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Medieval Scottish Poetry

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Introduction

In the title "Medieval Scottish Poetry," "poetry" is by far the least contentious term. The other two may each be defined in many different and incompatible ways, and together they pose different challenges. "Scottish" may refer to the geography, rather than to one specific language, while "medieval" can extend in Scottish contexts further into the 16th century than is usual in British or English accounts. This article will focus primarily on poetry written in Older Scots, between 1350 and 1513, but it will also gesture toward Scottish poetry in other languages, primarily Gaelic, and poetry written or transmitted before or after those dates. Most evidence for this poetry comes from the southeastern half of the country: poets can be associated with Moray, Aberdeen, Fife, Edinburgh and the Borders, and Ayrshire. Although some material is associated with the court, at least as much is associated with noble families. It is rare to find contemporary manuscripts for the poetry, for the main witnesses for many texts are 16th-century prints and miscellanies, such as the Asloan and Bannatyne Manuscripts. This suggests that the poetry retained its cultural value well into the early modern period and beyond. The earliest Older Scots poem surviving is John Barbour's the *Bruce*, dated *c*. 1375, It narrates the exploits of Robert I and James Douglas during the First War of Independence (1295–1314) for the benefit of the heroes' descendants, Robert II and Archibald Douglas. Its length, sophistication, and manipulations of tropes and stories indicates that the *Bruce* had antecedents, certainly in French and in English, and possibly in an earlier form of Scots—indeed, it preserves a version of a quatrain, beginning "Quhen Alexander oure king was dead," sometimes identified as *the* earliest surviving Scottish poem, although it only survives embedded in other works. The *Bruce* first articulates some recurrent themes in medieval Scottish poetry: kingship, national identity, and self-government. These also appear in the latest text to be considered here, Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*, the first translation of the *Aeneid* into any variety of English. Completed in July 1513, this immense work points forward to the next historical period.

General Overviews

Accounts of medieval Scottish poetry tend to be enfolded into wider narratives of Scottish literature. As a result, they can be very abbreviated and occasionally misleading. One useful introductory text is Crawford 2007, *Scotland's Books*, which dedicates substantial sections to early poetry in all the languages of Scotland. More specific work can be found in two histories of Scottish Literature. Although the first, Jack 1988, is quite elderly, it still offers some useful insights by important scholars. The second one is more recent, and more comprehensive: Brown, et al. 2006 includes essays on earlier as well as later poetry. There is one final, more targeted, volume: Bawcutt and Hadley Williams 2006 has introductory essays on the most significant writers and genres in Older Scots, together with guides to further reading. Linguistic questions, including stylistic ones, are addressed comprehensively in Smith 2012 and more narrowly in Aitken 1983. Lyall 1989 offers an important introduction to Scottish book culture, on which subsequent work has built.

Aitken, A. J. "The Language of Older Scots Poetry." In *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*. Edited by J. Derrick McClure, 18–49. Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1983.

This essay describes the key linguistic features of Older Scots poetry, including the features peculiar to genre and register. It is a foundational account of this area.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, and Janet Hadley Williams, eds. *Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*. **Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2006.**

Less concerned with chronological sweep, this collection focuses on poetry in Scots and includes important essays on most of the major authors and texts. It also includes substantial bibliographies for each essay, up to 2006. Where possible, this bibliography attempts to supplement rather than duplicate those lists.

Brown, Ian, Thomas Owen Clancy, Murray Pittock, and Susan Manning, eds. *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*. **Vol. 1,** *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*. **Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.**

This collection has a wider brief, both chronologically and generically, than Bawcutt and Hadley Williams 2006. There is more material on writing in Gaelic, and as a result its representation of Scottishness is slightly different.

Crawford, Robert. *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature*. **London: Penguin, 2007.**

A single-volume guide to Scottish literature, with careful attention paid to early material and to the multiple languages of medieval Scotland.

Jack, R. D. S., ed. *The History of Scottish Literature*. **Vol. 1,** *Origins to 1660*. **Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.**

Organized by genre and language, this collection of essays offers a good introduction to the main writers and texts, and to critical issues and approaches.

Lyall, R. J. "Books and Book Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland." In *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*. **Edited by J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, 239–256. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.**

While there has been a good deal of work subsequently on Scottish manuscripts and their circulation, Lyall's essay is still an important introduction to some key questions.

Smith, Jeremy J. *Older Scots: A Linguistic Reader*. **Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2012.**

For those new to reading Older Scots, this volume provides a thorough account of its history and changes, as well as guides to pronunciation, orthography, and register.

Reference Works and Bibliographies

The *Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue* (*DOST*) is a crucial tool for reading Older Scots, especially the poetry; it is available online from the Dictionary of the Scots Language website. The dictionary is now available online with free access, together with the *Scottish National Dictionary*. The website also contains an introduction to the history of Scots. The first bibliography of Older Scots poetry was Geddie 1912, published by the Scottish Text Society. Its range is not entirely superseded by Gifford, et al. 2002, which has two chapters devoted to material written before 1513. Questions about the transmission of Older Scots poetry are addressed in edited facsimiles of two major manuscripts, Fox and Ringler 1980 and Boffey, et al. 1997, and information about the first Scottish printers can be found online in First Scottish Books (National Library of Scotland 2006).

Boffey, J., A. S. G. Edwards, and B. Barker-Benfield, eds. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and* The Kingis Quair*: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. B.24*. **Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1997.**

This is a facsimile edition of the only witness of *The Kingis Quair*, and it contains an important discussion of the function and circulation of the manuscript.

Dictionary of the Scots Language.

This free-to-access website allows searches in both *Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (post-1700). It also has useful resources on the history of the language.

Fox, Denton, and Willam A. Ringler, eds. *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS.1.1.6*. Edinburgh: Scolar Press, 1980.

This is a facsimile of one of the major witnesses to Older Scots poetry; looking at the facsimile illustrates the literary context in which the poems were read. Published in association with the National Library of Scotland.

Geddie, William. *A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets*. Scottish Text Society 1st Series 61. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1912.

This work provides a history of the discipline until 1912, and a comprehensive bibliography of material discussing Older Scots material, including material in German and Latin as well as English.

Gifford, Douglas, Saran Dunnigan, and Alan MacGillivray, eds. *Scottish Literature in English and Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.

Neither a literary history nor specifically a bibliography, this collection provides very short introductions to all kinds of poets and poetry, with extensive guides to further reading. While only a small proportion of the volume as a whole is directed to the period before 1707, what there is concise and informative.

National Library of Scotland. First Scottish Books. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 2006.

These web pages detail National Library of Scotland holdings of the first prints made in Scotland by Walter Chapman and Andrew Myllar. They offer digitized images of the prints, together with transcriptions and headnotes.

Journals

There is no single journal dedicated to medieval Scottish poetry. Journals that publish articles on Older Scots tend to fall into two camps. There are those that are concerned with English literature generally, and sometimes medieval literature specifically, such as *Medium Aevum, Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, and *Speculum*; this account assumes that the English literature journals are familiar enough to users of this bibliography. There are also peer-reviewed journals whose interest is primarily Scottish, either literary or historical, across all periods. The historical journals, *Scottish Historical Review* and *Innes Review*, publish essays with a concern for cultural history, across all periods. The *International Journal of Scottish Studies* identifies itself as interdisciplinary and publishes both literary and historical essays. *Studies in Scottish Literature* and *Scottish Literary Review* (and its previous incarnations) are focused on literary criticism, from a variety of theoretical perspectives. The *Bibliotheck* is concerned with book history and codicology, mostly as it relates to Scottish material.

The Bibliotheck: A Journal of Bibliographical Notes and Queries Mainly of Scottish Interest.

This journal is published by Scottish Group of the University, College, and Research Section of the Library Association. Its articles cover codicology and the transmission and reception of Scottish texts. It also covers all periods, but it often contains material relating to Older Scots and texts in other medieval languages.

Innes Review. 1950–.

This is the journal of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association. Where it accepts essays on medieval Scottish poetry, these will usually be historicized and contextualized readings, where the relationship between text and context is discussed.

International Journal of Scottish Studies. 1971–.

This journal is published online and in hard copy by the Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Guelph. It is an interdisciplinary journal and accepts both historical and literary essays.

Scottish Historical Review.

This is the most significant journal of Scottish history. It covers all periods, and therefore only a proportion of any issue is concerned with history before 1700. It occasionally publishes literary discussion where it contributes to historical interests, and it often reviews literary books, both editions and critical works.

Scottish Literary Review.

This journal is published by the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, and has previously been called *Scottish Literary Journal* (1974–2000) and *Scottish Studies Review* (2000–2008). It covers all periods of Scottish literature, primarily material in Scots and in Scots English. Its current editor noted recently that the journal was not attracting many submissions on pre-1700 material, but this situation may change.

Studies in Scottish Literature. 1963–.

This journal is published from the University of South Carolina. Like the *Scottish Literary Review*, it has a broad chronological focus, and although it actively seeks earlier submissions, they tend to form about a quarter of the journal output.

Anthologies and Editions

Rather as in literary histories, so in anthologies, medieval Scottish poetry tends to take a small part: there are representative texts in Scots, Gaelic, and Latin in Crawford and Imlah 2000, Watson 1995, and Kerrigan 1991. The most accessible recent anthologies specifically directed toward medieval Scottish poetry are the *Mercat Anthology* (Jack and Rozendaal 1997) and *The Triumph Tree* (Clancy 1998). Older, but nonetheless valuable is Volume 1 of *Longer Scottish Poems* (Bawcutt and Riddy 1987). Producing scholarly editions of Older Scots texts is the primary purpose of the Scottish Text Society, whose publications feature in every section below. The society's backlist up until 1950 is available through the website of the National Library of Scotland: this includes diplomatic editions of the Asloan, Bannatyne, and Maitland manuscripts, key witnesses for the surviving corpus. Also available online are the TEAMS editions, designed primarily for student use. These editions include some lesser-known works, fully glossed and annotated.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, and Felicity Riddy, eds. *Longer Scottish Poems*. **Vol. 1,** *1375–1650*. **Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987.**

This collection contains extracted or whole text editions of long poems, including *The Buke of the Howlat* and *Rauf Coilyear*, as well as detailed glossary and thorough notes.

Clancy, Thomas Owen, ed. *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry AD 550–1350*. **Edinburgh: Canongate, 1998.**

While aspects of this anthology are contentious, notably the claim that *The Dream of the Rood* should be regarded as a Scottish poem, it is nevertheless one of the rare collections to present a literary culture in Scotland before 1375 and Barbour's *Bruce*. All material in it is

translated into modern English.

Crawford, Robert, and Mick Imlah, eds. *The New Penguin Book of Scottish Verse*. **Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 2000.**

Arranged chronologically and including Latin and Gaelic poetry as well as Scots, this is a broad-based collection with some interesting choices.

Jack, R. D. S., and P. A. T. Rozendaal, eds. *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature, 1375–1707*. **Edinburgh: Mercat, 1997.**

This is the most recent anthology of Older Scots material, fully glossed and annotated. It also includes a polemical introduction from Ronnie Jack, which locates the contents in larger critical discourses.

Kerrigan, Catherine, ed. *An Anthology of Scottish Women Poets*. **Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.**

While the first attributions of Scots poetry to a woman occur in the second half of the 16th century, there are some earlier attributions in Gaelic. Examples of these can be found in this anthology.

Scottish Text Society.

This is the location of digital images of pre-1950 editions, free to access and use. Recent editions are still only available in hard copy, and full listings can be found on the Society's website.

TEAMS Middle English Text Series (METS).

This web resource has editions of several Scottish poems, edited for a student audience, which offer good working copies of the texts. Hard-copy versions are also available.

Watson, Roderick, ed. *The Poetry of Scotland*: *Gaelic, Scots and English 1380–1980*. **Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.**

This collection offers a reasonable selection of poetry, organized in themes rather than chronologically. This provides an opportunity to see medieval Scottish poetry in juxtaposition with writing from other periods, but not always with the glossing and contextualization to support a full reading.

Critical Approaches

More focused book-length studies on particular aspects of medieval Scottish poetry are not numerous, although they are becoming more common. Nearly all of them take a diachronic approach, looking at a variety of texts from a particular critical perspective with an eye to specific political and cultural contexts. Extended discussions of Older Scots poetry therefore often employ historicist or generic structures to locate their discussion of unfamiliar and anonymous texts. Martin 2008 and Wingfield 2014 take thematic approaches. Martin 2008 considers the use of the depiction of love as a means of discussing power, from *The Kingis Quair* to Lyndsay, while Wingfield 2014 considers the Troy myth as used in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Other accounts focus on the relationships between medieval Scottish poetry and European literatures. French poetry is one immediate influence: associations are first explored in Smith 1934, and more recently in Calin 2014. Although Italian connections are more obvious in the 16th century, Jack 1972 also addresses the possibility of earlier links. Work on German, Dutch, and Burgundian influences is rather more piecemeal, and is associated with individual authors. The relationship between Scottish and English writing has often been cast as one-way, notably if controversially encapsulated in the term "Scottish

Chaucerian"; key critical writing in this vein includes Fox 1966 and Gray 1990. Discussion of bilateral influence is rarely the sole focus of any one study. There are two exceptions: Kratzmann 1980 and Hasler 2011. Hasler 2011 is concerned with the courts of James IV and Henrys VII and VIII, picking up an earlier discussion of the reign of James IV in Fradenburg 1991.

Calin, William. *The Lily and the Thistle: The French Tradition and the Older Literature of Scotland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

This is a valuable reference work, as it identifies possible French sources and parallels for many Older Scots texts. Some of the suggestions are not without their issues, since there is no definitive evidence of Scottish circulation, but as a whole the work illustrates the close ties between Scottish and European cultures.

Fox, Denton. "The Scottish Chaucerians." In *Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*. Edited by D. S. Brewer, 164–200. London: Nelson, 1966.

Fox discusses Henryson and Dunbar under this heading, and explores Scottish responses to works of Chaucer.

Fradenburg, Louise O. *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

This work brings together detailed historical investigation with critical readings of some poetry associated with the courts of James III and James IV, as a means of examining the representation and enacting of royal power. Such close disciplinary links are common in the field: Fradenburg's book is distinctive for its theoretical approach to both.

Gray, Douglas. "Some Chaucerian Themes in Scottish Writers." In *Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer*. Edited by Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt, 81–90. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Gray addresses the treatment of what might be deemed Chaucerian themes. His discussion is wide-ranging, including *Colkelbie Sow* and *The Quare of Jelusy* alongside Henryson and Douglas.

Hasler, Anthony J. *Court Poetry in Late Medieval England and Scotland: Allegories of Authority*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Hasler's work considers the Scottish and English courts and sites of power in tandem, rather than looking for influences across the border. His Scottish foci are Dunbar, Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay. By this approach, he highlights common themes in conjunction with different articulations and experiences, and opens up different models of literary culture.

Jack, R. D. S. *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972.

Jack takes seriously the interaction of Italian and Scottish literatures from the 15th century onward. Although he is more successful in demonstrating direct influence in the later 16th century and beyond than in the 15th, since the earlier material evidence is hard to find, this volume nevertheless includes thoughtful engagement with Older Scots as a European poetic medium.

Kratzmann, Gregory. *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations, 1430–1550*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

One of the few books to focus on the interactions between Scottish and English cultures, *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations* argues for reciprocal influences across the border rather than simply from the south to the north. Kratzmann also demonstrates the complexities of the responses, and the ways in which material is reworked and challenged over time.

Martin, Joanna. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424–1540*. **Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.**

This volume is concerned with the ways in which discussions of love can articulate ideas of responsible kingship and government, both of the self and of the realm. It covers a broad range of material, including such rarely discussed poems as *The Quare of Jelusy, The Thre Prestis of Peblis*, and *King Hart*.

Smith, Janet M. *The French Background of Middle Scots Literature*. **Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934.**

While this is an older volume, Smith's account is nevertheless thorough and offers a slightly different approach from Calin 2014.

Wingfield, Emily. The *Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature*. **Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2014.**

The Trojan myth cycle, and its development in Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative of Britain, posed particular problems in Scottish discourse, around Scottish sovereignty and separation from English authority. Wingfield's account explores the ways in which this dominant myth of European culture is articulated in Scots poetry, both the familiar, such as Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice*, and the less accessible, such as the *Scottish Troy Book*.

Essay Collections

Essay collections are a common form of critical publication in the field of Older Scots writing generally, including poetry. Of primary significance are collections of papers from the triennial International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature (ICMRSLL). The first of these, Aitken, et al. 1977, contains still essential papers: Aitken's "How to Pronounce Older Scots" remains definitive, whereas Denton Fox's "Manuscripts and Prints of Scots Poetry in the Sixteenth Century" articulates a systematic account of the kinds of witnesses for medieval Scots poetry. Subsequent volumes have benchmarked the state and the range of the discipline every three years or so, and many essays in them have had significant impact on the development of the discipline, notably Lyall and Riddy 1981 and Mapstone 2005. In addition, there are some Festschriften and other themed collections that contain several important pieces.

Aitken, A. J., M. P. McDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson, eds. *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance: Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance, held in Edinburgh, Sept. 10–16, 1975*. **Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977.**

In addition to key articles by Aitken and Fox, this collection also contains several important essays on Henryson and Dunbar, and it outlines early concerns of the discipline.

Bruce, Mark, and Katherine Terrell, eds. *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity 1300–1600*. **New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.**

As the title suggests, this volume is primarily concerned with representations of Scottish and English identities, and how the two interact. Of the twelve essays, seven are largely concerned with poetry, including essays on *Rauf Coilyear* (Schiff), poetic form (Goldstein), and Chaucerian poetry (Murray).

Caie, Graham, Roderick Lyall, Sally Mapstone, and Kenneth Simpson, eds. *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature*. **East Linton, UK: Tuckwell, 2001.**

This collection is particularly wide-ranging in its topics, including essays by contemporary poets as well as more conventional academic discussions. It is notable for its inclusion of essays on less well-known texts, including *The Freiris of Berwick* (Goldstein) and *The Thewis of Gudwomen* (Saldanha).

Hadley Williams, Janet, and J. Derrick McClure, eds. *Fresche fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. **Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2013.**

The first part of this collection is concerned with 14th- and 15th-century literature, including an essay on the Scottish fabliau *The Freiris of Berwick*, by Calin. In the second part, devoted to the 16th century, there is an important essay by Gillies on the literary importance of *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, a key manuscript witness for medieval Gaelic poetry.

Lyall, R. J., and Felicity Riddy, eds. *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)*. **Stirling, UK: University of Stirling, 1981.**

This collection has a greater focus on the earlier material than some of the other collections, again with a good deal of material on Henryson and Dunbar, but also including a rare essay on *The Colkelbie Sow* (Jeffrey).

MacDonald, Alasdair A., and Kees Dekker, eds. *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality: Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. **Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2005.**

This volume has seven essays on medieval poetry: two on Douglas (Fowler and Parkinson); one on Dunbar (Valdés Miyares); one on Henryson (Moses), two on less familiar material—Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (Commander) and *The Thrie Preistis of Peblis* (Lyall); and one on Gaelic writing (Gillies).

Mapstone, Sally, ed. *Older Scots Literature*. **Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005.**

Approximately a third of this collection is concerned with medieval Scottish poetry. As well as substantive essays on Henryson, the *Kingis Quair*, and Hary's *Wallace*, there are also important framing introductions by the editor, drawing out key themes of the collection and the discipline.

McClure, J. Derrick, and Michael R. G. Spiller, eds. *Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*. **Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1989.**

Including Lyall's key essay "The Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland," approximately half of this collection is devoted to medieval poetry, with a particular focus on the writings of William Dunbar.

Roy, G. Ross, ed. *Special Issue: The Language and Literature of Early Scotland*. *Studies in Scottish Literature* **26 (1991).**

This is a special issue of a key journal in the field; it contains the proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, held in South Carolina in 1990. Significant essays in this volume include Lyall's "'Ane New made Channoun': Redefining the Canonical in Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature," Bawcutt's "A First-Line Index of Early Scottish Verse," and Mapstone's "Was There a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?"

Strauss, Dietrich, and Horst W. Drescher, eds. *Fourth International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance: Proceedings*. **Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986.**

This collection arose from the Fourth International Conference. More than half the essays are concerned with literature, and of those, most are concerned with canonical writers (Barbour, James I, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas). The approaches taken, however, are diverse: linguistic (Burness, Bitterling on Dunbar), structural (Ross on Douglas), psychoanalytic (Mumford on Henryson), generic (Cartwright on the Alexander tradition, Mapstone on advice to princes).

Genres

Many Older Scots poems survive without any attribution at all, and some have accrued attributions that are now in doubt. These include at least one dream vision, *The Quare of Jelusy*, a number of romances, moral and religious works, and some comic works. Their anonymity may have contributed to their comparative lack of critical attention, as may their preservation in late witnesses and the challenges in dating that arise from that. Nevertheless, many of them are fascinating pieces, and their study underlines the richness and complexity of the literatures of late medieval Scotland.

Dream Vision

Dream vision is a familiar genre in medieval poetry, and is also a feature of medieval Scottish poetry. While *The Kingis Quair* and *The Palice of Honoure* are well known, as is Henryson's dream vision in *The Fables*, the anonymous *Quare of Jelusy* is less familiar, but equally representative of the genre. It appears in the same manuscript as *The Kingis Quair*, and similarly engages with Chaucerian and Lydgatian concerns. It combines five-stress couplets with nine-line and seven-line stanzas, to develop different aspects of its theme.

Editions

This text has become more accessible with Symons 2004. Norton-Smith and Pravda 1976 should be seen as a companion to Norton-Smith 1971 (cited under James I and *The Kingis Quair*: Editions). Brown 1933 is primarily interested in the text as a linguistic exemplar.

Brown, J. T. T., ed. "The Quare of Jelusy." In *Miscellany Volume*. Scottish Text Society 3rd Series 4. Edinburgh: Blackwood for the Society, 1933.

The text is oddly situated in this volume with the *Sea Law of Scotland* and some 16th- and 17th-century material. There is neither a glossary nor notes.

Norton-Smith, John, and I. Pravda, eds. *The Quare of Jelusy*. Middle English Texts 3. Heidelberg, Germany: Carl Winter, 1976.

This is a scholarly edition provided with notes and glossary.

Symons, Dana M. *The Quare of Jelusy*. In *Chaucerian Dream Visions and Complaints*. By D. M. Symons. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2004.

This edition locates the poem with other dream visions. The poem's introduction, available online reflects on its inheritance from Chaucer and Lydgate, as well as pointing out the poem's innovations.

Studies

There are very few studies of this poem in isolation, although reference is made in discussion of other poems in MS Arch Selden 24, and more general discussions of Scots dream poetry can be found in editions of the *Kingis Quair* and *The Palice of Honoure*. Martin 2008 considers it in direct relation to *The Kingis Quair*; Lyall 1976 considers issues of attribution.

Lyall, R. J. "Two of Dunbar's Makars: James Affleck and Sir John the Ross." *Innes Review* 27 (1976): 99–109.

Lyall examines the problems of the colophon to the poem, looking at possible authors.

Martin, Joanna. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424–1540*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.

Martin's discussion is the most extensive focusing on the poem, and discusses it with reference to the other material in the manuscript witness, as well as its other literary influences. See pp. 19–39.

Comic Poems

Appreciating the humor of a different period can be a challenging task, and that is true of some medieval Scottish poems, where insults in particular do not accord with modern sensibilities. The comic poetry that survives is various. Dunbar has many comic lyrics, satirizing fellow courtiers and mocking himself, as well his longer alliterative poem, "Apon the Midsummer Ewin," also known as *The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* (B3), while Henryson's "Robene and Makyne" mocks both Robene and the *pastourelle*. There are also comic narratives, notably the fabliaux *The Freiris of Berwik* and *Colkelbie Sow* and the eldritch *The Gyre Carling*. These texts are often ribald, but narratively clever, and they are what is most often meant by comic poems.

Editions

Hadley Williams 2016 makes several comic poems much more easily accessible, and provides a thorough scholarly account of the corpus; Kratzmann 1983 is the most recent edition of *The Colkelbie Sow*. Furrow 2013 and Jack and Rozendaal 1997 present different readings of the *Freiris*, simply through context; Furrow's is the more easily accessible.

Furrow, Melissa "The Freiris of Berwik." In *Ten Bourdes*. By Melissa Furrow. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2013.

Furrow's edition places the Scottish poem among other fabliaux, and provides a concise introduction to the poem, its transmission, and its challenges. Available online.

Hadley Williams, Janet, ed. Duncan Laideus Testament *and other Comic Poems in Older Scots*. Scottish Text Society 5th Series 15. Edinburgh: Boydell, 2016.

This edition contains the texts of eleven comic poems, seven of which date from the late 15th and early 16th centuries. These include *The Gyre Carling*, "My gudame wes a gay wif" (Kynd Kittock), and "Lichtoun, Quha doutis dremis is bot phantasye?" The edition provides a detailed introduction into each of the texts, together with notes and glossary.

Jack, R. D. S., and P. A. T. Rozendaal. "The Freiris of Berwik." In *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375–1707*. By R. D. S. Jack and P. A. T. Rozendaal, 152–165. Edinburgh: Mercat, 1997.

Jack's edition has on-page glosses and notes, but a very succinct introduction.

Kratzmann, Gregory, ed. *Colkelbie Sow and The Tales of the Fyve Beistis*. New York: Garland, 1983.

The common feature of this edition is animal poems rather than comedy.

Studies

Critical work on comic poems is not common, and it tends to focus on *The Freiris of Berwik* and *Colkelbie Sow*. Fisher 2005 offers the broadest discussion of the genre, including a good overview; Kratzmann 1980 is more cursory. Calin 2013 and Goldstein 2001 discuss *The Freiris* in depth, pointing out its rhetorical and narrative strengths through comparison with its sources and potential models. Jeffery 1981 offers a full introduction to *Colkelbie Sow*, whereas Flynn 2015 looks at one particular aspect. Hadley Williams 1991 considers one particular moment of reception of a comic poem, and asks broader questions about circulation and readership.

Calin, William. "Reading Fabliaux: *Le Povre Clerc* **and** *The Freiris of Berwik.*" **In** *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland.* **Edited by Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure, 75–84. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2013.**

Calin compares the Scottish poem to its likely French source, and points out areas where the Scottish poem diverges from its source.

Fisher, Keely. "Eldritch Comic Verse in Older Scots." In *Older Scots Literature.* **Edited by S. Mapstone, 292–313. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell, 2005.**

Fisher considers the range of poems bracketed under this heading, as well as their deployment of humor and the eldritch. It is a very useful introduction to the material.

Flynn, Caitlin. "Mobbing, (Dis)order and the Literary Pig in *The Tale of Colkelbie Sow, Pars Prima.*" *Studies in Scottish Literature* **41.1 (2015): 47–61.**

This essay looks at the legal culture and records associated with pigs, and also with disorder, and how these are used for comic effect in the poem.

Goldstein, R. James. "*The Freiris of Berwik* **and the Fabliau Tradition." In** *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, University of Strathclyde 1993.* **Edited by Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone, and Kenneth Simpson, 267–275. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell, 2001.**

Goldstein argues for *The Freiris* as a productive synthesis of French and Chaucerian fabliau tropes, familiar both to the writer and to his original audience.

Hadley Williams, Janet. "James V, David Lyndsay and the Bannatyne Manuscript Poem of the Gyre Carling." *Studies in Scottish Literature* **26 (1991): 164–171.**

This essay considers one instance of the poem's reception, as described in David Lyndsay's poem *The Dreme*.

Jeffery, C. D. "*Colkelbie Sow*: **An Anglo-Scots Poem." In** *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance).* **Edited by Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy, 207–224. Stirling: University of Stirling, 1981.**

This essay is a useful introduction to this poem in particular, comparing it in technique and approach to Henryson and other 15th-century Scottish poems.

Kratzmann, Gregory. *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations.* **Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980. 157–167.**

Kratzmann's brief discussion of these poems can be found in his chapter on Dunbar and Skelton (pp. 157–167). This anchors them to known poets without direct attribution.

Romances

The romances encompass a variety of forms, from four-stress and five-stress couplets to alliterative stanzas. They also offer interesting comparisons to the *Bruce* and the *Wallace*, which evoke romance style without necessarily being straightforward romance texts. There are two Arthurian romances, *Golagros and Gawane* and *Lancelot of the Laik*; Scottish prose accounts of Arthurian material can be found in chronicles and are not always favorable to the British king. The Alexander cycle has two long Scottish redactions, the *Buik of Alexander* (in

four-stress couplets) and The *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* (five-stress couplets), attributed for many years to Sir Gilbert Hay, although that attribution is now questioned. There is one Charlemagne romance, *Rauf Coilyear*, where difference in rank is played for comedy, and several others outwith the major cycles. Several of the romances can be argued to display an unusual interest in advice to princes, sometimes seen as a key characteristic of medieval Scottish poetry—this is most noticeable when their sources are in other languages, as in the case of *Golagros and Gawane*.

Editions

Scottish verse romances are found into the 16th century; prose comes much later. There are scholarly editions of most of the romances (Cartwright 1986–1990, Hanna 2008, Purdie 2013, Ritchie 1921–1929); there are also a good number intended for a broader audience (Hahn 1995, Lupack 1990, Bawcutt and Riddy 1987, Lupack 1994). Two major works are currently without recent editions: *The Scots Troy Book* and *Clariodus*.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, and Felicity Riddy, eds. "Rauf Coilyear." In *Longer Scottish Poems*. Vol. 1, *1375–1650*. Edited by Priscilla Bawcutt and Felicity Riddy, 94–133. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987.

This edition appears in an anthology of Scottish material, so the verse form shared with *The Buke of the Howlat*, for instance, is much more evident. This edition has on-page glosses and explanatory notes.

Cartwright, John, ed. *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*. Scottish Text Society 4th Series 16, 18 (Vol. 1 not published). Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press, 1986, 1990.

Although this edition is still missing its paratextual volume, the text itself is completely edited and provides a well-presented clean text.

Hahn, Thomas. *The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane*. In *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*. By Thomas Hahn. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1995.

This edition places the Scottish poem against other British Gawain narratives; this is one of the ways in which medieval Scottish poetry most strikingly contributes to understanding of British traditions. Available online.

Hanna, Ralph, ed. *Golagros and Gawane*. Scottish Text Society 5th Series 7. Edinburgh: Boydell, 2008.

This edition builds on work done by W. R. J. Barron, and considers the text as an alliterative poem as well as a romance. Hanna also considers the witness for the text, a very early Scottish print by Chepman and Myllar, in some detail.

Lupack, Alan. *The Tale of Ralph the Collier*. In *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances*. By Alan Lupack. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1990.

The hard copy edition identifies *Ralph the Collier* as one of three Middle English romances. This edition is easier to access than Bawcutt and Riddy 1987, but offers a different perspective on the place of Charlemagne romance. Available online.

Lupack, Alan. *Lancelot of the Laik*. In *Lancelot of the Laik and Sir Tristrem*. By Alan Lupack. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1994.

This poem is an incomplete translation of a French text. The hard copy edition pairs it with *Sir Tristrem*, which used to be considered a Scottish text. Available online.

Purdie, R., ed. *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances*. Scottish Text Society 5th Series 11. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2013.

This edition contains the anonymous chronicles *Florimond of Albany, Sir Colling the Knycht, King Orpius*, and *Roswall and Lilian*. Using parallel texts, Purdie demonstrates the fluidity of the romance text and the challenges of understanding their transmission.

Ritchie, R. L. G., ed. *Buik of Alexander*. 4 vols. Scottish Text Society New Series 12, 17, 21, 25. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1921–1929.

This edition of the octosyllabic romance provides the French source text on the left-hand page. It argues that the work's author was Barbour, a view no longer supported.

Studies

Purdie 2006 and Mainer 2010 offer overviews of Older Scots romance and its characteristics. Of the Scottish romances, those receiving most attention are those that deal with the Matter of Britain and Arthurian narratives: Barron 1974, Jack 1974–1975, and Purdie and Royan 2005 demonstrate the breadth of cover. The Alexander romances receive perhaps less attention; accounts of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* tend to deal with authorship, as in Cartwright 1986 and McDiarmid 1993. Cartwright 1991 looks at the treatment of sources in the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, while Martin 2008 looks at its presentation of advice to princes. Schiff 2012 offers a serious reading of *Rauf Coilyear*.

Barron, W. R. J. "*Golagros and Gawain*: A Creative Redaction." *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society* 26 (1974): 173–185.

Barron discusses in detail the changes made to French narrative by the Scots writer, indicating where this may be seen as typical of British renditions of Gawain narratives and where it is particular to this poem.

Cartwright, John. "Sir Gilbert Hay and the Alexander Tradition." In *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance Fourth International Conference 1984: Proceedings*. Edited by Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher, 229–238. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986.

Cartwright locates the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* at the end of the medieval tradition of Alexander narratives, discussing the ways in which the poet synthesizes the breadth of the tradition and introduces his particular expertise.

Cartwright, John. "Sir Gilbert Hay's Alexander: A Study in Transformations." *Medium Aevum* 60 (1991): 61–72.

Cartwright discusses the probable sources for the poem and the ways in which the poet combines and refines them into a single narrative.

Jack, R. D. S. "Arthur's Pilgrimage: A Study of *Golagros and Gawane*." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 12 (1974–1975): 3–20.

Jack's essay champions the originality of the poem, drawing attention to the ways in which its structure reflects on Arthur's ostensible pilgrimage, and questions the chivalric values of his court.

Mainer, Sergi. *The Scottish Romance Tradition, c. 1375–c. 1550: Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010.

This is a straightforward and thorough account of an important medieval genre, as it appears in Older Scots. It includes discussion of the *Bruce* and the *Wallace* as well as accounts of Scottish Arthurian, Alexander, and Charlemagne romances.

Martin, Joanna. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424–1540*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008. 61–78.

Martin outlines recent discussion of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, and develops her argument that representations of the amatory can stand for representations of government. See pp. 61–78.

McDiarmid, Matthew P. "Concerning Sir Gilbert Hay, the Authorship of *Alexander the Conquerour* and *The Buik of Alexander*." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 28 (1993): 28–54.

In his detailed examination of authorship questions relating to both Scots Alexander poems, McDiarmid draws on linguistic, formal, and contextual evidence to interrogate previous attributions.

Purdie, Rhiannon. "Medieval Romance in Scotland." In *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*. Edited by Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, 165–178. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006.

This essay provides a succinct guide to the range and state of romances in medieval Scotland. In particular, Purdie points out the prominence of verse in Older Scots romance, as well as notable features of Scottish rewriting of material from other traditions.

Purdie, Rhiannon, and Nicola Royan, eds. *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*. Arthurian Studies 61. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2005.

This collection addresses the peculiarities of the Scottish engagement with Arthur, both a chivalric hero and an illegitimate English oppressor. Five of the ten essays are concerned specifically with poetry, including Tony Hunt's discussion of the Roman de Fergus, a French romance set in Scotland.

Schiff, Randy P. "Sovereign Exception: Pre-National Consolidation in *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*." In *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600*. Edited by Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell, 33–50. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Schiff looks at the political assertions present in *Rauf Coilyear*, particularly around class and ethnicity, and their significance for a poem apparently set around the Anglo-Scottish border.

Moral and Religious Material

In common with most European literatures, medieval Scottish poetry took a keen interest in matters of faith and morals. Although there are no early collections of lyric and devotional verse, the proficiency of Henryson, Dunbar, and Walter Kennedy, as well as material embedded in longer works like *The Buke of the Howlat*, indicate that there was a flourishing lyric tradition, religious as well as secular, in Scotland by the 15th century. The *Scots Legendary*, also known as the *Legends of the Saints*, demonstrates the reach of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. One of the earliest pieces surviving in Scots, this work is a significant collection of saints' lives, largely translated from the *Legenda Aurea*. There are two local saints included in the collection, Ninian and Machar, whose narratives do not derive from a European account but are remarkably similar to each other; surprisingly perhaps, St Andrew's status as Scotland's patron saint (or simply as a key Scottish pilgrim saint) is not mentioned at all. The older attribution of the collection to Barbour is no longer considered probable, so the collection remains anonymous. *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* imagines the narratives told by three priests over dinner; the stories move from the political to the purely moral, as the last one, told by Master William, considers what a rich man might take with him when called by Death. Dating from the second half of the 15th century, the poem delights in patterns of three, and in its advice it evokes a contemporary Scots prose text, *The Meroure of Wyssdome* by John Ireland. Other moral poems also survive: *King Hart, Conscience, Ratis Raving*, and *The Thewis of Gudwomen*. These have not yet had the critical discussion they deserve.

Editions

These texts are largely available in Scottish Text Society editions. Meier 2008 is the only edition of a single poet here, and it presents the multiple witnesses of Kennedy's work in facing-page editions. Because of earlier attributions to Gavin Douglas, *King Hart* and *Conscience* appear in Bawcutt 2003, but those attributions no longer stand. *The Scots Legendary* is presented in Metcalfe 1894–1896, while *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* is edited in Robb 1920. The edition of *Ratis Raving* and *The Thewis of Gudwomen*, Girvan 1939, is concerned with moral texts now contained in a single manuscript: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Kk.1.5. This edition gives some sense of the context in which these kinds of texts might have been read.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, ed. *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*. Rev ed. Scottish Text Society 5th Series 2. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2003.

This edition presents *King Hart* and *Conscience* alongside *The Palice of Honoure*, and provides them with same attention regarding notes and glossary.

Girvan, R., ed. Ratis Raving *and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals*. Scottish Text Society 3rd Series 11. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1939.

This edition presents a collection of moral pieces contained in a single manuscript (which also preserves *Lancelot of the Laik*, not edited in this volume), including *Ratis Raving* and *The Thewis of Gudwomen*.

Meier, Nicole, ed. *The Poems of Walter Kennedy*. Scottish Text Society 5th Series 6. Edinburgh: Boydell, 2008.

This is the first edition of Walter Kennedy's poetry as a collection; Kennedy is usually better known as Dunbar's partner in the *Flyting*. Meier presents here Kennedy's religious verse, with detailed notes and glossary.

Metcalfe, W. M., ed. *The Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*. STS Original Series 13, 18, 23, 25, 35, 37. Edinburgh and London: Scottish Text Society, 1894–1896.

This is the only edition available of the whole collection. It discusses questions of authorship, sources, and audience, but opens more questions than answers.

Robb, T. D., ed. *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*. Scottish Text Society New Series 8. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1920.

This edition brings together the two main witnesses for the poem, the Asloan Manuscript and a late-16th-century print by Henry Charteris, to render as complete a version of the whole poem as possible.

Studies

For understanding the breadth of religious verse in medieval Scotland, Bawcutt 2006 and MacDonald 1988 offer excellent and complementary introductions. The new edition of Kennedy's works (Meier 2008, cited under Moral and Religious Material: Editions) has enabled new work looking at his poetic technique, particularly in his religious verse: in addition, Goldstein 2013 and Meier 2012 both point to the influence of affective devotion. *The Scots Legendary* has attracted very little critical attention, but Contzen 2016 offers a detailed reading of the entire collection, while Scheibe 2012 focuses on the prologue. In both cases, the work is seen as rhetorically sophisticated and worthy of far more attention. The same is true of *The Thewis of Gudwomen*, and indeed most of the other Scottish educational poetry: Saldanha's essay (Saldanha 2001) is a rare exception. *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* has received more attention, especially as a text concerned with advice to princes. Jack 1975 considers it as predictive of the changes in thought patterns associated with humanism; Lyall 2005 is more interested in what the writer has drawn from earlier and contemporary texts. Both note the intricacy of the trinal structure and its rhetorical effect.

Bawcutt, Priscilla. "Religious Verse in Medieval Scotland." In *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*. **Edited by Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, 119–132. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006.**

Bawcutt's discussion includes a brief discussion of the *Scots Legendary*, along with a summary of the current scholarship in 2006.

Contzen, Eva von. *The Scottish Legendary towards a Poetics of Hagiographic Narration*. **Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2016.**

This is the only full-length published study of the *Scots Legendary*. It offers a distinctive approach to the collection, with a particular focus on the form of the narratives.

Goldstein, R. James. "'Betuix pyne and faith': The Poetics of Compassion in Walter Kennedy's *Passioun of Crist***."** *Studies in Philology* **110.3 (2013): 482–505.**

Goldstein discusses Kennedy's synthesis of affective devotion with high-style literary techniques.

Jack, R. D. S. "*The Thre Prestis of Peblis* **and the Growth of Humanism in Scotland."** *Review of English Studies* **26.103 (1975): 257–270.**

Jack argues that the poem, particularly in the tales of the first two tellers, reveals the development of humanist thinking in late-15th-century Scotland.

Lyall, R. J. "'Trinal Triplicities': The Significance of Structure of *The Thre Prestis of Peblis***." In** *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality: Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. **Edited by A. A. MacDonald and K. Dekker, 17–32. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2005.**

As well as exploring the repeated use of three in the poem's structure, Lyall also considers possible claims for authorship.

MacDonald, Alasdair A. "Religious Poetry in Middle Scots." In *The History of Scottish Literature*. **Vol. 1,** *Origins to 1660*. **Edited by R. D. S. Jack, 91–104. Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.**

Although MacDonald's brief stretches into the 16th century, his essay offers a broad introduction to the topic, and he discusses how Scottish practice relates to European patterns.

Meier, Nicole. "Looking at Mary: The Mother of Christ in Kennedy's 'Ballat of Our Lady' and 'Passioun of Crist.'" In *Literature and Religion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. **Edited by Luuk Houwen, 23–33. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2012.**

Meier brings her editorial knowledge of the poems to bear on their representation of the Virgin Mary, and, like Goldstein, she considers the place of affective devotion in determining that representation.

Saldanha, Kathryn. "*The Thewis of Gudwomen***: Middle Scots Moral Advice with European Connections?" In** *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature*. **Edited by Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone, and Kenneth Simpson, 288–299. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell, 2001.**

This rare essay on *The Thewis* considers its place in the European and English traditions of poems giving advice to women on how best to behave. It also addresses some of the complexities of the poem's transmission.

Scheibe, Regina. "'Idilnes giffis novrysingis to vicis': The Prologue of the *Scottish Legends of the Saints*." In *Literature and Religion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. Edited by Luuk Houwen, 1–22. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2012.

This essay discusses the contents of the collection's prologue, and locates it in contemporary theological and literary concerns, particularly around *acedia*, "idleness." In so doing, it indicates the sophistication of the collection and its intended audience, and argues for closer attention to the collection and its presentation.

Individual Writers and Works

Although there are many anonymous poems from medieval Scotland, there are also some identifiable poets to whom important works can be safely attributed. In some cases, notably Hary, very little is known for certain about the poet, although it is sometimes possible to identify the particular context of a poem's composition, whether through named patrons or evidence of circulation. In other cases, such as Gavin Douglas and John Barbour, much more is known about the poet's life outside of his poetry. Attention to contexts both of writing and of circulation is a marked feature of the criticism of Older Scots poetry, partly a result of the discipline's proximity to Scottish history. Recent developments have included greater engagement with transmission and book history, as well as re-editing key works.

John Barbour, The *Bruce*

John Barbour appears to have been a client of Robert Stewart, who became Robert II in 1371. He was appointed archdeacon of Aberdeen in 1356, and held that appointment until his death in 1395. The *Bruce* is his only surviving piece of work, and it is the first surviving substantial piece of writing in Scots. The poem recounts the struggles of Robert Bruce and his chief supporter, James Douglas, from 1306 until his death as Robert I in 1329. Among its memorable episodes are the murder of John Comyn, the Douglas Larder, Bannockburn, and the Soulis Conspiracy. It is written in four-stress meter and negotiates a fine line between romance, epic, biography, and history.

Editions

The *Bruce* is a challenging read, not least because of its length. Duncan 1997 is a good introduction, as it is accompanied by a facing-page translation and notes on the historical events described. Skeat 1873–1874 and McDiarmid and Stevenson 1980 favor different witnesses as base text, which results in different readings. McDiarmid and Stevenson 1980 remains the most recent scholarly edition.

Duncan, A. A. M., ed. and trans. *The Bruce*. By John Barbour. Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997.

Duncan is a leading historian of medieval Scotland, and his edition for Canongate addresses key historical questions about the accuracy of Barbour's narrative and about the context in which it was written (about three-quarters of a century after the events it describes). He also provides a facing-page translation, and while discussing some textual issues, relies mostly on the readings provided by McDiarmid and Stevenson.

McDiarmid, M. P., and J. A. C. Stevenson, eds. *Barbour's Bruce*. 3 vols. By John Barbour. Scottish Text Society 4th Series, 12, 13, 15. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1980.

This is the most recent scholarly edition, with full collation, notes, and glossary. The editors favor the text preserved in National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 19.2.2, on linguistic grounds, but this has been criticized. The edition itself can be hard to navigate, as the text does not have running heads, but the text and the notes are clearly presented.

Skeat, W. W., ed. *The Bruce*. 2 vols. By John Barbour. STS 31, 32. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1873–1874.

Like much of Skeat's work, this edition is still valuable. Skeat preferred the readings of the Cambridge witness of the text (Cambridge, St. John's College MS G.23).

Studies

Because the *Bruce* is an important source for the life of Robert I, many studies of the poem are concerned with its historical veracity, its reflection of Barbour's immediate political context, and its role in defining Scottish national identity. The collection Boardman and Foran 2015 contains a wide range of approaches and the most current summary of research. Ebin 1972 and McKim 1981 focus attention on particular aspects of Barbour's attitude to key themes, notably loyalty and nobility; Goldstein 1993 points up Barbour's identification of "Scottishness" with being a Bruce supporter, and the way in which that affects the representation of people and events.

Boardman, Steve, and Susan Foran, eds. *Barbour's* Bruce *and its Cultural Contexts: Politics, Chivalry and Literature in Late Medieval Scotland*. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2015.

This interdisciplinary collection brings together a variety of approaches to the text. These range from medieval historiography and life-writing (Given-Wilson and Tyson) to Scottish readership (Boardman, Brown, van Heijnsbergen), to questions about romance (Purdie). As a whole, the collection displays the challenges of understanding a text like the *Bruce*.

Ebin, Lois. "John Barbour's *Bruce*: Poetry, History, and Propaganda." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 9 (1972): 218–247.

This article draws attention to the episodic way in which the *Bruce* is structured, and how that reinforces the themes of loyalty, freedom, and commitment. It discusses the ways in which Barbour manipulates historical events to support his presentation and how this relates to the circumstances in which he was writing.

Goldstein, R. James. *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Goldstein offers a different approach to the *Bruce* and the *Wallace* in his overt engagement with a variety of theoretical views, including Marxism. While the book is concerned with issues similar to those raised by Ebin 1972, its most striking suggestion is that the *Bruce* identifies Scottish identity with loyalty to the Bruces and their descendants, what Goldstein terms "Brucean ideology." This has contributed to further discussions about the formation and understanding of Scottish national identity in the later Middle Ages.

McKim, Anne. "James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17 (1981): 167–180.

McKim explores a key issue in the *Bruce*, namely the place of James Douglas and the status of the Douglases as a powerful noble family at the time when Barbour is writing. This interest is part of a wider discussion about the role of royal and noble patronage in medieval Scottish poetry.

Gavin Douglas

Third son of the fifth Earl of Angus, Douglas is an unusual example of a noble-born poet. He was educated at the University of St. Andrews, and entered the church, becoming provost of St. Giles in Edinburgh in 1503 and then bishop of Dunkeld in 1516. His first surviving poem, *The Palice of Honoure* (*c*. 1501), is a dream vision, in which the dreamer makes his way to the Palice of Honoure with the support of Calliope. Although carefully crafted in complex stanza forms, the overall narrative is interrupted by various set pieces told in exceptional detail, displaying Douglas's gift for the ornate. His other work is the *Eneados* (1513), which is the first full translation of the whole of Virgil's *Aeneid* into any variety of English. Douglas discusses his efforts both to be faithful to Virgil and to re-present this pagan text for a Christian audience in the prologues to each of the books; he also includes a translation of Maffeo Vegio's Book 13. Critical interest in Douglas has discussed his humanism, his representations of Dido and Aeneas (possibly the most contentious element), and his language, including his descriptions of nature.

Editions

Two works by Douglas survive: *The Palice of Honoure* and *The Eneados*. Other works have been attributed to him previously; these are included in Bawcutt 2003. This edition also discusses the different witnesses to *The Palice*, presenting parallel texts. Parkinson 1992 presents a critical text edition, intended primarily for student use. Although parts of the *Eneados* can be found in anthologies, the best edition of the complete work is Coldwell 1956–1960.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, ed. *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*. Rev. ed. Scottish Text Society 5.2. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2003.

This is a revised version of Bawcutt's previous Scottish Text Society edition (Series 4.3, 1967), including an updated bibliography. As *The Palice of Honoure* has two print witnesses, neither with significantly better authority, Bawcutt presents the text from each in a facing-page edition. The edition also contains *King Hart* and *Conscience*, poems previously attributed to Douglas.

Coldwell, D. F. C., ed. *Virgil's* Aeneid *Translated in Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*. 4 vols. Scottish Text Society 3rd Series 25, 27, 28, 30. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1956–1960.

This is the most recent scholarly edition of the full text, with close reference to the earliest witness, Trinity College MS O.2.12.

Parkinson, David, ed. *Gavin Douglas: The Palis of Honoure*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1992.

Parkinson offers a single, collated, text with on-page glosses and explanatory notes. He is clear about the choices he makes and their significance to the text as he reads it. Available online.

Studies

Work on Douglas is becoming more common, and his importance in British and European literary study is growing—the discussions in Simpson 2002 and Wilson-Okamura 2010 are evidence of that. Bawcutt 1976 remains an essential introduction to Douglas and his works, and subsequent criticism builds on Bawcutt's discoveries. Parkinson 1991 addresses Douglas's use of dream vision in *The Palice of Honoure*, while Blyth 1987 considers the poetic techniques used in the *Eneados*. Ghosh 1995 and Leahy 2016 address different aspects of Douglas's humanism, specifically his response to 15th-century humanism and to the whole of Virgil's works. Gray 2012 explores the depiction and understanding of Christian thought in Douglas's poems, while Gray 2001 and Royan 2017 consider the role of nobility and advice material in Douglas's texts, and come to different conclusions.

Bawcutt, Priscilla. *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976.

This volume is magisterial in its range and detail, and remains essential reading, both for those new to Douglas and those more familiar with his work.

Blyth, Charles R. "*The Knychtlyke Style": A study of Gavin Douglas's* Aeneid. New York: Garland, 1987.

Blyth investigates Douglas's translation, considering style and sources, and the ways in which Douglas manages techniques of translation.

Ghosh, Kantik. "'The fift quheill': Gavin Douglas's Maffeo Vegio." *Scottish Literary Journal* 22 (1995): 5–21.

Ghosh considers Douglas's translation of Vegio's Book 13, an addition to Virgil's text composed in the 15th century to confirm Aeneas's place as a successful colonist in Italy. The book was recognized as unnecessary by most 16th-century readers, as shown by the "fift

quheill" of Ghosh's title, yet it was also important enough to circulation in print editions of the *Aeneid*. Ghosh's account explores Douglas's engagement with the material.

Gray, Douglas. "Gavin Douglas and 'the gret prynce Eneas.'" *Essays in Criticism* **51 (2001): 18–34.**

In this account, Gray addresses the question of Douglas's engagement with Advice to Princes. It offers a measured account of Douglas's politics, informed by careful readings of the text.

Gray, Douglas. "Religious Elements in the Poetry of Gavin Douglas." In *Literature and Religion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland: Essays in Honour of Alasdair A. MacDonald*. **Edited by Luuk Houwen, 69–92. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2012.**

Apart from Bawcutt 1976, this is one of the few essays to consider how Douglas's role as churchman might be evident in his poetry and how Christianity fits into the often pagan world of his poetry.

Leahy, Conor. "The use of Virgil's *Eclogues* **and** *Georgics* **in the** *Eneados* **of Gavin Douglas." In** *Medievalia and Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*. *New Series 41, Special Issue: Writing Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. **Edited by Eva von Contzen and Luuk Houwen, 101–118. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.**

This essay outlines the sheer depth of Douglas's knowledge of Virgil's poetry beyond the *Aeneid* to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and considers his poetic engagement with them. In so doing, it implies a sophistication in classical learning among at least some of Douglas's intended audience for the *Eneados*.

Parkinson, David. "The Farce of Modesty in Gavin Douglas's *The Palis of Honoure*.**"** *Philological Quarterly* **70 (1991): 13–25.**

Parkinson's article discusses the extravagant variation in tone and presentation in Douglas's dream vision, and considers the effects of the dreamer's failures to engage properly with what he sees.

Royan, Nicola. "The Noble Identity of Gavin Douglas." In *Premodern Scotland Literature and Governance 1420–1587*. **Edited by Joanna Martin and Emily Wingfield, 127–143. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.**

Royan's essay considers the significance of Douglas's rank and those of the audiences identified in his work. In particular, it explores the effect of advice to princes being composed and directed by a member of a senior noble Scottish family.

Simpson, James. *The Oxford English Literary History*. **Vol. 2,** *1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution*. **Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.**

This work contains an extended discussion of the *Eneados* in its second chapter. It is particularly striking in its location of the poem in a British and English vernacular context, rather than a purely Scottish one; Simpson's larger arguments overwhelm the specificity of his discussion of Douglas, but he offers a provocative view.

Wilson-Okamura, David Scott. *Virgil in the Renaissance*. **Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.**

While this work devotes very little space to the *Eneados* specifically, it nicely contextualizes the contemporary attitudes to Virgil's poem, and the way the Latin text was used and presented. This contrasts with Simpson's British vernacular focus.

William Dunbar

Primarily a lyric poet, Dunbar is recognized as an extraordinarily technically accomplished writer. His work ranges to the extremes of poetic register, from the high aureate style of his Marian lyric, "Haile sterne superne," to the satirical obscenities of "Sir Iohine the Ros, ane thing there is compild" (*The Flyting of Dumbar and Kennedie*). The poet himself is quite elusive: he was born probably around 1460, and is identified with a William Dunbar who took a master's degree at St. Andrews University in 1479. Dunbar served at the court of James IV and Margaret Tudor. Many of his poems reflect his royal service, whether celebrating the royal marriage or negotiating for a pension or simply describing events. While his longer pieces—*The Flyting* (Bawcutt 65), "Quhen Merche wes with variant windis past" (B52: often titled *The Thrissill and the Rois*), "Ryght as the stern of day begouth to schyne" (B59: *The Goldyn Targe*), "Apon the Midsummer Ewin, mirriest of nichtis" (B3: *The Tretise of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*)—can be imagined in a court context, some of them (B3, B59, B65) were also printed in the first decade of the 16th century, suggesting a broader audience. Critical work on Dunbar is diverse: his virtuosity means that close reading of his linguistic and stylistic choices, including his use of alliterative meter, has been very rewarding, while there are also broader studies examining his response to English and French material, his depiction of women, and his role in court life and in presenting the king. While Dunbar's stylistic range makes the definition of a singular poetic voice difficult, it also demonstrates the full breadth of poetic register and genre and attracts the same range in critical approach.

Editions

Editing Dunbar has many challenges, but evaluating the different witnesses, particularly where poems have been revised to suit new religious sensibilities, is possibly the greatest. For some editors, including James Kinsley, the Bannatyne Manuscript (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 1.1.6) has been the more important of the larger witnesses (see Kinsley 1979). Priscilla Bawcutt, in contrast, has more respect for the Maitland Folio (Cambridge, Pepys Library, Magdalene College MS 2553) and the manuscript derived from it, the Reidpath Manuscript (Cambridge, University Library MS Ll.v.10) (see Bawcutt 1998). Bawcutt 1996, meanwhile, provides texts of selected poems, with heavier editorial intervention, particularly with reference to special characters.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, ed. *William Dunbar: Selected Poems*. Longman Annotated Texts. London and New York: Longman, 1996.

This edition is designed more for readers new to Dunbar, with introductory headnotes and glosses on the page. The texts themselves are slightly modernized, as special characters are replaced.

Bawcutt, Priscilla, ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar*. 2 vols. Glasgow: Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 1998.

This is now the standard scholarly edition. Bawcutt orders the poems by first line, and brings to bear detailed knowledge of the witnesses in determining her readings. It is from this edition that the B numbering of Dunbar's poems derives.

Kinsley, James, ed. *The Poems of William Dunbar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Kinsley also considers the witnesses in detail, but favors different readings from Bawcutt. He also arranges the poems by themes of his choosing, resulting in predetermined readings of some ambiguous material.

Studies

The variety in Dunbar's work, in genre, in form, and in register, provokes an equal variety of critical responses. Bawcutt 2006 provides a succinct introduction to the poet, and Ross 1981 offers more detail and a different approach. Bawcutt 1992 offers more depth than either of these, and gives closely argued readings of all aspects of Dunbar's poetry, and of his life and reception. Both MacDonald 2005 and the edited collection Mapstone 2001 place Dunbar in his Scottish contexts: MacDonald deals specifically with lyric, its circulation and transmission, while the essays in Mapstone offer diverse approaches, including reception. Lyall 1974 and Quinn 2011 offer readings on two of Dunbar's best-known poems.

Bawcutt, Priscilla. *Dunbar the Makar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

The most significant full-length study of Dunbar, this volume provides detailed context for the poet and his work, and also offers detailed close reading of key pieces. As both editor and critic, Bawcutt displays magisterial knowledge of the poems and presents her arguments clearly and with detailed evidence.

Bawcutt, Priscilla. "William Dunbar." In *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*. **Vol. 1,** *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*. **Edited by Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Murray Pittock, and Susan Manning, 649–669. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.**

This essay summarizes Bawcutt's understanding of Dunbar, incorporating her response to work published after 1992 and providing readings of key poems.

Lyall, R. J. "Moral Allegory in Dunbar's 'Golden Targe.'" *Studies in Scottish Literature* **11 (1974): 47–65.**

This article examines one of Dunbar's most famous but also most abstruse poems, "Ryght as the sterne of day" (B59), specifically looking at the question of whether its allegory is concerned with love or poetry. Lyall argues that the poem addresses the dangers of sensuality, as much poetic as physical.

MacDonald, A. A. "Lyrics in Middle Scots." In *A Companion to Middle English Lyric*. **Edited by Thomas G. Duncan, 242–261. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2005.**

Although not specifically about Dunbar, this essay of necessity discusses his lyrics at some length, usefully contextualizes them in lyric traditions both Scottish and English, and discusses the particular issues associated with the transmission of Scots lyrics.

Mapstone, Sally, ed. *William Dunbar, "The Nobill Poyet": Essays in Honour of Priscilla Bawcutt*. **East Linton, UK: Tuckwell, 2001.**

This collection contains essential essays on Dunbar's witnesses and transmission (Mapstone, Van Buuren, Boffey, Edwards), his style (Lyall, McClure, Corbett) and modes (Glenn, Gray) and his reception (Hadley Williams, van Heijnsbergen, MacDonald).

Quinn, William. "William Dunbar's Fear of Fame." *Essays in Criticism* **61.3 (2011): 215–231.**

This article considers "I that in heill wes and gladnes" (B21), one of Dunbar's best-known lyrics, famous for its refrain *Timor mortis conturbat me*. Quinn considers the poem's negotiation of an overtly articulated fear of death with a less vocal interest in poetic fame.

Ross, Ian Simpson. *William Dunbar*. **Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1981.**

A useful short introduction to Dunbar and his poetry, particularly, but not exclusively, appropriate for first-time readers.

Hary, The *Wallace*

Although commonly known as Blind Hary, the evidence of his surviving work, the *Wallace*, suggests that he was probably not blind from birth. Written in the 1470s, the *Wallace* is an account of William Wallace and his role in the First War of Independence. Ostensibly a historical account, the poem draws on Chaucerian models and Scottish material (notably the *Bruce*) to present a heroic figure of the lower nobility deeply opposed to English sovereignty over Scotland. Wallace is chosen for his mission by the Virgin Mary and St. Andrew; he seeks justice for the English murder of his family and his wife, and by his actions he shows Robert Bruce and other powerful magnates to be wanting. Hary manages this narrative in five-stress couplets, arranged in twelve books, and he borrows Chaucerian patterns to show Wallace in love, as well as episodes in Barbour to show Wallace's fighting force against the English. As Goldstein discusses, Hary's most striking motif is that of blood—how it is shed, and to whom it belongs: it is the image of blood, for instance, that causes Bruce to leave the English side for the Scottish cause. Despite its undeniable violence, from the evidence of printing and revisions, the poem has been

regularly re-read in subsequent centuries, most recently as a base text (in its 18th-century revision) for the movie *Braveheart* (1995). Criticism is likewise focused on Hary's depictions of national identity.

Editions

The *Wallace* is a long and complex text, drawing its influences from many literary and historical sources, including Chaucer. Editing it, therefore, is a commensurately difficult proposition. The most recent scholarly edition of the *Wallace* is McDiarmid 1968–1969, and this is usually the edition cited in criticism. McKim's editions (McKim 2003a, McKim 2003b) are directed more toward new and general readers.

McDiarmid, M. P., ed. *Hary's Wallace*. Scottish Text Society 4th Series 4, 5. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1968–1969.

This is the standard edition of the text. McDiarmid offers a detailed discussion of Hary's sources, dismissing the poem's claim to be based on a now-lost Latin account. He discusses the more troublesome aspects of Hary's poem, including the direct engagement in the horrors of war as a feature of experience. His claims, however, that *Golagros and Gawane* and *Rauf Coilyer* should also be attributed to Hary have not been substantiated.

McKim, Anne, ed. *Blind Harry: The Wallace*. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2003a.

This is a companion volume to Duncan's edition of the *Bruce*. Although there is no facing-page translation here, there are on-page glosses, and there are explanatory notes and maps at the end.

McKim, Anne, ed. *The Wallace: Selections*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2003b.

This edition selects episodes from the *Wallace* appropriate for classroom study. There are on-page glosses and contextualizing notes. Available online.

Studies

Despite its "re-discovery" after the release of *Braveheart* in 1995, there has not been a significant increase in scholarly critique of the poem. Much of the criticism discusses the poem in comparison with Barbour's the *Bruce*—that is true of Wilson 1990 and also Goldstein 1993, although Goldstein identifies key differences in the poems' views of Scottishness. Moll 2002 is concerned only with the *Wallace* and the ways in which the poem presents one national identity.

Goldstein, R. James. *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Goldstein brings a theoretical-critical eye to the *Wallace*, and considers in particular his use of blood as a motif to understand the way in which Hary figures national identity.

Moll, Richard J. "'Off quhat nacioun art thow?' National Identity in Blind Hary's *Wallace*." In *History, Literature and Music in Scotland, 700–1560*. Edited by R. Andrew McDonald, 120–443. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Moll considers what makes someone Scottish in the *Wallace*, and how Hary deals with the different populations within medieval Scotland to make a single sense of identity.

Wilson, Grace G. "Barbour's *Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*: Complements, Compensations and Conventions." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 25 (1990): 189–201.

Wilson's piece offers a succinct comparison of the poems, and in that way highlights what is distinctive about Hary's poem.

Robert Henryson

Henryson is the third of the Older Scots triad to match Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. Probably a generation older than Dunbar and Douglas, he was a university graduate, possibly of the University of Glasgow. The 16th-century prints of his work describe him as Dunfermline's schoolmaster; a Robert Henryson is also described as a notary public. His major works are *The Moral Fabillis*, thirteen beast fables, some drawn from the Aesopic tradition, but others from the Reynardian cycles; *The Testament of Cresseid*, an extension of Chaucer's *Troilus*; and *Orpheus and Eurydice*, a moralized retelling of the classical narrative. All of these have received extensive critical attention. The *Testament* in particular has provoked questions regarding Henryson's presentation of women; Riddy's discussion is one of the sharpest of these. The *Fables* have been discussed with reference to their sources (Lyall) but also to their political anxieties. *Orpheus* has more recently come into critical view, drawing on both considerations of misogyny and politics. Both the *Fables* and the *Testament* have been brought to a new audience through Seamus Heaney's translations.

Editions

Henryson is one of the better-known Older Scots poets, so it is not uncommon to find one or more of his poems anthologized, even in collections of English literature. The editions here, however, focus exclusively on Henryson's works. Fox 1981 has been the standard scholarly edition since its publication; Parkinson 2010 offers more support to student readers. Heaney 2009 demonstrates the power of Henryson's writing to provoke new poetic readings.

Fox, Denton, ed. *The Poems of Robert Henryson*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981.

Fox provides a detailed account of the witnesses and the editorial principles employed, as well as detailed notes and a full glossary.

Heaney, Seamus, trans. *Robert Henryson*: The Testament of Cresseid *and* Seven Fables. London: Faber, 2009.

Heaney offers a facing-page translation of the *Testament* and just over half the *Fables*. While Henryson is not an obvious candidate for translation, as there are texts more densely Scots than his, Heaney's translation asserts the quality and the importance of Henryson's works.

Parkinson, David, ed. *Robert Henryson: The Complete Works*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2010.

Like all TEAMS editions, this is a student-centered edition, with detailed glossing as well as textual explanation. There is also an extensive guide to Henryson's language in the introduction to assist readers new to the material. Available online.

Studies

Whereas Dunbar is primarily a lyric poet, Henryson is primarily a narrative one. His best-known poems, *The Testament of Cresseid* and *The Moral Fabillis*, engage, both directly and indirectly, with Chaucer's work, and can easily be located in British and European traditions. Such approaches can be seen in Mann 2009 and Gros Louis 1966. Introductory accounts of Henryson specifically, here Gray 1979 and Hasler 2006, also discuss this relationship, while Mapstone 2009 considers Henryson's specific Scottish cultural context in more detail. In different ways, Lyall 2002 and Machan 2010 consider the effect of polyglot literary experience on Henryson's work—Lyall from the view of Henryson's own reading, and Machan from his production. Riddy 1997 and Simpson 2011 are examples of particular readings of Henryson's work: Riddy's piece represents a widely held position on the *Testament*, whereas Simpson addresses the questions of morality and poetry.

Gray, Douglas. *Robert Henryson*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1979.

This is still an excellent introductory volume to Henryson, including an outline of what is known about the poet and closely argued and illustrated accounts of the poems.

Gros Louis, Kenneth R. R. "Robert Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* and the Orpheus Traditions of the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 41 (1966): 643–655.

Gros Louis argues that Henryson's interpretation of the Orpheus myth comes at the end of the medieval cycle. He reflects on the differences between the Scottish *Orpheus* and *Sir Orfeo* to demonstrate what Henryson does differently. More recent readings of the poem have been more energetic in relating the moral to the narrative, but Gros Louis highlights what makes that relationship problematic without seeking to resolve it.

Hasler, Anthony J. "Robert Henryson." In *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*. Vol. 1, *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*. Edited by Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Murray Pittock, and Susan Manning, 286–294. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

This essay is a broad introduction to Henryson's poetry, locating it in medieval traditions of writing in Latin as well as English. Hasler is particularly interested in the connections between Cresseid and Criseyde, and Henryson's engagement with Chaucer.

Lyall, R. J. "Henryson's *Moral Fabillis* and the Steinhöwel tradition." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 38 (2002): 362–381.

Lyall's contribution to the study of Henryson stretches far beyond this article, but here he addresses the probability of German influence on Henryson's writing, important not only for Henryson, but also for the ways in which medieval Scottish poetry is orientated toward Continental material.

Machan, Tim William. "Robert Henryson and the Matter of Multilingualism." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109.1 (2010): 52–70.

Although this article is concerned to demonstrate the ways in which multilingualism affects literary production and reception, in his focus on Henryson, Machan draws attention to Henryson's unobtrusive use of linguistic features, such as register and specific lexis, to convey power and authority.

Mann, Jill. *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Fable in Medieval Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Mann's consideration of Henryson forms the last chapter in this work, which discusses the histories of fable and beast epic in English and Scottish literature. She considers what is distinctive about Henryson's approach, drawing attention to the narrator, to the dramatic detail in the narratives, and to the status of the morals at the end of the poems.

Mapstone, Sally. "Robert Henryson." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1100–1500*. Edited by Larry Scanlon, 243–255. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Both this and Hasler 2006 are designed as introductory accounts to the poet and his works. They offer different approaches to the material: Mapstone offers a more overtly historicized account, describing both the witnesses for the poems and the political contexts in which they were written. Her overarching view of Henryson, however, is as a poet intent to make his audience think; in these, she and Hasler agree.

Riddy, Felicity. "'Abject odious': Feminine and Masculine in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*." In *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*. Edited by Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone, 229–248. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.

Riddy's essay deploys the theories of Kristeva and comparisons with contemporary art to discuss the representation of Cresseid as feminine and therefore corrupt. Her reading of Henryson's poem as misogynistic represents a recurrent critical position on the poem, but Riddy's approach is one of the more polemic.

Simpson, James. "'And that was litel need': Poetry's Need in Robert Henryson's *Fables* and *Testament of Cresseid*." In *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann*. Edited by Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan, 193–210. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2011.

In his comparison of the *Fables* (particularly, but not exclusively, the Reynardian ones) and the *Testament*, Simpson addresses questions of natural law and moral law. It usefully addresses the question of morality and poetic value, and the ways in which Henryson's poetry addresses it.

Richard Holland, *The Buke of the Howlat*

The Buke of the Howlat dates from the very middle of the 15th century, and is one of the various poems in Older Scots where personal morality and political circumstances appear to be mixed. Richard Holland was associated with the household of the Douglas Earl of Moray, and the poem is dedicated to the countess, Elizabeth Dunbar. Its outer narrative is a beast fable, about an owl who persuades the bird parliament and then Nature to give him new plumage, but who then loses it because of his misplaced vanity. At the center of the poem, however, there is a heraldic narrative celebrating the Douglas family and their place in the Scottish realm. Understanding the relationship between the two parts of the poem has been an ongoing critical exercise, where Stewart has suggested that the owl might represent upstart nobility, like the Livingstones, or Royan that the moral might point as much to the royal line of Stewarts as to anyone else. What is clear is the intricacy of the poem, both in its overall structure (Mackay) and its stanza form (Royan and Hanna).

Editions

The Buke of the Howlat is a linguistically difficult poem, because of the alliterative lexis and because of the detailed descriptions. Both editions cited here provide notes addressing the more complex aspects. Holland 2014 is edited by Hanna with a particular concern for alliterative meter; Hanna also provides an extensive account of the witnesses. Holland 1987 presents the poem in the context of other Older Scots poems, offers a more conservative text, and provides on-page glosses.

Holland, Richard. *The Buke of the Howlat*. In *Longer Scottish Poems*. Vol. 1, *1375–1650*. Edited by Priscilla Bawcutt and Felicity Riddy, 43–84. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987.

This is an excellent introductory edition of the poem, with on-page glosses and good explanatory notes.

Holland, Richard. *The Buke of the Howlat*. Edited by Ralph Hanna. STS Series 5.12. Edinburgh: Boydell, 2014.

This is the most recent scholarly edition of the poem, in which the editor is more concerned to locate the poem in the tradition of alliterative verse rather than dwell extensively on the political circumstances of its composition and circulation.

Studies

Much recent criticism of *The Howlat* has focused on its dating and its political significance, seeing it as a piece emanating from Douglas circles, at a point when the kin was in a position to challenge royal authority. This is particularly the case with Brown 1997, Riddy 1986, and

Stewart 1975. The other studies, Mackay 1981 and Royan 2010, are weighted toward form and style: Mackay explores the poem's organization, while Royan discusses the use of the poem's stanza form in Older Scots.

Brown, Michael. "'Rejoice to Hear of Douglas': The House of Douglas and the Presentation of Magnate Power in Late Medieval Scotland." *Scottish Historical Review* **76 (1997): 161–184.**

This article is concerned with the ways in which the Douglases presented themselves as a leading magnatial family. It is therefore concerned with the poem as a political rather than a purely literary document, but is very informative regarding the machinations of power in Scotland at the time.

Mackay, Margaret. "Structure and Style in Richard Holland's *Buke of the Howlat.***" In** *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)***. Edited by R. J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy, 191–206. Stirling: University of Stirling, 1981.**

This essay explores the complex organization of the poem, to demonstrate the significance of different parts. It reveals how carefully the poem is constructed and the ways in which the disparate parts—the beast fable and the heraldic narrative at the center—are balanced and connected.

Riddy, Felicity. "Dating *The Buke of the Howlat.***"** *Review of English Studies***, n.s., 37 (1986): 1–10.**

Riddy surveys the evidence within the poem and the circumstances of the writer and his dedicatee to identify a likely time of composition. Although Riddy's findings have been questioned, they remain convincing and provide good grounds for understanding the poem.

Royan, Nicola. "The alliterative *Awntyrs* **Stanza in Older Scots Verse." In** *Medieval Alliterative Poetry: Essays in Honour of Thorlac Turville-Petre***. Edited by John A. Burrow and Hoyt N. Duggan, 185–194. Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts, 2010.**

This essay looks at the use of the *Awyntyrs* stanza in Older Scots, with particular reference to the *Howlat* and *Golagros*, identifying repeating patterns in narrative structure as well as stanzaic organization.

Stewart, Marion. "Holland's 'Howlat' and the Fall of the Livingstones." *Innes Review* **26 (1975): 67–79.**

Stewart's interpretation of the poem identifies the Howlat as emblematic of those climbing to power generally, and of the Livingstone family, who rose to particular prominence during James II's minority, in particular. While subsequent criticism has questioned the identification of the Livingstones, Stewart's general point—that the Douglases stand in opposition to the Howlat—is accepted.

James I and The *Kingis Quair*

The *Kingis Quair* survives in only one manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 24, a collection of Chaucerian poems owned by the Sinclair family. Written in rhyme royal in a language with both English and Scots elements, the poem is a dream vision, where the dreamer shares biographical details with King James I. The poem is attributed to James I himself in the sole witness; if it is not by James, then it seems probable that it was written in his circle. The poem explores the role of Fortune in the dreamer's life, and how it might best be faced.

Editions

The *Kingis Quair* has been edited more frequently than many Older Scots texts: its attractions include its likely author, its genre, and its comparatively straightforward language. Boffey 2003 and Mooney and Arn 2005 anthologize it on grounds of genre, with English and French material. This enables readers to locate it in a broad late medieval literary context. The anthology Jack 1997 is ordered

chronologically, so the poem appears as one of the first surviving literary texts in Older Scots. McDiarmid 1973 and Norton-Smith 1971 provide single-text editions; Norton-Smith's is more commonly cited.

Boffey, Julia, ed. "James I of Scotland, *The Kingis Quair*." In *Fifteenth-Century English Dream Visions: An Anthology*. Compiled by Julia Boffey, 90–157. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

As the title suggests, this collection of poetry locates the *Kingis Quair* with other dream visions from a 15th-century English context. As with Mooney and Arn's collection, this includes a poem by Charles D'Orleans, another noble prisoner of the Crown. Boffey brings deep knowledge of the manuscript witness of the *Kingis Quair* as well as extensive experience of 15th-century poetry.

Jack, R. D. S.. "James I: *The Kingis Quair*." In *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375–1707*. Edited by R. D. S. Jack and P. A. T. Rozendaal, 17–56. Edinburgh: Mercat, 1997.

Jack's edition locates the poem in a Scottish context, in juxtaposition with extracts of the *Bruce* and *Rauf Coilyear*. By placing the poem in that way, Jack's edition draws attention to concerns that are perhaps particularly Scottish, such as good governance. The edition is glossed and annotated on the page.

McDiarmid, M. P., ed. The Kingis Quair *of James I*. London: Heinemann, 1973.

Like Jack, McDiarmid approaches the edition from a Scottish perspective, and is offering a student edition.

Mooney, Linne R., and Mary-Jo Arn, eds. The Kingis Quair *and Other Prison Poems*. Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute, 2005.

Like Jack's anthology, TEAMS editions are aimed at a student audience, and glossed and annotated accordingly. This collection has a thematic link offering a different perception of the way the Scottish poem presents its dreamer. Available online.

Norton-Smith, J., ed. *James I*: The Kingis Quair. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.

This is the edition of the poem most regularly cited. It has detailed notes and glossary, and offers a good reading of the text.

Studies

The authorship of the poem is a key question at least mentioned in critical work, for if the poem is to be attributed to James, then it can be interrogated as autobiographical and as having a particular historical significance. Greene 2008 identifies autobiography and the use of allegory as a means of making sense of the self as a key feature of the poem; Elliott 2007 considers a similar question with reference to medieval approaches to memory. Boffey 1991 and Petrina 1997 locate the *Quair* with reference to literary models, such as prison poetry and immediate literary predecessors, again considering the representation of the subject-speaker. Mapstone 1997 and Martin 2008 locate the work slightly differently, considering it against the Scottish advice to princes tradition, and against the author's rank as much his individuality.

Boffey, Julia. "Chaucerian Prisoners: The Context of *The Kingis Quair*." In *Chaucer and Fifteenth-Century Poetry*. Edited by Julia Boffey and Janet Cowen, 84–102. London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1991.

This essay positions the *Kingis Quair* in a number of frames: firstly, that of other prison poetry, by Charles D'Orleans and George Ashby, the Boethian tradition, and finally and most significantly, Chaucerian texts including *Troilus* and *The Parliament of Fowls*.

Elliott, Elizabeth. "The Open Sentence: Memory, Identity and Translation in *The Kingis Quair*." In *"Joyous Sweit Imaginatioun": Essays on Scottish Literature in Honour of R.D.S. Jack*. Edited by Sarah Carpenter and Sarah M. Dunnigan, 23–40. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.

Elliot considers the poem's engagement with Boethius in conjunction with the medieval understanding and management of memory.

Greene, Darragh. "'Sum newe thing': Autobiography, Allegory and Authority in *The Kingis Quair*." In *On Allegory: Some Medieval Aspects and Approaches*. Edited by Mary Carr, K. P. Clarke, and Marco Nievergelt, 70–86. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2008.

This essay discusses the ways in which the poem brings together the specifics of an individual's experience with the universalizing tendency of allegory.

Mapstone, Sally. "Kingship and *The Kingis Quair*." In *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*. Edited by Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone, 51–69. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

This essay explores the way in which the dreamer's engagement with Venus and Minerva offers a model of self-government in kingship as well as in love, particularly given the attention given to Fortune and her wheel. Mapstone discusses the poem with reference both to its Chaucerian models and to its Scottish successors.

Martin, Joanna. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry 1424–1540*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.

Martin begins her discussion of Scottish poetry with *The Kingis Quair*, and the ways in which it presents reasoned and virtuous love as something secure in a changeable world. Her argument reflects a view of the manuscript containing *The Kingis Quair* as reflective of an audience concerned with social order and with self-governance. See pp. 19–39.

Petrina, Alessandra. The Kingis Quair *of James I of Scotland*. Padua, Italy: Unipress, 1997.

This is the only full-length study of the poem. Its four chapters cover a comprehensive account of the critical treatments of *The Kingis Quair*; a computer-based stylistic analysis, comparing the poem to *The Knight's Tale* and *The Complaint of the Black Knight*; a discussion of poetic influences Boethius, Guillaume de Deguileville, and Dante; and the overall effect of the poem, in relation to James's status as king.

Andrew of Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*

Prior of St. Serf's on Loch Leven, Wyntoun wrote the first surviving Older Scots vernacular chronicle, beginning with the foundation of the world, hence "Original." The *Chronicle* is written in four-stress couplets, and often offers a different perspective on national events from that found in the Latin prose chronicles of John Fordun and Walter Bower, even though it most probably draws on very similar sources. Wyntoun had clearly read Barbour, and quite possibly other vernacular poetry from both England and Scotland, some of which is reflected in his narratives. The chronicle survives in nine manuscripts, including some from the 16th century, suggesting that it had a lasting influence.

Editions

From the nine manuscripts, three versions of the text emerge: an early, a middle, and a late. The complete scholarly editions of all three date from the 19th century, one edited by Laing for the Historians of Scotland series (Andrew of Wyntoun 1872), and the other two by Amours for the Scottish Text Society (Andrew of Wyntoun 1902–1914). The length of the *Original Chronicle* has not proved conducive to revising this editorial work.

Andrew of Wyntoun. *Original Chronicle*. **3 vols. Edited by D. Laing. Historians of Scotland 2, 3, and 9. Edinburgh: Constable, 1872.**

This is an edition of the Royal MS, considered by Amours to be the middle version of the *Chronicle*.

Andrew of Wyntoun. *Original Chronicle*. **6 vols. Edited by F. J. Amours. Scottish Text Society Original Series 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 63. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1902–1914.**

Amours's edition offers facing-page editions of the Wemyss MS (the earliest redaction of the *Chronicle*) and the Cottonian MS (the latest redaction). It also contains a detailed account of all the manuscripts and previous editions, as well as notes and index.

Studies

Wyntoun has had more attention as a chronicler than as a poet, and rather like Barbour and Hary, it is difficult to dissociate the content from the medium in any discussion. Boardman 2002 contrasts with a historian's eye Wyntoun's vernacular history with other, mostly Latin accounts; it is a good introduction to the complexities of late medieval Scottish historiography. Jones 2013 is interested in Wyntoun's claim to preserve a much earlier poetic fragment—Jones is interested both in Wyntoun's transmission and also in the use to which the fragment has been put. Goldstein 1987 and Purdie 2016 take Wyntoun seriously as a writer and as a talented rhetorician, and explore the ways in which he constructs his narrative and his narrative identity.

Boardman, Steve. "Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain." In *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*. **Edited by E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, 47–72. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.**

Through its examination of the treatment of Arthur in Scottish historiographical narrative, this essay is really useful in outlining where Wyntoun is distinct from other medieval historiographers, especially those writing in Latin.

Goldstein, R. James. "'For he wald vsurpe na fame': Andrew of Wyntoun's Use of the Modesty Topos and Literary Culture in Early Fifteenth-Century Scotland." *Scottish Literary Journal* **14.1 (1987): 5–18.**

This article addresses one aspect of Wyntoun's rhetorical strategy. It was one of the first articles since the edition to take a literary perspective on the *Original Chronicle*.

Jones, Chris. "Inclinit to Diuersiteis: Wyntoun's Song on the Death of Alexander III and the 'Origins' of Scots Vernacular Poetry." *Review of English Studies* **64 (2013): 21–38.**

This article uses Wyntoun's presentation of a verse as contemporary with the First War of Independence as a lens to examine the *Chronicle*, its transmission, and the critical desire to find the earliest Scottish text.

Purdie, Rhiannon. "Malcolm, Margaret, Macbeth and the Miller: Rhetoric and the Re-Shaping of History in Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*.**" In** *Medievalia and Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture. New Series 41, Special Issue: Writing Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. **Edited by Eva von Contzen and Luuk Houwen, 45–64. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.**

This essay addresses Wyntoun's narrative and rhetorical approaches to the key episode in Scottish historiographical narrative, the success of Malcolm Canmore and his dynasty in reaching and holding the Scottish throne. It takes Wyntoun seriously as an effective and thoughtful writer, and reveals his skill in manipulating narrative.

back to top

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