Kate Ash, University of Manchester
'For to correk this king: Memory and Allegory in *The Buke of the Chess*' This paper examines the mnemonic features of *The Buke of the Chess*, a fifteenth-century translation of Jacobus de Cassolis' thirteenth-century *Ludus scaccorum*. The text recounts how chess was invented by a philosopher in order to correct a tyrannical king; as the game was played the philosopher instructed the king in the virtues and vices attached to each piece. Forming part of the popular medieval use of the allegory of the game of chess to provide ethical instruction, *The Buke of the Chess* thus instructs it readers in good governance of the self and society. Making use of diagrammatic memory locations the chessboard, with its gridded structure, forms the basis of the memory onto which the pieces of the games can be placed. The text's author thus effectively combines the allegory of the game of chess with mnemonic technique, integrating the ethical material as a set of *memorabilia*, 'things to be remembered'. Although considered to be a text of the Advice to Princes tradition, the *Buke of the Chess*

focuses much of its attention on the status and behaviour of the knightly class, suggesting a readership in keeping with many texts and manuscript miscellanies produced in late medieval and early modern Scotland. As such, the game of chess is not only a mnemonic for defining a notion of kingly virtue and responsibility; at the same time, it alludes to a wider community identity that becomes apparent through the relational positioning of the chess pieces on the board.

Through a consideration of the role of the 'game' I propose that the writer of *The Buke of the Chess* seeks to authorise both his instruction in the form of the text and the individual roles of good government that the manual describes. At the same time, it is also clear that a construction of a social identity is taking place, and that the imagining of society and the responsibility of all those within it plays itself out in the mnemonic landscape of the allegory of the chess game.

Jamie Reid Baxter
A Scottish Sonnet-corona: Francis Hamilton (1585-1645)
Nothing appears ever to have been written about the poetry of Francis Hamilton, laird of Silvertonhill near Hamilton. Yet some 1600 lines of religious verse, printed and MS, are extant. These include not only a 486-line 'Encomium' of the late King James VI, but a long sacred parody of the song 'What if a day', and two sonnet sequences. The first of these, printed in 1626, is Scotland's only known 'Corona' of sonnets. Hamilton's work makes an interesting pendant to that of Elizabeth Melville, who made a 'corona' in her sacred parody of Marlowe's "Come live with me". Hamilton was paticularly keen on the Book of Revelation, and his biography is not without interest: he was reponsible for bringing a hitherto unstudied case against Dame Isabel Boyd for witchcraft, and his MS poetry reflects his obsession with his belief that this lady practised enchantments on him in 1607-1608.

Priscilla Bawcutt
'Intercommouning': Cultural Relationships between Scotland and England in the Late Middle Ages.
'Intercommouning' was a semi-legal term for peaceful intercourse between individual Scots and Englishmen; neither government much approved of it. Modern historians, on the whole, also

seem more interested in the antagonism between the two nations. However, that such friendly contacts, especially between churchmen, scholars and aristocrats, provided important channels by which poems and other literary works travelled - in both directions - across the Border. It would be profitable for modern scholars to pay more attention to them.

William Calin, University of Florida
Mary Queen of Scots: Her Poetry in Its French Context
After long periods of neglect, Mary's poetry in French is now receiving critical attention from a number of scholars, especially Sarah Dunnigan.

This paper will scrutinize the Marian corpus from a French perspective, situating it in the tradition of medieval and Renaissance fin' amor and devotional verse. I concentrate on the "Casket Sonnets" and the "Meditation" on the bishop of Ross's Latin treatise of consolation. Among the points to be made are: How Mary recasts tradition themes and motifs, adapting them to a female speaker and female lover, alluding to concrete historical events. How she upsets the expected gender thematic (horizon of expectations) while following in the trace of women poets of Eros, both medieval and Renaissance, especially Louise Labé. And how, turning from sinful love to the love of God, she develops tropes which make her a precursor of the French Baroque. The paper concludes with (1) an evaluation of the corpus as poetry and (2) discussion of the authenticity of the Casket Sonnets.

Sajed Chowdhury, University of Sussex
'[T]wo nations, being both [...] one Ile of *Britaine*': The Union of Crowns and the Metaphysics of a Female Tradition
In her recent article 'Still Kissing the Rod? Whither Next?', Jane Stevenson argues that women writers in the Renaissance period did not function in linguistic isolation, but worked in a female international republic of letters. A female 'Respublica litterarum' can be defined as an international community of women writers who are reading and responding to one another both explicitly and implicitly. This paper tests Stevenson's theory within the context of post-1603 'Britain'. In 1603 King James becomes James VI and I of Scotland and England and as Kate Chedgzoy points out, 'textual and personal border-crossings' were by no means unique in this post-1603 world of 'increasing interaction between the English and Scottish elite'. This paper proposes that women writers contributed to this interaction and explores this by examining the possible 'intertextuality' between the Scottish verse miscellany the Maitland Quarto Manuscript (c. 1586), affiliated with Marie Maitland, the Scots poet Elizabeth Melville's poem 'Ane Godlie Dreame' (1603) and the London-based writer Aemilia Lanyer's volume of poems *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* (1611). I connect Maitland, Melville and Lanyer through their use of the female 'metaphysical' meditative voice. This paper builds on the provocative new research on Maitland, Melville and Lanyer by Sarah Dunnigan, Jamie Reid Baxter and Kate Chedgzoy and re-contextualizes the work of these women by examining the writings of John Donne, Olympia Morata, Marsilio Ficino and John Knox.

John Cramsie, Union College

Topography, Ethnography, and the Catholic Scots of John Leslie's *Historie of Scotland* in the 1570s

John Mair (1521), Hector Boece (1527), and George Buchanan (1582) each composed great sprawling histories of Scotland in the sixteenth century. John of Fordun set an important precedent for such projects in the fourteenth century, one that would also have been familiar to Renaissance writers who paid attention to their Classical reading. No 'national' history was complete without a topographic description to set the stage for the historical account that followed. Fordun grounded his topography in first-hand experiences travelling Scotland in search of records for his *Chronicle* and *Annals*. Topography inevitably shaded into ethnography for the travelling scholar-writer. It was difficult to separate the qualities of Scotland's people from the features of its landscapes. The

people left unique marks on the country while the land in turn defined their lives. The land also divided them. Highland, lowland, and complex regional dynamics defined the land as much as the people. Civility gave way to barbarity depending upon whom one travelled among. Fordun, Mair, Boece, and Buchanan all prefaced their histories with such topographic and ethnographic matters, and did so with at least a cursory eye to their own experiences – however slight – travelling in Scotland. John Leslie, the Catholic bishop of Ross and loyal supporter of Mary Queen of Scots, spent part of his imprisonment in England and exile in France in the 1570s bringing the histories of Mair and Boece up to date. His account of Scotland that included the unsettled reign of Mary remained in manuscript. However, this spadework laid the foundations for the Latin *Historie of Scotland*, completed and dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII in 1578; Father James Dalrymple of Ratisbon Abbey turned it into Scots in 1596. Building on his predecessors, Leslie's *Historie* opened with the most detailed description of Scotland then available. For Leslie too topography and ethnography were inseparable, but confessional divides now shaped them both.

Leslie's became a description of the Scottish people fit for the Catholic cause, perhaps even designed to answer the Protestant spin given to Boece's history in its translation by the Presbyterian Thomas Harrison for inclusion in Holinshed's *Chronicle*. In Leslie's Catholic ethnography- topography, superstition disappeared from mystical sites and folkways. The religious orders and dedicated parish clergy peopled the spiritual landscape. Monasteries and abbeys celebrated religious fidelity while their destruction indicted Protestant fanaticism. Further, Scotland's least 'civilised' peoples in the Highlands and Borders would call their modern brethren back from religious schism. They preserved the ancient nobility needed, not least constancy to Catholicism. Indeed, Leslie argued, the barbarity attributed to those peoples revealed less about reality than it did about the constructs fashioned by Lowland politicians and writers.

Leslie wanted his *Historie* to lead the Scottish people to an understanding of themselves within the Catholic tradition and he confronted them with their ancestors' fidelity as a spur to rejecting the Presbyterian kirk. This was a tough circle to square given the contrasting descriptions of Scotland. However, Leslie's is an important – if, ultimately, failed – response to Protestant writings of the nation and definitions of civility-barbarity after the religious revolutions in mid-century Britain. Further, Leslie genuinely grappled with and sought to understand the cultural

complexity of the Scottish people, and did so within an equally complicated sense of the peoples of Britain. We have much to learn about the 'Natio Scotica' and its place in early-modern Britain's culture wars from the Bishop of Ross.

Elizabeth Elliott, University of Edinburgh
Compilation and Cultural Authority in the Bannatyne Manuscript
This paper analyses the Bannatyne Manuscript as a material object that mediates the production of individual and collective identities in the early modern period and beyond, by drawing on and giving shape to the cultural authority associated with literary texts. The format of the manuscript book is associated with self-fashioning, through the traditional conception of memory as a textual space: moral authority is acquired through the gathering of selections from authorities into the book of memory. Similar practices of textual gathering find material expression in the making of commonplace books, an activity which has itself been identified as a model of authoritative self-construction in the sixteenth century. With its distinctive fivefold division by genre, the Bannatyne Manuscript reflects a careful process of disposition, whose moral purpose is underlined in the editorial comments and practice of its compiler. Bannatyne's editorial interventions draw attention to his own role in mediating the texts he presents, addressing a literate community, and the familial and social networks in which Bannatyne participated offer a plausible
audience for scribal transmission. As Harold Love argues, scribal publication bonds 'groups of like- minded individuals into a community [...] with the exchange of text in manuscript serving to nourish a shared set of values and to enrich personal allegiances' (1993: 177). Bannatyne's anthology contributes to the production of social distinctions through the endorsement of values and aesthetic forms that at once draw upon, and distinguish themselves from, those of the court. It attests Bannatyne's possession of the time to appreciate and acquire the verse he collected, itself a mark of the economic and intellectual capital associated with his status as the son of an Edinburgh burgess. Like his 'memoriall buik', the manuscript evokes genealogy through the incorporation of the Bannatyne arms as sole illustration. The specific depiction of the arms associated with the senior familial branch of the Bannatynes of Kames commemorates an inheritance from the past that affirms a communal identity in the present time. Bannatyne's buiks function as family heirlooms, they 'bear material witness to the age and continuity of the lineage and so consecrate its social identity' (Bourdieu 1984: 76). Yet, if Bannatyne's material and cultural legacy fosters personal and familial identities, it also transmits a distinctive conception of national tradition that finds expression in the work of poets such as Gawin Douglas and William Dunbar. Lacking the essentialism that characterises modern nationalisms, this model of Scottish tradition is itself dependent on the appropriation of cultural authority associated with Latin, and the endorsement of a vernacular inheritance stemming from Chaucer.

Dan Embree, Mississippi State University
The *Scottis Originale* and the *Ynglis Chronicle*: An Overlooked Connection Toward the end of the Asloan manuscript's version of the *Scottis Originale*, there is an intriguing reference to "a hundred more things of which you shall hear afterwards of their wickedness." The *Originale* is a defense of the antiquity and integrity of the Scottish kingdom against the charges of English

chroniclers, but the chronicler ends by going on the offensive. Similar claims of English wickedness occur in all three surviving versions of the *Originale*. But only the Asloan adds this promise to relate them. And in all three versions, the chronicler begs off

by saying "it is too long to write about now." If the Asloan *Originale* existed in isolation, we might believe that this promise means "you

are likely to hear of these things elsewhere." But the Asloan *Originale* is immediately followed by the so-called *Ynglis Chronicle*, which does precisely what has been promised. It complements the defensive posture of the *Originale* with an attack on the English nation in general, soon focussing on the crimes of English kings. Indeed, the opening of the *Ynglis* echoes the concluding claim of the *Originale* that the evidence is to be found in English chronicles. So the connection between the promise in the *Originale* and the fulfillment in the *Ynglis* seems to me inescapable. What I attempt here is an exploration of that connection.

This promise was probably not made by the *Originale*'s chronicler – who seems to have written in Latin, as early as the 1460's. The *Ynglis* was not written until sometime after 1485. The three versions of the *Originale* seem derived from a lost common Scots translation; they show modest independent development and may have been copied decades apart. The Asloan version is dated after 1513. So the simplest assumption is that the promissory clause was added to the *Originale* by the same hand that placed these chronicles in sequential order. And that hand, of course, was John Asloan's. Perhaps Asloan had a copy of the *Ynglis* to hand, recognized its thematic affinity with the *Originale*, placed them in sequence, and inserted the words that would lead the reader from one to the other. An alternate hypothesis is that the two were linked in Asloan's source. A small but significant body of thematic and rhetorical evidence suggests a relationship between them. They engage the same subject matter, employ the same organizing device, and include several

very similar passages. The likely distance between their probable dates of composition, as well as some stylistic differences, rules out, for me, common authorship, but it seems plausible that the *Scottis Originale* inspired or informed the *Ynglis Chronicle*.

There remains another explanation – that John Asloan is the author of the *Ynglis Chronicle*. For this, I can make only a circumstantial case: though he had no prior record as an author, he had the means, motive, and opportunity. And he was the last person known to have viewed the corpus before he committed it to paper. It is a matter deserving further investigation.

Morna R. Fleming
'Abject odious'? The translation of Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* Seamus Heaney's recent translation of Robert Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid and Seven Fables* (Faber and Faber, 2009) threw into sharp relief the polarised attitudes to literature in translation. On the one hand, the enthusiasts could see that a translation into English of what was often seen as an impenetrably foreign Middle Scots poem would give a wider readership access to a major text of the Scottish medieval period. The further cachet conferred by a poet of Heaney's standing served only to enhance the prestige of the original. On the other hand, the traditionalists contested the impertinence of attempting to render in poetry a piece of work which depended for its power and effectiveness on the language in which it was originally conceived. Translation, in

their minds, should be restricted to glosses or to a prose commentary which maintained the integrity of

the original. But translation has always been at the heart of literary development. When James VI formed

his literary court in the 1580s, he gathered around him poets, writers and musicians, with the aim of translating the major contemporary works of France into Scots, both to give access to great literature, and to enrich the Scots language, to make it a more effective means of communicating great thoughts in the future. Although there was a continuity with the language and literature of the Scottish past, James wished to bring Scotland into the literary community of Europe, making a clean break with the recent heritage, much as Hugh MacDiarmid in the 1920s wished to break with what he saw as the impoverished Scottish literature of the 18th and 19th centuries to reconnect with the glories of the time of James IV – 'Not Burns: Dunbar!' MacDiarmid was of course not interested in translation so much as what Derrick McClure has called 'transcreation': employing the newly discovered Middle and Old Scots vocabulary to express contemporary concepts in new and exciting ways. Heaney himself, in his introduction, refers to Dryden's 'transfusion' of Chaucer, which brings us back to James VI's desire to regenerate the Scots language with the blood of European literature.

In this paper, I shall examine the various translations and commentaries which have been made of Henryson's work in the recent period, notably Denton Fox's magisterial edition which was my own introduction to Henryson, glancing at George Gopen's prose translation and the various other glosses and part translations which are available both in hard copy and on the internet, before concentrating in much more detail on Seamus Heaney's translation of the *Testament*. I shall examine the different strategies used by the literary commentator concerned with accessibility for the reader, and the poet, who is creating a new work both inspired and constrained by the original. In the latter context, I shall comment on the translation made by Elizabeth Elliott for David Levin's stage production of the *Testament* at the 2009 Edinburgh Festival: a very different piece of work from Heaney's, but which excited a similar polarisation of opinion in audiences.

Jonathan A. Glenn, University of Central Arkansas
The Scottish Text Society, Electronic Publication, and the Semantic Web
The Scottish Text Society is a publisher of traditional books -- volumes presented as printed artifacts -- and may be expected to continue to publish in this format. This paper explores some of the possibilities for adding value to the traditional publication program by publishing supplementary materials electronically. Specifically, the paper asks and answers a series of questions about such supplementary publications:

(1) What supplements might be published? For whom would such supplements be designed? (2) What are the practical options for digital publication? When is "tagged" and "interactive" preferable to "easy" and "static"? (3) Can intellectual property be safeguarded in international, digital space? The paper concludes by presenting a small demonstration site with interactive digital content.

R. James Goldstein, Auburn University
"Betuix pyne and faith": The Poetics of Compassion in Walter Kennedy's *Passioun of Crist*
The variety of uses to which rhyme royal was adapted in England and Scotland suggests that it was highly valued by poets, scribes, printers, and readers, and as such it deserves our attention. Yet the study of poetic form by medieval literary scholars has not been exactly thriving in recent years. Derek Pearsall has recently lamented "a narrowing of the field of both literary and historical enquiry" that he finds evident in the historicist turn taken by medieval literary scholarship in recent decades. What current historicisms neglect, according to Pearsall, is the notion "that a literary work should be interesting for the way it is written, that it should be well written, that its use of language should enhance one's sense of the potentialities of language." However, there is no good reason to embrace a false dichotomy between formalist and historicist forms of attention. Recent proponents of the so-called New Formalism have urged us to understand literary forms as fully historical phenomena. I have recently completed an essay on the cultural poetics of rhyme royal in Scotland, though space limitations prevented me from discussing Kennedy's *Passioun of Crist*. There has not been much scholarly work on the poem, though the recent STS edition of *The Poems of Walter Kennedy* by Nicole Meier should stimulate new attention to his work. I am especially interested in the difference Kennedy's decision to employ the sophisticated rhyme royal stanza makes to his project of writing a life of Christ in the late-medieval tradition of affective piety. One way to measure that difference will be to compare his version with the most influential Middle English version of the life of Christ, Nicholas Love's prose *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Kennedy's version is the only full life of Christ that I know of to employ rhyme royal, though the stanza had been used for vernacular hagiography by such authors and Chaucer, Lydgate, and Osbern Bokenham. Although I have not yet read it, the major new book by Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (U Pennsylvania P, 2009), should provide
useful material for a rethinking of Kennedy's achievement.

Elena Granuzzo, Università degli Studi di Padova
Universities and the learning progress during the Renaissance period: case studies of Padua and Glasgow.
In this research we want to study and compare the contribution made by two of the most celebrated and historical Universities in Europe, two important cultural centres of the Western world, historical leaders in their own countries: Padua University (the second most important University in Italy) and Glasgow University (the second University in Scotland and the fourth in Great Britain), We aim to make a comparison between Italy and Scotland from a "progress of learning" point of view.
Analyzing the example of these two Universities, similar in antiquity, prestige and tradition, we want to underline between equalities and inequalities, their conception of "progress of learning", their teaching models and methods, their structure, their organization, their precepts and their international dialogues and exchanges, on the base of a strictly selected teaching class and equally selected pupil class. Both Padua and Glasgow are united by the same spirit of academic liberty, by cultural tolerance, by non-observance of privileges, by particular contingencies and propitious conditions of civil culture, that encouraged cultural exchanges, development and

splendor. We'll analyze all these aspects with particular attention to the Renaissance period: a period that allows us to specify and to follow these scientific innovations, so important for modernity.

Naturally, to give more order to our study, we'll follow specific threads tied, for example, to humanistic subjects such as Latin, theology, theoretical and practical philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, which continue to be fundamental subjects in these Universities, both in Padua and in Glasgow, in constant research of principles by which it was possible to found a unity of knowledge. We are aware that they are the most delicate mechanisms that give us the keys to understanding how in these two important Universities these subjects were intended and transmitted, with which methods and instruments, with which "artificii" and, above all, with which "mental habits" and finalities (historical, of custom and of mind) that often (but not always, as we'll see) were different in these two Universities. To complete our analysis we'll study several texts and sources, some published but, many remain unpublished, found in Archives, Seminaries, and University Libraries, many so far unstudied: chronicles, precious manuscripts, relations, registers that, in their documentary language, will give us the proof for our picture.

We mustn't forget that at Padua, with Galileo but also long before with Copernico and Keplero a cultural revolution that will dismantle all scientific bases began, at that time considered inoxidizable, involving the applicative method of themes, languages and scientific instruments. And this is the reason, in fact, for which we want to concentrate our attention in the Renaissance period: just because we are conscious that the first, innovative ferments were born and had nutriments in a much wider geographical and cultural area, that involve even Scottish University life, such us Glasgow, definitely opening the doors to modernity.

Janet Hadley Williams, The Australian National University
Editing 'Comic and Parodic Poems in Older Scots': context, witnesses, and text
'Comic and Parodic Poems in Older Scots' is an edition for the Scottish Text Society of eleven comic, satiric or parodic works, 'My gudame wes a gay wif' (known also as 'Kynd Kittok'); 'In Tiberus tyme' ('The Gyre Carling'); 'Devyne power of michtis maist' ('Rowlis Cursing'); 'Sym of lyntoun' ('King Berdok'), 'God and sanct petir was gangand be the way' ('The first Helandman'); 'Quha douttis dremis is bot phantasye' ('Lichtoun's dreme'); 'Listis lordis' ('Lord Fergus's Gaist'); David Lyndsay's *Complaint and Publict Confessioun of Bagsche*; Alexander Cunningham's 'Ane Epistle direct fra the Holye Armite of Allarit to his Bretheren the Gray Freires'; 'Duncane Laideus alias Makgregouris Testament' and 'Of the Macgregouris armes'.

For one of these poems there are several witnesses. For another there are three, although only two are entirely in Scots. For two others there are two witnesses. For the remaining seven there is only one witness, and in most cases that witness is drawn from a single compilation. One might conclude that these poems were not widely, or well known, but that would be a misconception. There is sufficient, although scattered, evidence of their circulation, popularity, and influence to attest to the considerable value that an edition of these poems has to the larger study of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish writing in verse.

These early witnesses can be preserved in either manuscript or printed form; sometimes

both. For two of the poems the earliest extant text is printed, but for one of those the printed witness is late, appearing over thirty years after the poem's composition. For the other, the printed witness, although possibly closer in time to the lost original, is corrupt. The only witnesses for the remaining nine poems are in manuscript. These include the Edinburgh, NLS Adv. MS 1.1.6. (Bannatyne) and Cambridge, Pepysian Library 2553 (Maitland Folio). They have received some attention from scholars. But there are also others less well supported. Among these manuscripts are Edinburgh, NAS MS, GD 112/71/9, chiefly associated (until lately) with the long advisory work attributed to Gilbert Hay that it contains; and Edinburgh, EUL La. III. 210, the 'Knox MS', a work largely in prose and better known for its central place in Scotland's religious and political, rather than poetic history. There are many problems and puzzles for the editor of a critical edition for which witnesses are diverse rather than definitely related.

The paper will begin by examining some of the evidence for the ongoing circulation of comic poems in Older Scots. It will then present some examples of the textual and other problems to be overcome in editing the eleven poems selected for the STS volume.

Patrick Hart, Istanbul Kultur University
It leeseth both the name and the stream: **William Drummond's Fluvial Petrarchism as a response to the Union of the Crowns.**

Through a reading of a series of river poems, this paper explores how William Drummond negotiated a particularly fluid and vital sense of national, regional and local identities through his engagements with the literary authority of, among others, Petrarch and King James.

River poetry as a minor genre provided a model within which both English poets such as John Leland and William Vallans and Scottish writers such as Andrew Melville could endorse particular versions of national identity. Spenser and Drayton too represented and ventriloquized rivers as a means of exploring and shaping political debate over regional and national identities and myths. With the Union of the Crowns, the association of rivers with questions of national identity became more fraught. Francis Bacon's deployment of the metaphor of a smaller stream running into a greater suggested that Scottish identity should be wholly subsumed into English culture: 'it leeseth both the name and the stream'. The Scot Sir Robert Ayton's sonnet to the Tweed, meanwhile, although ostensibly celebrating the conjoining of 'two Diadems in one', reveals a more ambivalent attitude toward the Union that increasingly came to be shared by many Scots.

Drummond's best-known river poem is *Forth Feasting*, a work condemned as 'profoundly unethical' for its resignation in the face of James's abandonment of his old kingdom. By way of a brief glimpse at Drummond's redeployment in his *History of Scotland* of Bacon's metaphor of rivers, this paper argues that this condemnation ignores Drummond's evocation of the affective power of loyalties to local landscapes. It then goes on to focus on Drummond's work in the Petrarchan mode, where the Ore and the Esk that ran beneath his window, as well as the Forth, become the primary geographical markers establishing the locus of Drummond's retreat from the King's new centre of power, the London court, even as their classicizing incorporated them into the Petrarchan schema (and thus into the European tradition), immortalizing them against their imminent absorption into the sea of union. The paper then traces the transcreation of a poem exemplary of Petrarchism's role in the cultivation of national sentiment in early modern Europe,

Petrarch's *RVF* 148 ('Non Tesin, Po, Varo, Arno, Adige et Tebro'), in King James's 'Not orientall Indus cristall streames'. It moves from there to Drummond's own transcreation of Petrarch's sonnet in 'Not *Arne*, nor *Mincius*, nor stately *Tyber*'. In reiterating the manner in which, in Petrarchan fashion, James's sonnet grounds its own striving after the laurel crown on geographical and literary obscurity, Drummond's celebration of his 'Northerne Phenix' makes of the north, and of his

riverside refuge at Hawthornden in particular, the counterpart, for both Britain and the world, of the turn inwards at the level of the self enshrined in Petrarchism. In doing so it draws directly upon the King's authorizing example but is nevertheless potentially critical of his new, Anglocentric politics and aesthetics.

Nick Havely, University of York
A Scots Scholar, Galileo and a Dante Manuscript at the end of the 16th Century
From about 1597 to 1611, the Scots scholar and poet Thomas Seggett/ Seggat (c. 1570-1627) was travelling widely in Continental Europe. His journeys took him to the Low Countries (twice), Germany, Italy, Bohemia and Poland. His interests and contacts were similarly wide. At Louvain in 1597 he is known to have studied with the jurist Justus Lipsius, whose death in 1606 he commemorated in two epitaphs. Like many British scholars of the period, he also studied from 1597 to the autumn of 1602 at Padua, where he became acquainted with Galileo. Galileo refers to him a number of times, and in 1610, the astronomer appears to have entrusted him with delivering a copy of his key work on the Moon, the Galaxy and the moons of Jupiter (*Sidereus Nuncius*) to Johannes Kepler in Prague. Seggett's itineraries, activities and contacts (along with references to the early printed sources that document them) were summarized around the middle of the last century in handwritten notes by a former Head of the Italian Dept at the University of Edinburgh, Prof. John Purves (now NLS, Purves MSS 15879). Purves does not explicitly note (although he may well have known) that for at least some of his time in Italy Seggett also crossed paths with another of Italian culture's *grandi voci*, by acquiring an important mid fourteenth-century MS of Dante's *Commedia*. The Scotsman's name is thus to be found written on the recto and verso of the flyleaf in MS Milan, Ambrosiana C. 198 inf.: *Thomae Segeti Scoti*.
Among Seggett's other associates during his five years in Padua was the scholar, scientist and bibliophile Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), to whom he had been recommended by Lipsius. It was in Pinelli's household that he came to know Galileo who had been appointed professor of mathematics at the University of Padua in 1592. It must have been for a short time between his arrival in Italy (late in 1597) and the death of Pinelli (1601) that Seggett owned the Dante manuscript, which he then appears to have passed on to his Italian host. Writing on the same recto flyleaf in 1609 as that on which the Scotsman's name appears, Antonio Olgiati (Prefect of the Ambrosiana) records that the codex 'primum fuit Thoma[e] Segeti, mox Vincentii v[ir] cl [arissimus], a cuius heredibus tota eiusdem bibliotheca Neapoli empta fuit, iussa Ill[ustrissi]mi Federici Borrhomaei Ambrosiana[e] biblioth[ec]ae fundatoris'.
The proposed paper outlines the contexts and considers some of the implications of this possession of an important Dante manuscript by an early modern Scottish scholar. We have (so far) no further specific information about what Seggett drew from his relatively brief acquaintance with the *Commedia*. Neither he nor Pinelli seem to have annotated or referred to

the manuscript Both, however, had scientific interests that had been sharpened by their association with Galileo at Padua, and examination of the manuscript shows that it contains a significant number of astronomical diagrams, most (though not all) of which have been listed in Roddewig's catalogue (p. 180, col. 1). It seems likely therefore, that just as Galileo himself had shown an early interest in the precision of Dante's cosmography in his lectures to the Florentine Academy in 1587-8 (*Scritti letterari*, ed. A. Chiari, pp. 49-51) – so these members of the 'Tuscan artist''s circle would have found their eyes caught by the highly detailed images of the celestial spheres, the star signs, solstices and epicycles that illustrate the Ambrosian manuscript. Seggett is not the first traveller from the British Isles who is known to have possessed a copy of the *Commedia*; Thomas Hoby bought a 1544 edition of the *Commedia* with the commentary by Alessandro Vellutello when he was in Venice in July 1550; and

in 1610 another Scot, Drummond of Hawthornden, bought the Venetian duodecimo 1555 edition in London. Yet Seggett is the first reader in the English-speaking world whose ownership of a manuscript of the *Commedia* can be firmly documented. Moreover, that ownership and its motives can be seen to form a significant part of a diverse and so far little explored interaction between early modern Scottish and Italian culture.

Donna Heddle, Centre for Nordic Studies, UHI Millennium Institute
"Pithie purpois prudent and perfyt": the influence of Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, on the poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis
John Stewart of Baldynneis' poetry stands separate from the works of the rest of James VI's "Castalian Band" for many reasons: one of the most noticeable and the most traceable is the intriguing and covertly pervading influence of the Huguenot poet Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur Du Bartas. This paper will seek to explore and evaluate that influence in Stewart's two main texts: 'Roland Furious', and 'Ane Schersing Out of Trew Felicitie', the Protestant rebuttal of Montgomerie's religious poem *The Cherrie and the Slae* .
Stewart was a slavish follower of the preoccupations of James VI and James had avowed himself the disciple of Du Bartas whose seminal work was *La Semaine* or *La Creation du monde* (1578), an epic written in alexandrine couplets which assembled all the scientific knowledge of the time in the guise of a description of the seven days of the creation. James found Du Bartas' philosophical and religious verse and overwhelming display of an encyclopaedic erudition more to his taste than the amatory preoccupations of the all conquering Pléiade poets.
Stewart was influenced greatly by French models – why select Du Bartas in particular? Du Bartas and Stewart of Baldynneis have several interesting features in common both in their lives and their writing. They were both fervent Protestants in a poetic culture which either tended to Catholicism or was officially Catholic, although the courts of James VI and Henri of Navarre themselves were ostensibly Protestant. They both exhibit a certain literary isolation-- Du Bartas as a Huguenot in Navarre separate from the poets of the French court, and Stewart as a vaguely unpopular figure on the fringes of the Castalian Band who did not share the general preoccupation with music. They have a very strong connection through James VI-- Du Bartas as his greatest influence and Stewart as his most fervent disciple.
There is also a very strong connection through their religious themes - Du Bartas showed his contemporaries that religious subjects, such as the creation of the world, could make epic poetry;

Stewart, having started by adding religious imagery into `Roland Furious' in an addendum and new context for the story in Cant 12, went on to write `Ane Schersing Out Of Trew Felicitie', concerning the spiritual benefits of Protestantism, as a direct counter to the Catholic Alexander Montgomerie's `Cherrie and the Slae'. Stylistically, too, they are similar in their exhibitions of erudition and their vigorous and majestic grasp of language.

The poets of Stewart's generation inherited both a pagan French culture and a Calvinist Reformation; the dichotomy there was not immediately apparent to them. Nowhere is it more clearly defined than in the works of Stewart and Du Bartas. This paper will conclude with an evaluation of their legacy in Scottish Renaissance verse.

William Hepburn, University of Glasgow
William Dunbar's poetry as a source for court society in James IV's Scotland
Norbert Elias based his model of court society on the extensive memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon – a court aristocrat in the reign of Louis XIV and XV – which describe the world of Versailles in sparkling detail. Although there is no such narrative account of the Scottish court in the

later middle ages, what we do have is a large number of surviving poems by William Dunbar, most of which have something to say about life at the court of Scotland's most celebrated late-medieval king, James IV.

Though Dunbar's work has been much studied by scholars of literature, it has received little attention as a serious historical source. While those literary scholars have attempted to place the poet and his work in a historical context, and used other sources to help understand the poems, their focus has usually been the work itself and not the environment it was created in. Historians, on the other hand, have used Dunbar's work to enliven historical accounts otherwise mainly drawn from dry administrative records, but have not systematically studied it as a source. Norman MacDougall, in his scholarly study of James IV's reign, even dismissed Dunbar as "bitter", "jaundiced" and "infinitely" inferior to Pedro de Ayala's famous diplomatic letter as a source for the reign.

However, despite obvious quantitative differences, Dunbar's courtly poetry is the closest historians of the Scottish court in the later middle ages have to Saint-Simon's memoirs in the way it offers highly subjective and specific insights on the people and practices of the court. In the surviving Scottish evidence for James IV's reign insights like this are unique, but they can be compared to those of men of letters from other parts of late-medieval Europe such as Georges Chastellain, Alain Chartier and John Skelton, who provided commentaries on the court and contemporary history, helping to make sense of it for their audiences.

By comparing and contrasting the evidence of Dunbar with Elias's model and with these other late-medieval writers one can begin to reveal the outlines of life at the Scottish court and place it in its European context. Therefore this paper will demonstrate that Dunbar's poetry is not only uniquely valuable to the historian of the Scottish court, but that it can even be used to build a model of a court society, just as Saint-Simon was used to build a model of the court at Versailles, and can link that court society to the international court culture of the later middle ages.

Iain Macleod Higgins, University of Victoria
Homage as Critique: Henryson's Use of Chaucer
Unlike James I, Dunbar, and Douglas, who all overtly praise Chaucer for his eloquence (see *Kingis Quair*, 1373-77; "I that in heill wes and gladnes," 50, and *Goldyn Targe*, 253-62; *Palice of Honour*, 919-20), Henryson never expresses an opinion on the English poet's value as a precursor. Moreover, on the one occasion when he openly refers to Chaucer, his praise is quite unspecific and almost grudging — he calls him both "worthie Chaucer glorious" and "worthie Chauceir" while recalling his "gudelie termis and . . . joly veirs" (59) — and this faintish praise is immediately followed by challenging question: "Quha wait gif all that Chauceir wrait was trew?" (*Testament of Cresseid*, 41, 58, 64). The question comes when Henryson (or rather his narrator) picks up "ane uther quair" (61) upon apparently finishing Chaucer's own book "Of fair Creisseid and worthie Troylus" (42), and it sets up a potentially agonistic (if not quite antagonistic) relation between *Troylus and Criseyde* and *The Testament of Cresseid* (Henryson's rhyming of "worthie Chaucer glorious" with "worthie Troylus" and the repetition of the word "worthie," for instance, might suggest that the author has too closely allied himself with only one of his story's protagonists). The ambivalence of this at once authorial and intertextual relation is enhanced by the fact that the narrator does not answer his question but rather expresses uncertainty about the status of the other book as well.

The aim of the present paper is to consider what might be meant in this context by the word "trew" and to suggest that one answer has to do with literary and moral decorum, the "correspondence" evoked in the poem's opening lines. Henryson pays his respects to his precursor here in order to go his own way, a way that involves at least implicitly a critique of Chaucer's

modes of storytelling. To make this case I will read *The Testament*'s opening scene more carefully than it normally gets read to show how the narrator's seemingly rhetorical question is set up by the narrator's complex spatio-temporal setting (in an "oratur," north of Chaucer, at the uncertain turn of the seasons, etc.). Henryson's aim here, I will suggest, is to combine critique with homage, in large part to clear a space for his own kind of fiction. To clarify the nature of Henryson's homage as critique I will compare what he does here with Douglas's partly related critique (hedged with praise) of Chaucer's rendering of Virgil (*Eneados*, Bk. 1, Prol. 345-52, 411-57). If space and time permit, I hope also to claim (if not to show) that one can find in the *Morall Fabillis* examples of Henryson responding similarly ambivalently to the Chaucerian legacy in both the story collection and fabulation, as a Roman Aesop trained in civil law becomes the ideal figure of the storyteller.

Lucy Hinnie, University of Glasgow
'Dido Enflambyt' : The Tragic Queen of Carthage in Douglas' Eneados
Where much modern research has focussed on the re-imagining of mythology in works such as Henryson's *Cresseid* and *Orpheus*, this paper will consider the – with regards to this topic – oft-overlooked *Eneados* by Gavin Douglas. The role of Douglas as both translator and innovator will be considered, taking into account his use of prologue and vernacular to enhance his portrayal.

Focussing on the character of Dido, I will investigate alternative readings of this tragic heroine. Considering Douglas alongside both Virgil's own depiction of the Queen, as well as that of Chaucer in his *Legend of Good Women*, the following two questions will be addressed.
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'To cloak her sense of guilt': Does Dido's reaction to Aeneas' abandonment intentionally illuminate the futility of duty to the gods, and is criticism of this loyalty inherent in every version of the tale? Can we examine the death of Dido as being a more positive statement of agency rather than a portrayal of insanity, feminine weakness or guilt?

'The Fates bar the way': In what sense are the evident differences in Dido's portrayal in *Eneados* attributable to the impact of contemporary tension between humanist concerns and traditional theological values? How does the case study of Dido open up the notion of contiguity versus historicity in late-medieval Scottish literature? What ideas of fate, Fortune and destiny are portrayed in Douglas' text and how do these confer with the tensions outlined?

Underpinning these concerns, we may also consider the nature of Douglas the author, as both humanist and Christian, nationalist and classicist, and examine how these tensions manifest themselves in the Dido example.

A case study of Douglas' portrayal of Dido can thus illuminate the effect that the reception of classical mythology and allusion had on Older Scots poetics, analysing a Scottish poet's narrative practice through his engagements with different *auctors*, medieval as well as classical. My paper seeks to contribute in this way to the debate on the implications that such narrative practice holds for the analysis of writers such as Henryson and Dunbar, and our growing perception of them as poets not at the end of a medieval tradition but operating at the very centre of an emerging modern poetics.

Chelsea Honeyman, McGill University
"Our rois riale most reuerent vnder crovne": Margaret Tudor and Scotland's Floricultural Future in William Dunbar's Poetry
In 1502, Scotland and England concluded the Treaty of Perpetual Peace. While the Treaty did not exactly live up to its name—James soon sought to renew the Auld Alliance with France,
while Henry's successor Henry VIII resurrected England's claim of overlordship over Scotland in 1512—one result of the negotiations endured: the marriage of James to Henry VII's daughter Margaret Tudor in 1503. Henry did not consider Scotland a threat to England's sovereignty, rather believing that it would be absorbed into his own kingdom.

If one considers, however, William Dunbar's poetry composed to mark Margaret's new role as Scotland's queen, it would seem that at least one Scot had an alternative view of the future dynamic between the two British kingdoms. In "Gladethe, thoue queyne of Scottis regioun" (composed in 1502) and "Blyth Aberdeane, thow beriall of all tounis" (composed in 1511), Dunbar constructs an Anglo-Scottish relationship based not on simple assimilation and absorption, but on the more subtle, mutually-beneficial process of grafting, in which Margaret's Tudor rose is used to rejuvenate the more mature Stewart royal stalk/stock.

In "Gladethe, thoue queyne," Dunbar stresses Margaret Tudor's role in perpetuating the Scottish line of kingship; she is portrayed as a "3ong and tendir flour" (27) that will grant Scotland what

it has "lang desirit: / A plaunt to spring of [her] successioun" (30), thus foregrounding the value of her English blood to Scotland's future. In "Blyth Aberdeane," Dunbar returns to his floral trope in order to articulate the mutually-dependent relationship between Margaret and the people of Aberdeen, who can be viewed as a microcosm for the people of Scotland. The poem's description of the pageant's royal "family tree" (as Priscilla Bawcutt calls it) includes the "branches new and greine" of Robert Bruce and his descendents, including the Stewarts. Dunbar presents Margaret's role in this horticultural dynasty as one of perpetuation and rejuvenation—a prestigious duty, but one which simultaneously also makes her accountable to the Scottish kingdom. Far from creating an oppositional model of Anglo-Scottish relations, Dunbar's sustained floricultural metaphor illuminates Scotland's potential growth through the judicious integration of English culture, a relationship in which both representatives of Scottish and English power are permitted to flourish, but in which Scotland has the more established, authoritative position.

While "Gladethe, thoue queyne" and "Blythe Aberdeane" emphasise Margaret's role in rejuvenating the Scottish kingdom, "The Thrissill and the Rois" also stresses James' responsibility to take care of his wife and his subjects—a responsibility that, if fulfilled, will strengthen both his royal authority and Scotland's autonomy. Margaret is portrayed in this work as a worthy queen for James; her own origins in an English "stok ryell" (151) are not dismissed or denigrated, but rather praised as proof of her suitability for marriage to a Scottish monarch. Dunbar constructs an interdependent relationship between the Tudor Rose and the Scottish Thistle; while Dunbar still gives Scotland the prime position in the Anglo-Scottish dynamic, his use of horticultural metaphor demonstrates his awareness that English power and pedigree are necessary to secure Scotland's power. The poet's development of Margaret's status as the vibrant Tudor Rose therefore illuminates Margaret's important role in reaffirming and perpetuating Stewart governance.

Luuk Houwen, Ruhr-Universitaet

A Cacophony of Sounds: *The Complaynt of Scotland* and the "Monologue Recreative" A pivotal passage that nevertheless does not immediately participate in the larger discussion of the *Complaynt of Scotland* is the so-called "Monologue recreative" (chapter 6), an encyclopaedic tour de force conducted by the "pastor" in which astronomy, cosmography and meteorology are some of the broader topics discussed. But this chapter is also characterised by its attempts to classify and catalogue the world. There are catalogues devoted to bird and animal sounds, herbs and their medicinal uses, technical terms and a host of others. Particularly puzzling is the arbitrariness of their selection. In that they are somewhat reminiscent of Jorge Luis Borges's ancient Chinese encyclopaedia entitled *Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*, on whose "remote pages" all

animals are classified as follows: "(a) those that belong to the Emperor, (b) embalmed ones, (c) those of that are trained, (d) suckling pigs, (e) mermaids, (f) fabulous ones, (g) stray dogs, (h) those that are included in this classification, (i) those that tremble as if they were mad, (j) innumerable ones, (k) those drawn with a very fine camel's hair brush, (l) others, (m) those that have just broken a flower vase, (n) those that resemble flies from a distance." This amusing classification does raise some serious questions about taxonomy, and it is no surprise it has been

reproduced again and again, from Foucault's *Les mots et les choses* (1966) to Lakoff's *Women, Fire, and Other Dangerous Things* (1990). This paper will consider the taxonomy of the catalogues and more specifically that of the animal and bird cries. It will also consider what role, if any, animal language which is often linked to the passions plays in the *Complaynt*.

Louise Hutcheson, University of Glasgow
Patrick Gordon of Ruthven (fl. 1606-1649): medieval manners in seventeenth-century romance

Although Patrick Gordon's epic romance, *Penardo and Laissa* (1615), was published in the early seventeenth century, it is a text inherently tied to, and fascinated by, the earlier medieval period. Born to Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, Patrick Gordon belonged to a 'leading branch' of the chiefs of the Gordons, the Earls of Huntly, a prominent noble family of Aberdeenshire. His intense pride in such noble lineage, for indeed it afforded him the prestigious patronage of George Gordon, second marquis of Huntly, penetrated the very core of both his romantic and historical works in the form of a particularly medieval devotion to heroism, nobility, and chivalry. Whilst his contemporaries were attempting to modernise the ever-flourishing romance genre (Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622) provides a pertinent comparison), Gordon, in both his fiction and histories, was more concerned with the glories of a now-lost past. In *Penardo*, he established a chivalric agenda in explicit terms, as he outlined 'Penardo his most admirable deeds of arms', and his 'ambitioune of glore,' and indeed it was the medieval-chivalric mode in which the romance operated. Likewise, his earlier historical epic *The Famous Historie of... the Bruce* (1613), provided readers with a − perhaps idealised − world of medieval manners. For indeed, it was no wonder [that in later life] Patrick Gordon was melancholic. His king had been defeated and executed; his chief had been executed and his heir killed in battle; his own brother and nephew had let the [royalist] side down; the old society of a military aristocracy was falling apart...[Gordon saw] the past through rose-tinted spectacles, lamenting lost glories, despising a debased present. (David Stevenson, *King or Covenant? Voices from Civil War*. p 186) How did such a biography shape Gordon's agenda, then? First and foremost was a robustly martial and aristocratic approach to his romance. Penardo, a 'marvellous Spenserian romp in the world of dungeons and dragons', would draw on medieval Scottish romances such as *The Bruce*, *The Wallace* and *Lancelot of the Laik* alongside Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and the Greek romance formula for inspiration, invoking a particularly physical sense of heroism which was complimented by acute moral and mental acumen. Gordon's conception of nobility, inherently tied as it was to his own sense of societal superiority and lineage, was directed by his intimate knowledge of the Gordon branch itself, which can be traced back as far as c.1150. Gordon's understanding of nobility is thus formed on the basis of a genteel, yet martially active, society, one which he laments the passing of come the seventeenth century. His solution is to provide to readers of *Penardo and Laissa* and *Bruce* the inspiration 'to the following of glorious actions' of heroes long past. The supernatural fantasia that accompanies this celebration of medieval history identifies Gordon as a typically melancholic neo-medievalist, which, in a seeming paradox, also illustrates the

significant impact of his seventeenth-century Scottish context upon his work. Gordon's work seeks to escape a contemporary environment in which the decay of social hierarchies and

centralised leadership has lead to, what he fears to be, dissolution of royal power. By seeking consolation in the past, Gordon inadvertently bolsters his romances in seventeenth-century political and cultural contexts, rendering his works as pertinent examples of Scottish seventeenth-century fiction more generally. This paper will provide a case study of Gordon's particular form of neo-medievalism, while seeking context in other, contemporary romances, such as John Kennedie's *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, and John Barclay's *Argenis*.

Sìm Innes, Harvard University
Giolla-Críost Táilléar and the use of *exempla* in later medieval Gaelic poetry This paper will examine the use of *exempla* material in a number of poems attributed to the later medieval Scottish Gaelic poet Giolla-Críost Táilléar. His work is known to us from the Book of the Dean of Lismore (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 72.1.37), compiled c. 1512-1542 in Fortingall, Perthshire by James MacGregor (the Dean) and other members of his family. This paper manuscript is well-known due to its use of an orthography based on Scots to represent Gaelic. The Book of the Dean was recently digitized and is available on-line, at www.isos.dias.ie, making research of its contents more accessible and even more crucial. Of the four poems attributed to Giolla-Críost in the Book of the Dean, three are religious narrative poems which have no published editions and are hitherto little discussed. These poems are: 'Réatla na Cruinne Corp Críost'('Star of the World the Body of Christ'), 'Adhbhar Bróin Brúadar Bailc'('A Powerful Dream was a Cause of Sorrow'), and 'Binn Labhras Leabhar Muire' ('Eloquently Speaks the Book of Mary'). Excerpts from working editions of the poems will be shown and issues of transliteration will be touched upon. This paper will investigate the sources used by the poet, since, as was pointed out by R. J. Lyall, 'the study of sources helps to define the cultural background within which the poem must be placed'. Important steps have been taken in recent years by scholars, such as Martin MacGregor and William Gillies, who have examined the 'worlds of the
Book of the Dean of Lismore'. This paper will shed light of the use of *exempla* collections, possibly Latin, by Giolla-Críost,
giving us the opportunity to consider the ways in which the poet modified his source material to fit his medium of bardic poetry. The influence of the mendicant orders in Gaelic Scotland will provide one strand of this 'cultural background'. Therefore, the study of the *exempla* collections will allow us to reflect on Gaelic Scotland's literary connections to the rest of Europe in the period. Furthermore, at least one of the poems warns against the misuse of the Eucharist by providing a detailed narrative concerning a *cailleach*. Discussion of this poem will allow us to consider notions of 'high' and 'popular' culture as manifested by Gaelic Scotland and their meaning in a religious context. This genre of poetry is traditionally considered to be a product of 'high' culture within Gaelic society since it employed syllabic metres and a literary high-register of the Gaelic language. What, then, are the implications of this given that the source material possibly originates in texts taken from mendicant preachers' handbooks? This discussion is highly pertinent since this high- register Gaelic, as well as some of the forms of bardic poetry, continued to be used after the Reformation for Protestant literature in Gaelic.

Karen Jillings, Massey University
Scotland's early literature on healing waters, c.1580-c.1640
In his 1636 treatise entitled *The Vertues of, and way how to use the Minerall and Medicinall Water at Peterhead in Scotland*, the physician Andrew Mure continued an established tradition of vernacular medical writing that advertised the efficacy of mineral waters principally to a lay audience. Treatises and pamphlets discussing the medicinal benefits of various mineral wells, springs and spas throughout much of Europe proliferated after the mid-sixteenth century, and the promotion of particular water sources by mainly local specialists boosted their reputation as a site of healing. In Scotland, wells situated at Peterhead and Aberdeen, and a spring at Kinghorn became renowned as possessing such healing waters. Between 1580 and 1636 six treatises about these sites were written in the vernacular by four different physicians: Gilbert Skene, who discussed the so- called Well of the Woman-hill in Aberdeen, Patrick Anderson, who described the 'cold spring at Kinghorn Craig', William Barclay, who published on both of these sources, and Andrew Mure, who wrote about the well at Peterhead.

These treatises were most obviously medical self-help manuals, conveying information and advice to their readers about the medicinal efficacy of the minerals contained within the particular waters each discussed, the recommended health regimen to be followed to maximise the waters' powers, and the necessity of professional supervision to ensure their efficient and safe use. This paper will argue that these texts were significantly more than self-help manuals, as they also touched on wide-ranging issues including elementary distillation methods, alchemical theory and the significance of local topography. Moreover, they also functioned as a form of tourist guidebook which praised each of Scotland's sources of healing waters as enhancing its particular locality and promoted each as being above or akin to those celebrated both in England and on the continent.

Ian Johnson, University of St Andrews
The Poetic Heights of Moralising and Pedantry in Robert Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* Fortunately, critics of Robert Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* have largely given up worrying themselves overmuch about the 'problem' of the palpable generic disjunction between the *narratio* and the *moralitas* of this remarkable and inventive work. But although the fable has, rightly enough, its fair share of fans, the moralization is markedly less loved, less pored over by scholars in search of ingenious readings and interesting things to say about mysteries of source use or about the traditions or precedents to which Henryson may or may not have been responding in his work. This is entirely understandable, for the fable has its own undoubted vibrancy and charm, whereas the *moralitas* is an academically conscientious treatment of Nicholas Trevet's famous and authoritative commentary on Book III Metre 12 of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and

has accordingly been regarded as pedantic and dull by comparison. It has, however, been said that a pedant is merely someone with a slightly higher standard of

accuracy than oneself. This paper contends that our Dunfermline schoolteacher was a pedant par excellence, and not a little poetic with it. In his *narratio* Henryson's translational attentiveness to Trevet (and Boethius) is deft, aware, intellectually and morally discriminating, and inventive in rendering significant textual details with a degree of creativity that has not been sufficiently

recognised and valued in modern criticism and scholarship. This paper will therefore discuss some close readings of Henryson in action as a translator and will also broaden out discussion to entertain the implications, for a more general understanding of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, of the question of Henryson's distinctively 'scholastic' literary sensibility.

Anne Kelly, University of Saskatchewan,
Neo-Stoicism, Garden Culture and Recusant Identity in Early Modern Scotland
The development of national identity in early modern Scotland can be examined in terms of the rise of garden culture in the same period, a phenomenon in which increased attention to the value of landscape art emerged along with what David Allan identifies as "a reclusive and highly reflective neo-Stoic sentiment" (*Philosophy* 29) among Scottish nobles. In particular, I intend to identify the special sustaining value of garden culture for recusant communities. Whether as an expression of retreat, an emblem of recusant identity, a figurative archive of family heritage, or all of the above, the garden occupied an important place in the development of a distinctly Catholic ethos during the reign of James VI and I.
The early seventeenth century saw the sudden emergence of horticulture in Scotland, an "eager adoption of post-Renaissance garden cultivation" (Allan, "A Commendation" 61) which should be regarded not as an unprecedented phenomenon but rather as the outcome of cultural and intellectual enterprises that had been in the making within Jacobean Scotland from the fifteenth century onwards. That the garden should assume such significance is not surprising given its place in literary and cultural history, whether in classical philosophy as an expression of Stoic retreat or as the subject of late Medieval allegorical dream-visions such as Gavin Douglas's *Palis of Honoure*. For Scottish nobles in the early seventeenth century, the garden was regarded "both as an artefact and as a metaphor for an outlook on life" (Allan, "A Commendation" 60). According to Keith Brown, one can identify during the reign of James VI and I a contemplative nobility for whom the practice of horticulture became a means of expressing "a desire to rest from the court, from government and the cares of the world" (209). The act of gardening within Jacobean Scotland can thus be seen as a form of twofold cultivation, namely, that of a space which is both literal and figurative: as such, the *locus amoenus*, the pleasant place, becomes a rhetorical topic that is as much specific as it is general, for while carrying figurative meaning, it is also rooted within a precise cultural, regional, and mental framework. The primary objective of my research is therefore to determine the special sustaining value of garden culture for recusant communities within early seventeenth-century Scotland. More particularly, I will identify expressions of recusant identity during the reign of James VI and I, assess the role of the garden in the formation of this Catholic ethos, and, finally, evaluate its literary and cultural influence within a non-recusant context.

John Leeds, Florida Atlantic University
Universals and Particulars in John Mair's *Historia Maioris Britanniae* John Mair (1467-1550) was a Scotsman who achieved international renown during a long
career as a scholastic logician and theologian at the University of Paris. In addition to dozens of works in his areas of philosophical specialty, Mair published one chronicle, the *Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (1521). As the title of this work indicates, Mair records

both English and Scottish history, but his attention is devoted primarily to the history of his native land. My concern is with the ways in which Mair's philosophical preoccupations inform his writing of historical narrative.

Mair was a nominalist, a member of the dominant school in late scholasticism. Broadly speaking, nominalism involves a stance toward one of the central problems in medieval philosophy: the relation between universals and particulars. Nominalists hold that reality consists entirely of discrete particulars and that universals, the categories into which we sort such particulars, have no existence outside the mind. Their philosophical opponents, known as realists, believe that universals are extra-mental realities that inhere in particulars. Thus the nominalist believes that "tree" is a purely intellectual construct, based on certain similarities between certain particulars, whereas the realist believes that "tree" stands for an essential reality that is present in those particulars.

This long-standing philosophical debate clearly informs Mair's discussion, early in his chronicle, of ethnic and/or national divisions within Great Britain. Mair suggests, on nominalist grounds, that these divisions can have no reality because they correspond to nothing, to no discrete object, in particular. Accordingly, he says that because there is no decisive geographical boundary between Scotland and England, the division between those nations has no real basis. What then, can indeed serve as the real basis for a nation? Mair has an answer: the *insula* itself, the island of Great Britain, a discrete, identifiable object. All born within that island belong to one people, he argues, the people of Britain. Mair thus becomes the first Scottish advocate of union with England.

This impulse toward union, however, will be dissolved from within by the same philosophical principles. National particularity, despite its questionable basis in reality, stubbornly reasserts itself, and Mair's own national pride is on full display in his narrative of Wallace, Bruce, and the struggle for Scottish independence. Even so, as a nominalist, Mair cannot admit the reality of corporate universals like "the nation." On his own terms, all such universals are reducible to the discrete particulars that constitute them; the word "nation" designates nothing, in reality, other than a collection of human individuals. This assumption is confirmed by the violently centrifugal story of Scottish society in the late Middle Ages, as by Mair's briefer account of contemporary England. Neither Scotland nor England, let alone a dream of Great Britain, can withstand the forces of particularity. Though it long ago lost its central position in philosophy, the problem of universals and particulars stands at the heart of historical reality; that, I argue, is the lesson of John Mair, a proud Scotsman who spent his life in an intellectual culture that knew no boundaries.

Tommaso Leso, Università Ca' Foscari – Venezia
Defining "Scottish" Identity in the Early Middle Ages: Bede and the Picts
Defining ethnic identities through the early Middle Ages has long been a matter of concern for historians: until rather recently, attempts to find the roots of modern national identities in the IV – VIII centuries were quite common among medievalists. The peoples of the early Middle Ages and the kingdoms they established were looked upon as the direct predecessors of modern nation-states: a naive overreliance on narrative sources, backed up with a quite offhand use of archaeological data, made the trick. Scotland makes no exception: the beginnings of the modern

idea of Scotland were searched for in the peoples that inhabited early medieval Northern Britain, and particularly the Picts. Scholarly debate has now long shown that this search for the origins of modern nations in early medieval kingdoms is an enterprise inevitably doomed for failure: methodological innovations, a new awareness of the problems involved in the use of narrative sources as instruments to understand history, and the development of new models of interpretation of the sources, written as well as archaeological, helped the overcoming of the old ideas. Though Scottish historiography has suffered for a certain degree of delay in the acknowledgment of these developments, it has now moved forward and begun to fill the gap: many of the long-living paradigms on early medieval Scotland have been first put in doubt and after abandoned. Yet, these new perspectives do not mean that one has to stop looking for ethnic identities in Northern Britain through the late Roman iron age and the early historic period: on the contrary, once freed from the "national" burden historians had put on their shoulders, these ethnic identities can finally be studied on their own right, helping us to frame the political landscape of early medieval Northern Britain. With this context in mind, this paper aims to examine one of the key moments in the formation and consolidation of the ethnic identity of the Picts, the most important and intriguing people of early medieval Northern Britain, by concentrating on a specific narrative sources, Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English People": through an analysis of the way in which Bede, an outsider – as it is well known that the Picts did not leave any written evidence themselves – represents the political and cultural changes of Pictish society, it will be possible to appreciate the fundamental processes that took place in Northern Britain in the late VII and early VIII century. Bede's work shares certain features common to all early medieval "pseudo-histories", first of all political engagement and the

strive to salvation: it's primary concern is not what modern day historians would call factual accuracy, and we have to be well aware of that when we use it as a source. Far from rendering it useless, these features of the "Ecclesiastical History" are extremely interesting, provided that we are able to place it in its political and cultural landscape: it is important to understand that Bede's work reveals a lot more about its own time – a time of fertile, though often contradictory, Anglo-Pictish relations, which the "Ecclesiastical History" indubitably helped to shape – then about the time which describes. As I shall try to show, careful analysis of the ways in which Bede represents the Pictish society, with particular attention to its sources and audience, helps us enlighten the most significant moment in the history of the Picts: it was indeed in the late VII – early VIII century that the Picts, through the interaction with other peoples of Northern Britain and the development of a more articulate society, became fully aware of their ethnic identity – something that was originally brought on them from the outside in the later Roman iron age – and consolidated political structure.

Jessica L. Malay, University of Huddersfield.
Thomas of Erceldoune's Lady: The Scottish Sibyl
In the early fifteenth century Scottish romance *Thomas of Erceldoune* a fay lady is prominent in the action of the narrative. It is also this figure, not Thomas, who delivers the prophecies that come at the end. Thomas serves as the Lady's conduit or messenger, rather than the originator of the prophecies on Scottish nationhood that feature in this poem. Despite this, the lady has

received little attention. This paper will discuss the close affinity this lady shares with the sibylline figures of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as later medieval sibyls. The use of a sibyl figure in the poem creates a direct link between these Scottish prophecies of nationhood, with similar prophecies circulating in other parts of the British Isles. By creating this link, the poet validates the Scottish prophecies contained in the text. Allusions to the medieval sibylline tradition also place the narrative and prophecies in this romance within the wider prophetic tradition of medieval Europe. Thus Erceldoune's lady, a composite character derived from a variety of sibylline traditions, is instrumental in communicating the importance and "truth" of the Scottish prophecies contained in the narrative.

Beatrice Mameli, Università degli Studi di Padova
"Quhar art thou gane my luf erudices?": Robert Henryson and his
Orpheus
Robert Henryson is one of the most refined and complex authors of Scottish literature. Despite the significant lack of information about his life, his works represent a witty and elegant example of fusion between the various traditions with which he certainly was acquainted: Italian, Latin, and Scottish. In addition he certainly was familiar with the works of Chaucer, whom he often imitated in the style. All this can be noticed in his *Orpheus and Eurydice*, a work in which he describes the journey of the Thracian poet to the otherworld to rescue the soul of his beloved wife Eurydice. In this poem, Henryson not only shapes the classical myth to a readership composed of his contemporaries, but he also blends it with other traditions which had adapted the figure of Orpheus in a different way, such as the tradition of the lay, to which the courtly poem *Sir Orfeo* belongs. In this lay, for example the Greek myth is contaminated with elements from the Celtic fairy tales. Moreover, in this poem, an evolution in the figure of the hero can be noticed; from the initial description of Orpheus as the perfect man to imitate, as the story unfolds, the hero is presented more and more as a weak, thus raising many doubts about the reliability of the narrator voice.
In this paper, I will try to give an overall view of the literary influences which can be identified in this poem and I will analyse the problem of some of the discrepancies contained in the text, as for instance in the presentation of the characters and in the final moral. Moreover, I will talk about the problem of Henryson and his narrator: it is not always easy to understand whether the narrator corresponds to the voice of the author and what kind of relationship he wants to create between himself and his readers.

Sally Mapstone, University of Oxford
The Origins of Andrew Myllar's Printing Device
This paper will analyse the relationship between Andrew Myllar's well-known punning printing device and that of the Rouen binder Jean du Moulin. It will analyse the use of du Moulin's device in all the known copies of books showing his binding and will also discuss what is known of his supplementary career as a printer. It will engage with the challenging question of the chronology of Myllar's and du Moulin's work and will argue that these aspects of the early history of Scottish printing and its relationship with Normandy require renewed inspection.

Rebecca Marsland, St Hilda's College, Oxford
Laments for the Dead in Older Scots Literature
This paper will focus on laments for the dead inserted into longer narratives produced in Scotland in the second half of the fifteenth century. I will examine laments that occur within Bower's *Scotichronicon* (c. 1440-49), *The Buik of Alexander* (c. 1438), *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* (c. 1460-99), and *The Wallace* (c. 1476). All four of these texts contain laments for dead monarchs, and other persons of national and historical significance, and my aim in this paper is twofold: firstly, to briefly examine these laments in relation to the wider tradition of laments for the dead in medieval literature; and secondly, to examine their structural and thematic importance in the narratives within which they occur.

I will argue that the lament for the dead is a genre in its own right, a subdivision of the wider complaint form, and that its origins lie in Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova* (c. 1210), and that the intercalated laments for dead kings which occur in these Older Scots narratives can only be understood in the context of this distinctive tradition. I will concentrate primarily on the formal aspects of these laments, examining the ways in which they are at once integrated into, and separated from, the broader narratives which contain them. I will argue that study of the laments for the dead included within Scottish romances and chronicles illustrates the growth of a distinctively Scottish tradition of elegiac commemoration.

Roger Mason, University of St Andrews
John Monipennie and the chronicling of Scotland at the time of the union of 1603
In 1612, John Monipennie published in London a short book entitled *The Abridgement or Summarie of the Scots Chronicles* [STC 18014]. Though frequently reissued in the 17th century (Glasgow or Edinburgh 1633, 1650, 1662 and 1671), neither the content nor authorship of the book have ever been subjected to detailed scrutiny. This paper will remedy this defect while also exploring the text's relationship to earlier works published in Scotland and England in the 1590s and sometimes also attributed to John Monipennie – notably *Certeine Matters Concerning the Realme of Scotland* (London, 1603) and an earlier incarnation of this work published in Edinburgh *c.*1594. In doing so, it will question the validity of attributing these earlier works to Monipennie and explore the sources of the historical and chorographical materials printed in them, their significance in the context of the union of the Anglo-Scottish crowns in 1603, and the extent to which Monipennie's work of 1612 was indebted to them.

Katherine McClune, Merton College, Oxford
Editing Edinburgh, NLS, 19.2.6 (Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis)
The poetic work of John Stewart of Baldynneis survives in a presentation manuscript, dedicated (but possibly never presented) to King James VI of Scotland. As a minor nobleman in the north-east of Scotland, Stewart is not particularly prominent in the historical accounts, with the exception of a period between 1579-83, during which hostilities between the poet and his mother on one side, and his ex-stepfather and his brother on the other, escalated to the extent that the king became involved in the conflict. This episode aside, Stewart appears only rarely in historical records, while his poetry exists solely in the Advocates' witness. As such, production of a scholarly edition of his work might superficially seem an undemanding task – no problematic

manuscript witnesses to compare, and no complicated biographical accounts to untangle. Yet Stewart's work has never been satisfactorily or completely edited, and this paper engages with some possible reasons for the critical omission. It outlines what can be learned from the manuscript with regard to Stewart's poetic interests and his potential audience; it considers the wide variety of genre and thematic preoccupation expressed in the collection; using the literary references that appear in the manuscript, it posits a 'library' for the poet, and finally, it assesses the extent to which incorporating knowledge of Stewart's familial troubles can shed light on the poems or, conversely, can overshadow appreciation of more general literary themes.

Tricia A. McElroy, University of Alabama
A 'quarrell sett out in metre': Reformation Satirical Literature
This paper will consider the generic, textual, and periodisation issues involved in conceptualising a new edition of Reformation satirical literature. This editorial project clearly builds on James Cranstoun's *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation* (1891), but also on my own research on the Sempill/Lekpreuik broadsides. The process of proposing a new edition of this literature to the STS has raised difficult methodological questions. To what extent has Cranstoun's account of the poems contributed to their marginalisation in literary studies? Do his definitions ('satirical,' 'of the Reformation') still work? Should a new collection embrace other generic categories and be organised along different lines? Should it incorporate recently uncovered prose pieces ('The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis', eg.); focus on political or religious controversy; be bound by certain dates (1565-1584, eg.) or certain material forms (manuscript or print)? Should Sempill and Lekpreuik remain central to the project? This paper will address such questions and present my ideas about new ways to approach this important and often neglected body of Scottish literature.

Anne McKim, University of Waikato
Some recurrent language patterns, and variations, in Older Scots
Recent corpus-based work by Meurman-Solin (2003) and Williamson (2001) has highlighted that pattern and variation, including the use of variants interchangeably by the same writer in the same text, are typical of Older Scots texts. The corpora used by these researchers mainly comprise non-literary texts produced in the period 1380-1700. The focus of my paper, on the other hand, is literary texts, specifically longer narrative poems written between 1375 and 1530, a period of acknowledged and significant linguistic change. In particular, I adopt a historical pragmatic approach to consider examples of discourse connectives, including adverbs/ conjunctions like *thane* and *syne that function as 'text-structuring devices' (Jucker, 2005) in a range of Older Scots narrative poems* The paper also includes a closer look at some changing patterns of usage in the major works of one narrative poet, Robert Henryson.

Jacquelyn Murdock, Northwestern University
A battle of "trechor tongs" : Gaelic, Middle Scots, and the question of Scottish ethnicity in *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* The 15th and 16th century Scottish flyting, a poetic exchange of vulgar insults in which opponents try to outwit each other, is not only a means of entertaining an audience, but also a device for forming a literary community. This is a

community, however, that is not bound by class or position – since flytings were enjoyed by everyone from the King down to the members of the lowest classes – but rather by the language of the flyting: Middle Scots. Indeed, with a poem that features so much vulgarity and slang, only an audience familiar with the language of the works would be able to fully understand and appreciate the poets' craft. The flyters themselves seize upon the concept of community to successfully satirize their opponents. Their strategy is not only to experiment with familiar local terminology, but also to further define the community of the audience, setting the boundaries of who belongs within it and who is excluded from it. Then, they insult each other by accusing their opponents of being aberrations, while they themselves are perfect representatives of the community. In this paper, I will demonstrate that William Dunbar and Walter Kennedy in *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* strike a particularly ethnic chord as they engage in their poetic battle, focusing their discourse on Dunbar's Lowland heritage and Kennedy's Highland background. Ethnicity is determined in large part by language for these poets as they bring a specific focus to the Gaelic and Middle Scots languages, with Dunbar accusing Kennedy of sounding worse than a fart when he speaks Gaelic, but Kennedy arguing that Gaelic is the true language of Scotland. Furthermore, in this linguistic debate each poet links his opponent's language to treason, with Dunbar calling Gaelic a "trechour tong" associated with the barbarous Irish, and Kennedy linking Middle Scots to Lowland sympathizers who allowed the English to invade Scotland. I will argue that their attacks on each other not only raise important questions about who comprises the community of Scots, reflecting historical Highland-Lowland tensions, but also highlight the problematic position of language in the realm, where both competing vernaculars are suspected of having "foreign" and treasonous origins. Thus instead of defining the boundaries of the audience's community by excluding only the opponent, *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* ultimately blurs these boundaries, destabilizing the notions of Scottish identity.

Michael Murphy
Some Medieval Scottish Poets in Modspell Editions
This paper is about an effort to make some major late medieval Scottish poems more accessible to modern readers. In recent years Seamus Heaney has translated Henryson's Testament and Fables, as he had done a translation of Beowulf, an indication that he considers Henryson nearly as inaccessible as the Old English epic for many moderns. It is NOT as inaccessible, but it is sufficiently so to discourage readers, although Henryson has had several excellent academic editions. But, as Heaney puts it in his preface to Testament, "unless this poetry is brought out of the university syllabus and on to the shelves, 'a great prince in prison lies.' " So he translates it.
I, on the other hand, take a middle ground by keeping all of the original words of these poets but with modern spelling. The benefit of this method is that students and others are able to read these major Scottish poets in the Original with comparative speed and with pleasure rather than with great effort of the kind that simply discourages them.
A perfect demonstration of this kind of discouragement comes in a blog called Homo Sum, a title that gives some idea of its expectations. Having read an account of the Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy somewhere, the owner of the blog, McClaren, wanted to read the piece. Having done so he said: "I have no idea what the hell is going on. Sure, I can parse some of but most of it is just

painful to look at." He wanted a web edition with lots of help, but even if he had come up with the very helpful, well-glossed TEAMS editions on the web, he would still have been required to read them in the original spelling which is a great part of the difficulty.

Even with my edition plenty of difficulty still remains with the often strange dialect vocabulary, but simply modernizing the spelling simplifies the problem a great deal, and it gives to those who are willing to put in a little effort the original poems in the original language. Samples of the texts done in Modspell will be distributed in handouts, as well as web page addresses for full Modspell versions of some texts of Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas.

Kylie Murray, Lincoln College, Oxford
New Light on the Scottish Reception of *The Consolation of Philosophy*. The principal focus of this paper is two virtually unknown manuscript witnesses of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* which, taken together, could revolutionise our understanding of Boethian reception in Scotland, and in turn, of Scottish manuscript and print culture. Boethian allusions in the *Kingis Quair* have led some scholars to argue that the most usual channel for Scots to encounter Boethius was via the English commentary tradition, and in particular, through Chaucer. This paper presents new evidence that firstly proves the Scots were reading Boethius in Latin over two centuries prior to the emergence of Chaucer's works, and secondly proves the powerful connections Scotland had with the Continent in this regard.

The first manuscript witness of the *Consolation* to be discussed is the Glasgow MS, a twelfth century codex which could constitute an exciting Scottish engagement with Boethius' work, previously unacknowledged by critical consensus. Although deemed northern English by the few scholars who are familiar with it, I argue for this manuscript's Scottish provenance. Its earliest readers were Scots who asserted Scotland's place in the world by naming its king at a juncture where world geography, and different nations, are being discussed. Its commentary (in Latin) and illustrations are distinct within the entire manuscript corpus of the *Consolation,* and include a partially mutilated miniature which depicts men being transformed into beasts by Circe. If, as I argue, the MS is Scottish, it is the only illustrated Scottish manuscript that we have from this period, making Boethius central to Scottish manuscript culture.

The second manuscript, Aberdeen, University Library, MS 263 (c.1475-c.1510), a very exciting discovery, is what appears to be the only surviving Scottish (albeit in Latin) commentary of Boethius's *Consolatione* in existence, although it has never been examined. The Aberdeen codex belonged to the celebrated humanist, and first Latinist at King's College, Aberdeen, John Vaus (d. 1539). I believe it could be Vaus's own commentary, designed to be printed as a text book on the Continent: Vaus was the first British academic to devise and use a printed text book, which he had produced by Badius Ascensius in Paris, and the manuscript shares remarkable affinities with these existing copies of Vaus's printed text books from the 1520s. Excitingly, one of the earliest surviving Scottish printed fragments from c.1507, associated with Androw Myllar's press, is thought to be Vaus's: there is a tantalising possibility that this Boethius Commentary could pre-date the Myllar fragment, which is also from a Vaus textbook; what we could have in this codex is a manuscript draft of one of Scotland's earliest, but now lost, prints. The other possibility is that the commentary was by Duncan Bunch, Glasgow University's earliest regent, since the scribe is one of his students, and Bunch is known to have lectured on Boethius. Either

way, this codex has its origins in a Scottish paedagogical milieu, and retained powerful links with that milieu well into the sixteenth century, as we see in some of the Scoto-Latin works associated with Vaus and his circle. A particularly striking example of Scottish-Boethianism is to be found in Florens Volusenus's *De Animi Tranquillitate* (1543), a visionary prose treatise inspired by Boethius's *Consolation*. Because of Vaus's Boethius codex, it is possible to trace the precise means by which Volusenus, Vaus's own student, would most probably have encountered the seminal work of Boethius.

Taken together, then, these two manuscripts yield precious new insights into the transmission and reception of Boethius in Scotland- a crucial, but so far, woefully understudied aspect of Scottish literary studies.

Murat Ogutcu, Hacettepe University

A Tale of Two Nations: Scotland and England: Chaucer, Henryson, Shakespeare, Troilus and Criseyde

The matter of Troilus and Criseyde had been dealt in both England and Scotland in similar yet different ways from the late 14th to the early 17th century. In Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (ca. 1385), the conflict between worldly and heavenly love is depicted in a controversial way. Particularly, worldly love is elaborated throughout the work which, however, is, like most of the love poetry in the Middle Ages, retracted in the palinode at the very end. Therefore, Chaucerians have quarrelled about whether the work celebrated or condemned the romance between Troilus and Criseyde and how the moral to embrace divine love should be regarded, at all. We had argued elsewhere that Chaucer created a third space through ambiguity.

Henryson's *Testament of Criseyde* (ca. 1532), on the other hand, seems to give a Scottish, or rather Catholic, answer and afterthought to the loose ends he inherited from Chaucer. Noted for his

translations of Aesop's moral fables, Henryson might have seem dissatisfied with the lack of poetic justice on the side of Criseyde, which may be why he reduced her to a leprous harlot. However, how should we consider Henryson's work? Is it an appendix to Chaucer's poetry that shows the bondage of Scottish literature to English literature and culture or could it be considered as a creative resistance? If the former is true, then we might not call the *Testament* a part of Scottish literature. Yet, if the latter is to be considered as a possible answer, Henryson could be seen as a literary figure who transformed Chaucer's version, hence English literature, by creating his own unique version of the Troilus and Criseyde story as a manifesto of Scottish literature.

However, a new twist in the literary relation between England and Scotland occurs when the Matter of Troy is put on stage. Shakespeare in his *Troilus and Cressida* (ca. 1602) combines Chaucer and Henryson's versions, along with many others. In the former, Shakespeare merely continues the English tradition, yet in the latter, Shakespeare seems to deviate from that tradition in embracing Scottish literature at a time when England is still ruled by Elizabeth I who was said to have planned the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne. Thus, through the work, the unification of the two countries is maintained on a literary level, which would be maintained later also practically under the future James I of England. Thus, the Troilus and Criseyde story sheds light into the Anglo-Scottish relations and the reciprocal influence of each

side on the other reflected in literature. Therefore, this paper will compare and contrast Chaucer's, Henryson's and Shakespeare's dealing of Troilus and Criseyde.

Clausdirk Pollner, University of Leipzig
Old Scots Words in New Books for Young Scottish Readers
As long ago as 1980, John T. Low commented on the rather precarious situation of Scots – the old national tongue, after all – in the Scottish education system. He points out (referring back to a previous essay by himself of 1974) that particularly for primary school children more written material in Scots (or bilingually in English *and* Scots) should be made available – stories, poems, plays and (short) novels. This perceived gap has been partially closed by the Edinburgh imprint "Itchy Coo", founded in 2001 by the two writers M. Fitt and J. Robertson – an imprint which centrally addresses young readers and offers them original texts in Scots and translations from English into Scots. We now have translations of books by Dahl, Milne, McCall-Smith and Stevenson, among others. The publisher's slogan is "Braw books for bairns o aw ages".
The present paper will take a closer look at Fitt's translations of Dahl's *The Twits*, for which he chooses *The Eejits* as the Scots title. "It was the title that decided the choice of Dahl work [sic]. I mean, *The Eejits* is a gift and I can't believe nobody's picked up on that before." (From a R. Lumsden interview with M. Fitt, published online on the "Itchy Coo" website.) Fitt's version is more than a "mere" translation. He makes sure that there is a strong Scottish (cultural) flavour to his rendering of Dahl's story, e.g. "Then what on earth..." in the English origional becomes "Whit in the name o Auld Nick's breeks..." (21). Fitt makes use of the whole gamut of Scots story-telling trickery – word-play, alliteration, new and informal and slangy words and certainly traditional words and expressions ("Older Scots"): by p. 6 we come across, inter alia, e.g. *ken* (of course!) 'know', *glower* 'stare', *smooried* 'covered', *sleekit* 'smooth, *dicht* 'wipe', *guidman* 'husband'.
The paper looks at these cultural/linguistic strategies in some detail.

Rhiannon Purdie, University of St Andrews
Genres and Periods in Older Scots literature: the case of *Roswall and Lillian* The periodisation of Older Scots literature has always been a little difficult to square with
other national literatures. The term 'medieval' is habitually stretched to include the early sixteenth- century poetry of Dunbar and Douglas, and often beyond them to include that of their poetic successor Sir David Lyndsay. The Scottish romance *Roswall and Lillian* is traditionally labelled a medieval work: it is included in Severs' *Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500: Volume I,* where it is described – entirely without evidence -- as being 'composed probably in the late fifteenth century' (p. 152). The *Manual* also notes that it 'influenced the ballad *The Lord of Lorn and the False Steward* (Child 5.45)'. *Roswall*'s rhyming couplet form, its male-Cinderella narrative in which the hero's innate nobility proves to be irrepressible, and the fact that a related early Modern ballad exists, all fit the pattern of other known medieval romances. This would seem to confirm at once *Roswall*'s medieval status and the patterns of accepted literary history to which it conforms, e.g. that couplet romances are a medieval form or that, in generic terms, the early modern narrative ballad is a descendant of medieval verse romance. David Fowler in his *Literary History of the Popular Ballad* (1968) observes: '*The Lord*

of Lorn illustrates the achievement of the new minstrelsy, unhampered by melodic restrictions, in transforming late medieval romance [i.e. *Roswall and Lillian*] into ballad form.'

A closer look at *Roswall*'s history confirms none of these things, however. Its earliest print dates from 1663 and, unusually, it is not mentioned in the famous list of vernacular works in the 1550 *Complaynt of Scotland,* or indeed anywhere else. Its greatest period of fame seems rather to have been the eighteenth century from which several more prints survive, not to mention Sir Walter Scott's recollection of performances of it by ballad-singers in the streets of Edinburgh. A copy of its supposed descendant *The Lord of Lorn*, on the other hand, appears in the ca. 1650 Percy Folio MS and there are records of licences to print this ballad issued to London printers from as early as 1580. A 1598 poem by Guilpin refers to 'th'olde ballad of the Lord of Lorne', suggesting it was well known even before 1580.

If we let go of our accepted version of English and Scottish literary history for a moment, what do the known facts about *Roswall and Lillian* suggest? Is it a medieval text or a modern one? Is it the ancestor of the *Lord of Lorn* or – against all we think we know of the relationship between romance and ballad – its descendant? Is it a romance at all or, as Sir Walter Scott's recollections suggest, a ballad? How valid are our categories of literary history for a text like *Roswall and Lillian*?

Steven Reid, University of Glasgow
'High culture' and the uses of neo-Latin in post-reformation Scotland, c.1560-c.1638
In the past three decades the contours of 'popular' culture in early modern Scotland have been mapped out with considerable success. The groundbreaking work of Margo Todd and Michael Graham has shown how central the twin tools of presbytery and kirk session were to implementing a wholly Protestant mindset in Scotland's 1,000 or so parishes and to controlling almost every aspect of social and moral life therein, whilst area-specific studies of the impact of the reformation at a local level (most recently of the complex region of Fife by John McCallum) and of the various manifestations of the witch-craze in Scotland by Christina Larner and Julian Goodare have shown how entrenched protestant belief and fear of the supernatural were in lowland Scotland.

However, belief and superstition at the grass-roots level of Scottish society is merely one dimension of the broader picture of post-reformation Scottish culture, a picture which remains largely obscured. Recent work by Alexander Broadie on the evolution of Scottish philosophy in the 16th and 17th centuries, by Arthur Williamson and Paul McGinnis, Jamie Reid-Baxter, and others on Scottish neo-Latin, and on the protestant reform of the Scottish universities has shown considerable gaps in our knowledge of what (for lack of a better term) can be described as 'high culture' – the set

of cultural products, mainly in the arts and especially in literature, held in the highest esteem by a culture, usually by the aristocracy and intelligentsia. It is impossible at this stage to give a full definition of what 'high culture' was in early modern Scotland, who its main consumers and participants were, or the forms it took. However, this paper surveys the outputs of one aspect of this culture, the various uses of neo-Latin in Scotland between 1560 and 1638. While Latin's importance as the medium of governmental and legal dialogue was beginning to decline by the mid-sixteenth century, this paper argues that neo-Latin continued to enjoy unrivalled, and

increasing, popularity in academic and poetic circles. Neo-Latin texts spanned a variety of genres and fulfilled a variety of functions, including manuals and tracts aimed at teaching (*theses philosophicae* and *theologicae*, lecture notes, and some textbooks), neo-Latin poetry and religious commentary, and major prose treatises (including those by well-known figures such as George Buchanan, but also lesser known ones like the St Andrews and Aberdeen professor Robert Baron, author of two extensive treatises on philosophy and theology).

What emerges from this (admittedly wide) body of material is that while neo-Latin fulfilled a wide range of educational and leisurely purposes in early modern Scotland, the culture captured in these texts was far from xenophobically nor monolithically Presbyterian. Rather, participants in Scotland's 'high culture' (if we take their authors to be participants) were more socially and religiously inclusive, and more open to 'modern' philosophical and scientific thinking, than we have hitherto recognised.

Frauke Reitemeier, University of Göttingen,
"False, traiterous Scot": Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James IV* What kind of king was James IV of Scotland? Historians still disagree about how to evaluate his role in Scottish history. R. L. Mackie's seminal biography (1958) shows him as a "moonstruck romantic" with his eyes "ever at the ends of the earth" (201) who was not clever and realist enough for the diplomacy that was needed to successfully steer Scotland through the troubled European political waters. The 'Stewart biographer' Norman Macdougall portrays him as something of a political genius, more skillful in governing than would appear from the events in the early 1500s. In 1992, in his *History of Scotland*, Michael Lynch calls him "a law unto himself" (159) and regards

him as an overall efficient ruler. James IV came to power after meeting his father, James III, on the battlefield; the battle

ended with the death of James III. Though the Scottish parliament officially cleared James IV of having a hand in his father's death, somehow the image of a parricide stuck. Still, James was a popular king; music and literature flourished at his court. He strengthened his country's navy by instigating a comprehensive ship-building programme, which brought him into conflict with Edward VI of England. A marriage treaty was struck between the English and the Scots, and in 1503, James IV was married to Margaret, Henry VII's daughter. This should have ensured a lasting peace between both countries, and to consolidate it further, the Treaty of Perpetual Peace was ratified by both rulers. Only a few years later, though, James found himself bound to go to war with England when Henry VII joined the continental anti-French league, to honour his obligation of mutual support with France. The ultimate result of his anti-English policy was James's decisive defeat at Flodden in 1513.

This short summary sounds as if James IV simply had the misfortune of being ground to pieces between his political alliance with France and the marriage alliance with England. Robert Greene's 1594 *The Scottish History of James IV* suggests otherwise. In this play, usually classified as a "romantic comedy", Greene depicts James IV as a womaniser, interested in chasing after the virtuous Ida in spite of being married to Dorothea of England. This is partly to be blamed on his

evil counsellors who are more intent on making money than on supporting the king, but also – and mainly – because James has a lustful character. The play came out only seven years after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. Was it for reasons of anti-Scottish propaganda? Or did Greene attempt to ride the tide of interest in historical subjects – after all, he also wrote *Selimus* and *Alphonsus*, both of which are based on historical characters likewise? What would an English audience at that time do with this depiction of the Scottish king? Would they consider the play as a simple comedy, with no relation to any person living or dead? What reaction would a Scottish audience show – what reputation did James IV have with them? These are some of the questions I would like to investigate in my paper. Greene's plays have not received much attention from literary critics, but I think that it would be worthwhile to analyse both his depiction of the Scottish king – possibly in contrast to, or parallel to, those of the Spanish and Turkish rulers – and to contextualise Greene's depiction with Scottish and English texts dealing with Scottish history and the supposed national characteristics.

Sarah C. E. Ross, Massey University
Elizabeth Melville, James Melville, and the devotional sonnet sequence in the 1590s
Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross (*c*. 1582-1640), has long been known as the author of *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603, and numerous editions thereafter), but Jamie Reid-Baxter's discovery in 2002 of her extensive verse in manuscript has established her as a prolific and significant Scottish devotional poet. Melville's devotional lyrics and sonnets in manuscript, likely to have been written in the 1590s, alter our understanding not only of women's writing but of Protestant devotional poetics in the period, as they provide fresh insight into the emergence of imaginative Protestant devotional poetry in Scotland and England in the late sixteenth century. I will focus in this paper on Melville's three short sequences of devotional sonnets (two of three and one of seven sonnets), for which there is very little precedent in the 1590s. I will look in particular to her distant relative James Melville's sequence of ten devotional sonnets in his *Spirituall Propine* (1598) as the only close Scottish comparator for Elizabeth's sequences, as well as to the sonnets of Montgomerie and James VI, and the English sequences of Henry Lok and Barnabe Barnes. I will explore the entwining of Petrarchan and devotional complaint in these sequences, and I will argue that Elizabeth Melville's sonnets constitute a new and revolutionary use of the Petrarchan sonnet and sonnet sequence to express a devotional turn to Christ, and to construct an individuated, and intricately poetic, Calvinist lyric subjectivity. Deirdre Serjeantson has recently argued for Henry Lok's 'revolutionary' use of the English sonnet to express 'Sundry Christian Passions' in 1593, trenchantly insisting that Lok's sonnets are indicative of Scottish influences on English religious verse. Melville's sonnet sequences emerge out of precisely the 'literary self-consciousness' in Scottish religious poetry in the 1590s identified by Serjeantson; however, they also evince strong trans-national influences, as Melville explicitly rewrites and parodies English amatory poetics. Serjeantson stages her argument in Gribben and Mullen's recent *Literature and the Scottish Reformation* (Ashgate, 2009), which sets out to demonstrate that Calvinism did not crush the literary Renaissance in Scotland. Elizabeth Melville is not mentioned in that collection, but she is a striking example of Scottish literary Calvinism, a more vital and defining figure than is currently recognised. In her use of the sonnet sequence and her fusion of Petrarchan and devotional complaint to forge a lyric subjectivity that is at once poetic and strictly Calvinist,

Melville is a radically innovative new voice not only in the literature of Scottish Calvinism, but in devotional poetry in Scotland and England at a crucial point of confluence in the late sixteenth century.

Nicola Royan, University of Nottingham
The Poet, the Prince and the Magnate: **Fortune, Knowledge and Government in *The House of Fame*, *The Kingis Quair* and *The Palice of Honoure***
Written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, *The Palice of Honoure* is a poem that looks back to earlier models of dream vision, and exploits its potential for serious message cloaked in extraordinary narrative. In so doing, the poem clearly evokes Chaucerian models, particularly *The House of Fame*; however, Douglas's engagement with earlier Scots poetry has been less explored. To address the latter point, this paper posits *The Kingis Quair* as an additional model for *The Palice*: both use the dream mechanism to explore government, fortune and honour, as well as the place of reading and writing as a means to understanding. Douglas's connection with the Sinclairs, who owned the only surviving manuscript of James I's poem, makes it more likely that he knew the poem; furthermore, his interest in government, both of the self and of the realm, arises as naturally from the Douglas kin's role in Scottish government, as does James's from his kingship. This paper suggests that Douglas draws from both *The House of Fame* and *The Kingis Quair* in his exploration of honour, authority and poetry. In refutation of the arbitrariness of fame depicted in Chaucer's poem, Douglas asserts the centrality of honour, and the poet's responsibility for truthful representation: this view also supports the oligarchy to which Douglas belonged. In response to the *Kingis Quair,* Douglas replaces Minerva with Calliope, moving the emphasis from wisdom in action to representing that action, from the king to the recorder of royal deeds, that is, the poet. In so doing, Douglas emphasises the interdependence of sovereign and supporter. The paper will argue that Douglas's poem reflects his anxieties and engagement with the matter of authority: political in the case of his own family and their rank within Scottish society, and literary and intellectual in his representation both of the function of poetry and the nature of its core subject, honour. The poem's engagement with these intertwined and indeed inseparable concepts will be shown to be shaped by Douglas's responses to his predecessors.

Gillian Sargent
Sir William Alexander's *Anacrises*: A 'Naked Narration' of Scotland's Christian-Humanist Literary Tradition in the Jacobean Period.
Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, a near contemporary of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, says of the man that 'he was born a poet, and aimed to be a king'. Urquhart's assertion chimes with many modern day scholarly assessments of the poet. Alexander's work has largely been dismissed by Jacobean critics as turgid, and thus derided as a thoroughly disappointing reading experience for those who have engaged with the material. It is often forgotten that Alexander was a much-vaunted author in his own lifetime, existed as the most senior Scottish writer within the English court of King James VI and I, was himself esteemed by the illustrious Michael Drayton and Ben Jonson, and was the man responsible for the production of a significant corpus of Senecan dramas, commonly referred to as the *Monarchicke Tragedies*, and also the lengthy sonnet sequence, *Aurora.* Instead, he is perhaps best remembered for the political machinations

which resulted in his ascendancy as a courtier and which ultimately led him to embark upon an ill-fated journey to Canada in order to found the colony of Nova Scotia. This paper aims to redress the literary-critical imbalance and will seek to eradicate the aforementioned misconceptions surrounding Alexander's work, and in the process illustrate how he returned, in his later years, to his first pastime, poetry. This return to literary form reveals Alexander as a figure keenly interested in, and astutely aware of, the evolving poetics of the age and the literary traditions from whence he himself emerged.

Robert Alison (1870) defiantly confirms Alexander as the pinnacle of Jacobean literature, as a poet who, alongside his countryman William Drummond of Hawthornden, manages to avoid sinking to the 'lowest depths of puerility', a pitfall which many of their compatriots, he argues, did not escape. Alison continues by arguing that the success of Alexander and Drummond is partly owing to their resistance of any native Scottish traditions, 'their genius...cultured more by foreign and ancient models than by writers who had preceded them in the literature of their country, while their language was purely that of their contemporary English brethren.' These assertions are at the very least archaic and rather than promote the reputation of William Alexander, almost work to facilitate a complete misunderstanding of his poetic motives and concerns. Composing a significant amount of work in the last years of the sixteenth century, publishing his material in the immediate wake of the Union of the Crowns and subsequently ascending to literary eminence with his successful assimilation into the Jacobean English literary fold, Alexander, and his work, beautifully epitomise in microcosm the religio-political and cultural concerns of his first patron, King James VI and I. It might also be successfully argued that Alexander represents the poet King James aspired to be, and would have no doubt become, had his kingship of two countries not diluted his passion for poetic composition. Arguably, Alexander's *Anacrises* (c. late 1630s), an astute piece of literary criticism, neatly concludes a period of Scottish literary interest in the precepts and practices of a

nuanced form of humanism, one inflected by Christian, and more particularly Protestant, ideals. This paper will take as a case study the *Anacrises*, examining Alexander as a literary critic and member of a wider European network of humanist writers, but also looking at this piece as simultaneously both the absolute embodiment but also partial rejection of Jamesian literary ideals. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this paper hopes to reinstate Alexander not as an Anglified Scot operating within a Southern court, but as a relocated Scotsman continuing to produce literature from the heart of a rich Scottish Christian-humanist tradition.

Astrid Stilma, Canterbury Christ ChurchUniversity
"By the Lion led": William Alexander's Advice to the Stuarts
William Alexander was one of the many Scottish courtiers and poets who followed King James VI & I to England, hoping for royal patronage. Alexander was largely successful in his efforts (he was knighted by James around 1608 and created Earl of Stirling by King Charles in 1633), not in the last place because he was acutely aware of the interests of his royal patron. Some have dismissed him as a sycophant for this reason, but his writings are more nuanced than that term suggests and his view of kingship generally quite pessimistic. At the same time, however, Alexander clearly wanted his literary works to contribute to his pursuit of advancement and he perfected the art of addressing a patron in pleasing but not too overtly flattering ways.

Particularly the political works he published in the early years of the seventeenth century, *The Monarchick Tragedies* (four Senecan closet tragedies first published in stages between 1603 and 1607) and the advice poem *A Paraenesis to the Prince* (1604), demonstrate Alexander's awareness of two royal readers: King James and Henry, Prince of Wales. This paper will investigate the ways in which Alexander managed to address two patrons at the same time, subtly – and sometimes not so subtly – balancing their respective interests. The main focal points in this context will be the issue of war and peace and the connections between martial prowess and honour (not a comfortable subject given James's reputation as a *Rex Pacificus* and Henry's ambition to be a warrior prince). In addition, the paper will address Alexander's engagement with the advice-to-princes tradition and the ways in which it attempts to direct (or even criticise) the ruler, as well as his hopes for the future of a newly united Britain under King Henry I and IX.

Alan M. Swanson, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
A Parrot (a Hound, and a Maid): David Lyndsay and the Art of Complayning
Animals figure greatly in the art of the Renaissance, dogs, in particular. If their traditional use is as icons of strength - think of all those knights and their attendant hounds - or fidelity - recall those pastoral scenes with gambolling dogs - in Scottish art, one thinks of the portrait of Arabella Stuart (1577-1615), who has a dog on her arm. But David Lyndsay used a parrot, and possibly also a dog, as his voice of complaynt, and I shall take his animals in the context of the genre, with reference, as well, to Cervantes' "Colloquy of Two Dogs."

Katherine Hikes Terrell, Hamilton College
"Lat newir sik ane be callit a Scot": National Identity in Dunbar and Kennedy's Flyting
In this paper I address Walter Kennedy and William Dunbar's Flyting as a poetic performance in which issues of Scottish identity and poetic authority converge on a national stage. The poem enacts a poetic battle of wits: a game whose primary purpose seems to have been the amusement of onlookers and the showcasing of the participants' linguistic virtuosity, but which draws upon the regional and ideological conflicts of early sixteenth-century Scottish society to provide its impact as both entertainment and social critique.

I contend that the poem functions in multiple registers: that beneath the surface of its prevailing comic mode, it articulates cultural tensions that were very much at issue in early sixteenth-century Scotland, such as the relative authenticity of Highland and Lowland versions of Scottishness, the degree to which ancestry and past events determine present loyalties, and the role of Gaelic and English poetry in shaping the Scottish nation. These competing views of Scottish identity come under additional pressure due to the probable courtly setting of the performance. Before James IV—a sovereign standing in metonymic relationship to Scotland, and thus the ultimate linguistic authority within his kingdom—questions of national and cultural identity, of political loyalty, and of language take on a particular urgency. For the poets, the stakes of this contest include not only the continued patronage of the royal court, but also the court's investment in a particular ideal of what it means to be Scottish, an investment whose political ramifications go beyond its merely personal elements.

For example, Kennedy takes the activities of Dunbar's ancestors—real and imagined—to be arguments against his suitability as a courtier, churchman, and poet. Casting Dunbar's

Scottishness as irrevocably tainted by the English sympathies of his ancestors, Kennedy counters Dunbar's mockery of his Highland heritage as barbaric and unworthy. These attitudes carry over into the poetic realm: while Dunbar extols Lowland Scotland as a cultural center epitomized by its command of English, Kennedy posits Highland culture as a more authentic locus of Scottish poetic endeavor. Basing their mutual criticisms on each other's ancestry, Dunbar and Kennedy not only expose the fundamental divide between Lowland and Highland in Scottish society, but also, more importantly, reveal the extent to which ideals of authorship in early sixteenth-century Scotland were rooted in the mythologies, genealogies, and histories which could be deployed to bolster or undermine poetic (or national) identity. The flyting's original potential for social disturbance erupts into the literary contest in moments of social criticism, which expose the contested terrain of Scottish society and submit it for royal arbitration.

Theo van Heijnsbergen, University of Glasgow
Scripting the National Past: A Textual Community of the Realm
To familiarise the foreign, more recent scholarship has studied the rhetorical devices at work in John Barbour's *Brus* in order to wean modern readers away from too naïve a reading of the text and its representation of facts, of history. Historians and literary critics alike have begun to pay more attention to the opening lines of Barbour's *Brus*. The present paper seeks to extend such an eploration of Barbour's initial positioning of himself, his texts and his readers, to the entire 444 lines which precede the moment where the 'romanys beginnis' (l. 446), and thus to suggest how these 444 lines constitute an *accessus* prologue the intentions of which should not just be noted but also implemented when reading the text. The imprints of the above-mentioned recent scholarship are getting ever deeper and can be elicited from the critical studies that will be mentioned in the course of my paper, yet it is important to reiterate a few salient and conceptually important examples hereof. In addition, I will add some of my own that come from the kind of more purely literary or even 'aesthetic' register that is usually not applied to Barbour's text. This may feel a little like a mini-lecture for undergraduates but the analyses are nevertheless apposite, and germane to the overall argument.
Building on that, the paper will subsequently seek to remove the Brus from its relatively isolated position in Scottish literature, cut off in many scholarly lines of argument from fifteenth- century Scottish texts through Chaucers' influence post 1400. It will do so by arguing that, just like Chaucerian texts, Barbour's *Brus* anticipated more modern writing by 'suggesting – but not compelling – varieties of creation and interpretation' – and, thus, varieties of truth. The *Brus* thus contributed to the creation fo a Scottish kind of writing and reading hitherto more exclusively instanced through reference to texts written well after 1400.
Finally, in its opening 444 lines, and in the 'romanys' that follows, the *Brus,* given its national and monarchic subject, turns this moulding of the Scottish reader into the creation of a group of ideal readers at a national level, i.e. of a national textual community. The Scottish reader is thus invited to shape his community, his country and its past, and thus its future, through the performance of reading. The present paper thus seeks to bring into focuse the more purely literary (i.e. rhetorical) and particularly metafictional contribution of Barbour's text in the creation of a usable Scottish past.

Sebastiaan Verweij, University of Oxford
The Chronicle of Aberdeen

'And I, Walter Cullen, yownger, was boryn, as I hard my fader and my moder say, and maik raportt, the second day of Nowember, the yer of God 1526 yeris'. With these words Walter Cullen, Vicar and Reader of Aberdeen, made himself known to the world. This note is one of many that Cullen wrote into the margins of the parish registers of births, marriages and baptisms for Aberdeen. Thus chronicling his own life, that of his family ('Androw Cullen [...] departtit the 27 day of Januar'), and his immediate local milieu ('the names of the elderis and deaconis ellectit and choissin by the kyrk and congregatione of Aberden'), Cullen also recorded momentous historic occasions: 'the birth of the Kyng', or that 'the King of Denmarkis doithar, callit Ann, wes maritt to James'. Elsewhere in the margins of the registers, Cullen's jottings take on the character of entries into a commonplace or household book, for instance where he provides medical remedies ('for tuithe aik', 'guid for swelling'), or even of the verse miscellany, there where he transcribed the texts of various religious poems – several of which now uniquely survive in the 'Chronicle'. Surprisingly, the multi-----facetted resource that is the 'Chronicle of Aberdeen' has received virtually no commentary, even though it was edited and printed for the Spalding Club in 1842. My paper, then, will try to redress the balance.

Firstly, sense must be made from the perplexing physical evidence: since the parish registers were moved from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, some volumes appear to have been lost, and there is no description of any kind of the books, and of Cullen's creative use of a blank page or margin. Secondly, I will approach the 'Chronicle of Aberdeen' as an important source of information about Cullen's life, and more importantly, about the manner in which he reflects on matters of personal, local, or national significance. Recent criticism of early modern life-----writing (e.g. Adam Smyth, *Autobiography In Early Modern England*, Cambridge UP, 2010) has advanced methods to distil from such documents as parish registers, financial accounts, or commonplace books, a proto----- autobiographical narrative.

Various relatively unambiguous 'facts' were recorded cheek-----by-----jowl with more emotive responses to events (such as the Bartholomew Day massacre, or the demise of Darnley who was 'crwelly mwrdryst'), and so Cullen's rich 'Chronicle' begs the question how to interpret the many ways by which the vicar turns experience into text.

My paper will finally turn to the most vexed question associated with the 'Chronicle', namely, that of an audience. Nothing is yet known of why, or for whom, Cullen compiled his 'Chronicle', yet an answer must tentatively be sought. Cullen's cumulative record-----keeping amounts to a rare record of self-----fashioning that predates various other early modern Scottish 'diaries' (such as that of James Melville of Halhill), and so deserves attention.

Eva von Contzen, Ruhr-University Bochum
How Scottish is the *Scottish Legendary*?

The hagiographical collection of fifty saints' lives known as the *Scottish Legendary* or, variously, as the *Scottish Legends of the Saints* was composed towards the end of the fourteenth century somewhere in the southern parts of Scotland. Although it is contemporary to Barbour's *Bruce*, the legendary is – against the beliefs of nineteenth-century scholars – the work of an anonymous author and thus not another piece by Barbour. In contrast to Barbour's patriotic poem, the saints'

legends, with the exception of the Scots dialect used, seemingly lack a clear and specific 'Scottish' imprint in their contents. St George is included, and only two Scottish saints find their place in the collection, St Ninian and St Machor. However, the 'Scottishness' of the legendary has never been systematically scrutinised, which obviously goes beyond superficial claims on the basis of the supposedly English and Scottish saints (not) included in the collection.

Starting from a new view on the language as used in the legendary and possible places of origin, I will analyse the 'Scottish' elements in the saints' lives, such as references to places and people, in contrast to 'English' ones. Special attention will be given to the narrator and his role in characterising himself and in presenting the legends to his audience, since it is only through the mediation of the narrator's voice and perspective that the lives are presented and the stories of the saints told. George, Ninian and Machor will be the central lives considered, although the *Scottish Legendary* in its entirety will provide the basis of analysis in order to answer the following questions: why is George included at all? Can that, within the historical and political background, possibly be a political statement? Why are the lives of Ninian and Machor so similar in their contents? Why are these two the only Scottish saints in the collection? Ultimately, these questions and their answers, measured against the Scottishness of the collection, will then lead over to an assessment of the overall intentions and aims of the *Scottish Legendary*.

Emily Wingfield, Churchill College, Cambridge
The Scottish Troy Book: An Appraisal
The *Scottish Troy Book* (*STB*) is a late fourteenth-/ early fifteenth-century Scottish octosyllabic couplet translation of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287). Only two fragments of this translation now survive in two late fifteenth-/ early sixteenth-century manuscripts (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 148 and Cambridge University Library MS Kk. 5.30 = MSS Do and K respectively), and with the exception of Carl Horstmann's late nineteenth- century parallel-text edition, the poem has received almost no critical attention. It has indeed been described by Rhiannon Purdie as 'the most shadowy work in [the] corpus of medieval Scottish romances'.

In this paper, I intend to rectify this situation by providing the first scholarly appraisal of the *STB* fragments. I begin by outlining the complicated textual history of the *STB* and I demonstrate how it came to be combined in its two manuscript witnesses with fragments of a better known independent Middle English translation of Guido's *Historia*, namely Lydgate's *Troy Book* (*c.* 1412-20). I discuss the two surviving manuscripts themselves in greater detail and briefly analyse how the scribes and owners of these manuscripts attempted to mend the defective texts which they copied and read. I also reveal the uniqueness of MSS K and Do as witnesses of both *STB* and *LTB*.

I then focus on the poem itself. I discuss issues of dating and authorship - including the poem's erstwhile attribution to John Barbour, author of *The Bruce* - and I consider how the Scots translation relates both to its source text (Guido's *Historia*) and its companion text (Lydgate's *Troy Book*). I examine its most prominent characters and themes, focusing in particular on such topics as
kingship, good governance, and the presentation of women. I also assess how the poem's presentation of Troy relates to the wider Scottish literary, historiographical and political response

to the Troy legend. During the Anglo- Scots Wars of Independence, Scottish writers developed an already nascent origin myth to counter that of the English who traced their ancestry via King Arthur to Brutus and the Trojans. The English/Trojan origin myth was motivated by Edward I and II to bolster their claims to lordship and ownership of Scotland. To oppose this, and instead prove Scotland's independence and sovereignty, Scottish historians traced their nation's origins to a Greek prince, Gaythelos, and his Egyptian wife, Scota. Scottish historians and writers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries subsequently maintained an ambivalent attitude towards Troy and the Trojans, just as English writers such as Chaucer, the *Gawain*-poet, and Lydgate continued to engage with their country's relationship to its supposed founding fathers. A good deal of work has already been done on the medieval English representation of Troy, but almost nothing has been done on Scotland's literary response to the same legend. In concluding my paper, I thus accordingly examine the response found in the early fifteenth-century *Scottish Troy Book* and consider how this relates to the presentation of Troy in near-contemporary texts such as Barbour's *Bruce* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle*.