chaumps. Scalacronica*, p. 141).

544 *thai so fer war passit by*. The English writers report the matter as it appeared to them. "The Scots, however, suffered this" (Clifford's advance) "until they had placed a considerable distance between themselves and their friends, when they showed themselves, and cutting off that first line of the King from the middle and rear divisions (*a media acie et extrema*), rushed on it," etc. (*Chron. de Lanercost*, 225). "Thomas Randolph, ... who was leader of the advance guard of the Scots, having heard that his uncle had repulsed the advance guard of the English on the other side of the wood, thought that he must have his share, and issuing from the wood with his division" (Barbour says "five hundred men," line 542), "took the level plain" (*le beau chaumpe*—Barbour's "playn feld") "towards the two lords aforesaid" (*Scalacronica*, p. 141). Note that both Bruce at the "entry," and Randolph at "the Kirk," were *in the wood* (see on this also note on *Bk. XII. 58*); and the reiterated use of the term "playn feld" for the level below St. Ninian's.

546 *ane rose of his chaplet*. Hailes suggests a far-fetched explanation of this: "I imagine that *rose* implies a large bead in a rosary or chaplet," when the dropping of a rose would imply carelessness of duty (*Annals*, ii. 51, note). The *New English Dictionary* defines *chaplet* as "A wreath for the head, usually a garland of flowers or leaves," and cites this passage. Randolph in the wood, keeping his eyes on the main body, could easily miss an advance by his flank, which had started independently two miles away, and probably kept to cover as far as possible.

547 *Wes faldyn*. Skeat explains this form as "fallen" with an "excrement *d*, due to Scandinavian influence," citing also *Bk. XIII. 632*. A form, *foolde*, occurs in *The Sowdone of Babylone*, line 1428, where Hausknecht explains it as from *fealden*, "to fold," meaning "folded, bent down, fallen"; citing also "*Folden to grunde*" and "Fiftene hundred *Folden to grunden*," from *Layamon*, 23,894 and 27,055-6. The result as to meaning is the same either way.

548 *war past*. Clifford then had passed the Kirk before Randolph made a move. The scene of the conflict is usually placed at a position half-way between St. Ninian's and Stirling, now known as Randolph's Field. But this name is not older than the end of the eighteenth century (*Old Stat. Acct.*, vol. xviii., p. 408). The origin of the nomenclature is two standing stones said to have been erected in memory of the victory (Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire*, ed. 1817, p. 216). But standing stones are no uncommon feature in Scotland, and various traditions attach to them; and why this preference in commemoration? "Standing stones," on the other side of the Forth, are mentioned in the *Wallace* (*Bk. v. 298*).

557 *In hy thai sped thame*. Gray gives an account of this affair, in which his father was taken prisoner, in the *Scalacronica* (edit. Maitland Club. p. 141): "Sir Henry de Beaumont said to his men, 'Let us retire a little; let them [the Scots] come on; give them room [*donez les chaumps*.]" His father, Sir Thomas, charging on the Scots, was carried off a prisoner on foot, his horse having been slain on the pikes. He, too, mentions the death of Sir William Deyncourt (line 573), and says the squadron was utterly routed. If Beaumont—to whom, with Deyncourt, Gray gives the command—proposed to allow the Scots more room by retiring, his detachment cannot have gone far past Randolph's original position (*cf.* also line 538). The remark seems absurd if applied to the ground at Randolph's Field. Buchanan says Randolph had horse, in which he is clearly wrong (*Rerum Scotic. Hist.*, ed. 1762, chap. xxxix.), and he is followed on this point in White's *History of the Battle of Bannockburn* (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 55.

573 *Schir Wilyhame Dencort*. See previous note.

598 *Styk stedis, and ber doune men*. An unhorsed knight in his heavy suit of full armour was a

cumbrous unit, and if he fell, might find it impossible to rise in the press, or be assisted to do so, so as to be remounted on a fresh steed by his squire, whose duty it was to see to this, among other things. The author of the *Vita Edw.* notes as a mischance deserving remark that in this day's fighting the Earl of Gloucester was unhorsed (p. 202; see also on *Bk. XII.* 504).

## BOOK XII.

22 *quyrbolle. Cuir-bouilli*, or "boiled leather," was not really boiled, as in that case it would become horny and brittle and so quite unsuitable for the purposes to which it was put—the strengthening of armour in the transition period of the fourteenth century prior to the full use of plate, and the making of sheaths, bottles, caskets, etc. The leather was steeped in a warm mixture of wax and oil, which made it pliable and fit to receive the designs cut or embossed on it. It was then slowly dried. Helmet crests or other fittings were also made of it, as here.

29 *the Boune*. Henricus de Boun in *Vita Edw. Sec.* (see below). The name is variously spelled—*Bowme* (C), *Bohun*, etc. He was the nephew of Hereford. Barbour says "cosyne" in 31, but this, formerly, very frequently denoted a nephew or niece (N.E.D.).

33 *merk-schot*. Jamieson's *Dictionary* gives as explanation: "Seems the distance between the *bow markis* which were shot at in the exercise of archery." In the *New English Dictionary*: "The distance between the butts in archery" (citing this passage). E and H read *bow-schote* = 150 to 200 yards.

36 *his men*. That is, the men of his own battle at the "entry," not the whole army drawn up in line, as is generally assumed. *Cf. Bk. XI.* 440-53, and note.

42 *his hors he steris*. *Cf.* with the account, professing to be based on Barbour, in Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, canto vi., XV.: "The Bruce stood fast," etc.

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49 *in-till a lynng*. "They quickly took their positions so as to come at each other in a line."

58 *And he doune till the erd can ga. I.e.*, De Boun; but Sir Herbert Maxwell says Bruce! (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 205). With this Scottish version of the event *cf.* the following English one (c. 1326): "When the English had now passed the wood"—*i.e.*, the Torwood—"and were approaching Stirling, behold! the Scots were moving about, as if in flight, on the edge of the grove" (*sub memore, i.e.*, the wood of the New Park), "whom a certain knight, Henry de Boun, with the Welshmen, pursued up to the entry" (*introitum*, Barbour's "entre") "of the grove. For he had it in his mind that, if he should find Robert Bruce there, he would either slay him or bring him back his captive. But when he had come hither, Robert himself issued suddenly from the cover of the wood" (*a latebris silvæ*); "and the aforesaid Henry, seeing that he could not resist the crowd of Scots, and wishing to retire to his friends, turned his horse; but Robert withstood him, and with the axe which he carried in his hand, smashed in his skull. His squire, while endeavouring to shield and avenge his lord, is overcome by the Scots" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 202). Gray says the advanced guard under the Earl of Gloucester entered the road within the Park and were repulsed (*tost furvont recoillez. Scala.*, p. 141) by the Scots; and that, as was reported, Robert Bruce here slew a knight, Peris de Mountforth, with an axe. A John de Mountfort was slain at Bannockburn, and in the list cited his name immediately precedes that of Henry de Boun (*Annales Londonienses*, p. 231, in *Chronicles of Edward I. and Edward II.*, vol. i.). Buchanan places this incident at the beginning of the main battle on Monday as something scarcely worth mentioning (*parum quidem dictu*) (*Rer. Scot. Hist.*, ed. 1762, chap. xxxix.). Barbour, of course, concentrates on Bruce's performance, but the *Vita Edwardi* incidentally corroborates Gray in remarking that in this day's fighting Gloucester was unhorsed (p. 202), which could have happened only in the Park affair.

67 *thai com on*. As we see, the De Boun affair was part of a serious skirmish, an attempt to force the road to Stirling through the Park, in which the English van was repulsed. See above on 58, and hereafter on 176. This important fact is usually overlooked, as in Hume Brown's *History*, i., p. 158.

140 *The layff went*. Some, says Gray, fled to the Castle of Stirling (*au chastel*), the others to the King's host (*Scala.*, p. 141).

144-6 "Quickly took off their helmets to get air, for they were hot, and covered with perspiration."

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176 *twis. I.e.*, repulsed in the De Boun skirmish, and in that of Randolph and Clifford. These successes were clearly of the greatest importance, in so far as they put heart into the Scots, and prevented their being overawed, as they might well have been, by the greatness and terrifying appearance of the English host. The author of the *Gesta Edw. de Carnarvon* thus notes that at Bannockburn "they fought on both days" (*utrisque diebus pugnaverunt*), and the Scots "prevailed" (*Chron. Edw. I. and Edw. II.*, ii. 46).

194 *gif yhe think*, etc. Bruce here offers his men alternative courses, either to stay and fight or to retreat. Gray tells us that the Scots were on the point of retiring to a stronger position in the Lennox, when Sir Alexander Seton, secretly deserting the English side—no doubt because he saw that the chances of success were now with the Scots—came to Bruce and told him of the shaken condition of the English army, pledging his head that if Bruce attacked next day, he would win easily, and with little loss (*Scala.*, p. 141). Bruce did attack. Seton was an English partisan in February, 1312 (*Bain*, iii., No. 245). Later he appears on the Scottish side (*ibid.*, 767, etc.).

210 *Lordyngis*, etc. For Bruce's speech, see *Appendix B*.

255-6 The various readings here show that to the scribes the sense was somewhat obscure. Bruce says that, should the English find them weak, and defeat them, they would have no mercy upon them. Skeat, by reading *To* in 255, and putting a period after *oppynly*, misses the point. *That happyn* and *that wyn* are hypothetical subjunctives. E and H have altered 256.

290 *my brothir Neill*. Nigel Bruce. See IV. 61, 176.

302 *enveronyt*. "The strength of this place shall prevent us being surrounded"—always Bruce's special fear, his men being few in comparison with the enemy. See note on *Bk. XIII*. 275.

357 *The Inglis men sic abaysing, Tuk*. Similarly Gray writes that the English had "sadly lost countenance and were in very *low spirits*" (*etoint de trop mal covyne*) from what had taken place (*Scala.*, p. 142). "And from that hour," says the *Lanercost Chronicle*, "fear spread among the English and greater boldness among the Scots" (p. 225). The rhetorical John de Trokelowe, however, declares that the English were "exasperated" (*exacerbati*), and firmly determined to be revenged or vanquished on the morrow (*Chronica et Annales*, p. 83). The last statement, though it would seem to be only a presumption on the chronicler's part, may apply to the lords, who, Barbour says, urged on their men to "tak a-mendis." Barbour, Gray, and the *Lanercost* writer speak for the general mass, and their agreement establishes the fact.

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390 *bot he war socht*. The English certainly feared a night attack. According to Gray, they passed the night under arms, with their horses bitted (p. 142). In the *Vita Edwardi* also we read that there was no rest for them, and that they spent a sleepless night. "For they thought the Scots would rather attack by night than await battle in the daytime" (pp. 202-3).

392 *Doune in the Kers*. The Carse is the low-lying ground along Forth side, on which were the "pools" (see note on *Bk. XI*. 300), and which was thus in a generally marshy condition. The ancient limits of the Carse proper seem to be indicated in the O.S. map by the names Kerse Patrick, Kerse Mill, and Springkerse, all on the 40-foot level. Eastwards the land sinks towards the Forth; westwards it rises slightly to the 50-foot level at the foot of the ridge on which stands St. Ninian's. This middle division is called "the dryfield lands" in the *Old Stat. Act*, xviii., p. 388. Friar Baston also has the name: "The dry land (*arrida terra*) of Stirling" (see note on XI. 360). The English had to keep to the marshy land of the east in order to be clear of the Scottish leaguer in the Park. They thus crossed the Bannock (see below), and kept the "dryfield land" between them and the Scots. Having crossed, they could advance to the "hard feld" (Barbour) from their front. It is of the first importance to understand that the English did camp here, for, if so, the battle was fought on the strip of level, firm ground separating the armies. Gray corroborates Barbour: "The host of the King ... had arrived on a plain towards the water of Forth, *beyond Bannockburn*—a bad, deep morass with pools" (*ruscelle, Scala.*, p. 142.). Mr. Lang, seeing the difficulty of reconciling this statement with the site of battle as fixed by him and the other historians, says that Gray, in "*beyond Bannockburn*" (*outré Bannockburn*), must mean "south of Bannockburn, taking the point of view of his father, at that hour a captive in Bruce's camp" (*History*, i., p. 221). But Gray's hour of writing was forty years later; and Barbour, who says the same thing, cannot be explained away by supposititious hallucination.

407 *quhen it wes day*. "About the third hour of the day" (*Trokelowe*, p. 84). On June 24 the sun rises about 4 a.m.

413 *Thai maid knyghtis*. A usual ceremony before an important battle. Those receiving the honour for distinguished conduct in the field were known as "knights-banneret." Previously they had been only "bachelors," for which see Glossary.

421 *tuk the playne*. Note the reiteration of this expression, and *cf.* what is said on *Bk. XI*. 544, and above on 392; also *Vita Ed.*, p. 203: "When he (Bruce) learned that the English battles had occupied the plain (*campus*), he led out his whole army from the grove" (*de nemore*).

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426 *richt as angelis schane brichtly*. Probably in reference to the white "surcoats" worn by the knights over their armour (*cf. Bk. VIII*. 232-35). Baston writes: "The English folk, like Heaven's folk, in splendour shine" (*Anglicolæ, quasi cœlicolæ, splendore nitescunt, Scotich.* ed. Goodall, ii., lib. xii., chap. xxii.).

429 *a schiltrum*. A close-packed body of men of any order or size (see Glossary). *Cf. Morte Arthure*, line 2, 922: "Owte of the *scheltrone* they schede (separated themselves), as schepe of a folde"; also several other uses in the same poem. Hemingburgh says that Wallace's "schilttrouns" at Falkirk were round (*qui quidem circuli vocabantur "schilttrouns,"* ii., p. 180). Skeat questions this, for philological reasons! (see note here).

448 *apon fut. I.e.*, the Scots left the cover of the wood, and advanced to meet the English chivalry on foot, contrary to all contemporary rules of the art of war. *Cf.* what is said on *Bk. XI*. 296. "None of them (the Scots) mounted a horse, but every man of them was protected by light armour such as a sword could not easily penetrate.... They marched close-packed like a thick hedge, and such a body could not be easily broken into" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 203). Also of the Scots: "On their side all were on foot: moreover, chosen men of the highest courage, suitably equipped with very sharp axes and other weapons of war, packing their shields close together in front of them, made the column (*cuneum*) impenetrable" (*Trokelowe*, p. 84). The formation, in fact, was that of the famous "shield-wall" of Hastings and other early English battles.

477 *Knelyt all doune*. So, too, in *Chron. de Lanercost*: "But when the two armies had come very close all the Scots fell on their knees to say a *Paternoster*, and committed themselves to God, and asked help from heaven; when they had done this they advanced boldly against the English" (p. 225). This ceremony was directed by Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld

(Bower, *Scotich.*, lib. xii., ch. xxi.).

488 *dout of ded.* "Fear of death."

498 *Schir Edward.* The author of *Vita Edw.* says it was commanded by James Douglas, but in this he is wrong (p. 203).

504 *frusching of speris, etc.* The *Lanercost* writer, who derived his information, as he himself says, from a trustworthy eyewitness, has a very similar description. The English chargers, he writes, galloped against the Scottish spears as against a thick wood, "whereupon arose an exceeding great and terrible noise from breaking spears and steeds mortally wounded" (p. 225). The Scots, of course, would "stick" the horses, so as to unseat the heavily armoured riders—a serious accident for them (see note on *Bk. XI.* 598).

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519 *With speris ... and axis.* Of the Scots it is said in *Vita Edw.*: "They had an axe by the side, and carried spears (*lanceas*) in their hands" (p. 203). For the "weill grundyn" axes, *cf. Trokelowe* above, line 448.

535 *He held his way.* The Scots appear to have attacked with successive battles, each coming up later than, and to the left of, its predecessor—in echelon by the right. So we may infer from Barbour, as well as from the rather obscure description in the *Lanercost* chronicle: "But they so ordered their army, that two divisions (*duæ acies*) of it should precede the third, the first on the flank of the second, so that neither should go in front of the other (*una ex latere alterius, ita quod neutra aliam præcederet*), to be followed by the third, in which was Robert" (p. 225). Gray simply says that the advance guard of the Scots came on in line of schiltrons and engaged the English (*Scala.*, p. 142). Baker alone states that the Scots stood drawn up in solid array behind an artificial "hurdle" covered ditch, and waited the English attack (*Chron.*, p. 56).

537 *The nyne battales.* Probably, as Mr. Oman suggests (*Art of War*, p. 574), in the way the French were at Créçy, in three lines of three battles each, the advance guard under Gloucester and Hereford thus forming a separate body (*cf.* lines 435-7). Mr. Oman gives the tenth, however, to "a reserve under the King" (*ibid.*). Baker, whose account is the latest and is really a summary essay on tactics, divides the English army into three "wards" (*custodias*): first, the heavy horsemen, which he tumbles into the "fragile" ditch (see above on 536, and note on *Bk. XI.* 360); next, the foot with the archers reserved to deal with the enemy in flight (see on *Bk. XIII.* 51); and, third, the King himself, with the bishops and other "religious" men (*Chronic.*, 56-7).

### BOOK XIII.

32 *tynt the suet.* "Lost their lives." The phrase in this sense occurs also in the *Wallace*: "The Scottis on fute gert mony *loiss the suete*" (*The Wallace*, Jamieson's edition, *Bk. xii.*, line 194).

36 *slew fire.* "Struck out fire." Also in *Wallace*, iv. 285: "*slew fyr on flint.*" *Cf.* from *The Buik of Alexander*: "thare dyntis, That *kest fyre* as man dois flyntis" (p. 236, line 24).

51 *the archeris war perelous.* Baker says that the archers were not given a suitable position, as in his time, being placed behind the first line instead of on the wings (*cf.* note on *Bk. XII.* 537, and below lines 102-5, and note on 104). "Some," he adds, "shot upwards so that their arrows fell fruitlessly (*incassum*) on the helmets of their adversaries; those who shot straight wounded a few Scots in the breast, but more English in the back" (*Chron.*, pp. 57-58). At Falkirk (1298), after the failure of the first attack by the horsemen, Edward I. brought up his archers to play on the Scottish masses till these were broken, and then charged and dispersed them. Bruce anticipated this manœuvre, and made provision for it (see note on 98).

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61 *Robert of Keth.* The Kethes or Keiths took their name from the barony of Keith, in Lothian. This Robert was still in the English service on May 23, 1308 (*Bain*, iii. 44), yet his name appears among those present at Bruce's Parliament of March 16, 1309, as Robert de Kethe, Marshall (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., p. 99). Elsewhere he is said to have joined Bruce at Christmas, 1308 (*Bain*, No. 245). He received from Bruce the office of Earl Marshall as its holders, one of the branches of the "Mareschals," were adherents of England, and continued to be (*Bain*, iii., p. lxxviii).

68 *at a syde.* "On one side," as in line 163, "in-till a front." This movement is too vaguely described to be located exactly. Most probably it was to the left of the three "battles" now engaged (English right), on ground presently occupied by Bruce with his own division.

98 *nakit.* "Without defensive armour," as in *Bk. VII.* 330. The two previous lines mean that the Scottish horsemen did not have to stop a stroke or hold against a blow; *i.e.*, the archers offered no resistance. Bruce's intention, we may gather from lines 58-60, was so to harass the archers on the flank as to occupy them with their own defence and restrain their shooting. The attack, however, was so successfully pushed home that the archers were wholly scattered.

104 *thair awne folk had no space.* We gather that the archers had taken up a position on the right front of the main body, where they blocked the advance of the horsemen directly behind. These received the flying archers with blows, and pushed forward to take their place. The *Lanercost* chronicler says the battle began with a skirmish between the opposing archers, and that the Scots archers were driven back. This, again, suggests that the archers were somewhere in front. Mr. Oman follows Baker in placing them behind the first line. See note on 51.

132 *on a syde.* See above on 68.

162 *All four the battelis.* The *Vita Edw. Sec.* (p. 203) and the *Chron. de Lanercost* (p. 225) divide the Scots into three battles (*turmas, acies*), the usual medieval arrangement. The latter also gives

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Robert the rear division, as here.

175 *in ane schiltrum all*. Gray says that the “battles” of the English were crowded close together (*entassez estoit*), and could not repeat their attacks upon the Scots (*remuerent devers eaux*), as their horses were impaled by the pikes (p. 142). In the *Lanercost* chronicle we read that the English behind (*sequentes*) “were not able to reach the Scots because of the interposition of the first line, nor in any way to help themselves” (p. 224). The English, indeed, were too many to be manoeuvred according to the simple tactics of the day, and were, in addition, crowded on too narrow a front. There was no generalship. These were Bruce’s chief advantages. He was protected by the hill and wood behind from being surrounded (*cf.* note on *Bk. XI. 300*). Besides, his rapid and successive advance prevented the English from developing any such intention. They could not well deploy among the “pools” and marshes.

183 *quyntis*. “*Quyntis* is merely the French *cointises*, signifying finery or *quaint* attire” (Skeat); generally, ornamental attachments to the armour. E reads *quhytys*, and H *coates*, so that we may have to do with the “white” surcoats. In viii. 232 Barbour speaks of hauberks “quhit as flour.”

208 *the Scottis archeris*. The effective part played by the Scottish archers is usually overlooked.

283 *quhen the King of England saw his men fle*. The English writers make no mention of the appearance of the camp-followers. They date the break-up from the failure of Gloucester’s attack with the van. As those behind, says the *Lanercost* chronicler, could not get forward (see note on 275), nothing remained but to take measures for flight (pp. 225-6). The front line had fallen back only to add to the confusion (*cf.* line 170, etc.). “When those who were with the King saw the Earl’s division smashed up (*contritum*) and their friends making ready to fly, they said it was dangerous to stay longer,” etc. (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 205). Gray says the King went much against his will (as Barbour reports one version in line 298), and that he knocked over with his mace the Scots that were catching at his charger’s housings (*Scala.*, p. 142). Trokelowe affirms that he laid about him “like a lion,” and brandished a sword dripping with blood (*Annales*, p. 86).

297 *By the renyhe*. “Those who had been assigned to the King’s rein were drawing the King forward by the rein out of the plain (*hors du chaumpe*) towards the castle” (*Scala.*, p. 142).

307 *I cheis heir to byde and de*. In *Vita Edw. Sec.* it is said he hastened to assist the Earl of Gloucester when he saw him fall, and perished with him, “thinking it more honourable to perish with such a man than to escape death by flight” (p. 204). *Cf.* also *Scala.*: “I have never been accustomed to fly” (p. 143).

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321 *thrid best knyght*. See note on *Bk. XI. 174*. He is highly spoken of by both Baston and the *Vita Edw.* writer. According to Bruce’s English eulogist in the *Scotichronicon*, the other two were Bruce himself and the Emperor Henry (lib. xiii., ch. xvi.).

328-9 *fra ... the King Wes fled, wes nane that durst abyde*. “When the King’s banner is seen to depart the whole army quickly disperses” (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 205).

335 *Fled to the wattir of Forth*. On no hypothesis other than that the battle was fought on the plain between the Forth and the Bannock can this fact be explained. Of the fact itself there is no question. The *Lanercost* chronicler, in his *Versus*, says: “Forth swallowed up many well furnished with arms and horses” (p. 227). They were probably seeking for a ford.

337 *And Bannokburn*. “The folk in the English rear fell back upon the ditch (*fosse*) of Bannockburn, one tumbling over the other” (*Scala.*, p. 142). “Another unfortunate thing happened to the English, because, since a little before they had crossed a great ditch into which the tide flows—Bannockburn by name—and now in confusion wished to retire, many knights and others, on account of the pressure, fell into it with their horses (*cf.* Barbour, line 338), and some with great difficulty got out, and many were quite unable to clear themselves of the ditch; and on this account Bannockburn was on English lips for many years to come” (*Lanercost*, 226). In *Vita Edw.* also mention is made of a “certain ditch” (*fovea*) which “swallowed up (*absorbuit*) many,” and where a great part perished (p. 205). The Bannock turns sharply north near the English rear, but the description in Barbour and the reference above to the tide with the inclusion of the Forth, indicate the part nearer the mouth.

341 *laddis*, etc. *I.e.*, the camp-followers.

352 *Of slyk*. In *Chron. de Lanercost* (p. 226) “Bannock’s mud” (*Bannoke limus*). Edmund de Malolacu (Mauley), Edward’s steward, met his death “in a certain slimy hollow” (*in quodam antro lutoso. Flores Historiarum*, iii., p. 159).

363 *Philip the Mowbray said*. Different interpretations were put upon Mowbray’s action, but the fact and the quite satisfactory reason given by Barbour are borne out by the English chroniclers. “When the King comes to the castle, thinking he will find refuge there, he is repulsed like an enemy; the bridge is drawn up and the gate closed. On this account the keeper of the castle was believed by many to be not unacquainted with treason, and yet he was seen that very day in his armour on the field, as it were ready to fight for the King. However, I neither acquit nor accuse the keeper of treason, but confess that in the providence of God the King of England did not enter the castle, because if he had then been admitted he could not have failed to be captured” (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 205). In *Gesta Edw. de Carnarvon* the Governor is wrongly called Alexander de Mowbray, and the account is: “The foresaid keeper, knowing that his supplies were not sufficient for himself and his men, and also fearing that Robert Bruce, having got the victory, would attack and capture the castle, did not wish to expose his King of England to such great danger, and, preferring to incur misunderstanding, refused on this account to open the castle of the King” (p. 47). The castle was surrendered, and Mowbray entered the service of Bruce.

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379 *the Rownde Tabill*. Usually and quite wrongly identified with the King's Knot—*i.e.*, garden—a regular mound below the castle rock. It is mentioned by Sir David Lindsay in the sixteenth century. In 1302 Edward I. had a "Round Table" (*la table rounde*) ordained (*ordinari*) at Falkirk (*Ann. Lond.*, p. 104). To "hold a Round Table" was a sporting function among knights; here some sort of building may be referred to, like that described by Murimuth (1344), intended to be built for the purpose at Windsor (*Chronicle*, p. 155). Probably, in that case, it was only of Barbour's own time. I incline, however, to the belief, from its associations in Lindsay's verse, that it was a natural feature—the circular crags enclosing the western division of the modern King's Park. It would thus be a place-name, like "Arthur's Seat."

380 *the Park enveronyt thai*. Gray says the King was taken round the Torwood and by the plains of Lothian (Lownesse, p. 143).

381 *held in hy*. The *Lanercost* chronicler says that they had "as guide a Scottish knight who knew by what route they could escape" (p. 227).

409 *wes tane in*. The *Lanercost* chronicler writes that Hereford and those with him were making for Carlisle when they were captured at Bothwell Castle: "For the sheriff, the keeper of the castle, who up to that time had held the castle for the King of England, seeing that his countrymen had been victorious in the war, suffered the more noble of them who had come there to enter the castle as if to have a safe retreat, and when they entered seized them," afterwards surrendering them to Bruce (p. 228). In the anonymous chronicle used by Stevenson we have a similar account. Hereford and a few nobles were allowed to enter the castle, where they found themselves in custody. The rest remained outside the walls, and were suddenly set on by the Scots, who slew them, except a few who surrendered (*Illustrations of Scottish History*, p. 2). Barbour says three-fourths were taken or slain (416). In *Ann. Lond.* Hereford is said to have been accompanied by a thousand men-at-arms (p. 231). The *Lanercost* estimate is 600 horse and 1,000 foot, Umfraville being of the company (*ibid.*). Walsingham gives the total of earls, barons, and baronets captured and slain as 154; of clerics and squires an excessive number (*Historia Angl.*, i., p. 154). The name of the keeper was Gilbertson as in E; he appears on record as "Fitz-Gilbert" (*Bain*, iii. No. 243, etc.). He joined Bruce and was the ancestor of the great Hamilton family. Bothwell Castle is on the Clyde.

417 *Moris de Berclay*. In *Vita Edw.* (p. 206) he is among those captured at Bothwell. According to the *Lanercost* historian, it was Pembroke (Valence) who fled "on foot" with the Welshmen, and escaped (p. 228). In *Ann. Lond.* de Valence is said to have fled *nudis pedibus* (bare-footed); that is, apparently, he removed his foot and leg armour (p. 230).

456 *Thai dispendit haly that day, In spoulyheing*. The author of *Vita Edw.* declares that it was the preoccupation of the Scots with the plunder that allowed many English to escape. In his precise way, he estimates that the valuable equipment which fell to the Scots was worth £200,000 (p. 206), or at the ratio of 1:15 about £3,000,000 present day (*cf.* note on 667-8).

463 *spuris rede. I.e.*, gilt or gold spurs worn only by knights. The 700 pairs of C would give us 700 knights slain; E's 200 is probably nearer the truth. In *Ann. Lond.*, (p. 231) we get a list of thirty-seven knights slain at "the battle of Stirling." Of the foot and squires, it is said, the most part (*maxima pars*) was not slain. Baker says about 300 men-at-arms (*virii militares*) were among the slain (57). Bower gives 200 knights slain besides Gloucester (*Scotich.* Goodall, edition 1759, ii., p. 250). Walsingham, from his MS. source, fixes the number of knights and squires who fell at 700 (*Historia Anglicana*, p. 141); Capgrave the lords, barons, and knights slain and captured at 154. More than 500 were reported dead who were afterwards found to be captives (*Chronicle*, p. 180) and had to be ransomed (*Vita Edw.*, p. 206). Fabyan gives forty-two noblemen slain, and sixty-seven knights and baronets, while twelve "men of name" were taken prisoner (*New Chronicles*, p. 420).

466 *Gilbert of Clar*. About twenty-three years of age (*Ann. Lond.*, p. 231). He fell in the first charge (*Vita Edw.*; *Baker*). Baker says the Scots would have gladly taken him alive for ransom had they known who he was, but that he did not wear his surcoat (*toga*) with his coat of arms (p. 57). *Cf.* lines 510-11. *That men callit*, says Barbour, having in mind Ralph de Monthermer, his step-father who had previously borne the title.

468 *Payne Typtot*. Paganus Typetot (*Vita Edw.*) or Tybetot (*Ann. Lond.*). "Paganus Typetoft," or "Typetot," is the name in *Chron. de Lanercost*.

472 *Wilyhame Vepownt*. Sir William de Vepont (Veteriponte) was a Scotsman in the service of England till 1312, having been imprisoned on capture during the Comyn resistance in 1302. He was under Valence in Ayr in 1307 (*Bain*, ii., Nos. 1,283, 1,294; iii., No. 263). *Walter the Ros* was serving England in Linlithgow in 1312 (*Bain*, iii., p. 411).

486 *at rebours. I.e.*, treated badly, held "in great dislike" (Skeat). See Glossary. Edward had a son, Alexander, by Isabella of Atholl (*Exchq. Rolls*, II. cxxxii.).

489-90 *Erll Davy of Adell*. Lord Hailes did not know "what judgment to form of this story," in view of the fact that sentence of forfeiture was not passed against Atholl till 1323 (*Annales*, ii. 58 note). But his lands were forfeited by October, 1314, and granted to Sir Neil Campbell (Robertson's *Index*, p. 26; ii. *Scots Peerage*), and he, then being in England, received three manors from Edward II. "till he recovers his Scottish possessions" (*Bain*, iii., p. 75). Atholl's career is, however, puzzling. His wife was Johanna, daughter of the murdered Comyn of Badenoch. Up till 1312 he is a supporter of England, and in December of that year even seems to have sat in the English Parliament. But in the previous October he is among those present in Bruce's Parliament at Inverness (*Acta. Parl. Scot.*, vol. i., 103); next appears as Constable of

Scotland, and, early in 1313, is a witness to charters to the Abbey of Arbroath (*Scots Peerage*). Then comes a blank till October, 1314, as above. There is thus room for Barbour's story: Atholl did give a short-lived support to the national cause, and a forfeiture of his lands did follow soon after Bannockburn. He remained an active adherent of England till his death, January, 1327.

495 *Wilyhame of Herth*. Apparently William Mareschal of Erth (*Bain*, iii. 343; *cf.* note on 61). Sir William de Erth was a supporter of Comyn in the Barons' War, and capitulated with him and others at Strathorde on February 9, 1304 (*Bain*, ii., No. 1,741). William de Erth, knight, was alive in 1333 (*Bain*, iii. 1,099). Erth, or Airth, is on the east of Stirlingshire, on the Forth.

510 *somdeill anoyit*. *Cf.* note on 466.

512 *till a kirk he gert hym be Brocht*. John de Trokelowe says that Bruce sent the bodies of Gloucester and Clifford to King Edward while at Berwick, to be buried as he wished, and this without demanding any payment as ransom (*Annales*, p. 87).

523 *Betung* in C is certainly wrong; E gives the correct form *Twenge*. Marmaduke de Twenge appears on the list in *Foedera* and elsewhere. He was the hero of Stirling Bridge (1297), who cut his way back over the bridge.

531 *trete hym curtasly*. Trokelowe says that Bruce caused his noble prisoners to be treated so becomingly and courteously (*decenter ac civiliter*) "that the hearts of many who were opposed to him he turned, in a wonderful way, to feeling an affection for him" (*Annales*, p. 87).

544 *become of his dwelling*. "Became one of his company," as in *Bk. IV.* 481, where Bruce says of Douglas and his men in Arran: "Thai ar all of my duelling."

553 *Lowrens* = Lawrence. Probably the same Sir Lawrence de Abernethy who in 1338 had provisions sent him by Edward III. for the Castle of Hawthornden. He was thus "Inglis man" again (*Bain*, iii., p. 235, No. 1,291).

578-85 *He convoyit thame so narrowly, etc.* "Some, however, lagging in the flight, were slain by the Scots, who followed them swiftly (*velociter*)" (*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 227). "The King escaped with great trouble" (*a graunt payn, Scala.*, p. 143).

587 *Wynchburch*. On the road from Linlithgow to Edinburgh.

592 *so feill*. According to the *Lanercost* historian, the King was accompanied by many knights and footmen (p. 227).

612 *ErlI Patrik*. Of March. See note on *Bk. XI.* 46. "Patrick Earl of March received him honourably, etc., for at that time he was his man" (*soun homager. Scala.*, 143.).

615-16 *A bate*, etc. "When he came thither (Dunbar) he embarked on a ship, and with his own company put in at Berwick" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 205). "Thence the King went by sea to Berwick and afterwards to the south" (*Scala.*, 143). "At Dunbar the King, with his special friends, embarked on a boat (*scapham*) for Berwick" (*Lanercost*, p. 227). Barbour says they landed at Bamborough on the coast of Yorkshire, and in line 645 gives the number who thus accompanied the King as seventeen.

619-21 *The laiff*, etc. "The others (see above), not having a ship, come (to Berwick) by land" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 205). The King, says the *Lanercost* writer, left all the others to their fate, who, however, came safe and sound to England (p. 228).

631 *The Kyng eschakit*. According to Baker, "no mortal ingenuity, neither the swiftness of the horses nor the cover on the way (*involucra locorum*) could have kept the King from capture by the Scots," had not Christ Himself, at the intercession of His Mother, brought him out of Scottish territory, as both the King and his companions afterwards confessed. In his peril Edward vowed to found a monastery dedicated to the "Mother of God," where twenty-four friars might study theology (*Baker*, p. 58); and, in fulfilment thereof, established Oriel College at Oxford (*Hailes*, ii. 57 note).

667-8 *The castell and the towrys ... doune gert he myne*. Stirling Castle thus lay in ruins till 1336-7, when it was rebuilt for Edward III. "after the conquest," probably on the old plan. Stone walls and towers were erected, a "peel" of wood, to the north the walls (*parietes*) of which were plastered over, and various inner buildings for the garrison, etc., also of wood daubed with mortar and roofed with turf (*Bain*, iii., pp. 364-8). The rebuilding and repairs cost £280, equal to about £4,000 now (*Bain*, lviii.).

676 *he gaf*. See note on 409.

687 *The ErlI wes changit*. In *Vita Edw. Sec.* (pp. 208-9) is recorded the exchange of the Earl for the wife of Bruce and other Scottish captives, including the Bishop of Glasgow. On October 2, 1314, "Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, the Countess Carrick, wife of Robert de Brus, with his sister and daughter and Donald de Mar," were at Carlisle Castle, "to be taken thence to a place arranged by the Earl of Essex and Hereford and the Sheriff" (*Bain*, iii., No. 393). Mar is, no doubt, the "young earl" referred to in the *Vita Edw.*, which says further that Edward gave to his sister, Hereford's wife, all the Scottish captives since the time of Edward I.—fifteen and more—to procure the release of her husband (p. 208).

695 *wes King*. Robert II.

697 *Davy*. David II. (June 7, 1329 to February 22, 1371). He scarcely deserved Barbour's epithet "worthy."

702 *Fif yheir*. In 1375 Robert was in the fifth year of his reign; he would not have "passit" it till



February 22, 1376. He was born March 2, 1316, and in 1375 was in his sixtieth year. The year in Scotland, however, began on March 25, so that Barbour's cross-dating really stands for what we should call the early spring of 1376. He was then engaged on *The Bruce*.

705-6 *the gud King Robert*. I.e., Robert I. the Bruce, dead forty-six years. It is curious to find this elaborate dating "of the compyling of this book" here, and not at the end. Evidently the mention of the marriage of the Steward, the reigning King's father, is Barbour's cue. There is no reason to suppose that this was a subsequent insertion, and we may conclude that the poem was completed somewhat later.

736 *our-raid all Northumbirland*. "They (the Scots) plundered the northern bounds of England as far as Richmond and returned, devastating the country with fire and carrying off with them many captives" (*Gesta Edwardi*, p. 47). Cf. Barbour, lines following. On July 1, 1314, the Bishop of Durham writes the King regarding Scottish preparations for an invasion of England, of which he has heard. On October 7, 1314, the Prior and Convent of Durham pay the Earl of Murray eight hundred marks to secure the bishopric immunity from invasion for a stated period (*Letters from Northern Registers*, Nos. cxliv., cxlix.). According to the *Lanercost* chronicler, the Scots entered by Berwick, and burned almost all Northumberland, spared Durham for a monetary consideration, penetrated to the Tees and to Richmond, and returned, via Lanercost, with a great body of cattle and captives (pp. 228, 229).

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## BOOK XIV.

4 *Scotland to litill wes*. According to the Annalist, it was the Scots who were not satisfied with their own country; but this is merely a rhetorical comment (*Annals of Ireland*, p. 344). The anonymous Chronicle in Stevenson's *Illustrations* says that Edward Bruce, elated by the success of the Scots, aspired to the name of King (*ad nomen regium aspirans*, p. 3). Fordun's version is the same as that of Barbour: "Edward Bruce was not willing to live in peace with his brother unless he got half the kingdom for himself, and for this reason the war was started in Ireland" (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxxiii.).

8 *had tretung With the Erischry*. It was afterwards (1316-17) made a charge against Walter de Lacy and Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, that they had sent messengers and letters to invite Edward Bruce to Ireland. The legal documents in the case are given in *Chartularies, etc., of St. Mary's Abbey* (vol. ii., pp. 407-9). This charge is also noted in the *Annals of Ireland* (Fragment), under February 2, 1317, where it is said that, on inquiry, the Lacys were acquitted (p. 298). Nevertheless, they and their relatives were fined £200 (*Preface*, p. cxxix). The *Chronicle* in Stevenson appears to refer to the same case, when it says that Edward Bruce was persistently (*sæpissime*) invited by a certain Irish magnate with whom he had been educated in his youth (p. 3).

21 *Maii*. "The Scots first entered Ireland on May 26, 1315" (*die Sancti Augustini Anglorum, mense Maii*. *Annals of Ireland*, p. 344). The *Annals of Ulster* fix his landing at the beginning of the year (ii., p. 423); as do also *Annals of Loch Cé* (i., p. 563). Edward Bruce had a fleet of 300 ships (*Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 268).

25 *Philip the Mowbray*. Cf. *Bk. XIII.*, line 544. Mowbray's name does not appear in the *Annals* as accompanying Edward Bruce, nor that of Soulis or Ramsay, but others are mentioned (p. 344). Mowbray is mentioned later (*Annals, Fragment*, p. 299), and in *Knighton*, i., p. 411.

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28 *Schir Johne Steward*. Brother of Sir Walter Steward. See *Bk. XVIII.* 33 (*Annals*, 344).

29 *Ouchtirhouss*, or Auchterhouse, is in the south of Forfarshire. From the *Wallace* we learn that this was Alexander Ramsay, son of Sir John Ramsay Wallace's friend.

"His sone was called the flour of courtlyness;  
As witnes weill in to the schort tretty  
Eftir the Bruce, quha redis in that story."  
(*The Wallace*, *Bk. vii.* 900-2.)

31 *Fergus de Ardrossane*. Ardrossan is on the coast of Ayr. Fergus had at first joined Bruce, was captured, and procured his release by going over to Edward II., from whom he in 1312 received the "barony of Bisshopplande," near Kirkintilloch (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 51, 227, 265). Probably he reverted to Bruce after Bannockburn. He is among those mentioned in the *Annals* (p. 344). He received a fresh grant of the lands of Ardrossan and others apparently in 1316 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, pp. 10, 51).

33 *Wokingis Firth*. This name is evidently corrupt. Innes identifies it with Larne Lough, and so also do Bain and Skeat, citing from Reeves (*Eccles. History of Down and Connor*) forms such as Wolderfrith, etc., and the present Olderfleet Castle on that Lough (*Bain*, iii. xxxiv, note). In a letter of Edward II., 1311, we have "Wolrikesford, near Knacfergus (Carrickfergus), in Ulster," whence a fleet is to sail against Robert Bruce (*Bain*, iii., No. 216). In 1327 King Robert is to get corn from the Ulster men delivered at "Ulingfirth" (*ibid.*, 922). The *Annals* say, first, that the Scots put it at "Clondonne," or Glen Dun, in Antrim, south of Torr Head, the nearest point (eighteen miles) to the Scottish coast, and, immediately after, that they entered Ireland "near Cragfergus, in Ulster" (p. 344). Robert Bruce was at "Glendouyne" when he executed the agreement mentioned above. Probably the Scots touched at Glendun, and then coasted down to Larne Lough.

38 *sex thousand men*. Six thousand is the number in the *Annals* (p. 344).

47 *Maundvell*. The Scots “drove out Sir Thomas de Maundevile and other loyal men from their own land” (*Annals of Ireland*, p. 344). The Byssets were descended from John Bysset, who was banished from Scotland by Alexander II., and who got land in Antrim under the de Burghs. The Logans were large proprietors in the north of Ireland (Reeves’s *Down and Connor* in *Innes*), as also were the Savages (*ibid.*). John Logan and Sir Hugh Bysset are the heroes of a great slaughter of the Scots in Ulster on November 1, 1316 (*Annals, Fragment*, p. 298). Sir Hugh afterwards joined the Scots (*Bain*, iii., No. 632).

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80 *In that battale*. Near the river Bann (*Annals*, 344). “*tane or slane*.”—The Earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh, was put to flight; his son, William de Burgh, and John de Statona were captured, and many English slain. The Scots were successful (*Annals*, pp. 344-5).

102 *the kyngis. Reguli*, petty kings or important chiefs, a usual Gaelic equivalent. Cf. *Bk. XVIII. 9* and note.

105 *Makfulchiane* (C), *Makgullane, Makgoulchane* (H). Jamieson says Irish Macleans (MacGillian); Innes suggests MacCoolechan: “MacEthelan” is among the chiefs in *Foedera* (iii., p. 476). Most likely we have to do with *O’Fuillchain* in the form *MacFuillchain*, from which, by *MacFhuillchain*, could also come *MacGuillchain*, as in H.

106 *Makartane, Makmartane* (C), *Macarthane* (H). “Macartan” was one of “the septs of Ire, son of Miletus” (*Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 30).

113 *Endwillane*. Innes suggests “the Pass of Emerdullam” (1343), which he identifies with Moiry Pass, where Moiry Castle is about a quarter of a mile from Kilsaggart, or Kilsaggart. Apparently this is Moiry Castle, north of Dundalk.

133 *At Kilsaggart*. Kilnasaggart (“cell of the priest”), about a quarter of a mile from Moiry Castle; for which see on *Bk. XVI. 62*.

135 *Dundawk*. Dundalk, within the English Pale. For spelling, cf. in XI. 437 and *Appendix G*.

138 *Richard of Clare*. Barbour has been censured by his editors, following the cue of Lord Hailes (*Annals*, ii. 70, note), for the prominence given to Richard de Clare in the opposition to the Scots. True, as Hailes pointed out and reasons from, he was not the Justiciar of Ireland, a post occupied at this time by Sir Edmund de Butler (*Historic and Munic. Docts., Ireland*, p. 328); after November 23, 1316, by Roger de Mortimer (*Patent Rolls*); and so was not technically “in all Irland luf-tenand.” Nevertheless it is perfectly certain that Clare took the leading part, at this stage at least, in the defence of English interests, and that Barbour’s statement to this extent is justified. Thus, in a letter to Edward of February 15, 1316, it is mentioned, with respect to the operations of the Scots, that the writer, to protect the King’s honour, will take counsel with certain lords and Richard de Clare, a reference which Bain (Index) interprets to mean that Clare was in command in Ireland. The writer, too, thinks it worth mentioning that Clare was not at the battle (of Arscoll). Again, on May 16, Clare is pardoned an ancestral debt for his great labour and cost repelling the disturbance stirred up in Ireland by the Scottish enemies” (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 469, 488; *Patent Rolls*, p. 459). And there is a further grant of same date to de Clare, “in consideration of his great labours as above,” of certain privileges, castles, and lands, “to hold during pleasure, and the continuance of the disturbance by the Scots, in aid of his maintenance on the King’s service” (*Patent Rolls*, p. 459).

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142 *Erll of Kyldare*. The Geraldines, or Fitz-Geralds, had been Earls of Kildare since 1294 (*Annals of Ireland*, p. 323 and Index).

143 *The Bremayne with the Wardune*. This pair appear in later operations as “Richard de Birmingham” and “Robert de Verdon” (*Annals*, p. 350). But on May 18, 1316, Nicholas de Verdun gets 200 marks for losses sustained against the Scots (*Patent Rolls*).

145 *The Butler*. Edmund de Butler, Justiciary (cf. on 138).

146 *Moris le Fyss Thomas*. Maurice Fitz-Thomas, who married, in 1312, the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, and afterwards (1329) was created Earl of Desmond (*Annals*, p. 341).

172 *on the morn*. June 29, 1315 (*Annals*, p. 345).

188 *Half-deill ane dyner*. In the *Alexander Clarus* says of the army of Alexander:

“And thay ar anely till dynare  
To our great hoste” (pp. 308-9).

224-6 “The Scots took the town, spoiled and burned, and slew all who resisted” (*Annals*, 344).

252 *Kilross*. “(Cill-rois of Adamnan) is now Maghross, or Carrickmacross” (*Innes*).

254 *Richard of Clare*. According to the *Annals*, Edmund de Butler (p. 345).

257 *A gret hoost*. “A great army”; and Richard de Burgh with “an innumerable army” as well. They came together to the district of Dundalk (p. 345).

270 *to ges*. Barbour usually “guesses” ten thousand to “a battle,” as here and elsewhere.

280 *gadering of the cuntre*. I.e., “mere countrymen not skilled soldiers.” This great army was raised from Munster, Leinster, and Connaught (*Annals*, p. 345), and Edward Bruce’s description is no doubt right.

289 *stedis trappit*. See note on *Bk. XI. 130*.

300 *fled scalit*. "They fled—how is unknown" (*Annals*, p. 345). The date is *circa* July 22, 1315.

313 *Judas Machabeus*. See note on *Bk. I. 466*.

329 *Odymsy*. "Fyn O'Dymsy" among those summoned to Bannockburn (*Foedera*, iii. 476). O'Dempsey was "dux Reganorum," or chief of the *Ui' Riagain*; Iregan in Queen's County (*Annals*, p. 333). In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* Bruce is taken north "by the procurement of O'Neal and Ulstermen" (p. 269).

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332 *To se his land. I.e.*, in Leinster. He, of course, takes them out of the way (*cf.* on 360).

337 *A gret revar*. Skeat holds that this is the Blackwater flowing into the southern end of Lough Neagh, which was the boundary between the English Pale and the independent country of the Tyrone O'Neils, and was of old known as the Avon More, "the great river." But this is inconsistent with lines 369-371, where one of the rivers is the northern Bann, "ane arme of se," and Skeat's ingenious explanation of the latter phrase, taking sea = Lough, Beg or Neagh, is quite superfluous. In fact, he is astray as to vital details, as witness what is said on Thomas Dun (line 376). Barbour himself is unsatisfactorily vague in his geographical matter, and none of the *Annals* makes any mention of the trick here descanted upon, nor of the intervention of the pirate Thomas. But the main features can be found in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, pp. 269-271, and *Annals of Loch Cé*, 265-7. The Scots and the Ulster men (Antrim and Down) were at Innis Kaeyne (Innishkeen), seven miles west of Dundalk. The English marched to Louth, just south of them. The Scots retired through Ulster (Antrim and Down), not, as Skeat suggests, by the west shore of Lough Neagh, until they came to Coleraine, not far from the Bann estuary. Then they crossed the river by the bridge, which they broke down so that the English who followed them could not cross, and the Bann lay between the two armies. Thereupon the English plundered on the Ulster side, apparently among the sympathizers with the Scots, finally retreating to Connor (*cf.* lines 396, 460). In the interval must have occurred the attempted drowning out of the Scots and the passage back over the river by means of Thomas of Dun, who had sailed up the estuary of the Bann (line 371).

354 *The ysche of a louch*. "The outlet of a loch"; from the hurried nature of the operation necessarily a small loch or a narrow outlet; possibly, too, a loch since drained off. It cannot be Lough Beg, for that would be too far away for Thomas Dun. On the other hand, they must have been brought some distance up the west side of the Bann, for after they had crossed it was still not known where they were (line 386), and they soon got in touch with the English, who were ten miles from Connor, to which they afterwards retreated (460).

360 *With mekill payne*. To add to the difficulties of this passage, the misleading of the Scots seems to be claimed for the Lacys in the case regarding them (see on line 8). The Lacys explain that on the occasion on which they had a conference (*parliamentaverunt*) with Edward Bruce they, by their cunning (*per eorum cautelam*), led Edward Bruce with his army among the Irish who were felons to the King—that is, apparently, the North Ulster men (see on 337). Among them Edward Bruce marched for fourteen days, and lost a great number of men and horses on the march towards Leinster, to which he could have come in two days if he had been rightly directed (*Chartularies of St. Mary's*, I., p. 408). It is scarcely likely that Edward Bruce was twice tricked in this way, and the Irishman, Dempsey or another, may have been the agent of the Lacys. But to be able to follow the whole operation we should require much more information than is available.

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373 *Ullister*. Ulster in the ancient sense of Antrim and Down.

376 *Thomas of Dun*. Skeat compiles an hypothetical biography for this "scummar of the se," but Thomas was an uncomfortably well-known personage. He was the most notorious pirate on the west coast, as John Crab was on the east (see *Bk. XVII. 239*). We learn from Bain's *Calendar* that on September 12, 1315, Thomas Dun and others, "with a great 'navye' of Scots," plundered a ship in Holyhead Harbour (No. 451). He kept on his depredations with a crew of Scots (No. 549; *Patent Rolls*, i., p. 696). He was captured in July, 1317, and gave information about an intended attack by the Earl of Moray on the Isle of Man (No. 562). Thereafter he disappears from notice, probably via the gallows. He was hovering about between Ulster and Scotland at this time, and Edward was ordering the Mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda to chase him (*Hist. and Munic. Docts., Ireland*, p. 377).

380 *Thai knew him weill*. See previous note.

382 According to the *Annals*, Edward Bruce cautiously or cleverly (*caute*) crossed the Bann in pursuit of the English army, retiring to Connor (*Annals*, p. 346).

383 *in biggit land*. "Land with houses on it"—*i.e.*, cultivated.

389 *With a gret host, Richarde of Clar*. In the *Annals* it is the Earl of Ulster (Richard de Burgh), with the Justiciar (Butler) and other magnates, who had undertaken to bring Edward Bruce to Dublin alive or dead. So, too, in *Annals of Clonmacnoise* and of *Loch Cé* it is De Burgh, the "Red Earl."

394 *Coigneris*. Connor, to the north of the town of Antrim. "Conyers" in *Annals*.

405 *Alane Stewart*. Cousin of Walter Stewart, and ancestor of the Darnley Stewarts, Earls of Lennox. He is mentioned later in the *Annals* among the Scottish leaders (p. 359).

406 *Schir Robert Boyde*. Both E and H read *Robert*, probably correctly, as there is no notice of the *Gilbert* of C.

447 *On this wis*. This, or one of the later skirmishes, must be that referred to in the *Annals* when the Earl and some of his side were put to flight, and several captured (p. 359).

460 *Thair wayis towart Coigneris*. After Edward Bruce crossed the Bann the English army withdrew to Connor (*Annals*, p. 359).

515 *Fize Warin*. No doubt the Alan FitzWarin captured later by the Scots (*Annals*, 349). See on xv. 75.

522 *Nycholl of Kylkenane*. Kilkenane was before the Reformation a parish in Island Magee, the outer limb of Larne Lough (*Innes*). A "Michael of Kylkenan" is on record in 1310 (Reeves, *History of Down*, etc., *ibid.*). Hart's edition here gives *Michell*, which is perhaps the correct reading.

## BOOK XV.

8 *In battale*. The date of the English defeat at Connor is on or shortly after September 10, 1315. The *Annals* are not clear on the point, and the capture of William de Burgh on the 10th seems to refer to one of the earlier skirmishes mentioned in the previous book (*Annals*, p. 346).

39 *The barell-ferraris*. See *Glossary*. Cf. "*Barell-ferrers* they brochede, and broghte them the wyne" (*Morte Arthure*, line 2714).

56 *Quha mast*, etc. "Who most would get the upper hand."

63 *That evir durst*, etc. "No one dared to wait for his comrade."

75 *Fizwarine*. The *Annals* suggest that he was not captured till early in the following year, and he is not mentioned among the captives at "Conyers" (pp. 349, 346).

83 *Mont-peleris*. Apparently Montpelier, then famous for its School of Medicine, an Arab foundation.

98 *Syne thidder*. The account in the *Annals* states that "Baron de Donull" made head against the Scots, but that they chased his men boldly as far as "Cragfergus" (p. 346). The castle had been provisioned against the Scots (*Bain*, iii., No. 479).

100 *Palmesunday*. April 4, 1316. The garrison was suffering great privations from lack of food (*Annals, Fragment*, p. 297).

101 *Tysday*. Tuesday in Easter-week, 1316, was April 13.

105 *Paske evin*. Saturday night, April 10.

107 *Devilling*. Dublin. According to the *Annals*, Maundeville came with men from Drogheda, arriving at Carrickfergus on April 8, and inflicting a defeat upon the Scots, who lost about thirty men (p. 350).

111 *The Mawndvell, ald Schir Thomas*. So also in *Annals* (p. 350).

131 *the day*. April 11. The *Annals* place this (the second) attack on the Scots upon Easter-eve, April 10 (*in vigilia Pasche*, p. 350). Similarly *St. Mary's Annals*, p. 282. Nothing is said about a breach of truce. Barbour, however, gives evidence of having been thoroughly well informed. See below on 205-9.

137 *the Kyng. I.e.*, Edward Bruce, apparently not crowned King till some weeks later, May, 1316, "a little after the feast of Philip and James" (May 1). The *Annals* really seem to fix it in 1315 (p. 345), but they have already stated that Edward did not land till May 26. The chronology is confused (*cf.* on *Bk. xiv. 21*). See also line 161.

181 *Gib Harpar*. Probably Gilbert the Harper, or minstrel. His fate is told in *Bk. XVIII*.

183 *of his stat*. These words suggest that he was of some special class.

192 *reft the liff*. Sir Thomas Maundeville was slain (*Annals*, p. 350; *St. Mary's Annals*, p. 282).

205-9 Skeat evidently thinks that these lines refer to the same incident as that described above in lines 190-2, and actually prints in his rubric "as I said" as a summary of Barbour, though Barbour has nothing to suggest these words. But the person previously slain is "*the Mawndvell*"—*i.e.*, Sir Thomas himself, whom Barbour has already so denominated (111). The present victim is a Maundeville whose "propir nayme" he does not know, but who, we learn from *St. Mary's Annals*, was "John Maundevyll," brother of Sir Thomas (p. 282).

259 *The castell till him yhalde*. Carrickfergus Castle was surrendered (*Annals, Fragment*, p. 297; *Bain*, iii. 970) apparently in September, 1316 (*Fragment, ibid.*). Thus, if begun after Connor, the siege must have occupied the Scots for a year—the greater part of 1316.

260 *Till sauf thame thair liffis*. The defenders were granted life and limb (*vita et membrum. Fragment*, p. 297).

272 *the Tarbard*. Tarbert, Kintyre: Gaelic *Tairbeart*, a portage, an isthmus.

274 *draw thar schippes*. According to the *Magnus Saga*, chap. xx., Magnus, King of Norway, agreed with the King of Scotland, Edgar, in 1102, that he should have "all the islands to the west of Scotland, between which and the mainland a helm-carrying ship could pass." Magnus then had "a small ship" drawn across the isthmus at Tarbert, with himself sitting at the helm, and so secured Kintyre. "There is a narrow ridge between it (Kintyre) and Scotland, so that ships are often drawn across it."

292 *Ald prophesy*. This probably derives from the incident told of above.

299 *Johne of Lorne*. Barbour is quite wrong as to the career and fate of John of Lorn or Argyll ("de Ergadia," "Daragille," in records). He had escaped to England in 1309 (see *Bk.* 128), and was Admiral of Edward's fleet in the west by 1311 (*Bain*, iii., No. 203). In the summer of 1314 he went to the Irish coast with a fleet (355), and was in command there in 1315-1316 (No. 479, *Hist. and Municip. Docts., Ireland*, p. 344). He returned from the Irish service in 1316 "impotent in body," and received a pension from Edward II., but died a year and a half later, probably towards the end of 1317, in London (*Bain*, iii., No. 912).

318 *the Forest*. Ettrick Forest.

321 *Eumond de Calion, a Gascoune*. Correctly, as in records, "Remon Caillau," or "Reymound Cailough" (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 470, 477). He was perhaps a relative of the Bishop of Durham who died in the same year, 1316, "Recardus Kellow" (*Lanercost*, p. 233). Other Gascons are mentioned as having taken part in this sally—Arnant de Poillant, Pierres de Logar, etc. (*ibid.*). The information in *Bain* is contained in letters from the Governor of Berwick (see next note), and petitions to the King from some of the townspeople.

325 *He had than Berwik in keping*. No; Sir Moryz or Maurice de Berkele(y) was "warden of Berwick-on-Tweed." Caillou was only one of "the King's sergeant-at-arms" (*Bain*, iii., No. 477) —*i.e.*, an officer of the royal household.

327 *a gret cumpany*. A "great part of the garrison" went out on this foray. They had been forbidden to go out by the warden, but Berwick was in desperate straits for want of food, and they replied that "it was better to die fighting than starve" (*Bain*, 477). The date of the foray is February 14, 1316.

329 *the nethir end of Tevydail*, etc. Teviotdale, locally so pronounced. The forayers went as far as "within two leagues (miles) of Melros Abbey" (*Bain*, 477). The Merse is South Berwickshire, the "March," or frontier.

333 *Schir Adam of Gordoun*. See note on *Bk.* XI. 46. He became a "Scottis man" apparently after Bannockburn. His lands of Gordon were in East Lothian.

335 *drif away thar fe*. "They took many prisoners and cattle" (*Bain*, 470).

\*337-\*338. These lines mean that Gordon saw only small bodies ("scail"; *cf.* line 344\*) of the English in retreat, and the "swains" in possession of the prey—*i.e.*, driving the cattle. *Cf.* lines \*353-\*354 and 339-341. "Scail" is a noun here as in \*353.

\*354 *a childrome*. The scattered bands assembled in one body to deal with the Scots in pursuit, and sent on the cattle in front. For "childrome," or "schiltrome," see note on *Bk.* XII. 249.

341 *made a staill*. "Staill" is certainly to be preferred to "scail," which is contrary to the sense of the passage. Skeat, in his note, admits as much. *Cf.* similar use in *Bk.* XVII. 97. The forayers "made a stand" to defend the cattle from the Scots. The fight was at Scaithmoor. (*Scala.*, p. 143).

351 *on his luf, etc.* "Let each man think on his love."

375-6 *thai wer, etc.* "Though the English were very many more than the Scots." Barbour's usual reckless use of "thai."

377 *wes ded*. The writer in *Bain* did not know whether Caillou was dead or only a prisoner (No. 470).

381 *sum has slayne*. The foragers lost 20 men-at-arms and 60 foot, killed or prisoners (*Bain*, No. 470). "The Gascons were slain to a man" (*furount mors toutes playnes de Gascoins. Scala.*, p. 143). The Scots, of course, recovered the castle, and the Berwick garrison were soon dying of hunger on the walls (*ibid.*, No. 477).

392 *hap him fell*. "If it so happened."

393 *That. I.e.*, the killing of the "cheftune," or leader of his opponents.

405 *full gret invy*. Neville appears to have had a weakness in this way. He had already slain a cousin of Robert Bruce in a quarrel as to which was the greater lord (*Scala.*, p. 143). He was known as "the Peacock of the North," which significantly describes him (*Bain*, iii., p. xxv).

435 *Befor Berwyk*. The fight between Douglas and Neville took place at Berwick (*Scala.*, p. 143; *Gesta Edw. de Carn.*, p. 56). The *Gesta* dates it June, 1319; Barbour seems to place it in 1316, but says nothing definite; nor does Gray, "another time" (*Scala.*, p. 143), introducing it, like Barbour, after the Skaithmoor fight, but unlike Barbour, also after Lintalee.

477 *no mycht till us*. "Douglas with his yeomanry shall have no power compared with ours."

503 *Schir Ralf the Nevell, etc.* There is on record a petition by "Rauf de Neville" to the King asking for assistance in ransoming himself, and explaining that he, with two of his brothers, was taken prisoner on the day on which his brother Sir Robert was killed by the Scots (*Bain*, iii., No. 527).

504 *the Baroun of Hiltoun*. Apparently Sir Robert de Hilton, who is a witness in 1310 to a grant by the Bishop of Durham of a manor in Scotland (*Bain*, iii., No. 1147). Hilton is near Berwick.

505 *othir of mekill mycht*. "Many of his (Neville's) company were captured, and the rest put to flight" (*Gesta*, p. 56). *Cf.* line 510.

8 *in Scotland for till pas*. Barbour, as he himself explains, now goes back to the beginning of the siege of Carrickfergus after the victory at Connor. According to the *Annals of Ir.*, Moray crossed to Scotland on September 15, 1315, to procure more soldiers, "at which time the said Bruce was besieging the Castle of Carrickfergus" (p. 346). Moray was back in November with five hundred men (p. 347). Barbour mentions but one trip on which he returned with King Robert (line 43), but that would have to be a year later. Further, he dates this journey *after* the fall of Carrickfergus (see on 38).

16 *till his schippes*. He had four pirate vessels laden with Irish plunder, of which one was sunk (*Annals of Ir.*, p. 346). The Scots had sent back their own ships (*Bk. xiv.* 35).

38 *Till Cragfergus*. According to Barbour's chronology, Robert Bruce crossed to Ireland at some time after the fall of Carrickfergus, as related in the previous book. But the news of King Robert's arrival appears to have reached Dublin about the first week in September, 1316. Carrickfergus fell some time later in the same month (*Frag.*, p. 297). The *Annals of Ulster* date the arrival about the end of 1316 or beginning of 1317 (II., p. 429, and note). The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (p. 279) and the *Annals of the Four Masters* (III., p. 515) place it in 1317, by which time Carrickfergus, of course, was in possession of the Scots.

62 *Inderwillane*. "Dr. Reeves believes this to be an old garbled name for that pass, known later as *Bealach an Maghre*, or Moyry Pass. It was on the old road; indeed, the only possible one, from Leinster to Ulster. It is in the parish of Killeavy, county of Armagh, but only a few perches from the boundary of Lowth" (*Innes*).

63 *the moneth of May*. Must have been much earlier (see on 262).

74 *The wardane thair*. See on *Bk. XIV.* 638.

119 *Schyr Colyne Cammell*. Sir Colin Campbell, Bruce's nephew, as son of his sister Marie by her marriage with Sir Neil Campbell (Robertson's *Index*, p. 26; 11, 18). Bain strangely says that of Sir Neil's two wives on record neither was a Bruce (*Calend.*, ii., lix). Marie's marriages are somewhat ravelled (see on *Bk. viii.* 397), but this one is certain. Colin got the grant of Lochaw (Robertson, *ibid.*). There was another nephew of the same marriage, John (*Index*, p. 19; 105), who also went on this occasion to Ireland (*Annals*, p. 344).

131 *That he dynnit on his arsoune*. "Knocked heavily against his saddle." Cf. *Alexander*, where Gaudifer is struck with spears. "Quhill on his arsoune dintit he" (p. 99).

132 *tyt hym doune*. "The King bade (the others) remove him quickly from his horse," apparently because his horse was killed (line 126) and he stunned; or, as Skeat suggests, that he should fight on foot, instead, I suppose, of being rash on horseback.

141 *That we sall have, etc.* "That we shall have plenty to do presently."

150 *In four battellis, fourty thousand*. Cf. on *Bk. XIV.* 270. The numbers, of course, are improbable; but see next note.

179 *So hard ane fighting*. This battle I cannot trace in the *Annals*, but Butler, the Justiciary, is said to have assembled an army of 30,000 against the Bruces, which did nothing; not, however, till April (*Fragment*, p. 301).

182 *thre yheir*. Spring, 1315, to October, 1318.

185 *trappit horse*. See note on *Bk. XI.* 130.

187 *quhen lest wes he*. "He was always at the very least one to five."

262 *forrouth Devillyn*. The Scots and the Ulster men were at Swords, eight miles north of Dublin (*Hist. and Municip. Docts.*, p. 451); at Castleknock in the immediate neighbourhood on the west (*St. Mary's Annals*, p. 282; *Fragment*, 299), on the eve of St. Matthew's Day, February 23, 1317 (*Fragment*). They moved to a position in the vicinity, where they stayed for four days, burned a part of the town, and spoiled the churches (*ibid.*).

265 *Lunyk*. Correctly Limerick, which is not, however, the "southmast toune" in Ireland. The Scots came to Limerick, but were defeated at Castle Connell (*Annals*, p. 353).

293 *Northwarde agane*. On May 1, 1317, Bruce took the road to Ulster (*Fragment*, p. 302).

295 *Conage*. Connaught; *Myth*, Meath; *Irell, i.e.*, Uriel or Oriel = Louth, Armagh and Monaghan; *Munser*, Munster; *Lainenser*, Leinster. Limerick is, of course, in Munster, which should come first.

301 *The kyngis*. See note on *Bk. XIV.* 102.

336 *hawch of Lyntoun-le*. A "haugh" is low-lying level ground, generally beside water, river, or sea. "Lentalee, in the forest of Jedworth" (Jedburgh), as Gray has it, is about two miles south of that town. Gray groups this incident, as Barbour does, with the Scaithmoor and Berwick fights, but in a different position (see note on *Bk. XV.* 435; and *Scala.*, p. 143). "Lentelee" in Stevenson (*Illustrations*, p. 3). "Near Jeddeworth" is the location of the "foray" in *Bain* (iii., No. 576).

337 *a fayr maner*. The anonymous chronicler in Stevenson says that Douglas was passing the time (*moram traxit*) in a sort of fortification (*municioni quadam*) with 200 men (*Illustrations*, p. 3).

339 *gert purvay him richt weill*. The English found "much victuals" in the place (*Stevenson*, p. 3).

342 *wonnand then*. The date of the fight is about April 23, 1317 (*Stevenson*, p. 3).

343 *Schir Thomas*. Sir Thomas Richmond was not an earl, but a Yorkshire knight, owner of Burton-Constable, and a well-known figure on the Border (*Bain*, iii., p. xxv, No. 178). The "Earl" in command was the Earl of Arundel, appointed guardian of the district between the Trent and Roxburgh on February 2, 1317 (*Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 169; *Illustrations*, p. 3). "Sir Edmund, Earl of Arundel, warden of the March" (*Bain*, iii., No. 576).

352 *War passit than of the cuntre*. That is, King Robert and many with him were in Ireland. So, too, in *Stevenson*: "The leaders of the Scots being then engaged in war in Ireland, and Scotland being almost destitute of men" (*Illustrations*, p. 3).

354-55 *the cuntre was Febill of men*. Cf. previous note.

357 *of the marchis*. But cf. note on 343.

360 *ten thousand men*. In *Stevenson's* chronicler "thirty thousand men" (*Illust.*, p. 3). Officially it was called "a foray" (*Bain*, iii., No. 576). The English exaggeration is worse than Barbour's.

363 *Till hewe doune Jedward forest*. Since the time of the Romans and the disastrous march of Septimius Severus (third century) the forests of Scotland had been recognized as the natural defences of the country. They are, for the most part, the "strengths" which figure so prominently in Barbour. See on Jedward, *Bk. VIII. 427*.

375 *And of archeris a gret menyhe*. Cf. note on 377.

380 *The entre*. As in the wood of the King's Park (*Bk. XI. 446*).

383 *a penny-stane cast*. A "penny-stane" was a flat stone used as a quoit, hence "as wide only as the throw of a quoit."

384 *Douglas thiddir yheid*. "Douglas abandoned his position and retired" (*Illustrations*, p. 3).

406 *on thame schot thai*. In *Stevenson* this, the main attack, follows the surprise at Lintalee (p. 4).

418 *reft the liff*. Richmond was slain (*Scala.*, p. 143; *Stevenson*, p. 4).

419 *Ane hat*. Hailes notes that "In *Histoire de Bretagne par Lobineau*, t. i., p. 665, there is a portrait of Arthur de Richemont, Duke of Brittany, with a *furred hat*, such as is described by Barbour" (*Annals*, ii., p. 82 note). Richmond was identified by the hat on the word of a prisoner. See lines 480-5.

441 *ane clerk, Elys*. "A clerk called Helias" (*Stevenson*, p. 3). *Stevenson* says he was a "noble 'schavaldur.'" See on this *Bk. V. 205* (note).

442 *thre hundreth enymys*. "With thirty comrades" (*Stevenson*, p. 3).

444 *herbery had tane*. Ellis and his companions occupied Douglas's house, and took their fill (*se saciavit*) of the victuals there (*Stevenson, ibid.*).

450-1 *with suerdis... Thai servit thame*. They despatched them with the sword (*reliquos gladio jugulavit. Stevenson*, p. 4). The head of Ellis was cut off, and placed in a humiliating position beside the body (*ibid.*).

458 "That addition to the repast was overmuch."

472 *Till wend hamward*. "The said Earl (Arundel) retreated southwards without doing more" (*Scala.*, p. 143).

504 *forrouth*. Before, in *Bk. IX. 570-630*.

509 *Schir Johne de Sowlis*. Cf. *Bk. XIV. 25*, and note.

512-4 *With fifty men*, etc. *I.e.*, Soulis had the fifty, Harcla the three hundred.

518 *Schir Androu ... has tane*. Harcla was a prisoner with the Scots at some date in November, 1316, when he asks the King of England for help towards his ransom (*Bain*, iii. 514, 515, 697). He was ransomed with difficulty (*Scala.*, p. 149). He was executed in 1323 for treasonable dealings with the Scots.

549 *besyde Enverkethyne*. Inverkeithing, Fife. Near Donibristle, says Fordun's continuator, showing that here he follows another source than Barbour (*Scotic.*, *Bk. xii.*, chap. xxv.).

552 *The Erll of Fiff*. Duncan de Fife, the young Earl, with his mother and step-father joined the Scots some little time before August 2, 1317, when his mother had her English manor forfeited (*Bain*, iii., No. 566). He came with a troop of five hundred armed men (*Scotic.*, as cited).

575 *Willyhame Syncler*. William St. Clair was the brother of Sir Henry St. Clair of Roslin. He had been a canon of Dunkeld, and was elected Bishop in 1312 (Dowden in *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. i., pp. 316-17). On his return from Rome Edward II. tried to keep him in England (*Bain*, iii. 301). In the *Wallace* he figures as a Bishop already, and a friend of the patriot (vii. 932; viii. 1225). He was among the four bishops specially summoned to Rome to answer for their support of Bruce in defiance of the Church.

592-3 *aucht weill to ma Of yhow*. "Should think highly of you!"

596 *The gilt spurs*. The sign of knighthood; to hew them off was a ceremony of degradation (cf. line 598). So, too, in *Scotic.*, as cited.

635 *that yheit held unslayn*. "That had held or kept themselves from being slain."

676 *the Scottis Se*. The Firth of Forth. See on IX. 309.

13 *Redis Swyr*. The pass over Cheviot to the valley of the Rede, a tributary of the Tyne. By it went the road from Jedburgh, and in it is the site of the Battle of Otterburn, 1388. *Swyr* is A.S. *swira* or *swera*, the neck.

15 *Outakin Berwik, it allane*. "One town in Scotland was left to the King" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 234). On September 20, 1317, and January 30, 1318, certain burgesses were going to England and France to purchase provisions "for the munition of the town" (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 575, 588). To save expense (*Scala.*), the defence of the town itself had been entrusted to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses (*ibid.*, No. 593; *Vita Edw.*, p. 234; *Scala.*, p. 148). According to Stevenson's Chronicler, the citizens had begged to be entrusted with the defence because of their ill-treatment by the royal garrison, August 1, 1317 (p. 5).

17 *That capitane was*. Roger de Horslee, Keeper of the Castle (*Bain*, iii., No. 607). He had been appointed, August 19, 1317, to command the castle when the city was committed to the burgesses (*Stevenson*, p. 5; *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 175). *Cf.* on 224.

19 *tretit thame richt ill*. On February 4, 1318, Edward appointed a commission of three to "inquire into the disputes arisen, or likely to arise, between the burgesses and the garrison of Berwick, to the danger of the town" (*Bain*, iii., No. 589). *Cf.* note on 15.

23 *a burges, Sim of Spaldyng*. "Peter de Spalding" in *Scala.*, p. 144; *Lanerc.*, p. 234; *Illustr.*, p. 5; *Trokelowe*, p. 103, etc. The *Annales Paulini* adds John Drory and other accomplices (p. 282). "Peter de Spalding" is on the roll of the garrison of Berwick in 1312 (*Bain*, iii., p. 399). He was an Englishman living in the town, and received a large sum of money in addition to the promise of lands (*Lanercost*, pp. 234-235). "A royal sergeant retained by the citizens in the defence of the town." Douglas, it was said, "corrupted" him with promises of £800 (*Stevenson*, p. 5). Spalding's request for his money was "obnoxious" to the Scots, and he was put to death on a trumped-up charge of treason (*ibid.*).

28 *the marschall*. Sir Robert Keith.

35 *the Kow-yhet*. Still the Cow-port (gate) in the middle of the north side of the town.

45 *Ane or othir suld wrethit be. I.e.*, "if he chose anyone to help him, somebody else was sure to be offended." Apparently he would have to choose between Moray and Douglas. *Cf.* lines 55-7.

64 *Duns park*. A favourite rendezvous in that neighbourhood for the Scots army. The "park" would be wooded. In June, 1315, Bruce was reported to be collecting an army in "the Park of Duns," either to invade England or to besiege Berwick (*Bain*, iii., No. 440).

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67 *Athir with ane quheyne of men*. Bruce gets out of the dilemma by choosing both leaders, each to bring a small party of his men.

72 *the day*. April 2, 1318 (*Lanerc.*, p. 234; *Ann. Paul.*, p. 282). Circa March 25 (*Illustrations*, p. 5). Edward is preparing to retake Berwick on April 18, 1318 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 181).

94 *the nycht*. The Scots entered "about midnight after the Sabbath day" (*Lanerc.*, p. 234). Edward, "much enraged," reports that the mayor and bailiffs "allowed the Scottish rebels to enter and take possession," "through carelessness," and orders goods belonging to the community of Berwick to be everywhere arrested; April 13, 15 (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 593, 594).

97 *hald a stail*. "Occupy a position." *Cf. Bk. XV. 341.*

105 *till the gude*. "For the goods." Singular form as plural; see Grammar. *Cf.* also *twa part* in 103 for two parts.

125 *gat the castell*. "Got to the castle."

128 *in the bargane slane*. Few were slain apart from those who resisted (*Lanerc.*, p. 235; *Stevenson*, p. 5). According to Baker, in the capture of the town and castle no one was slain who was willing to submit (*qui voluit obedire*, p. 59).

134 *the baner*. Apparently the Scots had assembled ("stuffit") round their banner in the "stail" (97).

150-1 *Wilyhame ... of Keth, and of the Gawlistoune*. Sir William Keith of Galston, known by either surname, of Keith or of Galston (152). Galston was in Kyle, Ayrshire, and there were Keiths in it at least a hundred years after (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, p. 228; 17).

176 *all that fell*, etc. "All that would serve to provision the town." *Cf.* on 15.

185 *the Mers and Tevidail*. The part of Berwickshire next the Border, "the March," and Teviotdale.

198 *on the sext day*. Gray says the castle held out for eleven weeks, and as his father was then in garrison at Norham, he is probably about right. The castle surrendered for lack of food (*Scala.*, p. 144). The account in Stevenson's *Chronicle* also implies a siege longer than five days; for he speaks of King Robert assailing the castle with siege-engines, and failing, and of the Scots then settling down to starve out the garrison (*Illustr.*, p. 5). Horslee was at Newcastle with the garrison on July 20—that is, about sixteen weeks after the fall of the town—so that the surrender of the castle must have taken place somewhat earlier in the month. Horslee and his garrison had to be supported by the town, and the account therefore would begin with their arrival (*Bain*, iii., No. 607). *Cf.* on line 226.

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200 *till thair cuntre syne went thai*. Life and goods were granted them on surrender (*Stevenson*, p. 5). *Cf.* previous note.

203 *soyn eftir*. But, according to the account in *Stevenson*, King Robert assisted at the attack on the castle. See on 198.

222 *At = that*. "That he took in hand to hold Berwick."

224 *Bath the castell, and the dungeoune*. In his former references Barbour has used the term "castle" to include both the tower or "donjon" or keep and the surrounding wall, apart from the wall of the town proper. The wall (or "wallis"), he says in 169, 170, was not then in a very defensible state. Here he goes back to an older and more technical usage before these two independent elements—donjon and enclosure fortified with a wall—had quite coalesced. The evidence for this differentiation is given at length by Mr. Round in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendix O. One of the citations is precisely parallel to Barbour's expressions here, the description of a grant of Dublin—town, castle, and donjon—in 1172 to Hugh de Lacy:

"Li riche rei ad dunc baillé (has then entrusted)  
Dyvelin en garde, la cité  
E la chastel e le dongun,  
A Hüge de Laci le barun."

These, then, are the three elements here: the town, which had its own wall; the "castle," strictly speaking, or walled enclosure; and the "donjon" within the latter.

226 *Ryde in-till Inglande*. The *Lanercost* writer places this raid in the month of May, and, it would seem, after the fall of the castle (see on line 198). The Scots on this occasion penetrated England farther than usual, reaching Ripon, Knaresborough, and Skipton, in Craven—*i.e.*, covering a large part of Yorkshire (p. 235). The *Gesta de Carn.* also dates this raid in May, "soon after Easter," and says the Scots went as far as Bolton Abbey (p. 55).

227 *gret plente of fee*. They brought back "a crowd of cattle past numbering" (*Lanerc.*, p. 236). They searched the woods of Knaresborough for the cattle hidden there, and got possession of them (p. 235).

228-9 *sum cuntreis trewit he For vittale*. *I.e.*, "he made a truce with some districts in return for a supply of victual." The Scots spoiled Ripon, but refrained from burning the town on payment of 1,000 marks (*Lanerc.*, p. 235).

236 *But burges and but oblesteris*. Skeat takes exception to "burgesses," but the town had previously been defended by the burgesses (*cf.* on 15), and some, no doubt, were willing "to obey" the Scots (*cf.* on 128). E reads *burdowys*, which Jamieson supposed to mean "men who fought with clubs," while Skeat suggests that it is "*burdouis for burdonis—i.e.*, mules!" Mules are a less probable part of the garrison than burgesses. "Oblesteris" are *arblasters—i.e.*, crossbowmen, a minor but constant part of both English and Scottish armies of the time.

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239 *Johne Crab*. A famous sea-rover of the east coast, as on the west was Thomas Dun (*Bk. XIV.* 376, note). In 1319 Edward was complaining to the Count of Flanders of his "outrages," and the Count answered (November 19) that "Crabbe" had been banished for murder, and that "he will punish him on the wheel if he catches him" (*Bain*, iii., No. 673). He was captured in 1332 near Roxburgh, and because the "ungrateful Scots" refused to ransom him he transferred his services to the English (*Lanerc.*, p. 270), and for his assistance at the Siege of Berwick in 1333 was pardoned "all his homicides, felonies, etc., by sea or land" (*Bain*, iii., 1090). He therefore cannot be the "Cryn, a Fleming, an admiral of the sea, a robber," killed by Sir Thomas Gray in 1321-2, as is supposed by Sir Herbert Maxwell (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 267, note; *The Scalacronica*, trans., p. 63, note). Crab is on record till 1347 (*Bain*, No. 1504). But "Cryn" may be his nephew "John Crabbekyn" (*Bain*, iii., No. 417). The Scots slew his son (*Lanerc.*, p. 270). A John Crab gets lands from Bruce in Aberdeen, which, with those in Berwick, are transferred to another in the reign of David II. (Robertson's *Index*, 15, 21, etc. ... 32, 9), apparently on his going over to England. He is not, therefore, likely to be the John Crab, a burgher of Aberdeen in later times, and a member of Parliament (1365, 1367), as the editor of the *Exchequer Rolls*, II., postulates (p. lxxxii., note: *Index*).

245 *engynis and trammys*. "Siege-engines and structures of wood."

246 *grec fyre*. In all probability "Greek fire," as Skeat suggests; "t" and "c" are almost indistinguishable in the MSS. of the time. "Greek fire" was the mother of gunpowder; it was a liquid made of sulphur and saltpetre, with the addition of inflammable oils, and its purpose was to set woodwork on fire (*cf.* Oman's *Art of War*, pp. 546, 547). It was used at the Siege of Stirling in 1304 (*Bain*).

247 *Spryngaldis and schotis*. The *springal* (*espringale*) was a great crossbow on a frame, whose cord was drawn back by a winch; the "shots" were its bolts, or "long darts": *springaldis, ad longa spicula emittenda* (*Lanercost*, p. 231) at the siege of Carlisle in 1315.

250 *gynis for crakkis*. Contrivances for making explosions—*i.e.*, guns, which at first seem to have been valued for this quality.

271 *ger dik thame*. *I.e.*, the English were to surround their own encampment at Berwick with a rampart for further security, and to keep off the Scots who might come to its relief.

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278 *thought all suth*. "Thought quite rightly."

285 *Of Lancaster the Erl Thomas*. Bain says that, though Lancaster was clearly summoned (*Fœdera*, iii., p. 784), "Walsingham, who was not contemporary, seems the only authority for his presence, and if his men had been there they would have been found on the roll," where they are not given (iii., p. xxvi). But a letter from Hugh le Despenser, the younger, printed by Stevenson in his notes to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, expressly names the Earl of Lancaster as having been present (p. 422). Despenser also was at Berwick, and his letter (Anglo-French) is dated September 21 at Newcastle. Strangest fact, Bain, who knew the *Chron. de Lanerc.*, overlooked the mention of Lancaster having accompanied the King to Berwick on p. 239. In *Vita Edw. Sec.*, too, Lancaster is among those at Berwick (pp. 241, 244). Also in *Annal. Paul.*, p. 286; *Illustrations*, p. 56. Cf. notes below. Maxwell, too, cites Barbour only for Lancaster's presence (p. 265, note).

286 *That syne wes sanctit*. See note on 874.

295 *all this menyhe*. According to the pay-sheet, August 1 to September 24, 8,080 men, apart, however, from the following of Lancaster (cf. on 285 and 852) and the sailors (*Bain*, iii., No. 668). In *Annal. Paul.* 30,000 horse! (p. 286).

298 *Ordanit ane felde*. The "Magdalen Fields" surrounding the town. "The army was spread ont, on the land side, round the circuit of the town" (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 242).

306 *all the havyn wes stoppit*. "On the side of the sea the sailors present from the Cinque Ports (*Quinque Portubus*) so watched the entries and exits that no one could possibly get out" (*Vita Edw.*, p. 242).

318-9 *sib him ner, Or ... his allye*. "Either near relatives or those closely attached to him by some personal tie." "Allye," Fr. *allié*, is a trisyllable. It does not seem to signify, as Skeat suggests, allied "by various marriages," but only the latter part of the phrase, "relatives and personal friends."

335 *our Ladeis evin*. September 7, 1319. So Despenser, in his letter, says Edward came before Berwick on September 7, and "laid siege to the town, with all his host, by sea and by land" (*par myer et par terre. Lanerc.*, p. 422). The English army entered Scotland on August 29 (*Ann. Paul.*, p. 286).

343 *coveryngis*. Special protective dresses, such as the miner's "basket" of wicker for those breaching the wall.

344 *howis ... staff slyngis*. The first were possibly picks on long poles, so resembling hoes, used for pulling down defences. The staff-sling consisted of a wooden shaft about a yard long, to one end of which was attached a sling. The slinger held it by the other end with both hands, and so could discharge a stone or bullet with great force.

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359 *ilk kyrneill*. Each casement or open interval of the battlement. In the repairs of the castle in 1344 the portion of the wall renewed was to be 8 feet broad at "the kernels" (*Bain*, iii., No. 1434).

380 *Sa law*. Edward I. had begun to surround Berwick with a stone wall, but Hugh de Cressingham, his Treasurer (1297), had not spent on it the money given for its completion (*Hemingburgh*, ii., p. 127).

409 *the brighous*. A barbican or outwork on which the drawbridge rested. In January, 1316, Bruce tried to enter Berwick *inter brighous et castrum* (*Lanercost*, p. 232).

421 *scho ebbit. I.e.*, the tide ebbcd, and she grounded. A ship grounding in a very low tide (neap) is still said to be "neaped."

501 *he wald nocht sa soyne assale*. The English chroniclers say he would not venture to fight with the army of their King (*Lanerc.*, p. 239; *Illustr.*, p. 6). On September 9 Edward writes to the Chancellor that "he hears that Robert de Brus and his allies and supporters (*fautours*) are bound by oaths and hostages to relieve the garrison of Berwick on a fixed day, and will do everything they can" (*Bain*, iii., No. 664). He therefore summons to Berwick the whole array of York, but Bruce took his own way of relieving.

505 *lordis twa*. As here, Moray and Douglas (*Lanerc.*, p. 239; *Gesta de Carn.*, p. 57).

508 *xv. thousand*. "A very great army" (*Illustr.*, p. 6); "no small army" (*Gesta de Carn.*, p. 57); "xx. thousand of the Scottis" (*Capgrave*, p. 184).

515 *thair wiffis*. In their previous raid (see on 226) the Scots took captive both men and women (*Lanerc.*, p. 236).

528 *it wes pite*. "The Scots were raiding savagely in England" (*Scotis in Anglia sæventibus. —Trokelowe*, p. 103). "Clearing (*depopulantes*) Northumbria, the bishopric of Durham and Alvertonshire (York), they came as far as Burghbrig" (*Illustr.*, p. 66). "They burnt the country and took captives and booty of animals, advancing as far as Burghbrige" (*Lanercost*, p. 239). "Burning and spoiling the country on all sides" (*Gesta de Carn.*, p. 57).

535 *Burrow-brig*. Boroughbridge, on the Ure, near its junction with the Swale, Yorkshire; see previous note. According to Fordun, Moray was at "Boru-brig" at the end of the month of August (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxxiv.).

536 *Mytoun thar-by*. Myton is on the Swale, near its junction with the Ure, and so a little east of Boroughbridge.

541 *Prestis, clerkis, monkis, and freris, etc*. There were two abbots, monks, friars, many priests, with countrymen and townsfolk (*Illustr.*, p. 7; *Lanerc.*, p. 239; *Scala.*, p. 148).

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544 *Weill twenty thousand*. Ten thousand in *Trokelowe*, p. 103; both numbers excessive.

546 *The Archbishop of York*. William de Melton (*Gesta de Carn.*, p. 57; and *Lanercost, Illustr.*, etc., as cited). He lost much furniture in the battle, including silver and brass plate (*North. Reg.*, p. 295).

552 *other byschoppis*. Only the Bishop of Ely, then staying at York (*Illustr.*, p. 7; *Lanerc.*, p. 239).

559 *in-till battellis twa*. "The Scots gathered together, as their wont was, in a single schiltron" (*Lanerc.*, p. 239). They "divided" to take up the chase (*ibid.*).

573-4 *sic abasing Tuk thame*. The English accounts give it that their men had no proper leader nor skill in war, while the Scots were excellently equipped in both respects. The strangely assorted array advanced in no proper order of battle, so that the Scots said: "These are not soldiers, they are sportsmen; they won't be much good" ("*Hi non bellatores sed venatores; non multum proficient.*"—*Vita Edw.*, p. 244). The Scots then gave a great shout, and the English in terror turned and fled (*Lanerc.*, p. 239).

583 *weill ane thousand*. All accounts agree that there was a considerable slaughter of the priestly and inexperienced warriors, but the English estimates of the slain are much higher than Barbour's: more than a thousand, besides the drowned (*Ann. Paul.*, p. 287); "2,000 slain with the sword" (*Illustr.*, p. 7); 3,000 (*Trokelowe*, p. 103); 4,000 (*Lanerc.*, p. 239); besides those drowned in the Swale, about a thousand, says the *Lanercost* writer (*ibid.*); "more than the sword slew" (*Gesta de Carn.*, p. 58). There were also many captives, afterwards redeemed; cf. line 579 (*ibid.*, *Vita Edw.*, p. 244). A chantry chapel was afterwards erected for the souls of the slain, and endowed by their friends; to this end a piece of ground was asked from the King in October, 1325 (*Bain*, iii., No. 875).

597 *Of gret gestis ane Sow*. Probably, as Skeat hints, for "gestis"—*i.e.*, joists, great beams, which is more likely than Fr. *gestes*, "deeds" to which it is hard to give, in this connection, a suitable meaning. The famous "Sow" is referred to in *Lanercost (suem)*, p. 239. See below. It was otherwise known as the *cat*, and was constructed of stout beams, being strictly a penthouse or shelter for the men mining the wall. So here in line 600, and in the *Lanercost* account (*ad murum suffodiendum*, p. 239). But in the present case it is combined with the *beffroi*, or movable tower (lines 601-2), giving the "sow-castle" or "cat-castle" (cf. Oman's *Art of War*, pp. 548, 549). Hailes and Skeat miss this point.

598 *stalward heling*. A strong covering of hides, or, possibly, of iron plates.

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634 *the Rude-evyn*. The eve of the Exaltation of the Rood, September 13.

674 *draw the cleket*. Probably then "she" was a *mangonel*, in which a movable beam, between uprights, was pressed back by ropes, and then suddenly let go from a catch ("cleket"), discharges a stone; or a *trebuchet*, in which the same result was obtained by poisoning the beam in the middle, and loading the other end with a heavy weight, which added to the force of the missile.

689 *set thar-to juntly*. "Set close up to." Cf. line 704. In the *Wallace*, Stirling Bridge "off gud playne burd was weill and *juntly* maid" (vii. 1148).

690 *bend in hy*. Cf. on 674.

691 *wappyt*. The correct Scots form. C has *swappit*. Cf. *Gest. Historiale*, "wappid (knocked) to ground" (7297), and "A *wap* wi a corner-stane o' Wolf's Crag wad defy the doctor" (Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*, Border edit., P. 349).

713 *top-castellis*. "Fighting-tops" on the mast, in addition to the structures rising fore and aft above the deck, "fore-castle" and "stern-castle."

756 *The barras*. The "barriers," a fortified post at the outer end of the drawbridge. See *Glossary*.

757 *and brynt it doune*. Skeat, in his rubric, explains that they "burnt the drawbridge"—a foolish thing to do if they wanted to cross the ditch! But what seems to have happened was this: the besiegers first seized the "barras," then brought "doune" the bridge by burning the tackle, probably of ropes and beams, by which it was drawn up against the gate, and so were able to cross, and make their attempt to burn their way through the gate itself. So, too, they could retreat (790) over the fallen bridge. Cf. in *Morte Arthure*:

"Brittenes (destroys) theirre barrers with theirre bryghte wapyns,  
Bett down a barbycan, and the brygge wynnys."  
(2469-2470).

828 *on the morne*. *I.e.*, of September 14, seven days after the first attack. Despenser says that the news from England came "before he had been at Berwick (*demorce*) eight days" (as cited), practically corroborating Barbour.

829 *Thar come tithandis*. So in Despenser's letter; in *Lanercost* (p. 239); *Gesta de Carn.* (p. 58).

842 *His consell fast discordit then*. The *Lanercost* writer says the King wished to send a part of his army into England to deal with the Scots, and keep on the siege with the remainder; but the nobles were unwilling to divide their army and not fight with the returning Scots, and so the whole army started south for this purpose (p. 239).

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852 *Loncastell*. Despenser attributes the raising of the siege to the "procurement" of Lancaster (*Lanerc.*, p. 422). Stevenson's chronicler says the siege would have been successful "had not

disturbers of the peace sown discord between the King and the Earl of Lancaster" (*Illust.*, p. 6). As is here suggested, the friction had been going on for some time according to the author of the *Gesta*, who explains in detail how the mischief-making was done (p. 57). In the *Vita Edw. Sec.* various accounts are collected regarding Lancaster's action, including the "vulgar" story that he had been bribed by Bruce, and there is a discourse of several pages on treason and avarice (p. 244 *et seq.*).

855 *he*. Here is the King; in 858 *he* is Lancaster. The King was inclined to side with the Southerners, whose homes, of course, were in no danger from the Scots. *Cf.* previous note.

862 *his way he tais*. According to the *Vita Edw.*, the King went one way to meet the retreating Scots, Lancaster another (as cited).

864 *fell eftir sic debat*. In 1321 Lancaster and his supporters took up arms against the King and his advisers, the Despencers, on account of misgovernment. Each party blamed the other for the misfortunes of the Scottish war. In March of the following year the Lancastrians were defeated at Boroughbridge by Sir Andrew de Harclay, himself afterwards executed for alleged treasonable dealings with the Scots. Lancaster was captured, and beheaded at Pomfret (*cf.* line 868).

869 *on the hill besyde the toune*. "On a certain little hill" (*monticulo*) beside Pomfret (*Lanerc.*, p. 244).

871 *syne drawin and hangit*. Though this was in the sentence, it was, by special favour of the King, not carried out. Lancaster, being a relative, was simply beheaded. In any case the drawing and hanging would have come before the beheading. See on IV. 322.

872 *a fair menyhe*. Many others suffered capital punishment for their share in this rising. The *Lanercost* writer gives one baron and three knights as having been drawn and hanged in Pomfret at this time, with further details of other victims (p. 245). *Cf.* also *Baker*, pp. 65, 66. The names of five hanged on the same day at Pomfret are given in *Annal. Paul.*, p. 303.

874 *martir was, Wes sanctit and myraclis did*. Lancaster was popularly regarded as a saint, a martyr for righteous government; he having been also a liberal man to the Church and the poor. There were, of course, doubters of his sanctity (*Vita Edw. Sec.*: contin., p. 290). A chapel was erected on the hill on which he was beheaded; crowds of pilgrims flocked to it, and miracles were said to be worked by God through him (*Lanerc.*, pp. 244-5; *Fædera*, iv., p. 421). There was a special service for him—an "Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster," printed in Wright's *Political Songs* (pp. 268-272). Edward III., whose accession was the triumph of the opposition to his father, requested the Pope to give Thomas regular canonization (*Fædera*, iv., p. 421). Capgrave says he was canonized in 1389, when all concerned in his execution were dead (p. 253).

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889 *thai tuk westward the way*. The Scots in England retired about September 14, going westwards (*versus occidentem tendentes*) by Airedale and Wharfedale, and so home by "Gratsehals" (*Gesta Edw. Carn.*, p. 58). When they heard the siege was raised they returned to Scotland by Staynmore and Gillesland and "those western parts" (*Lanerc.* p. 240). *Cf.* also *Illustrations*, p. 7.

891 *With prayis, and with presoneris*. "With prisoners and plunder of cattle" (*Lanerc.*, p. 240). Also *Gesta Edw.*, p. 58; *Vita Edw.*, p. 244. *Prayis* is a plural signifying different kinds of "prey."

922-3 *brynt had The brig*. *Cf.* on 757.

940 *Berwyk his toune*. As the reading from E shows, this is a possessive of a type usually confined to proper names. *Cf.* III. 232; VI. 435, etc.; and *Grammar*.

946 *Till help his brothir*. Wrong by a year. The siege of Berwick was in September, 1319; Edward Bruce was killed in the previous year. The succours here sent were dispatched in September or October, 1318. See on *Bk. XVIII.* 3, 110.

## BOOK XVIII.

3 *A day forrouth thair arivyng*. So, too, Gray declares that Edward Bruce "from over-boldness (*pur surquidery*) was not willing to wait his reinforcements (*soun poair*) which had lately arrived, and were within six leagues (miles) of him" (*Scala.*, p. 143)—*i.e.*, within a day's march. Gray, it will be observed, applies the same quality to Edward Bruce as Barbour does in line 183. The same explanation occurs in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (pp. 281, 282). The *Lanercost* chronicler, on the contrary, says that the "great army" which had "newly come" from Scotland to his assistance had joined Edward before his advance to Dundalk (p. 238).

8-9 *twa thousand, Outane the Kyngis of Erischry*. The *Annals of Ireland* give the Scots 3,000 (p. 359), so that Barbour is probably about right. The chronicler in Stevenson's *Illustrations* makes the Scots 30,000 (p. 3)! The "Irish Kings" here include MacRory, "King" of the Hebrides ("Insi-Gall"), and MacDonald, "King" of Argyll, who were both slain (*Annals of Ulster*, ii., p. 433; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 281). *Cf.* note on line 443).

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12 *Richard of Clare*. Barbour is misinformed; Richard de Clare was killed five months before, May 11 (*Annals of Ulster*, ii., pp. 433 and 432, note 5; *Annals of Ireland*, p. 35). The English were commanded by Sir John de Birmingham (*Annals of Ireland*, p. 359; *Baker*, p. 58).

17 *tenty thousand*. Such a number of horse is obviously absurd, as is also the total of "forty thousand" below.

33 *Men sayis*. *Cf.* on 3: "My brothir" is Walter, the High Steward.

75 *nane of us*. Not true of the Scots-Irish. *Cf.* note on 8-9.

89 *fourty thousand neir*. *Cf.* line 93, and note on 17. The *Lanercost* chronicler says the English were but “a few country-folk” (*paucis et popularibus*; p. 238), probably an exaggeration the other way.

95 *cot-armour*. The surcoat over his armour, bearing his coat-of-arms.

101 *till assemmyll*. The battle took place near the hill of Faughard or Fagher, about two miles from Dundalk. The spot where Edward Bruce fell is still shown by the natives. The date is given by Hailes, Bain, and others, following the version of the *Annals* in Camden’s *Chronicle* as October 5; but in the later edition of the *Annals* and in the *Annals of Ulster* and of *Clonmacnoise* it is precisely fixed as Saturday, October 14, 1318, from which the *Lanercost* chronicler differs by a day only, October 13 (*Lanercost*, p. 238; *Annals of Ulster*, p. 433; *Annals of Ireland*, p. 359; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 281); Fordun also October 14 (*Skene*, i., p. 348).

104 *ruschit with thair fais*. In the *Lanercost Chronicle* it is explained that the Scots were in three battles too far apart, and that thus each as it attacked was disposed of before the next could come to its assistance. Edward was with the third battle (p. 238).

110 *Johne de Sowlis als*. But John de Soules appears to have been dead *circa* 1316, when the husband of his “daughter and heir” petitioned Edward II. for his Scottish lands (*Bain*, iii., No. 530). The date, however, is doubtful.

113 *That few ... war slayne*. According to the *Vita Edw. Sec.*, five hundred stout men-at-arms (*valentes armati*) were slain, besides Edward Bruce (p. 238); almost all were slain, says *Lanercost*, except those only who escaped by flight (p. 238); not a single one escaped, declares *Knighton* (i., p. 412), but this is absurd. Two thousand, almost all the Scots, were slain, but a few got away (*Annals of Ireland*, p. 360). Only a few escaped out of thirty thousand (Stevenson, *Illustrations*, p. 3).

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117 *Johne Tomassun*. No doubt the same John Thomson (*Johannes videlicet Thomæ*), a stout commoner (*valens vernaculus*), who in 1333 was holding out in the “peel” of Lochdoon against Edward III. (*Scotichr.*, lib. xiii., chap. xxviii.).

123 *Johne cummyn*. Skeat prints the verb with a capital, as if “cummyn” was a personal name. Obviously “Johne” is Thomson.

125 *Schir Philipe the Mowbray*. The defender of Stirling Castle before Bannockburn: mortally wounded (*Annals of Ir.*, p. 360).

167 *strak his hed of*. The *Lanercost* writer says Edward Bruce was beheaded after death, and his body divided into four parts, which were sent to the four chief towns of Ireland (p. 238). According to Barbour, it was Gilbert Harper’s head. For the beheading, see also *Trokelowe*, p. 103, and Stevenson’s *Illustrations*, p. 3.

183 *owtrageous succudry*. *Cf.* extract from *Scalacronica* in note on 3.

215 *Richard of Clare*. But see note on 12.

224 *Johne Mawpas*. According to the *Annals*, John Mawpas slew Edward Bruce, and was himself found dead over his body. John de Birmyngham brought the head to Edward III. (p. 360). Probably he thus earned the reward offered for injury to Edward in life or limb, on September 3, 1316 (*Patent Rolls*, p. 551).

225 *Quhilk*. Koeppl points out that this is the only example of this word otherwise than in the form *the quhilk that*, and therefore suggests that E gives the original reading (*Englische Studien*, x. 381).

230 *tuk purpos*. 1322. Barbour passes over four years, and says nothing of a destructive raid of the Scots on the West March in June-July of this year, in which they went as far south as Preston (*Lanercost*, p. 246; *Knighton*, i., p. 428; *Bain*, iii., No. 761; *Fœdera*, iii., p. 960).

235 *richt gret hoost*. “A very great army” (*Lanercost*, 247). “With a very large army ... having an armed foot-soldier from each town in England, besides his knights and esquires” (*Scala.*, p. 149). So also *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon*, p. 78; *Knighton*, i. 428; *Baker*, p. 66).

249 *with-draw all the catele*. “The Scots fled with all their possessions, at their approach (*a facie eorum*), to safe places; stripped their own land wholly bare, and cleared the districts of all the goods” (*Trokelowe*, p. 125). “The Scots, having cleared away or conveyed with them beyond the Scottish Sea (the Forth) everything that could be easily carried, left for the English a land bare of victuals” (*Baker*, p. 66). Edward told the Archbishop of Canterbury that he found neither “man nor beast” (*Bain*, iii., No. 778). So also in *Knighton*, i., p. 428.

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253 *with his hoost als still he lay*. “The Scots, in their usual fashion, withdrew, and did not dare to fight with him” (*Lanercost*, p. 247). The English traversed the country, meeting with no resistance (*Baker*, p. 66).

254 *At Culros*. In Fife, on the Forth, opposite Boness (*cf.* note on 249).

261 *in Lowdiane*. Edward was at Gosford, in Haddingtonshire, on August 5 (*Bain*, iii., No. 761). He had taken the coast-road in order to do more damage (*ibid.*, 778).

262 *till Edinburgh*. *Scala.*, p. 149; *Fordun*; *Skene*, i., p. 349. There is a record of a grant by Edward at Edinburgh on August 22, and of payments made at Leith on August 23, so that he may have been there longer than three days; *cf.* above on 261 (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 764, 765). On August 17, however, a pardon is dated from Lauder (*ibid.*, 763).

264 *Thair schippes*. At some date in August, probably later than above, for the King, it would appear, had left, a cargo of medicine came by sea to Edinburgh (Leith) from Newcastle (*ibid.*, 766). Fordun speaks of a vast multitude of ships (*copiosa multitudine*: Fordun, i. 349).

268 *Thair vittale*. "Having used up the food on land, and that by sea everywhere failing them" (*Trokelowe*, p. 125).

276 *Tranentis corne*. Tranent is between Musselburgh and Haddington.

283 *derrest beiff*. In Bower, "That this beef was too dear," Warrene punning in the Latin, *Quod illius tauri caro erat nimis cara* (*Scotichr.*, ii., p. 278).

289-290 *of fasting had gret payne, etc.* "A very great part of the army was wasted with hunger, and a great number perished from want of food," and so they returned (*Trokelowe*, p. 125). The *Lanercost* writer speaks of lack of victuals, and illness, dysentery, among the soldiers, from both of which many died (p. 247). *Scalacronica* concurs (p. 149), also Fordun (*Skene*, i. 349). The English were thus forced to retreat (*ibid.*). Knighton puts the English losses at about fifteen thousand (i., p. 428); 30,000 (!) from starvation (*Flores Hist.*, iii., p. 210).

291 *In-till Melros*. "The King's hobelers (light horse) foraging at Melrose were defeated by James Douglas" (*Scala.*, p. 149). Cf. lines 292-3. Knighton says the English came to Melrose, when, most unexpectedly, the Scots rushed on them from the mountains, and slew three hundred and more (i., p. 428). According to Fordun, the English slew and wounded several of the monks, and committed other sacrilege (*Gesta Annal.*; *Skene*, i., pp. 349, 350).

339 *by Driburgh*. They burned the monastery to the ground (*Fordun, ibid.*).

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341 *till Inghland*. Edward is at Fenham, on the coast of Northumberland, by September 4, or thereabout (*Bain*, iii., No. 767).

346 *our the Scottis Se*. Cf. note on 249.

349 *Auchty thousand*. Certainly an exaggerated number. Each "battle," as almost invariably with Barbour (cf. note on *Bk. XI.*), represents ten thousand men. Bruce had, however, a considerable force (*exercitu non modico*; *Gesta Edw. de Carn.*, p. 79), having, according to Gray, assembled the whole power of Scotland, of the Isles, and of the Highlands (*dez autres pays hautz*; *Scala.*, p. 149). Exactly parallel is the statement in *Lanercost*, p. 247.

352 *on to Inghland*. By the Solway on October 1, 1322 (*Lanercost*, p. 247; *Gesta Ann.*, p. 350).

355 *to Byland*. Byland is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, near Helmsley, on the right bank of the Rye. In *Gesta Edw.* "Bella-landa" (p. 79). The affair at Byland was on October 21 (note in *Stevenson* from Cotton MS., c. 1325, p. 55); October 14 (*Flores Hist.*, iii., p. 210).

356-7 *wes liand The King of Inghland, etc.* So placed, too, in *Gesta Edw. de Carn.*: the King "in monasterio de Bella-landa," and the army on a high mountain above the monastery (p. 79); by Fordun (*Skene*, i. 350); and by Higden (*Polychron.*, viii., p. 316). *Trokelowe*, too, suggests the same, saying the Scots followed the King as far as Byland Abbey, in the district of "Rye Valley" (*Realis Vallis*, p. 125). The escape was "near Byland, close to the Abbey of Rievaulx," when the King was crossing over (*Flores Hist.*, iii., p. 210). But the *Lanercost* chronicler locates the King in Rievaulx Abbey (Rievaulx = Realis Vallis), on the opposite bank of the Rye (p. 247); and an order from Edward to the Earl of Pembroke "to raise the country towards Byland" is dated from Rievaulx, October 13 (*Bain*, iii., No. 790). In *Stevenson's Chronicle*, too, the King is at Rievaulx, while Pembroke (Valence) and Richmond and other lords are at "Beghland" (*Illustrations*, p. 7).

365 *Ane craggy bra*. Cf. preceding note. "A strength (*un fortescesce*) on a hill near Biland" (p. 149). "A certain mountain between the Abbey of Biland and the Abbey of Rievaulx" (*Lanercost*, p. 247).

366 *a gret peth*. "A certain path (*viam*) on the mountain, narrow and confined" (*arctam et strictam*; *Lanercost*, p. 247). "A very narrow road where scarce ten could go abreast" (*vix 10 in fronte meabile*. *Stevenson's Illustrations*, p. 7).

373-4 *Went to the path, etc.* The Earl of Richmond, John of Brittany, was sent with his followers to examine the Scottish army "from a certain mountain, etc." (cf. on 365. *Lanercost, ibid.*).

409 *Thomas Ouchtred*. "Arthyn," as in C., is not known, and is clearly wrong, for Sir Thomas Ughtred, or Ouchtred, was captured here, as Barbour says in line 426 (*Bain*, iii., No. 806).

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419 *Stanis apon thame*. "He (Richmond) strove with them by throwing down stones" (*per lapides projectos*. *Lanercost*, p. 247).

427 *he wes tane*. Cf. on line 409.

443 *all the Erischry*. I.e., the Highlanders and Islesmen, who spoke Gaelic or Irish. Cf. on line 349.

454 *aboun the bra*. The Scots ascended above them (*super eos*. *Lanercost, ibid.*).

458 *the hycht has tane*. "The Scots ascended between the trees through the middle of the grove" (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 79). The fight took place "on the summit of a hill near Byland" (*ibid.*, p. 82).

462-4 *Johne Bretane, etc.* Cf. on line 373.

469 *thar wes tane*. John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, a prisoner in Scotland, October 27 (*Bain*, iii., Nos. 792, 793). Still detained in Scotland, December 10 (*ibid.*, No. 795). Captured at Byland (*Stevenson, Illustrations*, p. 7).

472 *lord of Souly*. Henry, Lord of Sully, a prisoner (*Bain*, No. 796): “the lord of Sully, a baron of France” (*Scala.*, p. 149); “the lord of Sully (*Siliaco*), an ambassador of the King of France” (*Baker*, p. 66).

478 *yheit at Biland*. But *cf.* note on 356-7.

480 *in full gret hy*. “The King himself scarcely escaped from Rivaulx” (*Scala.*, p. 149). “The King fled swiftly from Biland” (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 79; *cf.* also *Lanercost*, p. 248; *Baker*, p. 66). “To Scarborough Castle” (*Stevenson, Illustrations*, p. 7).

489 *Till Yorkis yhettis*. The Scots made their way to York (*Scala.*, p. 150; *Lanercost*, p. 248; *Gesta*, p. 81).

493 *nane wald cum out*. The English were quite demoralized. They had fled like “a hare before the hounds” (*Scala.*, p. 150). “The people were collapsing (*corruentem*) before the enemy like sheep without a shepherd” (*Gesta*, p. 81).

498 *Rivens*. Rievaulx; see above.

500 *The King of Ingrandis ger*. A note in *Bain* describes the harness lost at “Ryvaux” by the sudden attack of the Scots there on October 14 (iii., No. 791). According to *Lanercost*, the King in his hurry left in Rievaulx Monastery his silver plate and great treasure, all which the Scots carried off, spoiling the monastery besides (p. 248). The royal treasure taken at Byland (*Higden*, viii., p. 316).

520 *Lang eftir*. In October, 1323, and May, 1324, negotiations for Richmond’s release were still in progress (*Bain*, iii., No. 829; *Pat. Rolls*).

543 *but ransoun free*. This seems to have been the transaction which resulted in the “Emerald” charter of the Douglasses, giving them extraordinary powers of jurisdiction within their territories. The grant was in lieu of 4,400 merks sterling, the ransoms of three (not two) French knights and their valets captured by Douglas at Byland, and liberated at the instance of the King of France, “our very dear friend” (*Fraser’s Douglas, Bk. iii.*, p. 11).

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553 *Byrmand, slayand, and distroyand*. From all accounts the Scots did terrible mischief. “They did damage at their pleasure, with no one to oppose them” (*Scala.*, p. 150). They spoiled and burned the neighbouring districts, carried off the cattle, and wasted on all sides with fire and sword (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 80; *Trokelowe*, p. 126; *Northern Registers*, p. 318).

555 *to the Wald*. The Yorkshire Wold (*Scala.*, p. 150). “Le Wald” (*Lanercost*, p. 248; *Stevenson’s Illustrations*, p. 7).

558 *The vale ... of Beauvare*. The valley of the river Hull in which is Beverley. “They destroyed that country to about the town of Beverley, which purchased immunity from being burned” (*Lanercost*, p. 248). Murimuth and Baker say it cost Beverley four hundred pounds sterling (*Baker*, p. 66).

561 *Till Scotland*. They returned on October 22 (*Gesta*, p. 80). In *Lanercost*, November 2 is given as the date (p. 248). It may be inferred, from a reference in *Bain* to the Earl of Richmond as “a prisoner in Scotland” on October 27, that the Scots had got home by that date.

## BOOK XIX.

6 *a fell conjuracione*. Barbour post-dates this conspiracy. It took place in 1320.

11 *The lord of Sowlis*. Probably the grandson of Sir Nicholas Soulis, one of the competitors in 1292. Sir Nicholas claimed through his mother, a niece of Alexander III. (*Bain*, ii., liv.). His forfeited lands in Liddesdale were given to Bruce’s illegitimate son Robert (Robertson’s *Index*, p. 12; 54, etc.); others to Robert Stewart, son of Walter (*ibid.*, 10; 13).

16 *Male-herbe*. As in E, is the correct form; or Malerb (*Fordun*), Malherbe (*Scala.*) and on record in *Bain*, and in *Robertson*, where the Stirlingshire lands forfeited by “Gilbert de Malherbe” are gifted to another (*Index*, 21; 19). The land of “Malerbe” was in Perthshire (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, pp. 30, 61). The other names occur in these sources also, as in Barbour.

19 *David the Brechyne*. *Cf.* on *Bk. VIII.* 402; IX. 293. Some of the forfeited lands of Brechin, such as Rothmay, Brechine, Kinloch, etc., were granted to Sir David de Barclay (*Robertson*, pp. 26, 34).

23 *Throu ane lady*. The lady in the affair was Countess of Strathearn (*Gesta Annal.*, cxxxv.). But Gray (*Scala.*, p. 144) gives a different discoverer, Murdoch of Menteith, who was in the English service as late, at least, as January, 1317 (*Bain*, iii. 534). The Countess could not have turned King’s evidence, as she was condemned to imprisonment for life (*Fordun. Ibid.*). In an extract from the Cotton MS. in *Stevenson*, Menteith is again given as the discoverer (*Illust.*, p. 55).

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45 *playn granting*. Soulis made a full confession (*Scala.*, p. 144).

49 *plane parliament*. At Scone, August, 1320 (*Fordun; Skene*, i. 348; *Scala.*, p. 144). It was known as the Black Parliament.

51 *Till his penance till Dumbertane*. “Confined in Dumbarton Castle for punishment in prison” (*a sa penaunz en prisoun.—Scala.*, p. 144); “for life” (*Fordun; Skene*, i. 348). Gray says that Dumbarton was the only castle in Scotland not now dismantled (*ibid.*).

56 *thai drawin war*. As in *Fordun*: “first drawn with horses and finally executed” (*Skene*, i. 348). Gray says Brechin, Logy, and Maleherbe were hanged and drawn in Perth. *Fordun* adds Richard

Brown, a squire.

74 *Scottis man*. Umfraville was a prisoner since Bannockburn. At this date (1320) he was still in Scotland, though on July 24, 1314, Edward was granting safe-conducts to some of his friends for a journey to France in quest of money for his ransom (*Bain*, iii., No. 374). On April 20, 1320, there is a safe-conduct for Sir Ingelram de Umfraville, "a Scottish knight passing through England on his affairs beyond seas," with a considerable following, which was cancelled for one in October (*ibid.*, 694). Meantime his name is on the record of the Arbroath Parliament in April, 1320 (see below). On January 26, 1321, he is being restored to his estates, "as Ingelram, who was a prisoner in Scotland, has escaped, and shown that he never left his allegiance" (*ibid.*, 721). These facts have been held to invalidate Barbour's statement (Maxwell's *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 276-7), but they have obviously a suspicious air. He appears to have somewhat prolonged his escape; there was clearly a doubt as to his loyalty; and the date fits in curiously with the narrative. Finally, it has to be explained how Umfraville's name appears in the list of signatories to the famous letter to the Pope from the barons and Community of Scotland on April 6, 1320: "While there exist a hundred of us we will never submit to England" (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., p. 114).

125 *the Kyngis curtasy*. Cf. note on *Bk. XIII*. 531.

131 *oftsis*. There had been frequent negotiations for peace since immediately after Bannockburn (cf. *Fœdera* iii., p. 495).

186 *war trewis tane*. The truce was arranged at Thorpe, near York, to last for thirteen years (see line 188) from June 12, 1323.

191-6 *Bot Inglis men apoun the se Distroyit, etc.* Of such cases, probably those referred to here, we have precise details in Bain's *Calendar*, vol. iii. On September 7, 1326, an inquiry is ordered by Edward II. into the case of certain Scottish merchants who, on their way to Flanders, took refuge in an English ship from fear of pirates, and were brought to Scarborough, where they were all arrested by the Sheriff of York and the magistrates of Scarborough, and put in prison (No. 887). On September 28 three justices are commissioned to inquire into the seizure of a Flemish vessel at Whitby, when nine Scottish merchants, sixteen Scottish pilgrims, and thirteen women were murdered (lines 195, 234), and the cargo and goods to the value of £2,000 carried off (line 196); the vessel being cast adrift, and afterwards captured by others, when the rest of the cargo was appropriated. Apparently this inquiry was fruitless, for another is ordered at Yarmouth on October 15 (No. 889). Then, on October 12, there was the case of a Scottish clerk arrested on the high seas, brought with his two servants and goods to Scarborough, and imprisoned by the Sheriff of York, to be discharged later by the King's order (No. 889). And Adam Rolok and other Scots had been taken from a ship touching at Brunham and lodged in Norwich prison, from which they were not released till September 24, 1328 (No. 965). Neglecting Barbour's full explanation, confirmed as it is by Bain's *Calendar*, historians profess to find the origins of this campaign obscure, or lay all the blame upon the Scots (Hume Brown, *History*, i., p. 166; Lang, *History* i. 232; Le Bel, *Chronique*, ed. 1904, i., p. 37, editorial note).

205 *Walter Steward*. Died April 9, 1326.

230-1 *twa yheir ... and ane half*. Nearly four years after; cf. note on 188.

238 *gaf the trewis up*. Le Bel, the Flemish chronicler, says he "defied" Edward about Easter because he saw Edward II. deposed, his Government upset, and that the new King was but a boy; and therefore hoped to conquer a part of England (*Les Vrayes Chroniques*, i., p. 34, edit. 1863; *Froissart*, trans. Johnes, i. 15).

241 *Donald Erll of Mar*. Cf. note on *Bk. XIII*. 687. He had been brought up at the Court of Edward II., and had served for him against the Scots, but, on his deposition, returned to his native land. The Scots readily received him and restored him to his earldom (*Gesta Edw. Tertii*, p. 96; *Bain*, iii. 744; *Scala.*, p. 151). He hoped to get Scottish aid in restoring Edward II. (*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 259). The leaders of this expedition are given as in Barbour in *Scalacronica*, *Chron. de Lanercost*, and *Gesta Edwardi Tertii*, with the exception of the Steward, who is not mentioned. Le Bel, who was present with the troops of John of Hainault, names only Moray and Douglas, whom he erroneously styles William, here as elsewhere (i., p. 48).

248 *In England*. June 15; and a second raid to Weardale in August (*Fordun. Skene*, i. 351-2). Before July 20 (*Lanercost*, p. 259). By the West March, says Hailes, citing Froissart (*i.e.*, le Bel), but this is certainly not clear. No one seems to have known how they came: "They had passed the river (? Tyne, Eden) so quietly that neither they of Carlisle nor they of Newcastle knew anything of it" (*Le Bel*, i., p. 46, edit. 1863).

250 *ten thousand*. Le Bel says there were three thousand men-at-arms, knights, and squires, and about twenty thousand variously armed upon little hackneys (p. 48). These numbers are clearly in excess. It is from Jehan le Bel in this connection that Froissart has taken his famous and familiar description of a Scots Border raid (*Johnes*, ch. xvii.).

254 *Wardill*. Weardale, in Durham (*Fordun, Gesta Annalia*, cxi.).

256 *The King wes ded*. Edward II. was in ward since January 7, but did not die till September 21.

257 *that wes yhing*. Edward III. was fifteen.

261 *Isabel*. Daughter of Philip IV. of France.

262 *wes weddid*. Not till January 28, 1328, to the second daughter (Philippa) of Count or Earl William of Holland and Hainault. Barbour, of course, writes about fifty years after.



267 *Schir Johne of Hennaut*. John of Hainault, lord of Beaumont, brother of the Count, then “in the flower of his age” (*Le Bel*, i., p. 12). He came at Edward’s request, and brought five hundred well-mounted men-at-arms from Hainault, Flanders, Bohemia, Cambresis, and Artois: later he was joined by fifty more (*Le Bel*, i. 36, 37). Jehan le Bel and his brother were in the company.

271 *In-to York*. The English army assembled at York, and there awaited the arrival of the Hainaulters (*Le Bel*, p. 36); or of the chief lords (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 96). There was a wait at York of more than six weeks until news should come about the Scots (*Le Bel*, p. 45). The English preparations seem to have anticipated the Scottish raid, though Barbour puts it otherwise.

275 *neir fifty thousand*. According to *Le Bel*, it was said the English had seven thousand knights and squires, thirty thousand armed men, half of whom were mounted on little hackneys, and twenty-four thousand archers on foot—sixty-one thousand men (i., p. 49). The English were three times the number of the Scots (*Murimuth*, p. 53; *Baker*, 97). Froissart, modifying *Le Bel*, gives in another place more than forty thousand men-at-arms (i., p. 17).

278 *Xviii yheir*. Edward, born November, 1312, was only fifteen.

279 *Cokdail*. The Cock flows into the Wharfe, a tributary of the Yorkshire Ouse. Sir Herbert Maxwell says Coquetdale (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 311).

287 *sevyn battellis*. According to *Le Bel*, the English were in three battles of infantry, each battle having two wings of five hundred men-at-arms (p. 49).

316 *north half Wer, toward Scotland*. Maxwell insists that the Scots were on the south bank, on account of an order from Edward on August 3, located at Stanhope, to which may be added a later reference to his having been there (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 312 and note; *Bain*, iii., Nos. 929, 933). But the Scots were certainly at Stanhope Park, on the north bank (see below on 490 and 513). Mr. J. T. T. Brown, also on the strength of the first citation from *Bain*, says that “Froissart and the Scottish poet are both alike in error in placing the Scottish army on the north bank and the English on the opposite of the Wear” (*The Wallace and Bruce Restudied*, p. 144). In what he writes, Froissart simply follows *Le Bel*, who was present. Neither expressly says that the Scots were on the north bank, but it is made clear in both that the river separated the forces. Nothing is said by Barbour of how the English hunted for the Scots, but could not find them; of their rough and hurried ride to the Tyne at Hexham to cut off the expected Scottish retreat; or of their rush south when it was discovered by a squire that the Scots were on the Wear—all of which is graphically described by *Le Bel* and transferred to his own work by Froissart (*Le Bel*, i., ch. xii.; *Froissart*, ch. xvii.).

322 *Stude in a strynth*. They were drawn up in three battles on the slope of the mountain on which they were encamped (*Le Bel*, p. 62). Gray says the Scots were in three divisions on a fine plain, and calls this first position also Stanhope (*Scala.*, p. 154). But it is clear from the detailed accounts of Barbour and *Le Bel* that the Scots were on a hill.

328 *Weris wattir*. “Below this mountain was a strong, swift river” (*Le Bel*, p. 62). “The King took up a position before them on the Wear wattir for three days” (*Scala.*, p. 154).

350 *Archibald ... of Douglas*. Youngest brother of Sir James, “the Tineman” (i.e., the Loser), afterwards Regent of Scotland; killed at Halidon Hill, 1333. His especial share in this raid was to plunder the bishopric of Durham (*Scala.*, p. 154; Maxwell’s *History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i., pp. 70, 71, 75).

353-4 These lines appear to mean that Douglas alternately advanced and retired so as to draw the English on. The Scots on the next day, according to *Le Bel*, “ran forwards and backwards in skirmishing” (*couroient et racouroient tout en eshcarmuchant*, p. 64).

374 *Schir Williame of Erskyn*. It is noted that Bruce died in debt to Erskine (*Excheq. Rolls*, i., p. 404).

396 *Tymbrys for helmys*. Wooden crests on helmets, common in the fourteenth century. Apparently the novelty was not in the crests, but in the material; hitherto they would have been made of *cuir-bouilli* (see *Bk. XII.*, 23, note). Edward III. bore an eagle: “Tymbre de legle (? l’aigle)” (*Bain*, iii., p. lxxviii.).

399 *crakkis of war*. Early cannon (cf. on *Bk. XVII.*, line 250). It is not easy to understand how the English carried these with them in their forced marches over hill and dale. *Le Bel* does not mention them. They do not appear again in warfare till Creçy (1346), if then (*Oman, Art of War*, p. 611).

402 *That nycht*. “The night of St. Peter in August” (*la nuit Saint-Pierre d’aoust, Le Bel*, 64). St. Peter’s Day was August 1, but as Mass was heard on the morrow, the “night” was probably that of July 31, St. Peter’s Eve.

405 *The Inglis men*. *Le Bel* (*Froissart*) does not relate the incidents given by Barbour, or these operations, except in general terms. Many “companions,” he says, with the assistance of their horses, crossed the river, and some on foot; prisoners were taken, and others wounded or killed on both sides; and this went on continuously for three days (p. 64). The English learned from their prisoners that the Scots had neither bread, salt, nor wine, and so they hoped to starve them out; but they had plenty of beef, and were not particular about how they ate it, without salt or bread, “boiled or roasted as it liked them;” as well as some oatmeal, of which they made cakes (i., p. 65).

431 *all arayit*. Each of the first two days, *Le Bel* tells us, the English were drawn up in order of battle, though it came only to fruitless skirmishing.

482 *Fyres in gret foyoun*. The Scots, writes Le Bel, always made a wonderful number of fyres between night and morning; and by this and their blowing of horns and shouting together it seemed as if all the devils of hell were assembled there (pp. 64, 65; *Johnes*, i., ch. xviii.).

486 *Twa myle*. "Two small leagues" (*Le Bel*). "A short league" (*Scala*). "League," as usual, signifies just a mile, as when Le Bel credits the Scots with an average day's march of from twenty to thirty-two "leagues" (p. 4).

488 *defend thame bettir*. "A much stronger place than before" (*Le Bel*, 65).

490 *a park*. Stanhope Park, a hunting-ground of the Bishop of Durham, on the north bank of the Wear. "The Scots entered the park of Stanhope and there lodged; likewise also the English on the other side of a certain stream pitched camp and rested" (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 96). The Scots moved to "within the park of Stanhope" (*dedenz le park de Stanhope, Scala*, p. 154). "The Scots betook themselves to the park of Stanhope" (*Lanercost*, p. 259). The Scottish army was "at Stanhope Park" (*apud Stanhop park, Contin. Chron., Murimuth*, p. 53; *Chron., Knighton*, i., p. 445; *Baker*, p. 97; *Hemingburgh*, ii., p. 298). And those who have rejected Barbour's statement as to the northward position of the Scots, resting on a single citation from Bain (see on 316), would have found, a few pages farther on, an express reference to the time when the Scots were surrounded and beset (*circumdati et obsessi*) in the park of Stanhope by the King's army (*Bain*, No. 957, June 29, 1328). Edward, being so near, could very well speak of himself as "at Stanhope." Bain later admits the Scots were at Stanhope (*Edwards in Scotland*, p. 77).

492 *full of treis*. At Stanhope Park "they were lodged in a wood" (*Le Bel*, 65). "In the woddys of Stanhop park in dyverse bussshementis" (*Fabyan*, p. 439).

495 *Be nychtirtale*. *I.e.*, by night-time, as in Chaucer:

"by nightertale  
He sleep namore than doth a nightingale."

(*Prologue*, 97, 98).

501 *Upon the wattir*. "On another mountain ... also on the river" (*Le Bel*, i. 65).

503 *on the morn*. Barbour gives the Scots only two days in the first position opposite the English, not saying how long they had been already "liand" there, which Le Bel says was eight days. Le Bel says, further, that they left on the third, not the second, night, and that their departure was discovered on the morning of the fourth day (p. 65). If the English arrived on July 31 (*cf.* on 402), and Edward was at Stanhope on August 3 (*cf.* on 316), this would be right. Gray says the Scots shifted camp on the fourth night (*Scala*, p. 154). Fordun suggests only one position, the second (*Gesta Annalia*, cxl.).

513 *on othir half the wattir of Wer*. *Cf. Gesta Edwardi* in note on 490. In Le Bel the river is still between the armies, (pp. 65, 66).

516 *Aucht dayis*. Maxwell affirms that, in saying this, Barbour "either draws on his imagination, or has been misled by his informants" (*Robert the Bruce*, p. 314); and the chronology of the various writers is hard to reconcile. Gray gives six days for the second position (p. 154); Le Bel (Froissart) eighteen (68); Knighton fifteen (*Leycestrensis Chron.*, i. 445); Hemingburgh says the Scots were besieged for fifteen days in Stanhope Park (ii., p. 298). But the author of *Gesta Edwardi* agrees with Barbour in assigning eight days (*octo diebus dicursis*, p. 97), and so does the *Lanercost* writer (p. 259) and Fordun (*Gesta Annalia*, cxl.). Yet Mr. Brown accuses Barbour, in fixing that term, of "always lauding his own side," though these English chroniclers support him (*The Wallace and The Bruce*, p. 145). One document suggests that Edward was at Durham on August 5 (*Bain*, iii., No. 930), but dates and places on legal documents do not always signify what they suggest. The order from Durham was issued in the King's name. Edward was still at Stanhope on August 7 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward III. *s. d.*).

520-1 *ilk day justyng of Wer. And scrymming*. "Every day skirmishing by those who wished to skirmish" (*Le Bel*, 67). *Cf.* throughout Froissart, ch. xviii.

527 *on the nynt day*. "The first night that our lords were lodged upon this (second) mountain" (*Le Bel*, p. 67). In *Scala* apparently the third night (p. 155).

533 *V. hundreth*. "Two hundred men-at-arms" (*Le Bel*, p. 67). "A few" (*Lanercost*, 260; *Gesta Edw.*, 96).

534 *in the night*. "About midnight" (*Le Bel*).

535 *so fer he raid*. "He passed this river a good distance (*bien loin*) from our host" (*Le Bel*).

538 *slELY can he ryd*. "Wherefore no one perceived him" (*Le Bel*).

541 *hew rapys*. See below on 561.

550 *no vachis*. "He suddenly passed through the sentinels of the English" (*Gesta Edw.*, pp. 96-7).

560 *He ruschit on thame hardely*. He fell on the English host most boldly, crying: "Douglas! Douglas! you shall die all, lords of England" (*Le Bel, ibid.*). In *Froissart* it becomes "thieves of England" (*Berners, Johnes*), a version due, apparently, to Froissart's later re-editing of his own work. In Lettenhove's edition (1863) it is "'Glas, 'Glas" (i., p. 102). Knighton says that when Douglas was seen by some English he began to cry in English (*Anglica voce*), "'No warde a seynt Jorge!' as if he were an Englishman" (i. 445).

561 *doune he bare*. Le Bel (Froissart) says Douglas got so far that "he cut two or three cords of the King's tent." "He penetrated (*intravit*) a great part of the army of the King, and came nearly to the King's tent" (*Lanercost*, 260). "He passed through the midst of the English army" (*Gesta Edwardi*, 97).

565 *Thai stabbit, stekit, and thai slew*. "They began, he and his company, to make a great attack. (À faire une grand envaïe et à coper et mehagnier gens et à abatre (car ce fus sus le point dou premier somme) et porterent grand damage a l'oost" (*Froissart* in Vatican MS., ed. Lettenhove, i., chap, xxxiii., p. 102. 1863).

567 *A felloun slauchtir*. "Douglas and his company slew more than three hundred" (*Le Bel*). "Some he slew, some took captive" (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 97). They "slew a great part of the people of the Earls" (*Scala.*, p. 155).

568 *liand nakit. I.e.*, unarmoured. "And he slew or he seased ccc. men, some in their beddes, and some skant redy" (from Berner's *Froissart*, but not in Johnes nor in any of the known editions of *Froissart* nor in *Le Bel*; not, however, a very unusual exercise of the imagination). Barbour's descriptive detail is evidently due to his information. "He gave very many a rude awakening" (*plurimos terribiliter evigilavit. Gesta Edw.*, p. 97). "On his return he slew many in their amazement" (*attonitos. Lanercost*, 260).

577 *That lord, etc. I.e.*, "First one lord and then another was aroused."

614 *cummyn ar thai*. "He himself (Douglas) returned unhurt to his own army" (*Gesta Edw.*, 97); "with very great difficulty" (*Knighton*, i. 445).

638 *ilk day growis*. Edward was still summoning men to his host. Such a summons is dated at Stanhope, August 3 (*Bain*, No. 929).

639 *vattale has*. Le Bel, on the contrary, says the English army was suffering severely from want of food, and that provisions were at a famine price (*toudis avions nous paour de plus grand famine*, pp. 66-68). The final Froissart does not have these passages, but suggests the same thing (p. 24). The *Lanercost* chronicler speaks of their failing victuals (p. 259).

644 *Sic as we haf*. See notes on 405 and 735. Le Bel says the English expected the Scots would be forced by famine to make a night attack (p. 68; *Froissart*, Johnes, p. 24).

657 *A nycht*. "One night."

667 *thou mon heir out*. "You can get out only here."

712 *thai sall let thame trumpit ill*. Evidently in allusion to line 680. "Trumpeting" seems to have been the prelude to any operation. Or the phrase may be in French idiom, introducing the verb *tromper*, to deceive, which, however, would be unusual for Barbour.

731 *blew hornys and fyres maid*. Cf. note on 482.

735 *the nycht wes fallyn*. According to Le Bel, a Scottish knight was that day captured, who, much against his will, informed them that in the morning the Scots lords had arranged that every man was to be armed at vespers (68), and that each was to follow the banner of Douglas wherever he should go, and that every man was to keep it secret; but the Scots knight did not know for certain what their purpose was. The English judged that the Scots, forced by unendurable famine, were about to make an attack on their host (p. 68). Next day it was found that the Scots had departed "before midnight" (p. 69), "leaving the park by night" (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 97). Certain allusions would lead us to infer that the English had, to some extent, got round the Scots. Le Bel declares that the Scots were thought to be planning an attempt to break through the English on two sides (*brisier nostre ost à deux costés*, pp. 68-9). The *Lanercost* writer says the Scots got away to their own country "by moving round the army of the King" (*circueundo regis exercitum versus Scotiam pertransirent*, p. 259). They were surrounded, according to Knighton (i., 445). Cf. also extract 957 from *Bain* in note on 490, and lines 800, 801. Le Bel says that he and some "companions" had to cross the river next day to get to the Scottish encampment, where they found abundance of beef in various forms. The account in the *Scalacronica* is simply that, the third night after the Douglas affair, the Scots broke camp and marched to their own country (*Scala.*, p. 155). Several English chroniclers attribute the escape of the Scots to treachery on their own side (*Murimuth*, 53, 64; *Knighton*, i. 445; *Gesta Edw.*, 97, etc.).

746 *summer*. "Sumpter-horse," as, with a different spelling, in *Wallace*, iv. 53; "Thar tyryt *sowmir* so left thai in-to playne."

766-7 *till consale, etc.* "When the lords heard this they took counsel ... and said that to chase after the Scots would profit them nothing, for they could not be overtaken" (*Le Bel*, p. 69).

770 *Kyng Robert than*. If so, Bruce must have hurried back from Ireland, for on July 12 he granted a truce of one year to the people of Ulster (*Bain*, iii. 922). This Irish campaign appears to have been a failure (*ibid.*, 1191). These are our only allusions to it. In *Scala* it is said that it was the Earls who heard they were besieged (p. 155).

774 *tuenty thousand*. "Five thousand" (*Scala.*, p. 155).

776 *Marche and Angous*. "Patrick, Earl of March, and John the Steward, who styled himself Earl of Angous" (*Scala.*, p. 155). March (cf. note on *Bk. XI. 46*) had joined the Scots some time before February, 1317 (*Bain*, iii. 536). Sir John Stewart of Boncle, or Bonkill, son of Sir Alexander (see on *Bk. IX. 692*), was created Earl of Angus by Bruce (*Scots Peerage*, i. 169).

781 *the sammyn day*. "The very day of their departure" (*Scala*, 155).

798 *Had vittale with thame*. On the contrary, Gray declares that if they had had enough provisions they would have gone back; they were such fierce warriors (p. 155).

## BOOK XX.

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1 *Soyne eftir*. "Not long after" (*nec multum post. Gesta Edw.*, p. 97). It was "lately," on September 22, 1327 (*Northern Registers*, p. 344).

5 *A gret host*. "With a great army" (*North. Reg.*, p. 344).

7 *to Norhame*. Besieged Norham Castle (*ibid.*; also *Fœdera*, iii., p. 975; and *Scala*, p. 155). Robert himself was at Norham (*Scala*). For this and next note, *cf. Scotichronicon*, ii., p. 288.

10 *Awnwyk*. Alnwick. "Besieged the castle of Alnwick for more than fifteen days" (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 97). Alnwick besieged by Moray and Douglas (*Scala*, 155).

15 *mony fair gud chevelry*. At Alnwick "there were great jousts of war by formal agreement" (*estoiert grantz joustes de guere par covenaut taille. Scala*, p. 155).

23-25 *The landis of Northumberland ... gaf he*. "And lands, it is claimed, within the kingdom of England, the said King Robert confers on certain of his followers, and causes charters to be prepared for the grantees" (*North. Reg.*, p. 344; *cf. "thai payit for the seliys fee"*).

27 *raid he destroyand*. The Scots "destroyed Northumberland almost entirely, except the castles, and remained there a long time" (*Lanercost*, p. 260).

31 *Ledaris of hym*. "The Queen and Mortimer arranged everything" (*la royne et le Mortimer le firent tout, Scala*, 156). "By the evil advice of his mother and Roger, Lord of Mortimer" (*Lanercost*, p. 261); "his mother then ruled the whole kingdom" (*ibid.*).

33 *Send messyngers*. The "messengers" (*nuntios*; in *Acts*, messages) and procurators of the King of England were the Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, Henry Percy, William of Ashby-de-la-Zouch (a Mortimer), and Geoffrey Scrope. The negotiations took place at Edinburgh, and were concluded March 17, 1328 (*Gesta Edw.*, p. 98; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., p. 124). A parliament at Northampton finally agreed to the treaty, May 4, 1328 (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. ciii.).

38 *fiff yheir ... scarsly*. David Bruce was born on March 5, 1324.

39 *Johane ... of the Tour*. Having been born in the Tower of London. "Johanam de Turre" (*Lanercost*, p. 261); "Johannam de Turribus" (*Scotich.*, ii., p. 290).

43 *sevin yher*. Born 1321.

44 *monymentis and lettrys ser*. Especially the *Ragman Roll* (Icelandic, *ragmanr*, a coward?), containing a list of the homages to Edward on August 28, 1296, at Berwick, by the churchmen, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and whole community of Scotland, as well as earlier submissions (*Bain*, ii. xxv., pp. 193-214; *cf. also Lanercost*, p. 261; *Knighton*, i. 448-9; *Scotichr.*, ii., p. 289; *Baker*, p. 103). Baker says the Roll was publicly burned at the marriage at Berwick (*ibid.*). The only copies of it that exist are in the *Tower Rolls* (*Bain, ibid.*), with portions of the original instruments of homage; so that this stipulation was never carried out (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., p. 19).

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48 *all the clame*. "Omnem clameum (*sic*) seu demandam" (*Lanercost*, p. 261). *Cf.* for terms of the "Relaxation of Superiority." *Fœdera*, iv., p. 338; York, May 1, 1328.

53 *Fully xx thousand pund*. Twenty thousand pounds sterling to be paid in three years (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., p. 125). Fordun says 30,000 marks out of King Robert's "mere goodwill," in compensation for English losses (*Gesta Annalia*, cxli.). The last payment was in 1331 (*Excheq. Rolls*, cx.).

67 *for the mangery*. The *Exchequer Rolls*, I, cxiv.-cxvii., contain a long list of purchases in the Low Countries for the household of the young people—food, furniture, utensils, etc.

73 *male es*. Fr. *mal aise*, illness. According to Le Bel, Bruce was suffering from the "great sickness" (*la grosse maladie*) in 1327 (p. 48; see also 79). The *Lanercost* chronicler says it was leprosy (*factus fuerat leprosus*, p. 259). Johnes translates Froissart's "grosse maladie" as leprosy (i. 18, 26).

79 *Cardross*. On the Clyde, half way between Dumbarton and Helensburgh, acquired by the King in 1326 in exchange for other lands (*Exchequer Rolls*, I., cxix.).

83 *To Berwik*. The marriage took place on Sunday, July 19, 1328 (*Lanercost*, p. 261); July 17 (*Gesta Annalia*, cxlii.).

85 *the Queyne and Mortymer*. Edward III. himself was not present (*Lanercost*, p. 261).

125 *At that parliament*. The arrangement as to the succession of the Steward and a possible regency were made in a parliament of 1318. Randolph was to be regent, and, failing him, Douglas (*Acts Parl.*, i. 105). Barbour divides the regency; Fordun makes no mention of this (*Gesta Annalia*, cxxxix.).

\*129 *Maid hym manrent and fewte*. Some such ceremony in all likelihood did take place; Barbour's statement is not to be rejected lightly. Le Bel (*Froissart*) says that when the King felt the approach of death he summoned his barons (see below), and charged them, on their fealty, to guard loyally the kingdom for his own David, and when he came of age obey him, and crown him

King, and marry him suitably—in which last detail Le Bel is, of course, astray (p. 79; *Johnes*, i. 27).

151 *Till Cardross went*. He had paid a visit to Galloway, and was at Glenluce on March 29, 1329.

158 *For the lordis*. See note on 129.

167 *Lordingis*. An alternative account of this speech and of the whole circumstances up to the death of Douglas is given by Le Bel (ch. xxv.), and adapted from him by Froissart (*Johnes*, i., ch. xx.). Divergencies or close parallels are noted as they occur. See on these Appendix, F. vi. Baker also has a brief account, citing, as a witness of the doings of Douglas in Spain, Thomas Livingstone, a Carmelite friar, at that time a civilian serving under his command in the Christian army (p. 104).

177 *my trespass*. This sounds like a clerical interpretation; cf. *Bk.* II. 43-5 for a similar comment. In *Le Bel* Bruce opens with the remark that all knew that he had much to do in his time, and had suffered much to maintain the rights of this kingdom (as cited).

178 *my hert fyschit firmly was*. "I made a vow which I have not accomplished and which weighs upon me" (*Le Bel*). "I vowed," etc. (*Baker*, p. 105).

181 *to travell apon Goddis fayis*. "To make war upon the enemies of our Lord and the adversaries of the Christian faith beyond the sea" (*Le Bel*). Froissart does not have the closing phrase. "That I would fight with my body against the enemies of Christ" (*Baker*, p. 105).

183-5 *the body may on na wis, etc.* "Since my body is not able to go or accomplish that which the heart has so long desired, I wish to send the heart for the body to make satisfaction for me and my wish" (*pour moy et pour mon vueil acquittier. Le Bel*, 1904, I., chap. xv.); "to fulfil my vow" (*pour mon voeu achever. Froissart*); "Because alive I shall not be able"—i.e., to go (*Baker*, 105).

188 *cheis me ane*. Le Bel and Baker represent Bruce as himself choosing Douglas for the mission; so, too, does Bower (*Scotichr.*, ii., p. 300).

191-2 *On Goddis fayis, etc.* Cf. above on line 181. Le Bel gives the commission differently and in fuller detail: "That you take my heart and have it embalmed, and take as much of my treasure as will seem good to you for performing the journey, for yourself and all those whom you will wish to bring with you; and that you will carry my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, where our Lord was buried, since the body is not able to go thither; and that you do it as magnificently (*si grandement*) and as well provided with all things and with attendance sufficient, as belongs to your estate; and wherever you come let it be known that you carry as a commission (*comme message*) the heart of the King of Scotland for the reason that his body cannot go thither." In *Johnes* it is, from *Froissart*, "you will deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre"; in *Berners*, "present my heart to the H.S." The Vatican (final) MS. of *Froissart*, however, has "that you carry (the heart) beyond the sea against the heathen (*mescreans*) and as far as to the Holy Sepulchre and leave it there, if you have the fortune to go so far" (*si l'aventure poes avoir d'aler si avant, Lettenhove*, I., chap. xxxviii., p. 119). Bain summarizes a Protection "for seven years," given by Edward III. on September 1, 1329, for James Douglas, "on his way to the Holy Land with the heart of the late Robert K. of Scotland, in aid of the Christians against the Saracens" (No. 991); who also, on the same date, commends Douglas, on this mission, to Alfonso K. of Castile, Leon, etc. (990). In the Pope's absolution for the ecclesiastical offence of mutilating a dead body, dated at Avignon, August 6, 1331, which, of course, proceeds on a narrative furnished from Scotland, it is explained that King Robert had expressly commanded that "his heart should be carried in battle against the Saracens" (*in bello contra Saracenos portaretur*), and that, in accordance with the wish of the King himself, it was carried by Douglas into Spain in battle against the said Saracens (*Theiner, Vetera Monumenta*, No. 498). Baker has it, "that you carry my heart against the enemies of the name of Christ to Gardiavia on the frontier" (*ad frontierii Gardiaviam*, p. 105). Later chroniclers distort the details somewhat, Bower alleging that the heart was to be buried in Jerusalem, and sending both Alfonso and Douglas to the Holy Land; referring the reader, nevertheless, to "Barbour's Bruce" ("Barbarii Broisacus," *Scotichr.*, ii., p. 301); while the *Book of Pluscarden* simply paraphrases Bower, expanding the reference to the Bruce (*legendam dicti excellentissimi principis in nostro vulgari compositam*). Cf. also note in *Brown's Wallace and Bruce*, pp. 136-7, where, however, Mr. Brown's hand is being forced by his theory. Doubtless Bruce's words might be alternatively interpreted; but, from what we know of Douglas, we may conclude that he fulfilled his commission to the letter, and that Barbour is, so far, right. The Vatican *Froissart* shows us how, also, the confusion arose. Scott, in his final note on *The Abbot*, prints a commendation (May 19, 1329) of Melrose Abbey by Bruce to his son David and his successors, in which he says that he has arranged that his heart should be buried there, but makes no mention of a prior destination. Edward I. also had "bequeathed" his heart to the Holy Sepulchre (*Trivet*, p. 413; *Wright's Political Songs*, p. 247).

197 *greting*. "All those who were there began to weep with much compassion" (*Le Bel*).

212 *his bounty*. "I shall now die in peace, when I know that the most suitable man in my kingdom and the most worthy will perform that which I have not been able to perform" (*Le Bel*).

223-231 "Noble sire, a hundred thousand thanks for the great honour you do me, when you charge and entrust to me so noble and so great a thing and such a treasure; and I shall do very willingly what you command concerning your heart, doubt it not, to the best of my power" (*Le Bel*). In *Baker*, "I swear by the heart of Jesus Christ that I shall carry your heart as you have asked me and die fighting with the cursed enemies" (*contra prædamnatos hostes moriturum*, p. 105).

253 *he wes ded.* June 7, 1339, aged fifty-four years and eleven months.

276 *all for his persoune.* This, as may be gathered from all that here precedes, was fully the case. Le Bel, in his earliest reference (ch. i.), refers to him as “the noble King Robert the Bruce, who was King of Scots, and had given often so much trouble to the good King Edward, spoken of above” (Edward I.); and later says that from their exploits these two Kings were reputed “the two most worthy in the world” (p. 107). On the English side: “Indeed, I would speak of Lord Robert the Bruce with the greatest praise, did not the guilt of his homicide and the knowledge of his treason compel me to be silent,” and the writer drops into a couplet to the same effect (*Vita Edw. Sec.*, p. 166). Baker is of the same mind; Bruce was “every inch a soldier” (*per omnia militarem*), save that he was disloyal to his natural lord, which no knight should be (p. 101).

286 *bawlmynyt syne.* According to Le Bel, the heart was taken out and embalmed (p. 81).

292 *solempnly erdit syne.* “He was buried in the honourable manner that became him, according to the usage of the country” (*Le Bel, ibid.*). Froissart adds that “he lies in Dunfermline Abbey.” His skeleton was brought to light in digging in the Abbey in 1819, showing the breastbone sawn up to get at the heart. It is that of a man about six feet high. The mass of the wide, capacious head is to the rear, and the forehead is rather low; the marks of the muscles on the head and neck are very pronounced, and the cheekbones particularly strong and prominent. Four front teeth in the upper jaw are missing, three, apparently, as the result of a blow, the socket being much fractured. The lower jaw is exceptionally strong and deep. For full details see *Archæol. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 435-453. The *fair toume* was brought from Paris to Bruges, and thence, by England, to Dunfermline; the expense of this conveyance and of many other items in connection with the interment are to be found in the *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. i.

318 *To schip till Berwik.* “En Escoce” (*Le Bel, i.*, p. 83); “Montrose,” adds Froissart (*Lettenhove, I.*, chap. xxxix.)

324 *the Grunye of Spanyhe.* Bain makes this comment, reading *Grunye* from E. “The ‘Grunye’ is probably Coruna, called by sailors the ‘Groyne.’ Mr. Skeat’s text makes the word ‘grund,’ taking no notice of the other reading” (iii., p. xxxvii, note). Le Bel takes Douglas first to Sluys in Flanders, making him hear in that port of the operations in Spain (p. 84). In Sluys, he says, he hoped to meet with some going to Jerusalem (p. 83).

326 *Sebell the Graunt.* Seville the Grand, on the Guadalquiver. “First at the port of Valence (Valentia) la Grande” (*Le Bel, 84*). Seville was then the base of operations against the Moors.

336-7 *a fair company, And gold eneuch.* According to Le Bel, Douglas had with him the knight-banneret and six others of the most distinguished men of his country. His plate was of silver (and gold, adds Froissart), and all of his own rank who visited him at Sluys were treated to two kinds of wine and two kinds of spices (ch. xvi.; *Johnes, i.*, ch. xx.).

338 *The Kyng.* Alphonso XI. of Castile and Leon, to whom Douglas had been commended by Edward III.; see note on 190. There was another Alphonso, IV. of Arragon, but he gave no assistance on this occasion (*Mariana, Bk. xv.*, ch. x., p. 255).

361 *The Inglis knyghtis.* Prussia and Spain were the favourite resorts of English knights anxious to war against the infidels. Chaucer’s knight had been in both countries on this errand (*Prologue, 53-56*).

393 *Balmeryne.* A Moorish kingdom in Africa; or, more correctly, of the reigning dynasty, the Banu-Marin. In Chaucer’s *Prologue* it is “Belmarye” (line 57); in *Froissart* the name appears more correctly as Bellemarie (*Johnes, ii.*, p. 484; *Letten., I.*, p. 121, chap. xxxix.).

401 *The vaward.* In Le Bel (*Froissart*) Douglas betakes himself to one of the wings “the better to do his business and display his power” (*son effort, p. 84*).

402 *the strangeris with him weir.* So we gather also from Baker, whose informant served under Douglas. *Cf.* note on 167.

403 *mastir of Saint Jak.* The Master, or head, of the Order of St. James.

407 *To mete their fayis.* On March 25, 1330, at *Tebas de Hardales*, a strong town in Granada (*Mariana, Bk. xv.*, ch. x., p. 255). Fordun, however, dates the battle August 25 (cxliv.).

\*421-32 *Bot ere they joyned, etc.* See on these lines *Appendix D*.

431 *So fer chassit.* The account in *Le Bel* is to the effect that Douglas attacked prematurely, thinking that Alphonso was about to do so, and that he was being followed up. But Alphonso did not move for the reason, we learn from *Mariana*, that the frontal attack of Moorish cavalry was but a feint, and that the real attack, as the King said, was to be in the rear on the Christian camp (*Le Bel, p. 84; Mariana, as cited*). Alphonso was better acquainted than Douglas with the Moorish methods of fighting. Fordun’s narrative is that Douglas and his company were cut off by an ambuscade which, though superior in numbers, they readily attacked (*Gesta Annalia, cxliv.*).

440 *That relyit. I.e.,* the Moors rallied. It was their usual tactics to attempt to draw after them a body of the enemy in pursuit, and then surround the pursuers.

467 *ilkane war slayn thar.* “Not a single one of them escaped, but they were all slain” (*Le Bel, p. 84*).

521 *the leill Fabricius.* Roman consul, 278 B.C. A traitor offered to poison Pyrrhus, but the Roman refused the proposal, and sent information to Pyrrhus (*Plutarch*).

585 *the kirk of Dowglas.* St. Brides, Douglas.

587 *Schir Archibald his sone*. Skeat, in his note on this passage, is all astray. He says that Douglas was never married, that he left only a natural son William, and that this Archibald was his third or youngest brother. But Sir William Fraser is of opinion that Sir James was married, though Sir Herbert Maxwell doubts, and certainly no record of it survives; but he was succeeded in the estates by William, while his brother Archibald "Tineman" (Loser) was killed at Halidon Hill in 1333. He, however, had another son, certainly illegitimate, the Archibald referred to here, who succeeded in 1388 as third Earl of Douglas, and died, after a varied career, in 1400 (Fraser's *Douglas Book*, I., 188-9; *Scalacronica*; Maxwell's *History of the House of Douglas*, i., p. 67 and 114-124; *Acts Parl.*, i. 193-4; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., p. 177). Archibald was known as "the Grim." Mr. Brown cites Fraser to the effect that Archibald erected the tomb "probably about the year 1390, after his succession as third Earl of Douglas" (*Douglas Book*, I., p. 181); and adds the proposition that he could not have done so before his succession, because, according to the *Book of Pluscarden* (1462), his friends "held him in small account because he was a bastard," and because his succession to the estates was disputed (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., p. 194; *The Wallace and Bruce*, pp. 154-5). Mr. Brown's contention, therefore, is that the statement in the text could not have been penned by Barbour in 1375, and that it is not due to him, but to his redactor. The reasoning is not all conclusive; against the plain statement of Barbour there is only an assumption on Fraser's part, and inferences on the part of Mr. Brown which are not necessarily contained in his premisses. Archibald was, no doubt, only a child when his father was killed; but he became Lord of Galloway in 1369, and Earl of Wigtown in 1372. What was there to prevent his erecting a tomb for his distinguished father, except a delicacy of feeling on the side of the "legitimates," which is rather modern than late mediæval? Archibald bought his earldom, built and endowed a hospital near Dumfries, erected Thrieve Castle, and had extensive lands in various parts of Scotland, so that he must have been a man of considerable wealth, besides being, as Warden, the most important figure on the Border. Who or what was then to prevent him honouring the congenial memory of his great father before 1375-6?

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600 *Melros*. Cf. note on 191-2.

604 *And held the pure weill to warrand*. I.e., "And carefully guarded or looked after the interests of the poor."

609 *poysonyt was he*. Moray died at Musselburgh, July 20, 1332. Fordun says nothing of poisoning (*Gesta Annalia*, cxlvi.). But there appears to have been a popular story to this effect, to which, later, was added the detail that his poisoner was an English monk (*Scotichr.*, ii., lib. xiii., ch. xix.). Moray died of the stone from which he suffered towards the close of his life; the rest Hailes considered "a silly popular tale" (*Annals*, vol. iii., App. 2).

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN

It will be noticed that the conception of this battle, alike as to position and tactics, elaborated in the notes in strict conformity with Barbour, differs entirely from that now universally accepted. The engagements of the first day (Sunday) were the outcome of attempts to clear the two paths of approach to Stirling—that through the New Park, and the other on the level below St. Ninians. Both failed, and the means by which their failure was brought about determined the operations of the following day (Monday). This main engagement, however, it has been hitherto held, took place on the banks of the Burn, below or in the neighbourhood of Brock's Brae, with the Burn separating the forces. This is pure misconception. There can be no doubt that the battle was fought on a position roughly at right angles to this—on "the playne," "the hard feld," or level ground east of St. Ninians, reaching back into the angle formed by the Forth and the Bannock. The main data for such a conclusion are these: (1) The English passed the night on the Carse, having crossed the Bannock; (2) the Scots *attacked* early next morning, and to do this "tuk the playne," leaving their camp-followers in the Park, so that they astonished the English by their audacity; (3) in the rout many English were drowned in the Forth and in the Bannock; (4) Edward II., unable to get away, fled to the castle; (5) so did many of his men, as the castle "*wes ner.*" These facts, fully substantiated from both sides, are wholly inconsistent with a site of battle south of St. Ninians, and fix its position between the Forth and the Bannock. Barbour's "pools" are the "polles" in which, according to Hemingburgh,<sup>[57]</sup> the English baggage was bogged and captured after the battle of Stirling Bridge. The English and French (and Irish) chroniclers invariably speak of the battle as that of "Stirling," and Trokelowe calls it the Battle of *Bannockmoor*. For a full discussion of the matter, see my paper on "The Real Bannockburn" in *Proceedings of the Glasgow Archæological Society*, 1908-1909.

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## APPENDIX B BRUCE'S SPEECH AT BANNOCKBURN

BOOK XII. 210-327

It is the privilege of early historians to equip their leading personages with speeches, and in its pertinent, practical character the speech here provided for King Robert is a good example of such—so good, indeed, as to suggest the probability that Barbour is working up some transmitted material. There is on record another speech attributed to Bruce, which formed part of a Latin poem on Bannockburn by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath, Bruce's Chancellor, portions of which are quoted in the *Scotichronicon*.<sup>[58]</sup> This speech consists of twenty-five hexameter lines, and is a rhetorical flourish on Scottish liberty, the miseries inflicted by the English on the country, and the hapless condition of "mother Church," closing in strains of ecclesiastical exhortation. Moreover, it immediately precedes the opening of the battle, while Barbour's version is of the evening before. In the latter a special interest attaches to lines 263-268 and 303-317, which may be compared with the following extracts from a speech by Alexander the Great in *The Vowes*, one of the three romances which make up the Scottish *Buik of Alexander*, the translation of which from the French was probably the work of Barbour himself.<sup>[59]</sup> Alexander says:

"Be thay assailyeit hardely,  
And encountered egerly,  
The formest cumis ye sall se,  
The hindmest sall abased be.

---

Forthy I pray ilk man that he  
Nocht covetous na yarnand be,  
To tak na ryches that thay wald,  
Bot wyn of deidly fais the fald;  
Fra thay be winnin all wit ye weill  
The gudis are ouris ever ilk deill;  
And I quyteclame yow utrely  
Baith gold and silver halely,  
And all the riches that thaires is,  
The honour will I have I wis."<sup>[60]</sup>

To the same purport as these latter lines is a portion of a subsequent address;<sup>[61]</sup> and lines 325, 334 find a similar parallel in:

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"Thus armit all the nicht thay lay,  
Quhile on the morne that it was day."<sup>[62]</sup>



Of the cardinal sentiment in the speech, the origin is probably to be found in the familiar story of the Maccabees, referred to more than once in *The Bruce*. Judas Maccabeus was one of the typical heroes of French romance, and had one metrical romance, at least, devoted to his career. And in 1 Maccabees, chap. iv., we have:

“17. (Judas) said to the people, Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us.

“18. And Gorgias and his host are here by us in the mountain; but stand ye now against our enemies, and overcome them, and after this ye may boldly take the spoils.”<sup>[63]</sup>

## APPENDIX C THE NUMBERS AT BANNOCKBURN

ENGLISH: *One hundred thousand men and ma.*

SCOTS: *Thretty thousand, and sum deill mare.*

These figures have given rise to much discussion, without any very certain result. Yet official data are not wanting—sufficient, at least, to check what is only another example of the wild conjectures of mediæval chroniclers when dealing with numbers. Hemingburgh gives Wallace at Falkirk “about three hundred thousand men”<sup>[64]</sup>—rather more, probably, than the whole male population of Scotland. We need not be surprised, then, at how all such estimates shrink in the cold light of Exchequer figures.

Edward II. summoned all owing him military service,<sup>[65]</sup> which corroborates the statement of the author of the *Vita Edw. Sec.* that “the King exacted from all the service due,”<sup>[66]</sup> as well as that of Barbour—“of England hale the chivalry.” The Earls of Lancaster, Warenne, Arundel, and Warwick did not attend, for a particular reason, but sent their contingents.<sup>[67]</sup> Now, by Mr. Round’s calculations, the whole number of knights’ fees in England did not exceed 5,000;<sup>[68]</sup> Mr. Morris raises the figure to something short of 7,000.<sup>[69]</sup> The important point is, however, that in practice the assessment was only a nominal or conventional one. Thus Gloucester, with 455 fees, was assessed at ten knights.<sup>[70]</sup> Including all grades of horsemen, Mr. Morris puts “the maximum of the cavalry arm” at “about 8,000”; but, all things considered, no such number could ever take the field.<sup>[71]</sup> Edward I. had summoned his full feudal array (*omnes sui fideles*) for the Falkirk campaign, and Hemingburgh says that, when counted, it came to 3,000 men on armoured horses (Barbour’s “helit hors”), and more than 4,000 on unarmoured horses—say, roughly, 7,000 in all.<sup>[72]</sup> Mr. Morris, however, by a generous calculation from the rolls, arrives at 2,400 as the highest possible figure.<sup>[73]</sup> Now, it is to be noted that the author of the *Vita Edw. Sec.*, while lauding the size and magnificence of the host that went to Bannockburn, gives 2,000 men-at-arms as apparently the total of the cavalry, since he simply adds “a considerable body of footmen.”<sup>[74]</sup> On the whole, 3,000 to 4,000 English horse is a higher limit for Bannockburn, when we consider all the difficulties of sufficient armour, remounts, and forage. Mr. Morris thinks 10,000 “impossible,” though he is here calculating on yards of frontage on a site where the battle was not fought.<sup>[75]</sup> About 7,000 is Mr. Round’s free estimate, adopting Hemingburgh’s figure for Falkirk.<sup>[76]</sup> Bain accepts Barbour’s 3,000 heavy horsemen, and suggests 10,000 light horse, but proceeds on no data.<sup>[77]</sup> Mr. Oman calculates that “three thousand ‘equites coperti,’ men-at-arms on barded horses,” means, probably, 10,000 for the whole cavalry,<sup>[78]</sup> but this traverses his Falkirk figures. England never put, nor could maintain, on the field such a mounted force, to say nothing of the difficulty of handling and manœuvring it.

For the foot we have, fortunately, exact figures in the *Fœdera*<sup>[79]</sup>—21,540 men all told, which would include the archers. Only the northern counties—but not all—and Wales are drawn upon, as those of the south would be for a French campaign.<sup>[80]</sup> Such had been the practice of Edward I., whose levies from the northern counties and Wales ranged from 29,400 foot in 1297 to 12,000 in 1301.<sup>[81]</sup> Mr. Morris contends that not till 1322 were infantry drawn from all England for a Scottish campaign (*as cited*), but in this he is wrong. It was done by a special vote of Parliament, and according to a prescribed form, as early as March, 1316, when every township, with some special exceptions, furnished one soldier,<sup>[82]</sup> and again in 1318.<sup>[83]</sup> These are clearly new and special arrangements, and there is thus no reason to believe that the list in *Fœdera*, etc., is not complete, as Mr. Oman suggests, adding, accordingly, a southern contingent of about 30,000 men, though he doubts if “the extreme South” sent its full muster.<sup>[84]</sup> This is quite gratuitous. Lord Hailes, too, contended that the official records are imperfect, and that the numbers given by Barbour “are within the limits of probability.”<sup>[85]</sup> Bain’s authoritative reply is that, “as a rule, the writs were always enrolled, and the Patent Rolls of the time are not defective.”<sup>[86]</sup> This, however, is not always true, and Bain, applying this principle absolutely, is once, at least, led to a wrong conclusion.<sup>[87]</sup>

An important question now suggests itself, but no one has so far raised it: did the levies in these full numbers turn up? They are allotted in round figures: what proportion was actually furnished? That there would be some trouble in securing the conscripts is anticipated and provided for in severe measures for the contumacious.<sup>[88]</sup> This was usual, and even the strong hand of Edward I. could not prevent men from deserting after they had received their wages.<sup>[89]</sup> Here we have,

also, a sufficient basis for an estimate. On May 12, 1301, Edward I. summoned for midsummer 12,000 men from nine of the counties included in the Bannockburn levy—York, as in that case, being assessed at 4,000.<sup>[90]</sup> On July 12 we have the numbers from these counties as they appear on the pay-roll, when it is stated that they had contributed in proportions which give only 5,501 all told; York having sent only 1,193, and Northumberland, assessed at 2,700, providing the largest proportion—2,019.<sup>[91]</sup> The numbers vary slightly on other days, but seem never to have exceeded, if they reached, 50 per cent. of the nominal levy. Mr. Morris works out the same result for the Caerlaverock Campaign of 1300.<sup>[92]</sup> There are no grounds for assuming that things went differently in 1314, and thus over 21,540 men are reduced by about half. It is quite a fair conclusion that not more than 12,000 English foot—which exceeds the proportion above—were actually present at Bannockburn.

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For the foreign contingents no figures exist. Bain thinks they were not “more than a few thousands.”<sup>[93]</sup> The Gascon corps in the Falkirk army should have been 106 mounted men.<sup>[94]</sup> The Hainault and Flanders auxiliaries who shared in the campaign of 1327 amounted to 550 men-at-arms, and were an expensive item.<sup>[95]</sup> The Irish contingent which came to Edward I. in 1304 amounted at most, for a few weeks only, to 3,500 men,<sup>[96]</sup> but to merely 361 in the army of 1300.<sup>[97]</sup>

I would suggest, therefore, for the English army the following round numbers: 3,000 to 4,000 horse of all sorts, 12,000 English and Welsh foot, 3,000 (?) Irish, 1,500 (?) foreigners, or, in a lump sum, 20,000 men of all arms, to which must be added a crowd of non-combatants—servants, traders, and camp-followers generally. Bain (as cited) proposes 50,000; Round, 30,000; Oman, 60,000 to 70,000. I consider 18,000 to 20,000 the most probable range. With even the lower of these numbers, the English commanders in organization and commissariat would have rather more than they could manage.

Barbour’s figure for the Scottish army must be similarly reduced. More than 30,000 would be a huge proportion of the Scottish population of that time, especially as the whole does not seem to have been drawn upon, and of that, as Barbour insists, a good many were still hostile.<sup>[98]</sup> William the Lion was credited in 1173 with a national host of 1,000 armoured horsemen, and 30,000 unarmoured footmen,<sup>[99]</sup> and the latter unit is surely over the score. At Halidon Hill, 1333, the Scots are said to have had 1,174 knights and men-at-arms and 13,500 light-armed men or foot;<sup>[100]</sup> and this chronicler consistently exaggerates. Yet these figures represent a united kingdom. Forty thousand at Bannockburn is the estimate for the Scots of the *Vita Edw.* writer, but the English writers, on their side, grossly overstate the numbers of the enemy, as witness what is said of Hemingburgh above. Bain’s figure of 15,000 to 16,000 is no doubt nearer the mark; “perhaps twenty-five thousand men in all” is Mr. Oman’s conjecture.<sup>[101]</sup> Possibly 6,000 to 7,000 is as near as we can go, adopting Barbour’s ratio, which gives a proportion of 1 to 3 of the English army. The non-combatants here, too, would be numerous. Up to this time Bruce’s men in the field could be numbered only in hundreds, so that as many thousands would represent a very special effort. And note that after Murray’s success over Clifford nearly the whole Scots army gathered round him to see him and do him honour—a fact which is suggestive<sup>[102]</sup> as to its size.

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## APPENDIX D THE THROWING OF THE HEART

BOOK XX. \*421-432

These lines are found only in Hart’s printed edition. Pinkerton thought there was “no reason to view them as an interpolation,” and Jamieson regarded their agreement with the account in the *Howlat*<sup>[103]</sup> “a strong presumption of authenticity.” By Skeat they were at first accepted as genuine, but afterwards, influenced by the reasoning on Barbour’s rhymes of P. Buss in *Anglia*,<sup>[104]</sup> he surrendered them as an interpolation. In the passage of twelve lines three rhymes occur, which are unusual—more strongly, impossible—for Barbour on the basis of his admitted work. These are *battell—tell, to be—de, ho—to*. In the first case, Barbour, it is claimed, elsewhere always uses the “liquid” form *bataill (battalyhe)* to rhyme with another word of the same character as *assaile* or *travaill (travailyhe)*.<sup>[105]</sup> In the second, he “never rhymes *be* with *de* (correctly *dey*),” as Skeat puts it, for *de* (Icel. *deyja*) was still influenced by the terminal semi-guttural, giving it an “impure” sound, whereas “*be*,” with no ghostly after-sound, is quite “pure.” The final example brings together two different values of “*o*,” and, it may be added, in the four cases in which Barbour uses the word, it is in the form *hoyme*.<sup>[106]</sup> These rhyme-tests had also been applied to the same result by Mr. W. A. Craigie.<sup>[107]</sup>

With this conclusion Mr. Brown agrees, “although on slightly different grounds.”<sup>[108]</sup> Hart’s edition, of course, takes a place in his general scheme of redaction. But he would “hesitate to reject the lines on the rimes alone,” and “The *be, de* test” seems to him “quite untrustworthy.”<sup>[109]</sup> Skeat thinks it unanswerable.<sup>[110]</sup> Mr. Neilson pleads “that this canon begs the whole question of the text of the Bruce ... first you find your canon; then you edit out of your text all that is disconform.”<sup>[111]</sup> Arguing specially on its application to *The Legends of the Saints*, he points out that “There are not a few metrical and other solecisms in the Bruce,” and that the “exceptional *e*-rhyme” is the stamp of transition.<sup>[112]</sup> It is to be observed also that Chaucer, Barbour’s contemporary, and more careful in such matters than he, rhymes *ho, y-do* in the

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*Knight's Tale*.<sup>[113]</sup> In the *Alexander* occurs the *tell—battell* rhyme.<sup>[114]</sup> On the whole, the test is perhaps not so conclusive—out of Germany—as Skeat imagines. Further, from the indubitable reference in the *Howlat* to the *Bruce*, Neilson accepts the latter as the sole source of its digression, and the lines as therefore authentic.<sup>[115]</sup>

If, however, what has already been said of the passages from Hart hold good,<sup>[116]</sup> then this one must go with the rest. Fortunately, in this specific case that argument can be greatly strengthened, for the lines have never been tried by their relation to the context and their historic implications, and that obvious and indisputable test puts the question beyond doubt. They have but an outside connection with the narrative of Barbour, and otherwise are in flat contradiction thereto. So much is at once evident from the closing couplet:

“And took it up in gret daintie;  
And *ever in field* this used he.”

It is a series of performances of this kind that is contemplated, not a single example, which is all that Barbour's account gives room for. Douglas is credited with a habit of this sort, “*ever in field*”; while Barbour, like Froissart, knows of only one battle in which Douglas fought while bearing the heart of Bruce.<sup>[117]</sup> Nor is Barbour likely to have omitted such a “point of chivalry” on the part of his twin hero, had a valid tradition of it existed in his day.

The problem becomes clearer when we consider alternative and later accounts of the expedition of Douglas, for which see note on Book XX. 191, 192. Evidently the idea of his going to the Holy Land, as Froissart explains the commission,<sup>[118]</sup> and as it occurs in Bower, gave an opening for embellishment, which expands in the hands of Boece to the extent of thirteen victories achieved by Douglas over the Turks! This, however, is only to give more precision to a composite account contained in the *Buke of the Howlat* of the middle of the fifteenth century, a poem written in glorification of the Douglasses. The author, supposed to be Richard Holland, speaks of the great friendship Bruce had for Douglas: “Reid the writ of thar work to your witness”<sup>[119]</sup>—a clear reference to the *Bruce*, especially as in xxxv. and xxxvi. he paraphrases the reply of Douglas to the King in Book XX. 223, 234. Thereafter, however, he strikes off from Barbour. Douglas goes to “the haly graif,” where—

“XXXVII.

“He gart hallowe the hart, and syne couth it hyng  
About his hals<sup>[120]</sup> (neck) full hende (respectfully), and on his awne hart.”

The story then proceeds:

“XXXVIII.

“Now bot I semble for thi saull with Sarasenis mycht,  
Sall I never sene be into Scotland!”

An extension of the original commission, be it noted, and a motive for what follows:

“Thus in defence of the faith he fure to the fecht  
With knychtis of Cristindome to kepe his command.  
And quhen *the batallis* so brym, brathly and bricht,  
War *joyned* thraly in thrang, mony thousand,  
Amang the hethin men the hert hardely he slang,  
Said: ‘Wend on as thou was wont,  
Throw the *batell* in bront,  
Ay formast in the front,  
Thy fays amang;’

“XXXIX.

“‘And I sall followe the in faith, or feye to be fellit,—  
As thi lege man leill, my lyking thow art.’

---

Thus frayis he the fals folk, trewly to tell it,  
*Aye quhile he coverit* (recovered) *and come to the Kingis hart*,  
*Thus feile feildis he wan, aye worschipand it*,  
Throwout Cristindome kid (known)  
War the dedis that he did,  
Till on a time it betid  
As tellis the writ.”<sup>[121]</sup>

So we go back to Barbour (“the writ”), but in the final scene there is no mention of throwing the heart, any more than in the genuine *Bruce*, though it is stated that “His hardy men tuk the hart syne upon hand.”<sup>[122]</sup>

Obviously we have in these stanzas, and especially in the words underlined, the source of the lines in the *Bruce*, which are further in express contradiction to Barbour’s narrative, and have no place in it. The threefold argument leads inevitably to the one conclusion that these lines are an interpolation, and, as a corollary, that their source is the *Howlat*. Mr. Amours, in editing that poem,<sup>[123]</sup> has gone so far as to say that this is “almost certain.” I would remove the qualification.<sup>[124]</sup>

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## APPENDIX E THE “ALEXANDER” AND THE “BRUCE”

*The Buik of the Most Noble and Vailyeand Conquerour, Alexander the Great* is an anonymous Scots translation of three French romances in the Alexander cycle, dated, in a rhyming colophon, 1438, and published for the Bannatyne Club in 1831. Between this translation and the *Bruce* there is a remarkably intimate and undisguised connection, not only in spirit and method, but in “the diction as a whole, the choice of words and the arrangement of the sentences, (and) the abundant use of alliteration,” to such an extent that “in reading the *Buik of Alexander* one would often think that he discerned the singer of the *Bruce*.”<sup>[125]</sup> A few examples have been given in the notes, but for a full survey of this literary phenomenon the reader must go to the dissertation quoted from above, or to Mr. J. T. T. Brown’s *The Wallace and the Bruce Restudied*, pp. 100-112 (Bonn, 1900), or Mr. Neilson’s *John Barbour, Poet and Translator* (London, 1900), which is devoted to the subject; or, for the parallels in the Bannockburn account, to Mr. Neilson’s article on Barbour in Chambers’s *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, vol. i.

On the facts there is no dispute; for explanation three hypotheses have been put forward. Hermann, accepting the 1438 date, concludes that the translator of the *Alexander* was so familiar with the language of the *Bruce*—“here and there, indeed, knew it by heart” (*stellenweise es wohl auswendig wusste*)—that his translation was necessarily strongly influenced thereby.<sup>[126]</sup> This is inadmissible; the French poems are earlier than the *Bruce*, and to these the links of connection ultimately go back. The relationship is really deeper than the mere language of the translation, as Hermann himself indicates. Mr. Neilson, accordingly, in a detailed and forcible argument, claims Barbour himself as the translator of the *Alexander*, arguing that, the literary proofs being so conclusive, the date given must be an error, “scribal or printer’s.”<sup>[127]</sup> Given Roman numerals to begin with, such a slip is not in the least unlikely; variations of this sort occur in the *Bruce* itself,<sup>[128]</sup> and 1438 may have been a misreading of 1338, or the date may be that of the scribe’s copy, not of the actual work. Mr. Neilson has an ingenious section on the wayward fortunes of dates.<sup>[129]</sup> Thus, reversing Hermann’s thesis, he holds that “Barbour’s mind and memory had been steeped in the *Alexander* when he wrote the *Bruce*.”<sup>[130]</sup> Mr. Neilson’s argument and conclusion are vigorously contested by Mr. Brown in a *Postscript* to the work cited. His more elaborate hypothesis is that David Rate translated the *Alexander* in 1437, and that “John Ramsay, Sir John the Ross, wishful to improve the plain song of John Barbour, used the translation of the *Alexander* extensively, taking freely whatever he required.”<sup>[131]</sup> Mr. Brown’s negative criticism is independent of this proposition which is involved in his wider theory regarding the construction of the *Bruce*. The eclectic conclusion of the writer in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. ii., is: “Either the book (*i.e.*, the *Alexander*) is the work of Barbour preserved in a somewhat later form, or the author was saturated with Barbour’s diction, so that he continually repeats his phrases.”<sup>[132]</sup>

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In the dust of the conflict a crucial fact has gone unobserved—namely, that one of the parallel lines enumerated by Brown and Hermann appears in the portion of the *Bruce* incorporated in his own work by Wyntoun.<sup>[133]</sup> Here, then, we have a line of the alleged translation of 1438 occurring in the “*Bruce*” as it existed before 1420. Thus the only outstanding difficulty of Mr. Neilson’s proposition disappears. The effect on the rival propositions is obvious.

## APPENDIX F MR. BROWN’S “SOURCES” FOR THE “BRUCE.”

In pursuance of his “hypothesis of fifteenth-century redaction” of the *Bruce*, Mr. Brown applies what he claims to be “fair and ordinary tests” to six “selected examples,” in order to show that his hypothesis “has a basis in demonstrable fact.”<sup>[134]</sup> I shall notice such of these very briefly, premising that I do not consider Mr. Brown’s use of his tests either “fair” or “ordinary.” So much, I think, will appear.

1. *The Trojan War, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and King Arthur.*

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(a) The only thing urged against the *Trojan War* passage<sup>[135]</sup> is that it is in the suspicious company of the others, and these, Mr. Brown suggests, are derived from Chaucer’s *Monk’s Tale*, from which he produces a selection of lines to parallel those in the *Bruce*. It may be urged,<sup>[136]</sup> at the outset, that two contemporary poets dealing with the same set of historical events are very likely to display similarities. As Chaucer himself begins by saying—

“The storie of Alisaundre is so commune,  
That every wight that hath discrecioune  
Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune.”

But even in Mr. Brown’s “selected” lines it is the divergencies rather than the similarities that stand out. Chaucer says nothing of “Babilony’s tour”; “his awyne hows” is no parallel to “of thyne owne folk”; and “Bot, ar he deit, his land delte he” has no equivalent whatsoever in the *Monk’s Tale*. Yet Chaucer has forty lines to Barbour’s eight. In fact, the “example” is a stock one, even to its phraseology, as witness these excerpts from sources half a century and more earlier than either poet: *Commendatio Lamentabilis* on Edward I. in 1307, “magnus Alexander ... Nam ille annos regnans duodecim veneno hausto vita defungitur (15); *Vita Edwardi Sec.* (c. 1326). Sed ille magnus Græcorum imperator Alexander, *totius orbis domitor, cum cunctas nationes orbis subicit, per familiares proditores toxicatus occubuit.*” Do such close parallels prove that either Barbour or Chaucer borrowed from chronicles which they never saw?

(b) Mr. Brown argues that the *Julius Cæsar* parallels are “not less remarkable for significant agreement, as regards the sequence of the narrative,”<sup>[137]</sup> and that “so far as concerns the diction it (the *Bruce* passage) approaches even nearer the Chaucerian original.”<sup>[138]</sup> But where Chaucer speaks of Cæsar conquering “thoccident” and “the orient,” Barbour enumerates the countries. Is this similarity of diction? According to Mr. Brown, he is giving “simply an expansion of the Chaucerian phrases.”<sup>[139]</sup> Elsewhere, in such a case, Barbour is convicted of “summarising” or “assimilating,” here of “expanding.” This is Mr. Brown’s “fork” from which no author could escape. In twelve lines Barbour comments on Cæsar’s conquests, his imperial position, and his death, and in forty-eight Chaucer gives a detailed biography introducing Pompey, of whom Barbour says nothing, and Barbour is thereupon charged with following “the sequence of the narrative”—as if he could avoid doing so! That Cæsar by both poets is styled “Emperor” goes for nothing; that was the medieval way; as also was the statement that he was killed in “the Capitol,” as Shakespeare, too, believed. But the most striking note of difference remains. Barbour says of Cæsar—

“Hys eyn with his hand closit he,  
For to dey with mar honeste.”<sup>[140]</sup>

Now Chaucer remarks: “Of honestee yet had he remembrance,”<sup>[141]</sup> and Mr. Brown enrols the word “honestee” among the things “not to be explained either as commonplaces or as mere coincidences.”<sup>[142]</sup> We see Barbour’s idea of his “honeste”; this is Chaucer’s:

“His mantel over his hypes casteth he  
For no man sholde seen his privetee.”<sup>[143]</sup>

Mr. Brown here seems to have followed Cæsar’s example and “closit hys eyn”!

(c) The only point made with regard to the *Arthur* lines<sup>[144]</sup> is the calling of Lucius “Emperor,” and regarding this see my note on the passage. Geoffrey of Monmouth does the same. That Wyntoun corrects Huchown, and not Barbour, in this usage—well, Mr. Brown can make all he can of that. Barbour’s dozen lines on the familiar *Arthur* story is charged with being “an excellent summary of the *Morte Arthure*,”<sup>[145]</sup> a poem of 4,364 lines! No “expansion” here!

2. The *Alexander* allusions in Bks. III., X. With reference to these see Appendix E. But why should Mr. Brown speak of “the famous grey palfrey of Lord Douglas” on the strength of one notice in Bk. II. 118? There is nothing to justify the epithet “famous”; and *Ferrand* was no more an unusual name for a “grey” horse than *Blanchard* for a white one. Bishop Lamberton might have had “a grey” as well as Eumynedus.<sup>[146]</sup>

3. *The Ferumbas Romance*. I have analyzed this passage in my notes to Bk. III., 435-462. Mr. Brown contends that the adoption of the form *Ferumbas* for the French *Fierabras* “points to a knowledge on the part of the Scottish poet” of either the *Syr Ferumbas* or the *Sowdone of Babylone*, in both of which this form occurs. It is possibly an adaptation of the spelling *Fierenbras*, which occurs in *The Destruction of Rome* and also in a fragment of the romance.<sup>[147]</sup> But there is nothing more remarkable in Barbour’s intrusion of the “m” here than in his calling Lubaut or Lybaut, *Lumbard* in Bk. X. 324,<sup>[148]</sup> or Capaneus, *Campaneus*.<sup>[149]</sup> More significant is the name *Lavyne* for *Balan*, which is the normal form for all the existing texts, French and English, save the *Sowdone*, where we have *Laban*, *Lavane* and *Lavyne*, and *The Destruction of Rome* (French), which has *Balan* and *Laban*, the latter of which has given the spelling in “v.” Mr. Brown, however, rules out the *Destruction* for Barbour, as being “merely related to the Charlemagne cycle,”<sup>[150]</sup> though Dr. Hausknecht accepts it as the original of the first part of the *Sowdone*.<sup>[151]</sup> Why, then, should Barbour, too, not have known it? Mr. Brown’s conclusion is that the name, with other material, points to the whole passage being based on the *Sowdone*, and the *Sowdone* being post-Chaucerian—in which opinion he follows, and even goes beyond, Hausknecht—of the beginning of the fifteenth century, after Barbour’s death, it obviously follows that the lines cannot have been his work.<sup>[152]</sup> Against this may be put Hausknecht’s own conclusion, to which Mr. Brown makes no reference: “It is worthy of notice that the account of the *Fierabras*

romance, as given by Barbour, may be considered, on the whole, as identical with the subject of the French *Fierabras* or the English *Syr Ferumbras*, but not with the *Sowdan*, as there is no mention made of the combat before Rome, nor any trace of what makes up the first part of the *Sowdan*.<sup>[153]</sup> A few additional facts will substantiate Hausknecht's statement.

In the *Sowdone* the twelve peers are shut up in "Egrymor"; Barbour gives "bot eleven."<sup>[154]</sup> Mr. Brown says of the *Bruce* account that, "Every line is traceable in the *Sowdone*."<sup>[155]</sup> There is no trace of line 452, or of Lavyne's "flot" in 456; Charlemagne, instead of "being joyful" at the news that his peers were alive, there bursts out in anger against the traitor Ganelon.<sup>[156]</sup> Conclusive, on Mr. Brown's own case, is the fact, noted by Hausknecht, that the relics mentioned by Barbour "differ from all other versions."<sup>[157]</sup> It is not "off the croice a gret party"<sup>[158]</sup> in the *Sowdone*, but simply "the crosse, the crown, the nailes bente";<sup>[159]</sup> and there is no mention of "the sper."<sup>[160]</sup> Nothing is said of the cross in the *Fierabras* or the *Syr Ferumbras*, and the *Destruction* has the crown of thorns, the cross, the nails, and the "signe"<sup>[161]</sup> or shroud. Nor did Barbour invent "the sper," for it is spoken of in this connection, though not in the final distribution, in the Provençal version of the *Fierabras*: "*e del fer d'una lansa*," the spear-head.<sup>[162]</sup> It would seem, then, that Barbour was using a version of the romance different, in certain particulars, from any we now possess. At any rate, Mr. Brown has to get round these awkward corners before he can transfix Barbour on *Lavyne*.

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4. *The Tydeus Episode*, Bk. VI. 179-268. It may be granted that Barbour here is not, as Skeat supposed, drawing directly on the *Thebaid* of Statius, even in memory. But then no more is Lydgate in his *Story of Thebes*;<sup>[163]</sup> having used, according to Dr. Koeppel, some French prose epic based on the classical story,<sup>[164]</sup> now lost, or giving in his poem "a transcript from a French rendering of Statius."<sup>[165]</sup> There was ample material, including even, as Gaston Paris has suggested, an abridgment of Statius in Latin prose. Mr. Brown contends that Barbour's "redactor" borrowed from Lydgate. But here, again, the differences are sufficiently vital to thwart such a conclusion. "Betwix ane hye crag and the se"<sup>[166]</sup> has no equivalent either in Statius or Lydgate, as is clear from Mr. Brown's own citations;<sup>[167]</sup> nor has the detail that the "gret stane ... throu the gret anciente, Wes lowsyt reddy for to fall,"<sup>[168]</sup> for which Lydgate has:

"Beside he saw with water turned down  
An huge stone, large, round, and square."<sup>[169]</sup>

In an inductive literary argument differences must be accounted for as well as similarities, and any other possible sources must be satisfactorily eliminated. Opinions as to "the classical parsimony of independent translators"<sup>[170]</sup> are purely speculative.

5. *The Hannibal lines*, Bk. III. 207-248.—Here Mr. Brown's argument needs only to be summarily stated to show its inadequacy. Wyntoun borrowed from Barbour in some instances, but not in this; therefore, since there are similarities in the way the same story is told, the *Bruce* lines are drawn from the *Cronykil*.<sup>[171]</sup> Wyntoun confesses to having translated from Orosius, Mr. Brown says through Martinus Polonus, and he follows his author closely. Barbour's narrative is brief and, in several details, faulty, in which he diverges from both the Latin author and his Scots translator.<sup>[172]</sup> The startling error in chronology, especially, "would not be readily made by one using Martinus at first hand," but with the *Cronykil* before him the writer was quite likely to do so!<sup>[173]</sup> The peculiar "touches" in the *Bruce* passage are noted, but unexplained. It is assumed that "The agreement with Martinus is much too close for it to be considered to be written from memory,"<sup>[174]</sup> and "there is nothing in Martinus that should lead us to expect independent translators to ascribe such a victory to God and in terms so similar:

"Bot throw Goddis gret powste."<sup>[175]</sup>  
"Bot throw the mycht of Goddis grace."<sup>[176]</sup>

But the terms are not "similar," and both are a mediæval rendering of *divina miseratio* in Orosius and Polonus. The whole argument in this connection is involved and haphazard. What is there illegitimate in the simple hypothesis that Barbour wrote from a well-stored but not perfectly accurate memory, and that Wyntoun preferred the first-hand to the second-hand source? So we explain both similarities and differences. Wyntoun's lines are a plain following of his Latin author; Barbour's a brief summary, with expansions and comments of his own leading up to the moral he wishes to enforce; and in this case Mr. Brown cannot point to a single line in common.

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6. *Froissart and the Bruce*.—Here Mr. Brown prints his parallels in full, and the matter can be safely left to the judgment of the unprejudiced reader. It need only be remarked that Froissart (1) calls Douglas William instead of James; (2) sends the heart to the Holy Sepulchre<sup>[177]</sup>; (3) makes Bruce choose Douglas; (4) embarks him at Montrose; (5) takes him to Sluys; (6) lands him at Seville: while Barbour (1) is right as to Douglas; (2) sends the heart against "Goddis fayis"; (3) makes the barons choose Douglas; (4) embarks him at Berwick; (5) says nothing of Sluys; and (6) lands him at Valentia. Of Barbour's "motive" lines, of the repentance for blood-spilling and the saving of his sins,<sup>[178]</sup> Froissart (or Le Bel) has no trace. The two narratives are independent, though, in their trend, alike.

## APPENDIX G LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The language of the *Bruce* is Northern English, the dialect spoken north of the Humber. Barbour himself calls it "Inglis" (Bk. IV. 253), and Scottish writers down to the sixteenth century do the same. The name "Scots" is therefore a term of pure convenience, signifying the English spoken within the political borders of Scotland, which continued to be an independent literary medium after the Northern English of England had ceased to be such, and had yielded place to the standard dialect of Chaucer and his successors. But the language of the Aberdeen Barbour is substantially that of the Yorkshire Richard Rolle.

The most obvious characteristic of the northern tongue is that in development it was far ahead of its southern contemporary, in so far as it had absolutely got rid of inflections, not even retaining the final *e* which casts its shadow over Chaucer. Where the final *e* occurs in the *Bruce* it is non-significant and unsounded. Like the variable spelling, it is the result of the writing of English by scribes accustomed to the sounds and orthography of contemporary French, which was rich in final *e*'s<sup>[179]</sup>—a process which had seriously complicated the straightforward phonetic spelling of Old English. A peculiar Scots fashion, however, was the representation of the long vowels by a combination with *y* or *i*, sometimes in addition to a final *e*, which came to be regarded as the sign of a long vowel. Thus we have such groups as *mar*, *mair*, *mayr*: *done*, *doyn*, *doyne*. In these and similar cases *y* is simply an alternative form of *i*; at first it would be written before letters like *m*, *n*, *u*, where *i*, having no dot, might be mistaken for a part of the succeeding letter; then in practice the two would become interchangeable according to the caprice of the writer. In this matter the scribe of C is rather more regular than that of E. Now, such a diphthong as *ai* was in time reduced to a simple sound, when the *i* became superfluous, and came to be looked upon as a sign of length. With this function it was afterwards, at the pleasure of the writer, transferred to the company of other long vowels where there was no original diphthong. Thus we have the long vowel sound represented in three ways—simple, with following *i* (*y*), or with terminal *e*. In cases like *tais*, *gais*, however, the *i* is part of the termination of the present tense of the verb, of which Barbour is particularly fond.<sup>[180]</sup>

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But while Scots—in the sense indicated above—had thus early parted with its inflections, it was, on the other hand, more conservative than the southern dialects in its treatment of the vowel sounds. It retained, for example, the Old English *ā*, which in Southern English was rounded into broad *o* (*oa*)—*cf.* *ga*, *stane* (O.E. or A.S. *gan*, *stan*) for *go*, *stone*. In the *Bruce* (X. 199; XII. 299) the rhyme *more*, *before* may show the rounding influence of *r*.<sup>[181]</sup> Vowels in words of French origin show slight modification. Anglo-French nasal *a* before *m*, *n* tends to become *au*, whence *daunger*, etc., and *o* or *u* to become *ou* as in *baroun*, *felloun*. *Ai* and *ei* incline to merge in long *e* as *feble* (O.F. *faible*), and *sesyt* (O.F. *seisir*); but *ai* may also become *a*—*e.g.*, *tratour* for O.F. *traitor*.

Aphæresis occurs in such shortened forms as *stroy* (destroy), *semble* (assemble), etc.

The following peculiarities may be noticed among the consonants:

*ch* sometimes = "tch" in middle and end of word—*e.g.*, *fech* = fetch (II. 532).

*h* is silent in *hoost*, as in all Anglo-French words of Latin origin, and sometimes drops out—*e.g.*, *ost* (II. 559, etc., O.F. *ost*), also in *ayris* (heirs, V. 520).

*b* in combination with *m* is dropped both in pronunciation and spelling. *Cf.* *chamyrr* (II. 97), *tumlit* (IV. 182, etc.). C *Hummyr* for Humber; E *Humbre* (XV. 538).

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*d* usually dropped after *n*—*e.g.*, *henmast* = hindmost (XII. 268, etc.); sometimes intrusive—*e.g.*, *suddandy* (VI. 11), but *suddany* (VI. 220). In *avantage*, *aventure* from French the English *d* is intrusive.

*f* represents final *ve* in *pruf* or *preif*, *leiff*, *driff*, *knaf*, *haf*, etc., retaining the voiced sound (*v*) which it had in A.S. between vowels, and *r l* and vowels.

*g* in words of French origin has before *e*, *i*, the English sound = *da(j)*, which was also then the French one—*e.g.*, *liege*, *jugis*.

*l* as indicating merely a long vowel is unsounded in *walknyt* (VI. 296), *walk* (wake, VII. 179, etc.). So we have also *falt* (VI. 345, etc.) and *fawt* (III. 298); *realte* and *reawte*, etc. Skeat holds that the *l* in the first case represents but a way of writing the first *k*, so that the words should be *wakk*, etc., but this does not cover the second case.<sup>[182]</sup>

*m* and *n* are often interchanged, as in *confort*, *manteme*, etc.

*ng* becomes *n* before *th* as *lenth*, *strenth*, etc. *Cf.* also Grammar. The nasal *ng* may take the place of the liquid *n*, as in *ryng* (I. 78, etc.) for "reign" (Fr. *regner*). The French nasal *nce* is represented by *ng* or *nch*—*e.g.*, *Vallang* (II. 201) or *Vallanch* (V. 472) for "Valence."

*r*. Metathesis of *r* is very characteristic of the Northern dialect—*e.g.*, *fryst* (first), *brist* (burst, A.S. *berstan*), *tursit* (O.F. *trusser*), etc.

*s* is changed to *sch* in *schir*, *isch* (issue), etc.; but on the other side we have *sall*, *suld* (shall, should) and *Inglis*.

*z* has in *Fiz* the Anglo-French sound *ts*, as in *rats*.

## APPENDIX H GRAMMAR

### NOUNS

*Singular—Possessive Case.*—1. The inflected genitive or possessive is formed by adding *ys* or *is*; MS. E, on the whole, shows a preference for the former. Sometimes the final consonant is doubled. Cf. *a manis hand* (VII. 580), to *mannys fude* (X. 189).

2. Nouns denoting relationship are uninflected, as in Anglo-Saxon: *Mordreyt his sistir son* (I. 557). *Till his brothiris pes* (XI. 652) is an exception found in both MSS. For *And sperit of his brotheris fair* (XVI. 21) in C, E has *brodyr*.

NOTE.—*Wode-syde* (E *woddis sid*, IX. 139), *sonne-rising*, *hous end* (VII. 163), all common combinations. Editors, however, usually read the termination of the last as *housis*, though it seems to fall under the same category.

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*Plural.*—1. The plural also is in *ys* or *is*, more seldom *es*, representing A.S. *as*. It “formed a distinct syllable in monosyllables and words accented on the final syllable.”<sup>[183]</sup> The latter part of the statement is not, however, uniformly true. Cf. *battalis* (XI. 122), *bischoppes and prelatys* (XX. 294), etc., which are dissyllables.

2. Simple *s* occurs only after *r* and *y* (*i*)—*galays*, *werriours*, etc.—but *spury*s, *baneris*, *towris* also occur. *Fey*s (I. 58) and *fay*s (I. 223) are to be read as two syllables.

3. Final *f* (*ff*) is generally changed to *v*, as *theif*, *thevis*; but *wif* preserves the *f* throughout, as *wifis*, *wiffys*, etc. (E, however, in XII. 246, has *wyvis*); and *lif* has *lyvis* (XI. 590), or *livis* and *lyffis* (X. 106), or *liffis* (IV. 137).

4. Words ending in *er*, *ir*, *yr*, *yn*, *ill* for the most part reject the final vowel before the ending of the plural: *dochtrys*, *lettres* or *lettrys*, *wapnys*, etc. Where the vowel is retained, it is silent, as in *schulderis* (IX. 356), *letteris* (XVII. 31, 39), etc.

NOTE.—*Burges* in XVI. 80, XVII. 236, is clearly unaltered in the plural, and this would seem to apply also to *marras* (VIII. 35), *hous* (VIII. 514, etc.), and *mos* (VIII. 173), which are usually read as three and two syllables respectively. Cf. on *Singular* (2).

5. Of strong plurals, besides *men* and its compounds, *ky* and *brethir* by change of vowel (*Umlaut*), we have *eyn(e)* (A.S. *eagan*), with singular *e* or *ey* (VI. 523), *oxin* or *oxyne* (X. 381, 388), *schoyne* (II. 510). These (with *hosen* and *fan* (*faes*)) are the only plurals in *n* preserved in Northern English.

6. Some old neuters (A.S.) take no inflection in the plural: *deir*, *hors*, etc.; *hous* has *hous* and *housis* (X. 60, etc.), but cf. on (4) (note); *thing* has *thing* (XI. 27, etc.) and *thingis*. Cf. also *gudis* and *gude* (XVII. 517, 521). One form is in *er* or *ir*, *childer* (XII. 246) or *childir* (XVII. 515), A.S. *cildru*.

7. Nouns indicating time, space, quantity, weight, and number are unchanged in the plural: *fifty yheir* (in I. 522 occurs *ten yheris*, quite an exceptional case), *tuelf moneth*, *six and fourty wyntir* (A.S. plural also *winter*), *twa myle*, *tuenty thousand pund*, etc. For *paris* in C (XIII. 463), E reads *payr*. In XII. 234 C has *thre gret avantage*, where E gives *avantagis*, but reads *vasselagis* (!) to rhyme.

8. Only *men* suffers inflection in the plural possessive: *the Inglis menis fewte* (VIII. 19), *of othir mennis landis* (XI. 148). In *till Scottis men possessioune* (XVII. 202) we may have, as Henschel suggests,<sup>[184]</sup> a piece of “scribal carelessness;” but Hampole undoubtedly uses this as a valid form:

“Sal dede *men* banes be set togyder  
Thurgh messes, and rightwis *men* prayers.”

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### PROPER NOUNS.

In general, these follow the common nouns in their forms, but note:

1. Two names ending in *s* have no inflection for the genitive: *King Adrastus men* (II. 529), *Thomas prophecy* (II. 86). This occurs also in Chaucer.

2. *Douglas* has both flectionless and inflected forms: *the Douglas men* (X. 398), *the Lord Douglassis men* (XX. 481).

3. Possessive or genitive formed by *his*: *Hannyball his mekill mycht* (III. 232). Cf. also VI. 435, 446. Originally, as here, confined to proper names. A special example is in the reading of C (XVII. 940): *Berwyk his toune*; E *Berwykis*.

### ADJECTIVES.

1. There is no distinction in the *Bruce* between strong and weak adjectives, the latter in Chaucer being indicated by a final *e*, and used after the definite article, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, etc., nor is the plural similarly distinguished from the singular. In all these cases the



Scots adjective is invariable; the final *e*, which often occurs, is of no grammatical significance. There is no difference between *the gud Erll* (X. 686) and *the gude Erll* (XX. 603), while the plural is *gud werriours* (XX. 416).

2. The only example of inflection is the form *aller*, genitive plural (*er* = *-ra*, A.S. *eal-ra*). It occurs once: *through thar aller hale assent* (I. 137).

3. The comparative and superlative are formed by adding *ar* or *er* (seldom *ir*) and *est* or *ast*. In words of two and more syllables *mar* (*mair*) and *mast* (*maist*) also occur. The same rule applies to adverbs. The final consonant of a monosyllable may be doubled: *thikkest* (VIII. 81), but also *thikast* (XVII. 156).

4. Change of vowel (*Umlaut*) appears in two cases—*sterkar* (E *starkar*) (XV. 491) and *eldest* (I. 51, IV. 71). *Ill* or *evill* is the Northern form for *bad*, compared with *wer* or *war*, *werst* (III. 192). *Mor*, for *mar*, occurs twice to rhyme with *befor* (X. 199, XII. 299). *Erg* gives *erar*.

5. After the comparative comes usually *than*, which is always used by Rolle, but there are four examples of *na—wes starkar fer na he* (VI. 538), also III. 229, II. 519, X. 637.

#### NUMERALS.

1. *Ane* before a consonant sometimes becomes *a*: *in a nycht and a day* (III. 429). *The tane* and *the ta* are compounds of this numeral, with the old neuter *thaet* (*thet*) of the definite article, really *thet-ane*, *thet-a*. The former is a substantive, the latter an adjective: *the tane suld be kyng* (VI. 186), *the ta part* (III. 239). Similarly *the tothir* = *thet othir* (I. 7, etc.), which is throughout used for the ordinal “the second,” as *formast* is sometimes used for “the first”: *Fule-hardymnt the formast is, And the tothir is cowardis* (VI. 337, 338).

2. Note *thresum*, *fiffsum*, *sex sum*, where “sum denotes conjunction” (Jamieson’s *Dictionary*), three, etc., together; *half deill* (A.S. *dǣl*, a part); *twa part* = two parts; *yneuch*, singular (usually adverb), used for quantity, and *ynew* (*enew*), plural, for number. Cf. XX. 337, and I. 558.

N.B.—For demonstrative, etc., adjectives, see also Pronouns, Demonstrative, etc. Note *sam(m)yn* (same) as adjective and adverb (V. 72, XII. 49, etc.). Distinguish *ilk(e)* = same (A.S. *ylc*) from the distributive *ilk* (A.S. *ǣle*) = each. Others are *sik* (*syk*), *swilc*, etc.

#### PRONOUNS.

*Personal*.—1. In MS. E besides *I* is found the strong form *Ik* or *Ic* (A.S. *Ic*). The latter is entirely wanting in C, which has everywhere *I*.

2. The third person feminine is *scho* (A.S. *sēo*), once spelled *sche* (XIII. 635), a Southern effect, where, however, E has *scho*.

3. Note the gen. sing. mas. and gen. plur. in *magre his*, in spite of him, and *magre thairis*, in spite of them.

*Possessive*.—1. The genitive cases of the personal pronouns are most often adjectives. Before words beginning with a vowel they are *mine*, *thine*; before words beginning with a consonant they become *my*, *thi*; words beginning with *h* may have either form.

2. The forms used absolutely are *myn*, *his*, *ours*, *yhouris*, *thaires*: *That suld be myn* (V. 223), etc.

*Reflexive*.—1. The personal pronouns serve as reflexives: *I will me spied* (XI. 638); *And went hyr hame* (V. 177).

2. There is also the form in *self*, more seldom *selvyn*, *selvin*. When the subject is a personal pronoun this may drop out: *that himself suld wele Kepe the entre* (XI. 445).

3. *Self* is both singular and plural: *That thai mycht help thameself* (X. 619).

*Demonstrative*.—1. The Northern plural of *this* is *thir*, which supplanted *thas* as *thise* did in the Midland. Its origin is obscure.<sup>[185]</sup>

2. The plural of *that* is *tha(i)*. Distinguish from *thai* (they), 3rd pers. plur.

3. *Yhon(e)*, more often an adjective, has also a substantive use in three cases only (IV. 502, 506; XIV. 280).

*Relative and Interrogative*.—1. The relative pronoun is *that* or *at*, never *quha*. *At* is a purely Northern form. *Quhais* and *quham* occur occasionally as oblique cases. In *quhom*, as in words like *so*, *mor*, etc., there is evidence of Southern influence. *Quha* is used as an interrogative. The simple *quhilk* occurs but once (XVIII. 225, see note), where E has a different reading; otherwise it is in the form *the quilk that*.

2. The relative in the oblique cases is often omitted: *the small folk thai had thar* (IX. 261). This is a marked feature of the *Wallace*.

*Indefinite*.—1. *None* for *nane* occurs only once (IX. 485); and so, too, *ilkone* for *ilkane*, rhyming with a proper name (XI. 303). *Nane* is used both as substantive and as adjective. As adjective it comes before a word beginning with a vowel. Before consonants and *h*, *na* or *no* is used. In two cases *no* precedes a vowel: XIII. 145; XVI. 249.

2. *Othir*, often = “each other,” as *Thai dang on othir* (X. 680).

3. The plural of *man* has a pronominal use = *one*, German “man”: *as men in the Bibill seys* (I.

## VERBS.

1. Note the periphrastic form with *gan* in E (*can* in a few cases), *can* always in C: *all the land gan occupy* (I. 184); *all can thai cry* (XII. 200). The past tense of *can* is *couth*: *thar vittale all fast couth fale* (VIII. 460): whence, by analogy, the false form *begouth* for past of *gan*, itself the past of *ginnen*, to begin.

2. Weak verbs form their past tense and past participle in *it* or *yt*, the latter being more common in E. In certain cases the vowel drops out, as in *dwelt*. After *r*, *l* (*ll*), *n*, the ending is often in *d*, as *herd*, *ansuerd*, etc.

NOTE.—*Felt* for the ordinary *feld* occurs once, in III. 119. *Cald*, too, for *callit*, is forced to a rhyme (XIII. 61). The proper past of *send* is *send*.

3. The present tense indicative is, *I spek*, *thou spekis*, *he spekis*, *we spek*, etc. But when the personal pronoun is separated from the verb, or when the subject is a noun or relative pronoun or other form, the ending is in *is* or *ys* throughout. Cf. *yhow that takis* (XVI. 592); *yhe that this redis* (VI. 269); *all men fleis the did* (IX. 90), etc.

4. The imperative plural is in *is* (*ys*): *departis us* (VI. 543). It is more rare without the ending (XI 309; XII. 227, etc). This, however, is the rule when the imperative is followed by its pronoun: *luk yhe* (XII. 217).

5. The present participle ends in *and*. Doubling of the consonant may occur after a short vowel—e.g., *wonnand* (X. 160).

6. The verbal noun (so-called) ends in *yng* or *ing*. In many examples the *g* is dropped, as the tendency was and is in Scots, and we have a form in *yn(e)*. Cf. *fechting* (XII. 119) and *fechtyn* (III. 241). And these may rhyme, which shows that in sound the difference was not apparent (cf. IX. 120). Sometimes the particular form depends on the MS.—e.g., VI. 520, C *supposing*: E *supposyn*. The same thing is found in proper names with a similar termination.

7. The past participle of strong verbs has ending *yn* or *in*, seldom *en*. *Clymen* in X. 648, where the correct form, *clummyn*, is given in 606, is either really a surviving or intruded infinitive, or has been assimilated to it.

[Pg 518]

N.B.—VII. 524, C *cum*: E *cummyn*; X. 506, C *won*: E *wonnyn*.

8. The infinitive has dropped all trace of an ending. The *e* which sometimes appears is silent. It is formed by prefixing *to* or *till*, in certain cases with *for* in addition. For one case we have a reduced infinitive with *at*: *a-do* (X. 348).

## ADVERBS.

1. *him allane* is a strengthened form of *him ane* (VI. 272, 320), and is the more frequent of the two; equivalent to German "allein" and analogous in construction to the pronoun with *self*. In Early Scots *alane* is attached to the dative, in later and modern Scots to the possessive, *his ane*, etc.: the fuller form, from a confusion with *lone*, is now *his lane*, etc.

2. The surviving phrase, *the morn* (XIV. 478) occurs once for the older *to-morn*. Mr. Gregory Smith says that the former "begins to appear in M. Sc." (Middle Scots, 1450-1600),<sup>[186]</sup> and MS. E indeed reads *to-morn* in the passage above.

3. Note the compounds with *gat* (a way), *thusgat*, *swagat*, etc.: in XIX. 253; C *swagatis*; E *swagat*: also *howgatis*, etc., preserving Genitive ending.

4. The forms *on liff* (XVIII. 154), *on slepe* (VII. 192), *on stray* (XIII. 195), etc., are peculiarly Northern forms for "alive," "asleep," etc. Cf. also *on fer*, *on flot*.

## PREPOSITIONS.

1. *Till* = *to*, the former being a Northern fashion. C frequently extends to *on-to*, *on-till*, as in VI. 622, XVII. 29, etc.

2. Note the verbal preposition *that I of tell*, etc.

3. *Be* and *by* are common to both MSS., C more frequently the latter, probably a Southern influence. Strictly in Scots *be* alone denotes agency; *by* usually = beyond, as in *by ordinar*, etc.

## CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The verb *suppos* is several times used as a conjunction.

2. *the-quhethir* = *thohquhether* = *thohquether*, "nevertheless," unknown to the Southern dialects.<sup>[187]</sup>

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# GLOSSARY

1. Familiar words slightly disguised by spelling are not included.
2. C = Cambridge MS. of *The Bruce*; E = Edinburgh MS.; H = Hart's printed edition; S = Skeat's edition for Scottish Text Society (S.T.S.); N.E.D. = New English Dictionary; A.S. = Anglo-Saxon; A.F. = Anglo-French; O.F. = Old French; O.N. = Old Norse; N.E. = Northern English; v. = verb; p.t. = past tense; p.p. = past participle; s. = substantive.
3. *i* and *y* are completely interchangeable. In such cases as *ar*, *air*, *ayr* (*ere*), consult under first or earlier form.
4. Only the more significant or interesting references have been given, or those of single occurrence.

A, one, a single: *A gatis*, in one way, uniformly, IV. 702

Abaid, *s.*, delay: *v.*, waited = abode

Abais, *v.*, to abash, dismay, discourage;  
*p.p.* Abaysit, dismayed

Abasing, Abaysyng, etc., *s.*, dismay, discouragement

Abandoune, Abaundoune, give up;  
make subject, IV. 655, etc.;  
behave boldly: *at abandoune*, recklessly;  
*in abandoune*, loosely

Abovin, *prep.* and *adv.*, above (A.S. *ábúfan*);  
also Abuf

Acquyt, *v.*, free

Ado, to do = *at do* (N.E. infin.), X. 348

Afald, "one fold," single, XX. 618

Affair, Affer, *s.*, bearing, pomp

Afferis, belongs to, becomes (Anglo-Fr. *afferir*, to belong). See Effeir

Affermit, confirmed

Affy, trust

Agane, Aganis, against

Air, Ayr, *s.*, heir

Air, Ayr, *adv.*, ere, formerly (A.S. *æ̅r*). See Eir

Air, *v.*, are, IV. 704

Alabast, alabaster

Alkyn, *adj.*, every kind

Aller, *gen. pl.* of all: *thar aller*, of them all, I. 137. See *Grammar*

All-gat, Allgait, always;  
every way, XVIII. 451

All-weldand, "all-wielding," omnipotent

Alsome, Alsoyn(e), as soon, very soon

Als-tit, very soon

Alsua, also

Alswith, very quickly

Ameysst, appeased, XVI. 134 (O.F. *amesir*)

Amonist, *v.*, to admonish, exhort, VIII. 348

Amonestyng, Amonystyng, *s.*, advice, exhortation

Amorus, *adj.*, amorous

Amouris, *s.*, love

Amovis, *v.*, moves;  
*p.p.*, Amovyt

Anamalyt, *p.p.*, enamelled, XX. 305

Anciente, antiquity, VI. 252 (A.F. *ancienté*)  
Anent, *prep.*, near;  
towards;  
opposite to, XIX. 512  
Anerly, only, merely, alone  
Angyr, anger, affliction, suffering, I. 235, II. 519;  
also *adj.*, Angry, difficult, unfavourable, V. 70;  
pained, III. 530;  
annoying, XVIII. 515  
Anis, Anys, once: *at anys*, at once  
A-pane, for all that, nevertheless;  
really a mere expletive: "at a pinch" (Skeat)  
Apert, *adj.*, open: *in apert*, openly, XIX. 217  
Appurvait, provided  
Aquynt, acquainted  
Ar, Air, Ayr, *adv.*, before, formerly (A.S. *ǣr*)  
Ar, an oar;  
*pl.* aris  
Arbytre, judgment, decision, I. 75 (O.F. *arbitre* or *arbitrie*)  
Arest, *s.* and *v.*, arrest, stop  
Arettit, *v.*, *p.p.*, accused, XIX., 20 (O.F. *aretter*, to accuse)  
Arsoune, saddle-bow, XVI. 131  
Assay, *v.*, "essay," try, attempt, attack;  
also *p.t.*, underwent, I. 448  
Assege, *s.*, siege;  
also *v.*, Assegit, besieged  
Assenyhe, war-cry;  
also, ensenyhe  
Assentit, "assented," agreed  
Assignit, *p.p.*, assigned  
Assis, assize, court of law, XIX. 55  
Assolyheit, *v.*, *p.t.*, absolved, set free  
Assonyheit, *p.p.*, excused (O.F. *essoigner*)  
Assouerans, *s.*, assurance  
Assouerit, *v.*, "assured," give confidence to, encourage, VI. 225;  
also *intrans.*, to have confidence in, rely upon, XI. 309  
Ath, Ayth, oath  
Atour, *prep.*, over, above  
Atour, *s.*, gear, equipment (O.F. *atour*, *ator*, furniture, gear)  
Aucht, *v.*, ought;  
*p.p.*, possessed, I. 45  
Aughty, eighty  
Aulde, old  
Availyhe, Avail, to be of use  
Avalyhe, in phrase IX. 147, "avail what may avail," come what will.  
Avail, *v.*, lower  
Avaward, vanguard  
Avenand, handsome, graceful (O.F. *avenant*, well-proportioned)  
Avent, *v.*, to give air to, cool, XII. 145  
Aventurous, "adventurous," dangerous, risky  
Averty, shrewd, prudent

Avisè, skilful, II. 271, prudent  
Avisment, Avisement, advice, consideration  
Avis, advice, opinion;  
    sound judgment, X. 269  
Awayward, in their going away, XVI. 584  
Awblasteris, arbalisters, crossbow-men, XVII. 236 (E). See Oblessteris  
Awmener, a purse (O.F. *aumosniere*, a bag for alms)  
Awter, altar, II. 33, 34  
Aynd, *s.*, breath (O.N. *andi*)  
Aynding, *s.*, breathing  
Ay-quhar, everywhere  
Ayr, oar;  
    *pl.* Ayris  
Ayth, oath

Bachelor, Bachiller, a young knight, not displaying his own banner but following that of another [Pg 521]  
Baid. See Abaid  
Baill, burning mass (A.S. *bæil*, great fire)  
Bailyheys, bailiffs  
Bair, *v.*, *p.t.*, bore  
Bait, Bate, a boat (A.S. *bāt*)  
Baitit, *v.*, *p.t.*, baited, fed. See Bayt  
Baneour, a banner-bearer  
Banys, bones  
Banyst, *v.*, *p.p.*, banished  
Banrentis, bannerets, XI. 259: knights bringing vassals under their own banner. *Cf.* Bachelor  
Bar, *v.*, *p.t.*, bore: *bar on hand*, maintained against, hence condemned, excluded, I. 62. See note  
Barblyt, barbed  
Barell-ferraris, vessels for carrying liquid, XV. 39. See note  
Bargane, *s.* and *v.*, fight, encounter  
Barganyng, *s.*, fighting, combat  
Barnage, baronage (O.F. *barnaige*, gathering of barons)  
Barnè = barnage (word of two syllables)  
Barras, barriers, outwork (O.F. *barres*; *pl.* of *barre*, a stake)  
Barrit, *p.t.*, barred  
Basnet, a helmet of conical shape (O.F. *bacin*, a basin, giving dimin. *bacinet*)  
Bat(e), boat. See Bait  
Bath, both  
Battailyt, Battalit, furnished with battlements  
Battale, battell, a battalion, division of the army  
Battel-sted, a battlefield, XV. 74  
Bauld, *adj.*, bold;  
    also *adv.*, Bauldly  
Bayt, to feed  
Bawlmyt, embalmed  
Be, *prep.*, by

Bedene, Bedeyn, straightway, quickly;  
 in XV. 108 as an expletive, or with no particular force

Beforn, *prep.* and *adv.*, before

Begouth, *v.*, *p.t.* of began. See *Grammar*.

Begunnyn, Begonnyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, begun

Behaldand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, beholding

Behufis, *v. impers.*, it behoves: *behufit away*, had to go, VI. 210

Bekand, warming, XIX. 552

Belif(f), speedily, soon

Bemys, beams

Benk, bench

Berdlass, beardless

Berfrois, a tower, modern *belfry*. See note X. 708

Berne, a barn

Berynes, *s.*, burial, variant of "buriness" (A.S. *byrignes*, a burial)

Bet, *v.*, beat, XIII. 158

Bet, *v.*, *p.t.*, improved, mended, XIX. 497 (A.S. *betan*, to better, repair)

Betane, pursued, *p.p.* (Northern) of *betake*, III. 159

Betaucht. See *Beteche*

Betraiss, to betray;  
*p.p.* Betrasyt, Betresyt

Beteche, to commit, hand over;  
*part.*, betaucht

Betyd, *v.*;  
*pr. sub.*, happen

Biggit, built and so, inhabited, XIV. 383

Bikkyr, Bykkir, to skirmish;  
*pr. part.*, Bikkyrring;  
*p.t.*, Bykkerit

Blenknyt, *v.*;  
*p.t.*, blinked, glanced;  
 variant of next form

Blenkyt, looked to the side, glanced, shone (A.S. *blīcan*, to shine)

Bodword, a message, XV. 423 (N.E. only)

Bodyn, *p.p.* (obs.), of Bid, bidden, challenged to fight;  
 armed, VII. 103

Bollis, bushels

Boruch, pledge (A.S. *borh*, a pledge)

Bot, but

Boune, Bown, Bowne, prepared, ready;  
*adj.* and *p.p.*;  
*v.*, bown, to make ready

Bow-draucht, bow-shot

Bourdand, jesting, humorous, VIII. 383 (O.F. *bourder*, to jest)

Boyis, fetters, X. 763 (O.F. *boie*, *buie*)

Brad, Braid, broad

Bra-syd, brae—*i.e.*, hill-side

Brast, *v.*, to break, "burst," XV. 479;  
*p.t.*, Brest, Brist.  
 See *Language*, "r"

Bredis, *v.*, expand, spread out, XVI. 68 (A.S. *brædan*, to spread)

Breid, breadth: *on breid*, in breadth (A.S. *brædu*, breadth)  
 Brig, Bryg, *s.*, bridge: as *v.*, Briggit, bridged  
 Brocht, broucht, brought  
 Browdyn, *p.p.*, embroidered  
 Bruk(e), *v.*, enjoy  
 Brulyheit, broiled, burned  
 Brym, shore;  
     originally "the line which separates the land from the sea" (Max Müller)  
 Bryn, to burn. See *Language*, "r"  
 Brynstane, brimstone  
 Bundin, Bundyn, *p.p.*, bound  
 Burchis, *s. pl.*, burghs, towns  
 Burd, board: Burdys, Burdis (II. 96, V. 388), the boards of a temporary table  
 Burgeonys, leaves, fresh shoots, V. 10  
 Buschement, an ambush  
 Busk, to prepare oneself, get ready;  
     *past*, buskit  
 But, *prep.*, without: *but persaving*, without being seen, XVII. 92  
 Bynk. See Benk  
 Byrd, it behoved;  
     *past of reflexive verb*: VI. 316  
 Byrkis, birches  
 Byrnys, "birnies," shirts of mail  
  
 Cald, Cauld, cold  
 Call, to drive. See note on X. 227;  
     labour, XIX. 174  
 Can, did (*auxiliary*). Cf. Gan  
 Cant, active, brisk  
 Car, "care" in sense of grief, regret  
 Cariage, Caryage, *s.*, baggage  
 Carle, Carll, churl, peasant  
 Carpand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, talking  
 Carpi(y)ng, *s.*, speaking, narrative  
 Cataill, Catell, property, III. 735, V. 275. See Fe. Chaucer has it in this sense  
 Cause, Cawse (two syllables), causeway, highroad (O.Nor.F. *caucie* = *chaussée*)  
 Certis, certainly, I. 21, XVII. 812  
 Chak-wachis, *s.*, "check-watches," inspectors of the guard  
 Challans, *s.*, challenge  
 Challans, *v.*, accuse, XIX. 60 (O.F. *chalonger*)  
 Chalmer, Chamur, Chamyr, Chawmer, chamber. See on *Language*, "m"  
 Chapyt, *p.p.*, escaped  
 Charge, business on hand, I. 141  
 Chargeand, *pr. p.* of charge, load, XVI. 458;  
     *p.p.*, chargit, IV. 401, etc.  
 Charre (two syllables), *s.*, a collection of chariots or waggons  
 Chasty, *v.*, to chasten;  
     check, I. 122;  
     reprove, IX. 742, 743, 751

Cheis, Cheys, choose. See Ches

Chekys, gate-posts, X. 229

Chemyr, "Chimer," a loose gown, specially that of a bishop, to which the lawn sleeves are attached, XVI. 580

Ches, *v.*, to choose;

*p.t.*, Chesi(y)t;

*p.p.*, Chosyn

Chevisance, provision, III. 402 (O.F. *chevir*, to furnish)

Cheyff, in: directly from the Lord Paramount

Childer, *s. pl.*, children. See *Grammar*

Childyne, *s.—i.e.*, childing, travail with a child

Chos, *s.*, choice, III. 264

Claif, Clafe, Claff, *v.*, *p.t.*, clove, cleft

Clap, knock, noise, X. 401

Cled, *v.*, *p.t.*, clad

Cleket, catch, trigger (F. *cliquet*, a catch), X. 401;  
XVII. 674

Clengit, cleared, emptied

Clergy, learning, IV. 689

Clerkis, men of learning, I. 249

Clething, clothing

Cleuch, a gorge, hollow

Clummyn, *p.p.* of Clym, climb

Cole (two syllables), a buffet. See note on VII. 623

Com, *s.*, coming

Compering, *s.*, comparison, I. 261

Compositur, arbiter, I. 883

Conabill, *adj.*, proper, fitting, III. 290, V. 266 (O.F. *covenable*, suitable)

Confort, comfort

Conand. See Cunnand

Consaf, *v.*, conceive;

*p.p.*, consavit, XX. 186

Conteyning, Contynyng = containing, *s.*, demeanour, behaviour

Conteyn, *v.*, demean or carry oneself;

*past*, Contenynt

Contrar, *adj.*, contrary;

also Contrar, *s.*, oppression, I. 461

Contraryit, *v.*, *p.t.*, countered, opposed

Convyn, Convyne. See Covyne

Cosynage, relationship, V. 135

Cosyne, cousin, near relative

Coupillyt, "coupled," united

Couth, (1) could, (2) did *auxiliary*, III. 460, XX. 250;

*past* of *can*.

See *Grammar (Verb)*

Covatis, covetousness

Cover, *v.*, to recover;

*p.t.*, Coverit

Coveryng, recovery, IX. 113

Covyne, *s.*, counsel, XIII. 122;



agreement, mental power, IX. 77;  
 secret design or contrivance;  
 condition, XIII. 219 (O.F. *covine, couvine, convine*, manner of being, contrivance)

Crakkis ("cracks"), explosions;  
*gynis for crakkis*, engines for explosions, guns, XVII. 250;  
 so also *crakkis of wer*, XIX. 399

Croice, *s.*, cross, III. 461

Cruk, *s.*, a "crook," a large hook, X. 363

Crykis, crevices, X. 602, 605 (O.F. *crique*)

Cuke, a cook

Culter, a coulter, IV. 113

Cummyrsum, "cumbersome," difficult to cross

Cun, *v.*, to know, XIX. 182 (A.S. *cunnan*, to know)

Cunnand, *s.*, covenant, agreement

Cunnannes, *s.*, cunning, III. 712

Cuntyrnans = Countynans, Contenance, face, manner, IX. 273

Cunyhe, a coign, corner

Custumabilly, customarily, XV. 236

Dang. See Dyng

Dantè, Daynte, *s.*, pleasure, eagerness, honour, affection

Daw, of, "of day"—*i.e.*, out of life: *doyn out of dawis*, killed, VI. 650

Dawing, Dawyng, *s.*, dawning

Dawit, *p.t.*, dawned;  
*p.pt.*, Dawyn

De, *v.*, to die;  
*p.t.*, Deit

Debowalit, Debowellit, *v.*, *p.p.*, disembowelled. XX. 285, 570

Ded, Deid, *s.*, death;  
*pl.*, Dedis, XVII. 115: *done to ded*, slain

Dedeynyheit, him, *v.*, *p.t. impers.*, he deigned

Defawtyt, "defaulted," put in fault, I. 182

Defoull, defile

Degyse (three syllables), feigned, XIX. 459 (F. *déguisé*, disguised)

Deill, *s.*, part, bit: *nocht a deill*, not a bit

Delitabill, pleasant

Deli(y)ver, *adj.*, nimble, quick;  
 also *adv.*, Deliverly, Delyverly

Demanyne, to waste, spoil, ill-treat;  
 to rule, manage;  
 to be behaved, to conduct oneself, V. 229: *p.t.*, Demane(y)t (O.F. *demener*, to treat, exercise, etc.)

Dempt, doomed

Demyng, judgment, doom

Demys, judges, decides (A.S. *dēman*, to judge)

Den, *v.*, to dam, XIV. 354

Depart, to part, depart, VI. 552

Der, *v.*, dare, risk. III. 382

Deray, disorder, injury (O.F. *desrai*, disorder, harm)

Derenyhe, *v.*, prove, vindicate (O.F. *desraisnier*, to render a reason, defend);  
*s.*, single combat or duel, XIII. 324, 325

Derff, strong, daring

Deris, *v.*, harms (A.S. *derian*, to harm)

Det, *s.*, debt

Devis, *v.*, narrate;  
determine, propose, plan (F. *deviser*, speak, decide, etc.);  
also *noun*, *at all devis*, in every way, IV. 264, etc.;  
*at thair devis*, to their liking, according to their plan, X. 363

Devour, duty (O.F. *deveir*)

Dey, *v.*, to die;  
*p.t.*, Deyt.  
See De

Dicht, *v.*, dress, prepare (A.S. *dihtan*, to prepare);  
*p.p.*, Dycht

Digne, worthy

Dik, ditch, entrenchment;  
as *v.*, *Dik thame*, entrench themselves, XVII. 271

Disclar, *v.*, declare, I. 75

Discrif, Discryre, *v.*, describe;  
*p.p.*, Discrivit

Discure, *v.*, discover

Discurrouris, “discoverers,” scouts, spies

Disese, *s.*, discomfort

Disherys, Dysherysys, *v.*, disinherit

Dispari(y)t, *v.*, *p.p.*, in despair

Dispend, *v.*, to spend

Dispending, *s.*, what they might spend—*i.e.*, money—VIII. 509

Dispitous, *adj.*, spiteful, cruel;  
also *adv.*, spitefully, severely, angrily

Disponis, *v.*, disposes

Dispulyheit, *p.p.*, despoiled

Dissaf, *v.*, deceive

Dissat, *s.*, deceit

Distrenyhit, compelled

Distrowbilling, *s.*, disturbance, annoyance, V. 216

Dittit, closed up (A.S., *dyttan*, to close up)

Do, thrive, succeed, II. 128

Dochtrys, daughters, I. 200

Dongen, Dungen. See Dyng

Dosnyt, Doysnyt, stunned, dazed

Dour, determined, stubborn, severe

Dowtyne, *s.*, doubting, XIV. 230

Doyne, *p.p.* of do, done

Dre, Drey, *v.*, endure (A.S. *drëogan*, to suffer)

Dreid, *s.*, dread, fear: *but drede*, doubtless, IV. 277;  
*withouten dreid*, without doubt, V. 579

Dreuch, Drewch, drew, dragged

Drif, Dryf, Dryve, *v.*, to drive;  
continue, X. 699;  
pull, X. 255;  
Drafe, Drivin

Drouery, Drowry, love. See note on VIII. 492

Dule, sadness, grief (O.F. *duel, dueil*, sorrow, suffering)  
 Dulfull, "doleful," sad  
 Dusche, a heavy blow  
 Duschit, fell heavily, XVII. 693  
 Dyng, *v.*, strike;  
     *past*, Dang;  
     *p.p.*, Dungen, Dungenyn  
 Dynnyt, made a sound, XVI. 131  
 Dyspinit, *v.*, *p.t.*, treated spitefully, hated, IV. 596  
  
 E, Ey, *s.*, eye. See Eyn  
 Effer, Effeir(e), Effere (also Affeir), *s.*, bearing, demeanour, I. 361, V. 608, VII. 126, etc.;  
     stature, XX. 515;  
     equipment, belongings, XI. 196;  
     business, X. 305 (O.F. *affaire*, thing, business, etc.)  
 Efferis. See Afferis  
 Effray, fear;  
     also Effraying  
 Effrait, Effrayit, *p.p.*, terrified;  
     also *adv.*, Effrayitly  
 Eft, again, VI. 378  
 Eftir, *adv.*, afterwards;  
     *prep.*, after;  
     also Eftirward, Efterwartis  
 Eftsonis, soon after  
 Egging, *s.*, urging, pressing  
 Eild, Elde, *s.*, age  
 Eir, Er(e), *adv.*, "ere," before  
 Eisfull, easy, V. 70  
 Ek, *v.*, add to  
 Ek, *adv.*, also (A.S. *ēac*)  
 Eld-fadir, grandfather  
 Eldris, Eldrys, elders, forefathers  
 Elys, eels, II. 577  
 Emang, among  
 Embandownyt, *v.*, *p.p.*, subjected. See Abandoune  
 Enchawfyt, *v.*, *p.p.*, heated, incensed  
 Enchesoun(e), Enchesone, occasion, reason, cause (O.F. *enchaison*; Lat. *occasionem*)  
 Enclynit, *v.*, *p.t.*, inclined  
 Endentur, *s.*, indenture  
 Endlang, *prep.* and *adv.*, along;  
     forward, XIX. 356: *endlang furth*, right along forward, XVI. 548  
 Eneuch, enough  
 Enew, *adj. pl.*, enough  
 Enfors, *s.*, force, XVII. 448  
 Enforsaly, Enforcely, forcibly  
 Enforsit, "enforced," strengthened  
 Engreif, Engreiff, grieve, annoy  
 Engynour, engineer, XVII. 434, 663  
 Enkrely, Encrely, especially;  
     really, III. 529;

earnestly, heartily

Enpres, Enpris, Empris, enterprise;  
price, value, X. 507

Ensample, Ensampill, etc., *s.*, example

Enselyt, *v.*, *p.t.*, sealed

Ens(s)enyhe, war-cry (O.F. *enseigne*, banner, war-cry)

Entencioune, intention, X. 527

Ententif, attentive;  
also *adv.*, Entently

Entremas, or Entremess, something served between the courses of a banquet (O.F. *entremès* = *entremets*)

Enveronyt, environed, surrounded

Erar, *adv.*, sooner, rather

Erd, earth: *at erd*, on the ground

Erding, Erdyng, *s.*, burial

Erdit, *v.*, *p.p.*, buried

Ernystfully, earnestly, seriously, VIII. 144

Erynes, fear, II. 295

Es, Eys, ease, I. 228: *male es*, *mail eis*, disease, XX. 73, 74. See Male-ess

Escheiff, XIX. 778. See Escheve

Eschele, Eschell, a squadron, company (O.F. *eschele*)

Escheve, *v.*, to achieve;  
*past*, Eschevyt;  
*p.p.*, Eschevit

Eschewe, *v.*, to eschew, avoid

Espyne, a long boat, XVII. 719 (O.N. *espingr*)

Et(e), *v.*, to eat;  
Ete, Eyt, Etyl, VII. 169, 170

Etlyng, Etling, aim, endeavour, intention

Everilk, every

Exorcisaciones, exorcisings, IV. 750

Eym(e), uncle (A.S. *ēam*);  
Eym's, uncle's

Eyn(e), eyes;  
*pl.* of E, Ey

Eyth, easy, XVII. 454 (A.S. *īethe*)

Fa, Fay, a foe (A.S. *fāh*);  
*pl.*, Fais, Fayis;  
also Famen, foemen

Failyhe, *v.*, to fail, give way, faint, lose

Fair, *s.*, manner, XI. 256;  
condition, success, XVI. 21;  
journey

Falding, *s.*, falling, change

Faldyn, fallen, XI. 547. See note

Fall-brig, "fall-bridge," drawbridge, XVII. 419

Fallow, *s.*, fellow, companion

Fallow, *v.*, to follow

Falset, Falsat, Falsade, falsehood

Fand, *v.*, *p.t.*, found

Fanding. See Faynd

Fantiss, Fayntice, faintness of heart;  
Fantyss, deceit, XVII. 51

Far, *v.*, to fare, go;  
*p.p.*, Farn, Faryne;  
*s.*, 'fare,' circumstance, pomp;  
effort, XVII. 400;  
good cheer, XIX. 730;  
*adv.*, fairly, becomingly

Farand, Farrand, handsome, fit, II. 514, XI. 95

Fardele, a bundle

Farlyit, *v.*, *p.t.*, wondered. See Ferly

Farsis, *v.*, stuffs (F. *farcir*, to stuff)

Fassoun, Fassownys (*pl.*), fashion, way

Fast, *adv.*, earnestly, zealously, I. 42;  
strongly, vigorously, XIII. 129

Faucht, Fawcht, fought

Fawt, Faute, fault

Fay, faith, fealty: *at a fay*, "at one faith"—*i.e.*, subject to the same lord

Faynd, *v.* (Scots form of Fand, obsolete verb), try, tempt;  
*past*, Fayndit;  
*p.p.*, Fayndit (A.S. *fandian*, to try, prove);  
also *s.*, Faynding, "tempting of Providence" (Skeat), III. 268. *Cf.* XII. 364

Fe, Fee, cattle;  
property, XIII. 725 (A.S. *feoh*, cattle, goods);  
Chaucer has "catel" (cattle) in this sense of wealth;  
*of fee*, by fief, in feudal ownership, XI. 456;  
*pl.*, here Feys, I. 58

Feble, *v.*, to become feeble, II. 384

Febelis, *v.*, to enfeeble;  
*p.p.*, Feblast

Fechand, fetching, III. 428. See *Language*, etc.

Fecht, to fight

Fechting, Fechtynne, *s.*, fighting

Fechting-sted, *s.*, place of fighting

Feill, Fele, Feyll, *adj.*, many (A.S. *fele*)

Feir, Fer, *adj.*, unhurt: *haill and feir*, safe and sound

Feir, Fere, *s.*, companion (A.S. *gēfera*, a travelling companion)

Fell, *v.*, pertained, XVII. 176;  
befell, happened

Felloun(e), Feloune, "terrible," cruel, wicked;  
also *adv.*, Fellounly, etc.

Felly, *adv.*, cruelly, severely, exceedingly;  
also Fellely

Felouny, *s.*, cruelly, fierceness, harm

Fendis, fiends, IV. 224

Fens, defence, XX. 384

Fenyhe, *v.*, to feign;  
also *s.*, Fenyheyng, feigning, I. 74

Fer, *adv.*, far: *fer out the mair*, very much the more, VI. 666;  
*on fer*, afar;  
*Fer-furth*, far forward, XIX. 376

Ferd, fourth

Ferd, *v.*, *p.t.*, fared. See Far

Ferlifull, wonderful  
 Ferly, *s.*, a wonder  
 Ferly, *adj.*, wonderful (A.S. *færlīc*, "fear-like," strange);  
 also *adv.*  
 Ferm, *adj.*, firm;  
*adv.*, Fermly  
 Ferrer, Ferrest, *adj.*, farther, farthest, XIX. 537, 530  
 Ferryit, farrowed  
 Fersly, fiercely  
 Fesnyng, Festnyng, *s.*, fastening, compact, XX. 57;  
 confinement, XV. 309  
 Fetrys, fetters  
 Fewte, fealty, service  
 Fey, dying, doomed, XV. 45 (Icel. *feigr*, doomed to die)  
 Feys, fiefs, I. 58  
 Ficht. See Fecht. Fichtyne = Fechtung  
 Flaggatis, faggots  
 Flaikes, hurdles, XIX. 742\*. See footnote  
 Flang, *v.*, *p.t.*, flung  
 Flatlyngis, flat, XII. 59  
 Flaw, flew;  
*p.t.* of Fle  
 Flawmand, "flaming," fluttering brightly, XI. 192  
 Flechand, cajoling  
 Fletand, Fleting, floating  
 Fleying, *s.*, "fleeing," flight, XIX. 459  
 Fleyit, *p.p.*, frightened, scared  
 Flicht, Flycht, flight  
 Flote, a fleet (*cf.* A.S. *flota*, a ship);  
*on flot*, afloat, XIV. 359  
 Flure, floor, V. 400  
 Fluss, pool, XIII. 20  
 Flyt, float, III. 420  
 For, *prep.*, against, XIV. 115  
 Forbeft, quite beaten, XVII. 793;  
 Beft (N.E.) means "to strike, to beat";  
 "For" is intensive  
 Forby, by  
 Fordid, "did for," spoiled  
 Forfalt, forfeited, XIII. 499  
 Forfayr, go to ruin;  
*past subj.*, Forfure, go wrong, fail, X. 529 (A.S. *forfaran*)  
 Forgane, "fore-gainst," opposite to, XVI. 555  
 Forlorn, quite lost, X. 246  
 Forly, *v.*, violate, I. 199  
 Formast, *adv.*, foremost  
 Forouch, For(r)outh, For(r)ow, *prep.*, "for with," before  
 Forout, Forowt, without  
 Forouten, Foroutyn, Forowtyn, *prep.*, without, besides (A.S. *forūtan*)

Forouth. See Forouch  
 Forow, Forrow, before  
 Forsicht, Forsyct, *s.*, foresight  
 Forsuk, avoided, turned from, XIV. 315  
 Forspokyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, agreed upon  
 Forswat, *v.*, *p.p.*, covered with sweat, VII. 2  
 Forsy(e), strong  
 Forthi, therefore (A.S. *forthi*)  
 Forthirmar, *adv.*, farther  
 Fortravalit, *v.*, *p.p.*, exhausted by labour  
 Forwounderit, *v.*, *p.p.*, greatly surprised, VI. 10  
 Foundyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, found  
 Foysoun(e), Fusioune, abundance, great number (O.F. *foison*, plenty)  
 Fra, from  
 Frakly, eagerly, VII. 166 (A.S. *frac*, bold)  
 Franchis, liberty, XI. 268 (O.F. *franchise*, freedom)  
 Fra-thine, from that time forward  
 Fray, *s.*, fear, XV. 255  
 Fraying, clanking, clashing, X. 653 (O.F. *freiier*, to rub)  
 Frely, noble, III. 578. See note (A.S. *frēolic*, free-handed, noble)  
 Frer, a friar, XVIII. 300  
 Frest, delay (Icel. *frest*, delay)  
 Freyast, freest  
 Freyndsome, friendly  
 Froggis, frocks, X. 375  
 Froytis, fruits, X. 191  
 Frusch(e), *s.*, rush, crash, charge;  
     *v.*, to crush in or break violently (O.F. *fruisier*, *froissier*, to break)  
 Fudyr, "fodder," a load, specially a waggon-load, as here, X. 198 (A.S. *fōther*, a load)  
 Fule-hardyment, *s.*, fool-hardiness, VI. 337, 340  
 Fundyng, benumbment with cold (O.F. *emfondre*).  
 Fundyn, Fundin, *v.*, *p.p.*, found, provided for  
 Funyheit, "foined," fenced  
 Fur(e), *p.t.* of Fare, fared, went on his way;  
     behaved, II. 503  
 Furrit, furred  
 Fusioune. See Foysoun  
 Fut-breid, *s.*, foot's-breadth, XI. 365  
 Fute, person. III. 578. See note  
 Fut(e)-hate, "foot-hot," with all speed  
 Fyschit, *v.*, *p.p.*, fixed, resolved, XX. 178  
  
 Ga, go;  
     *p.p.*, Gane, gayn  
 Gabbing, *s.*, lie, deceit (A.S. *gabban*, to lie, jest);  
     *p.p.*, Gabbit, IV. 290  
 Gadding, Gaderyng, *s.*, gathering;  
     as *v.*, *p.t.*, Gad(d)eret

Gadwand, goad or whip, X. 232. (A.S. *gād*)

Gaf(f), Gaiff, gave

Galay, *v.*, reel, II. 422

Gam(m)yn, game, play (A.S. *gamen*, sport)

Gan, *v.* = *p.t.* of *ginnen*, used as an auxiliary, did. *Cf.* Can

Gang, go;  
     walk, in phrase *gang no ryd*, IV. 193;  
     *pr.p.*, Gangand

Garris. See Ger

Gast, ghost, XIX. 214

Gat, way: *a gatis*, in one way, IV. 702

Gayne-cumming, "against-coming," attack, II. 450

Gayne-geving, "again-giving," restoration, I. 115

Geddis, pikes (the fish) (O.N. *gedda*)

Ger, *v.*, to cause;  
     *p.t.*, Gert

Gestis, joists, beams, XVII. 597. See note

Ghyle, guile, I. 172

Gif(f), Gyff, *conj.*, if: *bot gif*, unless

Gladschip, gladness (A.S. *glædscipe*)

Gle, Glew, glee;  
     also game or business, affair in *yheid the gle*, I. 90, etc

Glemand, gleaming

Gliffnyt, *v.*, *p.t.*, looked quickly up

Glowand, glowing

Gottyn, Gottin, *p.p.*, got

Governale, government, skill in governing

Graith, ready;  
     also *adv.*, Graithly, Grathly, directly, speedily (O.N. *greithr*, ready)

Granting, confession, XIX. 45

Granys, groans

Grathit, *v.*, *p.t.* and *p.p.*, made ready

Gravyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, buried, IV. 309

Gret(e), to weep (A.S. *grētan*);  
     also *s.*, Greting, weeping

Gretumly, greatly, extremely

Grevis, *s.*, groves, V. 13

Grewit thame, *v.*, *p.t.*, *impers.*, it made them shudder. See Grow

Grow, to quake with terror, to shake;  
     *p.t.*, Growit, Grewit

Gruching, grudging, XVI. 19;  
     Gruchys, *v.*, objects, II. 123

Grund, "ground," land, XX. 325. See note

Grundyn, *p.p.*, ground

Gude, *s.*, property, XVII. 105;  
     *pl.*, Gudis

Gyit, *p.p.*, guided;  
     still *Sc.* in "guy-rope," guiding-rope (O.F. *guier*, to guide)

Gyn, *s.*, device, stratagem;  
     Gyne, engine, XVII. 682, 691;  
     Gynnys, *pl.*, contrivance, some sort of net or trap, II. 576 (O.F. *engin*, from Lat. *ingenium*)



Gynour, *s.*, engineer. See above

Gyrd, *s.*, a sharp stroke, blow;  
also *pr. p.*, Gyrdand, rushing forward, II. 417

Gyrnand, growling, speaking angrily, IV. 322;  
Skeat says "grinning," of which it is a variant by metathesis of *r*; but also with a different shade of meaning; it is an ordinary Scots word in sense given

Gyrs, *s.*, grass (A.S. *gers*)

Gyrth, sanctuary

Hachit, *s.*, hatchet

Haill, Hale, Halle, *adj.*, whole, sound: *all haill*, wholly;  
also = *adv.*, Halely, Halyly, Haly

Hailsyt, Halsit, saluted, II. 153

Haldaris, *s.*, holders

Half-deill, half-part, half, XIV. 188, 497

Hals, neck

Halsing, salutation, VII. 117

Haltand, *pr. p.*, "halting," lame

Haly, holy (A.S. *hālig*)

Hamly, *adj.* and *adv.*, homely, kindly, in a friendly way

Hansell, *s.*, a present at the commencement, V. 120

Hardis, *s.*, "hards," or bundles of flax-fibres

Hardnyt, *v.*, *p.t.*, emboldened, urged on, XII. 500

Harnas, armour (O.F. *harnois*, with dialectal form *harnas*)

Harnys, brains

Hat, *v.*, *p.t.*, was named;  
*p.p.*, Hattyn (A.S., *hātan*, to be called);  
*p.p.*, *haten*, N.E.

Hat, Hate, Het, *adj.*, hot;  
also *adv.*, Hat, hotly

Hawbrekis, hauberks

Hawbryschownys, habergeons

Hawch, *s.*, haugh, low-land, XVI. 336

Hawtane, proud, I. 196 (O.F. *haltain*, high)

Haym(e), home

He, Hee, Hey, *adj.*, high;  
also *adv.*, loud (A.S. *hēh*)

Hecht, to promise;  
to be named (A.S. *heht*, *pret.* of *hātan*;  
used as present, N.E. See Hat)

Hede-soyme, the rope attaching the yoke to the waggon, X. 180

Heill, *v.*, cover;  
*p.t.* and *p.p.*, Helit, Helyt, covered, hid (A.S. *helan*, to cover)

Heirschip, harrying, wasting (A.S. *hergian*, to ravage with an army, *here*)

Helde, *v.*, to incline;  
*pr. p.*, Heldand, inclining, V. 153

Heling, *s.*, covering

Helmys, helmets

Hely, *adv.*, highly, loudly

Hendir, behind, past. *Cf.* Hendirmar, Henmast

Her, master (Skeat, reading doubtful), IX. 640

Herbery, Herbry, *s.*, lodging (A.S. *herebeorga*, shelter for an army)

Herbery *v. reflex*, to "harbour" themselves, take lodging;  
*p.t.* Herberyd, Herbryit

Herbreouris, men sent on to secure lodgings

Herd, *adj.* and *adv.*, hard

Herrodis, heraulds (O.F. *heraut*)

Hertit, heartened, encouraged, XVI. 662

Hevede, *s.*, head, V. 11 (A.S. *hēafod*)

Heych, *adj.*, high;  
*s.*, Heycht, Hicht, a height: *into the hicht*, openly, V. 487

Heyt, *p.p.*, raised "high," exalted

Hicht, *s.*, a promise

Hicht, *v.* See Hecht or Heych

Hiddillis, Hyddillis, a hiding-place (*sing.*), VI. 382 (A.S. *hydels*, a den)

Hidwys, *adj.*, hideous;  
*adv.*, Hydwisly

Hing, Hyng, to hang

Hint, Hynt, seized, took (A.S. *hentan*, to seize)

Ho, *s.*, delay, XX. \*429. See note

Hobland, tossing about, IV. 447

Hobleris, light horsemen—*i.e.*, riders on unarmoured horses—(Anglo-Fr. *hobeleur*—*our*, derivative of *hobin*. See next)

Hobynis, light horses not strong enough to wear armour (O.F. *hobin*, *hobi*, apparently of English origin)

Holl, *adj.*, hollow, deep, VIII. 176

Holl, *adj.*, whole, VI. 78

How-gatis, how. See Gat

Howis, holes, XI. 153

Howis, "hoes," picks on long poles for warlike purposes, XVII. 344 (F. *houe*, a hoe)

Hoyn, *s.*, delay

Hude, a hood; *pl.* Hudis, XIX. 332

Hufe, remain, lie in wait;  
*pr. p.*, Hufand, Huvande

Humely, Humylly, humbly

Huntand, *pr. p.*, hunting

Husband, a small farmer

Huvande. See Hufe

Hy, *s.*, haste;  
*v. reflex*, to hasten (A.S. *higian*, to hie)

Hyde, skin, III. 584. II. 511

Hye, *adj.*, high;  
*adv.*, loudly;  
*v.*, to heighten

Hyne, *s.*, a hind, lad, XII. 460

Hyrcheoune, hedgehog (O.F. *heriçon*, a hedgehog)

Ic, I

Ik, *adv.*, eke;  
also III. 326. See Ek

Ilk, Ilka, same, each. See *Grammar* for distinction

Ilkan(e), Ilkone, everyone, each one  
 Inew, *adj.*, enough. See Enew  
 Inewch, enough  
 Infair, a house-warming, XVI. 340  
 Inforcely, *adv.*, with great force  
 Inforsit, *v., p.t.*, "enforced," strengthened, IV. 65  
 Ingrevand, *pr. p.*, "engrieving," annoying  
 In-myd, *prep.*, amid  
 Innouth, *prep.*, within  
 In-sundir, *adv.*, asunder  
 Intermelle, mixed up, confusedly, XIV. 215  
 In-till, *prep.*, in, into  
 Intwyn, asunder, VIII. 175  
 Isch, *v.*, to issue;  
     *p.t.*, Ischyt  
 Iwiss, *adv.*, certainly, truly, XVI. 154 (A.S. *gewis*, certain)

Jolely, handsomely, well  
 Joly, handsome, good; gay, high-spirited, VIII. 446 (F. *joli*)  
 Journee, a day's work, a battle or feat of arms (*Fr.*)  
 Jowele, jewel, XVIII. 360  
 Juntly, close up, XVII. 689  
 Justing, *s.*, jousting, XIX. 520

Karlis, "churls," fellows (O.N. *karl*, a man)

Ken, *v.*, to know, recognize, perceive;  
     instruct, direct, show;  
     *pres.*, Kennys, IV. 748;  
     *p.t.*, Kend;  
     *p.p.*, Kend

Kendlyt, *v., p.p.*, kindled  
 Kep, Keip, *s.*, heed: *takand na kep*, taking no heed, I. 212  
 Kers, Carse, low land bordering a river  
 Kest, *v., p.t.*, cast  
 Kinrik, Kynrik, kingdom  
 Knaf, Knave, a boy: *knaiſſ child*, a male child  
 Knawyng, *s.*, knowledge  
 Ky, *pl.* of cow (A.S. *cū, cȳ*)  
 Kyndly, *adj.*, of nature, IV. 721, etc.  
 Kyne, *s.*, kind: *na kyn(e)*, of no kind  
 Kynrik, kingdom, royal power  
 Kyrnaill, *s.*, a battlement (O.F. *crenelle*)  
 Kyt, a wooden vessel or pail

Ladis, *s.*, loads  
 Lafe, Laif(f), Layff, Lave, the rest, the remainder (A.S. *lāf*)  
 Landar (E., Lavender), Layndar, a laundress  
 Land-brist, surf  
 Lang, long. *Cf.* Langar

Lansit, Lansyt, bounded, dashed forward (O.F. *lancier*, throw forward;  
the O.Nor.F. form *lancher* has been adopted as "Launch")

Lans, *s.*, rush, leap, X. 414

Lap, *v.*, *p.t.*, leapt

Lardener, a larder. V. 410

Larg(e), liberal (O.F. *large*)

Larges, bounty, liberty: *at his larges*, to the full, VII. 378

Lasair, Lasare, Laser, Laseir, leisure

Lat, *s.*, let, hindrance, XII. 516

Lat, *v.*, let

Lat, Layt, *adj.*, late

Late, *s.*, manner, behaviour, VII. 127 (O.N. *læte*, manners)

Lauchand, laughing

Laute, Lawte, Leawte, loyalty, truth (O.F. *leaute*)

Law, Lawch, low: *compar.*, Lower

Lawchtane, dull coloured, dark (Gaelic *lachdunn* = Irish *lachtna*, N.E.D.), XIX. 672

Lawit, *v.*, lowered

Layd-men, *s.*, "load-men," the men in charge of the pack-horses, VIII. 466

Lechis, doctors

Lechyng, *s.*, healing

Leddar, a ladder

Lege, full, free: *in lege poustè*, "in health and full possession of one's faculties" (N.E.D.), V. 165

Leif, *v.* and *s.*, leave: *but leif*, without leave, XVII. 863

Leis, *v.*, lose;  
*p.t.* and *p.p.*, Lesit (A.S. *lēosan*, to lose)

Leit, think, consider (A.S. *lætan*)

Leit, *v.*, let, XVII. 850. See Lat

Lele, Leile, Leyle, *adj.*, leal, faithful;  
also *adv.*, Lely, Lelely, Lelyly

Lendit. See Leynd

Lenteryne, Lent, the spring

Lenye, "lean"

Lesing. *s.*, lying (A.S. *lēasung*, falsehood)

Lesit, Lessit, Lesyt, *v.*, lost

Lest, List, *imper. v.*, it pleases, VII. 314 (A.S. *lystan*, to please)

Let, Letting, *s.*, hindrance;  
*adv.* Letless, without hindrance XVI. 568

Let, *v.*, to hinder, allay, prevent;  
*p.t.*, Letit, Lettyt

Leve, to leave, to remain

Levir, rather

Levit, Levit: *war levit of*, had taken their leave of, XX. 577

Leyme, flame, XI. 191 (A.S. *lēoma*, a ray of light)

Leynd, to remain, wait

Leysch, leash

Libbard, leopard

Licht, Lycht, light

Lichtit, *v., p.t.*, alighted  
 Lift, *s.*, sky, XVI. 692 (A.S. *lyft*, air)  
 Lik, *v.*, to please  
 Lisnyt, *v., p.t.*, listened  
 Losengeour, a traitor, IV. 108 (O.F., *losengier*, a flatterer, a traitor)  
 Lovit, *v., p.t.* and *p.p.*, praised;  
     and *s.*, Loving, praise  
 Low, flame  
 Lownyt, sheltered, XV. 276;  
     *v.*, Lown, to become calm, to shelter (N.E. and Scots)  
 Lowp, *v.*, to leap  
 Lows, *v.*, to loose;  
     *p.p.*, Lowsyt  
 Lowtit, Lowtyt, bowed before or to  
 Luff, *s.* and *v.*, love  
 Lufre, "livery," gift (O.F. *livrée*; Anglo-Fr. *liveré*)  
 Lurdane, *s.*, rascal (O.F. *lourdin*, a heavy [*lourd*], *i.e.*, stupid fellow)  
 Lusumly, "lovesomely," pleasantly  
 Lychtyt, *v., p.t.* and *p.p.*, lightened  
 Lyknyt, *v., p.p.*, likened, compared  
 Lyng, a line  
 Lynyng, linen, XIII. 422  
 Lypnyng, *s.*, trust  
  
 Ma, *v.*, to make;  
     *pres.*, Mais, Mays  
 Ma, May, *adj.*, more. *Comp.* Ma(i)r, Ma([i.])st  
 Magre, *s.*, ill-will, XVII. 60 (O.F. *mal grè*, ill-will);  
     also as *prep.*, in spite of: *magre his*, in spite of him;  
     *magre thairis*, in spite of them  
 Maill-eiss, Male-ess, disease (F. *mal aise*)  
 Maistri, *s.*, "mastery," strength  
 Maistris, arts, XIX. 182  
 Man, *v.*, must, VII. 137;  
     also Mon  
 Manauce, Mannasyng, *s.*, "menace," threatening  
 Manausyt, Mannausit, *v., p.t.*, menaced  
 Mandment, commandment  
 Manhede, Manheid, "manhood," valour  
 Mankynd, *s.*, manliness, IV. 530  
 Manrent, homage  
 Manteme, Ma(y)nteym, maintain  
 Marcheand, *pr. p.*, "marching with," bordering. See next  
 Marchis, marches, borders (A.S. *mearc*, a boundary)  
 Marras, morass  
 Martirdome, slaughter  
 Martymes, Martinmas (Nov. 11)  
 Mas, *s., plur.* maces  
 Mastrice, mastery, superiority;

“masterly” skill, VI. 566 (O.F. *maistrise*)  
 Mastry, “mastery,” skill;  
     force, VII. 354 (O.F. *maistrie*, skill)  
 Mate, dull, dispirited (O.F. *mat*, dull)  
 Maturite, *s.*, deliberation XI, 583  
 Maucht, might  
 Mavite, wickedness, guile (O.F. *mauvitie* for *malvaistié*)  
 Mawch, kinsman, especially, as here, by marriage, XV. 274 (A.S. *maeg*)  
 Mayn(e), *s.*, “moan,” lamentation  
 Mekill, much, large (A.S. *micel*)  
 Melland, *v.*, *pr. p.*, mixing (O.F. *meller*, to mix);  
     *p.p.*, Mellit  
 Melle (two syllables), a mixture, whence, a battle, etc.  
 Mellyng, Mellyne, *s.*, encounter;  
     mixture, V. 406  
 Menand, *v.*, moaning (A.S. *mænan*);  
     *p.t.* Menit, Menyt  
 Mengit, *v.*, *p.t.*, mixed (A.S. *mengian*)  
 Menyhe, Mengne, host, company  
 Menounys, “minnows,” small fish  
 Mensk, honour, dignity (O.N. *mennska*, humanity)  
 Menskfully, honourably  
 Menyng, *s.*, lamentation  
 Menyng, *s.*, remembrance, IV. 326. See Meyn  
 Menys, think, XII. 269 (A.S. *mænan*, to think on). See Meyn  
 Merdale, camp-followers, IX. 249  
 Merk-schot, XII. 33. See note  
 Mesour, Mesur, *s.*, “measure,” moderation: *our mesur*, beyond measure;  
     *at all mesure*, in every proportion, X. 281  
 Mesurabill, *adj.*, moderate  
 Meyn, *v.*, to think of, be mindful of;  
     mention, X. 736  
 Meyne, *v.*, to moan, lament, XV. 237  
 Misteir, Mister, trade, craft (O.F. *mestier*; F. *métier*)  
 Mister, Myster, need (as above);  
     also *v.*, Mysteir, be necessary, XVII. 215;  
     *adj.*, needful  
 Mocht, Moucht, *v.*, might  
 Mody, *adj.* See Mude, Mudy  
 Mon, *v.*, must  
 Mone, to remember, bear in mind (O.N. *muna*, to remember)  
 Mony, many  
 Monyst, admonished, XII. 379  
 Mot, *v.*, may be, IV. 26  
 Mow, a heap of corn, IV. 117  
 Mowence, mutation, change, I. 134 (O.F. *muance*)  
 Mubill, “movable” property, V. 275 (F. *meuble*, furniture)  
 Mude, mood, XX. 203;  
     courage, XIX. 622 (A.S. *mōd*);  
     *adj.*, Mudy

Murnyn(g), *s.*, mourning  
 Muryt, blocked up, IV. 164 (F. *mur*, a wall)  
 Mut, make mention, XIII. 60  
 Mycht, *s.*, might: *at thar mychtis*, as much as they could, III. 190;  
*that all mychtis may*, that is able to do all things, III. 366  
 Mydlike, *adv.*, moderately, III. 71  
 Mydwart, *s.*, midway, III. 682  
 Myrk, Merk, dark;  
*s.*, Myrknes, darkness  
 Myschieff, misfortune, danger, loss;  
 evil fate, XIX. 71 (O.F. *meschief*)  
 Mystrowing, suspicion;  
*v.*, Mystrowit, suspected, X. 327  
 Myt, *s.*, "mite," a bit  
  
 Na, *adj.*, no;  
*conj.*, nor: *na thay war*, but they were, V. 372;  
*na (ne) war*, were it not  
 Nakit, *adj.*, naked, bare, XIII. 459;  
 generally, however = without armour on  
 Nakyn, of no kind: *nakyn wis*, in no wise  
 Namly, especially  
 Nanys, For the, for the nonce, X. 58  
 Nave, fist;  
*pl.*, Nevis, Nevys  
 Navyn, *s.*, shipping, III. 393  
 Nedlyngis, *adj.*, necessarily  
 Neid-way, *adv.*, of necessity  
 Neist, Neyst, nearest, next  
 Neuth, *prep.*, beneath  
 Nevo, nephew  
 Newlyngis, *adv.*, newly  
 Nigramansy, *s.*, necromancy, IV. 747  
 Noblay, nobility  
 Nocht, not  
 Nocht-for-the, *adv.*, nevertheless  
 Nouthir, *conj.*, neither;  
*adv.*, not, VI. 522  
 Novelreis, novelties, XIX. 394  
 Noy, annoy, hurt (O.F. *nuire*, to injure)  
 Noyn(e), noon  
 Noyus, disagreeable, XIX. 742  
 Nynt, ninth  
 Nysste, "nicety," folly  
 Nychtbur, Nychtbour, *s.*, neighbour  
 Nygramansour, necromancer, IV. 242  
 Nyt, *v.*, *p.t.*, denied, I. 52 (O.F. *noier*, *neier*, to deny)  
  
 Obeiss, to obey;  
*pr. p.* as *adj.*, Obeysand  
 Oblesteris, "arblasteris," crossbow-men, XVII. 236

Occisioune, slaughter, XIV. 220  
 Ocht, aught, III. 282  
 Off lyve, alive, I. 293  
 Of-new, anew  
 Oftsis, often ("oftsithes," oft-times, A.S. *sīth*, a time)  
 Oftymis, *adv.*, oft-times  
 On-ane, anon, immediately  
 Ony, *adj.*, any  
 Oost, Ost, host, army  
 Otow, *prep.*, beyond  
 Oucht, Owcht, *adv.*, at all;  
     very, XV. 428  
 Ouirmair, Owyr-mar, farther away  
 Our, *prep.*, over  
 Our, Owyr, *adv.*, too, very;  
     over, across;  
     also in compounds: *e.g.*, *Our-drawyn*, etc.  
 Ourdriff, "drive over," survive  
 Our-ga, "go over," overcome  
 Our-hy, *v.*, "hie or hasten over," overtake  
 Ourta(k), overtake;  
     manage, VIII. 190;  
     cover, XI. 125;  
     *p.p.* *Ourtane*, "done for," condemned, XIX. 55  
 Ourthwort, *adv.*, "overthwart," beyond on each side  
 Ourtumyllit, "over-tumbled," upset  
 Outane, Outtak, Outaken, Outakin, besides, except  
 Out-our, *prep.*, across, beyond, over  
 Outraying, *s.*, harm, injury, XVIII. 182  
 Owk, week (still an Aberdeenshire word)  
 Owth, *prep.* and *adv.*, above, outside;  
     beyond, XIV. 352.  
 Oysis, *v.*, uses, are used;  
     *p.t.* and *p.p.*, Oysit (O.F. *user*, to be in the habit);  
     Oys, *s.*, use  
  
 Pailyhownys, Palyheonis, etc., pavilions, tents  
 Panch, *s.*, paunch  
 Par, for (O.F. *par*): *e.g.*, *par cheryte*, for charity  
 Parage, rank, lineage, I. 102, 276  
 Paramouris, *adv.*, as a mistress  
 Paske (in comps), Pasche, Easter  
 Pautener, *adj.*, low, rascally (O.F. *pautonier*, vagabond)  
 Peill, a fort with stockade and ditch. O.F. *pel*; Late Lat. *pelum* (acc.), a stake, X. 137  
 Peir, *v.*, to equal, match  
 Pennystane, a flat stone used as a quoit, XIII. 581 (E and H, see note)  
 Percas, *adv.*, by chance (O.F. *per cas*)  
 Perde = *par dieu* (F.), an expletive, truly, etc. See next  
 Perfay, "by my faith," truly (O.F. *per fei*, by my faith)  
 Performyst, performed, XII. 61 (O.F. *parformir*)



Perquer, by heart, thoroughly (O.F. *per quer* (cuer), by heart)

Peth, path, pass

Petwisly, Pitwysly, piteously

Pik, *s.*, pitch, XVII. 611

Planer, full, I. 624

Play, *s.*, pleasure, V. 73;  
tricks, XIX. 364

Plenyhe, *v.*, to complain

Plewch, plough

Pollis, pools, XII. 395, 404

Portrait, *v.*, *p.p.*, painted, X. 743;  
formed, shaped, X. 281

Pouerale, "poor-folk," camp-followers (O.F. *pouraille*, poor folk)

Poustè, Powstè, power;  
for *lege poustè*, see Lege

Poynt, *s.*, moment, opportunity;  
feat of arms, in *poynt of weir*, XVI. 492, and alone, XVI. 499;  
*at poynt*, in good condition, favourable, III. 702;  
*in sic poynt*, in such array, XII. 93;  
*into sic point*, at such a "point" or crisis, IV. 331

Pray, *v.*, to prey;  
also *s.*, with *plur.* Prayis

Preif, *v.*, to prove;  
*p.t.*, Previt

Presand, *s.*, present: *in* or *intill* presand, as a present

Prek, Prik, *v.*, prick, wound, spur; Prikand, riding

Prevate, *s.*, "privity," privacy, secrecy; secret design, X. 161

Pris, Prys, *v.*, to prize, esteem, praise

Proplexite, *s.*, perplexity

Pryme, prime (six o'clock), the first of the "canonical hours"

Pundelan, hero, warrior

Punsoune, a dagger

Punyhe, a skirmish

Pupill, people

Purchas, *v.*, to get, procure (O.F. *porchacier*, *pourchacier*, to follow, to procure)

Purchas, *s.*, effort;  
contrivance, plot, XIX. 12

Purvians, "purveyance," provisions, IV. 397

Pusoune, *s.*, poison

Put againe, push back, repulse

Pyne, pain, suffering, distress (A.S. *pin*, pining, suffering)

Queyr, choir, XX. 293

Quhar, where;  
also in compounds, *Quharfor*, *Quhar-throuch*, etc.

Quhedirand, whizzing or roaring. XVII. 684

Quheill, *s.*, wheel

Quhestling, Quhistlyng, *s.*, "whistling," baying (of a dog), VI. 94, 87

Quhet, *s.*, wheat, V. 398

Quheyn(e), *adj.*, "wheen," few;  
also Quhoyne;

*comp.* Quhenar  
 Quhilum, "whilom," once  
 Quhyne, whence, VII. 240  
 Quod, *v.*, "quoth," said, XVIII. 57  
 Quyntis, *s.*, "quaint" devices or decorations on the armour or on flags, XI. 194; XIII. 183  
 Qyrtly, securely, X. 548;  
     freely, completely  
 Quyrbolle, leather hardened by heating, etc., XII. 22.  
     See note  
  
 Rad, *adj.*, frightened, afraid  
 Radness, fear  
 Raid, *v.*, *p.t.*, rode  
 Rair, Rar, *v.*, to roar  
 Rais, Rase, *s.*, "race," strong current  
 Rais, *v.*, *p.t.*, rose  
 Raith, Rath, soon  
 Rakit, *v.*, *p.t.*, moved with speed (A.S. *racian*)  
 Randoun, *s.*, onrush, force (O.F. *randon*, force)  
 Rangale, Rangald, Rangall, rabble  
 Range: *on range* "in rank," in "Indian file," X. 379  
 Rangit, *v.*, *p.p.*, ranged, ranked, XI. 431  
 Ranyt, *v.*, *p.t.*, rained  
 Rath, *adv.*, soon  
 Ratret, Retret, retreat  
 Raucht, *v.*, *p.t.*, reached, dealt.  
     See Reik  
 Raw, *s.*, row  
 Realtè, Reawtè, royalty, kingdom  
 Rebaldail, Rybbaldail, rabble;  
     also Rebaldis, rogues  
 Rebelland, *pr. p.*, as *adj.*, "rebelling," rebellious  
 Rebours, at, in great dislike  
 Reboytit, Rebutyt, repulsed;  
     also Reboytting, *s.*, repulse (A.F. *reboter*: O.F. *rebuter*)  
 Reconsalit, *v.*, *pp.*, reconciled  
 Recour, recovery, II. 543  
 Recryand, recreant, cowardly  
 Red(e), Reid, *s.*, counsel;  
     *tane to red*, come to the conclusion, taken the advice, XII. 389, XVII. 267 (A.S. *ræd*,  
     counsel)  
 Red(e), *v.*, to advise  
 Red, *v.*, save, IV. 132, XIX. 677  
 Redyit, *v.*, *p.t.*, got ready, IX. 171  
 Refe, Reve, *v.*, to take away;  
     *p.t.*, Reft;  
     *p.p.*, Revede, reft, V. 12  
 Refrenyhe, *v.*, to refrain  
 Regnyt, reigned, XIII. 698  
 Reif, *s.*, plunder (A.S. *rēaf*)

Reik, *v.*, reach, XVII. 419;  
*p.t.*, Raucht

Reik, Reyk, *s.*, smoke

Releif, *s.*, payment on taking possession of a property, XII. 320

Releyit, *p.p.*, provided with a fresh supply, IV. 456

Relit, Relyt, *v.*, *p.t.* reeled

Rely, *v.*, to rally;  
*p.t.*, Releyt;  
*p.p.*, Releit

Renconfort, *v.*, to encourage

Rengye, Renyhe, Reynye, rein

Renk, "rink," space, II. 365. See note

Renyit, *v.*, *p.p.*, denied (O.F. *renier*, to deny)

Renyhe, Reynye, *s.*, rein

Repair, *s.*, dwelling, haunt, place of meeting or retreat

Repreif, *s.*, reproof

Reprief, *v.*, to reprove

Rerit, *v.*, *p.t.*, reared

Rescours, rescue (O.F. *rescos*, *rescousse*, succour)

Reset, refuge (O.F. *recet*, place of refuge);  
also *v.*, *p.p.*, Resettit, received

Revede. See Reve

Rewis, streets (F. *rue*)

Riall, Ryoll, *adj.*, royal;  
*s.*, Rialtè, royalty, royal power

Richtwisness, righteousness, *adj.*, Rychtwis;  
*adv.*, Rychtiously

Rif, *v.*, rive

Rik, kingdom (A.S. *rīce*, a kingdom, sovereignty)

Rocht, Roucht, *v.*, *p.t.* See Raucht

Rod, *s.*, road, path

Roucht, *v.*, *p.t.*, I should not reck or care, VII. 24 (A.S. *rēcan*, *rōhte*)

Routit, snored, V. 632

Rownand, Rowning, *pr. p.*, whispering, XII. 360;  
as *s.*, Rownyng, XII. 368

Rowt, Rout, *s.*, a blow;  
also Rowt, *s.*, a company, troop

Roydly, Ruydly, rudely, fiercely

Rude-evyn, *s.*, Eve of the Exaltation of the Rood or Cross, XVII. 634

Rusche, to rush, drive back, overthrow, repulse;  
also Rus, XII. 527;  
*p.t.*, Ruschit, Rouschit

Rybbaldy, *s.*, dissipation, I. 341

Ryde, *adj.*, severe, XII. 557

Ryg, ridge

Rymmyll, *s.*, blow

Ryng, *v.*, to reign. See on *Language*

Ryoll, *adj.*, royal, XIII. 30

Ryot, *v.*, in *ryot to*, made "riot" in, ravaged

Ryth, *adv.*, "right," utterly, I. 194

Sa, so

Sa yhe, say ye, VII. 258

Sad, steadfast, XII. 134. See next

Sadly, firmly, compactly, steadfastly, XIII. 374, 494, XVII. 576 (Mid. E. sad = firm, etc., as in Chaucer)

Sair, Sayr, sorely: *by sair*, pay for dearly, XVIII. 514

Sakless, innocent

Salit, *v.*, *p.t.*, sailed;  
*pr. p.*, Saland

Sall, shall

Sals, sauce, III. 540

Salt, *s.*, assault;  
also Sawt

Salusit, saluted, IV. 509

Sam(m)yn, *adv.*, together

Sam(m)yn, *adj.*, same

Sanct, *s.*, saint;  
*v.*, *p.p.*, sainted

Sanyt. See Sayn

Sar, Sayr, sorely

Sarraly, close together;  
also *adj.* and *adv.*, Sarray, close, closely

Sary, sorry

Saucht, *v.*, *p.p.*, reconciled, X. 300 (*cf.* A.S. *saht*, peace)

Sauf, Sawff, *v.*, to save

Saufly, safely

Sauftè, Savitè, safety

Savourit, scented, XVI. 70

Sawin, *v.*, *p.p.*, sown, IV. 685

Sawt, *s.*, assault: also Salt

Sayn, *v.*, *s.*, bless;  
*p.t.*, Sanyt (O.F. *seignier*, to bless with the sign of the cross; Lat. *signare*)

Saynd, a message, V. 196 (A.S. *sand*, a sending)

Scaffatis, scaffolds

Scaill, *s.*, a scattered company, men in loose order

Scale, Scaill, *v.*, to scatter, separate;  
*p.t.* Scalit;  
*p.p.* Scalit;  
also Skalyt

Scarsly, scarcely

Scath, *s.*, harm: also *v.*, to harm

Scathfull, Scathless, harmfull, unharmed

Schar, Schair, Schare, cut, carved;  
*p.t.* of Scher

Schavalduris, vagrants, V. 205. See note

Schaw, *v.*, show;  
*p.t.* Schew, X. 161, or Schawit

Schaw, *s.*, thicket, grove

Schawdest, *adj.*, *super.*, shallowest, IX. 354

Sched, clove, divided

Schent, *v.*, *p.p.*, shamed  
 Scher, *v.*, to shear, cut up  
 Schiltrum, a close-packed body of men: so in E;  
     C has *childrome* (A.S. *scild*, a shield, *truma*, a troop)  
 Schipfar, *s.*, a journey in a ship  
 Schir, *s.*, sir  
 Schire, *adj.*, bright;  
     also *adv.*, Schyre (A.S. *scīr*, bright)  
 Scho, *pron.*, she  
 Schoir, Schore, *adj.*, sheer, steep  
 Schonand, shunning, V. 201  
 Schop, *v.*, prepare;  
     more usual Schap, XVI. 573  
 Schore, *adj.*, "sheer," steep  
 Schoyne, "shoon," shoes, II. 510  
 Schoyr, loud threats (*cf.* Withoutin outhter bray, or bost, or *schore*.—*King Hart*)  
 Schup(e), "shaped," purposed, attempted;  
     *p.t.* of Schap  
 Schynand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, shining  
 Scowking, *s.*, "skulking," cowardice  
 Scowryt, *v.*, *p.p.*, scoured  
 Scrymmyng, *s.*, skirmishing, XIX. 521 (O.F. *escrimer*, to fence)  
 Se, *v.*, to see, watch over  
 Segis, seats (F. *siege*, a seat): astrological term as "mansions"  
 Seik, *adj.*, sick  
 Seir, Ser, various, separate  
 Sekir, safe, sure, firm, steadfast  
 Sekirly, Sekyrly, certainly  
 Sekirnis, security, certainty  
 Sekkis, *s.*, sacks  
 Sembland, "semblance," show  
 Semble, *s.*, assembly, body of men, II. 380  
 Sen, since  
 Send, *v.*, *p.t.* of Send;  
     *p.p.*, Send, Sent  
 Sent, *s.*, scent  
 Sentens, meaning, IV. 260  
 Senyhory, Senyhoury, sovereignty, lordship, rule  
 Sermonyng, *s.*, speech, explanation, IV. 278  
 Sesand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, seizing  
 Sesing, *s.*, possession, VI. 496  
 Setis, snares, III. 479  
 Seyle, *s.*, good, I. 303 (A.S. *sæ̅l*). *Cf. adj. Sely* (*silly*) (A.S. *sæ̅lig*)  
 Schawis, *v.*, shows  
 Shraf, *v.*, *p.t.*, shrived, XI. 377  
 Sib, related, kin  
 Sib-man, relative  
 Sic, Sik, such

Sich, *v.*, to sigh

Sith, Syth, times, unaltered *plur*;  
also Sis, Sythis (A.S. *sīth*, a time).  
See *Grammar*

Skaith, scath, hurt, injury. See Scath

Skalyt. See Scalit

Skill, reason

Skunnyrrit, *v.*, *p.t.*, avoided in dislike

Sla, *v.*, slay;  
*pr. p.*, Slayand

Slaid, *v.*, slid

Slak, *s.*, a hollow

Sle, sly, crafty, skilled. *Cf.* Slear, Sleast;  
*adv.*, Slely

Sleuch, *v.*, *p.t.*, slew

Sleuth, slot, track (O.N. *sloth*, a track)

Slew, *v.*, *p.t.*, struck in *slew fyre* (A.S. *slean*, to strike)

Slike, Slyk, mud, slime. For first Skeat gives "slyk," rapidly (?), VI. 78

Slop, a gap, opening;  
*pl.*, Sloppis.  
*Cf. slaps and stiles* in "Tam o' Shanter"

Smat, *v.*, *p.t.*, smote

Snell, biting, sharp, severe (A.S. *snell*, quick, sharp)

Snuk(e), a promontory, I. 188 IV 556

Socht, Soucht, *v.*, *p.t.*, sought

Solacious, *adj.*, pleasant, X. 290

Somdeill, *adv.*, somewhat, to some extent

Sop, *s.*, a sup, a hasty meal

Sop, *s.*, a close body of men;  
*pl.* Soppis, heaps

Southren, southern

Sowing, *s.*, pricking, piercing, XVI. 628

Soym, trace of a cart. See Hede-soyme

Soyn(e), Sone, Soune, *adv.*, soon

Spar, *v.*, faster, bar;  
*p.t.*, Sparit, Sperit, Spyryt, etc.

Spayn, span, grasp

Spering, Speryng, *s.*, asking, information;  
also *v.*, Sperit, inquired (A.S. *spirian*)

Spoulyheing, *s.*, spoiling

Sprent, *v.*, *p.t.*, sprang, XII. 49

Spryngaldis, shooting-machines, XVII. 247. See note

Spulyheit, *v.*, *p.p.*, spoiled

Squyary, a body of "squyares" or esquires

Stablist, *v.*, *p.t.*, "established," settled

Stad, "bested," hard pressed

Staffing, *s.*, thrusting, pushing, XVII. 785

Staff-slyngis, slings on sticks, XVII. 344. See note

Stail, a fixed position, XVII. 97

Standand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, standing  
 Stane, *s.*, stone;  
     *pl.*, Stanis  
 Stay, *adj.*, steep  
 Sted(e), Steid, "stead," place (A.S. *stede*)  
 Steir, *v.*, stir, IX. 382 (A.S. *styrian*): *on steir*, a-stir  
 Steir, Ster(e), *s.*, a rudder (A.S. *steōr*, steering, rudder)  
 Steir, Steyr, *v.*, to "steer," direct, govern  
 Stekis, *v.*, closes  
 Stekit, *v.*, *p.t.*, stuck, stabbed  
 Stemmand, steering, straight, V. 25  
 Stent, *v.*, to pitch, set up;  
     *p.t.*, Stentit  
 Sterand, "stirring," prancing, XI. 129  
 Stern, a star;  
     *pl.*, Sternis, Steris  
 Stert, *v.*, to start;  
     *p.t.*, stert  
 Stertling, *s.*, restless motion. (*Cf. fische wantounly stertland.—Complaynt of Scotlande*)  
 Stew, mist, vapour, XI. 614  
 Stint, *v.*, stop, X. 716;  
     *s.*, Stinting, stopping  
 Stith, Styth, "stiff," strong, hardy (A.S. *stīth*, strong);  
     also *adv.*, Stithly  
 Stoking, thrusting, XVII. 785 (F. *estoquer*, to thrust)  
 Stole, "stool," seat  
 Stonay, *v.*, to astonish, terrify, defeat;  
     *p.t.* and *p.p.*, Stonayit  
 Stot, drive back  
 Stound, *s.*, time, while  
 Stour, *s.*, conflict, battle (A.F. *estur*)  
 Stowpand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, stooping, VIII. 297  
 Straif, *v.*, *p.t.*, strove  
 Straucht, Strawcht, *adj.*, straight;  
     also *adv.*  
 Straucht, *v.*, *p.t.*, stretched out;  
     also *p.p.*  
 Strecour, *s.*, a young hound, VI. 487  
 Strekit, *v.*, *p.t.*, and *p.p.*, stretched, extended: *strekite weill*, clearly defined, XX. 317  
 Strenyheit, *p.p.*, constrained  
 Strikand, *pr. p.*, "striking" leading, VI. 238;  
     *p.p.* Strikin, fought  
 Strowit, *p.p.*, strewn  
 Stroy, *v.*, destroy  
 Sture, sturdy, strong (A.S. *stōr*, great)  
 Sua, Swa(y), so  
 Suagat, Swagat, so, in such a manner  
 Succudry, pride, presumption (O.F. *sorcuiderie*)  
 Sudjorne, *s.* and *v.*, sojourn  
 Suel, died, IV. 311 (A.S. *sweltan*, to die)

Suet, life-blood, life, XIII. 32

Suld, should

Sum, as *suffix*, altogether, in all: e.g., *fiff-sum*, five in all; *six-sum*, etc.

Sumdeill, Sumdele, *adv.*, somewhat, to some extent

Sumkyn, *adv.*, of some kind. *Cf.* Nakyn

Summer, the bearing or principal beam;  
same word as next, XVII. 696

Summer, a sumpter-horse, XIX. 746 (O.F. *sommier*)

Suppowale, support, reinforcement, XVI. iii, 139

Sur-noune, surname, XVII. 152

Suth, *adj.*, true;  
*s.*, truth

Suthfast, *adj.*, true;  
*s.*, Suthfastnes;  
*adv.*, Suthley

Swa. See Sua.

Swak, a blow, V. 643

Swappit, drew quickly, threw, cast

Swar, *v.*, *p.t.*, swore;  
also Swoir

Swat, *s.*, sweat

Swonand, swooning, XVII. 648

Swilk, Swylk, such

Swith, Swyth, quickly, soon: *als swith*, as quickly as possible

Swoir, *v.*, *p.t.*, swore;  
also Swar

Swome, *v.*, to swim, III. 431

Sychand, *pr. p.*, sighing

Sykis, streams in a muddy bottom, XI. 300. See note

Syn(e), *adv.*, afterwards, then, next, at last

Syndir, Syndri, *adj.*, sundry, various, separate;  
*adv.*, Syndrely

Sythyn, *adv.*, afterwards

Syttyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, sat

Ta, *v.*, take;  
*p.t.*, Tuk;  
*p.p.*, Tan(e), Tayne;  
*pr. p.*, Takand

Ta; *the ta* = *thet a*, the one (see *Grammar*);  
also *the tane* = *thet-ane*

Taill, payment by an heir on succeeding to an estate, XII. 320

Tais, *v.*, takes

Tailyhe, agreement, XX. 134;  
*v.*, Talit (E. Tailyheit), agreed upon, XIX. 188

Taknyng, Takynnyng, sign, token, evidence (A.S. *tācnung*, a sign)

Takyn, a token, sign, signal (A.S. *tācn*, a token)

Tald, *v.*, *p.t.*, Told

Tale, number, XI. 5 (A.S. *tal*, number)

Talent, *s.*, desire: so also in Chaucer, B. 1137

Tane the, the one. See Ta



Tasit, drew back, V. 623. See note

Taskar, a thresher (A.S. *therscan*, to thresh)

Tastit, *v.*, tested, tried

Taucht, *v.*, *p.t.*, gave

Tauld, *v.*, *p.t.*, told

Te, *v.*, to tie, XV. 282

Tell, count (A.S. *tellan*)

Tend, tenth

Tene, Teyne, anger, vexation, II. 377: *for propyr tene* in his personal vexation (A.S. *tēona*, injury, insult)

Tent, care, heed

Ter, tar, XVII. 611

Tha(y), those. See *Grammar*

Thak, thatch

Than, *adv.*, then;  
even, I. 217

Thar, *impers. v.*, it needs, it is necessary, VIII. 257, XII. 300;  
*p.t.*, Thurt

Thar, *adv.*, there;  
and in compounds, Thareftir, Thar-fra, therefrom;  
Thartill, thereto;  
Thar-through, thereby

Tharup, “up there”

The-quhethir, however, and yet, nevertheless. See *Grammar (Conj)*.

Thine, thence;  
*fra thine*, from thence, V. 190;  
Thine-furth, thenceforth, XVII. 722

Thir, these. See *Grammar (Pron)*

Thocht, *conj.*, though

Thole, Thoill, *v.*, to suffer, endure;  
*p.t.*, Tholyt;  
*p.p.*, Tholit (A.S. *tholian*, to suffer)

Thouch(t), though

Thowlesnes, heedlessness, I. 333

Thra, eager (O.N. *thrār*, stubborn)

Thrang, *s.* “throng,” crowd, press;  
difficulty, distress, X. 117, XV. 353

Thraw, a little time (A.S. *thrāg*, a space of time)

Thrawing, *s.*, throwing

Threllis, “thralls,” slaves;  
also Thryll;  
Threldome, *s.*, thraldom

Thretty, thirty

Thrillag(e), Thryllage, thraldom;  
also Thrildome, Thryldome

Thrillit, pierced (A.S. *thirlian*, to pierce)

Thring, Thryng, *v.*, to throng;  
*pr. p.*, Thringand (A.S. *thringan*, to press, crowd)

Thristill, a throstle, thrush

Thristing, *s.*, thrusting, XIII. 156

Throppill, the windpipe, the throat

Throuch, Throw;

*prep.*, through  
 Throwand, *pr. p.*, writhing, XV. 230  
 Thurt. See Thar  
 Thyrland, piercing, making holes in, II. 540;  
*pr. p.* of Thrillit  
 Tid, Tyd, time (A.S. *tīd*)  
 Till, *prep.*, to  
 Till-hewyn, *p.p.*, scarred, cut in different directions, XX. 367;  
*p.t.*, Till-hewyt, clove, cut down, II. 381  
 Tit, Tyt, *adv.*, soon, quickly;  
*comp.* Titar, Tyttar  
 Tit, Tyt, *v.*, snatch, pull, V. 603, XVI. 132  
 Tithand, Tithing, *s.*, tidings, news  
 To-fruschytt, *v., p.p.*, crushed, broken in pieces (A.S. *to*, in two; O.F. *froissier*, to break)  
 To-ga, fled  
 To-morn, to-morrow  
 Top-castellis, top-castles or fighting-tops of a war-ship  
 To-stonay, to astound thoroughly. ("To" is intensive = Ger. *Zu*)  
 Tothir in *the tothir*, second. See *Grammar*  
 Tournys, *v.*, turns  
 To-waverand, wandering in different directions  
 Towme, a tomb  
 Toym, Tume, leisure, V. 642 (Icel. *tōm*, emptiness, leisure). See note  
 Trammys, war-engines, structures of wood, XVII. 245  
 Trane, Traine, Trayn, stratagem, plot  
 Tranonting, Tranontyne *s.*, stratagem, specially, apparently, a forced march, VII. 508, 608;  
*v.*, Tranontit, XVIII. 360  
 Trappit, furnished with trappings, armoured (of horses)  
 Trast, Traist, *adj.*, trusty;  
 secure, XIV. 466;  
*comp.*, Trastar;  
*v.*, Trast, Trastit;  
*adv.*, Trastly, Traistly, trustfully, securely, confidently;  
*comp.* Trastlyar;  
 also Trast, *subs.*, appointment, XVII. 36  
 Travaiill, *v.*, to travel, work hard, *pr. p.*;  
 also Travale, trouble, interfere with, VI. 602  
 Travaiill, Travell, *s.*, a difficult journey, IV. 48;  
 labour, hardship;  
*pl.*, Travalys: also Travailyhe  
 Travaland, toiling, travelling;  
*p.t.*, Travalit, troubled, harassed, etc.  
 Tray, *s.*, vexation, XVIII. 233 (A.S. *trega*)  
 Trayne, *v.*, draw, entice, XIX. 354  
 Tretis, *s.*, a treaty;  
 proposes to treat, X. 125  
 Treuth, *s.*, troth, trust;  
*gaf treuth*, believed, IV. 223  
 Trew, *v.*, trust, believe  
 Trewis, Trowis, *s.*, truce;  
 also as *plur.*, XIX. 200, 203  
 Treyn, *adj.*, wooden

Trist, "tryst," place of meeting;  
*set trist*, appointed, VII. 235

Tropellis, troops, small bodies (O.F. *tropel*, *dimin.* of *trope* = troupeau, a troop)

Trow, *v.*, believe;  
Trowit, Trowit

Trumpe, to sound the trumpet;  
*pr. p.*, Trumpan;  
*p.t.*, Trumpit, XIX. 429.  
See note

Trumpe, *v.*, to sound on a trumpet;  
*pr. p.*, Trumpan

Trumpit, *p.p.*, deceived, XIX. 712 (?) (F. *tromper*, to deceive)

Trunsioune, a truncheon, staff of office

Trymbill, *v.*, to tremble, II. 295;  
*pr. subj.*, Trymmyll, XII. 268

Tulyheit, *v.*, *p.t.*, harassed, IV. 152

Tume, leisure, XVII. 735. See Toym.

Tummyll, *v.*, tumble: *p.t.*, Tumlit, pulled down

Turs, *v.*, truss, pack up (O.F. *torser*); Tursit, Tursit

Tutlyng, tooting on a horn, XIX. 604

Twa(y), two

Twist, a twig, a small branch, VII. 188

Twyn, *adj.*, twain, IV. 691

Tyd, *v.*, to betide, happen

Tymbrys, crests (F. *timbre*)

Tyne, *v.*, to lose;  
*p.t.*, Tynt (Icel. *tyna*, to lose)

Tynsale, loss, harm

Tysday, Tuesday

Tyt. See Tit

Umbecast, *v.*, to consider, think over

Umbeset, *v.*, beset

Umbestount, *adv.*, sometimes, VII. 398  
(A.S. *ymbe*, about; *stund*, a time)

Umbethink, Umbethought, bethink, bethought

Umquhill, sometimes (A.S. *hwīl*, a time)

Unabasitly, boldly

Unbondyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, unbound

Under-ta(k), *v.*, undertake;  
*p.p.*, Undertane

Unfair, Unfayr, unfortunate, evil

Unseill, *s.*, misfortune (A.S. *unsæil*)

Unwittandly, unwisely

Unwemmyt. See Wem

Upcom, *s.*, way up;  
also Upgang

Ure, *s.*, fate, luck, "especially 'good luck'" (Skeat) (O.F. *eur. Cf. bonheur*)

Utelaufs, outlaws

Utouth, outside, II. 299

Valayis, *s.*, valleys;  
*pl.*, of Valè  
 Vanys, veins  
 Vaslage, Vassalage, prowess, valour (such as was expected from a vassal)  
 Vath, *s.*, danger (O.N. *vāthi*)  
 Vaward, vanguard  
 Vencus, Vencust, *v.*, vanquish, vanquished  
 Vere, spring  
 Verty. See Averty  
 Veschall, "vessels"; *i.e.*, plate, XI. 117 (F. *vaisselle*)  
 Viage, *s.*, voyage  
 Vittelleris, Vittelouris, *s.*, "victualers," foragers  
 Volageous, "flighty," dashing, unsettled, VIII. 445, X. 553  
 Vyre, a bolt for a crossbow  
 Vyre, cast, XVII. 704 (O.F. *virer*)

Wa, Way, *s.*, woe;  
*adj.*, sad, sorry  
 Wach, Wauch, *v.*, watch, guard  
 Wafand, waving  
 Wageouris, *s.*, "waged soldiers," mercenaries, XI. 48  
 Waik, weak. *Cf.* Waykar  
 Wald, *s.*, wold  
 Wald, *v.*, would  
 Walk, *v.*, to wake, watch;  
*p.t.*, Walknyt.  
 See *Language*, "1"  
 Walkyn, *v.*, to awake. See *Language*, "1"  
 Wallyt, *p.p.*, walled  
 Walopyt, galloped, II. 440  
 Wan(e), *v.*, *p.t.* of won  
 Wane, Wayne, quantity, XVI. 454  
 Wapnys, *s.*, weapons  
 Wappyt, *v.*, *p.t.*, struck, knocked, XVII. 691  
 War, *s.*, ware, merchandise, XIX. 194  
 War, *adj.*, aware;  
 wary, X. 333  
 War, *adv.*, worse, XIII. 219  
 War, *v.*, were  
 Warisoune, Warysoun, *s.*, reward  
 Warn, *v.*, to refuse, IV. 392;  
*p.t.*, Warnyt, opposed;  
 warned (A.S. *wyrnan*, to refuse)  
 Warnist, *v.*, *p.t.* and *p.p.*, stored, provided with;  
*s.*, Warnasyng, Warnysyng (O.F. *warnir*; F. *garnier*, to provide)  
 Warnisoun, garrison  
 Warpyt, *v.*, threw (A.S. *weorpan*, to throw)  
 Warrant, Warand(e), *s.*, refuge, place of safety, protection;  
*v.*, Warand, to protect  
 Warrar, *adj.*, *comp.* more aware, V. 546

Warra(y), *v.*, to war against;  
*pr. p.*, Warrayand, warring upon, making war  
 Warraying, *s.*, "warring," warfare  
 Waryit, cursed (A.S. *wergian*, to curse)  
 Wassand, weasand, throat, VII. 584  
 Wat, *adj.*, wet  
 Watyt, *v. p.t.*, "waited," lay in wait for, I. 202  
 Wat(e), *v.*, wot, know  
 Wauch. See Wach  
 Waverand, *v., pr. p.*, wandering about  
 Wayn, Weyn, "weening," thought, purpose  
 Wayndist, gave way, swerved, recoiled (O.F. *wandir, gander*, to turn aside, escape)  
 We, "wee," a small space or short time  
 Wecht, *s.*, weight  
 Weddir, "wether," sheep  
 Weid, dress;  
 armour, XVI. 580;  
*pl. Wedis* (A.S. *wæd*, clothing)  
 Weill, Weile, Wele, Weyle, *adv.*, well very  
 Weir, *s.*, war  
 Weir, *s.*, doubt;  
*but weir*, without doubt  
 Weld, *v.*, "wield";  
*pr. p.*, Weldand, ruling, guiding  
 Weltir, *v.*, upset, XI. 25;  
*pr. p.*, Weltrand, rolling. III. 719;  
*p.t.*, Weltryt, rolled  
 Wem, stain, scar (A.S. *wam*);  
*v., p.p.*, Wemmyt, scarred, XX. 368  
 Wend, *v.*, to go;  
*p.t.*, Went  
 Wend, *v.*, "weened," thought, expected;  
*p.t.*, Wenit  
 Wene, Weyne, *s.*, supposition;  
*but we(y)ne*, without doubt (A.S. *wen*)  
 Wenyng, "weening," supposing, foretelling, IV. 765  
 Wer, *adj.*, worse; also War  
 Wer(e), *v.*, to defend, XVI. 594  
 Wer, Weyr, *s.*, doubt: *but wer*, without doubt.  
 See Weir  
 Werd, We(i)rdis, fate, destiny, and *pl.*  
 Wicht, *adj.*, strong, brave, active  
 Wikkid, *adj.*, poor, cruel;  
*s.*, Wikkidness, timidity, weakness, XII. 280;  
 Wikidly, severely, XVII. 809  
 Will, *adj.*, wild, astray, VII. 2 (see note): *will of red—of wane*, at a loss  
 Wis, *adj.*, "wise," way (A.S. *wīs*)  
 Wissill, mutually destroy, XII. 580  
 With, Wyth, *prep.*, against, I. 520;  
 by, I. 521  
 Withsay, *v.*, gainsay, oppose, I. 210  
 With-thi, *conj.*, on condition that

Wittely, *adv.*, wisely  
 Wittering, Witting, *s.*, knowledge, information  
 Witterly, Wittirly, for certain  
 Witty, *adj.*, wise, prudent  
 Wlispyt, *v.*, lisped (Old Low Germ. *wlispēn*)  
 Wod, Woud, *s.*, wood  
 Wone, *v.*, *p.p.*, wont, accustomed  
 Wonnand, *v.*, *pr. p.*, dwelling;  
     *p.t.*, Wounyt (A.S. *wunian*, to dwell)  
 Wonnyn, *v.*, *p.p.*, won  
 Wonnyng, *s.*, dwelling  
 Worschip, *s.*, valour  
 Worth (Worthis), Worthit, *v.*, becomes, became;  
     *p.p.*, *Worthyn*: *hym worthit neid*, it became necessary for him, XIX. 209;  
     *wo worth*, woe be to, I. 515  
 Worthyhede, honour  
 Woude, "wud," mad, XVII. 106 (A.S. *wōd*);  
     also Wood, XX. 483  
 Woude, *v.*, *p.t.*, waded (A.S. *wadan*, *wod*)  
 Wouk, *v.*, *p.t.*, kept watch (A.S. *wacan*, *woc*, to watch, watched)  
 Woux, Wox(e), *v.*, *p.t.*, waxed, grew  
 Wrate, Wratt, Wrayt, *v.*, wrote  
 Wre(y)th, Wreythyt, *v.*, became enraged, enraged;  
     *p.p.*, Wrethit, XVII. 45  
 Wrichtis, wrights, workmen  
 Wrocht, Wroucht, *v.*, *p.t.*, wrought  
 Wyndland, *pr. p.*, rolling, tumbling over one another, XVII. 721.  
     "Windle-straws" in Scots = dog's grass  
 Wysk, *s.*, whisk, a quick blow.

Y, Yh. See also under I.

Yare(e), Yha(i)r, *adj.*, ready; also *adv.*  
 Yheld, Yhald, Yholdyn, *v.*, yield, yielded  
 Yharn(e), Yharnit, *v.*, yearn, yearned for  
 Yharne, *adv.*, diligently  
 Yheid, Yhed, Yhude, *v.*, went (A.S. *ēode*)  
 Yheit, Yheytt, yet  
 Yhemar, a keeper, groom  
 Yhemsall, Yhemsell, Yheymseill, *s.*, care (Icel. *geimsla*, guardianship)  
 Yheyme, Yhemyt, *v.*, guard, take care of (A.S. *gȳman*, to watch over)  
 Yhet, Yhate, *s.*, gate (A.S. *geat*)  
 Yhoill-evyn, "Yule-even," Christmas Eve  
 Yhon(e), *adj.*, yon;  
     *adv.*, Yhongat, in that way, in such a way  
 Yhouthheid, *s.*, youth  
 Yneuch, *adj.* as *indef. pron.*, enough, XIV. 235, 364  
 Ynkirly Ynkurly, *adv.*, specially, particularly. See Enkrely  
 Ysche, *v.* See Isch  
 Ysching, *s.*, "issuing," sally

Ysche, *s.*, "issue," way out;  
sally;  
outlet, XIV. 354

Yscheill. See Eschele

Ythand, *adj.*, diligent, constant, tenacious, also *adv.*, Ythandly

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THE END

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# LINENOTES

[i\_15] S following H reads *lenth of tyme*, characterising the expression in E “an obvious error.” But *cf.* analogous phrase in line 531, and see note.

[i\_48] E inserts *gret* before *discencioun*, but W and H omit.

[i\_54, 55] E gives *war* and so in J: but *wes* from W is preferable. For *als nere* (W) E has *alsner*.

[i\_61] From H. E has *How that in his evyn descendand*, which does not make sense. W gives *That be lyne war dissendand*, which halts metrically. See note.

[i\_77] *Sulde* in W. E omits.

[i\_129] Skeat adopts *determynatly* from H, with the meaning “certainly.” But this reading cumpers the metre; and Barbour’s word to this effect is “certis.”

[i\_130] *For* is from W and H. E omits.

[i\_218] S *nek[ke]bane*.

[i\_247] *Liking* from H. E has *wyll*, which leaves the line metrically short of a syllable.

[i\_258] *It* from H. E has *Thai thingis*, which turns the line into prose.

[i\_279] *Hard* from W improves the line. It is not given in E or H.

[i\_286] So Skeat reads, following H. E has *land that is*, which is clearly wrong. *Cf.* line 316.

[i\_287] *To* from H. E omits.

[i\_300] E has *thing that*, but H omits as here; the line then goes more smoothly.

[i\_309] *Et* or *ec* is clearly a Latin rendering of ‘&’ = and: a scribal error.

[i\_319] E has *for to*. H omits.

[i\_344] H omits *that*, and S follows.

[i\_428] H *mak*, which seems more likely.

[i\_489] *Full* is from Wyntoun. E omits.

[i\_501] E has *than thai*, which is obscure. Wyntoun gives *that thaiy ne* (S): *thaiy* seems superfluous.

[i\_506] E and S have *his assent sone*: Wyntoun as above, which preserves the correct accentuation of *assent*.

[i\_509] E reads and S adopts *wate that*.

[i\_511] Wyntoun has *Thus thir twa lordis*.

[i\_512] *Than* is from Wyntoun. S following E omits.

[i\_604] E and S *thar*: Wyntoun *than*.

[i\_620] E and S have *and tharwith*: Wyntoun omits *tharwith*.

[i\_625] E and S give *boruch* (*borwch*), but Wyntoun has it as above, and it so appears in line 628. Skeat’s Glossary is at variance with his text: he refers *borwch* to 628 also.

[ii\_23] Wyntoun gives—reversing the lines—*How before all hapnyd was*, from which Skeat suggests as an improvement on 23 *How that before al hapnyd was*.

[ii\_34] Wyntoun gives *hevy chere*; but see note.

[ii\_38] For *mony* S reads *als* from H.

[ii\_39] S begins *And* from H.

[ii\_47] For *frayit* in E Skeat reads *sted* from H.

[ii\_74] *Ilke* is from H: S adopts the form *ilka*. E gives *ilk*, a syllable short.

[ii\_84] E has *gert* for *can it* read by S from H.

[ii\_86] *That* is from H.

[ii\_87] S following H reads *verray* for *veryfyd*.

[ii\_95] H *all that* (S).

[ii\_128] In E clumsily *in all tyme sa weill to do*. The reading is from H.

[ii\_131-2] E has *gaiff him gud day*, two syllables short, and *pass furth on his way*. S reads as in text from H.

[ii\_204] *All* is from H.

[ii\_\*243-245] H has

*Als was good Cristall of Setoun,  
And Robert Boyde of great renoun,  
And other feill men of meekle might.*

These lines are from H, and are not in E. See note.

[ii\_255] H gives *While that* and S adopts.

[ii\_256] E omits *then* in H.

[ii\_265] E *Till thai*.

[ii\_280, 281] E *went*; *wend* is from H.

[ii\_292] For *cummyn* S reads *knit* from H.

[ii\_340] S *deis* for “an obvious error”; but see note.

[ii\_527] I read *luffis* without any MS. or printed authority; but surely the sense, a eulogium of love and what it may make women do, demands this reading. *Cf.* III., 351.

[ii\_534] S, following H, inserts *that* after *Quhar*.

[\[ii\\_558\]](#) S from H reads *At alkyn*. E as given.

[\[iii\\_189\]](#) E omits the first *thaim*. H has *thaim comfort* which S adopts; but *cf.* line 191. J reads *conford* in E.

[\[iii\\_194\]](#) J and S *off*; but surely it should be *oft*.

[\[iii\\_210\]](#) E reads and J prints *stanys, taneys*; but, as S points out, the latter word is impossible. H gives as above.

[\[iii\\_216\]](#) E has *king*. H gives *ying*, which S adopts; but *cf.* line 250. Hannibal was not a king, either. King is, of course, historically wrong, but Barbour has already made Julius Cæsar Emperor! See note.

[\[iii\\_275, 288\]](#) *Ythandly* (S): E has *ententily*.

[\[iii\\_319\]](#) *Set* from H (S). E has *am sad*. Perhaps *And I sad*.

[\[iii\\_365\]](#) E gives *The quhethir thaim weill confortyt he ay*. H *The whilke them wel governed ay*, whence Skeat reads *The quhilk* with E less *he*. See note.

[\[iii\\_399\]](#) E *xij*. H *ten*.

[\[iii\\_465\]](#) E has again *et*, as in I., 309.

[\[iii\\_495\]](#) E reads *nocht rest*.

[\[iii\\_502\]](#) E has *askyt*. H *kyssyt*.

[\[iii\\_508\]](#) H has *fellowes*, whence *fallowis* (S).

[\[iii\\_521\]](#) H gives *right*, which seems necessary for the metre. E and S omit.

[\[iii\\_647\]](#) *The* is in E. S reads *thi* from H.

[\[iii\\_658\]](#) J reads *flycht* from E, but the two first letters are not clear, and S prefers *stycht*, though an unusual word.

[\[iii\\_699\]](#) J reads *wavys wyd wycht*, as E probably has it. H has *with*. S puts in *wavys wyd that*, but *wycht* seems necessary and answers better to *sturdy*.

[\[iii\\_706\]](#) *On mounte* in E. H has *summitie*, whence S reads *summite*.

[\[iii\\_738\]](#) *Hailley* is from H. S from E accepts *hastely*, but the former fits in better with line 740.

[\[iii\\_750\]](#) H has *And ay for Lord they sould him ken*. E *And thai as lord suld him ken*, which S follows. *Ay* is metrically necessary. *Cf.* 758.

[\[iv\\_17\]](#) Pinkerton read it *Loudon* (S). E has *London*. H *Lochdon*: on which see note.

[\[iv\\_51\]](#) E *hame* (S).

[\[iv\\_58\]](#) E has *the folk*. Reading is from the Cambridge MS., which begins at line 57 (see *Intro.*, 27). C has *tribulit*. C also has *Kyndrumy* throughout. I have kept the more familiar form in E.

[\[iv\\_60\]](#) C omits *with*, but the garrison was more than two! See note.

[\[iv\\_61\]](#) C omits *and*, giving line 62 as *And thar wes*, etc.

[\[iv\\_63\]](#) E begins *In*. C omits.

[\[iv\\_64\]](#) C begins *With*.

[\[iv\\_66\]](#) C begins *Thaim*. E as above.

[\[iv\\_83\]](#) E *for-owtyn*.

[\[iv\\_88\]](#) C has *rygorusly*.

[\[iv\\_94\]](#) E has *Sum best, sum woundyt, sum als slayne*, where *slayne* as a past tense is impossible. The reading is from C, Skeat interpreting as *Some of the best were*, etc.

[\[iv\\_104\]](#) E has *nane*. C *na*.

[\[iv\\_123\]](#) C begins *And thair may*.

[\[iv\\_183\]](#) C has *thai wend* (S). E omits *thai*.

[\[iv\\_218\]](#) C has *that that* (S). E *that at*.

[\[iv\\_234\]](#) C has *sa felloune* (S).

[\[iv\\_244\]](#) C has *fichtyne* (S), and (254) *fichting*.

[\[iv\\_265\]](#) C gives *maid him the sam* (S).

[\[iv\\_268\]](#) For the second *hir*, C has *some* (S).

[\[iv\\_301\]](#) C has *mak* (S).

[\[iv\\_321\]](#) C has *awfully* (S).

[\[iv\\_372\]](#) *In a glen*, E H.

[\[iv\\_375\]](#) C has *sam* (S) as in 265.

[\[iv\\_398\]](#) C omits second *with* (S).

[\[iv\\_402, 403\]](#) C has *ere ... were* (S).

[\[iv\\_414\]](#) C and S omit *thai*.

[\[iv\\_419\]](#) C has *And thai slew fast without* (S).

[\[iv\\_456\]](#) *Relevit* in E.

[\[iv\\_458\]](#) C gives *strate* (S). H *strait*. E as above, which seems more fitting.

[\[iv\\_481\]](#) C *I wald* (S).

[\[iv\\_498\]](#) C gives *Hald thame all still than preve* (S). E as in text.

[\[iv\\_513\]](#) C has *ontyne*, whence *hontyne* (S).

[\[iv\\_523\]](#) C gives *And it* (S).

[\[iv\\_525\]](#) E *for-owtyne*.  
[\[iv\\_536\]](#) E *sawfte*.  
[\[iv\\_556\]](#) C *Turnberyis nuk* (S); but see note.  
[\[iv\\_616\]](#) E *none*. H *noone*.  
[\[iv\\_644\]](#) E *land*.  
[\[iv\\_\\*680\]](#) Pinkerton, whose numbering of the lines is followed by Skeat, omits this line by an oversight.  
[\[iv\\_686\]](#) C has *That thair in erd now nane is knawin* (S). Reading from E. H has *nane in eird*.  
[\[iv\\_753\]](#) C *That* (S): As E H.  
[\[iv\\_764\]](#) *Knaw* in E H.  
[\[v\\_13\]](#) E *gressys*.  
[\[v\\_17\]](#) *Is* in E. C and H give *Went*, which must be wrong. S alters to *Wes*. Cf. 254.  
[\[v\\_25\]](#) E *Sterand all tyme*.  
[\[v\\_27\]](#) E omits *that*, and with *aventur* accented as in line 69 it seems superfluous.  
[\[v\\_65\]](#) E *brodyr*.  
[\[v\\_109-112\]](#) From E. C omits by an oversight, reading on from the second *cry*.  
[\[v\\_138\]](#) E and H *fourty*: xv. (S); but Skeat inserts the rubric containing xl. from E.  
[\[v\\_162\]](#) C omits *thair*, and adds *gud* after *mekill* (S).  
[\[v\\_181\]](#) For *to* E gives *all*. H omits and reads *ryoted*.  
[\[v\\_204\]](#) C omits *all* (S).  
[\[v\\_220\]](#) E *ony*. C has *than no* (S).  
[\[v\\_298\]](#) *Blithness* in C (S). E *glaidship*. H *gladnesse*.  
[\[v\\_354\]](#) E *Quhill Dowglas*.  
[\[v\\_355\]](#) E *And then*.  
[\[v\\_371\]](#) *Threttie* is from H. Others give numerals.  
[\[v\\_388\]](#) C has *laid* (S), which is no rhyme.  
[\[v\\_447\]](#) *Is* from E. C reads *Bot the tithandis war scalit sone* (S), which leaves *Com* (449) without a subject.  
[\[v\\_448\]](#) *Is* from C. E has *Off this deid that Douglas has done*.  
[\[v\\_483\]](#) Name a misreading: see note.  
[\[v\\_\\*506\]](#) In C and H. E omits.  
[\[v\\_507\]](#) C has *worthy* (S) for *dowtit* in E.  
[\[v\\_576\]](#) C *thar* (S).  
[\[v\\_577\]](#) C *all-weldand* (S), which is a syllable short.  
[\[v\\_586\]](#) C and H have *syde of*. E omits.  
[\[vi\\_7\]](#) C gives *sair* (S): E *swa*, which is needed to correlate with *That*.  
[\[vi\\_14\]](#) C has *the thre* (S).  
[\[vi\\_18\]](#) C has *by* (S). E *be*, which is the correct Scots form.  
[\[vi\\_24\]](#) *It that* in C and S.  
[\[vi\\_31\]](#) E *thai*. C *thair* (S).  
[\[vi\\_56\]](#) C has *On* (S), but cf. line 86, where S adopts *our* from H.  
[\[vi\\_84\]](#) E gives *thai to gidder mycht lang ga*, and H similarly.  
[\[vi\\_\\*85\]](#)\*85-92 are from C. They are not consistent with 103-106, and these again are not in agreement with 295, 296. E omits the first set.  
[\[vi\\_92\]](#) C arranges *Bot he thair still thought* (S).  
[\[vi\\_184\]](#) E and H give *twynnys, twynnes* for *cummyn*.  
[\[vi\\_288\]](#) C has *woundis wyde* (S), but there is no hint of the King's wounds; cf. line 315. E has *rowtis roid*. H *routes red*. Cf., however, Bk. XV., 54, which indicates that the line is a stock one in both forms.  
[\[vi\\_325\]](#) E *perfyte*. H *a perfite*.  
[\[vi\\_360\]](#) E *Mellyt*.  
[\[vi\\_364\]](#) E has *That, as him thocht, war hard to ta*. H *That him thought was hard to ta*.  
[\[vi\\_373\]](#) E *ay still*.  
[\[vi\\_397\]](#) E *And send*.  
[\[vi\\_511\]](#) From E. C has *That cum in Cumnok to seik the King* (S), which leaves the first group of subjects without a predicate. H has *Came in*.  
[\[vi\\_514\]](#) H *three*. E *iiij*, a stroke too many.  
[\[vi\\_561\]](#) C has *he knew* (S). E and H as text.  
[\[vi\\_594\]](#) From E. C has *And let hym na-wis pas yhow fra* (S), passing suddenly to direct speech. H has *you*.  
[\[vi\\_\\*Rubric\]](#) The rubric is from H, inserted at line 598. C runs on.  
[\[vi\\_656\]](#) C *Bot till* (S). E gives *the*. Skeat in his note suggests to = too for *till!*  
[\[vi\\_657\]](#) C has *That slew four or I slew ane* (S). E as in text, and H similarly.

[vi\_661] C begins *The* (S).

[vii\_126] In E *That he wes the selvyn Robert king*.

[vii\_153] H *And strake* (S). C E as text.

[vii\_174] E *Men worthis*.

[vii\_181, 182] E *drey—wey*.

[vii\_\*203, 204] Not in E, but in C and H (S).

[vii\_210] E omits *all*.

[vii\_236] E *inwith nycht*.

[vii\_\*301-305]\*301-305 not in E, running on from the second *trastly*.

[vii\_323] E *hundir*.

[vii\_331] E *to warrand*.

[vii\_359] C has *all fre* (S).

[vii\_371] E *This nycht atcur all othir thing*. H as in C.

[vii\_378] E *And that his wes gane al fre*.

[vii\_459] C *Had hym*.

[vii\_484] Not in E, which has after 485 *The thrid eschapyt nocht alsua*. H as in C.

[vii\_494] C has *all a quhile* (S), where *all* seems a duplication of the preceding syllable.

[vii\_556] C has *And by* (S).

[vii\_605] C *discumfit* (S), which is metrically short, and does not suit the context or the sense.

[vii\_623] E *roucht nocht him to lee*. H *raught him routes three*, which so far supports the reading of the text.

[viii\_28] C *Machyrn-noxis*.

[viii\_31] E *fourty*. H *sixtie*.

[viii\_34] E *Nether-foord*, and so in H, differing from his own rubric.

[viii\_59] From E (S). *Thought throu the wode to pass* (C).

[viii\_75] C *wes* (S).

[viii\_144] C has *ernystfully* (S). H *angerly*, agrees with E.

[viii\_154] E *Quharof he was bath glaid and blyth*. H agrees with C.

[viii\_326] C *stekit* (S) for *skalyt*.

[viii\_339] C *weill and* (S).

[viii\_375] C *he had* (S).

[viii\_381] C *debonar* (S).

[viii\_427] E *Jedworthis*.

[viii\_482] E has *on othir sid*.

[viii\_491] E *his coffer*.

[viii\_\*493, \*495] From C (S); not in E or H. The first is probably misplaced to begin with, and the second inserted to complete the couplet (see note).

[viii\_506] E *with mekill mycht*.

[viii\_520] C *ranowne* (S). H *renounie*.

[ix\_147] E *vailyhe quod vailyhe*.

[ix\_210, 211] C omits; in E and H.

[ix\_257] E gives *rycht* (S). C has *thame*.

[ix\_299] C *neir fifty* (S). E *weile*.

[ix\_309] Skeat reads *Apon* from *All on* in C; cf. lines 329, 460. E has *That wes on the*: H similarly.

[ix\_338] C has *Olifert* (S), but *Olifard* on record as in E.

[ix\_359] C gives *owkis* (S).

[ix\_\*374-\*377] Four lines from C and H. E omits for usual reason.

[ix\_575] C *Carcat*: S adopts *Catcart*.

[ix\_666] E *Lyk wes nane in his day*. Neither reading is quite satisfactory. Skeat puts a comma after *nane*, but what, then, is the subject of *wes*? Is it not a suppressed relative?—that? Cf. x. 86.

[ix\_671] C omits *rycht* and inserts *full gud*. Skeat adopts both, but one is surely superfluous.

[ix\_686] E has *And herd ane say tharin, "The devill!"* H like C.

[x\_72] C *manfully* (S), which is not a rhyme.

[x\_81] E *but delay*.

[x\_113-115] E has—  
*sturdely*  
*A sege set; and besyly*  
*Assaylit, etc.*

[x\_118] C *is wan* (S), which is certainly wrong.

[x\_126] E *mar duelling*.

[x\_\*154, \*156] E omits. In C and H.

[x\_192] E and H have *In this swete tyme*.

[x\_230] C has *And he that wald no longer let*.

[x\_\*274-\*276] In E, but omitted by Pinkerton.

[x\_305] E *in his myster*.

[x\_316] C *wes* (S).

[x\_319] C *mycht get* (S).

[x\_359] C has *That wes a man rycht craftyus*. Text from E and H (S).

[x\_471] E has *be clene*; cf. line 124.

[x\_516] C has *throu vietry*, from which S adopts *voidry* = "cunning" as "a shrewd guess." Text from E.

[x\_529] E H *mysfure*.

[x\_531] In C *pert*, E *curyus* (S).

[x\_568] E *yhe think*.

[x\_650] E *clumbene*.

[x\_742] E *That is yheit in-till*; but cf. line 746.

[xi\_94] E has *And off the worthyast of Bretangny*.

[xi\_\*97,\*98] omitted by P.

[xi\_\*103,\*106] Not in E. In C. H.

[xi\_109] C *in-till playn male ... battale* (S). H as in E.

[xi\_120] E viii.: *pulaile*. H as in C.

[xi\_161] E *That knawin*.

[xi\_191] C *felde* (S). E H *land*.

[xi\_235] C has *assemblit worthely* (S). H *hailly*, as in E.

[xi\_259] E *hamly*. H *hamely*. C *myldly* (S).

[xi\_285] E *nede away*. C *neidwais gay*. Reading from H (S).

[xi\_287] E *passand*. There is a difficulty in either reading.

[xi\_309] C *Thai had assouerans, trast trewly!* (S). H *Thai had affiance souverainely*.

[xi\_326] C *and nocht* (S).

[xi\_336] C *of Illis* (S). He was "of Islay."

[xi\_350] E omits. In C and H. E gives after line 351 *In gud aray in alkin thing*.

[xi\_376] E *thair mess commounaly*.

[xi\_440] C *said he* (S).

[xi\_443] C *past* (S). H *sould passe*.

[xi\_453] C *Suld help* (S).

[xi\_519] E *Four lordys off*.

[xi\_527] C *Be*.

[xi\_537] C *And beneth*, but S drops the *And*. E *And newth*. H *And beneath*.

[xi\_538] E *Weill newth*.

[xi\_547] E *fallen*.

[xi\_655] *It* in E H. C omits (S).

[xii\_18] C *ane gay*. E *a litill*. H *a gray* (S).

[xii\_25] C omits *quhen* (S).

[xii\_33] E H *bow-schote*.

[xii\_57] C *ruschit* (S).

[xii\_87] C *wes* (S).

[xii\_119] C *For* (S). *And* E H.

[xii\_121] E *fruschit*.

[xii\_134] C *sad* (S). E H *hard*.

[xii\_168] E *Rabutyt apon sic maner*. H similarly.

[xii\_206] C *Till* (S).

[xii\_\*209]

*Saying that nouthur life nor dead* \*209  
*To sik discomfort sould them lead*  
*That they sould eschew the feghting.*  
*In heart he had great rejoycing.* \*212

These lines in H only, not in C E. They do not fit into the text. Line \*212 is a doublet of 209.

[xii\_214] C *yscheill* (S).

[xii\_216] C *battale* (S). E *bataillis*.

[xii\_234] C *ilk man suld* (S). E H *ay God will*.

[xii\_246] C *wifis* (S).

[[xii\\_255](#)] C *To* (S). E *That*. H *Gif*.  
 [[xii\\_256](#)] E *That deyt on roid for mankynheid*. H *For to prevaile into this steed*.  
 [[xii\\_342](#)] C *The best knyght of thair chevelry* (S). H as E.  
 [[xii\\_371](#)] C *Herrodys* (S). Cf. *Language: l*.  
 [[xii\\_395](#)] C *For in the Kers pollis ther war* (S).  
 [[xii\\_397](#)] C *Ta mak* (S), where *ta* is clearly a slip.  
 [[xii\\_405](#)] For 405 E has *ilkane all hale*.  
 [[xii\\_\\*406,\\*407](#)] Not in E, but in C and H.  
 [[xii\\_431](#)] C *war rad* (S).  
 [[xii\\_438-9](#)] C *And till the battale maid thame yhar* (S). H as in E.  
 [[xii\\_447](#)] C *So plainly* (S).  
 [[xii\\_460](#)] C *Yhe sall withdraw* (S); so too in H. E as in text.  
 [[xii\\_473](#)] E *sall*.  
 [[xii\\_490](#)] C *We sall it se but delaying* (S). E H as in text.  
 [[xii\\_527](#)] E *frusch*. H *frush*.  
 [[xii\\_544](#)] C *Quhill* (S).  
 [[xiii\\_3,4](#)] C *wes ... Douglas* (S).  
 [[xiii\\_109](#)] E *tynt clenly*.  
 [[xiii\\_116](#)] C *That so* (S).

[[xiii\\_127](#)] E *grathyt sua*. H *cumbred*.

[[xiii\\_\\*131-\\*144](#)]

<i>Now ga we on them sa hardely,</i>	*131
<i>And ding on them sa doughtely,</i>	
<i>That they may feele, at our comming,</i>	
<i>That we them hate in meekle thing:</i>	
<i>For great cause they have us made,</i>	*135
<i>That occupied our landis brade,</i>	
<i>And put all to subjeccioun:</i>	
<i>Your goodis made all theirs commoun:</i>	
<i>Our kyn and frendis, for their awne,</i>	
<i>Dispitteously hanged and drawne:</i>	*140
<i>And wald destroy us gif they might.</i>	
<i>Bot, I trow, God, through his foresight,</i>	
<i>This day hes granted us his grace</i>	
<i>To wrek us on them in this place.</i>	*144

From H: not in C E. These remarks seem quite out of place. The spirit of animosity is not in harmony with the tenour of Bruce's other speeches; the language at certain points is not Barbour-like; and the whole passage is thus of questionable authenticity. See *Preface*, pp. vii-viii.

[[xiii\\_144](#)] C *For quhar* (S).  
 [[xiii\\_164](#)] C *full douchtely* (S). E H *how*, in accord with the exclamatory phrase.  
 [[xiii\\_173](#)] E *gret anoy*.  
 [[xiii\\_183](#)] E *quhytys*. H *coates*. (See note.)  
 [[xiii\\_209](#)] E *deliverly*.  
 [[xiii\\_224](#)] C *thame fouly* (S). H *fully*.  
 [[xiii\\_250](#)] C *Apon thame! on thame hardely!* (S). H as in E.  
 [[xiii\\_299](#)] E *the Argente*.  
 [[xiii\\_308](#)] E *Than for to lyve schamly, and fley*.  
 [[xiii\\_311](#)] C *Brysis* (S); *y* too in 165.  
 [[xiii\\_377](#)] E *And his consaill*.  
 [[xiii\\_406](#)] C *Gilbertstoune* (S), but see note.  
 [[xiii\\_417](#)] E H *the Berclay*.  
 [[xiii\\_\\*447-\\*450](#)] In C H. Not in E.  
 [[xiii\\_463](#)] C *Sevin hundreth paris* (S). *Twa* E H.  
 [[xiii\\_485](#)] C *That he* (S).  
 [[xiii\\_490](#)] E H *Athole*.  
 [[xiii\\_493](#)] R *Camyskynnell*.  
 [[xiii\\_495](#)] E *Keth*. H *Airth*.  
 [[xiii\\_516](#)] C *wille wes* (S).  
 [[xiii\\_523](#)] C *Marmadak Betung* (S), but see note.  
 [[xiii\\_581](#)] *A pennystane cast* E H.  
 [[xiii\\_595](#)] E *but supleyng*. H as in C.  
 [[xiii\\_616](#)] E *Bawmburgh*.  
 [[xiii\\_623](#)] E *Stad thai war full narrowly*.

[xiii\_643] C *on* (S). E H *in*.

[xiii\_645] E H *with few men*.

[xiii\_649, 650] C—

*For his syde, throu the quhele on hicht,  
Vencust thar fais, wes mekill of mycht.*

H as in E.

[xiii\_\*651-\*656] In C H. Not in E. Similar rhymes occur just before and at end.

[xiii\_654, 655] C *two-so* (S); *two* only here. Text from E.

[xiii\_707] C H *Six*; E *v*.

[xiv\_33] C *Wavering Fyrth* (S). *Wolyngs* H.

[xiv\_49] C *De Savagis* (S).

[xiv\_148] C *thair wes* (S).

[xiv\_178] C *that with him* (S).

[xiv\_339] E *bourne*. H *burne*.

[xiv\_354] H *to dem*.

[xiv\_376] E *Downe*. H *Dun*.

[xiv\_406] E H *Robert*. C *Gilbert*.

[xiv\_478] E *to-morn*.

[xiv\_501] C *that wes* (S).

[xiv\_515] C *Syr Waryn*; but *cf.* xv., 75.

[xiv\_522] C *Kyllvanane* (S); but see note.

[xv\_34] C *And* (S).

[xv\_54] E *rowtis roid*; *cf.* Bk. VI., 288.

[xv\_187] C *by his* (S).

[xv\_221] C *slow* (S).

[xv\_246] C *by* (S).

[xv\_\*271-\*274] From C H. Not in E.

[xv\_276] E *lompanyt*.

[xv\_321] C *Ewmound* (S). H *Edmound*. C *Calion* (S). H *Calhow*. (See note.)

[xv\_\*337-\*344]\*337-\*344 and \*345-\*356: From C H; not in E.

[xv\_\*347-\*348]\*347-\*348 in C only.

[xv\_338] C *in the* (S); but Skeat suggests that 'perhaps it should be *on*.'

[xv\_341] C *scaill* (S); but S in note seems to prefer *stail*.

[xv\_351] E *his lemman* (love).

[xv\_366] C *Thair mycht men se ficht fellely* (S).

[xv\_371] C *confortit* (S).

[xv\_377] C *Ewmound de Caleone* (S).

[xv\_506] C *That wes slayn thair in-to the ficht* (S), which does not seem to explain the context.

[xv\_528] C *Calyheoun* (S). H *Calhow*. C *Ewmond*. H *Edmound*. Names in text from E.

[xv\_\*539, \*540] In C only. These lines seem to be a repeat of 533, 534.

[xv\_541] C *grevit* (S). H *groowed*. E H give the more effective term—*shuddered*.

[xvi\_16] E *shipping*.

[xvi\_46] C *He maid* (S). E H *And maid*.

[xvi\_47, 52] C *sudjornynt* (S).

[xvi\_48] E *And that in myrth and jolyte*. H *royaltie*.

[xvi\_61] E *southwart*. H *fordward*.

[xvi\_64] E *in ilk spray*. H *on ilk*.

[xvi\_65] E H *seymly*.

[xvi\_69] E *ar strowyt*. H *strowed ar*.

[xvi\_70] E *saverand*. H *savouring*.

[xvi\_73] E *southwart*. H *southward*.

[xvi\_79, 80] C gives—

*Till him a full gret chevelry  
Of squyaris, burges and yhemantry* (S).

But burgesses and yeomanry would not be *chevelry*, and H agrees with E.

[xvi\_134] C *Avisit* (S). H *Hes meased*.

[xvi\_177] C *I undirstand* (S). E H *tak on hand*.

[xvi\_178] C *In-til* (S). S also inserts *all*, which C omits here, but inserts before *Irland*, which it gives as *Ingland*. C is clearly defective.



[\[xvi\\_197, \\*198\]](#)

*That he slew all he might ourtak  
And rudely rushed them abak.*—In H only.

[\[xvi\\_184\]](#) E xxx. H *twentie*.

[\[xvi\\_206\]](#) C *by thair* (S).

[\[xvi\\_\\*209-\\*212\]](#) In C H, not in E; owing to occurrence of two *mychts*.

[\[xvi\\_229\]](#) C *He askit* (S).

[\[xvi\\_232\]](#) E *lossyt the suet*. H *slain at my feete*.

[\[xvi\\_260\]](#) E *obstakill maid*.

[\[xvi\\_264\]](#) E *southwart*.

[\[xvi\\_265\]](#) E *rycht till*.

[\[xvi\\_265\]](#) C *Lunyk* (S). E *Kynrike*. H *Lynrike*. In Anderson's edition we find *Lymrik*.

[\[xvi\\_280\]](#) C *up-on woman* (S). H like E.

[\[xvi\\_293\]](#) E H *lavender*.

[\[xvi\\_295\]](#) E *Connach*. H *Connoch*.

[\[xvi\\_296\]](#) E *Methy*. H *Mich*. E *Iereby*. H *Irrelle*.

[\[xvi\\_336\]](#) E *Lyntaile*. H *Lyntalle*.

[\[xvi\\_391\]](#) E *and sow thaim sair*. H *saile them saire*.

[\[xvi\\_401\]](#) C *battale* (S). H *eshell*.

[\[xvi\\_402\]](#) C *seyn weill all* (S). H as E.

[\[xvi\\_408\]](#) *Rycht* is from H alone (S).

[\[xvi\\_434\]](#) C *and went* (S). H *turned*.

[\[xvi\\_449\]](#) C *on hym* (S). H as E.

[\[xvi\\_\\*501-\\*504\]](#) Not in E. In C H.

[\[xvi\\_505\]](#) C *Brys* (S).

[\[xvi\\_507\]](#) E *fyfty*. H *fifteene*. C *xv* (S).

[\[xvi\\_548\]](#) C *endlang furth held thai thar way*. E *it up held thai*. H *it held up their way*.

[\[xvi\\_549\]](#) E *Enverkething*.

[\[xvi\\_550\]](#) E *Dunferling*.

[\[xvii\\_33\]](#) C *at* (S). H *ane*. E *a*.

[\[xvii\\_172\]](#) C *With gret*. H *Through*.

[\[xvii\\_202\]](#) C *Scottis men* (S).

[\[xvii\\_245\]](#) C *trammys* or *crammys*. E *cranys* or *tranys*. H *trames*. Owing to the similarity of 't' and 'c' in MSS. the reading is uncertain.

[\[xvii\\_246\]](#) For the reason explained above it is doubtful whether we should here read *gret* or *grec*—*i.e.*, Greek—probably the latter.

[\[xvii\\_271\]](#) C E *gert*. H *gart*. Skeat says these are "all wrong," and that the proper reading is *ger*.

[\[xvii\\_285\]](#) E H *Longcastill*.

[\[xvii\\_296\]](#) C *vittalis* (S). H *battels* as in E.

[\[xvii\\_318\]](#) C *sib men* (S).

[\[xvii\\_343\]](#) C *scaffatis* (S). H *scaffolds*.

[\[xvii\\_420\]](#) From C H. E *For oucht thai mycht, gud or ill*.

[\[xvii\\_455\]](#) E *quhill sik*. H *while*.

[\[xvii\\_496\]](#) C *that, quhen* (S), but there is no predicate for *that*.

[\[xvii\\_601\]](#) C *scaffatis* (S).

[\[xvii\\_689\]](#) C *juntly* (S), but suggesting *justly* (= exactly) as right reading. H *cunningly*. E *gentilly*.

[\[xvii\\_691\]](#) C *swappit* (S).

[\[xvii\\_735\]](#) E *tyme*.

[\[xvii\\_774\]](#) C and H (S). *With the fire that he fand thar-at*. Seems an anticipation of 778. Text from E.

[\[xvii\\_785\]](#) E *Off stabling*.

[\[xvii\\_809\]](#) E *woundyt uttrely*.

[\[xvii\\_812\]](#) C *certainly*, but E is admittedly better.

[\[xvii\\_887, 888\]](#) H expands these two lines into eight.

*Throughout England full cruelly,  
Burning and wasting right rigorously,  
When that they have heard tythings tell  
Of this great Siege that was sa fell:  
That they all skailed were and gane,  
Unto England hame againe:  
Sa that their folks relieved were  
And set now free from all danger.*

Skeat relegates this expansion of two lines to a footnote, and rightly.

[xvii\_\*903]

<i>That into full gret danger wes,</i>	*903
<i>Through strength of them that sieged hes.</i>	*904
<i>And of their journey what progresse,</i>	*905
<i>That thai have had, and with successe.</i>	*906

These, too, are from H only. Skeat brackets them in the text, but they are surely spurious.

[xvii\_922] C *quhar that*. E H omit *that*.

[xvii\_940] C *Berwyk his* (see note).

[xviii\_5] C *furthwarde* (S). H *southward*.

[xviii\_30] E *tribill and quatribill*.

[xviii\_34] E *thowsand*. H as in C.

[xviii\_89] E *twenty*. H *twettie* (!).

[xviii\_117] E *Thomas sone*. H *Thomson*.

[xviii\_184] E *all her*.

[xviii\_225] E *And he it* (see note).

[xviii\_239] E *To dystroy up sa clene the land*. H as C.

[xviii\_275] E *a bule*. H as C.

[xviii\_283] E *best*. H *beast*.

[xviii\_377] 377, 393, 398, etc., E *the pass*.

[xviii\_391] E *mast hardy*.

[xviii\_396] E *four*. H *few*.

[xviii\_399, 405, 425] E *the pass*. H as C.

[xviii\_404] E *hamlyly*.

[xviii\_409] C *Arthyn* (S), but see note.

[xviii\_410, 422] C *Coubane*: H *Cowbane*.

[xviii\_439] C *ek verty* (S).

[xviii\_450] E *Than mycht men see thaim stoutly ga*. H like C.

[xviii\_451-454] not in C but in E H.

[xviii\_451] H *clamb* (S).

[xviii\_452] H *left* (S).

[xviii\_498] E *Ryfuowis*.

[xviii\_536] C *yhe be* (S). Buss considers E better here (*Anglia* ix. 511).

[xviii\_537] For next line C has—*Of the grace he thame did suthly* (S). But this gives a triple rhyme, which is not Barbour-like; and C, in any case, is defective here, giving but one line between 538 and 547 for the eight found in E and H.

[xix\_1] C *Thus* (S).

[xix\_16] C *Mayle-Erle* (S), but see note.

[xix\_106] E *velanys*. H *villanous*.

[xix\_110] E *the likys*.

[xix\_134] E *Had him lent*.

[xix\_177] C *thai armyng* (S).

[xix\_\*185,\*186] Omitted in Pinkerton's edition.

[xix\_188] E *viii*. (for *xiii*). H *threttene*.

[xix\_206] E *Bathgat*.

[xix\_224] C *entyrit* (S). H *eirded*.

[xix\_253] E *southwart*.

[xix\_282] C *had had* (S). H *hes*.

[xix\_304] C *me to think* (S).

[xix\_336] E *Thai ger thaim cum apon thaim doun*: which does not make sense.

[xix\_341] C *that fair*. Has E.

[xix\_368] C *he thaim* (S). H *then*. E seems to give the more probable reading.

[xix\_\*375,\*376] In C H. E omits.

[xix\_394] E *noveltyis*.

[xix\_502] *that* inserted by S for metre. C *forrouth* (S). Cf. 515.

[xix\_527] E *sevynd*. H *nynth*.

[xix\_533] C *wes richt hardy* (S). H as E.

[xix\_544] E *folowit thar*.

[xix\_612] C *I had* (S). H as E.

[xix\_667] C *Tratour* (S).

[xix\_739] E *twa myle of*. So, too, in H.

[xix\_742-744] After line 742 H inserts:

*But flaiques in the wood they made  
Of wands, and them with them had:  
And sykes therewith brigged they:  
And sa had well their horse away,  
On sik wise, that all that there were,  
Came through the mosse baith hail and feire.*

[xix\_774] C *Of twenty thousand richt hardy* (S). H like E.

[xix\_776] E *the Merse*.

[xx\_16] E *war*. H *was*. C omits line. S reads *wes* as more usual form.

[xx\_41] E *yhing*.

[xx\_44-49] In E only. C H omit.

[xx\_\*127-\*130] Found in C, E, H, but omitted by Pinkerton.

[xx\_131] C *Robert Stiward* (S).

[xx\_134] C *tale* (S). H *tailye*.

[xx\_\*206-\*211] E omits, apparently on account of double termination *Douglas*. In C H.

[xx\_273] E *our nychtbowris*. H *faes*.

[xx\_285-298] The arrangement here is from C H. E sets differently and illogically. The numbers in brackets follow Pinkerton.

[xx\_324] C *grund* (S).

[xx\_326] C *Sebell* (S).

[xx\_331] C *at Graunt Sebell*. H *the great Sebell*.

[xx\_356] C *sudiorne* (S).

[xx\_378-386] For these lines H gives:

*And said, "God lent me hands to beare,  
Wherewith I might my head weere."  
Thus maid he courteous answering,  
With a right hie understanding:  
That for default of fence it was,  
That sa evill hewen was his fall.*

[xx\_380] E *tak kep*.

[xx\_393] *Hey* from E. C H omit.

[xx\_\*421]

*But ere they joynd in battell,  
What Dowglas did, I sall you tell.  
The Bruce's Heart, that on his brest  
Was hinging, in the field he kest,  
Upon a stane-cast and well more:*

\*421

\*425

*And said, "Now passe thou foorth before,  
As thou wast wont in field to be,  
And I sall follow, or els die."  
And sa he did withoutten ho,  
He faught even while he came it to, \*430  
And tooke it up in great daintie;  
And ever in field this used he. \*432*

\*421-\*432. In H only; not in C E. See Appendix D.

[\[xx\\_438\]](#) C H *And as he turnit, he can weill se* (S). Text from E.

[\[xx\\_440\]](#) C *And thai* (S).

[\[xx\\_476\]](#) C *licht* (S). H as E.

[\[xx\\_496-501\]](#) From E H. Not in C, owing to *cher* twice.

[\[xx\\_610\]](#) In H *By a false Monk full traiterously*.

# FOOTNOTES

- [1] Preface, S.T.S. edition, p. lxxv.
- [2] Skeat, p. xxxvii.
- [3] *The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied*, p. 74 and *passim*. See also Appendices E, F.
- [4] For a detailed account of the different editions see Skeat's *Preface* to the E.E.T.S. or S.T.S. issues.
- [5] See Appendix D.
- [6] XVIII. \*537; and see note on p. 277.
- [7] VIII. \*493, \*495.
- [8] XVII. 887, 888.
- [9] *The Wallace and The Bruce*, pp. 133, 134.
- [10] *The Scottish Historical Library*, by W. Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, p. 147.
- [11] See note on passage.
- [12] See Appendix D.
- [13] The Bibliography of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. ii., recklessly says: "As the colophon informs us (!) all three MSS. were written by John Ramsay" (p. 447).
- [14] Bonn, 1900.
- [15] Brown, p. 82.
- [16] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- [17] See *Athenæum*, November 17, 1900.
- [18] *Athenæum*, December 8, 1900.
- [19] Appendix F.
- [20] And Koeppl, while granting the general superiority of C, gives as his opinion that in not a few cases E, nevertheless, where it differs from C, preserves the genuine, original reading (*Englische Studien*, x., p. 377, note).
- [21] IX. 492, XIX. 459, XX. 396.
- [22] I. 345.
- [23] II. 572.
- [24] III. 287.
- [25] XIV. 246; XVI. 253.
- [26] Cf. also in Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. xxx.
- [27] Cf. Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. \*92; and *New. Eng. Dict.*, G.
- [28] See Neilson in *Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xi., p. 102 ff., and Buss, *ex adverso*, in *Anglia*, Band ix., p. 495.
- [29] Jamieson's *Memoir*, p. iv.
- [30] *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 41.
- [31] For this reason Buss always gives the name as Barbere.
- [32] These have been brought together by Skeat in his first volume, pp. xv-xxv.
- [33] Skeat here takes *equitibus* to be "knights," but this is not a military business. They were, we may judge, the attendants proper to his rank.
- [34] See on Bk. XIII. 702.
- [35] The account of 1429 is the first to state expressly that this perpetual pension was "for the composition of the book of the deeds of the erstwhile King Robert the Bruce" (*Excheq. Rolls*, iv., p. 520).
- [36] "His theme was Freedom," writes Mr. Cosmo Innes. Barbour gives out his "theme" in the first thirty-six lines, and never once mentions it.
- [37] The editor of *The Exchequer Rolls*, vol. ii. p. cv., says: "Bower accuses Barbour of misrepresenting the origin of the Stewarts." That is not so. According to the summary in Bower, Barbour had it that they came from Wales, and in fact the family was settled in Shropshire on the Welsh March. It had its origin, he said, from one who was called "Le Fleanc de Waran," who may equate with Alan FitzFlaald, who, however, apparently did not marry a daughter of Warine, the sheriff of that county (Round, *Studies in the Peerage*, p. 116). He affirms, rightly enough, that the first of them in Scotland was Walter, in the days of King William (twelfth century). Where he goes wrong genealogically, according to Bower, is in saying that Walter's son, Alan, was in the First Crusade, which was obviously impossible; but Alan FitzAlan, uncle of Alan FitzFlaald, was in that expedition. Barbour was dealing with remote personages through family tradition, and whatever his errors as represented by Bower, he does not appear, as is too lightly assumed, to have been the source of the myths of later historians in this connection. Bower's language does not admit of a Banquo. See *Cupar and Perth MSS.*, in *Scotichronicon*, Lib. IX., chap. xlvi.
- [38] *The Wallace and The Bruce*, pp. 88-90.
- [39] Preface I., xlix-lii.
- [40] Edit. Horstmann, ii., p. 226.
- [41] See further, Neilson's *John Barbour*, p. 2.
- [42] *Anglia*, as cited.
- [43] *Short History*, p. 211.
- [44] *The Wallace and The Bruce*, p. 93.

[45] See on II. 239.

[46] XIX. 486.

[47] An article on Barbour's *Bruce* in the *Saturday Review*, 1872, vol. xxxiii., p. 90, has all the marks of the "belabouring" method of Professor Freeman. Barbour's "historical value," it is affirmed, "is as low as value can be," and there are intermittent shrieks of "shameless falsehood," "conscious liar," etc. The usual play is made with the supposed identification of the two Bruces, and it is declared that on this "the whole story hangs," which, in its own way, is a statement just as unwarranted and absurd. It is easy to fix on the error as to Edward being in the Holy Land when the question arose as to the succession, and the antedating of his death. But the critic, with full opportunity for being correct, can sin as to dates quite as egregiously. "In authentic history," he says, "somewhat more than three years passed between the death of Alexander III. in Lent, 1289, and the coronation of John Balliol on St. Andrew's Day, 1292." Quite wrong. In "authentic history" Alexander was killed on March 19, 1286 (1285 by old reckoning). This is a criticism of Barbour's "six years" in I. 39! He objects to the statement that the Queen was put "in prison," because she was entertained in one of her husband's manors. But she is always officially spoken of as "in custody," and the stone walls of a manor even make a good enough prison. This is mere carping, and most of the rest is of the same sort, where it does not depend on a forcing or misunderstanding of the text. Barbour, he complains, makes the difference between Bruce and Balliol "one between male and female succession." So, in a sense, it was (see on I. 54), but the critic has not taken the trouble to understand how. Barbour, however, is certainly confusing.

[48] *The Brus*, Spalding Club edition, 1856, p. ix.

[49] Vol. ii., p. 104.

[50] P. 108.

[51] Bk. IV. 767-774. Contempt for astrology, indeed, had already gone pretty far—Chaucer's *Franklin* has it (*F.s'* Tale); but the contrary opinion still held most ground, and prophecy was in the enjoyment of full respect. Theological authority was divided and uncertain on the matter.

[52] IX. 492.

[53] *Calendar of Documents*, vol. iii., p. ix, note. Book I. is a hasty introduction.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Chronique*, I, chap. xxii.

[56] *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 43.

[57] Vol. ii., p. 140.

[58] Lib. xii., chap. xxi.

[59] See Appendix E.

[60] P. 318.

[61] P. 339.

[62] P. 350, lines 12, 13.

[63] Cf. also Neilson on *The Real "Scots Wha Hae"* in *Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xiv., No. 53, July, 1899.

[64] II. p. 180.

[65] *Fœdera*, iii., p. 464, etc.

[66] P. 201.

[67] *Vita Edw.*, p. 201.

[68] *Feudal England*, p. 292.

[69] *The Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, p. 41.

[70] *Welsh Wars*, p. 59.

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

[72] II. p. 173.

[73] *Welsh Wars*, p. 292.

[74] *Peditum turba copiosa*, p. 201.

[75] *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xiv., p. 133. Cf. Appendix A.

[76] *Bannockburn* in *The Commune of London*, p. 298.

[77] *Calendar*, iii., p. xxi.

[78] *Art of War*, p. 575 note.

[79] Vol. iii., p. 482, etc.; also in *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., p. 127; and *Parliamentary Writs*, book ii., div. 2, p. 117.

[80] Cf. *Commune of London*, p. 296; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xiv., p. 133.

[81] *Bain*, ii., Nos. 956, 1202, 1092, 1136.

[82] *Writs as cited*, pp. 176, 177.

[83] *Trokelowe*, p. 102; *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 183.

[84] *Art of War*, p. 573 and note.

[85] *Annals*, ii., p. 48.

[86] *Calendar*, iii., p. xx.

[87] See note on Book XVI., 285.

[88] *Writs*, ii., p. 185.

[89] *Palgrave*, cxxvii.; *Welsh Wars*, pp. 95, 98.

[90] *Bain*, ii., No. 1202.

[91] *Bain*, ii., 1229.

- [92] *Welsh Wars*, p. 301.
- [93] III., p. xxi.
- [94] *Welsh Wars*, p. 289.
- [95] *Cf.* Book XIX., 267 note.
- [96] *Bain*, ii., p. xxxix, note.
- [97] *Welsh Wars*, p. 301.
- [98] See note on 46.
- [99] *Chronique de Jordan Fantosme*, lines 328-9.
- [100] *Hemingburgh*, ii., pp. 308-9.
- [101] *Art of War*, p. 575.
- [102] XII. 159-164.
- [103] See below.
- [104] First Series, vol. ix., 493-514.
- [105] But note *battell*, two syllables, in xiii. 395, 418; xiv. 175; and *battell-stede* (xiv. 301).
- [106] V. 602; vi. 564; x. 226; xiv. 152.
- [107] *Scottish Review*, 1893, p. 192 note.
- [108] P. 135.
- [109] P. 135.
- [110] *Pref.*, liv.
- [111] *John Barbour*, p. 50.
- [112] *The Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xi., p. 107 note.
- [113] Group A, 2533-2534.
- [114] P. 308; 26, 27.
- [115] Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, i. 175.
- [116] *Pref.*, pp. vi-viii.
- [117] *Cf.* notes on Book XX. 393, 431.
- [118] In part; but see the reconciling passage in note on xx. 191-2.
- [119] Stanza xxxi.
- [120] But *cf.* xx. 307, where this comes before.
- [121] *Cf.* also xlii.
- [122] XLI. *Cf. Bruce*, xx. 486, 487.
- [123] Ed. S.T.S.
- [124] *Cf.* also *Preface*, pp. vii-viii.
- [125] *Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch*. Albert Hermann, Halle, 1893, pp. 26, 27.
- [126] As cited, p. 35.
- [127] As cited, p. 45.
- [128] *Cf.* p. 292.
- [129] Pp. 43-47.
- [130] P. 56.
- [131] P. 162.
- [132] P. 448.
- [133] The *Bruce*, I. 160; *Alexander*, 8, 8; *Wyntoun*, Book viii. chap. ii. 246; *Brown*, p. 110.
- [134] *The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied*, p. 92.
- [135] I. 521-8.
- [136] *Bruce*, I. 529-548; *Monk's Tale*, Group B., 3821-3908.
- [137] P. 98.
- [138] P. 99.
- [139] P. 97, note.
- [140] I. 548, 549.
- [141] 3908.
- [142] P. 99.
- [143] 3904-5.
- [144] I. 549-561.
- [145] P. 99.
- [146] See note on passage.
- [147] E.E.T.S. *The Sowdone of Babylone, Introd.*, pp. xxxi, xxxii.
- [148] See note.
- [149] II. 534.

- [150] P. 114.
- [151] As cited, p. xxv.
- [152] Pp. 115, 116.
- [153] P. ix, note. The italics are mine.
- [154] 444.
- [155] P. 115, note.
- [156] "Genelyn," 2843-6.
- [157] P. ix, note.
- [158] P. 461.
- [159] 665.
- [160] *Bruce*, iii. 459.
- [161] Hausknecht, note to line 665.
- [162] *Der Roman von Fierabras, Provensalisch*, p. 5, line 15; Immanuel Bekker, Berlin, 1829.
- [163] c. 1420.
- [164] *Brown*, p. 117.
- [165] Gregory Smith, *The Transition Period*, p. 8.
- [166] P. 211.
- [167] P. 118.
- [168] Pp. 252-3.
- [169] Ed. 1598, fol. 381.
- [170] P. 119.
- [171] P. 125.
- [172] P. 126. See notes on passage.
- [173] P. 127.
- [174] P. 126.
- [175] *Wyntoun*.
- [176] *The Bruce, &c.*, p. 126.
- [177] *Cf.*, however, on XX. 181.
- [178] 171-177.
- [179] Sounded as yet, like those of M.E., but in time to become silent. Anglo-French is Norman-French developed in England; it was closely related to Old French, familiar to the scribes through the romances.
- [180] Buss, *Anglia IX.*, pp. 505-507. *Cf.* also Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties*, p. 53.
- [181] Buss, p. 509.
- [182] S.T.S., I. lxxxix., and Glossary.
- [183] Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties*, p. 153.
- [184] *Darstellung der Flexionslehre in John Barbour's Bruce*, p. 12.
- [185] Murray, p. 185.
- [186] *Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. xxxviii.
- [187] *Specimens of Early English*, Morris and Skeat, vol. ii.



## Transcriber's Note

Page headers have been reformatted as sidenotes.

A half-title page has been removed from the front of the book.

The following apparent errors have been corrected:

- p. xvi (note) "xv-xxv" changed to "xv-xxv."
- p. 5 "rewate." changed to "rewate."
- p. 46 The footnote marker 399 was printed as 99.
- p. 90 (note) "/s from C." changed to "Is from C."
- p. 105 The footnote marker 325 was printed as 25.
- p. 115 " Of me" changed to "'Of me"
- p. 119 "forrow us. quhill" changed to "forrow us, quhill"
- p. 122 ""Sa yhe suthly?"" changed to "'Sa yhe suthly?'"
- p. 122 "Yhour men" changed to "'Yhour men"
- p. 145 "c uth ta" changed to "couth ta"
- p. 145 "E Jedworthis" changed to "*Jedworthis*"
- p. 168 ""Yheit may" changed to "'Yheit may"
- p. 179 "chere,"" changed to "chere,""
- p. 187 "dnrst nocht" changed to "durst nocht"
- p. 194 (note) "93. E has" changed to "94. E has"
- p. 209 "agane," changed to "agane,""
- p. 210 (note) "H. a gray" changed to "H a gray"
- p. 217 (note) "E. *That*" changed to "E *That*"
- p. 220 (note) "Cf." changed to "*Cf.*"
- p. 235 ""His brydill" changed to "His brydill"
- p. 239 (note) "464" changed to "463"
- p. 261 "And', in" changed to "And, in"
- p. 261 "o! Lumbardy" changed to "of Lumbardy"
- p. 263 The letter "n" in "And schot" was inverted
- p. 280 The letter "n" in "and yhumanry" was inverted
- p. 321 "SEPT., 1319." changed to "SEPT., 1319"
- p. 324 "Me think" changed to "'Me think"
- p. 326 "ilkane "" changed to "ilkane.""
- p. 333 (note) "H. *few*" changed to "H *few*"
- p. 335 (note) "(S." changed to "(S)."
- p. 344 (note) "*eirded*" changed to "*eirded*."
- p. 345 "hailll" changed to "hailll"
- p. 347 "*Attack by the English Archers.*" changed to "*Attack by the English Archers*"
- p. 351 (note) "Cf." changed to "*Cf.*"
- p. 353 (note) "H as E" changed to "H as E."
- p. 355 "battale." changed to "battale."
- p. 370 (note) "weere." changed to "weere.""
- p. 370 "fall." changed to "fall."
- p. 372 (note) "els die"" changed to "els die.""
- p. 387 "*Introd.*, ii" changed to "*Introd.*, ii."
- p. 387 "F.I.C." changed to "F.i.c."
- p. 390 "Bk. XIII." changed to "*Bk.* XIII."
- p. 395 "Holshausen" changed to "Holthausen"
- p. 395 The notes to lines 479 and 482 were printed out of order
- p. 396 "*dat*" changed to "*dat*."
- p. 398 "Alexander. III." changed to "Alexander III."
- pp. 399, 400 "*Appendix F*, III" changed to "*Appendix F*, iii"
- p. 400 "see Appendix" changed to "see *Appendix*"
- p. 402 "*(Bain.*, ii." changed to "*(Bain.*, ii."
- p. 403 "359); Cristina" changed to "(359); Cristina"
- p. 412 "589 *his baneour.*" changed to "588 *his baneour.*"
- p. 417 "116 *And als frendis.*" changed to "117 *And als frendis.*"
- p. 420 "the left" changed to "be left"
- p. 421 "Bk. II. 463" changed to "*Bk.* II. 463"
- p. 422 "at St. Andrew s" changed to "at St. Andrews "
- p. 423 "154 *Wilyhame Bunnok.*" changed to "153 *Wilyhame Bunnok.*"
- p. 424 "*Bk.* ix." changed to "*(Bk.* ix."
- p. 425 "(No. 358)." changed to "(No. 358)."
- p. 426 "710 *Lap fra a berfrois.*" changed to "708 *Lap fra a berfrois.*"
- p. 427 "8-9)" changed to "8-9"
- p. 431 "*Scotichronicon*" changed to "*Scotichronicon*"
- p. 434 "Bk. XII." "*Bk.* XII."
- p. 434 "547 *war past.*" changed to "548 *war past.*"
- p. 437 "300 *enveronyt.*" changed to "302 *enveronyt.*"
- p. 439 "themelves" changed to "themselves"
- p. 446 "471 *Wilyhame Vepownt.*" changed to "472 *Wilyhame Vepownt.*"
- p. 447 "489-90." changed to "489-90"
- p. 447 "143.)" changed to "143.)."
- p. 448 "735 *our-raid all Northumbirland.*" changed to "736 *our-raid all Northumbirland.*"
- p. 449 "in Ireland" changed to "in Ireland""
- p. 449 "*Maii*" changed to "*Maii*."
- p. 454 "af the Lacys" changed to "of the Lacys"
- p. 455 "55 *Quha mast*" changed to "56 *Quha mast*"
- p. 457 "schiltrome,"" changed to "'schiltrome,""
- p. 459 "Bk. xiv." changed to "*Bk.* xiv."

- p. 459 "and note)" changed to "and note)."
- p. 460 "Bk. XI." changed to "Bk. XI."
- p. 461 "205 note)" changed to "(205 note)"
- p. 461 "in Barbour."" changed to "in Barbour."
- p. 462 "577 *Willyhame Syncler*." changed to "575 *Willyhame Syncler*."
- p. 466 "p. lxxxii" changed to "p. lxxxii."
- p. 468 "500 *he wald nocht sa soyne assale*." changed to "501 *he wald nocht sa soyne assale*."
- p. 470 "*in Morte Arthure*" changed to "*in Morte Arthure*"
- p. 472 "declares thut" changed to "declares that"
- p. 472 "whch had" changed to "which had"
- p. 476 "*ibid.*." changed to "*ibid.*."
- p. 478 "liv" changed to "liv."
- p. 481 "249 *In England*." changed to "248 *In England*."
- p. 481 "Skene, i." changed to "Skene, i."
- p. 481 "Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*" changed to "Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*"
- p. 483 "lxviii" changed to "lxviii."
- p. 483 "(? l'aigle)" changed to "(? l'aigle)""
- p. 484 "Murimuth, p. 53" changed to "*Murimuth*, p. 53"
- p. 484 "Knighton, i." changed to "*Knighton*, i."
- p. 484 "i. 445" changed to "i. 445)"
- p. 485 "Every day" changed to ""Every day"
- p. 485 "*Scala* apparently" changed to "*Scala*. apparently"
- p. 485 "519-20 *ilk day justyng of Wer*." changed to "520-1 *ilk day justyng of Wer*."
- p. 488 "everything"" changed to "everything""
- p. 489 "129 *Maid hym manrent and fewte*." changed to "\*129 *Maid hym manrent and fewte*."
- p. 489 "130 *Till Cardross went*." changed to "151 *Till Cardross went*."
- p. 493 "421-32 *Bot ere they joyned, etc*." changed to "\*421-32 *Bot ere they joyned, etc*."
- p. 493 "Appendix D" changed to "*Appendix D*"
- p. 493 "p. 484)" changed to "p. 484"
- p. 506 "printer's"" changed to "printer's.""
- p. 509 "versions." changed to "versions.""
- p. 514 "(4) note)" changed to "(4) (note)"
- p. 516 "(XI. 638" changed to "(XI. 638)"
- p. 519 "s = substantive" changed to "s. = substantive"
- p. 520 "XIX. 512." changed to "XIX. 512"
- p. 520 "accused XIX." changed to "accused, XIX.,"
- p. 521 "Banyst, v." changed to "Banyst, v.,"
- p. 521 " *p.t.* barred" changed to " *p.t.*, barred"
- p. 522 "a pledge" changed to "a pledge)"
- p. 523 "IX. IX. 77" changed to "IX. 77"
- p. 525 "V 70" changed to "V. 70"
- p. 525 "Eldrys elders" changed to "Eldrys, elders"
- p. 526 "Feble, b." changed to "Feble, v."
- p. 529 "contrivance some" changed to "contrivance some"
- p. 529 "called" changed to "called)"
- p. 533 "See Neyn" changed to "See Meyn"
- p. 533 "*adj.*, no" changed to "*adj.*, no"
- p. 534 ""over-tumbled,"" changed to ""over-tumbled,""
- p. 535 "v. to prey" changed to "v., to prey"
- p. 537 "*c.f.*" changed to "*cf.*"
- p. 541 The entry for "Trunsioune" was printed out of alphabetical order
- p. 545 "ii. iii., iv." changed to "ii., iii., iv."
- p. 546 "I, II., III." changed to "I., II., III."

Inconsistent spellings throughout the book, and inconsistent punctuation in the LIST OF PRINCIPAL WORKS IN REFERENCES have been left as printed. There are numerous discrepancies in spelling between the text and the endnotes.

The following possible errors have not been changed:

- p. 149 Than, wit yhe weill his, men wes wa!
- p. 194 of fechtaris with hym thar.
- p. 271 the note to line 338 may refer to line \*338
- p. 345 all Cokdaill.
- p. 360 sic perplexite.
- p. 395 *auserlessene busse*.
- p. 432 analagous
- p. 452 "Scottish enemies"" has no opening quotation mark
- p. 457 (see *Bk.* 128)
- p. 485 "(À faire" has no closing bracket
- p. 541 There are two entries for "Trumpe"

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