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A Documentary Edition of Alexander Craig’s ‘Pilgrime and Hermite,’ 1631:
Print and Manuscript Culture across the Union of Crowns

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Abstract

This thesis presents the materials for a documentary edition of Alexander Craig’s ‘The Pilgrim and Hermite,’ the facsimiles of the manuscript, a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript & a transcription of the printed witness. These texts are found in Edward Raban’s 1631 print of Craig’s The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue, and NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14 or The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book. This thesis presents the first available transcription from the manuscript and facilitates the comparison of both texts.

The first objective of this project was to make the manuscript text available for further study. Prior to the text itself is an apparatus including a description of both the print and manuscript witnesses and a linguistic description of the manuscript, the data of which is available in the appendix. Secondly, the discussion of the text is evidenced in and commented upon by the culture surrounding the print and manuscript. I have provided the context of each witness and have begun work to document the transmission of the text, the findings of which will necessarily form a separate study.

The project is a proof of concept for future work on Craig and editorial studies. Where the sixteen hundreds or, as Priscilla Bawcutt describes it, ‘the neglected seventeenth century’, in Scotland has been charged with detracting from the mastery of the Makars, it is now proving to be a critical area in forming narratives of literature in Scotland. Bringing texts from this period into contemporary literary theory, historical materialist approaches are proving fruitful and encouraging discoveries of networks of literary interests and practice, evidencing experimental and versatile uses of text. These literary pluralities are paralleled in the textual pluralities of the manuscript and print culture of Scotland. Through the further study of manuscript miscellanies, commonplace books, and anthologies, we are starting to form a picture of how texts were used and transmitted, and how they functioned and were understood.
Abbreviations

DNB    Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
DOST   Dictionary of Scottish Language
NLS    National Library of Scotland
OSc    Older Scots
PDE    Present Day English
I

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents the material for a documentary edition of Alexander Craig's 'The Pilgrim and Hermite' (written before 1631). Documenting the material evidence of the text increases access to the textual information for interpreting the text; editing text in such a way argues against the definitive aims of the critical edition. This thesis uses the 'The Pilgrim and Hermite' as an example of how documentary editing increases access to the information used to understand the poem in its contexts and transmission.

The following sections present a diplomatic transcription of 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' attributed to Alexander Craig (1567-1627) as found in the commonplace book of an early eighteenth-century Scottish family living in Muiresk, Aberdeenshire. Until Michael Spiller\(^1\) unearthed the poem (dated 1631) from within the 630 folios of the manuscript in 2008, the sole witness of the poem was an Aberdeen 1631 print, lacking quire b. Described as a "curious long alliterative poem,"\(^2\) the two witnesses each present a different text, both of which raise questions about the other. Presented in this dissertation with facsimile images of the manuscript and a


reproduction of the print, the transcriptions complete the materials for a documentary edition of the poem which gives an interpretation of the manuscript and the text in its contexts.

1.2 Rationale for a New Edition

The rationale of the editing process hinges on the motivations for producing a new edition. The purpose of this edition is threefold: to provide the text lost from a quire of the extant witness in print, to present the different treatments of the text between both print and manuscript witnesses, and to comment upon the inclusion of this text in the commonplace miscellany. The particular witnesses of Craig's poem demonstrate the function of documentary editing to provide parallel reading; having two comparable witnesses different in form, function, and date allows a diachronic study of the textual evidence for the transmission of the poem. This documentary parallel edition provides different readings and attempts to document the different witnesses of the poem to present and understand the transmission of the text.

In the prefatory dedication to the poem’s patron, William Forbes of Tolquhon, Robert Skene aptly describes the poem as a “fatherles Orphane:” with the production of neither witness being overseen by Craig himself, the text was never realised by the man who authored it. In fact, each of the two witnesses to the text, to continue Skene’s metaphor, was parented by
different compilers\(^3\) who assembled their work for quite different purposes.

Craig's only poem to be published posthumously, *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue* was reprinted from the sole surviving 1631 print and included in *Poetical Works*, edited by David Laing for the Hunterian Club in 1873.\(^4\) Robert Skene prepared the manuscript for print, who "having collected the dispersed, and long neglected Papers of this subsequent... Poesie, the Posthumes of the Departed... [took the] boldnes, after the Author's expiring, to publish, and present...[the printed text]." \(^5\) The discovery of a witness in *The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book* which is not only complete, but offers a distinctly different reading of the text than previously printed, demands an edition of the text which takes both versions and their differences into account.

In this thesis, I provide the first transcription of the poem from ff.108r-113v NLS Adv. MS.35.4.14, together with textual apparatus, including a critical contextualisation and editorial policy, and an appendix containing the list of contents of the hitherto undescribed manuscript and facsimiles of the poem itself. The 42 stanzas missing from the print can almost be slotted into the printed text, but it becomes clear from the comparison of the transcriptions that they were two quite different texts and it could be argued that, without the discovery of the lost quire, the printed text remains incomplete.

\(^3\) From St Bonaventure’s vocabulary in his *modus faciendi librum*: “Compilator: another writes the work of others with additions which are not his own, and he is called a ‘compiler’.”

\(^4\) The 1631 copy from which Laing worked is now held in the Huntington Library, California.

\(^5\) Robert Skene, ‘Preface’ to *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue*, (Aberdeen: Raban, 1631) pp.3 -4. (p. 3)
The current edition is split into four parts. First there is the editorial and textual apparatus, followed by the transcription of the manuscript, the transcription of the print, and, finally, the facsimiles of the manuscript. The *fishe signilature* and the description of the manuscript content, and further description of booklet containing the poem are provided in the appendix. Where the possibilities for a new edition seem boundless, the following discussion pays most attention to interpreting the newly available evidence from the manuscript text.

1.3 NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14 or 'The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book'

The *The Pilgrime and Hermite* is witnessed in ff.108-113r of National Library of Scotland, Advocates Collection, MS.35.4.14 or The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book. Originally housed in the Advocates Library, MS.35.4.14 was donated, along with 750,000 non-law books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps and sheet music, to establish the National Library of Scotland in 1925. The shelf mark of the Advocates Library remains on f.1r: JacV.2.18, indicating that the manuscript became part of the collection before the 1770s. Shelf marks composed of the names of early Scots kings were shelved together in what was known as the Regal Room, before being redistributed into the NLS shelf mark system. A note in the catalogue records the range of texts across the whole manuscript:
A composite volume consisting of several commonplace books of William Thoirs of Muiresk, b.1666, covering the years 1705-24, but also containing earlier material.

They were bound together but not in chronological order. Some are made up from old legal style books (ff.161, 197, 248, 331, 479), one, (ca.1697), belonging to a James Strachan (f.199). The contents of the volumes are predominantly Episcopalian and Jacobite in sympathies, covering a range of theology, drama, poetry, polemic and ephemera. There is a copy of Dr Archibald Pitcairne's Anti-Presbyterian play The Assembly (f.162) and also several pages of elaborate cipher drawings (f.186). The contents are partially indexed.

The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book is a vast collection of texts and data which has hitherto not been catalogued or researched. The manuscript was originally comprised of at least three separate codices, evidenced by the inclusion of two original casings and corresponding measurements. The texts which are included range from legal to literary, and were not copied in chronological or indeed any discernable order. The NLS catalogue notes that the book was in use from 1705-24, and contains earlier material. Dates are spread throughout the commonplace book, providing texts dated 1609 on the same page as those dated 1724. The 630 folios were separated into 22 booklets by the staff at NLS after being moved from the Advocates Library and numbered in pencil at the top right-hand corner. There is no original pagination and the booklet order does not
attempt to reconstruct the original codices. Appendix A shows a table of
data pertaining to the measurements, material and general content of each
booklet.

   Booklet ff.101-148 contains 'The Pilgrime and Hermite'. The
analysis uses this booklet as a basis and compares it to the only other
corresponding booklet is ff.3-50. Both booklets measure the same
dimensions and are seemingly made from the same paper. Observations
have been made by comparing the treatment and ware - other useful
distinguishing features, such as chain lines or watermarks, are not present.
Piecing together the original contents order of the commonplace book is
another project, however, if we, at present, concede that the booklets were at
one stage joined, the argument for a relationship between these two booklets
is strengthened by a comment on each referring to content of 'the o[the]r'
book, f.124r & f.5v, which continue or add to the texts on these folios.
Thus, the present study focuses specifically on the content of each of these
booklets, presumed to be written roughly in the same period of time, listed
in Appendix B. Due to the wide range of material, this study cannot begin to
speculate on the motives for including 'The Pilgrime and Hermite', however,
the content of these two booklets provide a significant sample of the literary
interests of the Thoirs scribe, e.g. a summary of the anonymous Scots play
Philotus (f.127r), excerpts from the Gesta Romanorum (f.101v-104r), and
odes by Anacreon with translations by, among others, Peter Wedderburne.

   The manuscript is predominantly made of paper which varies in
quality, but generally there is very little damage to the page which only
occurs around the borders. Where texts are illegible it is due to smudges or faded ink, rather than paper damage. Folios 53 and 100 consist of two layers of rough paper sewn together which encase ff. 54 - 99. Both f.199 and f.534 consist of wood wrapped in varnished vellum. These two folios provide the front and back casing of a codex, the binding of which has disintegrated, so it is not possible to identify the original foliation.

Examining the palaeography of the manuscript holistically, the hand is the same throughout and can be confidently attributed to William Thoirs as he signs his name on some folios, practices his signature on others and provides his seal on f.186. As quoted by Simpson:

Sir Hilary Jenkinson [...] noted in English practice of the later middle ages a distinction between what he called 'set' and 'free' hands, that is, 'between writing, on the one hand, as it ought to be and as it was taught, the writing of ceremony, ... and, on the other hand, writing as it was practised by a large and growing class who made their living by it and prized most highly, of all the gifts of penmanship, rapidity."

William Thoirs certainly falls into the latter category. His hand is a mix of free crabbed secretary hand and italic, using fine italic for proper names, majuscules or emphasis, which varies in width and aspect according to space on the page.. Invariably cursive, his hand condenses lobes and angles

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slightly to the left in some places, while straightens and widens lobes in others, never clearly differentiating between shafts, minims and ascenders. Most often the initial looped 's' or 'h' are in italic form. Punctuation is used sparsely and sporadically throughout the commonplace book, favouring the use of the colon (:) and double-virgule (//) to denote line divisions.

Flourishes, otiose strokes and decorative doodles are frequent throughout the commonplace book; William's signature and initials are regularly practiced and decorated in the margins. The ink used does not vary much throughout the commonplace book, but falls into either black or brown, and, in instances of corrections, the black is the base ink with the brown superimposed. Where there are corrections or insertions on the text of 'The Pilgrime and Hermite,' they are done in a neater secretary hand and include corrections to letter forms, words, and sometimes circling words or marking entire lines with an X.

As discussed in section 2.9, the commonplace book evidences an active reader who engaged regularly with the manuscript. Though it cannot be readily ascertained by the current project whether Thoirs used the commonplace book as a prompt for performance, or as a record of social reading; however, one indicator could be the different direction of the verses, especially on the first four folios. Often manuscripts which were used for song would have the verses written in different directions so the singers could stand around the manuscript and see their parts. The range of uses which he puts the codex to demonstrates a mind for whom literariness was a functional as well as entertaining and expressive mode.
Alexander Craig's 'Pilgrime and Heremite' was the only poem of his to be published posthumously and as a separate. The original print is titled 'The Pilgrim and Heremite, In forme of a Dialogue.', first printed in 1631 by the university printer Edward Raban (STC 2nd edition, 5957, 36pp) and is currently held in the Huntington Library, California. The book was bought by Henry E. Huntington in the Britwell sale of 1923 from Wakefield Christie-Miller who had inherited it from his father, Samuel Christie-Miller (1810 - 1889), who had, in turn, inherited the Craigentinny and Britwell estates and their content from his cousin William Henry Miller (1789 - 1848). According to the Huntington catalogue, the Britwell sale also furnished the library with Craig's 'Poetical Recreations' (Finlason: London, 1609), 'Poetical Recreations' (Raban: Aberdeen, 1623) and his 'Poetical Essayes' (White: London, 1604). Miller was a member of the Roxburghe, Bannatyne, and Maitland clubs and his entry in DNB notes that "acting through the bookseller Thomas Thorpe (1791 - 1851), he consistently came away with the great literary rarities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries... assiduously [pursuing] poetry, romance and ephemeral prose":

Miller's collection was reported to have been left to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, but in fact descended with the Craigentinny and
Britwell estates to his cousin Samuel Christy (1810–1889). The latter took
the name Christie-Miller, and also represented Newcastle under Lyme, and
he added considerably to the Britwell Court library, particularly at the sales
of Thomas Corser's library in 1868–76. In 1852 he printed thirty copies of a
specimen catalogue of William Henry Miller's collection, compiled by
David Laing, and in 1873–6 issued a small edition of a fuller catalogue,
covering in three volumes the areas of divinity, voyages and travel, and
British history.\(^7\)

It is from this copy Laing reprints the poem in *Poeticall Works*
(1873), adding that "for all [Skene's] pious care, the poem ran no small risk
of utter oblivion, as only one copy of it has been discovered, and that one
deficient of four leaves."\(^8\)

Craig's printed material was collected by David Laing from the
libraries of the Earl of Ellesmere, James Maidment, and the Samuel
Christie-Miller estate for the Hunterian Club's edition of 'The Poetical
Works of Alexander Craig', printed in Edinburgh, 1873 in a print-run of 210
copies. Other than replacing black letter for roman type, Laing's copy of
'Pilgrime and Heremite' sustains all the features of the 1631 print, including
Raban's decoration, errata, and the eight pages indicating the missing quire
which are left blank apart from the running titles.

For the print, then, it can be supposed that there were multiple exemplars of
an unfinished poem which were gathered together from Craig's estate by
heirs and presented by the poem's dedicator, Robert Skene. In his *Poeticall

\(^7\) Janet Ing Freeman, 'Miller, William Henry (1789–1848)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford

\(^8\) David Laing, "Introduction" to *The Poetical Works* pp. 1 – 21. (p. 21)
Recreations (1623), Craig does indeed write to his patron Lord George Gordon, Earle of Enie, of "better stuffe (which is yet unseen)" which could plausibly refer to The Pilgrime and Heremite, a poem which could have been under long revision without completion before the poet's death. This may also account for motivations to publish the poem in its unfinished state.

1.5 Contextual Statement

Alexander Craig's 'Pilgrime and Heremite' was the only poem of his to be published posthumously and as a separate. The poem runs to 110 verses, 42 and a half of which are missing from the print. While researching for his entry on Craig for the DNB, Michael Spiller unearthed the manuscript copy, for which a short note in the catalogue reads 'Alexander Craig, the Pilgrime and Hermite. Copy c.1712 by 1631'. To solve the problems of the printed text, this thesis presents a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript and contextualises the transmission of the text.

Preceding the manuscript version in The Thoirs Commonplace Book (ff. 108v - 113r) the inscription reads 'The Pilgrime and Hermite Composed be the learned & famous poet Mr Alexander Craige of Rose Craige Banff Britannie first copied out of his Manuscripts the penult day of Febry 1631 by Mr James Kennedy agent 1631'. The hand in which the poem is copied is consistent with the rest of the miscellany: a mixed compressed secretary hand which uses a slightly larger and more fluid italic aspect for proper names. The poem appears to have been copied in one sitting, with
corrections to the text being made in neat secretary hand and with different
ink.

The inclusion of the date is consistent with dating of liturgical and legal
texts, royal addresses, and the odd musing or elegy on a specific person, but
the literary texts in the manuscript are generally not as specifically dated as
the 'Pilgrime and Hermite'. Another oddity of this poem is that, outwith the
context of the surrounding folios in which it has been formed into its current
booklet, there is very little correction and revision to the texts in the
manuscript. This is not to suggest that the poem has pride of place, but its
copyist did revisit and revise it to a greater extent than he did his other
'personal publications'.

Contributing to the hypothesis that this text was also copied from
dispersed manuscripts, the following evidence is supplied. The numbering
of the verses is inconsistent in two places: there are two verses numbered
'44', a number '45' with no verse and no '46' either in number nor verse. The
penultimate and last verses are both numbered '109'. The ink of the numbers
is added later (though not much later, the ink dries the same but the numbers
are superimposed where they cross with letters) which could suggest that the
verses were copied and then the navigation was confirmed subsequently. At
verse 95 and 96 there seems to be a confusion in copying where the scribe
has reordered the verses and used decoration to denote the direction for the
reader to take. Similar to most decoration in the copying of the poem, the
scribe directs attention to the text for a reader. While it is noted that the
different directions and varied layout of the verses conserves space, the
poem is the only text in the two booklets which varies the use of the space on the page quite so much. In copying the surrounding texts, the scribe has chosen (or has inadvertently used) the folio in the usual manner or upside-down. In the 'Pilgrime and Hermite' we find the paper being turned and turned again, relying on bracketing and numbering to create a logical sequence. The different directions of the stanzas and the errors in numbering of course, equally could be attributed to scribal error, which would be more than conceivable given the length of the poem and the rate which it was copied at.

In the above-quoted inscription that heads the poem in the MS, the genitive phrase preceding 'manuscripts' refers to Alexander Craig, so it is the author's manuscripts from which this version of the poem was copied. It seems unlikely that Mr James Kennedy would have copied from the disparate manuscripts, keeping the unfinished original in parts, without collating them into a sequence from which the Thoirs scribe copied. This prompts the question whether the same series of manuscripts informed the printed version, if so, why are there significant differences in language, phrase and ideology between the printed and the manuscript version?

Initial evidence points to the identity of Mr James Kennedy as secretary to the 2nd Marquis of Huntly, George Gordon. As Craig's patron,
Gordon's secretary could very well have had access to Craig's papers. The witnesses then fall into competition with each other: each claiming Craig's authorship in 1631, one in Edinburgh and one in Aberdeen. Any future study of the poem would require a contextualisation of the differing patrons and could benefit from an exploration of Gordon's character and literary interests. It is outwith the scope of this thesis to ascertain the whereabouts or travels of the manuscript as copied by Kennedy, and then Thoirs; however, a brief search through the archives at the University of Aberdeen reveals that the two families were in regular contact with each other over the years 1644 to 1745.

2.1 Textual Apparatus

This section describes the language used in the manuscript and, where relevant, compares the manuscript witness with the printed witness.

2.2 Morphology

None of the plural nouns in either witness retain the Older Scots plural noun ending -is. Where the inflexion -es is found in the manuscript, it occurs on countable nouns, eg. bankes, cheekes, hewes, but the manuscript mostly

the next ensuing Sunday to be excommunicate (although Pasch-day) throughout all the rest of the kirks of Scotland. This is to be noted, that this committee of the kirk, without citation, probation, process, or sentence, according to their own discipline of kirk, went on most maliciously to excommunicate this nobleman and some of his friends without lawful process, or any reason, but for his loyalty to his master the king; doing all they could to make him odious in the sight of the people; but the marquis wisely beheld all. See the very act of the committee of the General Assembly made there anent.” (Vol.2: p.373)
reflects PDE -s. This inflexion -es occurs far more frequently in the printed text, where it is used at the end of almost every plural noun. The usage pattern matches both in the verses and in the preface. All genitive singular nouns end in -s (without apostrophe) with one exception in the manuscript: ‘Ruthes’, V28.

The pronouns found in the manuscript are:

1st person: I, me, my, ma, we, us, our
2nd person: thou, the, ʒe, thy
3rd person: m: he, him, hes
            f: she, her
            n: it, hes.
            pl: yair

There is no distinction in the use of ʒe and ʒou: they are used interchangeably for plurality and register. Present in the manuscript are the relative pronouns quhich, quhos, quho, and quhom. In print, both the forms which use ʒ- and quh- have been anglicised into their PDE equivalents: th and wh.

Endings of comparative and superlative adjectives in both the manuscript and print reflect the use in PDE. Occasionally in the manuscript the adjective retains the OE ending -e, as in 'sharpe'.

10 The expansion of the contractions into the anglicised 'quhom' (as opposed to OS 'quham') is supported by textual evidence and discussed in the Transcription Policy.
In both the manuscript and print, present tense verbs behave as in PDE and follow the Northern Personal Pronoun Rule. This is evidenced by the use of I, thou, the, he, she as the subject of the clause coming immediately before the verb. Weak verbs in the preterite tense do not reflect OS -it, -ed instead, both in print and manuscript. Most strong verbs in the manuscript reflect PDE convention, except in two instances where the preterite tense remains the same as the infinitive, as in:

V37 & er he come to his health hold his hurt sore
V109 And of yat sweit seimlie saint : he held himself sure

In the manuscript, the verb 'would' is distinguished as a modal auxiliary verb when positioned after the pronoun, ie. ‘I would’. The infinitive comes before the pronoun, as in 'would I...'.

The printed witness presents a much more anglicised text. Originating from OE inflexions, the singular nouns in the printed witness are inflected by -e; however, this is not present in the manuscript at all, eg. (ms) feet, (print) feete. Verbs in the 2nd person singular position in the printed witness follow the rules of EME grammar: delightest, doest, etc. As discussed in Section 2.9, the linguistic choices of Craig demonstrate his combination of both Scots and the fashions of English he found at the southern court. The printed Pilgrime and Heremit is no more anglicised than Craig's other printed works.
2.3 Orthography

Comparing the spellings across print and manuscript, variations include:\textsuperscript{11}

VOWEL 1: OSc /ī/ > MSc /ei/

drigh, dry, drye; stryff, striff, strive; desyre, desire, desire

VOWEL 2: OSc /ᵻ/ > MSc /ī/

fair, fare, fayre; remaine, remayne; disdane, disdaine, disdayne.

VOWEL 3: OSc /ᵻ/ > MSc /ᵻ/, /ē/

bein, bene, beene; leil, leall, leile; speed, speid, speede.

VOWEL 4: OSc /ā/ > MSc. /ᵻ/

caiçe, case; hail, haile; sake, saik.

VOWEL 5: OSc /ō/ > MSc. /ō/

noise, noyse; choice, choyce; joind, joynd.

manuscript prefers [oy].

VOWEL 6: OSc /ū/ > MSc. /ū/

doune, down; withtouthen, thou, thow.

\textsuperscript{11} The numbering of the vowels follows A.J. Aitken's as found in 'How to Pronounce Older Scots' in \textit{Bards and Makars: Scots Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance}, eds. Aitken, McDiarmid & Thomson. (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1977) pp. 1 - 21.
VOWEL 7 OSc /ō/ > MSc. /ū/

doe, doeth, doo; duits; duell.

VOWEL 8: OSc /ai/ > MSc /ēi/ & /ē/

faire, fayre; dispair, dispaire, dispare, dispayr.

VOWEL 9: OSc /io/ > MSc /oi/

noise, noyse.

VOWEL 10: OSc /ui/ > MSc /ui/

foyled, voyd, coy; poynt, point; voyce, voice.

VOWEL 11: OSc /ei/ > /ē/ > MSc /ī/

weil, weall; sweet, sweit, sweete.

VOWEL 12: OSc /au/ > MSc /ā/

frawne, dawne, awne.

VOWEL 12a: OSc /al/ > MSc /au/

swallowd, call, fall, all.

VOWEL 13: OSc /ou/ > MSc /ou/

hower, houre, neighbour, Successoure;
VOWEL 14: OSc /eu/, /iu/ > MSc /iu/
new, anew, trew, drew, creaw.
manuscript only: creawe, heaw, ceaw, leaw, leaws, sheaw, weaw.

VOWEL 15: OSc /u/ > MSc /u/
mind, mynde, mynd; fynd, finde.

VOWEL 16: OSc /ĕ/ > MSc /ĕ/
feite, eite, sweite, Conceit.

VOWEL 17: OSc /ā/ > MSc /ā/
wes, was; branches, riches, shes.

VOWEL 18: OSc /ŏ/ > MSc /ŏ/
corps, corpse; worlde, world.

VOWEL 19: OSC /ŭ/ > MSc /ŭ/
under; come; unto, vnto; song, songe.

Variation of [y], [th], & [ʒ]:
The scribe tends to write [y] for ð as in yair, yairof, yen.
For 0, the scribe frequently interchanges [y] and [th] as in ye, the,
consistently preferring to use [th] for the 2nd person singular objective
pronoun.
Of the 40 times where [ʒ] is present, 20 are ʒitt; 5 are ʒow/ou; 4 are ʒe; 3 are ʒett; 2 are ʒeare(s); tuiʒ; fraʒen; freiʒe; freenʒie; Timomʒe; ʒon.

[ʒ]is not used at all in print and [th] is used for [y].

use of [ũ]:
manuscript: Manũscripts, thũs, groũ, Mũrne, soroพลũrs, frũit, waũnt, soũr, saũe, rũle, tũaine, loũpe, trũe, orgraũe, mũch, Croũne, sorroũ, fortũne, thoũgh, neptũnes, doũne,
print: none.

use of [ff]:
manuscript: Ffor, Ffirst.
print: none.

use of [β] :
manuscript: counβled, ffelβ.
print: none.

Variation of qu, quh, & wh:
manuscript: qu- x16 in quod, quyle; quh- x135 in quhair, quhen, quhom, etc.; wh- x34, usually whyl-.
print: consistent wh-.

-s/-ce variation:
manuscript: flowis, thais, finis/ since, grace, space, quhence, countenance, caice, presence, distances, etc. -ce is preferred.

print: Pilgrimis, finis/ whence, chance, caice, alace, presences, pearce, etc. -ce is preferred.

-we/-ve/-ue variation:

manuscript: hawe x 11, cawe x 3, abowe x 2, grawe x 2, salwe x 2, sawe x 2, creawe; love x 58, live x 11, have x 7, move x 6, prove x 4, above x 4, grieve x 3, cave x 2, gave x 2, braive x 2, remove, deseive, thrive, alive, strive, give, relieve, revive, serve; loue x 6, haue x 3, graue x 2, caue, saue, deserue.

print: loue x 28, haue x 10, liue x 5, caue x 5, salue x 2, graue x 2, aboue x 3, gaue, craue, remoue, leaue, thriue, aliue, wyue, prooue, reviue, moue, captiue, greiue, serue. No -we or -ve.

-th- for -d- variation:

manuscript: burthened.

print: none.
2.4  **Rhyme**

The main stanza form in the poem is has 10 lines and, as a standard, which have six long lines with four stresses and four short lines with two stresses. The first half lines ranging in length from 5 to 8 syllables and of these, the stress falls on two to four. The second half lines are from 4 to 6 syllables long, of which two or three are stressed. Where the scribe has room each of the 10 lines has its own space, but more frequently the lines in positions 7-10 are written into the final two of an 8 line stanza, marked by a colon. Verses 1 - 80, including those marked Pilgrime (and then Eubulus), Erophilus, Erophilus letter to Poliphila, set this trend and from there, the distribution of rhymes is thus:

81: Poliphila ere she wrott this disput with her selfe. ababbcc
87: Pilgrim: 8 line ababcdddc
89: Erophilus: continuous couplets.
89: Pil: 10 line ababcdddc.
90: Poliphilas answr to Tra-Erophilus: ababbcc
91: Pilgrime: 4 lines in couplets.
92: [cont]: aabbbc, & so 91 & 92 make a ten line stanza.
93: Erophilus his Testamente: 4 lines in couplets.
94: Eubulus: 4 lines in couplets.
95[cont]: aabbbc, & so 94 & 95 make one ten line stanza.
96: [cont]: ababcddc ten line stanza.
97: Poliphilas Complainte: ababbcc.
Craig deviates from the main stanza for rhetorical effect. In the whole poem, it is only the Hermit who speaks in couplets. Often, these will contain 'poulter's measure' which has been identified as a characteristic of amatory laments and Craig employs it in another three of his poems: 'Scotlands Teares,' 'Calidons Complaint', and 'Elizabeth, Late Queen of England, Her Ghost' in his *Poeticall Essayes*, 1604.\(^{13}\)

The rhyme scheme of the verses in the printed text are mapped onto the poem by Mackay's study of the poem, included in a survey and comparison of Older Scots alliterative poetry:\(^{14}\)

Forty-eight stanzas composed of six long lines followed by four short lines appear in the course of the poem: thirty-eight in the introductory narrative, including the narrator's separate encounters with each of the lovers, two in the account of how he carries Poliphila's letter to the hermit, one as he gives him the letter, one prior to the sequence described as "The Heremite His Testament", two describing the approaching death of the hermit, and four as the narrator tells of the reconciliation of the lovers.\(^{15}\)

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\(^{15}\) [Mackay's footnote] *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig*, pp. 5-12, 21-22, 24, 26, 27, 31, 33-34.
In comparison to the texts examined in the thesis, "The Pilgrime and Heremite contain a high proportion of defects in alliteration." Mackay's analysis of the printed text is detailed and comprehensive, and a further study would benefit from a comparison of the alliterated stress patterns used in the manuscript to use in discussions of Craig's stylistics. The scope of the current study, however, focuses on the 41 and half stanzas which, if not complete the print text, do fill in the missing parts of the story.

2.5 Alliteration

With few variations, the lines in position 8-10 of the rhyme scheme will have 2 or 3 alliterating words, mostly 2 to each line. In this case, the alliteration pattern of the last 3 lines is a phonaesthetic device:

34. For whyls it revived me to note the nyce wife
   quhich billows of the brawe broockes on green bankes gawe
   through the sweet sound yairof my heart did rejoyce
   quhen cliffs of the cold clenghs ye cold streams cleare
   somtyms I attend to the sweet warbleing nots
   quhich birds on y brawe beughs did thirle thringe yair throats
   whyls the bussing of the bees : Though the tops of tail
trees
   wald my hurt heart heit : as they fell xx furth in flits
The sequence of voiced bilabial stops in 'bird on y brawe beughs' is then repeated by the tongue on the voiceless non-sibilant fricatives in 'thirle thringe yair throats,' interrupted by a voiced one. As it is placed, the most stress falls on line 10, drawing attention back to the hurt of the hermit. The repeated fricatives over lines 8 and 9 build up to an anticlimax in 'my hurt heart heit' by a trio of voiceless glottal fricatives, emphasised by the preceding iamb, and dissipate in voiceless labiodental fricatives which mimic the birds falling forth in their fleits.

From here the alliteration of lines 1 - 6 is fairly flexible, where the most a line has is in v.39, l.2: & sometime I swrvd sure a sueit seimly saint.

2.6 Vocabulary

The poem stands out in Craig's oeuvre as a long alliterative pastiche, dialogue, and complaint, full of characteristic archaisms and phrasings. The stanza forms and alliterations facilitate poetic diction. For example, methought; Leid, wight; tint trauell, trawel tint; on muild.\textsuperscript{16} In v.32 - 74 there are twelve different expressions for Erophilus' complaint,\textsuperscript{17} sixteen

\textsuperscript{16} Taken from throughout transcription.
\textsuperscript{17} thy presence bade; duits of dispaire; droune me in dreade; worse caice; frett; fume; consume; death; thy doome; myne alon; false fortune; nofrand.
referents to Poliphila\(^\text{18}\) and fifteen constructions which use alliterating synonyms.\(^\text{19}\)

The poem is written in low style. There is one coinage which occurs in verse 105: ‘exequall’ for which the DSL entry records its first usage by Craig (*Amorous Songs*, 1606). Included in this edition, a glossary follows which notes borrowings and etymologies; the poem is written in predominantly low style diction in a synthesis of Scots and English spellings which fit with Craig’s use of English in his other writings.

2.7 Palaeographic Evidence

*fiche signaletique*: see Appendix C.

[ts] evidence to support transcription of 'Manuscripts':

\[
\text{manuscript/is} \quad \text{statuts/is} \quad \text{respects/is} \\
\text{throats/is}
\]

\(^{18}\) mistres, my sweite, leaw lou, semly saint, nyce wife, she, myld maid, my love, false faciledame, my host, Dear Dame, hur, suiet saint, read rose, muise.

\(^{19}\) Company & counsell; dispaire, dreade; fret, fume, caire; death, doom; suite, semly; branches & beughs; the great & the good; greiffe and pyne; dispair & dwyne; dispair & cryes.
Example of Inked Overlay

2.8  **Insertions, Corrections, and Deletions**

As shown in the previous section, the text which was copied has been edited with different ink. The following section isolates every correction, deletion, and insertion, and compares this with the print. As can be seen, the majority of the changes correlate with the decisions made in the printed text; however, there are a number of insertions which are not recorded in print and there are many changes in the print which are not shown on the manuscript witness. The list below categorises the changes made to the manuscript by the second ink into insertions, marked lines & changes made to the manuscript which are not present in the print. There is no evidence to suggest that the manuscript was proof for print, indeed, if it was included in
the manuscripts used to compile the printed text, Skene must have substantively changed the copy made by 'Ja Kennedy. '

**V2.**

MS as fast as my feet might I still **forward** followed fair

Print As fast as my feete might, forward I fare.

[insertion]

MS to the bush I wes brought

Print To a Bush was I brought

[insertion]

**V6.**

MS but since thou art heir hapt so god me **speid**

Print But since you are heere come, so GOD mot mee speede

[insertion]

**V10.**

MS as a **bound** beadman into her y works all my woe

Print as bound Bead-man to Her that workes all my woe

[insertion]

MS this ditto indorsd **yair** shall weall writtne be

Print This Diton indorsed shall well written bee

[not present in print]
Most mad man why lowes thou thy liffs for thy host

Mad man! why mak'st thou thyne enemie thy hospe?

[insertion]

V14.

Stay still saith my will yet

Stay, sayes wil Will yet.

[not present in print]

V15.

But quair thou wold seime to salwe all my faire

But where thou wouldst seeme to salue all my sore

[insertion]

V.15

Yet liwer & lights both did light in this love

Through Liver, Lungs, and Lights, fly vp in a low

[not present in print]

yat I dye let so be

That I die, so bee it

[not present in print]

V18.

quhat grace gaine can thou heir gaine in dole still to dye

What grace canst thou get, in duill heere to die?

[insertion]
V20.
MS revive me again
Print May reviue mee agayne.

V22.
MS an he yat deserts weall to reap Leist reward
Print And hee that deserues well to reape best reward
[not present in print]

V23.
MS advyse the on his be never too trew
Print Advyse thee on this well. Bee never too true
[insertion]
MS and though both say & swear thy mynd shall not move
Print Though thou sweare and say thy mynde shall not moue
[marked with X]

V24.
MS if she's stray be thou
Print And if you well doe
[insertion]

V25.
MS & were I wise (weall witt yow wott) I wold doe the same
Print And I f that I were wyse, I would doe the same
[not present in print]
Nor oure presence *pearce* procured and quhen I wes placed yair

Than did her presence perfect mee, when I was there.

[not present in print]

Half dead in deserts he*ire* why should I duell

Halfe dead in Desart, heere why should I dwell

[insertion]

or why murne I for quho means not my moane *good*

Or why mourne I for her that keepes Disdayne?

[not present in print]

I dare not alace do it Till my wows tyme be gone

My Vow is so vayne.

[not present in print]

I fettered my fond fancie *be-to* her fair face

That fettered my fond Heart in her fayre Face. not present

Ruth. mend in sorcplurs Ruths love with gods leaw

[not present in print]

yat Ruthes love with the *love* be to my love lent

That rueth to my ruethless Love had beene lent

[not present in print]
MS & Cupid I ceaw call the.
Print And Cupid, I call on thee
[not present in print]

V29
MS As is best lyketh her & the cost lott alace
Print As shee well pleaseth, the best is but Claise.
[not present in print] from the missing pages

V32
MS by duits of dispaire is to drive droune me in dreade
Print [missing]

V35.
MS To slay my hunger startd stomaik whyls would I eite
Print [missing]

V36
MS I laike my leaw loe
Print [missing]

V37.
MS poor patient suppose yen thou lowpe to be Paust
Print [missing]
MS but sins thou perceivs weil I would sie ye sound
Print [missing]

V42
I knew a College to cane cure all thy caire

yet thy pains shall the propell

yrs yrs Some saw for each sore saue blind love alone

& Orpheus can weal all tell

e yer Q. her crown'd

In hell heav'n earth seas by ris bolts burns abroad

for had thou power to prswad as doror orator of Rome

The best counsell yet I cane

My limbs & my legs both I lenne quod they left
And fra night to morrow

The great & the good god grant grace thou may speed

Thus our we tuaine of farewells judge miriads wertaine

He na words of for wae speiks

To and sad Echo shaill sing

The moist mountains amange in spring

Playnts boldlie the(r)y Inke murne & show thy love

He dyes alace because his senses show

in wofull words yat his such is her content
MS which makes the beast quhair she aboad to bleid
Print [missing]

V66.
MS are quyte forgot & she is tryd turnd untrew
Print [missing]

MS die yen poor heart and bide ye world delyt adieu
Print [missing]

V67
MS in vallies ways unto amidst the woods & trees
Print [missing]

V73
MS or air yow not yet at the noise of these my nyce newes
Print [missing]

MS ffor Christs saik if yow caire
Print [missing]

V74
MS Sir Telephus ye trojan tyrane as trew stories tell
Print [missing]

MS yat wrought ye woe by ye reward it as height by Dight
Print [missing]

MS bot on you man have remorse
Print On your Man have remorse

[insertion]
Least each yow & him divorce

Least Death him and you divorce

[not present in print]

V75

quehen libertie and liffe both hath lost with a yor looke

who Libertie, and Lyfe both, hath lost with a Looke.

[not present in print]

V80.

but things feles feiles on they feet thus friendlie doth faire

But through the Fieldes on thy Feete friendlie doest fare

Thow shall sall on the way walk or stay in the street

Thow shalt walke on thy way, and stay on the Street

[insertion]

v.80 MS & hence throu a hoole heard eare

And through a hole I heard

[not present in print]

V 81

In principall & In [illegible] noble parts ar pynd

When all the chiefe and noblest partes are pynde.

[not present in print]

V 82

& I for my saint my slawe for me is slaine

& I of his threed of myne he keips ye kniffe
Yea, for my loue with slaverie is slaine

How shall I rid this strange and fatall stryfe?

Which is the best Advise to yeelde vnto?

But, when I knew his voice

The wild woods among

For to expresse their piercing paines, and cause their Cares bee kende

In Skyes aboue, on earth beneath, nor in the glassie Sea.

In sheaw yair sade and pearceing pens panis & cause yair cairs be kend

in earth in air in vaults above nor in the glassie sety a sea

89 Erophilus Complaint
No Metaphorick phrase nor quick invention braue

No Metaphoricke Phrase, no high Invention braue

I haw no method left to me to havme how my warks I may be
and nothing doth wrage my matchless greiffe so Much

Thus in effect I wot not how my wracks to bewray
And nothing doeth aggrege my griping greife so much

My hote aand smoothred sighes, no levill course can take:

Long have I lookt for joy, whence floods of sorrow spring

For loe ye faithless fayr into this state me calls

for loe ye faithless fayr into this state me calls
& mounting me may mack ye plead for my- thy peace tyme about
And mounting much, might make thee pleade, for Peace thy time about
[not present in print]

V99
since poysons coupe quhich I hawe drunk so deipe
And hath not ye-to proclaimd my peirles paine
[no corresponding verse] [no correspodning verse]

V102
of any hope yat hawe but horror felt (render st of ship)
And did mistrust my true and constant Loue
[not present in print]

V107
And so whilst yat rarest pearle depainting out her painte
And so when that rare Pearle departed out of paine
[not present in print]

V108
wonder of hie world
This is the Worldes most wondrous worthie Wight
2.9 Initial Conclusions

As an accompaniment to the newly presented edition, this section provides the context of the text and presents initial findings of the project. This thesis set out to solve the problems of the incomplete 1631 print of 'The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue,' by constructing an edition which included both the print and manuscript witnesses, alongside manuscript facsimiles, to provide a resource which can best study the transmission of the text through its different works. The following discussion offers a contextualisation of the text through its works and the agents involved in producing them, and points to potential areas for further study.

Alexander Craig (1567 - 1627)

Described as "the most underestimated of all Scottish writers,"20 what scarce biographical evidence there is paints Craig as a colourful character: an opportunist at court, a lover of wit, and a loyal supporter of his king. Born to

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a burgess, he followed in his father's footsteps and then studied alongside
Robert Ayton for an MA at St Andrews University, graduating in 1586 and
quickly being appointed as notary in his hometown, Banff in Aberdeenshire.

Craig was a courtier at the Scottish court of James VI & I, and
followed king and coterie south after the Union of Crowns in 1603. The
writerly objectives of James VI &I encouraged and facilitated a thriving
group of court poets who took their lead from 'Ane Schort Treatise
Conteining Some Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in
Scottish Poesie' (Edinburgh, 1584), which formed an exposition on the use
of language and form in Scottish poetry designed to realise this attention to
poetics and situate Scotland strongly within the European literary culture. If
Reulis and Cautelis was the James' manifesto, his court poets were its
champions. Whether a deliberately constructed band or a poets including Craig, Robert Ayton, Alexander
Montgomerie, John Stewart of Baldyneiss, William Fowler, and William
Alexander formed a regicentric literary circle that was very much concerned
with language and how language could be used to describe the world; to
disseminate moral and spiritual reflection; to play language games,
incorporating styles from wider European Renaissance literature and
continuing the conception of reading as an important moral and, sometimes
more pertinently, social practice which had been passed down by the early
Makars. There is no room in the present essay to discuss Craig's literary
influences or adoptions and adaptations of James' literary tenets in his Reulis

21The once popularised term 'Castalian Band,' used to refer to James' court poets, has been debunked by
Priscilla Bawcutt's article in The Scottish Historical Review 80, no.210 part 2 (2001), pp. 51 - 59, 'James
VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth' which re-examines the assumptions made about this terminology.
and Cautelis, and the treatment of these by the court poets, but RDS Jack's
detailed assessment of Craig and his role at court reveals a character who
was well integrated in court society who used a collage of imitation and
allusion, veering away from James' favoured amatory fashions of Petrarch
yet continuing to foreground classical imagery and metaphysical wit.  

Self-fashioning himself as Scoto-Britane on several of his title
pages, Craig outlines the initial difficulties in straddling both English and
Scots language at court saying: "the one innated, I cannot forget; the other
as a stranger, I can not vpon the sodaine acquire." Here, it should be noted
that to automatically read linguistic choice as an expression of national
preference or prejudice would be erroneous: though the Union of Crowns
and the wider use of the printing press coincide with the anglicisation of
writing in Scots, there was not always the hegemonic agenda which came in
later centuries, but, in the initial decades of the union, Scots writers were
presented with a new range of stylistic options to choose from. Though
some criticism mislabels Craig's metre as faulty and his mastery of English
was somewhat to be desired, his use of both languages evidences a
practiced craftsmanship inspired by new surroundings, demonstrating the
'ingyne' so aspired to in the Reulis and Cautelis.

Craig's first published work was printed by William White in
The poetic output of the northern court almost ceased around the Union of Crowns. Not one to miss an opportunity, Craig says in his *Poeticall Essays*:

When others cease, now I begin to sing;
And now when others hold their peace, I shout.\(^\text{25}\)

In this collection Craig wrote predominantly in sonnets, highly praising the King and his wife Anne, and committing his poetical career to the king's favour. Following in the footsteps of Alexander, Fowler, and others who were influenced by James' infatuation with Sir Philip Sidney, Craig published a collection of amatory verses in 1606: *The Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies*, again printed by William White in London.

His shouting worked: Craig was appointed legal secretary to George Home, Earl of Dunbar in 1606 who served as Treasurer at court. The Earl has been described as the "virtual chief minister in the affairs of Scotland and North England," earning himself his own brand of control: "Dunbar's Border hegemony."\(^\text{26}\) Working with the king's implicit trust, Dunbar supported the political activities of the Earl of Argyll in introducing acts to revive episcopacy. In January 1609, the king appointed him "to steer the Convention of Estates, in order to crush those "contrarie professouris" who had arisen since the last General Assembly... by imposing bishops on the presbyterians."\(^\text{27}\) Though his personal religious opinions were never revealed, it should be noted here for later discussion, he was described by Guy Fawkes as "the greatest heretic in all of Scotland," and came under fire

\(^{25}\) Craig, *Poeticall Essays*, (p. 7) Quoted by Jack. (p.378)


\(^{27}\) Sizer. (p. 248)
from the staunch Presbyterian David Calderwood for his fickle attitude to religious practice. Accounts of his personality and attitude to his job refer to him as a formidable character who kept his laws by his reputation and Machiavellian sensibilities.\(^{28}\)

By 1609, Craig is back in Banff and married to Isobel Chisholm. The reasons for Craig's return to Scotland are unclear, but it is perhaps too easy to fit upon him the narrative of the "disillusioned"\(^{29}\) Scot returning home from the English court. Keeping up with the political career of Dunbar could certainly have driven him to settled retirement. Or perhaps he simply preferred his 'small house with a decent garden, comfortably furnished, and a little slope that yields me masses of roses'\(^{30}\) in Banff to the London court. Whatever the reason, by 1609 Craig had returned to Scotland and published *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig of Rosencraig* in Edinburgh, printed by the king's Edinburgh printer, Thomas Finlayson. Craig is appointed commissioner for Banff in the Scottish Parliament and remains in Banff until his estate is recorded as being inherited by his son James in 1627.

On James' only return to Scotland at Kinnaird Castle in 1617, Craig contributed verses to the speech which John Adamson presented him with in 'The Muses Welcome to the High and Mighty Prince James'.\(^{31}\) And the last publication which Craig oversees is in 1623, where Edward Raban prints for

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\(^{28}\) Sizer. (p. 251).

\(^{29}\) R.D.S Jack, 'Chapter Four: After the Union' in the same author's *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972), pp. 90 - 144. (p. 92).

\(^{30}\) Latin epigram in Craig's collection *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig of Rosencraig* (1623) p.35. Translated by Spiller in DNB article.

\(^{31}\) Reprinted in *The Scots Magazine; Or, General Repository of Literature, History and Politics* Volume 56, pp. 317 - 319. under the heading 'Curious Speech Made to James VI of Scotland at the town of Perth'.
him a new set of poems under the same title as his 1609 collection. The book is printed for the bookseller David Melville and dedicated to George, Earl of Enzie, &c, the eldest son and successor of George, first Marquis of Huntly, whose "active share with the royalists in the North is well-known, till he was taken prisoner, sent to Edinburgh, and tried, where he was beheaded at the Market Cross, March 22, 1649."

In the epistle dedicatory in the 1623 collection, Craig speaks of "better stuffe (which is yet vnseene)" which could refer to the manuscripts from which 'The Pilgrime and Heremite' was formed. Certainly he did not intend that to be his last publication, as he writes in 'The Author's Resolution':

But I will sing, even to the day I dye;

Birds to themselues make Mirth, and so shall I.  

Solving the Problems of the 1631 Print

'The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue' stands out in Craig's oeuvre as his only poem to be published as a separate text and to be his only posthumous publication. It was printed in 1631 four years after he died by Edward Raban, Aberdeen's first printer, after it had been compiled by Robert Skene. Described by Spiller as "a bibliographical curiosit[y]," the 1873 collection of Craig's work by David Laing meticulously reprints the missing quire from the original as blank pages. Supplying the transcription

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32 Laing, 'Introductory Notice' in Craig, Poetical Works, ed. Laing. (p.18)
33 Laing. (p.4)
34 Laing. (p.34)
35 Spiller, 'Found in the Forest'.(p. 377)
beside the print completes the poem's exposition; however, it becomes clear that the manuscript used by Raban presented such a different text that, unless the missing quire is found, the text in print remains incomplete. The following discussion identifies some problems of the print posed by the manuscript witness, and exemplifies how the comparison can illuminate possible conditions surrounding the print's production.

The poem is an alliterative pastiche which falls more readily into the complaint genre than the titled 'dialogue'. Narrated by the Pilgrim, we are taken into his dream where he wanders through the forest and stumbles upon the cave of a Hermit who he overhears moaning about his lot in life. Through exchanges between the Pilgrim and Hermit, it becomes apparent that the Hermit's love of a woman, Poliphila, is unrequited and that this is the source of all his woe and isolation. He persuades the Hermit to write a letter to Poliphila which he then takes to her, in a short horse ride. Delivering the letter, the Pilgrim eavesdrops on Poliphila while she decides what to do. In a confusing turn of events, she writes the Hermit a letter refusing his love and gives this to the Pilgrim to take to the Hermit, yet she decides to follow after him knowing that the letter will be the cause for the Hermit to end his life. On reading her letter he does just that, but reawakens as Poliphila finishes her Complaint and the lovers ride off into the woods together, leaving the Pilgrim to wake from his dream. The allegory which is left open to the reader of the manuscript is explicit in print. Craig includes a concise moralitas in the 'Poeme' which concludes the printed text; the interpretation of which is illuminated by Michael Spiller's recent article:the
first detailed study of 'The Pilgrim and Hermite' which takes both witnesses into account. He reads,

The Hermit as mankind alienated by sin... The Pilgrim is mankind repenting and conveying a message to God; and the Lady is of course the mercy of God leading man from death to the holy land... We could allegorise the idea of the two covenants - the covenant of grace, vouchsafed in the New Testament by Christ in person, which saves man from death, but which is preceded in time by the written covenant of the Law, by which man is condemned to die. The Law precedes, as it were, with its written message of punishment for sin, and the living presence then follows, on a palfrey (which should symbolically have been a donkey) to resurrect and save. 36

Applied to both witnesses, Spiller's interpretation of the print's 'poeme' allows us to look back at the farcical ending with religious understanding. Working on the assumption that Craig was substituting a Christian allegory for a secular romantic complaint, Spiller goes on to discuss how "the Pilgrime and Hermit are manifestations of sinful man, the Hermit man in a state of despair, resigned to death, and the Pilgrim man in a state of repentance, sending out for help." 37

If writing for a conservative readership, Craig would possibly leave out the Classically suggestive names as they are found in the manuscript version: Eubulus, Good Counsellor; Erophilus, the man in love with love,

36 Spiller, 'Found in the Forest,' (p.386)
37 Spiller, 'Found in the Forest,' (p. 388)
and Poliphila, lover of many. Here, the names point to a possible source: the 1499 Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, a popular Renaissance text which was written by Francesco Colonna. This text, which tells the story of Poliphila's male namesake, Poliphilo, recounts his story of being transported by a dream into a wild forest after he is shunned by his beloved, Polia (many things). Though this love and strife poem lacks the Pilgrim and the letter writing, it does incorporate the double dream of Craig's Pilgrim and provokes another reading of the ending. Rejected by his lady once more, Poliphilo falls dead at her feet until, blessed by Venus, she returns to him bringing him back to life with a kiss. As Poliphilo wraps his arms around her, she disappears and he wakes from his dream. The parallels with the Pilgrim and Hermite do not go much beyond this, but it is interesting to consider the hinterland of love and strife narratives, especially when considering the Pilgrim's role as the narrator and mediator of a star crossed couple with borrowings from Henryson's Testament of Cresseid evidenced in his description of the 'heaw horie Hermit' (V.4) being infected with the 'leprocie of love' (V.47).

Agreeing with Spiller's contrafactum hypothesis that Craig was rewriting a secular text for a religious audience, it is not difficult to assume that the changes in print were made to the expectations of his intended readership(s). The political and religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries dominated the ideologies of societal organisation. The beginning of a new era saw “instability evident at every level of society, as

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38 Considered beside the favole boscherecchie texts which Spiller cites.
39 Craig, 'The Pilgrime and Hermite' as transcribed in present edition: Verse 107:“ yett whilst I dreamd in this double.”
traditional beliefs and ways of doing things, and established order, gave way to uncertainty and fear.

Scotland's monarchy had been disputed for centuries, resulting in a continued pattern of minority sovereigns. As Wormald discusses, the convergence of minority government and religious disturbance paradoxically worked in Scotland's favour. With a succession of young monarchs, the Scottish court had learned to rely more heavily on its government and kirk than did its European counterparts.

In 1618, the General Assembly sat at Perth to convene over James VI & I's most controversial policy applied in Scotland, the Five Articles of Perth which would see kneeling during communion; private baptism; private communion; confirmation by Bishop; observance of Holy days, being integrated into the practice of the Presbyterian church. Craig voted in favour of the Five Articles of Perth and, though they were passed by the General Assembly in 1618, they were not ratified until 1621. Both Craig and his patron, the Earl of Dunbar, were loyal to the King and could have aligned themselves with his politics without necessarily agreeing with his assertion of Episcopalian practices north of the border, so it cannot be assumed that Craig was necessarily religiously less Presbyterian or Puritan leaning than those who voted against the Five Articles. Irrespective of Craig's personal views, it would be doubtful that a text resembling the manuscript witness would have been printed in the politically contentious atmosphere of the printing press and book trade. Had Raban and Skene come across earlier

41 Wormald, 'The Growth of Protestantism,' (p.96)
42 Jack, 'Chapter Four: After the Union,' (p. 92).
versions of the Pilgrime & Heremite, there would have been plenty
motivation to edit the poem to fit contemporary Protestant aesthetics: the
output of the printing press and its printer were under close scrutiny.

There are several incidents which point to Raban's acute awareness
of the politics of his craft. After a period in Leiden, Edward Raban (d.1658)
arrived in Edinburgh in 1620 and set up printing in the Cowgate before
moving to St Andrews. After the Reformation, the sponsorship of printers
came from the upper classes, passing the responsibility from the clergy and
the crown, to an aristocratic set of patrons. From St Andrews, he seems to
have moved to Aberdeen under the auspices of Dr Robert Baron, Bishop
Patrick Forbes, bookseller David Melville (the latter paid his rent until
Melville's death in 1635).\footnote{The duty was fulfilled by Melville's son, Robert, who sold a substantial collection of books to meet the payment of rent. JP Edmond, \textit{The Aberdeen Printers, Edward Raban to John Nichol 1620 - 1736}, (Aberdeen: J&JP Edmond: 1886) p.37 .} Forbes & Sir John Menzies, vouching for
Raban, arranged a patent from James VI: "the unusual nature of the
agreement to employ Raban suggests that the council was particularly
concerned to introduce book production to the burgh."\footnote{Alistair J. Mann \textit{The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720} (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000) (p. 9)} Raban's
appointment to the University as printer (evidenced in 1622 when a salary
of 40 pounds Scots was ordered to be annually paid to him)\footnote{Edmond, p. 37.} is
simultaneous with his appointment as printer for the University and for the
Kirk. Later, in 1638, a propaganda stand against the Covenanters by the
Aberdeen Doctors was aided by access to Raban's press: The Covenanters
published their reply to the Aberdeen Doctors' demands, not realising that
Raban's press had been used previously to print those demands, ready for
publication to belie the Covenanters' answers. Calling each other's bluff, "...there followed a complicated exchange of papers between the two sides, with Raban printing the papers of both." 46

Of the 109 47 books printed by Raban in Aberdeen 1620 until 1633, 26 of these were printed for David Melvill and of those 25, 6 were Older Scots texts. Additionally, he authored the works: Raban's Resolution Against Drunkennesse, Raban's Resolution Against Whoredome, Raban's Resolution against Sabbath-breakers (1622) and The Glorie of Man, Consisting in the Excellencie and perfection of Woman... (1638). From autobiographical writings in the former works, we learn that Raban had left England as a runaway apprentice to join in arms with Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Critically, the gap in Raban's biography was filled by John Philip Edmond in his Last Notes on the Aberdeen Printers, where he links Raban as an apprentice to William Brewster and Thomas Brewer of the Pilgrim Press in Leiden. The printing of the Perth Assembly, by David Calderwood, situates the Pilgrim Press in the "the pamphlet war against the Five Articles of Perth." 48 A resolute opposer of James VI & I's attempts to impose episcopacy on the Church of Scotland, his writings were sent over to Leiden to be printed before being smuggled back into the country. And, as Duff discovers,

46 Stevenson, p.320
48 Mann, (p.87)
A very short examination of the books from the [Pilgrim Press in Leiden and Raban's at Aberdeen] presses will show that many of the ornaments and initials are the same, while some of the initials of both are marked by the same blemishes... there remained places in Scotland where Calderwood was popular, and it was perhaps through his advice, for he was at the time himself a refugee in Holland, that Raban started to seek his fortune in Scotland as a printer.  

In 1639, Raban was called in front of the General Assembly when he and his wife were accused of 'injuring and dinging' members of the General Assembly on Christmas eve, 1638. Under suspicion of editing a Psalm book with the Book of Common Order, or Presbyterian Liturgy, which was included in the appendix of the Psalter in 1640, he was accused of deliberately shortening the end prayer by instruction of an anti-covenanting Aberdeen minster, though he "pleaded it was simply for lack of paper that he had curtailed the prayer, humbly asked pardon of the Assembly, and was dismissed with a caution." Raban ends his career printing less

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50 James Gordon writes: “Some letters wer founde wrytten by the bishop of Rosse, concerning the printing of the Booke of Canons, and a timber piecee of tailly du pierre, whereupon was cut the Kings armes, to be printed into the frontispiece of that booke. These letters wer publicky reade in the Assemblye, as if they had imported something very extraordinar; but ther was none present to ansuer for them. Only the printer, Edward Raban, ane Englishman, was calld upon; and because they could not formally challendge him for printing the bishopps canons, therfor it was objected that he had manked ane common prayer in a new edition of the psalm booke, which some yeares befor he had printed, in a large octavo. It was a forme of ane evening prayer, whence he had tucken of the conclusione for want of paper, it being the closure of the last sheete of the booke. There wer other copyyes of that prayer readde, and they wold needs the printer confesse that he had throwne away all that clause out of designe, or by warrant of some of the ministers of Aberdeen. The printer protested solemnly, that what he did was of himself, and was done for want of paper; and simply that if they wer offended, he craved them humble pardon; that he
controversial books: school books, theses, sermons and theological
discourses; almanacs and lighter pieces for Melville.

Looking at the textual evidence from the *Pilgrime and Heremite*
and Raban's printing history and close partnership with David Melville
makes the motivations for printing Craig's work clearer. As Spiller notes\(^{51}\),
if his friends and executors did indeed know of the longer work which Craig
was working on, they would have been eager to have it edited and
published. The 1631 is dedicated to William Forbes of Tolquhon\(^{52}\) who had
legal connections to Craig,\(^{53}\) and possibly links to the later printers in
Aberdeen, Forbes&Forbes. There could also have been motivations to, in
the habit of Craig, follow the trends of the times and publish a substantial
work of contrafactum which may have appealed to the same audience which
praised Elizabeth Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603; 1604 in English).

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\(^{51}\) Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', (p. 386)

\(^{52}\) This is not the same William Forbes as the Bishop of Edinburgh.

compired Eduard Raban printer in aber and granitit and confest him restand auchtand to Mr Thomas Gray
late baillie of the said brugh Thrie score punds usuall Scotes moy for paper ust & reeavve be im from the
said Mr Thomas. Qihilik sowme the said Eduard acts publest him to pay the said Mr Thomas within terme
Recent scholarship demonstrates the unique insights which miscellany manuscripts can offer to the studies of Scottish literature. A recent survey of Scottish miscellany manuscripts by Priscilla Bawcutt notes that,

A printed book's readership was potentially large, geographically dispersed, and mostly unknown to author or publisher. A manuscript's readership was likely to be smaller, close at hand, more intimate. One might roughly analyse its components as the compiler; his or her family and friends; and later generations of the family.\footnote{Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century’ in \textit{English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700 vol.12}, eds. Beal & Edwards, pp. 46 - 65 (p.58 - 9).}

Printed publication was not always the goal, and the copyist scribed print to manuscript, as well as manuscript for print.\footnote{Bawcutt, ‘Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies’, p.56.} In the seventeenth century, Scotland had a dependency on English presses - academics and scholars sought English or Continental imprint for their works.\footnote{David Stevenson, ‘A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: the Scottish Covenanters and their Printers 1638-51’, (p.317)} Scribal publishing and manuscript circulation offered an environment for texts outwith the control and surveillance of the printing press.

Where studies have favoured the printed book, the analysis tends to be on the production and supply rather than demand. Ranging from the
carefully copied to hurried scrawls, miscellany manuscripts provide the student with evidence of a deliberate reader, and sometimes, if we are lucky, evidence for the circulation and reception of texts. It can, however, be a danger to try to piece together too accurate a narrative from textual evidence only. The editor of any manuscript brings with them a preconceived framework for the text to fit; each reader, or student, situates the evidence they glean from the manuscript into their own learning trajectory. Focussing on the manuscript evidence relevant to the present discussion, the parameters of the following section are set around the literary content of the booklet containing ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’, ff.101-148 of NLS Adv. 35.4.14 and the corresponding booklet in size (therefore presumed to originally have been bound together with it) ff.3-50, and sifts out a few texts of literary interest, using the manuscript as a guiding "critical barometer of literary tastes and fashions [which] like a microcosm [are] representative of a larger constellation of writing and book culture.”

The function of the Thoirs manuscript was not the same as poetry miscellanies such as the Bannatyne or Asloan manuscripts. Whereas the Bannatyne manuscript was a constructed literary anthology, William Thoirs used the folios that now form the booklets of the manuscript to record a wealth of translations, poetry, sums, records of legal cases, sketches of heraldry, etc. A modern equivalent to a commonplace book might be found in scrap books, diaries or even Facebook where news cuttings, poems, and social commentary are gathered by one individual and transformed into a

collage of literary and pictorial interests which can be communicated to others. The emphasis is on collection, understanding and communication, of using text to identify and identify with text. Foucault describes this act of ‘self-writing’ as hypomnemata where commonplacing books are constituted not of private accounts to create a narrative of oneself but are rather:

a material record of things read, heard, or thought, thus offering them up as a kind of accumulated treasure for subsequent rereading and meditation [they also] formed a raw material for the drafting of more systematic treatises... the intent is not to pursue the unspeakable, nor to reveal the hidden, nor to say the unsaid, but on the contrary to capture the already-said, to collect what one has managed to hear or read...58

In the context of eighteenth-century culture, literacy was a widely recognised and ever-dependable touchstone of social differentiation: writing and reading are always historically and socially determinate events. And so, to read and to write, to be proficient with text, was a privilege whose presence or absence decisively distinguished one member of contemporary society from another. As practiced in Georgian England,

Commonplacing, as it had come to be understood by the early eighteenth century, was consequently ideally positioned to play

an integral part in modern culture... it was a physical artefact
with a prodigious capacity for shaping literary preferences and
intellectual habits: a bespoke compendium of knowledge where
facts and figures, anecdotes, news, opinions, judgements,
paradoxes, puzzles and, above all, evidence of human thought
and feelings, could not only be contained and conserved but also
anatomised and absorbed.59

The evidence of active reading and writing in the commonplace book proves
it is an artefact imbued within the culture in which it was used. Thoirs is an
active reader, regularly inserting marginalia with some commentary on the
copied texts inserted into the margins and doodles of a wandering mind
beside text, mostly Latin translations, and occasionally small one-line quips
inscribed into the narrow margins of the folio:

f.108r:  25 octor The Life of Crispianns & Cripsine Hand
        Curo Invidram Honour & many [b]ritorys doe crowne . The
        name of Crispiais wt renoune Whilst new Conquerour doth
        prove . And dine at home a royal ladys love a gentle craft yt hath
        ye art . to steal into a ladys heart
        Heir yow may sie what youth & love cane doe The Croune
        stoups to the maker of a shoe [15 verses]
        [horizontal & inscribed along with the above]  

59 David Allan, Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). (p.32)
Reader remark qts writtne be the poet / a women & maids love
men though few doe show it

The folio after ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite,’ f.14v, there is an explanation of
markings which indicate he was recording what symbols he used to correct
his copy:

Appendix of nots Wherin som things mistaikne (marked thus X)
or not so clearlie exprest (marked +)

This self-conscious writing practice is also evidenced on ff.19r-21v where
tables of writing and letter forms are introduced, followed by extensive
eamples of textual codes and explanations:

They 2 next tabls haw exampls of placeing the 4 Wowells by
writing & learneing to Joyn the double consonants & letters & to
joyne yor prepositions & terminations according to the
alphabetical rule.
a dash from the end of the word stands for (z) also whon to
abreviat words by leaving out the superflous letters and when (e)
must be omitted...

Fascinatingly on the folios after ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite,’ Thoirs records
a guide to his markings, which could logically be applied to the markings on
ff.108v-113r. I have been unable, as yet, to identify what text this was copied from.

f.114v  [3rd down] Dilemma is sin or suffer If he had escaped he wold haue tempted weikns his sufferings rayr and encouragement yn stubleing block.

1710 Quam non Roma ferox quondam dominata somne gentes perdomint Scotia viela piet… [10 verses]

Appendiex of nots Wherin som things mistakne (marked thus X) or not so clearlie exprest (marked thus +) in Mc:Ken3ies insertions They ar heir helped and explaind And the Innovatons since his tyme in or lawis heir sett.

The ‘Mc:Ken3ie’ referred to here could possibly be the same George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh we find on f.333v where Thoirs has copied from his book of Heraldry. There are a wealth of names, books and connections yet to come from the manuscript and further investigation into William Thoirs through his commonplace book would benefit seventeenth-century Scottish studies, philological, literary and historical. Already, there are indications of William Thoirs’ politics, writing practice, and literary interests, demonstrating the amount of evidence for speculation which can be gleaned on first readings of the included texts.

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60 See Appendix.
Turning to the literary works around ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’, a summary of Philotus\(^1\) is recorded on f.127r. This anonymous play has been accredited to the court of King James VI with reference to an Elizabethan prose text called 'Of Phylotus and Emelia' by Barnaby Riche which was assumed to be the source by the editor of Philotus in the 1930s, Anna J. Mill\(^2\). This has been questioned by R.D.S. Jack\(^3\) and disputed by Jamie Reid-Baxter who takes into account the Latin and Italian influences from the 1530s, asserting that Riche's was not necessarily the source and it is more likely that Philotus originated at the court of James' mother, Mary, Queen of Scots\(^4\). Whether a product of the middle or late sixteenth century, the play certainly embodies the Renaissance penchant for rhetoric and experiment, elaborating the allegorical characters who frequented the medieval morality plays.

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\(^1\) 127r ‘Excellent Comedie in prose & old verses of old Philotus of 80 years wes extreamlie enamored of Emilia of 14 years daughter to Alberto & qn nether he nor the macreal or pandress yt he imployd nor yet her [quod] fathers extreamiest threats could prevaill with her to desert Flavius ane able man who sought her [flourish] THEN she puts Philerno her twine brother & putin in her cloths whom both her fayr & PH. mistaking for her PH. maries him for her. Wherupon FLA. rekned her false or ane incarnal dewill & uses many conjurations agt her [flourish] And PH. comits his supposed wife to the custodie of his dawr Brissilla And philerno least he should hawe ben discovered beats & brawls philot9 extreamlie & hyrs a whore to lye with him. In end alls reconsiled by albertos repenting the force nyr his deiiir as he thought by Flavious seinis his mistaik he mares Emilia & Philerno: Brusilla & Philotus at death qo repented his fondness for Emilia of 14 years of age.’ To be discussed in a future publication by Theo van Heijnsbergen.


\(^3\) When discussing authorship Jack deduces that the play must have been written before the King's Reulis and Cautelis as it breaks the rule of rhymes on the same syllable; “...few poets after 1585 were brave enough to flout James's critical opinions to his face.” When cross-referencing phrasology Jack notes similarities between the 'Castalian' poets and Philotus, however these could have been references to earlier texts from the court of Queen Mary, the period which Baxter puts forward. Baxter, 'Philotus,' (p. 52).

\(^4\) This is founded on convincing evidence which includes linking Philotus first of all to the Latin play Gl'Ingannati which was a “pioneering text”( Baxter: 56) of the 1530s, then to the tradition of commedia erudita of the 1530s Italian court, he Queen's fondness of masks and the wealth of European comedy in her library. George Buchanan is also considered as a possible author. He was certainly practised in the educational play when he wrote Jephta in 1554. Baxter, 'Philotus' (p.60)
Folio 104r hosts 'a godlie Ballad to the tune of lillibulero. Or Bannockes of bear meall', set to the tune of Lilliburlero. The text doesn't correlate with known texts of this ballad and there is no authorship recorded in the manuscript. Lilliburlero was a march whose first appearance was in a collection published in London in 1661, titled 'An Antidote Against Melancholy' and which was popularised by the Protestants in the English Civil War. Directly after, on 101v-104r is a short selection copied out in the manuscript from the Gesta Romanorum, a thirteenth century collection of Latin narratives which were widely used as sources by Chaucer, Gower, Boccaccio, and others. After some biblical verse and meditations on 'drunknesse' and 'fornication' comes a summary of 'Gerardo the unfortunat spaniard', ff.106v-107r, a romance written by Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses in 1621.

The inclusion of these texts along with ‘The Pilgrim and Hermite’ evidences an early eighteenth century reader’s interest in Older Scots texts. The poet, the scribe, and the printer had an avid awareness of the immediate audience for their text, and thus examining them can point towards the wider sociopolitical environment in which they created their work; but, specifically in Craig's composition, the evidence also demonstrates deliberate intertextualities which will have undeniably constructed the understanding of the works by their respective historical audiences. If it indeed was James Kennedy, the secretary to the 2nd Marquis of Huntly, George Gordon, who chose to preserve Craig’s poem, this certainly situates the poem within a genre of amatory verse which renegotiated the traditional
role of the female characters and developing the role of a woman who
determined her own destiny. Aligning with current research by Louise
Hutcheson (PhD forthcoming), ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’ articulates with
a collection of post-Reformation Scottish romances, including Patrick
Gordon’s *Penardo and Laissa* (1615) and John Kennedie’s *Calanthrop and
Lucilla* (1626), which are being rewritten for a Protestant audience seeking
to re-approach older texts and change the reader’s relationship to them.

**Documenting Transmission**

Writing is a technology which has been inextricably linked to authority and
record since its conception. The earliest forms of writing were used to
conceptualise and organise knowledge: counting and comparing quantities,
observing physical objects, and naming objects, therefore relating objects to
each other.\(^{65}\) Literacy practices and reading cultures have, of course,
emerged and evolved far beyond these initial functions which freed the
mind from spheres dominated by subjectivity and myth, and supplied it with
the foundations for rational and analytical thought; however, the point
remains that "to speak of writing in the abstract... is a mistake. There are
only specific systems of writing, each of which has its own specific effect
within a particular social system."\(^{66}\) By analysing each of the witnesses as
an artefact of writing which testifies to the activity of reading, we see
expressions of a culture which was literarily aware and experimenting with

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\(^{66}\) Havelock, p. 17.
the mediation of text through print and manuscript.

Recent academic debate on scholarly editing sees the argument fall into two distinct categories: critical and diplomatic. On one hand, the critical edition involves systematic, text-centric decisions with the objective of presenting a text which can be considered closest to the authorial conception; on the other, the diplomatic, or conservative, editor aims to present a deproblematised text which represents the textual information of the source on a clean page. The emphasis, put most succinctly by Lass, is “to know at all times exactly what we are doing”\(^\text{67}\) and for what purpose we are doing it. Indeed, having two witnesses of ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’\(^\text{68}\), dated the same year, in two different codices and having undergone different forms of publishing – printed and scribal – encourages self-aware editing which attempts to incorporate the hermeneutical contrast in material presentation. Editing the manuscript brings to light what Hobbs terms ‘corrupt’ features of the text which hold insights into scribal practice and transmission:

corrupt manuscripts may still repay careful study, even where more authoritative ones exist, because their variants may reveal

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\(^{68}\) With two competing titles: ‘The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue’ (print) vs. ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite’ (manuscript), I have chosen to use the latter as it does not influence the perception of genre in the title.
or support evidence of authorship, of revision and of the nature
and reliability of their particular line of textual transmission.\textsuperscript{69}

Referred to as ‘corrupt,’ manuscript texts often offer more social and textual
information than their printed counterparts. By paralleling the witnesses of
the text, we see both versions of the poem at once, with neither having
superiority over the other.

Within the restraints of its codex and the contemporary
typographical trends, the printed text carries with it visual instructions on
how it is to be read and interpreted. The readerly instructions of the
manuscript witness are much less codified and standardised, nevertheless,
the scribe gives visual clues using textual emphases and layout. The texts
together present much more information about each other than either could
by itself. Constructing an edition with the objective of seeing the 'text' as
more than the sum of its parts, this edition both answers the questions posed
by the incomplete print, and provocates more questions about the
transmission of the text. This style of editing rejects the abstract ideal of the
authorially intended text, supplying instead all the available textual and
visual information, as an interpretation of the text which does not favour
either witness as truer to the text than the other. As Zumthor discusses,
The performance of a poetic work thus finds the plenitude of its meaning in
the relation which ties it to those preceding, and those to follow. In fact, its
creative power results from the work's *mouvance*... Since Schlegel, the

\textsuperscript{69} Mary Hobbs, 'Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and Their Value for Textual Editors' in
*English manuscript studies 1100 - 1700* I ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: Basil Blackwell,
Romantic tradition has considered the written literary work in its oneness, as the end point of an evolutionary genesis. It could be maintained that such is equally the case with the oral work, but in its *multiplicity* revealed through the totality of performances... Viewed in this way, an "authentic" text does not exist.70

Deconstructing critical editorial methodology, the decision to represent the diplomatically edited manuscript text, print text and manuscript facsimile together maximises the textual data and presents it in an immediately discernable medium. Diplomatically editing the text puts the user, rather than the text, at the centre of the edition. The ideal authority of any one text is dismantled by the data provided. This type of editing documents all types of data and allows the processes of the text to be viewed and interpreted as part of the holistic communication of the text.

Current theories of textual editing and histories of the book can be seen to re-evaluate post-structuralist and deconstructionist theories which have marginalised the previously deified authorial intention. Working towards a holistic approach, book historians now argue for the parameters of textual production to be widened to include any agentive involvement: by the author, scribe, illuminator, compiler, printer, bookseller, bookowner, etc. Alongside studies into the physical production, socio-political, religious and

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70 Paul Zumthor, 'The Impossible Closure of the Oral Text' in *Yale French Studies, No. 67, Concepts of Closure* (1984) pp. 25 - 42. p. 34 -5. Editor's note in the article provides a definition of *mouvance* from another of Zumthor's writings: "that character of a work which - to the extent that we can consider something to be a work before the era of the printed book - results from a quasi abstraction, insofar as those concrete texts which constitute the work's real existence present through the play of variants and reworkings something like a ceaseless vibration and a fundamental instability."
ideological factors are taken into consideration when assigning meaning and purpose to a literary text.

In documenting the processes which produced the witnesses of 'The Pilgrime and Heremite,' cultural materialists argue a convincing case for an encompassing analysis to ascertain, as far as possible, all the possible historical realisations of a text. Instead of working on the familial structure of stemmatics which creates a hierarchy of witnesses with the one thought closest to the author's original at the top, documentary editing creates a non-hierarchical horizontal network of analysis which interprets the information, but refrains from asserting a narrative which takes either witness as being the 'original' or indeed 'authentic' text. Particularly suited to 'The Pilgrime and Hermite', creating a documentary edition opens up this new resource, maximising its potential for further study.

2.10 Epilogue

Introducing a new resource to the study of Scottish literature, the textual evidence of this edition contributes and questions existing narratives of the canon. While writing this thesis, two articles were published which provide critical information and perspectives on this area of study, as well as specifically 'The Pilgrime and Hermite' itself. Michael Spiller's 'Found in the Forest: The Missing Leaves of Alexander Craig's The Pilgrime and
Heremite begins to unearth the intertextualities and sources which Craig intended to use. Future studies will benefit from the parallels which Spiller draws between English poets such as Painter and Dyer, and there could be a substantial study done of the stylistics present in ‘The Pilgrime and Hermite,’ alongside the rest of Craig's collection to resituate it in his oeuvre.

Building upon patterns of borrowing and allusions, Sebastiaan Verweij's survey and assessment of the use of poulter's measure in Jacobean Scotland illuminates imitations of Sir Edward Dyer, something which is further confirmed by my transcription where on a line in the Hermit's Testament (V.89) it is circled DYER. Verweij's analysis identifies parallels in the use of poulter's measure, dier, and political commentary, concluding that “the fact that so many ‘diers’ were anthologised in manuscript – and also often clustered together, like sonnets in a series – indicates the form enjoyed considerable contemporary appeal.” Craig kept good company in one Scottish miscellany: James Murray of Tibbermuir CUL MS K.k.5.30 along with Troy Book, James Melville, Philip Sidney, Alexander Hume, Thomas Campion, etc., and it becomes obvious that he was playing with trends of the time, experimenting with the available poetic fashions. Any literary study of The Pilgrime and Hermite, considering both witnesses, would gain from paying attention to this mechanism for poetic

73 Verweij, ‘Poulter’s Measure.’ (p. 301)
development and situate Craig's choices of style within the literary fashions of his contemporaries.

Lastly, the commonplace book itself should be contextualised within the miscellany manuscripts of early modern Scotland and England. In a survey of Scottish manuscript miscellanies from 1500-1700, Bawcutt writes that "several manuscripts are associated with the name of Melvill, and the north-east of Scotland ... David Melvill was apparently his brother, and a bookseller in Aberdeen... Melvill owned the Bassus part-book which is written in the same identical hand as Tolquhon Cantus, believed to be owned by Alexander Forbes Master of Tolquhon". Mapping out the manuscripts, their texts and their owners and their evidenced circulation, will contribute to reconceptualisations of literacy and readership in early modern Scotland, by visualising a "network of literary and cultural exchange." 

3.1 Transcription Policy

The text presented is a semi-diplomatic edition of the version of The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a Dialogue, attributed to Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, found in the commonplace book of William Thoirs of Muiresk. The purpose of the edition is threefold: to provide the text lost from a quire of the extant witness in print, to present the different treatments of the text between both print and manuscript witnesses, and to comment

75 Bawcutt, 'Scottish Miscellany Manuscripts' (p.52)
76 Verweij, 'Ten Scottish Sonnets', p. 143.
upon the inclusion of this text in the commonplace miscellany. In transcribing the text, then, the emphasis is to communicate the text to a modern audience, using a systematic apparatus which best represents the reading experience of the manuscript in line with the contemporary hermeneutic. Rather than “a mere stopgap measure to accept easily this idea that this may well be all that editors can legitimately do,” adopting a diplomatic editorial policy allows information to be conveyed which is appropriate to the needs of an investigative audience. As Zumthor describes, “the interpreter is often [her or]himself unaware of the modifications [they] bring to an object.” Trying to be as editorially aware as possible, this section outlines how the textual information in the manuscript is represented in the transcription.

The materiality of the text, whether going from page to page or page to screen, is changed in the act of reproduction. Until the early 1990s, the literary operating system has been the codex, but now the world, and certainly the academic world, has adopted and adapted to the digital environment, changing from “monologue (monograph) to dialogue.” With the option of the digital format now available to editors, McGann argues that we can now escape the “physical constraints of the traditional book format,” and that the digital edition is now the ideal environment where everything but the spatial dimensions of a codex can be reproduced on

screen, however many versions, and information can be linked in non-linear ways using hypertext and dynamic digital features.

Arguing for the standard use of digital editions, McGann states: “using books to study books constrains the analysis to the same conceptual level as the materials to be studied.” However, in the case of 'The Pilgrime and Hermite’, viewing the texts in parallel in codex form provides a comparison which arguably facilitates the interpretation of the texts in immutable form. Especially relevant to sources of historical evidence, using digital media can sometimes distance the reader from the artefact or document itself. The digital reading experience is relatively new, and the implications this has for the interpretation of historical documents and their relative usefulness, especially to the trained historian, is under some debate. The current project presents the information in book-form, but a future project could digitise the edition and exemplify the mediation of the screen.

As Hunter discusses, the aspiration of staying 'faithful' to the 'original' text in unfinished versions is "more complicated, in that these are frequently works in progress, incorporating within them signs of composition in the form of insertions and deletions, and also displaying the characteristic writing tricks to speed up composition". As this manuscript text is not a presentation piece or intended for publication, much of the data on the page originates from a desire for preservation of a reading. Where textual information can be gleaned from scribal emphases or errors, I have retained the information. Where, for example, flourishes are arbitrary or

81 McGann, p.82.
82 Michael Hunter, 'Presenting Texts (2) Manuscripts’ in Editing Early Modern Texts pp. 72-85 (p.73)
decorative, they have not been recorded.

Where Simpson argues a policy in which “blanks in the manuscript are represented by blanks in the transcript”,83 two features of layout have been omitted from the transcription: the manuscript text is numbered by stanza and the page is used horizontally as well as vertically. It would be optimal to reproduce these features in the edition to convey the economical use of the page; however, attempting this within the limitations of the codex may detract from the text itself and, as the layout is functional rather than expressive, there is perhaps no purpose in transcribing a constraint of manuscript into the constraints of print. The general layout of the manuscript text has been adhered to in the transcription. The erratic positions of the verse numbers in the manuscript have been normalised in the transcription; however, the transcription retains the errors in numbering, ie. taking note of the lack of verse 46, and keeping the duplicated numbers in verses 44 and 109. This is also important data to note in contextualising the manuscript version: the erratic numbering and mismatch of the number of missing verses with what the print edition evidences the irregularities of the manuscripts it was copied from.

The spellings in the manuscript have been retained in the transcription in accordance with Simpson: “Spelling is given exactly as in the manuscript, and the original usage of u and v, i and j has been retained.”84 I have also retained the doubling of consonants which seems (as yet) to have no consistency. Following Smith, I have retained the use of

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83 Simpson, p.48.
84 Simpson, p.48.
yogh and thus distinguish between its forms ȝ or ż for the “interest for philologists”\textsuperscript{85} Where majuscules occur, they have been retained – at the beginning of lines, by convention, and where used to emphasise a complete word.

In accordance with Smith’s practice\textsuperscript{86} I have used italics rather than brackets to indicate contraction by superscript. Though abbreviations do not occur frequently enough to add significant ‘noise’ to the page, avoiding the use of brackets is also necessary for disambiguation of the editor’s hand and that of the scribe. In (at least) two places the scribe has bracketed a single word within a line. The parenthesis is transcribed with the punctuation present in the manuscript and the editorial use of the round bracket is eliminated to avoid confusion. Looking to the manuscript evidence as a guide for the spelling of abbreviated words, the expansions are thus

\begin{align*}
y^e &= ye; \quad yn = yen; \quad yt = yat; \quad yr = yaw. \\
qn &= quhen; \quad qr = quhair; \quad qch = quich; \quad qt = quhat; \quad qm = quham \\
w\!t &= with \\
\text{o}/\text{yr} &= \text{o}u\text{r}/\text{o}yer 
\end{align*}

Corrections and interlineations to the manuscript text are retained. Where the additions have been made in the new ink, for example an insertion, it is shown \textbackslash{thus}/. To aid reading and study of the new ink, the insertions,

\textsuperscript{86} Smith, p.71.
deletions and corrections are isolated in section 2.6, above. Where words have been circled, this is shown in the transcription.

The inherent punctuation is retained in the transcription, including any ambiguities that could be pen rests. Where the scribe has written the ten-line stanza over 8 lines, he regularly (but not always) uses a series of colons to mark the line divisions. I have interpreted this use as functional, rather than rhetorical, and therefore I have normalised the punctuation to one colon only. An alternative would have been to normalise the line divisions, however, in the case of possible ditography, it has been useful to retain the scribe’s contracted stanza.

In three verses, there is a repetition of one of the four last lines which could either indicate an instance of ditography or an imitation of musical refrain. Here, I quote the final lines of each wheel for context:

V1: Tuixt the dark & ye day all alon as I lay
    all alon as I lay
    in the mide month of may
    this fell fray I found

V3: and quhen I deemd by the dine
    some worlds wight wes yairin
    to wax bold I begine and no perril spard
    and no perrill spard
V25: Ffor whyls greive I greitt: whyls Murne till we meit
(some tymes my poor sprit. dyes drownd in Dispayr
dyes drownd in

Here, the rhyme scheme is complete without the repeated line which indicates that it was either a scribal error of dittography, or that the manuscript from which Kennedy copied the text was equally, if not more, difficult to navigate and so the scribe experimented with repetitions before ending the verses.

The agenda of this transcription is to provide layers of information in a transparent manner so that the reader of this edition can navigate the text from the extra-textual information. This method does not presuppose an original or authorial conception of the text, but presents the text as it is found in both manuscript and print, providing material evidence for the reading habits of its changing audience. The author of the poem, Alexander Craig, is somewhat marginalised by his own text. The poem was printed posthumously and the manuscript version records a copy of that posthumous print in a hand which wrote almost 100 years after his death. In offering both witnesses together, this edition does not work towards or within the parameters of a critical ideal; this edition does not seek to be a witness to the text, but an active agent in facilitating the reading of the text.
The pilgrim and Hermite Composed be the learned \& famous poet/ Mr Alexander Craige of Rosecraine \K· James 6 poet/ Banffia Britannie first copied out of his Manuscripts \in edinburgh/ the penult day of February 1631 at Edinburgh by Mr Iames Kennedy agent 1631

1. When pale lady Luna \*with* her lent light
   throw dawing of ye drigh day wes drivn to depart
   \*qahen* Christell and clear skys compasd ye night
   as may morneing reid rose from ye right art
   Er phaeton the fond fool \*with* whyt whipe in hand
   from his slight sleepe ascended to loup our ye land
      Tuitx the dark & ye day all alon as I lay
      all alon as I lay
      in the mide month of may
      this fell fray I found

2. apperled as a pilgrime \*with* pyikstaffe in hand
   furth the wyld way I went \& wandred but guyd
   me thought in a lauk lay a strek stream a strande
   a bread bush of birck beughs by a bruik syde
   and hopeing some Hermite \*yair* had his repair
   as fast as my feet might I still \*forward/ followed fair
      and \*with* a wish as I thought
      to the bush \*I* wes brought
      \*qahich* natur hed weall wrought
      and scorned arts laire
3. Throw ʒe wood as I wend halfe will of weme
to a cell my sharpe sight did shortly appear
Coy quiet cold caue a Cabine of stone
I drew darne to the door some dinne to hear
I leand too my left lug and thus lay I heard
Long long doe I loathed live in love but reward
and quhen I deemd by the dine
some worlds wight wes yairin
to wax bold I begine and no perril spard
and no perrill spard

4. and onfrayd as I feir throu the cold cawe
I weil not in the noock quence the noise sounded
a horsk hoari Hermite Grim Grivd & Graue
in whos boyling breast nought but black be all abuned
Whos Coy colourd countenance & heaw horie Hew
his hide harms and sade seit his sight might forshew
   The tears in a trembleing trace
   lyk floods flowd or his face
   with many loude long alas
   and sade sighs enew

5. With stout stepps he start up & stard in my face
& crievd how I yair came quhat Groom wes my guid
by fortune Quod thy freind this forme fell the caice
by the wild way I went & wandred asyde
and by the will of the Weirds I wan to this Wood
and hope height me yat heir some hermit hes hide
thus hope hath me heir brought but if I offend oûght

by the blisd blood wes bought I obey as ye bide

6. a pilgrime thou appears weal by thy worne weid
a stranger astrayd farr in the shaw sheine
but since thou art heir hapt so god me speid
thou art welcome to such as thou hast heir sein
yet true I my treatment must move the to tyre
for meat drink haiv I non good bed or fyre
  on rawe roots is my food
  I drink of the fresh floode
  on groûnd & green grass good
  all night lyes my lyre

PILGRIME
7. Then haild I the hermite with yar words anew
and for his frank favour ñ full thanks I gave
yea quhen I weil tryd yat his talk wes all true
the cause of his comeing yair in Court wries I creaw
HERM: The cause of my comein heir kind freind quod hie
  ( & with yat the salt floods fell flate in his eye)
  wes the Coy cold disdain
  of her for quhos saik slaine
  as man mad I remaine
  by fats fond decree

PILGRIME
8. In faith freind quod I yen I saw by thy song
quhen cold by thy cawe door as stranger I stood
some saint of the she sex hade wrought all thy wrong
& thow in loue long live & yet wes onliud
and of thy long letter this last lyne I heard
long long doe I loathed live in loue but reward
  by quhich words I weall knew
  yat thy dame wes untrue
  and thy pale heaw hew
  furth shaws thou art snard

EROPHILUS

9. Hey ho quod ye hermite I live once to loue
but now drownd in dispair I sie my death drest
Though both witt & will wold I may not remove
I lye in the huks of loue fettered so fast
My seldom found small sweets ar so mixt with ¥(sours/)
yat each moment er seim, a Miriad of howers
  and thus live I alone
  in this cold cave of stone
  as next nightbour to none
  but feilds fouls & flours

[f.109r]

10. Thus darne in my dark den I determ to remaine
as a ¥bound/ beadman unto her yat works all my woe
Till deaff death with darff dart put poynt to my paine
Else CLOTHO with kniffe cutt ye tuij threed in tuoe
and on ye green growing bark of each blooming tree
this ditto indorsd  

in sorrow & syte slaine for her heir I remaine  

quhen strays for a strange swane & Compts nought of me

Æubulus

11. Thy passions poor Hermite dispaird wold appear  
& thy heart hye hoisd abowe thy degree  
Since all thy fond foolish hops ar frazen with fear  
& fortune thy first freind is framd foe to the  
For she quhen thou still scherves as thy self says  
Thy seils her seyt thy dole her delyte  
& with thy paine for despyte with proud poyns she plays  
both reasonless & ruthless respectes ye na ways

12. And so it weall seems yair leal loue is lost  
& first to the green graue thoul goe er thou gett her  
Most mad man why lows thou thy liffs foe thy host  
thy dye not a fond fool for gods saik forgett her  
For putt caice in hope to deseive thy desyrs  
thou wrack heir for plaine want of bed food & fyrs  
quhat soul shall be yen sein to luik up thy dead Eyne

13. Dishaunt yen thy hermitag & thy cold cawe  
& live no more in love since thou art unloud  
but follow me & taik part of such as I haue  
for Company & counsell may doe the great good  
Hade not DON DIEGO dyd in desert  
wert not RODERICO his woes did avert
and thus may it fall so yat from his grou & er I goe
I find ease to thy goe & heall thy hurt hearte

EROPHILUS

14. Speack pilgrim quod he yen of things yat may be
or yat have a firme hope to fraime full effect
for such is my faint force I want feet to flie
the blind & the bade boy hath Gune such a Check
yea tuixt my will & my Witt yair byds such debat
ye an with ye oyir still in strong stryffe for state
Flie lowe quoth my will. Stay \still/ saith my will yett
So I byd so I flitte. So I hope so I hate

15. But quair thou wold seime so to salwe all my sair[strike e]
& by thy stick statuts to stay all my sturt
Goe medle with yat matter mad miser no more
Since all my health hangs still on her yat me hurt
Since to the vou I am brunt yat Coal shall I blowe
Yet liwer & lights \both/ did light in this love
And if my dame doth decree yat I dye ; \let/ so be
I long fore till I sie yat death bend his bow

ÆEubulus

16. O vaine wretch quod I then devest thy wowd weir
& Wander no more thus in the woods wyd & wyld
for putt caice thy sweet saiun Thy dear Dame be deade
by quom day by day damd thou dys thus exyl
Because it may fall furth befor thou her sie
by will of the Weirds she on beir brought may be
or deem yat thy dame dear
for change ay maik glad chear
hath now found a new feir
& so loaths of the

17. Or by a quyt contrair caice kind Erophil suppon
thy mistrs thus moment hath much mynd of the
& for thy long absence she macks mirthless moane
& with hir heart wishes her leall love to sie
and with her self says so wold God I wist quahair
my poor pynd patient now maiks his repaire
for wist I weall (so I thrive) yat my love wer alive
with all my streanth would I strive
to question his quynt caire

18. poor Hermite suppon yen & ponder I pray
yat if thy dear dame be dead thou weeps all in vaine
thou art a stark stock heir still thais to stay
to faint for a fond fool yat feels no thy paine
or if she rivall respects more ym the
quhat grace! gaine can thou heir gaine in dole still to dye
er if she thinks tryd truth should reap revard of her Ruth
why slips thou in such slooth the thing yat may be

[separating line]

19. my sure freind quod he yen as thou says I sie
of these tuo extreams strange the on must be trew
she loaths or she lovs me a midst may not be
as to my pains I may prove by stire signs anew
For loe my belovd love my dear dainte dame
despights the small elements yat spell my poore name
Thou ay we if I mint to force floods from the flint
my true trauell wer tint such freindshipe to frame

20. But whilst thou would seim say yat death drierie death
perhaps hath avenged quyt my dear dams days
to look for a long liff yat I must be laith
quhom each froward froune else of fortune afrays
and since on liff for her love I have tein such paine
I caire not a cuitt for her saik love slaine

I shall not seime to shrinke
of death; for her death to drinke
quho sweet eyes with a winke
might releive 'revive/ me again

[f. 109v]

21. Lett this yen appease ye good pilgrim I pray
yat no presence absente nor distance of place
no froune of fraud fortune no tyme no delay
no bade chance no new change no no contraircaice
no not all the proud spyte proud faitts cane spitt
may maik my firme fixd faith & fancie to flitt
yea lett her fleas lett her flow lett her doe quhat she dow
to garr my greiff grein griw I shall be trew ʒitt

22. Good Hermite for truth told I hawe oft hard
the leid leilest in lou shall come Leist speed
and he yat deserts weall to reap Leist reward
for firme faith & freindshipe shall find fraud & feid
tack tent to the taills told of true Troil knaught
a Greek rivall arived & reft all his right
in acoord all thy gaine thy intent to attaine
Is short pleasur long pause & Dole day & night

23. But sin[ce] thou delyts thus to live full in loue
advys the on this be never toO trew
O.X and though thou both say & swear thy mynd shall not move
yet prentese to PROTEUS exchange ay thy hew
Since great IOVE exchanged shape in a shower in a fyre
In a bull in a swane to attaine his desyre
For the yat lows lightest be sure shall speed soonest
and he yat swrvs all the best shall oft want his hyre

24. If good freind) thou looks, quhen in loue to come speed
yen flitt from thy fixd faith be fals & untrue
For er thou fynd full effert so farr as I read
yair must be sound sympathie betuix her & 3ou
Quhen crew I how cane yair a kind Concord be
If thow trew & she be deceitfull & slie (strange
(she lykes best of new yonge. if she's stray be thou
thy cairs if thou weil cheinge be as false as the

EROPHILUS

25. I grant to my great greiffe I weil spy the right
& yet wrong with worse woe the wrong way I fraime
I know alas yat na love my love bein long light
& were I wise (weall \witt yow/ yow wott) I wold doe the same
But faith bynd remembrance procur\es more my cair
Nor oure presence \peare\/ procured and quhen I wes placed yair
For whyls grieve I greitt · whyls Murne till we meet
(some tymes my poor sprit. dyes drownd in Dispayr
dyes drownd in

26. and whyls in a rude rage I reikne with my (selfe
& in the darn daily dream to condene my desire
halfe dead in deserts heire why should I duell
& wraik thus for plaine want of food bed & fyre
why perishes my yeoths pryme to strang perrells pro\=/ad
or why murne I for quho means not my moane good
And quhen at last I conclus. To burn the habit & the hood
I dare not alace do it Till \my/ wows tyme be gone

27. O wearied be yat vaine vow yat ever it wes made
& cursed let the coy cause of my cold paine
O fey be the false faits yat bears me at feid
& blamed be the blind boy yat breeds all my baine
Unblest be the bade houer the first tyme and place
I fettered my fond fancie be to her fair face
and voe to my waine will
yat quyle foyeld me of skill
and led me Captive untill
yat wench voyde of grace

Ruth. mend in sorcplurs Ruths love with gods leaw
28. Unsaid be yat wance wood yat Wench woyd of grace
qahat yat but her good graces grivs me so much
for weil I waitt may I wow if pittie had place
of all yat on muilid movs yair were non such
The tym qahen yat spurry post shall be in pray spent
X yat Ruthes love with the love be to my love lent
& Cupid I craw/ call the. Thou fears tho thou may not sie
Hawe pitie on poor me. And grant my intent

29. Wise valur(as writts weil \the old clark/ Empedocles
bestow of good hermite her gifts heir &[smudge]yair
As it best lyketh her & the Cost lott alace
Each salue to thy fair fool for small is her share
Hir God is thy nymph hath none gott no more
saue bewte; no bountie & voe is me yairfor
of pitie since no part
is hid in her fair heart
yen lett not be black dart
of dole the devoure

30. O greive not the good goes with thy vaine suit
for qahat they have once don they will not undoe
but lyk as atrime tree yat setts furth no fruit
though seitill of braw blooms & fair plurish tooe
oft gladneth be gardner with hope of great gain
yet reaps he in harvest no pay for his pain
right so sir her fair face. Will judge heights of great (grace
with tint travel alace. But fruit makes ye faine

31. yen suit swrve pray praise & doe qahat 3ow cane
and in true tyme I fortell thy labour is lost
by the great gripping greif thow feils now & yen
to dress up thy in owne death thou spwors but ye post
Though for her saik each surge of syth ye assails
thy tryd truth & leil love but lyk nought avails
though thou beat ye bush weall
though framd for without faill
pulls ye prey be the taill
& proudlie prevails

[missing from print]

32. Erophilus
Thou somtyme paid short since if ryt I think on
thy Company & counsell might stand me in sted
but now thy presence bade & plott I suppone
by duits of dispaire is to drowne/ me in dreade
Allwist be yat Counsell & so yat Command
yat leaws me in worse caice yen first it me fand
Now I frett now I fume
Now in caire I consume
for my death by thy doome
Is hard at the hand

[f.110v]
33. But whilst I live myne alon in my cold cave
no framis of false fortune nor in no fraud at all
nor cair could my quiet content mynd conceive
for as my ioys wer but few my griffs wer but finall
And though I live myne alon both laite & aire
yet stoutly withstood I the duits of dispare
yea no cair could me kill. Nor hurt doe my heart ill
For na wight of his will. had halfe such a share

34. For whyls it revived me to note the nyce noise
quhich billows of the braue broockes on green bankes gaue
through the sweet sound yairof my heart did rejoynce
quhen cliffs of the cold clenghs ye cold streams cleare
somtyms I attend to the sweet warbleing nots
quhich birds on y braue beughs did thirle thiringe yait throats
whyls the bussing of the bees: Though the tops of tail trees
wald my hurt heart heit: as they fell xx furth in flits

35. And whyls would the whirle wind quhich through ye woods wend
with sweit prettie plaints pearce & please my dull ears
& whyls besyd I beheld the beasts of each kind
furth through the Felβ flook following yair feirs
To slay \my/ hunger startd stomaik whyls would I eite
of the fair fresh fruit quhich fell at my feitte
and whyls in my sueit songs: Wold I writt all ye wrongs
yat er ʒitt wer amongs: Sad me & my Sweite

36. And thus as I else told the past tyme I spent
til thou came the helper of all my old harme
I would god we hade with as jitt bein Aaquant
I rew yot in rash forme I rapt out my arme
In such freindlie fashion to Welcome my foe
the hie host of my health o why did I so
but since I too late rew : I intreat thou be trew
and so dear freind adiew I taike my leaw lœe

Eubulus

37. Na seik man but shrinkes sare to sie himself pausd
& er he come to his health hold his hurt sore
X poor patient suppose yen thou loupe to be Panst
I count it na new thing for flie I yaIr force
but sins thou perceivs weil I would sie ye sound
as weil willd to rivet the auld working wound
O yen please not I pray : To start thus but still stray
Leist if my will be away : Such freinds be not found

38. And seik sueit freind I say consider with thyselfe
thou haunts heir stays still in staggering estate
behold how yat blind god yat false little Elfe
thy black death deviseth befor the due date
Thou looks yat with leall love thy love shall repay the
though be a quyte contrar caice she shaps still to slay the
And if thowl but advert : To ye greiffe of my heart
I shall prove the expert : befor I goe fra the

39. I once fell (my fant freind the fren3eie of love
& sometime I schervd sure a sueit seimly saint.
as matchless a myld maid as might on Mould move
the worthiest on World wyd I may weil Waunt
and gitt she wes in love light & lyk ye feind false
her court kisse & quent claps wer mixt with sour salse
many way many wyle : shope she to ouresyle
& grew glade to beguyle : and hold me in halfe X

40. Though in ye pryd of my pomp wes non proud as I
for why she wes my love & I hers againe
& this till ye false weirds my wealth did envye
I keept court with the clear as next unto nane
but faith in a short space my false facile dame
did find furth a new freind quhen I foot fra hame
I serve still & ay suite : And ner finds any fruit
I reape baill but no bait : my rights to reclaime

41. I byte bold at the bait and hails the hooke bair
Syne to my staith swallowd up ye sour sweets of love
quich all I to compt call it makes my heart saire
yat I wes ye most made man yat might on Muild move
and quho wold hawpe painted ye picture of caire
might look on my pale face & line a patron yait
gods knows I wes crost : quhen my love wes my host
& my rival runneing post : my ryts to Impare

42. Then poor freind I pray ye give ear to my speech
be counßld be me now & use my advyce
& I lay my lif doune if I be thy leech
in dispight of thy dame to turne once the dyce
I knew a College to cane cure all thy care

a raire sweet receipt a drogg for despair

and if our mynds be to mellow

I shall make thyself tell

yet thy pains shall the propell

and shake louse the snare

Erophilus

43. The good gods of great grace Grant some releiffe

yeys yrs Some saw for each sore saue blind Love alone

but quhen the mynd is dismayd by yat mad mischeiffe

I oft hawe in wise wriotts & fond fabls found

how ye great gods aboue bein to yat boy bound

& ORPHEUS can weall tell : yat prince PLUTO himself

heath proserpin in hell : & ye Queen her crowned

44. Lett non Meine to mock yen the blind boy our god

& quhat he deems ta be don tell no might withstand

In hell heavn earth seas hy ris bolts burns abroad

o yen quhat a Madness in me wer to meine

to lead love by a law quhich law ays bene

Expperience doth plainly prove : yat in law leads love

but Im burnd from above : his shafts are so keine

44. And pilgrime I now pray preach no more in vaine

for had thou power to perswad as doctor orator of Rome

or sage senior Cicero himself yat wes slaine

thy time toyle and trawell thou shall but consume

For I he seall quhat I say with my best bloode
the bleed of my hurt heart if yat may doe good
and ere I faill in a whitte
yat I said to my sweite
the fish shall in the feilds fleitte

with out finne or floode

45 [no text]
[no 46]

47. [damage]ce hermit quoq I quhen thy heart is obdure
\& yat my trew trawell but is no way respected
thou works for thyn owne wrack thou cannot be cured
thou art with the leprocie of love so infected
and since thus thy fond will our waills all thy witt
yat no rule of reason \c an fo\rce the to flitt
Ive told now \& yen : The best counsell \c I cane
yet thou lyke a mad man : Endures deaffe zitt

48. This on thing doth zittrest amongst all the rest
for as I would thou weall I wish ze to writt
My lims \& my leggs both I lenne quoq they lefte
\& I shall thy bill bear \& response repect
And with yat me yen thought the hermit satt doune
\& on a banke of a brooke to a book made him bound
for in the cave as I think : heid paper pen \& ink
\& on the brow of the bruik : I fell to sleipe sound

49. But tyme whill our eys sleipt so she slyde away
as non will deserue weall the past tyme he spent
I lift up my lockt lids & looked quair I lay
Syne saw yat the hermite obeyd my intent
yen came he to me ward with face full of sorrow
good pilgrime quod he yen & saint John tobirrow
Thy pilgrime promise to me plight : ye Gods grant thou rule ryd
from the day to the night: And \fra/ night to morrow

50. The great & the good \god/ grant grace thou may speed
the fats find a franke foot fra thou furth faire
yat once I may news find of favour or feid
by word or hir hand writt I wish for na maire
Thus our we tuaine of farewealls \judge/ miriads wer taine
And our parteing in posthaist procurd so his paine
ye warme tears coats cheekes : He na words \of\for/ wae speiks
bat ta be briffe he bes[]eiks : to haist me againe

51. Quhen May had with most mirth marked ye mould
And flowres on the fair feilds wer fynly ouresprade
[smudge]all the hewes under heavne sueit to behold
ye comelie Q. CLORIS so courtlie wes clade
The danke dew lyke diamonds in each pleasant place
the brawe bloomeing branches & beughs did imbrace
\To/And sad Echo shall sing : The moist mountains amange in spring/
till the rock riches ring : to plead for hir peace

52. Brawe birds on yair beughs blyth with many a nyce nots
but soon frayd at my face they flow throw ye air
to hear those the sweet songs yat flew through yair throats
it made me amazd much to stay still & stare
but quhen I call to my mynd my long wearie way
berefte of all rest yan I maik no delay
but to _con firme my command_: With my help in my hand
I loup light throw ye land · Without stope or stay

53. The back of my bill boore quhat bounes sauld bonne
& _quhail my Saint_: I should sie I weall know my sell
Er few days wer doune I drew near to the toune
quhail the darne hermits on Dear Dame did dwel
And shortlie I shew her the sweet sheit wes send
from her old leall Love _quhom_ she weall keand
And as I thought _with_ glad will: She braik up ye breif bill
I took trew tent _yairtil_: And thus wes it pend

_Erophilus letter to Poliphila_

54. Most blissed paper if thon kisse _yat_ hand
or of _yat_ hand and happie tuch recieve
to _quhos_ most blissd direction & Command
all blissedness submitts at self a slawe
most blissed paper of so blist thou be
To preach her hand for _quhom_ I dwyne & dye

55. doe not (alace) disdaine or thinke it scorne
to bear _with_ the this message full of wae
sent from a wretch dispaireing & forlorne
to _quhom_ the fats & fortune is a fae
Nor be affrayd befor her face to _appear_
quhilst thou my name & title base doest bear
56. No sooner shall ye hand (to hand divine)
tuch and unfold thy blacke oblind seall
but by ye tuch thy murneing inke shall shyne
& thou to heigh preferment mayst appeall
Playnts boldlie[r]ry Inke murne & show thy love
& Ink shall shyne & plaints plaine Musick prove

57. Say ye a Wretch how base soeber he be
far love of her haists headlong to his graue
& he in quhom she livs of force must diee
no hope nor helpe cane he (alas perceive
he playns & ʒett Complains not of his fall
he hath much harme & ʒitt no wrang at all

58. He dyes alace because his senses show X
in wofull words yat-hi such/ is her content
Since so she will of force it must be so
yair is no force the saikles must be shent
My love my liffe & all must be ouerthrowne
by her quhen once we wodd & sworne myne ovne

59. Sworne by the bolts & vow quich blind Love bears
(no fleud or oath) non wes her Love but I
quich she confirmd with kisses sighs and tears
quich spent with her with me shall never dry
I cannot boast ye t I cane challenge more
but shes unkind & woe is me yairfore
60. oft hawe I told her how I greive and pyne
but Eccho lyk she greiffe and pyne replyes
I sie no doome but dye dispair & dwyne
no confort coms to my dispair & cryes
but now my voyce is hoarse & I will still
hencefurth conceall hur wrongs & hyd myn ill

61. Cease ye poore breathing of my liffs unrest
to fash her ears with plaints my heart with paine
Since I have showd my faith my worst my best
& zitt she hears not bot I pray in vaine
And since my wound by opneing will not heall
quhat once I shew I hencefurth will conceall

62. The heavie chear & passions of my heart
my crossing cares my caice is comfortless
thow meinst not once so merciles thou art
nor stwrpd on foote to ease me in distress
but thou shall sie quhen sorrow hath me slaine
thy yat lairge repentance shall inlaireg thy paine

63. Hop hath no happe but waxins daylie old
doth chang his shape & turne to black dispaire
& now becommeth hoarie stealld and cold
for still thou franes & thinkes franris maikes ye faire
with weirding fron shey wes rust waisteth treasure
on earth (sawe Love) yair is no other pleasure

64. Thus dare I say no 'man hath beine more just
nor serv'd his mistres with more due regard
bot quhen misled evne by thyne owne mistrust
denys thy serv'd his deservd reward
This mak's my strange misfortune more & more
jitt will I suffer though I dye yairfore

65. dye, die poorheart & bide delyte adieu
death is ye last death is the best remeid
Came [t]hou lyke thy saint: doth change her hew
quhich mak's the beast quhair thou she/ aboad to bleid
die yen poor heart & satisfie her wreath
end both thy dole & hir disdaine by death

66. Thy liffe is nothing but a tragick sheane
quhos entrance pleaseth but the end is fade
The promises quhich some tyme movd thy flame
ye kisses wows & oaths quhich made the glade
are quyte forgott & she is tryd/ turnd untrew
die yen poor heart and bide ye world/ delyt adieu

67. I dwell in daill besyd the bruttish beaste
in vallies unto/ amidst the woods & trees
The rocks my bed of fowls & heres my feast
in solitude I sigh quhair no man sies
alon I live quhos lyke wes never jitt
the rage of Love hath so be writith my writ

68. In this sad cell quhich shrewes me from the shewrs
from scorche my heate & from the ruthless raine
I keept a cloake to tell the tedious howers
a lute the sole companion of my paine
a book or two with paper pen & ink
a bead mans skull the dish quhairin I drink

69. and thus my life I fear is now near spent
my days I wott no longer
for want of food I find my forge wax faint
my salweness sores ar such yat I am sure
Least thou with speed thy answer send againe
death shall avenge thy wrath & end my paine

70. Nought resteth yen O fair & Cruel dame
but yat yow have ane equall just regard
first to my faith & next unto thy fame
(god grant ye grace) quhich thou hes long deserd
witch else to writt thy answer good or illj
since both my liffe & death ar in thy will

71. Love leawths my life but blacke dispers brings death
yen of thou lyk thy loves liffe should last
Grant love for love avert thy wonted wrath
I frelie heir forgive th[ ] offences past
thus wait myn till thy answer me retreve
I kiss thy hand & kindlie taike my Leive
thus ends his letter

72. And so quhen yat suiet saint : had looked or ye Letter
with bash baisd brawe blush & many a trew teare
quhich as it seemed to myselfe so weall they did besett her
and sheyne lyke ye read rose mongst lillies faire
for evn lyke the proud god quhich pithon slene
quhen in a green laurell tree his dear Daphne grew
she still in on stand stooed
& speacks me yair bade nor good
but I heigh by my hoode
shes changed many a heiwe

73. Quhat mistres (quod I yen) hath made yow thus to muse
or atr yow no yet at the noise of these my nyece newes
for evn as a man drivn in a dump he does
with sade sorrie silence yow change many hewes
The meswenger or message hath moved so yor mynd
yat (speach spoyld) yow pause still & sigh sob & synd
ffor Christs saiik if you caire : have pittie on your poor man
& Lett me know quhair or quhen : yow conluede to be kynd

74. Sir Telephus ye trojan tyriane as trew stories tell
wes hurt by achilles ye kein Greekish knight
The wound waxed worse still till yat syre himself
yat wrought ye woe by ye wound reward it as heigh by Dight/
So be yor sueit semly selfe I prease now to speack
quhen by the boy bad blind I boldlie beseekte
Lett old love have no force : bot on you man have remorse
Least each yow & him divorse : he beinge saire seike

75. Or if the poore mans plaint hath pearisd through yor ears
if Love any lordship doth in yor breast broock
have pittie on his passions & trew tragick tears

quehen libertie and liffe both hath lost with a tyor/ looke

Love blows still the old coal quhic hath his burnt bons hurt
he stuts still for nought else but yat yow strangh his stwrt
yen choice on of these tuo : : and lett me learne or I goe
be frank freind or false foe : To the heart yat yow have hurt

76. And yen with a fell frawne quhic hade a full force
ye wholl world as it over waild with externe might
by quhic sight it weil seemd she had small remorse
upon the poor plient yat pyne in such patient
POLIPH: faith pilgrime (quod she yen thou lands all too late
=ILA a stranger detrues him dethrns him from state
yea ma Word to conclud : I now can doe no good
for he is reft (by the rood : by too stronge a mate

77. Though som tyme the day dew I ner dow deny
yat he in my heart hade the most supream place
And thus till the false faits his wealth did envy
I ner could but courteouslie consider of his caice
made my fearfull heart both affrayd & unfaine
And now (though it seime strange)
he rews now quhill I rainge
his bade chance & my change
hath breed all his baine

[f.112v]

78. But lykas for my love he longs but release
assosiat (for my saik) with many sad songe
I am compesnd in yat kind with alse cairfull caice
for he qairin I most wish hath wrought all my wronge
And lyke as for his Love he reaps but disdaine
the leid quhom I best lyke but loaths me agaime
And as he livs him alon : With many great grivous groan
So in my Mynd I bemoan : my hid parteing pane

79. I flie to be folloud thus & follow to be fleed
I love & am loathd Loe & loath to be Lovd
So heir \his/ a stratagem quhich hath my bailbreed
I freize in the hoate flams & fray inthe floode
I Lose quhat I best love yet choackt am with store
so much as my cloyd mynd can Mint for no more
Thou goe againe quhence thou came . & Show thy seik freinds & \Dame/
persists still the selfe same yat she wes of 3eare

80. But er I work ye any wrang yat no Way hath Wyte
but things feilesfeiles on thy feet thus freindlie doth faire
toseek for yat seick man some sawe for his syte
& cure by thy kind craft his heart killing caire
Thow shall \sall/ on the way walk or stay in the street
& yen thou sall receive soon thy response in Wreitt
And yen quhill she the door barrd : I stood still Unskarrd
& hence throu a hoole heard \leare/ : the song of the sueitt

Poliphila ere she wrott this disputis with her selfe

81. How hard it is non knaws so weel as I
Unto a dolefull and divided mynd
to mack a weall joynd answer & reply
In principall & noble parts ar pynd
yen shall I be to creultie inclynd
or pitie him yat prays pleads for prace
of his or yat I strike in contrarie caice

82. I love (alas) & am not love againe
& loath of him quhen Loves me as his liffe
[I] for my saint my slawe for me is slaine
[I] of his threed of myne he keips ye kniffe
how shall I end this strange & fatall stryffe
but best it wer to looke befor I loupe
& not to Loss assurance trew for hoûpe

83. What sall my soul so farr divided doe
quhairon shall now, my resolution rest
X quhat weard quhen knows he best to yeild unto
of strang extreams how cane I chone ye best
Cum paphian prince I pray & I protest
assist me now & maike nomore delay
and guide my steps in this my Wildsome way

84. Poor hermite yen yat in distres doth duell
& buys my love with dear & great expence
unlosd with in thy sad & shaddie Cell
he blyth & lett thy wanted harms goe hence
Thou must not die since I may mack defence
pull yen a poyn & period to thy pyne
thy long sought Love & lady shall be thyne

85. ʒitt writt I will in wrathfull verse to the
to kynd petition give a cold reply
I will not seime nor blind nor bold to be
with facile faith to tuist befor I trye
ʒitt I a vow to neyr lodge nor lye
in any bed till I behold thy face
& boldlie once my best belowed imbrace

86. Goe loveless lyns salute my lower true
ʒitt stay ostay least ye inlarge his paine
Bot goe god grant yat nought but good ensue
Stay lurid lyns yow may be quyte mistaine
ʒitt goe & ʒitt yow shall not goe alaine
my self shall follow with a love wingd heart
god grant my voyage be not wared in waist

Pilgrim

87. And so in a short space yat sweit seimly saint
presents me hir pilgrime a bail bearing bill
& cause in the wyld way she weind I should want
my script & bottle wayanded wer all will
And from her fair finger fynd a ring did she taike
presents me & prays me good newes to bring backe
And having no more to say : but loath yat I should long stay
She went weeping away : And not a word spacke

88. And yen quihen the blacke night his sade shaddow show
lyk a bad successor degenerd from the day
I toock my thrid foot in hand & through the throng threw
And cloyd with unclear clouds thus I wentout ye way
3ett loath to unlent thus the letter ore long
I came to my seick freind & thus wes his song
ffor quhen I weil knew his voyage-ee
I keipt up my self closs
to learne the layes of his lose
the wyd woods\in/ among

[f.112r]

89. Erophilus Complaint

So many things of ʒow hawe pryed poets penned
In sheaw yair sade & pearceing pens \pains/ & cause yair cairs be kend
yet nought is left (alas) to poor Unhappie me
in earth in air in vaults above nor in the glassie sety a sea
no Metaphorick ph\r/ʒe nor quick invention braive
nor alleyorick sweit conceit nor theame sublime orgraue
since all things else ar quod yat I cane writt or say – [c]wray[/c]
I hawe no method left to me havme how my warks I may be
and nothing doth wrage my matchless greiffe greiff so much
as yat my skill should be sosmall & sorrow \should/ be Much
ʒitt all these poets brave quhen wer or after this shall be
(could I but utter as I feill) should all give place to me
& thou quhos mirth wes lost quhos confort wes dismayd [c]DYER[/c]
quhos hope invaine quhos faith in skorne quhos trust wes all betrayd
though thou declarde the dole in brawe & daintie dy
thou wes unhappie yen I grant bot now unhappie I
thy poems shall present upon the pleasant page

nor sorrows quhen thou oversell unto the coming age

with Coastly MUREX rare SYDONIAN wairs divine

thou letts thy lyns quhich mack thy moans Miraculousie to shyne

my pangs lyk TAGUS sands no numbers cane be wray

or lyk AURORAs tears quhich she for memnon shads each day

as starrs in frostie night cannot betold quhich shynes

as many hosts of harms my heart without compassion pynes

yea would I strive to tell these torments why I feil

with travell tint yen should I twin IXIONS fatall wheil

& to enorge those greiffe quhich macks me sigh & soabe

wer but to weaw aene endless new PENELOPEAN webbe

myn eyes lyke fountains full in bloods ʒitt furnaces doe fry

or lyk ye BELIDEYAN TŬBBO quhos dome wes wer to dyy

my ʒitt & skadding fiyrs/ nolineall course cane take [c]maik[/c]

but restless round about my heart a sperick motion

my thoughts ar now of bless lyk rûcnd I lion bare

a reconsuised mass of yat quhich flurisht once so faire

my ventureing wes my wrack my high desire my fall

quhich mad ye naufrage of my heart my hop my hap & all

alas alas yat I impossible did preass

abow my fortuns race to she so farr to my disgrace

Disgrace with loss with shame with wrack & endless wronge

these ar the drierie dittays now & subject of my songe

ʒitt dare I not alas (though I haue cause) Complaine

quhich maiks me thus to Timoinge & sham for to be seme

yet by my loss let oyrz learne a lower course to keep

but since it is my fait to fall to raill & weepe
& I with patience will my freinds returne awaite
his newes will eyr end my woes or else restor my state

PIL: And quhen I sawe his song received a full end
I shortly my self shew & kyndlie did kyth
And quhen yat sore seick man his fare beard kend
syne saw ye fate of his freind god knows he wes blyth
yen brought I tae blacke bill superscryvd with his name
& subscrvd with the hand of his dear dame

And yen with a glade cheare
yen hope had deforcd feare
he thus read yat might heare
the sence of the same

Poliphilas answr to Tra–Erophilus

90. Thy loving lyns I rashlie did receave
by qahich thy truth thy state thy suite I sie
zitt at my hands no succour shall thou haue
since faits to me ; I shall be foe to the
And if thy death do thou my doome depend
Live loathd or die disgraced & so I end

PILGRIME

91. I raged as he yen did read these sad & sorrie news
his wonted voes revive & his old hurt & harms
he now reid & yen pale changed many hewes
& dounefell in deaths thraw tuixt my weack arms
92. And quhen with my fresh tears I foyled his fand face
his blood & his braith come unto yair pynd & pale paine place
he crys on CLOTHO to say
her doome for yat halfe day
till he in writt may be wray
his height great disgrace

Erophilus his Testamente

93. Bot now & not till now my swanish song I sing
& with each word my dyeing eyes a bloodie tear furth bring
not yat I loath (alas) or shrink for to be slaine
for quhat cane be so sueit as death quhich puts ane end to paine
but by my death because her honor & renowne
shall loss ye coastlie diadem of fams Immortall Croune
yet since it is her doome yat in dispaire I dye
or loathed live the choice is hard quhairin no midst cane be
& ʒitt of evills tuo the best must ay be tane
so yat I rayr choyce to dye nor live in lasting paine
long hawe I lockt my thoughts fra quh\nce/ ye thoughts \torments/ of sorro\w/ spring
the end quhairof alas must be a letter will to singe
my tuns ar cairfull crys my words are plaints alace
the songs theam must the singer be since pittie hes na place
my pains ar lyke a poyn\t/ yat is into a Circle sett
still mon nearness to my selfe yat no releiffe I gett
how cane I hop for halping hand since heavens me despyrse
& all ye gods ar deamed abow with my sad plaints & Cryes
earths burden am I now quhos breth in feils the aire
with poysond breath preoceeding from a heart consumd with Caire
for loe ye faithles / into this state me calls
quhos state ye statly starrs yemselvs quhos fortun fortune thralls
quhat resteth yen but death since death must be the last
to putt ane poynt/ end to all my paine since pleasures hope is past
yet I attest ye gods since first our Lows begane
yat I hawe bein leallest ay & best affected man
my love alas yairfor & thy disdane hath beine
ye most extreames yat ever wer or shall againe be siene

Thou

[T]hou hes betrayd my hope & brock thy wowed faith
thou p[re]coun
tyff by love thou hes decernd my death
Thus whyl thy Cruel doome I call befor and tho
The eyes of my rememberance I doubt quhat I shall doe
I sometyms wish to live not to enjoy thy love
but yat I might behold my worsgs revenged from abowe
or yat sometyms thou lyke the yat MINOIAN dame
by THESEUS may be left alone & suffer such a shame
or yat the fatall wheel quhaire thou leans may lout
& mounting me may mack ye plead for my thye peace tyme about
but whillst againe I think might I may wish obtine
I could not but be kind to the for kindness yat hath beine
yea though I be dydand yet such is ʒett my fyre
yat neptunes kingdom could not quench the coalls of my desire
for quhen I read the greiffs & torments quhich I thorlle
quhair no mischance it myn to fill a wofull martyrs roll
& quhen I look unto ye lyns in quhich the hellish doome
by thy hand writt to me it sent quhat death shallme consume
yen I resolve at once for to obey thy will
& though my liffe the ransome be) thy furie to fulfill
yen pilgrime thou quhen toock thy way unto ye wayles airts
for me prepare a buriall place for bons quha braith departis
& lett this Caven cold in quhich I now must die
to misers & unhappie men aWorthless mansion be
Yow hills & dails with sweet oblique & leisum levelled lyns
quhair naturs workmanship & pryd in flowrie mantle sheins
Green may yow grow for ay & lett no spaites of raine
no winter shows or summer sthune yor statlie broidering slaine
And thou o statlie brooke quhich didst accept my tears
& harbour yen about thy heart for many looksome yearens
straight to the oceane sea most sweetly may thou slyde
to pay thy devils bot any stay of contrair streame or tyde
yow whisling winds lyk ways quhich suietlie did receave
my cognat sight & burie quhen within thy bosome brawe
doe this much for me ʒitt lack onsigh to my dame
& suietily whispering show [my] saint : yat I haue sent ye same
and if she shall refuse or vilipend in wraith
this news of NO shall be a spurr to heast me to my death
And thou suiet pyping PAN ʒon FAUNS & satyrs rare
Quhich wer amidst my mirthless moans Companions of my cair
ʒou Nimphs of hills & daills of woods of walls & floods
I give ʒou all a long fairweall & so my caire concluds
And no in poyn of death quhos wisht appe wach I feil
I clerat unto yow all (H saveing word ffairweall

HEIRE ENDETH  EROPHILUS his testament
Eubulus

94. And this quhill I to peace the sad poor hermits p[ajine
prepared to repeat on his proud mistris speech
he doune tuix in arms fell into deaths throw againe
quhen no lord for his liffe my thought could be aleech

95. His cognat corps with the cold clay wer lumpish lyke to lead
healthless & helpless seimed he in heart & hand & head
yen weack wretch did I waile
& but respect raine to raile
on hir whose faith now did faile
In such tyme of neide

The Continuantione & last verse of Eubulus discourse ph beginneth on this next paragraph Colum

96. Yitt in the midst of my moans doune lights ye fair dame
accompanyd with non but her pelfray & her page
but quhen she saw her leil love bay lost er she came
her faire face & ritch robs she rent in great rage
And flatthings ye fair fell on her faint face
& great seas of salt tears she spent in short space
And song suae her sweit flaime
quhen na remeid did remaine
she thus concludes to complaine
her bade cairfull caice
her complaints on the heade of this Column next page & ordesupra

Poliphilas Complainte
97. O endless night of moan quhich haht no morrow
O Loureing heavns quhich helpless harms still threat
or mantleing in & with sav[le] clouds of sorrow
throw quhich nor starr can sheyne nor air nor Lait
although escapd from Cage to seik my mate
   And frame a glorious garland to my croune
   I find by death my daintest rose beate doune

98. Though swelling seas with endless wawes yat roll
to resalute the weather shakene shoare
they ebb they flow they changing courses tholl
& dare transcend the bounded banks no more
but I (alace) quhairin death doth still devour
   Admitt no stay nor measure in my moans
   but our & Late Lament with grivous groans

99. Now numbers great of nights dispoyld of sleep
ar to yaër pith : black predecessors gaine
since poysons coupe quhich I hawe drunk So]deipe
hath made a wound must mortall in each vaine
And hath not ye£o proclaimd my peirles paine
   coins
   Till now yat rest beams no ease to me
   Its tyme to dye quhen we ar forcd to die

100. The scope and work at quhich my thoughts did aince
givs now my wexit spritt a mortall woud
& of my harms it helps the hudge bull frame
yat I am wise to sie my ills, and found
no helpe at all quhair help should most abound
    I sie no ebb unto the flood of woe
    with sade deludge quhich shaps to sink me so

follow the rest of her complaint on the othr page

[f.113 v]

101. Now wretched wreatch my torment goes beyond
    all hope of helpe & my deserts exceede
    The worst of ills my thoughts hawe bein so found
    yat might my fancie taile effect in deed
    To thousand deaths though thousand shams sutteed
    Nor all such shames nor all such deaths should slay me
till once the effect affected should betray me

102. But ach how cane my weit & weiping eyes
    behold ye jewell of my liffe herefte
    how cane my mynd admitt the least surmise
    of any hope yat hawe but horror felt (render st of ship
    X My pilot now in peep & sterne be efte
    Espys no calme but mercier wanting storms
    portending death in black & fearfull fooms

103. Thou Lett me dye & bide delyte adieu
delyte with the dear heart is dead & gone
The comeing age shall say thy THESEBE trew
    wes true to the & love but the alone
ffor we shall by beneth on buriall stone
On grav[e] in end shall end our fatall greiffe
quahich yeilds me now in poyn[t] of death releyfe

104. Since yesterday may not be brought againe
& wrongs (tho not recal[d]) may be repeuted
will no more Invock on death in vaine
  but with my blood thy blood shall be resented
  And both our livs in end shall be contented
  As thou till death didst swrve & honour me
  I aswer death shall swrve and follow the

105. And pilgrime now I pray and I protest
  before I end this last exequall acte
Lett me be bold to mack some small request
  yat now some pains forth umquh[ill] freind thou laike
  Ffirst in this place a privat growe canst mack
  And lett us lye into invrd conjunctly ther
  quhaire non bill FAMIS & SATYRS mack repaire

106. Nixt quhen thou coms unto yat court & lands
quhair in my love and luckless I wes borne
If any shall our dolefull deaths demands
  with pittie speack & not ( I pray) with scorne
This practi[g] rare quhich seldome wes beforne
quhen as my deare & faithless freinds shall heare
my caiffull chance will coast yen in many a tear

finis coronalous
107. And so whilst yat rarest pearle depainting out her
Upon the dead cold corps of her owne lealest love
Unto my else harmd heart it heaped harme againe
& layd new weight of voe my brinsed breast abow
To sie him & hear hir incrast still my care
I wist not weall quhom to help him hir heir or ther
    yett whilst I dreamd in this double
    the poor hermite lookt aboute
    & gawe faint shrill shoute
    tuixt hope and dispaire

wonder of hie world
108. Now I sawe of the world the best most worthie wight
the choysest of all yat might on mould move
hallowed be the heavns all yat showd me such a sight
    light from above
& Lends liffe for to loock upon my Leill love
Now am I glade & ungrivd to the graw though I goe
the travell & toyles tane rewards weall my voe
ffor now plaine may appear ther is a change of my cheare
since hope heights helpe heire from my faire foe

109. Poliphila
I came (quod ye Clear yen) to cure all thy care
& though the fats hade forsworn to sang ye my feir
be blyth then my dear heart dispatch cold dispaire
& heigh horse thy hurt heart since I have the heat
goe the from the fair feilds contemne thy cold cave
quhaire death brutish bold the[[]] best blood doth creawe
And with the good gods grace
thou shall in a shorte space
from first lose find release
& hopt health receave

(1)109. Eubulus
Then franklie ye fant freick throu freind fells furre
& past post to her pellfray the with greet payne
And of yat sweit seimlie saint : he held himself sure
the beast burthend with yen baiths of his faire faime
with blyth bliss they baith bend & ryd haistlie hame
Throu sheme shaws & dunk daills he and his daintie dam
And whil lest we adieu crye
through the wyld woods bye
And as we turnd by and bye
I waked of my dreame

ffinis of the Hermite & Pilgrime
III: Print Transcription:

(copy viewed on EEBO, from Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery)

'The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue, by Master Alexander Craig.
Imprinted in Aberdene: By Edward Raban, for David Melvill 1631. [36p]

WHen pale Ladie LVNA, with her lent light,
Through the dawning of the Day was driven to depart
And the cleare christall Sky vanished the Night,
And the red morning rose from the right airt;
Long ere the fond Childe, with Whip in his hand,
From his slight sleepe awoke, to lighten the Land;

Twixt the Night and the Day,
In my sleepe as I lay,
Amidst my Dreame this fray
And fairlie I fand:

Apparelled as a Pilgryme, with Staffe in mine hand,
Foorth the day as I went, vndriven bout a guyde,
Mee thought in a laigh Lay, a cleare Streame, a Strand,
A broade Bush of Birke trees, by a Brooke syde:
And hoping some Heremite made there repare,
As fast as my feete might, forward I fare.

Through a Wood as I sought,
To a Bush was I brough,
Which Nature her selfe wrought,
Withoutten airts lare.

Through the Wood as I went, halfe will of waine,
A Cell to my sharpe slght can shortlie appeare:
A quyet and a colde Caue, a Cabine of stone,
I drew me darne to the doore, some din to heare.
And as I lent to my Lug, this well I heard,
How long shall I lonthed liue? I loue bout reward.

And when I knew by the din,
Some wight was therein,
To waxe bolde I begin,
And no perill spar’d.

As I went through the floore of that colde Caue,
I well espyed in the barke where the noyse sounded,
An hoarse hoarie *Heremite*, grieved and graue,
Whose bōyling Breast naught but blacke baile abounded,
Whose colour, countenance, and pale deadlie hew,
His whole hidden Harmes there and griefes foorth shew:

Whose tumbling teares bout cease,
Lyke floods flowed over his face;
With manie long lowde alace,
And sad sighes anew.

Yet stoutlie hee start by, and stared in my face,
And craved how I there came? or who was my guyde?
By *Fortune*, quod I, thus fell the case,
Through the wild way as I went I wandered asyde,
And by a private plaine path I came to this Wood,
Wherein I wist well some *Heremite* was hid.

But since I am heere brought,
If that I offended ought,
By the Blood that mee bought,
I'll obey as yee bid.

A *Pilgryme*, quod hee, you seeme by your weede,
And a strayed stranger, if I right weine:
But since you are heere come, so GOD mot méé spéede,
Thou art welcome to such as you haue héere seene:
But yet of my treatment I trow yee shall tyre,
For neyther haue I Meate, Drinke, good Bed, nor Fyre.

On raw Rootes is my Food,
I drinke of the fresh Flood;
On Fog and greene Grasse good,
All night lyes my lyre.

Then helde I the *Heremite* with faire wordes anew,
And for his franke offring great thankes I him gaue:
And when I well tryde that his tale was all trew,
The cause of his comming there shortlie I craue,
The cause of my comming heere, *Pilgryme*, quod hee,
And with that the salt teares fell in his eye:

Alace its for the loue of ane,
For whose sake thus I am slaine:
A Martyr héere I remaine
By fatall decrée,
In faith, friend, quod I then, I saw by thy song,
When at the colde Caue doore darned I stood:
Some Sainct of the Shée sexe had wrought thee all this wrong;
And thou hadst long lived in loue, and yet vnlov'd:
And of the long letter this last line I heard,
*How long shall I lothed liue? I loue bout Reward.*
Whereby I well knew,
That thy Dame was vntrue;
Thy pale and wan how
Fouth shew thou wasst snat'd.

Alace! quod the *Heremite*, I lived once to loue;
But now drowned in Despare, I see my death diest:
Though both Will and Wit would, I may not remoue,
I lye in the links of Loue fettered so fast:
And all my Care-séeming-Svéets, are so mixt with Sowrs,
That each moment almost appeareth ten hours.

Thus liue I héere alone,
In this colde Caue of stone,
As next neighbour vnto none,
But Trees, Fowls, and Flowrs.

And thus in my darke Den I mynde to remayne,
As bound Bead-man to Her that workes all my woe;
Till Death with his Dart come put mee from payne:
Else *Atropus* cutting quyte the Threed in two,
And on the greene growing Barke of each blooming Tree.
This Diton indorsed shall well written bee:

In sorrow and sight slayne,
For Her heere I remayne,
Who lykes of another ane,
Much more than of mee.

Fond Heremite, quod I then, thy loue would appeare
Too high to bée placed aboue thy degree:
And thy fond foolish hope, frozen with feare,
And *Fortune*, thy *Olde Friend*, thy *New Enemie*.
For shee whom thou best lovest, as thy selfe sayes,
As reasonlesse, and ruethlasse, respects thee nowayes.

Thy syle is her sight;
Thy duill, her delight;
And thy payne to despight,
Shee pleasantlie playes.
Whereby it well seemes, thy labour is lost,
And vnto thy graue thou it goe, ere thou get her.
Mad man! why mak'st thou thyne enemie thy hospe?
Die not a foole, man; for Gods sake forget her.
For, put case, in hope to obtayne thy desyres,
Thou die heere for want of Bed, Food, and Fyres:

Then who shall bee seene,
To louk thy dead Eine?
And intombe thee, I weine,
As custome requyres?

Leaue, then, thy Heremitage, and this colde Caue,
And liue no more in loue, since thou art not lov'd:
But follow mee, and take part as I haue:
Companie and counsell may doe thee some good.
For Don-Diégo had died in Desart,
Wert not Rodorico did him there convert.

Thus, it may fall so,
That I thy Rodorico,
May finde ease to thy woe,
And heale thy hurt Heart.

Speake, Pilgrime, quod hee, of thinges that may bee,
Or that hath appearance, to take some effect:
For, such is my faintnesse, I want force to flee,
Loue, Fortune, Death, haue given such a checke.
Betwixt Wit and Will there is great debate;
The one with the other stryving for the state.

Flee Loue, quod my Wit.
Stay, sayes my Will yet.
So I byde; so I flit.
So I loue: so I hate.

But where thou wouldst seeme to salue all my sore,
And by thy strait statutes to stay all my sturt,
Meddle with that matter, good Pilgrime, no more,
Since all mine health hangeth on her that mee hurt.
The Coal, that mee burnes to the bone, will I blow,
Though Liver, Lungs, and Lights, fly vp in a low,

Since shee doeth decree it,
That I die, so bee it;
I long till I see it.
Let Death bende his Bow.

Vayne wretch, quod I then, cast off thy vowed Weed,
And wander no more in this wilde Wildernesse:
It may bee thy Mistres, that deare Dame, bee dead,
For whose sweete sake daylie that diest in distresse:
Perchance before that thou her againe see,
By vote of the Wan-weirds, that buried shee bee.

Or put case, thy Dame deare,
Hath chosen a new Pheare,
Thou wouldst despare to see her.
That so lightlies thee.

Or contrarywyse, good Heremite, suppone
Thy Mistres this moment hath good minde of thee;
And for thy long absence maketh great moane,
And from her heart wisheth her leile loue to see:
Saying in her selfe, Would God I wist where
My poore pyned Patient doeth make his repare.

Wist I well, so I thryue,
That hee were yet alyue,
I should bee no wights wyue
For ten yeares, and maire.

Conceit with thy selfe, good Heremite, I pray,
If thy Dame bee dead, thou weep'st but in vaine.
Thou art a starke Stocke, heere still for to stay,
And mourne for the losse that mendes not thy moane.
For if shee some other respect more than thee,
What grace canst thou get, in duill heere to die:

Or wouldst thou thy trueth,
Should reape reward of rueth?
Why slipst thou so with sleuth,
The thing that may bee?

Good Pilgrime, saide hee then, of these two I see,
As you seeme to conclude, the one must bee true:
Shee loathes, or shee loues: a mids may not bee,
As to my paines I may prooue by signes anew.
For my beloved Loue, my deare daintie Dame,
Despiseth those Elements which spell my poore Name.

VVois mee, if I mint,
To forge Floods from the Flint,
My true travell shall bee tint,
Such Friendship to frame.

But you would say, that Death, drierie Death!
Perhaps, hath abrogate my deare Dames dayes:
To looke for a long lyfe then must I bee loath,
Whom each froward frowne else of Fortune affrayes.
And since alyke for her loue I haue tane such Payne,
I care not a cuit for her sake to bee slayne.

I shall not seeeme for to shrinke,
Of Death, for hey death, to drinke;
Whose sweete Eyes, with a winke,
May reviue mee agayne.

Let this then applease thee, good Pilgrime, I pray,
That no presence, absence, no distance of place;
No fond toyes, no new frayes; no tyme, no delay;
No bad chance, no new change, nor contrarie case;
No, not the fierce flames that Fortune can spit,
Shall make my firme fixed sayth or fancie to flit.

Yea, let her fleete, let her flow;
Let her doe what shee dow,
To gar my griefe aye grow,
I shall bee true yet.

Good Heremite, for trueth tolde I oft tymes haue heard,
The leilest in loue, commeth aye the worst speede:
And hee that deserues well to reape best reward,  
For firme sayth and friendship, shall finde nought but feide.  
Take tent to the tales tolde of true Troyall Knight,  
And hee that hanged him selfe, if I reade right.  
Yea, though thy sute thou obtayne,  
With one word tint agayne:  
Short pleasure, long Payne,  
With duile day and night.  

But since thou delightest to liue still in loue,  
Advyse thee on this well, Bee never too true.  
Though thou sweare and say thy mynde shall not moue,  
For Orphus, take Protus, to change aye thy hew.  
Was not great Ioue turn'd in a Showre, in a Fyre,  
In a Swan, in a Bull, t'obtayne his desyre?  

For hee that loues lighliest,  
Bee sure hee shall speede best:  
And hee that loues without rest,  
Shall surely get ill hyre.  

Wherefore, in loue if that thou wouldst come speede,  
Thou must flee fayth, bee facile, false, vntrue.  
Ere thou prevayle right, so farre as I reide,  
There must bee a sympathie twixt her and you.  
For I demand, How can right Concord bee,  
Whyle you are true, and shee both false and slee?  

Shee lykes well another sho,  
Then choose new, and change too:  
And if you well doe,  
Bee as false as shee.  

Alace! quod the Heremite, too late I spye the right,  
And wronged with woe, still wrongly I frame.  
I know that in loue, my Ladie proues but light:  
And if that I were wyse, I would doe the same.  
But fayth and her remembrance martyres mee maire,  
Than did her presence perfect mee, when I was there.  

For whyles grieved, I greete;  
Whyles I mourne, till wee meete:
And some tymes my poore sprite
Dies, drowned in despare:

And whyles in a rage I reckon with my sell,
And to and fro dispute, to dash my desyre:
Halfe dead in Desart, heere why should I dwell,
And pyne with payne, wanting Bed, Food, and Fyre?
Why doe I lose youths pryme, without all gayne?
Or why mourne I for her that keepes Disdayne?

And when that I conclude,
To burne Habite and Hood,
Yet doe I not dde it,
My Uow is so vayne.

Curst bee that fond Uow, that ever it was made:
Curst bee the first cause of my hidden payne:
And curst bee false Fortune, that holds mee at feid:
And curst bee the blinde Boy, that breedes all my baine:
Curst bee the first houre, the tyme, and the place,
That fettred my fond Heart in her fayre Face.

Curst bee my wicked will:
Nuyn spoyling mee of Skill,
And tooke mee captiue, till,
That Groome voyde of grace.

Unsayde bee that bad word, That Groome voyde of grace,
What but her good graces can grieue mee so much?
For I may will saye, if Pittie had place,
Of all that on molde moues, there is none such,
Oh! had the tymes past in Prayer beene spent,
That rueth to my ruethlesse Loue had beene sent.

And Cupid, I call on thee:
Thou hear' st, and canst not see:
Haue pittie on poore mee,
And grant myne intent.

Dame Nature, sayth the wyse Clerke Empedocles,
Bestowes, good Heremits, her gifts here and there,
As shee well pleaseth, the best is but Claise:
Each man must bee content, hee gets no maire.
For fayth doeth not affect thy Mistres faire,
But Beautie, which doeth bring thee to despaire.

Of pittie since no part
Is hid in her hard heart,
Yet let not the blacke dart
Of duile thee devoure.

And deafe not the good Gods, with thy vayne Sute:
What they haue once done, they will not vndoe.
Loue's lyke a trim Tree, which beareth no Fruite,
But greene leaues, and blossoms, and flowrisheth too:
Oft gladning the Gardner, in hope of good gayne;
Yet reapes hee in Harvest no Fruit for his payne.

Right so her fayre face,
With gifts of sweet grace,
Tint travell, alace,
Bont fruit makes thee fayne.

Then sute, serue, pray, prayse, or doe what you can:
Loe, heere I fore-tell thee, thy labour is lost.
For by the great griefs thou thol'st now and than,
To haste thyne owne death, thou runnest the Post.
Though surges of sorrow full swift thee assayles,
Thy lawtie in loue, bout lucke, nought avayles.

Though thou beate the Bush well,
Yet thy foe, without fayle,
Hints the Prey by the tayle,
And proudlie prevayles,

[8 missing pages]

So by your sweete selfe I preasse now to speake,
Whome by the god of Loue I pray, and beseike,

Forget the same of your force,
On your Man haue remorse;
Lest Death him and you divorce,
For hee is sore sicke.

Or if a poore man's Plaint may pearce through your Eares?
If Loue anie Lordship in your Breast may brooke;
Haue pittie on his Passions, and salt tragicke Teares;
Who Libertie, and Lyfe both, hath lost with a Looke.
His Helpe must bee had from Handes that him hurt:
For sterne must hee stay still, till you stay his stutt.

Then, choose one of these twa,
Your sworne Slaue for to slay,
Or revert all his wae,
Whome your Beautie hurt.

And then, with a fell Frowne, which had a full force
To over-rule the whole Worlde, with Eterne Mighty.
Whereby it well seemed shee had no remorse
Upon the poore Patient, pyned in such plight.
Faith, Pilgrime, quod shes, thou ravest in a rage,
That seekest by my shame his sicke sore to swage.

For, in a word to conclude,
I can doe him no good;
Hee is reaft, by the Rood,
Of all his wun Wage.

Though sometime the day drew, I dare not denye,
That hee in mine Heart had the most supreame place:
And so, till the fond Fates his wealth did envye,
I still, with courtesie, considred his case.
And trust mee, Pilgrime, his Passions, and Paine,
Ment as neare mine Heart, as ever did mine awne.

Though his case now seeme strange,
I will not my selfe cleange:
His bad chance, and my change,
Hath bred all his paine.
And as for my Loue, who liyes without release,  
Associate for my sake, with manie sad Song;  
So am I payde in mine hand, with as carefull case,  
For hee whome I best loue, hath wrought mee great wrong.  
And like as for his loue, hee reapes but disdaine,  
The Loue whome I like best, loathes mee againe.

And as hee liues all alone,  
With manie great grievous groane,  
So to my selfe I bemoane,  
My hid piercing paine.

I flee to bee followed, and following, am fled:  
I loue, and am loathed, and loath to bee lov'd.  
Heere's a strange stratageme, that my vaile bred:  
I frieze in the hote Flame, and frye in the Flood.  
I lacke whome I best loue, and choakt am with store:  
Yea, haue so much, that my mynde can craue no more.

Thus goe thy wayes, whence thou came,  
And showe thy sicke Friende, his Dame  
Remaines yet the selfe same,  
That shee was before.

I will worke thee no wrong, that no wayes hast wyte-  
But through the Fieldes on thy Feete friendlie doest fate,  
To seeke to thy sicke man some Salue for his syte,  
And to cure by thy Craft his curst kindled Care:  
Thou shalt walke on thy way, and stay on the Stréet,  
And carrie him shortlie his answere in Writ.

And when shee the Doore bard,  
I stoode still yet vnskard;  
And through a hole I heard  
This talke of the Sweete.

Poliphila, before Shee writ her Ansvvere, disputeth vwith her ovyne Desires, as followeth

HOw hard it is, none knowes, so well as I-  
Unto a dolefull, and divided Mynde,  
To make a well-joind Aunswere, and Replye,
When all the chiefe and noblest partes are pynde.
Then, Shall I bee to Crueltie inclyned?
Or pittie him that prayes, and pleades for Peace?
If this or that I sticke in contrar case?

I loue the Loue that lightlies mee againe;
And lightlie him that loues mee as his life:
Yea, for my loue with slaverie is slaine.
His lyfe's the Threed, my crueltie's the Knyfe.
How shall I rid this strange and fatall stryfe?
Yet best it were, to looke, before I llope:
And not to quite Assurance true, for Hope.

O my divided Soule! what shall I doe?
Whereon shall nowe my Resolution rest?
Which is the best Advise to yeelde unto?
Of two Extreames, howe shall I choose the best?
Come, Pithiane Prince: I praye, and I protest:
Assist mee nowe, and make no more delay;
But guide mee well, in this my wilsome way.

Then, Heremite, that doest in Desart dwell,
And buyst my loue, with deare and great expence;
With Toyle, and Tormentes, tedious for to tell;
Bee blythe, and let thy wonted Harmes goe hence:
Thou must not die, while I may make defence.
Put then a point and period to thy paine:
Thy long-sought Loue and Ladie shall bee thine.

Yet will I write disdainfullie to thee:
Thy loving Lines must haue a colde Reply.
I will not seeme too credulous to bee,
With hastie Faith, to trust, before I trye.
But I avow, I shall not sleepe, nor lye
In anie Bed, till I beholde thy Face,
And boldlie him whome I should brooke, imbrace.

Goe, louselesse Lines, vnto my Lover true.
Stay yet, lest yee procure his farder paine.
God graunt nothing but Good heereof ensue.
Yet stay, for why? Yee will bee quite mistane.
Goe yet: but yet yee shall not goe alane:
My selfe will followe, with convenient haste.
God graunt my Uoyage bee not waird in waste.
Thus endeth her Disputation.

And so, in a short space, that sweete seemlie Sainct,
Presentes mee· her Pilgrime, a baile-bearing Bill:
And as in the wilde way shee weind I should want,
My Bag, and my Bottle, shee plenisht at will.
A King from her Finger full faire did shee take:
And gaue mee, and prayde mee, good Newes to bring backe.

And, having no more to say,
But loath I should long stay,
Shee weeping went away·
And not a word spake.

Then, when the blacke Night her sadde Mantle shew,
Il Successour, degenerate from the Day,
UUith the third Foote in hand, I throgh the thrang threw.
Though clad with the darke Clowdes, I went on my way.
And loath to detaine the Lecture too long,
I came to my sicke Friende; and this was his Song·

But, when I knew his voice,
I kept my selfe full close,
To heare the Layes of his losse,
The wilde woods among.

The Heremite his Complaint.

SO manie thinges before haue perfect Poets pende, For to expresse their piercing paines,
and cause their Cares bee kende

That nought is left, alace, for most vnhappie mee,
In Skyes aboue, on earth beneath, nor in the glassie Sea.
No Metaphoricke Phrase, no high Invention braue:
No Allegorie sweete Conceit, no Theame sublime and graue:
But all things else are saide, which I can write or say:
Thus in effect I wot not how my wracks for to bewray

And nothing doeth aggrege my griping griefe so much,
As that my skill should be so small, my sorowes should be such.
Yet all those Poets braue, which were, or yet shall bee,
Could I but vutter, as I feel, might all giue place to mee.
And thou whose mirth was least, whose comfort was dismaid:
Whose hope was vaine, whose faith was skorne, whose trueth was betraide:
Thou didst declare thy duile, in braue and daintie dye:
Thou wast vnhappie then, I graunt, but now vnhappie I.

Thy Poemes did present vpon thy pleasant Page,
Moe Sorrowes than thou ever felt into thy cunning age.
With costlie Nurix rare, Sidoniane Wares divine,
Thou litst thy Lines, which makes thy Moanes miraculouslie to shine.
My Paines, like Tagus Sandes, no numbers can bewray:
Or like Auroras tears, which she for Memnon sheeds each day.
As Starres in frostie Sky can not bee tolde which shynes;
So manie heaps of harms my hart without compassion pyns,
Yea, would I preasse to tell the tormentes that I feele,
With travell tint then might I turne Irions fatall wheele.
And to disgorge these griefs which make mee sigh and sob,
Were for to weue a new Penelopeian webbe.
My Eyes like Fountaines might in bloodie Fornace frye,
Or like the Lidiane Tubs, whose doome is never to bee drye.
My hote and smoothred sighes, no levill course can take:
But restlesse round about my heart esphearicke motion make.

My Thoughtes are now of Blisse like ruine Ilion bare:
My shape, a reconfused masse, which flowrisht once so faire.
My Ship, which sometimes saild in draine of hope aright.
On Rockes full colde is rent, in blacke and stormie night.
And I, forsaken Soule, a lyfelesse lumpe of Lead,
Twixt wind and waue am cast, whereas no strength can stand in stead.
My Uentring was my Wracke; my high Desire, my Fall:
Which made the Naufrage of my Hurt, my Hope, my Hap, and all.

Alace, alace, that I impossiblie did preasse,
Aboue my Fortunes for to flie, so farre to my disgrace.
Disgrac'd with Losse, with Shame, with Wracke, and endlessse Wrong:
These are the dolefull Ditties now, and subjects of my Song.
Yet dare I not, alace, though I haue cause, complaine:
Which makes me sigh, and sob, and thus for loue am slaine.
But since it is my weird, to fall, to waile, to weepe;
Then by my losse let others learne a lower course to keepe.

Thus endeth the Heremite his Complaint

And when I saw that his Song received a full ende,
I shoude my selfe shortlie, and kindlie did kythe.
And when that sore sicke man his true Bearer kende,
And saw the Face of his Friend, God knowes he was blythe.
Then shoude I the blacke Bill, subscryv'd with his Name,
Well written with the hand of his owne deare Dame.

And then, with a glad cheare,
When Hope had ceassed Feare,
Hee read, that I might heare,
The Will of the same.

**Her Answere, to the Heremite**

THy loving Lines I rashlie did receiue,
Wherein thy Trueth, thy State, thy Wracke, I see:
But at mine handes no succour shalt thou haue:
Though Friends to mee, I shall bee Foe to thee.
And since thy death doeth on my doome depende,
Liue loath'd, or die disgrac'd, and so I ende.

Thus shee shortly concludes.

And when hee read these bad and noisome Newes,
Which did refresh his Woes, his Hurtes, and Harmes:
Whiles red, whiles pale, hee chaunged manie hewes,
And fell downe, in dead-throw, betwixt my weake Armes.
And when with my salt Teares I bath'd his pale Face,
His Sprites, and his Breath, came to their owne place.

Hee cryde then, O Death, stay
Thy date, for this halfe day;
That I in writ may bewray
My high great Disgrace.

**The Heremite his Testament.**

BUt now, and not till now, my Swan-lyke Song I sing;
And with each word my dying Eyes the bloodie Teares foorth bring,
Not that I loathe, alace, or shrinke for to bee slaine:
For, what can be so sweet as death, which puts an end to pain?
My death shall bee the Cause, thy Honour and Renowne
Shal lose the conquerd Diademe of Fames immortal Crown.
Yet since it is thy Doome, that in disgrace I die,
Or loathed liue, the choise is hard whereas no mids may bee.
And yet of Evils twane, the best must aye bee tane:
So that I rather choose to die, than liue in endlessse paine.
Long haue I lookt for joy, whence floods of sorrow spring:
The ende whereof, alace, must bee my latest Will to sing.
My Tones, are carefull Cryes; my Words are Plaints, alace:
Sad Sorrow must the Singer bee, since Pittie hath no place.
My Paines are like a Point, amidst a Circle set:
Still in such nearnesse to my selfe, that no reliefe can get.
How can I hope for helpe, since Heavens doe mee despise?
And all the gods aboue are dead'd, with my Complaintes and Cryes.
Earths burden am I thus, whose sighes infect the Aire,
With poisned breath, proceeeding from an heart consum'd with Care.
For loe, the faithlesse Fates vnto this state mee calles:
By which the statelie Starres themselues misfortune tholes.
What resteth then but Death? since Death must be the last,
To put a period to my paine, for pleasures hope is past.
Yet A attest the gods, since first our loue began:
I haue beene the lielest aye, and most affected man.
I loded thee, alace, thy Soliphermis sworne:
O Poliphila false! my lawtie is forlorne.
My loue, woe's mee, therefore, still thy disdaine hath beene:
The most Extreams that ever were, or shall againe bee see.
Thou first betrayde mine Heart, then falsifide thy Faith:
And where thou promisde Lyfe, by Loue, thou hast decreede my Death.
When that thy Cruelties I call before, and to
The Eyes of my Remembrance, I doubt what I shall doe.
Whiles doe I wish to liue, not to envye thy loue:
But that I might beholde my wracke, revenged from Aboue.
Or that such wrongs as mine, if such, or worse, might bee,
Might make mee smile at thy Mishaps, as thou hast done at mee.
Or then that sometime thou, like that Minoniane Dame,
Mightst loue, and loathed bee, and suffer such like shame.
Or that the fatall Sparke, whereon thy Loines might lout,
And mounting much, might make thee pleade, for Peace thy time about.
Yet, whiles againe I thinke, might I my wish obtaine,
I could not but bee kinde to thee, for kindnesse that hath beene.
Thus what I would, I wish: but wot not what I would.
Twixt Heate and Colde I frieze, I frye, and fearfull am, and bolde.
Yea, though I bee dismaide, such is my flaming Fyre,
That Neptunes Kingdome could not quench the Coales of my Desyre.
Yet whiles I reade the Schrole of Torments which I thole,
Where no Mischance is mixt to fill a grieved Martyres Roll.
And when I looke the Liues, wherein thy Hellish Doome,
By thy Chyrographie sent, That Death should me consume,
Thus I resolue at ones, for to obey thy will,
Although my Lyfe the Ransome bee, thy Furie to fulfill.
Since Contraries, wee see, are by Contraries cured:
Then, welcome, Death, to cut the Threed, which hath so long endured.
For why? my Prayers are but Curses late and aire:
And I beseech the gods by night, to see the Day no maire.
My wishes are, that Hilles and Rockes should on mee fall,
To end my endlesse breath, my lyfe, my loue, and all.
Yet all those wishes are but types, that I must die,
Which revelations all at once, shall now accomplisht bee.
Then louselesse dame, adue, whom I haue helde so deare:
And welcome, Death, to cut the Threede, which holdes my lyfe in weire.
And, Pilgryme, thou who took'st thy way in manie airts,
For me prepare a burial Bed, for Bones, when Breath departs.
Yet recommend mine Heart, vnto my sometime-Sweet;
Who shall, when I am dead and gone, for Grace and Guerdon greet.
And let that place bee nam'd, Strophonius Caue of care:
Where nought but woefull wandring wights, undone with duill, repare.
And let this Caverne colde, wherein I dwelt, to die,
For Misers, and vnhappy men, a matchlesse Mansion bee.
Let him whose erring steps should guide him heere to plaine,
Take paines to recollect my rolls, & scattered Skrolls againe.
That these my Waylings now, and Sorrowes Children may
Extolde in after comming times, endure, and lieue for aye.
And that the wandring eyes, which reade my sorrowing songs.
When I am dead, may say, that shee causelesse hath wrought such wrongs.
The Mountaines high, whose poynts doe pierce the asure Aire;
Whose echoes lowde my Commerades make comfort to my Care:
Still mot your hights aryse, with statelie tops and stay,
To match the Alpes, that yee may bee as famous, faire as they,
Yee Ualleyes louelie low, with sweet and leuell lynes,
Where Natures workmanship and pryde in Floraes Mantle shynes:
Greene mot yee grow for aye, and that ne spaits of raine,
No Snowie showres, no partching Sunne, your statelie broying staine.
And thou, O blessed Brooke, which didst accept my Teares;
And harbered thee within thy heart, so manie loathsome yeares-

Unto the Ocean great, most swiftlie mot yee slide,
To pay thy debts, bout stop or stay of contrare streame or tide.
Yee whisling windes, likewise, which swiftlie did receiue,
My Cogiate Sighs, and burie them within your Bosome braue.
Doe thus much once for mee; Take one Sigh to my Dame:
And whispering sweetlie, show that Sainct, thus haue I sent the same.
And if shee doe refuse, which out of doubt I dread,
The newes of No, shall bee a Sput, to haste mee to my dead.
Yee braue and statute Trees, which circumcuitate heere,
Still bloome, and blossom, with the change of yearlie changing cheare.
Though I did ryue your Kyndes, & brake your tender Barkes,
By painting Polyphilaes name to your immortall markes:
Agrieue not with your wounds, for I dare well avow,
That I more cruelie haue rent my tender Heart, than you.
But last, and by the laiue, thou Holline, graue and greene,
Wherein my Mistresse name, and mine, most liuelie may bee seene,
I consecrate to thee my Corpse, when I am gone,
That by my losse I may enlarge thy thornie leaues eachone.
And when I shall consume, and rot about thy roote,
Then shall thy Boughs and Branches bloome, and beare a fairer Fruit:
And as thou tak'st increase, so shall Her Name, and mine,
Unto thy praise, my losse, her shame, in seemelie sort aye shine.
Yee savage Citizens, which in this Forrest bee,
That did exchange your Cruelties, in Courtesies to mee:
Well not yee bee, poore Beastes, and that no shots of Lead,
No life-bereaving Bow, nor Bolt, procure nor haste your dead.
And thou sweete pyping Pan, ye Fawnes, and Satyres rare,
Which were amidst my matchlesse moanes, Companions of my care:
Ye Nymphes of Hilles & Dales, of Woods; of Uailes, of Floods;
I bid you all, alace, Good-night, and so my Muse concludes.
For now the Herbinger of Death, must life and loue bereaue.
My Heart is faint, and loe, my Soule begins to take her leaue.
And so at point of Death, whose wisht approach I feele,
To end my life, I write this last Ill-faring word, Fare-well.

So endeth the Testament of Stophonius.

Thus the poore Heremite in midst of his paine,
Began to repeate his faire Mistres speach;
Downe betwixt mine Armes fell, in dead throw againe:
UUhen no Leid for his life, mee thought, could be Leach.
His Cognate Corpse as Clay were, like the Lead:
Yea, healthlesse and helplesse, were Heart, Hand, and Head:

I began to bewaile,
And eke for to raile,
On her whose faith did faile.
In such time of neede.
Yet in the midst of my moanes, downe lighted that Dame,  
Companied with none, but her Palfray and Page:  
And when shée saw her liele Loue lye deade ere shée came,  
Her faire Face and rich Robes, shée rent in great rage.  
And startling shée fell vpon his faint Face,  
And great Seas of sault Teares shé spent in short space.  

And séeing her Swéet slaine,  
No remead did remaine:  
Shee thus began to plaine,  
Her bad carefull case.

**Polyphila her Complaint, and Testament**

O endlesse Night of noyse, which hath no Morrow!  
O lowring Heavens, which harmes still haue threat!  
Ov'r mantling mee with sable Clowds of Sorrow!  
UUh ereas no Starre doeth shine earlie nor late.  
Although I ship from *Craig*, to seeke my Mate,  
And from a glorious Garland to my Crowne,  
I finde by death my daintie *Rose* dung downe.  

Yée swelling Seas, with waltering UUaues that roll.  
To resolute the weather-beaten Shoare:  
They eb, they flow, and changing, Courses tholl,  
And dare transcende their bounded banks no more.  
But I, alace, whom Duill doeth still devoure,  
I finde no entermiss ions to my Moanes,  
But ere and late lament my grievous Groanes.

How can my wofull Heart, and weeping Eyes,  
Beholde the dearest of my life bereaft?  
How can my minde admit the least surmyze,  
Of anie Hope, that hath but Horrour left?  
My Pilote now, by North, nor yet by East,  
Espies no Calmes, but Mercie-wanting Stormes;  
Pretending Death, in blacke and vglie Formes.

I grouelinges on the Ocean of my pride,  
Did misregard each true and loving Sute.  
So mante sude for favour on each side,  
Which made my Seede to yeelde much barren Fruite.
Though I bewaile, as nowe, it bringes no buite.
Sighes, Teares, and Uowes, and all are waird in vaine:
Since nothing can redéeme thy life againe.

Aye mee, alace! Alace, and waile-away!
Deare Heert, poore Heart: what restes for thy behoue?
Since I procur'd thy death, by my delay,
And did mistrust my true and constant Loue:
Now shall my death, thy present death approue.
Though whilst thou liv'd, to loue thee I was loath;
Yet I am thine beyonde the date of death.

Then let mee die, and bid Delight adue;
Since my delight is with thee dead and gone.
The comming Age shall say, thy Thisbe true,
Was constant still, and lov'd but thee alone.
Wee both shall lye vnder one Marble stone.
One Graue in ende, shall ende our fatall griefe;
Which yeeldes mee nowe, in point of death, reliefe.

Since yesterday may not bee brought againe,
And Wronges may bee repented, not recall'd:
I will no more in veigh on Death in vaine.
But make all Womens cowrage to bee bolde:
And in the Tymes to come, it shall bee tolde;
Though thou till death didst serue and honour mee,
I after death haue sought, and followde thee,

And, Pilgrime, nowe, I praye, and I protest,
Before I ende this last exequall Act,
Let mee bee bolde to make this small Request;
That for thy vmwhile Friende some paines thou take:
First, In this place, a private Graue gar make;
And let vs lye interd conjunctlie there,
Where nought but Fawnes, and Satyres make repare;

Next, When thou comst into my natiue Land,
Wherein my Loue, and louelesse I was borne;
If anie of our Tragicke death demand,
With Pittie speake, I praye, and not with Scorne.
This Practicks rars, which seldom was beforne,
Which when my deare and loving Friendes shall heare,  
My Tragicke ends will cost them manie a Teare.

Thus endeth her Complaynt.

And so when that rare Pearle departed out of paine,  
Upon the colde dead Corpse of her leile Loue,  
Unto my else hurt Heart did heape Harmes againe,  
And layde new weight on my brast Breast aboue.  
To see him and her gaspe, still no wrisht my care.  
I wist not whom to helpe, him, or her there.

While I stoode in this doubt,  
The Heremite lookt out,  
And gaue a faint shout,  
Twixt hope, and despare.

This is the Worldes most wondrous worthie Might,  
Most matchlesse of all, that may on molde moue.  
Halowed bee the Heavens, that showde mee this sight.  
And lent mee this light, to looke on my leile loue.  
Now am I glad, and vngriev'd, to Graue though I goe:  
Thy travell and toyle doeth reward well my woe.

For wilt thou believe mee,  
My Maker mischieue mee,  
If thou canst agrieue mee,  
I still loue thee so.

I come, quod the Cleare then, to cure all thy care,  
Though the Faites had forsworne to fang thee my Feire.  
Bee biythe then, my deare heart, and mourns thou no maire,  
For Peace, saith the Proverbe, puts end to all weire.  
Goe leaue then thy Hermitage, and thy cold Caue,  
Where Wolfe, Lyon, wilde Beare, thy blood still doe craue,

And with the good God's grace,  
Thou shalt in a short space,  
For all thy losse stnde release,  
And first Health receiue.

Then franklie the Frieke fuire, with her helpe and mine,
And to her Palfray hee past, although with great paine:
And tooke on that sweet Sainct, that meeke Iem divine;
That miracle which gods made, as next unto naie.
Then blythlie the Bairue blent, and hyde hastie Hame,
Throgh sheene Shawes, & donke Dailes, with his deare Dame.

And so with Adew dry,
Through the Wood could they hye,
As wee twind, they and I,
Iwoke of my Dreame.

Heere endeth the fatalitie of the loyall Lover Soliphereus, and of his sweete Ladie Polyphila

The Poeme

AS perfect Poets eye-tymes haue tane paine,
And search'd the Secrets of each high Engyne,
By base and lowlie Subjects to exclaime,
High Mysteries, both morall and divine:
Even so into this worthlesse Worke of mine,
Which at Friends bidding boldlie I set foorth;
Some things may seeme obscure, though little worth.

For as the Heremite leaues his dearest Dame,
And takes delight in colde Desart to dwell:
Syne of his Lot, and of him selfe, thinkes shame,
And still despaires, and still doeth loathe him sell:
So wretched man, exchanging Heaven with Hell,
Forgetting GOD, in Darknesse doeth remaine,
And still despaires, to get Reliefs againe.

And as the painfull Pilgryme, now and than,
With Arguments, and pithie reasons strong,
Would faine reduce the Heremite, if hée can,
And make him to beholde his woefull wrong:
And as the Woods, and savage Beastes among,
So with him bydes, and recomforts his Care:
Syne holds him vp, from dying in Despare.

And as in ende, hee mooues him for to wryte;
Syne showes his Sutes vnto his Mistres Eyes:
Wherein, yée sée, shée tooke no small delyte,
Because in him some signe of Trueth shée stes.
Shée cures his Cares, and all his sicke Disease:
Yea, heales his hurt, and heartlie by the hand,
Shée home-ward leades him, to her natiue Land.

So sinfull man, first by the helpe of Faith,
Despiseth Sinne, repents, and sore doeth pray,
That GOD in Mercie would avert His wrath,
And make His bred displeasure to decay.
And when the sicke converted would away,
From worldlie ease, with haste hee maketh speede:
Then comes the LORD, to helpe His owne at neede.

Hee cures our cares, Hee helps vs to bee haile:
Hee makes our sorie Soules for to rejoyce.
If wee in Him confyde. Hee will not faile,
To free vs from the force of all our Foes.
And at the last, with great disgrace of those,
That loving LORD, shall take vs by the Hand,
And with Him leads vs, to the HOME LAND.

FINIS.
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**Articles**


Appendix

Appendix A shows the index of NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14 or ‘The Thoirs Family Commonplace Book’.

Appendix B shows the index and first lines of the booklet containing the examined poem and the only booklet in the MS which correlates to the containing booklet. I propose that these booklets once formed the same codex.

Appendix C shows the *fishe signilature* of the Thoirs scribe.
### Appendix A:

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<td>These allFipted on Wm of Nassans grave</td>
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<td>4v</td>
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<tr>
<td>6r</td>
<td>On 29th May Once happy Britaine whilst my ruttall day was Celebrat wt due</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[horizontal]</td>
<td>1691 four [can't discern what this refers to]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7r</td>
<td>To the Queen the 10th of Junis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v</td>
<td>Upon the 1 And we may justify fear we may repent of the duall cause of his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8r</td>
<td>On Patrick An Death I was thought ye preceding age did move yu Glut yu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8v</td>
<td>8v On Patrick An Death I was thought ye preceding age did move yu Glut yu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9r</td>
<td>Elegie an This is the yer yd doth Compleat so the sage yd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9v</td>
<td>9v On Patrick An Death I was thought ye preceding age did move yu Glut yu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10r</td>
<td>Epitphalim This is the yme ye birds begin to sing / Melodius notes to Welcon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10v</td>
<td>A valedict Since a new doctrine to good from this Chyme / And to imbibe the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11r</td>
<td>Off the W Adam to cover nakeness did strive / &amp; soon began to card &amp; spin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11v</td>
<td>In 29 May Leta dies red yd quondam Celebretia quotanum ob Cuerolum Inf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12r</td>
<td>Poem on 1 Tyne is inconstant motions &amp; doth pass by a continuall flux &amp; fli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12v</td>
<td>Upon the i Before the thistle with the rose was twynd / our patriots about it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13r</td>
<td>13r Upon the i Before the thistle with the rose was twynd / our patriots about it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14r</td>
<td>To the Sea sweet lasses Court Camesse fool Talies byke a heise / Damid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14v</td>
<td>Thor saw Jacobitiis Wicked Sprits hypocrits by tongue &amp; mouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15r</td>
<td>The Latino Our drinks we deuils or Marcques we madd / our Ears we evill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15v</td>
<td>Under the Cage Called Oner sees Man se a propag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16r - 18v</td>
<td>A Depote From villainry in a doubled of zeal / Fm 3 Kingdoms bulling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19r</td>
<td>The Index [list of 156 miscellaneous papers]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First I saw and thereafter I saw an old man &amp; old woman in an Charion [cipher] thes myne figures still make up 15 quadrufflaranse / plagemors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Royal God bliss pleasure &amp; home infasfly bring / of Scotland prince &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after the KMynd to give god &amp; ceaser both ye due...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19v</td>
<td>Upon Mrs Com sweetest Nymph all men desire / How just my panegyrick be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16r</td>
<td>Upon S. L Saunders Laude on a day 'U came out into the best array to courts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v</td>
<td>Mr Dundas trayll...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17v</td>
<td>The Gramc 1662</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 18v         | To the Rig Ritch dedicals his pens Dextery[t] table of alphabet, the propicit
ode 5  The rose the flower of love good friend yet its joye of gru
ode 16  Some the affairs of Shebar doe relate / eyes ye phrygian warre reg
ode 15  by its not my business to know / The story of the Giges goe...
ode 28  by fifties could mens lives maintain / If ye becoarfull heaps of gold
ode 18  by The thirsty earth drinks in the raine / The trees drink from Earth
ode 24  Since I am nail to must nsee / The course of life till it is done...
ode 40  by once in a calm and sultry day as on the ground young cupd lay.
ode 2  By Banus Mighty for of love / Banus qu doeth quyte remove...

40r - 39v  The rest o But of yow say he lady drum yu love audie will such drink...
39r  The markt being and ancomt of the livs Characters Memorii actions of such
38v  The life of famous historie Arted most in south vutam quos / Buchanan or
37v  The liffe of Nephew to Caracus his mayr Q. Of Picts...
37r  Captur of / Qu Roms overmun It made liberty to brigants & provences orde
36v  The Liffe His parentage Certaine & place of his heath uncertain nor is it
36r  The Liffe of The some of Gerams qu was murdered qus murther Buchanan e
35v  The life of The some of good name & most memorable histry but being in
35r  the liffe of Fer: 1 Fer 2 and Ken 2 each of ym raised the scots ship by begin
35v  2 Book of Cap cors after quits to ye restoration of K. Melon de Sillard
35r  The Liffe o Son of eac of most emnent preceding & few falls after the defe

ff. 101 - 148  heading first lines/date
101r  The place: 1. Bethlem as Warsworth; 2. Maneve phine or abram dyed as Gui
101v-104r  In Gesta R. Aetudens imperious daw most swif to be given to him or would
104r  a godlie B whos Learning his thimper is bad / His predestinations ye made
104v  Hindester His fayres vaier nor was Cock so his / The he is bomet maker in
104v  K. Ch. 2s / (after this defeat of his armes at wocrter 1651) printed at Lond
105r  OE for 14.4.6 dates 23 May 1709 - 14.4.12 0.26.0.40 It from y octor 1708/4
105v  flour treat John Downame preacher 1613 Escah 58.1 Cry
105v  Q. Oath beiet unlaws appearant or bethe event as killing of Elisas panis2 /
106r  Reasons agt persury I odour to god & man
106v - 107r  Of drunke l a judicious preacher should retale the Surs if the tyms & spat l
107v - 108r  Of fonomic the first 3 parlers & yrs as in the former treatise And the cause
106v  Gerardo & Part q discorcer 2 jacuths obscure wonder...
107v  25 octor T. Honour & many [b]itorys doe crowne / The name of Cristians v
107v - 110r  Har yow s / 15 verses]
108v - 113r  Reader remark qu wrtine be the poet a women & maids love men though
113v  Not of the Count vars homes ye most beautiful Gloria qu was formeller
114r  Argydes Dano 1661
114v  Dilemme / If he had escaped he wold haw be tempted / weikins his sufferis
1710 Quai / 10 verses]
117v  Appendix in Mc KenYies institions They ar heir helped and explain...
121r [upside down after discourse of the happie revolutione That he should have prayed yt th
Lyns form The best of praets in a faidioue age/ misust yfeth by the madde se
123v - 121r [upside Doctor Ed in his sermons pon severall occasions [sermons 1 - 12]
121r upside dow followes 4 instances of Chastitie in Gods revenge agt murther...
124v - 124r [upside your wek your holy spirit so the Hypocrits/ its saik yow drunk not call boye;
[horizontal]
Verses he Love in Distres or the Luky discourse 1696
125r [right way r Be kend wae upon be there puts me Mr Do ensign in her wrts fort guards...
io ards acompt
Impr ffor puster and proceed my merrt 1708 wes payd except [note of account
Memoriam (afterward put are oye. Cover upon this liter and direct it thus...
125r - 127r Joseph M [confessions 1 - 45]

Philotus
of 80
years wes
extremi
enamored
of Emilia
of 14
years
daughter
to
Alberto
& qu
neither he
nor the
maecell
or
pandress
yt he
imployd
nor yet
her
father s
extremi
get threats

127r [sum of Phi Excellent could
127v
And shaw a God dispises not remenent assertions to the constant Church a
Short treat [1-15]
And prophesie concerning the prayer books agt the whiggs.
In historie of Flavius Josephus sone of Matthias 1700 printed...
In Captaine David Kennedy s relations fo the 21 years warr turpt KWK Freu
[upside down] Vive du r Thou never promised to thy selfs long life & mani years lyk a sh
128r - 128v [righ The rarity in Scandinavia the clocks qth tell Sts days & Moons & the dee;
129r - 131v Do native Penticostes/ Gloria Patri dominis/ Sabbato Hymns/ Dominaca ad
132r
heavenlyt [religious prose, similar to that titled 'Antiquaries of Rome']

[from here the writing is upside down, so recorded as read]
148v - 149r Observations [1-20 descriptions of Captains]
149r [horizontal] stole laugh by act pell marginall notes subr thus WM THOIRS
149r A Compend of Scots law excerpted furth of the Scots Lawyers & public fund
141v The forme of process before the Lords...
141r - 137r Next folio [1-9]
137r This ends the forme of process before the Lords Thursday the ninetyenth day of
136v Calishead [1-5]
136r In the 2d Edtion 1685... 1. Christopher Columbus round the world his
136v Papyting t [1-10]
135v Mr Ja. Greenshields bill of susp refused be the lords for a ordman...
135v In the politicall discourses of sir Red Filmer baronet 1688 printed...
135v Libertas... popult quem regua coiserent libertate pent Lucan lib:3...
135v Capt1: how dangerous new & plausible it is the pell of naturale fortune...
135v Cap2: Tha [1-13]
134v Cap3: The positive laws never infringe the freew power of kings...
134v folows the friesholders grand inquest concernign K. & parted 2 observations
134v Observations upon aristotles politicks tuckeing forms of govers together wi
133r Directions for obedience to Government in dangerous or doubtful lymns...
132v [continuatis Spence: ol [sawt still]] zon geyv scotonom didor clans hucammut armus: vit
[then joins at 132r which is written in the right direction]