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**‘The Inlegebill scribbling of my Imprompt pen’
The Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany
Manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c. 1580-c. 1630**



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abstract ~

This thesis investigates the textual culture of early modern Scotland, as evident from three literary miscellany manuscripts produced and circulated in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Each of the main three chapters will consider one miscellany manuscript in its complex totality, dealing with questions of provenance, ownership, editorial history, literary analysis, and an assessment of the manuscript in its wider cultural context. Manuscript transcriptions are appended, particularly since the contents of two out of three of the miscellanies discussed here have never been printed.

Chapter One, by way of introduction, considers the current state of manuscript research in Scotland, and the implications for Scottish studies of book-historical methodologies. ‘Histories of the Book’ are currently being written across Europe (and further afield), and Scotland forms no exception. Against this backdrop, Chapter One evaluates recent critical work on early modern Scottish textual culture, and the extent to which book-historical narratives, developed in relation to medieval and renaissance English literature, can be applied to Scottish writing. More specifically, this chapter locates the miscellany manuscript as a prime site of investigation for scribal culture.

The first miscellany under investigation, in Chapter Two, is Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III.447. For the largest part, the content of this manuscript has been printed, as a supplementary volume to the works of Alexander Montgomerie. This print is problematic in many respects, however, since it reorganised the entire content, and removed from its immediate context the longest poem of the manuscript, Montgomerie’s *The Cherrie and the Slae*. The appended transcription restores the original order. Chapter Two will investigate the contributions of the many scribes that were responsible for the manuscript, and examine whether any thematic coherence may be detected.

Chapter Three deals with Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.30, a hybrid manuscript that contains two sections. Section one (dating to the late-fifteenth, early-sixteenth century) features a transcription of John Lydgate’s Middle English *Troy Book*; section two consists of a later supply (c. 1612) by James Murray of Tibbermuir, containing additions to the *Troy Book* and twenty-seven miscellaneous poems. Though this latter section will be the main focus of the chapter, the manuscript’s other section, and thus its hybridity, will not be ignored.

The third and final miscellany to be discussed is National Library of Scotland MS 15937. Containing approximately 175 items (many of which from English sources), this is the most expansive of the three manuscripts considered here. MS 15937 is textually a problematic source, since it is a nineteenth-century transcript of a lost original, the latter compiled by Margaret Robertson of Lude around 1630. This miscellany is an important witness also in musical terms, since it collects the words to a significant amount of Scottish and English songs, many of them unique to the manuscript.

All chapters will stress the highly idiosyncratic nature of the miscellanies, but also, where possible, establish common ground between them, and connect them to other Scottish and English manuscripts and printed books. In all their complexity, the miscellanies reveal a literary culture whose nature undermines the monolithic and court-centred history that has been so prevalent in literary criticism (though the court, and courtly writing, are important backgrounds to a great deal of the poetry contained in the manuscripts). Finally, as underlined in the concluding Chapter Five, EUL Laing III.447, CUL MS Kk.5.30, and NLS MS 15937 are important collections both for the preservation, and for evidence about the dissemination, of Scottish and English verse.

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note on transcriptions ~

All transcriptions follow the word on the manuscript page as closely as possible. The Appendices are not an edition of the manuscript texts; hence, all scribal mistakes, corrections, and other idiosyncrasies have been reproduced. No editorial punctuation has been introduced. The following letterforms have been modernised: the long f to 's'; Þ to 'th'; and ȝ to 'y'. All other forms, for instance the interchangeable 'u', 'v', 'w', or 'i' and 'j', are retained. Abbreviations are expanded and represented in italics, e.g. 'q^{lk}' is transcribed as '*quhilk*', 'q^r' as '*quhair*'. Dotted lines represent illegible words or fragments of words. Editorial comments or additions are within square brackets.

abbreviations ~

Libraries and Archives:

BL	British Library, London
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Publications:

<i>DOST</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</i> [online edition]
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> [online edition]
SHS	Scottish History Society
STS	Scottish Text Society

John Donne to Dr Andrews [c.1612]

To the very learned and very friendly gentleman, Dr. Andrews, Concerning a book which, when he borrowed it, was a printed book, but which was torn to pieces at home by his children, and subsequently restored to its owner written out by hand:

What the printing-presses bring to birth with inky travail we take as it comes; but what is written out by hand is in greater reverence. The Maine has become tributary to the Seine; brought back the captive of your triumph, even Frankfurt passes to the halls of its conqueror. A book which, if it has been baptised merely in the blood of the printing-press, goes to the shelves resigned to moth and dust; let it but come to us written by the pen, and it is received with reverence and wings its way to the high-perched cases which shrine the ancient Fathers. Apollo must tell the manner of its happening – that children smear upon a new book old age and grayness. 'Tis small marvel that children who come of the stock of a physician should have been able to give this new destiny to a new book. If children make old a book that is new, shall not their father by his healing art make me that am old a youth?

Alas, for us miserable old men! Unfeeling eld turns all of us into children, but no one of us into a youth. This power to give back youth thou hast reserved for Thyself, Ancient of Days; beholding Thee, Adam takes life and youth again. Meanwhile: let us beguile life's dullness with books, and with companionship emulous of heaven.

Among books, that unimportant one which you have restored to me is dearer to me, and more mine, than it was before.¹

John Stewart of Baldynneis, 'To the Rycht Excellent Rycht Hich and Mychtie Prence James the Sext of Scotland' [c. 1585-87]

Sir, haifing red your maiesties maist prudent Precepts in the deuyne art of poesie, I haif assayit my Sempill spreit to becum your hienes scholler; Not that I am onnyvayis vorthie, Bot to gif vthers occasion (seing My inexpertnes) to publiss thair better leirnyng. I grant In deid I haif meikill errit, Not onlie in electing of ane So small and fechtless subiect, As als be the inept orthographie And Inlegebill scribbling of my Imprompt pen, Bot maist of All in pithles and vnpleasant framying of the sam, Quhairin I haif playit the part of ane young and Imperfyt prentes Quho at his first Interprys of schaiping takith not in Hand the fynnest stuff Bot rather sum slycht cloth to Susteine the sklents and manks of his cunningles clipping; Remitting all to the courtassie, correction, and protection, of Your maiesties visdome, Not doutting bot your grace Vill accept this my vitles vork of your grayt clementie As my maist gratius Maister and cheifest lod Star.²

¹ Donne's original is in Latin. For this translation, see H.W. Garrod, 'The Latin Poem Addressed by Donne to Dr. Andrews', *Review of English Studies*, 21:81 (1945), 38-42 (pp. 40-41). See also *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Herbert J.C. Grierson, 2 vols (1912; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), I, 397-98.

² NLS Adv. MS 19.2.6, f. 7r; cf. *Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis*, ed. by Thomas Crockett, 2 vols [vol. 1 never printed] (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 5, 1913), II, p. 3.

chapter one ~

Introduction: 'The Inlegebill scribbling of my Imprompt pen' The Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany Manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c. 1580-c. 1630

This thesis investigates three Scottish miscellany manuscripts from the period 1580-1630, and the wider cultural environment that produced these manuscripts. Before introducing these miscellanies in more detail, and before discussing recent advances in manuscript studies and the advent of so-called 'new histories of the book' in relation to Scotland, it will be helpful briefly to foreground the contemporary status of manuscript and print in early modern culture.

Two epigraphs precede this chapter, one written in England, the other in Scotland, and both meaningfully comment on the business of producing a manuscript book. The first epigraph, John Donne's *De libro cum mvtuaretur impresso*, is well known; the second, an address to King James VI of Scotland by John Stewart of Baldynneis, far less so, at least outside Scottish literary criticism. Donne's poem, first of all, tracks the miraculous transformation of printed book to manuscript volume, the first of which 'goes to the shelves resigned to moth and dust', but, when turned into a manuscript, 'is received with reverence and wings its way to the high-perched cases which shrine the ancient Fathers'. According to Donne, the handwritten book is infinitely more valuable, on account, presumably, of its originality and its idiosyncrasy. Whereas Donne's poem, characterised by his dry wit and detached humour, must be taken with a pinch of salt, its main thesis stands, and is reflective of a more widespread early modern sensitivity regarding the printed word. Donne's sentiments might appear indicative of what has been described as the 'stigma of print' – though this once-pervasive theory has now been questioned, and its validity for English renaissance studies debated.¹ However, the relative merits of manuscript and print have been widely researched, and the virtues of what one contemporary commentator termed 'private manuscription' (see below) are well-attested. As an aesthetic object, and perhaps for other reasons undisclosed in Donne's poem, the manuscript is to be preferred over print.

¹ See, for instance, J.W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1:2 (1951), 139-64. The theory was refuted by Steven W. May, 'Tudor Aristocrats and the Mythical "Stigma of Print"', *Renaissance Papers* (1980), 11-18. May identified a 'stigma of verse' instead. In May's words, 'the most significant printing event of a literary nature' (p. 16) occurred in 1584 in Scotland, with King James's *Essayes of a Prentise*, followed by *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises* in 1591. This royal endorsement of print leads the way for May to dispel the 'stigma of print' myth in England. This observation begs a full-scale enquiry into the culture of print in Scotland, as well as its effects on England while the two countries were still very much separate nations.

The second epigraph, Stewart of Baldynneis's address to James VI, prefaced to his manuscript presented to the king, is a different work altogether.² Couched in the deeply apologetic ingratiatory discourse customary to literary gifts presented to the monarch,³ it seeks to detract from its obvious quality. Interestingly, Stewart not only discredits his literary achievement and his learning, but also his chosen medium, the manuscript, which displays his 'inept orthographie And Inlegebill scribbling of [his] Imprompt pen'. Stewart comments indirectly, through the sustained metaphor of a 'prentes' [apprentice] to the king, on the act of producing a manuscript, and styles himself as an 'Imperfyt prentes Quho at his first Interprys of schaiping takith not in Hand the fynnest stuff Bot rather sum slycht cloth to Susteine the sklents and manks of his cunningles clipping'. This remark seems in the first instance to refer to the (lack of) literary value, but it also comments implicitly on the manuscript as a material object. The poet returns to this image of 'manks' (or flaws) in the last lines of the first major poem in the manuscript, *Roland Furiovs*, as follows: 'the mateir els all manckit is be me'.⁴ 'Manckit' in this instance is glossed by *DOST* as 'to mutilate, mangle; of a tailor or the like, to botch in the cutting; to deface or disfigure (any object, as a book)' (see *DOST*, under 'mank', v. 1, where the line from *Roland* is quoted). The poet also reminds the reader of the physical act of writing in *Roland*, where he mentions his 'plume Imprompt', i.e. his hesitant, inexpert, quill pen.⁵ Stewart's manuscript, then, is supposedly made of poor material, and full of 'sklents and manks' because of his inexpert handling, or 'cunningles clipping'. The manuscript is assembled (the poems selected and copied, perhaps, from earlier drafts) as an apprentice tailor would sow together a somewhat ill-fitting garment.

Typical of the modesty topos employed by Stewart (which has a long history in Scottish poetry), the exact opposite of these self-defamatory statements is true, and in between the lines of this preface may be discerned a poet proudly presenting his monarch with a beautiful object, a handwritten book that must have consumed a great deal of time and devotion.⁶ It is uncertain to

² The most comprehensive account of Stewart's work and his manuscript is Katherine McClune, 'The Poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis (?1540-?1607)' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2005). See also her 'The Scottish Sonnet, James VI, and John Stewart of Baldynneis', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. by Nicola Royan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 165-80.

³ Compare, for instance, Thomas Hudson's preface to his *Historie of Judith*, likewise presented to James, albeit in printed form: *Thomas Hudson's Historie of Judith*, ed. by James Craigie (Edinburgh: STS, 3rd ser. 14, 1941), pp. 3-5.

⁴ NLS Adv. MS 19.2.6, f. 60v; cf. *Poems of Stewart*, p. 97.

⁵ NLS Adv. MS 19.2.6, f. 29v; cf. *Poems of Stewart*, p. 43.

⁶ McClune ('Poetry of Stewart', pp. 48-53) tentatively suggests that the manuscript was both written and bound by the poet, but this cannot be proven with certainty (unless another specimen of his writing is identified). Unfortunately, the record that was kept of James's library does not extend beyond 1583, so there is no sign of Stewart's gift (dating probably to 1585-87). James's tutor and royal librarian, Peter Young, arranged the binding of fifty-nine of the king's books by John Gibson, as testified by a bill dated 1580. On the cover of Young's catalogue, 'in the centre [of each vellum cover] is stamped a small gilt crown between the initials I R'. Stewart's manuscript, though in a much richer binding, shows the same initials, I[acobus] R[ex]. See George F. Warner, 'The Library of James VI, 1573-1583', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, First Volume* (Edinburgh: SHS, 1893), pp. xi-lxxv.

what degree the poet himself was involved in the physical production of the manuscript, but it is expertly written, and luxuriously bound. Unfortunately for Stewart, there is no evidence to suggest that the manuscript ever 'winged its way' up to the 'high-perched bookcases' of James VI, or indeed, whether James read it at all. A point to consider, in light of Donne's comparison between manuscript and print, is that Stewart's gift unquestioningly and, despite its affected tone of unworthiness, also unapologetically, takes the form of a manuscript.

Generally in early modern Scotland, comments on the perceived differences between manuscript and print are few and far between. Scotland's southern neighbours were more explicit on the subject, for instance John Donne, as discussed above. Another example is the minor Elizabethan poet Richard Niccols, who mockingly commented on the Earl of Southampton's reading habits. Apparently, Southampton disdained 'verses upon which the vulgar in a Stationers Shop, hath once breathed as a peece of infection'; instead, in the Earl's 'fine fingers no papers are wholesome, but such, as passe by private manuscruption'.⁷ When Ben Jonson had his *Works* printed for the first time in 1616 he flew against the face of tradition, for, as Mary Hobbs summarises, 'in the early years of the [seventeenth] century it was still held that gentlemen, whether of the Court, the Inns of Court or the universities, ought not to publish'.⁸ 'Publish' in this context exclusively means 'print', and the distinction is an important one (the concept of scribal publication, or publication in manuscript, will be dealt with below).

Returning to Scottish reflections on the manuscript book, it is fruitful to compare Stewart's words to those of a better-known Scottish manuscript compiler, George Bannatyne, and to consider the latter's attitude towards his handwritten book, the Bannatyne manuscript (NLS Adv. MS 1.1.6). Bannatyne famously commented on the 'copeis awld mankit and mvtillait' that he supposedly used for compilation of his manuscript, and these 'copeis' have invited much speculation.⁹ The Bannatyne manuscript will be further discussed below: suffice it to say here, in light of Stewart's 'manckit mateir' and his manuscript full of 'sklents and manks', that Bannatyne's assertions about his copy texts should perhaps not be taken at face value. The 'copeis awld mankit and mvtillait' have generally been understood to refer to his source material, now lost. It is significant, though, that Bannatyne's 'copeis' are discussed in the framework of a highly apologetic stanza constituting another modesty topos:

Ye reverend redaris thir workis revolving richt
Gif ye get crymis Correct thame to your micht

⁷ Quoted in Edwin Haviland Miller, *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 49.

⁸ Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), p. 9.

⁹ *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser. 5, 1928-34), II, 1; cf. the facsimile edition, *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland MS 1.1.6*, ed. by Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scolar Press, 1980), p. 59. For further critical appreciations, see note 49 below.

And curs na clark that cunningly thame wrait.
 Bot blame me baldly Brocht this buik till licht
 In tenderest tyme quhen knowlege was nocht bricht
 Bot lait begun to lerne and till translait
 My copeis awld mankit and mvtillait
 Quhais trewth as standis (yit haif I sympill wicht)
 Tryd furth, Thairfoir excuse sumpairt my estait.

Bannatyne's syntax is ambiguous, and the 'mankit copeis' may refer, by extension, not only to his sources but also to the manuscript itself, and to the nature of his transcriptions. Bannatyne thus prefigures Stewart's demeaning remarks about the quality of the work produced. Yet, both compilers naturally expect the reader to recognise the modesty *topoi* and, in effect, to read between the lines. Bannatyne and Stewart carefully produced handwritten books, not simply for their own entertainment, but in the hope that the otherwise undisclosed 'reverend redaris' (for Bannatyne), or the single intended reader, the king of Scotland (for Stewart), would find something of worth there. Both Scottish scribes, though less explicit than Donne in their adulations, favoured the manuscript book over print. Since lack of evidence precludes any knowledge about why they did not venture into print (perhaps they were motivated simply by practical considerations, or by aesthetic convictions), their actions must speak for themselves.¹⁰

The Study of Scottish Literary Manuscripts

The sixteenth century has been labelled 'the great century for Scottish literary manuscripts', and indeed it was.¹¹ Yet, this 'great century' in Scotland has not yet been complemented by an equally great interest in the cultural history of the manuscript, particularly those dating from the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. That said, the last few decades have certainly seen a growing awareness of how Scottish studies might benefit from investigating this phenomenon. From the perspective of relations between Scotland and England, for instance, Priscilla Bawcutt has argued the following:

The topic of Anglo-Scottish literary relations is both vast and be-devilled by preconceptions. [...] But one has to be aware of a preoccupation solely with what we now consider the great names and the literary masterpieces. Obscure and anonymous poems, perhaps surviving only in manuscript, have escaped critical scrutiny, yet have much to tell us about the cultural relations between Scotland and England; others that may today seem dull and tedious were once best-sellers. We have to beware also of erecting mental frontiers as well as geographical ones: verse

¹⁰ The question of print in relation the Bannatyne manuscript is further discussed below, see pp. 20-21.

¹¹ Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Early Modern Scottish Literature and the Parameters of Culture', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 77-100 (p. 92).

cannot be wholly dissociated from prose, nor vernacular writings from those in Latin.¹²

Bawcutt's suggestions, effectively to open up canon-boundaries and explore little-known manuscript collections, need to be followed up in order to prevent that undesirable build-up of 'frontiers'. The field of Anglo-Scottish criticism is but one topic that will flourish under a renewed programme of manuscript investigation. Three studies have recently been written, properly overview articles, that may be considered as calls to arms for Scottish literary scholars to breathe new life into this area of research.¹³ Alasdair MacDonald, first of all, makes a persuasive case that virtually the entire corpus of early Scottish lyrical verse is extant in a comparatively small number of manuscripts, and thus implicitly argues for continued study of these collections. MacDonald lists seven, in chronological order: the Selden manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian MS Arch. Selden. B.24), the Asloan manuscript (Edinburgh, NLS MS 16500), the Arundel manuscript (London, BL MS Arundel 285), the Bannatyne draft and main manuscripts (Edinburgh, NLS MS Adv. 1.1.6), the Maitland Folio manuscript (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS 2553), and, finally, the Maitland Quarto manuscript (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS 1408). Collectively, these manuscripts date from the end of the fifteenth century, c. 1488-1513 (Selden. B.24) to 1586 (Maitland Quarto). Importantly, MacDonald identifies each item as an 'anthology': '[t]hat is to say, in principle they bring together, within the bounds of a definite and deliberate collection, a particular choice of literary works displaying a perceptible level of authorial, generic and/or thematic awareness'.¹⁴

Bawcutt's study was published after that of MacDonald, though it was presented nearly ten years before its publication, at the 1996 Oxford conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature. She presents an expansive list of twenty manuscripts. Bawcutt stresses that although Scotland's often-acknowledged literary treasure, the Bannatyne manuscript (the focus of MacDonald's study), deserves all critical attention it has hitherto received, it has to an unfortunate extent eclipsed the study of other miscellany manuscripts. Lesser known miscellanies need to be studied in their own right, for the essential information they contain on Scottish scribal culture, and for the relationship between print and manuscript, between Scotland and its geographical and cultural neighbours, and between the modes of literature and music. The work of

¹² Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 59-76 (p. 60).

¹³ Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse', in *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics*, ed. by Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), pp. 59-86; Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 189-210 (this article also appeared as 'Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', *English Manuscript Studies*, 12 (2005), pp. 46-73, but all quotations are taken from *Older Scots Literature*); David J. Parkinson, 'Literary Anthologies in Manuscript in Seventeenth-Century Scotland', [forthcoming].

¹⁴ MacDonald, 'Cultural Repertory', p. 62.

many relatively unknown scribes puts into context Bannatyne's achievements: a great deal of poetry is shared between Bannatyne and the larger corpus of Scottish miscellanies, suggesting wide literary networks of circulation that far outstretch the confines of Bannatyne's immediate circle. Bawcutt concludes, however, that her findings only scratch the surface:

[t]his essay is essentially a brief introduction to a very large subject. Far more material exists than has been mentioned here, especially from the neglected seventeenth century. What seems a desirable goal for the future is to provide a register of these manuscript miscellanies, and good analytic descriptions of their contents; to accomplish this well, however, is a task in which literary scholars must co-operate with historians and musicologists.¹⁵

What is called for is an interdisciplinary, bibliographic and literary-critical assessment of Scotland's miscellany manuscripts, where their value must be assessed by a wide variety of scholars; unfortunately, to date such a project has not yet been attempted.

The third scholarly contribution to mention here is David Parkinson's (forthcoming) article, which reaches far into the seventeenth century. Parkinson recognises that, rather than being static, backward-looking, or retentive, miscellany manuscripts also contain a progressive element. Anthologising is a creative process – a great deal of thought and preparation can go into the structuring of a collection (*vide* the Bannatyne manuscript). Also on a more local level, a scribe's copying from manuscript or print is not a mechanical exercise: as will be consistently argued in the discussion that follows, each manuscript poem is unique, and in a sense rewritten by the scribe, who may appropriate quasi-authorial powers at varying levels, from the unwitting introduction of small variants, to the addition of several stanzas of wholly new material. Parkinson (as does Bawcutt) makes the essential link between literary and musical manuscripts. Some music books, such as the Margaret Wemyss manuscript (NLS Dep. 314/23) or that of Robert Edward (NLS MS 9450), may usefully be considered as miscellanies, with the inclusion of musical notation. No clear distinction between music and poetry, between song and poem, existed, and the areas of folksong, art music, and poetry often merged.¹⁶ A final aspect of the Scottish miscellanies is the degree to which they reveal links with a wider community – be it a family, a royal or aristocratic court, or a community, for instance, of book collectors. 'Identified by its recurrent emphases on social activities such as song, education, family and local history, convivial pastime, religious devotion and controversy, and affairs of state, the literary anthology becomes an important means by which a widening range of Scottish society gains access to public discourse'.¹⁷

What becomes immediately obvious from all three articles is the critical importance for literary manuscript studies of what MacDonald and Parkinson term 'anthologies', and what

¹⁵ Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 208.

¹⁶ For a brief discussion of this phenomenon, see Kenneth Elliott and Frederick Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London: BBC, 1973), pp. 41-48.

¹⁷ Parkinson, 'Anthologies', [forthcoming].

Bawcutt terms 'miscellanies'. There are no clear-cut distinctions between what these terms mean, and they are interchangeably used by critics, together with 'commonplace book', and 'household book'. A useful description of the distinction between commonplace books and miscellanies can be found in Peter Beal: '[i]n what I would venture to call its *purest* or most *classic* form, the commonplace book is essentially an educational aid'. Of miscellanies, Beal argues that

[t]hese – I would suggest – were very much associated with the commonplace book mentality and represent, so to speak, the 'pleasurable' rather than strictly 'useful' side of the genre. Verse miscellanies – what are indeed sometimes loosely called 'poetical commonplace books' – were compiled as a means of retaining for future use a large body of witty material – and of what is often called 'fugitive' verse – which might otherwise be lost or scattered.¹⁸

Yet, Beal's suggestion that 'these compilations [verse miscellanies] are not generally arranged in any systematic order' is not taken as a characteristic of the miscellany here. As will become evident, considerable planning may underlie the compiling of a miscellany, at least the ones discussed here. Manuscript classification may be determined primarily in terms either of content, or of perceived use. Beal labels according to content, whereas Julia Boffey, for instance, finds scope to brand Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 (also known as the 'Kingis Quair' manuscript) a 'household book' according to its use. A household book in its other guise may also contain such varied items as recipes, bills, letters, lists of various things, or medical remedies, all distinctly less glamorous items than poetry by Chaucer or James I.¹⁹ For the purpose of the present argument and the chapters to follow, the manuscripts in question will be referred to as miscellanies. The miscellany will be understood as a manuscript collection produced by one or more scribes, containing predominantly the literary works of various writers. There is also scope to consider a single-author manuscript as a type of miscellany, for instance if, as in the case of the Ker manuscript (EUL MS Drummond De.3.70), it contains the works of one author (Alexander Montgomerie) but was collected posthumously – the Ker manuscript also contains various genres of poetry, for instance sonnets, lyrics, and psalm translations.²⁰ Clearly, each manuscript is a unique artefact, and cannot always be satisfactorily catalogued under one of the above headings.

¹⁸ Peter Beal, 'Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 131-47 (pp. 142-43).

¹⁹ Julia Boffey, 'Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and Definitions of the "Household Book"', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. by A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London: The British Library, 2000), pp. 125-34. For more discussion, particularly in the Scottish context, see the works listed in footnote 13 and, for instance, Julia Boffey, 'The Maitland Folio Manuscript as a Verse Miscellany', in *William Dunbar 'The Nobill Poyet'*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 40-50, or more generally, Julia Boffey and J.J. Thomson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 279-315.

²⁰ The Ker scribe in fact included at least one sonnet not originally composed by Montgomerie, but by his friend Henry Constable. Montgomerie's canon will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

In the wake of 'new histories of the book' (of which more below), and following the example of other national histories, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* is now in preparation.²¹ Still, the challenge laid down by MacDonald, Bawcutt and Parkinson, to further investigate manuscript culture, and miscellanies in particular, has not been sufficiently taken up.²² In England, the situation is different: research has spawned a wealth of publications in manuscript studies. Scribal culture, the producers, consumers and transmitters of text, the implications of manuscript variance, and more: all have been extensively discussed and theorised, and a large body of work is now available that generates original insights into renaissance literary culture.²³ In this area of research, of all types of literary manuscripts the miscellany has been singled out as a particularly rich source of information. In the introduction to a facsimile edition of the Stoughton manuscript, Mary Hobbs writes that

early seventeenth-century poets did not as a rule publish their poems. They were circulated in manuscripts, lent to friends, and often by them lent to others, who copied all or some of the poems into their own verse miscellanies. These little volumes, usually vellum-covered quartos, but sometimes calf-bound octavos or

McClune ('Poetry of Stewart', pp. 16-62) finds similarities between Stewart of Baldynneis's manuscript and several other miscellanies (such as the Maitland Quarto manuscript), and even printed books. Clearly, the term 'miscellany' covers a wide spectrum of texts.

²¹ *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by Bill Bell, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007 and forthcoming). Volume III, *Ambition and Industry, 1800-1880*, is now in print. The relevant volume for the discussion here, Volume I, *From the Earliest Times to 1707*, ed. by Alastair J. Mann and Sally Mapstone, is expected in 2008. More generally, see also the 'Centre for the History of the Book' based at Edinburgh University, [<http://www.hss.ed.ac.uk/chb>, accessed 30 August 2007]. See also *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by D.F. McKenzie, David McKitterick and I.R. Willison, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 2002, and forthcoming), in particular *Volume IV, 1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, Chapter 33, 'Scotland', by Jonquil Bevan, pp. 687-700.

²² An exception might be the book-length study, one half critical discussion, and the other half selected texts, of the Bannatyne manuscript: Joan Hughes and W.S. Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982).

²³ For more general 'new' approaches to textual criticism, see Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Recent works in manuscript studies are: Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and Their Value for Textual Editors', in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700, Volume 1*, ed. by Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 182-210; *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Manuscript Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle, circa 1636*, ed. by Mary Hobbs (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1990); Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*; Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991). Examples of relevant essay collections are *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993); *Print, Manuscript, and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), and, joining book history to critical theory, *The Book History Reader*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002). For further titles, introduced, contextualised and organised by topic, see Noel J. Kinnamon, 'Recent Studies in Renaissance English Manuscripts', *English Literary Renaissance*, 27:2 (1997), 281-326.

folios, were commonly kept over many years by students, lawyers, and the more literate courtiers and country-gentlemen.²⁴

In a nutshell, Hobbs's words present the complex process of manuscript circulation, and the special prominence of a miscellany over a single-author manuscript. The key notions coming out of Hobbs's summary – production and consumption, transmission, issues of publication – all beg further exploration. What needs stressing, from the point of view of this chapter, is that Hobbs's seventeenth-century poets are English seventeenth-century poets, producing English miscellany manuscripts. 'Students, lawyers, and the more literate courtiers and country-gentlemen' are mostly those moving in and around London, Oxford, Cambridge, and the neighbouring country houses: their manuscripts are written in English. What then of Scottish students, lawyers, courtiers and country-gentlemen? Were they equally productive? As of yet, these questions have not properly been answered: in fact, until recently the questions had not even been satisfactorily formulated.²⁵ With notable exceptions, scholarship devoted to the production, consumption and circulation of literary miscellanies in Scotland, especially towards the later period (1580-1700) is virtually non-existent. If the relative paucity of Scottish manuscript material (compared, for instance, to England) is not encouraging, still the material which has in fact survived deserves more attention. Bawcutt lists twenty miscellanies (though this list is, by her own admission, still incomplete), and many of these have never been satisfactorily discussed.

The Manuscripts – EUL MS Laing III.447; CUL MS Kk.5.30; NLS MS 15937

Partly in response to the demand of recent critics for thorough and comprehensive accounts of miscellanies, the present project will investigate three Scottish manuscripts that have received but little attention so far: Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III.447 (also known as the Laing manuscript), Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.30 (the Tibbermuir manuscript), and finally National Library of Scotland MS 15937 (the Robertson manuscript). All three miscellanies belong to the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The first manuscript is difficult to date, but appears to belong to the late 1580s or 1590s, or perhaps the first decades of the seventeenth century. The Tibbermuir manuscript is traditionally dated *c.* 1612 (though it contains an earlier section, *c.* 1500, see below), and the Robertson manuscript *c.* 1630.

Of the list of seven manuscripts provided in MacDonald's article, all have been reproduced at least in diplomatic format, or in facsimile.²⁶ Yet, of Bawcutt's twenty items only those same

²⁴ Hobbs, *The Stoughton Manuscript*, p. ix.

²⁵ For a very short overview of who the copyists of Scottish manuscripts were, see Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', pp. 194-95.

²⁶ MacDonald, 'Cultural Repertory', pp. 61-62. The editions and/or reproductions are: *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and the Kingis Quair: a Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch. Selden. B.24*, ed. by Julia Boffey, A.S.G. Edwards and B.C. Barker-Benfield (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997); *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 14, 16, 1923-25); (for the Arundel manuscript) *Devotional Pieces in Verse and in Prose*, ed. by J.A.W. Bennett (Edinburgh: STS,

seven have seen publication, with the modest addition of the Laing manuscript, the Melvill Book of Roundels (Washington, Library of Congress M 1490, M535.A5, c. 1612), and the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melvill (Aberdeen, MS AUL 28, c. 1637).²⁷ Thus, with the exception of the latter three, there are no scholarly editions, facsimiles, or detailed critical discussions of the miscellanies that were compiled after 1586, the date of the Maitland Quarto manuscript. It is for this reason that the present discussion continues there where previous scholarship has ended. The three miscellanies, MS Laing III.447, MS Kk.5.30, and MS 15937, with their approximate chronological scope 1580 to 1630, have been chosen purposefully, in order to build on earlier scholarship, particularly of the Bannatyne and both Maitland manuscripts, but also to further the knowledge of the development and transformation of Scottish manuscript culture as it moved into the next century. Secondly, for all three miscellanies, the history of their production can meaningfully be connected to content. Although such matters are often speculative, enough evidence (such as marks of ownership or marginalia) has survived to explore, for instance, the relevance of a given poem for the manuscript compiler. With some Scottish miscellanies, such as NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6, absolutely nothing is known of the context in which it was compiled, and no owner or scribe can be identified – this leaves frustratingly little scope to assess its significance more widely, for instance in terms of a reading audience. Finally, the three miscellanies together present a rich variety of different modes of poetry: medieval and contemporary, amatory, devotional, allegorical, comic, and moral. Although each miscellany is highly individual, collectively these three miscellanies are indicative of the breadth of Scottish literary culture more generally.

The first miscellany, and topic of Chapter Two, MS Laing III.447, is the only manuscript that has been printed in a modern edition. Yet, the print in question, the Supplementary Volume of the *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, is not without its difficulties.²⁸ For reasons unexplained, the full content has been rearranged, and the manuscript's central poem, Montgomerie's 'Off the cherry and the Slae', has been placed elsewhere in the volume, thus entirely obscuring the miscellany's structural and thematic integrity. MS Laing III.447, when restored to its proper order, is the best example of all three miscellanies discussed here of a text with strong thematic unity. Although it has been compiled by around twelve different scribes, an overarching thematic development may nevertheless be detected (if not throughout the entire manuscript, then certainly for a large section of it). Apart from Montgomerie's long allegorical poem, MS Laing III.447 features amatory lyrics strongly reminiscent of the mid-century poems of, for instance, Alexander

3rd ser. 23, 1955); *Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie; facsimile of the *Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. by Fox and Ringler; *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 7, 20, 1919-27); *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 9, 1920).

²⁷ *The Melvill Book of Roundels*, ed. by G. Bantock and H.O. Anderton (London: Roxburghe Club, 1916); *Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville*, ed. by W. Walker (Aberdeen: J.R. Smith, 1899).

²⁸ *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, and Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447: Supplementary Volume*, ed. by George Stevenson (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 59, 1910).

Scott. In addition, several devotional lyrics balance the amatory repertoire. More typical of the end of the sixteenth century are the many sonnets and an English song, 'Glad am I glad am I', perhaps copied from a printed book. That the manuscript saw various types of use, more in line with a commonplace book, is evidenced by several pages of alphabets that were probably writing exercises, and some scraps in French. The Laing manuscript's ownership history cannot be retrieved entirely, although this is a problem of too much rather than too little information. The manuscript was associated with the Melville family, perhaps with one or several of the various influential sons of Sir John Melville of Raith, for instance William Melville, Commendator of Tungland, or Robert Melville of Murdocairney. The manuscript's modern editor, George Stevenson, connects MS Laing III.447, through the high-ranking offices of the Melvilles, to the court culture of James VI.²⁹ However, it cannot be connected to the Melvilles with any certainty until the end of the seventeenth century, when it was acquired for the library of Melville House, at Monimail in Fife. An alternative scenario may be posited: in the manuscript there are many signatures of scribes, readers, owners, or perhaps even poets, whose identities suggest that the manuscript's conception was in the city of Edinburgh, among the middling classes of cultured burghesses and city councillors. Thus, a different picture emerges, in which the traditional cultural centre of the royal court is replaced with a less familiar setting. The full implications of these important questions of ownership, in relation to the manuscript's content and thematic integrity, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

The second manuscript for study is that of James Murray of Tibbermuir, CUL MS Kk.5.30. Murray's is properly a compound manuscript, or a hybrid: the largest part is taken up by Lydgate's Middle English *Troy Book* romance. This first section of the manuscript dates to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. Probably also in the early-sixteenth century (much like another *Troy Book* manuscript with Scottish connections, Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 148) several missing parts in the transcription of Lydgate were supplied by a different Older Scots translation of the *Troy Book*, and it is these two versions of the *Troy Book* that make up the first and largest section of CUL MS Kk.5.30. Then, when Murray of Tibbermuir came to own the manuscript, he copied out the final missing fragments of the *Troy Book*, as well as a further twenty-seven poems that, with some notable exceptions, were much closer to his own day and age. It is these twenty-seven poems in the concluding section of the manuscript that may be regarded as a miscellany proper, and these will be the main subject of Chapter Three. However, strong connections between the *Troy Book* romance and Murray's later poems cannot be ignored, as the compiler can be shown to have had a marked interest in both sections of the manuscript, and the *Troy Book* and the miscellaneous poems form part of a complex, meaningful whole. Not much was hitherto known about Murray, a minor landowner in Perthshire, but new research into his family has revealed fascinating cultural links

²⁹ Stevenson, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

with well-to-do Scottish families (the Murrays of Tullibardine, and the Scrymgeours of Myres) that are known to have taken a strong interest in literary culture and book collecting. As such, Murray's manuscript may be taken as an example of a subtly expanding network of readers and collectors that ensured the longevity of Scottish (and English) literature in the early-seventeenth century.

The final miscellany to be discussed, in Chapter Four, is NLS MS 15937. In many ways, the Robertson manuscript is textually the most challenging of the three, for obvious reasons: Robertson's original manuscript, or manuscripts, have been lost, and MS 15937 is an early-nineteenth century transcript of the lost texts (it should be noted that there may be more than one underlying source for MS 15937). New levels of interpretational problems arise, as nothing can be known for certain about Robertson's compilatory activities. This seems to have been a strong disincentive for critics; yet, the manuscript merits a detailed investigation. Consisting of 215 folios, and containing 175 poems, MS 15937 is by far the largest manuscript under scrutiny here. In terms of its size, it compares favourably to other, better-known Scottish miscellanies, such as the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts (consisting of respectively 183 folios and 182 poems, and 137 folios and 95 poems).³⁰ Its content, however, is vastly different. In addition to many original poems and songs in Scots, Robertson also collected many English poems and songs from the early seventeenth century, mainly from printed song books, so her miscellany could equally be considered from a musical perspective (although it contains no musical notation). As a sign of its times (as observed also in the other miscellanies discussed in Parkinson's overview article, such as the Wemyss manuscript), the spheres of music and poetry indiscriminately merge. Incorporating songs that ultimately derived from perhaps as many as seventeen different English song books, and from a variety of other English books, manuscripts and broadsides, the manuscript is a key document in what Bawcutt termed, as quoted above, 'the topic of Anglo-Scottish literary relations'. As will be explored in Chapter Four, a clear shift in literary taste can be seen to take place between the Scottish miscellanies of the 1580s and 1590s, and that of Robertson, compiled several decades later. Finally, this large amount of English material should not draw attention away from MS 15937's many unique poems and songs in Scots – some demonstrably dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century. As will be shown, the breadth of material incorporated into MS 15937 is remarkable, and Robertson must have been a compiler who was extremely well connected in order for her to be able to gain access to the multiple sources that furnished her with copy text.

Several other manuscripts might have been selected for study here. One example is NAS RH 13/35 (further mentioned below). This manuscript contains, among much legal documentation, also literary writings in prose and verse, and, as Mapstone states, it 'is almost entirely unstudied still'.³¹ Other examples would be NLS Adv. MS 19.3.4, an 'exceptionally rich compilation',³² or

³⁰ See note 26 for editions of the Folio and Quarto manuscripts.

³¹ Sally Mapstone, 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis in the Sixteenth Century', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry, and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. by Alisoun

EUL MS Laing III.436, a miscellany that again seemed to have almost entirely escaped recent critical attention, being unmentioned even by MacDonald, Bawcutt and Parkinson.³³ Yet another example is NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6, a large miscellany containing, among other things, John Burel's 'The Passage of the Pilgrimer', and an early sequence by Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig and William Alexander of so-called 'dyers', an amatory verse form enjoying considerable popularity in Scotland from around 1590 onwards. Much work has been done on this last manuscript by Jamie Reid Baxter (he produced a full transcription and critical discussion of the poems, locating many sources) but this is, as yet, unpublished.³⁴ This miscellany, and EUL MS Laing III.436, will be referred to later on, in the context of more 'dyers' in both the Tibbermuir and Robertson manuscripts. Crossing disciplines, a final miscellany of great interest is the commonplace book of Robert Edward (NLS MS 9450). This has already been mined for a significant collection of Scottish songs and music, but the whole manuscript is still not accessible in modern form. Again, there is work in progress here: Katy Cooper is currently producing an edition of the manuscript as a PhD project in Glasgow. Most of the miscellanies mentioned above will play a minor role in the following chapters, there where direct connections can be made.

How, then, to approach the Laing, Tibbermuir and Robertson manuscripts? First of all, to facilitate easy access to their contents, transcriptions of the manuscripts have been provided (see Appendices Two, Three and Four). These transcriptions are instructive for more than one reason. Consider Harold Love's comments on editorial practice prevalent at least until the 1980s, and to some extent even today:

editors of seventeenth-century poetry have generally shown a quite staggering lack of interest in authorial traditions other than the one in which they were directly engaged. This is hard to understand when, as is so often the case, the most characteristic mode through which verse was circulated to its reader was the miscellany containing work by a number of writers, rather than the manuscript devoted to the work of a single poet.³⁵

Indeed, in the Scottish tradition too, as Bawcutt playfully observes, many critics have something of 'little Jack Horner' in them, 'extracting merely the plums', with the inevitable result that 'silent selectivity, whether inspired by nationalism or some other motive [...] may lead to distortion and

Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 124-42 (p. 125).

³² The phrase is Parkinson's, 'Anthologies', [forthcoming].

³³ It is mentioned by Helena M. Shire, but not discussed in much detail, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 223. See also *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, ed. Charles B. Gullans (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 1, 1963), and Charles B. Gullans, 'New Poems by Sir Robert Ayton', *Modern Language Review*, 55:2 (1960), 161-68.

³⁴ I am extremely grateful to Jamie Reid Baxter for allowing me access to his draft article and transcription of the manuscript.

³⁵ Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 5.

falsification, not only of a manuscript's character but of a society's literary and musical culture'.³⁶ In order to avoid, as much as possible, such 'distortion and falsification', the transcriptions include all poems and all meaningful marginal annotations, and bear witness to scribal idiosyncrasies, so as to reflect most transparently the manner in which the poems appear on the manuscript pages.³⁷

The best way to approach a miscellany manuscript is often dictated by its form, and the manner in which it has been compiled. MS Laing III.447 is arranged according to an underlying organisational principle, and displays a progressive, thematic unity. For this reason, it is best explored from beginning to end, in order to highlight how the manuscript accumulates meaning, and how later scribes have consciously built on the contributions of earlier ones. The miscellany of James Murray of Tibbermuir is different from the Laing manuscript in that it does not show any one overarching organisational principle. Rather, poems are added as small groups, with demonstrable integrity within these groups (for instance, a collection of sonnets) but not necessarily between one group and the next. Regarding NLS MS 15937, there is far less certainty about the original lay-out of the manuscript. A strictly linear approach would ignore possible interference from the anonymous nineteenth-century copyist. The Robertson manuscript is also by far the most expansive manuscript to be discussed here, and the present project does not allow for a discussion of every single poem in the manuscript. For that reason, a more selective approach is adopted in Chapter Four, based on the identification of particular groups of poems (for instance on the basis of verse form, or possible shared source).

For all three miscellanies, as far as evidence allows, a full listing of possible source material will be provided, ranging from long poems to the most minute features (such as marginal annotations or moral couplets), in order to reveal the rich connections between these miscellanies and other Scottish and English printed books and manuscripts. A large number of poems will also be assessed on their literary merit, in particular those that have never been discussed before. Some are excellent, and deserve to be better known; other poems are less satisfying, but are interesting in the context in which they appear. In addition, the intelligent juxtapositioning of individual poems reveals important clues as to the reader reception of those poems. A comprehensive account of each miscellany is provided, addressing matters of provenance, ownership, content, source materials, literary merit, and the wider significance of the manuscript for Scottish scribal and literary culture. Only on the basis of such an all-encompassing study can the criticisms of Love and Bawcutt,

³⁶ Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 192.

³⁷ The only texts not transcribed, for reasons of limited space, are the long 'Off the cherry and the Slae' in the Laing manuscript, Murray of Tibbermuir's supply to the *Troy Book* (as well as the combined English and Scots *Troy Book* text), and the English songs in the Robertson manuscript that have also been printed by Fellowes. The Laing *Cherrie* is available in Stevenson's edition; the Scottish *Troy Book* fragments have been printed in *Barbour's, des schottischen Nationaldichters, Legendensammlung nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges*, ed. by J.C. Horstmann, 2 vols (Henninger: Heilbronn, 1881-82). For the English songs, see *English Madrigal Verse*, ed. by E.H. Fellowes, rev. by Frederick Sternfield and David Greer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). See Appendices for more details.

regarding early modern textual studies more generally, and in the area of Scottish early modern miscellanies in particular, be successfully countered.

New Histories of the Book

In the wake of New Historicism's insistence to consider a literary text's contexts (or 'co-texts'),³⁸ literary critics, manuscript scholars, bibliographers and theorists have joined forces to develop what might loosely be termed a 'new history of the book' (developed since the late 1980s and early 1990s, it is perhaps not so 'new' anymore). The fruits of that labour are evident in literary criticism now, used not in the least also to highlight marginalised writing. 'Marginalised' literally, as in, 'written in the margins of existing texts', but 'marginalised' also in the sense of 'ignored'. Writings by amateur collectors, writings by women, or writings that were ignored simply because they did not conform to a dominant critical mindset, are all increasingly taken into account, either in their own right (for instance women's poetry in manuscript), or to help investigate (or even subvert) the literary culture shaped by its better-known practitioners. These historians of the book share an overarching concern with the text in its physical manifestation, in print or manuscript. Whereas previously topics such as typography, paleography, or codicology were primarily the hunting grounds of the bibliographer, book historians have joined together the disciplines of bibliography and literary criticism because out of materialist approaches literary meaning can be distilled.³⁹ As such, histories of the book may be seen to re-assess post-structuralist and deconstructionist theories that attempted to entirely sideline the previously holy figure of the author and his/her authorial intention. Book historians argue for an enlarged space of identifiable agents in the creation of meaning, though this could involve not just the author, but rather any figure that is involved in the physical production of the medium in question (print, manuscript, or a combination of the two): the scribe, illuminator, compositor, printer, proof reader, bookseller, and more. Apart from the spheres of ideology, politics, and religion, which shape discursive practice and cultural identity (and are investigated by New Historicists), book historians attach great importance to the material processes that engender meaning in literary writing. In other words, what a piece of writing comes to mean in any given cultural environment can never be separated from the physical dimensions of the production and consumption of text. Oft-quoted critics who have developed this line of critical

³⁸ The literature on New Historicism and its various offspring is vast. See for instance *The New Historicism Reader*, ed. by H. Aram Veveser (London: Routledge, 1994), or *Practicing New Historicism*, ed. by Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

³⁹ See, for instance, MacKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 23: '[m]y own view is that no such border [between bibliography and textual criticism on the one hand, and literary criticism and literary history on the other] exists. In the pursuit of historical meanings, we move from the minutest feature of the material form of the book to questions of authorial, literary, and social context. These all bear in turn on the ways in which texts are then re-read, re-edited, re-designed, re-printed, and re-published. If a history of readings is made possible only by a comparative history of books, it is equally true that a history of books will have no point if it fails to account for the meanings they later come to make'.

thinking, and applied it successfully to English renaissance studies, are, for instance, Peter Beal, Mary Hobbs, Harold Love, Arthur F. Marotti, H.R. Woudhuysen, and Steven W. May. Their collective efforts are concisely formulated as follows:

Such [book historicist] studies encourage greater concern for the ways that the physical construction of MSS can reveal significant information about the source, state, production, and circulation of texts, fuller awareness of the subtle interplay of manuscript and print, and renewed attempts to recover the work of previously 'silent' writers as well as acknowledge the complexity of textual traditions associated with even the most frequently edited writers.⁴⁰

That 'complexity of textual traditions' may be exemplified by the coterie culture surrounding Philip Sidney, or John Donne, by a newly budding industry of handwritten 'news separates' that flourished in London from the early seventeenth century onwards, or by a manuscript culture that was particularly accommodating to women writers.⁴¹

An important implication of book history for editorial practice is a new realisation of the inherently multivalent nature of the manuscript poem, bearing witness to what Marotti terms 'textual instability', or the 'malleability of texts'.⁴² Before book history had made an impact, the printed book reigned supreme in the search for authorial intention and the establishment of an 'ur-text', followed closely by the autograph, or authorial manuscript. In the absence of either or both of these, authorial intention could to some extent be retrieved by constructing elaborate stemmas, or family trees, of manuscript and print groupings, to determine which text might have been closest to the author's original – this would then form the basis for an edition, and be reproduced in full. This approach, pioneered by German classicist Karl Lachmann, was supplanted by editing methods advocated in France by Joseph Bédier and in Anglophone studies by R.B. McKerrow and W.W. Greg, who introduced the eclectic text: a final text combining the 'best' features of multiple witnesses to produce the 'best' possible representation of a lost holograph.⁴³ Both approaches are inherently author-centred, and, as noted above, new book historians have sidelined the holy grail of authorial intention and brought into the equation other producers of text that have equal importance in the creation of literary meaning. Thus, what new book historians take most strongly from New Historicist thinking is the notion that meaning can only be reconstructed in direct conjunction with the cultural and material environment that produced the text in the first place.

⁴⁰ Kinnamon, 'Recent Studies', p. 9.

⁴¹ As discussed, respectively, in Woudhuysen, *Sidney*; Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Love, *Scribal Publication; Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*, ed. by Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

⁴² Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, pp. 135-47.

⁴³ For a succinct history of textual editing, see W. Speed Hill, 'Editing Non-Dramatic Texts of the English Renaissance: A Field Guide with Illustrations', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 1-24.

In the history of textual editing, the divergence of a later manuscript from an earlier one was typically referred to in terms of 'corruption': the corrupted text being less reliable, even at fault, or wrong. Today, this essentially negative preoccupation with corruption might better be replaced with the more positive idea of 'variance'. Rather than applying strong value judgements, differing manuscript versions of the same poem may be read as equally authoritative, certainly within the social environment that produced it. Bernard Cerquiglini proposes variance to be a text's decisive feature: 'medieval writing does not produce variants, it *is* variance'. He continues that 'because the variance of a medieval work is its primary characteristic, the concrete otherness of discursive mobility, the figure of a pre-modern written word, editions must give it priority, following it closely'.⁴⁴ Cerquiglini's eulogising – his work is aptly titled *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* – might not be to the liking of every student of medieval and early modern manuscripts; yet, its basic theoretical premises appear to have fully penetrated the critical consciousness. Consider the words of Ernest Sullivan, again in connection to the miscellany:

Renaissance manuscript miscellanies (and printed texts) contain alternative, authoritative versions of some poems – a fact that challenges the implicit assumption that literary texts are inevitably singular. The forces behind these multiple authoritative versions would seem to include the circumstances of the composition, thus the creation of 'private' text versions – texts created in a specific set of circumstances for a specific set of readers or even a single reader. As Marlowe and Shakespeare created different texts of *Doctor Faustus* and *King Lear* for different performances, so did other Renaissance authors create private texts for private readings (or 'performances') of their texts.⁴⁵

Each manuscript poem needs to be judged according to its complex surroundings; it cannot simply be extracted and, for instance, anthologised, without losing a considerable part of the meaning that it has accumulated from the various circumstances of its transcription, ranging from authorial and scribal intention (if such slippery notions can be said to exist in the first place), to variants that may intentionally or unintentionally have been introduced, to the wider significance of that poem among its neighbours in the manuscript, to marginal annotations and commentaries, and more. The chapters to follow shall bear explicit witness to Sullivan's 'private parties' in Scottish manuscripts. Importantly, in the case of miscellanies, these private texts are created not so much by the author of a given poem, but by the compiler, or copyist, who occupies an essential mediating position between the poet and the reading public.

⁴⁴ Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. by Betsy Wing (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 77-78.

⁴⁵ Ernest W. Sullivan II, 'The Renaissance Manuscript Verse Miscellany: Private Party, Private Text', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 289-97 (p. 296).

New Histories of the Scottish Book

The most active proponents of book history are now occasionally quoted by Scottish medievalist and early modern scholars.⁴⁶ A good example of a book-historical study of a Scottish miscellany manuscript is Sally Mapstone's discussion of *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* in MS RH13/35 (now in the NAS, Edinburgh). The manuscript, belonging to John Cockburn of Ormiston and compiled in the early to mid-1580s, throws new light on the reception of this fifteenth-century poem, its treatment of ecclesiastical appointments being of particular contemporary relevance for the more extreme Protestant factions to which Cockburn belonged. Mapstone's exposition tantalisingly ends on the family relations between the Cockburns and the Maitlands associated with the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts, suggesting that the compilation of the famous Maitland manuscripts, and the distinctly un-famous MS RH13/35, 'were not only occurring around the same time but also among a circle of people likely to be well acquainted with each other'.⁴⁷

A more wide-ranging account is Priscilla Bawcutt's description of the commonplace book of John Maxwell.⁴⁸ This small manuscript (EUL MS Laing III.467) is perhaps properly referred to as a commonplace book, rather than a miscellany, since it contains not only verse in Latin and Scots, but also a list of classical gods, puzzles on the compiler's name, historical and satirical notes, and much more. It is an important collection in that Maxwell appears to have been acquainted with Alexander Montgomerie, as evidenced by an anonymous sonnet addressed to William Mure of Rowallan, a descendant of the 'maister poet' Montgomerie. A transcription of the manuscript exists in the archives of *DOST* in Edinburgh, but has never been published, so its content is available only to the most persevering of scholars. Maxwell's manuscript will be returned to in due course, since various fragments are shared between this commonplace book and the miscellanies that are under scrutiny here.

The most ambitious project to date based on a single miscellany manuscript is Hughes and Ramson's book-length critical discussion of the Bannatyne manuscript – one of the very few Scottish miscellanies that has in fact received generous attention (the book also includes about a third of poems in the manuscript, newly edited).⁴⁹ The editors' assessment of previous scholarship reveals the necessity to review miscellanies in their entirety:

⁴⁶ See for instance Parkinson, 'Anthologies', [forthcoming], who references Love and Woudhuysen; Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 193, references Love, Hobbs, Marotti and Woudhuysen.

⁴⁷ Mapstone, 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis', p. 136.

⁴⁸ Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England, and Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 59-68.

⁴⁹ The only text that rivals the Bannatyne manuscript in terms of critical attention is the earlier Bodleian, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 (see further Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 191). For work on the Bannatyne manuscript, see Hughes and Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court*; William Ramson, 'On Bannatyne's Editing', in *Bards and Makars*, ed. by Adam J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp. 173-83; Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Printed Book that Never Was: George Bannatyne's Poetic Anthology (1568)', in *Boeken in de late Middeleeuwen*, ed. by Jos M.M. Hermans and Klaas van der Hoek (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1994), pp. 101-10; Theo van

The [Bannatyne] Manuscript has been worked as a quarry, its resources used to establish either a sectional interest or the *corpus* of a known poet, like Henryson or Dunbar; but it has not, as a whole, been subjected to scrutiny; and it is indeed a sorry state of affairs which has allowed Tottel's *Miscellany* to acquire the familiarity of a household word amongst students of English literature while the contents of the infinitely richer Bannatyne Manuscript remain, to a very large extent, an esoteric preserve.⁵⁰

Poetry of the Stewart Court has been criticised, interestingly, also for reading too much into scribally imposed structures: 'while it is clear that Bannatyne, at least at times, did make an effort to put similar poems together, I am not convinced that the collection is as carefully arranged, poem by poem, as the authors suggest'.⁵¹ Regardless of this well-founded criticism, the attempt of Hughes and Ramson to capture within one framework Bannatyne's massive collection is an important achievement, even if their conclusions may not find universal approval (Denton Fox further questions, for instance, Hughes and Ramson's description of the entire manuscript as 'courtly', which, as a whole, it is clearly not).

George Bannatyne's taxonomic zeal – his collection is divided into five main sections, some further subdivided – has inspired ongoing debate. His gathering of 410 poems in the main manuscript, and 53 in the draft (though mainly doubles) has invited critics to rave hyperbolically (see Walter Scott's verse about 'Sage Bannatyne / Who left such a treasure of old Scottish lore / As enables each age to print one volume more', which apparently was sung 'by the members at the dinners of the [Bannatyne] club'), or respond more measuredly, for instance that 'the Bannatyne manuscript is a uniquely informative resource'.⁵² This is not the place for a full review of critical perspectives on the Bannatyne manuscript, but one question that has been vigorously debated is of direct relevance here: did Bannatyne ever intend his work to be printed? In the absence of any contemporary evidence, the answer hinges on an understanding of the nature of the manuscript book in Scotland, the level of importance attached to the printed book at the time, and the estimated necessity for the compiler to reach a further audience. These are exactly the type of questions that concern book historians. Partly in response to a well-established space now for 'scribal publication', critics increasingly argue that Bannatyne's manuscript did not have to be printed to reach its desired audience. MacDonald, as an eager advocate for a print scenario, has faced

Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: the Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in *The Renaissance in Scotland. Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture offered to John Durkan*, ed. by Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 183-225; Evelyn S. Newlyn, '“The Wryttar to the Reidaris”: Editing Practices in Politics in the Bannatyne Manuscript', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 34 (1999), 14-30.

⁵⁰ Hughes and Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court*, p. 24.

⁵¹ Denton Fox, 'Humorously Inclined' [book review of *Poetry of the Stewart Court*], *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 September 1983, p. 1065.

⁵² Scott is quoted in *Bannatyne Manuscript*, I, p. xxxi; the second observation comes from Hughes and Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court*, p. vii.

opposition from Bawcutt, for instance, and from Theo van Heijnsbergen. The latter in particular has persuasively argued for an intricate family and professional network, or prosopographical context, of merchants, moneylenders, city councillors, and other influential figures in Edinburgh. Such a crowd may have constituted a potential audience for Bannatyne's manuscript. In an active scribal culture, moreover, print was unnecessary if indeed the scribe wished to circulate his collection. The Bannatyne manuscript, and wider questions of scribal publication, loom large over each of the chapters to follow: not so much because it is arguably the most important Scottish miscellany (critics, notably Bawcutt, have attempted to edge away from this standpoint), but because its vast content is relevant to each of the three manuscripts discussed here – each contains one or more poems that also feature in Bannatyne. Also, the literary culture fostered by Bannatyne and his circle is of extreme importance for the current discussion, as a similar environment is relevant to the Laing manuscript. A new civic cultural identity was on the rise in Edinburgh, and one that overlapped with, but was also distinct from, the culture at the royal court. This topic will be explored in much more detail in Chapter Two.

Out of the works of Love, Woudhuysen, Marotti, and others, a methodology can be distilled that can be put to good use to remap Scottish renaissance writing. In terms of manuscripts, and more particularly in terms of literary miscellanies, Randall Anderson summarises what can be gained from a comprehensive rather than a 'cherry-picking' approach, which builds, implicitly, on Love's criticism of editorial practice quoted above:

We should also pursue the implications of what is evident about manuscript miscellanies through the *arrangement* of their contents: what putative – or authentic – poet gets placed next to what other supposed poet. The company a poem or poet keeps in a manuscript miscellany – which therefore demands a larger view of the manuscript as a whole – is more important than the isolation of individual poems or poets. The proximity of one poem to another is made all the more compelling, too, when a block of Sidney's or Breton's or Raleigh's or Dyer's verse is interrupted by some scurrilous or bawdy lines, an occasional poem, or unintentionally doggerel verses by an acquaintance. One characteristic of the artifactual evidence many verse collections display is their *linear* nature: collections primarily devoted to poetry (or other *miscellanea*) grow by accretion, with each poem building upon its predecessors, and each new addition changing the tone and character of the whole. We can assemble the growth (or stagnation) of a compiler's taste based on the shape of the collection.⁵³

Anderson's observations are not applicable to every miscellany: we cannot always make meaning of growth or stagnation, because this presupposes that every miscellany is elaborately planned. For the early modern compiler, serendipity played a role in finding his/her copy text. To always look for compilatory intention misses the point, as in many instances such supposed cumulative meaning

⁵³ Randall Anderson, "'The Merit of a Manuscript Poem': The Case for Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 85", in *Print, Manuscript and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2000), pp. 127-53 (p. 131).

is accidental.⁵⁴ Yet, the 'company a poem or poet keeps' is critical for other reasons. One example from the Tibbermuir manuscript is the juxtaposition of Montgomerie's 'Heich Architects wouderous wouttit rounds' with the anonymous 'I am the sevint I was the first off tuelve', associated with Julian Ker. These two poems together enable speculation about the relationship between Montgomerie, Ker, and her husband Patrick Hume of Polwarth (Montgomerie's *Flying adversary*) that may have wider implications for an understanding of the poetic culture of the 1580s.⁵⁵ Groups of manuscript poems forge links that may be indicative of connections, either between texts or between people, which range far beyond the confines of the manuscript. Miscellanies can function as windows into early modern literary culture – though to what degree any compiler has consciously inscribed his/her manuscript with cumulative meaning is very difficult to determine with certainty. What Anderson's approach can certainly demonstrate is how to move from 'a genealogy of *texts* to a genealogy of *tastes*'.⁵⁶ A genealogy of texts is arranged by whatever is perceived as important literary artefacts – printed books certainly, but also major manuscript collections, from which works of so-called 'high art' have been quarried ceaselessly. A genealogy of tastes may be developed if we also take account of the entire content of lesser known manuscripts, and take into consideration the 'scurrilous or bawdy lines' and 'unintentionally doggerel verses' that would to a significant extent have shaped the reading experiences of a contemporary manuscript audience.

Literary Circles, the Court, and the Canon

The question of intellectual networks, and the circulation of literary materials, is very much at the forefront of miscellany research. Implied in the term 'circulation' is the notion of a circle, a real or imagined collection of agents to keep manuscripts in motion. In Scotland, as elsewhere, the concept of circles has helped to configure descriptions of the literary climate.⁵⁷ The example most relevant to early modern Scotland is the 'Castalian band'. Popularised by the work of Helena Shire, the notion of this courtly coterie associated with King James VI informed critical writing for several decades.⁵⁸ Its reputed members (Alexander Montgomerie, William Fowler, Stewart of Baldynneis, the Hudson brothers, perhaps the more peripheral figures Patrick Hume of Polwarth and Alexander

⁵⁴ For a collection of essays that purposely sets out to find structure in miscellaneous collections, see *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996). This book has recently been criticised by Derek Pearsall, 'The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 17-29. See further Chapter Five, pp. 202-4.

⁵⁵ This is discussed in much more detail below, see Chapter Three, pp. 118-22.

⁵⁶ Anderson, 'Manuscript Poem', p. 132.

⁵⁷ More generally on this topic, see, for instance, Judith Scherer Herz, 'Of Circles, Friendship, and the Imperatives of Literary History', in *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, OH: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 10-23.

⁵⁸ Shire developed this notion of the 'band' most strongly in her *Song, Dance and Poetry*.

Hume, and the more shadowy John Murray and John Burel, as well as the later generation poets such as Alexander Craig, William Alexander, and Robert Ayton) supposedly rallied around the king's banner to partake in a new Scottish programme of renaissance writing fashioned by the king himself, and expressed in his *Reulis and Cautelis*.⁵⁹ The perceived social organisation of this band, its alleged members, and its period of activity have recently been probed by Bawcutt, who concludes that the 'band' is in fact a critical construct, and that as an interpretative concept it should be treated very circumspectly.⁶⁰ Scholars seem now generally to have acknowledged Bawcutt's words of warning, and customarily highlight the potential unreliability of the 'Castalian band' as an interpretative tool – though recognising at the same time that, even as an anachronistic label, it may still usefully denote a particular period in literary history, or even a period style. That said, the 'band' has very recently been resurrected again by R.D.S. Jack, in his entry for the *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography*, which is less critical of Shire, and reintroduces her notion of the Scottish 'writing game'.⁶¹

Even though it has been suggested that the 'band' was a determinedly inward-looking company of poets and musicians playing to the tune of James's *Reulis and Cautelis*, it is striking that relatively few figures associated with that movement consistently resurface in the manuscript miscellanies produced during and after the 1580s and 1590s – particularly since scribal publication was very accommodating to coterie writers.⁶² Not a single miscellany manuscript surviving from the period 1580-1603 in Scotland can be labelled an exclusively 'courtly' manuscript (though many poems display characteristics of 'courtly' writing).⁶³ Instead, only descendants of such hypothetical

⁵⁹ *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. by James Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 3rd ser. 22, 26, 1955-58), I, 65-83.

⁶⁰ Priscilla Bawcutt, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', *Scottish Historical Review*, 80 (2001), 251-59.

⁶¹ R.D.S. Jack, 'Castalian band (act. 1584-1603)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/95583>, accessed 4 September 2007].

⁶² It should also be noted that many Scottish writers did not eschew print. For instance, the king himself printed two volumes of writing, in 1584 and 1591 (see note 1 above). Predating this was Hume of Polwarth's *Promine* of 1580, and Fowler's *An Ansvver to the Calvniouvs Letter and Erroneous propositiouns of an Apostat Named M. Io. Hammilton* in 1581, although the latter was a religious polemic rather than a literary work. Roughly contemporary with James's first publication was Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith* (1584). Montgomerie's *Cherrie and the Slae* was printed in 1597, within the poet's lifetime (though it is uncertain how much control Montgomerie exercised over this, and the second edition of the same year). Alexander Hume's *Hymnes and Sacred Songs* appeared in 1599. John Burel works were printed, though the exact date is unknown. Alexander Craig's works were printed in 1604 (*Poetical Essayes*), 1606 (*Amorose Songes*), 1609 (*Poetical Recreations*), 1623 (*Poeticall Recreations*), and (posthumously) in 1631 (*The Pilgrime and Heremite*). William Drummond of Hawthornden's career in print was even more prolific, with works printed in 1613 (*Teares on the Death of Meliades*), 1616 (*Poems*), 1617/18 (*Forth Feasting*), 1623 (*Flowers of Sion*), and several reprints in his lifetime. The print history of these poets is an integral part of Scottish book history more generally.

⁶³ The concept of 'courtly' in Scottish terms is difficult to define, and certainly very different from, for instance, Elizabethan 'courtly'. A clear distinction needs to be made between 'courtly' as a spatial marker (literature produced at, and exclusively for, the court) and 'courtly' as a more loosely defined poetic style (literature produced in 'courtly' modes, such as the amatory sonnet). See further Chapter Two, pp. 43-44.

courtly manuscripts have survived – such as the miscellanies under scrutiny here. Closest perhaps come the collected papers of William Fowler, who was a courtier to James, and Secretary to Queen Anne, from c. 1582 until his death in 1612. Yet, Fowler's manuscripts are manifestly personal papers, and although a great deal of poetry by other named and anonymous poets is included, there is too little evidence to consider anything in his collection a courtly miscellany.⁶⁴ There is no trace of Fowler's poetry outside his own substantial collection of manuscripts. John Stewart of Baldynneis, once habitually quoted as a member of the band, might have had one chance-encounter with the king, and, as McClune persuasively argues, his writing was probably situated in a family coterie away from court – perhaps as a result none of Stewart's known work appears elsewhere than in his own presentation manuscript.⁶⁵ From the supposed 'band', only Alexander Montgomerie's writings seem to have found a wider Scottish readership, to the point that David Parkinson identified various Montgomerie canons.⁶⁶ Importantly, those include separate (but related) manuscript and print canons. The latter ensured a wide readership (in terms of numbers of books printed) of a limited number of poems. In addition, virtually every miscellany manuscript and musical manuscript produced after 1580 contains one or more Montgomerie poems, most of which were never printed.

Montgomerie is probably the most widely disseminated vernacular poet in manuscript around the turn of the seventeenth century. On the basis of the three miscellanies under review here, other poets can be identified, however, whose works circulated more extensively than was hitherto realised. One example is Alexander Hume. Although at one time involved with courtly writing (which Hume equates to amatory, and thus sinful, poetry), according to his own testimony he broke with the courtly mode to explore devotional poetry.⁶⁷ Modern constructions of the late sixteenth-century literary establishment situate Hume's works in the margins, although the fruits of his labour, his *Hymnes and Sacred Songs*, were clearly popular with a contemporary audience. This is attested by the two manuscript copies (in NLS MS 19.3.6, and CUL MS Kk.5.30) of his 'Of the Day Estivall'; in addition, MS Laing III.447 collects another of his poems, 'The weicht of sin is wonder greit'. Another example is Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, who is not a poet known to have been included in many Scottish miscellanies (though his works were printed post-1603), yet, three of his poems will be identified below in the Tibbermuir and Robertson manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Fowler's manuscripts mostly survive in NLS MSS 2053-2065. Volumes I to X contain the works of William Drummond of Hawthornden; volumes XI to XV contain Fowler's papers. See also *The Works of William Fowler*, ed. by Henry W. Meikle, James Craigie and John Purves, 3 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 6, 3rd ser. 7, 13, 1914-40), and Sebastiaan Verweij, 'The Manuscripts of William Fowler: A Reevaluation of *The Tarantula of Love*, *A Sonnet Sequence* and *Of Death*', *Scottish Studies Review*, 8:2 (2007), 9-23.

⁶⁵ McClune, 'Stewart of Baldynneis', pp. 165-76.

⁶⁶ David J. Parkinson, 'Alexander Montgomerie: Scottish Author' in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 493-513.

⁶⁷ *The Poems of Alexander Hume*, ed. by Alexander Lawson (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 48, 1902). See further Chapter Three, pp. 133-36.

In relation to Elizabethan canon formation on the basis of manuscript and print publication, Steven May's observations are instructive:

We can find out, at least to some degree, what poetry 'did' at the apogee of Elizabethan society – but this will require a wholesale rewriting of the canon. We must begin to investigate a very different array of authors and works from those that have been studied to date; in addition, scholarly analysis of the transmitting media must shift from print to manuscript.⁶⁸

May's words could have far-reaching implications for English renaissance studies, as he proposes to open up canon boundaries to allow entry for a great deal of anonymous verse, often distinctly non-amatory, and disregard what he terms the 'commercial poets', such as Drayton, Daniel, Campion, Spenser, or Gascoigne, who are conventionally regarded to have given shape to an Elizabethan courtly aesthetic. In response to May's call to reconfigure the English courtly canon, Speed Hill remarks that 'facts can be very disconcerting' – particularly those facts that demand a radical reorientation of scholarship up to date.⁶⁹

In the Scottish context, it is to be hoped that miscellany research will shake up the canon, too, but perhaps the odds are unfavourable. Since 'scholars and critics are nervous in the face of works of uncertain provenance and chronology',⁷⁰ anonymous verse in manuscript is traditionally less likely to be included in anthologies or critical discussions. Where May has recourse to a number of manuscripts demonstrably associated with Elizabethan courtiers, in Scotland no such evidence is available. Perhaps the very lack of such exclusively courtly collections is telling in itself. Although allowances must be made for the fact that evidence may simply have disappeared, by a careful consideration of the contents and contexts of those manuscripts that have survived new hypotheses can be formulated. Now that the most pervasive critical conceptualisation of early modern Scottish writing has been challenged (that of Shire, her 'modern myth' of the 'Castalian band'), there is scope to reset the parameters, or to rethink the paradigms.⁷¹ A comprehensive study of the miscellanies will provide essential information on 'what poetry did' (in May's words), and what poems and songs – both Scottish and English – were read and performed in the 1580s through to the 1630s.

⁶⁸ Steven W. May, 'Manuscript Circulation at the Elizabethan Court', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (New York: Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1993), pp. 273-80 (p. 274). See also his *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets*.

⁶⁹ Speed Hill, 'Field Guide', p. 21.

⁷⁰ Roderick J. Lyall, "'A New Maid Channoun'?: Redefining the Canonical in Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991), 1-18 (p. 3).

⁷¹ Two critics have recently called for a review of the 'parameters of culture' and a search for 'paradigms lost', see Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Parameters', and Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'Paradigms Lost: Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in *Schooling and Scholarship: The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*, ed. by Alasdair A. MacDonald and Michael W. Twomey (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), pp. 197-211.

As argued above, and in light of Parkinson's perspective on compilation as a creative and progressive process, compilers also take account of more recent, or contemporary developments in literary culture that may provide evidence of the direction that Scottish early modern writing took after 1603. The notion that Scottish literature perished after the Reformation, and that its final stale dregs were consumed at the court of James VI, has been sufficiently challenged.⁷² But what, then, was it replaced with? Are there any trends to discern in the manuscripts produced after the Union that reveal that literature was in a state more healthy and fit than previously supposed? Can any local cultural centres be identified where business continued as usual, and where compilers and readers were perhaps less reliant on the court as a socio-cultural hub? Questions relating to intellectual networks, circulation, and the construction of a canon on the basis of manuscript evidence, will be extensively dealt with in the chapters that follow, so that the miscellanies are not studied only in their own right, but also as products that are indicative of the wider cultural developments in literary Scotland.

A 'Degree of Adventurousness'

Derek Pearsall, in an article looking back over a long and illustrious career as a manuscript scholar, lists three distinct, though not mutually exclusive, 'values' of manuscript research.⁷³ The first value is what the manuscript in question might reveal about authorial intention of the texts contained in it; the second reveals the reception history of that text. The third value is the manuscript's significance for cultural history. These three values are intrinsically linked and often difficult to separate. With regards to the miscellanies discussed here, and quite apart from theoretical issues as to whether it is necessary to retrieve 'authorial intention' in the first place, it is generally dangerous to try and extract evidence of authorial intention, since the literary texts have been filtered through an often opaque process of circulation and dissemination that introduced many textual variants. However, the miscellanies contain unrivalled evidence of the reception history of the poems, and of the larger cultural environment that produced these manuscripts. With a view towards the future of manuscript studies, Pearsall strongly advocates 'a degree of adventurousness':

There is a view, and it is hardly controvertible, that absolute precision and certainty is what one needs in talking about manuscripts [...] It is hard to argue against this view, but I would suggest that it is not without its drawbacks. It can also lead to silence, where we are deprived of the matured opinions of experts who feel that it is better to be silent than to run the risk of publishing something that may turn out to be inaccurate. It can also lead to a compulsory wild abandon, when a scholar who

⁷² Scholarship has busied itself generally to put early modern Scottish writing firmly back onto the map. For an account of the historical neglect of the period, see for instance R.D.S. Jack's introduction to *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature: 1375-1707*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal (Edinburgh: Mercat Press 1997), pp. vii-xxxix. For a positive, forward-looking study, see Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005).

⁷³ Derek Pearsall, 'The Value/s of Manuscript Study', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 3 (2000), 167-81.

strictly refrains from speculation regarding manuscript description will throw caution in the wind when it comes to a matter of literary judgement or interpretation. Or it can lead to a cramped hesitation, when a promising but untested hypothesis is held back for fear that it may betray some ignorance in an associated field: the value of such hypotheses, even if they do prove inadequate, in obliging other scholars to re-examine the sources of their own knowledge and opinions and to produce other and better hypotheses, goes unrecognized.⁷⁴

This argument can usefully be applied to early modern Scottish criticism. The manuscript miscellanies under scrutiny here, but also others, need to be subjected to 'promising but untested' hypotheses. This is not to say that we should apply them with 'compulsory wild abandon', but simply to argue that questions without direct evidence are still valid questions to ask. The relatively small amount of critical interest and work done on Scottish late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century miscellanies is entirely disproportionate in relation to what these manuscripts might reveal. The current project will, perhaps inevitably, 'betray some ignorance in an associated field', yet this should not detract from the importance of bringing the three miscellany manuscripts to critical attention. To borrow Stewart of Baldynneis's phrase, and inverting his modesty topos, the next three chapters will investigate the 'prompt pen' of a number of Scottish scribes. Each miscellany discussed here, in its unique way, offers invaluable evidence pertaining to Scottish literary and book culture, and to the reception of more than a century of Scottish writing.

⁷⁴ Pearsall, 'Value/s', pp. 175-76.

chapter two ~

‘Johne Nesbet vith my hand’ Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III.447

Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III.447 is one of a large number of manuscripts to come to the library from the private collection of David Laing. An edition of the manuscript was published by the Scottish Text Society in 1910, edited by George Stevenson, and entitled *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, and Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447: Supplementary Volume*. This volume was supplementary to James Cranstoun’s *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie* of 1887, also published by the STS. Cranstoun, for his edition, drew primarily on the most important witness of Montgomerie’s lyrical verse, EUL MS De.3.70, also known as the Ker manuscript. In addition, for Montgomerie’s longer poems, *The Cherrie and the Slae* and the jointly authored *Flyting of Montgomerie and Polwart*, Cranstoun relied on early prints.¹ Stevenson’s supplement was of great value for the criticism of Montgomerie’s life and writings, since for the first time it presented in print, in addition to several historical documents detailing the poet’s life, the relevant content of three newly discovered manuscripts: Huntington Library MS HM 105, BL MS Harley 7578, and MS Laing III.447.² The first, also known as the Tullibardine manuscript, contains another text of the *Flyting* (entitled *Invectiues Allexander Montgomeeree and Pollwart* in the manuscript), and one dedicatory sonnet to King James VI.³ MS Harley 7578 contains yet another transcription of the *Flyting*, copied from print by John Rutherford, and bound into one volume with other items of prose, verse and drama.⁴ The final manuscript, and subject of this chapter, MS Laing III.447 contains thirty-seven miscellaneous poems: one of these is Montgomerie’s ‘Off the cherry and the

¹ For the most recent discussion of the print and manuscript traditions, see: *Alexander Montgomerie: Poems*, ed. by David J. Parkinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 28, 29, 2000), II, 1-11; Sally Mapstone, ‘Invective as Poetic: The Cultural Contexts of Polwarth and Montgomerie’s Flyting’, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 26:2 (1999), 18-40; David J. Parkinson, ‘Alexander Montgomerie, Scottish Author’, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 493-513; Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005). Two sixteenth-century editions of the *Cherrie* survive, both printed by Waldegrave in 1597, the second supposedly ‘corrected be the author himselfe’. From Allan Ramsay’s *The Ever Green* (1724) it transpired that Andro Hart printed the poem in 1615, but this edition does not survive. A later print of 1636 by John Wreittoun is presumably based on this lost edition. The first edition of the *Flyting* that survives was printed by Andro Hart in 1621, and again in 1629.

² Stevenson credits discovery of the manuscripts to Rudolf Brotanek, *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, and Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447: Supplementary Volume*, ed. by George Stevenson (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 59, 1910), p. vii.

³ See further Parkinson, ed., *Montgomerie: Poems*, II, 6-9.

⁴ For a list of contents of MS Harley 7578, see *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. by H. Wanley, 4 vols (London: [n.p.], 1808-12), III, 538.

Slae' (ff. 15r-31v), and two others are his shorter lyrics 'Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane' (f. 36v) and 'Peccau pater meserere mei' (ff. 80r-81r).

Stevenson's supplementary volume is without a doubt a valuable edition, yet for modern scholars his editing of the complete contents of the Laing manuscript also creates serious difficulties. They are summed up by Priscilla Bawcutt as follows:

Another small verse miscellany (EUL, La. III. 447) has been printed, but the order of items is totally rearranged, for no obvious reason; what is even more misleading is that it is published in the Scottish Text Society's Montgomerie supplementary volume, although it has only three poems certainly by that poet.⁵

In other words, there are two main problems. Firstly, Stevenson's ordering of the poems is loosely thematic and makes impossible any appreciation of the manuscript's original form, and, secondly, Montgomerie's association with many of the miscellaneous poems is doubtful at best. Although Bawcutt and others have acknowledged these difficulties, still the balance has never been redressed. For a fresh examination of the manuscript, a study of the original organisation of the poems needs to be the starting point. As discussed in Chapter One, it is essential to try and recover how a miscellany's contents were collected, and how the manuscript was given shape. Although reservations have been noted in the previous chapter (pp. 21-22) with regard to how, in Anderson's words '[w]e can assemble the growth (or stagnation) of a compiler's taste based on the shape of the collection', MS Laing III.447 makes an excellent test case of a collection that seems indeed to have 'grown by accretion'.⁶ It is a complex type of accretion, however, as the manuscript features a multitude of different hands: Stevenson suggests the total number of scribes to be 'over a dozen'.⁷ In Stevenson's rearranged edition, it is difficult to track the compilers' progress, or indeed regress, unless one puzzles it back together on the basis of the folio numbers. In order to accommodate a revaluation of the manuscript, a transcription is appended (see Appendix Two; this is complete with the exception of the long 'Off the cherry and the Slae').⁸ This transcription lacks Stevenson's editorial punctuation and his silent emendations; furthermore, it takes into account the wealth of marginalia and, most importantly for the present purpose, it presents the poems in the order in which they appear.

⁵ Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 189-210.

⁶ Randall Anderson, "'The Merit of a Manuscript Poem": The Case for Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 85', in *Print, Manuscript and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), pp. 127-153 (p. 131).

⁷ Stevenson, p. xxxvi.

⁸ All quotations from the manuscript below represent the text exactly as it appears on the page, but following the transcription conventions as set out in the Note on Transcriptions (see p. v). However, since Stevenson provides many suggestions, fills in obvious gaps, and corrects scribal mistakes, his editorial notes will be added in the margin of my transcription, and marked 'St'.

Editorial History of MS Laing III.447

It can be inferred that David Laing – prodigious bookseller, antiquary, scholar and editor – acquired MS Laing III.447 sometime after 1821. In that year had appeared his edition of the poems of Montgomerie, yet it makes no mention of this particular manuscript containing a version of *The Cherrie and the Slae* and two shorter poems.⁹ According to Stevenson, the undated inscription on this manuscript's fly-leaf, 'D. Laing Esq / Mes. Laing & Forbes / Princes Street / Edinburgh / With mr W L melvilles / compliments', reveals that Laing received the manuscript from William Lock Melville. On the basis of this, Stevenson hypothesises that Laing's acquisition of the manuscript might have prompted his projected revised edition of Montgomerie's works, or that the bequest might have reflected a newly roused interest in Montgomerie following Laing's 1821 edition.¹⁰ Whatever may be the truth of this matter, Laing's revised text was never produced, and the manuscript quietly passed into the collection of Edinburgh University Library after his death in 1878.

After Stevenson's edition of 1910, silence ensued again and the manuscript and its contents were not much discussed. Henry Harvey Wood re-issued *The Cherrie and the Slae* in 1937, and Helena Shire edited and published a selection of Montgomerie's verse in 1960, including some fragments from the *Cherrie*. Shire does not mention MS Laing III.447; Harvey Wood dismisses it on the basis that the manuscript's transcription of the *Cherrie* 'bears a genuine resemblance to W2 [Waldegrave's second print, 1597] but it is much more eccentric and corrupt'.¹¹ Notwithstanding R.D.S. Jack's short monograph on Montgomerie in the *Scottish Writers Series*, published in 1985, it appears that the poet's popularity had waned, heralded perhaps by C.S. Lewis's damning critique that Montgomerie's sonnets, for instance, were 'not, perhaps, opened once in a hundred years by those who read for pleasure'.¹² Though some of the poet's works fared slightly better under Lewis's judgement, even when considered as 'last of the makaris' or a 'precursor to Drummond', Lewis was harsh: 'unless you are a student you will not read him in either capacity'.¹³

Today, Montgomerie has been reinstated as Scotland's most accomplished poet of the late sixteenth century, not least due to David Parkinson's newly edited *Poems* (2000) and Roderick J. Lyall's recent book-length critical study (2005). In Lyall's words, 'Montgomerie is not only the finest Scottish poet of his age', but 'one of the most distinctive and innovative poetic voices in

⁹ Stevenson, p. xxxv.

¹⁰ Stevenson, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

¹¹ *The Cherrie and the Slae*, ed. by Henry Harvey Wood (London: Faber, 1937), p. 107; *Alexander Montgomerie: A Selection From his Songs and Poems*, ed. by Helena M. Shire (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1960).

¹² R.D.S. Jack, *Alexander Montgomerie* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985); C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 110. Lewis is quoted by Parkinson, who discusses Montgomerie's canon and his critics in greater length. Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', p. 494.

¹³ Lewis, p. 112.

early modern Britain'.¹⁴ Parkinson and Lyall both deal only summarily with MS Laing III.447, and, from their point of view, with good reason. Stevenson conjectures that 'there is at least a strong probability that some of the compositions in question are the work of Montgomerie'; that is, those not easily identified as his because they also occur elsewhere.¹⁵ Jack, however, ventures that 'but very few can with confidence be assigned to Montgomerie'.¹⁶ Lyall follows Jack, and referring to the dispersion of Montgomerie's verse in manuscripts other than the Ker manuscript, argues the following:

[I]t is not surprising that other collections – specifically the Bannatyne and Maitland Quarto manuscripts – attribute to Montgomerie poems which are absent from Ker; the materials from which the Ker scribe compiled the manuscript may well have been incomplete, lacking some items of which the poet himself did not keep, or had lost, a copy. It further follows from this that a few genuine poems may lie unattributed in other extant collections, such as EUL MS. Laing III.447, in which two of Montgomerie's pieces from the Ker manuscript appear without attribution. But we should clearly be very cautious about making additions to the corpus on this basis, especially when the argument is as weak as George Stevenson's bold assertion that '[i]t is hard to believe that this and the following four sonnets could have been written by any other Scottish poet than Montgomerie'.¹⁷

Of the thirty-six miscellaneous poems printed by Stevenson, in addition to the *Cherrie* only two re-appear in Parkinson's edition (they are 'Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane' and 'Peccau pater meserere mei'), where their authorship can be corroborated with their occurrence in the Ker manuscript. Parkinson's corpus consists of the totality of the Ker manuscript, his preferred Tullibardine manuscript text of the *Flyting*, and two versions of *The Cherrie and the Slae*, both from prints. A further five 'other poems' are added: two from the Maitland Quarto manuscript, and three from the Bannatyne manuscript. Although any other detailed consideration post-dating Stevenson is lacking, it seems that evidence is too scant to attribute anything more to Montgomerie from the Laing manuscript. His signature has thus been permanently removed from the manuscript as a whole. This realisation dramatically changes the way the manuscript is now perceived: whereas at first regarded as a manuscript possibly containing a significant number of previously unknown poems from the hand of Scotland's 'maister poet', MS Laing III.447 is now regarded as a miscellany proper.

Manuscript Content

In his introduction to the edition, Stevenson is critical of David Laing's editorial practice with the Ker manuscript. He condemns in particular Laing's occasional shortening or lengthening of stanzas by displacing short half-lines. As the later editor further comments,

¹⁴ Lyall, *Montgomerie*, p. 349.

¹⁵ Stevenson, p. xlii.

¹⁶ Jack, *Montgomerie*, p. 76, note 1.

¹⁷ Lyall, *Montgomerie*, pp. 29-30.

editorial liberties are taken with a number of the minor poems in the [Ker] Manuscript. In these, changes are made (without acknowledgment) in the scribe's order of the lines, an interference which has the effect of altering the structure of the stanzas.¹⁸

Stevenson provides several examples of how Montgomerie's carefully crafted stanza forms are distorted.¹⁹ Yet, by rearranging the Laing manuscript's content, Stevenson is guilty of a crime not dissimilar to Laing's. The supplementary volume's organisation of poems is roughly thematic, moving from mostly amatory stanzaic poetry (I to XIX in Stevenson's edition), to amatory sonnets (XX to XXVIII), and finally to devotional stanzaic verse (XXIX to XXXVI). The 'miscellaneous poems' are printed separately from 'Off the cherry and the Slae' (ff. 15r-31v), which in Laing appears halfway, a position that may give it particular prominence in the manuscript. The ramifications of this rearrangement are not always so clear to readers of Stevenson's edition. For instance, in the manuscript there is no unified collection of sonnets separated from stanzaic poems – they appear indiscriminately mixed. Although an argument will be made below for active scribal determination that led to a thematic build-up, nevertheless religious and amatory verse alternate freely. The manuscript does not end, as one might expect from the last poem in Stevenson, with 'Consider man how tyme do pass' (f. 71v), a set of proverbial lines expressing ubiquitous sixteenth-century *memento mori* sentiments. Rather, it ends with a sonnet, 'Thocht Polibus pisander and with them' (f. 83v).

The following is a list of the poems by folio number, providing the first line and/or title, the author (when known), and the hand in which the poem appears. It also lists blank and missing leaves, as well as marginal annotations. For ease of cross-referencing, the Roman numerals given to the poems in Stevenson are provided.

Folio	First line / Title and author	Stevenson	Hand
ff. 1-3	[missing]		
f. 4r	[several scribbles in French]		
f. 4v	[blank]		
f. 5r	'Nevere madame of your mercie me infold' [anonymous] [several scribbles in French]	XXVIII	Hand A
f. 5v	[blank]		
f. 6r	'As eis ar message to the hairt' [anonymous]	VIII	Hand A
ff. 6v-8r	'Och Luif in langour heir I ly' [anonymous]	IX	Hand A
ff. 8r-9r	'Luif still in hoipe with pacience'	I	Hand A

¹⁸ Stevenson, p. xxxiii.

¹⁹ Stevenson does not discuss whether the arrangement of the words on the page in the Ker manuscript is editorial or authorial. Later critics accept that the Ker scribe's exemplars were likely to have been close descendants of Montgomerie's own papers, or, indeed, the poet's own papers. See Lyall, *Montgomerie*, pp. 28-29; *Montgomerie: Poems*, II, 1-6.

	[anonymous]		
ff. 9v-10r	‘Suiet hairt reios in mynd’ [anonymous]	II	Hand A
ff. 10r-10v	‘Wo worth the fall of fortounis quheill’ [anonymous]	III	Hand A
f. 10v	‘Suppois I be of simple clan’ [‘Fallowis the ravisching of Beggis donaldsoun future spouse to Thomas louthian Mercheard’] [anonymous]	XV	Hand A
f. 11v	[blank]		
f. 12r	‘My breist is maid the verray graif of woo’ [anonymous]	XX	Hand A
f. 12v	[blank]		
ff. 13r-14r	‘Prepotent palme Imperiall’ [anonymous]	IV	Hand A
f. 14r	‘In somer quhen the feildis ar fair’ [anonymous]	XVI	Hand A
f. 14v	[blank]		
ff. 15r-31v	‘Off the cherry and the Slae’ [Alexander Montgomerie]		Hand A: sts 1, 3-10 Hand C: sts 2, 11-69
ff. 32r-33r	‘King cupaid glacles god of glaikes’ [anonymous]	V	Hand B
ff. 33r-33v	‘My freind if thow will credeit me in oucht’ [Jasper Heywood]	XI	Hand B
ff. 34r-36r	‘Some men for suddane Joy do weip’ [John Careless]	XXIX	Hand B
f. 36v	‘Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane’ [Alexander Montgomerie]	VI	Hand B
ff. 37r-38r	‘O lord my god to the I cray heir my complent’ [anonymous]	XXXI	Hand B
ff. 38v-39r	‘O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres’ [anonymous]	XXXII	Hand B
ff. 39r-41v	‘Quha so dois put thair confidence’ [anonymous]	XXXIII	Hand B
ff. 41v-45r	‘Harken herkene me think ane trompett dois stund’ [anonymous]	XXXIV	Hand B
ff. 45v-48r	‘The weicht of sin is wonder greit’ [Alexander Hume]	XXXV	Hand D
f. 48v	[blank]		
ff. 49-68	[missing]		
f. 69r	‘Of all wardlie confort trew freindschip is chief’ [anonymous]		Hand E
f. 69v	‘I wis I wair transfigurat in ane ring’ [anonymous]	XVII	Hand A [?]
f. 70r	‘I dreamit ane dreame o that my dream wer trew’ [‘Ane Dreame’] [anonymous]	XXI	Hand A [?]
ff. 70v-71r	[blank]		
f. 71v	‘Consider man how tyme do pass’ [anonymous]	XXXVI	Hand E [?]
ff. 72r-72v	‘Redolent rois my onlie schois’ [anonymous]	X	Hand F

f. 73r	[blank]		
f. 73v	‘Your outuward gesture form & fassoins fair’ [anonymous]	XXII	Hand G
f. 74r	‘I hoipe to serve sane syne for to deserue’ [anonymous]	XIX	Hand F [?]
f. 74v	‘I serve ane dame moir quheiter than the snaw’ [anonymous]	XXIII	Hand A
ff. 75r-76r [not f. 76v]	‘O fragrant flour fair and formois’ [anonymous]	XII	Hand H
ff. 76v-77r	[2 pages filled with alphabets, and the verse ‘grund the on patience blind not thy conscience’]	XIII	Hand I
f. 77v	‘The royall palice off the heichest hewin’ [anonymous]	XXIV	Hand J
f. 78r	[alphabets, and ‘grund the on pacience’ see ff. 76-77r]		Hand I
f. 78v	‘The tender snow of granis soft & quhyt’ [anonymous]	XXV	Hand J
f. 79r	‘Glade am I glade am I’ [‘Inglis sonet’] [Thomas Ravenscroft]	XVIII	Hand J
f. 79r	‘first serve syne sute quhiles seme to lichlie luif’ [‘Ane Scottis sonnet’] [anonymous]	XXVI	Hand A
f. 79v	[alphabets and scribbles, see ff. 76-77r]		Hand I
f. 80r-81r	‘Peccauī pater meserere mei’ [Alexander Montgomerie]	XXX	Hand A
f. 81v	‘The luif I beare is fixtt on one’ [anonymous]	XIV	Hand A [?]
f. 82r-83r	‘Freshe flureis fair and lusum ladie quhyte’ [anonymous]	VII	Hand K
f. 83v	‘Thocht Polibus pisander and vith them’ [‘Sonet’] [anonymous]	XXVII	Hand K
f. 84r-84v	[many scribbles and names]		

The manuscript now holds sixty leaves, but may originally have held anything upwards of eighty-four, since many have been removed. Foliation starts at f. 4, since the first three leaves are now missing. Whereas folio number 46 is missed out, this seems to be a mistake in numbering rather than an indication of another missing leaf, since no obvious stub appears between ff. 45 and 47. Since ff. 49-68 have been removed from the manuscript (as indicated by many stubs), it is now impossible to ascertain how exactly the leaves between ff. 47 and 72 were gathered, and how many quires are missing. As far as can be made out, the sixty extant leaves divide into eleven or more gatherings. The first three are **1** ff. 4-11, **2** ff. 12-18 (one leaf cut out between ff. 14-15), and **3** ff. 19-26. The next gatherings are harder to identify as the binding becomes tighter, but it seems that one folded sheet **4** ff. 26-27 is followed by **5** ff. 28-31 (with two leaves cut out after f. 31), **6** ff. 32-41, **7** ff. 42-45, **8** ff. 47-[...], **9** [...]-72, **10** ff. 73-78, **11** ff. 79-84. The manuscript is bound in its original calf-skin, and Stevenson reports that at his direction it was repaired in the early twentieth

century when the binding was coming apart, and several leaves were loose.²⁰ It is today in relatively good condition, and the pages are clean, though slightly water-stained in places. Notwithstanding repairs, the binding is still very fragile.

The many different scribes need more attention. Although it is not uncommon for longer works to be written out by different scribes, still the two distinct hands that copied out ‘Off the cherry and the Slae’ raise pertinent questions. In the manuscript as a whole, up to about a dozen different hands can be identified, some responsible for many poems (Hands A and B), or a large part of one poem (Hand C), while other hands transcribed only short sections, one or two short poems at most. Identifying these scribes is no easy task, and the list above should be read as provisional rather than definitive. Whereas it is possible to locate similar types of scripts in the manuscript (sometimes marked out by scribal initials, see below), the letters assigned above to the various scribes function not as absolute identifiers, but rather as approximations. Some hands clearly stand out and are easily identifiable, whereas in other cases it is more difficult to be absolutely certain that two poems are indeed written out by the same scribe.

It is tempting to suppose the Laing manuscript to have been what Mary Hobbs terms a ‘table-book’: a manuscript originally blank, in which verses are inscribed by the owner, but also by his/her friends, relatives, or family, or indeed anybody else with access to the manuscript.²¹ There is evidence that MS Laing III.447 was indeed a blank book, and not a collection of loose sheets later bound together. First of all, the *Cherrie* stretches over three gatherings. Secondly, the group on ff. 32r-45r stretches over two gatherings, with all poems transcribed in the same Hand B. The evidence of different groupings within the manuscript, composed by different scribes, will be discussed below, in the context of the poems themselves.

In terms of its date, the Laing manuscript belongs to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Montgomerie’s *Cherrie* was not published until 1597, but circulated in manuscript as early as 1584, when James VI quoted several lines from it for his *Reulis and Cautelis*. Alexander Hume’s ‘The weicht of sin is wonder greitt’ (f. 45r) was printed in 1599 among his *Hymnes or Sacred Songs*, but part of that collection was written much earlier, as his introductory epistle ‘To the Scottish Youth’ is dated 9 December 1594. His ‘The Triumph of the Lord, after the Manner of Men’, on the defeat of the Armada, is dated 4 October 1589, so Hume was clearly active as a poet throughout the 1580s and 1590s.²² ‘My freind if thow will credeitt me in oucht’ (f. 33r) is an English poem, and was written by Jasper Heywood, and printed in the early English miscellany *The Paradise of Dayntie Deuises* of 1576. An even older English poem is ‘Some men for suddane Joy

²⁰ Stevenson, p. xxxv.

²¹ Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), p. 5. See also, for instance, Peter Beal, ‘Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book’, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (Birmingham: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 131-47 (pp. 131-33).

²² *The Poems of Alexander Hume*, ed. by Alexander Lawson (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 48, 1902), pp. 8, 63.

do weip' (f. 34r), identified by Bawcutt as 'a ballad associated with the name of John [Careless], a Protestant martyr executed in the reign of Mary Tudor'. She continues that 'first printed in 1564, it became immensely popular – a snatch is quoted by the Fool in *King Lear* – and may indeed have been known to Hume'.²³ The only poem that complicates matters considerably, in terms of the manuscript's dating, is 'Glade am I glade am I' (f. 79r). The earliest occurrence in print of this song is not until 1609, in Thomas Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia*.²⁴ It is possible this is a later addition to the Laing manuscript, but alternatively, since all the lyrics in Ravenscroft's book are anonymous, the poem might have circulated, orally, or in manuscript, prior to 1609. With the exception of 'Glade am I', the datable evidence of MS Laing III.447 leans very heavily towards the second half of the sixteenth century. There is more evidence to consider, as several poems included in the manuscript never appeared in print, but are known from various manuscript collections – this shall be considered below, where the relevant poems are discussed.

Of one poem that occurs several times in the manuscript (first on f. 76v, and then repeated on ff. 77v and 79v) Stevenson maintains that it is 'written in a later hand', but he provides no real evidence.²⁵ The lines run as follows:

grund the on patience blind not thy conscience
do to god reuerance thankand him ay
preis the with dilligence to put away negligence
Content the with Sufficiency this warlde
will away.

It is certainly possible that later owners, for instance the Melvilles (see below), inscribed further poems in the Laing manuscript; the scribbles in French at the beginning, and the alphabets, may equally be later additions. It can be shown, on the basis of a comparison between several idiosyncratic letter forms (particularly 'w' and 'y', see for instance ff. 76v-77r), that only one scribe was responsible for the multiple occurrences of the quatrains and alphabets – all of which seem to have been exercises in penmanship. The quatrain is known from elsewhere: 'Grund the on patience' is included, first of all, in the Bannatyne manuscript, and in the commonplace book of John Maxwell (EUL MS Laing III.467, f. 19).²⁶ Furthermore, Walter Cullen transcribed it in the

²³ Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 203. Professor Bawcutt has indicated to the present writer that in her article she names the poet 'Carewell', which is a mistake for 'Careless'. The discussion below will refer to the writer as 'John Careless'. See further note 90.

²⁴ *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632*, ed. by E.H. Fellowes, rev. edn. by Frederick W. Sternfeld and David Greer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 224.

²⁵ Stevenson, p. 213, note 2.

²⁶ *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser. 5, 1928-34), II, 181; cf. the facsimile edition, *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland MS 1.1.6*, ed. by Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scolar Press, 1980), f. 74r. For the Maxwell manuscript, see Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England, & Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 59-68 (p. 63).

margins of his ‘Aberdeen Chronicle’.²⁷ What this indicates, or rather confirms, is that this type of popular rhyme, if not transmitted orally, must have circulated in the margins of longer poems or other works.

Ownership and the Cultural Context

One possible answer as to how the manuscript came into existence, and as to who was responsible for the many different additions, may lie in the wealth of marginalia scattered among the pages. Stevenson was the first to draw attention to the repeated signatures of what appear to have been Edinburgh burgesses active in the last decade of the sixteenth century, but many more readers that have never been commented on left their mark. Several names feature repeatedly: ‘Johnne Nesbet’ (f. 10v; this name appears to be a different hand from Hand A, who compiled the first section of the manuscript), ‘finis amen quod I Nisbit’ (f. 83), and ‘Johne Nesbet vith my hand’ (f. 84v). The final leaf of the manuscript, f. 84, is densely filled with scribbles, including also the inscription ‘to my traist freind Thomas henrison’ on f. 84r; two names, ‘dauidsoun’ and ‘robertsoun’, appear on f. 84v. A certain ‘James B’ left his mark three times, on ff. 5r, 14r and 28r.

The most puzzling instance of scribal initials occurs on f. 83v. The sonnet on this page appears subscribed with a monogram, perhaps ‘I B’. Directly underneath we find ‘finis amen be me Ihone bane tak ane staf in his’.²⁸ It is tempting to suppose that this ‘I B’ stands for John Bane, but who this might be remains undetermined. The initials, or monogram, already featured underneath several earlier poems, perhaps on f. 5r (scored out, and difficult to make out), and on ff. 8r and 9r. It is possible that scribe A went by the name of John Bane, although on f. 79r, a sonnet in Hand A is now subscribed ‘B A’ (or perhaps ‘I B A’).

The *Cherrie* is the only poem ascribed to a known author, ‘Finis quod mongomerie’, on f. 31v. Another scribal mark, perhaps a ‘P’, or ‘T’, or a combination of two other letters, appears with Hand C’s transcription of the *Cherrie*, on ff. 15r, 19r, 20r, and finally, much enlarged, underneath the *Cherrie*’s final stanza. One sonnet is subscribed by four different names, ‘Goirg hay’, ‘James Arnot’, ‘Jhone Hay’ and ‘Joannis Arnotis’ (f. 78v). ‘Arnot I’ reoccurs on f. 72v, as does a member of the Hay family: ‘finis quod Hay’, on f. 71v (the name is scored out). One indecipherable initial, or monogram, appears on f. 73v, ‘quod [...]’, and another indecipherable name on f. 76r. Finally, on f. 20r we find ‘Melville’, while elsewhere we find, in pencil, ‘L. of Leven’ (f. 4r), and ‘Lady Leven’, ‘Lord Leven’, and ‘Lady Mary’ (f. 69r). Also, a mark of ownership may have been inscribed on f. 84r; it is extremely unfortunate that it has been scored out, possibly by a later owner: except for the first two words, which appear to read ‘this buik’, none of the writing can be retrieved. A final set of marginal inscriptions, several repeated lines in French, appear on ff. 4r and

²⁷ See pp. 65-66 below.

²⁸ What ‘staf’ here means is difficult to say. *DOST* (under ‘staff’, 13a) records an instance of the word which may refer to a writing implement of some sort.

5r; more French scribbles are repeated on f. 84v. Although the scribbles on ff. 4r-5r are of possible amatory cast, they have no obvious bearing on the content of the miscellany.²⁹

It is difficult to identify with certainty any of the owners, scribes, readers, or perhaps even poets, that left their marks among the pages. Yet, the group of Edinburgh burgesses identified by Stevenson may provide a plausible backdrop for the creation and consumption of the Laing manuscript. Parkinson develops Stevenson's suggestion and advances the following reading of the manuscript's genesis:

Elsewhere [in the manuscript], the names of scribes and readers take precedence: 'garg hay' [*sic*], 'johne hay', 'James Arnot', 'Joannis Arnotis' (f. 78v); 'John Nesbet' (f. 10v); these surnames are those of prominent Edinburgh merchant burgesses, a John Arnot being provost from 1587 to 91, his eldest son James dying in 1591, and his brother James being on the Edinburgh town council in 1603-4. This manuscript could thus have been compiled during the 1590s or shortly thereafter, suggesting that at this period the demand for *The Cherrie and the Slae* was still outstripping the supply of prints.³⁰

The Arnots in particular appear frequently in the Edinburgh town council records, and a letter by 'John Arnote', provost of Edinburgh, to William Asheby, dated 8 April 1590, still exists, in the provost's own hand (BL Egerton MS 2598, f. 268).³¹ When in September 1611 the city council 'ordanis the thesaurer to caus big ane schole to Mr Patrik Henrysoun, maister of thair sang schole', James Arnot (presumably the brother that Parkinson identified) was appointed as one of the overseers of the project.³² In June 1597 'Alexander Henrysoun' is identified as 'musiciann' and 'maister of thair sang schole'. Since the profession of song-school master ran in the family – Alexander resigned his post in favour of 'Samuel Henrysoun', his son, and when Samuel died, he passed on the office to his brother Patrick – then perhaps the inscription 'to my traist freind Thomas henrison' on f. 84r takes on extra significance, and provides further hints to the cultural environment in which the manuscript circulated.³³

The Nisbet, or Nesbet, family appears frequently in the burgh records as well: a 'William Nesbet' sat on the council from 1582-84, whereas 'Henry Nesbett' was a bailie in 1583-84, and

²⁹ For the lines in French see transcription, Appendix Two. In translation, they run as follows: f. 4r, 'Would you like to write back to me, I would like that very much, I will give you a pen ['plume'] if you reach me & me, I will give you another of them', and on f. 5r: 'Give me my key so that I may go to reach in my trunk ['coffre'] a book to read on top of it, you will not be able to see without a candle I promise you that it is true'. The scribble on f. 84v is discussed below.

³⁰ Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', p. 501.

³¹ The letter is reprinted in *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, ed. by William K. Boyd and Henry W. Meikle, 14 vols (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1898-1969), X, 269.

³² *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1604 to 1626*, ed. by Marguerite Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1931), p. 85.

³³ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1589 to 1603*, ed. by Marguerite Wood and R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1927), pp. 191, 309; see also p. xxviii.

again in 1584-85, this time together with 'William Nesbet'.³⁴ A 'Jhonn Nesbett' appears in the records on 18 February 1596/97, when he received money from the treasurer 'for his expenssis in ryding to Bervik for defense of James Nesbett, javellour, his suyter to ane day of trewis quhair he wes indyttet for ane wairdour lattin furth at command of [blank]'.³⁵ When on 9 December 1614 'Johnne Nisbet' accepts his post as collector of kirk rents and annuals, among the list of his cautioners appears 'James Arnote'.³⁶ A 'Mr Jhonn Hay' makes his appearance in the burgh records for the first time on 3 March 1602 when he was appointed deputy clerk to Alexander Guthrie. He then features prominently as a messenger between Edinburgh's city council and King James VI in London, liaising with the king in 1617 when the latter was travelling north for his royal entry. He was again dispatched to London in 1625 by John Adamson, principal of the city's College, to buy books.³⁷

This group of burgesses can be shown to have interacted also with other known figures, and one in particular that played a major role in the safekeeping of the Bannatyne manuscript. In 1614, when 'Sir Jhonn Arnott of Bersik, *Knight*' was provost, a 'George Fowlis' appears as council member, together with 'James Nesbett'. In 1615 'James Nisbet' reappears on the council, with 'William Nisbet' and 'Johne Arnot, younger', and again 'George Foulis', now styled as 'goldsmith'. Then, when in 1616 'Williame Nisbet of the Deyne' is elected provost, 'James Nisbett' is elected as bailie, and on the council sat 'James Arnot', and again 'George Foullis, Master of the Cunyiehouse'.³⁸ Genealogical information in the account book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston confirms that this George Foulis must be the Master of the King's Mint, or as Hallen styles him, 'monetarius regis', who in 1603 married Jonet Bannatyne, the compiler's daughter, with whom the Bannatyne manuscript passed into the Foulis family.³⁹ There are earlier connections too between the Bannatynes and the Nisbets, as Theo van Heijnsbergen has shown:

Henry Nisbet* was a close friend of the Bannatyne family: he married George Bannatyne's eldest sister Jonet, was a witness to the will drawn up by George Bannatyne's mother (26 June 1570) and was in 1580 made tutor to the 'bairns' of James Bannatyne, younger. During the civil war, his brother William Nisbet* (died 1585), the first husband of George Bannatyne's wife, had been a leading Queen's

³⁴ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1573-1589*, ed. by James D. Marwick (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1882), pp. 575-80. See also Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 256-57.

³⁵ *Extracts 1589 to 1603*, p. 178.

³⁶ *Extracts 1604 to 1626*, p. 124.

³⁷ *Extracts 1589 to 1603*, p. 303; *Extracts 1604 to 1626*, pp. 158, 290-91. The index (*Extracts 1604 to 1626*, p. 442) lists at least twenty-five individual instances when Hay either visited London, or returned to Edinburgh bearing letters from the king.

³⁸ *Extracts 1604 to 1626*, pp. 119, 132-33, 148.

³⁹ *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, 1671-1707*, ed. by A.W. Cornelius Hallen (Edinburgh: SHS, 1894), pp. xvi, lxxiv. Hallen notes that Foulis elsewhere is styled 'Goldsmith', p. 1. See further: Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: the Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context' in *The Renaissance in Scotland. Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture offered to John Durkan*, ed. by Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 183-225.

man. Henry, a successful merchant, was already in the mid-1580s an ardent supporter of James VI's ecclesiastical policies and a firm opponent of the more radical presbyterians. James Nicoll*, Thomas Aikenhead* and Henry Nisbet* were three of the four bailies appointed by the crown to the council of 1583-4, in the royalist backlash which followed the collapse of the Ruthven regime in the summer of 1583. On the same royal leets of 22 and 24 September 1583 is also found William Nisbet*, Henry's brother, who was appointed a councillor.⁴⁰

Van Heijnsbergen traces longstanding relationships between several families of the Edinburgh merchant classes, city councillors, money-lenders, and other well-to-do burgesses, all of whom were part of Edinburgh's intricate cultural network.

Whereas there is no irrevocable evidence that the names appearing in the pages of MS Laing III.447 belong to the various prominent Edinburgh officials identified above, still the manuscript most likely originated somewhere among this group of the culturally minded middling classes. They consistently appear together in the records,⁴¹ and as a group of affluent and influential council members they must have had connections to Edinburgh's cultural establishment, and relatively easy access to circulating books and manuscripts. Although no such direct connection is necessary since English books were easily available in Edinburgh, John Hay's frequent visits to London after 1603, his association with James's court, and his apparent familiarity with the London book trade nevertheless provide a fascinating picture of the varying channels of cultural interaction. Given the Laing manuscript's relative proximity to the environment in which George Bannatyne compiled and (perhaps) circulated his manuscript, further comparative study between the two collections may prove illuminating. Especially since several poems in MS Laing III.447 can be shown to draw from mid-sixteenth century poetic conventions, it is very tempting to suppose these poems were drawn from the same rich stock that furnished George Bannatyne with his copy texts. It is impossible to point to exact sources since the bulk of them have not survived, but the two miscellanies seem, on the above evidence, to have shared a cultural background.

Notwithstanding the strong evidence that the Laing manuscript was a production linked to prominent Edinburgh citizens, Stevenson offers an alternative theory that is attractive, but less convincingly supported. Nevertheless, it merits brief attention. As stated, MS Laing III.447 was in the possession of the Melville family for some time at least, and, so Stevenson argues, it might also have originated there. From the flyleaf inscription it is clear that the manuscript was acquired by

⁴⁰ See van Heijnsbergen, 'Interaction', p. 217. The asterisks behind various names indicate the appearance of those names in Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik'.

⁴¹ For early references to members of the Arnot and Nesbit families on the city council, see the 'list of provosts, baillies, councillors, deacons of crafts, and other office-bearers', *Extracts 1573-1589*, pp. 575-80. 'Johnn Arnott' and 'James Nesbett' were council members together in 1592-93, see *Extracts 1589 to 1603*, p. 71. 'James Nesbett' and 'James Arnott' were baillies together in 1606-7, and council members in 1607-8. When 'Sir Jhonn Arnott of Bersik, Knight' was provost from 1609 to 1615, 'James Nesbett' was a bailie in 1612-13, as was 'John Arnott' in 1615-16, while on the council sat 'James Nisbet', 'William Nisbet', and 'John Arnot, younger', see *Extracts 1604 to 1626*, pp. 23, 33, 54, 65, 80, 88, 107, 132.

David Laing from William Locke Melville. A shelf-mark pasted inside the binding, 'Earl of Leven / Melville House / H4' shows it was once in the library of the earl of Leven and Melville at their family seat at Monimail.⁴² Evidence of ownership is corroborated also by the various names noted above, 'Lady Leven', 'Lord Leven', and 'Melville', but these names appear to be in a later hand.

In relation to the earliest ownership of the manuscript, it should be noted that the Melvilles did not become associated with the earldom of Leven until 1655, when George, Lord Melville, married Catherine Leslie of Leven. His son David, the second Earl of Melville, was declared third Earl of Leven in 1681. The construction of Melville House, at Monimail in Fife, was not begun until 1697, and completed around 1701.⁴³ Thus, the earliest documented appearance of the manuscript in Melville House occurs a century after it was probably compiled. It is possible that the manuscript was kept at Monimail in the old castle, and only moved to the Melville House library when the new mansion was completed. Stevenson proposes two early members of the Melville family in whose households, or under whose auspices, the manuscript might have originated: William Melville, fourth son of Sir John Melville of Raith, or William's older brother Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairney.⁴⁴

The first, Commendator of Tunland and Kilwinning, Stevenson links to Montgomerie through Melville's appointment as Lord of Session at the time that the poet was a litigant, when Melville 'must have spent much of his time in Edinburgh, and have come into contact with the court circle of poets'.⁴⁵ William's brother Sir Robert Melville was deeply entrenched in politics throughout his life, and frequently acted as ambassador to Elizabeth I. After supporting Mary, Queen of Scots in her final troubled years in Scotland, Melville came close to execution under Morton, but was saved. His fortunes turned and he was readmitted to James VI's court and knighted in 1581, and was present at court together with Esmé Stewart, whose arrival in Scotland is often taken as influential in stimulating James VI's literary interests. R.R. Zulager suggests that

⁴² The Leven and Melville papers held by the NAS contain three documents relating to books owned by the family, but the Laing manuscript is not described in any of the lists. The first is GD26/6/124, an undated list of approximately 54 titles, headed 'The Cataloge of the bookes in the over Studie of the east Tower'. The next catalogue is GD26/6/136, dated 1681, and containing nearly 500 titles arranged in 15 genres. An introductory note explains the shelving system, and offers help on where to find a book. The final document is GD26/6/199, a 'Catalogue of Books at Melville House, alphabetically arranged', dating to c. 1800. It is here that for the first time we find the cataloguing system of a capital letter followed by a number, similar to the shelf-mark attached to the Laing manuscript, H4. Unfortunately, there appears to be no mention of works in manuscript, and the catalogue, although alphabetised, confusingly lists books at random either by title or by author.

⁴³ For an extensive family history see *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslies, Earls of Leven*, ed. by William Fraser, 3 vols (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1890). David Melville's life is related in I, 245-305; for an account of Melville House see I, pp. xlvi-li.

⁴⁴ See Fraser, I, 82-124 for Robert Melville of Murdocairney, and I, 168-71 for William Melville, Commendator of Tunland.

⁴⁵ Stevenson, p. xxxvii.

Esmé's presence created an atmosphere favourable for Robert to return to court.⁴⁶ Of Robert Melville, Stevenson writes that, like his brother William, '[h]olding responsible offices of state under James [...] he could scarcely fail to have been familiar with the group of writers, Montgomerie among the rest, whom the king was pleased to have around him'.⁴⁷ These 'offices' included privy councillor, judge-extraordinary of the court of session, and Lord of Parliament in 1616. It was Robert who established himself at Monimail in Fife, buying from Sir James Balfour in 1592 the lands and castle previously belonging to Cardinal David Beaton. While William Melville took part in the same ambassadorial mission as did the poet William Fowler in 1589, to negotiate the marriage between James and Anne, Robert Melville acted as chancellor in James's absence when the king sailed for Norway later the same year.

John Melville of Raith had more offspring, however, not considered by Stevenson, who are equally likely candidates if proximity to the court is the deciding feature for possible ownership or creation of MS Laing III.447. Well educated, successful diplomat and memoirist Sir James Melville of Halhill,⁴⁸ the third son, moved with ease among the favoured nobles and courtiers of the Jacobean court, and was created gentleman of the bedchamber to Queen Anne, and knighted shortly after. He must, for that reason, have been in close contact with William Fowler (who was Secretary to the queen), and possibly with more of James's literary friends.

In the specific context of the three miscellanies under investigation here, and drawing attention to the existence of contemporary cultural networks and the circulation of literary materials, a final family member is of interest: Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock. The latter was another of Melville of Raith's sons, and the Master of Queen Mary's household while the queen was imprisoned in England. As will be further explored in the next chapter, Melville of Garvock's daughter Anna married James Murray of Tibbermuir, the owner and compiler of the Tibbermuir manuscript (see pp. 94-96 below).

Hypothesising on the manuscript's curious compilation, Stevenson offers the following:

It is altogether too airy a speculation, perhaps, to suggest that the manuscript-book in question lay in the house of one or other of these members of the Melville family, by whom from time to time a court versifier was invited to engross an occasional composition; yet in this way might be explained the appearance of so many differing hands in the manuscript.⁴⁹

This reading, whether or not the manuscript originated with the Melvilles, certainly endorses MS Laing III.447's nature as a 'table-book'. The implicit suggestion that some of the handwriting

⁴⁶ R. R. Zulager, 'Melville, Robert, first Lord Melville (1527/8-1621)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18550>], accessed 21 September 2005].

⁴⁷ Stevenson, p. xxxvii.

⁴⁸ *Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill, 1535-1617*, ed. by A. Francis Steuart (London: Routledge, 1929).

⁴⁹ Stevenson, p. xxxvii.

represented in the manuscript might belong to the ‘court versifiers’ themselves cannot be substantiated. Bawcutt suggests that compilers were ‘young men; educated, but not highly learned; members of the middle classes rather than great noble families – notaries, ministers, schoolteachers and lairds’.⁵⁰ Naturally, there are exceptions to this rule, and if the compilation of a volume of poetry by such a prominent family appears unlikely then we need only to remember the strong literary and cultural interests that ran through the Melville family. James Melville of Halhill’s memoirs document Scottish sixteenth-century life and politics, and *Ane Godlie Dreame* by Elizabeth Melville (Halhill’s daughter) was a very popular work indeed. In this context, it is useful to note that Alexander Hume, whose ‘The weicht of sin is wondir greit’ (f. 45v) appears in the Laing manuscript, dedicated his printed works, *Hymnes or Sacred Songs*, to Elizabeth Melville. Long-lived and successful careers brought various Melvilles to the forefront of action, and each could conceivably have owned or compiled a volume of poetry composed by members of that court in which they so prominently featured.

On reflection, whereas evidence of the Melvilles as later owners is solid, their involvement as creators of MS Laing III.447 is very unsure. Bawcutt certainly dismisses all of Stevenson’s conjecturing on early ownership and compilation. Asking ‘what can be discovered about the copyists, compilers or owners of these collections [the miscellany manuscripts]’, she concludes that ‘in some cases (EUL, La. III. 447; no. 18) we know nothing’.⁵¹ If Bawcutt’s caution to express anything certain about the Laing manuscript’s circumstances of compilation indicates that all evidence should be treated circumspectly, still the many provocative suggestions in the manuscript should not be ignored. Stevenson’s approach to Melville ownership is indicative of a critical view that is court-centred, whereas the scenario endorsed by Parkinson, featuring the many Edinburgh burgesses, is more in line with recent critical thinking that moves late sixteenth-century literary culture away from the court, finding smaller but related centres of literary activity elsewhere. When considering the Laing manuscript, at least one poem, ‘the ravisching of Beggis donaldsoun future spouse to Thomas louthian Mercheand’ (ff. 10v-11r), can be meaningfully related to a readership of the middling classes; other poems (for instance the amatory sonnets, discussed below) are perhaps more typical of a ‘courtly’ environment. A third and more attractive possibility is that some of the writing that is too easily labelled ‘courtly’ had in fact, at the end of the sixteenth century, permeated the popular imagination and was consumed, and perhaps produced, by a section of society that is only rarely considered. MS Laing III.447 lends credence to the existence of a popular literary culture that appropriated ‘courtly’ modes of writing that may seem to have been the prerogative of inward-looking, exclusivist coteries.

⁵⁰ Bawcutt, ‘Miscellanies’, p. 194.

⁵¹ Bawcutt, ‘Miscellanies’, p. 194. A small printing error has crept into Bawcutt’s article here. Whereas the manuscript referred to, ‘no. 18’ is indeed the Laing manuscript, her text refers to ‘EUL, La. III. 467’, which is the Maxwell Commonplace Book. This misprint is silently amended in the quote above.

At this point, it is important to recognise that ‘courtly’ in a Scottish context is a slippery term, certainly meaning something different from ‘courtly’ English or, for instance, French literature of the same period. The best way to deal with this problem is to adopt Derek Pearsall’s distinction, as applied to Scottish writing by Sally Mapstone, between ‘courtly’ meaning ‘produced in and for the court’, and a ‘courtly’ literature that reflects the ‘values and sensibilities’ of such an environment.⁵² It is the second definition that most closely fits the characteristics both of the love lyrics and the sonnets as featured in the Laing manuscript. Both lyric and sonnet originated in a courtly setting, and were produced mainly in and for the court, but by the time the Laing manuscript was compiled, these verse forms were not exclusively for the court anymore. ‘Courtly’, then, describes a set of formal, thematic and aesthetic conventions that may be enjoyed by a wide variety of readers, and does not necessarily imply a social relationship with the royal court or aristocratic circles. There is evidence that Montgomerie’s verse had successfully penetrated various levels of society,⁵³ but we know little about the readership for the many anonymous love lyrics in the manuscript, or, alternatively, about the appeal of the devotional writings by, and in the style of, Alexander Hume. A full investigation of MS Laing III.447’s poems is in order, not only to start relating content to ownership, but also to start uncovering further details of the circulation of early modern Scottish poetry.

The Poems, ff. 4r-14r

Leading up to the more substantial ‘Off the cherry and the Slae’, on ff. 4-14 appear nine love poems that may fruitfully be considered as a group. Among this group also appears the curious ‘Fallowis the ravisching of Beggis donaldsoun future spouse to Thomas louthian Mercheand’, which stands out by its subject matter. All poems on ff. 4-14 are in the same Hand A; the same hand, moreover, that also transcribed nine stanzas of the *Cherrie*. Other features unite these poems, too, however. Three are subscribed ‘finis quod nescio’, a fourth ‘finis quod ane luiffar’, and a fifth ‘finis quod Constancie’. These five supposed speakers self-consciously mask authorship and replace it with something altogether more nebulous. The first pen-name, ‘nescio’, short for ‘nomen nescio’, or ‘anonymous’, might simply indicate that the poet responsible for the work was unknown to the scribe. The other two, however, ‘ane luiffar’ and ‘Constancie’, belong to the world of the poem they are here subscribed to, and not, as ‘mongomerie’, to the real world of poets and writers who distance themselves from their speakers and personas. With the author(s) relegated to the wings, the speaking persona, or voice, comes to occupy centre stage.

⁵² Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1977), p. 189; Sally Mapstone, ‘Older Scots Literature and the Court’, in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: Volume One, from Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy and Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 273-85.

⁵³ Lyall’s study of Montgomerie significantly opens with an instance where the poet’s words were adapted for use in the court-room, see *Montgomerie*, pp. 1-2.

The manuscript opens with a heavily rhetorical sonnet, ‘Nevere madame of your mercie me infold’ (f. 5r), composed in the Scottish, or interlaced, rhyme scheme that was so popular among Scottish sonneteers.⁵⁴ It appears to miss a line (probably line 9), although the scribe gives no indication of this. Every single line provides a permutation on that much-desired concept of ‘mercie’, and the poem is somewhat heavy-handed for this repetition. The sonnet displays stylistic and thematic preoccupations that are very similar to, for instance, the anonymous ‘Haif Hairt in Hairt’ and Alexander Scott’s reply to the same.⁵⁵ As a Castalian sonnet, ‘Nevere madame’ must perhaps belong to the surge of Scottish Petrarchist writing in the 1580s. The speaker ends on a note of threatening despair, claiming that if mercy is not forthcoming from his paramour, then ‘My awin tua handis but mercie salbe my deid’. The obvious alternative reading of this conclusion (in light of other sexually charged lyrics, discussed below) is to equate the speaker’s ‘deid’ with that of his *petit mort*, at his ‘awin tua handis’, if ‘mercie’ as sexual gratification is not forthcoming from his ‘madame’.

Directly following the sonnet is ‘As eis ar message to the hairt’ (f. 6r), a three-stanza lyric relying on the figure of anadiplosis, or *rime enchainée*. The use of this technique was not uncommon, as Montgomerie used it, for instance in ‘Issobell yong by loving so’.⁵⁶ It is a more elegant poem than the preceding sonnet, and in the final line of the first stanza it can be seen to respond to the sonnet’s main concern, that of mercy:

As eis ar message to the hairt
 The hairt consultis with the thocht
 So thocht and mynd consultis Inwart
 To will and quhen that thay haue wrocht
 Directis the handis and handis hes brocht
 This bill vnto your guidlie heidis
 Your guidlie heidis this send hes socht
 And socht is mercy and remeid.

Step by step, this stanza tracks the progress of the lover’s plight, internalising sensory perceptions from the eyes to the heart, then from the heart to the ‘mynd’ or ‘thocht’, finally guiding the ‘will’ that directs the ‘handis’ to write, presumably, this poem, that shall implore for ‘mercy and remeid’. The next stanza then picks up on ‘remeid’, and the speaker implores for his ‘mellodie’ to be

⁵⁴ The history of the sonnet in Scotland, and its fate post-1603, has been variously discussed. See for instance R.D.S. Jack, ‘Poetry under King James VI’, in *The History of Scottish Literature Volume 1: Origins to 1660*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 125-39; Michael R.G. Spiller, ‘The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet at the Union of the Crowns’, in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 101-15. See also Jack, *Montgomerie*, pp. 77-105 (chapter four, ‘The Sonnet’); for a more general account of the hey-day of Scottish sonneteering, see Lyall, *Montgomerie*, pp. 63-117 (chapter three, ‘Montgomerie at Court, 1580-1586’), and on the Spenserian sonnet, p. 93.

⁵⁵ *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, ed. by James Cranstoun (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 36, 1896), pp. 30-32.

⁵⁶ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 121.

mended, and his ‘medicene’ to be administered. In the third and final stanza, he wishes for an exchange of hearts, in slightly convoluted style:

As at all hour I salbe readie
 Quhen ye ar readie to ressaue it
 Ressaue it ye ar my Ladie
 for ye ar Ladie quha suld haif it
 Sen ye suld haif it quha can craif it
 Craif it can none bot yow allone
 To yow allone now heir I laif it
 Now laif ye it my hairt is gone.

The unspecified ‘it’ presumably refers back to his heart. The poem’s insistence on ‘I salbe readie’ brings to mind another sonnet, also appearing in the context of Montgomerie’s work, ‘All reddie as al reddie I have bene’. The latter poem, opening the Tullibardine manuscript which contains a transcription of the *Flyting*, puns elaborately on the heraldic family mottoes ‘tout prest’ and ‘non oublie’, referring to the Murrays of Tullibardine and the Grahams respectively.⁵⁷ The verbal echoes may well be coincidental, yet it is worth mentioning that, where the sonnet exclaims to ‘forget not me quhois hart is whoillie youris’, the Laing poem concludes the second stanza in similar fashion: ‘Your hert to myne as myne is youris / That youris ower myne may haif impyre / And myne to serve yow at all houris’. An important difference between the two poems, however, is that, although both are couched in the discourse of courtly love, one is addressed to a (fictitious) lady, and the other to the king of Scotland. Stylistically, however, they share certain characteristics. Both poems employ a similar discursive register, which may imply further connections: they may have been composed in a shared scribal community, for a shared readership, or be of roughly similar date (Parkinson dates the Tullibardine manuscript to 1581-83).⁵⁸

The third poem, ‘Och luif in langour heir I ly’ (f. 6v), is the first to be subscribed ‘finis quod nescio’, and is a so-called debate, or wooing, poem. Stevenson notes that it is ‘a crude imitation or burlesque’ of Henryson’s *Robene and Makyne*, and ‘a feeble production’, ‘apparently not revised by its author’.⁵⁹ Stevenson’s comment on revision is interesting, since it foregrounds the possibility that that MS Laing III.447 contains original compositions, and not simply poems copied from one manuscript into another. On f. 6v, substantial revisions appear in a different hand, cancelling and replacing whole lines. In that same hand, too, are added the headings ‘interrogatis’ before the first stanza, and ‘she ansueris’ and ‘ansueris’ at stanzas two and four respectively, to mark the sections of direct speech on the part of the lady. The debate is between a suitor and his object of affection, and as is customary of the genre, all his heated persuasion – or his ‘Ramping rage’, as she terms it – falls on deaf ears, until finally the suitor manages to sway his lady.

⁵⁷ This is discussed in more detail by Mapstone, ‘Invective’, p. 25. Stevenson also prints the sonnet with his transcription from the Tullibardine manuscript, see p. 132.

⁵⁸ *Montgomerie: Poems*, II, 7.

⁵⁹ Stevenson, p. 357.

However, when she yields, the tables turn, and she is now refused by him on the basis of all her own initial objections.⁶⁰ This poem again can be seen to develop images from the previous one. Where in ‘As eis ar message to the hairt’ reciprocated desire is equated to ‘medicene’, in ‘Och luif’ the lady retorts:

Ye may gang seik sum medicene
 Bot nocht at mee
 Sum vther may that man yow deine
 your lust to satisfie.

Despite Stevenson judging this an ‘inferior’ work, there are traces of refreshing humour in the lady’s reply to her suitor. To his assertions that her language is couched in the ‘fragrant flouris of eloquenc / of femini’, and equating his temperance to that of ‘Ane temperat tree’ that ‘will bear gud frute / Ainis in the yeir / Althocht the branches dois nocht glance / In wemenis eie’, she answers as follows:

As flagrant flouris of eloquence	[St: ‘fragrant’ for ‘flagrant’]
I neuer knew	
Now as I sie ye man go hence	
and nocht persew	
Nor braik your brane for me in vane	
In ony wayis	
For sindrie tymes I schew plane	[St: schew ye plane]
Thair was na mayis	
To plant your treis quhair euer ye pleis	[St: Go plant your treis]
and latt me bee	
Ressaue your frute with mekill eis	
And seik no luif of mee.	

The lady’s earthy logic deconstructs her suitor’s flowery rhetoric and unmasks his empty promises with simple humour. The idiomatic Scots phrase, to ‘braik your brane’, occurs frequently in other poems of the time. Stevenson finds it in James VI and Montgomerie; earlier on in the century the phrase is used by Alexander Scott.⁶¹ The conversational style surely adds to the attraction of this poem, even though it remains unpolished. The notion of ‘eis’ (see also stanza two, ‘Sueit hairt ye suld be weill content / To eis my paynis’) is a common euphemism for sexual gratification, particularly in tandem with ‘payne’, or desire. The final stanza of the poem makes it very clear that the suitor is looking for sex, not for love: ‘Ye and your freindis thay may go hence / And seik no luif of mee’. As such, this poem connects to the final lines of the opening sonnet (discussed above), but also for instance to the extended analogy of ‘it’ in the above-quoted final stanza of ‘As eis ar

⁶⁰ Another example of such a wooing poem appears in Margaret Robertson’s manuscript, on. f. 56.

⁶¹ *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. by James Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 3rd ser. 22, 26, 1955-58), II, 126 (‘An Admonition to the maister poete’, l. 101); *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 123, (‘His Maistres Name’, l. 9); *Poems of Scott*, p. 22 (‘Ane Ballat maid to the Derisioun and Scorne of wantoun Wemen’, l. 102).

message to the hairt', where 'it' stands simultaneously for the heart and for sexual gratification. All three poems reveal a marked sexual undertow.

Finally, there is the social aspect of 'Och luif in langour heir I ly' that is relevant to other works in this first group in the manuscript. Part of the problem of the lover's suit, as the lady replies, is his lower social standing, and thus his suitability for marriage:

My freindis will cheis sum vther weicht
 For me I say
 That of great kin and clan is *cummit*
 To be my maik. (f. 7r)

When at the end the tables are turned, and the lover finally has won her heart but now decides to refuse her advances, he throws back the earlier objection that 'thy freindis wald *nocht* consent / Nor gif ye leive'. His final angry retort, 'Ye and your freindis thay may go hence' reveals that romance does not come into the equation; instead, marriage is an economic contract regulated by social codes and convention. The presence of this poem so early on in the collection seriously undermines the rhetoric of amatory verse, revealing both speakers' sufferings to be no more than idle fancies. It deconstructs the amatory cloaking of male desire, and the female pretence at distance: instead, it introduces a refreshing level of *realpolitik* into the otherwise somewhat stale conventions of courtly love.

'Luif still in hoipe with pacience' (f. 8r), the next poem, provides advice for those who 'in Luifis court [...] listis to duell', extolling both the hope and patience of men that 'suffer stormes fell', of 'captivis demit to deid', and of 'men in rageing see'. It extolls also the hope and patience of Jacob, who in the Old Testament narrative laboured for fourteen years to win Rachel, and that of 'atrides' and 'penelope', thus mixing Biblical with Classical imagery. The poem in the manuscript is seven stanzas long, and after a dividing line following the penultimate stanza (indicating, according to Stevenson, that some stanzas were missing), it ends as follows:

O peirless peirle of pulchritude
 O cheif charbucle off chaistitie
 O deaisie dear O rubie rude
 The fairest flour of feminie
 O plicht anker of constancie
 Except my seruice but offence
 Assuring yow that quhill I die
 To luif in hope *with* pacience.

Meditations on hope and patience enjoyed great popularity, as attested by Stevenson, who draws attention to two lines of verse in James VI's *Reulis and Cautelis* that have never been identified:

Sen patience I man haue perforce

I liue in hope with patience.⁶²

The second line quoted by James here is a near-match with the refrain of ‘Luif still in hoipe with pacience’. The rhetorical structure of the meditation of several stanzas on a single refrain is extremely common in pre-Reformation poetry: the device is used by Dunbar, Scott, and a multitude of anonymous Bannatyne poets. James’s lines, and the Laing poem, are further examples of the same phenomenon.

The next two poems explore identical concerns. The first is a light lyric that might well have been a song, ‘Sueitt hairt reios in mynd’ (9v). The second, ‘Wo worth the fall of fourtounis quheill’ (f. 10r), laments the absence of an unnamed ‘yow’ and promises constancy. This second poem references the archetypal ‘Schir Troyalus’ whose pains were not as ‘lamentabill’ as that of the speaker who is waiting for his ‘Cresceid’. Both poems explore respective sides of the same coin – absence and constancy – although the first from the perspective of the loyal lover offering comfort to his ‘bony burde’ while he must ‘ryde or go’, and the second from point of view of a speaker who has been left alone ‘into dispair’.

Somewhat breaking up this otherwise unified group is ‘Suppois I be of simple clan’, entitled ‘the ravisching of Beggis donaldsoun future spous to Thomas Louthian mercheard’ (ff. 10v-11r). The poem is subscribed by ‘Johnne Nesbet’, possibly one of the Edinburgh burgesses identified above. The poem is clearly incomplete. Only three stanzas were copied into the Laing manuscript, but there is space for an extra (introductory) stanza after Nesbet’s signature, and again for three more stanzas on the blank f. 11v. Unfortunately, there is no record of another copy of this work surviving anywhere else. What sets the poem apart is that, as indicated by the title, it appears to be narrated by Beggis Donaldsoun herself, or impersonated in her name. Though love and marriage play a part in Beggis’s narrative, the poem is distinctly non-amatory.

The first stanza runs as follows:

Suppois I be of simple clan
Of small degrie and michtie name
My father is ane welthie man
Howbeit he be of littill fame
To tell the treuth I think *nocht* schame
for sen I was compellit to flie
I durst *nocht* duell with freindis at hame
for feir that folkis suld raveis me.

References to ‘clan’, family, and ‘freindis’ immediately bring to mind the wooing poem, that mentioned ‘great kin and clan’, and places great stress on the importance of ‘my freindis’: thus, both poems share a strong sense of the social. Whereas the first poem appears a fictitious debate,

⁶² Stevenson, p. 354; *Poems of James VI*, I, 74.

however, a woman by the name of Beggis Donaldsoun survives in the records as a historical person, not a poetic invention, as Stevenson testifies:

The Beggis (Beatrice?) Donaldsoun of the poem was no doubt the daughter of Robert Donaldsoun, who, according to the above charter, was put to death for sorcery in August 1597. Evidently by this date Beggis had become the wife of Thomas Louthian, hence the royal grant of part of her father's land to her husband. In the Register of the Privy Council there is an entry on the 6th October 1584 recording the complaint of 'Beigis Wyise, spouse to William Donaldsoun, burgess of Striviling', against Lord Robert Semple, 'prior of Quhitterne'. It is not improbable that this is the same Donaldsoun, although the Christian name is different.⁶³

The 'charter' in question is the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, which records, on 24 September 1597, the grant of Robert Donaldson's lands to Thomas Lothian, the former having been executed after being found guilty of witchcraft. If Stevenson has located the correct Beggis Donaldsoun (not 'Beigis Wyise', who seems unconnected), then perhaps the account of her flight from Falkirk (in stanza 2) is related in some way or other to her father's conviction in 1597.⁶⁴ However, what has survived of Beggis's narrative is retrospective, and refers to her father in the present tense – it remains unclear what compelled Beggis 'to flie', and why she was 'persewit with lad and loun'. Finally, unnoticed by Stevenson is a testament of a certain 'Geillis Donaldsone', 'sumtyme spous to thomas Louthiane merchand burges of *edinburgh*', dated 14 August 1592.⁶⁵ A scribal error from 'Geillis' to 'Beggis' is perhaps easily made: the manner in which the Laing scribe identified her, 'future spous to Thomas Louthian mercheand' certainly ties in with the testament. If this woman is the subject of our poem, then by 1592 Beggis, or Geillis, was dead.

The fragment breaks off with indications of a violent wife: 'That marriage he may sair repent / As his shaft-bleid can witnes beir'. Unfortunately, the poem does not record what incited this violence against his 'shaft-bleid', or jawbone, but the implication is that Beggis Donaldsoun could look after herself. In short, this fragment raises more questions than it answers, and it is to be hoped that a fuller version of this fascinating poem will resurface. If indeed this is an amatory poem of sorts, it appears to record a relationship gone horribly askew. The appeal of this poem to the compilers of MS Laing III.447, perhaps as a popular ballad or well-known story, may be explained by its explicit references to 'ane burges wyfe' and 'ane mercheant man'; perhaps this was a tale of caution, or source of amusement, for the burgh wives and merchants that feature as the manuscript's suggested contemporary audience. This fragment and the debate poem discussed

⁶³ Stevenson, pp. 360-61.

⁶⁴ Apart from the entry in *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* found by Stevenson, there are no traces of a trial involving 'Roberti Donaldsoun in Falkirk burgensis de Striviling' in any of the recent reference works on witchcraft in Scotland. See for instance the searchable database 'The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft', ed. by Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller and Louise Yeoman, [<http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/witches>, accessed 1 December 2006], or Christina Lerner, *Enemies of God: The Witchhunt in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000).

⁶⁵ NAS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/24, ff. 329-30.

above provide a counterpoint against the more formalised amatory approaches, introducing into the world of love discourse a strong sense of the social. Importantly, both poems feature dramatised female speaking parts to balance out a genre that is generally male-dominated.

Following ‘the ravisching of Beggis donaldsoun’ is ‘My breist is maid the verray graif of woo’ (f. 12r), a Scottish Petrarchist sonnet *par excellence*. The interlaced rhyme scheme is confidently employed, and technically this is a flawless sonnet, and one that might be termed ‘Castalian’ in terms of style and content (it compares well, for instance, with Fowler’s *Tarantula* sonnets). Whereas alliteration is only lightly used, the incremental repetition of the third quatrain signifies the speaker’s obsessive desire for ‘sum grace’ from ‘my sueit my deirrest and my fair’. The sonnet is subscribed by a single stanza:

Giffand with all dew reuerance
Peirsit with luif be violence
To yow my hairt in governence
 My ladie deir
quhois neue sueit wordis of eloquence
 Excell now heir.

So far this fragment is unidentified, but it probably derives from a longer poem. Standing alone here, it nevertheless connects to previous texts. The lady’s ‘neue sueit wordis of eloquence’ bring to mind those of the lady in the wooing poem; the ‘hairt’ being offered in ‘reuerance’ has been encountered multiple times now. The stanza form itself, the ‘standard Habbie’ or ‘Burns stanza’, made so popular by the eighteenth-century vernacular poets Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns, was employed in the sixteenth century, for instance by Alexander Scott, and ultimately derives from medieval romance and Provençal poetry.⁶⁶ Montgomerie seems to have used the stanza once, but attribution of the poem in question is less secure than other items, since it appears as a later addition to the Bannatyne manuscript and is, in Parkinson’s words, ‘unmarked by Montgomerie’s characteristic Petrarchism [and it] fits in well in a sequence dominated by Alexander Scott’s lyrics’.⁶⁷ With no evidence that this verse form was popular with the poets of the 1580s and 1590s, the appearance of the fragment in the Laing manuscript suggests a date of composition closer to the mid-sixteenth century.

⁶⁶ It takes its name, ‘standard Habbie’, from Robert Sempill of Beltrees’s ‘The Life and Death of Habbie Simson, the Piper of Kilbarchan’. Scott uses the stanza for instance in ‘A Complaint aganis Cupeid’, and adapts it in ‘It cumis yow luvaris to be hail’ and ‘Leif, Luve, and lat me leif allone’, *Poems of Scott*, pp. 36-37, 58-59, 83-84. For an overview of the rise, decline, and rediscovery of the ‘Burns stanza’ see for instance *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, ed. by William Ernest Henley and Thomas F. Henderson (Edinburgh: T.C. and E.C. Jack, 1896), pp. 336-42; see also Janet M. Smith, *The French Influence of Middle Scots Literature* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934), pp. 156-58; *Scottish Literature in English and Scots*, ed. by Douglas Gifford, Sarah M. Dunnigan and Alan McGillivray (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 121-22.

⁶⁷ Parkinson, ‘Montgomerie’, p. 500. Lyall agrees that there is ‘some question about the ascription’, *Montgomerie*, p. 37.

The most accomplished of this first group of poems, and the final entry before the *Cherrie*, is ‘Prepotent palme Imperiall’ (f. 13r), which starts with the following hyperbolic address:

Prepotent palme Imperiall
Of perfyte pulchritude preclair
O lusume Lamp Etheriall
Quhais beamis bricht hes no compair.

Like the final stanza of ‘Luif still in hoipe with pacience’ quoted above, this is heavily alliterative and aureate verse. Following this, the second stanza expresses the speaker’s anxiety over the ineffectiveness of his speech, his lack of ‘witt’ and ‘knowlege’, leading to the following observation:

O happie war the Rethoriciane
That with sueit wourdis wald lament it
Als happie war the gude musiciane
wald sett and caus it to be prentit
And in your graces hand presentit
Sua that ye wald reid and *pervsit*
To knaw so soir I am tormentit
So that my grosnes war excusit.

Jealous of the verbosity of the ‘Rethoriciane’, and envying ‘the gude musiciane’, the speaker denies himself any mode of self-expression. The music ‘to be prentit’ is interesting: no work of secular music was ‘prentit’ in Scotland until *Songs and Fancies* in 1662, yet it seems that in the poet’s mind music and print are naturally associated.⁶⁸ This hypothetical work of music here replaces the more traditional love gifts, for instance the poem itself, or a heart, to convey the message of the speaker’s ‘constant lufe’.

After three more stanzas of inner turmoil, debating whether to break the silence, the speaker introduces an image that was widely employed by other poets of the time:

Lyke as it is the Lizairtis kynd
Of mannis face to pray hir fude
So nature still steris vp my mynd
To wew your peirles pulchritude. (f. 14r)

The image of the lizard feeding upon man’s face appears twice in *Montgomerie*, once in James VI, and once in William Alexander’s *Aurora*.⁶⁹ Cranstoun explains this idea that ‘the affection of the

⁶⁸ *Songs and Fancies* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, in the context of Margaret Robertson’s manuscript.

⁶⁹ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 75, 113; *Poems of James VI*, II, 71; *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, ed. by L.E. Kastner and H.B. Charlton, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 11, 24, 1921-29), II, 494.

lizard for man is frequently mentioned by old writers', and, quoting the poet Chester, that '[t]he lizard is a kind of loving creature / Especially to man he is a friend'.⁷⁰

The final stanza asks for 'pitie', offers service as a vassal, or 'your bundman', and advances a similar argument as Henryson's mouse when captured by the lion:

Quhat vantage hes ane armit knycht
his yield in presoun for to kill
Or be *quhat* equitie or richt
May he on him his rage fulfill.⁷¹

There is no honour in an easy kill, so his lady-as-predator should let justice rule. 'Prepotent palme Imperiall' grounds itself strongly in the Scots poetic tradition, anchoring itself by reference to other poetic works that employ similar imagery and similar thematic concerns.⁷² In terms of its language and its mastery of form it is the most successful of the opening group of the Laing manuscript. It is subscribed, finally, 'Finis quod ane luiffar', again masking authorship, although with this poem too appears the name 'James B', indicating the poem must either have been written, copied, or simply read by this elusive character.

On the same page, f. 14r, appears a short fragment, possibly the opening to a longer work, a poem or a song, starting 'In somer quhen the feildis ar fair'. Nothing else is known about this, but it is possible these are the lost words to a Scottish song. A fragmentary tune entitled 'In sommer simliest and faire' survives in Robert Edward's commonplace book, though without any more words. Kenneth Elliott has printed the tune, and draws attention to the similarities of both *incipits*; whether this stanza really is the beginning of a song remains uncertain.⁷³

To sum up findings regarding the Laing manuscript's first group of poems, it is striking to what degree words and phrases are echoed throughout: thus 'My burd so bricht' (f. 6v) brings to mind the 'bony burde' on f. 9v. Where 'Wo worth the fall of fortounis quheill' reads 'For absence of hir fair bewitie', 'Prepotent palme Imperiall' reads 'Throw absence of *your* bewte bricht'. In the debating poem, the speaker praises the 'fragrant flouris of eloquenc / of femini' (f. 7r), whereas the following poem speaks of 'The fairest flour of feminie' (f. 9r). More examples may be found, and other links have been explored above. This evidences how throughout this group the subtle patterning of theme and image constructs a picture larger than the sum of its parts. When considering all poems leading up to the *Cherrie*, we find that they share a discursive intertextuality

⁷⁰ *The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, ed. by James Cranstoun (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 9, 10, 11, 1887), p. 339

⁷¹ As the mouse argues, 'It will degraid sum part off your renoun / To sla ane mous, quhilk may mak na defence': *Robert Henryson: The Poems*, ed. by Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 59.

⁷² For similar types of amatory discourse, see, for instance, several of the mid-century lyrics as selected by John MacQueen (ed.): 'Flour of all fairheid, gif I sall found thee fra'; 'Quhen Flora had ourfret the firth'; or 'Lanterne of lufe and lady fair of hew'. *Ballatis of Luve: The Scottish Courtly Love Lyric 1400-1570* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), pp. 28, 51, 71.

⁷³ *Musica Scotica II: Sixteenth-Century Scots Songs for Voice and Lute*, ed. by Kenneth Elliott (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Music Department, 1996), pp. 130, 142 (note 45).

worthy of note. They may be the product of a single poet, though this is unlikely: certainly all authors of the Laing poems on ff. 4-14 shared a similar discursive space, or poetic tradition. It may even be possible that some poems in MS Laing III.447's first group function as 'answer poems' to earlier ones, further developing themes and exploring imagery. What this points towards, finally, is an intelligent and thematically sensitive juxtapositioning of individual works by scribe A, with this group instancing a discursive coherence that will become even clearer when taking into account other parts of the manuscript, as discussed below. Importantly, it will have become obvious at this point that a linear transcription of MS Laing III.447 is invaluable to start to appreciate fully the design of this miscellany. As a final point of interest, the amatory poems collectively may be regarded to anticipate those sections in Montgomerie's *Cherrie and the Slae* that focus on Cupid, and the dangers of sexual love; this will be discussed more fully below.

'Off the cherry and the Slae', ff. 15r-31v

Montgomerie's long allegorical poem has been extensively discussed and variously interpreted.⁷⁴ Critics have highlighted both its strong points and its defects, its curiously medieval outlook combined with its challenging stanza form, and its intriguing print history. Whereas an early version of the poem was known to James VI in the early 1580s (the king quoted from it, again in the *Reulis and Cautelis*), yet it appears to have been among the last works Montgomerie completed shortly before he died. Although critics have praised its bold and ambitious agenda, it has also been argued that the poem is structurally flawed.

In these critical discussions, the *Cherrie* has been dealt with extensively on its own terms. It has, however, hardly been discussed as part of the direct context in which it appears in MS Laing III.447. This context is integral to the poem's complex meaning, and may hold clues as to the contemporary reception of what must have been one of the most popular works of the late sixteenth century, and one that, moreover, enjoyed a wide readership well into the seventeenth century and beyond. As indicated above, several editors have dismissed the Laing manuscript's transcription of the *Cherrie* as inferior in terms of its textual value. Whereas Harvey Wood, quoted above, held that the Laing transcription is closely related to the second 1597 print, Stevenson is less certain: 'The number of important variations in these texts [the Laing manuscript and Waldegrave prints] from one to another makes it clear that they are quite independent copies of the poem'.⁷⁵ Parkinson is more careful than Stevenson, and contradicts Harvey Wood: '[a]lthough the correspondences are by no means as close or consistent as those in the case of the *Flyting*, the Laing Manuscript does

⁷⁴ See, for instance, Helena M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 117-38; Jack, *Montgomerie*, pp. 106-34; Lyall, *Montgomerie*, pp. 107-12, 317-31.

⁷⁵ Stevenson, p. 345.

tend to agree with the first Waldegrave print against the second'.⁷⁶ If indeed the Laing scribe's copy text was a 1597 print then the manuscript has a clear *terminus a quo*.

Not much is known about circulation of this poem before the first print. It certainly seems the case that Montgomerie thoroughly overhauled, and finally completed, the *Cherrie* in the relatively short time between printing and his death, which must have occurred before 22 August 1598.⁷⁷ That the Laing compilers had no access to this completed poem may indicate that the Laing *Cherrie* was transcribed into the manuscript no later than 1615, the presumed date of printing of the finalised *Cherrie* by Hart. Finally, it is possible – as is implicitly endorsed by Stevenson – that the Laing scribes had access to a manuscript predating the first print of 1597, so that a date of transcription may belong anywhere between 1584 and 1597.⁷⁸

The relationship between the Laing *Cherrie* and any printed material remains a contentious issue. When focussing on similarities, kinship indeed seems close, but when considering the variants (some examples are identified by Stevenson, and Parkinson in his edition lists all Laing variants in comparison to the second Waldegrave print) a somewhat different picture emerges.⁷⁹ For instance, where both prints read 'The flouris fair ware flurischit' (l. 32), the Laing manuscript has 'The feildis ower all was flureischit' (f. 15v). Again, where the prints have 'he can not hald him still [or 'hold his tung' in the second 1597 print]' (l. 654), the manuscript reads 'for to bahald his cunning' (f. 26v). In the opening stanza, the 'melodiousse' birds in Waldegrave spring 'with wingis into the skye', whereas those in the Laing manuscript spring 'so heich into the skye' (f. 15r). These are three obvious examples of substantial variants,⁸⁰ and none can be explained as careless mistakes on the part of the copyist. Rather, we must consider that the Laing manuscript *Cherrie* may have derived from an autonomous manuscript tradition, but one, on the evidence of close similarities to both prints, that may have been related to the exemplar that made its way into Waldegrave's printing shop in 1597. It is possible that the variants are the result of a manuscript tradition post-dating Waldegrave, but there is no proof. King James's familiarity with the poem proves that manuscripts circulated, yet none survive today. For all its textual problems, the Laing manuscript is a crucial document in the history of transmission of Montgomerie's verse, and indeed the manuscript could be the tip of a small iceberg of *Cherrie* manuscripts that circulated prior to

⁷⁶ Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', p. 501 note 22.

⁷⁷ John Durkan, 'The Date of Alexander Montgomerie's Death', *Innes Review*, 34 (1983), 91-92.

⁷⁸ On the starting and completion dates of the *Cherrie*, Lyall (*Montgomerie*, p. 107) argues as follows: 'It seems clear that, although he had begun this remarkable, if ultimately unconvincing, allegorical work by late 1584, he did not then complete it, leaving it unfinished until provoked to take it up again by the appearance in print in 1597 of the fragment he had written nearly fifteen years before. We cannot be sure that the whole of this first, incomplete version was composed by the time James quoted an early stanza in his "Reulis and Cautelis"; but on the whole it is likely that the entire 930 lines, or 66-and-a-bit fourteen-line stanzas, were written by the end of 1584'.

⁷⁹ Stevenson (p. 345) prints a short table of parallel texts featuring the Laing manuscript and both Waldegrave's prints, to illustrate the relationship between them.

⁸⁰ For two more examples, compare the following lines from Laing with the facing Waldegrave text in Stevenson: 'And all away was blawin' (f. 19r), l. 243, p. 18; 'quhais cumming sic ane rumour maid / and to the sie It softlie slied / the craig was stay and schoir' (f. 20r), ll. 294-96, p. 22.

printing. One other strong argument in favour of this scenario is the occurrence of several missing lines or half-lines (on ff. 14r, 18r, 20r, 21r, 24v, 25v, 27v). Whereas some can be explained as careless eye-skips, on ff. 21r, 25v, and 27v the scribe left spaces or a whole blank line, indicating illegible copy text, perhaps because of bad handwriting, or cropped or damaged pages.⁸¹ Although printed books are not immune to this type of decay, scribes more easily run into trouble with handwritten texts.

The circumstances in which the poem has been transcribed raise questions as to the social function of the manuscript. The first stanza appears to be in Hand A, the same as the previous group of poems. Stanza 2, however, is in a different handwriting (Hand C), and subscribed with an initial, perhaps a capital 'P' or 'T', or a combination of two letters. Hand A then resumes work until stanza 10, under which appears a short dividing line. It appears that Hand C continues from this point and finishes the poem, inscribing the initial 'P' or 'T' on ff. 19r and 20r, and then again at the end, together with 'Finis quod mongomerie'. These findings contradict Stevenson, who stated that the *Cherrie* was composed by three scribes, but he provides no further evidence. Hand C is regular and suggests a leisured pace, and consistently fits two stanzas on a single page.⁸² The scribe took the work seriously, as he/she corrected small mistakes (see for instance ff. 21r, 28v, 29v, or 30v, where single words are inserted, or misspelt words cancelled and rewritten), and, as seen above, left blank spaces where the copy text presumably was illegible, perhaps planning to return to it at a later stage. There are no further indications in the manuscript as to why two scribes would share the work of copying out the poem between them. Perhaps they copied out those sections that were available to them, either in print or manuscript, or those sections they had committed to memory – though given the length of the poem it is doubtful the scribes worked from memory alone. A more straightforward explanation would be that compiling the manuscript was not a solitary exercise for its owner; maybe he or she actively invited others to help copy the poems. If this was the case, then this social activity of writing might reflect the nature of the scribal community where the manuscript may have originated. This will be discussed in more detail below, after a consideration of the manuscript in its entirety.

For the *Cherrie* to blend with the other material in MS Laing III.447, or for the other poems to create a suitable context, it is essential to recognise its complex thematic development. In the poem's first section, after the first seven stanzas have set the scene, the dreamer's meeting with

⁸¹ A comparison between the missing lines in the Laing manuscript and the first Waldegrave print shows that the corresponding missing line in Laing (f. 25v) is printed at the margin (top) of the page only on one occasion. The other two corresponding half-lines missing in the manuscript, on ff. 21r and 27v, both appear in the middle of the printed page. This suggests that if indeed the scribe used a printed text of the *Cherrie*, and if indeed a lacuna in his copy text caused these missing lines, then the copy text must have been damaged in another way than by cropped pages.

⁸² Several letter forms confirm that only two hands wrote the *Cherrie*. Particularly characteristic of Hand C (apparent both from stanzas 2 and 11-69) are the thin hair-lines over the lower case 'a' and initial 'q'. Compare also, for instance, the tail of the 'y' that slopes away to the right, for instance in 'hynd', f. 15r, 'bayth' or 'sumtyme', f. 17v; or the abbreviation 'w^b' on ff. 15r and 18r.

Cupid and his ill-fated attempt to fly with wings borrowed from the boy god leaves him wounded, after a failed endeavour with ‘cupiddis bow to shuit’ (f. 17v). This self-inflicted injury sets the dreamer’s heart ablaze: ‘Than feld I currage and dispair / Inflamyng my breist *with vncwoth fyr*’ (f. 19r). Lyall points out that ‘courage’ is ‘more commonly associated in Older Scots with sexual inclination’,⁸³ and it is this first section of the poem that most strongly resonates with the other amatory poems in the Laing manuscript. Tormented by the pangs of love, ‘lyk dido’ (f. 19r), the lover’s pains seem a philosophical affliction nonetheless, since no object of affection is present, or even mentioned. It is in this state of mental anguish that the dreamer comes upon the two fruits for the first time:

ane tre thair I sie thair
of scherries in the breyis
belaw to I saw to
ane bus of bitter slayis. (f. 20r)

If at this point in the poem Montgomerie still works in the tradition of erotic allegory, the ‘scherries’ may be seen to symbolise an unattainable love object, and the cause of all-consuming desire. Yet, as the *Cherrie* develops, this opening is revealed as only an introduction to a much more sophisticated argument, embodied in the *psychomachia* that takes up over two-thirds of the poem. The dreamer’s personified inclinations take to the field. First, the debate is between Dreid, Danger and Dispair on the one hand, and Curage and Hope on the other, in an attempt to either scale the craig and climb towards the sweet ‘cherrie’, or to settle for the bitter ‘slae’. From stanza 43 (f. 25v) onwards, the emphasis of the argument shifts: with the appearance of Experience, Reassoun, Wit, Skill, Will, and Wisdom, the debaters now argue about the best way to obtain the ‘cherrie’. With the first trio of advocates, ‘thre preichouris to *persuad / the poysonit slay to pow*’, (f. 25v) out of commission, the ‘slae’ seems all but forgotten. What was initially an amatory poem develops into a lengthy moral debate, which, importantly in the early version in the Laing manuscript (as in the first two prints of the *Cherrie* in 1597) remains inconclusive. The words of Experience in the last unfinished stanza, ‘we war no barnis to be begyld’ (f. 31v), already suggests that he and his companions Reason, Skill and Wit shall be victorious.

Helena Shire located in the *Cherrie* a distinct Catholic undertone that betrayed Montgomerie’s confessional persuasions. In fact, the symbolism of the ‘cherrie’ and the ‘slae’ can be variously explained. Montgomerie leaves any reading of the fruits entirely open: indeed, this unresolved ambiguity is one of the poem’s strongest assets. Initially, the ‘cherrie’ and the ‘slae’ may stand for ‘opposed love objects’.⁸⁴ As the poem progresses, however, and the qualities of both the ‘cherrie’ and ‘slae’ are hotly debated, a religious dimension unfolds, and a reading may be advanced in which the bitter ‘slae’ represents Protestantism, and the sweet ‘cherrie’ Catholicism.

⁸³ Lyall, *Montgomerie*, p. 321.

⁸⁴ Jack, *Montgomerie*, p. 126.

Although the poet was known to have converted to Catholicism, in all of his verse Montgomerie is careful not to let his confessional identity shine through, not even in his devotional works, and certainly not in the *Cherrie*. If we take into consideration that the early *Cherrie* was most likely composed at the court of James VI, and add to that Montgomerie's fading fortunes later in life when he returned to it, then a political or biographical dimension may be added to the possible readings.

A great many questions surround both the composition and the interpretation of this poem. These questions must remain, to some extent, unanswered, and, as Jack concedes, critics can only 'study the poem as closely as possible for signs', and, importantly, 'note the opinion of commentators nearer in time to the work'.⁸⁵ The compilers of MS Laing III.447 are such close commentators, and the manner in which they have juxtaposed the *Cherrie* with other poems – amatory, moral, and religious – may be read as meaningful. As will be shown below, the devotional material in the manuscript is of obvious Protestant cast, at times even anti-Catholic. It may reasonably be asked, therefore, whether Montgomerie's *Cherrie*, if indeed it was a coded pro-Catholic work, would have sat comfortably next to the Calvinist devotional lyrics. When in the later, finished version of the *Cherrie*, the dreamer has resolved his inner conflict, he climbs easily towards the fruit, which detaches itself from its branch and is delivered without any of the anticipated problems. As Shire, Jack, and Lyall agree, it is difficult not to read this as an act of divine grace. We cannot allow this ending to influence MS Laing III.447's other poems, but still it is tempting to suppose that a religious interpretation was available to the contemporary audiences of the Laing manuscript. Further consideration of the miscellaneous poems below will consider their resonances with the *Cherrie*, if any, and explore the manifest interaction between the various sections of the Laing manuscript. Analysis below will show that the *Cherrie*'s centrality within the manuscript, both physically and thematically, is important, and that it is possible to consider the poems directly preceding and following it to have been, as it were, wrapped around this long and difficult poem, drawing out and commenting on the various thematic strands. If such a reading of the manuscript can be substantiated, then it underlines the significance of Montgomerie's most ambitious literary project.

The Poems, ff. 32r-45r

In light of the *Cherrie*'s portrayal of the deceitful Cupid, it seems no coincidence that the next poem transcribed after it is 'King cupaid gracles god of glaikes' (f. 32r). First in a group of eight poems that are all in Hand B, 'King cupaid' is a clear reply to the *Cherrie*'s Cupid episode. Stevenson points out various correspondences in diction between Montgomerie's known works and 'King cupaid'. The most apparent verbal echoes are found in the description of 'King cupaid' as

⁸⁵ Jack, *Montgomerie*, p. 126.

‘gracles god of glaikes’, and his mother, ‘gwklett goddes quene’ (f. 32r). In Montgomerie’s ‘A descriptione of vane Lovers’, also in the Laing manuscript on f. 36v, those that traffic with Cupid are styled as ‘gukitt fulis’ that ‘gangis gukitt gaittis’ – the corresponding line in the Ker manuscript runs ‘Lyk glaikit fools gang gooked gaitis’.⁸⁶ Further echoes abound. The proverbial ‘For I have leirnid to countt my kinch’ in the fourth stanza (f. 32v) is used by Montgomerie later in the second version of the *Cherrie*; and Stevenson finds a similar construction for ‘Than drocht do att [scribal error for ‘all’] that thow dow’ in the *Flyting*.⁸⁷ In general, ‘King cupaid’ asserts much the same sentiment as that found in Montgomerie’s sonnet ‘Against the God of Love’. Here, the ‘blind brutal Boy’ is named a ‘Fals Tratur, Turk, betrayer vnder trust’.⁸⁸ Again, in the Laing poem he appears as ‘fas tratour vngraitt & periurd’ (f. 32v): ‘periurd’ in this sense means one ‘that is false to an oath or vow’ (see *DOST*, under ‘perjurit’), in other words, one who has betrayed a bond of trust. None of this proves that the ‘maister poet’ composed ‘King cupaid’, but if he did not, then the Laing manuscript does prove to what degree Montgomerie’s style and diction had suffused amatory writing at the end of the sixteenth century in Scotland – or vice versa, to what degree Montgomerie responded to stock literary imagery.

The anonymous poet’s violent dismissal of Cupid’s power over him ends on a note of sympathy for those that succumbed to the god’s powers:

Yitt sair alas I pittie some
 Thatt hes bene men of knowlege kend
 And yitt with the hes bene owircum
 quhais witt I can na wayis commend
 As for my sellff I sell defend
 And cairis nocht by thai feid ane ble
 Dischairging frindschip and so I end
 fair will that day I dyne with the. (f. 33r)

Even men of reason, or ‘knowlege’, have been known to be overcome by love. How that reason is defined, how it can be attained, and how it may lead to happiness is explored in the subsequent poem in the manuscript, ‘My freind if thow will credeitt me in ought’ (f. 33r). This English poem was ascribed to Jasper Heywood, and printed in the *Paradyce of Dainty Devises* in 1576. Apart from the obvious scribal error of ‘eir’ for ‘eis’ in the second stanza, the Laing transcription is wholly faithful to the English print (although more Scots in orthography). It is with this poem that the Laing collection breaks out of its amatory mould and offers a contrastive discourse of worldly wisdom that comments unabashedly on matters of love, family, and friendship. Heywood’s first steps towards wisdom are to ‘feir god and know thi self in eiche degrie’, and to look inward for guilt, and not to others. In the light of the preceding endorsements of amatory motives in the manuscript, it is significant that Heywood warns not

⁸⁶ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 27.

⁸⁷ Stevenson, p. 356.

⁸⁸ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 135.

[...] to far lett out thi fansie sleip
 and wittles will frome reasonnes rewle outstartt
 thy folie sell at lenthe be maid thi quhipp
 And soir the stryippis of schame sell caus the smartt. (f. 33v)

The poem finally warns against the affection of women that ‘waggis *with* wind’, old men, who die before they can ‘requyt’ a debt, and ungrateful children. Indeed, the only thing to trust, in the face of time, is ‘ane faithfull freind’, who ‘sell sumtyme stand the In better steid / than treasure greitt of gould or precious stone’. Friendship poems are a commonplace in miscellanies, and arguably they reflect, at some level, the communal aspect of compilation; another four-line fragment elsewhere in the manuscript, starting ‘Of all warldlie confort trew freindschip is cheif’ (f. 69r, not included by Stevenson) again underlines this theme.

At this point in the manuscript, after several evocations of social surroundings in the debate poem and Beggis Donaldson’s plight discussed above, values of friendship are recast through Heywood’s poem, adding a further layer of depth, offering another, secular model of moral conduct, and one that is deeply suspicious of romantic, or sexual, love. Another reason for this poem’s appeal, in light of the *Cherrie*, must have been its proverbial quality. As George Hill records, Montgomerie’s poem was once described as a ‘magazine of pithy witt’, from which ‘The Advocates in Edinbrugh [sic] take many Oratorious and Satyricall Apothegems’.⁸⁹ Heywood’s poem might have been popular with the Laing manuscript audience for exactly that reason, collecting such pearls of wisdom as ‘Tyme quicklie slipps bewar how thow it spend’, ‘Cutt outt thai cott according to thai claithe’, or indeed:

quhat thing thow willtt hawe hid to nane declair
 in word or deid be wer of had I wist
 So spend thai gud that sum thow ever spair
 for freindis lyk halkis dois soir frome emptie fist.

Of the remaining six poems in Hand B, five are religious. Only Montgomerie’s incomplete ‘Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane’(f. 36v), entitled ‘A descriptione of vane Lovers’ in the Ker manuscript, as an amatory poem stands out from this otherwise homogeneous group. The first is ‘Some men for suddane Joy do weip’. Stevenson opines this might be Alexander Hume’s, on the basis that another of his poems appears later in the manuscript, and on the basis of the stanza form which is the same as Hume employed in ‘Of the Day Estivall’. Bawcutt proved him wrong, and identified John Careless as its author. Printed first in 1564, in Bishop Coverdale’s *Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable letters of such true Saintes and holy Martyrs of God [...]*, the poem later appeared as a broadside, and was very popular – Shakespeare quoted the opening couplet in

⁸⁹ George Hill, *The Montgomery Manuscripts, 1603-1706* (Belfast: [n.p.], 1869), pp. 400-1.

King Lear, and Thomas Heywood in his *Rape of Lucrece*.⁹⁰ The version in the Laing manuscript, over twenty-eight stanzas, deplores man's natural propensity towards sin, and in particular that of the speaker:

Som tyme quhen I think to do wiell
 And serue god nicht and day
 my wiecket natur dois rebell
 and leidis me astray. (f. 34r)

Although it is unlikely that the doctrine of original sin underpinning this poem would still leave any doubts as to the speaker's confessional identity, a further exclamatory remark clinches all doubt: 'Bott frome thatt fillthie hour of rome / Lord keip me evir more'. The English broadside tradition of this poem provides an interesting comparison: Hyder Rollins prints the song from the Sloane manuscript, and adds that 'the MS. copy probably represents closely the ballad as it appeared in printed broadside form'.⁹¹ If this is true, then it is significant that the Sloane manuscript text and perhaps also the broadsides omitted four stanzas, starting 'But from that filthy whore of Rome'. This barbed comment may well have been removed when the song was prepared as a more 'swete and heauenly exercise' (the phrase is Bishop Coverdale's, in his introduction to the poem): the fact that the missing four stanzas were included in the first print of 1564, and in the Laing manuscript version, suggest that the Laing scribe's exemplar derives ultimately from the early print. The Laing poem is certainly very faithful to the print, introducing only some small and insignificant variants.

After 'Nan luffis bott fullis', 'O lord my god to the I cray heir my complent' on f. 37r underlines the manuscript's Protestant creed through reference to the doctrines of the elect, predestination, justification by faith (as opposed to good works), and eternal damnation:

If that thow lord did call to mynd *our* sinis ilkane
 than Iustifeit of adame kynd thair sell be nane
 Except thow of fre merce saf ws frome deid [St: of thy fre merce]
 We ar all damnett eternalie *withou*tt remeid

Sen nan can throu his awin desertis be maid *per*fyt
 we the beseik into our hairt grant ws thai spreitt
 For nan can come to the excep *that* thow him draw
 As chryst vnto his awin electt dois planlie schaw. (f. 37r)

⁹⁰ See *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625*, ed. by Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 47-53; see also David Greer, 'Five Variations on "Farewel dear loue"', in *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in The Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. by John Caldwell, Edward Olleson and Susan Wollenberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 214-29 (p. 216 note 8). No copies of the broadsides appear to have survived, but its popularity is evident from entries into the Stationers' Register in 1586, 1624, and 1635: see Hyder E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers in London', *Studies in Philology*, 21:1 (1924), 1-324 (pp. 113, 213). Claude M. Simpson also discusses the tune, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. 534 note 3.

⁹¹ Rollins, *Ballads*, p. 47.

Part of this poem, or rather song, appears in manuscript elsewhere. Music survives, first of all, in Robert Tait's music book (c. 1680), with only the first four lines of the first stanza underlaid.⁹² Furthermore, the first three stanzas survive in another musical manuscript, significantly older, EUL MS 64, the Dowglas-Fische[ar] part-books, also (misleadingly) known as the Dunkeld part-books.⁹³ The manuscript contains mostly early sixteenth-century polyphonic masses and motets. Elliott notes how on ff. 43v-45v three stanzas are written out (the third incomplete), starting 'O Lord my God to the I cry', but without any music. Yet, the words are written under blank bars, so the scribe might have intended music to be added later. The fragment breaks off mid-sentence, although three more blank, but ruled, pages would have provided ample space to continue.

The part-books' provenance is traced by Elliott, and has been refined by Glynn Jenkins. On f. 111 appears an inscription: 'Robert dowglas with my hand at the pen william fische[ar]'. Elliott identified Douglas as the owner, and 'William Fisher probably catalogued his library at one time: this would explain the form of the inscription'.⁹⁴ Elliott traces a reference to Fisher in the Exchequer Rolls of 1583, and suggests that he was a burges of Edinburgh. Jenkins elaborates on these findings, and suggests instead how the part-books' copyist is most likely to be William Fisher the elder, father of the William that Elliott identified. Jenkins further suggests that the father may have written the part-books in the middle of the century, c. 1545. Important connections may be made to the cultural context of the Laing manuscript, since William Fisher the elder was a godparent of the Bannatyne family, while both father and son were burgesses and guild brothers of Edinburgh. Both men regularly appear in the records.⁹⁵ In the context of the Laing manuscript, these links are of enormous significance: possible connections between the Laing poems and the environment of George Bannatyne in Edinburgh can be strengthened based on this shared poem. As always, these connections are circumstantial, but it is striking to find versions of the same poem in two manuscripts, both linked to the city's community of cultured burgesses.

Although the music of 'O lord my god to the I cray' received some critical attention (from Elliott), the poem itself as it appears in Laing has never been discussed. Jenkins's suggested transcription date of c. 1545 of the part-book fragment reveals that 'O lord my god to the I cray' finds its origin in the pre-Reformation period. Yet, whereas the fragment in the part-books indicate no historic specificity whatsoever, the poem in Laing has been adapted to very particular historical

⁹² *Musica Scotica II*, pp. 71-74 (the lute song), p. 122 (four-part version of the song), and p. 139, note 18. See also Walter H. Rubsamen, 'Scottish and English Music of the Renaissance in a Newly-Discovered Manuscript', in *Festschrift Heinrich Bessler*, ed. by Eberhardt Klemm (Leipzig: Institut für Musikwissenschaften, 1961), pp. 259-84, which mistakenly refers to Tait as 'Raitt'. Rubsamen also prints the tune, p. 267.

⁹³ Kenneth Elliott, 'Church Musick at Dunkell', *Music and Letters*, 45:3 (1964), 228-32 (p. 231).

⁹⁴ Elliott, 'Church Musick', p. 231

⁹⁵ Glynn Edwin Jenkins, 'Latin Polyphony in Scotland, 1500-1560 (with Studies in Analytical Techniques)', (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Exeter, 1988). See pp. 77-83 for a discussion of the part-books' provenance, and pp. 367-87 for William Fischer the elder. For Fischer as a godparent, see van Heijnsbergen, 'Interaction'.

circumstances (see below). This suggests that the poet of the Laing poem remade an old devotional lyric, one that had been in circulation for several decades and was found suitable for expansion to include topical references. The poem, contrary to ‘Some men for suddane Joy do weip’, is strongly didactic, explanatory, directing its concerns outwards, rather than turning inwards (as do Hume and Montgomerie in later poems in the Laing manuscript). Conforming to the didactic agenda is a long catalogue both of God’s vengeful deeds against his enemies, and his acts of mercy and protection. After a list of those that are famously saved by God (Lot, Jonah, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, Susanna, Daniel), the poet introduces the following, more recent example of God’s protection of his faithful servants:

Amangis thir exemplis all we may imbring
 How thow preserwit dauid frome saull and maid him king
 And efter that of presone strang thow did relewe
 paull the sulderis frome amang that none him greif
 quhatt mister I to multiplie exampellis awld
 thair restis an wark of thai merci yitt to behald
 of Iames the Sext our nobill king quhome chryst mocht keip
 with dauid thow did him for to bring of dangeris deip

Quhen that hes fois begud to fane and him persew
 Achitophell and absalon thow than overthrew
 And thow did dullfulie doun ding thame did thame deir
 Chryst grantt him lang over ws to ring in thai trew feir
 Nott onlie dois thow defend frome perelis gritt [St: thow thame defend]
 bott als oft thai do offend thow dois remeitt [St: als oft als thai]
 Thair sinnis ilk ane and dois nocht lay thame to *thair* chairg
 As in the scriptur fund we may the same at large. (f. 38r)

The story of David, and the death of his son Absalom rebelling against his father (helped by Achitophel, Absalom’s advisor) turns into a parable for the life of ‘James the Sext’. The scene is carefully set: James’s kingship is blessed by God, as was that of David, and both were kept from ‘dangeris deip’. Significantly juxtaposed with the identification of James as David is the release of St Paul from prison in the same stanza.

The poet’s topical allusion here may be to three historical events: the Ruthven Raid of 1582, the incident with Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell in 1591, or the Gowrie Plot of 1600. Concerning the first, from 28 August 1582 James was kept under guard for ten months by William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, who was determined to remove the young king from under the influence of the Catholic Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and his French retinue. In June 1583, James escaped from the Ruthven Raiders and emerged from his minority, asserted his rights as monarch, and later, on 2 May 1584, turned Gowrie into an example by having him executed. Secondly, in 1591 Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell confronted James at Holyrood Palace, and again, later the following year at Falkland. After various of the ‘madcap Earl’s’ escapades that James had treated leniently, Bothwell was finally forfeited in 1592 and forced to leave the country – yet he did not leave until

April 1595. The Gowrie Plot, finally, sparked most contemporary reactions in writing. The event is still something of a mystery, but it seems that the ultra-Protestant William Ruthven and his brother Alexander attempted to lure James VI to Gowrie House to murder him, possibly to avenge the execution of William Ruthven. The plot was foiled, and the two brothers were killed on the spot.⁹⁶ The king's own report was published in Scots and Latin shortly after the incident, and two short sonnet sequences followed it. Jamie Reid Baxter discusses how, although James's version of events certainly met with resistance, notably by minister Robert Bruce, his escape was lauded by Walter Quinn in a set of six sonnets (published in 1600), and again in a sequence of nine sonnets by Rev. John Dykes, 'The Nyne Muses', that survives among the Wodrow manuscripts (NLS Wodrow Quarto XX, ff. 293-94).⁹⁷

If the reference to St Paul's release from 'presone strang' is to be read literally, and is part of the poet's extended parable, then it is most likely that the anonymous poet reacted to the Ruthven Raid, the only instance where James was physically imprisoned. Another poem supposedly celebrates the king's escape from his captors: John Stewart of Baldynneis's 'To his Maiestie in Fascherie'. Stewart addresses his 'Precelling Prence', and in the first two stanzas extols the virtues of wisdom and patience. Then, in the third stanza, he advises James to

Cast on The lord Thy gydment and Thy stay
 Repose in Christ, So sall Thy cair decres,
 for soone sall cum that happie Iofull day
 Quhan of all dolor Thow sall find redress
 Thy Royal hart vithdraw frome pansiwenes
 And vith king Dauid Lat Thy spreit aspyre
 The lord of hosts your fois vill all suppres
 And send yow help Conforme to your desyre.⁹⁸

Stewart and the anonymous poet strike a very similar chord. As in the Laing text James was brought forth, together with David, from 'dangeris deip' (stanza 7), so in Stewart James's 'spreit'

⁹⁶ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom, James V to James VII* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1978). For the Ruthven Raid, see pp. 178-81; for Bothwell, pp. 190-93; for the Gowrie Plot, pp. 203-4. There were other minor incidents, outbreaks of violence where the young James was present, that were potentially threatening to the king. One such outbreak, the result of political factioning and power-struggles surrounding the deposition and restoration of the regent James Douglas, Earl of Morton in 1578, saw several men killed in the Great Hall in Stirling Castle. One of the players involved in the brawls was the Earl of Mar, and as Lynch argues, 'the earl's career as a juvenile delinquent continued after 1578. He was involved in both the Ruthven Raid of 1582 and the abortive Stirling Raid of 1584, two more attempts to stage a coup by seizing the person of the king'. It is not impossible that these or similar events inspired the poet of 'O lord my god to the I cray heir my complement'. See Michael Lynch, 'The Great Hall in the Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI', in *Stirling Castle: The Restoration of the Great Hall*, ed. by Richard Fawcett (York: Historic Scotland, 2001), pp. 15-22 (p. 18).

⁹⁷ Jamie Reid Baxter, 'The Nyne Muses, An Unknown Renaissance Sonnet Sequence: John Dykes and the Gowrie Conspiracy', in *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality: Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Alasdair A. MacDonald and Kees Dekker (Paris: Peeters, 2005), pp. 197-218.

⁹⁸ *Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis*, ed. by Thomas Crockett, 2 vols [vol. 1 never printed] (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 5, 1913), II, 125-26.

aspires with that of the biblical king. Similarly, just as the speaker in Laing wishes James a long reign after his foes have finally been struck down, so Stewart implores the ‘gratious Godhead’

Yow [James] to preserwe, And all your fois bait doune
And send yow lang and prosperus Impyre
With ofspring, rytches, helth and hich renoune.

For ‘O lord my god to the I cray heir my complent’ we can cautiously advance a date not earlier than the late 1570s, or perhaps after June 1583, when James escaped the Raiders. If its reference is to the Gowrie Plot, it will probably have been composed in 1600.

Apart from echoing the opening lines of the previous poem, ‘O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres’ (f. 38v) also replicates its verse form, an eight-line stanza of rhyming couplets, with a similar internal rhyme scheme.⁹⁹ Although it certainly appears to be a companion to the previous poem, it could be much older (if indeed the previous work references James VI), perhaps contemporary with the original song from the Dowglas-Fische[ar] part-books. ‘O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres’ features twice in the Bannatyne manuscript, once in the Draft and once in the Main section.¹⁰⁰ In the Main manuscript, the poem is titled ‘a song of him lying in poynt o[f] deth’, and both the Main and Draft versions of the poem occur in the company of psalm translations: Fox and Ringler offer no other model for the Scots poem, however, or any other witness. ‘O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres’ is a verse prayer meditating on the relationship between the first-person speaker and God, contemplating past sins, (lack of) faith and constancy, and finally death, and the speaker’s wish either to dwell ‘with angellis hie’ or to walk the earth and ‘sing thai prais as lang as I my lest’. The Laing transcription does not differ greatly from either of the Bannatyne texts in terms of wording (although many small variations occur, particularly in the final stanza), but the layout of the stanza form in Bannatyne, separating rhyming half-lines, is not observed.

Similar types of relationships can be discerned between the devotional poems as with the amatory poems earlier in the manuscript. As ‘O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres’ constitutes a plea to God, the following poem, ‘Quha so dois put thair confidence’ (f. 39r) can be read as a response to the insecurities of the former poem’s speaker. The dramatised voice here is God’s word as it transpires from scripture, exploring in fifteen eight-line stanzas how God shall both protect the faithful and punish the wicked. The poem’s refrain, figuring God as a ‘bukler’, points forwards to Hume who employs the same metaphor in ‘The weicht of sin’: ‘thow art my father nocht the les / My bukler & my sur refuge’ (f. 47v). More importantly, ‘Quha so dois put thair confidence’, hitherto thought to be unique to the Laing manuscript (neither Stevenson nor

⁹⁹ For another instance of this formulaic opening, see Psalm 141, ‘O Lord, my God, to thee I cry, make haste, and come to mee’ from *The Psalmes of King David Translated by King James* (published in 1631 and 1636, and mostly authored by William Alexander, Earl of Stirling).

¹⁰⁰ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, I, 10-12, II, 34-35; cf. Fox and Ringler, pp. 7-8, ff. 14v-15r.

Bawcutt has offered any sources), in fact also occurs in another context that sheds light on the type of readership for such devotional works. In what is known as ‘The Chronicle of Aberdeen’, but what is better described as a combined diary and obituary that forms part of the earliest Aberdeen parish registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths (c. 1492-1595), vicar Walter Cullen collected five poems, one of which is ‘Quho so do pwitt thair confydense’.¹⁰¹ It is not the only poem Cullen’s ‘chronicle’ shares with the Laing manuscript, as he also collected the quatrain ‘grund the on patience blind not thy conscience’ (ff. 76v, 77v, 79v; discussed above).

The Laing text expands on Cullen’s version, adding four stanzas. Although no date of composition for this poem is evident, Cullen’s title, ‘Ane Godlie Ballett to all Thayme that is Persecuitt for Godis Word, with Grytt Confortt of thair Deliuerance’, perhaps suggests the troubles of the Reformation. Consider the following stanza:

Now ye that ar myne cheldrene deir
 and be with me enteritt in band
 ye knaw full oft ye stuid in feir
 of tensall baith of lyf and land
 For quhen grett king did yow gainstand
 and als your preistis that ar so hie
 As then I sawitt yow fra thair hand
 Sa will I will I yitt your bukler be. (f. 40v)

This stanza’s addressees, ‘ye that [...] be with me enteritt in band’, are those perhaps who entered into the Covenant of Grace. In further Protestant spirit, the poet slanders ‘your preists’, from whose fearful influence God has delivered his flock. Comparison with the Cullen version of this poem is intriguing: for line 6 of the stanza quoted above, his version reads ‘And Sathane with his craiftis sley’. Identification of ‘your preistis’ with ‘Sathane’ echoes the earlier anti-Catholic sentiments in John Careless’s poem, and both are typical of the combative Reformation rhetoric so prevalent in the sixteenth century. There is great scope for further research into Cullen’s collection, also in comparison to MS Laing III.447, but in light of the problems outlined (see note 101 below), a

¹⁰¹ The ‘Chronicle’ has been edited and printed in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Volume Second*, ed. by John Stuart (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1842), pp. xxi-xxxii (preface), 32-70 (text). The following poems have been printed: ‘Wa is the man that wantis [...]’, subscribed ‘Finis quod Nicolsoun’, p. xxvii; ‘Ane Godlie Ballett of ane Synnar Cryand on God for Merce in Tyme of Trowbill’, starting ‘O Lord my God, of mercy kynd’, p. 47; ‘Mors certa, incerta dies, incertior hora. Qui sapit, assidue mortem meditetur et horam’, starting ‘This world our all / Turint as ane ball’ [*sic*], p. 59; ‘Ane Godlie Ballett to all Thayme that is Persecuitt for Godis Word, with Grytt Confortt of thair Deliuerance’, starting ‘Quho so do pwitt thair confydense’; ‘Ane meditatioune concernyne the hewenly kyngdome and this ertly tabernacle of our mortalite, collectit and writtin be me, Walter Cullen, wicar and reder of Aberden, to staynd as my last will and desyr, the fyrst day of October, 1584 yeiris’, starting ‘That kyngdome cristiall cleire’. Cullen’s ‘Chronicle’ is an extremely puzzling source: although some of the registers have been preserved (now in the General Register Office, Edinburgh), other volumes seem to have disappeared, as the Spalding Club editors print more poems that can now be found in the books. Cullen’s entries in the registers follow no system whatsoever, rendering them truly labyrinthine. For conservational purposes, Cullen’s manuscript books are no longer available for consultation; instead, only microfilms or scans can be viewed. The relevant microfilm numbers are NAS OPR 168a (baptisms), OPR 168a/12a (marriages) and OPR 168a/18 (deaths).

reliable text needs first to be established. The occurrence of ‘Quha so dois put thair confidence’ together with ‘grund the on patience’ in two manuscript collections, one from Edinburgh, the other from Aberdeen, begs further enquiry into the circulation of these items.

The final poem in Hand B is the long apocalyptic ‘Harken herkene me thinke ane trompett dois stund’ (f. 41v). In forty-five stanzas of ballad metre the poem disputes the unbelievers of the oncoming Apocalypse:

Bott sowme will say I wein
and lauche goddis word to scorn
the world is now as it hes bene
sene mankynd first was borne. (f. 42r)

The logic of those believing that the end of the world is nothing but ‘thingis to mak ws feir’ (f. 42r) is dismantled in a long argument touching first on the teachings of St Peter and the apostles, and the testimonies of St James and St John. The poem changes direction, however: ‘now proue we sell by argument / that this same day [the Apocalypse] drawis neir’ (f. 43v). This ‘argument’ is the obvious degeneration of the earth, a loss of ‘strenthe’ and purity in all things, and a pervasive sense of decay:

We hawe hard tell of gyanttis fell
that wer in elder tyme
bot now we be lyk emmettis small
if we compair to thame

[...]

Religioun trew was anis ferwent
bott now we sie it cauld
that is ane certene argument
this warld is faint and auld. (f. 44r)

Like a diseased human body, the earth will perish. The poem in the end offers up a prayer to God to ‘come quicklie we the pray / and tak ws wp on hie’ (f. 45r). In its penultimate stanza, and similar to ‘O lord my god to the I cray heir my complent’, this poem also addresses ‘king James’, wishing that the

Lord saif him with thai grace
keip all his subiectis in gud stay
and all his foes defece. (f. 45r)

This appears almost as an afterthought: if explicit homage to the king was required perhaps by the environment in which the poem was composed, still a panegyric was certainly not on the poet’s mind. It does show that the poet was aware of historic circumstance, however, and the timeless apocalyptic vision is anchored in the speaking and writing present. It is difficult to surmise when

exactly that speaking present would have been, however, since ‘king James’ is not further identified.

Preceding a large lacuna in the manuscript, another scribe inserted Alexander Hume’s ‘The weicht of sin is wonder greitt’. The poetry of Hume regularly features in manuscript: his ‘Of the Day Estivall’ appears in CUL MS Kk.5.30 (and is discussed in Chapter Three), whereas another Scottish miscellany, NLS MS Adv. 19.3.6, contains an almost complete transcription of his printed poems, with the exception of the title page, list of contents, the epilogue to ‘The Song of the Lords Souldiours’, and the final poem, entitled ‘The Humiliation of a Sinner’ in the print.¹⁰² It is this final poem that is included in MS Laing III.447, without its title. Only on two occasions does the Laing manuscript deviate from the 1599 print: ‘Latt faithe and graice In me grow grene’ (f. 47r) runs ‘Let faith and grace in me be grein’ in the print (l. 47); likewise, ‘Into this feirce & fechting feill’ (f. 47v) runs ‘Into the fellon fechting fell’ (l. 74). It seems the exemplar for this particular poem must either have been the printed text, or a manuscript that was particularly close to Hume’s circulated verse. As is the case with all other items copied from print, the scribe’s orthography is markedly more Scottish. In terms of the Laing manuscript’s thematic integrity, ‘The weicht of sin’ fits in well, resonating both with the preceding group, and with Montgomerie’s equally personal meditation on f. 80r. It also functions to assuage scribe B’s apocalyptic prophesying in the preceding poem, as Hume’s poem is essentially positive.

throw him [Christ] I am in happie cais
 evin *with* thai godheid reconseild
 to the throw him quhome I Imbraice
 Be prais quha hes this Ioyis rewield. (f. 48r)

Hume’s conclusion focuses on Christ’s redeeming powers, and his soul-searching journey ends in reconciliation.

Alasdair MacDonald provides a prism through which to view most religious verse in sixteenth-century Scotland, all of which, whether pre- or post-Reformation, may be characterised either as meditative, celebratory, or argumentative. Many poems fall into more than one category.¹⁰³ The more personal meditations of Hume and Montgomerie, and Careless’s ‘Some men for suddane Joy do weip’, may be termed ‘penitential lyrics’ (after Lyall’s classification of Montgomerie’s ‘A Godly Prayer’), and fit into MacDonald’s first group.¹⁰⁴ ‘Poems of argument’, MacDonald’s third group, ‘mostly lack the controlled subjectivity of meditation and the loud exuberance of celebration’. In this group fall ‘articulations of doctrine, recommendations to the life

¹⁰² Alexander Hume, *Hymnes, or Sacred Songs* (Edinburgh: Waldegrave, 1599); cf. *Poems of Hume*, pp. 64-67. Jamie Reid Baxter, ‘The Contents of NLS manuscript Adv. 19.3.6’, [unpublished typescript].

¹⁰³ Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘Religious Poetry in Middle Scots’, in *The History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 91-104. For another overview article, see Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘Religious Verse in Medieval Scotland’, in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 119-31.

¹⁰⁴ Lyall, *Montgomerie*, p. 298.

of faith and virtue, confessions of a troubled conscience, and comments on contemporary religious politics'.¹⁰⁵ The remaining devotional poems in Laing fall squarely into MacDonald's third category. Articulation of doctrine is a marked feature of the Laing poems, as is the paraphrase of scripture, and, by the time that these poems were probably composed, they are the result of several decades of what one might call the 'vernacularisation' of scriptural narrative. To the modern critic, it is only in the hands of gifted poets such as Montgomerie, Hume, or, for instance, Stewart of Baldynneis (in his *Ane Schersing ovt of Trew Felicitie*) that this type of poetry is pleasing on an aesthetic level. Yet, these poems, heavily suffused with doctrine, should be approached with the same type of critical caution as the love lyrics: as with many poets' adaptations of Petrarchist, Ovidian or other amatory models, in the devotional lyrics 'novelty has no place'; 'rather, familiar motifs are felicitously recombined in the interests of devotion'.¹⁰⁶ In the context of the Laing manuscript this is most clearly demonstrated by a comparison of 'O lord my god to the I cray heir my complemt' and 'Quha so dois put thair confidence'. Compare, for instance, the following three examples from Old Testament narratives that feature in both poems:

Thow brocht Iserall throw the reid sie baith saif & sund
and pharaoh *with* his gritt armie thairin thow drownde (f. 37v)

Thocht Pharothe *with* his gritt armie
Israell to kill he did Intend
I led thame throw saiflie the sea [St: saiflie throw]
And frome his bost did thame defend (f. 39r)

thow did o lord defend and keip Susana be mane
frome Iudges fals *quhilk* did pretend to wirk hir schame (f. 37v)

Quhen susanna was In point of deid
to me scho did boithe cray & call
And me bethocht to mak remeid
and I did heir hir by and by
Thay that accusitt hir wranguslie
ane schamefull deid I gartt thame die (f. 40r)

And daniell in the lyouns dene thow did preserue
Sic is thai fawore to all thame *that* do the serue (f. 37v)

Quhen danell wes overthrawin [St: daniell]
in presoun deip *with* lyounes strang
To him they did no thing bot fane
And lickit him *with* tungis sa lang
Bot quhen his fais come thame amang

¹⁰⁵ MacDonald, 'Religious Poetry', p. 101.

¹⁰⁶ MacDonald, 'Religious Poetry', p. 99.

they did thame ryif dispytfulie (f. 40r)

More correspondences may be traced between the two poems. These all too ‘familiar motifs’ feature repeatedly to obtain similar rhetorical, meditative, effects, and to make similar points: those who believe shall be saved by God, but those who disobey God’s instructions will be punished. It is the familiar, repetitive modes of rhetoric that inspire contemplation that stand as moral examples both for the poet and the audience of these lyrics.

Returning to the compilation of MS Laing III.447, Scribe B’s collection of verse (ff. 32r-45r) with the addition of Hume’s ‘The weicht of sin’, can broadly be seen to follow the same thematic pattern as Montgomerie’s *Cherrie*, starting from amatory (‘King cupaid’), to moral (Heywood), and finally to devotional. If indeed a religious reading of the *Cherrie* before it was substantially revised and finished is warranted, then it could be argued that Scribe B’s poems on ff. 32r-45r works as balancing counterpoints to the *Cherrie* (ff. 15r-31v), each section validating the other, and both underlining an implicit hierarchy in modes of poetic expression. This is a similar type of hierarchy, albeit in reverse, as can be witnessed in the Bannatyne manuscript. Much has been made of Bannatyne’s classificatory system, moving from religious poems to moral, comic, and amatory ones, and finally to fables.¹⁰⁷ If we disregard the fables and the comic poems, then the Laing manuscript moves its way backwards through three of Bannatyne’s classes of poetry: love poems, moral poems, and religious poems. Clearly, in Laing this division is more a matter of suggestion than clear-cut taxonomic zeal (and a pattern, moreover, that dissolves towards the end of the manuscript, see below), but it is important to recognise that similar patterns of organising verse miscellanies may underlie other manuscripts. This matter will be discussed in some more detail below, in relation to Parkinson’s reading of the *Cherrie*, and the Ker manuscript.

The Poems, ff. 69r-83v

The remaining poems in the manuscript form a more disparate group, returning to amatory writing, both stanzaic and in sonnet form, but also including a *memento mori* poem and Montgomerie’s highly personal ‘Peccau pater meserere mei’ (f. 80r). In this final section of the manuscript appear several pages of alphabets, probably writing exercises, a moralistic quatrain repeated over various pages, and, closing the collection, two pages full of scribbles, names, phrases in Latin and French, and perhaps even a mark of ownership. Although connections between pairs of poems may still be discerned, there is no longer the sense of an organically evolving, or thematically interlinked, collection – rather, the manuscript takes on the qualities almost of a commonplace book. It is possible that whoever started compiling the manuscript (Hand A) lost editorial control over the collection. Yet, he/she remained involved in the production until the very end, since several poems in this final group are transcribed by Hand A (see the table of contents above). There are many

¹⁰⁷ See Fox and Ringler, pp. ix-xl.

more hands featured in this final section, and many contributors, readers, or owners identify themselves, either by full name, or by initials or monograms.

It is important to realise that, with ff. 49 to 68 missing, a large gap separates Hume's 'The weicht of sin' and the first poem that now follows it, 'I wis I wair transfigurat in ane ring' (f. 69v; this does not take into account the friendship poem, a short quatrain, on f. 69r). 'I wis I wair transfigurat in ane ring' is a metamorphosis fantasy in which, when the speaker's imagined mistress takes her ring-*cum*-lover to bed, she 'Suld find ane ring transformit in ane man'. With this poem and the following sonnet, 'I dreamit ane dreame o that my dreame wer trew', the focus has returned to the amatory. The latter, another erotic reverie, this time disrupted when the speaker awakes, must have been relatively popular, since Margaret Robertson also includes it in her manuscript as the opening piece to a collection of twenty-five sonnets (NLS MS 15937, f. 2; see further Chapter Four). There are many variants between the two versions: in terms of word order, mainly, but Robertson's orthography is also more anglicised than that of the Laing scribe – in keeping with the fact that MS 15937 was compiled around 1630 – and a comparison suggests that the sonnet must have passed through many hands for these scribal variants to have been gradually introduced.

The next offering in the manuscript, subscribed by 'finnis quod Hay', but with the name deleted, represents a stock feature of the miscellany: a *memento mori* commencing 'Consider man how tyme do pass' (f. 71v). Perhaps such verses have little literary value today, but they reveal a great deal about contemporary readerships. Moralistic advice to remember death remained in currency well into the seventeenth century, and its almost dogmatic inclusion into manuscripts, printed books and other materials suggests that the beliefs espoused in such rhymes were in fact deeply held. The poem runs as follows:

Consider man how tyme do pass
 And lykwayis how all fleche is gairs
 As tyme consumes the strongest ark
 So dai the at last sell straik the strak
 Thocht luistie youthe dois bewtie beire
 Yit youthe be aige In tyme dois weir
 And aige at last a deithe doithe bringe
 to riche & poure emprioure & king
 Thairfor liue as thow suldest die
 thay saull to saiv frome Iepardie
 And as thow waldest be done vnto
 So to thai nichtbouris always do
 The hevinlie Ioyis at lenthe to sie
 Lat faithe In chryst thi anchour be

[St: sell straik the stark]

[St: thi anchour be]

A fascinating source for this poem has come to light.¹⁰⁸ Although no versions of it exist in manuscript or print, the poem was part of a series of Elizabethan panel paintings. One version of this painting is described in detail by a letter writer to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1845, a certain D. House of Gloucestershire, who apparently saw it in 'an old family mansion in the neighbourhood'. It depicts 'in the centre, at the top, Time represented as an old man passing rapidly forward'; '[o]n the right hand of the centre a young man as a gallant of the time of Elizabeth [...] his right hand placed upon his hips, his left holding a rose, [...] on the left hand a venerable aged man, baldheaded, with a long and ample silver beard [...] his eyes fixed intently upon the young man opposite'.¹⁰⁹ Time is framed by two panels of verse left and right, and the two figures, young and old, have verses inscribed above them. Underneath this scene, finally, lies a corpse, and all three characters are the same person, in youth, old age, and in death. It is between the youth and the old man that the 'Consider man' poem is inscribed. Another version of the painting exists, dated c. 1590, where the old and young man have switched places, and with the corpse replaced by a skull; the same poem is inscribed between the two figures.¹¹⁰

The Laing manuscript scribe follows the text of the paintings fairly closely (compared to that reproduced in the Sotheby catalogue). Now that a source has been found, Stevenson's editing can also be improved. Line four, 'So daihte at last sell straik the strak' is correct, as the English equivalent reads 'stryke the stroke'; it is not, as Stevenson supposed, a case of metathesis where 'strak' should read 'stark', or strong. The final line should read 'anchour', and not 'authour' (though 'c' and 't' are extremely similar in the scribe's hand). The English version clears up 'gairs' in line two, which reads 'grass' on the painting ('gars' is in fact in common usage in Scots in the period, see *DOST*). The Scots scribe introduced a small variant in line three, where the painting's 'strongest oke' was rendered as the 'strongest ark', or arch. Light scotticising of the rhyme-words of the first two couplets obscures the rhymes somewhat: English 'pass / grass' and 'oke / stroke' work well; Scots 'pass / gairs' and 'ark / strak' less so. Jones has located three paintings of this type, so they were clearly quite popular; furthermore, he presumes that the verses had as their source a print that has not survived. Whereas some of the shorter verses on the panel originate from Sternhold and Hopkins's psalm translations, there is no source for the longer poem.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ I am extremely grateful to Priscilla Bawcutt for putting me in touch with Malcolm Jones, who rediscovered the poem and discusses it in his book on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Elizabethan prints, forthcoming from Yale University Press in 2008.

¹⁰⁹ D. House, [Letter on Elizabethan panel painting], *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 24 (December 1845), pp. 592-93.

¹¹⁰ This painting has been reproduced in a sales catalogue, *The English Renaissance at Sotheby's: Pictures, Manuscripts and Works of Art from the Collections of the Lord Astor of Hever and Other Owners* (London: Sotheby's, 1983), p. 71. Another version is concisely described, without a reproduction or transcription of the verses, in *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Scottish Art and Antiquities*, ed. by R. Fleming (London: Hall, 1931), p. 148.

¹¹¹ Private communication.

It is difficult to surmise to what extent the compilers of the Laing manuscript were aware of the pictorial context of this poem. A tempting scenario arises when we consider the cancelled subscription in the Laing manuscript, ‘finnis quod Hay’. As observed above, a ‘giorg hay’ and ‘Johne Hay’ subscribed another sonnet on f. 78v. We have already seen that, in the context of the Edinburgh burghesses, a Mr John Hay, deputy clerk, appears in the burgh records from 1602 onwards, as messenger between the city council and the London court of James VI and I. It is possible that this John Hay encountered this popular painting in London, and carried the verse back with him to Scotland, and either transcribed it into the manuscript himself, or shared the poem with family and friends. Direct association of the painting with the London court has indeed been suggested: the painting is ‘traditionally stated to have been presented by James I to the poet Endymion Porter on the occasion of the death of Henry, Prince of Wales’.¹¹² The scenario involving Hay is, of course, entirely hypothetical, but the poem must have travelled to Scotland one way or the other, and the diplomatic route is a very good possibility. In the larger context of verse circulation, finally, it is important to remember that when no written sources are apparent, the visual arts may prove extremely helpful.¹¹³

In addition to Montgomerie’s ‘Peccau pater meserere mei’,¹¹⁴ three more stanzaic poems feature in the final manuscript section, all amatory lyrics, and two of them have complicated rhyme schemes: whereas ‘O fragrant flour fair and formois’ (f. 75r) is relatively straightforward, ‘Redolent rois my onlie schois’ (which follows ‘Consider man’ on f. 72r), and particularly ‘Fresche flureis fair and lusum ladie quhyte’ (f. 82r) display considerable skill. The best way to appreciate these love lyrics is through an understanding of the way in which the ‘game of love’ was played in terms of mid-century Scottish poetics:

There was nothing new to say of the game of love; no poet chose, in so patently ritualised and unnatural a context as that of courtly song and dance, to reveal the ‘quyet secreitis’ of his heart. Rather he strove to dress out his protestations, or the emotions appropriate to his despairing state, in the way best calculated to give to his audience not the pleasure of new discovery but a pleasure in part that of recognition

¹¹² Unfortunately, no further evidence is given for this claim, see *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition*, p. 148. It is also stated here that the painting is discussed in Disraeli’s *Curiosities of Literature*, but I have been unable to further trace this reference in this book.

¹¹³ For another example, see the discussion of an emblematic sonnet in the Tibbermuir manuscript, Chapter Three, p. 113. There is no space to discuss this topic any further here, but it is becoming increasingly evident that source hunters of poetic manuscripts should consider the visual arts, which may provide a wealth of information there where textual sources are lacking. See for instance L.A.J.R. Houwen, ‘Every Picture Tells a Story: The Importance of Images in the Wider Dissemination and Reception of Texts’ in *Language and Text: Current Perspectives on English and Germanic Historical Linguistics and Philology*, ed. by Andrew James Johnston, Ferdinand von Mengden and Stefan Thim (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006), pp. 99-113.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of this lyric, see Lyall, *Montgomerie*, 298-300, and on Montgomerie’s devotional lyrics more generally, Jack, *Montgomerie*, pp. 67-76.

and affirmation of convention, in part that associated with the trained appreciation of any artefact, pleasure in its execution and its resultant perfect form.¹¹⁵

In light of this, formal perfection and confident stylistic execution should be the bench-mark of a successful lyric. Hughes and Ramson's assertions may be somewhat moderated: in the hands of the most adept Scottish lyricists from the mid-century onwards, Alexander Scott, and later Alexander Montgomerie (who were building on the heritage of, for instance, Dunbar) content was never entirely sacrificed to form. It is true, however, of the majority of lyrics that have survived, that rhetorical structure reigns supreme, with innovative content following some way behind.¹¹⁶ How do the Laing lyrics live up to this 'expectation'?

The unfinished 'Redolent rois' is a Petrarchist lyric dramatising the speaker's anxiety to disclose his love. He stereotypically paints his paramour as a murderer: 'To seik my deid *your* name will spreid / As homicide for euermore'. In the final lines, the speaker offers a love token, again a ring: '*quhilk* hert as rube in this ring / I do *coniur* into *your* cuir / hoiping it sall get confortin' (f. 72v). There is no indication in the manuscript why the scribe broke off. It is certainly true that the poem's metrical fireworks start confidently, then increase in complexity, but break down towards the end. The rhyme scheme of the first three stanzas runs as follows (with lower case letters representing internal rhymes, and upper case letters representing end rhymes): aA aB aA aB bB bC bB bC. This scheme then expands to three internal rhymes for each line:

My hairt *convert* this dairt fra me
 my luif remove this ruif of cair
 my deir apeir that feir my fle [St: feir may fle]
 my dow be now my conforter
 my bird *your* word as suord is sair
 my breist is persit *with* uyolence
 me saif I craif to haif na mair
 bot hert for hert in recompence. (ff. 72r-v)

¹¹⁵ Joan Hughes and W.S. Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982), p. 146.

¹¹⁶ A comprehensive history of the Scottish love lyric still remains to be written. For shorter studies (both more general and in connection to the Bannatyne manuscript) see for instance: Hughes and Ramson, *Poetry of the Stewart Court*, pp. 134-48 in particular; Gregory Kratzmann, 'Sixteenth-Century Secular Poetry', in *The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 105-23; Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Bannatyne Manuscript Lyrics: Literary Convention and Authorial Voice', in *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature*, ed. by Graham Caie and others (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 423-44; Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'Modes of Self-Representation in Older Scots Texts', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 314-45. For studies dealing in particular with love or erotic poetry, and the politics of gender in these works, see for instance Evelyn S. Newlyn, 'The Political Dimension of Desire and Sexuality in Poems of the Bannatyne Manuscript', in *Selected Essays on Scottish Language and Literature: A Festschrift in Honor of Allan H. MacLaine*, ed. Steven R. McKenna (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1992), pp. 75-96; Sarah M. Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

This new rhyme scheme retains the same patterning of end rhymes, but introduces a great deal more of internal rhymes: aaaB cccD eeeB ff[?]D gggD hh[?]I jjjD kk[?]I. It is here that the poet lost control somewhat, or perhaps the details of the stanza's intricacies were lost in transmission. Line six, for instance, may have read 'my breist is preist' to retain the rhyme, 'preist' either meaning 'attack' or 'assail', or 'preist' formed from 'peirsit'. Despite these small irregularities, 'Redolent rois' is rigidly executed. Due to its demanding rhyme scheme, it loses the more leisurely paced quality of, for instance, 'O fragrant flour fair and formois':

Vpoun *your* persoun *quhen* I pance
 Quhan of yowr face I gett ane glans
 Your bewtie dois my body bind
 My panis wald pacefie perchanche
 In cais I culd *your* favour find. (f. 75r)

Here, the speaker allows himself to amble along through his argument at a slower pace, having to meet only the demand of end-rhymes.

The most accomplished lyric is undoubtedly 'Fresche flureis fair', a poem that can usefully be discussed to sum up most of the earlier amatory lyrics in the manuscript, and one that provides a bridge to other mid-sixteenth century Scottish lyrics, for instance those from the Bannatyne manuscript. An exhaustive discussion of the modes of self-representation in pre-1580 lyrics is given by Theo van Heijnsbergen. In this study, van Heijnsbergen inventorises the Bannatyne verse epistles, a genre typical of the lyrical exploration of the age, and indicative of the development of medieval 'more rational and language-based' constructions of the self to the early modern 'more epiphanic and author-centred' discourse.¹¹⁷ The Laing manuscript's 'Fresche flureis fair' fits into this tradition, as it identifies itself as a verse epistle in the first stanza:

Fresche flureis fair and lusum ladie quhyte
 off natouris work in erthe the maist perfyte
 Gewe eir vnto my wofull hewines
 This sedell schorte my sorrowis sall resyite
 And bitter greife that dois my bowellis byte
 That toung nor tyme nocht trewlie can expres
 Bot being drewin throw dolour to distres
 Pane doithe me preis this paper to present
 In my absence my langour to lament. (f. 82r)

In the physical absence of the speaker (who is, paradoxically, always absent from the moment of utterance or silent recreation of the work, unless the poem is read or sung for an audience), a 'sedell', or 'paper', eloquently makes his case. In terms of poetic diction, this lyric connects to the earliest poems in Laing, but also to several Bannatyne poems, for instance, 'To yow that is the

¹¹⁷ van Heijnsbergen, 'Self-Representation', p. 316.

harbre of my hairt', that presents 'this sedul / Quhilk of my cair may be sum conforting'.¹¹⁸ In stanza two of 'Fresche flureis fair' the speaker states that 'For as the seik in dainger oft is sene / lang tyme he hoipis for help of medecein' and concludes that 'Forceit I am *your* mercie to Imploir / To be my leiche or dollour me dewoir'. Medical metaphors have been noted above, for instance in 'As eis ar message to the hairt', another verse epistle, presenting itself as a 'bill'. (Whereas 'Prepotent palme Imperiall', also in the first section of the Laing manuscript, is no verse epistle, it certainly alludes to presentation, wishing for music being 'prentit', and 'in your graces hand presentit'.) The Bannatyne lyric, too, plays on notions of comfort as medication, hoping for 'medecyne my melody to amend'. In the Laing *Cherrie*, finally, Experience addresses the dreamer:

war thow acquentit *with* skill
 he knawis *quhat* hvmoris dois the ill
quhair throw thy cairris contractis. (f. 30r)

This illness is caused by Cupid's arrows, but as Experience continues, there is a remedy:

he [Skill] knawis the ground of all thy greif
 and recepie for thy releife
 all medecinis he makis.

As already witnessed in the first section of the manuscript, the Laing lyrics share a discursive register that for a contemporary audience would have afforded, in the above words of Hughes in Ramson, 'a pleasure in part that of recognition and affirmation of convention'.

Another typical formal trait of the Bannatyne lyrics is increased internal rhyme to support, rhythmically and aurally, the building intensity, or momentum, of anxiety.¹¹⁹ In the context of the Laing manuscript, this stylistic feature has already been demonstrated in 'Redolent rois'. It has also been employed to good effect in 'Fresche flureis fair'. This is the final stanza:

Suiet thing conding benyng of memorie
 my Paneis to lane war wane but remedie
 But sen ye ken *quhairin* the mater standis
 my sair dispair prepair to pacifie
 haue reuthe with *trewth* let *nocht your schiruand* [St: *schiruandis*]
 For stownd of wund ar found among *your handis*
 Bot sen ye ken that men ar in *your bandis*
 Crowall at all ye willbe callit awayis
 to sla the *man* that *yeldis* at *your deuyse*. (f. 83r)

Three internal rhymes and one end rhyme in each line places considerable strain on the poet's 'ingyne', but it is handled confidently here – although the internal rhyme does break down in the

¹¹⁸ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III, 264-65; cf. Fox and Ringler, ff. 218v-19r. For all the Bannatyne lyrics that contain explicit references to 'sedulls', 'bills', 'lettirs' or 'papers', see van Heijnsbergen's table on pp. 321-22.

¹¹⁹ See for instance 'To yow that is the harbre of my Hairt', or 'Only to yow in erd that I lufe best', *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III (1928), 264-65, 321-22; cf. Fox and Ringler, ff. 218v-19r, ff. 237v-38r.

stanza's fifth and ninth lines (just as it breaks down in the final stanza of 'Redolent rois'). The intricate overall rhyme scheme, AABAABBCC, which was maintained until this point, becomes strained here too: 'awayis' and 'deuys', although not impossible, are uncomfortable rhymes at best. One wonders, since the rhymes of all previous stanzas are perfect, whether it is scribal interference rather than poetic ineptitude that causes this final stanza to break down. One indication is a missing word at the end of line 5. Stevenson changes 'your schiruand' to the plural, presumable to rhyme with 'standis'. This is certainly wrong, since the metre demands another iamb rhyming with 'memorie'. Perhaps the word that the scribe has omitted here is 'die'.

Levels of intertextuality between verse epistles, and between love lyrics more generally, are high: they are characterised by a playful self-referentiality, constantly both reworking and reaffirming generic expectations. The fact that poets could borrow so freely from a large and well-developed genre indicates that the Scottish lyric had properly come of age by the time the Laing poems were composed. Although this is no exact science, the poems can be dated roughly to the decades between 1530 and 1570, the time when the lyrical vernacular voice had gained in confidence, and, in the words of Gregory Kratzmann, changed in aspect 'from rhetorical to colloquial lyricism'. Kratzmann, commenting on the many verbal echoes he found within the Bannatyne lyrics, continues as follows:

Such self-conscious echoing by one poem of another suggests the existence of a cohesive and confident lyric tradition, and although the time was not congenial to the *printing* of love poetry, it is unlikely that the troubled political and religious climate of the mid century could have entirely destroyed the taste for this kind of secular verse.¹²⁰

The Laing manuscript bears witness to a continued taste for mid-century amatory lyricism, one that had originally sprung from a courtly environment, but which, already in the age of George Bannatyne, had been appropriated by Edinburgh's urban readership. Similar to what Kratzmann (and others) found in the Bannatyne manuscript itself, it is possible to find many correspondences between the Laing lyrics and poems in the Bannatyne manuscript. Some examples have been listed above; another may be found in the anonymous Bannatyne lyric 'Fresche fragrent flour of bewty souerane'.¹²¹ Whereas its first line is very similar to Laing's 'Fresche flureis fair' and 'O fragrant flour fair and formois', its observation that 'wo wer me that it suld so betyd / that scho thairthrow suld be cald ane homicyd' (Bannatyne f. 220r) links back straight to the unfinished Laing lyric 'Redolent rois', that paints the lady as a 'homicide'. As another example, stanza three of 'Fresche flureis fair' (f. 82r) explores the demand for the democratisation of love, imagining a more socially porous society. The same concerns have already been highlighted in the opening poems in Laing, particularly in 'Och luif in langour heir I ly'. Class differences eventually prevented a love match in

¹²⁰ Kratzmann, 'Secular Poetry', pp. 114-15.

¹²¹ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III (1928), 266-69; cf. Fox and Ringler, ff. 219v-20r.

the earlier poem; in ‘Fresche flureis fair’, the speaker can be seen to attempt to reason his way out of this predicament:

Your hie estait to myne is na compair
 Sum tyme I think *quhair*foir sould I dispair
 sen luiffe is blind & fleis but Iudgement
Quhair luiffe doith licht sould nane be discontent. (f. 82r)

Similar strategies can be discerned, for instance, in Bannatyne’s ‘Luve preysis but comparesone’ (an Alexander Scott lyric), that argues that

thocht my lyking wer a leddy
 And I no lord, yit nocht the less
 Scho suld my serwyce find als reddy
 As duke to duches docht him dress.¹²²

At this point in the historical development of the lyric, this anxiety is generally not resolved (but see Scott’s ‘Up Helsum Hairt’ for a poem that celebrates the consummation of a love affair, albeit secretly).¹²³ The Laing lyrics approximate a more relaxed, colloquial lyricism in some instances, for instance in the wooing poem (‘Och luif in langour heir I ly’, ff. 6v-8r). Others are still heavily rhetorical, relying on common phrases and imagery, but skilfully manipulating these into cleverly structured stanzas, such as in ‘Fresche flureis fair’. This latter poem would certainly not be out of place among some of the Bannatyne manuscript’s more accomplished compositions.

The inclusion of these mid-sixteenth century lyrics shapes to a large extent the Laing manuscript’s amatory repertoire. Yet, they are balanced by the sonnets that are indiscriminately mixed with this older verse form. Of the nine sonnets in the manuscript, seven appear in this final section. One has been briefly mentioned already, ‘I dreamit ane dreame’ (f. 70r); it is followed on f. 73v by ‘Your outuard gesture forme & fassoins fair’. This sonnet joins the ranks of many late-sixteenth century sonnets, for instance by Fowler, or Stewart, that seem to have been written for actual, historical persons, but which do not readily yield their secrets to the modern reader.

Your outuard gesture forme & fassoins fair
 decleris the invard secrettis of ingyne
 quheir is contenit sic verteuis hed and cair
 that al the varld dois se in yow to schyne
 resembling weil the verteuis raice & lyne
*quhair*of ye com quhois name to last for ay
 is eternissid be yow and mede devyne
 in register that never sal decay
*quhair*by I hoip mestres hap *quhat* so mey
 for sic revard as lustly I expect
 to cum fra hir *quhair* vertew beiris the sway
quhilk alwayis suld produce the awin effect

¹²² *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III (1928), 247-48; cf. Fox and Ringler, f. 213v.

¹²³ *Poems of Scott*, pp. 44-45.

sens as be nature so ye ar inclynde
 plece constancie into this verteuis mynde.

This elaborate compliment, perhaps to a noble lady, praises her high birth and virtuous lineage; indeed, in her person become epitomised and ‘eternissid’ all her family’s virtues. The speaker implores her not so much for her love, but for her patronage or loyalty, ‘sic revard as Iustly I expect’. ‘Constancie’, then, is not of the amatory type as earlier discussed; instead, it may be understood to refer to financial, social, or political ‘constancie’, something that the ‘mestres’ is in a position to uphold for this speaker, or perhaps even poet. It is unfortunate that whoever signed this sonnet, ‘quod [...]’ cannot now be identified, as the scribe’s or poet’s mark is illegible.

Whereas some sonnets are individual entries, others can again be seen to have been linked to a preceding entry. The following is a fragment on f. 74r:

I hoipe to serve sane syne for to deserue	[St: sane syne to deserue]
Syne never for to suerue from hir that I luif best	
Quhair for minerve Imply my pen to serve	
for to deserue sum fauour that may lest.	

This quatrain, full of witty internal rhymes, is followed on f. 74r by a sonnet, ‘I serve ane dame moir quheiter than the snaw’. Its octave and sestet division juxtaposes this dame’s lovely countenance on the one hand, and her icy core on the other. Where the speaker offers to ‘serve’ in the opening line, connecting to the preceding quatrain, so does he conclude: ‘Loo this my dame dois work my lesting soir / Yit will I serve althocht I die thairfore’.

Two more sonnets in the same hand (Hand J) appear in succession, ‘The royall palice off the heichest hewin’ (f. 77v), and ‘The tender snow of granis soft & quhyt’ (f. 78v). Whereas the first is unsigned, the second is subscribed by the four above-mentioned Edinburgh burgesses, ‘goirg hay’ ‘James Arnot’ ‘Johne Hay’ and ‘Joannes Arnotis’. Both sonnets, though entirely capable, are very conventional. The first remarks on the mysteries of the heavens, the stars, the planets, and the four elements, and how by ‘science’ we have come to understand ‘the cowers of natwre & hir mowingis all’. Yet, the mysteries of love have never been penetrated: ‘onlie of this monstwre luif we dout / Quhais craftie cowers no cwning can find out’. In the second sonnet, ‘The tender snow’, the speaker is ‘Pyneit *with* the *presence* of my lady sueit’, then her ‘absence dois torment’ his ‘werie spreit’, and with all hope banished, he relies only on ‘rememberance’. In the closing couplet all this is neatly wrapped up: ‘Than absence *presence* remembrance all thre / Torment me for hir saik eternallie’. It is striking that such a traditional (perhaps courtly) piece of writing attracted a great deal of attention from four different readers, all burgesses. It is on f. 78v that the Laing manuscript most clearly witnesses a meeting between ‘court’ and ‘town’, as it were, effectively breaking down these previous critical distinctions. Whereas interest from the middling classes in Beggis Donaldson may be explained by the fact that both subject and readers share a

common social sphere, the subscriptions to ‘The tender snow’ suggests that markers such as ‘courtly’ need to be seriously reviewed.

Another sonnet clearly reacting to its neighbour is ‘first serve syne sute quhiles seme to lichlie luif’ (f. 79r). It is penned directly underneath ‘Glade am I glade am I’, the song that in 1609 appeared in Thomas Ravenscroft’s *Deuteromelia*. This song is also included in David Melvill’s *Book of Roundels*, a manuscript collection of songs and lyrics completed in 1612.¹²⁴ Whereas Melvill’s version appears to have been copied straight out of Ravenscroft, the Laing text seems less reliant on the English version. Consider the two versions, Ravenscroft and Laing:

Glad am I, glad am I
My mother is gone to Henly,
Shut the doore and spare not,
Doe thy worst, I care not.
If I dye vpon the same,
bury, bury, bury me a god’s name.¹²⁵

Glade am I glade am I
my mother is gone to henislie
steiche the dur & cache me
lay me doun & streche me
ding me & dang me
Ye gif I cry hang me
Ye gif I die of the same
Bury me burie in goddis name. (f. 79r)

C.S. Lewis mistakenly assumed this might be one of Montgomerie’s unassigned works, and observes that ‘though its ending is ugly enough’, it ‘begins delightfully’.¹²⁶ In fact, the origins of this are unknown. The curious song is expanded in the Scots, and interestingly it is labelled by the scribe ‘Inglis Sonet’. ‘Sonnet’ here clearly means song, but scribe A of the Laing manuscript must have felt compelled to counter this work with ‘ane Scottis sonnett’ instead:

Ane Scottis sonnett

first serve syne sute quhiles seme to lichlie luif
gif thow intend to win thy ladyis grace
Serve hir and sche thy constancie sall pruiif
gif in hir mynd that modestie haue place
Persewing hir may rander the relaise
Or ellis thow can *nocht* conqueis hairtis desyre
appeirantlie sumtyme to forgett I gaise
Hes na les force to kendill cupydis fyre
hes thow *nocht* hard of mony leirant schyre
Thus sayit flie luif and it will fallow the

¹²⁴ *The Melvill Book of Roundels*, ed. by Granville Bantock and H. Orsmond Anderton (London: Roxburghe Club, 1916), p. 24 (words), p. 118 (music).

¹²⁵ Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia, or The Second Part of Musick’s Melody [...] and such Delightfull Catches* (London: [n.p.], 1609), song 10; see also Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, p. 224.

¹²⁶ Lewis, p. 111.

quhilk nawayis commandis the to espyre
 Bot wald thow suld nocht perrell libertie
 Be trew crave tyme assoyt nocht gif thow can
 find sche the dischit thow art ane marterit man.

A mini *ars amatoria*, the poem provides a manual how to ‘win thy ladyis grace’, a calculated technique of attack and retreat based on the wisdom of ‘mony leirant schyre’. This must be the first recorded instance where the ‘Castalian’, or ‘Spenserian’, sonnet is clearly identified as a Scottish verse form. Since its subject matter is universal, the scribe must have had other reasons to label this sonnet ‘Scottis’, and it is tempting to suppose that its verse form and rhyme scheme make this sonnet stand out from other types, for instance the Italian or Shakespearean sonnets. In the ongoing debate between scholars wishing to claim the invention of this rhyme scheme either for Scotland or for England (through Spenser),¹²⁷ the weight of this evidence should be taken into consideration.

All the Laing manuscript sonnets are in the ‘Castalian’, or interlaced rhyme scheme. Thematically, however, they do sometimes hark back to themes that are more representative of chivalric, or courtly love, discourse, as opposed to the Petrarchist preoccupations, for instance, of William Fowler. This is evident from the very final poem in the manuscript, ‘Thocht Polibus pisander and vith them’ (f. 83v), which re-imagines Penelope’s plight, who, while being assailed by wooers, is waiting for ‘visses’ to come home. A paragon of loyalty, Penelope is not an obvious traditional Petrarchist emblem, like Petrarch’s own Laura, or Fowler’s Bellisa. The result of this is that while the Laing sonnet can be seen as a ‘modern’ verse form, in terms of content it fits in well with the earlier lyrics discussed above. In the final sonnet, the speaker addresses his ‘most sueit discreit and mansueit muse’, presumably his own beloved, in the following terms:

Ewin so most sueit discreit and mansueit muse
 Remember on your yoldin siruiture
 Thoill nane *your* blaseme bewtie to abuse
 thocht thai vith leing lippis vald yow allure
 Bot sen my lyffe dois on *your* luife depend
 In trew luiff with Penellope contend.

Terms such as ‘siruiture’, ‘blaseme bewtie’ (‘blaseme’, or possibly ‘blaseine’ in the manuscript, meaning either ‘bright’, or ‘blossom-like’ here),¹²⁸ and ‘trew luiff’, frame this lady in the conventional imagery of courtly love, while the theme of chastity in absence is a favourite poetic occupation. The beloved also traditionally doubles as muse. Yet, the wooing game has been elaborately explored in earlier Laing poems, and the conventional rhetoric of love was already successfully deconstructed by the lady’s reply in ‘Och luif in langour heir I ly’ (f. 6v). One wonders, then, whether the sonnet contains a word of warning, or reproach, not to invoke the muse in vain, and perhaps by extension a warning also to all those scribes (and poets) who filled page

¹²⁷ This debate is usefully summarised and discussed by Katherine McClune, ‘The Poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis (?1540-?1607)’ (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2005), pp. 124-39.

¹²⁸ See Stevenson’s note, p. 363.

after page of the manuscript. ‘Thai vith leing lippis’, that ‘lang saxtene yeiris dowcht to defyle hir fame’, are suitors armed with sweet rhetoric, and should not be trusted. The message is ironically contained in a sonnet, frequently employed as love gift; yet, this anonymous sonneteer’s offering constitutes an apposite ending to the manuscript. It both confirms and questions amatory discourse, revealing implicit tensions already explored in the earliest poems: as such, with ‘Thocht Polibus’ the manuscript comes full circle.

Conclusion

Further research will no doubt reveal further connections between MS Laing III.447 and the wider scribal community. More may be learned, for instance, from the page of scribbles at the very end of the collection, where the following inscription appears: ‘In tyme of welth think on distress’ (f. 84v). Such mottoes are common to many manuscripts and early printed books, and can be found scattered throughout flyleaves and empty margins. In connection to the Maxwell manuscript, Bawcutt traces a similarly popular rhyme, a quatrain that starts ‘In my defence god me defende’ (also the motto of the Scots coat of arms), to the Gray manuscript, a Latin Bible, and Colin Campbell, third earl of Argyll’s copy of Guido delle Collonne’s *Historia Troiana*. It is this last version of the quatrain that echoes, partly, the Laing manuscript:

In my defens god me defend
And bring my soull to ane gud end
In tyme of velth think on our distress
He that this vret god send him grece.

Per me Andrew Mallis [?]¹²⁹

The third line of the quatrain is almost the same as the Laing scribble, and both scribes could draw on a long popular tradition of formulas ‘whose recital or inscription may preserve the individual (such as John Maxwell or ‘Andrew Mallis’) from adversity, a mixture of prayer and good-luck charm’. Bawcutt adds that although ‘[i]ts literary merit may not be high [...] it has great human interest’.¹³⁰ In MS Laing III.447, ‘In my defens god me defend’ is mirrored to some extent in the French scribbles on the same page: ‘O dieu o dieu de ma saluation Deliure moy de ce mien sanglant / vice Et lors ma bouche en exultation chantera haut ta bonte’ (f. 84v). [Oh Lord oh Lord of my salvation, deliver me from my bloody vice, and then my mouth in exultation (with great joy) will sing aloud of your goodness.] With these lines in French the manuscript comes full circle, balancing the French scraps at the very start, and, by their lamentation of sin and the promise of

¹²⁹ Bawcutt, ‘Maxwell’s Commonplace Book’, pp. 64-65; see also Bawcutt, ‘Religious Verse’, p. 123. The first two lines also surface in Bodleian, MS Arch. Selden. B.24, f. 231v.

¹³⁰ Bawcutt, ‘Maxwell’s Commonplace Book’, pp. 64-65. Maxwell, among his *sententiae*, also collects the following: ‘In tyme of plentie, think on distres / In welth beware, and spend ye les / In tyme of plentie, think on the puir / Be thow not guid, of distres be suir’, f. 20r.

divine adoration, the lines also strengthen the devotional poems earlier in the Laing collection. Compare, for instance, the conclusion of ‘O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres’:

releif me of my miserie and presentt cair
remeid me that am lyk to mange and sor opprest
And [I] will sing thai prais as lang as I my lest. (f. 39r)

Thus, from even the smaller features of MS Laing III.447 patterns emerge, and connections open up to the highly complex scribal culture that defined early modern Scottish poetry.

Critics remain divided over the probable date of compilation for the Laing manuscript. Where Parkinson posited it could have been compiled ‘during the 1590s or shortly thereafter’, Bawcutt cautiously advances the ‘1st half 17th C.’; although Stevenson mentions no dates, his provisional association of the manuscript with William and Robert Melville suggests a date in the last two decades of the sixteenth, and perhaps the first decade of the seventeenth century.¹³¹ It is possible that all three are correct: MS Laing III.447 could have been compiled over a period of several decades. However, the uniformity of Hand A’s writing in particular suggests that the bulk of the poems were collected in a relatively short period of time. There is a very strong argument to be made that large parts of the Laing collection took shape linearly (although some poems may have been inserted later): taking this into account, the opening poem, a sonnet, indicates a date of composition not earlier than the great fashion for sonneteering of the 1580s. It must be acknowledged, however, that the Laing manuscript in many places also bears witness to a Scottish poetics more typical of the middle of the century, the age of Alexander Scott, and that of the Bannatyne manuscript. The Laing manuscript scribes’ inclusion of materials so similar to the Bannatyne lyrics raises pertinent questions, especially since in the opening and final manuscript sections these lyrics appear side by side with the quintessential post-1580s poetic form, the sonnet. The Laing manuscript represents a very fluid transition between literature traditionally associated with the court of Queen Mary on the one hand, and that of her son, James VI, on the other.

The inclusion of more modern poems in MS Laing III.447 is typical of a trend that may be observed more widely in Scottish miscellanies compiled from the 1580s onwards. A good example is the difference between the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts. The date of compilation of the Folio is generally given as 1570-1586 (the cut-off date being Sir Richard Maitland’s death): however, it belongs mostly to around 1570.¹³² The Quarto is dated 1586, and is subscribed by its supposed copyist, Mary Maitland, daughter of Sir Richard. The Folio is perhaps best known as the

¹³¹ Parkinson, ‘Montgomerie’, p. 501; Bawcutt, ‘Miscellanies’, p. 210; Stevenson, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹³² *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 7, 20, 1919-27); *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 9, 1920). See also Sally Mapstone, ‘Introduction: William Dunbar and the Book Culture of Sixteenth-Century Scotland’, in *William Dunbar: ‘The Nobill Poyet’*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 1-23; Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘Sir Richard Maitland and William Dunbar: Textual Symbiosis and Poetic Individuality’ in *William Dunbar: ‘The Nobill Poyet’*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 134-49.

most reliable and extensive manuscript witness for the works of Dunbar, and as such it has a determinedly late-medieval outlook. Besides a great deal of Maitland's verse, the Folio also contains poems for instance by Henryson, Douglas, and William Stewart. As Mapstone states,

the Folio has a few contemporary or near-contemporary poets or attributions, but it also has a great amount of verse that is early sixteenth-century or even earlier in origin. The context it offers for reading Maitland's poems is a strongly retrospective one.¹³³

A shift of emphasis is evident between these two related manuscripts: certainly by 1586 Mary Maitland decided to include much more recent poetry, for instance by Montgomerie. Although the Maitland Quarto manuscript was compiled in different social circumstances, and from a different impetus (it seems to have been, first and foremost, a memorandum book after Sir Richard's death) it shares with the Laing manuscript this sense of contemporaneity: where in the Quarto Maitland's works are now framed by poems contemporary or even post-dating his (the first poem, in true 1580s fashion, is a tributary sonnet), so in the Laing manuscript the older lyrical tradition is framed by contemporary sonnets, and the (by the time of compilation) relatively recent *Cherrie*.

In another aspect, MS Laing III.447 may fruitfully be compared to the Maitland Folio manuscript, as both artefacts were compiled by a great deal of different scribes. In both cases, these various collaborators cannot be readily identified, but provide provocative glances of the social environments that produced the manuscripts. Craigie identifies up to twelve scribes in the Folio (A to K, and two more that do not belong to the manuscript proper, L and M).¹³⁴ Julia Boffey's observations on the scribes are instructive: she notices first the way in which the Folio is dominated by one scribe, whose work is complemented by others. She argues that a similar type of pattern is evident from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 (the *Kingis Quair* manuscript), and several other English manuscripts. In relation to the Folio's main scribe, it is striking how 'at the end of each major stint there is a dispersal into miscellaneity as groups of other hands make short contributions – not necessarily of different kind of material, but of material which perhaps became available at different times, from various sources'.¹³⁵ Thus, the compositional practice of MS Laing III.447, with its main scribe A, complemented by various others, is not unique; in fact, the manuscript conforms to a wider practice of compilation where one scribe leads the way, and others follow.

The bulk of the poetry in MS Laing III.447 appears to have been compiled by Edinburgh's burgesses and merchant classes, as discussed and evidenced above. The type of cultural milieu exposed by van Heijnsbergen in his prosopographical study of the Bannatyne manuscript may be the same that fostered literary manuscripts later on in the century. It needs to be remembered that

¹³³ Mapstone, 'Introduction: Dunbar', p. 15.

¹³⁴ *Maitland Folio*, pp. 1-6.

¹³⁵ Julia Boffey, 'The Maitland Folio Manuscript as a Verse Miscellany', in *William Dunbar: 'The Nobill Poyet'*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 40-50 (p. 42).

although Bannatyne famously completed his miscellany between 1565 and 1568, or possibly even in the last three months of 1568, the manuscript was added to over the decades to follow, contemporizing his vast collection with changing times and tastes.¹³⁶ In other words, there is reason to believe Bannatyne and his circle were active well after 1568. Inclusion of two poems from the Bannatyne manuscript and several similar lyrics into the Laing manuscript suggests that its compilers in the 1580s and 1590s could still draw on the same rich stock that furnished Bannatyne with his poems. There is no doubt Bannatyne envisaged his manuscript to be read by others, and the fruits of his labour may be seen (indirectly) to reflect on the later poetic scene in Edinburgh.

It must be conceded that none of the burgesses discussed above have been positively identified. There remains the danger of easy connections, simply of surnames matching up, in a city that by the 1590s, in the words of Michael Lynch, ‘must have had a population approaching 15,000’.¹³⁷ Lynch reminds us, however, that

[t]his was a society which, nevertheless, continued to cherish the old idea of itself as a small and close-knit community. It was an idea, of course, which had a religious dimension to it as well as a social or economic one. The burgh was seen as a *corpus christianum*; its council had responsibilities towards the spiritual as well as the secular welfare of its inhabitants.¹³⁸

It may easily be imagined that in this close-knit society poems, books and manuscripts were frequently exchanged.¹³⁹ Moreover, in the Laing manuscript the spiritual and the secular are equally well represented. Although precious little is known about the scribes, the interaction between burgesses, merchants and craftsmen, for instance regarding burgh politics, commerce, or religion, has been described by Lynch, who stresses that the succession of councillors was often a family affair: ‘son tended to succeed father but it was rare for two brothers to sit side by side on the same council’.¹⁴⁰ It follows that there is a strong likelihood that the various scribes who left their marks in the Laing manuscript, particularly the Hays and the Arnots, were family, and that it is through such family connections that further poems were obtained.

This leaves us to consider the significance of MS Laing III.447 for early modern Scottish literary studies, and more broadly, manuscript studies in Britain. A new linear transcription has

¹³⁶ The case is argued most persuasively by Sally Mapstone, ‘Introduction: Older Scots and the Sixteenth Century’, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 175-88 (pp. 178-79).

¹³⁷ Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 11.

¹³⁸ Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 3.

¹³⁹ A great deal of work remains to be done on book ownership and circulation. For the earlier period, see for instance John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: Burns, 1961), and *Scottish Libraries*, ed. by John Higgitt (London: British Library, 2006). See also Duncan Shaw, ‘Adam Bothwell: A Conserver of the Renaissance in Scotland’, in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, ed. by Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983), pp. 141-69; Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘“My bright book”: Women and their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland’, in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17-34.

¹⁴⁰ Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 15.

proved to be of critical importance, as it has thus been possible to read the full manuscript's contents in the order in which it was originally compiled. MS Laing III.447 is no random collection; indeed, as is becoming increasingly evident from other manuscript studies as well (for instance Kate McClune's study of Stewart of Baldynneis's manuscript),¹⁴¹ compilers organised their materials consciously. Though these organisational practices cannot always be expressed in clear-cut, absolute terms, nonetheless thematic patterns emerge. Parkinson finds correspondences between the thematic build-up of Montgomerie's *Cherrie* and the general form and shape of the Ker manuscript:

Moving through opposites to assurance, the Ker Manuscript resembles Montgomerie's best-known long poem *The Cherrie and the Slae*, much of which is debate between radically opposed voices – psychomachia leading finally to action, and success. This is the poem on which Montgomerie's identity as an author depends. Remember that it remained in print throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which the Ker Manuscript lay in obscurity. Yet, in each, many voices produce suspension, then finally and almost unexpectedly, resolution of purpose. Opposition as the means to resolution is at the centre of Montgomerie's authorship as figured in both this manuscript and this printed book.¹⁴²

This raises pressing questions about the nature of manuscript compilation in Scotland. Are these organisational principles shared between the Ker manuscript and the *Cherrie*'s long, allegorical dream vision the result of a particularly sensitive scribe who has meticulously unpacked the *Cherrie*'s mechanics, or are both poet and scribe working in a larger tradition that inscribes such organisation on a primal level? It is perhaps too early to answer such a question. For a start, a great deal more Scottish manuscripts need thorough revaluation, for instance the understudied Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts. It is clear, however, that MS Laing III.447 is tightly organised (although thematic and formal rigour dissolves towards the end), and both the *Cherrie* and the miscellaneous poems reinforce each other. Even there where an overall uniformity is lacking, still the echoes between clusters of poems often show the scribes to be acutely aware of intertextual connections. MS Laing III.447 is a crucial text to begin to understand Scotland's rich scribal culture towards the end of the sixteenth century.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter One, pp. 2-5; McClune, 'Stewart of Baldynneis', pp. 16-62.

¹⁴² Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', p. 512.

chapter three ~

‘James Murray with my hand in all hest’ Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.30

James Murray, a minor landowner from Tibbermuir (modern-day Tibbermore, a few miles west of Perth) is a relatively unknown figure in Scottish literary studies. Yet, his name was lent to an intriguingly complicated hybrid manuscript, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30, or the Tibbermuir manuscript.¹ In its single binding, the manuscript combines two distinct but related sections, the first dating from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and the second, on a fresh batch of paper added by Murray, dating to the beginning of the seventeenth century.²

The content of section one of the manuscript is as follows (section two is discussed below):

ff. 1-10	[missing]
ff. 11r-19r	Scots translation of Guido’s <i>Historia</i> On f. 19r: ‘Her endis barbour and begynniss the monk’
ff. 19r-304v [f. 24 missing]	Lydgate’s <i>Troy Book</i> [starts at Book I, l. 1689, and ends at Book IV, l. 5337]
ff. 304v-323v	Scots translation of Guido’s <i>Historia</i> On f. 304v: ‘Her endis the monk and begynnis barbour’

This first and largest section of MS Kk.5.30 mostly contains a transcription of John Lydgate’s *Troy Book*, a medieval historical romance in five books recounting the events of the Trojan War. This long Middle English poem, which Lydgate completed in 1420, was based on Guido delle Colonne’s Latin *Historia Destructionis Troiae* of 1287, which, in turn, was modelled after Benoît

¹ In secondary sources ‘Tibbermuir’ is sometimes spelled ‘Tibbermure’ or ‘Tibbermore’. The manuscript’s shelf-mark is also written as MS Kk.V.30 (‘V’ for ‘5’), but throughout I follow CUL’s most recent cataloguing convention that replaces Roman with Arabic numerals for all two-letter manuscript classes. The manuscript was first described in Henry Bradshaw, ‘On Two Hitherto Unknown Poems by John Barbour, Author of the Brus’, in *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, ed. by F[rancis] J[enkinson] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), pp. 58-68. Bradshaw also updated the CUL catalogue entry in the ‘Corrigenda’ section of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, ed. by Charles Hardwick and Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856-67), V, 600-3. For another description see *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, ed. by Henry Bergen, 4 vols (London: EETS, extra ser. 97, 103, 106, 126, 1906-35), IV, 46-50. Further references to Lydgate’s work are to this edition.

² I am very grateful to Jayne Ringrose (Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts at CUL), who confirmed that MS Kk.5.30 was rebound in 1959 in half-black goatskin with marbled paper sides and vellum tips. Nothing except the labels survives of an older binding in brown leather, probably dating to the seventeenth century. Ms Ringrose also confirmed that the fresh batch of paper of the manuscript’s second section is different from that of section one. Its watermark, a jug, has not been identified.

de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* in Old French.³ MS Kk.5.30's transcription of Lydgate suggests that several fragments of its exemplar must have been wanting, because the unknown scribe filled two gaps in the Middle English narrative (ff. 11r-19v, and ff. 304v-23v) with fragments from another translation of Guido delle Colonne, this time in Scots. Twice the scribe noted the change of source: the end of the first Scots fragment is marked 'Her endis barbour and begynnis the monk' (f. 19v); 'the monk' being Lydgate, who was a Benedictine at the monastery of Bury St Edmunds. When the Scots version resumes, the scribe noted that 'Her endis the monk and begynis barbour' (f. 304v). At f. 323v, section one of the manuscript breaks off, leaving the combined English and Scots *Troy Book* unfinished. It is worth stressing at this stage that the Scots translation of Guido is independent of Lydgate. As Angus McIntosh argues, 'there is no question of [the Scottish *Troy Book*] being an original English poem with a mere veneer of Scots imposed by copyists'.⁴ Moreover, while Lydgate's *Troy Book* is composed mostly in iambic pentameter, the Scots translation is written in four-stress couplets. Relating to the difference of the two texts, Bergen comments that 'the Scottish version is so much more literal and concise that the first 60 of its lines are equal to the 175 of Lydgate's'.⁵ No exact date can be provided for this first section: Bradshaw ventures it 'is of the XVth century', while Bawcutt more precisely suggests it 'was written in the late fifteenth century or very early in the sixteenth century'.⁶

The second section of MS Kk.5.30 (the full content of which is given below, see pp. 97-98) following straight after the first but foliated anew (ff. 1-82), dates from c. 1612, and was added by James Murray of Tibbermuir. When Murray acquired what is now section one of the manuscript, it had already seen perhaps over a century of use, yet MS Kk.5.30 is aptly named after him, as he was personally responsible for substantial additions. First, the combined Scots and English *Troy Book* text must have been incomplete by the time Murray came to own the manuscript. Hence, in the second section, Murray supplied the endings to Books Four and Five, plus a title-page, table of chapters, Lydgate's prologue, and Robert Braham's epistle to the reader, all of which he copied from the *Troy Book* printed in 1555 by Thomas Marshe.⁷ All Murray's additions to the *Troy Book* are bundled together in section two of MS Kk.5.30 (ff. 26r-71r). In addition, Murray collected around twenty-seven miscellaneous poems, both medieval and contemporary, from a wide variety of sources. This selection includes works by known Scots and English poets (such as Alexander

³ For an introductory discussion of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, its literary influences, and the manuscript and print traditions of the poem, see *John Lydgate's Troy Book: Selections*, ed. by Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 1998) and A.S.G. Edwards, 'Lydgate's Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research', in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1983), pp. 15-26.

⁴ Angus McIntosh, 'Some Notes on the Language and Textual Transmission of the *Scottish Troy Book*', *Archivum Linguisticum*, 10:1 (1979), 1-19 (p. 1).

⁵ *Troy Book*, IV, 49 note 2.

⁶ Bradshaw, p. 64; Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Sir Lamwell in Scotland', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 83-93 (p. 84).

⁷ Bradshaw, p. 66. On Marshe's edition, see *Troy Book*, IV, 59-67.

Montgomerie, King James VI, Alexander Hume, or Thomas Campion) and a good deal of anonymous verse. Besides the various sonnets, songs, ‘dyers’ (see below for this), and other poems, Murray also left a record of his book collection, both of books that he owned, and of those that were ‘lent’ (borrowed to or from others). The list will serve to assess Murray both as a well-informed reader, and as a participant in a system of book circulation. Moreover, several books that Murray owned can be shown to be directly relevant to the poems that he collected.

This second section of the manuscript, and particularly the miscellaneous poems, will be the main focus of this chapter. However, as will become evident, it is difficult to extract the later poems wholly from the *Troy Book* text. Physically, first of all, Murray’s additions to Lydgate are now exactly in the middle of the second section of the manuscript. Also in terms of literary-historical chronology, the two manuscript sections are not so clearly separable as to comfortably ignore, as earlier critics have done, either the ‘medieval’ or the ‘early modern’ poems. In a short sequence of three sonnets (ff. 71v-72r, discussed in detail below) Murray may be seen to have welded together the two sections of the manuscript, transforming a classically-inspired pagan narrative, in the form of a sonnet dealing with the Trojan War (explicitly linking back to Lydgate’s medieval poem), into contemporary concerns, as expressed and developed in two further sonnets by James Melville and Philip Sidney. This short sequence in MS Kk.5.30 may be taken as emblematic for the transition from the medieval *Troy Book* narrative to the early modern miscellaneous poems, and more generally, from medieval to early modern poetic modes. Even if only for this reason, the relationship between the *Troy Book* and the miscellaneous poems deserves further thought.

Editorial History of MS Kk.5.30

MS Kk.5.30 came to critical attention for the first time when the Scots *Troy Book* fragments were discovered in 1866 by Cambridge University librarian Henry Bradshaw. Since Bradshaw attributed the fragments to John Barbour, author of the *Brus*, the manuscript attracted considerable interest. This claim of Barbour’s authorship, not only of the *Troy Book* fragments but also of the *Legends of the Saints*, was soon disproved, but not soon enough to prevent Horstmann’s combined edition of *Barbour’s Legendensammlung* and his *Trojanerkrieg*.⁸ Both works are now considered to be anonymous – though the Scots *Troy Book* fragments may still have been written by an otherwise unknown Scots poet named ‘Barbour’.

MS Kk.5.30 is not the only manuscript to contain fragments of the Scots *Troy Book*, as Bradshaw found more fragments in Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148. The latter has been

⁸ *Barbour’s, des schottischen Nationaldichters, Legendensammlung nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges*, ed. by C. Horstmann, 2 vols (Henninger: Heilbronn, 1881-82). Bradshaw’s claim of John Barbour’s authorship was successfully challenged, see P. Buss, ‘Sind die von Horstmann herausgegeben schottischen Legenden ein Werk Barbere’s?’, *Anglia*, 9 (1886), 493-514; and E. Koepfel, ‘Die Fragmente von Barbour’s Trojanerkrieg’, *Englische Studien*, 10 (1887), 373-82.

investigated more thoroughly, as one of the two scribes of that manuscript has been identified as John Asloan, scribe of the Asloan manuscript.⁹ Relating to the composition of MS Douce 148, Catherine van Buuren wrote that

[e]vidently Sir Thomas Ewyn, mentioned in the colophon, possessed several fragments of a copy of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, and requested scribe A [John Asloan] to make a complete book from the fragments in his possession: [...] it is clear how the scribe set about this, copying the missing parts of the text from another MS. of the same work (or its Scottish counterpart) and fitting them in between the remains of the older MS.¹⁰

Asloan had access not only to Lydgate's poem (presumably in manuscript), but also to the Scots translation of Guido (Asloan was responsible for the following sections in MS Douce 148: ff. 1-44, 139, 257, and 300-36).¹¹ It may be imagined that something similar happened to the first section of MS Kk.5.30 – the problems of a defective manuscript or an incomplete exemplar were solved by the availability of a Scots translation of Guido which, though independent of Lydgate, was close enough in terms of narrative to fill out the lacunae in the Middle English poem. A critical edition of the Scots *Troy Book* fragments and a full account of both manuscripts is certainly a *desideratum*, as information on both manuscripts is scattered, and at times confusing.¹² A complete *Troy Book* in Scots has never been recovered, but since both John Asloan and the scribe of section one of MS Kk.5.30 could readily draw from a Scots translation to stop the gaps, it can be assumed that a more complete version was once in existence. Rhiannon Purdie spells out the difficulties of approaching the Scots *Troy Book*, which is 'in some way the most shadowy work in our corpus of medieval Scottish romances'. She adds that 'it remains something of a "lost text" of Older Scottish Literature, doomed forever to be "the bits in the Lydgate manuscripts" that are neither by Lydgate nor [...] by Barbour'.¹³

In the immediate wake of Bradshaw's mistaken discovery, all critical attention for MS Kk.5.30 was focused on the first section, virtually ignoring James Murray's later additions.¹⁴ Recently, however, critical interest in the manuscript has changed perspective: Sally Mapstone, David Parkinson and Rod Lyall have all highlighted the cultural significance of MS Kk.5.30's

⁹ For more on the activities of John Asloan as a scribe, see Catherine van Buuren, 'John Asloan, an Edinburgh Scribe', *English Studies*, 47 (1966), 365-72, and *The Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, ed. by Catherine van Buuren (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1982), pp. 21-30.

¹⁰ van Buuren, 'Asloan', p. 366.

¹¹ *Troy Book*, IV, 46-49, describes Douce in more detail. I am extremely grateful to Kate McClune who kindly allowed me access to her unpublished description of MS Douce 148.

¹² A Scottish Text Society edition of the *Troy Book* fragments was begun by John Farish, but never completed. The project was subsequently taken over by Catherine van Buuren, but she too died before she could bring it to completion. Farish's material is currently in possession of the Scottish Text Society (personal communication from Sally Mapstone, President of the STS).

¹³ Rhiannon Purdie, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland', in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 165-77 (p. 173).

¹⁴ To Bradshaw's credit, he significantly updated the CUL catalogue description and added a first-line index of Murray's miscellaneous material, identifying some sources. See the 'Corrigenda' section of *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, V, 600-3.

second section, using it to establish links between Alexander Montgomerie, Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and the court of James VI, between several closely related families with distinct literary interests, and between the literary cultures of Scotland and England.¹⁵ Priscilla Bawcutt, drawing from the manuscript's second section but looking back to the medieval period, has explored James Murray's fragmentary transcription of *Sir Lamwell*, and has highlighted the manuscript's importance more generally, particularly in reference to Murray's book list, and to the significance of the manuscript for the long-lived popularity of romance in Scotland.¹⁶

The above brief editorial history reveals that, until recently, MS Kk.5.30 lived something of a double life, either as a late-medieval *Troy Book* manuscript, or as an early seventeenth-century miscellany. It is clear, however, that the manuscript must be read as a more meaningful whole, since James Murray was deeply interested both in the *Troy Book* – which he read attentively and added to (see further below) – and in the contemporary poetic scene around him. As stated above, the present focus will be on the miscellaneous material that Murray supplied around 1612. However, a discussion, firstly, of the manuscript's earliest ownership that is of direct relevance to Murray, and secondly, of the occasional presence of Trojan imagery in later poems, will hopefully ensure that the present discussion does not lose sight of the challenging hybridity of MS Kk.5.30.

Ownership and the Cultural Context

Not much investigative work has been carried out into MS Kk.5.30's earliest history and provenance. Following the manuscript's journey to Cambridge University Library, Bradshaw writes that it was

formerly in the Duke of Lauderdale's collection, which was sold by auction in London in 1692, and that it had been bought with several others from the same library by Bishop Moore, and transferred with the rest of his books to the University [...] in 1715.¹⁷

Before the manuscript came into the collection of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale (d. 1682), it was owned by James Murray of Tibbermuir. There is no evidence of other later owners, but the manuscript may, of course, have changed hands before Lauderdale acquired it. There are, however, many earlier marks of ownership and related marginalia, all in the first *Troy Book* section (and so, in all probability, predating Murray's ownership), that deserve to be mentioned. The manuscript is

¹⁵ Sally Mapstone, 'Invective as Poetic: The Cultural Contexts of Polwarth and Montgomerie's Flying', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 26:2 (1999), 18-40; David J. Parkinson, 'Alexander Montgomerie, Scottish Author', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 493-513; Roderick J. Lyall, "'Thrie Truear Hairts": Alexander Montgomerie, Henry Constable, Henry Keir and Cultural Politics in Renaissance Britain', *Innes Review*, 54:2 (2003), 186-215.

¹⁶ Bawcutt, 'Lamwell'.

¹⁷ Bradshaw, p. 58. A list of the manuscripts in Lauderdale's sale catalogue is reprinted in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, [ed. by David Laing], 3 vols (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1827-55), II, 151-58. The manuscript in question is probably item 46, 'History of the Grecian and Trojan Warrs, in Old English verse, Mss. upon paper. Fol.'.

most prominently inscribed by one ‘Thomas Blair’ (for instance ff. 119v, 156r, 213r, 243r), but more names appear throughout: ‘Henricus Broun’ (f. 196v), ‘Adam Broun’ (f. 239r), and ‘William Brown’ (f. 247r); ‘James Ogilvy’ and ‘James Scrimgeour’ (f. 59r), and ‘Jacobus Hunter’ (f. 250r). On f. 193r occurs ‘Thomas Cormak’ (or ‘Gormak’), and underneath his name these lines in the same hand:

Marie be the grace of god Quein of Scottis
To our Louittis in that part *coniunctlie* and seuerlye
Speciallie *constitute* greitting Forsameikyll as it is
[the page is cropped here]

This is a fragment of a royal proclamation, or a warrant, deed, or other official or legal document. *DOST* indicates other frequent occurrences of this formulaic phraseology particular to Scottish ‘non-notarial deeds and royal gifts, mandates, warrants, etc.’, for instance under ‘luvit’ for ‘louittis’, meaning ‘our beloved’, and under ‘forsamekle’, meaning ‘forasmuch’.¹⁸ In similar fashion, on several folios reference is made to ‘James be the grace of god king of Scottis’, and ‘our right trest King James’ (ff. 129v, 193v, and 227r). It is hard to ascertain the relevance of these marginal scribblings: they are unconnected to the *Troy Book* text and might simply reflect a writer testing his pen. If the ‘Marie’ fragment quoted above is contemporary with the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, however, it indicates that this section of the manuscript was read throughout the decades after its production. At a stretch, it might be imagined that the manuscript was once connected to legal, official, or courtly circles, but more evidence is needed to substantiate this claim.

There are other types of marginalia to be found in the first section of MS Kk.5.30. The first line of a favourite Scottish inscription, usually a couplet or quatrain, can be found on f. 59r: ‘In my defence god me defend’. The wide-spread popularity of this in Scottish books and manuscripts has been briefly discussed in the previous chapter (p. 82), and Bawcutt has traced it in various sources, significantly also in a copy of Guido delle Colonne’s 1494 print of the *Historia Troiana* (or *Historia Destructionis Troiae*), once owned by Colin Campbell, third Earl of Argyll.¹⁹

Another marginal inscription appears on f. 167r:

Intill ane mirthfull maij morning
I went furthe myne alone
Among thir flowers fresche & gay
And this makand my monn.

¹⁸ On at least two more folios (ff. 264v, 280v), another type of proclamation appears, starting ‘Be it kend to all...’. Unfortunately, the ink is faded, and the fragments are difficult to read.

¹⁹ Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell’, in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England, & Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 59-68 (pp. 64-65). See also John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: Burns, 1961), p. 136.

These lines are reminiscent of other Scottish poems and songs situating a speaker in the natural surroundings of a May morning, making a love lament, or ‘monn’. Use of this poetic convention is widespread. An example is the following poem or song from the Bannatyne manuscript:

In may in a morning // I movit me one
 Throw a grene garding // *with* gravis begone
 As leid *without* lyking // but langour allone
 for misheis & murning // makand my mone (f. 225v)²⁰

The setting appears similar, and the Tibbermuir fragment shares its formulaic opening and closing phrases, as well as rhyme-words ‘alone’ and ‘monn’, with the Bannatyne text. Metrically, however, the fragment is very different, and there is no reason to assume a direct kinship between the two.

The marginalia in the first section of the *Troy Book* are difficult to date, but collectively the ‘mirthful maij’ fragment, the references to Mary, Queen of Scots, and (an unidentified) King James, plus the names of various readers or owners of the manuscript, suggest a lively Scottish readership of the *Troy Book* that predates (and perhaps overlaps with) Murray’s ownership. All marginalia could belong to the period during which Murray or his family owned the manuscript (see below), though it remains unknown when the manuscript was acquired for the Murrays. Bergen concludes that in light of MS Kk.5.30’s ‘numerous trifling inscriptions scattered among the pages’ it ‘has evidently been diligently read and re-read and has seen much hard usage’.²¹ Since the extent of Lydgate’s influence in Scotland is still a matter of debate, it is important to note here that this version of the *Troy Book* at least was indeed intensively read.²²

James Murray of Tibbermuir marks the manuscript as his own only once among the leaves of the first section (f. 307v). In addition, Bergen comments that ‘[i]nitials in red, running-title in roman numerals designating the number of the chapter according to the 1555 edition [of Lydgate], and headings to the chapters written on the margins’ are in Murray’s hand, thus providing evidence

²⁰ *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser. 5, 1928-34), III, 285; cf. the facsimile edition, *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. by Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scholar Press, 1980), ff. 255v-56r. Compare also for instance l. 9 of Dunbar’s *The Goldyn Targe*, ‘In May in till a morow myrthfullest’, *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, 2 vols (Glasgow: ASLS, 1998), I, 184. Helena M. Shire discusses ‘Into a Mirthfull May Morning’, a Scottish song that exists in several musical manuscripts in amorous form, in *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 29-32. For its *contrafactum*, see *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. by A.F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 39, 1897), pp. 137-38. For further evidence of the widespread popularity of the conceit, see for instance ‘Intill ane morning mirthfullest of may’, in the *Maitland Quarto Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 9, 1920), pp. 223-25.

²¹ *Troy Book*, IV, 50.

²² Edwards comments how Gregory Kratzmann ‘denies Lydgate any influence on Scottish medieval literature’, see ‘Lydgate’s Manuscripts’, pp. 25-26. The study of the ownership of another Lydgate manuscript (see Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘The Boston Public Library Manuscript of John Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes*: Its Scottish Owners and Inscriptions’, *Medium Aevum*, 70:1 (2001), 80-94) evidences how much may be learned from marginal glosses. It is true that this particular manuscript (Boston Public Library, MS f.med. 94) has more information on offer, but it should be noted that MS Kk.5.30 contains more marginalia than can be discussed here.

for his careful reading of the book.²³ The second section of MS Kk.5.30 bears ample witness both to James Murray's hand, and to his name (sometimes styling himself 'Jacobus Murravius'). A first obvious question arises: who then was James Murray? His date of birth is unknown. He was the eldest son of John Murray of Tibbermuir and 'a daughter of Stewart, of Grantully'; his father remarried, presumably after the death of his first wife, Helen Scrymgeour of Myres.²⁴ Although James does not style himself 'Sir' in his manuscript, he was knighted by James VI – the date, again, is unknown. In Tibbermore parish church, a stone plate erected to the memory of James Murray and his family still survives, and puts the year of his death as 1631.²⁵ Bawcutt notes the occurrence of the names of James Murray and his father among several documents, and she observes that 'it is the father John rather than his son James who emerges most vividly and rather cantankerously from the records – failing to pay his debts, quarrelling with the neighbours, and refusing to allow the bailies of Perth to use material from the quarry on his lands to build a new bridge'.²⁶ More information can be gleaned from Gordon MacGregor's genealogical records. James Murray married three times, first to Marjory, daughter of William Colville of Condie, second to Lilius, daughter of Laurence Oliphant of Gask, and finally to Anna, daughter of Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock (who was a son of John Melville of Raith).²⁷ This final marriage in particular is of significance, as it connected Murray to an influential family with strong literary ambitions (see previous chapter, pp. 40-43). MS Laing III.447 has been tentatively connected to the Melville family – though they were probably not involved in the production of the Laing manuscript, it was certainly at Melville House at the end of the seventeenth century. A tenuous link may thus be forged between the Laing and Tibbermuir manuscripts through a shared connection with the Melvilles. Whereas very little is known about James Murray of Tibbermuir, in Bawcutt's words 'a minor landowner', and an insignificant player on the Scottish courtly, political and literary scene, still he may be connected through marriage to Scotland's leading political and cultural figures, and as such he may have had access to literary materials circulating in that milieu.

²³ *Troy Book*, IV, 50.

²⁴ For a genealogical overview of the Murrays of Tibbermuir see Gordon A.C. MacGregor, *The Red Book of Perthshire*, 2 vols ([n.p.]: Perthshire Heritage Trust, 2006), II, 648-52.

²⁵ MacGregor, II, 652 note 3.

²⁶ Bawcutt, 'Lamwell', p. 89: cf. *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1609-1620*, ed. John Maitland Thompson (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1885), nos 492, 1191, 1398, 2075, and *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland 1604-1607*, ed. D. Masson (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1885), VII, 690.

²⁷ MacGregor, II, 652. Whereas MacGregor's work is generally well documented, it is unfortunate that he provides no external reference corroborating this last marriage. There is some uncertainty about Andrew Melville of Garvock's offspring. Fraser notes that 'in the royal warrant of pension in 1626 Elizabeth Hamilton [Melville's second wife] is described as a widow with *ten* children, but this may be a mistake, or the others may have died young'. Fraser only records 'at least' two sons, and no daughters. See William Fraser, *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslies, Earls of Leven*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1890), I, 167.

James Murray does not reveal how he came to possess the original manuscript. That it must have been incomplete when first he saw it is clear, however. The following are his conclusive remarks after transcribing the end of Lydgate's Book Five:

all quhilk befor it vantet this 40 yeiris ago now latlie / eikit addit & copeit out off
the print the beginning and end *thair* off / this holl storie as the breik beareth be me
James Murray / *with* my hand in all hest that for the *present* hes the samyn of / my
father Jhone murry off Tibbermuir most Justlie / anno 1612 the 24 off Maij. (f. 71r)

Exactly what Murray means by 'this 40 yeiris ago' is unclear. Most likely, the manuscript had been in possession of Murray or his family for forty years at least. If speaking from memory, then Murray in 1612 must have been sufficiently advanced in age to remember the state of the manuscript forty years earlier. We do not have a date of birth for him: however, it is known that his grandfather Patrick Murray married Isobella Tod in 1551.²⁸ Successor to the family seat was John Murray (James's father). If John was born around or soon after that marriage, then we can conjecture an earliest birth date for James Murray as John's first son in line perhaps in the late 1560s, or early 1570s. It is just about possible for James Murray himself to have known about the manuscript for forty years. Alternatively, he inherited it from his father or other relatives and information about the text was handed down to him. A third option is that the manuscript itself contained information that is now missing – a title page or marginalia that have not survived.

One final important connection might shed more light on MS Kk.5.30's provenance, and draw attention to another bookish family. As stated, James's father remarried Helen, daughter of James Scrymgeour of Myres.²⁹ In 1537, John Scrymgeour of Myres was appointed Master of the King's Works to James V, and his name is associated with the production of one manuscript copy of the heraldic manual known as the *Deidis of Armorie* (now NLS Adv. MS 31.5.2). In this manuscript, an anonymous 'sixteenth-century hand' declares that 'This book wes wreatin be my grandsir Mr Jhon Scrymgeour of Myris maister of warke to the kings majestie' (on flyleaf, f. ii).³⁰ John Scrymgeour also had a much more famous kinsman, Henry Scrimgeour, styled by John Durkan as 'Renaissance Bookman', who was well known for his role as continental book and manuscript collector for the renowned Fugger library. Again, literary and family connections are strong here: Henry's sister Margaret was mother to Peter Young, who became tutor and librarian to James VI.³¹ To return to John Scrymgeour: this scribe, known to be involved in the production or

²⁸ MacGregor, II, 648-49.

²⁹ MacGregor, II, 649.

³⁰ *The Deidis of Armorie*, ed. by L.A.J.R. Houwen, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 22, 23, 1994), I, pp. lxiii-lxx. See also *Gilbert of the Hays Prose Manuscript (1456)*, ed. by J.H. Stevenson, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 44, 62, 1901-14), II, p. xxxiii.

³¹ See John Durkan, 'Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance Bookman', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 5:1 (1978), 1-31 (p. 1). University of St Andrews Library, GB227/ms36929, MS 30488 contains family writs, 1451 to 1610, and various other papers, relating to the Scrymgeours of Myres and their affairs. I have not consulted these documents myself.

circulation of at least one manuscript (Houwen suggests he transcribed Adv. MS 31.5.2 for his own use), may provide a clue to the earliest life of MS Kk.5.30. Significantly, Andrea Thomas also identified Master John Scrymgeour as precentor, or chanter, at the Chapel Royal in Stirling, an office that ‘would have demanded some skill in music, particularly singing’.³² R.W. and Jean Munro note that John Scrymgeour, the Master of Works, handed over land, and the offices of macer and sergeant-at-arms, to his son William. William died in 1568, and passed on the office of macer to his son James, who was also the baillie of Auchtermuchty.³³ Whether it is this James Scrymgeour of Myres that was father to Helen (John Murray of Tibbermuir’s wife) remains uncertain. It is perhaps through John Murray’s marriage to Helen Scrymgeour that MS Kk.5.30 was acquired for the family. Whereas it is entirely possible that it came to James Murray via another path altogether, and that family connections to the Scrymgeours are a coincidence, it should be remembered that among the many names inscribed in the margins of the first section of the manuscript, one is ‘James Scrimgeour’ (f. 59r). If the involvement of the Master of Works in the manuscript’s early life could be corroborated, then the references to ‘our right trest King James’ greatly gain in significance, and it might be possible to posit a readership for MS Kk.5.30’s first section with clear connections to the court, and perhaps to Stirling’s Chapel Royal, a key centre for cultural activity.

Manuscript Content of Section Two

Any further consideration of the first section of the manuscript lies beyond the scope of this chapter – it will have to be more thoroughly addressed in a future edition of the Scottish *Troy Book* fragments. Relating to the second section, Bergen claims that the supply ‘was [...] collected, paged in pencil, and placed at the end of the volume’.³⁴ It is possible that when Murray owned the manuscript the leaves were differently arranged: it makes very little sense for the title page that he carefully copied (f. 26r) to be placed at the end of the volume; similarly, the additional *Troy Book* fragments might have originally been inserted there where section one was lacking.

There are clear indications that the collection of miscellanea in section two used to be more extensive.³⁵ Several pencilled folio numbers are missing, presumably because leaves were removed

³² Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 109. On the cultural importance of the Chapel Royal more generally, see for instance Theo van Heijnsbergen, ‘The Scottish Chapel Royal as Cultural Intermediary Between Town and Court’, in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. by Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 299-313.

³³ R.W. Munro and Jean Munro, *The Scrimgeours and their Chiefs: Scotland’s Royal Banner Bearers* ([n.p.]: Scrimgeour Clan Association, 1980), pp. 35-36. For a further account of the Masters of Works particularly under James VI, and an assessment of their involvement with a wider cultural programme, see Aonghus MacKechnie, ‘James VI’s Architects and Their Architecture’, in *The Reign of James VI*, ed. by Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 154-69.

³⁴ *Troy Book*, IV, 49.

³⁵ Bradshaw’s pencilled notes guide the reader through the second section of the manuscript. According to these notes, ff. 1-2 form a single folded sheet (a1 and a2). The next gathering consists of four folded

after numbering: ff. 3-4, 18, and 22. In between consecutively numbered leaves, obvious stubs indicate the removal of many leaves before the manuscript was foliated. The following have been removed: two leaves between ff. 28-29, two between ff. 35-36, four between ff. 48-49, seven between ff. 72-73, and finally two between ff. 74-75. Of that which remains, the content is as follows (authorship is briefly indicated but will be discussed in detail below):

Folio	First Line / Title and Author	Hand
f. 1r	'The mirrie day sprang frome the Orient' [from Hary's Wallace]	Hand A
f. 1v	[blank]	
f. 2r	'Catalogus Librorum Jacobi Murryi'	Hand A/B
f. 2v	[blank]	
ff. 3r-4v	[missing]	
ff. 5r-5v	'He that his mirth hes lost, quhais confoirt is dismaid' ['Inglishe Dyare'] [Edward Dyer]	Hand B
ff. 6r-7r	'Thou irksome bed Quhairin I tumble to and fra' ['Murrayis Dyare'] [? John Murray]	Hand B
ff. 7v-10v	[blank]	
ff. 11r-11v	'Listine Lordings by the dayis off Arthure' [anonymous]	Hand A
ff. 12r-25v	[blank]	
ff. 26r-71r	Supply to Lydgate's <i>Troy Book</i> : title page (f. 26r), Braham's Epistle to the Reader (f. 27), Lydgate's Prologue (ff. 28r-32v), table of chapters (ff. 33-34), opening of Book One (ff. 35-48), end of Book Four (ff. 49-50), end of Book Five (ff. 57-71r)	Hand A/B
ff. 71v-72r	'Quhen feirce Achilles att the sege off Troye' [Alexander Craig] 'Sen so itt is that quho so ever tuik lyffe' [James Melville] 'Leve me O love quhilk rechis bot to dust' [Philip Sidney]	Hand A Hand A Hand A
ff. 72v-74r	[blank]	
f. 74v	[blank (except for some scribblings)]	
ff. 75r-75v	'Begone sueit Nicht & I sall call the kynd' [anonymous]	Hand A
f. 76r	'Heich Architecters wouderous wouttit rounds' [Alexander Montgomerie] 'I am the sevint I was the first off twelve' [anonymous]	Hand A Hand A
f. 76v	[blank (except for some scribblings)]	
f. 77r	'Loip varlie on be sicker syne to fitt'	Hand B

leaves, but lacks the first two (b3 to b8; ff. 5-10). The following is c1 to c7 (ff. 11-17) (c8, f. 18 is missing); then d1 to d3 (ff. 19-21), d5 to d8 (ff. 23-26) (d4, f. 22 missing). E1 to e8 is complete (ff. 27-36), but have an extra sheet inserted, ee1 and ee2 (ff. 33-34), between e6 and e7. Following is f1 to f8 (ff. 37-44), g1 to g4 (ff. 45-48) (g5 to g8 are missing, but foliation is uninterrupted), a single sheet h1 and h2 (ff. 49-50), another single sheet i2 (f. 51) (i1 is missing), k1 and k2 (ff. 52-53), l1 to l12 (ff. 54 to 65), and m1 to m4 (ff. 66 to 69). At this point, Bradshaw's notes stop.

	[anonymous] 'Mestress ye bad me thryse putt on my spurris'	Hand B
	[anonymous] 'Quha vald cum speid latt him imploy his pen'	Hand B
	[anonymous]	
f. 77v	'Cidippe reid and reidding reslie sueir'	Hand B
	[anonymous] 'First I beleived the erth suld turne in Assh'	Hand B
	[anonymous]	
f. 78r	'Owerquhelmed in vois & drouned in deip dispaire'	Hand B
	[anonymous] 'Mestress quhen last ve tua did part asundre'	Hand B
	[anonymous] 'Lyk as the litle emmett heth hir gall'	Hand B
	[anonymous]	
f. 78v	'First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings'	Hand B
	[? William Drummond of Hawthornden] 'Nocht Orientall Indus christall streemes'	Hand B
	[James VI]	
ff. 79r-80v	'O Perfytt lycht quhilk shed auay' ['the Day Estivall']	Hand B
	[Alexander Hume]	
f. 80v	'Cupid quhome sall I vyt bot the'	Hand B
	[anonymous]	
f. 81r	'Lyke as the Dum, solsequium, with cair overcum, doth sorrrou quhen the sone goth out off sicht '	Hand A
	[Alexander Montgomerie]	
f. 81v	'Quhen I vay [?] in my mynd ye lyff of all sorts'	Hand B
	[anonymous]	
f. 82r	'Displesour, with his deadlie dairt'	Hand A
	[Alexander Montgomerie] 'Quhat mey be compared tuix labour & luiff'	Hand A
	[anonymous]	
f. 82v	'Quhat giff a day or a nyct or a yeir'	Hand B
	[Thomas Campion]	

The issue of handwriting throughout this section is rather a difficult one. Bawcutt, in relation to Murray's transcription of 'Listine Lordings by the dayis off Arthure' (ff. 11r-v), observes that '[t]hree other shorter pieces of poetry [...] were copied by James Murray himself'; these are, according to Bawcutt, the Wallace fragment, and the two 'dyers'; she also includes the book list. In addition, she suggest that '[l]ater members of the family followed James Murray in employing other blank pages (fols. 71v-82v), at the end of the "Supply", to record sonnets, short poems, and extracts from long ones'.³⁶ Bawcutt may be correct, but she offers no evidence for distinguishing the different hands. Moreover, her statement implies that Murray employed two types of scripts: one an elegant, fairly large italic hand, employed for the Wallace fragment for instance, and the other a more closely-written secretary hand, as evident from the 'dyers' and the book list. This in itself is no unusual phenomenon: Parkinson accepts that Margaret Ker wrote both in italic and

³⁶ Bawcutt, 'Lamwell', pp. 89-90.

secretary hands, and the same has been argued for Mary Maitland, the supposed copyist of the Maitland Quarto manuscript.³⁷ Murray's two scripts vary significantly in size, and appear either leisurely written (as in the Wallace fragment), or, as he himself confesses, written 'with my hand in all hest' (f. 71r). This means that a strong argument can be made that other poems in this manuscript are in Murray's hand, too, and not in that of other family members. Bawcutt does not discuss the supply to Lydgate, which is written in Murray's secretary hand, or the title page (f. 26r) copied from print, which is written in italics (copying the printed letter forms of the 1555 *Troy Book*). If Murray's secretary hand, as employed for the 'dyers', is compared, for instance, to the hand of the ten sonnets (ff. 77r-78v), there are strong similarities; equally, individual letter forms of the *Troy Book* title page compare favourably with the two groups of sonnets in italic script on ff. 71v-72r, and 76r.³⁸ Only an extremely detailed palaeographical study may prove this conclusively, but even at an initial stage it may be suggested that more poems were transcribed by Murray than Bawcutt suggests – at least it seems premature to conclude the opposite. Allowing for the development of Murray's hand over time (there is no reason to suspect all poems were transcribed in 1612, and not later), and his use of two distinct scripts, it is even possible for the entire supply to have been written by him. In the discussion that follows, it will be assumed that this is at least a very strong possibility. If indeed others have aided Murray in the composition of the manuscript, then their identities are a mystery. In the light of the problems outlined, the identification of hands in the table above should not be read as definitive; rather, Hands A and B simply differentiate between italic script (Hand A), and secretary (Hand B).

Murray's manuscript collects twenty-seven miscellaneous poems, thirteen of which can be attributed to various authors. The process of compilation is understood by critics to be roughly contemporary with the *explicit* of the *Troy Book*, dated 24 May 1612. Since no other evidence than that date can be found, it is difficult precisely to know when, and over how long a period of time, Murray put his collection together. Apart from two fragments of medieval (historical) romances (from the *Wallace*, and from *Sir Lamwell*), all identified authors are, broadly speaking, of Murray's day and age. The manuscript features works by Scottish poets Alexander Montgomerie, Alexander

³⁷ 'Even in the initial transition from secretary to italic, the character of the hand suggests that this Margaret Ker wrote as well as owned K[er]', see *Alexander Montgomerie: Poems*, ed. by David J. Parkinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 28, 29, 2000), II, 2. For a discussion of the hands in the Maitland Quarto manuscript, see *Maitland Quarto*, pp. v-vi. See also for instance Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse', in *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics*, ed. by Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), pp. 59-86 (p. 73), which accepts that the entire manuscript was written by Mary Maitland. In 'A Methodology for Reading Against the Culture: Anonymous, Women Poets, and the Maitland Quarto Manuscript', in *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, ed. by Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 89-103, Evelyn S. Newlyn accepts Mary Maitland as the scribe, 'rather than some man', although she acknowledges 'uncertainty about compilation and paleography' (p. 93).

³⁸ For the italic hand, compare for instance the capital 'G' of 'Grecianes' with that of 'Graeciane' on f. 71v; the same flourished 'G' reappears on f. 76r. Compare also the serifs of 's', both in capital and in lower case, between the Wallace fragment (f. 1r) and the sonnets (ff. 71v-72r).

Hume, King James VI, James Melville, Alexander Craig, and English poets Philip Sidney, Edward Dyer and Thomas Campion. Authorship of other items is less secure. One sonnet, ‘First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings’ (f. 78v), is thought to have been written by William Drummond of Hawthornden, though this claim has been contested.³⁹ Another, ‘I am the sevint I was the first off tuelve’ (f. 76r), is very cautiously associated with Patrick Hume of Polwarth, but evidence is slim.⁴⁰ MS Kk.5.30 contains at least three songs, one by Campion (f. 82v), and two anonymous ones in Scots (ff. 75r-v, 81v). The bulk of the material collected seems to have been written before 1603 – though a notable and important exception must be made for the poems by Drummond, Craig, and perhaps ‘Murrayis Dyare’ (see below for this). Most poems will be explored in detail below.

Given the present collation of MS Kk.5.30, an overarching organisational principle is not readily apparent. The manuscript contains six small groups of poems, however, that were copied out at the same time in the same type of hand, and should thus be considered as belonging together – although the type of connection varies. The following clusters can be identified: two ‘dyares’ (ff. 5r-7r), a group of three sonnets (ff. 71v-72r), another of two sonnets (f. 76r), a group of ten sonnets (f. 77r-78v), and Hume’s ‘Of the Day Estivall’ followed by a six-stanza complaint against Cupid (ff. 79r-80v). Two poems are linked by an inscription, ‘finis quod thomsone *with* my hand’ and ‘Johne Thomsone *with* my hand’ (ff. 81r, 82r). Since both these poems are Montgomerie’s, this suggests that Thomson was a scribe rather than an author. Another more fanciful interpretation presents itself when we consider that ‘to be John Thomson’s man’ was proverbial, and jokingly applied to men who were strongly under the influence of their wives.⁴¹ The second poem, ‘Displesour, with his deadlie dairt’ (f. 82r), signals the poet’s disillusion when he fell out of favour with King James, and thus is occasional rather than amatory. Whereas ‘Lyke as the Dum solsequium’ (f. 81r), the other Montgomerie poem, indeed presents a speaker firmly under his beloved’s spell, it is still uncertain whether a contemporary reader would style Montgomerie’s dramatic construct as ‘John Thomson’s man’. It seems more likely, overall, that an actual reader or scribe by that name left his mark.

As in the manuscript’s first section, more users appear in the second section: ‘Kathrin Morton with my hand’, ‘Marie Moorray with my hand’ (f. 74v), and ‘Captane James Lyell’ (f. 76v). The reason to consider ‘Morton’, ‘Moorray’ and ‘Lyell’ users rather than scribes of the

³⁹ *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. by L.E. Kastner, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 3, 4, 1913), II, 229; Robert H. MacDonald, ‘Amendments to L.E. Kastner’s Edition of Drummond’s Poems’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 7 (1970), 102-122; Sally Mapstone, ‘Drunkenness and Ambition in Early Seventeenth-Century Scottish Literature’, [forthcoming].

⁴⁰ Pamela Giles, ‘Scottish Literary Women, 1560-1700’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2004), p. 72.

⁴¹ Mapstone draws attention to the phrase in a letter by Julian Ker to her husband Thomas Haddington, see Sally Mapstone, ‘Introduction: Older Scots and the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 417. See also *DOST*, under ‘John Thomsons man’; *Poems of Dunbar*, II, 424-25.

manuscript rests with the occurrence of their names on blank pages. The names are scribbles, and are not, like ‘John Thomson’, attached to a poem. There remains a possibility that these individuals were more directly involved with the Tibbermuir manuscript’s production, but there is no evidence. No records survive indicating a Mary Murray in James’s direct family. If kinship between a Mary Murray and James Murray existed, then this suggests that the manuscript was circulated in family circles. Even more importantly, her presence, like that of the unknown Kathrin Morton, testifies to a female readership.

The Book List, f. 2r

An important piece of evidence for Murray’s reading habits is his catalogue of books (f. 2r).⁴² Many entries need further work, and the minute handwriting needs to be further deciphered, before all the items in question can be identified. Murray’s entries are in shorthand, sometimes very unspecific (‘seneca’), sometimes cryptic (‘vreit buikis collectit *from* dyvers Subjets in Latin & English’), sometimes more clear (‘Buchananus *Novum testamentum vulgare cum* Psalmis’, presumably a New Testament and Buchanan’s popular metrical psalm translations). The catalogue is one page long, and contains around fifty entries. Murray subdivided his library into five categories: ‘libri sacri’, ‘libri Latini’, ‘Gallici’, ‘Vulgares’ and ‘Scripti Libri’. A possible sixth category may be added (or this falls under ‘vulgares’): ‘Lent buikes’. Books lent either to or from Murray suggest that his library was no static collection, and that circulation was an important means of accessing more books. A useful strategy for identifying books is to compare Murray’s modest collection to the infinitely larger library, collected contemporaneously, by William Drummond of Hawthornden;⁴³ similarly, books that Murray owned may also be traced in the inventories of Scottish booksellers.

In the category of sacred books fall an Old and New Testament in Latin (‘*Vetus et Novum testamentum Latinum*’), Buchanan’s psalm translations already mentioned above, and the following two works: an ‘*Explicatio Sacramentorum Latina*’, and a ‘*Doctrina Vulgaris Bibliae Sacrae totius*’. Two unidentified works are, according to Bawcutt, by the sixteenth-century scholar Fulvius Ursinus: they are ‘*Ursinus impressus Vulgaris cum Commentarijs*’ and ‘*Ursinus Scriptum cum Commentarijs*’ (Drummond owned a further work by this scholar, see item 607).⁴⁴ Familiar entries among the Latin section are such authors as Seneca, Virgil, and Martial – of these three, only the latter’s work is further specified as ‘*Epigrammata*’. ‘*Ciceronis sestio latina* [?]’ may refer to Cicero’s speech, or court-room oration, on Publius Sestius, a Roman senator (cf. Drummond’s 448-

⁴² The only critic that has very briefly taken note of the catalogue is Bawcutt, ‘*Lamwell*’, pp. 90-91. For the identification of some books I am indebted to this article. I am extremely grateful to David McOmish, who identified two Roman histories for me, and helped to clear up the book list in general.

⁴³ Robert H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

⁴⁴ MacDonald, *Library*; all further references are to item numbers in this catalogue.

54).⁴⁵ The ‘Retorica Talei’ circulated more widely in Scotland, as multiple copies were sold in the bookshops of Thomas Bassandyne and Andrew Gourlaw in Edinburgh.⁴⁶ This work was Omer Talon’s (or Audomarus Talaeus) influential work of Ramist rhetoric. Another entry, difficult to read, possibly ‘Cleonard *grammatica* [?] gre[ca]’, might be in reference to the popular Greek grammar by Nicolas Clenardus. Finally, in terms of Latin books it also transpires that Murray was interested in Roman history: ‘Justinus Pompeius trogus’ must refer to Justin’s abridged version of Pompeius Trogus’ lost *Historiae Philippicae*, a popular work in the Middle Ages; another entry, ‘Quintus curtius’ is probably in reference to the ten-book history of Alexander the Great written by Quintus Curtius Rufus (Drummond owned both; see 606, 467).⁴⁷

Only two books feature in the French section, one ‘Esopi fabula gallica’, and the other ‘Institutiones Galliciorum’. Of the latter, Bawcutt suggests this is Calvin’s *Institutions de la religion chrestienne* (a book that was also sold by Bassandyne, and owned by Drummond, 994). Among Murray’s ‘vulgar’, or vernacular, books appear for instance a Virgil (probably the *Aeneid*), and a ‘Morall philosophy’, probably William Baldwin’s *Treatise of Morall Philosophy*, a work clearly popular in Scotland, since Bannatyne copied selections from it into his manuscript.⁴⁸ ‘Dorastus and Faunia’ refers to *Pandosto: The Triumph of Time*, the wildly popular romance by Robert Greene that inspired Shakespeare’s *Winter’s Tale*. Some unspecified titles follow, such as a ‘Cronicle off Britaine’ (perhaps Holinshed), and several books of practical use, such as a ‘Phisiognomie’, and a ‘hors’ and a ‘halk buik’. The only item of certain Scottish provenance is Montgomerie’s ‘Cherrie & Slea’, printed twice in 1597. An important book in the wider context of the miscellaneous poems in MS Kk.5.30 is ‘Ovidis Epistles’, probably George Turberville’s translation of 1567. Since Murray collects two sonnets that draw from Ovid’s myth of Acontius and Cydippe (see below), ownership of this book is relevant.

Several of the ‘lent buikis’ that can be identified, or indeed deciphered, are ‘Cleonard Homer’ (exactly what this refers to is unclear), two works related to Plato (‘hesiodus Plato’ and ‘Plinies Plato’), and a work by Valerius Maximus. A book entitled ‘the mirror of knyght[ede]’ was probably Margaret Tyler’s translation of Ortúñez’s *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros*, a Spanish romance printed in English as *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood* in 1578 (Drummond had certainly read these).⁴⁹ This title, together with Greene’s mentioned above, underlines Murray’s interest in romance, which is further explored below. Wider Scottish interest

⁴⁵ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawford, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1396, 1560-61.

⁴⁶ As evident from the testaments and inventories at the time of death of these booksellers. See *Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, 191-204 for Bassandyne’s testament, dated 1579, and II, 209-17, for Gourlaw’s, dated 1586.

⁴⁷ See *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 416, 802, 1217.

⁴⁸ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, II, pp. 218-20; cf. Fox and Ringler, ff. 85r-v. For further evidence of popularity of this book, see Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, *Review of Scottish Culture*, 14 (2001-2), 1-12.

⁴⁹ MacDonald, *Library*, p. 228, under ‘Bookes red be me anno 1606’.

in *The Mirrour* is again attested by the inventory of Robert Gourlaw, who sold the first two parts. Like Ovid's Epistles above, another entry is of direct relevance to the poems in MS Kk.5.30: 'Alexander & Darius'. This may be William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, whose *Darius* (the first of the *Monarchick Tragedies*) was printed in 1603, and written in Scotland. 'Alexander' may be in reference either to the poet's name, or to *The Alexandrian Tragedy*, another of the *Tragedies* (along with *Darius*, *Croesus*, and *Julius Caesar*) that was first printed in 1607. Since Murray also copied 'First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings' (f. 78v), a sonnet assigned to Drummond and supposedly composed in commendation of Alexander's plays, this is an important title (see further below). The direct evidence of Murray's involvement in a circulating library suggests that poetry in manuscript might have travelled along similar channels. Murray's *Troy Book* manuscript, unfortunately, is not named in the catalogue, unless it falls under '[...] vreit buikis collectit from dyvers Subjetts in Latin & English'.

From this list, a picture can be constructed of James Murray of Tibbermuir's reading, his book ownership, and the manner in which he may have obtained the copy texts from which he compiled MS Kk.5.30. For a relatively unknown landed gentleman from Perthshire, this library is strikingly varied and learned. Although ownership alone is not enough to prove Murray had also read his books, nevertheless, based on his catalogue, it may be posited that Murray could read Latin, and perhaps even had a smattering of Greek. His taste in books is varied, ranging from staple items such as bibles and other works of devotion, to histories, romances, poetry, and drama. As will be argued further below, this library also underscores the eclectic nature of the miscellaneous poems in MS Kk.5.30.

History, Romance, and Song, ff. 1r, 11r-v

If Murray's ownership of the *Troy Book* manuscript suggests an interest in medieval texts, then this is confirmed by two eclectic entries in his miscellany that draw attention away from the contemporary literary scene. The very first poetic fragment in section two of the manuscript in its current layout is the following:

The mirrie Day sprang frome the Orient
 with bright beames illuminat the Occident
 efter Titan, Phebus upryseith faire;
 hich in the spheare, as signes mey declare.
 Zepherus, begane his michtie morow course,
 the sueitt waptors from the ground did recourse.
 the dunk deu, doune frome the hevin did waill
 On ewrie meid, both firth, forrest & deall.
 the fresh rever, *doune throu the roches rang,
 throug brenches greene, quhair birds blythlie sang
 with joyous voice, in Hevinlie hermonie
 Then Vallace, thought, it ves no tyme to ly. (f. 1r)

* amongst [in left margin]

These lines were identified by Bradshaw as coming from Hary's *Wallace* (the beginning of Book 8, Chapter 5, ll. 1183-94).⁵⁰ A printed version of this famous poem would have been readily available to Murray. Fragments remain of a very early print, presumably from the press of Scotland's first printers Chepman and Myllar around 1508/9, but later editions were plentiful. It was printed by Robert Lekprevik in 1570, by Henrie Charteris in 1594 and 1601, and by Andro Hart in 1611 (and many subsequent editions).⁵¹ A comparison of the fragment above with the prints of 1570, 1594, and 1611 respectively reveals that Murray's version differs only slightly – in orthography, and in word order. 'Beames bright' in all three prints reads 'bright beames' in Murray, and 'greine branches' in Murray reads 'brenches greene' (there are more examples of changed word order). The corrected 'amongst' for 'doune' agrees with all three prints. The chosen lines of the *Wallace* are very non-specific: if not for the mentioning of 'Vallace' this formulaic opening might suggest any conventional set piece, and the lines could well have been handed down in a separate manuscript tradition where the context of Hary's *Wallace* was soon forgotten. However, given the huge popularity of Hary's poem, Murray could have encountered it easily in its original context. Moreover, the presence of the *Wallace* fragment suggests that he was interested in a wider tradition of medieval Scots verse, and, more generally, that of historical romance. Rhiannon Purdie notes how 'the five-stress couplet [for instance of the *Wallace*, but used also in Lydgate's *Troy Book*] was [...] associated with courtly, sophisticated literature'; in addition, she argues for an autonomous Scottish tradition of verse romances that remained popular long after their decline in England.⁵² The *Wallace* fragment in MS Kk.5.30 underlines Purdie's findings.

Murray collects another fragment of a well-known medieval piece. On ff. 11r-v can be found an incomplete version (some ninety lines), in rhyming couplets, of the legend of 'Sir Lamuell'. The history of this text is complicated, and, in relation to Murray's transcription, has recently been unravelled by Bawcutt.⁵³ The earliest surviving version of the legend is *Lanval*, a *lai* by Marie de France; in addition, two Middle English versions have survived. The best known of these, *Sir Launfal*, is from the hand of Thomas Chestre; another different and earlier poem based on the *lai* is *Sir Landevale*, which apparently served as a source for Chestre's poem. It is this *Sir Landevale*, preserved in Bodleian, MS Rawlinson C 86, which eventually gave rise to *Sir Lamwell*. Not many texts of *Sir Lamwell* have survived: only two fragments of early printed books are now available, printed in England by John Mychell in 1548, and John King in 1560. A later,

⁵⁰ *Hary's Wallace*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 4, 5, 1968-69), I, 214.

⁵¹ For a complete list of prints see also H.G. Aldis, *Scottish Books 1505-1640 (Aldis Updated)*, on the website of the National Library of Scotland: [<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scotbooks/intro.html>, accessed 25 September 2007].

⁵² Rhiannon Purdie, 'Clariodus and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance in Later Medieval Scotland', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 38:4 (2002), 449-61 (p. 452). For a more general introduction to the genre, see Purdie, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland', where she classifies *Wallace* under historiography rather than romance (p. 167).

⁵³ Bawcutt, 'Lamwell'; see also *Sir Launfal*, ed. by A.J. Bliss (London: Thomas Nelson, 1960), pp. 3-5, for an overview of manuscripts and prints.

substantially altered version of the same romance, now titled *Sir Lambewel*, is preserved in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript (BL MS Additional 27897), dating to c. 1650. Bawcutt suggests that 'it is to this latter tradition [that of *Sir Lambewel*] of the story, widely diffused in time and place, that the fragment in Cambridge University Library belongs', and she convincingly shows how Murray's transcription can most fruitfully be compared to Mychell's fragmentary print (Bodleian, Malone 941).

Murray's transcription is thus of importance in the transmission of this early romance (MS Kk.5.30 is particularly useful to correct various misreadings in the unique but damaged Mychell print), but of limited value since it breaks off mid-sentence. The page is not mutilated in any way, and for some reason or other, the poem was simply abandoned. Bawcutt suggests that Murray 'might have intended to write more of the poem. There would have been space to do this, since fourteen folios were left blank'. Perhaps, as she concludes, Murray 'had an English print of *Sir Lamwell* on short-term loan [...] and [it] was recalled too soon.'⁵⁴

More proof of a seventeenth-century interest in the adventures of this Arthurian knight was first explored by Helena Shire and Kenneth Elliott, in their discussion of a piece of music from Robert Edward's commonplace book, tantalisingly entitled in the manuscript 'Sir Lamuel'.⁵⁵ No words are included in the commonplace book, however, and Elliott experimentally joined the tune to the words of Chrestre's *Sir Launfal*. Shire comments as follows:

One interesting item of music with the title 'Sir Lamuel' is in the style of a sixteenth-century dance tune. It is very likely indeed that this entitling indicates that to the dance tune words were sung concerning Sir Lamuel, Sir Launfal of English romance and French *lai*. Indeed the music matches the stanza-form of the version composed by Thomas Chrestre during the fourteenth-century, as can be seen by the sample stanza here underlaid. [...] His [Robert Edward's] 'Sir Lamuel', then, may indicate a 'romance' sung in the sixteenth century to an up-to-date dance tune or a verse narrative meeting a current piece of dance music and remodelled 'to its tune' – a process known to have marked the making of many a broad-side ballad. Was there once, sung to a dance-tune, a 'ballad of Sir Lamuel' that has not survived?⁵⁶

What this suggests is that Murray's transcription might just have to be regarded from the perspective of a song, or ballad, and that its popularity was more widespread. Whether Murray viewed his *Lamwell* primarily as a medieval poem or contemporary song is difficult to know – both would fit equally well into the manuscript's eclectic make-up (as Bawcutt observes, it is a shame that Elliott matched Chrestre's words to the tune, and not those of *Sir Lamwell*). Three strands of verse romance – historic, as in the *Wallace*; Classical, as in the *Troy Book*, and Arthurian, as in *Sir*

⁵⁴ Bawcutt, '*Lamwell*', p. 85.

⁵⁵ Helena M. Shire, 'Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book and Scots Literary Tradition', in *Scottish Studies*, 5 (1961), 43-49; Kenneth Elliott, 'Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book and Scots Musical History', *Scottish Studies*, 5 (1961), 50-56. Note that there is some disagreement over the spelling of the compiler's name: Robert Edward, or Edwards. Throughout, I refer to him as Robert Edward.

⁵⁶ Shire, 'Edwards' Commonplace Book', pp. 47-48.

Lamwell – can be shown to have had a long-lasting influence in Scotland, and a considerable appeal for Murray. Considering these interests, a synthetic approach to MS Kk.5.30 that conjoins the medieval and early modern modes of writing is more than justified, and will be explored further below. That Murray was equally interested in contemporary prose romance printed in England is evident from his book list, as discussed above (particularly his copies of ‘*Dorastus and Faunia*’, or *Pandosto*, and *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*).

The Dyers, ff. 5r-7r

As argued in Chapter One, miscellany manuscripts are an excellent site for research into the relations between Scotland and England, and the manner in which English poetry crossed the border – and vice versa. MS Kk.5.30 forms no exception to this rule, as it contains the only Scottish transcription currently known of a hugely popular lyric by Edward Dyer: ‘He that his mirth hes lost’. The influence of Dyer in Scottish circles has not been sufficiently explored,⁵⁷ and in order to account for the presence of this poem and ‘Murrayis Dyare’ that follows it, some contextualising information on the influence of Edward Dyer in Scotland is in order.

First of all, Dyer’s position at the court of Queen Elizabeth reveals striking parallels with that of Scottish courtiers, and Dyer’s verse, if not the poet himself, certainly travelled northwards across the border. More evidence for this, also from the Tibbermuir manuscript, will be discussed below, as another of Dyer’s poems was reworked as a Scottish sonnet. The English poet’s career coincides exactly with literary explorations at the Scottish court in the early reign of James VI. Only twelve poems can now be ascribed to Dyer with reasonable certainty, and Steven May argues that ‘it is safest to conclude that Dyer wrote nearly all, if not all of his extant poetry between the mid-1570s and 1590’.⁵⁸ Certain parallels between the career of Dyer, and that, for instance, of Alexander Montgomerie may be noted.⁵⁹ Both poets actively sought to ingratiate themselves with their monarch, and both fell out of favour (although Dyer only temporarily, and Montgomerie permanently after the dispute over his pension). Both poets moved in circles that are now believed to have been loosely organised as a literary ‘brotherhood’. Indeed, Lyall in his study of Montgomerie suggests to view the ‘Castalian band’, rather than akin to the French *Pléiade*, as similar to ‘the much more shadowy phenomenon of the “Areopagus”, that rather loose literary

⁵⁷ Shire’s contribution will be discussed below, see *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 219-23. Bawcutt’s brief notes are extremely useful, see ‘A New Scottish Poem: On the Literary Interest of Timothy Pont’s Map 23’, *Scottish Literary Journal*, 20:2 (1993), 5-20 (pp. 11-12), and ‘*Lamwell*’, pp. 89-90. Steven W. May discusses Dyer’s influence on Scotland briefly, in his *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991). Two discussions are useful with relation to the ‘dyers’ in NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6, though they make no mention of Edward Dyer: *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, ed. by Charles B. Gullans (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 1, 1963), pp. 262-70, and Matthew P. McDiarmid, ‘Scots Versions of Poems by Sir Robert Aytoun and Sir William Alexander’, *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 4 (1957), 32-35.

⁵⁸ May, *Courtier Poets*, p. 288.

⁵⁹ For a biography of Dyer, see Ralph M. Sargent, *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

circle which seems to have enjoyed a brief existence in London in the summer and autumn of 1579 under the leadership of Sir Philip Sidney and Edward Dyer'.⁶⁰ Like Montgomerie (and Sidney), Dyer also spent time in the Netherlands, in May 1577, in the first two months of 1584, and again in May 1588.

Most importantly, just after his ambassadorial visit to Scotland had been suspended, Dyer was sent to Denmark in November 1589 for an unspecified mission, where he resided until February 1590. His stay in Denmark coincided with James VI's visit to retrieve his bride. When James arrived in Oslo in November 1589, winter weather marooned the royal party. James and Anne travelled around Scandinavia, spending ample time also at the Elsinore court and in Copenhagen. No mention is made of Dyer's visit in any of the surviving Scottish records of James's sojourn, and neither is it mentioned in the Danish account of that visit.⁶¹ However, the following is suggested by Ralph Sargent, Dyer's biographer:

In October James sailed for Denmark to claim his bride. The same month Elizabeth sent Edward Dyer on a mission to the Court of Denmark. It is possible that Dyer was to have a hand in adjusting the Danish tribute on British commerce with Russia; almost certainly, however, Dyer's chief order required him to keep a watch on the king of Scotland, to discover the relations between his government and that of Denmark. Elizabeth did not quite fancy a Scottish-Danish alliance. It might be the first move in an attempt by James to escape from her orbit. Further, reports had recently come from Denmark to the effect that the Danes would like to negotiate a peace between England and Spain. She wondered what, if anything, was behind the proposal. James spent the winter at the Danish court; so did Dyer.⁶²

It is difficult to imagine the two did not meet, especially if Elizabeth's orders were along the lines sketched by Sargent. And if they did meet it is not unlikely that some sort of poetic exchange took place – Dyer and James will have been well aware of their mutual literary interests, and just two or three years previously the king had composed his lament for Sidney.⁶³ Dyer's presence in Denmark among the Scottish courtiers suggests a path of enquiry not previously explored. Helena Shire and Steven May have drawn attention to Dyer and his association with the genre or verse form known in Scotland as the 'dyer', which was in vogue following the year 1590 in particular. Shire highlights that no 'dyers' survive by Montgomerie, whose verse after 1590 was more occasional,

⁶⁰ Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005), p. 6.

⁶¹ See for instance Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), pp. 113-18; David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark, With a Danish Account of the Marriage Translated by Peter Graves* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997).

⁶² Sargent, pp. 124-25.

⁶³ James's sonnet, 'Thou mightie Mars', was published in a volume of tributary verse to Sidney, *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae*, in February 1587. See *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. by James Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 3rd ser. 22, 26, 1955-58), II, 104 (poem), 233 (commentary). That poetic exchanges were part of the Danish festivities is confirmed by Alan Swanson, who notes the presentation of a volume of Latin poems to the king and his party, see 'Scotia extranea: David Lyndsay in Danish', in *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality: Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Alasdair A. MacDonald and Kees Dekker (Paris: Peeters, 2005), pp. 137-49.

and that the verse-form – in so-called poulter’s measure, rhyming couplets of alternating iambic hexameters and heptameters – makes no appearance in James’s *Reulis and Cautelis*.⁶⁴ May documents the immense appeal of ‘He that his mirth hes lost’ in England, and comments on King James’s adaptation of the verse form, stating that ‘it is no small tribute to the popularity of Dyer’s poem that it circulated at the Scottish court in the 1590s’.⁶⁵ James’s ‘A Dier at her Majesties desyer’ takes on new significance.⁶⁶ Rather than a poem requested by Anne similar to one she might have encountered at court in Scotland (as May suggests), the genre might have been introduced by Dyer himself during the Danish wedding festivities, at the same time instigating a Scottish tradition of ‘dyers’.

This is a long preamble to the discussion of only two ‘dyers’ in MS Kk.5.30. Yet, even if no meeting between Edward Dyer and a Scottish courtier, or possibly the Scottish king, took place, then still the influence of the English poet’s works remains a fact. MS Kk.5.30 is the only known Scottish manuscript to contain ‘He that his mirth hes lost’. Murray titles the poem ‘Inglish Dyare’, and, as both May and Bawcutt suggest, he replied in kind with ‘Murrayis Dyare’. There is no evidence to suppose that James Murray of Tibbermuir wrote the poem, however. Since another ‘dier’ can now be ascribed to John Murray (see Chapter Four, pp. 174-79), an elusive Jacobean poet of whom very little is known, this Murray is a more likely candidate. Several poets embedded their name as puns within the ‘dier’, yet in ‘Murrayis Dyare’ there is no (obvious) evidence of this, making it more difficult to establish authorship. As with most other poems in MS Kk.5.30, we can only painstakingly read between the lines, and will have to conjecture the existence of an underlying exemplar of both poems. Preparing his edition of Dyer’s works, May states that ‘the dialect of both [poems] obscures their textual value’, yet this only holds from an English point of view (by ‘dialect’, May means Scots).⁶⁷ For the autonomous, if derivative, tradition of the ‘dier’ in Scotland, they are of prime importance. It is unlikely that ‘He that his mirth hes lost’ was single-handedly adapted by James Murray of Tibbermuir – the general feeling of the manuscript suggests a faithful scribe (though not immune to error) rather than one intrusively introducing his own readings into his poems. The many small variants between the Scots-flavoured and English versions could have been gradually introduced by a wider system of circulation. Murray’s ‘Inglish Dyare’ is textually very close to Dyer’s original as it circulated in manuscript, but shows the scotticisation of many words and phrases. Perhaps his source was a courtly manuscript of the 1590s directly associated with those Scottish poets breathing new life into the verse form (see further

⁶⁴ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 221.

⁶⁵ May, *Courtier Poets*, pp. 65-67. Shire comments as follows: ‘I submit that the kind of lament whether funereal or amorous, that was associated with Dyer at just this time may have come to be known as a ‘Dyer’ or ‘dier’ – to yield, in Scotland at least, a name for a genre of lament where the poet declares he is near death for love. Certain it is that a kind and measure long known in England and used as late as 1581 in the *Devises* (a volume that Montgomerie knew) was in fashion in royal circles in Scotland in the early 1590s’, *Song, Dance, and Poetry*, p. 223.

⁶⁶ *Poems of James VI, II*, 74-78.

⁶⁷ May, *Courtier Poets*, p. 292.

Chapter Four, pp. 174-79). Since MS Kk.5.30 preserves the only surviving Scottish text of ‘He that his mirth hes lost’, it is difficult to be certain.

‘Murrayis Dyare’, then, adapts a popular genre. In the English model, Dyer writes that

tho I seeme to use the feinyeit poet styll
In figureing furth my duilfull plaint my faitt & my exyll
Yit fenyeie I not my greives *quhairin* I sterve and pyne. (f. 5v)

James VI himself comments on the ‘dyer’s’ elated metaphors, hyperbolic imagery, and feigning near-deaths, in a sonnet appended to his ‘A Dier at her *Majesties* desyer’: ‘My Muse hath made a willfull lye I grante / I sung of sorrows neuer felt by me’.⁶⁸ Yet, the king excuses ‘the luckless lott’ who are less fortunate in love, and encourages them that their ‘plaints I thinke should pierce the starrie skies / And deaue the Gods with shrill and cairfull cries’. Thus, from the moment of arrival the ‘dyer’ is recognised to be a highly rhetorical exercise, but attractive for that very reason. In this light, ‘Murrayis Dyare’ is a very successful adaptation. It is a complaint spoken at night firstly against the ‘Cypriane dame’ Venus and her ‘crewell Chyld’ Cupid, couched in cosmological imagery. Dyer’s reference to ‘the tounne that subteill Sinon sauld’ is expanded in Murray to underline that the havoc wreaked by Venus is wholly undeserved: ‘No grievous traittour I quho meid that fatall hors / For to betrey the tounne *quhilk* thai culd never take by force’. The expanded, iconic Trojan image here would have resonated strongly with the *Troy Book*. In ‘Murrayis Dyare’, the speaker’s most pertinent question is ‘why me?’:

how oft heve I proclaimed thy praise in vearse & proise
how oft heve I thi benner borne against all foraine fois
Quhat moves the then puire me to martyr on this vayis
And quhill I vald heve send the rest my tounge to spek denyis. (f. 6r)

After a mirage of fleeting thoughts – ‘Quhyles think I that quhyles this quhyles nether this nor that / Quhat vatt I quhat I think and quhyles I think I vatt not quhat’ (f. 6r) – the poem and the speaker’s disjointed thoughts finally ‘returne into ther wountit subjett love’. The complaint against Venus spirals out of control when the speaker starts ‘To challenge hevin to quarrell erth to rail on gods and man’, but he reigns himself in (the imagery here is that of a horse restrained) and soon after realises that ‘I did perceve such plents for to repeatt / Culd nether chenge my bad desinks nor better my eateat’. After retracting his previous accusations, the poem changes direction again: ‘Prepair *with* patience then thy self for to receve / Such indiscreit discourtesie thy Creweltie doth creve’. His anger still outwardly directed, it is now aimed at his mistress. Yet, the attack is once again deflected, and the poem ends as follows:

Eternall scilence sall schoutt wp my secret sichts & songs
and yit to be thy dog salbe my Cheiff delytt

⁶⁸ *Poems of James VI*, II, 78.

Quha darr not Quhimpe att thi vrang much less to bark or byt
 Maist lyk the Spayneald kynd quha onavars dois grip
 his mesters fitt *quhilk quhen* he kneis he gentlie latt itt slip
 and creiping to him *cums* for humblie fauneing grece
 as nator techith him puire beist for to procure his pece
 So trampeit one by the advysdlie *vith* thy will
 I grant I meid a mint to quhinge and yit I held me still
 And now behauld on fece I fall befoir thy feitt
 And flatlings stoupeing darr *nocht* steirr och saif me *then* deir sweitt
 Or I vill swelt I swear els *quhilk* is worsum voud
 O calme *that* storme thy brow doth bear mak cleir *that* crewell cloudd
 And shau sum signe of grece call clapp me or att lest
 Cum clak thy finger on thy thoumbe and cry ist ist pure best
 And so thou sall both saiff tho thou therto be leathe
 Thy self frome being cald onkynd & me thy dogg from Death. (f. 7r)

Figurative associations of the spaniel dog as a submissive creature go back at least to the sixteenth century, and it is used to good effect here.⁶⁹ Ending on a thoroughly conventional note, wishing his mistress would dispense grace, the poem nevertheless manages to strike a note of originality. Notwithstanding cosmological complaint, confusedly wandering thoughts, and diatribes against Venus, Cupid, Heaven, earth, gods, men, and his beloved, the speaker ultimately wishes to be her lapdog. For an audience well aware of the genre's required hyperbolic mode (as indicated by James's evaluation in the sonnet), this instance of comic bathos must have found an appreciative ear. The Scottish poet responsible for this poem (John Murray?) freely borrows from Dyer's 'He that his mirth hes lost', but, fully aware of its implicit ironies, also transforms the genre by adding a touch of the ludicrous: 'Cum clak thy finger on thy thoumbe and cry ist ist pure best'.

While heavily rhetorical, harking back to Petrarchist imagery and written in what many critics consider an unfortunate metre, the 'dyer' and its popularity among Scottish poets is nevertheless of great interest. In the context of MS Kk.5.30, the poem's inclusion is significant for another reason. 'Murrayis Dyare' is the first of several 'Murray-related' poems, items that have been included perhaps because they were of personal relevance to Murray of Tibbermuir, because they were composed by kinsmen, or because Murray derived his copy texts from family and friends who prized the family connections in the works they collected. As will be further explored below, 'Murrayis Dyare' draws attention to a close-knit network where authorship and subject matter are of direct relevance for the compiler. Discussion of the Scottish 'dyer' will be continued in the next chapter, since three other 'dyers' also occur in Margaret Robertson's manuscript (NLS MS 15937).

⁶⁹ See *OED*, under 'spaniel'. The conceit of the lover as a dog is widespread, and has also been exploited, for instance, by Sidney, Montgomerie, and Craig. See: *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by William A. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 194; *Amorose Songes*, p. 97, in *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig*, ed. by David Laing (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1873); *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 123.

Three Sonnets, ff. 71v-72r

The ‘dyers’ are followed by Murray’s *Troy Book* supply (on ff. 26r-71r). Directly following this, starting on the *verso* side of the same page featuring the conclusion to Lydgate’s Book 5, is a group of three sonnets, ‘Quhen feirce Achilles att the sege off Troye’, ‘Sen so itt is that quho so ever tuik lyffe’, and ‘Leve me o love quhilk rechis bot to dust’ (ff. 71v-72r). The first poem is by Alexander Craig of Rosecraig (an identification not previously noted), the second by James Melville, and the third by Philip Sidney. ‘Quhen feirce Achilles’, with its Trojan subject matter, stands out in light of the context in which it appears – it seems no coincidence that it immediately follows Lydgate’s *Troy Book*. Although all three poems were printed in English or anglicised form (in 1606, 1597 and 1598 respectively), Murray’s Scots orthography evens out the linguistic differences and so unifies this group.

The sequence is an excellent example of how creative scribal activity may give new meaning to works that originally appeared in entirely different contexts. Consider, firstly, Alexander Craig’s sonnet:

Quhen feirce Achilles att the sege off Troye,
 Be fatall slicht, was so decreit and slaine,
 Ane suddaine stryffe arreaste quha suld injoyes,
 The Armour off that umquhill Græciane
 Ajax ellegd the Ermes he suld obteene.
 And be the suord to winn and wear them wouitt
 Wlisses said thai suld be his againe
 And he them wann giff Storeis mey be trouitt
 Bot Lo the ermes var loist by seas ve read
 And dreven be stormes far fra Vlisses sicht
 Quha dreu till Ajax graiff quhair he ley dead
 To signifie that he hed grettest right
 So quhen this Tombe sall end thir tears off myne
 Than sall thou greitt & say thou suld beene myne.

This was also printed in Craig’s *Amorose Songes, Sonets & Elegies* of 1606, a collection of interlaced poems addressed to eight ladies, all of whom represent a particular aspect of the female character. ‘Quhen feirce Achilles’ is written ‘To Penelope’.⁷⁰ Recent scholarship has not been kind to the poet.⁷¹ Craig’s ostentatious classical learning is taken to extremes, weighing down the

⁷⁰ *Amorose Songes*, p. 79, in *Works of Craig*.

⁷¹ See for instance Morna Fleming, “‘The End of an Auld Sang?’” *Scottish Poetry of the English Reign of James VI and I*, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 560-73. Fleming argues that ‘[a]ll [Craig’s] parallels come from classical writings, and those are not the conventional Homeric and Virgilian parallels, but the most arcane comparisons, which give rise to a rather Baroque development’ (p. 562). Fleming is not entirely dismissive of Craig, however: his *Amorose Songes* are still ‘an astonishing sequence’. Michael Spiller characterises the poet as follows: ‘Not a faulty ear, but a stuffed head was the handicap of Alexander Craig of Rosecraig (c. 1567-1627), who was one of that older generation for whom recondite classical allusion was “the golden fringe of eloquence”’, see ‘Poetry after the Union 1603-1660’, in *The History of Scottish Literature Volume I: Origins to 1660*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 141-62 (p. 147). See also: R.D.S. Jack, ‘The Poetry of Alexander Craig: A Study in Imitation and Originality’, *Forum for*

sonnets with highly diffuse imagery, often (to the modern reader) to the point of obscurity. For this reason, Craig's poems have never been commented on in much detail, and the only edition in existence is that edited by David Laing in 1873, which features a short introduction, but no critical apparatus. Craig's status is mainly that of a 'Scoto-Britane', as he styled himself: a Scot who followed James to London, and actively expunged all Scotticisms from his printed works.⁷² It is significant, then, to find a sonnet by Craig that retains clear readings in Scots. When compared to the print, the Tibbermuir sonnet shows small variations, but also the two following substantial substitutions: 'The Armour off that umquhill Græciane' in print reads 'The Armes of that praise-worthie *Grecian*'; and 'Than sall thou greitt & say' reads 'there shalt thou sigh & say'.⁷³ Thus, both 'umquhill' and 'sall greitt' have been radically 'englished', for the benefit of a southern reading public. Also, the Scots past participles of 'wouitt' and 'trouitt' in the print read 'vow'd' and 'trow'd'. Though published in 1606, it is entirely possible the sonnet was written earlier, and that a manuscript tradition of the poem retained Craig's original Scots.

Since this sonnet has never received any comment, it is worth considering it in more detail, also since, despite Craig's reputation as a wordy poet, it is effectively written. The episode referred to, the death of Achilles, is recounted in the *Troy Book*, and thus for Murray the sonnet may have had extra significance (even though the subsequent quarrelling of Ajax and Ulysses over the dead hero's armour is not narrated there).⁷⁴ Craig employed the image of Achilles' arms elsewhere too. In another sonnet to 'Penelope', again in Trojan spirit, he writes that

When stately *Troy* by subtill *Sinons* guile,
And *Grecian* force was brought to last decay,
Ulisses braue with faire and facund stile,
Achilles Arm's obtaind, and went away.⁷⁵

Craig, like Drummond, was rather a magpie, and frequently plundered both his own work, and that of others. The poet might well have found this conceit in his reading of the Classics, but another source seems equally likely. In Andrea Alciato's hugely popular *Book of Emblems* (*Emblematum liber*, published first in 1531 but gone through 152 editions by 1621), the following emblem poem appears, accompanied by an image of Ajax' tomb, and a shield floating on the sea beside it:

Modern Language Studies, 5 (1969), 377-84; Josephine A. Roberts, "'Contraries by Contraries': The Artistry of Alexander Craig's sonnets", *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 21 (1986), 119-34.

⁷² The topic of anglicisation in seventeenth century Scottish writing is complicated. That this language shift (set in motion much earlier in the previous century) was wholly pragmatic, and not nationalistic, is discussed for instance by R.D.S. Jack in relation to Robert Ayton, a poet who is in a position comparable to that of Craig, see *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature: 1375-1707*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal (Edinburgh: Mercat Press 1997), pp. xiv-xv.

⁷³ *Amorose Songes*, p. 79, in *Works of Craig*.

⁷⁴ For the relevant passage, see Book Four, ll. 3098-3268, 'How Achilles was slayne by Paris in the Temple of Apollo', *Troy Book*, II-III, 655-60.

⁷⁵ *Amorose Songes*, p. 72, in *Works of Craig*. Note also the echoing of the phrase 'subtill *Sinon*', which also occurs in Dyer's 'He that his mirth hes lost'.

Aeacidae Hectoreo perfusum sanguine scutum,
 Quod Graecorum Ithaco concio iniqua dedit,
 Iustior arripuit Neptunus in aequora iactum
 Naufragio, ut dominum posset adire suum:
 Littoreo Aiacis tumulo namque intulit unda,
 Quae boat, et tali voce sepulchra ferit.
 Vicisti Telamoniade, tu dignior armis.
 Affectus fas est cedere iustitiae.

[The shield of Aeacus' descendant, stained with Hector's blood, the unjust assembly of the Greeks awarded to the Ithacan. Neptune, showing more respect for equity, seized upon it when it was cast into the sea in the shipwreck, so that it could go to its proper master. For the wave carried it to Ajax' tomb upon the shore, the wave which booms and smites the sepulchre with these words: 'Son of Telamon, you have conquered. You are more worthy of these arms'. It is right for partiality to yield to justice.]⁷⁶

Craig obliquely, or playfully, references a source – 'giff Storeis mey be trouitt' – in a manner that brings to mind that most untrustworthy narrator relating another Trojan myth, in Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid*.⁷⁷ In Craig's sonnet, the elaborate Trojan plotline leads up to the resolution in the final couplet: as Achilles' armour is finally delivered to Ajax, who deserved it most, so shall the beloved recognise that his/her place is with the speaker. Its underlying theme is close, then, to that of Alciato's, indicated by his title to the emblem poem: 'Tandem, tandem, iustitia obtinet' ('At last, at last, justice prevails'). The spurned lover will find recognition only through death. The theme of amatory justice is a commonplace in sonneteering, and if Alciato is indeed the source then the emblem is successfully transformed, the sonnet spinning twelve lines of Trojan narrative and concluding in a terse couplet. Though there is no space here further to discuss the impact of emblem books in Scotland,⁷⁸ it needs to be stressed that, as with the 'Consider man' poem from the Laing manuscript, 'Quhen feirce Achilles' underlines the significance of pictorial sources.

The second sonnet in the sequence, 'Sen so it is', is by James Melville, and was printed in 1597 in his *Ane Frvitfvll and Comfortable Exhortatioun anent Death*. Minister and diarist Melville was a poet also, and the *Exhortatioun* concludes with this sonnet, entitled there 'A Sonnet Sounding a warning to die well'.⁷⁹ The text in MS Kk.5.30 runs as follows:

Sen so itt is that quho so ever tuik lyffe
 Man be the Death unto the same portend
 To pass his lyff out throu this vaill off stryffe
 In halines with Cristianes contend

⁷⁶ *Andrea Alciato's Emblemata: Lyon 1550*, translated and annotated by Betty I. Knott (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 35.

⁷⁷ See ll. 64-70 in particular, *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. by Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 113.

⁷⁸ See for instance Michael Bath, 'Applied Emblematics in Scotland: Painted Ceilings, 1550-1650', *Emblematica*, 7 (1993), 259-305, or his 'Alciato and the Earl of Arran', *Emblematica*, 13 (2004), 39-52.

⁷⁹ James Melville, *Ane Frvitfvll and Comfortable Exhortatioun anent Death* (Edinburgh: Waldegrave, 1597), p. 112.

Leive still in awe thi God for to offend
 Cleive to thy Cryst *with* faith onfenyetly
 Repent thy sones thy vickit lyff amend
 And daylie think on Deth for thou man die
 Cast not thy caires on Vordlie Vanitie
 Quhois plesors ar with paines so deirlie boght,
 Bot prest to pley thy pert, with honestie
 And use the woird, even as thou usd itt noght
 Latt ay this sentence in thy saull remaine,
 Leive heir to Die, & Die to Leive againe.

It is worth considering whether Murray's copy is likely to derive from the 1597 print, or from another source. The orthography is decidedly more Scots than Waldegrave's anglicised print. Thus, for 'vnfainedly' in print, MS Kk.5.30 reads 'onfenyetly'; 'wicked' reads 'vickit', and 'Whose' reads 'Quhois'. Besides these small and semantically inconsequential idiosyncrasies, Murray's text shows two significant variations: for Waldegrave's 'Set not thy heart on worldlie vanitie', he transcribed 'Cast not thy caires on Vordlie Vanitie', and for the first line of the couplet, 'Let ay this precept be thy Preacher plaine', Murray has 'Latt ay this sentence in thy saull remaine'. These variations are too significant to be assigned to scribal errors, so Murray will have had another exemplar, possibly in manuscript. The first variation, 'cast not thy caires', is arguably the stronger reading, reinforcing its message by alliteration. The second reflects a difference in theological politics: 'Latt ay this sentence in thy saull remaine' suggests that readers should internalise the sonnet's message to live and die according to their faith, whereas the 'precept' as 'Preacher plaine' reflects Melville's vocational calling.⁸⁰ It is possible that the sonnet was adapted by the scribe himself: a further example of the softening of stringent Protestantism, in Hume's 'Of the Day Estivall', is discussed below.

Following Melville's poem is Philip Sidney's 'Leve me o love quhilk rechis bot to dust', the last of his *Certain Sonnets*. Ringler suggests that Sidney composed this sonnet before 1581, but his work circulated widely in manuscript and print, and was readily available to a large readership, especially after his death.⁸¹ Ringler states also that 'Sidney's original wording of the *Certain Sonnets* has been exceptionally well preserved', and Murray's version, too, is very close to Ringler's copy text (the 1598 edition of Sidney's works).⁸² Except for Murray's scotticising spelling, not a single word varies from the print. Sidney's sonnet is the conclusion to a series of doomed amorous pursuits, and therefore his speaker aims for his mind to 'aspyre to heicher things'. In the context of MS Kk.5.30's mini-sequence, the sonnet is a natural progression from Melville's, which advocates to 'Leive here to Die, & Die to live again'. Melville's pun to live, or leave, to die, is followed by Sidney's picture of an afterlife – one of light, where the speaker wishes for 'Eternall

⁸⁰ Lyall briefly discusses Melville's sonnet as it appears in print, in relation to its 'fixed view, implicitly underpinned by the doctrine of election', *Montgomerie*, pp. 296-98.

⁸¹ *Poems of Sidney*, pp. 161-62. For a dating of *Certain Sonnets*, see pp. 423-26.

⁸² *Poems of Sidney*, p. 425.

Love' to 'menteen thy Lyff in me'. Importantly, however, Sidney also meditates on happiness on earth, and a meaningful existence before 'birth draus outt to Deth'. Sidney affirms life, but only when the speaker 'Grou[s] rich in that quhilk never takith roust / Quhat ever feads butt feading plesour brings'. Thus, Melville's vision of death as the meaning of life is also challenged, as heavenly 'licht' provides comfort on earth.

Three sonnets from disparate sources thus make up this mini-sequence, and, severed from their original context, they gain new meaning. There is little question that 'Quhen feirce Achilles' is an amorous sonnet, but it is succeeded by two others on the same page, in the same hand, that clearly shift the focus to divine love, and the transitory and inherently sinful life on earth as contrasted to everlasting life in heaven. Importantly for the context of the manuscript, in this sequence may be witnessed the transition from a pagan, classical narrative (as mediated also through the medieval *Troy Book*), to early modern Protestant sentiments. A yearning for material possessions (Achilles' armour), and what this yearning comes to signify (human love) are transferred to a passion for God's 'licht' both on earth and in the afterlife. This sequence signifies, in miniature, how important it is to consider Murray's MS Kk.5.30 in its complex totality. The scribe took into his stride the classical motifs related to the Trojan War and related those to the concerns of very contemporary poetry. This illustrates, once again, how absolute period markers, such as 'medievalism', or 'early modernism' are very unhelpful, since already in the hands of an intelligent early seventeenth-century compiler they can comfortably be accommodated and effortlessly developed in a three-sonnet sequence.

One final connection transpires when we consider that 'Penelope', the lady to whom Craig addresses in 'Quhen feirce Achilles' and 'When stately *Troy*' (among other poems), was in fact Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich, object of affection for Sidney, and famous subject of his *Astrophel and Stella*.⁸³ There is little question over this matter, since in 'I serue a Mistris infinitely faire', Craig openly puns on her name: 'If curious heades to know her name do craue / Shee is a Lady Rich, it needes no more', and 'Rich, wise, and faire, to thee alone as thrall / I consecrate loue, life, lines, thoughts, and all'.⁸⁴ Whether Murray of Tibbermuir would have made this connection, and for that reason included a Sidney sonnet, is impossible to know. Yet, in 1612 both Sidney and Lady Rich were dead, and their story may well have been known to Murray.

The poetic corpus of Alexander Craig as it has survived is very much print-based, and the circles in which he operated are evident mostly from the poems addressed to him, and those that he addressed to others: Robert Ayton, William Barclay, Alexander Gardyne (author of *The Theater of Scottish Kings*), Patrick Gordon (author of two unfinished romances), and a great many others.⁸⁵ Though based in London from 1603, Craig, after obtaining his pension, retired to his estate in

⁸³ As confirmed by Laing in the introduction, *Works of Craig*, p. 8. See also Roberts, 'Craig's sonnets', p. 121-23.

⁸⁴ *Amorose Songes*, p. 38, in *Works of Craig*.

⁸⁵ See Laing's introduction, *Works of Craig*, pp. 10-21.

Scotland (c. 1607-10). Significantly, his final two books, both confusingly entitled *The Poeticall Recreations*, were published in 1609 and 1623 in Edinburgh and Aberdeen respectively, and not in London. Another two poems by Craig, embedded in a twenty-five sonnet series in NLS MS 15937 alongside works by Montgomerie and Ayton, will be discussed in the next chapter, and support the notion that Craig was more widely anthologised and read in Scotland than was previously known. Craig wrote his earliest poems in Scotland, and only subsequently reworked them for post-1603 printing. MS Kk.5.30 reveals important clues as to what a Craig sonnet might have looked like before it arrived in the printing shop.

Three Songs, ff. 75r-v, 81v, 82v

Murray also collects the lyrics to four songs. Two are well known: ‘Begone sueit Night & I sall call the kynd’ (ff. 75r-v), and Thomas Campion’s ‘Quhat giff a day or a nycht or a yeir’ (f. 82v). A third song, ‘Quhen I vay [?] in my mynd the lyff of all sorts’ (f. 81v) is unique to the manuscript. In addition, Montgomerie’s ‘Lyke as the Dum, solsequium’ (f. 81r) was a song. Montgomerie’s famous lyric is carelessly transcribed here, but the shape of the stanzas on the page in the manuscript bring to mind a set of lyrics underlaid to music, rather than a careful representation of the words as a poem (as in the Ker manuscript) that highlights the intricate pattern of internal rhymes. ‘Quhen I vay [?]’ is difficult to decipher, and unfinished. In short, this song with its attractive refrain ‘And he pleyis wpon ane bagpype wpon a grene hillo’, celebrates the life of a shepherd in all its glories. The song’s strong emphasis on music and dancing suggests that this might have been sung to a dance tune.

‘Begone sueit Night & I sall call the kynd’ (ff. 75r-v) belongs to the tradition of Scottish music.⁸⁶ Printed by John Forbes in *Songs and Fancies* in 1662 (reprinted twice after; the collection was probably compiled by Thomas Davidson), it also features in Robert Gordon of Straloch’s Lute Book (NLS MS 349) and William Stirling’s cantus part book (also known as John Leyden’s vocal manuscript; NLS Adv. MS 5.2.14). Elliott and Shire print five stanzas of text, and, using the copy text in the Stirling cantus part book, comment that it was ‘probably a good poem poorly transmitted’, and conjecture the structure of an answer poem consisting of two parts. Compared to their copy text, the Tibbermuir song shares the first two stanzas. Stanza three in Tibbermuir features as the closing stanza in Stirling’s part book and in *Songs and Fancies*, whereas stanzas three and four as found in the later sources are omitted from Tibbermuir altogether. In addition, MS Kk.5.30 retains a unique closing stanza that, in contrast to the later version in *Songs and Fancies*, which ends on a note of hope, concludes the song in a rather downbeat fashion:

⁸⁶ For the dating of this song, see Charles Sanford Terry, ‘John Forbes’s “Songs and Fancies”’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 22:4 (1936), 402-19 (p. 411). The song has been printed in *Musica Britannica XV: Music of Scotland 1500-1700*, ed. by Kenneth Elliott and Helena M. Shire, rev. edn (London: Royal Musical Association, 1975), pp. 184-85.

The nicht is gon yit absent is my Love
 Day doith aryse secuire yit sleips my deir
 O then hou myndful is sho quhom I proue
 Quhill Phebus shynes yit dois sho *nocht* appeir
 Alace, Alace,
 That absence suld deoirce me from so sueit so fair a face
 O then approche deir nimfe by *quhom* I breithe
 Giff me to leive bot to recoird my Deithe.

Given the poor transmission of the song, this new stanza, and Tibbermuir's transcription more generally, will be of interest in the transmission history of the lyric.

Campion's 'Quhat giff a day or a *nycht* or a *yeir*' (f. 82v) concludes the manuscript in its current layout. Fellowes comments that 'this poem and tune with which it was associated together formed one of the most popular songs of the late 16th and 17th centuries'; its popularity is attested also by Swaen and Greer, who trace the words and music through a bewildering number of sources.⁸⁷ The song's earliest occurrences are, in fact, in Scotland. Swaen locates the song in BL MS Add. 33.933 (containing the *Scottish Metrical Psalter*) and it is famously sung at the end of the play *Philotus*.⁸⁸ 'Quhat giff a day' is an excellent example of the malleability of the early modern lyric. The song was frequently adapted, and many versions include further stanzas to the original two. According to Swaen, MS Kk.5.30 is the earliest surviving source that adds a third stanza.⁸⁹ It runs as follows:

Quhat hes thou then sillie man for to boist
 bot of a shoirt and a soroufull lyff *perplexit*
 Quhen haipe and hoip & thy saiftie is moist
 Then vo & vraik dispaire and deth is annexit
 Blossums bubbles as is erth doth thy steat resemble
 Fear off seiknes danger death maketh the to trimble
 Evrie thing that do spring shoone ryp is shoone rottin
 Pomp and pryd shoone doth slyd and is shone forgottin. (f. 82v)

Although unique, the stanza echoes phrases from another broadside version of this poem, now in the ballad-collection of Samuel Pepys. That much-expanded version also features the 'sillie man': 'Tell me then, silly Man, / Why art thou so weake of wit'. Murray's closing lines are paralleled by lines in Pepys:

Fayrest blossoms soonest fade,
 Withered, foule, and rotten,

⁸⁷ *English Madrigal Verse*, ed. by E.H. Fellowes, rev. by Frederick Sternfield and David Greer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 679; A.E.H. Swaen, 'The Authorship of "What if a Day," and Its Various Sources', *Modern Philology*, 4:3 (1907), 397-422; David Greer, "'What If a Day": An Examination of the Words and Music', *Music & Letters*, 43:4 (1962), 304-19.

⁸⁸ On the play, see for instance Jamie Reid Baxter, '*Philotus*: The Transmission of a Delectable Treatise', in *Literature, Letters, and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 52-68.

⁸⁹ Swaen, 'Authorship', pp. 403-4.

And through grieffe, our greatest ioyes
Quickly are forgotten'.⁹⁰

The blossom refers back to stanza one, but the rhyme-words 'rotten' and 'forgotten' suggest that the two might have had a common source.

We might never locate such a common source. In any case, and perhaps more importantly, the early Scottish witnesses referred to above indicate how quickly Campion's song must have travelled across the border, and how eagerly it was incorporated into the Scots tradition. Murray's inclusion of Campion's song bears further witness to Anglo-Scottish literary relations, and its presence in the manuscript chimes well with other poems, for instance by Dyer or Sidney. It is striking how many of Murray's selections are clearly popular works – it seems that the manuscript works well as a reliable indicator for the popularity of particular songs and poems in early seventeenth-century Scotland.

Two Sonnets, ff. 75v-76r

David Parkinson notes the significance of MS Kk.5.30 in terms of its courtly connections, and its personal nature:

Here [...] there is evidence of familiar interplay and exchange; even more than in [EUL MS Laing III.447] this evidence points to the accumulation of a body of verse befitting the occasions of such interplay. Here, authorship is not meaningfully related to situation. In such a manuscript, these poems are 'about' their readers', or better, their sharers' situations; and the signature of Julian Ker hints at a direct connection between [MS Kk.5.30] and miscellanies circulated at the court of James VI.⁹¹

For Parkinson, a strong indication of MS Kk.5.30's supposed proximity to these courtly miscellanies is the presence in this manuscript of Montgomerie's 'Heich Architecters wouderous wouttit rounds', and 'Displesour with his deadlie dairt', both of which are otherwise known only from the Ker manuscript.

For Sally Mapstone, too, Tibbermuir is a fine example of a manuscript signalling familial interest and connections that reach far beyond the confines of the text itself, suggesting intimate links between the poems and their collectors. 'Murrayis Dyare' has already been commented on above, and Montgomerie's 'Displesour, with his deadlie dairt' signals similar connections:

Cambridge University Library MS Kk. v. 30, a MS anthology owned and partly written c. 1612 by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir, contains copies of three poems by Montgomerie, one of which, 'Displesur, with his deadly dart' is doubtless included (fol. 82r) because of the tribute it pays in its last lines to 'Murray myne' –

⁹⁰ Quoted in Swaen, 'Authorship', pp. 412-16.

⁹¹ Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', p. 505.

possibly the poet John Murray, some of whose verse survives – to ‘Len me a lyne/To end my epitaph’.⁹²

In her essay, Mapstone uncovers the cultural context in which Alexander Montgomerie and Patrick Hume of Polwarth wrote and performed their ‘flyting’ match, and the context also in which those poems circulated among members associated with the court of James, and perhaps beyond. Mapstone reinterprets the *Flyting* by exploring the Tullibardine manuscript version of that poem (Huntington Library MS HM 105), and the connection between its owners, the Murrays of Tullibardine, and Hume of Polwarth himself. If Montgomerie and Polwarth were traditionally presented as contenders for that much-quoted ‘chimney nook’, poetically and literally at each other’s throats, Mapstone concludes that

what the Tibbermuir MS offers [see below] is a means of linking Hume and Murray [of Tullibardine] family members with works by Montgomerie in a way which usefully reminds us that the kind of polarisation of opponents that the *Flyting* evokes and has encouraged as a critical reading would not necessarily have been borne out in the responses of its immediate and succeeding audiences, in James’s court, and the nexus of familial alliances connected with its milieu.⁹³

A better knowledge of Hume of Polwarth’s ties at court with various Murrays, but also of Montgomerie’s association with them (by means of a sonnet transcribed in the Tullibardine MS, addressed to King James in the name of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, which Mapstone proposes may have been composed and ventriloquised by Montgomerie) suggests that relations between the two poets must be reassessed.⁹⁴

For Mapstone, it is here in MS Kk.5.30’s sonnet associated with Julian Ker (mentioned by Parkinson above) that the spheres of Montgomerie and Polwarth again coincide. The Ker sonnet follows Montgomerie’s ‘Heich Architecters wouderous wouttit rounds’, on f. 76r, and both poems were copied in (Murray’s) bold, italic hand, similar to the group on ff. 71v-72r.

I am the sevint I was the fyft off tuelve	
My brother auld is younger then am I	Julian
My father follous Titan throu the skye	I: Carre
Bot not so fondlie as the soull that fell	
My grandfather Quhois seyniour vas him self	
Quho by als manie fatall wounds did ty	
As halff off thois vald father on me cry	
Giff thai culd Speik geste quhat I am and tell	
To quhilk giff ye this constant thing conjune	
quhilk hard and fast hir rakles mestres binds	
Quhilk uther vays vald vaver with the Vinds	
According to the Motions of the moone	
Thryse happiest & blistest heth he beene	
Quha gets & geshis quhat thes lynes can meene.	

⁹² Mapstone, ‘Invective’, p. 26

⁹³ Mapstone, ‘Invective’, p. 29.

⁹⁴ Lyall also discusses the poem and its circumstances, *Montgomerie*, pp. 75-83.

‘Julian I [or ‘J’] Carre’ was the wife of Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Montgomerie’s *Flyting* adversary and author also of *The Promine*. Patrick, of course, was brother to Alexander Hume, well known for his *Hymnes or Sacred Songs*, and his ‘Of the Day Estivall’ (see below). Julian Ker has received some passing comment. Pamela Giles considers her an unlikely candidate as author of the sonnet and suggests hesitantly that the work may be Patrick Hume’s. Yet, Mapstone points out that Ker ‘herself put pen to paper. She may have been a poet; she was certainly a letter-writer’.⁹⁵

To accept the sonnet’s challenge and ‘gets & geshis quhat thes lynes can meene’ is not straightforward. If Julian Ker is the answer, then still this riddle sonnet is a difficult one to solve. There is some ambiguity as to the first line, reading either ‘fyrst’ or ‘fyft’. Mapstone and Jamie Reid Baxter conclude that “‘fyft” (rather than “fyrst”) is likely to be correct if a pun on “Julian” is intended’; the month of July was the fifth month of the year, but the seventh with the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in 1582.⁹⁶ However, if it reads ‘fyrst’ then the riddle can still be solved: ‘I am the sevint’ – (JULy) and ‘I was the fyrst of tuelve’, (IANuary), adding up again to Julian. Moreover, the calendar that was replaced was the Julian calendar, which adds to this opaque word play. Based on these calendrical word games, Mapstone suggests that 1582 might be considered a *terminus a quo* for the sonnet. Matters are complicated, however, by the fact that although the Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1582, Scotland introduced January as the first month of the year in 1599/1600, when 31 December 1599 was followed by 1 January 1600.⁹⁷ Though the sonnet may still belong to the early 1580s, there is also an argument to be made for the turn of the century, which pushes the uncertain *terminus a quo* forward by nearly two decades.

In the sonnet, line 3 implies a reference to Phaeton (or indeed to Helios, Apollo, or Phoebus) driving the sun-chariot, but who ‘my father’ is remains unclear (Mapstone adds that the chariot might contain an implied pun on ‘Carre’). Phaeton’s fall is alluded to in line 4, but ‘the soul that fell’ is also Icarus, punning again on ‘I Carre’. The other allusions are cryptic to the point that they might only have been intelligible to Ker herself and her direct acquaintances. Most imagery connects to the reckoning of time, and the motions of the sun and moon. If the solution to the riddle will elude the modern reader, still Julian Ker’s association with the sonnet is very strong indeed – either as author, or dedicatee.

The sonnet’s connection to Montgomerie’s complex ‘Heich Architecters wondrous wouttit rounds’ might seem slight. Yet, Montgomerie celebrates the beauty of creation through a

⁹⁵ Giles, p. 72; Mapstone, ‘Introduction’, p. 415. Ker’s letters have been digitised for the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*, see Anneli Meurman-Solin, ‘Women’s Scots: Gender-Based Variation in Renaissance Letters’, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 424-40.

⁹⁶ Mapstone, ‘Introduction’, p. 416 note 8, where Mapstone references personal communication with Jamie Reid Baxter.

⁹⁷ A short discussion on Scottish dates and calendars is published on the website of the Scottish Archives Network: Robin Urquhart and Alan Borthwick, ‘Days, Dates and Calendars’, [http://www.scan.org.uk/knowledgebase/topics/daysanddates_topic.htm, accessed 23 November 2007].

highly verbose admiration for heaven's architecture. The passage of time is referred to in line 6, 'Celestial sings off Moneths making yeires', and Montgomerie, too, traces the route of the sun, 'Bricht Titane to the Tropiks that reteirs'. The riddle sonnet's purpose is to entertain: its meaning lies in its obscure references and its message to the reader is deeply embedded, but it is playful. Montgomerie's, by comparison, is theological, and carries a serious message. As Parkinson comments, the sonnet coins eight new compounds that 'befit the greatness of creation'.⁹⁸ The two sonnets share a referential framework that unites them, providing a good reason why they might have been grouped together either by James Murray, or by (the scribe of) his exemplar. It is equally likely, however, that the sonnets also survived side by side because of the association between Montgomerie and Hume of Polwarth.

The question that remains partially unanswered by both Mapstone and Parkinson is that regarding James Murray of Tibbermuir's involvement, and awareness, of the cultural ties outlined above. Parkinson draws attention away from author-focused criticism to a reader-orientated approach, and it must be asked to what extent James Murray of Tibbermuir was a 'sharer' in the environment that produced these poems. If indeed Murray copied the two sonnets around 1612, then Montgomerie had been dead for fourteen years. Hume of Polwarth had died in 1609, though Julian Ker outlived him, and remarried; the court of James VI, finally, had migrated south nine years ago. Montgomerie's sonnet is recorded unattributed, as are his other two poems in the manuscript. This de- and re-contextualisation that occurs in miscellany manuscripts frequently severs the poet's name from his (or her) poem, though naturally it may be argued that when the scribe is a 'sharer' in the author's concerns, there would be no need to record authorship. Even if connections between Ker, Hume and Montgomerie were irrelevant to Murray, then still the author of his exemplar can reasonably be expected to have grouped the two sonnets together for a specific, perhaps personal, reason. Even if not directly involved, a connection can be made between Murray of Tibbermuir, and his kinsmen the Murrays of Tullibardine, owners of the *Flyting* manuscript. The latter, first of all, were 'a bookish bunch' and are known to have exchanged books with James VI.⁹⁹ The catalogue of books included with MS Kk.5.30 underlines Murray's pride in his collection. His own family connections to the Scrymgeours of Myres and the Melvilles have already been outlined, but it is possible, indeed likely, that his channels of book supply extended further. Jenny Wormald draws attention to associations between the Tibbermuir and Tullibardine families. In 1586/7, a Bond of Friendship, 'in which the establishing of amity and mutual support was the sole purpose of the agreement' was made between John Murray of Tullibardine and, among others, John

⁹⁸ *Montgomerie: Poems*, II, 84-85. For a short discussion of this sonnet and its sources, see also Lyall, *Montgomerie*, pp. 306-9.

⁹⁹ Mapstone, 'Invective', p. 25.

Murray of Tibbermuir, James's father.¹⁰⁰ Even if not directly involved in Parkinson's 'sharer's situations' then Murray still stood perhaps at only one remove from the cultural nexus described by Mapstone.

Ten Sonnets, ff. 77r-78v

A series of ten sonnets on ff. 77r-78v is the largest grouping of poems in MS Kk.5.30's second section. Five sonnets (1, 2, 3, 7, 10) are in the Scottish interlaced rhyme scheme, while the other five are variations on the following: ABBA ABBA CDDC EE. Some are carelessly transcribed, perhaps in haste, and for this reason, several palaeographical problems remain unsolved. There is a sense here that at times the scribe copied from his source with too little regard for meaning. For instance, in sonnet 4, the phrase 'brava Concius' should have read 'brave Aconcius'. Similarly, in the preceding sonnet, the puzzling 'vindrauch tappil' (or perhaps 'cappil') should probably have read 'vin draucht appil' (pointing forward to the apple 'finely drafted' on, in the next poem; see below). Whereas some sonnets are clearly related, the group is not a sequence. The series provides a rich pattern of connections, however, first of all within the collection of ten poems itself, second of all in relation to other poems in the manuscript, and finally more generally, in connection to the poetic culture of both pre- and post-1603 Scotland. Each of these connections will be explored in turn.

The first two sonnets are bawdy *double entendres*, and elaborate on the image of the riding and controlling of a horse. Both leave little to the imagination, and sexual innuendo is only thinly veiled. Sonnets 1 and 2 are clearly a pair, the first, 'Loip varlie on be sicker syne to sitt', relating the (imagined) female voice, and the second, 'Mestress ye bad me thryse putt on my spurris', presenting a man's reply. The opening line of sonnet 1 is also mirrored in the final line of sonnet 2, 'I most leip on altho I heve no skill'. Both poems thrive on ambiguous imagery, for instance here, in the second sonnet:

Ryd soift and faire and sumtyme lycht & leid
Rin nocht bot raik me throu the thirlit land.

This refers to a rider and the pacing of his horse. Firstly, the animal should not be exhausted ('rin nocht bot raik me', 'raik' meaning in this context, to stroll or to wander, or 'to move about over pasturage', see *DOST*). Secondly, the horse should be led over 'thirlit land', or land freshly ploughed. 'Thirlit' is often encountered in conjunction to a 'thirlit', or pierced, heart; in addition, the female body as land to plough is a frequently encountered image.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 83-4; Mapstone confirms that the bond in question, NAS GD38/1/73a, indeed connects the two Murrays, 'Invective', p. 38 note 52.

¹⁰¹ See for instance Dunbar's comic use of the image of men as yoked oxen in *The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, ll. 79-85, *Poems*, I, p. 43.

Both poems cast the woman as a wanton creature who cannot get enough – ‘thryse ye bad me spurr *vith* all my speid’ – and leave scope for the assertion of male dominance, as in sonnet 2:

Bot breist I anes *your* buist I then confyd
 To ruitt yow *rycht* iff *quhen* I strik ye stand
 or iff my revell chance to raitt *your* syd
 Be soift and fair and radie att *command*.

This refers back to the ‘spurring’ of sonnet 1, which, when ‘ontymeles’, ‘spils the speid’. A ‘revell’ is the barbed disk on a spur. A horse may be ‘birst’ [for ‘breist’], or, presumably, ridden to death (see for instance *DOST*, under ‘birst’, v., which lists the following example: ‘[Money] to by him ane hors, becaus his hors wes birstin in the Kingis service’). To ‘breist *your* buist’ may mean ‘to burst your breast’ by spurring, prefiguring the horse’s ‘syd’ scored or cut by a spur (‘iff my revell chance to raitt *your* syd’). Exactly what ‘ruitt yow *rycht*’ means is somewhat unclear: presumably, the rider applied his spurs to his horse, or his lady, when she is rooted to ground, or motionless. In other words, his will-power controls her pace. These first two sonnets are certainly not among the most sophisticated in the series, but it can be imagined that their innuendo and rough humour found an appreciative contemporary audience. The sonnets may have been particularly appealing to Murray if, as indicated by his ‘hors buik’ among his list of books, he took an interest in horsemanship. Also, similarly bawdy and misogynist verse is well known from, for instance, the Bannatyne manuscript, and is a common ingredient of verse miscellanies more generally. The subject of bawdy verse will receive more attention in the next chapter.

Sonnets 3 and 4 are another pair. They explore the power of the spoken and written word, in reference to the myth of Acontius and Cydippe.¹⁰² Ovid’s *Heroides* relates how, during the festival of Diana (or Artemis), Acontius tricked Cydippe into promising to marry him, by tossing her an apple with that very promise written on it. Reading the message out, she unwittingly made her vow in the name of the goddess. Unaware of this at first, every time Cydippe wished to marry another she was thwarted by Diana, who sent her illnesses just before her marriage so she was tied to her bed. Eventually, Cydippe married Acontius. It is worth remembering that Ovid treats the myth in the form of two verse epistles, the first from Acontius to Cydippe, and the second her reply to him. The Tibbermuir sonnets loosely follow this structure, presenting first Acontius’ voice, and then dramatising that of Cydippe. Very significantly, among James Murray’s books appears, under ‘Vulgares’, or books in the vernacular, ‘Ovides Epistles’; this may have been George Turberville’s translation of 1567. Murray would have had access to Ovid, then, and be familiar with the narrative. Sonnet 3 opens as follows:

¹⁰² Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, ed. and trans. by Grant Showerman (London: Heinemann, 1947), pp. 275-311.

Quha vald cum speid latt him imploy his pen
 And sussie *nocht* suppois the peper sink
 For scho *this* vindraucht appil [?] can *nocht* ken
 Nor yit destene [?] the difference off Ink.

The sonnet is addressed to those male lovers who would wish to speed up the wooing process, and to trick their ladies into a love match. As this is one of the sonnets where palaeographical problems have not been fully resolved, the opening quatrain is not entirely clear. ‘Sink’ in the second line may mean ‘to fade’, or for the paper or parchment to absorb the ink (see *DOST* under ‘sinkand’, 2). This should not cause the speaker any trouble, because the lady (Cydippe, or any other proposed love object) will not recognise the true significance of the ‘vindraucht appil’, presumably an apple craftily written on, until it is too late. The speaker in the closing couplet rather unscrupulously advises not to heed any objections, and, rather as a weapon, to ‘Imploy *your* pen latt hir the *letres* reid’. The full implications of such a ploy are then worked out in sonnet 4. The syntax of this is rather ambiguous:

Cidippe reid and reidding reslie sueir
 Then brav aconscius plainlie did *protest*
 That him to love scho *presentlie* *profest*
 Diana hard the vow & vitnes bure
 Swa Sacred Sir I Challenge & *conjure*
Your majestie by them *quhom* ye love best
 By *your* imperiall voidr *quhilk* [?] by the rest
 Is as I dout *nocht* *constant* prince [?] & suire
 That ye of *your* fre grece vichest to do
 Even *quhil* the *sumtyme* speik & spak befoir
 And Diane *quhom* off dewtie I adore
Quhilk ves that ye suld change my forton to
 And mowit [?] me hier in effect ye mey
 bot royall Sir put *hadgeing* [?] out of pley [?]

The ‘I’ and speaking voice is presumably that of Cydippe. After rashly swearing her vow, she works her way through the argument. She seems not disinclined to marry, though what exactly her words in the closing couplet mean is obscure: the manuscript appears to read ‘*hadgeing* out of pley’. What ‘hadge’ or ‘hedge’ means here is undetermined. The sense of this appears to be that Cydippe will consent to being ‘mowit hier’ [moved higher], or perhaps ‘wowitz’, but perhaps wants to be wooed fairly, and not by trickery.

Since in the myth Acontius is certainly no royalty, Cydippe’s reference to ‘*Your* majestie’, ‘prince’, and ‘*your* imperiall voidr’ introduces a third player into the narrative. At this point in the sonnet series, it is useful to note the pervasive theme of royalty. Sonnet 6, ‘Owerquhelmeit in vois & drouned in deip dispaire’, makes explicit reference to ‘princelie pens’ and ‘royal registration’, and the poem is constructed as a love gift, a ‘simple offering of a loveing hart’, which reveals a star-struck lover that presents his verse to ‘scho sweit scho’, whose praises had already been sung by a prince or king. Similar connections can be made to the final three works in the series (which will be

discussed below in more detail): sonnet 8 closes ‘love is love in pure men as in kings’; sonnet 9 discusses the four great monarchies of the world and is arguably composed in reference to William Alexander’s *Monarchick Tragedies*, and addressed to King James VI and I. Sonnet 10, finally, is from the hand of the king himself. If Parkinson is right to suggest that MS Kk.5.30 hints at ‘a direct connection between [...] miscellanies circulated at the court of James VI’, then the sonnets bearing explicit witness to the theme of royalty become more significant, and take their place amongst the corpus of courtly-circulated verse where referentiality cannot completely be understood. Particularly the wooing poems (3, 4, perhaps 7) may be inspired by real marriage negotiations, the subjects of which are now lost. Tenuous links clearly connect several of the ten sonnets, though their contemporary references may elude us.

As stated above, meaningful connections can also be established between the sonnets and poems elsewhere in the Tibbermuir manuscript, particularly in the case of ‘Lyke as the litill emmet haith hir gall’, which can also be found in the Bannatyne manuscript.¹⁰³ Fox and Ringler assert that Bannatyne’s copy is unique, but its occurrence in MS Kk.5.30 suggests that circulation was more widespread than first assumed. It is uncertain when the sonnet was copied into Bannatyne’s ‘ballat buik’; it is a later addition,¹⁰⁴ but in Bannatyne’s own hand, so must have been transcribed before his death *c.* 1607. Murray’s version runs as follows:

Lyk as the litle emett heth hir gall
 the sle bansticle heth hir fin ve see
 Laich treis hes toips howbeit thai be bot small
 the vran heth vinges *vith* wther foules to flie
 Flint is a stane sappois into the ee
 Itt seems no half so *precious* a the perle
 Ther is a droneing song into the bee
 Suppois I grant it mey *nocht* mach the merle
 As Mantua is *nocht* so fair ve find
 As Royall Rome yit ar thai both bot tounes
 Small Schalloips sails als veill a ships by vind
 And penneis pass als veill as goldin crounes
 And as small strypes as veil as fludes hes springs
 So love is love in pure men as in kings. (f. 78r)

Murray’s copy varies from that in the earlier manuscript. Lines 7-8 in Bannatyne, ‘Flint is ane stone [...] as the perle’ are exchanged with lines 5-6 in Murray’s version; twice, Bannatyne’s ‘although’ (lines 6, 7) is changed into ‘suppois’. A final significant change in word order is line 13, which in Bannatyne runs: ‘Strypis hes streames, alsweil as fludes hes springis’.

Helena Shire reveals that the sonnet ‘is English’. Priscilla Bawcutt’s evaluation is more measured, as she states that a ‘very popular Elizabethan poem, interestingly also attributed to Dyer

¹⁰³ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III, 241; cf. Fox and Ringler, f. 211v. The sonnet is unprinted and unmentioned by Hughes and Ramson in their *Poetry of the Stewart Court* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982).

¹⁰⁴ Fox and Ringler, p. xxxii.

[...] clearly influenced a Scottish sonnet found in several manuscripts'.¹⁰⁵ Neither Shire nor Bawcutt discuss the sonnet or its source in much detail, however. Marotti describes the wide dissemination of Dyer's poem as 'an extreme case of textual malleability', though he seems unaware of Scottish adaptations.¹⁰⁶ Consider the first stanza of Dyer's hugely popular, two-stanza lyric, extant in twenty manuscripts and in three prints:

The lowest trees have tops, the ant her gall,
 The fly her spleen, the little spark his heat.
 And slender hairs cast shadows though but small;
 And bees have stings although they be not great.
 Seas have their source, and so have shallow springs,
 And Love is Love in beggars and in kings.¹⁰⁷

Between Dyer's lyric and the sonnet, verbal echoes are too strong for the two not to be closely associated: from nature's catalogue, both poems share the 'emmet' ('ant'), the 'tops' or 'crops' of 'laich' or 'lawest treis', the bees (although they are associated with song in Scots, and with their sting in Dyer), and finally the 'strypis' and 'fludis', and 'seas' and 'springs'. The resolution and closing line of the sonnet is near-identical to Dyer's closing line of the first stanza. The exact relationship between the two poems is complex. First of all, it is difficult to establish which came first based on the texts alone. Since the composition of the Bannatyne Main manuscript was undertaken between 1565 and 1568, but items were added possibly as late as between 1603 and 1607 (when the copyist died), we are presented with over a forty-year period in which the sonnet may have been transcribed.¹⁰⁸ Of Dyer's poem, May argues that it was composed in the 1570s, although the earliest datable manuscript witness belongs to the 1580s.¹⁰⁹ Each poem is autonomous enough to have influenced the other. The Scottish sonnet shares its imagery only with the first stanza of Dyer's poem, but elaborates on the theme and contains a great deal of original images not in Dyer. If indeed the sonnet is based on 'The lowest trees', then the poet thoroughly appropriated the English poet's diction, and introduced Scots vocabulary to expand the first stanza into a fourteen-line sonnet.¹¹⁰ Thematically, the two are identical. Clear evidence of the widespread popularity of Dyer's poem in England strengthens the supposition that the sonnet is an imitation, but this is not proven. Dyer's poem, set to music in England by John Dowland and printed in 1603,

¹⁰⁵ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 16 note 2; Bawcutt, 'New Scottish Poem', pp. 11, 19 note 17.

¹⁰⁶ Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 139.

¹⁰⁷ May, *Courtier Poets*, p. 307.

¹⁰⁸ Fox and Ringler, pp. ix-xvii. As Sally Mapstone argues, 'though he [Bannatyne] compiled his Draft and Main MSS when he was still a young man, in his early twenties, he went on responding to literary texts until close to his death at the start of the seventeenth century', 'Introduction: Older Scots and the Sixteenth Century', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 175-88 (p. 179).

¹⁰⁹ May, *Courtier Poets*, p. 67.

¹¹⁰ For the Scottish sense of 'crops' in (Bannatyne's) l. 3, see *OED* under 'crop', 5, 6, 7; the earliest recorded instance of 'banestikkil' is in Henryson's *Fables*, see *OED* 'banstickle'; finally, for 'strypis', l. 13, see *OED* under 'stripe').

appears expanded in Scotland's first printed book of popular music, *Songs and Fancies* – the song does not, however, appear in any of the Scottish musical manuscripts inventorised by Terry.¹¹¹ The significance of the English poet for MS Kk.5.30 has been explored above, and the presence of this sonnet in addition to 'He that his mirth hes lost' only adds to the weight of that argument. Again, it needs to be stated that Murray of Tibbermuir may have been unaware of Dyer's authorship, since he titles the first poem simply 'Inglish Dyare', and 'Lyk as the litle emett' appears untitled and anonymously. Yet, both poems underline the influence and circulation of the English poet's works in Scotland.

The wider cultural context of MS Kk.5.30 has already been noted above, particularly in reference to a sonnet by Montgomerie, and one associated with Julian Ker, on f. 76r. This context of coterie writing may be further expanded by a consideration of the last two sonnets of the series. Though evidence is rather complicated, there are further suggestions of what Parkinson terms 'poems "about" their readers', or sharers' situations'. Consider sonnet 10, ascribed to James VI:

Nocht Oriental Indus Christal streemes
 Nor fruitful Nilus *quhich* na banks *can* thoill
 Nor goldin Tagus quhois bricht Titanes beames
 Ar hurred hedlongst to vew the antartik poll
 Nor Ladon *quhom* sueit Sidney dois extoll
Quhill it Arcadias bewtie doth imbrace
 All theis mey not the nameles the *controll*
 Bot *with* gud richt suld rander & giff plece
 Now *quhill* sueit scho vithcheffs to schaw hir face
 and *vith* hir *presence* honours the ilk day
 Thow slyding semest to use a slawer pace
 Aganis thi vill as iff thow vent away
 So loth to leve the *sycht* of such a on
 Thow still imparts thi plents to evrie stone. (f. 78v)

This sonnet also survives among 'all the kings short poesis that are not printed'.¹¹² In James's manuscript it has a companion piece, 'Faire famous Isle, where Agathocles rang', which, according to James's editor Craigie, laments the death of Lady Cicely Wemys. The first sonnet, 'Nocht Oriental Indus', according to Craigie, 'celebrates the lady's marriage'.¹¹³ Evidence that James's two sonnets centre on Wemys is circumstantial. Westcott, James's earlier editor, refers to a comparable sonnet by David Murray of Gorthy, 'Fair Cicil's losse, be thou my sable song', the title of which clearly states the occasion: 'Sonet on the death of the Lady Cicily Weemes, Lady of Tillebarne [Tullibardine]'.¹¹⁴ Murray of Gorthy puns on 'Cicily'/'Sicily',¹¹⁵ and since James in

¹¹¹ Terry, "'Songs and Fancies'", p. 415.

¹¹² BL MS. Add. 24195, f. 44r; cf. *Poems of James VI*, I, 118. See also *New Poems by James I of England*, ed. by Alan Westcott (1911; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1966), p. 39.

¹¹³ *Poems of James VI*, II, 239-41.

¹¹⁴ For a facsimile edition of Murray of Gorthy's *Caelia* (1611) and the sonnet, see *English and Scottish Sonnet Sequences of the Renaissance*, ed. by Holger M. Klein, 2 vols (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1984), I, 443-64 (p. 461).

‘Faire famous Isle’ employs the same pun, Westcott identifies Cicely Wemys also as James’s addressee. Westcott and Craigie made important editorial decisions: whereas the first prints the two sonnets as separate items, the latter prints them as a single poem, with continuing line numbers. Westcott, furthermore, briefly raises the question of authorship, as both sonnets appear in Prince Charles’s hand, but he dismisses any doubts based on the strong claim that James oversaw the production of the entire manuscript, and added many corrections of his own. Still, Craigie’s assumption that both sonnets pay tribute to Wemys may be questioned. Regarding James’s second sonnet, there is less doubt in this respect. Although in a style more riddling than Murray of Gorthy’s direct approach, James signals clearly enough what his subject is:

Faire famous Isle, where Agathocles rang;
 Where sometymes, statly Siracusa stood;
 Whos fertill feelds, were bathed in bangsters blood
 When Rome, & ryuall Carthage, straue so lang;
 Great Ladie Mistriss, all the Isles amang,
 Which stands in Neptunes, circle mouuing, flood;
 No, nather for thy frutefull ground nor good
 I chuse the, for the subject of my sang
 Nor, for the owld report, of scarce trew fame
 Nor heeretofore, for farelies in the found
 But, for the sweet resemblances of that Name
 To whom thou seemest, so sibb, at least in sound
 If then, for seeming so, thy prays bee such;
 Sweet she her selfe, dothe merit more then much.¹¹⁶

The intended pun in lines 11-12 (Sicily/Cicely) suggests James’s subject matter. The last two words of line 9, ‘trew fame’, bring to mind Montgomerie’s pun on the name of Eufame Wemys, who died in 1593. Montgomerie reveals her name in a clever word trick, ‘Treu Fame, we mis thy Trumpet for to tune’.¹¹⁷ Cicely and Eufame were sisters, both daughters of Sir John Wemys of Wemys. James’s choice of words may purposely reference Montgomerie, and thus add to the evidence that the poem addresses Cicely. Yet, to claim this sonnet mourns Cicely’s *death* seems a hasty conclusion, especially on the sole basis of Murray of Gorthy’s sonnet. James in ‘Fair famous Isle’ pays an elegant compliment to a lady named Cicely, that much can be inferred with certainty – but nothing suggests that she has died (though the king may subtly refer to her deceased sister already mourned by Montgomerie).

¹¹⁵ Another example of a similar pun may be found in Alexander Craig, who blandly borrows from James on other occasions: see, for instance, ‘Fair famous Ile where *Zoroastres* rain’d’, a sonnet loosely modelled on James’s ‘Faire famous Isle’, but written to detain a friend from marriage (*Poetical Recreations* 1609, p. 18, in *Works of Craig*). The opening line of ‘Faire famous Isle’ reappears again in a short poem addressed to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, where Craig employs the Cicely/Cecil pun: ‘Two potent Kings over *Sicules* two Empyre / That famous Ile where Siracusa stood / Where gainst the heavens *Encelad* vomis his fyre / King *Philip* bruks with much *Iberian* blood / Bot wise King *James* (O blest and happie case) / Commands a *Cecill* of more price in peace’ (*Poetical Recreations* 1609, p. 11, in *Works of Craig*). All this bears witness to a strong coterie spirit of exchanging poetic devices.

¹¹⁶ *Poems of James VI, II*, 118.

¹¹⁷ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 122 (poem), II, 108-9 (notes).

To return to MS Kk.5.30, does ‘Nocht Orientall Indus Christal streemes’ indeed celebrate Cicely Wemys’s marriage? The poem’s argument, first of all, is slightly convoluted, but appears to run as follows. If even the world’s great rivers can not ‘controll’, but should ‘rander & giff plece’ presumably to the subject of the poem, a beautiful lady, perhaps Wemys, then surely a local stream cannot hope to do the same. That stream (Craigie suggests the river Ore, which enters the Firth of Forth near Wemyss) presumably is addressed in lines 10-14. James borrowed this conceit from Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*, and the reference to Sidney’s Arcadian nymphs bathing in the river Ladon (and the river streaming by reluctantly) suggests that the subject of James’s poem may do the same.¹¹⁸ Again, this sonnet is an elegant and learned compliment to a lady. There is no indication, however, to suggest that this deals with Wemys’s marriage. Association of this sonnet with her, then, rests on Craigie’s reading of it, and his decision to treat the two sonnets as one work. Only by implication of the second sonnet can the addressee of the first be determined.

The assertion that the sonnets may be connected is fruitful to explore for another reason, however. As Murray of Gorthy’s title indicates, Cicely Wemys was named ‘Lady of Tillebarne’. Westcott relates that she married William Murray, son of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine (first Earl of Tullibardine, and James’s childhood friend), in 1599, but the marriage was cut short by her death (the date is unknown, but William remarried in 1604). With a connection between the Murrays of Tibbermuir and Tullibardine established above, it comes as no surprise for James Murray of Tibbermuir to have taken a particular interest in this sonnet. He would conceivably have been close enough to the family circle of the Tullibardine Murrays to obtain a copy. If the slender evidence that ‘Nocht Orientall Indus Christal streemes’ praises Cicely Wemys can be corroborated, then similar to Montgomerie’s ‘Displesour with his deadlie dairt’, and ‘Murrayis Dyare’, this sonnet in coded reference adds a third ‘Murray’ poem to the collection.

The penultimate sonnet in the series of ten, ‘First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings’, is also the most problematic, in terms of its conformity to the other nine, as it is the only non-amatory text. It runs as follows:

First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings
 To thois the sacred *perciane* prince succedeis
 Till he by *quhom* the varld soir vundit bleids
 Erth crouns to Greice vith bloudie blead he brings
 Then greice to Rome the reanes off staitt resigns
 So fra the michtie Monarchs of the Medis
 To this vast varld successvelie succedeis
 This great and fatall period off things
 Till vereit vith broils & lang Alarumes
 Erths majestie hir diadame layis doune
 Beffoir the feit of thi *onconquerit* croune
 And throws hirsself great Monarch in thi armes

¹¹⁸ *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), I, 217-18.

Ther most scho stay faitis hes ordaind it so
 Nor hes scho *quher* nor farder for to go. (f. 78v)

The first eight lines trace world history through the four empires of Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome. The sonnet ends with the world, tired of conflict, finally delivering herself into the arms of its rightful ruler, the unnamed ‘great Monarch’. Sally Mapstone follows Drummond’s editor Kastner, who suggested that this sonnet was composed in tribute to William Alexander’s *Monarchick Tragedies*, a series of Senecan plays operating, according to Mapstone, in the advice to princes tradition that remained so prevalent in renaissance Scottish poetry.¹¹⁹ Drummond is known to have written another sonnet on the *Tragedies*, penned onto a flyleaf (f. iii) of the 1607 print of that text (NLS, MS 1692). In the context of the advice to princes genre, the great monarch is James VI and I, and the sonnet is an outrageous compliment to the king. In a more politically neutral reading, James may be substituted by Christ, whose victory over the Western world was complete, with the earth herself symbolically offering up her ‘diademe’. Both readings may also be combined as James actively propagated his role of Prince of Christendom.¹²⁰ Kastner and Charlton confirm that ‘as this sonnet is addressed to James, it may have been intended to follow Alexander’s dedication to the king in an edition of *The Monarchick Tragedies*. As it surveys the course of all the four “monarchies”, it probably was meant either for the 1607 or for the 1616 edition [...] If, however, Drummond’s sonnet is to be dated 1607 it is amongst his earliest extant works’.¹²¹

The question of authorship is problematic. The poem was first ascribed to Drummond by Kastner, but Robert MacDonald finds this attribution unconvincing. Drummond collects the sonnet in one of his commonplace books (NLS Adv. MS 2060, f. 292v), alongside two other sonnets. MacDonald treats Drummond’s manuscript with great caution, as ‘we must suspect *any* poem in the commonplace books as being by somebody else, unless it shows definite signs of an original composition, that is, unless it is in rough draft, with emendations and perhaps a rhyme scheme still not quite worked out’.¹²² MacDonald’s suspicion is not unfounded, as throughout his notebooks Drummond copied verse from a wide variety of sources. Given the fact that the sonnet in question (and the two accompanying pieces) only exist as fair copies, MacDonald concludes that ‘without attempting to attach these sonnets to the name of another author [...] we must remain doubtful of Drummond’s authorship’.¹²³ Critics are not agreed, however. As MacDonald excludes the sonnet from Drummond’s canon on the basis of manuscript evidence, Mapstone allows it in based on style, and the fact the poet is known to have written other commendatory sonnets, for the

¹¹⁹ The sonnet is printed in *Works of Drummond*, II, 229. See II, 394-95 for a brief commentary. It is reprinted in *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, ed. by L.E. Kastner and H.B. Charlton, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 11, 24, 1921-29), I, pp. ccviii-ccix (poem), 447 (notes). See further Mapstone, ‘Drunkenness’, [forthcoming].

¹²⁰ On the king’s writings more generally, see for instance *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002).

¹²¹ *Works of Alexander*, p. 447.

¹²² MacDonald, ‘Amendments’, p. 106.

¹²³ MacDonald, ‘Amendments’, p. 115.

Monarchick Tragedies, and for Alexander's *Doomesday* poem. Mapstone rightly criticises MacDonald's curious and unfounded claim that 'Drummond had already written a sonnet for this work [the *Monarchick Tragedies*]'; clearly, there is no reason whatsoever why Drummond would not have composed two poems for the same work.¹²⁴ Finally, both critics ignore – probably wisely – the suggestion by Bradshaw that the sonnet might be Montgomerie's, based on 'Mon' having been scribbled in the left hand margin.

Can the context in which 'First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings' appears in MS Kk.5.30 provide any answers? Unfortunately, none of the sonnets can be dated with any certainty. For James's sonnet, a cut-off date can only be provided if we accept that it is addressed to Cicely Wemys; as she died before 1604, it must have been written before that year, perhaps following her marriage in 1599. Drummond's earliest verse can only be dated roughly. After graduating from Edinburgh in 1605, he travelled the continent, and returned around 1608; his first printed poem was *Teares on the Death of Meliades*, published in 1613.¹²⁵ Several sonnets from ff. 77r-78v appear to belong to the 1580s and 1590s, particularly 'Owerquhelmeit in vois & drouned in deip dispaire' and 'Mestres *quhen* last ve twa did *part* asunder'. Both these bring to mind the works of William Fowler for instance. As argued above, Bannatyne's transcription of 'Lyk as the litle emett' may have followed anytime after Dyer's composition of 'The lowest trees' in the 1570s or 1580s (this presumes that Dyer's poem was indeed the source). Thus, a portion of the Tibbermuir sonnets may be ascribed to the pre-1603 period, when Drummond (born in 1585) was arguably too young to have composed 'First in the orient'.

Yet, a different scenario may be proposed. Consideration of the wider, post-1603, poetic milieu that the Tibbermuir manuscript bears implicit witness to is instructive. The fate of Scottish writing after the Union has still only hesitantly been described. In a very recent study, Sarah Dunnigan notes the 'liminal and exiled status which renders it [renaissance Scottish literature] ripe for rediscovery'. Dunnigan locates three types of renaissance movements, one Marian, the second Jacobean, and the third, controversially, located after 1603. Each of these 'moments', she argues, are 'differently founded upon acts of reconstitution, redefinition, and re-imagining'.¹²⁶ It may be argued that one way in which this late, post-1603, renaissance reasserted itself was by means of a large collection of dedicatory verse, prefixed to printed works. This was no new phenomenon, but a

¹²⁴ MacDonald, 'Amendments', p. 115; Mapstone, 'Drunkenness', [forthcoming].

¹²⁵ For an extensive bibliography see *Works of Drummond*, I, pp. xlv-xcvi; see also Michael Spiller, 'Drummond, William, of Hawthornden (1585–1649)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8085>, accessed 19 October 2006].

¹²⁶ Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'A New Critical Cartography: Pre and Post-Union Scottish Renaissance', in *Alba Literaria: A History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Marco Fazzini (Venezia: Amos Edizioni, 2005), pp. 99-119 (pp. 99-100). See also for instance Fleming, "'Auld Sang'"; Spiller, 'Poetry after the Union'; Roderick J. Lyall, 'London or the World? The Paradox of Culture in (post-)Jacobean Scotland', in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. by Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 88-100.

range of young writers had properly come into their own, and jointly they supported each other's works through a complex and self-reflective series of prefatory poems. A good place to start is William Alexander's printed works. Besides Drummond's two sonnets (including 'First in the orient', if indeed it is his), a range of authors, both English and Scottish, composed works of commendation, for instance Walter Quinn, Robert Ayton, John Cockburn (whose poems have otherwise disappeared), John Davies, and the Latin poet Arthur Johnston.¹²⁷ Most relevant for the current discussion is John Murray. His poem was prefixed to the 1603 print of Alexander's *Darius* (which may be the edition that Murray of Tibbermuir owned, or borrowed). Significantly, as argued above, John Murray may also be the author of 'Murrayis Dyare' in the Tibbermuir manuscript, and Mapstone has suggested he may have been the 'Murray myne' addressed by Montgomerie in 'Displesour, with his deadlie dairt', also in Tibbermuir. To return to William Alexander: he composed a sonnet on the death of John Murray, as well as commendatory poems to, for instance, Drummond, or Quinn.¹²⁸ Many more connections may be mentioned here. John Murray, it seems, was the cousin of David Murray of Gorthy, and the latter's sonnet on Cicely Wemys has been mentioned above, in connection to James's 'Nocht Orientall Indus Christal streemes'. Another final poet deeply involved in this scene was Alexander Craig, whose 'Quhen feirce Achilles' features in Tibbermuir. This poem was printed in Craig's *Amorose Songes*, to which was appended 'To the Author', a sonnet composed by 'I M', or perhaps John Murray.¹²⁹

The early seventeenth century was a busy period in which many Scottish poets, based in Scotland and in London, lauded their fellow poets and so substantiated and legitimised a new wave of 'Scottish' writing, rooted in pre-1603 tradition, but also trying out new methods. This is not the place to explore the labyrinthine process of prefatory verse in the early seventeenth century further, nor the manner in which Scottish writing developed in this period.¹³⁰ Suffice it to note here that several poems in the manuscript of James Murray of Tibbermuir reference familiarity with these newly established poets who were involved, in Dunnigan's words, with the 'reconstitution, redefinition, and re-imagining' of Scottish writing. The scene of bookish and learned poets such as Drummond and Craig may have been one that Murray of Tibbermuir found very attractive, and had access to through his various family connections. It is certainly exciting to consider Murray to have been in touch, through circulation or other means, with the literary country house culture as lived by Drummond, adding yet another dimension to a manuscript that predominantly includes medieval and late-sixteenth century verse. The Tibbermuir manuscript, with its poems by Alexander Craig, possibly John Murray, and various other works in connection to the Murray

¹²⁷ See *Works of Alexander*, I, pp. ccv-ccxvii. The editors' notes to the prefatory poems are useful, see pp. 443-50.

¹²⁸ See *Works of Alexander*, II, 535-46.

¹²⁹ *Amorose Songes*, p. 166, in *Works of Craig*.

¹³⁰ See further the works listed in note 126 above. Dunnigan's argument will be further discussed in Chapter Five, pp. 207-8.

family, is a good context for early verse by Drummond. The only explicit date of compilation for MS Kk.5.30 is c. 1612. Although the sonnet series may have been added any time after this date, already in 1612 this third wave of renaissance Scottish writing, which may be posited as a background to some Tibbermuir poems, was well underway. The big unanswered question is whether James Murray would have compiled the series himself, out of one or more larger collections of sonnets, or whether he would have encountered a ready-made exemplar. Though similar themes connect individual sonnets (particularly that of kingship, or royalty more generally; love, in terms of the wooing game; and the praise of women by ‘princely pens’) there is less evidence for a carefully arranged sequence, as with the three sonnets on f. 71v-r. The ten sonnets on ff. 77r-78v represent a fluid transition between the ‘Castalian’ sonneteering of the 1580s and the later adaptation of that mode post-1603.

Alexander Hume and ‘Cupid quhom sall I vyt bot the’, ff. 79r-80v

Hume’s ‘Of the Day Estivall’ occurs elsewhere in manuscript (NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6). There, it is clearly transcribed from Waldegrave’s 1599 print of the *Hymnes or Sacred Songs*.¹³¹ Murray’s miscellany further disproves Alexander Lawson’s claim that apart from MS 19.3.6 and NLS Wodrow Quarto XX (which contains Hume’s prose ‘Afold Admonitioun’, see item iii) no other manuscripts containing Hume’s works are known to exist.¹³² ‘The weicht of sin is wonder greit’, appearing in the Laing manuscript, has already been discussed in Chapter Two (see pp. 67-68), and Murray’s copy of ‘Of the Day Estivall’ may be added to the list of manuscript versions of Hume’s poems. Only one edition of the *Hymnes or Sacred Songs* survives, but Lawson conjectures the existence either of an earlier print, or of prints similar to that of 1599 but with significant variations.¹³³ As will be shown below, the text of this poem in MS Kk.5.30 suggests that Murray had a printed book available, but it is equally likely that a manuscript source closely adhering to the print was in circulation. Generally, Murray’s transcription is faithful to the printed word, but a number of small variants suggest the possibility of another source. For example, ‘The pastor quits his slouthfull sleepe’, surely the stronger reading coming from ever-admonishing Hume, is mellowed down in Murray to ‘The pastor quytts his slumbring sleip’ (l. 45). This change from ‘slouthfull’ to ‘slumbring’ brings to mind the alterations to James Melville’s sonnet discussed above: in both cases, the poems in MS Kk.5.30 present a less rigorously reproachful reading. More variants may be found: for ‘Thy glorie when the day foorth flies, / Mair viuely dois appeare’, Murray’s transcription reads ‘mair planlie dois appear’ (ll. 5-6). Other variants clearly reflect scribal confusions. Eight lines from the end, for instance,

¹³¹ I am extremely grateful to Jamie Reid Baxter for allowing me access to his unpublished article, ‘The Contents of NLS Manuscript Adv. 19.3.6’, and for a full transcription of the manuscript. See further *The Poems of Alexander Hume*, ed. by Alexander Lawson (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 48, 1902).

¹³² *Poems of Hume*, p. lxx-lxxii.

¹³³ Lawson derives this evidence from readings adopted by Sibbald in his *Chronicles of Scottish Poetry*, see *Poems of Hume*, pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

Murray's manuscript misses out one quatrain ('With bellie fow [...] and liltling horne', ll. 221-24), but this discrepancy seems no more than an eye-skip.

Evidence that might indicate that Murray's source was a manuscript derives from the way that the poem is visually presented on the page. First of all, 'Of the Day Estivall' in MS Kk.5.30 is transcribed in double columns. On f. 79r, at the beginning of the poem Murray numbers each quatrain, 1 to 18, but separates eight-line stanzas (or two quatrains) with a simple drawn line. On f. 79v, numbering continues, but now in groups of eight lines, starting at 10 through to the end of the poem, number 29. The scribe consistently draws lines between stanzas of eight lines. By way of comparison, in Waldegrave's printed text the poem appears in single columns; in addition, no stanzas are numbered, and the poem consists of quatrains, not octaves. This in itself is not incontrovertible evidence that Murray's poem did not derive from print; yet, the poem that follows, 'Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the', shows distinct visual similarities with Hume's. It is transcribed in double columns, each stanza of eight lines separated by a dividing line, and, within stanzas, as with Hume, every other line is indented. It follows that perhaps the scribe allowed himself substantial liberties if copying from print, which is not unusual. Alternatively, however, Murray may have found the two poems side by side in another manuscript or lost print, and copied not only the words but also the lay-out.

In the dedication 'To the Scottish youth' (from the *Hymnes*), Hume denounced his earlier writing in an attack on 'that naughtie subject of fleshly and vnlawfull loue'. The poet reveals that

sometime I delighted in such fantasies myselfe, after the maner of riotous young men: and vvere not the Lord in mercie pulled me a backe, & wrought a great repentance in me, I had doubtlesse run forward and employed my time & studie in that prophane and vnprofitable exercise, to my owne perdition.¹³⁴

In his 'Epistle to Maister Gilbert Montcrief', Hume slanders the Scottish court which apparently he frequented before he became a minister – 'I hanted court to lang, and I repent'.¹³⁵ It is ironic, then, for Hume's 'Of the Day Estivall' in MS Kk.5.30 to be followed by 'Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the' (f. 80v), an amorous lament and a piece of courtly writing *par excellence*. If in the Laing manuscript 'The weicht of sin is wonder greit' keeps the godly company of other devotional poems, in the Tibbermuir manuscript 'Of the Day Estivall' is irreverently wedged in between a collection of ten sonnets on the one side, some of which are outright bawdy, and a complaint against Cupid on the other. In the latter poem, the speaker recounts his falling victim to both Cupid and Fortune. While he 'thocht the parrell past / off all thi huikeit arrous fyve', Fortune allows for Cupid's arrows to strike true. Helplessly ensnared, the speaker records how

Fra tyme I mycht no langer stryve

¹³⁴ *Poems of Hume*, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁵ *Poems of Hume*, pp. 68-79, particularly ll. 240-335.

as thi *perfectiones* meid me thrall
 And shortlie did my hert de pryve
 off former libertees and all.

The poem concludes as follows:

Sen so it is I rest *content*
 Your thrall freind for to remain
 Ye ar the last that sall frequent
 my hert *vith* sic oppressing pain
 Your weilfair is the onlie gain
 mey gled maist for all [?] my greiff
 To vis you moir it var bot vaine
 For this my onlie herts releiffe.

Defeat is admitted, and, with the lover enthralled, Cupid's victory is complete. 'Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the', a competent though not outstanding piece of amatory writing, follows somewhat awkwardly after Hume's celebrations of the natural world and his praise to its creator, in 'Of the Day Estivall'. Hume's dislike for amatory verse must not have been shared by Murray. Scribal sensitivity to thematic considerations, as shown for instance in the Laing manuscript, played no considerable part in this short section of MS Kk.5.30. A fascinating but dangerous conjecture emerges when it is assumed that Murray found, in manuscript or print (perhaps a broadsheet), the two poems side by side. The manner in which both poems are laid out on the page suggests a certain kinship, which might be either authorially or scribally imposed. If the (entirely hypothetical) underlying exemplar is related to the works of Hume that circulated more widely, however, then perhaps 'Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the' could also be his, a youthful fancy dating from his early years at court. Evidence is hard to find, since only eight poems survive by Hume, and all are devotional. One of these, 'The Humiliation of a Sinner', is composed in the same metre and rhyme scheme as 'Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the': a stanza of eight lines, each line four stresses, and rhyming ABABBCBC. Yet, Montgomerie employed the rhyme scheme frequently, and in combination with a four-stressed line, in 'A Description of Vane Lovers' and 'As Nature passis Nuriture'; Stewart of Baldynneis employed it, for instance, in 'Ane Prayer and Thankisgiwing' and 'In Name of Ane Amorus Ladie', so it was common enough.¹³⁶ To find an early poem by Hume is not unlikely, as a great deal of miscellany verse is anonymous. Stevenson had already associated the devotional poems in the Laing manuscript with Hume, but found no evidence to support these claims (see Chapter Two, p. 60). A complete lack of thematic relevance between the two poems may also indicate that the second poem was chosen arbitrarily, with no regard for wider context whatsoever. Miscellany compilation is dictated, to considerable extent, by serendipity, and the unpredictable availability of copy texts. Most likely the poem will remain anonymous forever – yet, its position in MS Kk.5.30 is intriguing, to say the least.

¹³⁶ *Montgomerie: Poems*, pp. 27-28, 40-42; *Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis*, ed. by Thomas Crockett, 2 vols [vol. 1 never printed] (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 5, 1913), II, 107-9, 115-17.

So far, discussion of Murray's manuscript only looked backwards to possible source materials for the compiler. However, 'Cupid quhom sall I vyt bot the' affords us a valuable glimpse into the future. Among the papers of Lilius Murray, a distant kinswoman to James Murray of Tibbermuir, can be found two poems in manuscript, in her own hand.¹³⁷ Lilius Murray was the daughter of John Murray, first Earl of Tullibardine (and thus the sister of William Murray, who married Cecily Wemys). Cultural ties between the two family branches have already been discussed above, and one of Lilius Murray's poems hints at further connections. One poem in the bundle of papers is 'The grisileig Gollf of grepein gref'. It opens as follows:

The grisileig Gollf of grepein gref
 Filld vp with valttreng stremes of vo
 The masket mumchanc of mescheif
 Vith mariades of thocht and mo
 And fanssies fleittein to and fro
 My martret mynd do so molest
 Ewin better bell dothe brek in tvo
 The bovellis of my bolleng breist.

The final three stanzas of this poem (there are five in total) are the very same as the three opening stanzas of the Tibbermuir manuscript's 'Cupid quhom sall I vyt bot the'. Thus, Lilius Murray's version concludes with the speaker's complaint that 'Her rar perfeksiones med me thrall / And svddandly did me depryve / Off former leiberttie and all'. The closing three stanzas in Tibbermuir that follow after are omitted from Lilius Murray's version; likewise, the latter's two opening stanzas are lacking from MS Kk.5.30. In the three shared stanzas, a great deal of small variants may be noted, but these are inconsequential to the overall effect and meaning. Perhaps the two transcriptions combined were once one poem; alternatively, individual scribes or poets may have adapted an underlying original.

Lilius Murray is an interesting character in her own right. A contemporary sketch still survives of this lady and her husband, John Grant of Freuchie, drawn up in 1618 by John Taylor, 'The Water Poet'.¹³⁸ Of interest are Taylor's compliments to Lilius Murray, a lady, apparently, of many accomplishments, 'inwardly and outwardly plentifully adorned with the guifts of grace and nature'. Lilius Murray's surviving papers also attest to her literary interests. Apart from the two poems, she left behind a list of her books. This catalogue was noted by Fraser, who prints the titles. Unnoticed by him, however, is yet another list on which she ranks 'The names of my best buikis'; in other words, a list of personal favourites, suggesting intelligent and discerning reading behaviour. The latter list can be found on the back of a letter (NAS GD248/46/1/13), and entries

¹³⁷ NAS GD/15/4/4, 2 sheets. The poems were printed and discussed by Fraser in his *Chiefs of Grant*. Fraser consulted the papers while they were still at Castle Grant (formerly Castle Freuchie; it is situated just north of Grantown-on-Spey), but the papers have subsequently been moved to the NAS. Sir William Fraser, *The Chiefs of Grant*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1883), I, 193-95.

¹³⁸ *Travels Through Stuart Britain: The Adventures of John Taylor, the Water Poet*, ed. by John Chandler (Thrupp: Sutton, 1999), p. 44.

correspond to the booklist printed in Fraser.¹³⁹ There is no space here further to explore Lilius Murray's interest in literature and letters, but in the context of the Tibbermuir manuscript it is important to note that yet another poem can be earmarked as displaying strong familial 'Murray' links, as well as indications of a lettered culture of verse and reading.

Conclusion

Of the three miscellany manuscripts discussed, MS Kk.5.30 is most obviously a family manuscript. The connections explored above, between James Murray of Tibbermuir and his various kinsmen, particularly the Murrays of Tullibardine (including Lilius Murray), but also the Melville family that he became associated with after his third marriage, and the Scrymgeours of Myres (a connection forged by the second marriage of Murray's father), have all been shown to be meaningful in relation to the poems in the manuscript. This web of connections expands outwards, and familial considerations may account for the inclusion of James VI's sonnet on Cicely Wemys, for instance (if indeed the poem is addressed to her), or Montgomerie's 'Displesour, with his deadlie dairt', which may reference John Murray, who, in turn, may have composed 'Murrayis Dyare'. More Scottish miscellanies were born out of family piety: the related Maitland Folio, Maitland Quarto, and Reidpeth manuscripts are a good example.

In addition to the *Troy Book* supply, and the 'Wallace' and 'Lamwell' fragments, James Murray of Tibbermuir collects many known poetic highfliers of Scotland's late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries: Alexander Montgomerie, James VI, James Melville, Alexander Hume, perhaps his brother Patrick, Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, and perhaps John Murray and William Drummond of Hawthornden. Collectively, MS Kk.5.30 is a noteworthy anthology of the leading voices of Scottish writing, complemented by various English poems, and some anonymous poetry. It is a shame the manuscript is incomplete, as it may well have contained a great deal more poetry now lost. In places, it bears witness to a creative process of compilation that intelligently juxtaposes poems from various sources, and Murray himself can be shown to have had a very active hand in this process. The inclusion of Alexander Craig in the miscellany is important for a subtle re-conceptualisation of the early modern poetic landscape in Scotland. Craig has never been regarded as a poet actively anthologised by Scottish scribes, but, crucially, investigation of miscellany manuscripts presents a different picture, and – moreover – exposes an early-seventeenth century web, if not necessarily a coterie network, of literary activity. For James Murray of Tibbermuir, inclusion of Craig and Drummond shows that he was in touch not only with the age of Montgomerie (the 1580s and 1590s), but also with a more contemporary scene that actively built

¹³⁹ *Chiefs of Grant*, II, 54. I have not yet located among the NAS's holdings the original of Fraser's list. Further research will no doubt reveal more about Lilius Murray's reading habits. More items of interest might be contained among the copious Grant papers.

on that earlier heritage. This becomes most evident in the various sonnet series, on ff. 71v-72r, 76r, and 77r-78v.

It is only rarely that a catalogue of a miscellanist's library survives in Scotland in the early modern period; the only other example is with the library of Drummond of Hawthornden. Murray's collection of books is far more modest, yet even in his short list titles relevant to his manuscript poems can be discovered: Montgomerie's *Cherrie*, Alexander's *Darius* (and perhaps *The Alexandrian Tragedy*), Ovid's *Epistles* in English, or for instance 'the mirror of knyghth[ede]'. More early modern libraries await inspection. Lilius Murray's small collection referred to above is one example; the ever-growing book collection in Melville House, described in three subsequent catalogues (discussed in Chapter Two) is another. Such libraries, even if not individually, then certainly collectively, reveal crucial information about Scottish readers and their books. As has been shown above, the subject of book collecting is of prime importance also for the study of miscellany manuscripts, as the copy texts of Scottish compilers were likely to have been in circulation in Scotland.

MS Kk.5.30's hybrid nature is very striking. As stated above, the manuscript was previously treated either as a repository of medieval verse, for instance by Horstmann, and Buss and Koeppel (who questioned Bradshaw's ascription of the Scottish *Troy Book* fragments to Barbour), or as an early modern miscellany, for instance by Lyall, Parkinson, and Mapstone. Yet, both sections of the manuscript were comfortably bound together from at least the seventeenth century onwards. The question exactly how for Murray old and new works connect is a difficult one to answer, but any rigid periodisation (medieval versus early modern) is most unhelpful for understanding the manuscript's contents, and, more broadly, the literary culture that produced it. On Murray's pages, Lydgate's historical romance rubs shoulders with an amatory sonnet employing Trojan imagery, and themes from the Arthurian courtly-love adventures of Sir Lamwell (though unfinished in the manuscript) are mirrored, or rather reworked, into Scotland's late-sixteenth century amatory paradigm, the sonnet. As shown above, in MS Kk.5.30 there is no sense at all of a rift between the poetry produced pre- and post-1603. The question how Murray and his contemporaries received Lydgate's poem is a subject of study in itself. Murray's completion of the *Troy Book* may be viewed as an act of bibliographic, even bibliophilic, zeal; to what extent its medieval historiographical sentiments appealed to him is unclear. In the prologue (which was copied by Murray), Lydgate was careful to set up a distinction between his own work, with strong claims to 'historic truth', while denouncing the deceitful language of poetry, or 'veyn fables'. Of Ovid, for instance, Lydgate claims he 'also poetically hath closyd [clothed] / Falshede with throuthe, that maketh men ennosed'.¹⁴⁰ Presumably, to Murray these issues were of little importance, since he fills the remainder of his manuscript with literary fancies which, like the

¹⁴⁰ Prologue, ll. 263, 299-300, *Troy Book*, I, 8-9.

'dyers' or the sonnets, are highly rhetorical exercises with no claim to intrinsic truth value. Such is the nature of Murray's miscellany that these poems can coexist within one binding. Murray's reading practices assimilate rather than divide the different modes of poetry present in the manuscript: this hybridity is one of its most attractive features, and one worthy of continued study.

chapter four ~

‘Margaret Robertson with my hand’: National Library of Scotland MS 15937

National Library of Scotland MS 15937 is an early nineteenth-century transcript of an early seventeenth-century verse miscellany that was compiled by Margaret Robertson. The original is now presumed lost. MS 15937 has been unduly neglected, and discussion of it appears to have been hampered for several reasons. Firstly, with the original manuscript, or manuscripts, now lost, the transcript is a secondary source, lacking authority. As seen from the previous chapters, even primary sources such as EUL MS Laing.III.447 and CUL MS Kk.5.30 raise questions of provenance, ownership, and the manner of compilation, that cannot easily be answered – as MS 15937 was copied approximately two hundred years after the original was apparently compiled, a whole new set of interpretational problems arise. Secondly, very little was known about the manuscript’s compiler, Margaret Robertson of Lude. Thirdly, its contents at first sight may appear similar to that of other manuscripts of the age. Bawcutt summarily writes that ‘[t]he contents resemble those of the Wemyss Manuscript: love songs in English and Scots, though without musical settings’.¹ Finally, what seems to have deflected critical interest most is the large collection of English material. One looks in vain for the medieval Scots makars (who appear frequently in miscellanies until the 1580s), and will find instead a large collection of English songs copied mostly from printed books. Although MS 15937 contains works, for instance, by Scott and Montgomerie, and a sizeable collection of anonymous material in Scots, still it seems at first sight to be dominated by English poets. As recently observed by Lyall (and evident from the previous chapters), ‘[a]mong the least considered aspects of late sixteenth-century British culture we may certainly count the relations between England and Scotland’.² Given these facts, neglect of MS 15937 comes as no surprise.³

¹ Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century’, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 189-210 (p. 199).

² Roderick J. Lyall, ‘“Thrie Truear Hairts”: Alexander Montgomerie, Henry Constable, Henry Keir and Cultural Politics in Renaissance Britain’, *Innes Review*, 54:2 (2003), 186-215 (p. 186). Lyall makes an exception for recent work by Bawcutt.

³ The only critics to have recently indicated interest in the manuscript are Bawcutt (see note 1), and David J. Parkinson, see his ‘Alexander Montgomerie: Scottish Author’, in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 493-513, and ‘Literary Anthologies in Manuscript in Seventeenth-Century Scotland’, [forthcoming]. Brief attention is drawn to Robertson and her manuscript by Hans Hecht, in his publication of the manuscripts of ballad-collector David Herd. He draws mostly on the manuscript of Peter Buchan, however (of whom more below), and offers little new: *Songs from David Herd’s Manuscripts*, ed. by Hans Hecht (Edinburgh: William J. Hay, 1904), pp. 280-81.

That such neglect is entirely unwarranted will become evident here. In comparison to other, better-known Scottish anthologies, the Robertson manuscript impresses with its 175 poems, over 215 folios (equalling 215 pages, as all verso sides are left blank). Thus, in sheer size, MS 15937 outdoes the Maitland Quarto manuscript (137 folios, 95 poems), and rivals even its larger counterpart, the Maitland Folio manuscript (183 folios, 182 poems).⁴ Apart from its size, MS 15937 has a great deal more to offer: it contains, for instance, several poems in Older Scots, a curious selection of bawdy songs, and a beautiful reworking of the well-known ‘O Lusty May’. It features various poems whose intricate stanza forms suggest an author not unlike Alexander Montgomerie. With the exception of a brief mention by David Parkinson, its collection of twenty-five sonnets remains uncharted by critics, as does its series of four ‘dyers’. In the manuscript, amatory materials are complemented by several religious poems of great interest. The sheer number and variety of poems and songs found in MS 15937 suggests that Robertson was an extremely well connected compiler. As it turns out, her family history can be made relevant, in general terms, to the manuscript’s concerns. In short, MS 15937 is a large and important collection, not only as a monument to ‘the century of the gifted amateur and the collector’,⁵ but also as a repository of many unique Scots poems that deserve to see the light of day. That said, it is also one of the most puzzling miscellanies that has survived, posing questions that can only hesitantly be answered.

History and Description of MS 15937

The provenance and history of MS 15937, and that of the original(s) it was copied from, is complex. A good starting point is the National Library of Scotland’s catalogue entry, which states that MS 15937 was bought from Sotheby’s on 27 June 1972 (Lot 311):

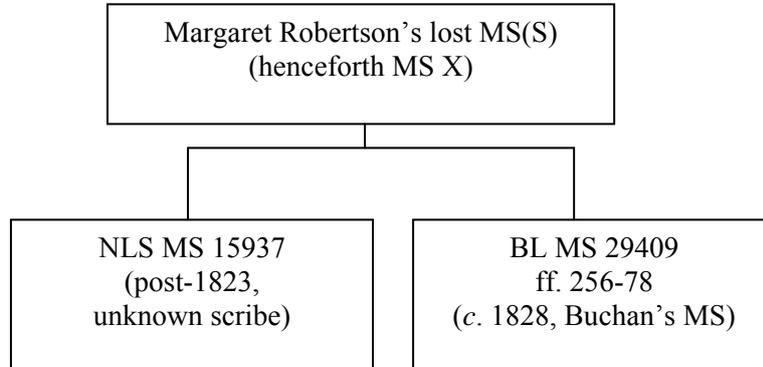
[MS 15937 is] a 19th century copy (the paper is watermarked 1823) of the collection made in 1630 by Margaret Robertson, wife of Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid. The original collection belonged to John Richardson of Pitfour (later Sir John Stewart-Richardson) who lent it to Peter Buchan for the compilation of his *Ancient ballads and songs of the north of Scotland*, Edin. 1828. Buchan intended to use it in the third volume of his work which was never completed. His extracts from it are contained in the British Library, Add. 29409, ff. 256-77; the whereabouts of the original is not known. This copy also belonged to the Richardsons of Pitfour and contains their bookplate dating from after their succession to the baronetcy in 1837.⁶

⁴ *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 7, 20, 1919-27); *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript*, ed. by W.A. Craigie (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 9, 1920). For an overview of major Scottish verse miscellanies up to 1586, including the size and number of poems contained, see Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse’, in *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics*, ed. by Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), pp. 59-86 (pp. 61-62).

⁵ Kenneth Elliott and Frederick Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London: BBC, 1973), p. 41.

⁶ NLS, Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925 [unpublished typescript].

In other words, two transcripts survive of a lost original that was compiled by Margaret Robertson; a partial transcript was made by Peter Buchan, the controversial ballad-collector; and the scribe or compiler of MS 15937 (whether this is a partial or complete transcript is difficult to determine, see below) has never been identified. A simple stemma will be helpful:



There is confusion both over the date and the exact nature of the lost MS X, which was first described by Colonel David Stewart of Garth (identified as General Stewart by Buchan) in 1822, as follows:

The fragments of manuscripts and private correspondence which have been preserved in families give evidence of classical attainments, and prove also, that this was not confined to one sex. The following is an instance. There is a manuscript volume preserved in the family of Stewart of Urrard, of 260 pages, of poems, songs, and short tracts, in the Scotch language, written, as is stated on the first page, by Margaret Robertson, daughter of George Robertson of Fascally, and wife of Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid, dated 1643. It is written in a beautiful hand, and with such correctness, that it might be sent to the press.⁷

Stewart dates the manuscript that he saw to 1643. Buchan, however, in his introduction to *Ancient Ballads* and in his manuscript notebooks, claims that it was compiled in 1630. Bawcutt comments that, although both transcripts (NLS MS 15937 and BL MS 29409) ‘give the date of their original as 1630, not 1643’, ‘how accurate they [these dates] are it is impossible to say’.⁸

This confusion needs to be cleared up as best as possible. Underlying Buchan’s printed *Ancient Ballads*, first of all, are his manuscript notebooks, now two volumes, in the British Library.⁹ Buchan published only two poems from MS X, as the planning of his book was too far

⁷ David Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1822), II, appendix S, p. xxix. See also Peter Buchan, *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland, Hitherto Unpublished*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1828), I, p. xv.

⁸ Bawcutt, ‘Miscellanies’, p. 199.

⁹ For a study of all Buchan’s manuscripts, see William Walker, *Peter Buchan and Other Papers on Scottish and English Ballads and Songs* (Aberdeen: D. Wylie, 1915); for BL MSS 29408/9 in particular, see Appendix C, pp. 172-95.

advanced to include more.¹⁰ Many more transcriptions of MS X are to be found in his manuscript notebooks, however. About these, we learn most from Buchan's sales catalogue. Much to his dismay, the collector was forced to auction his books and manuscripts after he fell into financial hardship. In his sales catalogue, describing the two manuscript notebooks, Buchan relates how he copied 'upwards of forty pages of rare old Poetry' from MS X. In addition, no doubt wanting to confirm the authenticity of his material and to raise the price as high as possible, the catalogue reads that 'it was I who copied the Poems from the old MS. while at Pitfour Castle, in Perthshire'.¹¹ Importantly, Buchan does not acknowledge the existence of another transcript, which might indicate that MS 15937 was copied after 1837, the year of the book sale.

The British Library catalogue entry for MSS 29408 and 29409, Buchan's notebooks, confusingly states the following:

the ballads [...] on ff. 256-277 are 'copied from an unprinted MS. written by Lady Robertson of Lude in 1630' [...] A note inserted at f. 278 refers to a MS. volume of ballads in possession of the family of Steward of Urrard, also written, in 1643, by Lady Margaret Robertson, 'daughter of John Robertson of Lude, and wife of Alexander Stewart of Bonsleid' [*sic*].¹²

This implies the existence not of one, but two different manuscripts associated with Robertson. Whereas there is evidence to suggest that she indeed compiled more than one manuscript, this discrepancy between dates is easily explained. The note on f. 278 is an inserted handwritten scrap copied from Stewart's *Sketches*, quoted above, so the date of 1643 is Stewart's, not Buchan's. The note on f. 255 is of more interest:

See, a great many other copied from an unprinted MS written by Lady Robertson of Lude, in 1630, and even then the Ballads so written by her were several hundred years old. They are at the end of this MS. vol. P[eter].B[uchan].

Buchan's claim that the poems were 'several hundred years old' even by 1630 may be ignored (unless indeed he found poems that he decided not to copy and which equally did not end up in MS 15937); this remark seems symptomatic of his antiquarian desire for 'old' texts, rather than anything else. This note, introducing his selection of poems from MS X (all of which also appear in MS 15937) must refer to the manuscript volume he consulted at Pitfour Castle. There is nothing to suggest that Buchan ever saw any other manuscript than one dated 1630.¹³ Buchan's transcript is

¹⁰ They are 'Sumtyme have I sein whein the world hes bein merrie' (titled by Buchan 'Its a vonder to see how this world does goe', after the refrain) and 'My love band me with a kisse', titled 'James Heruie' by Buchan. This title also occurs in MS 15937. The two poems occur on ff. 62-63 and f. 100 respectively. Buchan, *Ballads*, I, pp. xvii-xviii.

¹¹ Peter Buchan, *Catalogue of the Private Library of Peter Buchan* (Aberdeen: Chalmers, 1837), p. 42.

¹² British Library Manuscript Catalogue, [<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts>, accessed 10 January 2006].

¹³ In Appendix Four, Table 2, are listed all the poems that Buchan copied from MS X, and the corresponding folio numbers of the relevant poems in MS 15937. One curious fact is the inclusion of 'Now for to tell you will I turn / Of [the] batayl of Bannock burn' (ff. 276v-77r) at the very end of MS

valuable, as his poems follow the same order of those in MS 15937. On Buchan's ff. 256r to 267v, though he leaves out much more from his copy text, the order of the poems follows exactly that as in Robertson (with the one exception of f. 263v); then, after f. 267v follow five more poems. What this indicates is that Buchan read MS X and initially copied whichever poems he liked, in the order in which he found them. Subsequently, he went back into MS X and selected a few more. Since both transcripts follow roughly the same order of poems, it may be assumed that the scribe of MS 15937 followed the original MS X closely.

Stewart's tantalising account cannot be discarded and provides its own problems. He describes a manuscript that is 260 pages long and contains 'poems, songs and short tracts'.¹⁴ Firstly, 'short tracts', particularly following the labels 'poems' and 'songs', may imply works in prose, absent from both transcripts. Secondly, as stated above, MS 15937 consists of 215 folios, equalling 215 pages as all verso sides are left blank. Only pure conjecture can explain the discrepancy of 45 pages between the lost original and the transcript: a different-sized hand, paper size, or selective copying could all allow for the difference. Perhaps the nineteenth-century copyist of MS 15937 decided to copy all poetry and songs, but discarded the 'tracts' – it is difficult to know. It seems impossible that Stewart saw MS 15937 and mistook it for an original early seventeenth-century manuscript: the paper of MS 15937 is clearly watermarked with a date, 1823; *Sketches* was published in 1822 and Stewart's preface is dated 24 April 1821. Finally, it seems that it was Stewart's book that drew Buchan's attention to MS X, and that the latter was copied by Buchan only subsequently, and his selection of two poems printed in 1828.

In this increasingly bewildering array of imperfect evidence, a final matter yet further confounds issues. On f. 53v of MS 15937, it is noted that 'What follows is written in a different hand – more modern – by a different poet [person?] too'.¹⁵ This note, pencilled in by an unknown hand, raises serious questions. Was MS 15937 composed from two different sources? Or was MS X a single source collected or composed by at least two different hands, something either unnoticed or unmentioned by Stewart? The occurrence of the two dates, 1630 and 1643, short of a mistranscription or simple mistake, can only be explained by the existence of two different texts. It is not inconceivable that these two, both by Robertson, had been bound together and jointly served as copy text for MS 15937. Stewart's 'tracts' might be considered evidence that an unknown nineteenth-century editor stands between Margaret Robertson's lost original manuscripts and the

29409, and directly following the poems selected from MS X. This poem does not feature in MS 15937: either Buchan found it in MS X, and the scribe of MS 15937 omitted it, or, as seems more likely, Buchan found the ballad elsewhere. On f. 276r, the selection from Robertson emphatically ends 'Finis / Margarat Robertsoune vith my hand' (on the significance of this, see below). The ballad is unlike anything in MS 15937, but very similar to a number of ballads elsewhere in Buchan's notebooks. To not complicate matters any further, it is assumed here that this ballad does not originate from Robertson's manuscripts.

¹⁴ It is unlikely that Stewart means *folio* for *page*, as that would imply a 520 page collection. Whereas it is difficult to be sure, that would mean that the lost text approximates in size such a vast collection as the Bannatyne manuscript (375 folios, 750 pages).

¹⁵ The writing of this note is fading, and it is almost impossible to make out 'poet' or 'person'.

manuscripts that have survived. If we work on the assumption, as supported by the pencilled note on f. 53v of MS 15937, that Robertson produced more than one text, then what is now found between ff. 1-53 and between ff. 54-215 might have originated from her separate manuscript items. Unless Robertson's lost texts surface, this problem is unlikely to be solved. It must be remembered that MS 15937 is not as unified a collection as it appears at first sight, and that its steady and graceful nineteenth-century hand may obscure any number of sources.

Considering the problematic relationship between MS 15937 and the lost MS X, a brief note on the transcription's reliability is in order. Whereas it is difficult to make definite claims, it appears from the transcript that care was taken to retain Scots spelling, and faithfully to render stanza forms and the order of the contents. Concerning spelling, on several occasions the scribe inserts corrections: on f. 213, for instance, English 'heart', is corrected to Scots 'hairt'; similarly 'peace' (f. 133) is corrected to 'peice'. Concerning the order of the poems, on f. 107 the scribe mistakenly begins to transcribe 'Fyr that most flame', finishes the first stanza, but then transcribes 'My love is forsaiken me', only to return to the earlier poem on f. 109, thus correcting the supposed earlier eye-skip. Relating to Peter Buchan's transcripts, Bawcutt concludes, while taking into account his sometimes questionable editorial practices, that 'he here attempts to follow the spelling and grammar of a seventeenth-century original fairly closely'. She offers as evidence the frequent use of 'v' for consonantal 'w': the same can be seen throughout MS 15937.¹⁶ It may be assumed, then, that the copyist attempted closely to reproduce Robertson's manuscript(s). However, this is not to say that the transcript is without problems: it is difficult to surmise whether the mistakes are Robertson's or the later scribe's. On the part of the latter, we should at least allow for small mistakes in transcribing, such as occasional substitution of 'wh-' for Scots 'quh-' in Scottish poems. Larger problems, such as missing words, obvious mistranscriptions, or incomplete texts like 'The Lamentatioune of a Sheep-heard' (ff. 48-53) could equally originate from MS X or have arisen with MS 15937 itself. That the scribe of MS 15937 faced problems with his/her copy text is indicated by the many question marks in brackets that suggest, presumably, illegible or difficult words. Words are also occasionally underlined to indicate uncertainty on the scribe's part. At times, the sense is easy enough to reconstruct, while in other instances scribal corruption renders some meanings hopelessly obscure.

One example of intelligent copying of clearly deficient lines in MS X may be found on f. 110: where Robertson (or the scribe of MS X) originally wrote 'meekes', the scribe of MS 15937 recognises that in a series of complimentary epithets to a lady, 'Wisdomes meekes wertew grace / sueitnes modestie bewtie bot measure', 'meekes' should surely read 'meeknes' and so pens this in the margin. Similarly, in the same stanza, the same lady who is 'rich in bewtie and heavinlye

¹⁶ Priscilla Bawcutt, 'A New Scottish Poem: On the Literary Interest of Timothy Pont's Map 23', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 20:2 (1993), 5-20 (pp. 16-17).

reasone' is supposed by the scribe to be rich in 'heavinlye treasure' instead, to rhyme with 'measure'; 'treasure' is added to the stanza, within brackets.

All transcriptions below are taken verbatim from the manuscript, even when it is obviously wrong, as in Montgomerie's 'Lyk as the doul solsequium with care overcome' (f. 204), where 'doul' should read 'dum'. Errors of this kind, unfortunately, are rife throughout MS 15937. In the discussion that follows, the textual problems as outlined above are constantly taken into account; it is also assumed, however, that it is possible to read between the lines, and to reconstruct to some extent Robertson's activities as a scribe. An extremely cautious approach is necessary, yet these textual problems should not stand in the way of discussing the contents of this important Scottish miscellany.

The Robertsons of Lude

In his introduction to *Ancient Ballads and Songs*, Buchan notes the following inscription in MS X: 'This Buick perteens to a verie honourable womane, Margarat Robertsoune, relict of vmquhile Alexander Steuart of Bonskeid, Anno Domini 1630'.¹⁷ MS 15937 shows the exact same inscription, with only some minor differences in spelling:

Margarat Robertsoune
vith my hand
1630.

This buik perteenes to a verie
honourable womane

Margarat Robertsoune
Relict of umquhill Alexander Steuart
of Bonskeid

Anno Domini
1630. (f. 1)

Relating to Robertson, Bawcutt concludes that 'very little seems to be known of her life, but her father and her husband, Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid, possessed estates in Perthshire, near Blair Athol'.¹⁸ Indeed, the production and preservation of the manuscript can be located precisely in Perthshire. Buchan and Stewart disagree over Margaret's parentage: Buchan identifies John Robertson of Lude as her father; Stewart finds George Robertson of Fascally.¹⁹ In fact, both estates are very near to each other, and the families are intricately intertwined. The Robertson of Lude family papers held at the NAS, and Gordon MacGregor's *Red Book of Perthshire*, provide more

¹⁷ Buchan, *Ballads*, I, p. xv.

¹⁸ Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 199.

¹⁹ While copying out Stewart's observations about MS X, there where Stewart wrote 'daughter of George Robertson of Fascally' Buchan inserted 'daughter of John Robertson of Lude'. It seems Buchan must have received information unavailable to Stewart. As it turns out, both were wrong.

information.²⁰ Margaret is the fifth child of Agnes Gordon and Alexander Robertson, son of John Robertson of Lude. She must have married, first, Robert Robertson of Fascally (second son of George Robertson; this is where Stewart's confusion might stem from). We know of the marriage only because she obtained a divorce, or perhaps a marriage agreement was annulled before the marriage took place. In any case, Robert discharged Alexander from his daughter's 'tocher' of £1000 Scots in a document dated 7 August 1610.²¹ She later remarried Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid, but as is evident from a document settling a dispute regarding the lands of Wester Clune between Margaret and her son James Stewart on the one part, and Neil MacPherson and his wife Christian Stewart on the other, Margaret was 'Relict [widow] of *vmquhill* Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid' at least by 7 November 1629.²² Finally, Bawcutt had already noticed that the NLS holds a reproduction of a letter from Montrose (MS 2617, f. 2 (reproduction), f. 3 (transcription)), dated 22 June 1646, which suggests that Margaret and her son John Stewart raised soldiers for the Royalist cause in the civil war. Margaret is styled here 'lyfrenterix of the lands of Boranich'. Unfortunately, the family papers yield little more information about Margaret Robertson in particular. Much more can be said, though, of the family in more general terms.

Throughout almost four centuries, a cultural interest can be traced among the Robertsons of Lude. To begin with, two musical instruments now considered national treasures, the Lamont harp and Queen Mary's Harp, were in the possession of this family.²³ According to John Gunn (writing in 1807), the ancient Lamont Harp travelled to Lude with Lilius Lamont, who *c.* 1464 married Charles Robertson.²⁴ Two generations later Margaret's grandfather John Robertson married Beatrix Gardyn, who in 1563 allegedly was presented with a harp by Mary, Queen of Scots, who was said to be out on a hunting expedition with the Earl of Atholl. Several versions of this story circulate, most famously perhaps that by James Hogg, whose *The Queen's Wake*, loosely based on the instruments at Lude, romantically re-imagines a bardic competition for two priceless harps.²⁵ The presence of these instruments in the Robertson of Lude household leads Gunn to interesting speculation:

In the same manner it must be inferred, from Queen Mary's having, in about a hundred years afterwards, presented the other lady [Beatrix Gardyn] with her own

²⁰ Gordon A.C. MacGregor, *The Red Book of Perthshire*, 2 vols ([n.p.] Perthshire Heritage Trust, 2006), II, 783-89. A Robertson family history was printed in 1860, but makes no mention of Margaret: J.A. Robertson, *Comitatus de Atholia. The Earldom of Atholl: Its Boundaries Stated. Also, the Extent Therein of the Possessions of the Family of De Atholia and their Descendants the Robertsons, with Proofs and Map* ([privately printed], 1860).

²¹ NAS GD132/301.

²² NAS GD132/59.

²³ Both harps are currently on display in the Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

²⁴ John Gunn, *An Historical Enquiry Respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland; from the Earliest Times, until it was Discontinued, About the Year 1734* (Edinburgh: Constable and Murray, 1807), pp. 1, 73.

²⁵ For a detailed consideration of Hogg's use of Gunn, see James Hogg, *The Queen's Wake: A Legendary Poem*, ed. by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp. xxv-xxxii, xcvi-c.

Harp, that she was also a performer on that instrument, and had been taught by a master, who probably had taught her, as well as others, in a very different part of Scotland, her father's residence being at no great distance from Aberdeen; and from both instances we must necessarily conclude, that the Harp was taught and performed upon, in different parts of the Highlands of Scotland, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and that playing on, or singing to, the Harp, was an accomplishment of the ladies of the Highlands of that period.²⁶

Gunn pictures a lively musical household, where such sophisticated instruments as the harp, difficult to play and tune, are taught by expert music masters and played upon by the ladies of the house. For confirmation that the harps were continuously played and not simply ceremonial objects, Gunn relates the visit of Roderick Morrison, or Ruairi Dall (Blind Roderick), distinguished Highland harper, to the Lude household in 1650. At this occasion, Morrison is said to have composed *Suipeir Thighearna Leoid*, or *The Laird of Lude's Supper*, an air that survives today.²⁷

Gunn's early-nineteenth century scholarship leaves something to be desired, however, and his more fanciful conjectures are exposed by Sanger and Kinnaird in *Tree of Strings: A History of the Harp in Scotland*. Firstly, documentary evidence is too scanty to prove exactly how the instruments came to Lude, and Sanger and Kinnaird offer alternatives itineraries.²⁸ Secondly, relating to a harper's visit in 1650, Gunn confuses two musicians of the same name: Irishman Ruairi Dall O'Cathain, and the Scot Ruairi Dall Morrison. As the latter was not born before about 1656, he could not have visited Lude in 1650. His Irish namesake however, an itinerant harper who frequently visited Scotland, 'may well have been at Lude much earlier than 1650'. Since 'there was without doubt a striking concentration of Harpers in Perthshire in the 17th century [...] it seems very possible that Ruairi Dall O'Cathain might have settled in Atholl'.²⁹

What is most striking in Sanger and Kinnaird's argument is that musical activity appears continuously, not only in the household of Lude, but throughout the Atholl area. Margaret Robertson's manuscript should be considered in direct relation to the locality where it was most probably compiled. It is within this cultured, musical environment that Robertson's large collection of songs gains extra meaning. Evidently, where sources are lacking it is impossible to prove a sustained continuation of musical interest from one generation to the next, or to prove Robertson's involvement in this. It is well documented, however, that to a contemporary audience the boundaries between music and poetry were virtually non-existent, something that is attested by the many Scottish manuscript anthologies of particularly the seventeenth century that indiscriminately merge music, poetry, and ballads from a variety of sources.³⁰ Whereas it is difficult to assess the

²⁶ Gunn, *Enquiry*, p. 74.

²⁷ Gunn, *Enquiry*, p. 96.

²⁸ Keith Sanger and Alison Kinnaird, *Tree of Strings: A History of the Harp in Scotland* (Temple, Midlothian: Minomre Music, 1992), pp. 69-77.

²⁹ Sanger and Kinnaird, p. 107.

³⁰ For a general overview of Scottish music, collectors, and musical manuscripts and their content, see Elliott and Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, pp. 41-48. See further note 60 below.

level of interaction between (Gaelic) folk culture and Scots or English music, still the two strands reinforce the idea that the Robertsons of Lude were a sophisticated and cultured family, and connected to the music of the Gaelic Highlands as strongly as to the latest love-lyrics (and perhaps even the music) from London. The compilatory work of Margaret Robertson confirms that whereas in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries female involvement in the arts always seems relatively scarce, women do frequently feature as collectors. It is significant that both the harps and the literary manuscripts have come down via the female line.³¹

Manuscript Content

A vast collection of approximately 175 poems, MS 15937 defies categorisation. In the space of a chapter, it is impossible, unfortunately, to do full justice to every single poem, also because many textual issues (relating to source materials) need first to be addressed. Yet, for a measured appreciation of Robertson's editorial practice, it is essential to show both the breadth and depth of the collection. The full content of MS 15937 is listed in Appendix Four, Table 1. The manuscript can be divided roughly into sections, based on form and genre, or subject matter. First comes a group of twenty-five sonnets, ff. 2-16. Only five short fragments (f. 17) divide the sonnets from the next significant group, four 'dyers', on ff. 18-28. Two long stanzaic poems follow, 'Amintas Ghoste' and 'Argulus his Letter to Parthenia his mistress', on ff. 28-36. The remainder of the manuscript is largely made up of amatory verse and songs of varying length, stanza form, and quality. One notable long work is 'I catiue curate languishes' (ff. 74-84), a penitential poem whose speaker laments the infirmities of old age and his life of sin and profanity, but who finally seeks reconciliation with God. Tucked away in between several rather conventional love lyrics are two series of bawdy songs both in English and in Scots, on ff. 144-68, and ff. 173-76. A closing section starts at f. 212 and runs until f. 215; as will be explored below, the poems and fragments from this closing section may be read as a collection of verse of personal relevance to the compiler.

An important issue to confront is the plethora of source material that Robertson must have had available. In the age of heavy anglicisation in Scotland on the one hand, and the scotticising of English originals by scribes on the other, it is not always straightforward to trace a poem's origin. Even poems showing distinct Scots rhymes, for instance, may still turn out to be loose adaptations of English material.³² A large number of poems are recognisably Scottish, however, because the

³¹ A sustained interest in music and literature runs through the family until at least the nineteenth century. Elsewhere in the family papers (NAS GD132/867; GD132/868) are two bundles of poetry, songs, and music, dating from the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, in the Perth and Kinross Council Archive is kept Major General Robertson of Lude's 'manuscript volume of poetry, letters and other papers' (GB/252/MS14/80), collecting materials in English and in Gaelic. Unfortunately, no obvious connections can be made between MS 15937 and these later collections.

³² This problem is not unique to MS 15937, since various English poems in Scottish dress have mistakenly been assigned to Scots poets. One example is the 'Earth upon Earth' poem, ascribed to Mersar in the Maitland Folio manuscript and to Dunbar in the Reidpeth manuscript: it is in fact English in origin. See Bawcutt, 'Miscellanies', p. 201.

source or author is known. Sixty-six English poems and songs in the manuscript have already been identified, as evidenced by a modern list, pasted onto a flyleaf (f. ii) in the front of MS 15937, which cross-references the relevant poems to the most exhaustive anthology of Elizabethan and Jacobean song-books printed between 1588 and 1632, E.H. Fellowes's *English Madrigal Verse*.³³ This is a good start, but the list is far from complete, however, and to locate and identify all of Robertson's manuscript and printed sources, both Scottish and English, is a daunting undertaking. As will be shown below, many poems can be located in printed and manuscript sources not previously noted. Even in light of new discoveries, however, over sixty poems remain unclaimed, or unique.

In terms of likely source material for Robertson, meaningful groups may be discerned within the manuscript. For example, of the eighteen poems on ff. 64-88, eleven are found in John Dowland's 1597 *First Book of Songes or Ayres*. Even though this group is broken up by 'Praise me as ye think caus quhy' (f. 68), a popular Scottish song, and by 'I catiue curate languishes' (f. 74), a long devotional poem unique to the Robertson manuscript, the eleven Dowland poems nevertheless suggest that they might have been collected at a time that the printed book, or a manuscript copy, was available to the compiler, perhaps on loan. Similarly, the four songs on ff. 184-88 derive from Robert Jones's 1601 *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres*; the four following that, on ff. 189-91, are printed in Thomas Ford's *Mvsicke of Syndrie Kindes* of 1607. Both groups of four follow the ordering as found in the prints. Whereas most of these groups are interspersed with material from other sources, they are coherent enough to suggest an underlying order loosely based on the various source collections.

Materials that do not derive from the English song books also come in small clusters: ff. 54-63, ff. 94-100, ff. 110-16, ff. 125-27, ff. 132-38, ff. 144-56, and ff. 204-15. One of these groups, ff. 56-63, is unified by a repeated inscription, 'finis amen so be it' (once simply 'finis amen', f. 62), suggesting the underlying work of a particular scribe or source, much like the scribal additions of 'nescio' to several poems in the Laing manuscript. This group has further significance in that several poems are clearly of Scots descent. Possibly the first of this group (though without subscription), is an extremely bad transcription of Alexander Scott's 'Depart depart depart', on ff. 54-56. The penultimate stanza lacks five lines, the final stanza lacks several words, and stanza three repeats the closing five lines of stanza one. The second poem of this group, 'I saw a nimph vpon yon plaine', is a pastoral wooing song (f. 56; it then reoccurs on f. 126). It is a simple song, and

³³ *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632*, ed. by E.H. Fellowes, rev. by Frederick Sternfeld and David Greer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967). Going into much more textual detail and providing non-modernised texts, but covering the same ground as Fellowes, is *Lyrics from English Airs*, ed. by Edward Doughtie (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). Organised chronologically, and drawing first and foremost on printed sources, is *Elizabethan Lyrics*, ed. by Norman Ault (London: Faber and Faber, 1949); another anthology continues the work of Ault, but prints only songs from manuscript: *Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics*, ed. by John P. Cutts (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1959). Drawing more exclusively on bawdy material is *Merry Songs and Ballads, Prior to the Year A.D. 1800*, ed. by John S. Farmer, 5 vols ([privately printed], 1897).

follows the suit of ‘ane young man’ to ‘ane nimph vpon yon plaine’ through to its end. When the nymph is swayed and offers her ‘hand’ – perhaps in marriage, or in anticipation of further sexual favours – the youth recoils, stating that ‘Now haue I gottin that I long sought’, in other words, his euphemistic ‘one poor kis’, and he promptly abandons her. The next poem is Montgomerie’s amatory ‘Even death [behold] I breath’, which in turn is followed by three anonymous lyrics: ‘Fairweill peace cair is my cace’ (f. 58), ‘Impassionate in pensieue plyt’ (f. 60), and the incomplete ‘In [blank] I am allon’ (f. 61). Another song follows, this time from an English source: ‘Not full twelf yeiris twis told a wearrie breath’, which was printed in Thomas Ford’s *Mvsicke of Svndrie Kindes*. The final poem of this group, and the last to be subscribed ‘finis amen so be it’, is ‘Sumtyme haue I sein when the world hes bein mirrie’ (f. 62-63). Although no textual source for this has survived, this lyric might be connected to a tune featured in Gordon of Straloch’s lute book (NLS Adv. MS 5.2.18), a Scottish musical manuscript of c. 1627-29 (further explored below, see pp. 164-65). Whatever Robertson’s source will have been for the poems on ff. 54-63, on the basis of its repeated inscription it seems likely that she found them all in one place. They are, however, formally and thematically still diverse, and ultimately derive from quite divergent sources. Finally, the many errors and omissions in this section of MS 15937 indicate this underlying source must have caused Robertson, and then the later copyist, considerable transcribing difficulties.

It is very difficult to make any inferences about the way in which Robertson’s MS X, and, by extension, MS 15937, might have been put together. It seems plausible at least that Robertson had various manuscripts or printed books at her disposal – for instance a collection of sonnets, a collection of ‘dyers’, and one or more musical prints and manuscripts (certainly containing the words, and perhaps even music). There is very little indication why the manuscript was compiled. George Bannatyne, for instance, wrote with an audience in mind, whereas Mary Maitland compiled her Quarto manuscript as a memorial to her father. No clues suggest that Robertson collected her poems and songs for any other reason than private use, only to be shared perhaps with members of the family, the household, or friends. Since MS X has been lost, it is extremely difficult to determine whether the content of MS 15937 was collected with an underlying structure in mind. In EUL Laing MS III.447, for instance, it is possible to show a thematic progression, and scribal awareness of the pages in the manuscript that preceded their own contributions. Even if such a process would be detectable in MS 15937, we cannot be sure that this is Robertson’s work. For that reason, the poems shall be treated as distinct groups, mostly defined by genre or type (for instance sonnets, ‘dyers’, bawdy songs). Whereas within these groups connections between individual poems sometimes become evident, it remains difficult to detect a larger organisational principle. With the exception of some sections (for instance ff. 212-15, see below) it will be assumed that Robertson simply copied whatever became available to her, in no significant order. As the compilation of miscellanies is always partly dependent on circumstance, and partly on design, the safest way to approach MS 15937 is to suppose that a large collection of copy texts must have

made their way to Lude (or vice versa), after which Robertson, according to a loosely applied selective rationale, proceeded to copy poems and songs into her manuscript(s). As will become clear, the Robertson manuscript, more than any of the manuscripts discussed so far, needs also to be considered in the context of Scottish seventeenth-century musical manuscripts. Although no music is contained within its pages, the number of Scottish songs that is included is considerable.

The English Songs and Poems

Before exploring the material in Scots, or seemingly of Scots descent, it will be useful to see where Robertson may have found her English songs and poems.³⁴ As stated above, sixty-six titles have already been traced to a large number of English printed books. These songs ultimately derive from at least seventeen different late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century song books, ranging from William Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (1588) to Thomas Campion's *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (probably published in 1618). Appendix Four, Table 3, provides a full list of all books and corresponding songs and poems. A great number of different English song books must have been in circulation in Scotland soon after they were printed in London. By way of comparison, *Songs and Fancies* (which was printed and introduced by John Forbes, but probably compiled by Thomas Davidson), the first secular song book to be published in Scotland in 1662 (and revised in 1666 and 1682) ultimately draws on nineteen English song books: eight books provided songs for both Robertson and *Songs and Fancies*.³⁵

Most song books fall into one of two categories: Fellowes distinguishes between the books of madrigal composers, and those of lutenists. 'The madrigal took the form of unaccompanied song for at least three, and rarely for more than six, voice-parts'. By comparison,

the Airs of the lutenists usually took the form of solo-songs with several stanzas of words, for each of which, as a general rule, the same music was repeated [...] When performed as solo-songs they were accompanied with the lute, reinforced by a bass viol or some such instrument, to add support and body to the general effect; while occasionally, as in three of the songs of Dowland in *A Pilgrimes Solace*, more elaborate instrumental accompaniment was added.³⁶

³⁴ In order to identify the English poems, the list of contents of the manuscript has been compared to the following reference works (in addition to those collections of songs listed in note 33 above): William A. Ringler, ed., *Bibliography and Index of English Verse Printed 1476-1558* (London: Mansell, 1988); William A. Ringler, ed., *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript, 1501-1558* (London: Mansell, 1992); Steven W. May and William A. Ringler, eds., *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559-1603*, 3 vols (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004); Margaret Crum, ed., *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Roman R. Dubinski, ed., *English Religious Poetry: Printed 1477-1640* (Waterloo, Ontario: North Waterloo Academic Press, 1996); Stephen Parks, ed., *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the James M. and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

³⁵ Charles Sanford Terry, 'John Forbes's "Songs and Fancies"', *The Musical Quarterly*, 22:4 (1936), 402-19 (pp. 412-13).

³⁶ Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, pp. xviii-xix.

Thus, madrigals are sung unaccompanied, as opposed to airs, which are sung to accompaniment of a variety of instruments: the lute, bass-viol, viola da gambo, or orpharion. Of the seventeen song books that can be identified as possible source material for Robertson, fourteen are books of airs; only three contain madrigals. This overwhelming predominance of songs set explicitly to musical accompaniment suggests that, if indeed Robertson copied her poems from the books directly, she may have had an interest in the music, and in the performance aspect of songs.

In addition to the songs and poems located in *English Madrigal Verse*, many more sources can be identified that have not previously been noted. ‘O quhat a Plague is love’ (ff. 48-54) was printed in England as a black-letter ballad before 1603, and collected in the Shirburn Manuscript (as well as in the later Roxburghe collection).³⁷ ‘Shall I waisting in dispair’ (f. 90) was printed in 1615 in George Wither’s *Fidelia* – this song has also been transcribed into the Bannatyne manuscript as a later addition, and features in the Leyden vocal manuscript of 1639; both these versions allow many more liberties with the words to Wither’s song.³⁸ Robertson’s version is close to Wither’s 1615 print, but omits the fourth stanza. In one instance (the first four lines of stanza three), the Robertson poem is perhaps closer to Bannatyne than to the print:

Shall a womans vertewes mone [scribal error for ‘move’]
 Me to perrish for hir loue
 Or hir vorthie merites knawn
 Mak me quhyt forget my awne. (f. 90)

In Wither’s print, the last two lines quoted read ‘Or her wel deseruings knowne / Make me quite forget mine owne’. In Bannatyne, these lines read ‘Or a Womanis merit^s knawin caus me quyt forgett my awin’. In other words, in both manuscript sources ‘merites’ replace ‘deseruings’. Robertson’s inclusion of Wither’s song is clearly in line with popular taste in Scotland at the time, and suggests how the canon of English songs in Scotland was sustained by repeated copying into verse anthologies.

The Golden Garland, a miscellany compiled by Richard Johnson, and printed in London in 1620, may have been the ultimate source for another two songs: ‘Come suet love let sorrow cease’ (f. 120) and ‘How now schepheard quhat meanes that’ (f. 134).³⁹ It is evident from other sources

³⁷ *The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616*, ed. by Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), pp. 296-301; *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. by William Chappell, 9 vols (Hertford: Ballad Society, 1871-97), VI, 460-63.

³⁸ George Wither, *Fidelia* (London: [n.p.], 1615), no pagination; see also Ault, *Elizabethan Lyrics*, pp. 465-66. *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser. 5, 1928-34), II, 257-58; cf. the facsimile edition, *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland MS 1.1.6*, ed. by Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scolar Press, 1980), f. 97r. See also Harry M. Willsher, ‘Music in Scotland During Three Centuries (1450-1750)’, 3 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1945), II, 150-52, who gives the text of the song in the Leyden vocal manuscript, which contains three more stanzas not found elsewhere.

³⁹ *The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and Delicate Delights*, ed. Richard Johnson (London: [n.p.], 1620). Cf. Ault, *Elizabethan Lyrics*, p. 465.

that this first song from *The Golden Garland* had some currency in Scotland, as Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, reworked ‘Come suet love’ as a religious lyric (entitled ‘Come sweet LORD, let sorrow cease’).⁴⁰ Both songs from the *Garland* also appear in all three editions of *Songs and Fancies* – this certainly confirms that several of the songs that appeared in *Songs and Fancies* had already been present in Scottish (musical) manuscripts for many decades.

Without a doubt, many more poems in MS 15937 that appear unique will in fact have been lifted from the English tradition, and survive perhaps in less well-known manuscripts, music books, ballad collections, or other sources. One example is ‘As on a day Sabina was asleep’ on f. 145, which Margaret Crum also finds, in incomplete form, in Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Poet 172, f. 2.⁴¹ Hyder Rollins traces the same poem to the collection of Roxburghe Ballads. Rollins’s index provides another title, ‘As at noone Dulcina rested’ (f. 164), which was printed as an undated black-letter ballad and attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh. This, again, is also collected in the Roxburghe Ballads.⁴²

Certainly one and perhaps two Robertson poems have survived in English commonplace books now held at Yale University.⁴³ The first is the bawdy poem, or song, ‘Walking in a midow faire’ (f. 153), which in the Osborn manuscript (Beinecke Library Osborn b 200, p. 370) is entitled ‘A Wanton wench hath ne’er enough’. MS 15937’s ‘Ane puritane of latt’ (f. 150) shares its *incipit* with another poem from the same Osborn manuscript, on p. 363; this poem also features in yet another commonplace book, that of Tobias Alston, dated c. 1639 (Beinecke Library Osborn b 197, p. 33).⁴⁴ These are the first and the final stanzas of the latter poem in MS 15937:

Ane puritane of latt
 And also ane holie brother
 In catischisame seat
 Full faine he wald haue usit hir
 As his mark (f. 150)

Our elders thought it meit
 That privie meditatioune
 For holines sould weep
 And suffer still tentatioune
 For the sprit. (f. 151)

⁴⁰ Jamie Reid-Baxter suggests that this poem was recently discovered by Pamela Giles in the 1644 edition of *A Godly Dream* printed in Aberdeen, but it had already been noticed by Willsher, ‘Music in Scotland’, II, 47; Jamie Reid-Baxter, ‘Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross: 3500 New Lines of Verse’, in *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, ed. by Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 195-200 (p. 198).

⁴¹ Crum, *Index*, I, 82.

⁴² Hyder E. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers in London’, *Studies in Philology*, 21:1 (1924), 1-324. *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 664-67; VI, 164-69.

⁴³ Parks, *Index*, entries A0395 and W0016.

⁴⁴ I have not yet consulted these manuscripts myself. On the basis of the first and last lines of the relevant poems listed in Parks, however, it appears extremely likely that Robertson’s poems are in fact (versions of) the works that are described by Parks.

The poem relates the puritan's sexual misconduct with 'ane bab of grace / And child of reformatione'. This song was also printed in 1661 (in *Merry Drollery*), but clearly circulated in manuscript much earlier.⁴⁵

One of the poems mentioned above, 'Walking in a medow faire', and two more from the Robertson manuscript, 'Methought my loue was in hir bed' (f. 149), and 'When Phoebus adrest' (f. 151), also survive in the mid-seventeenth century Percy Folio manuscript (the song on f. 149 in Percy starts 'I dreamed my loue lay in her bedd').⁴⁶ Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, published in 1765, relied to some extent on this latter source, but the whole manuscript was not published until edited by Hales and Furnivall at the end of the nineteenth century. Victorian propriety frowned on those songs in the Percy Folio manuscript that the editors were ashamed to print, and which indeed the bishop himself had already marked out with three crosses, indicating bawdy content. Yet, it is exactly those songs that appealed to Robertson, and which she copied into her miscellany. Clearly, the early-seventeenth century Perthshire anthology could match London's interest in 'the wonderful intellectual energy of Elizabeth's and James I's time ran riot somewhat'.⁴⁷

On f. 17 of MS 15937, the following verses on friendship are included:

Lyke as the purest gold in fyrie flame is tried
 Evine soe is faith of friendis in hard estaite descryed
 Giff hard missape doe mak ye affrayit
 Each of thy friendis doe flie away
 And he which erst full frendlie stood to the
 A friend noe more to thy poore staite is he.

This derives from an English print of 1567, William Painter's *The Second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure*.⁴⁸ Painter's sizeable book is divided up into what he terms 'nouels', prose translations of histories and romances from several languages, which were an influential source for many Elizabethan dramatists.⁴⁹ The friendship poem features in the story of 'Salimbene and Angelica',

⁴⁵ The song is also reprinted in Farmer, *Merry Songs*, I, 133-34.

⁴⁶ *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances*, ed. by John W. Hales and Frederick W. Furnivall, 4 vols ([privately printed], 1867-68), IV, pp. 3-5, 7-8, 102-3. See also the reprint and introduction to *Loose and Humorous Songs from Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, intro. by John Greenway (1868; repr. Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1963). Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), pp. 197-99, discusses a song, 'When Phoebus did rest', or 'When Phoebus adres'd his course to the West', the words of which were printed in a relatively late musical anthology, *Wit and Drollery*, ed. John Phillips (London: [n.p.], 1656), but a Dutch song book (*Friesche lust-hof*, ed. by Jan Jansz. Starter (Amsterdam: [n.p.], 1621)) collects the music, entitled 'O doe not, doe not kil me yet for I am not &c'. This title is the refrain of the Robertson poem 'When Phoebus adrest'.

⁴⁷ The phrase is Furnivall's, *Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. iii.

⁴⁸ William Painter, *The Second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure, conteyning more of goodly Histories, Tragicall matters, and other Morall argument, very requisite for delighte and profit* (London: [n.p.], 1567), p. 355.

⁴⁹ L. G. Kelly, 'Painter, William (1540?-1595)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21135>, accessed 26 June 2007].

the thirtieth 'nouel'. There is no need to suppose Robertson ever saw more of Painter's book, as the verse may easily have been transmitted separately.

Another influential Elizabethan translation that may have supplied at the very least the idea for a poem in MS 15937 is Bartholomew Yong's *Diana*, printed in 1598.⁵⁰ This was a tripartite work: the first part was a translation of Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*, a very popular Spanish pastoral romance; the second and third parts were later additions to Montemayor by Perez and Del Polo. The first quatrain of one of Robertson's sonnets (for more on the sonnets, see below), 'He that in fredome lives may proudlie boast' (f. 15), seems to owe a great deal to a poem in Yong's translation of Del Polo, *Enamoured Diana*. This is the opening stanza (of a three-stanza song):

He that in freedome lets it proude and braue,
 Let him not liue too carelesse of himselfe:
 For in an instant he may be a slaue
 To mighty Loue, and serue that wanton elfe:
 And let that hart that yet was neuer tamed,
 Feare at the last by him to be inflamed.⁵¹

This poem follows a long debate on the nature of Cupid, and indeed, of love poetry: 'All Louers verses are full of dolour, compounded with sighes, blotted with teares, and sung with agonies'. The Robertson sonnet opens thus:

He that in friedome liwes may proudlie boast
 Yit latt him not be caireles of his staite
 Fyer is ane instant loue may make him crost
 And doune his fortune and his cruel fait. (f. 15)

Neither poem is particularly original and all symptoms of infatuation are well known; yet, the echoes of 'friedome', 'proudlie', 'caireles', and 'instant' suggest that the Robertson sonnet was influenced by, if not modelled on, Yong's translation (alternatively, del Polo's original and the Robertson poem may share a common model).

Another similar type of dependence of a Robertson poem on a possible English source can be found in 'I can not injoy peace' (f. 192), towards the end of the manuscript:

I can not injoy peace
 And yet I haue no weare
 I burne I friz with cold
 I hoop and yet doe feare
 I mount the heavins aboue
 The lawer is my fall
 I nothing hold in hand
 And yet I compasse all.

⁵⁰ Bartholomew Yong, *Diana, of George of Montemayor* (London: [n.p.], 1598).

⁵¹ Yong, p. 383.

This is the first of four stanzas. The model for this is, ultimately, Petrarch's 'Pace non trovo et non ò da far guerra', first translated, or paraphrased, into English by Thomas Wyatt as 'I fynde no peace and all my warr is done'.⁵² Whereas the Robertson poem departs from its immediate Petrarchist roots in the second stanza, it returns to the model in the first four lines of the third and fourth stanzas:

Loue will not that I liue
 Nor yet will let me die
 Nor will he hold me fast
 Nor yet will set me frie
 [...]
 I want both eyes and tounge
 Yet can I sie and speik
 I daylie wish for death
 Yet efter liue I seik.

This Robertson poem adheres closely to its source, either Petrarch, Wyatt, or another intermediate translation; in some of the wording it is closer to the Italian original than for instance William Fowler's 'I burne by hope', a sonnet from the *Tarantula of Love*, based on Petrarch's 'Pace non trovo', employing that much-loved endless play on antitheses.⁵³ There is nothing particularly remarkable about this poem in MS 15937, but the example serves to illustrate how difficult it is to pinpoint exact sources for some of the poems. Interesting in the context of so many songs in the manuscript is that Wyatt's sonnet appears to have been set to music, which does not now survive. A musical arrangement (but no words) entitled 'No peace I find' survives in manuscript (BL MS Add. 31992), but we cannot be certain that Wyatt's words were once sung to that particular tune. Nevertheless, it seems clear that a song once existed based on Wyatt's sonnet, or on another similar translation of Petrarch.⁵⁴ 'I can not injoy peace' in MS 15937 may well have been a song too. Another poem may be identified by, or at least associated with, the title of a popular tune: 'Ane lustie youthfull gallant' (f. 127). Two versions of the 'Lusty Gallant' tune have survived, and many songs were composed to fit the two melodies.⁵⁵ Since the refrain and repetition so clearly mark this Robertson poem as a song, it might be related to the ubiquitous Elizabethan ballad 'Lusty Gallant'.

It is impossible to research the provenance of each individual English song in MS 15937 (and, by implication, to point to an exact source for Robertson), as the textual and musical history of many songs is very complex. An example of a lyric in MS 15937 which had already enjoyed a

⁵² *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969), pp. 20-21; for Petrarch's original text and facing literal translation into English, see *Petrarch's Canzoniere*, ed. and translated by Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 218-19.

⁵³ *The Works of William Fowler*, ed. by Henry W. Meikle, James Craigie and John Purves, 3 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 6, 3rd ser. 7, 13, 1914-40), I, 194-95.

⁵⁴ See L. Mumford, 'Sir Thomas Wyatt's Songs: A Trio of Problems in Manuscript Sources', *Music & Letters*, 39:3 (1958), 262-64.

⁵⁵ For the music and a discussion of the song, see Simpson, *Broadside Ballad*, pp. 476-78.

long life before it was printed is ‘His goldene lockes tyme hath to siluer turned’ (f. 64). Collected by John Dowland in 1597, Fellowes records it was sung in 1590 when Sir Henry Lee resigned his title of Queen’s Champion; the lyrics were twice printed elsewhere, too.⁵⁶ Examples such as these abound, and a thorough investigation of the critical apparatuses of Fellowes, Doughtie and Ault will result in a labyrinthine network of manuscripts and prints. Another example is ‘Now I sie thy lockes art bot fained’ (ff. 91-92), ascribed to Thomas Lodge. It was printed firstly in 1593, in *Phyllis: Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and Amorous Delights*; secondly, in 1593 also, in *The Phoenix Nest*; thirdly, it appeared in Thomas Ford’s 1607 *Mvsicke of Svndrie Kindes*. Edward Doughtie traces the song, including the music, in five more manuscripts: BL MS Add. 24665 (1615-26), Rosenbach MS 239/27 (c. 1635), Folger MS V.a.345 (c. 1630), NLS Adv. MS 5.2.14 (c. 1640), and Bishop Smith’s MS, Carlisle Cathedral (c. 1637).⁵⁷ Thus, the poem is printed first in a single-author book (Lodge’s *Phyllis*), then in a miscellany (*Phoenix Nest*), and is subsequently underlaid to music by Ford. From there on, it acquires a life of its own and resurfaces in at least six manuscripts, MS 15937 included. Presuming that Robertson did indeed collect her songs c. 1630, it is fascinating to see that her scribal activities fit perfectly into the time frame (1620s to 1640s) of the production of the five English manuscripts that include this poem, as traced by Doughtie. This suggests that no real time lag prevented the inclusion of English song into Scottish manuscripts, and that the northern estate of Lude could easily partake in an English/Scottish trend of contemporary song compilation.

The seventeen English song books listed in Appendix Four, Table 3, comprise a very substantial collection by any standard, and a collection that may now be much enlarged again by the English sources identified above. The question that arises, then, is whether we can be sure that Robertson found her material in printed books. The songs may have derived from one or more unknown manuscripts, but there is no evidence for this. If her material derives from printed books, where would she have found such a large collection? Were the songs collected mainly as poetry, or, as is not inconceivable in the musical environment she grew up in, were they collected to be sung? It is certainly the case that Robertson’s selection of songs is in keeping with that of other Scottish musical manuscripts of the time. Several English prints supply no more than a single song – for instance, ‘With my loue my lyf is vaisted’ (f. 124) from Thomas Morley’s *First Book of Ayres* (1600), or ‘Come love lets walk into ye spring’ (f. 203) from Henry Youll’s *Canzonets to Three Voyces* (1608).⁵⁸ Both these songs feature in other Scottish musical manuscripts, and when, several decades later, *Songs and Fancies* was compiled, the same single songs are selected again.

⁵⁶ Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, p. 738.

⁵⁷ Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 554-55.

⁵⁸ To complicate matters yet further, the three stanzas of Morley’s song come from a seven-stanza poem by Robert Southwell, printed in 1595 (Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, p. 754). Youll’s song was widely circulated in Scotland. For a list of where the music and words appear, see Kenneth Elliott and Helena M. Shire, *Musica Britannica XV: Music of Scotland 1500-1700*, rev. edn (London: Royal Musical Association, 1975), pp. 182, 217-18.

The first edition of *Cantus: Songs and Fancies*, then, was certainly comprised of evergreens (this is not surprising perhaps, as many songs circulated for decades before they were printed). This also suggests that Robertson would not necessarily have needed access to Morley or Youll (and by implication to other printed books), but rather responded to a tradition that had already selected its favourites, perhaps handed down orally and in manuscript. Exactly what the missing link between Morley, Youll and Robertson might have been is difficult to establish, but it is important to realise that not all pieces of the puzzle have survived.

The editor of the above-mentioned manuscript of the Shirburn Ballads, Andrew Clark, struggled with similar problems. This English manuscript features ballads and songs from printed broadsides, probably from between 1600 and 1603 and between 1609 and 1616. Clark wonders ‘why the copyist set himself to write out so much printed matter [...] and whence he got the necessary Broad-sides’. Regarding the second question, he suggests either a wide circle of friends owning the material, or rather fancifully that the copyist ‘may have rented a house whose owner had papered the walls with them’. Clark even supplies evidence: ‘it will be remembered that John Aubrey [...] saw the engraved description of Sir Philip Sidney’s funeral doing duty as a chimney-piece’.⁵⁹ Notwithstanding the attraction of the image of a drawing room at Lude wall-papered with the songs of Scott and Montgomerie, it is safer to disregard Clark’s latter idea and presume instead that Robertson had an extensive circle of literary and music-minded friends. MS 15937 is testament to the cultural diversity present in the house of a small landed family away from the traditional cultural nexus of the court and the city.

Scottish Poems and Songs in Other Sources

It will be helpful to identify those items in Scots of which the authors are known, or which appear elsewhere anonymously, before exploring the remainder of unidentified poetry.⁶⁰ Three Alexander Scott lyrics are preserved: ‘Depart, depart depart’ (f. 54), ‘How should my feeble bodye fur’ (f. 196) and ‘Quha list to leive or that law proue’ (f. 136) – the first two have also been set to music

⁵⁹ *The Shirburn Ballads*, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Unfortunately, no single reference work exists that catalogues early modern Scottish music in its entirety, but several individual articles, editions, and theses, may help to identify many poems in the Robertson manuscript. A selection of Scottish songs is printed in *Musica Britannica XV* and in *Musica Scotica II: Sixteenth-Century Scots Songs for Voice and Lute*, ed. by Kenneth Elliott (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Music Department, 1996). Willsher, ‘Music in Scotland’, lists and inventorises over twenty musical manuscripts, and Evelyn Stell, ‘Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603-1707’, 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), produced a database of Scottish instrumental music. Although Stell does not list vocal songs, still the titles to some of her instrumental tunes are revealing. A final indispensable work of reference is Terry, ‘John Forbes’s “Songs and Fancies”’. Also providing an extensive list of references to Scottish musical sources is Walter H. Rubsamén, ‘Scottish and English Music of the Renaissance in a Newly-Discovered Manuscript’, in *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler*, ed. by Eberhardt Klemm (Leipzig: Institut für Musikwissenschaften, 1961), pp. 259-84.

elsewhere.⁶¹ Five known Montgomerie poems appear in MS 15937, and since none of these were printed, all must have derived from circulating manuscripts. They are ‘Soe sueitt a kis yestrein from yow I reft’ (f. 4), ‘Even death [behold] I breath’ (f. 57), ‘In through the window of myne eyes’ (f. 114), ‘Lyk as the doul solsequium with care overcome’ (f. 204), and ‘Quhat mightie motioune so my [mind] mischeves’ (f. 206).⁶² The last four were, again, set to music: the tunes survive in many musical manuscripts, so clearly they were part of a well-known corpus, or canon. Parkinson’s notes to the poems show the popularity of these works: all four were collected in both the Robert Edward commonplace book, and the Robert Taitt manuscript; the others frequently occur in other well-known sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript song books, such as the Thomas Wode part-books. Robertson could have encountered these widely circulated songs relatively easily, from a variety of sources. ‘Soe sueitt a kis yestrein from yow I reft’ (f. 4) is more problematic because it occurs only in the Ker manuscript, as part of a three-sonnet sequence, and nowhere else. It is perfectly possible, indeed likely, that Montgomerie’s sonnets circulated in manuscripts now lost. ‘Soe sueitt a kis’ establishes a tenuous link between Robertson and the Ker manuscript – a link that will be further explored below, when the final section of the manuscript (ff. 212-15) is discussed. The poem will be dealt with below, in the context of the opening group of twenty-five sonnets.

With the help of *Musica Britannica XV: Music of Scotland 1500-1700*, more songs can now be identified.⁶³ In total, fourteen songs in MS 15937 have been printed by Shire and Elliott; four of these are Montgomerie’s (*MB* 53, 54, 55, and 56), and two are Scott’s (*MB* 42 and 43), already discussed above. The others are all anonymous: ‘Woe vorth the tyme and eik the plaice’ (f. 43 and 105; *MB* 33), ‘Caire away goe thow frome me’ (f. 44; *MB* 60), ‘Now let us sing Christ keip our King’ (f. 64; *MB* 48), ‘Support your servand peyriles paramour’ (f. 96; *MB* 39), ‘Sinc that my sighes does eik the tender air’ (f. 132; *MB* 58), ‘Right sor opprest am I with pains smart’ (f. 138; *MB* 40), ‘Remember me my deir’ (f. 193; *MB* 46), and finally ‘Joy to the persones of my loue’ (f. 206; *MB* 59). This is no insignificant group of songs, and it indicates that Scottish music was alive and well around 1630 in the Lude household.

More Scottish material can be traced, not printed in *Musica Britannica*. Shire discusses ‘Praise me as ye think caus quhy’ (f. 68) and ‘Intill ane May morning’ (f. 94).⁶⁴ The first is an old song, and, like ‘Support your servand peyriles paramour’ (f. 96), it is also collected by George Bannatyne (on ff. 228v and 250r of the Bannatyne manuscript). Robertson follows the stanza

⁶¹ *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, ed. by James Cranstoun (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 36, 1896), pp. 51-52, 46-48, 78-80.

⁶² *Alexander Montgomerie: Poems*, ed. by David J. Parkinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 28, 29, 2000), I, 21-22, 33-36, 43-44, 46-48, 120. For a discussion of the circulation of Montgomerie’s work, see Parkinson, ‘Montgomerie’.

⁶³ All further references are to the numbered songs in Elliott and Shire (for instance *MB* 53).

⁶⁴ Helena M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 18-19, 29-31. The latter song is printed in *Musica Scotica II*, pp. 39-42.

structure of the song, but multiple variants appear, ranging from individual words to complete lines. Stanza six of the Bannatyne text is moved to seventh place in Robertson's manuscript; in sixth place the later text inserts a new stanza entirely. The last two stanzas of both manuscripts illustrate to what degree in Robertson's manuscript the song has changed:

Thairfoir be trew but vairians
 And I salbe as of befoir
 Vtherwayis generis discrepans
 content yow / this ye get no moir.⁶⁵

 Be just and trew butt variencie
 And I sall as I said before
 Vtherwayes generes discipance
 Yow chuse ye get no more. (f. 69)

Variants may easily be explained, as Elliott and Shire comment that often 'songs from the sixteenth century were less fortunate, surviving only in song-books, manuscripts or print, of a hundred years later. Here the texts have suffered change and decay, from the singer's memory and the transcriber's hand'.⁶⁶ Although the general sense of the Bannatyne poem has been retained, the wording has been significantly changed. Elliott and Shire's notion of 'decay', and, for instance, the 'further loss and muddle [that] followed as English grammar, English vowel-sounds in rhymes and current poetic clichés supplanted earlier forms', suggest that Scots characteristics had been lost by the time Robertson transcribed the lyric.⁶⁷ Yet, an entirely positive aspect is that the appearance of this poem and others in a manuscript from the 1630s proves the longevity and malleability of such lyrics through the ages. When Bannatyne collected the song, it might already have been several decades old; yet it continued to be sung a century later.

'Intill ane May morning' (f. 94) was a well-known song, and exists in two versions: one a courtly lyric probably dating to the first half of the sixteenth century, the other 'godlified' for the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*.⁶⁸ The secular text surfaces in Robert Edward's commonplace book (c. 1630-70), the music books of Louis de France and John Squyer (c. 1680 and 1701 respectively), and the song is also included in *Songs and Fancies* (all three editions); Robertson includes the secular version. Compared to the text printed by Elliott (from Robert Edward), Robertson's text in the first line of every stanza omits a two-syllable word: thus, 'Into a mirthfull May morning' runs 'Intill ane May morning', similarly, 'First, therefore when I did you know' runs 'First when I did yow knaw'. It is likely that these words were added or removed for the lines to better fit a tune. Shire discusses a similar practice, of removing iambic feet to fit the music, in Alexander Scott's

⁶⁵ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, IV, 1-2; cf. Fox and Ringler, f. 250r.

⁶⁶ *Musica Britannica XV*, p. xxii.

⁶⁷ *Musica Britannica XV*, p. xxii.

⁶⁸ It is printed in *Musica Scotica II*, pp. 39-42, and Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 30-31. For the godlified text, see *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. by A.F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 39, 1897), pp. 137-38.

‘Depairte, depairte, depairte’ as it survived in the Wode part-books, where she notes that ‘the music [...] was matched with the words *after* the poem was written’.⁶⁹

Another example of a secular ballad that has a spiritual counterpart, or *contrafactum*, is ‘Right sor opprest am I with pains smart’; yet again, Robertson copied the secular song.⁷⁰ In another poem the manuscript, a hint might be contained of a godlified love lyric and its amorous original. The following is the last stanza of ‘My loue is bright as enbur bone’, a bitter-sweet lyric attempting to reconcile the speaker’s love for what appears to be a ‘bad’ woman (as he observes, ‘Wnder the rose both rid and quhyt / May be ane serpant of dispyte’):

For causes thrie I loue hir noght
Ane caus that she is light of thought
The secund she is door and thro
The thrid it needs not (to) be sought
She seames good and is not so. (f. 211)

Compare this to the single fragmentary stanza that appears on f. 95, straight after ‘Intill ane May morning’:

Sein in hir is no asperance
Bot feinyet love and inconstance
All haill my love on god I lay
He is without all variance
She seames god and is right sua.

Both stanzas are five-lined, in iambic tetrameters, and rhyme AABAB. In fact, the lines of f. 95 could perfectly be considered the end of the poem on f. 211 had the poet decided to turn away from his lady and towards God. Alternatively, this is the only remaining fragment of a longer spiritual reworking of the same text, along the lines of the other poems discussed above. No other traces of this lyrical fragment survive.

One of the earliest surviving Scottish part-songs is ‘O Lusty May’: collected in a wealth of music books, as well as in the Bannatyne manuscript, this is a true classic.⁷¹ Robertson does not disappoint, and included this song in her collection, but it is a version that is somewhat different from that found in Bannatyne and in the musical manuscripts. It is almost double the length – nine stanzas, against four in Bannatyne, and five, for instance, in Robert Edward’s commonplace book. In addition, the focus has changed. The Bannatyne song, after three stanzas of natural description, ends thus:

All luvaris that ar in cair
To thair ladeis thay do repair

⁶⁹ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 58-59.

⁷⁰ For the godlified lyric, see *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, pp. 62-63.

⁷¹ For a list of sources, see *Musica Britannica XV*, p. 210 note 35; see also *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III, 300; cf. Fox and Ringler, f. 229v.

In fresch mornyngis (befoir the day [closing bracket omitted]
 And ar in mirth ay mair and mair
 Thruch glaidnes of this lusty may.

The Robertson text matches the initial stages of the poem, and even embellishes on the rich description of a May morning:

On herbes the balmie liquor suet
 Bedewes the virgines hunteres feett
 With subtill shoures before the day
 Rejoyes lye lyk the sprit
 Throw gladnes of this lustie May.

Till Phoebus with his golden beames
 Inlight the land and cristall strimes
 Then Cinthia she steilles away
 And right to rin his race he clines
 Through gladnes of this lustie May

The dew lyk diamonds appeir
 Redubling Phoebus rayes most cleir
 This pleasantye now springs the day
 Let us rejoy with heartlie cheir
 Through gladnes of this lustie May. (f. 143)

May is not, in this instance, the ‘moneth maist amene / For thame in Venus seruice bene’ (the phrase is Alexander’s Scott’s);⁷² rather, the poem concludes that

To god we giue all praise for all
 Father sone sprit celestially
 Preserve the kirk the king we pray
 And us on quhom thy nam doe call
 Through gladnes of this lustie May.

This may be an instance of a godlified courtly lyric, but if it is, then it lacks the stern moralising and plain style of other ‘gude and godlie ballatis’ – instead, this version of ‘O Lusty May’ rather anticipates Alexander Hume’s ‘Of the Day Estivall’. The older poem presents a more classical, or ‘educated’, portrayal of the natural world, but a similar sense pervades of the wonder and the beauty of God’s creation. This attractive rendering of the song deserves to be better known.

Musical manuscripts frequently record only the music, and perhaps the title of a tune, but no words. In such cases, the words can be joined with the song only when they have survived elsewhere. As far as can be ascertained, MS 15937 contains at least two Scots lyrics of which only the tunes and titles have survived elsewhere, and as such these lyrics will be of great interest to musicologists. The first is ‘Quhat heigh offence has my trew love taikine’ (f. 112). It is an elaborately rhymed, three-stanza lyric. This is the first stanza:

⁷² *Poems of Scott*, p. 23.

Quhat heigh offence has my trew love taikine
 Chus for to sie me flame
 Is thair no hoop bot I most be forsaikine
 Rests no remeid for my paine
 Och sillie saul
 Thy hoop is verie small
 Thair rests no remeidie at all
 So resolued is thair disdaine.

In the Skene manuscript (NLS MS Adv. 5.2.15, ff. 125-27) can be found a tune entitled 'What high offences hes my fair love taken'.⁷³ It is entirely possible that the poem in MS 15937 fits this tune, or at least that both share a common source (it would still have to be tested whether the words match the music). It is unfortunate that Robertson's (or the later scribe's) transcription seems rather marred by inaccuracies, in particular in the final stanza, where two rhyme words have been lost, and the sense is muddled.

The second Robertson poem which seems to have been set to music, but of which the music and words may have survived separately, is 'Sumtyme haue I sein whein the world hes bein mirrie' (f. 62). In the Straloch Lute manuscript (c. 1627-29), owned or written by Robert Gordon, a piece of music survives that is entitled 'Its a wonder to see how the world does goe'.⁷⁴ The title is identical to the refrain of the Robertson poem, as quoted below. Again, musicologists will have to determine whether the song might be sung to the tune as preserved by Gordon. This is the first stanza, and the last:

Sumtyme haue I sein whein the world hes bein mirrie
 Accepted with melancholly bot now its grown sad
 Somtyme haue I sein when the world not bein wearie
 What toyll or what travell what cros we have had
 Now sighing for singing our mynd is confused
 Now laughing for louing we loeath that we loued
 Rejoycing reposing nothing bot in woe
 Its a wonder to sie how this world does goe.

The sillie poor pedders that lives on ther packs
 Ar loupen to lordschips and lives on ther rent
 Now gallants and greit man ar all gone aback
 Thay clap al in catioune for skiprigs thai spent
 Now he (is) ane lord that lait was ane clown
 And she is ane ladly [*sic*] that lait was a lown
 Cum hurly com burleie the userer so

⁷³ The manuscript is reproduced in William Daune, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1838). In Daune's list of contents, I, 8, the song appears in the fourth part of the manuscript as no. 58. When Daune reproduces the manuscript, the song is no. 72, II, 246.

⁷⁴ The original Straloch lute manuscript, like Robertson's MS X, is lost, but a partial transcription was made in 1839, and presented to the Faculty of Advocates in 1847 by George Farquhar Graham (NLS Adv. MS 5.2.18; for the song, see f. 17r). Graham lists the full content of the manuscript on ff. xi-xii. Daune's *Ancient Scottish Melodies* also contains a lists of titles, II, 368. See also Willsher, II, 73-79.

Its a wounder to sie how this world doth goe.

The tone of this piece, of disappointment, changeability, of new fashions and fleeting fortunes, and more generally of a world up-side-down, may be traced more widely. One example is Chaucer's 'Lak of Stedfastnesse', collected in both the Bannatyne and the Maitland Folio manuscripts.⁷⁵ As Chaucer relates, 'Somtyme the world was so stedfast and stable / That mannes word was obligacioun / And now it is so fals and deceivable'.⁷⁶ The poem condemns 'cuvettyce', and, in a stanza not originally in Chaucer but included in Bannatyne and Maitland, 'ffalsheid that sowld bene abhominable', and 'vycis' that are 'the grund of sustentatioun / All wit is turnit to cavillatioun'. A particular genre of 'complaint' poem is directed at the court, and practiced in Scotland, for instance, by Dunbar, Scott, or Sir Richard Maitland.⁷⁷ Whether 'Sumtyme haue I sein' should be situated in the same social and poetical milieu is not certain – although it is very clearly concerned with fashion. The 'skiprigs' in stanza four apparently refer to wanton women, or items of women's clothing (the word is not in *OED*, and *DOST* suggests its meaning is uncertain, see under 'skiprig'). What 'fatlands' and 'spaikers' are, in connection to 'hatbands', has yet to be determined – possibly, scribal errors obscure the sense here. Whether the song is Scottish is debatable, although the rhymes 'down/mone', the spelling 'veirs' for 'wears', the occurrence of 'skiprigs', and the persistent alliteration, perhaps tip the scales in favour of a Scots poet. In the wider context of the manuscript, this song stands out in Robertson's repertoire for its subject matter, and it is refreshing after the first sixty folios of largely amatory verse.

It has already been noted above that, according to Bawcutt, the Robertson manuscript is not unlike the manuscript compiled for, or perhaps by, Lady Margaret Wemyss (NLS Dep. 314/23; the deposit was part of the Sutherland papers, and the collection contains another seventeenth-century musical manuscript, see Dep. 314/24).⁷⁸ Not much is known about Wemyss, other than that she was born on 24 September 1630, and died sometime after 17 May 1648. Wemyss, like her sister Jean who seems to have inherited the manuscript, was a lutenist (although how proficient it is hard to tell), as she refers to the music as her 'lessons' – on f. 42r, a scribe, perhaps Margaret, noted that 'all the Lesons behind this are learned ut of my Sisteres book'. In terms of selection by their respective copyists, the two manuscripts overlap: where Robertson has copied eleven songs from

⁷⁵ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, II, 164-65; cf. Fox and Ringler, f. 67r. *Maitland Folio*, I, 397-98.

⁷⁶ *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 654.

⁷⁷ For other such 'complaint' poems, see also for instance the many works in *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. by James Cranstoun, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 1st ser. 20, 24, 28, 30, 1901-3).

⁷⁸ The Wemyss manuscript consists of five sections: ff. 1r-11r, seventeen songs, words, and music, originally by Thomas Campion and Thomas Morley; ff. 12r-16r, eight poems; ff. 17r-27r, twenty-eight instrumental pieces for the lute; ff. 28r-50r, a further sixty-one lute songs, and finally ff. 52v-73v (the manuscript is reversed here, reading from back to front), another group of nineteen poems. The manuscript is discussed in more detail (but focussing on the instrumental lute-music) by Matthew Spring, 'The Lady Margaret Wemyss Manuscript', *The Lute*, 27 (1987), 5-29. Another comparable manuscript is discussed by Evelyn Stell, 'Lady Jean Campbell's Seventeenth-Century Music-Book', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 8 (1993), 11-19.

Campion and one from Morley (see Appendix Four, Table 3), Wemyss copied fourteen from Campion and three from Morley – seven songs are shared by both manuscripts.⁷⁹ Concerning the miscellaneous poems in Wemyss, some are known works, by Robert Ayton, Henry Howard, Thomas Carew, and Alexander Montgomerie, but most are anonymous. Montgomerie's 'Quhat mightie motioune' is collected by both manuscripts (f. 206; Wemyss f. 58v), but they also share an unfamiliar poem, which seems unique to these two manuscripts: 'Quhen Cynthia with a sweet consent' (f. 36; cf. 'When sinthia with suet consent', Wemyss f. 71v). This is a typical sixteenth century lyric, featuring a narrator who, while moving through 'ane vildernes', happens upon a lovelorn speaker, and overhears a lament. It opens as follows:

Quhen Cynthia with a sweet consent
 Haid callit Titan from his tent
 Outthrow ane vildernes I went
 My spirit for to repoise
 Soe weil I saw it gried in one
 The morning and the loueiris moane
 I vearied and I vanderit one
 quhill trees did me incloise.

Many textual differences occur, including entirely new stanzas, which suggest that the two scribes did certainly not share a copy text for this poem. The Robertson version is one line short of forty; the Wemyss poem consists of ten quatrains, so appears complete. The most significant difference is that in MS 15937, the lamenter is male; in the Wemyss manuscript, she is female (cf. 'He wes ane louer poore and just' and 'the tears ... owerflowit his chinne' with 'She was a louer tru and iust' and 'the tears ... ouer floud her chaine'). In the latter instance, this may be a mistake, as the lament certainly seems more unorthodox spoken by a woman. On the other hand, the Wemyss version of the poem may be an example of a love lyric appropriated by the female voice, and inscribed by a female compiler. Another such example of a female-centred poetics (and perhaps even lesbian sentiments) can be found in the Maitland Quarto.⁸⁰ Only one other example of a female persona can be found in MS 15937: towards the very end of her manuscript, Robertson collects one sonnet clearly spoken by a woman. This sonnet, and the further issue of female appropriation, will be discussed below (pp. 195-96).

⁷⁹ The shared songs are: 'Giue loue loues trueth, then vemen doe not loue' (f. 39; Wemyss f. 10r); 'Be thow then my beautie named' (ff. 40 and 163; Wemyss f. 1v); 'Yong and simple though I am' (f. 84; Wemyss f. 2r); 'If any haue the heart to kill' (f. 168; Wemyss f. 3r); 'With my loue my lyf is vaisted' (f. 124; Wemyss f. 9r); 'Hir faire efflaming eyes' (f. 169; Wemyss f. 4r); 'Whit as lillies was hir face' (f. 171; Wemyss f. 5v).

⁸⁰ For the poem in question, see the *Maitland Quarto*, pp. 160-62; see also Jane Farnsworth, 'Voicing Female Desire in "Poem XLIX"', *Studies in English Literature*, 36:1 (1996), 57-72; Evelyn S. Newlyn, 'A Methodology for Reading Against the Culture: Anonymous, Women Poets, and the Maitland Quarto Manuscript', in *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, ed. by Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 89-103.

To return to the Scottish, music-related content of MS 15937: Robertson indiscriminately conflates over five decades or more of songs and poems.⁸¹ Some titles belong to distinct periods of historical significance: ‘Depart, depart depart’ (f. 54), ‘Right sor opprest’ (f. 138), and ‘O Lusty May’ (f. 142; but perhaps not the version as recorded by Robertson), for instance, are compositions dating from the 1540s and 1550s, in the wake of French cultural dominance in the reign of Marie de Guise. Slightly later, from the Scottish reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, date such songs as ‘Intill ane May morning’ (f. 94) and ‘Woe vorth the tyme and eik the plaice’ (f. 43 and 105). From yet another two decades onwards date ‘Now let us sing Christ keip our King’ (f. 64), a musical drinking song, ‘Remember me my deir’ (f. 193), and several of Montgomerie’s compositions. It is important to note that, although the earliest English song book providing copy text for MS 15937 dates from 1588, many Scottish songs in this manuscript are much older (though, as argued above, many English songs may also have circulated prior to printing). In all likelihood, Robertson derived the multitude of her English songs from printed books (or manuscripts based on those books). By way of contrast, in the absence of any Scottish printed secular music until 1662, Robertson must have had access to copious manuscript materials: manuscripts perhaps much like those of Robert Edward, Margaret Wemyss, or Jean Campbell.

As study of the latter two compilers (by Spring and Stell, see note 78 above) has shown, ownership of such music books often implies musical aptitude, though of varying levels. As Stell surmises about Campbell,

Jean would have received a thorough grounding in domestic concerns, and tuition in social accomplishments, with a high-ranking marriage as the goal. Music was one of the more important of these accomplishments, and the lute and the virginal [...] were the most popular choices for young ladies to learn to play.⁸²

The household of Lude, with its two treasured harps, was doubtlessly a musical environment, and for Margaret Robertson, the transition from indigenous, Gaelic music (as evident from the visits of itinerant harpers) to Scots and English art song might have been a natural progression. In light of this, the importance of MS 15937 for musical scholars should be firmly stressed. Inclusion of many known Scottish songs adds to the knowledge of that music as it was circulated; in addition, the inclusion in MS 15937 of various unique items (such as ‘Quhat heigh offence’ and ‘Sumtyme haue I sein’) adds to the relatively small corpus of surviving Scottish lyrics. Despite its occasionally badly transcribed lyrics, MS 15937 needs to be recognised as an important repository of Scots and English song texts, and thus as a manuscript of considerable interest in terms of the social history of music (and poetry) in early-seventeenth century Scotland.

⁸¹ A concise chronology of Scottish music is provided by Elliott and Shire, in the introduction to *Musica Britannica XV*, pp. xv-xvii, and in the introduction to *Musica Scotica II*, pp. vi-ix.

⁸² Stell, ‘Campbell’s Music-Book’, p. 13.

The Sonnets, ff. 2-16

Twenty-five numbered sonnets open the manuscript. Like the ten-sonnet series in CUL Kk.5.30 discussed in the previous chapter, this is certainly not a narrative sequence. Five sonnets so far have been identified, or are familiar from elsewhere: the anonymous ‘I dreamed a dreame I wishe my dreame wer trew’ (sonnet 1) also features in EUL Laing.III.447 (see p. 71 above); Montgomerie’s ‘Soe sueitt a kis yestrein from yow I reft’ (sonnet 5) is part of a three-sonnet series in the Ker manuscript, and Robert Ayton’s ‘I bid faireweill both to the world and the’ (sonnet 24), survives in another manuscript source, BL MS Add. 10308.⁸³ Sonnets 3 and 22, ‘Quhy loue I hir that loues not me againe’ and ‘I patt my hand by hazard in the hatt’, were both printed in Alexander Craig’s *Amorose Songes* of 1606.⁸⁴ In relation to Montgomerie’s sonnet, it is not very surprising that in MS 15937 it appears unaccompanied by the other two sonnets that it is linked with in Ker.⁸⁵ The provisional group of three in the Ker manuscript is almost certainly editorially created; moreover, while the first sonnet, ‘Bricht Amorous Ee’, is presumably Montgomerie’s own translation from Ronsard, the second sonnet is composed by his friend Henry Constable, and perhaps rendered in Scots by Montgomerie.⁸⁶ It is likely that ‘Soe sueitt a kis’ (also translated from Ronsard) circulated separately, prior to the compilation of the Ker manuscript.

The opening sonnet in MS 15937, ‘I dreamed a dreame’, is modelled on a popular conceit (that of a dream vision, or reverie, of a suddenly responsive lover) which derives from the French, and ultimately from Italian. One source is traced by William Alexander’s editors, in connection to one of the poet’s *Aurora* sonnets (number 51): ‘I dream’d, the Nymph that ore my fancie raignes’. As Alexander concludes that ‘Thus whil’st for kindnesse both began to weepe / My happinesse euanish’d with the sleepe’,⁸⁷ so the anonymous sonneteer ends (in Robertson’s version), ‘Mercie madame as I begoud to say / Quhen I awook allace schee ves away’. Alexander modelled his sonnet after Desportes; he, in turn, found his source in Sannazaro. William Fowler, too, explored the conceit, in ‘A Dreame’, which concludes in similar manner: ‘bot oh quhils wakned I behalds the day / my pleasurs past all with my dreames away’.⁸⁸ Fowler’s source was probably Petrarch. Of all the examples quoted here, the sonnet and the dream as it appears in Laing and in Robertson is by far the most explicitly sexual:

And evin with this hir night gowne aff schee caste
And lightlie lappe and lay doune one my arme

⁸³ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 120; *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, ed. by Charles B. Gullans (Edinburgh: STS, 4th ser. 1, 1963), p. 166.

⁸⁴ *Amorose Songes*, pp. 108, 110, in *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig*, ed. by David Laing (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1873).

⁸⁵ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 119-20 (poems), and II, 105-7 (notes).

⁸⁶ Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005), p. 251.

⁸⁷ *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, ed. by L.E. Kastner and H.B. Charlton, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 2nd ser. 11, 24, 1921-29), II, 486-87 (poem), 639 (notes).

⁸⁸ *Works of Fowler*, I, 157.

Hir rosie lippes me thought to myne schee thruste
 And sayes may this not ease yow of your paine. [‘paine’ reads ‘harmes’ in Laing]

This very first poem in the Robertson manuscript sets the tone for a pervasive strain of eroticism throughout the collection. This theme is continued in sonnet 11 (f. 8), which showcases a humorous, but coarser wit. Undermining Petrarch’s well-known conceit of the lover as an insect, or moth (adapted, for instance, by Fowler), this sonnet opens:

O that I wer transformed in a flea
 To hant the scheittis my dearest deare lyes in
 Quhyles heir quhyles thair to play me to and frae
 To loupe and skippe athort hir milk quhite skinne.

Leaving little to the imagination, this image is then developed and concludes:

Beneath hir nawell wpe to hir chirrie chinne
 Wpone hir lint quhyte lyre lightlie thair to leape
 Syne turne againe and doune directlie Rinne
 In richest roomes quhair fleas wald fainest creipe
 Then round about my compas wald I keipe
 Betweine her thees to thrust me be some traine
 And syne quhen that my saull were sound a sleipe
 To be reformed into my scheape againe
 Then sould schee know that I my Ladie quhyte
 Sould stryke hir deiper nor any flea would bite.

This sonnet explodes the Petrarchist myth, adapting from the Italian poet an image that changes implicit sexual tension into explicit bawdy word play. John Donne would exploit, and explode, this image in his ‘The Flea’, but Donne’s poem is more sophisticated.⁸⁹ Though Donne’s speaker is after the same thing, he delights in his metaphysical argument, and dramatises his lady’s reply to his clever reasoning. The Scots sonnet more straightforwardly applies the conceit, and denies the lady a reply.

Another lover transformed can be found in Sonnet 16: ‘Goe sonnat sweitt my sweittest santt vnto’ (f. 11). Sending away the poem, the writer wishes that ‘I vnseine / Ware changit in thee [the sonnet, or the letter bearing it]’. To the question ‘quha watt quhat I would doe’, the sonneteer answers that he would wait until his love would kiss the paper, and then ‘in the end my former schape ressaue / Soe doe the thing that sweitt sweitt kisses craiwe’. Transformed into a flea or embodied in writing, both poets (or perhaps the same) present a lover sick with desire, and resort to fanciful metamorphoses to satisfy the urge for the physical union that the Petrarchist *bella donna* conventionally denies the lover. Sonnets 1, 11 and 16 set the scene for other even more explicitly bawdy poems and songs that follow later in the manuscript (see below).

⁸⁹ *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Herbert J.C. Grierson, 2 vols (1912: repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), I, 40-41.

Though many sonnets explore the lover's plight (either in bawdy terms, or more conventionally, in Petrarchist longings and deaths), there are other works to be found within this first group of twenty-five poems in the manuscript. The most puzzling is sonnet 7, stringing together a number of cryptic references and paying tribute perhaps to a contemporary addressee. This is an occasional poem, and perhaps a somewhat wry epithalamion. Mistranscriptions (either by Robertson or by the scribe of MS 15937) occasionally obscure the sense:

Arcadianes ladie silentlie did slyd
 Owerschadowit with painles majestie
 Bot the phoeleas ? beautie did dewyd
 These silwer streames in twiges from tuo or three
 Bot they in joy could not compair with thee
 One letter changeing maketh heawin
 And doth salute that hous of Magistie
 Whose walles inscrywes these matcheles muises sewine
 And doeth wouchsaiff thair presence ewerie day
 And aft in the doth dye their daintie handis
 Quhilk makes the now soe loath to pairt away
 Thow rather chuisse for to be tyed in bandis
 And to thy grieff since thow must neidis begone
 Thow doth impairt thy plaint to ewerie tumbling stone. (f. 6)

The key to start unravelling this lies in an almost equally diffuse sonnet, already discussed in Chapter Three (pp. 127-29), James VI's 'Nocht Orientall Indus Christal streemes' (CUL MS Kk.5.30, f. 78v). Compare the last six lines:

Now *quhill* sueit scho vitchcheffs to schaw hir face
 and *vith* hir *presence* honours the ilk day
 Thow slyding semest to use a slawer pace
 Aganis thi vill as iff thow vent away
 So loth to leve the *sycht* of such a on
 Thow still *imparts* thi plents to evrie stone.

While not an exact match, the lines are close enough to suppose some sort of kinship. For sonnet 7's 'And doeth wouchsaiff thair presence ewerie day' James's sonnet reads 'Now *quhill* sueit scho vitchchefs to schaw hir face'. Similarly, 'Quhilk makes the now soe loath to pairt away / Thow rather chuisse for to be tyed in bandis' is paralleled by 'Thow slyding semest to use a slawer pace / Aganis thi vill as iff thow vent away'. The closing lines of both poems are near identical (though Robertson's is hypermetrical, probably by mistake). Imitation of James's verse has already been noted in the previous chapter, for instance by Alexander Craig, who relentlessly pillaged his monarch's poetry in order to embellish his own; a similar process of adaptation may underlie the sonnet as it survived in Robertson. The question, of course, is what it all means. If indeed James's sonnet addresses a river or stream, then perhaps so does the Robertson poem. 'Arcadianes ladie' may refer to Erato, wife of Arcas, and muse of lyric poetry – her presence would be suitable in this context. The muses of line eight (of which there should be 'nine' rather than 'sewine') link back to

Erato. The scribe was obviously uncertain about ‘phoeleas’: perhaps this should read ‘Phillis’, a common name for a pastoral nymph (cf. the similar spelling of ‘Phoelas’ on f. 130). Equally puzzling is the ‘One letter changeing maketh heawin / And doth salute that hous of Magistie / Whose walles inscrywes theise matcheles muises sewine’. Clearly, a name is hidden here, by means of an anagram, pun, or other type of word game – whose name it is remains uncertain, however. James’s sonnet may have been addressed to Cicely Wemys, but there is nothing to suggest she is the ‘ladie’ in question here.

The addressee of the final six lines may be the river (as in James) in which ‘daintie handis’ may be ‘dyed’. The single line suggesting that this may be an epithalamion, ‘Thow rather chuisse for to be tyed in bandis’, may either have the same referent, the river, or allude to the sonnet’s overall addressee, a lady. Overall, this is a difficult sonnet, and it may be asked what significance the work may have had for Robertson, if any. Hopefully, another less corrupt version of it may have survived elsewhere. It is possible that this sonnet and that of James are remnants of a highly elaborate intertextual game (similar to the Julian Ker sonnet in the Tibbermuir manuscript): a game of textual obfuscation rather than elucidation, and one, finally, where the real subject of the poem has long been lost.

The majority of sonnets in MS 15937 explore the lover’s plight, employing many Petrarchist devices that were so popular in Scotland from the 1580s onwards. If the general tone resonates strongly with other works produced in the late sixteenth-century, there are remnants too of an older poetic strain, for instance here:

Helpe hairt the hairt that pynes in peirceing paine
 Helpe hairt the hairt that nowayes cane the flie
 Helpe hairt the hairt that willing is to die
 Helpe hairt the hairt quhois favoure cannot find. (f. 9)

These are the opening lines of Sonnet 12, reminiscent of a particular type of mid-century lyricism that in each individual line meditates on a singular image, here the ‘hairt’. A companion sonnet (14) is ‘Hairt hoipes for hairt and hairt is my desyre’, again featuring this heavily repetitive image. A taste for this type of sonneteering is evident also from the sonnets included, for instance, in MS Laing III.447, such as ‘Nevere madame of your mercie me infold’ (see Chapter Two, pp. 44-45). Though these types of sonnets (12, 14) draw from an earlier tradition in terms of imagery and rhetoric, formally they comply to the archetypal Scottish sonnet with its interlaced rhyme scheme. In fact, sixteen sonnets out of twenty-five follow this rhyme scheme perfectly. Though this is no exact science, such a large proportion of sonnets following the scheme that was explicitly endorsed by James VI and practised by his courtiers in the 1580s and 1590s suppose that at least some, and perhaps most, sonnets on ff. 2-16 belong to that period.

As indicated above, two sonnets in MS 15937 are by Alexander Craig. This poet has already been discussed in the previous chapter, as our awareness of the inclusion of Craig’s poems

into manuscript is important for a reconceptualisation of a readership for his works. Not normally regarded as a poet to be actively anthologised, three of his poems have now been unearthed in miscellany manuscripts. The first to be included here is sonnet 3 (f. 3), ‘Quhy loue I hir that loues not me againe’. In line with the fact that Robertson compiled her manuscript probably in or around 1630, there is less evidence of Scots vocabulary or pronunciation features here (as was found in the sonnet transcribed by James Murray of Tibbermuir). Only one rhyme word makes more sense: where the print reads ‘alone’ and ‘complaine’, the rhyme is righted in Robertson, who records ‘alane’ and ‘complaine’.⁹⁰ Otherwise, close resemblance to the printed word suggests that the compiler’s copy derived from print. The sonnet in Craig’s *Amorose Songes* – though not in Robertson – is addressed to ‘Lais’, a fictional lady (or so one hopes for Craig’s sake) who embodies unfaithfulness and adultery. Out of the fourteen poems Craig addressed to ‘*lasciuious* Lais’, six define her in no uncertain terms as a ‘woore’. So, too, in ‘Quhy loue I hir’ (the couplet is perhaps another instance where the rhyme makes more sense in Scots):

Bot now tynt tyme and trawel makes me suire
I played the foole and schee playit the huire.

In Craig’s poems to Lais, conventional Petrarchist inconstancy turns into outright sexual unfaithfulness (though the fact that Craig eulogises seven other women is not problematised!). Inclusion of this sonnet in MS 15937 underlines a move away from stylised Petrarchist love laments, and heralds the introduction of a more open poetics of sexual love (as evident also from sonnets 1, 11 and 16). Certainly not all sonnets on ff. 2-16 subscribe to this agenda; in fact, the multitude steer clear of a more explicit sexual poetics (see for instance sonnets 6, 8, or 9), but a distrust of Petrarchist ideals, and an adoption of what might be termed Ovidian models, is certainly noticeable here.⁹¹

David Parkinson has already drawn attention to sonnet 22, but without realising that it was composed by Craig. As Parkinson argues, the sonnet in question alludes ‘to a game played by the writers and readers of the original manuscript’,⁹² the sonnet lifting the veil of highly rhetorical love poetry and suggesting, indeed, a lively audience portrayed in action.

I patt my hand by hazard in the hatt
Where many names did intermiscit lye
With hir and hir and yow and this and that
A fortoune blind or niewienak to trie
A soe it wes my lukelie luke that I

⁹⁰ Cf. *Amorose Songes*, p. 110, *Works of Craig*.

⁹¹ There is no space here further to discuss this subject. In reference to Montgomerie, see for instance Lyall’s reading of the poet’s love poetry, *Montgomerie*, pp. 227-79, which discusses the oscillating modes of Petrarchist and Ovidian discourse; more generally on this subject, see Sarah M. Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

⁹² Parkinson, ‘Montgomerie’, p. 506.

Amang soe many fand thy noble name
 And one my heid that thow and all may spie
 I weil avow the wearing of the same
 I sall inferr noe soile into thy name
 That thow art borne wpone soe bas a head
 Ane begger findes a stone of curious frame
 And yet the stone remaines a stone indeid
 So thow art thaw and of more worth to me
 Deir Vallantyne nor thow wes vonte to be. (ff. 14-15)

This describes a Valentine's Day game, where participants draw a name out of a hat and pin it 'onto [their] heid'. It must have been a contemporary pastime. Parkinson points to Montgomerie's use of 'nevie nevie nak' ('niewienak' above, a children's game) in the advice poem 'Yong tender plant'.⁹³ Where in Montgomerie the act of choosing unseen ('Bot put your hand by hazard in the creill / Yit men hes mater vharvpon to muse / For they must drau ane adder or ane eill') has greater symbolic and moral significance, in Craig this action remains innocent, and more literal. This poem, attractive for its grounding in social practice, describes perhaps the equivalent of an early-modern blind date.

In MS 15937, like in the Laing and Tibbermuir manuscripts, the proximity of anonymous works to known poems, for instance by Montgomerie, Ayton, and Craig, raises pressing questions. By Robertson's time, the significance of named poets of the previous century might have been negligible. Yet, some of the sonnets here would undoubtedly have received more critical attention if they had been positively attributed. If some poems will not directly commend themselves, because of their conventional treatment of love, for instance, still this is the environment in which to read the works of Montgomerie, but also those of a later generation, such as the writings of Ayton and Craig. Parkinson is the only critic to have touched on this subject, and he notes Montgomerie's appearance in the manuscript, but also (briefly), the anonymous poems that immediately follow or proceed the 'maister poet's' work.⁹⁴ Though this is pure speculation, in the same spirit it might be argued that Montgomerie's translation from Ronsard, 'Soe sueitt a kis', makes an excellent pair with the poem that follows it directly, 'Sueett blame me not *thought* I nothing can wreitt' (f. 5). The former follows the conceit that with one kiss, the lover leaves behind his spirit, his life, and his heart; the latter poem works out the idea that the beauty of a mistress 'owergoes my blunt inventiounne quytt'. At the centre of the latter poem, as in Montgomerie's, lie 'the secreittis of myne hairt'. Both poems are equally eloquent and capable explorations of a single conceit, and the latter poem would not look out of place in Montgomerie's canon. It is unlikely that 'Sueett blame me not' will ever be ascribed; yet this sonnet may serve as an example to show how important it is that the twenty-five sonnets that open MS 15937 are read by critics, as they are among the closest and most reliable contextual witnesses that we have.

⁹³ Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', p. 506; *Montgomerie: Poems*, p. 62.

⁹⁴ Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', pp. 505-7.

The 'Dyers', ff. 18-28

As discussed in the previous chapter, the arrival of the 'dyer', or, as spelled by Robertson, 'deere', in Scotland probably dates to around 1590, following perhaps the example as set by Edward Dyer. The genre has been commented on but little, yet the verse form appears relatively frequently in Scottish literary manuscripts. Best-known perhaps is the sequence loosely attributed to Robert Ayton, William Alexander, and Alexander Craig, in NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6.⁹⁵ Shire lists two more 'dyers' by Ayton: 'My temperate style at first', and 'My heart exhale thy greife', both of which have been broken up in half-lines.⁹⁶ Another 'dyer' survived in EUL MS Laing.III.436. Alexander Craig favoured poulter's measure (the verse-form employed for 'dyers') for other works, such as his 'Scotlands Teares' and 'Calidons Complaint'; he employs it frequently, too, in the closing 'farewells' to the eight ladies addressed in his *Amorose Songes*.⁹⁷ William Lithgow adapted the 'dyer' in his 'I Wander in exile', where the writer, as a traveller in a strange land, found himself standing sentinel against assailing Turks, and 'on the top of a high Promontory', the situation 'did invite my Muse to bewail the tossing of my toilsome life, my solitary wandring, and the long distance of my native soil'.⁹⁸ The popularity of the 'dyer' as a genre in Scotland, and its related verse form of poulter's measure, is due more exhaustive investigation, regardless of the fact that critics today dislike the verse form.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, the current project allows no space for such a discussion, and can only focus on the four specimens in MS 15937 (though in reference to other 'dyers').

All four dyers are love laments. In the first, 'Now must I as of lait unto my plainte returne', the speaker runs through a number of stock conceits, and begs compassion from his audience: 'All ye that weipes for me *your* eyes to me resigne / All ye that sighes and sobbis for grieff *your* bosomes to me bring'. He is portrayed as a steerless bark on the ocean, as Cupid's prisoner, as 'weak against the streames of loue', and as mortally wounded by his lady's 'frowning feattis'. Interestingly, the most arresting image links this poem strongly to various other 'dyers'. One of these occurs among the group in NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6, and is attributed to William Alexander by

⁹⁵ These have been printed in *Poems of Ayton*, pp. 110-142.

⁹⁶ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, 219-25; *Poems of Ayton*, pp. 144-48, 149-54.

⁹⁷ *Poetical Essayes*, pp. 18-22, *Amorose Songes*, pp. 121-41, in *Works of Craig*.

⁹⁸ William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, or the rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene yeares Travailes from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica* (London: [n. p.], 1640), pp. 110-13.

⁹⁹ Wilbur Sanders related how 'I have tried, but I am unable, to mourn the passing of Poulter's Measure from the English metrical repertoire', see 'Wilting Petrarchists and Sturdy Natives' [book review], *Cambridge Quarterly*, 20:4 (1991), 370-75 (pp. 374). Of Alexander Craig, Michael Spiller writes that he is 'dreadfully attracted to poulter's measure', 'Poetry after the Union 1603-1660', in *The History of Scottish Literature Volume I: Origins to 1660*, ed. by R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 141-62 (p. 148).

His faire and daintie deire
 Berefte of all the beauties braw
 Quhilk schee sometymes did beare. (f. 19)

The figure of Argulus points forward to another poem later in the manuscript, ‘Argulus his Letter to Parthenia his mistres’, a pastoral work (see below). Argulus, and, by implication, also Parthenia (presumably ‘his faire and daintie deire’) function only as a long-drawn comparison: if Argulus had cause to ‘murne to weipe to waile’, then ‘thrice vnhappie’ (f. 20) is the speaker, who defeats Argulus in sorrow and misfortune. The poem is an elegant valediction:

For thouse my eyes must sie
 That seemelie schadd declyne
 Quhilk once I hoipit for till injoy
 And trowit till haue maid myne.

This ‘dyer’ does not rely on outrageous hyperbolic imagery (as do other examples of the genre): rather, the speaker internalises his grief, and takes leave of his mistress once and for all. It ends thus:

And quhill my liff sall last
 Ile vow to loue my faire
 Thow sall be still my Horescope
 My hoipe my cross my caire
 And thus Resolu’d to love
 Altho amidis decay
 I sigh, I sobbe, I weipe I waile
 And sayes faireweill for aye.

None of this is particularly original (cf. for instance Montgomerie’s ‘Of me thou mak / Thy Zodiak’),¹⁰⁵ yet this poem, despite its demanding verse form, reads as a light lyric, perhaps even a song.

The previous chapter (pp. 106-11) already discussed ‘Murrayis Dyare’, in MS Kk.5.30. Authorship of that poem has cautiously been ascribed to John Murray, on the basis of further evidence found here, in MS 15937. Shire writes speculatively on ‘Mr John Murray’, author of several sonnets of praise to fellow poets, and recipient of the same. Montgomerie composed ‘To Maister J. Murray’, and a poet of that name is eulogised by both William Alexander and by Ayton, after his death in 1615. Two sonnets are addressed to him by Sir David Murray of Gorthy that draw attention to John Murray as a songwriter: ‘No maruell if thy songs b’admired then / That yeeld both musicke unto gods and men’.¹⁰⁶ Murray’s identity remains uncertain, however, and his body of work small. A manuscript volume containing ‘Certaine Sonnets’ was owned by Drummond: this

¹⁰⁵ *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 36.

¹⁰⁶ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 181-86.

volume, unfortunately, is lost.¹⁰⁷ Shire, eager to trace this elusive ‘Castalian’, wonders whether there is ‘anywhere a corpus of poetry of this era lying anonymous containing pieces that might [...] be claimed as his lost work’.¹⁰⁸ This question can be answered with some certainty now. Consider the opening lines to the third dyer in MS 15937:

Och aye I murne for loe my name includis my fate
My anagramme does weil bewray my sorrowing sadd estaite. (f. 22)

Puns and anagrams denoting authorship are common across the sixteenth-century poetic range, and for the ‘dyer’ this seems almost to have been a generic feature. These lines straightforwardly invite the reader to look for an anagram, and ‘Och aye I murne’ yields ‘Iohne Muraye’.¹⁰⁹ With this evidence of Murray composing ‘dyers’, the final ‘dyer’ among the group in NLS MS 19.3.6 might also be ascribed to him, as Shire already noted a similar pun on his name there: ‘Rest yee in thy wnrest / and murray be thow still / The maike where meneles miseries / directes yere endles ill’.¹¹⁰ Evidence of John Murray composing ‘dyers’ is strong: there is no need to suppose, then, that James Murray of Tibbermuir wrote his own; it is far more likely that he collected a poem by a poet who was already a recognised part of the literary landscape.

The first twenty-five lines of ‘Och aye I murne’ debate the relative virtues of secrecy in form of a ‘sedul’, or missive. The genre of the verse epistle has been discussed in the first chapter: its popularity is evident from many Bannatyne lyrics, but it was also incorporated into the later sonneteering tradition – here, it resurfaces yet again in the ‘dyer’. The speaker debates the merits of his poetry, and that of other poets, and concludes that if his poetic skills may be inferior, his suffering surely is not:

Quhairfoire I will giff plaice to all that vreitt in veirs
Since newer yit my piteous plaint could haue noe pith to peirs
Bot as in staitely styll they flie aboue me farr
Ewine soe in hardnes of mishappes latt none of thame compaire. (f. 23)

Yet the speaker is not entirely modest, as he debates with himself, for the remaining length of the poem, what would happen if ‘the whisperring winges of fame this bill to hir may beare’ (f. 24).¹¹¹ What follows are the customary ruminations on her cruelty and disregard. At times, this ‘dyer’ simply goes through the motions, and is tedious in its long-winded approach to time-worn literary conceits. The long lines, with ample opportunity for digression, do not always add to this poem’s

¹⁰⁷ See item 1382 in Robert H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 186.

¹⁰⁹ The letter ‘c’ to spare could easily be a later scribal insertion from ‘oh’ to ‘och’, perhaps in an attempt to ‘scotticise’ the text.

¹¹⁰ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 220; *Poems of Ayton*, p. 142.

¹¹¹ This phrase is echoed in Craig, who writes that his ‘publisht Rymes [...] are gone abrod / vpon the winges of fame’, *Amorose Songes*, p. 121, in *Works of Craig*.

appeal. Yet, at other times something of interest may be glimpsed, such as here, where an every-day meeting between the speaker and his lady is imagined:

Quhat restis bot patience then against the streame to strywe
 It not awailles yit it may be schee read before schee rywe
 Becaus that now and then at meittings I and schee
 Will speak and look conferr and crack and do as wtheris doe
 Soe schee to kythe her crafte both courteous seemes and kind
 And I putt one ane maske of mirthe wpone ane murning mynd
 Thus quhill we disaguise our humour with our airt
 From wtheris we haue hieght to hide the haitrent of our hairt. (ff. 24-25)

Perhaps this would have recalled, for a contemporary audience, the codes and conventions of social gatherings, much the same as in the Valentine's Day sonnet encountered earlier. If indeed this is the work of John Murray, and Shire is right to identify Murray as a one-time retainer of Francis Bothwell in 1592, and if indeed this was the same Murray who was eulogised in verse after his death in 1615, his 'lifespan shortened by disease and misfortune' and 'not in good odour with the king',¹¹² then the social backdrop to this poem might well be that of the Scottish, and later the English, court.

'Och aye I murne' is very similar in style and diction to the fourth and final 'dyer', 'Giff he desyres to die quho can noe wayes deny', which might equally be Murray's work, though it is not signed in any way. Where the third 'dyer' concludes

And quhill my buriell be I look for noe Relieff
 For as my birthe begoud my graiwe sall end my grieff
 Quhairone some friend sall wreit, Loe heir he lyes allaiice
 That lik as vnbeloweit he liued and died in deipe disgraice

so the fourth 'dyer' ends with an image of the grave:

This last love lynne in end I wische ye would wouschaiff
 To signifie my sadd succes ingraiwed wpone my graiwe
 whilk vitnes sall thy wrong and all my paines sall proowe
 Heir lyes vntymelie lyes allace thy lover not thy love. (f. 28)

These correspondences do not prove Murray's authorship of the fourth 'dyer', but certainly suggest kinship of some kind.

As stated above, the Scottish 'dyer' has not received due critical attention. Also, it must be conceded that various specimens (such as 'Giff he desyres to die') do not entirely accord with modern taste. Yet, as a poetic phenomenon that clearly attracted a great deal of talented poets (Ayton, Alexander, Craig), it must not be disregarded, and the Robertson manuscript is an important witness to its presence in Scottish poetry. The longevity of the genre's popularity in Scotland (with its dominant tone of mourning, decay, and death) remains intriguing, but only

¹¹² Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 183.

speculation may explain its widespread appeal, for instance for Robertson and Murray of Tibbermuir. Sarah Dunnigan has recently located, in Scottish poetry produced post-1603, ‘a poetics of melancholy and mourning that depends on the power of literary equivocation’.¹¹³ Moreover, she proposes a political subtext in Scottish writing following the departure of King James that reveals the nation’s struggle to come to terms with this loss. A poetics of melancholy has always featured strongly within the amatory mode, but, as Dunnigan suggests, such poetic commonplaces may be invested with topical, renewed relevance for the uncertain political climate in post-Union Scotland. From this point of view, a long-lived popularity of the dyer may be more easily explained. This idea will be further explored below, in relation to Robertson’s pastoral poems.

Pastoral Lyrics, ff. 28-36

The ‘dyers’ are followed immediately by two stanzaic poems: ‘Amintas Ghoste’, and ‘Argulus his Letter to Parthenia his mistres’; the latter poem consists of two sections, the second entitled ‘Partheniaes ansuer to Argulus Letter’. These two poems introduce a pervasive pastoral strain that remains dominant throughout MS 15937, particularly in terms of the English songs. Although no sources have been identified, both poems on ff. 28-36 may be tied to the popular tradition of pastoral romance and drama from late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century England; the mode was imported from Antiquity, and renaissance Italy and France, and, in England, greatly popularised by Spenser and Sidney. Lovestruck shepherds and virgin nymphs haunt the pages of many song books, too, and MS 15937 is no exception.

There is no linguistic evidence to suggest that ‘Amintas Ghoste’ and ‘Argulus’ were composed by Scots – if they were, then the language has been successfully anglicised. Both poems in Robertson feature well-known pastoral heroes and heroines. The character of Amintas was famously given life by Torquato Tasso: his dramatic romance *Aminta* was printed in 1581, and translated into English first by Abraham Fraunce (1591), and later by Henry Reynolds (1628).¹¹⁴ In the Robertson manuscript, Aminta’s object of affection is named ‘Phyllis’, yet in Tasso her name is Silvia. This discrepancy may be explained if we consider Fraunce’s version, which was an amalgamation of Tasso and Thomas Watson Latin poem, *Amyntas*. Fraunce introduced substantial alterations to the original Italian play: ‘If Amyntas found favour in your gracious eyes, let Phyllis be accepted for Amyntas’ sake. I have somewhat altered S. Tasso’s Italian and M. Watson’s Latine *Amyntas* to make them both one English’.¹¹⁵ ‘Amintas Ghoste’ may owe ‘Phyllis’ to Fraunce, and perhaps the anonymous poet has lifted both characters from Fraunce’s pages. That said, the

¹¹³ Sarah M. Dunnigan, ‘A New Critical Cartography: Pre and Post-Union Scottish Renaissance’, in *Alba Literaria: A History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Marco Fazzini (Venezia: Amos Edizioni, 2005), pp. 99-119 (p. 111).

¹¹⁴ For a comprehensive account of Tasso’s influence in England, see C.P. Brand, *Torquato Tasso: A Study of the Poet and of his Contribution to English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 277-87 (for the *Aminta*).

¹¹⁵ Fraunce is quoted in Brand, p. 278.

enormous popularity of these characters must be appreciated, and the anonymous Robertson poet could have had other sources. Robert Ayton, for instance, composed his ‘Amintas’, as well as ‘Cloris and Amintas’.¹¹⁶ In any case, ‘Amintas Ghoste’ does not follow Tasso’s narrative, since in MS 15937 both Amintas and Phyllis have died, and the swain returns to bewail her absence as a ghost. Phyllis died of grief, since Amintas had realised too late her love for him; because her love went unanswered, Phyllis perished.¹¹⁷ In the Robertson poem, Amintas is trapped between heaven and hell as a ghost, ‘Betwixt the cloudes and crawes my stay’, and has realised that he has become ‘A patrone to all suche that pay / Thair loweris with disdaine’. Having realised his errors, he vents his regret as follows:

Consooming fier cannot distroy
 My newer Resting breath
 Nor raigeing seas cuire my annoy
 Nor end my woes by deathe
 The furies griwed to latt me rest
 Haith sent me to the aire
 Quhair damned spirites may me molest
 With terroures of dispaire

My pleasoures ar all paines to sie
 My musick thundering clapes
 And I for ewer ame to be
 A modell of mishapes
 Still curseing and bewaylling soe
 The Echo in my plaintes
 Resoundis to me a dowble woe
 And more my caire augmentis. (f. 31)

The poem has a good rhythmic drive to it, and, as a powerful lyric of eleven stanzas, it is a good deal more readable than Fraunce’s translation. It concludes, hyperbolically, that ‘hilles, nor caiwes, nor graiwes can hold / My ewerlasting schame’.

The second poem, which is structured as an epistolary exchange between Argulus and Parthenia, may owe its inspiration to Francis Quarles’s *Argalus and Parthenia* (1629), a romance that extracted the two characters from Sidney’s *Arcadia*, and greatly expanded the narrative.¹¹⁸ The poem in MS 15937 imagines the anxiety of Argulus over Parthenia’s absence, and his letter to her reports all the conventional lovers’ discomforts induced by absence; however, Parthenia writes

¹¹⁶ *Poems of Ayton*, 156-59 (poems); for a list of manuscripts of Ayton’s poems, including those of Scottish descent, see pp. 253-58.

¹¹⁷ This reverses Tasso’s narrative, where Aminta desperately attempts to win the love of Sylvia, a nymph in the train of the goddess Diana. Aminta’s unrequited love, and his mistaken discovery of Silvia’s ‘death’ after a hunt, leads him to attempt suicide unsuccessfully. Silvia, who then appears alive and well, is so moved by Aminta’s devotion that she requites the shepherd’s love.

¹¹⁸ For the influence of Quarles in Scotland more generally, see Michael Bath’s study of Scottish adaptation of the writer’s emblem books, in ‘Quarles Goes North: Scottish Applications of the *Emblemes*’, in *Polyvalenz und Multifunktionalität der Emblematik*, ed. Wolfgang Harms and Dietmar Peil (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 987-1004.

back, and assures her lover that all is well. It should be noted that both poems in MS 15937 share a similar verse form: in ‘Amintas Ghost’, each eight-line stanza consists of alternating rhyming tetrameters and trimeters. ‘Argulus his letter’ employs rhyming heptameters, but broken up into units of four and three feet, and so produce a similar effect to the preceding poem. Metrically, then, ‘Amintas Ghoste’, and ‘Argulus his Letter’ are also close to the dyer’s ‘poulter’s measure’.

The presence of these works in MS 15937 is interesting in light of their genre. There is very little evidence that pastoral drama ever gained a strong foothold in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century; certainly no Scottish poet ever produced a work to rival, for instance, Sidney’s *Arcadia*. Yet, in the early seventeenth century, pastoral imagery gained in popularity. A brief look at Drummond’s collecting and reading habits with regard to pastoral is instructive, and may provide a perspective on Robertson’s inclusion of pastoral-related poems. Drummond in 1606, for instance, read Sidney’s *Arcadia*, and Montemayor’s *Diana* (a work which may underlie another Robertson poem, see p. 156 above); in 1607 he read Tasso’s *Aminta* (direct inspiration for Robertson’s ‘Amintas Ghoste’), Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, and, again, Montemayor.¹¹⁹ These are only some isolated examples of Drummond’s ferocious reading, and the list may be greatly expanded (for instance with the ‘Italien bookes red be me anno 1610’, including Sannazaro again, Guarini’s *Pastor Fido*, Morinella’s *Arcadia*, Tasso again, and – not, of course, an Italian book – Spenser’s *Fairie Queen*). Drummond’s interest in pastoral is summed up as follows: ‘by the time he abandoned literature there can have been few pastoral romances then in print he had not bought. His library was full of Arcadias, shepherds, and courtly lovers’.¹²⁰ Though Drummond was uniquely well-read for his age, his interest may nevertheless be reflective of a budding Scottish interest in the genre more widely – perhaps it was the country-house culture embraced by Drummond that was more receptive to the idyllic natural scenes of Tasso and others, and perhaps a similar sentiment influenced Margaret Robertson.

Yet, not all pastoral deals solely with ‘shepherds and courtly lovers’. Sarah Dunnigan has recently offered a fascinating explanation for the popularity of pastoral in post-1603 Scotland. As she writes,

It is the genre of pastoral which forges a new relationship with the absent monarch by those writers who chose to accompany their monarch south (such as Alexander Craig [?1568-1627]) and William Drummond (1585-1649) who remained in Scotland.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ See MacDonald, *Library*, pp. 228-32, for a list of ‘books red be me’. See also Lyall’s article which makes excellent use of this list, ‘London or the World? The Paradox of Culture in (post-)Jacobean Scotland’, in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. by Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 88-100.

¹²⁰ MacDonald, *Library*, p 131.

¹²¹ Dunnigan, ‘Cartography’, p. 111.

In reference to Drummond's poem inspired by the death of Prince Henry (*Teares on the Death of Meliades*, printed in 1613), and his later *Forth Feasting*, which was addressed to James for his 1617 visit to Scotland, Dunnigan continues that

the intrinsic political potential of pastoral is renewed in the wake of Scotland's condition [one of 'melancholy and mourning']. Invoking the Classical myth of the Golden Age (Scotland has lost hers because her 'lover', her king, abandoned her), Drummond composes another elegy, this time not for a dead prince, but for Scotland, a nation itself, or for its power as symbolically incarnate in its absent monarch.¹²²

These ideas need to be more thoroughly investigated (as Dunnigan herself realises), and this chapter is not the place for it. Still, Dunnigan's revisionist theorising of post-1603 Scottish poetry may be applied to Robertson's preference to pastoral verse, if only very cautiously. It will be very difficult to ascertain whether Robertson read her pastoral poems for possible political subtexts, or simply because of surface romantic appeal. There is little direct evidence in the manuscript of politically engaged verse, yet it is possible to read, for instance, Amintas's disdain for Phyllis, and her subsequent death, or Argulus's plea to his absent lover for constancy, as implicit criticisms on James as monarch, or 'lover'. Naturally, without any further explicit hints in the poems (as can clearly be found in Craig for instance, or Drummond), such a reading would stretch credulity. We know that Robertson was involved in local politics, as she raised soldiers for Montrose (see above, p. 147). To what extent this compiler shared Ayton's, Craig's, or Drummond's anxieties over an abandoned nation (as identified by Dunnigan) is a very interesting question indeed, but one that must remain unanswered for now, due to lack of evidence. It is important to realise, however, that pastoral works increasingly featured in Scottish manuscripts and libraries in the beginning of the seventeenth century, so that Robertson's interest, in this respect, too, reflects a wider trend.

Widening the Range, ff. 74-84, 110-16, 135-38

Three more sections of the manuscript will be investigated below, two in generic terms (ff. 144-68, 173-76; both sections feature bawdy songs and poetry), and the third in terms of its function in the manuscript (ff. 212-15, which properly concludes the collection). Before that, however, it is important briefly to draw attention to poems that stand out from the rest of the manuscript, either because of their subject matter ('I catiue curate languishes', ff. 74-84), because of revealing traces of metrical ingenuity (the texts on ff. 110-16), or because the poem in question (such as 'In May I rose', ff. 135-36) is considerably older than the bulk of works collected in MS 15937.

At thirty-two eight line stanzas, 'I catiue curate languishes' is the longest poem in the manuscript.¹²³ The poem is a verse prayer of sorts, presenting a speaker repenting for his sins and

¹²² Dunnigan, 'Cartography', p. 113.

¹²³ I am very grateful to Dr Jamie Reid Baxter for sharing his thoughts about this poem with me.

making peace with God. The opening line introduces a ‘curate’ (in its primary meaning, a priest). This might have been a corruption, however, of ‘I catiue creature’, as it appears on f. 82 – it is possible that Robertson or the copyist of MS 15937 mistranscribed whichever source this poem was found in. There is no evidence in the poem that the speaker had taken orders, however, and the poem makes better sense if the declaration of sin and a life of godlessness comes from the mouth of a ‘creature’, rather than a ‘curate’.

The poem can be divided into 3 movements: the first (stanzas 1 to 10) sets the scene, and introduces a speaker suffering from the foibles of ‘dispised age’; the second (stanzas 11 to 23) laments the misdeeds of a long life in sin; the third and final movement (stanzas 24 to 31) asks God for forgiveness. The infirmities of old age, explored to great length in the first section of the poem, culminate in a catalogue of diseases:

The gutte the grauell, and the cruke
 the fiuer felt and the Cyatick
 The megrine never me forsuk
 The cauld the crampe, and the Coaticke
 Thes melladies and the atick
 sik not to beare mee companie
 Sen I am vanquisht doune with sick
 Jesus receaue my saulle to ye. (f. 75)

Gout, gravel, and ‘cruke’, or lameness; ‘Cyatick’, or sciatica; fevers, migraines, colds and cramps – all these leave the speaker ‘spent / Of bewtie strength and brawitie’. It is important to notice that, although every stanza ends on the wish for Jesus to save the speaker’s soul, the latter’s first complaints are all of a bodily, or carnal, nature (cf. ‘My blood hes lost the kyndly heate’, stanza 5) – complaints of a sickly soul, weighed down by sin, only come second, as in stanza 17,

My publik sine the world hes seene
 Though thay be blind and fals to see
 My secrete sinnes I surely meane
 That no man knawes bot god and I’ (f. 79).

In the section that follows, the speaker portrays a life of ‘hid iniquitie’, ‘double dealling’, ‘hid hipocrisie’, and moreover, a life in the service of ‘Sensualitie’, ‘fed with fleshly fantasie’. Lust extended both to sins of the flesh, and lust for worldly goods:

Sometyme I was with puirteth pricked
 That I for geare thrifted full sore
 Where I fand it sueitt, there I licked
 And lusted for it more and more
 Thereon I trust for constant care
 Though it be fals felicitie
 Yet saue me, Lord, now frome that snare
 And syne receiue my saull to ye. (f. 81)

There is a great deal of textual evidence to prove this poem is in Scots. Examples of Scots rhymes, for instance, are in stanzas 2 ('overtaine/allone' [pronounced 'allane?']), 14 ('blame/hame'), 16 (floure/stoure), 18 ('mourne/turne'), and 22 ('sore/more' [pronounced 'sair' and 'mair' to rhyme with 'care/snare?']). Examples of Scots diction are 'sen' and 'sua' in stanza 1, 'gaist' and 'pow' in stanza 3, 'brawitie' in stanza 7; more examples may be found throughout. No source for this work is known. There are few stylistic characteristics that would make it possible to connect this poem to a known poet. The poem is not like the works of Elizabeth Melville or James Melville, two poets known for their penitential verse.¹²⁴ Similarly, nothing stands out to connect the poem, for instance, to Alexander Hume (who in later life renounced his involvement with profane poetry), or to Montgomerie. Whereas it is possible it was written nearer the time of compilation (c. 1630), the many Scotticisms (sometimes hidden under an anglicised orthography) suggest that this work was composed in the sixteenth century. Within Robertson's collection, its length gives it prominence, rather like the *Cherrie* in the Laing manuscript; in contrast, there is no sense that other poems were meaningfully arranged around it. It is preceded by four English love songs from John Dowland, and immediately followed by a single Champion lyric, and another four from the same book by Dowland (*The First Booke of Songes Or Ayres*, 1597). The manner in which these songs are arranged, with 'I catiue curate languishes' in the middle, certainly gives the impression that the compiler did not wholeheartedly subscribe to the 'curate' or 'creature's' moral edification: the poem does not signal a change in attitude in the compiler, as following this long lament appear many works that indulge in every single sin listed and regretted by this 'cative creature'.

Whereas in subject matter perhaps unsurprising, three poems deserve mention for their intricate stanza-form. They are 'My love is forsaikin me', 'Bewtie hath my eyes asayled', and 'Quhat heigh offence has my trew love taikine' (ff. 107-9; ff. 110-11; ff. 112-13, this last one has been identified above as a song). The most elaborate stanza is rhymed ABABCCCBDD:

Bewtie hath my eyes asayled
 And subdewed my sauls affectioun
 Cupids dairts hes so prevailed
 That I most leve in his subjection
 Tyed to on
 Quho is machles allone
 And second to non
 In all perfectioun
 Since that fortune so most be
 No love sall pairt my love and me. (f. 110)

The other two poems show similar stanzaic features: 'Quhat heigh offence' rhymes ABABCCCB (thus lacking the closing couplet), and 'My love is forsaikin me' rhymes ABAAABB (although sometimes missing out the third half line rhymed A). The metrical ingenuity found here is evidence

¹²⁴ Private communication with Jamie Reid Baxter.

of considerable poetic skill and a tradition of metrical experiment: the change of pace by indented half lines, together with the triple internal rhymes, certainly brings to mind the work of Montgomerie, renowned for metrical invention and playful stanza forms. Montgomerie's poem most closely matching the rhyme scheme of the lines quoted above is 'The Commendatione of Love'. Its first eight lines are identical: ABABCCCB. Rather than a closing couplet, however, Montgomerie opted for a final quatrain (CCCB). However, another formal feature that links these two poems together is the strong closing refrain. What detracts from Montgomerie's possible association with these works are the many inconsistencies, and particularly the third stanza of the poem quoted above, where several missing words leave the reader guessing as to how the poem might originally have run. These gaps may equally signify an unfinished product, a bad poet, or significant scribal errors.

These poems provide tantalising suggestions of a tradition contemporaneous with or continuing that of Montgomerie's age. With no evidence to ascribe these poems to the 'maister poet', still Parkinson reminds us that

[c]ertain texts seem to have taken their own paths through and beyond the milieu in which many of Montgomerie's poems initially circulated. That milieu, the court of James VI, does not seem to have been one from which a complete Montgomerie canon ever emerged. The very notion of 'The Complete Works of Montgomerie' is inapposite. [...] With their inclusions, exclusions, contiguities and hierarchies, the manuscripts present canons of Montgomerie that appear more authentic than does the print canon.¹²⁵

An example of such travelling texts and canon-formation is the appearance of 'Soe sueitt a kiss' among the twenty-five sonnets, discussed above. Little-explored manuscript miscellanies may contain further additions to the received canon. An almost insurmountable problem is that of secure attribution. At the very least, though, these poems provide more evidence for a wider dissemination of Montgomerie's poetic genius through the works of anonymous followers.

A final poem that stands out from MS 15937 is one that appears in a small group of predominantly Scots poems (ff. 132-8, featuring 'Richt sor oprest', and an Alexander Scott lyric). This poem looks distinctively older than most of the manuscript's content. These are the first two stanzas, and the last:

In May I rose to doe my observance
 As Phoebus bright out of his chamber threw
 Intered (I entered) in ane gardein of pleasance
 Quhair silver dropes hang of balmie dew
 Sittand alon quhair pleasant flowers grow
 Richt sor I hard a voyce disgest and clar
 Ane woefull wight doe sing in this maner.

¹²⁵ Parkinson, 'Montgomerie', pp. 503-4.

O Venus queen and mestres of delyt
 Have reuth on me and let me not forfair
 As ye that the precious perlle perfyt
 Of wisdom well in beutie but compair
 Prences love the veritie declaire
 To my dear heart if I be trew or nought
 And if she be maist specialle in my thought.

O fragrant flour well of faith and fame
 Precellant wight caus of my woe and smart
 M sall I prent in honnour of hir name
 Syne doe it grave right sadly in my heart
 Whill deadful death both saull and body pairt
 And strenght doe fall my body for to walk
 In word and work quhill that my tounge may talk. (ff. 135-36)

This poem has all the attributes of an early-sixteenth century love lyric. Its hints of aureate diction ('hir pearles portratour', 'Precellant wight'), though less heavy than for instance in Dunbar's rhetorical set pieces, still look back to Older Scots poetic convention. Its setting of an (admittedly rather short) *chanson d'aventure*, and the overheard lamenter's prayer to Venus to intervene and save the lover, are all familiar early poetic devices. The lyric ends on a mysterious personal note: 'M sall I prent in honnour of hir name'. This 'M' shall stand as a monument, 'in word and work', to the lover's devotion after his death. This poem would have looked less out of place in the Laing manuscript for instance, which collects more mid-sixteenth century lyrics. Here, in Robertson's collection, this older strain of love poetry is virtually drowned out by the multitude of English songs. Yet, as has been observed above, many Scots songs date from the mid-sixteenth century, and 'In May I rose' is in fact followed by Alexander Scott's 'Quha list to leive or that law proue', and the anonymous 'Right sor oprest', both dating roughly to the 1540s and 1550s. It is very likely indeed that Robertson's source for 'In May I rose' was the same, or of the same kind, as that which provided her with many Scottish songs.

Bawdy Verse, ff. 144-68, 173-76

In Scottish literary manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and to an even greater extent in printed books, the explicitly bawdy is a relatively rare phenomenon.¹²⁶ The repression by the General Assembly in 1568 of an ambiguous love lyric in an edition of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* is indicative of the post-Reformation puritan milieu that attempted to eradicate

¹²⁶ A tradition of erotic poetry in Scots may of course be traced back perhaps as far as James I's *Kingis Quair*, and its endorsement of earthy love within the institution of marriage. The speakers of Dunbar's *Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* engage in extremely candid sexual conversation. Alexander Scott writes openly of a consummated love affair in 'Up helsum hairt'. Particularly in the Bannatyne manuscript, critics have noted and discussed the presence of sexual, bawdy, or misogynist verse (see note 128 below). Yet, these earlier references to sexual politics often serve a more profound point; none of these poems are bawdy simply for the sake of bawdiness, and delight only in their risqué subject matter, as do a great many Robertson songs, primarily those derived from the English tradition.

such materials.¹²⁷ Yet, several decades on, particularly within the confines of a family house, the manuscript tradition was eminently suitable for such ‘offensive’ poetry. Given the relative scarcity of Scottish bawdry before the eighteenth century, there is not much material with which to compare the songs in Robertson’s manuscript that are of obvious Scottish descent. It is clear that, in MS 15937, the largest part of the sexual, playful songs, mostly featuring ‘lusty youthfull gallants’ and ‘prettie sueit wenches’, comes from England – whether Scotland developed a tradition of its own, post-1603, or largely imported foreign models, is unclear.¹²⁸ In relation to Scottish music, Evelyn Stell summarises as follows:

In Scotland, the Church had disapproved of bawdiness since the Reformation of 1560, and continued to do so during the whole of the seventeenth century and beyond. Nevertheless, the incidence of titles which are ribald, openly or by implication, among the Scottish popular pieces in seventeenth-century instrumental manuscripts reveals that this disapproval had only partial effect. In spite of the Church, an earthy tradition, which probably stretched back long before the Reformation, prevailed in Scotland throughout the seventeenth century.¹²⁹

The bawdy lyrics collected by Robertson belong to this ‘earthy tradition’. Moreover, some of Stell’s songs will have had lyrics. Stell continues that

[a]lthough it is impossible to estimate the incidence of bawdy songs in seventeenth-century Scottish traditional music, the available evidence suggests that the proportion was not especially high, certainly when compared to contemporary England.¹³⁰

If bawdy poems and ribald songs were relatively uncommon, then the evidence in MS 15937 has even greater rarity value, and is of musical, literary, and cultural significance.

The first bawdy poem that appears to be in Scots is ‘My Ladye quhat let yow my love to injoy’ (f. 125), a debating poem between ‘he’ and ‘she’. A similar debate poem features in the Laing manuscript (see pp. 46-48). The two most interesting stanzas of the former run as follows:

She.
 Qhat if I content you and so be with chyld
 My freinds will forsaik me my mother grow wyld

¹²⁷ The lyric in question is ‘Welcum, Fortoun, welcum againe’. See Mitchell’s introduction to the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi, and p. 222.

¹²⁸ For critical appreciations of sexual or bawdy songs and poems in the Bannatyne manuscript, see, for instance: Theo van Heijnsbergen, ‘The Bannatyne Manuscript Lyrics: Literary Convention and Authorial Voice’, in *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature*, ed. by Graham Caie and others (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 423-44; and Evelyn S. Newlyn, ‘The Political Dimension of Desire and Sexuality in Poems of the Bannatyne Manuscript’, in *Selected Essays on Scottish Language and Literature: A Festschrift in Honor of Allan H. MacLaine*, ed. by Steven R. McKenna (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1992), pp. 75-96.

¹²⁹ Evelyn Stell, “‘Fa Adrie, Didle, Didle’”: Bawdiness in Music in Seventeenth-Century Scotland’, in *Notis Musycall: Essays on Music and Scottish Culture in Honour of Kenneth Elliott*, ed. by Gordon Munro and others (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2005), pp. 193-210 (p. 193).

¹³⁰ Stell, ‘Bawdiness’, p. 206.

The kirk will reprove me a pox on that sort
For thay have no pittie on vemans report.

He.

The hazard is bot small ye need not to feare
For al do not parisch that goe to weare
Quho climbs for ane chirrie most hazard a fall
And the seed of the fatest flock florisches not all.

The poet's language at this stage is very candid, punning unsubtly on the 'chirry', which had strong, sexual connotations – it may be wondered whether Montgomerie *Cherrie and the Slae* is alluded to here.¹³¹ Again, we see a strong social element to these wooing poems, similar to the debate poem in the Laing manuscript. The youth replies with platitudes to the maiden's all too realistic concerns, but his proverbs have effect, and he successfully woos his maiden. 'I saw a nymph', the poem that immediately follows this (briefly discussed above), follows a similar pattern of resistance, seduction, and finally success from the male point of view.

A further cluster of bawdy verse starts at f. 144, with 'Men seldom thryves in all thair lyfes' and 'As on a day Sabina was asleep'. The latter was probably an English black-letter ballad; the former was identified as 'Scottish' in a marginal inscription by an unknown hand. Evidence of the Scots language in this poem may be found in the first stanza, for instance, where 'For I had on quhom God hes taine' should surely have read 'For I had ane' to rhyme with 'taine' and thus continue the pattern of internal rhymes. Another example is in stanza two, 'we glaik hir'. Compared to other bawdy songs in the manuscript, this poem is less explicit, although its central concern is clearly sexual intercourse – in the refrain, 'weill moue and then well mary', 'moue' takes on unambiguous connotations. The poem is also concerned with children born out of wedlock, and the social consequences particularly for the mother. Stanza two introduces first the wooing game:

Get we a lasse we play we passe
We glaik hir thus so roundlye
We waill we wisch we ban we blisse
We clap we kisse hir soundlye.

The seemingly inevitable results of this are related in the next stanza:

With leges abrod hir maidenhead
Slipes on ane rid so cleirlye
For all hir ruffes and gifit gloves
She buyes the broed full dearlye
Hir belly rys the kirk outcryes
The sessone tryes hir fairlye
Scars payes hir fies hir penalties
And yet we mow and mary.

¹³¹ On the cherry and its possible connotations, see for instance R.D.S. Jack, *Alexander Montgomerie* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), pp. 115-16.

Material gains cannot outweigh social implications for this unmarried mother. Alexander Scott concisely captured the same idea in ‘Up helsum hairt’: ‘I coft hir deir, bot scho fer derrer me’.¹³² The anonymous poet’s message states much the same: ‘She buyes the broed [‘brood’, or her unborn child] full dearlye’. Consequences for the male speaker, set out in the final stanza, are only financial, to provide ‘some geir’ for the child. Yet, the last word is the mother’s, who wields some power still:

And everi day she bostes away
Schell nether stay nor tary
Till on our knees we man hir please
And heigh hir for to mary.

It would be interesting to establish whether a song such as ‘Men seldom thryves’ was enjoyed for its indecent content, or perhaps for its admonitory quality – despite the ‘kirk’s’ sanctioning, the poem remains light in tone, yet an underlying moral message cannot be ignored here. It is fascinating to see how the Protestant kirk’s reproachful teachings had completely suffused the moral universe that surrounds these poems – and also how a courtly focus had shifted to one grounded in a wider community.

A brilliant piece of humorous writing in Scots, and a poem that deserves its place in modern anthologies of Scottish writing for its rarity value alone, is ‘Sir I thought good to send yow a bukell’ (f. 147):

Sir I thought good to send yow a bukell
Both daintie and delicat such as ye sie
Faltles (faultless) Il warrand if it be not to bruckell
With cunning composed of mettall most frie
A jewell most fair for a prince a propyne
Quhois praises to pen doth passe my ingine
A subject of poyetes mor meet to sing
Bot hey me my bukell it laikes a toung.

This is the first of five stanzas, and introduces the conceit of the ‘bukell’. Borrowing from the register of speech of the *makars*, the poet hyperbolically characterises his gift as ‘A jewell most fair for a prince a propyne’, but at the same time also playfully incorporates a ‘modesty topos’. In connection to ‘poyetes’ and the speaker’s inability to give praise, the final line cleverly puns on the ‘bukell’ lacking a ‘tongue’ (in the first sense a buckle pin). The metaphor for the buckle as a woman’s body is sustained throughout the poem: the ‘bukell’ lacking a ‘tongue’ gives rise to many double-layered remarks, initially on the ‘matchles’ qualities of the gift, secondly on the need for ‘a guid craftsman’ to fasten a new ‘tongue’, and ending finally in a series of jocular insults at the address of the ‘frend’ receiving the buckle, mocking his skills at the metaphorical forge:

This tak to vndertak if ye dar adventure

¹³² *Poems of Scott*, p. 45.

Of maxing of meatalles ye most have good skill
 The better the toung is the harder the temper
 It bevit and byding it cannot be ill
 Of laton and copar it most not be chosit
 Bot of the sam mettall the bukell composed
 Syne closely put in and cuninglye hung
 Great losse war this bukell sould want a toung

If the metall be dour and ill to dantane
 A thowsand sad straikes and more it will crave
 The crafts man most be young lustie and wanton
 A ferce fyre man ye labour most have
 Ane old cresit craftis man will tyne bot his travell
 Yet better he cannot be purged of the gravell
 It most be weill beaton dintit and dong
 Great losse war this buckle sould want a toung

Bot I feare that my bukell be badlie bestoued
 Your worklomes are worne and forgett force of fyre
 Your tempring brouch is als dead
 Of such a fair labour gray hares will sone tyre
 If your borel be bluntit my bukell send back
 A toung frome my self perhaps it will tak
 Bot frend I suppone that when he was young
 He wald not send back my bukell to toung.

The date of composition and the origin of this poem in Scots are unknown – yet its mastery of form, highly effective alliteration, and well-sustained comical poise suggests a poet of considerable skill. It may be a private piece, from one poet to another, or written more generally, to entertain an audience. The refrain might characterise this as a song, but it is difficult to be sure. In contrast to some of the more conventional poems in the manuscript, the language is precise and varied, skilfully handled, and never succumbing to bawdiness for its own sake. As with a *flyting*, the quality of the poem lies in its inventiveness and sustained artfulness and mock-seriousness. Jokes at the expense of old men suffering from ‘the gravell’, a urinary ailment, are familiar in the Scottish tradition, for instance, from the *Freiris of Berwick*, or from Montgomerie and Polwarth’s *Flyting*.¹³³ This good-natured, amusing and craftily composed poem is one of the most engaging works in the Robertson manuscript.

Later in MS 15937, bawdry degenerates into the scatological ‘O ho the moone’ (f. 162). In terms of style, this song seems to belong almost to the eighteenth century, and provides a very curious alternative to the other largely conventional songs and poems in the manuscript. It is very uninhibited and does not attempt to disguise itself in any way, as its heroine pronounces after she finds ‘her hose full & hir shoes full too’: ‘I schyt I schyt I schyt’. Another song clearly transgressing decorum starts out deceptively as a piece of moralism:

¹³³ ‘Bot verry tyrit and wett wes Freir Allane / For he wes awld and nicht nocht wele travell / And als he had ane littill spyce of gravell’, *Bannatyne Manuscript*, IV, 262; cf Fox and Ringler, f. 349r. *Montgomerie: Poems*, I, 145.

This partiall world so gevin is
 To flattring and a[m]bitiosnes
 It prayes (praises) things of small desyrtes [correction in the manuscript]
 And leaves throughout all better pairtes. (f. 173)

It comes quickly to the point, however:

Thairfor I mynd now for to sing
 The commend due of a thing
 More worthie of praise altho it ly
 In darknes and obscuritie.

Even though the speaker addresses all ‘suiet ladies’ in his audience, that they ‘not offended be / I meane no bady thing trewlye’, what he is about to commend soon becomes clear: ‘For giue ane week it eydle lye / The world will ceas to multiplie’. The poem ends on a long celebratory catalogue of the various attributes of the female sex organs, or ‘cunnie’.

It is very difficult to know what sort of reaction a poem such as this would have elicited from Robertson and her circle (assuming that the manuscript was used by a larger group of people). It might be surmised that this type of coarse sexual humour found a willing ear among male audiences, but not so much among women. Stell certainly suggests that bawdy song manuscripts were generally associated with male owners; in England, Marotti argues that obscene verse in manuscript ‘was most frequently associated with all-male environments’.¹³⁴ Yet, given the strong female involvement in Scotland in manuscript compilation, we must perhaps conclude that the audiences include both sexes. Since relatively few bawdy works have survived in Scottish sources, there is no significant research to match the interest in bawdy and in sexual poetry south of the border.¹³⁵ In any case, it is important here to note that works of apparent Scottish origin feature side by side with English poems, and that Scotland must indeed have had a tradition, albeit small, of bawdy poems and songs for entertainment.

Concluding the Manuscript, ff. 212-15

More can be learned about Margaret Robertson from the end of the manuscript. Medieval and renaissance book owners frequently personalised books and manuscripts, and Scottish owners formed no exception. Inscriptions range from the simple attachment of names – to signify authorship, ownership, or the bestowal of a gift – to more elaborate ways of personalising a text,

¹³⁴ Stell, ‘Bawdiness’; Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 76.

¹³⁵ See, for instance, Ian Frederick Moulton, *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), particularly chapter 1, ‘Erotic Writing in Manuscript Culture’, pp. 35-69. Significantly, Moulton argues that ‘manuscript erotic texts, while primarily male-authored and overwhelmingly representing a masculine view of sexual activity, were not limited to an exclusively male readership’ (p. 69). His examples include the manuscript of Margaret Bellasys (BL MS Add. 10309), a miscellany compiled c. 1630, and containing a good deal of bawdy verse. A comparative study between the contemporaneous manuscripts belonging to Robertson and Bellasys would be very interesting indeed.

such as dedicatory verse or proverbs. In illuminated manuscripts, more elaborate devices still, such as portraits, miniatures, or coats of arms often signify ownership. Not infrequently, these devices, inscriptions or dedications can be related to the contents of the text, or to the personality of the author, scribe, or owner.¹³⁶ As already shown above, Margaret Robertson can be seen to claim ownership for her manuscript: ‘Margarat Robertsoune / with my hand’, stating moreover that ‘This buik perteines to a verie / honourable womane’ (f. 1). It has not previously been remarked that MS 15937 is similarly inscribed at the end. On f. 211, a half page is left blank. This is unusual, as on every single page (save one blank page, f. 117, and the imperfectly copied end of ‘O quhat a plague is loue’ on f. 53) every new poem is directly continued, and no space is wasted.

On closer investigation, it is clear that the material that follows on the last four pages fulfils a different function in the manuscript, and is not part of the miscellaneous contents of the collection proper. Instead, it may tell us something of Margaret Robertson herself. Consider:

Giff thow wald loue or loveit bee
Kiepe in thy mynd thir thinges thrie
Be secreitt true, and pacient
To father and mother obedent

The feare of the Lord is the beginning of visedom
But fooles dispise knowledge and instructioun

Tak tent in tyme and not deferr
Quhen tyme is gone ye vill doe warr

Margaret Robertsoune with my hand. (f. 212)

This small collection of lines of sententious wisdom is markedly different in tone from the rest of the manuscript. The first quatrain is an interesting reworking of an old Scots poem:

Gif ye wald lufe and luvit be
In mynd keip weill thir thingis thre
and sadly in thy breist imprent
Be secreit trew and pacient.¹³⁷

This is the first stanza of six of the poem as it features in the Bannatyne manuscript; this first quatrain is also to be found in the commonplace book of Andrew Melville (Aberdeen, AUL MS 28) and in NLS Adv. 18.1.2 (f. 177v).¹³⁸ In Bannatyne, subsequent stanzas work out the conceit,

¹³⁶ See, for instance, Sally Mapstone, *Scots and Their Books in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: An Exhibition in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1996). For an introductory study of book ownership by women in Scotland, see Priscilla Bawcutt, “‘My bright book’: Women and their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland”, in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17-34.

¹³⁷ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, III, p. 303; cf. Fox and Ringler, f. 230r. The poem was previously attributed to Dunbar, but that attribution has now been rejected.

¹³⁸ See Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘A First-Line Index of Early Scottish Verse’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991), 265-66. The manuscript in question is the so-called St Giles Bible, a thirteenth-century French

commenting on all three qualities – discretion (‘secreit’), loyalty (‘trew’), and patience – and culminating in an advice to all lovers: ‘Thus he that wantis ane of thir thre / ane luvar glaid may neur be’. The Robertson fragment, borrowing three out of four lines, draws focus away from the theme of love (which raises the question: ‘why’?, considering the largely amatory content of the manuscript) and domesticates the sense. This imposition is clumsy, as the fourth virtue of obedience follows the announced ‘things thrie’; neither do the three virtues, which are of clear amatory cast in Bannatyne, fit in well with the reorientation in MS 15937 to parental, or familial, love. It is difficult to determine whether any importance should be attached to this in terms of Margaret Robertson herself, since this sententious fragment (like the ones to follow) was so frequently copied.

The second item is a well-known biblical phrase (Proverbs 1.7). One example of a type of setting where this proverb was also encountered may be found in Crathes Castle, in Aberdeenshire. On its famous sixteenth-century painted ceilings, in the so-called Muses Room, the representation of Wisdom (here the first of five Virtues; they are followed by the nine Muses), bears the inscription ‘The fear of the Lord / is the begining of all wisdom’.¹³⁹ Use of such sententious materials was clearly not restricted to manuscripts. Intriguingly, however, Robertson is not the only Scottish woman to attach this particular proverb to a collection of poetry. It can be found, too, in the Ker manuscript, principal witness of Montgomerie’s verse, compiled by Margaret Ker. Parkinson comments as follows:

To return to the title page, there is a prominent epigraph. It draws on Proverbs 1.7, ‘The feare of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; but fooles despise wisdom and instruction’. More freely, this epigraph alludes to psalms (135 and 138, but especially 72.II) praising the Name of God, against which earthly kings are powerless. Corresponding to scriptural allusions in the poems themselves, the epigraph indicates the scribe’s commitment to the religious and political elements in the thematic range of the poems following.¹⁴⁰

The same certainly cannot be said for MS 15937: with the exception of one long religious, and a few occasional poems, the contents are secular and amatory. The presence of this particular proverb in both manuscripts invites speculation, however, especially considering that all of Montgomerie’s poems in MS 15937 are derived – as far as we know – from a circulating manuscript, and not from a print (see above). Even if this proverb does not reflect the contents of the manuscript, it chimes with this section of moralistic wisdom denoting, perhaps, a virtuous owner or compiler (although, as shown above, part of the content tells quite another story!).

production. Several marginal verses appear on ff. 177v-78r, including, on f. 177v (and on f. 150r), ‘In my defence god me defend / and bring my soull to ane guid end’. This same inscription features in CUL MS Kk.5.30, section one, f. 59r.

¹³⁹ For a representation of the ceiling, and a discussion of the Virtues more generally, see Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2003), pp. 198-200.

¹⁴⁰ *Montgomerie: Poems*, II, 2.

The final maxim, ‘Tak tent in tyme and not deferr / Quhen tyme is gone ye vill doe warr’ can also be found in two major Scottish miscellanies: again, in the Bannatyne manuscript, and in the Maitland Folio manuscript. Among Bannatyne’s ‘ballettis mirry and Vther solatius consaittis’ an imperfect twelve-line poem appears on f. 122r. It then re-occurs on f. 147r, its lines rearranged, and both versions feature the same couplet as found in MS 15937. In the Maitland Folio manuscript, on p. 294, the poem also appears, following the line ordering of Bannatyne’s version on f. 147r, but broken up into three distinct items. The third opens ‘Tak tyme in tyme, and no tyme defer / Quhone tyme is past ye may do war’.¹⁴¹ The lines are anonymous, but in both manuscripts are subscribed ‘quod quha to quhame’. Clearly, such a proverb would easily be memorised and have circulated orally. Its popularity in literary writing is well attested, however: it occurs (in various forms) in several anonymous pieces, in the work of Sir David Lindsay, and, again, in Montgomerie.¹⁴²

The poem that immediately follows these lines, ‘Wpright to liue I sett my mynd’, has already been the subject of a study by Bawcutt.¹⁴³ It occurs, its stanzas slightly rearranged, on the back of Timothy Pont’s Map 23 (depicting the area around the river Tay, in Perthshire).¹⁴⁴ At the time of writing, Bawcutt seems to have been unaware of the occurrence of a version of this poem in MS 15937, but in an addendum to her article she notes that she found a second copy of the poem in the notebooks of Peter Buchan. Buchan’s source is Robertson’s lost manuscript, and the poem as it appears in his manuscript notebook (the above-mentioned BL MS 24904, f. 275r) is much the same as in MS 15937. On Pont’s map the poem is ascribed to Sir Philip Sidney, but Bawcutt convincingly refutes this claim. She concludes that it is more likely to be the work of a cultured amateur, and in the addendum she suggests the following:

Both these texts [the Pont map and MS X] are associated with the same Highland area of Scotland, and provide a small but precious clue as to its social, literary and musical culture in the early seventeenth century. [...] Other questions inevitably arise – but at this stage are difficult to answer – as to the priority of one or other of these versions, and as to whether Margaret Robertson might have been not just the scribe but the author of this poem.¹⁴⁵

In Buchan’s transcript the poem is subscribed ‘Margaret Robertsoune with my hand’. In MS 15973 this subscription occurs only underneath the proverbs and at the very end, and not with this particular poem. The personal nature of the final section of the manuscript lends credence to Bawcutt’s suggestion of Robertson’s authorship of the poem, however, and provides more evidence

¹⁴¹ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, II, 324, and III, 44; cf. Fox and Ringler, ff. 122r, 147r. *Maitland Folio*, I, 344.

¹⁴² For an exhaustive list of occurrences of this proverb and its literary use in Scotland see R.J. Whiting, ‘Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings From Scottish Writings Before 1600: Part Two M-Y’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 13 (1951), 87-164 (pp. 141-42).

¹⁴³ Bawcutt, ‘Pont’s Map’.

¹⁴⁴ The map is published in Jeffrey C. Stone, *The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland: Sixteenth Century Origins of a Blaeu Atlas* (Tring: Map Collector Publications Ltd, 1989), pp. 127-33.

¹⁴⁵ Bawcutt, ‘Pont’s Map’, pp. 17-18.

to consider Robertson not only as a compiler, but possibly also as an author of some poems in her manuscript.

The poem reflects on the theme of contentment, and the golden mean, and, states Bawcutt, is strongly reminiscent of a tradition of verse exemplified by ‘I joy not in no earthly bliss’ (appearing in William Byrd’s *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* of 1588).¹⁴⁶ The tone shifts, however, in the last stanza, where the speaker addresses a friend:

Quhilk great contentment I yow wis
And all your sower translaite in sweet
I would be glaid to heir of this
I long bot hes no hoope to meitt
Yitt friendis ar friendis thought fortune moove
Nought will dissolue a loyall love. (f. 214)

The conclusion personalises, and appears to be addressed to a reader, dedicatee, or loved one. Certainly it suggests that the writer (or speaker) and the (imagined) ‘yow’ have been separated. The presence of this poem within its context raises fascinating questions: indeed, Bawcutt queries whether it might be addressed to Timothy Pont by ‘a friend’ from the area of Tayside, and so end up at the back of his manuscript map. If indeed Robertson is the author (that she had access to Byrd’s 1588 song book is evident from other works present in her manuscript), then perhaps the address to Pont is less likely, unless the whole manuscript was intended as a gift, rather than a collection for private use. Exact answers to these questions might not be found: what is important to realise is that the Pont poem confirms the notion that Robertson’s manuscript was firmly grounded in an active cultural milieu. With two stanzas shifted and the many variants between the two texts, Pont’s poem might stand at some remove from Robertson’s (or vice versa), and testify to significant scribal interference. However, in an area where precious little evidence exists to piece together a wider cultural community, it is tempting to speculate about the evident relationship between these two witnesses.

As the manuscript opens with twenty-five sonnets, so too at the end appears a sonnet. It is not particularly original, and fits in well with other ‘Castalian’, Petrarchist explorations of love. The repetition and wordplay of ‘one’ is typical of the rhetorical strategies of the sonneteers of the 1580s and 1590s. What the sonnet is remarkable for, however, is its female speaking voice:

On onlie one both day and night I pance?
On onlie one soe satled hes my thought
On is my choice thought non haiff beine my chance
On is my hap albeit my hope be nought
The worthynes of on my woe hes wrought
On hes me maid the most vnhappiest shee
The bluisching blinkis of one deir haiff I cofte
On sies me sighe and sob, and will not sie

¹⁴⁶ See Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, pp. 39-40.

I liue for one one liues to sie me die
 One onlie one knowes my cairfull caice
 One better luiffes ane other on nor mee
 One lookes and laughes at my mishape allaice
 One onlie on that luiffes one alone
 That onlie liues to loue hir onlie one. (f. 215)

Female writers (if not ventriloquised female voices) are notoriously scarce in Scotland around the turn of the century. Christian Lindsay's, Mary Beaton's, Elizabeth Douglas's, and Mary Oxlie's claim to fame rests on the basis of single sonnets, of which authorship is disputed and uncertain. Literary women of the mid-seventeenth century, such as Barbara MacKay or Lilius Skene, have only recently been discussed by Pamela Giles; her findings are, as yet, unpublished. Relating to Christian Lindsay's questionable authorship of 'Oft haive I hard, bot offer fund it treu', Sarah Dunnigan, perhaps wryly, reassures us that 'even if we consider that her name may have been playfully invented for the poetic role-play practised by this coterie [the 'Castalian band'] it still importantly signifies the incursion of a female voice'.¹⁴⁷ It is the female voice, then, that sets this sonnet apart from the other twenty-five in the manuscript, and, more importantly, from the large output of other Scottish sonneteers. If indeed the small collection of poems closing the collection is of a more personal nature, then the inclusion of this sonnet by a female scribe or collector is highly significant. Parkinson remarks that

Among the Scottish anthologists, an indication of progress toward associated composition becomes detectable in Margaret Robertson's activity as a scribe. The last sonnet in NLS MS 15937, the fuller of the two nineteenth-century transcripts of her lost manuscript, ends in a feminine voice with a reassertion of continued longing for "one onlie on" who regardless persists in loving another, "her onlie on" (ll. 13–14). Both concealing and hinting at a personal reference, this wordplay exemplifies the style of the Scottish sonnet in the early seventeenth century.¹⁴⁸

It is possible that Robertson is not simply the scribe, but also the author of this sonnet. Although it is difficult to be certain, this reading would certainly connect to Bawcutt's suggestion of Robertson's authorial autonomy. If indeed the act of compiling a miscellany is indicative of a burgeoning authorial ambition, and, more generally, indicative of the health and coming-of-age of a scribal community, then the inscription of Robertson's own verses at the end of her large collection is fitting.

The manuscript's final eight lines, again subscribed 'Margaratt Robertsoune with my hand', belong to the tradition of *ars moriendi*, or the art of dying, frequently explored by Scots poets:

¹⁴⁷ Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'Scottish Women Writers c. 1560-c. 1650', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writers*, ed. by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 15–43 (p. 15).

¹⁴⁸ Parkinson, 'Anthologies', [forthcoming].

Remember man as thow goes by
 As thow art now, soe once ves I
 As I ame now soe must thow bee
 Remember man that thow must dye

All men think on the houre of death
 And the great god above
 Its sweet to die thought ye be loath
 Syne liwe vith Chryst your love. (f. 215)

The genre's widespread popularity throughout older and contemporary Scots poetry is attested by the formulaic opening of several 'Ballatis Full of Wisdome and Moralitye' found in the Bannatyne manuscript for instance, where some of the 'documenta' (as Bannatyne calls his verses here) open 'Remembir, man'. Dunbar opens in similar vein with 'Memento, homo, quod cinis ess'.¹⁴⁹ Robertson's manuscript confirms that by the seventeenth century such sententious material had not yet lost its appeal. Indeed, it is interesting to note that *Songs and Fancies* (1662) contains a religious song, opening

Remember, O thou man, O thou man O thou man
 remember O thou man, thy time is spent
 Remember O thou man how thou was dead and gone
 And I did what I can, therefore repent.¹⁵⁰

Clearly, this song and the closing lines to MS 15937 draw from the same strong tradition that advocates a morally sound and virtuous life, as death is always close.

Collectively, the material on ff. 212-15 celebrates proverbial wisdom, advocates the middle way, addresses a friend, and problematises unrequited love from a female perspective. All this is finally contextualised by man's (or indeed woman's?) place in the universe, under God's dominion, and inevitable death. This constitutes a decidedly different conclusion from the final poem of the collection before the blank half page, 'My loue is bright as enbur bone' (ff. 210-11), a conventional love lyric concluding in each refrain that 'She seames good and is not so'. If some of the ownership verses above seem trivial, then Bawcutt usefully reminds us that 'a solitary item has more interest when it is a member of a group'.¹⁵¹ Combined with Robertson's repeated reference to her 'hand', the sentiments from this manuscript's last four pages might well be seen to present a book 'pertaining' to 'a verie *honourable* womane' (my italics), and to contextualise also the more light-hearted, and at times even bawdy, poems and songs collected by this lady. The overlap between Robertson's choice of epigraphs and the Bannatyne manuscript, perhaps the Maitland Folio manuscript, and the Ker manuscript is fascinating, and suggests two paths of enquiry: either, the

¹⁴⁹ *Bannatyne Manuscript*, II, 182-83, 185; cf. Fox and Ringler, ff. 74v-75r. *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, 2 vols (Glasgow: ASLS, 1998), I, 120-21.

¹⁵⁰ [Thomas Davidson], *Cantus: Songs and Fancies* (Aberdeen: John Forbes, 1662). This book is not paginated. The song quoted above is song number nine.

¹⁵¹ Bawcutt, 'Index', p. 263.

material above was ubiquitous and easily accessible for any compiler, or, more excitingly, Robertson must have had access to poetic collections that were close descendants of some of Scotland's most important literary manuscripts. Although the latter is difficult to prove with certainty, the sheer diversity and number of poems included in MS 15937 suggests that Robertson must have possessed an impressive library, and that she was an extremely well connected compiler.

Conclusion

One hundred and seventy-five poems cannot all be done justice to in the space of a chapter. Although it has proved possible in the discussion above to present a cultural backdrop against which to view the manuscript, to trace many sources for Robertson's poems, and to submit a limited amount of poems to a more literary-critical analysis, a more comprehensive literary appreciation still awaits. As will have become evident, MS 15937, despite all its 'problems' of textual unreliability, uncertain provenance, and English-orientated content, is still a miscellany manuscript of considerable importance for Scottish literary history. Many of these problems would be solved if Robertson's MS X could be found, but, even if our conclusions are necessarily based on a challenging transcript, the anthologising efforts of Robertson can be appreciated.

To contextualise the manuscript, it might most fruitfully be compared, as suggested by Bawcutt and as discussed above, to the Wemyss manuscript. It will remain a moot point whether Robertson herself was musical and whether MS X might have contained musical notation – yet against the background of the household she grew up in, and considering the vast quantity of Scottish and English songs she collected, this seems not unlikely. It is interesting to compare the 'title page' of MS 15937 with the two title pages of Wemyss's miscellany (there is one on each side of the manuscript). Both ladies style themselves very similarly: whereas Robertson, as seen above, is an 'honourable womane', Wemyss (on the side of the miscellaneous verses) opens 'Margrat Wemyss with my hand', and 'Margaret Weemes my very good Lady'. Opening the collection of music and songs, she writes that the manuscript is 'A booke / containing some pleasant aires / of Two, three or fowre voices / Collected out of diverse Authors / Begunne June 1643' (f. ii.). Both Wemyss and Robertson must have had similar types of copy text available (certainly *Campion* and *Morley*, and what was presumably a manuscript containing 'Quhen Cynthia with a sweit consent'). Wemyss's notes reflect that her manuscript was enjoyed in a wider family circle ('all the Lesons behind this are learned ut of my Sisteres book', f. 42), and the same type of environment can be surmised for Robertson.

Robertson's scribal activities may be seen from the perspective as outlined by Elliott and Rimmer:

When the Scottish Court moved south in 1603, a younger generation of Castalian poets and musicians was growing up in the northern castles. This generation, however, inherited a fragmented culture that lacked the focus of a royal court to give it direction and purpose. The result for music was that the art of composition

declined. Interest in contemporary English and European music continued, but when a Scottish musician wanted something of his own he turned to music of a much earlier generation or to folksong. [...] Rather, this is the century of the gifted amateur and the collector. Manuscript anthologies of music were compiled throughout the century, some recording art music, some folk, and a few both.¹⁵²

The question needs to be asked whether a decline in creativity, both in music and writing, can only be appreciated in hindsight, or whether the collectors of these manuscripts indeed thought that they were bringing up the rear in a kind of post-‘Castalian’ movement that was but a remnant of the glory days of the sixteenth century. Elliott and Rimmer’s assessment is also informed by a court-dominated view, as given shape by Helena Shire, that has more recently been refined (albeit implicitly), or even re-defined. The court is no longer understood as a coherent, hermetically sealed, continued presence that functioned as the only centre and patron to all the arts; rather, the courtly audience, and hence ‘court culture’, was probably more porous (certainly when compared to the Elizabethan court), and also a more occasional phenomenon based around specific events (such as a royal entry, wedding, baptism, or other similar occasions).¹⁵³

It is telling that, whereas the first two miscellanies discussed (the Laing and Tibbermuir manuscripts) could be linked back to courtly circles (through family connections), in the case of Margaret Robertson, by 1630 certainly there are no obvious connections between her relatively unknown family, and the accepted centres of cultural exchange such as the court (although it must be noted that connections earlier in the previous century, such as the alleged presentation of Queen Mary’s harp to the family, may have continued to be influential later on). Admittedly, more could be learned about the Robertsons of Lude and their connections. Yet, exactly this lack of connections might indicate that the Scottish and English poems and songs in the manuscript had properly entered the public sphere; in other words, in order to gain access to such works it was unnecessary to be connected to exclusive literary cliques or coteries (such as that of James VI and his supposed circle), if indeed these existed in such rigidly demarcated terms. This might be taken as an indicator of a certain democratisation, or regionalisation, of literary activity, which ties in with a reconceptualisation of Scottish court culture.

As MS 15937 amply testifies, it is a mistake to consider post-1603 Scottish literary culture as entirely backward-looking. Furthermore, and partly in response to Elliott and Rimmer’s notion of a ‘fragmented culture’ and a declining creative spirit, within the process of anthologising (by Robertson, and others) may be detected a spark of originality that could easily light up. Parkinson argues the following regarding the importance of Scotland’s later miscellany manuscripts:

¹⁵² Elliott and Rimmer, *History*, p. 41.

¹⁵³ This is not the place further to explore the difficult question of the social make-up of the Scottish court in relation to literary writing and other cultural pastimes, but it is important to note that critical reconceptualisations of ‘the courtly’ are of real importance to the manuscripts discussed here. It follows that a great deal of work remains to be done in early-modern Scottish cultural studies.

The function of the anthology to advance and commemorate social bonding remains valid throughout the century, at least in some localities, in the burghs, the great households, and the schools. Antiquarian projects, engaged in by teachers as clients of noble patrons, reveal the rising status but also the increased retrospection of such a function: seeking songs, Robert Tait, precentor and schoolteacher in Lauder, consults the library of the duke of Lauderdale at Thirlstane with its holdings of volumes owned by previous generations of Maitlands. Well into the century, however, the anthology continues to offer an appealing way for gentlewomen like Margaret Robertson c. 1630 and Margaret Wemyss in the 1640s to participate in and initiate the exchange of texts as a 'kindlie' act of familial piety but also an opportunity to exhibit and cultivate creativity. The anthologising activities of such gentlewomen may indicate their assumption of the shared enthusiasms of the writers they copy and thus those writers' depiction of relationships; still, it would be a mistake to ignore the corresponding signs of independent-mindedness, as Margaret Robertson demonstrates pre-eminently.¹⁵⁴

These channels of interaction, so difficult to uncover, expose a healthy scribal culture that nurtures its own, new generation of writers. Parkinson holds an altogether more positive view of post-1603 Scottish literary culture than, for instance, Elliott and Rimmer (although their discussion focuses on music, and not on literary writing *per se*); a similar line of thinking has been proposed by Sarah Dunnigan, in relation to a third wave of renaissance Scottish writing that occurred post-1603 (as discussed above, see pp. 131-33). Crucially, MS 15937 leads us to re-assess the more established views of seventeenth-century Scottish literary culture that have outlined the period only in terms of 'fragmentation' and 'decline'. Based on the evidence presented here, of Robertson's impressive range of source materials, her wide reading among English and Scottish printed books and manuscripts, her eclectic tastes in poetry and song, all against the background of her family's wider cultural interests, she can be shown to have been an very active proponent of early-modern Scottish musical and literary culture.

¹⁵⁴ Parkinson, 'Anthologies', [forthcoming].

chapter five ~

Conclusion: The Miscellany and 'the Whole Book'

Five hundred years ago, the chief of an upper hexagon came upon a book as confusing as the others, but which had nearly two pages of homogeneous lines. [...] The content was also deciphered: some notions of combinative analysis, illustrated with examples of variation with unlimited repetition. These examples made it possible for a librarian of genius to discover the fundamental law of the Library. This thinker observed that all the books, no matter how diverse they might be, are made up of the same elements: the space, the period, the comma, the twenty-two letters of the alphabet. He also alleged a fact which travellers have confirmed: *In the vast Library there are no two identical books.*¹

As explored in Chapter One, and self-evident from discussion of the three miscellanies, medieval and early modern textual culture is defined in terms of variance, or, according to Marotti, in terms of 'textual instability and malleability'.² Each manuscript poem is unique: the mythical underlying 'original work', free of variations, does not exist. For this reason, the manuscript poem's meaning is always ambiguous, and partly dependent on the context in which it is encountered. Medieval and early modern manuscripts share an important characteristic with the tomes described in Borges's iconic story: indeed, '*there are no two identical books*'. Manuscripts, like the imagined books in Borges, are 'illustrated with examples of variation'.

The manuscript books of early modern Scotland, and the three miscellanies discussed here, bear explicit witness to textual variance. A good example is the sonnet of Alexander Craig, 'Quhen feirce Achilles att the sege off Troye' (as discussed in Chapter Three). This was previously thought only to survive in print, but MS CUL Kk.5.30 records a version that displays marked Scots language features that are absent from the print, and that therefore perhaps predates the 1606 printing of the poem. The question is no longer which version has precedence, which presents the least 'corrupt' reading, or which best reflects Craig's authorial intentions – the question is rather how to make meaning from this cumulative evidence. Though nothing is known about this, Craig may have seen his *Amorose Songes* through the press himself. Both versions of the sonnet, one in Scots, the other 'englished', may be equally authoritative. To prefer one version over the other would be to ignore the multiplicity that is inherent in early modern textuality. A great deal more evidence has been presented in the previous three chapters that underlines the value of variance,

¹ Jorge Luis Borges, 'The Library of Babel', in *Labyrinths*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (1970; repr. London: Penguin, 2000), p. 81. The italics are in the original.

² Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). p. 135.

particularly since a fair portion of the works featured in MS Laing III.447, MS Kk.5.30 and MS 15937 also survives elsewhere, in Scottish and English manuscripts and printed books. As demonstrated, the contexts of these miscellanies are crucial to establish 'what poetry did' in renaissance Scotland.³ The three miscellanies under scrutiny here (and MS 15937 in particular) do not always retain the 'best' versions of poems also known from elsewhere, but this is not the point: what matters is the rich contextual accumulation of evidence that gives meaning to these poems.

The manuscript critic faces a very similar task to that of the 'official searchers, *inquisitors*' described in Borges's story. The searchers wander about in an apparently infinite library, browsing books, looking for structure, for meaning, and for order. Borges relates how '[t]hey always arrive extremely tired from their journeys; they speak of a broken stairway which almost killed them; they talk with the librarian of galleries and stairs; sometimes they pick up the nearest volume and leaf through it, looking for infamous words. Obviously, no one expects to find anything'.⁴ Manuscript critics, thankfully less gloomy than the 'inquisitors', do expect to find something.

The 'Whole Book'

Chapter One concluded with the advice of Derek Pearsall to maintain a certain 'adventurousness' in manuscript studies. It is fitting, then, in this final chapter, also to take account of his recent words of warning; words, moreover, that are directed specifically at scholars of miscellany manuscripts. In reaction to very recent book-historical perspectives on medieval miscellanies that aim to consider 'the whole book' and its 'unifying controlling intelligences', Pearsall comments that

[I]acking authors of any kind, for the most part, critics dealing with manuscript miscellanies, especially those whose first training was as literary scholars, are yet driven by the same desires, and fall with enthusiasm upon the idea of the 'guiding intelligence' that must have controlled the choice and arrangement of contents and been responsible for the subtle strategies of organization that turn an apparent miscellany into a continuing meta-narrative. To acknowledge that all kinds of random factors might have been operating, and, might have been much more important in determining what went into the miscellanies, is by contrast so negative, so dispiriting, so pusillanimous, and of course so unproductive.⁵

Pearsall, no doubt, exaggerates for effect, yet his warning is an important one. To replace authorial intention by that of the compiler (in absence of the author) entirely disregards the complex forces at work in manuscript compilation, and subjects medieval and early modern textual culture to a distinctly anachronistic treatment. The 'random factors', for instance the limited availability of

³ The phrase is Steven May's, as quoted in Chapter One, p. 25.

⁴ Borges, pp. 82-83.

⁵ Derek Pearsall, 'The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and Their Modern Interpreters', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 17-29 (p. 18).

copy text, and the order in which those texts arrived on the scribe's desk, need to be taken into consideration.

Pearsall's article is somewhat flippant, particularly in reference to his newly suggested categories of miscellanies, the 'UMRISCs' and 'UMWELAs', or 'Unorganised manuscripts reflecting the interests of a single compiler' and 'Unorganised manuscripts with an element of local anthologising'.⁶ Pearsall here draws attention to the unsatisfactory situation of nomenclature in miscellany studies, and indeed his article is concerned with the confusing terminology of various manuscript critics. This problem was equally registered by Nichols and Wenzel in the introduction to their book, the premise of which Pearsall in his turn attempts to problematise (*The Whole Book: Cultural Perspective on the Medieval Miscellany*). The book's editors state that, as a term, 'miscellany, does not even provide an accurate taxonomy for cataloguers, editors, and historians of book making, let alone literary scholars'. They continue that the term 'miscellany'

sheds little light on the relationship of the texts to their codicological context, and it may even be misleading, suggesting, as it does, an arbitrary principle of organization for manuscripts in which there may be a perfectly clear organizing principle.⁷

Pearsall takes issue not with the fact that the manuscript terminology needs to be cleared up, but rather with the eagerness of critics to embrace a 'clear organizing principle'.

Yet, to be always deeply suspicious of structure and meaning in miscellanies is to do the early modern compiler a disservice. This would negate intelligent reading and juxtaposition of individual items into meaningful wholes, a process that has been extensively demonstrated in the previous chapters. Many miscellanies contain ample evidence of creative compilation; if this cannot be always proven on an overarching, structural level concerning the entire manuscript, then it can certainly be shown on more localised levels, for instance individuals groups of poems. In terms of the early modern Scottish miscellanies discussed in the previous chapters, organising principles are exceedingly difficult to prove. Paradoxically, the manuscript compiled by the greatest number of hands – MS Laing III.447 – has been shown to be the most thematically coherent. It may be suggested that exactly because in the Laing manuscript scribes only contributed small clusters, their entries are more deliberate and purposeful. Pearsall would probably have argued that the compilers have been allowed too much 'intention'. An argument could be advanced that such thematic coherence is the result not of scribal intention, but of the fact that the compilers drew their poems from such a finely delineated group of sources incorporating such well-established genres that any poem they would have chosen would have meaningfully reverberated with others in the same collection. Yet, such an argument denies the inherent social nature of

⁶ Pearsall, 'Whole Book', pp. 22-25.

⁷ Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds, *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), p. 3.

manuscript compilation. Marotti identifies the 'socially dialogic context' which explicitly caters for so-called 'answer poetry': in the case of the Laing manuscript, the most relevant type is the 'extension poem [that] develops or amplifies some idea, image, or characteristic feature of rhythm or style' from a preceding poem.⁸ The manuscript contains at least one 'answer proper', however, where the 'Inglis Sonet' on f. 79r is promptly followed by 'Ane scottis sonnet'. Compilers cannot be denied their 'intentions' in such instances. To identify what Pearsall terms 'continuing meta-narrative[s]' may be a dangerous venture. The miscellany of James Murray of Tibbermuir, for instance, though (probably) compiled by one man, aims less to develop a theme, and is more properly composed of miscellaneous items. Yet, as has been discussed for instance in reference to the sonnets by Alexander Craig, James Melville, and Philip Sidney, or in relation to Montgomerie's 'Heich Architects wouderous wouttit rounds' and the sonnet associated with Julian Ker, localised scribal intention gives new meaning to individual works.

Textual Spaces

Research into miscellanies invariably implies contexts of distinctive kinds. The contexts, or spaces, that matter when investigating the social surroundings of literary production are discussed by Judith Scherer Herz in reference to the 'literary circle', as follows:

Sometimes we are talking of lived spaces – houses, taverns, universities, Inns of Court, theatres – at other times, of the structure of social relations and gender relations; of brothers, sisters, cousins; of friendship, love, and conversation (in its sexual sense, as well); of patronage and politics; and of intellectual networks and religious affiliations. We are, too, talking of textual spaces: of title pages, of dedicatory poems and epistles, of circles and circulation, and of issues of genre, both those genres that derive from the circle (the country house poem, the pastoral and masque, or, in France, the salon novel) and those genres from which we constitute the circle after the fact – dedications, records of conversations (Drummond and Jonson, for example), letters, and diaries. Thus, what we are primarily talking about is the construction of an archive where the circle functions as a cataloguing mechanism and as a heuristic, that is, as a way to pose questions about textual production and reception, and about the subtle and not always predictable intellectual, political, and literary affiliations that connect families, friends and colleagues.⁹

Scherer Herz's 'lived spaces' and 'textual spaces' may usefully be applied to the manuscripts considered here. MS Laing III.447 is indicative of a circle of sorts (though only in the loosest sense), of Edinburgh burgesses, most likely the readers and probably also the compilers of a manuscript that is a true collaborative effort. CUL MS Kk.5.30 and NLS 15937 are more obviously related to family environments. The preceding chapters bear witness to an intricate patterning of

⁸ Marotti, p. 159. His definitions are adopted from E.F. Hart.

⁹ Judith Scherer Herz, 'Of Circles, Friendship, and the Imperatives of Literary History', in *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 10-23 (p. 15).

circles, often in directions hitherto unmentioned. Examples are the possible connection between the Laing manuscript produced in Edinburgh, and the verses inscribed in Walter Cullen's 'Aberdeen Chronicle'; the connection between James Murray of Tibbermuir's 'Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the', and a love poem which later surfaced among the papers of Liliias Murray, a distant kinswoman; and finally, in MS 15937, the links between a Robertson poem and Timothy Pont's map of Tayside. In the case of the Laing manuscript and Cullen's registers, no immediate personal connections are necessary to link their compilers' activities; indeed, they are unlikely to have existed. However, religious affiliation or intellectual networks (yet to be uncovered) may well account for the inclusion of the same two poems in these manuscripts. In the case of James Murray and Liliias Murray, the circulation of the poem which both scribes recorded (in different versions) may well be explained by family connections; in the Tibbermuir manuscript particularly, family connections have been shown to be instrumental in Murray's choice of copy text. In the instance of the poem shared between Robertson and Pont, this may be the result of a 'lived space' more widely, in geographical terms, since, as Bawcutt observed (and as quoted in Chapter Four), both manuscripts 'are associated with the same Highland area of Scotland'.

In terms of both textual and social space, it remains important to stress the role of women in book culture. Scribes Margaret Ker and Mary Maitland have been discussed above, and Margaret Robertson may join their ranks, alongside other female scribes such as Margaret Wemyss and Lady Jean Campbell. The art of calligrapher Esther Inglis has long been celebrated, and her sumptuous books are a rare example of Scottish manuscripts created also with a commercial aim in mind – Inglis presented her work to prospective patrons in the hope of financial recompense.¹⁰ Such early female author-scribes cleared the way for female authorship more generally, witnessed, for instance, in the case of Elizabeth Melville, or Anna Hume (who had her translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi* printed in 1644). That women became increasingly active also in commercial book production, particularly in print shops, is argued by Alastair Mann: '[a]s female literacy expanded with that of men, women played a crucial role in the dynamics of the Scottish book trade. It is a role that should be recognised more widely'.¹¹ It is against this wider backdrop of female

¹⁰ On Inglis, see for instance A.H. Scott-Elliott and Elspeth Yeo, 'Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Inglis (1571-1624): A Catalogue', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 84 (1990), 11-86; G. Ziegler, 'Hand Ma[i]de Books: The Manuscripts of Esther Inglis, Early Modern Precursors of the Artist's Books', *English Manuscript Studies*, 9 (2000), 73-87. One area of Scottish manuscripts studies that has hardly been touched on is the production of manuscripts for commercial gain. It is virtually unknown how manuscripts were traded, or whether entrepreneurial individuals ever made any money by copying or distributing multiple copies for instance of seditious or politically sensitive texts. For an example of a manuscript trader in seventeenth-century England, see Peter Beal's study of Robert Julian, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 19-30.

¹¹ Alastair J. Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise: The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland', in *Women in Scotland c.1100-c.1750*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 136-51 (p. 145). See further his *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500 to 1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press,

involvement both in amateur and professional book production that we must consider Margaret Robertson's manuscript(s). It is all the more important that Robertson's efforts as a compiler are recognised. Further research may hopefully unearth more details about Robertson's social and cultural milieu based in or around Lude. As argued in Chapter Four, a large amount of printed books and manuscripts must have passed through her hands, as evidenced by the impressive size of her collection. NLS MS 15937 is of significant value for the history of literature in Scotland, since it contains many unique poems in Scots. It is equally significant for the distribution of English verse and song in Scotland.

On the topic of spaces, finally, critics must be cautious not only to look for unifying textual space. The chapters above have perhaps raised more questions than provided answers, since only a fraction of the evidence survived. David Parkinson describes a fractured textual space in relation to Montgomerie, whose works were produced in a Scotland that, at the end of the sixteenth century, was politically and linguistically under pressure:

Montgomerie's varied signatures of style are gambits towards claiming a space, textual but also social, in an increasingly crowded scene. Scots is undergoing rapid changes under pressure from the neighbouring vernacular. These pressures are not linguistic alone. Self-presentation becomes self-concealment. In this scene, no wonder that the poem with which I began, *The Cherrie and the Slae*, is so multivalent in its allegory. No wonder that the evidence for authorship is so equivocal for all the poems ascribed to Montgomerie. The poet must dissemble and express discontent in complicated, obscure ways – it is the price of being caught between the cherry and the slae.¹²

Multivalence, then, or multivocality, is one of the defining features of Montgomerie's works. The conclusion to Chapter Two has further explored how this multivalence is evident also from the Ker manuscript, but also how by careful consideration of the poet's 'radically opposed voices' a 'resolution of purpose' might still be attained. In such a fractured textual space, room can be allowed for an expansion of the canon. The preceding chapters have argued for an increased recognition of known poets on the basis that their works were more widely anthologised than previously known, as is now demonstrably the case with, for example, Alexander Craig and John Murray. Equal attention must be given to anonymous works, however. Poems that deserve to be better known are, for instance, the Laing manuscript's 'Och luif in langour heir I ly' (f. 6v; the wooing poem), some of its more accomplished lyrics ('Fresche flureis fair', f. 82r), or even the fragment relating to Beggis Donaldson; the Tibbermuir manuscript's collection of ten sonnets (ff. 77r); or finally, from the Robertson manuscript, the rendition of 'Oh Lusty May' (f. 142), or the brilliant 'Sir I thought good to send yow a bukell' (f. 147). Whereas these works

2000); and 'The Anatomy of the Printed Book in Early Modern Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 80:2 (2001), 181-200.

¹² David Parkinson, 'Alexander Montgomerie, Scottish Author', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 493-513 (pp. 512-13).

cannot be conveniently classed in terms of authorship, their anonymity should not obscure their potential relevance for a history of Scottish writing at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

Scottish Manuscript Studies and the Future

Even if particular readings of the miscellanies and the poems contained therein remain open to criticism, the value of these manuscripts for early modern Scottish literary studies cannot be contested. In a tradition that has often been described in terms of its paucity, particularly in comparison to English renaissance writing, it is of critical importance to consider that which has in fact survived. Collectively, the poems in MS Laing III.447, MS Kk.5.30, and MS 15937 add significantly to the corpus of early modern Scottish writing. In addition, the manuscripts are an unrivalled source of information for the reception history of both Scottish and English poetry and song.

The investigation of the three miscellanies had to deal, by necessity, with very primary issues: manuscript descriptions, their (often very sketchy or even non-existent) editorial histories, listings of their contents, the establishment of textual sources, and more. These basic steps had to be completed before the poetry contained in these manuscripts can be subjected to more radical literary analyses in the future, and when more widely encompassing literary-historical theories can come to explain the development, for instance, of certain genres. These considerations should not be divorced, however, from the very material concerns as exposed here. Stephen Kelly and John Thompson suggest the way forward for manuscript studies generally:

the book is not only a medium for conveying prefabricated narratives and texts, but also the identities, politics, and perspectives they will express. [...] If manuscript scholarship hopes to move from the matter of codicological assessment, to the cultures and societies within which, and for which, books were made, it must marry a consideration of material culture with a keener awareness of rhetorical, poetic, and literary strategies derived from the materiality of books and their production.¹³

This is equally applicable to studies of the Scottish book. To understand the production and circulation of manuscripts in early modern Scotland, to identify owners, readers, and collectors, is not, eventually, an end in itself. It is a means to understand the literary culture that it underpins, to unravel the complex relationship between the literary and the social, which finally will shed a light on the reading and understanding of the poetry contained in these manuscripts. In other words, manuscript research is not purely materialist; it wants to unfold meaning in literary texts through the prism of material considerations. For an example of how this may be achieved, we may consider the rise of pastoral, evident from the poems in Margaret Robertson's manuscript, but also,

¹³ Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, 'Imagined Histories of the Book: Current Paradigms and Future Directions', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 1-14 (p. 9).

for instance, from the library of Drummond of Hawthornden. Now that we know that Robertson indeed collected pastoral lyrics (based primarily on English sources), we can attempt to connect those with a particular political strain evident from the pastoral poems composed by Drummond, for instance. Amatory and bawdy poetry may equally be subjected to more politicised interpretations. Of the bawdy poetry frequently encountered in English miscellanies, Marotti writes that it 'may have signalled social iconoclasm, neurotic misogyny, adolescent sexual awakening, class antagonism, anti-Puritan attitudes, or, more basically, the social bonding of those who engaged in coterie exchange of verse'. In addition, in England bawdy poetry became 'a kind of political badge' for Cavalier writers and royalist sympathisers.¹⁴ Which of these descriptions, if any, best fits the bawdy poems in the Laing, Tibbermuir and Robertson manuscripts is a very interesting question indeed. Regarding post-Union Scottish literature, Sarah Dunnigan rightly states that 'reinterpretation, or redemption, of the period is urgently needed'.¹⁵ For this to be possible, a reliable record needs to exist of the literature that was produced and read in Scotland right before and after the Union of 1603.¹⁶ An inventory of manuscript materials (not only the three discussed here, but also others) is crucially important to support Dunnigan's thesis (and others), in order to develop a more sophisticated understanding of Scottish reading and writing at the turn of the century and beyond.

This study commenced with the deprecating remarks of two Scottish compilers, George Bannatyne and John Stewart of Baldynneis. Bannatyne commented on his 'copeis auld mankit and mvtillait' (the subject of much speculation already, in reference to the scribe's source materials, but perhaps also a reflection on his own manuscript). Stewart, in similar fashion, revealed that when making his manuscript he took 'not in Hand the fynnest stuff Bot rather sum slycht cloth to Susteine the sklents and manks of his cunningles clipping'. Both these scribes, however, produced fine manuscripts (although particularly in the case of Stewart, this has not always been recognised). The efforts of the Scottish scribes investigated here, of MS Laing III.447, MS Kk.5.30, and MS 15937, have been shown to be so much more than simply the 'Inlegebill scribbling of Imprompt pens'. We have the miscellanists and their manuscripts to thank for the survival of the largest part of Scotland's medieval and early modern literature, and, in addition, for a record of their reading practices of materials not originally produced in Scotland, but creatively incorporated into the Scottish tradition. To further ignore their important work would be a major oversight.

¹⁴ Marotti, pp. 76, 80.

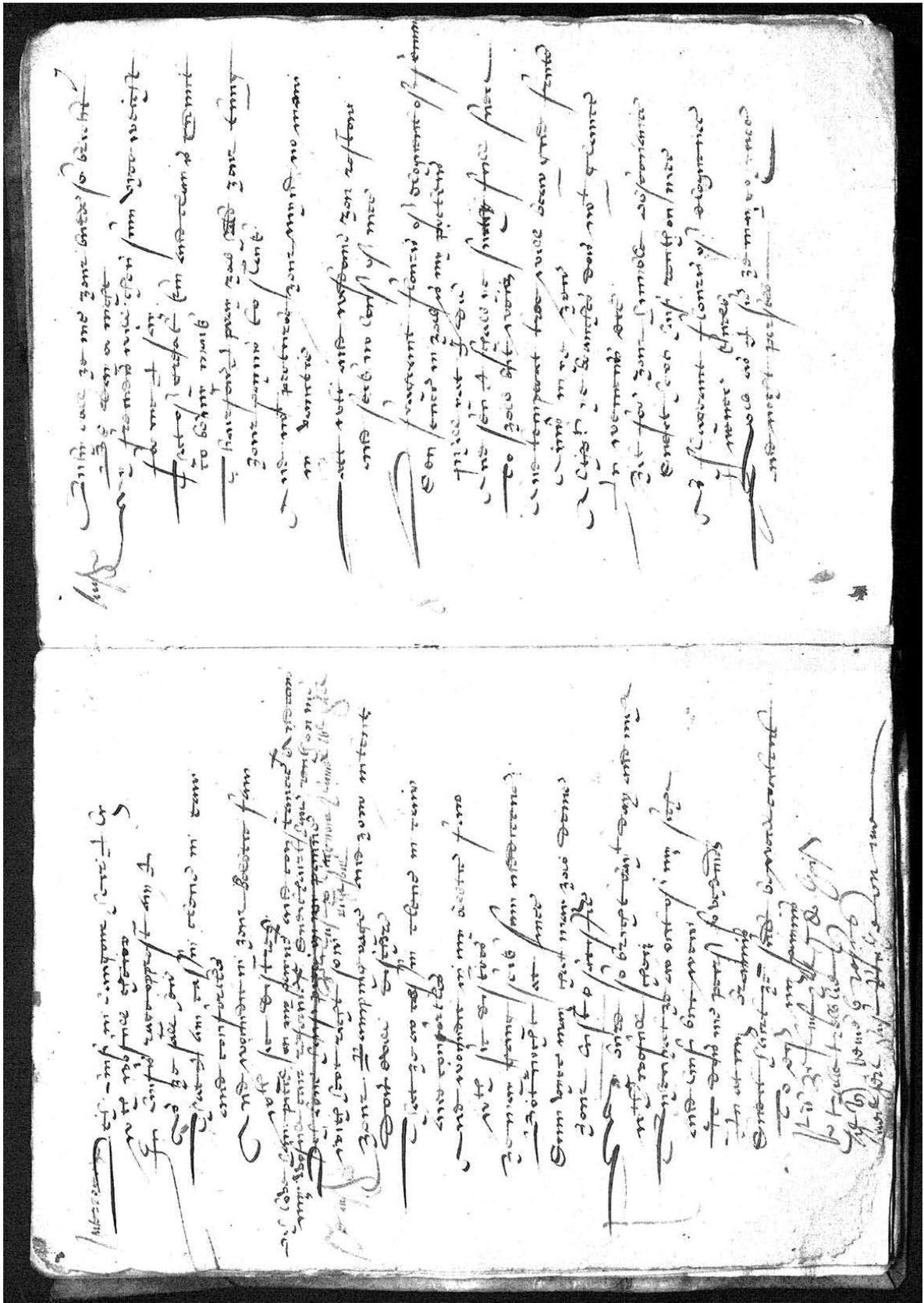
¹⁵ Sarah Dunnigan, 'A New Critical Cartography: Pre and Post-Union Scottish Renaissance', in *Alba Literaria: A History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Marco Fazzini (Venezia: Amos Edizioni, 2005), pp. 99-119 (p. 111).

¹⁶ A resource of crucial importance would be an index of first lines of Scottish poetry, see: Priscilla Bawcutt, 'A First-Line Index of Early Scottish Verse', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991), 254-70.

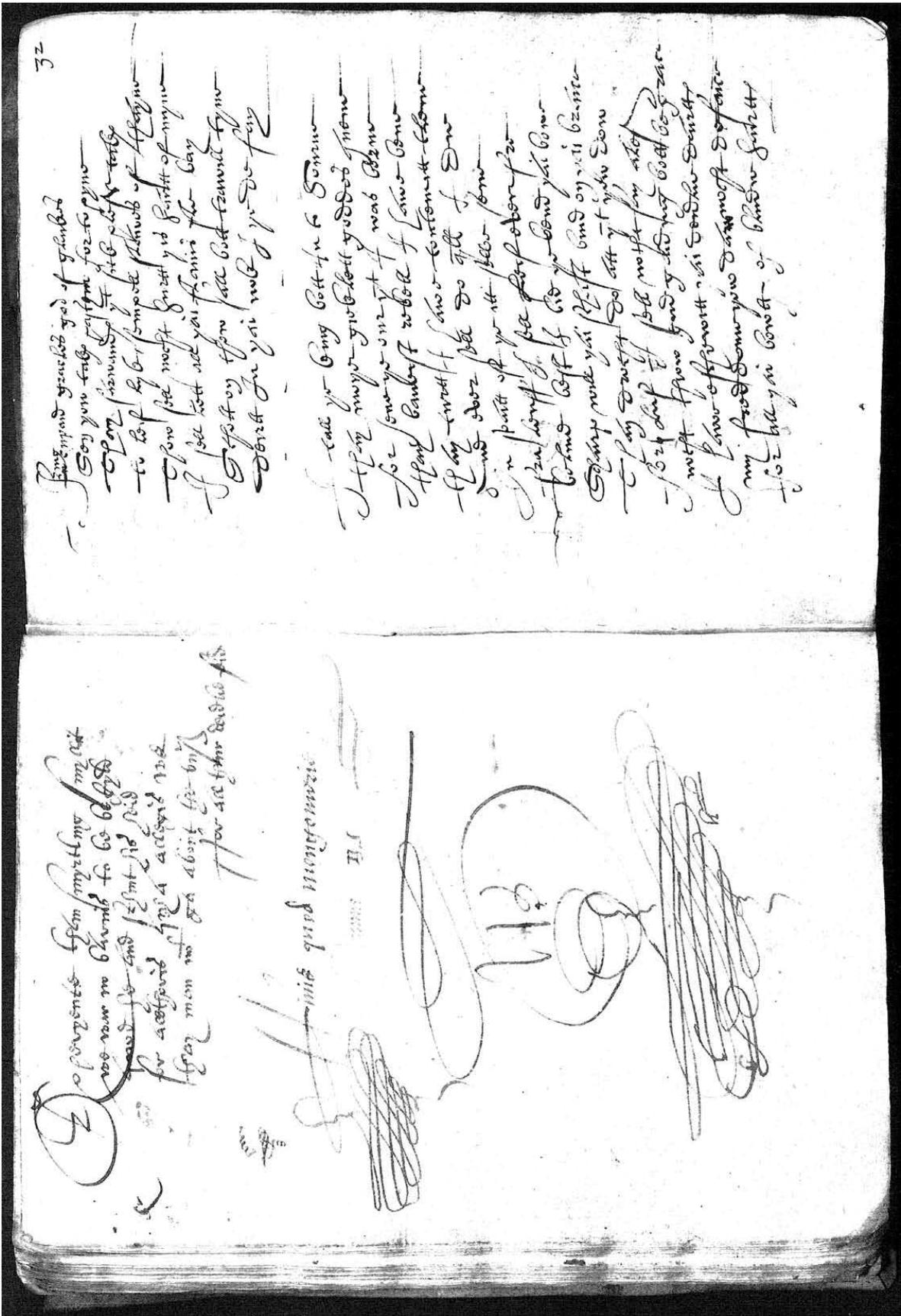
appendix one ~

Manuscript Images

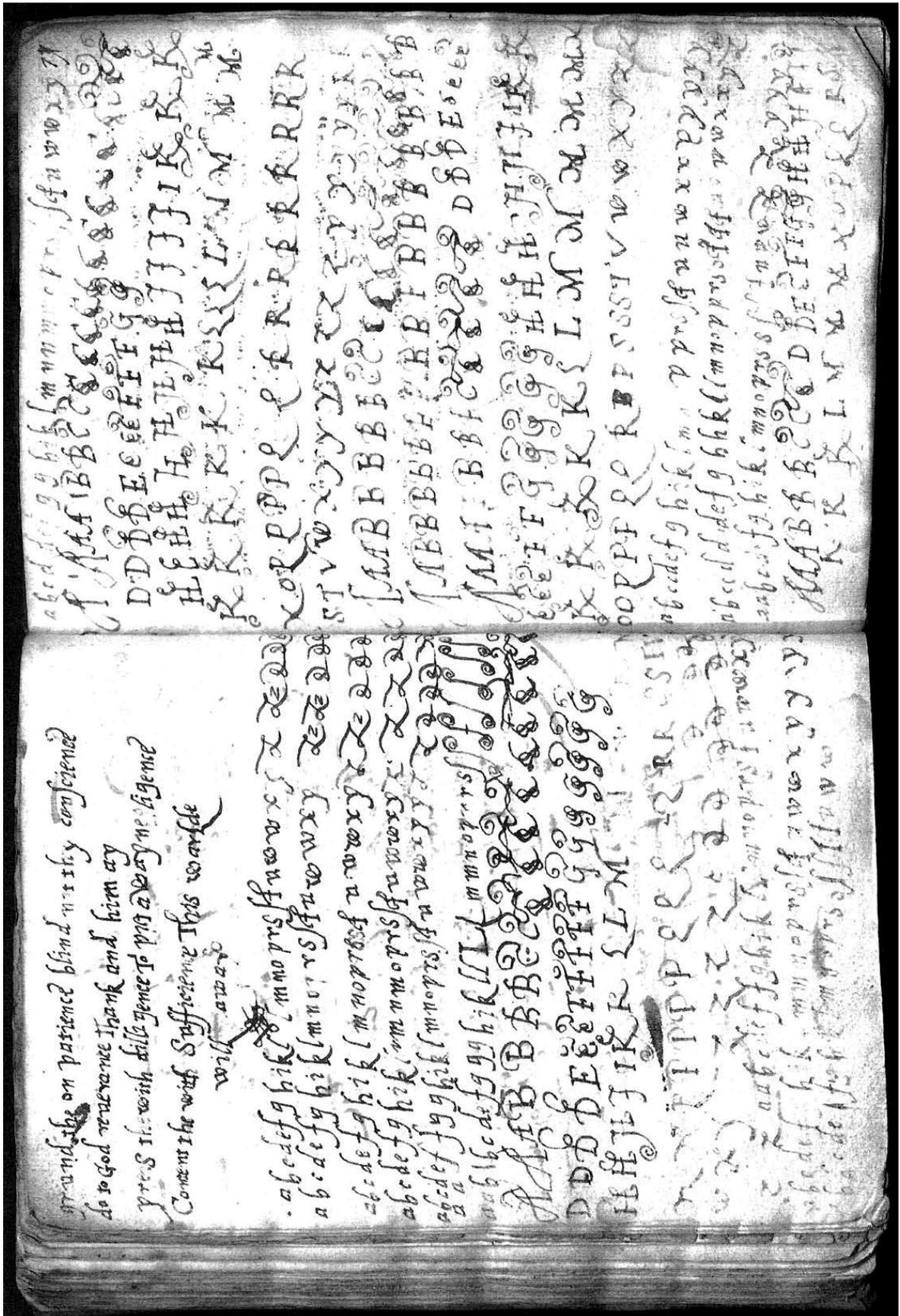
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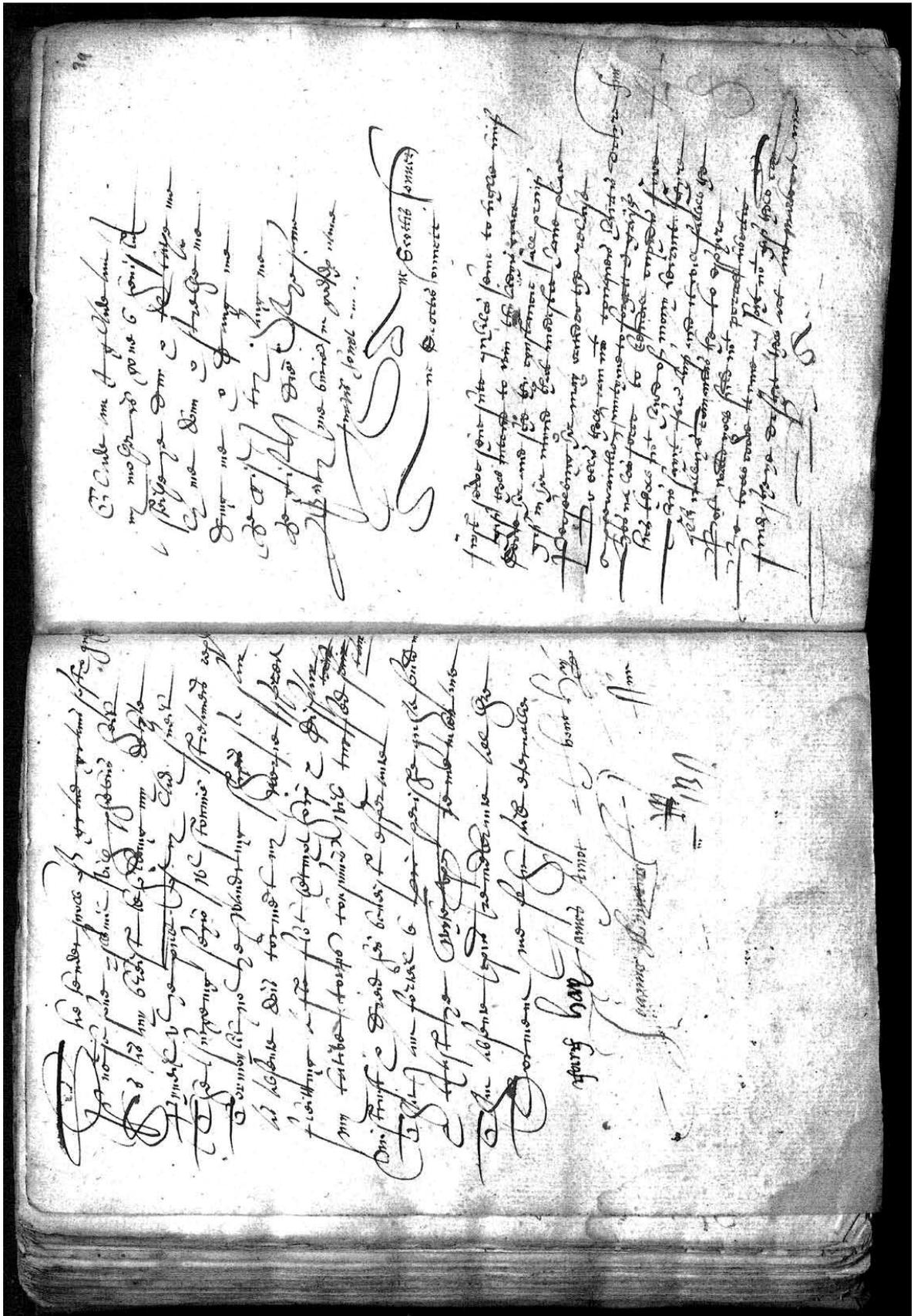
EUL MS Laing III.447, ff. 6v-7r – ‘Och Luif in langour heir I ly’ in Hand A.



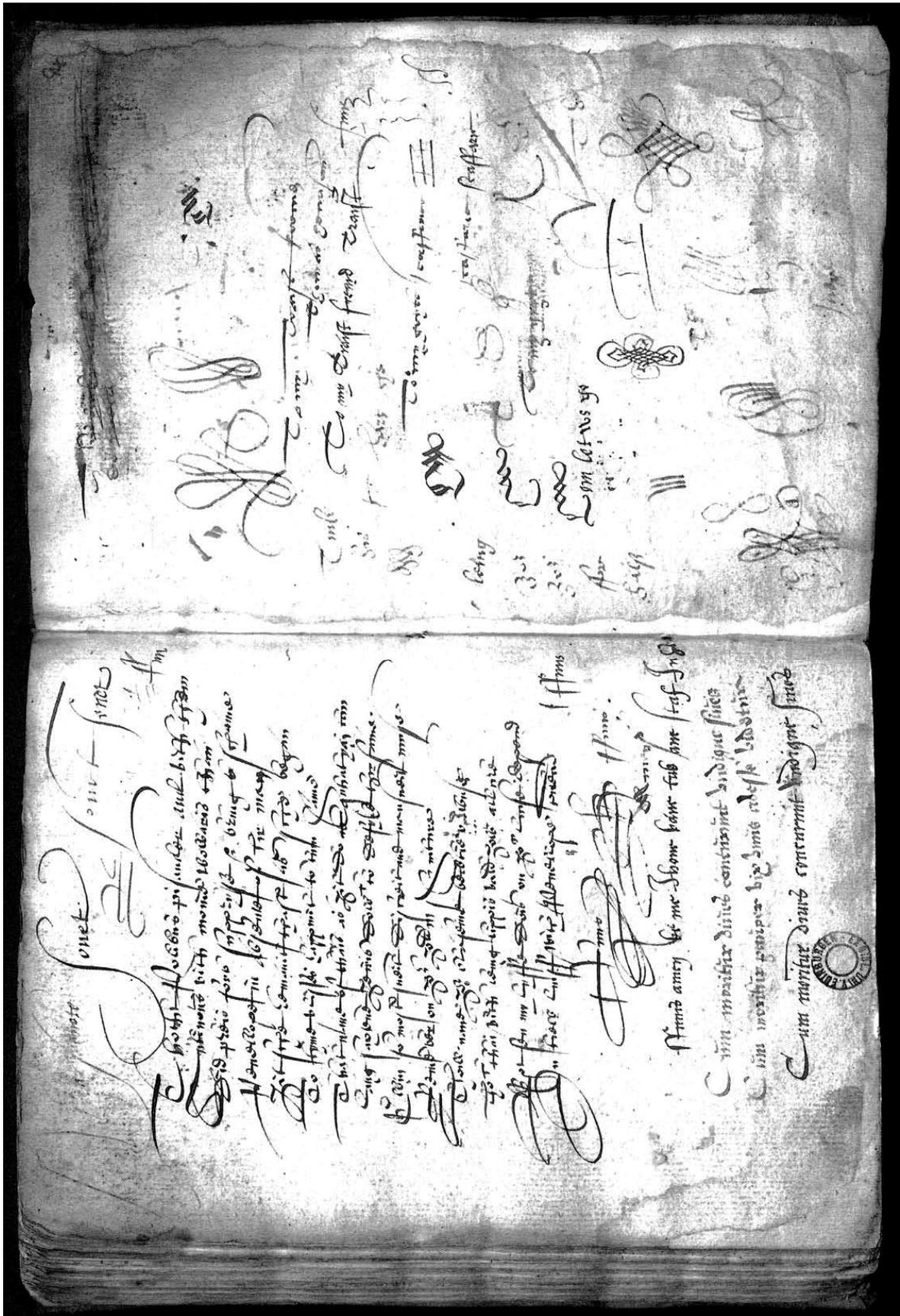
EUL MS Laing III.447, ff. 31v-32r – Conclusion of the *Cherrie and the Slae*.



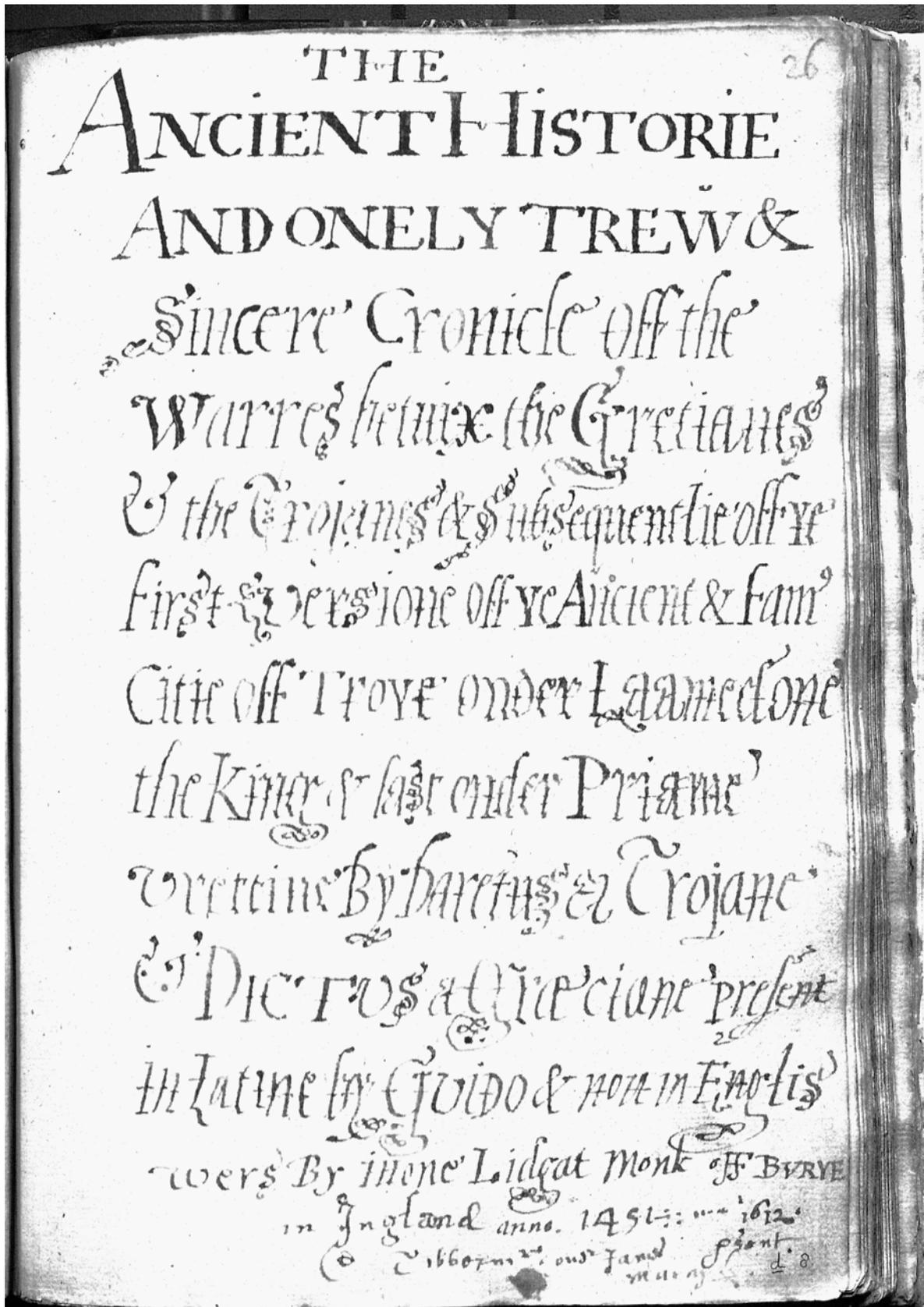
EUL MS Laing III.447, ff. 76v-77r – Alphabets and ‘Grund the on patience’.



EUL MS Laing III.447, ff. 78v-79r – Signatures of Edinburgh burgesses and ‘Ane Scottis sonnett’.



EUL MS Laing III.447, ff. 83v-84r – Closing sonnet and a page of scribbles. A mark of ownership is scored out at the top margin of f. 84r.

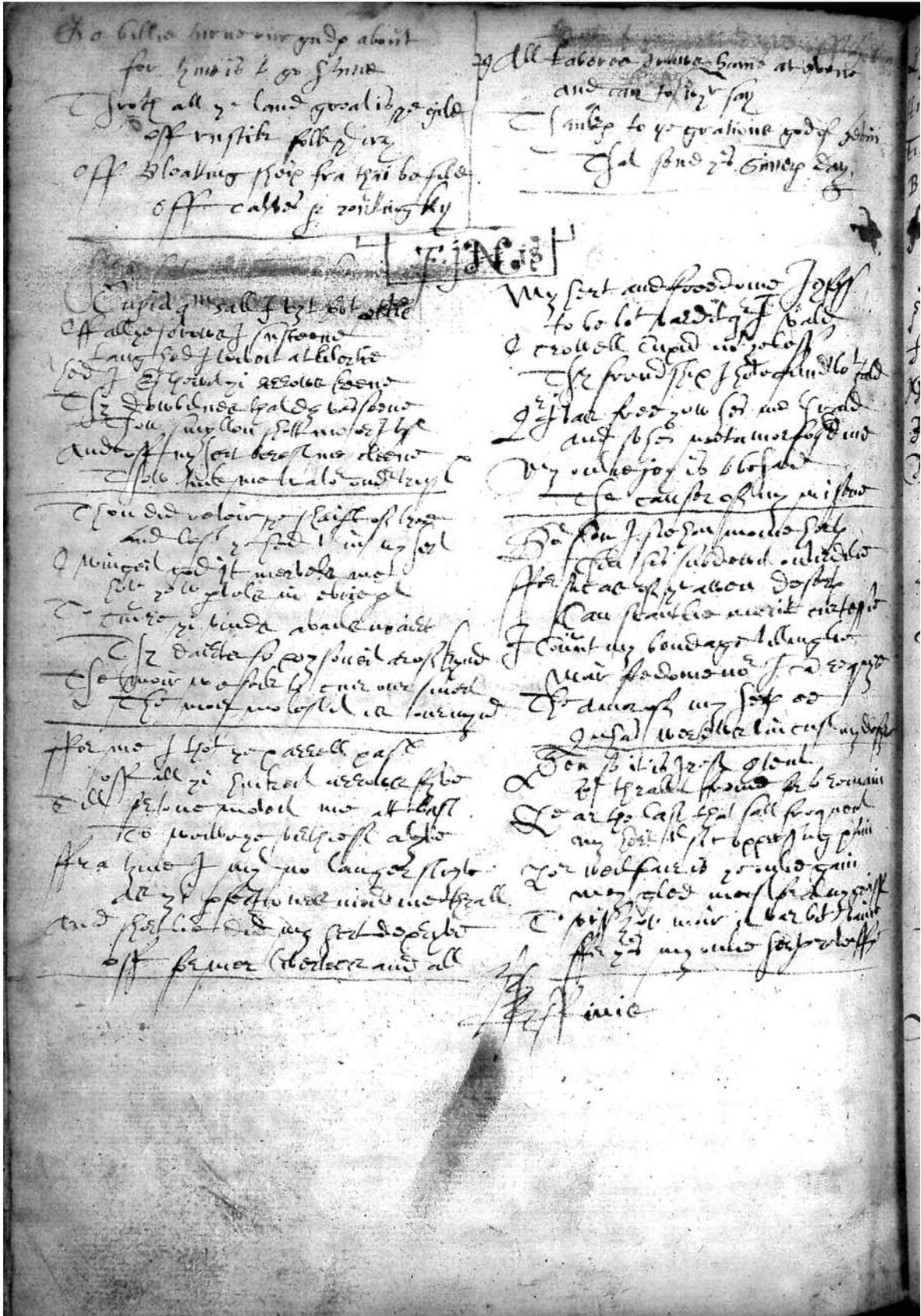
CUL MS Kk.5.30, f. 26r – James Murray's title page to the *Troy Book*.

When feirce Achilles att ye sege off Troye
 Be fatale slicht, was so decreit and slaine
 A ne sudaine stryffe arreaste quha suld injoye!
 The Armo off that unquhill Greciane
 Ajax alleged the Erme he suld obtene
 And be the suord to winn and wear them rouitt
 Ulysses said thai suld be his againe
 And he them wann giff Storeis mey be trouitt
 Bot lo the ermes dar laist by seas de read
 And dreden be stormes far fra Ulysses gicht
 Quha dreu till Ajax graiff quhar he ley daed
 To signifie that he hed ercttge night
 So quhen this Trambe sall end thir teard off myne
 I than sall thou greitt & say thou suld beere myne
 Son so itt is that quhu so euer tuik hyffe
 Alcan be the Death unto ye same Potend
 To pass his yff out throu this vailk off stryffe
 In halnes with Cristianes stend
 Leide still in aie thi god for to offend
 Leide to thy Cryst to faith unferently
 Repent thy sores thir vickt syff amend
 And darlie think on Deth for thow man die
 Cast not thy cares on vordlie Vanitie
 Quhos plesors ar with paines so deirlic bocht
 Bot pres to ples thy pert with honestie
 And use the world euen as thou usd itt nocht
 Satt of this sentence in thy saull remaine
 Leide how to die & die to leide againe
 Leve me o love quhilk rechis bot to dust
 And thou my mynd asyre to heither thins
 Grow rich in that quhilk neder takith roust
 Quhat ever feads butt feading plesour bring
 Avau in thy

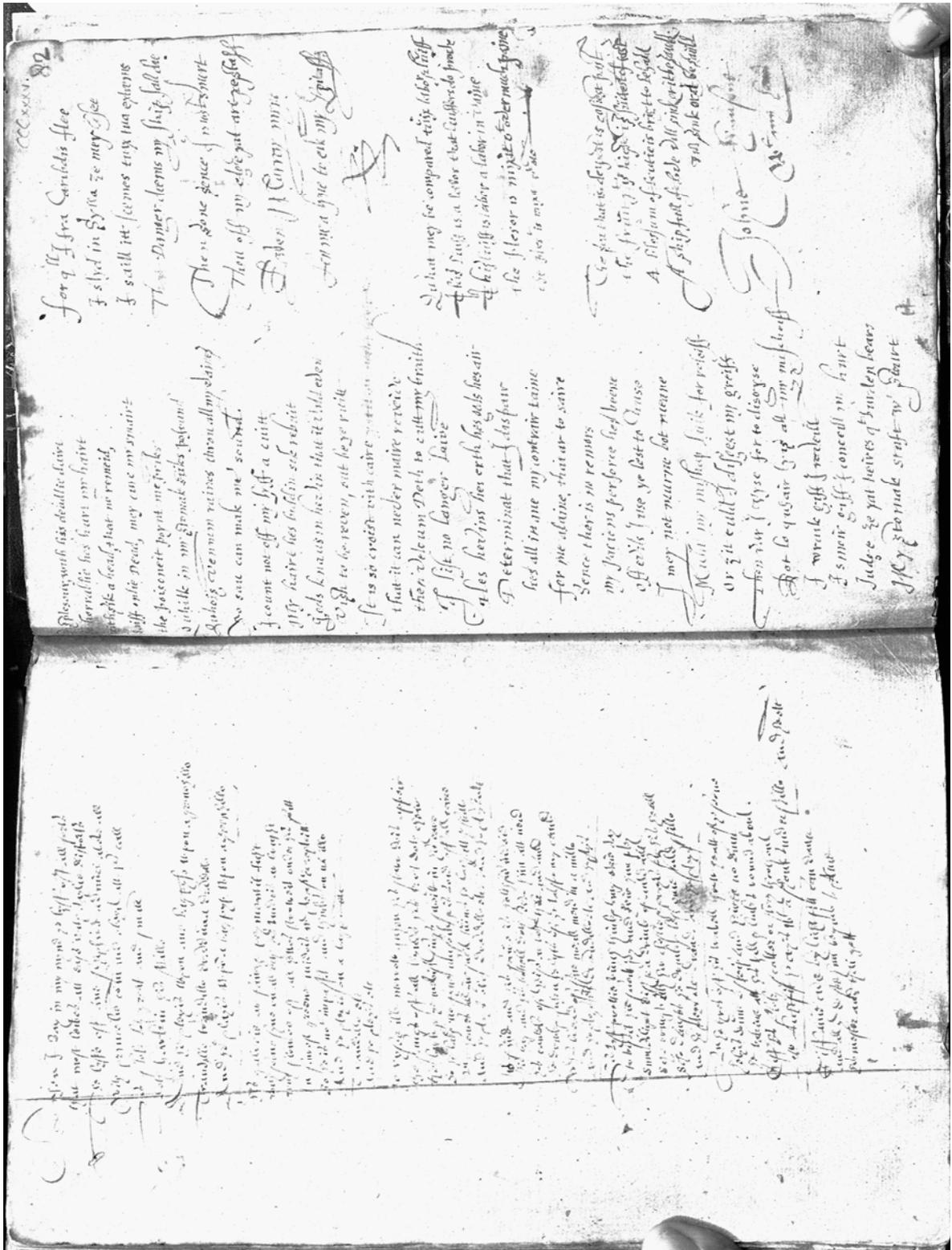
CCCXXXIIII

Leif barlio on the ficker frow b fitt
 fete ay a fimp ad. ftrid fast bi. de. frow
 gff f. be. lott. v. d. m. u. p. z. o. h. l. t.
 gff f. be. f. l. l. t. u. e. u. h. u. e. m. e. l. z. o. b. u. d.
 gff f. be. z. a. l. d. m. d. v. a. e. d. i. e. a. l. l. i. o. m. h. u. d.
 The f. o. i. f. t. i. n. d. f. a. u. r. o. h. u. d. f. o. d. h. u. e. h. p. l. o. u. d.
 The u. p. b. e. l. v. a. i. k. m. e. f. o. o. l. e. z. o. g. o. b. t. h. u. d.
 The o. f. t. u. n. h. u. o. b. e. f. p. u. r. a. n. y. f. i. l. e. z. o. f. t. u. d.
 The d. i. g. h. l. e. m. e. u. d. u. o. f. i. c. e. m. o. f. f. z. l. o. u. d.
 The b. i. n. z. o. f. a. d. l. e. f. e. l. l. u. d. i. i. u. g. h. l. e.
 The l. v. a. i. l. m. e. i. f. f. f. z. o. a. f. o. r. e. o. f. d. i. d.
 The m. e. f. t. r. o. o. f. a. l. l. t. h. e. z. o. f. e. a. l. a. v. o. a. d. o. f. v. a. i. l. t.
 The z. o. o. n. f. i. f. f. z. o. l. e. b. e. t. o. z. o. o. f. n. o. d. u. l.
 The o. f. f. c. o. u. r. t. o. f. f. e. z. o. d. i. l. g. o. u. n. l. m. e. v. o. u. d. a. b. o. u. t.
 The m. e. f. t. r. o. o. f. z. o. b. a. d. m. e. f. o. r. g. e. o. u. t. o. n. m. y. f. p. e. e. z.
 The a. n. d. h. e. f. z. o. b. a. d. m. e. f. o. u. r. t. b. a. l. m. y. f. p. e. e. d.
 The o. l. d. d. e. u. r. d. o. n. o. u. e. r. f. u. l. d. o. u. e. r. f. e. l. l. u. e. r. f. e. l. l.
 The a. n. d. f. o. u. f. o. r. o. u. i. f. r. a. i. n. e. f. i. d.
 The o. m. b. e. m. y. t. e. l. l. f. a. l. l. h. z. o. h. e. l. f. u. n. e. d.
 The a. n. d. f. m. e. v. a. d. i. o. o. f. z. o. b. e. l. a. b. o. z. o.
 The f. o. l. m. a. f. f. o. a. b. y. d. e. i. n. z. o. f. e. a. d.
 The f. u. n. d. a. m. e. n. t. z. o. i. a. l. o. i. p. a. f. e. d.
 The b. r. o. e. f. f. h. u. e. b. z. o. b. i. f. f. z. o. r. a. u. f. f. o.
 The t. o. u. i. t. z. o. l. e. m. y. i. f. f. m. y. f. o. u. d. i. n. g. f. a. u. d.
 The o. m. i. f. f. u. n. g. v. o. l. u. n. t. a. r. y. t. o. u. i. t. z. o. f. z. o.
 The z. o. f. i. f. t. a. n. d. f. a. i. r. a. n. d. v. a. d. i. e. a. l. l. i. o. n. u. d.
 The z. o. f. f. u. n. d. f. e. f. f. z. o. d. e. g. r. e. i. t. h. z. o. f. t. a. n. k. z. o. u. e. l. l.
 The f. m. o. f. t. b. i. e. o. n. a. l. l. t. h. e. f. z. o. l. e. u. o. f. f. e. l. l.
 The z. o. z. a. d. e. m. f. p. e. a. d. t. a. l. l. f. i. n. m. e. l. o. g. z. o. f. p. o. n.
 The a. n. e. f. a. f. f. i. e. u. o. f. f. r. e. e. m. e. z. o. f. p. e. e. c. e. f. a. i. l. t.
 The f. o. r. f. o. f. i. l. b. u. n. d. r. o. u. e. r. e. a. p. p. e. l. e. m. u. o. d. o. n.
 The q. u. e. f. t. i. o. n. z. o. f. d. i. f. f. e. r. e. n. c. e. o. f. f. o. l. e.
 The z. o. f. f. o. r. f. o. m. e. t. h. e. a. n. d. b. l. i. f. t. a. l. t. h. e. b. l. i. n. k.
 The b. o. d. y. b. y. h. e. b. e. h. a. v. e. r. a. n. d. v. a. d. v. i. a. a. l. l. y.
 The d. o. d. h. u. d. h. e. m. e. d. f. u. r. o. u. o. f. f. o. f. f. e. l. l. g. u. i. l. t.

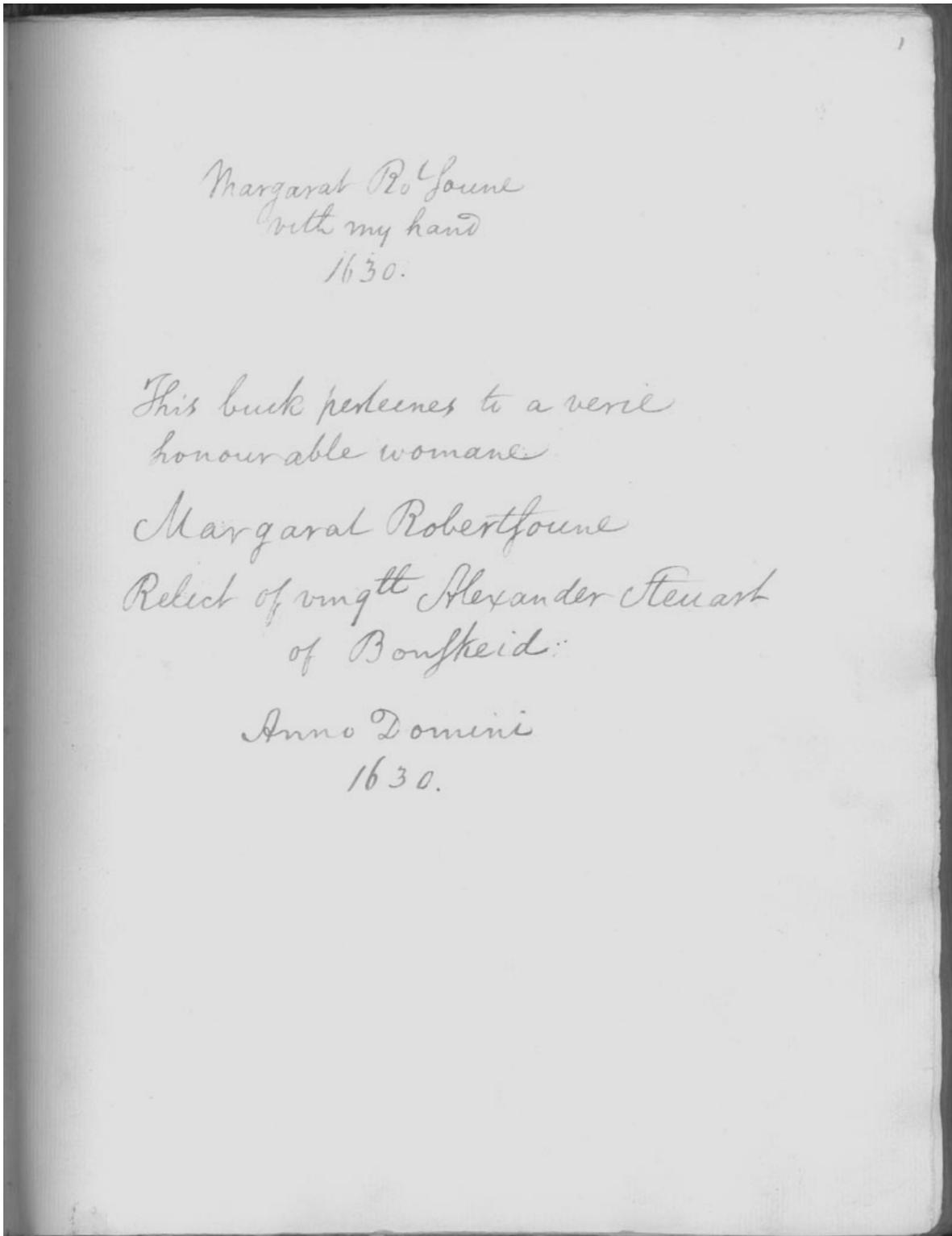
CUL MS Kk.5.30, f. 77r – Start of ten sonnets.



CUL MS Kk.5.30, ff. 80v – Conclusion to Hume’s ‘Of the Day Estival’ and ‘Cupid quhom sall I vyt bot the’.



CUL MS Kk.5.30, ff. 81v-82r – A song, Montgomerie’s ‘Displesour’, and ‘John Thomsone with my hand’.



NLS MS 15937, f. 1r – 'title page' of the Robertson manuscript.

Sonnattes.

Sonnatt 1.

I dreamed a dreame I wiske my dreame wer trew
 I thought my mistres to my chalmer came
 And with hir harmeles handis the courtesines drew
 And softlie said and cald me by my name
 O sleipe ze fir awaik now fy for shame
 Is it not said that Lovers gettis noe Rest
 I answeirit hir, truth it is madame
 I sleip not sound I ame soe sore molest
 And ewin with this hir night gowne aff schee caste
 And lightlie lappe and lay doune one my arme
 Hir rolie lippes me thought to myne schee thruste
 And sayes may this not ease zow of zour paine
 Mercie madame as I begoud to say
 When I awook allace schee wes away. finis

Sonnatt 2.

What fall I say I sie nothing bot change
 Change will I not for nothing that I sie

Sie

appendix two ~

Transcription of EUL MS Laing III.447

Preliminary note

With the exception of Montgomerie's 'Off the cherry and the Slae' on ff. 15r-31v (see Stevenson, pp. 2-68), the following presents a full transcription of MS Laing III.447. Each of Stevenson's editorial emendations to the manuscript text have been included in the right-hand margin and marked 'St'. Whereas generally the editor's decisions are sound, in some cases (and as discussed more fully in Chapter Two) his decisions must be questioned (see for instance f. 45r).

f. 4r

Voulez vous escrire a l'encontre de moy Je le
 veux bien Je vous donnerray une plume si vous
 me gaignez & moy Je vous donrray un autre

[these lines in French are repeated several time over]

[Two names appear at the bottom of this page:]

James [...est]

L. of Leven

f. 5r

Donner moy ma cles que ie ailles atteindre a mon
 coffre vn liure pour lire dessus, vous ne fauriez
 voir sans chandelle Je vous promets qu'il est vray

Sonnett

Nevere madame of your mercie me infold
 That I may remerciat throuch *your* mercie so
 To crave your mercie gif I durst be so bold
 without your mercie my lyfe can haif no ho
 craifing your mercie as hes done mony mo
 Your merciles peirles persoun most preclair
 Imprint with mercie intill all tyme ago
 That but your mercie is trappit in *your* snair
 Abyding your mercie and can no wayis eschew
 Sen bountie and bewetie but mercie ar but rair
 Haue mercie on me *that* is your lufair trew
 For except *that* ye mak mercie off remeid
 My awin tua handis but mercie salbe my deid

Finis Amen [---]

Donner moy ma cles que ie alles

James Be the

f. 6r

As eis ar message to the hairt
 The hairt consultis *with* the thocht
 So thocht and mynd consultis Inwart
 To will and quhen that thay haue wrocht
 Directis the handis and handis hes brocht
 This bill vnto your guidlie heidis
 Your guidlie heidis this send hes socht
 And socht is mercy and remeid

Remeid man mend my mellodie
 Than mellodie is my desyre
 Desyre is medicene for me
 And medicene that I requyre
 And I requyre Luif to inspyre
 Your hert to myne as myne is youris
 That youris ower myne may haif impyre
 And myne to serve yow at all houris

As at all hour I salbe readie
 Quhen ye ar readie to ressaue it
 Ressaue it ye ar my Ladie
 for ye ar Ladie quha suld haif it
 Sen ye suld haif it quha can craif it
 Craif it can none bot yow allone
 To yow allone now heir I laif it
 Now laif ye it my hairt is gone

f. 6v

Interrogatis

Och luif in langour heir I ly
 with wofull cheir
 In luifis rage opprest am I
 As ye sall heir
 That I am cassin clene in cair
 and confortles
 And woundit in your bewtie fair
 with sic distres
 Och love haue pitie on my payne * and constancie * and caus
 My wofull cair refrane * sueithairt haue reuth on me
~~Och loue haif pitie on my payne~~
 your lust & languar I lament with hairt
 with hert richt soir richt soir

She ansueris

Your Ramping rage and your intent
 Dois euill dischore
 That ye ar cassin clene in cair
 And confortles
 And woundit in my bewtie fair
 with sic distres
 Ye may gang seik sum medicene
 Bot nocht at mee
 Sum vther may that may yow deine
 your lust to satisfie

My burd so bricht bayt^h day and nicht
 with wofull cheir
 Quhen that ye ar out of my sicht
 and luif but weir
 It dois me peirs so vehement
 In at my braynis
 Sueit hairt ye suld be weill content
 To eis my paynis
 It is *your* luif that I do chois

& cawe trewlie
 Al vthir vemen to refuis
 Sueit hert haif Reuthe on me

f. 7r

ansueris

Quhy call ye me your burde so bricht
 Be day or nicht
 My freindis will cheis sum vther weicht
 For me I say
 That of great kin and clan is *cummit*
 To be my maik
 Thairfoir I pray yow hald your tung
 your paynis to slaik
 And not perturbe your mynd no moir
 in vanitie
 Latt wit and wisdome you restoir
 and seik no louf of mee

O fragrant flouris of eloquenc of femini
 Sen euer in yow is my pretens
 quhill that I die
 And sen I schaw the suith full sueit
 To yow but weir
 Ane temperat tree will bear gud frute
 Ainis in the yeir
 Althocht the branches dois *nocht* glance
 In wemenis eie
 Yit for your humble obseruance
 Sueit hert haif reuth on mee

As flagrant flouris of eloquence
 I neuer knew
 Now as I sie ye man go hence
 and nocht persew

[St: 'fragrant' for 'flagrant']

f. 7v

Nor braik your brane for me in vane
 In ony wayis
 For sindrie tymes I schew plane
 Thair was na mayis
 To plant your treis quhair euer ye pleis
 and latt me bee
 Ressaue your frute with mekill eis
 And seik no luif of mee

[St: schew ye plane]

[St: Go plant your treis]

Now I possessour of all cair
 sueit ladie fair
 Till oppin my pak and sell no wair
 I say no mair
 For gif my life lay in your luif
 Than war I lost
 Quhen I offend ye may repruif

me with gryte bost
 Heir as I meane ye may obstene
 from feminie
 Les nor your grace do as ye meane
 Sueit hairt haif reuth on me

O lustie lufe of luferis all
 This lady sayis
 Your wordis *with* weping makis me fall
 This all my dayis
 To pas with yow in ony place
 quhair euer ye pleis
 Into hir armes sche did him brace
 and to him sayis

f. 8r

O trew luif myne *quhilk* is myne awin
 and ay salbe
 Desyring yow that it war knawin
 That ye wad marie me

To marie the he sayis agane
 how micht that be
 for sindrie tymis ye schew me plane
 My law degree
 And said thy frendis wald *nocht* consent
 Nor gif ye leive
 And bad me seik sum medicene
 Quhilk did me greive
 Most rissolut expell my frute
~~In termis hie~~ Intermitiue
 Ye and your freindis thay may go hence
 And seik no luif of mee

[St: expellt my frute]

I B [?]

Finis quod nescio

Luif still in hoipe with pacience
 My gentill hairt for all thy woo
 Quhy ar thow euer so suspence
 Quhy threat ye in your body so
 is all plesure past ye fro
 Quhy ~~art thou to thy self sic woo~~
 Quhy art thow so dismaid but sence
 Quhy art thow to thy self sic ~~Wo~~ fo
 Luif still in hope *with* pacience

[St: art thow euer so in suspence]

f. 8v

Althocht I leive in mirthles mone
 Half mingled with melancolie
 Wald god the day sall come anone
 That thow thy awin desyre sall sie
 Althocht it cum *nocht* instantlie

as ye wald wis with diligence
 Yit on na wayis ye weirie be
 Bot luif in hope with pacience

In Luifis court quha listis to duell
 at euery schoure thai may *nocht* shrink
 Bot oft man suffer stormes fell
 and of the well of dolour drink
 No thing can gar thame wray nor wrink
 No thing can do to thame offence
 Bot pacientlie that thay will think
 To luif in hope with pacience

Hope is the onlie meit remeid
 for thame that lysis in memorie
 Hope causis captivis demit to deid
 In presoun strang richt blyith to be
 Hope causis men in rageing see
 To sowme *thocht* thay sie no defence
 Hope causis luifaris verrilie
 To luif in hope *with* pacience

Hope causit Jacob fourtene yeiris
 In bondage bas for to remane

f. 9r

Hope causit atrides and his feiris
 In Troy ten yeiris to fecht full fane
 Houpe causit penelopie to refrane
 Lang tuentie yeiris in obseruance
 Hope causit luifaris to constrane
 and luif in hope *with* pacience

My Ladyis hert is nocht of stone
 I watt sche will *nocht* sie me die
 I watt sche is *nocht* sic ane one
 As god forbid se crueltie
 Hir gentilnes assuris me
 My service sche will recompance
 Assuring hir that *quhill* I die
 To luif in hope *with* pacience

O peirless peirle of pulchritude
 O cheif charbucle off chaistitie
 O deaisie dear O rubie rude
 The fairest flour of feminie
 O plicht anker of constancie
 Except my seruice but offence
 Assuring yow that *quhill* I die
 To luif in hope *with* pacience

Finis I B [?]

f. 9v

Sueit hairt reios in mynd
 With conforte day and nicht
 Ye haue ane luif as kynd
 As euer luifit weicht
 Thocht I be out of sicht
 Latt *nocht* your courage fall
 My Ioyfull hert and licht
 Ye haif and euer sal

My bony burde be blyith
 And ye sall find me so
 Imprent to yow I kyith
 to latt yow nocht be woo
 Quhaireuer I ryde or go
 ye sall *nocht* sorie be
 My leill luif hert and Ioo
 Nane hes my hairt bot ye

And yie my trew luif sueit
 This do ye *nocht* gang stand
 My blyithnes for to beit
 As I serve at your hand
 To think me *nocht* constand
 My bony burd lat be
 My constant hairt sall stand
 To yow *quhill* that I die

f. 10r

I bid no mair of yow
 Bot god grant yow his blis
 god be als blyith of yow
 As I wald be of this
 Your lillie lippis to kis
 Thinkand that mynd of youris
 My awin trew luif sche is
 That luifis hir paramouris

finis quod nescio

Wo worth the fall of fortounis quheill
 That was so cheangeabile vnto me
 Than quhen I *thocht* me sure and weill
 Thow threw me down ~~sa~~ rycht suddanlie
 Syne causit all my pleares be
 Turnit in *dolour* day and nicht
 For absence of hir fair bewitie
 quha onlie hes my hairtis licht

Schir Troyalus was nocht opprest
 with sic lamentabill peirsit payne
 for Cresceidis luif quhome he luifit best
 Wald into troy turne *nocht* agane

Bot yit sueit hairt I mak yow plane
 Of this oure pairting so suddanlie
 I may *nocht* langer this remane
 Sen all my pleasure is gone from me

f. 10v

I am into dispair allace
 Agane I will yow newer sie
 Remane or hant into the place
 Quhair I may beir yow company
 Bot yit sueit hairt I testifie
 My constant hairt sall *nocht* remove
 Albeit ye haue fra me absent be
 Quhen onlie hes my hairtis love

Finis quod nescio

fallowis the ravisching of Beggis do
 naldsoun future spous to Thomas Lou
 thian mercheand

Johnne Nesbet

f. 11r

Suppois I be of simple clan
 Of small degrie and michtie name
 My father is ane welthie man
 Howbeit he be of littill fame
 To tell the *treuth* I think *nocht* schame
 for sen I was compellit to flie
 I durst *nocht* duell with freindis at hame
 for feir that folkis suld raveis me

Quhat fairlie *thocht* I tuke the flicht
 I was *persewit* with lad and loun
 Rycht quyettlie into the nicht
 from the falkirk I maid me boun
 My parentis may spair mony croun
 Of gold and geir thay ar richt ryfe
 Thairfor thay brocht me to this toun
 heir for to be ane burges wyfe

It is *nocht* lang sen he begane
 My fatheris hous for to frequent
 Thay bad me tak ane mercheant man
 quhome with I was richt weill content
 fra tyme to him I gif consent
 My freindis in haist gart feche me heir
 That mariage he may sair repent
 As his schaft-bleid can witnes beir

f. 12r

My breist is maid the verray graif of woo
 My sichis ar windis and tempestis of my cair
 My hairt allace *quhilk* peirsit is in tuo
 Owerquhelmit lysis with cluddis of cauld dispair
 O thow my sueit my deirrest and my fair
 quhois cristall eis my passioun hes increst
 drop doun sum grace *quhilk* may my paynis impair
 And pitie him quhois mynd is woysd of rest
 This for your saik and luif I am molest
 This for your saik thir sorrowis I sustene
 This for your saik I am so sore opprest
 That euermore in sadnes I remane
 And euer sall *quhill* that your hevinlie face
 Pronounce my dume or ellis grant me sum grace

Giffand with all dew reuerence
 Peirsit with luif be violence
 To yow my hairt in governence
 My ladie deir
 quhois neue sueit wordis of eloquence
 Excell now heir

Finis quod Constancie

f. 13r

Prepotent palme Imperiall
 Of perfyte pulchritude preclair
 O lusume Lamp Etheriall
 Quhais beamis bricht hes no compair
 Your angell face fragrant and fair
 hes me bereft of my puir hairt
 Quhais perfytnes I will declair
 Gif ye wald tak it in gude pairt

My witt of knowlege is to faint
 with barrane speich and barbour brane
 My toung vnabill is to paint
 That constant lufe that dois remane
 within my hairt with greif and payne
 for laik of knowlege to furth schawe
 Sens I can *nocht* the same explane
 O wald to god *your* grace wald knawe

O happie war the Rethoriciane
 That with sueit wourdis wald lament it
 Als happie war the gude musiciane
 wald sett and caus it to be prentit
 And in your graces hand presentit
 Sua that ye wald reid and *pervsit*
 To knaw so soir I am tormentit
 So that my grosnes war excusit

f. 13v

The vehement wodnes of the wind
 Or rageing of the Roring sea
 Nor cannownis with thair thundering din
 Nor yet in battels for to be
 Throw force of armes thocht I suld die
 war nocht so grevous to my hairt
 As to schaw furth my mynde to the
 Or ~~yit~~ latt yow knaw my painfull pairt

for quhen I haue declairit at large
 My mynde to yow with diligence
 And hes committit all the charge
 To your wisdome and excellence
 Or yit to yow suld do offence
 That I so bauldie durst proceid
 Than suld I tak in pacience
 Ilk day to die ane sindrie deid

Quhairfore I humele pray your grace
 Latt my complaint cum peirs your eareis
 Gif pitie in your hairt hes place
 as be your pulchritude appeiris
 Than suld I nocht with fludis of teiris
 Bevaill the day nor weip the nicht
 Nor yit be faischt with deidis feiris
 Throw absence of *your* bewte bricht

f. 14r

Lyke as it is the Lizairtis kynd
 Of mannis face to pray hir fude
 So nature still steris vp my mynd
 To wew your peirles pulchritude
 Quhairfore schortlie to conclude
 Lat clemencie in yow be schawin
 And nocht of mercie so denude
 As rigorouslie to slay *your* awin

Quhat vantage hes ane armit knycht
~~hes~~ his yeild in presoun for to kill
 Or be *quhat* equitie or richt
 May he on him his rage fulfill
 Lykwyse sens I am in *your* will
 And for *your* pitie dois implour
 Lat your sueit confort cum vntill
 Your bundman now and euir moir

James

Finis quod ane luiffar B

In somer quhen the feildis ar fair
 With fragrant floures ouer spred
 The grund depaintit euerie quhair

with cullouris costlie cled
 Quhen that priapus out foirth fair
 that god of garding gay
 and beuche and branche and all was fair
 Of all kynd frute I say

ff. 15r-31v

[‘Off the cherry and the Slae’, see Stevenson, pp. 2-68.]

f. 32r

King cupaid gracles god of glaikes
 Sen thou takis pastym for to pyne
 Thay sarwandis that sick plesur takis
 to leif lyk sempell slaives of thayne
 Thow sell nocht hurtt this hairtt of myne
 I sell lett all thai flanis fle bay
 Schott on thow sall bott trawill tyne
 Deirtt In thay nok I the defay

I call the king bott in to s[c]ourne
 thay mother gwklet goddes quene
 for sene the our that I was borne
 thay baneist rebell I hawe bene
 thay curtt I hawe contemitt clene
 And ever sell do quhill I die
 In spaitt of the itt selbe sene
 fra leuff I sell Leif ever fre

belind best I bid the bend thai bowe
 Schairp will thai schaft bind on thai braice
 Than drocht do att that thow dow
 for Luf I sell nocht say nocht say ales
 nocht throw gud gaiding bott be grace
 I hawe eschewitt thai deidlie dairttis
 my freddome thow dar nocht defaice
 for all thai bowttis of bludie hairttis

[St: Schairp weil]

f. 32v

In nathing yeitt I hawe bene wys
 except I newer folowitt the
 for all the wyllis thow can deways
 thai sleichtis sell neur subgek me
 Na presens nor perswationis slie
 sell newer mouf my mynd ane Inch
 nor bewtie sell nocht blind my eie
 For I hawe leirnid to countt my kinch

Thay painfull plessuris & annoyis
 Thay hukis that hundrethe hes orthraune
 Thay schortt delytt in constant loyis
 Thy creweltie is ever schawin
 bott contra sik as is [thayne] awin

Sa fas tratour vngraitt & periurd
 By art & prouff thai craff Is knyane
 to me quha newir this kyndnes curd

Now of thai outlawes I am ane
 Sell newer ser the for reward
 be trane or tressone be I tene
~~I sell~~ for panis will be for me prepairitt
 I sell nocht houp for to be speritt
 that hes thai dedlie wraithe deserwitt
 bott I sell stand vpoun my gaird
 Ay bodin as I wald be serwitt

f. 33r

Yitt sair alas I pittie some
 Thatt hes bene men of knowlege kend
 And yitt *with* the hes bene owircum
 quhais witt I ~~no~~ can na wayis commend
 As for my sellff I sell defend
 And cairis nocht by thai feid ane ble
 Dischairging frindschip and so I end
 fair will that day I dyne *with* the

Finis Amen

My freind if thou will credeitt me in ought
 To quhome the treuthe in trayall weill appeiris
 Nott worthe is witt quhill it be derlie bocht
 Thair is na wisdome bott in hairie hairis
 Yit gif I can of wisdome aucht defyne
 as weill as wthairis hawe of happynes
 Than to may wordis my freind thi eris inclyne
 The thingis that mak the wyse ar thes I ges

[St: hoirie hairis]

feir god and knaw thi self in eiche degrie
 Be freind to all familiar bot to few
 to licht of credeit se thou newer be
 for trayall oft in trust dois tresone schawe
 To wthairis faultis cast not to muche thai eir
 Accuse na man of guild amend thai awin
 of medling muche dois mischeif of aryis
 And oft debaitt by tiekill toung is sawin

[St: dois mischeif oft aryis]

f. 33v

quhat thing thou willtt hawe hid to nane declair
 in word or deid be wer of had I wist
 So spend thai gud that sum thou ever spair
 for freindis lyk halkis dois soir frome emptie fist
 Cutt outt thai cott according to thai claithe
 Suspectit *persounes* se thou always flie
 Beleue not him *that* anes hes broken his treuthe
 nor yitt of gilt *with* out desert be fre

Tyme quicklie slipps bewar how throw it spend
of wantoun youth repentis ane panefull aige
Begin na thing butt ane eye to the end
nor bow thai eir frome counsell of the saige
gif thow to far lett out thi fansie sleip
and wittles will frome reasonnes rewle outstartt
thy folie sell at lenthe be maid thi quhipp
And soir the stryippis of schame sell caus the smartt

To do to muche For auld men is bott Lost
of freindschip had to wemen comemes lyik gane
Bestow not thow on childrene to much cost
For *quhat* thow dois for thais is all waine
The auld man or he can requytt he deis
Vnconstand is the womanis wauering mynd
full sone the boy thy freindschip will despyis
and him for luif thow sell ingratfull find

[St: to wemen comes lyik gane]

[St: all in waine]

The agit man is lyik the barrane ground
the woman lyik the reid *that* waggis *with* wind
thair my na trust in tender age be fund
and of the thre the boy is most vnkynd
Iff thow haif fund ane faithfull freind indeed
Bewer thow lose not loufe of suche a one
he sell sumtyme stand the In better steid
than treasure greitt of gould or precious stone

f. 34r

Some men for suddane Joy do weip
And some for sorrow sing
Quhen that thai ly in danger deip
to putt away muring

[St: murning]

Retenen thame tua this I begin
being in Joy and pan
In siching to lament my sin
bott yitt reioce agane

My sinfull lyf dois still increas
my sorrow is the mor
Frome wicketnes I can nocht ceis
Wo is my hairtt thairfor

Som tyme quhen I think to do wiell
And serue god nicht and day
my wiecket natur dois rebell
and leidis me astray

As bonnd and capteue wnto sin
quhilk grewis me full soire
This miserie I do liue In
Wo is my hairtt thairfor

In deid sumtyme I do repent
 and pardon dois obtene
 bott yitt alace Incontenentt
 I fall to sin agane

f. 34v

My corrup nature is so ill
 offending mor and more
 That I offend my lord god still
 Wo is my hairtt thairfor

Wo is my hairt wo is my mynd
~~that to my lord I am vnkynd~~
 wo is my saul and spritt
 that to my lord I am vnkynd
 in quhome I suld delytt

Hes lowe always I suld regerd
quhilk towarttis me was so peure
 bott I with sin do him rewaird
 most vnkynd creature

The best the bird the fische the fowll
 Thair maker do obeay
 Bott I that am ane leiffing saull
 Am far much wors than thai

For thai according to thair kynd
 To serue him do nocht ceas
 Bott I *with* sinffull hairtt and mynd
 do daylie him displeis

Thes do I sore complene of sine
 And withe king dawid weip
 for I do ffeill my hairtt *within*
 The wairthe of god full deip

f. 35r

To hevене my eyis I dar nocht lift
 Aganest it I hawe trespass
 nor In the eirthe I find no scheift
 nor succoure *that* can lest

Quhat sell I do sell I despair
 And frome my saweoure slyd
 Nay god forbid thair is na feir
 Sen chrest for me hes deid

God became man and for ws men
 he died and rais again
 hes merci greitt we may se that
 For ever dois remane

Thairfoir my sinns will I confes
 to god and muring mak
 quha will forgeif the same dowttles
 For his sonne Chrystis saik

[St: murning]

If sin In me god suld respectt
 Than do I knaw full will
 hes Iustice wald me sone rewers
 To the deip pitt of hell

His gloriis eyis can nocht abayd
 the full and fillthe smuk
 quhairwith I am on everie said
 coweritt as with ane Clok

f. 35v

Bott he in Chryst dois me behald
 In quhome he dois delytt
 And myn offences manifold
 throw him releiffitt quytt

Reputting me amang the Iust
 Forgeifing all my sun
 Thairfor my faithe my houp my trest
 Sell ever be In hem

O lord Inces trew faithe In me
 Thy guid spritt to me geif
 Thatt I my grow *in* lowe to the
 And evir seik to leiff

In trew obedience of thai will
 and thankfullnes of hairtt
 And *with* thai graice so gaid me still
 Thatt my newir depairtt

[St: Thatt I my newir depairtt]

Frome thy trew lord and testement
 all the dayis of my lyff
 nor forme thai Churche most Innocentt
 thy awin trew spous & wyf

[St: trewth]

Bott frome thatt fillthie hour of rome
 Lord keip me evir more
 as gratuslie as thow hes done
 thankis be to the thairfor

f. 36r

And sen thow hes of gudnes
 For gevine all my sine
 Strenthe me thai trewth for to confes
 And boldlie die thairin

Thatt as I have confessitt the
 Befor the wickitt sortt
 Thow may in thai guid tyme knaw me
 to my loy & confortt

My saull returne vnto thai rest
 Thow artt will satisfeytt
 The lord hes grantit thai requist
 And nothing the denayitt

Prais be to god the father of might
 prais be to the o Cryst
 prais be to the o holie gost
 Thre In on most heist

f

f. 36v

Nan luffis bott fullis vnlud agane
 quha spendis thair tyme and cumis na speid
 Mak this ane mexeme to remene
 Thatt luifis beiris nan bott fullis at feid
 And thai get ay ane gud geis heid
 In recompence of all thair pane
 So off nacessetie man succeid
 Nan luifis bott fullis vnlude agane

Yit will ane wyse man weill be war
~~ad~~ and will nott wenter butt adwys
 Gritt foullis for me I think thai ar
 That seikis hett watter wnder yse
 Yitt sum mair welfull ar nor wys
 Thatt for thair lufis saik wald be stene
 Bayand repentance on thatt pryce
 Nan luffis bott fulis vnlud agane

Thocht sume we sie In evere age
 Lyk as gukitt fulis gangis gukitt gaittis
 quhair ressonne gettis na place for age
 Thay luf thame best that tham bott cancentis
 Same of thair of thair folleis wyttis the fattes
 As desteneis did thame disdane

[St: for rage]

[St: 'Quhilks are bot cappit vane conceats', Ker MS]

Nan lufis bott fullis ~~wan~~ on lud agane
 f

f. 37r

O lord my god to the I cray heir my complent
 with sinnis so sair opprest am I that I wax fantt
 my hairt is wexit Inwartlie with pane & greif
 That I am forst to cum to the to seik releif
 Confessing all my sinfullnes in thy presence
 beseiking the to grant me graice for my offence

my sinnis hes so provokit thyne Ire that I allace
deserwitt hes the hellis fyr for my trespass

Yitt lord to the I call and cray *with* hairtt Intreit
Thy word dois say nocht anis at all thow hes delytt
In sinneris deithe bott wald that thai suld turne
quhilk promis lord keip wnto me *that* sair dois murne
If that thow lord did call to mynd *our* sinis ilkane
than Iustifeit of adame kynd thair sell be nane
Except thow of fre merce saf ws frome deid
We ar all damnett eternalie *withoutt* remeid

[St: of thy fre merce]

Sen nan can throu his awin desertis be maid *perfy*t
we the beseik into our hairt grant ws thai spreitt
For nan can come to the excep *that* thow him draw
As chryst vnto his awin electt dois planlie schaw
Bott thatt thy spritt ws remane we the exhort
In all *our* anguishe greif & pane
and for thai names saik defend thai flok ilk ane
dispersit to the warldis end & bring thame hame

[St: thy spritt *with* ws]

f. 37v

Into thay fald *that* now is wyd scateritt abrod
be thow thair protectour and gaid thair lord thair god
thow artt our heid and evare thai scheip & ever sell
thay faithfull folk defend & peik frome pittis all
evin as thow keipit thai serwand noy the ark *within*
quhen thow did all the warld distroy for adame sine
And sauitt lott quhen In thayne air thow did reprove
Sodom *with* furius flames of fyre frome hevine abou[e]

Thow brocht Iserall throw the reid sie baith saif & sund
and pharaoh *with* his gritt armie thairin thow drownde
and Jonas in the quhellis bellie thow safit thre dayis
syne send him into neniwe to preiche thai wayis
Thow did also preseru & keip thai serwandis thrie
sidrach misache abendnago quhen cruelie
be nebagodneser king thai wer all tene
syne to his presoun causit bring thir thrie ilkane

And furiouslie into his yre thir cheldren thre
he cast into ane flame of fyre thair bruntt to be
bott thy angell withe thame abod the fyre to suaige
that hurtt was no hair of thair heid for all his raig
thow did o lord defend and keip Susana be mane
frome Iudges fals *quhilk* did pretend to wirk hir schame
And daniell in the lyouns dene thow did preserue
Sic is thai fawore to all thame *that* do the serue

f. 38r

Amangis thir exemplis all we may imbring
How thow preserwit dauid frome saull and maid him king
And efter that of presone strang thow did relewe

pauill the sulderis frome ~~at~~ amang that none him greif
 quhatt mister I to multiplie exampellis awld
 thair restis an wark of thai merci yitt to behald
 of Iames the Sext our nobill king quhome chryst mocht keip
 with dauid thow did him for to bring of dangeris deip

Quhen that hes fois begud to fane and him persew
 Achitophell and absalon thow than overthrew
 And thow did dullfulie doun ding thame did thame deir
 Chryst grantt him lang over ws to ring in thai trew feir
 Nott onlie dois thow defend frome perelis gritt [St: thow thame defend]
 bott als oft thai do offend thow dois remeitt [St: als oft als thai]
 Thair sinnis ilk ane and dois nocht lay thame to *thair* chairg
 As in the scriptur fund we may the same at large

Now sen that thow hes heir to for thai seruantis sawitt
 And sufferitt nane to be forlorne that mercy crawitt
 with petie than behald my greif my pane & greif smartt
 and for thai names saik releif my troublitt hairtt
 The sowme of all that I wald haue is thai merci
 The *quhilk* for chrystis saik I craue of the onlie
 Forgeif me quhen I haue offenditt & finalie
 bring me quhen that my lyf enditt to glore with the

f

f. 38v

O lord my god sen I am brocht to greitt distres
 And in my bodie thair is nocht bott hewenes
 mak haist In tyme to succur me o richteous Iudge
 sene I haue nane In eirth bott the for my refuge
 My onlie hoip and confidence In the is sett
 assuring me that myne offence sell be foryitt
 And all my tormentis sell tak end with suddan speid
 quhen thow sick confortt sell me send as I haue neid

Lord strenthen me with patience to suffer ~~all~~ ay
 quhatt pleasis best thai excellence on me to lay
 and let me nocht declyne att all In tyme of neid
 bott ever more on the to call for my remeid
 help me to beir my burden lord for I am weik
 and lett thai strenthe and cair accord for thai name saik
 assist me with thai holie spreitt that I may still
 with constantt hairtt and houp repleitt abaid thai will

At leist sum pairtt I the beseik to suaige my pane
 as thow artt loving kynd & meik thai wrathe refrane
 Into thy iustice and iudgment deall nocht with me
 bott sen that I am panitentt grantt me mercie
 Quhen strenthe and senses ar all gone & wordis fail
 my hairtt and mynd in the alone sell be all heill
 thai promes nor tender love na tyme nor tyd
 outt of my hairtt will I remoue nor yitt lett slyd

f. 39r

If that thai pleasur be that I sell now depairtt
 I recommend my saull to the *with* thankfull hairtt
 quhen it sell have ane duelling plaice *with* angellis hie
 to ring in hevenlie Ioy and peice perpetualie
 If thatt thai pleasure be my lyf to spair
 releif me of my miserie and presentt cair
 remeid me that am lyk to mange and sor opprest
 And will sing thai prais as lang as I my lest

[St: And I will sing]

f

Quha so dois put thair confidence
 and treistis in me *with* trew accord
 to thame I sell be ane defence
 In tyme of neid thus sayis the lord
 If thai stand stiflie be my word
 Frome dangeris gritt thai selbe frei
 thocht weickit perische be the suord
 to myne ane bukler will I be

Thocht Pharoth *with* his gritt armie
 Israell to kill he did Intend
 I led thame throw saiflie the sea
 And frome his bost did thame defend
 quhair he maid ane mischeifus end
 baith he and all hes compannay
 Thairfor to all I mak itt kend
 to myne ane bukler will I be

[St: saiflie throw]

f. 39v

Thocht I did all the warld distroy
 becaus the wickit wald nocht mend
 Yitt sawitt I my sarwantt Noy
 And frome the flud did him defend
 quhair Sodem maid ane weickit end
 and sawitt Lott as ye may sie
 To weickitt thocht greitt plaigis I send
 to myne ane bukler will I be

[St: I sawitt Lott]

Thocht wickit saull and absalon
 dauid his kingdom wald haue rentt
 Yitt causit I him to ring abone
 and did thame plege *with* punischement
 For Saull by his awin suord wes ~~slane~~ schent
 And absolom was hangitt hie
 Be this it is richt euident
 to myn ane bukler will I be

Becaus wickitt Iesabill the quene
 Eleas blod scho snair to spill
 On hir gritt sorrow thir was sene
 Yitt him I sawitt frome her Ill

For hors ran over hir at thair will
 Doggis knew hir baneis assuretie
 Thocht wickitt wald my sarwandis kill
 To myne ane bukler will I be

f. 40r

Thocht wickitt haman gartt vp sett
 Ane pair of gallows lairg and lang
 Belewene surelie for to gett
 Mordecai thairon to hang
 Yitt I red him out of that thrang
 Haman thairon was hangit hie
 quhair ever myne dois ryd or gang
 to myne ane bukler will I be

Quhen danell wes overthrawin
 in presoun deip *with* lyounes strang
 To him they did no thing bot fane
 And lickit him *with* tungis sa lang
 Bot quhen his fais come thame amang
 they did thame ryif dispytfulie
 thocht myne sumtyme dois suffer wrang
 to thame a bukler will I be

[St: daniell]

Quhen susanna was In point of deid
 to me scho did boithe cray & call
 And ~~be~~ me bethocht to mak remeid
 and I did heir hir by and by
 Thay that accusitt hir wranguslie
 ane schamefull deid I gartt thame die
 Thocht my sarwandis In danger lay
 To thame my bukleir will I be

f. 40v

Now ye that ar myne cheldrene deir
 and be with me enteritt in band
 ye knaw full oft ye stuid in feir
 of tensall baith of lyf and land
 For quhen grett king did yow gainstand
 and als your preistis that ar so hie
 As then I sawitt yow fra thair hand
 Sa will I will I yitt your bukler be

Ye knaw they thocht yow to distroy
 quhairfor thai sett thair men of weir
 thinken thairwith yow to annoy
 And daylie to yow do grett deir
 Bot yitt to feicht I did yow leir
 And I gawe yow the wictorie
 As than I did your baner beir
 Sa will I yitt your bukleir be

Sen I frome boundage maid yow frie
 And outt of egypt did yow call
 Thair wickitt lawes se ~~latt~~ ye latt be
 to thame attend na thing at all
 And be not lyk the doge thatt sell
 his womett lik maist schamfulie
 Do yow so plaiges sall on yow fall
 And I sall nott your bukler be

f. 41r

And thocht I hawe begone to serue
 according to the law ye sett sett
 fra ye begin and for to sweirue
 your richteuousnes sell be foryett
 Than I in haist bott ony latt
 sall plaige yow for Inequitie
 Besyd the plaig that ye sell gett
 I sall no mor your bukler be

Howbeit the wickitt did mak lawis
 for to suppres my word of licht
 Compelling myne be greitt ouerthrawis
 the sam obey be thair gritt mycht
 Now sa far as they ar not rycht
 bot saweris of Idolatrie
 do thame ganstand both day and nicht
 And ay your bukler will I be

Thocht nabucadonosor king
 cast sidrach and abendnago
 And mesach als into the fyre
 becaus on na wayis thai wald go
 Worschip the Imag he maid tho
 bott prayitt to me richt ardentlie
 And I did saife thame frome thair fo
 Lyk wayis your bukler will I be

f. 41v

Thocht I the wickit tholl yow kill
 and violent deith do yow deuoir
 This promes suire I mak yow to till
 And better lyf I sell restoir
 To yow quhair that ye sell in glore
 Do ring withe me continalie
 quhair ye sell dewll for evermore
 quhair I sell ay your bukler be

[St: dwell]

f

Harken herkene me thinke ane trompett dois stund
 blawing ane dreidfull blast
 arys ye deid outt of the grund
 cum to to your Iudgme~~n~~tt Last

The king of kingis and god most hie
 sall mak this blast to blaw
 for he sell *cum* In maistir[ie]
 to Iudge boithe hie and law

Ten hundreth thousand angellis bricht
 Appostellis and prophettis
 His marteris all In oppin sicht
 Sell sit in Iudgment sett

f. 42r

For to beir witnes schairp and schor
 aganis the wickit trane
 quhome cryst sell dame for ever more
 wnto eternall pane

For god dowlles most neidis be Just
 and thocht it seames lang
 and compt of all men tak he most
 of all thair evell and wrang

Quhat everie man befor hes done
 In secreitt or In sicht
 In presence of that feirfull throne
 It selbe brocht to licht

Bott sowme will say I wein
 and lauche goddis word to scorn
 the warld is now as it hes bene
 sene mankynd first was borne

Thairfor it is vncredabill
 thatt chryst sould come sa sone
 It is also wnpossibille
 this warld suld be vndone

Thir thingis ar feynit of subtill men
 as thingis to mak ws feir
 Come lett ws tak oure pleseure than
 as lang as we be heir

f. 42v

To this sanct peter ansuoris
 contrary thair desyre
 that bothe the hevenen and eik the arthe
 ar keip in stor for fyre

[St. heven]

Wnto the day of last iudgment
 and of perditioune
 quhair *with* the vngodlie selbe brunt
with greitt distructioun

Our god quhilk promisit to come
 his promes will nocht beir
 quhairfor he will not tary lang
 his coming is not far

Ane day is had as muche *with* him
 as we ane thowsand yeiris
 Agane ane thousand yeiris *with* him
 bott as ane day appeiris

Not onlie peter wryttis so
Sa dois the Appostellis all
that this sam last and dreidfull day
 That this day is at hand
 bot we haue ressonis money mo
 as ye sell vndirstand

[in left margin: 'wrang']

Our maister Cryst himsellff dois say
 Sa dois the apposellis all
 that this same last & dreidfull day
 Lyk to ane theif *cum* sell

f. 43r

Quhen thai sell wein that all is will
 In peice and quyit rest
 euen than sell fall distrouctioun fell
 quhen thai think on it les

Thai bocht and sauld befor the fluid
 thy drank and spairit na coist
 thy tuik thair lust as thai wor wod
 and suddenlie wer lost

Sa sell thai do befor the dome
 as chryst dois plainlie say
 we sie the lyk to pas is come
 quhy doutt we of this day

Sanct James did beir the Iewis in hand
 now money yeiris befor
 that Chryst the Iudge did present stand
 and knokit at the dure

In his appocalips sant Jhone
 dois planlie testifie
 that chryst sayis his awin persone
 behald I come schortlie

[St: sayis in his awin]

Sant peter wrett ane vthair quhair
 And I beleif it trew
 The finell end of all is neir
 and schortlie will Insew

f. 43v

If they did think the end at hand
 sa mony yeiris ago
 muche moir aucht we to vnderstand
 thair be not money mo

This by the scripturis evident
 it planlie dois appeir
 now proue we sell by argument
 that this same day drawis neir

All thingis thatt be vnder the sonne
 manis saull exceptit plane
 Lykwyse as they anis begune
 sa sell thay end againe

[St: as they did anis]

The fyre *with* heitt and rege ferwent
 Dois sor consume and burne
 As sur and sertene argument
 That all to it sell turne

Quhat so dois waist in evere pairt
 the haill most neidis decay
 the warld dois waist in evere airthe
 quhairfor it most away

The sune the mone the starnis so fair
 and all *that* hevenlie host
 the wateris and the mowing air
 Sum of thair strenthe heve lost

f. 44r

The erthe of auld gaue heir encres
without tillage or labour
 bott now hir strenthe is les and les
 and les the workmanis gane

[St: *without* tillage or pane]

Now herbes haue lost thair auncient strenthe
 that they did hawe befor
 Thais do laik thair breid and lenthe
 and smaller is the corn

The bodie of all beistis grow les
 then they hawe bene before
 thairby may ye planlie ges
 thair kynd is feblit soir

We hawe hard tell of gyanttis fell
 that wer in elder tyme
 bot now we be lyk emmettis small
 if we compair to thame

Euerie thing quhen it is new

then it is fresche and fair
 bott yeitt we find this resoun trew
 it waxis auld and bair

Religioun trew was anis ferwent
 bott now we sie it cauld
 that is ane certene argument
 this warld is faint and auld

Bot quhatt so ever waxis auld
 it wenischis away

f. 44v

thairfor by resone manifald
 this warld must neidis decay

quhen nott on dall nor yitt on hill
 ye sie the sune do stand
 na langer dowtt I think ye will
 that nicht is neir at hand

So quhen no wertew wsit is
 in greitt nor yett in small
 than may we trewlie trust to this
 the warld sell hawe ane fall

Quhen naturall heit dois man forsaik
 and wynature dois abound
 It cawsit him *with* fefeir quaik
 and dois his lyf confound

[St: It cawsis him]

Quhen the lowe to god is small
 and self lowe dois exceid
 then certenlie some plaige mortall
 sone efter lett ws dreid

[St: So quhen the lowe]

Now luf to god is out of land
 and selff luf waxis strange
 quhairfor the warld most ceas to stand
 I think or it be lang

Quhen dai the drawis nereist man vnto
 thy raig in thair mad moid
 thy hawe no skylle to say or do
 bott feir as thai war wode

f. 45r

Before the end of all lykways
 salbe no quyet rest
 Now Antechryst dois stile deuys
 the godlie to molest

[St: salbe in quyet rest]

Bot lett that beist still rage and roir
 and kill by sea and land
 feir not ye folk of Chryst thairfor
 for your iudge is at hand

He will yow tak to heven full hie
 and rais yow frome the ground
 Prepair yow then to heir schortlie
 this ioyfull trompit sound

Our king is James the we pray
 Lord saif him *with* thai grace
 keip all his subiectis in gud stay
 and all his foes defece

Come lord come quicklie we the pray
 and tak ws wp on hie
 that we may sing for ay
 eternall prais to the

[St: that we may sing in bliss for ay]

f

f. 45v

The weicht of sin is wonder greitt
 quha may *that* grevus burden beir
 my god maist *huum*lie I submeitt
 my sellff befor thai heichnes heir
 och reuthfully Incline thai eir
 wnto my peitifull complentt
 Thy punysmentis & plaigis reteir
 frome me pure pyning pennitent

quhen darknes hes [t]he hevenes rewest
 But ather mone or starrie licht
 quhen *man* and beist is at ther rest
 throw secreitt ~~of the~~ silence of the nicht
 I waltering lyk ane wofull wicht
 Still walking in my bed I lay
 my sinis presentis thame in my sicht
 och harkin lord for help I cray

My pansing dois ogment my pane
 becaus I can nocht be excusitt
 I am sa oft relapis agane
 Into the sin *quhilk* I refussit
 Thay clemenci I haue abussitt
 be leiding of ane wickit lyff
 my spreit *within* this flesch infusitt
 is lyk to pereish in the stryff

Och to my fais than sell I yeild
 and all thai merceis quyt despair
 och sell I now gif over the feild
 and newer luik for mercy mair

f. 47r

quhilk hes so oft baith leitt and air
 Sung prais to the *with* joyfull hairt
 no lord preserwe me frome that snair
 and leit this cup frome me depairtt

I hawe assurance of thai spreitt
 that yow the laidneitt will releif
quhilk cumis to the *with* hairtt contreitt
 and in thi bontie dois beleif
 my feibill faith o lord ~~releif~~ revieue
 for thocht my sinis be lyk the sand
 Yit thow art habill to forgif
 and rais me *with* thai helping hand

Quha can onfeneitlie repentt
 quha can frome wickeitnes abstene
 vnles thai grace be to thame lentt
 to sich & sob *with* weiping ene
 the prayer *profeittis* nocht ane prene
 except the same from faith *proceid*
 Latt faithe and graice In me grow grene
 that I may turne to the In neid

Lord *with* my sellff I am disspleisitt
 and weirreis of this burdene fasst
 thay wreyth thairfor let be appeisitt
 foryett my ~~wofull sinis past~~ full offenis past
 I feir I faint I am agast
 quhen I preprend my awin estaitt
 bot this releif I find at last
 my penitence is no to leitt

[St: full offencis]

f. 47v

Albeitt thow be ane vpricht Iugde
 thow art my *father* nocht the les
 My bukler & my sur refuge
 My only only confort I confes
 hawe peitie on my greitt distres
 cast nocht me catewe clene away
 thow knawis the Inwartt hevenes
 for sin to suffer everie day

This than my god of graice I craif
with humell hewe hairtt of the
 my sinis ar lyk me to dissayff
 bot let me nocht desaiffit be
 tak nocht thai helping hand frome me
 for I am frael and Imperfytt
 gif me nocht over to drone & dei
 Into my flechely hairtis delytt

Thy werking spreitt let me assist
 Into this feirce & fechting feill
 that I may wailyeandlie resist
 the fleche the warld the dewell & hell
 My secreitt sinis frome me expell
 My natur hes currupit thow knawis
 Mak me to precteis & furth tell
 Thy *preceptis* prayeris & holy lawis

Thir giftis I grant I meritt nocht
 For I in sin was borne & bred
 bot Iesus Chryst he hes me bocht
 frome deithe evene *with* his blud he sched
 hes merittis hes me frelie fred
 mak me thairfor *perticipant*

f. 48r

Let me be *with* his Iustice cleid
 and conteit thai redemitt santt

Nocht he bot I hes deith deserwitt
 Nocht I bot he dois merit graice
 For me nocht for him sellff he sterwitt
with the to purches me a plaice
 throw him I am in happie cais
 evin *with* thai godheid reconseild
 to the throw him quhome I Imbraice
 Be prais quha hes this Ioyis reweild

finis

f. 69r

Of all warldlie confort trew freindschip is cheif
 because it is allwayes the speciall relief
 In weill and In wo In st[...] strong & stabill
 And allso to mankynd [...] thing agriabill

[The names of 'Lady Leven', 'Lord Leven', and 'Lady Mary' appear here.]

f. 69v

I wis I wair transfigurat in ane ring
 To link about my maistris finger fyne
 Or ellis into hir snaw quhyte hals to hing
 To be inclosit into hir bosome fyne
 Gif it war day I culd my mynd Inclyne
 To wring hir handis and vew hir bewtie fair
 Gif it war nicht think the that I suld tye
 That precious tyme that war presentit than
 No surelie no no no my maistris than
 Suld find ane ring transformit in ane man.

[St: my myne Inclyne]

Bon sieu.

f. 70r

Ane dreame

I dreamit ane dreame o that my dreame wer trew
 Me *thocht* my maistris to my chalmer came
 And *with* hir harmeles handis the cowerteingis drew
 and sueitlie callit on me be my name
 Art ye on sleip quod sche o fy for schame
 haue ye *nocht* tauld that luifaris takis no rest
 me *thocht* I *ansuerit* trew it is my dame
 I sleip *nocht* so your luif dois me molest
With that I me *thocht* hir nicht gowne of sche cuist
 liftit the clais and lichtit in my armis
 Hir Rosie lippis me *thocht* on me sche thirst
 And said may this *nocht* stanche yow of *your* harmes
 Mercy madame me *thocht* I menit to say
 Bot quhen I walkennit alace sche
 was away

f. 71v

Consider man how tyme do pass
 And lykwayis how all fleche is gairs
 As tyme *consumes* the strongest ark
 So daithe at last sell straik the strak
 Thocht luistie youthe dois bewtie beire
 Yit youthe be aige In tyme dois weir
 And aige at last a deithe doithe bringe
 to riche & poure emprioure & king
 Thairfor liue as thow suldest die
 thay saull to saiv frome Iepardie
 And as thow waldest be done vnto
 So to thai nichtbouris always do
 The hevinlie Ioyis at lenthe to sie
 Lat faithe In chryst thi anchor be

[St: sell straik the stark]

[St: thi authour be]

finnis quod ~~hoy~~

consider

f. 72r

Redolent rois my onlie schois ~~I man disclois~~
 I man disclois my siching sair
 my frendle fois *throcht* passing wois
 for to reios I may no mair
quhat cruell cair *quhat* deip dispair
 may be *compair* into my pairt
 quha may repair my siching sair
 or sall prepair to mand my smairt

Except my sueit with hairt *contreit*
 I do repeit *with* fervencie
quhilk to retreit luif causis fleit

for sorrow heit of ardencie
 Sen destinie my libertie
 Alluterlie is reft away
 assuring me that I sall die
 Except ye be the onle stay

Sen that I now on force mun bow
 to yow in deid to seik remeid
 houping thairthro ye will allow
 to quha I bow I sall *proced*
 seiking but dreid *favour* or steid
 till atropis threid my lyve devoir
 To seik my deid *your* name will spreid
 As homicide for euermore

My hairt *convert* this dairt fra me
 my luif remove this ruif of cair
 my deir apeir that feir my fle
 my dow be now my conforter

[St: feir may fle]

f. 72v

my bird *your suerd* word as suord is sair
 my breist is persit *with* uyolence
 me saif I craif to haif na mair
 bot hert for hert in recompence

quhilk hert as rube in this ring
 I do *coniur* into *your* cuir
 hoiping it sall get conforting
seruand your plesand portratour
quhilk gif ye do ressaue be suir
 nocht cowntting this my crwell cair
 my lyfe my na langer Indwre
quhilk meitting
 [here the poem breaks off]

[St: my lyfe may]

f. 73v

Your outuard gesture forme & fassoins fair
 decleris the inuward secrettis of ingyne
 quheir is contenit sic verteuis hed and cair
 that al the varld dois se in yow to schyne
 resembling weil the verteuis raice & lyne
*quhair*of ye com quhois name to last for ay
 is eternissid be yow and mede devyne
 in register that never sal decay
*quhair*by I hoip mestres hap *quhat* so mey
 for sic reuward as lustly I expect
 to cum fra hir *quhair* vertew beiris the sway
quhilk alwayis suld produce the awin effect

sens as be nature so ye ar inclynde
 plece constancie into this verteuis mynde

quod
 [...]

Dauid
 Dauid

f. 74r

I hoipe to serve sane syne for to deserue
 Syne never for to suerue from hir *that* I luif best
Quhair for minerve Imply my pen to serve
 for to deserue *sum* fauour that may lest

[**St:** sane syne to deserue]

f. 74v

I serve ane dame moir quheiter than the snaw
 Quhois straichtnes dois the Ceder treis exceid
 Quhois teith surpasis the oriant peirle in hew
 Quhois collourit lippis surmountis the skarlet threid
 The hinging lokkis that *cummis* from hir heid
 dois staingye the grace and glorie of the gold
 The braith *quhilk* dois out of hir mouth proceid
 Dois moir than *flouris* a sweitar smell vnfauld
 Yit sche allace *within* hir breist dois hauld
 moir feirsnes than the lyoun feirs and vyld
 Sche hes ane hairt for seasoun hard and cauld
 That from my mynd all *pleasur* hes exyld
 Loo this my dame dois work my lesting soir
 Yit will I serve *althocht* I die thairfore

Arnot I

f. 75r

O fragrant flour fair and formois
 And *nychtingall* in to the *nycht*
 Quhat suld I say thow art the chois
 Ane Lantern and ane Lamp of *Lycht*
 I wait thair is na warldlie *wycht*
 That for *your* favour mair remanis
 Quhan I think on *your* bewteis *brycht*
 My spreit is pacifiit from panis

 I suffer tormentis for *your* saik
 so that my eyes *with* tereis dois weir
 Ane *cumlie* mak ye haif na maik
 Nor yit in *persoun* hes na peir
 Bot wnto fantus I effeir
 Becaus I am tormentit so
 Quhan he *thocht* on his darling deir
 his hairt was woundit ay *with* wo

To teirris he did himself apply
 The dairttis of luif so did him lance
 Into the lyk estait am I
 Vpoun *your* persoun *quhen* I pance
 Quhan of yowr face I gett ane glans
 Your bewtie dois my body bind
 My panis wald pacefie perchanche
 In cais I culd *your* favour find

f. 76r

Suppois *your* self I do *nocht* sie
 Yit I ly trappit In *your* tranis
 And *thocht* my body absent be
 My constant hairt *with* yow remanis
 Your *cumlie* corpis so me *constranis*
 That I for favour man *procur*
 Be memorantive of my panis
quhilk for *your* saik I do Induir

With dolour damone did deokay
 for mentas luif a so he deis
 quha had hir pictour *present* ay
 hung in ane brod befoir his eyes
 yit pancing on hir *properteis*
 maist madlie thair he did amais
 my luif surmunttis in ma degreis
 howbeid that *dayth* distroyit his dayis

[St: and so he deis]

Now sen my lyf lyis in *your* handis
 remeid the dolour *quhilk* I dree
 I am sa bund into *your* bandis
 that frome *your* luif I can *nocht* flie
 beseiking yow sa guid to be
 me of my tormenttis to relax
 that onlie adamand ar ye
quhairto my luife adheranttis takis

Fin [.....]

f. 76v

grund the on patience blind not thy conscience
 do to god reuerance thankand him ay
 preis the with dilligence to put away negligence
 Content the with Sufficiency this warlde
 will away

[alphabets]

f. 77v

The royall palice off the heichest hewin
 the staitlie fornace of the sterrie round
 the loftie wolt of wandring planettis sewin
 the air the fyre the wattir & the ground
 suppois of thais the science be profound
 surpassing far of our gros & sillie sens
 The pregnant spreittis yit of the leirnit hes fund
 by age by tyme & lang experience
 Thair pitche thair powir & Inflwence
 the cowers of natwre & hir mowingis all
 sa ~~now~~ that we neid *nocht* now be in suspence
 off erthelie thingis nor yit celestiall
 Bot onlie of this monstwre luif we dout
 Quhais craftie cowers no cwning can find out

grund the on pacience blind not thy conscience
 do to God reuerance thank and him ay
 preis the with dilligence To put away negligence
 Content the with sufficience this warlde
 will away

f. 78r

[alphabets]

f. 78v

The tender snow of ~~grane~~ granis soft & quhyt
 Is *nocht* so sone *conswmit* vith phebus heit
 As is my breist beholding my delyte
 Pyneit *vith* the *presence* of my lady sueit
 The surgeing seyis *with* stormie streameis repleit
 Tormoylit *nocht* the wandring shipis sa sair
 as absence dois torment my werie spreit
 fleitting a ~~fle~~ *flocht* betuixt hoip & dispair
 my cative corps consumis with cursed cair
 Mistrust & dreid hes baneist esperance
 That I am forceit to ~~per~~ perishe quhae sould mair
 & trast the wyte vpon remembrance
 Than absence *presence* remembrance all thre
 Torment me for hir saik eternallie

goirg hay	James Arnot	Johne Hay
	Joannes Arnotis	Finis

f. 79r

Glade am I glade am I
 my mother is gone to henislie
 steiche the dur & cache me
 lay me doun & streche me
 ding me & dang me
 Ye gif I cry hang me

Ye gif I die of the same
 Bury me burie in goddis name
 Inglis Sonet

Ane scottis sonnet
 Ane Scottis sonnett

first serve syne sute quhiles seme to lichlie luif
 gif thow intend to win thy ladyis grace
 Serve hir and sche thy constancie sall pruif
 gif in hir mynd that modestie haue place
 Persewing hir may rander the relaise
 Or ellis thow can *nocht* conqueis hairtis desyre
 appeirantlie sumtyme to forgett I gaise
 Hes na les force to kendill cupydis fyre
 hes thow *nocht* hard of mony leirant schyre
 Thus sayit flie luif and it will fallow the
quhilk nawayis *commandis* the to espyre
 Bot wald thow suld *nocht* perrell libertie
 Be trew crave tyme assoyt *nocht* gif thow can
 find sche the dischit thow art ane marterit man

B

f. 79v

[alphabets]

Grund the on patience blind not thy conscience
 Grund the on patience blind not thy conscience
 do to god reverance thank him ay
 pries

f. 80r

Peccau i pater meserere mei
 I am *nocht* worthie to be callit thy chyld
 quha stubburnelie hes went so lang astray
nocht lyk the sone but lyk the prodigall wyld
 my sillie saull with synnis is sa defylit
 That sathan seikis to cache it as ~~ane~~ a prey
 got grant me grace that he may be begylit [St: god grant me grace]
 Peccau i pater meserere mei

I am abaysed how I dar be sa bauld
 Befoir thy godlie *presens* till appeir
 Or hazaret anis the heavinis for to behauld
 Quha am *nocht* wourdie that the earth suld beir
 Yit damne me *nocht* quhome thow hes bocht so deir
 Sed saluum me fac dulcis fili dei
 For out of luke this leasing now I leir
 Peccau i pater miserere mei

Gif thow o lord *with* rigour wald reunge
 quhat flesche befor the fatles suld be fund

Or quho is he quhais conscience culd him clenge
 Bot by his brother is to sathan bund
 Yit of thy grace thow tuke away that ground
 And send thy sone *our* penulties to pay
 To saif ws from the hideous hellische hund
 Peccau pater miserere mei

f. 80v

I houpe for mercie *thocht* my sinnis be hudge
 I grant my guilt and gronis to the for grace
Thocht I wald flie *quhair* suld I find refuge
 Till heavin o lord thair is thy duelling place
 The earth thy futestule yea in hels palace
 down *with* the deid bot all most the obey
 Thairfoir I cry *quhill* I haif tyme and space
 Peccau pater miserere mei

O gracious god my guiltines forgeve
 In sinneris deith sen thow dois *nocht* delyte
 Bot rather that thai suld convert and leive
 as witnes for thy sacret holy wryte
 I pray the thanne thy promeis to perfyte
 with me and I sall with the psalmes say
 To pen thy prais and wondrous workis Indyte
 Peccau pater miserere mei

Suppois I sled lat me *nocht* sleip in sleuth
 In stinkand sty *with* sathanis sinful suyne
 Bot mak my tung the trumpett of thy treuth
 And len my verse sic vingis as ar devyne
 Sen thow hes grantit me so gude ingyne
 To luif the lord in galland style and gay
 Lat me no moir so trim ane talent tyne
 Peccau pater miserere mei

f. 81r

Thy spreit my spreit to speik *with* speid Imspyr
 Holp holie ghost and be mongomries muse
 flie down on me in forkit tungis of fyre
 as thow did on thyne awin apostles vse
 And *with* thy fyre me feruentlie infuse
 To luif the lord and langer *nocht* delay
 My former folische fictionis I refuis
 Peccau pater miserere mei

Stoup stubborne stomak that hes bene so stout
 Stoup filthy flesche and careoun of clay
 Stoup hardned hairt befoir the lord and lout
 Stoup stoup in tyme defer *nocht* day by day
 Thow watt *nocht* weill quhen thow man pas away

[St: 'The Tempter als is bissie to betrey', Ker MS]

Confes thy synnis and schame *nocht* for to say
 Peccau pater miserere mei

To gryte Iehova latt all glore be givn
 Quha schwpe my saull to his similitude
 And to his sone quhome he send down from heavin
 quhen I was lost to by me with his blude
 And to the holy ghost my guyder gudde
 quho mot confirm my fayth to tak na fray
 In me cor mundum I conclude
 Peccaui pater miserere mei

[St: In me cor mundum crea]

f. 81v

The luif I beare is fixtt on one
 I can *nocht* declair the luife I bear
 Itt dois me drav to leif alone
 The lufe I beir is fixtt on one

Absence I meane garris me lament
 and ~~wa~~ wourkis me tene
 Absence I meane
 It garris me grene for my intent
 Absence I meane garris me lament

Euen for hir saik I tak this cair
 My hairt will braik euen for hir saik
 No grace dois laik this flour so fair
 Euen for hir saik I tak this cair

B

f. 82r

Fresche flureis fair and lusum ladie quhyte
 off natouris work in erthe the maist perfyte
 Gewe eir vnto my wofull hewines
 This sedell schorte my sorrowis sall resyite
 And bitter greife that dois my bowellis byte
 That tounge nor tyme nocht trewlie can expres
 Bot being drewin throw dolour to distres
 Pane doithe me preis this paper to present
 In my absence my langour to lament

For as the seik in dainger oft is sene
 lang tyme he hoipis for help of medecein
 his sair to cuir and dollour to remeid
 sua haif I fund aganis my predestene
 The lang dissimulance of my cairis kene
 To my grit greife and sorrow to succeid
 quhairthrow at lenthe ~~taistis~~ taisting the stoundis of deid
 Forceit I am your mercie to Imploir
 To be my leiche or dollour me dewoir

Oft in deserte I wander myne alone
 From day to nicht in mynd makand my mone

Calling to count the caussis of my cair
 sum tyme guid hoip *your* luiff trowis to obtane
 Sum ~~tyme~~ tyme dispair byddis me lat it alane
Your hie estait to myne is na compair
 Sum tyme I think *quhair*foir sould I dispair
 sen luiffe is blind & fleis but Iudgement
Quhair luiffe doith licht sould nane be miscontent

f. 82v

Sua esperance my fyrie flameis doith feid
 Prowoiking will in purpois to *proceid*
 Dryweand of tyme in rampart of the laife
 And I agre thocht I sould suffer deid
 Tyme to prowde *quhill* tyme prowde remeid
 For tyme of tymeis to luiffaris ar releife
quhilk tyme I dout nocht gewe ye haid to preife
 And my trew pairt and *Fayth*full constantnes
 Bot sumtyme ye wald pitie my distres

[St: to luiffaris is releife]

Christ gewe my Breist war of the cristell cleir
 That my trew pairt in presence micht appeir
 with Iudgeing eis beffore yow to be sene
 Thair sould ye se *your* ~~port~~ portratour but peir
Your face so sueit to me that is sa deir
Your cheik *your* chin *your* lywelie cristell ene
 Thair sould ye se the dairtis and arrowis kene
quhilk in *your* handis my bludie hert doith pers
 mair crewalie nor I can heir reherse

With perceing eis fra that I did persaipe
 the guidlie gift that natour to yow gaife
~~ye~~ *Your* bewtie Bricht *your* ~~bewtie~~ bountie but compair
 the wantoune youthe *quhilk* libertie doith craiffe
 Fredome forsuik & vald na fredome haiff
 bynding my self to be *your* pressoner
 my mynd also opprest with crewell cair
 Into *your* will dois yeld *without* ane straik
 refuseand lyfe and Fredome For *your* saik

f. 83r

O sueit contreit my spreit talk in *your* ~~hand~~ hauld
 With hert Inwart conwert my cairis cauld
 lang *thocht* hes socht and brocht me to this place
 persaipe *your* slaiff ye hawe me as ye wald
 heir to fulfill *your* will my ffeit I fawld
 sen I apply deny me nocht *your* grace
 In neid vith speid remeid my crewall cais
 It war to Far to mar me but offence
 Sen stay ye may alway my wiolence

Suiet thing conding benyng of memorie
 my Paneis to lane war wane but remedie
 But sen ye ken *quhairin* the mater standis
 my sair dispair prepair to ~~satisfie~~ pacifie

hawe reuthe with trewth let nocht your schiruaund[is]
 For stownd of wund ar found among your handis
 Bot sen ye ye ken that men ar in your bandis
 Crowall at all ye willbe callit awayis
 to sla the man that yeldis at your deuysel

Finis amen
 quod I Nisbit

B.. concerte [?]

f. 83v

Sonet

Thocht Polibus pisander and vith them
 Antinous vith monie wowaris than
 did preis for to suppryse & bring to schame
 Penellope in absence of hir man
 Yit sche remanit chast as sche began
 To tyme vlisses happinit to cum hame
 That nane of thais as yit do ~~as~~ quhat thai can
 lang saxtene yeiris dowcht to defyle hir fame
 Ewin so most sueit discret and mansueit muse
 Remember on your yoldin siruiture
 Thoill nane your blaseme bewtie to abuse
 thoicht thai vith leing lippis vald yow allure
 Bot sen my lyffe dois on your luife depend
 In trew luiff with Penellope contend

finis

Finis

I B [initials?]
 Amen

Finis amen be me Ihone bane tak ane staf In his

Cum moritur divis concurunt [?] vndigne sines
 Cum moritur pauper vix [...] ades videtur

Cum moritur divis concurunt vndigne sines

f. 84r

This buik []

To my traist freind Thomas henrison

f. 84v

In tyme of welth think on distress

John Nesbet vith my hand

O dieu o dieu de ma saluation Deliure moy de ce mien sanglant
 vice Et lors ma bouche en exultation chantera haut ta bonte

appendix three ~**Transcription of Section Two of CUL MS Kk.5.30**

f. 1r

Tibbermure

James Murray

Jacobus

Murravius

The mirrie Day sprang from the Orient
 with bright beames illuminat the Occident
 efter Titan, Phebus upryseith faire;
 hich in the spheare, as signes mey declaire.
 Zepherus, begane his nichtie morow course,
 the sueitt wapors from the ground did rescourse.
 the dunk deu, doune frome the hevin did wail
 On ewrie meid, both firth, forrest & deall.
 the fresh rever, *doune throu the roches rang,
 through brenches greene, quhair birds blythlie sang
 with joyous voice, in Hevinlie hermonie
 Then Vallace, thought, it ves no tyme to ly

[in left margin] * amongst

James Murray *with* my hand
 att the pen

A B C

James Murray with my hand att

unusquisque

[this page contains several scribblings of Murray's name]

f. 2r

Catalogus Librorum Jacobi Murryi ut sequitur

Libri sacri

Ursinus impressus Vulgaris cum Commentarijs
 Vetus et Novum testamentum Latinum
 Buchananus Novum testamentum vulgare cum Psalmis
 Explicatio Sacramentorum Latina
 Doctrina Vulgaris Bibliae Sacrae totius *

Libri Latini

Tho as [Phi.....] Pedagogus de varijs scientijs *
 * Epigrammata Martialis Virgilius * * Retorica Talei Cleonard *grammatica* gre[ca] [?]
 Ciceronis *sestio* latina [?] ~~Valerius Maximus de amica Evangelij Magnitudine~~
 Justinus Pompeius trogus Quintus curtius
 seneca

Gallici

Institutiones Galliciorum *
 Esopi fabula gallica

Vulgares

Virgilius Impressus *	Morall philosophi	Lent buikes
Dorastus and faunia*	Grengs [?] Lyff	[...] graece latinorum
Aristotles Apothegmes*	* Colvins Recantatio	Cleonard Homer
Ovidis Epistles	Cherrie & Sleas	hesiodus Plato
Philosophers lyffis *	4. Paradayis	Terentius Thebaidorum
Engles Apothegmes *		Plinies Plato
Cronicle off Britaine *		the pleyes [?] off [Ind...]
Physiognomie *		the mirror of knyght[ede]
hors buik		Tho as [.....]
halk buik		Alexander & Darius
Post off the Varld		Valerius Maximus
		Papistis [...]

Scripti Libri

Item [?] ane Grammer / four vret authoris in Ingles & Latin / buk of sentence & [ve...]
 Greik authores / Arithmetik & Commentares on Arist[ot]le Commentaries on Arist[ot]le
 * [...] vreit buikis collectit from dyvers Subgettis in Latin & English
 * Buk [.....] [.....]

f. 5r

Inglishhe Dyare

He that his mirth hes lost, quhais confoirt is dismaid,
 quhais hoip in vaine, quhais faith in scorne quhaise trust is all betrayit
 Iff he heve held thois deir, and can not cesse to mone
 cum latt him tak his plece by me he sall not rew alone
 Bot iff the smallest sweitt be mixit with all the sowre
 Iff in the day the month the yeir he find ane lichtsum houre
 Then rest he vith him self he is no mach for me
 Quhoise hoip is fallin quhois succour void quhoise hart his deth most be
 Bot not the vishit deth quhilk hyds no plent nor laik
 Bot making free the better pert is alvais naturis wraik
 O no that var too weill my greiff is off the mynd
 Quhilk alvayis yeildeth extreame paines bot leves the lyff behind
 As on that leives in shaw bot invairtlie dois die
 Quhais confoirt is a bludie feild *quhair* all hoip slaine dois ly
 Quhais heart the alter is quhais spreit the sacrificeis
 Quhais sorowis ane for to appease no confort can suffice
 My fancies are lyk thornes quhairin I go by nicht
 My arguments ar lyk ane hoist quhome fors hes putt to flicht
 My sence my passionis spy my thocht off ruveens auld
 Off famous Cartage or the toune that subteill Sinon sauld
 Quhilk hail befor my face my mortall faitt doth ley
 Quhome loue and Fortoune anes advanced bot nou haith cast away
 O thochts no thochts bot vunds sumtyme the feild of joys
 Sumtyme the stoir off quhet rest bot now off all annoyis
 I sow the seid off pece my bliss var in the spring
 and day by day I reap the frutt my leiff treis did furth bring
 To nettels now my corne my field is turnd to flint
 Ouersitting in the Cypress schade I reap the hiacint
 the pece the rest the ease that I obteend off yoire
 Came to my lott that is my loiss my hurts nicht sting the moire
 So to anhappie men the best cums for the voirst
 oh tyme och plece och luiks och deid deir then bot now och curst
 In vas stands my delyt in is and sall my voe
 My horror festnith on thy yea my hoip hings on thy no
 I luik for no releiffe releiff vald cum too laitt
 Too laitt I find I find too weill too weall stands my esteat
 Bot loo siche is the Chance no thing att all is suire
 And no thing els saiff cairis and plaines dois in this varld indure
 Forsakin first ame I and utterlie forgottin
 And such as came not to my faith to my revard ar creippin
 Oh luiFFE quhair is the shaiff that maks thy torment sueitt
 Quhilk is the caus that sume hes thocht *that* deth by the bot meitt
 Thy staitlie chest disdaine my secreitt thankfulnes
 Thy greives reserves the commone rycht *that* shynes in wairdines

f. 5v

O wald itt varr not so or I culd itt excuse
 Or that the vreth off jeloussie my Judgment suld abuse
 O fals inconstant kynd keips faith and treuth to no man
 No weemen angels be bot loo my maistres is a Woman

Yit blame I bot the falt and not the faltie one
 no can I red me off thois bandes *quhairin* I ly alone
 Alone I leive quhois lyk be luve vas never yit
 The young the auld the prince the puire the fond nor full off vitt
 Here [?] still remain most I by vrong by deth by shame
 nor can I blot out off my mynd that luiff * ~~thocht~~ in hir name [in right margin] * vreitt
 nor can I set att nocht *that* I heve held so deir
 nor can I mak it sheeme so far that is indeid so neir
 na do I meane hencefurth the strenge will to *profess*
 As ane that vald betrey such treuth to beild on fickilnes
 Na that sall never feall that my faith bure on hand
 I geve my voird my voird geve me both vord and vreitt sall stand
 ane sence itt man be thus and thus is all to ill
 I yield me Captive to my Curs my hard happ to fulfill
 The solitarie voods my citie sal become
 The darkest denn salbe my Ludge *quhair* I sall rest or rounne
 Off Ibaine blak my burd, off woormes my feist salbe
 Quhairon my Carcage salbe fed, till thai sall feid on me
 My vyne the Incubie my bred the Craigie roik
 the serpents hissing my hermonie the screiching oulle my kloik
 My valk a paith off planits my prospect into hell
 Quhair vrechit Ciciphe *vith* hir Feires in endles torments duell
 My exerceise not els bot rageing agoneis
 My buiks off frauneing Fortone beis and drearie tragedies
 And tho I seeme to wse the feinyeit poet styl
 In figureing furth my duilfull plaint my faitt & my exyll
 Yit fenyie I not my greives *quhairin* I sterve and pyne
 Quha thinks hes maist sall compt them leist be *that* compair to myne
 My sang giff anie ask quhois grevous caise is such
 Dy or thow latt thy name be knaueene quhois follie shawes to much
 For best is the to hyd and never *cum* to licht
 Sence in this erth that *thair* ar none this accent sounds aricht

FINIS

f. 6r

Murrayis Dyare

Thou irksome bed Quhairin I tumble to and fra
 And restles rolle boith wp and doune may witness veill my vae
 how loithsome ar alace to me thy softest sheitis
 Quhilk nichtlie I puire vrechit man in woful weiping weits
 For quhill eich wther weicht dois rest *thair* wereit bones
 then I Beginn to utter thois my plentes vith grevous grones
 O haitfull starre said I that in my birth appeird
 That meid me thus to be abhord yea both of hevin & Eird
 Iff Wertew in yow be above all uther things
 Quhy was your planets placit so in there senister sings
 Quhy rang the Cypriane dame then in hir cheiff degrie
 or quho geve to that crewell Chyld sic power greatt ower me
 Then boy tho thow be blind yit hoip I thou doth heir
 I am not he did sumtymes vound and hurt thy mother deire
 No grievous traittour I quho meid that fatall hors
 For to betrey the toune *quhilk* thai culd never take by force

nor yet the cruikit Sinith [?] quho did Inchain thy dame
 nor am I he quho first both saw and shew hir att hir game
 no chest I polita I nor ane off dians reace
 nor did I ever yit ganistand thy caus in anie caise
 how oft heve I proclaimed thy praise in vearse & proise
 how oft heve I thi benner borne against all foraine fois
 Quhat moves the then puire me to martyr on this vayis
 And quhill I vald heve send the rest my tounge to spek denyis
 For ten thousand thoghtis att anes my spech debaris
 Quhilk never salbe vas nor is and bath no the thai varre
 Quhyles think I giff I var a king quhat wald I do
 And then I think a princelie stait I hed ateind into
then think I how to sheaik the auld renowneit Rome
 and *thair* to daint the Turkish pryd als heichlie I presume
 with great godifredo Quhyles I am in skirmish schoitt
 Quhyles admirall and Chiftane Cheiff off the Venetiane Floit
 Quhyles am I heir quhyles *thair* and quhyles into my mynd
 Frome English men and Spanyeith both to reve *thair* new found ynds
 With rageing Rolland quhyles I lykwayis do Complaine
 Regraitting my angelicall disloyall coy disdaine
 Quhyles think I that quhyles this quhyles nether this nor that
 Quhat vatt I quhat I think and quhyles I think I vatt not quhat
 Thus am I vexit soir with monie a cheingeing fitt
 Imageing sick as mey becum a frantick lovers uitt
 Even as the haggerit halk *quhilk* off no aryis taks cure
 Bot wereit and foirflowen at last sho lichts into the luire
 So thois my rangeing thoghts quhilk did me so commove
 Att last thai did returne into ther wountit subjett love
 and as my thoghts befoir did mak my plaints giff plece
 So thois my peteous plents againe my thirling thogs doth chess
 Yitt douttfull vas the fecht *quhairin* my fanceis fled
 Bot peteing both my reuthfull hert send sighs *then* for to sched
 Quhilk with a furious force and villing to be vrekin
 Did virrie up my warsling uoirs *quhil* as I vald heve spokin

f. 6v

And *quhill* that both off thois did stryve quha suld be first
 my trinkling teares preveend them both quhilk from eene doun birst
 and *quhill* that fluids off teares frome blumbereit eis hed runn
 Then I begane off new againe as I hed els begunn
 Protesting alvayis thus that sichts thai suld sich on
 and painfull plaints thai suld heve plece quhen sichts and sob vas gone
 Then *quhen* I hed dischereit ane hundreth thousand schoitt
 Off secreit nipping sicks *quhilk* cause my tounge stiks to my thrott
 Att last altho to laitt my tounge entreit begaine
 To challenge hevin to quarrell erth to rail on gods and man
 the hevins *quhilk* did infuse sick vaill into my birth
 The erth *quhilk* hourelie did concurr to massacre my mirth
 The gods *quhilk* still poures thes plags on me pur vreich
 And *man* because into mishaps no *man* *can* be my mach
 Thus evrie ane off thois moist rashlie I accused
 As onlie thai hed beene to blame that I ves thus abusde
 Bot fra I did perceve such plents for to repeat
 Culd nether chenge my bad desinks nor better my esteat

Then lyk the langspurd hors quhom tyme to tyre doth tech
 Altho just caus hes both lent reanes and spurs unto my spech
 So I begynn to soift and bytteing on the bitt
 Advysedlie I did counterpaise my wilfulnes *with* witt
 Witt said itt was no skill that I suld tak on me
 To labefacteitt or controll the destineis decrie
 Nor curse that Cative king *with* his lascivious dame
 As aither founders first as [...] or fosterers oft my flame
 Nor blame the Rolland Roundsweirds fortones nor the gods
 Nor fatall stars nor frivoill faits nor horoscop nor ods
 no naine off thois allace off all my wois I wreitt
 saiff onlie *with* the Flinted faire my purpois is to wreitt
 Prepair *vith* patience then thy self for to receve
 Such indiscreit discourtesie thy Creweltie doth creve
 Thow sall both heir and sie the vorst that I *can* vreitt
 And know giff in effect or not my thundring pen *can* threatt
 I sall onloik belyve the cabinn off myne hert
 And all the secreits off the same to all the varld impert
 And in my voodnes now I uow for to reveill
 that I hed sworne into my sawll I ever suld conceill
 Bot quhat is this alace that rashelie I heve woweit
 Iff euil off the my dearest deir quhou trew I to be troweit
 No latt thois vaine vaine vows and evill advyseit aiths
 Pass with with the vind I rather die ten thousand thousand deths

f. 7r

Or onie suld object to my eternall scheme
 Lo the[...] the dog that so doth bark againis his mestres name
 Therfoir I sall conceill my vois and eik thi vrang
 Eternall scilence sall schoutt wp my secret sichs & songs
 and yit to be thy dog salbe my Cheiff delytt
 Quha darr not Quhimpe att thi vrang much less to bark or byt
 Maist lyk the Spaineald kynd quha onavars dois grip
 his mesters fitt *quhilk quhen* he kneis he gentlie latt itt slip
 and creiping to him *cums* for humblie fauneing grece
 as nator techith him puire beist for to procure his pece
 So trampeit one by the advysdlie *vith* thy will
 I grant I meid a mint to quhinge and yit I held me still
 And now behauld on fece I fall befoir thy feitt
 And flatlings stoupeing darr *nocht* steirr och saif me *then* deir sweitt
 Or I vill swelt I swear els *quhilk* is worsum voud
 O calme *that* storme thy brow doth bear mak cleir *that* crewell cloudd
 And shau sum signe of grece call clapp me or att lest
 Cum clak thy finger on thy thoumbe and cry ist ist pure best
 And so thou sall both saiff tho thou therto be leathe
 Thy self frome being cald onkynd & me thy dogg from Death

FINIS Ameenn quod Murravius

f. 11r

Listine Lordings by the dayis off Arthure
 Was Britan in grett honoure
 for in his tyme as he ane quhyll
 he sojurneit att coomelie carlille
 & hed with him monie ane aire
 As he hed oftymes els quhair
 Off his round table the knyghtis all
 with muche mirth in boure & hall
 off evrie land in world so wyd
 thar came to him in eich syd
 young knichtis & squyers eik
 & bald baichlers came him to seik
 for to sie the great Nobilnes
 that was into his court always
 for he geve rich gifts & treassour
 to men of wair & gret honour
 with him ther was ane baicheleir
 And hed beene ther monie ane yeir
 Ane young knyght mekill off micht
 Sir Lamuell forsuith he hecht
 This Lamuell geve gifts michtilie
 & spaireit not bot geve lergelie
 & so libralle he it spent
 miche moir nor he hed in rent
 & so onvyselie he itt fett
 that he came mekill into daitt
 and quhen he sau weill all was gaine
 the he began to mak his meane
 alas he said vo is that mann
 that na gud heth not na gud cann
 and I am far in ane straing land
 and na gud hes I onderstand
 men wald me hald for ane wrache
 quhair I be puir certes ne riche

he lapp upon ane fair coursoure
 with outtin Chyld or yit squyoure
 and raid se furth in great murning
 to dryve away his soir langing
 his way he tuik toward the west
 betuix ane Vater and ane forrest
 the sone vas then at eveningtyd
 he lichtit doun & wald abyd
 for he vas haitt in the Wather
 he tuik his mantill and fald to gidder
 And laid him doune the knyght so free
 Onder the shaddou off ane tree
 Alace he said na gud I heve
 Nor quhair to go so god me saiff
 And all the knichts with ther feires
 Off the round table that be my peeres
 Eich on to heve me vas full glaid
 Nou will thai be off me full sadd
 Nou wallaway this is my song
 with soir weiping his hand he wrang
 with sourou and cair he did yell
 Till hevie on a sleip he fell
 & all to soipeit and forweipt
 Quhen he vaknit out off sleip
 Tuo off the fairest maids sau he
 That ever he did sie with ee
 Come out off the forrest & to him drau
 Fairer befoir be never sau
 Kirtils thay hed of purple sendill
 small laceit setting fall ane weill
 Mantils thai hed of rid welvet
 Frenyeit with gold ful veill vas sett
 Thai vaire abowe that over all
 upon ther heds a joilie curnall

f. 11v

ther faces as the snou was quhyt
 with lufesum cullor of gret delyt
 fairar befoir he never did sie
 he thocht them Angels off hevins he
 The on buir ane goldin baiseing
 The uther ane touall off alifyne
 Thai Came him both toward twaine
 he vas courtress vent them againe
 Welcuome he said Madams so frie
 Sir knyght thai ansereit him Velcum be ye
 My Ladie that is bright as floure
 The grathethe Sir Lamuell paramour
 Sho preyith the cum & speik with hir
 Giff it be nott thy plesor Sir
 I am full faine with you for to fair

Sen so itt is that quho so ever tuik lyffe
 Man be the Death unto the same portend
 To pass his lyff out throu this vaill off stryffe
 In halines with Cristianes *contend*
 Leive still in awe thi God for to offend
 Cleive to thy Cryst *with* faith onfeneitly
 Repent thy sones thy vickit lyff amend
 And daylie think on Deth for thou man die
 Cast not thy caires on Vordlie Vanitie
 Quhois plesors ar with paines so deirlye boght,
 Bot prest to pley thy pert, with honestie
 And use the woird, even as thou usd itt noght
 Latt ay this sentence in thy saull remaine,
 Leive heir to Die, & Die to Leive againe

Leve me o love quhilk rechis bot to dust
 And thou my mynd aspyre ~~to~~ to heicher things
 Grou rich in that quhilk never takith roust
 Quhat ever feads butt feading plesour brings

f. 72r

Drau in thy beames and humble all thy miht
 To that sueitt Yoik quhair lesting fredoomes be
 Quhich braiks the clouds & opins furth the *lycht*
 That doth both shyne & giff us sight to sie
 O tak fast hold Latt that licht be thy guyde
 In this small course *quhilk* birth draus outt to Deth
 And think hou evill becomith him to Slydde
 Quho seiketh hevin and cums off hevinlie breath
 Then fairveill vorld ~~sen~~ thy utter most I sie
 Eternall Love menteen thy Lyff in me.

f. 74v

Kathrin Morton with my hand

Marie Moorray with my hand

marie moray with my hand

Marie

[five small monograms appear here, all spelling Marie Moray]

f. 75r

Begone sueit Night & I sall call the kynd
 Quher dois thou duell sence nocht upon myne ees
 Its moir not tyme that I my way suld find.
 Begone & quhen thou cums againe come tuyse
 Away, away For I must go & meitt my Love
 be the peip off day

Bot thou to deth thou art so neir off kin
To *cum* and go *quhat* our desyres heth been

Aryse Bricht day its tyme to cleame thy richt
Disperse the clouds & *with* thy goldin beames
Lat us enjoy the still sueit gentill night
Quhiche we surveit in thois plesant dreams
Aryse Aryse
And Vithe thy rosie fingers point me *quhair* sche lyis
Teche me bot anes & set me in hir sicht
That I mey dout quho yeilds the greter *lycht*

Bot giff thou will to day resing thy deu
And so devorse me *from* my fairest fair,
In secreit scilence sall my hert go reu
Wissing the day warre gane iff I var ther
That sho That sho
And I might spend the secreit *nycht* as ve var vont to doo
Fair praittling day dois never moir appeir
Nor yitt presuimes to vrang my deirest Deir

f. 75v

The nicht is gon yit absent is my Love
Day doith aryse secuire yit sleips my deir
O then hou myndful is sho quhom I proue
Quhill Phebus shynes yit dois sho *nocht* appeir
Alace, Alace,
That absence suld devoirce me *from* so sueit so fair a face
O then approche deir nimfe by *quhom* I breithe
Giff me to leive bot to recoird my Deithe

Finis

f. 76r

Heich Architecters wouderous wouttit rounds
huge Oiste off Hevine, in restless rolling Speirs
Firme fixit Polls, that all the extree beares
Concords discordant sueitt hermonie sounds
Boueid Zodiak circles, belting Phebus bounds
Celestial sings off Moneths making yeires
Bricht Titane to the Tropiks that reteirs
Quhois fyrie flames auld chaos face confounds.
Just ballanced Ball amids the hevin that hings
All creature that Natoure creatt cann
To serve the use of moist onthankfull mann.
Admeire youre maker onlie King off Kings
 Praise him o man his mercies that remarks.
 Quhois merceis farr exceids his woundrous warks

I am the sevint I was the fyft off twelve	
My brother auld is younger then am I	Julian
My father follous Titan throu the skye	I: Carre

Bot not so fondlie as the soull that fell
 My grandfather Quhois seinyour vas him self
 Quho by als manie fatall wounds did ty
 As halff off thois vald father on me cry
 Giff thai culd Speik geste quhat I am and tell
 To quhilk giff ye this constant thing conjune
 quhilk hard and fast hir rakles mestres binds
 Quhilk uther vays vald vaver with the Vinds
 According to the Motions of the moone
 Thryse happiest & blistest heth he beene
 Quha gets & geshis quhat thes lynes can meene

f. 76v

Capitane	Capitane
James Lyell	James Lyell

[graphic design inserted here, three overlapping circles side by side]

f. 77r

Loip varlie on be sicker syne to sitt
 heve ay a suire and staidfast brydle hand
 Iff I be hett riddin use the bitt
 Iff I be slau then tuich me *vith* the vand
 Iff I be yauld and redie att *command*
 Ryd soift and faire and *sumtyme lycht & leid*
 Rin *nocht* bot raik me throu the thirlit land
 For oft ontymeles spurring spils the speid
 Neids [?] gall me *nocht* nor spurr me *quhil* I bleid
 Be var *your* saddle sitt not in my bak
 Bot trait me iff I be a hors of deid
 Mistress altho ye steall [?] a read *quhat* [?] raik
 Ryd on iudg iff yow leive & puts no dout [?]
 off courtessie ye vill grant me read about [?]

Mistress ye bad me thryse putt on my spurris
 And thryse ye bad me spurr *vith* all my speid
 Our dyk ouer den ouer feild ouer firth ouer furrs
 And heve no feir of onie foraine feid
 Suirlye my vill sall to *your* vill succeid
 And I am radie *quhen* ye lyke to ryd
 Bot I most heve a brydle in *your* head
 For sundrie sayis *that* ye *can* leip a syd
 Bot breist I anes *your* buist I then confyd
 To ruitt yow *rycht* iff *quhen* I strik ye stand
 or iff my revell chance to raitt *your* syd
 Be soift and fair and radie att *command*
 The hirds cheiff [?] *that* doth veitt the slonk is ill
 I most leip on altho I heve no skill

Quha vald cum speid latt him imploy his pen
 And sussie *nocht* suppois the peper sink
 For scho *this* vindraucht appil [?] can *nocht* ken

Nor yit destene [?] the difference off Ink
 Tho scho seeme bleat and blush at evrie blink
 beath vyld vilyeard and vald vin away
 Do [...] and ly [?] and pance *nocht quhat* sch[o] think

f. 77v

a secreit yea is virth a subteill nay
 and pance *nocht* ye tho in a rage scho say
 Ye ar ower peart *that* dar *presum* to steir hir
 I trow ye vatt *nocht* quhome *uith* all ye pley
 bot answer ye as giff ye did not heir hir
 Then as I said iff *that* pres to speid
 Imploy *your* pen latt hir the *letres* reid

Cidippe reid and reidding reslie sueir
 Then brav aconsciis plainlie did *protest*
 That him to love scho *presentlie* *profest*
 Diana hard the vow & vitnes bure
 Swa Sacred *Sir* I Challenge & *conjure*
Your majestie by them *quhom* ye love best
 By *your* imperiall voidr *quhilk* [?] by the rest
 Is as I dout *nocht* *constant* prince [?] & suire
 That ye of *your* fre grece vichest to do
 Even *quhil* the *sumtyme* speik & spak befoir
 And Diane *quhom* off dewtie I adore
Quhilk ves that ye suld change my forton to
 And mowit [?] me hier in effect ye mey
 bot royall *Sir* put hadgeing [?] out of pley [?]

First I beleived the erth suld turne in Assh
 By his decree *quha* gydis & governs all
 I firmelie *thocht* the firmament suld fall
 And evrie thing that aither is or vas
 Suld change in lothsum chaos uglee Mass
 So that ilk *rever* lytle brok & burne
 And fludis into *thair* fontones suld returne
 Befoir ae jott off firmeit faith suld pass
 Then revers ye turne bak into *your* vals
 Then firmament to fall be *nocht* on fain
 Fyres burne the earth for vateris drowned itt els
 Auld Chaos tak thi sheples sheip againe

f. 78r

So all in on *confusedlie* rin areir
 Sence *Contrair* Chance hes chenged my panis seir [?]

Owerquhelmeit in vois & drowned in deip dispaire
Quhom *contrair* chances crewltie intraits
 To *quhom* thy vraith O fortoun blind yet thraits
 The accomplishment of all mischeiffis and mair
 Amid thais cairles tho *nocht* causles cair
 Amid thois sich thois sobs & sad regratis

Most voful vearse moir voful I yit vreit
 unto the fairest Sueit & sueittest fair
quhom tho both love & forton heve extold
thought princelie pens hir praises do *proclame*
 Tho royal registration heve inrold
 In everlesting lynes hir enles fame
 Yet scho sweit scho vill tak into gud *part*
 The simple offring of a loveing hert

Mestres *quhen* last ve twa did *part* asunder
 Nothing ye said *that* I culd onderstand
 And nothing moir nor that culd mak me vunder
 Then Speireit giff ye nothing vald *command*
 Nothing Sir ye answerit me fra hand
 Then knew I ye said nothing for the nanes [?]
 For nothing is moir vorth nor gold or land
 And nothing vars the price off *pretious* stones
 And a thing ves off nothing creatt anes
 And nothing to *your* self mey be *compaird*
 And nothing lykvais can fand out the meanes
 Thoch ye a ladie and I mey be a laird
 Then sence *that* nothing *can* ws so avance
 Mestress on onlie a think latt ws pance

Lyk as the litle emett heth hir gall
 the sle bansticle heth hir fin ve see
 Laich treis hes toips howbeit thai be bot small
 the vran heth vinges *vith* wther foules to flie
 Flint is a stane sappois into the ee

f. 78v

Itt seems no half so *precious* a the perle
 Ther is a droneing song into the bee
 Suppois I grant it mey *nocht* mach the merle
 As Mantua is *nocht* so fair ve find
 As Royall Rome yit ar thai both bot tounes
 As Small Schalloips sails als veill a ships by vind
 And penneis pass als veill as goldin crounes
 And as small strypes as veil as fludes hes springs
 So love is love in pure *men* as in kings

First in the orient Rang the Assiriene Kings
 To thois the sacred *perciane* prince succedeis
 Till he by *quhom* the varld soir vundit bleids
 Erth crouns to Greice vith bloudie blead he brings
 Then greice to Rome the reanes off staitt resigns
 So fra the michtie Monarchs of the Medis
 To this vast varld successvelie succedeis
 This great and fatall period off things
 Till vereit vith broils & lang Alarumes
 Erths majestie hir diadame layis doune
 Beffoir the feit of thi *onconquerit* croune
 And throws himself great Monarch in thi armes
 Ther most scho stay faits hes ordaind it so

[in left margin: 'Mon']

Nor hes scho *quher* nor farder for to go

Nocht Oriental Indus Christal streemes
Nor fruitful Nilus *quhich* na banks *can* thoill
Nor goldin Tagus quhois bricht Titanes beames
Ar hurled hedlongst to vew the antartik poll
Nor Ladon *quhom* sueit Sidney dois extoll
Quhill it Arcadias bewtie doth imbrace
All theis mey not the nameles the *controll*
Bot *with* gud richt suld rander & giff plece
Now *quhill* sueit scho vithcheffs to schaw hir face
and *vith* hir *presence* honours the ilk day
Thow slyding semest to use a slawer pace
Aganis thi vill as iff thow vent away
 So loth to leve the *sycht* of such a on
 Thow still *imparts* thi plents to evrie stone

f. 79r

the Day Estivall

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| [1] O Perfytt <i>lycht</i> quhilk shed auay
the darknes from the <i>lycht</i>
and seth a rewle ouer the day
and ane Uther ouer the <i>nycht</i> | 10 Then the birds <i>vith</i> boldin throts
agains his visage seene
tak wp <i>thair</i> kyndlie musik nots
In voods & gardeens grene |
| [2] Thy glorie <i>quhen</i> the day furth flees
mair planlie dois appeir
nor at midday into our ees
the shining sone is cleir | 11 Then up breid the cairfull housbandman
his cornes & vynes to sie
And evrie tymous artisain
In buith virks bissilie |
| [3] The shaddow o the erth anone
removes & drawes by
Then in the east <i>quhen</i> it is gone
appeires a cleirer sky | 12 The pastor quyts his slumbring sleip
and passis furth <i>vith</i> speid
His litle coming nosed ship
and rowtting ky to keip |
| [4] <i>Quhilk</i> sunn perceves the litle lerk
the lapving & the snypp
Thai turne ther songe lyk natour clerks
Ouer midow mure & stryp. | 13 The passinger from parrell gangs
<i>rycht</i> glaidlie furth the vay
And evrie leiveing creator
taks <i>confort</i> in the day |
| [5] Then evrie beist nocturnall beist
no langor dois abyd
Thai hy away both moir & less
themselves in h..s to hyd | 14 The subteill motive ryais <i>lycht</i>
att rifts thai ar in vine
The glanceing fainis & vitre <i>brycht</i>
Resplends againe the sun |
| [6] Thai dreid the day fra thai itt see
And fra the <i>sycht</i> off man
To sets and covers fast thai flee
And lyons to <i>thair</i> den | 15 The dew upon the tender croips
Lyk perles quhyt ar round
Or lyk to melt the silver drips
refreshis all the ground |
| [7] Our hamisphaire is polist cleine
And <i>lycht</i> mit moir and moir
<i>Quhill</i> evrie thing be cleirly sene
That seemit dim befoir | 16 The mistie roiks and cluds of raine
fra toips off montaines skailes
Cleir are the hiest hils the plaine
the vapors tak the vails |
| [8] Except the glistering aster <i>brycht</i>
<i>Quhilk</i> all the <i>nycht</i> var cleir
Afoxit <i>vith</i> a grettar <i>lycht</i>
no langer dois apeir | 17 Begareit is the saphir pend
vith sprains of scarlet heu
and preciouslie from end to end
damascat quhyt and blew |
| [9] Then the goldin glob <i>incontinent</i>
seth wp his shyning hed
And ouer the erth & firmament
displayis his beames abroad | 18 The ample hevin off fabriks suire
in cleanes dois surpass
the cristall or the silver puire
or cleirest polist gless |

f. 79v

- 10 the tyme so tranquill is & still
that naquhair sall ye find
saife on a hich and barane hill
ane air off pypeing vind
all trees simples great and small
that balmie leaffe do beare
nor thai var payntit on a wall
no moir thai move or steir
- 11 Calme is the deip and purpur sea
ye smuther nor the sand
The walls *that* valtering ~~was~~ wunt to be
Ar stablist lyke the land
Sa silent is the ceaseall air
att ewrie cry and call
The hils & deals & forrests faire
Againe repeats them all
- 12 The revers fresh & callor streames
ower roks can soiftlie rinn
The water cleir lyk cristall sheenes
And maks a pleaseand dinn
The fields and erthlie *superfice*
with vertor greene is spred
And naturallie butt artifice
In prettie cullors cled
- 13 The florishis and fragrant floures
Throch Phebus fostering heatt
refresht *with* dew and silver droips
caste wp ane odour sweitt
The cloggit bissie bumming bees
Quha never thinks to droune
On floures & florishes of trees
Collects *thair* licour broune
- 14 The sunn moist lyk a speedie post
with ardent course asends
The beutie of the hevinlie oist
up to the zenith tends
Nocht gydeit be no Phaeton
nor treneit in a Cheir
Bot be the hich and onlie one
Quhilk dois all[quhai]r Impyer
- 15 The burneing beames sa ferventlie
doune frome his face can beat
That man and beast nou seiks a plece
to saiffe then frome the heatt
The breathless flok draws to the shaid
And fresher off *thair* fauld
The startling noutt as thai var meid
Runs to *thair* revers cauld
- 16 The hird beneath sum leaffie tree
amids the floures the lysis
The stable ships upon the sea
Stente up *thair* sails to day
The hert the hynd the fallou deere
ar tapist at *thair* rest
The foules & birds *that* meid the beir
Prepairs *thair* prettie nest
- 17 The ryones doors discending doune
all kendlit in a gleid
In citie nor in Borestoune
mey naine sett furth *thair* herd
Mak frome the blew paymentit quhin
on eurilk plester wall
The heatt refleching of the sun
Inflames the erth & all
- 18 The laborers *that* tyme thai rease
al verid faint & vaik
for heat doune to *thair* houses gois
Noone meatt and sleip to tak
The callor vyne in cover is socht
mens brotheing breists to cuille
The vater cleir & cauld is socht
and sellets stipeit in oill
- 19 Sum plucks the hunnie plumb & peare
The chirrie & peist

f. 80r

- 19 Sum pluks the hunnie plumbe & peare
the Cherie and the peich
Sum like the reameand lundon beir
the body to refresh
Furth off *thair* scaips sum ragein beis
Lysis out and vill not cast
Sum uther Swarmes hyves on the treis
And knots togider fast
- 20 The corbies nor the kecling keas
mey scarce the heat abyd
Haks pruiyeis on soume breas
And wadders bak and syd
uith gilteend ees and opin wings
The cok his curage shaws
Uith claps off joy his breist he dings
And tuentie tymes he craws
- 21 The dow *with* Quhisling wings so blew
The vind can fast collect
Hir purpure pennis turnes manie a hew
Aganis the sone direct
Noon is now gone vent is midday
the heat doth slaik att last
The soone discends vast away
fra thre a cloik be past
- 22 A litle quhirle off bratheing vind
Now softlie can aryse
The wark thoch heat that ley behind
now men mey interpryse
Furth faires the floik to seik *thair* fud
On evrie hill and plain
The laborer as he thinks gud
Stips to his turnes againe
- 23 The ryons of the soone be sie
diminist in hir strenth
the shaddow off evrie toure and trie
Extendit is in lenth
- Great is the calme for evrie quhair
the the wind is sittin downe
The reik thraus up richt in the air
From evrie toure and toune
- 24 Ther firdoning the bonie birds
In banks thai do begin
with pyps of reis the jolie hurds
Halds wp a mirrie dinn
The mevis and the Philomen
The Stirling Quhissils loud
The cuschett on the breaches grene
Full Quyetlie cum croud
- 25 The day is Spent the glomeing *cums*
the soon gois out of sicht
Now peyntit is the occident
with purper Sangwen bricht
The Scarlat nor the goldin threid
wald not *thair* bewties try
Ar nothing lyk the culler reid
And bewtie off the Sky
- 26 Our wast horizon Circuler
fra tyme the soone be sett
Is all *with* rubees as it war
Or roses rid owersett
Quhat pleasir war to walk & sie
endlong a rever cleir
The *perfy*t forme off evrie trie
Within the deip apeir
- 27 The salmont out off cruves & creils
wphaillat into scouts
The bels and circles on the veals
Throch loiping of the trouts
O then it var a *perfy*t thing
Quhill all is still & calm
The *perfy*t praise of god to singe
with cornett and *with* salme
- 28 O then the hird *with* monie a shout
cals uther be thy name

f. 80v

Go billie turne our guds about
for tyme is to go hame
Throch all the land great is the gild
off rustik folk *that* cry
off Bleatting sheip fra thai be fild
off calves & routing ky

29 All laborers draus hame at evene
and can to uther say
Thanks to the gracious god of hevin
That send this sumers day

FINIS

Cupid *quhom* sall I vyt bot the
Off all the sorows I susteene
Lang hed I leiveit at libertie
hed I Eschewit thi arrows keene
Thy doubilnes that day vas seene
Thou smyllen shott me or I vist
And off my hert bereft me cleene
Thou tuik me tratour onder trust

My hert and freedome I *confess*
to be bot vardit *quhair* I vald
O crewell Cupid *nocht* the less
Thy frendship I heve earnd [?] bot cald
Quhair I vas free you hes me thrald
And so hes metamorfosd me
My onlie joy is to behald
The causer of my miserie

Thou did releis the shaft of lyed
and left the heid *vithin* my hert
O wingeit god it mervels me
hou thow *prevels* in evrie *part*
To cuire thy vinds avails no airt
Thy dairts so poyseneit ar of kynd
The moir we seik to cuir our smert
The moir molested is our mynd

Bot sen I sie hou monie herts
Thou his subdewd *vnvirdilie*
For sic as of the awen deserts
Can scantlie merit curtessie
I count my bondage villinglie
Mair fredome nor I *can* requyr
The clauer of my hertis ee
Quhat wertews vin cast my desyr

For me I *thocht* the parrell past
off all thi huikeit arrows fyve
Till fortune moveit me att last
To veiwe the virth of a lyve
Fra tyme I *mycht* no langer stryve
as thi *perfectiones* meid me thrall
And shortlie did my hert depryve
off former libertees and all

Sen so it is I rest *content*
Your thrallit freind for to remain
Ye ar the last that sall frequent
my hert *vith* sic oppressing pain
Your weilfair is the onlie gain
mey gled maist for al my greiff
To vis you moir it var bot vaine
For this my onlie hertis releiffe

finis

f. 81r

Lyk as the Dum, Solsequium, with cair overcum, doth sorrou quhen the sone goth out off sicht
Hings doune his head, & droups lyk dead, & vill not spread, bot luirokes his leves throu
langour all the *nycht*

Till folish Phaeton arise vith Quhip in hand, to cleire the cristall skyis & licht the land
Birds in ther boure, vait on that houre, & to ther prince, a great gudmorou giffes.
from hence that floure, lists not ane houre Bot lacht on phebus lousing farth his leves

so stands vith me, Except I be, *quhair* I mey sie, my lamp of licht my ladie & my luiff
fra sche deperts, ten thousand derts, in sindrie airts, thirls throu my hevie hert but rest or raiste
My countinace declaires my invairt guide, Guid hoip almoist dispaire to find releiff
I die I dvyne pley dois me peyne I loth of evrie thing I sie alace
~~I spring I sproth my leves lyeis out my cullor changes in evrie helthsum heu~~
~~No mair I Loutt bot stands up stout Als glad of hir for *quhom* I I onlie greu~~
till Titan myn upon me shyne yit I receive throu favor of hir face lang desyreit face

fra scho appeirs & in hir spheir begins to cleir the dauing of my lang desyreit day
 then curage cryis on hoip to ryise fra scho espyis the noysum *nicht* of absence vent away
 No vois mey me awaik nor yet impash bot on my staitlie stalk I florish freshe
 I spring I sprout my leves lyis out my Cullor chenges in evrie helthsum heu
 No moir I laut bot stand up stout als glaid of hir for *quhom* I onlie greu

O happie day ga not away Apollo stay thy Chear from going doune into the vaist
 Off me thou mak thy Zodiak yit I may tak my plesur to behald *quhom* I love best
 Quhais presens me restoires frome Deth ta lyfe Quhais absens lyk vayis shoires to cutt my breth
 I vish in vaine the to remaine sen primo mobile sayis alwayis nay
 Att Last I veene turne shoone againe fairveill vith patiens perforce to Day

Cupid & dead togider luvd all *nicht*
 than interchengeing dairts throch fault of sicht

finis quod thomsone *With* my hand

f. 81v

Quhen I vay [?] in my mynd the lyff of all sorts
 that most leives att eass vith daylie disports
 The lyffes off ane schiphird admire above all
 With princelie *command* obeyit all his call
 His flok both great and small
 doth harkin his vill
 And he pleyis wpon ane bagpype wpon a grene hillo
 Trandillo trandillo drandi[...] diddell
 And he playis wpon ane bagpyp wpon a green hillo

his gudlie [?] eis ar faire & [...] mentit ticht
 with soone syne on all ech his vindois ar bright
 with flowers off all hewes stroweit onder his feitt
 in fairest greene midois *with pleasuris* [?] repleitt
 So he is not impassit and thinks on na illo
 And he pleyis on a bagpype wpon
 Trandillo etc
 And he playis etc

He ryises ilk morrow quhen his starr [?] dois appeir
 the sangs off all byrdis his hert doth cheir
 the lark & meviss sings sweitt in his eare
 So he laks no fyne musick [?] & is void off all caires
Quhen [?] he heares all hir sueit tuines [?] he [...] att *thair* skillo
 And he pleyis etc dra[...] dillo etc. and he pley etc

His fuid and his faire is helthsum indeid
 His bag and his baskett doth serve him att neid
 Hes cauks [?] of cheise ar both thik and auld
 he drinks quhen he listis of the valspring cauld
 With his bread of fyne meill meid in a millo
 and he plays etc dra[...] dillo etc and he pleyis

His vyff prettie vinch thinkis lang evrue day
 to vishit [?] hir sueit joy and heir him pley

sum [...] dish & a drink of cauld aill
 scho [...] [...] closlie & preysis [?] for his heall [?]
 scho dances he drinkis lest [...] suld stillo
 and he plays etc drand and he plays

Quhen he tyres off hes travell throw heatt of the soone
 He lysis doune to sleip and heiret [?] no dinn
 He vakins att his vill [?] & luiks round about
 Giff his flokis scatter or stray throch out
 [...] licht[...] he crayis *with* a shout vunder [?] stillo and he etc

Giff anie *cums* by [.....] can dans
 and all *that* do see him begins to [.....]
 his mester and thai gett
 [here the song breaks off]

f. 82r

Displesour with his deadlie dairt
 so horrablie hes hurt my hairt
 with sik a head, that no remeid,
 saiff onlie dead, mey cure my smairt
 the poiseit poynt me priks
 quhilk in my stomak stiks profound
 Quhois vennem raines throu all my vaines
 No sall can mak me sound.
 I count not off my lyff a cuitt
 My hairt hes biddin sik rebuilt
 Gods knaus in hevin that it vald even
 vish to be reven, out be the ruit
 It is so croist vith caire
 that it can never mair reveive
 then velcum Deth to cutt my braith
 I list no langer Leive
 Hes hevins hes erth hes gods hes air
 Determinat that I dispair
 hes all in ane my contrair taine
 for me alaine thai ar to saire
 sence ther is no remors
 my paciens perforce hes been
 off evils I use the lest to Chuse
 I mey not murne bot meane
 Micht my mishap luik for releiff
 or yit culd I disgest my greiff
 Then var I vyse for to disgyse
 Bot lo quhair lysis all my mischeiff
 I wraik giff I reveill
 I smoir giff I conceill my hurt
 Judge ye that heires *quhat* burden bears
 Thy stomak stuf *with* scorne

for *quhill* I fra Caribdis flee
 I slyd in Sylla ye mey see
 I saill itt seemes tuix tua extremis
 That danger deems my ship sall die

Then sone sence I most smart
 Thou off my edge that art the staff
 Ewen Murray myne
 Len me a lyne to eik my Epitaff

Quhat mey be compared tuix labour & luiff
 This luiff is a labor that luiffers do prove
 This luiff is labor a labor in vaine
 the plesor is mixit *vith* over much paine
 the the plesour is mixit *vith* etc

The sea that is deipest is cosiest past
 the fruit *that* is hiest is suitest of tast
 A blossom of beutie is brig to behald
 a ship full of love vill sink or it be sauld
 vill sink or it be sauld

Johne thomsone
with my hand

f. 82v

Quhat giff a day or a *nycht* or a yeir
 Croune thy delysts *with* a thousand vist contentings
 Mey not the chenge off a month or ane houre
 Cross thy desyres *with* als monie sad tormentings
 forton, *honour*, beutie youth ar bot shaddous fleeing
 Wanton *pleasours* dotting love, ar bott blosumis deeing.
 All our joyis, ar bot toyis, idle thoghts disceaveing
 Non heth power, off ane houre in *thair* lyffe bereveing

The erth is bot a poynt off a poynt and a *man*
 Is bot ane poynt off the erthe compared zenter
 Suld then a poynt off a poynt be so vaine
 As to triumphe in a sillie poynts *adventer*
 As is haserts that ve heve, ther is nothing byding
 Dayis off *plesours* ar as streames throu fair medous slyding
 Weill or vo tyme doth go in tyme no returneing
 Sacred faith gydes our steats both in mirth and murneing

Quhat hes thou then sillie *man* for to boist
 bot of a shoirt and a soroufull lyff *perplexit*
 Quhen haipe and hoip & thy saiftie is moist
 Then vo & vraik dispaies and deth is annexit
 Blossums bubbles ashis erth doth thy steat resemble
 Fear off seiknes danger death maketh the to trimble
 Evrie thing that do spring shoone ryp is shoone rottin
 Pomp and pryd shoone doth slyd and is shone forgottin

appendix four ~

Table 1: Content of NLS MS 15937

Abbreviations in the notes (full details in bibliography):

Ayton	<i>The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton</i> , ed. by Charles B. Gullans
<i>Cantus</i>	<i>Cantus: Songs and Fancies</i> , [ed. by Thomas Davidson] (first edition, printed 1662)
Craig	<i>Poetical Works of Alexander Craig</i> , ed. by David Laing
<i>EMV</i>	<i>English Madrigal Verse</i> , ed. by E.H. Fellowes
Farmer	<i>Merry Songs and Ballads</i> , ed. by John S. Farmer
<i>MB</i>	<i>Musica Britannica XV</i> , ed. by Helena Shire and Kenneth Elliott
Montgomerie	<i>Alexander Montgomerie: Poems</i> , ed. by David J. Parkinson
<i>MSc</i>	<i>Musica Scotica II: Sixteenth-Century Scots Songs</i> , ed. by Kenneth Elliott
Percy	<i>The Percy Folio Manuscript</i> , ed. by John W. Hales and Frederick W. Furnivall
Roxburghe	<i>The Roxburghe Ballads</i> , ed. by William Chappell
Scott	<i>The Poems of Alexander Scott</i> , ed. James Cranstoun
Stone	<i>The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland</i> , ed. by Jeffrey C. Stone
Wyatt	<i>Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt</i> , ed. by Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson

All references are to page numbers (e.g. *EMV* 397, Montgomerie 120) unless otherwise indicated.

Sources are more fully discussed in Chapter Four.

Folio	First line / Title	Notes
f. 2	'I dreamed a dreame I wishe my dreame wer trew' ['Sonnatt 1']	Also in EUL Laing.III.447, f. 70r
	'Quhat sall I say I sie nothing bot change' ['Sonnatt 2']	
f. 3	'Quhy loue I hir that loues not me againe' ['Sonnatt 3']	Craig 110
f. 4	'I wis yow weill altho I want my will' ['Sonnatt 4']	
	'Soe sueitt a kiss restrain from you I reft' ['Sonnatt 5']	Montgomerie 120
f. 5	'Sueet blame me not thought I nothing can wreit' ['Sonnatt 6']	
f. 6	'Arcadianes ladie silentlie did slyd' ['Sonnatt 7']	
	'Thy staitelie graice since still I must adore' ['Sonnatt 8']	

f. 7	‘Sould I throw loue in bondage be soe long’ [‘Sonnat 9’]	
	‘Sall a wearied mynd allace conseill his woe’ [‘Sonnat 10’]	
f. 8	‘O that I wer transformed into a flea’ [‘Sonnat 11’]	
	‘Helpe hairt the hairt that helpless doeth remaine’ [‘Sonnat 12’]	
f. 9	‘Quhat a lyff is it to be led in loue’ [‘Sonnat 13’]	
f. 10	‘Hairt hoipes for hairt and hairt is my desyre’ [‘Sonnat 14’]	
	‘Is it yor will I sorrow in this sorte’ [Sonnat 15]	
f. 11	‘Goe sonnat sweitt my sweittest santt vnto’ [‘Sonnat 16’]	
	‘Quhat grieff is thair more great then quyet caire’ [‘Sonnat 17’]	
f. 12	‘Loue gentill death dispatch my loathsome lyff’ [‘Sonnat 18’]	
	‘Ofte hes thy loue I know not how intysd’ [‘Sonnat 19’]	
f. 13	‘Deare to my hairt Receave thir sorrowing lynnes’ [‘Sonnat 20’]	
f. 14	‘Presooming pen darr thow prouire [?] sic smairte’ [‘Sonnat 21’]	
	‘I patt my hand by hazard in the hatt’ [Sonnat 22]	Craig 108
f. 15	‘He that in fredome lives may prouddie boast’ [‘Sonnat 23’]	No source, but cf. Bartholomew Yong’s translation of del Polo: <i>Enamoured Diana</i> (1598)
	‘I bid faireweill both to the world and the’ [‘Sonnat 24’]	Ayton 166
f. 16	‘Law are the planneitis of this pleasant plaine’ [‘Sonnat 25’]	
f. 17	‘Thus quhill I lueve I live to the’	
	‘Lyke as the purest gold in fyrie flame is tried’	From William Painter, <i>The Second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure</i> (1567)
	‘I pray the paper tak the paines for me’	
f. 18	‘Now must I as of lait unto my plainte returne’ [‘Ane deere’]	
f. 19	‘Giff Argulus cause haid’ [‘Deere’]	
f. 22	‘Och aye I murne for loe my name includis my fate’ [‘Deere’]	
f. 26	‘Giff he desyres to die quho can noe wayes deny’ [‘Deere’]	
f. 28	‘For the frome the furies of this plaice’ [‘Amintas Ghoste’]	
f. 32	‘My deire Parthenia ressauve’	

	['Argulus his letter to Parthenia his mistres']	
f. 36	'Quhen Cynthia with a sueit consent'	Also in Margaret Wemyss manuscript (NLS Dep. 314/23, f. 71v)
f. 37	'In faith I haue forsworne hir company'	
f. 39	'Give loue loues trueth'	<i>EMV</i> 397
f. 40	'Be thou then my beautie named'	<i>EMV</i> 402
	'Giue by thy absence thow intended'	
f. 43	'Quhat is a day, quhat is a yeir'	<i>EMV</i> 674
	'Woe worth the tyme and eik the plaice'	<i>MB</i> song 33; <i>Cantus</i> song 29
f. 44	'Caire away goe thow frome me'	<i>MB</i> song 60; <i>Cantus</i> song 53
f. 46	'Quhen Cala sighing sadlie satt' ['Cala and Philemone']	
f. 48	'O quhat a plague is love' ['The Lamentation of a Sheepe-heard']	Also in Roxburghe VI, 460-3
f. 54	'Depart depart depart'	Scott 51; also <i>MB</i> song 42
f. 56	'I saw a nimph vpon yon plaine'	
f. 57	'Even death [behold] I breath'	Montgomerie 43; <i>Cantus</i> song 24; <i>MB</i> song 55
f. 58	'Fairweil peace cair is my cace'	
f. 60	'Impassionate in pensiuie plyt'	
f. 61	'[In] I am allon'	
f. 62	'Not full twelf yeires twis told a wearrie breath'	<i>EMV</i> 521
	'Sumtyme haue I sein whein the world hes bein mirrie'	No source, but a song with this title as refrain appears in the Gordon Straloch Lute manuscript (NLS Adv. MS 5.2.18, f. 17r).
f. 64	'Now let us sing Christ keip our King'	<i>MB</i> song 48
	'His goldene lockes tyme hath to siluer turnd'	<i>EMV</i> 464
f. 65	'My thoughts are winged with hoope my hoopess <i>with love</i> '	<i>EMV</i> 455
f. 66	'Onc did I loue the fairrest lassie'	
f. 67	'Now o now I most need part'	<i>EMV</i> 457; <i>Cantus</i> song 47
f. 68	'Praise me as ye think caus quhy'	Also in Bannatyne manuscript, f. 250r; also <i>MSc</i> song 24
f. 70	'Rest aquhill you cruell caires'	<i>EMV</i> 460
f. 71	'Sleep wayward thoughtes'	<i>EMV</i> 461; <i>Cantus</i> song 20
	'Thinkst thou then by thy faying'	<i>EMV</i> 459
f. 73	'Wold my conceat that first enforst my woe'	<i>EMV</i> 463
f. 74	'I catiue curate languishes'	
f. 84	'Yong and simple though I am'	<i>EMV</i> 410
f. 86	'Unqueit thoughtes your cruel slaughter stout'	<i>EMV</i> 454
f. 87	'All ye qua love or fortune hath betrayed'	<i>EMV</i> 462
	'Come away come sueet love'	<i>EMV</i> 460
f. 88	'Come againe sueit love doe not invit'	<i>EMV</i> 463; <i>Cantus</i> song 60
f. 90	'Shall I waisting in dispair'	From George Wither's <i>Fidelia</i> (1615); also in Bannatyne manuscript, f. 97r
f. 91	'Now I sie thy lockes art bot fained'	<i>EMV</i> 523

f. 93	‘Awak sueit love thow art returned’	<i>EMV</i> 465; <i>Cantus</i> song 23
f. 94	‘Intill ane May morning’	<i>Cantus</i> song 3, also <i>MSc</i> song 11
f. 95	‘Sein in hir is no asperance’ ‘On dangers doutles I may compleane’	
f. 96	‘Support your servand peyriles paramour’	<i>MB</i> song 39
f. 97	‘Woe with such lawes I say’	
f. 100	‘My love band me with a kisse’ [James Heruie’]	<i>EMV</i> 560
f. 101	‘The faire morning sunshine bright’	
f. 102	‘All my wittes hath weill inwrapped’	<i>EMV</i> 356
f. 103	‘Sueit come away my darling’	<i>EMV</i> 552
f. 104	‘O love quhat sall I call the’	
f. 105	‘Woe worth the tyme and aik the place’	<i>MB</i> song 33; <i>Cantus</i> song 29
f. 106	‘Disdaine yat so doeth fill me’	<i>EMV</i> 581
f. 107	‘Fyr yat most flame is with apt full fed’ ¹ ‘My love is forsaikin me’	<i>EMV</i> 400
f. 109	‘Fyre that most flame is with most apt full (fuel) fed’	<i>EMV</i> 400
f. 110	‘Bewtie hath my eyes afayled’	
f. 111	‘Alace I die and dar not tell quhairfor’	
f. 112	‘Quhat heigh offence has my trew love taikine’	
f. 113	‘Since loue and fortune hath decryed’	
f. 114	‘In though the window of myne eyes’	Montgomerie 46; <i>MB</i> song 53
f. 117	[blank]	
f. 118	‘Wuhat give I seik for love of ye’ ‘Smyling on a holy day’	<i>EMV</i> 557
f. 119	‘Wuhen frome my love I took for love’ ‘Sillie boy its full moone’	<i>EMV</i> 354 <i>EMV</i> 405
f. 120	‘Come suet love let sorrow cease’	From <i>The Golden Garland</i> (1620); <i>Cantus</i> song 32
f. 122	‘Change thy mynd sinc she doe chang’	<i>EMV</i> 500
f. 123	‘If floodes of teares could cleng my folyes past’	<i>EMV</i> 471; <i>Cantus</i> song 13
f. 124	‘With my loue my lyf is vaisted’	<i>EMV</i> 624; <i>Cantus</i> song 45
f. 125	‘My Ladye quhat let yow my love to injoy’	
f. 126	‘I saw a nymph vpoun yon plaine’	
f. 127	‘Ane lustie youthfull gallant’	
f. 129	‘Will thou unkynd thus reave me’	<i>EMV</i> 462
f. 130	‘Sheaphird saw thow not my fair lovelie Phoebis’	Also in <i>England’s Helicon</i> (1600); <i>Cantus</i> song 57.
f. 131	‘In feild abod quhair trumpets schill doe sound’	<i>EMV</i> 48
f. 132	‘Sinc that my sighes does eik the tender air’	<i>MB</i> song 58
f. 134	‘How now schepheard quhat meanes that’	From <i>The Golden Garland</i> , (1620); <i>Cantus</i> song 51
f. 135	‘In May I rose to doe my observance’	
f. 136	‘Quha list to leive or that law proue’	Scott 78
f. 138	‘Right sor oprest and with pains smart’	<i>MB</i> song 40
f. 139	‘Wuhat then is love sings Coridon’	<i>EMV</i> 521
f. 140	‘It was the frog in ye wall’	<i>EMV</i> 242
f. 142	‘Awak Caliope now frome sleep’	
f. 143	‘I die quhen I doe not sie’	<i>EMV</i> 452

¹ This first stanza is mistakenly inserted here. The poem appears in full on ff. 109-10.

f. 144	‘Men seldom thryves in all thair lyfes’	
f. 145	‘As on a day Sabina was asleep’	Also in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson poet 172, f. 2; Roxburgh, III, 644-47
f. 146	‘Poor heart with paine oprest’	
f. 147	‘Sir I thought good to send yow a bukell’	
f. 149	‘Methought my loue was in hir bed’	Also in Percy, IV, 102-3.
f. 150	‘Ane puritane of latt’	Cf. Tobias Alston’s Commonplace book (Yale University Library, Osborn b 197, p. 33), and Commonplace book (Osborn b 200, p. 363); also printed in <i>Merry Drollery</i> (1661), see Farmer I, 133-34
f. 151	‘When Phoebus adrest’	Also in Percy, IV, 7-8. Music also in <i>Friesche Lust Hof</i> , 1621
f. 153	‘Walking in a medow faire’	Also in Percy, IV, 3-5. Also in Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn shelves b 200, p. 370
f. 155	‘Yow louers all giue ear now’	
f. 157	‘If love loves treuth then veman doeth loue’	<i>EMV</i> 397
	‘How can I bot lament’	
f. 161	‘It fell on a sumeres day’	<i>EMV</i> 658
f. 162	‘O ho the moone the moone so mirrilye schynes the moone’	
f. 163	‘Be thou then my beutie named’	<i>EMV</i> 402
f. 164	‘As at noone Dulcina rested’	Also in Roxburghe, VI, 164-69.
f. 167	‘Faine wald I wed a fair young man’	<i>EMV</i> 419; <i>Cantus</i> song 58
f. 168	‘If any have the heart to kill’	<i>EMV</i> 417
f. 169	‘Sall I seik to eass my grief’	<i>EMV</i> 517
	‘Hir faire efflaming eyes’	<i>EMV</i> 415
f. 171	‘Dear quhen to the my sad complent I mak’	<i>EMV</i> 512
	‘Whit as lillies was her face’	<i>EMV</i> 473; <i>Cantus</i> song 40
f. 172	‘My love he will forsaike me’	<i>EMV</i> 656
f. 173	‘This partiall world so gevin is’	
f. 176	‘Though everie thing doeth change by tyme’	
f. 178	‘An coutrier and a countrie lass sitting vnder a schad’	
f. 179	‘Eyes leaue off your weeping’	
	‘Come now sueit let us proue’	
f. 180	‘What is it all that men passes’	<i>EMV</i> 399
f. 181	‘Goe my flockes get you hence’	<i>EMV</i> 502
f. 183	‘Love me or noucht love her (I) most or die’	<i>EMV</i> 411
	‘I wald though wart not fair or I war wyse’	<i>EMV</i> 359
f. 184	‘Methought this other night’	<i>EMV</i> 562
f. 186	‘Now what is love I pray ye tell’	<i>EMV</i> 565
f. 187	‘Faire women lyk faire jewels are’	<i>EMV</i> 568
f. 188	‘To sigh and to be sad’	<i>EMV</i> 571
f. 189	‘Unto ye temple of thy bewtie’	<i>EMV</i> 522
f. 190	‘Go passions to ye cruell fair’	<i>EMV</i> 524
	‘Since first I saw your face I resolved’	<i>EMV</i> 525
f. 191	‘Ther is a lady sueit and kynd’	<i>EMV</i> 525

f. 192	'I can not injoy peace'	No source, but cf. Wyatt 20, 'I find no peace and all my warr is done'
f. 193	'Remember me my deir'	<i>MB</i> song 46; <i>Cantus</i> song 50
f. 195	'How sall I then discrib my love'	<i>EMV</i> 526
	'If wemen could be fair and never found'	<i>EMV</i> 45
f. 196	'How should my feeble bodye fur'	Scott 46; <i>MB</i> song 43; <i>Cantus</i> song 15
f. 198	'Quho ever thinkes or hoopes of love for love'	<i>EMV</i> 454
	'Goe to bed sueit love tak ye rest'	<i>EMV</i> 574
f. 199	'Doe not o doe not thy bewtie'	<i>EMV</i> 573
f. 200	'Ther was a willie lad met with a bonie lasse'	<i>EMV</i> 607
f. 201	'Come havie sleep ye Imag of trew death'	<i>EMV</i> 466
f. 202	'My father fyne wald have me tak'	<i>EMV</i> 608
f. 203	'Come love lets walk into ye spring'	<i>EMV</i> 332; <i>Cantus</i> song 14
f. 204	'Lyk as the doul solsequium with care overcome'	Montgomerie 33; <i>Cantus</i> song 18; <i>MB</i> song 54
f. 206	'Quhat mightie motioune so my (many) my mischeves'	Montgomerie 21; <i>MB</i> song 56
	'Joy to the persones of my loue'	<i>MB</i> song 59; <i>Cantus</i> song 34
f. 208	'Quher fancies found his pleasure pleades'	<i>EMV</i> 43
f. 210	'My loue is bright as enbur bone'	
f. 212	'Giff thow wald love or loveit thee'	Also in Bannatyne manuscript, f. 230r
	'The feare of the Lord is the beginning of visedom'	Also in EUL MS Drummond De.3.70 (the Ker manuscript)
	'Tak tent in tyme and not deferr'	Also in Bannatyne manuscript, f. 184 and 218, also in Maitland Folio MS, f. 294
	'Upright to liue I sett my mynd'	Also on back of Timothy Pont's Map 23, Stone 127
f. 214	'On onlie one both day and night I pance' ['Sonnatt']	
f. 215	'Remember man as thow goes by'	

Table 2: British Library MS 24904

The following table contains all the poems Peter Buchan copied from Margaret Robertson's MS X while at Pitfour Castle. Corresponding folio numbers for MS 15937 are given.

Folio	Title and First Line	MS 15937
f. 256r	'For the frome the furies of this plaice' ['Amintas Ghoste']	f. 28
f. 258r	'Woe vorth the tyme and eik the plaice' ['Woe worth the tyme']	f. 43 / f. 105
f. 258v	'Caire away goe thow frome me'	f. 44
f. 259r	'Quhen Cala sighing sadlie satt' ['Cala and Philemone']	f. 46
f. 260r	'O quhat a plague is loue' ['The Lamentatione of a Scheepe-heard']	f. 48
f. 262v	'Samtyme haue I sein whein the world hes bein mirrie' ['Its a wonder to see how this vorld does goe']	f. 62
f. 263r	'Onc did I loue the fairest lassie' ['Once did I loue']	f. 66
f. 263v	'Woe worth the tyme and aik the plaice'	f. 43; f. 105
f. 264r	'Rest aquhill yow cruall caires' ['Rest aquhyle']	f. 70
f. 264v	'Sleep wayward thoughtes and rest yow with my [loue]'	f. 71
f. 265r	'Come away come sweet love' ['Come away']	f. 87
f. 265v	'My love band me with a kisse' ['James Heruie']	f. 100
f. 266r	'Allace I die and dar not tell quhairfor' ['Allace I die']	f. 111
f. 266v	'It was the frog in the wall' ['The Frog and Mouse mariag']	f. 140
f. 267v	'My father fyne wald haue me tak' ['My father fyne']	f. 202
f. 268r	'Giue loue loues trueth, then vemen doe not loue' ['Giue loue loues truth']	f. 39
f. 268v	'Quhen frome my loue I look for loue' ['Quhen']	f. 119
f. 269r	'Sir I thought good to send yow a bukkell' ['Sir I thought good']	f. 147
f. 270r	'I catiue curate languishes'	f. 74
f. 275r	'Vprright to liue I sett my mynd'	f. 212

Table 3: Index of English Song Books

Year	Author/Composer, Title	MS 15937	EMV
1618?	Thomas Campion, <i>The Third and Fovrth Booke of Ayres: Composed ... So as they may be expressed by one Voyce, with a Violl, Lute, or Orpharion</i> [ca. 1618]	f. 39 f. 40 f. 84 ff. 107, 109 f. 119 f. 157 f. 163 f. 168 f. 169 f. 180 f. 183	397 402 410 400 405 397 402 417 415 399 411
1601	Philip Rosseter, <i>A Booke of Ayres, Set foorth to be song to the Lute, Orpherian, and Base Violl</i> [1601]	f. 43 f. 161 f. 172	674 658 656
1607	Thomas Ford, <i>Mvsicke Of Svndrie Kindes, Set forth in two Bookes. The First Wherof Are, Aries for 4. Voices to the Lute, Orphorion, or Basse-Viol, with a Dialogue for two Voices, and two Basse Viols, tunde the Lute way. The Second Are Pauens, Galiards, Almaines, Toies, Iigges, Thumpes and such like, for tow Basse-Viols, the Liera way, so made as the greatest number may serue to play alone, very easie to be performde</i> [1607]	f. 62 f. 91 f. 139 f. 189 f. 190 f. 190 f. 191 f. 195	521 523 521 522 524 525 525 526
1597	John Dowland, <i>The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of fowre partes with Tableture for the Lute: So made that all the partes together, or either of them seuerally may be song tto the Lute, Orpherion or Viol de Gambo...Also an inuention by the said Author for two to play vpon one Lute</i> [1597]	f. 64 f. 65 f. 67 f. 70 f. 71 f. 71 f. 73 f. 86 f. 87 f. 87 f. 88 f. 93 f. 129 f. 198 f. 201	464 455 457 460 461 459 463 454 462 460 463 465 462 454 466
1601	Robert Jones, <i>The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres, Set out to the Lute,, the base Violl the playne way, or the Base by tableture after the leero fashion</i> [1601]	f. 100 f. 184 f. 186 f. 187 f. 188	560 562 565 568 571
1606	John Bartlet, <i>A Booke of Ayres With a Triplicitie of Musicke, Whereof The First Part is for the Lute or Orpharion, and the Viole de Gambo, and 4. Partes to sing, The second part is for 2. Trebles to sing to the Lute and Viole, the third part is for the Lute and one Voyce, and the Viole de Gambo</i> [1606]	f. 102 f. 119 f. 183	356 354 359

1600	Robert Jones, <i>The First Booke of Songes & Ayres Of foure parts with Tableture for the Lute. So made that all the part together, or either of them seuerally may be song to the Lute, Orpherian or Viol de Gambo</i> [1600]	f. 103 f. 118	552 557
1605	Robert Jones, <i>Vltima Vale, with a triplicity of Musicke, Whereof The first part is for the Lute, the Voyce, and the Viole Degambo, The 2. part is for the Lute, the Viole, and four partes to sing, The third part is for two Trebles, to sing either to the Lute, or to the Viole or to both, if any please</i> [1605]	f. 106 f. 198 f. 199	581 574 573
1610	Robert Dowland, <i>A Mvsicall Banqvet. Furnished with variete of delicious Ayres, Collected out of the best Authors in English, French, Spanish, and Italian</i> [1610]	f. 122 f. 181	500 502
1600	John Dowland, <i>The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres, of 2. 4 and 5. parts: With Tableture for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Violl de Gamba... Also an excelent lesson for the Lute and Base Viol, called Dowland's adew</i> [1600]	f. 123 f. 171	471 473
1600	Thomas Morley, <i>The First Booke of Ayres. Or little Short Songs, to Sing and Play to The Lute, With The Base Viole</i> [1600]	f. 124	624
1588	William Byrd, <i>Psalmes, Sonets & songs of sadnes and pietie, made into Musicke of fiue parts: whereof, some of them going abroad among diuers, in vntrue coppies, are heere truely corrected, and th'other being Songs very rare and newly composed, and heere published, for the recreation of all such as delight in Musick</i> [1588]	f. 131 f. 195 f. 208	48 45 43
1611	Thomas Ravenscroft, <i>Melismata. Mvsicall Phansies. Fitting to the Covrt, Citie, and Covntrey Hvmovrs. To 3, 4, 5. Voyces</i> [1611]	f. 140	242
1606	John Danyel, <i>Songs For The Lute Viol and Voice</i> [1606]	f. 143	452
1609	Alfonso Ferrabosco, <i>Ayres</i> [1609]	f. 169 f. 171	517 512
1610	Robert Jones, <i>The Muses Gardin for Delights, Or the fift Booke of Ayres, onely for the Lute, the Base-vyoll, and the Voyce</i> [1610]	f. 200 f. 202	607 608
1608	Henry Youll, <i>Canzonets to Three Voyces</i> [1608]	f. 203	332

Transcription of NLS MS 15937

Preliminary note:

This is a complete transcription of the manuscript, with the exception of those items that are printed in *English Madrigal Verse* (henceforth *EMV*): for these poems, only the first line is given, and the relevant page number in *EMV*. Catchwords appear throughout in the manuscript, but are not transcribed. The quality of MS 15937's transcription of Robertson's MS X leaves much to be desired. Many mistakes have been made by the scribe (or were copied from the original MS X), and frequently the scribe has left a question mark to indicate obscurities; these have all been reproduced. All information offered by the anonymous scribe of MS 15937, such as explanations of words in Scots, or scribal idiosyncrasies, is within round brackets. To differentiate from these, my own incidental editorial remarks are enclosed within square brackets, except on f. 177 where the scribe used square rather than round brackets.

f. 1

Margarat *Robertsoune*
with my hand
1630.

This buik perteenes to a verie
honourable womane

Margarat *Robertsoune*
Relict of *umquhill* Alexander Steuart
of Bonskeid

Anno Domini
1630.

f. 2

Sonnattes.

Sonnatt 1.

I dreamed a dreame I wishe my dreame wer trew
I thought my mistres to my chalmer came
And with her harmeles handis the courteines drew
And softlie said and cald me by my name
O sleipe ye sir awaik now fy for shame
Is it not said that Loweris gettis noe Rest
I ansuerit hir, trueth it is madame
I sleip not sound I ame soe sore molest
And evin with this hir night gowne aff schee custe
And lightlie lappe and lay doune one my arme
Hir rosie lippes me thought to myne schee thruste
And sayes may this not ease yow of your paine
 Mercie madame as I begoud to say
 Quhen I awook allace schee ves away.

finis

Sonnatt 2.

Quhat sall I say I sie nothing bot change
Change will I not for nothing that I sie

f. 3

Sie quhat I will since that I loueit hir anes
Anes schee me louiet or anes deceavit me
Desaueit by hir I hoipe newer to bee
Be as it will I'l [?] ewer judge the best
Best it is for one thing to agrie
Agried I am and soe resolues to rest
Rest still will I for quhy sould I remoowe
Remoowe I feare altho against my will
Will death I vowe sche's be my onlie loue

Loue schee me not I'le tak my long faireweill
 Quhat sall I say I sie no thing bot change
 Still sall I loue quhair that I loueit anes.
 finis

Sonnatt 3

Quhy loue I hir that loues not me againe
 Quhy ame I freindlie to my frameit foe
 Quhy doe I waire my waiting one in waine
 In serwing hir that hes desaeit my soe
 Quhy sall I thus my freedome sweitt forgoe
 To pleasure on that plagues me with disdaine
 Or wische hir weill that ewer wrought me woe
 And wald not sigh suppoise schee saw me slaine
 O foolische I and hapeless I alane
 Noe then a faitheleles and disloyall scheo

f.4

Whoes tryed vntrueth thus make me to complaine
 And wis before the fixit day to die
 Bot now tynt tyme and trawel makes me suire
 I played the foole and schee playit the huire ?

finis

Sonnat 4.

I wis yow weill altho I want my will
 My will is your will, ane will is my woe
 My health, my hape my weilfaire does yow ill
 I ame your friend ye are my frameit foe
 I sute I serue I loue you and noe moe
 And ye reward your seruand with disdaine
 I still proclame your praise quhair ewer I goe
 Ye pas your tyme and playes with my paine
 I sigh ye sushe ? not to sie me slaine
 I long for yow scarce will ye look againe
 I plead for peace I follow and ye flie
 Watter sall burne the fier it salbe froasen
 Or I repent or change quhome I haue choisen
 finis

Sonnat 5.

Soe sueitt a kis yestrein from yow I reft
 With bowing doune my bodie in your bedd
 That ewin my lyff within your mouth I left
 Since syne from yow my spirit could newer schedd

f. 5

To follow yow yit from my bodie flead
 And left my corpes als cold as any key
 Yitt from the danger of death I dread

And cuist his boult within my mynd possest
 Sensyne from the cauld newer sched my hairt
 Yit grant me graice wnto my wearied thought
 Since I ame pudlit in the streames of loue
 And all my sorrowes yit sall turn to nought
 As witnes sall ye heawinly poweres aboue

f. 7

Then sall I say quhen all my grieffis are gone
 O happie I that euer loueit suche a one.
 finis

Sonnat 9.

Sould I throw loue in bondage be soe long
 And darr not seik noe helpe for feare of death
 whome sall I wytt or quho doth bread my wrong
 Allace vnhappie I as ewer yit did breath
 Heir I beginne to waill my hard mishape
 And in my sall I crie for helpe with speid
 Att thy sweitt handis that doth my youth intrappe
 Nae joy att all I find in my great neid
 To mak me fall from off my hie desyre
 Noe pitieing eye lookes back wpone my snaires
 Bot my weak winges presumeing to aspyre
 My hairte is drowned in ocianes of my teares
 And still must beare the lytill of my wrong
 That caused is by thee the sweittest fairest one.
 finis

Sonnat 10.

Sall a wearied mynd allace conseill his woe
 Haueing a hairt doune-beattin with dispaire
 Rejectit of loue quhilk forst me thus to goe
 In sorrowing streames to die azelmanes[?] aire
 Since this my suite and loue ewin thy degree
 To mak me patrone father of all grieff
 Ewin to reject a serwantt wes to thee
 A suddaine end will purchas my Relieff

f. 8

Now come thow death and mak my sorrowes brieff
 My hairt releiwe of Cupides fettered bandis
 Or els procure and purchas my relieff
 Relieue my lyff ewine att hir sacred handis
 Rather nor kill thy slaue as I may prowē
 And mak me curs that ewer I learned to loue.
 finis

Sonnat 11

O that I wer transformed in a flea
 To hant the scheittis my dearest deare lyes in

Quhyles heir quhyles thair to play me to and frae
 To loupe and skippe athort hir milk quhite skinne
 Beneath hir nawell wpe to hir chirrie chinne
 Wpone hir lint quhyte lyre lightlie thair to leape
 Syne turne againe and doune directlie Rinne
 In richest roomes quhair fleas wald fainest creipe
 Then round about my compas wald I keipe
 Betweine her thees to thrust me be some traine
 And syne quhen that my saull were sound a sleipe
 To be reformed into my scheape againe
 Then sould schee know that I my Ladie quhyte
 Sould stryke hir deiper nor any flea would bite

finis

Sonnat 12.

Helpe hairt the hairt that helples doeth remaine
 Helpe hairt the hairt that hes noe helpe bot thee

f. 9

Helpe hairt the hairt that pynes in peirceing paine
 Helpe hairt the hairt that nowayes cane the flie
 Helpe hairt the hairt that willing is to die
 Helpe hairt the hairt quhois favoure cannot find
 Helpe hairt the hairt that craiffes remaid of the
 Helpe hairt the hairt that drounes into the deipe
 Helpe hairt the hairt that fryes into the flame
 Helpe hairt the hairt that meanneth aye in sleipe
 Helpe hairt the hairt that tempest haith owertaine
 Helpe hairt the hairt that dolourous death haith slaine
 Helpe hairt the hairt that vowit hes to serwe
 Thy hairt, o hairt vntill they tyme it sterwe
 finis

Sonnat 13

Quhat a lyff is it to be led in loue
 Who may with all theise toyes and froyes comport
 Quhat may a man find best for his behoue
 Quhat for his proffeitt, or to be schort
 Quhat ather for his pleasour or comfort
 But sighes and sobis himselff for to distroy
 Giff he be sadd then sall schee play ane sport
 If he be courteous then sall schee be coy
 Be he in sorrow schee sall be in joy
 Giff mirrie he schee salbe malecontent
 Preas he to pleis then sall sche preas to noy
 And alwayes contrair to his gude intent
 Except incaice he will vnconstant be
 I grant schee will thairto with him agrie
 finis

Theis sweitt rede quhyte allureing lippes of thine
 Syne in the end my former schape ressaue
 Soe doe the thing that sweitt sweitt kisses craiwe.
 finis

Sonnat 17.

Quhat grieff is thair more great than quhyet caire
 What woe is warr nor is the want of will
 Quhat danger may be equall with dispaire
 What wight so weill that newer fand some ill
 What murder is ane faithfull friend to kill

f. 12

What treasone var it ane stranger to betray
 What soonner spurres than spieth ane man to steall
 What latt soe great in loue as is delay
 What guyd soe guide that newer vent astray
 What moowes the mynd soe mucche as inward paine
 What sould insew to him that vould assay
 What mercie is it giff cruell schee remaine
 Since now bot one may ansueir me in this
 Not haiffing hir I am content to wische
 finis

Sonnat 18.

Come gentill death dispatch my loathesome lyff
 Since neither rewth nor pitie can haiue plaice
 Put end vnto my daylie start and stryff
 That sometymes theise my sighes and sobes may ceas
 For loe my deadlie pail and withered faice
 For nothing els remaines bot skinne and bone
 May weill bear witnes to my cairfull caice
 Since thair is nought may mend my murning moanes
 Since sighes and sobbes and all ar spent in vaine
 Come gentill death come and dispatche me anes
 With spied I pray thow putt me out of paine
 For better is it to die without delay
 Than piece and piece for to consume away.
 finis

Sonnat 19

Ofte hes thy loue I know not how intysd
 My mynd within to wisch the for my awine

f. 13

Ofte in thy sight *with* wordis I haue dewysit
 My ruethles tormentis truelie to have schawin
 Thy mynd to me allace it was vnknowin
 Judgeing the best I cannot now Refraine

Amang soe many fand thy noble name
 And one my heid that thow and all may spie
 I weil avow the wearing of the same
 I sall inferr noe soile into thy name
 That thow art borne wpone soe bas a head

f. 15

Ane begger findes a stone of curious frame
 And yet the stone remaines a stone indeid
 So thow art thow and of more worth to me
 Deir Vallantyne nor thow wes vonte to be.
 finis

Sonnat 23

He that in friedome liwes may proudlie boast
 Yit latt him not be caireles of his staite
 Fyer is ane instant loue may make him crost
 And doune his fortune and his cruel faitt
 For ones I wes frie bot now I doe frequent
 The agonying desert of the mynd
 Thair to Reweise siches tearis and endles plaintis
 Conwoyit with sorrowes in a gracious kind
 That now my friedome is ewine bound and chain'd
 That I must attend quhatewer schee decries
 And willinglie content I ame constrain'd
 To hold my peace my hairt to agonie
 And is ewin owerflowit *with* greif and tost soe sore
 That for schipwraik feare darr seik noe kynd of schoire.
 finis

Sonnat 24.

I bid faireweill both to the world and the
 To the becaus thow art extreame vnkind
 And to the world becaus the world to me
 Is nothing since I cannot moowe thy mynd

f. 16

Were any pitie in thy saul insrynd
 Could sighes or teares mak safte thy flintie heart
 Perhapes I might more glaidlie be inclynd
 To liwe with the and newer to depairt
 Bot since I sie that Cupidis fiery dairte
 Is onelie woundit with a schaft of lead
 I think it foolie for to pay that pairt
 To seike for fawour quhair I find bot feade
 Burst heart and break that all the world may sie
 Thaires none soe bound but death may mak him frie.
 finis

Sonnat 25

Law are the planneitis of this pleasant plaine
 Bot lawer farr the boundis of my estaite
 Hiegh are theise hilles *with* swelling tops againe
 Bot hiegher farr the scope of my conseate
 With thence the spirite my desoluand debait
 My chance is low my choise is fixit hie
 With deith disgraice to cower aboue this threate
 Which deith disdaines ewer to martyr me
 Yit it appeares impossibilitie
 Bot yit farr greater wonderis hes beine wrought
 To sie theise disagrieing thinges agrie
 Ane law estaite and hiegh conseattit thought
 Then ather thoughtes flie lower then ye doe
 Or fortune change and change my fortune too.
 finis.

f. 17

Thus quhill I luv I luv to the
 And quhill I luv I sweare
 My liff salbe noe liff to me
 vnles thy loue be thaire
 Bot giff it be that I die for the
 Soe sall my death declaire
 Death bringes noe discontent to me
 giff thow contentit are

No phisick hearbes the grieff of loue can cuire
 Nor yit noe drougg that paine can weill assure

A man that liues in miserie
 He newer heares noe melodie
 Bot it addis his melancholie
 finis

Lyke as the purest gold in fyrie flame is tried
 Evine soe is faith of friendis in hard estaite descryed
 Giff hard missape doe mak ye affrayit
 Each of thy friendis doe flie away
 And he which erst full frendlie stood to the
 A friend noe more to thy poore staite is he. finis

I pray the paper tak the paines for me
 And carey to my loue hir last adew
 Bid hir faireweill and tell hir openlie
 That ewer I loueit from my hait I Rew
 Haid schee beine either constant traist or trew
 My lyff and loue haid endit both together. finis

f. 18

Ane deere

Now must I as of lait into my plainte returne
 And quhair I thought to find ane end I must beginne
 to murne

All ye that weipes for me *your* eyes to me resigne
 All ye that sighes and sobbis for grieff *your* bosomes to
 me bring
 Come help me to distill in Lumbox ? of myne eyes
 A floode of quintessentit teares in saltnes lik the seas
 In clearenes like the glas In bitternes like the gall
 in thicknes lik ane schoure of haile from raynnie
 cloudis that fall
 All ye that murnes I say or drawes a sobbing breath
 Come and assist me quhen I sing the obsequies of death
 Ewine as the singing Swane prognosticates hir fall
 Degorging ane exequall sang quhilk fatall foiresight
 send
 Soe know I by these notes and fey endytes of myne
 That I ame at the heighest poynt and period of pryme
 I sayle in seas of loue schiploadit *with* dispair
 Before me lyes the bankes of love, behind the mind
 of caire
 Sua that noe pyllottis skill can stay my barke to break
 The starr of destynnies disdaine heir out doth soe
 direct
 And I ame glaid content deathes captiwe me to yeild
 Dispaired to mak the challange guide perforce I
 flie the field
 As one of lawfull pryse to prissoune lead away

f. 19

Awaitingtill the Lord of loue my Ransome for me pay
 And gif that he refuiss for to Refound the same
 My service sworne must neides desist and yit not
 griewe my Dam
 Ewine as I wist that all hir serwantis war alywe
 Yit I ame to weak against the streames of loue and
 deith to strywe
 And thought schee quhome I serue would willinglie
 me saue
 Yit frouneing feattis would haue my bones for to
 inriche my graiue
 And this att my depart throw fatcherie that I feill
 Becaus I cannot say I sighe a long fetcht wpe fairweill.
 finis

Deere

Giff Argulus cause haid
 To murne to weipe to waile
 And mak a swallowing sea of smairt
 His breathles breist to seall
 Quhill as he look't and saw
 His faire and daintie deire
 Berefte of all the beauties braw
 Quhilk schee sometymes did beare
 which haid gude cause to murne and als to moane
 Quhen he wes left in dying grawe

f. 20

To lead his lyff alane
 Whoise comfort wes bot cross
 Accompanied with caire
 His teares wes oft tymes seallit *with* sighes
 His hoipe wes bot dispaire
 Giff thoise and suche mislukes
 Might cause him justlie cry
 And call himself vnhappie once
 O thrice vnhappie I
 Whoise luike hes beine allace
 To live and sie the day
 Quhilk sall denownce my last adew
 To the my deire for ay
 For thoise my eyes must sie
 That seemelie schadd declyne
 Quhilk once I hoipit for till injoy
 And trowit till haue maid myne
 Bot fortune hes soe changit
 My small and stakering staite
 That dark dispaire hes cleine obscured
 The scope of my conseate
 And loue hes maid me trie
 That loueres haue thair loss

f. 21

As ewerie pleasoure hes a paine
 Eache comfort hes a cross
 Quhairfore since soe it is
 And soe perforce must be
 I must quytclame the littill rycht
 That first I clammit to the
 Yit will I boldlie begg
 At the godis abowe
 Since that thow wilt not loue me more
 Yit thow would love my loue
 And I sall swear my sweete
 Thair sall noe world off woes
 Nor forren force of loue constraine
 Me for to change my choise
 Appollos warbling harpe nor Cirens charming song
 Sall my Wlysses eares inchant
 To think or doe the wrong
 And quhill my liff sall last
 Ile vow to loue my faire
 Thow sall be still my Horescope
 My hoipe my cross my caire
 And thus Resolu'd to love
 Altho amidis decay
 I sigh, I sobbe, I weipe I waile
 And sayes faireweill for aye
 finis

f. 22

Deere

Och aye I murne for loe my name incluidis my fate
 My anagramme does weil bewray my sorrowing sadd estaite
 For I darr sweare the sonne did newer one me schyne
 Att morne, bot I or nycht myht say some kynd of cross wes myne
 Nor newer yit the night hir sabell schadow schew
 Bot I wes forceit *with* bitter teares my plaintes for to renew
 Not forgeing teares lik thoise of Lipsick [?] loueing men
 Nor begged plaintes proceeding from a proud and vicious pen
 Sence noe sick plaintis nor teares may serue as I suppose
 To purchais praise vnto my pen nor mendis vnto my moane
 I neither craife the first nor look I for the last
 All expectatioune is bot vaine for hoipe of health is past
 And soe it not awailles my woes for to Reweill
 Bot that it seemes more seemelie for to suffer and conceill
 Why sould I then allace with theise my wailing veirs
 To mak the vondering world admire quhen I my harmes Reheirs
 O noe it vere bot much I myght be veill content
 Giff that they would not skorne my skaith or laugh *quhen* I lament
 Bot latt thame laugh who list or weipe quho ewer will
 The ane can neither paire my paine nor wther eik my ill
 And soe I stand in doubt since nought can stay my sturt
 Quhither to murne and may not mend or laughe and hide my hurt
 Can fainyeit sighes then serue to owerwaile my woes
 Can sorrow in hir chiefest pride owerschaddowit be *with* thoise
 Noe surelie, surelie noe I cannot bot complaine
 It is noe manlie thing to murne and yit it is humane

f. 23

Bot how can I expres with paper or with ink
 Quhilk scaircelie my confuisit *thought* imagine can or think
 Impossibill it is my paines for to Repeate
 Nor langour cannot lend me spaice my *dolour* to delait
 Nor can my pensieue pen put *furth* my patient pairt
 Nor can my trembling tongue Rehears the horrouis of my hairt
 Nor can my bastard thoughtes break furthe my bitter vaile
 Whilk saull consoomeing sighes and sobbes soe scharpelie me assaill
 Nor can my breatheles braine quhilk is confuisit soe
 Imagine tho it were diwyne wordis equall wth my woe
 Quhairfoire I will giff plaice to all that vreitt in veirs
 Since newer yit my piteous plaint could haue noe pith to peirs
 Bot as in staitely styll they flie aboue me farr
 Ewine soe in hardnes of mishappes latt none of thame compaire
 For they doe bot bewaile thair sweete I watt not quhat
 I warr thame in all wther woes and equall thame in that
 Not that I strywe in art for then ye me mistak
 Bot that I preas to pingill thame in sufffering for hir saike
 Quhilk is to farr presoom'd and that I darr compaire
 For I haue followit ane als fals als feckles and als faire
 Whoe quhyles would loathe, quhyles love, quhyles love, and loath againe
 And wse me as hir honour (humour) serwit *with* love and *with* disdaine

Bot it may be Replyit wronges ar as they are thought
 And I vntuitcht *with* loues extreames esteem'd hir haitrent nought
 And soe not plagued a lik bot for to be bewitchit
 Stark madd, frenatick and I watt giff that to be tuitchit
 Bot tuitchit I wes indeid into the suirest sorte

f. 24

And yit with all hir cruelties I could not bot comport
 Suche wes that great Respect hir honour in me wrought
 All hir ingrate ingratitude I buried in my thought
 And giff I knew my saike were privie to the same
 I sould committ it to be cast into some fierie flame
 I will diwyd these wordis my purpose to procure
 Some fauour from that framed friend quhoise look does
 me alluire
 Noe that sall newer be quhile I may furneisch breathe
 I'le rather play my hindmost acte wpone the stage of deithe
 And yit giff ewer it chance schee happine for to heire
 Because the whisperring winges of fame this bill to hir may beare
 For all my service long my woes, my plaintis, my teares
 Quhair of my secreitt sighes and sanges most woefull witnes beires
 I craife bot onlie this this gracious great Rewaird
 That schee wouchsaiff to len these lynes ane louelie
 sweitt Regaird
 Or giff schee steall a sigh quhen of poure me schee speakes
 Or *with* ane selff accusit bluische to lit hir daintie cheikes
 Then wer I guardon'd weill for all my passit paine
 Nor sould I think my waitting one for to be waired in waine
 Bot giff disdainefull schee as out of doubt I dreid
 With hir accustomed crueltie sall Rywe before schee read
 Quhat restis bot patience then against the streame to strywe
 It not awailles yit it may be schee read before schee rywe
 Becaus that now and then at meittings I and schee
 Will speak and look conferr and crack and do as wtheris doe
 Soe schee to kythe her crafte both courteous seemes and kind
 And I putt one ane maske of mirthe wpone ane murning mynd

f. 25

Thus quhill we disaguyse our humour with our airt
 From wtheris we haue hieght to hide the haitrent of our hairt
 Thairfoire it may weill be that schee will read and think
 Noe thoe hir honour and my hairt lay bothe wpone ane blink (bink?)
 So mortall is the feas (fead) in hairt to me schee beares
 Schee neither will wouchsaiff to lend hir eyes nor yit hir eares
 bot read securelie read read saifflic thow may find
 Faire nymphe no fainyeit flatterie to moove ane marble mynd
 Sence thow hes vowit to love my Jewell bot Remead
 And sworne in secreitt to they sedull to heat me to the dead
 Thoe thow be in extreames the midst I hoipe to hold
 I'le neither heat as thow deserues nor loue the as I would
 Sence that thy pride my paine bothe powerfullie doe proowe
 Ane monster thow and martyr I of nature and off love

Latt these then serue all theis and mak the world to kno
 That I may be a match and more to all the world in woe
 And in all wther grieffes I know non is one lywe
 Soe careyit *with* thair awin conceittes *with* wretchit me will strywe
 Whoise birth day wes the first quhairin my vaill wes bread
 when sorrow then and I shooke handis sence syne we
 newer scheid
 And quhill my buriell be I look for noe Relieff
 For as my birthe begoud my graiwe sall end my grieff
 Quhairone some friend sall wreit, Loe heir he lyes allaiice
 That lik as vnbeloweit he liued and died in deipe disgraiice.

finis

sedull - schedule

f. 26

Giff he desyres to die quho can noe wayes deny
 Heawines, earth and fortune all his foes *that* haples he am I
 To quhom the fatall loue the veardis hes done suche vrong
 That I must choise the saddest sort of sorrowes for my song
 Off voes is all I vreit my subiect is the same
 For murning matter best befaller in mirthles muse to frame
 Then sacred nymph ressaue this painefull pledge I sveare
 Sent from the truest of ald hairt that ewer breist did beare
 My grieuous moane giff guyltie fraud it beares
 Giff in my sighes *thair* lookes deceitt or treasoune in my teares
 Giff in a faithles forme I fainyeitlie procure
 Still begging at thy beuties dorr, och heires thow not the pure
 Whoe liwing still laments my liff prolonges delay
 For *commonlie* comes aye convoyit the dolour *with* the day
 At morne begynnes my moane att night opprest *with* paine
 With weiping I doe wasche the scheittis and dryes *with* sighes againe
 All liwing all allace hes tyme somtyme to be
 Releiwed with rest Bot all these tymes are tedeous to me
 Whoise sorrowes to assuadge noe succour can be seine
 Soe Recent are my hollen thoughtes my grieffis are ewergreine
 Quhoise barren brenches nought bot bailefull budding beares
 The flooreische of for saikin fruit sower secreitt sighes and teares
 That sometyme staitely stode in sommeris braw array
 Now with the winter of thy wraithe is cuttit cleine away
 For look to me quho listes may bailefullie behold
 Consooming paine expelling yowthe bringes age or I be olde

f. 27

How oft haue I Resolu'd my proud attempt to flie
 In baneisching my booteles sute bot och it will not be
 How oft haue I cryed out one my contrarious caice
 Och bot quhen reassoune sould be Lord loue takes his lordlie plaice
 I know my crookit cours how fondlie I pretend
 Yit seikes to owersyle my self not knowing *quhat* I kend
 Quhyles wisching for to want that *quhilk* I must Requyre
 Quhyles loathing liff, quhyles loath againe to die for my desyre

Then try giff ye must trust my trueth giff I may kend
 Wherin saue onlie that I loue faire nymph I doe offend
 And since that this is all ye justlie may approwe
 Giff maire affectioun breidis offence, than puneische love
 with loue

Bot och I sie noe helpe, noe aide, nor comefort none
 Bot that its left me for relieff my miseries to moane
 Nocht like that loveles sort quho quhill they doe Reheirs
 Does mak the world to admire not woes bot vordis and weirs
 I sall in desert duell ay quhill the day I die
 Accompanied *with* none at all bot *with* my muse and me
 Quhair non sall be allace my fatall doome to tell
 Wnles thy causeles crueltie accuis thy sueittest sell
 Nocht pityed by none quhair ewer I sall goe
 None sall be neir I sall be bothe the weipare and the woe
 None sall attend my teares nor marwell at my moanes
 The vonder and the wonderer both I sall consist att ones
 I sall be one and all and all salbe that one
 Comparable to none one earth bot to my selff alone

f. 28

Then seing no Remeid sall sacrifice my breath
 All comfort that I haue or craiff I know thair is a death
 I giffing wpe at last my lyff Rewolued ghoste
 Whoe perreled liff to purchais loue syne both at length is lost
~~To signifie my sadd succes ingraiwed wpoun my~~
 This last love lynne in end I wische ye would wouschaiff
 To signifie my sadd succes ingraiwed wpone my graiwe
 whilk vitnes sall thy wrong and all my paines sall proowe
 Heir lyes vntymelie lyes allace thy lover not thy love.
 finis

Amintas Ghoste

For the frome the furies of this plaice
 must I returne againe
 And death once ending my disgraice
 Sould lyff renew my paine
 Ame I returnit allace to trie
 The godes reweangeing wraith
 To Renowatt my woes ame I
 Refuisit att from death

And be immortall godes decerie
 Condamned to externall paine
 Quhair ewerie moment I may sie
 The fruites of my disdain
 The helles abhorres to latt me stay
 In thair eternall night

f. 29

And heawin to kill me day by day

Haith brought me heir to light.

Earth is the object of my woe
 My element the aire
 Quhair I ame tossit to and froe
 in cloudes of restles caire
 Heawiness, earth the aire and hell conspires
 To agrevat my grieff
 And all conjunctlie now desires
 To nowreische my mischieff

O cruell heavin that stayit my rest
 Curst helles that sett me frie
 Woe to the bedd that I possest
 Quhen Phyllis died for me
 Noe sorrow can my paine Relent
 Noe death can ease my smairt
 To late allalice I now repent
 The rigoure of myne hairt

Ach Phyllis giff thow liwed againe
 To sie Amyntas change
 Thow might of vnderueit disdainie
 Sie now a just reweange
 Quhen thow did to the graiwe descend
 With the thy grieff did goe

f. 30

And quhen thy crosses maid ane end
 Did I beginne my woe

It wes to the a great Relieff
 Quhen I beheld thy teares
 Bot I my ewerlasting grieff
 But any witness beares
 A lasting object of disgraice
 For ewer sall I be
 Thy ornament sall me defaice
 My schame sall honour the

Strong rigour laite repentance bringes
 Which all my woes hes wrought
 My guiltie mynd augmentis the stinges
 And tormentis of my hairt
 Hencefoorth the night sall be my day
 And day shall be my night
 Betwixt the cloudes and crawes my stay
 And horroure my delight.

I liwe but hoipe in helples plaintes
 Noe sighing mendis my sore
 The more I meane my discontent
 I feill my woes the more
 Noe crying to the skyes awailles

Noe cursing of the ground
 Noe prayeris to the godes prewailless
 Noe sigh noe sobe no sound

f. 31

Consooming fier cannot distroy
 My newer Resting breath
 Nor raigeing seas cuire my annoy
 Nor end my woes by deathe
 The furies griwed to latt me rest
 Haith sent me to the aire
 Quhair damned spirites may me molest
 With terroures of dispaire

My pleasoures ar all paines to sie
 My musick thundering clapes
 And I for ewer ame to be
 A modell of mishapes
 Still curseing and bewaylling soe
 The Echo in my plaintes
 Resoundis to me a dowble woe
 And more my caire augmentis

So quhill the heawiness and earth sall stay
 Amyntas sall remaine
 A patrone to all suche that pay
 Thair loweris with disdaine
 Faire Phyllis faith sall be extold
 With honor to hir name
 Quhen hilles, nor caiwes, nor graiwes can hold
 My ewerlasting schame.
 finis

f. 32

Argulus his Letter to Parthenia
 his mistres

My deire Parthenia ressaue
 Thir lynes of my complaint
 Thy Argulus his vital Spirit
 Throw languor is neir spent
 My dayes I doe owerdriue in dule
 In woes my noysome night
 Ilk thing seemes sorrow that I sie
 Since that I lost thy sight

Yit with my paine I pleise me still
 Still I ame pleas'd *with* paine
 I haue noe gloire bot in my grieff
 Till we tuo meitt againe
 O newer tuo bot ewer one
 Forgiue me loue I lie
 Parthenia and Argulus

Cannot diwydit be

For quhy our hairtis our myndes our wittis
 Our lyff and loue is one
 And bothe our ghostes att deathes aproache
 Sall bothe alyk begone
 A scheitt will cower bothe our corpes
 A tombe will serwe us too

f. 33

In misteries that hes noe doubte
 We doubte not quhat to doe

Yit quhill I heir some happie newis
 My mynd is fraught *with* feares
 My hairt sendis out ane world of sighes
 And sighes prowokes my teares
 My teares subornes my murning mynd
 To memorie of my moanes
 Aye quhill sadd silence smoiring sighes
 With ewer grievous groanes

My groanes concludes a cruell cours
 For to secuire my caire
 And this is it that they deserue
 To driue me in dispaire
 Dispaire as one denud of hoipe
 Does hold the fatall knyff
 Syne thinkes that he hes now the field
 Quhen I haue lost my lyff

Bot I frae sick a sentence sadd
 With reassoune does Repell
 For quhill I heir Partheniaes will
 I will not slay my sell
 Then send me word my deirest deire
 Giff yit thy breast doeth breathe
 And saue thy awin despairing man
 Fra his vntymelic death

f. 34

How mirrie were my muse and I
 Giff anes we might bot meitt
 I sweare I newer solace haid
 Bot in thy sight my sweitt
 Thy presence I protest my hairt
 Would haist away my harmes
 That I might lye as long I did
 Weill lockit in thyne armes

Wnto quhilk wischit tyme aproache
 This present I the send
 And soe thir lynnnes bot not my loue

quhilk endles heir I end

Partheniaes ansuer to Argulus Letter

Deare Argulus rejoice againe
 Parthenia yit does breathe
 And sendis the comfort to avoid
 The sadd dispaireing death
 Lacheses myndis to lengthe the thried
 Bothe of thy lyff and loue
 For Atropus schee schowed the knyff
 Thy perfyte faith to proowe

Whoe hes represt *with* piteous plaintes
 Thy ewer peerles paines
 And vnrecowerit quhill yow ressaue
 My ansueir thow remaines

f. 35

To ease thy sorrowes be assur'd
 My send sall be my sell
 And be my presence sall procure
 Thy passioune to expell

How many schippes hes thow not haird
 Hes sayl'd in tymes before
 Tuixt bilia and Charibies goulffis
 And saiffle cam to schoire
 Soe I choickit in perrell great
 Suche fawour yit hes found
 I gatt a daintie one to redres
 My deadlie wtttered vound

Eternall justice newer did
 Bot hold the ballance ewine
 Then ponder in thy mynd and preis
 Such hapes that comes frome heawine
 For be thir presence they perciewe
 Death can ws not diwide
 And in quhat boundis our bodies be
 Our hairtis in one abide

Than Argulus pluck wpe thine hairt
 Thy tyme in sport thow spend
 Since to incourage the frome caire
 This sedull I the send
 And I sall haist my presence too
 To haist away thy harmes

f. 36

Syne to reward thy loyall loue
 Infald the in myne armes

Into quhilk wischit tyme approache
 Thy plaintes and paines suspend
 Soe with my hairt remembering the
 In loue thir lynnes I end
 Finis.

Quhen Cynthia vith a sweit consent
 Haid callit Titan from his tent
 Outthrow ane vildernes I went
 My spirit for to repoise
 Soe weil I saw it gried in one
 The morning and the loueris moane
 I veared and I vanderit one
 quhill trees did me incloise
 I lookit and at last I sies
 Outthrow the tickes of all these trees
 And haue by me schend
 Bot frae I know this I wist
 He wes ane louer poore and just
 For being trew he gatt no trust
 and this way did begin
 O god of loue allace how lang
 Sall wnreweangit be my wrong
 And aye the teares fell doune among

f. 37

And owerflowit his chinne
 Sall ewerlasting be my smairte
 Or sall noe pitie tak my pairt
 O quhat can help ane helples hairt
 Quhair beauties force does feill
 God giff schee were resolut to rew
 Wpone my sillie saul schee slew
 Then sould I ewermore be trew
 To be tormentit still
 Curst be the birth that first begoud
 That maid the destynies conclude
 That martyred me becaus I lou'd
 O dismall be the day
 Sence lukles loue hes led me heir
 In wraithe of my disdaine full deire
 And newer ane to come me neire
 Bot heir in languishe lye
 I rest content for to remaine
 Quhill schee haue done with hir disdaine
 I spectacle of endles paine
 In dollor and decay
 Finis

In faith I haue forsworne hir company
 Giff that I be delayit

f. 38

Bot yit hir modest kind ciwilitie
 Makes suche ane oathe affryit
 Bot quhen I doe think one my awine wnworthines
 O then I faint and die
 And *with* a schort gaspe pitie, pitie pitie me
 Pitie me ore els I die

I could indure tenne thousand miseries
 Were I bot halff assur'd
 That loathing loue and sore calamities
 Might any loue procure
 Bot quhen I doe fall to prattle, kis and play *with* hir
 Lyff, loue, and all is spent
 And schee with a prettie, prettie prettie graice
 Prayes me to be content.

Schee sayes schee loues I know that I doe loue
 Were I bot veill exprest
 My thoughtes, my wordis, my tongue can testifie
 That I doe loue hir best
 Bot quhen I doe think one the tyme that altereth
 Out wpone all suche toyes
 Lat not the faire faice of a prettie taittie [?] foole
 Hinder a wise manes Joyes

For tyme weil spent is blessedlie consoomed
 And is of men regairded
 But houris ewill spent in louteris fooleischnes
 Are *with* disdaines Rewardit

f. 39

The praise of the ane indureth for ewer
 The wther decayes in ane houre
 And quhich is sveitt bot a littill littill littill quhyle
 Is ewer efter sowere.
 finis

Giue loue loues trueth, then vemen doe not loue
 [EMV 397]

f. 40

Be thow then my beautie named
 [EMV 402]

Giue by thy absence thow intendis
 My sportles trueth to try
 I vow to vaitt wpone thy end
 Thought I sould end thairby
 Bot giff thy veill advyse retreat
 Giff thy content may be

f. 41

Performe in haist my joyes are greatt
My lyff dependis one the

Delayes in loue are ewer deem'd
Most dangerous thinges to be
Bot absence sall not be esteem'd
In suche a kind by me
Lang absence may be cald the fyer
Quhairin trew loue is fyn'd
And loue abhortiwes vaine desire
Extorped from the mynd

By absence theis good meanes againe
That I may vatche my sant
In some clois corner of my mynd
Quhair schee did sometyme hant
And thair with sweete suppoisd delyttis
I doe embraice and kis hir
Yit by the angrie fattes dispysd
I both injoy and mis hir

Stay or Returne, Returne or stay
My faith sall newer fainte
Thoe I be languist in delay
I ame foircit to wayle my wante
My lyff sall end before my love
My love my lyff sall chereische
Bot och giff thow vnconstant proove
Both lyff and loue sall pereische

f. 42

Since absence did from me diwyde
The presence of thy beautie
Noe companie I can abyd
Still thinking one thy rairtie
Lik as the Turtle chast bemoanes
The absence of hir deirest
Soe doe I now with smoaking groanes
The absence of my deirest

Ofte to the vesterne vindes I plane
My grievous goanes to carey
Whoe ansueires me nothing againe
Bot groanes quhilk makes me wearie
Come budding voodis com tak my pairt
And streames that runne most cleirlie
Nothing to doe can ease my smairt
Bot sill doe murne to heir me

Thus spending dayes in sadd complaintes
Ofte in the night I langueische
That croutcheing houll *with* me lamentis

Whiche randeris me more anguische
 Quhyles I laugh and quhyles I murne
 Quhen I think one hir fairenes
 Bot I ame forceit with loue to burne
 Confoundit with thy rairnes

O latt not absence change thy mynd
 As it hes done to many

f. 43

My hairt captiwe thow hes behind
 Whiche newer before haid any
 The heawines sall desist about to raigne
 Quhenewer I offend thee
 The moone sall leawe hir monthlie change
 When I sall not attend the.
 Finis

Quhat is a day, quhat is a yeir
 [EMV 674]

Woe vorth the tyme and eik the plaice
 That yow wes to me knowine
 For since I did befold thy faice
 My hairt ves newer my awine
 My awine Joye myne awine
 My hairt ves newer my awine

f. 44

To be refusit of loue allace
 All earthlie thinges adew
 My mistres schee is mercieles
 And will not one me Rue
 Me Rue joe me Rue
 And will not one me Rue

Thus ame I lefte all comfortles
 And noe remead can craiffe
 My paines they are Remediles
 And all the wytt ye hawe
 Ye hawe joe ye hawe
 And all the wytt ye hawe

Sometyme I liwed att libertie
 Bot now I doe not soe
 Schee hes my hairt soe faithfullie
 That I can loue noe moe
 Noe moe joe noe moe
 That I can loue noe moe
 Finis

Caire away goe thow frome me
 For I ame noe fite matche for the

Thow bereawes me of my wittis
 Thairfore I heate thy frenatick featis
 Whairroff I will caire noe more
 Since thairs noe comforth in thy store

f. 45

And I will sing hey doun a die
 And cast away caire, caire away frome me

Giue I want I caire to gett
 Maire to keipe it doth me freatt
 Giff I haue I caire for maire
 The maire I haue methinkes me poore
 Thus with grieff my mynd opprest
 In wealth or woe findes noe redres
 Thairfor I will caire noe more in waine
 For caire it haith caused both grieff and paine.

Is not this varld a slipperie ball
 And thinkes men strange to catche a fall
 Doth not the sea both eb and flow
 And haith not fortune a paintit schow
 Quhy sould men tak caire and grieff
 Since that in caire is noe Relieff
 For thairs none soe vyse bot may be owerthrowne
 And caireles may reape the cairefull haith sowen.

Weill, then learne to know thy selff
 And caire not for this worldlie pelff
 Latt not grieff thy mynd oppres
 Whether thy estaite be more or les
 Soe then sall thow live at ease
 Noe suddane deathe sall the displease

f. 46

And I will sing hey doun a doun a die
 And cast away caire, caire away frome me.
 Finis

Cala and Philemone

Quhen Cala sighing sadlie satt
 Hir pleasoures past Repeating
 Hir tender flockes amasd thairatt
 Lefte foode and fell a blaitting

Then comelie Cala smylling veipit
 To sie thair brutische dutie
 Exceid the swane for quhome schee keipit
 The primroise of hir beautie.

For one the pendent of a brae
 Quhilk did comfort hir seing

Hir careles schip-heard sleiping lae
Whome Cala then espying

Redoubling thrise those troublit schoures
Quhilk kind pairtis pay to pitie
Schee in hir wraithe did wound the flouris
Thus framing dolouris ditie

First puld the beikes vnto the Swane
To signifie hir Kindnes
Nixt seldome schee vhisperit than
Thow sall designe his blindnes

f. 47

Then plucht schee deasies for to schow
His presence did delyt hir
Roiseapione nixt schee did bestow
To schaw he did dispite hir.

Thus fram'd schee furth a noble veirs
To Floras art as talking
The secreitt feates hir hairt did peirs
Syne to the swane came walking

And vnto him schee softlie said
Philemon leaue thy sleiping
Or Cala chaste thy loueing maid
Will droune the with hir weipping

For how can thow thus caireles spend
The tyme that altereth al thinges
Reclaime disdaine my plaintis attend
And pitie pitie welspringis

The tyme my worth the plaice Inweittis
Philemon to respect me
Thow knowes I skorne vnchaste delyttis
Yit doe not still neglect me.

Philemon stareing start afoote
And fainyeit feates of seiknes
Att Calaes presence he cries out
To schadow his grieff *with* meiknes.

f. 48

He pairting nay'd to kis that sweitt
Whilk Pan himselff might schaw the
Loe worth ane rudnes rairelie met
In sweet comfort of duatie

Finis

The Lamentatioune of a Scheepe-heard

O quhat a plague is loue
[see Ault 354]

f. 54

Depart depart depart
Allace I most depart
Frome hir that hes me hart
With hart full sore
Aganes my will indeid
And can not find remeid
I wait the paines of deid
 Can doe no moir

Now most I goe allace
From sight of hir sweet face
The ground of all my grace
And soverane
What chanc that ever fall me
I'se never mirrie be
Wnto the tyme I sie
My sweet againe

I goe I wait not wher
I wander their and thair
I weip and sigh right sair
With hart full sor

f. 55

Aganes my will indeid
And cannot find remeid
I wait the panes of deid
Can doe no moir

My sprit doth quaick for dreid
My thirlit hart doth bleid
My paines doth ay exceid
 What sall I say
I wofull wight allone
Making a pitteous mon
Allace my gain is gon
 For euer and for ay

Throw langor of my sweet
So thirlit is my sprit
My dayis at most compeit

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

Fairweill my sweittest
 My joy and [blank]
 My [blank]
 [blank] And earthlie glore

f. 56

Fairweill my ladie bright
 And my remembrance light
 Fairweill and haue good night
 I say no moir
 Finis

I saw ane nimph vpon yon plaine
 I calld on hir and she turnd againe
 I lowit hir as ane young man sould dow
 And hir ansueir was *Sir* I loue (not) yow

Maden quoth he I sall yow deck
 With gold and silver and perle thy neck
 She took a frowne and away she flew
 And hir ansueir was *Sir* I loue (not) yow

Maden quoth he grant me bot thus
 Inrich my body with one poor kis
Sir I grant you that bot I grant yow few
 And her ansueir was *Sir* I loue not yow.

I weillit my cap I approchet neir
 I put my hand Immagen wher
 Bot when I kist sair did she rew
 That ever she said *Sir* I loue not yow.

Good *Sir* quoth (she) I know your feid
 Ye seik to haue my maiden heid

f. 57

If ye it get I sall not rew
 Tak thair my hand *Sir* I loue bot yow

Now haue I gottin that I long sought
 My longing is [blank] I gat at last
 As ye ansueir me so sall I yow
 Adew fair nimph I loue not yow
 Finis amen so be it

Even death [blank] I breath
 My death procured my pain
 Els D [blank] efter death
 sould sleip when I wer slain
 Bot Destanies disdaine
 Who span my fatall threid
 Bot mercie to remaine

A martyre quick and deid
O crewell deidly feid
O rigour but remorse
Since ther is no remeid
Cam pascienc performe

The saith the frawart faitis
With wickit weards hes wrocht
My stait of all estaitis
Vnhappiest to be thoght
Had I offendit oft

f. 58

Or wrocht againes your will
Bot mercie then the mocht
Conclud my corp to kill
Bot as thair is no skill
Of reassoune nor regaird
The innocent and ill
Recaue allyk rewaird.

My hairt bot rest or ruff
Reuth reasoune or respeck
Cairis fortune deathe or lyff
It keipit vnder check
That now thair is no neck
Nor draucht to mak debait
Bot neids most burst and breck
For loue will haue it meit
Retrite ? allac is lait
When I am forst to flie
I stand in straing estait
I loue I duyne I die.

Finis amen so be it

Fairweill peace cair is my cace
Since first I saw that face
Ach that speace woe allace
quho can releaue me

f. 59

Sorrowing smairt woe inwart
Com death and play thy pairt
Dint my hart with thy dairt
Loue and lyf leave me.

Could despair hair and hair
Now and than does repair
Fairweill fair welcom cair
never mair leaue me
For l. and o. v. and e.
Greives me wher euer I goe

Och my dooll and my woe
Sighing will slay me.

Fairest flie or I die
Post haist and pittie me
Louinglie blink thyne eye
 Regaird to greive me
Sweittest syne sinc I am thyne
Releau this hart of myne
Stay my pyne or I tyne
 Ryd and releau me.

Woe begone and my mon
No loue consistes in on
Sweit alon sinc thers non
 can pair the fra me
Let l. and o v. and e.

f. 60

Rest ever betuix us twa
And banisch doull a wae
 sighing will slay me

 finis amen so be it

Impassionate in pensive plyt
 My maistreses bemoaning
My meditations all the night
 Are interrupted with groning
 Lamenting and plaining
With anguish greif and sorrow
I wearrie all the winter night
Still looking for the morrow

Malignant sprites tak delyte
 To sie me pleint and pyned
I will not therfor them dispyte
 Thair wraith salbe restyned
 delaying and staying
to bread me only sorrow
I suffer patientlye all the night
And so I doe at morrow

No earthly joy can me content
 It is bot fading pleasour
Nor yet no cros can mak me sad
 I alwayes liue in measour

f. 61

 No treassour no plessour
No travell toyll or sorrow
Can make me to bevall all night
Nor yet rejoyce at morrow

finis amen so be it

In [blank]
 [blank] I am allon
 No fellowschip I have
 For to remead my mon (?)
 Quhich makis me sigh and gren
 With teares manifold
 Allace allace I ly my len
 Quhilk maks me die *with* cold

O lover Lentules
 Mor happie thow then I
 Quhar still complaining this
 And non to heir my crie
 My caus I still denie
 Thow thine to Jullie told
 Quha so sone as she did asprie
 I sayd to cur hir cold

Och I have no familliar
 To be my seccitarie
 Quhilk maks me aye for to war
 And still my greif to carrie

f. 62

The [blank] agie elph and farrie
 My witness if they wold
 How I doe curs and warrie
 Tormented with the cold.
 finis amen so be it

Not full twelf yeires twis told a wearrie breath
 [EMV 521]

Sumtyme haue I sein whein the world hes bein mirrie
 Accepted with melancholly bot now its grown sad
 Somtyme haue I sein when the world not bein wearie
 What toyll or what travell what cros we have had
 Now sighing for singing our mynd is confused
 Now laughing for louing we loeath that we loued
 Rejoycing reposing nothing bot in woe
 Its a wonder to sie how this world does goe.

f. 63

The planets ar changed thair contrary cours
 And he that was heighest is lowest broght down
 And he was was worthiest now is grown worst
 Marc Venus and Mercurie yield to the Mone
 The heavenes had a hermon bot now is grown heirs
 In moving their mover and chainging ther vers

Such changes too strangnes as Neptoun do
Its a wonder to sie how this world does goe

Now fortoun turns mad and venus a wiche
Blind Cupid that fondling knows not quhair he flies
Ther is no man respected bot he that (is) riche
Trwe vaillour and vertue ar sucken in the skys
The gallants ar gayest that gritest can glut
The fellow is fynest that veirs the frence hat
Goe fatlands for hatbands and spaikers [?] also
Its a wonder to sie how this world doth go.

The sillie poor pedders that lives on ther packs
Ar loupes to lordschips and lives on ther rent
Now gallants and greit man ar all gone aback
Thay clap al in catioone for skiprigs thai spent
Now he (is) ane lord that lait was ane clown
And she is ane ladly [sic] that lait was a lown
Cum hurly com burlie the userer so
Its a wounder to sie how this world doth goe.

Finis amen so be it.

f. 64

Now let us sing Christ keip our King
Christ leip our King sing all togither
Christ keip our King syn long to ring
That we may sing lyk faithfull brether

Dam fill and drink and we sall sing
Lyk mirrie men of Mussick fyne
Tak Bachus blissing it to bring
So it be wight as any wyne

If it be small gaue it to the Truble (treble?)
Beclus he sings the cleirest pairt
Small drink and butter maks him able
Such food agries best for his art.

The Counter is the pairt of al
That doth require a mightie voyce
Dam fill and drink ay quhen I call
For I most drink of everie clos.

His golden lockes tyme hath to siluer turnd
[EMV 464]

f. 65

My thoughts are winged with hoope my hoopis *with* love
[EMV 455]

f. 66

Onc did I loue the fairrest lassie
 That ere on earth had being
 Bot fair and constant never was
 No never vill be agreeing
 Treulie did I love my love
 Bot my love trulye loved not
 Nor sighes nor teares hir mynd could move
 For och allace sche loved not

Yet did I syne others doe
 With gifts and protestationes
 Bot could by no means mak hir trew
 Or move hir to compationes
 Then to Diana did I pray
 And all the nymphes about hir
 That sche might leave to loue in vaine
 And I might leav to flout hir

f. 67

The nymphes among the schadowe growes
 Vowde that it sould naught gaine hir
 For shee on day ane man sould haue
 And that man sould disdaine hir
 Thanks to Diana for hir dome
 And dentie nymphes adew
 Young maides that ar now and to come
 In loue learne to be trew.

Now o now I most need part
 [EMV 457]

f. 68

Praise me as ye think caus quhy
 And love me as it lykes your lust
 As pleases yow so pleased am I
 If noght I find of noght I trust

If ye be trew I will be just
 If ye be false flatricie is frie
 All tyme and hour evin as ye lust
 For me to vse else weill as ye

If ye doe mock I will not play
 If ye doe laugh I will not weip
 Quhat ever ye think to doe or say
 Such law ye mak such law I keep.

f. 69

Shaw faithfull love love sall ye have

Schaw dowblenes I can yow quhytt
 Ye not doe nor novayes craue
 Bot evin the same is my delyt.

Bot if ye vald be trew and plaine
 It wald me please and so content
 If ye will not as sua remaine
 As I have said so am I bent.

Thairfor tak head and dowbtes eschew
 And will ry^{tt} [?] weill or that ye goe
 As I doe speik it sall be trew
 I cair no mor for weill nor woe

Adwyse yow quhat ye list to doe
 And vse me as ye list to find
 Quhat neides more talking to and froe
 Bot as I am ye knaw my mynd

Be just and trew butt varience
 And I sall as I said before
 Vtherwayes generes discripance
 Yow chuse ye get no more.

Finis

f. 70

Rest aquhill yow cruell caires
 [EMV 460]

f. 71

Sleep wayward thoughtes and rest yow with my love
 [EMV 461]

Thinkst thow then by thy faying
 [EMV 459]

f. 73

Wold my conceat that first enforst my woe
 [EMV 463]

f. 74

I catiue curate languishes
 Within this cottag hous of clay
 Which euerie day demolishes
 As fading flowers so I decay
 I am forevarned to flit away
 With summondes send peremptorlye
 Sen it is sua I dalye pray
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye

Dispised age hes me overtaine
 Meaning to be my mortall foe
 Diseases will not let me allone
 Bot stayes me both to ryd or gae
 My vissage is growne blak and blae
 My corps cled with infirmatie
 Praised be god sen it is sae
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye

Myne head and beard with quhyt gray haire
 ourgrowne and gaustie lyk a gaist
 My pow is pild almost gone baire
 My physnomie and runckled face
 My teeth all tint my chafts ar vaist
 Weak is my heart of oratrie
 Which justlye makes me crie in haist
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye

f. 75

Myne eares and eyen that maid me mirth
 My tasting smelling me misgaues
 My back is crucked lyk ane girth
 My shoulders armes leges and knees
 That night nor day lets me tak ease
 I am in sick perplexitie
 Thairefore I pray that it may please
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye.

In stakring staite my feble feete
 Tyers this my bodie for to beare
 My blood hes lost the kyndly heate
 My sinewes shyuers for to steare
 My blood is dryed my merch forworne
 My vitall breath affrayes mee
 My sueit redeemer then compeare
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye.

The gutte the grauell, and the cruke
 the fiuer felt and the Cyatick
 The megrine never me forsuk
 The cauld the crampe, and the Coaticke
 Thes melladies and the atick
 sik not to beare mee companie
 Sen I am vanquisht doune with sick
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye

f. 76

My tedious dayes and vearie night
 Now trimbling thought, for tyme is spent
 Now restles rest, for vandring wight
 Now space overlate for to repent
 Now golden youth, thy tyme is spent
 Of bewtie strength and brawitie

Now pray whill tyme is to the lent
Jesus receaue my saull to ye

In place of pleasure velcome paine
In place of rest velcome disease
In place of loue velcome disdain
In place of frendship, everie misse:
In place of paice adversatie
In place of treuth hypocrisie
Finding sic Metamorphosis
Jesus receaue my saull to ye

For good deserving, eveil disert
For kyndlines, ingratitude:
For constantnes, a double heart:
For modest meaknes, reasons rud;
For honest duelling, right eveil lud;
For heartlines, austeritie
Sen so I am alwayes withstud
Jesus receaue my saull to ye

f. 77

O tyme evell tint I the deplore
O tyme so cairleslye overseene
O tyme that will returne no mor
O tyme alace I may complaine
O tyme some tyme gallant on greene
O tyme now tell my miserie
O tyme give me tyme for to sustaine
While Christ receive my saull to ye.

My former evell refuse of grace
Is now the caus of my distresse,
For I have spent both tyme and place
But sence or feill of godliness
My tongue spare not for to expresse
My preterit impreteritie ?
Which vounds my heart with heavinesse
While Christ receaue my saull to ye.

The caus sufficiant is veill knowne
Of all my sorow greif and paine
It is my sinnes that hath overthrowne
The floodes of force for to sustaine
For why? I haue bot late and aire
Serued but Sensualitie
Lord leaue me not vnto dispaire
Bot Lord receaue my saull to ye.

f. 78

Whom to should I seek for refuge
that my misfortune may amend
Or who sall be my frendlye judge

Wherfore against me doe contende
 Quho sall my turne tak by the end
 That may me saue and justifie
 Jesus may onlye me defend
 And syne receaue my saull to ye.

O my Creator I me confesse
 To thy praise and my publict shame
 I can not think or yet expresse
 Nor purchas speach for to proclame
 My great iniquitie for to blame
 Offending thy benignitie
 Yet pittie Lord and bring me hame
 And syne receaue my saull to ye.

My sinnes in nomber pas the count
 As stares aboue and drop of raine
 The sands in reackoning thay surrmount
 And haire of myne head each on
 The fowles and beastes *that* hunt the plaine
 And fish within the floods and Sea
 Yet for my sinne sen thow was slaine
 Jesus receaue my saull to ye.

f. 79

The graines of Corne that yearly growes
 The seed of everie trie and flowre
 The weeddes that the earth overflows
 The dust that frome the earth doeth stoure
 The pyles of grasse and vatte vapoure
 In count can not compared bee
 Wnto my sinnes yet kyth fauour
 And syne receaue my saull to ye.

My publik sine the world hes seene
 Though thay be blind and fals to see
 My secrete sinnes I surely meane
 That no man knawes bot god and I
 Qherfore I with the psalmest doe crye
 Purge Lord mine hid iniquitie
 All my presuming sinnes passe by,
 Syne Christ receaue my saull to ye.

My vofull sinne makes me to mourne
 Against my conscience committed
 In thought and deede and everie turne
 My Christian duetie I haue slipped
 With double dealling I haue gripped
 And ful of hid hipocrisie
 Which makes me cry in dolor dipped
 Jesus receaue my saull (to) ye.

f. 80

In worldlie wisdom I delited
 To circumvent I was full slight
 Left no purpose vnperfit
 That I thought seemed to be vnright
 I was so blinded in my sight
 And ~~fed~~ fed with fleshly fantasie
 Bot I most now as welcome wight
 Pray Christ receive my saull to ye.

Myne eares me fed with filthie lust
 Frome my defilled heart directed
 My hands my feete me foreward thristed
 To fange before I was abjected
 I had no power to corect it
 Bot senselesse in securitie
 Yet gracious god of mercie mooued
 Come and receiue my sall to ye.

My talk, my tongue pestiferous
 Readie to everie speach prophane
 My filthie lippes and lecherous
 Hes filled the aire qhere I remaine
 I had no power to refraine
 But sineful Sensuallitie
 A gracious god haue mercie then
 And syne receiue my sall to ye.

f. 81

Sometyme I was with puirteth pricked
 That I for geare thrifted full sore
 Where I fand it sueitt, there I licked
 And lusted for it more and more
 Thereon I trust for constant care
 Though it be fals felicitie
 Yet saue me, Lord, now frome that snare
 And syne receiue my saull to ye

My ouersight and omisioun
 Hes frequent bene to ilk god think
 Therefore in my vocation
 Whereto I was never condigne
 Yet thow my god and grace benigne
 Called me there right timouslye
 Tred downe my faultes, stay them to spring
 And syne receiue my saull to ye.

Good Lord though I with the be plaine
 Who knawes the secretes of myne hearte
 In all this world none so prophane
 Could me conuict of such airt
 For my misdeeds then sould I smart
 Bot of grace and lenitie

Hes them restrained for to vpstart
 Jesus receiue my sall to ye.

f. 82

I catiue creature, allace
 How can I myne estait deplore
 Or where sall I derect my face
 For to obteane remead therfore
 Onlye to ye o god of glore
 Who knawes my fraill fragilie
 And hes the strength me to restore
 Jesus receiue my saull to ye.

Therefore to ye emmanuell
 Moouer of earth and heauens empyre
 Victor of graue, Sinne, death and hell
 Thy gracious Spirite in me aspyre
 To knocke, seek, call, and desyre
 Purge Lord my sinnes measurelye
 And saue me that awfull fyre
 Syne Christ receiue my sall to ye.

The fountaine and the liuing spring
 Frome which flowes my purgatione
 Is frome the death and meritting
 Of thy most painfull passion:
 Thy blood shadde and effusion
 that suffered on the shamefull tree
 Is onlye my saluatioun
 Therefore receiue my saul to ye.

f. 83

The Jordan where the lipper washed
 To poole Bethesda came I then
 At Kidron well would me refr[e]shed
 And purge me Lord I sorie am
 Into my bowels infus thy balme
 My chyrurginer then for to be
 Then sall I sing that joyful psalme
 Jesus receiue my saull to ye.

The crown of thornes thrust on thy head
 The nailes doune throw thy feet and hands
 The speare that pierced thy syd with speed
 The cruell Stirps with scurging wands
 The blood that ran frome the lyk strands
 Vpon the crosse so pittifulye
 Saue me frome Sathans balefull bands
 Jesus receiue my saull to ye

I am ane sonne forlorne indeed
 Into the world returned againe
 Within thyne hous to serue and feed

Hatting my former lyf profane
 A sleep was lost, I cannot faine
 Bot thow releiued me fatherlie
 Within thyne hous for to remaine
 Jesus receiue my saul to ye.

f. 84

Frome Pharoes armie me releiued
 And with thy archangell me led
 Frome my desyrts of dalye greife
 To holie Canaan hous with speed
 O Chiftaine Josua proceed
 Whos lyfe was bot varietie
 To bring me to the land but dread
 Where I may rest and dwell with ye.

I leaue my bodie to the graue
 Frome which it can not be eximed
 Sweet Jesus now my soul receiue
 As thyne own wight by the redeemed
 And quhen thyne great Court is proclaimed
 To judge the world with equitie
 I beeing on of thy flock expreimed
 To reigne with the eternallye.
 finis

Yong and simple though I am
 [EMV 410]

f. 86

Wnqueit thoughtes your cruell slaughter stout
 [EMV 454]

f. 87

All ye qua love or fortoune hath betrayed
 [EMV 462]

Come away come sueet love
 [EMV 460]

f. 88

Come again, sueit love doe not invit
 [EMV 463]

f. 90

Shall I waisting in dispair
 Die becaus a voman fair
 Or mak pall my scheikes with caire
 Caus ane vther rosiair
 Be sche meker then the day

Or the flowres in mynd (mids?) of May
 If sche think not well of me
 Quheat cair I how faire sche be.

Shall my foolish heart be pynd
 Caus I sie ane womane kynd
 Or a weill disposed nature
 Joyned with a comlye favour
 Be sche meik or kynd or then
 Turtull dow or pelican
 Giue sche be not such to me
 What cair I how kynd she be.

Shall a vomans vertewes moue
 Me to perrish for hir loue
 Or hir vorthie merites knawn
 Mak me quyt forget my awne
 Be she with such goodnes blist
 As may inuward praise it best
 Giue sche be no such to me
 What cair I how good sche be.

f. 91

Be she meik kynd, good or fair
 I will never the more dispare
 Giue sche loue me this beleaue
 I will die or she shall greiue
 Giue she slight me when I wow
 I will scorne and let hir go
 Giue she be not fitt for me
 What cair I for whom she be
 Finis

Now I sie thy lockes art bot fained
 [EMV 523]

f. 93

Awak sueit love thow art returned
 [EMV 465]

f. 94

Intill ane May morning
 As Phoebus did vpspring
 I sawe ane may both faire and gay
 Most goodly was to sie
 I said to hir be kynd
 To me that was so kynd
 For your love trewlye

First when I did yow know
 Ye thirld my heart so law
 Vnto your grace bot now be cace

Bereft throwh false report
 Bot yet in hoop I trew
 Ame I for to speak with yow
 Whilk doth me confort

Wherfor your mynd or me
 Trew love wher ever ye be
 Wher ever ye go both to and fra
 Ye have h my heart full right
 O lady faire of hew
 I me commend to yow
 Both day and night

Sinc fortoune false vntrew
 He me exyld from yow

f. 95

By suddane change I sall advance
 your honour and your faime
 Aboue all earthlye wight
 To yow my heart I plight
 I earnest
 Finis

Sein in hir is no asperance
 Bot feinyet love and inconstance
 All haill my love on god I lay
 He is without all variance
 She seames god and is right sua
 Finis

On dangers doutles I may compleane
 That causes my lady to disdaine
 And lightlye me into sick sort
 That with ane look will not support
 Out of distres
 How may I sleep bot walk and weep
 My carfull cativ comfortles

My lady is wyse and werteous at all
 My lady is fair bot gent and small
 My lady loues me leill I trew
 Bot danger will not let hir bow
 bot me oppresse

f. 96

How may I sleep bot walk and weep
 My carfull cativ comfortles

My sprit vpspring when I hir sie
 She will not speik not look to me
 Ther is not creatur now on lyfe

That mor vexes my vitts fyve
 Allace Allace
 How may I sleep: bot walk and weep
 My carfull cativ comfortles.

On danger that beluffes me soe
 Wald god or I she war a goe
 Then vald my lady weill I wait
 Hear my redres my for regraite
 And my rehers
 How may I sleep bot walk and weep
 My carfull catiue comfortles.
 Finis.

Support your servand peyriles paramour
 Or dullfull dead and dollour me devour
 Since thair is non can send be no succour
 To my poor heart overset with sighing sore
 Allac allac sueit dasy most decoir
 Will ye not help me out of heavines
 Sein of my heart ye ar the cheiff mestres.

f. 97

The arkling of your eyne angenicall
 So speidily my Sprit to perforat
 And to my heart overset with sighing sor
 To yow the slair of all womenheid I wait
 Qherfor I pray your hie excellant stait
 To saw some confort on me in this cais
 Seine of my heart ye ar the cheiff mestres.

Ther was never wertew into voman wrought
 Bot plainlye in your persoune does appeare
 Except pittie and yet I find it nocht
 Dam asperanc hes put me out of wear
 That she and ladie mercie into fear
 Sall in your heart grant both pittye and grace
 Seine of my heart ye ar the cheiff mestres.
 Finis.

Woe with such lawes I say
 That keep us tuo in twain
 That louit so faithfullye
 Allace for woe and paine
 My heart with sighing strong
 Does suffer patientlye
 The caus of all my wrong
 Woe with such lawes I say.

Weding goes not be love

f. 98

Nor loue all be weding
 As fancies doth moue
 So hes the heart lyking
 Love is ane fervant thing
 As mo then I doe prove
 That trew is this saying
 Weding goes not be loue

My freinds does for me thus
 Thair doe they play my pairt
 And I may not refus
 That thing against my heart
 This libertie they lock
 Fra me or els they glois
 My god that I most mock
 Or els my parents lois.

We knaw the sacrament
 Be stable set and doune
 To tak with frie intent
 And not with compultione
 Thus god us fridome give
 Bot freindes for us doe so
 Be boundage for to leaue
 Thair dayes in deadly woe.

our bodes an bound ane day

f. 99

Wher hearts does not aply
 Then reassoune does decay
 And vpstarts fancie
 Then force constrains me
 Reassoune for to rewyll
 Heirfor ye may weill sie
 Dam natur goes by gyll.

Our freinds fra liberti
 Allace thus they us bring
 Bot natur is contrarie
 Whilk is ane stanger thing
 My heart thow does discus
 Giue ye offend or sine
 Our freinds they bind us thus
 Thair pairt sall be thair ine.

Many bein of that sect
 Giue heir be any such
 With such deceat infect
 Say litle and think much
 And hald yourself content
 Giue ye in such wayes be

And wher your tyme is spent
Woe worth such law say I.

And all ye that ar frie
Tak head now frome hencforth

f. 100

And allow libertie
Much mor then boundage worth
For ane halden in weillfair
Is better in this degrie
Then much with woe and caire
Woe worth such law say I.

Finis

James Heruie

My love band me with a kisse
[EMV 560]

Finis est amen

Quod.

f. 101

The faire morning sunshine bright
That giues lyf to lowes delyt
Everie heart with heart enflames
And our cold effectiones balmes
Coll me and clip me and kisse me too
So so so so trew love sould dow

In this woods ar now bot birds
Thay can speik bot silent words
Thay ar prettie harmles things
Thay will sheed us with thair vinges
Coll me and clip and kisse me too
So so so so so trew loue sould dow

Never stryve nor mak no noyse
This for foolisch gules byes
Everie childisch thing do say
Finis

f. 102

All my wittis hath weill inwrapped
[EMV 356]

f. 103

Sueit come away my darling
[EMV 552]

f. 104

O love quhat sall I quhat sall I call the
 Ane furious thing thow seames to be
 Within the heart of me poore me
 Thow printed ar so deip

Thow makes me in the couth to lie
 Sometyms to sigh somtymes to cry
 That skairse my cheiks doe I dry
 Bot still does night does weip.

Somtyme I mus somtyme I say
 When sall appeir this dowing day
 That onc to her I may bewray
 This is my bed cairfull caice.

Sumtyme I think she does appeir
 With joyfull face and smylling cheir
 Lyk Phoebus in his goldin speir
 With sueit and comly grace

f. 105

The let I down my plents fall
 My sighes and sobes my teares and all
 Thus pittiouslye I cry and call
 Sueit mercie grant to me

Thy servant poor with wisage pail
 Wha for thy saik does suffer vaill
 Must at thy hands resaeue this hail
 Or then of force I die

This I doe waist my plaints in vaine
 I love and am not loved againe
 Betuix this tuo I suffer paine
 I sie no remedie

And this to hir I mak my mon
 With many for and grevius gron
 For remedie allace is non
 Bot patiance for me
 Finis

Woe worth the tyme and aik the place
 That she was to me knawn
 For since I did behold hir face
 My heart was never my awne
 My awne Joy; my awne joy; my heart was never my awne

Somtyme I livit at libertie
 Bot now I dow not so

f. 106

She hes my heart most faithfullye
 That I can love no mo.
 No moy Joy, no mo that I can loue no mo.

To be reffused of love allace
 All earthly joyes adew
 My maistres she is merciles
 And will not on me rew
 Me rew joy me rew joy and will not on me rew

Now am I left all comfortles
 And no remeid can creiv
 My paines the ar remeidles
 And all the vyt ye haue
 Ye have joy ye haue and all the witt (wyte) ye have.
 Finis

Disdaine that so doeth fill me
 [EMV 581]

f. 107

Fyr that most flame is with aptfull fed
 [EMV 400]

My love is forsaikin me
 Hey me now
 Toyl hes overtaikin me
 Sorrow hes spakin me
 Wo now does wakin me
 Yet I a wow
 Since I haue loved on I sall never love too.

f. 108

Wnkyndnes kileth me
 Och it is trew
 Affectione filleth me
 Nothing stileth me
 Quhat my love wileth me
 That I mast dow
 My fancie is tyed to non bot to yow.

She is vnkynd to me
 Sore that I rew
 Changes her mynd to me
 Constancie is kynd to me
 Quhat sall I dow
 She proves vnconstant I will prove trew.

Compatione moveth me
 To loue yow
 Repentence proveth me

Though it behoveth me
 Yet if she loveth me
 I sould not rew
 Trew loue recales ane evill maid wow.

Wrong informatione
 Doth subdew
 Ane good inclinatioune
 Let no delatioune
 Bread allercatioune
 twix me and yow
 For vemans thoughtes ar eveill to trew.

f. 109

Then since my affectioun
 To your wow
 Does thrall my effectioun
 Vnder subiectioun
 To your protectioun
 Favour me now
 And set a tryst and (I) will meit yow.

Benische desentioun
 Betuix me and yow
 Scheild our intentioun
 Frome reprehensioun
 Or any contentioun
 Quhilk may eschew
 For non sall know bot I and yow.
 Finis

Fyre that most flame is with most apt full (fuel) fed
 [EMV 400]

f. 110

Bewtie hath my eyes asayled
 And subdewed my sauls affectioun
 Cupids dairts hes so prevailed
 That I most leve in his subiectioun
 Tyed to on
 Quho is machles allone
 And second to non
 In all aH perfectioun
 Since that fortune so most be
 No love sall pairt my love and me.

Wisdome meekes wertew grace
 Sueitnes modestie bewtie but measure
 Decketh hir sueit Celestiall face
 Rich in bewtie and heavinlye reasone (treasure)
 Woe no smart
 Sall ever depairt
 My most loyal heart

[in left margin: meeknes]

For paine and pleasure
 Bot resolved have I now till I die
 No chang sall pairt my loue and me.

Tyme nor place sall haue no distance
 Altho that fortounes smyl invitted

f. 111

Ws tuo ever to depert
 By such ane sempathy united
 Trew loue heat
 the chang
 Of such as disert
 By prayer or intreatie
 Bot recourse in any degrie
 No chang sall pairt my loue and me.

Dear let death then onlie finisch
 And alter alon ar (our?) chose and electione
 Let not love ony wayes deminisch
 Or read from constancie my defectione
 Tyme nor place
 Nor distance of place
 Sall ever deface
 Or suddent effectioun
 Bot this I resolved and will till I die
 Come sueitt love let us decrie
 Nothing sall pairt my loue and me.
 Finis.

Alace I die and dar not tell quhairfor
 Nor meane my cause to them that may me mend
 The morne I meane to bring my schip to schor
 The mor the furious blaists are ever bend
 I rather wish this lyfe of myne should end
 Nor in the smock of sorrow for to smore
 Quhat pleasure is it my lyf in graif to spend
 And dalie dies and dar not tell quhairfore

[in left margin: more]

f. 112

Fy on the youth that dar not tell quhairfore
 That bairnlie taile becomes not for a man
 Though thow may not thy former stait restore
 Though that they never so rudlie ranne
 I reid of sindrie that thair mestres wanne
 Through knyghtlye courage in thair armor cled
 Trying thair strength in feildes now and then
 Bot few for laughter lying thair bed.

He is phazard dar not follow out
 Ane fanting heart van never lady faire
 Might counsall caus ane coward to be stout
 Suith man thow sould not die into dispaire

Fy at that bairnlye tail for euer more
 Can thow doe nought bot weep and wring thy hands
 Open thy pack albeit thow sell no weare
 Ane dumb man to this day wan never lands.

Finis

Quhat heigh offence has my trew love taikine
 Chus for to sie me flame
 Is thair no hoop bot I most be forsaikine
 Rests no remeid for my paine
 Och sillie saul
 Thy hoop is verie small
 Thair rests no remeidie at all
 So resolued is thair disdaine

Did my eyes sight or my heart tak reason

f. 113

To sie and schine loves fyre
 for why no wayes my plaints can move hir
 Once to relent hir desyre
 Hard ar the wayes
 To bring her over sayes
 Yett is all is not a rock sche sayes
 Quhat is she may vnsay againe

Did ye no then tho she seame to deny the
 Sie quhat thy service may moue
 Hoop for the best tho delayes doe deac the
 Try quhat thy event may prove
 Still be then stout
 Dispaire not tho thow dout
 We may fall
 So secreit is effectione is loue
 Finis.

Since loue and fortune hath decryed
 Vndoe me daylye with disdaine
 And all the gods aboue decreed
 That I sould perisch in this paine
 Since rewth can not thair rage refraine
 Doe simple heart yet or thow die
 And mak the rockes resound againe
 That loue and fortune frownes on me.

For justlye at thes judges blind
 By reassones we may reid

f. 114

That nether qualitie and kynd
 Of preince and poor can seame to plead (?)
 No not desert in word or dead
 Can derogat that bad decrie

O heavines mak hast for some remeid
 Since loue and fortune frownes on me.

How long with loue did I comport
 And bare hir crose altho with caire
 And thow proud fortune did exort
 Expecting ay that thow wold spare
 Bot I find nether quhom nor quhere
 To force a lowing smyle from the
 Witnes the echo earth and eare
 That loue and fortune frownes on me.

Peace perosoned (?) heart wall not so sor
 Pack vp thy patiance and depairt
 For loue and fortune can dou no more
 No laughter such a simple heart
 Quhat tho thow somtyme suffer smart
 sall chang hir my (mind) thoull schortlie sie
 Quhen cair hes compast all the cairt
 Then schortlie will she smyll on me
 Finis

In through the window of myne eyes
 A perrallous and open pairt

f. 115

And Cupid hurt my heavie heart
 Quhilk never dewynes and never dies
 Though poysons of his deadly dairt
 I bad him bot sey a schout
 I smyllid to sie that suckling schoot
 Boy with thy bow doe quhat thou dow
 I cair the not a cut

Ye ar full pirt good Cupid thow appears
 Syne to this bow he maid a braid
 Syne schot him thorough befor I said
 Whill all my laughther turned to teares
 Now geff quod he if thow be glad
 Now lauch at love that paste me prove
 Am I ane archer now or nought
 His scorne and skaith I baid them both
 And get it sicker that I sought

Fra hand I freized in flames of fyre
 a brunt againe assoone as yce
 My dollour was my awne devyce
 Displeasure was my awne desyre
 As ar my nature now a vyce
 By natur quhen I went not hew
 She seames to meatomorphos me
 In such a schap, as hes no hap
 To further weill or yet to flie.

f. 116

When I was frie I might have fled
 I could not let this love allone
 Now out of tyme quhen I am taine
 I seik some schift that weman lie shed
 Becaus it bytes me to the baine
 Bot prus is prime bot wark in waine
 It was bot mowes thairat to mean
 Fra I be fast that pairt is past
 My tyme and truble m^r ar tint

[in left margin ‘?’]

[in left margin ‘mair’]

Might I my Aradne now move
 To land to hir Thesus a thrid
 Hir lealst lover for the leid
 Out of the laberneth of love
 Then wer I dure of doubt bot duers [?]
 Bot she allace knawes not my caire
 How can I then the better be
 Quhilk I sould have my selfe to saue
 The innatur does murdered me.

Goe out by langsome lookes releife
 My secreats to my lady sueit
 With sighes and sobes for me intreit
 That she by simpathie may seik
 Pairt of passions of my sprit
 Ther give hir grace giv pittie place
 Aneuch or bellies she to kill
 Let death dispatch my lyf poor wrech
 I wald not leaue against hir will
 Finis

f. 117 [blank]

f. 118

Wuhat giue I seik for loue of ye
 [EMV 557]

Smyling on ane holy day
 Said Philis to her love
 Thow ar a vonder loulye boy
 And thow salt wear my love
 Esteame it dearely for my saik
 For Philis fawors the

f. 119

In all this world thair is not one
 That is half so dear to me
 And though it be a thing of nought
 A triffell as thow sie
 It is a taikene of my love
 And that the worth most be

Finis

Wuhen frome my love I look for loue
[EMV 354]

Sillie boy its full moone
[EMV 405]

f. 120

Come suet love let sorrow cease
Banisch frownes let be desentioune
Lone war makes the greitest paice
Hearts united by contentioune
Some schyne vaneth efter raine
Sorrow easing that it is pleasing
All proves fair againe
Efter sorrow soone cometh joy
Try me trust me prove me love me
Thus will cair away.

Winter hids his frostie face
Blushing to be more vewit
Spring returnes with pleasant grace
Flowres treses is renewit
Summer quhen the sonne is schyning
Lambs rejoycing leaping sporting
Birds for joy doe sing
Let us your Spring of joyes renew

f. 121

Calling claping kisseing playing
And so giue love hir dew.

I sie the bright some of thyn eyes
Clouded now with dark disdainig
Sould such ane stormie tempest rys
As to set loves day araining
All ar glad the sky being being cleir
Lightly joying playing toying
With thair loulye feare
All ar sade to sie ane schour
Sadly droping banning pouking
Turning sueit to soure

Then sueit heart dispers this cloud
That procures this scorfull toying
When everie creatoures sings aloud
Filling hearts with over joying
Everie dow doe seik the meak
Joying billing she is willing
The sueitest of love to tak
With such weares let us contend

Duing dowing weding beding
 Ans so our lyfe sall end.

Finis

f. 122

Chang thy mynd sinc she doe chang
 [EMV 500]

f. 123

If floodes of teares could cleng my folyes past
 [EMV 471]

f. 124

With my loue my lyf is vaisted
 [EMV 624]

f. 125

My Ladye quhat let yow my love to injoy
 The fruits of my service altho I be ane boy
 My loyaltie moreles the pleasour of love
 I pray the sueit turne the wnto me and prove.

She.

Thy love is bot lustie thy pleasour bot paine
 Thy sutt is to schame if I war so waine
 My honor my fame I think not losse
 Sut quher ye can come speid I am not one of thos

He.

My deir with denyell prolong not my stryffe
 My viffe and my weill faire my love and my lyf
 I sueit I will sueir ay secreat (?) to be
 Thair sall never on know I bot I and ye.

f. 126

She.

The sut is vnfitting of me ye do quyre
 And I am vnwilling to grant your desyre
 Quhen ye ar contentit your honour is such
 How euer yow love now yell heat me als much.

He.

Try me and trust me if I prove vntrew
 Trewer then Troilus Ill prove to yow
 My constancie is such that death may remove
 My bodie frome (you) bot never my love.

She.

Qhat if I content you and so be with chylde
 My freinds will forsaike me my mother grow wyld
 The kirk will reprove me a pox on that sort
 For thay have no pittie on vemans report.

He.

The hazard is bot small ye need not to feare
 For al do not parisch that goe to weare
 Quho climbs for ane chirrie most hazard a fall
 And the seed of the fatest floock florisches not all.

She.

Thy words doe bewich me to grant thy desyre
 Blind Cupid that fondling hath set me on fyre
 Come love (me) and prove and quhiklie dispatch
 My mother will misse me that wicked old wrech.

Finis

I saw ane nymph vpoune yon plaine
 I cald on hir she turned againe

f. 127

I loved hir as ane young man sould dow
 And hir answer was Sir I love not yow.

Madam quoth he I sall yow deck
 With gold and siluer and pearle your neck
 She tak a frawne and away she flew
 And hir answer was Sir I loue not yow.

Maidin quoth he grant me bot this
 Inrich my bodie with ane poore kisse
 Sir I grant yow that bot I grant yow few
 And hir answer was Sir I love not yow.

I vailet my cop and aproched neir
 And put my hand imagine *quhair*
 Bot *quhen* I kist sore did she rew
 That ever she said Sir I love not yow.

Good sir she sayes I knaw your feed
 Ye seik to haue my maiden head
 If ye it get I sall not rew
 Tak thair my hand I loue bot yow

Now haue I gotting that I long sought
 My loving is gone I sought at last
 As ye answered me so sall I yow
 Adew sueit nymph I love not yow.

Finis

Ane lustie youthfull gallant
 As all the wailes yeildes

f. 128

Did meit ane prettie sueit wench
 Was triping over the feilds
 He meit hir and he treites hir

And lyes hir all allong
 And ay she cryes o sueit *sir*
 o sueit *sir* o sueit *sir*
 o sueit *sir* o sueit *sir*
 ye meane to do me wrong.

Be that the last he loved hir
 The mor the his loue increast
 And sudentlye he dowed hir
 Then sudenlye he ceast
 He awed hir and he dowed hir
 And laid hir all allong
 I hoop ye will not doe me doe me do me
 Not doe me not doe me not doe me
 Not doe me such a wrong.

Be this thay in kissing
 Maid hir beleave ther
 Some prettie sport in mising
Quhat meanes that quoth the lasse
 He awed and he dowed hir
 And laid hir all a long
 I feare ye doe not pay me not pay me
 Not pay me not pay me not pay me
 For doing such ane wrong.

f. 129

The lasse was not disdainefull
 To try *quhat* love he had
 He loved hir richt painful
Quhat meanes this wanton lad
 He awed hir and he dowed hir
 And lyes hir all along
 And ay she cryed o sueit *sir* o *sir*
 Come try it o sueit *sir* o sueit *sir*
 Ye haue downe me no wrong.
 Finis

Will thow vnkynd thus reauie me
 [EMV 462]

f. 130

Sheaphird saw thow not my fair lovelie Phoelis
 Walking on this mountaine or in yonder plaine
 Sche is on this way to Dianas fountane
 And hes left me so with hir hie disdaine
 Ay me schoe is fair and without compaire
 Sorow come and sit with me
 Love is full of fears love is full of cairs
 Love bot chose it cannot be
 This my passions paines me my trew love hes slain me
 Gentle sheaphird take a pairt
 Pray to Cupids mother for I knaw non other

That can help to ease my smart.

Sheaphird I haue seine thy fair lovelie Phoelis
 Wher your flockes ar feeding by yon river syd
 Och I must admeir schoe so fair exceeding
 I surpasseing bewtie sould surpasse in pryd

f. 131

Bot allace I find they ar all vnkynd
 Baith knowes ther power full weill
 When they list they love when they please they moue
 Thus they turne our heavin to hell
 With ther faire eyes glancingn lyk to Cupids dancing
 Roll about still for to deceaue ws
 With vaine hoop deleuding: still thair praise concluding
 Thus thay love and thus thay leiuie.

Thus I doe dispaire haue hir sall I never
 If sche be so fair: lost is all my caire
 Yet she is so fair: I will loue hir ever
 All my paine is joy: quhilk for hir I proue
 If I sould hir try: and she sould me deny
 Heavie heart, with will breik
 Thought against hir will: come yow most be still
 For she will not hear me speik
 Then with sighes Ille prove hir: thay sall shaw I love hir
 Loulye Wenus be my guyd
 Yet thought I complene me: she will still disdaine me
 Bewtie is so full of pryd.
 Finis.

If feild abod quhair trumpetes schill doe sound
 [EMV 48]

f. 132

Sinc that my sighes does eik the tender air
 And air againe does did me for to braith
 Air sould againe imploy it self the mair
 For to prevent the terror of my death

f. 133

Air sould and might giue air wald only beir
 And sound my sigghes bot in my lades eare.

And sein the teares of my tuo weeping eyes
 Abondanlie the water does agment
 The rainy cloudes ar witnesses wha sies
 The floodes of teares that gusch when I lament
 Sould in hir presence pours my tears to greif
 And move hir heart to match me *with* releaf

And sinc my wretched heart in flames againe

And my effectiounē fyre it for hir loue
 The element of fyre, as I suppose is bound
 Thus much to doe for my behoue
 To fyre the heart of my most loyall dame
 And let hir feill the furie of flame

And if thow air be sounding in hir eares
 My greivous grones procure me any grace
 Or if the water puring out my teares
 May purchas to my pained heart sueit peaiçe
 Or if thow fyre by thy sueit flame can move
 My ladyes heart for me to burne in love.

Then sall I sing o yow most happie aire
 O Watter blist and yow most blisshed fyre
 And happie I in love for evermair
 Who be your meanes atcheawes my hearts desyre
 And happie she quhas heart whas eyes whas ears
 Ar moued to know my sighes my flames my tears.

Bot if my sighes resoundit be the air
 Bot giue my teares distilled be floodes raine

f. 134

Bot if my flame that sueitest flame declair
 Can not prewaill for to prevent my paine
 And that the world can not my ladye move
With (my) loyall service to aequyt with love.

Then dulest earth then deadly tomb prepair
 My buriall braith and body to resauē
 That she of it that set at nought my cair
 My glorie to wow the grones of graue
 And in disdaine with smyling say on hie
 Heir lyes the man that deed for love of me.

Finis

How now schepheard quhat meanes that
 Quhy weares thow willo on thy hat
 Ar thy charsses of rid and yellow
 Turned to brenches of grein villo.
 Thay ar changed so am I
 Sorrow liues the joyes do die
 Tis my Philis tis only she
 Which makes me wear the willo trie.

What! thy Philis that loved the long
 Is it she, that hath done the wrong
 She that loved the long and best
 Is hir trew loue now turned to jest
 She that loved me long and best
 Bids me set my heart at rest
 She a new loue: loues not me
 wich makes me weir the willo trie

f. 135

Shepherd then be ruled by me
 Cast of greif and willo trie
 Thy disgraces breids hir content
 She is weill pleased if thow lament
 Shephird I'll be ruled by the
 Ill cast off greiff and willo trie
 And hence I will doe as thay
 Love a new love every daye.

Finis

In May I rose to doe my observance
 As Phoebus bright out of his chamber threw
 Intered (I entered) in ane gardein of pleasance
 Quhair silver dropes hang of balmie dew
 Sittand alon quhair pleasant flowers grow
 Richt sor I hard a voyce disgest and clar
 Ane woefull wight doe sing in this maner.

O Venus queen and mestres of delyt
 Have reuth on me and let me not forfair
 As ye that the precious perlle perfyt
 Of wisdom well in beutie but compair
 Prences love the veritie declaire
 To my dear heart if I be trew or nought
 And if she be maist speciallye in my thought.

I wofull wight in dollour and distres
 Marit in mynd with servant paine and caire
 Remembring on my lady and mestres
 Vpon the night I did myself forfair
 Walking allon in sight sorrow and cair

f. 136

Remembring on hir pearles portratour
 My lyf frome death may no longer indure

Thought my deair heart whilk is the worlds floure
 Suspecth my treuth no mervell is to me
 So many fals ones to thair paramour
 That reckes not to flatter fleich nor lie
 O Lord of loue whilk knawes I am he
 That may not last no space out of hir sight
 Caus me (her) to rew on me hir wofull wight

O fragrant flour well of faith and fame
 Precellant wight caus of my woe and smart
 M sall I prent in honnour of hir name
 Syne doe it grave right sadly in my heart
 Whill deadful death both saull and body pairt
 And strenght doe fall my body for to walk
 In word and work quhill that my tounge may talk.

Finis.

Quha list to leive or that law proue
 Let him beleive his lyf to leid
 His mynd sall move but rest or roue
 With diverse dollours to the dead
 He sall tyne appetyte
 Of meat and sleeping quhyt
 And want to way perfyte
 To find remead.

He sall not witt wither that it
 Be pleasand painfull weill and woe

f. 137

To gang to sit: to moue or flit
 To lay to stand, to byd or goe
 No wit salbe disgaist
 To heir sie smyll or taist
 Bot as ane bruttall beast
 He salbe so.

Flie though he wald loue sall him hald
 With the danger of dispair
 Whylls heat quhills cold and thowsand fold
 Hir purpos salbe heir and thair
 He sall think vertew vyce
 And wisdome of no pryce
 Bot lyke ane fool ~~wan~~ vnwyce
 So sall he fair

This is quhy, and caus that I
 Compleane so petiously in paine
 I loue the may: will not apply
 To grant to if me grace againe
 The more service I doe
 The frommitter is she
 Without respect vnto
 My cruell paine

Sume lovers sie: give this may be
 Ane lyfe that all good men malings
 I say for me: it is to flie
 As frome the pest and plague that rings
 Quhilk is bot curious
 Sueit wemen superious
 That non doun brings

f. 138

Ye mon forbeir: my breithreine deir
 And frome this full deceat avoyd us
 Let bissines steare: your hearts inteare
 And not with lightlye loue to lead us
 Quhilk is the verie net

That Sathan for us sett
 To caus us quhyt forget
 The man that maid us.
 Finis

Right sor opprest am I with pains smart
 Both night and day making me woful mone
 To Venus quein that lady is my heart
 Put in sick great distres with woe begane
 Bot if that she send me remead anon
 I list no langer my lyfe to indure
 Bot to the dead bonie cairfull creature
 Bot to the dead bonie cairfull creature.

Thought I dar not to doe daylie observance
 Till hir that is the floor of weman head
 Jelousie is the caus of this mischance
 And changes all my gaine in wo & dread
 Bot if that lady sueiter then the mead
 Helpe me or doutles may not indure
 Bot to the dead bonie cairfull creatoure
 Bot to the dead bonie cairfull creatoure

O plent of loue quhat pleasour infinit
 The lustiest that ever was or salbe
 Thair can no toung discryve or pen can wrytt
 The beutie of my lady speciall
 What may I mor bot vpone comfort call
 Till that hes my heart hail hir cair
 And to the dead bonie cairfull creatore
 And to the dead bonie cairfull creatore
 finis

f. 139

Wuhat then is loue sings Coridon
 [EMV 521]

f. 140

It was the frog in the wall
 [EMV 242]

f. 142

Awak Caliope now frome sleep
 Come is the month for musick meat
 Now sings the lark before the day
 The Philomell the mirle so sueit
 Through gladnes of this lustie May

Now Cerese spreads hir mantle greine
 With various flowers lyk Arges eyne
 The proper dassie and prymrois gay
 With thowsand moe to spעד are seene

Through gladnes of this lustie May.

And Phosfurus that is full bright
 And woefull hearts the casts alight
 Right pleasantly before the day
 Till Phoebus fair appeires in sight
 Through gladnes of this lustie May

Now everie heart that is in cair
 Wnto the feildes the most reparaire
 In May morning befor the day
 Wher zewpher blowes with temperat air
 Through gladnes of this lustie May.

Of all the monthes in the yeir

f. 143

With mirthfull (May) what can compair
 The palme the pyne the laurall gay
 To floorisch pleasantly appeir
 Through gladnes of this lustie May

On herbes the balmie liquor sует
 Bedewes the virgines hunteres feett
 With subtill shoures before the day
 Rejoyes lye lyk the sprit
 Throu gladnes of this lustie May.

Till Phoebus with his golden beames
 Inlight the land and cristall strimes
 Then Cinthia she steilles away
 And right to rin his race he clines
 Through gladnes of this lustie May

The dew lyk diamonds appeir
 Redubling Phoebus rayes most cleir
 This pleasantly now springs the day
 Let us rejoy with heartlie cheir
 Through gladnes of this lustie May.

To god we giue all praise for all
 Father sone sprit celestially
 Preserve the kirk the king we pray
 And us on quhom thy nam doe call
 Through gladnes of this lustie May.

Finis

I die quhen I doe not sie
 [EMV 452]

f. 144

Men seldom thryves in all thair lyfes
 That wants good wyffes to please them

And all men grants thay live no sanctes
 That husbands wants to ease them
 Yet thought she die bleir not your eyes
 Let gods decrie the cary
 For I had on quhom god hes taine
 And yet Ill mowe and mary.

Get we a lasse we play we passe
 We glaik hir thus so roundlye
 We waill we wisch we ban we blisse
 We clap we kisse hir soundlye
 We now thryss over we never gif ouer
 Till up goes four all fairlye
 Fra sche goes back vp goes hir lap
 Weill moue and then well mary

f. 145

With leges abrod hir maidenhead
 Slipes on ane rid so cleirlye
 For all hir ruffes and gifit ? gloves
 She buyes the broed full dearlye
 Hir belly rys the kirk outcryes
 The sessone tryes hir fairlye
 Scars payes hir fies hir penalties
 And yet we mow and mary

[pencilled in margin, diff. hand: 'Scottish']

Then we proved for our sueit bryd
 Some geir to gund [?] the babie
 Both cheis and beif *with* a mischief
 And all relief that may be
 And everi day she bostes away
 Schell nether stay nor tary
 Till on our knees we mau hir please
 And heigh hir for to mary

Finis

As on a day Sabina was asleep
 Into hir bour I by stealth did creep
 And first spak soft then loud into my deir
 And still Sabina hard bot wald not heir

Then to my self I did more curage tak
 Fra I persaued she did both wink and wak
 Ans schew hir self a stranger unto me
 And still Sabina saw and wald not sie

At last I lay downe by hir on the ground
 And still awak asleep Sabina found

f. 146

Then touched I each part from head to heell
 And still Sabina felt and wald not feill

Quhen I had left no way ontryed bot one
 I looked about and saw my self allone
 Then thought I it best the best way for to wow
 And still Sabina did bot wald not dow

Wnto the doer quhy sould she then hyd it
 If it be trew that once Sabina did it
 Bot she sayes nay yea Ill sueir and say so too
 She did both heare and sie and feill and dow

Finis

Poor heart with paine oprest
 Be gled becaus thowll doe
 The lady I loued best
 I am sur she favoures me

Let fanting feares no rest
 In trew tranquillitie
 the lady I loued best
 I am sur she favoures me.

Let crossing caires making haist
 And bid fairweill to ye
 The lady I love best
 I am sure she favoures me.

Let louers poor distres
 With toylling Jelusie
 Thair martered myndes molest
 I am sur she favour me.

f. 147

Let no malignant breast
 Suspect hir honestie
 My dame she is most chast
 Bot yet she favours me

She is vertewes wyse and modest
 My wittes vnworthie be
 To reach into the rest
 Bot yet she favoures me.

She is gud she is fair she is best
 She is not ill to me
 I think the man wer blist
 By hir disdain wald die

Hir grace hir good express'd
 By mortallis cannot be
 She is quinticens of best
 Bot yet she favours me

Sur center of my rest
 The pairt quhair I wald be
 Till death I do me rest
 She finds no faults in me.

My loue so oft profest
 Its weill repayed by the
 So long as lyfe may last
 She is ay the best to me.

Finis

Sir I thought good to send yow a bukell
 Both daintie and delicat such as ye sie

f. 148

Faltes (faultless) Il warrand if it be not to bruckell
 With cunning composed of mettall most frie
 A jewell most fair for a prince a propyne
 Quhois praises to pen doth passe my ingine
 A subject of poyetes mor meet to sing
 Bot hey me my bukell it laikes a tounge

No blemisch at all my Bukell hath more
 The muld it was matchles in *quhilk* it was castine
 Altho it be tounles it lack not a bore
 To wich a guid craftesman perhappes might on faschione
 For *quhat* doth availl a schath but a sword
 A quaver but schaftes a cag but a burd
 The dainties instrument being vnstrung
 Great losse war this bukell sould want a string

This task to vndertak if ye dar adventure
 Of maxing of meatalles the most have good skill
 The better the tounge is the harder the temper
 It bevit and byding it cannot be ill
 Of laton and copar it most not be chosit
 Bot of the sam mettall the bukell composed
 Syne closely put in and cuninglye hung
 Great losse war this bukell sould want a tounge

If the metall be dour and ill to dantane
 A thowsand sad straikes and more it will crave
 The crafts man most be young lustie and wanton
 A ferce fyre fyre man the labour most have

f. 149

Ane old cresit craftis man will tyme bot his travell
 Yet better he cannot be purged of the gravell
 It most be weill beaton dintit and dong
 Great losse war this buckle sould want a tounge

Bot I feare that my bukell be badlie bestoued

Your worklomes are worne and forgett force of fyre
 Your tempring brouch is als dead
 Of such a fair labour gray hares will sone tyre
 If your borel be bluntit my bukell send back
 A toung frome my self perhaps it will tak
 Bot frend I suppone that when he was young
 He wald not send back my bukell to toung

Finis

Methought my love was in hir bed
 Quhair was my chang to tak hir
 Hir leges and armes abrod wer spred
 She sleep I durst not waik hir
 Hir creases on hir goldin heare
 Did kisse hir downe pillow
 Pittie it war that on so faire
 Sould croune hir head with willo

Methought hir belly lyk ane hill
 Most lyk ane mount of pleasure
 At feet thairof thair was a wall
 The deep no man can measure
 About that wall beloe that spring
 Thair groves an lynlie thickit

f. 150

Quhairin two begelles travellet
 To rous the lyvelie prickit

My hundes did hund with cheerfull crie
 About that pleasant montane
 Till an for heat was forced to flie
 And leip into the fontaine
 My begells followed to the bank
 At him ful fast thay bait
 He plunget he lap yet no wayes sank
 His coming out thay wait

Thus come he out then at the last
 All verie watt and tryed
 And lead his head betwix the begells
 As rest he had requyred
 Then thay begoud to rous againe
 And she frome sleep revived
 And dreamed she had me in hir armes
 And she was not deceived

Finis

Ane puritane of latt
 And also ane holie brother
 In catischisame seat
 Full faine he wald haue usit hir

As his maik

Bot she ane bab of grace
And child of reformatione
Held vsing in disgrace
Ane line of profanatioune
For that place

f. 151

He swore thought she said no
He wald of no denyell
The sprit ordained so
That she most byd a tryell
Before she goe

Quhy swear ye thus quoth she
In troth my dearest brother
He might perjured be
Gif I had beine ane other
Not to me.

With this he layed hir doune
The sprit it fell in vorking
Hir zeall it fell in sound
He edified hir mercin
Vp and downe

Then up againe she rose
Quhen that the sprit fantit
The people did suppose
Hir holines was tempit
Beneath the clothes

Our elders thought it meit
That privie meditatioune
For holines sould weep
And suffer still tentatioune
For the sprit
Finis

When Phoebus adrest
His course to the (west)
And tain vp hir rest beloe
And Cynthia apeared

f. 152

In hir glestring weed
Hir light in his stead to bestoe
I walked allone
Attended be non
And sudently hard on cry
Och doe not doe not kill me yet

For I am not prepaired to die

At last I drew neir
 To sie and to heir
 Still streigh did appeir ane schow
 The mone was so bright
 And if such a light
 Quich fittes each wight sould it know
 A man and a maid togidder was laid
 And ever she said o fy
 Och doe not doe not kill me yet
 I am not prepared to die

The youth was so ruffe
 He plucked up hir stuffe
 To the blindmans buff did thay goe
 Yet still she did ly and still she did cry
 And putes him bot by ane noe
 Bot she was prepaired I did regard
 Hir voyce quhen he hard hir crye
 Och doe not doe not kill me yet
 I am not prepared to die

Thus in vain with pleasure and paine

f. 153

She swore to remaine his foe
 She kepit such a koyle quhen he give hir foyle
 Till greater the broyll did goe
 Bot he was so strong and she was so young
 She listed long to cry
 Och doe not och doe not kill me yet
 I am not prepared to die

At last he give over
 And solemlie suore
 To kill hir no mor night
 And bad adew for weill he knew
 She sould tempt to ane new day
 Bot quhen sould pairt it went to hir heart
 And taught hir more art to cry
 O kill me kill me once dear heart
 So sueit it is for to die

Finis

Walking in a midow faire
 Sueit floores for to gather
Quhair primrois bankes groues all in rankes
 To welcome commeris hither
 I hard a voyce wich maid me mus
 And thairto I attendit
 I hard ane lasse say to ane lad
 Once more then on can mend it

Sitting in ane bankes of floores
Imbracing ane ane other

f. 154

More cruell loue was never found
Betuix Cupid and his mother
She revished with ane companie
Quho never wald haue endit
Bot kissed his eyes and to him sayes
Onc mor then on can mend it

Thay war so clos togither
wich maid me much to vonder
I know not quho was ouer
Till that I saw it in hir
Then as he can he blushed for chame
That he so soone had endit
Bot she replyed and to him said
Once more and non can mendit

Sitting by ane butrie busse
To schaw Apollo his beames
Or bankes of rew abundant growes
Wich floweth all with streames
I hard ane lass say to ane lad
Quho never wald haue endit
Hes bot a gusse that bringhes yow in vs
With mor then he can mend it

Then boldly did he ventor
Thinking the fit was on him
Bot quhen he came to enter
The poynt strack bak vpon him
Stay stay sueit stay goe not away
Thought it be now disbendit

f. 155

Strech it againe and hit the wame
Onc mor and non can mend it

She took him in hir armes twa
And kyndlie did she kisse him
Bot he could not persuaded be
For all the gud she wisht him
Till in hir hand she maid it stand
So stiff that non could bend it
Play ye the play cald in and out
Onc mor and non can mend it

Adew adew myne awne sueit heart
It is tyme I war at home

In faith good sir ye doe me wrong
 To leave me heire alone
 Away he went when all was spent
 Quhairat she was offendit
 And maid ane vow lyk ane trojan trew
 She sould haue on to mend it.

Finis

Yow lovers all giue ear now
 To hear my right in love
 For tho I need not fear yow
 My mestres will remoue yow
 Yet I will preas to proue
 She doe belong
 To me to me and non but me
 Saue thos will doe me wrong

f. 156

Giue oathes giue vowes of wisches
 May mak hir love on still
 If sueit and secret kisses
 May mak hir keep good will
 Then I am sure that still
 To me she doe belong
 To me to me tc.

Hir oth to me was euer
 Most constant for to be
 Hir vow this that never
 She sould loue non bot me
 Hir wish was for to sie
 She might to me belong
 To me to me tc.

Then ceas to sutte hir favoure
 For that to me is dew
 I want it with great labour
 Yet will I never rew
 Bot I my dam be trew
 To me she doeth belong
 To me to me tc

Then gallants leaue in tyme now
 To rob me of my right
 Or els quhair ye do clime to
 For quhen att your light
 Then this salbe your songe
 Ach ach alas quhy did I so
 To doe ane gallant wrong

Finis

f. 157

If loue loves trewth then veman doeth love
[EMV 397]

How can I bot lament
Ane accedent befell
Ane young things clothes was rent
Eye witness I my sell
That holy day he did assay
To gane his long desyre
Faine wald I go bot still said no
Being brunt with equall fyre

f. 158

I did against my heart
Most foolishlye seek aid
Quhilk since hes bred my smart
Bewailling I was stayed
Loue vold me goe tho I said no
Ane dismaill day I swore
I was neer smord the fortoune shord
To break my heart for feare

My brother bad me goe
Thair was not tyme to stay
I silentlye said no
My lookes did loue bewray
And then did goe tho I said no
As fancie did me force
In hoop to joy my sueitest soe
I frie went perforce

With that hir mother cryed
Achon quhat sall I doe
My daughter is betrayed
I los my husband too
My husbands lyfe I fear hir stryffe
Sall quicklye bring to end
So he war weill I wish the devill
Sould sonest hir defend

Bot quhilest doun stair we went
My brother did me gud
Fearing my clothes to rent
He fastlye steared *that* tyd

f. 159

My brother drew and still I rew
His gripes I feill as yet
Bot loue and feir maid him forbeire
I feared not ane quheate

And comming to the streit
 The alarme did beginn
 Suords halbarts did me meit
 Thair we gane to runne
 Bot I did fall for fear of all
 And said *that* I was gone
 Then did he say och on this day
 This he begane this mone

Unhappie fatall night
 That first my hoopess bereft
 Whow can I sie the light
 Seing that all joyes are left
 I losse my loue pitie doeth move
 Affectioun breides [?] compassioun
 Then welcome death com cut my breath
 And eas my endles passione.

What can the world else say
 Bot that I forced her loue
 And so I did assay
 Hir mynd for to commoue
 And trew it is that myne she is
 By promis faith and othe

f. 160

And heiring told sche sould be sold
 Judge ye gaue I was worth

To se ane sanct so sueit
 So yong tender so fair
 To plant to sich to greit
 Almost into dispair
 That all hir lyff was woe and stryff
 And was before onc sold
 To ane old man who had no can
 To keep hir frome the cold

And feiring least againe
 Hir fortoune proue no better
 She feared and noght in vaine
 Hir mother wald we settir
 Lyk to ane doug and other thing
 And rop hir at the cross
 Could I forbear for any feare
 To sie that yong thing lost.

Hir plaints my mynd did moue
 She did injoy my heart
 And hir I wowed to late
 Till death sall eas my smart
 In spyt of feare and wondrous heart
 Hir fall I let most dearlie

Till that I die hirs sall I be
 And sall hir love hir heartlie

f. 161

And hir I did awow
 Quhillist that my lyf did last
 Quho euer sall hir let I
 Most set his mynd at rest
 That he sall die or els kill me
 And so be fred of tryffe
 And yet againe to ease my paine
 I heasar sall my lyfe.
 Finis

It fell on a sumeres day
 [EMV 658]

f. 162

O ho the moone the moone so mirrilye schynes the moone
 The may sheat quhair she lay
 She hald not such wit to tak it at hir foot
 Or it to cary it awaye

She callit orrandall for to lyt the candell
 The dore for du and du and du
 For she had sheaten ane barrow full & also a plater
 Hir hose full & hir shoes full too.

Orandall was so slow the fyr for to blow
 The candle then for light
 The maid she cryes againe orandle with ane pine
 Orandle I schyt I schyt I schyt

Up the maid she start with that she lut ane fart
 The dirt stak fast to hir earse
 All thay that saw abrod maid it goe
 And maid wors then it was

It was poyson the schittine hoor had eattene
 The hous stoud all in quhelles

f. 163

And all the way she vent she tought hir ears was rent
 The dirt ran so fast over hir hiles

Wp the maid she ros and to the wall she goes
 Bot water she could haue non
 And all beschyting as she was she tint the staple of hir ears
 And so come beschittine home
 Finis

Be thow then my beutie named
[EMV 402]

f. 164

As at noon Dulcina rested
In hir sueit and schaddow boure
Thair come ane schiphard and requested
In hir lap to sleep ane houre
 Bot frome hir look
 A frowne he took
So deep and frome a fardar boone
 The nympe he prayes
 Quhom to she sayes
Forgoe me now com to me soone

Bot in waine she did conjure him
To depairt hir presence fro
Haveing ane thowsand looks to allure him
And bot on to say him no
 Hir lipes in wo
 And eas delyt
With cheikes else frech as ros in June
 Perswades delayes
 Quhat bot she sayes
Forgoe me now com to me soone

Love sueit hoop hath much invyed
Him to let Dulcina sleep
Could a mans love combined
Or a maid a promis keep
 Bot be her waist
 Held else fast

f. 165

As she was constant in hir toone
 Bot still she spak for Cupids saik
Forgoe me now com to me soone

[mark in margin, 'M?']

Bot no promis nor professione
Frome his hand could purchase chop
Quho will sell the sueit possessioun
Of such bewtie for ane hoop
 Or for the sight
 of langering night
Forgoe the pleasant dayes of noone
 thought non so fair
 Hir speakes wer
Forgoe me now come to me sueit

The secund pairt

With greaue of heart the schipard slept

Up the mantanes to his flookes
 Then he took a rid a (&) pipit
 Echo soundit throught the roockes
 Thus did he play
 And wished that day
 Wer spent and night wer com or noone
 Then silent night
 Yields loves delight
 Ill goe to fair Dulcina soone.

f. 166

Bewties darling fair Dulcina
 Lyk to Venus for hir love
 Spent lykwayes the dayes in passiones
 Murning lyk the turtle doue
 Melodiouslie
 Notes law and hie
 She wrakles furth this dulfull toone
 Och come againe
 Sueit schepard swane
 Thow canst not come to me too soone.

Day was spent and night aproched
 Venus faire was louers frind
 She enterit bright Appollo
 That his steades thair race might end.
 He could not say
 That goddes nay
 Bot granted loues fair queen hir boone
 The schiphard came
 To that sueit dame
 Welcome dear swane both night and noone.

How at lenth agreed tthes lovers
 She was faire and she was young
 Toung can tell quhat eye discoueres
 Joyes wnsen ar sinell [?] song
 Did she lament
 or yet relent
 Except he might or grant she non

f. 167

 Left hir a maid
 Or no she said
 Come to me now stay not till soone (noon)
 Finis

Faine wald I wed a fair young man
 That day and night may pleas me
 Quhen my mynd and bodye greaued
 That had pouer to eas me
 Maids are full of longeing thoughtes
 That bred a bloodnes [?] sicknes

And that of I hear men say
Is onlye cured by quicknes.

Oft I haue bene owed and prayed
Bot never could be moued
Many for on day or so
I haue most dearlye loued
Bot this folisch mynd of myne
Straight loathes thing resolved
If to loue be sinne in me
That sinne is soone absolued

Sur I think Il sall at last
Flie to soone holie order
Quhen I am once sealed thair
Then can I flie no farther
Yet wald not die a maid
Becaus I had a mother
As I was by on brought foorth
I wold bring furth ane vther.

Finis

f. 168

If any haue the heart to kill
[EMV 417]

f. 169

Sall I seik to eas my greif
[EMV 517]

Hir faire efflaming eyes
[EMV 415]

f. 171

Dear quhen to the my sad complent I mak
[EMV 512]

Whit as lillies was hir face
[EMV 473]

f. 172

My love he will forsaick me
[EMV 656]

f. 173

This partiall world so gevin is
To flattring and abitiosnes
It prayes (praises) things of small desyrtes
And leaves throughout all better pairtes

f. 174

We red and sie each day and houre
 That bewtie is ane fading floure
 And we may lykwayes dalye sie
 It advanced admired of each degrie
 The object of each countrie gill
Quhairat each cloune may gaise his fill
 Thairfor I mynd now for to sing
 The commend due of a thing
 More worthie of praise altho it ly
 In darknes and obscuritie
 The onlye cheifest joy it is
 The staitlie still of bewties blisse
 Affectione frome ane utward schow
 Be frome ane place thats doune below
 Sueit ladies all with this place
 That gentill patience I wald imbrace
 If ye wald not offendit be
 I meane no bady thing trewlye
 A creatur dearer then gold or mony
 A Spanish ane french and English cunie
 This treasure it goes but doubt
 Invisible the world throughtout
 In Scotland in Inland in Irland in France
 In Spaine Pickardie and Orleans
 In Holland in Barland [?] in frickland also
 In Capernain and Africo
 In Dutchland and Pamphilia

f. 175

In Muscove and Constant-tenople
 And also among the Turkes people
 In everie place thay doe it vse
 Among the Gentles and the Jewes
 For euerie woman most neidfull it is
 At night when she goes to pupil ? hir ruffes
 For giue ane week it eydle lye
 The world will ceas to multiplie
 A goddess it can no doubt bot be
 To win men canes so far and me
 Thay put that offering in that box
 And clos it vp with stonie rockes
 The purrest and the chaist devyne
 Is glad to offer to that schrine
 To all the world it is knawn full weil
 That in the blak airt she hath great skill
 She will ryse ane sprit at hir command
 Sall blazinlye before hir stand
 She will lay him agane in hir awne mynd
 Without ather tempest storne or wind
 Altho hir natur be bot small
 Scars lenth abrod of ane herring at all
 Such quhenched qualities lyes in this

That morover ane paice maker she is
 Bot let thair be debait and tryffe
 Betuix ane man bot and his wiffe
 Thought all the day thay brable and fight
 f. 176

Yet this makes all good frind at night
 Then old frindship may renew
 With kissing clapping and holding tow
 Such frendly waging such prettie toging
 Such wiffeme and such wantone joging
 So wanton so willing so nimble so prettie
 So mirth lyk this in toune or citie
 Such mouping lyk ane littill ape
 It beares more coloures then ane can schap
 A wylie cunnie: A wantone cunnie
 A nimble cunnie: a schage cunie
 A narrow cunnie: a deep mouth cunnie
 A vyd mouth: and ane onseamlie cunie
 A yellow cunnie: a broune cunie
 And old and ane young cunnie
 Ane grein garrd rid haird schag hard cunie
 A mooping cunnie: and a mirrie cunnie
 A mug mouthed: and a mekle cunie
 A long cunnie and ane large cunie.
 Finis

Though everie thing doeth change by tyme
 Now in the wane quhyles in the pryme
 Yet all the world sall clearlie sie
 The tyme sall bread no chang in me

The soone the moone the planetes all
 Ryse now and straught thay fall

f. 177

Bot my effectione placed on the
 By tyme sall never altered be

Then sueitest sueit since I am so
 Haist thow to help and haill my woe
 And let not heavines nor the sie
 A hinderance to thy hasting be.

Leander had an sea to suome
 Yea that from herod stayed not him
 Then lyk Leandre com to me
 Tho I lyk fortune visch not the.

Tho fortune first our love did cros
 And us lyk babes did blindlie losse
 Yet let not that the mak to be
 Vntrew to thame is trew to the.

Quhen nightingalles and larkes sing dum
 That vinced [?] joyes with stormes ar doune
 Then doe my notes mount vp on hie
 To shew the love I bear to the

I loued yow once I loue yow still
 I joyed sueit joy to doe your will
 And quhat I did for loue of the
 Thair is non sall gaine else much of me

And quhat thow was proue thow the same
 Let tymes ences not queanch [the flame]
 So thow be tyme sall cleirlye sie
 That I am quhoylye ruled by the.

[the square brackets are in the manuscript]

f. 178

Then unto tyme past thy returne
 And mak thy love leave off to murne
 That heavines joyes may end to the
 The sorrowes *quhilk* I byd for the.
 Finis

An courtier and a countrie lasse siting vnder a schad
 He kist her oft hir lippes was soft as ever natur mad
 He owed her in his countrie phraise this maid began to mus
 Guid *sir* *quoth* she complements your countri does not us
 He was yong and to hir flung then she cryes is this
that I byd then he replyed it is ane countrie kisse

Ach prettie bird did hyd his head seiking for to discover
 The secretes that doe hiden lye belonging to each lover
 Each leavie beught did bend his head seiking to overschad
Quhill he vpone faire floores bed did tosie and touse this maid
 Quhen she feils then she smyles and said quhat more of this
 Thair was never mad injoyed she said so sweet a countrie kisse.

And then thay hudght that kist and smugd *quhill* both for breath lay panting
 He thrist she blusht and all was hust he give hir quhat was wanting
 She not forsook bot kyndlie took all that was put vpone hir
 She yeilding lyes and then she cryes ay me ye wald undone me
 Bot at last sport was ~~spe~~ past and he grew fant and werie
 And frome hir fled o sueit she said wilt thow no langer tary.

So in hir armes she held him fast hir cheikes war roses rid
 With that she sighed and cryed allace ay me my madinehead
 Gud *sir* *quoth* she ye haue tane frome me I had of my mother
 Quoth he sueit heart I played my pairt and gottin such another
 Bot his vest she held fast and cryed grant me this
 That ye haue tane restore againe with ane other countrie kisse
 Finis

f. 179

Eyes leave off your weeping

Love hath the touniges in keeping
 That may content yow
 Let not this misconceaving
 Or comfortes are receaving
 Causles torment yow

Cloudes threatine bot a shower
 Hoope hes his happie houre
 Thought long in lasting
 Tyme needes most be attendit
 Love not most be offendit
 With too much hasting

Bot the painefull pleasure
 Quher loue attendes the leasure
 Of loues wretchednes
 Or hoop is but illusioune
 And fear is but confussioune
 Of loves happines

Bot happie hoop that seeth
 How hoop and hap agreeth
 Of lyue depryve me
 Or let me be asured
 Quhen lyff hath death indured
 Loue will reveive me.
 Finis

Come now sueit let us prove
quhill we may the sueites of loue

f. 180

Tyme will not be ours for euer
 He at lenth our guid will seuer
 Spend it not then this gif in vaine
 Sunnes that sett may ris againe
 Bot if we onc los the light
 It is with us perpetuall night

Quhy sould we defer our joyes
 Fames and romor [?] ar bot toyes
 Can not we delud the eyes
 Of a few poore houshald spyes
 Or hes easier eares beguille
 That remoue by your wyll
 It is no sine loves feates to steall
 Bot the sueit thiff to reveall
 To be takin to be seene
 Thes haue crymes accounted beene.
 Finis

What is it all that men passes
 [EMV 399]

f. 181

Goe my flockes get yow hence
[EMV 502]

f. 183

Love me or nought love hir (I) most or die
[EMV 411]

I wald thow wart not fair or I war wyse
[EMV 359]

f. 184

Methought this other night
[EMV 562]

f. 186

Now what is loue I pray ye tell
[EMV 565]

f. 187

Faire women lyk faire Jewels are
[EMV 568]

f. 188

To sigh and to be sad
[EMV 571]

f. 189

Wnto the temple of thy bewtie
[EMV 522]

f. 190

Go passions to the cruell fair
[EMV 524]

Since first I saw your face I resolved
[EMV 525]

f. 191

Ther is a lady sueit and kynd
[EMV 525]

f. 192

I can not injoy peace
And yet I haue no weare

I burne I friz with cold
I hoop and yet doe feare
I mount the heavins aboue
The lawer is my fall
I nothing hold in hand
And yet I compasse all.

At ane selfe tyme I doe
Both rejoy and lament
I still am pleased lykwayes

f. 193

And yet liues discontent
Loue somtymes seames a god
Somtymes a foolish boy
Somtymes I sink in woe
Somtymes I sume in joy.

Loue will not that I liue
Nor yet will let me die
Nor will he hold me fast
Nor yet will set me frie
I liue your boundin slaue
Whos neyther freind nor foe
Who will not hold me fast
Nor yet will let me goe

I want both eyes and tounge
Yet can I sie and speik
I daylie wish for death
Yet efter liue I seik
Sua that twixt death and lyfe
Small differance I mak
And thus I doe indure
Dear dame for your sueit saik.

Finis

Remember me my deir
I humble yow requeyr
For my requeist that loues yow best
With faithfull heart inteir
My heart sall rest within your breist
Remember me my deir

f. 194

Remember me allace
Bot let all rigour pas
That I may proue in yow some loue
To my joy and solace
Trew loue to moue it most behoue
Remember me alace.

Remember me in paine

With wnkynndnes neir slaine
 Through the delay of cruell way
 That in yow does remaine
 Constrained to stay allace alway
 Remember me in paine.

Remember me deir hart
 That of paines haue my pairt
 Your words wnkind sinks in my mynd
 And does increas my smart
 Yet sall yow find me trew and kynd
 Remember me deir hart

Remember me in thrall
 Redie quhen ye do call
 With trew intent I doe consent
 Hart mynd body and all
 Neir to repent bot stand content
 Remember me in thrall

Finis

f. 195

How sall I then discrib my loue
 [EMV 526]

If wemen could be fair and never found
 [EMV 45]

[pencilled in left margin: 'Vere? 1587']

f.196

How should my feeble bodye fur
 The double dolor that I indure
 The murning and the great malure
 Can not desyne
 It doth my bachfull [?] breast combure
 To sie ane vther haue in cure
 That sould be myne

For weill I was never wight
 That could inforce his my and might
 To loue and serue his ladye bright
 And want hir syne
 As I doe martyre day and night
 Without that onlye thing of ryte
 That sould be myne

War I of pissance for to proue
 My lawties and my heartlye loue

f. 197

I sould hir mynd to mirrie (mercy) moue
 With suche propine

War as (all) this world at my behove
 Sche sould it haue be god aboute
 For to be myne

Quha sall my dilled sprits raise
 Since not for loue my ladie gaise
 For and good service might hir mis
 she wald inclyne
 I drie both dolour and desseas
 and vthers haue hir as thay please
 That sould be myne

~~Finis~~

Now quho to sall I mak my mon
 Since treuth nor constancie find I non
 For all the faithfull love is gone
 Of feminine
 I (it) wald opres me (a) heart of stoune
 To sie me lost for hir a loue
 That sould be myne

For nobles hes not ay hes not ay renowne
 Nor gentles ay the gayest gowne
 Thay cary victall to the towne
 That worst does dwyne
 So bussilie to busk I bune
 And vthers eates the verrie doune
 That sould be myne

Quho can not of youthhead dant

f. 198

Let him to lowes curses do hant
 And him as Venus subject grant
 And keip hir tryne
 Perchance he sall find mercie skant
 And able hir reuard to want
 As I doe myne

Finis.

Quho ever thinkes or hoopes of love for love
 [EMV 454]

Goe to bed sueit love tak the rest
 [EMV 574]

f. 199

Doe not o doe not thy bewtie
 [EMV 573]

f. 200

Ther was a willie lad met with a bonie lasse
[EMV 607]

f. 201

Come havie sleep the Imag of trew death
[EMV 466]

f. 202

My father fyne wald haue me tak
[EMV 608]

f. 203

Come loue lets walk into the spring
[EMV 332]

f. 204

Lyk as the doul solsequium with care overcome
Deed sorrow quhen the sune goes out of sight
Hangs downe hir head and drops as dead & will not come
Bot luik her leaues through languor all the night
Till foolisch Phaeton aryse with whip in hand
To cleir the cristall skyse and light the land
Birds in ther bour waits on that hour
And to ther king a glad good morrow giues
Frome hence that that flour lykes not to lour
Bot laughs on Phoebus opening out hir leaues.

So stands with me except I be wher I may sie
My laimp of light my lady and my loue
When she depairts then thowsand dairts in sindrie arts
Thirles through my heavnye (heavy) heart bot rest or roue
My continance declares my inward greif
And hoop almost dispaire to find releife

f. 205

I die I dwyne play doth me pyne
I loath on everie thing I look alace
Whill Titan myne upon me schyne
That I reveiue through favour of hir grace

Fra she appeare, into hir sphear, begins to clear
the dawning of my long desyred day
Then courage cryes (tryes) on hoop to ryse fra she aspys
The noysome night of absence went away
No woe cane me awak nor yet in posch
Bot on my staitlye stalk I flowrish fresch
I spring I sprout my leaues lyes out
My callours hanges in ane heartsome hew

No mor I lout bot stands up stout
 Also glad of hir on quhom I only grew

O happie day goe not away Apollo stay
 Thy cairt frome goinge doune wnto the west
 of me thow makes thy Zodiacke that I may tak
 My pleasour to behold quhom I loue best
 Hir presence me restores to lyf frome death
 Hir absence also schoures to cut my breath
 I wish in vaine ye to remaine
 Sinc primum mobile doth say me nay
 At least thy vaine haist soone againe
 Fairweill with patience perforce till day
 Finis

f. 206

Quhat mightie motioune so my (many) my mischeves
 What uncouth cair through all crops doe creip
 what restles rage my reassoune so bereaues
 That makes me loeth of meat and drink and sleep
 I know not now quhat continance to keep
 For to expell the treasons that I proue
 Alace alace that ever I learned to loue.

And (ane) fanting fevere through my self I feil
 I feill ane passioune cannot be oprest
 I feill ane byll with(in) my bossome veill
 No cataplasme can weill remeid this pest
 I feill my selfe with seiknes so oppresst
 All mirrines makes frome me to remoue
 Allace allace that ever I learned to loue.

My haples heart vnhappiest of all hearts
 Is healed and hurt with Cupids luckes leides
 And thirlit though with many dead darts
 Quhilk inwardlie within my bossome bleads
 My fantacies and full effectione leads
 And makes me say this ay but rest and roue
 Allace allace that ever I learned to love.
 Finis

Joy to the persones of my loue
 Altho she me disdaine
 Fixt are my thoughts so that I may not moue

f. 207

And still I doe liue in paine
 Sall I leaue the sight of my joy and hearts delyt
 Or sall I leaue my suit
 Sall I stay to touch to neir it war to much
 She is forbiddine fruit
 O woe is me that ever I die sie
 The bewtie that did me bewitch

For och allace I most forget hir face
 Hir favour I esteme so much

Och sall I rang into some dail
 Or to the montanes murne
 And echo sall resound my taill
 Or whither sall I turne
 Shall I buy hir love that no loue will to me give
 Bot deiplie wounds my heart
 Give I rine away och she will not cry stay
 My sorrowes I will convert
 O no no no it most not then be so
 Bot comfortles I mast begon
 Yet altho she (be) so froward wnto me
 I love hir or I sall love non

A thousand good fortounes falles to hir skeir (share)
 Altho she hes rewerit me
 And fild my said heart full of dispaire
 Yet euer sall I constant be

f. 208

Earth sall be hir dame, that my tounge sal never --
 Faire brench of modestie
 Choyse of heart and mynd and war bot hald so kynd
 Then sould I constant be
 Sueit turne at last, be kynd as yow ar chast
 And let me in thy bossome duell
 And we sall gaine the pleasoure of loue paine
 Vntill my dearest dear fairwell.

Och then bot let me vnderstand
 The reassoune of hir heat
 Then sould I leave at hir command
 In lyfe in loue and stait
 Then sould I no mor in heart be greved so sor
 Nor feed with discontent
 Bot ever allace I loved, a maid that hath beine proud
 And worthilie I doe repent
 Sure some such kynd is settled in hir mynd
 Which causeth hir to leaue me so
 Sueit scant [?] of mynd and wer bot false so kynd
 As let this occasioun know
 Finis

Quher fancies found his pleasure pleades
 [EMV 43]

f. 210

My loue is bright as enbur bone
 Ane fairer saw I never none
 Sall now be found hir waikes moe
 Except this onlie falt alone

She seames good and is not so.

To seik out through the world quyt
 Ane fairer forme of more delight
 Sall no man find wherever he goe
 War not I know ane thing perfyt
 She seames good and is not so

Wnder the rose both rid and quhyt
 May be ane serpant of dispyte

f. 211

Wuhilk never will depairt them fro
 In earth ar all thing infinit
 She seames good and is not so.

My lady goes not out of kynd
 of others mo she takes a
 Fairrest and false she is bot tho
 So weill I know her bruckell mynd
 She seames good and is not so

For causes thrie I loue hir nocht
 Ane caus that she is light of thought
 The secund she is door and thro
 The thrid it needs not (to) be sought
 She seames good and is not so.

f. 212

Giff thow wald loue or loveit bee
 Kiepe in thy mynd thir thinges thrie
 Be secreitt true, and pacient
 To fater and mother obedent

The feare of the Lord is the beginning of visedom
 But fooles dispise knowledge and instructioun

Tak tent in tyme and not deferr
 Quhen tyme is gone ye vill doe warr

Margaret *Robertsoune* vith my hand

Wpight to liue I sett my mynd
 I never loose quhair anes I link
 I ruise the foorde as I it find
 I plainelie speik ewin as I think
 I searche no fyer beneath the yce
 Nor courtis *with* thoise that makis it nyce

f. 213

For earthlie chance for joy or paine
 I nather hoope nor does dispaire

In sicknes healthe no loise or gaine
 My god I praise and does not caire
 For vealthe for vant for veill for voe
 I force no friend nor feares no foe

I siek not quhair I com not spied
 Att vill I valk and frie of chairge
 No lyff I haite no death I dried
 I doe not laike nor hes to lairge
 I caire no speitche quhair I doe liue
 I tak no vrang nor nane I giue

Quhair I mislyke I doe not kise
 I toyle not for no gried of gaine
 I send not quhair I favour mis
 I irke not quhair I doe remaine
 My vord my vreitt my heairt my hand
 Accordis alwayes in one to stand

No beautie brawe my mynd can vinne
 I doe disdaine noe louesome face
 I knock not quhair I vinne not inn
 I friendlie love quhair I embraice
 I svey not for no storme may blow
~~Me~~ I mount not hiegh nor stoupes to law

f. 214

Extreames are counted most unsure
 The meanest mynd is best of all
 The greatest carie the greater caire
 The hiegher vpe the lower fall
 Betuixt these tuo quho lives content
 Haith more nor great King Creseus rent

Quhilk great contentment I yow wis
 And all your sower translaite in sweet
 I would be glaid to heir of this
 I long bot hes no hoope to meitt
 Yitt friendis ar friendis thought fortune mooue
 Nought will dissolue a loyall love
 finis

[geometrical
 design here]

Sonnatt

On onlie one both day and night I pance?
 On onlie one soe satled hes my thought
 On is my choice thought non haiff beine my chance
 On is my hap albeit my hope be nought
 The worthynes of on my woe hes wrought
 On hes me maid the most vnhappiest shee
 The blushing blinkis of one deir haiff I cofte

On sies me sighe and sob, and will not sie
I liue for one one liues to sie me die
One onlie one knowes my cairfull caice

f. 215

One better luiffes ane other on nor mee
One lookes and laughes at my mishape allaiice
One onlie on that luiffes one alone
That onlie liues to loue hir onlie one
Finis

Remember man as thow goes by
As thow art now, soe once ves I
As I ame now soe must thow bee
Remember man that thow must dye

All men think on the houre of death
And the great god above
Its sweet to die thocht ye be loath
Syne liue vith Chryst your love.

Margaratt Robertsoune with my hand

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