The Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance

Emily Wingfield
Lincoln College, Oxford

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity Term 2010

Sum in-till hunting has th*ar* hale delyte
And vth*er*sum ane noth*er* appetit
That gladlie gois *and* in-to romanis reid*is*
Of halynes and of armes the deid*is*.

The Buke of the Chess, ll. 25-8.

Abstract

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This thesis is a study of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript and print contexts of Older Scots romance. Building on recent developments in Middle English romance scholarship and Older Scots book history, it seeks to contextualise the surviving corpus of Older Scots romances in light of their unique material witnesses and contemporary cultural milieu.

Chapters 1 to 8 focus respectively on the following Older Scots romances: the *Octosyllabic Alexander*, the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, *Florimond*, *Lancelot of the Laik*, *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling*, *Golagros and Gawane* and *Rauf Coilȝear*, the *Scottish Troy Book*, and *Clariodus*. The conclusion assesses and evaluates the most significant and recurring features of these chapters and reveals how they cumulatively deepen our understanding of the book-producing and book-owning culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland. The conclusion also looks forward to new witness-conscious editions of Older Scots romance that endeavour to represent as far as possible a text's unique and idiosyncratic manuscript and print contexts.

In each chapter I examine the set romance's primary contexts of composition, including authorship, date, and first audience, as well as its secondary publication contexts. A full palaeographical, codicological and bibliographical description of each manuscript and print is provided, with details of when, where and by whom each witness was produced. Information about when and where that witness was read is also given, with details of the owners and readers where known. Significant attention is paid to the use of titles, rubrication and *mise-en-page* to reveal the trends and bibliographical codes in copying and presentation. Where appropriate, the compilation choices made by scribes and readers are also analysed. Careful assessments of these are shown to aid modern thematic and comparative literary interpretation.

Most notably, each chapter of this thesis also provides much-needed new information about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish literary communities. Several significant and often-overlapping circles of scribes, readers and owners are revealed. The familial, professional and geographical associations between these groups of producers and consumers are traced and consequently new book-publishing and book-owning networks are documented. In further original work, a number of hitherto unknown texts, scribes and readers are also successfully identified.

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Above all, I'd like to thank my husband and best friend, Paul, for his love and companionship: 'Whider þou gost ichil wiþ þe, & whider y go þo schalt wiþ me.'

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my grandmother, Ruth May Exton (1920-2001).

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Abbreviations

ADC	*Acta Dominorum Concilii*, ed. H. Paton et al., 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1839-1993).
Aldis	Aldis, H.G. (1970), *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, revised edition, Edinburgh (updated version available at www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scotbooks/index.html).
APS	*The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
Asloan Manuscript	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16500.
B.	Poem number in William Dunbar, *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. P. Bawcutt, 2 vols, Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 27-8 (Glasgow, 1998).
Bannatyne Manuscript	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 1.1.6.
Bannatyne Miscellany	*The Bannatyne Miscellany*, ed. D. Laing et al., 3 vols, Bannatyne Club, 20-2 (Edinburgh, 1827-55).
BL	British Library.
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Book of the Dean of Lismore	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 72.1.37.
Briquet	Briquet, C.M. (1907), *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier Dès Leur Apparition Vers 1282 Jusqu'en 1600*, ed. A. Stevenson, 1968, 4 vols, Amsterdam.
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
DOST	Craigie, W.A. et al. eds. (1937-2002), *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 12 vols, Chicago (website: www.dsl.ac.uk).
Edinburgh Burgh Records	*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, ed. J.D. Marwick et al., 14 vols, Scottish Burgh Records Society (Edinburgh, 1869-1987).
EETS	Early English Text Society.
ER	*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. J. Stuart et al., 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
e.s.	Extra Series.

EUL	Edinburgh University Library.
fol.(s)	folio(s).
Foular 1503-13	John Foular, *The Protocol Book of John Foular 1504-1513*, ed. M. Wood, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1941).
Foular 1514-28	John Foular, *The Protocol Book of John Foular 1514-1528*, ed. M. Wood, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1953).
Foular 1528-34	John Foular, *The Protocol Book of John Foular 1528-1534*, ed. J. Durkan, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1985).
Hay Prose Manuscript	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Acc. 9253.
IMEV	Brown, C. and Robbins, R.H. eds. (1943), *The Index of Middle English Verse*, New York. Robbins, R.H. and Cutler, J.L. eds. (1965), *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse*, Lexington KY.
Laing Charters	*Calendar of the Laing Charters, A.D. 854-1837, Belonging to the University of Edinburgh*, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1889).
l.(ll.)	line (lines).
Maitland Folio Manuscript	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 2253.
Maitland Quarto Manuscript	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 1408.
Makculloch Manuscript	Edinburgh, University Library, MS Laing III.149 (alternative shelf-mark: Edinburgh, University Library, MS 205).
Manual	Burke Severs, J. et al. eds. (1967-), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, 11 vols, New Haven and London.
Maxwell Commonplace Book	Edinburgh, University Library, MS Laing III. 467.
MED	Kurath, H. et al. eds. (1952-2007), *Middle English Dictionary*, multiple vols, Ann Arbor MI (website: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/).
MS(S)	manuscript(s).

n.	note.
NAS	National Archives of Scotland.
NIMEV	Boffey, J. and Edwards, A.S.G. eds. (2005b), *A New Index of Middle English Verse*, London.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
n.s.	New Series.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (website: www.oed.co.uk).
o.s.	Original Series.
p.(p.)	page(s).
r	recto.
RMS	*The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum)*, ed. J.M. Thompson et al., 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
RPC	*The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. J.H. Burton et al., 38 vols (Edinburgh, 1877-1970).
RPS	*Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K.M. Brown et al. (St. Andrews, 2007-9) (www.rps.ac.uk).
RSS	*The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland (Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum)*, ed. M. Livingstone et al., 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-82).
Scotichronicon	Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, ed. D.E.R. Watt et al., 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1987-98).
Ser.	Series.
SP	*The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, ed. J. Balfour-Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh, 1904-14).
STC	Pollard, A.W. et al. eds. (1976-91), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 3 vols, 2nd edn, London (see also: http://estc.bl.uk).
STS	Scottish Text Society.
TA	*The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. T. Dickson et al., 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1877-1978).
v	verso.

Note on Editions and Transcriptions

Primary sources are listed in the bibliography alphabetically by author (where known) or by title. With the exception of those items listed in the above table of abbreviations, footnote references give the author's name and/or an abbreviated version of the title. Secondary sources are listed and referenced in the form author (date). Where authors share a surname, initials are also given, and where authors share both initials and a surname, the author's first name is provided.

Unless otherwise stated, all quotation follows the format in the edition used. Long-**s** and sharp-**s** are, however, normalised. When quoting from *APS*, the Tironian nota, and the abbreviation symbols for -**er** and the plural or genitive -**is** have also been expanded and printed in italics. When quoting from editions such as Glenn, ed. (1993-2005), which represent a manuscript's many different punctuation marks, I provide only the lightest punctuation for clearer reading.

In my own transcriptions from manuscripts and prints, þᵗ and wᵗ have been retained, and the Tironian nota has been indicated by means of a 7. The abbreviation symbol for the plural or genitive has been expanded to -**is** and printed in italics. All other expanded abbreviations have also been printed in italics. I have preserved the distinction between **u** and **v**, and **i** and **j**. Where **þ** is indistinguishable from **y**, I have printed **y**.

\ / enclose words and letters inserted by the scribe, either between the lines or in the margin.

< > enclose letters which have been supplied in the transcription where the manuscript is deficient or illegible.

¶ indicates any form of paraph.

[ ] indicate changes or interpolations I have made to quotations. On occasion, they indicate prior editorial emendation, as in Irving, ed. (1830).

Note on S. Mainer (2010), *The Scottish Romance Tradition c. 1375 – c. 1550. Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood*, Amsterdam and New York.

Mainer (2010) was published two weeks before the submission of this thesis. The book has not yet reached either the Bodleian Library or British Library and my own copy did not arrive in time for me to engage with its arguments. I instead here provide a brief overview. Mainer examines the *Octosyllabic Alexander, Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour, Lancelot of the Laik, Rauf Coilȝear* and *Golagros and Gawane* alongside Barbour's *Bruce* and Harry's *Wallace*. He focuses on theme and genre, and makes very little reference to manuscript and/or print context. Mainer's central thesis is that the *Bruce* asserted a considerable ideological influence on the Scottish romance tradition, and that as a result debates on good governance and kingship, in relation to wider nationalistic ideology, are central themes. He argues that the presentation of a romance hero's inner progression is determined by notions of ideal knighthood and kingship, and consequently that the hero strives for common profit rather than personal gain/ valour. He asserts, finally, that the Scottish romance tradition

emphasises knightly virtues and martial action rather than amorous and courtly behaviour.

Introduction

> Sen Vysmen that be-fore our dawis
> Studyt in prophesy and in lawis,
> In syndry sciens of clergeis,
> Cornyk*i*ls, Romans and storys,
> Mayd diu*er*ss compilaciounys
> Eftyr thar inclinaciouns,
> sum of myraclys & halynes,
> Sum of conquest and riches,
> sum of armys and honowr*is*,
> Sum of luf and p*ar*amour*is*,
> sum of lust*is* and of delyte,
> Ilkane eft*ir* thar appetyte,
> For to remayne eft*ir* thar dais
> To tech wn-lett*er*yt folk al-ways;
> For word but writ as vynd our-gais
> & eft*ir* that smal p*ro*fet mais,
> and wryt remanis and prent*is* in hart
> To thai*m* that sal cum eft*ir*wart.
> (*The Foly of Fulys and The Thewis of Wysmen*, ll. 1-18).[1]

I preface this study of the manuscript and print contexts of Older Scots romance

with the first eighteen lines of the mid- fifteenth-century octosyllabic Scottish

advisory poem, *The Foly of Fulys.* The poem survives with the Older Scots romance

Lancelot of the Laik in CUL, MS Kk.1.5.[2] In words reminiscent of the prologues to *Sir*

Orfeo, Lay le Freine, and Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*,[3] the poem's narrator affirms the

value and stability of the written word and enumerates the contents of 'diu*er*ss

compilaciounys' made by sundry 'Vysmen'. The volumes he describes appear to

have contained several types of romance, including amorous, martial and/or

chivalric, and hagiographical varieties of the genre.[4] The 'diu*er*ss compilaciounys'

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[1] Quotation from *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan.
[2] See Chapter 4.
[3] See *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Bliss, pp. xlvi-ix; Foulet (1906); Guillaume (1921); L. Hibbard Loomis (1941).
These lines should also be compared to l. 147 of *Lancelot of the Laik*, ll. 23-4 of the Prologue to the
'Avowis' section of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*, and ll. 27-8 of *The Buke of the Chess*. See respectively
Lancelot of the Laik, ed. Skeat; *Octosyllabic Alexander*, ed. Ritchie*; Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, ed. van Buuren.
[4] Scholarly attempts to define medieval romance have proved vexatious. See for example H. Cooper
(2004), pp. 1-44; Fewster (1987); Finlayson (1980); Furrow (2009); Hume (1974); Pearsall (1965, 1976);
Putter and Gilbert (2000b); Strohm (1971, 1977); Radulescu (2009); Whetter (2008).

probably also contained samples of the 'prophesy', 'lawis', 'sciens of clergeis', 'Cornyk*l*s' and 'storys' in which the 'Vysmen' were apparently well versed. They therefore function as ideal paradigms for several of the actual manuscript and print witnesses of Older Scots romance described and analysed in the ensuing chapters of this thesis.

Romance in Scotland: The Corpus

Compared to the 86 Middle English romances listed in the revised *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, the corpus of Older Scots romance might appear limited.[5] Only twelve Older Scots romances are known to survive, listed below in alphabetical order with their estimated dates of composition.[6]

The Octosyllabic Alexander	*c.* 1438
The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour	*c.* 1460
Clariodus	*c.* 1503-50
Eger and Grime (or 'Graysteel')	Before 1497?
Florimond of Albany	Before *c.* 1550.
Golagros and Gawane	*c.* 1475-1508
King Orphius	First half of the fifteenth century?
Lancelot of the Laik	Before *c.* 1490
Rauf Coil3ear	Last quarter of the fifteenth century?

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[5] This Older Scots romance corpus follows that in *Manual*, vol. I, pp. 13-16, updated by Edwards (2000a) and Purdie (2006). Whilst Barbour's *Bruce*, Hary's *Wallace*, Lyndsay's *Squyer Meldrum* and John Stewart of Baldynneis' *Ane Abbregement of Roland Furiovs* align themselves to varying degrees with the romance genre, they are instead more commonly classified with historiographical, biographical, mock-romance and epic traditions, respectively. See Purdie (2006), p. 167 and also Caughey (2010a), pp. 82-128.

[6] Editions of these romances and further discussion of their composition dates will be given in each individual chapter.

Roswall and Lillian	Before 1663
Scottish Troy Book[7]	Late fourteenth century/ early fifteenth century
Sir Colling ye Kny[f]	First half of the fifteenth century?

Further evidence suggests, however, that the romance genre in fact flourished in late fourteenth-, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.[8] Much evidence for the genre's wider circulation stems from other literary texts.[9] Most famously, John Barbour reports in *The Bruce* (*c.* 1375-6) that Robert I:

> Red to yaim y*at* war him by
> Romanys off worthi Ferambrace[10]

as he waited to cross Loch Lomond with his troops. Several other romance characters and texts are also referred to throughout this poem. The hero James Douglas, for instance, is compared to 'gud Ector of Troy' (I.395),[11] whilst John Comyn's betrayal of Bruce is compared to the treachery experienced by Troy, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and King Arthur (I.521-60). Elsewhere, the Scottish capture of Edinburgh Castle is likened to Alexander's taking of the tower of Babylon (X.708-40), and the Lord of Lorne compares Bruce to Gadifer de Larys

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[7] Generic categorisation of medieval Troy narratives has proved to be a vexed issue (see Strohm (1971)), but I nevertheless here accept the inclusion of the *Scottish Troy Book* within the Older Scots romance corpus.

[8] The romance tradition of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland lies outside the remits of this thesis. D.D.R. Owen (1997), pp. 114-82 details the use of Scotland as a setting by French romance writers, such as Chrétien de Troyes, and connects the French *Romance of Fergus* by Guillaume le Clerc to the court of King William 'the Lion' (*c.* 1142-1214) and his son, Alexander II (1198-1249). See also Webster (1940) and Ritchie (1952).

[9] 14 uses of the noun 'Romans' are also cited in *DOST*.

[10] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, Book III, ll. 436-7. The episode read by Bruce is summarised at III.438-62. See further Goldstein (1993), pp. 144-5 and Mapstone (2007b), p. 207.

[11] Barbour here draws in part upon Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (*c.* 1287). See John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, vol. I, p. 69, n. 363-404.

(III.71-92). In both instances, Barbour is recalling episodes from the French *Le Fuerre de Gadres*, which was translated into Scots *c.* 1438 as part of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*.[12]

Many other Older Scots texts contain similar references to or echoes of medieval romance.[13] McDiarmid has suggested, for instance, that Hary's *Wallace* (*c.* 1470) was influenced by the *Roman d'Alexandre* (VI.516-26; VIII.480; XI.341-4), *Historia Karoli Magni* (VIII.1251-62; X.1221-46), and alliterative *Morte Arthure* (VI.305, 886; VII.71-152, 459; VIII.886-7; IX.57, 174-81, 426; XI.341-4, 378-84, 396-400, 569-78), as well as the *Sege of Melayne* (VII.454; VIII.1197-8; XII.1297, 1323-4), *Sir Ferumbras*, and *The Romance of Duke Rowlande and of Sir Otuell of Spayne* (IX.343-80).[14]

Three other Scottish texts and authors exemplify a comparable level of intertextuality. In his *Palice of Honour* (*c.* 1501),[15] Gavin Douglas describes a procession of the Court of Venus which contains a multitude of lovers from the classical and romance traditions, including Paris and Vienne (l. 576), Ipomedon (l. 578), and Tristan and Isolde (l. 584).[16] In his mock-romance *Squyer Meldrum* (*c.*1550),[17] David Lyndsay reveals his knowledge of the Older Scots romances *Golagros and Gawane* and *Eger and Grime*, as well as Theban, Arthurian and Charlemagne traditions. He states that his hero:

> Micht be compairit to Tydeus,
> Quhilk faucht for to defend his richtis
> And slew of Thebes fyftie knichtis.
> Rolland with Brandwell, his bricht brand,
> Faucht never better, hand for hand;
> Nor Gawin aganis Golibras,
> Nor Olyver with Pharambras.
> I wait he faucht that day als weill

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[12] There are also two references to *Le Roman de Thèbes* (II.531-46, VI.181-286).

[13] There is not space to enumerate all the references to medieval romance in Older Scots literature. I instead provide some of the most pertinent examples.

[14] Hary, *The Wallace*, ed. McDiarmid, vol. I, pp. cxxiv-cxxv; vol. II, pp 283-90, 'Index to the Introduction and Notes'.

[15] Gavin Douglas, *Shorter Poems*, ed. Bawcutt.

[16] Evidence for early knowledge of the Tristan legend in Scotland is provided by the discovery in 1921 of a thirteenth-century mirror-case at Perth depicting the infamous 'tryst beneath the tree' scene. See D.D.R. Owen (1997), pp. 188-92

[17] Lyndsay, *Selected Poems*, ed. Hadley Williams; Riddy (1974).

> As did Sir Gryme aganis Graysteill,
> And I dar say he was als abill
> As onie knicht of the Round Tabill […] (ll. 1310-20).

A very similar comparison occurs in the longer version of the late sixteenth-century *Roswall and Lillian*,[18] where the author shows knowledge of *Florimond*, *Clariodus*, and either the Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik* or its French original:

> Princes to him [Roswall] could not compare,
> Ulisses nor Gandifere
> Achilles nor Troyalus,
> Nor yet his father Priamus,
> Nor the gentle Clariadus
> Nor fair Philmox, nor Achilles,
> Nor Florentine of Almanie
> Was never half so fair as he;
> Nor knight Sir Lancelot du Lake. (ll. 15-23).[19]

It is thus clear that a variety of Latin, French, English and Scots romance texts were known and/or circulating in fourteenth-, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland. The intertextual references to Older Scots romances also indicate that these texts were themselves more popular than their sole surviving witnesses suggest.

The loss of many Scottish witnesses of romance is tellingly illustrated by *The Complaynt of Scotland*.[20] This prose text, composed *c.* 1550 and often attributed to Robert Wedderburn of Dundee (*c.* 1510-55/6), is broadly based upon Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue Invectif* (1422). It also contains a number of original passages, including a pastoral interlude in which a group of shepherds tell one another a series of forty-eight/nine stories.[21] Many correspond to surviving Older Scots and Middle English romances, including 'ypomedon', 'rauf collȝear', 'gauen and gollogras', 'lancelot du lac', 'the tail of floremond of albanye that sleu the dragon be the see',

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[18] Citation from *Roswall and Lillian*, ed. Lengert (1892a).
[19] For further discussion of these passages see Purdie (2006), pp. 176-7.
[20] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart. On lost Older Scots literature see further Lyall (1989b).
[21] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50.

'claryades and maliades', 'syr egeir and syr gryme', 'beuis of southamtonn',[22] 'Opheus [*sic*] kyng of portingal', 'Arthour of litil bertangȝe', 'robene hude and litil ihone', 'the seige of millan' and 'the tayl of the four sonnis of aymon'. 'Ferrand erl of Flandris', 'the tail of the brig of mantribil',[23] 'the tail of syr euan arthours knycht', and 'Arthour knycht he raid on nycht vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht', may also correspond to now-lost Middle English or Older Scots romance texts.[24]

Contemporary Scottish wills and inventories provide further evidence for the wider circulation of Older Scots and Middle English romance texts in Scotland.[25] The 1579 testament of the Edinburgh printer, Thomas Bassandyne, reveals that he owned 'ane Valentine and Oresoun, in Frensche', 'ane Gy of Waruick', three hundred copies of the Scottish romance *Eger and Grime* ('iiiᶜ Graysteillis') and two copies of 'Euing of Burdeaux'. The testament of the Edinburgh bookbinder and bookseller, Robert Gourlaw, dated 1586, reveals that he owned two copies of 'Arthour of lytill Britone', as well as one copy of *Octosyllabic Alexander* ('the Vowis of Alexander'),[26] one bound and six unbound copies of *Eger and Grime*, one copy of 'Bewis of Hamtoun', one copy of Lyndsay's *Squyer Meldrum*, and two copies of the 'Squier of law degre'. The latter text was also shipped to Scotland from London in 1586 by the French-born bookseller and printer Thomas Vautrollier.[27] The 1606 testament of the printer and publisher Henry Charteris reveals that he owned several bound and unbound copies of the *Octosyllabic Alexander* ('Awowis of Alexander') and forty copies of Lyndsay's *Squyer Meldrum*, whilst the 1604 testament of the bookseller Robert Smyth records his ownership of 'tua hundreth xxxij Gray Steillis' (*Eger and Grime*). The wills

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[22] *Bevis* is also referred to by Dunbar and Lyndsay. See William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 39, l. 35 and Lyndsay, *Ane Satyre*, ed. Lyall, 'Proclamatioun maid in Cowpar of Fyffe', l. 245.

[23] This is mentioned at Book III l. 455 of Barbour's *Bruce*: 'And wan Matrybill and passit Flagot'.

[24] Leyden (1801), p. 237; Lyall (1989b), pp. 41-2; Bawcutt (2001-2), p. 8

[25] For the wills of these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scottish printers see *Bannatyne Miscellany* vol. II, pp. 191-235. Also Bald (1925-6) and Ferguson (1927).

[26] See further pp. 44, 48.

[27] D. Robertson (1971-3).

of these Edinburgh printers and publishers are thus a valuable record of the

sixteenth-century circulation of Scottish and English romance. They also stand

testimony to the considerable contemporary traffic of books between England and

Scotland and resultant Anglo-Scots literary relations, which will prove to be a

recurring feature of this thesis.[28]

The Characteristics of Older Scots Romance and its Witnesses

One of the most striking aspects of Older Scots romance is its form. At a time when

prose romance was ascendant in fifteenth-century England,[29] all twelve surviving

Older Scots romances were written in verse. That this was a deliberate stylistic

choice is demonstrated by *Lancelot*, *Clariodus* and *Golagros*, which are re-versifications

of French prose sources.[30]

The majority of Older Scots romances derive directly or indirectly from

French sources,[31] although English, Scottish and Latin traditions also prove

influential. The *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, for instance, draws in part on

the Latin *Historia de Preliis* as well as the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre* and fifteenth-

century Scottish advisory literature,[32] whilst *Golagros* is strongly influenced by *The

Awntyrs off Arthure*, as well as the First Continuation of the Old French *Perceval*.[33]

This close alignment of Older Scots romance to other traditions should not,

however, be seen as a weakness. Rather, the Scottish translators frequently

demonstrate a quite remarkable level of originality and creativity.[34]

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[28] See Bawcutt (1998, 2001-2) and A.A. MacDonald (1991).
[29] H. Cooper (1999), p. 691.
[30] *The Scottish Troy Book* is also a reversification into octosyllabic couplets of Guido delle Colonne's Latin prose *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.
[31] J.M. Smith (1934), Chapter 1.
[32] See p. 61
[33] See pp. 228-30.
[34] See Purdie (2005) for instance.

Compared to the corpus of Middle English romance, which was composed between the thirteenth and sixteenth century, with a peak in the fourteenth, the surviving Older Scots romances were composed considerably later, although it remains difficult to date the vast majority of texts with any certainty. Perhaps earliest in date are *The Scottish Troy Book* fragments, most probably written at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century,[35] and the *Octosyllabic Alexander*, whose narrator claims to have completed his work in or around 1438.[36] *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* and *Lancelot of the Laik* are commonly thought to have been composed in the third quarter of the fifteenth century,[37] and *Golagros* and *Rauf Coilȝear* in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[38] *Clariodus* is most probably a product of the first half of the sixteenth century.[39]

Eger and Grime and *Roswall and Lillian* prove more difficult to date. It is estimated that they were composed in the late fifteenth and late sixteenth century respectively, but they survive only in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printed witnesses.[40] For this reason I do not include a detailed analysis of them in this thesis; these two romances would instead benefit from a separate examination of the changing material forms and cultural currency of Older Scots romance from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, such as those undertaken for the similarly long-lived Middle English romances *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*.[41]

The eleven witnesses of the ten other Older Scots romances examined in this thesis all date from the sixteenth century, with the exception of the two manuscripts

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[35] Farish (1957), p. 201; McIntosh (1979), pp. 1, 16

[36] See below pp. 26-30.

[37] For *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* see below p. 65. For *Lancelot of the Laik* see Mapstone (2001c), pp. 136-8.

[38] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xxx; *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Bawcutt and Riddy, p. 94

[39] See below p. 306. The composition dates of *Florimond*, *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling* remain uncertain. One can only say that *Florimond* and *King Orphius* were composed before *c.* 1550 and *Sir Colling* before *c.* 1582-6. See pp. 122, 189-90, 193-5.

[40] For further details see Purdie (2006), pp. 167-9, 176-7; *Roswall and Lillian*, ed. Lengert (1892a, 1892b); *Eger and Grime*, ed. Caldwell.

[41] See Crane (1915); Fellows (1996); V.B. Richmond (1996). Also Spufford (1981) and T. Watt (1991).

of *The Scottish Troy Book* fragments. One of these (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148) contains portions dating from the late fifteenth century, whilst the second (CUL, MS Kk.5.30) was supplemented in the seventeenth century. Only the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* and the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments are extant in more than one witness; the remaining eight romances survive only in single witnesses. Three of the eleven witnesses examined in this thesis are prints and eight are manuscript, although manuscript does not take chronological precedence. Instead, the relationship between manuscript and print in sixteenth-century Scotland was dynamic and symbiotic;[42] the manuscript tradition co-existed with, drew upon and even on occasion supplanted the print tradition. Chapter 6 on *Golagros and Gawane* and *Rauf Coilȝear* and Chapter 7 on *The Scottish Troy Book* fragments illustrate this particularly well.

The eleven manuscript and print witnesses examined in this thesis fall into several types. Some contain only the one romance text, such as the now-lost printed edition of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*, the BL, MS Additional 40732 witness of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, and NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5, which contains *Clariodus*. Other witnesses contain a romance plus one other text or related series of texts, including Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148 (containing the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments and Lydgate's *Troy Book*); NAS, MS GD 112/71/9 (containing the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* and three poems relating to the highland outlaw Duncan Laideus); and NAS, MS GD 112/22/2 (containing the *Florimond* fragment and a series of household accounts). The remaining five romances survive in manuscript anthologies or miscellanies that were developed from originally

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[42] Fox (1977).

independent booklets (*Lancelot of the Laik*, *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling*),[43] or in *Sammelbände* comprising originally independent prints (*Golagros* and *Rauf Coilȝear*).

A noteworthy feature of several witnesses is their production by scribes and/or printers who also worked as notaries public. The V de F who copied *Lancelot of the Laik* can, for instance, be associated with a circle of notaries public who copied a series of manuscripts for the Sinclair family in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, whilst *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling* were copied by one Thomas White, a chaplain and notary public active in the administrative domain of Haddington in the second half of the sixteenth century.[44] This association between scribes and notaries public is not, however, unique to Older Scots romance — Durkan, Lyall and MacQueen each provide examples of notaries public who combined their professional scribal work with the copying of literary texts,[45] and notaries public such as Robert Henryson and Richard Holland were also authors.[46] The witnesses of Older Scots romance therefore correspond to the wider scribal tradition of Older Scots literature.

Two highly significant moments in medieval Scottish history are accompanied by images of kings reading romances. In addition to Robert I's reading a version of *Fierabras* to his men on the shores of Loch Lomond, James I is said to have been employed 'in reding of romannse' on the night of his murder (20/21 February 1437), as reported in a contemporary account of James' death, *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis*, translated by John Shirley (*c.* 1366-1456) from an unknown Latin

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[43] On the use of booklets in medieval manuscript production see Robinson (1980) and Hanna (1986).
[44] See also Chapter 6 for the printing and copying respectively of *Golagros and Gawane* by the notaries public Walter Chepman and John Asloan.
[45] Durkan (1983a); J. MacQueen (1977), pp. 200-3; Lyall (1989a), pp. 244-6. On notaries more generally see also Symms (1993).
[46] Robert Henryson, *The Poems*, ed. Fox, p. xiii; M. Stewart (1972).

source.[47] Mary Queen of Scots and James VI also appear to have had a keen interest in French and Italian romance, including Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, a French version of *Amadis de Gaule* and the French prose *Lancelot do Lac*.[48] Also listed in the inventories of their libraries is a 'historie of Jasone', quite possibly Caxton's 1477 Westminster edition (*STC* 15383).

Despite this, none of the twelve surviving Older Scots romances are known to have been composed for a royal audience and nor do their witnesses bear any connection to royal readers or owners. This accords with Sally Mapstone's characterisation of the wider body of Older Scots literature as *of* the court but not *from* it, composed and read not in royal palaces but instead in the 'political peripheries' of noble households and religious institutions.[49] The two witnesses of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* are, for instance, firmly located within the Breadalbane household of Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy, whilst the copies of *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling* in NAS, MS RH 13/35 are related via their scribe, Thomas White, to the East Lothian Cockburn of Ormiston and Maitland families. CUL, MS Kk.5.30, which contains one copy of *The Scottish Troy Book* fragments, was owned in the seventeenth century by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir. The known readers of the remaining witnesses are associated with the middle or mercantile class, and include chaplains and notaries public, such as the notary public, James Logan, whose name appears in the witness of *Lancelot of the Laik* (CUL, MS Kk.1.5), or Thomas Ewen, chaplain at the altar of St. Christopher in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, who commissioned the scribe and notary public, John Asloan, to mend his copy of the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148.

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[47] Quotation from '*The Dethe*', ed. Connolly, p. 56. See also *Death and Dissent*, ed. Matheson; M.H. Brown (1996).

[48] See Sharman (1889); Warner (1893); Higgitt, ed. (2006), S11 and S16.

[49] Mapstone (1991), p. 415.

The History of Older Scots Romance Scholarship

The origins of Older Scots romance scholarship broadly correspond to those traced for Middle English romance.[50] In 1765, Thomas Percy published his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, a collection of ballads and romances based on the mid-seventeenth-century Percy Folio Manuscript (BL, MS Additional 27879). This manuscript contains a version of *Eger and Grime*, as well as a later ballad version of the Older Scots romance, *Sir Colling*.[51]

Percy's *Reliques* was followed by a number of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century histories and collections of English poetry, such as Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774-81), Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems* (1792), Ritson's *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës* (1802), Ellis' *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (1805), and Weber's *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries* (1810). Several Scottish romances were included in these early collections; Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems* contains *Golagros and Gawane*, Ellis' *Specimens* included *Roswall and Lillian* and *Eger and Grime*, and Weber's *Metrical Romances* provided a summary of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*. The vast majority of these antiquarian authors saw medieval literature and romance as a portrait of a by-gone chivalric age, and much space was devoted to discussing the genre's probable origins.

Another key element of these early collections and editions was their emphasis on authorial and geographical attribution. The most notorious example is Walter Scott's edition of *Sir Tristrem*, first published in 1804.[52] 'At a time when Scotsmen were concerned about their place and status in an English-dominated

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[50] A. Johnston (1964); D. Matthews (1999); Santini (2010).

[51] G. Rogers (1991); Donatelli (1993); Mills and Rogers (2009), pp. 57-66.

[52] Scott was also aware of *Eger and Grime*, *Roswall and Lillian* and the *Octosyllabic Alexander* since he mentions these in his letters. See Scott, *Letters*, ed. Grierson, vol. I, pp. 252-3, vol. VIII, p. 386, vol. XII, pp. 167, 192, 194, 195, 196-7, 198, 204, 225-6 and D.D. Evans (1999).

Britain',[53] Scott enthusiastically but erroneously claimed *Sir Tristrem* for Scotland and attributed it to the shadowy Lowland poet, Thomas of Erceldoune/ the Rhymer. His attribution proved long-lived and set the trend for subsequent collections and editions of medieval romance.[54] David Laing's *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland* (1822) contained, for instance, the genuinely Scottish romance, *Rauf Coilȝear*, as well as the Middle English *Sir Orfeo* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, whilst Frederic Madden's *Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems* (1839) confidently carried *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* across the Scottish Border.

A number of early scholars and editors were similarly led astray by a reference in Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (*c.* 1408-24) to Huchowne of the Awle Ryale, author of 'a gret Gest of Arthur*e*' and 'þe Awntyr of Gawane',[55] and by a reference in Dunbar's *I that in heill wes and gladnes* to 'Clerk of Tranent […] /That maid the anteris of Gawane'.[56] These two poets were almost universally assumed to be Scottish and often equated with one another. The canon of poems attributed to them grew to include vast numbers of Middle English alliterative romances, such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *The Awntyrs off Arthure* and alliterative *Morte Arthure*.[57] John Barbour's oeuvre was similarly widened to include not only *The Bruce*, but also the Scottish *Legends of the Saints*, *Octosyllabic Alexander* and *Scottish Troy Book* fragments.[58] Such a concern with authorship still surfaces occasionally in more recent romance scholarship. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 6, Matthew McDiarmid refuted John Cartwright's attribution of the *c.* 1460 decasyllabic *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* to Sir Gilbert Hay, and instead claimed that Hay wrote the 1438

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[53] D. Matthews (1995), p. 40. See also Vogel (1941); McIntosh (1989); Lupack (1995).
[54] D. Matthews (1995).
[55] Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*, ed. Amours, vol. IV, Book V, Chapter XIII, ll. 4310-11. Quotation from the Cottonian manuscript text (BL, MS Nero D.XI).
[56] William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 21, ll. 65-6.
[57] For an overview see MacCracken (1910).
[58] See pp. 26-30.

Octosyllabic Alexander; he also widened Hary's canon to include *Rauf Coilȝear, The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*, and *Golagros and Gawane*.

Editions of Older Scots romance continued to be produced throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many under the auspices of the Bannatyne and Maitland printing clubs or the EETS and STS.[59] Several surviving romances are now also being re-edited by the STS; Ralph Hanna's edition of *Golagros and Gawane* was published in 2008, and Rhiannon Purdie's edition of *Eger and Grime, Roswall and Lillian, King Orphius, Sir Colling* and the *Florimond* fragment is forthcoming.

Alongside these editions, a number of article-length studies of Older Scots romance texts emerged in the second half of the twentieth century,[60] that focused in particular on sources and themes, and the representation of Arthur.[61] Three PhD. and D.Phil. theses by Kathryn Saldanha, Sergi Mainer and Anna Caughey[62] also focus on selected romances, and again examine sources and the related themes of kingship, knighthood and chivalry.

Two recent articles have attempted to define and contextualise the genre from a wider perspective: A.S.G. Edwards' 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance' and Rhiannon Purdie's 'Medieval Romance in Scotland'. Both authors highlight and analyse the defining features of Older Scots romance outlined above, and reach several notable, if opposing, conclusions. Edwards emphasises what he sees as the derivative nature of Older Scots romance and argues that the genre does not possess a distinctive Scottish identity. He does nevertheless praise the stylistic achievements of the Scottish authors and pinpoint how Older Scots romance 'challenge[s] our sense of the genre' by drawing upon other genres, such as the political treatise.[63] As a

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[59] Cited in each individual chapter below.
[60] The most significant are cited in individual chapters below.
[61] Göller (1962, 1963); F. Alexander (1975); Royan (2002); Purdie and Royan, eds. (2005).
[62] Saldanha (2000); Mainer (2004); Caughey (2010a). See also F. Ross (1967).
[63] Edwards (2000a), p. 71.

result of this 'combinative approach', Edwards finds that '[m]ost Scottish romances are clearly concerned in different ways with issues of kingship and the proper conduct of the nobility'.[64] My analysis of the compilation and circulation of several Older Scots romances alongside moral/ advisory literature will confirm this.

In contrast to Edwards, Rhiannon Purdie concludes that 'Scotland did move beyond a mere appreciation of English and French medieval romance to develop a confident romance tradition of its own',[65] a point also made in her study of *Golagros and Gawane*.[66] Another notable conclusion is Purdie's 'strong sense that [romance] texts are circulating in a relatively small, self-consciously interconnected literary culture'.[67] This 'strong sense' will again be confirmed on numerous occasions throughout this thesis as I examine the overlapping familial, professional and literary relationships amongst the authors, scribes, printers, readers and owners of Older Scots romance.

The Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance

This thesis endeavours to further Edwards' and Purdie's contextualisation of Older Scots romance and takes root in recent developments in Middle English romance scholarship and Older Scots book history, outlined below. It begins with the premise that one can most accurately contextualise the genre by relating it to the wider contemporary literary and material milieu. The subsequent chapters of this thesis thus analyse the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript and print contexts of ten of the twelve surviving Older Scots romance texts.

Following developments in textual criticism which espoused analysis of the unique and specific social and historical circumstances impinging on each witness of

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[64] Edwards (2000a), p. 72.
[65] Purdie (2006), p. 177.
[66] Purdie (2005).
[67] Purdie (2006), p. 175.

a medieval text, much Middle English romance scholarship in the last thirty years has focused on the genre's extant manuscripts in order to further our understanding of its reception and circulation.[68] Several facsimiles of Middle English romance manuscripts have been produced and a number of articles have been written on these and other significant collections.[69] Key proponents of the codicological analysis of Middle English romance include Blanchfield, Guddat-Figge, F.J. Evans, Finlayson, Hanna, Hardman, Meale, Pearsall, and Thompson.[70] Work on the early printed witnesses of Middle English romance by T. Adams, Gillespie, Meale and Wang has also emerged in recent years.[71] Both types of study have confirmed that each medieval romance must be defined in relation to its unique manuscript and/or early print context (/s) and not only as part of a monolithic, often indefinable romance genre. They have also shed much light on the methods of scribal and print transmission, the compilation of Middle English romance in anthologies, miscellanies and *Sammelbände*, and the genre's mainly middle class and mercantile readership. By contrast, we know almost nothing about the contemporary transmission, circulation and reception of Older Scots romance, not least because almost all of the above authors have either ignored the Scottish genre or paid it only cursory treatment.[72]

There has, however, been a steady growth of scholarship in the field of Older Scots book history over the last thirty years. Facsimiles and digital editions of

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[68] The same is true of French romance scholarship. See Huot (1987, 1993); Busby (2002b); Busby et al., eds. (2003).

[69] For example *The Romance of Alexander*, ed. James; *The Thornton Manuscript,* ed. Brewer and Owen; *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38*, ed. McSparren and Robinson; *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. Pearsall and Cunningham.

[70] Blanchfield (1991, 1996); Guddat-Figge (1976); F.J. Evans (1995); Finlayson (2005); Hanna (1987, 2000); Hardman (1978); Meale (1983, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1993b, 1994b, 2009); Pearsall (1984, 1993); J.J. Thompson (1983, 1987, 1996).

[71] T. Adams (1998, 2005); Gillespie (2000, 2004); Meale (1992); Wang (2004, 2007).

[72] Guddat-Figge (1976) and Boro (2009) refer only to the witnesses of the *Scottish Troy Book*, *Lancelot of the Laik* and to the Asloan Manuscript.

significant manuscript and print witnesses have again been produced,[73] and Simpson, Durkan, Lyall, MacQueen and van Buuren have produced studies of both individual scribes and the wider scribal tradition.[74] Bawcutt, Boffey, Martin, McClune, Mapstone, and Verweij have also published detailed and insightful articles on some of the most significant manuscript miscellanies and anthologies.[75] As a result, we now know much more about the copying and compilation practices of sixteenth-century Scottish scribes and much more about the ownership of Older Scots literature by both nobles and lairds and the middle and professional classes. Our understanding of the role of women as producers and consumers of literature is also developing.[76] Studies of the sixteenth-century Scottish print tradition, begun in Dickson and Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing*, have been complemented by the more recent study of the *Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* by Mann, and by Watry's Oxford thesis on the 'Sixteenth-Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland'.[77] The first volume of the *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, edited by Alastair Mann and Sally Mapstone, is also forthcoming.

Following such leads, this thesis examines the manuscript and print witnesses of Older Scots romance and investigates what they can teach us about the contemporary book-production processes and publishing networks of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish romance in particular, and Older Scots literature in general. Chapters are dedicated to ten of the twelve known romances, and in each I analyse the set romance's primary contexts of composition (including authorship, date, and first audience) as well as its secondary publication contexts. I provide a full

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[73] *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. Fox and Ringler; *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Boffey and Edwards; *The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, gen. ed. Mapstone.

[74] G.G. Simpson (1973); J. MacQueen (1977), pp. 200-3; Durkan (1983a); Lyall (1989a), pp. 244-6; van Buuren (1966, 1996).

[75] Bawcutt (1990, 1991b, 2005b, 2005c); Boffey (2000a, 2006); Mapstone (1990); Martin and McClune (2009); Verweij (2008).

[76] Bawcutt (2000); Bawcutt and Henisch (1999); A.J. Mann (1999).

[77] A.J. Mann (2000); Watry (1992).

palaeographical, codicological and bibliographical description of each manuscript and print, and I detail when, where and by whom each witness was produced. I also document when and where each witness was read and provide details of the owners and readers, where known.

I pay significant attention to the *mise-en-page* of each witness to reveal the trends and bibliographical codes in copying and presentation. I also analyse the use of titles and rubrication in each witness; I establish whether this originates in the romance's French source, with the Scottish translator, or in subsequent material transmission, and I consider the extent to which such non-narrative elements both assisted translators and highlighted key narrative divisions and themes for later readers.

Where appropriate, I analyse the compilation choices made by scribes and readers. Although it is often difficult to establish whether textual juxtapositions within manuscript and/or print collections were calculated or merely contingent,[78] careful assessments of them can aid modern thematic and comparative interpretation.

Most notably, every chapter of this thesis provides much-needed new information about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish literary communities. I have discovered several significant and often-overlapping circles of scribes, readers and owners, not only in the country's capital, Edinburgh, but also in Fife and Angus, and in the Highland and Lowland Border regions of Argyll, Breadalbane, Perthshire and East Lothian. I trace the familial, professional and geographical associations between these groups of producers and consumers and consequently document new book-publishing and book-owning networks. I also provide much-needed new information about the literary activities of several key Scottish families, including the

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[78] Mapstone (2005c), p. 176; Pearsall (2005), p. 29.

Erskines, Sinclairs, Campbells of Glenorchy, Cockburns, and Maitlands, and in the majority of chapters I successfully identify a number of hitherto unknown Scottish texts and witnesses.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter 1 studies the *The Octosyllabic Alexander* (*OA*). In the first half of the chapter I consider the poem's critical heritage and issues of authorship and dating. I align it with the traditions of Barbour's *Bruce* (*c.* 1375-6) and James I's *Kingis Quair* (*c.* 1424), and also document its relationship to the mid- fifteenth-century *Balletis of the Nine Nobles*. In the second half of the chapter I provide details of the Edinburgh printer, Alexander Arbuthnet. I describe his *c.* 1580 edition of *OA*, and examine the literary and professional network surrounding its late sixteenth-century readers.

Chapter 2 focuses on Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* (*BKA*). In the first half of the chapter I consider the primary contexts of the *BKA*'s composition and commissioning before turning to its revision; firstly, possible revision by the author shortly after composition and secondly, revision by an unknown redactor in 1499. In the second half of the chapter I analyse the poem's two sixteenth-century witnesses. I reverse previous theories concerning the relationship of the two manuscripts and provide hitherto unknown information about the manuscripts' scribes and readers. I discuss the manuscripts' late sixteenth-century owner, Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy, and situate his ownership of *BKA* in light of his wider book-collecting activities.

Chapter 3 considers the Older Scots romance, *Florimond*. Only the first 504 lines of this romance survive in a volume of accounts compiled in Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's households between 1598 and 1610 (NAS, MS GD 112/22/2). I provide a detailed description of the witness, focusing in particular on its scribe and

inscriptions. I then compare the Scottish translation to the Old French *Florimont*, which was composed by Aimon de Varennes in 1188. I discuss how Aimon consciously conceived of his poem as a prologue to the French Alexander cycle and examine the ways in which it was received as such by scribes and readers. I accordingly suggest that Sir Duncan Campbell might have desired a copy of the Scottish translation as a prequel to his own Alexander romance (*BKA*).

Chapter 4 examines *Lancelot of the Laik*, which survives incomplete in Part 7 of CUL, MS Kk.1.5. I provide a detailed description of Part 7 before studying the collection of moral/advisory material (in Part 6) with which it was first copied and compiled. I next consider the relationship between *Lancelot* and the moral and prophetic literature in Parts 4 and 5 of CUL, MS Kk.1.5, and between *Lancelot* and the fifteenth-century legal/ parliamentary material in Parts 3, 4, 8 and 9. I then investigate the compilation of the Scottish material in Parts 3 to 9 with the two English texts in Parts 1 and 2: a translation of Christine de Pisan's *Livre du Corps de Policie* and Philip Sidney's *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. I also provide details of the manuscript's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scribes and readers.

Chapter 5 recontextualises *King Orphius* (*KO*) and *Sir Colling* (*SC*) by providing a detailed study of the contents and makeup of their manuscript witness (NAS, MS RH 13/35) and an analysis of that manuscript's possible scribes, owners, and readers. I catalogue the various literary, legal, and theological texts with which *KO* and *SC* were compiled — revealing some hitherto unidentified texts in the process — and I provide details of their scribe, Thomas White. I also provide further details of the manuscript's other scribes and analyse NAS, MS RH 13/35's place within a familial, professional and literary network of Protestant lairds and servants active in and around late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Haddington.

Chapter 6 focuses on *Golagros and Gawane* (*G&G*) and *Rauf Coilȝear* (*RC*). I first discuss the romances' two sixteenth-century printed witnesses. I provide information about their printers, Chepman, Myllar and Lekpreuik, and a full bibliographical description. I also reveal how these printed editions each came to form part of sixteenth-century *Sammelbände*. I then study NLS, MS 16500, produced *c*. 1513-30 by the Edinburgh scribe and notary public, John Asloan. The manuscript is now defective and many of its items are lost; original contents pages reveal, however, that it once contained adjacent copies of *G&G* and *RC*. I therefore describe the manuscript and provide details of its scribe, John Asloan. I also reconstruct the likely appearance of *G&G* and *RC* therein and discuss Asloan's possible use of printed sources. I conclude by situating the early sixteenth-century circulation of both romances within a contemporary circle of Edinburgh scribes, notaries public, chaplains, merchants and burgesses.

Chapter 7 focuses on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148 (MS Do) and CUL, MS Kk.5.30 (MS K), in which fragments of *The Scottish Troy Book* are combined patchwork-fashion with fragments of Lydgate's *Troy Book*. I first examine the complicated history and makeup of MSS K and Do. I then consider the ownership of both manuscripts and suggest possible links between them. Finally, I analyse the adaptation of Lydgate's *Troy Book* in both manuscripts, as well as annotations and marginalia, to suggest how fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish readers read their Troy books.

In the first half of Chapter 8, I describe the sole witness of *Clariodus* (NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5) and examine its provenance; physical features of the manuscript, such as layout, are here linked to internal, intertextual aspects of the romance. The second half of the chapter offers a new assessment of the poem's composition, date, and authorship; it proposes significant new links between the

manuscript contexts of the original French romance and the subsequent Scottish translation, and it contextualises the Scottish translation amidst courtly fashions in the mature reign of James V.

My conclusion assesses and evaluates the most significant and recurring features of the foregoing eight chapters and reveals how they cumulatively deepen our understanding of the book-producing and book-owning culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland. The conclusion also looks forward to new witness-conscious editions of Older Scots romance that endeavour to represent as far as possible a text's unique and idiosyncratic manuscript and print contexts.

Chapter 1

The Octosyllabic Alexander

The octosyllabic 'buik of the most noble and valiant Conquerour Alexander the grit' (*NIMEV* 3923) (hereafter *Octosyllabic Alexander*/*OA*) survives uniquely in a printed edition of *c.* 1580 produced by the Edinburgh printer, Alexander Arbuthnet (Aldis 165; *STC* 321.5).[1] This poem of *c.* 14500 lines is a Scots translation into octosyllabic couplets of two episodes within Alexandre de Paris' *Roman d'Alexandre*, which was itself written *c.* 1185 in dodecasyllabic monorhymed laisses.[2] The first half of the poem, 'The Forray of Gadderis', is a translation of the French *Le Fuerre de Gadres*, an originally independent episode at the beginning of Branch II of the *Roman d'Alexandre*. It details a foraging expedition to the Vale of Josaphas led by Emenidus, one of Alexander's *douze pers*. The Greeks come under attack and Emenidus strives in vain to convince his men to deliver a message to Alexander asking for help. After much slaughter a message is eventually taken to Alexander who then rescues his men and leads them to victory.[3] The second half of the poem — comprising 'The Avowis of Alexander'[4] and 'The Great Battell of Effesovn' — is a translation of *Les Voeux du Paon*, an originally independent poem composed *c.* 1310-12 by Jacques de Longuyon for Thibaut de Bar, bishop of Liège. It was the most common of the French Alexander poems and survives in over thirty manuscripts where it is often appended to the *Roman d'Alexandre* or interpolated within Branch III of that romance after

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[1] All citations from *Octosyllabic Alexander* (hereafter *OA*), ed. Ritchie. I note whether the quotation is taken from the Scots 'The Forray' (F) or 'The Avowis' (A); or from the French *Le Fuerre de Gadres* (FG) or *Les Voeux du Paon* (VP).

[2] See *Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*, ed. Armstrong.

[3] For a lengthier summary see *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. cclxxxii-iv.

[4] 'The Avowis' is spelt as 'The Avowis' and 'The Avowes' in Arbuthnet's print, see p. 47. I use the former spelling.

another originally independent composition, *La Prise de Defur*.[5] The poem begins

with Alexander wandering alone one morning. He meets an old hermit who is

revealed to be Cassamus, brother of Gadifer de Larys, a worthy knight slain by

Emenidus during the course of 'The Forray'. Cassamus tells Alexander of Gadifer's

children (a daughter, Fesonas, and two sons, Betis and Gadifer) and of the assault on

their city by the Indian king, Clarus. Alexander promises to assist them to make

amends for Gadifer's death, and the remainder of the poem is broadly structured

around his attempts to do so. Its narrative fluctuates between events on the

battlefield and more courtly episodes within Epheson's aristocratic chambers.[6]

Critical discussion of the *OA* began in a letter of 1805 sent by Sir Walter

Scott to George Ellis.[7] Scott then wrote a summary of the poem, which appeared as

an anonymous appendix in Weber's *Metrical Romances* in 1810.[8] David Laing

produced a facsimile edition for the Bannatyne Club in 1831.[9] His introduction was

printed in 1867.[10] Ritchie's large four-volume STS edition was published between

1921 and 1929. Ritchie here presented the Scottish translation in parallel with the

French original. He attempted to establish the manuscript tradition of the French

text, and also focused on the Scottish poem's authorship, confidently ascribing it to

the pen of John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*. In doing so, he followed in the

footsteps of three nineteenth-century scholars — Albert Herrmann, J.T.T. Brown

and George Neilson — who each wrote at length about the poem's authorship and

its relationship to Barbour's *Bruce*. As I detail further below, scholars no longer

accept Ritchie's attribution of the *OA* to Barbour, but he has practically had the last

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[5] See Cary (1956), p. 32; D.J.A. Ross (1988), pp. 14-16 (15); Busby (2002b), vol. I, p. 316.
[6] For a lengthier summary see *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vols II, III, IV, pp. cix-xvii, cii-viii and ix-xii respectively.
[7] Scott, *Letters*, ed. Grierson, vol. I, pp. 252-3.
[8] *Metrical Romances*, ed. Weber, vol. I, pp. lxxiii-lxxxvii, and also p. xxxi. Laing (1867) pp. 3-5 transcribes a letter about the romance which Scott sent to Alexander Gibson Hunter of Blackness in 1805.
[9] *OA*, ed. Laing.
[10] Laing (1867), pp. 1-10; Santini (2010), pp. 199-200.

word since almost nothing has been written about this romance since his edition, with the exception of Matthew McDiarmid's further work on the poem's authorship,[11] outlined below below, and discussion of the poem in two unpublished PhD./ D.Phil. theses by Kathryn Saldanha and Anna Caughey.[12] The former analyses the *OA* alongside Barbour's *Bruce,* Hary's *Wallace* and Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, and focuses in particular on its relationship to its French sources and its treatment of kingship; the latter considers the poem's genre and themes of kingship, knighthood, group identity and the Other.

This chapter thus redresses the critical neglect of the *OA*. As a preface to my analysis of the poem's unique witness I first examine the three critical controversies surrounding the poem's primary composition contexts: firstly, its date, authorship and relationship to Barbour's *Bruce*; secondly, whether the two parts of the *OA* ('The Forray' and 'The Avowis') comprise one complete poem or two separate works; and finally what relationship the *OA* bears to the anonymous mid- fifteenth-century poem, *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*. I then turn to Alexander Arbuthnet's *c.* 1580 edition of the poem. The only known surviving copy of this is owned by the present Earl of Dalhousie but its exact whereabouts are currently uncertain. I therefore provide a description of Arbuthnet's edition using Laing's facsimile reprint alongside Ritchie's STS edition. I examine Alexander Arbuthnet's career and interpret the little information we have about the volume's late sixteenth-/ early seventeenth-century readers.

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[11] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, vol. I, pp. 27-32; McDiarmid (1988), pp. 31-2.

[12] Saldanha (2000), pp. 153-73; Caughey (2010a), *passim*. See also Bitterling (1996).

Reviewing the Critical Heritage: *OA* and *The Bruce*

In an epilogue unique to the *OA*, the Scottish author states that he completed his

work in 1438:

> ZE that haue hard this romanis heir
> May sumdeill by exampill leir
> To lufe vertew attour all thing,
> […]
> As quhylum did this nobill King,
> That ʒit is prysed for his bounte,
> The quhether thre hundreth ʒeir was he
> Before the tyme that God was borne
> To saue our saullis, that was forlorne.
> Sensyne is past *ane thousand ʒeir,*
> *Four hundreth and threttie thair-to neir,*
> *And aucht and sumdele mare*, I wis
> (A. Epilogue, 21-3, 32-9, my italics).[13]

This statement has, however, been a cause of considerable controversy, as has the

identity of the author himself.

The *OA*'s date and authorship came under intensive scrutiny between the last

decade of the nineteenth century and the publication of Ritchie's edition. As detailed

in my introduction, Older Scots scholarship at this time focused very much on

authorship, with numerous attempts being made to attribute anonymous texts to

known authors and historical figures. John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*, was a

prominent candidate. Not only were the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments and Scottish

Legends of the Saints ascribed to his pen,[14] but also the *OA*. Connections between

Barbour and the *OA* were first drawn by Albert Herrmann on account of the large

number of identical/ similar lines and phrases in both poems. Herrmann sensibly

suggested that the *OA*'s author was a disciple of Barbour, one who used in his

translation the set phrases and vocabulary of his master.[15]

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[13] 'and sumdale mare' suggests that the poem was completed later rather than earlier in the year 1438.
[14] See *Barbour's des schottischen Nationaldichters [...]*, ed. Horstmann.
[15] Herrmann (1893).

J.T.T. Brown and George Neilson took the matter further, however.[16] Brown wished to assert common authorship of *The Bruce* and the *OA* but could not establish this given that *The Bruce* was written *c.* 1375-6; its author, Barbour, would have thus been dead by the time of the *OA*'s composition in 1438. To account for the similarities between the two poems, Brown instead proposed that the surviving version of *The Bruce* is not Barbour's original work but rather a fifteenth-century redaction made by the scribe of both *Bruce* manuscripts.[17] He argued that this redactor was heavily influenced by the *OA* and drew upon it as he revised Barbour's original composition. He attributed the *OA* not to Barbour but to one David Rate, to whom he also attributed the sequence of moral/advisory poems in CUL, MS Kk.1.5 (6) discussed in Chapter 4.[18]

In the same year as Brown, George Neilson wrote of *The Bruce* and the *OA*, '[p]erhaps no two poems in the world's literature more inextricably blend with one each other than do the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*'.[19] He argued that the *OA* was in fact written by Barbour around the same time as *The Bruce* and consequently claimed that the *OA*'s 1438 internal date was an error made by a scribe or the poem's later printer.[20]

Ritchie echoed this thesis in his STS edition. He considered the sheer volume of similar phrasing between *The Bruce* and *OA* to be more than mere coincidence: '[o]ur own impression is that the text of the "Bruce" and the text of the

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[16] J.T.T. Brown (1900); Neilson (1900).

[17] The two surviving manuscripts of *The Bruce* are (MS C) Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.23 (1487) and (MS E) Edinburgh, NLS MS Advocates' 19.2.2 (1489). On fol. 163ᵛ of MS C the scribe identifies himself as one 'J de R cap*ellanus*'. On the last leaf of MS E (fol. 70ʳ), the scribe identifies himself as one 'Ioh*ann*em Ramsay'. He states that MS E was 'Raptim script*us*', i.e. written hurriedly. For this reason, it is difficult to compare fully the hands of MSS E and C but the scribes copying them are thought by Skeat (John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. Skeat (1894), p. lxviii) and Cunningham (1973), p. 247 to be the same person. McDiarmid (Hary, *The Wallace*, ed. McDiarmid, p. ix, n. 1) and J. MacQueen (1977) p. 202 disagree.

[18] J.T.T. Brown (1897a, 1897b).

[19] Neilson (1900), p. 13.

[20] Neilson (1900), pp. 14, 45-8.

"Buik" are so inextricably mingled as to warrant no other conclusion than that of common authorship'.[21] Like Neilson he explained the 1438 dating of the *OA* as scribal error, and claimed instead that Barbour began the *OA* in the spring of 1368, first finishing 'The Avowis' and then adding 'The Forray'.[22]

Herrmann, Brown, Neilson and Ritchie based their theories on lists of parallel phrases detected in the two works. Indeed, Ritchie offered a twenty-three page 'irreducible minimum' which at first certainly does make one think that the parallels are hardly coincidental.[23] On closer analysis, however, Ritchie's 'irreducible minimum' can be quite significantly reduced. Many of the parallel phrases are simply the stock-in-trade of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century octosyllabic Scottish poetry. Examples include 'And lap on hym delyu*er*ly' (*Bruce* II.142),[24] 'And on him lap delyuerly (*OA*: A.9749); 'Der god, y*at* is off hevy*n* king' (*Bruce* II.144), '"Deir God!" said he, "be heuinnis King!"' (*OA*: A.8397); and 'Y*at* speris [al] to-fruschyt war' (*Bruce* II.353), 'That speiris all to-frushit are' (*OA*: A.8654). Such phrases render or embellish the *OA*'s French original in the spirit of contemporary vernacular chivalric verse; they do not securely demonstrate shared authorship.

There are, nevertheless, two instances where the *OA* does appear to borrow specifically from *The Bruce*. During his narration of Edward Bruce's Irish campaign, Barbour describes the Irish countryside: 'And feldi*s* ar strowyt w*ith* flour*is*,/ Well sawerand of sere colour*is*' (XVI.69-70). In the *OA* the carpets in the Epheson palace are described using almost exactly the same phrase; they 'strouit war with sindry floures/ Wele sauorand, of sere coloures' (A.2171-2). As McDiarmid writes, '[t]he epithet "sawerand", [...], fits better with field flowers than with carpet patterns, and in any case the French poet tells us only that the carpets were of velvet and says

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[21] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xcviii.
[22] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. cc-v.
[23] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. lxxiv-xcvi (lxxiv).
[24] All citations of *The Bruce* are from John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson.

nothing about floral decoration.'[25] The second example demonstrates a similar style of borrowing. After regaining his castle in *The Bruce*, James Douglas orders that his prisoners be beheaded in the wine cellar; food and wine mix with bloodied bodies to create a 'foule melle' of 'meile & malt & blud & wyne', a scene that became known as 'ye Dowglas lardner' (V.404-5, 410). In the *OA*, Porrus desperately defends himself outside the gates of Epheson: 'Of handis and heidis, baith braune and blude,/ He maid ane lardnare quhare he stude' (A.4519-20). Since the French here has no reference to a larder,[26] the *OA* is most probably again indebted to the infamous scene in *The Bruce*.

These two parallels establish the priority of the *Bruce* over the *OA*. They suggest that the *OA* is in conscious dialogue with the *Bruce* but do not at all necessitate shared authorship or any date of composition for the *OA* other than 1438. Instead, Herrmann's original thesis is still the most plausible; the author of the *OA* was most likely an early fifteenth-century disciple of Barbour who followed him in writing chivalric verse in octosyllabic couplets. Consequently, the *OA*, although a close translation of its French source, does deserve to be interpreted alongside Barbour's *Bruce*, but in terms of theme rather than authorship. The separate authors of both poems share, for instance, the desire to celebrate knightly and kingly virtue in the hope of encouraging similar virtue in their readers. This aspect of *The Bruce* has been much discussed and articles have been written on the poem's second hero, James Douglas, and his characterisation as the ideal chivalric knight.[27] A future study might profitably consider the several similarly exemplary knights in *OA*, including Emenidus, his nephew Pirrus, and Gadifer de Larys.[28] One might also examine how

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[25] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, vol. I, pp. 31-2.
[26] The Scots loosely translates the French 'De piez, de poings, de testes faisoit sa venoison' (VP 3464c). See *DOST* 'lardener', *n*. 1. 'to make into butcher-meat'.
[27] For example McKim (1981).
[28] Compare Caughey (2010a), pp. 169-71.

both poems present the good public governance of Bruce and Alexander and contrast their virtuous rule with the tyranny of those kings — Edward I and Clarus — against whom they fight.[29] Again, such advice to princes elements of *The Bruce* have received critical attention,[30] but those in the *OA* remain open for future analysis.

'The Forray' and 'The Avowis': One Poem or Two?

Having reviewed the scholarly controversy surrounding the *OA*'s date, authorship and relationship to Barbour's *Bruce*, I now consider the second critical issue surrounding the romance, namely whether its two parts, 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis', represent a unified and coherent whole or instead two disparate and ultimately separate translations.

'The Avowis' begins and ends with a prologue and epilogue that have no counterpart in the original French. The prologue commences with an alliterative depiction of the traditional May locus amoenus. The narrator wanders through this landscape 'boundin all in baill' (A. Prologue, 12), love-sick for one who does not return his affection. He therefore decides 'to translait in inglis leid/ Ane romains quhilk that I hard reid/ Of amourus, armis and of droury,/ Of knicht-heid and of cheualry' (A. Prologue, 21-4). The translation of *Les Voeux* follows. At its end is the unique epilogue in which the narrator explains that he translated the poem in order to amuse those who cannot read/ understand French ('To short thame that na Romanes can', A. Epilogue, 1).[31] He hopes that his poem will have taught his audience 'to lufe vertew attour all thing,/And preis ȝow ay for to win louing,/ That

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[29] Clarus is much more explicitly a tyrant in the Scots translation than the French original. See, for instance, A.198, 205 where Clarus is referred to as a 'tyran'. The equivalent word does not appear in the original French. For further information on the contrasting of a tyrant and just monarch in classical and medieval literature see Burnley (1979), p. 18. See also M.H. Brown (1996).
[30] For example Ebin (1972).
[31] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. IV, p. 593: 'Short, *v.*, *Obs.*, to amuse'.

ȝour name may for ȝour bounte/ Amang men of gude menit be' (A. Epilogue, 23-6).

The prologue recalls the emergent courtly tradition of James I's *The Kingis Quair* (*c.* 1424) and anticipates the prologue to *Lancelot of the Laik*.[32] In making so explicit the need to render 'in inglis leid' (A. Prologue, 21) a poem originally in 'Romanes'/ 'franche' (A. Epilogue, 1, 7), both the prologue and epilogue also imply that the poem's primary audience were more literate in Scots than French.[33] Most significantly, they appear to enclose 'The Avowis' and delineate it as a discrete poem, separate from the preceding 'Forray'. Indeed, as David Laing first commented, '[t]he short prologue by the Translator at the commencement of book second, is the language of one who is about to commence and not complete a task already far advanced; and harmonizes with the valedictory address at the close of book third [...]'.[34] One must therefore decide whether the *OA* is one poem or two.

As David Laing himself recognised '[t]here is no such marked difference [...] between the style of the first and succeeding parts' of the *OA* to warrant their being composed by different authors.[35] I agree and contend instead that 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis' are the product of the same pen, self-consciously designed as companion pieces. The first evidence for this is internal. The Scots author deliberately adapts the first lines of *Les Voeux* so that his translation looks back to the preceding 'Forray'. The French poem begins: 'Aprés ce qu'Alixandres ot Dedephur

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[32] Much more could be said about the influence of James I's *Kingis Quair* on the *OA* and subsequent Older Scots romances, but such literary analysis lies outside the remits of this thesis. I will instead explore the topic in a future article. See also Mapstone (1997), p. 52.

[33] The translator's use of contemporary vernacular literary language and idiom drawn from Barbour's *Bruce* and James I's *Kingis Quair* is part of this 'translation' process. Taken literally, the poet's statement also supports the following observation by Boardman (2009) p. 117: '[t]he most notable, and maybe rather surprising, development in linguistic terms within Scotland in the century after 1296 was what seems to have been a rise in the status of English and its use in a variety of new contexts, and a relative decline (perhaps from an already rather weak position) of French as a widely utilised high-status vernacular.'

[34] Laing (1867), p. 7.

[35] Laing (1867), p. 8.

conquis/ Et a force d'espée occis le duc *Melchis*' (VP.1-2, my italics). The Scots

translation instead begins 'Qvhen Alexander, the King of prys,/ Had discumfit the

duke *Betys* [...]' (A.1-2, my italics). The Scots translator thus substitutes the name

'Betys' for 'Melchis' and in doing so recalls Alexander's defeat of Betis in his

foregoing translation of *Le Fuerre*. Such an apparently deliberate adaptation suggests

that the translator consciously presented his two translations as one coherent work.[36]

Consideration of the manuscript tradition of the French originals

demonstrates why he may have done so. As stated in this chapter's introduction, *Les

Voeux* was one of the most popular French Alexander texts and it appeared in a

variety of manuscript contexts: independently, alongside other poems in the *Voeux*-

tradition which it had inspired, as an appendix to the *Roman d'Alexandre*, or as an

interpolation within that romance.[37] It also circulated on two occasions alongside *Le

Fuerre de Gadres*. In the late fourteenth-/ early fifteenth-century Vatican City, BAV

Archivio di San Pietro, 36 E, a Latin version of *Le Fuerre* was compiled alongside a

Latin version of *Les Voeux* and both texts were completed with the following explicit

(fol. 205ᵛ):

> Ci fenissent li fuerre de Gadres
> Et les veus du paon
> Et le restor tout par ordre
> Laus tibi sit Christe qui liber explicit iste.[38]

In Paris, BNF, MS français 12567 (early fourteenth century), *Les Voeux* was copied

after *Le Fuerre de Gadres* and before another vow-poem which it inspired, known as

Le Restor du Paon.[39] As Busby writes, this 'linking [...] forms a sequence in which the

centre of interest is displaced from Alexander's actions to the reconciliation of the

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[36] It is of course possible that the substitution was made in the Scottish author's French source.
[37] Two fragmentary English translations of *Les Voeux* survive: the *Romance of Cassamus* and the remains of an alliterative translation. See *Editio princeps [...] Cassamus*, ed. Rosskoph and Turville-Petre (1979a).
[38] D.J.A. Ross (1959).
[39] Meyer (1882), p. 317; *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. II, p. xlii.

families of Gadifer and Emenidus. The Middle Scots *Buik of Alexander* seems to have been translated from a similar manuscript [...].[40]

Internal evidence from 'The Avowis' and external manuscript evidence thus combine to suggest that 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis' were designed as companion pieces which together form the one 'buik of [...] Alexander the grit'. Their juxtaposition originates either with the Scottish translator or in his French exemplar.

This theory entirely contradicts that proposed by Matthew McDiarmid. In 1988 he suggested that 'the "Foray" and the "Avowis" [...] are almost certainly the publisher's selection, of what he thought would be popular, from a much larger version of the *Roman d'Alixandre*.'[41] He later adapted this thesis to argue that a full octosyllabic translation of the French *Roman* was produced during the 1430s by Sir Gilbert Hay whilst he was in the service of the King of France.[42] Older Scots scholars more commonly attribute the later (*c.* 1460) decasyllabic *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* to Hay both because that poem is attributed to him in a 'scribal epilogue' written in 1499 and also because of its stylistic and thematic affinities with the three prose translations which Hay produced *c.* 1456 for William Sinclair, 3rd Earl of Orkney and 1st Earl of Caithness.[43] McDiarmid instead proposed that Hay produced a complete octosyllabic translation of the *Roman* and also a translation of *Les Voeux* ('The Avowis') shortly afterwards (*c.* 1438-9). He suggests that Hay then decided to preface his translation of *Les Voeux* with a prequel, namely 'The Forray', which, McDiarmid argues, Hay produced by selecting and adapting the relevant section from his earlier translation of the *Roman*.

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[40] Busby (2002b), vol. I, p. 317.
[41] McDiarmid (1988), p. 31.
[42] McDiarmid (1993).
[43] See pp. 62-6 and Cartwright (1986, 1991a).

McDiarmid's argument is illogical and overly complicated.[44] It is unlikely that an author who translated an entire *Roman* and *Les Voeux* should then excerpt and adapt part of the former to preface the latter. 'The Forray' shows, furthermore, no signs of having been excerpted from a larger work. The simpler and more probable conclusion is that that an anonymous author translated *Le Fuerre* and *Les Voeux c.* 1438 as companion pieces, perhaps influenced by manuscripts in the tradition of Vatican City, BAV Archivio di San Pietro, 36 E and Paris, BNF, MS français 12567. That author was neither John Barbour, nor Sir Gilbert Hay. He was nevertheless influenced by the chivalric style and idiom of Barbour's *Bruce* and also by the courtly tradition emergent after James I's *Kingis Quair*.

The *OA* and *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*

Before turning to the *c.* 1580 print of the *OA*, I consider one final matter of primary textual and material context, namely the close relationship of the romance to the anonymous mid- fifteenth-century Scottish poem, *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*.

During the 'Great Battell of Effesovn' in both the *Les Voeux* and 'The Avowis', the narrator focuses on Porrus' valour and bravery. To better illustrate this he suspends narrative action and compares Porrus to nine historical figures — three pagans: Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar; three Jews: Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus; and finally, three Christians: King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne (VP.7484-575; A.9897-10012).[45] After its formulation in *Les Voeux* by Jacques de Longuyon, this Nine Worthies tradition became increasingly popular across medieval European art, drama and literature. [46]

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[44] Bitterling (1989), p. 205.

[45] This Nine Worthies passage is anticipated at A.5817-19.

[46] The listing together of some of the Nine Worthies does also occur in earlier texts and they had long been recognised as fitting subjects for romance. See Höltgen (1959) and Schroeder (1971, 1981). Also

Short verse and prose catalogues of the Worthies were commonly written onto

flyleaves and spare spaces in manuscripts,[47] whilst tableaux of the heroes formed part

of royal entrances and civic pageants as mirrors of prowess and good rule to be

emulated by their monarchical audience. The Worthies also formed the subject of

tapestries, wall paintings, and woodcuts, where their images were often accompanied

by verses in which each hero presented himself in a short first person account.[48] A

tradition of heraldry associated with each Worthy developed,[49] as did a corresponding

set of female Worthies, although the latter never gained as fixed a form as its male

counterpart. It also became common to append a tenth worthy to the original nine,

most often a notable national hero. In Scotland, that hero was traditionally Robert

Bruce and he is most firmly established as a tenth Worthy in *The Balletis of the Nine*

Nobles,[50] a short, anonymous mid- fifteenth-century poem that derives from both

'The Avowis' and *Les Voeux*.[51] The poem also contains echoes of Barbour's *Bruce*

and, I will suggest, of Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (*c.* 1408-24). It has been

variously attributed to Barbour and/or the *OA* author.

     The Balletis offers an abbreviated version of the Nine Worthies passage in

'The Avowis' and *Les Voeux*. It omits all of the summative material which concludes

and prefaces each group of three worthies in these texts and consequently consists of

only 62 lines, or rather ten stanzas of six lines — one being devoted to each of the

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'Texts Illustrative of "The Nine Worthies'", ed. Gollancz; R.S. Loomis (1917a); Turville-Petre (1979b); Cropp (2002).

[47] Scottish examples include two lists of the Nine Worthies in *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*: MacKechnie (1973), vol. I, pp. 179-89, nos. 171 and 201.

[48] A Scottish example is the ceiling of Crathes Castle. See Bath (2003), pp. 186-90 and Hargreaves (1989).

[49] As in the Scottish poet David Lyndsay's armorial. See *Facsmile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript*, ed. Laing, pp. 7-10.

[50] Bruce also appears as tenth worthy in a Latin inscription written in a hand of *c.* 1380 onto the otherwise blank fol. 365ᵛ of Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 27, a twelfth-century illuminated copy of the Vulgate derived from north-east France and once housed in Sweetheart Abbey, Kirkcudbright. Higgitt (1988), p. 107.

[51] *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*, ed. Craigie; Gollancz; Laing; and Ritchie. I quote from Craigie's edition but follow John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, vol. I, p. 33 in titling the poem *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles* rather than *The Ballet*.

Nine Worthies and Robert Bruce — plus a final couplet addressing the audience: '3e
gude men that thir balletis redis,/ Deme quha dochtyast was in dedis' (ll. 61-2).

Comparison of *The Balletis* with 'The Avowis' and *Les Voeux* demonstrates
that the former poem's author knew both the Scots translation and the French
original. Particular echoes or influence of 'The Avowis' on *The Balletis* are apparent
at lines 1, 2, 5, 28, 43, 45, and 47-8 of the latter poem, and as the following table
illustrates, these echoes either have no counterpart in — or do not correspond at all
or as closely to — the original Nine Worthies passage in *Les Voeux*:

Balletis	*Avowis*	*Les Voeux*
l. 1: Hector of troy **throu hard feichthyngis**	l. 9997: Throw great battell and **hard fechting**	No equivalent
l. 2: **In half thrid 3eris** slew xix kyngis	l. 9907: **Into the half thrid 3eir** all anerly	l. 7492: Ocist .xix. roys sus son cors deffendant
l. 5: He slew sa fell, **at was ferly**	l. 9911: That was **sa fell it is ferly**	No equivalent
l. 28: **That he was neuer sene recriand**	l. 9964: **That he was neuer recryand**	l. 7534: C'onques nel pot on rendre vaincu ne recrëant.
l. 43: **Charlez of france slew aygoland**	l. 9993: **Charles of France slew Agoment**	ll. 7558-9: Charlemainne, qui France ot toute en son conmant,/ Suspedita Espaingne, dont morut Agoulant.
l. 45: **He slew the sowden of pavi**	l. 9995: **And slew the duke of Pauy**	l. 7560: Desÿer de Pavie toli son tenement
ll. 47-8: **And quhar god deid for our safte/ He put haly the cristante**	ll. 9999-10000: **And quhair God deit for our sauetie,/ He put the haill christinite**	No equivalent

In reporting the details of Hector's conquests, however, *The Balletis* author
reports that Hector slew 'ammirallis a hunder and mare' (l. 3). This detail is not in
'The Avowis' but it is present in the original French (VP.7493). Similarly, David kills
Goliath in *The Balletis* as in *Les Voeux* and 'The Avowis', but instead of also killing
'mony ane fell pagan' as in the Scots (A.9961), he kills 'philestens at felon was' (l. 26).
The adjective 'felon' only occurs in the French ('Et maint felon payen fist venir a

noiant' VP.7532). These two details therefore indicate that *The Balletis* author worked from and had access to the original French text as well as the Scots translation.

Further details demonstrate that the author also worked from other vernacular sources. *The Balletis* stanza on Arthur (ll. 37-42) is, for instance, very different from that in *Les Voeux* or 'The Avowis', but it may stem indirectly from Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's enemy, Lucius, in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*c.* 1136). Geoffrey and *The Balletis* author both describe Lucius as a 'procuratour',[52] whereas he appears elsewhere, for instance in the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (ll. 554, 1293)[53] or Barbour's *Bruce* (I.555), as an 'emperour'. Rather than deriving directly from Geoffrey's *Historia*, however, *The Balletis* description of Arthur may originate in Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (*c.* 1408-24), Book V, Chapter XIII.[54] In the infamous passage where Wyntoun discusses the enigmatic poet 'Hucheon of þe Aule Realle' (ll. 4279-360), he spends some time discussing whether Lucius should be called 'emperour*e*'. He clarifies that Huchoun in fact states that 'Lucyus Hyberius in his dayis/ Was of þe hee state procuratour*e*' (ll. 4302-3). Given the fifteenth-century popularity of Wyntoun's *Chronicle* — it survives in nine manuscripts[55] — it is highly possible that *The Balletis*' use of the word 'procuratour' stems from this text.

The Balletis was, finally, also influenced by Barbour's *Bruce*. A number of parallels between the two poems were listed by Ritchie.[56] They include stock phrases such as 'throu hard feichthyngis', 'at wes ferly', 'discumfit', 'stalward stour', 'hard batell' and 'throw goddis grace', which are alone not enough to demonstrate direct influence of *The Bruce*. Better correspondences between the two poems are instead

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[52] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, ed. Reeve and trans. Wright, p. 215, Book 9, l. 415.
[53] *King Arthur's Death*, ed. Benson.
[54] Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*, ed. Amours. Quotations from the Cottonian MS.
[55] This survival rate is second in Scotland only to manuscripts of Bower's *Scotichronicon*.
[56] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. cxxxiv-li, cliv-vi.

those episodes in *The Bruce* where Barbour himself engages with the Nine Worthies and aligns his heroes with them. He compares James Douglas, for instance, to Hector of Troy (I.395-6) and prefaces Bruce's sacriligeous murder of Comyn with a digression on the treason which brought about the downfalls of Troy, Alexander, Julius Caesar and Arthur (I.521-60).

The stanza on Julius Caesar in *The Balletis* is particularly close to the lines on him in this episode of *The Bruce*. In *The Balletis*, 'Julius cesar wan hailily/ The ilis of grece, and all surry;/ Affrik, arab, bretan wan he,/ […]/ He was the first was emperour' (ll. 13-15, 18). In *The Bruce*, 'Iulius Cesar als, y*at* wan/ Bretane and Fraunce as dowchty man,/ Affryk Arrabe Egipt Surry/ And all Evrope halyly,/ [...]/ Off Rome wes fryst maid emp*erour*' (I.537-42). The same verb — 'wan' — is used in both texts, as well as the qualifying adverb 'hailily'. The list of places conquered is also strikingly similar, as well as the comment that Caesar was the first emperour.

Finally, the closing *demande* in *The Balletis* has a parallel in *The Bruce*. After Bruce has single-handedly fought against a large number of men of Galloway, the narrator compares his prowess to that of Tydeus who single-handedly killed fifty men (VI.181-286). He asks firstly, 'ȝe y*at* yis redys, chey*s* yhe/ Quhey*er* y*at* mar suld prysit be/ Ye king [...]/ Or Thedeus' and secondly 'Now demys quhey*er* mar lowing/ Suld Thedeus haiff or ye king' (VI.271-7, 285-6).

Having analysed the sources of *The Balletis*, it remains to consider the poem's date, authorship, and material contexts. It survives amongst a collection of extraneous material in four manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower (1385-1449), and also in John Law's abbreviation of that chronicle begun in 1521 (EUL,

MS Dc.7.63, fols 155ᵛ-6ʳ).[57] The four *Scotichronicon* manuscripts and folios containing *The Balletis* are:

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 (MS C) (fol. 371ʳ)
2. Darnaway Castle, Forres, Donibristle MS (MS D) (fol. 433ᵛ).
3. NAS, MS GD 45/26/48 (MS B) (fol. 420ᵛ).
4. EUL, MS 186 (MS E) (fol. 434ʳ).[58]

MS D, dated 1471-2, was copied from MS C for Simon Finlay, chaplain of the altar of St. Michael in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. MS B, dated 1481, was copied from MS D by the professional scribe, Magnus Makculloch,[59] and rubricated by James Gray.[60] The copyist of MS E, dated 1510, had access to MS C, but mainly copied from MS D. The transmission of *The Balletis* to MSS D, B and E thus stemmed directly from MS C, or indirectly from MS C through MS D.

DOST has dated *The Balletis* to *c.* 1440 based upon its first surviving appearance in MS C. This manuscript has been described as a 'fair copy developing into a working copy intended for the library of Inchcolm Abbey' where Bower was abbot.[61] Watt further suggests that 'the main text was probably written by a scribe under Bower's direction at Inchcolm in the mid-1440s before marginal additions [including *The Balletis*] were being made by 1447 at latest'.[62] If correct, *The Balletis'* *terminus ad quem* is 1447. Its *terminus a quo* must be 1438, the date of the Scottish translation of the *Les Voeux* from which the poem so clearly derives. *The Balletis* cannot, therefore, have been composed by Barbour, as Ritchie suggested. It might, however, have been composed by the *OA* author, as proposed by Craigie.[63] He definitely knew and had access to *Les Voeux,* his own 'Avowis', and Barbour's *Bruce*,[64]

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[57] Laing (1878b); Durkan (1974); Drexler (1982); *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, p. 46.

[58] *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, esp. pp. 148-85, 186-92.

[59] Lyall (1989a), pp. 245-6.

[60] Lyall (1989a), p. 245.

[61] *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, p. 149.

[62] *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, p. 149.

[63] *The Balletis*, ed. Craigie, p. 359.

[64] Hary*, The Wallace*, ed. McDiarmid, vol. I, p. cix attributes *The Balletis* to Hary, author of *The Wallace* (*c.* 1476-8). The *Balletis'* most likely date of composition is, however, too early for Hary's authorship.

and, given its popularity, he may also have known Wyntoun's *Chronicle*. He may indeed even have recognised the potential of the Nine Worthies passage in 'The Avowis' for independent circulation and accordingly excerpted and adapted it for this purpose. I therefore propose that the *OA*'s author be given first refusal for authorship of *The Balletis*.

The *Balletis* thus has intriguing textual history. This independent poem derives jointly from a passage within *Les Voeux* and 'The Avowis', and was also influenced by Barbour's *Bruce* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle*. It first excerpts and abridges material from a much larger romance and then comes to gloss another large text, this time Bower's *Scotichronicon*.[65] Analogues to this textual history will occur throughout this thesis.[66] In the following chapter, for instance, I discuss *The Thewis off Gudwomen* and *The Buke of Phisnomy*. Material and linguistic evidence suggests that these poems were originally independent compositions. They were then adapted and incorporated within *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* by that poem's author, Sir Gilbert Hay. Interestingly, Sir Gilbert Hay borrowed MS C of the *Scotichronicon* between between 1458 and 1464.[67] There is no evidence that Hay knew the *OA*, but he almost certainly saw *The Balletis* and may have been aware of its connection to the romance tradition.[68]

The early textual history of the *OA* thus provides an ideal preface to this thesis and hints at a complicated relationship between short, independent, and often

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[65] For how *The Balletis* might gloss the presentation of King Robert I in Bower's *Scotichronicon* see Mapstone (1999a), p. 46.
[66] The relationship of *The Balletis* to a larger historical chronicle (*Scotichronicon*) is comparable to the inclusion of the mid- fifteenth-century Scottish advisory poem, *De Regimine Principum*, within two manuscripts of the *Liber Pluscardensis*. See pp. 76-7. It is also comparable to the preservation of verse within *Scotichronicon* itself. See *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, pp. 245-6.
[67] *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, pp. 50-3 (51); Mapstone (1999a), pp. 32-5.
[68] Mapstone (1999a) p. 46 even states: '[t]he context and date at which the *Ballet of the Nine Nobillis* first appears makes it worth floating the suggestion that this may be another work by, or closely associated with, Sir Gilbert Hay.'

advisory literature and larger romance and/or historiographical narrative that is worthy of further study.

I turn now to the *OA*'s later print history. I first provide details of the poem's printer, Alexander Arbuthnet. I then describe the print itself, although since the exact whereabouts of the witness are currently uncertain, I derive my information from an analysis of Laing's 1831 facsimile reprint and from previously published descriptions of the print by Ritchie, and Dickson and Edmond.[69]

Alexander Arbuthnet[70]

The Edinburgh merchant and printer Alexander Arbuthnet (*d.* 1585)[71] has been identified with the fourth son of John Arbuthnot in Portertown and of Legasland,[72] and he appears in connection with a number of land and business transactions in Aberdeen. Firstly,

> [i]n 1569 Alexander Arbuthnot, burgess of Edinburgh, gave sasine
> of some land in Aberdeen to Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk and
> Helen Clephane. In 1575 he acquired land in the 'Gallowgate' there,
> resigned by Gilbert Anderson. In the same year he and his wife,
> Agnes Pennycuik, got sasine of land in the 'Thiefraw'.[73]

In 1569, Arbuthnet also witnessed a reversion by James Arbuthnot to Ninian Guthrey of Kynganie (NAS, MS GD 137/2295), whilst in May 1580 he renounced his right to a tenement in Edinburgh (NAS, MS GD 1/12/19).[74]

Rather more is known of Arbuthnet's activities as a printer.[75] From *c.* 1575 he was located at Kirk o' Field in Edinburgh. His device — small (67 x 55 mm) and

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[69] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. xvi-xx; Dickson and Edmond (1890), pp. 325-6.
[70] The family name 'Arbuthnet' can also be spelt 'Arbuthnot'. In the following discussion I prefer the former spelling for the printer, but for other members of the family I follow the spelling in my sources. I also retain the spelling 'Arbuthnot' for the printer if quoting from a primary/ secondary source which uses that form.
[71] A copy of the inventory produced after his death is printed in *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 207-8.
[72] Arbuthnot (1920), p. 89.
[73] Arbuthnot (1920), pp. 89, 95.
[74] I return to these familial and professional associations below.
[75] Dickson and Edmond (1890), pp. 312-33; A.J. Mann (2004), pp. 19, 37-8, 140.

large (111 x 85 mm) versions of which occur on pages 105 and 106 of the *OA* —
copies the small and large devices of the London printer, Richard Jugge (*c.* 1514-79),
and was manufactured for Arbuthnet by the Flemish artist, Anton van Leest.[76]
Framed by two vertical columns with fruit and foliage in each of the four corners, it
contains in its central medallion a pelican 'in her peity'. In two concentric circles
around this image are the following mottos: firstly 'Love Kepyth the Lawe Obeyeth
the Kynge and is Good to the Commen Welthe', and secondly 'Pro Lege Rege, et
Grege'. The top and bottom of the framing columns contain the printer's name and
the words 'Prvdencia' and 'Ivsticia'. Female figures representing these two virtues
lean against each column. Finally, Arbuthnet's arms are present at the bottom of the
device, between his initials.[77]

Arbuthnet is best known for his printing, in partnership with the Edinburgh
printer and bookseller Thomas Bassandyne (*d.* 1577), of Scotland's first domestic
Bible (*STC* 2125; Aldis 154).[78] In July 1576 the Privy Council licensed Arbuthnet and
Bassandyne — described respectively as 'merchand' and 'imprentair' — to undertake
an edition of the Geneva text. Arbuthnet's sureties were named as David Guthrie of
Kincaldrum, William Guthrie of Halkerton, William Rynd of Carse, and James
Arbuthnet of Lentusche.[79] The latter has been identified with the printer's eldest
brother who led a colourful life during the political upheavals in the second half of
the sixteenth century.[80] The two Guthries and William Rynd of Carse may also have
been relations of the printer: Arbuthnet's grandfather, David Arbuthnot, married one

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[76] McKerrow (1913), nos. 123, 125, 225, 228; Watry (1992), devices 1 and 7, pp. 93, 94. *OA*, ed.
Ritchie, vol. I, p. xxii, reports that the woodcut printed by Laing at the end of his edition of the
volume is not in the original print. With the print currently missing, this cannot be confirmed or
denied.

[77] The small device also appears in the following Arbuthnet editions: *STC* 2125, 3991 and 21887. The
large device appears in *STC* 3991.

[78] Dobson (1887).

[79] *RPC 1569-78*, pp. 544-6; *RSS 1575-80*, no. 642.

[80] Arbuthnot (1920), pp. 90-113.

Christian Rhind of Carse,[81] and I have already mentioned that Arbuthnet witnessed a reversion to a Ninian Guthrey of Kynganie in 1569; David Guthrie of Kincaldrum may have been the eldest son of the Laird of Guthrie who married Katherine, eldest daughter of John Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot (*d*. 1531).[82]

When Arbuthnet and Bassandyne were licensed to print the Bible, the first subscription scheme in British book history was also launched.[83] A succession of problems delayed production, however, and by 1576 Bassandyne pulled out of the partnership. In 1577 the Privy Council required that he deliver to Arbuthnet those sheets of the New Testament which he had already printed as well as his printing house and all necessary tools.[84] Production nevertheless remained slow and the complete Bible was not printed until 1579. Even then Arbuthnet was late delivering copies. Consequently, in 1580, the General Assembly ordered Arbuthnet to deliver his Bibles, and threatened him and his sureties with 'letters of horning' if he failed to do so. Difficulties also occurred when Arbuthnet attempted to charge extra for binding.[85]

Despite these problems, Arbuthnet was nevertheless made King's Printer in August 1579.[86] As well as printing the Bible and the *OA*, we know that he printed the following texts: William Lawson's *Abstene Fra Sin* in 1579 (*STC* 17328.7; Aldis 152.5); Buchanan's *Rervm Scoticarvm Historia* in 1582 (*STC* 3991; Aldis 182);[87] and in the same year William Welwood's *De Aqua* (*STC* 25239; Aldis 187) and the *Declaratioun of the Kings Majesties Will [...] Anent the Religious* (Aldis 183). He also printed Acts of Parliament in 1584 (*STC* 21887; Aldis 188).

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[81] Arbuthnot (1920), p. 86; *SP*, vol. I, p. 280.
[82] Arbuthnot (1920), p. 86; *SP*, vol. I, p. 280.
[83] Lee (1824), pp. 29-32, 38.
[84] *RPC 1569-78*, p. 583.
[85] *Edinburgh Burgh Records 1573-89*, pp. 158, 166.
[86] For this and other licences granted to Arbuthnet at this time see *RSS 1575-80*, nos. 1870, 2025; Lee (1824), appendices 6 and 7.
[87] For an intriguing account by the diarist James Melville of the printing of this work see Melville, *Autobiography and Diary*, ed. Pitcairn, pp. 120-1.

Arbuthnet most likely printed the *OA* between 1579 and 1585 (the year of

his death), and he perhaps did so in the hope of achieving rather more financial

success than he did with the edition of the Bible. As Watry comments, '[t]his large

folio [*sic*] volume featuring such a poem would have been a big seller in Scotland,

particularly with its interest in historiography [...]',[88] and indeed, copies of the *OA* are

listed in the posthumous inventories of the Edinburgh bookbinder, Robert Gourlaw,

and the Edinburgh printer, Henry Charteris. That of the former, dated April 1586,

lists 'Item, the Vowis of Alexander, ane, price viij s', whilst Charteris' inventory,

dated September 1606, contains 'Item, xij Awowis of Alexander, bund, at x s. the

pece' and 'Item nyne vnbund Awowis of Alexander, at vij s. vj d.'[89]

Charteris is thought to have commissioned Arbuthnet's edition of *Rervm*

Scoticarvm Historia and Watry suggests that he also commissioned Arbuthnet's edition

of the *OA*.[90] We know that Charteris patronised other Edinburgh printers such as

John Scot, Robert Lekpreuik and John Ross, and texts in or related to the romance

genre were also printed by or for him. Lekpreuik, for instance, certainly printed *The*

Actis and Deidis of the Illuster and Vailzeand Campioun, Schir William Wallace for him in

1570 (*STC* 13149; Aldis 82) and he may also have produced his 1572 edition of *Rauf*

Coilȝear (*STC* 5487; Aldis 113) under Charteris' commission, as discussed in Chapter

6.[91] Furthermore, many of the works thought to have been printed with Charteris'

backing do not include his name on the title-page.[92] It is thus entirely possible, and

indeed quite likely, that Charteris supported Arbuthnet's only known foray into the

romance genre. It is also possible that Arbuthnet based his edition on a now-lost

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[88] Watry (1992), p. 49. The volume was in fact a quarto. Compare A.A. MacDonald (2001b), p. 58: '[i]t would seem that the very religious and political factionalism of the period 1560-73 may have had a catalytic role in evoking a quasi-nationalistic interest in the literary achievement of mediaeval Scotland'.

[89] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 209-17 (210), 223-9 (224). I discuss the labelling here of the *OA* as 'The Avowis of Alexander' in greater detail below.

[90] Watry (1992), p. 49.

[91] See pp. 245-6.

[92] Watry (1992) refers to Charteris' 'unseen hand', pp. 38, 62.

print. This procedure might again resemble Lekpreuik's printing of *Rauf Coil3ear*, as discussed in Chapter 6.[93]

Physical Description[94]

Arbuthnet's edition of the *OA* comprises 221 leaves (442 pages)[95] and contains *c.* 14507 lines of octosyllabic verse.[96] When Ritchie saw the volume he stated that it was 'severely cropped, now measuring 6 $\frac{4}{5}$ by 4 $\frac{3}{5}$ inches'.[97] He described the binding as 'modern; the front of the cover bears, in gilt lettering, the inscription, *This curious book is considered unique*, 1805; and the back, "Hist. Alex[r] the Great.'[98]

Catchwords and signatures appear regularly, the former on both recto and verso sides of a page, the latter on the first five recto pages of each signature. There are occasional catchword errors. For instance, the catchword at the bottom of p. 27 should read 'In' in anticipation of line 860 ('In perrill and in perplexitie'), but instead reads 'To'. The catchword on p. 76 is missing.[99] The volume may be collated as follows A-H⁸, [I⁸ lost], K-Z⁸, 2A-2E⁸, 2F⁶⁽⁻⁶⁾.[100]

The poem's title-page is missing. Ritchie and Laing consequently took their title from the first heading, 'Heir beginnis the first parte of this/ buik of the most noble and valiant Conquerour/ Alexander the grit.' Ritchie reports that 'the eight pages of signature I in the body of the book' are also missing, 'having been lost

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[93] See pp. 246-7.

[94] My description is based upon *OA*, ed. Laing and *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. xvi-xx, vol. II, pp. viii-xii. Laing's corrections/emendations include the addition of page numbers, capital letters at the beginning of proper names and corrections of erroneous catchwords.

[95] The paper's watermark has never been described.

[96] There may be 444 pages if one includes the blank leaf (with woodcut) at the end of Laing's facsimile (see p. 42, n. 76). The pages were not numbered in the original print, but they are in Laing's facsimile and Ritchie's edition; I provide their page numbers here for ease of reference. The poem's number of lines is taken from Ritchie's edition, taking into account his mis-numbering at vol. III, p. 282.

[97] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xvi.

[98] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xvi.

[99] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. 27, 76. For other erroneous, missing or illegible catchwords see *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. II, pp. 113, 232, 241, 244, vol. III, pp. 316, 350, vol. IV, pp. 364, 371, 406.

[100] If one includes the final unsigned page of Laing's edition, the volume's final gathering would contain six leaves.

before it was bound in 1805'.[101] It is possible, however, that this signature was never set. The catchword on Hviii^v (p. 128) is 'And', and although this most probably anticipates the Scots translation of the French which should have followed ('Et tous les biens qui sont a en son cuer plantés' (VP.513)), the catchword also fits the first line of signature K, 'And glaid of thy come sickerly' (A.1190). The catchword on p. 128 may thus have anticipated this line, rather than the translation of VP.513, and consequently the gathering for signature I was either *not* set through error or even lost before composition.

In Arbuthnet's print, the Scots translation is divided into three parts, distinguished by incipits, explicits and running titles. The first part, 'The Forray of Gadderis', begins on A i^r (p. 1) with the heading quoted above. It runs through to G v^r (p. 105) where the final seven lines are followed by an explicit — 'Heir endis the first part of the buke/ of the most noble and vailzeand/ Conquerour Alexander,/ the great. Callit the/ Forray of Ga-/deris' — and Arbuthnet's small printer's device, discussed above. The second part, 'The Avowis of Alexander', begins on G vi^r (p. 107) after Arbuthnet's large device on G v^v (p. 106) and a heading at the top of p. 107: 'Heir beginnis the secound part/ of this buik. Callit the avowis of Alexander.' It continues to Z viii^r (p. 351) and ends with a simple '¶FINIS'. After a blank page (Z viii^v/p. 352), the third part of the edition — 'The Great Battell of Effesovn' — begins in a new signature on Aa i^r (p. 353), after the following lengthy incipit: 'HEIR/ begynnis the great battell of Ef-/FESOVN, STRYKKIN BE ALEX-/ander the great, aganis auld Clarus King of Inde,/for the great outtraige committed be him/aganis FESONAS, douchter to/ GAVDEEIR [*sic*] de larys./Quhairin is/ contended the names, and vail-/zeant deids of the moste/nobill knichtis/that was in

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[101] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xvi.

all the warlde at/ that tyme. &c.' This final part runs to signature Ff v^v (p. 442), and again ends with a simple 'FINIS'.

In addition to incipits and explicits, running titles also distinguish the volume's three parts. They are printed across the page-opening thus, 'The Forray/ of Gadderis'. There are occasional errors and inconsistencies. For instance, Arbuthnet begins spelling the second part of his volume 'The Avowis/ of Alexander' on p. 110, but switches to spelling it 'The Avowes/ of Alexander' from p. 114 onwards. The running title on pp. 108 and 109 should read 'The Avowes / of Alexander' but instead reads 'The Forray of Gadderis', and on pp. 112 and 113 it mistakenly reads 'The Forray / of Alexander'. On pp. 354 and 355 the running title also mistakenly reads 'The Avowes/ of Alexander' rather than 'The Great Battell/ of Effesovn'. These errors all occur towards the beginning of a new section suggesting that the compositor struggled to accustom himself to each system of running titles.

The print's presentation of the poem as three parts in intriguing since the Scots poem is a translation of only two French poems. Furthermore, whilst there is a clear narrative division between 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis', there is far less sense of one narrative coming to an end and another beginning at the end of 'The Avowis' and beginning of 'The Great Battell'. Indeed, 'The Avowis' and 'The Great Battell' are very much one coherent narrative, framed by the translator's unique prologue and epilogue. It is thus possible that the emergence of 'The Great Battell' as a distinct section of the narrative began not with the Scottish translator but instead in a later manuscript or print, or even with Arbuthnet's edition where 'The Great Battell' is also very much a separate part on account of its being printed at the start of a new signature (Aa i^r) after a blank page (Z viii^v).

It should be noted, however, that the incipit beginning 'The Great Battell' does not refer to it as '*part* of the buik of the most noble and valiant Conquerour

Alexander the grit', whereas 'The Forray' is described as 'the first *parte*' of that book, and 'The Avowis' as 'the secound *part*' (my italics). Although this may simply be an inconsistency, the incipits at the beginning of 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis' do appear to recognise that these two ostensibly separate narratives in fact together comprise the complete 'buik of the most noble and valiant Conquerour Alexander the grit'. The structure of Arbuthnet's print and the wording of its incipits and explicits thus supports my theory that both 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis' were composed as companion pieces by the same author.

Physical evidence also explains the following critical conundrum. As detailed above, the inventory of the Edinburgh bookbinder, Robert Gourlaw, lists 'the Vowis of Alexander', and the inventory of the Edinburgh printer, Henry Charteris, contains several 'Awowis of Alexander'.[102] These items have long been associated with Arbuthnet's *OA* but it is not clear whether Gourlaw and Charteris owned Arbuthnet's complete 'buik' or simply 'The Avowis'. Physical evidence provides the answer. 'The Avowis' begins on G vi^r (p. 107) in the same signature as the final part of 'The Forray'. It was thus not set as a separate poem and would not have been easily separable after printing. Consequently, if Gourlaw and Charteris did own the *OA* they most probably owned Arbuthnet's complete 'buik' and not simply the second part.

I now turn to the print's decoration and quality. The poem is printed at an average of 32 lines per page using a Roman letter type. Arbuthnet acquired his type in 1579 from his former colleague Thomas Bassandyne, who had in turn acquired it from the Antwerp publisher Christopher Plantin, with whom several English and

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[102] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 210, 224.

Scottish printers and booksellers had dealings.[103] The poem begins with an

ornamental initial 'Q' supported in its centre by the arms of an upright human figure

and surrounded by foliage; the first eight lines of the poem are aligned alongside.

This ornamental 'Q' also appears in Arbuthnet's 1582 edition of Buchanan's *Rervm*

Scoticarvm Historia (fols 28ʳ, 71ᵛ), as well as in Robert Waldegrave's editions of Robert

Rollock's *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios* (1590) (*STC* 21278; Aldis 218),

Commentarivs D. Roberti Rolloci [...] In Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses (1600) (*STC* 21274;

Aldis 335;), and *The Laws [...]Maid be King Iames the First and his Svccessovrs* (1597) (*STC*

21877; Aldis 291).

Throughout Arbuthnet's *OA* there are *c.* 266 further two-line emboldened

Roman capital initials. After these initials, the remainder of the line's first word and

the first word of the second line are indented. Occasionally a one-line blank space is

left before an initial, and either all or part of the word following the initial is also

sometimes printed in capitals, e.g. '**E**MYNEDUS' or '**E**Mynedus'. The initials signal

narrative division and punctuate the main action. For instance, in 'The Forray' they

are used especially to highlight the speeches of different knights when Emenidus asks

them to seek Alexander's aid. The position of initials in the Scots translation also

corresponds to the positioning of rubricated initials in manuscripts of the French

original.[104] This suggests that they originate not in Arbuthnet's print but instead in an

earlier manuscript tradition stemming back to the Scots translator and his original

French exemplar.

One can be less certain about the origin of the following five rubrics in

Arbuthnet's edition:

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[103] Clair (1959), pp. 43-5; Harvard (1974); Watry (1992), pp. 90, 121. By 1582 the alphabet was in the hands of Henry Charteris who passed it to Robert Waldegrave in 1597; Thomas Finlayson acquired it after Waldegrave's death in 1604.

[104] As signalled in Ritchie's edition.

1. Heir Emyndus makis praying/ To the douze pers to warn
   the king (A iiij^r, p. 7)
2. Heir the furriours and thair fais,/ Assemblis and grete melle
   mais (B vii^r, p. 29)
3. How ȝoung Pirrus lord of Montflour/ Reskeuit his men
   and wan honour (C iii^v, p. 38)
4. Heir Arreste throw sare praying,/ Went to warne Alexander
   the King (E i^v, p. 66).
5. Heir beginnys the Avous (R vii^r, p. 253).

The first four rubrics appear in 'The Forray' and highlight key stages in the Greeks'

battle against the Gaderians, whilst the final rubric highlights the specific beginning

of the Vows of the Peacock in 'The Avowis'. There is no logic behind the placing of

these rubrics — similarly important episodes which could be marked are not, for

instance — and it is also surprising that there are so few. Equally striking is the way

in which each rubric forms an individual octosyllabic rhyming couplet. Similar

rhyming rubrics appear in Andrew Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (*c.* 1408-24).[105] These

are designed to divide and neatly structure the narrative and they often address the

reader (e.g. Book II, Chapter V, 'Þis chapter sal tel ȝow richt/ Of Iosophis wit and

his forsycht'). Furthermore, their appearance in the fifteenth-century witnesses of

the *Chronicle* is striking; in BL, MS Royal 17.D.XX, for instance, they are written in

red ink using a large display script and the ensuing text begins with a red or blue

initial. Since *OA* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* are relatively contemporary compositions, I

propose that the rhyming rubrics in Arbuthnet's edition might be vestiges of rubrics

which appeared more frequently in the early manuscript tradition of the *OA* and

which were subsequently lost during the poem's transmission.

Indeed, like the print's emboldened initials, the *OA*'s rubrics may in fact

originate in the original French text. Similar rubrics and *tituli* are found in

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[105] Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*, ed. Amours, vol. II, p. 167. Rhyming rubrics also appear in Lekpreuik's 1571 edition of Barbour's *Bruce* (*STC* 1377.5; Aldis 98) and in Andro Hart's 1616 edition (*STC* 1378; Aldis 485), but not in the two fifteenth-century manuscripts (Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.23 and NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.2). On the manuscripts' other, non-rhyming rubrics see John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. Skeat (1894), vol. I, pp. lxxiii-iv.

manuscripts of *Les Voeux*, often accompanying the lavish miniatures which this poem appears to have attracted. Four key episodes in *Les Voeux* attracted the attention of the scribes and illustrators of French manuscripts: the opening encounter between Alexander and Cassamus (VP.29ff), Alexander's vision in the temple of Marcus (VP.319ff), the Bauderane's bawdy game of chess with Fesonas (VP.2705ff) and Porrus' shooting of the peacock (VP.3841ff).[106] In the wider French Alexander-cycle, miniatures and rubrics seem also to have highlighted the *merveilleux* encountered by Alexander and episodes in which he displays his exemplary kingship.[107] *Merveilleux* are lacking in both 'The Forray' and 'The Avowis', but it is not hard to imagine rubrics drawing attention to the above four episodes and to moments where Alexander's good self- and public-governance is discussed and exemplified. In the following chapter I consider the important thematic and generic role played by rubrics in Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*. They no doubt played a similar role in the *OA*'s early manuscript tradition.

Having considered decoration, I conclude my description of Arbuthnet's edition by discussing the print's quality. Dickson and Edmond describe Arbuthnet's *OA* as 'a characteristic specimen of the inaccuracy of [his] workmanship' whilst Ritchie states, '[j]udged by the canons of sixteenth century Scottish printing, Arbuthnet's volume is far below the average, and confirms the low opinion which his contemporaries held of his efficiency as a printer.'[108] Whilst the latter comment is perhaps a little extreme, there are nevertheless a large number of errors throughout the volume. I have already discussed the errors made in the setting of running titles and catchwords. Further mistakes include the inversion of letters (e.g. A.1244, A.2404), words (e.g. F.609, A.1631, 8984) and lines (F.691/2, F.1299/30, A.8419/20,

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[106] Busby (2002b), vol. I, p. 320.
[107] Busby (2002b), vol. I, p. 289.
[108] Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 326; *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. xvii-xviii.

A.10635/6); the confusion of minims, particularly in the word 'cousing' which is often spelt 'consingis' or 'consing' (A.489, 3738); repetition (e.g. A.10735, 11043-4, 11053-4); and conversely omission (A.4861). Word spacing also appears to have caused difficulties; there are instances of broken letters (e.g. A.1244) and the first part of each line from A.5492-5 is left blank. Most noticeable are the frequent minuscules used at the beginning of lines instead of a capital letter. The reason for this is typographical; as Ritchie notes, the 'use of minuscules becomes more frequent as the work proceeds, and notably on the pages where there is an unusual demand for the same capital letter, generally T.'[109] Additional initial letters which appeared more frequently than the type could supply include A, M, P, and S.

Similar errors of composition and spelling occur in the earliest Scottish prints produced by Chepman and Myllar in 1508,[110] and although Arbuthnet was working over seventy years later than these pioneering printers, he nevertheless appears to have faced similar difficulties acquiring type. He may also, like Chepman and Myllar, have employed foreign compositors who would have been unfamiliar with Scottish orthography. We know that a compositor from Flanders, Salamon Kerknett, was employed to work on the Arbuthnet-Bassandyne Bible, since in January 1576-7 Bassandyne was charged by the Privy Council to pay his wages.[111] Arbuthnet may therefore have also employed a Continental compositor to assist his production of *OA*. Above all, we must remember that in printing the *OA*, Arbuthnet was setting a lengthy text, and he and his team may have worked from a manuscript that presented its compositors with a potentially foreign and difficult fifteenth-/sixteenth-century Scottish hand or from a print exemplar that itself contained significant errors. The frequency of errors in Arbuthnet's print is thus somewhat more understandable.

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[109] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. II, p. x.
[110] See pp. 232-4.
[111] *RPC 1569-78*, p. 582.

Having described the print, I conclude this chapter with an analysis of the volume's reception. Ritchie lists the marginal inscriptions and signatures in the surviving witness in the introduction to his edition.[112] He states that they are written 'by late sixteenth or early seventeenth century hands'.[113] I here analyse them in greater detail. I reveal analogues for the several scraps of marginal verse, and also attempt to identify some of the readers/owners whose names appear throughout the volume.

Marginal Inscriptions and Signatures

The first marginal inscription occurs on the inner and outer margins of p. 79: 'Better it is fortoun to abyd/ Than haistilie to clim and sudenly to slyd', and may have been prompted by the following comment made by Emenidus to his men on the same page:

> Bot we contene vs manly,
> As gude knichtis and hardy,
> Befoir thame that ar freshly heir
> Cummin now, wit ʒe but weir
> All our gude sall tune to shame (FG.2481-5).

Various versions of the inscription appear frequently as maxims on the margins and flyleaves of Older Scots and medieval/ early modern English manuscripts and printed books.[114] It also formed part of a series of proverbial metrical couplets, as in the Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 75ᵛ, 122ʳ, 147ʳ) and Maitland Folio Manuscript (p. 294),[115] and was inscribed in a sixteenth-century chamber at Delgaty Castle.[116]

The second marginal inscription occurs on the outer margin of p. 80: 'In my defence god me defend and bring <my> saull to ane/ gud end quhen I am seik and

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[112] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. xviii-xx.
[113] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xvii.
[114] *NIMEV* 513; Whiting (1968), F505.
[115] Bawcutt (2008), p. 107.
[116] Bath (2003), p. 222.

Lyke to die/ The sonne of god haue mynd on me.' Again, this inscription most

likely bears no relation to the *OA*. It is instead one of the most popular items of

marginalia in Older Scots manuscripts and printed books.[117] A number of the

manuscripts in which it occurs are discussed throughout this thesis, including the

Hay Prose Manuscript (fol. 1[r]); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24

(fol. 231[v]); NAS, MS RH 13/35 (fols 7[r] (left) and 8[r] (right)); CUL, MS Kk.5.30 (fols

59[r], 153[r], 154[v], 214[r], 237[v], 260[r]); and NLS, Inc. 25.5 (inside front cover). A Latin

version also occurs in a Scottish book of hours known as 'Andrew Lundy's Primer'

(fol. 4[r]).[118]

    The third marginal inscription occurs on p. 107, at the beginning of 'The

Avowis'. It reads 'The pains depart[s]/ bot vertue remane[s]'. There are no instances of

this phrase in either (*N*)*IMEV* or Whiting. A somewhat similar tag does, however,

occur on the ceiling of the Green Lady's room in Crathes Castle. It reads 'Praise be

to him quhoise verteus deids Through payn and labor gr[awis]'.[119] Rather

interestingly, another room in this same castle is decorated with images of the Nine

Worthies and verses derived from *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*. A Latin version of the

maxim in Arbuthnet's print was also copied by the young James VI onto a flyleaf of

BL, MS Additional 34275.[120]

    The next two scraps of verse are found on pp. 144 and 145. Ritchie

transcribes them thus:

    1.   Seing nator[s] god creatit the
           Ane nakit infant for to be
           Then remember patientlie to suffer the panis of
              powertie

    2.   Infantum nudum cum te natura crearat
           Paupertatis omnes sapienter.

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[117] *NIMEV* 1509; Bawcutt (1990), pp. 64-5 and (1991a), p. 263.

[118] W.J. Anderson (1960), p. 40; Bawcutt (2006), p. 123.

[119] Hargreaves (1989), p. 384, B.3e; Bath (2003), p. 219.

[120] Warner (1893), pp. xii-xiii, lxxi.

The second transcription may be partially erroneous since the Latin verse is in fact a quotation from Cato's *Distichs*: 'Infantem nudum cum te natura crearit, paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento'.[121] The first inscription is a vernacular translation of this. Cato's *Distichs* was a central text in medieval grammar schools where it was commonly used as a first reader and memorised by schoolboys.[122] Glosses and commentaries on it developed, as well as imitations, supplements and vernacular translations.[123] Copies of the *Distichs* appear in several Edinburgh printers' inventories: Bassandyne possessed 'Item, fyue Cato cum commentis, the pece xviii d."; Robert Gourlaw, 'Item, Cato, thre, at iij d. the pece'; Henry Charteris, 'Item, lxxiij Distica Catonis, at iij d. the pece.'[124] NAS, MS RH 13/35, which contains a copy of *Sir Colling* and a fragmentary copy of *King Orphius*, also contains on fols 19[r], 19[v], 22[r]-4[v], and 26[r]-9[v] fragments of a once-complete copy of Cato's *Distichs*; fols 18[r], 25[r] and 28[r] contain the same Latin couplet as the *OA* print. As I detail in Chapter 5, NAS, MS RH 13/35 is roughly contemporary with Arbuthnet's print. In both volumes, moral/advisory and proverbial material is copied or compiled alongside Older Scots romance, albeit to differing extents. This particular conjunction of genres will indeed be a marked feature of almost all the manuscripts and prints of Older Scots romance discussed throughout this thesis.

Ritchie next transcribes the following series of letters which occur horizontally in the outer margin of p. 177:

> S
> d d
> In m
> In

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[121] Cato, *Distichs* in *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. Duff and Duff.
[122] Matthews Sanford (1924); Bonaventure (1961); Orme (1973), pp. 100, 102-4, 114, 127; Hunt (1991), vol. I, pp. 59-79; Orme (2006), pp. 41-2, 97-8, 100-1, 114, 119, 124, 151, 153, 159, 277; J. Mann (2006).
[123] Hazleton (1957, 1960).
[124] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 194-5, 215, 225.

g g
des
bem
s s

As he states, '[t]hese letters may be the first of consecutive lines, but they look like mere pen trials.'[125]

From the outer margin of p. 188, Ritchie transcribes, 'ame ame trie amen fra me quod', noting that '[t]he rest is undecipherable'.[126] I would suggest that the inscription in fact echoes the final line of the *OA*: 'Amen amen for cheritie!' (A. Epilogue, 41). A very similar line concludes the version of *The Thewis off Gudwomen* bound alongside *Lancelot of the Laik* in CUL, MS Kk.1.5: 'Amen, amen, fore cherytee' (fol. 53ʳ, l. 316).[127]

I am unable to decipher or identify the final inscription listed by Ritchie as occurring on the outer margin of p. 320: 'ONE tre if it be scho godnez scho be driuit in for me annon not me'. I again suspect a transcription error on Ritchie's part and imagine that the inscription was a piece of popular proverbial verse like the other marginalia discussed above.

In his study of marginalia and annotations, William Sherman states that:

> [m]any of the notes left behind by readers bear no discernable relationship whatsoever to the texts they accompany [...]. The blank spaces of Renaissance books were used to record not just comments on the text but penmanship exercises, prayers, recipes, popular poetry, drafts of letters, mathematical calculations, shopping lists, and other glimpses of the world in which they circulated [...].

This is certainly true of the marginalia in this copy of Arbuthnet's print, but as Sherman also reminds us, annotations that tell us nothing about the writer's response to the text nevertheless 'do preserve a human presence that makes [the] copy

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[125] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xix.
[126] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, p. xix.
[127] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan.

unique'.[128] That human presence is also signalled in the surviving copy of

Arbuthnet's *OA* by the following series of signatures:

> p. 106: James RAM.
> p. 107: Be me Robert peter manu sua et non aliena.
> p. 143: James beton/ w^t my hand.
> p. 252: RAMSAY.
> p. 291: amen Robert RAMSAY.
> p. 343: Robert Rm.
> p. 413: this book pertenis to me James/ Ramsay.

A search through printed public records reveals possible identities for these men. A

James Ramsay, described as servant of the privy seal scribe 'Jacobi Kynneir',[129] copies

a deed of 1608 witnessed by one 'Jacobo Betoun de Westhall'.[130] The latter's brother,

'Joanne Betoun' also witnessed a deed concerning one Henry Ramsay de Ardowny,

his wife Helen Betoun, and John Ramsay, 'commissarii Brechinensis',[131] whilst a

Robert Ramsay 'vicario de Glammis' witnessed a deed involving an 'Agneti

Betoun'.[132] Although one cannot securely identify any of these men with the James

Ramsay, Robert Ramsay, and James Betoun signing Arbuthnet's print, it certainly

appears that there was a connection between the two families in the regions of Angus

and Dundee which mirrors the joint appearance of their names in the print.

Published records also reveal possible associations between those signing the

print and those who stood surety for Arbuthnet when he and Bassandyne were

licensed to print the Bible.[133] For instance, a James Ramsay, son of Henry Ramsay of

Ardowny, witnesses a deed with one Alexander Guthrie.[134] A Betoun and Rhind of

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[128] Sherman (2008), pp. 15, 17.

[129] See also *Laing Charters*, nos. 1497, 1519, 1520 and 1566; *History of the Society of Writers* (1890), p. 116; *Society of Writers* (1936), p. 215.

[130] *RMS 1593-1608*, no. 2136. In 1591-2 a caution for a John Betoun, this time described as 'fiar of Melgund', was provided by a *John* Kynneir, perhaps a relation of James the scribe (*RPC 1585-92*, p. 717). For James Betoun of Melgund see further *Laing Charters*, nos. 1410, 1705.

[131] *RMS 1593-1608*, no. 244.

[132] *RMS 1580-83*, no. 592.

[133] See pp. 42-3.

[134] *RMS 1580-93*, no. 1550.

Carse appear together in the *Register of the Privy Council* in 1589.[135] Finally, a James Betoun of Melgund appears on two occasions with an Alexander Guthrie of Crathymylne in 1601.[136] Again, it is not possible to relate with any certainty these persons to either those signing the print or those standing as surety for Arbuthnet. There do, however, appear to have been professional associations between the families of Arbuthnet's sureties and readers which could account for James Ramsay, Robert Ramsay, and James Betoun having access to Arbuthnet's print soon after publication.

There are, finally, two intriguing references to surety and reader families in the *The Compt Buik* of David Wedderburne, merchant of Dundee (1587-1630).[137] This volume has attracted the attention of literary scholars because it details the various books which Wedderburne lent to friends and associates. It thus demonstrates 'the contents of a Scottish merchant's library in the sixteenth century'.[138] It also provides information about the merchant's family; David was for instance married to Matilda, daughter of James Beaton of Westhall, whilst his brother, Alexander Wedderburne of Kingennie, was married to a Helen Ramsay.[139] David Wedderburne was therefore connected to extended members of the families whose names appear on Arbuthnet's print. He also lent his 'sege of thebes' to 'Henry Guthreis sone'.[140] One again wonders whether he might be connected to the David Guthrie and William Guthrie who stood as Arbuthnet's sureties.

For now, such connections between Arbuthnet's sureties and readers cannot be established with any certainty, but they are nevertheless geographically probable.

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[135] *RPC 1585-92*, pp. 373, 389.
[136] *RPC 1599-1604*, pp. 288, 697.
[137] *Compt Buik*, ed. Millar.
[138] *Compt Buik*, ed. Millar, p. xxii.
[139] *Compt Buik*, ed. Millar, p. lxix. Another female relative, Helen Beaton, married Henry Ramsay of Ardownie: *Compt Buik*, ed. Millar, p. 28, n. 5 and above p. 57.
[140] *Compt Buik*, ed. Millar, p. 89.

As already noted, Arbuthnet and his family, those who stood surety for his edition of the Bible, and those who first read his edition of *OA*, all originated in the neighbouring regions of Aberdeen, and Angus and Dundee. The continued occurrence of the same names throughout the printer's career and within the pages of his *OA* combine to suggest that the sole surviving edition of that romance is a book produced and read within the bounds of one extended familial, professional and literary network.

Indeed, Ritchie stated in his edition that the James and Robert Ramsay signing the print 'were no doubt related to the Ramsays of Dalhousie, in whose possession the book still remains'.[141] If this is true, then Arbuthnet's volume has remained in the possession of the Ramsay family for just over four hundred years. Ramsay family history suggests why the romance might have appealed to them. An earlier member of this family, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie (*d.* 1342), was a highly successful Border warrior during the 1330s and 1340s. He gained a reputation as a paragon of chivalry and is known to have led the Scots against the English in a jousting contest held at Berwick in 1342. Alastair J. Macdonald writes that Alexander's 'illustrious career' provided 'an imposing example of military endeavour and local leadership for his peers and future generations of the family.'[142] Consequently, those future generations reading *OA* might well have been reminded of their chivalric ancestor by characters such as Emenidus and Porrus.

The Ramsay family are, furthermore, associated not only with Arbuthnet's *OA*, but also with a thirteenth-century Flemish Psalter (now NLS, MS Advocates' 18.8.8), which they owned in the fifteenth century,[143] and with two significant

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[141] *OA*, ed. Ritchie, vol. I, pp. xx. For possible candidates for a late sixteenth-/ early seventeenth-century James Ramsay of Dalhousie see *SP*, vol. III, pp. 95, 97.
[142] A.J. Macdonald (2004). See also *SP*, vol. III, p. 89; M.H. Brown (1997); K. Stevenson (2006), pp. 21-2, 105, 137.
[143] Higgitt (2000), p. 289.

manuscript witnesses of John Donne's poetry and prose and related contemporary literature, which they owned in the seventeenth century.[144] They thus stand at the centre of a significant hitherto unnoted book-owning community, itself worthy of further study, and their relationship to Alexander Arbuthnet and his edition of *OA* provides the first instance of the overlapping familial, professional and literary associations between the publishers and consumers of Older Scots romance that will become a dominant feature of this thesis.

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[144] Stuart (1874), pp. 117-19 and *First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts*, ed. Sullivan II. Fol. iv of The Second Dalhousie MS of Donne's poetry contains the same 'In my defence' verse as Arbuthnet's *OA* print (see pp. 53-4) and the seventeenth-century signature of one Andrew Ramsay. It would be interesting to compare these inscriptions to those in the *OA* print if/ when the latter comes to light.

Chapter 2

The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour

The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour (hereafter *BKA*)[1] (*IMEV* 3287.5) is a romance of over nineteen thousand decasyllabic lines that offers a full biography of Alexander's career, conquests and death. It supplements its main source, the second recension of the Latin *Historia de Preliis*, by drawing upon not only the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre*, and interpolations to it such as the *Voeux du Paon* and *Voyage au Paradis*, but also upon the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum* and several pieces of otherwise-independent Older Scots conduct literature.[2]

 BKA survives in two witnesses: BL, MS Additional 40732 and NAS, MS GD 112/71/9. In both, the poem is acephalous. We thus lack the poem's prologue and are forced to rely on its enigmatic final lines (19311-69) for information about its composition.[3] These final lines are not composed by the poem's author, nor simply by a scribe. They are instead written by a redactor, who claims to have rewritten, and in the process 'mendit', the 'faltis' of the 'noble buike' (l. 19343). He reports that he began this task in the May of 1499 and completed it in August of that year (ll. 19354-5). He also provides details of the poem's genesis, informing us that it was 'translaittit' 'out of the Frensche leid' 'At þe instance off Lord Erskein, be S*chi*r Gilbert þe Hay' (19319-20, 19334).

 With the exception of Matthew McDiarmid — who as discussed in the previous chapter instead attributes the *Octosyllabic Alexander* to Sir Gilbert Hay —[4]

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[1] *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* (hereafter *BKA*), ed. Cartwright (1986-90). All citations from this edition.
[2] For source studies see Lascelles (1936); Cartwright (1986 and 1991a); van Duin (1996); Saldanha (2000), pp. 174-91. On the themes of kingship and love see Mapstone (1986) and Martin (2006, 2008). Caughey (2010b) discusses the poem's exploitation of genre. See also Cartwright (1991b).
[3] The missing 'Prolog' is referred to at l. 19294.
[4] See pp. 33-4.

most scholars are prepared to accept the attribution of the *BKA* to Hay, whilst

simultaneously recognising that the romance as it survives may be at some remove

from Hay's original composition. This chapter begins by building upon this premise.

I first examine *BKA*'s composition by Sir Gilbert Hay and commissioning by

Thomas, 2nd Lord Erskine. I then outline two subsequent stages of revision: firstly,

possible authorial revision by Hay and secondly, scribal revision in 1499 by an

unknown redactor. I here consider the place within the poem of two Older Scots

conduct poems — *The Thewis off Gudwomen* and *Buke of Phisnomy* — which survive

independently elsewhere. In the second half of the chapter, I turn to the romance's

sixteenth-century material contexts. Here, detailed descriptions of the two

manuscript witnesses are combined with an analysis of their late sixteenth-century

ownership by Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy. I provide new

information about the scribes, makeup and contents of both manuscripts, and

analyse the relationship between them.

Part 1: Commissioning, Composition and Revision of the *BKA*

Sir Gilbert Hay and his Patrons

Sir Gilbert Hay is most well-known to Older Scots scholars for the three prose

translations — *Buke of the Law of Armys* (*BLA*), *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* (*BK*), and

Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis (*BGP*) — which he produced *c.* 1456 for William

Sinclair, 3rd Earl of Orkney and 1st Earl of Caithness (*b.* after 1407, *d.* 1480).[5] In the

early sixteenth century, however, he was also known outwith this Sinclair-circle as a

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[5] Gilbert Hay, *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript*, ed. Stevenson; Gilbert Hay, *The Prose Works*, ed. Glenn. I quote from the latter edition. Hay tells us that he produced *BLA* in 1456 (*BLA*, Prologus, ll. 10-11) and the other translations, although undated, are likely to be contemporaneous. They survive in NLS, MS Acc. 9253, produced in the late fifteenth century, most probably for William Sinclair's second son, Oliver Sinclair of Roslin. For details of the manuscript's scribe, owners and blind-stamped leather binding see Neilson (1899); J.H. Stevenson (1904); Hobson (1930); Norton-Smith (1971); Ker (1977), pp. 1-2; Chesnutt (1985); Mapstone (2005b), pp. 4-8. For William Sinclair see *SP*, vol. II, pp. 332-6.

poet. He is mentioned as such by Dunbar in *I that in heill wes and gladnes*,[6] and by Lyndsay in his *Testament of the Papyngo*,[7] whilst an unidentified item which no longer survives — 'þe document of Sir gilbert hay' — appears in the original contents list of the Asloan Manuscript (*c.* 1513-30) in the company of other items of verse.[8]

The details of Hay's career have been compiled by a number of scholars, on the basis of what Hay says about himself in the *BLA* and what is said about him by the 1499 redactor of the *BKA*.[9] In the former, Hay refers to himself as:

> Gilbert of the haye knycht. maister in arte
> and bachilere jn decreis Chaumerlayn vmquhile to the maist
> worthy king Charles of ffraunce (Prologus, ll. 5-7).

The 1499 *BKA* redactor corroborates this, stating that Hay was 'in the King of Franceis service' and that he spent twenty-four years in that country (ll. 19321-3). Published historical records also add further information. Thus, Hay is likely to have been born *c.* 1397 since he is recorded as determinant at St. Andrews University in 1418 and licentiate in 1419.[10] After graduating, he travelled to France, most probably as part of the contingent led by John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, to assist French forces in 1421. A captain called Gilbert Hay is recorded as being in charge of a small company of soldiers in 1422, and two men named Gilbert Hay were present at the siege of Orléans in 1429 and at King Charles VII's coronation later in the same year.[11] Walter Bower also records in Book XVI of his *Scotichronicon* that a 'Gilbert de

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[6] William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 21, l. 67. Dunbar's listing of Hay with Clerk of Tranent, author of the 'anteris of Gawane' (l. 66), suggests that he also associated Hay with the romance genre.
[7] Lyndsay, *Selected Poems*, ed. Hadley Williams, l. 19. In *The Dreme* (Lyndsay, *Selected Poems*, ed. Hadley Williams, l. 35), Lyndsay says that he told the young James V stories 'Of Alexander', and in *Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour* (Lyndsay, *The Works*, ed. Hamer, vol. I, ll. 3642-73 (3654-5)) he refers readers who wish to read 'Att lenth his [Alexander's] lyfe' to a 'gret buke' 'In Inglis toung', possibly *BKA*. For a possible link between James V's court and a later descendent of Hay's original Sinclair patron see Hadley Williams (1996b), p. 209, n. 46.
[8] See further pp. 75-7.
[9] Mapstone (1986) pp. 48-53; McDiarmid (1993), pp. 30-3; Edington (2004).
[10] *Early Records*, ed. Maitland Anderson, pp. 5-6; *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ed. Dunlop, vol. I, p. 14.
[11] Michel (1862), vol. I, pp. 173-4; Forbes-Leith (1882), vol. I, pp. 43, 158-9.

Hay' was knighted at the Battle of Senlis in 1429,[12] and indeed, Hay himself

borrowed and annotated the principal manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi

College, MS 171) of Bower's text between 1458 and 1464.[13] Amongst the several

annotations which Hay made is one relating to his knighting at Senlis (fol. 347ᵛ); Hay

here emphasises that he was knighted by the French king rather than the Scottish

constable.

Hay appears to have returned to Scotland sometime around 1445, perhaps

after the death of James I's eldest daughter, Princess Margaret, who married the

French dauphin Louis in 1436.[14] He was certainly in the service of William Sinclair in

time to produce the prose translations for him in 1456, and the two men may in fact

have met in connection with Princess Margaret's marriage since William Sinclair was

part of the fleet which accompanied her to France. On 15 November 1456, Hay

witnessed the will of William Sinclair's father-in-law, Alexander Sutherland. In the

same will, Sutherland also bequeathed his 'sylvar collar' to Hay in exchange for the

latter saying 'ten Salteris' for his soul.[15]

Sutherland's bequest suggests that Hay was a chaplain/priest, and recent

research by Michael Brown supports this proposition.[16] Brown's research also

associates Hay with the family headed by William Lord Hay, constable and, from

1452, Earl of Errol.[17] In an instrument dated 15 August 1446 (NAS, MS RH

1/6/54), Lord Hay appointed 'carissimum consanguineum suum Gilbertum de haya

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[12] *Scotichronicon*, vol. VIII, p. 297, l. 6. In his *Originale Chronicle* (Amours, ed., vol. VI, Book IX, Chapter XXV, ll. 3100-1) Wyntoun mentions the knighting of a Gilbert Hay at the Battle of Liège in 1408 but this is unlikely to be the same person.

[13] 'Items by Gilbert de Hay in Corpus MS', in *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, pp. 50-3; Mapstone (1999a), pp. 32-5.

[14] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, vol. I, p. 32 suggested that Hay be associated with the Sir Gilbert Hay, knight, of St. Andrews diocese, who claimed that money was owing to him from the Dean of Dunkeld at the time of the latter's death in 1444-5. See *Calendar of Entries*, ed. Twemlow, p. 397.

[15] Quotation from *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. III, pp. 93-102 (93, 100). See also Hay (1835), pp. 91-100 (91, 98).

[16] M.H. Brown (2008).

[17] *SP*, vol. III, pp. 564-5.

milite*m*' to pursue and recover in his name the right of patronage of the kirk of

Erolle.[18] In a later bond (NAS, MS RH 1/6/57), dated 24 June 1450 and written

most probably in the poet's own hand, Hay speaks of the 'luwe 7 kyndneȝ y[t] I haff

to do honour 7 p*ro*uffit To ye stok y[t] I am a branche of' and he anticipates possession

of 'ye b*ene*fice of tourray [Turriff] prebend of abberdon'.[19] The 'venerabili viro

magistro Gilberto de Hay' was installed into that church in January 1460 by the

bishop of Aberdeen. [20] He next appears as 'Mast*er* gilb*er*t hay p*ar*sone of turreff' on

12 May 1466 when he witnessed an obligation between George Lord Gordon and

Nicholas Hay, 2nd Earl of Errol.[21]

　　　Most scholars assume that Hay died sometime after this date, sometime also

after a man of his name received gifts from the Crown in 1459 and again in 1465.[22]

Thus, upon return to Scotland, Sir Gilbert Hay was in the service of William Sinclair,

Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and William Hay, Earl of Errol. He was also in the

service of the Lord Erskine — most probably, Thomas, 2nd Lord Erskine — for

whom he produced *BKA* sometime around 1460.[23] All three patrons can be

connected geographically — they each held significant interests in north-eastern

Aberdeenshire — and all three appear together as witnesses to a series of royal and

governmental documents and instruments issued during the reign of James II.[24]

Erskine and Sinclair were further linked in regard to the Earldoms of Mar and

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[18] Quotation from my own transcription. See also *Illustrations [...] Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. Robertson, vol. II, pp. 340-1.

[19] My own transcription. See also *Illustrations [...] Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. Robertson, vol. II, pp. 343-4.

[20] *Illustrations [...] Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. Robertson, vol. II, p. 344. The bishop of Aberdeen's title for Hay interestingly reflects a collection of Latin and Scots legal pieces (NLS, MS Advocates' 25.4.14) written 'P*er* manu*m* ven*er*abil*is* vir*i* g h' (fol. 90[v]). Sally Mapstone suspects that this 'g h' is the poet since his hand resembles that annotating Corpus MS 171. See *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, p. 53.

[21] NAS, MS RH 1/6/83.

[22] *ER 1455-60*, p. 489; *ER 1460-69* p. 367. As Mapstone (1986), p. 53 states '[i]t is always possible that neither of these recipients of gifts may be Hay the poet, but given the coincidence of dates and what we know of Hay's career, it would seem more likely that he is the person in question'.

[23] This is the generally accepted date for the romance, on the basis of linguistic features and what is known of Hay's career. See Cartwright (1986), p. 229. Thomas 2nd Lord Erskine is thus the most likely patron since Robert 1st Lord Erskine died in 1452.

[24] M.H. Brown (2008).

Garioch which the Erskines struggled and finally failed to claim from the Crown throughout the 1440s and 1450s.[25] This dispute forms the immediate context for Hay's composition of the *BKA*. I thus provide a brief summary of it, and demonstrate how it might gloss one's reading of the romance.

The descent of the Earldoms of Mar and Garioch first followed a smooth course from Gartnet Earl of Mar (*d.* before 1305),[26] to his son Donald (*d.* 1332), grandson Thomas (*d.* by June 1374), and granddaughter Margaret (*d.* before 1393), before finally resting with Margaret's daughter Isabella. In 1404/5, Isabella married her second husband, Alexander Stewart. The marriage was, however, far from voluntary on Isabella's part. Alexander supposedly captured Isabella and her castle of Kildrummy in August 1404. He compelled her to marry him and sign a charter in which she conveyed her Earldom of Mar to him and to any heirs between them; if none were produced the Earldom would instead descend to Alexander's own heirs. Accordingly, after Isabella's death without issue in 1408, Alexander styled himself Earl of Mar and Garioch and obtained a charter from James I in 1426 granting the Earldom and Lordship to himself and to his illegitimate son Thomas. His son predeceased him, however, and when he himself died in 1435, James I seized both Mar and Garioch. He annexed the former to the Crown and granted Garioch to Thomas Stewart's wife, Elizabeth Douglas, in 1437.[27]

James I's actions did not go unchallenged since the Erskine family had been pressing their own claim to the Earldom of Mar and Lordship of Garioch since the 1390s. Descended from Garnet Earl of Mar via his daughter Ellen and granddaughter Christian Keith, who married as her second husband, Sir Robert

[25] See Lindsay (1882); *SP*, vol. V, pp. 566-606; McGladdery (1990), pp. 19-22, 40-1, 103-4; M.H. Brown (2000), pp. 156-60; Boardman (2004a).
[26] Garnet married Christian Bruce, sister of King Robert I, and through her received the Lordship and Earldom of Garioch in addition to his Earldom of Mar.
[27] McGladdery (1990), p. 20.

Erskine (*d.* 1385),[28] the Erskines appealed to the terms of the December 1404 charter and sought recognition as Isabella's lawful heirs. In November 1435, an indenture was made between Robert 1st Lord Erskine, his son Thomas, and Alexander Forbes of that ilk.[29] The latter agreed to assist Robert and Thomas in pursuing their rights to the Earldom, and after the death of James I in 1437 a special retour was held in April 1438 before Forbes, as sheriff depute of Aberdeen, which decreed in favour of Sir Robert Erskine as heir to the deceased Isabella, Countess of Mar and Garioch.[30] Erskine was served to half of the Earldom at this retour, and to the other half at a second retour in October of the same year.[31] Interestingly, one of the witnesses at both retours was a 'Sir Gilbert Hay'. Whilst this was most likely Sir Gilbert Hay of Dronlaw, younger brother of Sir William Hay of Errol (*d.* 1436),[32] and not the poet, it nevertheless hints at an early relationship between the two families which anticipates the later relationship between poet and patron.

Following the 1438 retour, Robert Erskine assumed the comital title and designed himself Earl of Mar.[33] The Crown did not acknowledge Erskine's claim, and although throughout the 1440s Erskine and James II appeared to reach a series of agreements over the Erskine's access to the fruits of the Earldom, the Crown in

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[28] Christian's daughter by her first marriage, Janet Keith, also married into the Erskine family. She married Sir Thomas Erskine (*d.* 1403/4).

[29] NAS, MS GD 124/1/137.

[30] NAS, MS GD 124/1/138.

[31] NAS, MS GD 124/1/142.

[32] *SP*, vol. III, pp. 562.

[33] Stevenson (1901-14), vol. I, pp. xxix-xxx argues that *BKA* cannot have been produced for a '*Lord Erskein*' (l. 19320, my italics) any time between 1438 and 1457 since between those dates the Erskines were claiming the *Earldom* of Mar; 'there was no one in Scotland calling himself Lord Erskine' and 'no one in the Erskine employ was likely [...] to have called his master anything less than Mar'. However, during these years the Crown styled Robert and Thomas as *Lord Erskine*, and the latter was himself also less inclined to adopt the comital title: Borthwick (1979), vol. I, pp. 213, 218, 237. The nomenclature at l. 19320 may also even belong to the 1499 redactor and reflect his knowledge of the failed Erskine claim. The jury must therefore remain out on the significance of the patron's title at l. 19320.

fact repeatedly reneged on these agreements.[34] Robert and then Thomas

consequently made appeals to parliament in 1449, 1450 and 1453.[35]

In 1452, James II granted Garioch to his Queen, Mary of Gueldres, thus

removing it from Elizabeth Douglas, the woman to whom his father had granted it

in 1437. After her marriage to Thomas Stewart, this Elizabeth Douglas had married

Sir Gilbert Hay's first patron, William Sinclair. Sinclair and Erskine were thus for a

time rivals to Garioch, but in the face of increasing royal claims to both it and Mar,

the two men reached an agreement in 1444 whereby Sinclair signed over his claim to

Robert Erskine in return for an annuity of 110 merks.[36] Sinclair was also present as

witness at Erskine's 1449 parliamentary appeal.

Given this support, it is perhaps not insignificant that William Sinclair ceased

to be Chancellor in 1456,[37] just before a Court of Justiciary at Aberdeen in the

presence of the King decided once and for all in November 1457 that the Erskines

had no right to claim either Mar or Garioch.[38] The decision was reached via corrupt

means, but it nevertheless stood until June 1565 when John, 6th Lord Erskine (*d.*

1572), was at last given a charter to the Earldom of Mar by Mary Queen of Scots.

Sally Mapstone thus states that Hay's two patrons, Sinclair and Erskine,

might well 'have seen each other as fellow victims of monarchical acquisitiveness'.

She adds:

> [b]oth would surely have had an added interest in literature
> advising the monarch, particularly where good justice is
> involved; and Hay, moving in these circles is likely to have been
> influenced too by his perception of these events.[39]

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[34] McGladdery (1990), pp. 21-2, 40-1.

[35] See *Illustrations [...] Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. Robertson, vol. IV, pp. 199-202; *RPS* 1449/1, A1450/1/1, 1453/1 (date accessed: 20 May 2009).

[36] NAS, MS GD 124/1/156.

[37] On Sinclair's fluctuating political fortunes see Crawford (1985, 2005).

[38] NAS, MS GD 124/1/162; *Illustrations [...] Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. Robertson, vol. IV, pp. 205-12.

[39] Mapstone (1986), p. 106.

I fully agree. The grievances of William Sinclair and Robert and Thomas Erskine formed part of a wider period of conflict between the Scottish Crown and the nobility during which James I and James II forfeited a succession of key Scottish noblemen and annexed their Earldoms to the Crown in an attempt to augment royal power.[40] Erskine's direct experience of this policy in relation to Mar must have influenced his attitudes towards issues of inheritance and royal justice. It could equally have influenced his commissioning and reading of Hay's *BKA*.

For *BKA* specifically orientates itself as an advice to princes text. Hay himself states:

> This buke is not compyllit allanerlie
> For kingis and princeis and lordis þat ar my*ch*ttie
> Bot till all men that richteouslie wald life,
> It suld thame g[u]id teitcheing *and* exampill gife,
> To governe thame w*ith* vertew and iustice. (ll. 19275-9)

And the redactor adds that 'þe romance':

> [...] treittis of wisdome and of guide gov*er*nance,
> How kingis and princeis and nobleis suld þa[me] bare,
> Baith in the tyme of peace and tyme off ware. (ll. 19339-41)

In the first half of the poem, Alexander is presented as the ideal monarch. In contrast both with tyrannical monarchs within the text such as Nicholas, Darius, Clarus and Melchis, who wrongfully disinherit and seize the lands of others, and with James I and II outside the text who were forcibly annexing lands to the crown, Alexander repeatedly champions the rights of the disinherited and bestows upon others the lands which he has himself conquered:

> The princis saw þe fredome of þe king,
> That he delt all, and held him-self nathing
> Bot onlie manrent and soueranitie
> Quhilk was ane takin of mekill dignitie (ll. 2021-4).

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[40] For differing interpretations of Scottish Crown-noble relationships in the fifteenth century see J.M. Brown (1972 and 1977b); Grant (1984), esp. pp. 171-99; Mason (1987a); M.H. Brown (1994).

However, the second half of the poem becomes increasingly critical of Alexander as he in turn becomes more acquisitive. For the first time, Alexander's own men voice negative opinions of his campaigns (ll. 10863-6), and in the series of written exchanges which Alexander has with the leaders of various foreign nations, his imperial ambitions are repeatedly challenged. In one such letter Alexander is accused, for instance, of 'wranguislie' overthrowing 'worthy lord*is*' in order to 'conquest realmes and cieteis/ W*ith*outtin titull of richt' (ll. 10574-7). In short, Alexander's behaviour comes to mirror that of the tyrannical lords against whom he was earlier opposed.

In his presentation of Alexander, Hay thus scrutinises the fine line between those imperial ambitions that are virtuous and advantageous to others, and those pursued simply for the sake of power and conquest.[41] The recognition of such a difference would have been well appreciated by the poem's patron, Thomas 2nd Lord Erskine.[42] He had directly experienced the less pleasant aspects of royal acquisition just prior to the romance's composition, and his reading of Alexander's conquests may well have been nuanced accordingly.

Authorial Revision?: *The Thewis off Gudwomen* **and** *The Buke of Phisnomy*

In composing *BKA*, Gilbert Hay supplemented his main sources — the second recension of the *Historia de Preliis* and the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre* — with a

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[41] For differing interpretations of Alexander and his conquests in Hay's prose works see *BLA*, Part II: Chapters I (ll. 62-6), VI (ll. 73-5), VII (ll. 1-14), XVII (ll. 63-6); *BLA*, Part IIII: Chapter LI (ll. 8-13); *BK*, Chapter VII, ll. 209-220; *BGP*, 'the secrete of secretis maid be Aristotyll till Alexand*er* the grand' (*Prologus*, ll. 2-4).

[42] The Erskines have further literary associations. They appear to have owned a copy of the *Regiam Majestatem* (now BL, MS Additional 18111) in the 1460s. See Lyall (1989a), p. 244. In the sixteenth century, the Erskines patronised the poet, Alexander Scott (*c.* 1520-82/3). See *Ballatis of Luve*, ed. MacQueen, pp. xxxv-lxvii; J. MacQueen (1970); van Heijnsbergen (2004). Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, later first Earl of Kellie (1566-1639?), has also been associated with poems in BL, MS Additional 22601 that have elsewhere been attributed to King James VI. See Perry (1999) and Bawcutt (2009).

wealth of additional material.[43] Sally Mapstone first discovered that lines 8473-596

and 10108-489 of *BKA* are in fact adapted versions of two pieces of Older Scots

conduct literature that survive independently elsewhere.[44] The first set of lines

occurs as part of a series of *demandes d'amour* which Hay derives from a Court of Love

in the French *Voeux du Paon*. At l. 8478 one of the participants, Dame Ydory, asks

the 'King of Lufe' 'Quhilk [ar] the thewis of ane gud women'. His answer (to l. 8596)

is a decasyllabic adaptation of material from the mid- fifteenth-century octosyllabic

advisory poem, *The Thewis off Gudwomen* (*NIMEV* 3362). The second set of lines with

independent circulation form part of Aristotle's 'Regiment of Princis' (ll. 9464-

10555). Aristotle here includes information on how to interpret a person's character

based on their physical appearance which he refers to as 'the buke of phisnomy' (l.

10111) and which both surviving manuscripts title 'Off the phis*n*omye'. Independent

versions of this *Buke of Phisnomy* survive in two seventeenth-century manuscripts.

In the following part of this chapter I discuss *The Thewis* and *Buke of Phisnomy*

in turn. I follow Mapstone in demonstrating that these poems were not included

within the romance at its original stage of composition but rather at a later stage of

authorial revision.

I begin with ll. 8473-596. Hay here selected from and adapted into

decasyllabic couplets the originally independent octosyllabic *Thewis off Gudwomen*.

This poem has been dated by its editor Girvan to '*c.* 1450 at the earliest.'[45] It is in the

tradition of female parental advice texts, such as the Middle English *The Good Wife*

Taught Her Daughter (*NIMEV* 1882), and it survives in two late fifteenth-century

Scottish manuscripts: Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.23 (MS J) and CUL, MS

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[43] One wonders whether Hay knew *OA* since at l. 6029 he makes enigmatic reference to 'þe auld
translatioun'.
[44] Mapstone (1994); Saldanha (2001).
[45] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, p. lxxiv; *The Good Wife*, ed. Mustanoja, p. 155.

Kk.1.5 (6) (MS C). The latter manuscript also contains the Older Scots romance, *Lancelot of the Laik*.[46]

In MS J, *The Thewis* is found on fols 164ʳ-7ᵛ, after Barbour's *Bruce* (fols 26ʳ-163ᵛ) (*NIMEV* 3217) and before Lydgate's *Dietary* (fols 167ᵛ-8ᵛ) (*NIMEV* 824). The *Dietary* is here labelled 'docume*n*tum notab*i*le' and *The Thewis* is given the Latin title, 'docume*n*ta m*at*ris ad filia*m*'. All three texts were copied by one 'J de R cap*ellanus*' in 1487 (fol. 163ᵛ).

In MS C, *The Thewis* was copied between 1483 and 1489/90 without title[47] onto fols 49ʳ-53ʳ of the manuscript's sixth part by one V de F.[48] MS C Part 6 contains a collection of Scots and English moral/advisory literature in prose and verse, and *The Thewis* belongs more specifically to a series of octosyllabic Scottish texts: *Ratis Raving* (fols 12ʳ-36ʳ) (*NIMEV* 2235), *The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Vysmen* (fols 36ᵛ-42ᵛ) (*NIMEV* 3154) and *The Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif His Sone* (fols 43ʳ-48ᵛ) (*NIMEV* 4100). The latter two texts have been dated like *The Thewis* to *c.* 1450 and were most likely composed by the same author. *Ratis Raving* in contrast was originally composed 'not later than the opening decades of the fifteenth century',[49] but it and the three texts with which it appears in MS C appear to have been revised by a later redactor and compiled together.[50] Fox thus says of these moral poems: 'people seem to have regarded them, fairly enough, as miscellaneous collections of good advice rather than poetic masterpieces, and writers seem to have felt completely free to made additions, deletions, and changes as they saw fit.'[51] This is precisely how Hay treated *The Thewis*.

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[46] See Chapter 4.
[47] A later hand heads the text 'The thewis off gudwomen'.
[48] Lyall (1984). Lyall further refined his watermark list during private communication with Sally Mapstone and I am grateful to her for sharing this information with me.
[49] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, p. lxxii.
[50] Fox (1987), pp. 99-103.
[51] Fox (1987), p. 101.

The versions of *The Thewis* in MSS C and J differ from one another in a number of ways. The former runs to 316 lines, the latter to 306, and as Fox writes: '[w]hile the two versions differ in length by only 10 lines, each contains about 70 lines not represented in the other, and in addition there are a large number of lines which correspond only roughly to their counterparts in the other manuscript […]'.[52] The version of *The Thewis* in *BKA* represents a selection and adaptation of the otherwise independent poem into 123 lines of decasyllabic couplets. It is not directly derived from the versions in either MS C or MS J, but it is closely related to them. It also appears that Hay worked from an exemplar, like MS C, in which *The Thewis* was compiled alongside the *Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif his Sone*, since his version of *The Thewis* contains a unique passage on how to choose a good wife (ll. 8573-5) which corresponds to a couplet in the *Consail* (ll. 215-2).[53]

Lines 10108-489 of the *BKA*, known as *The Buke of Phisnomy*, survive independently in two seventeenth-century collections of historical material: NLS, MSS Advocates' 34.3.11 (fols 7ʳ-8ᵛ) and 34.3.12 (pp. 14-7).[54] In the latter, the poem is given two titles. In the manuscript's main index it is called 'Vertues and vices of persons showin from the featers of yr bodyes the tones of yr voices etc In a Monastick Ryme' (p. vᵛ) and in the secondary index it is entitled 'Complections of men in verse' (also p. vᵛ). Both titles thus highlight the poem's subject matter, with the former also drawing attention to its form.[55]

That ll. 10108-489 of *BKA* survive independently in <u>seventeenth-century</u> witnesses suggests only that these lines were at some stage extracted from Hay's

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[52] Fox (1987), p. 102.
[53] Saldanha (2001), pp. 296-7.
[54] Sanderson (1987); Mapstone (1994).
[55] When the index was compiled the word 'monastic' was defined as: '[o]f or relating to members of a community living under religious vows and generally subject to a fixed rule, as monks, nuns, friars, etc.; of or relating to a monastery or monasteries' (OED). This may suggest that the compiler of NLS, MS Advocates' 34.3.12 believed the poem to originate in a monastic community.

romance for independent circulation. Mapstone suggests, however, that the *Phisnomy* might also, like *The Thewis*, have been an independent poem prior to its appearance within the *BKA*,[56] and I here offer several pieces of evidence in support of this.

The first piece of evidence derives from the verse paragraphs which occur in both surviving witnesses of the *BKA*; if not authorial these certainly originate at a very early stage in the *BKA*'s textual history and they are used consistently throughout the poem to mark narrative division or development, roughly every one hundred lines. The passages corresponding to *The Thewis* and *Buke of Phisnomy* do not, however, contain any verse paragraphs, despite being over one hundred lines long. This might be because they were both interpolated within the poem at a later stage of composition.

The *Buke of Phisnomy* is also headed by a rubric ('Off the Phisnomye') in the two surviving manuscripts. As I discuss below, such rubrics appear to have been added to the poem during its manuscript transmission. This may therefore suggest that ll. 10108-489 were recognised by scribes and readers as an independent compositions and marked as such in subsequent manuscripts.

Finally, *The Thewis* and *Phisnomy* appear to have been added to the *BKA* to supplement comments made earlier in the poem. At ll. 472-6, for instance, a summary is given of how Aristotle 'lerd he him [Alexander] to knaw a phisnomy':

> And quhow he suld be visage or stature,
> And be þe pairtis of manis portrature,
> Tak perfyte vnderstanding and knawleg
> Off þair conditioun, nature, and curage.

Similarly, after the episode of the bridling of Aristotle the narrator reports that Aristotle:

> [...] wrett how lufe ourcummys all thing;
> And thareof made a buke into þat place,

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[56] Mapstone (1994), pp. 5, 19.

> How mony kyndis of paramouris þare was,
> And of gude women and þare gude thewis,
> And how vise men ar dissauit w*ith* schrewis (ll. 7230-4).

Just as Aristotle's earlier lesson to Alexander anticipates his later presentation of a formal physiognomy, so Aristotle's 'buke' anticipates the inclusion of *The Thewis* at ll. 8473-596. The final rhyming couplet in the foregoing quotation is also echoed exactly in Ydory's request that Betis explain 'all ill maneris and ill thewis/ That followis euer þir fule women and schrewis' (ll. 8481-2).

Internal and external evidence therefore combine to suggest that *The Thewis* and *Phisnomy* were interpolated within the *BKA* sometime after its original composition.[57] The individual responsible for this was most probably Hay himself; the level of adaptation required to complete the addition would have necessitated a metrical skill and knowledge of the text held more readily by the poem's author than by a scribe or redactor. *The Thewis* and *Phisnomy* themselves need not be attributed to Hay but they were nevertheless well known to him, most likely through their circulation in the literary communities with which he was associated.

The Asloan Manuscript and its 'docume*n*t of S*ir* gilbert hay'

The original contents pages of the Asloan Manuscript list the following three items which no longer survive:

> Itm þe buke of curtasy and nortur
> Itm þe docume*n*t of S*ir* gilbert hay
> Itm þe Regiment of king*is* w*ith* þe buke of phisnomy[58]

Several attempts have been made to identify these items and to associate them with

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[57] Further authorial revision might explain the enigmatic reference to 'the thrid buke þat here is' at l. 7298 when the surviving version of the romance contains no book divisions. Revision and interpolation may also account for the increasingly repetitive and piecemeal nature of ll. 9351-463, just prior to Aristotle's formal advice at ll. 9464ff.
[58] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. I, p. xiv.

Hay's prose works and/or his *BKA*.[59] The matter has been tackled most recently by

Sally Mapstone.[60] She quite rightly, I think, associates the third item with the *BKA*'s

'Regiment' and 'Phisnomy'. The *Buke of Phisnomy* thus most probably began life as a

now-lost separate poem before being interpolated within the *BKA,* excerpted once

again —with Aristotle's 'Regiment', *BKA* ll. 9464-10107, 10490-555[61] — and then

compiled, without authorial attribution, with a related group of moral/ advisory

literature in NLS, MS 16500. A similar process of textual evolution follows from

Mapstone's convincing suggestion that the first item above might be 'one, or more,

of the Kk.1.5. pieces', perhaps *The Thewis*.[62] Once more, a poem which originally

circulated as both an independent piece of conduct literature (as in MS J) and as part

of a collection (as in MS C) appears to have been adapted and included within a

romance, before being compiled anew in the sixteenth century alongside a 'document

of S*ir* gilbert hay'.

The possible identity of that 'document' remains much less certain.

Mapstone proposed that it might be associated with the mid- fifteenth-century Scots

advisory poem, *De Regimine Principum* (*DRP*) (*NIMEV* 2818.8), which has a number

of thematic and verbal similarities with the 'Regiment' in Hay's *BKA*.[63] The *DRP*

first appears in two manuscripts as part of the anonymous Latin *Liber Pluscardensis*,[64]

an adaptation of Bower's *Scotichronicon* produced in the mid- fifteenth century.[65]

Independent versions of the poem were also printed in 1508 by Chepman and Myllar

[59] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1974), pp. xvii-xviii; Lyall (1976a), p. 28 and (1989b), pp. 40-1.
[60] Mapstone (1994).
[61] Mapstone (1994), p. 19 proposes that 'The Regiment' may itself have been an originally independent composition interpolated within *BKA*.
[62] Mapstone (1994), p. 20.
[63] Mapstone (1994), pp. 21-2.
[64] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 8, fols 190-1ᵛ and Glasgow, Mitchell Library, MS 308876, fol. 256ᵛ, dated 1489 and 1489-1500 respectively.
[65] *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. Skene, vol. I, pp. 392-400, vol. II, p. 291; Mapstone (1999a), pp. 34-5. Mapstone here considers whether Hay knew the *Liber Pluscardensis* author. She proposes that Hay might have borrowed the Corpus Christi MS of Bower's *Scotichronicon* 'in order to pass on comments or material to the main compiler of the *Liber Pluscardensis*'.

(*STC* 3307), and included within the Maitland Folio Manuscript (*c.* 1570-86) (pp. 96-105).[66] Thus, like *The Thewis* and *Phisnomy*, and indeed like *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles* discussed in the previous chapter, the *DRP* led a long life as both an independent poem and as an interpolated text, but there is currently no firm evidence for its association with Sir Gilbert Hay.

The identity of 'þe document of Sir gilbert hay' therefore remains open to question, but it was obviously associated with the poet. It may have been an extract from his prose works,[67] another excerpted portion of the *BKA*, or alternatively a completely independent piece by Hay now unknown to us. The word 'document' is defined by *DOST* (*n.* 1, 2) as '[i]nstruction, teaching' / '[a] piece of instruction; a lesson; an admonition or warning' and several citations are given from Hay's *BKA* and prose works to illustrate this meaning. Examples include the 'documentis' and 'teichtingis' that Aristotle gives to Alexander at ll. 9462 and 17628 of the *BKA*, and Hay's *Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis* which is described as 'the secrete of secretis of Arestotil ordanyt for document and teching of gouernaunce of princis' (Prologus, ll. 46-7). I also noted above that *The Thewis* is entitled 'documenta matris ad filiam' in MS J, whilst the general epilogue to this poem in MS C refers to the 'documentis' used to teach 'зong men' (ll. 299-300). Finally, the Bannatyne Manuscript contains a sequence of poems labelled 'documenta' beginning on fol. 74ʳ after a copy Lydgate's *Dietary*,[68] which was also copied after *The Thewis* in MS J. There are, therefore, multiple instances of the word 'document' appearing in poems of an advisory nature written by Hay or associated with him, and the 'document of Sir gilbert hay' in the Asloan Manuscript was most likely a very similar piece of instruction.

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[66] One stanza of the poem is also included in five Older Scots manuscripts. See Bawcutt (1991a), pp. 259-60 and (2008), p. 109.

[67] This is, however, unlikely given that Asloan compiles the unknown 'document' in the second half of his manuscript; this part is almost solely verse. See Mapstone (1994), p. 3.

[68] *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. Fox and Ringler.

The 1499 Redaction

Having considered the primary contexts of the *BKA*'s commissioning, composition,

and possible authorial revision, I turn now to the poem's enigmatic final lines and

analyse these in an attempt to unravel the poem's 1499 redaction.

The *BKA*'s main narrative ends at l. 19274. There then follows from ll.

19275-86 a statement of the poem's *utilitas* and intended audience in which, as

detailed above, Hay aligns his work with the advice to princes tradition. He then

brings his 'buike' to a close and refers back to the 'Prolog' (l. 19294) which we now

lack. He explains that the work was commissioned 'at þe instance of the worthie

lord' (l. 19293) and prays both for the grace of God and for the forgiveness of

readers if they find any faults of 'spelling' or 'langage' (ll. 19306-7).

At this point in his edition, Cartwright ends Hay's authorial apology and

separates it from what he labels as a 'Scribal epilogue' (ll. 19311-end). This title and

layout are purely editorial; there is no break in either surviving manuscript between ll.

19310 and 19311. There is, however, a significant shift of tone at this point, and the

ensuing text has proven difficult to interpret. It was written not by Hay, but instead

in 1499 by a quasi-editorial scribe who, for reasons outlined below, might best be

labelled the poem's redactor.[69]

He begins by promising to tell 'Quha causit this buike agane to wreitti*n* be/

Quhair and be quhome, quhat tyme it wreitti*n* was' (ll. 19315-16). This statement

should be read in light of the medieval academic prologue tradition, the shortened,

three-fold version of which would state the *persona*, *locus* and *tempus* of the work in

question,[70] and indeed, the scribe does state that the poem was 'Translaittit' 'At þe

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[69] The redactor frequently echoes a number of Hay's phrases, particularly those where Hay self-
consciously writes about himself and his translation. This indicates that the redactor was trying to
imitate the original author. Compare for instance, ll. 19288/19365; 19290/19369; 19293/19320;
19300/19311; 19302/19332; 19305/ 19343 and 2055-60/ 19338-40.
[70] Minnis (1984), esp. p. 17.

instance off Lord Erskein, be S*ch*ir Gilbert þe Hay' (ll. 19319-20). One wonders,

however, what the phrase '<u>agane</u> to wreitti*n* be' (my emphasis) should mean.

Although this might refer to Hay's original translation — his act of re-writing his

French and Latin sources — I believe that the redactor in fact intends to write about

where, when,[71] and why *he* re-wrote Hay's text.[72] This would accord with the *DOST*

definition of 'agane' (*adv.* 1.): '[t]o or towards a former place, state or condition; back;

once more, afresh, anew'. The redactor is thus engaged in an act of re-writing which,

as I detail below, also involved a process of 'mending'.

At line 19335, the redactor speaks of the need for Hay's translation to have 'a

worthe weid'. He then discusses the task which he has just completed. He states:

> [...] now neirhand I haue endit
> This noble buike, and pairt of faltis mendit,
> W*ith* help of him that maid the first indyit (ll. 19342-4).

He appeals to readers — apologising for any faults of 'Sillabis or wordis' which he

has accidentally 'lattin pas by' (ll. 19348-9) — and prays:

> Quhen ȝe it reid, ȝe keip it clein and fair,
> Nor bland it not, as blekerris dois of buikeis,
> Q*uh*ilk to thair honestie full litell or not that luikeis (ll. 19351-3).

Detailed analysis of these statements will reveal the exact nature of the redactor's

task.

I begin with the redactor's statement that he 'mendit' certain 'faltis' in the

BKA. The phrase echoes Hay's own earlier anxiety lest 'ony falt be fundit in this

dyit' (l. 19305) and might simply be taken to mean that the redactor mended his copy

text by attending to metrical errors therein. Alternatively, the redactor might have

been engaged in a more complicated, quasi-editorial task. An analogue to his

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[71] The 'when' is provided at ll. 19354-9. The redactor began his work in the 'Maii' of 1499 'And endit in August the tuentie-ane day'.

[72] There is an apparent gap in the text between lines 19325 and 19326/7, after which the redactor says, 'Off this to speik now will I lat allane,/ And to þe translator now will I pas agane' (ll. 19328-9). Since he was speaking about the translator — Hay — before l. 19325, he was most probably speaking about himself between what are now ll. 19325 and 19326.

statement can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148. This manuscript, which I discuss more fully in Chapter 7, is one of two late fifteenth-/ early sixteenth-century composite manuscripts containing fragments of the *Scottish Troy Book* and fragments of Lydgate's *Troy Book*. A colophon at the end of the manuscript states:

> Heir endis þe sege of troye/ <u>writtin 7 men̄dit</u> at þe instance/ of ane hon*ourable* chaplane s*ir* Thomas/ ewyn i*n* Edinburgh' (fol. 336ᵛ, my emphasis).

As I detail more fully in Chapter 7, the manuscript's owner, Thomas Ewen, presented the Edinburgh scribe, John Asloan, with a defective manuscript which the later remedied by bringing portions of the original scribe's work together with fresh text written in his own hand. The 1499 redactor of Hay's *BKA* was quite possibly involved in a similar mending process.

This may in turn explain why he is concerned with the future physical appearance of his manuscript. As already noted, at l. 19335 he speaks of the need for the *BKA* to have a 'worthe weid' and later asks readers to keep his book 'clein and fair', to 'bland it not as blekerris dois of buikeis'. 'Weid' is defined by *DOST* (*n.* 1. *coll. sing.*) as either 'garb, dress, apparel' and 'clothes', or alternatively as (*n.* 5. *transf. and fig.*) '[t]he language, style or vocabulary of a literary work'. Indeed, *DOST* cites *BKA* l. 19335 as an example of the latter definition, but I suggest that the redactor is in fact using one of the first senses of the word metaphorically. He is anxious that the poem be clothed — copied and bound — in an appropriate and pleasing manner, and hopes that it will remain in that condition.

It is thus not surprising that he fears that 'blekerris' will 'bland' his text, or 'balubit' it, to use the reading in the NAS *BKA* witness. *DOST* defines the noun 'blek, Bleck' as either '[b]lacking for leather' (*n.* 1) or figuratively (*n.* 2 *fig.*) as '[a] black mark; a spot or stain'. The verb is used transitively to mean '[t]o make black; to

blacken, spec. with ink' (*v*. 1. *trans*.), or figuratively as '[t]o stain, blemish, defile' (*v*. 2.

fig.). In employing a verbal noun, the redactor thus appeals against those who would

blacken his text — perhaps with ink — and against those who would also 'bland' or

'blaub' it, those who would, respectively, 'mix or mingle' (*DOST v*. 1) it or 'damage

[it], spoil [it] by severe handling' (*DOST* 'blaub', *v*. (? For 'blad, blaud', *v*. 1. *trans*.)).

The emphasis which the 1499 redactor places on the future condition of his own text

suggests that he has been mending one in a far from perfect condition. He naturally

desires that his own copy should not be subject to the same mis-use.

Having considered possible types of mending undertaken by the 1499

redactor, it remains to consider how he went about that process. He tells us that he

worked '[w]*ith* help of him that maid the first indyit' (l. 19343), which Stevenson took

to mean that Gilbert Hay was alive in 1499 and that the scribe worked with the

author 'at his elbow'.[73] Cartwright suggested in his PhD. thesis that 'him that maid

the first indyit' was alternatively one of the poem's first scribes, and that he helped

the 1499 redactor to re-copy the poem.[74] I follow the *DOST* definition of 'Indyt(e'

(*n*. 'Verbal composition; something composed or committed to writing') and propose

the redactor did have the help of Hay — 'him that maid the first indyit' — but that

he worked not with the author himself (who would have been dead by 1499) but

rather with his papers. I envisage a situation in which the redactor was using Hay's

original/authorial copy to mend a defective scribal copy, or alternatively mending the

defects of that authorial copy itself. The latter situation is likely if we consider as an

analogue the authorial manuscripts of John Bellenden's translation of Livy's *History of*

Rome.[75]

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[73] Hay, *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript*, ed. Stevenson, vol. I, pp. xxxii, xxxiv.
[74] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1974).
[75] Further analogues might be sought in the textual difficulties caused by the putative drafts of
Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Truth*. See Windeatt (1979), (1992), p. 20 and Hanna (1996a), p. 161.

The sixteenth-century poet John Bellenden (*c.* 1498-1545x8) translated the first five books of Livy's *History of Rome* in 1533 and was paid for his work by King James V in 1534. The translation survives in three manuscripts. One of these — BL, MS Additional 36678 — first came to attention in 1902.[76] It consists of fragments of Bellenden's text, written in both his own hand and in that of an amanuensis.[77] As Craigie states, '[i]t immediately becomes clear that Bellenden took great pains with his translation, revising and altering his first draft in a very thorough manner, and making further alterations, often of an extensive kind, on the fair copy prepared by his amanuensis; and even these corrections do not always give the readings adopted in the finished text.'[78] Such successive revision resulted in a manuscript that is now very difficult to read.

Using this manuscript as an analogue, I propose that the 1499 redactor might have worked with a manuscript of Hay's *BKA* in a similar state. If Hay did indeed revise the *BKA*, and in the process interpolate *The Thewis* and *Phisnomy* and any other text into his original composition, he most likely did so by using separate sheets of paper which could have become lost and/or misplaced.[79] He would also no doubt have written on the manuscript's margins and perhaps between the poem's lines, rather as he did when annotating Corpus MS 171. The result would have been a confusing, messy manuscript that was difficult to read and which most probably led to subsequent scribal corruption. Revision may have been deemed necessary, and was accordingly effected in 1499 by the poem's unknown redactor.

The primary textual evolution of Hay's *BKA* was thus a complicated process involving at least two stages of authorial and scribal 'mending'. Further scribal

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[76] John Bellenden, *Livy's History*, ed. Craigie, vol. II, appendix I, pp. 235-329; Warner (1902).

[77] Facsimiles of fols 27ᵛ and 40ʳ are reproduced in John Bellenden, *Livy's History*, ed. Craigie, vol. II.

[78] John Bellenden, *Livy's History*, ed. Craigie, vol. II, p. 236. See further Harikae (2010), pp. 209-23.

[79] Hay was, interestingly, keen not to be blamed for the defects of Corpus MS 171. He denies mutilating the manuscript in his annotations on fols 19ʳ and 19ᵛ. See *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, p. 50.

corruptions and revisions took place in the poem's secondary material contexts to which we know turn.

Part 2: The Sixteenth-Century Manuscript Contexts of Hay's *BKA*

The two surviving manuscripts of the *BKA* (BL, MS Additional 40732 and NAS, MS GD 112/71/9) were owned in the late sixteenth century by Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy (1551x4-1631), and it is not difficult to understand why he desired a copy of Hay's tale of Alexander's conquests since during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — and particularly under the leadership of this Duncan Campbell and his father Colin Campbell, 6th Laird (1499-1583) — the Glenorchy Campbells engaged in a phenomenal phase of conquest and territorial expansion throughout the central highlands.[80] They rose to a position of dominance via their deft exploitation of feudal rights and bonds of manrent,[81] a series of successful marriage alliances with Lowland families, and tenure of important positions at court. They strengthened their increasing territorial base with a policy of castle-building and land-development, and this, coupled with their support of the Reformed religion, and patronage of both Gaelic learned orders and Lowland professionals, ensured that the Glenorchy Campbells became one of the sixteenth-century Scotland's most important and influential families.

They were also one of late sixteenth-century Scotland's most significant book-owning families, and consequently at the end of this chapter I situate Duncan Campbell's ownership of *BKA* within the wider context of his literary collection and associations. I begin, however, with a description of the two *BKA* manuscripts. I analyse the make-up and contents of these manuscripts and detail what is known of

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[80] William Alexander Gillies (1938), pp. 114-42 and MacGregor (1989), Chapters 3, 4 and 5. See also Campbell of Airds (2000-4), vol. II, pp. 98-100 for a list of lands purchased by Duncan Campbell and expenses involved.

[81] J. Wormald (1985), esp. pp. 101-2.

their scribes and readers. I then use this information to revise previous theories about the relationship of the two witnesses.

BL, MS Additional 40732[82]

The first surviving witness of *BKA* is BL, MS Additional 40732 (hereafter MS A). This paper manuscript dates from the mid- sixteenth century. It bears a watermark of a one-handled jug which Cartwright states 'is similar to Briquet 12636 (dated 1554)'.[83] There are 340 leaves in total, comprising 282 leaves of text and 2 front and 2 back flyleaves, as well as 21 blank leaves after the end of the poem, and 33 blank leaves before its beginning. The latter were most likely deliberately left blank to accommodate the missing lines at the start of the poem since, as I discuss below, the same number of blank pages are left in the second *BKA* witness. This in turn suggests that similar blank space was left in the scribe's exemplar.

The manuscript's pages measure approximately 250 x 200 mm,[84] and the poem is written in single columns, varying between 30 and 44 lines per page, and occupying a written space of *c.* 180-200 x 90-105 mm, depending on the scribe. Catchwords regularly appear on the verso of each page, but there are no signatures, framing or ruling.[85] The lack of signatures, tight binding, and difficulty in tracing

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[82] The manuscript has been briefly described in *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, pp. vii-ix and by Laing in 'Extracts from "The Buike of King Alexander the Conqueroure", a Manuscript in the Library at Taymouth Castle' (BL, MS Additional 41063V). See also *British Museum Catalogue of Additions* (1950), pp. 154-5.

[83] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, p. vii.

[84] The manuscript was rebound by the British Museum in 1934. When the *British Museum Catalogue of Additions* (1950) entry was written, the manuscript was described (p. 155) as being in its '[o]riginal binding of brown skin over wood, with clasp', which I have not seen. I have, however, seen the 'fragment of a 14th cent. MS. taken from the binding and containing a portion of a tract, in *Latin*, apparently of a philosophical character'. Prof. Ralph Hanna agrees that the fragment was most likely part of a 'large theological treatise in double columns', written using an anglicana-influenced textura in the second half of the fourteenth century (private communication, 8 May 2009).

[85] As *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, pp. viii-ix notes: '[o]n ff. 46ᵛ, 47ᵛ, 48ʳ, 49ʳ, and 94ᵛ, the catch-words are the last few words of the leaf just completed, instead of the first few words of the next leaf [...]. There are no catch-words on ff. 78ᵛ, 106ᵛ, 114ᵛ, and 168ᵛ.'

watermarks makes collation almost impossible, but I follow Cartwright in estimating that the manuscript consists largely of eight-leaf gatherings.[86]

Three scribes have a hand in the manuscript, and all write using a plain Scottish secretary script from the end of the first half/ mid- sixteenth century. The first scribe is responsible for fols 1^r to 45^r, the second for fols 45^r to 264^r,[87] and the third for fols 265^r to 282^r; I discuss the work of Scribes 2 and 3 in more detail below, in particular Scribe 2's copying error and the significant dislocation of text which occurred as a result.

The manuscript contains very little decoration,[88] with the exception of the verse paragraphs which punctuate the narrative, and rubrics which head its different sections. There are *c.* 296 verse paragraphs and 34 rubrics,[89] making a total of 330 narrative divisions.[90] Rubrics are written in a larger and thicker hand by all three scribes, whilst verse paragraphs are signalled by the indentation of one or two lines at the start of a new narrative section.[91]

Dislocation of Text at Fols 258^v-65^r

As detailed above, Scribe 2 is responsible for copying the largest amount of text in MS A. He takes over from Scribe 1 at fol. 45^r, possibly on account of the frequency with which that scribe makes small, albeit insignificant copying errors.[92] Despite his more general accuracy, however, Scribe 2 makes two significant errors himself which

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[86] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, p. vii.

[87] There are a number of changes of ink in Scribe 2's stint (e.g. fols 100^r, 123^r), and his hand becomes larger and more cursive. Although these changes are striking, I do not think they constitute a change of hand.

[88] The second scribe does occasionally add flourishing to his top lines.

[89] *Pace* Cartwright (ed. *BKA* (1986-90), vol. I, p. ix) who states that there are only 29 rubrics in MS A.

[90] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, p. ix records only 324 narrative divisions. I suspect that he omits those rubrics/verse paragraphs in the dislocated text of Scribe 2, discussed below.

[91] Scribe 2 writes the initial letter of each verse paragraph without indentation, but then writes the remainder of the first word after a small blank space. He aligns the first word of the second line with this, before returning to normal lineation for the third and subsequent lines.

[92] Such errors include omitted words and eyeskip. Most often Scribe 1 does correct these himself.

result in a twin dislocation and omission of text between fol. 258ᵛ and fol. 264ʳ. This is best demonstrated in tabular form. I present the folio numbers concerned and the text they contain;[93] I then explain the table in further detail:

Fol. 258ᵛ:	18256-76; **18613**-22
Fols 259ʳ-62ᵛ:	18623-866
Fol. 263ʳ:	18867-73; **18546**-68
Fols 263ᵛ-4ʳ:	18569-612.

Thus, on fol. 258ᵛ Scribe 2 begins by copying ll. 18256-76. He should then have copied l. 18277 but instead copies l. 18613.[94] Without realising his error, he continues copying from l. 18613 until l. 18873 (on fol. 263ʳ), but he here makes another mistake when instead of copying l. 18874 he copies l. 18546. Once again he is not conscious of his error, and so continues copying from l. 18546 until l. 18612, half way down fol. 264ᵛ. At this point he stopped copying and left the remainder of the page blank, either because his exemplar was incomplete or because he realised that he had already copied the lines which should follow (ll. 18613 ff.) on fol. 258ᵛ. At a later date, Scribe 3 took over copying. He began copying anew on fol. 265ʳ from l. 18277. He restored the lines omitted by Scribe 2, copied the dislocated text in the correct order, and then proceeded to complete the poem, finishing on fol. 282ʳ.

A pattern emerges from Scribe 2's series of errors since the dislocation of text on fol. 258ᵛ involves the scribe copying after l. 18277 a line (18613) which should have followed some 336 lines later, whilst on fol. 263ʳ the scribe copies after l. 18873 a line (18546) which should have occurred some 327 lines earlier. The dislocation of text in both instances thus involves a similar number of lines, and since Scribe 2 copies on average 30 lines per page at this point, he is approximately 11 pages (*c.* 6 folios) out on each occasion.

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[93] Cartwright does not transcribe/edit any of Scribe 2's dislocated text in his edition; he instead edits ll. 18277-end from Scribe 3's copy. I nevertheless apply Cartwright's line numbers to the text copied by Scribe 2 for ease of reference.

[94] A contemporary marginal note on fol. 258ᵛ reading 'Nota, non valet' draws attention to the dislocation.

The difficulty comes in trying to explain these errors. One could suggest that the first error was caused by Scribe 2 accidentally skipping too many pages ahead in his exemplar, and indeed since the poem continues to make sense the scribe would have had no reason to notice his mistake.[95] The second error is less likely to be the result of a similar misfortune in page-turning, although it is conceivable that Scribe 2 did make such a mistake after a break from copying. He may simply have returned to his exemplar, and recommenced copying from wrong point.

An alternative, and perhaps more likely, explanation for the two dislocations would be to imagine that Scribe 2's exemplar was in fact faulty and that his errors occurred as the result of his copying from a gathering which had either lost leaves and/or been folded incorrectly.[96] In this scenario, leaves containing ll. 18277-545 might have been lost or misplaced, and those containing ll. 18546ff. might have been folded after ll. 18613-873. These latter lines may have in turn been bound immediately after ll. 18256-76.

Scribe 3's Corrected Copy: Fols 265ʳ-82ʳ

Scribe 3 recommenced copying on fol. 265ʳ from l. 18277 until the end of the poem on fol. 282ʳ. It has previously been assumed that he worked from the same exemplar as Scribe 2, but a comparison of the lines copied by both scribes reveals that Scribe 3 in fact worked from a different exemplar.

In an appendix at the end of this chapter, I provide a table which lists the most important variants for the duplicate lines copied by Scribes 2 and 3 (labelled respectively A and B).[97] From this one can see that Scribes 2 and 3 copy phrases and

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[95] Scribe 2 did in fact make a page-turning error in MS A itself. He failed to copy anything on fols 83ᵛ and 84ʳ.

[96] The *British Museum Catalogue of Additions* (1950) similarly suggests that 'defects of omission and disorder' were 'due no doubt to displacement in the exemplar' (p. 154).

[97] I also list variants for the same lines in the second *BKA* witness; I discuss these below.

even couplets in different orders.[98] Odd words also differ completely,[99] and for the 'lamentatiounis' of Alexander's men at his burial (between ll. 18710 and 18808), Scribe 2 writes a far greater number of names into the margins of his copy to indicate which of Alexander's *douze pers* are speaking. He provides a total of twenty-one names (and/or notae marks), whilst Scribe 3 only provides four.

If we assume that Scribe 3 was not himself responsible for these variations, it appears that he worked from a different exemplar, which contained either the complete poem, or possibly just the lines in question. This was no doubt necessary if Scribe 2's exemplar was faulty. As a result, at least two separate (whole or partial) manuscripts of Hay's *BKA* must lie behind MS A.[100]

Flyleaf Inscriptions and Signatures

I end this description of MS A with an examination of the signatures and inscriptions on its two front and back flyleaves. I take each flyleaf in order.

i.   **Front Flyleaf i[r]**

The centre of this flyleaf contains the following signature: 'duncan Campbell of glenvrquhie/ This buik pertenis onto him e*tc.*/ 1579'.[101] It is repeated below with the dates 1581, 1582, and 'the iiij of maii', and further signatures and initials of Duncan Campbell surround it, as well as an unidentified notarial device.[102] MS A was thus in Duncan Campbell's possession by 1579, and was read again by him at intervals over the following three years.

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[98] Lines 18608-9 and 18700-1 are reversed by Scribe 2. Phrases given in different orders by both scribes occur in ll. 18668, 18738, 18762, 18786 and 18867.

[99] See ll. 18604, 18628, 18643, 18687, 18716, 18751, 18772, 18851, 18853. Also compare ll. 18594, 18638, 18682, 18683, 18698, 18746, 18752, 18768 for examples of additional words in lines copied by Scribe 2 or Scribe 3.

[100] It is also by no means certain that Scribe 2 used the same exemplar as Scribe 1.

[101] Duncan thus owned MS A prior to succeeding his father as laird of Glenorchy in 1583.

[102] I suspect that this sign manual belonged to the Alexander Levingstoun signing back flyleaf IV. See below pp. 91-3.

Front flyleaf i[r] also contains several vernacular inscriptions, some of which are now illegible. Those which can be read include 'The man is blist yat hes nocht ben<t>'. This incomplete sentence recalls the opening line of the first Psalm, as it appears in *The Forme of Prayers*, which was first published by the Edinburgh printer Robert Lekpreuik in 1564 (*STC* 16577). The *Forme of Prayers*, otherwise known as *The Booke of Common Order*, derived from the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1556, and accordingly most of its Psalm translations were those originally produced for the latter psalter by Thomas Sternhold (*d.* 1549).[103] Sternhold was responsible for the translation of Psalm I whose opening sentence reads, 'The man is blest that hath not bent to wicked rede his eare'. The inscription in MS A is an incomplete quotation of this and since the Campbells of Glenorchy and their relatives, the Campbells of Argyll, were staunch supporters of the reformed religion, its inclusion points towards the devotional household context in which the manuscript was read.[104]

Below this psalm quotation, and also upside down at the bottom of the page, are the beginnings of the 'In my defence god me defend' prayer (*NIMEV* 1509) which frequently occurs on the flyleaves and margins of Older Scots manuscripts and prints, including several discussed in this thesis.[105] A third inscription reads, 'he yat stallis yas buk fro me/ Nor he be hangit on ane trei/ W[t] my hand at ye pain', written inside a crudely drawn box. Variants of the latter inscription (*NIMEV* 1163.77, 1165, 1410) found in English manuscripts have been listed by Robbins.[106] He refers to such inscriptions as book-plate verses, but they might also be described as ownership anathemata, generalised curses designed to be affixed to books by their owner with an accompanying signature or name.[107] Scottish examples occur in a

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[103] P. Millar (1949), pp. 45-55.
[104] Dawson (1999a, 1999b).
[105] See pp. 53-4.
[106] *Secular Lyrics*, ed. Robbins, p. 85, no. 89, and notes on pp. 255-6.
[107] Drogin (1983).

sixteenth-century medical book, now Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians MS K 1.39,[108] and in CUL Inc.3.E.1.4 [2787], which contains a copy of the *Historia Alexandri* owned *c.* 1475 by Henry Barry, rector of Collace, and afterwards gifted by him to the Blackfriars monastery in Dundee.[109]

ii.   Front Flyleaf ii^r

MS A's second flyleaf contains the poem's title, written in a modern and earlier hand: 'The Buike of King Alexander the Conqueroure' and 'Alexr the greats life'. The latter has since been ruled through. There are also two early shelf-marks on this page: 'Shelf 28 number 1' and 'pr: 6 sh: 2 No 36'. Shelf-marks in this style can be found on the other books owned by the Campbells of Glenorchy in the sixteenth century which I discuss below.

iii.   Back Flyleaf iii^v

This flyleaf contains an extensive series of pentrials, all written in the same hand. It also contains a signature, 'Be me wre mᶜillchreist'. I have made attempts to identify this Walter McGillechreist. Although I have not found an exact match, several individuals of this surname do appear as tenants and servants of the manuscript's owner, Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, and his son, Robert.[110] Walter McGillechrist was most likely another servant or tenant.

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[108] Bird (1982), p. 172, no. 1805.
[109] A.H. Millar (1906); Jenkinson (1906); Oates (1954), nos. 3311, 3312 and 3686; Durkan and Ross (1961), p. 75.
[110] *Black Book*, ed. Innes, pp. 258, 317, 366, 368, 373, 399, 401, 402 and 403. See also NAS, MSS GD 112/2/7/4, 112/2/147/3(3), 112/10/1/1(36), 112/10/1/1(47), 112/10/1/1(48), and 112/26/16.

The pentrials consist of numerous variations on the phrase 'Be me'/ 'Be me Johne' and 'finis amen'.[111] The same hand has also written 'Be me Duncan Campbell/ of glenvrquhay knicht/ Heritabill propriat^r of/ the king*is* of Scottland', 'Johne Campbell' and 'Johne gentilman', and (upside down) 'Robert Campbell'. He has also repeated Walter McGillechreist's name, using the spelling variation 'McLechrist'. It is thus impossible to ascertain which of these names, if any, apply to the writer, although 'Johne Gentilman' perhaps refers to the man of that name who witnessed a charter to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy on 28 June 1597.[112]

### iv.	Back Flyleaf iv^r

MS A's final flyleaf is the most full and contains pentrials, inscriptions, and signatures written by several hands. The notarial device which appeared on front flyleaf i^r also appears again here, as does 'This bwik pertenis to ane honorabill man/ Duncan Campbell of glenvrquhay/ Amen 1579'. The initials 'DC', presumably standing for Duncan Campbell, are written several times alongside this, as well as the initials 'MT' and 'BC'. I have been unable to identify the former, but 'BC' might conceivably stand for Beatrix Campbell, the eldest daughter of Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy, who married Sir John Campbell of Laweris *c.* 1559. Sir John Campbell of Laweris in turn appears frequently throughout the Breadalbane muniments as both a party and witness to bonds/instruments etc. involving his wife's brother, Duncan Campbell.

An Alexander Levingstoun also signs back flyleaf iv^r, and a man of this name occasionally accompanies Sir John Campbell of Laweris or his son, Colin, as witness

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[111] As noted below (pp. 97, 121), the phrases 'Be me' and 'Finis amen' also appear on the flyleaves of the *Florimond* fragment manuscript, NAS, MS GD 112/22/2, and on the back flyleaf of NAS, MS GD 112/71/9.

[112] NAS, MS GD 112/1/347. MacGregor (1989), appendix III lists John Gentilman as one of Duncan's servitors.

to instruments involving MS A's owner, Duncan Campbell. He appears upwards of thirty times in the Breadalbane muniments during the 1580s and 1590s and is described there as a servitor to Duncan Campbell and also Colin Campbell of Ardbeith.[113] Martin MacGregor lists Alexander Levingstoun as one of several non-indigenous (i.e. non-Gaelic) individuals introduced as servitors of the Campbells of Glenorchy under the 6th and 7th Lairds and he notes that such 'incomers often held the most important posts, as notaries and legal and financial agents.'[114]

Alexander Levingstoun certainly appears to have been a particularly active scribe. Indeed, the British Library Catalogue suggests that he be identified with MS A's Scribe 3,[115] and I would agree since the letter-forms that appear in Alexander Levingstoun's flyleaf inscription all appear on the folios of MS A (265[r]-82[r]) copied by that scribe. Levingstoun/ Scribe 3 also copied the *Florimond*-fragment (NAS, MS GD 112/22/2), which I discuss in the following chapter. He writes the same inscription — 'Finis amen quod the dog' — on the flyleaf of this manuscript, and on MS A. He may, finally, also be associated with NAS, MS GD 112/71/2, a late sixteenth-/ early seventeenth-century manuscript copy of the 'Practicks' of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich.[116] The last folio is inscribed 'Finis per me quod Livingstone' and although this manuscript's hand does not resemble fols 265[r]-82[r] of MS A or the *Florimond*-fragment, one does find on the remaining stub of its back flyleaf traces of an inscription associated in MS A with Alexander Levingstoun. When Levingstoun wrote his name on back flyleaf iv[r], he appended it to the following verse: 'Amor vincit om*nia*/ Mentiris quod pecunia'. The beginnings of the same verse appear on the back flyleaf stub of GD 112/71/2. The latter manuscript may therefore be

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[113] Alexander Levingstoun and John Campbell of Laweris appear together as witnesses to a bond in 1595: *RPC 1592-99*, no. 736.
[114] MacGregor (1989), pp. 175-83 (175), appendix III, p. 318.
[115] *British Museum Catalogue of Additions* (1950), p. 155.
[116] James Balfour of Pittendreich, *Practicks*, ed. McNeill.

associated with Levingstoun even if it was not itself written by him. Levingstoun accordingly deserves to be added to the ever-increasing list of known fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish scribes.[117]

The first half of Levingstoun's inscription, 'Amor vincit om*nia*/ Mentiris quod pecunia', ultimately derives from Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*, and the complete verse is also recorded as a medieval Latin proverb.[118] In addition, it is given as the title of Lydgate's *Eche man folwith his owne fantasye* (*NIMEV* 698)[119] in three manuscripts written by or associated with John Shirley.[120] This is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, Lydgate's poem speaks of Alexander the Great and his love for Candace (ll. 62-3). Secondly, the Campbells of Glenorchy are also known to have read and owned Lydgate texts. As I discuss below, they owned a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (Boston, Public Library, MS. f. med. 94) and they are also connected to the Scots-Gaelic *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, which contains (p. 184) fragments from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Book I, ll. 6371-7 and 6441-7).[121] It is thus possible that Lydgate's poem was circulating in Scotland with the title given to it in Shirley's manuscripts, and consequently that Alexander Levingstoun was referring to Lydgate's poem in his inscription.

Two final inscriptions in MS A remain to be discussed. The first is 'Quha will persew I will defend/ My lyef and hono^r to ye end', which occurs twice on this back flyleaf. The same proverbial phrase occurs in an almost identical form ('Quha will persew I will defend/ My lyfe 7 honowr to ye end') on fol. 5^r of the Maxwell

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[117] J. MacQueen (1977), pp. 200-3.
[118] Walther (1963-9), vol. I, p. 117.
[119] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, vol. II, pp. 744-9.
[120] BL, MSS Harley 2251 (fols 46^v-8^v) and Additional 29729 (fols 124^v-6^r) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59 (fols 41^r-3^r).
[121] See R.H. Robbins (1967), p. 244, n. 3; Edwards (1971), p. 342; Mortimer (1995). Also Mackinnon (1912), pp. 225-46 and MacKechnie (1973), vol. I, pp. 179-89.

Commonplace Book.[122] It is also recorded as a motto occurring, with the date 1552, on a broadsword belonging to the Kincaid family.[123]

The second inscription is the signature of one Issobell MacKonoschie, written twice on this flyleaf, and also on back flyleaf iii[v]. Although I have been unable to identify this woman, the NAS on-line catalogue does record correspondence dated *c.* 1705 between a Lillian Campbell, Lady McConochie, and John Campbell of Glenorchy, 1st Earl of Breadalbane (1634-1717).[124] The Issobell MacKonoschie signing MS A may be a relative,[125] but even if not, the presence of her name within MS A suggests that *BKA* appealed to both male and female readers. This is not surprising given that Hay himself emphasised the role of women in *BKA* by interpolating therein an adapted version of *The Thewis*. There are also a number of strong female characters within the romance such as Alexander's mother (Olympias), his wife (Roxanne), his lover (Candace), and the Amazon leader (Pallissida) with whom he exchanges a series of letters.[126]

MS A's four flyleaves thus provide a lively record of *BKA*'s sixteenth-century scribes, owners and readers, and their many pentrials and inscriptions provide an additional witness of the proverbial verse scattered elsewhere in the margins of Older Scots manuscripts and commonplace books.

NAS, MS GD 112/71/9

This manuscript (hereafter MS B) dates from the second half of the sixteenth century and bears two watermarks of a fish in a circle, one spinier than the other. Cartwright

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[122] Bawcutt (1990).

[123] Nisbet (1722-42), vol. I, p. 421; Nimmo (1880), vol. II, p. 100; Fergusson (1949), p. 59. I have been unable to trace this Kincaid Broadsword.

[124] NAS, MSS GD 112/39/197/14; 112/39/197/20; 112/39/200/8; 112/39/203/16; 112/39/203/17; 112/39/203/19; 112/39/203/20.

[125] A variant spelling is McDonchy, and persons of that name also appear in the Breadalbane papers. See NAS, MSS GD 112/23/1(14) and 112/39/6/26.

[126] For studies of women in the French romance see Gosman (1981) and Gaullier-Bougassas (1991).

draws parallels with Briquet 12429 (dated 1584), although this is not a particularly close match.[127] There are two flyleaves at the front of the manuscript and one at the back. The manuscript is paginated in a modern hand, rather than foliated; *BKA* is written on pp. 1-458. It is followed by 251 blank leaves and was preceded, before re-binding, by 36 blank leaves. As in MS A, the latter were most likely deliberately left blank to accommodate the beginning of the poem. Upside down at the back of the volume are three late sixteenth-century poems: *Duncan Laideus alias Makgregouris Testament, Off the M^cgregouris armes*, and a *Postscriptum*.[128] I consider the conjunction of these three poems and Hay's romance below.

The manuscript's pages measure approximately 327/8 x 192/3 mm, whilst the poem is written in single columns, of between 38 and 44 lines per page, and occupies *c.* 270-5 x 100-15 mm. With the exception of the first pages — three edges of which are framed in light brown ink — the remainder of the volume contains no frames or ruling. Catchwords are regularly used but there are no surviving signatures. Like MS A, MS B appears to be made up mainly of gatherings of eight leaves.[129]

The entire text of *BKA* is written by one scribe, in a late sixteenth-century italic influenced Scottish hand. As with MS A, the only decoration consists of rubrics and verse paragraphs, but here verse paragraphs are not indented. Rather, the initial capital of each verse paragraph is duplicated, being written first in red, and then black/brown ink. The same practice is followed for the first letter of rubrics, which are written in a large, bold hand, and centre-aligned.

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[127] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, p. xi.
[128] The three poems are printed in *Black Book*, ed. Innes, pp. 151-73.
[129] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90) vol. I, p. xi collates the manuscript as follows: 'iii, 1-3 loose, 1⁸-25⁸, 26⁷, 27⁸-39⁸, 40⁷-41⁷, 42⁸-53⁸, 54⁷-55⁷, 56⁸-60⁸, 481-92 loose, ii'.

MS B contains 54 rubrics compared to 32 in MS A.[130] The titles unique to MS B all occur in the second half of the text and over half of them draw attention to the letters exchanged between Alexander and the leaders of those foreign nations he encounters during his travels. Letters and documents are a significant feature of the *BKA* and the additional rubrics in MS B therefore highlight this.[131] The practice is, furthermore, paralleled in other Older Scots manuscripts. Recent study has revealed how annotations and layout in manuscripts of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (*T&C*) draw attention to the presence of songs and letters within that narrative,[132] and the copy of *T&C* in the Scottish manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 is a key example of this. Letters are also given visual prominence in NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5, the sole surviving witness of the Older Scots *Clariodus*, as discussed in Chapter 8 below. In its highlighting of letters within *BKA*, MS B thus both emphasises an internal feature of the narrative and adopts an emergent trend in the *mise-en-page* of vernacular manuscripts.

The increased attention given to decoration in MS B accords not only with the much neater and more careful copying of its scribe but also with the volume's blind-stamped leather binding, which has been described in detail in Cartwright's edition.[133] This binding (with its four borders and inner rectangle containing stamps of unicorns rampant, heads, flowers and foliage, fleurs-de-lis and an eagle) recalls that on the Hay Prose Manuscript and suggests that MS B may well have been produced to improve upon the defects of MS A.

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[130] The differing number of rubrics in MSS A and B may be compared to those in witnesses of Barbour's *Bruce*. See John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. Skeat, vol. I, pp. lxxiii-iv and Goldstein (1987), p. 368, n. 106. See also Glenn (2005) for an interesting study of rubrics in the Hay Prose Manuscript.

[131] The increased attention to letters in MS B echoes the interest in letters and documents shown by Colin Campbell and Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. Some 324 letters concerning them survive. See *Clan Campbell Letters*, ed. Dawson. In an effort to keep records of their transactions and bonds, Colin and Duncan also had 'bukis of bandis of manrent' made. See J. Wormald (1985), p. 101.

[132] Benson and Windeatt (1990); Boffey (1995a); Butterfield (1995).

[133] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, pp. x-xi.

Flyleaf Signatures and Inscriptions

The first front flyleaf of MS B contains the following inscription, 'Ex Libris domini

Duncani/ Campbell be [*sic*] Glenwrquhay/ miles',[134] as well as the phrases 'Finis

Amen' and 'Be me/ Johne' which also appear on back flyleaf iii^v of MS A and on a

flyleaf of Levingstoun's *Florimond* manuscript (NAS, MS GD 112/22/2). The second

front flyleaf contains sixteenth-century shelf-marks in the same style as those in MS

A. Finally, the last flyleaf contains a 'Memorandu*m*' dated 1597 about the breeding

of horses owned by Duncan Campbell.[135] MS B was thus in Duncan Campbell's

possession by 1597, which is, significantly, only two years after he married Elizabeth

Sinclair, a descendent of Hay's original patron. The care taken over the construction

and copying of the manuscript may well be related to the marriage.

The Compilation of *Duncan Laideus Testament* alongside *BKA*

Pages 458-68 of MS B contain *Duncan Laideus' alias Makgregouris Testament* (*DLT*), a

satirical testament in 63 rhyme royal stanzas, spoken by the fictional counterpart of

the sixteenth-century highland outlaw, Duncan MacGregor. He recounts the details

of his notorious career before bequeathing his various vices to eight different classes

of clergy. Gluttony, for instance, is left to the Prior, flattery to the Friars.[136]

Appended to *DLT* are two other verses — a sonnet entitled *Off the M^{c}gregouris armes*

and a couplet headed *Postscriptum* — written by the same scribe as *DLT*, but in a

more cramped hand. All three poems date from the second half of the sixteenth

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[134] The word 'miles' was added at a later date, perhaps after Duncan Campbell was knighted in 1590.
He may thus have owned MS B prior to this date.
[135] Printed in *Black Book*, ed. Innes, p. 299. Innes also notes (p. v) that Duncan Campbell was a keen
horse-rearer.
[136] On the medieval literary testament tradition in England and Scotland see Bawcutt (1992), p. 195
and Boffey (1992).

century, and may have been written by a member of the Glenorchy Campbell household.[137]

DLT and its accompanying poems are intimately connected to the Campbell owners of MS B. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the robber and outlaw Duncan MacGregor was hunted for his crimes throughout the central highlands. He was pursued in particular by Sir Duncan Campbell, 2nd Laird of Glenorchy (*c.*1443–1513), and Sir Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy. The latter eventually executed MacGregor with his own hands in June 1552. [138]

The presence of *DLT* in MS B can thus be readily explained since it is a poem which commemorates a significant event in Campbell family history. The poem has also been seen in inverse relationship to the *BKA*. Although it was common for a volume such as MS B to be turned upside down and begun again,[139] Hadley Williams writes, 'it could be argued that the scribe saw Duncan's story as the antithesis of King Alexander's and gave that thought physical expression'. More specifically, Duncan's testament opposes Alexander's testament:

> Alexander's disposition of his considerable temporal goods is at stark variance to Duncan's prefacing admission that he possesses none, and while Alexander's funeral is followed by a series of formal laments by all his men, Duncan on the contrary expects that his death will enable those over whom he held authority by fear to 'mok me now' (l. 420).[140]

Many more such parallels between the *BKA* and *DLT* might be drawn.[141] Duncan's testament can, for instance, be paralleled to the death speech of Alexander's enemy, the tyrant Darius: Duncan offers himself as an example of one who has suffered the

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[137] For literary analysis and discussion of *DLT*'s possible dating and authorship see Hadley Williams (2005), esp. pp. 353-4, n. 37 and W. Gillies (2005)

[138] For details of the sixteenth-century MacGregor/Campbell feuds see William Alexander Gillies (1938), pp. 125-34 and MacGregor (1989), Chapter 5.

[139] Stell (1993), p. 12. *Florimond* is also written upside down at the back of a volume of accounts in NAS, MS GD 112/22/2. See p. 118.

[140] Hadley Williams (2005), p. 351 and n. 28.

[141] The theme of minority rule in both texts could be compared, for instance. See Martin (2006), pp. 80-1 on this theme in the *BKA*.

downturn of fortune's wheel — 'My deare freindis, considder this mater weill,/ And in ꝫoure mynd exempill tak of me' (ll. 274-5)[142] — just as Darius says to Alexander, 'Bot Alex*ander,* þow has ane fare myrroure,/ To luke to me, and think of my dollour (ll. 6826-7). Readers might also be encouraged to reassess the ethics of Alexander's conquests in light of their juxtaposition with the crude robbery of Duncan Laideus. Duncan is a tyrant who has an eye only to himself rather than to the common profit, and one might well consider to what extent this is also true of Alexander at the end of his career, as discussed above. To whatever extent Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy might have admired the hero of the *BKA*, that poem's juxtaposition alongside *DLT* throws up serious questions about the validity of the territorial expansion and material gain in which both men engaged.[143]

The Relationship between MSS A and B

Cartwright made the following confident statement in his edition of *BKA*:

> [i]n collating fully the two MSS of the poem, I have found no
> variant of sufficient weight to require the hypothesis that the
> copyist of B used any other MS than A (or a near-perfect copy of
> A) as his exemplar.

He adds: '[w]hile it is theoretically possible that one or more MSS intervene between A and B, the weight of palaeographic evidence suggests that B was copied directly from A.'[144] In contrast, the *British Library Catalogue of Additions* (1950) states: '[t]he two MSS. vary sufficiently in small points of spelling and reading to show that neither is directly copied from the other'.[145] I agree with the latter statement; neither

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[142] Quotation from my own transcriptions of *DLT*.

[143] One might also compare the conjunction of *BKA* and *DLT* in MS B to the printing of David Lyndsay's *Testament of the Nobill and Vailyeand Squyer Meldrum of the Bynnis* alongside his mock-romance *The Historie of Ane Nobil and Vailyeand Squyer William Meldrum, umquhyle Laird of Cleische and Bynnis* (*c.* 1550). See for instance Henry Charteris' edition of 1594 (*STC* 15679; Aldis 252).

[144] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, p. xiii.

[145] *British Museum Catalogue of Additions* (1950), p. 154.

MS A nor MS B was copied from the other; nor were they copied from the same exemplar.

At an initial glance, MSS A and B do appear to be related to one another. Both, for instance, contain upwards of thirty blank pages before the beginning of the poem, and both also contain blank space between ll. 18940 and 18941.[146] The text is corrupt at this point and a passage appears to be missing. Blank space was thus most likely left in the exemplars of both manuscripts in order to accommodate the missing passage should it appear.

Such similarities reveal that MSS A and B ultimately derive from the same textual tradition and that their exemplars stem from a common source in which the beginning of the poem and the passage between ll. 18940 and 18941 was already missing. The differences between MSS A and B nevertheless indicate that successive exemplars diverged from this common source.

In MS A, two pages (fols 83^v and 84^r) were left blank by Scribe 2.[147] This error is not repeated in MS B and nor is the dislocation of text over fols 258^v-64^r of MS A. Cartwright attributes these corrections to 'the application of commonsense by a sporadically editing scribe' and consequently still argues that MS B was copied from MS A.[148] I instead maintain that the reason for the non-appearance of MS A's errors in MS B is because MS B derives from an independent exemplar in which these errors were not present. MS B's derivation from an independent exemplar might also explain why it contains twenty-two extra rubrics.

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[146] In MS A, the whole of fol. 275^r is blank, and also the majority of 275^v, with the exception of ll. 18941-5. In MS B, only ten lines are copied at the top of p. 446; p. 447 is blank except for ll. 18941-5 copied at the bottom.

[147] Their conjugate was also removed. Its stub remains between fols 94 and 95. Although none of the narrative is missing, this folio does appear to have once contained text, since slight traces remain on the stub.

[148] *BKA*, ed. Cartwright (1986-90), vol. I, p. xiii.

In examining the duplicate ll. 18277-end copied by Scribes 2 and 3 of MS A I have already demonstrated that these scribes worked from different exemplars, and I can now also reveal that MS B's scribe most probably used yet another exemplar. The table at the end of this chapter demonstrates that MS B's copy of the poem's final lines agree broadly with MS A Scribe 3's text, with the exception of the minor variants, but there are points at which Scribes 2 and 3 of MS A agree against MS B (ll. 18614, 18642, 18711, 18836, 18852), and also points at which MS B agrees with Scribe 2 of MS A against Scribe 3 (ll. 18786, 18851) or with Scribe 3 against Scribe 2 (l. 18628). MS B and Scribes 2 and 3 of MS A also each preserve a number of unique readings (ll. 18867, 19353, 19366-7). There are, in particular, three verse paragraphs in Scribe 3's text not present in MS B (ll. 18289, 19287, 19328).

My analysis of the above selection of variants suggests that the scribe of MS B and Scribes 2 and 3 of MS A were all working from independent exemplars, although the text copied by MS A Scribe 3 and the scribe of MS B is closely related. I therefore propose that three now-lost manuscripts, albeit not necessarily complete copies of the poem, stand behind the two surviving witnesses of Hay's *BKA* and they each represent, to varying degrees, different textual traditions. This is not surprising given that at least one fifteenth-century exemplar underwent a 'mending' process in 1499. *BKA* was clearly a popular text, one subject to wide circulation and consequent textual variation.

That it survives in two witnesses is due to the remarkable book-collecting activities of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. MS B was most probably acquired or commissioned to compensate for the defects of MS A, but Sir Duncan nevertheless had sufficient interest in the poem to retain both copies. In the remainder of this chapter I situate his ownership of *BKA* in light of those other literary texts, in

manuscript and print, which he either owned, or with which he was associated.[149] I

argue that Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy deserves to be recognised as one of late

sixteenth-/ early seventeenth-century Scotland's most significant book collectors.

Part 3: Literature Owned by or Associated with Sir Duncan Campbell and the Campbells of Glenorchy

I begin with the Older Scots and Middle English romances owned by or associated

with Sir Duncan. I first consider manuscript and then printed volumes.

Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*

Another romance manuscript owned by Duncan Campbell is Boston, Public Library,

MS f. med. 94, a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* produced sometime between 1430

and 1460 by the Carthusian monk and scribe, Stephen Dodesham (*d. c.* 1482).[150]

Priscilla Bawcutt's detailed analysis of the manuscript's flyleaf annotations has

revealed that the manuscript was in Scottish ownership since at least the late fifteenth

century. [151] Duncan Campbell's ownership is signalled by an inscription,

accompanied by the date 1592, which appears in a blank space at the end of the

poem on fol. 74[r]:

> This Bwik pertenis to ane Richt hono*rabi*ll
> Sir duncan Campbell of
> Glennorquhay Kny[t].[152]

Bevis of Hampton and ***Guy of Warwick***

Two further vernacular romances associated with Sir Duncan Campbell and/or a

member of his family are not in fact found within a romance volume or as texts. The

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[149] I discuss *The Florimond Fragment* (NAS, MS GD 112/22/2) in Chapter 3.
[150] Doyle (1997).
[151] Bawcutt (2001a).
[152] The exiled Scottish nobleman, Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, borrowed *The Siege of Thebes* from Anne Paston: *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, vol. I, pp. 574-5. The Dundee merchant, David Wedderburne (1587-1630), also owned a 'sege of thebes': see above p. 58.

early fourteenth-century parchment manuscript BL, MS Yates Thompson 13 ('The Taymouth Hours') is instead a book of hours, written in Latin and French and extensively decorated with full foliate borders, illuminated initials, bas-de-page scenes and grotesques. [153] However, some of the bas-de-page illustrations (fols 8^v-17^r) depict scenes from *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*.[154] As noted in my introduction, both of these romances are known to have circulated in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.[155]

Yates Thompson 13 appears to have been in Scottish ownership for some time. Images of kings and queens scattered throughout suggest a royal connection, and it is thought that the manuscript may have been commissioned either for Isabella of France (1295-1358), wife of Edward II of England (1284-1327), or for their daughter, Joan (1321-62), who married David II of Scotland (1324-71) in 1328.[156] It was later owned by a member of the Neville family (whose arms appear on fol. 151^r), and then by an unidentified sixteenth-century Scottish owner, perhaps a Campbell of Glenorchy, who numbered several of the manuscript's full-page illuminations. A seventeenth-/eighteenth- century armorial bookplate on the inside upper cover with the title 'The Earl of Breadalbane' reveals that the manuscript was owned by the Campbells of Glenorchy by this date, whilst a (possibly sixteenth-/seventeenth-century) shelf-mark on fol. 1 ('Shelf 29 number L') in the same style of those on both manuscripts of *BKA* suggests that the family in fact owned the manuscript at an earlier date.

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[153] M.R. James (1902), pp. 50-74; Sandler (1986), vol. I, p. 32, vol. II, pp. 107-9.
[154] Brownrigg (1989); Brantley (2002).
[155] See p. 6.
[156] Harthan (1977), pp. 48-9; Stanton (2003), pp. 229, 242-5.

Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*

In addition to owning romance in manuscript, the Campbells of Glenorchy also

owned a printed edition of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (now

NLS Inc. 25.5) produced in Strasbourg in 1494. Ownership has previously been

assigned to Colin Campbell, 3rd Earl of Argyll, but my own analysis of the print

reveals a more likely candidate.[157] The volume's first flyleaf does contain the

signature of a Colin Campbell, but an Earl of Argyll is unlikely to have signed himself

using this format.[158] I propose that the signature instead belongs to a Colin

Campbell of Glenorchy, most likely to Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy and

father of the book-owning Duncan. Several pieces of evidence support this. Firstly,

a note by David Laing on the inside of the volume's vellum cover states that he saw

the print in the Breadalbane library which housed most of the volumes discussed

here and also those books acquired by the family over subsequent centuries. Laing's

statement is confirmed by an inventory of the family library compiled in 1863 upon

the death of the then Marquis of Breadalbane; this lists a 'Guidoni's Historia

Trojana'.[159] The print's front flyleaf also contains two shelf-marks in the same style

as those on MSS A and B of *BKA* and other Campbell-owned books discussed here.

Finally, a note on the flyleaf records that the volume is 'Ex libris Colini Campbell/ex

dono domini Willelmi Ramsay'.[160]

The most likely candidate for this William Ramsay is the man of that name

who appears frequently throughout the surviving Breadalbane muniments during the

1540s, 1550s, and 1560s. He first served in the household of John Campbell, 5th

Laird of Glenorchy (*c.* 1496-1550), and then under Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of

Glenorchy, as a notary public. He was presented by Colin to the parsonage of

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[157] Durkan and Ross (1961), p. 136.
[158] I am grateful to Dr. Jane Dawson for clarifying this point with me.
[159] GD 112/22/56, p. 141. The print is here dated 1487, but this may be a cataloguer's error.
[160] William Ramsay signals his ownership on the title-page and at the top of the Prologue.

Kilmore in 1552,[161] and next moved to Colin's main base at Balloch Castle, where he continued to act as Colin's notary and also as factor for Patrick Ruthven, Colin's brother-in-law. He was chaplain of Finlarg by 1555,[162] and curate of Killin by 1557.[163] He was also installed as the first Protestant minister of Inchaiden in 1561.[164] William Ramsay thus perhaps gave his copy of Guido's *Historia* to his patron Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy, sometime during the mid- sixteenth century. His ownership may also explain the liturgical inscriptions on the volume's back flyleaves.

Further marginal annotations are scattered throughout the volume. The annotator was keen to highlight passages about the *Historia*'s female characters — Medea, Helen, Briseida, and Polyxena — and their lovers, Jason, Paris, Troilus and Achilles. In a related vein, he draws attention to almost all of Guido's infamous anti-feminist comments. He shows an interest in marking out natural events (such as eclipses), as well as characters' deaths, Paris' dream, councils, and passages about the avarice of priests and idolatry. Very similar annotations appear in CUL, MS Kk.5.30, the composite Scottish manuscript containing fragments of Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the *Scottish Troy Book* discussed in Chapter 7. Both of these texts are translations of Guido's *Historia*. Different Scottish readers thus attended to the same features and themes of Guido's *Historia* whether in translation or the original Latin, and their responses are worthy of further study. They sit alongside Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* as examples of the reception of the Trojan myth in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.

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[161] NAS, MS GD 112/51/107/(2). For a more detailed summary of Ramsay's career see Dawson (1999a), pp. 234-5. Also MacGregor (1989), p. 173.
[162] NAS, MS GD 112/51/89/(2).
[163] NAS, MS GD 112/1/103.
[164] NAS, MS GD 112/1/114; printed in William Alexander Gillies (1938), pp. 261-3.

Caxton's *Chronicles of England* and *Cordiale*

NAS, MS GD 112/71/1 demonstrates that the Campbells of Glenorchy were interested in historiographical texts as well as romance. This manuscript contains (fols 14ʳ-73ʳ) a handwritten and Scotticised copy of Caxton's *Cordiale* (1479, *STC* 5758).[165] It was produced in the late fifteenth-century by one scribe writing in a neat Scottish secretary hand.[166] The same scribe also copied the manuscript's first text (fols 1ʳ-12ᵛ) which has hitherto been catalogued as a 'MS account of the reign of King Edward II'.[167] It is in fact a fragment of a manuscript copy of Caxton's 1480 edition of *The Chronicles of England* (*STC* 9991).[168] The fragment begins part way through the reign of Edward II and continues to the very start of the reign of Edward III. This period of English history was no doubt of interest to Scottish readers since it deals with the Wars of Independence between Scotland and England and the reign of King Robert Bruce; indeed notae and a manicule on fol. 10ᵛ draw attention to a prophecy of Merlin concerning the Battle of Bannockburn.[169]

My analysis of the volume's watermarks suggests that the extract from the *Chronicle* and *Cordiale* were copied and designed to be read alongside one another.[170] Such a combination either originated in an existing Caxton *Sammelband*,[171] or was alternatively requested by whoever commissioned the manuscript. That person

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[165] See Bawcutt (2001-2), p. 3 for the circulation of Caxton prints in Scotland.

[166] Blake (1989), p. 421 notes that the volume's watermarks 'suggest a date of 1479 and certainly not later than 1485. Since Caxton's edition appeared in 1479, this copy, which was probably made in Scotland, must have been written shortly afterwards'.

[167] http://www.nas.gov.uk/onlineCatalogue/, accessed 2 February 2009.

[168] Caxton printed this text again in 1482 (*STC* 9992), but the *mise-en-page* of GD 112/71/1 appears closer to that of Caxton's 1480 edition, although it does not contain any rubrics.

[169] The text begins on fol. 1ʳ at the end of Caxton's Chapter 195 with '<t>he kyng and pute ham in his grace', and ends on fol. 12ᵛ partway through Chapter 212, 'as eft*er*warde ȝe sal her*e* mor*e* opynloker*e*' (my transcriptions). The volume has been rebound and the folios are now in the incorrect order. They should be read in the following order: 1ʳ, 1ᵛ, 2ᵛ, 2ʳ, 4ʳ, 4ᵛ, 3ʳ, 3ᵛ, 5ʳ-12ᵛ. A page is missing between fols 8ᵛ and 9ʳ after 'we pray ȝow and charge ȝow in ye feith yat ȝe owe to our*e* lorde' (Caxton's Chapter 207) and before 'arnolde was done vnto deth wythoute cite of Londoune' (end of Caxton's Chapter 208).

[170] The surviving *Chronicle* fragment is written on two paper stocks. Its final pages are written on the same stock as the start of the *Cordiale*.

[171] No such conjunction of Caxton prints appears in those *Sammelbände* listed by De Ricci (1909) or Needham (1986), appendix B, p. 65-80.

remains unknown, but a 'probably fifteenth-century hand'[172] has written the following inscription on fol. 75ᵛ: 'Iste liber pertenit Iohannes cambell'. This proves that GD 112/71/1 is yet another Campbell-owned book, although the exact identity of the John Campbell in question remains uncertain.[173]

Julian Notary's 'Cronycle of Englonde'

A member of the Campbell family also owned another version of the prose-*Brut*, an acephalous copy of Julian Notary's 1515 'Cronycle of Englonde with the fruyte of times' (*STC* 10000), now NAS, MS GD 112/71/6. Notary's print is heavily annotated in a sixteenth-century hand. Marginal notes, manicules and underlining draw attention to such topics as Merlin's prophecies, miracles, martyrdoms and the acts of saints, the names of Popes, 'the falsehod of women', acts of treason and rebellion (including the Peasants' Revolt of 1381), battles during the Anglo-Scots Wars of Independence, and instances of plague/pestilence. The unknown Campbell reader of Notary's print thus read it with an eye to theme and detail.

Further Literary Associations

Before concluding, I consider three other volumes associated with Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's family. I begin with the Scots-Gaelic *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (*BDL*). This manuscript was copied in the first half of the sixteenth century by Sir James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore (*d.* 1551), and his brother, Duncan MacGregor. Martin MacGregor has recently outlined the many professional connections between the Dean of Lismore's family and the Campbells of

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[172] Blake (1989), p. 421.

[173] A 'Ioannes Campusbellus' is intriguingly named by Boece as a source for his *Scotorum Historia* (1527). See Royan (2001) and MacGregor (2006), pp. 70-1.

Glenorchy.[174] During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, before their later divisive feud, the MacGregors and Glenorchy Campbells were engaged in a joint programme of territorial expansion throughout Breadalbane, and it is indeed through the patronage of either the Earl of Argyll or Laird of Glenorchy that James MacGregor became the Dean of Lismore. It is thus not surprising to find poems within the *BDL* associated with members of the Campbell family. The manuscript contains five poems likely to be the work of Colin Campbell, 1st Earl of Argyll (*d.* 1493), his wife Isabel (*d.* 1510), and their daughter Isabel, as well as several poems by Duncan Campbell, 2nd Laird of Glenorchy, which take as their themes the nature of women and immorality of the clergy.[175] It is also interesting to note that the *BDL* contains several poems or verses which mention Alexander the Great,[176] including one voicing the comments made by four philosophers as they stand over Alexander's grave.[177]

A Colin Campbell, most probably the 3rd Laird of Glenorchy (*c.* 1468-1523), owned BL, MS Egerton 2899.[178] This Latin Psalter is of Scottish origin; it contains the names of distinctly Scottish saints, and several, such as St. Mund and St. Conan, associated with Argyllshire and Breadalbane. It was written on vellum, *c.* 1500, and decorated with coloured initials and marginal illustrations. The following sixteenth-century inscription appears on flyleaf iii[v]: 'Liber Coline Campbell of Glenurquhay eiusdem Glenurquhay'.[179]

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[174] MacGregor (2006), p. 47. Also recently discussed by Rachel Butter and Simon Innes, 'The Glenorchy Psalter and Gaidhealtachd Liturgy', at the 19th Annual Conference of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association and the Scottish Catholic Archives, 12th June 2010.

[175] See W. Gillies (1976-8, 1977, 1979-81, and 1983).

[176] The *BDL* and related (now-lost) 'Chronicle of Fortirgall' also contain stanzas from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (see p. 93) and a stanza from Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. See Mapstone (1985).

[177] *Dean of Lismore's Book*, ed. McLauchlan, pp. 110-11. The *BDL* also contains two lists of the Nine Worthies that include Alexander the Great. See MacKechnie (1973), pp. 185, 186, nos. 171 and 201.

[178] Flower and O'Grady (1926-53), vol. II, pp. 23-4.

[179] Flyleaves ii[v] and iii[r] contain the sixteenth-/ seventeenth-century shelf-mark 'Pr: 6: Sh: 2: No 37'.

The Glenorchy Psalter was sold at a Sotheby's sale of 5-7 February 1912. The catalogue for the same sale also lists an edition of Sleidan's *Chronicle* (1560)[180] and this is likely to have been the copy owned by Catherine Ruthven (*d.* 1584), wife of Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy, and mother of Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird.[181] The volume is now untraced, but Innes records that the flyleaf read: 'This buke pertenis to Catherine Ruthven Lady of Glenurquhay'.[182] Catherine's ownership of this volume parallels the unknown Issobell MacKonoschie's reading of the *BKA* MS A and suggests that female literacy was at a relatively high level within the Campbell of Glenorchy household.

Finally, in 1598, Mr. Walter Bowie, notary public and tutor to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's children, compiled a history of the family known as *The Black Book of Taymouth* (NAS, MS GD 112/78/2) in which he implicitly aligned his patron with Alexander the Great by referring to Duncan Campbell's territorial expansion as a series of conquests.[183] He also prefaced his history with 'Ane admonitioun to the posteritie of the Hows of Glenvrquhay', which includes the following precept:

> Will thow thy honour, howss, and rent to stand,
> Conques, or keip thingis conquest to thy hand.

This implied relationship between the literary history of Alexander and the real history of a powerful Scottish family who were avid collectors of Alexander romances is both appropriate and thought-provoking, suggesting as it does that Sir Duncan Campbell read his romance volumes for instruction and entertainment.

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[180] Bawcutt (2001a), p. 93, n. 27.

[181] Sleidan's *Chronicle* (1560) appears in the will of the sixteenth-century Edinburgh printer Thomas Bassandyne ('Item, ane Chronicle of Sledan'): *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, p. 200.

[182] *Black Book*, ed. Innes, p. v.

[183] Walter Bowie's preface might be compared to the Gaelic elegy, 'Marbhnadh Dhonnchaidh Duibh' (ed. Watson), attributed to the Highland poet and Campbell bard, Neil MacEwan, and composed to mark Duncan's death in 1631 (now NAS, MS RH 13/40). This aligns the 7th Laird with King Arthur.

The taste for large single item volumes of vernacular romance, history and theology shared by several members of the Campbell of Glenorchy family is, furthermore, unparalleled amongst fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish book-owners. The family are single-handedly responsible for preserving two witnesses of Hay's *BKA*, a significant witness of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, and the *Florimond* fragment, discussed in the next chapter. Their collection stands testimony to the contemporary traffic of books between England and Scotland, and, most importantly, to the continued interest in the epic medieval cycles of Alexander and Thebes in noble, Protestant households. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and his father, Colin, are, in short, two of the most significant early modern readers of medieval romance known to date.

Main Textual Differences *BKA* ll. 18277-end.

I here list the most significant variants of ll. 18277-end as copied by Scribes 2 and 3 of MS A and by the scribe of MS B.

I do not provide transcribe the whole line, only those words or phrases which differ.

<u>Key:</u>

A: BL, MS Additional 40732, fols 258^v-64^v. (Lines 18613-873, 18546-612 only). SCRIBE 2

B: BL, MS Additional 40732, fols 265^r-82^r. SCRIBE 3

C: NAS, MS GD 112/71/9, pp. 430-57.

Bold: beginning of a verse paragraph.

Line No:	A	B	C
18287	ABSENT	confirme	confirnce

18289	ABSENT	**Fair lord**	Fare lord
18294	ABSENT	That all men say	That all may say
18372	ABSENT	I will	I seilll
18388	ABSENT	Rosenen	Rosoven
18404	ABSENT	trace	tarce
18416	ABSENT	synedatiz	synedamy
18421	ABSENT	thebay	ye bay
18470	ABSENT	Inarmit all in	Inarmit all into
18510	ABSENT	Rosenen	Rosoven
18551	sen first	sen the first	sen the first
18554	or a sound	or ane sound	and ane sound
18568	mony cais	mony caice	mony ferly cace
18576	yis erde	ye earth	ye erthe
18594	…haue joy heire eft*er* him	...haue ioy eftir him...	...haif ioy eftir him..
18604	Stalit	skaillit	skaillit
18608	oure hope oure hele o*ur* grace	our houp our haill our grace	our hope and our hale grace
18608-9	Reversed in A (18609-8)	18608-9	18608-9

18613	Blyth	blyithlie	blythelie
18614	Chevalery	chevelrie	the veir
18616	hardy ane wicht	hardie 7 wicht	hardy and wicht
18618	thai wourschip	thy wirschip	thy vourschip
18621	Off nobillest vertew and...	Off nobilnes vertew and...	Off nobillnes vertew and...
18628	chuare	cheriot	chariot
18638	And all the ost bath knicht and knaif and sllaue	And all ye hoist baith knicht knaife and slaife	That all ye ost that vas into ye plaine
18642	in thare way	in yair way	on thair way
18643	harrow and walaway	cry and valaway	cry and vallaway
18648	sike and sorrow	syith and sorrow	sythe and sorrow
18653	ye dede	ye dead	the dede
18668	rais neuer	neuir rais	neuer rais
18682	diseis quhilk thai had pane	diseas quhilk thay had and paine	diseis quhilk thay had and pane
18683	neuir nane come	neuir come	neuer come
18687	sa mekill	sa weill	sa veill
18698	empreoure lord and king	empriour and king	empreoure and king
18700-1	reversed in A (18701-0)	18700-1	18700-1

18710-808	More names in margin that B or C	fewer names in margin than A	fewer names in margin than A
18710	Emenedus said quhat valis	\Emenedus/ said waillis	\Emenedus/ said vallis
18711	Quhen	Quhane	Quhair
18713	may nocht	micht not	my^t not
18716	Skarslie	skantlie	skantlie
18724	Liberaletie	libertie	libertie
18738	spycis deynteis	denteis spyce	dainteis spyce
18745	than lioun	nor lyoun	nor lyoune
18746	dede him to wrake	deid to wirk	deid to virk
18751	Hald his body	saife his bodie	saif his body
18752	witt yat clergy na science	with clergie and science	vithe clergie and science
18756	and his force	nor his force	nor his force
18762	to mak hir	heir to mak	here to mak
18768	fainest gude chere	fainest haue guide cheir	fainest haif guid chere
18771	gre tribute	great tribute	gret trebute
18772	hie parage	hie curage	he curage
18783	Thus semys	This seimis	This semis

18786	here has wrocht	hes heir wrocht	here hes vrocht
18809	recouer we ne may	recover him no way	revouer him no vay
18821	Rosenyn	rosovein	rosoveine
18828	cumnyne to	cum to	cum to
18836	passit in hermyne	past in hermenie	past to hermenie
18851	vndoing ythandlie	wonding ithandlie	vndoing ithandlie
18852	ȝoung pensionas	ȝoung pensionas	king pensionas
18853	erdit	endit	endit
18861	ye place	yat plaice	that place
18867	ȝoung was and nocht ȝitt ridand	ȝit ȝoung was and not ryidand	ȝit vas ȝung and not rydand
18894	ABSENT	sic powar and force	sic ane pouer or force
18899	ABSENT	schone scho hes	schone hes
18912	ABSENT	yow pistill sie	thow the epistll see
18949	ABSENT	pistill in al pairt	epistill in all pairtis
18960	ABSENT	yat is tender	y^t vas tender
19057	ABSENT	of na croune	to na croune
19121	ABSENT	yair deid	ye deid

19254	ABSENT	tartany	tartary
19255	ABSENT	hard that daid was alex^r	herd dede vas alex^r
19287	ABSENT	**Now is our** buke	Now is our buik
19328	ABSENT	**Off this** to speik	Of this to spaik
19347	ABSENT	yar ȝe may	yat ȝe may
19353	ABSENT	bland it	blaubit
19366	ABSENT	And the blissit mother v*ir*gine Marie fre	And the blissit virgine mother marie ~~bricht~~
19367	ABSENT	The angellis and all the halie trinitie	The angell*is* and ye god haid almicht

Chapter 3

The Florimond Fragment

The first 504 lines of the Older Scots romance *Florimond* survive uniquely at the back of a volume of accounts compiled in Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's household between 1598 and 1610. They were first discovered, like the *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling* fragments which I discuss in Chapter 5, by Marion Stewart, and were subsequently edited by J.D. McClure in a supplementary issue of the 1979 *Scottish Literary Journal*.[1] McClure also gave an unpublished paper on the poem at the first International Conference of Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature.[2] Since then, almost nothing has been written about the romance,[3] although it is soon to appear in Rhiannon Purdie's forthcoming STS edition of *Five Older Scots Romances*.

This short chapter redresses the critical neglect of *Florimond* by contextualising it in light of its unique witness and original French source. I provide a detailed description of the poem's manuscript, focusing particularly on its scribe and flyleaf inscriptions. I then outline some of the most significant differences between the Scots romance and its source, the Old French *Florimont*, which was composed by Aimon de Varennes in 1188.[4] Aimon consciously conceived of his poem as a prologue to the French Alexander cycle and it was received as such by French scribes and readers. I here demonstrate that the Scottish translation may similarly have been received as a preface to the Scottish Alexander tradition.

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[1] 'The *Florimond* Fragment', ed. McClure.
[2] McClure (1979).
[3] For brief references see: Lyall (1989b), p. 35; Edwards (2000a), p. 62; Purdie (2006), pp. 166, 170-1.
[4] Aimon de Varennes, *Florimont*, ed. Hilka. All quotations from this edition. Early scholarship on the French poem includes: Novati (1891); Psichari (1891); Paris (1893); Henry (1935); Gardette (1956).

NAS, MS GD 112/22/2

The first 504 lines of *Florimond* are copied upside down at the back of a volume of

inventories (NAS, MS GD 112/22/2) produced in Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's

main households of Finlarig, Balloch and Glenorchy between 1598/9 and 1610.[5]

Such positioning recalls the existence of *Duncan Laideus' Testament* upside down at the

back of MS B of the *BKA*.[6] The juxtaposition of romance and accounts is entirely,

even if unintentionally, appropriate given that one of the romance's most significant

themes is money, especially the dangers of worldly wealth and the need to balance

prudent expenditure with kingly largesse.[7] It is also interesting to consider the

members of Duncan Campbell's household staff who appear in the inventories, such

as Thomas Makie the 'Stewart', in light of similar figures, such as King Philip's

steward Damian, who appear within the romance fragment.

A vellum wrapper binds the collection of inventories. One side is headed,

'CAMBELL ACCOUNT BOOK'. The present shelf-mark is written on the other

side, once in ordinary lead pencil, and again in red. The initials 'D.C.' (perhaps

standing for Duncan Campbell)[8] are also found on this cover in between two 'M's,

written with red paint.[9] The full name 'Duncan Campell [*sic*]' is written on the inside

of the back cover.

The poem's 504 lines are copied over fourteen pages; 498 lines are contained

on the first thirteen pages whilst the fourteenth page contains just 6 lines. Since the

remainder of the page is blank, it is clear that no further portions of the poem were

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[5] Parts of the inventories are quoted in *Black Book*, ed. Innes, pp. 319-45. The inventories comprise just under 200 loosely bound pages plus several folded but unbound sheets. It is difficult to tell whether the romance fragment or inventories were copied first.

[6] See pp. 97-9.

[7] The Scots author expands on this theme of the French romance at ll. 21-46.

[8] The letters S D G appear on the brown leather binding of the original *Black Book of Taymouth* (NAS, MS GD 112/78/2) compiled for Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in 1598. They most probably signify 'Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy'.

[9] These two red 'M's recall the red 'I' and 'M' written below Colin Campbell's name in NLS Inc. 25.5 (see pp. 104-5). Such letters may represent an early shelving system.

copied into this manuscript. Either the scribe's exemplar was incomplete and he was thus unable to finish his task, or he was somehow interrupted and failed to return to what he had begun. The rushed and somewhat scrappy appearance of the fragment might suggest this. Alternatively, the surviving fragment in NAS, MS GD 112/22/2 may be a rough draft which the scribe made in preparation for a complete copy of the poem which was either lost or never produced.

With the exception of the final page, the number of lines per page ranges from 34 to 42.[10] The page size is roughly 298 x 190 mm, and the paper is now thin, worn at the edges, and coming away from the binding.[11] All 504 lines have been written by one scribe in a late sixteenth-/ early seventeenth-century Scottish secretary hand. The hand is somewhat irregular, and becomes larger and less neat as copying progresses.[12] The large flourishes at the beginning of line-initial letters and the shape of the scribe's letter forms allow one to identify him as Alexander Levingstoun, servitor to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, who also copied fols 265^r-82^r of *BKA* MS A.[13]

He begins the poem with a large penwork initial 'Q', alongside which the poem's first eight lines are aligned. Paragraph division throughout the rest of the fragment is minimal, and only distinguished through slight indentation of the line in question, or through the use of a somewhat larger and/or bolder script for the initial letter or first few words (at ll. 21, 53, 117, 157, 173/4, 215, 315, 411, 449 and 459). Almost all of these narrative divisions correspond to those marked at equivalent points in Hilka's edition of *Florimont*. Like the rubricated initials in *OA*, discussed in

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[10] Lines 183-7 appear twice, with variant spellings, on p. 5; in the second instance, ll. 183-4 rhyme 'gay' and 'say' rather than 'ga' and 'sa'. On p. 10, the scribe first omitted l. 357 and later wrote it in the margin.

[11] I have been unable to determine the watermark.

[12] Compare Parkes (1969), plate 21.

[13] See pp. 91-3.

Chapter 1, and those in *Lancelot*, discussed in Chapter 4, they are thus likely to stem from the original translation.

Immediately before the poem are two flyleaves. It is hard to tell how many hands are responsible for the signatures and inscriptions, although one hand certainly belongs to Alexander Levingstoun, the poem's scribe. The recto of the first flyleaf contains the name 'Duncan Campbell' written three times. The verso contains one inscription in the top right hand corner ('Duncan Campbell of glenurquhay v^t my hand ye/ Blakest laird in all ye land')[14] and another towards the left of the page in a large regular hand reading '**L**aud honour and glorie/ Be wnto ye lamb that/ Sittis vpon the throne'.[15] Another large 'L' is written immediately above this, with space left for text to follow, and a third large 'L' occurs below, suggesting that further related inscriptions were to be inserted. The one complete sentence is similar to laudatory expressions found at the end of several *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*.[16] More specifically, it parallels lines on the Lamb and Scroll from Revelations 5: 11-13:

> Then I behelde & I heard the voice of manie Angels rounde about
> the throne and [about] the beasts and the elders, and there [were]
> thousand thousands, Saying with a loude voyce, worthie is the
> lambe that was killed to receiue power and riches, & wisdome, and
> strength, and honor, and glorie, and praise. And all þ^e creatures
> which are in heaue*n*, and on the earth, and vnder the earth, & in
> the sea, & all that are in them, heard I, saying, *Praise and honor, and*
> *glorie, and power be vnto him, that sitteth vpon the throne, & vnto the Lambe*
> *for euer more.* (my italics).[17]

It also brings to mind another unidentified text written on a blank page at the back of a legal compendium in the Breadalbane collection (NAS, MS GD 112/71/5, fol. 129^v):

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[14] *Black Book*, ed. Innes, p. iv notes that the 7th Laird of Glenorchy was variously known as Black Duncan of the Cowl or Black Duncan of the Castles.

[15] This page also contains a series of now-faint and illegible phrases, several of which begin 'Finis'.

[16] See *A Compendious Book*, ed. Mitchell, 'Gloir be to God Eternallie/ Quhilk gaif his onlie Sone for me' (p. 51), the end of 'I come from heuin to tell', and the short-prayer beginning 'Blissing, gloir, wisdom & hartlie thankfulness,/ And godlie honouris, all micht and fortitude/ We offer thé, Lord, with lawlie humilnes/ Committing our selfis haill to thy celsitude' (p. 75).

[17] I quote from my own transcription of the edition of the Geneva Bible (New Testament) prepared in 1576 by Thomas Bassandyne, and published in 1579 by Alexander Arbuthnet (*STC* 2125).

> Thy michtie hand and fors Inuinsabill
> O Lord of hostis and god of victorie
> Tuik dauid frome the scheip and maid him habill
> To sley the boer and lyoun valliantlie
> Syn gret goliath with his strong armie
> Assistit be thy fors he pat to flicht
> That be his weaknes all ye warld micht sie
> Thow art ye onlie lord and god of micht.

Such religious literature was most likely in ready circulation in Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's household given that his immediate and extended family were firm supporters of the Reformed religion.[18]

The third flyleaf contains several inscriptions including the words 'O thow that nevir will/ satill'. Although its exact provenance is uncertain, this phrase appears to be some kind of motto or tag. An incomplete sentence beginning 'Jesus Chris*t* ine hevinn [...]' appears elsewhere on this page, as well as a legalistic phrase beginning 'Item þe first that day'. Five further lines are written in the top right hand corner of this page, and most are now almost impossible to decipher. The last appears to read 'finis ame<n> quod ye dog'. This same phrase appears on back flyleaf iv[r] of *BKA* MS A.

The flyleaf inscriptions that precede *Florimond* are thus clearly pentrials rather than meaningful comments on the ensuing poem. They are nevertheless worthy of record as evidence for the circulation of now-lost sixteenth-century Scottish religious and moral verse, and as evidence for the relationship of Campbell-owned manuscripts via their scribes and readers.

Having examined *Florimond*'s witness, I turn to the poem itself. I consider evidence for its wider circulation in sixteenth-century Scotland and attempt to establish a date and context of composition. I detail the anonymous author's methods of translation and briefly outline the main differences between the French

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[18] Dawson (1999a, 1999b).

and Scots romance. I conclude by using Laurence Harf-Lancner's work on the French *Florimont* to interpret the place of the *Florimond* fragment within Duncan Campbell's developing library.

The Older Scots *Florimond*: Composition and Circulation

Evidence for the wider circulation of a Scots *Florimond* is found in the *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1550) which refers to 'the tail of floremond of albanye that sleu the drago*n* be the see'.[19] This rhyming summary corresponds to Florimont's slaying of a hybrid sea monster at ll. 2417-20 of the original French romance. The surviving fragment of the Scots translation does not reach this point in the French narrative. The *Complaynt* author's knowledge of this episode thus suggests that a complete Scots translation was once in circulation.[20]

Two references to the poem also occur in the late sixteenth-century romance *Roswall and Lillian*.[21] Roswall is compared favourably to a list of heroes, many of whom appear in surviving Older Scots romances, including Ulysses, Gadifer, Achilles, Clariodus, Lancelot, and 'Florentine of Almanie' (l. 21). Lillian later attempts to persuade him to drop his assumed name, Dissawar, and take a nobler name such as Hector, Oliver, Emenidus or 'Florent of Almanie' (l. 399).

Although the exact date of *Roswall and Lillian* is unknown,[22] the *Complaynt* reference does provide a *terminus ad quem* of *c.* 1550 for *Florimond*'s composition. The poem's *terminus a quo* remains uncertain, however, and cannot be established with any certainty until further linguistic investigation is undertaken.[23]

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[19] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50.
[20] Purdie (2006), p. 171.
[21] *Roswall and Lillian*, ed. Lengert (1892a).
[22] Purdie (2006), p. 177.
[23] McClure (1979) interestingly suggests that the surviving poem might be a 'late [sixteenth-century] retranslation' of an earlier (pre-1550) Scottish *Florimond*, and he detects 'apparent archaisms' as well as

The poem's author also remains anonymous. He could, however, obviously read and understand French, and chose to render his source in a particularly close translation. As Purdie comments:

> [t]he most straightforward handling of French source material is demonstrated by *Florimond*, whose extant 504 lines present a careful, often line-by-line translation of the late twelfth-century romance *Florimont* by Aimon de Varennes; the translator shows considerable technical skill in reproducing the smooth octosyllabic couplets (rather than a four-stress equivalent) of his source.[24]

Certain words and phrases are borrowed almost wholesale from the original French,[25] especially at ll. 11, 68-9, 189, 212, 309 and 362 of the Scots translation, where 'menteinit honour', 'chevelrie [...]/ larges, honour', 'senȝourie', 'covoyit', 'imbraisit' and 'ischeit' correspond directly to ll. 51, 117-19, 259, 295, 411 amd 479 of the original French respectively: 'maintenoient honour', 'chevellerie [...]/ largesce [...] onour', 'signorie', 'convoié', 'embrassier' and 'yssus'.[26] These borrowed terms exist, however, alongside stock phrases and tags from the Older Scots chivalric and alliterative tradition, found for example at ll. 58, 81, 118, 163 and 334: 'throu battell and stalvairt stour', 'fair of face', 'Th[r]ow wit and worthenes of hand', 'makand his meane', and 'travell and teine'. The author also occasionally translates his French source using words of English origin; he renders 'qui conquiert' (l. 85) as 'quha vinnis' (l. 41), for instance.

Similarly, although the sequence of narrative events in the Scots translation is almost identical to the French, there is a small number of notable differences. I focus on a short number of them here. The poem's opening is, for instance, the most adapted part. The first two lines of the Scots fragment correspond closely to those in

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'neologisms' in the fragment's language. Once again, further linguistic study, lying outside the remits of this thesis, is needed to investigate this.

[24] Purdie (2006), pp. 170-1.

[25] A point first made by McClure (1979).

[26] Compare respectively to ll. 51, 117-19, 259, 295, 411 and 479 of the original French.

the French, but the Scots author then omits much of the original French prologue in which Aimon de Varennes presents himself, states that he intends to compose a poem for his lady, and outlines the Greek origins of the tale he has chosen to tell (ll. 1-36). The Scots text instead expands on the ensuing discussion in the French about the dangers of worldly riches, contrasting a time of past chivalry with present-day corruption and vice (ll. 19-36), and concluding with a statement in the advice to princes tradition extolling the necessity of kingly largesse (ll. 48-52).

A future study of the Scots fragment might indeed concentrate on its overall alignment with the contemporary advice to princes tradition. As part of a series of paired relationships throughout the poem (between fathers/sons, brothers/sisters, masters/servants), different types of monarch and rule are juxtaposed, such as Romulus, founder of Rome, who '[g]art slay his broþir Reimus' (l. 72), and Brutus who, before journeying to Britain, was forced to leave Greece because 'he and his, throu stalwairt hand,/ Waistit þe land and tuke þe king' (ll. 86-7), who are compared to Madiane who 'governit lang þis land/ Th[r]ow wit and worthenes of hand' (ll. 117-18) or Philip, described as 'ane noble king', 'mychtie [...] in mekle thing', 'worthe' and 'of greit beutie' (ll. 75-7).

The attitude of the Scots translation towards Brutus is itself also worthy of further study. The Scots author's comments on Brutus, quoted above, are in fact a liberal translation of the French ('Le païs ot destrut per guerre/ Et pas n'i osai[t] ramenoir', ll. 146-7), and he takes pains to emphasise Brutus' act of treason. His adaptation should perhaps be read in the context of the so-called 'War of Historiography' which developed during and after the Scottish Wars of Independence and which saw the generation of an alternative Scottish origin myth

that responded to and distinguished itself from English claims to trace their origins in Brutus and the Trojans.[27]

There is also an emphasis in the Scots translation on concepts such as fealty, homage, and 'rycht'. When Damian is installed as King Philip's steward, for instance, he declares 'I am now King Philip mane' (l. 257), and the narrator adds, 'His manrent maid he to him thane:/ On kne afoir þe king he set'. (ll. 258-60). The French term 'homaige' ('Devant le roi s'agenoilla/ Son homaige li presenta' ll. 355-6) is here translated using the specifically Scots phrase 'manrent', defined by *DOST* (*n*. 1) as '[t]he solemn undertaking to be another's "man" or faithful supporter and the obligation so constituted.'[28] Philip makes an assurance to Damian in return: 'Quhome þow luffeis I sall lufe alswa,/ And þai þat luffeit ar nocht be þe/ Sall have þe less revaird of me' (ll. 284-6). Such references to 'manrent' no doubt struck a chord with the poem's Campbell readers; as discussed in the previous chapter, Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and his father, Colin Campbell, were party to an impressive number of bonds of manrent and they had books compiled to preserve records of these bonds.

Thus although the Scots *Florimond* is on the whole a faithful translation of the original French romance, there are a number of significant differences, each of which adds particular nuances to the poem, and emphasises its themes of kingship and rule. Despite its fragmentary status, *Florimond* is worthy of much further literary study and it would certainly repay comparison with the Scottish Alexander romances. It shares a number of themes with these two texts (including an emphasis on advice to princes) and furthermore quite literally anticipates their narratives, as I outline below.

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[27] See Cowan (1984); Drexler (1987); Mason (1987c); Goldstein (1993) esp. pp. 57-103; Boardman (2002).

[28] See also J. Wormald (1985), p. 2 and Purdie (2005), p. 100.

Florimond as Prologue to the Alexander Tradition

Over the last thirty years, the French *Florimont* has received increasing critical

attention. It is no longer seen as a poor imitation of romances such as *Partonopeu de*

Blois,[29] but rather as a carefully wrought work, worthy of study *per se*,[30] and of especial

interest both because of its popularity amongst contemporary readers,[31] and because

of its self-consciously intertextual alignment with other romance texts, in particular

the Alexander tradition.[32]

Harf-Lancner has suggested that 'Aimon de Varennes a bel et bien conçu son

récit comme un prologue au *Roman d'Alexandre* et instauré dans *Florimont* tout un jeu

d'échos et de reprises avec l'histoire d'Alexandre, qu'il semble connaître

parfaitement.'[33] For example, in his statement of intent, Aimon addresses the poem's

audience and notes that although they have heard about the life and career of

Alexander the Conquerour, they know little about his mother, Olympias, his father,

Philip II of Macedon, his grandfather, Florimont, or his great-grandfathers, Philip I

of Macedon and Mataquas duke of Albany:

> Signors, je sai asseiz de fi
> Que d'Alixandre aveiz oï;
> Mai ne savez ancore pas
> Dont fut sa meire Oli[m]pias;
> Del roi Phelipon ne savez
> Qui fut ses peire, don't fut nez (ll. 103-8).

Harf-Lancner has also demonstrated how scribes and manuscript compilers

themselves emphasised *Florimont*'s association with the *Roman d'Alexandre*. A prime

example is Paris, BNF, MS français 792 (MS B). It contains a fragment of *Partonopeu*

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[29] Fourrier (1960), pp. 447-85.
[30] Kelly (1970).
[31] The poem survives in fourteen thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. Four different prose redactions were produced and seven printed editions were also made of the third redaction. See Doutrepont (1939), pp. 264-75; Woledge (1954, 1975); D.J.A. Ross (1968), appendix II, pp. 128-30; Pettegree et al., eds. (2002), vol. I, pp. 591-2. Detailed discussion in Harf-Lancner (1995).
[32] Harf-Lancner (1984), pp. 35, 175, 252, 328-31, 417 and Harf-Lancner (1994a, 1994b). See also A. Adams (1979) and Braet (1970).
[33] Harf-Lancner (1994a), p. 244.

de Blois,[34] followed by *Florimont* (fols 3-50ᵛ), Alexander de Paris' *Roman d'Alexandre* (fols 51-143ᵛ), and two supplements to that poem (the *Vengeance d'Alexandre* and a fragment of *Les Voeux du Paon*). *Florimont* thus stands quite literally as a prologue to the *Roman d'Alexandre* within this manuscript. In addition, the scribe/redactor adapts *Florimont* to highlight the correspondences between it and the *Roman* and suggest that the two texts be read as one. At the end of *Florimont* he writes, 'Explicit l'istoire de Florimont pere de Philippe de Macedoine, pere du grant Alixandre' (fol. 50ᵛ). He also revises the poem's ending. Lines 13575-603 in Hilka's edition detail how Florimont succeeds his father-in-law and in turn leaves his lands to his son Philip, whose own son Alexander the Great gains even more territory through his conquests before eventually dying at Babylon. The scribe of MS B expands upon these lines by explaining how Florimont's death prefigures that of Alexander.[35] As Harf-Lancner concludes, '[l]e manuscript BN 792 crée donc un lien supplémentaire entre les deux romans.'[36]

MS B is also worthy of attention for another reason. Hilka edits the French *Florimont* from the alpha-branch of the textual tradition (comprising Paris, BNF, MS français 15101, and BL, MS Harley 4487). He prints variants from all the other extant manuscripts — the beta-group — below the main text. There is, notably, consistent matching of Hilka's beta-group variants with the Scots translation.[37] Lines to be compared include ll. 113-14, 197-9, 216-17, 223, 258-9, 304-6, 353-4, 355-6 and 395-7 of the Scots translation, with the variants for ll. 171, 270, 300, 307, 355-6, 405-6,

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[34] Fourrier (1960), pp. 447-85 dismissed *Florimont* as a poor imitation of *Partonopeu*. MS B demonstrates that early scribes/readers instead recognised and valued correspondences between these two romances.

[35] Aimon de Varennes, *Florimont*, ed. Hilka, p. 539.

[36] Harf-Lancner (1994a), p. 252. For more information on this manuscript see Meyer (1882), pp. 272-5 (his MS K) and Busby (2002b), vol. I, p. 303.

[37] I am grateful to Dr. Purdie for first drawing my attention to this (private correspondence 7 December 2007).

465, 471/2, 515-17 of the French original.[38] In addition, two specific correspondences between the Scots fragment and MS B stand out.[39] When Philip journeys through his lands, we are told in the Scots that he past 'Fra Marauns towardis Ungarie' (l. 368). This corresponds exactly to the use of 'Hongrie' at l. 486 in MS B, whilst all other manuscripts offer variations on 'Bolgrie'. Also at ll. 188-91 of the Scots translation, Seloc says, "'This, broþir, all I give to þe./ I will nocht have þe senʒourie/ Off all Egipt and of Nubie:/ Babilone I will þou tay'". Hilka's edited text reads: "'Je veul(t) c'aiez la signorie/ Et d'Egypte et de Nubie/ Et de Babilone asiment/ Vos don ge tout le chassement'" (ll. 259-62) but in MS B, Seloc adds 'De toute' at l. 260 which corresponds to the phrase '*Off all* Eqipt [...]' in the Scots translation.

These two pieces of evidence are of course not significant enough on their own to suggest that the Scots translation derives, via however many unknown intervening manuscripts, from MS B, but the cumulative weight of the agreement of the Scots translation with Hilka's beta-variants listed above certainly does suggest that *Florimond* derives from a French text in the beta-group tradition.[40] The possibility of the Scots *Florimond* being descended from a manuscript, like B, in which the French *Florimont* circulated with the *Roman d'Alexandre* and/or its various interpolations is thus intriguing. One wonders, for instance, whether the French *Florimont* circulated in Scotland in a manuscript (/s) alongside *Le Fuerre de Gadres* and *Les Voeux du Paon*, the sources of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*.

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[38] Line 38 of the Scots translation also corresponds to a unique couplet in the beta-variants at l. 80 of the French text.

[39] Again first brought to my attention by Dr. Rhiannon Purdie in private correspondence (7 December 2007).

[40] It should be noted that there are a few points at which the Scots translation does correspond to Hilka's edited text against the beta-group variants. Lines 123-4 of the Scots translation, for instance, correspond to ll. 191-2 in Hilka's edited text and not to the beta-group variants (ABCLMDH² and G). Since, however, beta-group MSS E, K, I and T also do not share the variant, the apparent correspondence with the alpha-tradition may thus in fact again be a correspondence with this sub-group of the beta-tradition.

Florimond's status as a self-conscious prologue to the Alexander tradition both internally, and externally in manuscript witnesses, might also explain why it was copied for Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. Perhaps he was attracted by the following lines in which the Scots author translates the original *intentio auctoris*:

> Lordis, I wat rycht weill þat ȝe
> Hes oftymis hard in romance tell
> Quhat eventour þat befell
> That Alex[and]yr conquerour,
> That throu battell and stalvairt stour
> In vii ȝere wan þe warld all hail
> And quhen he deit þairof maid daill
> Bot [of] his faþir, Philip king,
> ȝe have nocht hard þe beginning,
> Nor quhais dochter his moþir wes,
> That hade to name Olimpias (ll. 55-64).

As a keen book collector and enthusiast of romance and history, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy could have quite naturally desired a prologue to his two copies of Hay's *BKA*; he may even have hoped to have the two texts bound together.

In conclusion, I therefore suggest that Sir Duncan's servant and scribe, Alexander Levingstoun, was commissioned to copy *Florimond* after successfully 'mending' a copy of Hay's *BKA*. For reasons unknown, only an incomplete witness of the former romance now survives. NAS, MS GD 112/22/2 may represent Levingstoun's foul papers, produced in preparation for a now-lost neater presentation copy, or the manuscript may simply be the remains of an incomplete stint, comparable to the seventeenth-century copy of *Sir Lamwell* which accompanies Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments in CUL, MS Kk.5.30 (fol. 11[r-v]).[41] Alternatively, Levingstoun may have used an incomplete or faulty exemplar, like that used by the second scribe of *BKA* MS A. Either way, it appears that Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's late sixteenth-century household was a lively centre of

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[41] Bawcutt (2005).

literary activity, a place where exemplars and copies of Older Scots romances such as

Hay's *BKA* and *Florimond* were regularly and rapidly produced and consumed.

Chapter 4

Lancelot of the Laik

The Older Scots romance *Lancelot of the Laik* (*NIMEV* 3466) [1] is a verse translation into

decasyllabic couplets of Phase IV of the Old French prose romance *Lancelot do Lac*. [2] It

survives uniquely in an incomplete state in CUL, MS Kk.1.5, a paper manuscript divided

into nine now separate parts. [3] This manuscript gradually evolved into its present form

during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries before entering the library of Richard

Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel College Cambridge (1590-1649). [4] It was then

acquired by the University of Cambridge after his death. [5] The following table provides

the most up-to-date listing of the manuscript's contents: [6]

Part	Folio	Text
1	1ʳ-79ᵛ	English translation of Christine de Pisan's *Livre du Corps de Policie*
2	1ʳ-210ᵛ	Sir Philip Sidney's *New Arcadia*
3	2ʳ-40ʳ	*Regiam Majestatem*
4	2ʳ-4ᵛ	*The Rolls of Uleron* (=Scots sea laws)
	5ʳ-23ʳ	Burgh Laws/ *Leges Burgorum*

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[1] See *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Stevenson; Skeat; Gray; Johnston; Lupack. *Ballatis of Luve*, ed. MacQueen, pp. 9-10 also included an extract from the poem. I quote from *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Skeat.

[2] *Lancelot do Lac*, ed. Kennedy.

[3] *Catalogue of the Manuscripts […] Cambridge* (1856-67), vol. III, pp. 558-63, vol. V, p. 600; Guddat-Figge (1976), pp. 103-5. The nine separate parts were originally bound together in the one volume, labelled 'tracts'. The surviving covers (*c.* 281 x 200 mm) appear to date from the first half of the seventeenth century. They are decorated with lozenge-shaped centre stamps, which were once gilt. Some of the paper used by the binder to separate the manuscript's different items survives. It bears a watermark similar to Briquet 2291, dated 1587. A late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century list of contents is written onto the pastedown of the upper cover, along with former shelf-marks/numbers 453, 97 and 16.

[4] Bush and Rasmussen (1985); Oates (1986), pp. 304-48; Collinson (2004).

[5] The manuscript is listed in the contemporary catalogues of Holdsworth's library: CUL, MSS Dd.8.45 and Ff.4.27.

[6] I identify the items in more detail below.

	23ᵛ-4ᵛ	'Taurus cornutus, ex patris germine Brutus', excerpt from the so-called *Prophecy of John of Bridlington*, Distinction 3, Chapters 5-9.
	25ʳ-7ʳ	'Qwhen the koke in the northe hallows his nest' / *The First Scottish Prophecy*
	27ᵛ-31ᵛ	'Thomas takes the Iuell, — and Ihesus thank*is*, — ' / *Alliterative Becket*
	32ʳ	'Lilium Regnans'
	32ᵛ-3ʳ	'The Holy Oil of St. Thomas'
	33ʳ-4ʳ	'Qwhen Rome is removyde in to Inglande' / *The Second Scottish Prophecy*
	34ᵛ-5ʳ	'Here begynyth A shorte ext*ra*cte, and tellyth how þar ware sex mast*er*ys asemblede […] to spek of T*ri*bulacoun'
5	2ʳ-10ᵛ	*Bernadus de Cura Rei Famuliaris*
6	1ʳ-4ʳ	*The Craft of Deyng*
	4ᵛ	'Do way, Fore that may nocht awailȝe'
	4ᵛ-5ʳ	'Fle fra the pres'/ Chaucer's *Truth*
	5ʳ	'Sen trew Vertew encress dignytee'[7]
	5ʳ	'Sen in waist natur na-thinge mais'
	5ʳ-12ʳ	*Dicta Salomonis*
	12ʳ-36ʳ	*Ratis Raving*
	36ᵛ-42ᵛ	*The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen*
	43ʳ-8ᵛ	*The Consail and Teiching At The Vys Man Gaif His Sone*
	49ʳ-53ʳ	*The Thewis Off Gudwomen*
	53ʳ-4ʳ	*The Vertewis of the Mess*

[7] *NIMEV* 3151. There is not space to discuss this poem in detail here but for further witnesses, versions, and its associations with James I and VI see: James I, *Kingis Quair*, ed. Skeat; James VI, *The Poems*, ed. Craigie, vol. II, pp. 132, 133, 196, 244-5, 267-8; Lyall (2000), pp. 59-60; Lyall (2005), pp. 97-8.

7	1ʳ-42ᵛ	*Lancelot of the Laik*
8/9[8]	1ʳ-4ʳ	Extracts from the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland November 1469
	5, 6	'the resonis pretendit be thomas Thomson', collection of legal processes
	7, 8	Fifteenth-/ sixteenth-century copy of a charter granted by Robert II concerning David Ramsay, dated 1383
		Fifteenth-/ sixteenth-century copy of an indenture between William Ramsay and John de Turribus, dated 13 June 1380
		Fifteenth-/ sixteenth-century copy of an indenture concerning William Ramsay and John de Turribus, dated 20 December 1382
	9	'My luf mornes for me for me'
		Short note concerning one Andrew Lawder
		Note/ receipt dated 1529 relating to an agreement with a John Colȝear, and listing various measurements.
	10ʳ-16ᵛ	Abbreviated version of *Regiam Majestatem* with 'Brevis of Mortancestri' and 'falsing of doings'
	17ʳ-19ʳ	Extracts 'out of king dauid statute'
	19ᵛ-22ʳ	'þe lawis extrait of king Robert þe bros statut*is*' and some unidentified legal processes
	22ᵛ-5ᵛ	'Extrait de statute Rege Will*el*mi' and further unidentified legal processes
	26	A loose leaf with now illegible and unidentifiable legal processes and the signatures of 'Magister Ioannes' and 'Liber Jacobi Loga<n>'
	27	Missing
	28ʳ-9ᵛ	'Here folowis þe feis of þe king*is* officiar*is*' and 'þe consuetude 7 keis of þe co*ur*t'/ Extracts from a Scots version of the legal text, *Quoniam Attachiamenta*
	30 ʳ⁻ᵛ	'Qhat sal be done eft*er* þat the p*ar*tys Resonis ar red […]' and 'Of Remede of domys […]'
	31ʳ-6ʳ	'Extract out of the barone Lawis'

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[8] Parts 8 and 9 have been out of order since the manuscript was disbound in the nineteenth century. It is therefore difficult to tell which items are from Part 8 and which from Part 9. I list the items in the order in which they currently appear.

36ᵛ	Blank
37ʳ-41ᵛ	'The lawis extrait of ye burow lawis'
42ʳ-4ʳ	Minutes from Parliament held during the minority of James III, 1464-5.

Most scholars working on Kk.1.5 have found little or no relationship between its constituent parts. Gray states, for instance, that '[t]he pieces in the volume are of various dates, and in subject have no connection with one another' and Skeat that '[t]he MS. of "Lancelot" has little to do with any of the rest as regards it subject'.[9] Guddat-Figge describes Kk.1.5 as a '[r]eligious miscellany *with the unexpected appearance* of <u>Lancelot</u> at the end',[10] and Woudhuysen, writing of Sidney's *New Arcadia*, notes that the other works with which this is bound 'appear to bear no relation to it'.[11]

In contrast, Elizabeth Archibald suggests that *Lancelot* — a romance with a strong advice to princes element — forms the natural centerpiece of a gradually developing sixteenth-century miscellany on the theme of good private and public governance.[12] The very advice to princes element of *Lancelot* she highlights has, however, itself been the topic of vexed critical debate. The lengthy advisory passage in Book II where King Arthur is given political advice by the wise clerk, Amytans, has elicited a mixed response from twentieth-century scholars. This considerable expansion of the original French has been seen either as an unnecessary distraction from the poem's central theme of love[13] or as an integral element of a romance which successfully combines love and politics as dual themes.[14] The passage has, furthermore, been interpreted either as a specific commentary on the reign of James III,[15] or as a

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[9] *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Skeat, p. vi; *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Gray, pp. vii-viii.
[10] Guddat-Figge (1976), p. 104 (my italics).
[11] Woudhuysen (1996), p. 349.
[12] Archibald (2005), especially pp. 80-2. See also Mapstone (1986), pp. 149-54.
[13] For example *Manual*, vol. I, pp. 50-1.
[14] Scheps (1968); Wurtele (1976); Martin (2008), pp. 41-60.
[15] *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Skeat, p. xii; Vogel (1943); Göller (1963), pp. 137-43.

belonging to the more generally applicable advice to princes tradition which became common in Scotland in the second half of the fifteenth century.[16]

Lancelot's most recent editor, Lupack, has berated scholars for focusing on Amytans' advice to Arthur, arguing that this episode appears prominent only because of the poem's incomplete nature. He claims that *Lancelot* 'is not a courtesy book but a romance in which the advice plays an important but subsidiary role'.[17] I would disagree. In this chapter I develop Archibald's theory by returning *Lancelot* to its manuscript context. I provide a detailed description and analysis of the manuscript's nine parts, and demonstrate just how well they relate to one another. I reveal that *Lancelot* was received by its fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers as a romance and as conduct literature offering advice on private and public governance both generally and in relationship to the reign of James III.

My chapter begins with an analysis of *Lancelot* and Part 7. I then work through the manuscript's other Scottish texts, beginning with the moral/advisory material in Part 6 copied by the same scribe as Part 7.[18] I next turn to the related advisory material in Part 5, before examining the prophetic texts in Part 4.[19] I conclude my analysis of the manuscript's Scottish material with an examination of the legal texts and ownership inscriptions in Parts 3, 4, 8 and 9. Finally, I discuss the English material in Parts 1 and 2, which joined the Scottish material in Parts 3 to 9 after these parts had already been bound together and provided with signature marks earlier in the sixteenth century.

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[16] Lyall (1976a), p. 25; Mapstone (2001c), p. 137. See also Mapstone (1986), pp. 144-200.
[17] *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Lupack, p. 4.
[18] There are two editions of Part 6: *Ratis Raving*, ed. Lumby and *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan. I quote from Girvan.
[19] For Part 5 and most of the prophetic material in Part 4 see *Bernadus De Cura*, ed. Lumby.

Part 7: *Lancelot of the Laik*

As outlined above, much criticism has focused on the poem's attitude towards Arthur,[20] its authorship and date, and the role of Amytans' advice. The following material analysis of *Lancelot*'s compilation in Kk.1.5 helps to develop responses to the latter two critical issues.

Lancelot is written on paper (measuring *c.* 273 x 198 mm). The watermarks are now difficult to examine, but Lyall previously analysed them and dated Part 7 to *c.* 1490.[21] *Lancelot* was thus copied around the same time as several other Older Scots romances and related manuscripts discussed in this thesis, including the 1499 redaction of Hay's *BKA*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and the Hay Prose Manuscript.[22]

Between three modern front and back flyleaves, *Lancelot* is copied onto fols 1ʳ-42ᵛ in single columns (measuring *c.* 185-200 x 70-100 mm), several ruled in brown crayon or ink, at an average of 37 lines.[23] Catchwords in the scribal hand appear on the verso of a gathering's final leaf. There are three gatherings in total, the first running from fols 1ʳ to 10ᵛ, the second from 11ʳ to 26ᵛ and the third from 27ʳ to 42ᵛ. A catchword on the final folio (42ᵛ), 'And sich encont*er*', indicates that further text was to and most likely did once follow.[24] This text was already lost, however, before signature marks were provided in the sixteenth century when Parts 3 to 9 of Kk.1.5 were first bound together.[25]

Part 7 is written by one scribe using a Scottish secretary script from the second half/last quarter of the fifteenth century. The same scribe also copied the

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[20] Göller (1962), (1963), pp. 137-43; F. Ross (1967); F. Alexander (1975); Royan (2002).
[21] Lyall (1984).
[22] Mapstone (1991), p. 422.
[23] I follow the manuscript's most recent foliation.
[24] The now lost narrative is outlined in the Prologue ll. 299-313.
[25] Sixteenth-century signature marks run without interruption from the third and final gathering of *Lancelot* through to Parts 8 and 9.

moral/advisory material in Part 6. He there identifies himself in a colophon at the end

of the *Dicta Salomonis* (fol. 12ʳ) by writing 'Expliciunt dicta Salomon*is*/ per manum V de

F etc'. This unknown V de F has occasionally been linked with the second scribe of the

late fifteenth-century Scottish manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden.

B. 24,[26] which contains, amongst other things, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and James

I's *Kingis Quair*. Boffey and Edwards' more recent comparison of the two hands 'does

not confirm this identification',[27] although they note the coincidence that Part 6 (fols

4ᵛ-5ᵛ) and Arch. Selden. B. 24 (fol. 119ʳ) both contain a copy of Chaucer's *Truth*

(*NIMEV* 809)[28].

Further such links between the two manuscripts present themselves. The

Lancelot author was, for instance, familiar with James I's *Kingis Quair*, Chaucer's *Legend of*

Good Women and *Troilus and Criseyde*, and possibly Lydgate's *Complaynt of the Black Knight*,

all of which are found in Arch. Selden. B. 24.[29] Previous critics have also attempted to

attribute the latter manuscript's *The Quare of Jelusy* (*NIMEV* 3627.5; fols 221ᵛ-8ᵛ), to the

Lancelot author on the basis on verbal and linguistic similarities.[30]

In addition, KK.1.5 Part 6 fols 49ʳ-54ʳ contains *The Thewis off Gudwomen* which,

as discussed in Chapter 2, also appears in a metrically adapted form within Hay's *BKA*.

Book II of *Lancelot* also appears to echo Hay's *Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis* (*BGP*) and

Buke of Knychthede (*BK*).[31] Along with *The Buke of the Law of Armys*, *BGP* and *BK* were

copied into the Hay Prose Manuscript *c.* 1490-1510. That manuscript's scribe was also

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[26] For example, *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Gray, p. xi.
[27] *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Boffey and Edwards, p. 11.
[28] Both versions form part of the γ-group: see Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. L.D. Benson, p. 1189. Kk.1.5 contains unique readings at ll. 11 and 19, and interchanges l. 13 for l. 6. The poem has no title in either manuscript. The Asloan manuscript, discussed in Chapter 6, may also have contained this poem; the original contents pages list, 'Itm a ballat of treuth'. See W.A. Craigie, ed., (1923-5), vol. I, p. xiv.
[29] Such parallels are discussed in the introductions and notes to all editions of *Lancelot*. See also Martin (2008), pp. 42-3.
[30] Skeat (1910-11); M.M. Gray et al. (1910-11); *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Gray, pp. xviii-xx; Lyall (1976a), p. 13; Lyall (1976b).
[31] Mapstone (2001c), pp. 136-7.

responsible for fols 1[r]-209[v] of Arch. Selden. B. 24, as well as NAS, MS GD 45/31/I-II

(a manuscript of Norse and Scots historical material),[32] and a manuscript copy (from

Martin Morin's 1499 Rouen print) of Mirk's *Festial* and *Quattuor Sermones* (Cambridge, St.

John's College, MS G.19); all four manuscripts can, furthermore, be identified with

either the Roslin or Ravenscraig branches of the Sinclair family.[33]

There are, therefore, multiple and often-overlapping associations between

Lancelot, the poems and prose of Sir Gilbert Hay, Kk.1.5 (Parts 6 and 7) and the four

Sinclair-manuscripts. This again supports Rhiannon Purdie's observation of the way in

which Older Scots romance 'texts are circulating in a relatively small, self-consciously

interconnected literary culture'.[34] It also hints at a community around Roslin, active

between *c.* 1490 and 1510, that shared its literature, a fashion for anthologising, and a

school of scribes.[35] The Selden-scribe and V de F were most likely household

secretaries, like Alexander Levingstoun discussed in Chapter 2, or notaries public, like

Thomas White or John Asloan discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, who extended their

professional activities in the legal sphere to the copying of literary manuscripts. The

association of notaries public as authors, copyists, printers or readers, with Older Scots

literature has been outlined in my introduction, and their association with Older Scots

romance will continue to be a significant and recurring feature of this thesis.

Having discussed Part 7's scribe, it remains to consider its layout and

decoration. *Lancelot* has no title, and nor are its three individual books titled, although

they are distinguished by explicits, incipits, and heavy initial decoration and/or

rubrication. The Prologue runs from fols 1[r] to 5[r], Book I from fols 5[v] to 16[v], Book II

from fols 16[v] to 30[v], and the incomplete Book III from fols 30[v] to 42[v].

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[32] Chesnutt (1985).
[33] Mapstone (2005b), pp. 4-6.
[34] Purdie (2006), p. 175.
[35] Boffey (2000a), p. 130 and Mapstone (2005b) pp. 5-6.

Red and black ink is used throughout Part 7 for several types of decoration, including the exaggeration and decoration of ascenders (and occasionally descenders), usually in black ink, although sometimes with a little red, as on fol. 1ʳ. Cadellae are also often used on the top line, particularly on fols 1-25 and again at the start of Books I, II and III, where they signal structural divisions. They also occur at seemingly less significant points throughout the text suggesting that V de F enjoyed experimenting with decoration and different styles of handwriting.[36]

Parts 6 and 7 both contain a large number of gaps where an initial should have been rubricated. Where rubrication has been completed, several types occur.[37] Large rubricated and inhabited initials appear at the start of Books I and III, where the faces most probably represent Titan and either Phoebus or Saturn referred to in the opening lines of these books (ll. 335, 2472-4). Both of these book openings, as well as the Prologue and start of Book II (which begin with large decorated and rubricated initials and several cadellae), are set-piece passages describing the weather. Such seasonal prologues and book openings are common in Older Scots literature. Examples include the opening of *The Kingis Quair*, the openings of Books 3, 4, 5 and 6 in *The Wallace*, the beginning of Henryson's *Preiching of the Swallow*, Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe* and *The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, and the prologues to Douglas's *Eneados*, particularly 7, 12 and 13. The first five lines of the otherwise missing prologue to Book 5 of *Clariodus* are also seasonal and these lines, like the poem's other book openings, are highlighted in the poem's single witness with a book heading, ornament and large decorated initial.[38] The rubrication and ornamentation at the beginning of Books I and III of *Lancelot* is thus an early material reflection of a literary tradition that developed throughout the

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[36] Compare also Part 6, fols 34ᵛ-5ʳ where V de F adopts a different duct/ script. This is not, *pace Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, p. 48, a change of hand.

[37] The patterns of rubrication in Books I to III appear to be partly authorial, perhaps stemming from a copy of the original French prose source. The fact that there are no rubricated initials, or gaps for them, in the Prologue supports this since that passage is entirely original to the Scots translation.

[38] See pp. 288-9.

sixteenth century; it signals narrative division and highlights the passages' rhetorical nature.

Smaller rubricated and inhabited initials occur at ll. 405, 634, 687, 1429, 2357, and 3269, with faces either in front or left profile. These are used when a specific person is being referred to, and they also signal the character's gender, since female faces occur at ll. 687 and 2357 when the Lady of Melyhalt is mentioned. Similar faces occur in Part 6, decorating *Ratis Raving* (fols 25ʳ, 26ᵛ, 27ʳ), where they refer to the various 'eilds' of man (ll. 1104-733).

Most of the rubrication in Part 7 is uninhabited.[39] It signals narrative transition and key moments such as the beginning of speeches (e.g. ll. 547, 634, 919, 935, 1389, 1463, 1590) or the beginning of battles (e.g. l. 771). Most significantly, several initial letters during Amytans' advice to Arthur are also rubricated (ll. 1463, 1543, 1590, 1658, 1671, 1681). Skeat says of the first of these, '[t]his line (though it should not) begins with an illuminated letter'.[40] The rubrication is, however, entirely appropriate, since it highlights the beginning of Amtyans' advice. The second rubricated initial signals the entrance of a messenger to announce that Galiot has granted Arthur a year's truce, whilst the third rubricated initial highlights Amytans' joyous response to this news. The next three rubricated initials are even more significant. They all occur on fol. 21ʳ, and are much larger than rubricated initials elsewhere in Part 7. The first marks Amytans' advice on the perils of minority rule (an addition to the French prose); the second highlights a section on the importance of a king sticking to his word; and the third emphasises the need for largesse and humility. Such attention to advice to princes elements is paralleled in both manuscripts of Hay's *BKA;* verse paragraphs and

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[39] Each rubricated letter is two-lines high; the line beginning with a rubricated initial and the following line are also indented.
[40] *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Skeat, p. 43, note to l. 1463.

rubricated initials there highlight fourteen separate points of Aristotle's advice to Alexander in the formal 'Regiment'.

Two further passages in *Lancelot* are highlighted through rubrication and decoration. One of these again occurs during Amytans' advice to Arthur, specifically his explanation of the riddle of the lion, leech and flower (ll. 2013-130). At ll. 2087-108 Amytans explains that the flower symbolises the Virgin Mary. The Scots author responds to and adapts the original French by removing much of its emphasis on the Flower's 'fruit' (Christ) and extending its use of anaphora to extol the Virgin's merits. The anaphora, which follows a rubricated initial at l. 2087, appears particularly prominent on fol. 26ʳ and draws attention to this highly rhetorical section of Amytans' advice to Arthur. It recalls other fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Scottish lyrics in praise of the Virgin Mary such as Dunbar's 'Hale, sterne superne, hale, in eterne', and the following three poems which accompany it in the Asloan Manuscript, 'O hie emprys and queen celestiale', 'Ros Mary most of vertewe virginale' and Kennedy's 'Closter of Crist riche recent flour delys'.[41] A further analogue is the stylised hymn in praise of the Virgin sung by birds in Holland's *Buke of the Howlat* (ll. 716-54).[42]

A similarly lyrical passage is highlighted on fol. 9ᵛ. This folio contains three rubricated initials at ll. 675, 687 and 699. The last of these signals the beginning of Lancelot's complaint (ll. 699-718), a formal *planctus* unique to the Scottish translation. Each five-line stanza is separated (between ll. 698-9, 703-4, 708-9, 713-14 and 718-19) by a black space through which a patterned line in red and black/brown ink has been added. Decoration thus distinguishes Lancelot's complaint from the narrative proper. The complaint forms part of the poem's overall self-consciousness, evident also in the

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[41] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. II, pp. 245-6, 270-8; William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 16; Walter Kennedy, *Poems*, ed. Meier, pp. lxxv-xc, 13-15. The same point is made by Johnston, ed. (1979), p. 14.

[42] In *Longer Scottish Poems*, ed. Bawcutt and Riddy, pp. 43-84. For further information on these Marian lyrics see D. Gray (2001) and Bawcutt (2006), pp. 128-31.

echoes of *The Kingis Quair, Legend of Good Women* and *Troilus and Criseyde* in the poem's

Prologue, formulaic battle-descriptions (e.g. ll. 3294ff.), and the set pieces describing

seasonal changes already discussed. *Lancelot*'s division into books, unique to the

Scottish translation, may additionally have been influenced by Chaucer's presentation of

Troilus as five books, whilst Lancelot's complaints echo many of Troilus', particularly his

reference to 'the suord of double peine and wo' (l. 701). They also recall the laments of

Lancelot's unique prologue-lover. An internal and intertextual association is thus forged

between Lancelot, Troilus and the prologue-lover.[43]

I would suggest that the emphasis placed on Lancelot's lament through

decoration and *mise-en-page* might originate both with the poem's author and with the

scribe/rubricator. As outlined above, literary allusions reveal that the poem's author

was familiar with Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, whilst the scribe (V de F) may have been

familiar with the copy of that poem in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden. B.

24. As already noted in Chapter 2, this manuscript is one of the most heavily glossed of

the sixteen extant manuscripts of Chaucer's *Troilus*[44] and its early scribes and readers

seem to have been keen to highlight the different modes of non-narrative discourse

found throughout the poem, in particular the *Cantici Troili* and the letters exchanged

between Troilus and Criseyde. This scribal practice extends to other texts in Arch.

Selden. B. 24. The point at which the *Kingis Quair* narrator begins his 'buke' (ll. 90-1)[45]

is, for instance, mimetically marked on fol. 193ʳ with the use of a symbol rather than the

word 'cross' ('And furth wᵗ all my pen in hand I tuke/ And maid a † and thus begouth

my buke'), whilst the nightingale's song at ll. 231-8 on fol. 195ʳ is marked 'cantus' in the

left margin. In the *Quare of Jelusy* the '*trety* In the/ reprefe of Ielousye' (fol. 225ʳ, my

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[43] Within the bounds of Kk.1.5 one might also associate Lancelot's complaint with the love-lyric, 'Adew der hart/ be man depart' (*NIMEV* 120.7), which was copied in a sixteenth-century hand onto a loose leaf in Part 9. See Stevens (1961), pp. 14-15, 29, 53, 124-5, 129, 393-4 and Boffey (1985), pp. 89-90.

[44] Windeatt (1992), p. 13 and above p. 94.

[45] James I, *Kingis Quair*, ed. Norton-Smith. I quote from my own transcription of the manuscript, but provide line numbers from this edition.

italics) is also separated from the narrator's complaint and highlighted with a rubric.[46] V

de F may therefore have taken his scribal practices from a manuscript similar to Arch.

Selden. B. 24 whilst *Lancelot*'s author may have himself been influenced by both the *mise-en-page* of his original French text and by manuscripts of vernacular texts such as *Troilus and Criseyde*.

Practices of decoration, rubrication and *mise-en-page* seen across Older Scots

romance manuscripts and prints reveal that scribes and printers took care over the

presentation of their texts and were keen to highlight differing generic layers within the

romances, in particular advisory, lyrical and epistolary passages. I have, for instance,

already discussed in Chapter 2 the way in which the letters exchanged between

Alexander and those cultures he encounters during his travels in *BKA* are highlighted by

additional rubrication in the NAS manuscript, and in Chapter 8 I will discuss the similar

highlighting of letters in the sole witness of *Clariodus*.[47] This scribal attention to genre

follows a practice originating with the poems' authors, described by Edwards as a

'combinative approach' which 'conjoined (quite regularly) romance with other modes';[48]

it also anticipates the practice of later scribes, printers and readers who combined

romance with other literary genres in manuscript collections and printed *Sammelbände*.

The 'combinative approach' in Kk.1.5 is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Part 6: Moral/ Advisory Literature

This booklet of 54 folios comprises a collection of moral and advisory literature in

prose and verse.[49] Its five gatherings are collated as follows: 1^{12} (fols 1^r-12^v), 2^{12} (fols

13^r-24^v), 3^{12} (fols 25^r-36^v), 4^{10} (fols 37^r-46^v), 5^8 (fols 47^r-54^v). If one compares these folio

numbers with the table of contents at the beginning of the chapter, it is apparent that

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[46] *Quare of Jelusy*, ed. Norton-Smith and Pravda, between ll. 316-17.

[47] See pp. 290-3.

[48] Edwards (2000a), p. 72.

[49] The pages measure *c.* 273 x 198 mm.

the gatherings are through-copied. This suggests that the material in Part 6 was already combined in V de F's exemplar.

Lyall's analysis of Part 6's watermark dates copying between *c.* 1483 and 1489/90.[50] V de F thus copied Part 6 around the same time as *Lancelot*. The outer folia of Parts 6 and 7 are considerably worn, suggesting that they remained separate for some time, and Lyall found no codicological evidence to suggest that Parts 6 and 7 were originally intended to be compiled together.[51] The scribe followed the same practice of layout, decoration and rubrication, however, across both parts and whilst effects of layout can be structurally divisive, signalling narrative division within works and separating individual items within a manuscript collection, layout features shared across a manuscript are equally cohesive. The shared layout and decoration of Parts 6 and 7 might thus indicate that the two parts were intended to be read together and it may simply have been an accident that they remained unbound for some time. This is further suggested by thematic correspondences between Parts 6 and 7, which I discuss below.

Courtesy/ conduct literature 'describes the physical, mental, and moral qualities of the ideal gentleman (or lady) and shows how [...] these qualities may be acquired'.[52] During the latter half of the fifteenth century, conduct literature became increasingly popular in England; changes in commercial publishing (especially the use of paper rather than parchment) and a new audience of merchants and guildsmen (desirous of gaining a social refinement along with their increasing wealth) were important stimuli for this proliferation.[53] In Scotland, the genre appears to have been equally popular. The advisory texts in Part 6 form the majority of extant Scottish material, although Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.23 contains another version of *The Thewis off*

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[50] Lyall (1984).
[51] A view expressed in private correspondence with Sally Mapstone in 1985.
[52] Major (1964), p. 61 quoted in Nicholls (1985), p. 12.
[53] Lyall (1989c); Meale (1989); Riddy (1996); Ashley and Clark, eds. (2001).

Gudwomen (fols 164ʳ-7ᵛ) and a Scottish version of Lydgate's *Dietary* (fols 167ᵛ-8ᵛ). Scots versions of the *Dietary* were also copied in the early sixteenth century onto a blank space in the Makculloch Manuscript (fol. 190ʳ⁻ᵛ), and *c.* 1568 into the Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 73ʳ-4ʳ). The original contents pages of the Asloan Manuscript (*c.* 1515-32) reveals that it once contained an unidentified 'buke of curtasy and nortur',[54] whilst the Maitland Folio Manuscript (*c.* 1570-86) contains a wealth of moral/advisory material, much of it advice from father to son like Part 6's *Ratis Raving* and *The Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif His Sone*. Conduct literature thus had an extensive circulation within the manuscript culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.

In fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England, conduct literature commonly circulated alongside romance. Within such collections, readers appear to have differentiated less clearly between the literary and the didactic, blurring generic boundaries across folios and quires. One thinks, for instance, of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61, in which romances such as *Sir Orfeo* and *Sir Isumbras* are compiled alongside more moral/didactic material such as *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* and *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*.[55] I here consider how those advisory texts in Part 7 with which *Lancelot* was most immediately bound bear a thematic relationship to it. There is not space to discuss all of the texts in Part 6 in detail, so I instead concentrate on those which amplify Amytans' advice to Arthur.

In the *Dicta Salomonis* (fols 5ʳ-12ʳ), a vernacular prose paraphrase of the Biblical Book of Ecclesiastes composed most probably in the late fourteenth century,[56] an aged king reflects on his life, on mankind in general and on how a king should govern his private self and public realm. He discusses, for instance, the dangers of minority rule,[57] laments the reversal of hierarchies between rulers and servants, and warns against

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[54] See pp. 75-6.
[55] Blanchfield (1991, 1996). See also Meale (1983, 1984, 2009).
[56] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, p. lv.
[57] Amytans raises the same theme in Book II of *Lancelot* at ll. 1658-71.

reviling a monarch. The Biblical text is also deliberately adapted to a Scottish geo-political context.[58] The opening lines depict a Scottish landscape of 'well*is* in crag*is* and mon-/tanis' (ll. 18-19) and the Scots translation of the Vulgate Chapter 3, Verses 16-17 is nuanced to reflect the contemporary judicial system: 'It*e*m he sais that he behald the wykytnes and i*n*iur*is* that was done be the/ Iug*is* and Iustic*er*is, […]' (ll. 191-3). In advising that a king be 'nocht be our-Iust', the Scots author also expands on the Vulgate, adding that he 'suld have pete and mell/ Iustice and m*er*cy to-gidd*ir* in Iugme*nt*is' (ll. 351-2). This parallels Amytans' exhortation to Arthur to 'lat pas the ilk blessit wonde/ Of lowe w*ith* m*er*cy Iustly throw thi londe' (ll. 1061-2).

In *Ratis Raving* (fols 12^r-36^r), which Girvan dates 'not later than the opening decades of the fifteenth century',[59] a father offers an extended sequence of advice to his son and concludes by discussing the Seven Ages of Man.[60] When detailing the 'fyfte eild' (l.1412), he launches into a lengthy complaint against the times. His description of a world where 'gudlynes', 'evyne mesur' and 'ry*ch*twysnes' are 'misgou*er*nyt', and 'gret lordschip and sen3ory/ is hail ourtan w*ith* tyrandry' (ll.1478ff), parallels Amytans' criticisms of Arthur's rule where, '[i]n the defalt of law and of Iustice', orphans, widows and the poor suffer 'gret myschef' and 'mekill wo' (ll.1351-5).

The remaining father-to- son-advice texts in Part 6 all also relate thematically to Amytans' advice to Arthur. For example, the way in which the qualities of the Wiseman and the vices of the Fool are enumerated in *The Foly of Fulys* (*c*. 1450) parallels Amytans' enumeration of the qualities and vices of the sage monarch and tyrant (ll. 1877-988).[61] Indeed, the virtues of the Wiseman mirror those of the ideal monarch. He 'eu*ir* is redy to do the law' (l. 126), for instance, and 'full of petye and almouss-deid/ And helpis al pwre folk at need' (ll. 185-6). He 'dois honoure till al esstat' (l. 250) and is 'm*er*cyab*l*e'

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[58] On such uses of Biblical texts see Spencer (2004), p. 160.
[59] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, p. lxxii.
[60] Burrow (1986), pp. 48-50.
[61] See also Mapstone (1986), pp. 151-2.

(l. 256), in contrast to the Fool who, like the tyrant, is 'of hasty Judgment' (l. 385). The *Consail and Teiching* also provides an interesting commentary on misrule and the necessity for good counsel that neatly glosses the entirety of Amytans' advice:

> Desyr neu*ir* kepinge of Justice
> In land quhar na law kepyt Is
> Na se*r*uice, office na maistry
> Wndyr p*r*inc*is* that levis by tyrany.
> quhay vysly virk*is* w*ith* consaill
> Is worthi till have goue*r*nall (ll. 279-84).

Both the parental-advice texts and biblical literature in Part 6 can thus be read in dialogue with the advice to princes elements of *Lancelot of the Laik*. Such thematic correspondences, and the shared copying of Parts 6 and 7 by V de F, again suggests that the two parts might have been copied in order to be read alongside one another.

Further correspondences between *Lancelot* and the other advisory material in Part 6 support this hypothesis. For example, *The Thewis off Gudwomen* (fols 49^r-53^r), which enumerates the manner in which a young woman should conduct herself in the domestic and public spheres of everyday life, both concludes the run of parental advisory material in Part 6 and operates within the bounds of Kk.1.5 in dialogue with the advice given to *Lancelot*'s female characters, including the scene at the end of Book I where the Lady of Melyhalt's kinswoman warns her against loving Lancelot (ll. 1184-274), and the scene where Gawain rebukes Guinevere for not sending a message of encouragement to Lancelot (ll. 2901-3016). Its juxtaposition alongside *Lancelot* also mirrors the inclusion of an interpolated version of *The Thewis* within Hay's *BKA*.[62]

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[62] See pp. 70-5.

Part 5: *Bernadus de Cura Rei Famuliaris*

The manuscript's fifth part is a ten-folio gathering copied *c.* 1475,[63] containing *Bernadus de Cura Rei Famuliaris* (*NIMEV* 450).[64] Purporting to be a letter sent by St. Bernard to one 'raymwnde knycht of chewalry' (l. 9), this treatise of 408 lines addresses the male head of a household, and advises him on domestic management and household economy.

The treatise was originally written in Latin but in this version abbreviated sentences from the original Latin are instead used as rubrics to head and distinguish sections of the Scots verse paraphrase.[65] The poem's opening lines clearly attracted an early reader since they were copied onto a blank page (fol. 1ᵛ) at the beginning of the gathering.[66] They interestingly parallel the sentiment voiced in the opening lines of *The Foly of Fulys* (ll. 1-6), quoted at the beginning of this thesis, and also provide an apt gloss on the advisory nature of Kk.1.5 as a whole:

> AWtenyk bukys and storis alde and new
> Be wys poetys ar tretit, þᵉ quhilk trew,
> Sum maide for law of god in document,
> And oþir sum for vardly regiment (ll. 1-4).

The original Latin letter survives in five Scottish witnesses, namely a fifteenth-century paper manuscript, now Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library (Herzog-August-Bibliothek), Cod. Helmst 1006, which contains a miscellaneous collection of tractates, papal mandates, and a record of taxation,[67] and in four manuscripts of Bower's *Scotichronicon*: BL, MS Royal 13.E.X (MS R); EUL, MS 186 (MS E); Darnaway Castle,

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[63] The pages measure *c.* 273 x 198/9 mm.

[64] *Pace Ratis Raving*, ed. Lumby, p. v, Part 5 was not written by the same scribe as Parts 3 and 4. It was instead written on a different paper stock in a more upright and less cursive script.

[65] The Latin letter is printed in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 182, ed. Migne, 'Epistola CDLVI', cols. 647-51.

[66] Another pentrial on fol. 1ᵛ begins 'I pray ȝow yat ye […]'. Pentrials on fol. 10ᵛ at the end of the poem include the Latin prayer for the dead, 'Anime omnium fidelium'.

[67] The manuscript is described in *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, ed. Baxter, pp. xiv-xv.

Donibristle MS (MS D); and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 (MS C).[68] MS C was borrowed and annotated by Sir Gilbert Hay, author of the *BKA*, between 1458 and 1464; it, MS D and MS E also contain *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*, which bears a close relationship to the *OA*, as discussed in Chapter 1.[69] There is, thus, a three-fold connection between the *Bernadus* and Older Scots romance.

Part 4: Prophecies

Parts 3 and 4 were written by one scribe on the same paper stock (dated *c.* 1457-74)[70] and contain a mixture of legal and prophetic material. I consider the legal material in the following section. I here provide the most detailed examination to date of the prophetic material copied into Part 4 (fols 23^v-35^r) and demonstrate its thematic relationship to *Lancelot of the Laik*.

Political prophecies were popular throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and although claiming to predict the future, they were most often written after the event with the aim of influencing current and future social, political and ecclesiastical policy. Animal characters were frequently used to refer to contemporary rulers and nobles, and the resultant enigmatic nature of the texts enabled them to be recycled in subsequent years and re-applied to new political situations.[71]

Like Part 4, most surviving witnesses of late medieval prophecy date from the fifteenth century, in part because of the way in which texts composed in previous centuries were re-appropriated for partisan use during the dynastic struggles of that period. The surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts are often cheaply produced utilitarian volumes, many belonging to lay rather than clerical owners, and within them

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[68] *Scotichronicon*, vol. IX, p. 39.
[69] See pp. 34-41, 64.
[70] Lyall (1984).
[71] *Manual,* vol. V, pp. 1385-536; Taylor (1911); Coote (2000).

prophecy is not infrequently compiled alongside advisory, historical, and chivalric material, as it is in Kk.1.5.[72]

I here demonstrate how the prophecies of Part 4 can be read in dialogue with Amytans' advice to Arthur.[73] Although their ostensible subject is most often the Anglo-Scots and Anglo-French wars of the thirteenth century, the authors also call for social, ecclesiastical and political reform, and demonstrate how the moral health of the king affects the moral health of the nation. The same point is frequently made by Amytans in his advice to Arthur (e.g. ll. 1985-6).

Fols 23[v]-4[v] contain a Latin verse text beginning 'Taurus cornutus, ex patris germine Brutus'.[74] This is an extract from the so-called *Prophecy of John of Bridlington*,[75] specifically the whole of Chapters 5-8 and beginning of Chapter 9 from the prophecy's third Distinction. *Bridlington* was written *c.* 1349-50, although parts may date from the 1330s. Its twenty-nine poems, of roughly thirty lines each, are divided into three sections, and offer a 'semi-satirical retrospect on the events of 1327-49'.[76]

Although the prophecy begins with the disastrous final years of Edward II's reign,[77] its main subject is Edward III and his wars against France and Scotland. Poems with a Scottish focus include 1.4 (on the marriage of Edward's sister, Joan, to David II of Scotland and the battle of Haildon Hill), 2.2 (on the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, at which David II was captured by the English), 2.10 (on the resumed reign of Edward Balliol and David II's naming of Edward III as his heir), and 3.4 (on attempts to secure David II's release).[78] Two of the poems included in Kk.1.5 Part 4 also have a Scottish focus. Poems 3.6 and 3.7, for instance, 'foretell an invasion of England by the "Crab"

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[72] Coote (2000), pp. 9-11, 15 and *passim*.
[73] *Lancelot* itself includes dreams and prophetic matter. See M. Robbins (2002), pp. 429-30 and Martin (2008), p. 44.
[74] Printed in the appendix to *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 131-4.
[75] See *Political Poems*, ed. Wright, vol. I, pp. 123-215 (192-203) and Coote (2000), pp. 121-8.
[76] Rigg (1988), p. 613.
[77] The reign of Edward II is the subject of the extract from Caxton's *The Chronicles of England* copied into NAS, MS GD 112/71/1 (1). See pp. 106-7.
[78] I take these readings from Rigg (1988).

(that is, David Bruce)' and Rigg suggests that 'the poet is probably alluding to the invasion of 1348, when the Scots attempted to rescue David from imprisonment'.[79]

Poem 3.5, which is also included in Part 4 of Kk.1.5, is particularly interesting in relation to *Lancelot of the Laik*. It is 'an optimistic prophecy of the Bull's reform (in the matters of sex, appointment of judges, and tax gathering) and his recovery of his ancient rights [to the crown of France]'.[80] It is also the culmination of a series of earlier poems dealing with the consequences of Edward III's moral laxity. Poem 2.3, for instance, focuses solely on Edward's adulterous affair at Calais with an unidentified 'Diana'. Edward's people suffer for his misdemeanour; his punishment results not only in the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348, but also in famine, an earthquake, and storms at sea (poems 3.1 and 3.4). 'Diana' is further held responsible for hindering the king's war effort in poem 3.2.

This focus on the dangers of amatory excess for personal and public governance and the resultant need for royal reform speaks directly to the main themes of *Lancelot of the Laik*. In Book II, Amytans rebukes Arthur for focusing on his private interest to the detriment of the realm (ll. 1349-71). Unlike Edward III, Arthur is not himself portrayed in *Lancelot* as a lover. Instead, Lancelot fulfils that role, and he must learn to moderate his love for Guinevere so that he can act in his country's defence. Arthur and Lancelot, king and lover, are dual protagonists, whose journeys towards reform illustrate the necessity for correct self-governance and the impact of that on the public, political sphere.[81]

The next political prophecy in Part 4 is 'Qwhen the koke in the northe hallows his nest', otherwise known as *The First Scottish Prophecy* (*NIMEV* 4029).[82] This poem

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[79] Rigg (1988), pp. 606-7.
[80] Rigg (1988), p. 606.
[81] See further Martin (2008), pp. 41-60.
[82] This poem is printed in *Bernadus De Cura*, ed. Lumby, pp. 18-22. See also *Historical Poems*, ed. Robbins, pp. 115-17 and *Manual*, vol. V, p. 1523.

was most probably composed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but survives only

in eighteen fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript versions. Several interpretations

of the prophecy have been advanced. Brandl identified the poem with the Percy-

Glendower rebellion of 1402,[83] but Taylor more convincingly suggested that references

within the poem, such as the naming of England as 'tro vntrew' ('Troy Untrue') (l. 37)

instead suggest a Scottish origin.[84] References to fighting in Lothian and around the

Tweed are equally suggestive of Border warfare (ll. 82-5). They interestingly lead on to

a passage reminiscent of that lamenting the times in *Ratis Raving* (ll. 1480-557):

> Þan dar no pur ma*n* say whose ma*n* he is,
> Þan sall þat lande be lawless, for luf is þar nane;
> Þan sall falsett haue fute fully V. yhere,
> And treuth trewly salbe tynt and few trast oþ*ir* […] (ll. 88-91).

Since Anglo-Scots warfare continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,

Part 4's copy of *The First Scottish Prophecy* would have been of continued political

relevance when copied *c.* 1457-74, and when read again throughout the sixteenth

century.

The third prophecy in Part 4 begins 'Thomas takes the Ieull – and Ihesus

thankis', otherwise known as the *Alliterative Becket* (*NIMEV* 3665).[85] The only other

witness for this alliterative poem is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 56 (fols 45[r]-

6[v]). The two versions are broadly the same,[86] even though the ultimately longer version

in Part 4 lacks Hatton's first twenty-eight lines.[87]

In the centuries after his death in 1170, the martyr Thomas Becket was

increasingly associated with miracles and prophecies.[88] In the *Alliterative Becket*,

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[83] Brandl (1909), pp. 1166-74.
[84] Taylor (1911), pp. 75-6. See pp. 124-5 for the Scottish response to the English Trojan-origin myth.
[85] *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 135-55; *Bernadus De Cura*, ed. Lumby, pp. 23-31.
[86] Taylor (1911), pp. 58-60.
[87] These lines are printed in Taylor (1911), appendix II, p. 165.
[88] For Scottish devotion to Becket see S.C. Wilson (1926-7) and Penman (2006).

described by Coote as a 'peripatetic romance',[89] the exiled Becket journeys through France, eventually reaching Avignon where he asks a burgess about the foundations of a tower which he can see. The burgess replies that work has stopped after the discovery of an inscribed stone predicting destruction at the hands of a Boar from 'Brettane'. Becket subsequently ensures that the tower is built and the remainder of the poem outlines victory for the Boar in France, thus implicitly referring to Edward III's campaigns up to the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. The capture of David II of Scotland is also referred to, followed by a prophecy which predicts further victories for the Boar in France and Italy, his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, and a crusade to the Holy Land. Once again, references to Anglo-Scots warfare would have been of renewed and repeated interest for the poem's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish readers.

The *Alliterative Becket* is followed by two hitherto unnoted Latin texts. Fols 32[r]-3[r] contain two prophecies known as 'The Holy Oil of St. Thomas' and 'Lilium Regnans'.[90] The former, which was most likely composed between 1320 and 1340, purports to be a letter written by Thomas Becket and concerns the gift of a stone flask filled with holy oil given to him by Virgin Mary. This oil was to be used for the anointing of a future but unspecified king of England,[91] who will again recover his rights in France, as will the hero of the second prophecy, 'Lilium Regnans'.[92] The 'Holy Oil' and 'Lilium Regnans' thus bear a direct relationship to the aforementioned *Alliterative Becket*.

The fourth and final prophecy in Part 4 is 'Qwhen Rome is removyde in to Inglande', otherwise known as *The Second Scottish Prophecy* (*NIMEV* 4008).[93] Versions of this poem survive in twenty-one manuscripts, and these versions can be divided into

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[89] Coote (2000), p. 130.
[90] Versions are printed in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 190, ed. Migne, cols. 391-4.
[91] Sandquist (1969); Duggan (1980), pp. 137-8, n. 4; Coote (2000), pp. 94-6.
[92] Coote (2000), pp. 96-8.
[93] *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 156-9; *Bernadus De Cura*, ed. Lumby, pp. 32-4; *Manual*, vol. V, p. 1524; *Historical Poems*, ed. Robbins, pp. 118-20.

three groups; the version in Kk.1.5 belongs to the first (A) group.[94] Once again, the prophecy treats of Anglo-Scots Border warfare, in particular the struggle for Berwick.

Following the prophecies, Part 4 concludes with an advisory prose text beginning 'Here begynth A shorte ext*ra*cte, and telleth how þar ware sex mast*er*ys asemblede […]'.[95] It is an abbreviated Scots version of *A Treatise on Tribulation*, a popular English text that came to be printed by Caxton and de Worde (*STC* 3305, 20412 and 20413) as part of a 'Book of divers ghostly matters'. Caxton's publication also included 'the arte and crafte to knowe well to die', and it is thus interesting to note that Part 6 of Kk.1.5 itself contains a text in the same *ars moriendi* tradition, *The Craft of Deyng* (fols 1-4ͬ).[96] English versions of *The Craft* and *A Treatise* previously circulated with a number of other texts on death and salvation in what Morgan has labelled 'compendia of faith'.[97] Caxton's print and the sixteenth-century compilation of the two texts within Kk.1.5 therefore reflects this earlier manuscript tradition.

The prophecies and *Treatise* were copied with care. Stanzas, for instance, are signalled through division in the *mise-en-page* or with paraph marks, and litterae notabiliores are touched with red ink. Notae marks also occur. One highlights a passage on the 'haly kyrke' at l. 112 of *The First Scottish Prophecy* whilst another attends to a passage on the removal of the Papacy to Avignon in *The Alliterative Becket* (l. 28). Such careful layout and annotation suggests that Part 4's prophecies were not simply copied to supplement the legal material at the beginning of the book. They were instead copied for their own sake and testify to their owner's interest in political prophecy and also to the literary exchange between England and Scotland that existed despite, or perhaps because of, contemporary Anglo-Scots warfare.

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[94] *When Rome is Removed*, ed. Haferkorn; *Historical Poems*, ed. Robbins, pp. 312-3.

[95] *Bernadus De Cura*, ed. Lumby, pp. 35-6; *Yorkshire Writers*, ed. Horstmann, vol. II, pp. 390-1; *Manual*, vol. VII, p. 2295, vol. IX, pp. 3127-8; Jolliffe (1974), p. 115, J.2 (c).

[96] *Yorkshire Writers*, ed. Horstmann, vol. II, pp. 406-20; *Book of the Craft of Dying*, ed. Cooper; Jolliffe (1974), p. 124, L.4 (b); 'Critical Edition', ed. Morgan, vol. I, pp. 62-3.

[97] 'Critical Edition', ed. Morgan, vol. I, p. 128.

Parts 3, 4, 8 and 9: 'Books of Law'

In his wills of 1390 and 1392, James Douglas of Dalkeith bequeathed to his son 'omnes libros meos tam statutorum regni Scocie quam romancie', 'all my books, both of the statutes of the realm of Scotland and of romances'.[98] Just over a century later, the son of Robert 2nd Lord Lyle (*d.* 1497) sought to recover his deceased father's property, including 'a buke of storeis' and a 'buke of law'.[99] These two combinations of imaginative literature and legal material are prime analogues for the framing within Kk.1.5 of *Lancelot* by the legal material compiled in Parts 3, 4, 8 and 9. I here focus on a selection of that legal material and illustrate how it further illuminates Amytans' advice to Arthur.[100]

I begin with a text found in Part 3 (fols 2ʳ-40ʳ) and, in an abbreviated form, in Part 8 (fols 10ʳ-16ᵛ).[101] This fourteenth-century Scottish legal treatise, known from its opening words as *Regiam Majestatem*, details the feudal law of medieval Scotland, and although early scholars dated the work to the 1240s, more recent studies have shown that it was compiled after 1318 in an attempt to reiterate the structure of earlier law after the collapse of government during the Wars of Independence.[102] It is therefore associated with the assertion of Scottish identity and sovereignty following a period wherein both of those concepts had been threatened and undermined.[103] Its stirring preface — present not in Part 8 but in abbreviated form in Part 3 — depicts how a king

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[98] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, p. 107; *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, ed. Thomson, vol. II, no. 193, p. 171 and no. 196, p. 181; D. Sellar (1984b), p. 10.

[99] *ADC*, vol. II, p. 297.

[100] Mapstone (1986), pp. 149-50, 153-4 also draws links between *Lancelot* and the manuscript's legal material.

[101] Part 8 (fols 28ʳ-9ᵛ) also contains an extract from a Scottish version of the legal text *Quoniam Attachiamenta*. Other Scottish extracts are found in NLS, MS Advocates' 24.4.15. Although *Quoniam*'s editor says that the Kk.1.5 version was 'found to contain nothing that was both material and unique to itself', the phrasing of the two versions is in fact quite different. *Quoniam Attachiamenta,* ed. Fergus, pp. 58-9.

[102] Details summarised in Macfarlane (1985), p. 87. See also J. Buchanan (1937); Richardson (1955); Duncan (1961); H.L. MacQueen (1993), pp. 89-98.

[103] H.L. MacQueen (1995).

'may with such felicity conduct himself and govern the realm', how he might 'crush the insolence of the violent and unruly and with the sceptre of equality [...] moderate justice to all humble and obedient folk'.[104] The *Regiam*'s opening lines would thus have been amongst the first words of Kk.1.5 in the early sixteenth century, before Parts 1 and 2 were added to it. They appropriately colour the whole compilation and establish its themes of justice and good governance.

The concept of the king as fount of justice is the dominant theme of Parts 8 and 9, where much of the legal material is actively associated with the reign of a particular monarch. A number of the documents focus, for instance, on David I (*c.* 1085-1153) who had by the late fourteenth /early fifteenth century become a prominent figure in Scottish chronicles where he gained a reputation as a successful lawmaker and epitome of the strong monarch.[105] Thus, the *Regiam*'s prologue states that it was composed at the command of David I, and the preface to Part 4's *Leges Burgorum* (fols 5ʳ-23ʳ) tells how David assembled twenty-four of his wisest clerks and commanded them to travel through the kingdoms of Christendom and examine different laws before producing a set of their own.[106]

Alongside further extracts 'out of king dauid statute' (fols 17ʳ-19ʳ), Part 8 also contains acts attributed to the reigns of King William (*c.* 1142-1214) (fols 22ᵛ-5ᵛ) and Robert I (1274-1329) (fols 19ᵛ-22ʳ). Like David I, William became established as a lawmaker, whilst the laws of Robert I, made after the Wars of Independence, carry associations of Scottish sovereignty and independence.[107] When read in light of *Lancelot*, these statutes fulfill and embody Amytans' desire for a king that establishes and maintains justice (e.g. ll. 1635-50).

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104 Lord Cooper, ed. and trans. (1947), p. 58.
105 Oram (2004), pp. 208-9, 212.
106 H.L. MacQueen (1993), pp. 87-8.
107 H.L. MacQueen (1993), pp. 86-9.

Parts 8 and 9 also contain material associated with reign of James III. This is particularly interesting given that most recent scholars have rejected earlier attempts to link *Lancelot of the Laik* to the reign of that king.[108] The combination of material in Parts 8/9 suggests that there may be an association after all, even if that association is retrospective and/or limited to Kk.1.5. Part 9 contains Acts of Parliament from 1469 (fols 1ʳ-4ʳ) that range from small measures such as fishing laws and bridge-building to more important matters concerning corrupt local justice, punishment for murder, and efforts to protect the poor commons from the debts of their overlords.[109] It was in the same year, soon after his marriage to Margaret of Denmark, that James III took control of his own parliament by punishing the Boyds for kidnapping him earlier in his minority and asserting 'ful Jurisdictioune *and* fre Impire within his Realme'.[110] In *Lancelot*, Amytans similarly advises Arthur about how kings should rule when they come 'to yheris of Resone'. Although 'excusit' for actions undertaken in 'tend*er* ag', adult monarchs will be punished '[i]f thei tak not full contrisioune,/ And pwnys them that hath ther low mysgyit' (ll.1658-63).

Part 8 (fols 42ʳ-4ʳ) is also a unique witness for minutes/draft material from the Parliament of January 1464/5 held during James III's minority.[111] The verbal parallels between Amytans' advice and this parliamentary procedure are especially interesting. After introductory formulae (e.g. 'Item as twching þe Article [...]'), the minutes adopt a particular style of phrasing in which one is informed what action '[t]he lord*is* think*is* speidfull'. These lords would have been the Lords of the Articles, an elected committee which drafted the king's business away from the full sederunt.[112] Their formulaic phrasing is unique and differs from the customary 'it is statute and ordanyt' used in

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[108] See pp. 134-5.
[109] *APS*, vol. II, pp. 94(1)-97(19)
[110] *APS*, vol. II, p. 95(6). On this parliament see further Tanner (2001), p. 191; Macdougall (2009), pp. 87-9.
[111] *APS*, vol. XII, pp. 30-1; Tanner (2001) pp. 179-80; Macdougall (2009), pp. 54, 56.
[112] Tanner (2000a).

Parliamentary statutes.[113]   It epitomises, furthermore, a perception of government

whereby the Crown received counsel, even criticism, rather than holding a monopoly of

power. The tone of Amytans' advice to Arthur therefore recalls the manner in which

Lords of the Estates counselled and criticised the King. Indeed, much of his advice

echoes parliamentary procedure and parlance in the reign of James III. He tells Arthur

to choose those 'mi*ni*steris that rewll haith of Iustice', for instance, and ensure that they

'be descret til wnd*er*stond/ And lowe and ek the mat*er* of the londe' (ll.1612-4); Arthur

himself must pass 'to euery chef toune' (l.1645) and ensure that 'Iustice be Elyk/ With-

out diuisione baith to pur *and* ryk./ And that thi puple have [ane] awdiens/ W*ith* thar

complant*is*, and also thi p*res*ens'(ll.1647-50). In 1473, Parliament similarly exhorted

James III to 'travel throw his Realme *and* put sic Justice *and* polycy in his awne realme

[...] þ[t] he mycht optene þe name of sa Just a p*ri*nce *and* sa vertews *and* sa wele Reuland

[...]',[114] whilst in 1483 it said: '[t]he lordis think*is* expedient and Counsalis the king*is*

hienes to gar his Justice air*is* be sett *and* haldin gen*er*ally throu þe Realme [...].[115] Such

parallels suggest that by drawing on legal and parliamentary idiom, authors like the

Lancelot poet could deliberately increase the potential political relevance of their writing.

The familiarity with legal idiom which this would have required in turn indicates that the

Lancelot author may have himself been a notary public, like Robert Henryson or Richard

Holland, author of *The Buke of the Howlat*.[116]

    In addition to their legal material, Parts 8 and 9 also contain a number of names

and signatures which hint at the cultural, professional and social milieu within which the

manuscript was compiled and read.[117] I begin with the 1464/5 minutes. They are in the

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[113] Rait (1915-16). Also J.M. Brown (1977b) p. 46.

[114] *APS*, vol. II, p. 104(6).

[115] *APS*, vol. II, p. 165(4).

[116] See p. 10.

[117] There is not space to discuss here the William Ramsay, David Ramsay, and Hugo de Dalmahoy whose names appear in the fifteenth-/ sixteenth-century transcripts of fourteenth-century charters in Part 9 (pp. 7, 8), or the Andrew Lawder, who is the subject of a note on a loose leaf in Part 9 (p. 9). All four men

same neat hand as the statutes from the reigns of David I, William I and Robert I, a fact

which suggests that they were not written down at the actual meeting of the Lords of

the Articles. They were, however, written soon after since the paper of Parts 8 and 9

dates from between 1460 and 1470.[118] They were also most likely copied by someone

closely connected with Parliament. The scribe identifies himself on fol. 19^r as one 'V de

H', his signature recalling that of V de F in Part 6.[119] If not actually present in 1464/5,

this V de H must have worked from minutes taken by someone who was. It is

tempting to associate him with some of those 'W.H's who graduated from St. Andrews'

University in the mid- to second half of the fifteenth century.[120] Future research may

reveal his identity, especially since his hand is distinctive.

Fol. 26^v contains the inscription, 'liber Jacobi Logan',[121] written in a hand very

similar to that providing the sixteenth-century signature marks throughout Parts 3 to 9.

This indicates that the man who signed his name on fol. 26^v may also be responsible for

bringing the originally independent Scottish booklets together. Girvan suggested that he

was the James Logan, notary and clerk of the burgh of Canongate,[122] who appears

several times in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters*.[123] Several James Logans in fact appear

in the published records during the sixteenth century and it is often hard to distinguish

between them; their identities may overlap and a number may be related to one

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can, however, be identified. The former is most probably William Ramsay of Colluthie (*d.* in or after 1382). See Penman (2005), pp. 203-4. David Ramsay is his son. A Hugh de Dalmahoy and Andrew Lawder are listed in Watt (1977), pp. 141-2 and 77 respectively. Both men are there associated with Avignon University.

[118] Lyall (1984).

[119] No one has previously commented on this signature.

[120] See the index in *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ed. Dunlop, vol. II. Possibilities include William Hay, William Hepburn, and William Herries (vol. II, pp. 159, 164, 150, 157, 128, 140, respectively).

[121] The words 'Magister Ioannes' also appear at the top of this page. The title 'Magister' suggests a university education.

[122] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, p. ix.

[123] *Laing Charters*, nos. 465, 544, 800, 856, 866, 867, 1167, 1363. See also *RMS 1546-80*, no. 1748. My comparision of those documents in the *Laing Charters* copied by James Logan with the signature on Kk.1.5 has proved inconclusive.

another.[124] The James Logan listed as one individual in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters* may, furthermore, in reality be two separate men, a clerk in the Canongate and a notary public in the diocese of St. Andrews, whose careers collectively span the years 1542-98. One of these two men may, however, still be the individual signing Kk.1.5. A legal document in Part 9 is prefaced with the following annotation: 'Ther ar the resonis pretendit be thomas thomson'. Whilst Thomas Thomson was a fairly common name, the James Logan, notary of St. Andrews diocese, in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters* did act as notary to an instrument (13 January 1572) narrating that 'Thomas Thomson, apothecary, burgess of Edinburgh, passed to his lands [...] and there [...] gave sasine to his beloved son, Mr Alexander Thomson'.[125] This James Logan might thus be added to the increasing number of notaries public associated with Older Scots literary manuscripts and prints in the sixteenth century.

Part 1: Christine de Pisan's *Livre du Corps de Policie*

I turn now to the English material in Parts 1 and 2. Christine de Pisan's *Livre du Corps de Policie* was written between 1404 and 1407 for the French dauphin, Louis of Guienne. Its three parts are based around the metaphor of the body politic. The first part is addressed to the prince as head of the body and draws heavily on the advice to princes tradition; the second part, following chivalric manuals, is addressed to knights and noblemen, the body's arms and hands; the third part, recalling treatises on the three estates, is addressed to the people, the body politic's stomach, legs and feet.[126]

A Middle English translation of Christine's *Livre* was produced in the fifteenth century and there are two witnesses of this: the manuscript version in Kk.1.5 Part 1 and

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[124] There are references in the *RMS* to another early sixteenth-century notary public called James Logan, as well as a James Logan 'deputato vicecomiti de Edinburgh'. See *RMS 1424-1513*, nos. 3214, 3254, 3786, 3844, 3857; *RMS 1513-46*, nos. 68, 2211; *Foular 1528-34*, no. 355.

[125] *Laing Charters*, nos. 866, 867.

[126] See Willard (1984), pp. 177-83; Dulac (2000), pp. 91-104; Forhan (2002)

John Skot's 1521 printed edition (*STC* 7270).[127] Although Part 1 and Skot are not

identical, they do derive from the same translation, and agree most closely with the

French text in Musée Condé Chantilly MS 294.[128]

In Part 1 the Middle English translation runs from fols 1^r-79^v (fols 80 and 81 are

blank).[129] It is written in a clear English secretary hand, from the third quarter of the

fifteenth century, at an average of 31 to 35 lines per page. Rubrics distinguishing each

of the three parts and the various chapters therein are written in red, and red and blue

decorated initial letters also appear throughout. The first page is decorated with a

flower and feather-work border. The incipit, written in red ink, '[b]egins with a large

blue initial H' that bears the arms of the Kentish Haute and Shelving families.[130]

On fol. 10^v a late fifteenth-/early sixteenth-century reader, whom I have been

unable to identify, signs his name 'Antoni Randell'.[131] He has made numerous

annotations throughout the volume. The majority of these are semi-colon like marks

highlighting passages dealing with such subjects as clerical corruption, common rather

than singular profit, the necessity for a king to show mercy and forgiveness, the

changeability of fortune, the importance of temperance and good counsel, the dangers

of lechery and flattery, the six essential characteristics of knighthood, the loyalty

commons should show to their prince, and how burgesses should treat the poor.

Quotations from authorities such as Aristotle and Valerius are also marked, as well as

exempla involving famous classical figures such as Alexander the Great. More

extensive annotations in the first part of the text highlight passages of specifically royal

import. In a chapter dealing with 'the sadde aduyse that is convenable for a yong

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[127] There are two copies of this print: John Rylands University Library Manchester 15056 and CUL Sel. 4.38

[128] *Middle English Translation*, ed. Bornstein, p. 23. All quotations from Kk.1.5 (1) are from this edition. For information on the popularity of Christine de Pisan's other works in England see P.G.C. Campbell (1925).

[129] Part 1 now measures *c.* 273 x 197 mm. Some original signature marks survive; these reveal gatherings of twelve leaves.

[130] *Middle English Translation*, ed. Bornstein, p. 18.

[131] Randell is both an English and Scottish surname. See G.F. Black (1946), p. 682.

prynce for to haue', for instance, Anthony Randell (or another unidentified reader) has written 'Not [*sic*] well prince' next to a statement on a king's mortality (fol. 7ᵛ, 'the grete lordeshipp that he occupieth is not ellis but an offyce trancitory and of little during […]')[132] and another (fol. 8ʳ) stating that a king 'muste be diligent in all thyngis that longen to the comon wele of his realme […]').[133] Annotations such as these betray an interest in the advice to princes genre. I suggest that this interest was also shared by the person who compiled Part 1 with the advice-focused Scottish material in Parts 3 to 9. Christine de Pisan's *Livre du Corps de Policie* forms the perfect introduction to all of these texts, and is an apt analogue for Amytans' advice to Arthur in *Lancelot of the Laik*.

I return now to the text's opening decorated initial. In the fourteenth century, Benedicta, daughter of John Shelving of Shelvingsbourne, married Edmund de Haute.[134] Their grandson, William (1) Haute (1390-1462), married secondly Joan, daughter of Richard Woodville of Maidstone. Diane Bornstein has proposed that a member of the resultant Haute-Woodville branch of the family was the most likely first owner of Part 1, and she suggests one Richard Haute, son of William (1) Haute. There were, however, two Richard Hautes in the fifteenth century and commentators, including Bornstein, often confuse them.[135] The most secure identification appears to be that made by Peter Fleming. He identifies the probable owner of Part 1 with another associate of the Woodville family, Sir Richard Haute (*d.* 1492). [136]

This Richard Haute was knighted in 1482 during Richard of Gloucester's Scottish campaign. He was one of the members of the Woodville circle captured at

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[132] *Middle English Translation*, ed. Bornstein, p. 51, ll. 7-9.
[133] *Middle English Translation*, ed. Bornstein, p. 51, ll. 24-5.
[134] Watney (1928), vol. II, p. 416.
[135] *Middle English Translation*, ed. Bornstein, pp. 18-19.
[136] Fleming (1987, 2004).

Stony Stratford during Gloucester's *coup d'état*, but his life, unlike that of Rivers, Gray and Vaughan, was spared and he returned to court life in the reign of Henry VII.[137] His first wife was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert Roos of Northamptonshire and niece of the poet and translator, Sir Richard Roos (*c.* 1410-82). The latter bequeathed to Eleanor a volume of French grail romances (now BL, MS Royal 14.E.III), which she signed 'Thys boke is myne dame Alyanor Haute'.[138] Elizabeth Woodville (*c.* 1437-92), Queen of Edward IV, also signed fol. 162.

The conjunction of Elizabeth and Eleanor's signatures bears witness to the close association between the Haute and Woodville families at this period. After Elizabeth Woodville's coronation, many of the Hautes became familiar figures at court and a number served in her household.[139] Richard Haute and the Queen's brother, Anthony Woodville (*c.* 1440-83), 2nd Earl Rivers, were particularly close. Indeed, Anthony named Richard as executor of his will.

The Hautes and the Woodvilles are also known to have had extensive literary interests, as outlined by Fleming, Meale, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs.[140] Most relevant to this chapter are the signatures which Elizabeth Woodville and her brother, Anthony, placed on a flyleaf of a volume of Christine de Pisan's works (now BL, MS Harley 4431).[141] It may have been this manuscript which Anthony used for his translation of Christine's *Moral Proverbs*, printed by Caxton in 1478 (*STC* 7273). He also translated two other works, again printed by Caxton: *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres* (*STC* 6826 and 6827, dated 1477), and the *Cordiale* (*STC* 5758, dated 1479). As noted in Chapter 2,

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[137] Fleming (2004).
[138] Seaton (1961), pp. 52-4, 547-8.
[139] Hicks (1991b), pp. 217, 218; Myers (1985b), pp. 256, 261, 287, 314.
[140] Fleming (1987); Meale (1985), pp. 119-22; Meale (1986), pp. 102-4, 107-10; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs (1995).
[141] Hindman (1983).

a late fifteenth-century Scottish manuscript copy of the latter survives in NAS, MS GD 112/71/1.[142]

Diane Bornstein proposes that Anthony Woodville may also be responsible for the Middle English translation of the *Livre du Corps de Policie*.[143] In the Epilogue to the *Cordiale*, Caxton refers to several translations by Woodville which passed through his hands, in addition to those which he printed: 'Emong other passid thurgh myne honde the booke of the wise sayinges or dictes of philosophers. & the wise & holsome p*r*ouerbis of Christine of pyse set in metre'.[144] In the epilogue to his translation of Christine's *Moral Proverbs*, Woodville himself also refers to her 'werkes' in the plural, which he undoubtedly knew from Harley 4431.[145] Finally, Woodville's translation style matches that in Kk.1.5 (1).

It thus appears that the Middle English translation of the *Livre du Corps de Policie* in Kk.1.5 Part 1 can be traced almost directly back from its fifteenth-century Haute readers and owners to its probable author, Anthony Woodville. Bornstein in fact proposes that '[i]t is likely that Anthony translated the work […] and had a copy made for his cousin Richard'.[146] The presence of Haute arms on fol. 1[r], together with the known literary, professional and familial associations of the two families, makes this a strong possibility indeed.

Part 2: Philip Sidney's *New Arcadia*

The final part of Kk.1.5 to be discussed is Part 2, which contains the only surviving manuscript copy of Philip Sidney's *New Arcadia* (fols 1[r]-210[v]), dated 1584 by the scribe

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[142] See pp. 106-7.
[143] Bornstein (1979).
[144] William Caxton, *Prologues and Epilogues*, ed. Crotch, p. 39, my emphasis.
[145] Christine de Pisan, *Morale Prouerbes*, trans. Woodville, fol. 4[v].
[146] *Middle English Translation*, ed. Bornstein, p. 36.

(fol. 1').[147] The manuscript was, therefore, written before Sidney's death in 1586.[148] Its striking italic handwriting is the same as that in Norfolk, Record Office, MS 10837, a copy of Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*.[149]

It appears that Part 2 was made during the complex and still not fully understood revision process that saw the development of the *New Arcadia* from the *Old Arcadia*.[150] Its incomplete nature — it lacks about twelve pages at its end, as well as several inset poems, and characters' names — suggests that the scribe copied material as it became available. That he anticipated receiving additional material at a later date is clear from the blank space left for several of the romance's intercalated lyrics. Sidney may indeed have written such lyrics on separate leaves; in the dedication of the *Old Arcadia* to his sister, he described the entire work's composition as 'being done in loose sheets of paper'.[151]

Woudhuysen suggests that Sidney may have had Part 2 made to ensure against the loss of his working papers. The scribe responsible is likely to have been someone 'with the closest possible access to Sidney's own manuscripts', someone 'among Sidney and Greville's most immediate circle'.[152]

Woudhuysen also suggests that Part 2 might be connected to Norfolk and the Paston family. Norfolk, Record Office, MS 10837, copied by the same scribe, was by 1726 in the library of the antiquarian, Francis Blomefield (1705-52). After Blomefield's death, the manuscript was acquired by Thomas Martin of Palgrave (1697-1771). Both men are known to have acquired materials from another antiquary, Peter le Neve (1661-1729), and all three can be further linked through their ownership of the Paston

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[147] For descriptions of Part 2 see Sidney, *New Arcadia*, ed. Skretkowicz, pp. lv-vi (all citations from this edition in the form page/line no.); Sidney, *Old Arcadia*, ed. Robertson, p. xlviii; Woudhuysen (1996), p. 406 and plate VII. It now measures *c.* 273 x 195 mm.

[148] Woudhuysen (1996), p. 349.

[149] *Norwich Sidney Manuscript*, ed. Mahl; Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Duncan-Jones and van Dorsten, p. 65; Woudhuysen (1996) p. 349.

[150] Summarised Woudhuysen (1996), pp. 307-11.

[151] Quoted Woudhuysen (1996), p. 303.

[152] Woudhuysen (1996), pp. 306, 349.

Letters.[153] Woudhuysen thus speculates: '[s]ince Paston manuscripts belonged to the three antiquaries, a potential source for East Anglian Sidney material may have been the Pastons of Oxnead and Appleton'.[154]

Although Woudhuysen is keen to point out that 'these speculative links with the Pastons' may be 'quite illusory',[155] we should not dismiss them altogether. It is, for instance, worth bearing in mind that in the fifteenth century the Paston family was associated with the Haute family. In 1468 or 1469 Anne Haute, probably William (1) Haute's daughter, was betrothed to Sir John (2) Paston of Norfolk, the known book collector,[156] and this relationship saw the Woodvilles promote Sir John's interests at court; indeed Anthony Woodville described Anne as 'oon of (his) nerrest kynneswomen'.[157] John (2) and his brother, John (3) Paston were, furthermore, acquainted with Anne's brothers who also served at court.[158] Thus, although the union between Anne Haute and John (2) Paston eventually came to nothing, one wonders whether the two families shared literary interests, and in turn whether these literary interests lie behind the sixteenth-century juxtaposition of Parts 1 and 2.

One might also note Sir Philip Sidney's various Scottish connections listed below:

1. Firstly, David Hume of Godscroft records that when the 5th Earl of Angus retired to England after his uncle, Regent Morton's, death, he there received the company of Sidney who:

> […] had brought forth […] his so beautifull and universally
> accepted birth, his *Arcadia*. Hee delighted much to impart it to

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[153] *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, vol. I, pp. xxiv-xxxiii; Stoker (1995).
[154] Woudhuysen (1996), p. 353.
[155] Woudhuysen (1996), p. 353.
[156] Lester (1984, 1987). It is worth recalling here that John (2) Paston's sister, Anne, lent her copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* to the Earl of Arran. See above p. 58.
[157] *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, vol. II, p. 571.
[158] See *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, vol. I, pp. 372, 414, 447, 458, 464, 524, 544, 548, 569.

Angus, and Angus took as much pleasure to be partaker
thereof.[159]

2. Lyall suggests that Sidney may also have met the Scottish poet, Alexander
   Montgomerie (early 1550s-1598), when both men fought in the Low Countries;
   the two almost certainly had mutual friends.[160]

3. The Scottish poet and historian George Buchanan (1507-82) was personally
   known to several members of the Sidney circle; Sidney even wrote to Buchanan
   himself on one occasion.[161]

4. A sonnet in celebration of Sidney appears amongst a collection of miscellanea
   attributed to King James VI in BL, MS Additional 24196.[162]

5. The Scottish poet, William Alexander (1577-1640), wrote a supplement to
   Sidney's *Arcadia* which appeared in printed editions of the former work from
   1621 onwards.[163]

6. In terms of Scottish witnesses of Sidney's poetry, Robert Waldegrave published
   an edition of the *Arcadia* in 1599 (*STC* 22542; Aldis 321), a sonnet by Sidney
   was copied in the late sixteenth/ early seventeenth century onto fols 71ᵛ-2ʳ of
   CUL Kk.5.30 (which also contains *The Scottish Troy Book*), and William
   Drummond of Hawthorden (1585-1649) owned printed copies of the *Arcadia*
   and *Defence of Poetry*, and a manuscript copy of *Astrophil and Stella* (EUL, MS De.
   5.96).[164] His copy of *Astrophil and Stella* was given to him by his uncle, the
   Scottish poet William Fowler (1560/61-1612), and previously owned by the

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[159] Hume, *House of Angus*, ed. Reid, vol. II, pp. 278-9. The Scottish diarist, James Melville, also records Angus' fondness for reading and literature: '[t]his nobleman was felon weill myndit, godlie, devot, wyse, and grave; and by and besyde thir comoun exerceises, was giffen to reiding, and privat prayer and meditation […]': Melville, *Autobiography and Diary*, ed. Pitcairn, p. 185

[160] Lyall (2005), p. 128.

[161] Phillips (1948).

[162] Bawcutt (2009).

[163] Wiles (1956, 1966); Mitchell and Foster (1969); G. Alexander (2006), pp. 42-3, 73-4, 277-82, 284.

[164] R.H. MacDonald, ed. (1971), pp. 131, 133 and nos. 264, 701, 914, 915, 916 and 1391.

English poet Sir Edward Dymoke, who was associated with the Sidney-Greville circle.[165]

Further work on these various connections between Sidney, his poems, and Scotland, may one day shed light on how the copy of Sidney's romance joined company with *Lancelot of the Laik* and the other Scottish material in Kk.1.5.

However it came about, the juxtaposition of Sidney's *New Arcadia* with *Lancelot of the Laik* is both appropriate and meaningful. Both works are of course romances, but the parallels between them extend beyond genre. As Archibald writes, like Lancelot, 'Sidney's Pyrocles spends much of his time as the prisoner of a lady Cecropia (though she is not interested in him personally). Musidorus fights disguised in black as the Forsaken Knight. Lovers break into song at intervals'.[166] These songs are, furthermore, carefully copied and distinguished from the main body of the narrative through layout and decoration in a manner that recalls the attention given to the *mise-en-page* of Lancelot's lament in Part 7.

The most interesting correspondence between the two romances, however, is the way in which Sidney's *New Arcadia* combines themes of love and politics in a remarkably similar way to *Lancelot of the Laik*. Sidney's political commentary may be more specific than *Lancelot's*, relating as it does to the reign of Elizabeth I, but the points it is making are broadly the same.[167] In particular, it emphasises the dangers of private passion on self- and public governance through Prince Pyrocles and King Basilius, just as *Lancelot* explores the same themes through Lancelot and King Arthur, although the latter, unlike Basilius, is not himself presented as a lover. Arthur's wise clerk, Amytans, also has a counterpart in the *New Arcadia*'s Philanax.

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[165] Woudhuysen (1996), pp. 356-62.
[166] Archibald (2005), p. 80.
[167] The definitive work on the subject is Worden (1996).

Blair Worden provides several examples of early readers who attended to the political aspects of the *Arcadia*,[168] and an unidentified reader of Part 2 might also be added to this list. His annotations are not at all extensive — they consist of either a small 'S' or seed-like shape in the margin — but those which do appear cluster around a passage depicting the virtuous rule of King Euarchus of Macedon and the education of Princes Musidorus and Pyrocles.[169] When Euarchus first acceded, he found his realm 'so disjointed even in the noblest and strongest limbs of government that the name of a king was grown even odious to the people.'[170] The early reader highlighted that 'the subjects could taste no sweeter fruits of having a king than grievous taxations to serve vain purposes' (fol. 85ʳ).[171] Euarchus, however, strove to end corruption and restore his realm to good fortune by 'making his life the example of his laws' and 'virtuously and wisely acknowledging that he with his people made all but one body politic whereof himself was the head, [he] even so cared for them as he would his own limbs'.[172] The reader aptly marks the following conclusion: 'In sum, peerless princess, I might as easily set down the whole art of government as to lay before your eyes the picture of his proceedings' (fol. 86ʳ).[173]

In his, albeit limited, focus on the rule of King Euarchus, the unidentified early reader of Part 2 thus highlights the most predominant theme of the whole of Kk.1.5. For correspondences cannot only be drawn between the *New Arcadia* and *Lancelot of the Laik* but between these romances and almost every other text in Kk.1.5 that takes good self- and/or public governance as a theme.

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[168] Worden (1996), pp. 21, 205-6, appendix B, pp. 370-1. See also Brayman Hackel (2005), pp. 137-95.
[169] The early reader also highlights the following comment on Musidorus and Pyrocles (fol. 87ʳ), 'therefore the farther from tyranny, nature having done so much for them in nothing as that it made them lords of truth' *NA* 164/4-6.
[170] *NA* 159/27-9.
[171] *NA* 160/3-4.
[172] *NA* 160/39-161/1, 161/14-16.
[173] *NA* 161/21-3.

Conclusion

The nine parts of Kk.1.5 began life as a series of independent booklets copied by a variety of scribes between the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the end of the sixteenth century. Several stages of compilation ensued before the surviving composite volume was formed. Parts 6 and 7 were most probably companions at an early stage, since they were copied by the same scribe, V de F, and the same is no doubt true of Parts 3 and 4, which also share a scribe. During the sixteenth century these parts, together with Parts 5, 8 and 9, were joined together to form a collection in which legal texts frame a central literary core. The person responsible for this was most probably the James Logan, notary public of the St. Andrews diocese, listed in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters*.

Between 1584 and 1649, Logan's Scottish compilation was prefaced by the English material in Parts 1 and 2. In the resultant composite volume Scottish and English, romance and courtesy, and imaginative and legal literature are combined in an entirely coherent fashion. One can, accordingly, confidently refute the opinions of *Lancelot*'s most recent editor, Lupack. To adapt his words, *Lancelot* and its manuscript witness is most certainly a courtesy book in which advice plays anything but a subsidiary role.

Chapter 5

King Orphius and *Sir Colling*

Marion Stewart first drew attention to NAS, MS RH 13/35 (hereafter MS R) in 1972 when she identified within it two Older Scots romances: the fragmentary *King Orphius* (*KO*) (*NIMEV* 3136.55) and *Sir Colling ye kny* (*SC*) (*NIMEV* 1669.77). The manuscript was described by Stewart as 'a collection of miscellaneous fragments of which there is no known or recorded provenance', and in the National Archives of Scotland on-line catalogue as a '[c]ollection of fragments of verse, and Latin and Scots prose, including devotional and philosophical writings, 16th cent.'[1]

Stewart published a short description of the manuscript with transcriptions of *KO* and *SC* and a commentary in 1972 and 1973.[2] In 1990, Sally Mapstone revealed that one of the manuscript's items, described by Stewart as 'an almost completely indecipherable poem on bishops',[3] was in fact a sizeable fragment of the late fifteenth-century advisory poem, *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*.[4] Joanna Martin has recently analysed the themes of kingship and love in both this poem and *KO*,[5] whilst Emily Lyle has detailed the relationship of *KO* and *SC* to their seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ballad counterparts.[6] Rhiannon Purdie is preparing an edition of both romances for the STS.[7]

This chapter endeavours to contextualise *KO* and *SC* by providing a more detailed study of the contents and makeup of their manuscript witness and an

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[1] *Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart, p. 23; *King Orphius*, ed. Stewart; https://www.nas.gov.uk/onlineCatalogue/, accessed 23 February 2010.
[2] *Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart; *King Orphius*, ed. Stewart; *King Orphius, Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart and Shire. The manuscript is briefly referred to by Bawcutt (2005b), pp. 49, 50, 66; largely reprinted as Bawcutt (2005c), pp. 194, 209.
[3] *King Orphius, Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart and Shire, p. 18.
[4] Mapstone (1990).
[5] Martin (2008), pp. 79-129.
[6] Lyle (2007), pp. 61-109. See also Lyle (2009).
[7] *Five Older Scots Romances*, ed. Purdie (forthcoming).

analysis of that manuscript's possible scribes, owners, and readers. I catalogue as far as possible the various Older Scots literary, legal, and theological items with which *KO* and *SC* were compiled — revealing some hitherto unidentified texts — and I detail MS R's place within a familial, professional and literary network of Protestant lairds and scribes active in and around Haddington in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

Manuscript Summary Description

The surviving leaves of MS R have been mounted and placed separately within polyester sleeves in order to conserve them. The entire manuscript was also digitised in May 2008 to limit handling of the fragile original. A description of the manuscript's contents is given in the National Archives of Scotland's on-line catalogue. In what follows I provide my own updated version of that contents table.[8]

Throughout this chapter, I follow the NAS foliation system for ease of reference and comparison. For fols 1-15, folio numbers correspond to labels attached to the polyester sleeves which each contain one unbound sheet of the manuscript. They refer not to an individual folio but instead to an entire bifolium. Consequently, when the NAS catalogue refers to the recto and verso of a folio, it in fact refers to the facing and reverse sides of the sheet inside the polyester sleeve. The two blocks of text on each side of the sheet — forming what were once two separate pages — are labelled either left or right. For example, what is now catalogued as fol. 13 of MS R contains a portion of *SC*. Fol. 13ʳ is the facing side of the sheet inside the polyester sleeve; it is divided into a left and right half:

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[8] The table of contents predominantly lists the manuscript's items as currently bound, but where possible I outline the order in which individual texts should be read. Later in the chapter I reconstruct the portion of the manuscript copied by the scribe Thomas White in more detail.

13ʳ (left)	13ʳ (right)
SC	*SC*
ll. 140-65	ll. 56-83.

Fol. 13ᵛ is the reverse side of this, also divided into a left and right half:

13ᵛ (left)	13ᵛ (right)
SC	*SC*
ll. 84-110	ll. 111-39.

Table of Manuscript Contents

Detectable Manuscript Divisions	Folio(/s)	Summary of Contents
Booklet 1 (William Lindsay?)	1-5	Unidentified heavily abbreviated Latin text in double columns, written in the second half of the fifteenth century in a small anglicana-influenced hand. The text appears to be a scholastic philosophical treatise, most probably owned by a university graduate or cleric. Fol. 2ʳ (right) contains the sign manual and signature of William Lindsay.
Booklet 2 (Thomas White)	6	Heavily soiled bifolium containing several practice alphabets and miscellaneous repeated sentences (writing exercises?) of a quasi-legal nature: 1. '[...] he *com*pellitt besseikis heirfor/ and desseris to pay þe samyne to my grif [...] 2. includes the name 'Johne' and 'that is to say Thomas' 3. 'þe said Johne þarfor neuer þe les fraudfull [...]'.
	7ʳ (left)	Pentrials: 1. 'In my defence god me defend' (*NIMEV* 1509). 2. Fragments of names, including 'James Quhyt'.

		3. Sentence beginning 'I Patrick hepburne of banglaes'.
	7ʳ (right); 7ᵛ (left); 7ᵛ (right)	Further repeated sentences (writing exercises?) of a quasi-legal and confessional nature: 1. 'My Lordis off counssell vnto ȝour visdomes humlie meanis [...] I ȝour visdomes seruitoʳ a b burges of the brughe of edinbrughe [...]'. 2. 'Acknawlege me o god my sinnis me forgeiff wᵗ speid/ leist in yai anger and vrethe o lord my faultis in mynd pro<ue?>/ vretin on vedinsday ye twenty nyne day of junij an*no* 18 1580'. 3. 'L[?]k þat quhair in þe monethe speciallie in september and nowember ye yeir of god ane thousand fyve hundryᵗ threscoir and nyne [...]'.
	8	Fragments of 'Master John's Tale' from the *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*. Right hand margin of 8ʳ (right) also contains: '<In> my defence god me defend and bring my saulle to/ ane gu<d> <en>d'. Cp. fol. 7ʳ left above.
	9ʳ (left), 9ᵛ (left)	Practice alphabets.
	9ʳ (right), 9ᵛ (right)	Writing exercises?: 1. First four lines of 'Remember man, remember man' from the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, beginning: 'Remember man remember ma<n>'. Repeated (5x). 2. First four lines of the second verse of 'Lord God thy face and Word of Grace' from the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, beginning: 'Our barnis now weill knawis how'. Repeated (5x).
	10ʳ (right), 10ᵛ (left).	Manuscript copy of Henry Wykes' *c.* 1570 edition of the 'history' of 'how Issope excuissit him selffe beffoir his lord for eitting off ye fegis' (*STC* 181) (hereafter 'Aesop and the Figs').

		Text begins: 'This history makith mentioun how/ Issope excuissit him selffe beffoir his/ lord for eitting off ye fegis' Ends: '[...] and cast out all yat/ was in his'.
	10ᵛ (right), 10ʳ (left) 11ᵛ (right) 11ʳ (left) 12ᵛ (right) 12ʳ(left)	Acephalous and fragmentary copy of *King Orphius* (hereafter *KO*). Text begins (10ᵛ (right)): 'Sen scho maid w<s> allwayi<s> bly<th>'. Ends (12ᵛ (left)): 'God grant ws all yairin to be'. 'finis huius fabulae'.
	11ʳ (right), 11ᵛ (left)	Precept of a warning concerning Marion Cockburn, Longniddry, 18 March 1582. Factory by Sir William Sinclair of Herdmanston.
	12ʳ (left) 14ʳ (right) 14ᵛ (left) 13ʳ (right) 13ᵛ (left) 13ᵛ (right) 13ʳ (left) 14ᵛ (right) 14ʳ (left) 12ʳ (right) 12ᵛ (left)	*Sir Colling* Incipit (12ʳ (left)): 'Heir beginnis ane teill off/ Sir Colling ye knyᵗ'. Texts ends (12ᵛ (left)): 'This is ye end <o>f ye maist pairt of Sir Collyne ye knyᵗ/ Finis'
	12ᵛ (left)	Precept of warning by Marion Cockburn, relict of Hew Douglas, 21 January 1583.
	15	Fragments of a Scots version of the Book of Wisdom (4:1-17; 8:18-21; 9:6-13). 15ʳ (left): Marginal inscription referring to Marion Cockburn.
Booklet 3 (William Simpson)	16ʳ	End of unidentified vernacular prose text, possibly a letter written 'Be me Williame sympson'. Begins: 'Trast Frind, efter maist hartly recom*m*endatioun/ ȝe sall vit that I haue in guid con*ȝ*ille [...]'. Extract from the *Moralitas* to 'The secund Tale of the Emprice', from John Rolland's *Seuin Seages*, beginning:

		'Curag provokis hardines'.
	16ᵛ	Blank page with traces of arms that contain three cocks, most probably representing the Cockburn arms.
	17	Unidentified Scots religious poem, written in double columns, four-line stanzas, beginning: 'My God quha creat all'. 'Finis quod sympsoun'.
	18ʳ	Miscellaneous Latin proverbs, including Cato's *Distichs* I.21. 'Per me guilielm*us* simpsone'.
	18ᵛ	Fragment of a vernacular letter? part of which requests writing materials. Ends with sign manual, possibly William Simpson's.
Remaining Booklets (several hands)⁹	19, 22-4, 26-9	Cato's *Monostichs* and *Distichs* I-III.¹⁰
	20, 21	Practice alphabets and pentrials.
	25	Miscellaneous Latin maxims, including Cato's *Distichs* I.21. Receipts/ accounts
	30, 31	Pentrials, signed David Maxwell.
	32	Further practice alphabets, pentrials, Cato's *Distichs* III.14-15.
	33	Repeated Scots sentences (writing exercises?) including: 1. 'My lord [...]/ I ȝoʳ [?] s*er*uitor [...]'. 2. 'My Lord proust and baillȝeis' 3. 'Sowme off twenty four pownds [...] pay to alexʳ greg'
	34	Very small fragment of document bearing the name

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⁹ There may be as many as eight/ nine unidentified hands in this section of the manuscript. Most appear to date from the second half of the sixteenth century.

¹⁰ The copy of Cato's *Distichs* should be read in the following order: fols 23ʳ, 23ᵛ, 24ʳ, 24ᵛ, 28ʳ, 28ᵛ, 22ʳ, 22ᵛ, 27ʳ, 27ᵛ, 29ᵛ, 29ʳ, 19ʳ, 19ᵛ.

		'Alexr Lauder' signed 'Jo. Lawder'.
	35^r	'Penalties exactit since ye 4 November 1564' listing 14 people and fines ranging from 10s to £3.
	35^v, 37, 39	Unidentified Latin prose fragments, possibly a theological commentary.
	38	Further unidentified Latin prose treatise (on vocabulary?) in a different hand.
	40-53	Unidentified Latin scholastic treatise on natural philosophy.[11]

As the above table indicates, the surviving pages of MS R are fragments of an original manuscript made up of several once-independent booklets. Fols 1-5 form the manuscript's first booklet. They contain a Latin text, written in double columns in a small, anglicana-influenced hand of the second half of the fifteenth century, and although the text remains unidentified it appears to be some kind of scholastic philosophical treatise.[12] Fols 1-5 are larger than the rest of the manuscript, with each bifolium measuring roughly 410 x 280 mm. They also contain a watermark not found elsewhere in the manuscript. It resembles a gothic letter 'P'.[13]

The remaining pages of the manuscript are smaller and derive from different paper stocks.[14] A watermark of a 'crowned jug with a band round its middle bearing the initials TC' occurs on fols 8, 11, 12, 13 and 14. Marion Stewart identified this with a French watermark of 1582, matching Briquet 12814.[15] Fols 9 and 28 bear

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[11] In private correspondence (21 October 2010), Dr. Tessa Webber suggests that fol. 40 contains 'a reference to Aristotle on clouds'.

[12] Dr. Tessa Webber again informs me in private correspondence (21 October 2010) that fol. 1^v appears to contain an 'extended discussion of infinity'. In further private correspondence (7 November 2010), Dr. Sally Mapstone has also suggested (private correspondence 7 Novemebr 2010) that a possible parallel to MS R's philosophic treatise might be the copy of John Ireland's commentary on the third and fourth books of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* in Aberdeen University Library MS 264. See further Burns (1990), p. 157 and Ker (1977), pp. 18-19.

[13] This is closest to, although by no means identical with, Briquet 8529 (dated 1471).

[14] Because the pages are now so damaged, particularly around the edges, it is not possible to provide accurate measurements.

[15] *Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart, p. 23.

traces of a watermark of a hand, 'accompagné d'un fleuron', whilst traces of other

watermarks in the second half of the manuscript include a further unidentified pot.

Although neither can be matched with any recorded watermarks in Briquet, the

handwriting of these folios suggests that they were also copied in the late sixteenth

century.

The appearance of different hands throughout fols 6-51 further confirms MS

R's booklet structure.[16] Fols 6-15 were copied by a scribe who identifies himself as

Thomas White whilst fols 16-18 were copied by one William Simpson. Many more

hands appear in the remainder of the manuscript which contains several Latin texts

in late sixteenth-century hands, including Cato's *Distichs*, further miscellaneous Latin

maxims, and a presently unidentified treatise on natural philosophy. The David

Maxwell who signs his name several times on fols 30[r] and 31[r] may be responsible for

some of these latter folios.

Given the manuscript's now fragmentary and disbound nature, and also the

lack of records concerning its accession by the NAS, it is hard to assess at what stage

the various booklets in MS R came together and it is also difficult to reconstruct fully

the compilation's original appearance. For the purposes of this chapter I thus focus

on the central portions of the manuscript copied in the late sixteenth century by

Thomas White and William Simpson.[17] I first consider the cultural context in which

these scribes operated operated; I here discuss the association of White and

Simpson's booklets with the Cockburn and Maitland families, and also with the

administrative life of late sixteenth-century Haddington. I then examine the

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[16] Fol. 6[r] is particularly soiled suggesting that it once formed the outer edges of a booklet that remained independent/unbound for some time.

[17] Marion Stewart (*King Orphius*, *Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart and Shire, p. 18) estimated that these portions of the manuscript were produced between 1582 and 1586 on the basis of the watermark dating from 1582 and marginal annotations and fragments of legal documents ranging from 1569 to 1586. I broadly agree with this estimate, but note that the 1582 paper might have been unused for some time, and that the document dated 1586 might not have been copied immediately. The production of White and Simpson's portions of MS R may thus have begun slightly after 1582 and continued beyond 1586.

identities and careers of Thomas White and William Simpson in more detail before

focusing specifically on their work within MS R. I situate the romances *King Orphius*

and *Sir Colling* in light of the other Older Scots texts copied by Thomas White and I

assess the nature of his resultant collection. I end by examining the literary texts

copied by William Simpson and I consider how and when White and Simpson's

papers came together.

Cultural Background

From an analysis of the names and signatures contained therein, Thomas White and

William Simpson's portions of MS R can be securely contextualised within a closely-

related professional, literary and familial Protestant community centred in and

around Haddington in the late sixteenth/ early seventeenth century.[18]

Doodles of arms bearing 3 cocks on fol. 16[v] signal the association of the

central part of MS R with the Cockburn family, and further documents throughout

this section of the manuscript confirm this.[19] Fols 11[r] (right) and 11[v] (left), for

instance, also contain a fragment of a precept relating to Marion Cockburn, dated at

Longniddry 18 March 1582. The same Marion is also the subject of a warning on fol.

12[v], dated 21 January 1583. She was married to Hew Douglas of Longniddry and had

with him several sons.[20] Two of them, George and Hew, witness the precept of

March 1582.

Marion Cockburn was also the sister of John Cockburn, Laird of Ormiston

(*d.* 1583) (hereafter Ormiston).[21] He was the eldest son of William Cockburn (*d.*

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[18] For a portrait of sixteenth-century Haddington see McGavin (1997).

[19] See Burke (1842), 'Cockburn'; Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), pp. 15-17. The probable identity of these arms with the Cockburn family has been confirmed by Mrs C.G.W. Roads, Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records. I am grateful to Rhiannon Purdie for sharing this information with me (private correspondence, 25 February 2010).

[20] *RMS 1513-46*, no. 1538.

[21] For information on the family see Cockburn-Hood (1888) and Cockburn and Cockburn (1913). Ormiston is some seven to eight miles south west of Haddington.

1533) and Janet Somerville. He married Alison Sandilands,[22] daughter of James, 1st Lord Torphichen, and had six children. His youngest daughter, Sibyl, was married to William Sinclair of Herdmanston in 1566.[23] A portion of a factory by Herdmanston follows the precept relating to Marion Cockburn on fol. 11v left.

Ormiston was closely associated with the reformist preacher, John Knox, who was born in Haddington *c*. 1514.[24] As well as acting as a notary public in Haddington during the 1540s, Knox was tutor to Ormiston's son, Alexander, and to the sons of Marion Cockburn and Hew Douglas of Longniddry. In the second week of December 1545, Knox, Longniddry, and Ormiston met the evangelical preacher George Wishart (*c*. 1514-46) at Leith.[25] The latter had been preaching peripatetically throughout Scotland since his return from exile in 1543. During December 1545 he preached in East Lothian and finally at Haddington. After his last day of preaching, Wishart retired to Ormiston's house. He was arrested later that night by Patrick, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, then high-sheriff of the county of Haddington. Bothwell turned Wishart over to Cardinal Beaton (1494?-1546) and he was burnt for heresy in February 1546.

Ormiston was also arrested and imprisoned at Edinburgh Castle, but he managed to escape over the castle walls. His Protestant, pro-English sympathies thereafter continued unabated. In 1546 he had remission for having 'treasonably intercommuned with an Englishman, the Earl of Hertford' concerning a marriage between the young Queen Mary and Edward VI, [26] and in 1547, he and Hew Douglas of Longniddry aided English forces after the Battle of Pinkie. His name

[22] For Alison's ownership and promotion of books concerning the Reformed Faith see C. Rogers (1874), p. 20; Hewitt (1982), p. 201; Bawcutt (2000), p. 25. Elizabeth Danielstoun, wife of Patrick Cockburn of Clerkington, also owned a book of hours (BL, MS Additional 39761). See Dewick (1914), p. 113 and Bawcutt (2000), p. 24.

[23] *SP*, vol. VII, p. 583. Herdmanston is *c*. three and a half miles from Haddington.

[24] Ridley (1968); Dawson (2004b).

[25] Ridley (1968), pp. 38-44; Dotterweich (2004).

[26] Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), p. 116.

later appears in a list of those suspected of involvement in the Riccio murder of 1566,[27] and he also participated in the Ruthven Raid of August 1582 with his son-in-law, William Sinclair of Herdmanston.[28] Ormiston and his relatives Hew Douglas of Longniddry and William Sinclair of Herdmanston were thus, like the Campbell family discussed in Chapter 2, key players in a Reformist network and closely associated with the central political and religious figures and events of the Scottish Reformation.

The Cockburn family network also encompasses one of sixteenth-century Scotland's most important literary families, the Maitlands.[29] Fol. 34 of MS R contains a fragment of a legal document which bears the name 'Alexr Lauder'. Although one cannot be certain, this individual might be identified with the son of William Lauder of Hatton and Jean Cockburn, Ormiston's daughter. This Alexander Lauder of Hatton (*d.* 1622x5) married Marie Maitland (*d.* 1596) in 1586.[30] Marie's sister, Helen Maitland, was married to John Cockburn of Clerkington in 1560.[31] The latter married secondly (1606) Sibyl Cockburn, who as already noted above was the youngest daughter of John Cockburn of Ormiston. She was first married to William Sinclair of Herdmanston.[32]

There is thus a two-fold marital connection between the Cockburns and Maitlands which is further strengthened by professional and literary associations. Helen and Marie Maitland were the daughters of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496-1586),[33] poet and author of the *History of the House of Seton*, the *Practicks of the Law of Scotland*, *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, France and England* and an unpublished

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[27] *RPC 1545-69*, p. 437.

[28] Ridley (1968), pp. 448-9. For more on Cockburn of Ormiston see also Merriman (1968), pp. 23-4 and (2000), pp. 154-5, 261, 305.

[29] I build upon Mapstone (1990), p. 136 in the ensuing discussion.

[30] See *RMS 1580-93* nos. 1016, 1031 and 1032; *SP*, vol. V, p. 298. See also Dunnigan (2004b). Alexander and Mary's son was the poet, George Lauder (*fl.* 1622-77). See Bayne (2004).

[31] Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), p. 165; *SP*, vol. V, p. 298

[32] On 4 May 1569, William Sinclair of Herdmanston granted a charter to Marie Maitland: *RMS 1546-80*, no. 1853; *SP*, vol. VII, p. 583.

[33] Spiller (2004b); *SP*, vol. V, pp. 291-8.

'History of the House of Douglas'.[34] His poetry survives in the Maitland Folio

Manuscript (MF MS) and the Maitland Quarto Manuscript (MQ MS).[35] The former

was compiled between *c.* 1570 and 1586 and bears an inscription reading 'This buke

pertenis to helyne m' (p. 256). The MQ MS bears the inscription 'Mary Maitland

1586' on the title-page.

Associated with these Maitland Manuscripts are the Drummond Manuscript

(EUL, MS De.3.71)[36] and the Reidpeth Manuscript (CUL, MS Ll.5.10). The former

is a transcription of the MQ MS; the latter is a partial transcript of the MF MS

produced in the second decade of the seventeenth century. An inscription on its

flyleaf, dated 1622/3, reads 'A me Ioan*ne* reidpeth [...] Ex libris m*agist*ri cristopherj

cokburne. ffinis. amen'.[37]

Mapstone has identified the scribe John Reidpeth with the man of the same

name who appears several times in the *Register of the Great Seal* between 1622 and

1625.[38] He is described as the Servitor of Thomas Young of Leny.[39] A charter of

June 1625 records that John Reidpeth witnessed a land transfer involving 'M.

Christopher[us] Cockburne servito[r] Joannis comitis de Lauderdaill'.[40] This

Christopher Cockburn was the owner of the Reidpeth Manuscript. He was the

younger son of James Cockburn of Choicelee and he graduated from the University

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[34] M. Lee (1969); A.A. MacDonald (1972); A.A. MacDonald (2001a); Martin and McClune (2009), p. 239. Poetry has also been associated with and/or attributed to three of Sir Richard Maitland's children. Marie Maitland is thought to have composed poems copied into the Maitland Quarto Manuscript; she may also have transcribed part of the manuscript. See Dunnigan (1997), pp. 29-31; Bawcutt (2000), p. 28; Newlyn (2004). For Thomas' poetry see W.S. McKechnie (1907), p. 274. For literature both associated with and dedicated to John, 1st Lord Maitland of Thirlestane see Houwen et al., eds. (2000), pp. xvi-xvii, 163, 164-5, 200, 227 n. 77.
[35] *Maitland Quarto*, ed. Craigie; *Maitland Folio*, ed. Craigie; Martin and McClune (2009).
[36] R.H. MacDonald (1971), p. 226, no. 1372.
[37] *Maitland Folio*, ed. Craigie, vol. II, p. 7.
[38] Mapstone (2005c), pp. 181-2.
[39] *RMS 1620-33*, nos. 392, 811, 814. Mapstone (2005c), p. 181, n. 27 also proposes identification with the John Reidpeth recorded as the second son of William Reidpeth in 1601: *RMS 1593-1608,* nos. 1207, 1269. These charters deal with business concerning Patrick Cockburn, 'tutor' of Langton.
[40] *RMS 1620-33*, no. 811.

of Edinburgh in 1592.[41] He was later a servant of Richard Maitland of Lethington's

grandson, John, 1st Earl of Lauderdale and 2nd Lord Thirlestane (*d.* 1645).[42]

Christopher Cockburn was also associated with Reidpeth's master, Thomas

Young of Leny,[43] who himself appears a number of times in the *Register* between

1620 and 1633.[44] Young graduated from Edinburgh University in 1603,[45] and later

became a Writer to the Signet. Writers to the Signet were formally constituted as a

society in 1594, under the aegis of the King's then Secretary, Richard Cockburn of

Clerkington, son of the aforementioned John Cockburn of Clerkington and Helen

Maitland. Previous writers to the Signet with literary associations include Scotland's

pioneering printer, Walter Chepman. Arbuthnet's print of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*

might also be associated with the Signet scribe, James Kynneir.[46]

Branches of the Cockburn and Maitland families were thus intimately

associated through marriage and professional contact, and one can draw clear links

between the compilers and readers of the Reidpeth Manuscript, the MF and MQ

MSS and fols 6-18 of MS R. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century and first

quarter of the seventeenth century, these manuscripts were being copied in the same

geographical location within the context of a closely related group of individuals and

families. One can thus readily imagine a situation in which texts and exemplars

regularly exchanged hands amongst members and associates of the Cockburn and

Maitland families and it is to be hoped that future codicological analysis of all four

manuscripts will provide further evidence of this.[47] Clearly, MS R deserves to be

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[41] Laing (1858), p. 10; Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), p. 149; Bawcutt (1991b), pp. 193-4.

[42] *SP*, vol. V, pp. 301-2.

[43] *RMS 1620-33*, nos. 595, 625, 1729. See also *RMS 1620-33*, nos. 854, 2094.

[44] *RMS 1620-33*, nos. 326, 465, 468, 935, 2060. In *RMS 1620-33*, no. 935, Young also appears in association with Alexander Lauder of Hatton.

[45] Laing (1858), p. 20.

[46] See pp. 57, 224.

[47] Boffey (2001), p. 43, n. 27 describes the watermarks of pp. 3-18 and 339-42 of the MF MS as 'some form of pot' and 'a hand with fleuron'. Similar watermarks occur in MS R and in a number of the Haddington Burgh Records.

studied alongside the Maitland manuscripts as a product of the same professional and literary milieu. It should be recognised as a vital component in one of Scotland's largest and most important late sixteenth-century literary networks.

Scribes

As stated above, a number of hands occur throughout MS R: fols 1-5 contain the sign manual and subscription of a William Lindsay;[48] fols 6-15 are written by a scribe who identifies himself as Thomas White;[49] and fols 16-18 are written by a scribe who identifies himself as William Simpson. A David Maxwell also signs his name several times on fols 30[r] and 31[r].[50] I here concentrate on the identities of Thomas White and William Simpson.

Marion Stewart provided several details about the chaplain and notary public, Thomas White, in her 1973 edition of *KO*,[51] and although she failed to include references to her sources I have been able to trace most of them. I have also uncovered some hitherto unknown details.

- In 1531, White drew up an instrument of sasine relating to lands in the constabulary of Haddington transferred to Patrick and Helena Hepburn of Wauchton. He is here described as 'presbyter of St. Andrews diocese, by apostolic authority notary'.[52]

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[48] William Lindsay's signature and sign manual are additions to a text copied in fifteenth century. The text most likely belonged to a university graduate and several William Lindsays attended St. Andrews University in the mid-/ latter half of the fifteenth century. See *Acta Facultatis Artium*, ed. Dunlop, vol. I, pp. 75, 86, 87, vol. II, pp. 148, 151.

[49] Fol. 9[v] (right) is subscribed 'Written Be me Thomas Quh[it]'. Thomas also writes his name in the margins of fols 12[r] (left), 12[r] (right), 13[r] (right), 14[r] (right), and 14[v] (left).

[50] He may be the 'Mr. David Maxwell, clerk of Glasgow diocese, notary public' who drew up an instrument of resignation and sasine on 30 March 1580 (*Laing Charters* no. 997). He may also be identified with the David Maxwell, brother and procurator of Robert Maxwell of Cowhill, who appears several times in the *RPC* and *RMS* during the 1570s and 1580s (*RPC 1578-85*, pp. 287, 315, 578, 729, 767; *RPC 1585-92*, p. 818; *RMS 1546-80*, no. 2012; *RMS 1580-93*, nos. 136, 780). A precept of legitimation of the same Mr. David Maxwell was registered in Haddington in January 1573/4 (*RSS 1567-74* no. 2269).

[51] *King Orphius, Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart and Shire, pp. 19-20.

[52] *Laing Charters*, no. 383.

- On 2 September 1537, Thomas White 'capellan[us] et notari[us] public[us]'
  acts as a witness to a charter 'Apud ecclesiam de Prestoun', some six miles
  west of Haddington.[53]

- On 30 October 1539, a 'sir Thomas Quhite', chaplain, witnesses a charter to
  William Cockburn of Choicelee for the lands of Prestonkirk. This charter
  was also witnessed by Mr Patrick Cockburn, rector of Petcokkis (now
  Pitcox).[54]

- On 20 July 1551, White drew up an instrument relating to the same lands.
  This charter was transcribed in 1589 by Alexander Simpson, notary and clerk
  to John Cockburn of Kirkland, 'vicecomit[atus] deputat[us] de Edinburgh
  infra constab. de Hadingtoun'.[55]

- A charter of 13 August 1562 conferring the lands of Prestonkirk on Adam
  Hepburn of Smetoun excepts those lands of Thomas White, 'curat[us] ac
  vicari[us] pensionari[us] dicte ecclesie'; it was confirmed on 24 July 1577.[56]

- On 15 July 1572 White drew up another instrument concerning Hepburn's
  sasine of the lands of Eastcraig in Haddington.[57]

- On 5 December 1579 he was presented to the vicarage of Mow, near Kelso.[58]

- A charter of confirmation to the lands of Prestonkirk dated 15 August 1593
  refers to an already-deceased Thomas White in connection with a tenement
  in Anstruther, Fife.[59]

At first glance, the above information assigns a remarkably long lifespan to the one
Thomas White; he appears to have been actively pursuing his scribal career from

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[53] *RMS 1513-46*, no. 1713. This is not mentioned by Stewart.
[54] *Laing Charters*, no. 434.
[55] *RMS 1593-1608*, no. 7.
[56] *RMS 1546-80*, no. 2696.
[57] *Laing Charters*, no. 876.
[58] *RSS 1575-80*, no. 2129. See also Haws (1972), p. 186.
[59] *RMS 1580-93*, no. 2324.

1531 until sometime before 1593. I therefore suggest that the above information instead presents the activities of two Thomas Whites, possibly a father and son or uncle and nephew. The handwriting of the 1572 charter concerning Hepburn of Smetoun's lands in Eastcraig does match Thomas White's handwriting in MS R — and may account for the annotation concerning a Patrick Hepburn on fol. 7^r (left) of MS R — but these identical sets of handwriting do not match the handwriting of the instrument drawn up by a Thomas White in 1531. The sign manuals on the two legal instruments are also different. They are, nevertheless, similar enough to suggest a connection between the two owners; the instruments also both concern the same family. This indicates a continuing sequence of legal business, which was handled first by the elder Thomas White, notary public and chaplain, and then by the younger, Thomas White, also notary public and chaplain, and the scribe of MS R.

As we have already seen, the copies of legal documents in the central portion of MS R indicate that Thomas White was professionally associated with the Cockburn family. Examination of the published Scottish record volumes reveals further such professional and literary links between the Whites and the Cockburns. In 1527, for instance, a Do. John White appears as presbyter 'prebendarii de Petcokis in ecclesia collegiate S. Baye virginis de Dunbar'.[60] His post was later filled by the Patrick Cockburn of Choicelee who, as listed above, witnessed a charter with the elder Thomas White in September 1537. This Patrick Cockburn was the son of Christopher Cockburn of Choicelee (*d. c.* 1520). He was educated at St. Andrews University, and afterwards at Paris. When he returned to Scotland, he taught at St. Andrews before being appointed rector of Pitcox in the collegiate church of Dunbar, Haddingtonshire. In 1548, he was licensed to pass to France along with Ormiston's son-in-law, William Lauder of Hatton. He composed a number of Latin theological

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[60] *RMS 1513-46,* nos. 491, 2713; *Registrum Cartam Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, ed. Laing, pp. 224-6.

works, one of which, *In Dominicam orationem pia meditatio* (1555), was printed at St. Andrews by the Scottish printer, John Scot (*STC* 5458).[61] He became a member of the Protestant party during the Reformation, and in 1562 was created first Protestant minister of Haddington,[62] a post which he held until his death in 1568.[63] His brother, William Cockburn of Choicelee, was grandfather of the Christopher Cockburn who owned the Reidpeth Manuscript.[64] The professional and literary associations between Thomas White and the Cockburn family are thus even wider than the margins of MS R (fols 6-18) suggest.

Another member of the increasingly large Haddingtonshire network surrounding the central portion of MS R is William Simpson, copyist of fols 16-18.[65] It is likely that those items copied by him once formed part of a separate manuscript or series of booklets. Interestingly, fol. 18^v contains a fragment of a letter in which Simpson asks someone if they 'wld be so guid as to by/ me sum buk*is*'. This might suggest that Simpson's work involved professional scribal activity.

Several William Simpsons appear in the published records during the second half of the sixteenth century. Given the connection of Thomas White with the town of Anstruther noted above, the William Simpson in question might possibly be the William Simpson of Anstruther, who appears frequently in the records as customer in Crail, Anstruther and Pittenweem.[66] He also appears as witness to a land transfer

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[61] See also McDiarmid (1959).

[62] Haws (1972), pp. 155, 261.

[63] Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), pp. 146-7; Esposito (2004).

[64] Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), p. 149.

[65] The letter on fol. 16^r is subscribed 'Be me Villiame sympson'; fols 17^r and 17^v contains a series of vernacular theological verses which end 'finis quod sympson'. The series of Latin proverbs on fol. 18^r are signed 'Per me guilielm*us* simpsone'.

[66] See, for example, *RMS 1546-80*, no. 2513; *RMS 1580-93*, no. 192; *RPC 1585-92*, p. 462; *RSS 1548-56*, no. 2194; *RSS 1556-67*, Part I, no. 1292; *RSS 1567-74*, no. 2244; and various entries in the *ER 1543-56; 1557-67, 1568-79; 1580-88; 1589-94; 1595-1600*. Some of the latter entries may possibly refer to William's son, as might the reference to a William Simpson, burgess of Anstruther, in *RMS 1593-1608*, no. 1084

in 1575,[67] and draws up instruments of sasine in February and May 1585.[68] MS R's

William Simpson may alternatively be the William Simpson, recorded in Haws' *Parish*

Clergy as monk of Lindores and minister of Abdie and Dunbog.[69] I return to this

possibility at the end of this chapter.

MS R's William Simpson may finally also have been related to the Alexander

Simpson who frequently appears as a notary public and sheriff-clerk in the

constabulary of Haddington in the latter half of the sixteenth century.[70] In 1589 he

— or his son, also Alexander Simpson — transcribed one of the instruments of

sasine listed above (p. 185) which was drawn up in 1551 by Thomas White.[71]

MS R thus stands at the centre of two-overlapping networks. It is connected

via two of its scribes to a group of professionals involved in the administrative life of

Haddington in the second half of the sixteenth century, and it is linked through the

legal work of these scribes to the literary and Reformist network surrounding

extended members of the Cockburn and Maitland families. The only surviving

witness of *KO* and *SC* is therefore a prime example of how Older Scots romance

circulated 'in a relatively small, self-consciously interconnected literary culture',[72] a

conclusion which the remainder of this chapter confirms. In it, I offer a detailed

analysis of *KO* and *SC*, and those texts copied by Thomas White and William

Simpson with which they were compiled.

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[67] *RMS 1546-80*, no. 2513.
[68] *RMS 1580-93*, nos. 2306, 2318.
[69] Haws (1972), pp. 2, 69, 311.
[70] *RPC 1585-92*, pp. 323, 324, 668; *TA 1574-80*, p. 240; *RMS 1580-93*, no. 497; *ER 1580-88*, p. 237.
[71] *RMS 1593-1608*, no. 7.
[72] Purdie (2006), p. 175.

King Orphius[73]

To date very little is known about *KO*'s composition and subsequent circulation. As I

detail below, it appears to derive from the Middle English *Sir Orfeo* (hereafter *SO*),

which was composed at the end of the thirteenth/ beginning of the fourteenth

century.[74] A *terminus ad quem* of *c.* 1550 is provided by *The Complaynt of Scotland* which

includes 'Opheus [*sic*] Kyng of Portingal' in its list of narratives.[75] This refers to *KO*

rather than the Middle English *SO*, since only the Scottish poem mentions Portugal;

in l. 4, Orphius' wife is referred to as 'ye plisance of portingale'.[76]

An earlier *terminus ad quem* can be established by probable echoes of *KO* in

Henryson's *Orpheus*,[77] which was written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

In both poems, news of Eurydice's illness/encounter with the King of Faerie is

delivered by one of her maids. In the former, Orphius asks where his wife is, 'yan

anserit ane fair ladie/ scho kneillit doun and said trewlie/ ye quein is no^t disposit at

all/ yis day to dyne into ʒour hall' (ll. 19-22). Issabell later tells her husband 'ye king

of pharie vill me haif' (l. 48). Henryson's *Orpheus* echoes this scene when a 'madin'

says to Orpheus, '"Allace, Erudices ʒour quene,/ Is with the fary tane befor myne

ene!"' (ll. 114, 118-19). The same scene does not occur in *SO* since Orfeo there sees

his wife's condition for himself when he enters her bedchamber. Accordingly,

Henryson's likely echo of *KO* in terms of plot (by using the reporting scene) and

verbally (by specifically referring to 'the fary'), allows us to conclude that *KO* was

most probably written after the composition of *SO c.* 1300 and before the

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[73] Quotation from *King Orphius*, ed. Stewart. Stewart's lineation is continuous and therefore does not reflect the gap in the narrative caused by the manuscript's missing pages.

[74] *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Bliss, pp. xxi, lii.

[75] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50.

[76] Bawcutt (2001b).

[77] Citations from Robert Henryson, *The Poems*, ed. Fox. In contrast to me, Fox thinks *KO* 'unconnected with Henryson's poem', p. cv, n. 2.

composition of Henryson's *Orpheus* in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. A more precise date cannot currently be offered.[78]

The Middle English *SO* survives in three manuscript witnesses: Edinburgh, NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck Manuscript) (fols 299^r stub-303^r), dated *c.* 1330-40; BL, MS Harley 3810 (fols 1^r-10^r), written in the second half of the fifteenth century;[79] and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61 (fols 151^r-6^r), written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Opinion is divided concerning its influence on *KO*.[80] Marion Stewart wrote that 'there is such a multiplicity of minor differences in detail between the two texts that it seems impossible that "King Orphius" can have been copied directly from the English poem as we have it'.[81] She concluded, '[p]erhaps both issued from a common French source'. In contrast, Dorena Allen Wright argued for a 'genetic relationship between the English and Scottish romances', and she proposed that the younger Scottish romance was ultimately derived from the older English romance 'not only in the broad features of its action, but also in the fine details of its wording'.[82]

Stewart rightly points out the significant differences between the English and Scottish romance. The latter is, for instance, set uniquely in Portugal, its heroine is named Issabell not Eurydice,[83] and the steward whom Orphius leaves in charge of his kingdom is specifically described as his nephew (ll. 96, 117). The Scottish romance

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[78] In an unpublished paper entitled 'Editing Scottish Medieval romances: The Transmission of *King Orphius*' presented at Directions in Early Scottish Editing: A Day Symposium', De Montfort University, Leicester, 8 September 2008, Rhiannon Purdie detected possible correspondences between the use of a laurel tree and the subsequent occurrence of mysterious events at l. 70 of *KO* and in Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (*c.* 1421-2) (ll. 3028), *The Awntyrs off Arthure* (*c.* 1400-30) (ll. 32, 70), and the late fourteenth-century *The Pistil of Swete Susan* (l. 125). See respectively Lydgate, *Siege of Thebes*, ed. Eardman; *The Awntyrs*, ed. Hanna; 'The Pistil', ed. Peck. If *KO* is drawing on one or more of these texts, its composition could be placed after 1400.
[79] Guddat-Figge (1976), pp. 204-5.
[80] See Lyle (2009), pp. 58-64.
[81] *King Orphius, Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart and Shire, p. 21.
[82] D. Allen Wright (1980), p. 10.
[83] The setting in Portugal may parallel the setting of *SO* in Winchester in the Auchinleck Manuscript. Eurydice's name was similarly variable in the Middle English tradition. See Donovan (1958).

also contains two unique episodes — the scene in the hall before Orphius learns of Eurydice's fate (ll. 13-26) and the scene where the unrecognised Orphius comforts the burgess with whom he is staying (ll. 83-8). And yet, for all these differences, I agree with Wright that there are far more instances of verbal correspondence between the two poems.[84] These are unlikely to be the result of coincidence, or even independent translation of the lost French source.[85] Rather, the unknown Scottish author of *KO* appears to have been familiar with the Middle English romance. He followed the broad plot and verbal detail of *SO* whilst simultaneously introducing those new scenes and details that mark *KO* as a unique romance and not simply a mere derivative of its Middle English counterpart.

The level of verbal correspondence between the two poems cited by Wright suggests that the *KO* author encountered *SO* in a written form. It is thus interesting to note that Bliss writes of the copy of the latter poem in Ashmole 61 that 'certain rhymes peculiar to this text suggest that it was copied from a very northerly or Scottish exemplar'.[86] Many of the items within Ashmole 61 also have counterparts in Scottish manuscripts. Ashmole's *The Wise Man Taught His Son* (fols 6^{r-v}) (*NIMEV* 1985) and *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (fols 7^r-8^v) (*NIMEV* 1882) have counterparts in Scottish parental advice texts such as *Ratis Raving* and *The Thewis off Gudwomen* in CUL, MS Kk.1.5 (6) (fols 12^v-36^v, 49^r-53^r) and Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.23 (fols 164^r-7^v), whilst St. John's College, MS G.23 (fols 167^v-8^v), the Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 73^r-4^r) and the Makculloch Manuscript (fol. 190^{r-v}), contain Lydgate's *Dietary* (*NIMEV* 824), which is copied on fols 107^r-8^r of Ashmole

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[84] D. Allen Wright (1980), pp. 9-10 compares *KO* to the Auchinleck *SO* and cites some convincing parallels of word- and phrase-choice, particularly involving rhymes. Examples include *KO* ll. 77-8, 'ye morne quhair ӡe sall him meit/ Into ye middis off ye streitt' and *SO* ll. 509-10, '&, as he ӡede in þe strete,/ Wiþ his steward he gan mete'; *KO* ll. 111-12, 'quidder yow gat yi hairp in ... or toun/ throw ane vilderness com I' and *SO* ll. 533-6, '"Where hadestow þis harp, & hou?/ Y pray þat þou me telle now."/ "Lord!" quaþ he, "In vncouþe þede,/ þurth a wildernes as y ӡede"'.
[85] See D. Allen Wright (1980), pp. 9-10.
[86] *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Bliss, p. xxv. C. Mills (1977), p. 57 suggests that Henryson could have had access to such a Scottish exemplar.

61 and entitled 'The gou*erna*ns of man'.[87] In addition, Ashmole 61 contains a copy of

Lydgate's *Ryght as a Rammes Horn* (fols 5ᵛ-6ʳ) (*NIMEV* 199),[88] which occurs in

Scotland in the Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 79ᵛ-80ʳ), and in two Shirley manuscripts

(BL, MS Harley 2251, fol. 19ʳ, and BL, MS Additional 29729, fol. 10ʳ⁻ᵛ), which

themselves share other texts with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden. B.24

and the Bannatyne Manuscript, including lines 83-90 of Walton's *Boethius* (*NIMEV*

2820),[89] Lydgate's *Ryme without Accord* (*NIMEV* 223) (also printed by Chepman and

Myllar and copied into the Maitland Folio Manuscript, pp. 171-3),[90] and finally the

'Magnificat' from Lydgate's *Life of our Lady* (ll. 980-1061) (*NIMEV* 2574).[91]

The possible Scottish connections of Ashmole 61 were first investigated by

J.T.T Brown in the late nineteenth century.[92] Nineteen out of the forty-one items in

Ashmole 61 are signed by a certain 'Rat(h)e'. Brown claimed that this Rate was their

author. He proposed that the same man also composed the parental advice texts,

including *Ratis Raving*, in CUL, MS Kk.1.5 (6),[93] and he identified the poet with David

Rate, Confessor of James I of Scotland.

Although his theories have since been convincingly refuted,[94] Brown's

attempts to establish a connection between CUL Kk.1.5 (6) and Ashmole 61 should

not be entirely disregarded. The remits of this thesis have not permitted any further

exploration of the correspondences between Ashmole 61 and Scottish manuscripts,

[87] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, vol. II, pp. 702-7.
[88] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, vol. II, pp. 461-4 (461) and *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. Fox and Ringler, p. xxvi mistakenly claim that the Ashmole 61 version of Lydgate's *Rammes Horn* is Scottish. This is corrected by Hargreaves (1975-6), pp. 255-6.
[89] BL, MS Harley 2251, fol. 152ᵛ; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24, fol. 119ʳ, where it is attributed to Chaucer. See Boffey (1995b).
[90] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, vol. II, pp. 792-4; BL, MS Harley 2251, fols 25ʳ-6ʳ; Bannatyne Manuscript, fol. 79ʳ⁻ᵛ
[91] BL, MS Additional 29729, fol. 122ʳ; Bannatyne Manuscript: Draft Manuscript, pp. 22-4, Main Manuscript, fols 25ᵛ-6ᵛ. Lydgate, *Critical Edition [...] Life of Our Lady*, ed. Lauritis et al..
[92] J.T.T. Brown (1897a, 1897b). In the latter article, Brown identifies Rate with Ralph Strode (*d.* 1387), scholastic philosopher, lawyer, fellow of Merton College, and dedicatee of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.
[93] See above pp. 143-7.
[94] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan, pp. xxxii-vi; Blanchfield (1991, 1996).

but further work may well shed more light on the precise relationship between them. For now, the 'Scottish' connections of Ashmole 61 and its copy of *SO* at the very least heighten the probability of the latter romance having circulated in Scotland in the fifteenth century.

Thus, *KO* was certainly written before 1550 and it may well have been composed over a century before that, sometime after *c.* 1300 and before the composition of Henryson's *Orpheus* in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The reference to *KO* in *The Complaynt of Scotland* suggests that the poem was well-known, and its continued popularity is demonstrated not only by the inclusion of the poem in MS R but also by its continued existence in an evolved form as the ballad 'King Orfeo' which was still being sung in Scotland in the nineteenth century.[95]

Sir Colling[96]

The date 1583 is written several times at the end of MS R's copy of *SC.* This is most probably the date of the poem's copying by Thomas White. Like *KO*, it appears to have been composed considerably earlier.[97]

The poem's hero is based on the real-life figure of Colin Campbell (*d.* by 1323), 1st Campbell Lord of Lochawe and son of Sir Neil Campbell (*d.* 1315), a staunch supporter of Robert Bruce.[98] Colin himself accompanied Robert and Edward Bruce to Ireland during the campaigns of 1315-18 and lines 9-10 of the poem recall this; they describe how Colin 'v[t] Edvaird ye bruce he fuir to fecht/ In Irland biyond ye sie'.[99] In real life Colin may have died in Ireland, but in the poem he returns to Argyll and falls in love with the Lord of Argyll's daughter. References to

[95] Lyle (2007), pp. 61-67.
[96] Quotations from *Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart.
[97] A ballad version of *SC*, 'Sir Cawline', survives in the Percy Folio Manuscript (BL, MS Additional 27879) and three nineteenth-century ballad versions also exist. See Lyle (2007), pp. 85-102.
[98] Barrow (1988), pp. 151, 156, 163, 223, 281, 284, 289, 327; Boardman (2006), pp. 21-43.
[99] See Lyle (1991), (2007), pp. 105-9

Argyll are appropriate since the Campbell family rose to prominence there during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indeed, by 1395, a descendent of the poem's hero, also Colin Campbell (*d.* 1412/13),[100] was styling himself 'Dominus de Ergadia' ('Lord of Argyll'), a title which echoes the use of 'king' of Argyll in *SC*.[101]

On the basis of this historical evidence, *SC* can be no earlier than the Irish Campaigns of 1315-18. It has also been suggested that the author borrowed the name of his hero from passages in Barbour's *Bruce* (II.494; III.391-404; XVI.119-42), which refer to Neil and Colin Campbell.[102] The first passage identifies Neil Campbell as one of the band of loyal supporters who accompanied Robert Bruce during his flight from the English in the winter of 1306-7. Book III ll. 391-404 show Bruce and his troops waiting for Neil Campbell to return with victuals and ships before they cross to Kintyre. Book XVI describes the Irish Campaigns and ll. 119-42 depict an incident in which Neil's son Colin Campbell is rebuked by Robert I for failing to follow orders. If the author of *SC* was indeed influenced by Barbour's *Bruce*, then the poem's *terminus a quo* could be established as 1375-6.

Steve Boardman has proposed that *SC* might also be related to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century origin legends of the Campbell family.[103] A Gaelic ancestry poem in *The Book of the Dean of Lismore* for instance traces the line of the then Earl of Argyll back to Colin Campbell, the historical counterpart to the hero of *SC*.[104] Tales involving the defeat of monsters were, as Boardman notes, also common features of family origin legends in the late medieval and early modern period, and in Anglo-

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[100] Boardman (2006), pp. 68-117
[101] Boardman (2006), pp. 99-102.
[102] Henderson (1988), p. 265. Interestingly, the Campbells also appear in Hary's *Wallace*. Book VII, ll. 623, 635-6, 648, 658, 668 celebrate a 'gud' 'knycht Cambell' (possibly Sir Neil Campbell) who helped Wallace to quash Macfadyan's rebellion. See Hary, *The Wallace*, ed. McDiarmid, vol. II, p. 206. Hary may have been influenced by the powerful position of the then Earl of Argyll at the time of the poem's composition. See Boardman (2005), pp. 141-4 and Boardman (2006), pp. 211-14.
[103] Boardman (2006), p. 42. See also Boardman (2005), pp. 140-4.
[104] *Scottish Verse*, ed. Watson, no. XX, 'Ar Sliocht Gaodhal', pp. 158-65, 290-1. Other Campbell origin legends trace the family line back to King Arthur. See W.D.H. Sellar (1973); Boardman (2006), p. 11.

Norman ancestral romances such as *Gui de Warewic* and *Boeuve de Haumton*.[105] Thus,

SC may have been composed as a quasi- ancestral romance, most likely at an

important point in Campbell family history and perhaps during the Campbells'

particularly rapid rise to power in the first half of the fifteenth century.[106]

The Juxtaposition of *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling* in MS R

Fragments of *KO* and the complete text of *SC* survive on fols 10ʳ (left)-14ᵛ (right) of

MS R along with a fragment of the fable of 'Aesop and the Figs', discussed below,

and portions of legal documents concerning Marion Cockburn and William Sinclair

of Herdmanston, discussed above. All of these texts were copied by Thomas White.

Lyle has proposed that this portion of the manuscript once formed two separate

gatherings. [107] The first table below lists the texts in the order they now appear in MS

R. The second and third tables reconstruct the original order of these texts across

Lyle's two proposed reconstructed gatherings. In reading these tables it is important

to note that the line numbers for *KO* follow Marion Stewart's edition of the poem,

and as such they do not reflect the gap in the narrative caused by the manuscript's

missing pages. Asterisks are instead used to signal that text is missing before l. 1, and

between ll. 51 and 52.. These missing portions of text are then discussed in further

detail below.

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[105] Legge (1963), pp. 139-75.

[106] At the Scottish Medievalists Conference, Stirling, January 2010, Rhiannon Purdie uncovered possible heraldic references within *SC* and also related these to Campbell family history in an unpublished paper entitled '*Sir Colling* the Campbell: Fictionalising Family History in Late Medieval Scotland'.

[107] Folio numbers for Lyle's reconstructed gatherings are based on information presented in '"King Orphius" and its Manuscript' at the 12ᵗʰ International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, Edinburgh, July 2008, and adapted for publication as Lyle (2009), pp. 55-7.

Table 1: Current Contents and Order of MS R fols 10ʳ (left)-14ᵛ (right)

Folio	Contents
10ʳ (left)	*KO* ll. 26-51*
10ʳ (right)	'Aesop and the Figs'
10ᵛ (left)	'Aesop and the Figs'
10ᵛ (right)	*KO* ll. *1-25
11ʳ (left)	*KO* ll. 78-102
11ʳ (right)	End of following precept.
11ᵛ (left)	Precept of warning concerning Marion Cockburn, Longniddry, 18 March 1582. Factory by Sir William Sinclair of Herdmanston.
11ᵛ (right)	*KO* ll. *52-77.
12ʳ (left)	*KO* ll. 132-55 (end). Explicit to *KO*. Incipit to *SC*.
12ʳ (right)	*SC* ll. 217-41.
12ᵛ (left)	*SC* ll. 242-6 (end). Precept of warning by Marion Cockburn, relict of Hew Douglas, 21 January 1583.
12ᵛ (right)	*KO* ll. 103-31.
13ʳ (left)	*SC* ll. 140-65.
13ʳ (right)	*SC* ll. 56-83.
13ᵛ (left)	*SC* ll. 84-110.
13ᵛ (right)	*SC* ll. 111-39.
14ʳ (left)	*SC* ll. 192-216.
14ʳ (right)	*SC* ll. 1-27.
14ᵛ (left)	*SC* ll. 28-55.
14ᵛ (right)	*SC* ll. 166-91.

Table 2: Reconstructed Gathering 1 'Aesop'/ *King Orphius*

Original Folio Number	Contents
1ʳ⁻ᵛ	Precept of warning concerning Marion Cockburn, Longniddry, 18 March 1582. Factory by Sir William Sinclair of Herdmanston.
2ʳ-8ᵛ	MISSING
9ʳ⁻ᵛ	'Aesop and the Figs'
10ʳ-11ᵛ	MISSING [end of 'Aesop'; *King Orphius*]
12ʳ	*KO* ll. 1-25
12ᵛ	*KO* ll. 26-51

13ʳ-19ᵛ	MISSING [*King Orphius*]
20ʳ	*KO* ll. 52-77
20ᵛ	*KO* ll. 78-102

Table 3: Reconstructed Gathering 2 *Sir Colling*

Original Folio Number	**Contents**
1ʳ	*KO* ll. 103-31
1ᵛ	*KO* ll. 132-55 (end); Incipit to *SC*
2ʳ	*SC* ll. 1-27
2ᵛ	*SC* ll. 28-55
3ʳ	*SC* ll. 56-83
3ᵛ	*SC* ll. 84-110
4ʳ	*SC* ll. 111-39
4ᵛ	*SC* ll. 140-65
5ʳ	*SC* ll. 166-91
5ᵛ	*SC* ll. 192-216
6ʳ	*SC* ll. 217-41
6ᵛ	*SC* ll. 242 (end) Precept of warning by Marion Cockburn, relict of Hew Douglas, 21 January 1583.

Lyle's reconstruction reveals that the 'Aesop'/*KO*-gathering is almost entirely incomplete; only four folios (fols 1, 9, 12 and 20) of the proposed original twenty-folio gathering remain and only 154 lines of *KO* survive. The romance is acephalous; it now commences on fol. 10ᵛ (right) (Lyle's fol. 12ʳ) with Issabell being taken to her chamber by her attendants. Further text is lost after l. 51 (end of fol. 10ʳ (left)/ Lyle's fol. 12ᵛ), just prior to Issabell's presumed abduction by the 'king of pharie'. The poem resumes again on fol. 11ᵛ (right) (Lyle's fol. 20ʳ) with Orphius and Issabell seeking lodging from a poor burgess after their return from the faerie-kingdom. The concluding portions of the poem fill the last page of the 'Aesop'/*KO*-gathering and continue into the second *SC*-gathering,[108] finishing on what is now fol. 12ʳ (left) of MS R.

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[108] Lyle has only reconstructed the start of the *SC*-gathering; it may well have contained further material.

Fol. 12^r (left) (fol. 1^v of Lyle's *SC*-gathering) contains the final twenty-three lines of *KO*, followed by a Latin explicit written in large display script: 'finis huius fabulae'. Fox states that '[t]he ordinary meaning of *fable* in the 15th c. would be "fictitious story"'.[109] It is therefore entirely appropriate to refer to *KO* as a *fabula*, but one wonders whether MS R's explicit might also recall the now-lost explicit to the *fable* of 'Aesop and the Figs', discussed below, which was copied directly before *KO*. It also parallels the contemporary generic categorisation of Henryson's *Orpheus*. In the Chepman and Myllar print (p. 161)[110] and the Asloan Manuscript (fol. 254^r),[111] a rubric reading 'moralitas fabule sequitur' distinguishes *Orpheus*' moralitas from the narrative proper, whilst in the Bannatyne Manuscript,[112] a sixteenth-century reader has added 'Fable, VI/ 'Orpheus 7 Eurydice' as a marginal annotation at the beginning of the poem (fol. 317^v).[113] Although Henryson's *Orpheus* was composed after *KO*, its generic categorisation in both manuscript and print as a *fable* may have influenced the generic categorisation of the latter romance in the later sixteenth century.

The incipit to *SC* is written immediately below *KO*'s explicit and reads, 'Heir beginnis ane teill off/ Sir Colling ye kny^t'. It is also written in large display script, but in slightly darker ink than the preceding copy of *KO* and the ensuing copy of *SC*, suggesting that it was added sometime after the two poems were copied. *SC* itself begins on what is now fol. 14^r (right). Its 246 lines are copied across a total of ten pages at an average of 26 lines per page. The final six lines of the poem are copied on fol. 12^v (left).

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[109] Robert Henryson, *The Poems*, ed. Fox, p. 188, n. 1.
[110] *The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, gen. ed. Mapstone.
[111] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. II.
[112] *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. Fox and Ringler.
[113] The poem is here also compiled in the manuscript's 'fyift pairt [...] contenyng the Fabillis of Esop with diuers vþir fabillis and poeticall workis' (fol. 298^r).

The colophon at the end of the *SC* reads, 'This is ye end <o>f ye maist pairt of Sir Collyne ye kny' (fol. 12ᵛ (left)/ Lyle's 6ᵛ). This might suggest that a further uncopied portion of the poem followed — 'maist part' being defined by *DOST* as the 'largest or greatest in quantity or amount'[114] — but the surviving poem does not seem unfinished. Whilst its final lines are admittedly very succinct, they nevertheless represent a definite conclusion; the poem ends with reference to Colin's marriage to the Lord of Argyll's daughter and to the 'sixtein bairnis ye lady buir' 'in saxtein ȝeir', before her death (ll. 243-5). There is, furthermore, no material evidence to suggest that any portion of the poem is missing,[115] and nothing to suggest that the scribe intended to copy a second part of *SC* after the end of this 'maist pairt'. Indeed, White firmly concluded the item by writing 'finis' after the colophon and drawing a horizontal line below this. The colophon's reference to 'ye maist pairt [o]f Sir Collyne' thus remains unclear since MS R's copy of *SC* is almost certainly a near-to-complete witness of that romance.

It is likely that MS R also once contained a complete copy of *KO*. Lyle estimates that the poem began on fol. 10ʳ of her reconstructed twenty folio 'Aesop'/*KO*-gathering, after the now-missing end of and explicit to the fable of 'Aesop and the Figs'; fol. 10ʳ would have thus contained the remaining *c.* 15 lines of 'Aesop and the Figs' plus the explicit to 'Aesop', incipit to *KO* and *c.* 7 lines of *KO*.[116] It would have been followed by three now-missing pages (fols 10ᵛ-11ᵛ); two surviving pages (*KO* ll. 1-51: fols 12ʳ⁻ᵛ); fourteen further missing pages (fols 13ʳ-19ᵛ); and two more surviving pages (*KO* ll. 52-102: fol. 20ʳ⁻ᵛ). White then copied the remainder of the poem on the first two pages of the *SC*-gathering (*KO* ll. 103-55: fol. 1ʳ⁻ᵛ).

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[114] 'Mast(e, Maist(e', *a.* 2.
[115] See also Lyle (2007), p. 103.
[116] Lyle (2009), p. 57.

Lyle's reconstruction reveals that 17 complete pages, plus the *c.* 7 lines of *KO* on fol. 10[r], are lost. Since the surviving pages contain on average 25 lines, one can calculate that *c.* 432 lines of *KO* are missing, and therefore that the complete romance would have run to *c.* 586 lines. It was thus *c.* 17-18 lines shorter than the Auchinleck and Ashmole texts of *SO* and 77 lines longer than the heavily abbreviated Harley version.[117]

With the exception of enlarged ascenders on the first line of *SC*, both *SC* and *KO* are copied without any decoration or rubrication. Their incipits and explicits, written in display script, are accordingly made even more prominent, and the positioning of *SC*'s incipit immediately after *KO*'s explicit (on fol. 12[r] (left)) encourages one to begin reading *SC* (now fol. 14[r] right) straight away. This might in turn suggest that White intended the two poems to be read together.

The two romances do indeed form ideal companions. In *SC*:

> ye king sat at his dyne
> he luikit amang his kny[t]tis all
> he missitt sir colling
> he sayis q[r] is sir colling my kny[t]
> I see him nocht w[t] my ei
> Yan bispak ane eldrane kny[t]
> yat was off sir collings kin (ll. 27-33).

In a passage of *KO* without counterpart in the Middle English *SO*, Orphius similarly notes that his wife, Issabell, is missing after he has washed and sat down to supper: 'ye king speiris quhair is ye quein/ yan anserit ane fair ladie' (ll. 18-19). In both poems a king thus sits at a feast, notes that an important member of his company is missing, and enquires of their whereabouts. He is answered by the missing person's relation or kinsmen.

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[117] See Lyle (2009), pp. 58-64.

Further such thematic parallels between the poems can be traced.[118] In *KO*, the loss of Issabell at the hands of 'ye king of pharie' (l. 48) brings with it the loss of Orphius' kingdom when he chooses to abdicate and retire to the wilderness in grief.[119] In *SC*, during the feast that is held to celebrate Colin's success in his first adventure, twenty-four ships arrive and 'fra yam com ane fellon freik' (l. 152). The three-headed giant first takes the king's cup and drinks from it. He then vows 'other to bruik your landis braid/ Or haue yi dochtar deir' (ll. 161-2). Like the cup, the king's daughter stands as a symbol of his realm, and the giant vows that if he cannot 'bruik' (possess) the king's territory he will instead 'haue' the king's daughter. In both *SC* and *KO*, therefore, male rule is challenged when a princess or queen is abducted, or threatened with abduction, by a 'fellon friek'. The loss of a queen or princess symbolises and/or causes loss of the realm.

When the three-headed giant threatens the King of Argyll, he also demands that the king 'find me ane freik to fecht' or else 'yow aucht to be na king/ Nor yett to weir ye croun' (ll. 163, 165-6). His challenge accordingly functions in part as a test of loyalty since it will reveal whether the king's men are willing to risk their lives for his sake. This thematic emphasis on a subject's loyalty to his monarch is shared by *KO*. When Orphius returns in disguise to his kingdom he stays with a local burgess and enquires after the king and queen. When the burgess informs his unknown guest of Orphius' and Issabell's unfortunate fate, 'he begouithe to weip' (l. 81). His tears demonstrate his loyalty towards the missing monarch and foreshadow the tears of the steward/nephew whom Orphius left to rule the kingdom in his absence (l. 121). When Orphius returns, his nephew gladly resigns his regency and restores the crown to its rightful owner.

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[118] To demonstrate these parallels, I must refer to the Middle English *SO* since so much of the Older Scots romance is lacking.

[119] On the link between Orpheus' loss, and then retrieval, of his wife and kingdom see Edwards (1981) and E.M. Caldwell (2007).

By contrast, the steward-figure in *SC* proves to be less loyal. He is jealous because of Colin's marriage to the King's daughter and plans to kill Colin with a lion. He hides the lion in a dungeon and releases it when 'sir colling ʒeid furth in his oratour/ his matteinis for to say', wearing 'nathing [...]/ bot an mantill of gray' (ll. 219-22). Although there is no direct parallel to this episode in the surviving *KO*, there is a significant parallel in the Middle English romance. When Orfeo goes into the wilderness he wears nothing '[b]ot a sclauin [pilgrim's mantle]' (l. 228),[120] and when he returns in disguise to his kingdom he pretends that he discovered Orpheus' harp 'in a dale/ Wiþ lyouns a man to-torn smale' (ll. 537-8). One accordingly wonders whether the *SC* author knew the Middle English *SO* or alternatively an earlier or different redaction of *KO* which did contain the latter episode. This in turn prompts one to consider the unlikely but nevertheless intriguing possibility that *KO* and *SC* shared an author. In short, the thematic parallels between the two poems outlined above indicate that the juxtaposition of *KO* and *SC* within MS R is entirely appropriate.

Contextualising *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling* within MS R

1. Pentrials and Practice Alphabets

Interspersed amongst the literary items copied by Thomas White are pages of pentrials and practice alphabets. A number of the pentrials are legal formulae connected with burgh council administration. They may thus relate to White's professional role as a notary public. Other pentrials are of a religious nature. On fol. 7ᵛ (left), for instance, White copies the following sentence eleven times: 'Acknawlege me o god my sinnis me forgeiff wᵗ speid/ leist in yai anger and vrethe o lord my faultis in mynd pro<ue?>/ vretin on vedinsday ye twenty nyne day of junij an*no* 18

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[120] I quote from *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Bliss using the Auchinleck Manuscript version of the poem.

1580 [*sic*]'. It is reminiscent of Psalm 51.[121] On fol. 7ʳ (left) and on the right hand margin of fol. 8ʳ (right), White also wrote the short prayer 'In my defence god me defend/ And bring my sawll to ane gud end', which was frequently copied onto the flyleaves and margins of Older Scots manuscripts and printed books, including Arbuthnet's edition of *OA* discussed above.[122]

Elsewhere, White copies out stanzas from the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis.* These verses were most likely composed in the early stages of the Scottish Reformation, and were printed several times in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, after the first edition of 1565.[123] The first half of the *Ballatis* collection contains Protestant catechetical material in prose and verse. The two verses in MS R derive from the second half which is a translation, mainly from German sources, of psalms and hymns, followed by religious adaptations of popular secular songs.[124] On fol. 9ʳ (right) White repeats the opening four lines of 'Remember man, remember man',[125] a poem in which Christ speaks of the corruptions of the pre-Reformation church, and on fol. 9ᵛ (right) he repeats the first four lines from the second stanza of 'Lord God thy face, and word of grace',[126] a poem on the spreading of God's word.

Similar extracts from the *Ballatis* appear on the flyleaves and margins of several Older Scots manuscripts. The Maitland Folio Manuscript (p. 185), for instance, contains the first thirteen lines of 'Allace that same sweit face' written as prose.[127] In MS R, Thomas White used stanzas from the *Ballatis* as pentrials/ writing

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[121] Wishart is reported to have sung a version of this Psalm on the eve of his arrest at Ormiston hall. See John Knox, *The Works*, ed. Laing, vol. I, pp. 139-40.

[122] See pp. 53-4, 89.

[123] A.A. MacDonald (1998, 2005a, 2005b).

[124] A.A. MacDonald (1996b).

[125] *A Compendious Book*, ed. Mitchell, pp. 200-4.

[126] *A Compendious Book*, ed. Mitchell, pp. 55-7.

[127] *A Compendious Book*, ed. Mitchell, pp. 63-4; *Maitland Folio*, ed. Craigie, vol. II, p. 4. Martin and McClune (2009), pp. 246-7 note that the Maitland Folio Manuscript (p. 326) also contains a version of 'O man behold this world's vanity', close to that in the 1578 edition of the *Ballatis*.

exercises, perhaps to practise verse layout, and he was most likely writing from memory. The survival of his extracts nevertheless provides further evidence of MS R's association with Reformist circles.

2. Fol. 8: *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*

Fols 8[r] (left and right) and 8[v] (left and right) contain 115 lines of *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*, an anonymous late fifteenth-century Older Scots advisory tale collection.[128] The poem is also mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1550)[129] and it survives in two other witnesses. Its first 359 lines are found on fols 257[r]-62[v] of the Asloan Manuscript (A) and Robert Charteris printed a black-letter edition of the poem in 1603 (C) (*STC* 19528; Aldis 374).

Fol. 8 of MS R contains ll. 173/7-233/7 and 351/5-408 of *The Thre Prestis*:[130]

8[r] (left)	8[r] (right)
Thre Prestis	*Thre Prestis*
ll. 381-408.	ll. 173/7-202/6.

8[v] (left)	8[v] (right)
Thre Prestis	*Thre Prestis*
ll. 203/7-233/7	ll. 351/5-380.

118 lines of text are missing between ll. 233/7 and 351/5. A missing bifolium would account for the loss since White here copies roughly 30 lines per page.

If MS R once contained a complete copy of the text, running to a number of lines similar to the Charteris text (1344), then it would have contained a further 1229

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[128] *Thre Prestis of Peblis*, ed. Robb.
[129] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 112.
[130] Where two line references are given in the above discussion, the first reference is to A. See Mapstone (1990), p. 138, n. 12.

lines (i.e. C1344 - R115). Given the scribe's rate of copying, these missing lines would have covered around 41 pages. MS R's complete copy of *The Thre Prestis* would have thus once filled around 45 pages.

Mapstone compared the A, R and C texts of *The Thre Prestis* and concluded that whilst R was not the exemplar for C, 'C must derive from a text of the poem closely related to R, while also retaining some readings which go back to A. R is related to A, but more distantly, indicating that there were probably a considerable number of intermediaries between them'.[131] The copy of *The Thre Prestis* in MS R is therefore not directly related to that in A or C, but there is an interesting parallel between the compilation of *The Thre Prestis* in MS R and the compilation of *The Thre Prestis* in A. In A, *The Thre Prestis* is compiled in the manuscript's eighteenth surviving gathering (fols 257^r-62^v) immediately after Henryson's *Orpheus* (fols 247^r-56^v). Cunningham proposes that these two items formed a booklet, and that Asloan encountered them together in his exemplar.[132] Asloan's earlier sixteenth-century juxtaposition of *The Thre Prestis* and Henryson's *Orpheus* thus anticipates the compilation of *The Thre Prestis* and *KO* within MS R.

There is also an interesting link between MS R and C's printer, Robert Charteris. In 1605 Charteris printed two poems by a James Cockburn, called *Gabriels Salutation to Marie* (*STC* 5460.4; Aldis 385) and *Iudas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie* (*STC* 5460.7; Aldis 386).[133] Since one of the poems is dedicated to 'Ieane Hamiltone, Ladie Skirling', the author is likely to be James Cockburn of Skirling, brother of the Sir William Cockburn of Skirling who in 1603/4 married Jean Hamilton.[134] Consequently, Charteris may well have acquired his copy-text of *The Thre Prestis*

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[131] Mapstone (1990), p. 132.
[132] Cunningham (1994), pp. 126, 129.
[133] *Life of Andrew Melville*, ed. McCrie, vol. II, pp. 325-6.
[134] Mapstone (1990), p. 136; Cockburn and Cockburn (1913), p. 143.

through James Cockburn, or another Cockburn family member. The two men form

a further strand in the literary network surrounding MS R.

3. Fol. 10: 'Aesop and the Figs'

Fols 10ʳ (right)-10ᵛ (left) contain a fragment from the 'history' of 'how Issope

excuissit him selffe beffoir his lord for eitting off þe fegis' (hereafter 'Aesop and the

Figs'). This tale forms part of a fictional biography of Aesop known as *The Life of

Aesop*.[135] The *Life* and *Fables* of Aesop were popularised in fifteenth-century Europe

via Heinrich Steinhöwel's German translation produced in 1476-7. Julien Macho

produced a French translation of Steinhöwel that was first printed in Lyon in 1480,

and Caxton's English translation of this was printed at Westminster in 1484 (*STC*

175).[136] Further editions were produced by Pynson in 1497(?), 1500? (x 2), and 1525

(*STC* 176, 177, 177.3, and 177.7), by William Powell in 1551 and 1555 (*STC* 178,

179.5), and by Henry Wykes for John Waley *c.* 1570 (*STC* 181). Comparison of MS

R's 'Aesop and the Figs' with the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English prints

reveals that it is closest to Wykes' edition (W).[137]

'Aesop and the Figs' begins in W on signature A iiʳ after a title-page on A iʳ.

Its heading, split across the top margin of the printed pages, reads 'The Lyfe / of

Esope'. The heading in MS R has been severely cropped, but the remains of enough

descenders survive for one to ascertain that it was 'The lyffe off Isope', and thus

identical to that in W, but for spelling variations. The heading introducing 'Aesop

and the Figs' reads '[t]his history maket*h* men-/cion how Esope excused himself

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[135] See Wheatley (2000).

[136] *Caxton's Aesop*, ed. Lenaghan.

[137] I am grateful to Prof. David Parkinson (private correspondence 1 October 2008) for sharing work on 'Aesop and the Figs' completed by his former student, Ms. Sujata Chattopadhyay. Ms. Chattopadhyay compared Prof. Parkinson's transcription of MS R's 'Aesop and the Figs' with the relevant passage of the *Life of Aesop* in fifteenth-/ sixteenth-century printed editions and noted its proximity to Wykes' edition.

before his / Lord, for eating of the Figges' in W, and '[t]his history makith mentioun how/ Issope excuissit him selffe beffoir his lord for eitting off þe fegis' in MS R. Although Scotticised, the latter again clearly corresponds to W.[138] Similarly, the ensuing text is an extremely close Scottish version of that in W. Its opening 'And', for instance, comprises a decorated initial 'A' which corresponds to the historiated initial in the print. In addition, the punctuation of MS R is close to that in W. The first sentence of MS R, for example, reads 'And for alsmuche as his lorde to quhome Issope wes bound, suppossitt yatt he wes not proffitabill, he sent him to labour in þe feildis, [...]'. The commas parallel those in W: 'And forasmuch as his lord to who*m* Esope was bou*n*d, supposed that he was not profitable, he sent him to labour in the fields [...]'.

A copying error in MS R provides the firmest evidence of its derivation from W. A passage in W (A ii^v) reads:[139]

> And anone after he toke a
> vessell full of whot water, <u>which was in the
> fire, 7 powred ye hote water </u>into a bason. And
> dranke therof. And anone after he put his fin-
> ger in his mouth, 7 cast out al that was in his
> stomack, which was onely water, for y^t day he
> had tasted nothing but water.

The corresponding passage in MS R (fol. 10^v (left)) reads:

> and anone efter he tuik
> a vassell full off q?ait watter * into ane
> basein and dranke yairof, and
> anon efter he put his fingar in
> <his mou>the, and cast out all yat
> was in his

The asterisk in my transcription of MS R indicates its omission of the passage underlined in my transcription of the printed text.

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[138] The introduction in Caxton's edition is entirely different.
[139] I preserve the lineation of the manuscript and print.

The error results from an instance of eyeskip caused by a unique reading in W. MS R contains only one reference to (hot) 'watter' and the four-letter adjective preceding it is difficult to decipher and clearly corrupt. W contains two references to hot water. The adjective is here spelt 'whot' in the first instance and 'hote' in the second. The first orthographic form 'whot' is unique to Wykes' edition, and I suggest that it confused Thomas White. In his uncertainty, he glanced back to his copy. His eyes skipped to the second appearance of 'hote water', which appears in W directly below the first reference. He then mistakenly recommended copying from this point and omitted the intermediary passage about *pouring* the hot water from the vessel into the basin.

MS R's 'Aesop and the Figs' is thus almost certainly a copy of Wykes' print, taken either directly from a print or from a manuscript copy of that print. The final portion of the fable is now missing, but it was most probably completed on one additional folio.[140] As outlined above, this folio may also have contained the fable's explicit and an incipit to *KO*. The now-lost explicit may have resembled that to *KO*, 'finis huius fabulae'.

Thomas White's copying into MS R of a late sixteenth-century version of Caxton's 'Aesop' reflects a contemporary trend. Wykes' edition of Caxton's *Fables of Esope* was produced for Henry Waley *c.* 1570. In Scotland, Robert Lekpreuik printed Robert Henryson's 'morall fabillis of Esope the phrygian' for Henry Charteris in 1570 (*STC* 185; Aldis 83) and Thomas Bassandyne produced a 'Newlie corectit' edition in 1571 (*STC* 185.5; Aldis 101.9). An anglicised/de-Scotticised edition of Henryson's *Morall Fabillis* was also printed in London in 1577 by H. Bynneman(?) for Robert Smith (*STC* 186.5). The publication of these editions at roughly the same

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[140] As Lyle (2009), p. 57 notes, the fable proper ends at l. 7 ('and that is due therefore') of fol. Aiii^r in W. It is followed by an intermediary paragraph which may not have been in MS R.

time suggests a revival of interest in Aesopic fable literature on both sides of the Border during the 1570s. That versions of Caxton's 'Aesop' appear in Scotland[141] whilst versions of Henryson's 'Aesop' appear in England suggests, furthermore, not only active transmission of printed texts, but also a level of cross-fertilisation of the different traditions across the Border.[142] The appearance of Caxton's and Henryson's Aesop collections in Scotland and England respectively supplements each country's Aesop tradition.

4. Fol. 15: Fragments from the Apocryphal Book of Wisdom

The NAS online catalogue entry for MS R currently describes fol. 15 as follows:

> f. 15[r]
> left: Biblical text, possibly a psalm?; marginal inscription
> 'Marion Cokburne, relict of umquhll Hew Douglas off Borg'.
> Right: Contemplative text, capit. 4.
>
> f. 15[v]
> left: The same (cont'd).
> right: End of similar text.
> 'A prayer off Salamon to obtein visdome capi 9': 'O god off my fadderis...'.

The Biblical/contemplative text is in fact a fragment of a Scots version of the apocryphal Book of Wisdom. Thus:

15[r] (left)	15[r] (right)
Wisdom	Wisdom
9:6-13.	4:1-8.

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[141] Bassandyne's will records possession of 'Item, vii Fabillis of Esope, in prose, the pece xxx d.', *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, p. 200. Ferguson (1927), p. 168 suggests that this was Wykes' edition. Gourlaw's will records possession of 'Item, the Fabillis of Isoip, in proiss, ane, price ij s. vj d.', *Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, p. 210 which Ferguson (1927) p. 170 again identifies with Wykes' edition.
[142] Scholars have long debated whether Henryson used Caxton's *Aesop* when composing his *Fabillis*: Crowne (1962); Fox (1968); Lyall (2002).

15ᵛ (left)	15ᵛ (right)
Wisdom	Wisdom
4:8-17.	8:18-21
	9:1-5.

Catchwords reveal that further leaves were gathered both before and after this leaf and so it is likely that White once copied the entire Book of Wisdom. Fol. 15 is all that now remains, but it nevertheless reveals that White took quite some care in copying this text. Headings to Chapters 4 and 9 are written in display script and the first letter of each of these chapters is written with a large, decorated capital.

Surprisingly, White did not copy from the Geneva Bible, used in Scotland after the Reformation. A crucial difference occurs in the heading and first words of Chapter 4. In the Geneva translation (*STC* 2093), the heading reads, 'Of vertue and the commoditie thereof. The death / of the righteous, and the condemnatioun of the vn-/faithful', and the first words of Chapter 4 are 'Better is barrenness with vertue'. The fragment of the heading in MS R instead reads: 'Off ye chest generatioun <....................>[143] / off yair filicitie off ye deith off ye ryg< ......>/ off ye contempenatioun [*sic*] off ye vnfayful' and the first words of Chapter 4 are 'O hou fair is a chest generatioun'.

MS R's readings in fact match the heading and opening words of the Great Bible translation in the 1539 edition (*STC* 2068): 'Of the chaste generacyon of the faythfull, and of/ theyr felicite. Of the death of the ryghteous, and of/ the condemnacyon, of the vnfaythfull' and 'O how fayre is a chaste generacioun'. There were several editions of the Great Bible, but since Chapters 4 and 9 of MS R are signalled in Latin — 'capit. 4' and 'capi. 9' — rather than English, the text of MS R most probably derives from those versions of the Great Bible which also signal

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[143] Dots are here supplied to indicate roughly how much text is missing/ illegible.

chapters in Latin. Similarly, the first words of Chapter 9 in MS R read 'O god off my faderis, o lord off mercy'; whilst in some editions of the Great Bible the last word is given in the plural, MS R's copy most probably derives from those versions of the Great Bible which use 'mercy' in the singular.

MS R's text is in fact close to that in two quarto volumes of apocryphal texts called *The Bokes of Salomon*, printed by N. Hill? in 1546 (*STC* 2755) and William Copland in 1550 (*STC* 2757). These are both in the tradition of the Great Bible translation. They use Latin to signal chapters and have 'mercy' in the singular, not plural, for the opening of Chapter 9. MS R's text is also punctuated in the same places as the Hill and Copland print. White was thus copying, either directly or indirectly, from a similar *Boke of Salomon*. We know that such volumes were circulating in sixteenth-century Scotland since they are listed in contemporary inventories of Edinburgh printers and booksellers. [144]

MS R's Scots version of Wisdom can accordingly be added to the corpus of Scottish prose, and Scottish biblical and advisory literature. Indeed, it corresponds particularly well to the advice to princes genre since it is replete with exhortations to kings and ministers to rule with justice, wisdom and prudence. Joanna Martin has proposed that 'themes of righteous kingship and loyal service' are central to the composition and interpretation of *KO*, and its juxtaposition alongside *Wisdom* within MS R would certainly support this reading.[145] Comparison could also be made with V de F's copying of the *Dicta Salomonis* alongside *Lancelot of the Laik* in CUL, MS Kk.1.5.[146] Both V de F and Thomas White copied and compiled romances with a thematic focus on kingship alongside *Bokes of Salomon* similarly concerned with the nature of good kingly governance. Such thematic similarities encourage an ethical

[144] Proverbs/books of Solomon are listed in the inventories of Bassandyne and Gourlaw: *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 192, 193, 213.
[145] Martin (2008), p. 84.
[146] See pp. 145-6.

style of reading in which romances like *Lancelot*, *KO* and *SC* offer edification as well as entertainment.

Thomas White's Booklet: Overview

In 1972, Marion Stewart proposed that a member of either the Cockburn of Ormiston, or Sinclair of Herdmanston families employed Thomas White 'to compile a book of literary and pious pieces, perhaps on the lines of the Maitland Folio Manuscript which was being collected at this time.'[147] This chapter has revealed that Thomas White's surviving fols 6-15 were indeed written from within a familial, professional and literary network that encompassed the Cockburn, Sinclair of Herdmanston, and Maitland families. However, I would argue that these fols 6-15 were not themselves copied by Thomas White for the Cockburns of Ormiston or the Sinclairs of Herdmanston. One might instead classify them as foul papers or rough copies of literary texts, which White could have used in his capacity as a literary scribe to prepare neater presentation copies for any number of patrons, including the Cockburn family. Furthermore, whilst this putative presentation manuscript would, like the Maitland Folio Manuscript, have no doubt 'showcase[d] an impressive range of poetic forms, genres, and subjects',[148] Thomas White's surviving portion of MS R is a very different type of collection. It is not, like the Maitland Folio Manuscript, a 'family' or 'household' book,[149] but rather a kind of commonplace book, formed from several different scribal booklets. It is comparable both to CUL, MS Kk.1.5, discussed in the previous chapter, and to NLS, MS Advocates' 34.7.3, a

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[147] *Sir Colling*, ed. Stewart, p. 24.
[148] Martin and McClune (2009), p. 241.
[149] Boffey and Thompson (1989), p. 294; Boffey (2000a), (2001), p. 40.

commonplace book compiled by the priest and notary public, James Gray, between *c.* 1503/4-32.[150]

Such combinations of imaginative, religious and legal literature are witness to the increasingly overlapping roles of chaplains and notaries public as literary and legal scribes throughout the sixteenth century. White's surviving collection of fables, tales, religious lyrics, Biblical wisdom literature, and romance also reflects the interests of a priest and notary public whose career evolved in pre- and post- Reformation Scotland. It has been said that the popularity of medieval romance declined after the Reformation when hard-line Protestants increasingly condemned its supposed immorality, and yet, whilst this is to a certain extent true, medieval romances were also still read, copied and printed in great numbers in the second half of the sixteenth century.[151] Thomas White's portion of MS R exemplifies this. The adventures of King Orphius and Sir Colling in faerie and eldritch kingdoms belong to the superstitious world of the old religion but they nevertheless sit comfortably alongside Reformed religious and Biblical literature within the context of MS R. Thomas White's literary collection thus demonstrates that literature produced in two separate thought worlds could be legitimately copied, bound, and read together.

Finally, White's compilation also exemplifies the dynamic relationship between manuscript and print in sixteenth-century Scotland, which will be witnessed again in the next chapter of this thesis. Indeed, the relatively high proportion of items within Thomas White's booklet copied from or associated with sixteenth-century prints might even indicate that *KO* and *SC* were themselves printed earlier in the sixteenth century.

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[150] *Pieces*, ed. Stevenson, pp. xvi-xviii; Robert Henryson, *The Poems*, ed. Fox, pp. 426-7.
[151] See H. Cooper (2008), p. 5.

Conclusion: The Compilation of Thomas White's and William Simpson's Papers

It is uncertain when the booklets copied by Thomas White joined company with those written by other scribes to form the composite MS R, but it appears that Thomas White and MS R's other known scribe, William Simpson, may have been closely associated. Their booklets may thus have come together at a relatively early stage in the manuscript's history.

Some of the material in William Simpson's hand remains unidentified, including a Scots religious poem in four-line stanzas on fol. 17. The identity of the vernacular text on fol. 16ʳ can, however, now be revealed.[152] The first item on this page is a fragment of a letter sent by Simpson to a friend and it takes as its subject the addressee's 'cloik'. The second half of the page contains a text beginning 'Curag provokis hardines'. This phrase occurs alone as a proverb in the collection of 232 'reasownes and prowerbes' in the Maxwell Commonplace Book (fols 30ᵛ-6ᵛ).[153] Maxwell extracted a number of his proverbs from George Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (1576) and John Lyly's *Euphues* (1578).[154] He also derived proverbs 171-80 (fol. 35ᵛ), including 'Currage prowokis hardenes', from John Rolland's *The Seuin Seages* (first printed 1578), and specifically from the *Moralitates* appended to portions of that narrative.[155] MS R's 'Curag provokis hardines' and Maxwell's 'Currage prowokis hardenes' derive from l. 2212 of *The Seuin Seages*, part of the *Moralitas* to 'The secund Tale of the Emprice'. Unlike Maxwell, however, Simpson

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[152] Simpson also copies a series of miscellaneous Latin proverbs on fol. 18ʳ, including Cato's *Distichs* I.21. The latter also appears as part of the collections of Cato's *Distichs* in the subsequent part of the manuscript (fols 25ʳ, 28ʳ), and as an annotation on the only surviving print of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*. See pp. 54-5.

[153] Bawcutt (1990).

[154] Bawcutt (1990), p. 61.

[155] Rolland, *Seuin Seages*, ed. Black; Whiting (1948). Rolland's poem was clearly very popular. It was printed in 1578 by John Ross for Henry Charteris (*STC* 21254; Aldis 152) and again by Robert Smyth in 1592/5 (*STC* 21255; Aldis 235, 277), Andro Hart in 1620 (*STC* 21256; Aldis 559) and Hart's 'Heires' in 1631 (*STC* 21257, 21257.3, 21257.7; Aldis 764.1, 764.2, 764.3). Ross' testament (1580) records his possession of 'tua hundredth Sevin Seigis vnbund' and Smyth's (1604) 'xlv Sevin Seages', *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 205, 234.

did not just extract this one sentence but instead copied almost all of *Moralitas* to

'The secund Tale of the Emprice', lines 2212-25.

It is strange that Simpson stopped copying where he did since he had space
to continue copying the remaining text. He also copied the *Moralitas* in a jumbled
fashion; the first lines are copied around rather than below one another. Simpson
was clearly capable of correctly laying-out verse since on fol. 17 he readily
distinguished each four-line stanza of an unidentified vernacular religious poem. He
thus had difficulty for another reason, and this was probably due to the complicated
layout of his source, namely John Ross' 1578 print (*STC* 21254; Aldis 152). The
moralitas to the 'The secund Tale of the Emprice' comprises three five-line stanzas
but in Ross' print (pp. 67-8) the first stanza is laid out as seven lines. Because of
their length, Ross printed the second half of lines one and two below the first half,
and he also indented them. Simpson apparently first tried to emulate this but failed,
copying the first four lines around rather than below one other. He then resorted to
copying his source as prose and used a punctus elevatus to distinguish each line of
verse.

MS R thus provides the only known manuscript witness to date for *The Seuin
Seages*. The poem's author also forms a further link in MS R's literary network. John
Rolland (*fl.* 1528-80) [156] was a priest in the diocese of Glasgow and a notary public in
Melrose, Kelso and Dalkeith.[157] On 30 October 1539, he witnessed a charter
concerning a grant of land to William Cockburn of Choicelee by James Stewart,
commendator of Kelso, and John, abbot of Lindores.[158] As discussed above (p. 185),
this grant was also witnessed by two men associated with MS R, 'Mr. Patrick
Cockburn, rector of Petcokkis' and 'Sir Thomas Quhite' elder. On 19 February 1540,

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[156] Reid (2004b).
[157] *Laing Charters*, nos. 434, 441, 581, 644, 653-5, 660, 931, 1003.
[158] *Laing Charters*, no. 434.

Rolland witnessed another grant of feu-farm which was again witnessed by Patrick Cockburn.[159]

It therefore appears that John Rolland may have been associated with two of MS R's scribes. He certainly knew Thomas White the elder,[160] and his link to the abbot of Lindores suggests that he may also have been associated with MS R's William Simpson, if the latter was indeed a monk of Lindores Abbey.[161] MS R's William Simpson could thus have had direct access to a copy of *The Seuin Seages* through John Rolland himself. Alternatively, Thomas White the elder/ younger may have provided a route for transmission. The survival of White the younger and Simpson's papers together in MS R suggests that the two men were themselves closely associated, if not directly known to one another.

Alasdair MacDonald has written of the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscripts: '[o]ne might surmise that the compilation of such large poetry collections as those of Sir Richard Maitland and George Bannatyne was made possible by the existence of networks, sometimes mutually overlapping, connecting literary-minded members within the ecclesiastical, legal and official establishments'.[162] This chapter has demonstrated that the compilation of MS R was certainly made possible by such overlapping networks, networks that encompassed the Cockburn and Maitland families, the scribes Thomas White and William Simpson, and the author John Rolland. NAS, MS RH 13/35 is therefore not simply a '[c]ollection of fragments'. It is instead a key witness of Older Scots romance and other hitherto unidentified literature; a product of a vibrant and closely-related professional, literary, and familial Protestant milieu, centred in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Haddington and East Lothian, that calls out for further exploration.

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[159] *Laing Charters*, no. 441.

[160] He also worked with a 'John Quhite', a possible relation of Thomas White: *Laing Charters*, no. 660.

[161] Haws (1972), pp. 2, 69, 311 and above, pp. 187-8.

[162] A.A. MacDonald (2001b), p. 59.

Chapter 6

Golagros and Gawane and *Rauf Coilȝear.*

The original contents pages to the early sixteenth-century Asloan Manuscript reveal that it once contained copies of two Older Scots alliterative romances, *Golagros and Gawane* (*G&G*) (*IMEV* 1567) ('The buke of sir gologrus and sir gawane') and *Rauf Coilȝear* (*RC*) (*NIMEV* 1541) ('Itm ye buke of ralf coilȝear').[1] The manuscript's scribe, John Asloan, copied these romances directly alongside one another, after Dunbar's 'Hale, sterne superne, hale, in eterne' and before his 'In May as that Aurora did vpsring'.[2] Asloan's copies of *G&G*, *RC*, and the seven pieces compiled after them no longer survive. The two romances are, however, still extant in printed editions: *G&G* in an edition of 1508 produced in Edinburgh by Scotland's first printers, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar (*STC* 11984; Aldis 12), and *RC* in a printed edition of 1572 produced in St. Andrews by Robert Lekpreuik (*STC* 5487; Aldis 113). Only one copy of each printed edition remains.

In this chapter I examine each witness in turn. I begin with the printed editions, providing information about their printers, Chepman, Myllar and Lekpreuik, and a full bibliographical description. I also reveal how these printed editions each came to form part of sixteenth-century *Sammelbände*, and I examine the nature of the composite volumes. At the end of the chapter I return to the Asloan Manuscript. I describe that manuscript and provide details of its scribe, John Asloan. I reconstruct the likely appearance of *G&G* and *RC* and discuss Asloan's possible use of printed sources. I also consider why *G&G* and *RC* form such obvious literary companions. I conclude by situating the early sixteenth-century circulation of both romances

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[1] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. I, p. xv.
[2] See William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 16, 24.

within a dense literary and professional circle of Edinburgh scribes, printers, notaries

public, chaplains, merchants and burgesses.

Part 1: *Golagros and Gawane*: NLS Sa.6 (2)

Chepman and Myllar

On 15 September 1507, James IV granted his 'lovittis servitouris' Walter Chepman

and Andrew Myllar a patent to:

> furnis and bring hame ane prent with al stuf belangand tharto and
> expert men to use the samyne, for imprenting within our realme of
> the bukis of our lawis, actis of parliament, croniclis, mess bukis and
> portuus efter the use of our realme, with additiouns and legendis of
> Scottis sanctis now gaderit to be ekit thairto, and al utheris bukis
> that sal be sene necessare [...].[3]

The result was Scotland's first printing press situated at the South-gait (now

Cowgate) in Edinburgh.

There survive from Chepman and Myllar's joint printing enterprise nine

printed booklets, many of which are dated in colophons to April and May 1508.[4] At

an early stage in the sixteenth century these booklets were bound together with two

further quarto booklets.[5] The first of these two extra booklets comprises a collection

of three Dunbar poems (*The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, *I that in heill

wes and gladnes*, and *I maister Andro Kennedy*)[6] and the anonymous *My gudame was a gay

wif* (alternatively known as *Kynd Kittok* and occasionally attributed to Dunbar); the

second contains a fragment of *A Gest of Robyn Hode* printed in Antwerp (*c.* 1500).

The resulting collection of eleven booklets constitutes an eclectic but coherent body

of twenty Older Scots and Middle English prose and verse texts in a variety of

genres. The table below details the contents of the booklets and lists them in the

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[3] *RSS 1488-1529*, pp. 223-4.
[4] *The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, ed. Beattie; Mapstone; Stevenson. All references are to Mapstone's edition, unless otherwise stated.
[5] I discuss the construction of this *Sammelband* below.
[6] William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 3, 21, 19.

order in which they may have been printed and in the order in which they are now

bound.[7]

Order of Printing	Order of Binding
Anon, *A Gest of Robyn Hode*, *IMEV* 1915. 4°, Antwerp, unknown printer, *c.* 1500, *STC* 13689.5.	Androw Cadiou, *The Porteous of Noblenes*, pp. 1-6.
William Dunbar, *The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, *IMEV* 3845.5; William Dunbar, *I that in heill wes*, *IMEV* 1370.5; Anon, *My gudame wes a gay wif*, *IMEV* 2244; William Dunbar, *I maister Andro Kennedy*, *IMEV* 1330.5. 4°, Edinburgh?, *c.* 1507-8?, Andrew Myllar?, *STC* 7350; Aldis 8.	*Gologros and Gawane*, pp. 7-48. Lydgate, *Balade*, 'Thingis in kynde desyris thingis lyke', pp. 49-52.
William Dunbar and Walter Kennedy, *The Flyting*, *IMEV* 3117.8; Robert Henryson, *The Praise of Age*, *NIMEV* 1598; Anon, *Devise prowes and eke humilitee*, *NIMEV* 679. 4°, Edinburgh, before 4 April 1508?, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 7348; Aldis 9.	*Sir Eglamour*, pp. 53-88. *Balade*, 'In all our gardyn', p. 88.
Anon, *De Regimine Principum*, *NIMEV* 2818.8. 4°, Edinburgh, before 4 April 1508?, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 3307; Aldis 3.	Dunbar, *The Goldyn Targe*, pp. 89-100.
Robert Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, *NIMEV* 3442; Anon, *The Want of Wise Men*, *IMEV* 2139. 4°, Edinburgh, before 4 April 1508?, Walter	*De Regimine Principum*, pp. 101-8.

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[7] I here use the estimated dates and order of printing presented in Mapstone (2008b).

Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 13166; Aldis 11.	
[John Lydgate], *The Maying and Disport of Chaucer/ The Complaynt of the Black Knight*, *NIMEV* 1507; Anon, *Qwhen be dyvyne deliberation*, *IMEV* 2579.5. 4°, Edinburgh, 4 April 1508, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 17014.3; Aldis 4.	Lydgate, *The Maying and Disport of Chaucer*, pp. 109-33. *Qwhen be dyvyne deliberation*, pp. 134-6.
Anon, *Golagros and Gawane*, *IMEV* 1567; John Lydgate, *Balade*, 'Thingis in kynde desyris thingis lyke'/ *Ryme without Accord*, *NIMEV* 223. 4°, Edinburgh, 8 April 1508, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 11984; Aldis 12.	Dunbar and Kennedy, *The Flyting*, pp. 137-43. Henryson, *The Praise of Age*, pp. 143-4. *Devise prowes and eke humilitee*, pp. 144-8.
Androw Cadiou, *The Porteous of Noblenes*. 4°, Edinburgh, 20 April 1508, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar*, STC* 5060.5; Aldis 13.	Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, pp. 149-66. *The Want of Wise Men*, pp. 166-8.
Anon, *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, *NIMEV* 1725; Anon, *Balade*, 'In all our gardyn growis thare na flouris'*, IMEV* 1466.5. 4°, Edinburgh, *c.* 20 April 1508, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 7542; Aldis 14.	Dunbar, *The Ballade of Barnard Stewart*, pp. 169-76.
William Dunbar, *The Goldyn Targe*, *IMEV* 2820.5. 4°, Edinburgh, *c.* 20 April 1508, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 7349; Aldis 7.	Dunbar, *The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* pp. 177-89 Dunbar, *I that in heill wes*, pp. 188-92 Anon, *My gudame wes a gay wif*, pp. 192-3 Dunbar, *I maister Andro Kennedy*, pp. 193-6.
William Dunbar, *The Ballade of Barnard Stewart*, *IMEV* 2811.5. 4°, Edinburgh, *c.* 9 May 1508, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, *STC* 7347; Aldis 6.	*A Gest of Robyn Hode*, pp. 197-220.

In the first half of this chapter I provide a full bibliographical description of *G&G*

and consider how the romance might relate to those other booklets with which it was

bound in the sixteenth century. I begin by discussing the careers of its printers,

Chepman and Myllar.

The latter is thought to have originated in Fife and has been connected with

the Andreas Myllar who incorporated at St. Andrews University in 1492.[8] It is likely

that Myllar received Continental training as a printer since he is first associated with

two quarto editions printed in Rouen: John Garland's *Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum*

interpretatio (*STC* 11604.5; Aldis 1)[9] and the *Expositio Sequentiarum* (*STC* 16118; Aldis

2), dated 1505 and 1506 respectively.[10] Both works were probably printed for Myllar

in Rouen by the printer Pierre Violette.[11] They are, however, also interestingly

connected to prints of the same works by Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. The

Garland grammar appears to have been set from de Worde's 1499 edition; the

Expositio 'was set up either from Pynson's edition of 1498 or from one allied to it'.[12]

Myllar has also been connected to the printing, *c.* 1507, of a Scots version of

the *Ars Minor* of Aelius Donatus (*STC* 7018; Aldis 5) which survives as a fragment in

a volume of grammatical works belonging to the Aberdeen humanist and

grammarian John Vaus (*c.* 1484- *c.* 1539).[13] The 91 mm textura type used to print the

Donatus grammar[14] is similar to the 92 mm type used by Violette to print the

Expositio and Garland Grammar. The type is, however, heavily worn, and Mapstone

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[8] Maitland Anderson (1926), p. 190; Durkan (2004a). See also Rae (1958) and Dickson and Edmond (1890), pp. 25-48.

[9] Shaw (2004).

[10] Myllar's printing device is found at the end of the former and his name appears in the latter text's colophon. See Mapstone (2001b), p. 7.

[11] Rouen was an important printing centre during this period and produced a number of texts for the English and Scottish market. See Sessions (1982); Ford (1999), pp. 179, 184-5, 198; Mapstone (2001b), p. 4, n. 21.

[12] W. Beattie (1974), p. 111.

[13] E.G. Duff (1892-3a). Vaus may also have been the text's translator. See I. Macfarlane (2004); Mapstone (2001b), p. 8; Mapstone (2010).

[14] Isaac (1930), fig. 91.

accordingly suggests that it may have been 'passed on by a printer willing to offload it to a novice'.[15] She proposes that Myllar returned with this type to Scotland and subsequently printed, between 1507 and 1508, not only the Donatus grammar but also the small group of Dunbar (+ *Kynd Kittok*) prints in the NLS volume. They were produced using the same 92 mm type as the *Expositio* and Garland grammar.[16]

Myllar cannot be firmly associated with printing in Scotland until the 1507 licence and the 1508 joint publications in which his device appears seven times. His device,[17] depicting a windmill and miller, offers a visual pun on his name.[18] It measures 107 x 81 mm and appears at the end of seven Chepman and Myllar volumes,[19] as well as at the end of the *Expositio Sequentiarum*. Sally Mapstone has revealed that a similar design was used as a printer's device by the Jehan Moulin who printed a Book of Hours in Rouen *c.* 1519.[20] This printer might in turn be identified with the early sixteenth-century Rouen bookbinder Jehan du Moulin since a similar design appears on two of the latter's blind-stamped leather panels.[21]

In addition to printing, Myllar also worked as a bookseller. The Treasurers' Accounts for 1503 record payment to 'Andro Millar' 'for thir bukis underwritten, viz. — Decretrum magnum; Decretales; Sextus cum Clementinis; Scotus super quatuor libris Sententiarum; Quartum Scoti; Opera Gersonis in tribus voluminibus;

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[15] Mapstone (2008a), p. 2.
[16] Mapstone (2008a), p. 2; Isaac (1930), fig. 90.
[17] McKerrow (1913), no. 22; Watry (1992), device 2, pp. 93-4. See Dickson and Edmond (1890), pp. 84-5 for a complaint made by Chepman in 1509/10 which associates him too with the printing of a Donatus.
[18] Compare L. Lewis (2006), p. 60.
[19] The device appears on pp. 6, 52, 100, 136, 148, 168, 176 at the end of the *Porteous, G&G, Goldyn Targe, Maying and Disport of Chaucer, Flyting, Orpheus, and Ballade of Barnard Stewart* booklets. It would have originally appeared at the end of all booklets.
[20] Mapstone (2008b). See also Silvestre (1867), vol. I, pp. 128-9, no. 258; Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 47; Lacombe (1963), no. 530.
[21] Davenport (1911), pp. 168-9; Birley (1956), p. 241; Hobson (1931), p. 416; Hobson (1988b), pp. 328-9; Rhodes (1960, 1971). A French bookbinder working in Edinburgh was also called 'Johnn du Moullings'. It is not known whether this binder had any connection with the Rouen Jean du Moulin. See Durkan (1987), pp. 72, 94 n. 7.

Viaticum',[22] and in 1507, the same accounts record payment to 'Andro Millaris wif'

for 'iij prentit bukis'.[23] Myllar was one of several suppliers of books and manuscripts

to James IV. James had a number of manuscripts copied for his own personal use

and also for the use of the Observantine friary at Stirling which he patronised and

visited during Lenten retreats.[24] Many of these manuscripts were transcribed, bound

and illuminated at religious houses in Culross and St. Andrews. Printed books were

also supplied to James by a number of named individuals, including Patrick

Redheuch, John Hervey, William and John Fowler/ Foular, and a Frenchman named

Bartholomew.[25] James IV was thus demonstrably interested in literature and his 1507

grant of a printing patent to Chepman and Myllar is accordingly no surprise,

especially given that both men also had connections to his court.

In addition to his mercantile activities, Chepman worked as a notary public
Walter Chepman was probably born in Ayr, *c.* 1471, and is likely to be the

son of the John Chepman, merchant burgess, referred to in the protocol book of

Gavin Ros.[26] He attended the local grammar school, where he is described as

scholar, and he twice signs as present at sasines in Ayr. In Edinburgh as a merchant

in wool and other cloths he later conducted trade with Andrew Halyburton,

Conservator of Scottish Privileges in the Netherlands.[27] He also supplied goods to

James IV, including 5 ells of 'Inglis claith' in 1503, and 'Estland burdis' in 1507.[28]

In addition to his mercantile activities, Chepman worked as a notary public

and Writer to the Signet.[29] The Exchequer Rolls and Treasurers' Accounts frequently

[22] *TA 1500-4*, p. 364. See further Mapstone (2001b), p. 4, n. 23.

[23] *TA 1507-13*, p. 90. On the involvement of women in the early Scottish book-trade see A.J. Mann (1999).

[24] For James IV's books see further Higgitt, ed. (2006), S11.

[25] Mapstone (2001b), pp. 5-6.

[26] Dickson and Edmond (1890), pp. 13-22; Ros, *Protocol Book*, nos. 438, 522, 557, 972, 1032, 1303; Durkan (2004b).

[27] *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (1867), pp. 11, 13, 57, 77-8, 155, 200. See also Summerson (2004) and Dawson (2007), p. 59.

[28] *TA 1500-4*, p. 313; *TA 1507-13*, p. 45.

[29] The protocol books of John Foular and James Young contain numerous examples of Chepman appearing either as notary or witness to legal instruments. His name also appears therein as a

record payment to Chepman for scribal work, and he often appears therein alongside John Reid of Stobo, priest, clerk, notary public, and acquaintance of William Dunbar.[30] In 1495 he was present in the chamber of James IV at Holyrood where he witnessed an instrument of sasine along with the authors John Ireland (*c.* 1440-95) and Gavin Douglas (*c.* 1476-1522).[31] Chepman's professional associations with such literary figures make it likely that he had ready access to the Dunbar texts he printed in 1508 and he may even have been personally acquainted with the poet.

Chepman was also professionally associated with the Bannatyne family. Between 1565 and 1568, George Bannatyne produced a literary manuscript which shares a number of texts with the Chepman and Myllar prints (NLS, MS Advocates' 1.1.6).[32] His grandfather, John Bannatyne, often appears in documents alongside Chepman, and the two men acted jointly as witnesses to a number of legal transactions;[33] in 1527, they were both paid for dictating and writing the rolls in the Exchequer's office.[34] John Bannatyne, and his son, James, were also closely connected with Chepman's nephew, John, another notary public, and all three men were, like Chepman, Writers to the Signet.[35] Chepman's wife, Agnes Cockburn, became a Bannatyne godmother in 1540.[36]

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significant landowner. See *Foular 1503-13*; *Foular 1514-28*; *Foular 1528-34*; Young, *Protocol Book*; See also *Calendar of Writs*, ed. Harvey and Macleod, no. 291; *Edinburgh Burgh Records 1403-1528*; *RMS 1424-1513*; *RMS 1513-46*; *Society of Writers* (1936), pp. 28, 107.

[30] *ER 1488-96*, pp. 613, 614, 753; *ER 1497-1501*, pp. 122, 123, 234; *ER 1502-7*, pp. 373, 464, 594; *ER 1508-13*, p. 548; *ER 1523-9*, pp. lxi, 295, 387; *TA 1473-98* pp. c-i, 236, 270, 327. Stobo is mentioned in Dunbar's *I that in heill wes*, l. 86, and also in *The Flyting*, l. 331. Both poems were printed by Chepman and Myllar. See William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 21, 65.

[31] Young, *Protocol Book*, no. 790; Bawcutt (1976), p. 5.

[32] Texts shared by Chepman and Myllar and the Bannatyne Manuscript are: Dunbar's *I that in heill wes*, *I maister Andro Kennedy*, *Goldyn Targe* and *Flyting*, the anonymous *My gudame wes a gay wif*, Henryson's *Praise of Age* and *Orpheus and Eurydice*, the anonymous *The Want of Wise Men*, Lydgate's *Maying and Disport* and 'Thingis in kynde desyris thingis in lyke', and the anonymous 'Qwhen be devyne deliberation'. The Bannatyne Manuscript also contains fragments of *De Regimine Principum*. See *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. Fox and Ringler, pp. xviii-xl; Bawcutt (2008), p. 109.

[33] *RMS 1424-1513*, nos. 2872, 3239, 3498, 3872; *Calendar of Writs*, ed. Harvey and Macleod, no. 291; *Foular 1503-13*, nos. 723, 760.

[34] *ER 1523-9*, p. 387. See further van Heijnsbergen (1994), esp. pp. 188-90.

[35] *Society of Writers*, pp. 29-30, 71, 107.

[36] van Heijnsbergen (1994), p. 190.

Like Myllar's activities in France, Walter Chepman's professional work in the clerical and legal spheres of the royal court and burgh of Edinburgh thus involved him in a closely related literary network of notaries, scribes, authors, and readers. Such overlapping professional and literary networks will again emerge when I discuss the Asloan Manuscript at the end of this chapter.

In addition to the nine booklets now compiled in the NLS volume, Chepman and Myllar can also be associated with the production of a quarto volume of Holland's *Buke of the Howlat* (*STC* 13594; Aldis 17) and a folio edition of Hary's *Wallace* (*STC* 13148; Aldis 10). These prints now survive only in fragmentary forms.[37] They are printed in the same type as the other Chepman and Myllar volumes and based on the quality of the printing and type have been dated by Sally Mapstone to before 4 April 1508 and *c.* 1509, respectively.[38]

Chepman was also responsible for the production in February and June 1510 of a two-volume octavo edition of the Aberdeen Breviary (*Breviarium Aberdonense*) (*STC* 15791; Aldis 16). This text was the result of a project conceived and encouraged by William Elphinstone (1431-1514), bishop of Aberdeen, and it was designed to replace Sarum use in Scotland.[39] It is the one extant output of the Chepman and Myllar press that conforms to the purposes of the 1507 patent. It appears to have been produced only by Chepman since neither Myllar's device nor name appears in the print.[40]

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[37] The *Howlat* fragments now survive in CUL (Sel. 1.19(1)) and Dundee City Archives. See Laing (1867), pp. 11-16; W. Beattie (1938-45); R. Donaldson (1983). The *Wallace* fragments are housed in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow and CUL (Syn.3.50.3). See Aldis (1912); Miller (1914, 1920).

[38] Mapstone (2008a), pp. 5, 8.

[39] *Breviarum Aberdonense*, ed. Blew; Dickson and Edmond (1980), pp. 86-99; Macfarlane (1985), pp. 231-46; R. Donaldson (1995, 1998).

[40] There is no definite proof of Myllar's activities after 1508. A Myllar did reappear at St. Andrews University in 1509. This may be the same Andreas Myllar, and thus possibly our printer Myllar, who incorporated in 1492 but failed to complete his studies. *Early Records*, ed. Maitland Anderson, p. 204.

Chepman's device measures 103 x 74 mm and now survives on four of the Chepman and Myllar prints and at the end of both parts of the Aberdeen Breviary.[41] It depicts a shield (containing Chepman's initials) hung on an oak tree; a wild man and woman support the shield and stand surrounded by flowers and foliage on either side of the tree. The name 'Walterus chepman' is printed on a ribbon at the bottom of the device.

Although the wildman/wodewose image was familiar in drama and heraldry throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[42] it became particularly common as the device of early printers.[43] Chepman's device draws upon that of the Poitevin printer Pierre Pigouchet[44] and it is likely to have been imported from France. It was most probably Pigouchet's associations with liturgical literature that influenced Chepman's choice of a similar device given his own association with liturgical books in the 1507 patent and the eventual appearance of the device in the Aberdeen Breviary.

Chepman's device also gains added connotations when seen in light of the chivalric tournaments held by James IV in June 1507 and May 1508.[45] Its wild- man and woman parallel those said to have accompanied James IV while its central tree and shield correspond to the tournament's allegorical 'tree of esperance' and to the shields of those noblemen who took part in the tourneys and jousts.[46] A direct link cannot be drawn between the device and tournament but it is certainly possible that Chepman and Myllar's decision to publish texts concerned with chivalry and heraldry such as *G&G*, *Sir Eglamour*, *The Goldyn Targe* and *The Buke of the Howlat*, was inspired

[41] On pp. 89, 109, 149 and 169, the title-pages of *The Goldyn Targe*, *Maying and Disport of Chaucer*, *Orpheus*, and *Ballade of Lord Bernard Stewart* respectively. McKerrow (1913), no. 29; Watry (1992), device 3, p. 94.
[42] Withington (1918-20), vol. I, pp. 72-7; Bernheimer (1952), pp. 177-8; Neubecker (1997), pp. 196-7.
[43] Avis (1971).
[44] Silvestre (1867), vol. I, pp. 36-7, no. 71.
[45] Fradenburg (1991), pp. 225-64.
[46] *TA 1506-7*, p. 394.

by recollections of the 1507 tournament and preparations for the 1508 tournament.[47] The *Ballade of Barnard Stewart* certainly responds to the visit in May 1508 of the French diplomat Barnard Stewart of Aubignay to Edinburgh.[48]

Walter Chepman is not recorded in association with print after 1510. He did, however, continue his mercantile activities until his death in 1528, and remained in Edinburgh as a burgess, Dean of Guild, and significant landowner. He was therefore a prominent and no doubt well-known member of Edinburgh society, who was also favoured by James IV and James V. He was, for instance, granted lease of property in the King's Meadow.[49] In 1511-12 he was allowed to extend his property and was exempted from burgh duties such as warding.[50] In 1513 he founded an aisle in St. Giles' Cathedral dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, patron saint of the book trade, and he also endowed an altar there. Just prior to his death he endowed a mortuary chapel in the cemetery of St. Giles.[51]

Thus, as Mapstone has noted,[52] contrary to previous scholarship[53] associating Chepman with the mercantile side of the printing business and Myllar with the technical side, both men brought a variety of (often shared) mercantile, technical and scribal skills to Scotland's first printing press; they added to these skills their professional and social associations with literary, legal and court networks. Chepman, Myllar, and their print productions are thus worthy of greater attention

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[47] Parkinson (1991a); K. Stevenson (2006), p. 96, n. 164.

[48] William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, vol. II, p. 407.

[49] *ER 1502-7,* p. 644; *ER 1508-13*, p. 253; *ER 1513-22*, pp. cxiii, 216-17, 220, 292, 488; *RMS 1513-46*, no. 1625.

[50] *RSS 1488-29*, nos. 2290, 2367. Earlier in his career, Chepman was exempted from wool customs: *ER 1488-96*, p. 614; *ER 1497-1501*, p. 122; *ER 1502-7*, pp. 373, 464 and 594.

[51] Lees (1889), pp. 71-2, 75, 90, 91; Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 19; *RMS 1424-1513*, no. 3872; *RMS 1513-46*, no. 1738.

[52] Mapstone (2008a), p. 3

[53] For example Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 48; Rae (1958), p. 14.

than they have hitherto received, attention such as that bestowed on the

contemporary English printers Caxton, Pynson and de Worde.[54]

Composition and Circulation

I turn now to Chepman and Myllar's edition of *G&G*.[55] Despite its limited survival,

the poem was clearly well-known. In addition to its once being copied into the

Asloan Manuscript, 'gauen and gollogras' was also listed in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.*

1550) whilst David Lyndsay claims that his hero fought better than 'Gawin aganis

Golibras' in *Squyer Meldum* (*c.* 1550).[56] The date of the poem's composition remains

uncertain, although Hanna has most recently suggested, on the basis of linguistic and

external evidence, a date between *c.* 1475 and 1508.[57]

The Scottish romance is an adaptation of two episodes from Branch IV of

the 'First Continuation' of Chrétien de Troye's *Perceval*. It is derived from a prose

redaction of this continuation, one close but clearly prior to that printed in 1530.[58]

G&G is thus, like *Lancelot* and *Clariodus*, a verse adaptation of an original prose

narrative. It was, however, not written like these romances in decasyllabic couplets,

but rather in thirteen-line alliterative stanzas rhyming *ababababcddc*.

In contrast to England, where the only alliterative works to reach print were

Piers Plowman and *The Quatrefoil of Love*,[59] alliterative verse remained popular in

Scotland following a surge of interest in the form during the mid- to late fifteenth

century. A number of alliterative poems were printed during the sixteenth century,

including several by Chepman and Myllar — the anonymous *My gudame wes a gay wif,*

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[54] A future study could profitably examine the similarities and differences between Chepman and Myllar and their English contemporaries.

[55] Citations taken from *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna. Previous editions are lised by editor in the bibliography under the heading *Golagros and Gawane*.

[56] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50; Lyndsay, *Selected Poems*, ed. Hadley Williams, *Squyer Meldrum*, l. 1315.

[57] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xxx. But compare Purdie (2009), p. 183.

[58] *Continuations*, ed. Roach, ll. 9149-495, 11206-2490; Ketrick (1931). See also Barron (1974).

[59] Riddy (1988), p. 46; Blake (1969).

Dunbar's *Tretis* and *Flyting*, Holland's *Howlat* — as well as Lekpreuik's 1572 edition of *Rauf Coilƺear*. Several of these poems were also copied into mid- sixteenth-century manuscripts,[60] and further alliterative works, such as the *Flyting of Montgomerie and Polwarth*, were still being composed towards the end of the century.[61] As Riddy aptly concludes: 'in opting for an alliterative form, the author of *Golagros* was helping to mould a taste that would last for well over a hundred years'.[62]

In using an alliterative form, the author also aligned his poem with Middle English alliterative Arthurian romance, particularly *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn*. The poem's relationship in terms of structure, vocabulary, themes and images to the alliterative tradition and *The Awntyrs* has long been recognised[63] and most recently reasserted by Ralph Hanna in his edition of *G&G*.[64] Hanna concludes that 'no two alliterative poems show quite such concentrated reliance on the same lexical items and collocations' and he even tantalisingly suggests that 'there is no special evidence to indicate that, in origin, *The Awntyrs* should be placed south of Solway Firth';[65] in other words, *The Awntyrs* might well be re-claimed as an originally Scottish romance.[66] At the very least, it certainly displays a detailed knowledge of the geography of southwest Scotland.[67]

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[60] Of the Chepman and Myllar prints, the *Tretis* was copied into the Maitland Folio Manuscript, pp. 81-96; *My gudame* into the Bannatyne Manuscript, fols 135ᵛ-6ʳ; *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* into both Maitland Folio Manuscript (pp. 53-4, 69-72, 77-80, 59-63) and Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 147ʳ-54ᵛ); Holland's *Howlat* into the Asloan Manuscript (fols 213ʳ-28ᵛ) and the Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 302ʳ-10ᵛ).
[61] Montgomerie, *Poems*, ed. Parkinson, vol. I, pp. 141-75; Mapstone (1999b).
[62] Riddy (1988), p. 46.
[63] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Laing, pp. 8-9 and 'headnote' to 'The Awntyrs of Arthure' in *Early Popular Poetry*, ed. Laing; Barron (1999b), p. 336, n. 201; Purdie (2005), pp. 99-101; Schaffner (2005), pp. 123-7.
[64] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, pp. xxxiv-viii. See also Royan (2010).
[65] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, pp. xxxvii, xxxv.
[66] See also Hanna (1988), p. 202, n. 3; *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xxxvi; Bawcutt (2008), pp. 107-8.
[67] See *The Awntyrs*, ed. Hanna, p. 50; R. Allen (1996).

G&G also shares with the Middle English alliterative Arthurian tradition an interrogation of the chivalric ethos and value of courtesy.[68] It combines this with a particularly Scottish emphasis on good private and public governance, derived from the advice to princes tradition, and a further Scottish emphasis on personal and national freedom, originating in propaganda generated during the Anglo-Scots Wars of Independence.[69] Although it is not the purpose of this thesis to explore these themes in detail, I highlight them in order to demonstrate below how those printed booklets with which *G&G* was later combined relate to it thematically.

Bibliographical Description

NLS Sa.6 (2) is the second pamphlet in the bound volume of Chepman and Myllar prints, and also the longest, running in the current pagination from page 7 to page 52. A complete Chepman and Myllar pamphlet most probably contained a title-page (with Chepman's device and incipit), the main poem, an accompanying short poem acting as a filler if necessary, an explicit, a colophon announcing Chepman and Myllar's names and the place and date of publishing, and finally Myllar's device. The surviving copy of *G&G* lacks the title-page (a i), but its colophon on p. 51 (d vi^r) reads: 'Heir endis the Knightly tale of golagros and gawa-/ne in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter chepman/ and Androw Millar the viii day of ap*er*ile the yhere of/ god. M.CCCCC. and viii. yheris'. The poem itself runs from pp. 7-48 (a ii^r- d iv^v), and is completed at the bottom of the latter page with a simple, centre-aligned 'Explicit'. Lydgate's *Ryme without Accord* follows on pp. 49-51 (d v^r - d vi^r); it is not attributed to Lydgate and simply headed 'Balade', as are the other filler items in the

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[68] G. Rogers (1966); Jack (1974); Walsh (1989).
[69] McDiarmid (1991); Purdie (2005).

surviving Chepman and Myllar pamphlets.[70] After the colophon on p. 51, the booklet

ends with Myllar's device on p. 52 (d vi[r]).

The quarto booklet may be collated as follows: a$^{6(-1)}$, b-d^6. Hanna explains

that 'the four outer leaves of each quire were set on a single sheet, as for a normal

quarto book, and the inner two leaves on a single sheet, probably again as a normal

quarto, the central leaves of two adjacent quires printed together'.[71] Chepman and

Myllar also followed Norman practice and signed by the sheet. Signatures therefore

appear only on the first and third leaves of each quire.[72] There are no catchwords or

running titles. The poem is printed like the other surviving Chepman and Myllar

prints using a 93 mm Norman type.[73] Stanza layout is consistent throughout the

pamphlet. Each recto contains two full stanzas followed by six lines of the next

stanza; the verso contains the remaining lines of the latter stanza followed by two

complete stanzas. Each stanza in turn comprises only twelve printed lines rather

than the thirteen of modern editions since the usual thirteenth line is printed on the

same line as the eleventh. Leading is used between the stanzas to distinguish them

from one another.

This confident layout of alliterative verse appears to have been a skill

Chepman and Myllar acquired over time. When Myllar printed *My gudame*, for

instance, no leading was used between the stanzas and the aligning of the thirteenth

line against the eleventh was not always completed with precision. The printers had

better success with the *Buke of the Howlat*, most probably printed after *My gudame* and

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[70] The other items thought to be fillers are: *Devise prowes and eke humilitee, The Want of Wise Men, Qwhen be dyvyne deliberation* and *In all our gardyn growis thare na flouris.* Göller (1963), pp. 123-4 erroneously attributed Lydgate's poem to the *G&G* author and read it as a commentary on Arthur's often contradictory behaviour within *G&G*.

[71] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xi.

[72] This signing system was used for all the surviving Chepman and Myllar pamphlets. Myllar's booklet of Dunbar and Kennedy poems is, however, signed by the leaf.

[73] Isaac (1930), figs. 86-7.

before *G&G*,[74] but again leading is sometimes omitted from between the stanzas and exchanged for the use of a large capital at the beginning of a stanza. Such large capitals are not used in *G&G*, except for the very first capital 'I', used to mark the poem's beginning.[75] Chepman and Myllar's edition of *G&G* thus lacks any particular decoration and unlike Arbuthnet's edition of *OA* contains no rubrics or emboldened capitals to signal narrative division.

The printing nevertheless appears, on the whole, to have been undertaken with some care.[76] As already mentioned, stanza layout is adhered to throughout. In addition, all initial line letters are capitalised,[77] with the exception of the occasional minuscule 't', 'h' and 'y'. Word-spacing is mainly standard, although there are some errors, including 'bestren yeit' for 'be strenyeit', l. 276, and 'Asl youne' for 'As lyoune', l. 964. Punctuation consists of a lozenge-shaped punctus. It occurs on 52 occasions indicating pauses of varying lengths. Abbreviation although limited, follows manuscript conventions. The most frequent type is the use of the tironian nota for 'and' and the use of a bar/tilde across the top of a letter to indicate ensuing 'm' or 'n'. Superscript 'e' or 't' also occurs above 'y' to signal 'the' or 'that'. Abbreviations occasionally occur for '-is' and '-er'. The highest concentration occurs at l. 1080 — 'Þ*e* sege þ*at* schrenk*is* for na schame, þ*e* schent might hym sche*n*d' (my transcription) — where it is used as a space-saving device to allow this particularly long line to fit onto the page.

Despite such attention to detail, a number of compositorial errors of the kind detected in other Chepman and Myllar prints do still occur.[78] The compositors frequently confuse 'f', long-'s' and 'l'; 't' with 'c'; 'p' with 'g'; 'n' with 'u', and 'm' with

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[74] Mapstone (2008a), p. 5.
[75] The poem's first two lines are also indented.
[76] Lines are lost at 291 and 333. The lost line after l. 552 occurs at a page break and is thus likely to have been lost during either the casting-off or type-setting process.
[77] Proper names are not capitalised, with the exception of 'Cador of Cornwel', l. 750.
[78] van Buuren (2001).

'in'. There is also occasional confusion of 'd' (and 'h') with 'b' as well as reversal of letters and minims such as 'ni' for 'in' in '-ing' (l. 407), 'bonlk' for 'blonk' (l. 898) and 'preuidice' for 'preiudice', l. 1309.[79] The printing of 'v' is also inconsistent; it occurs either as a 'w' or alternatively as 'vv'. Hanna notes that that clumps of 'vv' for 'w' occasionally occur on the last few lines of a page, or tend to accumulate at the heads and ends of quires on pages that might have been set together.[80] Several also occur on those pages ending the quire-centres which were set as half-sheets. This may suggest that type became scarce when the compositors were setting sheets simultaneously. It may also betray the tendencies of different compositors. Similar variation occurs in use of 'th' and thorn, which was printed using the same font as 'y'. The compositors also seem to have lacked a sufficient number of yoghs. More often 'gh' is used, although this combination of letters appears to have been itself problematic. 'Noght' appears, for instance, as 'nogth' in l. 451, 'myght' as 'mygch' in l. 516 and 'right' as 'rihht' in l. 616. The compositors also frequently misspell 'knight'(/ 'knicht') so that the word occurs in a variety of forms including 'kinchtis' (for 'knichtis', l. 370) and 'kinght' (for 'knight' l. 613).[81]

In assessing such errors one must remember that the compositors were most likely foreign laborers, those 'expert men' Chepman and Myllar were licensed to employ from the Continent in 1507. They would accordingly have been unfamiliar with the Scottish secretary hand of manuscript exemplars, and with Scottish poetic language and forms, in particular the alliterative form of *G&G*. Their errors are therefore more easily excused.[82] The text with which they worked may also have acquired errors during its previous manuscript circulation. Lines which fail to meet

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[79] See *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, n. 48, p. xliii-iv for further examples of turned type and reversed or incorrect minims.

[80] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xlii, n. 47.

[81] The resultant orthographic confusion of 'knight' and 'king' inadvertently parallels the poem's focus on the set of ethical and chivalric values shared by kings and knights.

[82] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xxiv.

the requirements of alliterative poetry or which exhibit grammatical incoherence are less likely to be compositorial errors and more likely examples of textual corruption acquired during transmission. [83] They are vestiges of a manuscript tradition that may, based on Hanna's proposed dating of the poem, be as much as thirty years old.

History and Provenance

The nine bound booklets of Chepman and Myllar prints entered the Advocates' Library between 1785 and 1788, having previously been in the possession of one Mr. Alston in Glasgow, [84] most probably John Alston (1743-91), student at Glasgow University and subsequent leading partner in a firm of West India merchants, Eason, Alston & Co.[85] They were transferred to the NLS from the Advocates' Library in 1925 and since 1951 the individual leaves have been separately mounted into paper frames and bound into a white vellum volume. The leaves were previously bound into a brown-leather binding executed *c.* 1807/8 by the London binder, Charles Hering. Hering's binding replaced an eighteenth-century parchment cover.

Annotations throughout the prints enable us to reconstruct something of their sixteenth-century history. The title-page of Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe*, for instance, contains the following *ex libris*: 'liber Florentini mertyn <.....> borthuyk'. [86] This owner has been identified with the Florentine Martin who frequently appears in *The Sheriff Court Book of Fife* as a jury member during the 1510s, 1520s and 1530s, and

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[83] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xlv.

[84] See further the National Library of Scotland website, 'First Scottish Books: Provenance and Binding': http://www.nls.uk/firstscottishbooks/advocates.html, accessed 1 March 2010. Also *The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, ed. Beattie, pp. xx-ii.

[85] Devine (1978), p. 55.

[86] Dots here indicate roughly how many letters are now illegible.

he is associated there with Giblieston in Fyfe.[87] Mapstone notes that Martin was also

a portioner of Dysart.[88]

The word 'borthuyk' following Martin's name has been taken as the name of

another early reader. Durkan and Ross tentatively suggest that the inscription read

'Amen borthuyk' or, alternatively, 'Alexander borthuyk'.[89] If correct, the individual in

question may have been the Alexander Borthwick who is also recorded in *The Sherriff*

Court Book of Fife serving on assizes during the same decades as Martin;[90] indeed, on

one occasion the two men served on the same assize.[91]

It has not previously been noted that a Master Alexander Borthwick also

appears alongside Walter Chepman in the Edinburgh Burgh Records and *Protocol*

Book of John Foular.[92] This Alexander Borthwick was Baillie of Edinburgh and may

therefore have been professionally associated with Chepman in the latter's capacity as

Dean of Guild. Overlapping professional and literary interests could accordingly be

responsible for the appearance of Alexander Borthwick's name on the Chepman and

Myllar prints.

The prints contain one other name which has proven difficult to decipher. A

signature on p. 51, at the end of Lydgate's 'Thingis in kynde', was transcribed by

Durkan and Ross as 'W. (or M.T.?) Prat forret'. They suggested that the individual in

question be connected to the 'Thomas prat' whose name also appears in *The Sheriff*

Court Book of Fife.[93] I.C. Cunningham has more recently suggested that the name be

transcribed as 'M [as in Maister or Magister] robt Forrester'.[94] Although Forrester

was a popular surname, a number of interesting possibilities suggest themselves.

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[87] *Sheriff Court Book*, ed. Croft Dickinson, pp. 3, 130, 187, 193, 259.
[88] Mapstone (2008a), p. 8.
[89] Durkan and Ross (1961), p. 129.
[90] *Sheriff Court Book*, ed. Croft Dickinson, pp. 2, 52, 90, 101, 131.
[91] *Sheriff Court Book*, ed. Croft Dickinson, pp. 2-3.
[92] *Foular 1503-13*, no. 433, 446, 796; *Edinburgh Burgh Records 1403-1528*, pp. 152, 160. For further instances of Borthwick, see the indices to *Foular 1503-13, 1514-28* and *1528-34*.
[93] Durkan and Ross (1961) p. 136; *Sheriff Court Book*, ed. Croft Dickinson, p. 210.
[94] Mapstone (2008a), p. 8.

Several Forresters appear in the records of the *Sheriff Court Book of Fife* including a John 'Forestar' who served on assizes during the same decades as Martin and Borthwick.[95] Mapstone alternatively proposes a Robert Forrester who was abbot of the Cistercian abbey at Balmerino in Fife from 1511 to *c.* 1559.[96] He too appears in the *Sheriff Court Book of Fife*.[97]

A connection between this Forrester and the individual named in the prints is promising given the liturgical nature of the volume's marginal annotations. For instance, p. 88 contains an inscription reading 'Benedictus dominus', whilst p. 51 contains: 'Omnes vos qui transitis p*er* viam attendite [...]/ similis est dolor sicut'. This inscription — now incomplete due to cropping — echoes Lamentations 1.12 and had Lenten associations. The same is true of the inscription on p. 149 (the title-page to Henryson's *Orpheus*): 'Memento homo q*uod* cinis es et in cinerem reuerter*is*'. This phrase, echoing Genesis 3:19, was spoken on Ash Wednesday by an officiating priest when placing ashes on the heads of worshippers. As a reminder of human mortality, it also formed the theme and refrain to a number of Older Scots poems including 'Men, hef in mynd and mend thi mys' in the Makculloch Manuscript (fol. 87^r),[98] Lichtoun's 'O mortall man remember nycht and day' (Bannatyne Manuscript, fol. 48^r), and Dunbar's *Memento, homo, quod cinis es* (Bannatyne Manuscript, fol. 47^{r-v}; Maitland Folio Manuscript, pp. 193-4). Thus, in addition to its liturgical associations, one wonders whether the annotation on p. 149 might also echo one or more of these poems, particularly the latter. The unknown annotator's familiarity with works by Dunbar that now survive only in manuscript is entirely possible, especially if he was

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[95] Several other Forresters appear in the index to *Sheriff Court Book*, ed. Croft Dickinson.

[96] J. Campbell (1867), pp. 115-33; Cowan and Easson, eds. (1976), pp. 72-3; Watt and Shead, eds. (2001), pp. 14-15; Mapstone (2008a), p. 8; Kerr (2008), pp. 41-2, 48, 59.

[97] *Sheriff Court Book*, ed. Croft Dickinson, pp. 171-4.

[98] *Pieces*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 13-14. A longer version of the same poem also occurs in the Gray MS (NLS, MS Advocates' 34.7.3, fols 78^r-9^v): *Pieces*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 54-6.

personally acquainted with Chepman. As we have seen, the latter was himself most
probably acquainted with Dunbar via his court career.

Thus, even though further work remains to be done on these inscriptions
and annotations, we already have evidence of a closely related and overlapping circle
of readers, situated in Fife and/or Edinburgh, who may in turn have been
professionally associated with the printer, Walter Chepman.[99] The annotations can
also provide information about how and when the printed booklets came together.
Many of the annotations throughout the volume are in Florentine Martin's early to
mid- sixteenth-century hand and several occur at the beginnings and end of poems at
points where the original title-pages or printers' devices are missing. They provide
the titles of preceding or ensuing poems, or refer to poems elsewhere in the volume.
The title-page to *The Maying and Disport of Chaucer* contains, for instance, the Latin
inscription 'Liber probus atq*ue* amabilis atq*ue* pro auriculis audiend*us*' on p. 109,
which has been interpreted as an echo of Dunbar's tribute to Lydgate and Gower at
the end of the *The Goldyn Targe* (pp. 89-100): 'O morall Gower and Ludgate laureate,/
Your sugurit lippis and tongis aureate/ Bene to oure eris cause of grete delyte', ll.
262-4.[100] An early hand has written 'The making of chausere' on p. 110, echoing the
formal printed incipit 'here begynnys the mayng or disport of chaucer' on p. 109.
On p. 147, an otherwise blank page at the end of the pamphlet containing *The Flyting*
of Dunbar and Kennedy, Henryson's *The Praise of Age* and *Devise prowes and eke*
humilitee, an early hand has written 'Here endis þe flytyn betuix m*agiste*r willya<m>/
dunbar and maist*er* kennedy', quite probably because this pamphlet lacks its first
quire, and therefore a title-page and incipit. Finally, an early hand has written

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[99] Further interesting annotations not explored here include 'Qui docet stultorum p*ro* dogmathe dat
sibi res<..>m/n?' (p. 51, repeated p. 175) and an illegible sentence containing the word 'buk-hud' (p.
109).
[100] W. Beattie (1974), p. 116, n. 11; Bawcutt, ed. (1988), B. 59. 'Audiendus' was erroneously
transcribed as 'arduus' by Durkan and Ross (1961), pp. 129, 136.

'Orpheus' on p. 150, after the formal printed incipit on p. 149, whilst 'Bernard Stewart' has been written on pp. 170 and 171, after the formal incipit on p. 169.[101] Such annotations were very likely added to the booklets just prior to their first being bound together. It appears that several of the prints were already defective, and the annotations thus represent an attempt to establish a sense of cohesion and order.

The annotations also reveal that the two booklets not produced under Chepman and Myllar's joint partnership were compiled with the nine other booklets at the same time. On p. 196, at the end of the volume of Dunbar + *Kynd Kittock* prints, several hands, including one closely resembling Florentine Martin's, have written variations on the phrase, 'the nobill story of robyn hud', anticipating the beginning of that text on p. 197. The eleven printed quartos thus appear to have been bound together since the first half of the sixteenth century.

The prints resemble in terms of size, and to some extent in terms of content, the early quarto editions issued by Caxton and his successor, Wynkyn de Worde.[102] Small books of vernacular verse constituted some of the earliest productions of Caxton's Westminster press, and de Worde also issued a large number of quarto volumes, many containing verse romances such as *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Eglamour*, *Sir Degaré*, and *Richard Coeur du Lion*.[103] These volumes offered distinct commercial advantages to printers and booksellers, and flexible reading opportunities for consumers. Small printed quarto volumes, presenting either a collection of short vernacular verse items or the longer work of a particular author, could circulate as pamphlets or alternatively be compiled within larger bound miscellanies —

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[101] The *Ballade of Barnard Stewart* appears to have attracted early readers. A slightly later hand has also twice written 'Prynce of freedom and flour of gentilnes,/ Sweyrd of knighthead and choise of che<ualry>' onto p. 175. These words are from the poem: William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 56, ll. 81-2.
[102] Gillespie (2000).
[103] Meale (1992).

Sammelbände — either on the initiative of the printer/ bookseller, or a reader.[104] A bound form offered protection to otherwise flimsy pamphlets and was perceived as being of greater value. In addition, compilation of pamphlets in a bound volume could allow a printer or reader to assemble texts according to a principle of thematic or generic coherence.[105] The production of printed pamphlets which could then be assembled in *Sammelbände* was first established on the Continent. The 'booklet' composition of fifteenth-century manuscript miscellanies was also influential.[106]

Lucy Lewis has suggested that the bound volume of Chepman and Myllar prints (+*A Gest of Robyn Hode*) be viewed as a *Sammelband*.[107] She argues that Chepman and Myllar produced their prints with a view to their being bound together and thus compares them to contemporary *Sammelbände* produced by Caxton and de Worde. I agree that the surviving volume of Chepman and Myllar prints can be interpreted as a *Sammelband*, but I do not think that Chepman and Myllar themselves envisaged such a collection, especially since the nine booklets in the volume printed by them are discrete bibliographical entities published at various points in April and May 1508. Chepman and Myllar also almost certainly produced many more printed publications before, between and after these dates that no longer survive.[108] It is therefore more likely that the surviving volume is a consumer-initiated *Sammelband* rather than one conceived and sold by Chepman and Myllar themselves.

Numerous correspondences can be traced between the texts in the NLS volume. The volume contains, for instance, several prints by Dunbar, Henryson and Lydgate, and several poems which share the advice to princes, romance or ballad genre. Within and across these generic groupings are thematic correspondences

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[104] See Gillespie (2004), pp. 204, 208.
[105] For discussion of early English *Sammelbände*, especially those of Caxton's prints see Needham (1986) and De Ricci (1909).
[106] Robinson (1980); Hanna (1986).
[107] L. Lewis (2006).
[108] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna, p. xxii.

including a focus on chivalry and love. The volume also contains a number of English texts, translations of French texts, and a surprising number of texts in alliterative verse form. All of these connections deserve further exploration. I here focus on those most pertinent to the subject of this chapter, *G&G*.

G&G might first of all be associated generically with the volume's two English romance texts, *Sir Eglamour* and *A Gest of Robyn Hode*.[109] The former, a mid- to late fourteenth-century English tail-rhyme romance, appears to have been very popular since it survives in seven manuscripts and six early prints ranging in date from *c.* 1400 to *c.* 1650.[110] The Chepman and Myllar edition is the earliest print. Although independent of the other printed editions and containing a number of unique readings, it also appears to derive from an exemplar textually close to the copy of *Sir Eglamour* in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91/ The Thornton Manuscript (fols 138^v-47^r).[111] This is interesting because the latter manuscript also contains *The Awntyrs* (fols 154^r-61^r), which, as we have seen, had a strong influence on *G&G*. *The Awntyrs* is even copied within The Thornton Manuscript into the same gathering as the end of *Sir Eglamour*. One therefore wonders whether a similar exemplar/ booklet containing *The Awntyrs* and *Sir Eglamour* reached Scotland and influenced the composition of *G&G* and the exemplar from which Chepman and Myllar's *Sir Eglamour* is derived. Evidence for the wider Scottish circulation of *Sir Eglamour* is provided by echoes of it at the beginning of the Scottish romance *Sir Colling* and in the ballad *Sir Lionel*. The latter survives with ballad versions of *Sir Eglamour* and *Sir Colling* in the Percy Folio Manuscript (BL, MS Additional 27879).[112] In the immediate context of the Chepman and Myllar prints, *Sir Eglamour*'s celebration of an individual

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[109] *A Gest* seems to defy easy categorisation, sharing characteristics with both the ballad and romance genre. See Fowler (1968), pp. 73-80 and Gray (1984).
[110] *Sir Eglamour*, ed. Richardson; Purdie (2008b).
[111] *The Thornton Manuscript*, ed. Brewer and Owen; J.J. Thompson (1983); Hanna (1987); Finlayson (2005).
[112] G. Rogers (1991), pp. 52-3; G. Rogers (2009), p. 63.

knight who triumphs over a succession of unnatural beasts and proves his inherent virtue despite an ignoble birth accords with the similar exploration of knightly worth and prowess in *G&G*.

A *Gest of Robyn Hode* (*c.* 1450?) was printed in Antwerp (*c.* 1500) by an unknown printer using a typeface cut by Henric Pieterszoon Lettersnijder *c.* 1492.[113] The original print is likely to have consisted of 26 leaves but 'the surviving copy lacks leaves 6, 7, part of 8, 13-18 and all after 20'.[114] It is a cheap reprint of Pynson's edition of *c.* 1495 (*STC* 13688), and it contains, on its first page, a reduced copy of the woodcut of the yeoman used by Pynson in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1492?, *STC* 5084).[115] Robin Hood was a popular figure in the literary and dramatic tradition of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland and it is thus of little surprise that a *A Gest* should survive with a collection of Scotland's earliest prints.[116] The poem also shares with *G&G* and *Sir Eglamour* a concern with courtesy. In all three texts this is revealed to be an inner virtue connected neither to birth, material wealth, nor power.

This thematic interest in courtesy and knightly virtue extends beyond the volume's romance texts to encompass several of the volume's other printed booklets, including Dunbar's *Ballade of Barnard Stewart* and *The Porteous of Noblenes*. The latter didactic text is bound immediately before *G&G*. It is a Scottish prose translation of Alain Chartier's *Le Bréviaire des Nobles*,[117] produced according to the print's colophon by 'Androw Cadiou', an Aberdeen merchant, burgess and notary public who had graduated at the University of Paris in 1472.[118] The text details the twelve virtues

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[113] Lyle (2008). The print was formerly attributed to the Dutch printer Jan van Doesborch. See R. Procter (1894), p. 24.
[114] Oates (1963), p. 8.
[115] Isaac (1930), figs. 92-3; Oates (1963); Hodnett (1973), no. 1644.
[116] Mill (1922); Fisher (1999); Dennison (2008).
[117] Laidlaw, ed. (1974).
[118] Booton (1989).

necessary to a noble man. Each virtue is described by Lady 'Nobilnes', 'qwene of

wisdom and princes of hie doing' (p. 171, ll. 12-13),[119] and her pronouncements on

the seventh virtue, 'curtasy', correspond to similar pronouncements in *G&G* made

by Arthur's counsellor, Spynagros. In the *Porteous*, for instance, the courteous man is

'sobir meike/ Ioyous and pleasand allwayis *in* word & deid' and his courtesy allows

him to overcome his 'enemys be hir gracious swetnes' (p. 179, ll. 12-15). In *G&G*,

Spynagros similarly advises those knights about to visit Golagros to address him

'meikly' 'And mak him na manance, bot al mesoure' (ll. 356-7). The juxtaposition of

The Porteous and *G&G* within the bound volume of Chepman and Myllar prints is

therefore apt and provides another example of the close relationship between

romance and advisory literature demonstrated throughout this thesis. Other advisory

texts in the Chepman and Myllar volume include the obviously advisory mid-

fifteenth-century *De Regimine Principum*, which concerns in particular the need for

judicial reform, and the less explicitly advisory *Orpheus and Eurydice*, which offers an

extended analysis of the relationship between good self- and public rule.[120]

     We cannot of course be certain that the above thematic and generic

correspondences were all detected or intended by the volume's original compiler, but

some of them probably were. I accordingly have no hesitation in classifying the

Chepman and Myllar volume as a coherent yet eclectic consumer-initiated

Sammelband that provides a snapshot of the diversity of vernacular literature and the

traffic of English and Scottish books shortly after Scotland's first printing press was

established.

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[119] The Chepman and Myllar print is acephalous. A full text survives, however, in the Asloan Manuscript (fols 86ʳ-92ᵛ), and is closely related to that in Chepman and Myllar. I therefore quote from *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. I, pp. 171-84.

[120] For links between the *De Regimine Principum* and Hay's *BKA,* and between Henryson's *Orpheus* and *King Orphius* see pp. 76-7, 189.

Part 2: *Rauf Coilȝear*: NLS H.29.c.9

Despite surviving only in one copy, Lekpreuik's edition of 1572, 'the taill of Rauf

coilȝear how he harbreit King charlis' appears, like *G&G*, to have been well-known

in sixteenth-century Scotland.[121] Douglas and Dunbar both mention it alongside a

reference to one of its analogues, [122] the Middle English ballad *John the Reeve*,[123] and

The Complaynt[124] collocates *RC* with a Middle English Charlemagne romance, 'the

siege of millan'. This might indicate that Charlemagne romances were themselves

popular in Scotland, even though none other than *RC* survive.[125] *RC* is commonly

dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century and its authorship remains unknown,

despite McDiarmid's attempt to assign it and *G&G* to Hary, author of *The Wallace*.[126]

Robert Lekpreuik

Little is known about the career of the printer Robert Lekpreuik before 1561 but

from then until 1581 he was active in Edinburgh as a printer, bookseller and

bookbinder,[127] and he was particularly associated with the Reformed Party from

whom he received financial support and for whom he printed a number of religious

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[121] I quote from *Rauf Coilȝear*, ed. Amours. See also *Rauf Coilȝear*, ed. Herrtage; Laing; Tondoff; Hand Browne; Bawcutt and Riddy; Speed; Walsh; Lupack.
[122] The precise sources of *RC* are not known. See Smyser (1932); Walsh (1975), pp. 14-16, 20-1; Walsh (1979); Reader (1991); Morris (1992); Snell (2000); G. Wright (2001).
[123] William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 68, l. 33; Gavin Douglas, *Shorter Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, ll. 1711-2 and note p. 325.
[124] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50.
[125] In Barbour's *Bruce*, King Robert reads from the 'Romanys off worthi Ferambrace' to comfort his men as they attempt to cross Loch Lomond (III.435-62). The second saga of the Old Norse *Karlamagnús Saga* also appears to have been translated from a now-lost text 'found' in Scotland by the the Norweigian dignitary, Lord Bjarni Erlingsson (*d.* 1313). See *Karlamagnús Saga*, ed. and trans. Hieatt; H.G. Leach (1921), pp. 68-72, 244-5. Historiographical and fictional accounts of Charlemagne are found in the chronicles of Wyntoun, Bower, Boece and Bellenden and in Hay's *Buke of the Law of Armys*, Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome*, the *Octosyllabic Alexander* and *Balletis of the Nine Nobles*. See Hary, *The Wallace*, ed. McDiarmid, vol. I, p. cxxv for echoes of Charlemagne romances in Hary's *Wallace*. See also *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, ed. Baxter, p. xiv and A.A. MacDonald (2009).
[126] Hary, *The Wallace*, ed. McDiarmid, vol. I, pp. cviii-xxxii. I return to this possibility below.
[127] 98 items printed by Lekpreuik appear in Aldis. Lekpreuik is described as 'buikbinder' in the 1580 *Edinburgh Burgh Records 1573-89*, p. 177. See Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 206; E.G. Duff (1906-7), p. 438; W.S. Mitchell (1955), pp. 16-17, 42-3, plate 13.

works.[128] In 1562, for instance, the General Assembly lent him £200 towards the purchase of irons, ink, paper and labour to enable him print the Psalms,[129] and he received further financial support in 1569/70 in the form of an annual kirk pension of £50.[130]

In 1564/5 Lekpreuik was authorised under the Privy Seal to print the Acts of Queen Mary and of her predecessor's parliaments,[131] and in 1567/8 he was created 'our soverane lordis imprentar' and given sole monopoly over a series of books, including a revised version of the *Donatus* grammar.[132] In April of the same year he was licensed to print 'the *Inglis Bybill*, prentit of before at Geneva', but he never completed this, most probably due to lack of funds.[133]

Lekpreuik's designation as King's printer was the result of his alliance with the 'King's men' and Reformed Party during the Marian Civil War (1567-73). He soon fell foul of the authorities, however, on account of the fluctuating political situation. In June 1570, for instance, he was cautioned for printing without a licence.[134] The works for which he was cautioned are likely to have been the many invective broadsides written by the Protestant poet and satirist Robert Sempill (*d.* 1595?).[135] In 1571, the courtier and diplomat William Maitland of Lethington (1525x30-73) feared that Lekpreuik would print George Buchanan's *Chamaeleon* (1570) in which Maitland was the object of significant satire.[136] Maitland planned to

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[128] Dickson and Edmond (1890) pp. 198-272; Watry (1992), pp. 31-40; A.J. Mann (2000), *passim*; T.F. Henderson (2004).

[129] Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 199.

[130] Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 199.

[131] Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 201; *RSS 1556-67*, Part I, no. 1987, Part II, no. 2615. Compare *RSS 1567-74* nos. 997, 2044.

[132] *RSS 1567-74*, no. 111.

[133] *RSS 1567-74*, no. 230.

[134] Dickson and Edmond (1890), pp. 202-3.

[135] *Satirical Poems*, ed. Cranstoun, vol. II, pp. liv-ix.

[136] McFarlane (1981), pp. 336-7. No copy of Lekpreuik's print survives, but it seems that the pamphlet did circulate and was known in England. See Bawcutt (1998), pp. 64-5.

arrest Lekpreuik but he escaped before this could happen.[137] Soon after, he issued

prints from Stirling where the court of Prince James was in residence and, in 1572, he

was found in St. Andrews where he was cautioned by the Regent Morton to once

again 'desist and ceis fra all forder prenting of [unlicenced] ballatis or bukis'.[138] It was

at St. Andrews that Lekpreuik printed *RC*. Upon his return to Edinburgh he printed,

in January 1573/4, John Davidson's *Ane Dialog or Mutuall Talking Betuix a Clerk and*

ane Courteour Concerning Four Parische Kirks till ane Minister (*STC* 6323; Aldis 124). He

printed this anonymously, without a licence, and was subsequently punished under

the 1551 Act against Printers.[139] His property was confiscated and he was

imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. He did not publish again until 1581 and it is likely

that he died sometime shortly after that date.[140]

In addition to printing religious and political texts in association with the

Reformed party, Lekpreuik was also patronised during the early years of the 1570s by

the bookseller (and later printer) Henry Charteris (*d.* 1599) for whom he printed *The*

Actis and Deidis of the Illuster and Vailȝeand Campioun, Sir William Wallace (*STC* 13149;

Aldis 82) in 1570; Henryson's *The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian* (*STC* 185; Aldis

83), again in 1570; and *The Actys and Life of Robert Bruce* (*STC* 1377.5; Aldis 98) in

1571.

Lekpreuik printed *RC* in 1572 and whilst this has no explicit identification

with Charteris it appears to have also been also printed for him. The print contains

two woodcuts. The first, which appears on the title-page (fol 1ʳ, Aiʳ), depicts the

figures of a man and woman in profile. It originates in Schott's 1522 Strasbourg

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[137] McFarlane (1981), p. 337.

[138] *TA 1566-74*, p. 312. The record refers to one 'Alexander Lekprevik, prentar', but Robert is meant.

[139] Dickson and Edmond (1890), p. 205; *APS*, vol. II, pp. 488-9(26); A.J. Mann (2000), pp. 115, 141, 171.

[140] A.J. Mann (2000), p. 184.

edition of Johannes ab Indagine's *Chiromantia*.[141] This was translated as *Briefe Introductions Vnto the Art of Chiromancy and Physiognomy* by Fabian Withers and printed by John Day for Richard Jugge in London in 1558 (*STC* 14075.5) using the same woodcut. Day was involved with Lekpreuik in the publishing of Buchanan's *Ane Detectioun of […] Marie Quene of Scottis* (1572) (*STC* 3981; Aldis 107); the title-pages of Lekpreuik's 1572 Scottish edition were in fact printed in London by Day, who then shipped the sheets to Scotland, along with a number of his woodcuts and alphabets.[142] It is therefore possible that the woodcut used in *RC* travelled to Scotland around the same time. It was used there in 1571 by the printer John Scot in his reissue of the works of David Lyndsay (*STC* 15659; Aldis 103) and by Lekpreuik himself on the last page of *The Actys and Life of Robert Bruce* (*STC* 1377.5; Aldis 98). Both of these works were printed on behalf of Charteris, who also used the woodcut in one of his two 1597 editions of Lyndsay's works (*STC* 15664.3; Aldis 297.5). That the first woodcut used in *RC* appears elsewhere in Scotland in three works connected with Charteris thus strongly suggests that *RC* could itself have been printed on Charteris' behalf. In Chapter 1, I demonstrated that the *Octosyllabic Alexander* might have also been printed for Charteris.[143] He should accordingly be seen as a potentially significant proponent of the printing of Older Scots romance in the late sixteenth century.[144]

The second woodcut (82 x 65 mm) appears at the end of the poem (fol. 16ʳ, D ivʳ). Beattie first interpreted this as an image of 'the King pointing a sceptre at Rauf or offering him a baton', but he later noted that similar woodcuts occur in prints by the Poitevin printer, Pierre Pigouchet ,where they illustrate David sending

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[141] Watry (1992), woodcut 21, p. 98.
[142] Watry (1992), pp. 38-9.
[143] See p. 44.
[144] Charteris' association with romance is also demonstrated by his prologue to Lekpreuik's 1571 edition of *The Bruce* in which he claims to have seen now-lost manuscripts of that poem.

Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, to the wars (II Samuel 11: 14-15). [145] As noted above, Walter Chepman's device was also based on one of Pigouchet's, and one consequently wonders whether Chepman also had this woodcut and/or whether he used it in a now-lost print of *RC*. Beattie drew a similar conclusion when he noted that those other prints by Lekpreuik which begin, like *RC*, with the words 'Heir beginnis', are themselves derived from earlier prints. He found it 'tempting to conjecture […] that Rauf may have been printed by predecessors of Lekpreuik, and particularly by Chepman and Myllar, who put out editions of two alliterative poems, Golagrus and the Howlat'.[146] I discuss this possibility in further detail below.

Bibliographical Description

The sole surviving witness of *RC* begins (fol 1^r, A i^r)[147] with a title-page containing a headpiece, the first woodcut described above, an incipit ('¶Heir beginnis the taill/ of Rauf coilʒear how/ he harbreit King/ charlis'), ornament and details of the poem's printing ('Imprentit at Sanc-/tandrois be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno. 1572'). The same details are given on the print's final page (fol. 16^r, D iv^r). The 75 thirteen-line stanzas of *RC* run from fols 2^r-16^r (A ii^r - D iv^r) where the poem is completed with a simple 'FINIS' and the second woodcut. Fol. 16^v is blank, like fol. 1^v at the beginning of the booklet.

The blackletter quarto pamphlet may be collated: A-D^4.[148] Accurate catchwords appear on each verso, and the first three leaves of each sheet are signed.[149] Lekpreuik follows Chepman and Myllar in printing the thirteenth

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[145] *Rauf Coilʒear*, ed. Beattie, p. iv; W. Beattie (1974), p. 115.
[146] *Rauf Coilʒear*, ed. Beattie, pp. iv-v.
[147] I follow the foliation in *Rauf Coilʒear*, ed. Beattie, substituting 'r[ecto]' for 'a' and 'v[erso]' for 'b', thus 1^r = Beattie's 1a.
[148] *Rauf Coilʒear*, ed. Beattie, p. iv describes the paper's now very faint watermark as a hand surmounted by a four- or five-pointed star/flower, with fingers together and thumb a little apart.
[149] Only the first page of the first sheet is not signed.

alliterative line beside the eleventh so that each stanza consists of twelve rather than thirteen lines of printed text. He uses a larger (95 mm) type than Chepman and Myllar but nevertheless prints more lines per page (31, 32, or 33 lines). In *G&G*, Chepman and Myllar aimed to end every leaf with the last line of a stanza. In *RC*, Lekpreuik followed Chepman and Myllar's printing of Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe* and attempted to end every third page with a complete stanza.[150]

As in the Chepman and Myllar print of *G&G*, *RC*'s first line begins with a two-line emboldened capital 'I'. The poem's first two lines are indented alongside this two-line initial and the first line of every subsequent stanza is also indented.[151] Some stanzas also begin with a paraph or manicule.   The paraph is used more frequently, but there appears to be no logic behind the choice. Almost every stanza is end-stopped, and commas are used infrequently in the middle of lines to distinguish syntactic units. Abbreviation is seldom used and consists of a tironian nota for 'and', a bar/tilde across a preceding vowel to signal ensuing 'm' or 'n', and occasional superscript 'e' as in 'yᵉ'. In *G&G*, Chepman and Myllar used abbreviation to shorten lines with particularly long words. Lekpreuik fails to follow this practice, and on one occasion consequently has to print the final word of line 319 to the right of line 320 (B ii$^\mathrm{v}$):

> Than the Coilȝear had greit thocht on the cu*m*mand he had
> Went to the Charcoill in hy   (maid

There is no special type for thorn ('th' is instead used throughout) and upper-case yogh is printed as a capital 'Z', but there is a special type for the lower-case yogh. There are also two types of 'r' (2-shaped and simple r-shaped) and 's' (short- and long-). There are few printing errors. The most common is confusion of 'n' and 'u'

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[150] This method failed at the end of fol. 4$^\mathrm{v}$ because of two lines missed between ll. 134 and 135 on fol. 3$^\mathrm{v}$.

[151] With the exception of stanza VII, l. 79, on fol. 3$^\mathrm{r}$.

but other examples include 'slure' for 'sture' (l. 16), 'fa' for 'sa' (l. 74), 'tewellis' for 'iewellis' (l. 474), 'Git' for 'Gif' (l. 616) and 'appectellit' for 'apperrellit' (l. 664). Such errors do not indicate foreign compositors but simply those who occasionally set type without fully thinking about the word in question.

History and Provenance

The earliest printed catalogue of the Advocates' Library to mention *RC* is that of 1863-79 although David Laing edited their copy in his *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* in 1822. The volume is also listed in Joseph Ames' 1749 *Typographical Antiquities*.[152]

When Laing edited the poem in 1822 he wrote that it formed part of a 'volume of English tracts of extreme rarity'.[153] These 'English tracts' remain in the NLS, and are, like *RC*, now individually bound. They were all produced in the late fifteenth/ early sixteenth century by Wynkyn de Worde:

> *The Three Kings of Cologne*, 1499, *STC* 5573 (NLS Inc 334).
> *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, 1500?, *STC* 13610 (NLS Inc 335).
> *The Bouge of Court* (John Skelton), *c.* 1497-1500?, *STC* 22597 (NLS Inc 333).
> *Mons Perfectionis* (John Alcock), 1497, *STC* 279 (NLS Inc 330).
> *Information for Pilgrims Unto the Holy Land*, *c.* 1500, *STC* 14081 (NLS Inc 332).
> *The Temple of Glass* (John Lydgate), *c.* 1500, *STC* 17033 (NLS Inc 336).

The tracts were purchased by the Advocates' library from an auction organised by the printer and bookseller Gavin Hamilton on 29 November 1736.[154] The purchase is recorded in the Register of the Proceedings of the Curators and Keepers, 1725-54 (NLS, MS Advocates' F.R.118, fol. 89ᵛ). Alcock's *Mons Perfectionis* is missing from the Register but since it has a binding and measurements (*c.* 181 x 132 mm) identical to

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[152] *Rauf Coilȝear*, ed. Beattie, p. ix.
[153] Reprinted in *Rauf Coilȝear*, ed. Laing, pp. 213-14.
[154] Vernon (1963-6); Hillyard (1995), p. 103.

the other volumes and was amongst them on the shelf after rebinding it was most probably omitted from the register by mistake.[155]

The printer and bookseller Gavin Hamilton (1704-67) was a significant individual in Edinburgh Enlightenment.[156] After an initial career as a cloth merchant, Hamilton entered local politics and was, between 1732 and 1746, frequently elected to the Edinburgh town council, often as Baillie. He set up as a bookseller in 1729, and in 1733 he recruited his brother-in-law, John Balfour of Pilrig, as clerk. In 1739 they set up firm together and soon became Edinburgh's leading publishing company. In 1754 they were elected Printers to the City of Edinburgh and Printers to the University. They produced 340 titles between 1750 and 1762, and gained a reputation for printing medical, scientific and legal works.[157] They also printed the works of leading Scottish intellectuals such as David Hume's *History of Great Britain* in 1754, and established the *Edinburgh Review* and *Edinburgh Chronicle*.

Since more is known about Hamilton's printing than bookselling, little can be said about how he acquired the volume containing *RC*. We know, however, that he travelled to Holland in the late 1720s and early 1730s and while there 'bought a considerable amount of scholarly books on behalf of the Advocates' Library'.[158] He also took home with him an interest in the purchase and sale of rare editions, and the dispersal of large quantities of books by auction.[159] Hamilton supplied the Advocates' Library with twenty-two fifteenth-century books between 1730 and 1749, and his and Balfour's sales of 'curious and valuable books' were frequent events in Edinburgh during these years. [160] Hamilton also formed long-lasting business associations with a number of London booksellers, despite being an opponent of the copyright

[155] *Rauf Coilȝear*, ed. Beattie, p. vii.
[156] McDougall (1978, 2004); Sher (2006), pp. 306-11.
[157] McDougall (1998).
[158] McDougall (1974), p. 44.
[159] McDougall (1974), pp. 46-7.
[160] McDougall (1974), p. 47.

prosecution brought by them against Scottish publishers between 1743 and 1749.[161] Hamilton could thus have acquired the *RC*/ Wynkyn de Worde volume from his bookselling and scholarly connections on the Continent, from London, or even from Scotland. London or Scotland would appear more likely.

The surviving copy of *RC* bears marks of oversewing which suggest that it was either bound alone or with other volumes prior to its binding with the Wynkyn de Worde prints. The second stage of compilation probably took place at the end of the sixteenth century or beginning of the seventeenth century, although this is difficult to prove. Very small traces of/cropped annotations in a late sixteenth-/ early seventeenth-century hand appear on *Information for Pilgrims* (fol. 3ᵛ) and on the title-page (fol. 1ʳ) to *The Bouge of Court* but it is impossible to tell whether these are written in the same hand or at the same time. I nevertheless agree with Boffey who proposes that the bound volume of *RC*/ Wynkyn de Worde prints purchased by the Advocates' Library in 1736 reflects 'a much earlier assemblage made by a reader whose treatment of small printed books replicated some of the practices by which late Middle English texts were brought together in manuscript anthologies'.[162] In other words, the *RC*/ Wynkyn de Worde volume is a *Sammelband*, comparable to the sixteenth-century *Sammelband* of Chepman and Myllar prints.

Four of the texts offer varying types of spiritual instruction. The prose *Information for Pilgrims Unto the Holy Land* (*c.* 1470-96) was intended as a manual/ guide-book for pilgrims.[163] *The Three Kings of Cologne* is an abridged Middle English prose translation of the Latin *Historia Trium Regum* by John of Hildesheim, produced *c.* 1400. It purports to offer factual information about the lives of the Magi and also

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[161] McDougall (1974), p. 158; McDougall (1988).
[162] Boffey (2003), p. 126.
[163] *Information for Pilgrims*, ed. Duff; R.E. Lewis et al., eds. (1985), pp. 31-2, no. 85.

supplies geographical details of their exotic lands.[164] The text might thus also be read as a kind of travel literature and consequently forms an ideal companion to the spiritual journey described in *Information for Pilgrims*. *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (*c.* 1350-70) is a translation in the style of Richard Rolle of a French devotional treatise. 'Designed ostensibly for people who wished to enter a community but were unable to do so […]' it uses the framework of an allegorical convent to explain 'how people who are obliged to spend their days physically under secular conditions might nevertheless live spiritually as though members of a community'.[165] Finally, *Mons Perfectionis* is a sermon by the administrator and bishop of Ely, John Alcock (1430-1500), which, like *The Abbey*, 'offers its readers the possibility of leading a goodly life potentially as worthy as that led by monks or nuns'.[166] It has indeed been suggested that Wynkyn de Worde published *Mons Perfectionis* as a companion volume to *The Abbey*,[167] and both texts also share the same crucifixion woodcut as *The Three Kings*. There is therefore a strong precedent for the joint compilation of the four religious texts in the *RC* volume.

The remaining three texts, *Rauf Coilȝear*, Skelton's *Bouge of Court*, and Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*, are all secular, imaginative literature. The *Bouge* and *Temple* are also both dream visions. The former (written between 1480 and 1498) details the experiences of the narrator, Drede, aboard a ship ruled by Fortune. It has thus been read as a curial satire reflecting Skelton's own experiences at the Henrician court and as a reflection on the vexed position of a court poet.[168] Lydgate's dream vision of unrequited love may have been composed in the first quarter of the fifteenth century to mark a betrothal. It has continually resisted easy interpretation, but its popularity

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[164] *The Three Kings*, ed. Horstmann; R.E Lewis et al., eds. (1985), pp. 100-1, no. 290; Boffey (2000c).
[165] Blake (1972), pp. 13, 88-102; R.E. Lewis et al., eds. (1985), p. 16, no. 39.
[166] R.E. Lewis, et al., eds. (1985), pp. 125-6, no. 354; Betteridge (2004), p. 5.
[167] Bühler (1954).
[168] Barr and Ward-Perkins (1997); Jane Griffiths (2006), p. 56.

is attested by the survival of seven complete manuscripts and several printed editions. Fragments are also preserved in other manuscripts, including three stanzas (ll. 743-56, 764-70) in the Bannatyne Manuscript (fol. 220^v). The poem's Scottish circulation was perhaps even wider than this surviving witness suggests, since it certainly influenced James I's *Kingis Quair* and the anonymous *Quare of Jelusy*.

The inclusion of *RC* alongside *The Bouge* and *Temple* reflects the compiler's taste for secular literature and although it shares very little in terms of theme or plot with Lydgate's dream vision, its scrutiny of Charlemagne's court might complement the satire of the Henrician court in *The Bouge*.[169] It is harder to detect *RC'S* possible correspondences with the volume's religious material, but it was not uncommon for texts like *The Abbey* to be copied in earlier manuscript collections alongside secular literature. One such collection is The Thornton Manuscript, already discussed in this chapter, which includes *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (fols 271^r-6^r) and romances such as *The Awntyrs off Arthure* (fols 154^r-61^r).[170]

Despite this, the compiler's motives remain unclear. We also know nothing of his identity, nor when and where he produced his collection. Some of Lekpreuik's volumes appear in the London bookseller Andrew Maunsell's 1595 *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes*,[171] whilst the earliest extant text of Buchanan's satire on William Maitland (known to have been printed by Lekpreuik) survives in manuscript form in BL, MS Cotton Caligula C.III.[172] It is therefore entirely possible that Lekpreuik's print of *RC* made its way to London and there joined company with Wynkyn de Worde's volumes.

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[169] See Shepherd (1991).
[170] J.J. Thompson (1993); Boffey (2003), pp. 127-8.
[171] Ferguson (1927), p. 192; Maunsell, *First Part*, pp. 38, 49, 57, 76, 77; Maunsell, *Seconde Parte*, p. 23. The third part of Maunsell's catalogue — to contain literary items — was never completed.
[172] Bawcutt (1998), pp. 64-5, 75 n. 25; McFarlane (1981), p. 336.

Wynkyn de Worde's volumes could, however, also have joined company with *RC* in Scotland. David Boswell of Glasmont and Balmuto (*d. c.* 1493) owned a copy of the religious treatise*, Dives and Pauper*, printed by de Worde in 1496 (*STC* 19213),[173] whilst a number of the English romances listed in *The Complaynt of Scotland* and the wills of the Edinburgh printers Bassandyne and Gourlaw are also known to have been printed by de Worde, including *The Four Sons of Aymon*, *A Gest of Robyn Hode*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, and *Ipomydon*.[174]

Thus, for now, the direction of travel and purpose of the *RC*/ Wynkyn de Worde compilation must remain unknown. The *Sammelband* is nevertheless a snapshot of the combined secular and spiritual interests of one anonymous reader around 1600, and like the Chepman and Myllar collection, it again testifies to the influence of manuscript culture on print and to the contemporary traffic of texts between England and Scotland.

Part 3: *G&G* and *RC* in the Asloan Manuscript

In the final section of this chapter I return to the compilation of *G&G* and *RC* directly alongside one another in the Asloan Manuscript.[175]

The manuscript's 307 surviving leaves are now individually mounted within a nineteenth-century gold-tooled leather binding (*c.* 411 x 300 mm) that is identified on the spine 'SCOTTISH/ TRACTS/ IN PROSE & VERSE/ MS. TEMP. JAC. V'. The original pages are *c.* 235 x 170 mm wide, and the text is written in a single column of 29-34 lines, with no frame or guide-lines. The written space is *c.* 200-15 x 125-50 mm (prose)/ 95-100 mm (verse). No catchwords or quire signatures survive

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[173] Bawcutt (2001-2), p. 4.

[174] See also A.A. MacDonald (1984) on Wynkyn de Worde's 1499 edition of Friar William of Touris' *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris*.

[175] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie. For discussion of the manuscript and its scribe see van Buuren (1966, 1996) and Cunningham (1994). See also introductions to *Buke of the Sevyne Sages* and *Buke of the Chess*, ed. van Buuren, and *Sex Wekdays*, ed. Houwen.

but Cunningham successfully reconstructed the collation of the volume's surviving leaves from an analysis of its different watermarked papers. He expressed it thus: i[16], ii[12], iii[12], iv[12], v[12], vi[12], vii[16], viii[16 (-16)], ix[16], x[16 (-1,5,12,16)], xi[14], xii[16], xiii[16], xiv[16], xv[16(-16)], xvi[16], xvii[16 (-1, 16)], xviii[16], xix[16], xx[16 (-1, 16)], xxi[16].[176] Soiled pages at the front and back of gatherings suggests that they were once unbound for quite some time.

The manuscript contains two series of contents pages, one (fol. i) in the hand of a later owner, Alexander Boswell (1775-1822), the other (fols iii-v) in the hand of the manuscript's scribe, John Asloan.[177] The latter list contains 71 numbered items,[178] roughly divided into prose in the first half of the manuscript and verse in the second. 34 items are now lost, and seven are imperfect.

Signatures and annotations allow us to reconstruct some of the manuscript's history. The scribe, John Asloan, whom I discuss in more detail below, signed fols 40[v], 76[v], 92[v], 166[v], 209[v], 228[v], 235[v], 290[r] and 300[v]. The entire manuscript is in his hand, with the exception of fol. 53 which was replaced in the seventeenth century, and fols 137[r]-50[v] containing *The Spectacle of Luf* signed 'per M G Myll'. As I detail below, this scribe may be identified with the Gilbert Myll associated with Asloan in his professional capacity as a notary public.

Amongst the series of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century annotations found throughout the volume, many of which are now cropped and/or illegible,[179] one finds the following inscriptions, made by readers and/or owners: (fol. 40[v]) 'per me Gulielmum Murray Manu Mea et non' and (fol. 166[v]) 'I William Leslye of bowquhan grantis me to haff resavit fra þe hand'. Van Buuren speculates that the latter might be William Leslie, 9th Laird of Balquhain, who died in 1571[180] and in the following

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[176] Cunningham (1994), pp. 121-7.
[177] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. I, pp. xi-xv.
[178] Items i-xii go together, xii (*bis*) has to be added, and liiii removed.
[179] Fols 71[v], 101[v] and 299[r] contain traces of the 'In my defence' prayer. Compare pp. 53-4, 89, 203.
[180] *Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, ed. van Buuren, p. 32.

chapter on *The Scottish Troy Book* (*STB*) I consider whether William Murray might be related to the Murrays of Tibbermuir who certainly owned one witness of the *STB* (CUL, MS Kk.5.30), and who might also be related to the second witness (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148), which was partly copied by Asloan.

Three of the manuscript's later owners have written their names on fol. i:[181]

1. Alexander Boswel. March. 1730.
2. R.W. Talbot from J.J. Boswell, June 29th, 1882.
3. Talbot de Malahide, James Boswell, March 1921.

The first man is Alexander Boswell, 8th Laird of Auchinleck (1707-82). We do not know how he acquired the volume, but his interest in manuscripts is attested by the notes that he wrote in NLS, MSS Advocates' 25.4.14 and 25.4.15 (compendia of medieval Scots legal material) and by his ownership of the Auchinleck Manuscript (NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.1). His grandson, Sir Alexander Boswell (1775-1822), acquired the manuscript after him and had the leaves mounted and rebound. He also had several of its items printed and wrote the second contents list. He lent the volume to the record scholar, Thomas Thomson, and after Boswell's death in 1822 it was reclaimed by James A. Maconochie, a family advocate. In subsequent years the manuscript was owned by the booksellers Peter Scott Fraser and William Paterson, before returning to Boswell family possession by 1882 when Jessie Jane, Lady Boswell, gave it to her son-in-law, Richard W. Talbot. When he died in 1921, the manuscript passed to his son, James Boswell Talbot. The latter's wife was the last private owner of the manuscript before its sale to the NLS in 1966.

The career of the manuscript's scribe, John Asloan, has been thoroughly researched by Catherine van Buuren.[182] I here summarise her findings. Asloan was active in Edinburgh in the first half of the sixteenth century and appears in legal

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[181] See *Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, ed. van Buuren, pp. 32-6; *Buke of the Chess*, ed. van Buuren, pp. xiv-xv.
[182] van Buuren (1966, 1996).

documents between 1494/5 and 1532 as a both witness and notary public. His hand

has also been detected in three other manuscripts: in the entirety of BL, MS Harley

4700 (a compendia of medieval Scottish law), on eleven folios of the First Edinburgh

Manuscript of Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.3), and on some eighty

folios of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148. This latter manuscript is one of

two witnesses of the *Scottish Troy Book* and a colophon in Asloan's hand on its final

page reads: 'Heir endis the sege of troye/ writtin 7 mendit at the Instance of ane

hon*ourab*le chaplane s*ir* Thomas/ ewyn i*n* Edinburgh'. I leave for the next chapter

the mechanics of how Asloan 'mended' Ewen's defective manuscript and instead

focus here on the close professional relationship between patron and scribe.

Catherine van Buuren has identified Asloan's employer as Sir Thomas Ewen,

chaplain at the altar of St. Christopher in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, who

appears in Edinburgh records and notarial protocol books between 1509 and 1529.

Thomas Ewen and John Asloan appear together five times in these documents: they

both witness a charter of St. Giles concerning one Alexander Rynde in 1512,[183] and

they appear together twice in the *Protocol Book of John Foular* in 1518 and 1522,[184] and

in two instruments of 1517 and 1524 written by Asloan in Ewen's presence, one in

the latter's room.[185] The 1517 instrument also involves a Gilbert Myll, quite possibly

the G Myll who copies fols 137^r-50^v of the Asloan Manuscript. Ewen again appears

with this Myll as witness to a land transaction in the *Protocol Book of John Foular* in

1520.[186] There is, therefore, significant evidence for a professional relationship

between Asloan, Sir Thomas Ewen and Gilbert Myll which is borne out on the pages

of two of Asloan's manuscripts, NLS, MS 16500 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS

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[183] *Registrum Cartam Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, ed. Laing, pp. 193-6.
[184] *Foular 1514-28*, Part I, no. 108, Part II, no. 321.
[185] *Calendar of Writs*, ed. Harvey and Macleod, no. 381; *Calendar of Charters and other Original Documents preserved in H.M. General Register House*, vol. V, no. 958A, cited in van Buuren (1966), p. 369.
[186] *Foular 1514-28*, Part II, no. 141.

Douce 148. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the Asloan Manuscript was itself commissioned by Ewen.

Following his reconstruction of the Asloan manuscript's gatherings, Cunningham revealed that there 'is a remarkably good correlation between the inferred gatherings […] and the items of the manuscript'; with the exception of the occasional miscellaneous 'filler' items, 'only related material appears in the same gathering or group of gatherings'. He posited that 'this correlation was maintained in the parts [of the manuscript] now lost' and concluded that Asloan's manuscript therefore 'consisted of a series of more or less independent fascicles' which remained separate for some time before being bound together in an organised fashion. [187] Van Buuren questioned this opinion and stated instead that 'Asloan, or his exemplar, copied the items as they became available to him'.[188] The reality is most probably somewhere in between. As Mapstone states, '[i]t *is* quite true that not all the materials in Asloan's MS follow a discernible patterning. It seems most probable, however, that the organization of his MS reflects a combination of the calculated and the contingent'.[189]

I here consider to what extent the above theories apply to the compilation together of *G&G* and *RC* as the manuscript's 64th and 65th items.[190] I examine why Asloan might have chosen to compile these romances together, and at what stage he made this decision. I also explore whether the juxtaposition of *G&G* and *RC* in fact originates with Asloan or in an earlier exemplar.

Like *G&G*, *RC* is written using the thirteen-line rhyming alliterative stanza. Like *G&G*, it is also influenced by *The Awntyrs off Arthure*. Its opening lines — 'In the cheiftyme of Charlis, that chosin chiftane,/ Thair fell ande ferlyfull flan within thay

[187] Cunningham (1994), pp. 128, 129.
[188] van Buuren (1996), pp. 49-50.
[189] Mapstone (2005c), p. 177.
[190] Compare Boro (2009), pp. 138-40.

fellis wyde' (ll. 1-2) — and initial setting in a storm consciously recall the opening of
that romance, and like the *Awntyrs* and *G&G*, *RC* also proceeds to scrutinise the
codes of behaviour belonging to Christian, chivalric culture. Its bi-partite structure
furthermore mirrors the diptych-style narrative division of *G&G* and *The Awntyrs*,[191]
and through this *RC* deftly combines two separate but complementary traditions (the
folk-tale and Charlemagne romance) wherein monarch meets peasant and Christian
meets Saracen. These two encounters of Rauf and the Saracen (Magog) with Charles
and his court are certainly comical, but alongside the humour serious judgement is
also passed on aristocratic society. Although outsiders — members respectively of a
different class and faith — Rauf and Magog prove to be better exemplars of chivalry
than many members already within Charles' court. They demonstrate, in short, that
inner virtue is worth more than shining armour and aristocratic birth. In its
contrasting assessment of the relative knightly virtues of Arthur, Kay, Golagros and
Gawanem *G&G* makes precisely the same point. It is therefore not surprising that
Asloan compiled these formally and thematically similar poems alongside one
another. One must now consider at what stage that decision was made.

It is possible to reconstruct something of the romances' appearance in the
manuscript based on an analysis of *The Buke of the Howlat*, another thirteen-line
alliterative stanzaic poem copied by Asloan which still survives on fols 213[r]-28[v].[192]
As in the Chepman and Myllar and Lekpreuik editions of *G&G* and *RC*, Asloan
copies the thirteenth line of every alliterative stanza directly alongside the eleventh;
he most probably copied *RC* and *G&G* in the same way. Each page contains an
average of 32 lines, although a varying number of complete and partial stanzas

[191] Spearing (1981).
[192] The *Howlat* is neither decorated nor rubricated. Asloan does, however, use rubrication, most frequently at the beginning of the manuscript, to signal titles, initial letters and narrative/ chapter divisions. Elsewhere, gaps are left for uncompleted rubrication. Some rubrication may therefore have been used in *G&G* and/or *RC*.

appears on each page. At a similar rate, the 972 lines of *RC* would fill *c.* 30 pages and the 1365 lines of *G&G* would fill *c.* 42/3 pages. One of Asloan's gatherings of sixteen folios would have been sufficient for *RC*. Two gatherings of twelve folios would more than accommodate *G&G*. Alternatively, both texts could have been copied together across three gatherings of twelve folios to form an independent romance fascicle. *G&G* and *RC* may thus have been juxtaposed either at the point of copying, or when Asloan later organised his material into the order suggested by surviving contents page.

In that contents list, Asloan refers to the two romances as 'Itm ye buke of ralf coilȝar' and 'The buke of s*ir* gologrus and s*ir* gawane'. Several other items in Asloan's contents list are also described as books *of*,[193] including 'ye buke of ye Portuus of nobilnes', 'ye buke of ye sevyne sagis', 'ye buke of curtasy and nortour', 'ye buke of colkelby', 'ye buke of ye otter and ye ele', 'ye buke of ye howlat', 'ye buke of s*ir* Orpheus & erudices' and 'ye buke of ye contemplatioun of sy*m*nar*is*'.[194] Rather interestingly, five of these items, plus *G&G*, are known to have been printed by Chepman and Myllar, as were Asloan Manuscript items xxvi, xli, and liiii/lx, respectively '[ye] goldin ta(rge)', 'ye flyting betuix ke*n*nyde & dunbar', and 'ye maying and disport of chaucer*e*'. Comparison has shown that although Asloan did not copy these items directly from the surviving Chepman and Myllar prints, he nevertheless worked from prints 'closely related to' them, perhaps even from revised editions which no longer survive.[195] One thus wonders whether all of those items described as 'buke *of*' were copied directly or indirectly from prints produced by Chepman and Myllar, and consequently whether these printers produced a now-lost edition of *RC*. This would accord with information suggested by the Pigouchet woodcut and incipit

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[193] I am grateful to Dr. Mapstone for first raising this point with me.
[194] *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, vol. I, pp. xiii-xv.
[195] Fox (1977), pp. 163, 170, n. 6. For evidence of Chepman's revision processes see Mapstone (2008a), p. 7.

to Lekpreuik's edition, outlined above.[196] It might also suggest that Asloan in fact

worked from a now-lost *Sammelband* of Chepman and Myllar prints in which *G&G*

and *RC* were already compiled and circulating together. In support of this is the fact

that Asloan does not refer to *G&G* as an 'Itm', as he does for almost every other text

in his contents list. The absence of the word 'Itm' might indicate that Asloan viewed

G&G and *RC* as a single item, and this in turn suggests that he could have

encountered the two poems together in his exemplar.

The possibility of Asloan's working from Chepman and Myllar prints is also

strengthened when we consider the likelihood of his being personally acquainted

with Walter Chepman. The two men were contemporary notaries public and

although they do not appear together in the surviving records, they do appear within

the same protocol books and town registers. Both men are, for instance, associated

with St. Giles' Cathedral, Asloan through his employer Thomas Ewen, and Chepman

in his own right as founder of a mortuary chapel in the cemetery and an aisle

dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. As we have seen both men also appear in the

protocol books of the notary public, John Foular. The latter's father, also John

Foular, did business with the Rouen merchant and printer, Jean Richard,[197] and also,

like Myllar, supplied books to James IV.[198]

Thus, just as Arbuthnet's *OA* and NAS, MS RH 13/35 provide evidence for

a series of closely-related book-producing and book-owning communities in late

sixteenth-century Aberdeenshire and East Lothian, respectively, so the manuscript

and print contexts of *G&G* and *RC* provide strong evidence for a dense and

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[196] See pp. 245-7.

[197] It was for this Jean Richard that Martin Morin printed his 1499 edition of Mirk's *Festial*. A Scots copy of this edition survives in Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.19, one of the four manuscripts copied by the first scribe of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden. B. 24. See Wakelin (1967) and above p. 138.

[198] *Foular 1503-13*, no. 67; *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (1867) p. 102; Durkan (1962), p. 276; Ford (1999), p. 198 and above p. 223.

overlapping literary and professional network of scribes, printers, notaries public,

merchants and chaplains in early sixteenth-century Edinburgh who combined their

legal work with the production, publication and consumption of literature. The

textual history and changing material formats of *G&G* and *RC* are also witness to the

contemporary dynamic and symbiotic relationship between manuscript and print

culture in which scribes and printers, manuscript booklets and printed *Sammelbände*,

interacted with and influenced one another.

Chapter 7

The Scottish Troy Book

This chapter focuses on the *Scottish Troy Book* (*STB*) (*NIMEV* 298.5), described as 'the most shadowy work in [the] corpus of medieval Scottish romances', 'doomed forever to be "the bits in the Lydgate manuscripts" that are neither by Lydgate nor [...] by Barbour'.[1] Only two fragments of this late fourteenth-/ early fifteenth-century Scottish octosyllabic couplet translation of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287)[2] now survive in two late fifteenth-/ early sixteenth-century Scottish manuscripts: CUL, MS Kk.5.30 (MS K) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148 (MS Do). In both manuscripts, the defective *STB* is combined in a patchwork fashion with a better-known Middle English translation of Guido's *Historia*, namely Lydgate's *Troy Book* (*LTB*), written between 1412 and 1420 (*NIMEV* 2516).[3] Neither manuscript is derived from the other. Instead, as detailed below, they derive from a common exemplar.

The presence of the *STB* fragments in both manuscripts was first noted by the Cambridge University librarian, Henry Bradshaw (1831-96), and he ascribed them to John Barbour, author of *The Bruce* (*c.* 1375-6).[4] In doing so, he followed rubrics in MS K — 'Her endis barbour and begynnis þe monk' (fol. 19ʳ), and 'Her endis the monk and begynnis Barbour' (fol. 304ᵛ) — which do indeed differentiate between *LTB* and the *STB* by attributing the latter to a poet named Barbour. John Barbour's

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1 Purdie (2006), p. 173.
2 Guido delle Colonne, *Historia*, ed. Griffin; Guido delle Colonne, *Historia*, trans. Meek.
3 *STB* fragment I, which survives only in MS K, corresponds roughly to *LTB* I.889-1688, which documents the beginnings of Old Troy and the emergent relationship between Jason and Medea. *STB* fragment II, parts of which survive in both MSS K and Do, is roughly equivalent to *LTB* IV.5338-V.3340. It tells of the loss of the Palladium, Fall of New Troy and the doomed return of the Greeks.
4 Bradshaw (1864-76).

authorship of the *STB* was also proposed by Horstmann, the poem's first editor.[5]

The theory has, however, since been refuted, along with a number of other late

nineteenth-/early twentieth-century attempts to ascribe Scottish texts such as the

Octosyllabic Alexander to Barbour's pen, as discussed in Chapter 1.[6]

Since Horstmann's edition, very little work has been done on the *STB*

fragments and the two manuscripts in which they survive, and consequently the

existence of the Scottish translation is virtually unknown outside the field of Older

Scots scholarship.[7] A new STS edition of the fragments was planned by John Farish

and later by Catherine van Buuren, but unfortunately both scholars died before their

work was completed. Van Buuren did, however, publish a much earlier article on

John Asloan, scribe of NLS, MS 16500, in which she identified him as one of the

scribes of MS Do.[8] John Farish also published an article on the *STB*'s spellings and

rhymes.[9]

The most in-depth study to date is Angus McIntosh's article on the language

and textual transmission of *STB*.[10] Here, McIntosh reversed the opinions of earlier

scholars such as Bradshaw who stated that the *STB* fragments were designed to

supplement a defective manuscript of *LTB*.[11] McIntosh's history instead begins with

a now-lost original, MS A, which contained a complete text of the *STB*. MS A was

later copied by two scribes, the first of whom wrote using a more strongly Scots

orthography and dialect than the second. Their efforts resulted in a MS B, which

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[5] *Barbour's des schottischen Nationaldichters [...]*, ed. Horstmann, vol. II, pp. 215-308. Only two fragments of *STB* now survive. Fragment I (ll. 1-596) is present only in MS K. Of Fragment II, MS K contains ll. 1-1562; MS Do contains ll. 1-916, 1181-3318.

[6] See pp. 26-30.

[7] Verweij (2008, forthcoming) and Sweet (2009) worked on MSS K and Do at the same time as I did. In many cases, my conclusions and observations, drawn independently, coincide directly with theirs. All material derived from Verweij or Sweet is clearly indicated.

[8] van Buuren (1966). I discuss Asloan's contribution to Douce 148 in more detail below.

[9] Farish (1957).

[10] McIntosh (1979).

[11] Bradshaw (1864-76), p. 113. See also Guddat-Figge (1976), p. 261 and John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. McDiarmid and Stevenson, vol. I, p. 23.

later became defective. A portion of the *STB* was lost from the central third and then later replaced with a corresponding section from *LTB* to create MS C. This composite manuscript is the common exemplar that ultimately lies behind MSS K and Do.

McIntosh illustrated this manuscript history in visual form. I reproduce at the end of this chapter a version of his diagram, updated with the results of my own research.[12] The diagram reveals that the surviving MSS K and Do are not derived from one another but they are closely related, stemming instead from common exemplar. They also share a similar fortune.[13] Like McIntosh's MS B, MSS K and Do were themselves damaged; both were then mended, the former by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir, the latter by the Edinburgh scribe, John Asloan. To illustrate this intriguing 'mending' process, I first examine the makeup of MSS K and Do in more detail. I then consider the ownership of both manuscripts and suggest possible links between them. Finally, I analyse the text of both manuscripts, as well as annotations and marginalia, to suggest how fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish readers read their Troy books.

CUL, MS Kk.5.30[14]

MS K contains within a single binding two separate but related paper manuscripts. The first half (fols 11^r-323^v) (hereafter Part I) contains conflated fragments of *LTB* and the *STB* written by one scribe at the end of the fifteenth century. The second half (foliated anew, fols 1^r-82^v) (hereafter Part II) was written *c.* 1612 by the

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[12] See p. 284

[13] The damage of MSS C, K and Do suggests that *STB* was a popular text, perhaps literally read to pieces by its fifteenth- and sixteenth-century owners.

[14] *Catalogue of the Manuscripts […] Cambridge* (1857-67), vol. III, pp. 699-700, vol. V, pp. 600-3; Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, vol. IV, pp. 48-50; Guddat-Figge (1976), pp. 105-7; Bawcutt (2005a); Seymour (2005), pp. 264-5; Verweij (2008), pp. 87-139.

manuscript's then-owner, Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir.[15] It comprises a

supplement to Part I which was copied from Thomas Marshe's 1555 edition of *LTB*

(*STC* 5580), as well as a note recording books owned and lent by Murray (fol. 2ʳ), and

a series of twenty-seven miscellaneous poems, many from the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth century.[16]

The manuscript is a small folio volume written on paper. It was rebound by

Grays of Cambridge in 1959. Three flyleaves are present at the front of the

manuscript, five at the back. The first half of the manuscript is foliated from 11ʳ-

323ᵛ (fols 1-10, 24 and 324ff. are now missing),[17] and Seymour collates this: '1¹²

(wants 1-10), 2¹² (wants 12 after f. 23), 3-12¹², 13¹⁴, 14-26¹², 27¹²'. He also identifies

the following watermarks: Quires 1-6, 8-16, 19, *Agneau avec drapeau* (cf. Briquet 26,

dated 1467); Quires 17, 18, 20, *Lettre P* (cf. Briquet 8660, dated 1474-5); and quires

21-7, *Armoirie: Trois fleurs de lis, surtout t* (cf. Briquet 1739, dated 1458). The leaves

measure *c.* 250 x 180 mm, and the text — written in long lines throughout, without

line- or frame-ruling — occupies on average 190-200 x 100-40 mm.[18] Catchwords

appear on fols 11ʳ, 12ʳ⁻ᵛ, from 49ᵛ on every verso, and from 99ʳ also on the rectos.

These are written by Murray, as are the book and chapter numbers provided at the

top of each page.

Part I was written by one scribe in a late fifteenth-century Scottish secretary

hand. His hand bears a strong resemblance to the hand of the 'J de R cap*ellanus*' who

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[15] Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the manuscript was in the possession of the Duke of Lauderdale, who also owned the Maitland Folio and Maitland Quarto Manuscripts. See item no. 46 in the sale catalogue of Lauderdale's library, *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, pp. 151-8 (155). The manuscript was purchased at auction by Bishop John Moore, and was then transferred with the rest of his books to the University in 1715.

[16] For the contents of Part II see: *Catalogue of Manuscripts* […] *Cambridge* (1857-67), vol. V, pp. 601-2 and Verweij (2008), pp. 97-8. Also Bawcutt (2005a).

[17] For a possible collation see Seymour (2005), p. 265.

[18] Initials at the start of chapter divisions are two to three lines high and are rubricated. Ascenders at the top of a page are occasionally extended. The initial letters of each line on fol. 171ᵛ (*LTB* III.228-67) have a red line through them; Troilus is here leading the Trojan troops to battle. This rubrication interestingly compares to the rubrication of *Ratis Raving* at fols 25ʳ-7ʳ of CUL, MS Kk.1.5 (6).

copied Barbour's *Bruce*, *The Thewis off Gudwomen* and Lydgate's *Dietary* into what is

now Cambridge, St. John's College, MS G.23 in 1487. It is also close to the original

scribe of MS Do, the first scribe of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B.

24, and the V de F who copied Parts 6 and 7 of CUL, MS Kk.1.5. As discussed in

Chapters 2 and 4, these scribes were all working around the same time; they were

most likely notaries public who received a very similar scribal training and worked in

close proximity to one another, in or just around Edinburgh.[19] A future study might

profitably examine this putative scribal school with a view to compiling a more

systematic catalogue of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish hands.

The contents of Part I may be listed as follows:

Fols 11^r-19^r: *STB* Fragment I (ll. 1-596).
Fols 19^r-304^v: *LTB* I.1689-IV.5338. (fol. 24 is missing).
Fols 304^v-23^v: *STB* Fragment II (ll. 1-1562).
Fols 324 ff.:   Missing.

Lacking ten folios at its beginning and many more at its end, Part I is defective, and

indeed it was in this state when it passed into the hands of its seventeenth-century

owner, James Murray. He decided to mend the defects by adding endings to Books

IV and V of *LTB*, as well as a title-page, table of chapters, Robert Braham's Epistle

to the reader, Lydgate's Prologue, and *LTB* I.1-1052, all of which he copied from

Thomas Marshe's 1555 edition of *LTB* (*STC* 5580). He also added chapter numbers

and rubrics from Marshe's 1555 print to the fragments of *LTB* and the *STB* in Part I,

as well as his own system of foliation and catchwords. Analysis of the latter reveals

that Murray's *Troy Book* additions, now in Part II (fols 27^r-71^r), were in fact once

added to and interpolated within Part I in order to rectify actual and perceived

defects within the original *STB/ LTB* compilation.[20]

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[19] See pp. 71-2, 136-7.
[20] Part I fol. 11^r was originally prefaced by the title-page, Braham's Epistle to the Reader, Lydgate's
Prologue and *LTB* I.1-1052. *LTB* IV.6919-end was interpolated between Part I fols 318-19. *LTB*

The decision to add text from *LTB* Books I and V at the beginning and end of MS K Part I can be easily explained, since it is likely that the composite *STB/LTB* manuscript reached Murray with pages missing from both ends. The interpolation of text from *LTB* IV within the *STB* is, however, somewhat harder to explain. As already stated, Murray added chapter numbers and headings from Marshe's print to Part I. He added them not only to *LTB* but also to the *STB*. He thus matched the Scottish translation with the equivalent narrative in Lydgate's translation. For instance, *STB* fragment II, copied onto fols 304^{v}-23^{v}, is marked Caps. XXXIV, XXXV, and XXXVI. Murray noted, however, that the Scottish translation lacked the equivalent end of Cap. XXXV, a passage unique to Lydgate's translation in which he curses the pagan gods for not punishing the Greeks and expresses his grief at Troy's fate (*LTB* IV.6916ff.). To remedy this perceived defect Murray copied the missing passage from Marshe and interpolated it between fols 318-19. The equivalent of Marshe's *LTB* Cap. XXXVI in the *STB* then continues from fol. 319^{r} until the defective end of the manuscript at fol. 323^{v}, at which point Murray added Caps. XXXVI and XXXVI (*LTB* V.536ff) from Marshe's print. The result was a composite, but complete, 'Troy Book', as Murray himself recorded:

> Finis./ Sic explicit Liber 5us ultim*us*./ All quhilk befoir it vantet yis
> 40 ʒeris ago now latlie/ eikit addit & copeit out off ye print ye
> begining and end y^{r} off/ yis holl storie as ye breik beareth be me
> James Murray/ w^{t} my hand in all hest that for ye p*re*sent hes ye
> sameyn of/ my fat*her* Ihone Murry off Tibbermuir most Iustlie/
> anno 1612 ye 24 of Maij (fol. 71r).

V.536-end followed Part I fol. 323^{v} (Murray did not include Lydgate's *Envoy* or *Verba Translatoris*). The table of chapters was most probably placed at the end, as in Marshe's print.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148[21]

MS Do — a paper manuscript comprising 336 folios, plus two flyleaves at both the beginning and end — contains only the *STB* and *LTB* and comprises the work of two scribes, writing a generation apart. Analysis of the manuscript's watermarks reveals that the earlier scribe's work (D2)[22] was completed in the last quarter of the fifteenth century; that of the second/later scribe (D1) in the first half (mostly likely first quarter) of the sixteenth century.[23] The manuscript may be collated as follows:[24] 1-3^{12}, 4^8, 5$^{16-3}$, 6^{16}, 7^{18}, 9-12^{16}, 13^{20}, 14-20^{16}, 21$^{16-4}$, 22-4^{12}. D1's gatherings are, therefore, mostly in twelves, D2's in sixteens. D2 makes consistent use of frame ruling on fols 45^r-56^r, 57^v, 58^r-138^r, 140^r-5^r, 147^r-55^r and 157^r-60^r and copies between 41 and 45 lines per page in a single column of *c.* 185 x 100 mm. D1 does not rule and copies between 33 and 35 lines per page in a single column, with the exception of fols 139, 257 and 300 where he copies between 40 and 46 lines per page, in order to mirror the practice of the surrounding leaves copied by D2. The size of his writing space is *c.* 195 x 100 mm. Both scribes leave spaces, often with guide letters, for rubricated initials.[25] Leaf size is approximately 256 x 178 mm.

The first and last leaves of the manuscript are dark and soiled, suggesting that it originally remained unbound for some time. The manuscript is now bound in boards covered with dark brown leather, with borders of gold-tool images of flowers,

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[21] Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, vol. IV, pp. 46-8; Guddat-Figge (1976), pp. 261-2; Seymour (2005), pp. 278-9. I am also grateful to Dr. Katherine McClune for allowing me to read her unpublished description of MS Do.

[22] I follow McIntosh (1979) in my abbreviations for the two different scribes.

[23] Watermarks, now hard to see, on fols 1-44, 302-18 bear similarities with Briquet 1762 (1522) (*Armoirie: Trois fleurs de lis*); fols 46-138, some similarities with Briquet 1886 (1471) (*Armoirie: Lion*); fol. 139, some similarities with Briquet 10100 (1518), 10101 (1525), 10102 (1528) (*Licorne*); fols 143-299, some similarities with Briquet 13331 (1467) (*Roue*); fols 318-end, some similarities with Briquet 11154 (1482), 11152 (1482), 11341 (1526), 11222 (1542) (*Main*).

[24] This is a preliminary collation based upon analysis of the manuscript's watermarks and surviving catchwords.

[25] D1 also infrequently uses decorated letters (particularly ascenders) on the first line of a page and occasional cadellae, for example on fols 52^r, 52^v, 54^v, 55^r, 56^v, 60^r, 64^v, 66^{r-v}, 67^r, 73^v, 74^v, 85^v, 107^v, 130^v, 145^v, 153^v, 159^v, 169^v, 198^v, 199^r, 251^v.

fleur-de-lys, and suns.[26] They measure just under 265 x 188/9 mm. This binding is
not original and may even date from Francis Douce's ownership, to which I now
turn.[27]

MS Do was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in 1834 from the collection
of Francis Douce and in 1840 it is recorded in the *Catalogue of the Printed Books and
Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esquire, to the Bodleian Library*, as 'The Troy
buke, or siege of Troy translated into *English* verse, by John Lydgate, monk of Bury,
from the Latin of Guido de Columna, at the command of Henry V. when prince of
Wales'.[28] Douce's personal notebooks reveal that he purchased a copy of 'Lydgate's
Troy' in March 1805 'Of Sotheby from his catalogue'.[29] This almost certainly refers
to MS Do since there are no other *LTB* manuscripts in the Douce collection.

A colophon at the end of the manuscript reads 'Heir endis þe sege of troye/
writtin 7 mendit at þe instance/ of ane honourable chaplane sir Thomas/ ewyn in
Edinburgh' (fol. 336ᵛ). Van Buuren has identified this Thomas Ewen as Sir Thomas
Ewen, chaplain at the altar of St. Christopher in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, who
appears in the Protocol Books of the Edinburgh notaries John Foular and James
Young, and in the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, between 1509 and 1529. As
discussed in Chapter 6, he frequently occurs there in association with John Asloan,
the Edinburgh notary and scribe who compiled NLS, MS 16500.[30] Van Buuren has
also identified Asloan's hand with MS Do's D1.[31] The colophon thus reveals that
Thomas Ewen had a defective manuscript, descended from McIntosh's MS C and

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[26] The spine reads 'LYDGATE'S/ SIEGE OF/ TROY M.S'.
[27] Douce's personal notebooks of volumes sent for binding record that a 'Destruction of Troy' was
rebound in July 1812 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce e. 72, fol. 10ʳ). This may be Douce 148.
[28] *Catalogue of Printed Books and MSS […] Douce* (1840), p. 25.
[29] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce e. 66, fol. 9ᵛ; Sotheby and Co., *Catalogues of Sales*, Bodleian
Library Microfilm, 866 I. 18. The catalogue documents two sales in March 1805 but neither appears
to contain any version of *LTB*.
[30] See pp. 254-62.
[31] van Buuren (1966).

containing the *STB* and *LTB*, which he asked Asloan to repair. Asloan duly completed his task.

Ewen's manuscript was either defective at the beginning, or illegible. To rectify this, Asloan copied on fols 1ʳ-44ᵛ *LTB* I.1-2939, omitting Lydgate's Prologue; he here used his own version of *LTB*, which I discuss below. Fols 45ʳ-299ᵛ are in the hand of the original scribe (D2). Asloan clearly deemed these fit for incorporation into the new 'mendit' manuscript, although he had to contribute fols 139 and 257 in his own hand, either because these pages were missing in Ewen's manuscript, or because they were too damaged to be included. Of these folios, fols 45ʳ-290ʳ (l. 33) contain D2's copy of *LTB* I.2940-IV.5337; fols 290ʳ (l. 34)-299ᵛ contain *STB* (corresponding to Horstmann's Fragment II, ll. 1-829). There is no break in copying at this point, which suggests that the transition from *LTB* to *STB* was present in D2's exemplar. Indeed the wording of the transition is precisely the same in MS K.[32] Fol. 300ʳ⁻ᵛ is in Asloan's hand. D2's text must have here been legible but unfit for incorporation. Asloan therefore copies in his own hand D2's *STB* (ll. 830-916). On fols 301-6, however, Asloan copies from *LTB* IV.6541 to IV.6944, using the same source as that used for fols 1-44. McIntosh has proven that three leaves of D2 must have been missing, unusable or illegible at this point (corresponding to Hortsmann Fragment II, ll. 917-1180 found in MS K). Asloan continues copying *STB* (ll. 1181-3318) from fol. 307ʳ until 336ʳ (l. 4). He is here copying portions of D2 still legible but not fit for incorporation. Finally, after l. 4 on fol. 336ʳ, Asloan ceases copying the *STB*. He copies instead *LTB* V.3341-72, a spurious linking line ('To quhom I teche all oʳ saullis i*n* cur*e*') and then *LTB* V.3608-12, thus omitting all of *LTB* V.3373-

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[32] The final lines of *LTB* on fol. 290ʳ of Do read 'Ande to hym self trust he hertly/ he said allace what is best to deye/ In þis mischief þat I ame in-falle/ Lorde gode þi grace mot help us one 7 all'; in K (fol. 304ᵛ), 'And to hym self trust he hertlye/ He seyd allace what is best to dye/ Inne þis mischief þat I am in fall/ Lord god thy grace mot help me one & all'. Both manuscripts thus offer a variant on *LTB* IV.5335-8, as given in Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen: 'And to hym silfe, trist of hertly wo,/ He seide: "allas! what is best to do/ In þis meschef þat I am in falle! - / And ȝit is þis to me werst of alle'.

607 in which Lydgate praises his patron, Henry V, and the king's wife, Queen Katherine, and where he also begs forgiveness for the faults of his translation, addresses his 'maister Chaucer', explains the moral of his story, and finally prays for blessings on the King. Asloan also does not copy Lydgate's *Envoy* and *Verba Translatoris*.[33]

Thus, to 'mend' Ewen's defective manuscript, Asloan retained portions of the original manuscript, copied out portions that were legible but unsuitable for incorporation in his own hand, and elsewhere supplied illegible or missing portions by using his own version of *LTB*. For the latter, he drew either directly or indirectly on Pynson's 1513 editio princeps (*STC* 5579). Strong correspondences with Pynson's edition were first noted by Henry Bergen,[34] and recently confirmed by William Sweet.[35]

Asloan's editorial activities recall those of the 1499 redactor of Hay's *BKA* and the scribe Alexander Levingstoun, who mended the defective copy of Hay's romance in BL, MS Additional 40732. His confirmed use of print in MS Do also supports the possibility of his having used prints as the exemplars for a number of texts in NLS, MS 16500, including his now-lost copies of *Golagros and Gawane* and *Rauf Coilȝear*.

Finally, Asloan's 'mending' anticipates Murray's 'mending' of MS K some one hundred years later. Both MSS Do and K were 'writtin 7 mendit', 'eikit addit & copeit out off ye print', one from Pynson, the other from Marshe, and both consequently testify to the traffic of books across the Border and to the dynamic relationship between manuscript and print in sixteenth-century Scotland.

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[33] See Sweet (2009), pp. 198-208 for an explanation of Asloan's omissions here.

[34] Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, IV, pp. 84-91. See also McIntosh (1979), pp. 7-8 and Seymour (2005), p. 278.

[35] Sweet (2009), pp. 191, 193-8.

The Readers and Owners of MSS K and Do

MS K, Part I, contains a wealth of signatures. These include the names of James Murray (fols 21ᵛ, 133ʳ, 168ᵛ), James Scrimgeour (fols 59ʳ), James Ogilvy (fols 59ʳ, 264ᵛ, 265ᵛ) and Walter Ogilvy (fols 68ʳ, 193ᵛ), Thomas Blair (fols 81ʳ, 119ᵛ, 156ᵛ, 213ʳ, 239ʳ, 250ʳ, 256ʳ) and Alexander Blair (fol. 239ʳ), Thomas Henderson (fols 115ᵛ, 141ʳ), Henry Brown (fols 153ʳ, 158ʳ, 169ʳ, 196ᵛ, 204ʳ, 210ᵛ, 241ʳ, 302ᵛ), Adam Brown (fol. 239ʳ) and William Brown (fol. 247ʳ), Thomas Gormak (fol. 193ʳ), William Skene (fol. 206ᵛ), William Dame (fol. 209ᵛ), David Lyndsaye (fol. 209ᵛ), and James Hunter (fol. 250ʳ). Some but not all of these readers have been identified.[36] I here focus on those readers about whom we currently know most, Henry Brown and James Murray.

As well as signing his name, Henry Brown signals his ownership of MS K Part I, on fol. 204ʳ ('This Buik pertinis to hend<ricus> Broun') and on fol. 302ᵛ,: 'Henricus broun / this buik pertinis to me/ henrij brown of pawnishill/ <wr>yttin with my hand the xiiij/ [...] of apryll Wpone ane/ [...] Day anno domini/ 1569'. Two Henry Browns who appear in printed records can most probably be identified with the owner of MS K. Firstly, a Henry Brown of Pawnishill appears on 19 October 1580 as a member of an assize at the retour of George Ramsay of Bamff as heir to his father, George Ramsay.[37] Other members of that assize included persons whose surnames also appear in MS K Part 1: Alexander Blair of Balthyock, James Scrymgeour of Myris, Alexander Blair of Brustoun and John Blair of Melginche,. Secondly, a Henry Brown, notary public, appears in connection with John Murray of Tibbermuir and an Andrew Blair of Gordoun in a charter of 14 March 1616 recorded in *RMS 1609-20* (no. 1398). John Murray of Tibbermuir was the father of MS K's later owner, James Murray of Tibbermuir and Alexander Blair may again be one of

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[36] Verweij (forthcoming).
[37] *Bamff Charters*, ed. Ramsay, p. 127.

the Blairs signing MS K. It therefore appears that MS K at one time circulated within and was signed by a closely-knit community in sixteenth-century Perthshire.

MS K was in the possession of Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir (*d.* 1631) by the first quarter of the seventeenth century. As already stated, Sir James Murray was the eldest son of John Murray of Tibbermuir, who married as his second wife, Helen Scrymgeour of Myres.[38] The sixteenth-century history of this branch of the family is somewhat uncertain, but Helen's father has most recently been identified as one James Scrymgeour of Myres, perhaps the James Scrimgeour who signed his name on fol. 59[r] of MS K.[39] His ancestor (and possibly grandfather), John Scrymgeour of Myres, was appointed Master of the King's Works to James V in 1537;[40] he was additionally Precentor of the Chapel Royal in Stirling,[41] and is associated with a heraldic manual (now NLS, MS Advocates' 31.5.2) in which a note records that 'This book wes wreatin be my grandsir Mr Jhon Scrymgeo<ur> of Myris maister of warke to þe kings majestie'.[42] John Scrymgeour's literary associations also extend to other members of the family, including the book-collector and diplomat, Henry Scrimgeour (1505?-72),[43] and Henry's nephew, Peter Young (1544-1628), who was tutor and librarian to James VI.[44]

James Murray of Tibbermuir thus had literary connections through his father's second wife, Helen Scrymgeour of Myres. He also had literary connections via his own extended family. The Murrays of Tibbermuir were a branch of the much larger Murray family, headed by the Murrays of Tullibardine, and they in fact entered

[38] For James and his father, John see *RPC 1592-9*, pp. 531-2; *RPC 1604-7*, p. 690; *RMS 1593-1608*, nos. 455, 1103, 1152, 1183, 2139; *RMS 1609-20*, nos. 492, 1191, 1398, 2075.
[39] Verweij (2008), pp. 94-5.
[40] Munro and Munro (1980), pp. 35-6.
[41] Thomas (2005), p. 109.
[42] *Deidis of Armorie*, ed. Houwen, vol. I, pp. lxiii-lxx.
[43] Durkan (1978).
[44] Horsburgh (2004).

into a Bond of Friendship with John Murray of Tullibardine in 1586 and 1599.[45]

John Murray of Tullibardine was the son of Sir William Murray, comptroller in James

VI's household from 1565 until his death in 1582-3.[46] This Sir William was closely

associated with, if not the owner of, a copy of Montgomerie and Polwarth's *Flyting*

(now Huntington Library, MS HM 105)[47] and he, his son, and his grandson were

professionally connected to both poets via their court careers.[48] Such professional

associations may therefore account for the presence of poems by Montgomerie on

fols 76[r], 81[r] and 82[r] of MS K (Part II).

MS K thus has multiple literary connections via the Scrymgeours of Myre and

Murrays of Tullibardine.[49] As with other romance manuscripts and prints discussed

in this thesis, including Arbuthnet's edition of the *OA* and NAS, MS RH 13/35,

familial, professional and literary connections are reflected within the margins of the

written page.

I turn now to MS Do. As already stated, this manuscript was owned in the

early sixteenth century by Thomas Ewen, chaplain at the altar of St. Christopher in

St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, and it was mended for him by the Edinburgh scribe,

John Asloan. The manuscript also contains a previously undiscussed inscription on

fol. 193[r] which reads, 'this his ye sege of troyȝe this buk pertenes to john of murray'.

In the Protocol Books of John Foular, which have proved revealing throughout this

thesis, MS Do's owner, Thomas Ewen, and a John Murray act as joint witnesses to a

legal transaction on 3 June 1527.[50] It is thus possible that the John Murray signing

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[45] Wormald (1985), pp. 394, 399.
[46] *SP*, vol. I, pp. 465-8; Goodare (2004).
[47] Montgomerie, *Poems*, ed. Parkinson, vol. II, pp. 6-9.
[48] Mapstone (1999b).
[49] Sir William Murray of Tullibardine's mother, Katherine, was the daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell, 2nd Laird of Glenorchy, whose poems appear in *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*. One thus wonders whether the literary associations of the Murray family included and/or were influenced by the extremely bookish Campbells of Glenorchy, discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 102-10.
[50] *Foular 1514-28*, Part II, no. 835.

his name on MS Do was this John Murray with whom Ewen had a professional association.

It is, however, also possible that the John Murray signing MS Do might be related to the owner of MS K, James Murray of Tibbermuir, since a number of links between the two manuscripts present themselves:

1. The John Murray who appears in Foular's Protocol Book alongside MS Do's owner Thomas Ewen also appears there in association with a chaplain, William Browne;[51] a William Browne signs fol. 247[r] of MS K.[52]

2. The same Protocol Books contain the name of Sir James Huntar, chaplain, on one occasion in association with a Thomas and James Broune.[53] One wonders whether he might be identified with the James Hunter signing fol. 250[r] of MS K.

3. The Asloan Manuscript contains the following annotation (fol. 40[v]): 'per me Gulielmum Murray Manu Mea et [...]' in a hand that is 'most likely of the first half of the seventeenth century'.[54] There are a number of possible candidates for this William Murray. One was a court servant during the Ruthven Raid; another, Sir William Murray of Dysart, was a courtier to King James VI and a known poet.[55] Finally, a William Murray of Abercairney was educated with King James VI under George Buchanan and Peter Young, nephew of the book-collector Henry Scrymgeour.[56] The identity of these William Murrays may in fact overlap, and further work needs to be done before secure identifications can be made. It

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[51] *Foular 1514-28*, Part II, nos. 705, 708, 912. For Murray and other Browns see *Foular 1514-28*, Part I, nos. 91, 93, Part II, nos. 283, 709, 722, 723, 744.

[52] This John Murray can also be associated with James Bannatyne, Writer to the Signet and father of the George Bannatyne who compiled the Bannatyne manuscript, and John Chepman, also Writer to the Signet and nephew of the printer, Walter Chepman. Such professional associations may also betray a literary interest. See *Foular 1514-28*, Part II, nos. 542 and 686.

[53] *Foular 1514-28*, Part II, nos. 704, 778, 936; *Foular 1528-34*, nos 160, 510.

[54] *Buke of the Seyvn Sagis*, ed. van Buuren, p. 31.

[55] Shire (1969), pp. 91, 214, 227. A poem entitled 'From London to William Murray' was written by Alexander Montgomerie to William Murray, master of the king's carriage. Some of Montgomerie's poems occur in Part II of MS K. See above p. 275 and Montgomerie, *Poems*, ed. Parkinson, vol. I, p. 132, vol. II, pp. 119-20.

[56] Caroline Bingham (1968), p. 84.

nevertheless remains possible that the William Murray signing the Asloan
Manuscript was related to the wider Murray family and thus to the owner of MS
K, Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir.

4. Finally, BL, MS Harley 4700, another manuscript copied by MS Do's second
scribe, John Asloan, contains on fols 19^r, 55^r, 68^r, 193^r, 212^r and 309^v the
signature of one 'Thomas Henderson'. A Thomas Henderson also signs MS K
(fols 115^v, 141^r).

MSS K (Part I) and Do are therefore not only contemporary in date and
similar in terms of physical makeup; they also appear to be closely related via their
scribes, readers, and owners. Although neither manuscript was copied from the
other, they nevertheless circulated within a series of closely-knit professional and
literary communities in Perthshire and Edinburgh and are consequently much more
intimately related than has hitherto been thought. Their closely linked transmission
and circulation is witness to the often overlapping familial, professional and literary
networks surrounding the producers, publishers and consumers of Older Scots
romance exemplified in almost every chapter of this thesis.

Reception of *LTB* and *STB* in MSS K and Do

Both MSS K and Do contain a wealth of annotations, some scribal, others added by
later readers. Several of the scribal annotations in both manuscripts have been
cropped, but many of those which remain are common to both MS K and Do,
suggesting that they derive from the common exemplar. Scribal annotations
alongside *LTB* mainly consist of 'nota' marks, which draw attention to the start and
end of speeches, the descriptions of the Greek and Trojan princes in Book II, and
the deaths of characters during battle. They also highlight moral/proverbial

statements and various comments on women, priests and idolatory. Notae in the *STB* fragments similarly highlight the start and end of speeches, deaths, and also attend to worship practices in temples and to the avarice of priests.

In addition to notae, MSS K and Do contain several manicules. Those in MS K appear on fols 95ᵛ (next to *LTB* II.2986, 2988, 3020) and 103ᵛ (*LTB* II.3607) and point towards a reference to Guido, the start of a speech by Troilus, an anti-clerical statement, and a comment on women, namely that 'it sit hem bet hem silue*n* for to kepe/ Clos in her chau*m*bre, and fleen occasiou*n*' (*LTB* II.3608-9). Manicules in MS Do appear on fols 75ʳ, 77ʳ, and 85ʳ, and point towards comments on Hector's and Antenor's prudence (*LTB* II.1134-7, 1323-8),[57] and on the dangers of discord and division (*LTB* II.1964ff.). Such scribal annotations thus highlight *LTB* as a guide to good conduct.

MS Do contains only a few reader annotations on fols 93ʳ, 122ᵛ, and 192ᵛ. The last of these contains annotations in Latin and Scots which, although now difficult to read, appear to be of a quasi-legal nature. A reader's nota on fol. 93ʳ highlights the judgement of Paris (*LTB* II.2635ff), and the annotation on fol. 122ᵛ (around *LTB* II.5194) records the number of Greek ships that sailed to Troy. Similar attention is paid by readers of MS K to Paris' dream and judgement (on fols 86ᵛ, 92ʳ and 92ᵛ), to Andromache's dream on fol. 227ʳ (*LTB* III.4945-84),[58] and to the number of Greek and Trojan ships (on fols 121ᵛ, 122ʳ, 122ᵛ), suggesting that different Scottish readers of the same text were attracted by the same points of interest.

MS K contains more extensive reader annotations. Some of these are simply pentrials. Other annotations in MS K are more pertinent since they comment on the text itself. For instance, an annotation on fol. 169ʳ (relating to *LTB* III.43)

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[57] On prudence in *LTB* see Benson (1975); Fewer (2004).
[58] Someone also appears to have written the name 'Thomas rymor' onto fol. 227ʳ, possibly a reference to the Scottish visionary Thomas of Erceldoune.

comments on preparations of 'armo<ur>' made prior to battle; annotations on fols 170ʳ and 175ᵛ comment on the need for 'foirsicht' (*LTB* III.117-8, 573); and an annotation on fol. 243ʳ attends to Priam's 'hardines' (*LTB* IV.486-8). These annotations (and also those on fols 92ᵛ, 122ᵛ, and 207ᵛ) are in the hand of one of the as yet unidentified men signing the manuscript, Alexander Ogilvy. He clearly read his *LTB* as a guide to good martial conduct.

Of further interest are several marginal annotations which I have identified as quotations from Ovid (fols 21ᵛ, 167ᵛ, 218ᵛ, 254ᵛ, 273ᵛ). On fol. 254ᵛ, for instance, the note 'est tibi de rebus maxima cura meis' derives from Ovid's *Tristia* III.XI[59] and that on fol. 274ᵛ from Penelope's epistle to Ulysses in the *Heroides* (I.5-6) ('O utinam tuum, cum Lacedemona classe petebat/ obrutus in sanis esset adulter aquis').[60] Such annotations suggest that readers were keen to gloss *LTB* — which derives from Guido's *Historia* — with extracts from previous classical narratives pertaining to Troy. This is particularly the case with an annotation from Ovid on fol. 21ᵛ in James Murray's hand. It occurs alongside *LTB* I.1832-80: a commentary on Jason's imprudent love for Medea, and an anti-feminist diatribe on the inconstancy of women. Just prior to this (*LTB* I.1793-4), Lydgate refers to Ovid's 'fables' (most likely *Metamorphoses* 7) and accuses Ovid of lying about Medea. James Murray would seem to have noted this comment, but rather than agreeing with Lydgate and the antifeminist comments at ll. 1832-80, he instead glosses the passage with a commentary on Medea's and Ariadne's letters to Jason and Theseus in Ovid's *Heroides*. Part II of MS K (fol. 2ʳ) contains a list of books owned by Murray, and amongst that list we find 'Ovid*is* Epistles'.[61] Murray was therefore clearly familiar with Ovid's *Heroides* and used them to counter the anti-feminism of the *LTB*.

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[59] Ovid, *Sorrows*, trans. Melville.
[60] Ovid, *Heroides*, ed. and trans. Showerman.
[61] Bawcutt (2005a), pp. 90-1.

The initial research presented here reveals a lively engagement with both *LTB* and *STB* by scribes and readers across successive generations. It now remains to secure the identities of all of those signing MS K Part 1 and to map more fully the circulation of MSS K and Do around Edinburgh and Perthshire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Fruitful future research might also compare the annotations and marginalia in MS K with those on other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish books relating to the Troy legend, such as NLS, Inc. 25.5, the 1494 printed edition of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* owned by Colin Campbell of Glenorchy.[62] Ideally, such bibliographical research would form part of a wider study of the reception of the Trojan legend in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish literature.

A Scottish *LTB*

MSS Do and K have hitherto been dismissed as 'extraordinarily corrupt' witnesses of *LTB* — 'words and syllables are constantly added or dropped, and frequent interpolations are made to patch out the lines' — and consequently little attention has been paid to their textual variants.[63] This critical opinion should now be reversed, for MSS Do and K are in fact unique witnesses of *LTB*, less because of the text they contain but rather because of the text they do not contain.

Significant portions of *LTB* are missing in both manuscripts, and were consequently missing in their exemplar (MS C):[64]

- *LTB* II.95-6, 99-103, 119-68 and 177-94 are missing, with variants of ll. 103,[65] 195-6[66] (MS K, fol. 57^v; MS Do, fol. 63^{r-v}).

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[62] See pp. 104-6.

[63] Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, vol. IV, p. 48.

[64] Sweet (2009), p. 182 notes that both manuscripts are also missing hundred of couplets. The fact that several of these are missing on the same leaf suggests that they were deliberately removed, rather than lost due to scribal error, perhaps to align Lydgate's wordier translation with the more concise nature of the Scots translation (e.g. II.2141-4, 2171-2 are omitted on fol. 87^r of Douce 148).

- *LTB* II.4677-763 (MS K, fol. 118^r; MS Do, fol. 118^r).

- *LTB* II.4962-5054, with adapted version of l. 4962[67] (MS K, fol. 120^v; MS Do, fol. 120^v).

- *LTB* III.4077-448 (MS K, fol. 220^v; MS Do 213^v).[68]

- MS K is missing *LTB* I.2027-114 between fols 23^v and 25^r. MS K lacks fol. 24, but a stub between modern fols 13 and 14, where no text is lost, reveals that this leaf and its conjugate were missing prior to text being copied. Thus, the lacuna is not caused by the loss of fol. 24. Instead, it appears that ll. 2027-114 were not present in the exemplar. They are now in MS Do, but only because they occur in that section of the manuscript which Asloan had to copy from Pynson due to missing text in the original MS Do. *LTB* I.2027-114 were thus almost certainly not in that original manuscript.

- MS Do (fol. 336^v) is missing *LTB* V.3373-607 (and Lydgate's *Envoy* and *Verba Translatoris*). There is instead a spurious link line between V.3373 and 3608 before the manuscript concludes with *LTB* V.3608-612. This practice recalls shifts elsewhere in both MSS Do and K between *STB* and *LTB*. Thus, McIntosh rightly concludes that this loss of text and unique conclusion 'is likely to have been present' in MS C.[69]

In the first lacuna, Lydgate expresses his fear that he might be accused by his patron, Prince Henry, of mis-/ badly translating his source (Guido) and he explains in detail the method of translation he adopts. The second omitted passage occurs in the

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[65] Line 103 in K and Do reads 'And refresche wele 7 makys hym conforte' compared to 'þan to refresche hem frely & disport' in Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen.

[66] Lines 195-6 in K and Do read 'So ryche colours bygynne I ne may/ Ne so to wryt in to my termes gray'; Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen has 'W*ith* sondry hewes noble, fresche, and gay;/ So riche colours biggen I ne may.'

[67] Line 4962 in K and Do read 'Who bare hym best wytht out troye one þe grene' compared to Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, 'Nowe after hym, to Eccuba þe quene' (II. 4962).

[68] MS K is also missing *LTB* IV.863-83 on fol. 247^v but this is due to an eyeskip error: ll. 864 and 884 both end with the same rhyme word.

[69] McIntosh (1979), p. 8. The missing lines do not occur in MS K because of its defective ending.

midst of a section in which Lydgate presents Dares' description of Trojan princes and princesses. In it, Lydgate discusses Chaucer's description of Criseyde and praises his master's 'gold dewe-dropis of rethorik' (II.4699). The third and fourth lacunae are related to this. The former consists of Dares' descriptions of Hecuba, Andromache, Cassandra and Polyxena; the latter depicts the parting of Troilus and Criseyde, Lydgate's praise of Chaucer, and one of the several infamous passages in which Lydgate presents Guido's attack on women before offering his own mock defence of them. Much critical ink has been spilt in attempts to explain Lydgate's attitude to women in general and to Criseyde in particular at both of these points in *LTB* but no critic, with the exception of Sally Mapstone,[70] has hitherto noticed the omission of this passage in MSS K and Do.[71] A very similar passage is also omitted in the fifth lacuna, now unique to MS K, but also in the original of MS Do. It concerns Medea's love for Jason, Lydgate's expansion of Guido's anti-feminist comments, and then his own mock attempt to praise women. Finally, the sixth lacuna comprises Lydgate's *Envoy* and *Verba translatoris* at the end of Book V.
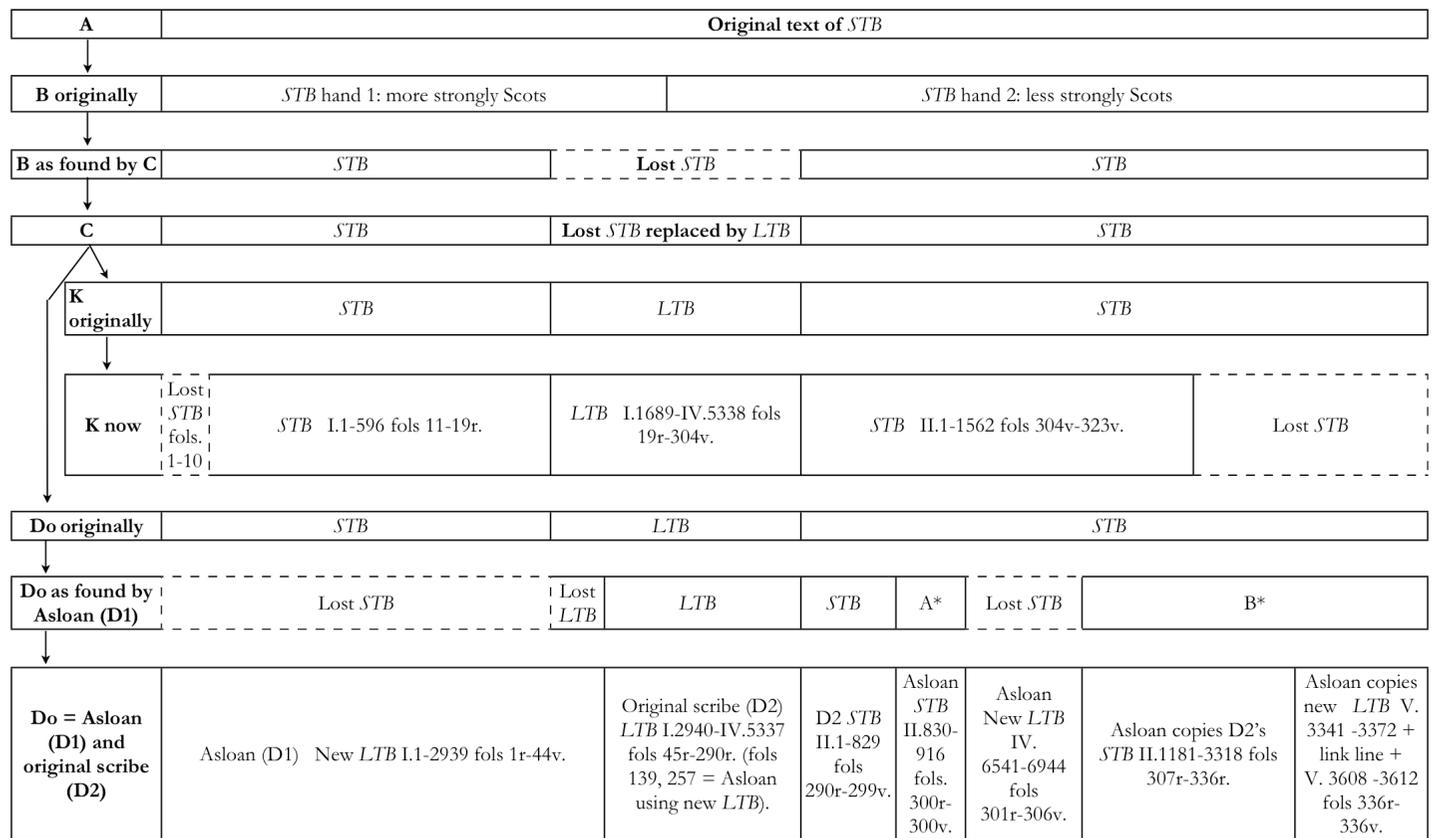
There are several patterns to the above lacunae. First, all of the missing passages are either portions of *LTB* unique to Lydgate — i.e. not present in his source — or moments at which Lydgate significantly expands upon Guido's *Historia*. Secondly, the lacunae also represent moments at which Lydgate comments on his own translation and discusses how it differs from his main source Guido, or his immediate predecessor Chaucer, as well as moments at which Lydgate ostensibly differs from Guido in his attitude to women and again self-consciously distinguishes his own text from his source.

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[70] In an unpublished paper given to the New Chaucer Society in Glasgow 2004.
[71] Renoir (1961); Edwards (1970); Mieszkowski (1971), esp. 117-26; C.D. Benson (1992), pp. 31-3; Torti (1989), pp. 177-9; Watson (1994), pp. 91-101.

As already stated, these passages must have been missing from MSS Do and K's exemplar (MS C). And yet, I propose that they were not lost as a result of scribal error or the vagaries of manuscript transmission. Instead, the passages' consistent theme suggests that they were deliberately removed and they were most probably excised when a redactor first created the composite MS C from the remains of MS B. When he replaced the lost *STB* with *LTB*, he would have been keen to create as seamless as possible a transition between the two texts. He would have thus omitted all those passages of *LTB* which were inconsistent with the Scots translation — itself an extremely accurate and concise translation of Guido's *Historia* — and passages at which Lydgate draws attention to his own translation. Such passages are precisely the ones now missing from MSS K and Do.

MSS K and Do should therefore no longer be dismissed as 'extraordinarily corrupt'. Instead, they are extremely valuable witnesses not only of the *STB*, *LTB* and the reception of both Troy narratives in Scotland, but also of the very complicated and intricate editorial processes undertaken by successive generations of scribes. The anonymous compiler of MS C, Asloan, and James Murray all aimed to mend defective manuscripts and create a complete Scottish Troy Book. The surviving results are patchwork texts that stand testimony to the dynamic relationship between manuscript and print in sixteenth-century Scotland, to the unique interaction at that time between English and Scottish literature and to the consequent traffic of texts across the Border.

A	Original text of *STB*			

B originally	*STB* hand 1: more strongly Scots	*STB* hand 2: less strongly Scots

B as found by C	*STB*	**Lost** *STB*	*STB*

C	*STB*	**Lost** *STB* **replaced by** *LTB*	*STB*

K originally	*STB*	*LTB*	*STB*

K now	Lost *STB* fols. 1-10	*STB* I.1-596 fols 11-19r.	*LTB* I.1689-IV.5338 fols 19r-304v.	*STB* II.1-1562 fols 304v-323v.	Lost *STB*

Do originally	*STB*	*LTB*	*STB*

Do as found by Asloan (D1)	Lost *STB*	Lost *LTB*	*LTB*	*STB*	A*	Lost *STB*	B*

Do = Asloan (D1) and original scribe (D2)	Asloan (D1) New *LTB* I.1-2939 fols 1r-44v.	Original scribe (D2) *LTB* I.2940-IV.5337 fols 45r-290r. (fols 139, 257 = Asloan using new *LTB*).	D2 *STB* II.1-829 fols 290r-299v.	Asloan *STB* II.830-916 fols. 300r-300v.	Asloan New *LTB* IV. 6541-6944 fols 301r-306v.	Asloan copies D2's *STB* II.1181-3318 fols 307r-336r.	Asloan copies new *LTB* V. 3341 -3372 + link line + V. 3608 -3612 fols 336r-336v.

(A*/B* = unincorporable portions of *STB* in MS Do as found by Asloan).

Chapter 8

Clariodus

NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5. is the sole witness of the Older Scots romance *Clariodus* (*IMEV* 548.5), described in an unpublished catalogue in the NLS as '[a] verse romance in five books, 16th century'. It was first rather inaccurately edited by David Irving in 1830 for the Maitland Club,[1] and another nineteenth-century edition was planned for the EETS by Professor K.D. Bülbring but never completed. Robert L. Chapman also produced an edition for his Ph.D. at the University of Michigan in 1952.[2]

Apart from these editions, *Clariodus* has received regrettably little critical attention. At the end of the nineteenth century, Francis J. Curtis produced a study of the poem's rhymes and philology,[3] but since then, the only article-length study has been Rhiannon Purdie's '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance in Later Medieval Scotland' which convincingly demonstrates how the poem's author draws upon the aureate language and imagery of William Dunbar in order to align his translation with contemporary literary fashions at court.[4]

This chapter provides the first detailed study of *Clariodus*' manuscript contexts. I begin with description of NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 and an analysis of its provenance; physical features of the manuscript are here linked to internal aspects of the romance. The second half of the chapter offers a new assessment of the poem's composition, date, and authorship, and proposes significant new links

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[1] *Clariodus*, ed. Irving. All subsequent citations from this edition. See also Santini (2010), pp. 205-7.
[2] *Clariodus*, ed. Chapman.
[3] Curtis (1894).
[4] Purdie (2002). The romance is also mentioned in *Manual*, vol. I, pp. 16, 147, 158, 165, 315, and is briefly discussed in: McDiarmid (1988), pp. 35-6; Edwards (2000a), p. 69; Purdie (2006), pp. 170, 171, 177.

between the manuscript contexts of the original French romance and the subsequent

Scottish translation.

Part 1: Manuscript Description

NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 was re-bound in the nineteenth century in gilt-tooled

dark-green morocco. The volume measures *c.* 280 x 185 mm, and the cropped pages

now measure *c.* 272 x 180 mm. They are paper, and bear a watermark of a pot with

the letters IB surmounted by a crescent. The nearest parallel (albeit with different

letters) is Briquet 12804 (dated 1588).[5]

The manuscript comprises 154 folios, with two modern flyleaves at both the

beginning and end.[6] Two systems of foliation are present — modern foliation

(followed throughout this chapter) and sixteenth-century foliation.[7] Modern fol. 1^r

was originally foliated 8^r, indicating that seven folios from the beginning of the

romance have been lost. Similarly, stubs between fols 152^v and 153^v suggest that *c.* 2-

3 folios are missing from the end of the manuscript. That leaves from both ends of

the manuscript have been missing for some time is clear since fols 1^r and 154^v are

heavily soiled.

Clariodus is the only item within the manuscript.[8] It is divided into five

books[9] with blank pages left between as follows:

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[5] The manuscript's watermark is recorded in an unpublished summary description of NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 in the NLS.

[6] Collation of this manuscript must await further research/ conservation projects. At present, the binding is extremely tight, there are are no signature marks, and the volume' s watermarks are difficult to detect.

[7] Significant errors in the sixteenth-century foliation occur at modern fols 65-100. Modern fol. 65 should, for instance, have been numbered '70' by the scribe. Instead he wrote '80'. Fols. 66 to 74 were subsequently numbered ten units higher than they should have been. Further errors from fol. 74 to 101 are too numerous to describe here, but they are still visible. The scribe attempted, with little success, to correct some of these errors himself; further corrections were made by a later, possibly nineteenth-century hand. His errors may simply be the result of miscalculation/ human error. They may also imply that the scribe mis-foliated the manuscript before the gatherings were bound and placed in their correct order.

[8] Three lines have been erased at the top of fol. 3^v: 'For I sall haue the better houpe to speid/ This lustie lady to the king tuik heid/ Into'. Although these lines do not appear elsewhere in the

Fols 1ʳ-20ᵛ:	**Book I.**
Fol. 21ʳ⁻ᵛ:	Blank.
Fols 22ʳ-45ᵛ:	**Book II.**
Fol. 46ʳ⁻ᵛ:	Blank.
Fols 47ʳ-78ᵛ:	**Book III.**
Fol. 79ʳ⁻ᵛ:	Blank.
Fols 80ʳ-115ᵛ:	**Book IV.**
Fol. 116ʳ:	The first five lines of the Prologue to Book V; remainder blank.
Fols 116ᵛ-54ᵛ:	**Book V.**

The scribe writes using a neat, clear and relatively large mid- sixteenth-century Scottish secretary hand.[10] The appearance of the hand changes on fols 113ᵛ (IV.2647-first four words of 2656);[11] 114ʳ (IV.2689-first three words 2704); 114ᵛ (IV. 2754-81); and 117ᵛ-18ʳ (V.75-130).[12] The script is here smaller, thicker and more tightly written. Initial letter-forms are also different. A change of scribe is unlikely given the limited number of lines involved.[13] The scribe may therefore have instead varied his script and/or used different pen. Alternatively, he may have copied these lines at a different time; most of the apparent changes of hand are concentrated in the final two books of the romance, in particular around the end of Book IV and the beginning of Book V where, as we shall see, a much larger gap was left to accommodate the partially-copied Prologue to Book V.[14]

Running titles, copied across the page-opening, identify the relevant book, e.g. 'The secund buik/ of Clariodus'. They are usually given in words during the first two books, but more often in numerals for Books III, IV and V, and occasionally

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manuscript, they are of the romance's general linguistic character; the epithet 'lustie' is frequently used, and 'lustie ladie' is a common epithet for Meliadice. The first eight lines of fol. 125ᵛ were also pasted in at the time of copying, most likely to cover an error.

[9] This five book division, unique to the Scots translation, mirrors Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and the unique structure of *Lancelot of the Laik*, which probably also ran to five books when complete.

[10] The range of lines copied per page varies quite significantly throughout the manuscript.

[11] A copying error occurs just below at IV.2657.

[12] The hand also appears slightly different at fol. 11ʳ⁻ᵛ (I.800-44).

[13] *Pace Clariodus*, ed. Chapman, p. 2.

[14] An eighteenth-/nineteenth-century hand has added the following words to the text at II.1320, III.688, V.1967, V.2195: 'beine', 'passit', 'field', 'king'. These are all rhyme words and so may have been added by conjecture. Alternatively, the annotator may have had access to another now-lost manuscript. Small crosses appear in the margin next to I.195, 198-9, 282, 283; IV.1708. They are in a late hand, and do not seem to highlight anything of obvious note.

there is variation within books (e.g. cf. fols 47ᵛ-8ʳ 'The third/ buike of Clariodus' to fols 67ᵛ-8ʳ 'The 3 buik/ of Clariodus'). The running titles are written using a formal, italic influenced display script, also used throughout the text to highlight the names of people and places.[15] Catchwords appear on both rectos and versos, but are as frequently absent as they are present. There are no quire marks or signatures.

Running titles are not written onto the blank pages between Books I, II, III and IV and nor are these pages foliated. These pages nevertheless formed part of the original manuscript since they bear the same watermark as the manuscript's other pages. They may have been left blank in order to accommodate prologues to Books II, III and IV.[16] The prologues may have been unavailable when the scribe first began copying; consequently he left space for them to be added at a later date.[17] Strangely, he appears to have had access to the first five lines of the Prologue to Book V (fol. 116ʳ).[18] These five lines were either present in his exemplar, or he had piecemeal access to the prologues from another source; it is extremely unlikely that the scribe composed these lines himself.

The first five lines of the Prologue to Book V are copied with great care and attention to decoration, as are the beginnings of Books II, III, IV and V.[19] The top third of each folio at the beginning of a book is filled with a heading (e.g. 'The

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[15] Occasionally the running titles have been copied incorrectly (fols 34ᵛ, 49ᵛ, 69ᵛ, 80ʳ) and wrong book numbers are given. This suggests that they were added after the text had been copied but before the gatherings were bound in the correct order.

[16] Compare *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Leyden, p. 239.

[17] The copying of *The Kingis Quair* into Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 is comparable. The manuscript's first scribe began copying the poem on fol. 192ʳ but stopped abruptly on fol. 209ᵛ at l. 1239, perhaps because the rest of the poem was unavailable to him. The manuscript's second scribe later copied the remainder of the poem onto fols 209ᵛ-11ʳ, where space appears to have been left. His hesitant copying — and inability to produce a regular number of stanzas per page — betrays his anxious attempts to fit his copy within the space available to him. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Boffey and Edwards, p. 6.

[18] This prologue was also to have been copied on only half a folio; Book V proper begins on fol. 116ᵛ. In contrast, an entire folio (recto and verso) is left blank before Books II, III and IV; these prologues may have been longer.

[19] Compare the similar decoration at IV.929 (fol. 92ʳ), before which a blank half folio has been left (fol. 91ᵛ). No text appears to be missing here; it is thus unclear why the scribe has left a blank page before this new narrative section and decorated it as he has. In doing so, he accords it the status of a book opening.

secund buik/ of Clariodus') written in display script, followed by an ornament or decorated lozenge. Each book then begins with a large emboldened initial, flourished with cadellae, and the remainder of the first line of text is written in a formal book-hand or in display script.

A hierarchy of decoration continues throughout the manuscript. The opening initials of major new narrative sections within the romance are marked with large Roman capitals and the remainder of the line following the initial is written in display script or book-hand.[20] Blank space is frequently left before these initials, and a number of the lines which immediately follow are often indented. Other more minor moments of narrative division are less prominently marked using flourished, penwork-, or otherwise emboldened initials, with blank space sometimes (but not always) left beforehand, and subsequent lines sometimes (but not always) indented. Book-hand/ display script is occasionally used for the first line of a new narrative division, both with and without indentation, and sometimes indentation alone occurs. Such highlighting of the narrative division in the Scots romance broadly corresponds to the appearance of 'lettrines peintes ou ornées' in the original French *Cleriadus*.[21] The highlighting of narrative division in MS Advocates' 19.2.5 can therefore most probably be traced back thorough the Scottish translator to the

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[20] A sixteenth-/seventeenth-century hand has drawn a fleur-de-lys inside the initial 'C' at III.1981. The same hand has also sketched a rough shield on the bottom margin of fol. 117ᵛ.

[21] *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink, pp. xxx-i; all subsequent quotations from the original French will be taken from this edition (chapter no.: line no.). Zink discusses the division and decoration of the French manuscripts in greater detail in his thesis, which I have not been able to access: See 'Cleriadus', ed. Zink, vol. I, pp. 404-11. See also Colombo Timelli (2004, 2006a, 2009).

original French manuscript or print tradition.[22] As detailed in Chapters 1 and 4, the

same is true of narrative division in the *Octosyllabic Alexander* and *Lancelot of the Laik*.[23]

In addition to the highlighting of narrative division, special attention is also

paid within MS Advocates' 19.2.5 to the decoration and *mise-en-page* of letters. These

play an important thematic role in the romance, not least because Thomas uses

forged letters to convince his brother, King Philippon, of Meliades' treachery — 'He

feinȝit letteris of his awin indyte' (III.425) and sent 'Counterfute letters upon the

Kingis name' (III.705). Thomas' deceit is revealed when the handwriting of those

letters is compared with his own:

> Thay gart the letteris thair all [be] present,
> Caussing Sir Thomas wryte incontinent,
> To se if that the writtis lyke war: thane
> This ilk Sir Thomas [for] to wryte begane;
> Quhilk wryting so lyke was to the uther,
> That nane of theme micht be knowen quhidder (III.1725-30).

This episode reveals the potential danger of written communication and its

susceptibility to wilful misuse.   By contrast, the letters exchanged by Meliades and

Clariodus via private messenger are used for more noble ends, to facilitate the

development of their courtship. At the beginning of Book II, Meliades sends a letter

to Clariodus. This is directly quoted at II.209-38: Meliades asks for news of

Clariodus' welfare and begs that he visit her as soon as he can. As a token of her

love, she encloses 'ane ballet of amour' (II.234).[24] After reading the letter in private,

Clariodus 'clossit it, and laid it nixt his heart' (II.241).

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[22] Various means are used to highlight textual division in the French manuscripts and prints, including decorated initials and large capitals. Such initials are accompanied by miniatures in some manuscripts; in others blank spaces are left to accommodate chapter headings and/or illustrations. Thirty-nine chapter headings also appear in the first printed edition by Antoine Vérard. One wonders whether the blank spaces occasionally left before the Roman capitals in NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 were to accommodate rubrics.

[23] See pp. 49, 139-40

[24] Meliades' 'chançon', 'Alez vous en, mon desir amoureux', is directly quoted in the French XVII.64-73.

This description of Clariodus folding Meliades' letter emphasises its status as a physical object, and the letter's layout on the manuscript page imitates this. Meliades' letter is copied on the second half of fol. 24ᵛ. It is introduced with a centred rubric, written in the scribe's more italicised script, which reads, 'folovis hir Letter'.[25] A ten-line blank space is then left before Meliades' letter begins, 'My best belovit Knight and ioy onlie' (II.209).[26] The initial 'M' is a large Roman capital, and the remainder of the line is written in display script. The letter's second and third lines are also indented. It ends with a centre-aligned rubric at the bottom of the page, again written in display script, which reads 'The End of the Letter'.

Clariodus replies to Meliades at II.365-86. His letter begins at the top of fol. 26ᵛ with the centred rubric 'Clariodus Letter to his Lady', again written in a larger more italicised script. A blank space of around four lines follows before the letter begins, 'Lods\t/ar of loue & lampe of lustiheid'. The initial 'L' is again a Roman capital. The remainder of the first line is written in a large display script, and the second line is also indented. The letter ends with another centred rubric, written in display script, which reads 'Endis \his/ Letter'. A blank space of two lines is left before the narrative recommences.

The manuscript's scribe has thus deliberately distinguished Meliades' and Clariodus' letters from the surrounding narrative. As with his use of initials, he may have been influenced by vestiges of the French manuscript/print tradition which remained in his exemplar and which stemmed from the authorial exemplar. In Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale dell' Università, MS 1628 L. II. 2, for instance, the scenes in which the letters are exchanged are distinguished with illuminations,[27] whilst in the first printed edition by Antoine Vérard (1495) rubrics signal 'Comment messire

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[25] These rubrics are not included in *Clariodus*, ed. Irving.
[26] I here quote directly from the manuscript.
[27] See Colombo Timelli (2009), p. 198 for the importance accorded to the letters exchanged by the lovers in this manuscript.

Cleriadus receust unes lettres que Meliadice lui avoit envoié par Bon Vouloir son messagier' and 'Comment messire Cleriadus rescript a Meliadice sa dame', and an illustration depicts Clariodus reading Meliades' letter whilst sitting on his horse.[28] Such rubrics and illustrations do not provide, however, quite the mimetic effect of layout in MS Advocates' 19.2.5. The source of this may instead lie in the *mise-en-page* of contemporary Scottish manuscripts.

I have already touched in Chapters 2 and 4 upon the way in which annotations and layout in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 highlight different modes of non-narrative discourse within Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (*T&C*).[29] The manuscript's first scribe was a particularly assiduous annotator of letters. He highlights the exchange of letters in Book II, for instance, with a heavy spate of Latin and vernacular marginal glossing such as 'her pandar*us* gave consell to troylus <t>ill writ to h*is* lady' (fol. 30ʳ, *T&C* II.1002ff),[30] '<p>andar*us* co*n*selling troylus first lett*er*' (fol. 30ᵛ, *T&C* II.1030ff.), and 'p*ri*ma li*tte*ra troil<i> missa ad criseid' (fol. 31ʳ, *T&C* II.1065ff.). In Book V, the final three stanzas of Troilus' letter (V.1401-21) are copied at the very top of fol. 111ᵛ. A French sign manual reading 'Le vostre T' and written in a large secretary book-hand concludes the epistle and a small blank space is then left before the narrative begins again with a decorated initial. The page was later framed by a demi-vinet.[31] The six stanzas of Criseyde's letter (V.1590-631) are copied on fols 114ᵛ-15ʳ. A rubric at the top of the page signals the start of the letter, 'Here ansuereth Criseide by hir lett*er*/ strangely to the letter of Troilus', and the letter itself then begins with a large decorated initial 'C', flourished

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[28] Colombo Timelli (2006a), pp. 104-5.

[29] See pp. 96, 142-3.

[30] All citations of *T&C* from Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. Windeatt.

[31] Boffey and Edwards (ed. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 13, n. 33) note that this is the only manuscript of *T&C* where the 'littera Troili' is marked with decoration. They also state (pp. 13-16) that Arch. Selden. B. 24 may have been originally planned as a relatively modest manuscript which was later upgraded. One wonders whether similar decoration was to be added to Advocates' 19.2.5 if/when the blank spaces before books were completed with prologues.

with cadellae. The rest of the first word, 'Cupidis', is written with a gothic display script. Finally, in the four line space left at the end of the letter on fol. 115ʳ, the scribe has written 'Le vostre C'. As Rust remarks, 'the letter's occupation of the page in this way does lend it a certain mimetic quality'.[32]

Chapter 2 demonstrated how additional rubrics in the NAS manuscript of Hay's *BKA* draw attention to the letters exchanged between Alexander and those tribes he encounters in the Orient.[33] As discussed in Chapter 4, the *Lancelot of the Laik* scribe also used layout and rubrication to highlight Lancelot's complaint in Book I.[34] I thus propose that MS Advocates' 19.2.5 — or an exemplar behind it — was influenced either directly or indirectly by the scribal tradition of contemporary vernacular manuscripts, such as CUL, MS Kk.1.5 or Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24, as well as by the French manuscript and/or print tradition of *Cleriadus*.

The Scottish translator was himself familiar with *T&C*.[35] Explicit reference to the story is made in the description of a tapestry decorating Clariodus' and Meliades' wedding reception in Book V (ll. 58-101). The tapestry is unique to the Scottish translation, and it depicts a number of scenes from classical and medieval literature, including 'of Cresseid the saikles slander', 'The schort persewing of Diomedes' and 'the weiping of Sir Troylus,/ When Cresseid did depairt from Troy toun', i.e. episodes recounted in Book V of Chaucer's *T&C*, as well as in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*.[36] Explicit reference to *T&C* is also made when the narrator

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[32] Rust (2004), p. 132.
[33] See p. 96
[34] See pp. 142-3.
[35] As I discuss below, the translator claims to have used an English translation as well as the original French, but since the former no longer survives, I here ascribe all unique additions to the Scottish author.
[36] These references to *T&C* also appear to be influenced by Henryson's *Testament*, in particular the labelling of Troilus as 'Sir' (c.f. Robert Henryson, *The Poems*, ed. Fox, *Testament of Cresseid*, l. 536, 'Schir Troylus it is, gentill and fre'), and the slander against Criseyde as 'saikles'. The latter may reflect something of Henryson's attempt to 'excuse' Cresseid 'als far furth as I may' (l. 87). Clariodus'

comments on the consummation of Palexis' and Amandur's marriages: 'Glaider war never Sir Troylus of Troy/ When he had Cressed in his arms windin' (V.1916-7). This comparison recalls the metaphor of 'wodebynde' used by Chaucer to describe his protagonists' first sexual liaison (*T&C* III.1230-2). Similarly, the narrator's stance when describing the consummation of Clariodus' and Meliades' relationship echoes the coyness of Chaucer's narrator when describing Troilus' and Criseyde's consummation (*T&C* III.1310-16):

> I will not tak in hand for to indyte
> Thair joyis all, for them I can not wryte;
> For in sik thing I am not prakticate,
> Quhilk never my Ladie had in sik ane state (V.1687-90)

Echoes of *T&C* also occur earlier in *Clariodus* at the beginning of Book III when Clariodus and Meliades take leave of one another before Clariodus departs to fight the Saracens in Cyprus. The language used by the lovers as they say their goodbyes is unique to the Scots translation. Clariodus begs Meliades to show 'mercie' and 'pitie' (III.161-4) by not grieving in front of him and the narrator comments:

> With that the Knicht anone brist out to greit
> That he no wirdis mo as then micht speke
> For inwart wo; it seamit his heart sould breke,
> So did the swird of sorrow throw it glyd. (III.166-9).

The above description, and the way in which the lovers are 'ouercum' with 'sighis and sobis' so that 'long they spake na thing' (III.171-3), recalls Troilus and Criseyde being able to weep but not speak prior to Criseyde's departure for the Greek camp (IV.1128ff).[37] Meliades' decision to wear only 'sabill' after Clariodus' departure (III.259), which is unique to the Scots translation, similarly recalls Criseyde's vow to

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response to the news of Meliades' death (III.1551-70, 1900-6) is similarly indebted to the reactions of Orpheus to Eurydice's death in Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* (ll. 120-85).

[37] The phrase 'swird of sorrow' might derive from the beginning of Anelida's complaint in Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*: 'So thirleth with the point of remembraunce,/ The swerd of sorowe, ywhet with fals plesaunce' (ll. 212-13). See Edwards (1988) and Martin (2008), p. 34, n. 54.

adopt widow's black when she hears that she must leave Troy (*T&C* IV.778-81).[38]

Finally, the language used by Clariodus in his letter to Meliades, echoes that used by

Troilus when he addresses Criseyde. The letter is not simply a translation of the

original French. Instead, Clariodus addresses Meliades by using a string of alliterative

epithets and apostrophes that refer to light and flowers. The opening epithet,

'Lodestar of love' (II.365), used elsewhere in the romance to describe Meliades

(II.1317, III.584, IV.1202), recalls Troilus's two references to Criseyde as his 'lode

sterre' in *T&C* V.232, 1392.

Thus, when one appreciates the density of allusions to *T&C* in *Clariodus*, the

attention to *mise-en-page* in MS Advocates' 19.2.5. seems entirely appropriate.   The

manuscript's striking decoration and correspondence to the scribal practice in Arch.

Selden. B. 24's *T&C* offers an apt material parallel to textual allusions within the

poem. The layout of *Clariodus* in its surviving witness visually recalls the physical

form of the work to which it is textually indebted.

Textual Transmission

There has been some dispute about the dating of MS Advocates' 19.2.5. Irving dated

MS Advocates' 19.2.5 'to about the year 1550, or somewhat later', an opinion

followed by *Clariodus*' most recent editor, Chapman, and by Borland.[39] The NLS

unpublished catalogue entry provides a general '16th century' date, whilst the NLS

Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts dates the manuscript to the '[l]ate 16th

cent.'[40] Priscilla Bawcutt has also informed me in private correspondence (22

February 2009) of the dates ascribed by W.A. Ringler and Dentox Fox. The former

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[38] Compare also *The Lay of Sorrow*, l. 54, and *The Lufaris Complaynt*, l. 154. See '*The Lay*', ed. Wilson.
[39] *Clariodus*, ed. Irving, p. ii; *Clariodus*, ed. Chapman, p. 2; Borland (1906-8), p. 643.
[40] *Summary Catalogue [...] Advocates' Manuscripts* (1971), p. 89, no. 1107.

thought the manuscript 'later rather than mid- 16th century';[41] the latter dated it *c.* 1570.[42]

A date in the second half of the sixteenth century is supported by the manuscript's watermark which, as already noted, bears some resemblance to Briquet 12804 (dated 1588). Occasional italic influence in the scribe's main text hand and display script would also place the manuscript in the second half of the sixteenth century.[43] The scribe's hand additionally bears some resemblance to the second scribe of *BKA* MS A, written in or just before the mid- sixteenth century, as well as the hand of the Bannatyne Manuscript (1565-8) and Maitland Quarto Manuscript (*c.* 1586). I would therefore date MS Advocates' 19.2.5 in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

As Rhiannon Purdie has shown,[44] *Clariodus'* composition can be dated to sometime between 1503 and 1550. The poem thus most probably passed through at least one stage of copying before arriving at the form in which it is found in the sole surviving witness. Curtis has indeed shown how 'in a previous copy of the existing MS [...] two hands at least must have been at work'.[45] He also demonstrated how these two scribes each altered the author's originally mixed Anglo-Scots language in different ways.[46] One of the scribes 'must have been more Scottish than the author';[47] the other had a strong 'anglicising tendency' and he appears to have been responsible for copying the poem's last two books,[48] since one finds Scots spellings *-ocht* and *-cht* in the first three books and English *ought* ,*-oght* and *-ight* in the fourth and fifth. A similar exemplar appears to lie behind the surviving witnesses of the *Scottish*

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[41] Unpublished note in the Huntington Library.
[42] Unpublished note in Bawcutt's possession.
[43] On the development of italic script in sixteenth-century Scotland see G.G. Simpson (1973), pp. 17-27.
[44] See below p. 306.
[45] Curtis (1894), p. 129.
[46] Curtis (1894), pp. 21 and 33.
[47] Curtis (1894), p. 22
[48] Curtis (1894), pp. 25, 99, 129.

Troy Book, as discussed in Chapter 7. In CUL, MS Kk.5.30 Scottish forms are more marked in the first fragment of the *STB* than the second. McIntosh consequently suggested that 'in some version of *STB* anterior to K[k.5.30], the earlier and later portions were written by two different scribes, the first of whom had a much more pronounced tendency to eliminate English forms than the second.'[49]

Provenance

I turn now to the provenance of MS Advocates' 19.2.5. In 1925, the contents of the Advocates' Library passed into the possession of the NLS. The Advocates' Library had acquired the *Clariodus* manuscript some time before 26 January 1813 since it is mentioned in a letter of that date sent by Henry Weber to Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges of Kent.[50] It had previously belonged to David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes,[51] and prior to this the manuscript was read, and perhaps owned, by a seventeenth-century woman; the signature 'Jonet Cunninghame' appears at the bottom of the otherwise blank fol. 79[r] in a seventeenth-century hand. I discuss each of these owners in turn.

1. David Dalrymple and Antiquarian Interest in the Older Scots and Medieval French romance

David Dalrymple, 3rd Baronet and later Lord Hailes (1726-92), was a prominent advocate, historian and man of letters in Enlightenment Edinburgh.[52] In January 1752 he became a curator of the library of the Faculty of Advocates. He held this post until 1757, and then again in 1771. He helped to establish presbyterial libraries

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[49] McIntosh (1979), p. 9.
[50] NLS, MS 3278, fol. 78.
[51] The manuscript contains no mark of Dalrymple's ownership but see *Catalogue of the Works* (1836), p. 18. The manuscript was in Dalrymple's possession before 1801 since in that year Leyden, (ed. *The Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 238) writes, '[o]f this romance [*Clariodus*], a fine MS., of the latter part of the 16th century, is preserved in the New-Hailes Library'.
[52] Cadell (2004); *SP*, vol. VIII, pp. 143-4.

in Scotland and in 1759 he collected subscriptions to aid the publication of

Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*. He was a friend of several prominent

eighteenth-century literary figures, including James Boswell and Thomas Percy, both

of whom owned manuscripts that contain Older Scots poetry, or later redactions.[53]

Dalrymple also had his own keen interest in Older Scots poetry. As well as helping

Percy in the production of his *Reliques*,[54] he himself published a selection from the

Gude and Godlie Ballatis as *Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Songs* in 1765,

and in 1770 he published a collection of *Ancient Scottish Poems* from the Bannatyne

Manuscript. Correspondence between Percy and Dalrymple, dated July 1769, also

includes the first known reference to the Maitland Folio Manuscript.[55] Finally,

Dalrymple was an avid reader and book collector and as such he added greatly to the

Newhailes library established by his father and grandfather.[56] Given these literary

interests, it is not surprising that Dalrymple acquired MS Advocates' 19.2.5.[57]

Although nothing is known of how or when Dalrymple acquired the

manuscript, his possession of it forms part of a contemporary antiquarian interest in

both the Older Scots and original French romance which culminated in the

publication of the Maitland Club edition in 1830. As detailed above, the presence of

Clariodus in the Advocates' Library was noted in 1813 by Henry Weber in a letter to

the writer and genealogist Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges (1762-1837). Weber (1783-

1818) worked between 1807 and 1814 as amanuensis and secretary to Sir Walter

Scott, and during this period he published a number of literary studies including

Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries (1810).[58] His interest

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[53] Boswell owned the Asloan and Auchinleck manuscripts. Percy discovered BL, MS Additional 27879.

[54] Watkins-Jones (1933); J.Jackson Campbell (1950).

[55] *Percy Letters*, ed. Falconer, p. 117; Edwards (2001), pp. 54-5.

[56] This library's contents are now in the NLS.

[57] No reference to the manuscript is made in the surviving correspondence with Percy.

[58] Santini (2010), pp. 126-32.

in *Clariodus* — 'a curious & by no means unpoetical specimen of old Scottish metre'[59] — is thus unsurprising. Weber's correspondent, Samuel Egerton Brydges, was also no doubt himself keen to hear Weber's news since he was another notable antiquarian with a significant interest in early modern literature. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1795 and was also a founder member of the Roxburghe Club, established on 16 June 1812 on the eve of the sale of the library formed by John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe (1740-1804).[60]

One of the many items within Roxburghe's library was a copy of the French *Cleriadus*,[61] now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 1002.[62] It was purchased at the Roxburghe sale by another founder member of the Club, Robert Lang (1750-1828),[63] and subsequently at the sale of Lang's library in 1828 by the great bibliophile, Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872).[64] It thus attracted considerable antiquarian interest, and one should like to learn more of its provenance, in particular how and where the Duke of Roxburghe acquired it. He was very interested in collecting Older Scots literature, and his copy of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (Paris 1559) was said to be his favourite volume.[65] One thus wonders whether Roxburghe acquired his copy of the French *Cleriadus* after reading the reference to 'Claryades and maliades' therein.[66]

One of Roxburghe's antiquarian friends was the poet and novelist Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), for whom, as noted above, Weber worked as an amaneuensis. Scott was a member of the Maitland Club and owned a copy of their printed edition of *Clariodus*.[67] He also knew the Scottish romance in manuscript form since he

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[59] NLS, MS 3278, fol. 78r.
[60] Hillyard (1999, 2004).
[61] Nicol and Nichol (1812), p. 167, no. 6099, 'le Roman de Cleriadus et Meliadice, fol. MS. sur papier. P.R. 1403'.
[62] *Cinq Années* (1979), pp. 157-8, no. 68.
[63] Lang was another founder-member of the Roxburghe Club. See Charles Bingham (1928), p. 28
[64] Munby, intro. (1968), p. 47, no. 3635. See also Rosenblum (1997) and A. Bell (2004).
[65] Constable (1873), vol. I, p. 23.
[66] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50.
[67] Cochrane (1838), p. 280.

makes two references to it prior to the 1830 Maitland edition.[68] The first direct reference occurs in the introduction to 'Fause Foodrage' in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802).[69] Then, in the notes to his 1804 edition of *Sir Tristrem*, Scott quotes a lengthy passage from 'Clariodes, MS' which begins 'The famous knyghtes arme them in that place'.[70] It has been assumed that this quotation was taken from MS Advocates' 19.2.5 but the sixty-line passage which Scott quotes is in fact from Lydgate's *Troy Book* (III.43-102), and from a version of that work textually closest to Thomas Marshe's 1555 print (*STC* 5580).[71]

F.J. Curtis, who first drew attention to the true identity of the quotation,[72] concluded: 'either Scott's "Clariodes" must be a mistake, or there was another MS. known to him, [...], with a passage copied from Lydgate'.[73] I find Curtis' latter proposal intriguing, especially since he was not alone in thinking that there might have been more than one *Clariodus* manuscript extant in the late eighteenth/ early nineteenth century; Leyden makes the same suggestion in his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotland*.[74] We also know, as discussed in Chapter 7, that Marshe's 1555 edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book* was circulating in Scotland by the early seventeenth century, since it was used then by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir to supplement his defective copy of the *Scottish Troy Book*.[75]

Scott's putative *Clariodus* manuscript, supplemented with a passage from Lydgate's *Troy Book*, would, furthermore, have embodied the intertextuality inherent

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[68] J. Mitchell (1987), pp. 3, 14.
[69] Scott, *Minstrelsy*, ed. Henderson, vol. III, pp. 279-89 (280).
[70] *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Scott, pp. 247-9.
[71] See Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, vol. IV, pp. 59-67, 88-91. Cochrane (1838) does not show Scott as possessing his own copy of Lydgate's *Troy Book*. He did, however, own Purfoot's 1614 modernised edition entitled *The Life and Death of Hector*, *STC* 5581.5 (Cochrane (1838), p. 101).
[72] J. Mitchell (1982), p. 14 nevertheless still cites Scott's quotation as deriving from MS Advocates' 19.2.5.
[73] Curtis (1894), p. 10.
[74] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Leyden, p. 240.
[75] The NLS own a copy of the Marshe print (RB.m.461). An ownership inscription on the title-page, although scratched out, appears to be in a sixteenth-century (perhaps Scottish) hand.

within the Scottish romance, just as the *mise-en-page* of the Advocates' 19.2.5 recalls both the layout of *T&C* in Arch. Selden. B. 24, and intertextual allusions to *T&C* within the romance. For, the *Clariodus* author appears to have been himself familiar with events told both in a wide body of classical/medieval literature, and also notably in Lydgate's *Troy Book*,[76] *Siege of Thebes*,[77] and possibly *Fall of Princes*.[78] In a unique passage describing the people's reaction to Meliades' death, he comments:

> No wofuller in Troy raise up the soun,
> For Hectoris daith, thair mightie champioun;
> Nor quhen the Greikis enterit in thair ire
> In ower thair wallis, and set thair toun on fyre,
> And slew Priam, and brint Paladeon (III.577-81).

Such a comparison could recall Lydgate's lengthy description in his *Troy Book* of the outpouring of grief at the deaths of Hector, Priam and the sacking of Troy (*LTB* III.5423-578; IV.6338ff; IV.7036-92), whilst the comparison of Meliades to 'Panthassilla' in Book III (l. 1008) might recall Lydgate's feisty Amazon queen (IV.3759-4439, 5381-98, 6095-8). A number of scenes depicted in the unique tapestry in Book V may also allude to episodes in Lydgate's poems, including 'How Troy be slaughter was depopulate', 'the seige of Thebis toun', 'How oder slew the Trojan brether [*sic*] two,/ King Polineces, and King Etiocles',[79] 'The craftie winning of the Goldin fleice',[80] 'the fervent love of sorrowful Achilles',[81] 'The revisching of Heline out of Greice',[82] 'The dreame of Paris of the Goddis superne' and 'how he gave the apill to Venus',[83] 'the forcie Trojane campioun,/ Most worthie Hector in

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[76] Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen.

[77] Lydgate, *Siege of Thebes*, ed. Eardman. See p. 100 for Scottish ownership of this poem.

[78] Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, ed. Bergen. Bawcutt (1981) warns of the potential dangers of tracking allusions. I thus note that the possible allusions I here detect to Lydgate's *Troy Book* could equally be allusions to a complete version of *The Scottish Troy Book* which no longer survives, or another Troy narrative.

[79] The subject of *The Siege of Thebes*.

[80] Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, ed. Bergen, I.857-61, 2171-408; Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, I.1823-3906.

[81] Achilles' love for Polixena, who is herself mentioned in *Clariodus* at IV.1196, is presented at length in Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, IV.551-636.

[82] The impetus for the Trojan War and the subject of Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, Book II.

[83] Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, II.2369-809.

armes invincibill',[84] and 'the murthere' of Sampson and 'the feid/ Betwix him and the false Philistiane'.[85]

Clariodus is, in short, a notably 'bookish' romance and it is thus not surprising that it attracted such strong interest from like-minded eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians.[86]

2. Janet Cunningham and Female Ownership

Nothing is known of how or when Dalrymple acquired MS Advocates' 19.2.5. In fact, the only other detail known about the manuscript is that it was read and perhaps owned in the seventeenth century by one Janet Cunningham. It has not been possible to identify this woman but it is interesting to note that William Cunningham, 7th Earl of Glencairn (b. in or after 1575, d. 1631) married c. 1609, one Janet, daughter of Mark Kerr, 1st Earl of Lothian.[87] William Cunningham's mother was Mariot/Margaret (d. 1610), daughter of Colin Campbell, 6th Laird of Glenorchy, and sister of Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy, who owned Hay's BKA, Florimond, and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes.[88] Therefore if the woman signing MS Advocates' 19.2.5 was William Cunningham's wife, her access to Clariodus might be related to the literary associations of her husband's family.

Janet Cunningham's signature reveals that in the century after its composition Clariodus appealed to a female reader. We also know that several manuscripts of the French Cleriadus were read and owned by women in the fifteenth century. For instance, two manuscripts can be associated with women from the de Créquy family:

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[84] Lydgate, Troy Book, ed. Bergen, Books II and III, esp. II.4802ff.
[85] Ultimately from Judges 16, but the subject of Lydgate's Fall of Princes: ed. Bergen, I.6336-510; III.1176, 1600-3; VIII.158. Extracts concerning Sampson from Lydgate's Fall of Princes are included in the Book of the Dean of Lismore. See above p. 93.
[86] In her edition of Gavin Douglas, Shorter Poems, p. xxix, Bawcutt describes Gavin Douglas as a 'bookish' author, and I apply the same term to Clariodus and its author.
[87] H.L. MacQueen (2004).
[88] See pp. 83, 102-10.

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 952 contains (fol. 325ᵛ) the signature of Marie

de Créquy (*d.* 1610) whilst the recently discovered Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek,

Rep. II. 109 belonged to Gabrielle de la Tour. An inventory compiled between

September and October 1474 reveals that the latter owned 203 books at her death.[89]

An inscription inside her *Cleriadus* manuscript records that she gave it to one of her

de Créquy nieces: 'Gabriele de la Tour, contesse de Monpensier, daulphine

d'Auvergne, donne ce livre a ma nyepce de Crequy' (fol. 238ᵛ).[90]

A French noblewoman, Marie de Clèves, also owned 'ung livre nommé

Cleriadus'. Marie de Clèves (1426-87) was the third wife of Charles, Duke of Orléans

(1394-1465); they married when Charles returned to France in 1440 after a lengthy

period of imprisonment in England. Zink has indeed suggested that *Cleriadus'*

composition might be related to the Anglo-French-Burgundian alliance formed

during the negotiations for Charles's release and cemented in his subsequent

marriage to Marie.[91] In August 1450, Marie requested that her copy of *Cleriadus* be

recovered from Prégente de Mélun, lady-in-waiting to Queen Marie d'Anjou (1404-

63), wife of Charles VII of France (1403-61).[92] She successfully retrieved the volume

since it is recorded in the inventory compiled upon her death in 1487.[93]

A French *Cleriadus* was also owned by Charlotte of Savoie (*c.* 1442-83),

second wife of Louis XI (1423-83) and another significant French female

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[89] De Boislisle (1880), p. 300; Beaune and Lequain (2000).
[90] Colombo Timelli (2006b).
[91] *Clariodus*, ed. Zink, p. xxxv, n. 38. In 1415 Charles may have shared his captivity with James I of Scotland. See Balfour-Melville (1923-4), p. 92; Charles d'Orléans, *English Poems*, ed. Steele and Day, vol. I, p. xiii; M.H. Brown (2000), p. 20; Askins (2000), p. 30.
[92] Sauvage (1843), pp. 47-8.
[93] Champion (1910), p. 116. In his edition of *Clariodus* (pp. xi, xxxiii), Zink suggests that the manuscript might be identified with Paris, BNF, MS français 1439, a late fifteenth-century copy of *Cleriadus* which contains the arms of Adolphe de Clèves, Marie's brother. The watermark dates in the latter manuscript are, however, too late for this to be possible: Cockshaw (1986). See also Vallet (1862-5), vol. III, pp. 85-6, n. 1 who stated that Marie's manuscript was in the Bibliothèque de Louvre, which was destroyed by fire in 1870.

bibliophile.[94] Janet Cunningham's possible ownership of the Scots *Clariodus* thus has

extensive parallel in female ownership of the French original. It also corresponds to

what is known about female ownership of medieval romance more generally,[95] and,

within Scotland, to the ownership or reading of the BL copy of Hay's *BKA* during

the sixteenth century by an 'Issobell Mackonoschie' and possibly by a Beatrix

Campbell.[96]

It is thus not surprising to find a connection between Older Scots romance

and female conduct literature. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 above, the *Thewis off*

Gudwomen compiled in CUL Kk.1.5 alongside *Lancelot of the Laik* might be read in

dialogue with elements of female advice within that romance, whilst the decasyllabic

version of *The Thewis* interpolated within Hay's *BKA* similarly relates to female advice

throughout this romance.[97] In turn, *Clariodus* might itself be read not just as romance

but also as female conduct literature.[98] The heroine Meliadice is presented as a prime

example of feminine beauty and virtuous behaviour:

> And most of all hir vertew redolent
> Full cleire I wis abone hir bewtie schone;
> [...]
> For scho fulfillit was of womanlie pitie,
> Whilk full was of assurit patience,
> Approvit be right grit experience;
> Ay humbill, symple, and schamfull under dreid
> Was this illustar floure of womanheid (V.400-1, 404-8).

In these lines, unique to the Scots translation, the narrator alludes to Meliades'

patience during her exile in Books III and IV. In the face of imminent death ordered

by her father, she does not bewail her fate, but instead quietly prays (III.643-54), and

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[94] Tuetey (1865), p. 360 and Delisle (1868-81), vol. I, p. 93. The current whereabouts of this manuscript is unknown. On Charlotte's books and the dissemination of her library after her death see, however, Legaré (2001) and *Pèlerinage*, ed. Legaré, pp. 182-97.

[95] S. Groag Bell (1982); Meale (1993b); Bawcutt (2000).

[96] See pp. 91, 94.

[97] See pp. 70-5, 147-8.

[98] Critics of the French original have already recognised how its plot prepares Clariodus for kingship. See Zink (1984); Szkilnik (2000); Rollier-Paulian (2004).

when the murderers decide not to kill her, she is so concerned to thank them that she gives up every article of clothing she has on: 'They neidit nothing at hir [for] to crave,/ For scho them frelie offerit but disdane/ All that scho tursit, but hir litill chaine' (III.684-6). Such largesse becomes characteristic of Meliades. When her true identity is revealed and she is re-united with Clariodus, for instance, she ensures that she quickly rewards those women who provided her with employment, board and friendship throughout her exile. She gives them numerous gifts and promises to always support them in return for their support of her during her time of need (IV. 486-9).

Meliades' exile is thus a significant episode in the plot for both characters and readers. It allows Meliades to experience the harsh realities of life outside of court and teaches her to appreciate simple luxuries: she 'was alse weill content withouttin weir/ As scho was quhyllume of cloath of gold pretious' (III.880-1). The episode also enables readers to appreciate the virtues already inherent in Meliades' character, such as her patience and diligence. The women with whom she works remark, for example, that she was 'so trew and diligent/ In her service, and humbill of intent' (III.895-6), and the narrator notes that regardless of how 'fortoun did so scharplie hir assail;/ ȝit ay scho thankit God and gave him gloire,/ Of all hir trubillis and hir chansis soire' (III.906-8). The attraction of female readers to *Cleriadus* and *Clariodus* is therefore readily explicable. One again, aspects of the romance's material history, in this case provenance, correspond to internal features of the text.

Part 2: Composition of the Older Scots *Clariodus*

Date and Authorship

'[C]laryades and maliades' is listed in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1550);[99] in *Ane Abbregement of Roland Furiovs* (1576-84),[100] John Stewart of Baldynneis compares two lovers to Clariodus and Meliades;[101] and in the late sixteenth-century *Roswall and Lillian*, the hero is compared to 'the gentle Cleriadus' and the happily married Lillian is compared to Meliades: 'For blyther was not Meledas,/ When as she married Claudias'.[102] The reference to *Clariodus* by all three of these authors suggests that the poem was relatively well known in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The appearance of *Clariodus* in *The Complaynt* provides us with a *terminus ad quem* of *c.* 1550. A *terminus a quo* can also be established. We know that the Scots translation occurred after the composition of the original French in *c.* 1440-4. In addition, Rhiannon Purdie has detailed the author's debt to Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe* and *The Thistle and the Rose*.[103] The latter poem is associated with the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor in 1503. Thus, the Scots *Clariodus* was composed sometime between 1503 and 1550.

Very little is known about the poem's author, unless one associates him with the Chaucerian narrator who explains in Book V that he cannot describe the joy of Clariodus and Meliades at their consummation because 'in sik thing I am not prakticate' (V.1689); he also complains to those 'Ladies that luikis on this Buike' (V.1700) about his own beloved's lack of mercy, and thus aligns himself with the

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[99] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Stewart, p. 50.
[100] Date proposed by McDiarmid (1948), p. 14.
[101] John Stewart of Baldynneis, *Poems*, ed. Crockett, Canto 10, ll. 179-80: 'And Medor lyk the knycht Clariadus gois,/ Quhan he did Meik Meliades conwoy/ from fontan quhair thay haid conweind with Ioy'. This episode occurs in Book III of *Clariodus*.
[102] *Roswall and Lillian*, ed. Lengert (1892a), ll. 19, 801-2. The reference to 'the knight of arms green' at l. 403 may also refer to Clariodus since he adopts this disguise in Book II. See further Purdie (2006), pp. 176-7.
[103] Purdie (2002). See also Bawcutt (1992), pp. 204, 205 and William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, vol. II, pp. 414, 416.

unrequited narrator-lovers of the prologues to *Lancelot of the Laik* and the 'Avowis'
section of the *Octosyllabic Alexander*.

The author also refers to his sources throughout the poem, often using
conventional references to his 'authore' to establish authority for his narrative.[104] He
refers more significantly to his sources in the following addition to the original
French:

> To sik ane rethorik nather be laud and glorie,
> As unto *him that did this buik compile*
> In French, illumining with his goldin style;
> And *he, that did it out of French translait*,
> Hes it depaint of langwage full ornate,
> And lustie termis richt poeticall:
> But *I, the third and secundest of all*,
> Can not so meitter as thay put in prose;
> Full oft I put the netill for the rose,
> And oft the bindweed for the lillie quhyte
> (V.2252-61, italics mine).

The author here follows the modesty topos tradition by disparaging the quality of his
work in comparison to his sources. His statement invites comparison with Gilbert
Hay's self-referential 'excusatioun' at the end of the *BKA* (l. 19300), and with the
closing lines of that romance wherein the 1499 redactor comments in the *accessus ad
auctores* tradition upon 'him that maid the first transla*ti*oun', and explains 'Quha causit
this buike agane to wreitti*n* be,/ Quair and be quhome, quhat tyme it wreitti*n* was' (ll.
19312, 19314-5).[105]

Rhiannon Purdie has detailed how the passage demonstrates the author's
aspirations towards 'langwage full ornate' and 'lustie termis richt poeticall'.[106] She
shows that the poet in fact covertly refers to the poet whose aureate language he

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[104] See II.1387, II.1937, IV.254, IV.725, IV.1732, V.740, V.1049, V.2047, V.2189.
[105] See pp. 78-9.
[106] Purdie (2002), p. 456.

imitates, for the final two lines quoted above echo a passage in Dunbar's *The Thistle and the Rose*[107] in which Dame Nature warns the Thistle to take care of his Rose:

> And lat no nettill vyle and full of vyce
> Hir fallow to the gudly flour delyce,
> Nor latt no wyld weid full of churlichenes
> Compair hir till the lilleis nobilnes (ll. 137-40).

In stating that he 'Can not so meitter as thay put in prose', the author also draws attention to his deliberate decision to render his prose source in decasyllabic couplets, thus aligning his translation with (the majority of) Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the *Siege of Thebes*, and also with Older Scots compositions in the same metre, including Hary's *Wallace*, Douglas's *Eneados*, *Lancelot of the Laik*, and Hay's *BKA*.

In the middle of the passage the author refers enigmatically to himself as 'the third and secundest of all', suggesting that he is following more than one source. If, following *DOST*, 'third' is taken to mean 'one, usu. last, of a set of three',[108] then the *Clariodus* author implies that he is the last, i.e. most recent, person to produce a 'historie' of Clariodus. Turning to the word 'secundest', however, *DOST* also uses the *Clariodus* author's statement to define one particular use of 'secundest' as 'the last or least (in importance) of a given number'.[109] This might suggest that the author viewed his translation as inferior to his source (/s), or it could instead be taken more positively to imply that whilst the Scottish author is the third to tell Clariodus' story, he is, as discussed below, only the second translator, and the first to render the story in verse. Either way, this ambiguous little line represents the Scottish author's

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[107] William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, B. 52.
[108] *DOST*, 'Thrid, thred, third', *adj.* 2.
[109] *DOST*, 'Secund', *adj.* 2. *superl.*

attempt to contextualise himself and his translation within the Clariodus-tradition.[110]
I discuss that tradition in the remainder of this chapter.

Sources: 'he, that did it out of French translait'

The Older Scots *Clariodus* is first and foremost a translation into decasyllabic couplets
of the French prose romance, *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (*c.* 1440-44),[111] but its author also
claims to be following a prior translation.[112] He refers to the producer of this
translation as 'my Lord' (IV.2040), 'he, that did it [*Cleriadus*] out of French
translait'.[113] In doing so, the Scots translator may of course be teasing his readers and
creating a fictional source like Chaucer's use of Lollius in *T&C*. Most scholars have,
however, taken the translator at face value, and although he does not explicitly state
the language of his second source, they have assumed it to be an English prose
translation of the original French.[114] They have not, however, explained either how,
when, or why such a translation was produced. In an attempt to do so, I turn to the
fifteenth-century manuscripts and early reception of original French romance.[115]

BL, MS Royal 20.C.II is a large, parchment volume, written in Flanders or
Northern France in the latter half of the fifteenth century. It contains two French
prose romances — 'Le Rom*m*ant de cleriadus et de meliadice' (fols 1ʳ-209ᵛ), and 'la

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[110] Gui de Mori, continuator and redactor of Guillaume de Lorris' and Jean de Meun's *Le Roman de la Rose* refers to himself in a similar way. See Hult (1986), pp. 34-55.

[111] On the composition and date of the original French see *Clariodus*, ed. Zink, pp. xxxii-v. Using Zink's edition, I have not been able to ascertain which version of the French manuscript tradition the Older Scots translation is closest to.

[112] Pieces of original French remain. They include herald's exclamations such as 'Vive, vive, le Roy Clariodus', and 'Poure lAmour Dele' and 'Sans Poynt Faltre' (V.2002, 2004), written in display script in the manuscript. There is also an interesting point in Book IV at which Clariodus asks Meliades if he should sing a song. This song is 'se je suis toujours à ma damme' in the original French (XXVIII.2568-9). It is corrupted in the surviving witness of the Scottish translation and rendered 'Servis coralionȝes amademein' on fol. 103ʳ of MS Advocates' 19.2.5.

[113] Compare Henryson's enigmatic reference to producing his *Morall Fabillis* 'be requeist and precept of ane lord' (l. 34). Robert Henryson, *The Poems*, ed. Fox.

[114] See J.M. Smith (1934), p. 24; R.M. Wilson (1952), p. 121; Purdie (2002), p. 449.

[115] *Cleriadus* is extant in ten manuscripts and five printed editions: Woledge (1954), p. 34 and (1975), p. 33; *Clariodus*, ed. Zink, pp. ix-xiv; Colombo Timelli (2006b); Pettegree et al., eds. (2007), vol. I, p. 405, nos. 13529-33. A now-lost manuscript is also listed in Barrois (1830), p. 191.

cronique et histoire des meruilleuses auentures de appolin Roy de thir' (fols 210[r]-36[r])[116] — beautifully illustrated with two large and twenty-nine small miniatures in Franco-Flemish style.[117] The manuscript was in English Royal possession before 1535 since it is included in the inventory of royal books at Richmond Palace compiled in that year.[118] Janet Backhouse also lists the volume as one that may have been owned by Edward IV (1442-83),[119] who acquired a number of similar books in the last ten years of his reign. It may have been purchased directly from the professional workshops of Flanders, or alternatively have already been in England.[120] Either way, the provenance of BL, MS Royal 20.C.II proves that at least one copy of the French romance was in England by the last quarter of the fifteenth century. There may also have been more copies on English soil which no longer survive, and from one of these an English translation may have been made.

I detailed above that a 'ung livre nommé Cleriadus' was owned by Marie de Clèves, wife of Charles, Duke of Orléans. Marie was, like Charles,[121] a significant literary patron and a poet in her own right.[122] She also formed part of a royal literary coterie that encompassed Queen Marie d'Anjou, Princess Margaret of Scotland, and their ladies-in-waiting. Indeed, it was from one of these ladies-in-waiting, Prégente

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[116] See Archibald (1991) for a study of the classical *Apollonius of Tyre* and its medieval/ early modern descendents. Both *Apollonius* and *Cleriadus* present royal fathers whose private relationship with their daughters serves as a commentary on their public governance. See further Archibald (1989a).

[117] Ward and Herbert (1883-1910), vol. I, pp. 166-7, 383-4. See also Warner and Gilson (1921), vol. II, p. 371. Some of the manuscript's miniatures have attracted musicological attention because they depict contemporary musical performance practice. See Page (1982); Mayer Brown (1993).

[118] Casley (1734), p. 304; Omont (1891), p. 9, no. 71; Carley (2000), p. 18 (H1.65).

[119] Warner and Gilson (1921), vol. I, pp. xi-xii; Kekewich (1971); J.J.G. Alexander (1983), pp. 152-3; Backhouse (1987), p. 40 and (1999), pp. 267-70.

[120] Backhouse (1987), p. 30 notes that some volumes in the Royal Collection may be linked to Thomas Thwaytes, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster under Edward IV. It is interesting to note that he was involved in the custody of Margaret of Anjou in 1475 given her possible connections to *Cleriadus* discussed below.

[121] Recent studies of Charles' French and English poetry include Arn, ed. (2000) and Coldiron (2000). Charles' 'prison-poetry' has also been compared with James I's *Kingis Quair*. See Marks (1989); Spearing (2000); Epstein (2003).

[122] Müller (2001).

de Mélun, that Marie de Clèves requested the return of her *Cleriadus* manuscript in 1450.

Princess Margaret of Scotland (1425-45) was the eldest daughter of James I.[123] At the age of eleven she travelled to France to marry the dauphin Louis (later Louis XI) and was subsequently placed in the care of his mother, Queen Marie d'Anjou. Her relationship with her husband was far from ideal and her short life in France came to a sad conclusion when she died aged only twenty in 1445.[124] A report made at the inquest into her death proposed that Margaret fell ill through lack of sleep, caused by the long hours she spent writing rondeaux and ballads each night. She was said to be encouraged in these activities by three women: 'Prégente', 'Jeanne Filloque', and 'Marguerite de Salignac'.[125] The first woman was the same Prégente de Mélun, lady-in-waiting to Marie d'Anjou, from whom Marie de Clèves requested the return of her *Cleriadus* manuscript in 1450; the other two women — Jeanne and Marguerite[126] — were Margaret's ladies-in-waiting,[127] and they, together with their royal mistresses and other female attendants, appear to have composed a significant body of poetry.[128] It was, for instance, reported at the inquest into her death that Margaret herself 'was often busy writing rondeaux, to the extent that she sometimes wrote twelve a day'.[129] These appear to have been lost when Louis XI ordered the destruction of Margaret's papers shortly after her death, but some may still exist without attribution.[130]

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[123] Barbé (1917); Champion (1927a) and (1927b), vol. I, pp. 99-105, 175-82; M.J. Brown (2004b).

[124] A series of formal French laments were produced upon Margaret's death. See Bawcutt (1988) and Bawcutt and Henisch (1999), pp. 47-8.

[125] Duclos, *OEuvres Complètes*, vol. V, pp. 27-56 (49-50); Champion (1927b), vol. I, p. 179.

[126] Marguerite de Salignac married a Scotsman: Patrick Folcart, leader of the garde écossaise. See Michel (1862), vol. I, pp. 257-8.

[127] See Du Fresne (1881-91), vol. IV, p. 89, n. 3 and Champion (1927a), pp. 163-4 for a list of Marie d'Anjou's and Margaret of Scotland's ladies-in-waiting.

[128] See Higgins (1991), esp. pp. 158-72 and (1992).

[129] Duclos, *OEuvres Complètes*, vol. V, p. 51: 'aucunefois s'occupoit à faire rondeaux, tellement qu'elle en faisoit aucunefois douze pour un jour'. My translation.

[130] Higgins (1991), p. 171.

Margaret of Scotland also owned a number of books. One of her ladies-in-waiting, Annette de Cuise, was custodian of a chest which contained 'un livre qui parle d'amours' and a book of 'chansons et ballades'.[131] Margaret's copy of a French verse paraphrase of Job by Pierre de Nesson (*Les Vigiles des Morts*),[132] is thought to be extant, albeit in an unknown location,[133] and she also gave a richly decorated book of hours ('horas quasdam speciosissimas') to Abbot Nicolas Godard as substitute payment for the chapel which she founded at Saint-Laon, Thouars.[134] One might therefore wonder whether the young Margaret also owned or read the recently-composed *Cleriadus*, especially since a lady-in-waiting with significant connections to her is known to have borrowed a copy from Marie de Clèves. One might also speculate whether the copy of *Cleriadus* owned by Louis XI's second wife, Charlotte of Savoie (*c.* 1442-83), had any prior associations with his first wife, Margaret.[135] For now, both speculations must remain tantalising uncertainties, but the literary coterie surrounding Margaret, Marie d'Anjou, and Marie de Clèves certainly does provide a new context for the original French *Cleriadus* as well as a 'Scottish link' to anticipate the translation made in the following century.

Margaret of Scotland's literary coterie may also hold the key to explaining how a copy of that poem travelled to England. In 1444/5, Marie d'Anjou's niece, Margaret d' Anjou (1430-83), married Henry VI of England (1421-71).[136] Negotiations for the marriage took place in France under the leadership of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (1396-1450), who stood proxy for Henry during the

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[131] Higgins (1992), p. 273, n. 34. Annette de Cuise, and her sister, Jeanne, were ladies-in-waiting to Queen Marie d'Anjou.

[132] Pierre de Nesson can be connected to Margaret of Scotland's circle via his niece, Jamette de Nesson. See Higgins (1992), pp. 169-70.

[133] Delisle (1868-81), vol. I, p. 91; Bawcutt and Henisch (1999), pp. 46-7.

[134] Barbé (1917), p. 168; Chauvenet (1999).

[135] Legaré, ed. (2004), p. 186 writes '[l]es plus belles pièces de sa bibliothèque provenaient soit d'héritages, soit de cadeaux et il n'était pas rare qu'elle dut se contenter d'emprunter certains textes dont elle souhaitait faire la lecture'.

[136] Maurer (2003); Dunn (2004).

betrothal in Tours on 24 May 1444 at which Marie d'Anjou and Margaret of Scotland were also present. On the occasion of her marriage, Margaret d'Anjou was presented with a volume of French romances. That volume is now BL, MS Royal 15.E.VI;[137] like the copy of *Cleriadus* in MS Royal 20.C.II, it is listed in the 1535 inventory of the Royal Library at Richmond,[138] and it is likely to have travelled to England with Margaret. It has been suggested that the volume was produced in a French atelier, most probably in Rouen through which the wedding party passed as they returned to England. It is also likely that further manuscripts were commissioned at this time. Carol Meale has suggested, for instance, that Alice Chaucer (*c.* 1404-75),[139] daughter of Thomas Chaucer and granddaughter of the poet, acquired some of the books she is known to have owned when she travelled to France with her third husband, the Earl of Suffolk.[140] Perhaps significantly, she and her husband were between August 1432 and 1435/6 custodians of Charles d'Orléans during his captivity in England, and Suffolk renewed contact with his former charge during the wedding negotiations.[141] Upon return to England, Alice Chaucer also served Margaret d'Anjou for at least two years, and was later Margaret's custodian when she was imprisoned by Edward IV between 1471 and 1475.[142]

Thus, the marriage of Margaret d'Anjou and Henry VI provides a possible context for the transmission of a copy of the French *Cleriadus* from France to England. Indeed, as Carol Meale says of Margaret of Anjou's volume of romances, 'the most plausible explanation for its arrival in England is that it was bought here, along with a number of other manuscripts produced in France, as a direct result of

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[137] Warner and Gilson (1921), vol. II, pp. 177-9; *Le Rommant de Guy*, ed. Conlon, pp. 16-26; Reynolds (1993).

[138] Identified with Omont (1891), p. 10, no. 101. See also Carley (2000), pp. 23-4 (H1.91).

[139] Archer (2004).

[140] Meale (1996), pp. 93-5.

[141] Pearsall (2000a).

[142] Prior to her imprisonment, Margaret spent periods in exile in Scotland between 1460 and 1463. See Ranald Nicholson (1974), pp. 399-406.

the cultural interchange occasioned by the war with France'.[143] Although speculating

that a copy of *Cleriadus* was commissioned by or for Margaret d'Anjou might be

going too far, it is not improbable to conceive of some member of the wedding party

commissioning their own copy of a text currently in vogue at the French court, a

copy along the lines of BL, MS Royal 20.C.II. It is also not improbable to suggest

that the marriage of Margaret and Henry provided the impetus for an English

translation of *Cleriadus*. Gaston Zink has already suggested that the French

romance's composition might be related to the marriage of Charles d'Orléans and

Marie de Clèves, and to the concomitant rapprochement between their two families.

The romance's explicit references to peace between England and France — 'en ce

temps là, le roy de France et cellui d'Angleterre si estoient tout ung et bons amis

ensemble et les deux royaumes bien en paix' (XXIV.16-19) — may also respond to

the very real negotiations for peace between these two countries in the early 1440s.

These negotiations culminated in the 1444 Anglo-French Treaty of Tours and the

marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou.[144] A translation of *Cleriadus* into

English would seem the natural next step in this context; an entirely appropriate

means of marking the royal wedding and emergent peace.

Conclusion: *Clariodus* and French Fashions at the Court of James V

Thus, although we might not know the identity of the 'he' that 'that did it out of

French translait', we are one step closer to explaining when and why an English

translation of *Cleriadus* might have been produced. I now conclude this chapter by

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[143] Meale (1996), pp. 94-5.
[144] *Clariodus*, ed. Zink, pp. xxxiv-v. See also Galderisi (1999) and Szkilnik (2000).

providing both a possible context for the composition of the anonymous Scottish

translation and a possible identity for its author.[145]

The 'riche arras' which decorates the palace walls at Clariodus' and Meliades'

wedding (V.58-101) is described as being 'with auld stories depaint and figurate'

(V.59). This catalogue of stories, unique to the Scots translation, embodies the

romance's 'bookish' nature and provides a snapshot of texts that were popular in

Scotland in the first half of the sixteenth century.[146] The catalogue includes possible

references to works by Chaucer and Lydgate, as discussed above, as well as

references to several Scottish romances discussed in this thesis, including 'the

Conqueise of nobill Alexander' (V.69), 'the storeis of all the Nobillis nyne' (V.101),

and 'King Orphius, that out of hell/ His wife did bring with harping [wondrous]

sweit' (V.96-7). These references might refer respectively to Hay's *BKA*, the

Octosyllabic Alexander and/or related *Balletis of the Nine Nobillis*, and *King Orphius*.

The addition of this tapestry within the Scottish translation also reflects

actual sixteenth-century courtly fashions for continental tapestries depicting classical

and historical scenes. James V's tapestries, for instance, are listed in wardrobe

inventories for 1539 and 1542 and they include classical scenes from 'the auld

historie of Troy' and 'the histories of Venus Pallas Hercules Mars Bachus and the

moder of the Erd', as well as 'the histories of Salomon' and 'the historie of Jason that

wan the goldin fleys'.[147] The Treasurers' Accounts also record the names of foreign

tapisters employed by James, and continental purchases of tapestries and cloths. In

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[145] The traffic of texts across the Channel and Anglo-Scots Border, witnessed throughout this thesis, would account for the availability of both the original French romance and putative English translation in Scotland.
[146] Compare Douglas' *Palice of Honour* ll. 562-92. Gavin Douglas, *Shorter Poems*, ed. Bawcutt.
[147] *A Collection of Inventories*, ed. Thomson, pp. 49-51, 103-4.

1541, for instance, Johnne Moffettis 'conservatour in Flanderis' was paid for sending home a tapestry 'to complete ane chalmer of the antique historie'.[148]

Although historians have long associated James IV (1473-1513) with Scotland's 'aureate' and chivalric age,[149] they now appreciate that his son, James V (1512-42), was an equally enthusiastic proponent of luxurious display.[150] The hanging of tapestries around the walls of his palaces forms just a small part of a larger scheme that included the significant upgrading and redevelopment of royal palaces and the remodelling of the royal crown from an 'open' to 'closed' or 'imperial' crown. James was also a significant literary, artistic and musical patron — commissioning, for instance, John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* (1527), and the first five books of Bellenden's translation of Livy's *History of Rome* (complete by 1534)[151] — and he shared his father's enthusiasm for chivalric tournaments and lavish pageants. In promoting such a image of kingship, James followed the contemporary court culture of Western Europe, and he was particularly influenced by the French fashions which he witnessed first-hand during a visit to France in 1536-7 prior to his marriage to Madeleine, the eldest daughter of Francis I.

Thus, the Francophile court culture promoted by James V might be taken as a possible context for the composition of the Older Scots *Clariodus*. There is no evidence to suggest that the romance was a royal commission, and equally no evidence to suggest that it was written to celebrate either of James's French marriages. The romance was, however, almost certainly composed in the first half of the sixteenth century (*c.* 1503-50) and would have stood as a fitting symbol of both

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[148] *TA 1538-41*, pp. 17, 28, 43, 44, 257, 471.

[149] The title of the chapter on James IV in Ranald Nicholson (1974) is 'The Aureate Age and its End', for instance.

[150] Edington (1995a); Hadley Williams, ed. (1996a); Thomas (2005).

[151] See John Bellenden, *Chronicles*, ed. Chambers et al.; John Bellenden, *Livy's History of Rome*, ed. Craigie.

the contemporary Franco-Scots alliance and James' increasing 'Princelie Majestie'.[152]

Clariodus is, for instance, uniquely described by the Scots author as 'imperiall under croun' (V.2642), whilst the poem's almost-excessive number of tournaments and jousts would have spoken well to current chivalric fashions at court. The descriptions of royal weddings and subsequent entries also have apt parallels in the real-life entries prepared for James' first wife, Madeleine (1520-37), and carried out for his second bride, Mary of Guise (1515-60).[153]

The generation of courtier-poets active at this time has been described by Alaisdair MacDonald as forming a 'nucleus of court servants, churchmen and administrators'.[154] Several of them are named in a catalogue at the beginning of Lyndsay's *The Testament and Complaynt of Our Souerane Lordis Papyngo* (1530),[155] and in John Rolland's prologue to his *The Seuin Seages* (written in 1560, published 1578).[156] Alongside known poets such as Bellenden, appear two Stewarts — one who 'Full ornate werkis daylie dois compyle', and another who 'carpe[s] rycht curiouslie'. Also listed are 'Galbreith' and 'Kynlouch' who 'ar craftie of ingyne', and 'Bischop Durie' who 'For his plesure sum tyme wald tak thair part'. Plausible candidates for some of these poets have been proposed by both Alasdair MacDonald and Theo van Heijnsbergen[157] and a number of them appear to have been related to one another either through family, or through careers at the court and Chapel Royal. The works they composed remain mostly unknown; either lost, or waiting to be claimed.

I end this chapter by proposing that *Clariodus* may itself be one of those unclaimed works. It is without question a 'full ornate' and courtly romance, and one

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[152] Thomas (2005).

[153] See David Lyndsay's *The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene* (Hadley Williams, ed. (2002)) and Robert Lindsay of Pittscottie, *Historie*, ed. Mackay, vol. I, pp. 365-81. On royal entries in general see D. Gray (1998).

[154] A.A. MacDonald (1996a), p. 185.

[155] Lyndsay, *Selected Poems*, ed. Hadley Williams, ll. 37-54.

[156] Rolland, *Seuin Seages*, ed. Black, ll. 19-27.

[157] A.A. MacDonald (1996a); van Heijnbergen (1995).

very aware of its place within contemporary literary culture. It is, in short, a truly 'bookish' romance that exemplifies both the 'auld alliance' of French and Scots literary culture and also the growing influence of English literature and vernacular manuscript culture. It both deserves and will reward future literary analysis.

Conclusion

Influenced by recent developments in Middle English romance scholarship and Older Scots book history, this thesis has contextualised the surviving corpus of Older Scots romance by relating it to its contemporary literary and material milieu. Each of the foregoing eight chapters stands alone as an individual study of the manuscript and print contexts of one particular romance or group of romances. Cumulatively, however, the same eight chapters also deepen our understanding of the book-producing and book-owning culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland. I here highlight and evaluate the most significant features and conclusions of Chapters 1 to 8 and assess the ways in which this thesis contributes to the field of Older Scots romance in particular, and Older Scots literature and book history more generally. I end by looking forward to new witness-conscious editions of Older Scots romance that endeavour to represent as far as possible the manuscript and print contexts examined in this thesis.

As a result of the research presented in the foregoing chapters, the canon of medieval literature and its witnesses can be widened. A number of chapters successfully identify several hitherto unknown or unrecognised Middle English or Older Scots texts, including the prophecies 'Lilium Regnans' and 'The Holy Oil of St. Thomas', and minutes for the Scottish Parliament of 1464/5, in Parts 4 and 8/9 respectively of CUL, MS Kk.1.5. In Chapter 5, I also identified NAS, MS RH 13/35 as a unique manuscript witness for part of John Rolland's *Seuin Seages*, and revealed that it contained fragments of a hitherto unknown Scots version of the apocryphal Book of Wisdom. Analysis of the marginal annotations on the *OA* print and flyleaves of the *BKA* and *Florimond* manuscripts has, furthermore, revealed a significant body of Middle English and Older Scots religious and proverbial verse.

In addition, new names can be added to the list of known Scottish scribes. In Chapter 2, I revealed that Alexander Levingstoun, servant and scribe in the household of Sir Duncan Campbell 7th Laird of Glenorchy, can be identified with the third scribe of the BL, MS Additional 40732 witness of Hay's *BKA*, and also as the scribe of the *Florimond* fragment (NAS, MS GD 112/22/2). In Chapter 4, I linked the V de F who copied Parts 6 and 7 of CUL, MS Kk.1.5 to a school of scribes, connected to the Sinclair family, who were active in and around Edinburgh and Roslin in the late fifteenth century. Finally, in Chapter 5, I revised the identity of the scribe of NAS, MS RH 13/35, Thomas White, and investigated his association with the manuscript's second scribe, William Simpson; I demonstrated that both scribes might be further connected to the author, John Rolland.

I have also confirmed that the majority of the scribes and printers of Older Scots romance were notaries public. Thomas White and William Simpson, scribes of NAS, MS RH 13/35, for instance, were active in the administrative domain of Haddington in the mid- to late sixteenth century, whilst Scotland's first printer, Walter Chepman, was both an Edinburgh merchant and Dean of Guild, and a Signet scribe and notary public with significant connections to the court of King James IV. He may also have been acquainted with his contemporary Edinburgh notary public, John Asloan, scribe of NLS, MS 16500 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148. The daily activity of these notaries public as professional compilers and copyists of legal documents saw them ideally placed to extend their expertise into the production and publication of literature.

In addition to identifying new scribes, this thesis has identified a number of owners and readers, such as the notary public, James Logan, who appears to have compiled the Scottish material in Parts 3 to 9 of CUL, MS Kk.1.5. Taken together, the readers and owners of Older Scots romance form a diverse group, ranging from

notaries public, chaplains and merchants, to lairds and nobles. That a number of these readers, such as the Campbell of Glenorchy and Cockburn families, were staunch supporters of the Reformed religion and proponents of Protestant literature, also demonstrates both the longevity of medieval romance, and that literature produced in two seemingly different thought worlds could be legitimately copied, bound and read together.

Several female readers of Older Scots romance have also been documented, including the unknown Issobell MacKonoschie and Janet Cunningham who signed their names respectively on the flyleaves and blank pages of BL, MS Additional 40732 and NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5. These readers have counterparts in the female readers of French and English romance and are witness to the increasing levels of women's literacy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland.

As well as forming a diverse social group, the readers and owners of Older Scots literature are drawn from a wide geographic area. The Chepman and Myllar prints, Asloan Manuscript, and CUL, MS Kk.1.5 are all firmly associated with Edinburgh and the surrounding region of Fife, but Arbuthnet's *OA* print is instead connected to the regions of Angus, Dundee and Aberdeenshire, whilst the witnesses of Hay's *BKA* and the *Florimond* fragment are associated with the Perthshire and Central Highland households of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. NAS, MS RH 13/35 is rooted in Haddington and the surrounding region of East Lothian. The production, publication and consumption of romance literature in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland was thus not confined to the metropolis, but instead extended outwith the capital and royal court to the regional households of lairds and nobles.

One of the most noteworthy features of this thesis has been its discovery of often-overlapping professional, familial and literary networks surrounding the

producers, publishers and consumers of Older Scots romance. Notable examples include the relationships between the producers and readers of both *STB* manuscripts, the possible association of those who sign Arbuthnet's *OA* print with those who stood surety when he and Bassandyne were licensed to print Scotland's first domestic Bible, and the connection of NAS, MS RH 13/35 with the Cockburn and Maitland families, via the manuscript's first scribe, Thomas White. The discovery of these networks allows one to begin mapping the book-producing, book-publishing and book-owning communities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland, and confirms Purdie's 'strong sense that [romance] texts are circulating in a relatively small, self-consciously interconnected literary culture.'[1]

This thesis, in particular Chapters 5, 6 and 7, is also witness to two other notable features of Older Scots literature, namely the dynamic and symbiotic relationship between manuscript and print in sixteenth-century Scotland, and the contemporary traffic of books across the Border that existed despite, or perhaps because of, frequent periods of Anglo-Scots dispute.

Significant attention has been paid throughout the thesis to the use of titles, rubrication and *mise-en-page* to reveal the trends and bibliographical codes in copying and presentation. Rubrication of initial letters has been shown to stem frequently from the original French romance, indicating that it may have functioned as a tool for translators as well as later readers. Scribal attention to such non-narrative elements as lyrics and letters has also been shown to stem jointly from French and vernacular manuscript tradition.

This thesis has, finally, also examined the compilation choices made by scribes and readers, and this has proved illuminating for literary analysis. The inclusion of parliamentary material from the reign of James III in CUL, MS Kk.1.5

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[1] Purdie (2006), p. 175.

alongside *Lancelot of the Laik* indicates, for instance, that there may after all be some association between the romance and that monarch, whilst the compilation of advisory texts such as *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* and Book of Wisdom alongside *King Orphius* in NAS, MS RH 13/35 highlights the latter romance's own advisory focus.

The cumulative weight of the above conclusions points, I suggest, towards the necessity for a type of literary and textual criticism that recognises the uniqueness of each material witness of a given text, and consequently the many potentially different versions of a text one can in fact have. As Ralph Hanna has written:

> [m]anuscript versions of a work do not, as their uniform sigil
> status suggests, provide equivalent information, but information
> reflective of different historical and potentially historicizable
> situations [...]: variation does not simply adhere naturally in a
> literary text *per se* [...] but is also the product of work done under
> a specific mode of production, a set of material circumstances, a
> specific confluence between a piece of writing, a patron, and a
> variety of manual tasks.[2]

The challenge facing those Older Scots and Middle English scholars who share this view is to decide how best to produce editions of medieval romances and texts from other genres that fully represent the uniqueness of those texts' manuscript and print contexts. Ralph Hanna's edition of *Golagros and Gawane*, complemented by Sally Mapstone's digital edition of the Chepman and Myllar prints,[3] is certainly a sure step in the right direction, but many other Older Scots romance texts exist only in outdated editions that say little or nothing about the poem's material contexts.

I thus conclude this thesis by proposing that in addition to producing new critical editions of romances such as *Clariodus* we should explore ways of producing new witness-conscious editions of texts such as the *STB* fragments, *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling*, and *Lancelot of the Laik*. Such editions would supplement rather than replace the traditional critical edition and encourage a style of literary interpretation

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[2] Hanna (1992), p. 122. Compare McKenzie (1986), esp. pp. x, 28-9 and Pearsall (1984), pp. 128-9.
[3] *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna; *The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, gen. ed. Mapstone.

that is grounded in the specific (comparative and intertextual) 'readings' suggested by contemporary material witnesses.[4] Thus, *King Orphius* and *Sir Colling*, for instance, might be edited alongside those other literary items in Thomas White's booklet with which they were copied in the late sixteenth century, whilst *Lancelot of the Laik* might be edited digitally alongside the items with which it is compiled in CUL, MS Kk.1.5. The *STB* fragments require a parallel-text edition that represents as far as possible their current conflation with *LTB* in MSS K and Do. When re-discovered, the *OA* might be edited alongside *The Balletis of the Nine Nobles*.

Such witness-conscious editions of Older Scots romance would, in short, be the best and most accessible way of representing the information provided by this thesis. They would, most significantly, also stand testimony to those 'Vysmen that be-fore our dawis':

> Mayd diu*er*ss compilaciounys
> Eftyr thar inclinaciouns,
> sum of myraclys & halynes,
> Sum of conquest and riches,
> sum of armys and honowr*is*,
> Sum of luf and p*ar*amour*is*,
> sum of lust*is* and of delyte,
> Ilkane eft*ir* thar appetyte,
> For to remayne eft*ir* thar dais
> To tech wn-lett*er*yt folk al-ways;
> For word but writ as vynd our-gais
> & eft*ir* that smal p*r*ofet mais,
> and wryt remanis and prent*is* in hart
> To thai*m* that sal cum eft*ir*wart (*The Foly of Fulys*, ll. 1, 4-18).

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[4] Compare Hanna (1992), p. 124.

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