The Culture of Literature and Language in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland

15th International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature and Language (ICMRSLL)

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Draft list of speakers and abstracts

Plenary Lectures:

Prof. Alessandra Petrina (Università degli Studi di Padova), ‘From the Margins’

Prof. John J. McGavin (University of Southampton), ‘“Things Indifferent”? Performativity and Calderwood’s History of the Kirk’

Plenary Debate:

‘Literary Culture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland: Perspectives and Patterns’

Speakers: Prof. Sally Mapstone (Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of St Andrews) and Prof. Roger Mason (University of St Andrews and President of the Scottish History Society)
Plenary abstracts:

Prof. Alessandra Petrina: ‘From the margins’

Sixteenth-century Scottish literature suffers from the superimposition of a European periodization that sorts ill with its historical circumstances, and from the centripetal force of the neighbouring Tudor culture. Thus, in the perception of literary historians, it is often reduced to a marginal phenomenon, that draws its force solely from its powers of receptivity and imitation.

Yet, as Philip Sidney writes in his *Apology for Poetry*, imitation can be transformed into creative appropriation: ‘the diligent imitators of Tully and Demosthenes (most worthy to be imitated) did not so much keep Nizolian paper-books of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation (as it were) devour them whole, and made them wholly theirs’. The often lamented marginal position of Scottish early modern literature was also the key to its insatiable exploration of continental models and its development of forms that had long exhausted their vitality in Italy or France. By speaking from the margins, Scotland transformed this marginal space into a locus of discussion, and proposed an alternative model of literary development, based on coterie literature, cooperation and exchange.

Recent events on the international board are teaching us to re-think our notions of centre and margins: by forcing us to challenge our established positions, they also invite us to re-think the scope and influence of the Scottish sixteenth century.

Prof. John J. McGavin: ““Things Indifferent”? Performativity and Calderwood’s *History of the Kirk*”

After giving an outline of what Calderwood’s *History* offers to the *Records of Early Drama: Scotland* project, the paper will consider the common ground between performance and performativity. It will argue for the importance of the latter in Calderwood’s forensic scrutiny of the public scene, and for understanding the style and diverse functions of the *History* itself. The paper will concentrate on the nuanced expression of power through performative acts and on the place of ritual and ceremony in the Episcopal controversies of the later volumes. It will suggest that the *History* is ambivalently placed in relation to the notion of liminality outlined in the work of Turner, Ricoeur, and Arbuckle.

Plenary debate with Prof. Roger Mason and Prof. Sally Mapstone:

‘Literary Culture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland: Perspectives and Patterns’

Professors Mapstone and Mason will introduce a wide-ranging discussion of their contrasting approaches to Scottish literary culture and the changes that have taken place in the field in recent decades. They will address issues of methodology and canonicity, texts and their contexts, the transmission and reception of literary works, and patterns of cultural change in Scotland from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Questions and comments from the audience will be welcome.

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Below follows a list of seminar papers, speakers, and abstracts in alphabetical order unless where three papers were proposed as one collective panel, in which case the papers are all entered under the panel’s first speaker.
Late Medieval Melancholia: A Scottish Condition?

In book 16 of Barbour’s *Bruce* (c. 1375), Bruce beats Colin Campbell in a fit of ‘malancoly’ for disobeying orders. A century later, the writer of the *Buke of the Chess* (c. 1500) warns of the ‘dedlie passioun malancoly’ that deadens ‘all gentill hertis’. In the Middle Ages, melancholia was understood as a psychological condition, but one that manifested itself physically primarily in sloth. Moreover, where sloth had been imagined as a spiritual illness (*Acedia*) in the early Middle Ages, by the late fifteenth century it was viewed more as a sin of the flesh - it denoted laziness in general - and by the Renaissance it had evolved into the intellectual condition of melancholy.

This paper seeks to examine the extent to which melancholia became a pressing concern in late medieval Scottish texts and what forms it took in poetic expression. It will examine instances of melancholia across a range of texts, investigating the context for understanding melancholia and its development as a literary trope throughout the fifteenth century and into the early sixteenth century. This preliminary work attempts to establish initial connections between symptom, cognition and literary expression, highlighting possibilities for future research.
The dream-poems of the Makars are some of the most well-known and frequently anthologised Scottish works of the end of the medieval period. It is a form that fascinates for its acknowledged felicity to poetic self-reflection; that ‘by definition always has the dreamer at its centre’ and ‘allows for a confrontation with the self and its preoccupations’ (Brown 1999). This identification of a ‘self’ in what are unequivocally texts carries with it the tantalising elision of dreamer and flesh-and-blood poet that has been taken to its extreme in criticism of the dream-framed Prologues to Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados* in particular. To a lesser extent, it appears too in the shorter narrative verse of William Dunbar, in which a satirical or petitionary purpose ‘nearly gets lost in the writing about self’ (Burrow 2015). The present paper is offered as a counterpoint to those readings that construe the dream-poem as a site of proto-Renaissance introspection; or that re-assimilate its grammatical ‘I’s as a unitary ‘self’ projected onto the written or printed page. Instructive here is recourse to Anthony J. Hasler’s striking ICMRSLL paper, ‘William Dunbar: The Elusive Subject’ (1989), as informed by the recent narrative theorising of A. C. Spearing in *Textual Subjectivity* (2005) and *Medieval Autographies* (2012). The sixteenth-century witnesses for the anthologised Dunbar, and Douglas’s embedded, though hardly self-reflexive Prologues VIII and XIII, present the dream-poem as a site for authorial confrontation, but also effacement; an explicitly written arena that has a dreamer at its centre, but whose poet is previous, beyond, even displaced from his text.
Princes, Hunt: The King James Text of Du Bartas’ ‘Peres’

James VI received a presentation copy of Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas’ *Suites de la Seconde Semaine* in the late 1580s, probably when the Huguenot poet visited Scotland in Summer 1587. The manuscript contains the earliest and best text of these poems that we have, offering them in sequence decades before they were in any printed edition, and free from later printers’ errors. Contemporary French printers, especially Jérôme Haultin, implied that Du Bartas controlled how much of his late poetry was printed before his death in 1590, and previous critics have called the *Suites* fragmentary and incomplete, drawing particular attention to the short text of ‘Les Peres’ found in all known printed editions. The version that King James received, however, has more than 800 additional lines, justifying the plural form in the title by covering the lives of the biblical fathers Isaac and Jacob as well as Abraham. This paper examines the long version of ‘Les Peres’ as a work meant exclusively for a royal Scottish reader, in particular looking at how a lengthy passage in praise of hunting as a royal pastime may have been directed at the Scottish monarch.

After studying for four years at Cambridge, I wrote my doctoral thesis in Oxford on early modern English and Scottish responses to the poetry of Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas (1544-90). I joined Exeter College, Oxford, in 2012 as Lecturer in English, and taught full-time there for four terms. I came to Queen Mary in 2014 as a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow to work on a project called ‘British Milieux for French Poetry, 1572-1625’. I hold a British Academy Rising Star Engagement Award (2015-17) for the Early Modern Boundaries Project: see www.earlymodernboundaries.com for more.

For more on Peter Auger’s research and publications: http://www.sed.qmul.ac.uk/staff/augerp.html
Douglas’s omission of Henryson from his list of the three great poets of the Scottish ‘natioun’ (Palice of Honour, 922-4) might seem puzzling, but the explanation lies in the stressed and rhyming word ‘vndeid’ – at this point he is concerned with living poets. Douglas certainly knew and admired all Henryson’s poems, but one in particular, Orpheus and Eurydice, which is probably the least popular with modern readers, was very important to him, and contributed to his thinking about poetic inspiration and the significance of classical myth. (The reference to ‘new Orpheus’ in his commentary on the Eneados, I.i.13 is a small but interesting pointer to this.) The prologues to the Eneados further show how Douglas drew upon The Testament of Cresseid and The Fables in various ways – to enrich his style, to universalize his description of the natural world, and to develop the role of the narrator. I would suggest that, despite the obvious differences between the two poets, Douglas’s debt to Henryson was more serious and profound than is always realised.
Alexander Montgomerie’s text ‘The Cherry and the Slae’ appears in print by the Edinburgh publisher Robert Waldegrave as early as 1597, published under the complete title of ‘The cherrie and the slae. Composed into Scottis meeter, be Alexander Montgomerie. ; Prented according to a copie corrected be the author himselfe.’. By 1646, a much altered version of the text had appeared published in London for ‘I.D’, with much of the Scots metre anglicised and with the simplified and re-worked title, ‘The cherrie and the slae. Compyled into meetter, by Captaine Alexander Montgomery.’

Taking into account work by Lyall, Parkinson and Verweij, this paper will consider how this particular text travels by examining the changes made between its initial publication in Edinburgh and its later publication in London. To do this, this paper will first consider the two particular editions of this text with a ‘close reading’ of the marginalia and extra-textual material, examining the differences in how the text has been framed for its different audiences. It will also consider the changes made to the text itself that necessitated the alteration to the title, specifically exploring the removal and retention of Scottish features. These observations will then be contextualised in reference to the history of the book in Britain, and how each of the print cultures responded to this text.
As is well known, Luther and most Reformation-era Protestant commentators who followed him attempted to elucidate Revelation’s mysteries by matching events from church history to images from the Apocalypse. (Such commentators assumed that Revelation presented a history of the Christian church.) While some of their interpretations are widely known and achieved broad consensus (for example, Antichrist as the pope and sometimes also the Ottoman Turks), Protestant commentators displayed considerable diversity in their interpretations of some more minor images from the Apocalypse. Examining relevant exegetes’ accounts of one such passage, Revelation 10, not only demonstrates the variety of interpretations that flourished even among sixteenth-century Protestant commentators but also illustrates how their historicizing principles of exegesis allowed them to associate details from the chapter with a variety of issues crucial to their understanding of the Protestant Reformation.

My proposed paper would place commentary on Revelation 10 by the Scottish mathematician and inventor of logarithms, John Napier (1550-1617) in the context of remarks on the passage in sixteenth-century Revelation commentaries popular in England (including those by John Bale, Heinrich Bullinger, William Fulke, George Gifford, and John Foxe), examining major similarities and differences. Exegetes interpreted specific verses from the chapter in support of their politicized views of church history. Various commentators linked details in the portrayal of the angel of Revelation 10 (the open book that it carries, its command that John “eat” this book, the fact that it stood with its left foot on land and its right foot upon the sea) to enterprises such as the invention of the printing press; attempts to increase lay literacy, even among the poor, so that more believers could read the Bible on their own; Humanist learning; early Protestants’ opening of prophecies against Antichrist; and the restoration of Scripture to a central place within the church.
Andrew Bull
University of Glasgow

The Textual Choices in the Offices for St Columba and St Kentigern

Both St Columba and St Kentigern had a strong following in medieval Scotland, as evidenced by the literary works surrounding their lives created in the medieval period. Whilst we primarily now know their exploits through the writings of Adomnán and Jocelin, this was not the only place one might have heard the stories of these holy men. The 13th/14th century Offices for both these saints' feasts offer an intriguing insight into how these saints were venerated, and which particular actions and characteristics of each saint was of primary importance for the praising and remembrance of their lives.

This paper will explore the text choices made in the musical chants found in two primary sources of offices for these saints - for St Columba, the Inchcolm Antiphoner (Edinburgh University, MS 211.iv), and for St Kentigern, the Sprouston Breviary (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 18.2.13B). There are two types of chant text here: those paraphrasing a particular action in the saint’s life, and those concerning a general listing of the saint’s characteristics and activities. Textually, this second type of chant is an amalgamation of multiple stories drawn from across a saint’s life, in an attempt to gain their notice during the singing of the chant and then request their blessing or other favour. The immediacy apparent in these chants shows the importance these saints played in people’s lives. They were more than distant figures to be revered or stories to be told, but in fact vital links to a spiritual ‘other world’ that could have an effect on ours. I argue that, whilst texts such as those by Adomnán and Jocelin were important for the full remembrance of a saint and their canonisation, the real spiritual impact of a saint was found in the Offices and the chants sung in praise of them, where the worlds of man and God were linked by music.
One of the many concerns of book history and codicology is how a text is constructed in order to guide its reading. In the case of translation, this aspect of a text is especially important, since a translation, in its most basic sense, is a manifestation of a reader's experience. In the case of Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* (1513), the first full translation of the *Aeneid* in a form of English, we have firm evidence that his source text is Ascensius' Paris edition (1501). This knowledge affords us the special opportunity to explore how Gavin Douglas' experience of reading influences his process of translation.

This paper is based on previous work presented at a postgraduate conference that considered how Douglas interprets Ascensius' layout and consequently divides and frames his text. However, this paper will go a few steps further by considering all of the Books, as opposed to just Book I. Moreover, this paper examines how Douglas incorporates Ascensius' commentary, in addition to his layout, and how that effects Douglas' style of translation—both in his specific linguistic choices and general strategy.

Many scholars have made important contributions to the study of Gavin Douglas and the *Eneados*, but few have considered his work in light of his source text—and particularly in light of the material aspects of his source text. While Bawcutt (1973) has discussed Ascensius' influence on Douglas, and Royan (2015) has studied Douglas' book divisions, a concentrated effort to understand Douglas' interaction with Ascensius has not been attempted. By doing so, we can reveal more about Douglas' process of translation, and through that potentially better identify his translation aims, audience, and motivation behind using Ascensius' edition in the first place.
In 2014, Rhiannon Purdie gave a plenary talk at the 14th ICMRSLL that reframed our understanding of Andrew of Wyntoun’s passages on Macbeth and Malcolm Canmore in the *Orygynale Cronikyl*. Wyntoun’s historical narrative is notoriously devoid of explicit anti-English rhetoric; instead, Wyntoun’s *Cronikyl* provides an inward-looking articulation of Scottish identity, one that depends mostly on the cultural, literary and political milieu of fifteenth-century Scotland. Purdie suggested that several aspects of the portrayal of Macbeth and Malcolm Canmore in the *Orygynale Cronikyl* could reflect his audience’s interest in fifteenth-century Scottish politics. This is noticeable in Wyntoun’s interest in illegitimacy, as he portrayed Macbeth, Malcolm Canmore, and William Bastard as illegitimate-born men. Taking into consideration Purdie’s argument, this paper aims to analyze Wyntoun’s portrayals of illegitimacy in Book VI, chapters 17-19 of the *Orygynale Cronikyl*. I argue that Wyntoun’s interest in illegitimacy and its effect on character stems from the political milieu in which he wrote; specifically, the governorship of the Duke of Albany (1406-20) and the death of his nephew, the Duke of Rothesay (d. 1402). Macbeth’s treachery and his gradual descent into tyranny parallels the Duke of Albany’s treatment of his nephew, Rothesay.
The Royal Court of Scotland in the sixteenth century shared in the international tradition of elite entertainment in the form of elaborate disguisings and masks – spectacularly ephemeral shows, primarily based on costume, dance and music. Not all were scripted, and of those that were, the spoken texts are very rarely recorded. But Scotland is fortunate to have one of these rare manuscript survivals: two presenters’ speeches by Alexander Montgomerie, from mask or mumming entertainments performed at the court of the young James VI of Scotland, probably during the Christmas festivities of 1579/80. Like many of these performances, both speeches reflect the entry of spectacular foreign visitors journeying from exotic lands.

I would like to explore Montgomerie’s *The Navigatioun* and *A Cartel of the Thre Ventrous Knights* within this widespread and long-lasting tradition of the courtly performance of exotic visitation. The speeches are recorded in a non-theatrical manuscript, but light seems to be thrown on them by contemporary evidence of performance recorded in the *Treasurer’s Accounts*. This can be compared with other scattered evidence from England, Scotland and France for the courtly performance of the exotic visitation both before and throughout the sixteenth century. Montgomerie’s speeches are a late manifestation of this trope of journeying and exotic visit, which frequently led into direct interaction with the audience. They give us striking insights into an important elite theatrical form which flourished for well over 200 years.
At the end of the fourteenth century, an unknown Scottish poet produced several translations of saints’ lives based on Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*; what survives of these translations is now known as the *Scottish Legendary*, and the compilation is important both for its testament to Scottish participation in the hagiographical traditions of Europe, as well as for its early example of the use of Older Scots as a literary language. However, in his prologue to the *Lives* of the twelve apostles, the poet refers to an even earlier work: his own translation of a *Life* of Mary and her son Jesus. Although the *Life* itself is no longer extant, in the prologue the poet leaves a significant summary of its contents; by piecing these together, we can suggest the possible composition of the lost Scottish *Life of Mary*, from her immaculate conception to her assumption as the Queen of Heaven.

This paper will explore the surviving evidence for the lost *Life*, and will consider its significance within the broader movements of the Marian hagiographical tradition in Latin and vernacular languages. It will show how, even in the abbreviated form as retold in his prologue, the *Life* reinforced the cultic understanding of Mary of Nazareth, and demonstrated its devotional significance through the highlighting of its themes of divine providence and obedience, and the encouragement of affective pious response.
Reading and Writing the Law in Sixteenth-Century Scotland: the Marchmont Manuscript and its Makers and Users

In 2016 the University of St Andrews Library acquired the Marchmont manuscript, a sixteenth-century paper codex that contains a copy of *Regiam Maiestatem* bound within parchment covers made from recycled contemporary legal documents. *Regiam Maiestatem* is a collection of Scottish statutes and legal texts, an old work that was first codified in the fourteenth century and traditionally prized by constitutional historians as a supposedly authentic record of “our most ancient law” (Cooper, 1947). Most manuscript copies of *Regiam Maiestatem* are written in Latin: it was the Latin version that was printed by John Skene in 1609, and which was used as the basis of the Stair Society edition of 1947.

The Marchmont manuscript is significant in that it is written entirely in Scots. It was signed by its scribe, Robert Ewyn, who dates his completion of its copying to 1548; it also contains inscriptions of contemporary ownership by the Hume family and indications of use by a professor at the University of St Andrews. These features, and the other evidence offered by its parchment covers, allow its origins and history in sixteenth-century Scotland to be traced with some degree of certainty.

More generally its production demonstrates the continuing appeal of old medieval texts to early modern readers, and the ongoing importance of scribal book production in sixteenth-century Scotland despite the availability of books in printed format.

The Marchmont manuscript was held in a private collection until the early 20th century, and has been unknown to modern scholars. This paper will present the first results of an investigation of its scribe, its earliest users and owners, and its connections with late sixteenth-century St Andrews.
The parliamentary soldier Richard Franck and his *Northern Memoirs* are puzzles. Franck was probably the quartermaster in a Nottinghamshire cavalry regiment stationed in Scotland between 1652-4 and 1658-9. This afforded him the opportunity to travel widely in the kingdom. Franck originally composed the *Northern Memoirs* around 1658, apparently provoked by Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*, published first in 1653. The 1655 edition of Walton's *Compleat Angler* took the form of a dialogue between three men, a fisher, falconer, and hunter who each spoke for his hobby. The fish seemed to be the thing for Walton. Yet recent work on Walton has supported a polemical reading of the *Angler*, finding direct engagement with seventeenth-century political-religious controversies and contexts across its multiple editions and revisions. No love was lost between Franck, the religious Independent, and the pro-Laudian/Tory-Anglican Walton. Franck rounded on Walton’s preposterously unscientific claim that the pickerel weed generated pike, but neither angling nor a preference for Scottish salmon over English trout had much to do with Franck’s animus. This was a battle over religion and politics centred on Scotland.

Franck waited until 1694 for a political-religious context conducive to publishing his *Northern Memoirs*. The removal of the Catholic James VII & II from all his kingdoms by 1690 dealt a powerful blow to Walton’s reactionary Tory-Anglicanism. Franck’s *Memoirs* adopted the dialogue form and similarly mirrored Walton’s practice of composing multiple prefaces. Franck’s five dedications targeted particular audiences and aimed to shape readings of his *Memoirs*. In the text itself, he pursued three themes: the imaginative journey of two men through the greatest fishing holes and rivers of Scotland (and parts of England), a narrative of their encounters with and reactions to Scotland and its people, and religious-philosophical disquisitions. Walton’s *Angler* contained only a hint of ethno-topographic material. Indeed, it was profoundly Anglocentric. Walton ignored Scotland (and its subversive religious radicalism); he promoted a distinctly Caroline and Tory-Anglican Protestant ascendancy within Britain. Franck responded with an alternative vision, an alternative writing of Scotland in the imaginative journeys and ethno-cultural observations by his interlocutors. This paper will focus on three features of Franck’s vision: 1) his positive characterizations of Scotland and its people, 2) his adoption of a broader multi-ethnic perspective on Britain, and 3) Franck’s adaptation of republican unionism from the book’s origins in the 1650s to the 1690s.
Elizabeth Elliott
University of Aberdeen

Retrieving and Renewing: The Evergreen Tradition

A new series of anthologies published by Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust under the title *The Evergreen* marks the resurgence of a tradition stemming from the Bannatyne Manuscript, compiled c. 1568. This paper will explore the dialogic relationship between the different manifestations of this tradition over time: the manuscript itself; Allan Ramsay’s 1724 collection, *The Ever Green*; the nineteenth-century printing society, the Bannatyne Club, Patrick Geddes’ four volume *Evergreen*; and Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust’s ongoing project. In focusing on these interconnected moments, the paper will highlight the historic and ongoing role of early modern culture in the processes that constitute ideas of local and national community, both Scottish and British, and how these identities are enacted and experienced by individuals and groups.
”The Scottish Sir Eglamour: Crossing Borders with a Medieval Best Seller”

The chivalric romance of Sir Eglamour was widely popular in both the medieval and early-modern periods as evidenced by its presence in seven manuscripts and six 16th-century print editions. Although most of the print editions are closely related due to their shared origins in a London-based print marketplace, one edition — a 1508 print from Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar, Scotland's first printers — is an outlier. The text, though orthographically Scots, is more closely related to the 14th- and 15th-century English manuscripts of Eglamour. The 1508 print is now bound with several other Chepman and Myllar editions, including other romances, and it thus raises questions, which my paper explores, about the circulation of romance manuscripts in Scotland, the printing of popular literature away from centers in London, and the transmission of text across both geographic and technological borders.

Mimi Ensley is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Notre Dame. Mimi’s dissertation, "Transmedia Traditions: Making Medieval Romance after Caxton," focuses on the reception of the medieval romance genre in the sixteenth century by looking closely at the translation of romance texts from one historical context to another through the methodological lens of book history. Mimi is especially interested in readers, reading practices, and reception history both in manuscript and in print and for romances as well as for other medieval vernacular texts. She has published in the Journal of the Early Book Society on a sixteenth-century reader’s marginal responses to the printed edition of Chaucer's Works, and she has an article forthcoming about the mid-sixteenth century reception of the pseudo-Chaucerian Plowman's Tale.
This multi-disciplinary panel will examine the use of flyting, slander and invective in both literature and daily life. David Parkinson’s paper examines the use of invective in the work of Gavin Douglas. Elizabeth Ewan looks at how the vocabulary of insult and flyting was shared by poets and people. Rob Falconer’s paper analyses how the burgh authorities dealt with the impact and repercussions of these slanderous words.

David Parkinson
University of Saskatchewan, Canada

**Flyting and Eloquence in Gavin Douglas’s *Palice of Honour***

To a reader approaching Gavin Douglas's *The Palice of Honour* now, the frequent, rapid transitions between colloquial, learned, and courtly discourse offer special promise for new consideration. In such a diverse poem, such combinations and intersections have what appears more than ever to be a defining purposefulness. Humanist discourse but also the language of the street can rapidly be drawn into the mixture. These transitions often provide occasions for invective. Whether alluded to or acted out, exchanges of insults in *The Palice of Honour* deserve renewed attention. These exchanges may have to do with individuals willing to perform and undergo humiliating transformations in an accelerating, intensifying struggle for recognition and position. If so, such transformations reveal a social and cultural order in which grand leaps and embarrassing plunges are the order of the day.

Elizabeth Ewan
University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada

**Flyting in the Street: Poets and People in Sixteenth-Century Scottish Towns***

Flyting poems, involving the ritualized exchange of insults between two poets, were very popular in early modern Scotland, many being composed by court poets such as William Dunbar and Alexander Montgomerie for performance before elite audiences. The language of these contests, as well as flytings in other literary works, could also be found in more informal settings on the streets of local towns, in the insults thrown by ordinary women and men. Some of the words used have been preserved in the church and secular court records of sixteenth-century Scottish towns, as victims of insults took their opponents before the authorities for defamation or assault. Flyting thus provides historians with a rare glimpse of the speech of ordinary people. This paper will look at the use of language in both the streets and in
the poems and examine the extent to which the words of both poets and people reflected concerns and attitudes common to early modern Scottish society. It will also examine the role of gender in shaping insult and look at whether male poets taking on female voices reflected such differences in their works.

Rob Falconer  
Grant MacEwan University, Alberta, Canada

Reparation and Remedy: Healing the burgh community in early modern Scotland.

Early modern historians are well acquainted with the contemporary metaphor which likened the nation to the human body. Such sentiment characterized how sixteenth-century magistrates perceived illegal and immoral behavior in Scottish burghs, especially slanderous assaults. Believing that moral lapses, like petty criminal activities, were dangerous if left untreated, magistrates took measures to restore their community’s well-being identifying such behavior as infectious, causing grievous harm to all involved, and weakening the social body. Embedded in the court records and kirk session accounts was the belief, sometimes explicitly stated, that confession and correction, reparation and remedy would heal the victim, return the community to proper health, and, where possible, cure the offender. Using court records from Aberdeen, Canongate and Dundee between 1540 and 1610, this paper examines a range of offences tried in the burgh courts and brought before kirk sessions, most notably different forms of verbal violence, that early modern Scots believed threatened the social health of their burgh community. It seeks to highlight the complex social relations existing in burgh communities by drawing attention to the fact that individuals frequently resorted to potentially dangerous acts as a way of restoring damaged reputations and imbalanced social relations. Such acts were, at times, intended to right perceived wrongs, restore order when conflict disrupted the peace between households, and to achieve justice not provided by the courts. I argue that early modern Scots sought “order” and “stability” even when the methods to achieve that order, and the form it took, were in opposition to prescribed norms. What stands out in the sources is that there was common interest in restorative justice among most members of Scottish burgh societies. This paper argues that despite the various forms that such justice took, maintaining order and stability was the primary objective for all involved.
The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen has often been compared to Chaucer’s Wife of Bath’s Prologue and Tale for the unrestrained, bawdy conversation of three drunken noblewomen. The widow especially provokes these comparisons as a result of her multiple marriages and cunning manipulations of men and relationships. Additionally, Dunbar’s text enticingly evokes images and themes from The Parliament of Fowls. There are several notable allusions: the motif of birds mating on Saint Valentine’s Day instantly recalls The Parliament, the multiple manipulations of ‘nature’ and ‘kynd,’ the locus amoenus, the recurring motif of the mating bird, more generally, as well as the debate between ‘birds,’ all recall Chaucer’s poem. Indeed, there are numerous well-attributed parallels between the two Chaucerian texts and The Tretis. Strikingly, Dunbar’s poem also exhibits parallels with, and I argue, references to Chaucer’s Book of the Duchess. Though initially overshadowed by the explicit allusions to The Parliament of Fowls, Dunbar’s textual borrowings from Book of the Duchess highlight the depth and complexity of his amalgamation of styles and sources across The Tretis. This likeness appears in the second wife’s mournful midnight wanderings and Alcyone’s wakeful vigils, and in the relationship between Dunbar’s widow and Chaucer’s Fortune and Lady White. More broadly, the meandering and almost incoherent narrative progression found in Chaucer’s poem is reflected in the second wife’s monologue, which takes on a similarly circuitous form. The hitherto unrecognized influence of Book of the Duchess illuminates not only the Dunbarian poem, but also the less-studied Chaucerian poem.
Jonathan Glenn  
University of Central Arkansas, Conway, Arkansas

**Digital Opportunities and Scots Texts**

I propose in this paper/demonstration to extend some of the issues broached in my 2011 paper in Padua (“The Scottish Text Society, Electronic Publication, and the Semantic Web”), focusing primarily on key digital opportunities for textual, linguistic, and literary study of Scots texts. Although the STS is no longer a part of my title or a chief focus for what I have to suggest, I believe, as I did in 2011, that the opportunities I will describe could create a rich set of resources that can usefully exist alongside and supplement the Society’s primary processes—supporting the editing of Scots texts—and products—printed editions and (static) digitized printed editions. I will address three such opportunities:

1. Collaborative editing and analysis;

2. Tagging, layering, and transformations (I intend, at last, to demonstrate the benefits of these activities in a live text instance.);

3. Public presentation and interaction.
Two recent books mark important milestones in theoretical considerations of lyric poetry in what has been called “New Lyric Studies.” The Lyric Theory Reader: A Critical Anthology, ed. Virginia Jackson and Yopie Prins (Baltimore, 2014) offers a historicist critique of universalist theories of lyric, arguing that the “lyricization” of poetry is the product of relatively recent reading practices that began with the advent of Romanticism and only emerged fully formed in twentieth-century criticism. Jonathan Culler, Theory of the Lyric (Cambridge, MA 2015), on the other hand, disputes some of the conclusions of Jackson and Prins, offering a major theory of lyric poetry that is both historically nuanced but also willing to admit that a few broad formal features remain available possibilities in many different lyric traditions. His approach, therefore, is neither strictly universalist nor historicist. One important aspect of Culler’s approach is his critique of traditional theories (such as New Criticism) that read lyric as representing either the poet’s subjective experience or the speech acts of a fictive speaker. Yet Culler’s greatly expanded definition of epideictic poetry underestimates the pressures exerted on medieval and early modern writers by historically specific rhetorical doctrines and classroom training. In fact, neither Culler nor Jackson and Prins pay attention to medieval lyric poetry. In reviewing the theoretical and cultural issues at stake in these recent approaches to lyric, my paper will consider the formal features of three Middle Scots Marian lyrics: Henryson’s “The Annunciation”; Kennedy’s “Ane Ballet of Our Lady” (“Closter of Crist, riche, recent flour delyss”); and Dunbar’s “Ane Ballet of Our Lady” (“Hale, sterne superne, hale, in eterne”). The paper extends the findings of my forthcoming book, The English Lyric Tradition: Reading Poetic Masterpieces of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Jefferson, NC, 2017), which was unable to include Scottish examples in the chapter on Marian lyric.
The collection and use of vivid contemporary evidence of all kinds, so much a part of the method and works of John Knox, were practices continued by later historians of religious history. One such gathering of documents, copied and original, is Robert Wodrow’s of the early eighteenth century, now held by the National Library of Scotland. It includes Wod.Fol.VIII, a version of David Calderwood’s *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, copied with care by the Edinburgh writer, John Lawrie, in 1636. The manuscript also has its own interest, especially for literary scholars. Fifteen short pieces of verse, in either Latin or Scots, are inserted within the prose text. Several are well known from their appearances in Foxe’s *Actes*, the histories of Knox and Calderwood, and other works. In Wod.Fol.VIII, however, these versions of known poems have small or more substantive differences, which help to reveal circulation patterns and the evolution in thinking about the issues they address. A few other poems in Wod.Fol.VIII are not known to occur elsewhere. These are here reported, with preliminary study. The paper will discuss the 1636 manuscript, its copyist, and the verse inclusions.


janhadw@ozemail.com.au
This paper examines the portrayal of illegitimate figures, particularly kings, in Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*. At first glance Wyntoun's depiction of various figures born out of wedlock seems to have no particular pattern. While Wyntoun is all too happy to emphasize the illegitimate birth of William of Normandy, he neglects to mention the possibility of King Arthur's less than lawful conception and parentage, even though ideas about Arthur's illegitimacy are circulating in Scotland at the time of the *Original Chronicle*'s composition. Yet Wyntoun did not necessarily view illegitimacy as an impediment to good kingship since Rhiannon Purdie has shown that he makes Malcolm III illegitimate in his chronicle in order to manufacture a dynastic break in his narrative. The paper will examine the portrayal of various notable bastards from Scottish and English history within the *Original Chronicle*, including both William of Normandy and King Arthur but also more immediate royal figures like Robert III, whose legitimacy remained contentious throughout his life. It will explore Wyntoun's flexible engagement with the illegitimacy of various historical personages and seek to establish whether or not Wyntoun has a particular method in his application of illegitimacy in his chronicle and what role, if any, illegitimacy plays in his larger narrative aims.
Ryoko Harikae  
Tokyo University of Science, Tokyo  

The Mar Lodge Translation and Its Translator: A New Aspect of Vernacular Literature in Early Sixteenth-Century Scotland  

Within a few years of the publication of Hector Boece’s *Scotorum Historia* (Paris, 1527), two Scots translations were made: one is the *Chronicles of Scotland* (1531-c. 1537) by John Bellenden, and the other the so-called Mar Lodge Translation, which is extant in only one manuscript: Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 750. In contrast to the *Chronicles of Scotland*, which has been under close and intensive scrutiny from multiple points of view, the latter has received but scant scholarly attention partly because of the unavailability of its whole text. By closely examining the MS M. 750, however, it has been turned out that even the Mar Lodge Translator, who is generally held to be a faithful translator who scarcely deviates from the original, sometimes tampers with the source text. Based on the internal as well as external evidence, this paper seeks to get as close as possible to the Mar Lodge Translation and its translator; when and how it was made, what sort of person the translator was, his purpose of producing this translation, his attitude towards historical narrative as well as his political philosophy. This may shed a new light on the vernacular literature in sixteenth-century Scotland.
The Miracula of St Margaret of Scotland are unique in being the only miracula to survive from a Scottish shrine and yet they have not been subject to any substantial critical study, and have only just been edited by Robert Bartlett. This paper will fill this critical lacuna by examining these newly-edited miracles as a whole for the first time. I will focus in particular on Margaret’s various mother-roles; as a mother to a dynasty of kings, a holy mother like the Virgin Mary and a mother to the monks of her foundation, Dunfermline. These forty-two miracles, written at the foundation that Margaret herself patronised in her lifetime, show her as a stern but loving mother, dishing out healing in the form of admonishments and beatings. In this paper, I will critically examine this image of Margaret, comparing her representation here to that in her Vita, compiled alongside the Miracula in Madrid, Biblioteca Real MS II 2097 – in which she parents according to the maxim ‘he who spares the rod spoils the child’ – in order to demonstrate that Margaret’s sainthood is dependent on her role as mother, but that role is not straightforward. Over the course of this paper I will show that the relationship between gender, queenship, motherhood and sanctity is complex and troubling in the Miracula, and that this has much to tell us about how Margaret’s cult negotiated her representation as woman, queen, mother and saint.
Anne Rutten
University of St Andrews

""Writing for Perpetual and Future Memory": Robert II, Robert III and the Consolidation of Stewart Power through Texts’

While much research has been devoted to the use of the Stewart family connections in order to rule Scotland, the apt use of documents by Robert II and Robert III remains undervalued. In the literate culture of the late middle ages, a wide variety of documents was used to affirm their titles, power and authority. This paper seeks to highlight and emphasise the intentional deployment of diplomatic texts in the early Stewart reigns, and how Robert II and Robert III engaged with the textual culture of the late fourteenth century to further their own goals.

Robert II insisted on the correct styling of his title as King of Scots with king Edward III, rejecting documents if they were not issued with his regnal name. Similarly, Robert III was only renamed as Robert on assuming the throne: his birth name ‘John’ seemingly invoked unpleasant connotations with John Balliol. In many other instances, the Stewarts actively intervened in the politics of documents as well. Both kings showed an acute awareness of the power of the text, and how to manipulate textual culture to bolster their reputation and status.

In the study of late medieval Scotland, many textual matters remain unsolved, such as literacy rates, attitudes towards documents and the value of the written text versus the spoken word. By analysing how Robert II and Robert III used documents to exercise their rights, the authority and power of text in the late fourteenth century can be understood, as well as the wider written community such as notaries, scribes and secretaries. The implicit and explicit word of the early Stewarts, and how Robert II and Robert III applied texts to consolidate their authority in the early years of their reigns, may shed light on the wider conceptions of textual power in late medieval Scotland.

William Hepburn
University of Aberdeen

‘Burgh Registers and Literate Mentalities in Fifteenth-Century Scotland’

Aberdeen has one of the richest surviving series of fifteenth-century municipal registers in all of Europe, offering one of the best available windows onto the emergence and development of this type of documentation in the later middle ages.
This paper will draw on the work of the Law in the Aberdeen Council Registers (LACR) project, alongside more fragmentary surviving records from other Scottish towns such as Montrose, Ayr and Peebles, to argue that these registers were agents of change, embedding literate culture more deeply into civic life and government.

Firstly, it will outline the work of the LACR project and look at the survival, storage, physical form, structure and content of the Aberdeen council registers, as well as setting them in the context of other surviving records from Aberdeen. Secondly, it will use evidence from Aberdeen and other towns to suggest that these registers contributed to the expansion of literate mentalities in late-medieval Scotland. Thirdly, it will argue that the registers and the literate culture they stimulated did not replace oral and material means of communication and memory but rather interacted with and augmented them. Lastly, it will set these developments in the context of scholarship on the role of municipal records in the development of literate mentalities across Europe.

This paper, then, will underline the potential of Scotland's fifteenth-century burgh registers to inform subjects with relevance far beyond the towns in which they emerged.

Claire Hawes
University of Aberdeen

‘Politics, Poetry and the Public Domain in the Later Fifteenth Century’

The later fifteenth century saw a flourishing of political poetry which addressed themes of kingship, justice, and good (as well as bad) governance. These poems vary in style, from the anonymous and apparently didactic ‘Harp’ to The Thre Prestis of Peblis to certain of Robert Henryson’s Morall Fabilis. Debates which have attempted to situate this work in its political context have been almost exclusively concerned with the extent to which the poets intended their work to be read as an allegory of specific events, with literary scholars rightly pointing out the flaws inherent in such an approach.

This paper will argue that separating political poetry from politics itself is nevertheless problematic. It will begin by sketching out the public domain as an arena for the generation and control of common knowledge about politics, before arguing that we can trace a discourse of advice which was used by contemporaries across political contexts, from aristocratic bonding to parliamentary statute to the language of urban politics. Finally, it will position the fifteenth-century poems within the public domain, suggesting that they would almost certainly have been performed and discussed, that the mode of discourse they employ would have been extremely familiar to their respective audiences, and that they ought to be seen as a response to the seismic changes to law, justice and politics which characterised this period.
In this way, these poems both created and modified common knowledge about contemporary politics. They provided an important form of commentary which, although not allegorical, was nevertheless closely integrated into the political culture of the time.
This paper is an extension of research within my recently completed PhD thesis on Scottish Queenship, c.1371 - c 1513. When searching for the representation of the ‘ideal’ queen in Scottish narrative and literary sources it became apparent that the writers of late medieval Scotland preferred their queens to fit into a passive role. The ‘ideal’ Scottish queen could be a peacemaker, and she could lend her voice to others who called for peace, but she was never called upon to wield power. Yet Scottish medieval queens were anything but passive. From blocking the king’s wish for a divorce to acting (but never being named) as regents, Scottish queens took an active and influential role in the affairs of the late medieval Scottish kingdom, especially in times of minority. This paper seeks to demonstrate the literary role of the ‘ideal’ queen, before exploring the ways in which Scottish literary sources sought to downplay the role of the queen, and why they chose to do so. It will have a particular emphasis on Scottish chronicles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but will also draw upon additional Scottish literary works, as well as making comparisons to non-Scottish sources. Overall this paper will emphasise the importance of never taking narrative sources at face value, something which many historians may well have fallen into the trap of doing when considering the role of the queen in late medieval Scotland.
Lucy Hinnie  
University of Edinburgh  

**Negotiating the Querelle des Femmes in the Bannatyne Manuscript**

The Bannatyne MS [c. 1568] is the largest extant miscellany of late medieval Older Scots verse. Its compilation and content have been the subject of much scholarly debate, yet the question of female representation within the MS has been limited and the strong thematic promise of Evelyn Newlyn and Sarah Dunnigan’s 2004 work *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing* has remained largely untouched. My doctoral thesis, *Negotiating the Querelle des Femmes in the Bannatyne MS*, focusses on the ways in which debates around female identity exist within the manuscript, both liminally and literally. The reign of Mary Queen of Scots and the work of Alasdair MacDonald on the Marian influence on Bannatyne’s editing process are key components of my research and the role of the generally unexamined anonymous verse in the miscellany is crucial in establishing the omniscient presence of the *querelle* in the literary culture of late medieval Scotland. The implications of this debate are interdisciplinary, multi-faceted and offer a new theoretical framework for approaching one of Scotland’s oldest literary treasures.

This paper will provide an overview of my thesis as a whole, recounting the key arguments of this new contribution to scholarship and looking to the potential of this reframed approach in progressing Older Scots studies into new and varied areas of research.
Klaus Hofmann
University of Vienna

The town clerks and scribes of Dunfermline, 1573–1723: Language change in a community of practice

The aim of this presentation is to introduce a new electronic corpus of early modern Scottish legal–administrative texts for linguistic analysis, compiled from hitherto unedited archive material. This corpus – named Dunfermline Corpus after the Scottish burgh where the material originated – can be regarded as an initial effort to extend the temporal reach of the Edinburgh-based Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS) further into the early modern period.

In contrast to previous linguistic corpora, the Dunfermline Corpus focusses on scribal idiolects of town clerks and scribes, who are conceptualised as a community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991). This model of social learning was originally developed to capture the transmission of occupational competences and practices through master–apprentice relationships. The concept perfectly fits the professional reality of town clerks and scribes in early modern Scotland (Finlay 2009; Kopaczyk 2013a, 2013b) and can assist in understanding the specific patterns of linguistic change during a time of increased contact with Southern English between the Reformation and political unification (Devitt 1989).

Although the authorship of individual entries is not explicitly given in the record books, the immediate producers of a given text included in the Dunfermline Corpus can usually be distinguished and often identified by name, based on palaeographic evidence as well as pieces of circumstantial extralinguistic information contained in the books themselves. Thus, by using the text material as a historical source and not only as a linguistic one, a diachronic community of practice can be reconstructed for the Dunfermline material, consisting of 11 linguistic informants, whose idiolects thereby become available for examination. A number of case studies on orthographic and morphological variants as well as formulaic expressions will exemplify the utility of this micro-approach for the study of the transition period in the history of the Scots language.
False Fables and Exemplary Truths: Henryson’s fables

The fifteenth-century Middle Scots poet Robert Henryson stands at the end of a long tradition of fable literature. He stepped in the footsteps of such illustrious medieval predecessors as William Caxton, John Lydgate, Geoffrey Chaucer, Odo of Cheriton, Walter of England, and Marie de France. Like Henryson’s fables, their fables ultimately derive from classical Aesopian models popularised in the Latin West by Phaedrus.

Henryson refers to his collection of thirteen tales as fabils, both in the Prologue and elsewhere. All the principal witnesses, starting with the Bassandyne print of 1571 call Henryson’s tales “The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian”, except the Smith print (London 1577) where it is called “The Fabulous tales of Esope the Phrygian”. Even Bannatyne collects his ten Henrysonian fables under the heading “Heir follows the fyift part of this buik contenyng the Fabillis of Esop with divers uthir fabillis and poeticall workis, maid and compyld be divers lernt men, 156[6]8” (fol. 298r).” Henryson’s editors and most critics follow this almost uniformly and consequently very few scholars even bother to question the appropriateness and validity of the historical attribution.

Yet, it stands to reason that in the course of the transmission of the genre from the classical period to the late medieval one changes will have been introduced that must have left their mark on the genre. Moreover, compared to some of his predecessors like Caxton, Lydgate, and Marie de France, Henryson’s fables have a completely different “feel” to them, not just in terms of contents, but also in the way they are structured and presented. Finally, Henryson’s moralitates are quite special and resemble those of exempla more than those normally found attached to fables in other collections, especially those in the vernacular.

In my paper I am not primarily interested in genre-theory and re-assigning a new label to Henryson’s fables. My main interest is to re-examine and re-evaluate Henryson’s approach to his fables. It will be shown that Henryson deliberately loosened the ties that bound his fables to the more traditional genre and introduced such a number of changes and innovations that he transcended the genre to such an extent that almost the only thing that still connects his tales to the genre is the fact that they feature talking animals.
Mariah Hudec
University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada

Malevolence or Martyrdom?: Depictions of Prophecy in Early Modern and Nineteenth-Century Folkloric Sources

With the increased literacy of the common people during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, chapbooks became an increasingly popular form of literature across Europe, particularly in Scotland where approximately 200,000 chapbooks were sold every year. While chapbooks were primarily produced during the nineteenth century, many focused on medieval and early modern history, including social customs, folk beliefs, fairy tales, and ballads.

This historical focus is especially apparent in those chapbooks which focus on prophecy or the second sight. While Alexander Peden’s prophecies are found in at least one nineteenth-century Scottish chapbook, Prophet Peden occupied a position as a historical and literary figure long before the nineteenth century as a well-known leader of the Covenanters. The survival of his story in nineteenth-century chapbooks highlights significant use of historical material by these texts.

Focusing on representations of prophecy in The Life and Prophecies of Alexander Peden in conjunction with earlier texts such as Martin Martin’s A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, and Robert Kirk’s The Secret Commonwealth, this paper questions the extent to which categories such as prophecy, second sight and witchcraft became conflated. While these conflations may initially appear to be a product of later time periods, further study of earlier material highlights pre-existing conflations. In the early modern period those with the second-sight or other prophetic gifts were potentially ominous supernatural figures who could not only predict the future, but might also be able to shape it. Such figures thus became rallying points for both religious and political upheaval. The nineteenth-century chapbook The Prophecies of Alexander Peden, however, presents Peden as a martyr, celebrating his prophetic powers as a gift from God. Long after prophecies had “come to pass,” nineteenth-century sources made use of Peden’s prophecies to represent the righteous history of Presbyterianism.

Bio:

Mariah Hudec is a second year PhD student in the School of English and Theatre Studies (SETS) at the University of Guelph. Her research focuses on how key nineteenth-century collections of Scottish “superstitions” or folk beliefs came to play an important role in building images of Scottish national character -- images sometimes mobilized within Scotland, but more frequently aimed at non-Scots. She is the book review editor for the International Review of Scottish Studies (IRSS).
James Kearney
University of Glasgow

Approaching the Letters of James VI: A new, complete edition

I am a PhD student at the University of Glasgow working on a project to edit and transcribe the letters of James VI of Scotland. The project seeks to reappraise the correspondence of James VI with the final aim of producing a scholarly edition of his letters which will comprise of a centralised online database and an accompanying publication with a selection of the most important letters. Previous editions of the king’s correspondence have either focused solely on a specific period of his reign or have made editorial changes to language and spelling which make them less useful for further academic research. My PhD will seek to remedy these issues.

I will be adopting an editorial approach which remains faithful to the original documents as well as applying more recent methodological techniques which highlight the importance of the material aspects of letter writing (paper, seals, page layout etc.), as well as the social conventions attendant upon them. Thus, the entirety of the king’s correspondence will be subject to more recent academic practices than they have previously - providing a complete and modern edition of the king’s letters for future scholarly consultation.

Of particular interest during the initial stages of my research are those letters which have not been included in any previous edition of the king’s correspondence, such as those held in archives in Denmark, France and Italy (of special interest are some forty letters held in the Florence State Archive which have had little, or no, previous attention paid) - uncovering or reappraising these letters is of importance to studies of James VI’s reign. Indeed there are still many unanswered questions which surround aspects of the king’s diplomacy in Europe in the years immediately before his accession to the English throne, and to what extent he sought advice and favours as a means of securing this prize. A new study of his correspondence with the Grand Duke of Tuscany in particular will, I hope, lead to a greater understanding of James’ political aims and machinations as the 1590s drew to close. I will present my new research findings to the conference, along with an overview of the project as a whole and how contributes more widely to studies of James VI as a monarch and writer.
A Re-Evaluation of ‘Scottish Chaucerianism’ in Older Scots Literature

First used by G. Gregory Smith to refer to Chaucer’s influence on certain Scottish poets writing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the accuracy of the epithet ‘Scottish Chaucerian’ has since been debated by scholars of the field. The concept has now come to be rejected by the majority of critics primarily because it is felt to obscure the originality of the Older Scots poetic corpus by representing several of its major writers as imitators of Chaucer, as opposed to significant literary innovators in their own right. The relative lack of recent work on Chaucer’s reception in Scotland sits rather awkwardly with the fact that scholars of the field continue to acknowledge the existence of a Chaucerian tradition of writing in Scotland, asserting its distinctiveness without providing specific examples of the ways in which this is the case.

This paper reconsiders the question of ‘Scottish Chaucerianism’ by way of reference to what is known to be a more general development in the ‘Chaucerian’ tradition in the fifteenth century. It is commonly observed that the writing of the English ‘Chaucerian’ poets such as John Gower, John Lydgate and Thomas Hoccleve is characterized by a greater didacticism than one finds in Chaucer’s own verse, what David Lawton has described as ‘a strong, non-Chaucerian, moral undertow.’ The same holds true with respect to the poets often described as ‘Scottish Chaucerians.’ But it is also often observed that Older Scots literature is more experimental than the poetry of the ‘English Chaucerians.’ This paper argues that in its combination of didacticism with formal experimentation, ‘Scottish Chaucerianism’ is distinctive compared to the ‘Chaucerian’ poetry written in England in the fifteenth century.

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Thomas Cargill's 1594 *Sixe Bookes of Politickes or Civill Doctrine*

Master of Aberdeen's Grammar School, Thomas Cargill (d. 1602) was a poet, translator and scholar, who enjoyed a high reputation in Scotland during his lifetime, although most of his output is now lost. In 1594 he made a translation of Justus Lipsius' 1589 *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex*, which will be the focus of this talk. Until Cargill's manuscript was recently discovered, this work was thought to have either been lost or even a myth. Cargill is known to have produced Latin and Scots works on a variety of topics and George Keith, fourth Earl Marischal (founder of Marischal College) commissioned him to translate the works of the classical author Hesiod from Greek into Scots. This predated the first English translation by at least 16 years, but sadly does not survive.

The *Politicorum* was Lipsius' practical moral guidebook on how to rule a principality. It was influenced by classical authors, such as Tacitus, but also more contemporary figures, such as Machiavelli. He argued for a strong centralised state, but one guided by virtuous philosophy. Cargill’s translation is dedicated to Thomas Menzeis, the provost of New Aberdeen. Not only does this show an interest among the social elite of Aberdeen for the most up-to-date European scholarship, but also for the dissemination of its findings through translation. The study of this manuscript can thus retrieve for us an understanding of an important Jacobean scholar through its extensive sample of his prose and poetry translations. It can also tell us a considerable amount about the intellectual culture in Aberdeen in the age of Reformation, as well as the wider European political thought at the time.
W.H. Auden’s poetic debts to William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas have never before been noticed, but his response to their work constitutes one of the most significant episodes in the reception of Older Scots poetry.

Auden’s ‘A Summer Night’ is regarded by scholars as the most pivotal work of his early career, and Auden himself came to see it as a turning point in his life as a poet. Written in June 1933, its occasion was a visionary experience that he underwent while a schoolmaster at the Downs School, Herefordshire. The poem’s complex affiliations with medieval poetry have never been recognised. It was written at a time when Auden was saturating himself in the literature of the later Middle Ages, most notably the works of John Skelton, but also those of William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Stephen Hawes, Alexander Barclay, John Rolland, and the recently re-discovered Margery Kempe.

While writing ‘A Summer Night’, Auden was reviewing a new edition of Dunbar’s poetry, which had been published by T.S. Eliot in 1932. Auden’s poem is filled with lines and images borrowed from Dunbar, and also from Gavin Douglas, whose works he had consulted while writing his review. My paper includes a close analysis of Auden’s linguistic and thematic debts to Dunbar’s ‘The Thrissil and the Rois’, to his ‘The Lament for the Makaris’, and to Douglas’s translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

My paper demonstrates that Older Scots poetry had a formative influence on one of the greatest works of English modernism.
An interpretation of ‘how the Wran come out of Ailssay’ (Gavin Douglas, *Palice of Honour*, l. 1713) as a version of the cumulative tale ‘Henny Penny’

No identification has previously been offered for this tale. The present suggestion is a tentative one since the title offers very little to go on, but there does seem to be some likelihood that it may have been a version of the international tale catalogued as type ATU 20C ‘The Animals Flee in Fear of the End of the World’, familiar to the English-speaking world as ‘Henny Penny’ or ‘Chicken Little’. If so, an extension of the idea in the title might run: ‘how the wren came out of Ailsa, crying that the end of the world was at hand’. In the tale-type, a chicken or other creature is frightened when something falls on its head, taking it that the sky is falling and that this is a sign of the end of the world. In the Scottish Gaelic tradition, the fright may be caused by the rising sea taken as a doomsday sign, which gives the setting on the island of Ailsa Craig a potential relevance. The chicken in panic sets off to tell others and the companions accumulate new members as they proceed on their way, which is potentially from the periphery by the shore to a central location where they could tell the king. Scottish versions identify the originator as a woman called Mór or a man or a hen but, although no known version features a wren at the start of the story, one Scottish Gaelic version does include an appropriately located wren later by adding *an Dreòlan a bha anns a’ chreig* (‘the Wren that was in the rock’) to the company. The paper will consider the Douglas title in the light of several versions of the tale.
Panel Proposal: Scotland, Colonialism and the Seventeenth Century  
Chair: Christopher McMillan

Paper 1. Lorna MacBean  
University of Glasgow

A Reappraisal of William Lithgow in light of Decolonial Theory – Lorna MacBean
While studies in Scottish literature are still wrestling with a dual identity as both object and subject of the colonial power matrix, decolonial theory emerges which both challenges and clarifies the ‘Scottish position’. Critics of colonial Scotland, such as Sandrock and McMillan, revisit the early modern period in Scotland with a refreshing sense of political analysis and detailed insight into social networks. In line with these studies, this paper reassesses the work of William Lithgow, our renowned Renaissance Scottish traveller, and contextualises him using the heart concepts of decolonial theory as outlined by Dussel and Grosfugel – how the discoveries of Eurocentric writers were propelled by their imaginations, and how these imaginations were embedded in the political and epistemological foundations of what we now call settler-colonialism. What we find in Lithgow’s corpus is an acute weaving of these strands – a communication of the ‘New World’ to domestic readers from a politically motivated writer who weaves propaganda with Renaissance fantasies. This paper frames Lithgow as the creative storyteller of the same literary projects such as William Alexander’s Encouragement to Colonies, and outlines his role in creating what can be conceived as a Scottish colonial hermeneutic.

Paper 2: Lou Dear and Lorna MacBean  
University of Glasgow

Sylvia Wynter in dialogue with William Lithgow
Our intention is to offer an experimental dialogue between the work of the foundational decolonial philosopher Sylvia Wynter and Scottish travel writer William Lithgow. The first part of the paper will be creative and experiential. We will weave the work of these writers into poetic dialogue as an attempt to experiment with decolonial hermeneutics. We will follow this up with a contextualisation of both writer’s contributions, interpreting Lithgow in light of the philosophical contributions of Wynter. We will offer insights into Lithgow’s poetic oeuvre by sharing Wynter’s arguments from a selection of her work including: ‘Columbus and the Poetics of the Propter Nos’; ‘On How We Mistook the Map for the Territory and Re-Imprisoned Ourselves in Our Unbearable Wrongness of Being, of Désêtre: Black Studies Toward the Human Project’, and ‘Columbus, The Ocean Blue and “Fables that Stir the Mind”: To Reinvent the Study of Letters’. Our intention is to offer fresh perspectives and methodological innovation in terms of the study of Lithgow, but crucially also, to contribute to the work of philosophical reconstruction, to a new poetics, in Wynterian language “beyond Man, towards the human”.

Paper 3: Lou Dear  
University of Glasgow
Coloniality and Scotland

This paper is a theoretical contribution aimed at analysing the implications of applying decolonial thinking to Scottish historical and literary studies. The position of Scotland as both object and subject of colonial power is a contested one (see Gardiner, Macdonald & O’Gallagher, 2011) and a topic that runs the risk of parochial or Eurocentric thinking. How can decolonial theory assist a reading of Scottish history and literature that can contribute productively to the possibility of “a new geopolitics of knowledge” (Bhambra, 2014)? To this end, postcolonial and decolonial theory need not be cleaved apart and examined as separate entities, but as related and entangled intellectual movements.

As noted by Bhambra (2014), one of the innovations to emerge from decolonial theory is to pull back the lens of debates on modernity back to the late fifteenth century and extend them southwards to acknowledge the relevance of southern European countries like Spain and Portugal, and also, crucially, what was to become the southern Americas. This paper will explore Scotland’s colonial history under James VI & I, examining how this can be revisited with an eye on the global resonances of his settler colonial policies. Following the contributions of Quijano, Mignolo and Lugones the significance of revisiting this period of history is useful in that it contributes to understanding the relationship between modernity and coloniality: “the inextricable combination of the rhetoric of modernity (progress, development, growth) and the logic of coloniality (poverty, misery, inequality)” (Bhambra, 2014).
Alasdair MacDonald
University of Groningen/Glasgow

The seven ills of Rome: Anti-Catholic satire and Scottish Renaissance literature.

The paper discusses anti-Catholic satire as reflected in older Scottish poetry, both vernacular and neo-Latin. In particular, several hitherto unsuspected Italian and German influences will be identified, since these impacted on the cultural scene in Scotland. From the perspective of this topic, the Renaissance and the Reformation intertwine and are mutually complementary, and genre and theme establish bridges across the wide temporal gap between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the Scottish poets surveyed are George Buchanan, David Lindsay, Patrick Adamson and George Lauder.
R.S.D. Jack described Alexander Hume (c.1577-1609) as 'the finest of the Protestant religious poets', and more recently Sebastiaan Verweij has reconsidered the manuscript and print circulation of Hume’s works. However, despite Jack’s assessment, and despite insights into the richness of post-Reformation devotional writing in Scotland in Hume’s lifetime given by scholars such as David George Mullan and Jamie Reid Baxter, Hume and his poetry remain relatively overlooked, generally only alluded to for its critique of secular poetry in favour of religious verse. This paper will offer new insights into the themes of Hume’s *Hymnes or Sacred Songs* (printed in 1599). In particular, the paper will consider the importance of ‘maruel’, or wonder, in Hume’s work, and how it is connected to his narrator’s developing self-presentation across the course of this sequence of verses from unworthiness, humility and sinfulness, to a sense of spiritual freedom and a desire to seek knowledge and wisdom. This paper will also re-examine Alexander Hume’s place in the development of protestant verse writing in late sixteenth-century Scotland, re-contextualising his poems in the light of earlier devotional writing, including that by Arbuthnot, Lauder and Melville.
15th and early 16th century Scots literary responses to Geoffrey Chaucer are comparatively famous. The innovative and interrogatory works of Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas, and the Chaucerian texts of the Selden Manuscript, have been the subject of important critical studies. The distinctiveness of these Scots responses to Chaucer and his peers is well-established. Later reactions to Chaucer's writings are less well-known, however. This paper focuses on the Chaucerian tradition in late sixteenth-century Scotland, particularly in works attributed to poets often associated with the court of James VI. The Scots works (including poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis, and ‘The Laste Epistle of Creseyd to Troyalus’) are compared to English contemporaries, and key thematic – and specifically Scots – concerns are identified.
Adam Blackwood and the Aftermath of Mary’s Execution

The trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 occasioned a number of impassioned responses from her contemporaries. This paper will begin by briefly examining the lines of argument and methods of attack in English texts by looking at *A Defence of the Honorable sentence and execution of the Queene of Scots* (1587). This book includes a detailed comparison of Mary and Joan of Naples, an analogical relationship explored by Robert Sempill in his satirical poetry of 1567. It also reprints the Babington correspondence, a choice which recalls the inclusion of the Casket documents in Buchanan’s *Detectioun*. The *Defence* will provide a frame for introducing a key Marian supporter who responds to such propaganda – Adam Blackwood. My paper will then turn its attention to an overview of the works of Blackwood, a Scot who lived most of his life in France and who succeeded John Leslie as the leading Marian apologist. In 1581, Blackwood rebuts the arguments laid out by Buchanan’s *De Iure Regni* (1579) with his *Pro Regibus Apologia* (1581), and later he contributed spirited denunciations of Mary’s execution with the *Martyre de la Royne d’Escosse* and *La Mort de la Royne d’Escosse* (1587 and 1588, respectively). He also arranged and contributed to a series of poetry collections – generally known as the *De Jezabelis* anthologies – devoted to eulogizing Mary and vilifying Elizabeth. Blackwood has received very little critical attention; both his major works and the *De Jezabelis* collections, with their great poetic variety, deserve closer analysis. This paper will examine Blackwood’s place in the history and bibliography of the Marian debate, giving special attention to his contribution in the clash of ideas between Buchanan and Leslie.
This paper suggests that a discourse about lying and falsity appears in parliamentary legislation during the Wars of Independence as part of the wider discourse which situates Scottish sovereignty in the person of the legitimate king. This interest in lying and falsity is continued throughout the period in both the law and literature.

To control his public image Robert I legislated against anyone who was an 'inventor of tales or rumours by which a source of discord shall be able to arise between the king' (1318). Similar legislation appears in almost every reign after him – indeed, the legislation against ‘leasing makers’ was only repealed by the Scottish parliament in 2010. These laws provide an obverse to the period’s interest in ‘suthfast stories’ and, more generally, truth-telling and its contribution to Scottish sovereignty.

Statutes controlling ‘leasing makers’ and sowers of discord, show two related trends. One is the objection to the statements’ truth value: from Robert I’s narrationes seu rumores, which have an ambiguous truth-value (since a rumour can turn out to be true), the statues become clearer about their objection to the statements’ falsity. The second element is the social and political role of the actionable statements – that is, the discord created between the king and his people.

The presence and wording of the falsity discourse suggests connections between ideas Scottish sovereignty, English or pro-English lies, and the relationship between Scots and their king. The lies threaten Scottish sovereignty by undermining the people’s bond with their king, in whom sovereignty is vested. The corollary to this is that the king-subject relationship is based on ‘truth’ or (in the many ways that term can be defined in medieval law and literature).
Barbour's (other) *Bruce*: Edward's Irish Invasion, Context and Implications.

This paper examines John Barbour’s literary representation of the Bruce invasion of Ireland (1315-1318), in his national epic *The Bruce* (1375). Barbour devotes 10% of his poem to the Irish campaign, yet despite the abundance of literary criticism afforded to *The Bruce*, the Irish material receives insufficient attention. This paper probes potential political and ideological motivations behind Barbour depiction of the Irish invasion, and contrasts *The Bruce*’s portrayal of Edward Bruce - presented as the catalyst for the invasion, source of its carnage and ultimate failure - with his heroic brother Robert I. This paper examines whether *The Bruce*’s Irish invasion section problematizes several of the *Bruce*’s most lauded themes: chivalry, heroism, and freedom. It concludes with an analysis of two of the Irish section’s most marginalised figures, the Irish and a laundry woman.
Reading and Writing Boethius in Sixteenth-Century Scotland

This paper reveals how the most vigorous Scottish reception of Boethius’s works comes in the sixteenth century, and is rooted in Latin and the Continent, rather than in fifteenth-century England and the works of Chaucer. The paper asks two key questions.

First, who was reading Boethius? Scottish-connected manuscript and print copies of his works reveal that many readers can be located within a pedagogical milieu. James Fentoun, Dunkeld song school’s first precentor, clearly regarded his 1506 *Consolation* print from Rouen as a pedagogical tool, as did David Blak, a monk and teacher in 1560s Arbroath who owned a 1505 print, and George Buchanan (d.1582) who owned further prints at the University of St Andrews. Manuscript copies were also circulating, including one belonging to James VI’s other royal tutor, Peter Young, which may have been used to teach the young James about logic.

Royal connections lead us to this paper’s second preoccupation: who was writing Boethius? In a curious echo of Boethian circumstance, Mary, Queen of Scots, wrote a French Boethian inspired meditation while imprisoned. She was responding to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross (d.1596) who had sent Latin consolatory meditations to Mary while himself imprisoned for his allegiance to her. Mary’s work, and Leslie’s *Piae afflicti animi consolations, diuinaque: altero, animi tranquilli munimentum et conservatio*, *Continentur* (printed together in Paris, 1574) formed part of a more sustained sixteenth-century literary response to Boethius by Scottish writers. Other important examples include Adam Abell’s *Roit Quheil of Time* (c.1534-7), and Florens Volusenus’s *Tranquillitate Dialogus* (1543). This wealth of material (Latin, French, and Scots; verse and prose; script and print) suggests that this previously overlooked, but nevertheless vibrant, flourishing tradition of Scottish Boethianism has significant implications for Scottish literary and cultural history.
Despite much recent exciting work on Douglas’ *Eneados*, the influence of Ovid upon Douglas’ translation of Vergil’s *Aeneid* has been largely overlooked. The *Eneados*, after all, is bound to Douglas’ Ovidian *Palace of Honour* through the poet’s fulfillment of his promise to Venus in that earlier poem. And the *Eneados* ends with a declaration of literary and cultural immortality in Ovidian terms; the final act of translation in the *Eneados* is of Ovid’s epilogue to the *Metamorphoses* (*Met.* 15.871-9=Conclusio 1-12). This paper will argue for the extensiveness of Douglas’ use of Ovid in the *Eneados* by focusing on the prologue to Book 12, whose description of May recalls the opening of the *Palace of Honour*, and on the *Conclusio*. In the twelfth Prologue Douglas constructs his ecphrasis of the spring season through multiple poetic voices including that of Ovidian metamorphic myth with which he was closely engaged in his earlier poem. But the twelfth prologue also anticipates the closure of the poem, in particular Book 13, where Douglas supplements Mapheus Vegius’ *Supplementum* by drawing further upon Ovid’s own sequel to Aeneas’ history in Books 13 and 14 of the *Metamorphoses*. As he reaches the conclusion of his great work, Douglas draws cultural capital from his demonstrated engagement with the two great classical poets of his time, Vergil and Ovid. Moreover, Douglas suggests he still has Ovidian roots, for Ovid is a significant figure for a poet who, through the act of translation, crosses linguistic and cultural boundaries. With his concluding Ovidian translation at the end of Book 13 Douglas shows that he too has undergone a metamorphosis, from the apologetic, hesitant poet at the start of the *Eneados* to a proud, confident artist who doubles as Ovid in his proclamation of the immortality of his work.
Ruth (Meg) Oldman
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Negotiating Identities in Robert Henryson’s *Morall Fabillis*

During the 15th century, many Scottish authors were reflecting upon the political and social climate of the Scottish borderlands but also attempting to create an overarching national identity by writing about the different socioeconomic estates. For instance, in the case of Robert Henryson’s *Morall Fabillis*, Henryson constructs conversations about the political and social events occurring during his time whilst also balancing commentary on the life of the lower estates. The fable genre addresses political issues in a covert manner. By creating an overarching social narrative through the use of fables, Henryson was able to construct an extended metaphor for the Scottish borderlands and the multifaceted perspectives on politics and national identity that existed during his lifetime.

I will examine the trajectory that Scottish national identity takes throughout the *Morall Fabillis* and how Henryson includes a wide variety of voices and perspectives in this construction. I will also illustrate that while the *Morall Fabillis* reflect the multiple dimensions of the Scottish borderland, examining individual fables in relation to one another reveals medieval Scottish borderland and national identity cannot be confined to one concise definition but rather is fluid. While his presentation will touch on the entirety of the work, “The Tale of Two Mice,” “The Lion and the Mouse,” and “The Tale of the Swallow” specifically will be discussed in further detail, particularly how these fables reveal variations in political perspectives depending upon the context in which Henryson was writing, elucidating the disparities in perceptions towards national identities. This presentation will conclude by claiming the ideas about national identity presented within the *Morall Fabillis* reveal that it is essentially impossible to define one overarching national identity, particularly within a diverse medieval Scottish borderland.
By 1527, Hector Boece (c.1465–1536), principal of the University of Aberdeen, had completed the *Scotorum Historia*, his Neo-Latin history of the Scots. The work played a fundamental role in the transmission of Scottish history, helping to shape national and international perceptions of Scotland throughout the early modern period. There was, however, something distinctly Roman about Boece’s Scottish history. To flesh out the early books of his history, Boece turned to Tacitus, supplementing his narrative with speeches and set-pieces drawn directly from the *Agricola* and the *Annales*. This paper examines how Boece incorporated material from Tacitus, flagging up those moments in particular where Boece goes beyond paraphrase to direct quotation. This paper then considers the wider impact Tacitus had on the *Historia* by providing Boece with an idiom with which to treat questions of political and national identity. Boece’s history as a whole, it is argued, owes a great deal more to Roman historiography than first meets the eye.
It is well known that Scottish writers such as Barbour, Henryson and Dunbar referred to the language they wrote in as 'Inglis', the same term as that used for the language of Chaucer, and that this term enjoyed a surprisingly long currency given the modern determination to distinguish Middle English from Older Scots. Even Hary's Wallace from the 1470s, ferociously anti-English as it is, still refers to the language spoken by Scottish people as 'Inglis' (IX.425). The first signs of a shift in terminology from 'Inglis' to 'Scottis' for the descendant of Old English appear in the 1490s, for example in the Loutfut MS of 1494, and the term is famously taken up by Gavin Douglas in his Prologue to the *Eneados*, although his contemporary William Dunbar continues to use the term 'Inglis'. The switch to 'Scottis' took some time to bed in. Although the author of the polemical, nationalist *Complaynt of Scotland* of ca. 1549 firmly refers to his language as 'Scottis', David Lyndsay, in an extended defence of the vernacular in the *Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour* (or *The Monarche*) printed in 1552, manages to avoid labelling his own language at all over the course of 146 lines, coyly referring to it throughout as 'our language' or 'our toung Vulgare' (though he is happy enough to describe what is spoken in Argyll as 'Yrische').

This gradual change in terminology is always tacitly presented as part of the organic development of the language -- that by the 1490s it had become generally apparent that the languages of Lowland Scotland and England were too divergent to share a single name, so 'Scottis' naturally came to be used to distinguish them. But the Lowland Germanic language of Scotland was no more different from (southern) English in the 1490s than it had been in Hary's 1470s or, even Wyntoun's c.1420: why the sudden need to re-label it? This fact seems to merit at the very least an exploration of the possibility that this was a conscious choice on the part of some writers during -- and perhaps even as a function of -- the reign of James IV.
An Episcopal and Royalist Response to George Buchanan and the radical Presbyterians: Patrick Adamson’s De Sacro Pastoris Munere (‘On the Sacred Duty of a Minister’).

This paper will present an aspect of my current work towards an intellectual, political and literary biography of Patrick Adamson’s (1537-1592), Archbishop of St Andrews between 1576 and 1589 and the only true intellectual opponent to the radical presbyterian party in the early Jacobean kirk. Adamson wrote and published a wide range of poetry, correspondence and prose in Latin over the course of his career. While several of these texts were published in his lifetime the majority only appeared in print for the first time in 1618/19, in two collected editions edited by his son-in-law Thomas Wilson. One of these volumes, the De Sacro Pastoris Munere (‘On the Sacred Duty of a Minister’), is a tract of around 55 pages, and has a life of Adamson, also in Latin, appended to it. It was actually written (as my research leads me to believe) in the late 1580s, when Adamson was being prosecuted and subjected to an excommunication process by the kirk for his repeated unwillingness to submit to their jurisdiction. This text is of major importance as a detailed response to both George Buchanan’s De Iure Regni Apud Scotos Dialogus (‘Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots’, 1579) and to the Presbyterian ‘two kingdoms’ theory and church structure in general. I will provide an outline of its contents and assess its significance for our understanding of the politics of church and state in early Jacobean Scotland.
My discovery of the identity of the person behind the anagram-sonnet SOB SILLE COR by Elizabeth Melville, which heads the collection of her verse contained in the Bruce Manuscript, has thrown a flood of light not only on the Bruce Manuscript itself, but also on the richness of the spiritual life of the East Neuk of Fife in the presbytery of St Andrews. Poetry was clearly an integral part of the spiritual practice of the presbyterian godly in those parishes. This paper will investigate the connections between the various poets whose work has survived - not just Mr James Melville and Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, but several others including Mr John Dykes and Mr William Scot.
The goddesses Juno and Venus play key roles in determining the action of the Aeneid. As a committed translator, therefore, Gavin Douglas has to engage directly with these goddesses as powerful agents in his text, notwithstanding his unease with pagan religion, love and femininity. This paper will explore Douglas’s treatment of Juno and Venus in the Eneados, in both the prologues and the text, to consider their role as female figures with power. It will also compare Douglas’s treatment of female goddesses in the Eneados with those in the Palice of Honoure, with particular attention to Venus and her role as poetic muse. By examining these aspects in detail, this paper will re-examine Douglas’s engagement with female power and his presentation of female agency as a feature of his translation practice.
John Bellenden’s *Livy* and the Uses of History

It is a quirk of Older Scots scholarship that the commentary Bellenden compiled to accompany his translation of the first five books of Livy’s history has not received the attention it deserves. This commentary forms an especially prominent part of the partly holograph fragments preserved as London, British Library, MS Add. 36678, but it is also present throughout the complete Advocates’ MS 18.3.12 copy of the work. There, though, it has been badly cropped in the course of the rebinding of the manuscript and, as a result, Craigie failed to include this commentary within his influential STS edition of the work. Attending to that commentary, though, affords an especially rich insight into how Livy’s history was read in the 1530s – through an antiquarian lens (not only as an expression of contemporary Scottish political and cultural concerns but as a window onto Roman culture understood on its own terms (but to what ends?)), through various comparative foci (alongside engagement with Ovid’s *Fasti*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Valerius Maximus), and as a concomitant of the broader engagement with classical and Scottish historiography recorded in the extant annotations of Boece, Galloway, and other contemporaries of Bellenden in Aberdeen in the 1530s. This paper explores the approaches of Bellenden’s commentary – how it proposes to read Livy’s historiography – as a way of affording access to the variety of ways in which history was read and used in this crucial moment of rich Scottish historiographical interest.
The paper will argue that the ‘Fawdoun’ episode in Book Five of Hary’s Wallace is a subtle reworking of a Christian interpretation of the pagan motif of the infernal army and its later variant of Hellequin’s or Herla’s Hunt. Apart from the fact that stories of the undead generally secure the interest of an audience, the main function of the episode is Wallace’s purging of manslaughter to idealize the hero and even allow an implied analogy with Jesus Christ. The recontextualization of the motifs of the infernal army and the wild hunt not only result in an evaluation of Wallace’s past atrocities, but also serves to influence contemporary politics.

To facilitate reflections on Wallace’s role in the episode, the narrator adds a diplomatic commentary on the reappearance of the decapitated Fawdoun, in which he alludes to the Gregorian and Augustinian views on ghosts and revenants and points to clergymen as the ultimate authority on apparitions. The fact that the abovementioned European motifs were adapted and refashioned in Scotland provides further evidence of the meta-regional reading communities of courts and religious institutions in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.
Allison L. Steenson  
Università degli Studi di Padova / University of Edinburgh

Stating the Case for Fragments: Latin micro-texts, society and material culture after the Union of the Crowns

The Hawthornden manuscripts (Edinburgh, NLS MSS 2053-2067) represent one of the richest manuscript environments related to sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain. The five volumes connected to William Fowler, secretary to Queen Anne of Denmark between 1590 and 1612 (Hawthornden 2063-2067) are the only manuscript material that can be ascribed to a Scottish courtier active before 1603. Fowler enjoys a measure of notoriety on account of his poetic activities within James VI's “Castalian band”. My research focuses instead on the lesser known part of Fowler's career and production, that is, his neo-Latin and occasional verse and ephemera, mainly composed after the move of the Scottish court to London in 1603. Neo-Latin poetry seems to have enjoyed a greater popularity after the turn of the seventeenth century, coinciding with a shift in the perception of Latin in the context of European courtly culture, from “language of learning” to “language of compliment”. Most of the Latin material in Hawthornden reflects this situation, and is in the form of either fragments or “micro-texts” (imprese, anagrams, mottoes, short verse etc.). Such items often had a practical purpose, and were created to accompany courtly displays or as elegant gifts for powerful patrons or foreign guests.

This paper will present a selection of such material, illustrating its connections to specific aspects of material and social culture, in an attempt to highlight the significance of Latin fragmentary and occasional verse for both historians and textual scholars. A closer look at the practical uses to which Fowler put the Latin language will provide information on the struggles faced by self-styled “Scoto-British” writers to find a place in London. Through a combination of manuscript and archival evidence, I will attempt to illustrate the literary and social strategies enacted by a Scottish humanist and court servant of the previous generation to maintain his position in such a dramatically changed environment.
Whilst the pictorial vividness of Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados* is well-acknowledged, far less attention has been given to the emotional and affective qualities of his translation. Douglas Gray has noted that ‘Douglas is especially sensitive to “pite” and pathos’, though, in an essay concerned primarily with pictorial elements, he gives only a tantalisingly brief indication of the ways such sensitivity and sympathy might be borne out. Further exploration of Douglas’s ‘rhetoric of pathos’ yields much of interest; here I wish to attend particularly to the terms *rewth* and *rewthfull*.

One particular site of tension in relation to pity is Douglas’s translation of *pius* and *pietas*. As he reveals in a marginal note in Book I, Douglas interprets *pius* ‘quhylys for “rewth”, quhils for “devotion” and quhilis for “pyete” and “compassion”,’ – a diverse fourfold translation attesting to Douglas’s keen awareness of the complexity and ambiguity of Virgilian *pietas*. His particular choice of word at key points in the *Eneados* proves highly thought-provoking, especially in the way that *rewthfull* – even while it is offered as a translation of *pius* – seems to disrupt the idea of Classical *pietas*, resulting in an amplification of the dissonant voices that have long been recognised in the *Aeneid*: pity in opposition to *pietas*; the tragic in opposition to the epic and imperial. Interesting, too, is the way in which Douglas’s complex ‘rhetoric of pathos’ often emerges in spite of, rather than as a result of, the mediations of the 1501 Ascensius edition from which he has been shown to have worked. Servius and Ascensius seek, at crucial points, to contain or even stifle the complexities of the Virgilian pathos to which, in contrast, Douglas seems to be so open and alert – complexities which appear to be very much alive in his translation.
Astrid Stilma  
Canterbury Christ Church University, Canterbury  

Landscape, Memory and Empire: Reminding King James VI & I of his Scottish Identity

The accession of King James VI of Scotland to the English throne had a great impact on Scottish and English authors alike. Those writing for the Jacobean court in England could no longer rely on established Elizabethan modes of flattery and advice and searched for a new set of genres and metaphors through which to address the new king effectively. At the same time, Scottish authors (both in Scotland and in England) sought ways to continue to advance a specifically Scottish agenda by reminding the king (and later his sons) of the Stuart dynasty’s Scottish roots. Focusing on poetry and prose written around the time of James’s English accession (1603), the royal visit to Scotland in 1617 and the proposed colonial project in Nova Scotia (early 1620s), this paper will explore the evocation of Scottish landscapes (and nature more generally) in relation to Scotland’s identity within the ‘British Union’ and its role on the international political stage. Of particular interest will be ambitions of empire, the relationship between climate and Scottish masculinity, and the use of rivers and oceans as political metaphors. Authors to be discussed will include David Hume of Godscroft, Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, William Drummond of Hawthornden and particularly William Alexander of Menstrie (later Earl of Stirling).
This paper will re-examine Dunbar’s court poetry to argue that two equally significant breaks with past poetic practice facilitate Dunbar’s creation of a unique poetics, centred upon the complex relationship of poet/courtier to patron/prince in the late medieval Scottish court. Dunbar’s unprecedented status as a poet in and of the Scottish court crucially enables his poetic ambition, allowing him to claim a national relevance. Challenging long-established conceptions of poetic merit, Dunbar claims a newly elevated status for court poetry, with which he underwrites his persistent demands for reward. At the same time, Dunbar turns away from Chaucerian (as well as broader European) poetic conventions by rejecting romantic love as an appropriate poetic subject. Yet crucially, far from eschewing the language of courtly love altogether, Dunbar reapplys many of its familiar tropes to his relationship with James IV, drawing on the social and gender hierarchies implicit in the courtly love lyric to explore the homosocial dynamics of James’s court. Focusing on Dunbar’s petitions to the King, I argue that Dunbar maintains many of courtly love’s traditional motifs, while placing his monarch in the rhetorical position traditionally occupied by the poet’s lady. Dunbar’s strategy of feminizing James emerges as a form of discursive aggression by which Dunbar hopes to define the parameters of their relationship, while retaining the lover’s typically deferential stance. Yet James proves a far more slippery poetic subject than the average courtly lady. Applying to his monarch the courtly tropes usually reserved for the poet’s mistress, Dunbar extends his critique of love poetry as a genre, implicitly contrasting monarch and mistress as sources of poetic production and choosing the monarch as the more significant of the two. In appropriating the clichéd conventions of the courtly love tradition to this end, Dunbar fashions a poetics that directly speaks to contemporary Scottish culture and identity.
Writing Scottish Literary History

This paper will reflect on the processes and challenges that are involved in writing ‘the Scottish chapter’ – currently projected, and hopefully completed by the time of the conference – for the forthcoming *Oxford Handbook of Renaissance Poetry, 1500-1700*. Several such recent handbooks contain entries on Scotland, and both typically and laudably, intend to expand upon the geographical and socio-cultural remit of early-modern, generalist British literary history. Yet the often single ‘Scottish chapters’ are rubbing up against a multitude of others that are more or less canonical and centrist in their approach and coverage, asking thorny epistemological questions about the present-day status of Older Scots criticism. How to write a single chapter that can meaningfully represent, in part, something of the vast whole? How does we picture the rich traditions of the late-medieval and early modern periods in Scotland, against their historical backgrounds, and how does we account for their generic and thematic traits? Should *Handbook* audiences (often ‘Eng-lit’ scholars, and those from further afield) cater for Older Scots specialists too, or are such books by definition places for potted retrospectives?

I expect to illustrate this paper largely with short excursions into lyrical verse, asking questions of poems and their speakers that can, perhaps, provide a roadmap of sorts throughout the period 1500-1700. I will pay especial attention to just how uneven such a course will run, from the aureate age of the makars, through the lesser known mid-sixteenth century, through to the brief flowering of court culture in the 1580s-1603, through to the still largely unwritten history of the later seventeenth century.
The paper investigates Scottish national consciousness in John Barbour's *The Bruce*, with particular attention to the way in which being Scottish is portrayed as determined by one’s political allegiance. National identity in *The Bruce* is thus perceived as a.) expressed through performative acts, and b.) a product of free will undetermined by birth or culture. This, I argue, arises partly from cultural and linguistic divisions within Scotland (e.g. Highlands vs. Lowlands) that impede attempts at imagining a homogeneous ethnic community of Scots. The ease with which a man may switch from an Englishman to ‘becummyn Scotsman’ and vice versa based on his loyalty to the king attests to the apparent fluidity of group affiliations. There is however a lack of anxiety regarding persisting ties of kinship or possible dangers that such fluidity may inflict on national welfare. This stands in stark contrast to literature from the English side whose concern over Scottish contamination of the English community is both evident and grave.

In light of recent discussions on medieval nationhood and national identity, I hope to re-evaluate culturally/ethnically-driven concepts of medieval nationalism, particularly in their (in-)applicability to Scotland, while also suggesting a reassessment of the nature of Scottish nationalism that is being expressed in *The Bruce*. 
This paper will introduce conference delegates to the Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names (REELS) project, which is funded by the Leverhulme Trust for three years (2016–18) and is based at the University of Glasgow. Through a systematic survey of the place-names of Berwickshire, the project analyses place-names deriving from a range of Celtic and Germanic languages (including Brittonic, Gaelic, Old English, Norse and Scots). In doing so it attempts to uncover evidence for the Northumbrian dialect of Old English which developed into Older Scots and northern Middle English.

After briefly introducing the REELS project and outlining the methodology being deployed, the paper will focus on a selection of Berwickshire place-names that have a distinct connection with medieval and renaissance Scottish culture. This will include place-names associated with legends of William Wallace and with the battle of Flodden; the names of wells; and place-names that underwent a process of deliberate transformation in the period, such as Gowkscroft which was altered to Godscroft by David Hume (1558–?1630), the biographer of the Douglas family.
Robert Henryson and the Literature of Dunfermline

Biographically and bibliographically, Robert Henryson is firmly associated with Dunfermline: in the chartulary of Dunfermline there are three deeds witnessed by Henryson; Dunbar wrote that ‘In Dumfermelyne he [Death] hes doune roune/ With Maister Robert Henrisoun’; and on the title-pages of most of the complete witnesses of the Fables and the Charteris and Anderson prints of the Testament, Henryson is described as ‘scolmaister of Dunfermling’. Francis Kinaston also identifies Henryson as schoolmaster of Dunfermline in the preface to his translation of the Testament into Latin verse.

Denton Fox wrote that ‘little weight if any can be given to the various reflections of Dunfermline and its environs which scholars have thought to see in [Henryson’s] poetry’, and this remains largely true. However, one can nevertheless identify a number of significant parallels between Henryson’s verse and other mid- to late fifteenth-century literature associated with Dunfermline. This paper reassesses some of those parallels already known - including links between Henryson’s Orpheus and the De Regimine Principum - and also offers new readings of parallels between Henryson’s verse, the Miracula of St Margaret of Scotland, and the Complaint for Princess Margaret of Scotland. Taken together, the findings presented open up new analogues and potential sources for Henryson’s verse, and reveal evidence of a new and closely-knit literary community.