
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<http://books.google.com>



ENGLISH
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD

E Libris

Arturi S. Napier.



8425

E 90.61



300006057L

Oxford University
ENGLISH FACULTY LIBRARY

Manor Road,
Oxford.

Tel.: Oxford 49631

Postcode: OX1 3UQ

Opening Hours:

Monday to Friday: 9.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. in Full Term.
(9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. in Vacations.)
Saturday: 9.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in Full Term only (closed in Vacations).
The Library is closed for ten days at Christmas and at Easter, on
Encaenia Day, and for six weeks in August and September.

*This book should be returned on or before the latest date
below:*

~~30 MAY 1980~~

04 MAR 2004
29 APR 2004
CANCELLED

28 JUNE 2006

CANCELLED
19 JUN 2007

*Readers are asked to protect Library books from rain, etc.
Any volumes which are lost, defaced with notes, or otherwise
damaged, may have to be replaced by the Reader responsible.*

Thomas of Ercelesdonne.

BERLIN : ASHER & CO., 53 MOHRENSTRASSE.
NEW YORK : C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.
PHILADELPHIA : J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

The Romance and Prophecies of
Thomas of Enceldoune

PRINTED FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS ;

WITH

Illustrations from the Prophetic Literature

OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.

EDITED, WITH

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.



'92

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN printing the complete text of the 15th-century "Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune," with lengthy illustrations from the prophetic literature of that and the following century, it seemed desirable to give in the Introduction a summary of all that History, Legend, and Tradition have to tell of Thomas and his alleged sayings. Since the subject was taken up by Mr (afterwards Sir) Walter Scott in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, it has been touched upon by numerous writers, who have pointed out additional historic references, discussed the authenticity of the works attributed to the Rhymer, or contributed to the Folk-lore of the question by collecting rhymes and traditions associated with his name. The present Editor begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to all these his predecessors, of whose writings he has made free use. At the same time no statement has been taken at second hand which was capable of verification by original reference. In particular, all the documentary evidence has been examined afresh, and the quotations from MSS. verified, leading in some cases to the correction of important errors, which have passed current from writer to writer for seventy years. The inferences which the Editor has drawn from these data, and the theories which he has founded upon them, are of course his own; as is the view which he has taken of the origin and development of the prophetic literature generally. He has also given an independent investigation to the scenery and *locale* of the Romance, in which he has been zealously assisted by the local researches of his friends, Mr Andrew Currie of Darnick, the well-known Sculptor and Border Antiquary, and T. B. Gray, Esq., late of Hawkslie, who has had the good fortune to seize and fix an almost obliterated local tradition of the site of "Huntlee Bankis." The Editor has also to acknowledge the valued kindness and help of Henry Bradshaw, Esq., of the University Library, Cambridge, both during a visit to that Library in 1874, and on numerous occasions since; of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A., for the kindness with which he made several searches among the MSS. in the Bodleian; and of the Rev. Dr Bennett, Chancellor of Lincoln, for his arrangements to facilitate the Editor's access to the Thornton MS. in 1874.

Acknowledgments are also due to the Rev. W. W. Skeat, for many a timely service, to James Tait, Esq., of the *Kelso Chronicle*, and Charles Wilson, Esq., of Rhymer's Lands, Earlston, for investigation of local matters; and to the Rev. Dr R. Morris, F. J. Furnivall, Esq., and David Laing, Esq., LL.D., for assistance on special points.

The following works touch in one way or another on Thomas and his prophecies:

- Lord Hailes (David Dalrymple). *Remarks on the History of Scotland*. Edin., 1773.
- John Pinkerton. *Ancient Scottish Poems never before in print*. London, 1786.
- Sir Walter Scott. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. 1st Edition. Kelso, 1802. (Reprinted, London, 1869.)
- Sir Walter Scott. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. 5th Edition, 3 vols. Edin., 1821.
- Sir Walter Scott. *Sir Tristrem, a metrical Romance of the 13th century*. 2nd Ed. Edin., 1806.
- Robert Jamieson, F.A.S. *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts, and scarce editions*. Edin., 1806.
- David Laing, LL.D. *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*. Edin., 1822.
- Thomas Warton, D.D. *The History of English Poetry*. (Edited by R. Price, with the additional Notes of Ritson, Ashby, Douce, and Park.) London, 1840.
- History of the Berwickshire Naturalist's Club*. Part for 1837 contains "The Popular Rhythmes of Berwickshire," by Mr Henderson; Part for 1866 contains "Earlston," by James Tait, Esq.
- J. O. Halliwell, Esq. *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of "A Midsummer Night's Dream"*. The Shakespeare Society. London, 1845.
- Robert Chambers, LL.D. *The Popular Rhymes of Scotland*. 3rd Edition. Edin., 1858. New Edition, much enlarged; London, 1870.
- David Irving, LL.D. *History of Scottish Poetry*. Edin., 1861.
- Professor F. J. Child. *English and Scottish Ballads*. London, 1861.

After research has done its utmost, the facts as to Thomas are still few and scanty. When we have summed them all up, we can appropriately adapt the words of the minstrel who first told his tale, and like him conclude:

"Of 'man or woman yet' walde I here,
That couthe mare telle of swilke ferly I
Ihesu, corounde with crowne of brere,
Thow brynge us to thy heuene on hye!

Amen."

Mill Hill School, Nov. 1875.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION (FOR PLAN, SEE COMMENCEMENT)	ix
"TRADITIONAL" BALLAD OF THOMAS AND THE QUEENE OF FAERIE ...	lii
DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS. AND EDITIONS	lvi
COLLATION OF MSS.	lxiv
NOTES TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY	lxix
TOMAS OFF ERSSELDOUNE:	
FYTTE I	2
FYTTE II	18
FYTTE III	32
APPENDIX:	
I. THE [SCOTTISH] PROPHECIE OF THOMAS RYMOUR (1515—1548) ...	48
II. THE [ENGLISH] "PROPHISIES OF RYMOUR, BEID, AND MARLYNG" (1515—1525)	52
III. ENGLISH PROSE PROPHECY OF GLADSMOOR, SANDEFORD, AND SETON AND THE SEE (1549)	62

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

<p>1. Documents fixing the existence and date of Thomas of Erceuldoune ... page ix</p> <p>2. His family, and name ... xi</p> <p>3. Historical (?) notices of Thomas personally ... xiii</p> <p>4. Thomas as a prophet—early citations of his prophecies ... xvii</p> <p>5. Thomas as a poet—testimony of Robert of Brunne—Sir Tristrem ... xx</p> <p>6. The Romance of Thomas and the Queen, Outline of ... xxiii</p> <p>7. Its date and authorship ... xxiii</p> <p>8. The 2nd fyfte of prophecies historical—written after the event ... xxiv</p> <p>9. The 3rd fyfte of prophecies legendary—their Arthurian origin ... xxvii</p> <p>10. Subsequent prophetic literature connected with Thomas ... xxix</p> <p>11. "The whole prophecies of Scotland, &c.," 1603, examined ... xxx</p>	<p>12. Influence of Thomas the Rymour at the Union, 1603 ... xl</p> <p>13. Credit during the Jacobite risings—Lord Hailes ... xli</p> <p>14. English Prophecies attributed to Thomas ... xlii</p> <p>15. Local traditions of the Rymour and his prophecies ... xliii</p> <p>16. Eildon Tree and Huntlee Banks; the "Rhymer's Glen" ... l</p> <p>17. The "traditional" Ballad of Thomas and the Queen ... lii</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Description of the MSS. of Thomas of Erceuldoune ... lvi</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Printed editions ... lxi</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Plan of the present Text ... lxii</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Collation of the five MSS. ... lxiv</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Notes textual and explanatory ... lxix</p>
---	--

1. THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE, commonly known as the Rhymer, occupies a more important place in the legendary history of Scotland than in the authentic annals, though the few notices of him which occur in the latter are sufficient to prove his personality and to fix the age in which he lived. The name of *Thomas Rymor de Erceuldoune* occurs along with Oliver, Abbot of Dryburgh; Willelm de Burudim; Hugh de Peresby, Viscount of Rokysburgh; and Will. de Hattely, as witnessing a deed whereby Petrus de Haga de Bemersyde (on the Tweed) binds himself and his heirs to pay half a stone of wax (*dimidiam petram cere*) annually to the Abbot and convent of Melrose, for the chapel of Saint Cuthbert at Old Melros.¹ This

¹ The following copy of Petrus de Haga's Charter is taken from the Cartulary of Melrose MS. Harl. No. 3960, leaf 109 a. It is also printed in the *Liber de Melros* (Bannatyne Club).

Carta Petre de Haga de dimidia petra Cere.

Omnibus hoc scriptum uisuris uel auditoris. Petrus de Haga dominus de Bemerside, salutem in domino. Noueritis vniuersi. quod cum olim conuenissem cum viris religiosis Abbate et Conuentu de Melros pro quibusdam transgressionibus eisdem per me & meos illatis. quod eisdem singulis annis ego & heredes mei decem salmones quinque uidelicet recentes. & quinque veteres in perpetuum soluimus; Tandem ijdem religiosi pietate ducti perpenderunt

document has no date, but the grantor, Petrus de Haga, is himself witness to another charter, by which Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland (from 1162 to 1189), granted certain serfs to Henry St Clair. It thus defines Thomas's age to the extent of showing that he was a contemporary—a junior one doubtless—of one who was himself at least old enough to witness a document in 1189. In the year 1294 (November 2nd), *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun*, conveyed by charter, to the Trinity House of Soltra, all the lands which he held by inheritance in the village of Ercildoun.¹

hoc esse in exheredacionem mei & heredum meorum. mediantibus viris bonis consenciente & concedente Johanne filio & herede meo cum dictis Abbate et Conuentu taliter conueni, scilicet quod ego et heredes [mei] tenemur & presenti scripto in perpetuum obligamur ipsis Abbati & Conuentui soluere singulis annis dimidiam petram Cere bone & pacabilis ad Capellam sancti Cuthberti. de veteri Melros die beati Cuthberti. in quadagesima uel triginta denarios. sub pena triginta denariorum singulis mensibus soluendorum ad luminare dicte Capelle. quibus in solutione dicte Cere aut triginta denariorum predictorum fuerit cessatum post diem & terminum memoratos. Subiciendo me & heredes meos Iurisdictioni & potestati domini Episcopi sancti Andree. qui pro tempore fuerit. ut me & heredes meos per censuram ecclesiasticam qualemcumque possit compellere ad solutionem dicte Cere. aut triginta denariorum predictorum vna cum pena si committatur. Renunciando pro me & heredibus meis in hoc facto omni accioni defencioni & accepcioni. & omni legum auxilio canonici. & civilis. beneficio restitutionis in integrum. & omnibus aliis que michi & heredibus meis prodesse potuerunt in hoc facto & dictis Abbati & Conuentui obesse. quo minus solucio fieri valeat dicte cere. aut triginta denariorum predictorum. una cum pena si committatur. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum. vna cum sigillo domini Oliuieri tunc Abbatis de Driburgh est appensum. Testibus domino Oliuero Abbate de Driburgh domino Willelmo de Burudim. milite Hugone de Perisby tunc vicecomite de Rokysburgh Willelmo de Hatteley Thome Rymor de Ercildune & aliis.

¹ The following is a transcript of Thomas de Ercildoun's Charter, from the Cartulary of the Trinity House of Soltra, Advocate's Library, W. 4. 14 :—

Ersylton

Omnibus has literas visuris vel audituris Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thome Rymour de Ercildoun, Salutem in domino. Noueritis me per fustum & baculum in pleno iudicio resignasse ac per presentes quietum clamasse pro me & heredibus meis Magistro domus Sancte trinitatis de Soltre, & fratribus eiusdem domus totam terram meam cum omnibus pertinentis suis quam in tenemento de Ercildoun hereditarie tenui Renunciando de cetero pro me et heredibus meis omni iuri & clameo que ego seu antecessores mei in eadem terra alioque tempore de preterito habuimus siue de futuro habere poterimus. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus literis sigillum meum apposui Data apud Ercildoun die Martis proximo post festum Sanctorum apostolorum Symonis & Iude Anno Domini millesimo et nonagesimo quarto.

Although this document has been printed half-a-dozen times, and its date quoted twenty times at least, the latter has been given by every editor as 1299, and in the *Border Minstrelsy* it is actually printed *nonagesimo nono*, which looks like an attempt to evade the chronological difficulty it offers. Mr Skeat kindly points out that the Sunday letter for 1294 was C, and Easter the 18th April, so that St Simon's and St Jude's, the 28 Oct. (the old day for electing mayors, &c., advanced by New Style to 9th Nov.) fell on Thursday, and the next Tuesday after (die Martis proximo post) was 2nd November.

"The superiority of the property called 'Rhymer's Lands,' now owned by Mr Charles Wilson, Earlstoun, still belongs to the Trinity College Church in Edinburgh. It would almost appear as if Thomas had held his lands not direct from the Crown, but from the Earls of Dunbar; for his name does not appear in any State document of that period. Nor does it appear that

Contemporary documents thus fix Rymour's existence between the end of the twelfth and end of the thirteenth century; and, as will be seen in the sequel, he is further historically identified, on sufficient, though not contemporary, evidence, with the latter part of this period, by his connexion with events in the year 1286, and (though less authentically) 1296. From 1189 to 1296 is, of course, more than a century; but, as has been shown by Sir Walter Scott, these dates involve no difficulty, for supposing De Moreville's charter to have been granted towards the end of his career in 1189, and De Haga to have been then about 20, the grant of the latter was probably not made before the end of his life, say between 1230 and 1240. If Erceldoune was about 20 when he witnessed this, it would fix his birth somewhere between 1210 and 1220, so that he would be between 66 and 76 in 1286, and may, so far as this is concerned, have outlived the latter date by several years. The *prima facie* purport of the charter of 1294 is that Thomas is already dead, and his son in possession of the paternal property, which he in his turn gives away. Considerations at variance with this inference will be noticed further on.

2. Of his family, or how much was actually implied by his surname, *de Erceldoun*, we know nothing. The latter was, however, evidently derived from the village of Ercheldun, Erceldoune, Ercsylvton, in Berwickshire, on the banks of the Leader, a northern tributary of the Tweed, from which, in still earlier times, there had emerged a shepherd boy, destined to become the apostle of his native Northumbria, St Cuthbert. Ercheldoun, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, seems to have been a place of considerable importance, and is connected both with the family of Lindesey, and the Earls of March. A *Carta Wilhelmi Linseia, de Ecclesia de Ercheldoun* to the priory of Coldingham, dating to the reign of David I. or Malcolm the Maiden (1124—1163) is preserved in the Durham archives, and a *Carta W. de Lindessi de Fauope iuxta Ledre*, ante 1165, to the monks of Melros, is also in existence, witnessed among others by Arosine de lindeseia, Swano de Ercedun, and Cospatricio de Ercedun. The Lindesey family do not appear ever to take the surname de Erceldoun, which is borne by that of Cospatric, Earl of March (called often, from his chief residence, Earl of Dunbar). The Earls of March are said to have had a castle at the east end of the village, which was probably the scene of the royal visits in the reign of David I., when various documents, including the Foundation Charter

the lands were of large extent, for through old deeds the dimensions of the lands can be observed unaltered for the last three centuries back at least."—*James Tait, Esq., in 'History of Berwickshire Nat. Club,'* vol. v. p. 264. The actual area of *Rhymer's Lands*, as I learn by letter from Mr Wilson, is only $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and no other land in Earlstoun or its neighbourhood owns the superiority of Trinity College Church.

of Melrose Abbey in June 1136, and its confirmation by his son Prince Henry in 1143, were subscribed *apud Ercheldon*.

Whether Thomas de Erceuldoune was related to the family of March, as might perhaps be assumed from the way in which his name appears more than once in connexion with the Earl and Countess of that house, or whether his relations with them were those of a vassal, or of a neighbour merely, cannot be ascertained. Of a tower, traditionally pointed out as his, the ruins still exist at the west end of the village, though the family connexion with it must have ceased in 1294, when, as already stated, the patrimonial estate in Erceuldoune was conveyed to the religious establishment at Soltra. The Earl's Tower at the other end of the village continued to be an important fortress, and, according to popular belief, to it is due the corruption of the old name of Ercheldoun or Ersyltoun, to the modern spelling of *Earlstoun*, which railway and postal authorities contract to *Earlston*.¹

Thomas is not known to any of the older authorities by any surname save his territorial one of *Erceuldoune*, or that of *Rymour*, derived, it is generally supposed, from his poetic or prophetic avocations; "though even this is uncertain, for Rymour was a Berwickshire name in those days, one John Rymour, a freeholder, having done

¹ My friend, Andrew Currie, Esq., of Darnick, to whom I am indebted for much local information as to the Rhymer, and who is himself, I believe, a native of Earlstoun, considers that Erceuldoun, or Ersyltoun, has not been altered into Earlstoun, but supplanted by it. He thinks that the original village of Eroildoune is represented by the hamlet of thatched houses at the west, on the road to Lauder, and immediately to the north of Rhymour's Tower, and that the hamlet which rose nearly a mile to the east round the Earl's Tower, was distinguished as the Earl's Town; and this having in process of time become the main village, and absorbed the more ancient Eroildoune, gave its name to the whole. But Erceuldoune was originally the general name, as the Earl was *Cospatrio de Erceuldun*, so that the "Earl's Town," if it existed, would be the "Earls-town at or in Erceuldoun." *Rhymer's Lands*, beside the ruins of Thomas's Tower, also contained an ancient water-mill, of which Mr Currie says: "Rhymer's Mill was renewed by me in 1843. The old one had a stone in the gable with the words in antique letters, *Rhymer's Mill*; I think this stone was replaced in the new mill above the water-wheel. The site of the Earl's Tower, a much more extensive structure than Rhymour's Tower, is now occupied by the Gasworks. I remember seeing hewn pavement, &c., turned up on the spot some forty years ago, besides large chiselled blocks, which had been part of the original walls and foundations. A little to the west of this, and by the burn-side, is a knowe or moraine, which still bears the name of *the Hawk's Kaim*, and is traditionally remembered as the site of the Falconry of the Earls of Dunbar. A long level strip of ground between it and the burn is still called *The Butts*, and said to have been the archery practice ground. Of Rhymour's Tower, the decay has proceeded rapidly within my memory; about 1830, the fireplace was still entire, with massive red stone lintel and corbels from the free stone of the Black Hill behind Cowdenknoves. A curious discovery was made, when clearing out the brushwood of this old quarry, of a corbel nearly finished, identical in pattern and size with those remaining in Rhymour's Tower. This is now preserved at Cowdenknoves. There is no male inhabitant of Earlstoun now claiming descent from the Rhymer, since the death of the last of the Learmonts, an old bachelor, Robert by name, and a weaver by trade, from whom I learned many traditions of Eroildoun, some 35 years ago." (See some additional particulars at end of the *Notes*.)

homage to Edward I. in 1296." The inscription on the front wall of the church at Earlstoun, which marks the traditional place of his sepulture,

"Auld Rymer's race
Lies in this place,"

seems to point to Rymour as the name of the family.¹ But Hector Boece or Boyce (1527) gives him the surname of Leirmont;² and Nisbet, the Herald, in a work written 1702, styles him Sir Thomas Learmont of Earlstoun in the Merss, in which he is followed by later writers; and, according to Sir Walter Scott in 1804, "an unvarying tradition corresponds to their assertion." A tradition of the eighteenth century, however, corresponding to a statement which has passed current in books since the sixteenth, has no independent value; and as Nisbet quotes as evidence for Thomas's surname "charters of an earlier date" which no one has ever seen, we may dismiss the subject with a mere mention of the hypotheses suggested by David Macpherson and others to account for Boyce's and Nisbet's nomenclature, such as "that Thomas, or his predecessor, had married an heiress of the name of Learmont, and occasioned this error," or that "some family of that name may have traced their descent from him by the female side." For us, it will be sufficient to know him as he was known to Barbour, Fordun, and Robert of Brunne, as Thomas of Erceldoune, otherwise Thomas Rymour.

3. The incident by which he is associated with the year 1286 is his so-called prediction of the calamitous death of Alexander III.; the earliest notice of which is found in the *Scotichronicon* of John of Fordun, or rather his continuator Walter Bower (born 1385, wrote about 1430). According to this account, on the night before the king was killed, by being thrown over the precipice at Kinghorn; "Thomas of Erseldon, visiting the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the Earl of March, in the jocular manner which he was wont to assume with the Rymour,

¹ Mr Tait, in the *Berwickshire Nat. Transact.* already quoted, says, "Tradition says the stone was transferred from the old church, which stood some yards distant from the present edifice. In 1782 the ancient inscription was defaced by some senseless fellow in a drunken frolic, but the clergyman compelled him to replace it in the same words as before. The defaced characters were very ancient, the present are quite modern, and the spelling also is modernised. The right of sepulture is still claimed there by persons named *Learmont*, an indication that if Thomas did not bear that surname, it was adopted by his descendants," [or some who claimed to represent him]. "The church itself," says Mr Currie, "may not be more than 150 years old. It stands on the site of an older one which was a vicarage of Coldinghame. In the east gable is built a red stone bearing a dagger-shaped cross, the well-known symbol of the Knights Templars. (See additional particulars at end of the *Notes*.)

² *Boece* lib. xiii. f. 291 a (Parisii, 1575). Tradunt scriptores pridie quàm Alexander fate functus esset, comitem mercharum percunctatum sub noctem insignem quendam vatem ac prædicendi arte haud sæpe fallentem, Thomas Leirmont nomine, vtrùm aliquid in posterum diem noui euenturum esset.

what another day was to bring forth. Thomas, fetching a heavy sigh from the bottom of his heart, is said to have expressed himself to this effect: 'Alas for to-morrow, a day of calamity and misery! Before the twelfth hour, shall be heard a blast so vehement that it shall exceed all those that have yet been heard in Scotland: a blast which shall strike the nations with amazement, shall confound those who hear it, shall humble what is lofty, and what is unbending shall level to the ground.' In consequence of this alarming prediction, the Earl and his attendants were induced to observe the state of the atmosphere next day; but having watched till the ninth hour without discovering any unusual appearance, they began to deride Thomas as a driveller. The Earl, however, had scarcely sat down to dinner, and the hand of the dial pointed the hour of noon, when a messenger arrived at the gate and importunately demanded admission; they now found that the prediction was fatally verified; for this messenger came to announce the intelligence of the king's death."¹ Bower's story is repeated by Mair (Joannes Major Scotus), and Hector Boece (Boethius) (see note 2, p. xiii), the former adding, "To this Thomas our countrymen have ascribed many predictions, and the common people of Britain yield no slight degree of credit to stories of this nature; which I for the most part am wont to treat with ridicule." Bellenden also, in his vernacular version of Boece, tells the story in more moderate language than Fordun:

"It is said ye day afore ye kingis deith, the Erle of Merche demandit ane propheit namit Thomas Rimour, otherwayis namit Ersiltoun, quhat weddir suld be

¹ "Annon recordaris quod ille vates ruralis, Thomas videlicet de Erseldon, nocte præcedenti mortem regis Alexandri, in castro de Dunbar, obscure prophetando, de occasu ejus dixerat comiti Marchiarum interroganti ab eo, ut solitus quasi jocando, quid altera dies futura novi esset paritura? Qui Thomas atrahens de imo cordis singultuosum suspirium, sic fertur comiti coram aulicis palam protulisse: 'Heu diei crastinæ! diei calamitatis et miseræ! quæ ante horam explicite duodecimam audietur tam vehemens ventus in Scotia, quod a magnis retroactis temporibus consimilis minime inveniebatur. Cujus quidem flatus obstupescere faciet gentes, stupidos reddet audientes, excelsa humiliabit, et rigida solo complanabit.' Propter cujus seria affamina comes cum aulicis crastinum observantes, et horas diei usque ad nonam considerantes, et nullum vestigium in nubibus vel signis ventosis cœli auspicantes, Thomam tanquam insensatam reputantes, ad prandium properarunt. Ubi dum comiti vix mense collocato, et signo horologii ad meridianam horam fere approximato, affuit quidam ad portam, importunis pulsibus aures comitis concutiens, aditum sibi ocius fieri flagitavit. Intromissus igitur advena, et de novis impetitus, 'Nova,' inquit, 'habeo, sed nosciva, toto regno Scotiæ defenda, quia inclitus, heu! rex ejus finem præsentis vitæ hesternæ nocte apud Kingorn sortitus est, et hæc veni nunciare tibi.' Ad hanc narrationem, quasi de gravi somno excitatus, comes una cum familiaribus tutuderunt pectora, et dicti Thomæ experti sunt credibilia nimis facta fore vaticinia." Bower, *Scotchchronicon*, lib. x. c. 43. "The local tradition," according to Mr Currie, "has it that the prophecy was delivered in the Earl of Dunbar's castle at Erce-doune, the royal herald announcing his arrival by a bugle blast from the Corse-Hill Head, on the Huntshaw road, to the north of the village. The spot is still called, if my memory serves me right, The Trumpet or Bugle Knowe."

on ye morrow. To quhome answerit this Thomas, that on the morrow afore noun, sall blaw the greatest wynd that euir was herd afore in Scotland. On ye morrow, quhen it wes neir noun, ye lift appering loune but ony din or tempest, ye Erle sent for this propheit and repreuit hym that he pronosticat sic wynd to be and na apperance yairof. Yis Thomas maid litel answer, bot said, noun is not 3it gane. And incontinent ane man come to the 3et schawing y^t the king was slain. Yan said ye propheit, Zone is the wynd yat sall blaw to ye gret calamite and trouble of all Scotland. Yis Thomas was ane man of gret admiration to the people, and schew sindry thingis as they fell. Howbeit yai wer ay hyd vnder obscure wourdis."

Divested of the grandiloquence of its monkish chroniclers, "the story," says Sir Walter Scott, "would run simply that Thomas presaged to the Earl of March that the next day would be windy—the weather proved calm, but news arrived of the death of Alexander III., which gave an allegorical turn to the prediction, and saved the credit of the prophet. It is worthy of notice that the rhymes vulgarly ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune are founded apparently on meteorological observation. And doubtless before the invention of barometers, a weather-wise prophet might be an important personage."

Whatever the foundation of the story, and however explained, it may be taken, at least in conjunction with the documentary evidence already given, as showing that Thomas was alive in 1286. According to Harry the Minstrel he survived also to 1296, when he was identified with a critical passage in the life of Wallace.

Towards the beginning of that hero's career, as reported by his minstrel biographer, he was seized in the town of Ayr, by the soldiers of the English garrison under Lord Percy, whose steward, amongst several others, Wallace had slain in a market brawl. While lying in prison awaiting his trial, the rigour of his treatment and filthiness of his dungeon brought on dysentery, under which he sank, and was found by the jailor apparently dead. His body was cast over the walls upon a "draff myddyn," whence it was begged by an old nurse, who desired to do the last rites to the corpse. While washing the body, however, she noticed faint signs of animation, and by dint of careful nursing, secretly restored him to life and health, while observing all the outward show of mourning for his death.

thomas Rimour in to the faile¹ was than,
With the mynystir, quhilk was a worthi man :
He wayt off to that religious place.

The peple demyt of witt mekill he can ;
And so he told, thoicht at thai bliss or ban,
Quhilk hapnyt suth in many diuerss cace,

¹ The *Faile* or *Feale*, a priory of the Cluniacenses in the neighbourhood of Ayr, which was still flourishing in the sixteenth century.

I can nocht say, be wrang or rychtwisnas,
In reulle of wer, quhet^{hir} thai tynt or wan ;
It may be demyt be diuision of grace.

Thar man *that* day had in the merket bene,
On Wallace knew *this* cairfull cass so kene.
His master speryt, quhat tithingis at he saw.
This man anserd ; " of litill hard I meyn."
The mynister said ; " It has bene seildyn seyn,
quhar scottis and Ingliiss semblit bene on Raw,
Was neuir zit, als fer as we coud knaw,
Bot *other* a scot wald do a sothroun teyn,
Or he till him, for awentur mycht faw."

" Wallace," he said, " ze wist tayne in *that*
steid ;

Out our the wall I saw *thaim* cast him deide,
In *presoune* famys [i]t for fawt of fude."
The mynister said *with* hart hewy as leid,
' Sic deid to *thaim*, me think, suld foster
feid ;

For he was wicht and cummyn of gentill blud.'
Thomas anserd "*thir* tythingis ar noucht
gud ;

And *that* be suth, my self sall neuir eit breid,
For all my witt her schortlye I conclud.
' a woman syne of *the* Newtoun of Ayr,
Till him scho went fra he was fallyn *ther* ;
And on her kneis rycht lawly *thaim* besocht,
To purchess leiff scho mycht *thin* with him
fayr.

In lychtlyness tyll hyr *thai* grant to fayr.
Our *the* watty on till hir houss him brocht,
To berys him als gudlye as scho mocht.'
zhit thomas said "*Than* sall I leiff na mar,
Gyff *that* be trew, be-god, *that* all has wrocht."
the mynister herd quhat thomas said in playne.

He charygt him *than* " go speid *the* fast
agayne

To *that* sammyn houss and werraly aspye."
The man went furth, at byddyng was full
bayne ;

To *the* new town to pass he did his payn,
To *that* ilk houss ; and went in sodanlye,
About he blent on to *the* burd him bye.
This woman rais, in hart scho was [nocht]
fayn.

quha aw *this* lik, he bad hir nocht deny.

" wallace," scho said, "*that* full worthy has
beyne,"

Thus wepyt scho, that pete was to seyne.
The man *thar* to gret credens gaif he nocht :
Toward *the* burd he bowed as he war teyne.
On kneis scho felle, and cryt : ' For marye
scheyne,

Lat sklandyr be, and fiemyt out of *zour*
thocht.'

This man hir suour " be him *that* all has
wrocht,

Mycht I on lyff him anys se with myn eyn,
He suld be saiff, *thocht* Ingland had him
socht."

scho had him wp to Wallace be *the* dess ;
He spak *with* him ; syne fast agayne can press
With glaid bodword, *thar* myrthis till amend.
He told to *thaim* *the* first tithingis was less.
Than thomas said : " forsuth, or he decess,
Mony thousand in feild sall mak *thar* end.
Off *this* regioune he sall *the* sothroun send ;
And scotland thriss he sall bryng to *the* pess :
So gud off hand agayne sall neuir be kend."

This incident, if authentic, could not have taken place before 1296 or 1297 ; and it is at once evident that it conflicts with the idea that Thomas was already dead in 1294, when *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun* devised the paternal estates. It is easy, of course, to say that, the charter being undoubted, Harry's story must be set aside as a mere fable. But I am not disposed to treat the Minstrel's circumstantial narrative quite so lightly ; and I would suggest that it is not impossible that Thomas, wearied and dispirited with the calamities under which his country was sinking, may before his death have transferred his estates, and retired to end his days in the priory of the Faile. If Harry is to be trusted in saying that Thomas " usyt offt to that religious place," we may even have a key to those temporary disappearances from his home, which popular superstition accounted for by visits to Fairyland ; and a final retirement while still alive may

really be the fact concealed under the legend of his sudden disappearance from the world. Then, are we correct in assuming that the charter in question is granted by Thomas's son, and not by Thomas himself? If Rymour was the family surname, the latter is not impossible. It is at least a pleasing fancy to picture Thomas, the last mayhap of his line, after setting his house in order and disposing of his worldly goods, retiring from earthly cares and pursuits, and leaving his neighbours to marvel at his departure, and attribute it to the powers of another world, who could spare him to "middle-erd" no longer. Many a myth has gone farther astray from its simple basis. Patrick Gordon, in his rhymed History of Robert Bruce (Dort, 1615), says Rymour survived to 1307; but as he gives us no authority for the statement, his evidence is of very doubtful value.

4. Such are the only notices which refer, or purport to refer, to Thomas in his lifetime. They seem to point to him as a man of sagacity and foresight, who, veiling his observations "under obscure wourdis," had already before his death attained to the repute of something like prophetic power. As a patriot, and one who had lived during the palmy days of the old Scottish monarchy before

Alysandyr owre kyng wes dede
That Scotlande led in luv and le,

he must have keenly felt the sorrows which overtook his country in his last years, and if he understood the temper of his countrymen, he may well have expressed his hope and confidence of their final triumph in tones which fell from the lips of the "old man eloquent" with all the weight of inspiration. That his reputed sayings were so quoted early in the course of the struggle, and within a few years after his own death, is abundantly evident from various references. One of these occurs in Barbour's Bruce, where, after Bruce had slain the Red Cumyn in the Grey Friars church at Dumfries in 1306, news of the event reached amongst others the patriotic Bishop of St Andrews :

*The lettir tauld hym all the deid,
And he till his men gert it reid,
And sythyn said thaim, "sekyrly
I hop Thomas prophecy*

*off hersildoune sall weryfyd be
In him ; for, swa our lord help me !
I haif gret hop he sall be king,
And haif this land all in leding."*

Andro of Wyntown also in his "Orygynale" (Book VIII, chap. 32), referring to the battle of Kilblane, fought by Sir Andrew Moray against the Baliol faction in 1334, says:—

*Of this fycht qwhylum spak Thomas
of Eryldoune, that sayd in derne,
There suld mete stalwarthe,¹ stark, and sterne. [MS. stalwartly]
He sayd it in his prophecy ;
But how he wist it was ferly.*

ERCILDOUN.

b

95

At a still earlier period the prophetic renown of Thomas is alluded to by the author of the *Scalacronica*, a French chronicle of English History, compiled by Sir Thomas Grey, constable of Norham, during his captivity in Edinburgh Castle in 1355. One of the *Notabilia*, extracted by Leyland from the unpublished part of this chronicle, is headed: "William Banestre and Thomas Erceldoune, whose words were spoken in figure, as were the prophecies of Merlin."¹

Most of these writers, however, lived a century after Thomas, and it might of course be, that their references to the notoriety of his prophetic powers represented rather the current opinion of their own age than of that of which they wrote; that Barbour, for example, in making Bishop Lambertson quote "Thomas' prophecy," described what he was very likely to do himself, though he might have no ground either in tradition or history for imputing it to the Bishop of St Andrews. But this is sufficiently met by the fact that a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century not only credits Thomas with oracular powers, but preserves what purports to be one of his prophecies, in the following form (*MS. Harl. 2253, lf 127, col. 2*):

La countesse de Donbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoune quant la guere descoce prendreit
fyn. e yl la repoundy e dyt,

When man as mad akyng of a capped man ;
When mon is leuere opermones þyng þen is owen ;
When londyonys forest, ant forest ys felde ;²
When hares kendles oþe herston ;
When Wyt & Wille werres togedere ;
When mon makes stables of kyrkes, and steles castles wyþ styes ;
When rokesbourh nys no burgh³ ant market is at Forwyleye ;

¹ The Rev. W. W. Skeat has been so kind as to find the original of Leyland's extract in the manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge (No. 133, leaf 60, back). He says: "It is a long paragraph, in which the name of 'Merlyns' occurs repeatedly; some remarks at the end imply that he spoke so much 'en figure' as to render the interpretation of his meaning very doubtful. It is remarked that much is said about boars, dragons, bears, eagles, lions, asses, moles, trees, and brooks; and that the object seems to have been to make the prophecies obscure—'ne purra estre determyne en certayne, si fussent, en le hour de le scriuer de cest cronicle, passe ou auenir. puseque tautes des Roys sount passez. tancom durent les Regnes de .vij. reaulmes Saxsouns. en queux la grant bretaigne estoit deuse. et dez autres pusecedy Engles & Normandes. pur quoy ne agreeat a le deuisour de cest cronicle plus dez parolis de Merlyne de soy entremette. ne dez autres queux hom disoit en le heure predestinours. com de Willam Banastre. ou de Thomas de Erceldoun. les parolis de queux firount ditz en figure. od diuers entendementz aptez a lestimacioun de les comentours. que en cas purroit desacorder.'"

² The letters þ and y are in the MS. only distinguished by the y having a dot, which is often omitted; n and u also are indistinguishable; *londyonys* or *loudyonys* may be *London is* or *Loudyon*, i. e. "*Lothian* is forest, and forest is field." *Forest* may refer to the old name of Selkirkshire, or *Etterick Forest*.

³ Roxburgh, the ancient county town of Roxburghshire, and one of the "four great burghs" of Scotland, the remains of whose castle still crown the promontory between the Tweed and Teviot at their confluence, has been "no burgh" since 1547, and not a stone of the once great town now remains *in situ*.

When þe alde is gan ant þe newe is come þ' don (or dou) noþt
 When bambourne is donged Wyþ dedemen ;
 When men ledes men in ropes to buyen & to sellen ;
 When a quarter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten markes ;
 When prude prikes & pees is leyd in prisoun ;
 When a scot ne may hym hude ase hare in forme þ' þe englysshe ne sal hym fynde ;
 When ryþt ant Wrong ascentþ to gedere ;
 When laddes weddeþ louedis ;
 When scottes fien so faste, þ' for faute of ship, hy drowneþ hem selue
 Whenne shal þis be ? Nouþer in þine tyme ne in myne ;
 ah comen & gon wiþ inne twenty wynter ant on.

This is in a southern (or south-midland) dialect, and doubtless by an English author. The effect of it seems to be that many improbabilities will happen, and in especial that many calamities will happen to Scotland, before the war with that country shall end, which shall not be in the time of either Thomas or his interrogator, but within twenty-one years after. (See further at end of the *Notes*.)

Mr Pinkerton, who first printed the lines in the "List of the Scottish Poets," prefixed to his "Ancient Scottish poems never before in print" (London, 1786, Vol. I, p. lxxviiij), and Sir Walter Scott, who quoted it from Pinkerton (very inaccurately, and with loss of one line), in the "Border Minstrelsy," assume that the *Countesse de Donbar* is the heroic Black Agnes, daughter of Randolph, so celebrated for her defence of Dunbar Castle in 1337, and also referred to in the following poem. But as Mr Bond says the MS. is undoubtedly before 1320, this is not possible; and by the Countess is no doubt meant the wife of the Earl to whom Thomas predicted the death of Alexander III, and with whom, as already said, he seems to have been a familiar visitor. *Bambourne* is evidently Bannockburn, and the reference to its being "donged with dede men," leads one to infer that the prediction was composed after, or at least on the eve of that battle, in 1314. But there was no time between that battle and 1320, or even Bruce's death in 1329, when a prophecy that "the Scots should hide as hare in form," would suit events or even distant probabilities; and I am inclined therefore to suppose that it was actually composed on the eve of the Battle of Bannockburn, and circulated under Thomas's name, in order to discourage the Scots and encourage the English in the battle. It is well known that Edward II felt so sure of gaining that battle, and finishing the war at a blow, that he held a council in the camp on the previous day, and drew up statutes and ordinances for the disposal of Scotland and its inhabitants, which were found in the English camp after his defeat. Counting back from 1314, "twenty wynter ant on" would bring us to 1293, when Thomas was, as we have seen, still alive.

That prophecy formed an important weapon on both sides during the wars

1293 day

between England and Scotland appears from many sources, and a passage in Higden's Polychronicon (as translated by Trevisa) referring to this very period says:

"The Scottes waxed stronger & stronger thyrtty yeres togyder, vnto Kyng Edwardes tyme the thyrd after the Conquest, and bete down Englyshemen ofte, and Englyshe places, that were nygh to theyr marches. Some seyde that that mysnappe fell for softnesse of Englyshemen; and some seyde, that it was goddes own wreche, as the prophecye said, that Englyshemen sholde be destroyed by Danes, by Frenshemen, and by Scottes."

The prophetic powers of Thomas of Erceldoune seem thus to have been sufficiently credited to give importance to predictions purporting to be his within the twenty years that followed his own life-time; and it is noteworthy that all these early references agree in attributing to his utterances the "derne," "obscure," and "figurative" character so well exemplified in those still preserved as his; also, that the writers who quote them agree in their doubts as to the quarter whence Thomas derived his inspiration, while making no doubt of the inspiration itself.

5. We have equally early authority for his poetical abilities. Robert Mannyng of Brunne, who was actually a contemporary of Thomas, since his "Handlyng of Synne" was written in 1303, appears in his English Chronicle, written about 1330, to celebrate him as "the author of an incomparable romance of the story of Sir Tristrem." After stating his intention of telling his Story of England in the simplest speech, and without using intricate rhymes, since he has observed that such artificial compositions, though they may exhibit their authors' talent, are most spoiled by readers, Mannyng adds as an illustration of this:

I see in song in sedgeyng tale
of Erceldoun & of Kendale,
Non þam says as þai þam wrought,
& in þer sayng it semes noht;
þat may þou here in sir Tristrem;
ouer gestes it has þe steem,
Ouer alle þat is or was,
if mene it sayd as made Thomas;
But I here it no mane so say,
þat of som copple som is away;
So þare fayre sayng here beforne
is þare trauayle nere forlorne;

þai sayd it for pride & nobleye,
þat non were suylk as þei;
And alle þat þai wild ouerwhere,
Alle þat ilk wille now forfare.
þai sayd in so quante Inglis,
þat many one wate not what it is,
þerfore [I] henyed wele þe more
In strange ryme to trauayle sore;
And my witte was oure thynne
So strange speche to trauayle in;
And forsoth I couth[e] noht
so strange Inglis as þai wrought.

It is not certain whether the "Thomas" here is Thomas of Erceldoun or Thomas of Kendale; nor indeed that the first four lines refer to the same subject as those that follow: Sir Tristrem may, for anything that appears, be a third example, in addition to the works of Erceldoun and Kendale, of the liability of "quante

undoubtedly the genuine work of Erceldoune, committed to writing by some one who had learned it from him personally; and started a theory that Thomas had himself collected the materials from the Britons of Strathclyde, and that his work, being thus original in its character, was the source of the numerous versions in continental languages which quote one "Thomas" as their authority. Dr Irving, in his *History of Scottish Poetry*, also considered it as "not altogether absurd to suppose that he was nevertheless the real author, and had recourse to this method" [*i. e.* quoting his own name as his authority] "of recording his own claims," and so preventing reciters from claiming the romance as their own composition. But in the additions to Warton's *History of English Poetry* (editions of 1824 and 1840) it is shown that not only did the romance exist in several European languages long before the days of Erceldoune, but that the "Thomas" quoted in some of the French and German poems was the writer of one of the French versions of the story, who must have lived before 1200; that this French version was apparently the original of the English translation in the Auchinleck MS., and that while it is doubtful whether the latter be the work referred to by Robert of Brunne, it is still more doubtful whether it is the production, either directly or indirectly, of Erceldoune. Mr Garnett, in summing up his review of the subject, considers it proved, "1. That the present Sir Tristrem is a modernized [rather a *southernized*, it cannot well be a *much* more modern] copy of an old[er] Northumbrian romance, written probably between 1260 and 1300. 2. That it is not, in the proper sense of the word, an original composition, but derived more or less directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman source. 3. That there is no direct evidence in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes, greatly adverse to that supposition. It is however by no means improbable that the author availed himself of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the same theme. The minstrels of those days were great plagiarists, and seldom gave themselves the trouble of inventing subjects and incidents when they found them ready prepared to their hands." Later criticism is still more adverse to the claims of Erceldoune. Mr Wright thinks it most probable that the person who translated the Auchinleck version from the French original, finding a "Thomas" mentioned therein, and not knowing who he was, "may have taken him for the Thomas whose name was then most famous, viz. Thomas of Erceldoune, and thus put the name of the latter to his English edition." I must confess that, looking at the way in which the name and authority of Erceldoune were afterwards affixed to productions with which he had no connexion, Mr Wright's theory seems to me most probable, espe-

cially as this English version must have been originally by a northern writer who would be well acquainted with Thomas's name, and probably wrote soon after his death, so that the southernized transcript in the Auchinleck MS. could be made before the middle of the 14th century. But the Early English Text Society has *Sir Tristrem* in its list for early reprinting, when the question of the origin and authorship of the romance will of course be fully discussed. At present we have only to note that, however the opinion was founded, Thomas of Erceuldoune at least passed in popular estimation as a poet of renown within thirty years after his own death.

6. In the twofold character of poet and prophet, thus attributed to him from the earliest period, the name of Thomas of Erceuldoune continued to be venerated for many centuries, and numerous compositions claiming to be his, or at least to derive their authority from or through him, are still preserved. The earliest of these is the poem printed in the following pages, the completion of which, from internal evidence, must be placed shortly after 1400, or about a hundred years after Thomas's death. It represents Thomas as meeting "a lady gaye," who is described as the Queen of a realm not in heaven, paradise, hell, purgatory, or on middel-erthe, but "another cuntre" from all these, answering to the Faërie or Fairy-land of later tales, but nowhere so called in the poem itself. Thomas makes love to her, and is transported by her power to her own country, where he dwells for three years and more. On his dismissal, necessary to prevent his seizure by a foul fiend of hell, who is coming next day for his tribute, he asks a token from the lady, and, in compliance with his repeated request to abide and tell him some ferly, she proceeds to give an outline in prophetic form of the wars between England and Scotland from the time of Bruce to that of the death of Robert III, with a mysterious continuation, which must still rank as "unfulfilled prophecy," and ending with a reference to Black Agnes of Dunbar, whose death is predicted. After an affectionate farewell, in which she promises to meet Thomas again at the same spot, the lady leaves him and takes her way to Helmsdale.

7. In regard to the professed authorship of this poem, we meet with even greater difficulty than in *Sir Tristrem*, the narrator passing from the first to the third person, and from the third to the first again, with the most sudden transition, so that it is difficult to say whether it even claims to be the work of Thomas. Thus in the first 72 lines (including the prologue), the writer describes himself as lying on Huntly banks himself alone, and seeing the lady, whose array he describes as a professed eye-witness; but in line 73 it is:

*Thomas laye & sawe that syghte
Vndir-nethe a semly tree :
He sayd, &c. &c.*

*Gyff it be als the storye sayes
He hir mette at Eldone Tree,*

and so on for 200 lines, the author describing Thomas and his actions as if he himself had them only by hearsay, till in l. 273 we have again the sudden transition to the first person :

*Thomas duellide in that solace
More than j zowe saye parde ;
Till one a day, so hafe I grace,
My lufly lady sayde to mee ;
Do buske the, Thomas, the buse agayne, &c. &c. ;*

but this is only a momentary interruption, for the narrator immediately speaks of Thomas again in the third person, a style which he continues to the end of the narrative. In the prophecies from l. 317 to 672 the speeches of Thomas and the lady are merely quoted without even as much as an introductory "he said" or "she said," so that nothing can be determined as to the professed narrator. The conclusion, however, ll. 673—700, is very decidedly narrative in the third person :

*Scho blewe hir horne on hir palfraye,
Lefte Thomas vndir-nethe a tre ;
To Helmesdale scho take the waye ,
And thus departede scho and hee !*

*Of swilke an hird mane wold j here
That couth Me telle of swilke ferly.
Ihesu, corouned with a crowne of brere,
Brynge vs to his heuene So hyee !*

where, even if with the Cambridge MS. we read *woman* for *hird mane*, it is clearly the wish of a third party that he had such an experience as Thomas had, and not of Thomas himself.

8. But, whoever the professed author, I have said that the poem in its present form bears evidence of being later than 1401, the date of the invasion of Scotland by Henry IV, or at least 1388, the date of the Battle of Otterbourne, the last of the historical events "hyd vnder obscure wourdis" in Fytt II. For the whole of the events described in that Fytt are really historical and easily identified, preserving, with a single important exception, the chronological order ; and this part of the poem must have therefore been composed after the last of them had happened. But of the events predicted in Fytt III, after the second, which seems to refer to Henry IV's invasion of the country in 1401, I cannot make any such sense, and I prefer to consider these as real predictions or expectations of the future. Moreover, the oldest MS. of the poem, the Thornton, itself clearly not an original, dates to 1430—1440, some time before which the poem must have existed in its present form, so that we have the period between 1402 and 1440, with strong reasons in favour of the earlier date, for its completion. But portions of it may have been

earlier even than this, for it is clearly possible that the prophecies may have been altered, added to, and interpolated, from time to time, since each incident of them is separate, and easily detachable from the context. There seems indeed to be evidence of very early treatment of this kind in Fytt II, in examining which it will be seen that the events therein "predicted" are

The failure of Baliol's party in the struggle with David Bruce	1333
the battle of Halidon Hill	1333
<hr/>	
The battle of Falkirk	1298
the battle of Bannockburn	1314
the death of Robert Bruce	1329
the invasion and partial success of Edward Baliol, who lands at Kinghorn	1332
the battle of Dupplin and occupation of Perth	1332
the English withdraw to the French war	1337
David Bruce fetched from France	1342
he invades England, is captured at Durham, and led to London	1346
Scotland again invaded by Baliol	1347
Scotland heavily taxed for the ransom of King David	1357
Robert Stewart made king	1370
Douglas invades England, and slain at Otterbourne	1388

Excluding the two first entries, we have here an outline of the chief events in Scotland from the Battle of Falkirk under Wallace to that of Otterbourne under Robert II, references being specially numerous to the period of the Second War of Independence under David Bruce. But the prediction of the eventual ruin of Baliol's party, and the battle of Halidon Hill—a battle "that shall be done right soon at will," come out of order and quite apart from this chronological list, as if they had no connexion with it, while they are also intimately connected with the introduction of this Fytt, and Thomas's request to the lady—

Telle me of this gentill blode
 Wha sall thribe, and wha sall thee,
 Wha sall be kynge, wha sall be none,
 And wha sall welde this northe countre?—

a question as to the conflicting claim of the Bruce and Baliol families scarcely likely to be made after 1400, when the latter line was extinct. I am inclined to suppose, then, that this part, with perhaps Fytt I, the conclusion, and an indefinite portion of Fytt III, which is in all probability a *melange* of early traditional prophecies,

may have been written on the eve of Halidon Hill, with a view to encourage the Scots in that battle; in which the oldest text, it will be observed, makes the Scots win with the slaughter of six thousand Englishmen, while the other texts, wise after the fact, make the Scots lose, as they actually did.

The question has been asked before, whether the "fairy tale" contained in Fytt I is not distinct from the "prophetical rhapsody" to which it serves as an introduction, and collectors of ballads have generally answered the query in the affirmative; thus Jamieson, in editing the poem in his "Popular Ballads and Songs," is of opinion that "In the introduction to the prophecies, there is so much more fancy and elegance than in the prophecies themselves, that they can hardly be supposed to be the composition of the same person. Indeed, the internal evidence to the contrary almost amounts to a proof that they are not." Professor Child, also, in his "English and Scottish Ballads" (London, 1861), vol. I, p. 95, says, "the two 'fytts' of prophecies which accompany it (the ballad) in the MSS. are omitted here, as being probably the work of another, and an inferior, hand." Although diffident of venturing an opinion at variance with that of poets and poet-editors, I can hardly think that Fytt I stands alone. Some of the prophecies may be later than others, but I think that, *as a whole*, they flow so naturally from the tale, as a response to Thomas's request for a token of his intercourse with the Lady, without any trace of patching or awkward joining, as to preclude the suspicion of having been afterwards tacked on. As to their style, they could not well, from their nature, be rendered so interesting or lively as the ballad; yet the introduction to them, as well as their conclusion and the parting of Thomas and the Queen, seem not inferior in execution to any part of Fytt I.

On the other hand, it must be granted that, artistically considered, the tale of Thomas and the Lady is far too long and minute to have been invented as a mere introduction to the prophecies, and I willingly admit that the story, perhaps even in a poetic dress, may have existed some time before it was caught up and told anew as an introduction and passport to the predictions. The reference in line 83,

Gyff it be *als the storye sayes*,
He hir mette at Eldone tree,

implies that there was in existence an older tale of Thomas and the Queen, which fixed the place of their meeting. If we are to suppose that part of the work as it now exists is as old as Halidon Hill, we are taken to a date little more than thirty years after Thomas's own time, a fact, so far as it goes, in favour of the idea of those who think that this older tale may have been composed by Thomas himself, and

that the first-personal style of parts of the existing ballad may have been transferred from his narrative.

If modern editors despise the prophecies, and look upon them as a rubbishy addition to the ballad, it is very clear, that early scribes thought otherwise, and that it was to the respect which the prophecies inspired, that we owe so many MS. copies of the poem as have come down to us; we may be glad that their appreciation of the relative merits of the parts did not lead them all to do like the scribe of the Sloane MS., who omits Fytt I, and dignifies the prophecies alone with a place in his pages. In addition to this MS. four others preserve the poem more or less perfectly, and with considerable differences, as exhibited in the following text. These MSS. and the peculiarities of their texts will be described hereafter; it is only necessary here to note that the poem appears to have been originally by a Scottish author, though all the copies of it now exist in English MSS., and that the strongly northern character of the language as preserved by Robert Thornton, who, as a northern Englishman, would leave it nearly as he found it, is more or less modified in the others, especially in the Lansdowne and Sloane, which are also comparatively late in their transcription. The various modifications introduced by southern or midland transcribers may be well seen in lines 357—372. In these repeated transcriptions also the proper names of Scottish families, and of battles, have suffered so much at the hands of scribes to whom they were devoid of meaning, as often to become quite unintelligible. The results of the battles also are often altered in the different texts, doubtless because the transcribers in many cases did not understand the application of the predictions, and perhaps patriotically changed their burden, in accordance with their own wishes or hopes.

9. I look upon the greater part of the predictions in Fytt III as in reality adaptations of legendary prophecies, traditionally preserved from far earlier times, and furbished up anew at each period of national trouble and distress in expectation of their fulfilment being at length at hand. The origin of these effusions takes us back to the period of Arthur himself, and the expiring efforts of the Britons against Saxon conquest. It is well known that the flush of enthusiasm and hope which swelled the breasts of his countrymen, during Arthur's series of victories over the pagan invaders, was too fondly cherished to be willingly renounced on his premature removal from the scene. Their hero could not be really dead, he had only withdrawn from them for a while—gone on a pilgrimage to a far-off land, retired to some desert sanctuary, or fallen asleep with his warriors in some secret cavern,—and would yet return to rule "broad Britaine to the sea" and scatter

the Saxons to the winds of heaven.¹ "*Hic jacet Arturus, rex olim rexque futurus*"—Here lies Arthur, king of yore and king to be,—reported to have been found inscribed on his coffin at Glastonbury, represented, it is certain, the sacred belief of his people. That belief was common to all the relics of the Cymric race, from Strathclyde to Cornwall, and the shores of Armorica, and was preserved not least faithfully in that Northern land, which, according to all early authority, had witnessed alike Arthur's most splendid achievements and his death. The belief in the "kyd conqueror" yet to come must have cheered the Cumbrian Britons during the long struggle which ended in their incorporation with the Scottish monarchy, and fusion into the mingled stock which produced the later Scottish nation. Even after that fusion, and the loss of their ancient tongue, the loss even of all memory of the actual events to which these expectations and beliefs and dreams of the "good time coming" originally referred, the dreams and prophetic aspirations themselves survived, as dim mysterious legends of the future, foreboding great national crises, perils, and deliverances. Hence the legends of "a bastard in wedlock born, who should come out of the west," "a chieftain unchosen that shall choose for himself, and ride through the realm and Roy shall be called," "a chiftane stable as a stone, stedfast as the christull, firme as the adamant, true as the steele, immaculate as the sun, without all treason," whose "scutifers shal skail all the faire South, fra Dunbertane to Dover, and deil al the lands—he shall be kid conqueror, for he is kinde lord, of al Bretaine that bounds to the broad sea—" against whom in vain

the Saxonys shall chose them a Lord
That shall make them greatly to fall vnder.
The ded man shall rise : and make them accord
And this is much wonder and slight,
That he that was dead and buried in sight
Shall rise again and live in the land ;—

¹ A similar belief was cherished by the Britons as to Cadwaladyr, son of Cadwallawn, who, a century and a half after Arthur, "waged, in conjunction with Penda, a successful war against the Angles of Northumbria. For one year he had actually been in possession of that kingdom, and his successful career of upwards of twenty years roused the courage and hopes of the Cymry to the highest." When Cadwaladyr died in the pestilence of 664, his countrymen could not realize that he was gone; "the death was denied, and he was said to have retired to Armorica, whence the Cymry looked for him to return, and re-establish their supremacy over the Angles."—Skene: *The Four Welsh Books*, vol. I, p. 75. It is interesting to see that this British legend also had been preserved in the north. "The prophecy of Merlin," afterwards quoted, has

When the Calualider of Cornwall is called
And the Wolfe out of Wales is wencust for ay.

who should conquer "Gyane, Gaskone, and Bretane the blyth," and

turne into Tuskane but trety or true,
And busk him ouer the mountaines on mid winter euen,
And then goe to Rome and rug downe the walles,
And ouer all the region Roy shall be holden ;

who should ride with pride over England and Scotland, and overthrow all false laws, and establish righteousness, till

"bothe the londes breton shal be ;"

who should finally, like a true Christian knight, die in the Holy Land—

For euerie man on molde must de—
But end he shall in the land of Christ
And in the valle of Josaphat buried shall be.

The resemblance of many of these expressions, and actual identity of many of the epithets, with those to be found in the old Northern "Morte Arthur," and other kindred works, is very notable.

10. During the wars between England and Scotland, under the three Edwards, and after, down even to the reign of Henry VIII, these scraps of old traditional prophecy were eagerly called to mind, and their dim light anxiously sought for in each successive crisis, the English, as we may suppose, dwelling specially on any passages which brought the "kyd conqueror" out of the south, or spoke of his ruling from "Cornwall to Caithness all Britain the broad," the Scots finding encouragement in the promise that he should finally extirpate the "Saxons," a name which, from its being used by their Celtic fellow-subjects as equivalent to "English" in a linguistic or ethnological sense, the Lowlanders now adopted as equivalent to "English" in the political sense. Strictly speaking, they also were "Sasunnach," or Saxon, to the Celts; but the effect of the struggle with England was to make them disclaim all "Saxon" connexion, and to use the term only of their enemies of England. Prior to the death of Alexander III, Scotland had enjoyed peace and tranquillity for many generations, and no wonder that the sudden outburst of calamity, with which the country was then assailed, stirred deeply the minds of the people, and led them to anticipate that the mighty overturnings, which were the mysterious burden of these ancient saws, were at length at hand.

Is it too much to suppose that Thomas of Erceldoune may, from his literary tastes, have been a repository of such traditional rhymes, and himself have countenanced the application of their mysterious indications to the circumstances of his country, and thus to some extent at least given currency to the idea of his own

*Thomas of Erceldoune
the prophetic rhymes,
of the end of the world*

Merling saies in his booke, who will reade right,
 Althoght his sayings be vncouth, they shalbe
 true found
 In the vij. chap. reade who so will

One thousand and more after Christes birth
 When the Calualider of Cornwall is called
 And the Wolfe out of Wailes is win cust for ay
 Then many ferlie shall fall & many folke die.

As to the long-expected return of Calualider, or Cadwaladyr, see p. xxviii, note. This article really consists of three distinct compositions, of which the first predicts that a "Freik fostered farre in the South" shall return to the "kyth that he come from" with much wealth and worship, on whose arrival in Albanie many shall laugh; but his severity will soon give others cause to weep:

At his owne kinde bloode then shall he begin
 Choose of the cheifest and chop of there leads,
 Some haled on sleddes, and hanged on hie
 Some put in prison & much pain shal byde.
 In the month of Arrane an selcouth shal
 fall,

Two bloodie harts shall be taken with a false
 traine,
 And derflie dung downe without any dome.
 Ireland, Orknay, and other lands manie
 For the deth of those two great dule shall
 make—

in which we see a description of the return of James I. from his detention in England, and his severity against the family of his uncle who had prolonged his captivity. The latter part of this passage was a century later quoted in connexion with the execution of the Regent Morton. "When that nobleman was committed to the charge of his accuser, captain James Stewart, newly created Earl of Arran, to be conducted to his trial at Edinburgh, Spottiswoode says that he asked 'Who was earl of Arran?' and being answered that Captain James was himself the man, after a short pause, he said, 'And is it so? I know then what I may look for!' meaning, as was thought that the old prophecy of the Falling of the heart (the cognizance of Morton) by the mouth of Arran should then be fulfilled. Whether this was his mind or not, it is not known; but some spared not, at the time when the Hamiltons were banished, in which business he was held too earnest, to say that he stood in fear of that prediction, and went that course only to disappoint it. But if it was so, he did find himself now deluded; for he fell by the mouth of another Arran than he imagined."—*Spottiswoode*, 313. In all ages, it would appear, it has been orthodox to wrest a verse of prophecy from its context and circumstances, and find a fulfilment for it in spite of these.

The second and third sections of this piece are found in a much older form in the Cambridge University Library MS., Kk. i. 5, whence they were printed for the E. E. T. S. by Rev. J. R. Lumby in 1870. (Bernardus de cura rei familiaris; with some Early Scottish Prophecies, &c. p. 18.) This MS. is late fifteenth century, but the character of the language shows it to be a copy of one belonging to the first half of that century. The order of the two divisions is here reversed, the *first* part

of the poem in the Cambridge MS., lines 1—72 of the E. E. T. S. edition being the *third* in the edition of 1603, and following lines 73—139, which forms the second part in the Edinburgh prophecy. This second part quotes a figure found also in “Thomas of Erseldoune,” and recurring in almost all the prophecies, which thus appears in the older copy (line 103 of Mr Lumby’s copy).

In his fayre forest sall ane ern bygye,
 And mony on sall tyne *thar* lyff in the mene tyme ;
 They sall founde to the felde, and *then* fersly fyght,
 Apone A brode mure par sall A battell be,
 Be-syde a stob crose of stane *that standis* on A mure :
 It sall be coueret wyth corsis all of a kyth,
 That the craw sall nocht ken whar the cross standis.

Compare lines 567—576 of Thomas ; both are evidently borrowed, from some traditional prophecy :—

A Raven shall comme ouer the moore,
 And after him a Crowe shalle flee,
 To seeke the moore, without(en) rest
 After a crosse is made of stane
 Ouer hill & dale, bothe easte & weste ;

Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he sall find nane.
 He sall lyghte, whare the crose solde bee
 And holde his nebbe vp to the skye ;
 And drynke of gentill blode and free ;
 Thane ladys waylowaye sall crye.

This section does not quote or name Thomas ; it ends with a reference to the legend of “wily Vivien.”

For bedis buke haue I seyn, & banysters¹ als ;
 And merwelus merlyne is wastede away
 Wyth A wykede womane—woo mycht sho bee !—
 Scho has closede him in a crage of cornwales coste.

The third part is in rhyme, with much alliteration, and begins—

Qwhen the koke in the northe halows his
 nest,
 And buskys his birdys and bunnys to flee,
 Than shall fortune his frende *the zattis* vp-
 caste,
 And Rychte shall haue his Free entree ;

Then *the* mone shall Ryse in the northwest
 In A clowde als blak as the bill of A crowe ;
 Then shall the lyonne be lousse, the baldest
 & best
 That euer was in brattane sen in Arthuris
 daye.

It was one of the most popular prophecies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and besides forming, as already mentioned, the first half of Mr Lumby’s “Ancient Scottish prophecy” from the Cambridge Kk. MS., it occurs in two of the MSS. that contain “Thomas of Erceldoune”—viz. in Lansdowne 762, fol. 65, with the title “Brydlington,” and twice over in Sloane 2578 (leaves 15 *b* and 100 *b*). It names Thomas’s prophecy as an authority, and mentions several of the mysterious episodes of the third fyfte of our romance ; thus :—

¹ “William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward III. The *Prophecies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among MSS.”—Warton. Among the contents of Rawl. C. 813 is “*Pars visionis Domini Willielmi Banistre, milytis*” (leaf 142 *b*).

At Sandyfurde, for-suthe, in the south syde,
 A pruede prunce in the prese lordly sall lythe,
 Wyth balde bernes in bushment the batell sall mete ;
Thar sall profecy proffe that thomas of tellys, &c.

Betuix Setone and the See sorow sall be wrought.

Then the lyonne wytht the lyonisses efter that sall Reigne ;
Thus bretlingtone bukis and banestre us tellis,
Merlyne and mony moo that mene of may mene,
And the expositoris Wigythtoun & thomas wytht-all tellis.

In the printed edition of 1603 the two last lines run :—

Merling & many more that with meruels melles
 and also Thomas Rymour in his tales telles.

What follows is also reproduced in many later prophecies :—

Sone at the Saxonis shall chese þame a lorde,	He that is dede ande beryde in syght
And full sone bryng hyme at vnder,	Sall Ryse ayane, and lyffe in lande,
A dede man sall make [thame] A-corde	In comforte of A yhong knyght
And that sall be full mekyl wonder.	That fortounne has schose to be hir husbunde.

The “prophecie of Beid,” the second in the collection, appeals to Thomas for confirmation, and mentions Sandeford, as in l. 624 of our Romance :—

Who so trusts not this tale, nor the tearme knowes,
 Let him on Merling meane, and his merrie words,
 And true Thomas tolde in his time after
 At Sandeford shall be seen example of their deeds.

Bede died five hundred and fifty years before True Thomas ; but clearly the support of the latter was too valuable to be sacrificed to a trifling question of dates !

His prophecy is specially directed to Berwick-on-Tweed, formerly the first of the four great burghs of Scotland, but now, alas ! in the grip of the English :

Though thou be subject to the Saxons, sorrow thou not,
 Thou shall be loosed at the last, belieue thou in Christ !

The year MCCCCLXXX is indicated by a method of which many imitations occur after, for the prophets had on the whole but little original genius, and when one of them started game, however poor, the rest all followed in the chase till it was done to death :—

Who so doubts of this dead or denyes heereon,
 I doe them well for to know, the dait is deuised,
 Take the formest of midleird, & marke by the selfe
 With foure crescentes, closed together,
 Then of the Lyon the longest see thou choose
 Loose not the Lyones, let her lye still,
 If thou castes through care, the course of the heauen,
 take Sanctandros Crose thrise
 Keep well these teachments as Clarkes hath tolde
 thus beginnes the dait, deeme as thou likes,
 thou shall not ceis in that seit assumed in the text.

[M]
 [CCCC]
 [L]

[XXX]

The year 1480 was that in which James III allowed himself to be enticed by the King of France into breaking the truce with Edward IV, as a result of which Berwick was captured by the English in 1482, and in spite of the prophecy, which was no doubt composed or compiled soon after, was never again recovered by Scotland. As to the influence which pretended prophecies had upon the conduct of the king at this very time, see Tytler's History of Scotland, p. 214. Nor was the belief in such occult agencies less powerful in England: see Greene's History of the English People, p. 268.

"The prophecie of Merlyne," which follows, after 16 lines of alliterate rhyme, beginning—

It is to fal when they it finde
that fel on face is faine to flee
That commed are of strodlings strinde,
Waxing through the worke of winde

The Beare his musal shal vpbinde,
And neuer after bund shal be
Away the other shal waxe with winde
And as they come so shall they flee—

introduces an ancient alliterative poem of marked Arthurian cast, which I have reprinted in my Introduction to the "Complaynt of Scotland," p. xlv. From its contents, I am inclined to think that it may have been compiled shortly after the death of Alexander III, and I think the description of the "kid conqueror" and "kind lord of all Bretaine that bounds to the broad See," is clearly derived from obscure legends of the expected return of Arthur.

"The prophecie of Bertlington"—the Brydlyngton,¹ to whom the Lansdowne MS. attributes the "Cok in the North" prophecy—is a medley of older fragments of various ages, some alliterative, some in rhyme, some in both, and some in neither, ingeniously adapted and fitted together, and interpolated with others here first met with, about the son of a French wife, a descendant of Bruce within the ninth degree, who should unite England and Scotland in one kingdom. This, which became in the sequel by far the most famous of all the prophecies, was skilfully analyzed by Lord Hailes in his "Remarks on the History of Scotland" (Edin., 1773), and shown to have been intended originally for John, Duke of Albany, son of Alexander, brother of James III and his French wife, the daughter of the Count of Boulogne, who came to Scotland, after the death of James IV in the Battle of Flodden, and from whose regency great things were hoped. Lord Hailes, however, has inadvertently accused the author of inventing many things, which he really found in prophecies of the preceding century, and transferred, as they were still

¹ "John Bridlington, an Augustine Canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote 3 books of '*carmina vaticinalia*,' in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digby, Bibl. Bodl. 89 and 186. He died, aged 60, in 1379, and was canonized."—Warton.

unfulfilled, to his own prediction, honestly believing, no doubt, that they were now to be accomplished. Such were the prediction that Albany should land in the Forth (which he did not), and the "thrice three" years after '13, given him for the performance of his doughty deeds (which he utterly failed to do). He starts with alliterative verse :—

When the Ruby is raised, rest is there none,
But much rancour shal rise in River & plane.
Throw a tretie of a true,¹ a trayne shal be made,
That Scotland shal rew, and England for ever,
For the which Gladsnoore, & Gouan mure gapes thereafter.

Then, an adaptation of some lines in the prophecy of Merlin introduces the new prediction :—

Betwixt Temptallon & the Basse
thou shall see a right faire sight,
Of barges & bellingars, and many broad saile,
With iij Libertes and the flourdelice hie vpon
 hight
And so the dreadful Dragon shall rise from
 his den
And from the deepe doughtelie shall draw to
 the height.
Of Bruce's left side shall spring out a leif,
As neere as the ninth degree,
And shall be flemed of faire Scotland
 In France farre beyond the see ;

And then shall come againe riding
 With eyes that men may see,
At Aberladiie he shall light
 With hempen halters & hors of tree ;
On Gosforde greene it shall be seene,
 On Gladsmoore shall the battle be.
Now Albanie thou make the boun,
 At his bidding he thou prompt, [? yare]
He shal deile both towre and towne,
 His guiftes shal stand for euer more.
 [? mare]
Then boldly boun the thereafter.

The original of this is in the "Ancient Scottish Prophecy," No. 1 in E. E. T. S., No. 42, edited by Mr Lumby, already referred to :—

Fra bambrwgh to the basse on the brayde See,
And fra farnelande to the fyrth salbe a fayr syght
O barges and ballungerys, and mony brod sayle :
and the lybberte with the flurdowlyss sall fayr ther apon.
Thar sal A huntter in hycht come fra the Southe.
Wytĥ mony Rechis on Raw Rewleyd full Ryght.

Then the stob-cross and the crow, the dead man rising, and Gladsmoor, as before :—

Upon a broad moore a battle shal be,
 Beside a stob crose of stone,
Which in the Moore stands hie,
It shal be clearly cled ouer with corps of
 knights,
That the crow may not find where the crose
 stoode,
Many wife shal weepe, and Sice shall vnder,
the ded shal rise, and that shal be wonder,

And rax him rudely in his shire shield,
For the great comfort of a new King.
Now hie the powok with thy proud showes,
Take thy part of the pelfe when the pack opens.
It shall not be Gladsmoore by the sey
It shall be Gladsmoore where euer it be
And the little lowne that shall be
Is betuixt the Lowmond and the sea.

¹ *True, tren*, the proper singular of *tremis, tremes, truce*, now treated in English as a singular ; Fr. *trève*, pl. *trèves*.

Then,—after much alliterative matter about a hound out of the south, an Egle out of the north, a Ghost out of the west, and the bastard in wedlock born, as in Thomas, to do doughty deeds, and bring all to peace again,—comes a clearer delineation of Albany, several quotations from Thomas and Merlin, and appeals to them and Bede for confirmation, ending appropriately with an Arthur bit to clench all :—

How euer it happen for to fall,
 The Lyon shal be Lord of all.
 The French wife shal beare the sonne,
 Shal welde al Bretane to the sea,
 And from the Bruce's blood shall come.
 As near as the ninth degree.
 Meruelous Merling that many men of tells,
 And Thomas sayings comes all at once
 Thogh their sayings be selcouth, they shal be suith found.
 And there shal all our glading be,
 The Crowe shal sit upon a stone
 And drink the gentle blood as free
 Take of the ribes, and beare to her birdes,
 As God hath said, so must it be,
 Then shal Ladies laddes wed,
 And brooke Castles, and Towers hie.
 Bede hath breued in his booke, and Banister also,
 Meruelous Merling, and al accordes in one,
 Thomas the trew, that neuer spake false
 Consents to their saying, & the same terme hath taken,
 Yet shall there come a keene Knight ouer the salt sea,
 A keene man of courage, and bolde man of armes,
 A Duke's son doubled, a born man in France,
 That shal our mirthes amend, and mend all our harmes,
 After the date of our Lord 1513. & thrise three there after,
 Which shal brooke al the braid Ile to him selfe,
 Betwixt xij. and thrise three the Threip shal be ended,
 the Saxons shal neuer recouer after,
 He shal be crowned in the kith, in the Castle of Douer,
 Which weares the golden garland of *Julius Cesar*
 More worship shal he win, of greater worth,
 Than euer Arthur himselfe had in his daies,
 Many doughtie deedes shal he doe there after,
 Which shal be spoken of many dayes better.

I have treated this composition at greater length, because it illustrates very clearly the history of the prophecies generally, which were formed by compiling the unfulfilled portions of older predictions already current, and giving them point and application to events now in view or expectation. The prophecy of the French wife's son was a very striking one, and was fondly cherished by the nation. After miserably failing in its original application to Albany, it was served up again and again in new combinations all through the sixteenth century.

It reappears in the next piece in the collection of 1603, "the prophetic of Thomas Rymour" himself, which, from its nominal connexion with the subject of this work, I print entire in the Appendix. Although unconnected with the older poem, it bears a considerable resemblance to it in imagery. There is a vision of a lady on a "lously lee," whose mount and array is fully described, and several lines and couplets are actually taken from the older Thomas. It seems originally to have appeared shortly after the battle of Flodden, referring in lines 109—125 to the doubtful fate of James IV, and in

The sternes three that day shall die,
That beares the harte in silver sheen,—

to the death of the heir of the house of Douglas.

But it seems to have been interpolated to suit the time of the battle of Pinkie, which is cleverly identified with the "Spyncarde clow" in line 496 of our Romance. Now also the prediction of "the French Wife" and her son was added to the prophecy, being awkwardly interpolated into an inquiry as to the narrator's name, at the close. The origin of this prediction, forty years before, being now quite forgotten, it was accepted as a genuine deliverance of the Rymour himself, and continued to be held in the highest credit as his. It was applied to Queen Mary, as having been the wife of a French prince, by the poet Alexander Scott in his "New Year's Address to the Queen," and finally, when her son James VI actually succeeded to the English throne, the renown of Thomas as the accredited author of the prophecy filled all Britain, and excited attention even beyond the seas.

"The prophetic of Waldhaue,"¹ which comes next, is in fine alliterative measure, reminding one in its commencement of "Piers Plowman":—

Upon Loudon Law a lone as I lay
Looking to the Lennox, as me leif thought,
The first morning of May, medicine to seeke
For malice and melody that moued me sore.

While in this situation the author "hears a voice which bids him stand to his defence; he looks round, and beholds a flock of hares and foxes pursued over the mountains by a savage figure, to whom he can hardly give the name of a man. At the sight of Waldhave, the apparition leaves the object of his pursuit, and assaults him with a club. Waldhave defends himself with his sword, throws the savage to the earth, and refuses to let him rise till he swear, by the law and leid he lives

¹ St Waldhave or Waltheof, the most famous of the early abbots of Melrose (1148—1159), was grandson of the great Earl Waltheof, by his daughter Matilda, wife of Simon de St Liz, earl of Northampton, and afterwards of David I. His life, full of miraculous legends, was written by Joceline, a monk of Furness Abbey.

upon, 'to do him no harm.' This done, he permits him to rise, and marvels at his strange appearance :—

He was formed like a freike, all his foure quaters
And then his chin and his face haired so thick,
With haire growing so grime, fearful to see.

He answers briefly to Waldhave's inquiry concerning his name and nature, that he 'drees his weird,' *i. e.* endures his fate, in that wood; and having hinted that questions as to his own state are offensive, he consents to tell 'the fate of these wars,' and concludes with—

Go musing upon Merlin if thou wilt
For I mean no more, man, at this time."

The whole of this scene is exactly similar to the meeting of Merlin and Kentigern as related by Fordun. Merlin's prophetic outpourings consist chiefly of short apostrophes to the principal towns and fortresses of Scotland; for example :—

What Jangelst thou Jedburgh, thou Jages for nought,
there shal a gyleful groom dwel thee within,
The Towre that thou trustes in, as the truth is,
Shal be traced with a trace, trow thou non other.

The next piece,—“Here followeth how Waldhaue did coniure this Spirit to shew much more of sindrie things to come, as foloweth,”—seems to be a later compilation, made up of pieces from the older prophecies in the name of Merlyne and true Thomas. The transactions of “the Lillie, the Lyon, and the Libbart,” form its immediate burden, but it quotes the legend of the dead man rising again,—

'as meruelous Merling hath said of before.'

There are also many references to Thomas :—

The first roote of this war shal rise in the north,
That the Iles and Ireland shal mourne for them both,
And the Saxons seased into Brutes landes.
This is a true talking [takyn] that Thomas of tells,
that the Hare shal hirpil on the hard stones,
In hope of grace, but grace gets she non,
Then Gladsmoore and Gouane shal gape there after.

The “token” here alluded to is in the very ancient prophecy of Thomas to the Countess of Dunbar, in the Harleian piece already quoted (p. xviii). The date fixed on seems to be 1485, and the prophecies of Merling, Bede, Thomas and Waldhave, are quoted as already existing :—

When the Moone is dark in the first of the number,	[M]
With foure Crescentes to eik forth the daies	[CCCC]
And thrise ten is selcouth to see,	[XXX]
With a L. to lose out the rest of the number,	[L]
Syne let three and two Threipe as they will	[V]
This is the true date that Merling of tells,	
And gaue to King Uter, Arthures father :	
And for to mene and muse with there merrie wordes,	
For once Brittainē shall be in a new knightes handes,	
Who so hap to byde shall see with his eies,	
As Merling and Waldhaue hath said of before,	
And true Thomas told in his time after,	
And Saint Beid in his booke breued the same,	
Mute on if ye may, for mister ye haue,	
I shal giue you a token that Thomas of tells,	
When a lad with a Ladie shal goe ouer the fields,	
And many faire thing weeping for dread,	
For loue of there dear freindes lies looking on hilles,	
That it shal be woe for to tel the teind of there sorrow.	

The token of the “Lad,” or man-servant and “the Lady,” is found both in the old Harleian piece and our Romance ; in the former, among the paradoxical things to happen before the war’s end—

When ryȝt and wrong ascentȝ to gedere,
When laddes weddeȝ levedies ;

in the latter, l. 651, as a result of the carnage in the last battle at Sandyford,

ladys shall wed laddys ȝyng,
when *per* lordis ar ded away.

See the same figure repeated in the “Prophecie of Bertlington,” already cited, p. xxxvi.

Waldhave’s pieces are followed by “the Scottes prophesies in Latine,” and “the prophesie of Gildas,” seemingly directed against reformation in the church. Older still than Bede by three centuries, Gildas, to do homage to Thomas, still more daringly defies chronology :—

Prepare thee, Edinburgh, & pack up thy packes,
thou shalt be left void, be thou leif or loath,
Because thou art variant, and fliemed of thy faith
through Envie & couetousnes that cumbered thee euer.
True Thomas me told in a troublesome time
In a haruest morning at Eldound hilles.

Passing “the prophecie of the English Chronicles,” an extract from Higden, we come to “the prophecie of Sibylla and Eltraine,” which appears to refer to the troubles during the regency of the Earl of Arran in the minority of Mary :—

When the Goate with the gilden horne is chosen to the sea	And the longest of the Lyon,	[L]
The next yeare there after Gladsmoore shal be	Foure Crescetes under one Crowne	[CCCC]
Who so likes for to reade,	With Saint Andrews Crose thrise,	[XXX]
Mereuelous Marling and Beid,	then threescore and thrise three,	[LX.IX]
In this maner they shal proceede,	Take tent to Merling truly,	
Of thinges unknowne	Then shal the warres ended be	
the truth now to record,	And neuer againe rise.	
And that from the date of our Lord,	In that yeare there shal ring	
Though that it be showne,	A Duke and no crowned king.	
take a thousand in Calculation	Because the prince shall be young	
	and tender of yeares.	

“The date above hinted at seems to be 1549, when the Regent, by means of some succours derived from France, was endeavouring to repair the consequence of the fatal Battle of Pinkie. Allusion is made to the supply given to the Moldiwarte [England] by the fained hart [the Earl of Angus]. The regent is described by his bearing the antelope; large supplies are promised from France, and complete conquest promised to Scotland and her Allies.”

Thus shall the warres ended be
Then peace and pollicie
Shall raigne in Albanie
Still without end,

And who so likes to looke,
The description of this booke,
This writes Beid who will looke.
And so doth make an end.

“Thus was the same hackneyed stratagem repeated, whenever the interest of the rulers appeared to stand in need of it.”

Happily the need was not to last for ever. That Union, so long expected, and so oft deferred, of England and Scotland, under one sovereign was at length accomplished. To add lustre to it, the Queen of Sheba and the Cumæan Sibyl are rolled into one, and furnish the crowning “prophecy” of the book:—

“Heere followeth a prophesie pronounced by a Noble Queene and matron called Sibylla Regina Austre. That came to Solomon throug the which she compiled foure bookes at the instance and request of the said King Solomon and others diuers, and the fourth booke was directed to a noble King called Baldwin, King of the broad Ile of Britaine: of the which she maketh mention of two Noble princes and Emperours the which is called Leones of these two shall subdue and ouercome all earthlie princes, to their Diademe & Crowne, and also be glorified and crowned in the heauen among Saints. The firste of these two, Is, Magnus Constantinus that was Leprosus, the Son of S. Helene that found the Croce. The second is, the Sixte King of the name of Steward of Scotland the which is our most Noble King!”

12. It was in the year that James VI ascended the English throne that the prophecies, having at length been accomplished, were in greatest credit and renown. Robert Birrell, in his Diary, tells us that “at this time all the hail commons of Scotland that had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and

exponing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of vther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes." John Colville, in his funeral oration on Queen Elizabeth, mentioned the "carmina" of Thomas the Rhymer, which as a boy he had heard quoted by *balathrones ceraulas*, and then looked upon as only subjects for laughter, but now recognized as serious and authentic; though, like his predecessor Wyntown, he was equally in doubt whether the inspiration of Thomas was Delphic or divine. Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (1580—1640), in dedicating his "Monarchicke Tragedies" to King James, refers to the same belief:—

Ere thou wast borne, and since, heaven thee endeeres,
Held back as best to grace these last worst times;
The world long'd for thy birth three hundreth yeeres,
Since first fore-told wrapt in propheticke rimes.

Nor does his more celebrated contemporary, William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585—1649), neglect to offer to his royal patron the same flattering incense:—

This is that king who should make right each wrong,
Of whom the bards and mysticke Sibilles song,
The man long promis'd, by whose glorious raigne
This isle should yet her ancient name regain,
And more of Fortunate deserve the stile
Than those where heauens with double summers smile.

Forth Feasting, Edin., 1617.

Archbishop Spottiswood (1565—1639) was a firm believer in the authenticity of these compositions. In his "History of the Church of Scotland" he says, "the prophesies yet extant in Scottish *Rithmes*, whereupon he was commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, may justly be admired, having foretold, so many ages before, the union of England and Scotland, in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succession of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a child, and other diuers particulars which the event hath ratified and made good. . . . Whence or how he had this knowledge, can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is, that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come." (Spottiswoode Society's Ed., Vol. I, p. 93. Edin., 1851.)

13. These alleged revelations received considerable attention even during the Jacobite rising in 1745. It appears that the final accomplishment of the unfulfilled parts of Thomas's predictions was now expected. The Duke of Gordon, one of the friends of the Stuart cause, was recognized as the "Cock of the North;" and in the flush of triumph at their easy victory of Prestonpans, within six miles of the parish church of Gladsmuir in East-Lothian, and not a third of that distance

from Seaton, a village about a mile from the sea, on the line of the railway between Edinburgh and Dunbar, the Jacobites identified it with the great Armageddon of the prophecies, the "Battle of Gladsmoor" itself. Hamilton of Bangor sang—

As over Gladsmoor's blood-stained field,
Scotia imperial goddess flew,
Her lifted spear & radiant shield,
Conspicuous blazing to the view ;

With him I plough'd the stormy main,
My breath inspir'd the auspicious gale ;
Reserv'd for Gladsmoor's glorious plain,
Through dangers wing'd his daring sail.

* * * * *

while in other songs we find—

Cope turn'd the chace, & left the place ;
The Lothians was the next land ready ;
And then he swore that at Gladsmuir
He would disgrace the Highland plaidie.

The battle of Gladsmoor, it was a noble stour,
And weel do we ken that our young prince
wan ;
The gallant Lowland lads, when they saw the
tartan plaids,
Wheel 'round to the right, and away they ran.

For Master Johnnie Cope, being destitute of
hope,
Took horse for his life & left his men ;
In their arms he put no trust, for he knew it
was just
That the king should enjoy his own again.

It was no doubt in reference to the use thus made of them, that Lord Hailes, in his Remarks on the History of Scotland (Edin., 1773), thought it necessary to give a serious refutation of the alleged prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer ; "for, let it be considered," he says, "that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is not forgotten in Scotland, nor his authority altogether slighted, even at this day. Within the memory of man, his prophecies, and the prophecies of other Scotch soothsayers, have not only been reprinted, but have been consulted with a weak, if not criminal curiosity. I mention no particulars ; for I hold it ungenerous to reproach men with weaknesses of which they themselves are ashamed. The same superstitious credulity might again spring up. I flatter myself that my attempts to eradicate it will not prove altogether vain."

The "Whole Prophecies" continued to be printed as a chap-book down to the beginning of the present century, when few farm-houses in Scotland were without a copy of the mystic predictions of the Rhymer and his associates.

14. Nor was the name of Thomas of Erceuldoune less known and revered in England than in Scotland. Exclusive of the fact that all the copies we have of the old romance and prophecies have come down to us at the hands of English transcribers, the English prophetic writings of the 15th and 16th centuries abound in appeals to his authority and quotations acknowledged and unacknowledged from the predictions attributed to him. The period in English History, when these

predictions were most in vogue, was that which intervened between the decline of the fortune of the House of Lancaster, about 1430, and the full establishment of the Tudors, and completion of the rupture with Rome under Henry VIII. The numerous battles during the Wars of the Roses, especially that of Barnet, the overthrow of the Yorkist cause at Bosworth, the appearance of Yorkist pretenders under Henry VII, the defeat of the Scots at Flodden, and the daring of Henry VIII in defying the pope and suppressing the religious orders, were all the theme of *soi-disant* prophetic rhymes. One of these, claiming to be a joint production of "*Venerabilis Bede, Marlionis, Thome Arslaydown, et aliorum*" (the last being by far the most certain of the ingredients), and which is in all probability the actual "Prophesies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng," with which Sir David Lyndesay regaled the childish ears of James V, I have printed in Appendix II. In its commencement it is identical with the Scotch "Prophesie of Thomas Rymer," in Appendix I, and the two have evidently been expanded from the same original nucleus. It occurs both in the Lansdowne MS. of 1529, which supplies one of the copies of our romance, and in the Rawlinson MS. C. 813 at Oxford. Both texts, as will be seen, are transcripts of older ones.

The Sloane MS. 2578 also contains many kindred productions, one of which, concerned with the battles "between Seton and the Sea," at Gladsmoor, and at Sandeford, and other mysterious episodes of Fytt III of "Thomas of Ersseldowne," and giving to these an English application, is added in Appendix III; shorter "prophecies" of the same nature appear among the illustrative notes to Fytt III of the romance.

15. In Thomas's own locality of Tweedside, as well as elsewhere in Scotland, many traditional predictions ascribed to him have long been current. Several of these were recorded by Scott in "the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," others have since been given in the "History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club" and other local publications, and by Robert Chambers in his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland." (New Edition, 1870.) Among these, "the Rhymer" is said to have prophesied of the ancient family of Haig of Bemerside,—with an early member of which, Petrus de Haga, we have already seen him connected, and whose family motto, according to Nisbet, was "Tide what may,"

Betide, betide, whate'er betide,
Haig shall be Haig of Bemerside.

"The grandfather of the present (1802) proprietor of Bemerside had twelve daughters, before his lady brought him a male heir. The common people trembled for the credit of their favourite soothsayer. The late Mr Haig was at length born,

and their belief in the prophecy confirmed beyond a shadow of doubt."—*Minstr. Scott. Bord.*, vol. iii. p. 209. Dr R. Chambers, in a note to this "prophecy" in "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," p. 297, says, "1867—The prophecy has come to a sad end, for the Haigs of Bemerside have died out." My local correspondents inform me that the condolence is premature, as Miss Sophia Haig, the 21st in uninterrupted line from Petrus de Haga, is still alive in Italy.

Sir Walter Scott continues, "Another memorable prophecy bore that the old Kirk at Kelso (fitted up in the ruins of the Abbey) should fall when at the fullest." At a very crowded sermon, about 30 years ago (1770), a piece of lime fell from the roof of the Church. The alarm for the fulfilment of the words of the seer became universal, and happy were they who were nearest the door of the doomed edifice. The church was in consequence deserted, and has never since had a chance of tumbling upon a full congregation.

"Another prediction, ascribed to the Rhymer, seems to have been founded on that sort of insight into futurity, possessed by most men of sound and combining judgment. It runs thus:—

At Eldon tree if you shall be,
A brigg ower Tweed you there may see.

The spot in question commands an extensive prospect of the course of the river; and it was easy to foresee that when the country should become in the least degree improved, a bridge would be somewhere thrown over the stream. In fact, you now see no less than three bridges from that elevated situation."

Others of these traditional predictions are recorded as :

Vengeance! vengeance! when & where?
On the house of Coldingknow, now & ever mair!
The burn o' breid, [Bannockburn]
Sall rin fu reid.

A horse sall gang on Carolside brae
Till the red girth gaw his sides in twae.

The hare sall kittle [litter] on my hearth stane
And there will never be a laird Learmont again.

The three latter of these are evidently distorted echoes of passages in the old prophecies. The last of them, in the form "When hares kendles o the herston," is really a line of the old Cottonian prophecy describing the desolation to which Scotland was to be reduced before the end of the English War, but locally it has been adapted to the fate of Thomas's own roof-tree, and in this acceptation says Mr Currie, "I saw it, with my own eyes, fulfilled in 1839, as it may easily have been

many times before. The rumour spread in Earlstoun that one of the Rhymer's most celebrated prophecies had been fulfilled, and I well remember running with all the rest of the town, to see the hare's nest; and sure enough there it was—two young hares in a nettle bush in the fire place!"

"One of the more terrible predictions of the Rhymer is as follows:—

At Threeburn Grange, in an after day,
There shall be a lang and bloody fray;
Where a three thumbed wight by the reins shall hald
Three kings' horse, baith stout and bauld,
And the Three Burns three days will rin
Wi' the blude o' the slain that fa' therein.

"Threeburn Grange (properly Grains) is a place a little above the press, Berwickshire, where three small rills meet, and form the water of Ale. 'Thirty years ago, this rhyme was very popular in the east end of Berwickshire; and about the time of the French Revolution, a person of the name of Douglas being born in Coldingham parish with an excrescence on one of his hands, which bore some resemblance to a third thumb, the superstitious believed that this was to be the identical 'three-thumbed wight' of the Rhymer, and nothing was looked for but a fearful accomplishment of the prophecy."¹

"The following," says Dr R. Chambers, "is perhaps not ancient, but it expresses that gloomy fear of coming evil which marks so many of the rhymes attributed to Thomas:

When the white ox comes to the corse,
Every man may tak his horse.

Similar in spirit is:

Atween Craik-cross and Eildon-tree,
Is a' the safety there shall be,

varied in Galloway—

A' the safety there shall be,
Sall be atween Criffel and the sea.

"The first space is one of about thirty miles; the second much narrower. Sir Walter Scott relates that the first of these rhymes was often repeated in the Border Counties during the early years of the French revolutionary war, when the less enlightened class of people laboured under the most agonizing apprehensions of invasion. In the south of Scotland, this prophecy then obtained universal credence; and the tract of country alluded to was well surveyed, and considered by many wealthy persons, anxious to save their goods and lives, as the place to which they would probably fly for refuge 'in case of the French coming.'"

¹ *History of Berwickshire Naturalist's Club*, vol. i. p. 147.

Within my own memory a prophecy used to be quoted of a time when "men shall ride to the horses' reins in blude,—

And if any safety there shall be
'Twill be 'tween Craig House & Eildon Tree,"

often varied, however, with "'tween Hawick & Eildon Tree." Craig House is a small estate, between Leader-foot and Smailholm, about a mile from Bemerside, and thus at a very short distance from Eildon. The oldest form of this couplet is found in the "Prophecy of Bertlington" of 1515, already quoted p. xxxv :

And the little lowne [shelter] that shall be
Is betuixt the Lowmond and the sea.

"A verse referring to the future improvement of the country may be taken as a curious specimen of foreseeing wisdom. Thomas had the sagacity to discover that the ground would be more generally cultivated at some future period than it was in his own time ; but also knowing that population and luxury would increase in proportion, he was enabled to assure the posterity of the poor that their food would not consequently increase in quantity. His words were :

The waters shall wax, the wood shall wene,
Hill and moss shall be torn in ;
But the bannock will ne'er be braider."

"It is certain that many rhymes professedly by our hero were promulgated in consequence of particular events. Of this character is :

There shall a stone wi' Leader come,
That'll make a rich father, but a poor son ;

an allusion to the supposed limited advantage of the process of liming. The Highlanders have also found, since the recent changes of tenantry in their country, that Thomas predicted that 'The teeth of the sheep shall lay the plough on the shelf.' I have been assured that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is as well known at this day among the common people in the Highlands, nay, even in the remoter of the Western Isles, as it is in Berwickshire. His notoriety in the sixteenth century is shown in a curious allusion in a witch-trial of that age—namely, that of Andro Man, which took place at Aberdeen in 1598. In his ditty, Andro is charged with having been assured in his boyhood by the Queen of Elfin, 'that thow suld knaw all things, and suld help and cuir all sort of seikness, except stane deid, and that thow suld be weill intertenit, but *wald seik thy meit or thow deit, as Thomas Rymour did*' [that is, beg his bread]. Also : 'Thow affermis that the Quene of Elphen hes a grip of all the craft, but Christsondy [the devil] is the guidman, and hes all power vnder God, and that thow kennis sindrie deid men in

their cumpanie, and that *the kyng that deit in Flowdoun and Thomas Rymour is their.*'—*Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 119—121.

“The common people at Banff and its neighbourhood preserve the following specimens of the more terrible class of the Rhymer's prophecies :

At two full times, and three half times,
Or three score years and ten,
The ravens shall sit on the Stones o' St Brandon,
And drink o' the blood o' the slain !

The Stones of St Brandon were standing erect a few years ago in an extensive level field about a mile to the westward of Banff, and immediately adjacent to the Brandon How, which forms the boundary of the town in that direction. The field is supposed to have been the scene of one of the early battles between the Scots and Danes, and fragments of weapons and bones of men have been dug from it.

“An Aberdeenshire tradition represents that the gates of Fyvie Castle had stood for seven years and a day *wall-wide*, waiting for the arrival of True Tammas, as he is called in that district. At length he suddenly appeared before the fair building, accompanied by a violent storm of wind and rain, which stripped the surrounding trees of their leaves, and shut the castle gates with a loud clash. But while the tempest was raging on all sides, it was observed that, close by the spot where Thomas stood, there was not wind enough to shake a pile of grass or move a hair of his beard. He denounced his wrath in the following lines :

Fyvie, Fyvie, thou s' never thrive,
As lang's there's in thee stanis three :
There's ane intill the highest tower,
There's ane intill the ladye's bower,
There's ane aneath the water-jett,
And thir three stanes ye s' never get.

The usual prose comment states that two of these stones have been found, but that the third, beneath the gate leading to the Ythan, or water-gate, has hitherto baffled all search.

“There are other curious traditionary notices of the Rhymer in Aberdeenshire ; one thus introduced in a *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen* written about 1732 : ‘On Aiky Brae here [in Old Deer parish] are certain stones called the *Cummin's Craig*, where 'tis said one of the Cummins, Earls of Buchan, by a fall from his horse at hunting, dashed out his brains. The prediction goes that this earl (who lived under Alexander III.) had called Thomas the Rhymer by the name of Thomas the Lyar, to show how much he slighted his predictions, whereupon that famous fortune-teller denounced his impending fate in these words, which, 'tis added, were all literally fulfilled :

Tho' Thomas the Lyar thou call'st me,
A sooth tale I shall tell to thee :
By Aiky side thy horse shall ride,
He shall stumble and thou shalt fa',

Thy neckbane shall break in twa,
And dogs shall thy banes gnaw,
And, maugre all thy kin and thee,
Thy own belt thy bier shall be.'

"It is said that Thomas visited Inverugie, which in later times was a seat of the Marischal family, and there from a highstone poured forth a vaticination to the following effect :

Inverugie by the sea,
Lordless shall thy landis be ;
And underneath thy hearth-stane
The tod shall bring her birdis hame.

This is introduced in the manuscript before quoted, at which time the prophecy might be said to be realized in the banishment and forfeiture of the late Earl Marischal for his share in the insurrection of 1715. The stone in which the seer sat was removed to build the church in 1763 ; but the field in which it lay is still called *Tamma's Stane*.

"One of Thomas's supposed prophecies referring to this district appears as a mere deceptive jingle :

When Dee and Don shall run in one,
And Tweed shall run in Tay,
The bonny water o' Urie
Shall bear the Bass away.

The Bass is a conical mount, of remarkable appearance, and about 40 feet high, rising from the bank of the Urie, in the angle formed by it at its junction with the Don. The rhyme appears in the manuscript collections of Sir James Balfour, which establishes for it an antiquity of fully two hundred years. It is very evident that the author, whoever he was, only meant to play off a trick upon simple imaginations, by setting one (assumed) impossibility against another.

"A native of Edinburgh, who in 1825 was seventy-two years of age, stated that when he was a boy, the following prophetic rhyme, ascribed to True Thomas, was in vogue :

York was, London is, and Edinburgh will be
The biggest o' the three.

In his early days, Edinburgh consisted only of what is now called the Old Town ; and the New Town, though projected, was not then expected ever to reach the extent and splendour which it has since attained. Consequently, it can scarcely be said that the prophecy has been put in circulation after its fulfilment had become a matter of hope or imaginable possibility. It is to be remarked, however, that there is a similar rhyme popular in England. Stukely, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, after expatiating upon the original size and population of Lincoln, quotes as an old adage :

Lincoln *was*, London *is*, and York *shall be*
The fairest city of the three.

“One of the rhymes most popular at Earlstoun referred to an old thorn-tree which stood near the village, and of which Thomas had said,

This thorn-tree, as lang as it stands,
Earlstoun shall possess a' her lands.

The lands originally belonging to the community of Earlstoun have been, in the course of time, alienated piecemeal, till there is scarcely an acre left. The thorn-tree fell during the night in a great storm which took place in the spring of 1814.

“The Rhymer is supposed to have attested the infallibility of his predictions by a couplet to the following effect :

When the saut gaes abune the meal
Believe nae mair o' Tammie's tale.

In plain English, that it is just as impossible for the price of the small quantity of salt used in the preparation of porridge to exceed the value of the larger quantity of meal required for the same purpose, as for his prophecies to become untrue.” *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, by Robert Chambers, LL.D. New Edition, 1870, pp. 211—224. (See some additional particulars after the *Notes*.)

There is said also to have been a popular tradition, how far independent of the written remains, one does not know—of the intercourse between Thomas and the Fairy Queen as related in the Ballad. “The popular tale bears, that Thomas was carried off at an early age to the Fairy Land, where he acquired all the knowledge which made him afterward so famous. After seven years' residence he was permitted to return to the earth, to enlighten and astonish his countrymen by his prophetic powers ; still, however, remaining bound to return to his royal mistress, when she should intimate her pleasure. Accordingly, while Thomas was making merry with his friends in the Tower of Ercildoune, a person came running in, and told, with marks of fear and astonishment, that a hart and hind had left the neighbouring forest, and were composedly and slowly parading the street of the village. The prophet instantly arose, left his habitation, and followed the wonderful animals to the forest, whence he was never seen to return. According to the popular belief, he still 'drees his weird' in Fairy Land, and is one day expected to revisit earth. In the meanwhile his memory is held in most profound respect. The Eildon Tree, from beneath the shadow of which he delivered his prophecies, now no longer exists ; but the spot is marked by a large stone called Eildon Tree Stone. A neighbouring rivulet takes the name of the Bogle Burn (Goblin Brook), from the

Rhymer's supernatural visitants." ¹—*Border Minstrelsy*, Vol. III, p. 209. Scott adds that "the veneration paid to the dwelling-place of Thomas even attached itself in some degree to a person, who, within the memory of man, chose to set up his residence in the ruins of Learmont's tower. The name of this man was Murray, a kind of herbalist; who, by dint of some knowledge in simples, the possession of a musical clock, an electrical machine, and a stuffed alligator, added to a supposed communication with Thomas the Rhymer, lived for many years in very good credit as a wizard." But Dr R. Chambers, in a note (*Pop. Rhymes*, p. 214), pronounces this account a strange distortion and mystification of the fact that a respectable and enlightened physician, Mr Patrick Murray, who "pursued various studies of a philosophical kind not common in Scotland during the eighteenth century," and is known as the author of some medical works, lived in the tower of Thomas of Ercildoun, then a comfortable mansion; and adds, "when we find a single age, and that the latest and most enlightened, so strangely distort and mystify the character of a philosophical country surgeon, can we doubt that five hundred years have played still stranger tricks with the history and character of Thomas the Rhymer?"

16. Eildon Tree, referred to in the Romance, and connected traditionally with Thomas's prophecies, stood on the declivity of the eastern of the three Eildon Hills, looking across the Tweed to Leader Water, Bemerside, Earlstoun, and other places connected with Thomas. Its site is believed to be indicated by the *Eildon Stone*, "a rugged boulder of whinstone" standing on the edge of the road from Melrose to St Boswell's, about a mile south-east from the former town, and on the ridge of a spur of the hill.² "The view from this point," says a correspondent, "is unsur-

¹ My friend, Mr Andrew Currie of Darnick, has sent me the following tradition of the disappearance of Thomas, which he took down 35 years ago from the mouth of "Rob Measer, a very intelligent matter-of-fact man, well versed in all traditionary lore about Earlstoun, and possessing a wonderful memory for a man of 85":—"Ye want to ken if ever aw heard how Tammas the Rymer disappeared?—Weel, aw can tell ye something about that, as aw had it frae ma graanfaither, an' nae doot he had it frae his fore-bears, for we're als auld a family in Yerlsten, —or rather Ercildoun, as it was caa'd i' thae days—we're als auld as the Learmonts. D'ye see thae auld waa's i' the front o' yeir ain shop? weel man, aw mind o' that bein' a gay an' substantial hoose i' maa young days, an' Tammas the Rymer was last seen gaan' oot o' that hoose eae nicht afore the derknin', an' he set off up Leader for Lauder Cas'le; but he ne'er gat there—he never was sene againe. Aw've heard 'at he geade in there to get some deed signed or wutness 't, an' that he was carryan' money wi' him to some Lord or great man up there, 'at he was inimate wi'. But ma graanfaither uist to say—an' nae doot he had it handit doon—that Leader was i' great fluid at the time, an' that Tammas the Rymer had been robbit an' murdert an' his body thrawn into the water, whulk micht take it to Berwick. Au' that's likker-like than the Fairy story! Sae ye hae 'd, as aw had it, frae thaim 'at was afore us."

² Mr Currie has a verbal tradition that the tree stood not by the stone, but a quarter of a mile higher up the base of the hill, where he says "the site of it was pointed out to me thirty years ago by the late James Williamson of Newstead, and I believe I could still plant my stick

passed ; on the north you have the vale of Leader almost up to Earlstoun, and Cowdenknowes with its 'Black Hill' rising abruptly from the bed of the stream ; while downward to Tweed the undulating expanse of woody bank is so beautiful, that in the time of the 'bonny broom,' I am often tempted to bend my steps to the spot, and 'lie and watch the sight,' from a spot once 'underneath the Eildon Tree.' In the close vicinity is the 'Bogle Burn,' a stream which rises on the slope of the Eastern Eildon, and flows down a deep glen into the Tweed a little to the north of Newtown St Boswell's. From the Eildon Stone the road descends some 500 yards in a straight line to the bed of the burn, and rises at the same angle to the opposite bank in true Roman fashion. In all probability the name of Bogle Burn is derived, as Sir Walter Scott suggested, from the Rhymer's supernatural visitants."

About half a mile to the west of the Eildon Stone, and on the slope of the same hill, we find the "Huntlee bankis" of the old romance. The spot lies a little above the North British Railway, at the point where it is crossed by the road to St Boswell's already referred to, about a quarter of a mile after leaving Melrose Station. The field next the road and railway at this point (No. 2405 on the Ordinance Map) is called *Monks' Meadow*; and higher up the hill above this are two fields (Nos. 2548 and 2408) which have preserved the name of *Huntlie Brae*, and to which in old John Bower's time tradition still pointed as the scene of Thomas's vision of the "Ladye." West of these lie the site of *Gallows Hill* and *Bower's Brae*, and a long narrow strip to the east, ascending from the road to the top of Huntlie Brae, is called the *Corse Rig*, and still burdened in its charter with an annual payment for the maintenance of the Town Cross of Melrose. From the small plantation at the head of the Corse Rig, at the east end of Huntlie Brae, a magnificent view is afforded of the surrounding locality, and in particular the eye has a full sweep along the road and hill side as far as the Eildon Stone and site of the ancient Tree.¹

on the spot." But the general voice of tradition is, and apparently has been, that the tree stood by the stone itself. "This spot," says T. B. Gray, Esq., in a note to me on the subject, "is in fact the point of vantage whence the most extensive view in the neighbourhood is commanded. Higher up the hill, or lower down the hill, or farther back on the road, Melrose and all its beauties are lost, and Huntlee Brae itself shut out from sight ; while from the stone, Bowerside, Smailholm Tower, Gladswood, Drygrange, Cowdenknowes, the Black Hill, Earlstoun (almost), Leader-foot and bridge, Galtonside, Galawater, and a long stream of silvery Tweed, start at once upon the view." Mr Gray also thinks that the spot was probably in olden times the site of a cross for the special devotion of pilgrims catching their first glimpse of St Mary's shrine from the east. There was a similar one on the west, at a point called to this day "High Cross," between Melrose and Darnick ; and according to old Milne, in 1743, "a little to the southwest of Dingleton was a famous Cross, yet called the Crosshillhead, but anciently the Halesing of St Wada ; for those that came from the South had first a view of the church here, and of the Tomb of St Waldhaue, and bowed and said their Ave."

¹ For the satisfactory identification of "Huntlee Bankes" I am indebted entirely to

Sir Walter Scott seems at first to have looked for "Huntlee bankis" in the vicinity of the Eildon Tree, but, as is well known, he afterwards affected to identify the name with a wild and picturesque ravine, then called "Dick's Cleuch," which runs by the base of the Western Eildon, two or three miles to the west of this, which he, "with his peculiar enthusiasm, purchased at probably fifty per cent. above its real value, in order to include it in his estate of Abbotsford." By skilfully planting the steep and often rugged sides, and leading a romantic pathway up the margin of the burn, which with many a cascade flows through it, he made "the Rhymer's Glen," as he christened it, a place of beauty to be visited by every tourist, albeit its real associations are with the modern "wizard of Tweedside," and not with the ancient seer of legend and tradition. The locality in fact possesses no view, and is not even in sight of the Eildon Tree, distant more than two miles on the other side of the mountain mass of the Eildons, and it may be more than suspected that the desire of bringing some of the romance of the old story to his own estate, was Sir Walter Scott's reason for naming it "the Rhymer's Glen;" although he had this "hair to mak a tether o'," that the name of "Huntley Wood" appears to have been borne by a small plantation which once stood on the hill side above Chiefswood, and so not far from his glen, and his "Huntley-burn."

17. Scott, in the "Border Minstrelsy," and Robert Jamieson, in his "popular Ballads and Songs," Edinburgh, 1806, give what professes to be a traditional ballad of "Thomas and the Queen of Elfland," considered by the former to be a genuine descendant of the old romance modified by oral tradition. "It will afford great

T. B. Gray, Esq., already mentioned, who by indefatigable perseverance has succeeded in seizing the last vestiges of an expiring tradition as to the site. Mr Gray first called my attention to the following passage in old John Bower's Account of Melrose:—"At the foot of the Eildon Hills, above Melrose, is a place called *Huntlie Brae*, where Thomas the Rhymer and the Queen of the Fairies frequently met, according to tradition. A little to the east of this is the *trysting-tree stone*." Mr Gray expressed his opinion that the place referred to must be the field or bank, adjoining what is called the Gallows Hill, but he was as yet unable to find the faintest tradition of the place having borne this name. Subsequently however he writes (8th Nov. 1875): "I am happy to say that I have identified *Huntlie-Brae* to my entire satisfaction, and in such a situation as to give a vivid tone of reality to the old Romance. Through the kindness of James Curle, Esq., of Messrs Curles & Erskines, solicitors here, I have been able to confirm old Bower's statement that there was such a place, and the senior partner of the firm assures me that he recollects quite well his father (an old man when he died) pointing out the very field my suspicions had fallen upon, as 'Huntlie-Brae.' By the Parish Ordinance Map Mr Curle was able to put his finger on the identical spot as fields 2408 and 2584. And now I am pleased to add that the locality is in entire harmony with the poetical reference; for if 'True Thomas' lay on Huntlie Brae or Bank, he would have a clear and distinct view of the 'ladye gaye' all the way along the road, or the hill side, to the Eildon Stone, a distance of fully half a mile. I had the pleasure on Friday afternoon to lead our friend Mr Currie over the spot, and he agrees with me as to the entire harmony between the site and the description in the ballad."

amusement," he says, "to those who would study the nature of traditional poetry, and the changes effected by oral tradition, to compare the ancient romance with the ballad. The same incidents are narrated, even the expression is often the same; yet the poems are as different in appearance, as if the older tale had been regularly and systematically modernized by a poet of the present day." That the "as if" in the last sentence might safely be left out, and that the "traditional ballad" never grew "by oral tradition" out of the older, is clear enough to me, even without the additional particulars that the source of the verses was that Mt Athos of antique ballads, Mrs Brown's MS. Jamieson only says his copy was "procured from Scotland." The two copies differ in extent and expressions. To complete our Thomas literature they are here added in parallel columns.¹

THOMAS THE RHYMER.

JAMIESON.

SCOTT.

True Thomas lay o'er yonder bank,
And he beheld a lady gay,
A lady that was brisk and bold,
Come riding o'er the fernie brae.

Her skirt was of the grass-green silk,
Her mantle of the velvet fine;
At ilka tate o' her horse's mane
Hung fifty siller bells and nine.

True Thomas lay on Huntlie bank;
A ferlie he spied wi' his ee;
And there he saw a ladye bright,
Come riding down by the Eildon tree.

Her shirt was o' the grass-green silk,
Her mantle o' the velvet fyne;
At ilka tett of her horse's mane,
Hung fifty siller bells and nine.

¹ Jamieson's copy apparently came from the same source as Scott's; see the following extract from a letter of Anderson, of the "*British Poets*," to Bishop Percy, given by Nicholl: "Mr Jamieson visited Mrs Brown on his return here from Aberdeen, and obtained from her recollection five or six ballads and a fragment. . . . The greatest part of them is unknown to the oldest persons in this country. I accompanied Mr Jamieson to my friend [Walter] Scott's house in the country, for the sake of bringing the collectors to a good understanding. I then took on me to hint my suspicion of modern manufacture, in which Scott had *secretly anticipated me*. Mrs Brown is fond of ballad poetry, writes verses, and reads everything in the marvellous way. Yet her character places her above the suspicion of literary imposture; but it is wonderful how she should happen to be the depository of so many curious and valuable ballads." See Nicholl's *Illustrations of Literature*, p. 89.

Elsewhere in the same letter we read: "It is remarkable that Mrs Brown never saw any of the ballads she has transmitted here, either in print or manuscript, but learned them all when a child by hearing them sung by her mother and an old maid-servant who had been long in the family, and does not recollect to have heard any of them either sung or said by any one but herself since she was about ten years of age. She kept them as a little hoard of solitary entertainment, till, a few years ago, she wrote down as many as she could recollect, to oblige the late Mr W. Tytler, and again very lately wrote down nine more to oblige his son, the professor."

JAMIESON.

SCOTT.

True Thomas he took off his hat,
 And bow'd him low down till his knee ;
 " All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven !
 For your like on earth I never did see ! " 12

" O no, O no, True Thomas," she says,
 " That name does not belong to me ;
 I am but the queen of fair Elfiand,
 And I am come here to visit thee. 16

" But ye maun go wi' me now, Thomas,
 True Thomas, ye maun go wi' me ;
 For ye maun serve me seven years, 27
 Through weal and wae, as may chance to be."

She turned about her milk-white steed,
 And took true Thomas up behind,
 And ay when'er her bridle rang,
 Her steed flew swifter than the wind. 32

O they rade on, and farther on,
 Until they came to a garden green ;
 " Light down, light down, ye lady free,
 Some o' that fruit let me pull to thee," 40

" O no, O no, True Thomas," she says,
 " That fruit maun no be touch'd by thee ;
 For a' the plagues that are in Hell
 Light on the fruit o' this countrie. 44

" But I have a laef here in my lap,
 Likewise a bottle of clarry wine ;
 And now, ere we go farther on,
 We'll rest a while, and ye may dine." 48

When he had eaten and drank his fill,
 The lady said, " ere we climb yon hill,
 Lay your head upon my knee,
 And I will show you ferlies three. 52

True Thomas, he pull'd aff his cap,
 And louted low down to the knee,
 " All hail, thou mighty queen of heaven !
 For thy peer on earth I never did see."—

" O no, O no, Thomas," she said,
 " That name does not belong to me ;
 I am but the queen of fair Elfiand,
 That am hither come to visit thee.

" Harp and carp, Thomas," she said ;
 " Harp and carp along wi' me ;
 And if ye dare to kiss my lips,
 Sure of your bodie I will be."— 20

" Betide me weal, betide me woe,
 That weird shall never daunton me"—
 Syne he has kissed her rosy lips,
 All underneath the Eildon tree. 24

" Now ye maun go wi' me," she said ;
 " True Thomas, ye maun go wi' me ;
 And ye maun serve me seven years,
 Thro' weal or woe as may chance to be."

She's mounted on her milk-white steed ;
 She's ta'en True Thomas up behind :
 And aye, when'er her bridle rung,
 The steed flew swifter than the wind.

O they rode on, and further on ;
 The steed ga'ed swifter than the wind ;
 Until they reached a desert wide,
 And living land was left behind. 36

" Light down, light down, now, true Thomas,
 And lean your head upon my knee ;
 Abide and rest a little space,
 And I will show you ferlies three.

JAMIESON.

' O see you not yon narrow road,
So thick beset with thorns and briers?—
That is the path of righteousness,
Though after it there's few inquires. 56

" And see ye not yon braid, braid road,
That lies across yon lily leven ?
That is the path of wickedness,
Though some call it the road to heaven. 60

" And see ye not that bonny road,
That winds about the fernie brae ?
That is the road to fair Elfland,
Where you and I this night maun gae. 64

" But, Thomas, ye maun hald your tongue,
Whatever ye may hear or see ; 66
For gin a word ye should chance to speak,
You will ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

For forty days and forty nights
He wude through red blood to the knee ;

And he saw neither sun nor moon
But heard the roaring of the sea. 72

He's gotten a coat o' the even cloth,
And a pair of shoes of velvet green ;
And till seven years were past and gone,
True Thomas on earth was never seen. 92

SCOTT.

" O see ye not yon narrow road,
So thick beset with thorns and briers ?
That is the path of righteousness,
Though after it but few enquires.

" And see ye not that braid braid road,
That lies across that lily levin ?
That is the path of wickedness,
Though some call it the road to heaven.

" And see ye not that bonny road,
That winds about the fernie brae ?
That is the road to fair Elfland,
Where thou and I this night maun gae.

" But Thomas ye maun hold your tongue,
Whatever ye may hear or see ;
For, if you speak a word in Elflyn land,
Ye'll ne'er get back to your ain countrie."

O they rade on, and farther on,
And they waded through rivers aboon the
knee,

And they saw neither sun nor moon,
But they heard the roaring of the sea.

It was mirk mirk night, and there was nae
stern light,

And they waded through red blude to the
knee ;

For a' the blude that's shed on earth 75
Rins through the springs o' that countrie.

Syne they came to a garden green,
And she pu'd an apple frae a tree—

" Take this for thy wages, true Thomas :
It will give thee the tongue that can never
lee." 80

" My tongue is mine ain," true Thomas said ;
" A gudely gift ye wad gie to me !
I neither dought to buy nor sell,
At fair or tryst where I may be. 84

" I dought neither speak to prince or peer,
Nor ask of grace from fair ladye."—

" Now ask thy peace !" the lady said,
" For as I say, so must it be."— 88

He has gotten a coat of the even cloth,
And a pair of shoes of velvet green ;
And till seven years were gane and past
True Thomas on earth was never seen.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

THE three fyttes of Thomas of Erceldoune are preserved in four MSS.: the THORNTON MS. in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral; the MS. Ff. 5. 48. in the University Library, CAMBRIDGE; the COTTON MS., Vitellius E. x.; and the Lansdowne MS. 762, in the British Museum; while the prophecies alone, without the introductory Fytt I., are found in a fifth, the SLOANE MS. 2578, also in the British Museum.

The THORNTON MS. (Lincoln A. 1. 17.) is a well-known repository of romances and devotional pieces in the Northern dialect, many of which have already been printed by the Early English Text Society, written mainly by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire, about A.D. 1430—1440. It "is written on 314 leaves of paper, in a somewhat small hand, in folio, measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$; but unfortunately imperfect both at the beginning and end, and also wanting leaves in a few other places." The first piece which it contains, a "Life of Alexander the Great," appears to be in an older hand, and to have been originally a distinct MS. In it the letters "þ" and "y" are distinct; while elsewhere in the MS. they are represented by the same character, except in the Romance of *Syr Percyuelle of Galles*, also in a different hand. "Tomas of Ersseldowne" occupies nine pages, beginning at top of leaf 149, back, and ending on the 2nd column of leaf 153, back, with 15 lines, and the remainder of the column blank. It is written in double columns of from 36 to 40 lines in a column. All these leaves are more or less injured; leaf 149 very slightly so, at the lower corner, where the beginnings of ll. 35, 36 are worn off. In leaf 150, the bottom lines in the outer columns—178 on the front, and 218 on the back—are torn through; at bottom of leaf 151, the ends of lines 336—339 and the beginnings of lines 377—379 are torn off. Leaf 152 is greatly injured, the lower part having been torn out by a tear extending diagonally across from beginning of l. 446 to end of l. 440, and from beginning of l. 478 to end of 475 on the front, and from beginning of l. 512 to end of 514, and beginning of l. 555 to end of 560 on the back. Of leaf 153 there remains only a fragment containing on the front 20 lines of the first column nearly entire, the first letters of 15 more, and the four last with the whole of col. 2 gone; on the back similarly, col. 1 is gone entirely, and col. 2 wants a large part of the beginnings of the lines. The mutilated state of this MS. is the more to be regretted, that it occurs at a part of the poem originally found in the Thornton only, and now therefore entirely lost.

This MS. presents, on the whole, a very careful and accurate text ; only in a few places, as mentioned in the subsequent notes, Robert Thornton has misread his original, which can however generally be restored. It is, in date probably, in form certainly, the oldest of the existing MSS., retaining the original Northern form of the language little altered ; while it is free from most of the corruptions with which the next two MSS., the Cambridge and Cotton, abound.

MS. CAMBRIDGE, Ff. 5. 48. A paper manuscript in quarto, of 140 leaves, with about 30 lines on a page, English handwriting of the middle of the 15th century. It consists of five parts, whereof the first, leaves 1—66, contains 13 different pieces, the majority being devotional poems ; the second, leaves 67—78, five pieces similar in character ; part third, leaves 79—94, Homilies for St Michael's day, the feast of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, &c. ; part 4, leaves 95—114, four articles, of which the first is entitled *Principium Anglie* ; and part 5, leaves 115—140, four articles, of which the second (No. 26 in the MS.) is *Thomas of Erseldoun*. It begins without any title on leaf 119 *a*, and ends leaf 128 *b*, occupying nearly 10 leaves, in single columns. The writing, besides confusing *o* and *e*, *c* and *t*, which in most cases can only be distinguished by the sense, is in many places so much effaced as to present great difficulties to the reader. R. Jamieson, who printed it in his *Ballads and Songs* at the beginning of the present century, says : "The Cambridge MS. has suffered by rain-water nearly as much as the Cotton has by fire, a great part of each page having become illegible by the total disappearance of the ink. By wetting it, however, with a composition which he procured from a bookseller and stationer in Cambridge, the writing was so far restored in most places, that, with much poring and the assistance of a magnifying glass, he was able to make it out pretty clearly. The greatest difficulty he met with was from the unlucky zeal and industry of some person who long ago, and in a hand nearly resembling the original, had endeavoured to fill up the chasms, and, as appeared upon the revival of the old writing, had generally mistaken the sense, and done much more harm than good." Jamieson little thought that his own "unlucky zeal and industry" would in process of time entitle him to equal or even greater reprobation, for the "composition," which he so naïvely confesses to have applied to the MS., has dried black, and both disastrously disfigured the pages and seriously increased their illegibility. Nevertheless, with the experienced help of Mr Bradshaw, to whose kindness words fail to do justice, I have been enabled to reproduce the text with greater accuracy than either of its previous editors, leaving only a very few blanks where words are quite illegible. It presents a Southernized version of the

original, with the sense not seldom, and the rhyme and phraseology often, sacrificed in transliteration (as where *myght and mayne* becomes *mode and mone*, in order to rhyme with *gone*). It has also many scribal blunders, due apparently to its transcriber not being able perfectly to read his original. In its extent it often agrees with the Thornton MS. as against later interpolations and omissions, but it has also large omissions of its own. Where its readings differ from the Thornton, it is generally unsupported by the other MSS. In some places where it presents the greatest discrepancy, it can be seen that originally it had the same reading as T., but was subsequently altered, and this not always, as Jamieson thought, by some one trying to restore indistinct passages, for the original is quite distinct, but crossed through and something substituted. In several instances it misplaces one or more stanzas as to the order of which all the other MSS. agree. My opinion of its text is therefore different from that of Mr Halliwell, who calls it "the earliest and best," and attributes it to the early part of the 15th century, not to mention the idea of Mr Wright, who considered it of the age of Edward II. Nevertheless, it is a valuable MS., especially for those parts where the Thornton and Cotton are partially or wholly destroyed.

MS. COTTON, Vitellius E. x. "A paper volume in folio, in very bad condition, consisting of 242 leaves." This is one of the MSS. that suffered severely in the fire, and consists of charred fragments of greater or less extent of the original leaves, inlaid and rebound. It contains 26 different articles of the most varied character, in very different handwriting, but apparently all of the 15th century, a "Colloquium de rebus aulicis sub initio regni Edwardi IV.," "A sermon preached at the beginning of Parliament, anno 1483," and other similar sermons in the reigns of Edward V. or Richard III. The copy of Thomas of Erseldown which it contains is in a heavy clumsy handwriting of "about or slightly after 1450." It begins on the middle of leaf 240 *b*, with the rubric, "Incipit prophecia Thome de Arseldon," and this page contains two columns of 30 lines each. But the rest of the poem is written in double lines across the page of about 50 (i. e. 100 lines) to the page, divided in the middle by a heavy red line, or (on leaves 241 *b*, 242 *a*, and part of 242 *b*) by a red paragraph mark. Occasionally the scribe has only got one line in, which throws him out, so that his following lines consist not of the two first and two last lines of a stanza respectively, but of the 2nd and 3rd, followed by the 4th and 1st of the next. The poem is written without a break from beginning to end, except that after line 301-2, line 309-10 (the first two of Fytte II.) immediately follows, but is struck out in red, and repeated after leaving a blank space

of one line. Fytt I. thus wants its last three (i. e. six) lines. The poem ends at the very bottom of leaf 243 *a*, with the rubric . . . *hecia thome de Arseldoune*. From the burning of the inner side of the leaves of the MS. scarcely one line of the poem is perfect; very often half the double line is burned away, so that when printed in single lines it shows in many places only the alternate ones. See lines 221, &c. The text of this MS., so far as it goes, agrees closely with the Thornton, but it omits stanzas very often, and, like all the MSS. except the Thornton, it has not ll. 577—604. It has also some singular additions of its own, as lines 109—116, and others near the end.

MS. LANSDOWNE 792, a small 4to MS. of 99 leaves of mixed parchment and paper, of about 1524—30. It contains a memorandum of the different orders of Friars in London, and their quarters, as then existing, "the writing of Valeraunce upon the **xxi** conjunction of planetes in the moneth of February, the yere of our Lord 1524;" a few lines satirizing the craving for prophecies, ending

your tethe whet in this bone
Amonge you euerychone
And lett Colen' cloute alone.
The prophecy of Skylton
1529

also a prediction of signs and prodigies to happen

In the yere of our lorde I vnderstande
xv' & one and thirty folowand.

as well as various similar predictions for later years. The second half of the MS. consists almost entirely of prophetic literature, articles 45, 61—74, 79, 82, 83, being of this description. "Thomas of Arsildoun" begins without title on middle of leaf 24 *a*, and breaks off on leaf 31 *a* with the first line of a stanza, some 70 lines from the end, and leaving a blank space of several lines' extent on the page. Leaves 24—28 are paper, 29—31 parchment. The writing is very neat and distinct, in single columns of 32 lines to the page, and without a single break from beginning to end, or any larger letter at the fyttes; but it is divided (in this MS. only) into double stanzas of eight lines, by paragraph marks down the margin. The omission of two lines in the 6th stanza (ll. 71, 72) causes the paragraph marks for a short way to be displaced. In addition to its unfinished ending, this MS. omits long passages, and has three additions of its own, lines 141—156, with its counterpart 237—248, and the reference to Robert II., l. 465—468.

MS. SLOANE 2578 is a paper MS. of Prophecies, small 4to (8½ × 6 in.) of 117 leaves, of the year 1547. It contains several (unfulfilled) predictions of prodigies

for the years 1550, 1553, and 1556; and the following table, which no doubt applies to the year of its compilation (leaf 31):

The Sum of y^e Age of ye worlde vnto y^e years
of Christ 1547 after the computacion

of	{	the Ebrues	5509
		mirandula	5041
		Eusebius	6737
		Augustyne	6891
		alphonse	8522

I copy from the Catalogue the following abstract of its contents, with additions of my own:—

1. Alphabetical index of persons, places, and subjects to the ensuing collection, ff. 1—4.
2. Prophecies relative to events in English History, written in verse and prose. Among them the following may be distinguished.

[Of him that shall wyne the holy cross, leaf 5, a]

The second canto of the prophetic rhymes of Thomas of Erildon, ff. 6—11 b.

The prophecy of Cadar and Sibilla, ff. 12—15. Beginning:—

“Cadar and Sibell bothe of them sayes
The name of Fraunce in his writings
Kinge to be clepid in many case
In all his lyfe and his lykinge.”

Ending:

“As traytours attainte all shalbe tyde
And thus their sorrow shall wax newe.”

Extract from a prophecy by Merlin, ff. 15 b—17 a. Begins:

“When the cock of the northe hathe buylde his neaste.”

[See ante, p. xxxii.] Ends:

“desteny shall him not dere.”

[Many leaves of short prose prophecies, including those in Appendix II., and at p. lxxx, of this volume; also the computation of the year 1547 already given.]

Prophecy of events to happen in the year 1553, ff. 61—64. Begins:

“To judge the trouthe as before us hathe bene,
So judge we maye all that shall us beseme.”

Stanzas f. 64. Begins:

“An Egle shall flye
Up into the Skye
With fyer in his mowthe.”

Of the York and Lancaster contests, ff. 68—79. Begins:

“The Scotts shall ryse and make ado
But the Bull shall purvey therfore,
That they shall vanishe & home againe go
And forthink ther rysinge for evermore.”

A prophecy of events in English History, ff. 79 b—86. Begins:

“The lande of Albion shall come to corruption by the synne of pride, letcherye,
herysye and tratorye.”

A prophecy of the persecutions of the Church, ff. 86—88 b. Begins:

“In the yere of our Lorde God a M.v^e lxxv a great tyrant ageynste the Church
with might and mayne shall sley many of the Churches.”

Another copy of the verses begins :

“When the cooke of the Northe hathe bilde his neste.”—f. 100 *b*.

3. A key to the prophecies comprised in the foregoing collection, ff. 112 *b*—116.

It might be worth while for one of our publishing societies to print the whole of this MS., as illustrating one phase of English thought in the middle of the 16th century. One of the prose prophecies which specially illustrates Fytt III. of Thomas of Erceldoun is here added in Appendix II., and two other short ones will be found in the Notes.

. The prophecy of Erceldoun begins at top of leaf 6 *a*, with the heading,

¶ Heare begynethe þe ij^d fytt I saye
of Sir thomas of Arseldon.

It is written in single columns of 28 lines each, uninterrupted by a single break, and ends at foot of leaf 11 *b* with the word “Finis.” A peculiarity of the text of this MS. is the very frequent omission of the first line of a stanza, to supply the place of which another is generally interpolated at the end, or some lines farther on, so as to complete the rhyme. The conclusion is also very much abridged, the writer seemingly being impatient of everything not prophetic. In other respects the text agrees very closely with the Thornton MS. both in its extent and readings, always excepting lines 577—604, found only in that MS.

PRINTED EDITIONS.

FYTT I. of *Thomas of Erseldoune* was printed by Scott from the fragmentary Cotton MS. as a note or Appendix to the so-called “traditional ballad” in the *Border Minstrelsy*.

The whole poem was shortly after printed by Robert Jamieson in his *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition, Manuscripts, and Scarce editions*, Edin. 1806, from the Cambridge MS., with collations from the Lincoln and Cotton MSS. Jamieson’s edition presents many misreadings and not a few wanton alterations of the text.

It was also printed in full by David Laing, Esq., LL.D., in his *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, Edin. 1822, from the Lincoln MS., with the blanks of that manuscript partially supplied from the Cambridge text.

In 1845 it was printed by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., in his “Illustrations of the

Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream" for the "Shakespeare Society." The Editor used the Cambridge MS. (which he calls the "earliest and best," and attributes to "the early part of the 15th century"), but printed it with much more care than had been done by Jamieson. He also first indicated the existence of copies of the poem in the Lansdowne and Sloane MSS., mentioning at the same time a later transcript to be found in MS. Rawlinson C. 258, in the Bodleian Library. But a careful examination of this MS. (now C. 813) by Mr Cox shows that it contains no copy of Thomas of Erceldoune, but that its second half consists of prophecies, embracing many of those found in Lansdowne 792 and Sloane 2578, some of which quote Thomas's authority. The Rawlinson C. MSS. have lately been catalogued, and no copy of "Thomas of Erceldoune" appears among them.

Finally, Professor F. J. Child of Harvard University, U.S., in the first volume of his *English and Scottish Ballads*, London, 1861, reprinted the first fyfte of the Thornton text from Dr Laing's edition of 1822, with corrections. He endorses Dr Laing's opinion that the Thornton is the earliest text, and "in every respect preferable to that of either of the other manuscripts;" an opinion, the correctness of which will be apparent on a very slight examination of the following pages.

THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE following text exhibits all the MSS. printed in parallel columns. In Fytte I., where there are only four versions, they are printed in the following order: THORNTON, COTTON: LANSDOWNE, CAMBRIDGE. But from Fytte II., where the SLOANE MS. begins, it takes the place of the Cotton in the parallels, and the fragmentary Cotton text is printed below. Up to line 88 of this edition, the lines of the Cotton text represent those of the MS., but at that point the latter begins to be written in double lines across the page, so that the printed lines represent the half lines of the MS. indicated by a red paragraph mark in middle of the line. This will explain why, in many places, full lines alternate with defective ones or blank spaces, where the beginning or end of the MS. lines are burned. But from Fytte II., where the Cotton text occupies the foot of the page, the lines are printed as in the MS. with a dot separating the two halves, though for convenience of reference they are numbered to agree with the single lines above. I have used the thorn (þ) all through wherever the MSS. represent *th* by a single character,

whether or not this is identical in form with the *y* of the MS. In the Lincoln MS., the *thorn* is identical with the *y*, and except at the beginning of a line is regularly used for *th* in the 2nd personal pronoun and demonstrative words, according to the ordinary MS. usage. In the Cambridge and Cotton MSS., where also the *þ* is in form identical with the *y*, its use for *th* is still more regular. The Lansdowne uses the thorn sparingly, but where it does occur it is usually a true *þ* with a tall head, and quite distinct from *y*. Its usual place is here in the 2nd personal pronoun forms, also often in *oper*, *anoper*; and occasionally it turns up in strange positions, as in *fryþ*, l. 319; *þryue* and *þe*, l. 344; **þryue* again 464; *boþe*, l. 525.¹ In the Sloane MS. the thorn is more frequent, and always like a *y*.

The punctuation and inverted commas are the Editor's, but the capital letters are as in the MSS. In the Cambridge and Lansdowne MSS., however, it is often doubtful to say whether the initial *A* is meant for a capital or not; both in form and size, it has a sort of medial or hybrid character which passes insensibly into either the capital or small letter. In the Thornton the single and final *i* has always a tail extending below the line. It is here printed 'j'; but of course it was not a distinct letter, only a "distinguished *i*" used when the letter stood alone, or at the end of a word to render it more prominent. The barred *H* and *h*, tagged *n*, and other marked letters, whose meaning—if they had any—is doubtful, are retained in the text. Letters and words accidentally omitted, illegible, obscure, or in any way doubtful, are enclosed in brackets. These will be found very frequent in the Cambridge text for reasons already given in describing that MS.; and it will be understood that all words there enclosed in brackets indicate indistinct places in the MS., as to the reading of which there exists a reasonable certainty. Where I have put dots the words are quite gone, although comparison with the other texts there also generally indicates what is to be supplied.

On account of the different extent of the poem in the various MSS., and the fact that passages which are found in one are wanting in another, the arrangement of the texts in parallel columns necessitates frequent breaks in every text, and in almost every page. *There are no breaks or paragraphs in the MSS.*, which are written *straight on uninterruptedly*, with no recognition of any omitted passages. The stanzas, if indicated, are shown only by lines connecting the ends of the rhyming lines, except in the Lansdowne, which indicates them by marginal paragraph

¹ Through an error in the press the thorn appears in the printed text in the following places where the MS. has *th* full: l. 44 *the*, 108 *whethere*, 133 *clothyng*, 135 *other*, 139, 140 *the*, 171 *that*, 188 *the*, 231 *the*, 261 *The*, 284 *thre*, 292 *the*, 296 *There*, 449 *The*, 544 *the*. In every other place it is as in the MS.

marks. There are no breaks even at the beginnings of Fyttes II. and III., though some of the MSS. commence these with large initial letters as shown in the printing.

In a few places where the Cambridge MS. misplaces stanzas, so that the parallel arrangement cannot be maintained, the transposition is carefully noted by the numbering of the lines, as, for example, ll. 264, 272 ; 628, 640.

The poem is really in 8-syllabic four-line stanzas, the first line rhyming with the third and the second with the fourth—ordinary “Long Metre” indeed—and would have been here printed as such, but for difficulties occurring where the second line of one text answers to the first of another, as is the case several times with the Sloane MS.

In numbering the lines, every line and stanza is counted that occurs in any MS., except such as are clearly accidental interpolations, like the two lines in the Thornton, between l. 136 and 137, or those added in the Sloane MS. to make up for a line previously omitted. To this numbering, which is applicable to all the texts, all references are made. To show, however, what would be the actual numbering of the separate texts, and to what lines of each any given lines of the printed edition answer, the following Collation is added, which will also serve to show more distinctly the passages present and absent in each MS. In cases where a different order of stanzas or lines occurs in different MSS., I have followed the order of the majority, or if there are only two texts, that which the sense seemed to recommend.

COLLATION

OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIVE MANUSCRIPTS OF THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE,

showing the lines present and absent in the various MSS., and the actual lines in each, which answer to each other and to those numbered in the printed text.

The black line indicates the absence of the passage in that MS.

(For example, the *five* lines, 89—93 of the printed text, represent ll. 81—85 of the Thornton MS., 59—63 of the Lansdowne, 61—65 of the Cambridge, and originally answered to 61—65 of the Cotton, destroyed through the partial burning of the MS. They are altogether *wanting* in the Sloane.

The *four* lines 229—232 represent 199—202 Thornton, 169—172 Cotton, 183—186 Lansdowne, 173—176 Cambridge, in which MS. they are misplaced between ll. 224 and 225 of the general numbering.)

PROLOGUE.

PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
1—24	1—24	—	—	—	—	24
FYTT I.						
25—41	25—41	—	1—17	1—17	1—17	17
42—45	—	—	—	18—21	—	4
46—64	42—60	—	18—36	22—40	18—36	19
65—68	—	—	37—40	—	37—40	4
69	(61) <small>accidentally omitted</small>	—	41	41	41	1
70	62	—	42	42	42	1
71—72	63—64	—	43—44	—	43—44	2
73—88	65—80	—	45—60	43—58	45—60	16
89—93	81—85	—	(61—65)lost	59—63	61—65	5
94—108	86—100	—	66—80	64—78	66—80	15
109—116	—	—	81—88	—	—	8
117—136	101—120	—	89—108	79—98	81—100	20
(unnumbered)	121—122	—	—	—	—	[2]
137—140	123—126	—	109—112	99—102	101—104	4
141—156	—	—	—	103—118	—	16
157—160	127—130	—	113—116	119—122	105—108	4
161—164	131—134	—	—	—	109—112	4
165—188	135—158	—	117—140	123—146	113—136	24
189—192	159—162	—	—	147—150	137—140	4
193—196	163—166	—	141—144	151—154	141—144	4
197—200	167—170	—	—	—	145—148	4
201—208	171—178	—	145—152	155—162	149—156	8
209—212	179—182	—	—	163—166	157—160	4
213—224	183—194	—	153—164	167—178	161—172	12
[229—232]	(see below)	—	(see below)	(see below)	173—176	[4]
225—228	195—198	—	165—168	179—182	177—180	4
229—232	199—202	—	169—172	183—186	(see above)	4
233—236	203—206	—	173—176	189—190	181—184	4
237—248	—	—	—	193—202	—	12
249—260	207—218	—	177—188	203—214	185—196	12
[269—272]	(see below)	—	(see below)	(see below)	197—200	[4]

ERCILDOUN.

e

PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
261—268	219—226	—	189—196	215—222	201—208	8
269—272	227—230	—	197—200	223—226	(see above)	4
273—302	231—260	—	201—230	227—256	209—238	30
303—308	261—266	—	—	257—262	238—244	6

FYTT II.

309—316	267—274	1—8	237—244	261—270	245—252	8
317—320	275—278	9—12	—	269—274	253—256	4
321—324	279—282	13—16	245—248	273—278	257—260	4
325—328	283—286	17—20	249—252	—	261—264	4
329	287	(21) <small>accidentally omitted</small>	253	—	265	1
330—332	288—290	22—24	254—256	—	266—268	3
333—336	291—294	25—28	—	—	269—272	4
337—340	295—298	29—32	257—260	—	273—276	4
341—352	299—310	33—44	261—272	277—290	277—288	12
353—356	311—314	45—48	—	—	289—292	4
357—360	315—318	49—52	273—276	289—292	293—296	4
361—364	319—322	53—56	277—280	293—298	*297—300	4
365—372	323—330	57—64	281—288	297—306	301—308	8
373—376	—	—	—	—	309—312	4
377—384	331—338	65—72	289—296	305—314	313—320	8
[397—400]	(see below)	(see below)	297—300	(see below)	—	[4]
385—388	339—342	73—76	—	313—318	321—324	4
389—396	343—350	77—84	301—308	317—326	—	8
397—400	351—354	85—88	(see above)	325—330	—	4
401—412	355—366	89—100	309—320	329—342	—	12
413—416	367—370	101—104	—	341—346	—	4
417—418	371—372	105—106	—	345—348	325—326	2
419—420	373—374	107—108	321—322	347—350	327—328	2
421—422	375—376	—	323—324	349—352	329—330	2
423—424	377—378	—	325—326	351—354	—	2
425—426	379—380	109—110	327—328	355—356	—	2
427—428	381—382	111—112	329—330	357—358	331—332	2
(extra lines)	—	—	331—332	—	—	[2]
429—430	383—384	113—114	333—334	—	333—334	2
431—432	—	115—116	335—336	—	335—336	2

PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
433—440	385—392	117—124	337—344	359—366	337—344	8
441	393	125	345	367	—	1
442	394	—	346	368	—	1
443—450	395—402	126—133	347—354	369—376	—	8
(extra line)	—	134	—	—	—	[1]
451—466	403—418	135—150	355—370	377—392	—	16
467—470	—	—	—	393—396	—	4
471—472	419—420	151—152	371—372	397—398	—	2
473—474	421—422	153—154	(see below)	399—400	—	2
475—476	423—424	155—156	373—374	401—402	—	2
[473—474]	(see above)	(see above)	375—376	(see above)	—	[2]
477—478	425—426	157—158	377—378	403—404	345—346	2
479—480	(427—428)	159—160	379—380	405—406	347—348	2
481	(429)	—	381	407	349	1
482—484	(430—432)	161—163	382—384	408—410	350—352	3
[extra]	—	164	—	—	—	[1]
485—488	(433—436)	165—168	385—388	411—414	353—356	4

FYTT III.

489—492	437—440	—	389—392	415—418	—	4
493—500	441—448	169—176	393—400	419—426	357—364	8
501—504	449—452	177—180	401—404	427—430	—	4
505—508	453—456	181—184	405—408	—	365—368	4
509—512	457—460	185—188	409—412	431—434	369—372	4
513—514	458—462	189—190	413—414	435—436	—	2
515—524	(463—472)	191—200	415—424	437—446	—	10
525—527	(473—475)	201—203	425—427	447—449	373—375	3
528	476	204	428	450	376	1
529	477	—	429	451	377	1
530—536	478—484	205—211	430—436	452—458	378—384	7
[extra]	—	212	—	—	—	[1]
537—548	485—496	213—224	437—448	459—470	—	12
549—552	497—500	225—228	—	—	385—388	4
553—560	501—508	229—236	449—456	—	389—396	8
561—564	—	—	(457—460)	—	397—400	4
565—571	(509—515)	237—243	461—467)	—	401—407	7

PRINTED TEXT	THORNTON	SLOANE	COTTON	LANSDOWNNE	CAMBRIDGE	LINES
572—576	516—520	244—248	468—472	—	408—412	5
577—591	525—535	—	—	—	—	15
592—604	(536—548)	—	—	—	—	13
605—606	(549—550)	249—250	473—474	—	413—414	2
607—608	(551—552)	251—252	475—476	—	415—416	2
609—614	(553—558)	253—258	477—482	471—476	417—422	6
615—616	(559—560)	—	483—484	477—478	423—424	2
617—620	(561—564)	259—262	485—488	479—482	425—428	4
[637—644]	()	(see below)	(see below)	—	*429—436	[8]
621—628	(565—572)	263—270	489—496	483—490	437—444	8
629	(573)	*271	497	491	445	1
630—632	(574—576)	*272—274	498—500	—	446—448	3
633—636	(577—580)	275—278	501—504	—	—	4
637—640	(581—584)	*279—282	—	—	(see above)	4
641—644	(585—588)	*283—286	505—508	—	(see above)	4
645—660	(589—604)	287—302	509—524	—	449—464	16
661—664	(605—608)	—	525—528	—	465—468	4
665—677	(609—621)	303—315	529—541	—	469—481	13
678—680	622—624	316—318	542—544	—	482—484	3
681—684	—	—	545—548	—	—	4
685—686	625—626	319—320	549—550	—	—	2
687—688	627—628	—	551—552	—	—	2
689—692	—	—	553—556	—	—	4
693—695	629—631	—	557—559	—	485—487	3
696	632	321	560	—	488	1
697—700	633—636	—	561—564	—	489—492	4

NOTES TEXTUAL AND EXPLANATORY.

THE PROLOGUE is found only in the Thornton MS., and is presumably no part of the Romance in its original form, although from its occurrence in the earliest MS. it must be little later than the completion of the poem itself as we now have it. It takes the form of a prelude by a minstrel or reciter to commend the poem to the attention of his audience who are twice committed as "ynglyschemen" to the safe keeping of Christ. Unless the word may have been changed for "Scottismen," the prologue is therefore the addition of a northern English author. Its dialect is pure Northern, less altered even than the text itself.

L. 1 *lystyns*, l. 2 *takis*, l. 10, 12 *hase*. In the Northern dialect since the 12th or 13th century the plural of the present indicative and imperative has ended in *-s*, when unaccompanied by its proper pronoun *we*, *ye*, *they*. When these are present there is no termination. See *Dialect of Southern Scotland*, pp. 211—214.

l. 2. *takis gude tente*, take good heed; *tent*, *no.*, care, attention, *vb.* to attend, take heed; "Tent me, billie—there's a gullie!"—*Burns*.

l. 7. *pristly*, readily, quickly, actively. l. 8. *blyne*, cease.

l. 11. *sere*, various, several. l. 15. *tyte*, soon, quick.

l. 16. *sythene*, for the Northern *sen*, *syne*, as in l. 6, which would improve the rhyme

l. 22. *by-leue*, remain; German *bleiben*, Dutch *b-lijven*.

FYTTE I.

l. 25—28. The Cotton differs considerably from the others, Th. and Ca. showing the original reading.

l. 25. *Endres-day* = *ender day*, this by-gone day. Icel. *endr*, of yore, formerly.
Lat. *ante*.

"As I myselfe lay this enderz nyght
All alone withowten any fere."—*MS. Raml. C.* 813, leaf 54.

l. 26. *grykyng*, the grayng, or gray of the morning:

"It was na *gray day-licht*."

l. 28. *Huntle bankys*, on Eildon Hills, near Melrose. See Introduction, p. li.

l. 30. *Maves*, *mavys*; L. corruptly *maner* for *maues*, the mavis or song thrush; but the *throstyll* of the preceding line is also the thrush, which L. accordingly changes into the *merle* or blackbird. *menyde*, Co. corruptly *movyde*, bemoaned herself, sung plaintively.

l. 30, 32. *songe*, *ronge*, doubtless originally the Northern *sang*, *rang*, as in l. 56.

l. 31. The *Wodewale*, the wood-lark. *beryde*, Ca. corruptly *farde*, vociferated, made

a noise; "the rumour of rammache foulis and of beystis that maid grete *beir*."—*Compl. of Scott.*, p. 38, l. 24.

l. 32. *shauys* in L. for *wode* of others, still used as an equivalent, in the north. Isl. *skóg*, Dan. *skov*.

l. 36. *louely*, Ca. and L., is no doubt the original, corrupted by T. to *longe*, and glossed by Co. as *fayre*. In Ca. *lonely* would be as good a reading of MS., but was *lonely* = *al. onely*, then in existence?

l. 37. *zogh*, Co. for *þogh*, the þ and z frequently confounded by ignorant scribes.

l. 38. *wrabbe* and *wrye*: *wrobbe*, *wrabbe* = warble? sing; *wry* = *wray*, bewray, reveal. Or perhaps Sc. *wrable*, *warble*, *wurble*, to wriggle, and *wrye*, to twist; to wriggle and twist with the tongue in the attempt to find language to describe her.

l. 40. *askryed*, *skryed*, *discryued*, described; Fr. *escri-re*, *descri-re*.

l. 41—72. The description of the lady, in which T. and Ca. closely agree, varies much in Co. and L., the latter inserting l. 42—45.

l. 46—48. *none*, *schone*, *bone*, *stone*, in pure Northern would be *nane*, *schane*, *bane*, *stane*; which the original doubtless had. See ll. 81, 83; 345, 347.

l. 49. *Selle*, *sadyl*, *sege*, equivalents, the latter properly a seat (of honour). *Roelle bone*, called also *reuel bone*, *rowel bone*, *reuyll bone*, "an unknown material of which saddles especially are in the romances said to be made." See Chaucer's "Sir Topas," which presents several points of contact with the description here:—

"His jambeux were of cuirbouly,
His swerdes sheth of ivory,
His helme of latoun bright,
His *sadel* was of *reuel-bone*,
His *bridel* as the *sonne* shone,
Or as the mone light.

His spere was of fin cypress
That bodeth werre, and nothing pees,
The hed ful sharpe y-ground;
His *stede* was all *dapple gray*,
It goth an *umble* in the way
Fully softly and round
In lond."

Rev. W. W. Skeat suggests that "*rowel* = Latin *rotella*, Fr. *rouelle*, i. e. bone rounded and polished, for the front or peak of the saddle."

l. 52. *Crapotee*, toad stone: *smaragdus* or *emerald*, "which often contains a flaw, in shape suggesting a toad." The *Promptorium Parvulorum* has "Crepawnde, or crapawnde, precyous stone (crepau, P.) *Samaragdus*."

Note. "Crapaude, a precious stone, *crapaudine*." Palsgrave. Cotgrave explains *crapaudine* as signifying "the stone *chelonitis*, or the toad stone." In the Metrical Romance of Emare is described a rich vesture, thickly set with gems, rubies, topaze, "*crapowtes* and *nakette*;" the word is also written *crapawtes*. More detailed information will be found in Gesner, de quadrup. ovip. II. 9. See also Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, "As You Like It," Act 2, Sc. i.; and the word "toadstone" in Nares' Glossary.

l. 53. *Stones of Oryente*, Eastern or Oriental gems; the name may have been given definitely to some stones or varieties of stones only found in the East, as the *Turquoise*, which derives its name (*Pierre turquoise*) from Turkestan, where alone it is found. "The name *Oriental Emerald* is given to a very rare beautiful and precious green variety of Sapphire." "The finest red *rubies* are generally called *Oriental Rubies*." So also in "Alliterative Poems," edited by Dr Morris, we have

"þe grauayl that on grounde can grynde
Wern precious *perlez of oryente*."

Oryons in Ca. may be *oryens*, as o and e are generally indistinguishable in this MS.

- I. 54. *hang*, Northern past tense of *hing*.
 l. 55, 56 are properly wanting in L., but lines 71, 72 are brought from their own place instead; ll. 57—60 are quite altered in L. and Co.
 l. 56. a *whyllle*, one while; indef. article and numeral, identical in N. dialect.
 l. 57. *garthes*, girths or garters?
 l. 60. *perelle*, pearl; Ca. *perry*, *pierreries*, jewels, precious stones.
 l. 61. *payetrelle*, "breast-leather of a horse"; Fr. *poitrail*; L. corruptly *parrell*, apparel.
Iral, T. *jral fyne*, Ca. *riall fyne*, Co. *yra* L. *Alarane*; the original probably, *Iral-stane*, rhyming with *schane*. So in the "Anturs of Arthur at Tarn-wathelan," the Ireland MS. has

"Betun downe berels, in bordurs so bryzte
 That with stones *iraille* were strenclut and strauen,
 Frettut with fyne gold that failis in the fyte."

And the Thornton MS. of the same :—

"Stones of *iral* they strenkel, and strewe,
 Stipe stapeles of stele pey strike don stijt."

I can get no light on *iral-stane*; the scribes also seem not to have understood it, and hence their alterations, *riall*, *alarane*, &c.

- l. 62. *Orphare*, *orfevrie*, goldsmiths' work; Lat. *aurifaber*, Fr. *orfèvre*, a goldsmith.
 l. 63. *Reler* in L. perhaps corrupt for *silver*, as *gold*, which the others have, had been already put in the rhyming line.

- l. 65—68 in Co. look like a variation of the stanza before, with the lines,

"A semly syȝt it w[as to se]
 In euery joynt [hang bellis thre]."

- l. 65. Ca. for *ijj*, *four* was originally written and struck out.

l. 67—70 in Ca. are clearly an awkward interpolation in the midst of an original stanza; the lines are omitted in MS., but written at side and foot with marks of insertion.

- l. 68. *lire* in Ca. (A.S. *hleor*) face, cheek.

l. 69. *grewe hound*, the Grey hound or Greek hound, *Canis Graius*, still called in Scotland a *Grewe*, which was the Older Scotch for a *Greek*.

- l. 70. *rache*, a hound that follows by the *scent*, as the *Grewe* does by *sight*.

- l. 71. *halse*, neck; A.S. *heals*.

- l. 72. *flone*, properly *flane*, to rhyme with *rane* above, an arrow; A.S. *flán*.

- l. 74. *ane* semely tree, bespeaks a Scotch original.

l. 75. *He sayd*: so l. 87, *and sayd*; l. 157, *scho sayd*; l. 161, *And sayd*. These words, as in the old Romances generally, are *extra-metrical*, and are rather directions to the reader or reciter, like the names of speakers in a Shakspearian play, or our modern inverted commas, than part of the poem, to be said or sung. They were read only by a change of tone or a gesture.

l. 75, 77. *zone*, Th.; the other MSS. show that this demonstrative was already little used in English proper.

l. 80, 84. *Eldoune tree*. A solitary tree that formerly stood on the slope of one of the three Eildon Hills near Melrose; see Introduction, p. l. Ca. does not understand the local reference, and makes *eldryne* = *eldern*, like *oaken*, *beechen*.

l. 81. *radly, rathely*; A.S. *hrædlice*, quickly, readily. The Northern *rase*, when altered to *rose* in the other three MSS., ceases to rhyme with *sayes*.

l. 83. *als the storye sayes*, and again 123, *als the storye tellis full ryghte*, implies an older version of the tale than that in the poem. See Introduction, p. xxiv.

l. 87. *and sayd*, T. and Co. See l. 75, n.

l. 89. *mylde of thoght* in T. and L., shown by the rhyme to be the original.

l. 94. *payrelde*, apparelled.

l. 95. *fee* in the original sense of A.S. *feoh*, Germ. *Vieh*, beasts, cattle.

l. 96. *rynnys*, Northern pl. with noun subject, of which Ca. *rannen* for *rennen* is Midl., and L. *rennyng*, a scribal misconception of the latter.

l. 98. *balye* in Ca. mistake of scribe for *folye*; so l. 31, *farde* for *beird*.

l. 99. *wyasse, wyce, wise*, rhymes with *price*. It is still always so pronounced in North.

l. 102. Ca. reads *let meþ me be*.

l. 104. *synne* in T. probably an interpolation; gives rise to mistake in L. of *syne*, then, thereafter.

l. 106. L. read *dwelle*. l. 107. *trouche* = *trouthe*.

l. 108. *by leues*. See l. 22.

l. 109—116, interpolated in Co., are not in keeping with the context, but probably the boast which the lady fears was true to the manners of the age.

l. 115. *crystenty*; Fr. *chretiené*, Christendom.

“Three blither lads that lang lone nicht
Were never found in *Christendee*.”—Burns.

l. 116. Co. *wryede*, accused, bewrayed; A.S. *wrézean*, *wrezod*.

l. 119. T. *chewys þe werre*; Co. *cheuyst*, achievest, succeedest, comest off, the worse; Ca. glosses *thryuist*, and L. corrupts to *chece hit*, perhaps *chesit*, chose!

l. 125. *the[e] lykes*, impersonal, *te delectat*.

“At first in heart it liked me ill
When the king praised his clerkly skill.”—Scott, *Marmion*, vi. 15.

l. 126. *byrde*, bride, married lady; Piers Plowman has *burde*, *buirde*, *birde*, *berde*; *deel* = *dele*, deal, probably the original; Ca. has *dwel*.

l. 132. *are*, A.S. *ær*, ere, before.

l. 135. *hir a schanke blake*, her one leg black, her other grey. Ca. had originally,

“þe too shanke was blak, þe toþur gray
and alle hir body like þe leede.”

which is the same as T. (*þe too, þe toþur* = *þet oo, þet-oþur*, the one, the other); but the second hand has altered it into the reading of the text, where *bloo*, *beten*, and *leed*, may be equally *blee*, *beton*, *lood*.

l. 139. *fasyd* in L., a scribal error for *fadyd*.

l. 141—156. L. The conduct attributed to Thomas is unworthy, and the whole scene out of keeping. The rhymes also break down into mere assonances.

l. 157. *scho sayd*, T. See l. 75, n.

l. 158. Ca. again brings in the *eldryne tre*.

l. 159. *gone* can hardly be original, as the pure Northern would be *gaa*. I suggest *wone* = dwell.

l. 160. *Medill-erthe*; A.S. *middan-earð*; Isl. *mid-garð*, the Earth, as the *middle region* of the Old Northern cosmogony.

l. 161—164. Ca. has a remarkable variation, bringing out more clearly that Thomas invokes not the lady, but the *Queene of Hewene, Mary mylde*.

l. 167. *by-teche, be-teche*; A.S. *be-tæcan*, to deliver, commit.

l. 169. *Eldone Hill*, on the Tweed, near Melrose; a mountain mass divided into three summits. See Introduction, p. xlix. Ca. again says *eldryne tre*, but the latter word is erased, and *hill* substituted.

l. 170. *derne*, secret. Ca. has *grenewode tre*, the last word obliterated, and *lee* substituted.

l. 171. Ca. had originally,

“It was derk as mydnyght myrke,”

as in Th., but this is altered to,

“Wher hit was derk as any hell.”

The former would seem to be the correct reading, though it rhymes with itself, instead of l. 169, and the attempt to make it rhyme with the latter has caused the three different readings in Ca., Co., and L.

l. 173. *montenans*, amount; glossed *space* in Ca., mistaken in L.

l. 176. *fowte* in Ca. looks like *fewte*; *fawte* is correct; Fr. *faute*, failure, want.

l. 177. *herbere*, garden of herbs or trees, enclosed garden, *later* summer-house. The original word appears to have been the O.Fr. *herbier*, a herbary, in O.E. *herber*, *erber*; but to have been confounded with the O.E. *herberze*, *hereberwe*, *herborwe*, *herbor*, *herber*, A.S. *hereberge*, Icel. *herbergi*, O.H.G. *heriberga*, harbour, shelter, hospitium. “*Wo bist du zur Herberge*,” John i. 38.—*Luther*. Then it has been misspelt in modern times *arbour* from its assumed connexion with *trees*. At Cavers, in Roxburghshire, there is a hill called the *Herber Law* or Pleasure-garden Hill (pronounced as in “to *herber* [harbour] thieves.” The *Herbere* in the poem was clearly a garden of fruit trees. Note that *Orchard* (in South Sco. *Wurtshert*) now a *garden of fruit trees*, was originally also a *garden of herbs or vegetables*, *Wyrtyeard*.

l. 180. *damasee*, the Damascene, or Damson:

“þer weore growyng so grene
þe Date wip the Damesene.”—*Pystil of Swete Susanne*.

“The plum is a native of Caucasus and Asia Minor. Cultivated varieties, according to Pliny, were brought from Syria into Greece, and thence into Italy. Such was, for instance, the *Damson* or *Damascene Plum*, which came from *Damascus* in Syria, and was very early cultivated by the Romans.”—*Treasury of Botany*, p. 932.

l. 181. *wyneberye*, the grape; A.S. *win-berize*. *pynnene* in L. is perhaps adjective from *pine*, but *fre* is no doubt for *tre*.

l. 182. T. *nyghtgale*, A.S. *nihtegale*, night-singer, night-gladdener; the others have the inserted *n*, *nyghtyn-gale*, found in the South as early as Chaucer.

l. 183. *payeiouys*; Ital. *papagallo*, i.e. Pope-cock; Sp. *papagay*; O.Fr. *papagay*, Russian *popagay*, a parrot or “popinjay;” Sc. *Papingo*.

l. 191. *or*, ere, before; “*or ever they came at the bottom of the den*,” Dan. vi. 24. *Or* is still the regular Northern form of *ere*, *antequam*.

l. 193. *hyghte*, call, command, *past* used for *present*.

l. 199. *paye*, to pacify, please, satisfy, and hence pay; Lat. *pacare*; Ital. *pagare*; Fr. *payer*.

l. 201—216. The MSS. differ much in particulars, but, with exception of Co., all make four ways, which seem to be to heaven, purgatory, and hell, and (but coming first in the list) from purgatory to heaven, "whan synful sowlis haue duryd ther peyn."

l. 204. *rysse, ryce, rese, rise*; A.S. *hris*, twig, brushwood. Still in common use in N.

l. 209—212. Wanting in Co., and varies greatly in the others. *tene & traye*, pain and trouble; A.S. *teóna* and *tréga*. *drye*, Ca. endure; A.S. *dreógan*; Sc. *dree*.

l. 219. *it bearis the belle*, occupies the first rank, surpasses all, alluding to the leader of a flock or herd which has a bell round its neck.

l. 223. *me ware leuer*, impersonal, *mihí fuerit satius*, I had rather = I would rather have it.

l. 225. Here Ca. transposes two stanzas, but the order is obvious. The lady takes the most certain means of preventing Thomas from divulging secrets by binding him to answer no one but her.

l. 230. L. *thirty bolde barons and thre*; this jingling combination of numbers distinguishes the later prophecies, and modern-antique ballads, but is not found in the earlier.

l. 231. *desse, deyce*, the raised daïs (O.Fr. *deis*; Lat. *discus*) at top of the hall.

l. 235. *as white as whelys bone*, the ivory of the narwhal or walrus.

l. 237—252. These inquisitive demands of Thomas are only in L., but seem old.

l. 250. *hir raches couplede*, her hounds having been coupled again.

l. 261. Ca. here again transposes three stanzas.

l. 267. T. *bryttened*, cut up, broke down; A.S. *brytan*, to break; *brytnian*, to dispense; L. *trytlege*, scribal error for *bryttning*, as in Ca.; *wode*, mad.

l. 274. *parde*, per deum.

l. 276. *My lusty lady sayd to me*; so all the older MSS. L. alone changes it into 3rd person,

"To hym spake that ladye fre."

l. 277. *þe buse* = (it) behoves thee; past tense, *bud, byd*, behoved; he *byd* be a fule!

l. 286. *thre zere*; Ca. says *seuen*, which is the traditional period.

l. 288. *skylle*, reason, cause, as well as the reasoning faculty.

l. 289. *to-morne*, still Northern English, "to-morn 't morn," to-morrow morning; Scotch *the morn*.

l. 290. *amange this folke will feche his fee*, refers to the common belief that the fairies "paid kane" to hell, by the sacrifice of one or more individuals to the devil every seventh year.

"Then wod I never tire, Janet,
In Elfish land to dwell;
But aye at every seven years
They pay the teind to hell;
And I'm sae fat and fair of flesh,
I fear twill be my-sell."

"I'd paid my kane seven times to hell
Ere you'd been won away."—*The Young Tamlane*.

l. 291. *hende*, gentle, also skilful.

l. 294. *hethyne*, hence; the scribes, with the exception of Co., misunderstand this Northern word, and write *heven*.

- l. 296. *I rede*, I counsel; A.S. *raedan*; Germ. *rathen*.
 l. 209. *fowles singes*; see l. 1.
 l. 301—304. This stanza, though in all, comes in very awkwardly, nor can I explain to what it refers.
 l. 303. T. *Erlis*; Ca. *yrons*, an *erne's* or sea eagle's.
 l. 306. *yon bentis browne*. L. distorts into *youre brutes browne*.
 l. 303—308. These lines are wanting in the Co. MS., which after l. 301-2 proceeds to l. 309-10, but this is first struck out, and then repeated after one blank line.

FYTTE II.

The Sloane MS. begins here. For the first 70 lines, the MSS. closely agree, though L. omits numerous passages, as all that about the Baliols, l. 324—340.

l. 313. *carpe*, speak, or sing. Thomas has the choice of excelling in instrumental, or in vocal (rather *oral*) accomplishments; he prefers the latter, "for tonge is chefe of mynstralsie."

l. 314. *chose*, the choice; often so spelled in Scotch.

"in our Inglis rethorick the rose,
 As of Rubeis the Charbunckle bene chose."—*Lyndesay, Papyngo*, 26.

l. 317. *spelle*, discourse; A.S. *spellian*; in Ca. corruptly *spill*; L. and S. gloss, *speke*.

l. 318. *lesynge*, lying, falsehood. *Lesynge thow sall neuer lee*; from this characteristic Erseldown derived the name of "True Thomas," generally given to him in the later prophecies and traditional rhymes.

l. 319. *frythe or fell*, enclosed field or open hill.

l. 324. *fery*, a wonder, strange thing or event. Usually derived from A.S. *fêrlíc*, sudden; *fêr*, fearful; but I think more truly both in form and meaning from A.S. *feorlic*, *feorlen*, far away, foreign, strange. Compare *strange* from *extrancus*.

l. 327. *wyte*; A.S. *wit-an*, to depart, decease. Ca. has *dwyne*; A.S. *dwin-an*, to pine, dwindle away.

l. 329. T. *baylliolve* for *baylliolve* or *baylliolve*; Co. *bali]oves*; S. misreads *baly of*; Ca. scribal error *folleys*; see before, l. 101, *balye* for *foly*. The Baliols' blood, the family of John Baliol, the rival of Robert Bruce for the Scottish crown, and his son Edward, rival of David Bruce.

l. 331—332. The *Comyns*, *Barclays*, *Russells*, and *Frisels*, or *Frasers*. *Semewes* in Ca. is a very simple misreading of *Comenes* in old writing, and the *Sea-mews* suggest the *teals*, *telys*, probably for *barclays*, with the *ar* contracted, of the original. The *Comyns* and *Frasers* were prominent, though on different sides, during the English War in the minority of David II. David Cumyn, the dispossessed Earl of Athol, was one of Edward Baliol's leaders, when the latter invaded Scotland in 1332, was appointed viceroy of Scotland by Edward III. in 1335, and soon after slain in the forest of Kibbleane, by Sir Andrew Moray, when, according to Buchanan, "fortissimus quisque Cuminianorum aut in praelio aut in fuga caesus est." This is the battle for which Barbour quotes a prophecy of the Rhymer, ante, p. xvii. Walter Cumyn was also slain in the Battle of Annan, 1332, and his brother Thomas executed after the battle. Of the *Frasers*, Buchanan has, "*Fraser vel Frisel*, cog. in varias familias tributum in quibus eminet Lovetiae, Saltonii, & Frasciæ Reguli, cum suis quisque tribulibus."

Alexander Fraser was one of the commanders at Dupplin, 1332; James and Simon Fraser, after capturing Perth from Baliol, were slain at Halidon Hill, 1333. Of the Barclays: in 1345 David de Berklay waylaid and assassinated William Bullock, the able English ecclesiastic so intimately connected with the intrigues of the period. Sir Walter de Berklay was also concerned in the plot against Robert Bruce, and tried before the Black Parliament of 1320, and in 1322, according to Fordun's Annals, "on the 1st of October, Andrew Barclay was taken, and having been convicted of treachery, underwent capital punishment." The *Russels* I cannot trace; and the word may be a scribal error for some of the other names conspicuous in the history of the period—the *Rosseis*, for instance.

l. 333. *wyte, dwyne*. See l. 327.

l. 335. *spraye*, to spread out, sprout out, like *spray* of water, or a *spray* of blossom; Platt-Deutsch *sprenden, spreën*; G. *sprühen*, to sputter, flow forth.

l. 341—348. Thomas's inquiry is as to the issue of the doubtful contest between the Bruce and Baliol families, 1332—1355.

l. 341. *whatkyns*, of what kind; used adjectively, "what kind of" *qualis*.

l. 344. *thryue* and *thee* (A.S. *þeom*) are synonymous; S. changes to *vnthrive*.

l. 345. *none*; *tane* in l. 347 shows that the original had the Northern *nane*.

l. 352. Co. *halyndon hill*; L. *helydowne hill*; T. and L. *Eldone*; Ca. *ledyn* for *Eldyn*. I think there is little doubt, though the two oldest MSS. say otherwise, that the Battle of Halidon Hill, 1333, is meant. "So great was the slaughter of the nobility, that, after the battle, it was currently said amongst the English that the Scottish wars were at last ended, since not a man was left of that nation who had either skill or power to assemble an army or direct its operations."—*Tytler*, quoting *Murimuth*, p. 81. But there may have been a legendary prophecy as to Eldone Hill, which was after the event changed to Halidown Hill, as "Spincarde Clough" was to Pinkie-cleuch.

l. 353—354. *Breton's*—*Bruyse blode*, the common terms in this Fytte for *English* and *Scotch*. The English claims to the superiority of Scotland were founded upon the Cymric version of the legend of the Trojan *Brutus*, from whom the name of Britain was "derived," who was said to have divided the realm, after he had conquered it from the giants, between his three sons, Locrinus, Cymber, and Albanactus, eponyms of English, Welsh, and Scotch, with the feudal supremacy to Locrinus. Thus adopting the *Brute*, *Breton*, or *British* legend, the English were the *Brutes* or *Bretons blode*. There was, of course, an alliterative antithesis between *Bretons* and *Bruces*; but in some of the MSS. the latter word might be either *Bruces* or *Brutes*, confounding the two opposites. I have printed *Bruces*, the word originally meant, though perhaps the scribes thought it *Brutes*.

l. 354. *spraye*; Gaelic *spreidh*, booty, prey. Gawain Douglas has *spreith, spreicht*.

l. 357. The foregoing passage refers to a cluster of events in the minority of David II., 1332—1345. They seem to have been written at that time. What follows to the end of the Fytte, and perhaps even to l. 520 in Fytte III., is a general sketch of battles and other events in Scotland from 1298 to 1400 or so, and was probably written about the latter date, when the poem took its present form. l. 357—364 refer to the battle of *Falkirk* (S. and L. do not understand the proper name); Ca. Co. and L. erroneously make the Scotch win.

l. 367—376. The lady wishes to go because her hounds are impatient. Thomas detains her, giving (in Ca. only) a reason.

1. 371. *god schilde*, Dieu defende! God defend! God forbid.

1. 375. *Ca. reyke*, roam, ramble.

holtely or ? *holteby* I cannot explain; it is probably a proper name. *Holt* is of course a *wood*, but it is a word not now current in the North.

1. 377—388. The battle of Bannockburn, June, 1314; here all the MSS. agree that the *Brucys-blode* shall win, though *Ca.* corrupts to *Brutys*, and *L.* to *Ebruy*s (!).

1. 379—380 seem to be the origin of the traditional prophecy attributed to Thomas (ante, p. xlv),

“The burn of breid
Sall rin fu’ reid.”

a *bannock* being a cake of (home made) bread.

1. 381—385 describe the well-known device of Bruce of defending his flank by pits dug, and concealed by hurdles and turf. *snapre L.* = stumble.

1. 389, 390. The death of Robert Bruce, leaving a son of 6 years old, so that Scotland kingless stood.

1. 391—412. The *tercelet*, or young falcon, is Edward Baliol, who now seeing his opportunity took with him *tercelettes grete & gay*, the dispossessed lords, Henry Percy, Lord Wake, Henry Beaumont, David Cumyn and others, and landed (l. 401) at Wester Kinghorn, 1332, where Alexander Seton, with a handful of follovers, threw themselves upon them, but was overpowered and cut in pieces on the sands (l. 402). They then pushed on towards Perth, surprised the Scottish army at Duplin Moor, by the River Earn, which flows over the old red-sandstone (ll. 403—408), with great slaughter, and next day took Perth, the “town of great renown near the water of Tay.”

1. 400. *T. Royalle blode*; *S. baly of blod*, corruptly for *Balyolues blode*, as in *Co.*

1. 414. *cheuede*, achieved. 1. 415. *bowne*, ready.

1. 416. *the werre of Fraunce*. Edward III., thinking Scotland reduced under Baliol, declared war against France in 1337, and in 1339 invaded that country.

1. 417—436. The text is here in great confusion, none of the MSS. apparently being complete. The event itself is also misplaced, as the coronation of David II. really occurred before Baliol’s invasion, and not now (1341) when he returned from his exile in France to reign. *Ca.* does not mend the matter by reading *Robert*, as the events which follow belong to David.

1. 427, 428 in *L.* refer to the special bull obtained from Rome for the anointing of David II.

1. 423. *More and myne*, greater and lesser.

1. 425. *skyme*, *T.*, error for *Skyne* = *Scone* or *Skune*.

1. 427. *beryns* = *bernys*; *A.S. beorn*, chieftains, barons, nobles.

1. 429—448. David II.’s invasion of England in 1346, six years after his return from France, when he took Hexham (l. 431); was defeated at Beaufort, close to Durham (l. 433, 434); and himself, after being grievously wounded (l. 440), taken prisoner (l. 444), and led to London (l. 447).

1. 430. *lygges*, lies (*A.S. liegan*); the Northern form still well-known.

1. 437. *taggad*, *togged*, confined, encumbered, for *tane* of *T.*, *Ca.* has *teyryd*, ? for *tepryd*, *tethered*.

1. 439. *nebbe*, nose; *A.S. nyb*.

1. 441, 442. *fode*, a brood. The *fals fode*, who betray the king, points to the High

Steward, and the Earl of March, who escaped with their division from the field, and were blamed for not adequately supporting David.

l. 448. *the goshawke fynd his Make*, David II. find his *mate* or consort, Joanna, sister of Edward III.

l. 453—456 I cannot explain, unless they refer to the slaughter in Ettrick Forest of the Knight of Liddesdale, who had been gained over to the English interest by Edward.

l. 457—460 describe the great exertions made in Scotland to raise the enormous sum of the king's ransom (equal to £1,200,000 of modern money); for *fulle and fere* I suggest *falle and fese*, or *Wolle and fell*, full many *ane*. The money was principally raised by granting to the king all the wool and wool-fells in the kingdom at a low rate, to be exported and sold at a profit abroad.

l. 464. *bygge & browke the tre*, apparently to *build* (their nests) and *use* or enjoy the tree.

l. 467. Robert II., the first of the Stewarts, ascended the throne 26 March, 1371.

l. 469—484. The *Cheuanteyne* or *Cheftan* is the Earl of Douglas (l. 480), who invaded England 1388, burned and plundered, especially in the bishopric of Durham (l. 473-4), rode to Newcastle, and challenged Hotspur (l. 475-6), and was by him overtaken and slain at Otterbourne, in a marsh by the Reed (l. 477—480). Hotspur was taken prisoner (l. 481) and led to Scotland.

l. 479. *in fere*, together, in company (A.S. *gefera*).

l. 480. *Co. doglas*, i. e. Douglas; misunderstood, and variously corrupted in the others.

l. 486. The original seems to have been as in l. 306, *Me by-houis ower yone bentis browne*, variously corrupted in L. and S.

FYTTE III.

The first stanza, wanting in Ca. and S., differs greatly in the others.

l. 489. *gente*, handsome, elegant; *hende*, see l. 291.

l. 492. *worthe*, become, A.S. *weorðan*.

l. 494. *wandrethe*, trouble, sorrow. Isl. *vandræði*; *woghe*, A.S. *woh*, injustice, wrong; *wankill*, A.S. *wancol*, unstable, shaky.

l. 496. *spynkarde cloughe, slough, spynar hill*; I can find no trace of this locality, and do not know if it refers to any actual event (unless it be the skirmish between Sir John Gordon and Lilburn "in a mountain pass" on the border, in 1378); but it was quoted in the later prophecies as *Pinken* or *Pinkie cleuch*.

l. 505—512 perhaps refer to the invasion of Scotland and siege of Edinburgh by Henry IV. in 1400, although it more recalls that of Richard II. in 1385.

l. 509. T. *Senbery* is a curious error for *Edinbery*, but very simply made in the MS.

l. 513—516, a repetition of l. 409—412 in the preceding Fytte.

l. 521. From this point the prophecies are not historical; they constitute a series of legendary predictions. They are principally occupied by three battles, that between Seton and the Sea, and those of Gladsmoor and Sandyford, and the career of "the Bastard out of the west," which I take to be a distorted Arthurian legend. These four ideas fill all the later prophecies, Scottish and English alike, of the battles. Dr Robert Chambers says:—"It is broadly notable throughout the history of early prophecy in

Scotland, how strongly the notion was impressed that there was to be a great and bloody conflict near Seton, or at the adjacent Gladsmuir, both in East Lothian [about 7 miles E. of Edinburgh]. There had existed, before the battle of Pinkie (1547), a prophetic rhyme:

Between Seton and the sea,
Mony a man shall die that day.

And we know that the rhyme and the day were so from the following passage in Patten's *Account of the Expedition of the Duke of Somerset*, printed in 1548: 'This battell and feld [Pinkie] the Scottes and we are not yet agreed how it shall be named. We cal it Muskelborough felde, because that is the best towne (and yet bad inough) nigh to the place of our meeting. Sum of them cal it Seton felde (a towa thear nigh too), by means of a blind prophecy of theirs, which is this or sum such toye: Betwene Seton and the seye, many a man shall dye that day.' The same rhyme is incorporated in the long irregular and mystical poems which were published as the prophecies of Thomas in 1615. We humbly think that our countrymen strained a point to make out the battle of Pinkie as the fulfilment of a conflict at Seton, which is four or five miles distant; not to speak of the preciseness of the prophecy in indicating *between Seton and the sea*.

"That there should be a great and bloody fight at Gladsmuir appears in the old Scotch prophecies. A traditionary one, attributed as usual to 'True Thomas,' bare reference to the fate of Foveran Castle in Aberdeenshire, long ago the seat of a family named Turing:

'When Turing's Tower falls to the land,
Gladsmuir then is nigh at hand:
When Turing's Tower falls to the sea,
Gladsmuir the next year shall be.'

A local writer about 1720 (*View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, Spalding Club*) gives this rhyme, and adds: 'It seems that Gladsmuir is to be a very decisive battle for Scotland; but if one fancy the place of it to be Gladsmuir on the coast of East Lothian, he will find himself mistaken; for

'It shall not be Gladsmoor by the sea,
But Gladsmoor wherever it be.'

[See before, p. xxxv; also the English Prophecy in Appendix II. l. 80.] That is, the number of corpses will make it a resort of birds of prey, and so a *Gled's muir*.

"When the battle of Prestonpans took place in 1745, the victorious Highlanders were for calling it 'Gladsmuir,' in reference to the old prophecy [see before, p. xli, xlii]; but in truth, the scene of conflict was nearly as far from Gladsmuir as Pinkie was from Seton. It must be admitted to have been near to Seton, though not strictly *betwixt Seton and the Sea*."—*Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 218.

The "Whole Prophecies of Scotland, &c.," 1603, already discussed (p. xxx), are full of references to these battles. But they were equally famous in England, as is shown by the prose prophecy of 1529, quoted in Appendix II. from the Sloane MS., and many other references in the same volume. At an earlier date, the Battle of Barnet, doubtless on account of the enormous carnage by which it was distinguished, as well as its decisive effect on the Wars between York and Lancaster, was called by contemporaries the Battle of Gladsmoor. In the following quotation from Holinshed, the name occurs as belonging to the site, but I suspect it was an *ex post facto* one: "Hervyon removed

they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaie betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmore heath, on the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 684.

Compare Dravton, *Polyolbion*, Song xxii (Chalmers's English Poets, vol. iv. p. 345):—

"the armies forward make,
And meeting on the plain to Barnet very near,
That to this very day is called Gladmore there."

As to *Sandyford*, I can offer no conjecture, even of the place hinted at; but the battle at Sandyford is equally prominent in the other Scottish and English prophecies, as in the following, culled from the Sloane MS. already quoted:—

"Ouer Sandiford shalbe sorowes sene on the southe side on a mondaye, where gromes shall grone on a grene, besides englefield yere standethe a Castelle on a mountaine Clif the which shall doo yeir enemyes tene, & save england yat daye./ (leaf 41 a.)

"At Sandiford betwix ij parkes a pallace & a parishe church, a hardy prince downe shall lyghte. troye vntrue yen shall tremble & quake yat daye for feare of a deade man when yei heare him speake. all thoffyceris yerin shall caste him the keyes, from vxbridge to hownslowe y^e bushment to breake, and fare as a people that weare wudd. the ffather shall sleve y^e sone y^e brother y^e brother, y^t all London shall renn bludde." (leaf 44 b.)

l. 541—544. A vivid picture of the desolation to be produced; this seems the origin of one of the traditional sayings of Thomas quoted on p. xliv:

"A horse sal gang on Carolside brae,
Till the red girth gaw his side in twae."

Carolside, properly *Crawhillside*, lies on the bank of the Leader about a mile above Earlstoun.

l. 549. T. omits *baners*. This line and the next in Ca. have been overwritten so as to make the original words irrecoverable. The words *eneglych shal rone away* have thus been inserted, probably for *nyght shal dee*.

l. 553. *trews*, the correct singular; of which *trewis*, *trewes*, *truce* is properly the plural. Fr. *trève*, *trèves*.

l. 555. *dere*, A.S. *derian*, to hurt, harm.

l. 557. *betwene twa sainte Marye dayes*. The same date is given to Gladsmoor in the English prose prophecy in Appendix III.

l. 560. S. *claydon moore*, above this in the MS. *dvnnes more* is written, referring perhaps to Dunse Moor, and the "Warden Raid" of 1378.

Ca. *gleydes more*, the moor of the *gleydes* or kites; but in the next stanza in Ca. only, and evidently an afterthought, the word is played on as *glads-moor*. This stanza is quoted in the prophecy of Bertlington, ante, p. xxxvi, and in many other prophecies, Scotch and English.

l. 565—576. See as to the Crow and the Raven, Introduction, p. xxxii, &c.

l. 576. *wayloway*, A.S. *wá lá wá, wo! O wo!*

l. 577—604. In T. only (where also l. 592—604 are lost) contain a list of the lords described by their armorial bearings, by which they might no doubt still be identified. "The publication of predictions, either printed or hieroglyphical, in which noble

families were pointed out by their armorial bearings, was, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, extremely common; and the influence of such predictions on the minds of the common people was so great as to occasion a prohibition, by statute, of prophecy by reference to heraldic emblems. Lord Henry Howard also directs against this practice much of the reasoning in his learned treatise, entitled 'A Defensation against the Poyson of Pretended prophecies.'—Scott, *Border Minstreley*.

l. 619. *boune*, ready, prepared.

l. 621—644. In great confusion in the MSS. Ca. seems to transpose two stanzas, putting the death of the bastard before Sandyford, while the others put it last, and make it the cause of the lady's emotion. S. agrees with Co. and L. so far as these are entire, in the order of the stanzas, but as elsewhere mixes up their lines greatly.

l. 625. *braye*, T. had probably *braa*, a brae, or steep incline. Ca. corruptly *wroo*.

l. 633. *Remnerdes*, what this word is corrupted for cannot be ascertained through the defects in the other MSS.

l. 635. *dyng*, Isl. *denga*, Sw. *dänga*, to knock, push violently, drive.

l. 640. *bod-word*, message.

l. 644. *that mycull may*, who hast great might.

l. 651. *ladys shall wed laddys zong*; compare the Harleian prophecy, addressed to the Countess of March, "When laddes weddeth lovedies," and Waldhaue's quotation of Thomas's prophecy, ante, p. xxxix.

l. 660. S. *annes*, perhaps rather *aunes*. *Blak Agnes of Donbar*, the heroic daughter of Earl Thomas Randolph, and wife of Patrick Earl of March, so famed for her defence of the Castle of Dunbar, which, in absence of her husband, she held for five months (1338) against the assault of an English army, led by the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, and at last obliged them to raise the siege. Her husband's career was marked by much oscillation between Scotland and England, and his son finally took the English side, which may account for the hostility to the family here displayed. Thomas of Erceldowne lived a whole generation earlier than Black Agnes, and it is probable that traditions of his relation with an earlier Countess of March, who was "sothely lady at arsyldone" (see Introd., p. xi, xiv), were transferred to her more famous successor.

l. 661—664 differ much in Ca. and Co. The latter is doubtless the original.

l. 664. *ploos*, Ca. looks as like *plees* or *ploes*. l. 666. *the*, thrive, flourish.

l. 672. *magrat*, O.Fr. *malgrat*, *maugret*, in spite of.

The conclusion, l. 673—700, differs a good deal in the four MSS. which possess it. Co. being fullest, T. next, and perhaps had all the original text. S. is roughly curtailed.

l. 695. *Helmesdale* in Sutherland, in the far north, whence fairies and witches were believed to come.

APPENDIXES I. AND II.

IT is not very easy to define the relations between these two compositions, which have about 70 lines in common at the beginning, but are otherwise entirely different. Apparently, the original nucleus consisted of a prophecy referring to the Wars of the

ERCHILDOUN.

f

Roses, and the Battle of Glad-moor, seemingly identified with Barnet. This seems to be preserved in lines 1—44, and 73—180 of the English prophecy. Afterwards this composition was extended to embrace the early fortunes of the House of Tudor, and the Battle of Flodden, and probably at this time, 1515—1525, the episode of the English and Scottish knight, l. 45—72, which comes in very awkwardly, was introduced, as well as the later part of the poem. The compiler of the Scottish prophecy then borrowed this introduction as far as line 72, and made it the commencement of a different account of the Battle of Flodden suited to Scottish needs, and alluding, l. 119, to the idea long cherished that James IV. did not die in the battle. Apparently, after the Battle of Pinkie, 1547, and perhaps about the time of the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, 1558, this was rewritten with interpolations referring to these events—lines 193 and 194 being cleverly adapted from l. 496 of the Romance of Thomas, and lines 239—244 from “the Prophecy of Bertlington:” see ante, p. xxxvi. The copy printed in 1603, and here followed, is much modernized, and bears traces in every line of the original having been pure northern. Thus in l. 65, *gone* must have been *went*; l. 69, *said* for *saw*; l. 71, *two* for *twa*; l. 79, *so* for *swa*, rhyming with *ta* = *take*; l. 114—121, the rhyme breaks down, and the text is in confusion; l. 139, *two* for *twa*, rhyming with *na ma*, changed into *no more* in l. 141; l. 146, *hurte and woe* for *trouble and tene*, rhyming with *shene*; l. 163 is corrupt; l. 171, *blew* for *bla*, rhyming with *sla* in 173, and in l. 178, 180, *blew, two*, for *bla, twa*; l. 182, 184, *goe, slay* for *ga, sla*; l. 224, *stone* for *stane*. Many lines and pairs of lines are also lost at various places. Perhaps one day an older and more perfect copy may be found.

APPENDIX II. I have ventured to apply to this a title recorded by Sir David Lyndesay, about 1528 (*The Dreame*, l. 43), which agrees also with the rubric at end of the MS. It is found in the Lansdowne MS. of 1529, which supplies one of the texts of the Romance of Thomas, and in the Rawlinson MS. C. 813, of a later date. The Lansdowne is evidently a copy by a southern scribe of an older northern text, the true readings of which he has often mistaken and made into nonsense. Still more frequently the rhyme has been injured in the transliteration, as in lines 229—236, where the rhyming words *blowe, lee*; *knowe, swaye*; *fall, hie*; *call, dye*, represent an original *blaw, le*; *know, swe*; *fa', he*; *ca', de*. The Rawlinson copy is still more modernized, and as a whole weaker, but it contains fewer absolute blunders, and so often enables us to restore the sense of the original. Only the more important of its variations are here given as notes to the Lansdowne text; but occasionally where the latter is very corrupt, it is relegated to the notes (there marked L.), and the Rawl. reading placed in the text. Words, &c., added from R. in the text are in brackets.

The last historical event recorded in it is the Battle of Flodden, or rather the capture of Tournay by Henry VIII. a few days later. Its date is no doubt shortly after this, and nearer to 1515 than 1525. England is of course still faithful to Rome, and the pope occupies a prominent place in the concluding events; but in the Rawlinson copy, curiously enough, the word “pope,” wherever it occurs, is struck out by a line drawn across it, a witness to the feelings of a later date.

Besides the ascription at the end, the authorities for the different sections of the prophecy are cited at l. 135, as “saint Bede;” l. 291, “bredlynton;” l. 292, “bede;” l. 294, “Arseldowne;” l. 346, “Arsalldoune;” l. 380, “Merlyon;” l. 409, “Marlyon;” l. 444, “Arse[l]doun;” l. 445, “the holly man that men calles Bede.” Opposite some of these the name is repeated in larger letters in the margin; thus, opposite

to l. 346, *Arysdon*; opp. l. 380, *Merlyon*; opp. l. 409, *Marlyon*; opp. lines 428 and 445, *Bede*.

l. 15, 16. Comp. l. 195, 196 of *Thomas*.

l. 21, &c. Comp. the description of the lady in l. 41 of *Thomas*.

l. 45—72. An interpolation dislocating the natural sequence between the l. 44 and 73. The two knights, St George and St Andrew, of course symbolize England and Scotland.

l. 60 *bis*. a superfluous line, interpolated as if the first of next stanza. Allowed for in R. by omitting l. 72; but of course the proper one to omit was l. 68.

l. 68. Note the Anglo-Saxon and Danish 'burgh and by.'

l. 70. *wrong heyres*. e. g. Henry IV., Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII.

l. 72. The fling at the Scots here and in line 183 indicates an English author.

l. 73 naturally follows 44. The Lady having consecrated the ground, now declares that it will be the site of the battle of *Gladmoor* (? *Barnet*), and vanishes. The writer applies to the "lytell man" to give him more distinct information about Gladmoor; the latter predicts the dissension (between the Nevilles and Woodvilles); the son fighting against the father (Clarence and Warwick); falsehood and envy (the House of York) reigning in England for 33 years. (The Duke of York took up arms in 1452, and the Battle of Bosworth was in 1485.) A king reigning without righteousness (Edward IV.); then a break when "he that hath England hent (Warwick) shall be made full lowe to light." Two princes have their deaths with treason dight; then when all expect peace, the landing of Henry VII. and Battle of Bosworth. Henry is crowned, and known as the "king of covatyce." "The fourth leaf of the tree (the house of York) dies, that lost hath bowes moo"—almost all the descendants of Edward III. are extinct; traitors taste the Tower (Warwick and ? Richard, Duke of York, nicknamed by the Tudors, Perkin Warbeck), and Henry VII. dies.

l. 77. gladismore that shall glad vs all,
yt shalbe gladyng of oure glee;

identical with lines 561-2 of *Thomas*.

l. 79. yt shalbe gladmore wher euer yt fall,
but not gladmore by the see.

Also in the prophecy of Bertlington, p. xxxv; and see *Notes* to l. 521 of *Thomas*.

l. 181—284 describe the Battle of Flodden, naming the localities of Millfield, Branxton, and Flodden itself. The "red lion" is of course James IV.; the "white lyon," Sir Edmund Howard; and the "Admyrall," Thomas Howard, who commanded the English right. The MS. (Lansd. 762) contains, on leaf 70, a contemporary explanation of the emblems under which various persons are designated in the prophecies. They include the following:—

The mowlle the Erle of Westmerlonde.
The wolffe the lorde Martyns.
The mone the Erle of Northumberlonde.
The Blew bore Erle of Oxforde.
The Red dragoun barne of Clyfforde.

The white Lyoun Duke of Norfolk.
The Crepawde Rex Frauncie.
The Red Lyoun Rex Scotorum.
The Lylve the Duke of Lancaster.
Pye, Lorde Ryvers.

The Scots are referred to in l. 250 and 298 as "*Albenactes blode*," from the legendary Albanactus, son of Brutus, eponymus of the *Albannaich* or Scottish Celts.

l. 285. "*The prynce that is beyonde the flode*" (Henry VIII. now in France) takes two townes (Terouanne and Tournay).

l. 296. An allusion to True Thomas's absence from earth, which the later tradition extends to seven years. See *Thomas*, l. 286, Cambridge Text.

l. 297. The passage commencing here may originally have referred to the arrival in Scotland of the Duke of Albany, already mentioned more than once; but at this point the "prophecy" ceases to be historical.

l. 305. *stanis more*, this battle figures also in the prose prophecy in Appendix III.

l. 317. "*A king*" or "*duke of Denmark*," and "*the black fleet of Norway*," shew that even now, five hundred years after their invasions had come to an end, the name of the Danes and Norseman was still mentioned in terror.

l. 341. *sondysfurth*, on the south side, and l. 371, "*beside a well there is a stronde*," compare the prophecy of Merlyne, p. xxxiii, and the prose prophecy in Appendix III.; see also l. 624—632 of *Thomas*, and *Notes* to l. 521 of the Romance.

l. 373. *Snapeys-more* is referred to also in the prose prophecy, Appendix III.

l. 385—388. *Gladmore* and its doubtful issue; see in *Thomas*, l. 549—560.

l. 405—408. The "*okes thre*" and the "*headless cross of stone*," compare *Thomas*, l. 569—578, and l. 629, 630. See also various similar passages in "the Whole Prophecies of Scotland."

l. 543. "*In the vale of Josephate shall he dye*." So in the end of the "koke of the north" prophecy, edited by Mr Lumby; see ante, p. xxxii, and *Thomas*, l. 641, "The bastarde shall dye in the holy land."

l. 609. *he sayd*, "*a long time thou holdest me here*;" compare the lady's repeated remonstrances in *Thomas*.

l. 627. *when he thynketh tyme to talle*. Query *too tall*, i. e. *too long*; or error for *to calle*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION.

EARLSTOUN CHURCH AND RYMOUR'S STONE.—In part correction of the note to p. xiii Mrs C. Wood of Galashiels, a native of Earlstoun, writes:—"The present church was renewed in 1736, but there are many stones in the churchyard as old as 1600, and the bell, which was cast in Holland, bears the date of 1609. The older building stood a few yards further forward, more to the south. Chambers, in his 'Picture of Scotland,' says that the inscription on the stone built into the wall of Earlstoun Church was defaced by a person named Waterstone, who considered it interfered with his right of property to the burial-place. I believe that this is quite correct, and also that the characters of the former inscription were very ancient. In a plan I have of the churchyard, made in 1842, there are 16 graves belonging to 'Lermonts,' 11 of which lie in a row, and the first of these has the date 1564. But none of the Learmont graves are near the church; in fact, there is only one gravestone in the vicinity of the Rhymer's Stone, and this belongs to the Waterstones." This disposes of any inference in favour of Rymour's name having been Learmont.

HAIG OF BEMERSIDE, p. xliii.—In the account of the family of Haig, written by the Earl of Buchan, we find: "Zerubabel Haig, 17th Baron of Bemerside, who married Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of Thomas Gordon, Esq., Clerk to the Court of Justiciary,

by whom he had one son and twelve daughters. This Zerubabel Haig died in 1752." This was the gentleman referred to by Sir Walter Scott.

RHYMER'S THORN, p. xlix.—Mr James Wood, Galashiels, says, "Rhymer's Thorn stood in a garden belonging to the Black Bull Inn, occupied by a man named Thin. It was a large tree, and sending out its roots in all directions, it absorbed much of the growing power of the soil. Thin set his son to cut the roots all round, and clear the garden of them. This was in the spring of 1814, and the Thorn which had defied the blasts of probably 900 years, now shorn of its roots, succumbed shortly after to a violent westerly gale. It was immediately replanted, with several cart loads of manure dug in round about it; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of the people to keep it alive, it never took root again. In 1830 the ground on which it stood came into the possession of the late John Spence, writer, Earlstoun, who built a high wall round the garden, leaving a square opening near the top to mark the site of the tree.

"The Thorn is described by John Shiel, a native of Earlstoun, 12 years old when the tree was blown down, and now 73, as 'the grandest tree ever I saw; it was a big tree, wi' a trunk as thick as a man's waist, an' its branches were a perfect circle, an' sae round i' the tap! I' the spring it was a solid sheet o' white flourishin', scentin' the whole toon end, an' its haws—there was na the like o' them in a' Scotland! they were the biggest haws ever I saw in my life; ay, I've been up the tree scores o' times pu'ing them when I was a laddie.'

"Rhymer's Thorn must have been an object of the utmost veneration to the people of Earlstoun, as they believed their prosperity to be bound up in its existence; and on the day it was blown down, a great many people ran with bottles of Wine and Whisky, and threw their contents on it, so as, if possible, to preserve it alive. It was always said that the Rhymer prophesied that Earlstoun should prosper so long as the Thorn stood; and it was a remarkable coincidence that the year it was blown down all the merchants in Earlstoun 'broke.'"

THOMAS'S DISAPPEARANCE, p. l.—"The late Mr Whale, who was a great repository of the traditions of Earlstoun, said, that the Public House, at the door of which the Rhymer sat when the white hind went through the village, stood in the Close, behind the present Reading-Room. There is, however, another tradition known in Earlstoun connected with the sudden disappearance of Thomas. It is said, that on the night when he so mysteriously disappeared, he had attended a banquet given by the Earl of March at his Castle in Earl's Town, and on his way home to the Tower was waylaid and murdered, either by some of the neighbouring barons, or by agents of the Earl of March, to whom he was an object of fear and dislike, in consequence of his close and intimate friendship with Sir William Wallace. The road between Earl's Town and Ersildoun passed in those days to the south of the present road, and a large two-handed sword, which was dug up a good many years ago in the garden (through which the old road is said to have crossed) of the late Mr George Noble, was purchased lately by a descendant of the Earlstoun Learmonts, on account of its supposed connection with this tradition."—C. W.

"This 'sword of Thomas the Rhymer' was a huge two-handed sword, in pretty good preservation. From the form of handle, it may have possibly been of the 12th or 13th century."—A. C.

THE OLD HARLEIAN PROPHECY, p. xviii.

I DID not think of insulting the reader by a translation of this, but as I have been asked more than once "what does it mean?" here it is:—

The Countess of Dunbar asked Thomas of Erceldoune when the Scottish war should have an end, and he answered her and said :

When people have (*man has*) made a king of a capped man ;
 When another man's thing is dearer to one than his own ;
 When Loudyon [or *London?*] is Forest, and Forest is field ;
 When hares litter on the hearth-stone ;
 When Wit and Will war together ;
 When people make stables of churches, and set castles with styes.
 When Roxburgh is no burgh, and market is at Forwylee ;
 When the old is gone and the new is come that is worth [or *do*] nought ;
 When Bannockburn is dinged with dead men ;
 When people lead men in ropes to buy and to sell ;
 When a quarter of 'indifferent' wheat is exchanged for a colt of 10 merks ;
 When pride rides on horseback, and peace is put in prison ;
 When a Scot cannot hide like a hare in form that the English shall not find him ;
 When right and wrong assent together ;
 When *lads* marry *ladies* ;¹
 When Scots flee so fast, that for want of ships, they drown themselves.
 When shall this be ? Neither in thy time nor in mine ;
 But [shall] come and go within twenty winters and one.

¹ In the 14th, of course, and not the 19th century meaning of these words, when the "lads" in a shop may wed the "ladies" behind the counter, without any disparity. But *lads* have "looked up," and *ladies* gone, well-a-day ! a long way down, since Thomas's time ; although in old-fashioned country districts the farm-servants are still "the lads," and the daughters of the baron "the leddies."

One might suppose that Shakspeare had these lines in view, where he makes the Fool in *Lear* (Act III. Scene ii.) parody these species of composition :

"He speake a Prophecie ere I go :

When Priests are more in word, then matter ;
 When Brewers marre their malt with water ;
 When Nobles are their Taylors Tutors
 No Heretiques burn'd, but wenches Sutors ;
 When euery Case in Law, is right ;
 No Squire in debt, nor no poore Knight ;
 When slanders do not liue in Tongues ;
 Nor Cut-purses come not to throngs ;

When Vsurers tell their Gold i' th' Field ;
 And Baudes, and whores, do churches build ;
 Then shal the Realme of *Albion*,
 Come to great confusion ;
 Then comes the time, who liues to see 't
 That going shalbe vs'd with feet.
 This prophecie *Merlin* shall make, for I liue
 before his time."

Thomas Off Erseldoune.

[Thornton MS. leaf 149, back, col. 1.]

Lystyns, lordyngs, bothe grete & smale,
And takis gude tente what j wil saye :
I saH 3ow telle als trewe a tale,
Als euer was herde by nyghte or daye : 4
And þe maste merueHe ffor owttynne naye,
That euer was herde by-fore or syene,
And þer-fore pristly j 3ow praye,
That 3e wil of 3oure talkyng blyne. 8
It es an harde thyng for to saye,
Of doghety dedis þat hase bene done ;
Of felle feghtyngs & batells sere ;
And how þat þir knyghtis hase wonne þair schone. 12
Bot jhesu crist þat syttis in trone,
Safe ynglysche mene bothe ferre & nere ;
And j saH telle 3ow tyte and sone,
Of Batells donne sythene many a 3ere ; 16
And of batells þat done saH bee ;
In whate place, and howe, and whare ;
And wha saH hafe þe heghere gree,
And whethir partye saH hafe þe werre ; 20
Wha saH takk þe flyghte and flee,
And wha saH dye and by-leue thare :
Bot jhesu crist, þat dyed on tre,
Saue ynglysche mene whare-so þay fare. 24

[*Thornton, continued.*]

[FYTTE THE FIRSTE.]

Als j me wente þis Endres daye,
 fluH faste in mynd makand my
 mone,

In a mery mornynge of Maye,
 By huntle bankkes my selfe allone, 28
 I herde þe jaye, & þe throstyH cokke,
 The Mawys menyde hir of hir songe,
 þe wodewale beryde als a beHe,
 That aHe þe wode a-bowte me ronge. 32
 Allonne in longynge thus als j laye,
 Vndyrene the a semely tree,
 j whare a lady gaye
 ouer a longe lee. 36
 If j solde sytt to domesdaye, [col. 2]
 With my tonge, to wrobbe and wrye,
 Certanely þat lady gaye,
 Neuer bese scho askryede for mee. 40
 Hir palfraye was a dappiH graye,

Swylke one ne saghe j neuer none ;
 Als dose þe sonne on someres daye,
 þat faire lady hir selfe scho schone. 48
 Hir seHe it was of roeHe bone,
 fluH semely was þat syghte to see !
 Steffy sett with precyous stones,
 And compaste aH with crapotee, 52
 Stones of Oryente, grete plente ;
 Hir hare abowte hir hede it hange ;
 Scho rade ouer þat lange lee ; 55
 A whylle scho blewe, a-noþer scho sange.

THORNTON

[*Cotton, Vitell. E. x. leaf 240, back.*]¹Incipit prophecia Thome Arselton
[¹ col. 1]

IN a lande as I was lent,
 In þe grykyng of þe day,

Me a lone as I went,
 In huntle bankys me for to play.
 I sawe þ^e throstyl & þe lay ;
 þe mawes movyde of hyr songe ;
 þe wodwale sange notes gay,
 þat all þe wod a boutte range.
 In þat longynge as I lay,
 vndir nethe a dern tre,
 I was war of a lady gay,
 Come rydyng ouyr a fayre le.
 30gh I sulde sitt to domysday,
 With my tonge to wrabbe & wry,
 Sertenly, all hyr aray,
 It beth neuer discryuyd for me.
 hyr palfra was dappyll gray,

Syche on say I neuer none ;
 . . . als son in somers day,
 All abowte þat lady schone.
 hyr sadyl was of a jewel bone,
 A semely syzt it was to se ;
 . [w]roght with mony a precyouse stone,
 And compasyd all with crapote.
 Stones of [t]osrt gret plente ;
 a boutte hyr hede it hang ;
 þe fair le
 shee blewe anoþer she sange.

COTTON

[Lansdowne 762, leaf 24.]

[Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff., leaf 119.]

[FOOT THE FIRST.]

[FYTTE THE FIRSTE.]

As I me went this thender day,
So styll makyng my Mone,

As I me went þis Andrys day,
fast on my way makyng my mone,

In a Mery Mornyng of May,
In huntly bankes My self alone, 28
I harde the Meryll and the Iay,
the Maner Menede of hir song,
the wylde wode-wale song notes gay, 31
that alle the shawys abowte hem Rong.

In a mery mornyng of may,
Be huntley bankis my self alone,
I herde þe iay, & þe throstell,
þe mavys menynd in hir song,
þe wodewale farde as a bell.
þat þe wode aboute me rong.

¶ But in a loning, as I lay,
Vnder neth a semely tre,
I saw where a lady gay
Cam rydyng ouer a louely le. 36
thowh that I leue styll tyll domys day,
with any my tonge to worble or were,
The certayn sothe of hir Array
May neuer be descreued for me. 40

Alle in a longyng, as I lay,
Vndurneth a cumly tre,
Saw I wher a lady gay
Came ridand ouer a louely le.
ʒif I shuld sitte till domusday,
Alle with my tong to know & se,
Sertenly, alle hur aray,
Shalle hit neuer be scryed for me.
Hir palfray was of dappull gray,

¶ Hir palfray was of daply gray,
The farest Molde that any myght be ;
here sadell bryght as any day. [leaf 24, bk]
Set with pereles to þe kne. 44

And furthermore of hir Aray,
Diuers clothing she had vpon ;
And as the sonne in somerys day,
Forsouthe the ladye here sylffe shone. 48

Sike on se I neuer non ;
As dose þe sune on somers day,
þe cumly lady hir selfe schone.
hir sadill was of reuyll bone,
Semely was þat sight to se !
Stify sette with precious ston,
Compaste aboute with crapote, 52
Stonys of oryons, gret plente ;
hir here aboute hir hed hit hong
She rode out ouer þat louely le
A while she blew, a while she song ;

¶ here sege was of ryall bone,
Syche one sau I neuer with ye !
Set with many A precious stone,
And cumpasyde all with crapote. 52
With stonys of oryoles, grete plenty ;
Dyamondes thick aboute hir honge ;
She bare a horne of gold semely,
And vnder hir gyrdele a fione. 56

Hir garthes of nobyH sylke þay were,
 The bukyHs were of BereHe stone, 58
 Hir steraps were of crysteHe clere,
 And aH *wiH* pereHe ouer-by-gone. 60
 Hir payetrelle was of jrale fyne,
 Hir cropoure was of Orpharë ;
 And als clere golde hir brydiH it schone,
 One aythir syde hange bellys three. 64

[. *no break in the MS.*]
 And seuene raches by hir þay rone ;
 Scho bare an horne abowte hir halse,
 And vndir hir belte fuH many a flone. 72
 Thomas laye & sawe þat syghte,
 Vndir-nethe ane semly tree ;
 He sayd, 'zone es marye moste of myghte,
 þat bare þat childe þat dyede for mee. 76
 Bot if j speke *wiH* zone lady bryghte,
 I hope myne herte wiH bryste in three !
 Now saH j go *wiH* aH my myghte,
 Hir for to mete at Eldoune tree.' 80
 Thomas rathely vpe he rase, [leaf 150]
 'And he rane ouer þat Mountayne hye ;
 Gyff it be als the storye sayes,
 He hir mette at Eldone tree. 84
 He knelyde downe appone his knee,
 Vndir-nethe þat grenwode spraye ;
 And sayd, 'luffy ladye ! rewe one mee,
 Qwene of heuene als þou wele maye !' 88
 Than spake þat lady Milde of thoghte,
 'Thomas ! late swylke wordes bee ;
 Qwene of heuene ne am j noghte,
 for j take neuer so heghe degre. 92

THORNTON

. er of cristall cler,
 war þay sett ;
 Sadyll & brydil wer a [col. 2]
 with sylk & sendell fy
 hyr paytrel was of y
 And hir croper of yra
 hyr brydil was of g
 on euery syde for soth
 hyr brydil reynes w
 A semly syzt it w
 Croper & paytrel
 In euery joynt
 She led thre gre
 & racches cowpled
 She bare an horn a
 & vndir hyr gyrdyll
 Thomas lay & sawe
 In þe bankes of h
 he sayd 'zonder is ma
 þat bar þe child þat
 certes bot I may s
 ellys my hert w
 I shal me hye *wiH*
 hyr to mete at 30
 Thomas rathly up a
 & ran ouyr mountay
 if it be sothe þe story
 he met hyr euyng a
 Thomas knelyd down on h
 vndir nethe þe gr
 And sayd 'louely lad
 Qwene of heu
 [leaf 241]

COTTON

¶ She blew a note, and treblyd Als, . . . 2 Hir garthis of nobull silke þei were,
the Ryches into the shawe gan gone; . . . hir boculs þei were of barys ston; [^{leaf 119,} back]
There was no man that herd þe noyes, . . . hir stiropkis thei were of cristall clere,
Saue thomas there he lay a lone. 60 And alle with perry aboute be gon.
here cropyng was of ryche gold, . . . Hir paytrell was of a riall fyne,
here parrell alle of Alarañ; . . . Hir cropur was of Arafe;
here brydyll was of Reler bolde; . . . Hir bridull was of golde fyne;
On euery side hangyd bellys then. 64 On every side hong bellis thre.
She led iij grehoundis in a leessehe,
viiij rachis be hir fete ran;
To speke with hir wold I not seesse;
Hir lire was white as any swan.
¶ She led iij greue hwndes in a leshe, fforsothe, lordyngis, as I yow tell,
Seue richys aboute hir syde ran; 70 Thus was þis lady fayre begon;
She bare a horne aboute hir halce,
And vndur hir gyrdill mony flonne.
Thomas ley and beheld this syght,
vnder neth a sembly tre;
‘yendyr ys that ladye most of myght,
That bare the chyld that blede for me.
But yf I speke with that lady bryght, 77
I trowe my harte wolde breke in thre;
¶ I wyll go wyth all my myght,
And mete with hir at Elden tre.’ 80
Thomas Raythly vp A Rose,
And Ran ouer that Montayne hye;
yf it be as the story sais,
¹He met with hir at elden tre. 84
He knelyd vpon his kne, [^{leaf 25} he knelid downe vpon his kne,
Vnderne the a grene wode spraye; Vndurneth þe grenewode spray;
¶ ‘Louely lady! rewe on me;
Quene of heuyn, as ye wele may!’ 88
Then said that lady Mylde of þought,
‘Thomas, lat suche wordes be!
For quene of heuyn am I not,
I toke neuer so hye degre. 92

Bote j ame of ane oþer countree,
 If j be payrelde moste of pryse ;
 I ryde aftyre this wyld fee,
 My raches rynnys at my devyse.' 96
 'If þou be parelde moste of prysee,
 And here rydis thus in thy folye,
 Of lufe, lady, als þou erte wysse,
 þou gyffe me leue to lye the bye !' 100
 Scho sayde, 'þou mane, þat ware folye,
 I praye þe, Thomas, þou late me bee ;
 ffor j saye þe fuþ sekirlye, 103
 þat synne wiþ for-doo aþ my beaute.'
 'Now, lufly ladye, rewe mee,
 And j wiþ euer more with the dueþe ;
 Here my trouthe j wiþ the plyghte,
 Whethir þou wiþ in heuene or heþe.' 108

'Mane of Molde ! þou wiþ me marre,
 Bot zitt þou saþ hafe aþ thy wiþ ;
 And trowe it wele, þou chewys þe werre,
 ffor aþe my beaute wiþ þou spyþe.' 120
 Downe þane lyghte þat lady bryghte,
 Vndir-nethe þat grenewode spraye ;
 And, als the storrye tellis fuþ ryghte,
 Seuene sythis by hir he laye. 124
 Scho sayd, 'mane, the lykes thy playe :
 Whate byrde in boure maye delle with theþ
 Thou merrys me aþ þis longe daye, [col. 2]
 I praye the, Thomas, late me bee !' 128

THORNTON

.
 most of prise

 at my devys.'

 lady in strange foly,

 þou zeue me leue to lige ze by.'
 oly
 'I pray þe, thomas, late me be !
 erly
 þat wolde fordo all my bewte.'
 rew on me,
 & euyr more I shal with þe dwell ;
 nowe I plyght to þe,
 where þou byleues in heuyn or hell.'
 '. . . . t þou myght lyg[e] me by,
 vndir nethe þis grene wode spray,
 tell to morowe full hastely,
 þat þou hade layne by a lady ga[y.]' .
 '. I mote lygge by þe,
 vndir nethe þis gren wode tre,
 ll þe golde in crystyenty,
 sulde þou neuyr be wryede for me.'
 '. . . on molde, þou will me marre,
 And þe, bot þou may hafe pi will,
 . . . þou wele, thomas, þou cheuyst þe
 foll al my bewte wilt þou spy[l.]' [warre,
 . . une lyghtyd þat lady bryzht,
 vndir nethe þe gren wod spray ;
 . . . þe story sayth full ryzt,
 Seuyn tymes by hyr he laye.
 '. . . yd, man, þou lyste pi play,
 what berde in boure myzt dele with ze ?
 es me all þis longe day,
 I pray þe, thomas, lat me be !'

COTTON

¶ I am of a nothere cuntre,
 Thowgh I be perlyd moste in pryce ;
 And ryde here after the wylde fe,
 My raches rennyng att my deuyce.' 96
 'Yf þou be perled most in price,
 And ryde here in thy foly,
 louely lady, ware wyce,
 yeue me lene to lye the bye.' 100

¶ She said, 'man, that were foly ;
 I pray the Thomas lett me be ;
 For I the say sekerelye,
 Syn) wolde þou for-do al my bewte.' 104
 'A lowly lady ! reu oñe me,
 And euer I wole withe the dwell
 My trowche I plyght to the,
 where þou wylt to hevyn or hell.' 108

But I am a lady of anoþer cuntre,
 If I be parellid moost of price ;
 I ride aftur þe wilde fee,
 My raches rannen at my deuyse.
 If þou be pareld most of price,
 And ridis here in þi balye,
 Lufy lady, as þou art wyse,
 To gif me leve to lye þe by.
 Do way, thomas, þat were foly ;
 I pray þe hertely let me be ;
 ffor I say the securly,
 þat wolde for-do my bewte.
 Lufy lady, þou rew on me,
 And I shaft euermore with þe dwell ;
 here my trowth I plight to þe,
 Whedur þou wilt to heuon or hell.

¶ 'A Man of Molde ! þou wolte me Mare,
 And yete þou shalte haue all thy wyll ;
 But wete þou well, þou chece hit the war,
 For all my bewte þou wolte spyll.' 120
 A downe alyght that lady bryght,
 vnder nethe that grene wode spraye ;
 And, as the story tellythe ryght,
 Seuen) sythes by hir he laye. 124

¶ 'A man, þe lykythe wele thy playe :
 Whate byrde in bowre may dele with the?
 Thou marrest me here this long day,
 I pray the, Thomas, [lett] me be !' 128

LANSDOWNE

Man of molde ! þou wilt me marre,
 But zet þou shalt haue thy wille ;
 But trow þou well, þou thryuist þe warre,
 ffor alle my beute þou wille spille.
 Down þen light þat lady bright,
 Vndurneth a grenewode spray ;
 And, as þe story tellus ful right, [120, b2]
 vij tymes be hir he lay.

She seid, thomas, þou likis þi play :
 What byrde in boure may dwel with þe ?
 þou marris me here þis lefe long day,
 I pray the, Thomas, let me be !

CAMBRIDGE

8 THOMAS IS APPALLED AT THE TRANSFORMATION, AND KNOWS NOT WHAT TO DO. [FYFTE I.]

Thomas stode vpe in þat stede,	 ode vp in þat stede,	
And he by-helde þat lady gaye ;		& behelde þat lady gay ;	
Hir hare it hange aH ouer hir hede,	 hange downe a bowte hyr hede ;	
Hir eghne semede owte, þatare were graye.		hyr eyn semyt oute be sorow grey. 132	
And aHe þe riche clothyng was a-waye,	 thyng was all away,	
þat he by-fore sawe in þat stede ; 134		þat he before had sene in þat stede ;	
Hir a schanke blake, hir oper graye,	 blake, þat oper gray,	
And aH hir body lyke the lede. 136		hyr body als blo as ony lede.	
Thomas laye & sawe þat syghte,			
Vndir-nethe þat grenwod tree ;			
þan said Thomas, 'allas ! allas ! 137	 de, & sayd 'allas !	
In faythe þis es a dullfuH syghte ;		Me thynke þis is a dulfull syght ;	
How arte þou fadyde þus in þe face,	 fadyd in þi face,	
þat schane by-fore als þe sonne so		before þou shone as son so bryzt.'	
bryght[e] !' 140			

[& Mon[e],
 Scho sayd, 'Thomas, take leue at sonne
 And als at lefe þat grewes on tree ; 158
 This twelmoneth saH þou with me gone,
 And MediH-erthe saH þou none see.' 160
 He knelyd downe appone his knee,

THORNTON

' e, thomas, at son & mone,
 at gresse & at euery tre ;
 ethe sal þou with me gone,
 Medyl erth þou sall not se.'

COTTON

Thomas stode vp in that stede, [leaf 25, bk]
 And behelde that shulde be gay ;
 hure here honge aboute hir hede,
 here yene semyd out that were gray. 132
 ¶ And all hir clopyng were Awaye,
 There she stode in that stede ;
 her colour blak, oþer gray,
 And all hir body as betyn lede. 136

Thomas stondand in þat sted,
 And beheld þat lady gay ;
 hir here þat hong vpon hir hed,
 hir een semyd out, þat were so gray.
 And alle hir clothis were Away,
 þat here before saw in þat stede ;
 þe too þe blak, þe toþur gray,
 þe body bloo as beten leed.

T[h]an said Thomas, ' Alas ! alas !
 This is A dewellfull sight ;
 now is she fasyd in þe face, 139
 that shone be fore as þe sonne bryght !'

Thomas seid, Alas ! Alas !
 In feith þis is a dolfull sight ;
 þat þou art so fadut in þe face,
 þat before schone as sunne bryght !

¶ On euery syde he lokyde abowete,
 he sau he myght no whare fle ;
 Sche woxe so grym and so stowte,
 The Dewyll he wende she had be. 144
 In the Name of the trynite,
 he coniueryde here anon Ryght,
 That she shulde not come hym nere,
 But wende away of his syght. 148

¶ She said, ' Thomas, this is no nede,
 For fende of hell am I none ;
 For the now am I grete desese,
 And suffre paynis many one. 152
 this xij Mones þou shalt with me gang,
 And se the maner of my lyffe ;
 for thy trowche thou hast me tane,
 Ayene þat may ye make no stryfe. 156

¶ Tak thy leue of sone and Mone,
 And the lefe that spryngyth on tre ;
 þis xij monthes þou most with me gone,
 Middylle erthe þou shalt not se.' 160

Take þi leue, thomas, at sune & mone,
 And also at levys of eldryne tre ;
 This twelmond shall þou with me gon,
 þat mydul erth þou shalt not se.
 he knelyd downe vpon his kne,

Vndir-nethe þat grenewod spraye ; 162
 And sayd, 'luffly lady ! rewe on mee,
 Myldeqwene of heuene, als þou bestemaye.
 Allas !' he sayd, ' & wa es mee !
 I trowe my dedis wyth wirke me care ;
 My saulle, jhesu, by-teche j the, 167
 Whedir-some þat euer my banes saht fare.'
 Scho ledde hym jn at Eldone hiht,
 Vndir-nethe a derne lee ;
 Whare it was dirke als mydnyght myrke,
 And euer þe water tiht his knee. 172
 The montenans of dayes three,
 He herd bot swoghyng of þe flode ;
 At þe laste, he sayde, ' fulh wa es mee !
 Almaste j dye, for fawte of f[ode.]' 176
 Scho lede hym in-tiht a faire herbere,
 Whare frwte was g[ro]wan[dgret plentee ;]
¹ Pere and appiht, bothe ryppe þay were,
 The date, and als the damasee ; [11150, bk]
 þe fygge, and als so þe wyneberye ; 181
 The nyghtgales byggande on þair neste ;
 þe papeioyes faste abowte gane flye ;
 And throstyhts sange wolde hafe no reste.
 He pressede to pulle frowyte with his
 hande, 185
 Als mane for fude þat was nere faynt ;
 Scho sayd, 'Thomas ! þou late þame stande,
 Or ehts þe fende the wiht atteynt. 188
 If þou it plockk, sothely to saye,
 Thi saule gose to þe fyre of hette ;
 It commes neuwer owte or domesdaye,
 Bot þer jn payne ay for to duehte. 192
 Thomas, sothely, j the hyghte,
 Come lygge thyne hede downe on myknee,
 And [þou] saht se þe fayreste syghte,
 þat euer sawe mane of thi contree.' 196
 He did in hye als scho hym badde ;

THORNTON

. ll wo is me !
 I trowe my dedes will werke me care :
 ake to þe,
 Whedir so euyr my body sal fare.'
 h with all hyr myzt,
 vndir nethe þat derne lee ;
 s derke as at mydnyzt,
 & euyr in watyr vnto þe knee.
 of dayes thre
 he herde but swowynge of a flode ;
 s sayde, ' ful wo is me,
 Nowe I spyll for fawte of fode.'
 she lede hym tyte ;
 þer was fruyte gret plente ;
 les þer were rype,
 þe date & þe damasee ;
 fylbert tre ;
 þe nyghtyngale bredynge in hyr neste ;
 a bowte gan fle.
 þe throstylkoke sange wolde hafe no . . .
 pulle fruyt with hys hande ;
 as man for fawte þat was
 ' lat all stande,
 er els þe deuyll wil þe ataynte, 188
 tomas, I þe hyzt,
 & lay þi hede vp on my knee ;
 a fayrer syzt,
 þat euyr sawe man in þu kontre. .

COTTON

'Alas!' he said, 'full wo is me,
I trowe my werkes wyll wryche me care;
My soule, Ihesu, I be take the,
Where on ertne my body shall fare.' 168

¶ She lede hym downe at elden hyll,
vnder neth a derne le, [leaf 26]
In weys derke þat was full ylle,
And euer water vp to his kne. 172

The monetaynis of dayes thre
he harde but swoyng of the flode;
Att the last he said, 'full wo is me!
All most I dye for defawte of fode.' 176

¶ Sche browghit hym tyl A fayre erbore,
where fruyt growyd grete plente;
Peres and Apples Rype they were,
Datys and the damyse; 180
the fyges and the pyunene frē;
the nyghtyngalle byldyng hire nest;
the popyngay abowte gan fle,
the throssell song hauyng no rest. 184

¶ Thomas presyd to pull the frute with
his hand,

As man for fode hade been feynte;
Sche said, 'Thomas, let that stonde, 187
Or elles þe dewele wole the Ateynte:
Yf þou pull there of Asay,
Thowe myght be damned into hell;
Thowe commyst neuer owte agayne,
But euer in payn þou shalt dweh. 192

¶ But Thomas southly I the heght,
Come ley thy hed on my kne,
And þou shall se the farest sight,
that euer saw man of thy contrey. 196

To mary mylde he made his mone:
Lady! but þou rew on me,
Alle my games fro me ar gone.

Alas! he seyde, woo is me, [leaf 121]

I trow my dedis wil wyrk me woo;
Ihesu, my soule betече I the,
Wher so euer my bonys shall goo.

She led hym to þe eldryn hiH,
Vndurneth þe grenewode lee,
Wher hit was derk as any hell,
And euer water tillе þe knee.

þer þe space of dayes thre,
he herd but þe noyse of þe flode;
At þe last, he seid, wo is me!

Almost I dye, for fowte of fode.
She led hym into a fayre herbere,
þer frute groande was gret plente;
peyres and appuls, bothe ripe þei were,

þe darte and also þe damsyn tre;
þe fygge and also þe white bery;
þe nyghtyngale biggyng hir nest,
þe popyniay fast about gan flye,
þe throstill song wolde haue no rest.

he presed to pul þe fr[ute with] his honde,

As man for fode was nyhonde feynte;

She seid, thomas, let þem stande,
Or ellis þe feend [will] þe ateynte.

If þou pulle, þe sothe to sey, [leaf 121, back]
þi soule goeth to þe fyre of hell;
hit cummes neuer out til domus day,
But þer euer in payne to dwelle.

She seid, thomas, I þe hight,
Come lay þi hed on my kne,
And þou shalle se þe feyrest sight,
þat euer saw mon of þi cuntre.

He leyd down his hed as she hym badde;

Appone hir knee his hede he layde,
ffor hir to paye he was full glade,
And þane þat lady to hym sayde : 200

'Seese þou nowe 3one faire waye,
þat lygges ouer 3one heghe mountayne?—
3one es þe waye to heuene for aye, 203
Whene synfull sawles are passede þer
Seese þou nowe 3one oþer waye, [payne.
þat lygges lawe by-nethe 3one ryse?
3one es þe waye þe sothe to saye,
Vn-to þe joye of paradyse. 208

Seese þou zitt 3one thirde waye,
þat ligges vndir 3one grene playne?
3one es þe waye, with tene and traye,
Whare synfull saulis suffirris þaire payne.

Bot seese þou nowe 3one ferthe waye,
þat lygges ouer 3one depe desse? 214
3one es þe waye, so waylawaye,
Vn-to þe birnande fyre of heHe.
Seese þou zitt 3one faire castelle,
[þat standis ouer] 3one heghe hiH? 218

¹Of towne & towre, it beris þe besse;
In erthe es none lyke it vn-till. [¹ col. 2]
ffor sothe, Thomas, 3one es myne awenne,
And þe kynges of this Countree; 222
Bot me ware leuer be hanged & drawene,
Or þat he wyste þou laye me by.

When þou commes to 3one castelle gaye,
I pray þe curtase mane to bee; 226
And whate so any mane to þe saye,
Luke þou answeere none bott mee.
My lorde es seruede at ylk a mese,
With thritty knyghttis faire & free; 230
I saH saye syttande at the desse,
I tuke thi speche by-3onde the see.
Thomas stiH als stane he stude,
And he by-helde þat lady gaye; 234

. tomas, 3one fayre way,
þat lyggyss ouyr 3one fayr playn?
. ay to heuyn for ay,
whan synfull sawles haf ful 204
. is 3one secund way,
þat ligges lawe vndir þe rese?
. ay, sothly to say,
. . . to þe joyes of paradyse.

. s 3one thyrd way,
þat lygges ouyr 3one . . .
. sothly to say,
to þe brynyng fyre of hell.
. 3one fayr castell,
þat standes ouyr 3one . . .

[leaf 241, back]

.
.
. tomas
.
. hade leuer be han . . .
.
whan þu comyst in 3one . . .
.
what so any man to þe say,
s
My lorde is seruyd at eche mese,
with thry
I sall say, syttyng on þe dese,
I toke þi sp
Thomas stode as still as stone,
& byhelde þat lady

THORNTON

COTTON

Seest thou yender that playn way,
 That lyeth ouer youre playn so cunye ?
 That is the wey, sothely to say,
 To the hight blysse of hewyne. 204
 ¶ Seyst þou yendyr, A noþer way,
 That lyeth yendyr vnder the grene Ryce ?
 T[h]at is the wey, sothely to say,
 To the Ioye of paradyce. 208
 Seyst þow yender thrid way,
¹That lyeth vnder that hye Montayne ?
 that is the wey, sothely to say, [leaf 26, bk]
 where synfull soulis sofferis payne. 212
 ¶ Seyst þou yendur forthere way,
 that lyeth yendur full fell ?
 hit it the wey, sothely to saye,
 To the brynyng fyre of hell. 216
 Seist þou yonder, that fayre castell,
 that standyth hye vpon that hyll ?
 of Townys and towris it berys the bell ;
 On erthe is lyke non oþer tyll. 220
 ¶ Forsothe, Thomas, that is myne owne,
 And the kyngis of this countre ;
 Me were as goode be hengyd or brent,
 As he wyst þou layst me bye. 224
 when thou commyst to þe þendyr castell
 I pray the curtace man þou be ; [gay,
 And what any man to the say,
 loke þou answeare no man but me. 228
 ¶ My lorde is seruyd at the Messe,
 with xxxⁱⁱ bolde barons and thre.
 And I wyll say, sitting at þe deyce,
 I toke the speche at elden tre.' 232
 Thomas stode styll as stone,
 And behelde this lady gay ;

His hed vpon hir kne he leide,
 hir to please he was full gladde,
 And þen þat lady to hym she seide :
 Sees þou zondur fayre way
 þat lyes ouer zondur mownteyne ?
 zondur is þe way to heuen for ay,
 Whan synful sowlis haue duryd þer peyn.
 Seest þou now, thomas, zondur way,
 þat lyse low vndur zon rise ?
 zondur is þe way, þe sothe to say,
 Into þe ioyes of paradyse.
 Sees þou zonder thrid way,
 þat lyes ouer zondur playne ?
 zonder is þe way, þe sothe to say,
 þer sinfull soules schalle drye þer payne.
 Sees þou now zondur fourt way, [leaf 122]
 þat lyes ouer zondur felle ?
 zonder is þe way, þe sothe to say,
 Vnto þe brennand fyre of hell.
 Sees þou now zondur fayre castell,
 þat stondis vpon zondur fayre hitt ?
 Off towne & toure, it berith þe bell ;
 In mydul erth is non like þer-till.
 In faith, thomas, zondur is myne owne,
 And þe kyngus of þis cuntre ;
 but me were bettur be hengud & drawyn,
 þen he wist þat þou lay be me.
 My lorde is serued at ilk a messe, (229)
 with xxxⁱⁱ knyztis fayre & fre ;
 And I shalle say, sitting at þe deese,
 I toke þi speche be zonde þe lee. (232)
 Whan þou comes to zondur castell gay,
 I pray þe curtes man to be ; (226)
 And what so euer any man to þe say,
 Loke þou answer non but me. (228)
 Thomas stondyng in þat stode,
 And be helde þat lady gay ;

Scho come agayne als faire & gude, þan was she fayr & ryche onone,
 And also ryche one hir palfraye. 236 & also ryal on hyr

<p>Hir grewehundis fillide with dere blode ; Hir raches couplede by my faye ; Scho blewe hir horne, with mayne & mode, Vn-to þe castelle scho tuke þe waye. 252 In-to þe hauße sothely scho went ; Thomas foloued at hir hande ; Than ladyes come, bothe faire & gent, With curtassye to hir knelande. 256 Harpe & fethiH bothe þay fande, Getterne, and als so þe sawtrye ; Lutte and rybybe bothe gangande, And aH manere of mynstralsye. 260 þe moste meruelle þat Thomas thoghte, Whene þat he stode appone þe flore ; ffor feftty hertis jn were broghte, þat were bothe grete and store. 264 Raches laye lapande in þe blode, Cokes come with dryssynge knyfe ; Thay brittened þame als þay were wode, Reuelle amanges þame was fuH ryfe. 268 ¹Knyghtis dawnsede by three and three, There was reuelle, gamene, and playe ; Lufly ladyes faire and free, [¹ leaf 151]</p>	<p>þe grewhondes had fylde þaim on þe ders, & ratches she blew hyr horne, thomas to chere, & to þe castel she to þe lady in to þe hall went, thomas folowyd at hyr h þar kept hyr mony a lady gent, with curtasy & lawe kne harpe & fedyl both he fande, þe getern & þe sawtery ; Lut & rybib þer gon gange, þer was all maner of mynstralsye. þe most ferly þat thomas thoght, whan he come o myddes fourty hertes to quarry were brozt, þat had ben before both sty lymors lay lapyngge blode, & kokes standyng with dressynge & dressyd dere as þai were wode, & reuell was þer wonder r knyztas dansyd by two & thre, all þat leue lange day ; ladyes þat were gret of gre,</p>
---	---

Sche was as white as whelys bone,
And as Ryche on hir palefray. 236

She was as feyre and as gode,
And as riche on hir palfray.

¶ Thomas said, ' lady, wele is me,
that euer I baide this day ;
nowe ye bene so fayre and whyte,
By fore ye war so blake and gray !' 240

I pray you that ye wyll me say,
lady, yf thy wyll be,
why ye war so blake and graye?
ye said it was be cause of me.' 244

¶ ' For sothe, and I had not been so,
Sertayne sothe I shall the tell ; [leaf 27]
Me had been as good to goo,
To the brynyng fyre of hell ; 248

My lorde is so fers and fell,
that is king of this contre,
And fulle sone he wolde haue y^esmell,
of the defaute I did with the.' 252

¹Hir greyhoundis fillid with þe dere blode ;
Hir rachis coupuld be my fay ; [11122, b4]
She blew hir horne, on hir palfray gode,
And to þe castell she toke þe way.

¶ In to the halle worldely they went,
Thomas folowde at hir honde ;
Forthe came ladyes fayre and gent,
Curtesly Ayene hir kneland. 256

Into a haß sothly she went ;
Thomas folud at hir hande ;
Ladis came, bothe faire & gent,
fful curtesly to hir kneland.

Harpe and fythell bothe they foynð,
the sytoll and the sawtery ;
the gytorne and rybbe gan goynð,
And all maner of Menstrally. 260

harpe and fidul both þei fande,
þe getern, and also þe sautry ;
þe lute and þe ribybe both gangand,
And alle maner of mynstralcy. 260

¶ þe noeste ferly that thomas hade,
when he was stondyng on the flowre,
the grettest hert of alle hys londe,
that was stronge, styfe, and store ; 264

knyztis dawnsyng be thre & thre,
þer was revel, both game & play ;
þer ware ladyes, fayre and fre,
Dawnsyng [one ric]he aray. (272)

Raches lay lapyng of his blode,
And kokes with dressyng knywwys A hande,
Trytlege the dere, as they were wode,
there was Ryfe, reuoll Amonge. 268

þe grettist ferlye þat thomas thozt,
when xxx^{ti} hartis ley [up]on flore ;
And as mony dere in were broght,
þat was largely long & store. (264)

¶ Knyghtys dawnsyng by iij and thre,
there was reuell, game, and play ;
louely ladyes, fayre and fre,

Rachis lay lappand on þe dere blode,
þe cokys þei stode with dressyng knyves ;
Brytnand þe dere as þei were wode ;

That satte and sange one riche araye.
 Thomas duellide in that solace 273
 More þane j 3owe saye parde ;
 TiH one a daye, so hafe I grace,
 My lufly lady sayde to mee : 276
 ‘ Do buske the, Thomas, þe buse agayne ;
 ffor þou may here no lengare be ;
 Hye the faste with myghte & mayne,
 I saH the brynge tiH Eldone tree.’ 280
 Thomas sayde þane with heuy chere,
 ‘ Lufly lady, nowe late me hee,
 ffor certis, lady, j hafe bene here
 Noghte bot þe space of dayes three !’ 284
 ‘ ffor sothe, Thomas, als j þe teHe,
 þou hase bene here thre 3ere & more ;
 Bot langere here þou may noghte dueHe,
 The skyHe j saH þe teHe whare-fore : 288
 To Morne, of heHe þe fouHe fende.
 Amange this folke wiH feche his fee ;
 And þou arte mekiH mane and hende,
 I trowe fuH wele he wolde chese the.
 ffor aHe þe golde þat euer may bee, 293
 ffro hethyne vn-to þe worldis ende,
 þou bese neuer be-trayede for mee ;
 þere-fore with me j rede thou wende.’
 Scho broghte hym agayne to Eldone tree,
 Vndir-nethe þat grenewode spraye ; 298
 In huntlee bannkes es mery to bee,
 Whare fowles synges bothe nyght & daye.
 ‘ ferre owtt in 3one Mountane graye,
 Thomas, my fawkone bygges a neste ;
 A fawconne es an Erlis praye, 303
 ffor-thi in na place may he reste. [1 col. 2]
 1 ffare wele, Thomas, j wend my waye,
 fforme by-houys ouer thir benttis browne.’
 loo here a fytt more es to saye,
 AH of Thomas of Erselldowne. 308

THORNTON

sat & sange of ryche araye.
 Thomas sawe more in þat place,
 þan I kan discry pard[e] ;
 Til on a day, allas ! allas !
 My louely lady sayd to . . .
 ‘ buske þe, thomas, þou most agayn,
 here þou may no la
 hy þe 3erne at þou wer at hame, .
 I sall þe brynge to’
 thomas answerd with heuy chere,
 & sayd, ‘louely lady, lat
 for I say þe sertenly, here
 hafe I be bot þe space of d’
 ‘ Sothly, tomas, as I tell þe,
 þou hath ben here thre 3ere
 & here þou may no langer be,
 & I sall tell þe a skele
 to morowe, of hell þe foule fende,
 A mang oure
 for þou art a large man, & an hende,
 trowe þou wele
 for all þe golde þat may be,
 fro hens vnto þe wor
 sal þou not be bytrayed for me ;
 & þer for sall þou hens
 She bro3t hym euyn to eldon tre,
 vndir neth þe gr
 In humtle bankes was fayre to be,
 þer breddis syng
 Ferre ouyr 3on montayns gray,
 þer hathe my facon

COTTON

- Satte syttyng in A ryall Araye. 272
 Thomas dwellyd in that place
 longer þan I sey, *parde*,
 Tyll one day, by fyll that cace,
 To hym spake that ladyes fre. 276
- ¶ 'Buske the, Thomas, thou most
 for here þou may no lenger be; [*Ayene*,
 1 hye the fast with Mode and Mayne,
 I shalte the bryng at elden tre.' [*leaf 127, bk*]
 Thomas said, with heuy chere, 281
 'louely lady, lat me be!
 For certaynlye, I haue beñ here
 But the space of dayes þre.' 284
- ¶ 'Forsoth, Thomas, I wolle the tell,
 thou hast been her iij yere and More;
 And here þou may no lenger dwell,
 I shall the tell A skele wherefore; 288
 To morowe, a fowle fend of hell,
 A Mongis this folke shall chese his fe,
 And for thou arte long man and hende,
 I lewe wele, he wyll haue þe. 292
- ¶ And for all the good that euer myght be,
 For hevene to the worldris ende,
 Shalt þou neuer be bytrayed by me;
 þere fore I rede the with me wend.' 296
 She browght hym Ageyn to elden tre,
 Vnder neth A grene wode spray;
 In huntely bankes is man to be,
 Where fowlis syngith nyght and day. 300
- ¶ 'For ouere youre Montayne graye,
 Where my fawcone beldith his nest,
 the fawcone is the herons pray,
 therefore in no place may she Rest. 304
 Faire wele, Thomas, I wende my way,
 Me bous ouere yowre brwtres broume.'
 Here is A foott, And tway to say,
 Of Thomas of Assildown. 308
- Reuell was among þem rife. (268)
 There was reuell, game, & play, [*leaf 123*]
 More þan I yow say *parde*
 Tille hit fel vpon a day,
 My lufy lady seid to me:
 Buske þe, thomas, for þou most gon,
 ffor here no longur mayst þou be;
 hye þe fast, with mode and mone;
 I shalle þe bryng to eldyn tre.
 Thomas answerid with heuy chere,
 Lufy lady, þou let me be;
 ffor certainly, I haue be here
 But þe space of dayes thre.
 ffor sothe, thomas, I þe telle,
 þou hast bene here seuen zere and more;
 ffor here no longur may þou dwell,
 I shal tel þe the skyl wherfore:
 To morou, on of hel, a fowle fende,
 Among þese folke shal chese his fee;
 þou art a fayre man and a hende,
 fful wel I wot he wil chese the.
 ffor alle þe golde þat euer myght be,
 ffro heuon vnto þe wordis ende,
 þou beys neuer trayed for me;
 ffor[th] with me I rede the wende.
 She broght hym agayn to eldyn tre,
 Vndurneth þe grenewode spray;
 In huntley bankis þis for to be, [*leaf 123, bk*]
 ther foullys syng boþe nyzt & day,
 'ffor out ouer 3on mownten gray,
 Thomas, a fowken makis his nest;
 A fowkyn is an yrons pray,
 ffor þei in place wiþ haue no rest.
 ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way,
 ffor me most ouer 3on bentis brown.'
 This is a fytt; twayn ar to sey,
 Off Thomas of Erseltown.

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

[FYTT THE SECONDE.]

Fare wele, Thomas, j wend my waye,
 I may no lengare stande *with* the!
 'Gyff me a tokynynge, lady gaye,
 That j may saye j spake *with* the.' 312
 'To harpe or carpe, whare-so þou gose,
 Thomas, þou sañ hafe þe chose sothely.'
 And he saide, 'harpynge kepe j none ;
 ffor tonge es chefe of mynstralsye.' 316
 'If þou wilt speñe, or tales tette,
 Thomas, þou sañ neuer lesynge lye,
 Whare euer þou fare, by frythe or fethe,
 I praye the, speke none euyñ of me!
 ffare wele, Thomas, *with*-owttyne gyle,
 I may no lengare dueñe *with* the.' 322
 'Lufly lady, habyde a while,
 And tette þou me of some ferly !'
 'Thomas, herkyne what j the saye :
 Whene a tree rote es dede, 326
 The leues fadis þane & wytis a-waye ;
 & froyte it beris nane þane, whyte ne rede.
 Of þe baylliolf blod so sañ it fatte :
 It sañ be lyke a rotyne tree ; 330
 The comyns, & þe Barlays añe,
 The Russells, & þe ffressells free,

THORNTON

[Sloane 2578, leaf 6 (begins at Fytt 2).]

[FYTT THE SECOND.]

¶ Heare begynethe þe ij^d fytt I saye
 of Sir thomas of Arseldon.
 'Farewell, thomas, I wend my waye ; 309
 I may no lenger dwell *with* the.'
 'Guyve me some token, Lady gaye,
 that I may saye I spake *with* the.' 312
 'to harpe or carpe, whither thowe can,
 thomas, þou shalt haue sothely.'
 he said 'herpinge kepe I none ;
 for tonge is chief of mynstralsye.' 316
 '& þou wilt speake, & tales tell,
 thowe shalt neuer leasyng lye ;
 whither þou walke by frythe or fell,
 I pray the, speake none ivell by me ! 320
 Fare well, thomas, *with*outen gile,
 I may no lenger abide *with* the.'
 'Lovly lady, abide a while,
 and some ferly tell thowe me !' 324
 'thomas, herken what I shall saye :
 when a tre rote is deade,
 the leaves faden & fallen awaye,
 Fruyt it beareth the none on in elde. 328
 [No break in the MS.]
 the baly of blud it shalbe,
 their comens, & þer barons all,
 the Russelles, & þe fresselles fre, 332

SLOANE

Continuation of Cotton Manuscript.

[FYT THE SECOND.]

Fare wele thomas I wende my way · I may no lang
 [Gyfe] me a tokyn lady gay · If euyr I se þow w 312
 [To ha]rpe or carp wher þat þou gon · þou sal hafe þ
 thomas sayde harpyng kep I non · for tonge is cheff 316
 [Fare] wele thomas for nowe I go · I will no langer sta[y

[FOOTT THE SECOND.]

[FYTTE THE SECOND.]

¶ 'Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;
 I may no langer dwell *with* the.'
 ['G]yf sum tokyne, my lady gay, [leaf 28]
 that euer I saw the *with* my ye' 312
 'To harp or carp, where euer I gone,
 Thomas, pou shalt chese sopele.'
 'I, lady, harpyng wyll I none,
 For townge is cheffe Mynstralye.' 316
 ¶ 'Yf pou wolte speke, or talis tell,
 lesynges shalt pou neuer lye;
 But where pou go by fryþ or fell,
 I pray the, speke no ewylle by me! 320
 Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my wey;
 I may no langere dwell *with* the.'
 'yete, louely lady! goode and gay,
 A byde and tell me More ferlye.' 324

'Fare wel, Thomas, I wend may,
 I may no lengur stand *with* the!'
 'gif me sum tokyn, lady gay,
 þat I may say I spake *with* the.' 312
 To harpe or carpe, thomas, wher so euer
 Thomas, take þe chese *with* the. [3^e gon]
 harpyng, he seid, kepe I non,
 ffor tong is chefe of mynstralse. 316
 'If þou wil spiþ, or talys telle,
 Thomas, þou shal neuer make lye;
 Wher so euer þou gos, be frith or felle,
 I pray þe, speke neuer no ille of me! 320
 ffare wel, Thomas, and wel þou be;
 I can no lengur stand þe by.'
 'Lovely lady, fayre & fre,
 Tel me zet of som farley!' 324
 'Thomas, truly I þe say: [leaf 124]
 Whan a tre rote is ded,
 þe levys fal, and dwyne away;
 ffrute hit berys, nedur white nor red. 328
 So shalle þis folkys blode be faþ,
 þat shal be like 3on roten tre;
 þe semewes & þe telys aþ,
 þe resuþ & þe frechel fre, 332

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[Louely] lady wo is me so · A byde & tell me [some] fe 324
 [Herken] thomas as I þe sey · whan þe trees rode is de
 [The leues] fallyth & wastyth a way · it beryth no fruy 328
 [.] bali]oves blode be fall · I lyken to þe ro
 [.] & þes elders all · all for soth a way 332

AH saH þay fade, and wyte a-waye ;	all shall fade & fall awaye,
Na ferly if þat froyte than dye. 334	no farly then if þat fruyt dye !
And mekiH bale saH after spraye,	and mykell bale shall after spraye, [1r 6, bk]
Whare joye & blysse was wonte [to bee ;]	wheare that blis was wont to be. 336
ffare wele, Thomas, j wende m[y waye]	farewell, thomas, I wend my waye ;
I may no langer stand w[ith the.]' 338	I maye no lenger stande w[ith the.]'
'Now lufly lady gud [and gay]	'Lovly Lady, good & gaye,
Telle me þitt of some ferly !' [leaf 151, back]	tell me yet of somme farle !' 340
'Whatkyns ferlys, Thomas gude,	'what kyns farly, thomas good,
Sold j þe telle, and thi wiHs bee?' 342	shuld I the tell, if thi will be?'
'Telle me of this gentiH blode,	'tell, of the gentle blud
Wha saH thrive, and wha saH thee :	who shall vnthrive, & who shall the; 344
Wha saH be kyng, wha saH be noHe,	who shalbe kyng, who shalbe none,
And wha saH welde this northe countre ?	who shall weld þe northe contre ?
Wha saH fleē, & wha saH be tane, 347	who shall fle, who shalbe tane,
And whare thir bateHs donne saH bee ?'	& wheare þe battell; done shalbe ?' 348
'Thomas, of a BateHe j saH þe telle,	'of a battelle I will the telle,
þat saH be done righte sone at wiHe :	that shalbe done sonne at will :
Beryns saH mete bothe fers & fette, 351	birdes shall mete, both fresshe & fell,
And freschely fighte at Eldone hiHe.	& fyersly fight at eldon hill. 352
The Bretons blode saH vndir fete,	the brusse blud shall vnder gonge,
þe Bruyse blode saH wyne þe spraye ;	the bretens shall wynne all þe praye ;
Sex thowsande ynglysche, wele þou wete,	thre thowsand scottes, on þe grownde,
SaH there be slayne, þat jlk daye. 356	shalbe slayne that ilk daye. 356
ffare wele, Thomas, j wende my waye ;	farewell, thomas, I wend my waye ;
To stande w[ith] the, me thynk fuH jrke.	to stand w[ith] the me thynk it irk.
Of a bateH j wiH the saye,	of a battell I will the saye,
þat saH be done at fawkirke : 360	that shalbe done at fowse kyrk ; 360

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

[Fare]ele thomas I wende my waye · I may no langer s	
[Louely lady] gentyl & gay · a bide & tele me so	340
{ [2 lines lost at top of page]	[leaf 242]
{	
ll] weld þe north cun	

Alle shalle falle, & dwyn away ;
 No wondur þoʒ þe rote dy.
 And mekiH bale shal aftur spray,
 þer ioy and blisse were wont to be. 336
 ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;
 I may no lengur stand þe by.
 ‘ luffy lady, gude and gay,
 telle me ʒet of som ferly !’ 340
 ¶ ‘ What kynne, Thomas, ferly gode,
 wold ye fayn wete of me ?’
 ‘ Lady, of this gentyll blode
 who shall pryue, and who shall þe ; 344
 who shalbe kyng, and who shall be none,
 And where any battell done shall be,
 who shall be slaye, who shalbe Tane,
 And who shall wyne the north Contre ?’
 ¶ ‘ Of A batell I shall the tell, 349
 that shalbe done sone at wyll :
 Barons shall mete, boith fers and fell,
 And freslye fyght at helydowne hyll. 352
 Fare wele, Thomas, I wende my way,
 To stande here me thinke it yrke ;
 But of A batell I shall the say
 that shalbe don at faw Chirch. 360

LANSDOWNE

Who shal thrife, and who shal the ; 344
 Who shal be kyng, who shall be non,
 And who shal weld þe north cuntre ;
 Who shall fle, & who shal be tane,
 And wher þes batelis don shal be ?’ 348
 ‘ Off a batelle I will þe tell,
 þat shall come sone at will : [leaf 124, back]
 1 Barons shaH mete, both fre and fell,
 And freshely fest at ledyn hill. 352
 the brucys blode shalle vndur faH,
 the bretens blode shaH wyn þe spray ;
 C. thowsand men þer shal be slayn, 355
 Off scottysshe men þat nyght and day.
 ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;
 To stande with the, me thynk full yrke !
 Off þe next bat[elle] I will þe say,
 þat shall be at fawkyrke : 360

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

e] wher þes batels don sal b[e] 348
 þ^t sal be done ful son at wyll
 r]yke & fell · & freshly fyʒt at halyndon hill 352
 e]nde my way · to stonde with þ^e me thynk ful yrke
 sall] ye say · þat sal be don at fawkyrke 360

Baners saff stande, bothe lang & lange ; banerz shall stand, longe & longe ;
 Trowe this wele, with mode & mayne ; trowe pou well, with mode & mayne ;
 The bruyssse blode saff vndir gane, 363 the brusse blod shall vnder gonge, [near 7]
 Seuene thowsande scottis per saff be v. thowsand scottes shalbe slayne. 364
 slayne.

fare wele, Thomas, j pray pe sesse ; farewell, thomas, I praye the cease ;
 No lengare here pou tarye mee ; 366 no lenger heare pou tary me ;
 My grewehundis, pay breke paire lesse, my greyhowndes broken the flesshe,
 And my raches paire copitts in three. & my ratchettes their coupulles in thre.
 Loo ! whare pe dere, by twa and twa, loke howe pe deare, by ij & ij, 369
 Haldis ouer zone Montane heghe.' 370 rvnn ouer yonder mountain high !'
 Thomas said, ' god schilde pou gaa ! thomas said, ' god shild thowe goo !

Bot telle me zitt of some ferly.' 372 but tell me yet of some farly.' 372

[' Of a] batelle, j saff the saye, 377 ' of a battell I will the saye,
 [That saff] gare ladyse morne in mode ; that shall garr ladies to morne in mode :
 [. . .] e, bothe water & claye at bannokburne, bothe water & claye,
 Saff be mengyde with mannes blode: [col. 2] it shalbe mynged with red blud. 380
 Stedis saff stombiH with tresoune, 381 steades shall stvmbull with treason,
 Bothe Baye & broune, grysselle and graye ; with blak & browne, grysell & graye ;
 GentiH knyghtis saff stombiH downe, & ientill knyghtes shall tvmbull downe,
 Thorowe pe takynge of a wykkide waye. thurghes takinge of a wicked waye. 384
 pe Bretons blode saff vndir falle ; 385 pe bretens blud shall vnder fall,
 The Bryusse blode saff wyne pe spraye ; the brusse shall wyzne all the praye ;

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

sal stonde both large & lange · trowe pou wel .t. with mode & mayn
 blode sal vndir gange · vj thowsand of ynglych per sal be sla[yn] 364
 le .t. for now I go · I may no langer stande with pe
 hondes breke pair leches in two · my raches shere hyr coples in thre 368
 zone dere by two & two · holdes ouyr zone lange le

¶ Baners shall stande there A longe,
Trowe þe wele, *with* Mode and Mayne;
the bratones blode shall vndere gange,
¹A thowsand englysche there shalbe
slayne. [¹ leaf 28, back]

fare wele, Thomas, I pray þou sese, 365
I May no langere dwele *with* the;
My greyhondes brekyng here leyse,
And my Raches here Cowples a thre. 368

¶ Lo, where the dere, by two and ij,
holdes owere yoñe Montayn) hye!’
‘God forbeide!’ saide Thomas, ‘þou fro
me go,
Or More of the warres þou tell me.’ 372

‘Of a batale I shall the say,
that shall Make ladies morne in Mode:
Bankes bourne, wattere and clay, 379
Shall be Mengyd *with* Mannis blode;

¶ Stedes shall snapre throwgh) tresoun,
Bothe bay and browne, bresyll and gray;
Gentyll Knyghtes shall tumbell downe,
thru) takyn) of A wrong way. 384
Bretons blode shall vndere fall,
the Ebruyes there shall wyne the pray;

LANSDOWNE

þe bretans blode shalle vndur fa)h,
þe brucys blode shalle wyn þe spray;
vij thousynd Englysshe men, grete &
smalle,

ther shalbe slayne, [þat] nyght and day.
ffare wel, [tho]mas, [I] pray þe sees; 365
No lengur here þou tary me;

lowher my grayhoundis breke þer leesshe;
My raches breke þeir coupuls in thre. 368
lo, qwer þe dere goos be too & too,
And holdis ouer zonde mownten hye!’
Thomas seid, ‘god [schilde thou] goo,

But tell me zet of sum ferly! 372
holde þi greyhoundis in þi h[onde,]
And coupil) þi raches to a [tre;] [² leaf 125]
²And lat þe dere reyke ouer þe londe;
ther is a herde in holtely.’ 376

‘Off a batell I wil þe say,
þat shalle gar ladys mourne in mode:
At barnokys barne is watur & clay, 379
þat shal be myngyd *with* mannys blode.
And stedys shalle stumbut) for treson,
bothe bay and brown, grisell & gray;
And gentil knyztis shalle tombut) down,
thoro tokyn of þat wyckud way. 384
the Bretans blode shalle vndur fa)h,
the brutys blode shalle [wyn] þe spray;

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

say lady gode shelde ze go · ahyde & tel me som ferle 372
attel I can þe say · Sal gar ladies morn in mode
kes borne both water & clay · It sal be mengyd *with* rede blode 380
[Stedes] sal stumbyl thru) tresoun · both bay & broun) gresel & gray
1 knyghtes sal tumbyl down) · for takyng of a wylsom way 384

Sex thowsand ynglysche, grete & smalee,
 SaH there be slane, þat jlk a daye. 388
 Than saH scotland kyngles stande ;
 Trow it wele, þat j the saye !
 A tercelet, of the same lande,
 To bretane saH take þe Redy waye, 392
 And take *tercelettis* grete and graye,
 With hym owte of his awene contree ;
 They saH wende on an ryche arraye,
 And come agayne by land and see. 396
 He saH stroye the northe contree,
 Mare and lesse hym by-forne ;
 Ladyse saH saye, allas ! & walowaye !
 þat euer þat Royalle blode was borne.
 He saH ryse vpe at kynke horne, 401
 And tye þe chippis vn-to þe sande.
 At dipplynge more, appone þe Morne,
 Lordis wiH thynke full lange to stande ;
 By-twix depplynge and the dales, 405
 The watir þat rynnes one rede claye—
 There saH be slayne, for sothe, Thomas,
 Eleuene thowsandez scottis, þat nyghte
 & daye.
 ThaysaH take a townne of grete renownne,
 þat standis nere the water of Taye ; 410
 þe ffadir & þe sone saH be dongene downe,
 And with strakis strange be slaynea-waye.

THORNTON

vj thowsand Englishe, greate & small,
 shalbe slayne þat ilk daye. 388
 then shall scotland stande ;
 trowe thowe well, as I the saye !
 a tarslet of the same land
 to breten shall wynde þe redy waye ; 392
 & take tarslettes, greate & gaye,
 with him, owte of his awne contree ;
 ther shall winde in riche araye, [leaf 7, back]
 & comme againe by land & seye. 396
 he shall stroye þe northe contree,
 moare & les him before ;
 lades, welawaye ! shall crye,
 þat euer þe baly of blud was borne. 400
 he shall ryse vp at kynkborne,
 & slaye lordes vpon the sand ;
 to foplynge moore, vpon þe morne,
 lordes will think full longe to stand. 404
 betwin þe depplinge & þe dassé—
 þe water þer rennyng on þe red claye—
 þer shalbe slayne, forsothe, thomas, 407
 xi thowsand scottes, þat night & daye.

they shall take a towne of greate renownne,
 that standethe neare þe water of taye ;
 the father & þe sonne shalbe dongedowne,
 with strokes stronge be slaine awaye. 412

SLOANE

COTTON

w on al þat day · both by hynde & als be fore 398*
 s]al syng welaway · þat eyr þe balyolues blod was bore 400*
 nge kyngles be · trowe þou wele thomas as I þ^e say
 l take flyzt & fle · to bruces lande þe redy way 392
 seletes gret & gray · with hym of hys awn contre
 n ryche aray · bothe by lande & eke by see 396

vij thousand ynglis, grete and smalle, vij thousand englisemen, grete & small,
In a day there shalbe slay. 388 ther shal be slayn, þat nyght & day.

¶ then shall scotland kyngles be,
Trou pou well, that I the say !
A tarslet shall take his flyght, & fle
To bretons lande the Redy wey ; 392
And take tarslettes grete and gray,
With hym, oute of his lond ;
he shall wende in A Ryche Aray, 395
And come agayne by seye and londe.

¶ He shall stroye the north Contre,
More and les hym be-forne ;
Ladyes shall say ' waleway !
that euer in scotland war we borñe.' 400
He shall Ryñ vt at kynges hornē,
And sley lordis on the sonde ; [leaf 20]
At deplyng More vppon the Morowe,
Lordesshall thynkethere long stonde. 404

¶ By twyx duplyng and the gray stoñ,
the water that Rynnes gray,
there shalbe slayne v thousand englisemen,
that nyght and that day. 408

And yet they shall take A walled Towñe ;
the fader and the sone be slayñ away ;
A knyght shall wyn the warisoun,
with dynt of swerd for ones and ay. 412

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[397—400, see above]

vp at kynche horn · fele lordes vp on þe sande
m]ore vp on þe morn · lordes sal thynke ful lang to stand 404
ge] & a dale · þat water of Erne þat rynnes gray
wi]th myche bale · x thowsand scottes a nyzt & a day 408
wallyd toune · standyng ful nere þe water of tay

Whene þat hafe wonne þat walled towne, when þei haue wonne þe walled towne,
[leaf 158]

And ylke mane hase cheuede þayre chance, & euery man chosen his chaunce,
 1 Than saff thir bretoñs make þame bowne, þe bretens they shall make þem bowne,
 And fare forthe to þe werre of fraunce. & forthe to þe warres of Fraunce. 416
 Than saff scotland kyng-lesse stande, þen shall scotland *without* kinge stand ;
 And be lefte, Thomas, als j the saye ; beleve, thomas, as I the saye !
 Than saff a kyng be chosene, so 3ynge, thei shall chuse a kinge full yonge,
 That kane no lawes lede *par faye* : 420 þat can no lawes lede, *parfaye* ; 420
 Daudid, *with* care he saff be-gynne,
 And *with* care he saff wende awaye.
 Lordis & ladyse, more and Myne, 423
 Saff come appone a riche araye,
 And crowne hym at the towne of skyñe, & crowned at þe towne of scone,
 Appone an certane solempe daye. 426 on a *serteine* solemne daye. [leaf 8]
 Beryns balde, bothe 3onge and alde, birdes bolde, bothe olde & yonge,
 Saff tiif hym drawe *with-owt*tyne naye ; shall to him drawe *without* naye ; 428
 Euyne he saff to ynglande ryde, into England shall thei ride,
 Este and weste als lygges the waye. 430 easte, weste, as ligges the waye,
 & take a towne *with* greate *pride*,
 & let þe menn be slaine awaye. 432
 betwixt a *parke* & an abbaye,
 a pales & a *parishe* kirk,
 there shall *your* kinge faile of his *praye*,
 & of his lyfe be full irk. 436
 he shalbe taggud wunder sare,
 so þat a-waye he saff noghte flee ; so þat awaye he maye not fle ;

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

-yn a doun · *with* sore dyntes be kylled a way 412
 n]ge þat is ful 3ynge · he kan no lawes lede *parfay*
 he sal be gyn · *with* sorowe sal he wende a way 420
 ppes both more & myn · al sal gedir to þer a ray
 m]at þe toun of scoyne · vp on þe *trinyte* Sunday 424
 both 3onge & alde · sall fal to hym *with* owtyn nay 428

¶ When they haue take that wallyd
towne,

And euery man has chosyn his chañs,
the bretons blode shall make hym bone
And fare to the warres of fraunce. 416

And then shall scotland be withoute kyng,
Trowe the wele that I the sey!
they shall chese a kyng full yonge,
that can not lede no laweys, parfay. 420

¶ Dauid, withoute care he shall begyne,
And withoute care he shall wend away;
Bysshoppes and lordes, More and myne,
Shall come to hym in Ryche A Raye,
And Crowne hym at A Towne of Scone,
Forsothe vpon A Setterday. 426

Bornes blode shall wend to Rome,
To get lyve of the pope yf they may. 428

¶ By twyخته a parke and ane Abbey,
A palys and A perishe church,
there shall that kyng fayll at his pray,
And of his lyfe he shall be full yrke.
He shall be togged, the wonde sore, 437
that Away he maynot fle;

LANSDOWNE

þen shall scotland kyngles be sen;
trow þis wel, þat I þe say!
And thei shall chese a kyng ful þong,
þat can no lawes lede, parfay: 420
Robert, with care he shal be gynne,
And also he shall wynde away. 422

lordys and ladys, bothe olde & yongg,
shalle draw to hym with outyn nay; 428
And they with pryde to Englund ryde,
Est and west þat liggys his way;
And take a toune of mycul pryde,
And sle [.] knyȝtes veray. 432

Betwene a parke & an abbay, [leaf 125, back]
A palys and a parissh kyrke,
ther shall þe kyng mys of his way,
[And] of his life be full yrke. 436
He shal be teyryd(?) ful wondur sore,
So a way he may not fle;

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

sal he holde · And bryn & sla al in hys way extra
sal he ryde · þar sal he þat ilke day
þat wondes wyde · þat werne ful bolde in hyr aray 432
ke & an abbay · a paleys & a paryshe kyrke
a]yle of hys pray · & of hys lyfe he sal be yrke 436
ke in e ful sare · so þat a way he may not fle

Hys nebbe saH rynne, or he thethyne fare,	his nebbe shall or he thens fare,	
þe rede blode tryklelandevn-to his kn[ee].	of red blud, <i>trikell</i> to þe kne.	440
He saH þan be, with a false f . . . 441	he shall, <i>with</i> a false fode,	
Be-trayede of his awene	[<i>No break in the MS.</i>]	
And wheþer it torne	whither it <i>turne</i> to ivell or goode ;	
He saH byde 444	& he shall bide in a ravens hand.	444
þat rau	the ravin shall þe Goshawke <i>wynne</i> ,	
Tho	if his fethers be <i>neuer</i> so black ;	
.	& leide him <i>strayte</i> to London,	447
.	<i>þer</i> shall <i>your</i> fawcone fynde his make.	
[5 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]	þe ravin shall his fethers shake,	
.	& take tarslettes gaye & greate,	
.	<i>with</i> him, owte of his awne contre; [Inter- pol.]	
.	& þe kinge shall him M ^r make,	
In þe northe to do owtraye. [col. 2] 452	in þe northe to do owtraye.	452
And whene he es mane moste of Mayne,	when he is man of moste mayne, [18, bk]	
And hopis beste þane for to spede,	& hopes beste for to spede,	
On a ley lande saH he be slayne,	on a leye land he shalbe slayne,	
Be-syde a waye for-owtayne drede. 456	beside a waye <i>without</i> drede.	456
Sythene saH selle scotland, <i>par</i> ma faye,	then shall they sell in scotland, <i>parfaye</i> ,	
ffulle and fere, fuH many ane,	fowles & fee full many one,	
ffor to make a certane paye ; 459	for to make a <i>sertein</i> paye ;	
Bot ende of it saH <i>neuer</i> come nane.	but end <i>þer</i> of <i>commethe</i> <i>neuer</i> none. 460	
And þane saH scotland kyngles stande ;	þen shall scotland kingles stand ;	
Trowe this wele, þat j telle the !	trowe þou well, as I the saye !	
Thre <i>tercelettis</i> of þe same lande 463	ijj tarslettes, of that same land,	

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

l ren <i>with</i> myche care · of rede blode down) to hy[s kne] 440
a fals fode · betrayed of hys awn) lande
rn) to euyl or gode · be sesyd in to a rauyn[es hande] 444
.. goshauke wyn · be hyr fethyrs <i>neuyr</i> so [blake]
reght to london <i>with</i> hym · þer sal <i>þour</i> foule [fynd his make] 448
hyr fethyrs folde · & take þ ^e tarsletes [grete & gay]

His nose shall Rynne, or he theñse go, his neb shañ rise or he then fare,
 the blode shall trykle downe to his kne. the red blode triklond to his knee. 440

¶ He shall, throught a fals fode, 441
 Be betrayde of his owne lond ; [leaf 29, bk]

Wherere it turne to ewyll or good,
 He shall Abide a Rauenes honde. 444

the Rauyne shall the goshawke woym,
 thowght his fedres be neuer so blake ;
 And lede hym to London Towne, 447
 there shall the goshawke fynd his Make.

¶ þe Rawyn shall his fedres shake,
 And take tasletis grete and gay ;

the kyng shall hym Maister Make,
 In the north for to do outray. 452

And whan he is most in his mayñ,
 And best wenes for to spede,

On a ley londe he shall be slayn,
 By side away without dred. 456

¶ And than most scotland, parfay,
 By se & land, mony one,

For Dauid make certayn pay ; 459
 But end of hym commyth neuer none.

then most scotland kyngles stond ;

Trowe the wele, þat I say the !

A taslet of A nother land. 463

LANSDOWNNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

hym maystyr bold · In þe north [sal he do owtray] 452

[? 2 lines lost at top of page.]

[leaf 242, back]

. en of dauy[d] 459. —

sall ryde & go hyr wa[y] ?

þan sal scotlande kyngles 461. —

thre lordes of þat same londe 463. —

Saht stryfe to bygg & browke þe tree.	to breten þen shall wend þer waye.	464
He saht bygg & browke the tree,	he shall bigge & breake þe tre,	
That hase no flyghte to fley a-waye;	þat hathe no flight to fle away;	466

They saht <i>with pryde</i> to y[n]gland ryde,	þai shall, <i>with pride</i> , to england fre,	
Este & weste als lygges þe waye.	easte & weste as lygges þe waye.	472
Haly kyrke þese sett be-syde,	holy kirk be sett beside,	
Relyguous byrnede on a fyre;	& religious men <i>burne</i> in fyre;	
Sythene saht þay to a castelle gl[<i>yde</i>],	thei shall to a castell glide,	
And schewe þame þare <i>with</i> . . .	& shewe þem there <i>with</i> mykell ire.	476
By-syde a wyth	betwixt a well & a weare,	
A wh[<i>yt</i>	a withwell & a slyke stone,	
.	þer shall ij cheftens mete in fere,	
.	the on shall doughtles be slayne.	480
.		

.	the brusse blud shall <i>with</i> him fle,	
.	& leade him to a <i>worthi</i> towne;	
[10 lines lost at foot of page in MS.]	and close him in a castell lyght,	[leaf 9]
.	theare to be <i>with</i> greate renowme.	[Inter- pol.]
.	Farewell, I wend my waye;	
.	me behoves ouer yonder bent so browne.	
.	here endethe þe ij ^d fytt, I saye,	
.	of <i>sir</i> thomas of Arselton.	488

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

þat hath no flyzt to fle a way · In to [yng	466 . 471
& bryn & sla day by day · To a towre þan	472 . 475
And hald þer in myche ire · holychyrche is set	476 . 473
relegious þai bryn hym in a fyre	474
bytwws a wethy & a water · a well & a haly stane	

Shall pryue & bygge, & browke þat tre.

¶ He shall bygge, and broke þat tre

He toke his flygh, & flye A wey ;

Robert steward kyng shalbe 467

of scotland, and Regne mony A day.

¹A cheuanteyne then shall ryse *with* pride,

of all scotland shall bere the floure ;

he shall into Englonde Ride, [¹ leaf 30]

And make men haue full sharpe schoure.

¶ holy chirche to set on syde, 473

And religyons to bren on fyre ;

he shall to the new castell Ryde,

And shew hym there *with* grete Ire. 476

By twyx A wey of water,

A well, & A grey stone,

there cheuanteynes shall mete on fere,

And that o dowghty ther shall be slayne.

¶ that other cheuanteyne shall there

be tayne, 481

And proude blode *with* hyme shall fle,

And lede hyme tyll A worthe Towne,

And close hym vp in A castell hye. 484

Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my wey ;

Me bus ouer your brutes broñe.'

here is a fote ; anoþer to sey,

of Thomas of Assilldone. 488

LANSDOWNE

be twene A wycked way & A watur, 477

A parke and A stony way then ;

ther shal a cheften mete *in* fere,

A ful dutye þer shal be slayn. 480

the todur cheftan shal be tane,

A pesans of blode hyme shal slee ;

And lede hym a[w]ay in won,

And cloyse hym *in* a castell hee. 484

ffare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;

ffor I must ouer zond . . bentis brown.'

here ar twoo fyttis ; on is to say,

Off Thomas of Erseldown. 488

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þer sal two chyftans met *in* fere · þ^o doglas þer sall be s[1] 480

A tarslet sal *in* halde be tane · chyftans a way *with* hym

& lede hym to an hold of stane · & close hym *in* a castel [h] 484

Whar wele thomas I wend my way · me most ouyr zone be

anoþer fyt more is to say · of þe prophecy of arseldown 488

[FYTT THE THIRD.]

[¹ leaf 152, back]

1^c **N**owe, luffy lady, gente and hende,
 TeHe me, 3if it thi willis bee,
 Of thyes BateHs, how þay schaff
 ende,

And whate schaffe worthe of this northe
 countre? 492

'This worlde, Thomas, sothely to tette,
 Es noghte bot wandrethe & woghe!

Of a bateHe j wiþ the tette, 495

Thatschaff bedonne atspynkarde cloughe:

The bretons blode schaffe vndir faHe,

The bruyse blode schaffe wyne þe spraye;

Sex thowsande ynglysche, grete & smaHe,

SaHe thare be slayne þat nyghte & daye.

The rewarde saH noghte weite, parfaye,

Of that jlke dulfulHe dede; 502

Thay saH make a grete journaye,

Dayes tene *with-owt*tyne drede.

And of a bateHe j wiþ þe tette, 505

That saH be donze now sone at wiH:

Beryns saH mete, bothe ferse & felle,

And freschely fyghte at pentland hyH.

By-twyx Sembery & pentlande, 509

þe hauHe þat standis appone þe rede
 claye—

THORNTON

[FYTTE THE THIRD.]

'thies wordes, thomas, þat I saye,
 is but wanderyng & wough;

of a battell I shall the tell,

that shalbe done at Spenkard slough: 496

the bretons blud shall vnder fall,

the brusse blud shall wyne þe praye;

vij thowsand englishe, greate & small,

shalbe slayne þat ilk daye. 500

the reaward shall not witt, parfaye,

of þat same dolfull dede;

thei shall make a greate iornaye,

dayes x *without* drede. 504

of a battell I will you tell,

that shalbe done sonne at will:

barons shall mete, bothe fyers & fell,

& fyersly fight at Eldon hill. 508

betwin Edynburgh & Pentland,

at þe hall þat standethe on þe redd claye,

SLOANE

COTTON

[FYT THE THIRD]

Far wel thomas I wende my way · me most ouyr 3one bro . .
 Sothly .t. I þe say · men sal haf rome ryzt ny þaire dor 492

Sothly .t. as I þe say · þis world sal stond on a wondir w

of a batel tel I þe may · þat sal be don at spynkar cl 496

þ^o gret wreth sal not persayuyd be · of þat gret vnk . .

[FOTE THE THIRD.]

¶ 'Fare wele, Thomas, I wend my way;
I may no longer duell *wit*h the.'
yet, louely lady, goode and gey,

Abyde, & tell me more ferele !' 492

'And þus, thomas, truly to tell,
hyt Is wondrand & wow ;
but of a batyll I shall the tell,
that shall be don at spincar clow : 496

¶ the bretonys blode there shall vnder-
the Ebrues ther shall wyn the pray ; [fall,
v thousand yngleff there, gret & small,
In a sunday mornyng shall be slay. 500
the fowarde shall not wit, parfey,
Certeyn of that dolfull dede ;
they shall make agayne a grete Iorney,
Dayes x *wit*houten drede. 504

[leaf 30, back] [lond
¶ Bytwix Eden brought and the Pent-
the hall that stond on the Rede glay—

LANSDOWNE

[FYTTE THE THIRD.]

'Thomas, truly I þe say,
þe worlde is wondur wankill !
Off þe next batell I wyll the say,
that shal be done at spynard [?] hill : 496
the brucis blode shall vndur fah,
the brettens blode schall wyn [the spray ;]
xiiij thousand þer shal be slayne, [leaf 126]
Off scottisshe men þat nyght & day. 500

Off the next batell I wil þe telle,
þat shal be done sone at wit :
Barons bothe flesshe & fell
shalle fresshely fyzt at pentland hyll. 508
but when pentland & edynborow,
And þe hill þat standis on þe red cley,

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

v. thowsande slayn sal be · of scottes men *wit*h outyn 500
Fare wele .t. I wend my way · I may no langer stand
louely lady gentyl & gay · a byde & tel me more f 504
Of a batel I can þe tell · þat sal be done hastely at
bernes sal met both fryk & fel · & fresshely fyzt at 508
by twys edynburgh & pentlande · an hyl þer stand
ERCILDOUN.

3

There schaff be slayne Eleuene thowsande [Of scot]tis mene, þat nyghte & daye. a townne, of grete renowne, e water of Teye 514 .	there shalbe slayne xij thowsand, forsothe, of scottes, þat night & daye. 512 thei shall take a walled townne, [leaf 9, bk] 1 the father & þe sonne bene slayne awaye; knightes shall wynne þer warysone, thurgh dynt of swerd for euer & aye. 516 when þei haue wonne the wallid townne, and euery man chosen his chaunce, the bretens þen shall make them bowne, and forthe to þe warres of Fraunce. 520 thei shalbe in fraunce full thomas, I saye, iij yeares & mare ; and dyngedowne towerz, & castelles to euery man in sonder fare. [stronge, then shall thei be bought full stronge, betwixt Seiton & þe seye ; the bretens shalbe þe greaves amonge, the other este at Barwik fre. 528
[13 lines lost at foot of page in MS.] The toþer oste at barboke. [col. 2] 528 fforryours furthe saH flee, On a Sonondaye, by-fore þe messee ; Seuene thowsandes sothely saH be slayne, One aythir partye, more and lesse. 532 ffor þer saH be no baneres presse, Bot ferre in sondir saH thay bee ; Carefull saH be þe after mese, 535	[No break in the MS.] on a Sondaye before þe masse, v thowsand sothely slayne shalbe, of brusse blud, bothe moare & les. 532 for þat daye shuld no banerz presse, but farr in sonder shall thei be ; carefull shalbe the enter messe,

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

þer sal be slayn twelf þowsande · of Scottes [m þan sal þai take a wallyd toun) · fadir & [s knyztes of yngland wyn þair warysoun) · th whan þai haf tak þis wallyd toun) · & ich man hath hym to hys chance · þan sal þe bretons make & fare in to þe werres of fraunce	512 516 520
---	-------------------

there shall be slayne vij m¹ vij thousande shal be slayn pere, 511
of scottes men, that nyght & day. 512 Off scottisshe men þat nyght & day.
And þet they shall take A walled Towne
that stonde on the water of Tay ;
knyghtes shall wyne the waryson, 515
By dyntes of swerde for ones & Aye.

¶ And whan they haue toke þat walled
towne,

And eche man hathe take his chaunce,
the britons blode shall make hym boune,
And fare agan to werres of fraunce. 520
then shall they be in fraunce full longe ;
Thomas, iij yere & more ; [stronge,
And dyng downe castellis & towres
And then shall euery mañ home fare. 524

¶ they shall mete, boþe fers & stronge, then shalle they met, bathe stiff & strong,
By twyx Cetoñ and the see ; Betwene seton and þe see ;
the englyshe shall ly in craggis amonge, the englisshe shalle lyg þe cragys among,
That othere oste at barkle. 528 the toþur at þe est banke faþer hye. 528
A sore semble there shall be, the fflorence forth shall fare,
On a sonday by fore the Masse ; Vpon a sonday before the masse ;
v thousand shalne¹ shall be, [¹ þe slayne] v thousande þer shalbe slayne,
of bothe partes more & lesse. 532 off bothe partyes more and lesse. 532

¶ For there shall no baner presse, ffor þat þer shaft no barrons presse,
Bot fer in sundre shall they be ; but fer asondur shalle they be ;
Carefull shall be there last Masse, Carfulh shalbe þe furst masse,

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þaj sal be in fraunce ful lang · sothly .t. thre þer
& bet doun tounes & castels strange · to do owtr 524
þan sal þai mete both styf & strang · by twys Seton
þ° Inglyshe sal lyg þe craggas amang · þ° frenshe 528
[freres] fast a way sal fle · On a sonday be for þe
. thowsande slayn sal be · of bernes both m 532
[þer] sal no man wyn þ° prise · sertenly þis I tell þ

By-twixe Cetons and þe See.

Schippis saht stande appone þe Sande,
Wayffande with þe Sees fame; 538
Thre zere and mare, þan saht þay stande,
Or any beryne come foche þame hame.
Stedis awaye Maysterles saht flynge,
Ouer þe Mountans too and fraa;
Thaire saditts one þaire bakkis saht hynge,
Vn-to þe garthis be rotyne in twaa. 544
zitt saht þay hewe one alle þe daye,
Vn-to þe sonne be sett nere weste;
Bot þer es no wighte þat zitt wiete maye,
Wheþer of thayme saht hafe þe beste.
Thay saht plante downe þaire thare, 549

betwin seytons & þe seye, 536
of þe brusse, bothe moare & les. <sup>[Interpo-
lation]</sup>
shippz shall stand vpon the sande,
wavand with þe seye fome,
thre yeares & moare, vnderstand, ^[leaf 10]
or any barons fetche them home 540
steades maisterles shall flynge,
to the mountains to & fro;
þer sadelz on þer backes hynge,
till þer girthes be rotten in to. 544
thei shall hewe on helme & sheld,
to þe sonne be sett neare weste;
no mann shall witt, in þat fyeld,
whithether partie shall haue þe beste. 548
thei shall caste downe bannerz there;

Worthi mene al nyghte saht dye;
Bot One þe Morne þer saht be care,
ffor nowþer syde saht hafe þe gree. 552
Than saht þay take a trewe, and swere,
ffor thre zere & more, j vndirstande,
þat nane of þame saht oþer dere,
[Nowþer] by See ne zitt by lande. 556
. saynte Marye dayes
. d]ayes lange
. Baners rayse
. e lande 560

wonden many one þat night shall dye;
vpon the morne there shalbe care,
*for neither partie shall haue þe degre. 552
thei shall take a trewce, & sware,
iij yeares & moare, I vnderstand,
þat none of them shall other dare,
neither by water ne by land. 556
betwin ij Saint mary dayes,
when þe tyme waxethe longe, 558
then shall thei mete, & bannerz raise,
on claydon moore, bothe styf & stronge.

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

[.] sal þ^t ost be aftyr mes · by twys seton & 536
[Shi]ppes sal be on þe strande · wallyng with þe s
T[hr]e zer & more þer sal þai stande · no man to f 540
[Sted]es maysterles a way sall flynge · to þe mountt
[Sadels on] hyr bakkes sall hynge · to þe gyrthes be 544

Bytwyx ceton & the see.

536 be twene seton & the see.

536

Shippes shall stonde ther on þe sonde,
 hem selfe mene the the fome ;
 Seue yere & more theyr shall they stonde
 And no barne shall bryng hem home. 540

^{1¶} And stedes shall maisterles fleng
 To the Montayns them fro ; ^[¹ leaf 81]
 the sadles shall on ther bakes hyng,
 Thyll þe gerthes be rotten them fro. 544
 they shall hewe on, all that day,
 Tyll the sonne be sett west ;
 ther is no man, that wete may,
 which of them shall haue the best. 548

þen shall þei [fezt] with helmys & shyldes
 there,

^{[away ;}
 And woundyt men al eneglych shal rone
 but on þe morne þer schal be care,
 ffor nedyr [side] shaH haue þe gree. 552

²Then shall þei take a truce & swere,
 thre 3ere and more, I vnderstonde ;
 þer nouþer side shall odir dere, <sup>[² leaf 126,
back]</sup>
 Nouþer be se nor be londe. 556

betwene twoo seynt mary dayes,
 When þe tyme waxis nere long,
 then shall thei mete, and banerse rese,
 In gleydes more, þat is so long. 560

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

[þai sal plantt] doun hir baners þar · & wondid men s
 [þis is þe] begynnnyng [of þer] care · whan nouþer party sa 548
 [þen sal þai] take a trew & swere · thre 3er & more 554
 [þat none of] þem sal [oþer dere · nouþer] by se
 [.] saynt mary dayes · [when] þe da 558
 [.] 560

Gladysmore, þat gladis vs aft,
 This is begynnyng of oure gle ;
 gret sorow þen shaH fall,
 Wher rest and pees were wont to be. 564
 Crowned kyngus þer shal be slayn,
 With dyntis sore, and wondur se ;
 Out of a more a rauen shaH cum ;
 And of hym a schrew shall flye, 568
 And seke þe more, with owten rest,
 Aftur a crosse is made of ston ;
 Hye and low, boþ est and west,
 But vp he shaH [fynde] non. 572

He shalle lizt þer the crosse shuld be,
 And holde his neb vp to þe skye ;
 And he shaH drynk of [],
 Ladys shaHe cry welaway ! 576

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

[Lines 577-604 in no MS. but the Thornton.]

COTTON

[5 lines lost at top of page.]

[leaf 248]

[fynd no] 572

neb vp to þe sky 574

[w]elaway sal cry 576

[Lines 577-604 not in this MS.]

And þa
 Wh
 Bot
 þer 596
 An
 Th
 þe
 An 600
 Be
 Wh
 Th
 The 604
 þa
 V 606

[4 lines entirely lost at bottom of column.]

[col. 2]

[Col. 2 entirely torn off.]

.

frelly þei shall fight þat daye, 605
 to þat þe sonne be sett neare weste ;
 none of them shall witt, I saye,
 whither partie shall haue þe beste. 608
 a basted shall comme owte of a fforreste,
 in sothe england borne shalbe—
 he shall wynde þe gre for þe beste,
 & all þe land after bretens shalbe. 612
 then he shall into England ryde,
 easte weste, as we heare sayne. 614

all false lawes he shall laye downe,
 þat ar begonne in þat contre ;
 trewthe to do, he shalbe bone,
 & all þe land, after, bretens shalbe. 620

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

sunne]e syt euyne weste
 w]yt may · whethir party sal haue þe best 608
 of þe forest · In south yngland born sal be
 f]or best · And al ledes bretayns sal be 612

¶ A basterd shall come out of the west,
 And there he shall wyne the gre ;
 he shall bothe Est and west,
 And all the lond breton shall be. 612
 he shall In to Englund Ryde,
 Est and west in hys tyme ;
 And holde A parlament of moche pryde,
 that neuer no parlament by fore wasseyne.
 And fals lawes he shall ley doune, 617
 that ar goyng in that countre ;
 And treu workes he shall begyn,
 And bothe londes bretton shalbe. 620

LANSDOWNE

pen shal they fyt with he[lme &] schilde,
 Vnto þe sun be set nere west ; [leaf 127]
 þer is no wyzt in þat fylde, 607
 þat wottis qwylke side shaft haue þe best.
 A bastarde shal cum fro a forest,—
 Not in ynglond borne shaft he be ;—
 And he shalle wyn þe gre for þe best,
 Alle men leder of bretan shal he be. 612.
 And with pride to ynglond ride,
 Est and west as . . . layde . . .
 And holde a parlement w[.]
 Where neuer non before was sayd 616
 Alle false lawes he [shalle laye doune],
 þat ar begune in þat cuntre ;
 Truly to wyrke, he shal be boune ;
 And alle leder of bretans shal he be. 620

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

s]al he ryde · est & west with myche tene
 ment with myche pryde · þ^t neuyr non sych be for was sene 616
 es he sal dyng down · þat wer begun in hys cuntre
 o wirke he sal be bown · trewly thomas as I tell þe 620

. thomas ! trowe þat I the tell,
 that it be so, eueriche worde.
 of a battell I shall the spell,
 that shalbe done at sandyford : 624
 ney þe forde þer is a braye,
 and ney þe braye þer is a well ; [Leaf 111]
 [Leaf 153, col. 2, and 153, back, col. 1,
 torn out of MS.] a stone þer is, a lytell fraye,
 & so þer is, þe sothe to tell. 628
 thowe may trowe this, eueury wurde— 632
 growand þer be okes iij ; 629
 that is called the sandyford, 630
 þer the laste battell done shalbe. 631
 Remnerdes & Clyffordes bolde shalbe, 633
 in Bruse land iij yeares & mare, 634
 & dyngne downe tower; & castell; high ;
 to do owtraye thei shall not spare. 636
 þe basted shall gett him power stronge,
 all þe fyue leishe lande— 639
 there shall not on him bod word brynge, 640
 as I am for to vnderstand.
 þe basted shall die in þe holly lande ; 641
 Ihesu Criste ! þat mykell maye, 644
 his sowle þou take into þi hande, 643
 when he is deade & layed in claye ! [Interpo-
 & as she tolde, at the laste, 645
 þe teares fell ouer hir eyen graye.

THORNTON

SLOANE

leo
an 153000

þe bastarde shal get hym power strong,
 And alle his foes he shall doune dyng; 8
 Off alle þe v kyngus landis,
 þer shal non bad[word] home bryng. 640
 þe bastard shal dye in þe holy land;—
 Trow þis wel [I] þe sey;— 2
 Take his sowle to his hond,
 Ihesu criste, [that] mycuþ may! 644
 Thomas, [truly] I þe say,
 þis is [trewth] ylke a worde! 6
 Off þat laste battel I þe say,
 It [shall] be done at Sandeford: 624
 Nere sendyforth þer is a wroo, [11127, bk]
 And nere þat wro is a weþ; 0
 A [ston] þer is þe wel euen fro; 3,
 And nere þe wel, truly to tell, 628 31
 And at þat stone Ar craggas iij, 629
 On þat grounde þer groeth okys thre,
 And is called sondyford; 4
 þer þe last battel done shal be,
 Thomas, trow þou ilke a worde.' 632
 þen she seid with heuy chere;
 þe terys ran out of hir een gray. 8

And thus is that I you tell;
 belefe it wele euery word!
 And of A baytale I wote full wele,
 that shalbe done at Sawdyngford. 624
 By that forde there is a bro,
 And by that bro ther is A well:
 A stone there is a lityll there fro;
 And by the stone sothe to tell, 628
 And at þat stone Ar craggas iij, 629

[The MS. here ends abruptly though
 there is more room on the page.]

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

owe þis ful wele · þat þis is soth euery worde 2
 [Of a bate] I can þe telle · þat sal be done at Sandyorde 624
 [Nere þe] forde þar is a bro · & nere þe bro þer is a well
 standes þe welle eyn fro · & nere it a ston sothely to tell 628
 [& nere] þat ston growith okes thre · þat men call sandyorde
 [þar þe la]st batel don sal be · thomas trowe þou wele þis euery worde 632
 e]s & clyffordes in werre sal be · In bruces lande thre þere & more
 n) tones & castels fre · to do owtray þai sal not spare 636
 e] þat I þe say · þe bastard sal de in þe holy lande
 þou wele may · sese hys sawle into þi hande 644
 d with mych care · þe terys ran down) of hyr eyn grey

[leaf 153, back, col. 1]

[Leaf 153, back, col. 1, torn out of
Thornton MS.]

'Lady, or you wepe so faste,
take your leave & goo your waye!' 648
'I wepe not for my waye wyndinge,
but for ladyes, faire & fre,
when lordes bene deade, without leasyngge,
shall wedd yomen of poore degre. 652
He shall have steades in stabull fedd ;
a hawke to bare vpon his hand ;
a lovely lady to his bedd ; [leaf 11, back]
his elders before him had no land ! 656
farewell, thomas, well the be !
for all this daye thowe wilt me marr.
'nowe, lovely lady, tell thowe me,
of blak annes of Dvnbarr.' 660

'of blak annes comme neuer gode,
therfor, maye she neuer the :
for all hir welthe, & worldes gode,
in london shall she slayne be. 668
the greateste merchaunte of hir blud,
in a dike shall he dye ;
houndes of him shall take per fode,
mawger all per kynne & lie.' 672

THORNTON

SLOANE

COTTON

þou wepe so sare · take þi houndes & wende þi wey 648
my way wending · sothly thomas as I þe say
e]s sal wed ladyes with ryng · Whan hyr lordes be slain [away 652
des in stabil fed · a fayr goshawk to hys hande
to hys bed · hys kyn be fore had neuyr lande 656
m]as & wele þe be · al þis day þou wil me mare
· of blake aunies of Dunbate 660

'lady, or þou wepe so sore,
 Take þi houndis & wend þi way!' 648
 'I wepe not for my way walkyng,
 Thomas, truly I þe say ;
 But fer ladys, shaft wed laddys zong,
 When þer lordis ar ded away. 652
 He shaft haue a stede in stabul fed,
 A hauk to beyre vpon his hond ;
 A bright lady to his [bed],
 þat be fore had none [londe]. 656
 flare wel, thomas, I wende my way ;
 Alle þis day þou wil me [mar]!',
 'Lufly lady, tel þou me,
 Off blake Agnes of Don[bar] ; 660
¹And why she haue gyven me þe warre,
 And put me in hir prison depe ; [¹ leaf 123]
 ffor I wolde dwel *with* hir,
 And kepe hir ploos and hir she[pe]. 664
 'Off blak Agnes *cum* neuer gode :
 Wher for, thomas, she may not the ;
 ffor al hir welth and hir wordly gode,
 In london cloysed shal she be. 668
 þer preuisse neuer gode of hir blode ;
 In a dyke þen shaft she dye ;
 Houndis of hir shaft haue þer fode,
 Magrat of aH hir kyng of le.' 672

LANSDOWNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

þe war & put me depe in hyr prisoune
with hyr · sothely lady at arsyldoun 664
 e] neuyr gode · thomas sche may do not to þe
 & wordely gode · In london sal she cloyd be 668
 xt of hyr blode · In a foule dyke sal sche dye
 r sal hafe her fode · mawgre of al hyr kyn & she 672

.

[leaf 153, back, col. 2]

To huntlee banckis þou take the way[e] ;
 [T]here saþ j sekirly be bowne, 679
 [And] mete the Thomas whene j maye.
 [lines 681-4 found only in Cotton MS.]

[I sa]H the kenne whare euer thou gaa,
 [To ber]e þe pryce of curtaysye ; 686
 [For tu]nge es wale, & tunge es waa,
 [And tun]ge es chefe of Mynstrallsye.'
 [lines 689-692 found only in Cotton MS.]

[Scho ble]we hir horne on hir palfraye,
 [And left]e Thomas vndir-nethe a tre ;
 [To Helmesd]ale scho tuke the waye ;
 [And thus] departede scho and hee !
 [Of swilke] an hird mane wolde j here,
 [þat couth] Me telle of swilke ferly. 698
 [Ihesu], corounde with a crowne of brere,
 [Bry]nge vs to his heuene So hÿee !
 amene, amene. 700

Explicit Thomas
 Of Erseledownne

THORNTON

thomas, dreere manz was he,
 teares fell ouer his eyen so graye.
 'nowe, lovly lady, tell þou me,
 if we shall parte for euer & aye!' 676
 'naye !' she saide, 'thomas, parde,
 when thowe sitteste in Arseldon,
 to hontley bankis þou take þe waye ;
 þer shall I sykerly to the recomme. 680

I shall reken, wheare euer I goo, 685
 to beare the price of curtese.' 686

and thus departid she & he ! 696
 Finis.

SLOANE

COTTON

a drery man was he · þ^e teres ran of his eyn grey
 y tel þou me · if we sal part for onys & ay 676
 at arseldoun · to huntly bankes tak þi way
 edy bound · to mete þe þar if þat I may 680
 ende my way · I may no langer stande with þe
 þe pray · tel neuyr þⁱ frendes at home of me 684
 y a lady fre · I sal þe comfort wher þat þou go

þen Thomas, a sory man was he,
 þe terys ran out of his een gray ;
 'lufly lady, ȝet [tell þou] me,
 If we shaþ parte for euer and ay?' 676
 'Nay! when þou sitt[es] at erseldown,
 To hunteley [bankes] þou take thi way ;
 And þer shal I be redy bowne,
 To mete þe thomas, if þat I may.' 680

She blew [hir] horne, on hir palfray,
 And leff[ed] thomas at aldryn tre ;
 Til helmesdale she toke þe way ; [1112, bk.]
 thus departed þat lady and he! 696
 Off such a woman wold I here,
 That couth telle me of such ferly !
 Ihesu, crowned with thorne so clere,
 Bryng vs to thi haþt on hye ! 700
 Explicit

LANSDOWNNE

CAMBRIDGE

COTTON

profe of curtesy · tong is weke & tong is wo 688
 e of mynstralsy · tong is water & tong is wyne
 [Tong is che]fe of melody · & tong is thyng þat fast wil bynd 692
 [þen went] forth þat lady gay · vpon hyr wayes for to w[ende]
 [She blewe hi]r horn on hyr palfray · & lefte thomas vndir a [tre] 696
 man wold I here · þat couth tel more of þis ferly
 kyng so clere · bryng vs to þi halle [on hye] 700
 [Explicit prop]hecias thome de Arseldounne

APPENDIX I.

From "The Whole prophesie of Scotland," &c. Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603.
Collated with Andro Hart's Edition, 1615.



The Prophetic of Thomas
Lymour.

[B J, back]

Still on my waies as I went, Out through a land, beside a ¹ lie, I met a ² beirne vpon the ³ way. Me thought him seemlie for to see, I asked him ⁴ holly his intent, Good Sir, if your ⁵ wil be, Sen that ye byde vpon the bent Some vncouth tydinges tell you me, When shal al these warres be gone, That leile men may ⁶ leue in lee, Or when shall falshood goe from home and laughtie blow his horne on hie. I looked from me not a mile, And saw two Knights vpon a ⁷ lie, they were armed seemly new, two Croces on ⁸ there brestes they bare, and they were ⁹ clad in diuers hew, Of sindrie countries as they were, the one was red as any blood, Set in his Shield a ¹⁰ Dragone keene, He ¹¹ steird his Steed as he were ¹² mad, With crabbid words sharpe and keene Right to the other beirne him by. His Horse was al of siluer sheene His Shield was shaped right seemlie, In it a Ramping Lyon keene. Seemly into golde was set, His bordour was of Asure sheene,	<p>With silke and Sabil well was plet, I looked from me ouer a greene, And saw a Ladie on a lie, That such a one had I neuer seene. 5 the light of her shined so hie, Attour the moore where ¹³at she fure, The fields me thought faire and greene 35 She rode vpon a Steid ful sture, That such a one had I seldome seene : 10 Her Steid was white as any milke, His top his taile ¹⁴war both full blae 40 A side ¹⁵saydle sewed with silke, As al were golde it glittered so, His harnessing was of silke of ynde, 15 Set with precious stones free, He ambled on a noble kinde : Vpon her head stooode Crownes three : 45 Her garment was of Gowles gay, But other colour saw I none, 20 A flying fowle then I saw, Light beside her on a stone A stoope into her hand she baere, 50 and holy water she had readie, She sprinkled the field both here & there 25 Said heere shal many dead corpes lie. At yon bridge vpon yon burne, Where the water runnes bright and sheene, 55 There shal many steides spurne,</p>	<p>[B J] 30 35 40 45 50 55</p>
---	---	--

¹ Ley ² bairne ³ bent ⁴ wholly ⁵ wils ⁶ liue ⁷ Ley ⁸ their
⁹ clad ¹⁰ Dragon sheene ¹¹ stirde ¹² wood ¹³ as ¹⁴ wer ¹⁵ saddle

And Knightes die throw battles keene
¹To the two Knightes did she say,
 Let be your strife my Knightes free,
 Ye take your Horse and ride your way 60
 As God hath ordained so must it be, [B ij, back]
 Saint Andrew thou hast the ²hight,
 Saint George thou art my owne Knight,
 they ³wrongous aires shall worke thee woe,
 Now are they one there ⁴waies gone, 65
 The Ladie and the Knightes two,
 to that beirne then can I ment,
 and asked ⁵tythings be my fey,
 What kinde of sight was that I said ?
⁶Thou shewed to me upon yone lie, 70
 Or wherefrom came those Knights two
 They seemed of a farre cuntry,
 That Ladie that I let thee see,
 that is the Queene of heauen so bright
 the fowle that flew by her knee, 75
 that is Saint Michael much of might
 the knightes two the field to ta
 Where manie men in field shall fight,
 know you well it shal be so,
 that die shal manie a gentle knight. 80
 With death shall manie doughtie daile,
 the Lordes shal be then away,
 there is no Harret that can tell,
 who shal win the field that day,
 A crowned King in armes three 85
 Vnder the Baner shal be set,
 two false and feyned shal be,
 the third shal light and make great let
 Baners fwee againe shal striue,
 and come in on the other side, 90
 the white Lyon shall beate them downe,
 and worke them woe with woundes wide,
 The ⁷Bares heade with the ⁸read Lyon, [B iij]
 So seemly into ⁹read golde set,
 That day shal slay the King with Crowne, 95
 Though many Lordes make great let,
 there shal attour the water of Forth

Set in golde the read Lyon.
 And many Lords out of the North
 to that battell shal make them boun, 100
 there shal Crescentes come ful keene,
 that weares the Croce as read as blood.
 On euerie side shal be sorrow seene,
 Defouled is many doughtie foode,
 Beside a Lough, vpon a lie, 105
 they shal assemble vpon a day,
 And many doughtie men shal die
 Few in quiet shal be found away,
 Our Scottish King shal come full keene,
 The read Lyon beareth he, 110
 A feddered arrow sharpe I weene
 Shal make him winke and warre to see,
 Out of the ¹⁰flde he shal be led
 When he is bloodie and woe for blood,
 Yet to his men shall he say 115
 For Gods loue ¹¹you turne againe
 and giue ¹²those Sutherne folke a ¹³fray,
 Why should I lose, the right is mine.
 My date is not to die this day.
 Yonder is ¹⁴falshoode fled away, 120
 and ¹⁵laughtie blowes his horne on hie,
 Our bloodie King that weares the Crowne,
 Ful boldie shal ¹⁶he battell byde,
 His Baner shal be beaten downe, 124
 And hath no hole his head to hide, [B iij, back]
 the Sternes three that day shall die,
 That beares the ¹⁷Harte in siluer sheene :
 there is no riches golde nor fee,
 May lengthen his life ¹⁸an howre I weene, 129
 Thus through the field ¹⁹that Knight shal ride
 And twise reskew the King with Crowne,
 He will make many a Banner yeeld,
 the Knight that beares the toddes three,
 He wil by force the field to ta,
 But when he sees the Lyon ²⁰die, 135
 Thinke ye wel he wil be wae,
 Beside him lightes beirnes three,
 Two is white the third is blae,

¹ Knights then did they sey ² right ³ wrongous heires ⁴ waies ⁵ tydings by
⁶ Then ⁷ Beares ⁸ red ⁹ red gold ¹⁰ field ¹¹ turne you ¹² these
¹³ frey ¹⁴ falset ¹⁵ loudlie ¹⁶ the battell bide ¹⁷ heart ¹⁸ one houre
¹⁹ the ²⁰ dee

the toddes three, shall slay the two, The third of them shall make him die, Out of the field shall goe no more, But one Knight and knaues three.	140	Set with Peock tailles three : and lustie Ladies heads two,	180
There comes a Banner red as ¹ blud, In a Ship of siluer sheene, With him comes many ² ferlie fude,	145	¹⁰ Unfaine of one, each other shal be, all through griefe to gether they goe I cannot tel who wins the gree, Each of them shal other slay,	185
to worke the Scottes much hurte and woe, There comes a Ghost out of the west, Is of another language then he, to the battle bownes him best, As soone as he the Senyour can see,	150	the ¹¹ Egill gray set into greene, that weares the ¹² hartes heades three, Out of the South he shal be seene, to light and ray him on a lie, With ¹³ 55. Knights that are keene,	[B 4, back] 190
the Ratches workes them great wanrest, Where they are rayed on a lie, I cannot tell who hath the best Each of them makes other die A white Swane set into blaë,	155	And Earles either two or three, From ¹⁴ Carlel shal come ¹⁵ bedene, Againe shal they it neuer see, at Pinkin Cleuch ¹⁶ their shal be spilt, Much gentle blood that day,	195
Shal semble from the South sey, To worke the ³ Northern folk great was,	[B 4.]	¹⁷ Their shal the ¹⁸ Baire lose the ¹⁹ gylt, And the Eagle beare it away, Before the water ²⁰ man calles Tyne, And there ouer ²¹ lyes a brig of stone, the ²² Baires three, looses the gree,	200
For knowe you well thus shal it be, the staikes ⁴ aucht with siluer set, Shal semble from the other side,	160	there shall the Eagle win his name. There comes a beast out of the west With him shal come a faire manie, His Baner ²³ hes beene seldome seene, A bastard trowe I best he be, Gotten ²⁴ with a Ladie sheene,	205
till he and the Swan be met, They shal worke woe with woundes wide, throw woundes wide, there weeds hath wet So boldlie will ⁵ there beirnes byde, It is no ⁶ rek who gets the best,	165	²⁵ With a Knight in priuitie His armes are full eath to knowe, the ²⁶ read Lyon ²⁷ bears he, that Lyon shall forsaken be, and ²⁸ he right glad to ²⁹ flee away	210
they shal both die in that same tide. There comes a Lord out of the North, Riding vpon a Horse of tree, that broad landes hath beyond Forth, The white Hinde beareth he,	170	Into an Orchyard on a lie, With hearbs greene and allayes gray, there will he inlaiked be, His men sayes harnesay, the Eagle puts his Baner on hie	215
And two Ratches that are blew, Set ⁷ into golde that is so free, that day the ⁸ Egill shal him slay, and then put up his Banner hie : The Lord that beares ⁹ the Losanes three,	175	and sayes the field he woone that day. their shal the Lyon lye full still, Into a vallie faire and bright,	
Set into gold with Gowles two, Before him shal a battel be, He weares a banner that is blew,			

¹ blood ² ferly food ³ Northerne ⁴ eight ⁵ their bairnes bide ⁶ reck
⁷ in golde ⁸ Egle ⁹ omits the ¹⁰ Unfaine ¹¹ Egle ¹² hearts heads
¹³ fiftie fwe ¹⁴ Carlill ¹⁵ bedeene ¹⁶ There shall ¹⁷ There ¹⁸ Beare
¹⁹ guilt ²⁰ men calls ²¹ lies ²² Beares ²³ hath bene ²⁴ betweene ²⁵ And
²⁶ red ²⁷ beareth ²⁸ be ²⁹ be

A Ladie shoutes with words shrile, and sayes woe worth ¹ the coward knight	220	and drink the gentle blood so free. When all these ferlies was away	235
Thy men are slaine vpon yon hil, To dead are many ² doughtie dight,	[B 5]	then sawe I non, but I and he then to the ⁴ birne couth I say	
Theareat the Lyon likes ill, And raises his baner hie on hight		Where dwels thou or in what countrie : Or who shal rule the Ile of Bretaine	
Vpon the moore that is so gray, Beside a headles Croce of stone,	225	From the North to the South sey :	240
There shal the Eagle die that day, And the read Lyon win the name		a French ⁶ wife shal beare the Son, Shall rule all Bretaine to the sey,	
The Eagles three shal lose the gree, that they haue had this manie day,	230	that of the Bruces blood shall come, As neere as the nint degree	
the read Lyon shal win renowne, Win all the field and beare away,		I franed fast what was his name,	245
One ³ Crowe shal come, another shal goe,		Where that he came from what countrie ? In Erslingtoun, I dwell at hame	248
		Thomas Rymour men calles me.	
¹ thee ² doughtie ³ Crowne ⁴ Bairne could ⁶ Queene ⁶ which			

[My idea at first was to print the above in 4-line stanzas, thus :

Still on my waies as I went,
Out through a land, beside a lie,
I met a beirne vpon the way ;
Me thought him seemlie for to see.

But, though this is clearly the original structure, it breaks down in twelve places, in the copy as we have it (a clear proof of its imperfections), and in others is so uncertain, that I finally resolved to let it alone, and give it in the form in which I found it. An examination will show :—

<i>Three</i> regular stanzas	1—12	:	<i>two</i> lines (half stanza)	12—14 ;
<i>two</i> " "	15—22	:	<i>three</i> uncertain lines	23—25 ;
<i>nine</i> " "	26—61	:	<i>three</i> lines of a stanza	62—64 ;
<i>twelve</i> " "	65—112	:	<i>nine</i> uncertain lines	113—121 ;
<i>two</i> " "	122—129	:	<i>three</i> odd lines	130—132 ;
<i>one</i> " "	133—136	:	<i>two</i> lines (half stanza)	137—138 ;
<i>ten</i> " "	139—178	:	<i>two</i> lines (half stanza)	179—180 ;
<i>four</i> " "	181—196	:	<i>six</i> uncertain lines	197—202 ;
<i>one</i> " "	203—206	:	<i>two</i> lines (half stanza)	207—208 ;
<i>six</i> " "	209—232	:	<i>two</i> lines (half stanza)	233—234 ;
<i>one</i> " "	235—238	:	<i>two</i> lines	239—240 ;
<i>one</i> doubtful	241—244	:		
<i>one</i> regular	245—248.]			

APPENDIX II.

"THE PROPHISIES OF RYMOUR, BEID, AND MARLYNG:"

AN ENGLISH PROPHECY.

[Lansdowne MS. 762, leaf 75, collated with Raml. MS. C. 813, leaf 72, back.]

WELL on my way as I forth wente
 ouer a londe beside a lee,
 I met *with*¹ a baron² vpon a bente,
 Me thought hym semely for to see. 4
 I prayed hym *with* good entente
 To abide awhile and speke *with* me:
 Som vncowth tidynges [in] verament
³That he wolde tell me ij or iij.³ 8

'Whan shall all these warres be gone⁴
 Or trewe men lyve in love &⁵ lee?
 Or whan shall falshed fange⁶ from home,
 Or Trewth shall blow his horne on hye?'

He said, 'man, set thy fote on myne,
 And ouer my Shulder loke thyn lie⁷
 The fairest sight I shall shewe the [syne]⁸
 That euer saw⁹ man in¹⁰ thy countre.'

Ouer a lande forth I blynte,¹¹
 A semely sight me thought I se—
 A crowned quene in verament,
 With a company of Angelles fre. 20

Her stede was grete & dappyll gray,
 her aparell was of silke of Inde;
 with peryll and perrye¹² set full gay,
 her stede was of a ferly kynde. 24

¹³So Ryally¹⁴ in her Arraye,
 I stode and mwsyd in my mynde;
 all the clerkes a live to day
 So fayre a lady colde¹⁵ none ffynde. 28

An Angyll kneled on his kne,
 and other many apon that land
 went to that faire of ffelycite,
 and gave her a holy water sprynckell
 in hand. 32

her crowne was Graven in graynis iij,
 she halowyd the grownd *with* her
 owen¹⁶ hand,
 both ffrythe & ffelde and fforest free;
 and I behelde¹⁷ and styll did stand. 36

She halowed yt both ¹⁸farre & nere;¹⁸
 the Angelles after her did hie;
 She said, 'Iesu, that bowght vs dere,¹⁹
 what here shalle many a dede corse
 lye! 40

'here most barnies²⁰ be brought on
 bere,
 and welle away²¹ shall ladyes crye,
 Iesu, that bowght mankynde so dere,
 vpon the[r] soules haue mercye! 44

then I lokyd ouer a lovely lande—
 that was a selcowth thinge²² in
 sight—

I se come ouer a bent rydaunde
²³A goodly man as armyde knyght.²⁴ 48
 he shoke his spere ferselye²⁵ in hand,
 Right cruell[ye] and kene;
 Styfly & stowre as he wolde stonde,
 he bare a shyld of Syluer shene. 52

¹ R. omits. ² buron ³⁻³ to tell me what hereafter shulde be. ⁴ done ⁵ L. or
⁶ be founde ⁷ thow nye ⁸ R. ffyne, L. nil. ⁹ see ¹⁰ of

¹¹ Ouer a louely lande as I was lente ¹² L. perle = perre ¹³ leaf 75, back.

¹⁴ Soo Ryall she was ¹⁵ can ¹⁶ om. ¹⁷ L. behinde yt and ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ L. fere & nye

¹⁹ L. man kynde ²⁰ burons ²¹ L. wyll away ²² L. inserts 'to se' ²³ leaf 76.

²⁴ He semed In felde as he wolde flight ²⁵ L. furiously

A crosse of gowles therin ¹did be; ¹
 he carpyd wordes cruell & kene,
 And shoke a shafte of a suer tree;
²I blent wele forder apou a ² grene:
 A nother armyd knyght I see,
 In his crest he bare, I wene,
 A Rede lyon that did rawmpyng be;
 he spake wordes cruell & kene 60
 to that other³ that was hym by.

This crowned quene rode them betwene,
 Right as fast as she colde⁴ hie,
 She saith, 'men what do you meane?
 stente *your* Stryff & *your* follye, 64
 Remember that ye⁵ be sayntes in heven;
 and fro my dere soñ comen am I
 to take this felde you [twoo] betwene.
 whereuer yt shall⁶ fall in ⁷burghe
 or bye.'⁷ 68

⁸ She said 'Seint G[e]orge thow art my
 knyght
 oft wronge heyres haue done the tene;
 Seint Andrew yet ⁹art thow in the ⁹
 right,
 of thy men if it be syldom sene.¹⁰ 72
 here [dye] shall many a doughty knyght,
 And gromes shall grone apou yat
 grene,
 here lordly leedes loo shall lyght, 75
 And many a douty knyght bydene.¹¹
 here shalbe gladismore that shall glad
 vs all,
 yt shalbe gladlyng of oure glee;
 yt¹² shalbe gladmore wher euer yt fall,
 but not gladmore by the see. 80
¹³ouer cache more¹³ a coke shall crowe,
 of[ter] tymes¹⁴ then tymes thre,
 In the thirde yere a ferly shall fall, 83
 At yermes¹⁵ broke a kyng shall dye.'

This crowned quene vanysshed awaye
 with her company of Angilles bright,
 so dide both these knyghtes that day;
 no more I ¹⁶sawe them¹⁶ in my sight,
 to a¹⁷ lytell mañ I toke my waye, 89
 I¹⁸ prayed hym with mayn & myght,
¹⁹more of this matier he wold me saye;
 he answered me with reason²⁰ Right:

' I ²¹wyll the tyll²¹ with trew Intent,
 but I haue no space to bide with the,
 To tell the [the] trowth in varament
 what shall fall & ²²gladismore be. 96
 dissencion amonges *your*²³ lordes shalbe
 lent,
 of them that are of blode full nye,
 where many a man shall their be shent,
 And doughtyly in batell dye. 100

Charyty shalbe layed awaye,
 That ryffe in londe hath been;
 Come shall tene and tray,
 This man can melle & mene. 104
 those²⁴ that love[s] well to-day
 belyve ²⁵shall tray & tene,²⁵
 In batell ²⁶shall barons²⁶ them araye
 Right doughtely²⁷ by dene. 108

gret batell[es] in Englund men shall see,
 be yt wronge or Right;
 The sone ageinst the father shalbe,
 Right frussely²⁸ to ffyght. 112
²⁹then shall truth be banysshed ouer
 the see,
 And falle [bothe] mayn and myght;
 then shall falcede³⁰ and envy

blowe³¹ their hornes on high[t]. 116
 This shall Reigne vnto the space
 of xxx³² yeres and thire;
 In Englund shalbe la[k]ke of grace,
 So much treson shall be. 120

¹⁻¹ I dyd see ²⁻³ & past fforwarde vppon the ³ other buron ⁴ might
⁵ ther ⁶ om. ⁷⁻⁷ L. bought or by ⁸ leaf 76, back. ⁹⁻⁹ thou art In
¹⁰ This line omitted in R. ¹¹ These four lines omitted in R. ¹² per
¹³⁻¹³ on Cachemore ¹⁴ offer ¹⁵ yernes ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ see them ¹⁷ that ¹⁸ and
¹⁹ leaf 77. ²⁰ reason and ²¹⁻²¹ wolde tell the ²² or ²³ om. ²⁴ these
²⁵⁻²⁵ shalbe traied by teene ²⁶⁻²⁶ buryns shall ²⁷ dulfully ²⁸ fercelye ffor
²⁹ leaf 77, back. ³⁰ falshede ³¹ L. browe

A kynge shall reigne without Right-
wysnes,

And put downe blod full hye ;
Another shalbe lost for fawlte of grace,
To here shalbe [grett] petye. 124

yet shall deth haue a dynt
In ¹tor[n]ament and fyght ;¹
he that hath ynglond hent
²shalbe made lowe in leght.² 128

³Then wenis men³ that ware shall stynt,
but yt Ryseth new on hight ;
Then shall ij prynces harnes hent,
with treason ther dedys be dyght. 132

wrongwise werkes lokes after wrake
with ⁴clerkes on-wissely⁴ wrought ;
Seint Bede in booke did make

⁵When the proffycies was sought, 136
that god he will vengyance take,
when all Englund is on lofte ;
A duke shall suffer for their sake,
which he to dede hath brought. 140

when euery [man] wenys that ware is
goone,

And Rest and pese shall be,
Then shall entre at Mylford haven
vpon a horse of tree 144

A banyshed barone⁶ that is borne
of brutes blode shalbe ;
through helpe of a[n] Egyl an-one
he shall broke all⁷ bretainne to the see.

be side bosworth a felde shalbe pight,⁸
ther mete shall bores two,
of dyuerse colors shalbe dight ;⁹
the one shall the other sloo. 152

A hartes hed with tenes¹⁰ bright
shall werke his armes¹¹ woo ;
The white bore [to dethe] shalbe dight :
The proffycies saith soo. 156

¹² After Lordes shall to London Ride
That mykyll is of prise ;¹³
A parliament shalbe sett that tyde,
and chose a kynge at ther devisse. 160
euery man of englund large & wyde
¹⁴wene[s] they ar sett of pryce,¹⁴
yet he shalbe called in that tyde
the kynge of covetyse.¹⁵ 164

when sonday goth by B and C,
And pryme by one¹⁶ and two,
the[n] selcouthe[s] men shall see,
that seme not to be soo. 168
Barnes¹⁷ in batell shall brednet¹⁸ be,
And barors¹⁹ of blod full bloo ;
the iijth lefe of the tree shall dye,
that lost hath bowes moo. 172

A ffedder from heth shall falle in hast,
his name shall torne to a²⁰ tree :
²¹dulfull dede shall women wast,²¹
²²And make folke to felde flee.²² 176

Traytors shall towers tast,
And doughtlesse be done to dye ;
All London shall trymble in hast, 179
²³A dede kynge when they shall²⁴ see.

A prynce shall bowne [hym] ouer a
flood,
ouer²⁵ a streme straye :²⁵
those that were neuer of Consciens good
shall breke truse on a daye. 184
Mekyll²⁶ care barnes brues ;²⁶
when they cast there truthes awaye ;
then in englonde men shall here newes,
And A kynge slaine on a day. 188

betwene a traytise of trust,²⁷
with a ffalse assent,
A castell sone shall lost be
Apon a Ryver [in] varament. 192

¹⁻¹ tournament off fight
³ R. then men weneth ; L. then wyns men
⁶ buron . ⁷ om. ⁸ L. piched
¹² leaf 78, back. ¹³ L. pryde ¹⁴ R. thinke they be sett att prise ; L. pryde
¹⁵ L. covitous ¹⁶ ij ¹⁷ burons ¹⁸ beyton ¹⁹ barons ²⁰ om.
²¹⁻²¹ dulfull dedes shall warnes waste ²²⁻²² make ffolkes to ffelles to fflye ²³ leaf 28.
²⁴ om. ²⁵⁻²⁵ the stremes staye

²⁻² shall make hym lowe to light
⁴⁻⁴ ? werkes, R. dedes vnwisely ⁵ leaf 78.
⁹ L. Right ¹⁰ tynes ¹¹ enemyes
²⁶⁻²⁶ bale burons bruen ²⁷ truse

[betwen] Seyton) & the see
then) shalbe warre In verement,]

And many a towne brent shalbe
1 when ware is with assent.¹ 196

2 then shall wacone woo & wrothe³
and barnys to batell shalbe bowne :⁴
their shall com ouer the water of⁵ forth
wele arrayed in golde, a rede lyon ; 200
with many a lorde out of the North,
for to bete their enymys downe.
mikell⁶ blode with hym⁷ & broth⁷
shalbe spylyd vpon [bentis browne].⁸

9 out of the south shall entre Right
a whyt lyon [vpp]on a daye,
ageinst the Rede lyon for to fyght ; 207
but their shall begyne a dulfull fraye.
their shall dye many a doughty knyght,
And ladsy [shalle] crye welle awaye !
Men of the chirch shall¹⁰ fiersly fyght,
with shaft and shelde them to¹¹ asaye :

Est and west, north and south,
shall¹² some Ryall¹² in their araye :
At mylnefylde they shall splaye banars
couth

Ageinst the Rede lyon that day. 216
they shall begyne at yernezrowth,
many a Ryall¹³ knyght in fay ;

14 Many a doughty¹⁴ that day be put to
deth ;
A [tt] flodden felde begynnys the
afraye : 220

15 Att Branstone¹⁵ hill shall semble a
herd,
and bright baners shall dysplaye ;
And many frekes shalbe a-ferde,¹⁶
and fewe to bere the¹⁷ lyff away. 224

those that is brede of vncouthe erde
shall doubtlesse lese they[r] lyffes yat
day :

18 The Rede Lyon was neuer a ferde, 227
he shall¹⁹ doubtlesse dy²⁰ that day.

A beme full²¹ burle shall ther²¹ blowe
vnder a montayne upon a lee ;
A splayd egle that men do know
shall make a C standertes [swe].²² 232
ther shall frekes full frely fall,
and of them he shall wyne the mon-
tane hie ;
doutye knyghtes shall clype²³ & call, 235
and many a man that day shall dye.

A bull & a bastarde together [shalle]
mete,
shall fyght in fylde full manfully ;
the Rede blode shall rone as rayne in
strete,
and many a doughty that day shall
dye. 240

the Rede lyon made shalbe full meke,
and come downe from a mountayne
hye ;
belyve be [fallen downe]²⁴ vnderfete
and in yernez broke slayne shall he²⁵
be. 244

A white lyon shall kepe a stale,
An admyrall shall come from the see,
And make²⁶ his enymys²⁷ for to fall,²⁷
And dryve them to the mountayn hye :
their shal be-gyn a dulfull swale, 249
when the Albenackes²⁸ blod begyn-
nyth to fle ;

29 they shall be dreven downe into a
dale,³⁰
ther fayrest flower [ther] lost shalbe.

1-1 and warre shall waken In violent

3 R. inserts as first line of stanza : That many a wiffe shall wydoo ben 3 orthe 4 L. bounde

5 L. at 6 L. Muche 7-7 ys broghte 8 L. a bent of brome (this line is omitted in R.)

9 leaf 79, back. 10 om. 11 selfe 12-12 semble rially 13 doughtye

14-14 and many 15-15 L. on bramstone 16 L. a-frayde 17 ther 18 leaf 80.

19 shalbe 20 dede 21-21 borle ther shall 22 L. to shake & swaye 23 clepe

24 L. falled, ? fouled 25 om. 26 doo 27-27 mekell bale 28 almanakes [!]

29 leaf 80, back. 30 This line is omitted in R.

the mowle¹ and the mayre mayden
shall be layed awaye,²

and shalbe done dullyfully to dye;
The golde anker shalbe slayne that day,
So shall the besand³ with the beres
thre;⁴ 256

A white lyon in armyn graye⁵
shall fyght that day full manfully,
to helpe the Egell [in] all he maye, 259
And make his enmys sayne to fle.⁶

the day shall fayle⁷ both leme & light,
the nyght shall entre vpon them tho,
their enmys ther [shalbe] put to flyght
with bloody woundes & hartes woo. 264
then shall they cry & call on light,
vnfaithfull⁸ frendes that are goo;⁹
their shall mysse manye a Ryall knyght
that gladly to that ffelde dyd goo. 268

on morow the day shalbe full bright.
the people shall asemble fare in fere,
som with hevy hartes & som with ligh[t];
who fyndes his frynde[s] shall make
good chere. 272

But the Rede lyon¹¹ to dede shalbe¹¹
dight,
and by the adwise of a woman clere
ther shall they fynde hym sone¹² full
Right,
or elles¹³ they wiste nott¹³ which he
were. 276

then leyve¹⁴ every lorde shall take,
and bowne¹⁵ them home to their
contry,
som with weale, & som with wrake, 279
who that haue lost their frendes fre.
but the rede lyon, wele I wot,
to London towne browght shalbe;
the whit lyon shall grath his gate 283
and to London [shalle] cary that fre.

¹ mule ²⁻³ mairemedon shalbe awaye ³ bason ⁴ L. ther; R. om. beres thre ⁵⁻⁵ harnes gaye
⁶ ffye ⁷ ffade ⁸ on feithfull ⁹⁻⁹ is agoo ¹⁰ leaf 81. ¹¹⁻¹¹ vnto dede is
¹² om. ¹³ L. not wyt ¹⁴ L. lyvve ¹⁵ L. Bounde ¹⁶ L. belongeth ¹⁷ Bridlynton to
¹⁸ warre ¹⁹ L. Arsedowne ²⁰⁻²⁰ itt shulde not deire ²¹ leaf 81, back. ²² is
²³ Almanake ²⁴ gliderethe ²⁵⁻²⁵ Stanesmore begynethe the ²⁶⁻²⁶ askethe noo thyng
²⁷ Duke out. L. had also originally duike ²⁸ leaf 82. ²⁹ full lowe ³⁰ many a ladye

then ther shall happen such a chauns;
the prynce that is beyonde the flode
two townes shall take that longe¹⁶ to
Fraunce, 287

with lytyll shedyng of Crysten) blod;
boldely his people he shall avaunce,
and nother spare for golde ne good.
bredlynton¹⁷ this profficy grauntes, 291
and so did bede that well vndirstoud.

when euery man said yt shulde be were,¹⁸
Arsaldowne¹⁹ then proficied he,
And said in englund²⁰ y not dere²⁰ 295
²¹ tyll vij yere com) and goan) shulde be.
In hast ther shall²² a messynger
In Albanack²³ from ouer the see,
that many a man shall suffer dere
th[r]ought his falsed and sotylty. 300

A childe with a chaplet shall raye hym
right,
with many a hardy man of hande,
with many a helme that clyderith²⁴ bright
And he shall com ouer soelway sand;
on²⁵ stansy more begyn to²⁵ fyght, 305
wher lordes shall light vpon that londe,
And²⁶ aske Nothing²⁶ but his Right,
yet shall his enmys hym with stand.

holly chirch shall harnys hent,
and iij yeres stonde on stere,
mete & fyght vpon a bent,
Even as the[y] seculers were. 312
the Ruff shall Ruffully be Rent,
And stond in grete daunger,
vnto the synne of Simony be shent
that they haue vsed here. 316

A kinge²⁷ of Denmarke shall hym dyght
²⁸ Into Englund vpon a day,
[pat] shall make many a lorde low²⁹ to
lyght,
And ladyes³⁰ to say wele away! 320

then frekys in felde shall frely fyght ;
 A kynge shall com̄ out of Norway ;
 The blake flet *wit̄h* mayn and myght
 their enymys full¹ boldly shall²
 asay. 324

In bretayn londe shalbe a knyght,
 on̄ them shall make a felon̄ fray,
 A bytter bere *wit̄h* mayn and myght 327
 shall brynge a Ryall Rowt that day.
 ther³ shall dy³ many a [stalworthe]
 knyght,
 And dryve them to [the] flodes graye ;
 they shall losse both sayle & syght,⁴
 And a crowned kynge be slayne that
 day. 332

then shall the North Ryse ageinst y⁵
 south,
 And the est ageinste the west :
 care in contry shalbe couthe,⁵
 vntyll couytyce downe be caste. 336
 out of a dene shall drawe a wolf
 Right Radly in that rest,
 And he⁶ shall come in at the south,
 And bett downe of the best. 340

7 on sondysforth shall this⁷ sorow be
 sene,
⁸ 9 on the south syde vpon a monday ;⁹
 The[r] gromes shall grone vpon a grene,
 besyde the greues¹⁰ graye. 344
 their standith a castell on̄ a montayn
 clene—
 thus Arsalldoune¹¹ did saye—
 which shall do there enymys tene,
 and save englond that day. 348

to gethers ther shall mete *wit̄h* banars
 bright
 crowned kynges tare,
 And hew on other *wit̄h* mayne and myght,
 tyll one of them slayne shalbe. 352

the blake flet of Norway shall take y¹²
 flyght,
 And be full fayne to flee ;
 they shalbe dreven ouer¹² Rockes &
 clyffes,¹²
 And many one drowned shalbe. 356

they shall flee in the salt strond,¹³
 fer forthe in¹⁴ the fome :
 xx¹⁴ thowsand *wit̄h*out dynt of hand,
 shall losse their lyves ylke one. 360
 A darf¹⁵ dragoñ, I vnderstonde,
 shall come yet ouer the fome,
 And *wit̄h* hym bryng a Ryall
 baunde,¹⁶
 ther lyves shall yet be lorne. 364

this darf¹⁵ dragoñ, I vnderstond,
 that comyth ouer the flode[s] browne,
¹⁷ when his tayle is in Ireland,
 his hede shalbe in stafford towne ; 368
 he shall so boldly bryng his bonde,¹⁸
 thynkyng to wyn Renowne ;
 beside a welle ther is a stronde¹⁹
 ther he shall be beten downe. 372

on Snapys more they shal be-gyne,
 these doughty men & dere,
wit̄h sterne stedes together thring,²⁰
 and hew on helmes clere. 376
 an Egyll shall mount *wit̄h*out lettyng
 and freshely fyght in²¹ fere,
 and in a ford [shalle] kyll a kynge ;
 thus marlyon²² said in fere.²³ 380

knyghtes shall rydd²⁴ in ryche araye,
 and hew on²⁵ helmes bright :²⁵
 a gerfacon shall mounthe that day, 383
 and iij²⁶ merlyon[s] fers of flyght.²⁶
 on gladmore, I dare well say,
 dye shall many a knyght ;
 who shall bere the gree²⁷ away
 no sege can rekyne²⁸ right. 386

¹ om. ² ffor to ³⁻³ dye shall ⁴ fight ⁵ L. wroght ⁶ om.
⁷⁻⁷ on the Southe side Sondiforde shall ⁸ leaf 82, back.

⁹⁻⁹ vpon a monday In the morninge gaye ¹⁰ grayves ¹¹ L. arsedoune
¹²⁻¹² Roche & Cliffe ¹³ strounde ¹⁴ on ¹⁵ derfe ¹⁶ L. bownde ¹⁷ leaf 83.
¹⁸ bande ¹⁹ fforde ²⁰ L. therin ²¹ on ²² merlyn ²³ prophesye ²⁴ counter
²⁵⁻²⁵ helmettes clere ²⁶⁻²⁶ marleons In fere ²⁷ L. gere ²⁸ L. reke a

the egyll shall so wery be
for fyghtynge, as I wene,
he wyll take ¹an llande¹ in the see,
wher ²herbes is faire & alsoo grene;²
³then shall mete hym a faire lady, 393
she shall speke *with* voice so clene:
'helpe thy menne Right hardely⁴
loke where they dye in batelles kene!'

then shall this egyll buske *with* pride,
th[r]ought counsell of this faire lady,
entre ⁵in [on] euery side,⁵ 399
make xx⁴ standertes⁶ for to swey.⁶
A rampyng lyon, mekyll of pride,
In syluer sett *with* Army⁷ free,
shall helpe the egyll in that tyde,
where shall many a doughty dye. 404

In a forest stonddith⁸ Ookes thre,
In a fryth all by ther one;
beside a hedlesse crosse of tree
A well shall Ronne of blode alone. 408
Marlyon⁹ said in his profecy
that in ⁹their stonddith⁹ a stone:
A crowned kyng shall heddid be
And¹⁰ to losse his lyffe alone. 412

The egyll shall fyersly fyght that day—
to hym shall draw hys frendes nere;¹¹
a Reunaunde¹² hounde, *withoute* delaye,
shall ¹³bryng the chace¹³ both fere &
nere. 416
barnes¹⁴ shall on helmettes laye
¹⁵doubtfull dyntes on sides sere;
twis for sworne, I dare well say,
ther song shalbe on sorow ther.¹⁶ 420

the derf dragon shall dye in fight,
the bere shall holde his hede on high;
A wyld wolf low shall light;
the brydelyd stede shall manfully 424

In felde ageinst his enymes fight,
the dowble flowre maynteyn shall he;
a swane shall Swymne *with* mayn and
myght;
this bede saith in his profecy. 428

The bull of westmerlande shall bell &
bere,
the boldest best in varament;
he shall afterward *with*out were 431
be made Iustice from tyne¹⁷ to trent.
a bastard shall do dedys dere,
the fox he shall in handes hent,
the ffullemarte¹⁸ shalbe disfigured in
fere,
what side soeuer he be [on] lent. 436

then shall the egyll calle on hight,¹⁹
and say this fylde is *our*²⁰ to day;
then shall aliens take their flyght,
their songe shalbe wele awaye! 440
the duble Rose shall laughe²¹ full Right,
And bere the gre for *euer* & aye,
when false men²² shall take ther flyght,
as arse[l]down²² hymself did say. 444

then spake the²³ holly man that men
called²⁴ Bede—
In profecy saith [he] in fere:
A childe *with* a chaplet shall do a dede
²⁵That is doughtye & deere;²⁵ 448
In handes he shalbe take[n] at nede,
and brought to his blode full nere.
he shalbe saved that day from drede
with a prynce that hath no pere; 452

And ²⁶of that barne he shall haue grete²⁶
pety
[that] tyll hym is leve²⁷ & dere;
And afterward, in profecy
as clerkes sayne²⁸ in fere, 456

¹⁻¹ L. in Irelande ²⁻³ L. herkes ar faire & ale is ³ leaf 83, back. ⁴ egerlye
⁵⁻⁵ shall In on the Southe side ⁶⁻⁶ to flee ⁷ hermens ⁸ standes
⁹⁻⁹ the fforde ther standes ¹⁰ & ther ¹¹ neere ¹² ravande ¹³⁻¹³ ring the shawes
¹⁴ burons ¹⁵ leaf 84. ¹⁶ here ¹⁷ L. tyme ¹⁸ L. fyluer or syluer
¹⁹ R. heght; L. high ²⁰ owres ²¹ L. lought ²² Arsaldoune ²³ that ²⁴ calles
²⁵⁻²⁵ L. that doughty dere & fere ²⁶ om. ²⁷ leefe ²⁸ saye

he shall Rayne in¹ Ryalyte
v & fyfty yere.
then ² of them lordes shall a² coun-
sell be
that doughty are³ & dera. 460

when all this is comprehended to⁴ ende,
than men may bide & blyne;
to London then⁵ lordes shall wende
with that Ryall⁶ kyng. 464

⁷ then all wares is brought to ende
[that] hath been englonde within;
⁸ Suche a⁸ grace god shall send,
[that] exyled shalbe all synne. 468

then A parliament he shall make,
that kyng of high degre:
⁹ truse In⁹ englond shalbe take
with his blod full nye. 472

then ¹⁰ goo shall ware¹⁰ & wyked wrake
that longe in englonde hath be,
then shall all sorow in englond slake
this saith the profecye. 476

then¹¹ the blake flett of Norway is
commyn¹² & gone,
And drenchid in the ¹³ flode truly;¹³
Mekelle¹⁴ ware hath bene beforen,
but after shall none be; 480

then shall truth blow his horne
truly lowde and hye;¹⁵
he shall Reigne both even & morne, 483
And fflashed ¹⁶ shalle banished be.¹⁶

then shall this kyng a protector make—
his cosyn of his kynne;
then the farre¹⁷ flode he shall take,
vncouthe londes to wyne, 488
for to fyght for Iesus¹⁸ sake,
¹⁹ that dyed for all our synne,
And he shall worke them woo and wrake,
or euer he byde or blyne. 492

at bareflet²⁰ he shall do battelles thre—
this prince of mekyl²¹ myght,
And to parys wend shall he
with many a doughty knyght. 496
ther shall they yelde hym vp the kaye²²
of all the Citie wyght,
[And] vnto Rome wend shall he
with many A doughty knyght. 500

The pope of rome with possession
shall mete hym the²³ same day,
And all the cardynalles shalbe bowne²⁴
In their best araye. 504
Ther shall knele iij kinges with crowne,
and homage make that day,
And many of the spirituall of Rome
shall brynge hym on the waye. 508

to the woodes²⁵ then shall he Ryde—
this comly kyng with crowne,
And wyn his enymys on euery side,
And boldely bete them downe. 512
Ther shall advaile²⁶ no erthly pride
in castell, towre, ne towne,
but geve they warkyng wondes wyde,
²⁷ who²⁸ ageinst hym in batell is
bowne.²⁸ 516

then to Iherusalem this prince²⁹ shall fare
as conqueror of myght
vij mortalle³⁰ batelles shall he wynne
there
And the turkes to dede shall dight. 520
[then to the sepulcre shalle he ffare
To see that gracious sight,
where cryst ffior vs suffred sare³¹
when he to dethe was dight.] 524

All the Citie of Iherusalem
shall a-Raye them with Ryalte,
And for to fyght shalbe [fulle] fayne
vpon the heithen meynye. 528

¹ In welthe & ² shall lordes off ³ is ⁴ to an ⁵ these ⁶ noble ⁷ leaf 85.
⁸ And suche ⁹⁻⁹ L. the ruffin ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ shall goo woo ¹¹ when ¹² L. compis
¹³⁻¹³ ffrome so free ¹⁴ L. much ¹⁵ L. hight ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ L. shalbe vanysht awaye
¹⁷ faire ¹⁸ Iesu ¹⁹ leaf 85, back. ²⁰ harefleete ²¹ L. mylke ²² L. kyng
²³ that ²⁴ L. bound ²⁵ Rodes ²⁶ L. avale them ²⁷ leaf 86. ²⁸ L. bownd
²⁹ L. parys ³⁰ L. Mortye ³¹ MS. sore

To Synay that prince shall bowne anone,
wher seint Kateryn doth beryed be ;
vij hethen kynges ther shalbe slayne,
that sight or euer he [se]¹ 532

xxxij² batelles that crowned kyng
shall wyn, I vnderstonde,
[and] then the holly crosse he shall
wyne,

And bryng yt into criston lande. 536
In hast their³ shall serue³ to hym,
that dare not him withstonde ;

xxxij² hethen kynges
he shall cristen with his hand. 540

he shall send this rich Relycke to Rome,
to that worthy wones :

All the belles, I tell you sone,
they shall ryng [alle] at ons ; 544
the pope⁴ shall mete yt with prossi-
sioun,

⁵ And⁶ all the cardynalles for the
nones,

And all the senators of Rome
shall knele on knes at ons. 548

then towardes⁷ Iherusalem this kyng
shall hie

with many a crysten wight,
In the vale of Iosephate y^{er}⁸ shall he
dye
without batell or fyght. 552

xxiiij⁹ kynges that do crystened be
shall take that¹⁰ worthy wight,
[and] bryng hym to Rome Right hastely
before the popes¹¹ sight. 556

all the belles of Rome at one[s],
ye¹² shall wele vnderstond,
they shall rynge withyn those¹³ wones
without helpe of mannes hand. 560

the pope shall bowne [hym] to bery his
bones
in seint peter[3] mynster wher yt doth
stonde,

¹⁴ All that clerkes [of Rome] that ons¹⁴
Shall not styre that bere¹⁵ with hand.

then the pope, with many a kyng
and cardenalles grete plenty,
to the cite of Colyñe they shall hym
bryng,

where ther lyes kynges three, 568
that offred to Iesu a ryche thing¹⁶
that nyght he borne did be,

¹⁷ bethelem that burgh¹⁷ withyn,
¹⁸ of a Mayden free. 572

Than balthaser shall speke on heght¹⁹
and say to ²⁰ Melchore in fere :²⁰

'Make a rome, curteys knyght,
²¹ our fourt felow²¹ is here.' 576

A grete²² of golde hath Rased²³ in sight,
vpon a good maner,

And ther they shall bery this worthi wight
betwene thes kynges dere. 580

the pope²⁴ shall ²⁵ grave hym ²⁵ with his
hond

trewly, this holly kyng,
And all the lordes of faire england
he shall geve them his blessinge. 584

They shall bowne²⁶ ouer [the] stalworth
strond

Fayre england withyn ;
Many shall wayle & wryng ther hande²⁷
when they here that tydyng²⁸. 588

[then] he that was protector england
withyn

hath wrought so wordely,²⁹
In London they [shalle] crowne hym kyng
with gret solempnytie. 592

¹ MS. be ² Two and thritte ³⁻³ shall be sworne ⁴ pope offe Rome [pope crossed through]
⁵ leaf 86, back. ⁶ with ⁷ to ⁸ om. ⁹ ffoure & thrittye ¹⁰ this
¹¹ Crossed through in R. ¹² yow ¹³ this ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ butt all the clerkes of Rome this ones
¹⁵ beere ¹⁶ relike ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ In Bethelme that riall borough ¹⁸ leaf 87.
¹⁹ L. high ²⁰⁻²⁰ Melchesser in ffere ²¹⁻²¹ our ffourthe brother ²² grate ²³ reayd
²⁴ Crossed through in R. ²⁵⁻²⁵ laye In grave ²⁶ bowne them ²⁷ L. handes
²⁸ B. tithing ; L. tydynges ²⁹ worthely

And so noble shalbe ¹ his reigne, ¹ In tyme when yt ² shalbe, ³ lv yere ³ Englonde with yn, so long his Rayne shalbe. 596	In the yere of our lorde, I vnder- stonde, ¹³ xvc yere, ¹³ & one and thirty folowand, all this shall apere; 616
than shall falshede be vanysched away ⁴ ⁵ and trouthe shalbe redy trew men both by nyght & day shall lyve in charytie 600	¹⁴ the crosse in ¹⁴ cristen mennes hande, ¹⁵ that is worthi and dere, yt shalbe brought I vnderstond to Rome ¹⁶ wythouten were. ¹⁶ 620
dayly, me ⁶ thynke, we ought to pray to god in trynytie, for ⁷ to exele all vickednes away ⁸ pray we [vn]to our lady 604	betwene the walcoen & the wall this lytyll man mett with me, ¹⁷ tolde me this proffecy all, And what tyme it shulde be. 624
I pray[ed] this littell man in fere that he wolde truly [vn]to me say, when shall ⁹ this ende without[en] were, or when shall come that day? 608	god that dranke esell & gall and for vs dyed on a tree, when he thynketh tyme to tall, to heven bryng you & me! Amen.
he said, 'a long tyme thou holdest me but yet I wyll the say, [here, of yt ¹⁰ I shall not fayle a ¹¹ yere, And thou ¹² wylt take hede ¹² what I say:— 612	Explicis proficia Venerabilis bede, Marlionis, Thome Asslaydon et Aliorum

¹⁻¹ this realme ² this ³⁻³ fyve & fyftyte yeres ⁴ ffor aye ⁵ leaf 87, back.
⁶ L. my ⁷ om. ⁸ ffor aye ⁹ L. inserts all ¹⁰ that ¹¹ on
¹²⁻¹² take good hede ¹³⁻¹³ ffyffetene hundreth In fere ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ The hollye cross In-to
¹⁵ L. handes ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ L. without ware; R adds, ¶ finis, and ends here. ¹⁷ leaf 88.

The Lansdowne MS. 762 also contains, among a collection of short propheticall notes, the following of

THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE.

leaf 49, back.

Thomas of Ashledoñ sayth the faderis of the moderis church / shall cause the Roses bothe to dye in his Avne fonte ther / he was cristened.

leaf 50.

Thomas of Ashledoñ sayeth the egle of the / trewe brute shall see all inglonde in peas & rest / both spirituall and temporall; and euery estate of / in thaire degre and the maydens of englonde / bylde your howses of lyme and stone.

APPENDIX III.

AN ENGLISH PROPHECY

OF

GLADSMOOR, SANDISFORD, AND SEYTON AND THE SEYE,

PREDICTED OF 1553.

[*Sloane 2578, leaves 38 b—41.*]

The begynninge of warres & myschef in england as Bede saiethe is *anno domini* 1553. The first battell shalbe fowght betwin englishe men & the scottes with y^e frenchmen on yer company at Somerhill beside Newecastell (the battell shalbe sore¹) the scottes & frenchemen shall ouercom, scape who that maye, vntill a newe yeare. ¶ The next yeare after this battell, shall Philip of Spayne com in *with* a greate hoste betwin Seyton & the seye, beside Westcheschester,² and at a Skyrmyshe there shalbe slaine 5000 on bothe parties. Then shall thei mete *with* yer greate battelles at Gladismore we & they, & there shall our nobles fyght so greate a battell *with* them that it shalbe hard to saye who shall haue the better. on the morowe thei shall mete agayne at Snapes moore³ therby wheare he shalbe slaine & all his men, and thende shalbe at ⁴Sandisford downe, wheare yer shippes shall lye till y^e crowes buylde yer neastes in them. ¶ Then shall com owte of Denmark a Duke and he shall come into England *with* 16 Lordes, *with* whose concent he shalbe crowned kinge in a towne of Northumberland, and shall raigñ 3 monethes & odd dayes. he shall fight a battell at Snapes more,³ wheare he shalbe slaine, & xx^m of his men drowned in the seye. ¶ Then comethe Pole owte of rome and his power shalbe so greate *yat* he shall not cease vntill he win to London and then shall he fight so soare a battell *yat* none shall knowe who shall haue y^e better and so on the morowe bi the mone light thei shall come to London, and thei shall fight an other battell betwin Peter, John, Jamys Gylys, & charynge crosse, then at that battell shall thei wyne London & contynue there a while doinge yer will. Then shall a Cardynall *yat* neuer was worthy of that estate, come to the tower of London, and take one by the hand, & saye come forthe ientle brother & though the poles haue bene so longe drye in england *yat* men myght wade ouer them in pynsons, *which* nowe ouerflowe all England. ⁵¶ Then shall come the frenche kinge at

¹ The words between () are inserted in another hand.² Sic.³ "Sandes more" written over in another hand⁴ fol. 39.⁵ fol. 39, back.

waburne holte (or hoke)¹ 15 myles from norwiche, there shall he be lett in bi a false mayre and that shall he kepe for his lodging a while, then at his returne he shalbe mett at a place callid the redd bank, y^e place is 30 miles from Westchester wheare at y^e first assaye shalbe slaine ix^m welchmen, and y^e dowble nombre of enemyes, then on y^e morowe shall y^e stranger desire a peace for 3 yeares moare, but y^e pease shall endure no longer then ij maye² dayes when y^e dayes waxe somewhat longe, then shall mete bothe parties at Sandisforde, and yer shalbe so mortall a battell that xx^m enemyes shalbe dryven into the seye without dent of swerd ¶ then shall our noble kinge toward London ryde, & at Stanesmore yer shall he mete & fight with y^e pole & y^e spiritualltie a greate battel, so yat yer shalbe slaine xxx^m prestes & prestes servauntes which shall haue shaven crownes as yer maisters, & made to beleve yat thei shall dye goddes servauntes then shall the kinge ryde to London & 23 Aldermen shall lease yer heddes & a besom³ of equitie shall swepe all thinges cleane, holly churche shall tremble & quake, therfor lett them to yer prayourz take. ¶ A prophet of portyngale saythe, Awake englishmen & guive hede, for a tyme shall come when a kinge with a myter shall raigne ouer you & he shalbe a wulf of y^e seye, he shall holde in him y^e strengthe of ij bisschoppz, & the shadowe of a pope shall lye in him by y^e sufferance of a Lion, & he shall take his iourney northward, & shall come againe into his contrey, & in the hemme of his mantell shalbe lapped ij thinges hunger, pestilence, & sorowe. ¶ An heremyt of Fraunce saithe Woo be to you englishmen, drawe neare, for it shalbe said emonge you, wuld god I weare for 3 monethes a Foxe in a hole lyenge, a bird in the Aire Flyenge, or a fishe in y^e seye swymyng. ¶ Bede saythe, vnto a councell in winter englishmen make haste, and from a Feaste in Somer Fle, fle, fle. ¶ An Abbott of the land said, gayve you hede englishmen when a privie hatred shal be in merlyn castell⁴ betwin a larke, or a⁵ rearemouse, and a Raven, which shalbegynne in one daye, but shall not be endid in 3 yeares. but within yat yeare shalbe a councell in winter and in somer folowinge shall y^e greate men of england be bidden to a feaste, amonge whom thei shall saye, woo, woo, woo, what shall we doo, whither shall we goo, but to y^e messenger of deathe. ¶ M. shall Raise vpon you greate tribulacion & sorowe, the kinge of y^e romans & grekes shall com vpon you with a greate fury, and E. shall rise owte of his slepe like a lyve man, whom all men thought to be deade. ¶ The trone of constance, & thomas with his tales all said, yat y^e saxons shuld chuse them a Corde yat shuld brynge them all vnder. A deade man shuld make betwin them a corde, & yat shuld be right myche wonder, that he yat deade is & buried in sight, shuld rise againe & live in lande, thurgh y^e comfort of a yonge knight, yat fortune hathe chosen to hir husband, y^e wheale shall turne to hym right, yat fortune hathe chosen to be hire⁶ feere. ¶ When Father blithe the begger can saye ij credes, & hathe libertye to walke with his wallet, and mother symkyn of the sowthe takethe againe hir beades, then thowe preste take hede of thi pallett.

Finis.

¹ Added by another hand.

² "Midsomer" is written over "maye."

³ fol. 40.

⁴ "Salisbury castell" written over these words.

⁵ fol. 40, back.

⁶ fol. 41.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

The Romance and Prophecies of

Thomas of Enceldoune

PRINTED FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS ;

WITH

Illustrations from the Prophetic Literature

OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.

EDITED, WITH

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

—
MDCCLXXV.
—

Price Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

The Publications for 1870 are :—

40. *English Gilds, their Statutes and Customs, 1389 A.D.* Edited by the late Toulmin Smith, Esq., and Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, with a Preliminary Essay, in 5 parts, on 'The History and Development of Gilds, and The Origin of Trades-Unions,' by Dr Lujo Brentano. 21s.
41. *William Lauder's Minor Poems.* Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 3s.
42. *Bernardus De Cura Rei Familiaris,* with some Early Scottish Prophecies, &c. From a MS., K.K. 1.5, in the Cambridge University Library. Ed. by J. R. Lumby, M.A. 2s.
43. *Ratis Raving, and other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse.* Edited from the Camb. Univ. MS. K.K. 1.5, by J. R. Lumby, M.A. 3s.

The Publications for 1871 are :—

44. *The Alliterative Romance of Joseph of Arimathie, or The Holy Grail: a fragment from the Vernon MS.; with Wynkyn de Worde's and Pynson's (A.D. 1526 and 1520) Lives of Joseph;* edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 5s.
45. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care,* edited from 2 MSS., with an English translation, by HENRY SWEET, Esq., of Balliol College, Oxford. Part I. 10s.
46. *Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems, in Old English of the 11th, 14th, and 15th centuries.* Edited from MSS. by the Rev. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D. 10s.
47. *Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part V.,* containing his Minor Poems, edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Esq., with a critical Essay by Prof. NICHOL of Glasgow. 3s.
48. *The Times' Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., 1616; ed. by J. M. COWPER, Esq. 6s.*

The Publications for 1872 are :—

49. *An Old English Miscellany, containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, and Religious Poems of the 18th cent.,* ed. from the MSS. by the Rev. R. MORRIS, LL.D. 10s.
50. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care,* edited from 2 MSS., with an English translation, by HENRY SWEET, Esq. Part II. 10s.
51. *The Life of St Juliana, 2 versions, with translations; edited from the MSS., A.D. 1230, by the Rev. T. O. COCKAYNE and Mr E. BROCK. 2s.*
52. *Palladius on Husbandry, english't (ab. 1420 A.D.),* edited from the unique MS. in Colchester Castle, by the Rev. BARTON LODGE, M.A. Part I. 10s.

The Publications for 1873 are :—

53. *Old-English Homilies, Series II.,* from the unique 13th-century MS. in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, with a photolithograph; three Hymns to the Virgin and God, from a unique 13th-century MS. at Oxford, a photolithograph of the music to two of them, and transcriptions of it in modern notation by Dr. RIMBAULT, and A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S.; the whole edited by the Rev. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D. 8s.
54. *The Vision of Piers Plowman, Text C (completing the 3 versions of this great poem),* with an Autotype; and two unique alliterative poems: RICHARD THE REDELES (by William, the author of the *Vision*); and THE CROWNED KING; edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 18s.
55. *Generydes, a Romance, edited from the unique MS., ab. 1440 A.D.,* in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, by W. ALDIS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb. Part I. 3s.

EXTRA SERIES.

The Publications for 1867 are :—

- I. *WILLIAM OF PALERNE; or, WILLIAM AND THE WERWOLF.* Re-edited from the unique MS. in King's Coll., Cambridge, by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 13s.
II. *EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,* with especial Reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S. Part I. 10s.

The Publications for 1868 are :—

- III. *CAXTON'S BOOK OF CURTESYE, in Three Versions: 1, from the unique printed copy: 2, from the Oriel MS. 79; 3, from the Balliol MS. 354.* Ed. by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. 6s.
IV. *HAVELOK THE DANE.* Re-edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A., with the sanction and aid of the original editor, Sir FREDERIC MADDEN. 10s.
V. *CHAUCER'S BOETHIUS.* Edited from the two best MSS. by R. MORRIS, Esq. 12s.
VI. *CHEVELERE ASSIGNE.* Re-edited from the unique MS. by H. H. GIBBS, Esq. 3s.

The Publications for 1869 are :—

- VII. *EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,* with especial Reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S. Part II. 10s.
VIII. *QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACADEMY, A BOOK OF PRECEDENCE, &c.* Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. ROSSETTI, Esq., and E. OSWALD, Esq. 13s.
IX. *AWDELEY'S FRATERNITY OF VACABONDES, HARMAN'S CAVEAT, etc.* Edited by E. VILKS, Esq., and F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq. 7s. 6d.

The Publications for 1870 are :—

- X. *ANDREW BOORDE'S INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, 1547, and DYETARY OF HELTH, 1542; with BARNES IN THE DEFENCE OF THE BERDE, 1542-3.* Edited, with a Life of BOORDE, and an account of his Works, by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. 18s.
XI. *BARBOUR'S BRUCE, Part I.* Edited from the MSS. and early printed editions, by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 12s.

The Publications for 1871 are :—

- XII. *ENGLAND IN HENRY VIII'S TIME: a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by THOMAS STARKEY, Chaplain to Henry VIII.* Ed. by J. M. COWPER, Esq. Pt. II. 12s. (Pt. I, *Starkey's Life & Letters*, is in preparation.)
XIII. *A SUPPLICACYON OF THE BEGGERS,* by SIMON FISH, 1528-9 A.D., ed. by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.; with a SUPPLICATION TO OUR MOSTE SOUERAYNE LORDE: A SUPPLICATION OF THE POORE COMMONS; and THE DECAYE OF ENGLAND BY THE GREAT MULTITUDE OF SHEEP, ed. by J. M. COWPER, Esq. 6s.
XIV. *EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,* with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S. Part III. 10s.

The Publications for 1872 are :—

- XV. *ROBERT CROWLEY'S THIRTY-ONE EPIGRAMS, VOYCE OF THE LAST TRUMPET, WAY TO WEALTH, &c., 1550-1 A.D.,* edited by J. M. COWPER, Esq. 12s.
XVI. *CHAUCER'S TREATISE ON THE ASTROLABE.* Edited from the MSS. by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 6s.
XVII. *THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLANDE, 1549 A.D.,* with an Appendix of four contemporary English Tracts (1542-48), edited by J. A. H. MURRAY, Esq. Part I. 10s.

Early English Text Society.

The Subscription is £1 ls. a year [and £1 ls. (Large Paper, £2 12s. 6d.) additional for the EXTRA SERIES], due in advance on the 1st of JANUARY, and should be paid either to the Society's Account at the Head Office of the Union Bank, Princes Street, London, E.C., or by Money-Order (made payable at the Chief Office, London) to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 9, Milner Street, Islington, London, N., and crossed 'Union Bank.' (United-States Subscribers, who wish their Texts posted to them, must pay for postage 5s. a year extra for the Original Series, and 3s. a year for the Extra Series.) The Society's Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists.

The Publications for 1875 are:—

59. THE EARLY ENGLISH VERSION OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI," in four Texts, edited by the Rev. R. MORRIS, M.A., LL.D. Part II. 15s.
60. MEDITACIUNES ON THE SOPER OF OUR LORDE (perhaps by Robert of Brunne), edited from the MSS. by J. M. COWPER, Esq. 2s. 6d.
61. THE ROMANCE AND PROPHECIES OF THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE, printed from five MSS.; edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. 10s. 6d.

The Publications for 1876 will be chosen from:—

62. THE EARLY ENGLISH VERSION OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI," in four Texts, edited by the Rev. R. MORRIS, M.A., LL.D. Part III. 15s.
FRANCIS THYNNNE'S EMBLEMES AND EPIGRAMS, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. [In the Press.]
NOTES ON PIERS PLOWMAN, by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. Part I. [In the Press.]
THE BLICKLING HOMILIES, edited from the Marquis of Lothian's Anglo-Saxon MS. of 971 A.D., by the Rev. R. MORRIS, LL.D. Part II. [In the Press.]
THE LAY FOLK'S MASS-BOOK, four texts, edited from the MSS. by the Rev. T. F. SIMMONS, Canon of York. [In the Press.]
BE DOMES DÆGE (Bede's *De Die Judicii*) and other short Anglo-Saxon Pieces, edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, B.D. [In the Press.]
PALLADIUS ON HUSBONDRIE, english (ab. 1420 A.D.), edited from the unique MS. in Colchester Castle, by the Rev. BARTON LODGE, M.A. Part II. [In the Press.]
MERLIN, Part IV., containing Preface, Index, and Glossary. Edited by H. B. WHEATLEY, Esq.

The Publications for 1874 are:—

56. THE GEST HYSTORIALE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY, translated from GUIDO DE COLONNA, in alternative verse; edited from the unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, by D. DONALDSON, Esq., and the late Rev. G. A. PANTON. Part II. 10s. 6d.
57. THE EARLY ENGLISH VERSION OF THE "CURSOR MUNDI"; in four Texts, from MS. Cotton, Vesp. A. iii, in the British Museum; Fairfax MS. 14 in the Bodleian; the Göttingen MS. theol. 107; MS. B. 3. 8 in Trinity College, Cambridge; edited by the Rev. R. MORRIS, LL.D. Part I. with 2 photolithographic facsimiles by Cooke & Fotheringham. 10s. 6d.
58. THE BLICKLING HOMILIES, edited from the Marquis of Lothian's Anglo-Saxon MS. of 971 A.D., by the Rev. R. MORRIS, LL.D. (With a photolithograph.) Part I. 8s.

EXTRA SERIES.

The Publications for 1875 are:—

- XXIV. LONELICH'S HISTORY OF THE HOLY GRAIL (ab. 1450 A.D.), translated from the French prose of Sires Robiers de Borron, re-edited from the unique MS. in Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A. Part II. 10s.
XXV. THE ROMANCE OF GUY OF WARWICK, edited from the Cambridge University MS., by Prof. J. ZUPITZA, Ph.D. Part I. 20s.

The Publications for 1876 will probably be:—

- THE ROMANCE OF GUY OF WARWICK, edited by Prof. J. ZUPITZA, Ph.D. Part II.
BARBOUR'S BRUCE, Part III., edited from the MSS. and the earliest printed edition by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A.
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S. Part V.
AN ALLITERATIVE ROMANCE OF ALEXANDER, re-edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A.

The Publications for 1873 and 1874 are:—

- XVIII. THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLANDE, 1540 A.D., with an Appendix of four contemporary English Tracts (1542-48), edited by J. A. H. MURRAY, Esq. Part II. 8s. 1873
XIX. OURÉ LADYES MYROURE, A.D. 1530, edited by the Rev. J. H. BLUNT, M.A., with four full-page photolithographic facsimiles by Cooke & Fotheringham. 2s. 1873
XX. LONELICH'S HISTORY OF THE HOLY GRAIL (ab. 1450 A.D.), translated from the French prose of Sires Robiers de Borron, re-edited from the unique MS. in Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M.A. Part I. 8s. 1874
XXI. BARBOUR'S BRUCE, Part II., edited from the MSS. and the earliest printed edition by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. 4s. 1874
XXII. HENRY BEINKLOW'S COMPLAINT OF RODERYCK MORS, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse of certain wicked Lawes, cruel Customs, and cruel Decrees (ab. 1542); and THE LAMENTACION OF A CHRISTIAN AGAINST THE CITE OF LONDON, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. COWPER, Esq. 9s. 1874
XXIII. EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S. Part IV. 10s. 1874

LONDON: N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.
BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 53 MOHRENSTRASSE.



