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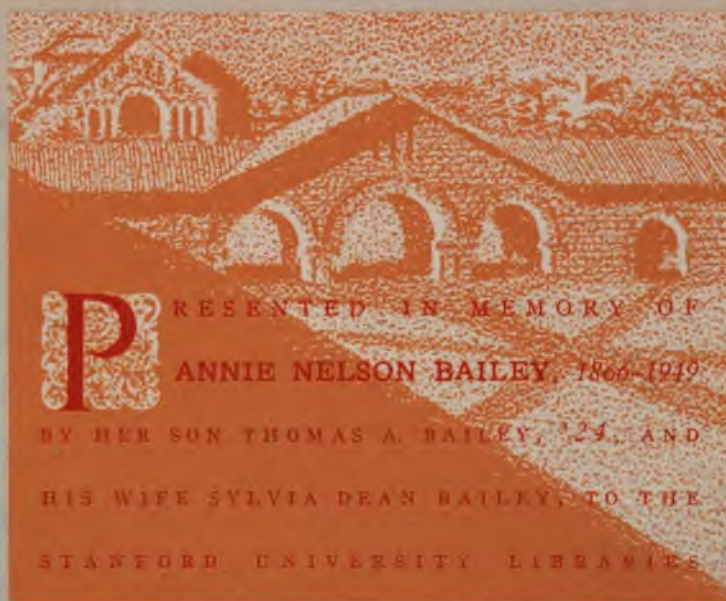
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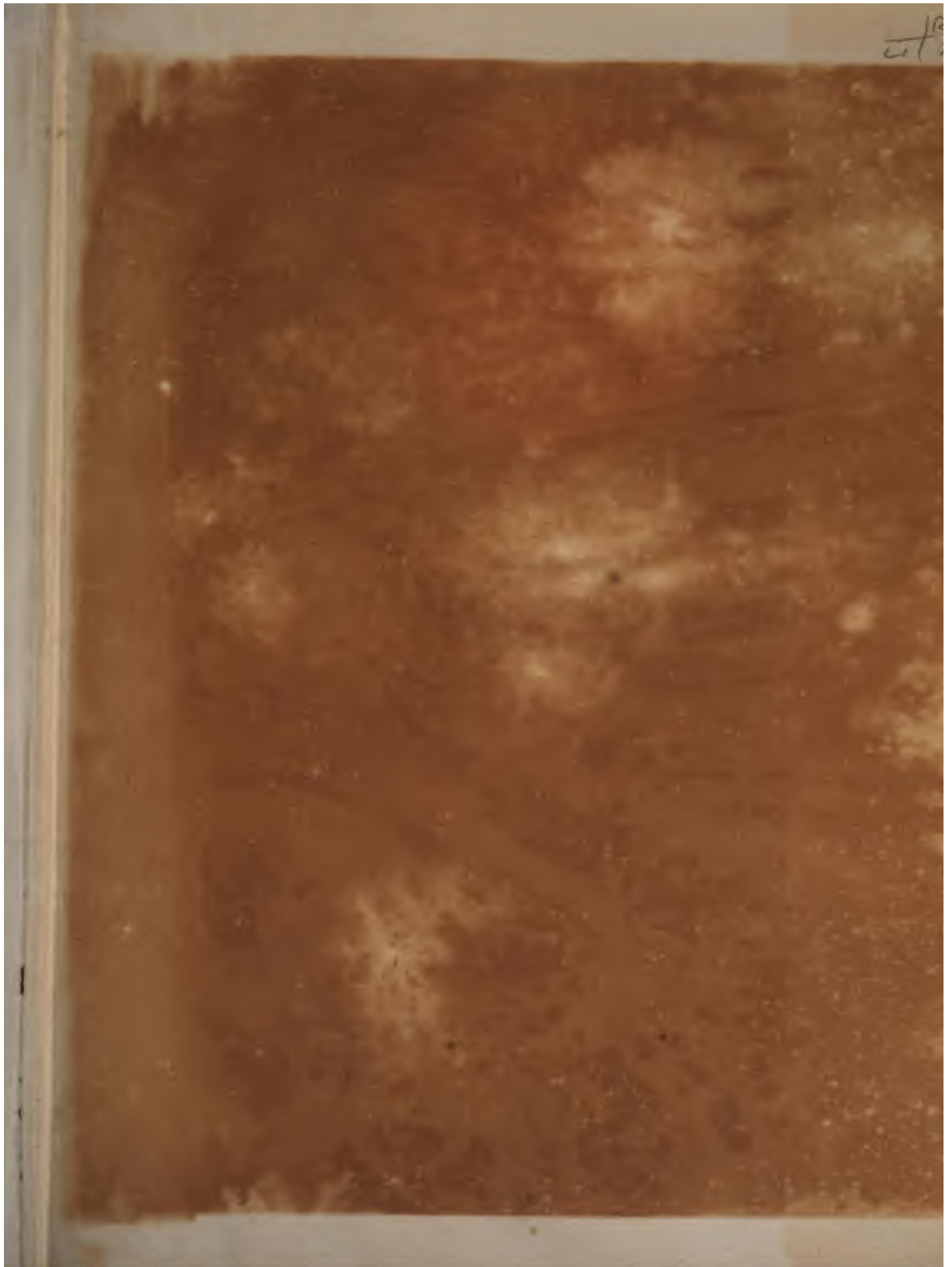
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arrebat in firmitate ita qd in g'nto uelociter q'nt
 eū ottingit remoueri. De hac signa d'f. q' seruet
 z ter t. Septē at hys h'p' add. ha talis die p' an
 glia uicta pudor. De sleuach redit. t'rengas de
 rege p'fuit. Q' s' i'ce g'cessit clement' z m'it' reat
 sit. p'fuit in t'repidus ibi p'fuit octo dieb. Anno p'e
 d'z' in r'm fin' amica uis u' d'le. d'us h'mon fin'
 far d'us wakerius logan uulnes z p'ues ualce'
 arungi z uedioars capri fuerit p' quod' d'ow'
 regi anghe adherentes. Q' in h'mon ductus e'
 loundon' z d'uis p'ins u'cempt'. ceta' d'uelina
 in p'ica cadit de carnarum filij regis anglic'e
 p'iceps walle suscipiunt. p' h'ius regis anghe
 p'ctis z p'ctioares non fuerit d'ni ioh'es cony'
 comes de buchame d' cony' z ioh'es de modobre
 milites. Q' in aduictis o' anglicis p' h' regem. h'
 acit' m' ualeunt z in maxio p'ido usq' obitum
 regis anghe ostendunt. Q' anno d'ni q' ut v'g'
 In i'g' d' ioh'es lap' t' De sand'at ubi ractus
 fuit i'f' u'itate m' expedi'. sua ad h'm'andū regē
 m' in i' p'ul' z regu' s'one ut fualit' p'p'fuit sub
 ingandū u'is ho' lunc cultōy' reurens p' p'ura pu
 more s'antate z sequentia p'udic' aū h' i' tallacdis
 d'z' tho' m'z' in u'ido suo regūes ap' s'urgun
 sabulū l' nota p'ine i'ubabi exp'iant. In eadem

de morte d'ad
 p'm p' q' d'ni
 anglic' regis

tra ut dū m'ro z illius rem'dio. u'ig' letes
 p'ro. n' l' s' ab'optus e' in m'io d'isat p'uto uac' lugal
 eulans z ex'lamans. I'heu cur p'ram fallor. q' nō
 b'ū cam. h'eu e' p'ram p'cut' z il' e' p' amau. h'eu
 cur p'ram. uideo q' l'it' s'ouu. cū l'udre s'ru in
 met' tormenta p'ru. Ad se i'g' uoles de c'rtal' r'uis?
 uulit' p' regis ab'ud'io. h'is ano cogn'aro p'cedē
 ab eo q'ni de habuit u'ce. b'z' aut' u'icens. m'apa
 quales. h' s' p'ca ur' s'ruans ne h' s'bi i' r'ama
 ti ueritate am'icauer' n'ama' f'ruam am'icōs
 suo in ferret. non se in'f' uiles. q' m'entus e'.
 d' h'eu uoce p'ucit' z nou' est q' ei opem ferret
 ce om'ib' r'aus er' Quat' d' baues' r'itus u'is
 ut regis des'p'xit mundū

Quasi est p' regis filio p' u'ic' t'ur' u'alle.
 Anno p'imo uenente c'cep'is p'is s'ep'it'z
 d'is'p'ens londinas corp' p'duac'. v'bi m'it' h'm'adū
 regelit. ex' tales t'it' z m' r'et'ua sua in h'olmo
 sub' r'au'. h' in p'ncipio u'alia e' h'ue bella m'o
 neus anglicus d'us flag' h'is v'berant. et
 h'us u'eh'is totū orbē p'it' r'auit z u'ndet.
 quonit' p' a'lagū h'e' h'e' suo d'olo i'p'edunt d'o
 c'ia in u'alt' z d'otos cū regno h'andulcut' d'egit
 u'alia p'fugant' g'ohū de l'atholo regē cū s'ibo
 m'ia m'au'ant. c'rtias s'it' p'latos u'ic'is

in exalta: sap-tus vidit diuini sui regem in qui vi-
ritu a magna multitudine demonum caules septi
edum al maxis calesuo in lictamici & diuini. Su rex
edebant delicias ut leopardis. Plum diuini
in diuini male fixit. Papis me talis naves ibis car
total: q' cepucius ut demonibus loquens se sequi
voco prolo tempore remoto. ai h' flagellus et
corpionibus ceceites cum abigebat. Carum
aliquatulu inquit huc iuxta aie debuit mortis
cantia: q' filia e mortis & ab: ignis i' crugulul
pauca tenebraz & i' iura luas. dicentes. Su rex
edud: Ecce iuxta p'is que elegisti. ai quibz ar
tura es hi sine. iuxta: staudia. amax discordie p'q
euula caritat' iustas. q're iuxta non duplis q're
no letaris. Vbi iuxta et dantias tua. Vbi vana leti
ca quod p'fuit t' meus glia. breuis leticia mudi
p'p'ua. carum voluptas. felle dice equale h'e.
magna fauusia & mala coquas. ubi iocis ubi r'as
ubi iactantia ubi arrogancia. de tanta leticia
quata f'uaa. p'at tanta voluptate. tam g'nis iuxta
a p'at tanta g'altat'em. tam magna ruina.
p' tanta victorias. tam iugata tormeta. ato
ignominia fit h' h' glia. C' iuxta humol exprobra
vibz & v'ibz s' ai h'p' maligni i' iustalst' naem.
orlog' saoz ad me iuxta miles venient & exang
nem dixerit iuxta ut coactus me s' nelle sicut
soluto in tell' opt' facie. q' q' meo nep' v'x. n' eq
Census ceuau' q' r'ubilis actus in timo e me.

110 na. cr. d. a. s.

filio eius in mundum caedes. y' p'is q' d'as
nem. als q'ntz. Vlo demorre p'is ay semel & t'
t' septē m'als in orbe. q'antur iustit'ato. h'io sine
sine b' d' h' i' iuxta quo sunt mar'chia regna.
EDW' readit. q' lotos male acadit. v'ista ai ce
rebro q' tumul'ant' in holmo affe mones bella
tedit angls d'm flagella. Colla sup'ioy p'x
o culcavit eoz. Dabem corrupit tram d'm q'
fessellit s' totos iuuasit regni ai h'ant' subegat
f'ctias h' iuxta. Platos caue clausit. Erudit p'
q'p' deatē t'itit anz. C'm' p'ia. toto h'e obe notata
Anglia t'elebit q' i' iustitia iacobit. Scoria p'ia
de manu p' sine regis suau' q' rates vate i' d'obit
rege creato. Q' iuxta in virtutis condigit in ga salu' f'
Eius in orbe facti faciet deus t' h'm. h' mo s'.
in at v'j anglia o'bullerit i' iustit' & p'alleto.
Dicitus d'is v' i' iustit' de m' iustit'ate gualitans
q'ita p'us feruencius am actus iustit'ate clausit
tanto in iuxta ala i' iustit'ate v' h' m' c' u' s' a'
t' d'io iustit'ate q'ualis i' p'c' iustit'ate. D'ur' ai
in ai sicut horrifica iustit'ate demouit. al' iustit'ate
exad' iustit'ate & flagella iustit'ate in d'm sui regem
frenentiu. q' rubros iustit'ate ai flore eius d'mo del
p'ant. & ad euicid' iustit'ate conu' iustit'ate iustit'ate
iustit'ate o'gultit. q' ut d' iustit'ate p' h' iustit'ate
p' d'it' & p' iustit'ate ab seica iustit'ate p' iustit'ate h'
iuxta. ad d' d' iustit'ate ab illo iustit'ate iustit'ate qui
te p' iustit'ate s' d' iustit'ate h' iustit'ate iustit'ate.

h' mo.
v' j ag
teut i
re p'ia



THE
BLACK BOOK OF PAISLEY

AND

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
SCOTICHRONICON

WITH

A NOTE

UPON

JOHN DE BURDEUS OR JOHN DE BURGUNDIA, OTHERWISE SIR JOHN
MANDEVILLE, AND THE PESTILENCE

BY

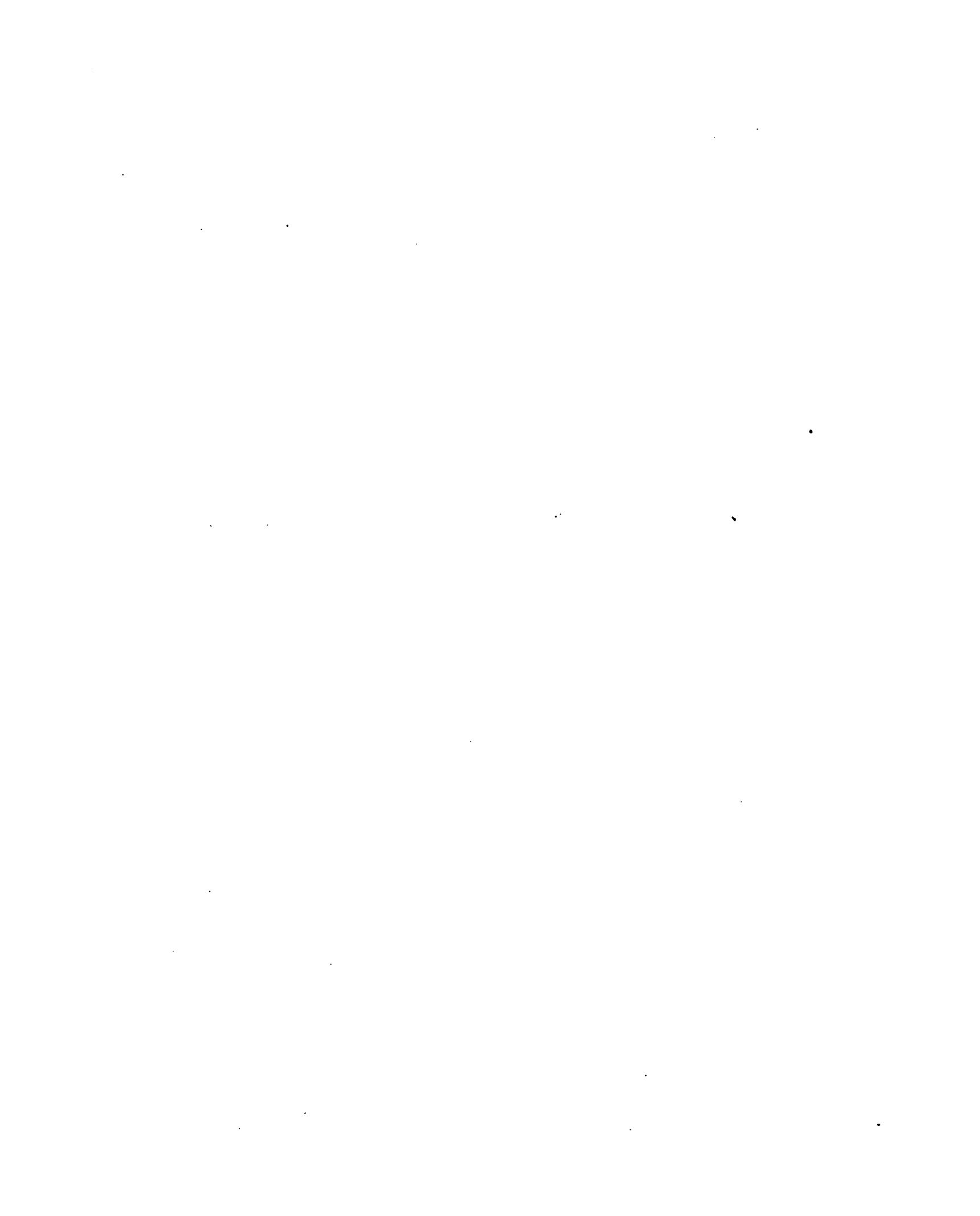
DAVID MURRAY, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.



Printed for Subscribers.

PAISLEY: ALEXANDER GARDNER

1885



P R E F A C E .

THE following account of the **Black Book of Paisley** was originally intended to form part of the Appendix to Dr. Lees' *History of the Abbey of Paisley*, but at the request of the Publisher a shorter one was substituted, and this was reserved for separate publication. The account is incomplete and imperfect in many respects, but it may perhaps direct attention to the critical examination of the MSS. of the SCOTICHRONICON referred to in it, and be of some assistance in the preparation of a new edition of that work, which, with all its defects, is perhaps the most important of Scottish historical chronicles.

The **Black Book of Paisley** has often been mistaken for an original compilation, but while this is not so, I have ventured to suggest that there is some evidence of the existence of an original Paisley Chronicle, and if this be the case, it will explain how such a mistake arose.

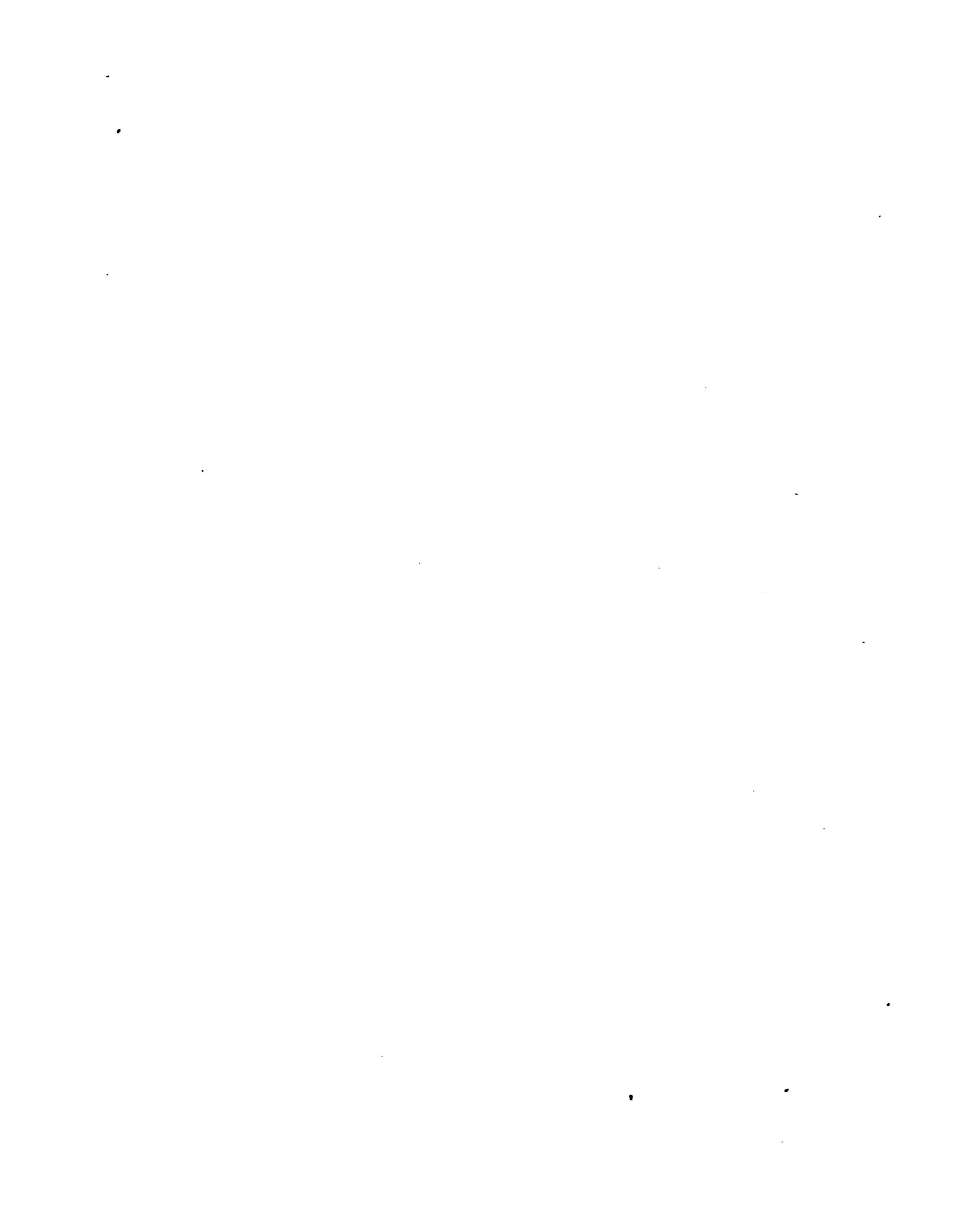
I was long puzzled to ascertain anything regarding John de Burdeus, the author of the Tract de Pestilentia, which is copied on a fly leaf of the MS. ; and as no account of him exists in any Book of Reference, so far as I know, I collected in Note B what I had found. This had been printed when I read Mr. Edward B. Nicholson's interesting letter in the *Academy* of 12th April, 1884, identifying him with Sir John Mandeville. I have added a few paragraphs to my Note, embodying the new information, and connecting it with my own ; but now that Mr. Nicholson has given the clue, it is to be hoped that either he or some other labourer will follow it up and unravel more fully the history of this mysterious personage.

DAVID MURRAY.

ORONSAY PRIORY,
COLONSAY, 12th September, 1885.

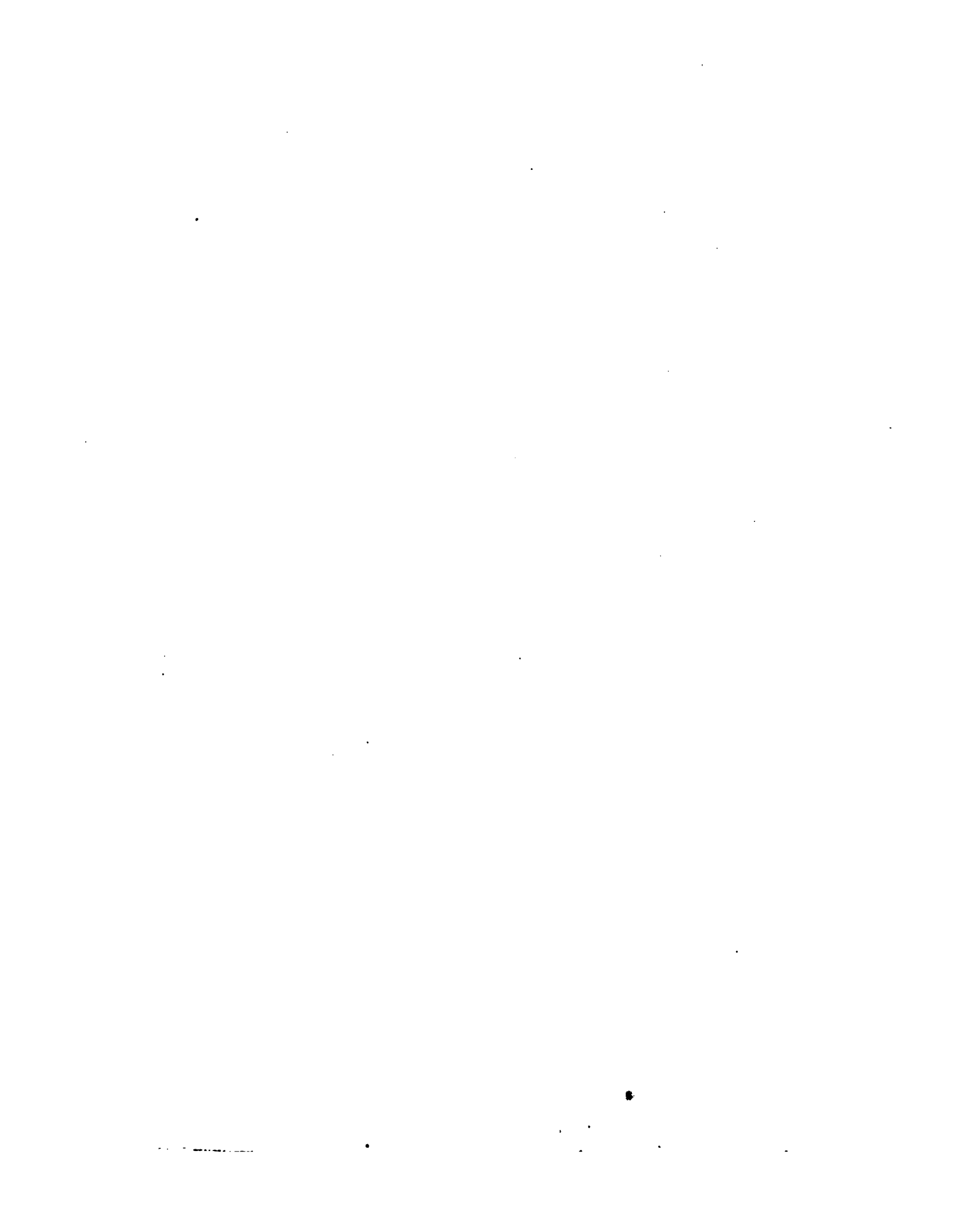
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ERRATA.

- Page 16, line 24, delete *for marginal note*, and []
Page 20, line 25, for *Etymologica*, read *Etymologia*.
Page 26, line 2, for *salamandr*, read *salamandra*, for *dicuntur*, read *dicuntur*.
Page 27, line *ult.*, read *Acta*.
Page 48, line 28, for *Landsdowne*, read *Lansdowne*.
Page 49, line 6, for *ratification*, read *pacification*.
Page 49, line 9, for *tumult*, read *troubles*.
Page 50, line 7, for *Lesly*, read *Lesley*.
Page 51, line 3, for *there*, read *then*.
Page 66, line 30, insert 2 at beginning.
Page 69, line 22, for *et*, read *e*.
Page 69, at foot add, *§ Ant.*, p. 55.
Page 70, line 6, for *Scott*, read *Scot*.
Page 70, line 33, for *this*, read *the*.
Page 87, line 4 (note) from bottom, for *'l*, read *l'*.
Page 90, line 6, for *fol. ii.*, read *col. ii.*
Page 96, line 26, for *Laing's*, read *Layng's*.





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The Impression of this Edition of "THE BLACK BOOK OF PAISLEY"
is limited to Eighty-Six copies, of which this is No. 54

Oliver A. ...

The Black Book of Paisley.

I.

WHAT IT IS.

IN the Royal Collection, in the British Museum, there is preserved a Manuscript, 13 E. X., known as "THE BLACK BOOK OF PAISLEY." It is a large, stout vellum folio written in double columns, but so far as colour goes it now belies its name, as it is bound in red. The bookbinder has lettered it "SCOTI CHRONICON PER JOHAN. DE FORDUN ET WALTER. BOWER. BLACK BOOK OF PAISLEY." A note upon the fly-leaf says :—

"Scoticronicon inceptum per Johēm de Fordun Aberden. Caplanum et completum per Walterum Bower St. Columbe Abbatem 1447.

Quinque Libros Fordon undenos Bower arabat."

These two inscriptions correctly describe the volume, which, as was long since¹ pointed out, is a transcript of John of Fordun's Chronicle, as continued and enlarged by Bower.

Our information regarding John of Fordun² is very meagre, and his

¹ Nicolson, *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 26, (3rd Edit., Lond., 1736), originally published in 1702; Innes' *Critical Essay*, pp. xxiv. 201, 210, (Lond., 1729).

² In the Register of Moray, mention is made both of the Church and a Chapel of Fordun; and in the Register of Arbroath, we find Symon, Chaplain and Vicar of Fordun, circa 1221 and 1241. (*Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, Vol. I., pp. 179, 185.)

During the period in which the historian flourished, there was a William de Fordun, who occupied a somewhat prominent position. In 1328 and 1329, he is mentioned as being in receipt from the Chamberlain of Scotland of ten marks a year, until some more lucrative promotion is found for him, which happened in the latter year. (*Exchequer Rolls*, I., pp. 114, 208, *Lord Clerk Register Series*). The office to which he was appointed was that of Depute-Clerk of the Audit, (*Ib.*,

contemporaries had little more. Of his personality we have but a single glimpse. His continuator tells us¹ that he chanced to be present at a gathering of some learned persons, cunning in school learning, at which the conversation turned upon Fordun, and his merits as an historian. They were evidently acquainted with his book, but who or what he was himself must have been in doubt, for one of the party, a venerable doctor, said, "I knew the man well whom you rate so highly, the author of the book you are speaking of, and bringing before us. He was a simple man, and no where graduated in the schools." Another of the company remarked, "The work which he produced is proof enough of his scholarship." Here the curtain falls, and the particulars of his history must be sought for elsewhere. From the Black Book of Paisley we learn that he was a priest and a chaplain at Aberdeen, while we gather from the Scotichronicon itself that he flourished during the second, part of the third, and probably part of the first generation of the fourteenth century.² His narrative seems to have been composed, or at least revised, after 1384, since Cardinal Wardlaw, the Bishop of Glasgow, is referred to as *Legate a latere*, an office to which he was advanced in that year,³ and as he is spoken of apparently as living,⁴ the author could not have been writing after 1387,

323, 324, 326). In 1331-1332, he was Clerk of the Queen's Wardrobe, (*Ib.*, 365, 430); and in the former year, along with Thomas of Charteris, and accompanied by a retinue of boys, servants, and horses, he made a six weeks' journey to London for the purchase of wardrobe articles for the coronation.

In 1330, Richard Fordun was one of the bailies of Dundee, (*Ib.* I., pp. 262, 304, 317); and in 1341-43, his son, Richard of Fordun, was one of the Provosts and Customars of Dundee, (*Ib.* I., pp. 473, 488, 495, 539). In 1395, John de Fordoun gives up at Perth the account of the bailies of Lanark on their behalf, (*Ib.* iii., p. 366.)

¹ Prologue, Debitor sum, prefixed to the Scotichronicon.

² Fordun's era is ascertained from the *Gesta Annalia*, where he refers to Richard II. (1377-99) as the reigning sovereign of England, (Ed. Hearne IV., p. 965; Ed. Skene I., p. 319).

In the corresponding passage in the Scotichronicon (xi. c. 14), the Black Book of Paisley omits the particulars from which the date of the composition is ascertained.

³ Walter Wardlaw was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1368. He was created a Cardinal in 1381, and appointed Legate for Scotland and Ireland in 1384. Bower states (xiv. c. 50) that he died in 1387; but the passage referring to his death, it may be mentioned, is not in the Black Book of Paisley; and in the Schevez MS. it is thrust into the middle of the succeeding chapter (xiv. c. 48, Hearne IV., p. 1071.) The numbering of the chapters differs at this place from Goodall's printed edition.

⁴ V. Skene, c. 50; Scotich., v. 69.

the date of his death. Fordun's language seems to imply that the prelate was his friend, and that he was so is highly probable, as Wardlaw held a stall in the Cathedral of Aberdeen, to which he was preferred in 1362. Fordun must likewise have known Barbour, the author of "The Brus," who was Archdeacon of Aberdeen from at least 1357, till his death in 1396,¹ and may have been indebted to him for items of information obtained when he was abroad,² and while he held the public position of an Auditor of the Exchequer, and Clerk of the Audit.³ Mr. Skene suggests⁴ that Fordun probably died soon after 1385, "as there is no trace of anything of a later date, and no mention of his name after that year." Ten years later, however, the Account of the Bailies of Lanark for the period from March 19, 1393, to April 1, 1395, was rendered in Exchequer at Perth "by John Fordoun, in name and on behalf of the Bailies."⁵ But whether this was the historian it is impossible to say.

The poverty of Scotland in chronicles and other historical documents is in striking contrast to the wealth of England in such monuments, and has been a subject of national reproach from an early time. Vanity long urged that this misfortune arose not from ignorance or neglect on the part of our ancestors, or from any lack of material or want of competent writers, but from the vandalism of Edward I., who, it was said, carried off and destroyed the whole of our ancient annals. The charge rests upon slender foundation, but it was current in Fordun's day,⁶ and the loss which he believed his country had sustained⁷ caused him such grief that he determined to repair it so far as in him lay. With this object before him, he set out on foot; and, as Bower quaintly says,⁸ "like a

¹ Irving's History of Scottish Poetry, pp. 96, 100; Exchequer Rolls, Vol. II., p. ciii.

² He visited Oxford in 1357 and 1364, and St. Denis in 1365; and in 1368 passed through England on his way to France.

³ Exchequer Rolls, Vol. II., p. 383, 423.

⁴ Skene's Fordun, i., p. xxxiii.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, iii. 366.

⁶ Bower's Prologue to the Cupar MS., Skene's Fordun, I., p. xlix.

⁷ Pinkerton admits neither the loss nor the paucity of chronicles. "On a fair comparison, Scotland has at least as many historical pieces extant as fall to her share: and if Edward I. adopted the new and wild scheme of destroying her chronicles, he must have done it to little purpose." Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, I., p. xlvii., (Edin., 1814.)

⁸ Bower, Prologue to the Book of Cupar *ut supra*.

diligent bee in the fields of Britain, and the monasteries of Ireland, wandering through cities and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and cloisters, mingling amongst historians, and tarrying midst annalists—turning over their volumes of history, and sagely conferring and discoursing with them, noting down in his tablets or memorandum book what pleased him, did he, by such toilsome investigation, learn what he knew not; and nicely arranged his discoveries in a pocket roll, like the honeyed combs in a bee-hive.” He thus accumulated a store of material; and on his return addressed himself to the task of composition, but lived only to complete five books of formal history, bringing down the narrative to the death of David I. in 1153. In the Scotichronicon this ends with the 23rd chapter of Book VI., where in some of the other manuscripts, but not in the Black Book of Paisley, are some verses beginning,

“Hactenus auctorem de Fordon sume Joannem.”

Walter Bower, or Bowmaker, was born² at Haddington in 1385. After studying philosophy and theology, he took priest's orders and passed over to Paris, for the purpose of gaining a knowledge of law. In 1418, he was chosen Abbot of Inchcolm;³ and on the 17th of April of that year,

² Thomas Hearne has endeavoured, with some success, to trace his route, and to ascertain the places he visited (Fordun Praef. I., p. lxxxii., clxix.); and by a careful analysis of his work, many of the sources of his information may still be determined.

² xiv. c. 47; ed. Goodall, xiv. c. 50. In the Exchequer Rolls for 1343, there is a payment to a certain Gialin Bowmaker for a pipe of wine, and from the same source we learn that in 1365, 1366, and 1369, Simon Bowmaker was one of the bailies of Haddington, and in 1372, the Collector of Customs. In 1376 and 1377, John Bowmaker was one of the bailies of Haddington. In 1395 and 1396, he gave up the Accounts of the Burgh in Exchequer. In 1397, he is styled one of the Custumars of Haddington. Both Simon and he were probably relatives of Walter Bowmaker, and it is worthy of remark that John Bowmaker gave up the Haddington Account at Perth on Tuesday, March 30, 1395, and John of Fordun gave up the Lanark one the next day, (Exchequer Rolls, iii. 364, 366.) John Bowmaker appears in 1391 as owner of property in Haddington, Historical MSS. Com. 6th Report, p. 669.) Nicholas Bomacre (Bowmaker) was Commissar of Haddington in 1435, (Exch. Rolls, iv. 648.) Adam Bour held the same office at Ayr, 1416-31, (Ib., iv. 246 *et seq.*) In 1425, Mr. John Bowmaker was rector of the Church of Monyabroch, i. e., Kilsyth, (Historical MSS. Com. 6th Report, p. 670.)

³ xv. c. 30. That is Inchcolm in the Forth, not Icolmkill, as Sir George Mackenzie and Sir Robert Sibbald suppose.

received blessing at Dunkeld from Robert Cardine, the Bishop of that see.¹ Along with the Bishop of Dunblane, as he himself tells us,² he was appointed Auditor and Receiver of the tax which James I., in 1424, obtained from his first Parliament; and he was nominated to the same office along with John Schewes, Official of St. Andrews, when the tax was revived in 1433, to meet the expenses of the embassy sent to France to arrange the marriage of the King's daughter, Margaret, with the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI.

At the request of his neighbour, Sir David Stewart of Rossyth, Bower agreed to transcribe Fordun's work, and to continue the history to his own day.³ He was, he says,⁴ the more readily induced to undertake the latter portion of the task, as he had access to the collections of his predecessor, which, though unarranged, were available for the purpose. The five books of Fordun he expanded to sixteen, carrying on the narrative to the year 1447.

“Quinque libros Fordun undenos Bower arabat.”

For the first nine of the additional books, he is supposed to have used Fordun's matter along with some contributions of his own. Thus, he occasionally refers to the testimony of friends;⁵ he records his experiences at Inchcolm,⁶ and gives a graphic account of the burning of the Abbey.⁷ It may also be observed that he is detailed in his accounts of Haddington, and appeals to the evidence of a townsman.⁸ The fifteenth and sixteenth books embrace the period subsequent to Fordun's death, and must therefore be Bower's unaided work. He did not restrict himself however to mere continuation, but supplemented the original by

¹ Of the Bishop, see xvi. c. 26; and *Extracta e Variis Cronicis*, p. 204.

² xvi. c. 9. These appointments are recorded in Thomson's Acts, II. pp. 5, 20, 23.

³ This must have been sometime between 1435, when Sir David acquired the Barony of Rossyth (Chalmers's Hist. of Dunfermline, I., p. 422), and 1444, the year in which he died. Most probably it was about 1440, as Bower (I. c. 6) speaks of the work as being in progress in 1441.

The Barony of Rossyth lies to the south of Dunfermline, and the castle stands on a promontory on the N. shore of the Frith of Forth, about two miles N.W. of North Queensferry and four miles S.S.E. of Dunfermline; and consequently at no great distance from Inchcolm.

⁴ Prologue to the *Scotichronicon*.

⁵ xiv. 14.

⁶ xii. 34.

⁷ xiv. 48.

⁸ xiv. 13, 14, 21.

interpolating innumerable passages: while towards the end of the five books he seems to place himself on an equality with Fordun, and speaks of himself as "Conscriba,"¹ and "Conscriptor."² Still he had no wish to appropriate what was not his own, and that the original might be accessible if wished for reference, he deposited it in the scriptorium of his Abbey. He also proposed to distinguish his additions, by marking over against them the word "SCRIPTOR;" and "AUCTOR," opposite the original, in order, as he explains that any copyist should be able at pleasure to omit the interpolations, and give nothing save the work of the master; but this scheme was not thoroughly carried out, and in consequence of this, and of his having altered Fordun's phraseology in some passages, it is not always easy to determine the authorship.

The composite work is known as the "Scotichronicon." Its sixteen books seem to have proved heavy reading, even for the fifteenth century, and soon after its completion the Abbot produced an abridged version, which was perhaps intended as a popular edition. In this he omitted various digressions, and much incidental matter, and limited the narrative more strictly to Scotch affairs. It is divided into forty books, and is represented in the well-known BOOK OF CUPAR or Father Hay's MS., now in the Advocates' Library.³

¹ xiv. c. 14.

² xii. c. 34.

³ Father Hay describes it (*Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 126, Reprint in *Scotia Rediviva*, Vol. I., Edr. 1828, 8vo), as "a large folio of Bowmaker, written at Inchcolm in glorious characters." In 1719, he issued "Proposals for Printing the Chronicle of John Fordun, with the additions and continuations of Walter Bowmaker, Abbot of Inchcolm, containing the memorable things which happened in every year since our first rise to King James the First's death, conform to an authentic manuscript belonging of old to one of our decayed monasteries, with several notes for clearing the dark parts of our history." (*Genealogie of the Hays of Tweeddale*, Introd., p. iii., Edr. 1835). but this was not carried out. The author of the "Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie" (Abbotsford Club, 1842), seems to have followed this MS. It is likewise cited by Henrie Charteris in the preface to his edition of Henry's Wallace, which was first printed at Edinburgh in 1570. As he quotes from the 14th and 15th Chapters of Book xix., this shows that it could not be any MS. of the Scotichronicon proper which he had before him. The extract which he gives is not in the Black Book of Paialey or in the Edinburgh College MS., but Goodall gives it in a foot note from the Book of Cupar and the Carthusian MS. See Fordun, ed. Goodall II., p. 176; Charteris Preface, *Bannatyne Miscellany*, III. at pp. 172, 173. The MS. was given by Lady Kettleston to her brother, Andrew Hay, Father Hay's uncle, who had it taken from him by the rabble in 1688. It was recovered by Father Hay, who carried it beyond seas, and afterwards presented it to the Advocates' Library on his birth-day, 1728. Nicolson with corrections by Hearne, *Hearne's Fordun V.*, p. 1390; *Genealogie of the Hayes*, pp. vi., xv.

In 1691, Thomas Gale, the learned Master of St. Paul's School, and afterwards Dean of York, included Fordun's original five books in his "Historiae Britannicae Scriptores XV." He took his text from a MS. of his own, but which had formerly belonged to King's College, Aberdeen, having been presented to it by Hector Bois.¹

After the Dean's death, Hearne borrowed this MS. from his son, Roger Gale, and in 1722 published a much more valuable edition.² The MS. contains five books and twenty-three chapters of a sixth, and a large appendix of what Hearne terms *ADVERSARIA*, which he took to be the notes that Fordun had made for the succeeding part of his history. Dean Gale, for reasons connected with the special object he had in view, omitted the latter, and also the last forty-one chapters of Book V., and the twenty-three of Book VI. Hearne desired to give to the world the genuine work of Fordun freed from all interpolations, and as he thought that this was represented in this MS., he published it entire. He takes 1385 as its latest date, and in order to supplement the narrative, he adds from the Black Book of Paisley Bower's continuation from that year till the death of James I. He styles the work "*Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum*," but points out in his preface³ that the author intended to give it another name. In 1871, Dr. W. F. Skene published a new edition of the five books and of the *Adversaria* under the title "*Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*." This edition is founded on a MS. once the property of the Priory of St. Andrews, now in the Wolfenbüttel Library, collated with Gale's and others.

The *Scotichronicon* proper, that is the work of Fordun and Bower, was

¹ A facsimile of a page of this MS. is given in the *National MSS. of Scotland*, Part II., No. lxxvi. Hearne had given a facsimile of Bois' inscription, Fordun I., p. ccvi. He mentions that the MS. had found its way into the hands of Richard Smyth, the famous Collector, at whose sale, in 1682, it was purchased by the Duke of Lauderdale, from whom it passed to Gale (Fordun I., p. ccxix.) It was subsequently acquired by the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where it now is. As to the Libraries of Secondary Smyth, and of the Earls and Duke of Lauderdale, see *Edwards' History of Libraries*, II., pp. 118, 120.

² *Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum una cum ejusdem supplemento ac continuatione. E Codicibus MSS. eruit ediditque Tho. Hearnus, qui et Appendicem subjunxit totumque opus (in quinque Volumina distinctum), praefatione atque indicibus adornavit. Oxonii, 1722, 8vo, 5 vol.*

³ p. ccxvii.

not printed until 1747-59,¹ when it was published at Edinburgh by Robert Fleming, under the editorship of Walter Goodall,² assistant keeper of the Advocates' Library, and this is still the only edition.

The *Scotichronicon* met the requirements of the time, and took its place as the standard historical authority of the country, and copies of it were soon obtained by several of our Monasteries.³ Each volume came to be known as the *Book of the House* to which it belonged, merely as pointing out its ownership, and not at all as indicating that it referred to the concerns of that Monastery, or that it was compiled there. Thus, besides the *Black Book of Paisley*, we have the *Black Book of Scone*, the *Book of Perth*, and the *Book of Cupar*. These titles, in this case, amounted to nothing more than an "Ex Libris;"⁴ but it was the practice of many religious houses to draw up and preserve a record of public occurrences, such as the great series of chronicles compiled in the Scriptorium of St. Albans; and these works often took their titles from the name of the monasteries where they were prepared. Thus we have the *Annals of the Monasteries of Tewkesbury, of Burton, of Waverley, Dundalk, Osney, the Book of Hyde, the Chronicles of Melrose, of Lanercost, and of Meaux*. A volume of this description, says Sir George Mackenzie,⁵ was styled "*The Black Book*."⁶ He and many others (amongst whom may possibly be in-

¹ The title page of both volumes bears the date 1759, but the first volume had been issued to the subscribers in 1747. See the *Scots Magazine*, July, 1747, vol. ix., p. 352. Goodall had published his proposals in 1744, and in the advertisement issued with his first volume says, "This first volume of John Fordun's *History of Scotland* being now finished after no small interruptions, which were occasioned chiefly by the late rebellion and the confusions wherewith it was attended in this city, it has been thought proper that it should be published and delivered to the subscribers and others who might be desirous to have the same without waiting till the other volume should be ready to accompany it." The second volume was published in 1759, and a Preface and Index were issued along with it. There was also prefixed an Introduction by Goodall, and a Dissertation on the marriage of Robert III. with Elizabeth More, by Gordon of Buthlaw, which had originally appeared in 1749. See Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 131.

² Goodall, b. 1706, d. 1766.—Assistant Keeper of the Advocates' Library, 1730-1766. See Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 127 *et seq.*

³ Innes' *Critical Essay*, pp. 210, 233. Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 26.

⁴ See a similar thing as respects the MSS. of the *Regiam Majestatem*, Balfour's *Practices*, p. x.

⁵ *Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland*, p. 25, (Lond., 1685); *Works II.*, p. 363.

⁶ As to the term "*Black Book*," see Note A.

cluded no less eminent an author than the late Patrick Fraser Tytler)¹ took the Black Book of Paisley to be an original record of this nature, and referred to it as such.² But although this was an error, the book is still an important historical document, being one of the best existing manuscripts of the Scotichronicon.

Of these MSS., six contain the full text of the Scotichronicon; eight an abridgement of it in various forms; three represent what is supposed to be Fordun's original work, and three are made up of parts transcribed from different MSS., and by different hands. The whole are described and briefly analysed by Mr. Skene;³ but as a few of them will be referred to subsequently, these may be conveniently noted here.

(1.) THE BRECHIN CASTLE MS.

This MS.⁴ is written on paper in double columns, with occasional marginal notes of reference in a different hand from that of the body of the work. The initial letters of the paragraphs are illuminated.

At the end of Book II. is a Colophon

[in red ink] [corrected in black to]

“Et sic finitur liber tercius secundus.”

“Explicit 2^o [secundus] liber Scotichronicon nono die Januarii in Edinburgo opido anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo per me Magnum Makculloch. Et per me Jacobum Graye illuminatus.”

¹ History of Scotland, II., p. 243 (ed. 1845.) He mentions the Liber Pasletensis which will be referred to hereafter.

² There would never have been a mistake as to the nature of the Black Book of Paisley, or other similar volumes if the Scotichronicon itself had been consulted. Bower speaks of the practice of writing Monastic Chronicles as one which prevailed in some countries, and as he had heard in England, from which the inference is that it did not exist in Scotland (Lib. xvi., c. 39). Edward I. seems to have taken it for granted that it did, as, towards the close of the year 1300, he sent writs to the Abbots of several monasteries “ut diligenter scrutarentur Cronica sua, et omnia gesta reges Anglorum et Scotorum tangentia.” J. O. Halliwell's preface to Rishanger's Chronicle, p. xi., n. See Walter of Coventry's Historical Collections, I., p. xliii.; Palgrave, Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, I., p. 77.

³ Skene's Fordun, I., p. xv. See also Felix Skene, Liber Pluscardensis, I., p. x., et seq. Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. x., n.

⁴ This account is taken from the report by Dr. John Stuart in the first Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 119 (Parliamentary Papers for 1870, Vol. 39, p. 543).

“Ora mente pia pro nobis uirgo Maria Alma uirgo uirgini pro nobis ad dominum. Sancta Dei genitrix uirgo semper Maria. Amen. Jhesus, Maria, Johannes.”

At the end of Book III. is written—

“Non Scotus est Criste cui liber non placet iste. Magnus Macculloch.”

At the beginning of Book XIV. is—

“Incipiunt tituli libri decimi quarti ultimo die Marcii in Edinburgh opido. Non Scotus est Criste cui liber non placet iste.”

And at the end—

“Detur scriptori merces equator laboris.”

It appears therefore that this copy was in progress in 1480, or, as we should now say, 1481, and that the transcriber was Magnus Macculloch, and the illuminator James Gray.

Magnus Macculloch, as we shall immediately see, was a notary¹ of the diocese of Ross and private secretary to William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews (1478-96).² He received part, at least, of his education at Louvain, where he was a student of philosophy in 1477.³

Father Innes conjectures⁴ that James Gray is the same person as the transcriber of the *Chronica Brevis*, who was a notary and priest of the diocese of Dunblane, and secretary to the first two Archbishops of St.

¹ The designation “clericus” shows that he was an ecclesiastic, but the addition of the diocese, as in the words of style used by notaries in their sign manual, indicates, I think, that he was a diocesan Notary. At this date the notaries were all ecclesiastics (*Ars Notariatus*, p. 18, 2nd ed., Edinr. 1762). They often made transcripts of manuscripts. The copyist of the Red Book of Moray, was “Thomas Gaderer, notarius et commissarius.” (*Registrum Moraviense*, p. iv.) The Bath MS. of Gavin Douglas was written “be me Henry Aytoun, Notare Publick,” (*Douglas’ Poetical Works*, I., p. clxxvii, Ed. Small.)

² Father Innes styles him, “Canon of Scoon,” but quotes no authority for the statement (*Critical Essay*, p. 343, ed. 1879). There can be little doubt that it is erroneous, and the mistake seems to have arisen from treating Macculloch as the author of the Book of Scone (See *Ib.* p. 137).

³ Mr. David Laing had a volume containing *Dictates of Philosophy*, etc., in Latin, written by Magnus Macculloch while attending lectures at the University of Louvain in the year 1477 (*Henryson’s Poems*, p. 228, ed. 1865). Schevez had also been educated at Louvain.

⁴ *Critical Essay*, p. 342, ed. 1879. The *Chronica Brevis* is printed in *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 148.

Andrews after Patrick Graham, viz. :—William Schevez and Prince James, Duke of Ross, brother to King James IV. Some confirmation is lent to this view by the fact that at the end of Chapter VI. c. 48, “De Domino Jacobo Kennedy Episcopo Sancti Andree,” there is a note in a handwriting different from that of the last, “obiit xxiiij Maii anno 1469, *Eps. Abirdonen. Ja. Graye.*”

This MS. would appear to be that which is referred to as the Liber Sconensis, and which was at one time in the Library of the College of St. Andrews.¹

(2.) THE SCHEVEZ MS.

Now in the British Museum (Harleian MS., No. 712).

This MS. is likewise written on paper in double columns, and consists of 277 folios as marked in pencil by the Museum authorities. It belonged to, and was written at Edinburgh for, Archbishop Schevez, as various memoranda on the MS. itself indicate.

On the verso of folio 40, in black ink, is—

“Sequitur jam liber tercius hujus operis decimo die mensis Octobris anno Domini M iiij^clxxxiiij.”

And then in red ink—

“Partinet Liber iste reverendissimo Patri ac Domino magnifico Gullelmo Scheuez Sancti Andree Archiepiscopo, Scocie Prelatorum Primato bene digno: Scriptus per suum familiarem clericum Magistrum Magnum Makculloch Edinburgi opido.”

Beneath this is the writer's Paraphe, in red, and the Archbishop's signature “Scheuez,” in black ink. The same signature occurs in other places.

On the verso of folio 150, at the close of Book VIII., the writer notes in red ink—

“Explicit Liber Octavus, Incipit Nonus per me Magistrum Magnum Makculloch xiiij die mensis Marcij anno Incarnacionis Dominice Millesimo

¹ George Logan states that it was borrowed by one of the Earls of Strathmore, with the intention of having it printed, “which was never done, neither was the book ever restored.” Logan's *Finishing Stroke*, Pt. I., p. 113 (Edinr. 1748). Earl of Strathmore may be a mistake for Earl of Dalhousie.

quadringentesimo octuagesimo tercio secundum compitum Scoticane ecclesie."¹

To this his Paraphe is again added. At the end of book ix. he adds his name only.

On the recto of folio 276, he adds in black ink at the end of the Tabula,—

“Complevi Deo laus septimo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini Mille-simo quadringentesimo octuagesimo quarto ad usum reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini, Domini Willelmi Scheuez Archiepiscopi Sancti Andree, mei Magistri et Domini colendissimi quem ad michi in meis necessariis subveniendum perducatur spiritus sanctus gratiarum largitor optimus, &c.

Per me Magnum Makculloch clericum Rossensis Diocesis quem per infinita seculorum secula custodiat omnipotens Dominus. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

And in the opposite column of the same page, he has again noted in red that the MS. was transcribed for the Archbishop, and beneath is again the signature of the latter in black ink.

Macculloch's signature and paraphe are on the verso of folio 113, at the beginning of Book VII., and on the verso of folio 169, at the commencement of Book X. At the latter place he piously adds—

“Jhesus Nazareus crucifixus rex Judeorum,
Qui natus est de Virgine Maria miserere nobis,
Jhesu fili Dei en miserere mei Amen.”

At the end of Book VII., he remarks—

“Explicit liber septimus qui extravagans dicitur. Sequitur octavus et primo numerus capitulorum per me Magnum Makculloch clericum Rossensis diocesis.”

This copy was thus begun in 1483, and finished in 1484.

¹ The latter part of the note is added no doubt to harmonise the statement at folio 40, that he was beginning Book III. on 10th October, 1483. The Scotch year at this time, and for long after, was computed from 25th March.

The Archbishop had a taste for books. He imported many from Flanders,¹ and collected at great expense, and with unwonted diligence, a valuable library, which, says a contemporary, "is filled with books of every kind."²

The MS. was in the possession of Bishop Stillingfleet before it came into the hands of the Earl of Oxford.³

In the Library of the University of Glasgow there is a MS. of an abridged version of Fordun's work—the so-called *Liber Pluscardensis*—which also belonged to Schevez, and which bears his signature.⁴

(3.) THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY MS.

This MS., which Goodall conjectures may have been the Book of Scone,⁵ was the foundation of his text. In a note on the fly leaf it is said to have been transcribed by Magnus Macculloch,⁶ which would make its date about 1480-83, but, as pointed out by Ruddiman,⁷ his name was introduced into the note on the suggestion of Principal Dunlop of Glasgow. There can be no doubt that it was a mistake to do so, and the note is contradicted by the colophon—

"Et finitur liber xv^{to} die mensis Maij hora octava prius meridiem Anno doⁱ M^o V^o X^o Robertus Scot."

There is no reason to suspect the correctness of this statement, and the date of the MS. must accordingly be taken to be 1510, and the copyist, Robert Scot.

It is a large folio, on parchment of 347 folios in double columns. The titles of the chapters are rubricated, and the initial letters are red and blue alternately, as in the Black Book of Paisley.

¹ Halyburton's Ledger, ed. C. Innes, Pref., p. lvi. (Edr., 1876.)

² Jasper Laet of Borchloen, the author of various Prognostications, one of which is dedicated in very complimentary terms to the Archbishop, in 1491. See Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, s. v.

³ Stillingfleet's books were purchased by Mr. Harley in 1708. Letter of Bishop White Kennet to Rev. S. Blackwall, *Brydges Restituta*, III., 374.

⁴ Skene's Fordun, I., p. xxi.; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i., p. x.

⁵ It rather seems to be the Brechin Castle MS. which was the *Liber Sconensis*.

⁶ Skene's Fordun, i., p. xv.

⁷ Ruddiman's Letter to Hearne, *Hearne's Fordun* v., p. 1378, n.

It was presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1670, by the then Principal, William Colville, who seems to have purchased it from John Sibbald of Perth.

(4.) THE DONIBRISTLE MS.

This MS. is written on parchment in double columns. At the end of Book V. is the following colophon—

“Predictos quinque libros Dominus Joannes Fordun presbyter compilavit. Residuum vero quod sequitur continuavit Dompnus Patricius Russell monachus Vallis virtutis ordinis Cartusiensis et ad finem perduxit, additis tamen et insertis nonnullis ab incerto autore, prout et in prioribus quinque libris.”

At the close of the MS. itself, there is another colophon, in a different but contemporary hand—

“Explicit liber Scoticonicon. Deo gracias. Hunc librum scribi fecit Dominus Symon Fynlay, capellanus altaris Sancti Michaelis ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgo, quem post suum obitum reliquit canonicis monasterii insule Sancti Columbe de Emonia. Orate pro eo. Ejus alienator anathema sit.”

It thus appears that it was copied for Symon Finlay, who was in 1462 a chaplain at the altar of St. Michael in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and was still living in 1491.¹ According to Nicolson,² the date of this

¹ The altar of St. Michael, the Archangel, in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, was founded by Patrick Lesouris, Rector of Newton (Reg. Eccl. St. Egidii de Edinburgh, No. 76), who in 1454 made a provision for the support of a secular chaplain to serve at it (Ibid.) In 1462, Sir Alexander Forrester of Corstorphine, at the request of Patrick Lesouris, conveyed an annual rent of 13s. 4d. to Sir John Moffat, one of the chaplains at the altar of St. Michael, for behoof of himself and his successors (Ibid.) Amongst the witnesses to the infestment were Lesouris himself and Sir Symon Fynlaw, chaplain. There must, therefore, have been two chaplains at this altar, or two altars dedicated to St. Michael, as was the case, the one in honour of the Archangel and the festival of Michaelmas, 29th September, the other in commemoration of his manifestation in Monte Tumba, 16th October, (Maitland Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 271. There is an office for both festivals in the Aberdeen Breviary. The lections there seem to associate the festival of September with the manifestation on Mount Gargauus.) In 1491, Symon Fynlaw is witness to a charter by William Fowler, Canon of Dunblane, founding another chaplaincy in St. Giles. Here he is simply designed “Priest” (Ibid., No. 105, p. 159).

² Nicolson's Scot. Hist. Liby., p. 34.

MS. is later than that of the Edinburgh MS., which may be the case, but more probably they are of nearly the same age.

Although bequeathed to Inchcolm, it passed at a later date into the Royal Library in Holyrood House. David Buchanan mentions it as there, and ascribes the authorship to a Monk of Paisley who wrote about 1451, "Monachi Pasletensis Liber asservatur in Bibliotheca regia in Palatio S. Crucis ad Edinburgum nondum Impressus. Scripsit hic author circa annum 1451."¹ It seems next to have been in the hands of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, and ultimately came into the possession of the Earl of Moray.

II.

THE CONTENTS.

The Black Book of Paisley is a heavy volume of twenty-nine quires of vellum, each composed of five sheets forming ten folios, but in a few cases one or two pages have been removed. The outer pages of some of the quires have originally been signed *a, b, c, d, e, &c.*, to show their sequence; afterwards they have been marked 1, 2, 3, up to 29; while for easier reference, the folios have recently been numbered in pencil 1-271.

The manuscript is fairly written in a hand of the fifteenth century,² and is generally in good preservation. The titles are rubricated, and the initial letters of the chapters of the volume are red and blue alternately. There are two blank leaves at the beginning, and a like number at the end seemingly of later date. The third folio from the commencement is of the same age as those of the second and following quires. It is almost entirely blank, but is ruled for writing, an expedient which is used throughout the book, and which was almost universally adopted by copyists. At the top of the *recto* of this folio on the right hand side is the inscription quoted at the beginning of the preceding chapter. Beneath the words, *Quinque libros, &c.*, there is an erasure. At the right hand edge of the

¹ Nicolson's Scot. Hist. Liby., p. 33.

² Casley (David), Catalogue of the MSS. in the King's Library, p. 228, (Lond., 1734, 4^{to}.)

fourth line lower down, and in the same handwriting, is the date "1650." On the left hand side of the page, opposite to the inscription already mentioned, is the following, in the same hand—

Ex Scota Nata Pharonis Regis Egipti } Sibilla.
 Ut veteres tradunt Scotiae nomen habet }
 Post Britones, Noricos, Pictos, Dacosque Romanos
 Nobiliter Scoti Jus tenuere suum.

These lines are a quotation from the Metrical Prophecy, which has been made from memory inaccurately, or if copied, it has been from a text differing from that which we now have.¹

This folio is the first of the 271. Its *verso* side is blank. On folios 2-13, and on three-fourths of the first column of the *recto* of folio 14, is an alphabetical Index to the Scotichronicon. This Index is in the Edinburgh MS., but has not been printed by Goodall. It is likewise in the Brechin Castle and Schevez MSS., but in all of these it is placed at the end of the volume with a short note at the head, and another at the end.

Immediately after the Table, and at the foot of the same column, and in the same handwriting are the verses—

Hic hopus hoc finit et scribere desinit Auctor
 Quod Scotichronicon jure vocare solet.
 Continet iste liber actus, gestus venerandos
 Regum, Pontificum sic Procerum propuli.
 Quinque libros Fordoun, undenos auctor* arabat,

[BOWER] for marginal note

Sic tibi clarescit sunt sedecim numero.
 Ergo pro precibus petimus te Lector eorum
 Ut sint Regnicole scriptor uterque Poli.

These lines are also in the Schevez, Brechin Castle, and Edinburgh MSS., but at the end of Book XVI., just before the Tabula, or Index Alphabeticus. In the Black Book the "h" of *hopus* is written on erasure, and the word "Bower" on the margin, is in the hand of 1650.

At the top of the right hand column of folio 14, commences:—Tabula Monasteriorum Scocie. This extends to nearly the middle of the first column on the *verso* side, when there succeeds:—Monasteria Prioratum

¹ Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, p. 117; Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, I., p. 501.

Scocie et de eorum fundatoribus, running on to the top of the next column. Then follow the Lists :—Fratres Jacobite, &c. :—Comitatus Scocie :—Ducatus Scocie :—On the left hand column of the *recto* of folio 15, is—Prefecturi sive Preposituri :—and Monasteria Monialium.

The same lists occur in the Edinburgh, Brechin Castle and Schevez MSS., and are printed from the first by Goodall, but not quite accurately. Hearne published them from the Black Book or the Schevez MS.¹ In the latter they come immediately before the Prologue “Debitor sum fateor,” and after the Provincial to be mentioned presently, and as part of these lists. Goodall places them at the end of his second volume in the *Scotichronicon Abbreviatio*.² His immediately preceding piece, *Auctarium Scotichronici*, he took from the Schevez MS., or rather copied it from Hearne.³

In the Edinburgh MS., the lists just mentioned set out with the word “Incipit,” which is wanting in the other two manuscripts. After the Nunneries, the Edinburgh MS. gives lists of the *Vicecomitatus Scotiae*, and *Domini de Parlamento praeter duces et comites*. These are not in the Black Book, but are given in the Schevez MS., with an addition by a later hand. The Edinburgh (folio 343 *recto*) and Brechin Castle MSS. then proceed with a note as to a statement by Barbour. This is wanting in the other two MSS., and seems more like the passing observation of a reader or of the copyist, than a record made by the compiler of the lists.⁴

¹ Hearne's *Fordun*, V., p. 1551.

² There is a MS. in the Edinburgh University Library containing similar lists, and they are also attached to some copies of the so-called *Liber Pluscardensis*, and are printed in the Appendix to the recent edition of that work. Although similar to the lists mentioned in the text, they are not identical, (*Liber Pluscardensis*, I., pp. xiii., xv., 403.) Such lists are part of the apparatus of the greater number of our Historical MSS. It was a common practice to fill up their blank leaves with miscellaneous extracts, chronological matter, and catalogues of Popes, Emperors, and Kings. This may be seen by consulting the description of almost any of the Historical MSS. published in the *Rolls Series*. See, for example, *Ralph de Diceto, Opera Historica*, ed. Stubbs, vol. I., p. lxxxviii., *et seq.*, (Lond., 1876); *Roger de Houedene Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, vol. I., p. lxxiv., *et seq.*

³ No doubt Goodall merely reprinted from Hearne, who had given the piece, V., p. 1561. Mr. Skene by mistake says that it is from the Harleian MS., 4764, Skene's *Fordun*, I., p. xlii.

⁴ This note beginning “*Notandum quod Barbarius*” (printed by Goodall ii. pp. 542, 543,) refers to the *Chronicles of the Abbey of Paisley* and of other ancient writers. In the Brechin Castle copy the note is imperfect, breaking off at the words “*duos Alanos*,” (Goodall ii. p. 542, third line from the bottom).

The right hand column of the *recto* of folio 15 of our MS., and the *verso* side, as well as the next two folios, which are not counted in the 271, are blank, but are ruled, and were evidently intended to be filled up. There is a Memorandum in the hand of 1650, at the top of the right hand column of the *recto* of folio 15, of which hereafter.

At the top of folio 16, which is the first of quire 3, on the upper margin, in a plain hand, but evidently from its position posterior to the text, is—

Iste Liber est de Contentu Basleti.

This, and the following folio, are occupied by a Catalogue of Popes, Emperors, and Cardinalates, “usque presens.” These lists likewise occur in the Schevez and Edinburgh MSS., but without a title, as they have in the Black Book of Paisley. In the latter, the last Pope in the list is Nicholas V., and as the period of his reign is not stated, it may be inferred that he was living when it was engrossed. In the Schevez MS. have been added in the same hand, and at the time when the transcript was made, Calixtus, Pius, Paulus, and Sixtus, who were the succeeding Pontiffs. Sixtus IV. was elected, 9th August, 1471, and died, 13th August, 1484; while Nicholas V. held the chair from 6th March, 1447, till 24th March, 1455. In the Edinburgh MS. the list comes down to Sixtus IV.

On the *recto* of folio 17, and on part of the first column of the *verso*, is the list of the Roman Emperors. This is likewise in the other two MSS. In all, the latest in date is Sigismund, King of Hungary, who was Emperor, 1411-1437:—

“Sigismundus rex Ungarie frater Venzelli predicti; Regnavit fere xxx annos et coronatus fuit a Martino V^o.”¹

In the three MSS. follow a list of the titles of the Cardinals and

¹ This was the coronation with the Iron Crown at Milan, 25th November, 1431. He subsequently received the Golden Crown from the hands of Eugenius IV., at Rome, 31st May, 1433. The “xxx” above may therefore be a mistake for “xxi.” He was elected 21st July, 1411, and only reigned 27 years as Emperor altogether (L’Art de Verifier les Dates, VII., p. 368, Paris, 1818), while it was in the 21st year of his reign that he was crowned at Milan. Bower does not refer to this fact in his narrative, but mentions the coronation by Eugenius, (xvi. 7.)

Metropolitans, and a Provincial of the Bishops throughout the world. St. Andrews and Glasgow are entered as Bishoprics, but in the Black Book one of its annotators has marked them as Archbishoprics. Goodall did not print these lists.

On the last part of the second column of the *verso* of folio 19, and apparently in the same hand, is an explanation of the numerical value of the letters of the alphabet. This is not in the Edinburgh or Schevez MS.

The greater part of the *recto* of folio 20 is devoted to chronology. There is first a tract which has been printed in the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.¹ It commences with Neyele or Neolus rex Schithie in Grece, and proceeds partly in prose and partly in verse to the sending of Palladius to the Scots, by Pope Celestine in 430. This is what is printed by Mr. Skene. The MS., however, without any break in the writing, immediately leaps to the year 1296, and records the battle of Spot or Dunbar,² and proceeds chronologically to the year 1402, in which the battle of Homildon Hill is recorded. This is the latest date. After the battles follow the dates of the institution of the various monastic orders, the last being that of the Carmelites in 1213.

Fordun mentions³ that a certain genealogy of the Scotch kings which he uses was given to him by Bishop Wardlaw of Glasgow, and Bower interpolates in the passage five lines from the above tract. It may be suggested, therefore, that the tract itself was known to the Bishop, and that Fordun had his knowledge of it from him.

On the right hand side of the *verso* of the same folio in red ink is a list of Historiographers; first, "De Nominibus veterum Historiographorum," beginning with Pompeius Trogius, and ending with Africanus; and next, "De Nominibus Historiographorum hujus Libri Scotichronicon," commencing with Alexander de Natura rerum, and concluding with Gildas and Johannes de Fordoun. The latter is similar to the Index Auctorum at the end of Hearne and of Goodall, but on a smaller scale, and without references.

¹ Edr. 1867, pp. 330, 331, and see p. lxix.

² This conflict is mentioned in the Scotichronicon, xi., c. 24.

³ Scotichronicon, v., c. 60; Chronica Gentis Scot. v., c. 50, Edd. Skene and Hearne.

Neither the Chronology nor the Historiography is in the Edinburgh or Schevez MS.

On folio 21 commences the Chronicon Rhythmicum or Scotichronicon Compendium Metricum, as Goodall styles it. The version in the Black Book corresponds with Goodall's text, concluding with the words "Quod sibi concedat Christus. Amen."¹ In the Edinburgh MS. it is at the end of the volume; while in the Schevez MS., in which it also occurs, it is the piece with which the book begins. Both the Black Book and the Schevez MS. read "sequens Cronicon" at the commencement, where the Edinburgh MS. and the MS. of the Scotch College of Paris have "præcedens Scotichronicon." In the chapter commencing "Recapitulationem,"² where the Edinburgh MS. has "suprascripto Scotichronicon," the Black Book and Schevez read "infrascripto Scotichronicon."

In the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,³ Mr. Skene prints the version of the poem which is given in the Scotch College MS., which, following Father Innes, he considers the oldest extant version of it. In a few places where there is an evident blunder in transcription, the Black Book has the right word *e.g.* "posteritas" for "prosperitas," "obsequias" for "exsequias."⁴

On the *verso* of folio 24, and the *recto* of folio 25, are extracts "De Pestilentia," from Isidore Hispalensis,⁵ and others, and a transcript of the smaller treatise⁶ of Joannes de Burdeus.⁷

¹ Goodall, ii., p. 521, 537.

² *Ib.* ii., p. 533.

³ p. 332, *et seq.*, and see Pref., p. lxi.

⁴ See also Pinkerton, Enquiry into the History of Scotland, i., p. 513.

⁵ Etymologicæ Lib. iv., c. vi., §§ 17, 19. Migne, Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, vol. 82, p. 187.

⁶ Hic incipit notabilis tractatus editus per bonum phisicum Johannem de Burdeus de Medicina contra pestilenciam et dividitur in quatuor partes. Prima pars tractat qualiter tempore pestilencie homo ne cadat in ipsam infirmitatem se debet custodire. Secundum capitulum narrat qualiter ista infirmitas pervenit. Tercium capitulum docet medicinam curare istam infirmitatem. Et quartum capitulum informat modum per quem debet homo in illa infirmitate salubriter se servare.

After enlarging on these heads the writer concludes:—Propterea si quis timet de illa infirmitate, custodiat se ab illis quæ specificantur in primo capitulo. Et si quis est in illa faciet in tempore sicut secundum docet capitulum. Et regat secundum documentum istius tractatus. Et credat certissime quod mediante Gracia Divina salus erit qui si se servaverit modo supradicto febrem acutam vel pestilenciam ulterius non timebit. Pro ista materia vide vij li° ca° ix°.

The reference here is to the Scotichronicon, Book vii., c. 9.

⁷ As to Joannes de Burdeus or de Burgundia and his works, see Note B.

On the second column of the *recto* of folio 25, is a letter to a certain Rānuldus, which occupies the greater part of the *verso* of the same folio. This letter has often been ascribed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, but it is treated by Migne as spurious, and as not worth reprinting.¹ It would seem to be the composition of Bernardus Sylvestris.² None of these extracts are in the Schevez MS. Bernard's letter is in the Edinburgh MS. just after the Tabula, and before the Brevis Recapitulacio.

The *recto* of folio 26 is blank, on the *verso* is a Genealogical Tree of the descent of James II., and his six sisters, children of James I., and Johanna his Queen. A similar tree is also found in the Edinburgh and Schevez MSS., at the end of the volumes. It was printed by Hearne³ from the latter, which, however, adds James III., and styles him "Rex modernus." In the Paisley Book, this epithet is applied to James II., while James III. does not appear in it all.⁴ The latter died in 1488, and the former in 1460.

On the opposite page, *recto* of folio 27, is a Genealogical Tree exhibiting the descent of Henry VI. of England, and Charles VII. of France, from St. Louis of France. The marriage of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., with Margaret, daughter of James I., is noted; and Henry V., it is said, married the daughter of Charles VI., by whom he had Henry, "nunc regnantem in Anglia A° M° cccc° xlii. et etatis xx."

¹ Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, vol. 184, p. 1190, n. It is given in the Paris edition of St. Bernard's Works, vol. ii., p. 893, Paris, 1690, and has often been printed separately, and is translated into several modern languages.

In the *Anecdota Litteraria* (Romæ 1773-83, 8vo.), iv., p. 229, *et seq.*, the letter is given from a MS. of the fourteenth century in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence, and the editor, J. C. Amadutius, claims it as a genuine production of St. Bernard, but this cannot now be maintained.

² The letter must have been a favourite in Scotland, as a metrical version in the Scottish language has been preserved. It is one of several pieces in a MS. (Kk. i. 5), in the Cambridge University Library; and has been printed by the Early English Text Society, under the editorship of J. Rawson Lumley (Lond., 1870, No. 42.)

Bernardus Sylvestris lived in the beginning of the eleventh century, and is the same person as Bernardus Carnotensis, who is often mentioned by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticum*. He was the author of some poems.

³ In the Schevez MS., folio 276, *recto*, there is this Memorandum with reference to the Genealogical scheme:—"Sequitur tabula regum Sootorum a Rege Malcolmo viro sanctissime Regine Margarite usque Regem Jacobum tercium modernum inclusive. Quem ad felex regimen regni custodiat Omnipotens Dominus. Amen."

⁴ V., p. 1560.

Goodall has not reproduced the Tree, but he reprints some explanatory matter which is interwoven amongst the branches.¹ Neither this Tree nor the explanatory matter is in the Schevez MS.

The *verso* of this folio is blank. It is stained with blue from the illuminated capital on the succeeding page, which indicates that the introduction had been transcribed at the same time as the text.

At the top of the *recto* of folio 28, (which is numbered at the foot, 4, as the fourth quire), and in an old hand, but after the writing of the work, as it is in the upper margin, is the inscription—

Iste Liber est scti Jacobi et scti Mirini de Basleto.

Below these words, at the original commencement of the page, in bold characters, in red ink, is—

INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN LIBRUM SCOTICRONICON INCHOATUM PER
BONE MEMORIE DOMINUM JOHANNEM DE FORDOUN CAPEL-
LANUM ECCLESIE ABERDONENSIS NECNON CONTINUATUM,
COMPILATUM ET COMPLETUM PER ECIAM BONE MEMORIE
VENERBILEM IN CHRISTO PATREM WALTERUM BOWER
ABBATEM MONASTERII SCTI. COLUMBE, ET CIA.

This title is not in the Schevez or Edinburgh MSS., and Bower's name does not occur in either of them.

After this, the Prologue proceeds "Debitor sum," &c., as in the printed texts of Hearne² and Goodall.

Across the upper margin of the *verso* of folio 50, and the *recto* of folio 51, being the end of Book II., and the beginning of Book III., is written—

Monasterii de Basleto Sanctorum Jacobi et Mirini de Baslay,

the word "Liber," which is part of the running title, being evidently intended to be read in before it.

At the top of folio 67, the commencement of Book IV., is—

Liber Monasterie de Basleto.

The word "Liber" being part of the running title, and the others made to read along with it.

¹ II., p. 543. See *supra*, p. 17.

² Hearne prints the Prologue from the Black Book, V., p. 1393, *et seq.*

Again, at the top of the *recto* of folio 215 in Book XIII. is written—

Iste Liber est Sc^{ti} Jacobi et Sc^{ti} Mirini de Pasleto.

The figures xiii. should have been in the middle of the margin as on the other pages, but are here placed at the left hand side, and the inscription takes their place. There is no erasure, which shows that it must have been written at the time when the MS. was being transcribed. It is similar to the notes which Magnus Maculloch made on his transcripts as he proceeded, and indicates that the Black Book was specially copied for the Abbey of Paisley, as the Schevez MS. was made for the Archbishop of St. Andrews. It is possible that the running titles may have been inserted after the book came to Paisley, but this appears most unlikely. In the earlier part of the volume the headings of the pages are in red ink as well as in black, but the scribe seems to have changed his mind as he proceeded, and to have given up the red and re-executed in black what he had already done in red, and continued the black to the end.

From folio 28 *recto* to folio 267 *recto* is occupied by the text of the Scotichronicon.

Chapter 39 of Book XVI. ends on the *recto* of folio 265 with the words "ad posteros transmittamus," as in Goodall's text. The Edinburgh MS. then adds the verses, "Hic opus hic finit," &c., of which mention has been already made. The Black Book, however, proceeds on the *verso* of this folio with—

**TRACTATUS ET COMPOSITIO INTER REGES SOCIE ET NORWAGIE FACTA SUPER
CLAMEO INSULARUM ET EORUM OCCASIONE.**

This, however, is not given as a new chapter. It is not in the Schevez or Edinburgh MSS. The treaty is dated 29th July, 1426.¹

From c. 46 of Book XIV. to the end of Book XVI., including this additional passage, was printed by Hearne from the Black Book,² collated, so far as it goes, with the Schevez MS.

Following the treaty, and at the foot of the *recto* of folio 267, is an extract from the "Nova Chronica" as the writer terms them, of Henry,

¹ See Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, iii., p. 94 (Ed. 1845.)

² Hearne's *Fordun*, iv., p. 1063, *et seq.*

Archdeacon of Huntingdon. It is taken from Book VI., *ad. init.* of his *Historia Anglorum*.¹ An abridged version of the passage occurs in the *Scotichronicon*, iv., c. 39, and in the *Gesta Gentis Scotorum*, iv., c. 36.

On folio 267 *verso* is a portion of the Prophecy of Merlin *Silvestris*, revealed to Edward the Confessor,² beginning "Mortuo leone justitiæ." The Book of Cupar commences c. I. of Book IX., with the words "Mortuo leone justitiæ magnifico," referring to the death of William the Lion, so that Bower may have intended to apply the prophecy to him. In the *Scotichronicon* Book viii., c. 12, he styles him "Leo justitiæ."

On the *recto* of folio of 268, is an extract commencing "Seneca ad Lucilium, Attendite famuli et bene famulamini O," which occupies about half of the first column.

Then follows DE FIDE CHRISTIANA, but without the name of any author. The tract is ascribed by Migne to Boethius, and is printed in his edition of his works.³ It had not been printed before.

On folio 269 *recto*, is inserted St. Bernard's *Tractatus de Formula honeste vite*, which finishes at the top of folio 270, *recto*.⁴

The remainder of this folio, and the *verso* of 271, are taken up with Prester John's Letter to the Greek Emperor. The text of this famous Epistle is given by Assemani,⁵ from a manuscript in the Vatican; but the version in

¹ *Scriptores post Bedam ed Savile*, p. 359 (Francof. 1601 fol.) *Henrici Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum* Ed. Thomas Arnold, p. 173, (Lond., 1879.)

² Curiously, this same prophecy is likewise found in the MS. (folio 27 *recto*), in the Royal collection, 13 E. ix., standing on the shelf immediately before the Black Book of Paisley. This MS. is described in the introduction to *Chronicon Angliæ* (Lond., 1874), Ed. E. M. Thompson, p. xxix.; *Walsingham Hist. Angl.* ii., p. xiv. The Prophecy is also in the Ripley MS. of Ralph de Diceto. See *De Diceto, Opera Historica*, vol. i., p. xcvi. (Lond., 1876, Ed. Stubbs.)

Merlin's prophecies are repeatedly quoted by Fordun and Bower, and by other historians, both Scotch and English. In the old Scotch MS. (Cambridge University Library, Kk. i. 5), before referred to (p. 21 n.), there is a metrical version of certain prophecies ascribed to Merlin which has been printed along with the metrical version of Bernard's letter by the Early English Text Society. These prophecies had been previously printed at Edinburgh by Waldegrave in 1603, and by Hart in 1615 and 1617, and were reprinted by the Bannatyne Club (No. 44), in 1833.

³ Migne, *Cursus Patrologiæ Completus*, vol. 64, p. 1333—1338.

⁴ The Tract will be found in Migne's *Cursus Patrologiæ*, vol. 184, p. 1167, *et seq.*

⁵ *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. III., Pt. II., p. 490. It was printed at an early date. See Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, iv. p. 292; ix. p. 181. Both of these editions are in the Grenville Library, (British Museum,) as is also a third, *s. l. et. a.*, to which is added an additional Tract, *De situ et dispositione regionum et insularum totius Indis nec non de rerum mirabilium ac gentium*

the Black Book is fuller, containing several passages and the conclusion, which are omitted in it, or at least in Assemani's transcript. It does not give the Emperor's name, but Assemani suggests Alexius Comnenus, who died in 1180. In the Black Book, the title given to the letter is—

“EPISTOLA PRESBITERI JOHANNIS MISSA AD IMPERATOREM
REMEONEM IMPERATOREM GRECORUM,”

while in the body of the letter it bears to be addressed “Manueli Remeoni Gubernatori.” In the corresponding passage, the Vatican MS. has “Constantinopolitano Gubernatori.” As there was no Emperor of the name of Manuel Romeo, the words in the Black Book may either be a misreading of the words given in the Vatican MS., or a mistake for “Manueli Comneno,” who died in 1143, and was the immediate predecessor of Alexius Comnenus.

The letter¹ and the reputed writer were well known in Scotland,² and the document is referred to in the Chronicle of Melrose³ as to the habitat of the Salamander. The Paisley Book gives the text of the passage: “In

diversitate. It was also printed along with the Itinerary of John of Hesse;—Johannis de Hesse Itinerarius presbyteri a Jherusalem describens dispositiones terrarum insularum, montium et aquarum; Joannis Presbyteri Epistola ad Emmanuelem; Tractatus de situ regionum totius Indie.—Sm. 4to., 21 leaves, s. l. et a. (1495?) There are many Manuscripts of the Letter in the British Museum and other Libraries. The Royal MS. 13. A. xiv., of the fourteenth century, corresponds with the text in the Black Book.

¹ Illustrations of Scottish History by Joseph Stevenson, p. 80 (Maitland Club); Weber's Metrical Romances, iii., p. 301; Wynton's Chronicle by Macpherson, i., p. xliii. (Reprint in the Historians of Scotland.)

As to Prester John himself, see Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, ii., p. 396 (Ed. 1845); Gieseler Ecol. Hist., translated by Hull, iii., p. 480. Marco Polo's Travels, p. 20, *et seq.* (Ed. Bohn); i., p. 205, Ed. Yule, who refers to Oppert, Der Presbiter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, i., p. 249 (5th Edn.) He gives an English translation of the letter.

² Sir David Lindsay in his Roll of Arms places the blazon of the Arms of Prester John, along with those of the three kings of Cologne, i. e., the three wise Men of the East, immediately after the Royal Arms. Then follow the Arms of the “nyne maist nobill; of the quhilkis thair wes thre Jowis, as David, Josue, and Judas Machabeus; three gentilis, as Julius Cesar, Alexander Conqueror, and Hector of Troy; three chrisseynd men, as Charles ye Magne, Empriour and King of France, Arthur, King of ye greit Britannie, and Godefroy, Duk of Bollonie, Conqueror of Jerusalem.”

³ Chronica de Mailros in the Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, Ed. Gale, i., p. 237, and by J. Stevenson for the Bannatyne Club, p. 210.

alia quadam provincia nostra juxta torridam zonam sunt vermes qui lingua nostra salamandræ dicuntur.”

There is a French translation of the letter in the British Museum.¹ A German poetical one is given in Haupt and Hoffman's *Altdeutsche Blättern*.² An English translation was printed at an early date,³ and a Scotch version is annexed to a MS. of Wynton's Chronicle in the British Museum, 17 D. xx. No. 3; a portion of which is quoted by Macpherson in his preface.⁴

The *verso* of folio 271 is the last which is written. It commences with a note on General Councils, then follow a number of moral or religious precepts, and, lastly, several quotations from the Revelations of St. Brigitta. They and the Black Book of Paisley conclude as follows:—

Li^a i^a c. L. Rogat mater filium pro habitatoribus mundi et tribus et ut primo obtineat pro peccatis contricionem et confessionem, secundo satisfactionem, Tertio ad fortitudinem continendus,⁵ et ad bonum faciendum.

Respondit Filius. Omnis quicumque invocaverit nomen tuum et spem habet in te cum proposito emendandi commissa ista tria dabuntur ei, in super et regnum. Haec ibi.

Item Li^a vj^a c. xxxiiiij Scriptum est quod Christus locutus matri sue dicens, Tu enim plena es misericordia et ideo omnem misericordiam trahis a me peccatores. Benedictus sit ille quicumque servit tibi quia nec relinquetur in mostu nec in vita. Haec ibi.

Este Liber est Sctⁱ Jacobi et Sctⁱ Mirini de Pasleto.

The Colophon, although old, is in a different hand from the writing which immediately precedes it.

There are five additional leaves in the volume which are blank, and complete the twenty-ninth quire.

¹ Royal MS., 20 A. xi., No. 3.

² Vol. i., p. 308.

³ *The Legacye or Embassate of the Great Emperoure of Inde, Prester Johnne, unto Emmanuell kynge of Portugale*, Lond., John Rastel, 8vo., n. d.

⁴ Wynton's Chronicle Pref., p. xlii. (Reprint in the *Historians of Scotland*.)

⁵ Apparently a mistake. The printed work reads, "Fortitudine ad faciendum bona" (*Opera S. Brigittæ*, p. 77. Monachii 1680 fol.); and the person who made the note has evidently had some doubt about the wording.

St. Brigitta is St. Brigit of Sweden, a favourite authority with Bower, who quotes her Revelations repeatedly. Fordun mentions her death,¹ to which the Abbot adds some particulars of her life and her works.² At the conclusion of the chapter on the subject in the Black Book of Paisley are the words, in red ink:—"Non tuus est Christus cui liber non placet iste sciz. Revelationum Brigitte." With the exception of the last three words, the same sentence is found in the Schevez MS.,³ also in red ink. It is not in Fordun's own work.

As St. Brigit died in 1373, and was canonized by Boniface IX. in 1391, it was not to be expected that Fordun could have much to say about her. Her Revelations, however, seem at once to have attained great popularity and a wide circulation. They were printed as early as 1470, and again at Lubeck and Rome in 1492, and there have been numerous subsequent editions both of them and of St. Brigitta's other works. A Flemish translation of the Revelations was published at Antwerp in 1491,⁴ and they have also been rendered into French and several other Continental languages. In a small MS. volume of the fifteenth century in the Arundel collection, there is a short tract,⁵ "The Informacioun of contemplatife lyfe and actife; And a dialoygue out of y^e revelaciouns of Saint Bryde." A small part of an English translation has likewise been printed. "An Epistle of Saint Bernarde, called the Golden Epistle, which he sent to a young religyous man whom he moche loued: And after the sayd Epistle foloweth four reuelations of Saint Birget. Printed at London by Thomas Godfray."⁶

St. Brigitta's Life will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*,⁷ under date 8th October, and in Alban Butler at the same day. She does not seem to have had any dedication in Scotland.

¹ Skene's Fordun, i., p. 382. Hearne, iv., p. 1060.

² *Scotichronicon*, xiv. c. 39.

³ Magnus Macculloch seems to have been enamoured of the sentiment, as he drops it about in various places in his transcript of this MS., as well as of the one at Brechin Castle; but he applies it to the *Scotichronicon* and not to the Revelations of St. Brigit. In this secondary application it is found in the Edinburgh MS. at the end of Book XVI.

⁴ Lambinet, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'imprimerie*, p. 434.

⁵ Arundel Collection, Brit. Mus., 197, p. 38-48.

⁶ A small 12mo, printed about 1530. The last page is the "first boke of Scala Perfectionis." The Revelations are Book VI., cc. 50, 65, 83, 41.

⁷ *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. iv., p. 368-568.

The Black Book, although generally in good preservation, has at some time met with rough usage.

In Book IV. there is a blank from about the end of c. 49 to nearly the end of c. 53; and at the foot of folio 79, *verso* in an old hand is noted with reference to this: *Hic ^{duo} _{aliqua} desiderantur folia furto excisa.* Only one leaf, however, has been cut out, as may be seen from the fragment still remaining, and the matter wanting would only fill one folio. The numbering of the quires at the foot, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., has been made after this loss. Quire 9 has the complete ten folios, but the older numbering, a, b, c, etc., shows that folio "c" is wanting. Curiously, the second half (*i.e.*, folio 85) of the sheet of which the first is wanting, is different vellum from the rest of the quire, and is evidently an insertion. The copyist had made a mistake by stopping c. 13 of Book V. nearly in the middle and going on with c. 14. To remedy his error, he has scored out in red ink this part of c. 14, marking "Vacat," and also the beginning of c. 15, which is at the top of a new folio, and he has then inserted a new sheet on which he writes the concluding part of c. 13 and what he had to delete. This, however, does not seem to explain the loss of folio "c."

In Book VIII., several pages have been lost, quire 15 containing only two instead of ten folios, and these two are in very bad order. In an old hand, on the last page of quire 14, is the note: "*Hic desiderantur multa excisa furto, lacunam ex Sconensi codice supplebis.*" And to this the Annotator of 1650 adds, "*Modo apud St. Andream in Collegii Novi bibliotheca.*"¹ The portions of the text which are wanting are c. xxvii., from near the beginning to nearly the end of c. xxxiv., a small part of c. xxxviii., and all that intervenes to the last few lines of c. xlv., part of cc. xlix. and lxiv., and the whole of the intervening chapters. The two folios of the quire belong to different skins, and the second, numbered 137, is bound with its outer edge inwards, reversing the pages. The figures 15, marking the number of the quire, are upon the folio originally marked "c." There are therefore wanting folios "a" and "b," containing cc. 27 to 35, with the corresponding leaves in the second half of the quire; and also "d" and "e," but apparently the now-existing second

¹ See *supra*, p. 11.

folio of the quire is the second half of the sheet of which the first would be marked "e."

Throughout the manuscript there are many clerical errors, but not more than generally occur in a manuscript of the kind. In some cases passages have been omitted, and inserted on the margin, and in others wrong words have been written and then corrected.

In the Brechin Castle and Edinburgh MSS. there is a copy of the Ballad of the Nine Nobles, beginning

Hector of Troye throu hard fechtynge
In half thirde yeris slew xix kyngis,

which was printed by Mr. David Laing from the latter MS.¹

This ballad also occurs amongst some miscellaneous matter at the end of the MS. in the Edinburgh University Library, *De Cronicis Scotorum Brevia*, by John Law, Canon of St. Andrews, 1521.² It is not in the Schevez MS., or in the Black Book of Paisley.

III.

THE TEXT OF THE BLACK BOOK.

Without pretending to give anything like a collation of the MSS., it may be interesting to compare, in a general way, the text of the Black Book with that printed by Goodall.

PREFACIUNCULA OPERIS.—The Black Book and the Schevez MS. correspond with the Edinburgh MS., and read "condonentur" as the last word.

I. c. 2. The passage in English in Goodall at the end of the chapter, "Oriens," &c., is wanting in the Black Book. In the Schevez MS. it is in the lower margin, below the text. In the Black Book the Latin lines, "Sunt subsolanus," &c., have been inserted between the title of the chapter and the commencement of the text.

I. c. 7. The Black Book and Schevez MS. omit "XL," in the date ix^c

¹ David Laing, *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 410, Edin., 1822.

² David Laing, "On Some Early Historical Writers of Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xii., p. 77.

In the latter there is a blank after ix^a ; in the former there is none. The same omission apparently occurs in the Edinburgh MS.

I. c. 12. The Black Book and Schevez MS. read "seviencium" as in Goodall's text, and in the MSS. of Fordun's own work, not "sequentium" as in the Edinburgh MS.

I. c. 19. The Black Book and Schevez MS. end the chapter with "venenosa," as in the Edinburgh MS. The MSS. of Fordun's work have the concluding sentence, "Lana etiam," &c.

I. c. 33. The Black Book omits the words "In Elucidario quoque," as the Edinburgh MS. likewise does. In the Schevez MS. they are inserted in the margin. They are in Fordun's own work.

I. c. 36. The Black Book reads "Feraghad sive Ferardi."

I. c. 37. The Black Book and Schevez MS. omit the section taken by Goodall from the Book of Cupar.

II. c. 1. The Black Book and the Schevez MS. omit the seven words noted by Goodall. The omission looks like an error in transcription, but strangely it also occurs in the Book of Cupar, which, taken with the fact that the passage is correctly given in all the MSS. of Fordun's original work, would lead to the inference that the words had dropped out of the copy which Bower was using.

II. c. 59. The Black Book reads "vultum seriose:" the Abridgement, "vultu seriose." The Schevez MS. "multum seriose" with the Edinburgh MS.

II. c. 64. The Black Book and the Schevez MS. insert the verses here and in c. 15, as the Edinburgh MS. does.

III. c. 32. The words given by Goodall from the Abridgement of the Black Book are not in the Black Book itself.

IV. c. 35. The paragraphs thrust into the text of the Edinburgh MS. as noted by Goodall, likewise occur in the same place in the Schevez MS., but not in the Black Book of Paisley. These two MSS. read "Donsithy," not "Dounsynnane." Magnus Makculloch was evidently transcribing from a manuscript on which there was a marginal note which he incorporated in his text without consideration: and the Edinburgh Scribe did the same.

IV. c. 40. Both the Black Book and Schevez MS. have the additional verses which Goodall mentions as being in the MS. of Dr. George Mackenzie, a copy of the Liber Pluscardensis now in the Advocates'

Library, Edinburgh, 35, 5, 2. This tends to suggest that the writer of the latter had the Black Book before him.

iv. c. 47. The Black Book and Schevez MS. omit the sentence, "Abhorrent utique dominus," &c.

v. c. 23. The Black Book and Schevez read "illius" as the second word of the chapter, and omit "celebris."

v. c. 25. The Black Book and Schevez omit the year of Malcolm's death; the sentence ending "obiit die Sancti Bricii." The sentence "Vulgariter dictum est," &c., is omitted in these as in the Edinburgh MS.

v. cc. 27, 26, 28. The Black Book and Schevez omit "Turgotus" at the beginning of these chapters. Goodall remarks that in c. 27, some MSS. read "de genere" and not "degener." The Black Book has the latter, but a final "e" has been erased. The following word is however "Anglicus."

v. c. 33. This chapter, in the Edinburgh and Schevez MSS. ends with the words "Hugo Scorisberiensis." The Black Book goes on with a passage "Anno Domini M^o C^o ix^o rex Henricus," &c., down to "fundavit ecclesiam de Kalco," which is inserted in the two others in the middle of c. 36.

v. c. 36. The parenthetical passage noted by Goodall is in both the Black Book and in Schevez. The passage in this chapter as printed by Goodall, "An. Dom. M. C. ix.," and down to "fundavit ecclesiam de Kalco" is placed in the Black Book as above noted, at the end of c. 33. The words "Et dedicatur per Turgotum," noted in Goodall's margin as occurring in the text of the Edinburgh MS., are inserted in Schevez, but are omitted in the Black Book.

v. c. 37. The title of this chapter in the Black Book is "De fundacioune Emonie." In the Schevez MS. it is "De fundacioune monasterii Sancti Columbi in Emonia." The words "Et dedicatur," &c., as above which Goodall notes as occurring in the Edinburgh MS. in c. 36, are rightly inserted in the Black Book immediately after the word "Scona" in the first sentence. The Black Book, Schevez and Edinburgh MS. all read "juxta Edynburgh," instead of "juxta Inverkeithin," which was Fordun's expression.¹ Goodall remarks that, in the margin of the Edinburgh MS., at the

¹ *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, v. c. 28. Skene's Fordun, I, p. 227.

end of c. 36, are some words, "De fundatione Sconae." This note is in the Black Book, placed in the margin against the commencement of c. 37, and is more specific. "Scriptor de fundacione Scone ulterius in fine hujus V^o libri ad tale signum ;o." The passage so referred to is in the Black Book and Edinburgh MS., to be found at the beginning of Book VI. There is no note of any kind on the margin of the Schevez MS., and the passage in question is not inserted at the beginning of Book VI.

v. c. 38. The Black Book and Schevez have the first part of the portion of the sentence which is wanting in the Edinburgh MS. They stop at "Cisterciensis xv^o."

v. c. 39. The date of the institution of Canons Regular at Carlisle is wrongly given in the Black Book, as "Anno M^o C. xvii^o ii^o" instead of "M. C. ii^o." The Scribe was evidently misled by the "M. C. xvii." immediately before. The reference to Queen Matilda's letter is differently given in the Black Book and in the Edinburgh MS. In the former it is "Cujus copiam vide post folio viij^o prius titulos sequentis libri." In reality it is on the tenth folio, immediately after the titles of the chapters of book vi. In the Schevez MS. the title is inserted here, c. 39.

v. c. 59. In the Black Book and Schevez, this chapter ends with "immolatur," and omits the remaining part of last two lines given by Goodall.

v. c. 60. On the margin of the Black Book the words "Scriptor," "Vacat," "Auctor," are noted, by means of which the chapter can be read to correspond with Fordun's original as given by Skene.¹

VI. In the table to Book VI., chapter 47 has not been numbered, the figures having been given to c. 48. The Book, therefore, contains apparently only fifty-six chapters instead of fifty-seven. The numbering of the chapters in the text is also wrong. Two chapters are numbered 37, and the copyist goes on till c. 47, which should be c. 48. This he omits to number altogether, and the next he makes c. 49, which is right. In the Schevez MS. the numbering of the chapters in the table is also wrong.

VI. c. x. The Black Book and Schevez MS. read xlvii., which is correct, and not xvii. as in the Edinburgh MS.

VI. c. 23. The date of Harold's coronation is in the Black Book 1067, in the Edinburgh MS. 1066, and in Schevez 1047. This chapter ends in

¹ v. c. 50. Vol. i. p. 251.

the Black Book,—“Hucusque scriba clare; cetera sunt Scriptoris A° D° M° C.,” and the Edinburgh and Schevez MSS. correspond, but with the addition of “&c.” Apparently Bower had left a blank to fill in the date, which the transcriber did not notice. In the Black Book there is no room to insert anything after the M° C., and the title of the next chapter immediately follows, “De episcopis Kilreymouth,” etc.

In the Schevez and Edinburgh MSS. the following verses are appended to the chapter :—

Hactenus auctorem de Fordon sume Joannem
 Hinc opus auctoris et scriptoris superextat.
 Alternative scriptor nonnulla priori
 Immiscit parti, protractu marginis apte
 Intitulata tamen, quos Christus protegat. Amen.

And in the Schevez MS.,

Ulterius non fiant liniarum protecciones.
 Cetera sunt Scriptoris primevi non ultimi.

These verses are not given in the Black Book, but on the margin opposite the “M° C” is inserted the line—

“Ulterius non fiant liniarum protecciones.”

On its margin likewise, against the commencement of chapter 24 is the is the word “Scriptor.”

VI. c. 24. The Black Book reads “Fothad” in accordance with the other two MSS. Goodall mentions in a note that the proper name “Kellach” had already been given iv. c. 17. The sentence there, however, “Hujus tempore Kellach fuit episcopus de Kilreymouth” is not in the Black Book, and it may be observed that the clause is one of Bower’s interpolations, not being found in the corresponding passage of the original work.¹

VI. c. 46. There is a blank in the Black Book, as in the Edinburgh MS., for the day and month of Bishop Trail’s death.

VI. c. 48. The Black Book omits the last sentence in the Edinburgh

¹ Skene’s *Fordun*, I, p. 160; Hearne, II, p. 311.

MS., "Hic dominus Jacobus Kenedi," etc. It is in the Schevez MS. There is a blank of more than a page here in the latter.

VII. This book commences in the Paisley MS. "De libro extravagante et de titulis vii. libri capitulorum," and ends, "Explicit liber extravagans unus." Bower explains at the beginning that this is a supplementary book of his own, and in the opening of the next he mentions that he takes up the historical narrative. It is difficult to see why it has been thrust in, as it is of a most miscellaneous character, but it reflects Bower's character in his love of the marvellous, and shows what the style of literature was which was in vogue in a Scotch monastery in the 15th century.

VIII. c. 15. The Black Book gives the reading noted by Goodall, i., p. 462.

VIII. c. 22. Goodall introduces into his text some words taken from the Book of Cupar. In the Black Book there is a side note of the same date as the text—

" Dicitur quod David erat senior
Willelmo ut supra li°. V°. c. xliij°."

which is to the same effect as Goodall's interpretation. It is not in the Schevez MS. There is a corresponding note on the margin of the Black Book at v. c. 43. Such notes occur in many places in the Black Book, e. g., ix. c. 48; x. c. 8; xi. c. 13; xi. c. 51.

VIII. c. 66. The words which Goodall notes as being only in the Edinburgh MS. are in the other two MSS., being written in full in Schevez, "receptus et electus est Stephanus de Langton et confirmatus." The words, as given by Goodall, are nonsense. The Black Book has the contraction "Ll." as in the Edinburgh MS.

VIII. c. 67. The Black Book omits the concluding words of the chapter, "Et beatorum Petri et Pauli," etc. They are in Schevez.

IX. c. 1. The Black Book reads :—"Monasterium Paiocēn, i.e., Aberbroth."

IX. c. 41. The words "De hoc vide li° viij° c. lv. quia non scripsi," which are in Goodall's text, are wanting in Schevez. In the Black Book, they form a side note in a hand different from that of the text.

IX. c. 48. The Schevez MS. ends as the Edinburgh does, but the

Black Book has a considerable addition, a small part of which is the same as what Goodall prints from the Book of Cupar. On the margin at the beginning of the Chapter is the note :—"Hic Walterus fuit primus qui dicebatur Stewart dapifer Regis et constabularius qui fundavit Pasletum."

IX. c. 53. The Black Book and Schevez commence this chapter, "Anno Domini M^o CC^o xxxvii., Henricus et Alexander reges cum suis reginis et utriusque regni proceribus convenerunt apud Eboracum," which varies somewhat from the text of the Edinburgh MS. In mentioning the war between Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick, there is a blank in the Black Book, thus :—"Hoc anno oritur lamentabile bellum inter papam G et Fredericum imperatorem."

IX. c. 59. Instead of "Secedente rege" as in Goodall, the Black Book reads : "Sedente rege cum suis baronibus in illo consilio seorsim apud se conquesti sunt." The Schevez reading is the same except "secedente" for "sedente."

X. c. 1. A portion of this chapter, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is given in the National MSS. of Scotland, Part II., No. 84.

The preliminary sentence in the Edinburgh MS., "Filius istius," etc., is wanting in the Black Book and in Schevez. They, and the Cambridge MS., begin, "Mortuus est sicut scriptum est pater illius et quasi non est mortuus; similem enim reliquit sibi post se,"

The Black Book reads "constipatus"¹ as in Goodall's text, Schevez and the Edinburgh MS. "constitutus." In the Corpus MS. it is "constitutus," but it has been differently written at first. The word is omitted in Fordun's Collections,² while the Liber Pluscardensis³ reads, "in cathedra regali positus."

The Black Book reads "Alanus Dorward," the Schevez MS. "Durward," the Edinburgh MS. "Durward;" the Corpus MS., and all the MSS. of Fordun's materials, "Dorward."

¹ Constipatus occurs in a somewhat similar passage in the *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonds*. (Camden Society.)

² Hearne, p. 757. Skene's Fordun, p. 293.

³ VII., c. 12, Vol. I., p. 77.

Of Walter Comyn, the Black Book says, "Vir providus consilio et miles Walterus Comyn fortis satis."

The Schevez MS. omits "et," and spells Comyn with "u."

The Edinburgh MS. inserts "strenuus" after "et." The Corpus MS. shows that something should go in, but as altered it does not read correctly. Magnus Macculloch, seeing the difficulty, drops the "et" altogether. The MSS. of Fordun's materials have "Vir providus in consilio et perspicuus dominus Walterus Comyn comes de Menteth."

x. cc. 45, 46, 47. The Black Book has two chapters and part of a third additional, but they are misplaced, and are repeated, Book XII., c. 26, Goodall, ii. 259. They are not in Schevez or Goodall at this place.

xi. c. 13. This chapter mentions the marriage of Robert II. with Elizabeth More, which has been a crux to our historians and genealogists, and has produced a large and somewhat intemperate literature. Robert III. was the son of this marriage, and the question at issue is that of his legitimacy. The parents were within the prohibited degrees, and a Papal dispensation for their marriage was necessary and was obtained, but it would appear that Robert, or, as he was then named, John, was born long before it arrived or had been applied for, and while they were living in concubinage. By some it has further been maintained that in the meanwhile Robert married Eupheme Ross, by whom he had several children, and that it was only after her death that he married Elizabeth More. But whether this be so or not,—and that it was not seems to be the case,—it is argued that *subsequens matrimonium* could not legitimize Robert III., as being the issue of an incestuous union. "This scandalous aspersion," says George Crawford,¹ "that's not only injurious to the succeeding Kings of Scotland, but to many other foreign Princes who have intermarried with our Royal family, is absolutely false in itself, as will appear from many original Charters and other authentick records." The advocates of this view of the case traverse the whole statements of the other side, and take the position that the marriage with Elizabeth More was long prior to that with Eupheme Ross. This seems to be the fact, but does not dispose of the question of the effect of the marriage. To get over the mid-impediment of

¹ Description of the Shire of Renfrew, p. 150 (Ed. 1818).

concubinage betwixt persons within the prohibited degrees, which would prevent the retroaction of the marriage in legitimating children born before its date, a prior marriage, entered into on the faith of the dispensation being obtained, has been assumed, but there is no evidence of it whatever ; and if it had it would only have made matters worse. The dispensation proceeds on the ground of *ignorantia*, and this seems to be the strongest point in favour of the legitimacy of the Stewarts.¹ All parties appealed to Charters and other ancient records, and if the controversy was productive of no other good, it first directed the attention of our historical writers to diplomatics, and showed that valuable information was to be gleaned from Charters and the Monastic and Episcopal Registers.²

In the MSS. of Fordun's own work the passage in question runs thus :

“Iste Robertus copulavit sibi de facto unam de filiabus Adæ More militis, de qua genuit filios et filias extra matrimonium ; quam postea, impetrata dispensatione sedis apostolicæ et optenta, desponsavit canonice in forma ecclesiæ, anno scilicet Domini MCCCXLIX.”³

The Black Book of Paisley, the Edinburgh MS., the Book of Cupar,⁴ and the Carthusian MS. all give a different version, reading : The former runs thus :—

“Iste Robertus copulavit sibi de facto unam de filiabus Ade de More, militis, de qua genuit proles ; quam postea, impetrata dispensacione, in matrimonium desponsavit, ut postea dicetur ; ex qua genuit Robertum III. regem ; Robertus III., Jacobum regem primum ; Jacobus Jacobum secundum regem qui nunc est.”

The Schevez MS. gives the same version, interjecting at the end, “Et Jacobus secundus Jacobum tertium qui nunc est.”

In a later portion of Bower's narrative⁵ he makes a statement apparently quite at variance with this, which is followed by the Liber Pluscardensis⁶

¹ Riddell, *Stewartiana*, p. 31, *et seq.*

² *Registrum Episcop. Glasg.*, i., p. 2.

³ Skene's *Fordun*, i., p. 317.

⁴ The Book of Cupar is quoted by Father Hay, *Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 126, (Ed. 1828.)

⁵ *Black Book*, xiv. c. 53 ; *Goodall*, xiv. c. 56' ; *Book of Cupar*, 34, c. 28. (Father Hay's *Vindication*, p. 127.)

⁶ x. 10, vol. i., p. 329. (Ed Skene.)

and the *Extracta e variis Cronicis*,¹ and is the foundation of those who attack the legitimacy.

The first portion of this chapter (down to the foot of p. 149 of Goodall) is substantially the same in the Black Book and the Edinburgh MS. There are several variants, however, upon p. 150 of the printed text. The Black Book omits l. 3 from "qui paulo" to l. 7 "procuravit," and simply reads, after "Duplyn," "et Donaldus genuit Thomam," etc., and then goes on "De alia filia," etc. The omitted passage is in Fordun's original work.

The Black Book omits, l. 24, the words "qui obses fuit in Anglia cum pro patre suo pro deliberatione regis Scotiæ David II." These words are likewise in Fordun's original. In l. 25, for "statim ex hæc luce migravit," the Black Book reads "obiit statim."

XI. c. 14. A good many explanatory notes have been woven into the narrative of the Edinburgh MS., which are wanting in the Black Book and Schevez MSS., and there are a great many small variations in the text. Thus: the latter omit

1. "Sub quo passus est martyrium Sanctus Thomas Cantuariæ Archiepiscopus."

2. "Eadwardus princeps genuit Richardum II., arrestatum," &c., and read—"Qui genuit Eadwardum de Wyndesor qui genuit Eadwardum principem Walliæ vocatum præmortuum patri patrem regis Richardi II., arrestatum," &c.

3. "Et de præsentis anno sciz. Dom. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo quarto."

4. Also the numerical titles of the Kings, as Edward I., II., &c.

The variations will be best seen by comparison :—

GOODALL, II. p. 151., l. 17.

Iste Johannes genuit Henricum pacificum ;
Henricus Eadwardum Langahankis dictum tyr-
annum ; iste Eadwardus genuit Eadwardum II.
dictum de Carnarvan ; Eadwardus vero secun-
dus genuit Eadwardum III. de Windsor, qui

BLACK BOOK OF PAISLEY.

Iste Johannes genuit Henricum pacificum.
Henricus Eadwardum Lankahanks dictum tir-
annum. Iste Eadwardus Eadwardum de Car-
narvan, qui genuit Eadwardum de Wyndesor,
qui genuit Eadwardum, principem Walliæ voca-

genuit Eadwardum principem Wallie prae-
mortuum patri: Eadwardus princeps genuit
Richardum II. arrestatum et exiliatum per
Henricum de Longcastello filium Johannis de
Gaunt ducis Langcastriae, fratrem dicti Ead-
wardi principis Wallie. Qui quidem Henricus
de Longcastell inuasor [*Edr. MS. conqaestor*],
et sic rex Angliae, genuit Henricum Franciam
inadentem, et ibidem guerrando mortuum.
Qui Henricus de sorore regis Caroli septimi
Franciae, rapta sanctimoniali, genuit Henri-
cum sextum nunc et de praesenti anno sciz.
Dom. millesimo quadragentesimo quadragesimo
quarto, in Angliam regnantem. Maria, secunda
filia Malcolmi regis et Sanctae Margaritae, des-
ponsata fuit, &c.

tum, premortuum patri patrem Ricardi secundi
arrestatum et exiliatum per Henricum de Lon-
castel filium Johannis de Gaunt ducis Loncastrae
fratrem dicti Eadwardi principis Wallie. Qui
quidem Henricus conqaestor genuit Henricum
Franciam inadentem et ibidem guerrando
mortuum. Qui Henricus genuit Henricum de
sorore regis Franciae rapta moniali nunc Anglie
regnantem. Maria secunda filia Malcolmi regis
et Sanctae Margaritae desponsata fuit, &c.

XI. c. 25. In both the Black Book and in the Schevez MS. there are
awanting the last six of the verses given in Goodall. In both MSS. there
is a blank space at the end of the chapter, but larger than that required
for the lines omitted, which shows that the transcriber did not know how
much was wanting.

XI. 32, 33. There is a blank in the Black Book on folios 185, 186,
space being left for these two chapters, which are likewise awanting in the
Edinburgh MS. In the Schevez MS. there is a similar blank.

XI. c. 41, 47, 52, 53, 54. The Black Book and Schevez MS. want the
paragraph as to "ligius," in c. 41, which is in the Edinburgh MS., men-
tioned in Goodall's foot note; and in cc. 47, 52, 53, 54, read with the
latter, as noted by Goodall.

XII. c. 18. The passages which Goodall quotes from the Cupar MS.
are awanting in the Black Book, as in the Edinburgh MS.

XII. c. 21. The Black Book and Schevez give the enormous figures
commented on by Goodall, just as in his text.

XII. c. 23. The verses with which the chapter begins are misplaced
in the Black Book, coming in immediately after c. 21; but in an old hand
on the margin the mistake is pointed out, and a reference made to the next
folio where they should be read.

As written, the Schevez MS. corresponds with Goodall, but there
must have been some confusion in the autograph, as although the "De

quodam Metro" is placed, as in Goodall, before c. 24, it is numbered c. 20, —the chapter "De nobili metrissa" being c. 23 both in this MS. and in the Black Book. There is a blank in the Black Book before c. 24, which also shows that there was some uncertainty, and that probably a large blank had been left to be filled up afterwards.¹

XIII. In the table of Titles the three MSS. note that the second tailzie of Robert Bruce (c. 14) should follow c. 23 of Book XI. according to the Black Book and Schevez, and Book XII. according to the Edinburgh MS. The latter is correct. All, however, place it at the end of c. 13 of Book XIII.,—the Black Book and Schevez as a simple appendix, the Edinburgh MS. as an independent chapter, making it c. 13, which corresponds with c. 14 in the others, and its c. 15 with their 14. In the latter the short epitaph is placed last, and the longer has no separate title as in Goodall. In the Black Book, however, there is a mark which may be intended to show that the order is to be reversed.

XIII. c. 12. The Black Book and Schevez give Edward's resignation of his claim of superiority, as in Goodall, (II., p. 289), ending "valoris vel momenti."

XIII. c. 20. The Black Book and the Schevez MS. mention merely the "Liber Brozaicus," and do not add "Barbarii" as in Goodall; and both give the second line which is wanting in the Edinburgh MS.

Jure juventutis Jacobus iota justificavit.*
Actibus astutis aras almas adamavit.

They omit the words which occur in Goodall at the end of the verses "Hic Jacobus in conflictibus xiii. vicibus succubuit et devictus est; et victorias de Anglis habuit lvii."

XIII. c. 30. The paragraph which Goodall puts in brackets does not occur in the Black Book and Schevez MS.

XIII. c. 34. The words taken by Goodall from Hearne's edition are not in the Paisley MS.

* It may perhaps be mentioned that Baston's verses upon Bannockburn were printed at Glasgow from the Edinburgh MS. as early as 1673 in Thomas Bell's, *Roma Restituta*, p. 231. (Glasgow, Sanders, 1673.)

* Not "justificatur," as in Goodall.

xiv. c. 7. In the Black Book there is a blank of six lines at the end of the chapter, as if something more were to be filled in. In the Cotton MS. and Trinity College MS. of the Gesta Annalia there is an additional paragraph.¹ There is no such blank in the Schevez MS.

xiv. c. 22. The last paragraph,—Nullum jus, etc.,—to the end exactly corresponds with the Black Book. It is the passage which most resembles that in the Extracta e variis Cronicis, p. 247, to be afterwards adverted to.

xiv. c. 39 *et seq.* The arrangement of the first thirty-nine chapters is the same in the Black Book as in Goodall, but thereafter there is a considerable difference.

Black Book.		Goodall.
c. 40	corresponds with	43
41	„	44
42	„	45
43	„	46
44	„	47
45	„	48
46	„	49
47	„	50
48	„	51
49	„	52
50	„	53
51	„	54
52	„	55
53	„	56
54	„	57
55	„	40

The text of Book XIV. in the Black Book ends with c. 55, and then follows the Table of Titles of Book XV., but the Table of the Chapters of Book XIV. contains c. 56, which corresponds with Goodall's XIV. c. 41, and at the close of the table the reader is requested to look after the Table of the next book, where it is found along with what forms c. 42 of Goodall.

¹ Skene's *Fordun*, i., p. 369 n.

The Schevez MS. corresponds with the Black Book in arrangement, but the last two chapters are in their place at the end of Book XIV.

The paragraph at the end of Goodall, XIV. c. 50, mentioning the death of Cardinal Wardlaw, as has been already noticed, is omitted in the Black Book, while in the Schevez MS. it is found in the middle of the next chapter, XIV. c. 48.¹

xv. 4. Begins "Anno Domini M^o CCC^o xcviij hastiludium grande xii. militum," and then follows a blank of nearly two lines, when the text proceeds as in Goodall "Anno sequenti," &c. The same reading is found in the Schevez MS., but there is no blank. The sentence has been left for completion, which has been done in the Edinburgh MS.

xv. c. 20. The three MSS. have all a blank for the day of the month at the beginning.

xv. c. 21. The words at the beginning in the Edinburgh MS., "quod remansit in manibus Anglicorum a bello de Durham," are not in either the Black Book or Schevez MS. The names of the persons on the Earl of Mar's side who were slain at the battle of Harlaw are given differently in each of the three MSS.²

xv. c. 33. There is a blank towards the end for the name of the person who captured the brother of Queen Johanna at the battle of Beaugé, which is filled up in the Edinburgh MS. In the latter, the name of this place is so spelt, but in the Black Book it is phonetically rendered "Bawgy," or "Bawgi."

xvi. At the beginning of this book there are two letters with a memorandum that they should be inserted in c. 30, and they are so in Goodall's text. After the words in that chapter "servituti eius subicere sicut patet per easdem," follow in the Black Book, "patentes ante prologum huius libri xvi. discriptas quarum tenor talis est Henricus sicut ubi." Hearne prints from Schevez.

xvi. c. 8. The second column of the verso of folio 256 is blank, as if it had been intended to add something to this chapter. There is a like blank in the Schevez MS.

¹ See Hearne, iv., p. 1071.

² Cf. Hearne, p. 1176, and Goodall, ii., p. 445.

xvi. c. 23. The Black Book has a blank before "Scrope," where in Schevez and the Edinburgh MS. fill in the words "dominus de."

xvi. c. 26. The Black Book has a blank of four lines at the end of the chapter. There is not a corresponding blank in the Schevez MS. In it there is a long passage at the beginning of this chapter which is not in the Black Book or Edinburgh MS.

xvi. c. 33. There is a blank toward the commencement of this chapter in the Black Book. It is filled up in the Edinburgh MS., "centum librarum Sterlingorum."

xvi. c. 39. The additional passage in the Black Book has already been referred to.

IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK BOOK.

The Scotichronicon, as we learn from statements in its text, was in progress in 1441,¹ and was completed, according to the Memorandum on the fly leaf of the Black Book of Paisley, in 1447, or as Mr. Skene says, betwixt that date and 1449,² the year in which Abbot Bower died. The copy acquired by the Abbey of Paisley had already, as early as the year 1501, become known as "magnus et niger liber Pasleti,"³ so that it may be assumed that it was in the possession of the Monastery during the greater part of the preceding half century, as otherwise it could scarcely have been so spoken of.

The "Schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis for Addicioun,"⁴ noting the death in 1459 of Thomas Tarvas, Abbot of Paisley, speaks of him as

¹ i., c. 6.

² Skene's Fordun, i., p. xli. The year 1449 is given as the date of Bower's death in the colophon to the Abridgement, formerly in the Royal Library at Holyrood, now in the Advocates Library, (35, 6, 7.) He was present in Parliament in 1445, (Thomson's Acts, ii., p. 60); and appears as a witness to Charters by James II. in 1441 and 1442. (Ib., ii., pp. 57, 58.)

³ Post, § 5.

⁴ Ane Addicioun of Scottis Corniklis and Deidis, p. 20; and repeated in a Short Chronicle of the reign of James the Second, p. 56, both edited and published together by Thomas Thomson. The passage had been quoted by Chalmers, Caledonia, iii. p. 825.

"a richt gude man and help like to the place of ony that ever was," and amongst other good deeds mentions that he "brocht hame mony gud jowellis and clathis of gold, silver, and silk, and mony gud bukis." This may refer to his return from Rome, whither he had gone in 1453, but there is no reason why it should be so limited, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, as a book collector, he would obtain an early copy of the new Chronicle, and that the Black Book was brought to Paisley in his time.¹ Whatever weight may be allowed to the statement of the editors of the second edition of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, and to Dempster, confirms this view. According to the former,² "the Black Book of Paisley was written about 1451," while the latter³ gives the date as 1452. The Brechin Castle copy of the *Scotichronicon* was transcribed in 1480, the Schevez MS. in 1484, and the Edinburgh College MS. is dated in 1510. If the date assigned to the Black Book of Paisley is at all near the truth, it is therefore considerably older than any of the other three MSS. The Schevez MS. contains the *Auctarium Scotichronici*, which records the death of James II. on 3rd August, 1460. This piece is not in the Black Book at all, and is apparently not the work of Bower, but that of a later hand. The Scotch genealogical tree in the Schevez and Edinburgh MSS. includes James III., (1460-1488); while in that in the Black Book, James II., who began to reign in 1437, is "rex modernus." The list of Popes which in it closes with Nicholas V., (1447-1455), is continued in the Schevez MS. and in the Edinburgh MS., to Sixtus IV., who was raised to the Pontifical chair in 1471, and died in 1484.

In the title at the commencement of the prologue, Bower's name is prominently introduced. The expression "bone memorie," shows that he was then dead, and consequently that the MS. is later than 1449, but its

¹ Hay suggests that the Book of Cupar, was sent for from the Scriptorium at Inchoolm. (*Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 126. See *Supra*, p. 6.)

² The second edition was published 1718, by D. Browne, J. Senex and others, with large additions to the descriptions. The passage above quoted is from the additions to the article Paisley, but no authority is referred to. It must have been written prior to 1712, as Sir Robert Sibbald, who died in that year, is spoken of as alive; he was the author of the original Descriptions, and may have contributed to the Additions. David Buchanan, as quoted by Bishop Nicolson, says, "Monachus Pasletensis scripsit circa annum, 1451." (*Nicolson, Scot. Hist. Liby*, p. 33.)

³ Dempster, (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scotorum, Lib.*, xv., N^o. 1010), says, "vivebat, 1452."

use and the wording of the sentence convey the impression that his death was of recent occurrence, and suggest that the inscription was written by one of the brethren at Inchcolm in affectionate remembrance of their Abbot.

In the Abridgement of the Scotichronicon, known as the Liber Pluscardensis, the compiler, in a note at the end of c. 14, of book VI., remarks that the preceding part was the work of John Fordun, and the succeeding of Walter Bower, "sicut reperimus in magnis cronicis notatum."² This statement of authorship is found in the Black Book of Paisley alone, of all the MSS. of the Scotichronicon,³ and the author of the Liber Pluscardensis must have had in view, either this, or some manuscript now lost containing a similar note. The Liber Pluscardensis was compiled in 1461, and the "magna cronica" referred to, must therefore have been of earlier date. In a note on the Donibristle MS.⁴ little more than a century later than the completion of the Scotichronicon, these Great Chronicles, as then known, are both mentioned and enumerated, and as all of them still exist, it is improbable that there were others which had gone amissing since 1461. Had the Paisley book been a copy of such a manuscript, it is almost certain that its chronological information would have been brought down to the date of transcription. The supposition that it was to this book the writer of the Liber Pluscardensis alludes, is strength-

² "Bonae memoriae" is much the same as the Greek *μακαριστη*, "of blessed memory," which is only used, says Bentley, of persons not long dead, and within the memory of him who says it. Bentley on Phalaris, p. 17, (Lond. 1777.) Ruhnken adopts this view, but it is controverted by Dindorf, Stephani Thesaurus, Ed. Dindorf, s. v. As to "bonae memoriae," see Hoffmann, Lexicon Universale, s. v., and Carpentier, Supplement to Ducange, s. v. Bower himself uses the expression of Andrew, Bishop of Moray, who died in 1242, (ix. c. 61.), but he may be using it rhetorically. Fordun uses "piae memoriae," of Alexander II., but he is quoting the words of the Earl of Monteith immediately after his death. (Gesta Annalia, Hearne, p. 758, Skene, i., p. 293.) In the list of Obits in the Register of Aberdeen, those who are spoken of as "bonae memoriae" could not have been dead for many years. (Regist. Aberd., ii., p. 200, *et seq.*) The expressions "of blessed memory," "late," "umquhile," are all limited in their reference to past time.

³ Liber Pluscardensis, i. p. 5.

⁴ In the Carthusian MS., (Adv. Lib., 35.6.7, formerly the property of Sir James Balfour), it is stated that Sir Walter Bowmaker wrote the last eleven books of the Scotichronicon. This MS. is, however, a moderate quarto, and not a great chronicle; its date is about 1451, and was evidently posterior to the Cupar MS., as it abridges the Prologue of that MS. (See the Prologues, Skene's Fordun, i., pp. li. lii.)

⁵ Skene's Fordun, i., p. xvi.

ened by the fact that the verses which Goodall found in it, and which are wanting in the Edinburgh MS. (rv., c. 40.) are in the Black Book.¹ They are no doubt in the Schevez MS., but it is posterior in date to the Liber Pluscardensis.

On comparing the text of the Paisley, the Schevez and the Edinburgh MSS., there are several indications that the first named is the earliest in date. In these,² blanks are filled up; additions have been made to the text, as it appears in the other;³ and marginal notes have been incorporated with the text.⁴ The lists of Religious Houses and other miscellaneous matter, have in the Schevez and Edinburgh MSS. an appearance of order and sequence, that is wanting in the Paisley book. Amongst the notes prefixed to the latter, are, it will be remembered, some De Pestilentia. Bower had occasion to discuss this subject in the course of his narrative, (xvi., c. 32., and elsewhere), and these extracts may have been made with that object; their nature, however, renders it much more probable that they were suggested by and made in consequence of a visitation of the plague itself;⁵ and the reference to the Scotichronicon with which they close, indicates that they were subsequent to the formation of its text. Now the only occasions of such a calamity between 1449 and 1501, were first the years 1455 and 1456, in the former of which the plague visited the country and caused great mortality; and in the latter an Act was passed by the Scotch Parliament as "The Rule of the Pestilence," which appointed "the Prelates to make general procession throughout their dioceses twice in the week, for stanching the pestilence, and to grant pardon to priests that gang in the said processions."⁶ The other year was 1474, in which we read that "the pestilence raged in Scotland most fearfully."⁷ If, therefore, these memorandums had reference to a plague-time, they were most probably made on one or other of these occasions, and if

¹ Supra, p. 30.

² xv. 33., xvi. 23. 33.

³ e.g., iv. 35., vi. 22., xi. 14., xi. 25., xiii. 20., xiv. 50., xv. 21.

⁴ ix., c. 41.

⁵ A translation of the tract of John de Burdeus, on the Pestilence, is inserted in the Register of Kelso. (See vol. ii., p. 448, Bannatyne Club). See Appendix, Note B.

⁶ 1456, c. 57., Thomson's Acts, ii., p. 46. See Boyd's Justice of the Peace, ii., p. 612.

⁷ Sir James Balfour's Annals, i., p. 198. There were many partial visitations of the plague in the closing years of the century. See Henderson's Annals of Dunfermline, p. 175. The great plague of London was in 1499.

so, the volume was most likely in possession of the Abbey of Paisley as early as 1455 or 1456 and not later than 1474.

In 1500 a transcript of the Black Book was made, and in 1501 it was abridged. The work so abridged was then known as the "Niger Liber Pastleti" and is the identical volume now in the British Museum.

The next occasion on which mention is made of a Paisley Chronicle is in the *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie*¹ compiled somewhere between 1513 and 1550. The writer says,² "quequidem cronica reperiebatur scripta apud Paseletum inter alias antiquas scriptas cronicas." The first part of the sentence seems to refer, as will be afterwards explained, to an original chronicle rather than to the MS. at present under consideration. The latter may, however, have been one of those pointed at in the closing words, which show at any rate that there was something of a library in the Monastery. Whatever the collection may have been, it was scattered to the winds. On 29th September, 1559, Sadler and Croft writing to Cecil, mention³ that the Lords had suppressed the Abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermling, and burned all the images, idols, and popish stuff." The Black Book was, however, to use Dempster's words, snatched as a Palladium from the Knoxian flames.⁴ By whom we know not, but it seems to have come into the hands of Sir William Sinclair,⁵ who was made Lord Justice General of Scotland by Queen Mary this same year. He was a man of literary and antiquarian tastes, and as Father Hay records, "gathered a great many manuscripts which had been taken by the rabble out of our Monasteries in the time of the Reformation."⁶ Amongst the manuscripts which he so obtained, were the Book of Cupar,⁷ and two other of the MSS. of

¹ p. 247. (Ed. Turnbull.)

² p. 247. (Ed. Turnbull.)

³ Calendar of State Papers—Foreign—1555-59, p. 584. See M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, p. 30. (Ed. 1830). Spotswood's *MS. History*, quoted Keith's *Hist.*, p. 503.

⁴ Dempster's *Hist.*, *Ecol. Gent. Sctorum*, Lib. xv., N^o. 1010.

⁵ Hay, *Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 32.

⁶ Hay, *Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn*, p. 136., (Edr., 1835); *Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 126.

⁷ Hay, *Genealogie ut supra*; *Vindication*, p. 126. The same story is repeated in his *Scotia Sacra*. See Gough's *British Topography*, ii. p. 621.

the *Scotichronicon* now in the Advocates' Library.¹ The memorandum on the Donibristle MS. says.² "This cronicle is sene oure be William Sinclair of Roslin, Knyght, and compylit, augmentit, drawn out of yir cronicles following silicit ye grete cronicle of Scone callit ye blak buik, ye greit cronicle of Paslay, callit ye blak buik, ane auld cronicle of Cambuskeneth, ane greit buik callit ye cronicle of Couper, and ane parchment buik of text hand burnished with gold, the cronicle of Saint Colmes Inche with sindrie uthir writtin cronicles sic, as culd be gottin for ye tyme, verray auld schap of lettres, sum in paper and sum in parchement baythe textyr writ." The fair inference from this note is that the Black Book of Paisley was at least seen³ by Sir William Sinclair, and that it still maintained its dignity as a great chronicle. On another MS.⁴ which was the property of Sir William, there are a number of notes, many in his own handwriting and some in that of other persons. One of these annotators, apparently of the sixteenth century, refers in his notes to the Black Book of Paisley,⁵ to the Book of Scone,⁶ to the Book of Cupar,⁷ and to the Golden Book,⁸ all alluded to in the Memorandum on the Donibristle MS. These notes seem to be of later date than those by Sir William Sinclair himself, and this indicates the existence of our manuscript during the later part of his life, or, it may be, after his death which occurred in 1574.

In this very year, however, a Black Book of Paisley appears as the subject of a law suit in the Court of Session. The last Abbot of Paisley,

¹ Historical MSS. Commission Report, i, p. 123.

² Skene's *Fordun*, i, p. xvi.

³ Had Sir William Sinclair been proprietor of the MS., it is highly probable that he would have written his name upon it, as seems to have been his practice. (Besides the MSS. of the *Scotichronicon* and the *Extracta e variis Cronicis*—See the *Lansdowne MS. of Wynton's Chronicle*, [*Lansdowne MS.* 197.] p. 3, and p. 259.) The Book of Cupar seems to be an exception to this rule, as although it was in his possession he has not proclaimed this to the world through his autograph.

⁴ *Extracta e variis Cronicis* printed from the MS. in the Advocates' Library, and edited by Mr. W. B. D. D. Turnbull, for the Abbotsford Club. The original was lent to Mr. Turnbull for this purpose, but was not returned to the Library, and it is not known where it now is.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 5, 41.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 5, 6.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 41.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 41. This is doubtless the same as that above described as, "ane parchement buik of text hand burnished with gold." It may refer to the *Harleian MS.* 4764, which corresponds with the description.

John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had some time prior to the destruction of the monastery resigned the Abbey in favour of his nephew Lord Claud Hamilton. The latter was an ardent supporter of Queen Mary, and after the battle of Langside his estates were forfeited, and the Abbey granted to Lord Sempill. For some years thereafter, the ejected Lord led a wild and vagrant life, but by ratification concluded at Perth, and sanctioned by Parliament on 23rd February, 1573, it was declared that Lord Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, should be restored to that benefice to possess the same as freely as if no tumult had ever happened.¹ Lord Sempill, however, was not inclined to give up possession, and was only forced to yield after the monastery had been besieged and taken by the Earl of Argyle, who had received a special commission for the purpose. Having been thus restored to his rights, the Commendator next instituted proceedings in the civil courts against Lord Sempill, in which he narrated that in the late troubles, the said Lord Sempill got into his hands the common seal of the said Abbey, with the "buke callit the blak buik of Paisley," and that he declined to return the same. Lord Sempill denied that he had ever had the articles, but after hearing evidence, the Lords held that the former had proved his point and granted letters against Lord Sempill for the recovery of the seal and book. The Summons² no doubt describes the volume as "ye buke callit the blak buik of Paisley," but from the decerniture, pronounced be it remembered after the witnesses had been heard, it would appear that what was understood was the Rental Book, and that it was this and the Register Book and the Seal which the Commendator desired to recover, and for delivery of which he obtained judgment. These would be of material service to him, as they have been to all interested in the Abbey lands ever since.³ It is certainly much more likely that a person of Lord Claud Hamilton's disposition desired to get hold of one of the muniments of his estate rather than a copy of the Scotichronicon. Indeed, we can hardly imagine that book-hunting was so developed amongst the Scotch nobility of the sixteenth century as to be productive of a law suit

¹ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, ii. p. 241.

² See copy of the Decreet Appendix Note C.

³ Hector's Judicial Records, ii. p. 228.

for the possession of a volume that could hardly then be deemed rare or curious. Had it been so, the decision of the court would almost certainly have been the other way, as while the Rental and Register might be held to pass with the land, it would be a great stretch to hold that the like rule was to apply to a stray volume from the library of a former proprietor of the estate.

Bishop Lesly writing in 1578,¹ professes to have verified his statements by reference to the Book of Paisley. George Buchanan, whose History was published in 1582, quotes it as an authority;² and David Buchanan writing somewhat later, refers to "Monachus Pasletensis." Lord Claud Hamilton was of a restless, intriguing temperament, and in a few years he was again dispossessed of the Abbey. He retired to England, and, after fourteen years exile, was restored in 1585. In 1587, he was made Lord Paisley, and his eldest son was created Earl of Abercorn in 1606. When James VI., impelled by "this salmond-like instinct of ours,"³ visited "his old native Kingdome of Scotland, after fourteen years absence, in Anno, 1617,"⁴ he was entertained in the Abbey by the Earl of Abercorn, acting on behalf of his father, when a "pretty boy," son of the king's favourite, Sir James Sempill, of Beltrees, presented an address to his Majesty,⁵ doubtless the composition of Sir James himself. Amongst the

¹ *Paraenesis ad Nob. Populumque Scoticum*, p. 29; Ed. 1675; prefixed to the History.

Allibone (*Dictionary of English and American Authors*) mentions an edition of the History of 1575, but this must be a mistake for 1578 which was the date of the earliest, or for 1675 the date of that from which we quote.

² *Historia, Opera*, i., pp. 73, 86, 93. (Ed. Ruddiman, fol.) Buchanan refers to *Liber Pasletensis*, but he alludes to nothing when he does so that could not have been got from any copy of the *Scotichronicon*. The reference however proves the existence or at least his belief in the existence of the MS. at that time.

³ *De Scriptoribus Scotis*, p. 80. At p. 27 he refers to the *Chronicon Scoticum*.

David Buchanan flourished in the latter part of the reign of James VI., and beginning of that of Charles I.—Gough's *British Topography*, ii., p. 565. He is said to have died in 1652. *De Scriptoribus Scotis*, p. 136. In one of the notes quoted by Bishop Nicolson, (*Scottish Hist., Liby.*, p. 33), Buchanan mentions "Monachus Pasletensis." The MS. he alludes to was not the Black Book of Paisley but the Donibristle MS., he may, however, only mean that its author was a monk of Paisley, and that it was the same as the Black Book.

⁴ *Letters and State Papers of the reign of James VI.*, p. 302. (Abbotsford Club.)

⁵ *The Muses' welcome to the High and Mighty Prince James*. (Edinburgh, 1618.)

⁶ *Ib.*

words which his Majesty's "owne old Parrot," put forth as witnesses of the fervent affections of his most faithful subjects in these parts were these:—"Saying there is nothing; shall I swear your M. welcome? I dare: but it becometh not a boy to touch the Bible; and yet, because an oath taken by nothing, is but nothing, *I swear by the Black Book of Paisley your M. is most dearlie welcome.*" As an oath taken by nothing, is but nothing, the inference is that the Black Book of Paisley was a something; or, in other words, that it was known to exist in 1617.

It is next mentioned in connection with Archbishop Spotswood, who is said to have had the use of it when composing his well known History of the Church of Scotland. This work was undertaken at the request of James VI., and was completed prior to the author's death in 1639, but was not published until 1655. The Archbishop's daughter married Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, a grandson of the Lord Justice General; a portion of whose library remained in the family mansion long after his death.¹ It would naturally therefore be supposed, that it was to Roslin the learned Prelate sent, when he wished the use of "the great Chronicle of Paisley." But strangely we have two stories, not only at variance with this theory, but differing from each other. The one is told by John Spotiswood of that Ilk, the Archbishop's great grandson, in the life of his grandfather Sir Robert Spotiswoode, Lord President of the Court of Session, who says,² "The Archbishop being commanded by King James VI. to write the History of the Church of Scotland, he employed Sir Robert to recover from the Scottish Priests and Monks, the ancient Manuscripts and Records of the Church, which they had abstracted and taken with them into foreign countries when their houses at the Reformation were abolished; and Sir Robert succeeded in this commission to his father's satisfaction, though with much pains and expenses, and brought home with him many of those ancient Records, and particularly the famous Manuscript called "The Black

¹ He was alive in 1674. (Hay's Genealogie of the Sainte Claires, pp. 141, 143), but seems to have died shortly afterwards.

² Life of Sir Robert Spotiswoode, prefixed to his Practicks of the Laws of Scotland, p. iv., (Edin. 1706). He was assisted in this publication by Ruddiman, and was himself for some time Keeper of the Advocates' Library. (Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, p. 40).

Book of Paisley, which he got at Rome." Sir George Mackenzie tells a similar story with this variation, that the Black Book of Scone is its subject. "It can also be proved," he says, "by many famous gentlemen, that the Black Book of Scone, containing our histories from the beginning, was amongst President Spottiswood's books; . . . which book King Charles I. had ransomed from Rome by a considerable sum of money."¹

The other account of the manner in which Archbishop Spotswood came by the Black Book of Paisley is by Sir Robert Sibbald, who says that he was assured by Sir John Cunningham, that it was brought to him from Holyrood by the Lord Whitekirk.²

David Buchanan, the biographer, who died in 1652,³ mentions that "monachi Pasletensis liber asservatur in bibliotheca regia, palatio S. Crucis ad Edinburgum;" but Nicolson points out⁴ that this is a mistake, for although a copy of the *Scotichronicon* had at one time been in the Library at Holyrood, it was not the Black Book of Paisley, but the Donibristle MS.

There is no evidence to show that Lord Justice General Sir William Sinclair, parted with any of his MSS. during his lifetime, which brings us down to at least 1574. The annotator of the *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie* uses it apparently after his death, and George Buchanan's references to it must have been about the date of the publication of his *History*, which was in 1582. When Sir Robert Spottiswoode returned from the continent, he was received with much favour by King James, who created him an Extraordinary Lord of Session, to which office he was admitted on 12th July 1622, under the title of Lord New Abbey. It does not appear whether he came to Scotland direct from Rome, or at what date he is supposed to have found the MS. there, but it may be noticed that, at the very time of his return, a prohibition had been issued at Rome against the sale of such manuscripts. John Borough, writing from Venice to Sir Robert Cotton,

¹ Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland. Works, vol. ii., p. 364.

² Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 33.

³ D. Buchanan, *De Scriptoribus Scotis*, Praef., p. ii., and Appendix, p. 136, (Edr., 1837, Bannatyne Club). See also the Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. ii., p. 392, n.

⁴ Scottish Historical Library, p. 33.

in 1622, says,¹ "I have this week received notice that Mr. Norgate is hasted from Rome in companie of Mr. Gage, for England; and that there is a proclamation made in Rome that no manuscripts shall be sold to any man, but by consent and privately of the Governor in that behalf ordained. Wherefore I shall hardly before my coming to England be able to satisfye you concerning the Lieger Books." Unless, therefore, Sir Robert was at Rome at a time considerably prior to his return, it would seem that there would have been special difficulty in getting the Black Book of Paisley had it been there.

The Roman story is not vouched for in any way, and no explanation is given of how the volume found its way to Rome during the preceding fifty years.² It was first given to the world by Sir George Mackenzie in 1684, and was at once controverted by Stillingfleet, and no attempt was made to substantiate it, although this could not have been difficult to do after the lapse of only sixty years. Had Sir Robert Spotiswoode brought home "the ancient manuscripts and records of the church," the fact must have been notorious, and Mackenzie would only have been too glad to make use of it in his controversy with Stillingfleet, but he never refers to such a thing.

Dempster spent the last ten years of his life in Italy, and was at Rome in 1616, and on an earlier occasion. Had any Scotch Chronicle of importance been there, he must have heard of it, and would certainly have made it public, but he does not allude to any such report when referring to the Black Book or the Chronicle of Paisley in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, which was published at Bologna in 1627. On the contrary, he says³ that the Paisley MS. was then in the possession of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland. As the latter died in 1622,⁴ Dempster must have been writing in that year, or somewhat earlier, and his statement may at least be taken

¹ *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, p. 129. (Camden Club.)

² It has repeatedly been alleged, but apparently without foundation, that at the Reformation, the Register books and other treasures of the Monasteries were carried to Rome by the monks. See Jamieson's *History of the Culdees*, p. 313, *et seq.* ³ *Historia Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. xiv.*, No. 1010.

⁴ *History of the House of Seytoun*, pp. 66, 101. (Maitland Club.) Seton's *Memoir of Chancellor Seton*, p. 136.

as showing that he, a resident at Rome, and a diligent student of Scotch literary history, did not know of the Black Book being there, at the very time when Sir Robert Spotiswoode is said to have brought it home from Rome.¹

How the Roman fable originated does not appear, but it may be observed that Bishop Lesley, who refers to the Book of Paisley, and to the Book of Scone, (both of which are connected with it,) wrote and published his History at Rome, and this incident may have led to the belief that he had the manuscripts with him there.²

Sir Robert Sibbald, who was contemporary with Mackenzie and preceded John Spotiswood,³ has not a word of the Roman story, while his own seems quite as open to suspicion. The Sir John Cunningham who was his informant, was no doubt Sir John Cunningham of Caprington, the eminent advocate, who was somewhat of an antiquary.⁴ But Lord Whitekirk could not have been the hand to convey the book from Holyrood to Archbishop Spotswood, as such a personage did not exist until 1661, twenty-two years after the prelate's death. Lord Whitekirk may be a mistake for Lord Whitehill, who was appointed a Lord of Session in 1637, but this is mere conjecture, and does not much help the matter, as

¹ The MS. which the Earl of Dunfermline had, was not, however, the Black Book of Paisley. In a memorandum upon the Elphinstone MS. (Bodleian, Fairfax, 8), Lord Fairfax has noted, "Note, that the Earle of Dunfermline told me in the year 1657, that he had a very faire ancient MS. of the History of Scotland, formerly belonging to that monastery, but I did never see it. I believe it was transcribed out of this." (Skene's *Fordun*, i., p. xxii.; Joseph Stevenson, *The Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland*, Pref., p. 11. [Maitland Club, 1837.] F. Skene's *Liber Pluscardensis*, i., p. 12.) As Lord Fairfax was himself, as will be seen, the owner of the Black Book of Paisley in 1650, it could not be the MS. Lord Dunfermline referred to in 1657. This was the second Lord Dunfermline, who died in 1672.

² Adam Abel's *Rota Temporum* was also, says Spotiswood, printed at Rome by Bishop Lesley. (Spotiswood's *Account of the Religious Houses*, appended to Hope's *Minor Practicks*, p. 503): And in his Diary the Bishop records, "xxij. Aug^{ti}. 1571, conference with the Bishop of Ely, quha counseled me to tak paines at my returning into Scotland to recover all the antient bookis that was in Abbayes and Cathedral Churches, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has done in England, and to gather furth of them all thingis notable, touching the Religion from tyme to tyme." (Bannatyne *Miscellany*, vol. iii., pp. 143, 144).

³ Sir George Mackenzie, 1636-91; Sir Robert Sibbald, 1641-1712; John Spotiswood, 1667-1728.

⁴ He died in 1684. Douglas *Baronage*, p. 267. See Nicolson, *Scot. Hist. Liby.*, pp. 41.

the history, or at any rate the earliest portion of it, in which only the Black Book could be of use, was completed by that year.¹

It is clear, however, that wherever he got it, the Archbishop had it at the time he was composing his book,² Father Hay says,³ "The Black Book of Paisley cited by Buchanan, together with the famous Book of Pluscardine, I find listed in the Catalogue of Bishop Spotswood's Library," so that he seems to have taken possession of it, and upon his death it passed into the hands of his son, Sir Robert Spotswoode. John Spotswood mentions⁴ that it was in the possession of his grandfather at his death, which took place 20th January, 1646, when he was executed as an adherent of the Royalist cause, after the battle of Philiphaugh. Sir Robert Sibbald writing a few years later, says the same thing.⁵ At this date then we know where the manuscript was, but just at this very point a difficulty is started by the Historiographer to William and Mary, William Dunlop, Principal of the University of Glasgow. According to him⁶ "The monks of this abbacy [Paisley], wrote a Chronicle which was continued by them, the authentick copy whereof perished when the abbay of Halyrood house was burned during the English usurpation, it being then in the King's bibliothek; but there are some copies or compends of it." Holyrood Palace took fire on 13th November, 1650, when in the occupation of

¹ The reference to Lord Whitekirk is not conclusive against Sibbald's story, as it may have happened before he was advanced to the bench.

² He cites it book ii., § 4, p. 26; § ii., p. 28; § 20, p. 41; § 23, p. 45; § 24, p. 46; § 25, p. 50; § 26, p. 51. The Book of Soone is frequently referred to,* and the Scotichronicon is also quoted. These references are from the margin of the third edition, London, 1668. The Spottiswood Society's edition gives no references to authorities.

³ Quoted from Hay's MSS. in the Advocates Library by Pitcairn, Account of the Families of the name of Kennedy, Pref., p. vii.

⁴ Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland, Appendix to Hope's Minor Practicks, p. 449.

⁵ Sleszer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, article "Paisley." The descriptions in the first edition, which was published in 1693, were written in Latin by Sibbald, but were surreptitiously translated into English, and were in this form published by Sleszer.

Dr. Jamieson, in his *Life of Sleszer*, prefixed to the edition of 1814, states this as a conjecture; but Sibbald himself had a century before alleged it as a fact, and claimed the ownership. See his *Conjectures concerning the Roman Ports in the Firths*, Pref., p. 2. (Edinburgh, 1711.)

⁶ Hamilton's *Descriptions of Lanark and Renfrew*, p. 147, (Glasgow, 1831). This description of the Shire of Renfrew is quoted by Sibbald. (*Historical Enquiries concerning the Romans in Scotland*, p. 36, Edinburgh, 1707), who speaks of him as "the curious Antiquary, Mr. Dunlop."

Cromwell's forces after the battle of Dunbar, and was in great part destroyed, but nothing is recorded of the loss of the Black Book of Paisley or of any such MS. ;¹ and indeed no books could have been there to be burned, as the palace had been dismantled by James VI., after his accession to the throne of England, and the Inventory of moveables which were left, made up on 10th June, 1603, contains only a few unimportant articles of furniture.² Besides the story is controverted by the existence of the book, for there can be no doubt that the MS. which has been described above, is not a transcript of the Black Book of Paisley, but is the very volume which has always passed by that name. Principal Dunlop did not write until the very end of the seventeenth century,³ and had there been any truth in the statement it would have been elicited during the Stillingfleet controversy. It is only noted now, in passing, as illustrative of the fate of the book, which seems to disappear mysteriously, like the juggler's coin, while under our very eyes.

The true history of the volume after the death of the Lord President, is, that it fell into General Lambert's hands, and was by him carried into England.⁴ According to Sir George Mackenzie⁵ he got it from Lewis Cant. As he was at Oxford during 1646, it is scarcely probable that he could have got it immediately after Sir Robert Spotiswoode's execution. He was in Scotland for a few months in the autumn of 1648, but there is no evidence that it was at this time he became its owner. In 1650 he was again in Scotland along with Cromwell and Monk, and took part in the battle of Dunbar. The Roslin family were warmly attached to the Royalist cause, and their castle was stormed and taken possession

¹ See Chambers' Domestic Annals, ii. p. 204 ; Wilson Memorials of Edinburgh, p. 96 ; Arnot History of Edinburgh, p. 305 ; Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. ii., p. 404, n. ; iii. p. 210, n.

² Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. i., p. 185.

³ He was principal of the University of Glasgow, 1690-1700. Munimenta, vol. iii., pp. 596, 596. See McUre's Hist. of Glasgow, pp. 189, 190. (Ed. 1830).

⁴ Spotiswood's Account of the Religious Houses, *ut supra*, p. 449 ; Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae, "Paisley." Sir Robert Sibbald who, as stated above, wrote the descriptions in the first edition published in 1693, says "Sir Robert Spotiswoode had this book in his library, and after he was executed General Lambert got it, and brought it to England."

⁵ Defence of the Royal Line, Works, ii., p. 364. The book he speaks of is the Black Book of Scone, but there can be no doubt that it is the Black Book of Paisley, respecting which the statement is made.

of by Monk on 15th November, 1650;¹ and the manuscripts which had belonged to Sir William Sinclair were scattered, and found new proprietors.² The Book of Paisley may have been sent back to Roslin after the Lord President's death, and if so, it would no doubt be there at the date of the dispersion of the library. It would appear, at any rate, that it was not until that year that General Lambert acquired it. He did not retain it long, as in the same year he presented it to Lord Fairfax,³ the Parliamentary General, his master in the art of war,⁴ who had resigned his command a few months previously. Lord Fairfax was "an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuscripts;"⁵ tastes which Clarendon thinks "strange in a Presbyterian,"⁶ or perhaps even more so in an Independent, as the Scotch might have preferred to consider him. Lambert may have remembered his leader's conduct at Oxford, "when the first thing he did was to set a good guard of soldiers to preserve the Bodleian Library. . . . He was a lover of learning, and had he not taken this special care, that noble Library had been utterly destroyed, for there were ignorant Senators enough, who would have been contented to have had it so."⁷ But the "Presbyterian" General not only protected the Bodleian, but enriched it by the bequest of the Dodsworth Collections, and twenty-eight other very valuable manuscripts.⁸ Amongst these was the Elphinstone Manuscript of the Liber Pluscardensis, which had been presented to him in the same year, 1650, by Lady Hawthornden, widow of the famous Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, as he has himself

¹Douglas *Baronage*, p. 248; *Remarkable Passages of the Lord's Providences towards John Spreul, Town Clerk of Glasgow*, p. 30. (Ed. Maidment).

²Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, ii., p. 422. (4to, Lond. 1797). He refers to Spotiswood's *Account of the Religious Houses*, p. 503. (Ed. 1734). One of these MSS. was the book of Cupar, which was purchased by Sir Lewis Stewart, and ultimately fell into the hands of Father Hay. *Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 126. Gough's *British Topography*, ii., p. 621.

³Hay's *Vindication*, p. 32.

⁴Markham's *Life of Fairfax*, p. 336.

⁵Wharton's *History of English Poetry*, iii. p. 33. (Ed. Hazlitt.)

⁶Whitaker's *History of Leeds*, ii. p. 195.

⁷Aubrey's *Lives*: in *Letters by Eminent Persons*, ii., p. 346; quoted by W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, pp. 72, 73.

⁸Macray, *ut supra*, pp. 96, 97.

recorded in an autograph memorandum on the manuscript.¹ He had acquired, presumably about the same time, a copy of Wynton's Club which had formed part of the Roslin Library, and which still bears his signature, "W. Sinclair of Rosling."²

Lord Fairfax was a diligent student, and read his books carefully, and his notes upon the Elphinstone MS. and the Black Book of Paisley testify. At the top of folio 15 of the latter, he makes the following note, which is interesting as bearing his signature:—

"Notandum quod quaelibet Ecclesia Parochialis in magnis (Edinburgh) est collegium, ut accipi ex relatione M^r Johⁿson, p^rfecti Col. Edinb., 1650.—Fairfax."

The memorandum and the quotations on folio 1 are in his hand, and the date, 1650, which he has added, shows that he had the book in his possession in that year. He has gone systematically over the whole volume, and his notes are on almost every page. The words "Inimico ne credas"³ on the margin of the facsimile page of the MS. are by him. It is difficult to see the "hand" on that page, pointing to the burning of the Abbey, but it is so or not, as such signs are very common in the manuscript period, and have little individuality or character. It is perhaps worth observing, that there is also on the margin of the facsimile of the Elphinstone MS. reproduced in the National Manuscripts of Scotland, an index finger, between which and the one in question there is a family likeness as is possible in such things.

The word "Bower" on the margin, (folio 14),⁴ opposite the

Hic hopus, hic finit, &c.,

is in Lord Fairfax's handwriting. He has made frequent refer-

¹ Joseph Stevenson, *Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland* (Edinburgh Club). Skene's *Fordun*, i., p. 22: *Liber Pluscardensis*. Note is given in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*.
² Note is given in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*.
³ Note is given in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*.
⁴ Note is given in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*.

⁵ MS. Bibl. Lansdowne, 197, (*Brit. Mus.*)

⁶ Lord Fairfax uses this phrase in a note

⁷ *National MSS. of Scotland*, vol. ii.

⁸ *Supra*, p. 16.

prerogative upon the
king and lord as well of
and Charles I. having
on the throne of Scot-
that King Fergus and
repeats and expands the
says nothing additional
its existence, but does
as concerned the prin-
by others.²

to this dispute that the
uld be waging bitter war³
ch one of the combatants
book itself was quietly

the Scotch History, &c., pp. 92,
generosis Asaphensis Episcopi cal-
This apparently is the original of,
ish Historians, wherein the ancient
of Great Britain, and the antiquity
us of the Bishop of St. Asaph are
the preceding article, and contains

22nd verse.

ly, p. 1. Edinburgh, 1833).

omum, Ritus sacros, illacessitis calum-
niculus unus et alter Hortatorius.
orum, contra Anglorum calumnias et
186.) It is frequently quoted by

uthoris," amalgamated and translated
John G. Graevius at Utrecht in 1689.
end happily reconciled. Writing
Bp. of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the
, (late Lord Advocate of Scotland),
lish'd books, both now most friendly

of the Treaty of St. James is become the subject of a violent literary controversy. In 1852 Dr. William Lloyd Basing of St. Asaph's published "An Historical Account of the Government of Wales" in which he repeated the long succession of Scottish Kings recorded by the Breviary in the ground that the Scots could not have been so easily settled in this country as had been stated and that the Scottish Breviary was wrong in the line of monarchs and not of Scottish Kings as he stated it. He was not long without an answer which came from the pen of Sir George Mackenzie who in 1703 gave to the world "A Review of the History of the Royal Line of Scotland." The learned Knight is accurate in his historical statements in stating the reigns of David II. Edward I. as an English King and William the Conqueror and Matilda who besides the Scots Breviary we had various other histories, amongst which he includes the Black Book of Scone. In the course of his arguments however he thought proper to make some interesting observations regarding Stillington, the Archbishop Bishop of Worcester when Lord of St. Asaph's. The matter related to the coronation of St. George's King and which was treated as a solemn ceremony in the whole East which was justified in his "Review" by the same year. The things are very extensive in the Black Book of Scone and says — "There be such a winning, striving in the coronation by a solemn manner in the whole East of Scotland including within the left of the crown of gold and the first being that the Bishop of St. Asaph had been guilty of some offence in accepting to attend the Royal coronation. Nothing granted St. George returned to the Bishop and that year presented to the public and published in the King. — The authority of the Royal Line of Scotland further cleared and confirmed making the accounts more clear by Stillington's life in the Verification of the Bishop of St. Asaph's. He suggested in a passage now collected amongst the Works of St. George's King James

* The real end of this dispute appears to be that the Scots who had the very interesting in view — The Antiquary, p. 11. See also p. 1.

* Lloyd's Work appended to Stillington's Works, vol. i. St. Asaph.

* Sir G. Mackenzie, Works, i. p. 27. c. 10.

having in his *Basilikon Doron* founded his royal prerogative upon the allegation of King Fergus having made himself king and lord as well of the whole lands as of the inhabitants of Scotland, and Charles I. having referred to his one hundred and eight predecessors on the throne of Scotland, it was his duty as King's Advocate to prove that King Fergus and his forty-four successors are not fabulous. He repeats and expands the general arguments he had previously employed, but says nothing additional regarding the *Black Book of Paisley*. He accepts its existence, but does nothing more.¹ Here the controversy ended so far as concerned the principals, but it had been taken up and was continued by others.²

It is a very curious circumstance in regard to this dispute that the Chaplain of the King and his Lord Advocate should be waging bitter war³ as to the very existence of a volume, to doubt which one of the combatants alleged was lese majesty, while all the while the book itself was quietly

¹ Mackenzie's Works, ii., p. 418.

² Amongst the Sibbald Manuscripts is, *A Vindication of the Scotch History, &c.*, pp. 92, with a leaf prefixed containing Latin verses, "Combatriotis suis generosis Asaphensis Episcopi calumnias confundere meditantibus succinebat Jac. Cuningamius." This apparently is the original of, *A Defence or Vindication of the Scottish History and of the Scottish Historians, wherein the ancient race of the Scottish Kings, their ancient possessions in this Island of Great Britain, and the antiquity and dignity of the Scottish Church are asserted; and the objections of the Bishop of St. Asaph are answered.* By Sir Robert Sibbald. This is an enlarged MS. of the preceding article, and contains 174 pages. One of the mottoes on the title page is,—

Touch not myne anointe'd
And do my prophets no harme.
1st Chronicles 16 Ch. 22nd verse.

(Catalogue of the Sibbald MS. prefixed to his Autobiography, p. 1. Edinburgh, 1833).

In 1685 James Cuningham, the antiquary, had published—

In *Floridum Asaphensem Episcopum Scotorum Reges, Regnum, Ritus sacros, illacessitis calumniis et immeritis, exprobantem, lacerantem et traducentem, Versiculus unus et alter Hortatorius.*

Robert Maule wrote a tract, "De Antiquitate gentis Scotorum, contra Anglorum calumnias et Mendacia, which is still in MS. (*Historical MSS. Com.* ii. p. 186.) It is frequently quoted by Sibbald in his *History of Fife*.

Sir George Mackenzie's two tracts were "*Ex Consilio Authoris*," amalgamated and translated into Latin by Peter Sinclair, and published with a dedication to John G. Graevius at Utrecht in 1689.

³ It is satisfactory to know that the combatants were in the end happily reconciled. Writing under date of March, 1690, John Evelyn says, "I din'd at the Bp. of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the new Queene, with the famous Lawyer Sir George Mackenzie, (late Lord Advocate of Scotland), against whom both the Bishop and myselfe had written and publish'd books, both now most friendly reconcil'd."

slumbering on the shelves—or rather the floor¹—of the Royal Library. Knowing that it was alleged that Fairfax had obtained possession of the Black Book, and that he had presented a Scotch historical manuscript to the King, it seems almost incredible that Stillingfleet should not have taken the trouble to visit the Library and ascertain its exact character. Had he done so, the controversy, so far as related to the existence of the Black Book, would have been at an end, whatever he might have had to say of its value as an historical record. From the quotations he makes, it is evident that he had before him a manuscript of the sixteen Books of the Scotichronicon, and the question arises, what manuscript was it? He had access to the Cottonian and Dr. Gale's, but it could not be either of these, as they do not contain the sixteen books. Hearne suggests² that it was the Schevez MS., and the suggestion seems highly probable.³ He knew that the King's manuscript was a copy of the Scotichronicon, and may have thought that for his purpose his own was sufficient.

Dr. Gale, writing in 1691, mentions⁴ that the Scotichronicon was then in the Royal Library, but as he limited himself in his publication to Fordun's work alone, he did not require to examine it. Bishop Nicolson published his Scotch Historical Library in 1702, but although he describes the Black Book of Paisley, and mentions the manuscript at St. James', he simply follows Gale and does not connect them. The first to recognise that they were one and the same was Hearne,⁵ who wrote in 1722. John Spotiswood, in his Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland,⁶ mentions

¹ See Dury's Statement in 1651. (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1651, p. 468,) and Bentley's, in 1697, (Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697-1701, p. 102).

² Fordun Praef., p. xxiii. See Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannica, Hibernica, Lond. 1748, *s. nom.* Macculloch, p. 498, and Fordun, p. 292.

³ William Atwood quotes a manuscript of the Scotichronicon, communicated by the most Honourable Arthur Earl of Anglesea, to Master Petyt, (? William Petyt, 1636-1707, Keeper of the Tower Records). He refers to xiv. c. 36, 54, xv. c. 1, so that it was evidently a copy of the Scotichronicon proper. Superiority and Direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of England, pp. 504, 521. London, 1704.

⁴ *Historiae Britannicae Scriptores XV.* Praef.

⁵ Hearne's Fordun, Praef., p. lxvi. and vol. v. p. 1384, n.

⁶ It was not published until 1734, but had been completed prior to the author's death, which occurred in 1728.

that the Black Book of Paisley was then in the Royal Library. Father Hay in 1723,¹ and Father Innes in 1729,² state the same thing.

The volume is now bound in red morocco, and judging from the monogram on the boards it may be inferred that it was rebound after it became the property of King Charles. Hearne,³ in 1722, speaks of it as "new bound in a red cover."⁴

The whereabouts of the volume still seems matter of doubt to the general public, and a few years ago there was much correspondence upon the subject in the local newspapers, in the course of which an appeal was made to the Museum authorities who replied that no such volume as the Black Book of Paisley was in their keeping!⁵

V.

THE ABRIDGEMENT OF THE BLACK BOOK.

Dr. Skene remarks⁶ that no sooner had the Scotichronicon appeared than there seems to have arisen an outcry against its intolerable diffuseness and irrelevant sermonizing, and Bower himself proceeded to prepare an abridgement, which is represented by the Book of Cupar. In 1501 the Paisley copy of the Scotichronicon was abridged by John Gibson, Junior. This abridgement, which formerly belonged to Sir Robert Sibbald,⁷ is now in the Advocates Library, and has at the beginning this title—

¹ Vindication of Elizabeth More, p. 32, originally published in 1723.

² Critical Essay, p. 25, 201, 229.

³ Hearne, Fordun, v. p. 1384. The binding must have been after Lord Fairfax made his notes, as these are partly cut off by the binder.

⁴ The margins have been considerably pared, as is seen from parts of words in the side notes having been cut off, and this and the misplacing of pages show careless workmanship.

⁵ That eminent antiquary, John Riddell, refers to the Decree of the Court of Session, of 1574, relating to the Black Book of Paisley, (Appendix, Note C.) but he assumes that the Black Book itself is no longer to be heard of. Riddell, Reply to the mis-statements of Dr. Hamilton of Bardowie, p. 26.

⁶ Fordun, i. p. 41.

⁷ He quotes from it in his History of Fife and Kinross, p. 89. (Edinburgh, 1710).

De libro Scoticonicon hec aliqua extrahuntur, qui niger liber
Pasleti dictus est :

And the colophon is—Quarto Martii huius libri finis exstetit anno
millesimo quingentesimo primo per me Jobēm Gibson, junioren. On the
the recto of the fly leaf at the end of the MS. is

Laus omnipotenti Deo
ac Virgine Marie gloria.

Huius opusculi possessor venerabilis et circumspectus vir magister
Johannes Gibson, cāonicus Glasguensis ac Rector de Renfrew.

Qui liber extractus est de magno ac nigro libro Pasleti,
Continens Quaternas LXXIX papiri integras ac quaternas XIX ut patet
intuenti,
Et in qualibet quaterna earum fuit integra.”

The proprietor of the volume, therefore, was John Gibson, at that time
a Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Renfrew. He had been previously
Chamberlain of Glasgow,¹ and Master of Work of the Church of St.
Kentigern,² and was an active man in his day. In the year in which the
abridgement was made, he was elected one of the Procurators of the Four
Nations in the University of Glasgow,³ an honour which was conferred upon
John Gibson, Junior, in 1503.⁴ Father Hay mentions that there is a
defaced copy of the Black Book of Paisley in Bennet's, that is, Corpus
Christi College, Cambridge, written by John Gibson, Canon of Glasgow, in
the year 1500.⁵ This is no doubt the Corpus Christi College manuscript
enumerated in Naismith's Catalogue,⁶ and noticed by Dempster,⁷ Bishop
Nicolson,⁸ and Mr. Skene.⁹ The latter says that there is nothing to indicate

¹ Hamilton's Descriptions of Lanark and Renfrew, p. 250.

² Diocesan Registers of Glasgow, ii. p. 72.

³ Munimenta Univ. Glasg., ii. 116.

⁴ Ib. p. 119. As to Canon Gibson and John Gibson, Junior see Appendix, note D.

⁵ Hay's Vindication, p. 32; see Hearne's Fordun, v. p. 1382.

⁶ Catalogue of MSS. bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, p. 255, (Cantab. 1777).

⁷ Hist. Eccl. Lit., vi. 543.

⁸ Scottish Historical Library, p. 26.

⁹ Skene's Fordun, i. p. 16.

by whom it was transcribed. Formerly however there was a pencil memorandum upon it, said to be in the handwriting of Archbishop Parker, in which the copyist was stated to be a Canon Gibson; Baker, said "Aurelianensis," but Hay suggests that this was an error for "Glasguensis."¹ It is little wonder if this note has now disappeared, as more than a century since the manuscript was described as "semiesus et a muribus in multis locis corruptus."² It is on paper, and contains the sixteen books of the Scotichronicon, and is remarkable for its coloured illustrations of incidents mentioned in the text; four of which have been reproduced in the National Manuscripts of Scotland.³ If the transcriber was Canon Gibson, it is not improbable that he had the Black Book of Paisley before him, and the illustrations, which have been made at the same time as the text was written, may have been executed in the Abbey of Paisley itself. At the date of this MS. the monastery was ruled over by Robert Shaw, nephew of the celebrated George Shaw, "who like his uncle, carried on the extension of the newly-founded burgh of Paisley, and reaped his reward in various important benefactions to the monastery from the citizens."⁴ There was then much life and stir in the Abbey, and while architecture was predominant, it may have awakened or encouraged a love for the sister arts.

David Buchanan describes an abridgement of the Black Book of Paisley, which he attributes to Henry Sinclair, but Nicolson suggests⁵ that this was a slip of memory, and that he intends to refer to Gibson's work. Henry Sinclair,⁶ a man of great eminence in his time, was a member of the Roslin family. He obtained the Rectory of Glasgow in 1538. Three years later, he became Abbot or perpetual Commendator of the Abbey of Kilwinn-

¹ Hay's Vindication, p. 32; Hearne's Fordun. v. p. 1382.

² Catalogue MSS. Oxon., L, par. 3, No. 133. Naismith says very much the same, Catalogue, p. 255.

³ Vol. ii. No. lxxxiii—lxxxvi.

⁴ Lees, The Abbey of Paisley, p. 176.

⁵ Scottish Historical Library, p. 27.

⁶ W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Introduction to *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Soccie*, p. xi; Tytler, *Life of Craig*, p. 74; Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 58; Keith, *Church History*, i., p. 161, ii., p. 221; *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii., pp. 28, 76, 161, 167; Dempster *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib.*, xv. No. 1071, 1072.

ing, and in 1550 he exchanged this with Gavin Hamilton for the Deanery of Glasgow. Subsequently he was appointed Bishop of Ross and then President of the Court of Session. He was the encourager of John Ferrers, a Piedmontese, who continued Hector Boece's history, and was a person of literary tastes and a well-known book collector. He made considerable notes on historical subjects,¹ and as he was also owner of the abridgement, report by connecting the two facts may have attributed the authorship of this work to him.

On the upper margin of the Abridgement at the commencement of the text of Book I., the Dean has written his name—"Hen. Sinclair,"—and again at the foot of the last page. Sir William Sinclair has struck his pen through both signatures, and has substituted his own name,— "W. Sinclair of Roislin, Knecht."² He has likewise interpolated it between two of the lines on the fly leaf.

On the reverse of the fly leaf at the top is the inscription :—"Codex Mag^{ri} Johannis Layng rector de Kilpatrick-juxta, &c." When Laing acquired this benefice does not appear but he was in possession in 1539.³ He was elected Dean of Faculty in the University of Glasgow in 1552 and in subsequent years.⁴ In 1553 he was preferred to the perpetual vicarage of Dreghorne,⁵ and in 1554 he was elected a Canon of Glas-

¹ Sir Robert Sibbald states that certain of the notes on the MS. of the *Extracta e Variis Cronicis* in the Advocates Library (including that respecting Arthur's Oon, Printed Edition, p. 252) were made in 1569 by Henry Sinclair (*Historical Enquiry Concerning the Romans*, p. 43. Edr., 1707). Pinkerton mentions that at the end of a MS. at Panmure ('*Extracta e Chronicis Scotiæ*') are some valuable notes by Dean Sinclair, (*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. i., Advt., p. ix., [8vo 1814]); but this would appear to be merely a copy of the preceding. (*Report Hist. MSS. Coun.*, ii., p. 186). The notes mentioned by Sibbald which are dated 1569, cannot have been made by Henry Sinclair, as he died in 1545. It is more probable that they are from the pen of Sir William Sinclair, whose notes on the MS. are very numerous, and the one following that in question has reference to Roislin.

The same thing occurs in the Carthusian copy of the *Scotichronicon* (Adv. Library, 35-6-7). "Hen. Sinclair" is deleted and "W. Sinclair of Roislin, Knecht," substituted; and likewise in the *Extracta e Variis Cronicis*.

² *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, p. 60. (Maitland Club).

⁴ *Munimenta*, Univ. Glasg., ii., p. 298, 299, i., p. 59, 60.

⁵ *Munimenta*, ii. p. 293.

gow with the prebend of Luss.¹ He must consequently have been possessor of the Abridgement prior to this latter date. Sir William Sinclair no doubt had it at the time of his death in 1574, and there is every probability that he acquired it from Dean Sinclair, who must have got it from Laing. The latter was incorporated as a student at Glasgow in 1519, which brings us very near the time of the Gibsons, but if the book came into his hands, when he wrote his name upon it, this must have been about twenty years later. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it became the property of Sir Robert Sibbald, and at the sale of his books in 1700 was purchased by the Faculty of Advocates, in whose library it still remains.²

Bishop Tanner duly enters³ Canon Gibson in his roll of historians, as the author of an Epitome of the Black Book of Paisley; but he has very slender claims to authorship. His work is destitute of literary merit, being simply a bald abstract of the Black Book itself, without the addition of anything that is new. Chapter I., for instance, is abridged by taking the first sentence and the last, *ipsissimis verbis*, and omitting all that is between.

The manuscript is a small 4^{to} on paper. It commences, as in the larger MS., with the Compendium and Chronicon Metricum which are printed by Goodall.⁴ These occupy the first nineteen pages. On page 20 follows a Genealogy of the Scotch Kings Kings from James IV., and ascending as in Goodall, (p. 534-537). The next paragraph in Goodall is compressed. Page 24 is blank. On page 25 commences the table of the titles of the chapters of Book I. Then comes an abridgement of the chapters themselves, and of the whole of the Black Book, to the end of C. 39 of Book XIV., "De conclusione operis," which is reduced to four lines. At the close are the words—

Finis huius operis
Deo laus et gloria.

¹ Of John Laing and his connexions, see Appendix, Note E.

² Advocates Library, 35-6-8.

³ Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannica. s.v. Gibson, p. 316, (London, 1748).

⁴ Fordun by Goodall, ii., p. 521-533.

There then follows an abstract of the treaty between the King of Scotland and the King of Norway, which is given at length in the Black Book.

On the last page is a copy of the piece Seneca ad Lucilium, Attendite famuli.¹

VI.—THE CHRONICLE OF PAISLEY.

The Black Book of Paisley is often spoken of and treated as an original work² but as has been shewn it is not so. Still, the language of some of the older writers suggests the question whether there was not, after all, an independent chronicle kept or written at Paisley, which has been lost? Such seems to be the case, and if so, it explains the confusion and apparent discrepancies in the accounts of the existing manuscript.

That historical writings existed, anterior to the Scotichronicon, there is no doubt. Both Fordun and Bower repeatedly refer to and quote various chronicles of Scots affairs. Allusion has been made to the genealogy supplied to Fordun by Cardinal Wardlaw, and in the chapter following that in which he acknowledges the loan, he speaks of having used certain "most authentic and ancient histories or chronicles."³ The author of the Liber Pluscardensis⁴ and Sir William Sinclair⁵ mention "great," in apparent contradistinction to "small," chronicles. What the great chronicles were, we know. The others were probably unnamed works, such as those cited by Fordun, and of which Wardlaw's Genealogy is a sample.

The manner in which our older literary historians express themselves, indicates that there was a tradition at least of a Paisley chronicler. "Monachus Pasletensis scripsit circa annum 1451," says David Buchanan.⁶

¹ Ante, p. 24.

² Many of the editions of Monipennie's Chronicles appear with the Black Book of Paisley as a sub-title:—"Chronicles of Scotland; or the Black Book of Paisley."

³ Skene's Fordun, v., c. 51; Scotichronicon, v., c. 61.

⁴ Liber Pluscardensis, vol. i., p. 5. (Ed. Skene).

⁵ Ant., p. 45. ⁶ Ant., p. 48.

According to Dempster,¹ Paslatensis quidam monachus, incerto nomine, sed magna eruditionis claritudine, si tamen unus ille fuit, ac non plures incepti ab uno, eo in monasterio, operis continuatoris, scripsit chronicon ab initio Mundi." George Buchanan's reference is to Liber Pasletensis,¹ but he seems to have meant by this the Black Book of Paisley,² and being an extant and well known book, this has been dealt with as what was alluded to when mention was made of the work of the Paisley monk. But the words just quoted do not necessarily bear this meaning. David Buchanan mentions a Liber Pasletensis kept at Holyrood,³ and Principal Dunlop, in a passage already quoted,⁴ not only refers to a chronicle written at Paisley, but accounts for its loss. The volume which both of these authors probably had in view was the Black Book or its Abridgement; but the statements suggest their belief in the existence of another work. The Principal speaks of "the authentic copy" of this chronicle, apparently assuming the existence of transcripts. If ever there were copies, these seem, so far as can at present be ascertained, to have disappeared, along with the original.

If the above passages stood alone it might be inferred, as has hitherto been done, that the "monachus Pasletensis" was a mistake of Fordun's continuator, and that his work was the Black Book. But fortunately there is some more direct evidence of the existence of a Paisley chronicle. In a kind of supplement to the Extracta et variis Cronicis on the genealogy of Bruce, a long passage is taken from the Scotichronicon, and then the note proceeds, "Alia cronica de jure Roberti de Broys regis quod habuit ad regnum Scocie, *quequidem cronica reperiebatur scripta apud Pasceletum* inter alias antiquas scriptas cronicas et est ita." After completing this extract, the writer returns to and excerpts the text of the

¹ Historia Eccl. Gentis. Scot., xv., No. 1010.

² Hist. Scot., pp. 73, 86, 93. Ed. Ruddiman.

³ Pasletensis liber, Annales rerum Scoticarum a Monachis Pasletensibus conscripti. Is autem liber a nigro tegumento, vulgo *The Black Book of Paisley* appellatus. Ruddiman Propriorum Nominum Interpretatio, p. 34, appended to his Edition of Buchanan's Works. (Edinburgh, 1715).

Gesta Annalia and *Scotichronicon*.¹ The extract in question is not in the *Black Book of Paisley*, or in Goodall's text of the *Scotichronicon*. The compiler of the *Extracta* was acquainted with the latter, as well as with the *Book of Scone*,² so that he must have had before him another chronicle which had been brought from Paisley, and which was understood to have been written there. Robert Scott, the transcriber of the Edinburgh manuscript of the *Scotichronicon*, makes a similar reference, "*sed contrarium patet libro octavo cap. xxv. ubi est fundatoris de Pasleto, secundum quod habetur ex chronicis ejusdem monasterii et aliorum antiquorum scriptorum.*"³

As showing what the Paisley chronicle was, it may not be out of place to repeat the quotation given in the *Extracta* :—

Alia cronica de jure Roberti de Broys regis quod habuit ad regnum Scocie, quequidem cronica reperiebatur scripta apud Pasceletum inter alias antiquas scriptas cronicas, et est ista :—

Dominus de Allyrdaile habuit duas filias subscriptas, scilicet Mariotam et Gunnuldam : Mariota fuit [sponsa] domini Galiwidie, de qua genuit idem dominus Rolandum dominum Galiwidie, a quo Alanus Galiwidie venit ; Gunnulda fuit sponsa David comitis de Huntyngtone, filii Henrici de Huntyngtone quem David rex Scocie genuit. Iste David comes de Huntyngtone genuit de eadem Gunnulda Johannem Scotum qui fuit comes de Garviache, qui mortuus est sine liberis, et dedit Garviach monasterio de Lundouris. Genuit eciam idem David ex eadem Gunnulda tres filias, scilicet Margaretam [sponsatam] Alano domino Galiwidie, ex quibus processit Deruergilla que fuit desponsata domino de Balliolo ex quibus processit Johannes de Balliolo a quo Eduardus de Balliolo, et istam Isabellam

¹ *Extracta e Variis Cronicis*, p. 247. At p. 244 begins, *Nota historiam genologie sequentis et mortem regis Roberti secundi*. From "autem clarius appareat, p. 244 to the end corresponds with the *Gesta Annalia*, c. 73-80 : (Skene's *Fordun*, i., p. 314, et sqq.) the text followed being Skene's MS., D., i.e., the MS. of Trinity College, Dublin. The passage above quoted, beginning *Alia cronica*, (p. 247) to p. 248, line 7, "*Scocie et*," is not in the *Gesta Annalia*, the *Scotichronicon* (xi. 12 et sqq.) or the *Liber Pluscardensis* (i. p. 135, et sqq.) Goodall (vol i. p. 33) refers to this *Extracta*, as "*Liber Dumblanensis*."

² He describes the *Scotichronicon* (pp. 1, 2, 7), and refers (p. 16) to the *Book of Scone*.

³ Goodall, ii., p. 543. See aut., pp. 17, 13, 22.

desponsavit Robertus de Brus dominus Anandie, Anandirdaile, ex quibus processit Robertus secundus, a quo Robertus quartus comes de Carrik et rex Scocie, a quo David de Broys rex Scocie. Istam Adam Henricus Hastyns desponsavit, a quo Willelmus Hastyns. Ista Margareta, quam Alanus de Galiwidia desponsavit, attingebat domino suo Alano in secundo et tercio gradu consanguinitatis propter quod missi fuerunt nuncii ad curiam Romanam pro dispensacione impetranda, qui submersi fuerunt in aqua Anandie, et sic cessavit impetracio, &c. Et sic satis patet quod Deruergilla non fuit heres cum fuit bastardia, quare matrimonium non valuit, et sic nec ipsa nec sui successores, scilicet Johannes et Eduardus de Balleolis, nullum jus habuerunt ad regnum Scocie, et sciendum quod Johannes et de Balleolo sponsus dicte Deruergille obiit ante mortem regis Alexandri tercii predicti, ipsa tamen superuixit. Hiis visis, uiri periti querant et inuestigent quis litigancium jura habeat potiora, quia ista predicta est vera historia et recta computacio gradus consanguinitatis et generacionis omnium predictorum.

With this as a clue it may perhaps be yet possible to identify the Chronicle with one of the numerous compilations on Scots affairs that still remain in manuscript in various libraries.

VII.—FACSIMILE PAGE OF THE BLACK BOOK.

The page of the Black Book of Paisley of which a facsimile is given, is from the latter part of Chapter 13 and the beginning of Chapter 14 of Book XII., and is the *verso* of folio 199, which is the first sheet of quire 22.

The title of Chapter 13 is "Concerning the defeat at Slenach and the Death of Edward." After mentioning that, in the year 1307, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, hearing that King Robert Bruce and his army were at Slenach,¹ started with a number of the nobility, both English and Scotch, whom he had along with him to intercept the King and offer battle, the

¹ Barbour calls it Slevach (The Bruce, Ed. Innes, lxvii, 15, page 196—Spalding Club), and it is identified by Dr. Joseph Robertson as Slioch, in the parish of Drumblate, in the Garrioch Collections for the Shires of Aberdeen and Bauff, p. 476).

narrative goes on to say that when they saw that Bruce was prepared to meet them they paused, and at last, overcome with shame, sent to him on Christmas-day proposing a truce, which was graciously granted. After the truce, the King boldly remained in the same place for eight days, but, says the historian :

[*Ubi magnum in*] *currebat infirmitatem ita quod in grabato vehebatur quocunque eum contingeret removeri. De hac fuga dicitur*

M. semel et ter C. septem cum¹ his superadde
 Natulique die pars Anglica victa pudore
 De Slenach rediit trengas de rege petiuit
 Quas rex concessit elementer et inde recessit
 Attamen intrepidus ibi perstitit octo diebus.

Anno precedente circa festum Annunciacionis nostre domine Dominus Symon Frasar, Dominus Walterus Logan, milites et plures valentes armigeri et mediocres² capti fuerunt per quosdum³ Scotos⁴ regi Anglie adherentes. Qui⁵ Symon ductus est Londoniis et diversis penis interemptus. Ceteri in Dunelmia in presencia Eadwardi de Carnarvan filii regis Anglie tunc princeps⁶ Wallie suspendentur.

Parti tunc⁷ regis Anglie pre ceteris et potenciores Scoti fuerunt Domini Johannes Comyn comes de Buchane⁸ Willelmus Comyn et Johannes de Mowbre milites, qui adjunctis sibi Anglis post haec regem R. acriter invaserunt et in maximo prelio usque obitum regis Anglie constituerunt Qui anno Domini M^o ccc^o vij^o in vigilia Sancte Johannis Baptiste de Lanercost ubi tactus fuit infirmitate in expedicione sua ad

¹ Goodall, tamen.

² G. adds, vernaculi.

³ G. adds, perfidos.

⁴ G. adds, tunc.

⁵ The Black Book here corresponds with the Edinburgh MS. The Perth and Cupar MS., as Goodall points out, add a clause, which is also to be found in the "Extracta e Variis Chronicis," p. 133.

⁶ G. gives principis, the correct word.

⁷ G. places tunc after Anglie.

⁸ The Black Book here agrees with the Edinburgh MS., and omits a clause given in the Cupar and Perth MSS.

humiliandum regem nostrum Robertum et regnum Scocie ut¹ finaliter proposuit subjugandum versus Holme Culton² tendens pro aura puriore sanitate consequenda pridie ante festum translacionis Sancte Thome martiris in vehiculo suo recumbens apud Burgum Sabuli ^{sino}_{sis} nota penitencie miserabiliter expiravit. In eadem iteneracione infirmabatur secum quidem miles Anglice nacionis Willelmus Banister nomine qui in³ eadem nocte qua rex obiit in extasi raptus vidit Dominum suum Regem in spiritu uncatum a magna multitudine demonum circumseptum eidem cum maximo cachinno insultantium et dicentium.

De morte Eadwi.
primi post con-
questum Anglie
regis.

En rex Edwardus debacchans ut leopardus.
Olim dum vixit populum Domini malefixit.
Nobis vie talis comes ibis care sodalis.
Quo condempneris ut demonibus sociaris.
Te sequimur voto prorsus tempore remoto.

Qlr rex tyrans
a demonibus
ruciat.

Cum hoc flagellis et scorpionibus cedentes eum abigebant. Cantemus aliquantulum inquit huic misere anime debitum mortis canticum : quia filia est mortis et cibus ignis inextinguibilis, amica tenebrarum et inimica lucis, dicentes, En rex Eadwardus, &c.⁴ Ecce misera⁵ populus quem elegisti cum quibus arsura es sine fine, nutrix scandali, amatrix discordie pacis emula, caritatis inscia. Quare nunc non superbis? Quare non letaris? Ubi nunc est vanitas tua? Ubi vana leticia? Quid profuit tibi inanis gloria, brevis leticia, mundi potencia, carnis voluptas, false divicie, conquestus terre, magna familia et mala concupiscentia? Ubi iocus, ubi risus, ubi iactancia ubi arrogancia? De tanta leticia quanta tristicia, post tantam voluptatem tam gravis miseria, post tantam exaltacionem tam magna ruina, post tantas victorias tam immania tormenta : cito⁷ ignominia sit superbi gloria.

Inimico ne credas.

Cumque hujusmodi exprobacionibus et verberibus sibi spiritus maligni insultassent, aciem oculorum suorum ad me inquit miles trementem et

¹ G. places ut after finaliter.

² G. cultir.

³ G. omits, in.

⁴ In the handwriting of Lord Fairfax. See supra, p. 58.

⁵ G. adds, ut supra.

⁶ G. adds, anima.

⁷ G. inserts quam before cito.

exsanguem direxit innuens ut correcturavi¹ me sibi velle sicut solito in bellis opem ferre. Sed quia mecum neque vox neque sensus remansit terribilis oculis intuitus est me : ita ut dum vixero et illius recordavero nunquam letari potero. Cum hoc absorptus est in momento² infernali puteo voce lugubri eiulans et exclamans,

Heu cur peccaui, fallor, quare non bene cani.
 Heu cur peccaui, perit, et nihil est quod amaui.
 Heu cur peccaui, video, quia littus aravi.
 Cum sudore gravi, mihimet tormenta paravi.

Ad se igitur miles de extasi reversus misit pro regis cubiculario, suo caro cognato, petens ab eo quomodo se habuit rex. Bene, ait iuvenis, incipit convalescere ; haec sibi propterea insinuans ne si sibe infirmanti veritatem annuntiaret nimiam tristitiam avunculo suo inferret. Non sic inquit miles, quia mortuus est, duplici heu morte preventus, et non est qui ei opem ferat ex omnibus caris euia.³

QUALITER WILLELMUS BANESTER TERRITUS VISIONE DESPEXIT MUNDUM C. XIIIJ.

Missum est⁴ pro regis filio principe tunc Vallie. Quo protinus veniente exequiis⁵ patris sepulture dispositis Londonias corpus perducitur ubi nunc humatum requiescit ; extales tunc et intestina sua in Holmo subterrantur. *Hic in principio milicie sue bella mouens Anglicos diris flagellis verberavit et suis nequiciis totum orbem perturbavit et crudelitate commovit. Passagiam terre sancte suo dolo impediuit ; Scociam invasit et Scotos cum regno fraudulenter subegit : Valliam perfligavit, Johannem de Balliolo regem cum filio carceri mancipavit : ecclesias stravit, prelatos vinculauit et carcerali squalare quosdam extinxit : populum occidit et alia in-*

¹ G.—conjecturavi.

² G. adds, in.

³ G.—suis.

⁴ G. adds interim.

⁵ G. adds que.

finita mala perpetravit. Huic successit filius eius de Carnarvan Eadwardus ij^o post conquestionem alias quintus.

VERSUS DE MORTE PATRIS.

Mi semel et ter C. septem numerabis in orbe,
 Martire translato Thome sine fine beato,
 In bargo Sabuli quo finit marchia regni,
 Eadwardus cecidit qui Scotos male cecidit.
 Viscera cum cerebro cujus tumulantur in Holmo.
 Iste monens bella dedit Anglis dira flagella.
 Colla superborum pede conculcauit eorum.
 Orbem corruptit, Terram Sanctamque fefellit ;
 Scotos inuasit regnum cum fraude subegit.
 Ecclesias strauit, prelatos carcere clausit ;
 Occidit populum Christi, decime tulit auram.
 Cujus peccata toto sunt orbe notata,
 Anglica¹ deflebit quando vastata iacebit.
 Socia plaude manu pro funere regis avari ;
 Grates redde Deo, Roberto rege creato,
 Quem vi virtutis castigat virga salutis,
 Suis in orbe statum faciet Deus esse beatum.

Hoc² anno sciz M^o ccc^o vij^o Anglici combusserunt monasterium de Pasleto.

*Ho anno
vij Angli
combusserunt
de Pasl.*

Dictus dominus Willelmus Banester de infirmitate conualescens quanto prius feruencius circa actus militares estuabat, tanto in virum alterum mutatus vehemencius animum ejus desiderio milicie spiritualis Christi attendebat. Territus enim in tantum fuit horrica visione demonum, calamitosis exacerbacionibus et flagellacionibus in dominum suum regem fremencium, quod ruinosum mundum cum flore ejus omnino despexit, et ad emendacionis conversacionis solitariam vitam se contulit. Qui ut dicitur tanquam propheta ventura predixit et presentibus absentia annunciare promeruit.

Hic rex Eadwardus dicitur xij ab illo³ comite Andegaue qui desponsavit sibi diabolam humana carne velatam.

¹ G. Anglia.

² G. adds in.

³ G. adds, Galfrido.

The corresponding passage in Fordun's own work is in chapters 122 and 123 of Book V. of Dr. Skene's edition. In the foregoing transcript this is printed in italics so as to distinguish it from Bower's additions, which form the great bulk of the narrative.

The variations between Goodall's text and that of the Black Book are pointed out in the notes. The collation has been made with the printed text, and not with the Edinburgh College MS. itself, which does not seem to have been accurately transcribed in all cases.

Fordun and Bower relate the battle of Slevach prior to their account of Edward I.'s death, while Barbour places it after this event.⁴

⁴ See Kerr's *History of Robert the Bruce*, Vol., I. p. 331, et seq.

NOTE A.—BLACK BOOK.

See page 8.

Sir George Mackenzie does not give any authority for his statement as to the use of the term, "Black Book." It was one in common use, but not appropriated, I think, to a monastic chronicle. The volumes in which episcopal and monastic bodies and municipal corporations copied the charters, bulls, royal grants, and other deeds and instruments affecting themselves, were known as Registers or Leiger (or Ledger) Books; and it is to a volume of this description that the title seems to have been most frequently applied. Thus the Black Book of Arbroath is simply a cartulary,¹ and such is the Black Book of Peterborough although the *Chronicon Petroburgense* has been engrossed in it.² The "Black Buik" of the city of St. Andrews was "all written by umquhile Johnne Minto, Clerk of the said Citie for the tyme, quhilk is onlye ane memoir and record of the infeftments, evidentis and writtis maid to the saidis prouest . . . of the said citie of Sanctandrois."³ The "Blak Buik" now in the Register House is a register of public and private writings relating to Scotland, and, amongst other things, contains a series of parliamentary proceedings, from 1357-1402.⁴ Besides these are the *Registrum Nigrum* of St. Eadmundsbury, the *Liber Niger* of Christ Church, Dublin, the Black Book of Hexham, and many others; and of a somewhat different character, the Black Book of Taymouth; the Black Book of the Exchequer; the Black Book of the Admiralty. There are also "Red Books" and "White Books," "Green Books" and "Purple Books," "Yellow Books" and "Speckled Books:" such as the Red Book of Glasgow, an ordinary Register, and to a large extent merely a copy of an older Register;⁵ the Red Book of the Church of Moray, which is simply a diocesan Register;⁶ the "*Registrum Rubrum*," of Aberdeen, a volume of a similar description;⁷ the Red Book of Coldingham, mentioned by Bower;⁸ the Red Book of Wells;⁹ the Red Book of St. Asaph; the Red Book of Grandtully; the Red Book of the Exchequer; the Red Book of Perth;¹⁰ the Red Book of Durham; the Red Book of Hexham; the Red Book of the Earls of Ormonde. Bishop Cassio, of Durham, compiled a history of his see, under the title of "*Liber Rubens*."¹¹ Of White Books, there are the Great White Register of the Church of York, containing all the early charters, endowments, and privileges granted to that church by the English and Norman Kings;¹² the *Registrum Album* of Aberdeen;¹³ the *Liber Albus* of St. Eadmundsbury;¹⁴ the White Book of Wells;¹⁵

¹ *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, Vol. I., p. xxx.

² *Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 157, *et seq.* (Camden Society). 'Stubbs's Preface to Walter of Coventry's *Historical Collections*, I., p. xlv.

³ Contract between Archbishop Gladstones and the city of St. Andrews, in 1611; quoted *Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andreae*, p. xii.

⁴ Thomson's *Acts*, I., p. 23.

⁵ *Registrum Episcop. Glasg.* I., p. xli.

⁶ *Registrum Moraviense*, p. iii.

⁷ *Registrum Episcop. Aberdonensis*, I. p. lxx.

⁸ Book of Cupar, quoted *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall, II. p. 165 n.

⁹ First Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 93.

¹⁰ *New Statistical Account*, X., p. 69. Parish of Perth. ¹¹ *Registrum Dunelmense*, I., p. xcvi. n.

¹² *Historical Papers from Northern Registers*, ed. by James Raine, p. xv. (1873, *Rolls Series*.) First Report of the Historical MSS. Com., p. 96.

¹³ *Registrum Episcop. Aberdonensis*, I. p. lxxviii.

¹⁴ *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, pp. ix., 113. (Camden Society.)

¹⁵ First Report of the Historical MSS. Com., p. 93.

the White Book of Kilkenny;¹ the White Book of London. Then we have the Purple Book, the Green Book, the Red Book of Bruges;² the Yellow Book of Lecain;³ the Yellow Book of the O'Ferguses;⁴ the Speckled Book, or great book of Dun Doighré.⁵

It may well be doubted whether these various epithets had any reference beyond the colour of the outside of the volumes,⁶ just as we have at the present day, the Royal Blue Book, the Red Book, Blue Books, Yellow Books, and Green Books. Amongst the records of the Abbey of Dunfermline are "The Buik with the Blak Covering, callit Novum Rentale, begynnand in 1555 and endand 1583"; and "the Buik with ane Quhyt Covering, begynnand 1586."⁷ The service books belonging to the choir of Glasgow Cathedral were bound in white.⁸ The books in the Cathedral Library, Aberdeen, were bound in red, white, green and black.⁹

The covers of books may no doubt have been coloured in some instances according to their contents, but there does not seem to have been any rule upon the subject. Amongst the Romans, the parchment envelope in which they enclosed their rolls was generally dyed on the outside purple or yellow, while the title was written in deep red colour (See Becker's Gallus, translated by Metcalf, p. 329); but there was no special significance in the colours. Colour was not, however, without its appropriateness in some things. The Romans used a red ink (made of *rubrica*, or red ochre) for the headings of laws, and the Athenians distinguished their law courts by red letters. The Praetors' edicts were written on a white tablet, *album*. The later Emperors appropriated to themselves the use of a purple red ink made from the *murex*, with which they signed rescripts, and which were only valid when so signed (Rescript of the Emperor Leo in 470: Cod. Just. I., 23, 6: cf. Becker's Gallus, p. 466.) If the Emperor was under age, his guardian used a green ink for writing his signature.

In the Middle Ages, and down till a comparatively recent time, different colours of wax were employed by different persons, and according to the nature of the document to which the seal was to be attached; and in Germany this rule was scrupulously observed as an important point of Court etiquette. The right of sealing with red wax was of the nature of a privilege, and a mark of the highest distinction. Some cities used red wax and others green wax for their seals. A grant of red wax flowed from the Emperor, and without this the highest nobles and greatest cities dared not make use of a red seal. The Counts Palatine could not confer nobility, but it was said they could do the nearest thing to it, they could authorise the use of red wax (Georg Mundius de Comitibus Palatinis, c. 3, num. 72). The nature and effect of this grant were much discussed by civilians and feudallists, and it has a literature of its own. A chief question that was debated was whether such a grant inferred the *jus gladii*, the better opinion being that it did not—perhaps a fortunate decision, for had it been otherwise it would be somewhat alarming to contemplate the potential executive authority that must exist if the power of life and death belonged to every man or woman who uses red wax. In any case, however, it is possible that so vulgar a thing as seal-

¹ Ibid., p. 130.

² Twiss, the Black Book of the Admiralty, IV., pp. cxli. 303.

³ O'Curry's Lectures on the MS. materials of ancient Irish History, pp. 125, 190.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 76, 531.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 31, 190, 352.

⁶ See Spotiswood's Religious Houses, Hope's Minor Practick, p. 449 and Keith's Bishops, p. 412. The Priory of Hexham, ii. p. v. (Surtees Society, 1865.) See also Sim's Manual for the Genealogist, pp. 39, 40, 58, (2nd Ed., 1861.) First Report of the Historical MSS. Com., p. 93, b.

⁷ Henderson's Annals of Dunfermline, pp. 198, 228.

⁸ Inventory of the Ornaments, &c., belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow. (Matland Club), p. 8.

⁹ Registrum Episcopatus Abergdonensis, II. p. 123, *et seq.*

ing wax might not be so much esteemed, for the old rule, of course, applied to natural wax—sealing wax being but of yesterday.

Black was seldom used save by the Knights of Malta and by the Master of the Teutonic Order. (See, on the subject of seals, Hugo de Prima Origine Scribendi, ed. Trotz, p. 132 n. *et sq.*; G. A. Struve, *Observationes Feudales*, p. 18, No. 10 [Francof, 1688, 4^{to}]; Heineccius, (Jo. Mich.) de *Sigillis*, [Franc. 1709] Linc. (Heur.) *Discursus de rubro, nigro et albo* [Altd. 1679 and 1687]; and the authorities referred to by these writers respectively.)

In the French Chancery under the Monarchy, red wax was used with the great seal when affixed to letters concerning Dauphiné, and yellow to those relating to the other provinces, except in the case of pardons, which were sealed with green wax (Denisart, *Collection de Décisions Nouvelles*, s. v. *Sceau*, Vol. III. [6th ed., Paris, 1768]). The royal seal of England was most frequently in white until the reign of Charles I., since which time the prevailing colour has been green, to signify, as it has been quaintly expressed, *rem in perpetuo vigore mansuram* (Tomlin's *Law Dictionary*, s. v. *Seal*, ed. 1835). In Scotland green wax was used in the case of Charters, red wax for Commissions, and white for Remissions. (Ruddiman, *Introduction to Anderson's Diplomata*, p. 101.)

NOTE B.—JOHN DE BURDEUS, OR DE BURGUNDIA;
THE PESTILENCE.

See pages 20, 46.

John de Burdeus, de Burgundia, or cum Barba^a was a citizen of Leodium (Liege), and professor of medicine there about the middle of the fourteenth century. He was an astrologer as well as a physician, and, like Chaucer's Doctor of Physic,^b . . .

“ He was grounded in Astronomye,
He kepte his pacient wondrously wel
In houres by his magik naturel.”

In his opinion, none was fit to practise medicine who had not a competent knowledge of astrology. “And I 40 yere and more have oftyn tymes proved in practise that a medecyn gyn contrary to y^c constilacion, although it were both wele compownd or medled and ordynatly wroghte after the scheme of phisik, yet it wroght nowther after the purpose of the wareher nor to the profite of the pacient.”^c He was the author of two tracts upon the plague (*De Pestilentia*), a larger and a smaller, the latter of which is transcribed amongst the miscellaneous matter at the beginning of the *Black Book of Paisley*. Both have been translated into English. He also wrote a work, “*De causa et natura corrupti aeris sive indicia Astrologie*,” commencing, “*Deus Deorum* ;” and another, “*De distinctione morborum pestentialium*,” commencing, “*Quia nimium propter instans tempus epidemiale*.” The “*Governayle of Helth*” has likewise been attributed to him. None of his works, excluding the last mentioned, has been printed. Of those upon the pestilence there are many manuscript copies.

^a Perhaps John Burgoyne, or John Beard, Baird, or Berde; or it may be Burdeye or Barbour or Barber. He also appears under the names John de Burgoyne, de Burgeyne, of Burgoyne, of Burgon, John Burgoyne, John de Burdegalia, de Bourdeux, of Burdeaux or Burdeux, of Burdewes or Burdewz, or Burdouse, John the Burdeux, John de Barbe, la Barbe, a la Barbe, de Berbe, ad Barbam.

^b Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Prologue*.

^c Translation, *Sloane MS. 8449*, f. 6.

A.—MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LARGER TREATISE.

1. *Brit. Mus. Royal MS.*, 12 G. IV. Folio; vellum.

Formerly in the Thayer collection; mentioned in Bernard's *Catalogus MSS. Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, ii. p. 201. Casley's *Catalogue*, p. 214.

The present volume is very imperfect. At the foot of many of the pages there are the words "haec deficit," and this treatise (f. 158-160) is part of an older volume. The pieces in the collection are mostly by English writers, John de Grenborough, Edward of Oxford, and Gilbert Legley, of the last of whom, Thayer notes f. 5, that he flourished A.D. 1210, and another note says, "He was of Sarum, and the junior of all the 7 masters of the archane scyence of Physicke."

Immediately preceding the tract in question is a piece "Causa pestilencie." Then comes the rubric:—"Post signa pestilencie sequitur cura pestilencie seu epidemie et earum infirmitates, causatas seu signatas per conjunctiones infrascriptas secundum doctrinam Magistri Johannis de Burgundia, alio nomine Johannis cum Barba."

Begins—"Quia omnia inferiora tam elementa quam elementata a superioribus reguntur, ut dicit Messchallak in libro Interpretationum," &c.

Ends—"Non pro precio sed pro precibus hoc egi ut cum quibus convaluit pro me oret. Amen."

Our author styles himself "Johannes de Burgundia, aliter vocatus cum Barba civis Leodiensis [or Leodensis] ac artis medicinae professor." He speaks of having practised medicine for forty years; and refers to his experience in the plague which raged in Liege in 1365. He says that of all who had written upon the subject, no one spoke from personal observation save Hippocrates, and claims that his own treatise is written from what he had himself seen. He refers to Galen, Dioscorides, Rasis, Vanastenus, Heben, Messue, Capho, Constantinus, Seraphion, Avicenna, Agazel, and Averroes.

2. *Brit. Mus. Sloane MS.* 3566. 32mo: vellum: 15th cent., f. 63^b—87.

This transcript is much the same as No. 1. It omits some introductory matter and all local and personal references and much of the astrological learning.

3. *Brit. Mus. Sloane MS.* 134. 12mo: vellum: 15th cent., No 6. f. 31—38.

There are only verbal differences between this and the Royal MS. No. 1. Some one has written at the top of f. 31.—"Tractatus de medicinis digestivis a Joh. Messue;" but this is evidently a mistake. This work of John Messue is quoted in the succeeding piece, f. 41^b, and he is referred to in the colophon, f. 44^b. There is a similar treatise, Egerton MS., 2340, f. 84-100. As John de Burgundio translated S. John Damascenus, and as John or James Damascenus, the Syrian physician, is also known as Messue, there may be a mixing up of names of de Burgundia and Messue, the Arab.

4. *Brit. Mus. Sloane MS.* 3124. Vellum, 15th cent.

At f. 51^b.—"Incipit Tractatus de regimine et preservacione impedimie et pestilencie factus in facultate Bononie per consilium omnium Medicorum civitatis."

This is simply a transcript of John de Burgundia. The allusion to the writer's forty years experience is retained, but no notice is taken of John de Burgundia or of Liege. Although professing to be a *consilium* of the medical faculty of Bologna it always speaks in the first person. Where de Burgundia speaks of the plague in 1365, the transcriber of this MS. substitutes 1391. He omits the author's closing paragraph and tacks on one of his own. The pretence of independent authorship is repeated in the colophon, f. 61, verso:—

"Explicit iste tractatus inclitus utilis contra Impidimiam factus in Bolonia per consilium

omnium medicorum facultatis medicine Bolonie Scriptus per me Gandolfum de Padua, magistrum in artibus et medicina, die xxiiij Septembris Anno Domini Millesimo CCCmo nonagesimo tercio."

5. *St. John's College, Oxford*. No. 172. 4to: vellum. Beginning of the fifteenth cent. [It formerly belonged to John Alwort.]

The treatise in question is No. 11, and is at f. 259, and appears to correspond with the Sloane MS. 134, *supra* No. 3.

The author is described in the title "magnus phisicus et expertus magnusque Astrologus." The two succeeding pieces in the volume, No. 12, Tractatus de flebotomia, and No. 13, Liber de urinis, are in Coxe's Catalogue¹ (but the latter with a ?) ascribed to de Burgundia. In the Index he is entered as being the same as Joannes Burgundio of Pisa,² but this is no doubt an error.

6. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.* No. 1443.³ 4to. paper: 15th cent.

On the first page is the signature "Edmundus Peecham," written about the end of the fifteenth century. He seems to have been the writer of the additions that occur in some parts of the book.

No. 6. p. 351—375.—"Incipit doctrina magistri Johannis de Burgundia, alio nomine dicti Cum Barba, de preservacione regiminis et cura contra epidimias et infirmitates pestilenciales, causatas seu significatas per conjunciones infra scriptas."

B.—MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SMALLER TREATISE (TRACTATUS SUB COMPENDIO.)

1. *The Black Book of Paisley*. Brit. Mus. Royal MS., 13 E. x., f. 24.

2. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 433. Small 4to. vellum: 14th cent.

No. 5. f. 47-51.—"Here begynneth ye tretis of John of Burdeux ye nobyll fecicion ageyn ye pestilence."

There are some verbal differences between this and the text of the Black Book of Paisley. An English translation is curiously interwoven in some places, e.g., "*Thrie partes* Tres partes sunt in homine, Cor, *ye hart*, epar, *ye liuer*, et cerebrum *ye braynes*, and *iche of yeis haue*, et quilibet istorum habet locum suum quo potest respiracionem suam evacuari *wher yei may putte out ther sur fettes or surfattes*."

3. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 7. 4to. paper: 15th cent.

No. 20. f. 85^b.—"The tretes of John of Burdeux the nobille ficion agayne the pestilence."

The Latin text with the same gloss as in Sloane MS. 433.

4. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 405. 4to. paper: 15th cent. At one time belonged to Gabriel Gostwyke.

¹ Coxe's Catalogue of MSS. in the Oxford College Libraries. Para. ii., Coll. S. J. B., p. 55. The treatises de flebotomia and de urinis are probably by John Damascenus.

² Joannes de Burgundio, Giovanni Borgondo or Borgondione of Pisa, theologian, poet, lawyer and physician, died at Pisa, 1190 or 1194. He translated parts of the works of S. John Damascenus, S. John Chrysostom and Nemesius, and some of the Geoponica. There are also in manuscript translations by him into Latin of Galen de alimentis, and de regimine Sanitatis. The translation of the Greek passages in the Pandects has been ascribed to him, on the authority of Odofredus of Bologna (circa, 1250), in 22 in fin. fr. de legibus (Dig. 1, 3, 2). Nouvelle Biog. Universelle; Mazzuchelli, Gli Scrittori d'Italia, vol. II. Pt. III. p. 1768. Fabricius, Bibliotheca Latina Med. et Inf. Etatis, vol. I., p. 304 (Patavii, 1754); Panzirolus de claris legum interpretibus, L. II. c. 15; Albericus Gentilis, Dialogus III. (Cato), De juris interpretibus—printed along with Panzirolus, p. 594 (Ed. Lipsa. 1721).

See Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 15407, f. 119^b, 15606, f. 100, 15606, f. 71, and the colophon f. 27, to Addl. MS. 22, 669.

³ The accounts of the Ashmolean manuscript are from Black's Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. Oxford, 1845—66, 4to.

No. 7. f. 41^b—43.—“The tretis of John de Bordoux the nobil phisesian ageyn the pestilens ewyll.”

The Latin text without the gloss. At the end are prescriptions for two drinks for the pestilence, which are likewise in the above MS. No. 433.

5. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.* 346. Very sm. 4to. paper: 16th cent.

A collection of astrological, physical, and miscellaneous tracts made and written by Thomas Scalon.

No. 85. p. 157^b—159^b.—“Tractatus Johannis de Burgundia de morbo pestilentiali.”

Both the larger and the smaller treatise have been translated into English, and there are several manuscripts of the English versions.

C.—TRANSLATIONS OF THE LARGER TREATISE.

1. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 3449. 4to. vellum: 15th cent.

No. 2. f. 5^b—12.—“Treatise of the pestilence of John of Bourdeaux.”

A prologue is prefixed, “Bicause that all thynges here in erthe as wele th’ elements as thinges springen and compownynd of th’ elements ben governed and ledde by the bodyes that ben above in the spheres or circles of the firmament as Moshallac saith in his boke of interpretations.”

The treatise begins, “First therefore to the preservation hit is needfull every man to fle or eschiew overmych repletion of mete.”

2. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 965. 18mo. vellum: 15th cent.

[At one time belonged to John Skefington and then to Abel Collyer whose autograph is on f. 2.]

No. 8. (but marked in the MS. as No. 6.), f. 130—141.—“Lo leue Sires here begynnithe as Solempne doctrine and openlie preued made for true medicine for the pestilence bi Maister John de Burgoyne otherwise cleped La Barbe by the grace of Almyghti God certainly curithe and helithe the seke yf thei use the medisine as it is here afterwards more openly declared.”

“First ye shall understonde that this saide tretys compiled and studied bi this sayd maister John de Burgoyne professour of phisyk and of surgerie Citeseyn of Leeges the yere of oure Lorde a thousande and thre hundred sixti and fyve is departed to your more clere understanding into iiij chapiteris, the first chapitre trettithe and declareth How ye shall kepe diete and governe you in the tym of pestilence,” &c.

3. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.*, No. 1443. See above, A. No. 6.

No. 7. f. 376—393. “For ye pestilens. Medecyne agenst sodeyne pestylens as phylosofers seyne bodies opon erthe by nethe bethe.rewlid and gendried by bodyes above.”

f. 387. Begins—“Pestylens that now reynyt com as clerkis seyen of astronomy of a conjunction of Saturne ande [f. 388] Jubiter, in the yere (&c.) 1340.”

Ends—“Wherfor y mevyd be preyer and compassion of man ys deth y made this tretis; and for any thyng let blode by tyme for taryyng makyt perell. Explicit iste tractatus. Amen.”

4. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.*, No. 1444. 4to. 15th cent.

No. 6. f. 67—76. “Here begynnithe a solempne doctrine and oponlie proved, made for trewe medicyne for the pestilence, by maister Joh’n de Burgeyne, otherwise called La Barbe, whiche bi the grace of Almyghti Godde certeynlie curithe and helpithe the seke yf thei use this medicyne as it is here after more openlye declared.”

“Firste ye shall undirstonde that this said tretyse, compiled and stodiode bi the seide maister

Joh'n de Burgeyne, processoure of phisik and of surgerye, citeisein of Legez the yere [&c., 1365] is departed unto your more understondynge in to iiij. chaptres.

Ends—"God Almightye whiche is souerayne surgeon phisician and leche above alle erthelye leches and maistres or medicynes, to whom I beseke it so to be. Amen. Explicit."

5. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.*, No. 1481.

Part. II., No. 1. f. 52-53^p. 15th cent.

It ends abruptly thus :—"Putteth the mater to his elensyng." The rest is lost.

This seems to be the same as Sloane MS., 965. Supra, C. No. 2.

There is likewise an abridged translation of this treatise, of which there are several copies.

6. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.*, 3566. See above, A. No. 2.

f. 88-101. The colophon is "Explicit tractatus Johannis de Barba vel Johannis de Burdegalia Editus contra morbum pestilentiale et est morbus Epidemialis Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^o nonagesimo."

7. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.*, 2320. 4to. vellum : 16th cent.

No. 6. f. 13^b-16. An abridged version of the larger treatise. Similar to C. No. 6.

Tractatus Johannis de Barba alias dicti Johannis de Burdegalia extractus; in lingua Anglicana contra morbum pestilenciam sive epidemialem.

Begins—"This Clerc seithe in the first chapter that for the default of good rulyng and dyeting in mete and drynke, men fallen often into this sickness."

8. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.*, 3489. paper, folio : 15th cent.

f. 44. "Here bigynnes a trefy that is nedefull and necessarie agenst the pestilens that nowe is regnand, the which trefy gadered and sette togidre on English a master of diuinite of the ordre of Frere Prechoures, master Thomas Hutton of diuerse doctors of phisik, where thay treted of the mater of Pestilence."

This is substantially a translation of the smaller treatise with something from the larger. The writer adds several prescriptions of his own. Speaking of one of them, he says :—f. 49^b. "And shal I tel ye howe and in al practiaingges in phisik this xviiiij yere wist y but neuer faile but twies."

9. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.* 1400.

f. 8. A fragment of a book on the Pestilence.

This is apparently de Burgundia's work.

D.—TRANSLATIONS OF THE SMALLER TREATISE.

1. *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*. The Register of the Abbey of Kelso, vol. II., p. 448 (Bannatyne Club.)

This had been previously printed by Mr. W. B. D. D. Turnbull in his *Fragmenta Scotomonastica*, p. xcii. (Edinburgh, 1842.)

"A nobyl trefy agayne ye Pestilens. Her begynns a nobyl trefy made of a gud phisician John of Burdouse for medicene agayne ye pestilens jwvll."

2. *Brit. Mus., Cotton MS.* Caligula A. II., paper.

f. 65^b.—"For pestilence. Hyr begynnes a noble trefys made of gode fysician John the Burdoux for medycynie agayne ye euyll of Pestylence : And hyt departyd in iiij partys. The fyrst tellys how a mon shall kepe hym in ye tyme of pestylence yt he be nott onfecte yr wyth. The seconde tellys how ye sekenys comes. The thyrd tellys what medycyn ys agaynes ye euyll. The furthe tellys how he shall be kept in hyt. In the first part says ye Clerk yt for ye fault of good rewlynge and dyetyne in metys and drynkes men fallow in to ye sekynes when pestylens raynes in cuntre. A mon yt wyll be kepit fro thys ought hym neds to kepe hym fro all maner excessys and

outrage of mete and drynke ne use no bathes ne swete nott mykyll for thes open ye pores of a man's body and makes ye venomous ayr to enter and destroyes ye lyfe spyrytes in a man and enfebles ye body."

3. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 706. 4to. paper: 14th cent.
No. 11. f. 104-106.—"Here begynneth a noble tretyse made of a good phisician John of Burdewes for medicynes agens the pestilence yuylle and it is departyd in iiij partys."
4. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 963. Sm. 4to. paper: 15th cent.
No. 9. f. 55^b-59.—The same as above, D. No. 3.
5. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 2320. 4to. vellum: 16th cent., Supra C. No. 7.
No. 7. f. 16-17^b.—The same as above, D. No. 3.
6. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 983. 4to. paper: 15th cent.
No. 2. f. 37^b-39.—"Here begynnes a nobulle tretise that made a fescioun John of Burdeoux for medicine agans the pestylence."
7. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 1764. 4to. vellum: 15th cent.
No. 4. f. 5-6.—"Here begynneth a noble tretyse made of a good phisician John of Burdewes for medicines ageyn the pestilence yvyllle."
8. *Oxford, Rawlinson MS.* 429. No. 12. 4to. paper: end of 14th or beginning of 15th century.
Begins—"Here begyns a nobyll tretys made of gude fisycyane John of Burdewes for medicyn agayne the pestilens yvell."
Ends—"Explicit tractatus Johannis de Barba vel Johannis de Burdigal," &c.
9. *Oxford, Ashmolean MS.* 1481. Supra C. No. 5.
Portion D. of MS. No. 1, 15th cent. f. 21-23.—"Here begynnes a nobille tretys made of a nobille fisicyane Joh'n of Burd eux for medecyne agayne ye pestilence eville: And it es departed in iiij partyse. The first tellys how a manne salle kepe hym in tyme of pestilence yat he falle nocht in yat sekene.
Ends—"For yer es no sekene yanne yer es helpe and remedy for it in kynde and it be done in tyme. Explicit tractatus optimus sub compendio, editus per Johannem Burdeux peritum medicum contra morbum pestilencie."
10. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 2507. 4to. paper: 16th cent.
f. 10.—"A noble tretys or Rewle to preserve a man or woman from the infection of the plague or pestilence, and when any man hath yt to be cured of yt, set forth in 4 chapters following sett down or made by the Noble phisysion John of Burgon."
This is a translation of the text in the Black Book of Paisley. It is an independent version and not a transcript of the other translation.
11. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS.* 3489. Supra C. 8.
12. *Brit. Mus., Egerton MS.* 2572, fol. vellum: 15th cent.
No. 10. f. 67-69.—"Here begynnes a nobyll tretes mayd of a nobyll fessisione Johne of Burdus for medicine agayne the pestilence. And it is partide in iij partes."
Ends—"And reule them eftir the techynge of this tretes thoro the grace of Gode he shall be helpyde of his sicknes. Amen."
This MS. is the Guild Book of the Barber Surgeons of the City of York made (or at least begun) in the year 1486.
13. *Brit. Mus., Egerton MS.* 2433. Paper sm. 4to: 15th cent.
No. 4. f. 41-43.—"Here begynns a tretys of surgere after Galyan ye gude leghe and he compellys ye boke owt of latyne into ynglis becaus he had a gud frend y^t vnderstod no latyn. And y^t tretes tellys of ye pestelens q^{ch} tretes is dewydyd in iiij partys."

Ends—"For y^e is no sicknes in kynd bot y^e is a medecyn in kynd to put y^e away qⁱ ye grace of Godd qui scripsit Brunfyld, Amen q. Galyen ye God leche."

This MS. contains the Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy, which is also in Sloane MS., 965 at f. 143, b. Supra C. 2.

E.—ABRIDGEMENTS.

There are several manuscripts, of what seems to be an abridgment of the smaller treatise with something taken from the larger, although not under the name of John de Burgundia.

1. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 3566.* Supra A. No. 2; C. No. 6.

f. 101^v-112.—"Incipit quidam exhortatio bona contra morbum pestilentialem."

"Dilectissime frater ut intelligi multum times pro instanti pestilentia quasi in ipas es mortuus et non evasurus scilicet modice fidei non dubitare nimmo omnem auferas timorem." &c.

2. *Brit. Mus., Arundel MS. No. 334, sm. 4to. vellum:* 15th cent.

f. 49-53.—"In hac autem Epistola ostenditur quomodo homo se debeat servare variis modis contra aerem pestilentialem et primo datur consilium ad vitam corrigendam ut patet."

Begins "Dilectissimi fratres," as in E. No. 1.

No Colophon.

3. *Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 2320, Supra C. No. 7.*

No. 8, f. 17^v-18^v.—"Dilectissimi fratres," as in E. No. 1.

4. *Bodleian, Digby MS. 196.* Paper, folio: 15th cent.¹

No. 63, f. 94^v.—"Dilectissime frater ut intelligi multum times tibi pro instanti pestilentia quasi in ipas sis mortuus."

5. *Mostyn MS. 221.* 8vo. paper.²

Liber de iudiciis urinae—"Dilectissime frater ut intelligi multum times pro instanti pestilentia."

Followed by an English translation, circa 1400. See Supra A, No. 5.

THE GOVERNAYLE OF HEALTH AND THESAURUS PAUPERUM.

John de Burgundia is also credited in one manuscript with the authorship of the original of the "Governayle of Health," printed by Caxton circa 1491, and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Blades in 1856. In Sloane MS. No. 969 (*Brit. Mus.*) there is a copy of that work with this colophon (f. 133^v):—"And here endeth this treatyse. This lytel booke compiled a worthie clerke called John de Burdeux, for a frende that he had efter the descripcion of mani oder diuerse doctours, that is to saye, Bernarde, Austyn, Plato, Tholome, Sidrac, Arystotell, Auycen, Galyen, and Ypocras among oder diuise according to the same."

As above mentioned, *Borgondio* of Pisa translated Galen de regimine sanitatis, of which there are several MSS. One is in the Library of St. Mark, Venice, and another in the British Museum, Addl.

¹ Macray Catalogue MSS., Bibl. Bodl., Par. IX. (Oxford, 1883).

² 4th Report Hist. MSS. Comm., p. 359.

³ The title is—"In this litil treteis that is callid Governale of helth, sum what shortly is to be seide of thynges that longya to heflylly helth lost and to be reconered by the grace of Ged: and it is departed in 28 chapetirs: " Begins—"It nedith hym that wil lyue longe to knowe crafte of holsome gouernayle." See Mostyn MS., 105—"Tractatus de regimine sanitatis per magistrum bernardum de gurdoua [burgundia or bernardum de Gordonio?] Anno Domini M^oCCO^o 4^o." (Hist. MSS. Comm., IV., p. 351.) In Digby MS. 95 (*Bodleian*, Oxford) of the 16th century the Liber de conservanda Sanitate; the Governayle; and a Tractatus de pestilentia stand together.

MS. 22, 669 (fol. vellum, 14th cent.), *De ingenio sanitatis*. The colophon to the letter is:—
 “Explicit quod deficiat hic prius de translatione Burgundionis huius quartidecimi terrapeutice facultatis complete translatum per Magistrum Petrum Paduanum.” This refers to the translation of Galen by John de Burgundio, but the connection of Burgundio with a *Regimen Sanitatis* probably led some careless or ignorant copyist to assume that it was de Burgundia. In many of the MSS. of the “*Regimen Sanitatis*” it is ascribed to John de Tholeto, A.D. 1285.¹ It corresponds very much with the so-called Letter by Aristotle to Alexander the Great, “*De Sanitate tuenda*,” a Latin translation of which is ascribed to Joannes Hispalensis s. Hispanensis² (Burney MS. 350, and 360, Brit. Mus.; Sloane MS. 405, No. 3, f. 23^b; Sloane MS., 420, No. 20; Arundel MSS., 123 and 459, Exeter College, Oxford, MS. 35, No. 10. There are many MSS. of this letter in the British Museum, Sloane MS. 3566, f. 38 [Supra, A. No. 2, C. No. 6, E. No. 1]; Sloane MS. 282, f. 123; Arundel MS. 185, f. 1; Sloane MS. 59, No. 14; Sloane MS. 783, B. f. 209; Sloane MS. 2320, No. 4, f. 10^b. Digby MS. 228, No. 14 (Bodleian, Oxford). It is also printed under the title *Secretus Secretorum*, Paris, 12mo, 1520; translated into English, London, 4to, 1528.

There is likewise attributed to de Burgundia in Sloane MS., 2507, (No. 2. at f. 7.) [Supra, D. No. 10.] a collection of short prescriptions for various ailments under the title of “*Thesaurus Pauperum*,”³—“Here begins the noble book of phisicke and surgery called ‘*Thesaurus Pauperum*,’ containinge divers and sondrye good and approved mediaines, oyntments and playsters, approved and ministered by divers of great learninge and experienced phisicians, and cirurgians bothe of Athens, Greece and other places taken owte of an old booke being written hand as followeth, made by a noble phisician cally’d John of Burgoyne or otherwise called La Barbe in the yere of Lord God 1327, in the last and first yeres of King Edward the thirde and King Richard the second.” [Edward II. and Edward III. ?] Although bearing the same title, this book is different from the well-known “*Thesaurus Pauperum*” of Petrus Hispanus, afterwards Pope John XXII., which was translated into English by Humphrey Lloyd under the title, “*The Treasury of Health*.” In Sloane MS. No. 3489 (f. 1.) a similar collection is attributed to one Friar Randolph.

In connection with the Black Book of Paisley and other MSS. of the *Scotichronicon*, it is of interest to note that Magnus Makculloch transcribed the *Regimen Sanitatis* of Salerno for Lord Borthwick, at Leith, in 1487. (4th Report, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 351.)

JOHN DE BURGUNDIA, OTHERWISE SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.

Since the foregoing was printed, a letter has been published⁴ by Mr. Edward B. Nicholson, which throws new light upon John de Burgundia. Mr. Nicholson suggests that he was the author of the *Travels* which pass under the name of Mandeville, Jehan de Mandeville being a feigned name, representing none other than de Burgundia. In his article upon Mandeville in the *Encyclopædia*

¹ See Arundel MS. 334, f. 49; Sloane MS. 148, f. 63; Sloane MS. 406, f. 25^b. Exeter College, Oxford, MS. 35, No. 21; Ashmolean MS., Oxford, 1434, No. 2. In the library of Pembroke College, Oxford, there is a MS. “*Summa de felicitate conservanda, a Magistro Johanne de Coletto*.” (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, VI., p. 550.)

² This Joannes Hispalensis is a different person from the Archbishop the reputed translator of the Bible into Arabic. See Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, Vol. II., p. 370. (Matriti, 1788.) He translated *Mesechalla de significatione planetarum*. Digby MS. 228, No. 24, Bodleian Oxford. Perhaps John de Tolete and Joannes Hispalensis are different names for the same person.

³ There is a *Thesaurus Pauperum* amongst the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury appended to a copy of the *Lilium Medicinæ* of Bernard de Gordon. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, V., p. 294.

⁴ *The Academy*, 12th April, 1884, p. 261.

Britannica,¹ Mr. Nicholson put the question whether de Burgundia might not have written the *Travels*, and now brings evidence to answer his question in the affirmative.

In the sixteenth century there was a tomb in the Abbey of the Guilelmites, Liège, now pulled down, said to be that of Mandeville. There were two inscriptions upon it, the one in French,² the other in Latin. According to the latter, he died at Liège on 17th November, 1371, and was "aliter dictus ad Barbam, miles, dominus de Campdi, . . . Medicine professor, devotissimus orator."³

In the early Latin edition of the *Travels*, in 50 chapters, the writer says (c. vii.) that, when residing at the Court of the Sultan, he saw there a venerable and skilful physician, a native of his own country, but only conversed with him at rare times, as they were differently employed. "Long afterwards, however, in Liège, at the exhortation and with the help (*hortatu et adiutorio*) of the same venerable man, I composed this treatise, as I will more fully narrate at the end of this work." The last chapter (c. L) bears the title "De compositione tractatus in civitate Leodiense," and then he explains that, as he was returning home in 1355, he arrived⁴ at Liège, where he was laid up with weakness and gout in the street called Bassesaunenyr.⁵ "I consulted several physicians of the town, and it happened, by the providence of God, that one came, venerable beyond the others by his age and white hairs, and in his art evidently expert, who was called Johannes ad Barbam."⁶ A chance remark of the latter caused the renewal of the old acquaintance which they had at Cairo. After showing his medical skill on the patient, he earnestly exhorted and prayed him to write his travels. "And thus at length, with his advice and assistance (*monitu et adiutorio*), that treatise has been composed, of which, in truth, I had proposed to write nothing until, at least, I had reached my own parts in England."⁷

¹ New (9th) Edition, s. v. Mandeville.

² This is quoted by Pits De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 512 (Paris, 1619).

³ The Epitaph is quoted in full, from Ortelius, *Itinerarium Belgicæ*, p. 16, in Hakluyt's *voyages*, ii. p. 77 (4to, London, 1810), and in the 1725 Edition of the *Travels* in English—reprint 1869, p. xxiv. The Abbé Lambinet, writing in 1799, says that he had seen the tomb, and gives a copy of the Latin Epitaph as taken by himself. The date of Mandeville's death he gives as 17th November, 1372. *Recherches sur l'origine de l'imprimerie*, p. 302. A copy of the Epitaph is in Cole's *Collections*, vol. VII. (Add. MS., Brit. Mus. 5808 at f. 99).

⁴ Edition No. 3 *infra* reads *pervenissem*—editions 1 and 2, *permansissem*.

⁵ Edition No. 3 reads *Bassesanemi*; editions 1 and 2, *Bassesaunenyr*. The Bodleian MSS., *Bassesanenir* and *Bassesanonir*. The Harleian MS. (*infra*) *Bassesa veinre*.

⁶ The Harleian MS. adds "vel de Barba."

⁷ There are three early editions of the Latin text in 50 chapters (1) *Itinerarius domini Johannis de mandeville militis*. Sm. 4to, s. l. et a. Double columns of 30 lines each; signatures a, i. iij; Grenville Library (Brit. Mus.) 6700. (2) *Johannis de Monte Villa Itinerarius in partes Iherosolimitanas; et in ultiores transmarinas* sm. 4to, s. l. et a. (48 leaves, sig. a, i. to i., iiii, 37 lines to the page). No colophon. Advocates Library, British Museum and Grenville Library (British Museum), 6699. There is a 3rd edition also sm. 4to, s. l. et a. (62 leaves first blank, sig. a—h, 3) with no title, but with a colophon: "Explicit itinerarius a terra Anglie in partes Ierosolimitanas et in alteriores transmarinas editus primo in lingua gallicana a domino Johanne de Mandeville milite suo auctore Anno incarnationis domini MCCCLV. in civitate Leodiensi et paulo post in eadem civitate translatus in dictâ formâ Latinâ; Quod opus ubi inceptum simul et completum sit ipsa elementa seu singularum seorsum characteres literarum quibus impressum vides Venetica monstrant manifesto." Copies are in the Advocates Library, Grenville Library, and British Museum (the latter wants the blank leaf at the beginning), to which are appended the *Travels of Ludolphus de Sachen*, as Brunet says is generally the case. According to Abbé Lambinet, this edition was printed at Antwerp by Thierry Markus. *Recherches sur l'origine de l'imprimerie*, p. 299; but see Graesse, *Tresor*, s. v. Mandeville. Harleian MS. (Brit. Mus.) 3589, f. 74-143, contains both the *Itinerarius* of Mandeville in 50 chapters, and the *Travels* of Ludolph, as in the above printed edition:—"Itinerarius magistri Johannis de Mandeville ad partes Iherosolimitanas et ad ultiores partes transmarinas qui obiit Leodii Anno dm MCCCLXXXII." The passage in which the meeting with Johannes ad Barbam is first mentioned is in the MS. c. viii., not c. vii. as in the *priu* ted text. This early abridged edition is reprinted Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. II., p. 77-188 (Lond., 1810).

Such was the information which Mr. Nicholson had before him when he wrote his *Encyclopædia* article. In the *Academy* he gives the following confirmatory passage from the fourth part of *Johain d'Outremouse's* chronicle taken from a MS. in the library of St. Laurent-lez-Liège, as preserved by Lefort:—"L'an m.ccc.lxxii., mourut à Liège le 12 nov. un homme fort distingué par sa naissance, content de s'y faire connoître sous le nom de Jean de Bourgogne dit à la Barbe ; il s'ouvrit néanmoins au lit de la mort à la mort à Jean d'Outremouse son compère et institué son exécuteur testamentaire. De vray il se titra dans le précis de sa dernière volonté messire Jean de Mandeville, chevalier, comte de Monfort en Angleterre et seigneur de l'Isle de Campdi et du château Pérouse. Ayant cependant eu le malheur de tuer en son pays un compte qu'il ne nomme pas, il s'engagea à parcourir les trois parties du monde, vint à Liège en 1343 ; tout sorti qu'il étoit d'une noblesse très-distinguée, il aima de s'y tenir caché. Il étoit au reste grand naturaliste, profond philosophe et astrologue, y joint en particulier une connaissance très-singulière de la physique, se trompant rarement lorsqu'il disoit son sentiment à l'égard d'un malade, s'il en reviendroit ou pas, etc." (Lefort, Vol. XXVII. p. 102).

There is here the statement by a contemporary writer of the identity of John de Burgundia and John de Mandeville. The latter, it is said, is the real, the former an assumed name, and a reason for the change is given. The question arises, is the story true? Mr. Nicholson says No! and in this I agree. He rejects, however, his English origin, but in this I cannot follow him. I had previously come to the conclusion that John de Burgundia was an Englishman, and that he himself was the author of the English version of the treatise de Pestilentia, and the additional information, strengthens the impression—I cannot put it higher. Whatever was his nationality, he was highly popular as a medical authority in England, and more MSS. of his medical writings are to be found in Great Britain than elsewhere. He died at Liège in 1371 or 1372.¹ He was resident there, and was practising as a physician at the time of the plague in 1365. According to the Latin abridgement of the Travels, he arrived there after his journeyings in 1355. According to d'Outremouse, he originally settled there in 1343. He was buried at Liège, and on the tomb erected in that town his epitaph bears that he was born in England. No doubt this was his own story, but it was believed by the people of the place, who must, at any rate, have looked upon him as a foreigner. By his own account he was born at St. Albans.² Within half a century of his death Thomas of Walsingham, precentor of the Abbey, enrols him amongst the notables of the town. "Dominus Johannes de Mandevile, miles, pervagator pene totius orbis, et in multis bellis contra nostrae fidei adversarios lacessitus, sed minime fatigatus, librum composuit gallice de hiis quaecunque videt, hic in villa de Sancto Albano materno utero fusus est."³ This is probably taken from the Travels, but, even in that uncritical age, a writer such as Walsingham would scarcely have adopted it unless he had some further grounds for believing it. It must have been perfectly well known at St. Albans whether it was true.⁴

¹ In Harleian MS. 3689, as will be observed the date is given 1382, but this is doubtless a clerical error for 1372.

² Sloane MS. 1464 (15th century) contains (f. 1-161) the French version of the Travels. There is a note, f. 161 b. on another St. Alban in Germany.

³ *Annales Monas. S. Albani, Johannis Anundesham II.*, p. 306 (Rolls Series). See also II., p. 331. In a note, p. 296, the authorship of the tract from which the above quotation is taken, is ascribed to Thomas Walsingham. As to Walsingham's era, see *Walsingham Hist. Anglicana*, II., p. xx. (Rolls Series).

⁴ If there is a doubt as to his nationality, perhaps after all we may claim it for Scotland, as in 1296 one John de Mundeville was parson of Moffat in Dumfriesshire (*Chalmers' Caledonia*, III. p. 182).

Jöcher¹ gives Manduith as a variant of Mandeville, and adds that, for some unexplained circumstance, he was known as ad Barbam, and also Magnovillanus.² He says he practised medicine and wrote

Tabulae astronomicae,
De chorda recta et umbra,
De doctrina theologica.

He refers as an authority to Leland's Collectanea, who mentions, Tabula Manduith de corde recta et umbra;³ and Mandut, bonus astronomus qui tabulas in astronomica composuit et medicina.⁴ There are several alchemical MSS. at Oxford by Joannes de Magna Villa;⁵ and Tanner mentions that there was extant at Antwerp, in 1564, a work by Mandeville de re medica.⁶ Bale says (cent. 6) that Sir John Mandeuil, after having grounded himself in religion, "applied his studies to the arte of Physicke, a profession worthy a noble wit."

To Mandeville there is ascribed a Lapidarium or treatise on precious stones, *Le Lapidaire en Francoys* compose par messire Jehan de Mandeuille, cheualier,⁷ said to be translated from the Latin original of the author. The Latin text is not known to exist, but it is mentioned in a manuscript work by d'Oultremouse, in a passage quoted by Mr. Nicholson.

Sir John Mandeville, or, as we should now say, John de Burgundia, long enjoyed the title "father of English prose," as the reputed author of the quaint old English version of the Travels, but Mr. Nicholson and others⁸ would strip him of the honour on the ground that the translation has been attributed to him in error. But the argument upon which they principally rely, that the current Latin and English texts do not agree, and that there are mistakes of translation in the English version, is not conclusive.

John de Burgundia had a strange desire to publish his writings in many forms. We have the treatise *De pestilentia* in full and abridged, in Latin and English. May the same thing not have occurred in reference to the travels? They were written in Latin, and translated into English and French, and were also issued in an abridged form. The fashion of the day was to produce varieties not replicas, and is illustrated by the history of the *Scotichronicon*, of which there is the full text, varying more or less in each MS.; the abridgement of the *Book of Cupar*, the *Carthusian MS.* and others; while if Bower had executed a translation it would certainly have differed from all of them.

¹ Jöcher, *Gelehrten Lexicon* s.v. Mandeville.

² See also Fabricius *Bibliotheca Med. et. Inf. Latinitatis*, Vol. IV., p. 100 (Patavii, 1754). In the early Latin edition, No. 2 *Supra*, he is styled Joannes de Monte Villa, and this is repeated in the German translation of 1481.

³ Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne IV., p. 20.

⁴ *Ib.* IV., p. 55. There is a fuller list in Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 506. See also *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. III., No. 1572, p. 214.

⁵ *Ashmolean MSS.* 1407, No. 106 (II. f. 51, b); 1441, No. 6 (f. 25-28); 1479, No. 36.

⁶ Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, f. 106. No mention, however, of such a MS. occurs in Mertens' *Bibliotheca Antverpiensis* (Anvers, 1843-46, 2 vols 8vo).

⁷ Lyons s.a. Reprinted 12mo, Paris, 1561, under the title *Le grand lapidaire, où sont déclarez les noms de pierres orientales avec les vertus et propriétés d'icelles, et les isles et pays où elles croissent*. Again reprinted and edited with notes by Ia. del Sotto (8vo, Vienne, 1862).

⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *ut supra*.

LITERATURE OF THE PLAGUE OR PESTILENCE.

The literature of the Pestilence¹ is very extensive and occupied a prominent place in the Medical Library a few centuries ago. In the British Museum a large collection of works upon the subject will be found under the Press mark, 1167, d.-f. The great authority in the Middle Ages was Avicenna who treats of the subject in the fourth Canon, Fen 1, Tract 4. (Works, Venet. 1608, fol. ii., p. 67, *et seq.*) One of the most popular treatises was the "Regimen contra pestilentiam," generally ascribed to Canutus or Kanutus, or Knuds as he is styled by Bruun, Bishop of Aarhus in Denmark, which passed through many editions and has found translators in various languages.² There is a tract in Sloane MS., 3124, f. 61-66, which substantially corresponds with this treatise,³ in which the authorship is ascribed not to Kanutus but to Joannes Jacobi of Montpellier,⁴ Master of Arts, who was Chancellor of the Medical Faculty in that University and the author of several Medical Treatises.⁵ But whoever the author was he appears to have been resident at Montpellier. In the manuscripts bearing the name of the Bishop of Aarhus, the writer remarks:—"In Monte autem Pessulano communitatem non potui quia transiui de domo ad domum curando infirmos causa paupertatis mee." This passage is omitted in the Sloane MS., although the title connects it with the place.

There is an early Lyons print, "Regime contre la pestillance fait et composé de la cité de Balle en Allemagne,"⁶ which is much the same as the Regimen of Kanutus.

In an English version of the Regimen (Sloane MS., 404, f. 282-293), the Colophon ascribes the authorship to "the Lorde Kanutte, Byshope of Arusiensis cite in ye kyngdome of Dacia the which was very experte in the science physical."

The Regimen itself has been often printed, 1470, 1485,⁷ 4to, and subsequent dates.

The English translation was published by W. Machlinia,—“A passing gode lityll boke necessary and behovefull agenst the pestilence.”⁸

In Add. MS. 27,582, British Museum, there is a Treatise f. 70-82, on "Venymes feuer of pestilens," by Thomas Forrestier, a Norman physician resident in England, which is dedicated to Henry VII. It is referred to in a larger treatise on the same subject which was published at Rouen in 1490, and which was also translated into French, and published at the same place in 1495.⁹

¹ There is a history of Epidemic Pestilences by Edward Bascombe. 8vo, London, 1851. See also Fodere, on the Pestilence in the Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales, LI., p. 81. Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Impériale.—Catalogue des Sciences Médicales. II., p. 670, 676 sqq.

² For the bibliography of the Regimen see Brunn (C. W.) Aarsberetninger, p. 82, *et seq.* (Copenhagen, 1866); Graesse, Trésor de livres rares. Supplement, s.v., Canutus. Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum. No. 9752, *et seq.*

³ In the same MS., f. 66-70, there is yet another "Tractatus de regimine contra Impediarum et Pestilentiarum mortalitatem," which in the main corresponds with the preceding.

⁴ There is a manuscript in the Magliabecchi Library, Florence, (MS. Class. xv., 7, 192, paper, 15th cent.) which seems to be a transcript of the same work. The author f. 4b refers to himself as, "Jo. de Ja."

⁵ See Catalogus Cod. MSS. Bibl. Reg. (Paris, 1744). Part III. Tom. IV. No. 6957, 6988. (Secretarius practice medicine; Tractatus de Pestilentia). He is referred to in c. 6 of Insigne Opus de Epidemia compositum a . . . Jacobo Toldo, . . . 4to, 1490, [Florence].

⁶ See Graesse. Trésor, s. v. Regimen.

⁷ There are in the Grenville Library (British Museum) two Editions, Antwerp, 1485. In both, the authorship is ascribed to Kanutus [or Canutus] bishop of Arusia [Aarhus].

⁸ Some of the editions of the English version are given in Lowndes s.v., Pestilence. British Museum Catalogue, s.v., Canutus.

⁹ Graesse, ut supra, s.v., Forrestier.

Benedict of Nursia was the author of a treatise ' not unlike that of John de Burgundia, and this has been repeatedly printed,' and has likewise been translated into English. "A compendius trete of the excellent and worahypfulle master of physye aboute halle otherus prince of his age Master Benedicte of Nursia, phisician and senator of the Duke of Anguerie."³

Benedict was likewise the author of a Regimen Sanitatis, bearing the title Libellus de Conservatione sanitatis. Of this there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library.⁴

Valastus de Tarenta wrote a tract de Epidemia et Peste, which was printed as early as 1475,⁵ and often subsequently, and has also been translated into French.⁶

Petrus Maynardus was the author of a treatise De Preservatione Hominum a Pestifero Morbo, which was printed about 1495. There is a Tractatus de Pestilentia by Jacobus Salicetus *dicitur* Mechinger, printed in 1501.

In the Magliabecchi Library, Florence, there are several MS. works on the subject⁷: and amongst the MSS. in the British Museum there are a considerable number besides those already mentioned.⁸

St. Sebastian was the guardian against the plague,⁹ and in Sloane MS., 775, f. 51^b, is Oratio ad S. Sebastianum contra pestem.

Paul the Deacon mentions that the plague was on one occasion depopulating certain parts of Italy, when it was revealed to a certain person that it would not stay until an altar was erected to St. Sebastian in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula. This was done, and the plague abated.¹⁰

In the Vale of Leven, in the parish of Cardross, Dumbartonshire, there is a place called St. Sebastian, which may commemorate a visitation of the plague.

There was an altar to St. Sebastian in the Cathedral of Brechin.

NOTE C.—DECREET RESPECTING THE BLACK BOOK OF PAISLEY.

See page 49.

Vicesimo Nono Martij, anno 1574. Our souerane lordis letrez purchest at ye instance of Claud Hammiltoun, commendator of P... convent thairof, aganis Robert Lord Symple, makand mentiois that quhair in ye lait... east ye said Rôbert Symple obtenit and gat in his handis ye... seill of ye said A... est ye half thairof, quhilk wes kepit of befor be ye priour and... ogidder with... the Blak Buik of Pasley, the register buik of Pasley, quha... mit the register of all fewis and takkis at the leist the maist pairt thairof of qu... landis, kirkis... thridis sett of the said... quhilk the said Lord zit hes... and koping... d thame and hes fraud... distroyit and put thame away, ... the samin pe... dis complenaris and... should be deliuerit

Register of Acts & Decrees, Vol. 54, Feb. 19, 1573, May 20, 1574, folio 220.

It is quoted in... (4to Magdeburg, 1569).
 * See De... (de feu M, la doc de... Part., Vol. I, No...
 1715, (Paris, ...
 † Sloane MS. ...
 ‡ Catalogue...
 § In the British...
 ¶ was translated...
 †† printed Latin...
 ‡‡ Hain, S...
 §§ MS. Cl...
 ¶¶ See Slo...
 Additional...
 ††† 150; Kops...

... 6; 50, No. 10; 75, No. 10; ... 65; Egerton MSS., 1624; ... p. 260.

to thame to be kept and vsit be thame as thair propir sele and bukis at thair plesour in tyme cuming, nochttheles the said Robert Lord Symple on navise will deliver the samin to thame without he be compellit and anent the charge gevin to the said Robert Lord Symple to haif deliuerit the said commoun seill at the lest the half thairof vnbroikit and vndistroyit, togidder with the bukis respectie forsaidis hail in thame selfis, vnrasit, vncancelat, vnriuen, vnalterit and vndistroyit als gud as thai wer the tyme of his intromission thairwith to the saidis complenaris to be kept and vsit be thame at thair plesour in tyme cuming, within sex dayis nixt efter the charge ; Or ellis to haif exhibit and producit the samin befor the saidis lordis at ane certane day thairefter, or ellis to haif allegit ane reasonable caus quhy the samin suld nocht haif bene done as at mair lenth is contenit in the principale lettrez rasit in the said mater actis lettrez and hail proces led and deducit thairupon ; The said Claud, commendator of Paeley and convent thairof, comperand be master David McGill, thair procuratour, and the said Robert Lord Symple, comperand be master Henry Kynros, his procuratour, all thair rychtis, ressonis, etc., togidder with the depositionis of diuers famous witnessis, ressaunit, admittit, sworn and examinat, producit for the part of the said commendator, and convent hard sene and vnderstand, and the saidis Lordis thairwith being riple avisit : The lordis of counsalle decernis and ordanis letrez to be direct simpliciter, chargeing the said Robert Lord Symple to deliuer the said common seil at the lest the half thairof forsaid vnbroikin, vndestroyit, togidder with the bukis respectie forsaidis hail in thame selfis, vnrasit, vncancellat, vnriuin, vnalterit and vndestroyit, als gud as thai wer the tyme of thair intromission thairwith to the said commendator and convent, to be kept and vsit be thame at thair plesour in tyme cuming. Becaus the said Robert Lord Symple was lauchtfullie summond to haif comperet befor the saidis lordis at ane certane day of lang tyme, bipast to haif had and sene lettrez direct vpon him to the effect foirsaid, or ellis to haif allegit ane reasonable caus quhy the samin suld nocht haif bene done with certification to him and he falzeit thairin, the saidis lordis wald decern in maner forsaid, and he comperand be the said master Henry Kynros, his procuratour, denyit that he othter had hes or hes fraudfullie put away the saidis rentale buik register buk and seill, and thairefter diuers termes being assignit to the said commendator and convent for preving thairof, previt the samin sufficientlie lik as was clerlie vnderstand to the saidis lordis and siclik, becaus the said lord was in lik maner chargit of befor to haif deliuerit the said buik to the effect and in maner abone written, or ellis to haif allegit ane reasonable caus quhy the samin suld nocht haif bene done with certification, as said is, and he comperand be his said procuratour, soheve na reasonable caus in the caus in the contrarie lik as was clerlie vnderstand to the saidis lordis, and thairfor the saidis lordis descernit in maner forsaid, and ordanis letrez to be direct to the effect forsaid in form as offeris.

NOTE D.—CANON GIBSON AND JOHN GIBSON JUNIOR.

See page 64.

Of both Canon Gibson and John Gibson Junior, there are several notices in the Registers of Glasgow. In 1496 the former appears as Chamberlain of Glasgow, and Canon, (Reg. Episcop., Glasg., II. p. 2), and next year he is again mentioned. (Ib. II., p. 496.) On 10th May, 1503, he is a witness to a Notarial Act. Next year he appears as Master of Work of the Church of St. Kentigern, (Dioc. Registers, II., 72). In 1506 he had a dispute with John Lord Ros relative to the glebe (Ib. II., 132,) of Renfrew, which was settled by arbitration, (Ib. II., 132). In 1507 a tene-ment to the west of the Archbishop's Palace, and to the north of the manse of the Prebendary of

Govan, was granted to him and his successors in his stall,¹ (II., 190, 191, 192). In the following year he had a question with Sir John Alanson, Chaplain of the Chaplainry of Saint Convall and Saint Ninian, in the Church of Renfrew, who seems to have been neglecting his duties (II., 231). In 1508 he complains to the Vicars General of the Archbishop, who was then abroad, against Canon Colquhoun, that he had taken possession of part of the prebendal manse of Renfrew, (II., 256), and a month later that he had acted contrary to his oath of office, and to the statutes of the Chapter of Glasgow, (II., 239). Shortly afterwards news having come of the death of Archbishop Blackader while on a journey to Jerusalem to visit the Holy sepulchre, James Beaton was postulated Archbishop in his room, but our Canon protested, although ineffectually, that this should be delayed until the news of Archbishop Blackader's death was confirmed, (II., 233). On 3rd September, 1509, he was present when the new Archbishop declared that the Abbot of Paisley should enjoy the same privileges, exemptions, and immunities, in time to come, as the Abbots had enjoyed under former Archbishops, (II., 305). In 1510 he agreed to an increase of the stipend of the Vicar choral of his stall, which was then fixed at ten marks, (II., 352). On 6th August of the same year, in the Hospital of St. Nicholas, Glasgow, he took his wallet, cloak, cap, and staff, took leave of the bystanders, stating that for certain reasonable causes moving him thereto, he took his journey to his Holiness Pope Julius II., and the Holy Apostolic See, and committed himself, his prebend, and all his property, to the protection and defence of His Holiness and the Holy See, (II., 372). He seems to have fallen into trouble, as he was cited to appear before the Archbishop's Commissary on 23rd September, to see and hear himself declared to have incurred a mark of irregularity in having celebrated the communion while he was under censure, and to be deprived of his Canonry, (II., 375). He was, however, so ill that he could not attend, (II., 375, 376). On 9th December another Canon was instituted in his room, (II., 386, 388). He is again mentioned on 31st May, 1511, and this is the last notice we have of him.

On 13th February, 1507, John Gibson Junior, Chaplain, appointed Prebendary Gibson his procurator for certain purposes (II., 264,) and it seems probable that they were relatives. He is no doubt the same person as John Gibson, Notary Public. On Friday, 10th September, 1507, he, along with Canon Gibson, was present when a complaint was made by the Abbot and Convent of Paisley, (II., 214, 224). He seems to have been a Chaplain in the Cathedral of Glasgow, as John Gibson, Chaplain, Glasgow, appears in 1506 as a witness to a Charter. (Reg. Episcop. Glasg., II., p. 518).

NOTE E.—JOHN LAYNG, RECTOR OF KILPATRICK-JUXTA AND PARSON OF LUSS.

Master John Layng, whose name is written on the Abridgment of the Black Book of Paisley, was rector of Kilpatrick-Juxta, in the deanery of Annandale, in 1539. On Thursday, 16th October, of that year, he was present at a meeting of the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow, when a charter by the Abbot and Convent of Kilwinning, and others of certain gifts to the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne in Glasgow was confirmed.² In 1552 he was elected Dean of Faculty in the University of Glasgow; and in 1554 and 1555 he was re-elected.³ In the years 1556, 1557, and 1558, he was chosen Bursar.⁴

¹ Both houses were on the north side of the Rottenrow. The manse of the Rector of Renfrew is figured in Stuart's Views and Notices of Glasgow in former times, p. 18, plate V. After the Reformation it passed by purchase into the hands of Mr. John Bell, minister of Cardrose.

² Liber Collegii Nostre Domine, p. 60 (Maitland Club).

³ Munimenta Univ. Glasg., II., p. 298, 299; I., p. 59, 60.

⁴ *Ib.*, II., p. 176, 177.

In 1553, in addition to the living of Kilpatrick-Juxta, he was preferred to the perpetual vicarage of Dregarne or Dreghorn in the deanery of Kyle and Cunninghame ;¹ and in the following year he was elected a Canon of Glasgow with the prebend of Luss.²

In 1556 he mortified a house and garden in the Rottenrow of Glasgow³ as a mansion for the prebends of Luss, to be held for the payment of six marks yearly to the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral, who were to be bound to say weekly masses for his soul, and that of his patron, John Colquhoun of Luss, and subject to the condition that the city bells should be tolled, and wax tapers burned on the anniversary of his decease.⁴

In 1559 he again appears as Dean of Faculty : and as one of the patrons of the Chaplainry of St. Michael the Archangel, founded by Thomas Leiss, sub-dean of Dunblane and Vicar of Dreghorn, and then held by John Davidson, principal Regent in the University.⁵

In 1558 he was appointed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was Primate of Scotland with the power of a legate a latere of the holy see, a commissioner, along with William Hamilton, a brother canon, and John Hamilton, sub-chancellor of Glasgow, to inquire into the advantages of a certain feu charter granted by the Commendator of Kilwinning, to Alexander Tarbart, of part of the abbey property, and to confirm it in terms of the canon law if satisfied of its verity.⁶ All parties interested having been cited to compare before the commissioners within the metropolitan church of Glasgow, in the aisle of St. Michael the Archangel, and no one appearing, decret of confirmation was granted in absence, on 18th July, 1562.⁷

In a dispensation by Archbishop Hamilton, as legate a latere, dated 3rd November, 1564, for the marriage of John Colquhoun of Luss, to Agnes, daughter of Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, Master John Laing, prebendary of Luss and canon of Glasgow, is one of the persons authorized to give the necessary licence : and on the 15th of the month he granted the dispensation.⁸ On 16th March, 1566, Queen Mary granted to the provost and community of Glasgow for the support of their ministers and the erection and endowment of hospitals, the whole property of the chaplains, altars and prebends of any church, chapel or college in Glasgow,⁹ a description which embraced the prebendal manse of Luss. In 1572 the town bestowed this gift upon the University and the benefaction was confirmed by James VI. in the same year.¹⁰ In 1575 the University obtained a decret against the tenants and occupiers of the property they had thus acquired for payment of the rents and feu duties which were due from it ;¹¹ as also an inhibition against diligations against chaplains and possessors of benefices.¹²

The manse of Luss was in 1573 in the occupancy of David Wemis, minister of Glasgow, and a litigation arose in 1578 between Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, and the University, respecting the rents. The latter as coming in place of the vicars of the choir was preferred to their six marks

¹ *Id.* p. 258.

² *Monumenta Univ. Glasg.* II. p. 299.

³ *Monumenta*, p. 29. *M. Univ. History of Glasgow*, p. 47 (Ed. 1886).

⁴ *The Church of Colquhoun*, I. p. 175 ; II. p. 51.

⁵ *Monumenta*, I. p. 61, 66. Another Chaplainry at this altar was founded by John Boston, which Davidson obtained in 1569. *Id.* p. 73-5.

⁶ See *Universitatis Glasg. Stat. Can.* II. tit. 27, p. 281, 282. Ed. Tulane, 1671.

⁷ *Archæology and Hist. Collections relating to the counties of Ayr and Wigorn.* I. p. 238.

⁸ *The Church of Colquhoun*, I. p. 124, 125 ; II. p. 51.

⁹ See *Colleg. Nove Fideium*, Appendix to Preface, No. III., p. lxxxii. *Monumenta*.

¹⁰ *Monumenta*, I. p. 62.

¹¹ *Id.* p. 64. *Id.* p. 65.

or £4 of annual rent, while Colquhoun in virtue of an infettment had decree for the balance of the rents.¹ What the warrant of the infettment was does not appear, but it must have proceeded from the prebendary.

In the Book of the Assumption of Thirds of Benefices, compiled from the returns made under the Act of 1561, the parsonage and vicarage of Luss are entered as held by the prebendary, Mr. John Layng, who reported that the revenues were let to John Colquhoun of Kilmardinny for £173 ls. 8d. ; out of which the parson paid to a vicar-pensioner 24 merks yearly for serving the church, and 5 merks to the See of Glasgow as procurage and synodals.² In 1563 there was an action in the Court of Session, at the instance of John Layng, parson of Luss, and John Colquhoun of Kilmardinny, his factor, against Malcolm Stevenson, with regard to a pension of 20 merks payable from the parish of Luss, which he claimed under an order of the Lords of Council. Layng states that "he has furneist and susteinit ministeris for reiding and edifeing of the parochinaris" of Luss yeirlie sen the alteratioune of the religioun."³

In 1564 he was still receiving the fruits of the benefice. Christian Erskine, the first wife of John Colquhoun, having died in that year—a very few months before his marriage with Lord Boyd's daughter—an inventory of her estate was given up. In this she is said to be owing "To Maister Johnne Laing, persoune of Luis, four chalder of teind meill, price of the boll xvi^s viii^d, summa fyftie-three pundis vi^s viii^d; Item to him for the lands of Dunfyn, aughtene bollis meill and sex firlottis beir, price of the boll of meill xvi^s viii^d, and of the boll of beir xx^s, summa xvi li. x^s."⁴

The parson died in December, 1571. As his will has some local interest, it is appended to this note. From it we learn that he had a brother Robert Layng, to whom he left a legacy of 5 merks, and another brother Andrew Layng, parson of Hoddom, whom he appointed one of his executors and residuary legatee. His other executor was John Layng, son of Alexander Layng. This Alexander had two other sons, Michael and Robert, and two daughters. Another Layng, Agnes, married Laurence Hog, and was now a widow with a family.

The Colquhouns of Luss were the patrons of the prebend of Luss,⁵ and were likewise interested in the living of Kilpatrick-Juxta, of which John Laing had been rector. In the deed by which he mortgaged his house and garden, he speaks of John Colquhoun as his patron. This may refer merely to their ecclesiastical relationship, but there seems to have been some further connection between the families.

The surname Laing occurs very frequently in the Colquhoun papers. Humphrey Laing appears as witness in nearly all the deeds granted by Sir John Colquhoun between the years 1494 and 1535.⁶ There is nothing to show what his position was, but there can be no doubt that he was in employment of Sir John in some capacity; and it seems almost certain that the rector of Luss was a son or near relative of this Humphrey.

There was another person bearing the same surname at this period, in whom the Luss family took a warm interest, and who, it may also be assumed, was a relative of Humphrey Layng and John the rector. This was James Laing.—On 30th August, 1534, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss addressed a letter to Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, in which he presented "James Laing,

¹ *Ib.*, pp. p. 99, 167.

² See Chalmers' *Caledonia*, III., p. 908.

³ 16th June, 1563. *Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session*, Vol. XXVII., p. 32. See at the end of this note.

⁴ *The Chiefs of Colquhoun*, II., p. 345.

⁵ *Registr. Episc. Glasg.*, p. 340.

⁶ *The Chiefs of Colquhoun*, II., p. 302-339.

Clerk, the bearer hereof, born in your diocese, imbued with letters, graced with good manners, legitimate by birth and free from all blemish or canonical impediment, and who may be gradually and lawfully promoted to all sacred orders, with a right to £10 to be raised and received annually from my lands of Colquhoun . . . until God from your paternity shall present him with a richer benefice, supplicating your paternity that from love or by my entreaty you will graciously vouchsafe to promote the said James by the imposition of your sacred hands to all orders not yet received by him according to the exigency of the times." Advancement, however, came but slowly, as sixteen years later he was merely a chaplain in Glasgow. On 20th July, 1560, Sir Umphra Colquhoun, rector or prebendary of Kilpatrick-Juxta, in the diocese of Glasgow, granted to Sir James Laing, chaplain, of the diocese of Glasgow, a procuratory for resigning all the rights and fruits of the rectory into the hands of the Archbishop of Glasgow, or his vicar-general having power to that effect, as into the hands of the true and undoubted patron.¹ This was probably an arrangement arising out of the troubles of the time, which caused the Archbishop himself in the same year to pass over to France.² Whatever the object may have been, Sir Umphra Colquhoun appears to have continued in possession, as in the Book of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices it is stated that he held the parsonage and vicarage teinds of Kilpatrick-Juxta, and let the former for £60 and the latter for £24 a year, and out of this income he allowed a vicar pensioner a stipend for serving the same.⁴ In 1567 Kilpatrick-Juxta was supplied by Mungo Neving as Reader.⁵

James Laing seems to have conformed to the Protestant doctrines, as in the same year he is found Reader at Luss.⁶ In 1564 he is entered in Christian Colquhoun's inventory as a creditor for £4.⁷ He continued apparently to act as Reader until 1572, when William Chirnsyde, translated from Blantyre, is entered as minister and parson.⁸ The change was not brought about by the death of the Reader, as in 1576 James Layng was witness to an infetment in which he is described as rector of Luss, along with Archibald Chirnsaide, son of the rector of Luss.⁹

JOHN LAING'S TESTAMENT AND INVENTORY.

Commissariot
of Edinburgh
Testaments.
Vol. 2.
17th October, 1572.
—
Mr. Johne Layng,
Persoune of Luss.

The Testament Testamentar and Inventare of the gudis,
geir, soumes of money, and dettis pertening to um-
quhile Maister Johne Layng, persoun of Luss, the
tyme of his deceis, quhilk was in the moneth of
December, the zeir of God j^m v^c lxxj zeris, ffaith-
fullie maid and gevin vp be him self vpoun the
twentie day of the moneth of Aprile, the zeir of
God foirsaid.

In the first, the said umquhile Maister Johne grantit him to haif the tyme of his deceis foir-

¹ The Chiefs of Colquhoun, I., p. 63 ; II., p. 336.
² *Ib.*, I., p. 107 ; II., p. 96.
³ See Register of the Privy Council, I., p. 172.
⁴ See Chalmers' Caledonia, III., p. 181.
⁵ Scott, Fasti Eccl. Scot. II., p. 653.
⁶ *Ib.*, Vol. III., p. 365.
⁷ The Chiefs of Colquhoun, II., p. 435.
⁸ Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scot., *ut supra*.
⁹ The Chiefs of Colquhoun, II., p. 192.

said the gudis, geir, soumes of money, and dettis following, pertaining to him as his awne proper gudis and geir, videlicet, in pois of numerat money ane hundreth threttie thre pundis vj^s viij^d. Item, in vtensilis and domicillis, estimat to fiftie pundis. Summa of the Inventar, j^c lxxxiiij^{lb} vj^s viij^d. Followis the dettis awing to the deid. Item, thair wes awing to him be Gawine, Commendator of Kilwynning, for his pensiou of the said Abbay of diuers zeirs preceeding, ane hundreth threscoir pundis. Item, be Patrik Hammiltoun of the Boigayde of borrowit money, threttene^{lb} vj^s viij^d. Item, be the said Patrik as sovertie and Johne Hammiltoun his bruther as principall, foure^{lb}. Item, be Adame Johnestoun of Bacok for the teinds of Kirkpatrik, sextene pund xiii^s iiiij^d as ane act in the officialis buikis beris. Item, be Alexander Hammiltoun in Bathcat for the vicarage of Bathcat, of the zers of God lxx. and lxxj. zers zeirlic, twenty-three lib.^s vj^d, viij^d, summa xlviij^{lb} xiiij^s iiiij^d. Item, be the said Patrik Hammiltoun, twentie-aucht bollis of aittis, price of the boll xvj^s viij^d, summa xxiiij^{lb} vj^s viij^d. Item, be the Laird of Lus, for the tendis of thre Roissis zeirlic, and ilk zeir of the zeirs of God lxiiij., lxiiiij., lxv., lxvj., lxvij., lxviij., lxix., lxx., lxxj., and lxxij. zers threttie tua bollis mele, price of the boll ouerheid xxvj^s viij^d, summa iiiij^c xxij^{lb}. xiiij^s iiiij^d. Item, be the tennentis and parochinaris of Lus, betuix the watteris of Douglas and Froune of the lxxj. zers crop lxxx.^{lb} Item, be the lard of Buchannan of the said crop, ten pundis. Item, the annet of the said personage and vicarage of the crop and zeir of God, j^m v^c lxxij. zers twa hundreth pundis. Item be the tennentis of the thre Roissis Glenmolachen and the half of Innertagat, tuentie stane of cheis, price of the stane xvj^s summa xvj^{lb}. Item, be William Buchannane of Auchmuir, foure pundis xiiij^s iiiij^d of the lxxj. zers crop.

Summa of the hail dettis, ix^c lxxxiiij^{lb}. xiiij^s iiiij^d.

Summa of the Inventar with the dettis, xj^c lviiij^{lb}.

Followis the dettis awing be the deid.

Item, the said umquhile Maister Johne wes awing to the chaptour of Glasgow ten lib., and Maister Archibald Barrie, vicar of Hammiltoun, is awand to the said chaptour ten pundis. Item, to Maister Andro Layng of divers comptis resting awand to him fourtie-foure pundis. Item, to Malcolme Stenesoun, vicar of Luss, for his pensiou of zers bigane threttie pundis. Item, to the collectour for the third of the personage of Lus, of the lxxj. zers crop, fifty-seven^{lb} xv^s vj^d. Item, to Maister Henry Gibsoun for his pensiou, xl^s. Item, to Maister Andro Layng for his fe, ten pundis. Item, to Robert Layng for his fe, foure^{lb}. Item, to Johne Craufurd for his fe, xl^s. Item, to the collectour of the thriddis for the thrid of the annet of the lxxij. zers crop, fiftie-sevin pundis xv^s vj^d. Item to the Vicar pensioner of the said crop, xiiij^{lb} vj^s viij^d. Item, to the intrant, threttene pundis vj^s viij^d.

Summa of the dettis awing be the deid, ij^c xliiiij^{lb} iiiij^s iiiij^d. Restis of fre geir, the dettis deducit, ix^c xiiij^{lb} xv^s viij^d. Na divisioun.

LATTIEWILL AND LEGACIE.

I, Maister Johne Layng, persoun of Lus, makis my testament in this manner—I leve my saule to God omnipotent, and my body to be bureit in the Cathedrall Kirk of Glasgow. Item, I mak and constitutis my executoris, Maister Andro Layng, persoune of Holdome, and Johne Layng, sone to Alexander Layng, and the said Maister Andro Layng, principall intromettour, with my gudis. Item, I leve to the said Johne Layng, sone to the said Alexander, ten pundis. Item, to Michael Layng, bruthir to the said Johne, ten pundis. Item, to the twa dochteris of Alexander Layng, ten pundis. Item, to Robert Layng, sone to Alexander Layng, ten merkis. Item, to ——— Layng, dochtir to Robert Layng, my brodir, ffyve merkis. Item, to the barnis of

^r The name here is purposely scored out in the record; but it is not Helena. It is more like Holdome.

Laurence Hog, tuentie merkis. Item, to Agnes Hammiltoun, dochtir to Andro Hammiltoun of Cothnocht, ten pundis, to by hir ane gown. Item, to Matho Layng, fyve merkis. Item, to Williame Layng, sone to the said Matho, fyve pundis. Item, to Marioun Blak and hir dochtir, xl^s. Item, to Johne Craufurd, tailzeour, fyve pundis. Item, to Johne Coittis, sone to George Coittis, fyve pundis. Item, to Richard Sellar and his wyf, ten merkis. Item, to Thomes Rechie, sone to Bessy Knox, xl^s. Item, to Malie Steill, relict of umquhile Gilbert Schelis, xls. Item, to Agnes Layng, the relict of Laurence Hog, fyve pundis. Item, to George Layng, fyve merkis. Item, to Margaret Layng, dochtir to Johne Layng, fyve merkis. Item, the rest of my gudis and geir, my dettis and legacies being payit, I leve to my brother Maister Andro Layng. Sic subscribitur, Joannes Layng, manu propria.

[Compositio quotte xx^{ss}]. Summa quote twentie pundis.

We, Maisteris Robert Maitland, dene of Abirdene, Edward Henryson, doctor in the lawis, Clement Litill and Alexander Sym, advocattis, commissaris of Edinburgh, specialie constitut for confirmatioun of testamentis be the tennour heirof, ratefeis, appreuis, and confirmis this present testament or inventar, in sa far as the samin is deulie and lauchfullie maid, of the gudis and geir abonespecifeit alanerlie, and gevis and committis the intronissoun with the samin to the saidis Maisters Andro Layng and Johne Layng, executouris to the said umquhile Maister Johne, Reservand compt, to be maid be thame thairof, as accordis of the law.

And the saidis executouris being sworne, haif maid faith treulie to exerce the said office, and haif fundin caution that the gudis and geir abonespecifeit salbe furthcummand to all pairteis havand interes as law will, as ane Act maid thairupoun beria.

DECRET MAISTER JOHNE LAYNG CONTRA STENESOUN.

Register of Acts and Decrets. Vol. XXVII. Fol. 32.

15th June, 1563.—Anent oure Soverane Lordis lettres purchest at the instance of Maister John Layng, persoun of Lus, and Johne Colquhoun of Kilmardonie, his factour thairof, aganis Malcolme Stenesoun, makand mentiou that quhair the said Maister Johne is lauchfullie providit to the said personage and vicarage thairof, and be virtue of the samin he hes bene in pecebill and continewall possessioun thairof thir divers yeiris bigane : and hes furneist and sustenit ministeris for reiding and edifeing of the parochinaris thairof yeirlie sen the alteratioun of the religioun conforme to the ordour takin thairant lyke as he yit dois. Nochttheles, ane callit Malcolme Stevinsoun, allegit vicar pensionar of the said parroche kirk of Lus, allegeand that the saidis complenaris ar restawand awand to him his said pension extending to xx merkis yerlie of the yeires of God j^m v^c and lxj and lxij yeiris. Quhilk is nocht of veritie hes obtenit lettres be deliverance of the Lordis of Counsale be payment making of the third thairof to the comptroller. And therewith hes causit charge the saidis complenaris to answer, obey, and mak payment to him of his said pensioun of xx merkis yeirlie be the said space of twa yeiris last bipast within certane space under divers panes and last under the pane of rebellion, and failzeing thairof to put thame to the horne. Sending of verry malice to put thame thairto wranguslie considdering the said Malcolme Stenesoun being vicar pensioner of the fairsaid kirk, as he allegis hes maid na service thairintill this lang time bypast as he aucht to have done, and hes resavit his pensioun and stipend of the crop and yeir of God j^m v^c lxj yeiris, as the saidis complenaris will sufficientlie preif in presens of the saidis Lordis. And insafar as he makis na service he aucht nocht to be answerit, becaus he is bot ane feall and pensioner allanerlie yit nochttheles for the mair abundance and abeyance of the saidis lettres the saidis com-

plenaris ar content instantlie to consignne in the saidis Lordis handis or ane of their clerkis same-kill, as he cravis contenit in the saidis lettres, to be deliverit to him gif it be fundin be the saidis Lordis that he hes just rycht thairto allanerlie in respect of the quhilk the saidis lettres and horn- ing contenit thairintill aucht and suld be suspendit simpliciter upon the saidis complenaris for the caussis foirsaidis. And anent the charge gevin to the said Malcolme to have comperit befor the Lordis of Counsale at ane certane day bigane, bringing with him the said lettres in the four formes purchest be him in the said matter to be sene and considerit be the saidis Lordis, and to heir and se the command thairof, be obtemperit, obeyit, and fulfillit be the saidis complenaris to him in all puncttis in safar as thai aucht or suld and as beis fundin be the saidis Lordis to be payit and done to him of the yeiris foirsaidis in respect of the premissis and consignation maid as said is. And thairfoir the saids lettres in the four formes and horning contenit thairintill to be suspendit simpliciter upon the saidis complenaris, for the caussis foirsaidis as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis lettres. The said Maister Johnne Laying and his said factour comperand be Maister Alexander Mauchane, thair procuratour ; and the said Malcolme Stenesoun comperand be Maister Alexander Sym, his procuratour, quha producit the saidis lettres in the four formes purchest be him with the provision quhairupon the samin proceidit. Quhilkis being sene and considerit and bayth the saidis pairteis hinc inde defenssis and answeris, hard, sene, and understand, and the saidis Lordis thairwith being riplie avisit. The Lordis of Counsale suspendis simpliciter the saidis lettres in the four formes and proces of horne contenit thairintill, purchest be the said Malcolme aganis the saidis complenaris in sa far as the samin mabe extendit to the said xx merkis of the said yeir of God j^m v^c lxj yeiris, and decernis the samin and effect thairof to ceis for that yeir. And als findis the samin lettres of foure formes and proces of horne contenit thairintill purchest be him aganis the saidis complenaris safar as the samin mabe extendit to the saidis xx merkis of the said lxij yeiris ordourlie proceidit, and thairfoir decernis and ordanis thame to have effect and to be put to forthir executioun in all puncttis sa far as concernis the saidis lxij yeiris nochtwithstanding the reasones and caussis foirsaidis. And ordanis lettres to be direct heirupon gif neid be in forme as efferis.

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