THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND

A CRITICAL EDITION

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PH. D.
EDINBURGH
1973
VOLUME THREE

* APPENDIX ON CHARTIER

** APPENDIX - WEDDERBURN POEMS
IN BANNATYNE MS.

*** COMMENTARY ON THE COMPLAINT
APPENDIX

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE COMPLAYNT, AND CHARTIER'S QUADRILOGUE AND L'ESPERANCE, AND THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION IN RAWLINSON MS A.338
For convenience there is first appended a table of parallels, showing where the Complayner would appear to have used Chartier as a 'source'. The first column shows the folio of the original, the second column shows the page and line in J.A.H. Murray's edition, of the Complaynt (EETS, 1872), the third column refers to the page and line of the modern edition of the Quadrilogue Invectif (ed. Droz, CFMA, 1950), and in the case of the Traité de l'Esperance refers to the page of the 1617 edition by Duchesne, as quoted by Dr. M.S. Blayney. The last column refers to the volume page and line of Dr. Margaret S. Blayney's thesis, "Fifteenth Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's Le Traité de L'Esperance and Le Quadrilogue Invectif", Bodleian MS.D.Phil.d.3718 and MS.D. Phil.d.3719, 2 vols., 1966.

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

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

I am most indebted to Dr. Blayney for her generous permission to use her thesis.
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The references are:

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

The sections referred to in (c) and (d) are quoted 'in extenso' only where thought appropriate, and only exceptionally in the case of the Esperance, as reference can be made to the article in the Review of English Studies 9 (1958), 8 - 17.
Et puis que Dieu ne t'a donné force de corps ne usaige d'armes, sers a la chose publique de ce que tu puës, car quitant exaulça la gloire des Romains et renforça leurs couraiges a vertu la plume et la langue des orateurs comme les glaives des combatans. (65/25-30)

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

et a chacun lecteur prie le voulloir interpréter favorable-ment et y jugier a cognoiestre la bonne affection plus que la gloire de l'ouvrage. Car je afferme loiaument que l'emspouvement de cest oeuvre est plus par compassion de la necessitë publique que par presumption d'entendement et pour profiter par bonne exhortacion que pour autrui reprendre.

/(d) ...
Wherfor I pray every man that thei woll favourably declare and iuge to knowe rathir that I do it for good affeccion thanne for glory of the werke. For I certify to you trewly that the mocion of this werke was more labourid for compassion and necessite of the common wele thanne for presumpcion of vndirstonding, and rathir for profiting by good exertacion thanne for any repref to any persone.

As the hie monarchis .... hes arrogantly misknaven hym.

Comme les haultes dignitez des seigneuries soient establies souz la divine et infinie puissance qui les eslieve en florissant, en prosperité et en glorieuse renommee, it est à croire et tenir fermement que, ainsie que leurs commencemens et leurs accroissances sont maintenues et adrecces par la divine providence ainsi est leur fin et leur detriment par sentence donnee ou hault conseil de la souveraine sapience, qui les aucuns verse du hault trosne de imperial seigneurie en la basse fosse de servitude et de magnificence en ruine et fait des vainqueurs vaincus et ceulx obeir par crainte qui commander soulcien par autorite. Mais quant doulce misericorde entremeslee avecques droicturiere justice donne sur les princes et sur le peuple le decret de plus attrempee punicion, l'orgueil de trop outrecuidié pouvoir qui se descognoist est rabaiscé par puissance ennemie, la superfluity des biens mondains, qui est nourrice de sedicions et de murmure, est chastiee par sa mesme nourreture et l'ingratitude ....
For like as the high digniteys of lordsheppes ben established vndir the divine and infinite Power, the (which) reisith them in florishing, prosperite and gloriose renome, it is to be belevid and to be holdyn for veray certeynte that in like wise as their begynnynge and their encresynges ben mayntened and adressid by the divine prouidence, so in like wise is their ende and their disencresce ayeine gevine by / sentence in the high counsell of the soueraigne Sapience, the which subuertith some from their high trone of imperiall lordsheppes into the diene pitte of thralldom and from their high magnificence into ruyne, and makith also them that war victoriouse for to be ovrinome and them also to obey for drede which war wonete by auctorite to commaunde. But whanne swete mercy, entermedled with right-wisnes-iustice, yeuith ouir the princes and the people the sentence of [atemprate] punytion, the pryde than of foles ouirtrowed power that know nat Him is ouirthrown by the high power enemye; the superfluite of worldly richness, which is norice of discorde and murmure, ys chastised by His own norishing;

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

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

Et se memoire vous puet aucune chose ramentevoir et les anciens livres de noz peres apprendre a cognois- tre nos faiz par les leurs, toutes anciennes escriptures /sont pleines
sont pleines de mutacions, subversions, et changemens des royaumes et des principautez, car comme les enfants naiscent et croiscent en hommes parfaiz et puis declinent a viellesce et a mort, ainsi ont seigneuries leur commence-ment, leur accroissement et leur declin.

(d) 3/22 - 5/14
So thanne He that all may departith and dividith the powers, and He by His perdurable eternite movith the thinges which renneth their course vndir the tyme. And He which (is) infi/nite in high power puttith the begynnyng, the myddis and the ende in all His werkis vndir the moveyng of the hevynes, lyke as dothe a pottre, by moving of his whele maketh of one maner of matir diverse pottis of sundry factiones and gretnesse and ofttymes brekyth the grete pottis if thei lyke him nat and maketh small pottis, and of the matir of the small pottis he maketh ageine grete pottis.

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

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

(a) - fol 16V, 17R/V, 18R
(b) - CS 19,1 - 19,18: 19,18 - 22,8
(c) - QI 3/8 - 4/3: 4/3 - 4/23
(d) - Eng II 5/14 - 7/17: 7/17 - 9/6

(c) Ou est Minive, la grant cite qui duroit trois journées de chemin? Qu'est devenue Babillone, qui fut edifiee de matiere artificieuse pour plus durer aux hommes, et maintenant est habitee de serpens? Que dira l'en de Troye la renommee et la tresriche, et de Ylion, le /chastel sans per
chastel sans per dont les portes furent d`ivoire et les colonnues d`argent, et maintenant à paine reste le pié des fondemens que les haulx buissons forcloent de la veue des hommes? Thebes, qui fut fondée de Cadmus, fils d`Agenor, et la plus peuplee de dessus la terre en son temps, en quelle part pourrait l`en trouver tant de reliques de son nom que gens se puissent montrer nez de sa semence? Lacedemone, par qui les lois vindrent à diverses nacions desquelles encore nous usons, ne pout oncques tant estroictement garder les lois de Ligurgus le droicturier, qui furent faictes pour sa perpetuation, que sa vertu ne soit estaincte et aneantie. Athenes, fontaine de sapience et source des hautes doctrines de philosophie, n`est elle pas en subversion et les ruisseaulx de son escolle tariz et assechiez? Cartage la batailleresse, qui avoit dompte les elephans à batailler et qui jadis fut tant redoutable aux Romains, où a elle tourné sa grant gloire sinon en la cendre du feu dont elle fut arse et embrasee?

Mais parlons de Romme, qui fut derreniere en souveraine mageste et excellentе en vertu, et notons bien la parolle de Lucan qui dit que d`elle mesmes, par sa pesanteur, elle decheut, car les trop pesants fais font les griefves choistes. Par ceste maniere, chascune en son tour et en son ordre, si changent, rabbaissent ou subvertissent, les eureuses fortunes et le bruit des royaumes, ainsi comme la monarchie du monde et la dignité du souverain empire fut jadiz translatee des Assiriens aux Persans et des Persans aux Grecs, des Grecs aux Romains, des Romains es mains des Francois et des Germains. Et combien que ces choses soient assez evidentes et coignoistre, si y errent les pluseurs. Car, en racontant les faiz qu`ilz coignoissent a l`oeil, ilz demeurent en descognoissance de la cause. Et pour ce que les jugemens de Dieu, sans qui riens ne se fait, sont une abisme parfonde ou nul entendement humain ne scot prendre fons et que noz sens sont trop foibles, noz ans trop cours et
noz affections trop fraelles à les comprendre, nous
imputons a Fortune, qui est chose faincte et vaine et ne
se peut revencher, la juste venjance que Dieu prent de
noz faultes, laquelle, ainsi que dit Vallere, vient bien
à tart, mais la longue attente est recompensee par
aggravement de peine.

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

O wher is now the royall cite of Nynive, which was in
compas thre dayes iournay? Wher is become also the
noble cite of Babilone, which was edified by crafte / of
masonrye so stronge that the makers supposed neuir to
haue failed, and now it is enhabited with serpentis?
What shall men say of the grete renowne of Troye and of
the riche castell called Yllion, which was withowte pere,
wherof the yates were made of yvory and the pyleers of
siluir? And now whone shall ye fynde any parte of the
fundation bycause of the grete multitude of bushis and
breres there growing, which takyth away the sght there¬
of fro the people. Thebes also, which was foundid by
one named Cadmus, sone of Aiginor, wherein were most plente
of people in his dayes above all othir citees, where shall
a man fynde any such fruyte nough comyng thereof through
which a manne might be releued? Lacedemoyne also, whons
the lawes came fro vnto diuerse natious, whereof some ben
vnsid yet at this day, made by Ligurgus through his grete
vertue, but in processe of yeris thei were extincte?
Also noble cite of Athenes, which was the veray fournteyne
of sapience and the spring of high doctri/nes of philo-
sophie, is it nat nough in subuersion and the fresch brok
of his scoole dried vp? Yes certeyn. The noble cite
of Cartage, wherein were the good fighters and wise men
of warre, of which somtyme the Romayns had grete doubtë,
where is nough become the grete excellence and glory
thereof? Sothly by force of fyir it is turnid into asshes.
Yet let vs speke of the royall cite of Rome, which [was]
last in souorangne mageste and excellent vertue, and let
vs noote right wele the wordis of Lucan, which seith that
/the grete weight
the grete weight and peice of the said cite hath causid his own fall, for hevy dedis mak grevouse falles. And so by thes meanys euery man in his turne and aftir his ordir chaungith, rebateth or subuertith from the happy fortunes and grete brute of realmys, like as the grete monarchy of the worlde and souerange dignite of thempyre, which was somtyme translated fro the Asseriens vnto the Perciens, and from the Perciens vnto the Grekes, and from the Grekes vnto the Romayns, and from the Romayns, vnto the Frenchmen and Germayns. And though so be that thes matirs ben opinly knowyn, yett moche people woll not vnndirstonde them. For though the dedis ben tolde them which opynly apperith afore their yghen, yet dwellyn thei in the vnknowyng of the cause. And forasmoch as the iugementis of God, withowt whom nothing is but as a diepe derkenes which no man may clerely vnndirstonde, and also that our wittes ben so feble, our yeris so shorte, and our affections to frele, we therfore compleyne vpon fortune, which is a thing veyne and voide and may nat revenge the iuste vengeaunce that our Lorde taketh on vs for our de-faultes, for as Valere saith, 'Good come but lately, yet the long abydyng is recompencid through the gretenes of the peyne.'

(a) - fol 18R/V
(b) - CS 22/4 - 22/34
(c) - QI 4/16 - 4/21
(d) - Eng B II 9/7 - 9/14
(a) Al thir thingis considrit ........ distitute of mennis supple

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

(d) 9/14 wherefore I conclude in myn opinyon the hande of God hangith ouir vs and hath put in vre for His displeasance the scourge of persecution. For I haue sought owt curiously by the course of holy scripturis the defaultis and punycions of oure forefaders and feerfully debatid in my mynde whethir this feerfull punycion be the rodd of the fadir for our chastising or ellis a rigorous iugement for our vttrermest vndoynge. And amonge othir scriptures whanne I rede the thridde chapitre de Ysaie, myne herto was for verye feere sor troublid and myne yghen made derke with multitude of terys whanne I sawe ouir vs the stroke strikin which ben wourthi the deth and yeuith vs ensaumple of diuine indignacion in less that we fynde soone a medicyne.
Quha listis to reide the prophesye of ysaye ...... .... ande vthir venesum beystis.

Euyrie thing is corruppit ...... brakkis the vand ande castis it in the fyir.

L'Esperance

Vn fer lime l'autre. Et vn pecheur chastie son semblable, & deuient instrument de la diuine Iustice. La lime se vee, & puis est deiectee comme inutile. Et le fer limé, par l'amendement du maistre est reabilité, & mis à proffit.
Et se vn fils empoigne par rebellion la verge de son pere, le pere recourt au baston qui est plus dur, & oblie le chastement de discipline pour la rigueur de punition.

Le beuf qui estrie contre l'aguillon est point doublement. Et qui resiste a discipline, & mesprise correction, sera mesprisé du correcteur.

And to this we may wele be moevid by the stories of our auncient fadirs, but yet we shuld be rathir con-strayned by the myscheves and foliship that we see before our yen for lacke of obeisaunce. Wherfor and reding of stories may profight them anythyng ayenst suche pryde, latte vs rede Titus / Livius, and we shulde fynde that the dictatours and consulis of Rome which had the condyte of Romayne batails were oftentymes chosen and take oute of the feeldis from their labours, lyke as it is founde of Fabricius, Lucius Quintus and of diverse oyer which war streightly obeyed.
(a) In my dullit dreyme and copit visione ...

... mony politic verkmanlumis for mecanyc craftis.

(c) Or me fut advis en sommeillant que je veisse en ung pays en fresche une dame dont le haut port et seigneury maintien signifioit sa treseexcellente extraction, mais tant fut dolente et esplouree que bien sembloit dame deceheue de plus hault honneur que pour lors son estat ne demonstroit. Et bien apprissoit à son semblant que forment feust espoventee et doubleuse de plus grant maleurte et douleur advenir. Et en signe de ce, ses blons cheveulx, qui à fin or estrivoient de couleur, veissez espanduz et degetiez sans aournement au travers de ses espaules et une couronne d'or fin sur son chief portoit, qui par divers hurs si fort estoit esbranlee que je penchoit de costé, enclinee moult durement. De sa vesture ne me puis je/passer ne taire, et mesmement du mantel ou paille qui son corps couvroit, dont le merveilleux artifice fait à ramenteyvoir. De trois paires d'ouvrages sembloit avoir esté tissu et assemblé. Premièrement, en chief, d'ancienne brodeure enrichi de moult precieuses pierres y estoient figurees les nobles fleurs de lis tout en travers semees de banieres, gonphanons et ensaignes des anciens roys et princes francois, en memoire de leurs rennomees victoires et de leurs loables entreprises. Ou my lieu se monstroient entaillees lectres, caratherees et figures de diverses sciences qui esclarcissoyent les entendemens et adrocoyent les oeuvres des homes. A la partie d'embas, qui vers terre pendoit, assez povoit on veoir pourtraitures et entremeslees bestes, plusieurz / plantes, fuiz et semences tendans de leurs branches en haut, et naissans de la bordeure d'embas comme de terre plantureuse et fertile.

/(d)

1 (Interpolation in Complaynt reference to Red Lion of Scotland: Quadrilogue refers (8/16) to 'fleurs de liz')
And the meane while that my vndirstondyng was thus troubled bytwene hoope and dispare, a light slombir fell vpone me like as aftir the hevines of the furste slepe fallisth oftentymes it comith towrd the day. And as I laye thus half sleping me thought I saughe in a waste cuntre a lady of whom the high poorte and the lordly countenaunce shewed that she was com of royall lygne. But she was so soroufull and so sor bewepte that she semid a lady that was fallen from a gretter worship than at that tyme hir estate shewid. And it semid wele by hir countenaunce that she was dowtewill and sore aferd of a gretter inconuenience and sorow that was to come, in tokenyng wherof ye might see hir her, which shone as the golde, was cast aboute hir shuldsirs, not dressid but vnarayed; and on hir heede she ware a crowne of fyne golde which by diuerse punchingis was so soore brisid that hit hynge ryght soor on the one syde; and specialy of the mantell that couerid hir body, of which the mervelous werkmanship ought to be remembrid, for it was wrought of thre maner werkis. And furst the high/est part was of auncient enbrowdour enrichid with many precious stones, wherein war figurid the noble flour-de-lyce sowen all abrode, and also banaris, penovns and sygnes of othir auncient kyngis and princis of Fraunce in remembraunce of [their] victorious renownes and of [thair] worshipfull enterpris. And in the myddes of this mantell was shewid diuers lettirs, carectis and figuris of diuers sciencis which lightnyd the vndirstondingis and workyngis of men. And in the lowest part of the saide mantell, which was next the erthe, men might see many diuers portraturis entirmelled with bestis, with diuerse plantis, with fruytis and seedis stretching vpward their braunches and growing from the bordwr byneth as it ware from the plentuous erthe.
This mantil .......... altrit fra the fyert fassone

mais tant lui despleut l'excellence et duree de si parfaicte œuvre qu'elle tourna son pervers et senestre coste et ouvry voyes dont cellui mantel, assemble par la souveraine industrie des predecesseurs, estoit desja par violentes mains froissez et derompuz et aucunes pieces violentement arrachees, si que la partie de dessus se monstroit obscurcie et pou de fleurs de liz y apparissoient qui ne fussent debrisees ou salies. Ne demande nul se la partie moyenne estoit neantmoins demource entiere ne conjointe, et les lectres formees et assises en leur ordre, car si separees, decharpies et desordonnees furent que pou s'en povoit assembler qui portast profulatile sentence. Mais se nous venons a parler de la basse partie, ceste chose seule en peut on dire, que tant la veoit on usee, en gast et en destruction, par rudement frapper, tirer et detrainer, que en plusieurs lieux l'emprainte de la terre apparoit descouverte et les arbres et semences comme desracinees, gectes et pendans au travers par paleteaux, si que on n'y peut cognoistre ordonnance ne esperer fruit. En somme tant estoit cellui habit changié par emprise ment de couleur et de beaute que ceulx qui tel le bastirent a paine y cognoistroient leur ouavraige.

Here follow 30 lines descriing the ruined state of the lady's palace, not represented in C.S.
But the duryng of so excellent a werke so moch was displesaunt vnto the seid fortune that she turnyd therto hir shrewed left side and openid such wayes wherthrough this saide mantell, which was made by soueraigne wisedome of the predecessours, was at that tyme by violent handis brwsid and brokyn into diuers pecis so that the highest parte therof was right derke to looke vpon and few apperid of the flour-de-lice but all thei war brokyn or soylid. And therefor let no man thinke but that the myddill partye was as well defa/ed as the tothir, for the lettirs, carectis and fyguris war so brusid and brokyn that vnneth the might a man vndirstonde ery sentence in the same. But and we come to speke on the lowar partie of the seid mantell, it was so vssid in waste and in distuctione by s/oor strokis, drawyng and halyng that in diuerse placis the ground of the same mantell apperid vncouerid and the treys and seedis semyd as thei had ben pullid vp by the rootis, casten hiddir and thiddir vppon hepis that no man cowde vn/dirstonde non ordynaunce ne fruyte growyng. And so this mantell was in such wise empeyred both of colour and of feyirnes that vnneth the workman that made it cowde nat know their own werkmanship.

(a)  -  fol 56R
(b)  -  CS 70,18 - 72
(c)  -  QI 10,1 - 10,19
(d)  -  Eng II 21,1 - 21,21

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

/(c)
Et à celle heure apperçut trois de ses enfants, l'un
estant droit en armes appuyé sur sa hasche, effrayé et
songeux, l'autre en vestement long sur un siège de
costé, escoutant et taisant, le tiers, en vil habit,
reversé sur la terre, plaintif et langoureux. Comme
doncques elle les eust choisiz à l'œil, indignée en
son hault couraige, vers eulx les prist a reprendre de
leur ciseuse lacheté par paroles entrerecamps souvent
de douloureux soupirs qui de cœur adollé lui mouvoient,
leur disant en ceste maniere:

FRANCE

O hommes forvoiez du chemin de bonne connoissance,
femynins de couraiges et de meurs, loingtains de vertuz,
forlignez de la constance de voz peres, qui pour
delicieusement vivre choisissez a mourir sans honneur,
quelle musardie ou chetiveté de cœur vous tient les
mains ployées et les voulentez amaties que vous bastez
en regardant devant voz yeulx vostre commune desertion:
delicious lyuynge cheese the meanys to deye shamefully, alas what dulnesse or what caytifnes of herte aylyth yow, which that have your hondis close and your will mayte, that ye debate within yourself, in seyng byfor yowre yghen your comune distruption,...

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

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

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

Allace the natiuite .......... sepulture is in it.

Encore dy je que peu doit priser sa naissance et mains desirer la continuation de sa vie qui passe ses jours, ainsi que fait homme nez pour soy seulment, sans fructifier a la commune utilité, et comme cellui qui estaint sa memoire avecques sa vie. Helas! tant est es anciens couraiges prouchaine et si inseparablement enracinee l'amour naturelle du paiz que le corps tent a y retourner de toutes pars comme en son propre lieu, le cuer y est donne come a celle habitacion qui plus lui est aggreable, la vie et la sancte y croissent et amendent l'omme y quiert sa secrete, sa paix, son refuge , le repos de sa vieillesce et sa derreniere sepulture.

and muse as abideing on what party or whennese the bourdon of your naturale herbergage shall fall or subuerete, which might all tobruse yow and ynclose youre ryne vndir his? Yet wolle not ye put to your hondis by your travale and labour, thorouh which I myght be socourid. Who is he that canne sufficiently blame your slow and delicat conditions wherin / yow be norisched? And yet it semeth

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

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

(a) "I maye say ande conferme be raisone ....mair brutal nor brutal beystis".

(c) Si est force de dire que ceulx sont desnatures, qui au commun besoing et pour le salut de leur paiz et seigneurie n'efforcent leur povoir, et mieulx veulent soy laisser perdre avecques la chose publique que pour icelle soy exposer a peril.

(d) For it may right wele be seide that suche people ben vnnaturall that wull not enforce themself for the susten-[ta]tion of the comon wele andlevir suffir themself to be lost with the comon wele thanne dispose themself to perile for the same.

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

/(a)
"it aperis that the lau of nature ..........there tethe 
& feit."

Donc pouroit il sembler que la loy de Nature, / qui 
toutes choses soubz le ciel oblige par lien indissoluble,
seroit plus parfaictement es bestes mues que en vous 
autres, et que vous seriez trouver plus desnaturez que 
elles, qui n'ont pas entendement de raison, quant les 
oyseaulx au bec et aux angles defendent leurs nits et les 
ours et les lyons gardent leurs cavernes a la force de 
leurs gris et de leurs dens.

23/25 wherthrough it shulde seme that naturall lawe, 
which bindyth all thing vndir hevyn, shulde be more 
perfightly accomplisshid in dombe beestis thanne in any 
of yow and also yow shal be founde more vnkynde thanne 
thei which have no reason of vndirstonding. For the 
briddis of the eyre with their beeke and talons defendyn 
their nestis; the lyouns and beeris also kepe their cavis, 
defending them thorough force of their tethe and clawis.

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

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

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

(a) Allace this sair complaynt ............. gude reul ande 
gouuernance

(c) Dure chose est a moy que ainsi me convient plaindre, mais 
plus dure et de mains de reconfort que vous, qui me devez 
soustenir, defendre et relever, estes adversaires de ma  
/prosperite/,
prospérité, et en lieu de guerdon querez ma destruction et l'avancement de vos singuliers desirs. Mes anciens ennemis et adversaires me guerroient au dehors par feu et par glaive, et vous par dedans me gueroiziez par voz couvoitises et mauvaises ambitions. Les naturelz ennemis quierent moy oster liberté pour tenir en leur miserable subjection, et vous me asservicez à l'usage de voz desordonnances et lachetez, en cuidant demourer delivres des dangiers de ma fortune. Ilz me portent dommaige comme partie contraire pour leur entreprinse d'armes et de chevalerie. Et vous, soubz ubre d'amis et le nom d'amis et deffenseurs, paracheves ma perte et desertion par faute de gouvernement convenable.

(d) 25/22 - 27/11
Alas this is to me an hard thing thus to compleyne. Yet it is to me a mor hard thyng and lasse comfort to se yow which ought to susteyne, defende and releve me ben most aduersaries vnto my most prosperite, and instedde of my reward ye sechin my distruction for the avancement of your singular desiris. Myne auncient enemys maken warr on me withoute by fyre and sworde, and ye make me warr withinne by your / vnstaunchable couetis and cursid ambicions. The naturall enemys sechin to put me from liberte and ke(pe) me in their miserable subieccion, and ye mak me bond thorough your des(or)dinat and slowe vsage, wenyng to be [delyueryd] from the daungers of my fortune. Myne owtward enemys don me daunger and hurte as partye contrarye by the enterprise of knyght hod and armys, and ye vndir the shadow of frendis, and namely of frendelynes and defendours, ye put me in grete losse of myne enheritaunce thorough defaulte of covenable gouernaunce.

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

"Historical and religious examples in Chartier's works have also been found useful by the writer of The Complaynt in developing his ideas. Yet many of the stories about great men which he has taken partially from Chartier he knew well from other sources too, and he has often expanded
in detail accordingly, as in his account of Mithridates (80/27 - 81/2; L'Esperance, p. 364)

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

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

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

...........

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

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

(c) Et tu sees comme si peu de gens chassiez, garniz de bonne Esperance, & entre les cas desesperez endurciz à tout souffrir, deliuerent leur pais, restabilirent les loix, & redarguerent par puissance & par iugement les reniez de leur loy, & les traistres & turbateurs du pays commun. Puis que tant apparurent vertueux ceux qui n'auoient apparence de remedie, il est à croire qu'ils forcerent leurs sens à esperer maugré fortune, & faire vertu de leur necessité: & que la deffiance de humaine puissance tournau leurs cuerz en Esperance divine conceu en hault couraige, & conduicte par ferme entreprinse; & les fit de vaincus vainqueurs, & de chassiez assailleurs, & de humbles & deboutez les seigneurs & les maistres.

L'Esperance p 361
And thereof may we take ensaumple of the vertuouse and
coragious man namyd Mathathias and his chyldern, as
whanne the Machabees, in the persecution that the Kyng
Antiochus didd vpon the childern of Israel thoroug the
instaunce and grette vntrough of certeyne of the same
people, which warr turnid to the kyng afore rehercid;
but aftir that the cite / of Jerusalem was by treason
robbid, pillid and brente withe grette and lamentable
occision of people and brought in seruage and some
disperpelid hidir and thidir where thei might fynde any
place to reste themself in, this wourshipfull Mathathias
and his sones aforeaid, which ware withdrawn into
the mountaynes, wente and gadird togedir them pat
war fledde and destitute, which war right fewe in numbir, and
affermed them suche wise in their coragis that they
chose rathir to suffre deth thanne to see the grette
affliccion and fall of their people and of their brethren.
Whereupon thes folkis that wer hidde in the mountaignes,
whanne they wer gadered togedir, thei war so vertuously
gouverned that thei, thorough schedyng of their bloode
and suffryng of deth, bought agayn the servage and
desolacion of their people and restorid ageyn the realme
of Iuda vnto his olde fraunchise / and also to his high
dignite.
"There is one vthir exempel of gedeon ........
it is possibil to be done."

Que aduint-il de Gedeon, ou temps de l'oppression que
fit le Roy de Madian sur Israël? ne desconfit-il pas
avec trois cens combatans, cent & vingt mil hommes, &
deliura par hautte Esperance son peuple de langueur & de
misere? Toutesuoies estoit il pourbe laboureur, homme
non congneu, de petit estat, & de basse famille en la
ligne de Manasse. Mais où grace de Dieu & vertu d'homme
se adioignent, rien n'est impossible à faire ne illicite
à esperer. Et bien souuent met Dieu au pouuoir de
homme, ce que homme ne puet comprendre en sa pensee.

Esperance p 362

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

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

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

The Complaynt continues here with long accounts of Darius,
Xerxes, and Robert Bruce, which are not translated from
L'Esperance, although Chartier also has these figures as
examples in the section used by the Scottish writer in
this chapter.
this chapter (L'Esperance, pp. 363-6). Then almost immediately come the stories of Semiramis, Hercules, Mithridates, Philip, Alexander, Xerxes, Cyrus, and Hannibal, to a great extent directly translated, with the usual expansions and omissions. In this passage the author of The Complaynt has gone one step farther than Chartier (usually considered the 'father of French eloquence' by the rhetoricians) in using a rhetorical pattern of repetitive parallelism taken from Chartier's one use of the phrase, 'Alixandre n'estoit pas content de la conquete de toute la terre': the Scottish examples begin 'The queen semeronis vas nocht contentit witht sirrie and babillon', 'Hercules vas nocht content vitht the gryt cuntray of libie and of creit', 'kyng philip vas nocht content of the ryche realme of macedone', and so forth. Both passages end by sending the reader for further examples to Seneca and Boccaccio.

Another observation about the methods of the Scottish writer may be made by looking at his two passages about the downfall of Babylon, one from Le Quadrilogue and the other from L'Esperance. In rendering freely the clause 'et maintenant est habitee de serpens' (Quad, invec., 3/11), in a passage translated from the French he has written 'bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis' (20/25-26). Somewhat later he has freely translated a passage from L'Esperance, which also has a reference to Babylon: here '& fist Babiloine inhabitable' becomes in The Complaynt 'ande maid it ane desert inhabitabil for serpens ande vthir venesum beystis' (28/4-5), in recollection of his own earlier rendering from Le Quadrilogue. Thus, the translations from Le Quadrilogue invectif and Le Traité de l'Esperance in The Complaynt, with the Scottish author's additions, expansions, omissions, rearrangements, and combinations of material, are often so loose and free that the reader suspects that the writer was merely remembering some passage of the French, as he was wont to do; but suddenly this suspicion may be rudely dispelled when /the reader
the reader comes upon a sentence, clause, or phrase translated word for word, often with unusual cognates, from the French. This eclectic technique in The Complaynt of Scotlande makes the work, for anyone familiar with the author's sources, one of the strangest in the literature of Britain. It might indeed be called 'one of the most remarkable works' of the sixteenth century, but not, as C.S. Lewis and other critics seem to imply, because of its originality in sincerity and earnestness of tone (this tone depends to a great extent upon the author's use of Chartier), nor because of its Renaissance use of classical sources (many of the examples have been taken by the author from secondary sources), but instead because of the unusual way in which the author uses the French of Chartier."

1 The extensive French influence in the vocabulary of The Complaynt has been noted by Neilson and others.
(a) - fol 64R/V
(b) - CS 80/21 - 81/23
(c) - Esp. p 364-5
(d) - Eng I 138/26 - 140/17

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

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

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

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

ii. (c) CS 86/3 - 86/11; QI 17,28 - 18,3; Eng II 39/3 - 39/14; 6SR
Et se bien en enqueres, c'est la ligne de Sergestus
et de Hangelstus les Saxons, qui comme souldoyers vindrent
au secours du Roy de la grant Brealtaine oppressé de dures
guerres. Et depuis occuperent & prindrent le pays pour
eulx, quant ilz le sentirent despourueu par guerre de sa
bonne Chevalerie, & par trahison soubz faintise de paix
occirent le surplus de la noblesse du pays.

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

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

folio 68v
"Then in the Complaynt, 86/11-31 (English, 39/14-6, 40/15-7), a series of examples is given obviously to illustrate the next sentence of Le Quadrilogue:

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

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

At this veil considerit, suld inflam your hartis witht curage to resist ther cruel vrangus assaltis, & to menteine be vailjeantnes the iust defens of your natyf cuntre. je knau quhou thai and there forbears hes beene your auld mortal enimes tuelf hundretht jeiris by past, makand cruel veir contrar your predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly distroyand your feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vytht ane ferme purpos to denud scotland fra your generatione.

(C.E., 86/31-87/5; French, 18/5-9, 13-5; English, II, 39/16-26, 40/17-27)

In the remainder of this chapter the Scottish author discusses many of the same ideas that occupied Chartier - the noble deeds of the forefathers of the land in contrast /to the deeds of
to the deeds of his own generation, the dissension within
the country, which was partially responsible for the suc-
cess of the enemies, and so forth; but none of this
material seems to have been written with any particular
passages in Chartier before the author."

(Blayney, pp clxvii - clxviii)

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

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

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

The Q.I. mentions the example of Hanniball and Fabius Maximus,
and Varro (cf fol 101V, CS 129 'of poor origins) at Cannae:
and includes the phrase (Q.I. 35/23)
'troys muys des aneaua d'or' (based on Val. Max. V. 2. 4.)
which is found in 89R; CS 113,5.
In the Q.I. there follows the reference to Hannibal and

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

folios 96V - 98V

The ideas; not verbally 97R-V

i. (b) JAHM 123,27 - 124,10
   (c) QI 20,26 - 21,5
   (d) Eng II 45/24 - 47/8; (46/20 - 48/10)

ii. (b) JAHM (97V) 124/10 - 124/12
   (c) QI 21,5 - 21,8
   (d) Eng II 47/8 - 47/11; (48/10 - 48/13)

iii. (b) JAHM (97V) 124,13 - 124,16
    (c) QI 22,14 - 22,18
    (d) Eng II 49/22 - 49/27; (50/25 - 50/28)

iv. (b) JAHM (97V/98R) 125,16 - 124,24
    (c) QI 23,32 - 24,7
    (d) Eng II 53/20 - 53/27; (54/16 - 54/25)

v. (b) JAHM 124,24 - 124,33
    (c) QI 24,7 - 24,14
    (d) Blayney II 53/27 - 55/6

vi. (b) JAHM 124,33 - 125,28
     (c) QI 24,13 - 25,7
     (d) Blayney II 55/5 - 57/7; (56/5 - 58/7)

vii. (b) JAHM 125,23 - 125,28
     compounded of
     (c) QI 24,27 - 28; 24,15-17; 25,5-6
     (d) See Blayney RES p. 12

viii. (b) JAHM 125,28 - 126,16
     (c) QI 37,25 - 38,25
     (d) Blayney II 89/11 - 91/13; (90/10 - 92/13)

ix. (b) JAHM 126,7 - 126,9
     (c) QI 38,16 - 38,18
     (d) Blayney II 91/4 - 91/6

x. (b) JAHM 126,13 - 126,16
     (c) QI 38,22 - 38,25
     (d) Blayney II 91/10 - 91/13

xi. (b) JAHM 126,16 f. two pages of free translation
(a) - fol 96v - 99r
(b,c) - CS
{  122,19 - 123,18 = QI 20/1 - 20/20
    123,18 - 123,27 = QI 20/20 - 20/26
    124,10 - 124,12 = QI 21/5 - 21/8
    124,13 - 124,16 = QI 22/14 - 22/18
    124,16 - 124,24 = QI 23/32 - 24/7
    124,24 - 124,33 = QI 24/7 - 24/14
    124,33 - 125,28 = QI 24/13 - 25/7
}
(d) - Eng II 43/25 - 45/24: 47/8 -

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(a) - Ch XV "O my dolorus mother ........
... miserabil lyif for the ingratitude of my tua brother
der dissolutione and the mysknaulage of god."

(c) QI 20/1
Haa, mere, jadiz habondant et plantureuse de prosperité
et ores angoisseeuse et triste du declin de ta ligneee, je
recoy bien en gré ta correction et coignois que tes plaintes
ne sont point desraisonnables ne sans cause, maiz trop
m'est amere desplaisance que j'aye de ce meschief la perte
et le reproche ensemble et que m'en doiez en riens tenir
suspect quant d'autruy coulpe je porte la tresaspre
penitance. Je suis comme l'asne qui soustient
importable et si suis aguillonné et batu pour faire et
souffrir ce que je ne puis. Je suis le bersault contre
qui chacun tire sajettes de tribulation... Haa, chetif
douloureux, dont vient ceste usance qui a si bestorne
l'ordre de justice que chacun a sur moy tant de droit
comme sa force lui en donne? Le labour de mes mains
nourriss les lasches et les oyseux et ilz me persecutent
de fain et de glaive. Je soustien leur vie a la sueur
et travail de mon corpse et ils guerroient la moye par
leurs outrages dont je suys en mendicité. Ilz vivent
de moy et je meur pour eulx.
Ilz me deussent garder des ennemis, helas, helas, et ilz me gardent bien de manger mon pain en secourte. Comment auroit homme en ce party pacience parfaite, quant a ma persecution ne peut on riens adjouster que la mort. Je meur et transiz par default et necessite des biens que j'ay gaignez;

20/20-26
The People

Allas modir, which somtyme haddist grette habundaunce of plenteuous prosperite and now full of anguysch and hertely sorow and in maner of declyne from the royall ligne, I beleve right wele and take in gree thi correccion, knowing that thi complauntis be nat vreasonable ne without cause. Wherfor I take a bittir displesaunce in the same forasmoche as the grete myschef, the repref and hurt lyeth vpon me, and therfor ye ought nat to haue me suspecte. But inasmoch as I bere the blame and the scharpe penaunce of othir persons, I may be wele likened to the asse that berith the importable chargis, and am betyn and prikkid to do and suffer suche thyngis as is nat in my power. I am alio the butt ayenst whom every man shotith the aeros of tribulacion. O vnhappy and soroufull caytif, from whens cornyth this false vsage that thus turnyth vp so downe the ordir of iustice, which every man hath ouir me as moche power as myght woll geve him. The labour of my hondis norischith the slowthe of idill people, and thei rewarde me ageyn with persecucion of hungir and of sworde. I susteyne their lyf with my sweete and travaile of my body, and thei make me werre with ther outragis, which hath brought me to lyve as a begger. Thei lyve vpon me, and I dey for them. Thei ought to kepe and diffende me from the enemes, but allas thei kepe (me) wele inough from etyng my brede in suerte. O Lorde God, hough myght any man in this werke haue perfight pacience whanne to my persecucion may nothing be ioyned but deth? I dey evyn as I go on the erthe for defaulte of myn own goodis that I haue gotyn. Also I see wele that labour hath lost his hoope; marchaundise canne fynde no redy way to have his dew course; all goodis ar takyn away save onely suche as is defendid by the sperre and the sworde. Wherefor I haue non othir of hoope in my lyve save by dispeyr leve my staate and do as thei do that haue dispoiled me, which louith.
which louith bettir the prey than honours of the werre
that is in this realme. But it is a pryve robbery, a
thefte which takith away by foorce the comon wele of
realme vndir the colour of armys, and is ravischid away
by violence for defaute of iustice and good gouernaunce.

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

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

1. the veyr is cryit contrar ingland ............
miserabil lyif.

ii. my complaynt .......... sulde defend me.

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

21/5-8

i. (d) 47/8
The werris ben cried and the standardis be reysid on
hight ayenst the enemyes, but the exployt of their dedis
be ayeinst me to the distrucccion of my powr sustenaunce
and of my wretchid lyfe.

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

22/14-18
ii. (d) O it is a full noyous thing to speke of this, but (it) is a more ]grevous[ thing to susteyne my ]pituous[ desolacion, for I am put in exile, prisoner in my howse, assailid of my frendis and of them that shold be my defendours, and I were with scouldiers wherof the payment is made with my propir goodis.

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

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

(c) Le peuple si est membre notable d'un royaume, sans lequel les nobles ne le clergé ne pevent suffire a faire corps de police ne a sousteyn leurs estas ne leur vie, et ne me puis trop donner de merveille qu'il doye si estre habandonné a toute infelicité et persecuté par les autres membres subgiez a son mesme chief, ne je ne voy meilleur similitude a ce propos sinon que nostre police frangoise est comme l'homme furieux qui de ses dens mort et desirse ses autres membres. 23/32 - 24/7

(d) 53/20
The people of a realme ben full feble whanne the nobles and the clergy may nat suffice to kepe vp the body of policie ne susteyne their lif and ther estate. And yet I mervaile not that it is thus abandoned to all infelicite, for I se no similitude to this body but that the policie of Frencshmen may be likenid vnto a wodman which with his tethe bitith and raseth away his own membres.
the romans in ald tymes .......... vrangus oppressours.

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

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

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

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

is compounded from the following French constructions:

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


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

Wherefore the auncient Romayns pursued them wele ayeinst suche grette inconueniences; for kepyng the parties of their commyte, euery man in his dignite and in his ordre, stablisch[ed] the tribus of the people, [tribunus plebis] whoos office was to susteyne, defende and kepe in fredome the comons ayeinst / the seintours and the power of Pe nobles. But her it is nat so, for I am lette fall in the handis of robbers takyng their praye, which constrayne me to crye vengeaunce to Allmyghty God for the importable and soore affliccions which thei haue putt vnto me for lacke of helpe. For it is oftentymes founde in the olde wrytyngis that for the myserye of the pover /people
people the wepyngis and sorowis of them that must nedis suffur, the diuine iugementis hath yevyn full egre and sharpe punycion. Wherfor I counseile every man that fyndith hymself gilty in this trespas that he bewar, for it is not to thynke that the turmentis of so many coragis and the pituous and lamentable voice which addressyn their cryes, wepyngis and compleintis vp to the high hevyn move nat with pite the mekenes of the right mercifull and all-puysaunt Creatour, that His iusticie procedith nat to the confusion of theim that cause the iniquityf wikednes.

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

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

"for the ingratitude of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione

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

Breakdown (b): (c): (=d) II 89/11 - 91/13:
- CS 125,28 - 126,3 = QI 37/25 - 38/3
- CS 126,7 - 126,8 = QI 38/16 - 38/18
- CS 126,13 - 126,16 = QI 38/22 - 38/25
(c) - Quad. invoc.
Pour ce te dy que de la grant planté de biens et des richesses du temps paisible les puissans et les nobles hommes ont use en gast et dissolution de vie et en ingratitude et descongnoissance de Dieu, qui a suscite contre eulx le murmure du peuple. Si est vostre desmesuree vie et vostre desordonné gouvernement cause de nostre impacience et commencement de noz maulx, car, lors que les biens et les richesses multiplioient par le royaume et que les finances y habandoient comme source d'eau vive, voz pompes desmesurees, voz oisivetez aouillees de toutes delices et la descognoissance de vous mesnes vous avoit ja et a bestourné le sens, si que ambicion d'estaz, convoitise d'avoir et envie de gouverner, vous commengoient a mener a la confusion ou vous estes.

37/25 - 38/9

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

38/16-18

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

38/22-25

(d) 89/7 - 91/13
Wherfor Itell the that the grete plente of goodis and richesses of tyme passed whanne pees was among vs, thenne the grette men and the nobles vsed them in wast and dissollucion of lyving and in vnkynënes / of the mysknowlege of God, which hath now reysid ayecinst him murmur of the people, which is causid by your vnameseurable lyuyng and your disordinate gouernaunce and dryvith vs to inpacience, which is the begiynnyng of our evile. For when the goodis and the rychesses multiplyed in /the realme
the realm with haboundaunce, as watir that comyth out of a quick spryng, right so your unmeasurable pompes, your yeill sloute the applyed to all maner of delytes and to the disknowlegyng of yourself hathe suche wise turnid your sheildis that the grette ambicion of estatis, couetise to gette good and envye for to governe hathe brought you to the confusion wher ye be at this howr. And by thes thre thingis was and is consumed the royll money, and treasour of lordeshippis wastid in the tyme of plente. For neiethir the multiplicacion of the goodis which at that tyme war for to come on euery parte nor the consideracione of necessite that was for to come myght neuir move your corages to knowe that it was expedient to reserve to the prince nor to purvey for him at his nede, but at all tymes it shulde be spendid afore or it myght come in. For lyke as drynke augmentith and encreasith the drynesse of the ydropique, likewise who that had most was most sette on couetice. So is the voice of the people like as the voice of tyteleris which by their crye denouncen the comyng of the see floode. For our talis which thow callist murmurs signified at that tyme the myschevis that war for to come. Novgh it is soo that thorough outrage and discorde comyth murm and rumour, vpon rumour diuision, vpon diuision desolacion and slaundir.

(a) - fol 116v
(b) - C3 p. 147,16 - 147,31
(c) - QI 60/17 - 60/21
(d) - Eng II 151/8 -151/12
(Example of degenerate son of Scipio Africanus)

(d) 149/25 - 151/12
Yet ther is a thing that griggeth me more thane this that I haue rehercid, for I se hough the nobles and worshipfull men take so litill hede to themself that (there) is no difference of rewle and condicion bytwen them and the
them and the mysgouerned folkis, nothir in their willis
nor in feere of their soueraignes, ne taketh no hede hough
evill name thei gette, ayenst which every noble herte
ought make more mortall werre thane ayenst their enemyes,
for thei ought suche wise to guyde hemself that their
werkis myght make them to be knowe from othir mysgouerned
people and that in / noon of them may be founde any spotte
of reproche in lasse that thei make therfor a remedye,
like as did the Sipiouns at Rome whanne thei take away from
son of the eyres of Scipion Affrican a ryng wherin was
enprentid the ymage of the wourthi Scipion forasmoche as
he followed nat the werkis of hym of which he bare the tokyn.

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

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

ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal lyif ve var naikyt
and vepand, and quhen ve depart ve sal be vile and
abhominabil, ande ve sal carye no thing furtht of
this varld boj the coulpe of our synnis, or the meritis
of our vertu.

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

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

the nychtis ar ouer schort to gentil men to commit
there libedenes lust, and the dayis ar ouer schgirt
to them to commit extorsions on the pure pepil.

(C.S., 155/25-7; French, p. 313; English, I, 68/24-7)

2 Because the rendering of this sentence in the English
is so free, I quote the French: 'Les nuits leur ont
este trop courtes pour leurs desuergandes plaisances,
& les jours trop briefs pour dormir & les liz sans exploit
prouffitable.'"

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

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

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

(Blayney, p. clxxvii)

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

p. 307

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

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

(Blayney, p. clxxvii)
Ther is a grette difference in the counseill of a prince that is vrous and in prosperite, that wold kepe the / same and deffende it, and anothir prince which fortune sheweith nat his fauour vnto and yet wold fayne ryse ageyne and take awaye the victory from the victour. To this caase ar we brought wherin lyith gretter watche and gretter wisdome thanne the werkis of hasty buffettis, as in lyke caase the wourthy Romayne named Fabius Maximus shewid ful well in the tyme that he occupied the office of dictatour aftir the innumerable losses pat the Romayns hadde thorough the folisch enterprise of Vare, which was a consull of Rome, at the grete Bataile of Caves ayeinst Haniball, which at that tyme was reisd vp in grette pryde thorough the highnes of his victories, in the which bataile ther wer so many noble men slayne that for to magnifi his victors the seid Haniball sente vnto Cartage thre tonnefullis of ryngis of goulde which war take of the fyngirs of dede bodyes. But aftyr that, this noble Fabyus helde his hoste / togedir and costeyd his enemyes and grevid them litill and litill, bothe of their men and of per vitailles. And though so were that Haniball provokid hym to bataile and that the people murmurd ayeinst him for bycause he wold nat feight with hym, yet for all that wold natphe at the Romayn cheualry, which wer somtyme grette /Victours,
victours, shuld be myschevid all at a tyme, but helde his men so long back that thei, contrary in a maner to his wourship, arraysid and made anothir dictatour namyd Hunycious and made hym master of the horsemen. So thanne he that was subget befor was made a fellowe to Fabius, whervpon the seid Municius thought that he wold fullfill the will of the people to feyght ayeinst Hanyball. But he was shamefully discomfited and had lost all his legions if Fabius had nat socourid hym and put away his enemyes. And thanne was he feyne to yeve thankingis to him which he had sclau'n/dird before and toke for a grette vertu the constaunce of Fabius which afortyme callid hym latches and slowe. But thorough his meanys thei war so streight vpon Haniball that with a little losse of the Romayne knyghtis pe seid Haniball was chasid oute of Ytaly into Affrike and at the last ouircome and shamefully slayne.
APPENDIX - WEDDERBURN POEMS IN THE BANNATYNE MS
My love was false and full of hatred
When I was full of sorrow she
And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.

When I was full of sorrow she
And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.

When I was full of sorrow she
And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.

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And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.

When I was full of sorrow she
And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.

When I was full of sorrow she
And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.

When I was full of sorrow she
And inconstant, played at such a game
That I could not find within her heart
When I was full of grief she
And she was false and full of hatred.
Blawand ane handill be art magicane
in frost and snae qhill daylicht on je mome
Bot my fillie did me far grittar skome

Virgill qhillik was prudent graif and saige
Wit lichtliit be his luve w'out remeid
And for dispyt scho hang him in ane caighe
And arристotill qhillik diuerfs doctrynis maid
his lady patt ane brydill in his heid
bot all thay skornis can not compassit be
Till half the schame pat my luve gart me dre

Siclyk scho wald be grit subtillitie
Ressaif fra me lave drweilis belt and ring
And than w't thay same giftis ofir wald sche
hir paramo4 and lait him want no thing
Vpoun the morne the same ringis he wald bring
And weir jame for dispyt befor my face
To gar me ken he was mair in hir grace

God wait quhat wo had troyelus in deid
quhen he beheld the belt je broch and ring
hingand vpoun je speir of diomeid
qhillik troyelus gaiit to cressed in luve talkning
On pat same sort scho did to me maling
for tha giftis pat I gafe till hir all hour
W't jame scho did posses hir paramour

Bot quhan scho was in to necessitie
Than flattir me scho wald w't woirdis fair
Ane fenyit teir scho wald thrist fra hir E
Lyk as for luve of me scho wald forfair
hir fenyit wo did sop my hart w't cair
than pety gart me grant till hir desyre
Becaus the luve brunt me lyk je bald 2 fyre

1 some deleted.
2 Should it read bale? The first letter is slightly blotted.
I think thir men Ar very fals and vane
That wemenis hono' degraid's or estait
And thay deserf pynitium and pane
Quhen thay persome in to pair vane consait
To say or do pat may pair fame defait
For wemen ar of sic tryvmphand gre
That aboif men thay haf awtoritie

for quhy pe warld may welli persaif & ken
That wemen tryvmphis in hie dignitie
And in all honor pai do perder men
In prudens constans and in nobilitie
And god pat knawis wemenis nobilitie
Wafs of ane woman born As ye ma reid
And no' consaivit be mens polute seid

And quhen chryst Iesu rais fra deid to lyif
Till holy wemen he did first appcir
Because of pair constans superlatyif
Till his appostillis he drew not first neir
For men in till all maleis hes no pair
Ane man did sell Iesus quhilk is of heid
And als be men was crusifixt & deid

pair deleted. in deleted.
Sanct petir did thrile Refuse & deny
Chrst Jesus befoir plattis Trybunall
Bott wemen did confes him hardly
Quhen he was accusit in caypha's hall
Syne to pe croce togidder thay past all
Quhen he was deid thay wemen take grit cure
To spye his body in pe sepulture

I can not wrytt nor 3it ma I refers
The noble holy wemen that hes bene
The quhilks in every vertew did rowvers
As in to dyvers volomis may be sene
Matheyris virgenis and mony holy quene
As in pe goldin legend men may reid
And als plutarq refers of pair deid

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

Men ar ay reddy to schaw wemenis vyce
bot pair awin vyce thay wald excuse & hyd
& 3it howbeit pat men mak it sa nyce
God will gud wemenis fame defend & gyd
The trew will schaw pe fructis q' werkis all tyd
In till all bukis pat I cowld fynd or reid
The crymes of men dois wemenis vyce excoid

We may persaif in storeis ane & vddir
how Adame brak eternall goddis command
And how Caen slew Iust Abell his bruder
And pharo kepit Israel in captive band
Nobagodonasar ye ma vnderstand
quha for his wicketnes was made ane beist
& divers kings was punist for incest

To tell of Nerone and Commodius
quhilk wer suppreme heidis of all ye Impyre
And vpir emprors owtrtragious
The quhilk patt holy men to sowrd & fyre
To reheres all it will bott gar me tyre
quhilk daily did commit ane crewall cryme
Bot women did nevir sic thing all pair tyme

Quha waß mair crewall nor calligula
Or philaris or dionisius
And quha hes done mair tressone nyé or da
Nor did ye falls cedusser symon magus
Quha did mair errasy nor Arrius
Wi ye evill sort of pelligrins als
As to chafas non wes kend so falls'

Sicyk Annaß that fengeit Ipcrcit
And falls pilatt pat condampnit chryst to de
Paip Iuliane that falls paip of dispytt
Wi vpir ma full of Idolatre
Vnumerable pair is and sa salbe
Off crewale vicius men in every toun
qik bringis pure peple to confusion

sior sum ar tyrantis Sum ar commoun thevis
Sum mvrdresaris committand homicyd
Sum ar wrikaris of all kynd of mischevis
Sum ar tratois qí evir thay gang or ryd
& Sum to sathan ar bayé pilatt & gyd
Sum ar mensworne full of fals callumnationis
And commoun Learis Inwentand accusationis
And sit howbeit sum wenem felt be cace
Be Ignorance Or through grit Libertie
sit men sowld not allage in to no place
That all wenem ar of sic vilitie
particularly preferris not vniuersalitie
howbeit ane hes bene temptit w't je devill
That fallowis not pat all je laif ar evill
Quhairfoir I marvell pat men ar sa rud
For to detract gud wenem evin and morne
Ar we not maid of wenemens fleschi and blud
And in pair bosum we ar bred and borne
Thairfoir we sowld do pame na skaith nor skorne
All men pat gavis to wenem evill commend
I pray to god pat they mak ane ill end

finis q Weddirburne
O man, transfornit and unnaturall
O trublit spreit possest wi' frenesye
Allace is all thy wit prudenciall
In vane consaittie and profound fantasy
Thru' apprehensionis of malmancoly
genert thru' lust of sensuall affectionee
quhilk hes exylit ressonce & affectione
Quhair is thy knawlege and Intendmment
And thy ryp wit in solist bissinef.
Quhair is thy wisdome & gud Jugement
Quhair is thy pastance and solaciusnesf
Quhair is thy streth sowld mortefy distreß
Quhair is thy prudeat verteuß conversatioun
Quhill vulgaris haldis of sa grit estimationou
Thow dois becum war nor ane brutall beist
In profound pane provokand thy awin deid
Quhen thow in luve lyis lyk ane gryislie gaist
Heit as ye fyre and calder nor ye leid
Wt vain consaitis all farrit is thy heid
Destitut of vertew and of grace
Lamentand vain consaitis cryand allace
Wt sobbis and sichtis and mony ane suspyr
Tormentand pair thy self in till ane trance
The quhilk haldis all thy body in ane fyre
Becaus thy heid is full of variance
And blyndis thy richt spreitis w' dull Ignorance
Provokand thy desyre to lelf solitar
To end thy dayis in langissing and cair

Thow garris me marvell mair than I can mone
Becaus thou art pe mai'st fule now on lyfe
The dropis be pabris fallis fra thy ene
Rarand lyk ane Jung barnie or ane seik wyfe
Desyrand thy awin deid w' swerd or knyf
Thairfoir vyce men sowld mak for pe no mane
Becaus thou art all w' pe glaikis ourgane

To eld
And ye auld man your puerilitie
Is gane lang synce and thou art cum till alge
Thairfoir thy eld sowld end w' honestie
And in lufe to rammefis and to rege
For paramotis in auld men is dottage
Thow sowld vpoun thy bukis and beidis contempill
The quhilk sowld be to Jung men gud exemplis

Page 631. The devyne prudent plato says expreft fol. 288 a
That quhan menis ene becumis bleird and obscure
And quhan pair cheikis ar full of skrumpilneis

1 Wt sobbis deleted.
2 amo'is deleted.
or quhan pair he[dis] na exceš in [drynl] jnd[ure] 1
Than thay sowld provyd for pair sepulture
And to converfs in vertew day & hour
And No 1 to leif in lust and paramour

And thus sirccht 2 quhilk was sapient
he held thre vycis maist abhominable
Ane was quhan men of riches or of rent
Visit to lie lesingis detestable
The second was nane sowld held for a fable
That is quhen men ar in pouerty pynd
Syne growis in hicht w 4 ane ambitius mynd

And the third vyce he held maist odius
Because it is pe vylest of pe thre
That is quhen men of Aige ar vicius
Vsand pair lust and sensualitie
Wemen takkis als grit ple{sour} for to se
ane man of aige in amotis for to carp
As quhen thay heir ane A$s play on a harp

Ry 4 seyndill in to landis quhair I half bene
I saw nevir auld men oft luve paramour
Nor sig it wes nevir in no cuntre sene
That women did luve auld men day or hour
Thot sum women be sene be avingtour
To kis and clap auld men be luvis fyr
Sic fenyeit luve thay schaw to get thair geir

Thairfoir thow sowld richt prudently perpend
The denger The dishonort and 3 defame
Off pouvertie or ane mischevous end

1-1 or quhan pair he
na exceš in
ind

written on margin after f. The bracketed
letters are cut by the inlay.

* Sic.
* ye deleted.
Quhilk cuins of men of Aige that tynis gud name
Quhan yung men does sic thing It is na schame
Becaus thewthid garris their blude fow & rege
hot auld menis Lust procedis of daft dotage

And sen thy blude Is becum cawld and dry
And als thy flesche and banis consumys for old
Thairfoir thow sowld leif wantone chevalry
Off venus workis And to gif our pe feld
And mexir to beir in amo's speir nor sehild
Bot rathir at ane blett fyre the to hold
Wt ane sydgoun to help the fra pe cold

Thow hes mair mistir of ane dowhill cap
Nor of pe farest lady in to france

Page 432

No leit warme thy tendir handis to hap sol.288 b
Nor for to se thy deir lule sing or dance
Restoratyvis be wyis menis ordnance
Wt sweit confectionis sowld be thy confort
Rathir nor wt fresche ladeis for till sport

Thow thy cell deid dois the asselge
The quhilk no man nor woman may ganestand
Thy memberis and thy streth begynnis to felye
for butt ane staff thow may no skantlie stand
Thairfoir gif thow be wyis do my command
And to putt women cleir fur of thy mynd
Becaus to men of Aige thyar ar vnkynd

Tha t thow be coistlie cled in cap and goun
Lyk the yung gal杰rd gallandis in all thing
And als thy clais maid of pe new fassoun
And on thy finjeris mony Ioly ring
3it thy gray herd yung women sall maling
Thairfoir thow sall putt thame fur of thy mynd
Becaus to men of aige thyar ar vnkynd
To the madam And noble lades and sweet creators
I exort you naturally to Intend
The cruel and unhappy aventures
Be Jugement devyne qhilk god dois send
Schame pocity or ane vyle suddane end
On pame that maculatti pudicitie
Adherand to pair sensualitie

The noble giftis of chestitie precell
Off vertewis it is Maist principall
Na persone can expreme defyne nor tell
The godly vertew virginall
For the devyne theologgis vniuersall
And auld awttoiris of maist excellent gre
Aboif all giftis thay prefer chestitie

Thairfoir gif 3e wald-keip pudicitie
3e sowld Extremely detest vane amoris
And to fie evill occasion specialie
As is foirsaid be ornat oratoiris
And als 3e sowld prepend bay4 day & horis
To grit mischeif misery and neid
Fira paramoris dois evir mair succeeding

finis q weddirburne
*** NOTES TO THE COMPLAINANT
Dedication to 'the excellent and illustrious Marie Queen of Scotland, the margarit ande perle of princessis.'


The Heading 'Ane Epistil to the Quenis Grace' is similar, as Leyden (pp.76-9) indicates, to Lindsay's 'Epistill to the Kingis Grace' prefaced to the 'Dreme', and his 'Epistill Nuncupatorie' prefaced to the 'Monarcha'.

The dedicatory epistle and the following prologue have the rhetorical function of winning over the reader. As Cicero, De Inv. I,xv,20 puts it: "Exordium est oratio amimum auctoris idoneae comparans ad reliquam dictionem; quod eveniet si eum benivolentia, attentus, docilem confectionem." The panegyric epistle is like the opening of the graduation address, of a newly created Master of Theology at St. Andrews, delivered about 1546. It begins: "Aegrestis moribus, conversatione incuitia, tenuis minerva, ingenio rudis, inopis scientiis, literarum omnia inexpertus et qui nunc quod neuerim fore discipulus bodie in magistrum sum erectus, vestris corem splendissimis reverentissis, O reverendissimi patres et domini qui in circuitu assidetis universi. Nescius certe docere meipsum (hodie certenibibus vobis) ut alics docere puerctus sum. Indignus qui remigis fungor officio in gubernacione nauis positus..." (The address is quoted in extenso from MSS leaves in a copy of William Manderston's Bipartitum (Paris, 1518) (Glasgow Univ.Lib.BS Be 6b11) (Formerly belonging to Robert Anderson, Regent in Salvator's College) by John Durkan, SUMA, 184-197.) The reference in the dedication to Marie as 'the margarit ande perle of princessis', refers to a very fruitful symbol.
The 'margaret' in French referred both to the daisy and to the pearl as well as being a woman's name, and the 'flower of flowers' reference was a commonplace found in the works of Machaut, Froissart and Deschamps. (cf. F.K. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957) comment on lines 40-55 of the 'Legend of Good Women', pages 839-841).

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

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

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

On the symbolism of the pearl cf. e.g. E.V. Gordon, Pearl (Oxford, 1953), xxvii-xxix; and references there; ed. J. Conley; The Middle English 'Pearl': Critical Essays (Notre Dame, Ind., 1970). 16-26.

Public weal
The mention of Mary of Guise's "magnanime auans of the publicveal of the affligit realme of scotlande", touches on a key idea of the Complaynt.

For the importance of the idea of the Commonwealth see Philip Styles' article in Shakespeare in His Own Time; Shakespeare Survey 17 (Cambridge, 1954), ch. 8, 103-119.

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

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

folio 2v catalogue of heroines

The exemplum (or paradigina) was a form of rhetorical proof by
analogy, using the deeds of historical or legendary figures (eikon, imago). (cf. ALLMA, 54-61; Huizinga, 218-9).

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

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

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

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

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

On the ladies' subsequent literary careers, see for example E. Frenzel, Stoffe der Weltliteratur, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1953).

Semiramis is mentioned by Chartier (ed Droz,p.16), and the editor suggests that Chartier borrowed from Val.Max.9.3.4. For Thamyris the Complayner knew his Bible well enough not to have to borrow from Carion (as Leyden suggests, p.40-1). Penthesilea might, as Leyden suggests (p.75) have been from Lydgate's Troy Book, and Ysicrata from Lydgate's translation of Boccacio's Fall of Princes, but this is not certain. Lindsay uses the same examples as the Complayner; e.g. Lucretia (Works, I,37); Cyrus (Works, III,362); Semiramis (Works, I,283-286, III,363) This does not imply borrowing. It indicates the conventional nature of the example, as is further shown, e.g. by Douglas referring to "how chaist Lucrece, the gudliest and best./Be Sextus Tarquine was cruellie opprest." (Palice of Honour, lines 1664-5, in ed P.J. Rawcutt, The Minor Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS (Edinburgh, 1957)
The enumeration of exemplary figures is only one example of the use the Complayner makes of the device of 'catalogues', as we have seen in the introduction.

fol. 2v, 3r rauand sauage volffis.

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

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

The favourite jibe, recalled by the Complayner's reference to 'ald subtill doggis' (fol. 68v), is the reference to the English as 'tailed men'. See G. Neilson, "Caudatus Anglicus: A Medieval Slander"; Transactions of the Glasgow Archeological Society, XXIX(1895)441-447.


fol. 2v the universal pestilens


fol. 3r Death of James V.

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

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

cf. 64v "There for i hope in god that witth in schort days the protectour of ingland, and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the
croniklis in as abominabil stile as vas philaris, dionysius, nero, callugala, or domician, the quhilkis mad and mischeuous enie, for the violent invasions of vthur princois cuntreis but ony inst titil"

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

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

fol. 3v Mary Queen of Scots in France

Mary Queen of Scots was born at Linlithgow on 7th or 6th December, 1542 and was Queen of Scots from 14th December, 1542.

The young queen went to Dumbarton at the end of February 1547/8, and after a stay of five months she embarked there, about the 7th August and landed in France about 13th August, 1548. (Dunbar, Scot Kings, 249).
Marie de Lorraine, the Queen Dowager herself left Leith on 8th August, 1550 for France, and returned to Scotland about 30th November, 1551 (Dunbar, Scot.Kings, 250).

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

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

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

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


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

Godfrey de Bouillon

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

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

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

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

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

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

fol.4r. Nine Nobles

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

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


Sometimes the Nine Nobles appeared in connection with the 'Ubi sunt' topos, as in Machaut's 'Dit deu Lyon', lines 1315-1520; Deschamps, Poemes, 12,239,403; Pisan, Cent Ballades, XCII, as D.A. Pearsall points out (ed D.A.Pearsall, The Flours and the Leaf, (London,1962), 148-9, note to line 504).

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

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

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

Rene 'invictiasime kync of seecilie duo of calabre ande loran zour guissesair'.

Rene II (1451-1508), Clauide de Lorraine's father, and Marie de Lorraine's grandfather, was duo de Lorraine (1473-1508), and 'duc de Bar' (1480-1508). The title of 'kyng of secilie' seems to have lapsed after Rene I of Anjou (1408-480), who was titular king of Naples Sicily and Jerusalem, until it was renewed by Antoine, in 1530. Thus perhaps the Complayner is being flattering to Rene II. (see Balcrores Panegy, frontispiece).

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

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

that maist sapient prince and prelat fadir in gole, ihone of loran, be the permission diuynye, Cardinal of the apostolic seige, archebishop of narbon, abbot of cluny, fekkem, and of sanct ouyne...
Jean de Lorraine (1492-1550), was from 1518 on, Cardinal de Lorraine; and archbishop of Reims and of Lyons. The Complayner has a full dossier on him, and his diplomatic missions.

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

Claude the first duke of Guise (1496-1550) was a son of René II, de Lorraine, who inherited Guise from a cousin Charlotte d'Armagnac. Claude adopted French nationality in 1505 and became a peer and duke of Guise in 1528. He was also Count of Guise and Aumale, Marquis d'Elbeuf, Marquis de Mayenne, and Baron de Joinville. Marie de Lorraine's mother was Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter of Francois de Bourbon, Count Vendome.

fol.5v. St. Quentin.

The famous siege of St. Quentin is that of 10th August, 1557, when the Spanish defeated the French and captured this town in East Picardy. St. Quentin since the 3rd century a pilgrimage centre, was on an invasion route at the meeting of five military roads, and even as Augusta Veromanduorum it must have been under siege. As Mary's father died in 1550 the event in the Complaynt must have been an earlier siege.

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

fol.6r. Saverne

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

See e.g. A.M.Pollard, "Social Revolution and Catholic Reaction in Germany", Camb.Mod.Hist.XII: The Reformation, (Cambridge, 1904), Ch.VI, 177-194, an older but useful account; the most convenient selection
of documents is Klaus Kaczerowsky, Flugschriften des Bauernkrieges, (Reinbek, 1970); the standard collections are Gunther Franz, Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg (Darmstadt, 1958), Vol. II; and his Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges (Darmstadt, 1963).

Leyden (p. 75) quotes Carion in Lynne's translation (fol. 207), but it is of interest as a 'parallel' not as a borrowing.

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

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

fol. 6v. aue tracteit of the ýyrst laubir of my pen

For a discussion of this remark see introduction.

fol. 6v. i began to revalue the libryræ of my vndirstanding, and i
socht all the secreit corneris of my gazophile

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

The word 'gazophile' is used in the Vulgate (eg, Mark 12, 44-4; Luke 21, 1-4). Boethius also speaks of the library or chamber of the mind; which is like 'the cabinet of my interior thoughtis'.

fol. 7r. The Poor man and Darius

This story is told for example in Plutarch, III, 455 (Artaxerxes).
Cato Disticha, I, 20 is the source for the margin quote.

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

**fol. 7v Prologue**

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


*Indigetes* "heroes elevated to the rank of gods after their death and regarded as the patron deities of their countries: *patri Diis sunt*, qui praesunt singulis civitatibus ut Minerva Athenis, Juno Carthagini: *Indigetes autem proprie sunt Diis ex hominibus facti, quasi in Diis agentes*: Servius Honoratus, comment on Vergil Georgics, 1, 498."

(Lewis & Short). H. Steuning in his *Greek and Roman Mythology and Heroic Legend* (London, 1901), 108, says: "Quite peculiar to Roman religion and conceived without any traits of personal character are the *Indigetes* or "Workers Within", the spirits bringing to pass any particular activity in certain persons or things. To each of these beings was ascribed one single strictly limited sphere of operation which was exactly determined by the spirit's name; hence heed had to be paid that the right Indiges should be called upon for aid at the right moment..." These 'spirits of actions' were not as Servius suggests, etymologically from 'in diis agentes', but were as A. Sidgwick points out "from *indu*-old form of *in*, and *ga*- stem of *Gigno*: the word meaning 'born-in-the-land', i.e. hero of the race."


**fol. 8r. Gymnosophists**

The gymnosophists appear to be Hindu naked vegetarian hermit
philosophers practising the yoga of renunciation (śamayāsā).
Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, The Bhagavadgīta (London, 1948), 187. Lewis & Short define the gymnosophists as "Indian ascetics... who disregarded
decencies of life, Pliny. 7.2.2. sect.22; Lucius Apuleius,
Florida, p. 351;... Cf. Cicero, Tusc. 5.27.77; Val.Max. 3.3. ext.6."
Higden, Polychronicon, Bk.I,Ch.XI., (in Rolls Series, Vol.I,p.82)
relates: "Sunt ibi gymnosophistae philosophi, qui per diem quasi
immobiles irreverberatis oculis solem contemplantur." The fakir
with his bed of nails and other tricks, is obvious material for
travellers' tales. Oriental philosophy on the other hand no doubt
reached the Hebrew and Graeco-Roman apperceptions partly via Egypt,
partly via accounts of Alexander the Great. Herodotus for example
(bk.II) and Diodorus (bk.I) are interested in Egyptian religion.
Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots, (Edinburgh, London, 1902),
305, refers to Plutarch, Alex. 64; cf. ed. J.S.Westlake, The Prose
Life of Alexander, EETS OS 143 (London, 1911), 73.
fol. 8r. Sesostris

the Greek and Latin writers called him Sesostris, and about him stories
gathered as about no other ruler in ancient history with the exception
of Alexander the Great. In Greek times Sesostris had long since
become but a legendary figure which can not be identified with any
particular king. But certain facts narrated in connection with him
were certainly drawn from memories of the reign of Ramses II of the
Nineteenth Dynasty."

Sesostris' ordinance

Diodorus 1.53.1.: "Now at the birth of Sesôsis his father did a
thing worthy of a great man and a king. Gathering together from
over all Egypt the male children which had been born on the same day
and assigning to them nurses and guardians he prescribed the same
training and education for them all, on the theory that those who had
been reared in the closest companionship and had enjoyed the same frank
relationship would be most loyal and as fellow-combatants in the wars
most brave. He amply provided for their every need and then trained
the youths by unremitting exercises and hardships: for no one of them
was allowed to have anything to eat unless he had first run one hundred and eighty stades." A footnote estimates the distance at about twenty miles. (ed. C.H. Oldfather, Loeb edn, 1933:167).

fol.8v.

'numquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosum" De Officiis, 3.1.1. See introduction; the Complayner quotes from the De Officiis again, in folios 14r, 57r, 14.7r. This quotation is reported again by Cicero Rep. 1, 17. 27: 'Africanum solitum esse dicere, se numquam minus solum esse, quam cum solus esset.' The Complayner quotes the version meaning Scipio is never less at leisure than when free from official business. Scipio Africanus Major (c234 BC-c 183 BC) is a favourite exemplary figure. The Complayner (in fol.116v) following Chartier (Q.I., 60, 18) contrasts Scipio's virtue's with the vices of his degenerate son (borrowing from Val.Max.3.5.1.) as proof that true nobility is not inherited.


fol.8v.

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

fol.9r. ande nou sen node....men of very.
statement is in fact paralleled by Chartier's words in the Quadrilogue (p.65,25-30): "Et puis que Dieu ne t'a donne force de corps ne usage d'armes, sera a la chose publique de ce que tu pues, car autant exaulca la gloire des Romanins et renforce leurs couraiges a vertu la plume et la langue des orateurs comme les glaives des combatans." See appendix on Chartier. This passage from Chartier shows the fallacy of accepting as autobiographical, statements in any rhetorical setting. The remark in the French that the Roman orators achieved as much by the pen as warriors did by sword, is a view not shared by the Complayner. He says (fol.65r):"...realmis arnocht conquest be buiks bot rather be bluid."

'as Cicero sais in the thrid of his paradoxis'

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

fol.9v and margin. gladius delphicus

A delphic 'machaira' is mentioned in the Greek text of Aristotle, Fol. 1.2.3., but as the marginal note is in Latin this suggests that Complayner did not go to the original Greek. Nicole Oresme (c.1330-81) made a version about 1370-1. As early as about 1280 William of Moerbeke had made a version. I think however it is even more likely that the Complayner took the account from Erasmus and added the appropriate note in the margin from a Latin Aristotle he consulted. In Erasmus 'Adagia' the passage is as follows: Delphicus gladius...Arist. Id est, Delphicus gladius. De re dicesbatur ad diversos usus accommodabili. Nam Delphicus gladius ad eum modum erat fabrefactus,
ut eodem simul & sacras mactarent victimas, & nocentes afficerent supplicio. Sicebit & in setium sensum accommodare proverbium, ut si quis eruditiuem, Delphicum appellet gladium, quod in omni aetate, omni vitae conditione sit usui. Nam litterae juvenibus sunt necessariae, senibus juceundae, pauperibus opes suppeditant, opulentis adjungunt ornamentalum, in rebus adversis solatio sunt, in secundis ploriae, clar natis genere splendorem augent obsuro genere natis claritatis imitium conciliant." (Adagiorum D.Erasmi Roterodami Epitome, W.Hall (Oxford, 1666) p.51). Even if he did not take it from Erasmus directly he might have heard the example or read it, for example, in Major's Preface "In Matthaeeum" (1518) (see Major, History 435-6). In Aristotle's context the comment is on Nature's generosity, which is in contrast to the parsimonious attitude of men. Nature makes objects with one sole use, an instrument is only perfect if used for the unique function for which it was made.

fol. 10 margin

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

fol. 10r. Quot homines tot sententiae
is quoted by the Complayner from Cicero, De Fin. 1.5.15; but Cicero is quoting from Terence, Phormio, II,4,14. Horace also quotes Terence (Horace, Satures, II,1,27.) Chaucer in the Squires Tale, 202, translates: "As many hedes, as many wittes ther ben."

fol. 10r.

Heracleon, sent for by the citizens of Cartomat, was the painter Zeuxis of Heraclea, and Cartomat is Crotona. The story is mentioned by Cicero, De Inventione, 2.1.(2) The reputed masterpiece of Zeuxis (fl. 425-400 B.C.) was this picture of Helena which he painted for Crotona, combining the beauty of five maidens. Shakespeare refers to Zeuxis' reputed realism when in "Venus and Adonis", he uses the simile: "Even as poor birds, deceived with painted grapes,/ Do surfeit by the eye, and pine the maw." (601-2). Zeuxis is supposed to have painted grapes so well that birds came and pecked at his painting.
'hurt nature' is a construction like 'lèse-majesté' in French. See comment on hurt-nature in fol. 9v.


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

B.J. Whiting Med. Studies. XIII (1951), 105, quotes this as a proverbial saying:-"OCean 'he...that intendis to compile ane verk to content euerys man he suld fyrst drynk furtht the occean see'. Tilley 09."

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

fol. 11r-13v.

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

It is, as of the henne, who by longe scrapinge on the dongehil, discouereth the knife, that shall cut hir owne throte. Thus was the case. Hannibal, the most renowned captains of Carthage (after he was vainquisshed by the adventurous Scipio) fled into Asia, to kinge Antiochus, a prince then living, of great vertue, who received him into his realme, tooke him into his protection, and right honourably enterteined him, in his house. And certes, the king Antiochus, did herein, as a pitefull prince, for there is nothinе, whereby Prynces approue them selues more noble, than by succouring those which are noble, in their necessitie. These two princes used of custome, ofte to hunte in the mountaynes, ofte to dyspote theim in the fieldes, ofte to vewe theire amyes: But most of all, they wente to the schooles to here Philosophers. And trulye they dyd like wyse and skilfull men. For there is no hower in a daye otherwise so wel employed, as in hearinge a wise pleasaut tonged man. There was at that time in Ephesus, a famous philosopher called Phormio, which openly red, and taught, the people of that realme. And one daye as these prynces came into the schole, the Philosopher Phormio, chaunged the matter, wherupon he red, and of a sodayne, began to talke of the meanes, and wayes, that prynces ought to use in warre, and of thorder to be keapte in geuing battayle. Suche, so straunge, and high phrased was the matter, whiche he talked of, that not onely they merveiled, which never before sawe him: but even those also, that of longe time, had dayly hearde him. For herein, curious, and flourishishing wittes, shewe their excellencye, in that they never
neuer wants freshe mater, to entreate upon. Greatlye gloried the kinge Antiochus, that this Philosopher (in presence of this straunge prynce) had so excellently spoken, so that straungers might understand, that he had his realme stoked with wise men.

For, courageous and noble prynces, esteme nothing so precious, as to have men valiant, to defende their frontiers, and syse, to governe their common weales. The king Antiochus demaunded of the prince Hannibal, how he liked the talke of the philosopher Phormio, to whom, Hanniball stoutely aunswered, and in his answer, shewed hym selfe to be of the same stoutnes, that he was the same daye, whan he wann the greate battayle at Camas (sic!). For although, noble harted and courageous princes, lose all their estates, and realmes: yet they wyll neuer confesse their hартes to be overthrown, nor vaynquysshed. And these were the wordes, that at that time Hanniball said. Thou shalt understand king Antiuchus, that I have seen dyuerse doting olde men, yet I neuer sawe a more dootarde foole, than Phormio, whom thou cauleth such a great philosopher. For the greatest kinde of foly is, when a man, that hath onely a little vaine science, presumeth to teache, not those which have onely science, but also suche, as have most certeine experience. Tel me (Kinge Antiochus) what harte can brooke with pacience, or what tonge can suffer with silence, to see a sely man (as this philosophere is) nourished all his life time, in a corner of Grece, studieng philosophie, to presume (as he hath done) to talke before the prince Hanniball, of the affaires of warre, as though he had ben, either lorde of Affrike, or captaine of Rome. Cortes, he either ful little knoweth hym selfe, or els but little estemeth vs. For it appeareth by his vaine wordes, he would seeme to know more in matters of warre, by that he hath red in books, than dothe Hanniball, by the sondry and great battayles, which he hath fought in the fieldes. O Kinge Antiochus, how farre, and how great is the difference, betwene the state of philosophers, and the state of captaynes: betwene the skill to reade in schole, and the knowledge to rule an arraye, betwene the science, that these have in books, and the experience, that thoters have in warre, betwene one, that for his pastime is set round with deskes of bookes: and an other, in peril of life, compassed with troupes of enemyes. For many there are, which with great eloquence in blasing deedes done in warres, can use their tongues: but fewe are those that at the brunte, haue hартes to adventure their lines. This sely philosopher, neuer sawe man of warre
in the field, neuer sawe one armye of men, discomfeited by an other, neuer hearde the terrible trumpet, sounde to the horrible and cruel slaughter of men, neuer sawe the treasons of some, nor understode the cowardines of other, neuer sawe how fewe they be that fight, nor how many there are that ronne away. Finallye, I saye, as it is semelye for a philosopher and a learned man, to prayse the profittes of peace: even so it is in his mouth a thynge uncomelye, to prate of the perilles of warre. Yf this philosopher, hath seene no one thynge with his eyes, that he hathe spoken, but onelye reade them in sondry booke: let hym recounte them to such, as haue neither seen, nor redde them. For warlike feates, are better learned in the blody fieldes of Affrike, than in the beautiful schooles of Grece. Thou knowest right wel (icing Antiochus) that for the spaire of 36 yeares, I had contynuall, and daungerous warres, as wel in Italye, as in Spayne, in the which, fortune did not fauour me (as always her custome is to doe, to those, which by great hardines, and manfulnes, enterpyse high thynges, and of greate dffycultye) a witnes wherof, thou seest me heare, who before my berde began to growe, was serued, & now when it is hore I my selfe begynne to serue, I sweare unto the, by the god Mars, (King Antiochus) that if any man did aske me, how he should use and behaue him selfe in warre, I would not aunswere him one worde. For they are thynge, that are learned by experience of deedes, & not by pratinge in wordes. Although princes beginne warres by iustice, and follow them with wisedome, yet the ende, standeth uppon fickle fortune. Diverse other thynge Hanniball said unto Antiochus, and to the curious Phormio, who so euere wil see them, let him reade the apothemes of Plutarche...

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

fol. 12r.

The reference in the passage from Guevara to fortune and the
Complayner’s reference to Dame Fortune both allude to the very fruitful personification of Fortune. See the discussion in the introduction. The Complayner discusses Juvenal’s view of Fortune in fol. 18r. See commentary on fol. 18r.

fol. 12r. mirror

the mirror of folly

On the mirror as metaphor see, E.R.Curtius, ELMA, 376 and fn. 56. On the mirror for princes, see ELMA, 177. The expression recalls Nigel Wirkker’s title Speculum Stultorum.

fol. 13v. Plutaroue...Acotismatia

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

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

This is from Cicero’s Epistolae ad Familiares (Ad Marcellum Familiares) 4.9.3.: Nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria. The Complayner quotes ‘ad sensum’. Like the Complayner’s quotation from Cicero, De Officiis, 1.17.57, in folio 57r, this patriotic quotation like Horace’s "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" (Odes III.2.13)9. A view which we must take into consideration when evaluating the problem Nationalism, Patriotism. See Introduction. The Complayner as is argued there, is a patriot in the Ciceronian sense that he is urging a ‘concordia ordinum’.

fol. 14r. Semone eo dehemos uti qui notus est nobis ne ut quidam

Greece verba insculantes jure optimo rideamus. Cicero, De Officiis, 1.31.111.

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

fol. 14r. hercblf argost terms 'recsit nevykt tracteit'; 'my dul rude brone';

Cf.

a) Lindsay, Works, I, 306
Monarche lines 6334-5
"All gentyll Redaris hertlye I Implore
For tyll excuse my rurall rude Indyte."

b) Lindsay, Works, I, 244-9
Monarche, 537-684: contains "Ane exclamatioune to the Redar,
Twycheynge the wrytyng of Vulgare and Maternall language."

c) Lindsay, Works, I, 63: Papyngo's First 'Epystyll to Kyng James
the Hyft' beginning (line 227) "Prepotent Prince peerles of
pulchritude"... refers (Line 245) to what he is going to write
as "my barbour rusticall indyte".

d) Lindsay, Works, I, 204
In the Frol. to the Monarche, lines 202-9 speaks of his "raggit
rurall vers"... and says he will write (line 213) "With rowstye
ternes".

fol. 14r.

Hermes and his use of "lang tailit vordis" 'conturbabuntur,
constantinopolitani, immemorabilibus, selicitudinibus'.
The Complayner again mentions Hermes at folio 126r quoting Hermes'
comparison of a bad man in authority to a bad ship's captain.
Hermes Trismegistus was the supposed author of many works on magic and
alchemy. The name was given by the Greeks to the Egyptian god Thoth,
whose wisdom was held to be preserved in certain 'hermetical' books,
dating from the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries.
Cf. L. Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science (London,

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


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

fol. 14r. 'langtaillit vordis'

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

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

Geoffroy Tory in his preface to his Champ Fleury (1529) distinguishes three classes of offenders who corrupt language;
'escumeurs de Latin'; plaisanteurs'; 'jargonneurs'. The first group, the 'escumeurs de Latin' are those who perpetrate such atrocities as "despumon la verbocination latiale et transfetron la Sequane au dilicutule et crepuscule, puis demubalon, par les quadrives et platees de lutece et comme verisimules amorabundes captivon la benivolence de l'omnigene et omniforme sexe feminin." This example is quoted from Tory almost word for word by Rabelais, who alters the tone of the context, putting it in the mouth of the figure of the Limousin scholar (who is perhaps meant to represent Jean Dorat). See V.I.Saulnier, Francois Rabelais: Pantagruel (Paris, 1946), p.xxxiii,32; see J.M.Cohen, Rabelais:Gargantua and Pantagruel (Harmondsworth, 1955), 164.

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


fol. 14v. 'honorificabilitudinitatis'

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

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

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

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

Cicero's words are "Verba reperta sunt..." A similar sentiment is Dionysius Cato's "Sermo hominum mores et celat et indicat idem" (Disticha Moribus, I, 25).

fol. 14v.

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

fol. 15r.

"Non tam ea..." this quotation, as we noted in folio 10v, does not give Cicero's exact words, see Cicero De Oratore, I, 61, 258: 'Non tam ea que recta essent probari, quam quae prave sunt fastidiis adhaerescere.'

fol. 15r. homo est animal

Oresme in his prologue to his translation of Aristotle's Ethics (1488) says: et comme il soit ainsi que le latin est à present plus parfait et plus habouant langaige que francais, par plus forte raison l'en ne pourroit translater proprément tout latin en francais, sicome entre ennombrables exemples peult apparoir de ceste proposition, homo est animal..." (quoted G.W. Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his 'Livre de Divinaciones' (Liverpool, 1952), note 14,p.182.). That this was almost a commonplace is shown by Gilbert Higet, The Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1949), 107.: and
D.F.C. Coldwell, Gavin Douglas: Aeneid (STS) (Edinburgh, 1957-64), I, 148, and II, p. 13 (Douglas' own footnote) Coldwell says "The Complaynt may have been influenced by Douglas' marginal note, but citing 'homo' as an example of the difficulty of translating is conventional, being the case, for example, in Nicholas Oresme and Pierre Bercouire (v. Petit de Julleville, Hist. Litt. II, ii, pp. 261-3, 474 ff.)"

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

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

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

This is paralleled by Chartier, C.I., p. 56. lines 2-8: "et a chasum lecteur prie le vouloir interpreter favorablement et y jugier a cognoistre la bonne affection plus que la gloire de l'ourraige. Car je afferme loiaument que l'esmouvement de cest oeuvre est plus par compassion de la necessite publique que par presumption d'entendement et pour profiter par bonne exhortacion que pour autrui reprendre."

See introduction on Chartier and appendix.

fol. 15v. our fragil peregrinations

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

See introduction; cf. fol. 29v.

fol. 15v, 16r. Mutations of Monarches

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

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

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

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

fol. 16r - 18r.

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

fol. 16v - 17r

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

fol. 17r

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

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

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

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

fol. 17r

The parallel passage in Chartier is (p.4, line 1): "la parolle de Lucan qui dit que d'elie mesmes, par sa pesanteur, elle decheut."

This is rendered in the Rawlinson MS (Blayney, II, 7/12-17) as "the wordis of Lucan which seith that the grete weight and peice of the said cite hath caused his own fall, for hevy dedes mak grevous falles."

The Complayner interprets the word weight as meaning the weight of the extortions.
"euere thyng hes ane tyme". This phrase is isolated by B.J. Whiting in his "Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from Scottish Writings before 1600", Med. Studies XI (1949), XIII(1951),XI,164, as a proverbial saying. Whiting quotes the following 'parallels': 'All thing has tyme', this sais Ecclesiaste (Kingis Quair, 33,133); al thing has tyme wald men tak heid (Consail 76,353);...Chaucer, T.C., ii,969; Ecclesiastes iii,1;... The Complayner is obviously not quoting from the Kingis Quair.

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

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

This quotation is not from Sapien 9. but is from Rom.11,34.

which is a parallel passage. There are three parallel

a) Liber Sapientae,9,13: Quis enim hominum poterit scire consilium Dei? aut quis poterit cogitare quid velit Deus.;

b) Isaiah, 40,13: Quia adiuvit spiritum Domini? aut quis consiliarius eius fuit, et ostendit illi?

c) Rom. 11, 34: Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?

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

fol. 18r margin Intellexi quem omnium operum dei nullum possit homo invenire rationem eorum quae fiunt sub sole. Ecc1.8.

The exact words are: Et intellexi quod omnium operum Dei nullam possit homo invenire rationem eorum quae fiunt sub sole. Ecclesiastes 8, 17.
The Complayner refutes Juvenal's view of the role of Fortune, quoting Ecclesiasticus, xi.
The Complayner's argument is that the gifts of good things and bad things, life and death, poverty and honesty, are all sent by God and not by Fortune. Chartier similarly (C.I., p.4, lines 18 to 23) says it is wrong to credit things to Fortune; "Fortune, qui est chose fainote et vaine et ne se peut revancher...:
The Complayner compares belief in fortune to idolatry, quoting Isaiah 65,11. The Complayner also has practical political reasons for condemning belief in Fortune. This belief is likely to lead to political apathy and resignation. See introduction.

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

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

See historical introduction, for discussion of 'Musselburgh Field', or 'Seton field', or 'Fynky Clewech' (Lindsay, Works, IV,165) or 'Fawside', or 'Gladsmuir', as the battle was variously termed. The significance for us of the reference is that it is one of the dates
which helps us to fix the 'terminus a quo' for the writing of the Complaynt. The significance for the contemporaries was that it was a disastrous defeat followed by morale-destroying occupation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lindsay (Works, I,34;III,43,note), similarly says, (Dreme, lines 1010-01): "that proverbe is full trew Wo to the realme that hes ovrir zong ane king."
Similarly, in Lindsay’s *Complaint* (Works, I, 44), lines 153-4 refer to the year 1524 and the twelve-year-old monarch:

“I pray God let me neuer se ryng,
In to this realme, so zount ane hyng.”

The pejorative implications of youth are underlined as P.J. Bawcutt points out, in Douglas’ *King Hart* (line 629, zount Counsale); in The Thre Prestis of Peblis (lines 456-452); in *'Wyt and Wille*’ (Twenty Six Political and Other Poems. ed. J. Kail, EETS, 1904, line 27); and in Stewart’s ‘To the King’, (Maitland Folio, cxxviii, line 43).

In Shakespeare’s ‘Richard III’ (II, 3, 11), First Citizen says:

“Woe to the land that’s govern’d by a child.”

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

fol. 20v. Rosaria wife of Darius


fol. 20v, 21r. Caesar that *’kat. xxii. straikis witht penknyuis in the capitol*

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

The Complayner in his reference to ‘Triumphs’ (fol. 117v) would seem to be referring to Jean de Tuin’s version; ed. Settegast, *Jean de Tuin: Hystore de Julius Cesar*, (Halle, 1881). Cf. ed. B. Perrin, *Plutarch’s Lives, Vol. VII*, Loeb (London, 1958), pages 598-9; Caesar LXVI.7: Caesar... “now lay prostrate... quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three; and as many of the conspirators were wounded by one another as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body.”
The marginal note is abbreviated from verses 3, 4, and 6:

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

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

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

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

The metaphors of the file and the ox are found in Chartier's
The reference to the 'wand of correction' and the theory of divine punishment is a central idea in the Complaynt. See introduction: 'Scourge' topos.

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

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

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

The marginal reference to Sardanapalus reinforces the second part of the verse from Isaiah 3.4. Sardanapalus The semi-mythical exemplary figure of the seventh-century B.C. effeminate king of Assyria is
mentioned by Justin in the *Epitoma* of Pempeius Trogus (an abbreviation from Livy) Book i, 3.1. "Postremus apud eos regnavit Sardanapalus, vir muliere corruptior...Arbactus...invenit eum (inter fectorum greges) purpuram colonentam, & muliebri habitu, cuius molitiis corporis (& oculorum lascivia) omnes feminas anteiret, pensa, inter virgines partientem." The 'roc' on which he span, is the 'colus' or distaff, or spinning wheel, (not the 'collis'), like the widow in Henryson's 'Sir Chanteclair', "Quilk wan his frude off spinning on his Rok" (ed. H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson (Edinburgh, London, 1958), 17, lines 411-412). Sardanapalus is an 'example' of effeminacy e.g. in Juvenal's *Satire* X, 362; in Lindsay's *Monarche*, lines 3288 f, 3293, 3308 (Works, I, 296). A. Lange overlooks the commonplace character of the 'example' when he suggests that Lindsay borrowed the example from Carion. (A. Lange, Lyndessay Monarche und die Chronica Carionis (Halle, 1904), page 29, f.)

Sardanapalus appears at length too in Adam Abell's "Roit or Quheill of Tyme", (Nat. Lib. M.S., fol. 9a); and in the "Proheme apon the Cosmographe", prefixed to the Mar Lodge Translation of Boece, ed. G. Watson, S.T.S. (Edinburgh, 1945), I, 10.

fol. 23v.

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

fol. 24r.

Puberty was attained at the age of twelve in the case of girls, according to law (C. 20. q. 2. c. 2). Cf. W.W. Buckland, Textbook of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1932), 159. Cf. note on Mary Queen of Scots, fol. 3v.; and note to fol. 20r on Isaiah 3. See introduction, on Mary of Lorraine's 'de facto' Regency long before 1554.
fol. 24r. Roboam

3 Reg 12.1 to 3 Reg. 13.32.

fol. 24v.

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

fol. 24v.

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

fol. 24v.

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

fol. 25r.

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

fol. 25r.

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

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

See introduction; 'scourge' topos

Ther is mony that speikis of the varld, & zit thai vait nocht quhat thing is the varld.
This is olássified as a 'proverbial saying' by B.J. Whiting (Med. Studies, XIII (1951),162)
The sentence further down seems to me to warrant the description much more. "the maist part of ther ignorance... excedit the maist part of ther knaulage..." In Guevara's Belox, Chapter 39, this saying comes after the catalogue of 'authorities'. North translates the sentence as follows (fol. 215) "For the least parte of that they knewe not, was much greater: then al that whiche they euer knewe." The Complayner has brought forward the quotation to precede the catalogue,

Pythagoras, Thales Metrodorus, Seleucus, Plato, Epicurus, Empedocles, Socrates
This section is borrowed from Guevara, from Chapter 39 of the Belox. Thomas North translates the passage in the Diall of Princes (1557) (STC 12427), (fol. 215) as follows:

"Plato, Aristotle, Pithagoras Espeocles Democrites, Seleucus, Epicurus, Diogenes, Thales & Methrodorus, had amonge them so great contencion to describe, the world, his beginning and propertye, that in mainteyning every one his opinion they made greater warres with their pennes: then their enemies have done with their launces. Pithagoras sayd, that that which we call the world is one thing, and that that which we call the uniuersal is an other. The philosopher Thales sayde, that there was no more but one world: and to the contrary; Metrodorus the astronomer affirmed, there were infinite
worldes. Diogenes said, that the world was everlasting. Seuleucus said that it was not true; but that it had an end, Aristotel seemed to say, that the world was eternall. But Plato sayde clerelye that the worldde hath had beginning, and shall also haue endinge. Epicurus sayd that it was rounde as a ball. Empidocles sayd that it was not as a bowle: but as an egge. Chilo the philosopher (in the high mount Olimbus) dysputed, that the world was as men are: that is to wete, that he had an intellectible, and sensible soule. Socrates in his scole sayeth, and in his doctrine wrote, that after 37 thousand yeares, all thinges shoulde retourne as they had bene before. That is to wete, that he him selfe should be borne anew, and should be norished and should rede in Athens. And Dennis the tiraunt should retourne to play the tiraunt in Siracuse. Iulius Cesar to rule in Rome. Hannibal to conquere Italy: and Scipio to make warre against Carthage. Alexander to fight agaynst Kynge Darius, and so forth in all others past. In such and other vayne questions, and speculations, the AUncient philosophers consumed many years. They in writinge manye boxes haue troubled their sprites, consumed long time, trauayled many countreys, and suffered innumerable daungers: and in the end they have set forth few truths, and many lyes. For the least parte of that they knewe not, was much greater: then al that which they euer knewe. When I toke of my penne in my hande, to write the vanity of the world: my entencion was not, to reprove this material worlde, the whiche of the .iiii. elementes is compounded... When the painter of the world came into the world it is not to be beleued, that he reproved the water which bare him, when he wente upon it: nor the ayre that ceased to blow in the sea, nor the earthe that trembled at his deathe, nor the light which ceased to lighte, nor the stones which brake in sonder, nor the fishe which suffered them selues to be taken, nor the trees that suffered them selues to be dry, nor the monumentes that suffered them selues to be opened. For the creature knowledged in his creator omnipotency, and the creator founded in the creature due obedience. ...Oftentimes and of many parsons we here say, o woful world, o miserable world, o subtile worlde, o world unstable and unconstaunt. And therefore it is reason we knowe what the worlde is, wherof the worlde is, from whence thys world is, wherof this world is made, & who is lord of this worlde:
sins in it all things are unstable, all things are miserable, all dissceytfull, and all things are malicious which can not be understood of this materiall world. For in the fire, in the ayre, in the earth, and in the water, in the lighte, in the planets, in the stones, and in the trees, there are no sorowes, there are no miseryes, there are no dissceyt, not yet any malice. The worlde wherein we are borne, where we liue, and where we dye, differeth much from the world, wherof we do complayne: for the world against whom we fight, suffreth us not to be in quiet one houre in the day. To declare thercfore my entencion, this wicked worlde is no other thinge, but the euel life of the worldlinges where the earth is the desire, the fire the couetise, the water the inconstancy, the ayre the follye, the stones are the pride, the flowers of the trees, the thoughtes, the depe sea the harte... Finally I saye that the sonne of this world is the prosperity: and the moone, is the continuall chaunge. The prince of this so euel a world is the deuell, of whom Jesus christ sayd. The prince of this worlde shall nowe be cast out: and this the redemer of the world sayeth. For he called the worldlinges and their worldly lives, the world. For sins (=since) they must be seruauntes of sinne, of necessity they must be subiectes of the deuel. The pride, the auarice, the enuye, the blasphemye, the pleasures, the lechery, the negligence, the glotony, the yre, the malice, the vanity and the follye. This is the world against which we fyght all our life, and where the good are prynces of vices and the vices are lordes of the vicious. Let us compare the travailes which we suffer of the elementes, with those which we endure of the vices, and we shall se, that little is the peril we have on the sea, and the land, in respect of that which encreaseth of our euell life...

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

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

The Four Elements.

"The four elementary qualities or contraries by combination in pairs produced the four elements: earth (cold and dry); air (hot and moist); water (cold and moist), fire (hot and dry). Similarly the fundamental contraries were held to combine in the four HUMOURS: Blood (hot and moist); phlegm (cold and moist); yellow bile (hot and dry); black bile (cold and dry)." (F.N. Robinson, p. 662) See ed. I. Müller, *Galen: De Placitiis Hippocratis et Platonis*, (Leipzig, 1874) Bk. viii, pp. 667ff.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELEMENT</th>
<th>HUMOUR</th>
<th>COMMON QUALITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Melancholy</td>
<td>Cold and dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Phlegm</td>
<td>Cold and moist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>Hot and moist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Choler</td>
<td>Hot and dry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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

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

fol. 27r.

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

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

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

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

This quotation about the emptiness of all endeavour touches on the 'Vanitas Mundi' topos' the 'fragilitas mundi', the idea (which haunted T.S.Eliot) that for everything there is a 'season', the idea of the mutability of things, the idea of the mutability of monarchies. See introduction. This links later with the 'Ash Wednesday' theme in folio 122r: and in folio 134v again to the vanity of the world.
The marginal quotation "Iam vivunt homines tamquam mors nulla sequatur & velut infernum fabula ficta forat", is repeated in fol. 135r. It does not appear to be from Vergil, Aeneid VI as the Complayner asserts. The metre is wrong for that. It does not appear to be in Ovid, or Propertius, or Tibullus either. It sounds more like early Christian Latin. Cicero speaks of a 'fabula ficta', meaning that the story of Gyges and the ring is 'wrongly ascribed to' Plato (De Off. 3.39). Cicero also has (Rep. 2.10) "antiquas recept fabulas fictas etiam non numquam incondite..." Wilson in the Arte of Rhetorique (1553), fol. 105v, also of "feigned fables, such as are attributed unto brute beasts". Lyndsay uses the phrase in the Dreme, line 40: "And oft tymes have I feinzeit mony fabyll." (Lindsay, Workes I, 5). Adam Abell in "The Roit or Quehill of Tyme", (Nat.Lib.Scot.M.S,1745, folio 46b), speaking of Arthur, says, "mony fenzet fabilis ar writtin of him & his knyhtis". J. MacQueen discusses Boccaccio's definition of the 'fable' and the importance for Henryson (John MacQueen, Robert Henryson, (Oxford,1967) espec.97-8.) On Boccaccio's influence see e.g. H.G. Wright, Boccaccio in England from Chaucer to Tennyson, (London,1957).

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

Macrobius estimated that the 'Magnus Annus' was 15,000 ordinary
solar years. The Greek and Hindu astronomers estimated 26,000 years; the Chaldeans, 25,920 years; the Egyptians estimated 30,000 years, the Arabians estimated 49,000 years. Ptolemy estimated 35,000 years. The present estimate is 25,800 years. (See Ake Wallenquist, Penguin Dictionary of Astronomy, under 'precession'; Plutonic Year; year, etc.)

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


fol. 28v.

Carion

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

The Complayner in fact borrows very little from Carion.

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

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

"Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The world deydit is in thre;
As cunynge Maister Carioun
Hes maid plane expositioun,..."

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

According to Rabbinical legend the world is to last six thousand years for several reasons: because the name Yahweh contains six letters; because the Hebrew letter מ occurs six times in the book of Genesis; because the patriarch Enoch, who was taken to heaven without dying, was the sixth generation from Adam (Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalael, Jared, Enoch); because God created the world in six days; because six contains three binaries - the first two were for the law of nature (lex naturalis), the next two thousand years were for the written law (lex scripta), and the last two thousand for the law of grace (tempus gratiae). The construction of the synthesis of world history by the Christian fathers involved taking over the Jewish scriptures, and justifying doing so. It meant constructing a new chronology with the Old Testament record as the centre and standard. This involved demonstrating the superiority of the Jewish chronicles and their priority and superior reliability. This was done for example by showing that the Science and philosophy of Classical antiquity were derived from the Hebrews. This adds immense significance to the Seth reference (in fol. 37r/v). In addition, the providential view of history also involved the Ages of Man myth, and the doctrine of the kingdoms and the mutation of monarchies (*translatio imperii*), as well as the Last Day and signs of the Day of Judgment and the importance of *'prodigia'*; all mentioned in the *Complaynt*. See introduction, and commentary on e.g. fol. 45r/v. See Curtius, ELLMA, 320; G.W. Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his 'Livre de Divinations' (Liverpool, 1952), 190-1; J. MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), 32.

"Ages of Man" Myth

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

Lindsay further expounds the correspondences to Nebuchadnezzar's figure in Daniel II. The Golden Head is equated with the Assyrians (lines 3750-1); the silver breast corresponds to the Persians (3752-3); the 'wane of copper or brasse' corresponds to the Greeks (3754-5); the loins and limbs of iron and steel are equated with the Romans (3756-8); the feet, partly iron and partly clay, he equates with "this letter day/ Quhen that the world sulde be deuydit" (3762-4); the stone (3745) is Christ (3765) (See Lindsay, *Works*, I, 310-311).

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

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

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

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

This section (see introduction) begins with the device of the writer deciding to take a break from writing the previous part of the work, and he describes a pastoral setting.
C.S. Lewis states that the Monologue is indebted to Alanus de Insulis. (See R.H. Green, "Alain of Lille's 'De Planctu Naturae', Speculum, 31 (1956) 649-674; Alain's text is in Migne Patrologia Latina, Vol. 210).

However the Complayner owes as much to earlier Scottish and French poetry probably. Dunbar provides a similar setting in the 'Golden Targe'. (See ed. W.M. Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, (London, 1960), 112-119;) the Complayner mentions the Golden Targe in his list of tales (fol. 51r). This ideal landscape (ELIMA, 183-202) is also embellished with 'reuer cleir as berial' (fol. 30r).

This image is found in Gavin Douglas' Palice of Honour (ed. P.J. Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS (Edinburgh, 1967), 75, lines 1144-1152):

Our horsis pasturit in ane plesand plane
Law at the fute of ane fair grene Montane
Amid ane Meid schadowit with Cedar treis;
Saif fra all heit thair micht we well remane.
All kind of herbis, flouris, frute and grene
With euerie growand tre thair men micht cheis.
The berial stremis rinnand ouir stanerie greis
Made sober noyis: the Scaw dinnit agane
For birdis sang and sounding of the beis.

(The Beryl symbolism is discussed by H.R. Patch in MIN, L, page 312ff.)


"In curage cleir as ory buriall bricht,
As lamp or laterne with ane hevinlie lycht."

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

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

The idea of diapason came to mean harmony and thus was connected with the idea of the microcosm.

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


Gavin Douglas in The Palace of Honour (lines 490-507) makes use of the technical terms of music:

Concordis sweit, diuers entoned reportis.
Proportionis fine with sound Celestiall
Duplat, triplat, diatesseriall,
Seque altera and decupla resortis
Diapason of mony sindrie sortis. (lines 492-5)

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

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

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

fol. 30r. June 6th

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

The computation of dates is considerably simplified by
consultation of Hans Lietzmann, Kurt Aland, Zeitrechnung der
Römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die
Jahre 1 - 2000 nach Christus 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1956); and for Scottish
events and festivals e.g. by A.H. Dunbar, Scottish Kings; A Revised
Chronology of Scottish History 1005-1625, with...Tables, Calendar, etc.
2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1906).
fol. 30v.  'the borial blastis of the thre borouing dais of marche'


28th-30th-31st March
1. Name. The Borrowing Days. These days being generally stormy, our forefathers have endeavoured to account for this circumstance by pretending that March borrowed them from April that he might extend his power so much longer (Jamieson). They are also called the three HOG days, hog being a young sheep. They are perhaps the days called in Tiree, 'tri latha na box ruaide', three days of the Red Cow. (Witchcraft & Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, ed. J.Gregorson Campbell, (London, 1900-3), 255) This name is that used in Ireland where the cow takes the place of the hogs. (M.M.Banks).

2. Rhymes, Sayings:

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

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

Chambers Popular Rhymes of Scotland, pages 358-9 points out that these days are Old Style and would now be 18th, 19th, 20th March.
M.M. Banks also quotes another version from N.E. Scotland (Rev. W. Gregor, "Notes on the Folklore of the North East of Scotland, pub. for FLS (1881) p.150):

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

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

(Chambers p.358, quoting Brand:)

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

(Chambers' Stirlingshire version):

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

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

5. Observances.
a) Things unlucky or forbidden

Borrowing or Lending. In Sc. N.A Q., 3rd ser.,II (1924), 39, D.Grewar, The superstitious would neither borrow nor lend at this period, for the Israelites borrowed extensively from the Egyptians with no intention of repaying the loan. J.Gregorson Campbell, Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland
(1900-1903), page 254; "There is a Highland explanation also connecting these days with the departure from Egypt. These were the days borrowed by the Israelites for the killing of the Paschal Lamb." Major, History, 183-4 speaks of 'Egyptian Days', Cf. F.N. Robinson's note to Chaucer's Book of the Duchess, line 1206 on the word "dismal" (Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p.777)

**fol. 31r echo**

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

**fol. 31r/v Catalogues**

Catalogues in the Complaynt include catalogues which are enumerations of exemplary figures, where enumeration adds weight to the evidence. C.S.Lewis enumerates famous catalogues in literature (see C.S.Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1967) page 199.) such as Chaucer's enumeration of virtuous women in the Franklin's Tale (F 1357 sq); of musicians in the Hous of Fame (III,1201 sq.); or Henryson's enumeration of beasts in the Trial of the Fox (Fables, 881 sq); or the catalogues of stones, fish, flowers, trees, birds and beasts in the Court of Sapience.

Catalogues are, C.S.Lewis implies, there because they have a place in the 'Model' (p.198), and because of the writer's 'belief in a world of built-in significance' (p.204). As we mentioned, there are catalogues with an obvious didactic purpose in the Complaynt. Other catalogues, particularly in the Monologue do not appear to have this function. These catalogues are perhaps best explicable, in a fashion I have not seen discussed elsewhere, in terms of the linguistic ritual of naming with its feeling of accompanying 'magic power'. See introduction. There is the effect of the sound of a catalogue, too, which in the story-teller's art plays an important role. The Arabs who are still an oral - aural - orientated folk lay great store by the sound of a language or of a work or art. Once again Gavin Douglas' Palace of Honour is the kind of Scots model the Complayner may have had in mind. See folios 50v - 54r.
Chaucer in his Parlement of Fowls (lines 323-364) enumerates 'foules of ravyne, foules smale, water-foul.' He lists, 'royal egle; other egles of a lowere kynde; goshauk; gentyl facon; hardy spernhuk; merlioun; douve; jelous swan; oule; crane; clough; janglyne pye; skoraynge jay; heroun; false lapwyng; the stare; tame ruddock; coward dyte; kok; sparwe; nyghtyngale; swalwe; wedded turtill; pekok; fesaunt; waker goos; cukkow; popynjay; drake; stork; corneraunt; raven; crowe; throstil; feldefare.' It is however most likely that the Complayner derived inspiration from e.g. Gavin Douglas, who in 'The Proloug of the XII Duke of Eneados' has a pastoral scene, and mentions flowers (p.70) and birds (p.71, 73) especially (p.73, lines 234 f):

The merl, the mavyss and the nychtynagle;
...the cowschet...the styrling; sparrow;
Goldspynk and lyntquhite; gukgo; quaill, larkis.

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

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

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

oszil
"Osillis, ouzels, a name that has been applied to several song-birds. In A.S. & M.E. vocabularies osle is translated by Latin merula. Palgrave (p.250) gives 'Osyll, a byrde, estourneau'. Swanson has 'ousel' as one of the names of the blackbird."

fol. 32r. galiassse gayly grathit for the veyr

The SEA-SCENE (Folios 32r-34r) is described and commented by Alan Moore, in the Navy Records Society Vol. XL. Naval Miscellany, ed.
by Sir J.K. Laughton (London, 1912) pp. 67-84. Professor C.C. Lloyd, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, who is at present editor of the Navy Records, confirming the reliability of this commentary, states, "Admiral Moore was a very distinguished naval archaeologist... and had the advice of Carr Laughton the nautical philologist."

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

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

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

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

"Galliasse was a word that at this time was loosely applied, and about which accurate information is not easily obtained. The earliest example of the word given by the NED is 1544, and this passage is quoted for the next oldest. The best attempt to describe a galliasse is probably to be found in Julian Corbett's Drake and the Tudor Navy but much remains obscure. Her essentials seem to have been the possession of oars and sails, greater length in proportion to her beam than a ship built only for sailing, and considerable size. She may be considered to have been something between a galley and a galleon. A galley was built with a view to her propulsion by oars, though she carried sails; a galliasse depended more upon her sails but relied largely upon her oars; while the galleon was a sailing ship,
to be rowed laboriously in calms when necessary, but not expecting
to use her oars in battle. The rig of the galliasse varied, some-
times, probably always in the Mediterranean, she carried alien sails
only, sometimes as in this case, she was square rigged after the
usual fashion of a sailing ship of the period, which was of a type
that began in Henry VII's reign, and lasted to the end of
Elizabeth's....

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

fol. 32r. JAFM 40, 5-6

herd mony wodis amang the maynalis but i vist nocht ouhat thai menit
Moore (p.70) comments' He said that he heard the words of the sailors
without understanding their meaning'; and here we disagree with him;
he knew very well what they meant, unless indeed some other hand wrote this part of the book. No man ignorant of terms so numerous and varied as those recorded, could put them down from memory in right order and application, unless he were frequently at sea, and then, no one, who, like the author, displayed such an interest in things around him, would long remain unlearned therein. Be it as it may however, he gave no explanation of what must, even in his own time, have been obscure to many readers."

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

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

fol. 32r f.

Moore (p.70) narrates the sequence of events as follows. While the author watched, the master sent the boatswain aloft to keep a look out for possible enemies, and in a short time he reported a sail in sight - a great ship. Immediately came the master's whistle, and the order to weigh, followed by the song of the men at the capstan, and then their cries as they catted and fished the anchor. When the shank painter was fast, the master whistled again, and ordered the men aloft to the fore yard to let fall the foresail, and then came the command to board the starboard fore tack, tally aft the sheet, and haul the fore bowline.

fol. 32r. contd.
Moore p.71.

Next the mainsail and maintopsail were set, and hardly had the order to belay the main bowline been given, than the master decided to lace a bonnet to the course. This done, the mainyard had to be hoisted, no small effort, and requiring much song, and then it naturally followed that the topsail needed hoisting too; when the sail was high enough, and the maintop bowline taut, the order was given to change the mizen, and get the yard to leeward. The man at the helm was told to keep her full and by....
The galliasse was not kept long upon a wind, presumably only till she was clear of some point or shelf to leeward, for the order to bear up and keep her on a new course was soon given. She then prepared for battle, her flag was shaken out, and her topsails (or topsail) handed ammunition was sent aloft, and all the ordnance both great and small artillery, made ready, together with bows and weapons for hand to hand fighting. For better speed, studding sails were set and her oars got out. It might at first sight seem strange that a ship should take in her topsails when speed was important, previous to setting her studding sails; but it must be remembered that the topsail at this time was but a small sail, and that the men in the top would be much hindered by it, were it to remain set, for since the ship was before the wind, as long as it was set it would be like a curtain between them and the enemy, which would prevent them from throwing out lime intended to blow to leeward and confound their antagonist before they actually fell on board of him. The discharge of arrows and top-pieces would also be hindered. The people were made to keep still that the ship might sail the better, and so in a short time they came within hail of the enemy; and his replies being presumably satisfactory, they loosed off great guns and small till the air was full of noise and smoke and smell, which, not liking, the author returned to the fields whence he came, as though a naval engagement were something that anyone might see when out for a walk, should his way lie by the sea shore.

'Hou' refers to anything hollow. DOST only gives an interrogation mark. Moore (p.75)(fn.8) suggests: 'Perhaps here the word refers to the manner in which the sails were furled: under the yards, not upon them in the modern way, in which if well stowed, the sails can hardly be seen at a distance; whereas in the old fashion great bellies and bunches of sail protruded between the gaskets, if the old pictures may be trusted. Or it may be meant that the sails were loosed, but that they were still controlled by the ropes which at that time served for the modern clew-garnets, buntlines, leechlines, etc..'
cab-ilstok DOST = capstan. Moore (p.76, fn.1) adds 'or perhaps windlass. 'Stok' means a piece of wood, a stock. Cf. anchor-stock for that part of the anchor that was formerly, and sometimes still is, wooden.'

fol. 32r.  

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fol. 32r.  

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

fol. 32v.  

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

fol. 32v.  

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

fol. 32v.  


fol. 32v.  

Serre-bosses: certain short ropes making the office of a shank-painter; and which serve to hold the flukes of the anchor up to the ship's side. - Lescallier. Serre-bosse: the shank-painter.
Falconer and also Neuman, *Marine Dictionary*, 1799. The whole process of weighing is thus described: heaving up, catting and fishing. The cries 'caupon caupona', etc., ending in the abrupt 'caupon holt', have a fine suggestion of heavy hauling completed with effort.

fol. 32v  **foir ra**

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

fol. 32v  **raibandis**

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

fol. 32v  **hail doune the steir burde lufe**

Moore (p.78, fn.1.) That is to say, to board the starboard fore tack, which of course tautened the luff (lufe) of the foresail.
Moore (p.78) says hou, hou is presumably equivalent with 'yohoe'; pulpela and darta are unexplained, though darta, Moore says, "seems to imply haste or effort; perhaps it may be rendered, 'bear a hand'."

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

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

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

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

Moore (p.78,fn.9): "At this time the usual method of reducing sail was by taking off a bonnet, not by taking in a reef. Mr. H.H. Brindley has drawn attention to the fact that reefs were in use in very early times as well as bonnets. Nevertheless reefs are very seldom mentioned in the sixteenth century, and the writer knows of no example between 1540 and 1650. Bonnets were in use for the courses until 1720, as appears from a document at the British Museum, A proportion of sea stores for six months for the boatswains of H.M. Ships (Cup. 651 e (28)) At the present time (i.e. 1912) the French fishermen that
sail out of Boulogne use them for their mizens; and in England the east coast barges which carry hay-stacks sometimes have them to diminish the area of their staysails, not for the wind but for hay. The Norfolk wherries also use them instead of reefing."

fol. 33r. **vire the trossis**

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

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

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

fol. 33r. **vorsa, vorsa**

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

fol. 33r. **vou, vou**

This exclamation recalls Burns' *Tam o' Shanter*:

And, vou! Tam saw an unco sight!

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

fol. 33r

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

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

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

VIDDEFULL

VIDDEFULL(IS) Murray explains as "one deserving to fill a widdy or halter, a gallow's bird.\) This is the meaning adopted by Haner, Vol. IV, Lindsay's Works, Glossary, p.419 Widdiefow, Sat. 2181,3986; widdiefows, Sat. 3576.; and note to line 2181, Satyre. Leyden (p.382, Glossary) says Viddeful = wrathful, peevish, angry, but quotes the word in contexts where JAHM's meaning also suits.

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

Moore (p.80,fn.1): perhaps 'tyes'. In later times the yard hung by the tyes and was hoisted by the halyards, as topsails are hoisted at the present day. But in Henry VIII's time it is not quite clear that 'tye' was not sometimes used for the hauling part.
Moore quotes Jamieson, who in his turn has quoted Leyden: (Moore is puzzled by the reference 'Gl.Compl.', which of course is just Glossary, Complaynt.) Topinellis: 'The lines for haling the topsails.' "Toppenants: lifts. - Neuman. Probably the topsail halyards."

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

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

Moore (p.80,fn.6.): The 'linche' is probably the leach: if so then 'hail the linches and the scheitis' means little more than,
haul the mizen sheet. Cf. supra. (folio 32v; JAHli 40,31-32; Moore p.78,fn.1), 'lufe' or luff used where tack had been expected; boarding the tack would tauten the luff of the foresail just as hauling the sheet would tauten the leach of the mizen.

fol. 33r. eamina hiear

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

fol. 33r. holabar...

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

fol. 33r. arryua

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

fol. 33r. steir clene vp the helme

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

fol. 33r. this and so

Moore (p.81,fn.5): 'as you go', corresponding with the naval 'very well dice' or thus.
fol. 33v. pul doune the nok of the ra in daggar vyse

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

fol. 33v.

Moore (p.81,fn.7.): "Mr. R.Morton Nance points out that 'craklene pockis' are the craneline pokes or bags, by which ammunition was sent to the top. The craneline with bags attached is frequently shown in old pictures. A sort of davit projected from the top through which the craneline was rove. It may be that in craklene a line over the a has been omitted; from craneline to cranklene were an easy step. Craneline afterwards had other meanings totally different." Leyden suggests (Glossary,p.322): 'Craklene, crackling; to crackle. Fr craquer. Craklene polis, bags for holding artificial fire-works and combustibles, employed in naval engagements. Hence crays; small bombs, used sometimes for fireworks..." and Leyden refers to Barbour's Bruce. A look at Skeat's Glossary shows this use of the word "Crakkis s.pl.cracks, explosions; gyris for crakkis, engines for explosions, i.e. cannon, 17.250; oraksis of wer, lit. cracks of war, i.e. cannon, 19.399." This is an illustration to folio 31r, JAHM 42, 15' the cannons and gunnis mak mony hiddeus orak', but need not necessarily disprove Moore's view: in fact, craklene for cranklene could be probably a printer's omission of the sign of abbreviation.

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

Moore (p.82,fn.1) Paveses were painted wooden shields, used also about the bulwarks (Murray copies Leyden (p.360)).
"This seems a great weight of ordnance for a ship of the period, though we know that great numbers of guns were carried. The pieces were usually small ones, and 'cannons' were rarely taken to sea according to Capt. John Smith about seventy years later. Most of the names occur frequently in books and MSS. of the period though the weight of both guns and shot varied widely. William Bourne's 'Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnance', 1587, differs considerably from Smith's table, 1626. This being so, it is impossible to give more than a general idea of the different guns."

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

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

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

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

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

Slings were small pieces.

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

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

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

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

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

Bersis or bases were heavy pieces throwing a light shot.

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

Half-haggis were probably small harquebuses.

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

Sea-scene

See Pitscottie, Historie, I, 228-9: Sir Andrew Wood, fighting
against Stewin Bull in 1490, "sett his quarter maisteris and captanis everie man in his awin rowme, syne causait his gounaris to charge his arteillzerie..." and he ordered them (p.229, lines 11-15): "sett zour selffis in order everie man to his awin rowme lat the gounaris chairge thair artaillze and the croce bowis and make thame redy, with thair lyme pottis and fyre ballis in our toppis and tua handit sourdis in zour for-rowmes..."

Sea Scene


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

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

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

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

This catalogue of mixed representatives; riche kyng amphion; kyng dautid; appollo, 'that the poiettis callis the god of sapiens'; quintus cincinatus, 'the prudent... quha vas... dictatur of rome'; the sapient porous cathon censor of rome'; romulus, 'the fyrst kyng of rome'; fabricius and curius dentatus; numa pompilius; paris; Scipio; lucullus, the consul; the nobil Empriour dioclesian; duco perecles; Abram; Isaac; Jacob; the patriarchis, the 'princis & prophetis' of Israel, are all examples of the Cyclical quality of human life mentioned by John Major (History, p.46), 'kings drew their origin from shepherds, and shepherds again drew their origin from kings' (see also Major, History, 397-400; in Major's *In Qua Cum Sententiaram*, in the 14th question of the 24th distinction.) This reference is linked with the idea of the commonwealth and the body politic and the idea that no state is to be despised, as it necessary to the frame of the commonwealth. This metaphor of the parts of the body (politic) is only one aspect of the allusion. It is also linked to the debate about true nobility, found in the Complaynt (fol. 102r, 112v, 114r-118r, 120r) and also in Major, which is also a 'topos' in the attack on the 'nobles', and like the list of famous men who were proud of their humble origins (fol. 101v) is a strand in the 'anti-Cortegiano' literature. Praise of shepherds is
The myth of the Golden Age plays an important role in literature and history. It is an element in the historiography which is described in the introduction, and in the notes on fol. 15v, 16r, 28r. See W. Veit, "Toposforschung" Deutsche Vierteljahreschrift, 37(1963), 120-163, espec. 152-4, where Veit summarizes his own thesis, W. Veit, "Studien zur Geschichte des Topos der Goldenen Zeit von der Antike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert", (Diss.) (Köln, 1961). See E. R. Curtius, ELMA, 82, reference to dreamlands and dream ages, Elysium and the Golden Age. See H. C. Baldry, "Who Invented the Golden Age?", Classical Quarterly, 46 (1952) 83-92. See Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (London, 1970); though Levin's thesis that the myth emphasizes free will, the ethic of hedonism and a cult of beauty may apply in general, but it is not used in this way by the Complayner, for whom it is a (political) Utopia which is attainable or recoverable.

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

"Et Amphion, lequel Thebes Bastit
Si douacement une harpe batit
Que par son chant les pierres assembloit
Les conduisant là où bon lui sembloit."

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

"Certes the kyng of Thebes, Amphion
That with his synnyng walled that cite,
Koude never synynge half so wel as hee."
In folio 52r, too, the shepherds are said to play better than 'king' Amphion harped while tending sheep. Amphion is often coupled with Orpheus to exemplify the power of music and poetry. (See e.g. G. Shepherd, Sidney: Apology for Poetry (London, 1955) p. 96, line 28 f., and note p. 147; see J. MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970) 5-6.)

fol. 36r.

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

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

fol. 36v. avaricia; iny; hatrent; dispyt; discention & mony vthir detestabil vicis

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

fol. 37v

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

fol. 37r. the nyne hauynis

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

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

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

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

Shortly after the Greek princeps was published, Copernicus (1473-1543) published his heliocentric theory in his De revolutionibus orbium Coelestium in 1543 See G.Sarton, Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Science During the Renaissance, 1450-1600 (u.Penn.P,1955),162. The popular Sacrobosco "welded together Macrobius and Ptolemy and frosted it over with Alfraganus", but nevertheless Sacrobosco's Sphere was basically also Ptolemy's Almagest. (L.Throndike, The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators (Chicago, 1949),page 21.) See W.P.D.Wightman, Science and the Renaissance, 2 vols. (Edinburgh,1962)
Reference to Seth and to Hebrew Science was part of the
patristic demonstration of the primacy of Hebrew science and
philosophy and the originality of the Hebrew apperception: and
thus the derivative nature of pagan science and philosophy was also
demonstrated. This was part of the Orosian synthesis of world
history, which we discuss in the introduction and at folio 28v.
See G.W.Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers (Liverpool,
1952), 190-1; Karl Löwith, Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschichte,4th

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

fol. 37r. *I*<a href="#" name="josephus"></a>sephus the historigraphour that treittis of the
antiquite of the ieuia


Leyden points out that Lydgate in his 'Bochas' (folio 51 of the 1561 edition) refers to the two 'pyllers'; and Higden in Ranulf's *Polychronicon*, folio 59 of the 1495 edition mentions them too. (Leyden pages 171-2). (This is in Vol. II of the Rolls Series, p. 233: in Bk. II, ch. V.)

fol. 39r-49v.

Folios 39r-49v are largely taken from Pliny *Natural History* Book II. (see ed. H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History*, Loeb (London, 1949) Vol. I.)

(Cometis, II, xxiii, 89-92, pages 231-3 and 235; three suns, three moons II, xxxi-xxxii, 99, page 243; rain, II, xxxix,...)

fol. 39r the pole artic boreal or septemtrional

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

fol. 39v alrakaba

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

fol. 40r  **solstices and equinoxes**


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

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

**ecliptic** "The great circle on the celestial sphere which is the sun's apparent annual path. The ecliptic is inclined 23½ degrees to the celestial equator." (See A. Wallenquist, Penguin Dictionary of Astronomy, 1968)

fol. 40v, 41r  **Antipodes**

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

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

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


fol. 41r Augustin.

The reference is *De Civ Dei*, Bk. 16, Ch. 9. *Lactantius Pirmianus* (c. 250 - c. 335) the 'Christian Cicero' mentions the Antipodes in *Divinae Institutiones*, 3. 23. Once again the Complainer seems to be quoting from memory.

fol. 41v. Proof that the earth is round

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

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


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


fol. 42v. Jupiter revolves in 12 years

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

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

"Below the sun revolves a very large star named Venus, which varies its course alternately and whose alternative names in themselves indicate its rivalry with the sun and moon - when in advance and rising before dawn it receives the name of Lucifer, as being another sun and bringing the dawn, whereas when it shines after sunset it is named Vesper, as prolonging the daylight, or as being a deputy for the moon... Further it surpasses all the other stars in magnitude, and is so brilliant that alone among stars it casts a shadow by its rays. Consequently there is a great competition to give it a name, some having called it Juno, others Isis, others the Mother of the Gods. Its influence is the cause of the birth of all things upon earth; at both of its risings it scatters a genital dew with which it not only fills the concepitive organs of the earth, but also stimulates those of all animals. It completes the circuit of the zodiac every 348 days, and according to Timaeus is never more than 45 degrees distant from the Sun."

"The star next to Venus is Mercury, by some called Apollo: it has a similar orbit, but it is by no means similar in magnitude or power. It travels in a lower circle, with a revolution nine days quicker, shining sometimes before sunrise and sometimes after sunset, but according to Cidenas and Sosigenes never more than 22 degrees away from the sun."
Pliny, *Natural History*, II, VI, 41-44 (Loeb, I, 193-7): "But the wonder of everyone is vanquished by the last star, the one most familiar to the earth, and devised by nature to serve as a remedy for the shadows of darkness - the moon. (Significantly the Complayner replaces 'Nature' by "the creator of all things" in the above sentence.) By the riddle of her transformations she has racked the wits of observers who are ashamed that the star which is nearest should be the one about which we know least - always waxing or waning, and now curved into the horns of a sickle, now just halved in size, now rounded into a circle; spotted and then suddenly shining clear; vast and full-orbed, and then all of a sudden not there at all; at one time shining all night and at another rising late and for a part of the day augmenting the light of the sun, eclipsed and nevertheless visible during the eclipse, invisible at the end of the month when she is not believed to be in trouble (labor). (The Complayner says: sun tyme it vald be thre dais to gyddir nocht sene..."") (The Complayner omits the short section referring to Endymion, in which Pliny laments the fact that people usually omit reference to her, and instead do what the Complayner does, they concentrate on "news" stories which are but catalogues of horrors.)

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

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

This is summarized from Pliny, *Natural History*, II, VII, 47 (Loeb, I, 197f.) Eclipses were of importance in medical astrology. See table of eclipses for the years 1547-1551, in "Arzneibuch", MS 93 of the Western MSS on Medicine & Science in the Wellcome.
This section is taken from Pliny, Natural History, II, XXXIX, 106 (Loeb, I, 249f) especially from II, XLI, 108 (Loeb, I, 251 f)
See discussion of 'sapiens dominabitur aethris' in introduction.

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

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

fol. 45r

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


fol. 45v. Prodigies

The Complayner has taken his examples of 'prodigia' from Pliny, Natural History, Book II. Portents were eagerly noted, especially at the beginnings of centuries. A 'prodigium' was an event contrary to the normal working of nature. Livy quotes examples which were collected by Julius Obsequens in his Prodigiorum liber. Divination and the interpretation of 'ostenta,portenta, monstra, prodigia', were widely practised, to the sixteenth century, when astrology, and the tendency to give everything a symbolic meaning fostered the vogue of prophecies and 'prognostications'. Chroniclers, like Carion, Sebastian Franck, Hartmann Schedel and Johannes Sleidan, who wrote world chronicles all had the view of history we have already described (introduction, note to fol. 28v) in which the imminent End of the World led to the search for Signs of the Day of Judgment. (See E.W.Zeeden, Deutsche Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit (Frankfurt, 1968), 414-428,495:)
The reference to "ane taikyn and sing of prodesis" links the prodigies with Jerome's Fifteen Signs of the Day of Judgment: the rising of the sea; the sinking of the sea; the sea becoming 'even' as at first; the fish making a great noise; the sea burning; a dew like blood falling; buildings falling; rocks striking against each other; earthquakes; the earth becoming a plain; men coming out of caves; the stars falling; the dead rising; the living dying; the world burning. (See Lindsay, Works, III, 455-6, 460). The Complayner mentions the rain of blood here. In fol. 88r he uses one sign, as an 'impossibilium' (fish speaking Hebrew...)

fol. 46v.

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

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

"In the tyme of King Iames the First
war sundry marwellis sene in Albion.
Ane sow had ane litter with doggis heddis
Ane calf was sene with ane hорas hede
Ane cometet appeirit afoir the kingis dede
with terribill bemyis; and sa vehement
frost was the wyntir afoir that wyne and
syll was sauld to be pudn wechtis,
and meltit agane be the fyre.
Ane suerde was sene fleand in the air,
to na les dredoure than admiracioun of the pepill."
Similarly in the Mar Lodge Translation of Boece, STS Vol.I,p.244 we find in folio LXX in Book IV, references to ships in the sky, rains of stones in Atholl, and of 'paddock's' in Angus, and to the fact that "thir strange ferlyis astonist mekill the pepill"

fol. 46v Three suns and three moons

See Pliny, Natural History, II,XXXII,99 (Loeb,I,24,3): "Trinos soles antiqui saepius videre...Lunae quoque trinae, ut Cn.Domitio, C.Fannio consulibus, apparuere."

fol. 46v Comets; Milky Way

The Complayner's examples are from Pliny, Natural History, II,XXII,89 (Loeb,Vol.I.,pp.231-3 et seq.)
"...lyik lang bludy hayr,...lyik ane dart...lyik ane bludy speyr...lyik ane sourd...lyik ane trumpet...lyik tua gait buckis justand contrar vthirs." This corresponds to Pliny's: crinitae (stellae) 'Long-haired stars' "because they have a blood-red shock of what looks like shaggy hair at their top."; "Javelin-stars (acontiae) quiver like a dart": the 'xipiae' (daggers) "have a gleam like the flash of a sword"; the reference to the trumpet may be a misprint in the Complayner's edition; 'tubae' for "iubae effigies" the mane-shaped comet "that changed into a spear": the reference to goats may be just expanded from Pliny's "fiunt et hirci villorum specie et nube aliqua circumdate", which Rackham translates (Loeb, p.233) "There also occur 'Goat comets', enringed with a sort of cloud reseambing tufts of hair."

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

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

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross in 1570 in his History of Scotland
(1436-1551) (Bannatyne Club, 1830) in describing events of the reign of James IV speaks of a comet as follows:

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

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

"Comets, importing change of time and states,"


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

fol. 46v. vatlant streit

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

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


fol. 45v, 47r. *Cause of rain* .

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

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

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

fol. 47v. *hail stonis*

*Pliny, Natural History*, II, LX, 152 (Loeb, I, 289): "hail is produced from frozen rain, and snow from the same fluid less solidly condensed, but hoar frost from cold dew."

fol. 47v, 48r. *thunder, thunderbolts*

The Complayner omits Pliny's more fanciful causes of thunderbolts.
and thunder, then (fol. 47v,48r) continues where Pliny continues (II,LV,14.2: Loeb,I,279): "It is certain that when thunder and lightning occur simultaneously, the flash is seen before the thunderclap is heard (this not being surprising, as light travels more swiftly than sound);..." (Loeb,I,283): "A man struck while awake is found with his eyes shut; while asleep with them open..."

Then the Complayner turns back to Pliny, Natural History,II,LVI (Loeb,1,275)

"There is a third sort (of thunderbolt) called 'bright thunderbolts', of an extremely remarkable nature; this kind drains casks dry without damaging their lids and without leaving any other trace and melts gold and copper and silver in their bags without singeing the bags themselves at all, and even without melting the wax seal. Marcia, a lady of high station at Rome, was struck by lightning when enceinte, and though the child was killed, she herself survived without being otherwise injured."

The Complayner then returns to Pliny, Natural History II,LVI (Loeb,1,283):

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

The winds

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fol. 49v. Sapiens dominabitur astris

See introduction.

Influences

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

On the concept of 'influences' underlying much of astrology, and leading to the fatal political apathy which a belief in 'fortune' engenders as Chartier and the Complayner note (fol. 18r), see
C.S. Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1967) 103-5; see too
E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth, 1953),
68-77. See Pliny Natural History, II,XII,108 (Loeb, I,251).

fol. 50v,51r.

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

As Gillian Beer remarks, the romance has always flourished in
periods of rapid change (The Romance, (London, 1970) p.78), and in
this respect the twelfth, sixteenth, and twentieth centuries are
akin. As C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic to 1400; (New
York, 1928) points out, (pages 250-1) the romance flourished with
the interest in the vernacular.

Later in the sixteenth century, however, there was opposition
to the romances, among the aristocratic Elizabethan poetologists,
and earlier among the Humanists (Erasmus, Vives). (See C.S. Lewis,

The continuing popularity of these tales is further vouched for
by Francis Meres' comment in his Palladia Tonia (1598). (See
His list includes Beuis of Hampton and the 'Four Sons of Aymon,
which also appear in the Complaynt. Similarly Nash in his Anatomie
of Absurditie (1589) (see G.G. Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays
(Oxford, 1964) I,123) mentions, in his list, Arthur of Little
Britain, and the 'Four Sons of Amon', both in the Complaynt.
Puttenham, in The Arte of English Poesie (1589), (see G.G. Smith,
Elizabethan Critical Essays, Vol. II, pages 43-4) mentions 'Sir
Bevis of Southampton, referring to it again (II, 87). Thus, while condemning the romances, these aristocratic Elizabethan poetologists indicate the popularity of the romances. Puttenham says (G.C. Smith, II, 87) they were made "purposely for the recreation of the common people at Christmas feasts, and in inns and alehouses, and such other places of base resort..." Ascham in his Toxophilus for example, disapproved of the romances as "propagating an evil combination of lust and Catholicism" (Berdan, p. 323). As G. Gregory Smith indicates (introduction to Elizabethan Critical Essays, I, p. xxxvi), the rejection of romances was part of the general rejection of the Middle Ages as being barbarous and Gothic.

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

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

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

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

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


fol. 5v. List of Tales

No. 1. The Canterbury Tales

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

No. 2. Robert le Dyabil duo of Normandie

Karl Breul in his edition of Sir Gowther (Oppeln, 1885) describes the origins and spread of the Robert the Devil legends in the numerous versions which show how popular and widespread the tale has been. Breul traces motifs back to fairytale origins (Eisenhans, Werweiss, Grindkopf), and sees the earliest written version in the Latin prose story by the thirteenth century Dominican friar Etienne de Bourbon, (p.50): 'De multiplici utilitate penitencia. Penitencia vincit et superat hostes, et a casu et a miseria elevat.'
Breul prints this version as an appendix (pp. 208-210) to his edition of Sir Gowther, taking the text from Lecoy de la Marche's "Anecdotes historiques, legends et apocryphes, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIIIe siècle. (Paris, 1877) pages 145-148. F.J. Furnivall in his introduction (p. xcl) to Robert Laneham's Letter, quotes Sir Frederic Madden's opinion that the "foundation story of 'Robert the Devil' and Robert of Sicily' is the tale of Jovinianus which is told at considerable length in the English and Latin Gesta" (Romanorum). Breul, while admitting a certain affinity in some of the motifs, dismisses (p. 65) Madden's view. The anonymous 13th century French MS (BNfr. 25516) 'roman' (Bossuat, 1392ff.) has been edited by E. Løseth (S.A.T.F., 1903). An analysis of the 'roman,' which appears to be by a Picard author, but may be based on an earlier Norman version, is to be found in HLF, XXII, 880 (Histoire littéraire de la France, commencé par des religieux benedictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur et continué par des membres de l'Institut (Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres), Paris, 1733 et seq.). Charles Maxwell Lancaster has given an English rendering in Saints and Sinners in Old Romance, Poems of Feudal France and England, Vanderbilt U.P. (Nashville, 1942) pp. 46-192. As Lancaster points out (p. 424), the Saint Alexis story, written approximately 150 years earlier, contains a similar conception of penance and renunciation. According to Lancaster too, the birth of Robert recalls the Merlin theme and the discussion of diabolical intervention in the mysteries of procreation contained in the pseudo-Augustinus. As Breul points out, (p. 120), there is an affinity too with Wyntoun's discussion of the supernatural birth of Macbeth, the beginning of the Sir Degare Romance and the Lai de Tydorel, (Romania VIII, 66ff.) Motifs in the romance have been further seen as linking it with various fairytales, sagas and legends (Breul, pp. 114-134). Breul sees the development as being from a secular fairytale to a sanctified adaptation which gradually developed into a 'roman'. In addition to the 13th century version edited by Løseth, there is a 14th century poem or 'Dit', an extract from which Breul prints (pp. 454-509) and which (Flutre, p. 154) would appear to be a re-working in quatrains of alexandrines of the earlier 'roman'. There is also a 'miracle' version. The first printed version is (Breul, p. 56) included in the old chronicles of
Normandy printed at Rouen in 1487. The first separate printed version is the edition printed at Lyons in 1496 and in Paris in 1497. This edition appear (Breul, p. 58) to be the basis of later versions, which were adapted to current taste. This version printed at Lyons in 1496 is entitled: "La vie du terrible Robert le dyable." The story begins with the extended title: "Cy commence la terrible et merueilleuse vie de robert le dyable lequel apres fut nomme Iomme dieu" and has the colophon "Imprime a Lyon par Pierre mareschal & Bernabe chaussard. Le VII iour du moys de may. Lan mil quatrecens quatre vingtz & seze". Breul (p. 199) further lists editions of 1497, ca. 1525, 1510-25, 1545 and ca. 1550, any of which might have been an exemplar referred to by the author of the "Complaynt". The tale was "not extant in Middle English" (R. M. Wilson, p. 131), but a translation from the French was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Breul adds the conjectural date 1510. Breul lists two exemplars (p. 204), (in the British Museum and in Cambridge) which he asserts (pp. 62, 63) are not identical. The B.M. copy (C. 21. c) is entitled: "Robert the deuyll". On the following side we have: "Here begynneth the lyfe of the moost myschewsoust Robert the deuyll whiche was aftervarde called the seruaunt of god." At the end of the story we have: "Here endeth the lyfe of the moost fiercefullust - and vmercyfullust and myschewsous Robert ye deuyll whiche was afterwards called the seruant of our Lorde Jhesu cryste. Enprynted in the fletestrete in the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde." In "Printers of Fleet Street and St. Paul's Churchyard in the Sixteenth Century" (F. C. Avis, 26, Gordonbrock Rd., London S. E. 4), it is stated (pp. 7, 14) that Wynkyn de Worde was at 'The Sun' (opposite Shoe Lane) between 1500 and 1535. This Wynkyn de Worde version has been reprinted by W. J. Thomas in 1827 and 1858, and by Henry Morley in "Early Prose Romances", in 1889. Breul lists 106 items in his Bibliography (pp. 198-207); of which 53 are from France (eleven of them pre-sixteenth century); 16 from Spain; 3 from Portugal; 5 from the Netherlands; 13 from Germany (mainly Volksbucher); 11 from England (none of them before the 15th century); all of them versions of the Robert the Devil legend. The "Sir Gowther" version, which (Penwick & Orton, pp. 419, 420) is "the life-story of a man who commits every sin, is later converted and atones appropriately", is generally agreed (Breul, pp. 64, 65, 120) to be dependent on a Breton 'lai'. The important role of the Breton 'conteur' is discussed, for example, by Roger Sherman Loomis in "The Development of
Arthurian Romance, ("Hutchinson") (London, 1963). The "Sir Gowther" story appears to have been "composed about 1400 in the N.E. Midlands or Else in the North and (is) extant in the 15th-c. MSS. Advocates' Lib. Edin. 19.3.1. and Royal 17.B.43" (Renwick & Orton, p.420.) Furnivall would appear to assume that the 'Complayner' is referring to the Wynkyn de Worde version, but the title as given in the "Complaynt" (French with English 'of'), is by no means a clear reference to the English translation. Even at a much later date original French texts of Romances would appear to have been popular reading among those with the leisure to read, as a glance at the shelves of the library in Blair Castle, for example, would appear to indicate. Was there a historical counterpart to the legendary Robert? The categorical ascription of the epithet 'le Diable' to Robert, sixth duke of Normandy, who died in 1035, does not appear entirely justifiable, despite the sanction of 'The Oxford Companion to English Literature, "Encyclopaedia Britannica" Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable', etc. Lancaster (p.424) says "Liebrecht, Bresl, Gaston Paris, Cosquin, Beneze, Tardel and Panzer think not. According to them the poem is an ecclesiastical reconstitution of the 'Teigneux' stories. Only Borinski supports the thesis that one Robert Guiscard of Normandy was his flesh and blood prototype." According to Breul (p.107,fn.2) it would appear to have been as late as 1631 that a historian Dumasin affixed the tag 'Le Diable' to Robert, the younger son of Richard II, duke of Normandy (d.1026) and the father of William the Conqueror. Robert succeeded his brother Richard III in 1028. He was apparently suspected of having poisoned Richard, and fratricide would perhaps qualify him for the epithet; but other historians called him 'Robert the Magnificent' and 'Robert the Liberal', a verdict which the two sentences in the 'Encyclopedia Britannica' would tend to verify. "Robert sheltered the exiled English princes, Edward, afterwards Edward the Confessor, and his brother Alfred, and fitted out a fleet for the purpose of restoring them to their inheritance, but this was scattered by a storm. When returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he died at Nicaea on July 22, 1035." In war the friend of one side is a fiend to the other side. Perhaps the epithet may originally have been an admiring comment of prowess at arms, rather than an ethical condemnation.

The PLOT of the Wynkyn de Worde version tells how Robert the Devil,
the son of a duke and duchess of Normandy has grown up as a wicked youth. His mother explains that he was born in answer to prayers addressed to the Devil, Robert is directed by the Pope to consult a hermit, who imposes penances. Robert must "kepe and counterfete the wayes of a fole, and be as he were dombe; and he may ete no maner of mete, but that he can take it from the dogges; and in this wyse... must he be tyll tyme that it pleases God to shewe hym that his synne be forgyuen." (Morley, p.189) Robert becomes court fool to the emperor in Rome. In disguise he delivers the city from three attacks by the 'Senesshall' (a natural choice for the role of villain, being the 'bete noire' of minstrels?) and the Saracens (cf. W.W.Comfort: "Saracens in the French Epic", PaIA, IV (1940).)

The miraculous recovery of speech by the dumb daughter of the emperor enables her to tell that the mysterious knight was none other than the court fool. Robert marries the emperor's daughter 'at the commandement of God', and happy in the knowledge that his sins have been forgiven, returns to Normandy. In the other version (summarized by Breul, pp.47-49; rendered in English by C.M.Lancaster) Robert refuses the offer of the hand of the princess and he ends his days as a hermit.

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

As Leyden (p.234) points out 'The Well o' the Warld's End' survives in allusions in folklore. See Robert Chambers Popular Rhyme of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1870), pages 105-7; (reprinted e.g. E.W.Grierson, The Scottish Fairy Book (London, 1911), Tale No. 35.) Murray (p.lxxiii) reprints F.J.Furnivall's notes from his edition of Robert Laneham's Letter: Describing a Part of the Entertainment Unto Queen Elizabeth at the Castle of Kenilworth in 1575 originally for the Ballad Society in 1871 and re-edited in the Shakespeare Library (London, 1907). In his introduction, Furnivall describes the books in Captain Cox's List and the list in the Complaynt. Furnivall says that Chambers' tale, from Fife, is of a well,

"whither a nasty queen with a nastier daughter sends the nicer daughter of a king to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer and marries a bonne young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler who licks her every day with a strap."

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

The Complayner again mentions Ferrand (at folio 67r) as an 'example' of placing one's trust in ambiguous oracles. This is the story told by Barbour, in the Bruce, IV, lines 241-307; ed. W.W. Skeat, The Bruce...by Master John Barbour, STS (Edinburgh, 1894), Vol.I, pages 90-93. The ultimate source of both the Complayner and Barbour's account is almost certainly Guillaume le Breton (1159-69, d.1216) who wrote a Latin prose chronicle probably between 1216 and 1220, and whose work is connected with St. Denis, (which Barbour visited in 1355,) and known as the 'Historia Sancti Dionysii.' See R.L.G. Ritchie, The Buik of Alexander STS (Edinburgh, 1925), Vol.I, pages clxiii, clxx: G.W. Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers (Liverpool, 1952) pages, 34, 73, 200:

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

Ferrand also appears briefly in the 'Morte Arthure' (2760, quoted R.L.G. Ritchie, p.clxiii) where it is mentioned "the fend was his fadyre" Barbour says his mother was a 'nygramansour' (Bk.IV,241).

Skeat thinks the story of Ferrand was "evidently some story resembling the Tale of Melusine." Leyden (p.237) suggests that it is probably "the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel," (Ctia Imperialia sp. Script. Per. Brunsvic, vol.I, p.978), and by Bowmaker, of the ancestor of the Plantagenet family (Forduni Scotichron. a Goodall, vol.2, p.9.)." Furnivall in 'Laneham's Letter'
p.cxl, has turned Bowmaker into "Bournaker" and Murray (p.ixiii) follows. R.M.Wilson (p.131) says it is "Probably a story similar to that which Giraldus tells of the origins of the Plantagenets, but none with Ferrand as the hero is known." The paragraph above is quoted as a demonstration of how badly a new commentary is needed. See note on Pol. 67v.

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

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

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

The Tale of Perseus and Andromeda is told for example in Ovid's Metamorphoses, iv,653 ff. Tales, Nos. 6;14;39;40;41;42;43;45;47;48; are all from the 'Matter of Antiquity'.

No.7. The prophysie of merlyne

Merlin has been the subject of so much enquiry that a full account would fill a volume. As H.L.D.Ward in his Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1883), Vol.I, pages 292-327, indicates, there are, as well as numerous lives of Merlin, also extant manuscripts of 'prophaysia', such as: (page 312) Harley 1717, see David Laing, (Waldegrave's Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies in Alliterative Verse,1603,
for the Bannatyne Club (No.44) (Edinburgh, 1833): J.R. Lumby, Bernardus De Cura Rei Famularia, Early Scottish Prophecies &c. EETS OS 42 (London, 1870, repr. 1965): J.A.H. Murray, The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Ercildoune, EETS OS 61 (London, 1875), (Appendix II): Leyden's introduction (pages 221-224), Murray (pages xlii-xlii); Hamer, (Lindsay, Works, IV,238) in a note to the Satyre (line 4590) (Hamer cross references Dreme 43; Cupar Banns, 252 and Satyre, 4591-3; and refers to J.R. Lumby, Ratis Paving EETS OS 43 (London, 1870): G.H. Gerould, "A Text of Merlin's Prophecies", Speculum XXIII (1948): L.A. Paton, Les Prophecies de Merlin, 2 vols. (New York, 1926-7): P. Zumthor, Merlin le Prophete: un theme de la litterature polemique, de l'Historiographie et des romans (Lausanne, 1943): J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions, (Berkeley, L.A., 1950); chapter V, 'Merlin' (pages 171-7); and chapter XVII, 'The Prophecies of Merlin' (pages 403-21): Rupert Taylor, The Political Prophecy in England (New York, 1911). On Merlin, see Rachel Bromwich, Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Welsh Triads (Cardiff, 1961). Merlin, a central character in the Arthurian 'industry', is important for the Complayner for a specific reason. Whereas Abell, for example, is interested in Merlin for his 'marvellous' birth ("The Roit or Quheil of Tyme", fol. 43a), the Complayner is forced to deal with Merlin (folios 50v, 65v, 66r, 67r, 148v) because Merlin was a pawn in the propaganda game. Tales of Merlin and his prophecies are not just innocuous tales (as in the Morte d'Arthure perhaps), but are arguments in English claims of suzerainty over Scotland. By classifying the prophecies as mere tales the Complayner is, like Major (History, 72-8, 81, 224, 254), deliberately attempting to disarm these propaganda weapons. See remarks, in the introduction, on propaganda, and on the folklore interest of Pinkie, and on the mutation of monarchies as interpreted by the Complayner.

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

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

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

As E. R. Curtius points out (ELIMA, 215, 219), the war of the Giants against Zeus corresponds to the story of the Tower of Babel in the harmonizing of Judaeo-Christian revelation and Greek thought. The Anthropophagi (Othello, 1.2.144) represent the strong sacrilegious, defiant, arrogant, stupid, outrageous villains, troublemakers and tyrants who are outsmarted by the good clever little people despite all the odds against them. (See Stith Thompson, P. 911.5; F 531.2.6; F 531.3.11; G 691.1; G 11.2; G 84.) See note to tale No. 5.

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

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

No. 10. Wallace.


No. 11. The Bruce


No. 12. Ypomedon.


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

As Leyden (p. 235-6) states, the 'Black Bull of Norway' is a popular Scots tale; and Robert Chambers published it in The Popular Rhymes of Scotland (first published 1826) (Edinburgh, 1870) 95-99. Chambers also prints an abbreviated and apparently English version of the story as 'The Red Bull of Norroway' (pages 99-101). The story contains the motifs of seven years service, glass mountain which can only be climbed by metal shoes, and the recognition token motif, that the maid can wash the blood-stained shirt and thus marry her enchanted prince. Cf. the story, as Hibbard points out (L. H. Hibbard, Mediaeval Romance in England (New York, repr. 1963), p. 234, fn.), there is a Gaelic version, found in Campbell's Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Vol. IV, pages 257ff, told about 1812 by a serving maid, in which the Norwegian prince is turned into a great grey dog.

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

No particular source need be assumed for such a common story. See Ovid Metamorphoses, ix. 70. The Complayner again uses the image of the Hydra in folio 127v referring to schisms. Lindsay refers to
the Hydra too (Drene, 37; Sq.Mel.1403; Mon.3562).

No. 15. the tail quhou the hyng of est mure land mareit the hyngis dochtir of vest mure land.

As Leyden remarks (page 226) this may be a reference to some version of the ballad of King Estmere (ed. H.C.Sargent, G.L. Kittredge, English and Scottish Popular Ballads, (Boston, & N.Y., 1904) pages 111-114. As Leyden and Scott, ignored by Furnivall/Murray, indicate (Leyden, p.226, Scott in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, ed. T.Henderson, (London, 1931), pages 442-3), the ballad of 'Pause Foodrage' includes references to King Easter and King Wester. In Sargent & Kittredge, 'Pause Foodrage' (pages 188-191) version B (from kotherwell's MS,p.341) contains the forms "The Eastmure king, and the Westmure king..." As Scott points out (page 443) there is likewise a 'King Estmere of Spain' in one of Percy's ballads. Ritson disagreed with Scott's view that Northumberland and Westmoreland were being referred to, and suggested that the reference is to some form of the old metrical romance of 'Kyng Horn' or 'Horn Child', where the names 'Westnesse' and 'Estnesse' occur; where in the French original Westir is said to have been an old name of Ireland, and Sudene was a name for Britain, "but here again it is inconsistent", as Henderson the editor remarks. (He might as well say it is a reference to Labrador because Milton refers to Estotiland in 'Paradise Lost' (X,685)). On King Horn see Penwick & Orton, pages 385-7; H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue,p.447-469.

No. 16. Skail gillenderson, the kynrie son of skellye.

Leyden (p.227) makes no comment. Murray says: "Some Scandinavian legend". R.M.Wilson (p.131) comments: "Some old Norse legend which can not now be identified." (It might of course be a corrupt form of the name. As W.M.Alexander, Place Names of Aberdeenshire Third Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1952), page 290 mentions, there is Glanderston in West Aberdeenshire near Wardhouse, which was conveyed by David of Garioch to Hugh the Breton "His name proves the former owner Gillandres Buch from whom the land took its designation, to have been a native Celt." Near Torphichen there is also a
Glanderston. The Viking element is nearer home than 'Scandinavian' and 'horse' suggest, as a trip to the Isles shows.)

See Glossary - "gillenderson" - for another theory.

No. 17. the tayl of the four sonnis of aymon

This French romance of the Charlemagne cycle (see H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue, p.619-625) was translated into English by Caxton (N.F.Blake, Caxton and His World (London, 1959) 224-239 (No. 44): See ed. Octavia Richardson Charlemarne Romances, 10,11: The Foure Sonnes of Aymon, EETS ES 44,45 (London, 1884-5). Caxton would appear to have translated from the Lyons edition of 1480 by Renaud de Montauban, based on a late 14th century chanson de geste. Aymon's sons were Reynaud, Guiscard, Alard and Richard, and they and their horse Bayard appeared in many romances and poems and chapbooks (see Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered', and Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso'). See ed. T.Crockett, The Poems of John Stewart of Balgynanes SSS (Edinburgh, 1913) Vol. II, pages 5-100; espec. Canto 2 ff. 'Roland Furioso', which brings in Bayard and the four sons of Aymon. (pages 15 ff.)

No. 18. the tayl of the brig of the mantribil

Barbour, Bruce (Skeat), III, line 455 says,

"And wan mantrybyll and passit flagot".

Skeat comments that it is "evidently an episode in the romance of 'Fierabras' and accordingly in the 'Sowdone of Babylon' I find that Mauntrible is Lavan's 'chief cite' and that the giant Alagolofure was warden of the 'brigge' over the river Flagote that led to it. Richard of Normandy swam his horse over the river, killed the giant and won the bridge."


No. 19. the tayl of syr suan arthours Knycht.

As Flutre (L-F. Flutre, Table des Noms Propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les Romans du Moyen Age écrits en Français ou en Provençal et actuellement publiés ou analysés (Poitiers, 1952), page 110) shows, the name is extremely common, Ivain, Evain, Ewein,
Iain, Ien, Iewan, Ivonet, Yvain, etc., all occur in French versions. In English, Scots or Welsh tales the name also occurs. Leyden however (p.227) thinks it is a tale of Arthurian Lothian, R.M. Wilson (p.130) states "possibly a version of the extant Ywain & Gawain or perhaps a romance on Ywain now lost." Furnivall thinks it is the poem of Ywaine and Gawin as in Cotton MS Galba E ix. (H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue... I, p.392). It may equally well have been Chretien's version or Hartmann's, or even as Leyden mentions (p.256) a version such as that mentioned "in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS in the Royal Library of Stockholm... Saran af Event, Eingland Kappe,- the history of Ewain, Arthur's best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks..."

No. 20. Rauf coilyear

No. 21. The siege of Millan


No. 22. Gauen and gallogras


No. 23. Lancelot du lac

Cambridge MS, for the STS (Edinburgh, 1911).

No. 24. Arthour knycht he raid on nycht
  vitht cylvin scur and candill lycht.

Leyden (p.229) sees these lines as the introduction to a romance. Furnivall does not believe Leyden; he thinks it was probably a ballad. R.M.Wilson (p.130) says "they read more like the beginning of a ballad than of a romance."

No. 25. the tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon
  be the see.

Leyden (p.229-230) notes that the name 'Florent of Albanie' occurs in Roswall and Lilian. Florimont of Albania is the central figure of the poem BM. MS Harley 44,87, folios 3-85: see H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue...I, 156-159. The poem by Aime de Varennes (according to folio 56) is about Florimont the son of the Duke of Albania who married the heiress of Macedon and was the father of Philip, and grandfather of Alexander the Great. This includes a duel between Florimont's father-in-law and a lion. (Ward, p.158; folio 7b).

The story is thus one of the Alexander cycle apparently. See A.Hilka, Aimon de Varennes: Florimont (Breslau, 1932-3). There are a number of MSS (BN. 12556; EN. 1490; Paris Ars. 3476; EN. 1488); see e.g. Brian Woledge, Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Francaise Antérieurs à 1500 (Geneva, Iille, 1954), page 43, Nos. 58-61. Thus, R.M.Wilson's remark (p.131) "not now known", can only refer to an English version.

According to M.P.McDiarmid, a copy has been located in the SRO recently. 1st April, 1973.

No. 26. the tail of svr valtir the bald lealye

Leyden (p.230) says this "seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter King of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun, 'cooperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David' (Scotichronicon, Bk.xvi,c.15)." There is a ballad of Walter Leslie, (Sargent & Kittredge, No. 296, pages 623-624) which is late. A tale about Crusades is the sort of reading Knights of St. John at Torphichen would enjoy.
No. 27. the tail of the pure Tynt

Leyden (p.236) says that this is probably "the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycoat', a common nursery tale." The story of 'Rashie Coat' is commonly reprinted as a Scots Cinderella. See R.Chambers, Popular Rhymes of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1870), pages 66-68.

There is however a slight possibility that in fact the Complayner is referring to a gest about a lost purse. The absence of a noun in the title, if it is 'the poor lost'; and the blurred type in the original, which reads like "the 'purs Tynt"; both suggest that we look for a tale about a lost purse.

No. 28. Claryades and maliades.


No. 29. Arthour of litil bertangze

See H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue, I, 382-3, note on EM Add.MS.10,295, 'Artus de Bretagne'. "Published in 1493, under the title of Le petit artus de bretaigne, and republished at Lyons in 1496, and at Paris in 1502 and 1514. John Bourchier, Lord Berners, made a translation of it, the 2nd edition of which was published (about 1520-30) by Robert Redborne, and republished, with a critical preface,

No. 30. Robene hude and litil ihone

Leyden (p.230) refers to the Chepman and Myllar prints/versions and to Wynkyn de Worde's 'Geste of Robyn Hode'. As Leyden remarks, The Robin Hood 'songa' in their style have some resemblance to the historical ballads of the Border. Since 1801 when Leyden was writing it has been usual to consider them with the popular ballads. See David C.Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad,(Durham, N.C., 1968), pages 12, 65 (fn.2), 67 (fn.5): though there is doubt about their being sung. The Complayner mentions among the dances too (No. 92) 'Robene hude'.

No. 31. the meruellis of mandiucil


No. 32, No. 33. the tayl of the song taalene and of the bald braband

Is this one tale or two? Leyden (p.231) says that Young Taalene' "seems to have been originally a romance of Faery, and was probably converted, by a popular tradition into a historical ballad, which is still preserved and published in Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." Leyden would then consider the tale of the Bald Brabant a separate romance. Dr. E.H.Iyle in her "Study of Thomas the Rhymer and Tarn Lin in Literature and Tradition" (Ph.D. thesis Leeds, 1957), tends to the opinion that the tale is "probably some story 'not now known' rather than Tarn Lin". In this she agrees with...
R.M. Wilson (p.132); but the name may be a reference to some other corruption of a French romance name such as Talamon, Tamblin, Cambelin (see Langlois, p. 629) which would bring Temelne into the orbit of the 'duces de Brabant' (Langlois, p. 110). The Cosplayner mentions "thou of lyn" as a dance tune (No. 93). On Tom Lin see: X.B. Lyde, "The Teind to Hell in 'Tom Lin'", Folklore, Vol.84 (1970), 177-184; F. Clunies Ross, The Traditional and National Music of Scotland (London, 1966), pages 15, 16, 27, 28.

No. 34. The ring of the roy robert

See ed. W.A. Craigie, The Haiku Folio Manuscript 2 vols. STS (Edinburgh, 1919-27), Vol. I, pages 127-133: Poem XLI. "D. Steel. The Ring of the Roy Robert". This poem, as David Laing remarks, Early Scottish Metrical Tales, new ed. (London, 1889) page 35, seems to have been circulating in Henry VIII's reign, and of course it is also a rejection, as is the Cosplayner, of the English kings' claim to suzerainty over Scotland, claiming they are usurpers even in England. The name "dene dauid steill" appears in the 'colophon', as the maker.

No. 35. sir euir and sryr pryve

See Isser's full note to Souvor Heldrun, line 1318 (Lindsay, Works, III, 219, 220). The earliest mention is in Accounts for 1497; the first extant manuscript is Percy Folio MS (c. 1550); the first printed version extant is Robert Sanders' small black-letter volume (Glasgow, 1659). Thus the first extant written version is a century later than the reference here. For a recent edition see Isobel Van Duze, A Medieval Romance of Friendship: Euer and Grime (New York, 1963).

No. 36. Beuis of southamtown

version see B.Molodge item 24, 'Bewe do Mantone'.

No. 37. the goldin targe


No. 38. the paleis of honour


No. 39. the tayl cuhou acteon was transformit in one hart and syne slane be his own dorcis

The Complayner later applies this story figuratively to the nobles of Scotland (fol. 123r/v). This story and the following tale (No. 40 'Piramus and tesbe') are best known in Ovid's Metamorphoses setting (iii,155;iv,55). Gavin Douglas in the Palace of Honour (lines 745-748) quotes:

"How that Diane transformit Acteon,
And Iune eix as for a kow gart seip
The fair Yo that lang was wobogone."

The Complayner also quotes the tale (No.42) 'quhou Jupiter transformit his deir love yo in ane cou'.

No. 40. the tayl of piramus and tesbe

Furnivall stresses that there is not extant any translation into English as early as this. This is surely to miss the point. Ovid was known to every schoolchild. Besides, as Gilbert Highet mentions (The Classical Tradition, (Oxford, 1957), 57-62), Ovid was a major source for the love element in romances. Piramus and Thisbe (p.50,
Highet) is of course a favourite tale, taken by, Chaucer, Gower, Boccaccio, Tasso and of course, by Shakespeare some years after the Complayner. Ovid, 'moralista', was around from the early 14th century, despite his pagan origins.

No. 41. the tail of the amours of leander and hero

Furnivall suggests that this may refer to a 'broadsid'. The Greek legend of the youth from Abydos and the priestess of Aphrodite in Sestos was told by Musaios in the 5th or 6th Century AD. There are earlier allusions to the pair in Vergil's Georgica; and Ovid's Heroica includes letters purporting to be by them. The references in Ovid are probably all that was needed. Musaios was not translated till later, into English.

No. 42. the tail ouhou Jupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane cou.


No. 43. the tail ouhou that iason van the goldin fleice

See note to tale No. 40. See Ovid, Let.7. Caxton's version is from Raoul Lefvre's version which in its turn is from Guido delle Colonne's Historia Destructionis Troiae. (See Woledge, item 134). The story is, as Highet mentions (page 50), also in Benoit de Sainte Maure's Roman de Troie. See H.L.D.Ward, Catalogue I, 35-f (Harley 4482; Harley 4423; etc.; Benoit's and Guido's recensions). See ed. J.Munro, Caxton's History of Jason, The Text, Part I EETS ES III (London, 1912).

No. 44. Ophoeus kyne of portyngal

We have the romance of Torrent of Portyngale; see ed. E.Adam, Torrent of Portyngale, EETS ES 51 (London, 1887). Leyden (p.243) refers to the romance of Orfeo and Neurdis in the Auchinleck MS, but Furnivall rejects this. Furnivall also says it is not a reference to
Henryson's Orpheus who is King of Thrace. On Torrent see Renwick & Orton, p. 416.

No. 45. the tayl of the goldin appil

Furnivall comments: "That of Eris inscribed 'to the fairest', thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Pelcus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between June, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-Ages. Plenty of stories of it - long to shorten, short to translate, - were there to serve as the original of the Complaynt tale."

No. 46. the tayl of the thre weird systira.

The story from Ovid, Metamorphoses, XV of the three sisters, Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos. 'Weird' here refers to 'fate', as in the phrase 'to dree your weird'. Henryson, in his Orpheus (line 264) has another trio, "Electo, Mygra and Thesaphone": These are the Eumenides or Furies, Alecto Megaera and Tisiphone (ed. H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1958), pages 137, 262).

Bellenden refers to Macbeth's witches too as the "weird sisteris", meaning cunning in weirds, destinies, prophecies, fates. Whether we have here Macbeth's witches, the Parcae, the Moirae, or Norns, the stories are all spellbinding. (See Bellenden, Chronicles, II, 150).

No. 47. the tayl quhou that dedalus maid the labarynth to kep the monster minotaurus.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, viii. See note to tale No. 40.

No. 48. the tayl quhou that kync midas gat tua asse luggis on his hade be cause of his auereis.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, xi. The last phrase suggests that the Complayner is interested in Ovid 'moralized'. Midas was awarded asses' ears because he preferred Pan's music to Apollo's. (Ovid, Metamorphoses xi, 14ff.)
The mermaids are fused with the sirens, a fact which in another context caused C.S. Lewis some surprise (see *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1967) page 150). The sirens number as many as eleven in Greek myth (see R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth, 1950) II, 408). Graves' list includes, Parthenope (= maiden face); Leucosia (= white being); Ligeia (= shrill); though no 'illigeatempora'.

Thetis had marine connections, which would also explain the siren/mermaid confusion. Thetis married Peleus. The 'tail of the goldin appil' was Eris' contribution to the wedding. Thetis was Achilles' mother. Peleus was king of the Myrmidons. These 'ant'-men, and the mermaidens, could easily be confused; 'mermadyns' and 'myrmidons' are confused when the King of the Myrmidons marries the Nereid Thetis on Mount Pelion.

See also fol. 52r for another reference to Amphion; we have already commented on Amphion (folio 35r), the builder of Thebes.

The following list (in fol. 5iv, 52r) has been commented on: by John Leyden (1801); by J.A.H.Murray, who reprints the remarks by F.J.Furnivall, *Robert Laneham's Letter* (London, 1907), (pages, cxlix-clxii). W. Dauney, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Bannatyne Club, 59 (Edinburgh, 1838) (pages 52-54) mentions the list, and adds some comments. John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1964) also adds a few points about some of the tunes. In a book, *The Songs of Scotland: Chronologically Arranged*, published without author's name, by Maurice Ogle (Glasgow, 1871), the introduction places the list in the Complaynt in the history of Scottish song. (pages xxvii-xxix). Scott in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ed. T. Henderson, (London, 1931)) discusses a number of items in the catalogue in these folios, e.g. De la Bastie (p.21, fn.2);
Tamlane (p.56,65), Raf Coilyear (p.104-5), Hunting of Cheviot (p.124), Armstrong (p.151-2), Tamlane again (p.325 f), 'Brume, brume on hill', (p.34,9), Estmureland (p.442-3), Sir Eger (p.508), Battle of Harlaw, (p.514,529), the 'thre futtit dog of Norway' (p.639-640), although Leyden has made most of the points.

On the later formal court music in sixteenth century Scotland, see K. Elliott, H.M. Shire, Musica Britannica XV: Music of Scotland, 1500-1700 (London, 1700), and H.M. Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge, 1969).

fol. 51v. in melodius music in breve accorddis and reportis of diapason prolations, and dyatesseron.

See the earlier description of the many small birds "aingand melodius reportis of natural music in accordis of mesure of diapason prolations, tripla and dyatesseron." (fol. 30r).

The Complayner uses terms of medieval musical theory: the dances (fol. 52v) he mentions are modern mid-sixteenth ones. His use of the terms of musical theory suggest that he is using them either for mystification or more likely (at least in folio 30r) to fit in with the 'auration' and 'alliteration' and sonorous quality of the words he uses in the pastoral description.

Accords are chords and the use of the word with reportis shows that the latter has a specialised meaning. Reportis is used for example in the heading to a version of "Psalm 113" printed in the Musica Britannica XV, page 136. We have first Psalm 113 and setting. Below we have "Psalm 113 in Reports". This refers to the fact that whereas the first version is in block chords, the second has the voices coming in with imitative entries. A colleague, Dr. Chew, suggests that the word means 'imitation', referring to a sort of contrapuntal treatment. The word accord refers to pitch and is vague and equivocal, meaning 'harmony, tuning, singing with due regard to the rules of musica mundana', etc., as well as 'chord'.

'Measure' refers not to pitch but to rhythm, the division into beats; 'diapason' refers to pitch again, and means the 'perfect octave'; prolations and tripla again refer to rhythm; diatessaron refers to pitch, and means the 'perfect fourth'. See W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953)
Prolation is a time signature in medieval musical theory, usually expressing the relation between minima and semi-brevis. The notes in descending order of length were maxima, longa, brevis, minima and semiminima. A note was either twice or three times as long as the note below. The relation between longa and maxima was known as maximus; the relation between brevis and longa was known as modus, (modus perfectus expressed a relation 3 breves to one longa, modus imperfectus referred to a relation 2 breves to one longa); the relation between semibrevis and brevis was known as tempus, (tempus perfectum, 3 S=B; tempus imperfectum, 2 S = B); the relation between minima and semibrevis was known as prolatio (prolatio perfecta, 3M=S, prolatio imperfecta, 2M=S); See "Mensural Notation", in W.Appel, Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).

Tripla refers to proportio tripla in musical mensural notation. The Complayner would no doubt be amused to see attempts to explain phrases included for their sound effect.

No. 49. Fastance wifth guile company

This is usually identified with 'The Kynges Ballade' a song linked with Henry VIII. It is apparently in BM Add.MS. 5665, which once belonged to J.Ritson; and was printed by Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time. A facsimile reprint from another MS which apparently belonged to Henry VIII is in Archaeologia, xii, 372. John Stevens (Appendix B, Song 257) classifies it as "H 7 of Henry VIII's MS" (J.Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, (London, 1954), p.388). What is probably a 'moralized' version of the same song, by Maitland, is in W.A.Craigie, Maitland Quarto Manuscript, S2S (Edinburgh, 1927), No. XXIV, page 63, and in W.A.Craigie, The Maitland Folio Manuscript STS, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1919-27), No. CXIII, Vol.I,p.336-7. See too Lindsay, Works, IV, 170 (Hamer's note to 'Satyre', lines 105, 417).

No. 50. the breir byndis me soir

No. 51. Stil vnir the levuia grane

The Blowing Maiden".

No. 52. Cou thou me the raschis grene.

See John Stevens, Appendix B, Song No. 71. Dauney (p.52) refers to Ritson, Ancient Songs, p. 54 for music and words. Purnivall refers to Ed Royal MS 58; Fayrfax MS, fol.2. The Fayrfax MS is discussed, as Stevens mentions, by B.Fehr, in Archiv 106 (1901). B.Fehr discusses MS Sloane 2593, in Archiv 109 (1902).) Stevens also refers to Chappell (1893), i,38.

No. 53. allace i wyt zour tua fayr ene

Purnivall indicates that David Laing connects song No. 53 and song No. 55 with Alexander Scott.

No. 54. gode sou rude day vil boy

No. 55. lady help zour presoneir

Dauney (p.52) conjectures that this is the poem "Sea that I am a prisoneir" in the Bannatyne MS., (Vol.III, 249), which follows a poem ascribed to Alexander Scott, and is followed by one ascribed to Henryson. (Cf. W.Geddie, A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets, STS (Edinburgh, 1912), pages 318-328 on Alexander Scott, and ascriptions.)

No. 55. kyng willsamis note

This is conjecturally identified by Ritson, Ancient Songs (London, 1829), I,l ix, with the "kynges noote" in Chaucer's Miller's Tale (line 3217). Leyden (p.277) thought this improbable. See F.N.Robinson's note on this (The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957) page 684.) Commentators appear to have confused No. 56 and No. 49, as F.N.Robinson indicates.

No. 57. the long nounensou (= nonny no?)

As Dauney (p.52) remarks, the songs Nos. 57, 60, 61 all have the
'Nou' element, which was a common 'chorus'. Dauney refers to Ritson, Ancient Songs, pp. 64, 270 for examples of 'burdens'.

No. 58. the chapel walk

As H.H.Wood remarks, the title of Henryson's poem 'Abbey Walk' was given to the poem by Lord Hailes in imitation of this song - title (H.H.Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, (Edinburgh, 1958), page xxix).

No. 59. fayht is there none

No. 60. skald abellis nou

See note to No. 57.

No. 61. the abirdenis nou

See note to No. 57. The Address to Aberdeen by Dunbar, "Slyth Aberdeane, thou bereall of all tounis" (ed. W.M.Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, (London, 1950), pages 137—9) does not have any 'nou' chorus; it is interesting to conjecture that there was some Bon Accord 'signature' tune. The reference to the dance No. 91 'lang plat fut of garisau' (Garioch) also indicates an area connection. Garioch was connected with Lindores.

No. 62. brume brumes on hil

Furnivall comments on this (pages cxxviii-cxxix) in Captain Cox's list. It is not "The Broom of Cowden Knowes", dealt with in detail by W.Chappell, Popular Music, ii, 458-461, Furnivall says, Chappell, and Furnivall both refer to the lines by Moros in Wager's interlude. W.Wager's "The Longer thou livest, the more fool thou art" was edited by A.Brandl from Ed C.34.e.37 (probably ca 1568-80) in the Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft XXXVI (Berlin, 1900) pages 1-64. Brandl in his note (pages 8,9) says it is only a refrain, which could be attached to ballads; and he mentions: 'Leesome Brand', 'Sheath and Knife', 'The Broom of the Cathery Knowes' and 'The Broom of
Cowden Knowes'; and it occurs too in 'art' ballads of the 17th century (see Chappell, pages 458-460). R. Mark Benbow, in his edition of Wager (London, 1968) makes no comment at all on the refrain. I am indebted to Prof. T. W. Craik for the Brandl reference.

No. 63. allone i veip in grit distrea

There is a 'godified' version of this: ed. A. P. Mitchell, A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis' STS (Edinburgh, 1897), page 147.

No. 64. trolle lollie lemmen dou

This refrain occurs, as Furnivall indicates (Robert Lanham's Letter (London, 1907) pages cxxix-cxxx) in Sloane Ms 1584, fol. 45v., reprinted by Ritson, Ancient Songs (London, 1790) page 92; and in Chappell's article in Archaeologia xli, 372; etc. As Hamer indicates (Lindsay, Works, III, 57; note to Compl. 245) this phrase "Trolly Lolly" occurs in Colkelbie Sow. See ed. D. Laing, J. Small, Select Remains of Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry of Scotland (Edinburgh, London, 1885), page 248, line 302. This whole section of Colkelbie Sow is an interesting parallel, as Dauney (p. 45) also notes. Claude Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (Rutgers, New Brunswick, 1966) discusses a dance which is mentioned in the Complaynt (No. 89 hantis vp); in her discussion she prints (p. 325) six lines which are of interest in connection with our songs No. 57, 60, 61 and 64. (Thomas Ravenscroft, Briefe Discourse, 1614)

"The Birds they sing, the Deare they fling,
hey nony nony nony no,
The Hounds they crye, the Hunters they flye,
hey tro li lo, tro lo li lo, hey tro lo li lo li lo
(Chorus) The hunt is vp, the hunt is vp;
Sing merrily wee, the hunt is vp."

No. 65. bille vil thou cum by a lute and balt the in sanct

Francis cord

Leyden (p. 279) quotes a couplet
"Bille will ye cum by a lute
And tuich it with your pin trow low."
The lines are introduced into a medley in Constable's MS. Cantus, he adds.

No. 66. the frog cam to the myl dur

Both Dauney (p.53) and Furnivall refer to Pinkerton, Select Ballads, Vol.ii, page 33, who says that "the froggie came to the mill door" was sung on the Edinburgh stage 'shortly prior to 1721'. Dauney also refers to the "Froggies Cagliard" in the Skene MS. Dauney and Furnivall also follow Leyden (page 279) in referring to the ballad, of the wedding of the frog and the mouse, licence for which was entered in the Stationer's Register in 1580. 'Froggie would a'wooning go' sounds like a descendant.

No. 67. the sang of gilquhiskar

No. 68. rycht soirly musing in my mynde


This appears to be the poem 'godlified' in the Cude and Godlie Ballatia (pages 61-52; 165-7; 178-180).

No. 69. god sen the due hed byddin in France and delaunabante
hed naeir cum home

This song must have been a ballad about the murder of Anthony d'Arcy, Seigneur de la Bastie, appointed Warden of the East Marches by Albany in place of Lord Home who had been executed in 1516. De la Bastie, heading for Langton in the Merse, was ambushed at Battie's Bog. Pitscottie relates that 'monsieur tilebatie', or Tillabatie, or Dilabatie, was acting as regent during the Duke of Albany's absence in France. Pitscottie adds (Pitscottie, Historie, I, 300-1): "It was said his hair was long lyke womens and plat in ane heid lace, the quhilk Dawid Home of Wedderburne knitt on his saidill bow," after he had decapitated d'Arcy. A.H.Dunbar (Scot.Kings, 227) dates the incident, 19th or 20th Sept.1517.

No. 70. al musing of meruellis amys hef i cone

Leyden (p.279) quotes a verse like this from Constable's MS Cantus.

No. 71. mastres fayr ze vil forfayr

No. 72. O lusty maye wight flora quene

This reads like the opening lines of the "maying or disport of Chaucer" in the Chepman and Myllar Prints. (See ed. G. Stevenson, Pieces from the Macculloch and the Grey MSS together with the Chepman and Myllar Prints, STS (Edinburgh, 1912), page 181.

Leyden also refers to Forbes 'Aberdeen Cantus', and to the Bannatyne MS. See ed. W. Tod Ritchie, The Bannatyne Manuscript STS (Edinburgh, 1928) Vol.III, page 300. This song has been attributed to Alexander Scott. See W. Geddie, A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets, STS (Edinburgh, 1912), page 318.

No. 73. O myne hart hay this is my sang

A 'godlified' version is found in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis', "All myne hart ay this is my sang," (pages 139-140).

No. 74. the battel of the hayrlau

On Alexander Stewart and the "Red barlaw" see W. Douglas Simpson, The Earldom of Mar (Aberdeen, 1949), pages 42-51. This Battle of the Garloch was fought in 1411. There are a number of ballads.

Gavin Greig published a version in his Folk-Song in Buchan and Folk-Song of the North-East, edd. K.S. Goldstein, A. Argo, (Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1963), pages 62-63, and XI, 1-3. Greig labels Ramsay's version as a purely literary production, a historical poem, 'not at all a ballad in the true sense'. Greig then proceeds to quote the traditional ballad.
"The Battle of Harlaw" exemplifies the martial ballad sung to a vigorous tune in common time with a refrain. The ballad is too long for reproduction here, and besides it is already in print and fairly well known. We give the tune with one verse (not the first) and the refrain.—

Oh cam' ye frae the Highlands, man,
Or cam' ye a the wyd?
Or did ye see Macdonald's men
Come frae the Isle o' Skye?

Wi' a dadium a derry-dee,
A dadium a die.

The version of the tune here given has been communicated by Mr W. Forbes, Newark, Ellon. I have got another version from Mr James Knox, Peterhead, who caught it from the singing of a beggar woman; and I have noted another from a local singer. In Child there is given a version got in the Garioch by Mr W. Walker, Aberdeen. It is noted in 6-8th rhythm, but this is a detail which the musician can discount. These four sets of the air are all pretty much alike. Mr Walker's version is pentatonic, and this is presumably the oldest form. Mr Forbes thinks that the air is the original from which Nath. Gow worked up his "Miller o' Drone," the order of the strains being reversed. Rev. Mr Duncan has noted a version which, both in notes and in the order of the strains, is just Gow's "Miller." The refrain as I have heard it rendered is sung with a strong bagpipe grind.
Folk-Song of the North-East,

By

GAVIN GREIG, New Deer.

XI.

THE BATTLE OF HARLAW.

One cannot visit the Garioch in mistred mood without thinking of Harlaw. The grim battle, fought in 1411, takes us back almost half a millennium to the time and the occasion at once critical and inevitable when Lowlander and Highlander had to battle which of the two was to have political supremacy in Scotland. That incident was of the very highest moment; for it may well be maintained that Highland victory at Harlaw would have affected the subsequent history of Scotland in a more radical way than an English victory at Bannockburn would have done. Mean¬time, however, we are not historians but balladists, and are chiefly concerned with the presentation of the event in popular minstrelsy.

In The Complaint of Scotland (1519) "The Battle of the Harlaw" is mentioned as a song then popular; but it seems to have been lost. In Allan Ramsay's Euphranor (1729) appears a long poem on the battle which has been pretty generally copied into ballad collections. The following is the opening stanza:

Free Daniell as I can throw,
Down by the hill of Bunchorie,
Allagie the lands of Garioch,
Gilt pitee was to her and to.

The hows and Daleums Hermans
That e'er that dreary day did dwae,
Cry and cry on oh, sir
"Ah, Ah! For the Harlaw!"

Some authorities think that the poem had been written by Ramsay himself, while others are prepared to believe that it is genuinely old. For our own part, we do not think that the poem looks like Ramsay's work, and we can quite believe that it is earlier than his day. All this, however, is from our point of view, quite immaterial; for "The Battle of Harlaw" as printed in the Euphranor is purely a literary production—a production, not a ballad as all in the true sense. The true ballad was always sung; and the production in question, we are convinced, was never sung. Its stanza demands a tune of two strains; and the genuine ballad never has, as it never needs, a second strain. The tune given in Johnson's Museums is precisely like the "ballad" itself—just the kind of thing that one never encounters except in print. If the text which we apply were not, as it always is, final, one might point out that the poem, long, circumstantial, and painfully precise—closely following Roger's narrative—could never have been memorized by the ballad singer.

All the time that editors in general were copying this pseudo-ballad into their collections they might any dog have heard in the north a genuine ballad on Harlaw—e.g. one found in the true traditional way. But, like the man who chose to study natural history in a museum, they found it easier to its many books and paper prints than to go out and study the true bird of the field. The museum student is now of little account; yet, as compared with the man in the field, he has the back of a job for whilst he works, he writes findings; we think more wrong as well as always inadequate. The following is the traditional ballad which is still sung in Aberdeenshire:

As I can in by Damblie,
And down by Rotherhie,
There was fifty thou'nf Hielaman
A' marchin' to Harlaw,
Wi' my dirrum du, dirrum du,
Daddle dirrum day.

As I can on and farther on,
And doon and by Baldbie,
Oh there I met Sir James the Rose,
'W' him Sir John the Graeme,
'W' by d'ro.

O cam ye frae the Hielan, man?
Or cam ye a'e the wyes?
Saw ye Macdonell and his men
As they can frae the Skyie?

Yes, man can frae the Hielans, man,
And me cam a'e the wyes;
And she saw Macdonell and his men
As they cam frae the Skyie.

Oh was ye near Macdonell's men?
Did ye their numbers see?
Come tell to me, John Hielaman,
What micht their numbers be.

Yes, man was near and near enough,
And me their numbers saw;
There was fifty thou'nf Hielaman
A' marchin' to Harlaw.

Gin that be true, says James the Rose,
We'll no cause nicley speed;
We'll cry upon our merry men
And turn our horses' head.

Oh no, oh no, says John the Graeme,
That thing micht never be;
The gallant Graemes were never beat,
We'll try what we can do.

As I can on and farther on,
And doon and by Baldbie,
They fell fu' close on Ilka side,
Siccan strakes ye never saw,
They fell fu' close on Ilka side,
Siccan strakes ye never saw.
For Ilka sword grand clash for clash
At the battle of Harlaw.

The Hielamans wi' their lang swords
They held on us frae the side,
And they drive back our merry men
Three times breadth and main.

 bravery friend to his brother did say,
O brother, diana ye see.
They beat us back on Ilka side,
And we were forced to flee.

Oh no, oh no, my brother dear,
That thing micht never be;
Ye'll tak' your sword in your hand,
And ye'll gain the ground for the true

Oh no, oh no, my brother dear,
The close they are ever strait;
And they drive back our merry men
Wi' swords both sharp and long.
Sit down, my weary wounded men,
And rest you, while I
And I'll send on my sword to
To your cost of need.
The servant he did ride wi' speed,  
His horse it didna fail,  
For in two hours and a quarter  
He brought the coat o' mail.  

Then back to back the brethren twa  
Gael in amo' the thrang,  
And they heard done the Hielanmen  
Wi' swords both sharp and lang.  

The first stroke that Forbes struck,  
He gart Macdonell red;  
And the next he struck that Forbes struck,  
The great Macdonell fell.  

And syne siccan a tirschle  
I'm sure ye never saw  
As was an' o' the Hielanmen,  
When they saw Macdonell in.'  

And when they saw that he was dead,  
They turced and ran awa';  
And they buried him in Leggett's Den,  
A lang mile frae Harlaw.  

They ride, they ran, and some did gang,  
They were o' sun' record;  
But Forbes and his merry men  
They slew them a' the rood.  

On Monday, at mornin',  
The battle it began;  
On Saturday, at gleamin',  
Ye'd scarce ken who had won.  

And sic a weary bushe!  
I'm sure ye never saw  
As was the Sunday after that  
On the moine onis' Harlaw.  

Gin anybody spier at you  
For them we took awa';  
Ye may tell them plain and plain eneuch  
They're sleepin' at Harlaw.  

The air to which our ballad is sung has a certain marked individuality, as compared with the average folk-tune. It seems to us to have had an instrumental origin, showing affinities with bagpipe music. The refrain in particular, as traditionally rendered, strongly suggests the characteristic grind of that instrument. It was indeed quite natural that the singer should get on to a tune of this kind when he had in hand a ballad with so much of John Highlandman in it. Stenhouse in his *Museum* prints a pibroch called "Battle of Harlaw" from a folio manuscript of Scotstunes of considerable antiquity. Between this tune and our ballad air we can trace as much affinity as inclines us to believe that both may derive from the same original—some old bagpipe tune. Mr Forbes, Newark, thinks that our Aberdeen air is the original from which Nath Gow worked up his well-known Strathspey "The Miller of Drong", the order of the strains being reversed.

Furnivall also mentions BM Add.MS.10444 fol. 4v. which gives a dance tune.

No. 75. the huintia of cheuat

David C. Fowler, A Literary History of the Popular Ballad (Durham, N.C., 1968), gives the following two references (page 182) to the ballad of this name: D.S. Bland, "The Evolution of 'Chevy Chase' and 'The Battle of Otterburn', Notes and Queries, CXCVI (1951) 160f.; D.C. Fowler, "The Hunting of the Cheviots' and 'The Battle of Otterburn'", Western Folklore XXV (1960) 163-171. See Sargent & Kittredge, page 393: Version A, the Ashmolean MS 48, is as near as we can now get to an 'original' version. Cf. (Lindsay, Works, III, 221).

No. 76. sal i ro vitht zou to rumbelo fayr

Murray (pages lxxxv-lxxxvi) borrowing, without acknowledgement, from D. Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry, ed. J.A. Carlyle (Edinburgh, 1861) page 80, mentions parallel uses of 'rumbylow', in Fabyan, in Skelton and in 'Peblis to the Play'.

No. 77. greuous is my sorrou

Furnivall quotes a version from Sloane MS. 1584, fol. 85, printed by Ritson, Ancient Songs (1790), page 93. See Gude and Godlie Ballatis, p. 151; "Greuous is my sorrow".

No. 78. turne the sueit ville to me

No. 79. My lufe is lyand seik
  send hym ioy, send hym ioy

No. 80. fayr luf lent thou me thy mantil ioy

Leyden (p. 279) quotes what seems to be a parody, including a
refrain with the words "with the mantle jo!". It begins: "Our guidman's away to the Merse..."

No. 81. the persee & the monguurye met


In Version A, stanza 69 appears to refer to the same incident. In Version C, stanza 35 refers to the encounter too. Sir Harry Percy and Sir Hugh Montgomery both emerge as exemplary courteous knights. Song No. 75 appears to refer to another incident in the same campaign.

No. 82. that day that day that gentil day

Furnivall compares this with a song in BM.Add. MS. 5465, folio 108v.: "This day day dawes"; but does not say they are identical. He rejects the idea that this is a further reference to the same song as No. 75 the huntis of cheuet, despite the fact that, as Child, Ballads, vii, 34 note, noticed, there is in that ballad the line (Sargent & Kittredge, page 395, stanza 24) "That day that day that dreadful day"

On Furnivall's "This day day dawes" see J. Stevens, Appendix B, item No. 313. Furnivall also rejects Dauney's decision (p. 45) to run the two lines together, making Nos. 81 and 82 into one ballad opening.

No. 83. my luf is laid upon ane knyght.

No. 84. allace that sawyn sueit face

There is a 'godlified' version in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis'.

No. 85. in ane myrthful morou.

No. 86. my hart is leiuit on the land

On the ballad I have consulted with profit, M.J.C. Hodgart, The Ballads, (London, 1964); and Gordon Hall Gerould, The Ballad of Tradition (New York, repr. 1957), as well as the works quoted in

The Complayner mentions eight instruments:

the drone bagpipe; the pipe maid of ane bleddir and ane reid; ane trump; ane corne pipe; ane pipe maid of ane gait horne; ane recordar; ane riddil; ane quhissill. The bagpipe in the sixteenth century seems to have had two drones (F.W. Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music: Their History and Character (London, 1910), page 178.) The next instrument sounds like the 'goose', or bagpipes with the drones blocked or missing, used by learners (bladderpipe). The trump, identified by Amours (in his note to line 760 of the Howlat) as 'the more dignified trumpet' is more likely to be the Jew's Harp, which as Galpin (p.268) says is the 'Guimbarde' or 'Rebute'. Galpin adds that the Jew's Harp seems to have been involved in witchcraft cases, and is "a Trump without a blast, a Harp without a string." (pages 267-9).


The 'corne pipe' (like the bagpipe and the hornpipe and the stockhorn and the chalumeau) is one of the clarinet family, and is identified...
by Galpin (p. 171) as the 'pibcorn' or 'pibgorn'. (Cf. Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, page 152, illustration to Clarinet family; page 632 'Reed II')
The 'pipe maid of one gait horne' seems to be the stockhorn. See Galpin, p. 172; Apel, Harvard Dict., p. 153, 'Clarinet IV'. (Cf. Grove, IV, 172, V, 141.)
The recorder is also mentioned in the Howlat (line 759) and in Colkelbie's Sow. According to Ohl (in Apel, Harvard Dict.: 'Recorder', p. 631) in the sixteenth century, this was a whole family of instruments, "From treble to bass which played an important part in the music of the late Renaissance."
The 'quhissil' is the simple whistle or flageolet.

The Complayner refers to "base dansia". The Basse danse was "a French dance of the period 1450-1550 in which it plays a prominent role as the ceremonial court dance of the Burgundian culture... Frequently the basse danse is followed by a recoupe and a tordion, thus forming a sort of suite... Around 1525 the chief vogue of the French basse danse was succeeded by that of the Spanish pavane." (Apel, Harvard Dict. Music, pp. 78-9).

The pavane was "executed in slow, solemn movements and with dignified gestures"..."The international adoption of the Spanish pavane as the ceremonial court dance, instead of the earlier (French) basse danse, is a characteristic symptom of the shift in cultural leadership which took place around 1500. The pavane is usually in slow duple meter..." (Apel, Harvard Dict. Music, p. 561)

The galliard was in "moderately quick triple time, with or without upbeat. It was executed with exaggerated leaps... After 1550 the galliard usually appears as an after-dance to the pavane." (Apel, p. 290)

The "turdions" occur in a suite of dances, basse danse-recoupe-ordion according to Apel (p. 79) in P. Attaingnant's publication: Dixhuit basses garnies de recoupe et tordions (1529) which contains nineteen basse danses, despite the title.
The Complayner's "braulis and branglis" both seem to be the same dance. The "braule" or "bransle" was a popular group dance. Musicians refer
us to: ed. C.W. Beaumont, Toinot Arbeau alias Jean Tabourot: 'Orchesographie, 1588' (1925), for 26 species of local varieties of 'branle'. Many of them were "of the 'follow-the-leader' type, similar to the farandole and the cotillon. It was accompanied by singing and apparently included some 'swaying' (French 'branler') movements of the body or of the hands... In England the dance was known under the name 'brangill' or 'brawl' (cf. Shakespeare, 'Love's Labour's Lost', iii. i)." (Apel, 95).

The 'buffons' were dances by costumed dancers or comedians or 'bouffons' "probably similar to those who performed the morisca and the matasin" (Apel, p. 92).

The morisca, or 'Mooresque' dance, occurs as "a dance between two groups representing a sword-fight between Christians and Mohammedans. The latter type was known also as Danse des Bouffons... They have survived particularly in England under the name Morris dance." (Apel, p. 457).

The Matasin, on the other hand, was a costumed dance too, but was a 'Dance of Death', or 'Danse Macabre'. The theme of the Crusades is appropriate to the Complaynt.


The names of the dances

No. 87. Al cristyn mennis dance

Furnivall and Murray omit to mention that there exists in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis what appears to be a 'godlified' version: "Be blyith all Christiā men and sing, / Dance & mak myrth with al your might;..." (ed. A.F. Mitchell, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis STS (Edinburgh, 1897), page 45).

The significance of the reference is that, if it refers to the same musical composition as that in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis (see A.F. Mitchell, GCB, pages xxxix, 46, 218-9), then that might indicate that John Wedderburn translated Luther's hymn ("Nun Freut euch lieben Christen g'mein, und lasst uns fröhlich springen") so long before 1550 that the old dance tune was now referred to by the new name.
No. 88. the north of scotland

No. 89. the hunt is vp


Pottencao mentions how William Gray was on good terms with Henry VIII and with Protector Somerset for making certain "merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was The hunte is vp, the hunte is vp..."

As Claude Simpson cautions (p. 325) this is a general 'reveille' phrase so that it is difficult to identify one specific 'original'.


No. 90. the comount entray

No. 91. lang plat ful of garian

Garian must refer to the Garioch (the "Gery") where the Abbot of Lindores had his summer residence at Hatton of Pintray. It was Lindores northern granary. It is in this area too that the Battle of Harlaw (no. 74) took place. The founder of St. Mary's Dundee, where Robert Wedderburn was Vicar, was David Lord of Garioch.

No. 92. robene liude

This dance of 'robene liude' and tale No. 30 of 'robene liude and
The next inversion of the seven-note scale brings us to the very rare Lydian Mode, of which Cecil Sharp said he never found it in English folk-song (English Folk-song, Some Conclusions, page 54. Novello, 1907). Its characteristic is the interval of the augmented fourth in an otherwise major scale:

```
Lydian Mode
fa sol la te doh'ray'mi' fa'
```

There does exist in both Lowland Scots and Gaelic melody, though the writer has so far found but two examples of it, one in the waulking-song-type of tune of 'Smi'm shuidh air creagan a' Chuiil and one in a tune for the ballad of Tam Lane, both from the School of Scottish Studies collections:

```
THE NATIVE IDIOM

TAM LANE
(Sung by Bessie Johnstone, Glasgow) Recorded by Hamish Henderson

As she kilt-ed up her pet-ti-coats, it's
up to them she ran; and when she came to those
mer-ry green woods she pu'd those branch-es

down my dear, she pu'd those branch-es down.

Scale
```
fa sol la te doh'ray'mi' fa'
```

```
4 5 6 7 1 2 3 (4)
```
Occasionally a downward grace-note may leap from a wide interval above the principal note. Here is an extract from the ‘diddling’ of the tune of a ballad, of which he had forgotten the words, by an Aberdeenshire tinker, and which he attested as being the tune of ‘Sir Hugh of Lincoln’ or ‘The Jew’s Daughter’. Here one of the grace-notes leaps from the unusual height of a whole octave and a fourth, i.e. an eleventh, above the principal note:

**Air of SIR HUGH OF LINCOLN or THE JEWS DAUGHTER**

Singer: Willie Whyte, Aberdeenshire

Recorded by Hamish Henderson

Transcribed F.C.

![Musical notation]

These widely-spaced falling grace-notes, though seldom of as large an interval as this, are characteristic of a number of Lowland and Scottish Gaelic singers. They probably derive from the bagpipe, of which both the style and the music have a widely-pervading influence on much Scottish traditional music.

The tune in part quoted above is identical with one which the same singer sang to the ballad of Tamlane. John Leyden, in his introduction, written in 1807, to his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotland*, notes that ‘The air of Tamlane is extremely similar to that of “The Jew’s Daughter.”’ This similarity, here confirmed in the singing of this Aberdeenshire tinker has apparently never been found by other collectors until now. For the Tamlane version see page 16.
litil ihone' both show that Robin Hood's nationality was not held against him. Anna Joan Hill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927) remarks (page 22) "whether the dance of 'Robene hude' in the Complaynt of Scotland is a genuine carole, and supplies the missing link between folk play and ballad minstrelsy" is a question which cannot be answered.

David C. Fowler, *A Literary History of the Popular Ballad* (Durham, N.C., 1968) page 12, says "it might even be argued that the interesting narrative symmetry of some of the rhymes of Robin Hood are attributable not to oral composition but to the shaping effect of a musical setting. This is indeed a possibility but for the present I still think that most of the early Robin Hood pieces give no indication that they were ever sung." In a footnote to this Fowler notes the dance in the Complaynt and also 'Robene hude and litil ihone' among the tales, "which are for the most part romances and definitely not 'songs'..." Fowler believes F.K. Chambers' argument (F. K. Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1945), 122-124) that the early Robin Hood narratives were recited; despite such expressions, as those found in Walter Bower, "speaking of the currency of exploits of Robin Hood and Little John in 'romancis, mimos, et bardance', uses the words cantitare delectantur as well as oritnantur." (Fowler, p.56);

Similarly Fowler (p.57 fn.5) quotes Major History, where the Latin version (1521, as quoted by Child, 1582, III, 41) reports that the deeds of Robin Hood are known all over England "incantibus". Fowler could have added Furnivall's example from Coggrave of a *Chanson de Robin*. See Furnivall, Robert Innes' Letter (London, 1907), pages li-liv. See G. Stevenson, *McKulich and Gray* E33 STS (Edinburgh, 1918), pages 257-290; the "gest of Robyn Hode" in the *Chaman and Kyllar Prints*. See Sargent & Kittredge, pages 254-358.

No. 93. *Thom of Lyn.*

See note to tale No. 32.
Complaynt of Scotland; and the air, to which it was chaunted, seems to have been accommodated to a particular dance; for the dance of Thom of Lynn, another variation of Thomalin, likewise occurs in the same performance." Scott thus seems to be of a different opinion from E.K. Chambers and D.C. Fowler, quoted above (No. 92).

For the reference in Wager's interlude see A. Brandi, "Wager: 'The Longer thou livest, the more fool thou art'" Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, XXXVI (Berlin, 1900), 1-64, page 9. See Child, ESPB, I, 340; III, 505; Sargent & Kittredge, pages 66-69.

No. 94. Freris al.

No. 95. Enyrnes (= Inverness)

No. 96. The loch of alene

Furnivall adds (= Slyne).

No. 97. The goseps dance

No. 98. Ieuis grene

See No. 51.

No. 99. Makky

No. 100. The Sneyde

No. 101. The flail

No. 102. The laumes wynde

No. 103. Soutra

No. 104. Cum kyttil (tickle) me navkyt vantoynly

No. 105. Schayke lay fut befor goasep

No. 106. Rank at the rute
No. 107. Baglap and al.

No. 108. Ihonne armistrangis dance

Pitscottie, Historie, I, 335 tells how Johnnie Armstrong and accomplices were hanged, and he adds "of the quhilx that was werie mony sorrowfull bath in Ingland and Scottland". See ed. T. Henderson, Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (London, 1931) pages 151-2.

See Sargent & Kittredge, pages 413-418: See Dunbar, Scot. Kings, p. 231: "Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, a border chief, and about fifty of his followers - Armstrongs, Elliot, Littills, Irwens, etc. - were arrested by order of the king and tried: Armstrong and those who were convicted of theft were hanged." See folio 133r. (1529 or 1530).

No. 109. the alman haye

This has nothing to do with 'winding hay' originally, despite one commentator's suggestion. The title means the 'German hedge', possibly referring to the two lines of dancers. The figure of the 'haye' sounds like the "chain" or "figure-of-eight".

No. 110. the bace of voragon

See note on 'baase danse'.

No. 111. danceir

No. 112. the baye

No. 113. the dede dance

Furnivall refers to Chappell, Popular Music, i, 85.; "The Doleful Dance and Song of Death", which he identifies with "The Shaking of the Sheet". See note on 'buffons' earlier; this could be a 'Matasin'.

No. 114. the dance of kylryrne
No. 115. The vod and the val

No. 116. Schaik a trot.

By listing the unidentified dances as well, perhaps we can persuade music researchers to look again at this list.

fol. 53r.

The list of "holsum flouris, gyrsis and eirbis" does not appear to have been taken directly from any one single work among the more obvious sources, antique, medieval or contemporary. The idea of including a catalogue of herbal remedies may have been suggested by Pliny's Natural History, which the Complayner uses for his references to "mithridate" (fol. 64r) as well as for folios 39r-49v as we have seen.

Robert Wedderburn in Torphichen could have had access to some dispensary notebook, and to the Hospitallers' herb-garden.

By the mid-sixteenth century printed herbals were popular. Peter Schöffler's Herbarius (Mainz, 1484), which was a compilation based on Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides and Pliny, appeared in France as Le Grand Herbier (1522) and this was the basis for the Grete Herball (1526) printed by Peter Treveris one year after the appearance of Bancke's Herball (1525), which was probably the first English printed herbal. Other seminal works were: Otto Brunfels' Herbarium (Straasburg, 1530-6); Leonhard Fuchs' Historia Stirpium (Basel, 1542); Hieronymus Bock, Kreutter Buch (1539); as Karl Eugen Heilmann mentions in his Kräuterbücher in Bild und Geschichte (Munich-Allau, 1956).

The medicinal use of plants had of course been studied throughout the centuries. Heilmann mentions Wahlfried Strabo, Bartholomeus Anglicus, Arnoldus de Villanova (Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatum) Platearius (Circa Instans), Albertus Magnus. On earlier material, see edd. T.O.Cockayne, G.Singer, Leachdom, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England, repr. 3 vols. (London, 1961); Margaret B.Freeman, Herbs for the Medieval Household for Cooking, Healing and divers Uses (New York, 1943); Wilfred Bonser, The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England (London, 1961), Ch. 23, pp. 306-310; ed. M.S.Ogden,
As the introduction to the early printed herbals show (see A. Arber, p. 43, 145) the medical virtues of plants were linked with the celestial constellations; and pharmacy was a branch of astrology.

Theories about 'correspondences' and links with the theories about the four elements and the four humours were also involved.

As well as curative medicinal plant prescriptions there were preventative plant regimens with rules for health and diet: see ed. P.J. Furnivall, Early English Meals and Manners EETS OS 32 (London, 1858); in the Moray Muniments there is a copy of "Rules of Health" from ca 1580-90 (DOST transcription), which has six short sections: 1. air; 2. 'affections' of the mind; 3. watching and sleep; 4. labour and rest; 5. "inamition" and repulsion; 6. meat and drink; It quotes Galen; see ed. P.J. Furnivall, Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547; Dyetary of Health, 1542; Barnes in Defence of the Berde, 1542-3, EETS ES 10 (London, 1870); see ed. G. Stevenson, Pieces from the Macculloch MS and the Gray MSS together with the Chapman and Myllar Printa STS (Edinburgh, 1918), pages 32-34, item xiv, "For hail of body keep fra cald thi heid", see also note, page 296, referring to Lydgate. Dietaries are in turn often linked by association of ideas with notions of good housekeeping and husbandry, see e.g. W.W. Skeat, Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry, 1534 (London, 1882) which for example rejects (pages 102-3) too "delicious" meat and drink, though rather on economic and moral grounds than for health reasons. This in turn connects with the abundant literature on rules of behaviour, 'Mirrors for Princes' and 'anti-Courtier' literature, deploring the unhealthy life of the towns and of the court, and praising country life.

1) barba aaron "for emoroydes of the fundament":
Almost certainly Annu laculatum, as this is the only British species of Annu and the only one common in Northern France.

2) virmet "for ane febil stomac";
This refers to Artemisia Basinthium or wormwood: v. Turner: 'Absinthium'.

3) sourakkis "for the blae gulset"
Sourocks, sourkocke, wood-dock, sorrel, is Rumex Acetosa: v. Turner: 'Rumex'. 'Blae gulset' seems to be 'black bile'.

4) grene seggis "to prouoke the flouris of yemen":
One of the genus Carex (or Iris pseudacorus, or Iris foetidissima): v. Turner: 'Carex'.

5) vattir lillé "contrar romoria"
Seems to be Nymphaea (or Nuphar, or Iris pseudacorus)

6) tansay "to purge the heiris";

7) ennetacisida "that consumis the ventositeis of the stomac":
Probably Pimpinella anisum, anise-seed: v. Turner: 'Anisum'.

8) muruart "for the suffocatione of ane vosans bayrnis hed";
Probably Artemisia (vulgaris), mugwort: v. Turner: 'Artemisia'.
Turner links with tansay.

9) voyton "decoctione... for ane sair hede"
Murray glosses "whitten".

10) betis "contrar constipatione";
Probably Beta maritima (or Polygonum bistorta): v. Turner: 'Bistorta'.
Turner says it is not mentioned by any ancient writer; but see Pliny, NH, XX,xxvii.

11) borage "to confort the hart";
Borago officinalia
12) *camawyne* "for ane scabbit moutht":  
Anthemis (nobilis,) camomile (which I am told, botanists spell 'chamomile', which is interesting in view of the etymology; see *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology,*).

13) hemp "cosaulis the flux of the sparme":  
Cannabis sativa

14) madyn hayr "sirop" against "infectione of the melt":  
Maidenhair Fern is Adiantum Capillus-Veneris: (Bancke refers to Capillus Veneris, cf. A. Arber, p. 41); v. Turner: 'Galion'.

15) 

16) cipresses "for fluxis of the bellye":  
Cupressus sempervirens (or Tamarix gallica, or Cyperus longus ?)

17) corriandir "for ane ald hote":  
Coriandrum sativum

18) finkil against "viris of the bellye":  
Foeniculum Vulgare. Bancke's recommendation for worms is 'wormwood': Fennel is an aphrodisiac, according to *Henry IV. Part II,* II, iv; a symbol of flattery according to *Hamlet,* IV.v.; the food of serpents, and good for clearing the sight, according to others, as Brewer reports. v. Turner's: 'Feniculum'.

19) *fumeterre* "that tempris ane hayt lyuyr":  
Pliny's "capnos trunca, quae pedes gallinacei" or "dwarfed smoke" the latin 'chicken feet' (fumitory). It was supposed to grow without seed from vapours rising from the earth: possibly because of the smell of nitric acid fumes given off by the root: another explanation of the name is the white blue smoke colour of the plant.
20) brume "to vomc ald feume";
Possibly Sarothrnum scoparius (or Genista, which is unlikely, as it is less common); v. Turner: 'Genista'.

21) raschis "to sleip";
A species of Juncus

22) ysone "to purve conserl flattume of the lychtis";

fol. 54v. Vision

"On the Vision-type see Langlois, Origins et Sources du Roman de la Rose, pp. 56, 57; Triggs, edition of Lydgate's Assembly of Gods, pp. 1v f.; and Schick's introduction to The Temple of Glas, cxviiiff. On the season-motif, see Triggs, Assembly of Gods, liii. On the dating of visions and other poems, see C.G.Osgood's Introduction to Pearl, p.xvi (Boston, 1906). For visions opening with the season-motif, the walk, and the sleep: The Vision of Piers Plowman; The Parliament of the Thre Aces; Winterc and Wastour; Death and Life in the Percy Folio MS; Douglas's Prologue to the "13th" book of the Aeneid; Dunbar's Golden Targe; Henrys on's Prologue to his Moral Fables... For visions without the walk and the outdoor description, though often with mention of the season: Lydgate's Assembly of Gods and Temple of Glas; Dunbar's Dance of the Sevin Deedly Syrnis; Amendis to the Talyouris and Sowtaris and the Penyeit Preix of Tungland; The Romaunt of the Rose and The Boke of the Dukeasse (in which the May morning description appears in the dream); The Parliament of Fowles; The Hous of Fame; Adam Davy's Visions; Boethius, for ladies of one sort or another in visions: Boethius, Pearl, Death and Life, etc..." (Josephine M.Burnham, "Study of Thomas of Broedoun", PMLA 23 (1908) pages 375-420; this footnote page 385).

folios 54v-58v. Dame Scotia

Chartier's description inspired one artist to produce a fine

This section, folios 55v-58v, is taken from Chartier (page 7 line 4 to page 12, line 33). See appendix for parallels. The Complayner's contribution is the addition of parallel marginal quotations from Cicero to reinforce the patriotic appeal. See introduction, on Cicero, and on patriotism.

fol. 56v, 57r. *Nihil est tam mirabile quum ex beato (effeci) miser. Cic. part. ora.*


*Cari sunt liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est (complectitur) pro sua cuia (nemo) bonus dubitet (dubitabit) mortem oppetere si ei sit profuturus.* The Complayner had omitted Cicero's reference 'Cari sunt parentes', and has turned a rhetorical question into a clear statement: We love our children, we love our relatives and our friends, but the love of our native land embraces all these affections: for his country therefore no good patriot will refuse to endure death, if by so doing he can confer any benefit on it. Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.57.; ed. C. Alzert, Teubner (Leipzig, 1923), p. 28.

fol. 57v. *Viam necque parenti necque patre offere seportat. Cic. lenticula*

This comes from Cicero: *Epist. ad Familiares; Epistula ad Lentulum*, I, ix, 18 ed. L.C. Purser (Oxford, 1901)

See folio IIIv. Cicero Tusculane Disp. 5.79; the second last word is now read 'ictus'; as usual the Complayner is shortening the sentence and quoting 'ad sensum'.

fol. 59. assurit


fol. 59v. Ecce non est abbreviata manus domini, ut saluare nequiat

Isaiah. 59.1.

"Following a general statement (Murray, 75, 14-24), which echoes ideas in both Le Quadrilogue and L'Esoerance, The Complaynt has the example of Mattathias and his sons used in both of Chartier's works."

Dr. M. S. Blayney points this out (MS D.Phil.d.3719, Bodleian (1956) p.cxxxiii.) See appendix on Chartier. The Complayner has only had to collect the usual parallels quoted in the Vulgate to adorn his margin in folios 59r/v, 60r/v.

See M. S. Blayney, G. H. Blayney, "Alain Chartier and the Complaynte of Scotland", R.E.S.IX, 33 (1958), pp. 15, 16: "It is odd also to find that even when he undoubtedly could have written his own account, he has not been able to refrain from translating loosely some of Chartier's applications of a story, as in this adaptation of the narrative of Mattathias and his sons... Immediately after this passage comes the example of Gideon, this time taken directly from the French..." See appendix on Chartier, and introduction on the Complayner's methods.
See ed. S.A. Naber, Flavius Josephus: Antiquitates Judicae (Leipzig, 1888-96), pages 122-127. Chartier and the Bible are probably also in the Complayner's mind.

The marginal references are those listed in footnotes to good editions of the Vulgate as obvious parallels: Genesis 22.2 referring to Abraham and Isaac; Genesis 41.40 referring to Pharaoh's dream and Joseph's foodstores; the Complayner inserts Genesis 4, a reference to Cain and Abel, (and omits reference to Num. 25.11, or Eccles. 45.28-30.); Jos. 1.2. is next; he (omits reference to Caleb and) goes on with 2 Sam. 2.4. which is the same as David II. Reg. 2.4; (he omits Elias. 4. Reg. 2.11) Dan. 3.50 and Dan. 6.22. end the list.

This is paralleled in Chartier's Esperance. See appendix: Blayney, I, 134/16-134/18.

This is probably from Chartier. See appendix: Blayney, I, 135/15-135/24.

The examples may also be taken from Chartier's Esperance. See Blayney, RSS IX (1958), pp. 16-7. The stories of Darius, Xerxes, Bruce, are not translated directly, but those of Semiramis, Hercules, Mithridates, Philip, Alexander, and the later reference to Xerxes and Cyrus and Hannibal are perhaps "to a great extent directly translated, with the usual expansions and omissions."

Reference to Bruce's flight to Norway after losing thirteen
battles alludes to the mystery of where Bruce spent the winter of 1306/1307. This is discussed by G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce* (London, 1965), pages 237-238. Wedderburn was in Norway at Ripperwick. See introduction.

The reference to God punishing such tyrants and overreachers as Semiramis, Hercules, Xerxes and Cyrus, whatever the Complayner's source, is a reiteration of his theme of the 'scourge' (See introduction); and the explicit parallel is drawn between tyrants of Classical Antiquity and Somerset the Protector.

The problem of tyrants was discussed by Cicero (*De Officiis*, II,7;III,6); by Seneca (*De Clementia*, I.xi.); Dio Cassius (*Orationes*, VI,IXII); and by Plutarch incidentally in his *Moralia*. See for example too Plutarch's Life of Publicola, who gave his name to the Valerian Law which made it lawful to kill a man who should seek supreme power.


The Complayner would share John of Salisbury's view and apply it to England, when as Liebeschütz says (page 51), "he speaks of a commonwealth of the impious symbolized by a body whose head is a tyrant and whose limbs are his helpmates down to the feet which represent the evildoers in the humble walks of life. The soul of this body politic of sin is formed by sacrilegious heretics and schismatic priests."

This is exactly the situation in England with the Protector a
cruel 'Phalaris', and his followers the 'incredule seid', the 'auld' enemies, heretics and schismatics.

The image links the idea of 'scourges' and 'ministers' with the idea of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, and the concept of 'translatio imperii' (see introduction), and the whole view of history.

The morality of tyrannicide was debated in the sixteenth century, as it still is. Erasmus, John Knox and George Buchanan were only three. See W.A. Gatherer, The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart (Edinburgh, 1958). W.A. Armstrong discusses "The Doctrine of the Tyrant in the Renaissance" (in Renaissance Drama), in R.E.S. 22 (1945) 161-184.

Catalogues of tyrants were common. See, for example, John Skelton's "Ware the Hawk" (ed. Philip Henderson, The Complete Poems of John Skelton, Laureate 4th ed (London, 1964), page 106). Skelton includes Diocletian, Domitian, Phalaris ('rehearsed in Valery' i.e. in Valerius Maximus), Sardanapalus, Nero, etc.


fol. 64r. India and Judea

These two are confused for example in Othello, V.2, in Othello's final speech. German commentators, such as Dähnzer gave elaborate explanations, and 'Indean' and 'Judean' were interchanged to suit.

fol. 64r. The queen Semeramis

The Complayner, according to Blayney, borrowed this example from Chartier's Esperance (Blayney, I, 138/26 to 140/17. See appendix on Chartier.

fol. 64r. Regimen of Mithridates

The prescription is from Pliny, Natural History, XXIII, 8(77) (Loeb, VII, xx-xxiii): In Sanctuariis Mithridatis maximi regis, devicti Cn. Pompeius inventit in peculiari commentario ipsius manu
compositionem antidoti e II nucibus siccis, item ficiis totidem et
ruteae foliis xx simul tritis, addito salis grano; ei, qui hoc
iein unus sumat, nullum venenum nociturum illo die."
This anecdote about Mithridates VII the Great, King of Pontus
(120 B.C-63 B.C), is mentioned by Gilbert Watson, Theriac and
Mithridatium: A Study in Therapeutics (London, 1966), pages 34-35:
"Among the booty found by Pompey in the royal palace was, according
to him, a notebook in which, written in the King's hand, was a
prescription for an antidote to poison. It consisted of two dried
walnuts, two figs, and twenty leaves of rue, to be pounded together
and a pinch of salt added." Watson does not mention the Complaynt,
nor Pliny, for that matter.

Juvenal at the end of his Satire on Woman’s treachery mentions
the story (Juvenal, Sat.6, 660-1). Housman also uses the image.
In the sixty-second poem of A Shropshire Lad, Housman recommends his
readers to digest the bitter poems in order to immunize themselves
against the bitterness of life, as did King Mithridates. Cf. Dorothy
Sayers, Strong Poison. (I am indebted to Professor MacQueen for this
reference).

The confection mithridate in the form of an electuary, that is,
as a paste of ingredients with honey or syrup, was regarded as an
antidote against poison and infectious diseases.

Occasionally the plant rue is used in English for its symbolic
value. In Richard II, III. iv the plant is a symbol of repentance. It
is sometimes called the plant of grace, as in the lines in Richard II,
"Here did she fall a tear; here in this place,
I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace;
Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,
In remembrance of a weeping queen."

fol. 64v

The reference to Tomyris echoes folio 2v.
The Complayner’s source is not the Bible here, but as the marginal
reference indicates, one of the more picturesque accounts such as
that by the second-century historian Justin in his Historiarum
Philippicarum Libri XLIV abbreviated from the lost Greek Historiae
Philippicae of the early first century Augustan historian Pompeius.
Trogus. Justin's account of Tomyris is in Book I, chapters 4-8:
"Caput Cyri amputatum, in utrem humane sanguine repletum confici regina iubet, cum hac exprobatione crudelitatis: Satia te, inquit, sanguine quem sitiisti cujusque insatiabiles semper fuisti." This story was a great favourite. Lyndsay too tells the story in the Monarche, lines 3624-3639 (Lindsay, Works, I,307): Experience says of Cyrus:

"Bot, after his grete conquessyng
   Rycht miserablyll wes his endyng.
As Herodotus doith discryfe
In Scythia he lost his lyfe,
   Quhare the vndantit Scethianis
Vincuste those nobyll Persianis.
And, after that Cerus wes dede,
   Quene Tomyre hakkit of his hede,
   Quhilik wes the quhene of Scethianis,
In the dispyte of Persianis.
Sohe kesp his heid, for to conclude,
   In tyll ane vesell full of blude,
   And said thir wourdis, creuellys:
   Drynk now thy fyll, gyf thou be drye,
   For thou did aye blude shedding, thrysfcc.
How drynic at lasser, gyf thou lyste."

As Leyden mentions (page 41), the same example is also mentioned in Iynne's translation of Carion (fol. 35), and Tomyris "cast his hede into a pottful of mens blode and sayde, wyth hygh reproch, Satiate the selfe now myth blude, wherwyth thou neuer coulst be fyllt."

Boccaccio tells the story in his De Claris Mulieribus. See Gustav Schleich, Mittelenglische Umdichtung von Boccaccios De claribus mulieribus (Leipzig, 1924) pages 77-81; the phrase in Latin is "in utrem", the corresponding phrase in the Middle-English version (BM Add. MS.10334, fol. 2-45) at line 1616 is "Put the hedd into a grete botell, Full of blode, that shede was in batell..."

Herodotus, quoted by Lindsay, actually uses a waterskin (Herodotus, I, 205 f.). Cf. G.A.Guarino, Boccaccio: Concerning Famous Women (London, 1964), pages 104-6. Guarini translates Boccaccio showing Thamyris having the head placed in a leather bottle filled with the blood of her men.
Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas or Agrigentum in Sicily, 570-554 B.C., perished in a mob riot. He is noted for the brazen bull which he tried out first on its inventor Perillus.

Adam Abell tells the story in "The Roit or Quheill of Tyme", folio 10b, "The tirae of Anion...Phalayr in agrigentin excersit tyrannadge innocentis crewe. Hie he put to deid. In this meyntyme there wes a pottair or ane tynclar. He was callit pirill. He desirit frendschip of the tirran. He maid ane buyll of bras with entres in the side at thai that war condampnit to deid mycht entir thare and quhen thai war in, fire was put ondir sa men and wemen rostit inwith thai cryit with woce of buyll apperandlie and nocht of men. This instrument he gaif to the tiran phaleir for punism of men This tirand considerand the entent and crewelnes of pirill he gart put him in first to preif his prettik with fire ondir him and sa miserable he deit and fell in his awin fous at he maid. Incidit in fouesam quam facit."

Dionysius the Elder the Tyrant of Syracuse (c.432BC-367BC) was a 'strategos autokrator'. See folio 105v which is taken from Valerius Maximus.6.2, and tells the story of Dionysius and the old woman of Syracuse who prayed for him. Nero, Emperor, AD. 54-68. (Lactantius deals with his downfall.) Caligula, Emperor, AD. 37-41, nicknamed thus because of his footwear according to Seneca (De Constantia, XVIII,4-5; Loeb Seneca, Vol.I,p.101). Caligula is supposed to have had a horse Incitatus, which had an ivory manger, and drank wine out of a golden pail, and was made a priest and consul. Domitian, Emperor, AD. 81-95. M.Cary in his History of Rome (London, 1949), p.766 says: "the evidence of martyrdoms at Rome under Domitian is of the slightest."

The Complayner's reference to Boccaccio (c.1313-1375) are restricted to his Latin works of an erudite compilatory nature, such as De casibus virorum illustrius; De claris mulieribus; De genealogiis deorum gentillium.
Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium was expanded by Laurent de Premierfait as Deu Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes and this was translated by Lydgate as The Fall of Princes (Pynson, 1494). Thus the Complayner may be referring to the original version, the French or the English version. The Complayner where he mentions an authority appears to be doing so only as additional confirmation of information from some other source. See introduction on method.


fol. 64v. senecue in his trapedes...the tragedies of lucius senecue

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the Latin Stoic philosopher (c. 4 B.C.-65 A.D.) wrote nine tragedies: Hercules Furens; Troades; Phoenissae (or Thesbaia); Medea; Phaedra (or Hippolytus); Oedipus; Aramanzon; Thyestes; Hercules Corcanus. Inferior MSS add Octavia, which is probably not by Seneca; See J.W. & A.M. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (London, 1954), page 199. On Seneca's influence, see e.g. C. Higgin, The Classical Tradition, (Oxford, 1967), espec. 131-3, 617-8. See fol. 102v.

fol. 65r. Merlin

See introduction, on propaganda and prophecies. See note to tale No. 7, in folio 50v f.

The significance of the mention of Merlin here is that historians employed Merlin and his prophecies to bolster claims of overlordship, and used his prophecies as weapons in psychological warfare. John Major (History, 72-7) devotes a chapter to Merlin and also mentions his prophecies, (pages 224, 254) but adds (p. 254): "I confess that I lay no great store by his misty dicta, for they are no more than mist in the clouds of the air." Obviously people did believe the prophecies however, as they were adduced as arguments in propaganda tracts (see introduction) as well as in chronicles.

The Complayner is referring, here, as we have seen in the introduction, to such documents as Somerset's Epistle, Somerset's Proclamation, Bodrugan's Epitome, John Eldar Clarke's Proposal,
Patten's Diary, Henryson's Exhortacion and The Godly and Golden Book (CSP, I, 140-5).

The tracts stressed, as their titles show, the 'just' causes for the Rough Wooing; the advantages of Union (justice and reformed religion); the King of England's entitlement to sovereignty over Scotland; the consequences of not accepting "assurance" (see note to fol. 59). Marcus Merriman, in "The Struggle for the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots - English and French intervention in Scotland, 1543-1550," of which he kindly showed me a chapter in draft, discusses in chapter 8 this battle of the tracts. His views in no way alter those already mentioned in my introduction. He perhaps underrates Merlin.

fol. 65r margin

This quotation from De Civitate Dei Bk. I, ch. I means "and hereupon the towns that have been planted and peopled by other greater cities (as one hive of bees produces divers) are called colonies..." (See Everyman edition, p. 274). The Complayner is refuting the English description of Scotland as a colony, by defining a colony.

fol. 66r - 67r, The misinterpretation of oracles

I think the Complayner found reference to Ferrand and Croesus together in Guillaume Le Breton then went back and expanded the example of Croesus and prefixed the example of Caiaphas, and interpolated the reference to Pyrrhus. He then as usual added his margin references as added authority. (This is only my feeling about his method, and not vital to the result.)

This digression about doubtful replies reveals the current interest in divination and prodigies, prognostications, prophecies, etc..

fol. 66r.

Croesus last King of Lydia, reigned 560-546 B.C. He expanded the Lydian Empire as far East as the river Halys. The answer Croesus received when he consulted the oracle at Delphos was "Cresus perdet almi transgressa maxima regna" according to the Complayner. Cicero
in his Div. 2. 115 quotes this as "Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim". Chalcidius in his commentary to Plato's Timaeus 167 has "Perdet Croesus Halyn transgressus maxima regna". (Dr. E. Gebhardt supplied this reference). The original form seems to have been Herodotus' (I, 53, 91) quoted by Aristotle in his Rhetoric (III, 5.4-5) as a classical example of ambiguity (see ed. J.H. Freese, Aristotle: The Art of Rhetoric Loeb (London, 1959) pages 372-373. It looks as if the Complayner is quoting from memory, "correcting" the form 'Alira' (in Guillaume le Breton) into the genitive form 'Almi', not realising that 'Alim' represents 'Halyn'. The alteration may have been by the printer.

fol. 66v. dico te Pirre romanoa vincere posse

This is another classic example. Brewer quotes a number of such oracular ambiguous replies. "Aio te, Aeacide, Romanos vincere posse," is the usual form.

fol. 67r. Ferrand, Earl of Flanders

See note to tale No. 4. (fol. 50v f.). The oracular reply refers to the Battle of Bouvines, 27th July, 1214. Against Philippe Auguste of France was an army with Renaud, Count of Boulogne, on the right wing, the forces of Otto IV in the middle, and King John Lackland's troops headed by William of Salisbury, and Ferrand of Flanders, on the left wing. Otto fled, and Renaud, William of Salisbury and Ferrand were captured, and led in chains (enferre) to Paris. This tale is told by Barbour in the Bruce as we have said. The "source", noted by R.L.G. Ritchie (The Book of Alexander STS (Edinburgh, 1925), Vol.I, page clxx) is Guillaume le Breton's 'Historia Sancti Dionysi': "Sicut etiam fame loquacitate cognovimus, ipsa vetula comitissa Flandriae, Hispana genera, matertera ipsius Perrandi, filia regis Portugalensis... prestigiis et sortilegiis eventus belli scire desiderans, ab angelis qui hujusmodi modi artibus presunt, secundum morem Hispanorum tale meruerat habuisse responsum: 'Pugnabitur, et in ipsa pugna rex prosternetur in terram, et equorum pedibus conculcebitur, et carebit sepultura. Ferrandus post victorian cum maxima pomp a Parilianiis recipietur.' Hec omnia recte intelligenter posuunt interpretari in verum. Consuetudo enim
demonis est semper talibus qui sum colunt amphibologice loqui, eorum desideria palliata veritate involvens, ut suos semper culores decipiat, et ut ipsi de se bona semper credant dici que Deus ad eorum confusiones, et aliorum honorabrum fieri disponit. Unde illud:

Cresus perdet Alim transgressus maxima regna,
Et Juvenalis:

Et semel ambiguus deceptus Apolline Cresus... omnes ad vitas catervatim ruentes... et casu mirabili duo equi ejus coloris qui hoc nomen equis imponit, ipsum in lectica vehebat."

I first noted this in G.W. Coopland, Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of his 'Livre de Divinations' (Liverpool, 1952), page 200, fn.148. The context of 'Divination' and the dabbling in the occult (against the advice of Deuteronomy 18) and in particular the reviving of corpses by Necromancy, and black magic, all were the dangers inherent in attempts by the uninitiated to raise spirits with which they could not cope; and the Complayner is using this psychological trick to discredit Merlin's prophecies by linking belief in them with the idea of meddling with malicious elemental spirits. Cicero De Divinatione II.56 also warns against oracles. Coopland (page 95) quotes Oresme's comment..."Tully in the De Divinatione says, 'Apollo thy responses are sometimes true, sometimes false, according to chance, in part doubtful and obscure, so much so that the expositor has need of another expositor.'"

fol. 67v beuk callit polichornicon


fol. 68r. Hengist and Horsa

They also appear in Chartier's Quadrilogus Invectif (page 17, line 28 to page 18, line 3; see appendix). Droz suggests that Chartier probably knew some version of the Brut.

John Major refers to Hengist and Horsa, and in the chapter on
Merlin he connects the name Anglia and Engist land (Major History, 70, 72).

Fordun also mentions the pair (Chron. Fordun, II, 89-94). Vortigem's version of the prophecy of the mutation of monarchies is also given. (p. 94).

Bellenden, Chronicles (p. 322 f) and the 'Proheme Apon the Cosmographe', prefixed to the Mar Lodge Translation of Boece (page 15) also mention them.

fol. 68r - fol. 68v.

The Complayner takes up the suggestion by Chartier (ed. Droz, page 18, lines 3 to 5): "C'est la ligne qui debouta et occist son souverain seigneur, roy d'Angleterre, pour usurper tiranniquement sa seigneurie." See appendix on Chartier.

Cf. S.T. Bindoff, Tudor England (Harmondsworth, 1950), page 7. "By 1485 Englishmen had grown wearily accustomed to a polity in which rival factions contended for the crown and 'he who lost the day lost the kingdom also'. The middle-aged could remember its happening three times before. In 1461 Henry VI had lost the kingdom at Towton to the Earl of March who then became Edward IV. In 1470 Edward lost it to his own former henchman Warwick, the 'Kingmaker' who restored the puppet Henry VI. Eight months later Warwick and Henry VI were beaten by the returning Edward who succeeded in keeping the throne until his death in 1483. And now Richard III, who had murdered, instead of fighting his way to the throne had lost thrones and life to Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses we call them..."

folios 70v, 71r/v

These folios warn against the evils which ruin Scotland:
(discord, dissension, civil wars, injustice, division; dissension, discord, hatred; hatred, division, avaricious living; dissension; dissension, sedition; avaricious living, hatred, envy;): thus by repetition, the Complayner stresses the main vices dividing the country instead of uniting it for its common weal.

fol. 70v of this sort the kynge of england playd vitht haystht the handis
B.J. Whiting, *Med. Studies XI* (1949), p.184, considers this to have the quality of a proverb. He refers to Pitcscottie, II, 237, 19-21; II, 275, 5-6, for parallel usage.

fol. 72r

See folio 8ar for more extensive remarks on the character of the English, and their "subtilite".

fol. 72v

The comparison of the Jews and Scots and the reference to David and Judas Maccabees (two of the Nine Nobles) was a common comparison. See folio 3v, 60r, etc. See A.A.M.Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath* (London, 1970), page 35: "like another Maccabeus or Joshua".

fol. 73v. the bernis of ayre

See also folio 81v. The Complayner stresses this "incident", mentioning it in folios 73v, 74r, 75v (twice) and folio 81v. Leyden (page 187-9) says this episode "rests on the authority of Henry the Minstrel, and the relations of Blair... and is supposed to have been mentioned in the chapters of the XI. book of the Scotichronicon missing in the Scottish MSS." See M.P.McDiarmid, *Hary's Wallace STS* (Edinburgh, 1968), Vol.I, page 7, lines 175-177:

"Hangitt barrowmys, and wrocht full mekill cayr.  
It was weylle dkawyn, in the bernys of Ayr,  
Xvii score putt to that dispitfull dede!"


The incident appears to be an invention of Hary the historical novelist, based on the suggestion in Barbour's *Bruce*, Bk.IV, lines 35-38:

"Thus gate endyt his worthynes  
Off Crauford als Schyr Ranald wes  
And Schir Brys als the blar,  
Hangyt in-till A berne in ar."

Major, *History*, 196) describes Wallace taking his revenge for the
above incident: "He set fire by night to the barns of Ayr in which were some of the chief men amongst the English and those who escaped the flames fell to his sword. This won for him so much renown that some amongst his country's nobles, and of higher birth than his own, betook themselves to him. Among these were two whose names were widely known - John Graham, knight, and Robert Boyd, both of them men of tried courage." McDiarmid accepts that the episodes may have been in the missing chapters of Book XI of the Scotichronicon, and adds (page lxiii, fn.3.) "Mair's reference to this event (Lib.IV.cap.14) has been quoted as independent authority for its having occurred but his mention of Robert Boyd, who is not named in Relationes, and his actual wording, show that he follows Hary: 'Anglorum insignes viros apud horrea Aeriae residentes de nocte incidit, & qui a voraci flamma evaserunt ejus mucrone occubuerunt'."

The Complayner's reference to the English burning the Scots reduces Hary's total from 360 to 320. Even if the total were the Leipreuk estimate of 18 only, the number is not the main point. The Complayner uses the phrase "tua and tua ouer ane balk" and this echoes lines 268-271 in Book VII of Hary's 'Wallace' (see STS ed. Vol.I,p.146):

"O fers Wallace, feill tempest is befall.
Our men ar alayne that pete is to se
As bestiall houndis hangit our a tre.
Our trew barrouns be twa and twa past In."

The Complayner also mentions the tale "Wallace" (tale No. 10, folio 50v).

fol. 74v/r Sextus and Tarquin

The story of how Sextus, son of Tarquin the Proud, last of the Roman kings, pretended to be a deserter from Rome to Gabii, in order to deliver the town to his father, is told in Livy, History, I,53-54. Leyden suggests (pp.101-3) that the Complayner took the passage from Bellenden's version. The story is also found in Valerius Maximus, VII,2, where the key phrase is "maxima et altissima papaverum capita baculo decussit". This shows that the Complayner's "chasbollis" (fol. 74v) are poppies, and not onions in this case, as Murray wrongly glosses them. Turner in his Names of Herbes, A.D.1543 lists 'chesboul' as being the 'papaver (sonnerferum)'. Cf.
F.J. Amours, Scottish Alliterative Poems STS (Edinburgh, 1891-7), p.372, note on 'The Pistlel of Susan' (line 105), mentions how the 'sybow' and 'onion' were confused.

fol. 75r. "the bernis of ayre"

See note to fol. 73v.

fol. 76r. Bannockburn

Cf. Major, History, p.232. Major derives the name from the fact that along the banks of the burn there were mills making bannocks.

fol. 76r - 77r. Conradus

Perhaps the variant, rejected by M.P. McDiarmid, in his edition of Harvey's 'Wallace' STS (Edinburgh, 1968), page 2, line 37: "As Conus cornykliis bers on hand",... alludes to the same figure.

fol. 76r.

On Wappinschaws see e.g. M.M. Banks, British Calendar Customs-Scotland (London, 1937), Vol.I, page 121 f. For detailed references see Gladys Dickinson, "Some Notes on the Scottish Army in the first half of the Sixteenth Century," S.H.R. 28 (1949), 133-145, aspec. p.133,fn.2: "To keep the lieges in war-like trim wappinschaws were ordered to be held in all parts of the realm. Each sheriff was to gather together and enrol the able men to take wages and commissioners were deputed to choose men to be 'wagoured to serve for defence of the realms and libertie thairof.' Special times were laid down for the holding of the wappinschaws... in 1540 twice a year (Reg. Privy Council, xiv, Addenda 7 (1549): Acts Parl.Scot. ii, 48, c.6; 265, c.13; 352-3, cc.23-7; Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs; 5, 9 (1513); 10, 16 (1514); 382 (1532); 504 (1541). See also Sheriff Court Book of Fife (SHS), pages xli-xlili.) The burghs held frequent wappinschaws: piper and drummer turned out and, in Ayr at least, drinks were provided at the public expense (Ayr Burgh Accounts (Scot.Hist.Soc.), cv, 181, 237, 281). Absentees were fined; so were persons who turned up in borrowed gear (Aberdeen
The sheriff was also responsible for the state of the weapons, and an Act of 1583 ordered him to keep a list of all weapons and 'fencibles' in his shire and to bring his list to the host, under his own seal and the seals of four barons of the shire (Acts Parl. Scot., ii, 164,c.l.)" Cf. W. Dauney, Ancient Scottish Melodies, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1838), note to "Put your shirt on Monday". Cf. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869-92; vol. for years 1525-1557, page 237 (Feb. 24, 1555/6); for years 1557-1571, page 5 (July 18, 1557). Cf. Sir Walter Scott, Old Mortality. Cf. Dunbar, Scot. Kings, p. 236: 'The Army of Scotland'. (A.R.S. ii, 362, items No. 22, No. 23).

fol. 77r/v Incerti sunt...

Cicero, Pro T. Annio Milone, 56 (ed. A. C. Clark, Cicero: Orations, II, (Oxford, 1918).) See fol. 47r. This quote is 'ad sensum' only. See introduction: 'Cicero'. "Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum Marteaque communem, qui saepe spoliantea ism et exsultantem evertit et perculit ab abice; adde incitatem pranai, poti, oscitantis ducis qui..." etc.

fol. 77v Titus Vetricus... Spurius Postumius


fol. 77v. Furca caudide = Furcae Caudinae (Lucan, 2, 137)

Cf. Val. Max. VII, 2. "apud furcas Caudinas"

fol. 81v. In duobus malis...

This quotation is not from "Cic. Quintu fratre.", as the Complayner says. It is found in Pseudo-Cicero, Epistula ad

This popular proverbial saying is found in Plato's Pythagoras, ascribed to Socrates; and in Aristotle's Nic. Eth. V. 3. 16; and in Cicero, De Officiis, III. 29. 105, "minima de malis"; and again in the De Officiis, III. 1. 3. "ex malis eligere minima."

John Orr, Old French and Modern English Idiom (Oxford, 1962), page 150, points out that the proverb was adopted early in French too: "De deus maus le meyndre": (cf. J. Morawski, Proverbes fr. anterieur au XVe s., CFMA (Paris, 1925), No. 486.)

Thomas a Kempis (III. 12) has also "De duobus malis minus est semper eligendum." Erasmus also has, in his Adagia, "E duobus malis minimum eligendum."


fol. 81v. blac parlament at the bernis of ayr

See note to folio 73v.

fol. 81v

Leyden (pp. 191-2) quotes evidence of some seven thousand borderers of the West Marches being forced to 'take assurance' in 1547. On Assured Scots see T.I.Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603 (Edinburgh, 1965), and M.Merriman, "The Assured Scots, Scottish Collaborators with England During the Rough Wooing", SHR XLVII, 143 (April, 1968), pages 10-34, and references in both.

The king of England "vald be rycht glaid sa that evere scottis man hed and withyr scottis man in his bellye."

See B.J.Whiting, Med. Stud. XI (1949), p. 138: Whiting classifies this as one of his "Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings..."

"for i loue bot the trason that cumis to my effect and louis nocht the tratours that committis the trason"...

..."the kyng of ingland louis the trason that scottis men committis contrar ther prince zit he louis nocht the tratours that committis the trason." B.J.Whiting, Med. Stud.XIII (1951), page 144, quotes these as proverbial sayings, and mentions a parallel in Sat. Poems, 247,88; etc.

This chapter is headed Chap. XIII. in the original, and the Initial letter T in one of the four copies is inverted. A printed initial has been cut out and pasted over the original inverted T, the right way up.

The picture of the Scots as 'facile', 'humain', but 'furious' when in subjection, and 'merciful' when they are victorious, is contrasted with that of the English who are 'subtil', 'ambitus' in prosperity, 'humil' in subjection, and 'cruel' in victory is summed up in an animal comparison, Scots sheep and English wolves.
Fordun similarly discusses the English (Chron. Fordun, ii, 170-1) and their trend to uni-sex dress fashion, and he mentions other traits: "in bearing, they are players; in address, fiddlers; gluttons in feeding; hucksters in business; swaggerers in dress; like Argus for gain; like Daedalus in wariness; like Serdannapalus in bed; puppets at church; thunderers in the courts..."

Leyden quotes (pages 200-1) the different picture painted by Higden (folio 56).

The Complayner has possibly Cicero's words in mind (Cicero, De Officiis, I, xxvi): "Again, when Fortune smile... let us diligently avoid all arrogance, haughtiness and pride. For it is as much a sign of weakness to give way to one's feelings in success as it is in adversity." (ed. W. Miller, Loeb ed, (London, 1913) pages 91-3). Cicero ends "Atque etiam in rebus prosperis... superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque fugiamus."

fol. 84r quintus cursius

Quintus Curtius Rufus is thought to have written his history of Alexander the Great in the reign of Claudius because of reference to an event identified with one that happened in 41 A.D. Of the ten books, the first two are lost and parts of the remaining eight are also missing. See J.W. Duff. A.M. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age from Tiberius to Hadrian 3rd ed. (London, 1964), pages 81-91, 540. See J.C. Rolfe, Curtius, History of Alexander 2 vols., Loeb (London, 1945).

fol. 84v. Scots and English

The Complayner precludes the possibility of peaceful coexistence, comparing it to a 'prodigium' or one of the 'impossibilia' of nature.

fol. 85r.

The Complayner's reference to peace on the Borders "thir seyn zeir bygane" is not taken literally by B.J. Whiting, Med. Studies XIII (1951) page 163, who quotes many examples of references to 'seven years'. Cf. J. MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), 32-34 on
numerical allegory involving the number seven.

fol. 85r. "ane herand damysale and ane spekand castel sal neuyr
end vith honour"

The Complayner calls this "ane ald proverb", yet it is quoted as the first example in English (e.g. by W.P.Tilley, C.122.) It does not appear to have been noted that the proverb is a straight translation of the French proverb quoted in the contemporary diary by Patten. W.Patten in "The Expedicion into Scotlande" (written by 28th January 1548) under the date "Tuyesday the xx of September" (1547) quotes a "prophecy among the Frenchmen, which sayeth, Chasteau que parloit et femme que escote: Lung voet rendre, et l'autre;.." (J.C.Dalyell, Fragments of Scottish History (Edinburgh, 1798), page 84.)


fol. 85v. annibal and vtheris grit captana

This use of "vtheris", either as a substantive use of the word, in apposition; or the adjective being inflected to agree with the noun, is worth noting.

fol. 86r. for eueryie thing is to sel in rome for monye

This is mentioned, for example, by Erasmus, (page 373,ed.cit.) "M.Tullius ait, hoc omnium sermonem perccebuisse, non apud Romanos tantum, verum etiam apud exter (n) as nationes, in judiciis illorum temporum, pecuniosum quam vis sit nocens, nominem posse dannari. Huic affine est:ROME case venalia cania." Erasmus also quotes "Pecuniae obedient cania", which, although Erasmus does not say so, is taken from Eccl. 10.19.
The incidence of treason is confirmed by the communications from "Ye wait Quha" to Wharton, for example, in the Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1553, Vol. I (1547-1553) (Edinburgh, 1898): See CSP Scot, I, 9, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23, 98, 178. Grey of Wilton complains to Somerset (CSP Scot, I, 178) that the informers are expensive.

Valerius Maximus Lib. 3 c. 3.

Val.Max. III.3.2.: "Pompei etiam probabilis virtua, qui, qui, dum legationis officio fungitur, a rege Gentio interceptus, cum senatus consilia prodere iubetur, ardenti lucernae admotus digitum crepsandum praebuit eaque patientia regi simul et desperationem tormentis quiocuaem ex se cognoscendi incussit et expectandae populi Romani amicitiae magnum cupiditatem ingeneruit."

Valerius Maximus Libro 7.: Metellus' "sark".


"onpossibil to see are fishe of the depe flude asewik hebreu or greik"

Normally fish were regarded as being mute (cf. Erasmus, Adagia, 192D, quoted by Tilley F 30: "magis mutus quam pisces"). Therefore fish making a noise are marvels of nature. See H.R. Patch, The Other World according to descriptions in Mediaeval Literature (1950), p. 166.

Gavin Douglas in The Palace of Honour, lines 145 f. mentions

This laithlie flude rumland as thounder routit
In quhome the fisich zelland as eluis schoutit
Their zelpis wilde my heiring all fordeifit.

See P.J. Bawcutt, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, STS, (Edinburgh,
The Complayner would also be aware that fish making a noise is one of the fifteen signs of the Day of Judgment. The reference need not come as J.M. Smith suggests (The French Background of Middle Scots Literature (Edinburgh, London, 1934), page 112) from "some Celtic fairy tale, some slandered troutling of the sacred well". The Complayner is outdoing the marvels even of the Day of Judgment in order to ensure that his impossibility is really impossible. Cf. Lindsay, Works, I, 351; III, 460-461. Lindsay in the Monarche, lines 54,68-9f, says:
"Gret  Quhala  sall rummeis, rowte, and rair,
Quhose sound redound sall in the air.
All fische and Monstouris marvellous
Sall cry with soundis ollious,..."

Hamer refers to Peter Comestor, Hist. Schol. in Evengelia, cap.cxlii:
"Tertia marinae belluae apparentes super mare, dabunt rugitus usque ad coelum."
he also refers to Rolle, Prick of Conscience, lines 4771-4773:
"the mast woundreful fisshes of the se
Sal con to-gyder and mak swilk roasyng
that it sal be hydus til mans heryng."

This is a legal maxim which is axiomatic and therefore transfers the burden of proof in an argument to the opponent. Cf. Accessorium principale sequitur, the accessory goes with its principal, which implies something like, if you buy a field you generally get the crops on it too: Accessorium sequitur naturam rei cui accedit, the accessory follows the nature of the thing to which it accedes, as for example when fixtures become heritable by accession.

This is from Chartier's Quadrilogue Inventif where we find (ed E.Droz, page 35, lines 23-25) "pour magnifier sa victoire Hannibal envoya a Cartage treys myys des anneaux d'or qui orent este prins en leurs dis...
Cf. Blayney, Rawl. MS A. 338,II. 83/20-83/24:
"for to magnifi his victorie the seid Haniball sente vnto Cartage thre tonnefullis of ryngs of goulede which war take of the fyngirs
or dead bodies..." See appendix on Chartier. In Livy 23.12 we
find "ut metientibus dimidium (anulorum aureorum) super tres
modios explesse..."

As Leyden mentions (pages 41-2) we have in Lindsay's Monarche
(lines 4186-8) a description of Hannibal:

"At Cannae, where he (=Hannibal) won the victorye,
On Romanis handis that dede lay on the ground,
Thre hepit buschellis wer of Ryngis found..."

As Hamer remarks (Lindsay, Works, III, 409): "Lindsay's account of
Hannibal is not taken from Carion who says nothing about three
heaped bushels of rings, the thirty or eighty senators and twenty
lords nor of the death of Hannibal." Perhaps the Complayner and
Lindsay had the same source, perhaps Livy 23.12; in the Complayner's
case via Chartier; or perhaps Lindsay had read the Complaynt?

Adam Abell, "The Roit or Quheill of Tyme", Nat.Idb.MS 1746,
folios 15v,16r (DOST transcription), speaks of "3 bollis of goldin
ringis" The word "maid" or "muis" or "moy" comes from O.F. mui,
Mod.Fr. 'maid', from Latin 'modius' (q.v. Du Cange) see OLD. MUD ab2)
The phrase "twenty twa moys of gryt salt" occurs in Aberdeen Reg.XVI,
693, (1535). See folio 145v for mention of a ring as a gift as a
distinction and sign of 'nobility'. See folio 137v where the phrase
"three muis ful of gold ringis" is again mentioned.

folios 91r - 94r

These folios are based ultimately on Thucydidēs I, 128-135.
Folios 141v, 142r, 147r also are from Thucydidēs, who like Herodotus
"was given a famous Latin commentary by Valla (1452) which became
the basis for translations into modern languages: into French by
Claude de Seyssel, bishop of Marseilles, about 1512... and into
English from Seyssel's version by Thomas Nichols in 1550...
p.574).

fol. 93v. For my guide service

Is the spelling of "guide", a variant on the Complayner's usual
"gude", of significance?
The reference "Samuel cap.2" is corrected in the body of the text to "in the fyrfst cheptor of the second beuk of samuel", i.e. 2.Sam.ch.1.

2 Sam. chapter 5. "fyft be cheptor". This looks as if the printer's compositor began to set "beuk" and altered it to "cheptor", but forgot to delete the "be".

The Vulgate has "suspenderunt eos super piscinam".

The story of Alexander's treatment of Bessus is told by Plutarch (ed. Sentenis, Plutarch, III, p. 329) in Alexander.43. "Bessus afterwards fell into his hands and he punished his parricide in this manner. He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil". (J. & W. Langhorne, Plutarch's Lives (London, 1869), page 483. Cf. Everyman edition of Plutarch's Lives, Vol.II,p.502.)

The story of the poisoning of the Emperor Henry VII by a black Jacobin who was subsequently quartered by four horses is from Jacques de Longuyon's Vœux du Pape, and the derivative Vœux de l'Épervier.

The story is that Henry VII of Luxemburg had a dream in which he saw himself being killed by one of his favourite black and white hounds, the allusion being to the black and white habit of the Dominicans (domini-canes) by whom Henry is (erroneously) said to
have been poisoned. The name Jacobin was given to the Dominicans in Paris because they lived in the Rue St. Jacques. The alleged poisoning is related by R.L.G. Ritchie, The Ruin of Alexander, SPS (Edinburgh, 1925) page xxxviii, who also refers to the account "by the Canon of Bridlington in 'Chron. Edward I and II' (Rolls Series) (London, 1883), vol. II, p. 44., and in the Scalachronica, p. 135." Ritchie also points out (I,ccxxx) that "Moray, like Alexander, was commonly said to have been poisoned, and like the Emperor Henry VII in the colophon of the Voeux du Paon, by a friar, "of black habit and freir" (Bk. Cron. Sc. 51.630)."

The punishment of the friar is that of being torn in four by horses, as in 'Child Owlet' (Child, No.291); Sargent & Kittredge (No.291), p. 617.

This passage is paralleled by Chartier's Cuadrilogue (ed Droz p. 20, lines 1 to 20, and lines 20 to 26.) See appendix on Chartier, This passage appears to contain a mistranslation by the Complayner, as Blayney remarks: Chartier, Q.I. p. 20 lines 21-5: "Je meur et transit par defaut et necessite des biens que j'ay gaigne;... which Rawlinson MS A 338 translates: "I dey evyn as I go on the erthe for defaulte of myn own goodis that I haue gotyn."... which the Complayner translates: "I dee daly in ane transe trocht the necessite that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyrs..."

For someone as skilled in Latin as the Complayner this may be his interpretation that he had a cataleptic trance fit, rather than a simple mistranslation of Chartier's 'elegant variation'.

"exilit fra my takkis and fra my stetdyngis, the malis and fermea of the grond that i laubyr". Malis and fermea are rents. See form; mail²; stead; tack²; in the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology.

See Lindsay, Works, IV, 186, 213; notes on Satyre, lines 1041 and 2575. See Henryson, 'Fable of the Wolf and the Lamb', "Moralitas", lines 2761-2, which echoes Lindsay's phrase "Up to the hevin on zou ane vengeance cry" with the words "For it cryis ane vengeance
unto the heveinnis hic..." Hamer notes the parallel in the *Complaynt*, which is however an echo of Chartier (Q.I.p.24 line 23), and biblical (Psalm 108).

The maillis were made more unbearable by the gersum, the premium for each lease. As leases were short the gersum (grassum) was a burden.

The "takings" were farms in the maintenance of the tenant. See R.H. Tawney and E. Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, (London, 1924) III, 205, ('A Discourse of the Common Weal of thin Realm of England, 1549'; usually attributed to John Hales): those holding "takkis" seem to have done well out of rising food prices, for "where they pay after the old rate (of rent) they sell after the new, that is, they pay for their good land cheap, and sell all things growing thereof dear..." Thus it was doubly hard to be turned out when one was on a profitable tide of rising food prices. On the move towards a money economy and the feu-ferme in connection with Wedderburn, see Aberdeen University Review, XLIII (1970), pages 403-407.

fol. 98r *ryn and rashe in arrage & carriage*

I am indebted to Dr. James Craigie for drawing my attention to James Colville, "The Complaynt of Scotland: A Tract For the Times", The Scottish Review 23 (January/April 1694), pages 90-107. Colville remarks: The *arrage* and *carriage* refer to the crofter's obligation to supply carts and horses to plough the laird's land, fetch fuel and carry in the harvest. Arrage = average (Low Latin averagium from habere to have) and primarily meant property in general (cp. chattel, cattle, capital) especially such a beast of burden as the horse, often called an *aiver*, cf. Burns' *Dream*: "Yet aft a ragged colt's been known / To mak a noble aiver."

fol. 97v, 98r/v, 99r.

These folios are composed from Chartier's *Cuadrilogus* (ed Droz, page 21, lines 5-8; page 22, lines 14-18; page 23, line 32 to page 24, line 7; page 24, lines 7 to 14; page 24 line 13 to page 25 line 7; page 37 line 25 to page 38, line 9; and a compound of page 24 lines 27-28, page 24 lines 15-17 and page 25, lines 5-6; and page 38, lines 16-18, and page 38, lines 22 to 25.) See appendix
These "vordis of the prophet" are in fact from the Psalm, *Salvum me fac*, nowadays Psalm 12 verse 5. The older numbering would be Psalm 11.6 because Psalm 9 is now divided into two Psalms 9 and 10, and the superscription is not now numbered so that verse 6 old style is now verse 5.

The Complayner has taken this from Chartier who says, (Q.I., 24, line 17): "Car comme souvent repetent les anciens escris, pour la misère des povres et gemissements des souffreteux la divine justice donne sentence de tresaigre punicion."

This example is borrowed from Chartier, *Quadrilogue* (ed. Droz), page 38, lines 16-18: "Et comme la soif aux ydropiques en bevant leur croist et augmente, ainsi que plus en avoit plus en convoitoit avoir."

(Cf. (Blayney II, page 91, lines 4-6); see appendix on Chartier.)

Catalogue of good and bad, kings, priests, prophets, widows 'pastors and hirds', rich men, apostles. M.P. McDiarmaid suggests that the list is from Guevara via the French translation "Le Mepris..." by Allegre, folio 10. (see *Notea & Queryes* (July, August, 1959), page 248.)

It is vrytin in the 7 cheptor of genesis that god sauit lotht and his familie be cause of there obediens...

Genesis 7 is still immersed in the flood; Lot appears in Genesis 19.

As a proverb this is like 'Nihil de mortuis', but, though I can
find no source, I have the impression that this phrase was the Roman equivalent of R.I.P., a common inscription on graves; where it may even have had the force of the warning to body-snatchers at Shakespeare's burial place. The source is *Aeneid* 3.41, probably. Cf. B.J. Whiting, *Med. Studies*, XIII (1951), 122.

fol. 100v The Seven Sages of Rome


Cf. Asloan MS.

*Mimus Publianus*

*Cruedel in re aduersa est obiurgatio*


The Complayner may have been misled by the title of his probable source: D. Erasmus, *Disticha Moralia titulo Catonis... Mimi Publiani (cum scholiis Erasmi)...* (London, 1514) (see note of title, *Minor Latin Poets*, p.8). N. Udall translating Erasmus *Apophthesmes*, 1562-4 (Boston, 1877), page 156 quotes Publius Mimus: "Beneficium dando accepit quid digno dedit."

The Complayner at folio 112v again quotes "Mimus Publianus": "lapis index auri, aurum hominum" (see note, fol. 112v).

fol. 101v Catalogue of famous men of humble origins

Valerius Maximus quotes most of the examples. See ed. C. Kempf, *Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri novem...* Teubner (Leipzig 1888), page 135: Val Max. 3.4.: "De His Qui Humili Loco Nati Clari Evaserunt". Valerius Maximus mentions Tullius Hostilius, Tarquinius, Varro, Perpenna; Marcus Porcius Cato,
Socrates, Euripides, Demosthenes. The Complayner has added David and Agathocles. Agathocles is mentioned in Polybius, 12.15, where we learn that his father made 'Karkinos' (clay pots), as the Complayner says, he was the son of "ane potter that fowmait clay pottis". The Complayner again mentions Agathocles in folio 119v, 120r as an example of pride in humble origins. Agathocles is also mentioned, with the fact that his father was a potter, by Plutarch, see ed. G.N.Bernardakis, Plutarch Apophthegmata (Leipzig, 1889), II.13.20. Chartier frequently quotes from Valerius Maximus too.

\begin{center}
fol. 102v. L.A.Seneca (c.4 B.C. - A.D.65)
\end{center}

the prudent senzaque gyvis command to repreif vitht out iniure, and to loue vitht out flattery


The Complayner refers to Seneca's tragedies (fol. 64v), and quotes from Seneca at folio 134v.

\begin{center}
fol. 103r. pausanias aseu philip kyng of macedon
\end{center}

See ed. C.Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Destructum Memorabilium libri novem... (Leipzig, 1889), page 53 lines 19-25: Val Max. Bk.I,Ch.8 (ext.9). (Pausanias Philippi regis interfector). See ed. J.Warrington, Everyman's Classical Dictionary (London, 1961), p.387: Pausanias (1) "Young Macedonian nobleman who assassinated Philip II in 335 B.C. possibly with the connivance of Olympias. According to Aristotle (Fol. 1311.b.) the king had allowed one Attalus and his circle to indulge their unnatural propensities at Pausanias' expense, and the murder was committed as an act of revenge."
This seems to be a reference to Ferdinand V of Castile and Leon, and II of Aragon ("the Catholic") (1452-1516).

Soliman the Magnificent (1494-1566) was not the son but the grandson of Bayazid II (1477-1512). Bayazid II reigned from 1481 to 1512, and was succeeded by Selim I (1465-1521) in 1512, and by Selim's son, Soliman the Magnificent, in 1520. Cf. A.J. Rustum, C.Z. Zurayk, Provisional Readings in the History of the Arabs and Arabic Culture (American University) (Beirut, n.d.), pages 344-355.

Leyden (pages 182-3) quotes Bellenden's version. The incident follows the account of the incident quoted by the Complayner in folio 74r (Sextus and the 'chesbollis'). The story (told in folio 107v) of Brutus pretending to be 'glaykit' is also in Livy, I. 51. Cf. Val. Max. VII. 3. 2.

According to Plutarch, Alexander. 49, he was called "Limnus"; According to Diodorus Siculus, Bibl. Hist. 17. 19, the name was "Dimnus".

The words quoted are a compound of the second half of verse 8, the first half of verse 9 and an 'ad sensum' rendering of verse 28 of psalm 108 (Deus laudem...) (modern numbering, Psalm 109, verses 7, 8, 27); 108, 8..."et episcopatum dius accipiat alter. 9. Fiant filii eius orphani.... 28... qui insurgunt in me confundantur" (prefixed as "Ftenim occidentur qui nos perturbant..."),
This reference should read Valerius Maximus, li.6.ca.2. See ed. C.Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri novem (Leipzig, 1888) page 284, Val.Max. Book VI, Ch.2: Dionysius and the old woman. This incident is mentioned also in the Polychronicon Bk.III, Ch.XXI (Rolls Series, Vol.III, pages 324-5) though the Complayner appears to have gone to Val.Max. Dionysius is also mentioned by the Complayner in the catalogue of tyrants in folio 64v. Robert Wedderburn's brother James Wedderburn apparently wrote a "Historie of Dionysius the Tyranne, in forme of a comedie, which was acted in the play-feild of the said burgh", (Dundee), as Calderwood relates (History, I.142). Robert Wedderburn was interested in tyrannicide, as Calderwood reports that the passengers returning from the 'Eastern Countries' in 1546 had a debate about Cardinal Beaton. In Poem 367 in the Bannatyne MS, Vol.IV, pages 76-79, ascribed to Wedderburn, we find a catalogue of tyrants (page 78 lines 57 f.) including Dionysius (line 65), paired with 'Philaris' (see fol. 3r.64v).

The stylistic device of repetition is used here. The repetition of "assurance", "assurit" is frequent and deliberate, and is continued, after the examples from Livy and Valerius Maximus, at folio 108r.

The example of quick-wittedness is found as indicated in Valerius Maximus VII.3.2. (ed.cit.Teubner, page 334). It is also in Livy I.56. The Complayner has both versions in mind as his reference to Lucretia (from Livy) shows. See reference to Lucretia in fol.2v.

See P.Quinn, J.de Irlandia: The Merourie of Wyasdoome (1490) STS (Edinburgh, 1965) Vol.II, p.172; note on Lib.IV,c.1.82.29. (see
glossary: sophist, sophistaris, sophistic).

fol. 109r Cice, pro font.

Cicero, Pro M. Fonteio Oratio. 24. The beginning of the text is only 'adsensum', and the words at the end of the Complayner's note: "ementiuntur enim sepe in eos quos oderunt", are not in Cicero at that point. Cicero's words are:... "noluerunt ei qui judicabant hanc patere inimicitiis via, quem quisque odiisset, ut eum testimonio posset tollere..." See introduction, Cicero and the Complayner's method.

fol. 109r Math. 7 Luce 6

ane grit balk... an litil strey...


fol. 109v

The Complayner refers to Persius Sat, IV. 23-24, which runs "ut nemo in sese temptat discendere, nemo sed precedenti spectatur mantica tergo." Persius however only gives each person one wallet, on his back. The example with two wallets is probably from Phaedrus IV.x. Erasmus (wrongly) ascribes it to Aesop (Nicolas Udall, The Apophthegmes of Erasmus (repr. from 1562-4 edition) Robert Roberts, Strait Bar Gate (Boston, Lines., 1877) at p. 355: "Modestia", and p. 428: "Philautia"). If the Complayner was using Erasmus as an 'aide-mémoire' he would find only a reference to Persius. The example however also occurs in Seneca's 'de Ira', II. xxviii.8 (Loeb ed., p. 229): "Aliena vitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt." (The Complayner refers to Seneca in folios 64v, 102v, 134v.) The example also occurs in Catullus, xxii. 21. "suus... cuique attributus est error; sed non videmus maniciue quod in tergo est." See J.W. & A.M. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (London, 1964, page 446.
This quotation is not as the margin suggests, "Cicero de divinatione vera". It is in fact an 'ad sensum' quote from Cicero, Divinatio in Q. Caecilium. 34. (ed. W. Peterson, Cicero, Orationes, VXXX (Oxford, 1917) Vol. III, page 10, lines 34: "Quapropter si tibi indicium postulas dari quod tecum una fecerit, concedo, si id lege permittitur; sin autem de accusatione dicimus, concedas oportet iis qui nullo suo peccato impedientur quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint."

B.J. Whiting, Med. Studies, XIII (1951), p. 117, gives parallels to this usage of "but ryme or rason".

"Chaucer's CT IV (E), 995-1001 (Robinson, p. 112)" as a parallel: "O stormy people!... lyk the moone ay wexe ye and wane..."

Cicero, 'De Domo Sua'. 4, in ed. W. Peterson, Cicero, Orationes (Oxford, 1911) Vol. V, Ad Pontifices: "Itane vero? quod in imperitia multitudine est vitiosissimum varietas et inconstantia et orebra tamqua tempestatum sic sententiarum commutatio, hoc tu ad hos transferas, quos ab inconstantia gravitas, a libidinosa sententia certum et definitum ius religionem, vetustas exemplorum auctoritas litterarum monumentorumque deterret?"

The word "validior" does not appear in Cicero's speeches. This is an 'ad sensum' quote based on 'Pro Cn. Plancio Oratio' (ed. A.C. Clark, Cicero Orationes: Vol. VI (Oxford, 1911), page 9. "Si me dius fidius decem soli essent in ciuitate viri boni sapientes, iusti,
graves, qui te indignum sedilitate iudicavissent gravius de te
iudicatum putarem quem est hoc quod tu metuis ne a populo
iudicatum esse videatur."

fol. 111v. bestia pro partu suo

Cicero, Quest. Tusc. 5.79. is the reference. See folio 58r/v.

fol. 112v lapis index auri, aurum hominum

This is ascribed to Mimus Publius (who is credited
(fol.100v) also with: "crudelis in re adversa est obiurgatio" which
is in fact a quote from Publilius Syrus). This quotation appears
to be from Erasmus. It is for example in Adagiorum D. Erasmi
Roterodami Epitome (Amsterdam, 1553), p. 305: "Judicandi recte,
secus/ Quod index auro, id aurum homin. In saxeis coticulis aurum
exploratur, evidens praebens specimen. In Auro vero proborum
pariter & improborum ingenium deprehenditur... Opes ut indíx hominis
ingenium arguunt."

fol. 112v asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum

"Nothing is so cruel as a man raised from lowly station to
prosperity," is Claudian's comment on the eunuch Eutropius who
became virtual governor in the East on the death of Rufinus in
A.D. 395. See ed. K. Platnauer, Claudian, 2 vols. (London, 1922);
Vol.I, pages 152-3; "In Eutropium", I, line 181. The works of
Claudius Claudianus the "last poet of classical Rome" (c.370 A.D. -
c.404 A.D.) were printed at least six times between 1482 and 1534,
according to Platnauer (p.xxii), but the Complayner perhaps found
the quotation in an anthology or is quoting from memory.

fol. 112v barbarici animi est cum fortuna mutare fide

This probably refers to the remark Livy makes about Abelux the
noble Spaniard of Saguntum: "Loyal hitherto to the Phoenicians -
he had now - as barbarians are for the most part prone to do -
altered his allegiance with the alteration in their fortune:"

Maister John tells how a king summons the three estates; and asks the burgesses why merchant princes' wealth is squandered before the third generation; he asks the Lords why they are perpetually feuding; he asks the clergy why they "warie" (p.11, line 161). See ed. T.D.Robb, The Three Prestis of Peblis STS (Edinburgh, 1920), pages 6,7 line 94: "Quy Burges Bairns thryues not to the thrid ayr..." Robb says (p.xxiv) that "the fate of the 'tertiushire' is the theme of many an ancient proverb, and this Scottish version is probably one of the many adaptations of the Latin "sentences" that formed the staple texts of the pulpit oratory of early times." The Complayner, by asking one question which he applies not only to the burgesses, is also by implication asking the other two questions. On the currency of this proverbial saying, see, B.J.Whiting, Med. Studies XI (1949), 144-5. Lindsay (Works.II, 365, lines 4086-7, Satyre) has "Dissait" predict that prosperity will not go "Farther nor the Fourth air." Cf. Donald Macdonald, "Henryson and 'The Three Prestis of Peblis', Neophilologus, 51,2 (1967), 168-177.

See introduction. The mention of the 'goldin varld' in folio 114r and again in 115r where the World-Upide-Down topos is introduced, are references which tap the whole tradition of the topos of the Golden Age, and the myth of the ages of man, and the
whole background of historiography we have discussed in the introduction, in connection with the "translatio imperii" topos and the Day of Judgment, and Nebuchadnezzar's dream.


See Lindsay, *Works*, I, 310-311 (lines 3724-3733 of the *Monarche*); I, 324 (lines 4224 f., *Monarche*). See C. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954) page 142. See ed. R. V. G. Tasker, *Saint Augustine: The City of God* (London, 1945), Vol. II, page 417: J. L. Vives, *Commentary*, III, 10: "Huelod in his *Opera et Dies* feigneth five ages of mortality. This did Virgil, Ovid and others imitate. The first age is the 'golden' one, and they say was under Saturn, without wars or will to wars. Humanity was locked in unity, neither were men contentious or clamorous, These were called Saturnian days. The next age was called 'silver' under Jove. Then war began to bustle; so did her daughters, care, hate and deceit. The third, 'brazen', when war hurls all upon heaps, and quaffeth lives and blood. The fourth, of the 'half-gods', 'heroes', who thought they loved justice yet their bosoms harboured an eager thirst of wars. The fifth, 'iron', where mischief goeth beyond bound and limit, and all miseries breaking their prisons assault men's forlornes. Open deceit, open hate, open wars, slaughters, vastations, burnings, rapes and rapines, are all open, violent, and common." Cf. John MacQueen, *Allegory* (London, 1970), 38-9.

fol. 115r polieie

Cf. Lindsay, *Works*, I, 30: in the Dreme (line 248), Dame Remembrance is asked: "Than quharein lyis our Inprosperitie?" and she replies (lines 850-1):

"Wanting of Jusichte, polycie, and peace,

At cause of thir unhappynes, allace..."

fol. 115r electuarw to prouoke the pepil til ane disordinat appetit

The Complayner is thinking of an electuary as some sort of
aperitif or aphrodisiac, for, his electuaries are "confekkit
drynkis" containing "spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis & succur".
See the concoction described by J. M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry
(New York, 1920), pages 27-8. An electuary is usually a medicinal
preparation sweetened with honey which, being like a conserve or
paste, is licked off a spoon (cf. Oxford Dictionary of English
Etymology: "probably connected with the Greek word meaning 'to
lick up'"). The reference to luxurious living, together with later
references, such as that to the expensive outlay on dogs, of which
Lindsay also complains, contradict J. M. Smith's statement (The French
Background... page 146): "Chartier stresses the shameful luxury
of his countrymen; this is entirely omitted from the Complaynt. There
was little opportunity for soft living in the Scotland of those days." See Lindsay, Works, III, pages 111-112. See later
folios 123r f.

fol. 115v butin and spulze

The Complayner as earlier (bureaus and hangmen) likes the
device of using 'synonyms' together. Perhaps he is hoping to enrich
the vernacular by having both words adopted, however, English has
accepted 'booty' as a "synonym" for 'spoil', though 'butin' lasted
till the 18th century (Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology,
"booty").

folios 115v - 122v True Nobility

After discussing the origins of nobility, and marks of
distinction as rewards for valour, the Complayner discusses the
common topic of True Nobility. The Complayner understands
aristocracy as meritocracy, an idea shared with John Major and
found already in Classical Antiquity. Juvenal in Satire 8,
lines 19-20 says: "Although your hall is lined on every side with
ancient portraits, the only badge of noble rank is virtue";
"nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus". (C. Hight, Juvenal the
favourite author of Chartier and the Complayner also has much to
say on the subject. (Cf. ed. C. Kempf, Valerii Maximi Factorum et

In the Middle Ages the idea was much discussed. See E.R.Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, (New York, 1953), page 179. As Huizinga indicates, (The Waning of the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1955) page 63), the reason for these "admonitions on the subject of true nobility and human equality generally lies in the stimulus they impart to the nobles to adapt themselves to the true ideal of knighthood and thereby to support and purify the world." On the purifying role of chivalry the literature is vast. (See for example the debate on "The Chivalric System of the Virtues" to which Curtius' contribution is at Excursus XVIII, pages 519 537 in European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.) See too F.N.M.Diekstra, A Dialogue Between Reason and Adversity; A Late M.E. version of Petrarch's 'De Remediis' edited from MS.1.VI.39. of Univ.Lib. Cambridge. (Asen, 1968); pages 46, ("Ther is no kyng but he kam of servantes"; Seneca Ep.104,44,4); and pages 56, 57; references to Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Bk.XIX (which is more about 'goodness', and, chapter xxv, about virtue only being possible with true religion); St. Thomas, Summa Contra Gentiles, III.1.; Platina, De Vera Nobilitate; Bonacorso da Montemagno, De Nobilitate; St. John Chrysostom, Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, IX.7. See John Major (History, pages 397-400). See Bellenden, Chronicles, I, 17-18; (quoting Seneca).

fol. 115v. 'nobilis and gentilmen'

The reference suggests, as Leyden notes (pages 203-8) (Chartier's) Porteous of Koblenze. Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots (Edinburgh, 1902) prints (p.70 f) the relevant part (cf. Asloan MS; cf. fragment in Chepman and Myllar Prints, repr. in Makculloch and Gray MSS (STS) and facsimile by W.Beattie, Edin. Biblio. Soc., 1950. see Bibliography). The 'breviary' requires twelve virtues without which a person is not noble. See Nat. Lib. MS. 1513; Symphorien Champier, 1535-40, "Le Pondement et Origine des Tltres de Noblesse" (fol.1) and "Le Dyalogue de Noblesse" (fol. 82).

fol. 116r. ane alman

On the customs of the ancient Germans we have Tacitus Germania
about the Chatti, and Paulus Diaconus too mentions initiation ceremonies. See William Dudley Foulke, History of the Langobards by Paul the Deacon (Philadelphia, 1907); Bk.III.7; IV.38; VI.53.) e.g. (p.100)... "six thousand of the Saxons who survived the war made a vow that they would cut neither beard nor hair until they avenged themselves upon their Suabian enemies..."; (p.187) "he whose beard is shaved and whose hair is cut has arrived at the state of manhood"; "About these times Charles the ruler of the Franks dispatched his son Pipin to Liutprand that the latter should take his hair according to custom. And the king, cutting his hair, became a father to him and sent him back to his father enriched with many royal gifts." (p.296).

fol. 116v. Valerius Maximus Lib.3 ca.5.

ed. C.Kempf, Valerius Maximus: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem (Leipzig, 1888) page 138; (Val. Max. III.V.1.), but in fact the Complayner took the hint from Chartier, Quadrilogue (ed. Droz) page 60, lines 17-21: "comme firent les Scipions a Romee quant ils osterent a l'un des hoirs de Scipion l'Auffricain l'annel qu'il portoit, ou estoit empraint l'imaige du vailant Scipion pour ce qu'il ne faisoit pas les oeuvres de cellui dont il portoit si noble ensaigne." : "insuperque e manu eius anulum, in quo caput Africani sculptum erat, detraxerunt." (Val. Max. ed. cit., p. 139).

fol. 117r (118r) Orders of Knighthood

That these orders were used by rulers, as nowadays, as diplomatic weapons, is clear. See Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: James V to James VI (Edinburgh, 1965), page 24 f.: "Charles conferred on James V the order of the Golden Fleece (May 1532) and - so at least James claimed - promised to recognise him as heir presumptive to England." Henry conferred the Garter on James (February 1534/5).
Francis sent James the Collar of St. Michael (April, 1536).
Sir David Lindsay had the unenviable task of handing back the insignia.

The Order of the Golden Fleece

The Order was founded 1429/1430 in Bruges by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy on his marriage with the Infanta Isabella of Portugal. The badge was a golden sheepskin with head and feet attached, and the motto was "Pretium laborum non vile". The Fleece represented not only the Vellus Jasonis, but also the fleece of Gideon, one of the symbols of the Annunciation. Guillaume Filastre pointed out that the Bible referred to four more fleeces (Genesis 30. 32; 2 Kings 3; Job 31.20; Ps. 71.5.) associated with Jacob, King Mesa; of Moab, Job and David. On the "religion" of the Fleece, see j.Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1965) pages 84-95. N.F.Blake, Caxton and his World (London, 1969) prints as a frontispiece, a plate from MS.J.167, folio 129, Camb. Fitzwiliam Museum, depicting Charles the Bold presiding over a Chapter of the Golden Fleece, in 1473.

The Order of the Cockle

This is the Order of St. Michael, so called because of the cockle-shells with which the collar was adorned.

The order of the Garter

The order of the Garter is supposed to have been instituted by Edward III, about 1348.


fol. 117v Valerius Maximus in the chapter of tryumphs

The Complayner refers to Valerius Maximus II.7.8., (ed. C.Kempf
Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri novem,
(Leipsig, 1888) but his reference to the "ornamenta", the palm of
gold, the "croune of laure tre" and the "tropheum", suggests that
he has in mind some more elaborate account, Isidore, Bk.18,Ch.22,
or the account by Jeham de Tuin in the French version of Lucan,
(ed. F.Settegast, La Hystore de Julius Cesar (Halle, 1881), pages
8 ff, 244 ff.), and Livy, 10.7.9. and 30. 15. 11.

fol. 118v. *tarsites*

The remark about Thersites is probably from Juvenal 8.269. The
Complayner may have of course obtained it, as he says, from Petrarch,
secondhand, or from some collection. The example is, however,
common in Scots literature. It is mentioned by John Major (History,
p.400) in a passage on Nobility, from the Fourteenth Question of the
Twenty-Fourth Distinction of the In Quartum Sententiarum. It is
also in Bellenden (Chronicles, II, 405) in the "Ballat", headed,
"The Translator says to his Buke":

"Better is to be, sais Juvenale the poete,
Thersites sone havand Achilles spreit
With manly forss his purpos to fulfill
Than to be lord of euery land and streit,
And sync mayst coward, cumin of Achill".

It is also in the Mar Lodge Translation (page 29) with only
orthographic differences.

fol. 118v, 119r. *Iphicrates (c 415-353 B.C.)*

Iphicrates the famous Athenian general was the son of a shoemaker
but he was never king. In Pseudo-Plutarch, VII.272, "Pro Nobilitate"
we have the words: "seum genus a me initium sumit, tuum autem in te
finit." (Hermodius is more usually Harmodius.)

fol. 120r *nobilitas sola est anima que moribus ornat*

Juvenal Sat. VIII.20: "Nobilitas sola est et unica virtus". See
note on fol. 115v. on True Nobility. See G.Hight, Juvenal the
This quotation is from Ovid, "Ex Ponto' I,9.39.:  
"Si modo non census nec clarum nomen avorum  
Sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit."

The quotation is in Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae, III,  
pr.6.: "Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit ab ortu unus enim  
rerum pater est, unus cuncta ministrat."

Genesis 2.7.: "Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae..."

Genesis, 18.27. May I presume to speak to the Lord, dust and ashes that I am?

Ecclesiasticus 17.31. (New Eng. Bible; Ecclesiasticus 17.32)  
"The Lord marshals the armies of high heaven, but all men are dust  
and ashes."
fol. 120v the peresgrinations of this mortal lyf

See introduction, Pilgrimage of Life topos. See folio 133v.

fol. 121r Cyrus defeated Croesus.

Cyrus defeated Croesus king of Lydia (who reigned c.560-546 B.C.) in 546 B.C.; but spared Croesus. Cyrus was killed in 529 B.C. and Tomyris decapitated the bloodthirsty 'overreacher'. (see folio 64v).

fol. 122r

The two quotations from Sapien 7 are verses 1 and 5.

fol. 122v we sal carye no thing furtht of this warld bot the
coule of our synnis, or the meritis of our vertu

As Blayney remarks, the proceeding lines seem to come from Job, I, 21, (Blayney, p.c1xxvi,fn.1) but I do not think he required a reminder from Chartier's 'Esperance' (see Blayney, I, 69/26-70/1: see appendix on Chartier). The continuation above seems to be a statement that we require justification by works as well as by faith. The Complayner prefers, as we have seen, Ecclesiasticus. Ecclesiasticus 16.15, for example says: "unicuique secundum meritum operum suorum, et secundum intellectum peregrinationis ipsius."

fol. 123r mortui sunt nobiles, & innobiles sunt filii eorum


fol. 123r the nychtis ar over schort to gentil men to comait there libideneus lust and the dayis ar over schort to them to comait extorsions on the pure pepil

This is parallel to a sentence in Chartier's 'Esperance' "Les nuits leur ont este trop courtes pour leurs desuergondees plaisances, & les iours trop briefs pour domir es lis sans exploit prouffitable."
See K.S.Blayney, p.cxxxvi.fn.2.

fol. 123r prodig expensia that thai mak on horse and doggis

The cost of keeping dogs is mentioned by Lindsay, in Bagache, see Hamer's note (Lindsay, Works, III, pages 111-112.) Hamer quotes Comp.Tres. V.439., showing that from 1531, the King's 'Doggis' had a special section in the accounts; after 1543 the items disappear but reappear in 1543. See too W.Murison, Sir David Lyndsay: Poet and Satirist of the Old Church in Scotland (Cambridge, 1938). See folio 115r referring to "electuars".

folios 123r/v The stories of Diomedes and Actaeon applied

figuratively to Scotland

The horses eat up the food so that there is none left for people; and the people are 'going to the dogs'. The Complayner mentions Actaeon in (tale No.39) in folio 51r.

folios 124v, 125r malachias...labia enim sacerdotis custodiunt

scientiam, & lecser requirent ex ore eius, quia

angelus domini exercituum est

"For men hang upon the words of the priest and seek knowledge and instruction from him, because he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts". Malachi 2.7. (New English Bible version). The form 'custodient' is more usual than the Complayner's 'custodiunt'.

fol. 125v sic lucent lux vestra coram hominibus, vt videant opera

vestra bona ...

Matthew 5. 16: the parallels are Mark 4.21; Luke 8.16; Luke 11.33.

fol. 126r Hermes

See fol. 14r. 'lang-taillit' words.

The Complainer defends himself by "irrefutable appeal, first to natural law, secondly to moral law and thirdly to civil and canon law, the three systems on which human society is built." (J. MacQueen, Robert Henryson (Oxford, 1967) page 132, referring to the 'Lamb'.) See fol. 129v.

Civil Law (Canon Law is quoted, folio 130r)
The Corpus Juris Civilis comprises: a) The Digest or Pandects; b) The Institutes; c) The New Codex; d) Novels.

The Digest or Pandects of Justinian is a compendium comprising 50 books arranged by subject-matter, and divided into numerous "titles". Each "title" contains numerous "fragments" (fr.), called by medieval jurists "leges". The Digest used to be referred to as "ff.", which, as Professor A.H. Campbell suggests, may have been a scribe's variant of a 'barred letter d' (f), or, alternatively, as Calasso suggests, the "ff." may be a corruption of a Greek Π, for Pandecta (Francesco Calasso, *Medio Evo del Diritto* (Milan, 1954), page 544).

Similarly the Codex comprised twelve books, divided into "titles" and "fragments" (sometimes known as "constitutions"). The Codex was abbreviated to C in references.

The old way of citation, used by the Glossators and Commentators was simply by 'rubric' of "title" and the opening word of the "lex". They knew the Corpus well enough to be able to place any title.

The modern way of citation is by number of book, title, and fragment or paragraph: e.g. Inst. I, iii, 3; Dig. (or 'D') IX, 2.7.1; C. I, xviii, 12: the Novels are cited by number e.g. Nov. 118.
The "title" de condici.furti ("de condicione furtiva") does exist at 13.1; but there is no "rule" there "cum furti". On the other hand we find at 12.3.9.: "L.cum furti agitur. ff. de in litem iurandi" where the gloss gives the explanation "ad est condiciio furtiva" which the Complayner has somehow apparently taken for the "title". The text Cum furti agitur explains that if you are suing in an action for theft, and have to value the thing stolen, the appropriate way of swearing to the value of the thing stolen, is to express the value at the time the theft was committed, and it is not appropriate to add the words "or more", because, if the article was worth "more", the extra should be incorporated in it. This is a commonplace. The greater always includes the lesser.

For the above explanation (excluding any error) I am indebted to Professor P.G.Stein. For elucidation of points about Civil Law I am also indebted to Professor A.H.Campbell. (Cf. fol. 145r). See D.W.Walker, The Scottish Legal System, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1953), espec. pages 35-105 ("The Scottish Legal Tradition"); pages 111-121 ("Civil or Roman Law"); pages 121-3 ("Canon Law"). I also consulted Stephen Daco, Iuris Civilis Index, 1618; X.Ochoa, A.Diez, Indices Corporis Iuris Civilis (Rome, 1955); Krueger, Mommsen, School, Corpus Iuris Civilis, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1904-5). See folio 145v.

fol. 127r  Extortions of the Clergy

There were even five forms of funeral dues, which were among the hardships classed as 'Extortions'. These five dues were: munera pro exequiis (donation for funeral offices); oblagia (gifts of bread, wine and other produce); judicium anime (Legacy left to the Church other than the parish church chosen for burial); mortuaria or mortilogia (articles used at the funeral such as candles, funeral cloth, a noble's horse with his arms, which fall to the church); remedium (the "kirkyr"). The remedium might be the deathbed, the best animal, or a fixed percentage of the dead man's dues. The remedium seems to have originated as a recompense for a lifetime's dues left unpaid. Of these dues the parish priest is entitled to his canonical portion if the deceased is buried elsewhere. See

fol. 127r

The image of pouring oil on a fire is also found in Chartier's *Traite de l'Esperance*. See appendix on Chartier.

fol. 127v

**Hydra**

The tale of Hercules' second labour is also the subject of tale No. 14. in folio 50v.

fol. 129r

**Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum**

This is a common quotation. See Henryson, "The Trial of the Fox", line 1033, (ed. H.H. Wood, The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson (Edinburgh, London, 1958) page 38, and note, p. 239. Adam Abell, "The Roit or Quheil of Tyme" (Nat. Lib. MS. 1746: DOST transcription), folio 1a.: "estir the sentence of the poeit Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum He is happy that the fate of wthir men makis wis or were..." This idea is expressed too by Publilius Syrus, sententia No. 177: "Ex vitio alterius sapienti emendat summ." (edd. J.W. & A.M. Duff, Minor Latin Poets, Loeb (London, 1935), pages 38-9); see also Columbanus, line 19: "Felix alterius cui sunt documenta flagella" (Minor Latin Poets, pages 630-1); see also "Collectio Monostichorum", (Minor Latin Poets, pages 626-7, line 38): "Quid cautus caevans aliena exempla docebunt": Caution and care you'll learn from others' case.'

fol. 129r

**My lord gouvernour**

James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, was chosen Governor 22nd December, 1542, was declared 'tutor lawful to the Queen's Grace, and Governor of this realm, by the Three Estates of Parliament at Edinburgh, on the 13th March, 1542/3. He resigned the office on
12th April, 1554. (Dunbar, Scot. Kings, 247, 250.), though as we have seen, (historical introduction) Mary of Lorraine was 'de facto' Regent from about 1544. By putting the military role on Hamilton's shoulders, the Complayner is giving him the burden of the blame for Pinkie.

The Complayner by appealing to "goddis lau, the lau of natur, positive lau, ciuil and cannon lau" (fol. 129v), as we have seen (fol. 126v note), is appealing to the systems on which human society is built.

The Corpus Juris Canonici comprises: a) the Decretum of Gratian (Decretum) (1148); b) Decretals of Gregory IX (Decretales Extravagantes) (meaning 'extra Decretum vagantes') (1234); c) Sext of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) (Liber Sextus) (1298); d) The Clementines of Clement V (1305-1314) (Clementinae (1314)); e) Extravagants of John XXII (1316-1334), (Extravagantes: meaning extra Collectiones publicas); f) Extravagants Common (Extravagantes Communes) (of several Popes down to Sixtus IV) (1484).


As they are not direct simple quotations I am indebted to Monsignor J.C. Barry for tracing them, and giving interesting independent confirmation of our speculations about the Complayner's methods.
1. "in the xxiii distinctione in the feyrd questione in the chuptour Si non as eftir follouis sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit bellare; sic ê modernis, dummodo non bellent desiderio fundenti sanguinem: sed rem publicam amaliendo" Decreti Secunda Pars, Causa XXIII, Quaest. IV, c. 49 = C. xxiii, q. 4, c. 49. The words 'sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit' are quoted ad. lit., the rest ad sensum. Monsignor Barry comments: "Nowhere have I found literal quotations. I therefore surmise that the author is either quoting from memory, or more likely, quoting the sense of the passage, as so often happened in those days. This is in some sense confirmed by the fact that he quotes from Distinction xxiii, which is in Part I of the Decretum of Gratian, whereas in fact all his material is taken from Part II, namely from Causa xxiii."

fol. 130r

2. "in the xxiii distinctione in the vii questione, as eftir follouis, Saraceni bellantes contra cristianos, iuste a cristianis immurnantur." In fact = C. xxiii, q. 8, c. 7 ad sens. and c. 11.

3. "in the xxiii distinctione in the fyifte question, bella sumpta contra excommunicatos & infideles Meritoria sunt" Many passages in C. xxiii, q. 5 mention the meritoriousness of fighting against evil men. Chapters 42-47 deal explicitly with excommunicated persons, "sacrilegi", and schismatics (though I don't think with heretics), notably 44, 45 and 47."

4. "in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione callit an episcopo liceat ad bellum proficiaci sine licentia pape "There is evidently a development (or at least a divergence) of doctrine in C. xxiii, q. 8. Clerics are flatly refused leave to fight in c. 4-6, and bishops in c. 19 and c. 20. However Gratian (dictum post c. 20) explains how Pope Leo IV said he proceeded against the Saracens (c. 7). Later chapters expressly demand that a bishop have the Pope's permission (c. 26) and priests that of their bishop (27-28). This is explained 'tant bien que mal' by Gratian in his dictum after..."
after c.28. Hence c.25 is the reference, though the inference drawn (by the Complayner) seems unwarranted."

The Complayner's concern, as shown above, in quotation 4., is, as we mention in the historical introduction of interest in connection with Pinkie and also with the fact that Robert Wedderburn, as Chamberlain to a military and religious order, obviously subscribed, despite his 'cure of souls' as Vicar, to the idea that in the case of a 'Just War' (see folio 145v), especially against virtual Saracens like the English, that even priests are justified in fighting. See St. Thomas Aquinas, II,ii,q.40. In Q.40, Art.2 which discusses this question whether it is lawful for clerics and bishops to fight, we have in Obj.4: "Further, whatever is right and meritorious in itself, is lawful for prelates and clerics. Now it is sometimes right and meritorious to make war, for it is written (XXIII,Q.cau.Omnis timore) that if a man die for the true faith, or to save his country, or in defence of Christians, God will give him a heavenly reward. Therefore it is lawful for bishops and clerics to fight." In the Objections, St. Thomas Aquinas says it is unlawful for clerics to be combatants because they are "bound to a yet greater good" than merely waging a meritorious just war. This question was obviously of concern to Crusaders, and there was a gap between theory and practice. See James A. Brundage, Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader (Madison, London, 1969) especially p.28,fn.99. (Brundage refers to specialised article: Ferminio Foggia Spalla, "La chiesa e la partecipazione conciliare fino alla Decretali di Gregorio IX", Ephemerides Iuris Canonici 15 (1959), 140-153.). See St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica 22 vols. (London, 1917), vol.9, page 503 f. Cf. J. Tooke, The Just War in Aquinas and Grotius (London, 1955).

See appendix on Chartier. As M.S. Blayney indicates there is a parallel passage in Chartier's 'Traite de l'Espérance'.

fol. 130v  Fighting priests
fol. 131v  *Cane regnum in se divisum desolabitur*

Matthew 12.25 is paralleled by Mark 3, 24 and by Luke 11,17. The Complayner has quoted 'ad sensum'. Matthew reads "divisum contra se", Mark has "si... in se dividatur", Luke has "in se ipsum divisum".

fol. 131v  Justin


The use of the word "acephalus" would indicate a later source. The word is used in Classical Latin in metrical contexts. In 'Middle' Latin it appears to have been restricted to meaning 'heretical'. (See O.Prinz, J.Schneider, Mittel lateinisches Wörterbuch, (Munich, 1967), Vol.I, A-B.). The word is listed in the meaning "leaderless" in ed. R.E.Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 1965).

The Complayner refers to Justin also in folios 62r, 64v., and relates the story of Sardanapalus (Justin, Lib.I,ch.iii) and Tomyris (Justin, Lib.I,ch.viii).

John Major also uses the adjective "acephalus", referring to a leaderless army: "Spanimundas exercitum sine duce cernens video (inquit) bellum sine capite, sic sine tuo numine & auxilio nostra haec tentilla editio investis & acephala exiret in proscenium". (Preface "In Matthaeum", 1518; *History*, 435-436.)

fol. 132 v  *duc of saxon and the langraue of hasse...*

See note to folio 6r. See E.W. Zeeden, *Deutsche Kultur in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1968) for illustrations of these two worthies; and K.Kaczorowski, *Flugschriften des Bauernkrieges*.
(Reinbek, 1970), for the eye-witness accounts by Kessler (pages 215-256).

fol. 132v the comontis of inland the zeir of 1533 serie


fol. 133r "i hef sene nyne or ten thousand gadyr to giddir vitht out ony commissione of the kyuris letteris"

The musters at the royal command are gatherings such as that mentioned by T.I. Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603 (Edinburgh, 1966), page 262, item No. 17: July 1530, "a muster for James V, of groups from: Edinburgh, Linlithgow, the sheriffdoms and constabulary of Haddington; Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, sheriffdoms (i.e. East and Middle Marches); Stirling, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton sheriffdoms; Fife, Forfar, Kinross, Clackmannan (Perth) and the stewartries of Strathearn and Menteith; and part of the North-East sheriffdoms; were all summoned to meet at Peebles and Dumfries on 26th June, 1530 for 40 days. (Rae gives 8,000 to 12,000 men as the number.) Thieves and pledges were taken. John Armstrong of Gilnockie was hanged with 35 others; six pledges were taken who were later executed." This is the event mentioned in the note above, to folio 52v, dance No. 108.

The illegal gathering described by the Complayner is identified by M.P. McDiarmid with the Raid of Jedwood Forest, described in Drummond of Hawthornden’s History of Scotland (1555), pages 171-4. (M.P. McDiarmid, in Notes & Queries (1959), p.254.) As the Complayner's 'first laubir of the pen' is c.1550, an event a decade later than 1520 would seem more likely.

fol. 133v heraclites and democrites

The Complayner, as his quotation in folio 134v shows, has

On Democritus of Abdera (c.460-377 B.C.), see, Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, (London, 1956), pages 335-340. He was nicknamed the 'laughing' philosopher because he derided human activity, folly and vanity.

Heraclitus was born at Ephesus c.540 B.C. and died c.475 B.C. He held true wisdom to be the perception of the activity of Logos or Order. See B. Fuller, History of Greek Philosophy (London, 1923), pp. 118 ff.

Seneca mentions Heraclitus and Democritus and their attitudes and concludes "where in all this is there room for anger. Everything gives cause for either laughter or tears."

fol. 133v the schort peregrinations of this miserabil lyf

'Pilgrimage of Life' topos. See folio 120v.

fol. 134r M. Antonio phiremo fregoso

See introduction: Fregoso.

The lines quoted are by Bartolomeo Simonetta, a Milanese friend of Antonio Filaremo (or Filaremo) Fregoso. Simonetta provided the lines as an epigram printed below the frontispiece picture of the two philosophers in Fregoso's "Riso di Democriti e pianto d'Eraclite, published first about 1506, by Peter Martyr in Milan; then in Venice by Rusconi in 1511, 1514; in Milan by Zanotto da Castione and by Andrea de Brachis in 1515; in Venice again, by Rusconi, 1517, 1522; in Venice by Alessandro and Benedetto Bindoni, 1520; in Venice by Zoppino, in 1528; in Venice, by Bindoni again, in 1542. (For these details I am indebted to the Director of the Centro Nazionale di Informazioni Bibliografiche of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II (Pos, 11B, Prot.N. 5238 of 25.9.64). Cf. Enciclopedia Italiana (Milan, 1932) Vol. 16, p. 55: According to this, Antonietto Fregoso was the son of Spinetta II Campofregoso of Genoa, who joined the Sforza court about 1464. In 1473 he settled near Pavia. He was made a 'cavalieri' in 1476, but after 1500 retired to
a villa in Colturano where because of his love of solitude he received the nickname 'Fileremo', and he lived there till his death in 1532.

**Seneca:**

fol. 134v "Aut ridenda omnia aut flenda sunt."


fol. 134v *vanite*

See introduction: 'Vanitas', 'Fragilitas Mundi' topos. This is connected with the theme of pilgrimage and estrangements, and the Day of Judgement, and thus with the whole historiography implied by the Complayner. Contempt for worldly honours, and the appeal to *Ecclesiastes* 2, 1-11 reinforces this.

fol. 134v *ze suld be solist to ken zour selfis*

It is as if the Complayner had decided suddenly to enrich his text with a few proverbial sayings. He begins with this one, which is the Greek saying inscribed over the temple of Apollo at Delphos (gnothi seauton) and attributed to one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, usually Thales, or to Chilon. It is taken up by Cicero (*Tusc.Disp.*,I,22,52: "Nosce ipsum", and is best known in English in Pope's formulation in the *Essay on Man* (Epistle,ii, 1-2):

"Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of mankind is man."

fol. 135r **Vincentius**

Vincentius Lerinensis (fl.c.434) of the monastery of Lerins wrote the *Commonitorium*. This 'Aid to Memory' is intended as a guide "tyl al them that desiris to lyue verteouslye indurand the schort tyme of thisoure fragil peregrinatione", like the "nyxt verkis that i intend to set furtht", as the Complayner says (fol. 15v). The Commonitorium was first printed about 1528 and the first translation into Scots was published in 1553 in Antwerp. Ninian Winzet, who had
been a teacher in the grammar school of Linlithgow for the decade
from 1551/2, and also provost of St. Michael's there, translated
"Vincentius Lerinensis of the Nation of Callis for the Antiquitie
and Verities of the Catholik Fayth against the Prophane Nouationis
of al haeresis". See ed. J.K.Hewison, Minian Winzet, Certain
Tractates together with the Book of Four Score Three Questions and
a Translation of Vincentius Lerinensis 2 vols. ST3 (Edinburgh, 1888,
1890), Vol.II.

The Commonitorium or Peregrini adversus haereticos as Gennadius
calls it, recalls the theme of the 'peregrinatione' or pilgrimage of
life, the idea of being a traveller, a wanderer, a stranger, an
alien, in this world. It also has associations of a monk or recluse
withdrawing to seek salvation.

The deliberate reference to Vincentius for a rather trivial
proverbial saying needing no ascription, indicates, it would seem, the
Complaiyer's search for a pretext to mention Vincentius. This also
reinforces the references to "the sohort peregrinatione of this
miserabil lyit" in folio 133v.

Cf. R.S.Moxon, The Commonitorium of Vincentius of Lerins, (Cambridge,
1915); N.K.Chadwick, Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul

fol. 135r quanto gradus altior, tanto casus gravior

I have not found this in Vincentius, but there are two similar
quotations, at least, in the Patrologia Latina: Petr, Chysol.
(Migne, P.L. 52, col 273 c): "quanto altius ascendet homo, lapsus
tanto altius cadet"; and Hieron. reg. monarch. 15 (Migne, P.L. 30,
col 417 c): "quanto altior est ascensus tanto durior descensus". It
is so 'axiomatic' and common that it is surprising that the
Complaiyer specifically attributes the saying, unless to draw attention
to the truth, based on "oeccumenicity, antiquity and general consent",
p. 188 ("High (2)") for parallels, e.g. Pitscottie, Historie, I,
392, 7-9.

See Seneca, 'De Brevitate Vitae; 17,4. : "Quoque altius surrexerit,
opportunius est in occasum."

"summa petit liuo: perflant altissima venti."

This is from Ovid, Remedia Amoris 369.
"Envy attacks the noblest. Stronger blow the winds upon the heights." (Ovid continues: Summa petit dextra fulmina: the hand of Jove hurls his thunder upon the mountain tops.) The verb is usually "perflant".

"Ina viuunt homines tanquam mors nulla sequatur, Et velud infernum fabula ficta foret"

The Complayner in folio 28r says this is from Vergil, Aeneid, VI. He appears to be mistaken. (See note to folio 28r).

"Nihil enim est tectum quod non sit retegendum & nihil occultum, quum futurum sit vt sciatur"

The Complayner is quoting 'ad sensum'. The saying is in Matthew, 10.26; Mark 4.22; Luke 8.17; Luke 12.2.

"for everye thing is subject to the procees of tyme... green treas"

Cf. B.J. Whiting, Med. Studies, XIII (1951), 141, for parallels.

"...Thales"

Thales, the Ionian philosopher, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, is thought to have been born c.636 B.C. at Mileten and died c.546 B.C. He is credited with the view that everything is from water. (I have not found an ascription to Thales
of the view that the gods know men's works and also their thoughts and intentions.

fol. 135r  the three plagues


fol. 135r/v  Cirillus and the bundle of twigs

This refers to the story of Scilurus, told by Plutarch in the *Moralia* (Sec. 511 c): "And Scilurus, king of the Scythians, left behind him eighty sons: when he was dying, he asked for a bundle of spearshaft and bade his sons take it and break it in pieces, tied closely together as the shafts were. When they gave up the task, he himself drew all the spears out one by one and easily broke them in two, thus revealing that the harmony and concord of his sons was a strong and invincible thing, but that their disunion would be weak and unstable." Ed. W.C. Hembold, Plutarch, *Moralia*, Loeb (London, 1939), Vol. VI, pages 445-7.

fol. 137v  Marcus Emilius Lepedus, Fulvius Flaccus

The reference to Fulvius Flaccus, is expanded from Chartier, who is borrowing from Valerius Maximus, IX, III, ext. 4. See folio 90r. I do not think that Marcus Aemilius Lepedus was consul with Fulvius Flaccus.

fol. 137v  three 'muis ful of gold ringis'

This echoes Chartier, *Quadriglouge*, page 35, lines 23-25. See note to folio 89r.

fol. 138r  Claudius Nero... Livius Salinator

Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator were consuls in 207 B.C.
Nero and Livius were both censors in 203 B.C. and Livius imposed a salt-tax which earned him the nickname 'Salinator'.

The Romans' revenge, playing football with Hasdrubal's head is like the Thomarisi incident (folios 2v, 64v); and the De La Bastie incident, implied in song No. 69 in folio 51v; posthumous dishonour of the enemy.

Mucius Rufus is mentioned by Chartier, Quadrilogue pages 35-36. This is based on Valerius Maximus, V,II,4. See appendix on Chartier.

See other references to Croesus, fol. 66r, 121r/v, 122r; and to Midas, in folio 51r, tale No. 48.

See folio 3v, the nyne noblis; folio 60r and note.

This reference to Europe is interesting. All the arms from the Continent would not help the Scots without unity.

See folios 82v f., espec. note to folio 86r/v.

See note to folio 97r.
See folio 91r, 147r. French translation by Claude de Seyssel, ca. 1512. See Thucydides, 2, 34 f.

Pericles (c. 490 B.C. - 429 B.C.), the famous Athenian resisted the Peloponnesian army under Archidamas which invaded Attica in 431 and 430 and 429 B.C.

Archidamas
This is the king of Sparta who reigned B.C. 469 - 429. He is the second of five Spartan kings of the same name.

Fabius
See folio 89r, 137v - 140v. The Complayner appears to have taken a suggestion from Chartier and expanded by going to Valerius Maximus, etc.

The Rough Wooing

'the'cordiner' and his 'tua corbeis'
The anecdote is related by Macrobius, in The Saturnalia (Bk. 2, Ch. 4, 29).

"Among those who welcomed him on his return in state from his victory at Actium was a man with a raven which he had taught to say: 'Greetings to Caesar, our victorious commander.' Augustus was charmed by this compliment and gave the man twenty thousand sesterces for the bird. But the bird's trainer had a partner, and when none
of this large sum of money had come his way, he told the Emperor that the man had another raven and suggested that he should be made to produce it as well. The bird was produced and repeated the words which it had been taught to say: they were: 'Greetings to Antony, our victorious commander.' Augustus however, instead of being at all angry, simply told the first man to share the money with his mate."

(I am indebted to Dr. A.W.Lintott for indicating Macrobius as the source.) The Complayner is here obviously telling the story from memory.

fol. 144v *quem fugiam scio quem sequar nescio*

Professor W.S.Watt suggests that this is probably 'ad sensum' from Cicero, *Ad Att.* 8.7.2.: 'Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.' It is also related by Macrobius, in the *Saturnalia* (20 30 70); Cf. ed. P.V.Davies, (New York, London, 1959), page 167.

fol. 145v *thir freuole sophistariss that marthirs and sklandirs*

the text of aristotel

This remark sounds like a declaration of affiliation to a school of thought. It might refer perhaps to the Complayner's preference for the humanist attitude like that shown, with regard to legal texts, by those opposed to the 'mos italicus' of the Bartolists and their successors, and in favour of the 'mos gallicus' as exemplified by Pierre Lorioz's Commentary (1545).

On Aristotle's scientific method and the value for lawyers, see, P.G.Stein, *Regulae Juris* (Edinburgh, 1966), pages 34-6, and 166.

fol. 145r *anec reul of the lau de vau L creditor, cum ibi no C. & L. fi vsuras... Ambigua solutio promaliori & certiori parte est interpretanda et intelligenda*

The title *de usuria* in the Codex does have a *lex* beginning *creditor* and another beginning *si usuras* (C 4.32.7; C 4.32.21). There are other titles beginning *de usu* but there is no other *lex* beginning
In neither of these leges are there the words quoted. If the Complayner is quoting 'ad sensum' there are a number of passages conveying similar sentiments. See P.G. Stein, Regulae Juris (Edinburgh, 1966) p.119 and fn.; discussing D 50.17.96, "semper in dubiis benigniora praeferrenda sunt"; cf. too D.50.17.192; D.34.5.12 (13); D.45.1.80; D.50.17.172; D 45.1.80; D.50.17.56. There is also a similar sentiment in Canon Law; see Friesberg, Vol.II, sect.927: Decretal Gregory IX, Lib.V, Titulus XII, cap.II. : "Dubia in meliorem partem interpretari debent."

fol. 145v Aliquid est iustum cuius contrarium est iustius. L.exigendi.C.de procur, per glo. the tothir reul sais. Aliquid est malum cuius contrarium est deterius. ff.de re in L.quotiens.

The reference is to the gloss non iniuste ad C.2.12. (13).12., de procuratoribus 1. exigendi.

In D.50.17 (De diversis regulis) there are five different leges beginning quotiens (D.50.17.20; D.50.17.67; D.50.17.91; D.50.17.96; D.50.17.200). None of these contains the words quoted. The nearest seems to be gl. quotiens ad D.50.17.200: "quotiens nihil ubicunque dicitur aliquid est aequius aequo vel iniquius iniquo": and that is not very near.

They sound like the sort of generalisations which a commentator would use to justify the conclusions reached by a lawyer. On Civil Law see folio 126v, note.

fol. 146v ane cheptour in the xxii distinctione in the fyrst question quhilk sais. Non pax queritur vt bellum exerceatur, sed bellum queritur vt pax accquiratur.

This is from Decreta Pars II, Causa XXIII, Quest.I, c.III (ccl.892), and it continues, "Esto ergo bellando pacificus, ut eos quos expugnas, ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas."
Cicero in the De Officiis which the Complayner quotes elsewhere (e.g.fol. 57r) also mentions a preventative war: "Quare suscipiendas quidem bella sunt ob eam causam, ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur...": "The only excuse therefore, for going to war is that


Aquinas similarly in the Summa Theologica discusses the Just War, in Q.XL. The three conditions of a just war are: it must be on the authority of the sovereign (auctoritas principis); the cause must be just (justa causa); the belligerents must have a rightful intention (recta intentio), that is they must be intending the advancement of good or the avoidance of evil. (S.Th.2.2.40.1)


See Major, History, 284: "In a just war it is lawful to make use of a feint and of craftiness". This is an explanation of the Complayner's approval (in fol. 81v) of the deceit of the laird of Drumlanrig.

fol. 146v pax est repudianda si sub eius nomine latitet bellum

This quotation is 'ad sensum' Cicero, Philippics,1.12.17. "pacem, ipsam si adferrent, quoniam sub nomine pacis bellum lateret, repudiandam."

fol. 146v tucidides

The quotation is from Thucydides I,120,3

fol. 147r Cicero

The quotation is virtually verbatim from Cicero, De Officiis, I, 35: "Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur."

fol. 147r Tucidides I,12.ca.9.
This is from Thucydides, 2, 62, (3). It is one of the important points in Pericles' speeches, that it is a greater dishonour to lose what one inherits, than to fail to acquire from one's enemy.

fol. 147v. Cicero

The final quotation is from Cicero, De Finibus 2.50: Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam, ex insipientium sermone pendere. The Complayner turns the rhetorical question into a statement: Nihil est... See discussion of this quotation in the introduction. The Complayner follows the common rhetorical convention of ending with a general idea with a moral application. "But what can be baser than to make the conduct of the wise man depend upon the gossip of the foolish.["