



University  
of Glasgow

Hutcheson, Louise (2014) *Rhetorics of martial virtue: mapping Scottish heroic literature c.1600-1660*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/5097/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Rhetorics of Martial Virtue  
Mapping Scottish Heroic Literature c.1600-1660

Louise Hutcheson

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, March 2014  
Department of Scottish Literature, College of Arts, University of Glasgow



© 2014 Louise Hutcheson

## Abstract

This thesis investigates textual cultures of heroism in Scottish literature c. 1600-1660 as evidenced in a corpus of texts engaged with evolving concepts of martial virtue, honour and masculinity. It provides the first sustained analyses of four seventeenth-century romances – *Penardo and Laissa* (1615) and *Prince Robert* (1615), both by Patrick Gordon, *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622) by Patrick Hannay and *Calanthrop and Lucilla* (1626) by John Kennedy – and their trajectory within a Scottish tradition of writing that was engaged in a fundamental search for its ideal national hero. Over the course of this research, a series of intriguing connections and networks began to emerge which illuminated an active and diverse community of ‘martial writers’ from whom this corpus of texts were conceived. From these pockets of creativity, there emerged a small but significant body of writers who shared not just a military career but often patronage, experience of service in Europe and a literary interest in what I will define in this thesis as the search for post-Union (1603) Scottish male identity. What began as a study of romance texts was prompted to seek new lines of enquiry across a wide and varied body of texts as it sought to engage with a changeable but distinctive thematic discourse of martial heroism, conduct literature for young men disguised as romance. Its findings are by no means always finite; a partly speculative attempt is made to illuminate the path of one particularly pervasive thread of literary discourse – martial virtue – rather than to lay false claims to homogeneity. The nature of this enquiry means that the thesis examines a vast array of texts, including the fictional romances mentioned above and others such as Sir George Mackenzie’s *Aretina; Or, the Serious Romance* (1660) and John Barclay’s *Argenis* (1621), non-fictional texts such as Robert Munro’s *The Expedition* (1638), George Lauder’s *The Scottish Soldier* (1629) and James Hume’s *Pantaleonis Vaticinia Satyra* (1633), and their engagement with issues of martial service. It is, in essence, a study of the seventeenth-century Scottish literary hero, sought naturally at first among the epic and fantastical landscapes of fictional romance, but pursued further into the martial world inhabited by its authors, patrons, and, as will be argued, its readers.

In mapping this hitherto neglected topic and its related corpus of texts, the thesis identifies a number of potentially characteristic emphases which evince the development of a specifically martial conversation in seventeenth-century Scotland. It foregrounds the re-emergence of feudal narratives of male identity in the wake of the 1603 Union of the Crowns and after the outbreak of Civil and European war, in which the martial warrior of Brucian romance emerges once again as an ideal model of heroism – the natural antithesis to the more (self-evidently) courtly romance narratives produced at the Stuart court in London. Coupled with the

inheritance of a late-fifteenth and sixteenth-century poetics which foregrounds reading as an act of moral investment (from which later writers appear to select the specifically reader-focused aspects of Christian Humanism), the erudite soldier and his corresponding literary protagonist begin to emerge as the foremost Scottish hero in a selection of both fictive and non-fictive texts, from vernacular romance to memoirs and chronicles, and in prose fiction. Across this diverse corpus of texts, collective emphases upon the moral investment of reading, exemplar-based use of historical materials and Scotland's martial past emerge as a shared advisory paradigm, a conduct book of behaviours for the young Scottish male.

## list of contents ~

abstract	.....	i
acknowledgements	.....	v
selective database of texts	.....	vi
introduction	.....	1
chapter one:		
seventeenth-century romance	.....	4
The History of Penardo and Laissa		5
The Famous History of Prince Robert		33
Sheretine and Mariana		53
Calanthrop and Lucilla		75
Argenis		91
Aretina; or, the Serious Romance		98
chapter two:		
medieval romance	.....	110
Database Analysis:		
Romance circulation		113
The Courtly Romances		121
chapter three		
social, political and cultural contexts	.....	128
The Cult of Reading and the Book		133
War and the Military: The Thirty		
Years War		135
The Martial Hero		137
chapter four:		
the prudent soldier	.....	142

	George Lauder	144
	James Hume	148
	Robert Munro	151
	James Graham	154
	Honour, Warfare and Erudition	157
	Mackay's Regiment	166
	Colonel Sir Andrew Gray and Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia	168
conclusion		171
bibliography	.....	174

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr Theo van Heijnsbergen for his boundless commitment to this project. He has certainly been a 'heroic' supervisor. This thesis would not have been possible without the support of The Carnegie Trust, and I am extremely grateful for their funding of the project. I would also like to thank Dr Anna Caughey, Dr Sebastiaan Verweij and Dr Kate McClune for generously granting me permission to quote material from their forthcoming publications, as well as Dr Rhona Brown for her comments and guidance at various stages of this project. Every doctoral student approaches their Viva with a great sense of foreboding, and I was certainly no exception. I would therefore like to express my utmost gratitude to Dr Robert Maslen and Professor David Parkinson for their invaluable feedback, encouragement and support at that vital latter stage of the project.

My colleagues at Luath Press and North Lanarkshire Trust generously allowed me time and scope in which to finish my thesis, and I am thankful to Jennie Renton and Kirsten Graham in particular for their support.

On a more personal level, I would like to thank my family – John, Christine, Fiona and Laura – for their unfailing support over the past three years. Their encouragement, warmth and belief in my work spurred me on when I needed it most. I will always be especially grateful for a mother and aunt who accompanied a timid Masters student all the way to Italy for her first conference paper – then kept a low profile on arrival, lest she feel embarrassed. Jennifer Orr, Lucy Hinnie and Gillian Loney all provided cups of tea (sometimes wine), moral support and the occasional critique, and I owe all of them a debt of thanks. Finally, I owe a great deal to Paddy Harley, whose love, support and advice has been invaluable.

## Selected database of romances/heroic texts<sup>1</sup>

Title	MS/Print Date	Later editions/appearances and reprints	Modern Library Collections or archives
Anon, <i>Fierabras</i> <sup>2</sup>	c.1375	c. 1456-1458	
Anon, <i>The Buik of Alexander</i>	c. 1437	c. 1580	British Library STC (2nd ed.), 321.5.
Sir Gilbert Hay, <i>The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror</i> .	c. 1460	c. 1499	British Museum, Additional MS 40,732. Scottish Register House, MS GD 112/71/9.
Anon, <i>The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane</i>	c. 1450-1475	1508	National Library of Scotland STC /1852:18.
Anon, <i>The History of Sir Eger, Sir Graham and Sir Gray Steel</i>	c. pre-1497	1669	British Library ESTC Citation no. R43180.
Scottish <i>Troy Book</i> (fragments)	15th century		IMEV 298.5 MSS Oxford, Bodl. Douce 148. CUL Kk.V.30
Raoul Lefèvre, <i>The Veray Trew Historie of the Valiaunt Knight Jasone</i> (translated by William Caxton).	c. 1477	1483	Library of Queen Mary and of King James VI. <sup>3</sup> Cambridge University Library.
Anon, <i>Lancelot of the Laik</i> (Scottish translation of French prose romance <i>Lancelot du Lac</i> , publication details unknown).	c. 1490-1500		Library of Queen Mary and of King James VI. Cambridge University Library MS. xxxvi, 113 p. 3 fold. facsim.
Anon, <i>Roman de Gyron le Courtois</i> (Paris: A Vérard).	c. 1501	c.1519	Library of Queen Mary and of King James VI.
Anon, <i>Clariodus</i> .	c. 1503-49	1830	National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.5.
Pontus de Tyard, <i>Erreurs Amoureuses</i> (Lyon).	c. 1549	1551 1573	Library of Queen Mary and of King James VI.
Anon, <i>Florimond of Albany</i>	c. pre-1550		

<sup>1</sup> The above table represents a broad selection of romances – or texts which contain recognisable romance elements – and heroic fiction dating from the medieval period to 1626. The contents are not exhaustive, but are provided to illustrate a sizeable cross-section of texts which were circulating throughout Scotland in the medieval and early modern period. Any omissions or errors are my own.

<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge, there are no extant holdings of the English translation(s) of this French *chanson du geste*. However, The British Library does hold artistic representations of the knight Fierabras, *Charlemagne and Fierabras with the relics*; detail of a miniature from BL Royal MS 15 E vi, f. 70r (the ‘Talbot Shrewsbury Book’) dating from around 1444-1445.

<sup>3</sup> See Julian Sharman, *The Library of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1889).

(fragment)			
Anon, <i>King Orphius</i> (fragments)	c. pre-1550		National Library of Scotland, 'Auchinleck MS', Adv MS 19.2.1.
Sir David Lyndsay, <i>The Historie of Ane Nobil and Vailyeand Squyer, William Meldrum</i>	c. 1550	1604	(1604 ed.) Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2nd ed.) /15679.
John Rolland, <i>The Seuin Seages</i>	c. 1560	1578 1631 1635	(1578 ed.) Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2nd ed.) / 21254.
John Barbour, <i>The Actys of Robert Bruce</i>	Composed c. 1370s  1st Print: 1570	c.1571, 1594, 1616, 1620, 1648, 1670, 1672.	National Library of Scotland STC 1377.5.
Henry the Minstrel, <i>The Actis and Deidis of Schir William Wallace</i>	1570	1601	National Library of Scotland STC 2185.06.
Anon, <i>Rauf Coilyear</i>	1572		National Library of Scotland STC 5487.
John Rolland, <i>Ane Treatise Callit the Court of Venus</i>	1575		The British Library STC /1641:09.
Anon, <i>Buik of Alexander the Grit</i>	1580		National Library of Scotland STC 321.5.
Anon, <i>Sir Colling the Knycht.</i>	c. pre-1582	1650	British Library, 'Percy Folio', Additional MS. 27879.
Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, <i>The Historie of Judith</i> (translated by Thomas Hudson)	1584	1598	National Library of Scotland STC 21671.
John Stewart of Baldynneis, <i>Roland Furious.</i>	c.1590		
Anon, <i>The First Buik of Amadis de Gaule</i> , a translation by Anthony Munday of Nicolas de Herberay's French translation of the Spanish text (London: E. Allde).	c. 1590	1619 1652	Library of Queen Mary and of King James VI (Sharman). N.B. Also present are the ninth and eleventh books.
Ludovico Ariosto, <i>Orlando Furioso</i> (Sharman's catalogue does not specify whether this is the original Italian text, or John Harington's English translation, printed in London by Richard Field, 1591).	c.1591		Library of Queen Mary and of King James VI (Sharman).
Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembrokes</i>	1599	1629 1655	National Library of Scotland STC 22542.

<i>Arcadia</i>		1662 1674	1655 ed. The British Library Wing/ L1489.
Anon, <i>A Pleasant History of Rosmall and Lillian</i>	c. 1603	1663 1775	National Library of Scotland STC 2825:04 British Library ESTC Citation no. R181861
Patrick Gordon, <i>The Famous History of Penardo and Laissa</i> (Dordrecht: George Waters).	1615		Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2nd ed.) / 12067 British Library ESTC Citation no. S103342.
Patrick Gordon, <i>The Famous Historie of the Valiant Prince Robert Sirnamed the Bruce</i> (Dordrecht: George Waters).	1615		Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2nd ed.) / 12066.
John Barclay, <i>Argenis</i> (Paris: Nicolas Bouan)	1621	1622 1623 1625 (London: English translation Kingsmill Long) 1628 (trans. Robert Le Gruys).	1625 ed. Cambridge University Library STC (2nd ed.) / 1392.
Patrick Hannay, <i>Sheretine and Mariana</i> (London: John Haviland for Nathaniel Butter).	1622		Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2nd ed.) / 12748 British Library STC Tract supplement / E4:1 [233b].
John Kennedy, <i>The Historie of Calanthrop and Lucilla</i>	1626	1631 (as <i>The Ladies Delight</i> , in London, by Thomas Harper for Michael Sparke)	British Library STC / 802:17.  British Library STC S109278 (reprint).
Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, <i>Aretina; Or the Serious Romance</i>	1660		British Library Wing (2nd ed.)/M151

## Introduction

This thesis analyses the evolution of the male hero in Scotland as articulated in a body of Scottish literature produced *c.*1600-1660. Specifically, it maps the trajectory of discourses on martial virtue. This literary map is based on the understanding that the subject, addressee and readership of the texts discussed therein are largely male, and the series of moral, spiritual, intellectual and ethical guidelines developed by them belong to a tradition of Scottish writing that seeks to establish a model of ideal behaviours relevant to the most socially authoritative figures within that culture at that time: in this case, noblemen and soldiers – from the medieval *speculum principis* tradition through to an updated, civic-oriented *speculum militas* mode of writing for the seventeenth century. Accordingly, the ‘rhetorics of martial virtue’ discussed below should be understood as discourses on leadership, heroism and civic obedience – an exploration of what it means to be the ideal man, not just ‘man’.

Preceding the emergence of *speculum militas* literature, advice to princes literature was ubiquitous in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland: authors inserted their counsel within a wide variety of genres, including romance, dream vision poetry and political treatises, amongst others, and its guises, foci and evolution have been expertly mapped elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Though texts which provided advisory materials on more universal grounds than kingship were certainly available – Sally Mapstone acknowledges *The Porteous of Noblenes* and *The Foly of Fubys* as examples of more generalised medieval advice literature – Scottish writers began to actively distil these ideas into a meaningful discourse on heroism in the seventeenth century. The absence of James VI from Scotland following the Union of the Crowns (1603) certainly countered the proliferation of *speculum principis* narratives, but more importantly, it created the space for new narratives: *speculum militas*, a mirror for soldiers.

As this thesis will argue, textual cultures of martial virtue in Scotland developed along a distinctive and intriguing trajectory, and the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618 and Civil War in 1644 would certainly have compounded the increasingly central social role of the soldier. The troping of leadership in literature thus demanded that the soldier protagonist be the embodiment of the ideal man; he who is equal parts brain and brawn. That there existed during this period a shared discourse of heroism which valued both martial prowess and

---

<sup>4</sup> See Sally Mapstone, ‘The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500’. Unpublished D.Phil Thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1986), Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424-1540* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008) and Kate McClune, ‘Governing the Self’ in Nicola Royan, ed. *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Literature 1400-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

learnedness (whilst consciously displacing the romance mode's more amatory accents) can be helpfully illustrated by two writers working in that period:

Patrick Gordon of Ruthven (*fl.* 1606-1649), *Penardo and Laissa* (1615)

Ambitioune is a passioune wondrous strong  
Of noble courage and of mightie force  
Whiche captive leads all g'aland spreits along  
And euen the strongest passions does enforce  
Yea loue it self which seemeth to contend  
Yet oft ambitioune victor proues in end.<sup>5</sup>

Robert Munro to his readers, 1637

Reader, if I could perswade thee to beleeeve what profit the diligent and serious souldier doth reape by reading, and what advantage he gaineth above him, who thinketh to become a perfect Souldier by a few years practise, without reading: Truely, thou wouldest use thy earnest diligence as well as in the one as in the other; for I dare be bold to affirme, that reading and discourse doth as much or rather more, to the furtherance of a perfect Souldier, than a few yeares practise without reading...[for,] from Histories, men draw knowledge and wisdom.<sup>6</sup>

In tandem, the above quotes serve to foreground the mutual desire to promote readerly conduct and martial ambition while repressing erotic desire. Indeed, this collective concern for the moral and social improvement of the young Scottish soldier (mapped below across a diverse array of texts which range from vernacular romance to memoir, chronicle and prose fiction) demonstrates that critical narratives which argue for a post-medieval and pre-Enlightenment literary decline are overstated and misleading. Contrary to these existing biases, cogent and sustained literary dialogues were indeed taking place in seventeenth-century Scotland.

The first chapter of this study examines in detail all of the known Scottish romances which date from the seventeenth century, those being; *The History of Penardo and Laissa* (1615) by Patrick Gordon, *The Famous History of the Valiant Prince Robert Sirnamed the Bruce* (1615) by Patrick Gordon, *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622) by Patrick Hannay, *Calanthrop and Lucilla* (1626) by John Kennedy, *Argenis* (1621) by John Barclay and *Aretina, or; the Serious Romance* (1660) by George Mackenzie.

---

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Gordon, *The Famous History of Penardo and Laissa* (Dort: George Waters, 1615). British Library ESTC Citation no. S103342. VII, I, 1-6. N.B. No scholarly edition of this text exists, therefore all provided quotations are merely uncorrected transcriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Munro, *Munro his Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)*. (London: William Jones, Red-Crosse Street, 1637). Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC/966:23. p 3.

In the second chapter, I will provide a brief contextual analysis of medieval Scottish romance texts, in order to evince the continuities as well as the differences between the two traditions. To do so, I refer to the database of texts located on pp. vi-viii and examine exactly which texts circulated in Scotland in the medieval period and beyond, seeking to reveal patterns of repetition, the endurance of a text's audience, and reading trends more generally.

Chapter three moves beyond romance in order to investigate the broader social, political and cultural issues with which authors in seventeenth-century Scotland engaged. It examines the nation's role in the Thirty Years War alongside other socio-political developments, such as the growth of the printing press and its attendant impact on models of reading. But the most significant of these issues is warfare, its impact upon rhetorics of heroism so overt and enduring that it forms this project's core line of inquiry, and which prompts the movement in this thesis away from romance and towards other examples of heroic literature. The fourth chapter thus provides an introductory survey of texts produced by active Scottish soldiers, examining the ways in which non-fiction and other genres engaged with those issues of Scottish martialism already outlined in fiction.

At its end, this study hopes to demonstrate, by following a line of inquiry that stretches from Barbour's *Bruce* through to Gordon's *Prince Robert* and beyond, that the issues of heroism prompted by the upwards 'social movement' of the martial community in Scotland would form an enduring and vibrant literary discourse.

## Chapter One

### Seventeenth-Century Romance

## Patrick Gordon's *Famous History of Penardo and Laissa* (1615)

### Synopsis

Main characters:

Penardo of Thessaly

Laissa

King Phedro of Achaia

Kalandar (servant)

The Muses

Mansay (Sorceror)

Prince Phelarnon of Achaia

Prince Tropalance of Datia

Sigismund of Datia

Philena

King Grodane of Thessaly

Vodina

Phedro, King of Achaia, has a dream vision. This vision forecasts the ruin of the kingdom, and is the catalyst for a series of narrative mishaps. Crucially, the King misinterprets the vision's meaning – though the fire did 'from him self proceed' (I: 11, 1), it is at his new-born daughter's feet he lays the blame. Phedro instructs Kalander, his servant, to remove the child from court and have her executed, but, unable to commit the act, Kalander instead saves the child by leaving her on Mount Parnassus, in the care of the Muses. Laissa blossoms, but as her beauty grows to surpass that of the Muses, resentment simmers, and they seek her death.

The Muses send Melpomene down to the lowest Hell to seek Alecto. The narrator laments that women should be loved and not envied (II: 3, 1), and muses that Laissa's beauty is a God-given grace. Those 'whome *God* has grac'd with beawtie/', he concludes, 'For them he cars, to them we ought a dewtie' (II: 4, 2-6). Alecto is nevertheless summoned from her den and consents to 'work her wrak' (II: 39, 4), justifying her act by claiming that Laissa's crime has been to defile the Muses' spring by bathing there.

Alecto conspires to lure Prince Phelarnon to Parnassus, where Laissa bathes in the Muses' fountain. Alecto appeals to the Prince's sense of heroic pride, emphasising his martial prowess and imploring him to proceed to the throne of glory, where he will find reward for high and noble deeds. Her words inspire in the Prince a hot desire for fame, and he begins his ascent of Mount Parnassus. An attempted intervention occurs – 'suddenlie to darknes turn'd the day... Heuens fyre did seeme to tear the earthe a sunder/ Which of this Monarches fall did warning make/ Of death, of bloode, of ruine, and of wrake' (III: 13, 1-6) – but the sorcerer Mansay's warning merely serves to further inflame the Prince's ambitions. Arriving at

the mountain top, Phelarnon sees Laissa and falls immediately in love. Unaware that the beautiful woman is his sister, he considers forcing himself on her. However, fearing divine retribution, he retreats, and continues to watch her. When he finally approaches her, Laissa is frightened, unmoved by his love and flattery.

Alecto brings a second prince to Parnassus, Tropalance of Datia, who, like Phelarnon, is lured by the promise of heroic adventure. Equally enamoured by Laissa, he soon meets Phelarnon in combat, and the two are mortally wounded. The sorcerer Mansay enchants their spirits – ‘in a dark blak cloud of fearfull hew/ He brought [the two knights] to his caue with hellish sprights/ Wheir yeat at then they gaspe their lattest breathe/ And dies in paine yet leiues in endless death’ (IV: 15, 3-6). He enchants Laissa too, declaring that she is the cause of all such woe. Sigismund of Datia, enraged by the death of his son Tropalance, summons an army and marches upon Achaia.

Prince Penardo of Thessaly is chosen by his father, King Grodan, to march upon Achaia and defend the kingdom from Sigismund’s advance. Penardo is handsome and well-loved, but is also trained in arms and known for his physical prowess. The events on Mount Parnassus are related, after which King Grodane of Thessaly consents to lend friendly aid to Achaia.

The *caput* opens with an expansive commentary on the merits of political amity, describing it as the ‘staff and only guyde/ Without the, man should walk in darkest dark’ (VI: 2, 1-2). King Grodane seeks peace with Sigismund, but Sigismund refuses. The first conflict commences, in which the Transylvanian Prince, Phelaston, baits Penardo. Penardo’s martial ambition is ignited, and he is compelled to ‘show him self... falling one his kneis before his *Syre*’, desiring that ‘he might haue the charge to quell/ The furie of that princelie *Paganes* ire’ (VI: 24, 2-4). Grodane consents, and Penardo advances with the aid of three noble knights and the Thessalian forces.

One of the poem’s most dominant themes emerges as the *caput* opens with a rhetorical discussion of ambition. It establishes a key ideological conflict in the form of martial ambition versus love’s passion. It serves, moreover, as an introduction to the hero’s first true expression of heroic aspiration, as he learns that his Thessalian aid has arrived too late. Sigismund’s army has already burnt and pillaged, provoking Penardo’s sense of vengeance: ‘The Prince that pitied suche a sore mischance/ Admiring much this monstrous crueltie/ Swoor in a rage his armie to aduance’ (VII: 21, 1-3). They march for three days as Sigismund’s allies approach. Establishing a camp, Penardo takes rest prior to the encroaching battle, and is

moved in his sleep by the vision of a desperate maid. A virgin nymph, who we later learn is Laissa, leads him to a suit of enchanted armour, ordered by Cassandra to be made to get Helen back to the Greeks – ‘*This pretious stone ane armour does retain/ Whose woundrous woorth as yit shal no man know*’ (VII: 39, 1-2) – which will aid Penardo to fulfil his chivalric duty before rescuing her and releasing the spirits of the enchanted knights. In the tradition of Dunbar’s *Goldyn Targe*, the precious stone arms against amorous desire and ‘venereall play’ (VII: 46, 4).

Penardo dutifully follows the nymph’s instructions, and discovers the armour. Gordon praises the heroine – although the ruin of the kingdom is ‘fair Lissa[’s] cause’, in aiding the knight, she helps to prevent further downfall – leading the narrator to assert that Laissa’s release from torment is decreed by God. Empowered by the suit of armour, meanwhile, Penardo is transformed into a member of the ideological martial elite – ‘lyk *Mars* him self his countenance he bar/ That thundred furth blood, victorie, and war’ (VIII: 5, 5-6) – and two major battles are won against the Transylvanian and Serbian armies. Penardo’s development into an ideal hero is confirmed as it becomes clear that war is his true love. Indeed, his ‘amorous face and eyes’ (VIII: 14, 1) are not inspired by his attraction to the romance heroine, but instead by the glories of combat:

Then loue him self more sweit his countenance  
 Wheir grace lay hid in glanceing beauties lap  
 Still sending with each smyle, each look, each glance  
 A thousand amours that the senses rap  
 With all delight at last he breathed forthe  
 True valour vertue wonder glorie worth. (VIII: 15, 1-6)

Penardo’s development into the ideal physical hero is soon matched by the development of his rhetorical skill. He evokes heroic achievement of the past to rally his knights, inspiring loyalty and thirst for victory through his evocation of national duty and portentous tone, ‘whereat the armie gaue a ioyfull cry/ And willinglie they rank them selfs’ (VIII: 21, 1-2). The battle commences, and Penardo is drawn into single combat. He defeats the knight, and his reputation is solidified, for ‘this was the beginning of Penardos praise/ This tyme, his fame through all the earthe proceids...this was the birth day of his valorous deids’ (VIII: 64, 1-4).

Penardo’s army meets Sigismund’s host in combat. Penardo delivers his second martial speech, promising honour and victory, ‘for *Honors* crowne so precious is, that nought/ Within the ten fold orbs of heaune remains/ Compaired to it’ (IX: 13, 1-3). This speech occupies the next twelve stanzas and acts as an appeal to martial ambition and to the army’s sense of nationalism. Penardo’s eloquence is such that even the lame and gravely wounded are inspired and revived. The conflict continues, and the Thessalian forces are fortified by the

arrival of King Grodane's aid. Together they secure triumph, and Penardo achieves great heroic glory. The narrator does take time, however, to lament the Thessalian losses, including at the close of the *caput* the epitaphs of the knights Mandadorus, Andromadan, Belmundo and Phenabon. As the *caput* closes, Penardo's mother dies, and both Grodane and Penardo depart from their companions, separately.

Having achieved martial victory, Penardo now departs to rescue Laissa, fed with desire of more glorious deeds. He wanders for three days, and finally falls into an exhausted sleep. Laissa appears as a vision once more, clearly suffering great pain, and elicits Penardo's sympathy. He descends beneath Parnassus, where he must bypass a series of typical romance obstacles (including a 'monstrous Gyant' [X: 13, 4]). The nearer to his destination he travels, the further away it seems, and he is assaulted by visions of serpents and ghostly spirits. The spirit of a fallen knight warns him that death awaits those who try to rescue the maid, for '*Who seis her, deis for loue*' (X: 37, 6). He describes Laissa's prison, where '*Before her burnes a Taper*' which Penardo must '*win with mightie force*' (X: 41, 5. 42, 1). The knight disappears, and Penardo resolves to continue.

Penardo discovers the maiden's tomb, and is attacked by a second monster. He overcomes the beast, and he laments Laissa's captivity. As he mourns Laissa's torment, a procession of lights enter the chamber, held aloft by an army of young boys. This new vision is a funeral procession for the two dead knights enchanted by Mansay on Mount Parnassus in *Caput IV*. Their arrival evokes an expression of despair from Laissa, who passionately discourses that Mansay should '*Let these tuo leaue and then impose on [her]/ Ten thousand deaths so [she] may once but die*' (XI: 19, 5-6). Penardo receives instructions to remove the altar's Taper, and is strengthened by enchanted armour which helps him to retain his chastity. He is drawn to a gallery where he views the legion of spirits whom Love has slain:

Their was the Queene of *Carthage*, *Dido* fair  
Who for *Aeneas* loue had lost her breath,  
And for *Antonius* loue with *Vipers* their  
Sad *Cleopatra* Sting'd her self to deathe,  
Their *Ariadne* that her self hade slaine  
For proud vnthankfull *Theseus* disdaine. (XI: 39, 1-6)

The last two knights presented to Penardo are Tropolance and Phelarnon, who are returned to the 'sad shaddowes of the dankish night' (XI: 52, 5).

Though Desire (incorporeal but insidious) makes several attempts to lure him from his path, Penardo's enchanted armour repels any temptations. Its first attempt is to entice him

to sleep, for he has not slept for over two days and is exhausted from his long journey, but he resists. 'But ridd of this he searching fand anone/ Ane irone doore' behind which a '*dreidfull Dragone within does ly/ That fosters still the fyre of Lechery*' (XII: 27, 5-8). It is here that Tropolance and Phelarnon are imprisoned, and who '*can not be remou'd frome thence, vntill/ A Knight shall come whoes chastetie is suche...As can not be by aine meins entys'd*' (XII: 27, 10-13). The dragon cannot inflame Penardo's lust and finally, he frees the knightly spirits from their torment. Penardo discovers that his journey thus far is now represented by various jewelled images throughout the chamber. The narrator briefly recounts his past achievements, but a written inscription therein declares that his efforts were '*in vaine all labour is for nought/ From Mansayes charming spells can non defend*' and that '*In ending of her pain her hyfe did end*' (XIII: 8, 7-10). Devastated, Penardo finds he cannot speak or think clearly. Believing Laissa's cause to be lost, Penardo leaves the tomb at Parnassus and wanders into the wilderness, while his perceived failure continues to torment him. His sense of dishonour begins to compromise the great heroic achievements he has achieved in previous chapters – both the martial and rhetorical skills developed during his past encounters – as he discovers a shield, under which some verses are written, but in his great fury he disdains to read the inscription (the introduction of the 'bad reader' – a complement to his impeded rhetoricity, which together serve to foreground the importance and power of language). He discovers a young woman who appeals to his chivalric ambition once more. She breathes a '*souggred lye a craftie guile/ A fals deceat sprung of malicious kynd*' (XIII: 37, 3-4), claiming to be a servant to Philena of Datia, who has been taken on her wedding day by a jealous knight. The servant girl thus claims to seek a knight and champion. Penardo, unwittingly, consents.

The scheme is revealed as Philena's herself, aided by Arebo (Philena's tutor, a sorcerer) and the false servant. Penardo faces his second giant of the romance, a task Philena has no intention of him surviving, but he proves an equal adversary. He overcomes the beast, and falls injured to the ground. Philena, shocked by his survival, seems overcome by sudden desire for Penardo, as she '*groa'nd...sigh'd [and] sank doune at his head*' (XIV: 59, 6). She nurses him back to health, and though the Prince is aware of her passion for him, his '*martiall mynd to loue could neuer bow*' (XIV: 71, 1, 4). She makes a series of attempts to seduce him, but Penardo's chastity remains intact. Philena next plots to kill him in his sleep, but '*Ane Angell bright discend from heauen he sies/ Who sayd vp vp heighe Ioue commands ye flie/ Flie then in haist for if yow stay thowle die*' (XIV: 79, 4-6). Penardo assents, and makes his escape.

Penardo flees to the wilderness and falls into a deep sleep. He is roused by the sudden arrival of ten knights who have captured seven ladies. He draws his sword and pursues them.

Penardo defeats the knights and releases the captive women, amongst whom is Vodina, the Princess of Hungary. She is immediately enamoured of the knight. As he escorts the women away, three further knights alight upon them, and mistaking Penardo for one of the previous captors, attack him. Vodina assures them that Penardo is her friend, provoking jealousy in the knight Dorio, her husband-to-be. They arrive at her father's court, and Vodina praises Penardo's valour to the King.

Vodina declares her passion for Penardo – 'Thow stole my hairt out throw my besome poure' (XVI: 28, 1) – but Penardo does not return her feelings. His response is kind, and rather than reject her, he claims to be descended of base blood, and thus unworthy of her. He beseeches her to drive her affection from her mind, but grief-stricken, Vodina commits suicide. Dorio, in his wrath, frames Penardo by placing the latter's dagger in Vodina's heart. Penardo is thus imprisoned to be executed. The evening before his execution, though, another vision appears before him, declaring Vodina's fate a just end for her unjust (or unchaste) desires. She suggests that a greater fate of chastity and moral worth awaits him. That same night, a stranger arrives to release him. This 'ramping lyoune fought Penardo out' and the two escape, eventually resting in a grove. This true friend, this 'vnaquainted Knight' (XVII: 2, 3), is revealed as Laissa, who has in fact been saved by Penardo. The two rejoice, and finally, Penardo feels the prick of love: 'thow [his] hairt from dreidfull warre/ Could not be thrald to womanizing loue', he declares to Laissa his 'lyfe [his] seruice and [his] all' (XVII: 8, 4-5; 11, 2). She relates her woeful history, but their rendezvous is brief, as their talk is interrupted by the arrival of thirty knights. Amongst the knights is a distraught Lady. Her groom beseeches Penardo to rescue this woman. The hapless knight concedes, unaware that the groom was not a stranger, but Arebo in disguise. Laissa tries to follow, but is lost in the wilderness. The first book of the romance (which was never completed) ends with the lovers separated, as Penardo rides into further danger and Laissa 'wandring farre she lost the way at last' (XVII: 58, 6).

FINIS

A ‘suspicious Aberdeenshire laird’ who was sceptical of new court ritual after King James VI and I’s relocation to London in 1603,<sup>7</sup> Patrick Gordon of Ruthven (*fl.* 1606-1649) sought to escape what he perceived to be the contemporary decay of national values. This chapter will explore how, in transforming what was to him an unsatisfying cultural landscape into a more pleasing literary one, Gordon participated in a broader elegiac nostalgia for Scotland’s martial past which began to emerge in the years 1603-1660.

Though details of his background are scant, it is likely that Patrick Gordon the poet is the same man as Patrick Gordon, historian, who authored *A short abridgement of Britane’s distemper* (*c.* 1647). While both Robert Pitcairn and James Maidment have suggested that the poet was in fact one Patrick Gordon, diplomat to James VI,<sup>8</sup> inconclusive but compelling evidence suggests otherwise. Read alongside *Britane’s Distemper*, both *Penardo and Laissa* and the historical romance *The Famous History of Prince Robert Sirnamed the Bruce* (1615) reveal shared ideological patterns of heroism, morality and virtue which seem to evince the stylistic characteristics of one author. Both historian and poet, moreover, hailed from Aberdeenshire. These emotive and literary points of contact are compelling, but it is the significant matter of shared patronage which is most persuasive: Lord Gordon of Huntly, to whom the fictional knight Penardo is presented ‘to serue, to please and to content’ (vii) acts as patron to both, and thus it is most likely – and the present thesis will assume this is the case – that historian and poet are one and the same.<sup>9</sup>

Born to Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, Gordon enjoyed links to a ‘leading branch’<sup>10</sup> of the chiefs of the Gordons and Earls of Huntly, a prominent noble family of Aberdeenshire. The literary and learned contexts of Patrick Gordon’s patron, George, son and heir of the first Marquis of Huntly, are instanced in *ODNB* entries on himself and his father, the first Marquis of Huntly, and in the poems and footnotes scattered in *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* vols I-III, particularly vol II.<sup>11</sup> They show the close relationship, both in politics and personal (family) relations with the royal house that these Gordons enjoyed. George Gordon himself attended Henry Prince of Wales upon James VI’s request, and it was James who chose Gordon’s wife

---

<sup>7</sup> David Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000). p 94.

<sup>8</sup> See Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, 3, 1833, 448n, and James Maidment, in *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of James VI* (1838; 212n).

<sup>9</sup> The same conclusion is reached by David Stevenson in ‘Gordon, Patrick, of Ruthven (*fl.* 1606–1649)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11072>, accessed 13 Aug 2013].

<sup>10</sup> David Stevenson, *King or Covenant? Voices from Civil War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996). p 176.

<sup>11</sup> Sir William D. Geddes, *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* Vol II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892).

in 1607 as part of his efforts to pacify the feuding families in the north. Gordon's perceived physical prowess, so emphatically foregrounded by poems addressed to him (included in the *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*), stands in marked contrast to later comments on him as an ineffective and withdrawn fighter for the royalist cause in the covenanting times, features that have been linked to his belief in astrology and its ability to predict the future. In 1615, however, he seems to have been a likely centre for cultural expression that stresses an interest in martial exploits.

Patrick Gordon's intense pride in such connections penetrates the core of both his romance and historical works, and goes some way towards explaining his protracted interest in the literary regrouping of martial values. He certainly seems to have intended that *Penardo* and *Prince Robert*, with their nationalist sentiments, would sit at the forefront of Scotland's social and cultural self-reconstruction following the Union of the Crowns (1603), which had prompted the movement of the court and a significant portion of its noble presence from Edinburgh to London. This left in its wake a visibly altered nation, within which aspirant individuals had to re-negotiate their social authority. Gordon was himself a burghess of Aberdeen, and in 1614 he had published in London the Latin *Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis*, a text which establishes a direct rapport with the Stuart family in order to both commemorate Prince Henry's death and offer congratulations on Charles's succession, as well as Princess Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick, future Elector Palatine of Bohemia. That Gordon was associated with the socially prominent Huntlys, coupled with these visible courtly links, suggests he was a reasonably well-respected figure in seventeenth-century Scotland, and so it is understandable that he would have considered the ideological construction of the model Scottish hero to be of some interest to him and people around him.

## The Text

Surviving copies of Gordon's poem are extremely rare. One print survives in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (STC 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)/12066, and a reproduction is held by The British Library.<sup>12</sup> Though Gordon's other romance, the passionately patriotic *Prince Robert*, was reprinted first in 1718 in Edinburgh and again in 1753 in Glasgow, *Penardo* evidently failed to

---

<sup>12</sup> From *Bibliotheca Heberiana: catalogue of the library of the late Richard Heber*, Part 4 ([http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Bibliotheca\\_Heberiana.html?id=ZWIWAAAAAYAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Bibliotheca_Heberiana.html?id=ZWIWAAAAAYAAJ&redir_esc=y)), '906 Gordon Patrik The First Booke of the Famous HISTORYE OF PeNARDO AND LaISSA OTHER WAYS callid the warres of Love and Ambitione... Printed at Dort by George waters 1615. Rare to excess nor can more than two copies be discovered one in the Editor's possession the present purchased at Pinkerton's Sale for [£?] 21 another in that of an anonymous correspondent in Scotland. Pinkerton's Scottish Poems 1792 vol 1 xxxm'.

appeal on the same level of national sentiment, and was never reprinted. This is largely unsurprising. Indeed, critically speaking, Gordon's romance works have been routinely neglected, and what little attention they have been afforded has been restricted to his reputation as a 'Scotch Spenserian'<sup>13</sup> – the 'Scottish Chaucerian' for a new century, perhaps. *Penardo and Laissa* has accordingly been largely examined within this context, with the emphasis of such criticism so firmly focused on the text's fantasy elements that its more rhetorical features have been simply ignored. Both *Penardo* and *The Famous History of Prince Robert* clearly warrant reinterpretation. Prefaced by a series of sonnets which boasts a number of established authors, *Penardo's* prefatory sequence should in itself suggest Gordon's contemporary poetic reputation. One of these sonneteers is William Drummond of Hawthornden, who presents *Penardo's* heroine Laissa alongside fair Juliet and the Faerie Queene as a paragon of light and beauty. Drummond's participation is significant. Though one critic would suggest that 'it may have been Drummond's lot, as it must have often been that of the authors of those recommendatory verses, which were so fashionable in the first days of our literature, to praise before he read',<sup>14</sup> others assert that Gordon was 'admired' by Drummond because he 'loved imaginative beauty, and sought it largely in retirement from a world whose ecclesiastical and political concerns were increasingly bitter and divisive'.<sup>15</sup> John Pinkerton, meanwhile, suggests that the rarity of the poem can be explained by the fact that

the author was probably so ashamed of it as to quash the edition; for it is the most puerile mixture of all time~ manners, and religions, that ever was published: for instance, the Christian religion is put as that of ancient Greece!<sup>16</sup>

This is perhaps somewhat unfair, coming from a man who had published *Letters of Literature* (1783) – an eccentric and seemingly imagined epistolary conversation with himself which castigates, amongst others, ancient Greek literature and suggests all rare works are rare because they deserve to be so – under a pseudonym. What this sparse but telling selection of criticism reveals is that Gordon's works did not translate well into eighteenth-century reading tastes. But Drummond's presence amongst *Penardo's* sonneteers is at least indicative of a contemporary appreciation for the poem, and indeed, the romance features several other sonnets by Gordon's peers. One dedication is provided by the Aberdeenshire poet Alexander

---

<sup>13</sup> See Ernest A. Strathmann, 'A Scotch Spenserian: Patrick Gordon', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (California: University of California Press, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1938). pp 427-428. That there are Spenserian elements in *Penardo and Laissa* is not in doubt.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Robertson, *Lives of Scottish Poets in Three Volumes: Volume One* (London: The Society of Ancient Scots, 1821). p 127.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Crawford, *Scotland's Books: A History of Scottish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). p 189.

<sup>16</sup> John Pinkerton in Patrick O'Flaherty, 'John Pinkerton (1758-1826): Champion of the Makars', *Studies in Scottish Literature* (Vol. 13, Issue 1, 1978). pp 159-195. p 177.

Garden (c.1585-1642?), who shared Gordon's royalist, nostalgic and patriotic agenda. Garden's *A Garden of Grave and Godlie Flowers* was published in Edinburgh in 1609 and is characterised by its reverence for James VI, comprising of a series of miscellaneous elegies, poems and prayers. A third sonnet is provided by Sir Robert Gordon, presumably of Gordonstoun, the eldest son of Lord Huntly, Gordon's patron, and a figure who, preceding and immediately following the publication of *Penardo* at least,<sup>17</sup> was a staunch supporter of the Stuart monarchy, and had been awarded a knighthood in 1609 as well as a life pension of £200 sterling. *Penardo's* prefatory sonnets thus evince Gordon's participation in a small northern network of active royalist poets and diplomats, where his poetic output was seemingly well received.

Only the first book of the romance is known to have been completed, and so, despite the poem's epic scope, interaction between the lovers themselves is minimal, with the primary focus placed instead on the hero, Penardo. Resolution of the knight's erotic allegiances is prevented by the text's incompleteness, but its persistent emphasis on martial ambition, which will be examined in some detail in the following chapter, suggests this lack of amorous conclusion was just as satisfying an outcome for its author as one which would have resulted in happy marital union.

## Style, Influences and the Scottish Romance Tradition

*Penardo* was composed in verse and amounts to over 3,000 decasyllabic couplets. The versed format of the text is significant, as it illustrates its participation in a particularly Scottish mode of poetics. Rhiannon Purdie has demonstrated that, in romance, the Scottish literary canon evinced an enduring preference for verse forms comparatively longer than its English and European counterparts, and that this stylistic mode was already anomalous in broader reading trends as much as two centuries prior to *Penardo's* publication in 1615. 'No [medieval Scottish] prose romances are known to exist', which marks, she says,

rather a striking divergence from English tradition, which by this period is leaning heavily towards prose as its favoured medium for new romances. Both English and French prose romances circulated in Scotland, but Scottish authors did not seem inclined to imitate them... Both *Clariodus* and *Lancelot of the Laik* are re-versions of prose sources, which rather suggests the lengths to which Scottish romancers would go to avoid prose.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> When a revolt against Charles I arose in Scotland in 1637, Robert Gordon found himself divided between his duties at the court and his household alliances. See William Fraser (1892) *The Sutherland Book*, volume iii, p 139.

<sup>18</sup> Rhiannon Purdie, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland' ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006). pp 169-170.

While most contemporaries were turning to prose to the clear pleasure of their readers – demonstrated by the popularity of Sidney’s *Arcadia* and Green’s *Pandosto*, amongst others – Gordon opted to compose in verse, a strategy that R.D.S. Jack has described as a conscious affectation of Scots authors, for whom the artificiality and structural difficulties of verse composition suited their rhetorical ends, which were to ‘[maximise] the distance between normal speech and art’.<sup>19</sup> *Penardo*’s primary focus, moreover, is the ideological conflict between passion and reason, inasmuch as such conflict can affect the heroic achievements of the male protagonist.<sup>20</sup> Such concern for the potentially disruptive nature of passionate love (in the sense that it may divert the hero from his duties or lessen his effectiveness in fulfilling them), though a fairly typical motif in various contemporary romance traditions, is most persistently sought in the Scottish romance text. Such is the ‘sustained popularity of [this] theme with Scots writers that it suggests a particularised interest not reflected in English literature of the same period’.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, while elsewhere the romance text ‘commonly pits the hero’s familial or societal against his erotic allegiances’, and ‘does not assign one of these [allegiances] unqualified moral superiority’,<sup>22</sup> Scottish romance expresses a more explicitly moral emphasis. In *Penardo*, as in *Sheretine*, *Calanthrop*, *Golagros and Gawane*, *The Famous History of Prince Robert*, *The Wallace* and more, martial duty, statesmanship, governance and the community take precedence over erotic desires. Sergi Mainer has posited that this is a recurring feature of the corpus, in which ‘the love motif is displaced and its central role in the development of the narrative is replaced by more urgent political issues’.<sup>23</sup> Such displacement in *Penardo*’s case is demonstrated when the hero is urged to delay his rescue of the maid Laissa so that he may first achieve heroic glory in combat (she advises him to ‘preserue thy fame [and] thy honor’ (VII, 32, 3-4)<sup>24</sup> by first completing his martial duties). Male *amour* is displaced in favour of martial ambition, with the hero’s suit of armour acting as a literal repellent of erotic desire in Caput X, and even when he and his lover have been united at the end of the first book, he

---

<sup>19</sup> See R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal, eds. *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375-1707* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997) p xvii.

<sup>20</sup> Reason, it should be noted, exists in the romance as the untitled third element of the text’s oppositional framing. *Reason* is the temper to both passion and ambition, which are both identified in the text’s title, but it is more commonly associated with the martial elements of the text: i.e. it is reasonable that *Penardo* should be impassioned by his heroic endeavours, because they hold the promise of individual merit as well as serving a broader civic purpose.

<sup>21</sup> Kate McClune, ‘Governing the Self’. Unpublished conference paper, 2012. I am extremely grateful to Dr McClune for allowing me access to her paper prior to publication.

<sup>22</sup> Patrick J. Cook, *Milton, Spenser and the Epic Tradition* (Surrey: Ashgate, 1999). p 63.

<sup>23</sup> Sergei Mainer, *The Scottish Romance Tradition c.1375-c.1550: Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010). p 24.

<sup>24</sup> Please note that when citing this poem and Gordon’s *Prince Robert*, I will use the format of (Book: Caput, stanza number, line number). I have numbered the stanzas throughout *Prince Robert* myself.

abandons her in favour of further heroic adventure, effectively separating himself from his erotic impulses, if indeed they exist at all (see below).

Examples of erotic displacement emerge with some frequency throughout *Penardo*, which pits its hero's ambitions against the considerable aesthetic attractions of the warrior maid, Laissa. Gordon's treatment of the heroine and the potential relationship between her and the poem's hero is complex: that he pits amorous desire as the natural antithesis to heroic achievement is clear, but the text does not condemn love as a concept, nor does it disparage Laissa herself. It is instead a critical discourse on the dangers of erotic excess, or the inability to temper passion more generally. The opening sixain of the seventh *canto* (already quoted above) is certainly cynical with respect to love's comparative attraction, outlining a rhetorical strategy which places heroic ambition at the centre of the text and therefore worthy of being repeated here:

Ambitioune is a passioune wondrous strong  
Of noble courage and of mightie force  
Whiche captive leads all g'alant spreits along  
And euen the strongest passions does enforce  
Yea loue it self which seemeth to contend  
Yet oft ambitioune victor proues in end. (VII: I, 1-6)

Ambition is thus recognised in the text as an appropriate form of passion – it encourages the ennoblement of the hero – while love is represented as ideologically undesirable. In the hero *Penardo*, 'ambitione crewell warre susteind / Gainst loue, and famous victorie obtaind' (VII: 5, 5-6), illustrating the extent to which the more conventional erotic accents of the romance genre have been displaced: the war within the hero is not 'crewell' because it is against love, but only because his masculine ambition is so infallible by comparison. His ambition is for martial glory, and though he is identified as a prince in the poem's dedicatory sonnets, it is his endeavours on the battlefield rather than the court that receive the narrator's attention. Such emphasis on heroic endeavour is clearly established in the opening lines of the romance, in which the poem's Achaean landscape is anthropomorphised through heroic vocabulary:

In glorijs Greece there lies a fertile land,  
Of antient time *Achaia* call'd by name  
Within whose blessed borders brauelie stand  
*Parnassus* mont, so much renown'd of fame. (I: 1, 1-4)

This rhetorical strategy – an attempt to heroicise the non-human subject – expands the martial agenda of the poem above and beyond character in order to create a literary landscape which

mirrors its protagonist's own heroic construction. References to glory, fame and bravery disperse the more conventional motifs of ornate pastoral description. The *locus amoenus* is an unsuitable narrative starting place because it fails to inspire the hero's corresponding valour – instead, the literary landscape functions as an allegorical representation of the 'brave' soldier, who stands to attention to safeguard the empire's borders. Hero and landscape are from the outset intrinsically twined.

The narrative soon progresses through a series of more typical romance conflicts, through which the poem composes multiple juxtaposing concepts in order to codify the incomparable virtues of the erudite soldier. In the first 'caput' of the romance, for example, Gordon evokes the motif of the imprudent and ill-counselled monarch – this is in essence the continuation of an existing dialogue in medieval Scottish romance.<sup>25</sup> King Phedro provides the catalyst for the tumultuous events of the romance by placing his faith in a prophetic vision – a device of the sorcerer – in which he foresees the downfall of the Achaean kingdom, culminating in hellish imagery:

And thus it was, he thought him self did stand  
On Helicon and vewd a fearfull fire  
That brightlie burnt ore all Achaia land  
Which did vndoe burne: waest his whole empire  
And their withal it seemd a voice did say,  
This night has brought thy kingdome her decay [sic]. (I, 10, 1-6)

Despite the fact that 'this fyre he thought from his self proceed,' (I, 11, 1) he interprets the vision instead as a prophetic warning of his offspring's role in the empire's downfall. That the narrator interprets this as folly is made clear; he interjects, drawing specific attention to his presence in the process, as he protests the 'crewell sentence [and] barbarous decree', 'that for a dreame, a tove, a fantasie... [the king] wold spoyle so sweet a creature of breath' (I, 17, 1-3, 5). The narrator is intensely suspicious of otherworldly devices of the sort the king has relied upon, a motif that becomes central to the text later when we are introduced to the villainous sorcerer, Mansay. The poem's use of these supernatural devices was not an attempt to pander to 'appetite[s] for stories about fearless knights and beauteous maidens and hideous ogres and dragons',<sup>26</sup> but the conscious use of established medieval romance motifs, adapted to suit a

---

<sup>25</sup> The intemperate royal and the process of his spiritual improvement feature commonly in Scottish romance. In *The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawain*, for example, King Arthur's leadership is threatened by his excessive ambition and inability to heed counsel. In *Lancelot of the Laik*, Arthur once again must learn by the process of example provided by Lancelot. This thematic motif has been discussed in more detail by Joanna Martin in her book *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry 1424-1450* (2008).

<sup>26</sup> Northrop Frye in Jean Radford, ed. *The Progress of Romance: The Politics of Popular Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1986). Introduction, p 4.

specifically rhetorical agenda – one which endorses erudition, temperance and reason over passion. But rhetorical re-enforcement is not the sole reason for the presence of this contentious vision. Patronage plays an equally significant and complex role in the poem’s treatment of the vision, and indeed, Patrick Gordon would feel compelled in later years to glorify and defend the deeds of his patron during the course of the civil wars in his historical tract, *A Short Abridgement of Britane’s Distemper*. *Britane’s Distemper* is a conflicted text, for, ‘on the one hand, Huntly had to be justified. On the other, Gordon was... very much aware of Huntly’s many faults, and part of his aim was to show how many of these derived from wider social trends’ (Stevenson 1996: 179). *Penardo’s* vision constitutes one such reference to the Huntly legacy, as well as the impact of ‘wider social trends’ in its allusion to the increasingly popular practise of astrology, in which the Earl of Huntly enthusiastically participated. This would later become an obsession, leading one commentator to surmise that:

Astrology ruined [Huntly]: he believed in the stars, and they deceived him... He was naturally a gallant man: but the stars had so subdued him, that he made a poor figure during the whole course of the wars.<sup>27</sup>

The key problem with Phedro’s vision – aside from his misreading of it – is that it is not a true dream vision, but a device of the poem’s villain, Mansay. The hero’s response to the vision *he* experiences in Caput VII demonstrates both his comparatively superior powers of reason and the value of the true dream vision: the romance heroine, trapped by the sorcerer Mansay, appears when ‘the Prince to sleip is gone’ (VII: 29, 5), an episode which is framed in terms more familiar to the dream vision tradition. Phedro’s vision is articulated in a rhetoric of distress – ‘rest from rest, and ease from ease, did spoyle/ his spreitt’s, his senses, faculties, and sent/ a visione that his braine did mucche torment’ (I: 9, 4-6) – while *Penardo’s* comes in the wake of ‘refreshment after journey long’, the vision described as a ‘fantasie too light’ that ‘from his humor’d braine did fondlie creip’ (VII: 29, 4. 35, 3-4).

The King’s failure at this juncture establishes the first in a series of similar rhetorical failures, through which the poem’s broader participation in a mode of learned poetics can be demonstrated. It is the hero’s failure to exercise *his* intellectual agency which will later place him in mortal danger, when at the end of Book I the treacherous Olinda lures him into what he thinks is further heroic duty: the ‘hapless Prince no questione more wold craue/ But taks the horse and after them he ryd’s’ (XVII: 55, 1-2). It is Laissa who exercises some caution in this instance and ‘required the Prince to stay’. However, ‘impatient of all delay’ (XVII: 58, 1-3), *Penardo* departs, travelling unwittingly into further danger and, even worse, abandoning

---

<sup>27</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet’s History of His Own Time* ed. M. J. Routh (Oxford. Vol 1, 1823). p 68.

Laissa, who 'wandring farre' (XVII: 58, 6), becomes lost in the wilderness. Penardo's failure to fully assess this episode leads in turn to his heroic failure, and it is again a matter of rhetorical understanding over which he falters. He, like Phedro before him, fails to 'question', to interpret, and thus acts on base instinct, compromising the intellectual acuity he has already demonstrated elsewhere in the text. The situation remains unresolved, with Gordon never completing the second book of the romance, but one may surmise that the eventual fallout of this episode would have functioned in the broader narrative as an intellectual lesson to the hero – a situation to be reproduced in some form in the later stages of the romance, in which Penardo has learned to exercise caution over enthusiasm.

Penardo fulfils certainly expresses a chivalric pathos for the numerous damsels in distress he encounters throughout the romance – Laissa included – but his attention is explicitly focused on how he might best serve them as a knight, rather than as a lover. In Caput VII, for example, he seeks Laissa to 'advance [his] wondrous fame' (VII: 34, 2) rather than to woo her, while in Caput XIII, Philena seeks 'sum Knight, sum Champione, or sum Lord/ That wold to her his happie ayde afford' (XIII: 50, 5-6), which acts as the perfect appeal to his sense of heroic purpose. Indeed, when Philena does reveal her intention to woo him, Penardo remains vehemently resistant; his presence in her life is purely heroic.

Penardo's heroic code and physicality is therefore tempered not by an ennobling love, but instead by an emphasis upon civic service and the model of the unfailingly dutiful hero. Indeed, as is alluded above, when the hero is first alerted to Laissa's plight by means of a dream vision – while he has been spearheading the fight against Sigismund, Laissa has been imprisoned by the sorcerer Mansay – the disturbing revelation of the blood-stained heroine does not lend itself to an immediate rescue attempt, but instead leads to the fulfilment of further chivalric achievement. The heroine is 'all dyed in crimsone blood/ Her garment skoarch'd in flamm's of hellish brood' (VII, 30, 5-6) and evidently in great distress, but she first leads the knight to a pleasant grove in which he finds 'a sword, a sheild, ane armour fair/Of woorth, of wounder, and of vertue rare' (VII, 33, 5-6). He is led to this fantastic armour in service to his heroic claims, rather than as an aid to the heroine's rescue. Thus, the distressed heroine advises the knight to 'feight not before yow haue this armour on/ Whose woorth shall much aduance thy wondrous fame' (VII, 34, 1-2). Victory is achieved, and Penardo's conscious displacement of the erotic impulse in favour of his martial and political obligations leads to narrative confirmation of his heroic worth, as well as the codification of ideal heroic conduct more generally:

This was beginning of Penardos praise

This tyme, his fame through all the earthe proceeds  
This day, his trophies to the heauens did raise  
This was the birth of his valorous deids  
That hard it was to iudge in generall  
Whither he was most loud, or feird of all. (VIII, 64, 1-6)

There is, moreover, a vital evaluative quality to this decision. Penardo illustrates his superior faculties of reason – by comparison to that of King Phedro, for example – as he fully interrogates the dream vision and its greater significance. He is proven victor, and is in turn legitimised as a result of his rational deconstruction of the vision. Penardo, we are to understand, is both a physical champion and a learned hero.

That Gordon's construction of the heroic ideal was subject to the demands of corresponding cultural and social values regarding masculinity, nobility and honour will be examined briefly in the third chapter of this study. Scottish noblemen were certainly expected to achieve this idealised balance between the physical and the learned aspects of aristocratic life. Indeed, many Scots of landed families were 'contracted in significant numbers to serve as mercenaries on the continent' (Brown 2002: 2), but many of these young men were also expected to complete their studies, either in Scotland or in the various Continental academies and military academies.<sup>28</sup> The seventeenth-century Scottish romance, in which the rhetorical development of masculine nobility consciously sought to distance itself from archaic descriptions of knightly valour and to re-align heroic literature with a more pertinent social model, correspondingly sought a mutual ideological relationship between a physicality that foregrounded the moral nobility inherent in heroic labour, and rhetoricity. Its emphasis is overwhelmingly martial. Indeed, Penardo is not compelled to leave his father's court in Thessalye in order to pursue his erotic desire; it is not for Laissa he embarks upon military aid to Achaea, but rather out of duty to his father's political obligations. In essence, *Penardo* is an exploration of masculine duties, ranging from the political to the familial and the heroic. Penardo's motives for entering service are given as the following:

Trew freind ship reulls desire and the affects  
The hert, the tounge, the mynd, the will, and all  
But lay the yock of justice on their necks  
For aw of punishment, and fear of thrall  
They ar constrained in their duetie for to doo

---

<sup>28</sup> Amongst the writers featured in this thesis, Robert Munro began his education at St Andrews and completed it in France where, shortly thereafter, he enlisted in the French army. George Lauder completed his education at Edinburgh University before enlisting to serve in the Netherlands. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh was educated at St. Leonard's College in Aberdeen, St. Andrews University and studied law at the French University of Bourges and potentially in the Netherlands prior to the start of his military career. This shared experience is but a small representation of a broader expectation of learnedness amongst Scots servicemen.

Which freind ship wold most willinglie go too.

Thus Amitie the sacred flame has beine  
That fosters truethe, to duetie geuing lyfe  
Which in this following historie is seine  
By *Grodane* who had wrapt him self in stryfe  
In him true Amitie had sole diminione  
Which gaued no place to wordlie base opinione. (VI, 4-5, 13-20)

It is not until Penardo is confronted with the threat of physical rivalry that he is motivated beyond the fulfilment of political duty (imposed by his father's court) to become emotionally invested in the adventure. This transition in heroic purpose – from duty to passion, or the overwhelming desire to dominate the heroic sphere – provokes the hero to become 'himself... pale [in] face, [with] fyrie breath' (VI, 24, 1, 139-143). Such language is typically associated with amorous passion, with such physicality being the rhetoric of courtly love. But Gordon displaces the expected focus of such passion – the heroine – and replaces it with martial motivation. The 'furious wrath' (VI, 24, 1) which consumes the hero identifies him as a particularly Scottish hero, inverting the concept of rage as being 'without reason' to suggest instead that morally insightful and/or socially productive rage is an acceptable form of passion.

Caput VII's *argument* consequently identifies revenge as Penardo's new-found desire, employing a euphuistic discourse on ambition to align the two passions as mutual expressions of heroic conduct:

Ambitione is an flamme that burns the mynd  
With endles drouth still thristing efter glorye  
A blind excessiue gredine (of kynd)  
To be imbest in tym's eternall storic  
Still hunting after greatnes that we sie  
Ambitione neuer satisfied to be.

Ambition heigh is not a Passione feat  
For baseborne brain's, or wordlie small attemp's  
Renoune and glorie stoups not to such bait  
Those ar not capable but ar contemp's  
For proud ambitoune beats & casts them doune  
Whill as they seek praise, glory, and renoune.

Ambitione after gaine does not persue  
Nor actions reapping profite does it cair  
But ay wheir dreidfull danger does ensu

Difficult strainge vnusuall and rare  
Eu'ne there, ambitione hunts for glorie euer  
For base and wordlie gaine it caireth neuer. (VII: 2-4)

The former consciously employs the rhetoric of amorous passion, where, as above, Gordon displaces the expected focus of passionate discourse and inserts instead a dialogue on the male desire for glory. Gordon establishes that it is acceptable to indulge in passionate discourse, providing, of course, it is heroic/martial endeavour that is emphasised, rather than erotic fulfilment. This persistent reinforcement of this hierarchical superiority was certainly a feature elsewhere in romance:

When English Renaissance men did admit their own reading or writing of romance, they invoked Horace's praise of literature that mixes 'profit and pleasure.' Yet this commonplace too was polarized along gender lines: "profit" was seen as masculine and 'pleasure' feminine; 'profit' was linked to romances' treatment of war, 'pleasure' to its treatment of love.<sup>29</sup>

Such lines of division were clearly present in Scottish reading and writing practises. In *Penardo*, Gordon identifies zeal as a potential instrument for heroic achievement. He emphasises the inherent motivation supplied by passion, and that is why Penardo is propelled on his adventure by fervent ambition, a desire to deliver justice and seek out revenge. As the above-mentioned quotations indicate, Gordon suggests that such motivations are noble ones, for they serve to restore political order, as well as elevate his romance hero in social terms. Passion in the sensual sense, however, serves merely to frustrate the hero's journey and social and/or spiritual elevation. In this sense *Penardo* thus reads against conventional understandings of the broader genre, which accept the amatory as an ennobling force for the chivalric male. Indeed, the poem's emphasis lies in the inherent value of labour and hardship, through which the heroic adventurer will prove himself capable of prudence, rather than the worthy consort of a noblewoman.

This priority emerges prominently in caput VII, as mentioned briefly above, when Penardo is visited by a vision of the romance heroine. The desperate Laissa, imprisoned in boiling blood by the sorcerer Mansay, appears to the hero 'with saddest looks with sobs with sighs with tears' (VII, 30, 1-2), clearly evincing her need for rescue. But the hero finds himself conflicted, his priority being the ongoing conflict between the Achaeans and Datians in which he heads the *corps d'élite*. Laissa, in spite of her desperate position, acknowledges this fact and

---

<sup>29</sup> Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'Gendering Prose Romance in Renaissance England' in *A Companion to Romance: from Classical to Contemporary*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). pp 121-139. p 121.

urges him to fulfil his heroic duty before rescuing her. Indeed, she asserts, a ‘greater danger thow must pas before/ thy happie ayde geue vnto my cryme’, and that his first, and only, priority should be to ‘preserue thy fame, thy honor, and thy lyfe’ (VII, 32, 3-4). Gordon displaces the love motif in favour of heroic fulfilment once more; lone feminine peril, though eliciting sympathy from the hero, has no larger benefit in the civic or political sphere, and for this reason, Penardo must be engaged in heroic i.e. martial duty. The poem thus advises that the pursuit of fame and valour, as well as the fulfilment of national or moral duty, function as the primary objective in the greater romance narrative.

That Gordon couched his instruction in martial conduct within a narrative of epic romance is significant. It is in the romance that typical memes of grand heroic acts can be sought, the physical and mental tests to which the hero is subject acting as a sort of spiritual stimulant. This effectively restores the allegory of pilgrimage to a comparatively secular seventeenth-century literary canon, in which deliverance (or in the case of this poem, heroic achievement) is offered to the hero willing to endure prolonged acts of toil. Penardo’s descent into the subterranean realm, his wrenching of the sword from Laissa’s tomb and her visionary instruction which leads him to a powerful suit of armour are emblematic of the pilgrim type, as the romance hero is subjected to a series of trials intended to test his moral and spiritual limits. *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678) makes explicit allegory of this spiritual trial, featuring Christian’s ascent of the Hill of Difficulty. Like Penardo, he too leaves clothed in armour. Penardo’s discovery of invaluable ‘armour fair’ (VII, 33, 5) serves a larger allegorical purpose within the romance narrative. The armour and its role indicate a Homeric influence – ‘this fair costlie armour as they deemd/Had at the famous wars of Troy beine found’ (VII, 40, 3-4) – and indeed, Penardo’s acquisition is loosely patterned on Ajax and Odysseus’ feud over Achilles’ magic armour in *The Iliad*. In *The Iliad*, Ajax’s claim to the armour is predicated upon his strength and the physical service with which he has provided the Greeks over the course of the Trojan War, while Odysseus’ more eloquent exhortations ensure he is the one awarded the enchanted armour. But those physical and oratorical qualities which are divided between two heroes in *The Iliad* are distilled within the one heroic male in *Penardo*, thus identifying the knight as the one ‘whoes only strength the fates decree has wrought/To end the ceasles torments of a Mayde’ (VII, 31, 3-4). But the armour has a more significant purpose:

... secretlie [Cassandra] in this armour set  
 Whose vertue was his owne for to stay  
 From loue, and amorous desyr’s to lett  
 Arming the hart gainst all venereal play  
 For princelie *Paris* she deuys’d this traine  
 That he might render *Helene* back againe. (VII, 46, 1-6)

Penardo's armour – a recognisable emblem of the chivalric knight – functions as both an aid to physical empowerment and as a literal repellent of amorous desire. We can discern through such displacement of the love motif – a feature covered in further detail in subsequent chapters – the distinctiveness of Scottish romance. Love is not an ennobling device, nor even the motivator for heroic action; it is instead explicitly quelled in order to restore martial achievement to the narrative fore.

Once armoured, Penardo transforms himself into the ideal Scottish model of heroism (as it was understood in the seventeenth century) as a hero who physically cannot be diverted, maddened or impassioned by love's force. The hero's purpose remains sound, and Penardo is able to fulfil his heroic duty unhindered by erotic conflicts as he is transformed into the foremost war-like hero, 'Lyk *Mars* him self his countenance he bar/That thundred furth blood, victorie, and war' (VIII, 5, 5-6). The role of the warrior is clearly valued and emphasised.

But physical and chivalric benefits are not the only gifts afforded by the armour; it also inspires eloquence. Penardo, glorified by the enchanted suit and its mythical features, arouses wider civic courage with his oratorical prowess. The 'great victorie' (VIII, 20, 1) he promises hinges upon a paradigm of historicity, or the lessons to be gained from the past, the speech being an exercise in learned temperance and promise:

*Braue Bretherine and Campanions all in wear  
Remember your Forefathers loftie feat's  
...  
What brauer spreits in Greece then hath bein ours  
What greater glorie then our country wan?  
What manlie mynd and mightie Conqueror's  
But we may claime ay since the world began  
Yea if we look our hyns discents and bloods  
We'll shame to flie from worlds of multituds.* (VIII, 16, 1-2; 17, 1-6)

The armour, ideologically associated with images of heroic prowess, and which signals to the reader the physicality of the hero, inspires Penardo to assume the leader's role, while the 'ioyfull cry' (VIII, 21, 1) he elicits indicates his new-found eloquence. Penardo's enhanced sense of eloquence is certainly significant, his development as a rational thinker functioning on a larger allegorical level through the text. Indeed, the power and utility of language is a central theme throughout the poem, in which the primary villain wreaks his havoc through rhetorical tricks and word plays, and manipulates the hero and others through oral spell work, rather than by the sword. In Caput XIII, Penardo's faith is shaken by Mansay's power:

All is in vaine all labour is for nought  
Frome *Mansayes* charmeing spells can non defend  
In vaine her lyfe in vaine releif thou sought  
In ending of her pain her lyfe did end  
Thow casd her pain and crewell death did send  
This is the fruct of all thy trauels past  
Thow wrought her death her death to the shall send.

Greif, sorow, cair, woe, shame, disgrace at last  
Set is thy Sune with clouds of shame or'e cast  
Spent is thy lamp of glorie praise & fame  
Thy honor fades dishonor buddeth fast  
And blossoms beirs of wo, disgrace, and shame  
Thy glories doone praise dead & fame outworne  
Go then of heaune, of earth, of hell, the skorne.

Eune as when fearfull dreams in slumbring sleip  
Wold mack a man to shout, to cal, to cry  
Whith fear and horroure ou'r his senses creip  
Yet speitchles, sightles, mightles does he ly  
So now it seem'd the Prince was in a traunce  
And greatlie troubled in his countenance. (XIII: 9-11)

As Mansay's verbal enchantments undercut Penardo's physical prowess, he finds his ability to rationalise – the mindful counterpoint to physical action – is also compromised. He is speechless, sightless and thus unable to fulfil his duties. Mansay is never a physical villain: he does not raise a sword or enter combat at any point of the romance. That spellwork – misdeeds vocalised – is the cause of such disruption and power should indicate the importance with which Gordon regarded the word. Words have power in *Penardo and Laissa*. That these spells are frequently referred to as 'Mansayes art' (XI: 27, 4; XIII: 27, 5 etc) throughout the poem suggest Gordon intended them to be examples of rhetoric. That the text itself is designed as an exercise in rhetoric is most clearly established in his dedicatory letter to Lady Anne, Countess of Enyie:

Celestiall is, rair, excellent, devyne,  
(In whom all woorth, all grace, al goodnes shyne)  
Then humane, so heaun's croun's, adorn's thy bloode  
With Naturs wealthe, grace ful, & fortun's goode  
Then lett the Poëts on their Muses call,  
To fil their brains, their pen's, their papers all  
With ornament of methode, witt, and sense,  
That flowes from thy rair worth, rair excellence.  
In goldin showrs, whiche fame on her faire winges,  
To eurye natione, countrey, kingdome bringes,  
And strowes it heir, and their, in eurye pairt,  
To beautifye speche, eloquence, and arte,  
If on poore me, some, drop's she would doune poure,  
P'le spend my pains, my witts, soules wasting power

To pen thy praise, and thy braue Mates, whoes worthe  
Thow stryues to mach, as thow hes match'd his birth  
O wonderous stryfe, blis'd, happie, perfect, pure,  
Long may that warre myld, pleasant, sweet, indure. (*To the richt Noble Lady...*)

Of course it is not uncommon to evoke a Muse (or Muses) in the opening passage/dedicatory sections of a text, but Gordon's reference here is expanded and strengthened by the poem's setting on Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses. That the text centres on a space of learning, poetry and art suggests the centrality of rhetoric. Indeed, while political unrest and martial combat certainly constitute the great majority of narrative unease, the physical barriers to the lovers' union originate from Mansay's verbal tricks – speech is art, and art is power.

If speech performs a vital role here, then so too does the act of reading itself. As noted previously, interpretation is afforded much value in the text, whether it is interpreting one's situation in a positive and heroic way – inspiring those around you with speech – or interpreting what one is presented with throughout the text – visions, lies or written words. When Penardo goes to rescue Laissa, for example, his reading interpretation becomes important. When he discovers a written inscription that declares that his efforts were '*in vaine all labour is for nought/ From Mansayes charming spells can non defend*' and that '*In ending of her pain her lyfe did end*' (XIII: 8, 7-10), he fails to interrogate who may have left such an inscription and for what purpose, accepting the truth of the words with no further analysis. He is so overcome with grief that he cannot speak or think clearly. Believing Laissa to be dead, Penardo leaves the tomb at Parnassus and wanders into the wilderness, where his perceived failure continues to torment him. His sense of dishonour begins to compromise the great heroic virtue he has attained in previous chapters (both the martial and rhetorical skills developed during his encounters), as demonstrated when he discovers a shield upon which some verses are written and, in his misanthropy, disdains to read the inscription:

While this braue youth torments his mightie mynd  
With wo, dispair, cair, sorow, greif, and paine  
A marble rock his roling eyes out fynd  
Wheir in he sies a glaunceing sword remaine  
The sword half in the rock, a sheild besyde  
And vnderneath sum verses he espyd.

But in his furie he disdained to reid  
Which efter was the caus of all his greif  
For from these verses did his health proceid  
His hope, his hape, his ioy, and his releif  
Yet from the rock the sword & sheild he taks  
The which, he cutts, he beats, he bowes, he breaks.

This was his sword and sheild which he did leaue  
 Behind when *Lechers* birning forte he wane  
 No weapins now he cairs, nor none did craue  
 He goes he knowes not why, nor wheir, nor when  
 Nor stands, nor sits, nor rests in any place  
 Till *Phoebus* tuyce had sunck, tuyce showne his face. (XIII: 28-30)

This is the introduction of the ‘bad reader’ – a complement to his impeded rhetoricity, which together serve to foreground the power of language. It is worth noting here that Penardo’s failure to perform a ‘good’ reading (or indeed any reading at all) leads to him being without sword and shield: two motifs of martial life undercut. As his interpretive faculties are compromised, so too are the physical aspects of his heroism.

Penardo’s interpretive skills continue to fail as he encounters another female in distress. She creates a ‘souggred lye a craftie guile/ A fals deceat sprung of malicious kynd’ (XIII: 37, 3-4), in order to divert the hero. Failing to recognise the deceit in both cases – both the written and spoken lies – Penardo unwittingly places himself in danger. Bad readings of words, speech or otherwise are therefore indicative of poor learning. Penardo cannot be considered a hero proper until he can make use of a full and sophisticated range of interpretive abilities.

The poem’s interest in the power of language is also evident in its names.<sup>30</sup> Laissa, who has been afforded sympathy by the narrator but who has also been at the root of much of the romance’s calamities, is given a name that is subject to multiple interpretations and therefore invites ‘good’ readerly speculation:

fair Lissa or Laissa thay her cald  
 A proppre name for her mishaps indeid  
 Who subject was to daungers manyfold  
 For Lissa is asmuche to say as rage  
 Vheirin no force her furie could asswage. (I: 31, 2-6)

Indeed, the potential connotations of this name are various. In Alexander Craig’s *The Amorse Songes, Sonets and Elegies* (1606) sequence, for example, the shortened version, Lais, is an aggressive depiction of feminine inconstancy and deviancy. She finds company in Helen of Troy and Cresseid in one particular sonnet, in which Craig’s poetic persona desperately asserts that she ‘may match the *Grecian* or the *Troian* whore’.<sup>31</sup> Though Gordon clearly did not intend his Laissa to perform this role, it would be fair to assume that some readers would be familiar

---

<sup>30</sup> See Alastair Fowler, *Literary Names: personal names in English literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) for a more general discussion of the significance of literary names.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Craig, *The Amorse Songes, Sonets and Elegies* (London: William White, 1606). p 82, l 14.

with the character and could potentially draw their own negative conclusion about Gordon's version of her. In *The Faerie Queene*, moreover,

... elaborate play [is made] with names constructed from Greek elements...  
Spenser has many not dissimilar names, such as those of Perissa (Greek *perissos*), 'who in excesse exceeded,' and her sister Elissa (explained by Upton as 'Elisse,' an Italianization of *elleipsis*, 'deficiency').<sup>32</sup>

Names of similar etymology appear with striking regularity across medieval and Renaissance texts. The myriad appearances of 'Alyson', from the voraciously sexual inn-keeper's wife in *The Freiris of Bernwick*, to the adulterous wife in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, provide further examples. It is clear that 'Elissa', 'Lissa' or Laissa, emerging from the same Greek root, are inherently associated with the dangers of excess. This linguistic artifice, in which Gordon constructs his characters from pre-existing types and composes meaning through a series of textual references, indicates the allegorical function of language in the poem.

The significance of such rhetorical play is quite clear in the context of the larger narrative; Laissa falls subject to the 'mishaps' (I: 31, 2) and 'excess' denoted by her name, emerging as a character of such beauty that she inspires emotional, political, familial and heroic unrest. Taken into the care of the Muses after her exile from the royal household as an infant, Laissa grows to be so excessively beautiful that she provokes rage and jealousy amongst her guardians:

While as the Muses see her vertues rare  
Her beautie wisdom modestie and all  
Surmounting them so farr that euriwhere  
They feard her fame should once procure their fall  
Wheirfore they seike with witt, craft, flight and wrath,  
Her infamie, her woe, her wrak, her death. (I: 42, 1-6)

Their fury is such that her former protectors seek out Alecto, one of the Erinyes, to exact reprisal for her perceived crimes. Laissa's fate is sealed, and Alecto surfaces to 'work her wrak her ruine her decay' (II, 39, 4). Evoking the vision motif once more, Alecto presents herself to the noble knight Phelarnon. Phelarnon, the reader learns, is the Achaean royal prince, and Laissa's brother. Alecto appeals to his sense of ambition, emphasising his 'vertous mynd', his 'Martiall self [which] must be the song/Of after liuing Poets' (II, 4, 2-3), whilst promising future fame:

---

<sup>32</sup> Alastair Fowler, 'Spenser's Names' in *Unfolded Tales: Essays on Renaissance Romance* ed. George M. Logan and Gordon Teskey (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). pp 32-48. p 36.

*Who so would win renoune be thus proceeds*

*Vpto the throne or Theatre of glorie*

*The first rewarde of beigh and noble deids*

*Must be to act the deid (Whos endless storie)*

*Shall be reuein'd with neuer dying Fame*

*In Tyms steill books to eternize thy name. (II, 5, 1-6)*

'Hote [with] desire of honor glorie flame' (II, 9, 2), Phelarnon fulfils the vision's demands, and resolves to seek his heroic claim at Parnassus. We can thus understand that Phelarnon is as valiant as Penardo. In spite of the sorcerer Mansay's warning that death awaits him at the fountain, Phelarnon resolves to go forward. As Alecto has conspired, his ascent soon leads him to his sister, still resting by the Muses' fountain. The consequence is inevitable; Phelarnon, unaware that this lady is his own sister, is immediately enamoured. This immediate subjection to erotic desire revokes any previous claims of honour or chivalry. The sight of the naked maid breeds in him 'hope, passion, heat, desire one lust still feiding' (III, 40, 6) and a temporary insanity which provokes in him the most unchaste of desires:

At last resoluid with silent noyes drew near

To act this furious wofull tragedie

Not knowing that it was his Sister deir

Whom he wold now bereaue of chastitie. (III, 41, 1-4)

That the knight considers taking Laissa by force indicates a failure of heroic conduct. Indeed, it is only the fear of 'heauen's reuenging flame' (III, 41, 5) which holds his lust in check, rather than his sense of honour. However, it is desire for honour and heroic glory which further complicates this narrative episode, as an 'other Prince whome [Alecto] had brought apace' (IV, 2, 1) discovers Laissa and Phelarnon. Equally enamoured with the heroine, Prince Tropalance of Datia and Phelarnon engage in combat. Both knights are mortally wounded, and it is this – the death of the crown Prince in the name of erotic desire – that 'was the sorrow of *Achaians* all';

This was the wrak and ruine of their croune

This was the ground and causer of their fall

This was the deith that dang their *Pbedro* doune

This brought great *Sigismund* from out his soyle

With many thousand *Datians* to their spoyle. (IV, 14, 1-6)

The root of these tragic events, Mansay asserts, lies with the heroine, who is enchanted 'because she was the ground of all this woe' (IV, 16, 3). But Laissa, whose character has been clearly associated with excess, is not the cause – it is the male characters' inability to temper their own passion in the face of such excess that creates problems in their heroic journey. Those knights who direct their allegiance to erotic rather than national and/or heroic duty lack moral priority, and in turn fail in their heroic endeavours. The text is almost an appeal, therefore, for young men to mirror themselves as closely as they can on Penardo, who, though flawed, is the most war-like hero in the text, and therefore worthy of emulation. He is, if we recall:

The skorne of loue, the monument of lothe  
 The mirroure of mischeif, the map of paine,  
 The marck of daunger, and the mold of wrath  
 The Seat of sorrow, and the tombe of care  
 The winges of wrack, the Burtio of dispair.

Yet was he well traird vp in feat's of armes  
 Tilt's, turnayes, and all war-lyk exercise  
 Whoes braue vndanted Spright espyes no harmes  
 Whoes mightie force his fame doeth eternize  
 So lou'd of all, and yet that all so feird him  
 That Heaune, and Earth, & Hell, to much admird him. (V: 5-6)

Penardo's 'contempt of love' (as it is referred to in the text's full title) and unimpeded duty to warfare identify him as the ideal national hero – the sort of young man Gordon seems to imagine existed in his idealised Scottish past and who he hopes to see again in an unsatisfactory present. The flaws we witness throughout *Penardo* – the hero's occasional failure to properly interpret words and speech, for example, and the corresponding problems that arise from these failures – would presumably have been completely resolved in the second book of the romance, sadly never written. At its close, then, *Penardo* does not necessarily contain the perfect model of heroism Gordon intended for it, with its hero off on some misadventure and its heroine abandoned in the wilderness, but we can safely assume from the clear markers that the text provides for us (Penardo's ability to repel Desire, his prowess on the battlefield and sense of honour/morality) that *Penardo* is intended to represent an evolving example of good masculinity and heroism to its readers. Book II would have provided the conclusion to this evolution.

## Concluding Comments

Patrick Gordon's declaration of learnedness is a significant element of his poem and features from the outset, in the readers' address which prefaces *Penardo*:<sup>33</sup>

### To euerye freendly and Courteous Reader.



*E*NTLE, and courteous Reader, I  
doubt not but some their are, that wil  
not gentlye, but rashlie censure those  
my labours, Nether am I ignorant,  
how hard a thing it is to please euery  
one, Some their be that are courious,  
whom as it is impossible to pleas, so  
haue I geue ouer impeßibilites, as one,

Intellectual competency, we may notice, features alongside a reference to the poet's 'labours'. Gordon consciously draws attention to the corresponding thematic emphases of the romance, as a text which pursues for its model hero a humanistic ideal of learnedness and martial prowess. Though Gordon's 'labours' are in this instance non-physical, the word nevertheless connotes an inherent sense of value to toil willingly undertaken. Should we broaden our reading of the address, a third, and significant, thematic strand emerges. In the close of his preface, Gordon provides 'counsel' for his readers:

before yow geue judgement, that ze enter, and walk throw all my fielde, look on euery shade, searche throw euery corner, wheir amongst the pople, and tair, yow may find some pure grane, And amongst the thornes and breirs, some roses, that may perhaps haue a pleasant smell (Gordon 1615, ii).

Read carefully, he advises, for therein the reader might seek profit. Gordon's address thus helpfully outlines three key thematic strands not just of his own poem, but of seventeenth-century Scottish writing more generally; it is a tradition that pursues learnedness alongside physical (oftentimes martial) competence; a tradition that emphasises its own rhetoricity, and, crucially, one which promises moral profit for its readers.

---

<sup>33</sup> Copy reproduced with permission from Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC / 959:01.

The confluence of cultural ideals and literary inheritances/traditions from which such poetic models emerged suggest that seventeenth-century Scotland was the seedbed of a vibrant and pervasive literary tradition in which morality and martial honour featured dominantly.

As this thesis will demonstrate, Scottish poetry, fiction, and literature more generally evince Scottish culture's attempt to reconcile those humanist values which had emerged earlier in the renaissance with the nation's powerful sense of martial inheritance and glory. Noble families in Scotland 'remained committed to older ideas of martial identity and blood feud' (Brown 2012, 46): the debt of duty to ancestor and the family name, not to mention feudal social structures, remained a more relevant code of behaviour to a nation whose King was no longer resident there. Heroic literature – romance, war memoir, the ballad – are thus as concerned with martial prowess as they are with a hero's learnedness.

*Penardo and Laissa* was by no means a roaring literary success. It was never re-printed, nor apparently did it merit notable mention either by Gordon's contemporary poets or by modern day romance scholars. There are obvious reasons for this: Gordon would never complete the second book of the romance, meaning its conclusion could be deemed both unfulfilling and abrupt. Though it contains a great deal of intriguing rhetorical elements, it has neither the broad European appeal of the Latin romances nor the potentially titillating specificity of the political romances which were contemporaneously popular both in Britain and Europe. This should not, however, prompt the poem's absence from either romance scholarship more generally, or from studies of early modern Scottish literature. *Penardo* is, to my knowledge, the earliest example of vernacular Scottish romance produced in the seventeenth century, and is thus an important example of evolving literary style, bridging the gap between medieval romance and the eighteenth-century gothic romance. The ways in which *Penardo* was adapted to meet the tastes of seventeenth-century readers provides a vital document of evolving literary and cultural ideals more generally, and for this reason its analysis constitutes a significant portion of this study. The 'ambition wondrous strong' which Gordon so valued was part of a much broader ideological paradigm, and indicative of this poem's usefulness in modern romance studies.

## Patrick Gordon's *The Famous History of Prince Robert* (1615) Synopsis

Main characters:

Robert Bruce, King of Scots

Sir James Douglas, Lord of Douglas

Edward I, King of England

John Comyn, Lord of Badendoch

Edward Bruce

King Fergus

Scotland's political and cultural instability is at its height in the wake of civil warfare. Sir James Douglas returns from France in order to redress the nation's losses. He eulogises the glories of the past and laments the seeming lack of valour in the present. He meets a second knight, and each mistaking the other for an English soldier, they engage in combat. They are equally matched physically, and fight until the sun begins to set. Exhausted, they take some respite, during which Douglas identifies himself as a Scot and a loyal soldier to Bruce, King of Scots. Evoking the names of Wallace and Graham, he vows vengeance against Edward I, and rains a series of blows against the stranger. The 'English' knight begs him to stop, finally revealing that he is none other than Bruce himself. They embrace, and continue their journey together.

Douglas, having been absent, asks Bruce to relate Scotland's recent troubles. Bruce obliges, beginning with King Alexander III's marriage to Margaret of England, a match intended to conclude the civil tensions between England and Scotland. When Alexander dies unexpectedly, leaving no natural heir, a six-year interregnum is overseen by the nation's Regents, their guardianship coming to an end when they crown John Balliol in 1292. Bruce asserts that both he and Balliol held legitimate claims to the throne, but that Balliol's secret dealings with Edward I secured this succession. Indeed, though Bruce's claim was 'worthier', Balliol's willingness to pay homage to the English king rather dictates the outcome. Balliol's alleged treachery provokes a fierce backlash from the Scots nobles. Bruce recounts a vivid dream of Balliol's, in which he sees ninety-two kings on golden thrones while he sits upon an iron one. The spirit of King Fergus condemns Balliol as a false king and a stain upon the nation's name.

Balliol is summoned to York by Edward I in order to pay his promised homage. The nobles make their complaints known, and conflict erupts. The English take Berwick; Bruce claims he knew nothing of such treasons, for his dealings with Edward have all been a masquerade. As the second Canto ends, Bruce is overcome with grief, and pauses for respite.

Canto III opens with an echo of Douglas's earlier eulogistic lament for Scotland's lost glory. Bruce resumes his story, recounting Balliol's forced abdication and Edward I's seizure of the throne. Edward begins a systematic degradation of Scottish culture, destroying monuments, burning books and appropriating the nation's wealth, amongst other atrocities. English garrisons are established in every Scottish town and English Lords are granted lands throughout Scotland. Bruce briefly alludes to Wallace's broader role in the conflict, praising the three victories he has exercised over the English army before his defeat at Falkirk. Bruce condemns Monteith's betrayal of Wallace, which has prompted Comyn to approach him in secret and propose a coup. They engage in an expansive discussion of Scotland's martial glories of the past, when valour, courage and virtue were unpolluted. Comyn betrays Bruce and alerts Edward to his plans. Bruce is forced to flee.

Bruce and two companions intercept letters from Comyn to Edward, instructing his messenger to return and direct him to a church in Dumfries. There, they murder him, and Bruce makes a brief but passionate apology for defiling a sacred place. Bruce is finally crowned, and he amasses an army to march upon Edward.

They march to Perth, and the English captain asserts they should not engage in combat on the Sabbath. Bruce's men – only five hundred of them remaining – attack the English garrison in the night, and though valiant efforts are made, Bruce must once again flee. He is discovered in the mountains by three English knights, but he demonstrates his physical prowess by defeating all three single-handedly. Alone and wounded, he rests in a nearby forest and falls into a deep sleep. He experiences a dream vision in which King Fergus, who had previously condemned Balliol as an unworthy successor to the Scots throne, asserts he has a great task to complete, reinforcing his worthiness to be King of Scots. Douglas counsels that his fortune has changed, and asserts he must complete the task given to him by Fergus. The two rest, and Canto II ends.

Douglas and Bruce are woken from sleep by the arrival of Bruce's remaining men, who have been seeking the King in the wilderness. Bruce sends his men on to Dumbarton under the leadership of the Earl of Lennox, whilst he departs with Douglas. They are intercepted by two wolves, and they are separated as Bruce pursues his prey into the wilderness. There he meets an old man, who prophesises Bruce's victory and reinforces his claim to the throne by examining and complimenting his ancestry. He counsels Bruce that he will freely obtain the crown, but that he must not let vice and sin corrupt him. The prophet

reveals himself as 'Rimour' (Thomas the Rhymer) and claims that an angel instructed him to seek Bruce.

The prophet departs, and Bruce is attacked by six knights. He kills three, two escape and one is taken prisoner. He and Edward's knight soon meet Bruce's own men, and he readies himself to leave for combat, invigorated by the prophet's words.

Canto VI returns to Douglas, who has been separated from Bruce during their pursuit of the wolves. He discovers a group of fifty knights, who have seemingly taken five injured knights and three ladies as prisoners. He follows the group to the isle of Arran, and exercises a sound defeat over the captors. The English captain pierces Douglas with an arrow, but he escapes with his fellow soldiers to free the imprisoned ladies. Though wounded and, as the text emphasises, infinitely warlike, even Douglas is distracted by the beauty of the women. He is particularly affected by Eve, the youngest of the women, but she is favoured by Sir Andrew Murray, who has been one of the group's foremost defenders throughout their imprisonment. Though Douglas and the young women are mutually attracted to one another, Douglas counsels her to marry Murray, for *his* interests lie primarily in war, not marriage.

Douglas returns to the mainland and is reunited with Bruce. News circulates that Edward I has died, and his young son, Edward II, has succeeded the throne. Bruce's men suffer a brief lapse of courage, but his speech appeases them. Promising them a 'happy end', their courage is revived. Bruce sends Douglas on a mission, and the Canto ends.

After travelling alone for three days, Douglas discovers a gravely wounded knight. He reveals that an English garrison has been established at Clifford. The English captain, taking a fancy to the knight's beautiful wife, plots against him. Lies and duplicity secure him his desires. Douglas vows revenge.

Bruce is attacked by a group of soldiers whilst alone. He kills all but one, and returns with him to camp, where he provides information about the English garrison. Bruce's men attack the opposing camp during the night, with Bruce leading the fight. They discover both English and Scottish soldiers holding Galloway. Lord Hay condemns the Scots in particular.

Canto IX is an expansive consolidation of Douglas's nobility, facilitated by the historical account of an elderly nobleman. He prophesises the glorious future of Douglas's offspring. Inspired by this promised victory, Douglas returns to Clifford, where the injured

knight met his end. He successfully removes the English from the castle, and resolves to return to Bruce, having amassed a greater company of men to assist him.

A more allegorical canto ensues, in which Fortune seems intent on favouring one side and then the other, to ill-affect. The 'Prince of Darkness' enjoys the nation's misfortunes and encourages further conflict. He summons his 'furies' to plant the seeds of hate, doubt and fear amongst the hearts and minds of the Scots, and many flee camp during the night. The narrator despairs as Scots soldiers join forces with the English army and further conflict ensue. Their numbers sorely depleted, the small Scots faction suffers a crisis. But the eloquent speeches made by Douglas and Bruce provide much-needed morale, and the Scots fight admirably:

Now freinds quod he eche bear a valliaunt hearte  
And fleing fight and fighting flie your foes  
For your braue flight hew forth your wais with bloes.

So our's shal be the *Glorie* of this day  
And wee with fame returne but thay with shame  
We with the rest will likewais hold oure way  
Betuixt their armeis so shall we reclame  
Oure life and honor whiche thay count their pray  
Yea and perhaps er long may pay thame hame  
This said all Thrie thrie sundrie way's oppose  
Their Warlick breists gainst thousands of their foes.

Yea suerlie each of theme great *valor* shoes  
And wisdoms beams stil gauie thair *valor* light  
They brak throw armed *Squadrons* of their foes  
Thus they perseuing flie and fleing fight  
O curage great O *valor* worthie those  
That ryse to ewer shyning *Glorie* bright. (X: 29, 6-8; 30, 1-8; 31, 1-6)

Bruce divides his forces and is pursued by a smaller faction. He fights in hand-to-hand combat – he has sent Douglas elsewhere – before a dog is sent to pursue him. He flees, forced to kill the dog when it leads a group of one hundred soldiers his way. They depart, unsuccessful, as the caput closes.

Bruce recovers in the forest, but finds himself the target of three thieves. The men are Scots, but tempted by the rewards Edward has promised for Bruce's capture, they commit treason against their King. Bruce is alerted to the danger by a mysterious vision (or at least the voice of some spirit – he does not see, but hears, their warning) and escapes unhurt. Bruce makes an impassioned plea to God to grant him some reprieve. He is reunited with Douglas and his army. They sneak into the English camp but, after some initial signs of victory, are

forced to retreat. Bruce rests for some time at Carrick, where Gordon tells us nothing much took place, save a deer hunt. During the hunt, Bruce is attacked by three men. They fight, and Bruce's victory over the men confirms to his supporters that he, 'Who [had] skap'd so many Dangers... must be reserved for a greater goode' (XI: 31, 7-8). This minor episode is presumably inserted by Gordon to offset the series of small losses Bruce has already suffered, with each battle prior to this having begun promisingly and descended into failure.

The next caput details Bruce's first major military victory, at the Battle of Loudoun Hill. Bruce is forewarned of a smaller onslaught by an old beggar woman found in the Scots army camp, who warns him that their numbers are too few. Bruce is joined by Douglas, Lennox, Boyd and Hay. Gordon teases the reader briefly:

[The English] brak the *Scotts* with wraith and heigh disdain  
Who yeelding straight begins to bend and reill  
And braik their ranks nor could from flight refraine  
Which th' *Englishe* captane *harringtone* sau well  
By whoess braue hand aught deid the nint neu slaine  
The standart bore: which winn he loudlie cryis  
The victorie is ours who yeeldis not dyis. (XII: 17, 2-8)

But Bruce, eloquent as ever, uses 'cheirfull words' (XII: 18, 7) to rally his men, which, combined with their passion and good military strategy, leads them to a bloody but decisive win. Provoked by this, the English army march to Loudon Hill, where the Scots secure their victory.

Bruce is joined by Lord Fraser's men and they continue their assaults against English garrisons in the North. Bruce falls foul of a terrible sickness, and suspicion grows amongst the Scots earls that he has been poisoned. He regains his speech quite suddenly, and appeases those who would mutiny:

What words be these we hear what threats quod he  
What noise of Arms who dares these tumults raise  
Wheir ar we honord wheir your fear we sie  
Not your obedience, shall oure rewll this cease  
Of oure diseas is this your memorie  
By wrong surmeisd offences vs to please  
Whoe darres of treasone think against their King  
No no you can not thus excuse the thing,

Mak not so side a cloik of publict wrong  
To priuat grudge if grudge we may it call  
If *loue*, to vs tak head your selfs among  
For in your lius your weills your saifteis all

Consists our health nixt heau'ne who will er long  
Restore oure health and wounted strenth recall  
O can the head a pleasant heelth enioy  
Whoes members still eche vther doth distroy.

Ah sie yow not oure proud Imperious foe  
That seiks oure fall oure ruin oure Decay  
No Treasone to oure persone heir we kno  
None in oure Armie that wold vs betray  
But these ar rebels to oure croune and lo  
These wold put violent hands in vs to day  
Brethren in arms go then your King defend  
Let not oure want vnto oure foe be kend.

Hereafter we will think on this your *loue*  
When heaune to wonted health shall vs restore  
Whill thus he spak the lightning beams did moue  
Of maiestic his sparkling eies before  
That all the armie who did lait approue  
*Wraith folie Raige*, sheams with repentaunce sore,  
Bak to his tent he goes his soldiers kind  
Cry all go too go too to fight inclind. (XII: 12-15)

Outmached by ten men to one, Bruce's men are nevertheless victorious.

Caputs XIV-XVI detail a series of smaller conflicts, as Bruce and Douglas secure Angus, Strathearn, Mearns and other towns throughout the nation. Bruce establishes a stronghold at Berwick while his brother, Edward, negotiates with Mowbray for Stirling Castle. The English army marches north to ensure Edward cannot make his claim. Douglas warns Bruce that the English have enlisted soldiers from France and the Continent:

This deed prouocks the *Scotts* aduancing light,  
And doth inflame the *English* all with Ire,  
A shout the *Scotts* encourage to the fight,  
Of *English* wrath still silence blous the fire. (XVI: 43, 1-4)

Bruce marches north to Stirling and the Battle of Bannockburn is begun. Gordon details some familiar episodes: on the first day of the conflict, Bruce kills Henry de Bohun by shattering his lance into the soldier's helmet. The Scots' military strategy proves successful: 'These loses throug the *English* camp do flie/ Whill *Terror* fear and *Conscience* leads the way / Confusioun follous after spedelie' (XVI: 1-3). The English are surprised by Bruce's guerrilla tactics, and the two sides meet in a vicious clash. As Bruce's army advances, Edward's men retreat. The text closes with the victorious Scots in pursuit of those who have fled, enjoying a 'Glorious End'.

FINIS

Gordon's *Prince Robert* reached the printing press in Dort (present-day Dordrecht, in the Netherlands) alongside *Penardo* in 1615, noticeably similar in style and composition. It is presented in the same *caput* structure as *Penardo*, and features the distinctive elegiac repetitions that Gordon favoured in moments of particular moral import (see I: *Arg*, 1-3, which laments Scotland's 'shame, her Fall... her Woes, her Ruin, Wrack, and all', as mentioned below. This is noticeably similar in tone and structure to *Penardo*'s refrains, which lament Laissa's 'woe, her wrak, her death' (I: 42, 5-6) and Mansay's acts 'Of death, of bloode, of ruine, and of wrake' (III: 13, 6), amongst others). But *Prince Robert*'s reception and uses have been markedly different to that of its sister romance. That Gordon may have anticipated this is clear: *Penardo*, though the lengthier of the two poems, is composed in sestets, while *The Famous History of Prince Robert* is composed in *ottava rima*, the a-b-a-b-a-b-c-c rhyme scheme which originated in Boccaccio's *Teseide* (1340) and the *Filostrato* (1347) and featured later in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (1482) and Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1581). It was through Elizabethan translation of the latter two authors that *ottava rima* became better known in England. It was, in short, a rhyme scheme typically associated with the heroic epic, and its use in *Prince Robert* indicates Gordon's intention that the poem would be considered more morally and intellectually (and perhaps even politically) weighty than *Penardo*. It is certainly the author's most widely recognised text, but its most significant contribution to romance scholarship can be found through the comparison of the ideological differences between this poem and earlier Brucian texts. Indeed, where Barbour's *Bruce* was addressed to an actively feudal male audience, Gordon's *Prince Robert* addresses a noble society that has adjusted and evolved in the wake of English and Scottish political union, meaning it has to evoke a certain element of fantasy to achieve its vision of national autonomy. The poem would certainly be a useful tool in a study of the evolving textual transmission of the Bruce legend.

Its modern reception is not wholly positive – Michael Penman complains that it takes 'apologist pains to play down the anti-English sentiment' which had featured in Barbour's more famous text, 'trotting out all the standard Bruce tales'<sup>34</sup> and proving not 'so taking as the original'<sup>35</sup> – but it is at least recognised as an example of seventeenth-century Scottish didactic romance, a text almost capable of 'matching the *Wallace* in its poetical appeal'.<sup>36</sup> The poem was

---

<sup>34</sup> Michael Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History: King Robert the Bruce (1274-1329)', *Études écossoises* (Vol. 10, 2005). pp 1-19. p 8.

<sup>35</sup> William Nicolson, *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries; giving a short account of most of our historians, either in print or in manuscript*. Vol. II (London: T. Evans, 1736). p 41.

<sup>36</sup> Linas Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2004) p 75.

briefly adopted as a propaganda text during the Jacobite uprising (Eriksonas: 75), but, as this thesis argues, its merit to modern criticism lies in its contribution to a Scottish national rhetoric of heroism, patriotism, martialism and honour.

The poem opens in *medias res*, an elegiac condemnation of the dethronement of Bruce and of Scotland's 'Shame, her Fall... her Woes, her Ruin, Wrack, and all'<sup>37</sup> – a phrase that should be immediately recognisable to readers of *Penardo*, in which Laissa is subject to the same 'wrack' and 'woes'. The poem is thus structured around Scotland's restoration: her fall, though recounted in detail at a later stage of the poem by Bruce, has already taken place. The events which precede the opening of the poem are important – they become a moral device, a way in which the instructive properties of the past can be illustrated – but the larger part of the narrative is devoted to restoring Bruce to the throne and to Scotland's political and cultural stabilisation. At the poem's opening, then, Douglas and Bruce are separated, Scotland's throne has been compromised, and political upheaval threatens her peace. Its opening lines – 'Of Martiall deeds, of dreadfull warres I sing/Of Potentates, firce Knights, & Champions bold/Who to maintaine, o're threw a valiant King' (I: 1, 1-3) – are noteworthy, clearly establishing the key themes of the poem: first, they assert the text's martial emphasis, and second, its equally rhetorical features. The conscious reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* ('Arms, and the man I sing, who, forc'd by fate/And haughty Juno's unrelenting hate/Expell'd and exil'd, left the Trojan shore'<sup>38</sup>) and of Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata* ('I sing of war, of holy war, and him/Captain who freed the Sepulchre of Christ/Greatly he wrought by force of mind and limb/and greatly suffered, nobly sacrificed'<sup>39</sup>) deliberately places the text within a tradition of national epics, as well as evincing its rhetorical value through its paratextual references.

Repeated references to 'fortuns wheele that still is rold' (I: 1:6), which feature prominently at the beginning of the poem, also serve a deeper purpose. The text certainly uses the *Fortuna* motif in its description of rapid cultural decline, and indeed, the narrator answers his own question – 'o what wast involu'd those daies in warres?' (I: 4,1) – through repeated allusion to 'heauen and fortune [which] had controld/ the Fates', and the cowardice inherent in 'yealding to feare fate, fortune, chance and dout' (I: 6, 3-4 & 8, 4). The text does provide a

---

<sup>37</sup> Patrick Gordon, *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Sirnamed the Bruce King of Scotland & of Sundrie other valiant knights both Scots and English* (Dort: George Waters, 1615). [accessed at [www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com) 14.03.11] I, *Arg.* ll 1-3. N.B. Additions and corrections have been applied where necessary and obvious.

<sup>38</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, ll1-3 quoted in H. R. Fairclough and G. P. Goulds, eds. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1-6* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

<sup>39</sup> Torquato Tasso, *La Gerusalemme liberata* ed. Max Wickert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) ll 1-4.

mode of counteraction, though, in its tendency to emphasise the value of physical hardiness and heroic constancy. Indeed, as Douglas meets an unknown enemy soldier in combat, the text outlines a distinctly physical opposition to fate's caprice, repeated throughout the poem:

Eu'n as two aged strong and sturdy Oakes  
Against a thundering tempest firmly stand,  
Or as two raggid Clifs of mighty Rocks  
Beare of the wasting surges from the land.  
So each abides the others ponderous stroakes,  
These onely two, trew vallor did commaund. (I, 17:1-6)

There is inherent value, therefore, in decisive opposition to the consequences of ill-fate. Such opposition may take physical form, as above, but might also emerge as rhetorical prowess, as exemplified throughout the text by the Earl of Douglas. Indeed, it is not just the Bruce's – if we recall, 'it is the Bruce's eloquent exhortations to patriotic duty and his incantation of historic victories [in Gordon's text] which have been decisive [in victory]' (Allan: 82-83) – or the author's own learnedness that is emphasised. Douglas, who in France 'both Arts and Eloquence obtains' (I: 6, 4) represents the sort of heroic ideal Gordon had sought in *Penardo*, but achieves more conclusively in *Prince Robert*. He clearly demonstrates his physical capabilities, which are a measure, moreover, of his stalwart attitude in the field. Alongside this, Gordon draws attention to Douglas's education and eloquence.

Indeed, the poem has opened upon Bruce's exile, to which Douglas has not been privy. Upon his return to Scotland, he makes an expansive and eloquent elegy on the nation's losses, but is interrupted by the arrival of an unknown knight. The two clash – 'Each other with tempestuous Fury greet/ So in the Air the bolting Thunder meet' (I: 13, 7-8) – but are forced to rest as night descends. Engaging now in a battle of wits, the two knights discuss the merits of valour. The unknown knight's argument that 'Proud Fortune holds, Thy heighe attempts in skorne' (Gordon: I, 14:8) is refuted by Douglas, who clearly sees the inherent merit in exemplar-based historicity; the 'many worthies' (Gordon: I, 19:7) who have secured Scotland's fame in times past have also, he asserts, secured his own patriotic duty and pride:

... tho I be alone you sie  
I were enough, for to Revenge, Oure harms,  
If I had Edwarde heir, as I have thee,  
Altho the Matchles *Bruce*, with Conquering Arms  
Has thousands Mo, whose valors, worthe, shall flie,  
For dreed Revenge, with Trumpets, Loude, alar'ms  
Through all the Regions, of the English soil,  
And havoc mak, with Rewin, blood, and spoil. (I: 23, 1-8)

The unknown knight, who displays equal physical valour to that of Douglas, but who has clearly become dispirited by Scotland's political state, is in due course revealed to be Bruce himself. This revelation – that two chivalric 'worthies' have been reunited at the most opportune time – functions as both a literal and symbolic elevation of tone, as Douglas rises from his knees

[to] in his Arms, him Lovinglie, [embrace]  
Whoes Love and Favour: alway, did abound  
And alway did Indure, whill life did left'. (I: 27, 2-5)

The two men embrace, and depart as companions. Indeed, as Douglas rises up, so too does his faith in their mutual ability to 'indur, each others, fortunes, strange' (I, 27:8), allowing, in turn, for a sense of narrative regeneration that significantly lessens the sense of spoil and loss which has preceded it. After all, the 'impetus of romance is towards *recovery*',<sup>40</sup> and *The Famous History of Prince Robert* certainly adopts this paradigm in order to emphasise the healing capabilities of Douglas and Bruce (healing and repair are significant features of Gordon's texts: in *Britane's Distemper*, it is the curative process which he so desperately seeks by means of a prolonged medical analogy). Gordon's persistent emphasis on the curative, which features heavily in both *The Famous History of Prince Robert* and *Britane's Distemper*, and is certainly present, if to a lesser degree, in *Penardo and Laisa*, challenges the theory that the romance mode adopts the *topoi* of 'the marvelous, narrative delay, wandering, and obscured identity [in order to] both pose a quest and complicate it'.<sup>41</sup> This curative paradigm, though it certainly employs romantic *topoi* and modes, functions as an attempt to excise Gordon's own personal melancholy and anxiety over social change. Both *Prince Robert* and *Britane's Distemper* describe a state already altered by conflict: the narrator introduced his reader to his protagonists not at the expected point of narrative unease, but at the point of narrative unrest, meaning both texts embark on a conscious process of recovery from the outset.

But Douglas' role in the romance is not simply curative; indeed, he is quite prominent throughout the poem more generally. He functions alongside Bruce in the heroic role, providing an expression of noble heroism specifically modeled to meet those requirements of Gordon's cultural environment. He is, as stated, a nobleman, but his 'warlike deeds' (VI: 1, 2) are equally celebrated. Indeed, Gordon takes some pains to maintain a fine balance between

---

<sup>40</sup> Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) p 3.

<sup>41</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Romance: the New Critical Idiom* (New York: Routledge, 2003). p 9.

Douglas's martial and aristocratic characteristics, invariably coupling his martial performance with a reminder of his noble lineage: the 'warlick *Erlls* braue hand' saves three noble ladies and an unarmed knight from some English brigands, but he is not described as a valiant knight, but rather a 'valiant erll' (VI: 23, 1-4). He provides, moreover, an exercise in love morality, when in Caput VI he is 'brunt with loues Insulting flames/ Yet shoues he that on Mars not Cupides launce' belongs (VI: *Arg.* 4-5). Indeed, the

braue young erle mak chois  
 Beautie to flie and brak loues mightie bands  
 ...

But this is it I will you to obey  
 Which of your heauens sworne oath sall mak you cleir  
 That presentlie you tak without delay  
 Braue *Murray* for your Knight and husband deir  
 Tho I my self yow to my self could wish  
 If to my taste were tyed no other dish. (VI: 40, 3-4; 42, 3-8)

Douglas advises his lover to marry the knight Murray in his place, as he cannot promise himself to her: he has a duty to Bruce and to the war, and therefore prioritises this duty at the expense of his love for her. As in *Penardo*, then, amorous discourse is displaced in favour of more pressing masculine concerns, not simply to meet those ends of the national epic, but also to outline the model of heroism favoured in seventeenth-century Scottish culture particularly.

Douglas is also a learned and eloquent hero, as demonstrated by his rousing speech in Caput X of the romance. As the English forces are strengthened by Scottish defections, Douglas inspires the remaining men, as well as Bruce, with his powerful speech:

My Lord and brother let not this confound  
 Your noble thoghts tho numbers quite be lost  
 In this small band must all your hops be cround  
 Tho fortun beare your iust desings aurie  
 She can not let vs brauelie for to die.

Will is it knowne since first we Armour tooke  
 When in oure *cuntreis* cause we swore to stand  
 That euer since wee suffred haue rebooke  
 Nor fortun once wold fauour oute demand  
 With shame and lose oure. Frends vs all forsooke  
 Oure soldiers seing nought but lose at hand  
 Haue left vs Cowards worthie not to breath,  
 That we may look for nothing now but death.

Yet sall it neu'r be said nor sein nor knowne

That in oure latest hour we shrink or flie  
No let oure hearts oure hands and al be shoune  
Eu'ne in dispight of *fortuns* crueltie  
To work most dread reuenge if ouerthroune  
And with their brauest captains let vs die  
Lo *fame* and Glorie shall oure death attend  
Nor shall they much reioise in this oure end.

*The rest whome* Anger curage greif dispair  
Tormenting made to wish their deaths were nie  
Applaudeth all that he had said and their  
All crie dye die reuenge and brauelie die  
But their braue Prince with mild looks doth declair  
His counsall wise... (X:20-24)

The power of articulate speech, evinced so well by Douglas, is of course matched and demonstrated by Bruce:

Nor can a world of armeis me effray  
For heu'ne promeisd mee that I should ryise  
Vnto my foes shame ruin and decay  
I cair not I what earth or hell deuyis  
They can not hinder heuin though they dalay  
...  
For *Scotts* will ether all way mak a chose  
Of friedome euer poore with warre maintaind  
Then bondage euer riche with peace still gaind. (X: 26, 2-6; 27, 6-8)

The sheer power of their words is demonstrated moments later, when the English army begins their march upon them:

By this they sie an armie to appeir  
Before their face and at their baks they vieu  
The Lord of *Lorne* with all his troups drau neir  
By secreit by-wais led, them to perseu  
Whereat they stand amaz'd vntill, they heire  
Their Lords wise hardie resolutioun treu  
Whoe thus to cheir and confort them began  
Fear not their slight for do the worst they can,

Wee shall esheu their craft their hate their force... (X: 28, 1-8; 29, 1)

This eloquence is often matched by a martial fervour, evincing the mutual relationship between learnedness and physical heroism:

... fether-futtet-*fame* before vs flie  
Vpone the golden wings of Honor borne  
Altho nor ours their numbers greater be  
Yet fear them not *Jebona* heighe hath sworne

To yeild them in your hands that ye may steip  
Your thristie blaidis in blood whill as they sleip.

This said from heauen reflected on his face  
A lightning beame bright shining pure and cleir  
His countenance shind with such heaunilie grace  
As lightned all about both farr and neir  
a *Martiall* furie in his breist took place  
Whoes sparkling did his eies with lightning cheir  
So that his gallant port and gracefull looks  
The bold confirms the faint with shame rebooks. (XI: 14, 3-8; 15, 1-8)

This has a twofold effect – Bruce’s articulate and rousing words alongside his martial thirst transform his men from tired soldiers to ‘Warriors’ (XI: 18, 1), and they enjoy a great victory over the English army camp. The eloquence Bruce employs at the text’s close provides another crucial rally of patriotism: the King, whose ‘quick clear Eyes sent forth a cheerful Light’, and whose ‘Countenance... would have made/ E’en Cowards hardy’ begs his ‘Friends’ to ‘behold this glorious Day’, in which their ‘Shade shall put [the English] all to flight’ (XVII: 9, 4-7; 10, 1. 18, 8). The result proves decisive:

Thousands the tumbling forth of lyfe cuts short  
And Thousands mo in flight their foes[:] our hy  
Base deaths they seik[,] but fleis the death which lend  
In *Glorious fight* a fare more *Glorious* End. (XVII: 64, 5-8)

The two men thus encapsulate those values of heroism which were particularly valued by seventeenth-century Scottish romance readers. Both are noblemen, but both are also active on the field; both are patriotic and dutiful above amorous, and both display the rhetorical eloquence deemed necessary to properly fulfill heroic duty.

Reunited, Bruce and Douglas travel by night, but take shelter under an arbour at daybreak. Douglas enquires ‘to know the woful Birth/ Of Sorrows’ (II: 3, 2-3) which have afflicted Bruce and the Scottish nation. Bruce, though ‘loath to unfold his strange Misfortunes rare’ (II: 5, 2), obliges, and a prolonged exposition ensues. Bruce seeks first to legitimise the nation’s – and, by extension his own – royal heritage, beginning first with a reference to the ‘three Alexanders [who] thrice were Scotlend’s Kings’ (II: 8, 1), each of whom were distinguished by their ‘Valiant... brave undaunted Deeds’ (II: 8, 2-5). Roger Mason identifies this practice – the eulogising of Scottish kings at a time of cultural turmoil – as part of a Scottish *mythomoteur*.

... the long line of Scottish kings, stretching back in unbroken succession to the foundation of the kingdom in 330 BC, played a key role in validating the belief, not only in Scotland's antiquity, but more importantly in its historic and continuing autonomy. Such was... the bare bones of a national epos which explained the Scots to themselves and underpinned their collective identity.<sup>42</sup>

This 'manipulation of... a "usable past"' (Mason: 51) has two functions in *Prince Robert*, and elsewhere. Evocation of kings and heroes of the past not only reinforces a sense of national identity, it demands an interpretive acuity in order to make such histories 'usable'.

*Prince Robert* certainly evokes this 'myth of descent' (Mason: 51). Bruce continues: upon the death of King Alexander III in 1286, the nation is placed under the governance of six regents, but peace is short-lived. Factions arise, and tensions simmer as various claimants for the Scottish throne emerge. There are inevitable suppressions in this relation: Bruce's account of Balliol's claim is terse, and though he does confess a 'thirsting for a princely Diadem' (II: 14, 2), he depicts himself and Balliol as mutual defenders of the nation:

But for the Crown, while we're aspiring thus  
We robb'd of what should make it glorious  
... For with us Two, two mighty Armies rose  
To win the Crown, or lose our selves and all. (II: 14, 7-8; 15, 1-2)

Balliol's succession itself is described as the product of 'foul Dishonour, and eternal Shame' (II: 17, 8), the ill-consequence of secret dealings with King Edward; the judicial authority Edward proposed to exert, which Balliol had in fact disputed, is related here as a private agreement between the two Kings, Balliol granting consent due to '*strong enticing Pow'r*' (II: 26, 3). Balliol, he claims, had bought the crown, '*Exchanging Honour for eternal Shame*' (II: 27, 8).

Bruce relates a vision experienced by Balliol, in which he is visited by the bitter and vengeful ghost of King Fergus. Fergus declares Balliol unworthy of the crown, while correspondingly, the nation's nobles seek counsel with Balliol, to 'work with all/ To make him see his Error Shame, and Fall' (II: 41, 7-8). Bruce counts himself amongst these nobles, Gordon evidently keen to suppress Bruce's own acceptance of estates in England. Berwick is taken by the English army, and Balliol is defeated at Dunbar. As Caput II draws to a close, Bruce reverts to a classical rhetoric with an elegiac tone – Balliol has personally brought Scotland to her knees, he claims.

---

<sup>42</sup> Roger Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland' in Roger Mason and Norman Macdougall, eds. *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), pp 50-73. p 55.

At this point of the poem, Gordon's own voice begins to intrude slightly into the text. He introduces a brief interlude, in which Bruce – the mouthpiece here for Gordon's own beliefs about seventeenth-century Scotland – laments Scotland's failure during his early reign to uphold her glorious legacy; 'Where was the conqu'ring Arms, the valiant Hearts? / Where was the wonted Loyalty now gone? [...] For had the *Scots* true to themselves remain'd/  
*Longshanks* had not so great a Glory gain'd' (III: 3, 1-2; 5, 7-8). He resumes his tale, describing the English purge of Scotland's gold and those objects of important cultural legacy, as Edward 'burnt with Fire what e'er we did enjoy/ Writs, Books and Works' (III: 10, 5-6). English garrisons are established in each Scottish town and city, and English Lords are granted lands throughout the nation. But there is hope, he claims; '[for] in this Time liv'd a worthy, valiant Knight/ Most fortunate, who *Wallace* heght to Name... Who Scotland thrice from Bondage did reclaim' (III: 12, 1-4). This brief heroic concession will be the first, and only, appearance of Wallace in the poem. After Wallace's defeat, Bruce resumes the heroic role, for 'much [he] lamented this [his] Country's Wo/ And oft desir'd to remedy the same' (III: 16, 1-2). He briefly regroups Scotland's national legacy, the absence of which he had lamented previously,

What glorie great the warlike Scots haue woon  
From Age, to Age, all Time can witness beare  
... Who but the Scots the valiant Pichts subdu'd  
And Warrlike Danes whose force seau'n times reneud? (III: 18, 1-8)

but quickly re-iterates its contemporary absence: 'Where is become our Elders vallerous harts?' (III: 20, 1).

Gordon, as in most sources, attempts to justify Bruce's involvement in the murder of John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch. Bruce chances upon a messenger at the very time he is recounting 'Cumins' known treachery to his fellow knights. The messenger confesses that:

He was vpon a secreat message set to  
Englands King for Cumins business  
Whose letters did requyre the King to let  
[Bruce] soone by Death from [his] revolting mind. (III: 27, 3-6)

Bruce does not, as sources dictate, consequently lure Comyn to Greyfriars Church in Dumfries, but he is instead here informed of his whereabouts by the messenger. Though the death is evidently justified by Comyn's alleged treachery, Bruce does at least repent 'that *Jove's* sacred *hous* we thus defild' (III: 28, 7), suggesting a partial apology on Gordon's part for Bruce's brief act of immorality.

Bruce is finally crowned King of Scotland (III: 29). There is brief triumph – Bruce ‘with warrs stern shok and Trumpets dreidfull blast... made mightie *Edward* quake’ (III: 30, 2, 7) – but ‘Proud fortun’ interferes, and Bruce’s army of five hundred men is besieged at Perth by a ‘*Mightie* army marching hard at hand/ As many thrice as those [he] did command’ (III: 35, 7-8). Bruce is forced to flee, but he and his remaining men are ambushed by Lord Lorne. A tense conflict ensues, but Bruce’s men emerge triumphant. The narrative relies heavily on portentous foreshadowing here; though Bruce single-handedly defeats three knights to achieve victory, the reader is permitted only brief celebration, for ‘*Iove*, hev’ne fate and fortun’ conspire to prolong Bruce’s ‘wrack, [his] miserie, [his] care’ (III: 49, 2-3). Though Gordon must underline Bruce’s ever-present heroism, his victories must serve, at this point, as brief glimmers in a greater darkness.

‘Fred of all [his] foes and frie from danger’ (III: 52, 1), Bruce, wounded and separated from his men, wanders through the wilderness. Douglas, meanwhile, is visited upon by the spirit of King Fergus, who has previously condemned Balliol’s right to the Scottish throne. Fergus appeals to Douglas’s patriotic debt of duty, for ‘with Greater pains’ (III: 56, 6) Bruce’s aims for independence can be achieved. Douglas’ eloquence is exercised – if we recall, in Paris he ‘both Arts and Eloquence obtains’ (I: 6, 4) – as he in turn inspires Bruce:

Then quod the *Douglas* *Sir* I yow desire  
 Forget these passions straunge, too straung alace  
 Since *Fortune* now shall change her sad attire  
 And ever after look with cheirfull face  
 An hard beginning to an end aspire  
 Of ewerlasting happines and grace  
 The mightie minds to honor still repara  
 Throw rare difficulties and daungers rare.

Wheir *Fergus* *Ghost* directs their must yow go  
 Winter draws neir heir must yow noght abids  
 Their havin’s your fortune fait shall to yow sho  
 Eu’ne vnto yow and all the world beside. (III, 62, 1-8; 63, 1-4)

By the fourth ‘caput’, the text has aligned three key rhetorical themes with those that Gordon had correspondingly laid out in *Penardo*: first and foremost, it is an endorsement of martial values and of the intellectual tempering of its attendant physicality. It also functions as an instructive dialogue in social hierarchy. Certainly the text emphasises its aristocratic nature, featuring amongst its prefaces an ‘addition of the Scottishe Kinges lineallie discended from him to Charles now Prince, together with a note of the beginniges of the moste part of the ancient and famous Nobilitie of Scotland’; in brief, it sought the ennoblement of the Scottish aristocracy at a time when heritage and just descent were inherently valued in Scotland.

Though Penman has argued that it was ‘Bruce’s aristocratic heritage which made him second choice as a national icon in the meritocratic later nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries,’ for indeed, ‘Bruce was not a martyred ‘lad o’pairts’ [Finlay, 1997, p. 111-118]’ (Penman, 16), the opposite is true of early modern treatments of the Bruce history. Ideas of the noble savage (Burns as the ‘Heaven-taught ploughman) – an eighteenth-century rhetoric of sentimentalism which would feature so heavily in Scottish literary culture – was yet to materialise, and indeed, in the first half of the seventeenth century there was in fact a renewed emphasis on social hierarchy. Indeed, as will be outlined, James’s absence necessitated a re-evaluation of social hierarchy in Scotland, prompting the martial class, amongst others, to seek social improvement (to harness and strengthen a position of authority within that social hierarchy). The Bruce history was thus an ideal subject for the seventeenth-century romance writer, as an exemplary history of noble heroism that would appeal to the sensibilities of a culture increasingly fascinated and concerned by the qualities of aristocratic leadership.

The poem accordingly establishes itself as a text of exemplarity; a celebration of martial values predicated on the moral lessons one can derive from the Bruce history. It is not a ‘history of distemper’,<sup>43</sup> as Gordon would compose in later years, but rather a history ‘both pleasant and profitable’ (title page), and one in which readers might seek edificatory value. This rhetorical emphasis upon historical moral profit was certainly enhanced by the romance’s more poetic elements, as Gordon attempted to instil in his contemporary readers a respect for chivalric heroism primarily realised in fictive romances. It was, Allan comments, ‘ostensibly a poetical account’ which developed into an

expansive humanist commentary on the struggle between implacable Fortune and heroic Virtue... Gordon makes it quite clear that it is the Bruce’s eloquent exhortations to patriotic duty and his incantation of historic victories which have been decisive: we are to note that ‘his Speech doth all appease’. By this means, Gordon’s historical narrative managed to elevate Douglas and the Bruce into something approaching classic humanist exemplars. But it also strove to convey, more specifically, the importance of the oratorical function in rendering historical material of inspirational service to the national community. (Allan 1993: 82-83)

By the time the fourth caput opens, the narrator has provided an expansive confirmation of Bruce’s monarchical legitimacy, reinforcing the social role of the King at a time when Scotland’s monarch was absent. Indeed, as the previous section draws to a close, Douglas has been separated briefly from Bruce. In this moment of monarchical absence, the spirit of King Fergus appears to urge Douglas on – his ‘Voice like Thunder’, he emphasises that restoring Bruce is a great task, the failure of which would secure Douglas’s ‘eternal Shame’ (III: 56, 3,

---

<sup>43</sup> See Patrick Gordon, *A Short Abridgement of Britane’s Distemper* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844).

8). The absence of royal rule in fourteenth-century Scotland is thus clearly identified as an acute national problem – so much so, in fact, that when Bruce disappears from the text, the image of a King now past must be inserted to compensate – and a social problem which has clear parallels with seventeenth-century Scotland. Fergus might even be considered as an allegorical representation of Gordon’s own role, at least as Gordon perceived it. Indeed, Fergus, like Gordon, attempts to inspire and reinforce Scottish national spirit. But regardless of the personal conceit behind this episode, Gordon’s clear anxiety over royal absence seems to reflect an anxiety he (and, one might assume, others) evidently felt about James’s departure from Edinburgh in the present day.

Caput IV adopts the recurring leitmotif of historical inheritance in order to underpin the Brucean line, as the exiled monarch is visited by an aged oracle who discourses on ‘the Constellations about the Poles, alluding to the Kings descended of the Bruce’ (IV: 34-35). Bruce is descended from the man who spent his life in

... Honour’s Height, his Days  
Favour’d by Heav’n, freed from untimely Woes  
Of Him descended shall a Greater rise  
And lift his Glory far above the Skies. (IV: 45, 5-8)

This progeny shall ‘this Land govern, *Protect*, Defend... And here behold that Magnanimous king’ (IV: 46, 1; 51, 1) is Bruce. The oracle’s discourse continues into the next *caput*, and though he cautions Bruce against ‘sinfull pride’ (V: 1, 6), he also prophesises expansively on his future glories, emphasising at all times the favour afforded him by God and Fortune alike.

But the text provides other, more grounded, moral examples of both Bruce’s and Douglas’s heroic legitimacy. Both have already proven their intellectual worth, their physical strength and their devotion to Scotland’s national cause, but it is the overt displacement of amorous desire that suggests the truly ideal nature of their masculinity. The poem’s discourses on love are more sparing here than in the fictional *Penardo*, but when they do appear, they share with its sister romance a clear distrust of excessive beauty, and a concern for the man who submits himself to such physical enticements. In Caput VII, for example, Douglas is forced to pause his duties to hear the tale of a dying knight, whose wife ‘a Lady was, alas, too fair’ (VII: 5, 2). Douglas here provides stark comparison to the married man, he being ‘warlike’ (VII: *Arg.* 1) while the knight ‘weakly leans his Head upon his Hand,’ for ‘pale Death’ has ‘dim’d his Sight’ (VII: 4, 1-2). The wife’s beauty is such, he recounts, that another Captain ‘chanc’d [her] for to view... While as enamour’d straight of her grew’ (VII: 7, 1-3). Not only is the Captain’s honour compromised, he

Friendship urg'd on [the knight], thus did ensue  
'Twixt [them] great Love, but still he feign'd  
For all his Friendship was for to deceive. (VII: 7, 5-7)

But the 'Sorrows split' (VII: 15, 3) his wife's heart, and the Captain is eventually killed. This episode occupies an entire caput of the text, and is seemingly a fictional construct. It serves no broader narrative purpose, thus its rhetorical agenda is clearly moral in nature. As in *Penardo*, Gordon displaces the amorous features of conventional romance; they are noticeably absent from the two heroes' stories, and when they do appear, they feature only as admonitory moral lessons which foreground the hazardous side of amorous engagement. Amorous discourse in the poem is a purely abstract concept – a brief but titillating threat that is quickly overcome – or a means for heroic comparison between the soldierly Bruce and Douglas and their lesser counterparts.

The poem develops in much the same fashion as Barbour's *Bruce*, outlining the Scottish army's various defeats and victories, from Loudon-hill to Buchan. Caput XVII sees the narrative draw to a close, as both armies 'join in long and doubtful Fight' (XVII: *arg.* 1). It is here that Bruce's victory is proven decisive by the application of those virtues he has amassed throughout the romance. His critique of Edward's army is appropriately hinged upon speech itself – as the rival army fails, a 'new rais'd *Babel* of Confusion' (XVII: 12, 2), Bruce's own eloquence inspires morale, purpose and victory amongst his own men. The poem closes as Edward's army flees, while the

*Scots* pursue them... Base Deaths they seek, but flee the Deaths which lend  
In Glorious Fight, a far more glorious End. (XVII: 56, 1, 7-8)

That the poem closes in the midst of ongoing battle is of course deliberate – heroic glory of the sort Gordon seeks, i.e. the martial warrior spirit of a King long past, is best expressed in the visceral and bloody violence of soldierly action. Gordon clearly perceived no need to close his romance with a philosophical discourse or contemplative analysis. Instead, he leaves Bruce and Douglas as he recalls them best – in the heart of battle.

\*\*\*

Amongst *The Famous History of Prince Robert's* series of prefaces and dedicatory sonnets, the poet John Wrrey helpfully refers to Gordon as the 'restorer' of the 'ruin'd storie of his famous king'.<sup>44</sup> The text's explicit claims for historicity suggest that neither Wrrey nor Gordon

---

<sup>44</sup> John Wrrey, 'To his deare freend, the restorer of the famous Bruce historie', *Famous History*. p iii.

intended his readers to understand this ‘ruin’ in purely literary terms – it is not an attempt to criticise Barbour’s poem, and Barbour is by no means analogous to Douglas’s thorny Caxton (Douglas famously criticised Caxton in his *Eneados*, referring to Caxton’s translation of Virgil as a ‘mangling’). That Gordon is the ‘restorer’ of the story is significant; Barbour did not plunge the history into decline, but years of deteriorating cultural identity, political upheaval and open rebellion certainly did. Wrey’s condemnation, rather than acting as a critique of the legend’s previous incarnations, is instead a warning that the moral lessons provided by Bruce’s story have not been fully explored, or, correspondingly, heeded. *Prince Robert* extends an explicit appeal to its readers; if the nation heeds Gordon’s pains to offer an engagement with the past, they might reap the benefits in an unsatisfactory present. The poem thus fosters a relationship with the past on multiple levels; on a practical and ideological level, it attempts to inspire an idealised morality and national pride, and on a literary level it evokes and reiterates the poetic ideology of late medieval Scotland, an elite poetic landscape in which Bellenden’s *Virtew* would proclaim that her ‘werk perfytis evry wycht’.<sup>45</sup> Such sentiments Gordon was keen to develop in his own works, which emphasise his ‘labours weighty’ and his ‘paines’ to provide in ‘eu’erie verse, each line, each woorde’ (I, 1: 8,12; 5:5) a narrative of moral improvement. *The Famous History of Prince Robert* is a text inherently tied to Scotland’s past, but it is just as concerned with re-invigorating and inspiring national morale as a matter of contemporary appeal.

This identifies the poem as a significant document of seventeenth-century culture. Gordon’s text indicates not just the enduring interest in history, but the perceived need for a stirring national epic to alleviate those peripheral anxieties caused by a period of intense cultural and political turmoil. Its moral emphases – the need to temper oneself, and to be simultaneously noble, soldierly and learned – evince the specific culture of ‘heroism’ in which Gordon’s works emerged, and in turn, a renewed tradition of Scottish heroic literature which attempted to evoke a patriotism synonymous with the medieval romances of Bruce, Wallace, and Alexander.

---

<sup>45</sup> John Bellenden, *Chronikle of Scotland*. (1536) 1 235.

## Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622)

### Synopsis

Main characters:

Lewis II of Hungary

King John

Archduke Ferdinand of Bohemia

Queen Isabella

Prince Stephen

George (Friar and tutor of Prince Stephen)

Mariana Ardech

John Sheretine

John Castalde

Lazare Ardech

Nicholas Turian

Immediately preceding Hannay's 1622 romance is a short prose section entitled 'A briefe Collection out of the *Hungarian Historie*, for the better vnderstanding of this ensuing Poem', which details a brief but dramatic period of civil conflict in Hungary. Its events take place in the wake of the Battle of Mohács (1526) and are sourced, as will be discussed in the following chapter, from Martin Fumeé's *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie* (1594).

King Lewis II of Hungary is dead, and John Zappoly succeeds the throne. The Archduke Ferdinand is elected King of Bohemia, and in turn asserts his own claim for the Hungarian throne, by virtue of his son, Prince Albert, whose mother Anne was King Lewis II's sister. Ferdinand invades Hungary, and King John is forced to retreat to Transylvania, and then to Poland. Ferdinand is crowned King of Hungary. A series of civil conflicts ensue as King John attempts to remove Ferdinand, until finally an agreement is reached: King John will be restored the crown until his death, after which it should descend to Ferdinand. The only condition attached to their agreement is that John's children, should he have any, will be 'honourably maintained'.

Shortly thereafter John dies, leaving behind his wife, Isabella, and a very young son, Stephen. Ferdinand refuses to meet the conditions of his agreement with John, and the Queen and her son flee to Buda alongside a Friar, George – the boy's tutor. Ferdinand pursues them there and further conflicts ensue. Isabella, George and her son are sent by Solomon to govern Transylvania, but the Friar assumes leadership himself. Isabella appeals to Solomon, and fearing retribution, the Friar makes contact with Ferdinand.

Ferdinand appeals to his brother, Charles I, who is at war in Germany. He sends a Lieutenant, John Castalde, who arrives in Vienna for further instruction. Amongst Castalde's men is John Sheretine, a soldier and 'Gentleman'. Hannay briefly alludes to the love affair between Sheretine and Mariana Ardech, as described in greater detail in the later verses of the text.

Castalde and his men march from Hungary to Transylvania. Isabella attempts to hold a 'Dyet', but the Friar's interference prevents the tensions from being resolved. She flees once more but is pursued by Castalde and George. Isabella surrenders to Ferdinand, but later secures her return with the aid of Transylvanian forces and is restored to the throne. Castalde, who has been in receipt of the Crown since his Dyet with Isabella, sends it to Ferdinand via his nephew. Accompanying him is John Sheretine, who wishes to return to Vienna to be reunited with Mariana Ardech. He discovers that she has been inconstant in his absence, and dies of sorrow.

## The First Canto

The narrator reposes in sleep, and experiences a dream vision of a young woman. Charon has denied her passage to the otherworld, demanding that first someone must write down her story.

We learn that she is Mariana Ardech, born in Vienna to a relatively noble family. She alludes briefly to the same political tensions described by the prose preface, demonstrating significant empathy for the deposed Isabella. These tensions bring about the arrival in Vienna of John Sheretine, a respected nobleman who is both known and respected by the local community.

Mariana admires the soldier, but does not fall in love with him immediately. Her father, identifying Sheretine as a desirable prospect for his daughter, extends his friendship to the young man. Sheretine, having heard reports of Mariana's beauty, finds his expectations surpassed, and quickly falls in love.

Though his passion is clearly intense, Sheretine remains fairly reasonable, and waits until he has fulfilled a series of polite courting rituals before declaring his intentions. He assures Mariana, who is somewhat wary of the depth of his feelings, that his love is true, and not an attempt to flatter her. She remains hesitant, and they are interrupted by her father's arrival before a conclusion is reached. Sheretine suffers a sleepless night, but on the following

day Mariana – finding herself glad to see him again and seemingly assured of his constancy – accepts his proposal. They enjoy a brief but happy courting period, both families content with the match.

Political unrest soon rears its head, and Sheretine is required to accompany Castalde to Hungary. Mariana begs him to remain in Vienna, but he refuses, asserting that love should not debase a man's former worth. He promises to return, but as the first canto draws to a close, the lovers are parted.

## The Second Canto

The second canto opens with an invective against love, which the narrator describes as the strongest molester of the mind. Mariana is certainly suffering the effects of her passion, as she grieves over Sheretine's protracted absence.

In the interim, Maximilian, King of Bohemia, arrives in Vienna to celebrate the marriage of his daughter to Charles of Spain. A diverse number of nobles arrive for the celebratory tournament. Amongst them is a young nobleman, Nicholas Turian, who immediately falls in love with Mariana. Though he is advised of her betrothal to Sheretine, Turian is set on his course and declares that through such difficulty he will demonstrate his courage and worth.

In an attempt to escape Turian's attention, Mariana withdraws from the public eye and into the private sphere of the family home. But Turian targets first her mother, who is impressed by the youth, beauty, virtue and good conduct related to her by a mutual friend, and then her father, who is impressed by his superior wealth. Their social ambition makes them easy prey for the determined suitor, and they insist that Mariana consents to his proposal. She resists – forcefully – but ultimately feels duty-bound to her parents. She eventually consents, disconsolate that she has betrayed her promise to Sheretine, and the pair are married.

Sheretine, meanwhile, attends a Dyet with Isabella in Hungary. The events detailed in the prose preface are revisited, and as the political tensions are resolved, his thoughts return to Vienna, and to Mariana. Anticipating a happy reunion, he accompanies Castalde's nephew back to Vienna. He refuses to believe the stories he hears of Mariana's marriage, but is devastated when he discovers her in Turian's arms. He accuses her of inconstancy and departs, refusing to listen to her explanation. A sort of madness comes upon him, followed by a deep melancholy, and he wanders aimlessly throughout a dark, wooded landscape. He

eventually falls into a helpless fit, during which he curses Time, Fortune and Love for his pain. He dies, Death releasing him from the prison created by Love.

Upon learning Sheretine's death, Mariana is likewise maddened by grief and melancholy. She commits suicide, causing in turn the death of her mother, who dies of shock, and of Turian, who kills himself with same blade used by his wife. Her father disappears in an act of self-imposed exile, repenting his own role in the four deaths.

As the poem closes, Mariana departs from the narrator, confident that she can now move to the other side.

FINIS

Amongst a series of prefatory poems to Patrick Hannay's (*fl.* 1616-1630) *Poetical Works* (1622) is a dedication by the poet John Marshall, who identifies the author as the grandson of Donald Hannay of Sorbie, a soldier who 'well was knowne/ To th'English by his sword'. His poet grandson is known too, but 'by pen, [for] (times changing) Hannay's are/ Actiue in acts of worth be't peace or warre'.<sup>46</sup> In this Marshall elucidates a significant seventeenth-century ideological concept – the attempt to resolve the observed tension between physical and literary endeavour and establish martial and poetic pursuits as acts of equal cultural worth.

Patrick Hannay's experience as a soldier and writer certainly demonstrated this shared conceptual relationship (a combined career also shared by Scotland's foremost Renaissance lyricist, Montgomerie, and by Sidney, Du Bartas and Thomas Urquhart, amongst others), which had been prompted in the early seventeenth-century by the outbreak of an international war and the nationalist discussions it anticipated. Competing ideologies of the values of physicality and intellectuality, forced to inhabit the same dialogical space, became equally valid points of discussion for the young Scottish male.

Hannay exercised this relationship both in life and art; he set out from Leith in 1620 under Colonel Sir Andrew Gray for the defence of Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, and published his collected poetical works later, in 1622. He was certainly as recognised for his poetic works as he was for his martial participation. His name appears in the complimentary verses of John Dunbar's *Epigrammaton* (1616),<sup>47</sup> while his connections to the literary court elite are evinced by the complimentary addresses provided in his *Poetical Works* by Queen Anne's favourite travel writer, William Lithgow. Hannay evidently enjoyed his own attachment to the royal court, publishing in 1619 *Two Elegies on the Death of our Sovereigne Queen Anne*, who had warmly recommended him after his service in Bohemia on behalf of her daughter's husband, the Elector Palatine. A healthy poetic output, combined with prudent political manoeuvring, suggests Hannay was inherently aware of the need to achieve a balance between active service and adroit wit.

Hannay performs, much like Patrick Gordon, the role of moralist in his poem, though *Sheretine and Mariana* adopts a slightly different approach to heroism than either of Gordon's offerings. *Penardo and Laissa* and *The Famous History of Prince Robert* were both concerned with

---

<sup>46</sup> John Marshall, 'To his much respected friend master Patrick Hannay' in Patrick Hannay, *Poetical Works* ed. David Laing (Aberdeen: Hunterian Club, 1875) p 5.

<sup>47</sup> John Dunbar (1616) *Epigrammaton Ioannis Dunbari Megalo-Britanni Centuria Sex, Decades Totidem* – 'Who would compete with you, Hannay, concerning the antiquity of your stock, since your family is descended from Romans? Two Hannaeuses have enjoyed distinction, a poet and a philosopher, and you can join them as the third Hannaeus.' The edition used is a hypertext critical edition by Jamie Reid Baxter and Dana F. Sutton, accessed at <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/dunbar/> 24/07/09.

re-establishing a particularly physical heroic model into seventeenth-century writing – the warrior hero of Bruce’s ilk. Hannay’s approach, by contrast, adopts a potentially tangible, realist and civic mode of discourse, in which the dutiful and loyal soldier (recognisable to readers as the typical young man of seventeenth-century Scotland) replaces the knight errant in the heroic role. It is a clear example of the evolving treatment of chivalry – from knight to soldier – to which the romance hero was subject. Gordon’s approach certainly differed from Hannay’s more modern conception of soldiery, but both poets seek the same end, which is to restore to a post-chivalric literary age a model of heroism which hinged upon the protagonist’s ability and willingness to be a civic champion: a hero for the community, not just a man seeking individual glory.

The poem has been acknowledged as a progeny of the *Mirror for Magistrates* collection (1554-59),<sup>48</sup> which was concerned with the ‘characters of the princes and nobles, whose... tragical ends made them conspicuous as moral examples; and as fit beacons to check rebellion’,<sup>49</sup> but *Sheretine* is primarily targets an emerging mercenary class, rather than an aristocratic one. Moral instruction is certainly a significant aim of the romance, but the customary focus of the *speculum principis* tradition is here displaced and re-located within a wider, middle class discourse. The active soldier – who would enjoy an increasingly significant social role in a historical phase marked by frequent civil as well as national wars – was a relevant contemporary model to be explored and developed in heroic texts. Hannay seized on this opportunity, and his own martial experience combined with an overtly modern approach to romance writing renders *Sheretine and Mariana* a pertinent example of evolving heroic discourse in seventeenth-century Scottish literary culture, as well as the transformations of the romance mode more generally. The romance details, in short, the tragic courtship of Sheretine and Mariana, whose marriage is postponed while the former completes an essential military tour. In his absence, the lone Mariana is forced into marriage with a wealthier suitor, ultimately leading to her own, and her lover’s, death.

The poem’s sources are multiple and varied. A prefatory prose sequence provides some context for poem, which is largely inspired by the events of the Hungarian Battle of Mohács (1526). Hannay’s interest in this was most likely ignited when he himself served in Bohemia under Colonel Sir Andrew Gray, discussed in more detail below.

---

<sup>48</sup> Willard Farnham, ‘The Progeny of “A Mirror for Magistrates”’, *Modern Philology* (Vol. 29, 1931-32). p 396.

<sup>49</sup> William Baldwin, *A Mirror for Magistrates* ed. Joseph Haslewood (London: Lackington, Allen & Co. 1815). Intro, p iv.

The text also owes some debt to Samuel Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592)<sup>50</sup> and, as mentioned previously, uses as its instructive model the *Mirror for Magistrates* tradition. The Hungarian chronicle from which Hannay borrows his prose preface is Martin Fumeé's *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie* (1594), of which an English translation was published in 1600.<sup>51</sup> The period of history to which Hannay alludes follows the aftermath of the Battle of Mohács, a time of intense trauma in Hungary, during which an insecure and divided nobility elected two kings contemporaneously, János Szapolyai and Ferdinand I of Habsburg, effectively concluding the reign of an independent Kingdom of Hungary. This historical source is important, acting not just as a preface to the text but as the historical source of the fictional plot therein. Its presence in the text achieves, moreover, to some degree the marriage of prose and verse forms – two competing modes between a prose-oriented England and verse-oriented Scotland. This narrative coupling perhaps indicates Hannay's own dual preferences; the historical chronicle satisfied the popular consumption of older romance chronicles such as *The Bruce* and *The Wallace* in Scottish literary cultures, whilst appealing to the well-established preference for the prose form in the wider English canon. *Sheretine* should thus be understood as a significant, transitory example of romance writing, an attempt to harness the authority that the enhanced artifice of verse was apparently still thought – in Scotland – to bring to a text, as well as the broader prose appeal of English readers. That it is a compact and sophisticated text is a pleasant bonus.

Hannay signifies from the outset the significance of the text's prefatory history, included, he asserts, 'for the better understanding of this ensuing Poem' (91). Fumeé's epistle to the original *Historie* refers to the chronicle as a 'mirrou' through which its readers might 'better know what is their present estate... see their grosse deformities, and great defects',<sup>52</sup> and this certainly seems to correspond with Hannay's intentions for the later romance. The edificatory features he identified in this particular moment of Hungary's history would presumably have appealed to his concerns for Scotland and Britain's political issues – issues of nationhood, leadership, religious strife and European conflicts. Accordingly, there are clear and multiple examples of repetition between Fumeé's and Hannay's texts:

<i>Sheretine and Mariana</i>	<i>The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie</i>
------------------------------	---

<sup>50</sup> Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* of course also imitates the *Magistrates* tradition.

<sup>51</sup> N. T. Ting, 'The Historical Sources of Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana*', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (Vol. 43, No. 2. April 1944) pp 242 – 247.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Fumeé, *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie newly translated out of French into English by R.C. Gentleman* (London: Felix Kingston, 1600) [accessed at [www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com) 20/06/11]. 'The Avthors Epistle'.

p 83

... and at a Dyet held at *Egneth* in presence of her sonne and Nobilitie, deliuers vp the kingly Ornaments, which were a Crowne of plates of gold mounting on high in forme of a high-crownd hat, inriched with Pearle and stones: a Gowne and a paire of shooes of gold: The *Frier* would haue had the Crowne in keeping, which she with disdain denied him, saying, *Shee would neuer consent that a Frier should be King of that kingdome, whereof she dispossessed her selfe and sonne.* Then (with great effusion of teares) deliuers *Castalde* the Crowne...

pp 120-123

... royal ornaments, which were a Crowne made of plates of gold, mounting on high in forme of a high crowned hat, inriched with stones and pearles, and having a little cross of gold on the top. The next was a Scepter of Ivorie, garnished with gold and a Mantle of cloath of gold, after the ancient habite in manner of a Vestment, beset with many stones, but of small value. A gowne, and a payre of shooes of gold, which in respect of the worke were like to those made for the Apostolike Sea. Among all those Jewels, the *Friar* demanded of the Queene that she would commit the Crowne into his custodie and keeping, Which request she absolutely denied him: saying that she would neuer giue her consent, that a *Friar* should bee King of that kingdome, whereof she dispossessed her sonne...<sup>53</sup>

That Fumeé's *Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie* is a rich source of material for *Sheretine* is clear: it is from this that Hannay sources the basis of political conflict in the poem, which prompts *Sheretine*'s separation from his lover. But a great part of the poem is also devoted to the moralising love story of those seemingly fictitious protagonists, John *Sheretine* and *Mariana Ardech* – the micro narrative in the broader political macro narrative. This micro/macro relationship continues; over the course of the tragic love story, Hannay successfully marries the public and private spheres in order to explore the individual's role in the greater community.

The First Canto of the poem evinces Hannay's complex arrangement of motifs, as a *Magistrates* narrative – the soliloquy of the departed heroine – is coupled with the literary

---

<sup>53</sup> For further comparison, see N. T. Ting, "The Historical Sources of Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana*."

dream vision.<sup>54</sup> As the narrator reposes in ‘gentle sleepe’, a ‘louely-Maid’ appears, professing that ‘thou shalt all [her] forepast fortunes know’ (I: I, 6 & 4, 4). The two literary genres naturally merge: Mariana assumes the role of the narrator’s guide – the voice through which he, and, by extension, the reader, would typically be afforded moral instruction – but it is her own, rather than the dreamer’s experience, that is related. The imagery employed to depict the hellish purgatory in which the heroine is trapped makes further use of established motifs. The ‘churlish’ Charon who denies Mariana passage to the afterlife is reminiscent of Virgil, Dante, Seneca and Daniel’s depictions of the mythological ferryman. The most obvious comparison invited by the motif is Daniel’s *The Complaint of Rosamond*, a text from which *Sheretine* derives some inspiration. Like *Sheretine*, *Rosamond* is narrated by the ghost of the deceased heroine. Daniel dedicated his text to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, as would Hannay. *Rosamond* was certainly an influential text:

The book, on sale by the spring of 1592 (it was entered in the Stationers’ register on 4 February), was an immediate success; Daniel followed up in the same year with a second edition, which supplied four new sonnets to *Delia*, and a revised version of *Rosamond*. The quality of Daniel’s poetry, and in *Delia* his obvious familiarity with (and debts to) the French lyric poets Du Bellay and Desportes, evidently prompted an invitation from Lady Pembroke to join her at Wilton House.<sup>55</sup>

We know that Hannay had made successful moves to ingratiate himself at the Royal Court, garnering favour with Queen Anne. It is perhaps cynical to suggest that Hannay’s allusions throughout *Sheretine* to Daniel’s text were an attempt to in some way replicate his success, but two texts certainly share mythological traits, as illustrated by a comparison of the two ferryman episodes:

<i>Sheretine and Mariana</i>	<i>The Complaint of Rosamond</i>
(ll 45 – 48)  Thou seest how faine I would transported beene; <u>But churlish Charon hath my passage staid:</u> Nor ere can I passe o’re this grisly lake, Vnlesse thou daine pittie on me to take.	(ll 8 – 14)  And which is worse, my soule is now denied, Her transport to her sweet Elisean rest, The ioyfull blisse for ghosts repurified, Th’euerspringing Gardens of the blest, <u>Caron denies me wastage with the rest.</u> And sayes my soule can neuer passe that Riuer, Till Louers sighes on earth shall it deliuer.

<sup>54</sup> Magistrates texts are usually narrated by the ghost of the protagonist him/herself, which *Sheretine* complies with.

<sup>55</sup> John Pitcher, ‘Daniel, Samuel (1562/3–1619)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7120>, accessed 8 Feb 2014].

<p>(ll 49 – 60)</p> <p>For still I'm stayd till one doe write my story, Whose infant Muse is by a maid inspir'd, To write her worth, and to set forth her glory, Who for her parts deserues to be admir'd; Such is thy fairest <i>Calia</i>, such the Muse Which her rare beautie bred and did infuse.</p> <p>By thy sweet <i>Calia's</i> name I thee coniure, My ruefull legend that thou wouldst relate, This may from her some pittie thee procure, For as hers now, such once was my estate: I bid her say, and I would doe my best To please my mistresse, and procure her rest.</p>	<p>(ll 15 – 21)</p> <p>So shall I neuer passe; for how should I Procure this sacrifice amongst the liuing? Time hath long since worne out the memorie, Both of my life, and liues uniuert depriviung: Sorrow for me is dead for aye reuiuung. <i>Rosamond</i> hath little left but her name, And that disgrac'd, for time hath wrong'd the same.</p> <p>(ll 56 – 63)</p> <p>Thus saide: forthwith mou'd with a tender care, And pittie, which my selfe could neuer finde: What she desir'd, my Muse degyn'd to declare, And therefore wil'd her boldly tell her minde: And I more willing tooke this charge assingd, Because her griefes were worthy to be knowne, And telling hers, might hap forget mine owne.</p>
---	--

Both poems deviate from the accepted Charon mythology, moreover, by suggesting passage has been denied because their heroines have failed first to impart the wisdom gained during living. Indeed, traditional depictions of the ferryman's duties indicate that passage is denied only to those unable to pay the fee – a single gold coin – or to those whose bodies have not been afforded a proper burial. Mariana and Rosamond can only be reprieved if the poet-narrator will hear and transmit their respective tales. *Magistrates* influence is clear in this respect; the principal purpose of the narrative is to share the process of learning the heroine has undergone, by which the reader may also receive moral instruction. Mariana is certainly 'stayd till one doe write [her] story' (I: 54), evincing the clear moral strain of the poem; the reader, much like Mariana, is stayed until the moral profit from her story has been imparted. This is her, and Hannay's, moral duty.

Duty – its constraints and its moral necessity – features prominently throughout the romance. Martial duties naturally take priority: Sheretine's civic duty as a soldier, and his heroic duty to the community more generally. But feminine duties are explored too: Mariana is subject to the whims of an ambitious father in her fulfilment of familial duty, and on a (perhaps) more significant meta-fictional level, she is constrained by her duty to the reader.

Her failure to fulfil the latter as the romance opens – if we recall, Charon demands she must make ‘payment’ for her passage in the form of storytelling – could prevent her from spiritual peace. In other words, the self-sacrificing heroine must find a fit author before she can pass over. But it is familial duty that poses the greatest threat to the heroine’s moral compass in the parameters of the romance timeline. Indeed, enforced inconstancy, a product of this familial duty, acts as the primary obstacle to Mariana’s courtship with Sheretine, as the prolonged absence of the hero provides ample opportunity for his fellow suitor Turian, with the aid of a father bent on upward social mobility, to manoeuvre the lone Mariana into a marriage contract. While Mariana’s love remains steadfast, for, ‘now (absent) [she] did loue [Sheretine] more inteaerly’ (II: 5, 1), the determined pursuit from a figure who is ultimately deemed of higher means and class proves too difficult to withstand for the dutiful daughter. Mariana’s surrender of self and will to that of her house was certainly mirrored by seventeenth-century family life. British culture was

still concerned for the family as a ‘house’, an association whose collective interests were more important than those of its individual members. Parents (especially the fathers) still generally selected marriage partners for their children, based on the interests of the family.<sup>56</sup>

‘Children obedience to their parents owe’ (II: 42, 1), Mariana indeed asserts, but the tension expressed is not ‘the intractable conflict between physical desire and familial duty’,<sup>57</sup> but between law, honour and familial duty. Hannay consciously displaces the courtly convention, imposing instead a series of values through which Mariana’s conflict arises. It is not lovesickness, nor indeed intense passion which symptomises the heroine’s despair, but rather a concern for the breaking of contract, for disloyalty and inconstancy:

Children obedience to their parents owe,  
I grant (said I) but in a lawfull thing;  
This is not, you me freely did bestow,  
I did submit, fra *Sheretine* to wring  
Me now were wrong, in me a foule offence:  
To disobey here, is obedience.

...

For I cannot be lawfully [Turian’s] wife,  
*It’s not the act that ties the marriage knot,*  
*It is the Will;* then must I all my life  
Be stained with *Inchastitie’s* foule blot.  
O grant me then my choice be either free,

---

<sup>56</sup> William J. Duiker and Jackson J. Spielvogel, *The Essential World History* (California: Wadsworth, 2007, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) p 317.

<sup>57</sup> Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). p 28.

Or an unstained Virgin let me die. (II: 42, 1-6. 48, 1-6)

Mariana's conflict is derived from her sense of honour: the duty to uphold her own and her lover's honour sits in opposition to her familial duty. It is a striking displacement of conventional romance motifs on Hannay's part – Mariana does not run away, or somehow engineer a reunion, but forsakes her lover in order to meet the expectations of her father. Indeed, there is no easy moral preference offered, as two equally worthy values are juxtaposed. Mariana is ultimately forced to concede to her father's wishes, and is married to Turian. Her sense of patriarchal duty, despite its moral implications, still retains some degree of value for the tragic heroine. Masculine conflicts of interest, by comparison, are assigned distinguishable moral roles and are thus more easily prioritised. It is military employ that first brings John Sheretine to Vienna, and it is martial duty to which the hero affords his utmost priority. When he does fall for the virginal Mariana, he acknowledges social rites by approaching his martial superior – Mariana's father – in order to seek permission for future courtship; once again, honour, social manners, and submission to the patriarchal role are inherently valued.

But Sheretine also understands the broader moral obligation he has to his community. He is at all times the very image of the learned hero – temperate, rational and dutiful. Even whilst suffering 'the new flame of his fires', he '[strives] to hide his passion' (I: 46, 3. 47, 1-2) suggesting he is unwilling to fully submit himself to amorous subjection. Prudence is Sheretine's foremost trait. Indeed, though Hannay evokes the conventional motifs of amorous subjection in the first instance – allegorical '*Loue*' 'doth addresse/ His surest shaft, his golden bow doth bend' (I: 46, 3-4) towards Sheretine – the hero's conscious attempts to suppress his feelings evince the text's wish for passion to be displaced by the soldier as much as it is displaced by the poet himself. Though, inevitably, 'his hid fire out doth blaze/ His strength no longer able to suppress it', Sheretine's courtship of Mariana takes place some time after his first blush of passion and his admission of such. By this point he is already acquainted with his lover's family and has developed a subdued courtship with Mariana herself. Indeed, our heroine clarifies, they 'often walk'd into the fields/ Passing the time with sport and harmless mirth', while Mariana's company he did often 'frequent' (I: 61, 1-2; 63, 2). This is neither the passion of courtly nor chivalric love, but a realist attempt to reflect the more 'real-time' social expectations of early modern culture. That which is usually rooted in physical lust is nurtured here by intellectual stimulation and, perhaps more importantly, friendship. Sheretine's love is for the composite female character; it extends beyond the bodily to the spiritual.

The hero is certainly at pains to confirm his love is based upon 'true holy loue, not flatterie nor art' (I: 77, 6), while his fellow suitor Turian is fuelled by lust. Indeed, Turian's expressions of friendship are largely physical in nature – the plosive and alliterative emphases are harsh, almost violent expressions of his passion. His interest in the heroine is derived purely from his first visual encounter with Mariana, his 'new-bred thoughts' breeding

The late-sweet-quiet of his beating brains:  
His heaving heart with bitter anguish boiling,  
He *Loue* with his effects now entertaines:  
He's pensiue, musing, company absents,  
With frequent sighes his smoldred-fire forth vents. (II: 14, 2-6)

Mariana, clearly fearing Sheretine's love is derived from the same physical passion, is placated by his comparative prudence as he assures her that

speech... of flatterie commeth not,  
Loue brings it from the oracle of truth:  
I cannot flatter I, nor faine God wot,  
Nor doth it ned where beautie hath such growth:  
With cunning I would not compassion moue,  
Nor trie my wit with an imagin'd-loue.

Then shall you see character'd on my heart  
True holy loue, not flatterie nor art. (I: 76, 1-6. 77, 5-6)

Just as Patrick Gordon explored the moral implications of different 'types' of passion (passionate love and passionate ambition), Patrick Hannay explores the moral differences between passionate love and chaste love. The two texts align at the point of excessive physical expressions of said passion – typically instanced in examples of lust or, in *Penardo's* case, unjust rage. Continuities can be seen elsewhere in the romance canon, particularly in John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621), in which the noble Prince Megistus condemns his companion's indulgence of passion. Philarites is an excessive lover, submitting himself wholly to passion's overwhelming influence. He falls quickly and fervently in love with the heroine Aretina, the immediacy and unreasonable intensity of which provokes Megistus to lament

unfortunate Philarites! Hath passion cut the throat of thy reason, or hast thou lost thy wit with thy bloud? Wilt thou willingly enter the lists, where stronger spirits

have been defeated by weaker enemies, than that lovely object thou saw this evening?<sup>58</sup>

But Philarites' subjection is both willing and absolute, his answer being that he is 'love and hers martyr' (20). Philarites' role in the romance is subsequently one of excess, a change that renders him 'like a Lamp extinguished by too much Oyl' (19). Megistus, by contrast, reproves his companion for loving a 'Mistress,' when he ought to 'love her as a compleat Lady'. That 'none can behold Aretina, and not love her' (20), as Philarites claims, is counteracted by Megistus, who pragmatically contends that

no, no... as my eyes cannot be so far mistaken, as to mistake the Case for the Watch, so neither can my judgement be so hallucinated as to love the Body in stead of the Soul: it is not beauty that I admire either in her or you (albeit both be lovely) no, it is your virtue, which seing I know to be real in you, whereas it is but presumptive in her, I cannot chuse but love you better. (20)

This theme – the power of passion to overwhelm the faculties of reason – is certainly a dominant and pervasive feature of the Scottish romance canon. John Stewart of Baldynneis' *Roland Furious* (c. 1580-1600), though presented to its readers as a streamlined abridgement of Ariosto's larger *Orlando* epic, finds scope for an expansive moral allegory on the nature of passion that is not present in its original source text. Stewart draws specific attention to passion's detrimental effects not just through the madness of Roland, but through the narrative process itself. In the eleventh canto, the narrator complains that such 'furie... dois [his] style renverse in disaray'. An express desire to 'compact in breiff this... bitter blast'<sup>59</sup> serves to emphasise the baleful influence of passionate rhetoric, but the narrator's subsequent disregard for his own desire for terseness – he instead draws together a prolonged list of tragic characters over one hundred lines – suggests the moral ends of the romance constitute their own narrative priority. *Sheretine* and *Roland* certainly share this ideological agenda, but Roland, the cautionary rather than the exemplary hero, is guilty of the very sin Sheretine succeeds in conquering – he discards his weaponry and armour. As 'all his judgement from him fled away,'

For raidge he roird and restles did disport  
His schield, his gantlet and his corslat tall.  
Heir fell the brassats, their lysis Durandal,  
Strong nails he breaks, his cuissots aff did slyd,  
His helm, his gorget and his harneis all  
In thousand peicis he disparplit wyd. (521, 525-530)

---

<sup>58</sup> John Barclay, *Argenis* ed. Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004). p 17.

<sup>59</sup> John Stewart, *Roland Furious* ed. Barbara Reynolds (Bucks: Penguin, 1975). Eleventh Canto, ll 29 – 30.

Roland sheds all that which identifies him as a knight, and as a hero: in essence, he sheds his own masculinity and subjects himself wholly to his madness. A dichotomy of character thus emerges in Scottish romance; one might fulfil the role of hero or of lover, but only on the rarest of occasions do the two overlap successfully. Sheretine and Penardo fulfil their heroic duties, a model of behaviour that can be traced back to considerably earlier examples of Scottish romance. Indeed, ‘familiarity with the great medieval romance cycles of Arthur and Alexander, Scottish translations and derivatives of which were composed and circulated in the fifteenth century, is evident in [a text such as] Blind Harry’s [*The Wallace*], particularly in his depiction of Wallace as an exemplary warrior and ‘chyftayne in wer’.<sup>60</sup> Wallace must reconcile his martial and amorous claims in Book Five of the poem, in which he is tempted to distraction by an ‘amyabill, so benyng, war and wys’ (5, 597) gentlewoman. But to ‘marry thus I can nocht yet attend’, he asserts, for ‘I wald of wer fyrst se a finaill end’ (5, 625-626). Love is ‘nothing bot folychnes’ (5, 631) in the comparative discourse of war. The centrality of mercenary duty is certainly a distinguishing characteristic of the Scottish romance corpus, one in which ‘the love motif is displaced and its central role in the development of the narrative is replaced by more urgent political issues’ (Mainer, 2010: 24). Political urgency is in these texts a gendered motif; masculine and political conflicts form the martial narrative, while erotic claims are located in the familial home, within the feminine narrative. The erotic allegiance claims the hero to a household, and thus to insular activity, while martial allegiances serve political expansion, and the *commonweal*. The romance thus served a valuable instructive purpose in the early seventeenth century; it constructed itself as an edificatory model for the young Scottish male, who may have found himself joining a rising mercenary class in the wake of the events of 1618. Certainly a

respect for and interest in warfare was inspired by a lively chivalric culture, celebrated by the likes of Gavin Douglas, whose *Palice of Honour* eulogised a military ethos and ideas of honour rooted in personal and family glory won in war. (Brown 2002: 92)

The seventeenth-century Scottish romance was thus subject to the expectations of a pervasive sense of martial inheritance, one which enjoyed, moreover, a renewed sense of vigour as the ruling class – largely absent after the relocation of the royal court to London – found itself replaced and re-populated by an increasingly respected martial class. The martial hero became an increasingly attractive model in a culture which ‘valorised fortitude, constancy and... activity in the public sphere... in the higher interests of human achievement and the common good’ (Allan, 2000: 3-4, 19-20). This is certainly a prominent feature in Hannay’s *Sheretine and*

---

<sup>60</sup> Anne McKim, ed. *The Wallace* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2003). Introduction, p xv.

*Mariana*. Sheretine's learnedness has been established ('in *Padua* ten yeares at schoole he staid'), but his affinity for war also inherently valued:

... in short time [he] made to the world appeare  
That learning ne're the haughty spirit allayes,  
Which honor'd glory for his badge doth beare. (ll 194-196)

His return to Vienna amongst a troupe of Castalde's men is met with some fanfare: the 'confus'd multitude' who 'in clusters throng' (ll 206-207) to witness the soldier's procession make explicit appraisal of each man's worth. That the soldier is deemed a desirable marriage prospect is clear, and it is Sheretine, naturally, who stirs the interests of the gazing ladies. But the soldiers' presence in Vienna impresses upon other social groups, too:

Whilst at *Vienna* they for dispatch stay,  
They're visit'd by their cuntry gallantrie,  
Which to expresse affection doth assaie:  
They with requitall quit their curtesie;  
For *Sheretine* the *Fates* doe lay a traine,  
My father wooes, he may him entertaine. (ll 242-247)

Angela McShane has articulated the upwards social mobility of the soldier in seventeenth-century Britain, in which

regular soldiering became a new vocation for the 'lower sorts'... this new 'profession' not only marked a direct break from the older system of 'estates' which put fighters at the top and workers at the bottom of society, it was negotiating its place within the social structures of household formation in early modern England.<sup>61</sup>

This inherent sense of nobility associated with the soldierly profession was certainly recognised by Hannay, whose depiction of patriarchal favour suggests the soldier constituted a legitimate – even desirable – suitor. Indeed, the Ardech patriarch actively seeks Sheretine's courtship on behalf of his daughter, bidding him 'kinde welcome as his dearest friend', vowing 'lasting loue' (ll 267-268). This initial enthusiasm is later undercut, but it is worth noting that the soldier was evidently perceived as a compelling social match in seventeenth-century culture. This certainly accords with other extant soldierly materials, in which the soldier is depicted as 'deckt with brave clothes', and 'adorned with all vertues', while his duty is always to be 'lovely, strong, patient, faithfull, wise, meeke, prudent, circumspect, modest, just, not

---

<sup>61</sup> Angela McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History* (Volume 15, 2011) pp 105-137. p 105.

daintie, not light, not given to vanities; but sober, chaste, constant, quiet and temperate'.<sup>62</sup> The soldier in seventeenth-century Scottish culture was very much the ideal heroic model.

But heroic occupation is not the sole concern of the poem. *Sheretine* is also an exercise in love morality; a distraction it may prove, but the amorous sting must yet fulfil moral expectation. The poem certainly advocates temperance as its ethical standard. *Sheretine*, as outlined previously, meets those social and familial expectations of courting ritual in spite of his ardent passion, thus exerting the power of intellectual reason above that of his erotic desires. The romance heroine exhibits similar powers of reason, and indeed, their courtship is characterised by a moral cautiousness. Love, she assures the reader in an early passage, 'had not then inflam'd [her] with infection'. Indeed, though 'loue had found [her] fit to shew his power/ Yet did [she] liue at libertie that houre' (ll 219, 221-222). Love is certainly afforded no immediacy by the two, and it is only after a protracted courting period of stoic resilience that the hero declares his intentions. Even then, 'modesty bids [Mariana] denie' (l 438), for fear that man's 'wit on womans weaknesse, to insnare/ That harmless sex before it be aware' (ll 441-442). She elucidates, too, the primary theme of the romance, debating her 'poore perfection' which 'cannot passion moue', and indeed, *Sheretine*'s 'courage should propose elsewhere that dutie' (ll 444-445). Though it is her modesty which provokes discord – and evidently the belief that a more attractive suitor is available to the hero – the conscious application of 'courage' and 'dutie' ensures that heroic rhetoric is central to their discussion. The heroine has already drawn a discernible opposition between herself, the 'passion', and the hero's duty, to which his courage is ascribed, acting as a pre-emptive reinforcement of the heroic values discussed later in the poem. Her analysis of the declaration likewise draws attention to the reason she has applied to her answer:

My minde no lesse then his was sore preplex'd,  
It grieu'd me that I granted not his suit:  
It vex'd my heart to know that he was vex'd,  
I reason'd, and my reason did confute.  
Should I haue yeilded? no, who soone are won,  
Are soone disdain'd, then I had beene vndone. (ll 472-477)

When she does return his love, she assures her lover that it was 'only loues continuance [she] did doubt', for the '*soonest kindled fire goes soonest out*' (ll 518-519). There is an inherent distrust here of passion and tempestuousness.

---

<sup>62</sup> Robert Munro (1637) *Munro his Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)*. William Jones, Red-Crosse Street, London. Accessed at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?source=configpr.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID..04.08.11>.

Such reasoned behaviour, sought persistently throughout the romance, finds its ideal counterpart in Sheretine's competitor. If Sheretine represents a modernised model of chivalric valour, then his fellow suitor, Nicholas Turian, constitutes a degradation of chivalric values more generally. Turian's pursuit of the heroine – a pursuit which knowingly disregards her betrothal to Sheretine – is predicated on the notion that 'in things difficult worth is showne/ By light atchiuements courage is not knowne' (II: 107-108), a claim to fortitude and valour that attempts to excuse otherwise distasteful conduct. This claim is certainly distorted in the romance: Turian arrives in Vienna with the aim of taking part in the courtly ritual of a tournament. He arrives only as part of King Maximilian's court, in whose 'honour whereof diuers sports are done/ Tiling and Turnay, Feasts to entertaine/ (With pompe) the coming-stranger they ordain' (II: 40-43). His presence provides no civic benefit, and though a 'braue youth' (45), he fulfils no heroic purpose in the poem; chivalry thus constitutes 'pompe', while soldiering, by comparison, constitutes service to the *commonweal*. Accordingly, his pursuit of Mariana evokes chivalric claims but does little to reinforce its true values. Indeed, he 'whom no disswasiue-argument/ From that resolute had force to withdraw' (II: 103-104), who evidently does not see the same merit in cautiousness that Mariana exhibited, proclaims the greatest 'Danger's in deferring' (122). He exhibits further moral ambiguity as he embarks on a protracted process of persuasion, not just of the heroine herself, but of her family, to whom he is aware she owes a patriarchal duty. Mariana's mother 'he plainly doth assaile/ And by preferment thinks for to preuaile', while in her father's 'good *Opinion* growes/ [Her] mother 'gins him well for to affect' (II: 45-46, 67-68). Her parents, to Mariana's detriment, are more easily swayed than she; inconstancy is in this case committed as well as enforced by the heroine's parents rather than the heroine herself.

Mariana is thus betrothed to Nicholas Turian, who is 'more vertuous, more rich, of higher degree', while Sheretine is 'more meane, more poore, lesse worthy far' (2, ll 88-89). These words, we are to understand, are not the heroine's, but her parents'. Indeed, Mariana is disconsolate as she frets over '*what sinne begins, and still must God offend*' (104), while questioning the very lawfulness of a marriage which will render her 'all [her] life... stained with *Inchastitie's* foule offence' (II: 107-108).

All would not doe, my father so austere  
 Commands, and must not will not be denai'd.  
 My mother and my kinsman will not heare;  
*Turian* still vrgeth, they must be obai'd:  
     O heauen beare witnesse, since you force me do it,  
     (Say I) my heart doth not consent vnto it. (II: 117-122)

It is thus 'gainst [her] will' she 'giue [her] selfe away' (II: 123). Her power of individual conscience has been compromised, and her rational inquiry disallowed. Her familial duty thus sits in opposition to those wider Christian humanist values to which the hero is subject. But the heroine's conflicts of duty are not easily resolved, and indeed, there is an inherent moral ambiguity in her resolve. Familial obedience does not function here as an arbitrary plot device, but as a legitimately problematic form of feminine conflict. It is further complicated by the narrator's refusal to assign moral superiority to one act over the other; the heroine commits a sin if she disobeys the patriarchal command but she dishonours her name, too, by revoking Sheretine's previous claim. The heroine, it is clear, must dishonour herself in either resolve.

Though the narrator does demonstrate some sympathy for Mariana – 'if thou but didst know in what a case thy *Mariana* is... would not *Relenting-pittie* make thy heart to melt with sorrow for thy *Sweet-loue's* smart?' (ll 141-142, 145-146) – he is also quick to move on to more urgent political narratives. The romance leaves Mariana in the immediate aftermath of her marriage and embarks instead upon a prolonged lament: for another female in conflict, a conflict rooted in politics, and thus a passage in which moral priority is more clearly assigned. Indeed, the narrator's lament for Queen Isabella, which is dealt with across some eight stanzas and one hundred and sixty-two lines, has been described as a 'profound sympathy... versified [into] one of the most pathetic descriptions of her tragedy' (Ting, 246). As with the prefatory chronicle to the romance, such material is sourced from Fumeé's *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie*, but Hannay's protracted treatment of this material suggests he has a greater interest in the plight of the troubled queen. The dethronement and exile of Isabella provokes concern not just for Hungary, but for 'the whole good of all the Christian state' (Ting, 214). As outlined previously, Hannay had by this point served in Bohemia himself, a soldier of Queen Elizabeth and Frederick V, the Elector Palatine. Indeed, by the time *Sheretine* was printed, the royal couple had been exiled to The Hague as 'Spain and Bavaria occupied the Upper and Lower Palatinate, where the last garrisons loyal to the elector surrendered... [they] had now lost not only [Frederick's] hereditary dominions, but also his electoral dignity'.<sup>63</sup> Elizabeth, meanwhile,

became much more an equal, if not in fact the stronger, partner in the marriage with Frederick V... Elizabeth herself had a considerable talent to inspire admiration, loyalty, and love in Germany as well as England, more so than her husband, who tended to abandon himself to despair. Her beauty and undisputed charm, her strength of character, and the high-spirited courage with which she continued to fight undismayed for the palatine cause against heavy odds, but also the fact that her upbringing and education seemed to make her the perfect

---

<sup>63</sup> Ronald G. Asch, 'Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>, accessed 8 Aug 2011].

protestant heroine, gave her a unique position as the symbol of militant Protestantism in Europe. Noblemen and soldiers committed to the ideals of chivalry like Christian of Brunswick in Germany or the third earl of Essex in England took pride in fighting for her cause. A cult of the ‘Queen of Hearts’ (Oman, 255), in which erotic, romantic, and religious elements were combined, developed in the 1620s, and Elizabeth knew how to encourage this enthusiasm. (Asch 2008: *Oxford DNB*)

Hannay, though a lesser court poet, was evidently as interested in court politics and poetics as his contemporaries, Jonson, Daniel and Drayton. He had already produced in 1619 *Two Elegies of the Death of our Sovereigne Queene Anne*, which had achieved him the favour of Queen Anne, who recommended him for service to Colonel Gray. This suggests he may have had a court presence, as well as ‘some attachment to the entourage of James’s queen’.<sup>64</sup> Hannay can certainly be considered alongside those Spenserian court poets who were so enthused by ‘Continental politics, Princess Elizabeth, overseas colonization, and evangelical activities’,<sup>65</sup> and indeed, the plight of Queen Isabella which he so passionately embraces evokes clear parallels with that of Elizabeth, the ‘Winter Queen’. Isabella was certainly a heroine of legendary proportions, and a worthy allegorical figure for Hannay’s poem. As Isabella struggles against undesirable conditions to ascend a hill, Hannay captures both her fortitude, and her despair:

The *Winde* and *raine* them boisterously did beat,  
*Shee* blameth *Fortune* that is not content  
 To be her opposite in matters great,  
 But euen in trifles, thus her spight to vent.  
     She attributes it to her *Destinie*,  
     That she is subiect to such miserie.

Therefore a little for to ease her minde,  
 Vnder a tree for shelter she tooke seat:  
*Sic fata volunt* carued in it’s rinde,  
*Regina Isabella* vnder wrait.  
     Ah wretched *Queene*, no wonder thou wast sorie  
     To fall so low, from such a height of glorie. (I: 487 - 498)

This segment is derived from genuine Hungarian legend, the motto translated as ‘it is the will of fate’.<sup>66</sup> The sympathy he affords this character seems to be predicated on the greater machinations of political conflict; Mariana’s ill-fate is trivial by comparison, as Sheretine’s erotic allegiance to her is minor by comparison to his greater military allegiances. Isabella’s

<sup>64</sup> David Reid, ‘Hannay, Patrick (fl. 1616–1630)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12214, accessed 8 Aug 2011].

<sup>65</sup> David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance: Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). p 176.

<sup>66</sup> Roland Bainton, *Women of the Reformation from Spain to Scandinavia* (Minnesota: Fortress, 1977). p226.

inherent involvement in mercenary conflict establishes her as stalwart heroine, and it is an image Hannay is keen to assume, particularly in light of his own political allegiances.

But to the lovers' fate the narrator must return, and as Isabella regains statehood, Sheretine returns to Vienna, where in '*Turians armes [Mariana] lockèd found*' (529). An abrupt departure then expands into a larger invective against Time and Fortune:

Ah cursed *Time* (said he) that ere I saw  
The light, and that my Nurse did not o'rely me;  
Ah cursed *Time* that first I breath did draw,  
Ah cursed *Time*, that did not *Time* deny me:  
    Ah cursed *Time!* Ah cruell cursed *Time*,  
    That let me passe the springtide of my *Prime*.

...

Did *Fortune* smile in my young tender yeares,  
To make me better relish now my paine?  
Then powr'd I out no bitter brinie teares,  
That I should now haue store my cheekes to staine?  
    Did *Fortune* and the *Fates* striue to content me,  
    That they might now with sorrow more torment me? (II: 571 – 588)

His anger is levelled against a seemingly predestined fall, but it is Love that has caused this descent into deep melancholy. Sheretine's narrative journey can thus be divided into two juxtaposing modes, the achievement of public and private pleasure. His formative years, as his emphasis upon '*Time*' has implicitly evidenced, were fulfilling because they were spent in the service to the community, and were unfettered by private pleasures. Spiritual unrest emerges from private passions, which 'agree to rob [Sheretine] of [his] rest' (II: 592). Eventually, 'sorrow suffers no more, his tongue there staies... and for his help cal's *Death*/ Who much displeas'd so to see him languish/ Soone with his surest cure doth helpe his anguish' (II: 607, 610-612). From Sheretine's death emerges a tragic sequence; first Mariana appropriates the Capulet claim to death, as 'on [her] bed... [she] drew this blood-begorèd knife/ Therewith to cut the fatall threed of life' (II: 655, 659-660). Second to succumb is her mother, who 'finding [Mariana] in such a guise/ With sudden fright is lastingly benighted/ Feare-forced *Death* seales vp her ages eyes (II: 668-670). The final fall is Turian, who 'stroke himselfe on sudden to the heart/ [their] bloud doth mixe in death' (II: 676-678).

\*\*\*

At a time when social structures and expectations were undergoing a process of significant transformation – a product of the royal court’s removal to London, and with it, a significant section of noble society – and martial European tensions defined political discourse, Scottish romance poets endeavoured to articulate and mirror these cultural changes in their texts. Military and civic discourses penetrate the core of Patrick Hannay’s *Sheretine and Mariana*, a romance which evinces the evolution of Scottish heroic culture, a clear and purposeful paradigm shift from the errant knight to the civic soldier.

Hannay was certainly ideally placed to elucidate such changes to Scotland’s cultural values. He enjoyed a modest role as a court poet, placing him at the centre of political discourse, while his time in service placed him at the centre of martial life. Hannay offers a conception of heroism that clearly captures the mood of seventeenth-century culture, a mood which re-directed the gaze of society towards a mercenary culture of heroism and of nobility. This model of soldierly heroism will be explored further in subsequent chapters, in which the social relevance of mercenary endeavour will be juxtaposed with popular literary and scholarly trends in order to reveal the characteristics of seventeenth-century Scottish heroic literature more generally.

## John Kennedy's *Calanthrop and Lucilla* (1626): Synopsis

Main characters:

Calanthrop, the King of Epirus

Lucilla, daughter of the Duke of Calabria

Duke of Calabria

Philotomp, a knight

Sophona, Lucilla's chief maid

One summer day, young Calanthrop sits down in a pleasant grove. He admires an elaborately illustrated fountain, upon which is detailed the characters of several mythic gods and goddesses. His peace is interrupted by the arrival at the fountain of a group of young women. Calanthrop hides, and unwittingly becomes voyeur as the ladies undress their mistress. She enters the fountain to bathe. Calanthrop is much affected, likening his behaviour to that of Acteon and the mistress to Diana. He briefly considers committing suicide, but is diverted by the song of the mistress's handmaiden. The 'Dittie of a Maid' introduces the mistress as Lucilla, who is both fair and chaste.

Lucilla is ready to depart, prompting a bitter feud between Neptune, Æolus, Vesta, Acmonides and Vulcan, all of whom attempt to make claim for her. With each unable to make a persuasive rhetorical claim, they retreat, and Lucilla leaves the fountain.

Calanthrop has by now fallen deeply in love with her, and follows the group of women to the shore. He is briefly intercepted by two letters from his friends, which plead for his return home over matters of great political urgency. But Calanthrop is hopelessly in love, and instead follows Lucilla onto the boat, where she kindly permits him passage – a demonstration of her good Christian charity.

He soon declares his love to Lucilla, but she refuses him, asserting that Folly is Cupid's guide. She counsels him to be more prudent, and to concern himself with virtuous deeds, rather than with love. They reach shore, and the women depart, leaving Calanthrop disconsolate. A sort of madness overcomes him, and he wanders senselessly through the forest.

He eventually chances upon another gentleman, a forester, who relates an incredible story. The local town is in terror, being under the attack of a frightful bear. It has already killed many men, including a young cousin of Lucilla, who we learn is the only daughter of the Duke of Calabria. The Duke has attempted to bring together various men from across the state, in

order to form a hunting party. The forester also relates the history of Lucilla and her family, finally rousing Calanthrop from his melancholic state.

Calanthrop sends a page into the city, who confirms the tale of the forester. The hero thus clothes himself in black armour and joins the hunt. The other knights watch, sick with envy, as he kills the bear alone. He departs without revealing his identity, leaving the Duke and Lucilla to praise the stranger's courage and his service to the community. Lucilla's praise inspires a particular envy in the knight Philotomp, who suffers from excessive pride. He attempts to kill Calanthrop, but the two are arrested. When the Duke hears of Philotomp's actions, he allows Calanthrop to decree his punishment. Being a moral man, Calanthrop asks that Philotomp be spared. Further impressed by the young man's mercy, the Duke insists that he accompany him home.

Calanthrop thus finds himself in Lucilla's company once more, but he is able by now to temper his passion for her. Recognising him, Lucilla is pleased, and commends him to her father. They want him to stay, but Calanthrop resists, refusing still to reveal his true identity to them (he calls himself Tristius). He eventually consents to remain at court, but only because Lucilla has asked him to act as her knight, as he had previously promised her.

His passion soon resurfaces, and though he is able to behave reasonably in Lucilla's company, he lets loose his feelings in a 'Threnodie' – a highly rhetorical exercise in which he evokes classical imagery to articulate his pain, after which he falls into an exhausted slumber in the Duke's gardens. Lucilla overhears, and, finally feeling the prick of love, she drops a ring upon him, on which she has inscribed 'Thy chiefe desire shortly thalt thou acqyre'. She enlists the help of her chief maid, Sophona, who is cynical of the knight's feelings, and wishes to curb Lucilla's now intense passion. She seeks out Calanthrop, and contrary to expectation, his feelings are true. Sophona and Calanthrop's page conspire to bring the two youngsters together: Lucilla performs a 'Palinode', and is overheard by Calanthrop, whose presence has been engineered between the two servants. They finally declare their mutual feelings, and Calanthrop reveals that he is not Tristius, but Calanthrop, the King of Epirus.

Calanthrop's page returns to Epirus, while the two lovers consider their elopement, fearing the Duke will refuse permission for their match. The page returns with a ship, and the lovers, along with Sophona, are accosted as they attempt to leave. Calanthrop is gravely wounded, but they escape into the forest, where he performs a 'Panegyricke' for Lucilla.

Rested and recovered, they finally depart for Epirus. Their joy is short-lived, though, as their ship is targeted by pirates. Calanthrop attempts to defend them, and demonstrates his significant physical prowess. Outnumbered and held captive, however, their situations worsens, and a storm batters the ship. Shipwrecked, they travel on foot to Tapra, where they are accosted by Anxifer, the tyrant King. Calanthrop is wounded, and the lovers are separated as he is forced to remain in Tapra to recover. Lucilla, meanwhile, has been taken to Anxifer's home in Corena, where he intends to marry her.

Anxifer is maddened by lust for the heroine. He enlists the aid of sorcerers in an attempt to make her acquiesce. Lucilla and Sophona, realising that the King will use brute force if necessary, and convinced that Calanthrop will release them in due course, make pretences to agree to the marriage. Lucilla thus finds herself married to Anxifer, and on the evening of their wedding, he attempts to rape her. The gods seemingly grant her some reprieve, and Anxifer drops dead upon the bed before he can commit the crime. Her release is brief though, as the Lords and citizens of Corena condemn her for his death, and she is imprisoned.

Calanthrop arrives in Corena with his army and liberates Lucilla and Sophona. At the funeral of Anxifer, they discover a scroll within the coffin which condemns Anxifer for his sins, and reveals Lucilla's innocence. Calanthrop and Lucilla are crowned King and Queen of Corena, where they reign in peace for a spell.

As the romance closes, the couple finally travel to Epirus to be officially married. Sophona marries Calanthrop's cousin (after we discover she is Lucilla's aunt), and the Duke of Calabria arrives to provide his blessing. They two are wed, rule over Greece for many years, and have a son. Upon their deaths, the romance ends.

FINIS

An obscure reference to an unknown Scots poem appeared on the letters page of an 1807 Scottish journal, prompting a discussion which remains the only extant critical reference to the works of John Kennedy (fl. 1626-1629). Henry Weber, seemingly replying to a now-lost query regarding the romance, provides terse detail of how since the poet

ushered his work into the world with a bold defiance against criticism, and, with the high commendations of Galterus Bellendinus, R. Fairlæus, and Patrick Mackenzie, who furnish a poetical ‘mappe of this muse,’ he and his productions have suffered extreme neglect, and we are unable to say, who he was, and at what time he quitted, or entered this world.<sup>67</sup>

The expansive but brisk romance, titled *The History of Calanthrop and Lucilla Conspicuously demonstrating the mutabilities of fortune in their loves, with every several circumstance of joyes and crosses, fortunate exploites, and hazardous adventures, which either of them sustained before they could attaine the prosperous event of their wished aimes* (hereafter *Calanthrop*), was printed in Edinburgh in 1626.

Therein lies all extant evidence of Kennedy’s existence.<sup>68</sup>

The romance was printed in Edinburgh, and is dedicated to Colonel Sir Donald Mackay. Mackay, First Lord Reay (1591-1649) and justice of the peace for Inverness-shire and Cromarty, sold lands in Arisaig and Moidart in order to raise levies for the anti-Habsburg forces during the Thirty Years War. Mackay’s regiment played a significant role during the conflict, their exploits later recorded by Robert Munro in his chronicle, *Munro his Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-keyes Regiment)* (1637), discussed in chapter four of this thesis. That Kennedy was ‘meanly acquainted’<sup>69</sup> with the Colonel suggests he may have participated in military service, or was at least seeking patronage because he aimed to do so.<sup>70</sup> The ‘dutie-bound obligation’ (a.3v) to which the poet refers might indeed indicate a pre-existing martial relationship. Certainly the publication of *Calanthrop* coincided with Mackay’s petition at court to raise a regiment for the anti-Habsburg forces, and though no firm conclusions can be drawn, it is certainly possible that Kennedy was aware of the links afforded between literary and military patronage (cf. chapter four below), and the status such patronage could offer.

---

<sup>67</sup> Letter to the editor, *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* (Vol. 70, Nov. 1807) p 89.

<sup>68</sup> The ODNB also attributes *A theological epitome or divine compend, apparently manifesting Gods great love and mercie towards man* (1629) to Kennedy, but the compatability of the two texts is limited. It is possible, though I am unable to prove it, that the religious text was penned by another John Kennedy.

<sup>69</sup> John Kennedy, *The History of Calanthrop and Lucilla* (Edinburgh: John Wreiton, 1626). STC/802:17. Dedication.

<sup>70</sup> For more information on Lord Reay, see pp 144-145 of the present thesis.

The poem, Kennedy informs us, is the ‘first perspicuous invention of [his] sterile braine’ (a.2r), thus he hopes his patron, Mackay, will act as his judicious Maecenas. Correspondingly, the reader’s dedication is addressed to those who are ‘most prudent, most learned, or capable’ (a.3r), identifying the poem in some form as an exercise in learning. Indeed, though the poem is described as ‘voyd of ornate or elegant phrase, and not of an Heroicke stile’ (a.3r), Kennedy’s prefatory address recalls a humanist-renaissance emphasis upon the merits of artistic endeavour, describing himself – the poet – amongst ‘thy betters’ whilst urging his readers to ‘endeavour through study (if thou be so vertuously inclined) to extend the Talent thou hast allowed thee’ (a.3r). That the text was considered to be of didactic use is demonstrated by its appearance in GUL MS Gen. 378. Sebastiaan Verweij identifies this MS as one containing “lesons” or education’:<sup>71</sup>

This small manuscript, possibly deriving from the Cathcart household in Ayrshire, appears to have functioned as a family copy book. The writing master (or household tutor) wrote either one or two lines at the top of the page, which were subsequently copied by a variety of less experienced hands. (Verweij: 2013)

*Calanthrop and Lucilla*, Verweij concludes, forms part of a ‘diet of moral instruction’. Its presence in GUL MS Gen. 378 suggests that the Cathcart’s tutor identified in its verses an edificatory purpose of some value.

A most illuminating prefatory sonnet by Patrick Mackenzie (of whom nothing is known) provides some context for the romance. Mackenzie evokes the image of a ‘madde’ Ovid, whose ‘rupturs’ of the brain produce ‘flatrings, smilings, or a baudie kisse/ Vaine wenching... deceats, and *Venus* vainities’ (ll 1, 3, 5). This seems to be an attempt to juxtapose Ovid’s love elegies with Kennedy’s ‘wise precepts and instructions’ on ‘Chaste modest loue’ (ll 8, 10): Kennedy as a chastened Ovid, with *Calanthrop and Lucilla* representing some kind of moral tonic to Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*. Indeed, if Kennedy is a ‘chastened Ovid’<sup>72</sup>, *Calanthrop and Lucilla* must be his *Remedia Amoris* (and perhaps even his *Metamorphoses* too). Ovidian material is so ubiquitous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that it is difficult to see direct connections, but the shared influences identified here (and indeed, *Calanthrop* could be considered a ‘retraction’ of the overly erotic ‘art of love’, an arguably Ovidian and literarily self-consciousness) suggest that Mackenzie at least seems to have understood that the genre shifts in Kennedy’s (examples of which will follow) are an intentional artifice, not the failings of an apprentice poet. Kennedy certainly draws specific attention throughout the romance to

<sup>71</sup> I am thankful to Dr Sebastiaan Verweij for granting me permission to quote from his forthcoming chapter, ‘Illustrating Printed Books and Manuscripts’, in *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, Vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1700*, ed. Sally Mapstone and Alastair Mann (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

<sup>72</sup> See Elaine Fantham, *Ovid’s Metamorphoses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). p 3.

the artifices of his poetics as *Calanthrop* glides from one style into another: verses bleed into threnodies, into brief prose interludes and even to songs with accompanying scores. It is a self-reflexive exercise that probes the qualities of the ideal text – it is a text about *text*.

The poem was reprinted in 1631 under a new title of *The Ladies' Delight*, suggesting an 'explicitly gendered retargeting' (Verweij: 2013) of the poem (at least on a superficial level – the STC catalogue indicates that the text itself remained unaltered). Critical attention, as mentioned above, has been almost entirely absent, and *Calanthrop* remains on the outermost periphery of Scottish literary studies. The present section will attempt to redress this neglect, by placing the romance contextually within a network of texts concerned with those methods of reading and writing which have become synonymous with a specifically Scottish thematic agenda: the moral acuity inherent in reading, writing and learning. It will also continue to analyse the way in which these romances evolve their distinctions of martialism, honour and heroism.

## The Poem

We enter a pleasant grove – a fairly typical *locus amoenus*, but also an expansively mapped literary landscape. Our young hero, Calanthrop, gazes upon a rich fountain that is inscribed with the deeds of a variety of mythical gods and goddesses. Calanthrop muses that the fountain resembles that of Gargaphia:<sup>73</sup>

save that a *Dian* doth it not containe' nor 'Cadmus Oye,  
whose head with hornes impal'd  
For timeless viewing of the chastest traine  
Precip'tate *Acteon* of his ruthless hounds  
For *Fatall* look, received *Fatall* wounds. (115-119)

Calanthrop has unwittingly anticipated his own future and, on cue, his repose is interrupted by the arrival of a beautiful young woman and her attendants. The hero retreats, but, like his feared Acteon, he unintentionally witnesses the woman disrobing. Her nakedness provokes a violent unease in the hero: 'O heavens... must I an *Acteon* prove/ This cursed *Dian* then is every where' (138-139), 'Now there *Megara* and *Alecto* come/ For to coact my metamorphosis' (150-151). His intention to kill himself – 'with his sword to rob... Himselfe of life, which should his life defend' (154-155) for 'this braue act shall eternize [his] name/ Who death preferres before a living shame' (160-161) – signals that he is only partially guilty of Actaeon's

---

<sup>73</sup> In Greek mythology, Gargaphia is the grove in which Diana's (or Artemis') sacred spring is located. It is here that Actaeon witnesses the goddess bathing and is metamorphosed into a stag as punishment for his unlawful gaze. He is then attacked and killed by his own hunting dogs.

crime. He does not permit himself a ‘timeless viewing’ (117), as Actaeon did, but is distressed by what he witnesses: he averts his gaze, and makes a desperate overture to end his life.

Despite this brief tumble into amatory excess and its attendant errors, Calanthrop finds some calm in the discourse of an attendant’s song, which signals the first in a series of departures from the text’s standard metre. The ‘Dittie of a Maid’ is composed in the ababcc *Venus and Adonis* rhyme scheme, while the main body of the text is composed in the rhyme royal. The latter, though largely unfashionable by the early seventeenth century, had been used by Shakespeare in *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), a text from which *Calanthrop* derives some thematic inspiration. The Venus and Adonis metre is named for the 1593 poem of the same name, in which Shakespeare had indicated he would later write the ‘graver work’ we now know to be *Lucrece*. Calanthrop’s unpermitted viewing functions as a visual ‘rape’ – Lucilla’s modesty (or Diana’s, in the mythological allegory) is compromised by the male gaze. Joel Fineman’s analysis of *Lucrece* can also be applied to *Calanthrop*: excessive praise or hyperbole on the feminine form, incite violent lust.<sup>74</sup> *Calanthrop* confirms this in its allusion to Actaeon’s punishment, but distances its hero – and legitimises him – by evoking distress, rather than praise, for Lucilla’s nakedness.

The change in register from the rhyme royal to Venus and Adonis metre and the shift in narrative voice, from the unnamed narrator to a woman, is significant: it genders the narrative away from the (damaged) male perspective, serving a much-needed restorative function in that it brings to an end Calanthrop’s undesirable role as a hidden observer. That the ‘dittie’ formally introduces the heroine, rather than Calanthrop, is deliberate. A fellow woman’s perspective certainly helps to displace the usual male-constructed hyperbole on the female form: Lucilla, ‘faire, without disgrace’, with ‘no inchast spot’ (232-233) upon her face, who is declared a fit entrant to Diana’s train, is introduced in terms which emphasise her virtuousness, rather than her sensuality. This dittie foregrounds Lucilla’s role in the text as a moral ideal, thus distancing both her (and her admiring hero) from a devalued rhetoric of physical appreciation.

There is another purpose of this metrical and narrative shift, and that is to draw specific attention to the text’s poetic artifice. There is a self-reflexive quality at work here, drawing the reader’s gaze towards the poem’s construction and away from its hero’s indiscretion. Indeed, this interruption prompts the reader to interrogate their own role in the reading process: to what extent has he/she been complicit in Calanthrop’s behaviour? To what extent were

---

<sup>74</sup> For Fineman’s analysis of *Lucrece*, see Joel Fineman, ‘Shakespeare’s Will: The Temporality of Rape’ in *Representations, Special Edition: Misogyny, Misandry, and Misanthropy* (Vol. 20, 1987) pp 25-76.

his/her expectations hinged on the hero's carnal desires? Kennedy's conscious dislocation of amatory discourse in favour of a more self-reflective reading experience suggests that he was keen to signal the didactic properties of *Calanthrop*, placing it within a model of ethical and active reading.

The dittie ends, and the narrative reverts to standard metre. We revisit the classical landscape established in the poem's opening lines as Lucilla bathes. A conflict erupts between Neptune, Vesta, Vulcan and *Æolus*, each expressing their interest in (and alleged claim over) her:

At her egress, the statues seeme to weepe,  
For woe that fair *Lucilla* must depart,  
Which matchlesse treasure they wold gladly keep.  
Now from their eyes the water drops by art.  
Likewise the water downe her body trilling,  
As loath to part: last on her feet stands billing.

Till that the Aire, more subtill element,  
His place doth claime, which yet the water holds,  
But now that raine, by *Æols* force halfespent,  
Which yet remains, one in a cloath infolds,  
And so leaues Aire, & Water, midst their store,  
To trye whose interest greastest was before. (247-258)

Neptune accuses *Æolus* of a 'breach of brotherhood' (260), but Lucilla, *Æolus* retorts, is no fish (266). 'But she's no fish, nor fowle, nor bird that sings,' Neptune asserts, 'For as the gills doth lack, so doth the wings' (275-276), prompting the interruption of Vesta, who also has an interest in the heroine, and so on. All unable to make sufficient rhetorical claim, they finally depart. This psychomachian debate seems fairly derivative of *The Assembly of Gods* (c.1478-1483)<sup>75</sup> in its cohesion of didacticism and mythology, and indeed, the inability of any one individual god to prove their claim suggests the value placed upon the idea of the composite spirit. It would be fair to say that this ideal may indicate a phase of specifically medieval humanism, a phase in which the nature of human experience is still conveyed through reference to a poetics of exemplarity (i.e. teaching by means of collective experience, either through past stories or philosophical precepts) rather than as – what the Renaissance ethos would increasingly introduce – a poetics of individual experience, of experience 'in the present tense', as it were. Indeed, the discord is reconciled here because no mythic deity has greater

---

<sup>75</sup> *The Assembly of the Gods* is fifteenth-century dream vision poem, at one time attributed to John Lydgate but now attributed only to 'Anonymous'. Its second part, composed in the rhyme royal, features the debate and later the physical conflict between Vice and Virtue over Microcosm, as affected by Freewill. See Anon, *The Assembly of the Gods* ed. Jane Chance, The Kalamazoo Project (Medieval Institute Publications: 1999).

individual claim above the other: Lucilla represents the ideal of the learned individual, enlightened by the collective influences and experiences she has gained in life (*‘Neptune, Lucilla’s not a fish belieue’,* (266) etc). We can certainly take this medieval influence further. We will have noticed, for example, the poem’s emphasis on the animal world, first in Calanthrop’s fear that he will be metamorphosed into a beast as Actaeon was, and secondly, in the series of animal metaphors Lucilla fails to ‘fit’, according to her assembly of gods. That Calanthrop likens himself to Actaeon suggests the misery of self-recognition, with bestial metaphors often demonstrating the individual’s dislocation from his human senses, and, by logical extension, his faculties of reason.<sup>76</sup> Lucilla, by contrast, fails to ‘fit’ the bestial metaphors offered by the squabbling gods, suggesting that she is a ‘good’ example of reasoned behaviour.

The romance moves briskly on. Lucilla departs and the now enchanted Calanthrop follows, catching up with her assembly as they prepare to depart over the sea. Calanthrop secures his journey alongside them after some bargaining with the heroine, in which her self-governance, chaste modesty and Christian values are foregrounded:

Sir, you shall know, that weve not permit  
Men in our comp’nie, lest through scand’lous bruise  
Our spotlesse names in question come, but yet  
Those Mar’ners you perhaps esteeme as men,  
Yet are they Eunuchs, though in number ten.

But lest your losse through our default accresse,  
And we prove guiltie of your overthrow,  
We will for this time, our strict use repressse,  
And for your weale, our hazard vndergoe,  
Since you’re a stranger, then in charitie,  
We should you aid, if we may lawfully. (488-598)

The hero is rapturous, and boards Lucilla’s boat despite his earlier receipt of letters which have been sent to him with a clear degree of urgency. But ‘tis too late: for now his heart was lent/ Els-where: for his affections all were plac’t/ In faire Lucilla’ (417-419). This signals Calanthrop’s second failure in the romance, both of which have been precipitated by his amatory excess. In this respect, he performs a more cautionary heroic function: Calanthrop suffers a crisis of exemplariness. The poem clearly shares the preoccupation with dangerous passion seen in texts such as John Stewart of Baldynneis’ *Roland Furious* (c.1576-1584), in which the counter-exemplariness of the ‘mad’ lover serves a starker warning, perhaps, than the exemplary lover. Indeed, though *Calanthrop* shares the characteristic moral concern of Scottish

---

<sup>76</sup> See C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

romance more generally – the passion versus reason motif – it moralises not through the gaze of the stainless hero, but through the flawed outlook of a wilful subject to passion. Indeed, having secured his passage, Calanthrop proceeds (too) quickly to assert his amorous intentions. Though he declares a ‘spotlesse loue’ (621), both the disregard for his martial duty and seeming lack of control (‘I in woe must waile... this makes me looke so pale/ And which is worse, with grieffe I pine and mourne’ 524-7 etc) reinforce the text’s concern for Calanthrop’s heroic fidelity: if nothing else, the narrator’s mocking tone here serves to further undercut Calanthrop’s heroic image. ‘Where *Cupid* reignes,’ Lucilla counsels, ‘the sence hee deludes soone/ Making them see strange visions in the moone’. Indeed,

Some do report the Gods did once conveene,  
 A Parliament touching prerogatives,  
 Then of Ambition Envie hatcht hath beene,  
*Cupid* and *Folly* at debate, shee drives  
 Him back, scratcht out his eyes hee might not see,  
 Therefore appointed was his guide to be.

Since so it is, good Sir, let me intreate  
 You to renounce such guides as be those two,  
 For though the heart with ioy bee full replete  
 At first by them, yet in the end comes woe,  
 A prudent minde in vertue exercysde  
 Within Loves limits seldom is comprysde.

And as for me, fond *Venus* and her boy  
 I scorne, and doe their Deitie still detest,  
 To talk of loue, I think it but a toy,  
*Lymphaticke* hearts he onely may molest,  
 Let such adore him, and admire his power,  
 The higher is their flight, their fal’s the lower. (649-668)

Lucilla’s reproach reinforces the text’s concern for Calanthrop’s self-governance. Folly is love’s guide, she asserts, counselling prudence instead. This certainly accords with pre-existing conceptual hierarchies: as with *Penardo* and *Sheretine*, *Calanthrop* articulates a masculine hierarchy in which substantive moral acuity is ascribed to heroic – martial or civic – pursuit to the repeated disadvantage of erotic allegiances. This approach, moreover, displaces the mode’s otherwise fashionable motif of ‘ennobling love’<sup>77</sup> to demarcate ennoblement exclusively in masculine terms. C. Stephen Jaeger has outlined the canonical ennobling qualities – both morally and socially – of love for king, and for lover. Love, he argues,

---

<sup>77</sup> See C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

even in its most passionate manifestation is a show (“how can I show...?”); it asserts class privilege and appears... as an instrument that stabilizes hierarchy in favour of an aristocratic elite. “Exceptional feelings” are a means of establishing superiority, a form of aristocratic self-representation; love is the most exceptional.  
(5)

Here, however, Calanthrop’s failure to reconcile his youthful passions with the duties of state suggests that love has had a destabilising effect on his masculinity.

Having suffered Lucilla’s rebuke, Calanthrop must now prove his worth, which remains insecure in the wake of his previous failures. Indeed, a chance meeting with a stranger reinforces Calanthrop’s inability at this juncture to perform his heroic duty: ‘through griefe bereft of sense’, he ‘tumbles, tosses, welters here and there’, and, when chancing upon a stranger, ‘seekes his sword, yet found he it no where’ (735-738). Calanthrop is literally disarmed by his subjection to passion: his inability to grasp his sword – emblematic of his failure as hero – suggests a division between the heroic self and the lover. Love has displaced Calanthrop’s martial efficiency.

But redemption is offered to the young hero: a second shift in stylistic register introduces the Forrester’s relation, through which Calanthrop discerns some potential for heroic endeavour, one that may, moreover, serve his romantic designs as well. From the forester’s tale, Calanthrop gleans Lucilla’s history – we learn, somewhat inevitably, that she is of royal descent, the only daughter of the Duke of Calabria. We also learn of the bear attack in which Lucilla’s cousin was killed. His page, who has in the meantime visited the city and noted a considerable knightly presence (the chivalric tourney here substituted by a royally sanctioned hunt) succeeds in convincing Calanthrop that he must join the pursuit. The young knight elects to face the bear alone, which ‘(fearlesse beast) ‘ginnes such encounter give’:

At this the Knights seeme all to be asham’d  
To kill the Beare they all at once conspire,  
But this designe is worthy to be blam’d,  
He who intends true honour to acqyre,  
His foe with equall number should assaile,  
Then merits praise, if he doe so prevaile. (1110-1115)

Clad in black armour, Calanthrop succeeds where the whole Calabrian court, an entire retinue of knights, have so far failed. Wishing to conceal his identity, he swiftly departs, inspiring jealousy amongst those knights who failed to achieve the same victory. Such resentment, predicated on heroic tension – the Duke celebrates the unknown champion in overtly heroic terms; ‘he, [who] for our safetie, and our publick good/ Life hazard, honour gaind, yet spent

his blood' (1219-1220) – is intensified by the praise it elicits from Lucilla. The champion's victory, she asserts,

preceles the labours twell  
Of that brave worthy martiall minded *Greeke*,  
Who drag'd three-headed *Cerberus*, from hell,  
He that kild *Hector* midst the campe of Greece,  
Or hee who gaind Ile *Colchis* golden fleece. (1222-1226)

But physical prowess – as the romance demands – is not the primary merit of honour. Indeed, Lucilla's praise of the knight's noble intention articulates a significant ideological paradigm of the Scottish romance more generally:

No greed of gaine, nor yet necessitie  
Did moue this gallant enterprise this deed,  
True honour did his minde most qualifie,  
He likewise saw this country stood in need  
Of speedie ayd, so for our publick weale,  
Vnarmd alone, he did the Beare appeale. (1245-1250)

In evoking the *commonweal*, Kennedy places the romance within an established tradition of moral reform literature that forms a conceptual social dialogue across numerous Scottish texts and genres of the renaissance period. Indeed, despite Calanthrop's earlier failure to uphold the heroic code, his victory in the physical, knightly sphere, coupled with his emerging sense of wider public service, indicates that such deliberate evocation of the *commonweal* rhetoric is done to establish the young hero – if not now, but in due course – as the type of Lindsian king upheld by the renewal of humanist interest in the wider Scottish canon.<sup>78</sup> Certainly the greatest threat to Calanthrop's heroic success is the tension between self-interest – in this case, his passion for Lucilla – and his greater heroic duties, with his service to the Calabrian court and community signalling the first in a series of acts of 'good' heroism. Lucilla's rebuke, or the separation of self from passionate discourse, allows Calanthrop to refocus his efforts as hero, and thus equip himself with the intellectual faculties and capabilities necessary for prudent and successful leadership.

Lucilla's eloquent praise of Calanthrop, whilst serving to articulate the development of the knight as a heroic exemplar, correspondingly inspires a fervent jealousy in those other knights who failed in the same endeavour. Particularly affected is the knight Philotomp, who

---

<sup>78</sup> See Sir David Lindsay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* ed. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2008). In Lindsay's morality play, a youthful King Humanity is led astray by Sensuality and Vice, but benefits from the good counsel of Diligence, John the Commonweal and Divine Correction. By the end of the play he has executed the Three Vices and become a better monarch as a result, committed to good kingship and his new code of morality.

with ‘naughtie humour’ (1265) is ‘fully resolv’d to kill [Calanthrop]’ (1271). Calanthrop – whose flush of success seems to have reinvigorated his martial spirit – naturally overcomes his rival, who, in a definitive purge of all chivalric honour, consequently ‘was sworne, that sword nor knife/ he should not beare, during his loathed life’ (1339-1340) and exiled from the city. The moral is thus clear; of the two knights overcome by passion’s force, both are disarmed and thus physically devoid of heroic claim. Calanthrop, the knight capable of redeeming this heroic failure, re-arms himself and restores the heroic image. The aftermath of Philotomp’s attack certainly evinces the hero’s shift in perspective: invited to dine with the Duke, Calanthrop exercises some caution, for, though his ‘vertuous thoughts doe still aspire’, they are now ‘not subject to libidinous fire’ (1363-1364). Indeed, upon arrival at the Duke’s court, ‘lethargick love this time Calanthrop felt/ yet wisely he his senses did recall’ (1367-1368). Calanthrop’s reaffirmed senses evince the reconciliation of his ethical/amatory aims, as he moves gradually from a model of counter-exemplariness to an exemplary model of masculinity.

Calanthrop’s renewed vigour for heroic duty is certainly maintained, and when Lucilla recognises him and entreats him to remain at court to fulfil his chivalric promise – ‘in right/ me to defend, and to become my knight’ (1441-1442) – he gladly accepts. Though those amorous passions to which he so fruitlessly subjected himself previously do re-emerge in Lucilla’s presence, his threnodial response reinforces his rhetorical prowess, and serves as a form of prudent and contained catharsis. Stirring some celestial sympathy with his words, Lucilla is, by device, woken and thus privy to his threnody. After a brief spell of rhetorical speculation upon the nature of Calanthrop’s love – ‘a knight of so good parts/ as is her knight, must loyall bee in love... yet she remembers beggar *Irus* sought/ the constant love of chaste *Penelope*’ (1637-1644) – ‘the intrigue [between the two] is now carried on very successfully, and the happy pair, with assistance of the very convenient lady Sophona, elope’ (Weber, 91). Indeed, though this ‘passion wisely *Sophona* thought good/ to stop in time, before it should accresse/ to greater height’ for ‘it seem’d, that love should be the cause/ of [Lucilla’s] stupiditie’ (1679-1684), she consents her aid, recognising the purity of Lucilla’s love and wishing to discern the same in her suitor. An exchange of sweet nothings at a masked ball, and a palinode recanting her past censures against Venus and Cupid from Lucilla, fulfil the prerequisite romance tropes, and the two are finally set to elope.

This is not as abrupt a reconciliation between the text’s former condescension towards love, and the happy fulfilment of the same, as it may appear. Indeed, though the text is, by its end, more moderate in its treatment of love than most of its contemporaries (at *Penardo’s*

close, the lovers are separated, at *Sheretine's* they are dead), the marriage contract is subject to multiple frustrations, and it is only later, when Calanthrop has properly committed to a course of heroic action, that it is officially fulfilled. Indeed, Lucilla's acceptance of Calanthrop's proposal seems to encourage the re-emergence of his earlier amatory excess: walking in a pleasant grove, Lucilla asks that Calanthrop perform 'some [pleasing] dittie' (2905).

Calanthrop obliges, performing a seven-verse panegyric. What might have been an example of high rhetorical exercise instead reaffirms Calanthrop's amatory excess. Indeed, the object of praise is Love, declared in Calanthrop's speech as the deity of all gods, a deity 'divine' (2921). The misuse of a formal speech usually composed as a eulogy suggests the hero has not yet reached a state of enlightenment.

The lovers' respite is certainly short-lived: songs and poems quickly give way to more typical romance frustrations. During their journey at sea, Calanthrop and Lucilla are attacked by pirates. It has been some time since Calanthrop demonstrated his heroic prowess as the black-clad knight, so it is with some sense of relief for the reader that he is engaged in combat at this juncture. He kills two opponents from amongst the pirates, and is attacked by a larger group. 'Sixe did attend him' (3058), evidently impressed by his abilities, serving as a brief reminder that his purpose in the text is not simply to pine after its heroine. But pining after Lucilla is certainly a cause for concern, and soon it is the pirate captain who is making eyes at her. 'By force' (3109) he aims to take her, but this of course inspires the wrath of the gods who, we recall, had earlier expressed their admiration for the lady: 'The storme increast, *Boreas* (it seem'd) had sworne/ To pull vp *Neptune* from his watry Cell' (3157-58). They are shipwrecked, the captain and various others dead, and the lovers separated. Calanthrop has been sorely wounded, while Lucilla has been carried off by the King of Cyrenaica:

*Calanthrop* through his wounds was forc't to stay  
In *Tapra* Citie for a weeke or two,  
Then towards *Epire* he without delay  
And his kinde Page, adrest themselves to goe,  
Minding a navie shortly for to bring  
Towards *Corena*, and besiege the King. (3277-3282)

This particular obstacle has its purpose: Calanthrop can now assert his powers as king, revealing to Lucilla his noble lineage, his worth, and, most importantly, his heroic prowess.

Lucilla, meanwhile, is forced with abject misery into marriage with her captor King. Her captivity is characterised by a certain pandering to the more titillating devices of popular romance: the King is violently lecherous, with no fewer than 120 lines devoted to his attempts

to bed her, and Lucilla's rape seems imminent. Indeed, 'on the bed hee faire Lucilla threw/ fully resolv'd his pleasure to fulfill' (3415-3416), but the desperate heroine 'did the heavens implore', and 'the gods (it seem'd) did grant the Ladies suite' (3419, 3421). The tyrant king 'soone thereafter on the floore fell dead' (3432), but ill-fortune strikes once more, and Lucilla is imprisoned, suspected as the king's murderer. But Calanthrop's heroic prowess is now wholly secure, and he not only rescues her from imminent execution, but having 'so meekly [spared] all [the townsmen's] bloods' (3569), he is, somewhat unwillingly, anointed their king. It is at this point that the moral focus, or the *speculum principis* nature of the text, becomes most apparent. Calanthrop is awarded the throne for his prudence, and mercy, as well as his heroic capabilities. His suitability for kingship is further reinforced through comparison to the city's previous monarch, whose body, upon burial, metamorphoses into a beastly 'Chimera' an allegorical expression of his own monstrous nature. A scroll, discovered in his tomb, outlines this metamorphosis as the product of 'honour swerv'd' and 'cherisht vice' (3653, 3654). The didactic qualities of the romance are focussed by the scroll's counsel to

*Therefore let his example teach each one  
In Rulers places, who conspicuous sit,  
Beware of tyranny: for still the more  
Of poore oppressed people, heavens admit,  
And justly, when oppressors least expect  
Poure forth their wrath on those who wrong effect.* (3661-3666)

After a brief but happy spell in Corena, the lovers finally arrive in Epirus, and are married with the Duke's consent. The royal dynasty is fulfilled, and the couple reign happily for some years before their death.

*Calanthrop* is the only seventeenth-century Scottish romance which resolves itself on such positive terms. It is a text that draws attention to its design and structure (the reading process is interrupted, in a manner of speaking, by the various shifts in tone, verse and structure – the poet frequently alters the reader to the fact they are involved in a process of interpretation), a self-referential mode of writing that clearly attempts to value the purpose of fictional writing itself. The first half of the narrative thus accords well with those ideals expressed elsewhere in contemporary Scottish romances; a concern for the hero's faculties of reason, and for the overwhelming power of amorous desire, while heroic capacity is central to the development of the narrative. But this is a text that was re-printed, with a new title directed self-consciously to a specifically female audience (*The Ladies Delight*, 1631), and one which nearer its end comes to endorse amorous discourse in an unexpected paradigmatic shift. Kennedy seemingly did not intend his romance to be a document of realistic male experience, nor did he deem the *speculum principis* mode relevant to an audience outwith the

royal court. Instead, he saw the potential to demonstrate his artistic flair, to which he drew a great deal of attention. Sexual love and femininity are afforded a sympathetic role throughout and *Calanthrop* is untypical in the Scottish romance canon because it is a stirring endorsement of chaste love. It is perhaps one of the most innovative examples of early modern Scottish romance, and deserving of further critical attention.

*Aretina*, by way of *Argenis*

John Barclay's *Argenis*

It is a curious effect of canonical purchase that a best-selling neo-Latin romance, written in Rome by a writer born and raised in France, would become a novel not just admired in Scotland, but considered a legitimate text of the nation's literary canon. Such is the case with Barclay's *Argenis* (1621), a coded political allegory that 'applies specifically to the Guises, Condé, and the royal family in France... and to general political theory'.<sup>79</sup> There seems little to justify Scotland's canonical claim to the romance: it alludes to European, rather than to British, court politics, and was composed on the Continent where it both sought and found its political inspiration. 'It is true,' Langford muses, 'that [John] Barclay spent very little of his life in England, that he wrote entirely in Latin, and that his chief fame came in France' (Langford, 60). But it also true that Barclay, the son of a Scots professor of civil law, constituted a significant courtly and literary presence throughout the early years of the Stuart dynasty, and was a poet who 'seems to have been proud of his Scottish ancestry and to have valued his allegiance to James VI and I'.<sup>80</sup> Certain ideological preferences, political allusions and a working knowledge of Scotland's courtly literature and cultural sensibilities thus come into focus in *Argenis*.

Records indicate that Barclay's father William, a Scots lawyer, relocated to France c.1569, but both father and son were able to maintain a courtly presence in London thereafter. Indeed, by 1606, John Barclay had made several attempts to establish himself at James's court. He published a series of poems preceding his work *Sylvae* which were addressed to prominent members of the court, and in 1605 published the *Conspiratio Angelicana*, which decried the attempted attack on the prince in the infamous gunpowder plot. Over and above the fulfilment of courtly expectation – the polite performance of a young poet hoping to garner patronage and recognition – Barclay found favour as an advocate of the divine right of kingship doctrine. He had inherited from his father an ideological conviction in the legitimacy of absolute monarchical power, against 'popular sovereignty and the power of the papacy'.<sup>81</sup> At the behest of James, he posthumously edited his father's *Potestate Papae (On the Power of the Pope)*, which certified the divine rights of kingship and counselled that 'the prince is above the

---

<sup>79</sup> Gerald Langford, 'John Barclay's "Argenis": A seminal novel', *Studies in English* (No. 26, 1947) pp 59-76. p 60.

<sup>80</sup> Nicola Royan, "Barclay, John (1582–1621)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1342> (accessed September 26, 2011).

<sup>81</sup> Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber, 'Introduction' in John Barclay, *Argenis* ed. Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004). p 6.

law'.<sup>82</sup> These convictions would form a significant ideological theme in the *Argenis*, in which the values of hereditary sovereignty and the divine rights of kingship were particularly tailored to meet the political tastes of both the French and Stuart courts. Though Barclay was educated in a Jesuit institution, his biographer classifies the poet as anti-Jesuit and anti-papal, which allowed him to subscribe easily to James's moderate Protestant policies. Indeed, the first part of his *Satyricon* was dedicated to James, and in both the first and second parts he featured heavily, allegorised as Neptune and Tessaranactus. That these cultural and political influences can be traced in the *Argenis* serves as an ideal illustration of the significant impact of Stuart culture on its author. Indeed, the prominent harmony of themes with the Scottish romance tradition throughout *Argenis* suggest that, while written by a Frenchman, this romance can be considered alongside the Scottish romance corpus. The purpose of this study is not to argue for Scottish purchase of the romance, but merely to examine the *Argenis* as a text working under similar and significant influences to that of the Scottish romance and finding Scottish imitators, as will appear in the next section, among the next generation of Scottish writers.

While it has been argued that the 'rediscovery of Heliodorus' *An Aethiopian History* in 1526 dramatically changed... romance, emphasizing the importance to the genre of elements such as shipwrecks, exotic settings, far-flung quests, and pirates,<sup>83</sup> Barclay claimed in his dedication to King Louis XIII that the *Argenis* heralded a 'new genre of literature, not perhaps hitherto seen' (95). Certainly the *Argenis* differed from its contemporary Continental romances: from the notable absence of conventional courting motifs and love panegyrics to its profound political focus, it is a text conspicuously unsentimental in nature. But the Scottish romance canon might provide a more cogent basis for comparison. Springing, as stated previously, from a particular brand of moral didacticism endorsed by James VI and numerous other Scottish writers, the Scottish romance tradition is widely acknowledged as being particularly anxious about its erotic elements. Indeed, although most

readers admired the romance form, we should not forget that the *Argenis* was written for a sophisticated and learned audience, whose interest could not be sustained merely by dashing gallants, shipwrecks, and chaste love-affairs – especially not [British] readers, who were in the throes of on-coming civil war and political chaos... The public then (as now) had a taste for history and contemporary comment, especially if the observations involved prominent figures. The keys which were soon added to all editions of the *Argenis* can attest

---

<sup>82</sup> William Barclay, *De Potestate* xii.94 in Siegl-Mocavini. pp 234-5.

<sup>83</sup> Claire Jowitt, 'Pirates and Politics in John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621)', *The Yearbook of English Studies* (Volume 41, Number 1, January 2011). pp 156-172. p 156.

that the allegory, not just the romantic attributes, contributed greatly to the popularity of the story.<sup>84</sup>

While the *Argenis* certainly inspired a remarkable rise in popularity of the political romance across Europe, the mode was by no means pioneered by Barclay. Several romance traditions throughout Europe and Britain had established their role as social and moral commentaries a century previous to the publication of *Argenis* (the most popular example being Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*), and Scottish romances were certainly privy to the potentially titillating effect of thinly veiled allusion to real court life. Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana*, published only a year later than the *Argenis*, would evoke Hungarian history as a springboard for political observation, while Patrick Gordon's histories dispensed with allegorical keys but maintained the romantic lexicon in order to provide a 'vehicle for the portrayal of contemporary thought'.<sup>85</sup> Over and above these continuities are the numerous and significant instances of conscious overlap between fictional politics and policy, and the non-fictional. Claire Jowitt has outlined in some detail the ways in which Barclay's treatment of pirate lore finds its basis in King James VI's pirate policies, while Paul Salzman identifies Hyanisbe in the *Argenis* as a fictive representation of James's ambivalence towards female authority, and indeed depicts her as a 'female figure of power, but also as a potent symbol (in England by 1621) of Protestant militarism' (Salzman, 78). Using the poet-prophet Nicopompus as a political mouthpiece, Barclay also inserts himself within the text in order to elucidate his belief in absolute sovereignty, a conviction which won him great favour in James's court. The third chapter of the first book re-iterates and echoes Barclay's sentiments in the dedication, in which he consciously evokes the name of King Louis's father and predecessor, declaring it 'only right that great virtue be born in you and that a desire to continue his glory be formed in you,' (97) while in chapter three Nicopompus' verse makes explicit reference to the inherent values of hereditary sovereignty:

heaven-born power of potentates!  
What fury should the people so provoke,  
That to put on a tyrant's slavish yoke,  
They should forsake the just authority  
Of their true Lords? (121)

The romance opens with the arrival in Sicily of a 'young man of excellent feature' (103). This is Archombrotus, a young African prince who finds himself drawn inexorably into a tumultuous Sicilian conflict of sovereignty. Sicily, 'which in the person of a valiant man is now

---

<sup>84</sup> Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber, 'Introduction' in John Barclay, *Argenis* ed. Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004). pp 34-35.

<sup>85</sup> Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England: Reading 1621* (London: Palgrave, 2002). p 112.

assaulted by thieves' (103) sits at the cusp of feudal war as a nobleman, Lycogenes, revolts against the rightful King Meleander. Meleander, as we are assured by the romance hero Poliarchus, 'is a prince gentle and virtuous [who] holds the hereditary sceptre of Sicily,' (111) and who is threatened by the 'envy and ambition of Lycogenes'. Meleander's reign, though rightfully won by hereditary descent, has been compromised by his ill-balanced approach to kingship. Indeed, characterised by his overly gentle disposition, he fails to assert real authority:

Nothing made [Poliarchus] assistant to Meleander but that his calamity is a lamentable example to all nations, who can never enjoy firm peace if the subject may be angered by his prince's vices and lay snares for his virtues. (115)

The text naturally provides a series of comparable aristocrats from whom Meleander, and, by extension, the monarchical addressees of the romance, might derive inspiration. In Book I, Chapter Fourteen, the nobleman Arsidas outlines the characteristics of the ideal governor in his description of Ibburranes, whose character evinces a fine balance between a series of seemingly opposing qualities, thus identifying him as the ideal aristocrat in the romance:

He is of the old nobility of Lydia, and being brought up in employments, he has furnished his cheerful and active breast with knowledge and dexterity... he has executed places of justice, embassies, and governed provinces (ask not with what sufficiency), purchasing everywhere a like repute of justice and mercy. And although his great hospitality and bounty to the poor had somewhat decayed his estate, yet such was his uprightness that he did neither rob the treasury nor sell justice... His mind was both merry and severe, as he found occasion towards virtue or vice... So that not without presage did his ancestors make the bees their arms, from whence, according to desert and time, may be had both stings and honey. (181)

This expansive series of idealised characteristics articulates an image of masculinity that was certainly present in Scottish romance. Balance – be it ideological, heroic, or political – featured heavily in romances composed in Scottish intellectual cultures; in *Penardo*, the knights Penardo and Phelarnon are described as being of 'goode proportioun' just as 'Nature has ordained' (Gordon, I. 7, 1), while, by contrast, Laissa exists as an example of imbalance, or of excess: she disrupts the 'equall course [of] light', for not even 'Phoebus light in glomie darknes spred Might matche her,/ she staine that beautie farr' (Gordon, I. 14, 2-4). That her beauty outstrips even that of the sun suggests a degree of excess, the fundamental opposite of balance.

The *Argenis* is equally concerned with balance: in the figure of Arsidas it evinces an idealised but seemingly earnest desire for a masculine poise in its aristocratic characters. There is indeed an entire chapter in Vol. I devoted to the subject of 'the ability of some men', 'how hard they are to be found, and of the difference of deserving spirits' (173). This discourse

discusses virtue as an absent quality in masculine society, and it is this absence that has led to the dissolution of sovereign power. The king, Arsidas counsels, should seek a 'select company of great spirits', like Diogenes, who 'brought his lantern into the open market place to find but one'<sup>86</sup> (175). 'If we weigh the whole matter at length,' Archombrotus asserts, then those men deemed fit to fulfil the role of royal advisor

would leave out none of the eminent arts and disciplines: one is excellent in horsemanship, another at his weapons; some famous for limning, some for music; this one curious for architecture, that one for waterworks or any other art which either for its own or the time's genius is acceptable... Now what should prevent us from setting a higher price upon higher things, the arts of war and peace, that is, men eminent in valour and learning? Nor would I thus prize mere rashness in arms or vulgar muses, but those captains whose warlike spirits are seasoned with reason and blessed by fortune. (175)

The discourse of the young prince distributes such qualities amongst several men, and it is the aristocrat Arsidas who begs him to 'imagine therefore that the most excellent in war, learning, and all manual arts... were met under one prince, like many stars in one heaven?' (177). Arsidas himself may be the ideal candidate in the early stages of the romance. He certainly enjoys a prominent position throughout the text: when Archombrotus is seized by a raiding gang, mistaken for the exiled Poliarchus, it is Arsidas who placates them through his eloquent reasoning. It is Arsidas who arranges a secret rendezvous between Poliarchus and Argenis, and who, on several occasions, provides other characters with sage counsel. He is an allegorical expression of reasonableness synonymous with the didactic aims of Scottish romance and its characteristic emphasis on temperance.

Perhaps the most persuasive thematic continuity between the *Argenis* and the Scottish romance corpus more generally is its clear concern for the potentially ruinous effect of passion upon its men. When Archombrotus forsakes his friendship with Poliarchus in Book II, thus threatening the chivalric code of loyalty, passion is the cause:

The dearer he held Argenis, all the more abated the friendship which had bound him to Poliarchus, first assaulted by envy, next by jealousy. So he went out of the garden lovesick and captive, who a little before entered free and happy. (263)

The motif of the disloyal knight would likewise function as a key trope in Hannay's *Sheretine*, in which the heretofore noble and virtuous Turian forsakes the chivalric code in order to pursue a betrothed woman. That Archombrotus is 'assaulted' by his passion is another familiar motif of the Scottish corpus. The young Prince suffers a crisis of heroic exemplarity, symptomised,

---

<sup>86</sup> Ref. Diogenes, who searched for an honest man by the light of his lantern.

as elsewhere, by his willing subjection to amorous passion. Archombrotus' narrative turns to a familiar motif – reason versus passion – not through the gaze of the stainless hero, but through the flawed outlook of the youth who is wilfully subject to his passions. Like Baldynneis' Roland and Kennedy's Calanthrop, Archombrotus fulfils the role of the counter-exemplary lover (by which I mean his actions are deemed useful only because they serve as warnings on how *not* to behave, rather than being worthy of emulation), in itself the counterpart to Poliarchus. His subjection compromises his chivalric loyalty and, moreover, it threatens a masculine code of manners between himself and Argenis' true love, Poliarchus. This counter-exemplariness is demonstrated by other characters, too. Radirobanes enters the narrative as a loyal aristocrat, but his noble demeanour is jeopardised by his own passion for Argenis:

... not free from love [he] had hired some about the court who should daily bring him news of Meleander and Argenis. News therefore was brought to him...that Argenis, early in the morning, had sent to Archombrotus; that he came presently to her; and what familiar discourse she had with him. His suspicion presently grew vehement, and as in doubtful happiness, he bent his mind to love not otherwise than before to war. (443)

'Grinding his teeth', Radirobanes 'assuaged his choler' only by 'vilifying' (443) his perceived rival. There is certainly a degree of madness at work here, offset by the newly reinstated Meleander, who, 'being free from those cares of love... intended more serious business' (445). As those who submit to their amorous desires are further removed from their masculine office, those able to temper themselves find success in the masculine sphere. Indeed, Radirobanes' flight of reason worsens as he plans to abduct and rape Argenis: 'Once more therefore Radirobanes began to bridle his anger, [and], thinking this a sufficient strength for his cunning rape' (563), he plots to remove Argenis from Sicily. That Radirobanes is capable of tempering his anger is clear, but he channels his remaining sense of reason to matters of ill deed, evincing his absolute villainy; though his madness derives initially from his overwhelming passion, his immoral behaviour requires such forethought to suggest he has no desire to uphold masculine duty, manners or morals. That he is 'proud in the labour of his premeditated mischief' (603) indicates the degree of his failures. He may even be described as a perversion of the heroic ideal, exhibiting those qualities deemed ideal (he displays cunning, wit, the ability to channel his ambition towards thought and premeditation), but he abuses these qualities in the name of lust. Radirobanes is thus the counter-exemplary hero here, akin to the sorcerer Mansay in *Penardo*; both are capable of rhetorical prowess, but lack the moral temperance to direct it towards useful civic pursuits. Indeed, as in *Penardo*, in which Mansay's verbal tricks are offset by Penardo's chaste heroic virtue, Radirobanes' deceits and Archombrotus' temporary subjection to passion are offset by Poliarchus, who is admired for

how heartily he had loved; how, forgetting his own estate, he had thrust himself into dangers, unknown, careless of himself, and safe neither from fortune nor from his enemies... [He was a] most mighty King...exceedingly eloquent, extenuated so the memory of his merits, as indeed he did cunningly set them forth to the maximum, with such reverence to Meleander and fair demeanour to Archombrotus, Argenis, and the people, that it was questionable whether he were the braver warrior or courtier. (935-945)

Morality and temperance were two of the most enduring ideals of the Scottish romancer and the rhetorical basis of most, if not all, romance texts composed in Scotland in the seventeenth century. The overwhelming presence of such ideals evinces the intensely edificatory and instructive agenda with which such texts were devised, as well as the social relevance to their function. This instructive approach prevented the great majority of Scottish romances from being dismissed as mere ‘pulp’ fictions, elevating the corpus above the image of frivolity and sinful sensuality that pervaded contemporary cultural perceptions of the genre. This did not prevent the Scottish romance from indulging in the more fanciful elements of the genre, but these fantastical elements often functioned as a series of morally ennobling set pieces, and the inclusion of such tropes generally functioned as a form of cautionary mirroring; in Gordon’s *Penardo and Laissa*, the villainous wizard Mansay functions not as an appeal to frivolous ‘ladies’, but rather as an example of the utility of language and the necessity to temper it for the noble (probably male) reader.<sup>87</sup> This, too, was the case with the *Argenis*, in which Barclay’s allegorical key elevates the romance above the purely fictitious sphere in order to allow its readers to ‘see’ and ‘scorn’ the ‘wars, the upheavals, the dangers to kingdoms, and the loves of chaste youths’ (95) which blighted seventeenth-century European politics. The *Argenis*, it is clear, is a political and moral treatise, as well as a response to existing models of romance literature. That the narrative is composed of a series of motifs and episodes common to romance – from pirate lore and villainous kings, to disguises, misunderstandings, political upheavals and love rivalry – as well as a contemporary social allegory, indicate how the success of *Argenis* was hinged upon the achievement of the fine balance between discourse and entertainment sought so persistently across the romances of the Scottish corpus as well. It is for this reason it warrants mention in a study of Scottish romance in its own right. Though this study makes no claim for

---

<sup>87</sup> Indeed, though Mansay performs the role of villain throughout the romance, he also precipitates much of Penardo’s (and, by extension, the reader’s) advancement by foregrounding the importance of chastity, reason and learnedness: his punishment is violent and cruel, but one might argue that punishment by example is necessary, if the romance is to serve any moral purpose. Frequent references to his ‘suggared words/lips’ emphasise his own rhetorical function – the master of language and persuasion – while his elaborate attempts to bring about Penardo’s downfall are remarkable in that they are just as likely to further heroicise him. Take, for example, the way in which he tests Penardo in the romance’s twelfth *canto*: he does not send the knight blindly into his subterranean prison to rescue Laissa, but narrates the potential outcomes and dangers of the exercise through elaborate inscriptions left for Penardo. A ‘dreidfull Dragone heir within does ly/ That fosters still the fyre of Lechery’, he warns. Only a knight ‘whoes chastetie is suche/ And whose good Fortune fauours him so muche/ As can not be by aine meins entys’d’ (XII: 28, ll 2-3 and 5-7). Mansay thus engineers the test, but he also articulates Laissa’s means of saviour, thus facilitating Penardo’s heroic achievement. How he does so, moreover, is via the power of words, which the hero must learn to heed should he hope to succeed.

the text as Scottish in origin, or indeed that other romances and romance traditions did not likewise share features with *Argenis* – the point here made is initially merely that *Argenis* evinces clear participation in a courtly dialogue not just with England’s but also with Scotland’s monarch, and its clear ideological harmony with the Scottish romance corpus more generally. But it is more particularly relevant here also because of its influence on what is very much a truly ‘Scottish’ romance: Mackenzie’s *Aretina*.

## George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh’s *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance* (1660)

In 1669, the radical manifesto *Jus Populi* boldly accused Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (fl.1636-1691) – best known under the sobriquet ‘Bluidy Mackenzie’ – of apostasy. It appealed to ‘his Majesty [to] execute justice on the Apostate Prelates, by hanging them up before the Sun’<sup>88</sup> while Mackenzie himself condemned its author and his cohorts as apostate fanatics. In 1678, he was praised by Charles II for the ‘care and faithfulness with which he maintained the royal prerogative,’<sup>89</sup> evincing his centrality to court politics and the contentious relationships he forged there. His literary works are accordingly rooted firmly in court ritual, culture and politics. *Aretina* (1660) was thus written with different criteria from that of Hannay, Gordon or Kennedy’s romances: rooted, as it was, in contemporary court culture, it evokes a spirit of romance more commonly associated with the medieval *speculum principis* tradition within the romance genre. While his fellow Scots romancers attempted to resituate the lexicon of the mode in the martial and civic spheres, Mackenzie located his moral agenda in the genre in the court and, particularly, in the related world of international politics, rather than on the battlefield.

*Aretina* was Mackenzie’s first publication, coming off the printing press at the turn of the Restoration. It is a coded romance or *roman à clef* that owes much to John Barclay’s bestselling *Argenis* (1621), and differs from its Scottish predecessors in that it is a prose, rather than verse, composition. For this reason it is often referred to as Scotland’s earliest novel. As with *The Famous History of Prince Robert* and the *Argenis*, *Aretina* is a document of royalist conviction, concerned with the divine rights of kingship, and a study in (specifically courtly) masculine prudence. It belongs to the *speculum principis* tradition, but in a more tangible way than any of its seventeenth-century predecessors because it constituted a genuine dialogue

---

<sup>88</sup> James Stewart, *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (1669) in Andrew Lang, *Sir George Mackenzie: King’s Advocate, of Rosehaugh, His Life and Times 1636 – 1691* (New Jersey: The Lawbrook Exchange, 2005) p 86.

<sup>89</sup> *Calendar of State Papers: domestic series* (1678) p 274.

between author and court, and between Mackenzie and Charles II. It is a mirror for statehood, a document of conduct for a nobility Mackenzie knew well in his role as courtier. Its primary heroes Megistus and Philarites, as will be shown below, are fragments of one heroic whole, who together, form a composite moral hero.

‘[L]ike Moses’ trembling mother,’ Mackenzie ‘leave[s] this [his] first born upon the banks of envie’s current’ (1). Both Andrew Lang and Laura L. Runge have emphasised Mackenzie’s debt to de Scudéri here, though Lang suggests that the additional preamble of “‘written originally in English” [is] meant to make it plain that *Aretina* is not a translation from the French of Monsieur or Mademoiselle de Scudéri, or any of their rivals’ (Lang, 26), while Runge contextualises Mackenzie’s dedication alongside that of de Scudéri’s *Clelia* translator, ‘whose discourse shapes an audience according to the idealized femininity represented in the fiction’.<sup>90</sup> But if one reads this dedication alongside the ‘Apologie for Romances’ which succeeds it, an alternative agenda may emerge. Some, he counsels, ‘accuse [romances] for robbing us of our precious time,’

but this reproach is ill founded; for if the Romance be abject, none will trifle their time in reading it... But to leave such Phanaticks in the bedlame of their own fancies, who should blush to trace in these paths, which the famous Sidney, Scudéri, Barkley, and Broghill hath beaten for them, besides thousands of Ancients, and Moderns, Ecclesiasticks, and Laicks, Spaniards, French, and Italians, to remunerate whose endeavours, fame hath wreathed Garlands which shall never fade whilst Learning flourishes. (iv)

Mackenzie’s prefaces are as concerned with asserting authorial originality as they are a feminine audience – in other words, not at all. The *apologia* is of course a discursive fallacy: it instead asserts the legitimacy of the romance mode as a source for moral conduct. *Aretina*, Mackenzie is telling us, is a legitimate and inherently virtuous document of moral discourse. Indeed, contrary to Lang’s interpretation, he creates emphatic patterns of repetition between *Aretina* and the prefaces to Sidney and de Scudéri’s works with the intention of legitimising his own authorial position within an established didactic canon. *Aretina*, he is signalling to us, is a piece of discursive fiction, one which adopts the heroic lexicon in order to articulate the ills and solutions of a turbulent sovereign state. Indeed, he asserts,

where Romances are Written by excellent wits, and perused by intelligent Readers, that the judgement may pick more sound information from them, then from History, for the one teacheth us onely what was done, and the other what should be done. (iv-v)

---

<sup>90</sup> Laura L. Runge, *Gender and Language in British Literary Criticism 1660-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). p 91.

Mackenzie announces the text's function as an advisory narrative. The text's emphasis on reading and writing, and the corresponding learning to be gained from their practise, indicates its close alignment with those emphases already present in the preceding Scottish romances, *Penardo*, *The Famous History of Prince Robert*, *Argenis*, *Sheretine* and *Calanthrop*. Indeed, *Aretina*'s coded allegory, or expression of and reflection upon the Stuart reign, hinges on the same concept as that of Lipsius' *De Constantia* (1584) – that the wise governor may overcome strife and excessive emotion by rational analysis of his judgements. *Aretina* functions as this rational analysis, providing not only a coded history of Restoration politics, but a model for reconciliation through a model of heroic exemplariness. It is, moreover, an affirmation of virtue over pleasure in the *speculum principis* mode, and thus a pertinent example of the various ways in which heroic literature might be used throughout the seventeenth century: while those Scots poets who remained in Scotland found a mode for heroic discourse in an emerging martial class, those such as Mackenzie, who remained at the centre of court politics in England, might still evoke a courtly dialogue that was no longer as readily available to those poets who remained at home. It is, above all, a text that 'rejoices in the sub-title of "the serious romance," and shows that its author was rather essayist than story-teller.'<sup>91</sup>

## Affirmations of the virtue of reason over passion

The text's central thesis for prudent governance – covering governance of the self and of individual passions, as well as governance of the state – is immediately evident in its first passage. Here we are introduced to Monanthropus, Chancellor of Egypt, whose deep melancholy

so fetter[s] the feet of his Reason, that nothing pleased him now but that whereby he might please that passion; thinking all the time misspent which was not spent in its service, frequenting more Woods than Men, deeming them the only fit grove to sacrifice in, the choicest of his thoughts to the worst of his passions. (1)

The Chancellor's indulgence of this depression, which leads him to a 'neighbouring Desert' in which a 'deep Valley... fruitfull of nothing but Trees, and Trees fruitfull of nothing but Melancholy, overlookt by Rocks, in whose wrinkled faces' he imagines 'thousands of deep furrows' and 'gloomy brows'. This, he decides, is 'a place fit only to be the hermitage of Melancholy' (1-2). This self-imposed seclusion, and indeed, his anthropomorphising of his surroundings to mirror his own state of mind, recalls those symptoms identified by Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), in which the portrait of solitariness depicts the wood where

---

<sup>91</sup> Donald F. Bond and G. Sherburn, eds. *The Literary History of England Volume 3: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1660-1789)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Routledge, 1959). p 794.

‘Hares, Conies in the desert go: Bats, Owls, the shady bowers over, [and] in melancholy darkness hover’.<sup>92</sup> Melancholy, to which Monanthropus has so thoroughly committed himself, is correspondingly described by Burton as ‘a habit, a serious ailment, a settled humour, as Aurelianus and others call it, not errant, but fixed: and as it was long increasing, so, now being (pleasant or painful) grown to a habit, it will hardly be removed’ (Burton, 143). Amorous passion is here substituted for melancholy, but its effects are the same, and would be familiar to readers of Scottish romances. Monanthropus’ excessive depression reinforces the ideological assumption that excess, when misdirected, is destructive to masculine agency that we already seen elsewhere in Scottish texts. Monanthropus, whose reason has been temporarily suspended, and whose capacity to govern (either himself or others) has thus been destabilised, is roused to reason by the onset of heroic activity. Heroism, as indicated in previous chapters, is a natural expression of masculine reason; it serves to legitimise and elevate the hero socially, and demonstrates his capacity as a prudent king/governor/soldier/patriarch, thus Monanthropus responds instinctively to its appeal.

Monanthropus’ subjection to his melancholia, an established, perhaps even pleasurable indulgence, requires a correspondingly powerful exposure to heroic exemplariness to penetrate its grasp. Indeed, he is roused from his depression by a series of strikingly sadistic images. While captive damsels are a common motif of the romance mode, it is less common for these damsels to be shackled, ‘strypt of their cloaths above the middle, and strypt by two cruel Rascals’, who ‘equalled the number of their lashes to that of their paces’ (2). The women are both exposed and tortured, an image of captivity that does not correspond well to the mode’s conventional depictions of titillating but harmless imprisonment. Female captivity in romance is more commonly a device of narrative frustration; it briefly stays progress of the lovers’ union, and is often symptomatic of wider political conflict, but it is almost always a sedate episode. Chastity may be under threat in these episodes, but rarely in such provocative terms. But Mackenzie evidently deemed the violence of this episode necessary to its resolution, and indeed, when Monanthropus witnesses the ladies’ heroic rescue by two unknown champions, he is briefly compelled out of his depression by both admiration and the desire to provide his own aid:

... let me beg of you to lodge with me this night, seing the condition of these Ladies pleads for good accommodation, and there is none to be had of either your or their quality, besides my house...[for] your valour, your successe, and your cause, obligeth me to believe, that ye are commissioned by the immortal gods. (4-5)

---

<sup>92</sup> Richard Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1638 ed.) ‘The Argument of the Frontispiece’, ll 20-22. [accessed at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10800/10800-h/10800-h.htm> 3 Oct 2011].

But his melancholic disposition has not yet been fully resolved. The tale of the two ladies' woe proves titillating to Monanthropus, 'whose Melancholy appetite relished nothing so well as what was sauced with novelty' (6). The ladies, too, manifest a certain subjection to excessive woe, 'grief being like a Mine' (6), which they attempt to soothe through the relation of their past misfortune.

This relation is concluded upon arrival at Monanthropus' household, the grandeur of which is such that 'the Knights and Ladies [find] their respect betrayed formerly, by the meanness of Monanthropus' exterior garb' (13). Philarites gently scolds their host, counselling

Magistrates carry before them the Ensigns of their Offices, Gentlemen followed by their Liveries, and Knights of Orders carry the Badges of their Honours, as beacons to warn strangers not to spit upon the rocks of either disrespect or incivility. (13)

Monanthropus, who has evidently disregarded his appearance in favour of gratifying his melancholy, has thus distanced himself from his masculine office and identity. Such subjection to passion, the romance thus advises, might de-stabilise the male image, or cause one's capacity for governance to become insecure.

Such threat of the passions to the masculine image, though illustrated initially through Monanthropus, is more fully expressed through the erotic allegiances of the knight Philarites. *Aretina* takes an uncommon approach to heroic fashioning, by dividing its focus between two knights. A process of chivalric reciprocity between the knights Philarites and Megistus is established: the pattern of opposition between the two knights expresses both exemplary and counter-exemplary modes of conduct for the noble reader, but ultimately, both fulfil an allegorical function. The text's primary agenda is certainly to counsel its readers in prudent moral conduct – with a particular emphasis on the virtues of reason over passion – thus its two heroic roles function as allegorical expressions of reason (Megistus) and erotic passion (Philarites) respectively. This juxtaposition is evident upon the knights' introduction to the romance heroine, Aretina. Megistus, in an example of his capacity to temper erotic desire, simply salutes the lady who was 'so accomplished, as if Nature in her, had like that old Painter, borrowed a traite from the greatest Beauties in the world to adorn one' (15). Philarites, by contrast, assumes the role of the courtly lover, he who is inherently affected physically by erotic desire:

*Philarites*, after *Megistus* and the Ladies had saluted all, and after he as himself had saluted the Mother, coming to salute the daughter, and bowing as low as the verge of her garment, being deserted by strength, did fall dead at her feet. (*A.* i, 15)

This is a humiliating episode for the knight, whose faculty of reason is secure enough to at least provoke a self-directed lament: 'Unfortunate Philarites', he beseeches, 'hath passion cut the throat of thy reason, or hast thou lost thy wit with thy bloud?' (*A.* i, 15). This is not an expression of a 'love at once illicit and morally elevating, passionate and disciplined, humiliating and exalting, human and transcendent,'<sup>93</sup> but a failure of his heroic image. Indeed,

works presumably illustrative of 'courtly love' like the *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus, or the *Lancelot* of Chrétien de Troyes, or the *Roman de la rose*, are, in fact ironic and humorous... the works in question may not advocate 'courtly love', but at least they satirize it... what is being satirized in the works in question is not 'courtly love' at all, but idolatrous passion. (Newman, 3)

It is certainly true that *amour courtois* had developed as an admonitory rhetoric by the renaissance era. However, the high culture code of manners that dictated the gentleman's subjection to his lady in medieval romance no longer constituted a plausible mode of courting in real life renaissance culture, if indeed it ever had. The Enlightenment esteem for the fundamental importance of reason (and indeed, its emphasis on learning) is hardly an invention of the eighteenth century, and can in fact be recognised in the neo-stoic revival of the earlier renaissance – an important critical revision in recent years.<sup>94</sup> Passionate discourse articulated by the courtly romance did not accord well with the renaissance humanist revival, and thus *amour courtois* developed an image of anachronism which rendered it inherently unfashionable. In some cases, the courtly lover was thus a satirical construct, an inverse affirmation of the virtue of reason, and here that construct functions as a more sober instructive model that counsels against its very own 'idolatrous passion'. Indeed, Philarites subjection is such that he is 'love and hers martyr,' like a 'Lamp extinguished by too much Oyl' (i, 19-20); his heroic light is extinguished, he drowns in excess. His defence, that 'none can behold Aretina, and not love her' (20) is disputed by Megistus:

No, no... as my eyes cannot be so far mistaken, as to mistake the Case for the Watch, so neither can my judgement be so hallucinated as to love the Body in stead of the Soul: it is not beauty that I admire either in her or you (albeit both be lovely) no, it is your virtue, which seing I know to be real in you, whereas it is but presumptive in her, I cannot chuse but love you better. (11)

---

<sup>93</sup> F. X. Newman, ed. *The Meaning of Courtly Love* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1968). p vii.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Allan 1993.

His dialogue evinces both his composure (though there is merit in Aretina's beauty, his erotic desire is not inflamed by it), and his code of loyalty. Though the two knights serve as a contrast in virtues, they function together as one heroic construct, as Philarites articulates:

Dear Comrade, since the soul of two friends seems to be but one soul bilocated, and lodged in two bodies, which is notwithstanding, not a whit the lesse one soul, no more than the same soul ceaseth to be the same, because it is altogether in the arms, altogether in the head, and in other distinct members: seing then we are animated by the same soul (whereof yours is the nobler part) how can, or why should, we be strangers to one anothers joyes or griefes? (19)

Indeed, 'both [Philarites and Megistus] being joynd, made [the King] confer double respect upon them' (51). This division of virtue continues; Megistus and Philarites, fragments of one whole, can together provide expression of a composite moral hero:

Megistus seemed the more martial, but Philarites the more courtly, yet so, as that neither Megistus warlikeness wanted courtiness, nor Philarites courtliness somewhat of a martial behaviour; and as, if Philarites had not been present, Megistus would have seemed the most courtly Gentleman that eye could have lookt upon; so, if Megistus had not been present, men would have thought Philarites the most warlike Gallant that Nature could have framed. Megistus was the most learned, but Philarites was the more eloquent; yet so, as Megistus learning supplyd his small want of eloquence, and Philarites eloquence made his inequality in learning with Megistus undiscernable. Thus Nature seemed to teach mortals that she could cast perfection in severall moulds, and that her Grammar did admit two Superlatives. (51)

This duality of knighthood is strikingly reminiscent of that outlined in *Eger and Grime* (c. 1450), in which the contrasting virtues of Lord Graysteel's combatants coalesce to represent the ideal figure of knighthood. As Eger's passion is inflamed by the lady Winglaine, so too is Philarites' passion lit by Aretina. The amorous knights are in both texts offset by the judicious characters of their knightly companions. Grime fulfils Eger's chivalric ambitions, while Megistus pledges allegiance to his friend's cause, regardless of the imprudence he identifies in its pursuit, and indeed, rather than instigate amorous rivalry, he simply counsels prudence: 'stain not your wisdom by loving, before ye know the object to be lovely: stain not your birth, by loving a subject, ye who are born a Prince' (21).<sup>95</sup> These contrasts continue. While Philarites recovers from his amorous faint - bedridden, feverish and weak - Megistus visits a grand library, paved in marble and well-stocked in scientific and literary materials. Certainly their geography is an expression of their emotional disposition; Philarites occupies a domestic space - the bed,

---

<sup>95</sup> If romances are 'mirrours wherein Princes may see their own blemishes' (26), as the text claims, it is certainly possible that this counsel is flavoured by Charles II's shambolic affair with Lucy Walter (syn. Barlow), the middling class mother of Charles' illegitimate son James Scott, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Monmouth. Walter would falsely claim that she and Charles had eloped during his exile at The Hague, which led to problematic claims for the throne during the Exclusion Crisis and was, unsurprisingly, scandalously embarrassing.

where passion is indulged, while Megistus' environment is the space of learning and reason. It is in this space he affirms his allegorical function in the text:

Whilst I lived at my Fathers Court, I began to reflect upon the great advantages that did accrue to Princes by their travels; for these are the mirrours wherein Princes may see their own blemishes... the want of foreign languages (which they learn in their travels) obliges them to reveal to interpreters the most mysterious affairs of State, when they treat with strangers Ambassadors, and makes them unfit to pry into their scope; likewise their travels acquaint them with the humours and interests of other Nations, wherein home-bred Princes are sometimes cheated, and often mistaken; by these Princes are obliged to moderate their passions, to inure themselves to hardship, and to converse with men of all conditions: Another advantage they have likewise, which is, that by travelling whilst they are young, they conceal many imperfections, which, to their great losse, their youth would have discovered, if they had lived at home. These and many such considerations, prompted me to travel, and to disguise my name and birth, which, as it forced me to spend lesse, so it capacitated me to learn more than else I could have done. (26)

Megistus' quest is not the product of whimsical errantry, but a conscious process of learning – enablement for good governance. There is certainly a clear emphasis on the culture of knowledge: Megistus' desire is to learn new languages, encounter new cultures and improve himself. Indeed, the knight's role of orator – the learned hero – is pursued throughout the romance as the ideal heroic antecedent to the comparatively foolish Philarites. It is certainly true that the text belongs to the expansive

vogue of... artificial romances of chivalry; it emerges from the 'school of Sidney and d'Urfé... [as a group of texts that were] chary of following the new realistic or witty fashions, but conducted their heroes through the approved exercises of chivalry with old-fashioned ceremony and wealth of episode.'<sup>96</sup>

But it is also true that its focus lay 'not in the stirring recitation of events, but rather in the subtle dialectic treatment of problems of morality and emotion' (Raleigh, 96). Philarites' code of courtly manners, his performance of chivalric feats and demonstrations of nobility – applied to his attempts to seduce Aretina – as well as Megistus' rhetorical eloquence applies a moral tone to the formulaic structure of the text. Certainly, 'albeit Essays be the choicest pearls in the Jewel house of Moral Philosophy, yet [Mackenzie] ever thought that they were set off to the best advantage, and appeared with the greatest lustre, when they were laced upon a Romance' (7). *Aretina* is thus a forum in which the 'art of courtly speech, the chief attraction, it may be presumed, of the heroic romances' (Raleigh, 98) can be taught, and it is Megistus, whose knightly virtue is prudence, who acts as the oratorical model in the text.

---

<sup>96</sup> Walter Raleigh, *The English Novel; being a sketch of its history from the earliest times to the appearance of Waverley* (London: John Murray, 1894). pp 89-90.

That the romance operates via a series of comparative oppositions – primarily allegorical or character-based – has been outlined above, but the text’s moral compass is both complicated and elucidated by its rhetorical moral ambiguities also. We already know the text to function on the same didactic level as preceding Scottish romances – the suppression of amorous discourse in favour of alternative, masculine narratives, as demonstrated through Philarites’ incapacitation at the onset of erotic desire – but the text’s philosophy is more complex than this episode suggests. It is, as with *Penardo*, *Calanthrop* and others, wary of love’s overwhelming influence on its hero, but its treatment of love is not wholly negative. We have already seen Megistus counsel Philarites in the merit of love for a ‘compleat Lady’ over passion for a ‘Mistris’ (20), indicating an endorsement of platonic love and for the temperate hero capable of achieving it. The romance thus functions on a level comparable to John Stewart of Baldynneis’ *Roland Furious*, i.e. not as ‘a study of different types of love... but a study of the effects of the battle between love and reason on different types of character’.<sup>97</sup> Megistus, the knight who sees that ‘Intelligence was the soul of Policy’ (27) and who, upon forming his own attachment to the lady Agapeta, meditates that

these same gods who have bestowed freedom upon us, do likewise excite us to love: So that seing love is of a divine extraction, it must be of a most pure essence: the gods disdain to put their impress upon any metall that is not in itself excellent: and that it is the effect of some divine influence. (183)

Megistus is thus an example of a prudent or neo-Platonic lover: his expressions of amorous design are shaped by divine reference, while Philarites’ discourse is characterised by an overt subjection, or an expression of excessiveness.

Ultimately, one knight must learn from the other, for the division of knightly virtue may be distilled and shared equally through counsel between the two men. Megistus’ eloquence, for example, deemed inferior to the more courtly expression of Philarites, is acquired over the course of the romance through Philarites’ good example. This is illustrated by a prolonged display of rhetorical discourse – an oratorical tourney of sorts, during which Megistus must exercise his rhetorical prowess in order to articulate the function of love in chivalric achievement. The elaborate celebration of a courtly wedding instigates this verbal combat. A passing knight, upon witnessing the wedding party, delivers a letter to the court which critiques such an elaborate display of festivity: ‘Courage is Captain of Vertues Life-guard’, he asserts, ‘for, who durst be just without Courage? And without Courage what a silly thing were

---

<sup>97</sup> Donna Hedde, *John Stewart of Baldynneis Roland Furious: A Scots Poem in its European Context* (Boston: Brill, 2008), p 20.

Love?’ (56). He demands a defence of love, which ‘extends it self to the fewest; that being the purest Love which is fixt upon one, [while] the purest Courage which defends all’ (57). The epistolary challenge is accepted by Megistus, who, though deemed previously the more martial than eloquent knight,

smiling at the Challenge, asked Philarites, if ever he heard any thing in *Athens* proven by a sword? No truly, replied the other, except by *argumentum in Casare*, or *argumentum ad hominem*, be meant that manner of probation. (58)

We can thus see an exchange of virtue here, in which the hero more concerned with his physical heroism, through the influence of his more eloquent companion, begins to balance his heroic characteristics to greater chivalric effect. Megistus’ reply, moreover, serves to elucidate the text’s Platonic emphasis. His understanding of love is not predicated exclusively on passionate or idolatrous desire, but love in all its types and guises. Love, Megistus counsels, ‘might have been said never to have erred, if it had not contributed to thy birth, who now like an ungrateful son spittest in the face of thy peerless parent.’ Indeed, ‘why fightest thou in defence of Courage?’ he continues, ‘is it not because thou lovest it? And if so, thou can do nothing in defence of Courage but what Love commands thee to do’ (58-9). The text’s treatise is thus clear: the prudent knight identifies the potentially ennobling aspect of non-erotic love in heroic achievement. Love for country and king, and love for courage and ambition, act as forms of heroic ennoblement, if only the knight can learn how to temper his more erotic allegiances. The two do eventually meet in martial combat, the challenging knight evidently incapable of separating his physicality from chivalric rivalry, but it is Megistus who emerges victor. Certainly the romance ‘affords Mackenzie a template for analyzing unregulated ‘enthusiasms’, crucial to his contentions that passion in kings and subjects leads to monarchical dissolution’<sup>98</sup> – as demonstrated by Philarites’ ‘un-reasonableness and impotency in love’ (Beesemyer, 48) – but the knightly code of conduct provided by the formulaic romance format also allows him to extrapolate on the ennobling merits of chaste love. It is indeed worth viewing this mode of Platonic love as equivalent to loyalty: the knight who bears love towards his king and/or his subjects will remain loyal to the communal cause, which is evidently an act of great honour. Honour and love, love and loyalty, are thus synonymous aspects of knightly nobility in *Aretina*.

*Aretina*’s rhetorical elements were certainly inspired by a recurring emphasis on learnedness present in seventeenth-century Scottish literatures. This mode of poetics and scholarship

---

<sup>98</sup> Irene Basey Beesemyer, ‘Sir George Mackenzie’s *Aretina* of 1660: A Scot’s Assault on Restoration Politics’, *Scottish Studies Review* (Spring 2003). p 54.

promised actual moral improvement, an incalculable benefit to which troubled Scottish minds of all persuasions were irresistibly drawn... Because of the oratorical role which they believed their scholarship also gave them, the successors of Boece and Major set out directly to harangue and to edify the nation's sadly nebulous social leadership. But more than this... they were tied intellectually as well as emotionally to Calvinist and humanist arguments for the social utility of a deeply rational and learned moral virtue. (Allan 1993: 12)

In a romance which counsels that 'reason first, complemented by love, makes the ideal man, and ideal marriage, and the ideal monarchical set-up,' we can discern its literary ancestry in preceding Scottish romance, but also bear witness to the continuously evolving nature of the mode. *Aretina* is the first sustained prose romance written in early modern Scotland, and its moral expression, though clearly derived from a pre-existing tradition of love morality, can be separated from its predecessors because it establishes a direct dialogical contingency with the royal court. This perhaps goes some way towards explaining the more overt emphasis on court policy and ritual than seen elsewhere in texts such as *Penardo* and *Calanthrop*, which were composed at a far greater distance from the court. This by no means suggests the more martial elements which are central to *Calanthrop*, *Prince Robert* etc are entirely absent from *Aretina*, though: rather, that military discourse in *Aretina* is couched in a framework of policy making which is quite distinguishable from its northern-composed counterparts. *Aretina* is tailored for a readership of statesmen, rather than soldiers, thus its emphases are more political than allegorical when it comes to martial activity. Warfare in the text is confined to a more individual focus, between small factions of knights or in settling the scores of a handful of over-ambitious noblemen. The text explores the social impact of conflict – it is not a romance of warring nations, but rather, warring personal ambitions. Take, for example, Megistus' tale of Plistus, in which a group of nobles plot against the king in order to 'sate their insatiable ambition' (29). Malchus, the king's advisor, engineers the succession of his own protégée Sophander to Chancellor, thus undermining the king and creating an insidious degree of corruption amongst the nation's ruling body. Rather than declare war on Sophander, however, Megistus confides in Monanthropus that he did 'resolve rather to shelter [himself] in the Sanctuary of a private life' (36). His return home will not be undertaken with the benefit of an army behind him, but with a 'stirrup whereby [he] might more easily mount the saddle of preferment' (36), to be provided by the connections Monanthropus can afford him. The corruption borne of excessive ambition, which so inflamed *Penardo* against Grodane in *Penardo and Laissa*, is here softened by respect for the court hierarchy – Megistus will negotiate, rather than fight, his way home.

There are, of course, examples of physical combat in the text, and in one passage Mackenzie explores the folly of a poorly maintained army, clearly demonstrating that even

when the complex machinations of government policy are the focus, a community of good soldiers is a source of national value. Sophander's Senate, he praises, 'governed their Army most prudently, preferring experienced soldiers to the most eminent charges' (278). Indeed,

... having the City at their devotion, it did suppediate them both with money, pitch, cordage, and other materials for their Fleet, and by the assistance of their Fleet they victualled their Army in all places: whereas Anaxagius Army destitute of such necessities, were constrained to prey upon the Country, and thereby lost totally their affection. (278)

The value of a working martial community is clear, though Mackenzie's treatment of military strategy does indeed differ from that already seen in other Scottish romances. The crucial distinction lies in the text's perspective: unlike *Prince Robert*, *Sheretine* or *Calanthrop*, *Aretina* is clearly concerned with the broader governance of the martial community. *Aretina* explores martial leadership from a top-down perspective, whereas those texts mentioned above explore the role of the individual soldier.

*Aretina* clearly shares some characteristics with its Scottish predecessors: its emphases on reading and prudence, its endorsement of chaste love and attempt to articulate the ideal masculine character indicate a shared ideological discourse in which these texts participated. But it is also testament to the evolving nature of romance – perhaps even fiction more generally – in Scotland. The influence of a broader European and English romance tradition (particularly the *Argenis*) is evident in its prose format – the first of its kind by a Scottish romance writer. It continues the relocation of the romance hero, once more into a sphere more comfortable and relatable for its author and readers (in all likelihood statesmen, noblemen and members of the royal court). The circumstances of its composition clearly precipitate a certain level of departure from those distinguishing characteristics shared by earlier Scottish texts, but it nevertheless represents a key text in the evolution of the early modern Scottish romance tradition.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> It is worth noting briefly where such literary developments led. In Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), for example, both Edward Waverley and his counterpart, Fergus McIvor, perform heroic acts, but are excessively 'good' at one thing whilst being deficient in the other. More specifically, Edward Waverley is an unsuccessful hero because he fails to balance his physical and his reading activities. It should be of no surprise if this sounds strikingly familiar. Scott was a voracious reader and bibliophile, submitting reviews to the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly* and *Blackwoods Magazine*. He amassed at Abbotsford House one of the most extensive private library collections of the nineteenth century, including roughly seventy romance titles, ranging from early seventeenth-century texts such as Patrick Gordon's *Prince Robert* (1615), to antiquarian revisions of romance printed in the nineteenth century. Early modern Scottish romances were certainly present, including the anonymous sixteenth-century chivalric romance *Clariodus*, three editions of John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621) and a 1533 French edition as well as the 1819 Roxburgh Club's edition of the Harleian manuscript of *Lancelot of the Laik*. Scott's treatment of the romantic hero was certainly anticipated in these early romance texts, which suggests that a heroic model such as Edward Waverley is not necessarily the parodic climax to the declining tradition of verse romance, but rather a hero predicated upon the balanced male potency of rebel and learned aristocrat.

## Chapter Two

### Medieval Scottish Romance

The medieval Scottish romance tradition has been afforded far greater scrutiny than its later equivalents, but it has also been subject to some relatively polarised critical interpretation. In an essay published in 2000, A.S.G. Edwards notes that Scottish romance is ‘infrequently discussed as a distinct subject’, concluding that this is a prudent approach, given that the corpus is largely derivative of pre-existing English and French literary models.<sup>100</sup> This provocative contention has been persuasively redressed by a number of romance scholars, who conclude instead that romance was

both composed and enthusiastically read in medieval and early modern Scotland, and that medieval Scottish romance, like that of other cultures, developed distinguishing features of its own.<sup>101</sup>

Such discussions have reached something like a critical conclusion over the space of a decade’s negotiations and discoveries, culminating in the tacit scholarly agreement that the most productive approach to the study of medieval Scottish romance is one predicated upon the ‘linguistic, territorial, and national’ particularities which characterise the Scottish nation.<sup>102</sup> A meaningful series of continuities have thus begun to emerge as characteristic features of medieval Scottish romance: the displacement of conventional amorous discourse in favour of more political emphases; a stress on national and patriotic discourse; a clear preference for verse over prose forms and, perhaps most importantly – for it is a literary template whose fluidity and essence stretches across multiple literary genres – an agenda of moral edification and instruction.<sup>103</sup> This characteristic feature of medieval Scottish romance has in turn necessitated a corresponding study of the character of the romance *reader* in Scotland: ‘who [exactly]’, Joyce Boro considers, ‘read romance in manuscript during the sixteenth century?’<sup>104</sup> This is a patently challenging query. As Boro notes,

---

<sup>100</sup> A.S.G. Edwards, ‘Contextualising Middle Scots Romance’ in L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S.L. Mapstone, eds. *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). pp 61-74. p 61.

<sup>101</sup> Rhiannon Purdie, ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’ in Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, eds. *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006) pp 165-178. pp 165-166. See also Sergi Mainer, *The Scottish Romance Tradition c.1375-c.1550: Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010) and Anna Caughey, ‘Representations of Knighthood in Late Medieval Scotland’, unpublished D.Phil thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2010).

<sup>102</sup> Sergi Mainer, *The Scottish Romance Tradition c.1375-c.1550: Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010). p 11.

<sup>103</sup> See Mainer and Purdie, as above. See also Anna Caughey, ‘Love, Lust and the Female Gaze in Late Medieval Scottish Romance’, chapter in Nicholas Perkins, ed. *The Materiality of Medieval Romance* (forthcoming, Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

<sup>104</sup> Joyce Boro, ‘Miscellaneity and History: Reading Sixteenth-Century Romance Manuscripts’, ed. A. S. G. Edwards, *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700: Volume 15, Tudor Manuscripts 1485-1603* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2009). pp. 123-151. p. 122.

the vagaries of chance play an incommensurately large role in the survival of manuscripts, rendering a definitive answer impossible; since we will never apprehend how much has been lost, we lack the framework necessary to satisfactorily contextualise what remains. (Boro: 122)

The scarcity of extant manuscript materials certainly poses problems to the researcher of early modern reading trends; like Boro, Marion Stewart considers ‘much early poetry [to] owe its survival to mere chance’.<sup>105</sup> Her account of Bishop Percy’s discovery of the Percy Folio – one of our most vital documents of early modern balladry and poetry – which was saved from becoming kindling only by the Bishop’s chance sighting of it on a parlour floor, certainly captures this idea. Therefore, this study seeks lines of inquiry which include but also extend *beyond* raw data materials in order to provide a composite record of those written texts which, as far as we can tell, were available to early modern Scottish readers. It seeks to investigate romance reading practises which extend beyond the medieval period and into that of the seventeenth century, in order to stretch such templates of reading into a heretofore neglected area of research, and examine the ways in which the ‘horizon of expectations and rules familiar from earlier [romance] texts’ are then ‘varied, corrected, altered, or even just reproduced’<sup>106</sup> in seventeenth-century texts. It is, in short, an inquiry into the formation of an early modern Scottish romance tradition, cognisant of those idiosyncrasies and transformations catalysed by temporal and cultural shifts of context, whilst mindful of those continuities which might exist between medieval and seventeenth-century romances.

Within that context, this chapter will provide an analysis of the appended database of romance texts in terms of thematic, structural and stylistic continuities. It will analyse those specific cultural and national peculiarities to which such texts were subject, and will attempt, through an aesthetic of book reception, to conceptualise them communicatively in terms of addressor and addressee. This is largely inspired by Hans Robert Jauss’s concept of a literary ‘horizon of expectations’,<sup>107</sup> a helpful analogy that articulates both the inherent exoticism of the romance mode – one’s horizon is not entirely out of reach, but neither is it comfortably within it – as well as the gratifying familiarity provided by its characteristic patterning. In other words, the literary landscape of romance is by no means a realist landscape, but the familiar patterns it provides create an illusion of tangibility and of achievability: it is, in short, a negotiation between writer and reader regarding those features of the text which appeal to the

---

<sup>105</sup> Marion Stewart, ‘A Recently-Discovered Manuscript: “*ane taill of Sir colling ye knyght*”’, *Scottish Studies*, Volume 16, 1972. pp 23-39. p 23.

<sup>106</sup> Hans Robert Jauss and Elizabeth Benzinger, ‘Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory’, *New Literary History*. Vol. 2, No.1. A Symposium on Literary History (Autumn, 1970) pp 7-37. p 13.

<sup>107</sup> See Hans Robert Jauss, *Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding*. Translated by Michael Hayes. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).

socially aspirant and discerning audience. Such an approach understands the text as one which ‘predisposes its readers to a very definite type of reception by textual strategies, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics or implicit allusions’ (Jauss & Benzing: 12), through which dialogical contingencies we might provide a model of reading and writing for early modern Scotland.

## Database Analysis: romance circulation and popular texts<sup>108</sup>

Despite the relative scarcity of Scottish romance manuscripts and prints, it has been possible to discern that at least twenty-nine romance texts of various national origins circulated throughout Scotland during the medieval and renaissance periods. The physical data accumulated in the database (pp vi-viii) of romance texts have been acquired from such records as printer’s wills, private and public library catalogues, and from corresponding textual references such as those in literary prefaces. While there are inevitable gaps in such a database – it is by no means a conclusive or finite set of data – that which is present can helpfully reveal at least a portion of which texts were read and circulated, and, more importantly, the *types* of text which were seemingly popular enough to warrant the demand for multiple editions.

Though the primary focus of this study is on seventeenth-century romance techniques, styles, and purposes, such inquiry requires a brief excursion into preceding Scottish romances, in order to contextualise the genre historically, but also to profile ‘the Scottish reader’ and his/her characteristic feature of reading as instruction in moral acuity.<sup>109</sup> Accordingly, the included database dates romance circulation from the fifteenth century in order to map those trends or popularities which may have extended beyond the medieval period and into the seventeenth century. Indeed, as indicated by the above data, a significant portion of romance texts continued to circulate throughout Scotland until the Restoration period, including, amongst others, such texts as *The Buik of Alexander* (reprinted c.1580), *Eger and Grime*, or ‘Graysteel’ (reprinted 1669), Barbour’s *Bruce* (reprinted many times, including 1571/1616/20/48/70/72), *The Covntess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1629/55/62/74) and *Amadis de Gaule* (1619, 1652).

---

<sup>108</sup> Please consult pp vi-viii.

<sup>109</sup> Concepts of reading as moral profit have increasingly featured in medieval studies (see Sally Mapstone, ‘The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500’. Unpublished D.Phil Thesis. University of Oxford, 1986). A template of reading for the early modern period which will be discussed further in subsequent chapters – see pp 112-114 of the present thesis. Not dissimilar developments have been noted in England: see e.g. Tiffany Jo Werth, *The Fabulous Dark Cloister: Romance in England after the Reformation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011).

The presence of Sidney's *Arcadia* could certainly be anticipated: it was a bestselling romance across Europe and would presumably circulate throughout Britain. But there are other relatively conclusive patterns we might discern from such reprints beyond what was more broadly popular. The first is a fairly clear preference for historical romance: national epics from which moral exemplars could be sourced, such as Barbour's *Bruce*, prove enduringly popular amongst Scottish readers, warranting multiple editions and re-interpretation at the hands of various authors. Indeed, a consultation of Scottish printer's wills indicates the particular popularity of texts such as *Gray-Steill*, *Bruce* and *The Wallace*, as outlined below:

Printer	Title(s)	Date of Will
Thomas Bassandyne	● Anon, <i>The Romance of Grey-Steill</i> (300 copies).	1579
Robert Gourlaw (bookbinder)	● 'Item, the first and second pairt of Mirroure of Knychtheid' <sup>110</sup> ● Anon, <i>The Wandering Knight</i> .	1586
Henry Charteris	● Blind Hary, <i>The Wallace</i> (52 copies)	1601
Robert Smith	● Anon, <i>Grey-Steill</i> (200+ copies)	1604
James Bryson	● Blind Hary, <i>The Wallace</i> (500 copies)	1642
Robert Bryson	● Blind Hary, <i>The Wallace</i>	1646

*The Wallace* and *Bruce* evidently engaged their audiences on a level of national sentiment. Scottish readers would have understandably and, perhaps predictably, sought a model of familiarity from a broader 'branch of ethics that preserve[d] the memory of individual lives as models worthy of admiration',<sup>111</sup> and the national epics provided this. Arguably the mutually reinforcing combination of 'militarily defensive', 'nationally/nationalistically assertive' and 'morally exemplary' that characterises Scottish narrative literature (especially with *speculum principis* elements mixed in) prior to 1603 did not just continue, but was even intensified after 1603.

Barbour certainly understood the nature of Bruce's legacy in Scotland as one which could be exploited. He makes explicit reference to the relationship between romance and

<sup>110</sup> W. Scott and D. Laing, eds. *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 3 vols, Bannatyne Club, 19-19b (1827-55), vol. 2, p 210. This is probably a translation of *The Mirroure of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*, a popular Spanish romance by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, a text that Cervantes would later include as an item in Don Quixote's library. For further information concerning author and translation, see Dorothy F. Atkinson, 'The Authorship of The Mirror of Knighthood, Part Nine'. *Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. 6, 1945. pp 175-186. Gourlaw's copies, however, are most likely to be those printed in 1580, translated by Margaret Tyler and printed in London by Thomas East.

<sup>111</sup> R. James Goldstein, 'I will my process hald': Making Sense of Scottish Lives and the Desire for History in Barbour, Wyntoun and Blind Hary' in Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, eds. *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006). pp 35 – 47. p 35.

moral historical profit; he specifically identifies the text as a ‘romanys’ (I:446),<sup>112</sup> and its core ideology as one of martial and patriotic virtue; he promises ‘suthfastnes’ (I: 20), drawing a distinction between the *Bruce*’s historical fidelity and those texts which are ‘nocht bot fabill’ (I: 1-2) – in short, the text ‘schawys ye thing rycht as it wes’ (I: 8) whilst fulfilling certain narrative expectations of a chivalric nature. This strategy for rhetorical eloquence is certainly replicated elsewhere – and frequently – thereafter. As Mainer notes,

the erudite use of rhetoric should not be overlooked when referring to the Scottish tradition, since R.D.S. Jack has argued successfully for Rhetoric as one of the major unifying elements (if not the main one) present from *The Bruce* up to at least 1707. (Mainer: 42)

Bruce’s rhetorical prowess is certainly a feature that has been endorsed and codified by those texts which follow on from Barbour’s. The persuasive eloquence exercised by Bruce at Bannockburn in Barbour’s poem (Books XI and XII), which brings to a ‘dramatic climax Bruce’s self-realisation of his aims’<sup>113</sup> is significantly expanded in Patrick Gordon’s seventeenth-century Brucian romance, *The Famous History of Prince Robert* (1615). Indeed, Gordon extends this template of eloquence to include Bruce’s feudal ally, James Douglas, depicting him as equally skilled a rhetorician as he is a soldier. Gordon not only reinforces what historical documents already tell us – during his lifetime, Douglas was appointed both Guardian of the Realm and tutor of Robert II in 1318 – he also demonstrates the enduring legacy of values espoused by thinkers, writers, humanists and monarchs in Scotland, i.e. a belief in the educability of the individual by addressing his or her own ability to read (including ‘reading’ in the sense of ‘interpreting’) texts and events. Arguably, this is an attempt by Gordon to reconcile the overt physicality or mercenary emphases deemed central to Barbour’s text. Gordon re-affirms those virtues evinced by Bruce’s exhortations in Barbour’s poem and substantially expands upon them through Douglas’s role as counsellor. Indeed, at Bannockburn, it is Bruce’s ‘Speech [which] doth all appease’ (VII), but it is to Douglas that the ghost of King Fergus appeals to exhort further exemplary action: Fergus appeals to Douglas’s patriotic duty and to his loyalty, asserting that ‘with Greater pains’ (III: 56, 6) and Douglas’s inspiration, Bruce’s aims for independence can be achieved. Fergus evidently identifies in Douglas the capacity to inspire/persuade, and indeed, Douglas’s counsel, that ‘Where *Fergus* Ghost directs, you must follow’ (III: 60, 1), is one heeded by Bruce. Douglas appeals to Bruce’s sense of commitment, a work ethic which values heroic toil – ‘An hard beginning to

---

<sup>112</sup> John Barbour, *Bruce*, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson. 3 Vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1980 – 1985).

<sup>113</sup> Bernice W. Kliman, ‘Speech as a Mirror of Sapientia and Fortitudo in Barbour’s *Bruce*’, *Medium Aevum* (Vol. 44, 1975) pp 151-161. p 156.

an end aspire... throw rare difficulties and daungers rare' (III: 59, 5, 8) – and the two pass the night 'in these and such like speaches' (III: 60, 5).

Douglas's persuasiveness is ascribed such efficacy that with the advent of morning, the two basking in his inspiring oratory, 'in Paradise it seemd them selfs they found' (III: 62, 6), a narrative idyll or reward for their willingness to re-group and proceed. This is positive reinforcement of the interpretive acuity of both Douglas and Bruce.

Counsellors such as Douglas certainly feature elsewhere across the medieval Scottish romance corpus, evincing the value attached to rhetorical eloquence, and to the inherently moral dimension of much of the canon. In *The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawain* (1508), for example, the knight Gawain similarly fulfils the role of an eloquent royal companion. With his cortege nearing starvation during pilgrimage, Arthur sends the knight Kay to seek hospitality in a nearby city:

Tuglit and travailit thus trew men can tyre,  
Sa wundir wait wes the way, wit ye but wene;  
And all thair vittalis war gone,  
That thay weildit it wone;  
Resset couth thai find none  
That suld thair bute bene. (34-39)

Arthur gives explicit instruction to offer 'money to meid' (52), but Kay instead enters the city uninvited and helps himself to some birds that a dwarf has been roasting on a spit. Naturally outraged over such unprecedented discourtesy, the dwarf is soon avenged by a resident knight, who visits upon Kay a humiliating beating. Kay returns to Arthur, his pride injured, and urges him to move on. Here the knight's abject failure to conduct himself with courtesy or to communicate his needs results in a farcical scene of social failure. It is only when Gawain demonstrates a more chivalrous code of manners that Arthur's knights are offered sanctuary. But the *Golagros* author takes this further still, inventing the role of Arthur's counselor for purely rhetorical purposes. Lord Spynagros, whose character was not present in the French sources, serves as advisor on all manner of knightly duties and moral conduct. Indeed, when Gawain, Lancelot and Ewin are dispatched to the knight Golagros' court, Spynagros advises them to exercise courtesy – 'meikly with mouth mel to the myld, and mak him na manance... it hynderis never for to be heyndly of speche: He is ane lord riale, ane seymly soverane' (354-360) – drawing specific attention to the relationship between speech and chivalric conduct by alluding to the physical image of the mouth itself. It is Golagros' rhetorical persuasiveness, moreover, which inspires Gawain's loyalty despite his King's imperial designs upon the opposing Lord's lands. Golagros is the ideal ruler: he exercises his right to independence

(often a key feature of romance narratives after *Bruce* and *The Wallace* so persuasively re-grouped such national values), and does so with rhetorical skill. Indeed, when Gawain accompanies him to court, Golagros poses the question of his threatened sovereignty to his own cortege:

Say me ane chois, the tane of thir twa,  
Quethir ye like me lord, laught in the field,  
Or ellis my life at the lest lelely forga,  
And boune yow to sum berne, that might by your beild? (1181-84).

The knights' replies in turn demonstrate his success as ruler:

We wil na favour here fenye to fende nor to fa.  
We like yow ay as our lord, to were and to weild;  
Your lordschip we me nocht forga, also lang as we leif.  
Ye sal be our governour,  
Quhil your dais may endure,  
In eise and honour,  
For chance that may chief. (1187-93)

This marks a striking comparative to Arthur's interactions with his knights at the beginning of the romance; when he elects to challenge Golagros against the better judgment of his advisor, and of his knights, his inability to seek good counsel is emphasised:

Thair wes ne man that durst mel to the King  
Quhan thai saw that mighty sa movit in his mude. (299-300)

Arthur's knights are unfailingly loyal, but they are in many ways simple retainers to his political whims; the idea of the Round Table – of conference – clearly does not exist at this stage of the romance, a point at which the king's faculties of reason are evidently unstable. There thus emerges a mutual concern for communicative eloquence and for the good moral conduct of the martial character.

The seemingly unprecedented expansion and invention of the text's advisory character in *Golagros* –necessitated by Arthur's de-stabilised sense of chivalry and manners, and a clear move to provide moral counsel to king and reader alike – also features in the anonymous Scottish romance *Lancelot of the Laik* (c.1490-1500). In this versification of a French prose original, the poet likewise meaningfully amplifies the existing advisory content to the effect that it becomes a crucial element of the text's narrative structure. As with *Golagros*,

if we clear away the frames and look at the object within, we see a flawed king who is being taught a few lessons on kingship – lessons that kings of Scotland would be wise to learn. In the case of the Scottish *Lancelot* poet the expansions of his French source... bring forward concerns directed at the Scottish throne.<sup>114</sup>

We can thus discern an emerging narrative of good kingship in Scottish writing which is based upon the indivisible relationship between governance and the ‘self-culture’ of wisdom or sound judgment. Whether the latter is achieved via the moral counsel of his companions or the king’s already secure sense of sapience or indeed through reading, the point remains that there is a flexible but persistent emphasis upon the edification of the self in Scottish writing, at the cost, perhaps, of paying more attention to individuality of character, based on actual experience. If successful leadership is reliant upon those moral and interpretive processes – indeed, if we accept that words/language form the very basis of sagacity in medieval Scottish romance, a self-reflexive process is at work. It draws frequent allusions to the moral derived from good counsel, which is exhibited both by king and advisor, whilst clearly advertising its own instructive features as a piece of conduct literature. There is thus a dual narrative in place here: the edification of the protagonist is foregrounded, through which a second narrative of *readerly* instruction can also be derived. In other words, the act of reading romance itself is an act of moral investment. Indeed, in Book III of Barbour, Bruce recounts the romance of Fierabras to his men upon the shores of Loch Lomond (Barbour, III: 437) as a mutual exercise in learning and entertainment. Barbour thus draws attention to the worthy heroic models provided by romance whilst providing his own corresponding exemplar by means of Bruce.

Hary’s *Wallace* is no less explicit in these regards, though it is the discussion of poetic artifice (to which Hary draws specific and expansive attention) and the historical efficacy of epic literature, rather than the development of a counseling character, that serves to foreground the text’s potentially instructive benefits. The opening lines of the poem remind readers of ‘Our antecessowris that we suld of reide/ And hald in mynde, thar nobille worthi deid’ (I: 1-2), while later in Book VII the poem appeals to a perceived sense of national-historical inheritance: ‘Ȝhe nobill men that ar off Scottis kind/ Thar petuous dede Ȝhe kepe into Ȝour mynd’ (VII: 235). Though his presentation as an advisory character is less explicit, for he is, after all, the heroic focus of the text, Wallace himself features briefly in the role of royal counselor. Indeed, in Book XI, Hary features a short but significant dialogue between Bruce and Wallace, over the course of which Wallace warns Bruce that his ‘power has thi awner fordon’ (XI: 447). He refuses to ‘do [Bruce’s] devys’ for ‘Thou wald me mak at Edwardis

---

<sup>114</sup> Karen D. Robinson, ‘*Lancelot of the Laik: A Scottish Mirror for Princes*’ in Elizabeth Archibald and David F. Johnson, eds. *Arthurian Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010) pp 135 – 178. pp 138-139.

will to be' (XI: 473-475), and condemns the deaths of his Scottish patriots. Wallace's eloquent and impassioned counsel takes effect soon after, when Bruce refuses to wash the blood from his person, for 'Sadly [he] than in his mynd remordyt/ Thai wordis suth that Wallace had him recordyt' – 'This blud is myn', he states, and 'that hurtis most my thocht' (XI: 540-542). As Mainer notes,

while Barbour constructs Bruce as a *speculum principis*, Hary first condemns and then regenerates the figure of the King of Scots through the intervention and guidance of Wallace... Wallace will have to instruct Bruce on how to lead his country. (Mainer: 61)

A heroic lesson which hinges upon the self-reflection provided by good counsel is apparent here. Indeed, whilst elsewhere romance 'thrives on the breakdown of rational self-regulation', often representing the 'baleful influence of the [passions] on those who fail to regulate them',<sup>115</sup> medieval Scottish romances typically *uphold* the processes of self-regulation. As in *The Wallace* and *Golagros and Gawain*, in which the monarch's moral and heroic fidelity has been compromised by his excessive desire for power, it is often the careful rhetorical reasoning of their counsellors which provides a swift disentanglement from potentially harmful influences, and serves to restore their own sense of moral temperance. It is this rhetorical process that shapes the corpus more generally (we might look too to *Lancelot of the Laik*, in which the advisory character Amytans serves as a protracted manifestation of political eloquence). Medieval Scottish romance (and indeed its later, seventeenth-century counterparts) thus functions as a forum for moral demonstration; it evinces the conscious displacement of conventional amorous accents in favour of what was perceived to be more urgent martial and national narratives, meaning printers such as Henry Charteris found a 'ready market for a range of patriotic, chivalric literature by Barbour, Blind Hary, Robert Henryson, Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lindsay'.<sup>116</sup> Given this particularly moral emphasis, the Scottish national epic, with its heroic accents and idealisation of both the martial hero and his code of conduct, can be helpfully understood as Scotland's dominant template for romance writing.

This strategy – the overt foregrounding of the masculine qualities of any given Scottish romance at the expense of what might be perceived to be the feminised, popular elements of the genre – certainly features prominently amongst the included texts. *The Wallace* is one such example of this approach: that the text can be broadly considered a romance is clear, and indeed, 'familiarity with the great medieval romance cycles of Arthur and Alexander, Scottish

---

<sup>115</sup> Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. 'Romance, Sleep, and the Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Old Arcadia*'. *English Literary History* (Volume 74, Number 3, 2007). pp 735-757. pp 746-7.

<sup>116</sup> Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution*. p 220.

translations and derivatives of which were composed and circulated in the fifteenth century, is evident in Blind Harry's poem'.<sup>117</sup> The clear relationship he constructs between the traditional motifs of romance – Wallace is physically superior, unfailingly heroic, chivalrous, and mindful of his national obligations – and the tropes of the chronicle denotes a shared literary genesis. Indeed,

Hary himself locates his work within a learned literary tradition when he purports to translate from a Latin life of Wallace; when he cites and recommends particular books to his readers; and again when he alludes to chronicle sources.<sup>118</sup>

Love certainly features as a point of rhetorical discussion in the text, and in Book V Wallace suffers the temptations of passion for a 'gentill woman... A maydn myld' (V: 579-580). Though the match seems socially acceptable – 'Her fadyr was of worschippe and renoune' (V: 583), 'Of vertuous scho was worthy till avance... scho was in honest oys and gud' (V: 600, 610) – and Wallace's companion urges him to 'tak hir in marriage/ Gudlye scho is, and als has heretage' (V: 621-622), Wallace exercises a poised wariness for his own feelings:

To mary thus I can nocht yeit attend:  
I wald of wer first se a finaill end.  
I will no mor allayne to my luff gang.  
Tak tent to me or dreid we suffer wrang.  
To proffer luff thus sone I wald nocht preffe;  
Mycht I leyff off, in wer I like to leyff.  
Quhat is this luff? No thing bot folychnes.  
It may reiff men bathe witt and stedfastness. (V: 625-632)

This temperance has also been inspired by his previous experience with women in the text. In Book IV, Wallace dallies briefly with another woman, who 'Of his presence scho rycht rejosit was/And sor adred how he away suld pas' (IV: 709-710). But this diversion has particularly distressing consequences for Wallace and his cohorts. Wallace's relationship is discovered by his enemies, and to 'Sir Garraid thai tald of all his deid/ And to Butler that wald haiff wrokyne beyne' (IV: 716-717). Wallace's lover is seized and questioned, ultimately betraying him in favour of 'gold and silver brycht' and the opportunity to be 'weddyt with ane knycht' (IV: 725-726). Though the fickle lover quickly warns him of her treason, Wallace barely evades capture, and he departs having learned first-hand the potential dangers of amorous distraction. Thereafter, Wallace exercises caution in such interactions, favouring war over women and according his national duty hierarchical superiority. Though he does eventually marry his lover in Lanark, he recognises that his attentions should be directed elsewhere:

---

<sup>117</sup> Anne McKim, ed. *The Wallace* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2003). 'Introduction', p xv.

<sup>118</sup> Anne, McKim, 'The Wallace: Selections' (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003). Introduction. [accessed 17 August, 2012 at <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/wallint.htm>].

The fyr of wer rewlyt him on sic wis  
 He likit weyll with that gudlye to be.  
 Quhill wald he think of danger for to rys  
 And other quhill out of hir presens fle.  
 ‘To ces of wer it war the best for me.  
 Thus wyn I nocht bot sadnes on all syde.  
 Sall never man thus cowartys in me se!  
 To wer I will for chance that may betyd! (VI: 25-32)]

He declares his love for her as ‘myschance’ that it might ‘bryng fra armes [him] utterly’ (VI: 33), and though he does for a spell enjoy a happy marriage, his mind clearly remains on war. It is her death that finally re-directs his gaze towards the battlefield, indicating that his martial instincts, even if distracted, will always resume precedence.

Further displacement of amorous motifs can be sought through the comparison of source texts and their Scottish translations. In the French *Perceval* cycle from which *Golagros and Gawain* is known to be derived, for example, there is a notable diversion in terms of Gawain’s amorous obligations. In the French source, he seduces the daughter of a local lord and is heavily reprimanded for his unchivalrous behaviour. He is eventually redeemed, but only when his lover re-appears with his child, who in turn begs his uncle not to kill the knight. The Scots poet excises this material entirely, and in the Scottish translation there is no such threat to Gawain’s knightly honour.<sup>119</sup> The potent and enduring popularity of the format established by Barbour in his *Bruce* (which foregrounds martialism ahead of amorousness) can certainly account for this over-arching template of romance writing. Indeed,

from epic literature, the makar takes the martial, masculine and male-centred narrative, in which the virtue of loyalty is valued over any other... as in most Anglo-Norman and English romances, *The Bruce* places *fin’amors*, the courtly world and, consequently, women, in the background. The focus on the martial and the political did not allow the language and the manners of *cortesia* to develop fully... [this was] a feature that most future Middle Scots romances will emulate. (Mainer: 29)

The medieval Scottish romance, much like its seventeenth-century counterpart, is at its core essentially an exercise in morality before it is popular entertainment.

## The Courtly Romances

That the antecedents of the warrior hero – or soldierly hero – can be found in medieval texts such as *Brus* and *The Wallace* and that this heroic template re-emerged with considerable

---

<sup>119</sup> See Martin (2008) for a more detailed comparative analysis.

dynamism in seventeenth-century Scottish fiction should by now be evident. But what of the intermediary romances and their heroes: to what extent did later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts embrace the heroic ideal of the erudite soldier? That there are at least four major romances produced between *c.* 1503 and *c.* 1603<sup>120</sup> in Scotland in which the heroic model corresponds to other values suggests that the chivalric and courtly romance also had its place in the broader Scottish romance tradition. The warrior ideal, though it evidently continued to circulate textually in the form of frequent new editions of *Brus* and *Wallace*, would find itself repeatedly substituted over a rough period of one hundred years by the courtly lover, and the traditional knight errant of the broader romance mode.<sup>121</sup> Warfare and battle certainly remain standard narrative features, but it is from the acute attention to courtly detail, to ritual and chivalric display, that such intermediary texts derive their thematic focus. One of the most overt examples of this paradigmatic transformation is provided by the anonymous metrical romance, *Clariodus* (*c.* 1503-1549), a Scottish re-versification of the French prose text, *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (*c.* 1440). The romance is composed in the highly aureate diction derived chiefly from the works of William Dunbar, while the narrative is largely composed of a series of grand and idealised passages on courtly and chivalric ritual. Some stylistic vestiges of the historical romance remain – the poem is also composed in the same five-stress couplets as Hary’s *Wallace*, and its opening lines (‘Lyke God of armis Mars armipotent/ Wode, burning, full of courage and desire;/ For to behald he was ane awefull fyre’<sup>122</sup>) indicate some profundity of physical prowess – but the otherwise ritualistic formality, the detail with which the author depicts courtly space and customs, and the knightly gentleman (the son of the Earl of Esture) upon whom the text is focused, suggests an altogether different agenda to that of *The Wallace*. Indeed, though *Clariodus* proves his knightly dexterity in the opening passages of the first book – with colourful and elaborate violence, no less – it is in tournament, and not warfare, that he participates, and he is swiftly re-located to a courtly setting following his victory. Elaborate accounts of court fashion and feasting are common throughout *Clariodus*, and indeed, the author devotes approximately 5,000 lines alone to *Clariodus*’ wedding celebrations in Book V. Richly descriptive passages – correspondingly ornate imagery of ornamentation – are multiple, as preparations are made for the marriage of *Clariodus* and *Meliades*:

---

<sup>120</sup> See Anon, *Clariodus* (*c.* 1503-1549), National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.5, Anon, *Rauf Coilyear* (St. Andrews: Robert Lekpreuik, 1572), National Library of Scotland STC 5487, John Rolland, *Ane Treatise Callit the Court of Venus* (Edinburgh: John Ros, 1575), The British Library STC /1641:09 and Anon, *A Pleasant History of Roswall and Lillian* (Edinburgh: I.H. *c.* 1603), National Library of Scotland STC 2825:04.

<sup>121</sup> The knight errant and the warrior hero could be said to differ mostly on the grounds of their physical activity. While the knight errant spends a great deal of time acting independently, devoting most of his physical action to chivalric displays of aggression in tournaments and similar events, the warrior hero is usually a cog within a larger machine, an active aggressor on the field, part of a broader military campaign.

<sup>122</sup> *Clariodus: A Metrical Romance* ed. David Irving (Edinburgh: The Maitland Club, 1830). ll 4-6.

Apperrellit hes the Palice royallie,  
And all the wallis coverit lustillie,  
With cloathes of gold, and stainis pretious,  
And riche arras with workis curious,  
With auld stories depaint and figurate (V: 55-59).

The 'auld stories' which adorn the palace walls are in themselves significant, functioning as a courtly appreciation of the physicality of chivalric deeds. The chivalry outlined, however, from the 'deidis of strong Hercules' to the 'Conqueise of nobill Alexander' (V: 66, 69) are merely reflections, or representations, of noble deeds, present in the text simply to underline the elaborateness of a ceremonial court, rather than to underpin the chivalric deeds of the romance hero. The purpose of such ostentatious display, in which the 'cuschingis of deareat splendure schone' (V: 117) as the poet helpfully articulates, is to assert the wealth, nobility, and taste of the described royal court. That the poem is as highly stylised as the depicted court is no coincidence; the romance is a codified attempt to capture the noble manners and splendour of the Scottish royal court in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and part of a wider literary process which sought the aggrandisement of Scottish culture alongside the sophisticated developments of other Renaissance courts and nations. Therein may lie the rhetorical distance between sixteenth-century Scottish romance, and both its predecessors and its successors; texts such as *Brus* and *The Wallace*, as outlined previously, had emerged in periods of acute cultural instability, their didactic agenda thus being rooted in the codification of a national literary tradition, or an explicit attempt to create a distinguishable literary culture. Seventeenth-century texts are likewise engaged in an attempt to stabilise what was perceived to be an endangered cultural centre in the wake of James VI's departure from Edinburgh, and the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, which was inherently tied to Scotland's own religious and cultural perceptions of herself. Civil War would deepen this need in the middle to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Sixteenth-century poetics, by comparison, have been more usually represented as largely engaged in a broad appeal for Scotland's literary and cultural development as part of a greater European, court-centred Renaissance. Scottish poetry and literature was widely engaged in rhetorical displays of classical learning and elegance of style, rather than in those aspects which might distinguish the Scottish literary canon from her contemporaries in France and Italy.

Such dialogical contingencies can also be found in the anonymous alliterative romance, *Rauf Coilyear* (c. 1500). There are currently no known French (or other) sources for the text, a Charlemagne romance that parodies the 'Christian-Muslim combats of *Otuel* and *Firumbas*'<sup>123</sup> and which also engages with the broader alliterative revival, Old English romance traditions,

---

<sup>123</sup> W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (New York: Longman, 1987). p 181.

and numerous English and European tales of folklore and romance. All that remains is the Scottish text, which is a relatively rare commodity in the Scottish romance corpus, dealing not with native Bruce, Wallace, Alexandrine or even Arthurian matters, but instead with *la Matière de France*. The poem is composed of two halves, and is broadly concerned with Christian pilgrimage. The first half of the poem is specifically courtly, despite taking place largely *outwith* the royal court. In this section of the romance, the poet employs the popular folkloric king-in-disguise motif in a highly comical tale of Charlemagne's dealings with a lowly collier. Manners, social conduct and hierarchy are key features of this section, in which the unwitting collier treats his King not with the usual degree of deference towards a royal, but with that afforded by his dress and manner. It is a lesson in courtly manners largely dependent upon a specific code of chivalric values. The humour throughout the romance is derived from its almost slapstick commentary upon social hierarchies, and is indicative of the text's reliance upon the formulaic reality of the courtly environment, and its audience's familiarity with that reality.

Another example of the sixteenth-century Scottish courtly tradition is John Rolland's *Ane Treatise Callit the Court of Venus* (1575). More specifically, the text is a 'dream allegory which gives large and perhaps mock-solemn scope to the language of law courts'.<sup>124</sup> Rolland himself describes the poem as a 'Comedie',<sup>125</sup> but in the prologue to *The Sevin Seages* (1578), he makes conscious allusion to the text's courtly function and origins: readers are directed to 'tak pane, or labour' to 'reid the PALICE OF HONOUR/ Maid be GAWINE DOWGLAS of Dunkell',<sup>126</sup> to which the text owes a great deal, and places the narrative within a specifically courtly dialogue:

In Court that time gude Daid Lyndsay,  
 In vulgar tounge he bure the bell that day  
 To mak meter, richt cunning and expart,  
 And Maister Iohne Bellentyne faith to say  
 Mak him marrow to Daid weill we may.  
 And for the third, Maister Williame Stewart,  
 To mak in Scottis, richt weill he knew that Art.  
 Bischop Durie, sum tyme of Galloway,  
 For his plesure sum tyme wald tak thar part. (19-27)

---

<sup>124</sup> David Reid, 'Rolland, John (fl. 1528–1580)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24020, accessed 31 May 2012].

<sup>125</sup> John Rolland, *Ane Treatise Callit the Court of Venus* (Edinburgh: John Ros, 1575). The British Library STC /1641:09. Book I, l 267.

<sup>126</sup> John Rolland, *The Sevin Seages* (Edinburgh: John Ros for Henry Chareris, 1578) ed. Walter Gregor (Edinburgh: STS 3, 1884).

Having demonstrated his courtly knowledge, Rolland imagines a conversation between himself and his fellow court poets in which they discuss the sort of text he should compose. This (probably) imagined conceit is an important one, because although this

allusion to Lyndsay and his brethren may signify not that Rolland was personally acquainted with them, but, merely from studying their works, that he looked on himself as their scholar. (Gregor, xx)

Though the poem was by no means intended to be an exercise in the romance mode, it does cite both Douglas's *Palice of Honour* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* as the models from which Rolland derives a textual strategy for removing his fictional lover from the subjugation of Venus's Court. By now the didactic parallel between Rolland's poem and those texts examined in this thesis should be apparent; they are all texts assured of their own rhetorical efficacy in the matter of heroic relocation – from excess involvement in love to moral autonomy. The poem thus shares those rhetorical and thematic characteristics of medieval and seventeenth-century Scottish writing, but it is composed as a courtly dialogue, rather than a heroic quest.

There is one further sixteenth-century text which is formally, thematically, and intentionally composed as a romance, and with which we might posit the courtly tradition in Scottish romance comes to a close. *A Pleasant History of Roswall and Lillian* was composed c. 1525-1650.<sup>127</sup> It is a chivalric romance, and thus one in which courtly rituals such as the knight's tourney and ostentatious ceremonies (in this case, a royal wedding), feature as standard narrative motifs. Indeed, the poem is structured primarily around an elaborate tournament in which Prince Roswall exercises his heroic mettle. He has already been exiled from his father's kingdom<sup>128</sup> and betrayed by his steward, forcing him to demonstrate his nobility, knightly prowess, and royal lineage in a series of stylised and ritualistic feats. Roswall participates in the royal joust as a matter of ritualistic display; upon the first day of the tournament, he enters disguised as a White Knight, upon the urges of a stranger. At this stage of the romance, the villainous steward has adopted Roswall's role at the royal court of Bealm, and thus the true Prince must take part masked. The White Knight who has sought Roswall and presented him with his attire asserts that Roswall's participation in the joust is a matter of

---

<sup>127</sup> See Rhiannon Purdie, ed. *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances: Florimond of Albany, Sir Solling the Knycht, King Orphius, Roswall and Lillian* (Scottish Text Society: Suffolk, 2013).

<sup>128</sup> Upon learning that the liberator of Naples' royal prisoners (who the King has sworn to hang as reparation for the crime) is in fact his own son, Prince Roswall, the King is forced to exile his heir in order to uphold the courtly diktat. The proviso that the King will himself hang the perpetrator should he enter his sight can be conveniently upheld with exile, and thus the courtly decree remains sound. The centrality of court law and custom is thus apparent; the King cannot disavow a lawful decree.

some urgency, to afford him 'praise and honour mair'.<sup>129</sup> His victorious performance certainly invites admiration from the Princess Lillian, who unwittingly regales Roswall with his own feats as the

knight with a white steed  
And all milk white was his meed  
He hath born away the grée  
Of him is spoken great plenty. (523-526)

She begs Roswall, disguised as her servant Dissawar, to attend the following day's jousting in order to witness the knight's prowess for himself. However, Roswall is later visited by a second knight, clothed wholly in red, who urges him to take 'all [his] Armour good and fine' (558) and to enter the jousting for a second time. The Red Knight provides no motivation for Roswall's participation, but simply wishes that 'gracious God [his] guide be' (560). Roswall's chivalric demonstrations thus hinge exclusively on the effect they will have at court and on the romance heroine. The physical prowess he demonstrates on the jousting field, though a fine example of his martialism, is purely courtly and ceremonial in nature. His physical purpose in the romance is to re-locate, or re-establish, his noble reputation, with no broader national, political, or even religious agenda.

On the third and final day of the tournament, Roswall is once more equipped for the joust by a mysterious Gold Knight, and, as previously, he visits upon the false steward a humiliating defeat. The poem ends in typical romance fashion; identities are revealed, faults are redressed, and the Prince and Princess are married. *Roswall and Lillian*, though relatively concise, is a sophisticated romance that weaves folkloric motifs alongside a highly stylised courtly vocabulary and code of manners. There are, of course, many more narrative influences and strands than have been covered here, but it is in essence a courtly romance, and a fine example of a sixteenth-century Scottish romance tradition that sits a conceptual distance from both native predecessors and successors such as *Brus* and *The Wallace* and seventeenth-century texts such as *Sheretine and Mariana* and *Prince Robert*.

\*\*\*

As Jack and Rozendaal have argued, Scottish poets were mutually concerned with not just the effects, but also the literal construction of poetry:

---

<sup>129</sup> Anon, *A Pleasant History of Roswall and Lillian* (Edinburgh: L.H. 1663). National Library of Scotland, Wing / 2825:04.1 476.

James VI opens his *Reulis* with an apology. He excuses the work for being 'late' and 'thin', a doubly negative judgement... [but two] positive contrasts emerge from the same literary evidence. First, James' treatise gives evidence of his great *learning*... Secondly, that treatise gives notice of his intention to lead the Scottish Renaissance as patron of a *professional* group of poets. Early Scottish Literature is, on an English model, comparatively late, but its writers are almost all academic in the strict sense of that term... This produces a more analytical and self-consciously erudite kind of art.<sup>130</sup>

It seems evident that early modern cultures of reading in Scotland emerge from distinct pools of thought: Scottish templates for romance reading have been derived from a conceptual agreement between medieval national discourses – the necessity to codify and commemorate an ideal national hero – and to instruct the (primarily) male readership on how to conduct themselves in a similarly heroic manner, satisfying the need for an increasingly secular body of literature to retain a moral acuity valued by Court and Kirk alike. The symbiosis of such an agreement identifies some potentially distinctive features of Scottish romance writing more generally: a focus upon warfare and the warrior as hero, tempered by an emphasis upon his learnedness and erudition; the conscious displacement or suppression of amorous discourse and, finally, an attempt to draw the reader's attention to both the construction of the text as a poetic work, and to their participation in interpreting its subsequent meaning.

---

<sup>130</sup> R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal, eds. *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375 – 1707* (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1997). pp xvi – xvii.

## Chapter Three

### Social, Political and Cultural Contexts

As per the parameters outlined in the opening pages of this study, there are wider contexts to consider in addition to the textual analysis above. The textual landscape of the seventeenth-century Scottish romance, though by no means an exercise in realist fiction, was nevertheless engaged in dialogue with the physical and cultural landscape of Scotland itself. Seventeenth-century reading trends are inherently difficult to define, and though extant criticism on texts such as *Penardo* or *The Scottish Soldier* (or indeed any of the other texts studied in this thesis) is extremely scant, the existing critical narrative of seventeenth-century Scottish studies clearly requires some re-interpretation. The critical practise of dividing political and literary history according to clearly delineated periods which correspond usefully to conspicuous historical landmarks is an organising principle that, though convenient, fails to negotiate the myriad series of correspondences, continuities, and overlaps which transcend such epochal boundaries. This is particularly true of the seventeenth century – neither the Renaissance nor the Enlightenment, it is often characterised as a distressed, insecure and transitive century during which writers correspondingly fail to capture the stylistic assurances of those works which preceded and followed (Spiller: 1989; Jack and Rozendaal: 1997). Though it is certainly true that Scotland’s seventeenth-century literary output has garnered less acclaim either contemporaneously or in modern criticism than that of its earlier and later counterparts, this may be the result of *our* insecurity in approaching this area of research rather than theirs, rather uncreatively using a rhetoric of cultural crisis that has proven to be a pervasive literary critical paradigm. Indeed, critical discourses which identify the seventeenth century as a period of complex crisis are common across Europe, a dialogue in which scholars of Scottish literature and history have certainly participated. If the seventeenth century has been ascribed any historical importance at all, it is only as the century of ‘The General Crisis’ – a description which conveniently strategises an inconvenient century as one of intermediary flux.<sup>131</sup> Such discourse is both particularly pervasive, and particularly problematic, in seventeenth-century Scottish literary studies. William Drummond of Hawthornden features prominently in scholarly criticism, while his contemporaries allegedly falter in the wake of political and cultural changes and either stop writing, or write poorly. This thesis argues that, in place of this homogenous narrative of cultural and artistic paucity, reading cultures in early modern Scotland should be understood, much like their counterparts elsewhere in Britain and Europe, as evolving in tandem with the political, religious and intellectual transformations which had been catalysed by the emergence of what can be broadly termed a staggered ‘European

---

<sup>131</sup> See Maurice Lee, ‘Scotland and the ‘General Crisis’ of the Seventeenth Century’, *The Scottish Historical Review* (Vol. 63, No. 176, October 1984). pp 136-154 and T.K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 1975) for a discussion of the ‘crises’ of seventeenth-century Britain and Europe. For a discussion of the impact of such crises on Scottish literature, see Michael Spiller, ‘Poetry after the Union 1603-1660’ in R.D.S. Jack, ed. *The History of Scottish Literature Volume I: Origins to 1660* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). pp 141-162. pp 141-143.

Renaissance'. Moreover, the radical changes to the social makeup of Scotland, its secular and religious authorities and its foreign policy, often dismissed as sources of artistic disharmony, can instead be understood to coalesce in particular ways to shape the seventeenth-century 'Scottish reader'. That which shaped the reader would in turn shape the writer, and, by extension, the text itself. Naturally it would be impossible to define a whole nation as one 'reader'; scholarship must account for disparities across class and gender, for occupation and level of education, to name but a few. But it is the contention of this thesis that Scottish culture was subject to a series of curious and specific social transformations in the wake of the Union of the Crowns (1603) that would lessen the potentially divisive nature of these social factors, which will be explored in further detail in the following chapter.

Reformation values regarding education, the book and reading provide vital contexts in the study of book reception in early modern Scotland; literacy levels across the nation were 'facilitated by a proliferation of burgh and parish schools as well as private provision in various guises'.<sup>132</sup> While there is some controversy regarding the legitimacy of such claims – Houston refers to the influence of 'more than a hint of romanticism and historical nationalism' in such perceptions of Scotland's 'palpably superior'<sup>133</sup> education system – it is evident that though

literacy rates in seventeenth-century Scotland were no greater than in Northern England, Prussia, Sweden and some Catholic areas of north-eastern France...[they were certainly] greater than for England and Wales as a whole...[Indeed] Devine remarks that 'reading literacy was widespread and education available in most parts of the country'.<sup>134</sup>

Comparative statistics are inherently difficult to negotiate in the absence of an annual census or collective recording methods. Figures are largely drawn from parish registers which can vary radically from region to region, while specific date comparatives are rarely available. Existing data do, however, suggest a visible – if not excessive – superiority in literacy in seventeenth-century Scotland:

---

<sup>132</sup> Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley, eds. *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 – 1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010). p. 18.

<sup>133</sup> Rab Houston, 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630 – 1760', *Past and Present* (No. 96, August 1982). pp 81 – 102. p 81.

<sup>134</sup> Jim Miller, 'What's Wrong with the Literacy Debate?' *Scottish Affairs* (No. 34, Winter 2001). pp 15 – 33. p 4.

Table 1<sup>135</sup>

Country	Period	Gender	Literacy %
Scotland	1650-70	Male	44
Scotland	1670-80	Female	13
England	1640	Male	33
England	1640	Female	10
France	1686-90	Male	29
France	1686-90	Female	14

The figures above seem to evince the relative dominance of Scottish literacy in the seventeenth century. It is worth noting, too, that Scotland's male literacy *c.*1650 remains higher than that in either France or in England by the latter half of the century. Of course, such literary tests do not necessarily indicate a widespread or sophisticated grasp of *written* literacy – as Lyons points out, literacy tests in England and France were usually measured by parish signatures and are not necessarily representative of more composite writing ability – but even greater numbers

may have learned to read without ever learning to write their name. The signature, in this theory, represents only the 'tip of the iceberg', because it hides from view a multitude who could read but not sign. Because of the signature's transitional status, counting signatures will therefore tend to *underestimate* the number of readers, but it may *overestimate* the number who could write with competence. (Lyons: 91-93)

Lyons, Devine and Miller each emphasise a significant disambiguation of terms here; Scotland's *reading* – not written – literacy was the comparatively superior factor in general education distribution. Indeed, if 'reading came first in the curriculum, and writing followed' (Lyons: 91) it can be assumed that Scotland's reading literacy was more

---

<sup>135</sup> Data sourced from Martyn Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) Samples from table 7.1, p 90.

substantial than the above table indicates. Written literacy, though it was not as readily evidenced across the social classes as previous criticism has claimed,<sup>136</sup> was at least common in the middle to upper classes, and it is this, combined with a wide-ranging reading literacy, that evinces what might be termed the legitimate legacy of Reformation values in Scotland.

But there are arguably more important developments initiated by the Protestant Reformation in Scotland than the educational. Indeed, the dominant theological narrative which emerged alongside the Reformation overtly and self-consciously

replaced the [Christian] cult of sensual and ceremonial spirituality with a cult of the word – preached, read, repeated, hopefully understood... The Calvinist tradition especially was responsible for the destruction of image and ritual in favour of book and sermon.<sup>137</sup>

The Continental Renaissance, which nurtured in Scotland a ubiquitous appreciation of learnedness, infiltrated the Scottish cultural psyche alongside this religion-inspired emphasis upon reading investment, constructing a mutual encouragement for man's 'cultivation of virtue... [in order to fashion] themselves and their society into a civilisation as glorious as those of ancient Greece and Rome'.<sup>138</sup> Scottish culture was invested in reading. But this was not just reading for reading's sake – with its selective embrace of Christian humanism, the Scottish model of reading was predicated largely upon cultures of morality. Instructive profit was perceived in its practice, inspired largely by existing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century models of reading in Scotland, and literature corresponded to this need by providing its readers with instructive and edificatory literatures. Heroism correspondingly featured as a model of potentially replicable virtue, and of civic obedience. But how did this manifest in romance more generally? The romance writer certainly responded to the cultural demand for moral product as readily as the author of any other literary or scholarly mode of writing. As the previous chapters have attempted to demonstrate, Scottish romances were subject to a conscious process of re-evaluation: in order to meet moral expectations, the romance consciously and systematically began the displacement of amorous rhetoric, meaning the romance mode more generally became a literature of exemplariness – a model of heroism, rather than an exploration of love. The discussion of appropriate types of heroism thus became a recurring *leitmotif* of Scottish literature more generally, featuring, as it did, so

---

<sup>136</sup> See L. Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900', *Past and Present* (No. 42, February 1969) and H.M. Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education, 1696-1949* (Edinburgh: 1953).

<sup>137</sup> Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London: Yale University Press, 2002). p. 1.

<sup>138</sup> Arthur F. Kinney, *Continental Humanist Poetics: Studies in Erasmus, Castiglione, Marguerite De Navarre, Rabelais and Cervantes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989). pp. 7-11.

prominently in the popular imagination. Accordingly, the focus of this study will rest between the poles of text and society in order to articulate those cultures of heroism emerging in seventeenth-century Scotland, and the ways in which they were reflected in her literary output. The present chapter in particular will function as an examination of contexts; social, political, and religious.

## The Cult of Reading and the Book

Scottish society's heavy investment in print culture had not necessarily emerged in tandem with the arrival of the printing press in Britain: there were notable pauses between the arrival of Chepman and Myllar's first press in Edinburgh in 1507 and the second by Thomas Davidson in the late 1530s, and again until the establishment of a St. Andrews press in 1552 (as yet it has not been wholly confirmed that John Scot's Dundee press was established *c.* 1547). Glasgow did not receive a press until 1638.<sup>139</sup> This staggered arrival was concluded at the behest of the General Assembly of the Church in Scotland, who required a press in Glasgow primarily for record keeping, rather than literary, purposes. The relationship with print was thus a complex one: Scottish culture did not respond to the arrival of the press with the same immediacy as English reading audiences, suggesting that reading for pleasure had not yet secured a place within the nation's psyche. Cultural response was instead derived from theological print culture, the spread of the press itself initiated, as stated above, by the Church of Scotland. What naturally followed was an intersection of reading between Scripture and literature; in other words, the emergence of a thriving print culture in Scotland was inherently tied to its religious culture. This should not be understood as a denial of the proliferation of secular literatures, but rather as a prescient contextual design of reading:

the attitude of seventeenth-century Scotland to the Bible was that of Calvin and Knox. The Scriptures must be 'believed to have come from Heaven' (according to Calvin) 'as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them'... Scripture is inerrant, uniformly authoritative, sufficient and self-interpreting.<sup>140</sup>

The edificatory design of Scriptural texts – the primary function of Glasgow's first printing press – should thus be understood as a prevailing feature of subsequent printing trends in Scotland: moral instruction emerged as the foremost bastion of Scottish renaissance literary culture.

---

<sup>139</sup> See '500 Years of Printing in Scotland, 1508 – 2008', *The Scottish Print Archive* (Edinburgh: *The Scottish Printing Archival Trust*, 2008).

<sup>140</sup> G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937). p 1.

The fervour with which Christian ethics were extolled in print was further enhanced by corresponding shifts in religious authority more generally in Scotland. The need for central governance was certainly deeply felt at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during which time:

James VI and I's departure from Edinburgh had removed the royal court from Scotland... Immoral behaviour and even failure to uphold the sanctity of the Sabbath had been matters of concern for Parliament before 1560, but in the wake of the Reformation [and the removal of the royal court], church and state exerted a tighter grip over public and private morality and imposed Presbyterian rule in large parts of Lowland Scotland. (Foyster and Whatley: 15-16)

The development of an authoritative rhetoric appropriate to the altered institutional organisation in Scotland fell naturally into the hands of the Kirk, or at least into the hands of those authors who continued to write in Scotland, and whose Christian claim for moral product defined the seventeenth-century canon of works under particularly ethical terms. Secular texts were certainly still circulated throughout Scotland, but even they were characterised by a specific attention to virtue and civic responsibility that indicated the extent to which the printing press' relationship with the Church of Scotland had been acknowledged. This relationship had certainly been nurtured for some time, emerging in the fifteenth century as a product of the 1496 Education Act. This act was

as much a response to changing lay aspirations as it was an attempt actually to foster demand for higher educational standards among the laity... When [John] Mair commented that the nobility educated their children 'neither in letters nor in morals', he also remarked that even the meanest of lairds kept a household chaplain. John Durkan is surely correct to infer that at least in some instances such chaplains would have provided the lairds' children, and perhaps others besides, with a rudimentary education... The emergence of a better educated lay reading-public must clearly have had profound implications for Scottish literary culture in terms of audience, patronage and even participation. It created, for example, a market for the poetry of Henryson and Dunbar which Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar were able to exploit following the establishment in 1507-8 of the first Scottish printing-press.<sup>141</sup>

It seems highly likely that in the wake of the court's removal from Edinburgh and the vacuum of authority it left behind, the correspondence between Church and education – and, by extension, literary reading practices – would have been enhanced, perhaps even expected. The instructive nature of Scripture thus transferred quite harmoniously to fictive texts, and it was the moral perspective of literature that directed much of Scotland's reading trends into the

---

<sup>141</sup> Roger A. Mason, 'The Reception of Humanism in Early Renaissance Scotland' in L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S.L. Mapstone, eds. *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). pp 1-26. pp 7-8.

seventeenth century; the act of reading itself, as the Scottish reader understood it, was an act of spiritual investment.<sup>142</sup>

The cult of the book in Scotland was indeed such that its influence extended beyond the parameters of Bible study. Robert Munro, a Scottish soldier and memoirist, would write expansively on the great ‘profit the diligent and serious souldier doth reape by reading’<sup>143</sup> in his military chronicle, *Munro his Expedition* (1637), while romance writers, who felt a duty to provide readers with heroic figures of moral exemplum, and whose literary influences of the early renaissance were largely of the humanist persuasion, would draw specific attention to the literary structures, practises and formats of their works in order to articulate the centrality of the book and reading to the Scottish nation. The mercantile class, moreover, would ensure the circulation of reading materials would develop and expand:

Newspapers could be read in inns and the increasingly numerous coffee houses, whereas almanacs, which circulated widely even before they were first printed in Scotland around 1632, could be bought cheaply. Books, too, became more readily available through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Private libraries increased the readership of books further, and made them accessible to those from the artisan classes. Throughout much of the Lowlands there was a lively trade in reading materials, distributed by itinerant chapmen – hawkers – booksellers, the postal service and private carriers. (Foyster and Whatley: 18)

Scotland, as stated above, had become a nation deeply invested in reading. The ways in which *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, for example, drew attention to its structural artificiality and in turn emphasised the interpretive practices of the reader suggest the centrality of reading to Scottish writers in this period.

## War and the Military: The ‘Thirty Years’ War and The Warrior Hero

Scotland’s role in the ‘Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648) provides further context for the study of martial rhetorics in seventeenth-century Scottish romance. Scotland may have been but one comparatively minor Protestant state allied alongside Sweden, Bohemia, France and England, amongst several others, but the impact of this conflict would have a profound effect on home culture. Scotland’s population can be roughly estimated at 1 million c.1600; should we

---

<sup>142</sup> See John MacQueen, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

<sup>143</sup> Robert Munro, *Munro his Expedition with the vworthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)*. (William Iones, Red-Crosse Street, London, 1637). Accessed at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?source=configpr.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID..17/07/2011>. Reader’s dedication, p 3.

compare this to England, with a population of approximately 4.2 million, and France, with a population of approximately 20 million, it becomes clear that the ten thousand plus Scot soldiers who engaged in conflict as part of this campaign would have constituted a significant portion of society. Despite the clear impact inherent in such participation,

if Scotland is mentioned at all in studies of the 'Thirty Years' War, it is most often considered little more than an extension of England. While the fact that the two countries shared common kings in the persons of James VI/I and Charles I makes this tendency understandable, this distorts the actual role of Scotland as a separate contributor to the war... Scotland [had a role] in a variety of contexts – diplomatic, political, and military – during the conflict. What emerges is a Scottish involvement in and contribution to the war that is distinct from English activity and in some ways much more significant.<sup>144</sup>

Martial participation certainly re-emerged in the first half of the seventeenth century as an increasingly valid and relevant career for the young Scottish male, which would presumably have declined naturally in response to the protracted period of settlement produced by James's successful reign. This favourable regrouping of martial values would carve out space in society for a highly respected mercenary class. Though similar cultural transformations would equally have taken place in England and elsewhere during the space of such protracted European conflict, it was the combination of this social emergence and the authoritative space into which it emerged that is significant here. The absence of a monarchical centre in Scotland, as mentioned previously, certainly allowed scope for a new brand of social elite, and who better than the young noblemen exercising heroic deeds abroad. Indeed, by the mid-seventeenth century, Scotland had 'long accepted a 'Culture of Arms' whereby war provided opportunities for social and political advancement'.<sup>145</sup> The 'dominant presence of Scottish contingents in the British forces',<sup>146</sup> moreover, accorded well with Scotland's understanding of her own martial past – it afforded young officers the opportunity to re-capture the perceived 'glorie great [that] the warlike Scots haue woon/ From Age, to Age, [which] all Time can witness beare'.<sup>147</sup> Martial employ was thus an increasingly valuable commodity post-1618, a social development to which various modes of literature responded with such immediacy and enthusiasm as to underline the soldier's looming presence in Scottish culture.

---

<sup>144</sup> Glenn S. Sunshine, review of Steve Murdoch, ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (Vol. 35, No. 1. Spring 2004) pp 199-201. p 199.

<sup>145</sup> William S. Brockington, 'Munro: Professional Soldier, Military Historian' in Steve Murdoch, ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618 – 1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). pp 215 – 244. p 219.

<sup>146</sup> Allan I. Maccines, 'Preface' in Steve Murdoch, ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648*. pp ix-x.

<sup>147</sup> Patrick Gordon, *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Sirnamed the Bruce King of Scotland & of Sundrie other valiant knights both Scots and English* (Dort: George Waters, 1615). [accessed at [www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com) 14.03.11] Caput III, 18: 1-2.

Patriarchal and national biases were an inherent product of such developments, articulating a rhetoric of martialism tailored specifically to meet the needs of a society in which the mercenary class were enjoying significant upward social mobility. This was particularly evident in the Scottish romance, in which the outdated codes of knightly chivalry – no longer of practical use to modern reading audiences – was subject to a conscious process of transformation. Certain elements of the chivalric hero remained in romance; an encoded set of gentlemanly manners remained a significant trait of heroic discourse, as well as an emphasis upon the relationship between virtue and heroic endeavour, while representations of the court were characterised by attention to courtly ritual, performance, and hierarchies. This is particularly true of political romances – texts such as George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's *Aretina* (1660) and John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621) – which valued the ritualistic political discourses of foreign policy and relationships with the Continent. But it is also true that historical and civic romance held a secure place in the nation's psyche: Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa* overtly constructs warfare as a heroic necessity, while his *Prince Robert* eulogises Scotland's martial past through the lens of one of her greatest heroes. Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* completely excises court ritual and chivalric values in favour of civic and martial endeavour, while John Kennedy's *Calanthrop and Lucilla* is an exercise in political warfare, energised by the presence of those fantastical elements of romance largely neglected outwith the medieval period. The majority of the seventeenth-century romance corpus was engaged in the conscious re-location of heroic agency from the courtly and chivalric mould to that of the war-faring soldier. Those texts which were courtly or chivalric in nature were so because they were produced in a courtly environment; both Barclay and Mackenzie were prominent courtly presences, and it was thus natural that they might produce romance of a kind formerly patronised by courtly audiences and kings. The average poet, however, was no longer afforded such access to a courtly audience, and thus their focus turned to a more accessible social content; warfare, the military and the soldierly hero.

## The Martial Hero

Just as Mainer has identified Barbour's *Brus* as the literary model from which the majority of medieval Scottish romances are derived, representing, he argues, the codification of a pervasive national agenda in literature, so, too, does this study identify in the *Brus* the fundamentals of later romance and heroic literature. That Barbour intended the text to operate in the romance mode seems clear – the narrative is structured around an episodic series of chivalric feats in which Bruce, in performing them, is revealed as a kind of Ninth Worthy, or at least as the ideal national monarch – but, crucially, he displaces those elements of the mode

which fail to complement or uphold the martial code therein. Bruce exercises, for example, great caution in his relationships with women and the supporting characters are generally unmarried and anonymous, present in most instances as purely soldierly constructs. Barbour

cites only those *romans de chevalrie* that touch on history and never for a romantic purpose; they furnish examples of the audacious and determined warrior, or cases of 'covetice' and treason... The characteristic terminology of romance is used, words like 'chewalry', 'leaute', 'pite', 'curtesy' but their meanings are given to them by the circumstances of war and not by literary convention. (MacDiarmid and Stevenson, 45)

This is quite clearly the structure around which later Scottish romances are composed; the mode's episodic structure, vocabulary, and masculine ideals are all utilised, but for didactic means that are rooted in the values of male honour and heroism, rather than in exploring a purely fictional lovers' history.

Though Hary's sources are more widely varied than just Barbour's text,<sup>148</sup> *The Wallace* certainly follows the same narrative patterns and thematic selectivity – Wallace is, for example, seemingly incapable of achieving romantic success alongside martial – but physical emphases are clearer here than in the *Brus*. Though the violence with which Hary constructs martial conflict in the text has been deemed disproportionate to its broader didactic appeal, the voracity employed here serves to illustrate the importance of warrior conduct in Scotland's early heroic texts. The violence detailed in *The Wallace* is not necessarily a sensationalist attempt to titillate – indeed, the text was 'composed with a... gentry or lairdly audience in mind' (Royan 2009, 78) – but rather a reflection of the contemporary ideals of a society which valued its martial past. Certainly Wallace's motivations in the text are hinged equally on his familial duty as they are to the national. We should note, for example, Hary's conscious inversion of Exodus 20:12, 'honour thy father and thy mother'; Scotland is a nation in which 'Till honour Ennymyis is our haile entent' (I: 5), a concept that Wallace will fundamentally oppose as a hero who seeks to restore honour upon his house and avenge the deaths of his father, brother, and wife. Blood lineage is repeatedly emphasised; Scotland's 'ald Ennemys cummyne of Saxonys blud' (I:7), and are thus explicitly delineated from Wallace who is both 'rycht famous of renowne' and 'of worthi blude that ryngis in this regioun' (I:17-18). Hary takes pains to fully legitimise Wallace's lineal nobility, providing at the outset a record of his 'forbearis, quha likis till understand/ Of hale linage and trew lyne of Scotland (I: 21-22). That Wallace is the progeny of an illustrious line of Scots warriors is abundantly clear; Malcolm, his father, is both 'full worthely' (I:31) of a noble marriage, and a 'full gentill knyght' (I: 36). The

---

<sup>148</sup> For further discussion on the sources of Hary's *Wallace*, see Nicola Royan, 'A Question of Truth: Barbour's *Bruce*, Hary's *Wallace*, and *Richard Coeur de Lion*', *IRSS* (Vol. 34, 2009). pp 75-105.

efficacy of such noble lineage is so great that Wallace is boldly declared a ‘man of armys’ (I: 181) before he has so much as exercised his martial participation. But crucially, it is the familial duty which primarily propels Wallace to action:

As he enCESSyt and witt haboundyt than  
In-till his hart he had full mekill cayr,  
He saw the Sothroun multipliand mayr,  
And to hym-self offt wald he mak his mayne.  
Off his gude kyne thai had slane mony ane. (I: 186-190)

Though his ‘gude kyne’ has evidently been extended to embrace the broader nation, the word inevitably connotes a sense of hereditary duty – what began with the death of his blood kin has been absorbed and expanded by his duty to his national kin. Wallace’s martial participation is the product of this inherent sense of duty, which perhaps goes some way towards explaining the ruthlessness with which it is applied throughout the poem. That Hary derived such ideals from the very readership who he hoped to address is clear; it is a text in which the ‘bloody and horrid meaning of its statements [reaches] the consciousness of the reader’ because its author ‘had [probably] known what soldiering was, at home or abroad, in the Scotland of James II or the France of Louis XI and Charles of Burgundy’ (MacDiarmid, xxxix) – in short, Hary was articulating in *The Wallace* a tangible history the nation evidently still felt the impact of.

Such ideals of historical verisimilitude and, in turn, contemporary society’s debt to its forbears, continued to hold influence as late as the seventeenth century, at which time

that interface between honour and warfare was close in noble culture and war provided a means by which each generation of nobles validated their claims to possess honour. (Brown 2012, 48)

This was particularly prescient in the years following James VI’s accession to the English throne, and later, with the arrival of Charles I’s reign, for the seventeenth century in Scotland was in many ways witness to a revival of the warfare state; the Thirty Years War (1618-1637) and the British Civil Wars (1638-1660) could certainly be expected to prompt the re-emergence of the soldierly or warrior hero (and the corresponding martial values) that had emerged so prominently in literature during the Wars of Scottish Independence of 1296-1328 and 1332-1357. The typical structure, theme, and didactic agenda which had been popularly codified in texts such as Barbour’s *Bruce* and Hary’s *Wallace* would naturally appeal to a reading audience whose young men were undertaking their own contemporary military campaigns. Many scholars might look to the English Cavalier movement as a means of comparison here. The Cavalier mode – for it is a mode, and not an amorphous group of poets – has traditionally been characterised as an elegant mode of poetics concerned largely with wit and gallantry, and

composed oftentimes in lyric form. Such readings have increasingly been abandoned in favour of a less nebulous approach – the Cavalier mode is a highly flexible ‘social mode’,<sup>149</sup> in which the dialogical contingency is largely concerned with themes of the *vita bona* and the *vita beata*<sup>150</sup> – and one would not be hard pressed to find continuities between such a mode and the Scottish soldierly memoir or fiction. But some nuance is inevitably required. Though the concept of the *vita bona* is certainly prevalent, too, in many of the Scottish texts discussed in this study, the didactic approach is derived almost exclusively in such texts from the soldier’s (the hero’s) perspective. It consistently displaces those aspects of *amours* so often featured in poetry of the Cavalier mode, suggesting that there is some divergence in values between the two modes of writing. The chief threats to the good life in Cavalier poems are generally time and chaos, which may in turn be rectified by the presence of love and friendship in one’s life.<sup>151</sup> A fundamental opposition thus emerges; in Scottish soldierly or heroic literature, love is instead a potentially hazardous diversion. Indeed, Scottish depictions treat love itself as a chief threat to the *vita bona*, to be replaced in man’s priorities by his natural duty to state and nation. Romance and heroic literature in Scotland (in its various guises) thus cannot be comfortably read alongside such modes as the English Cavalier one.<sup>152</sup> Its didactic agenda has a clear cultural destination, one which is rooted in a set of values regarding soldierly worth that is specific to seventeenth-century Scotland.

This re-directed gaze – from court to battlefield – goes some way towards defining a key approach of this study itself: the persistent emphasis upon masculine culture, rather than the cultivation of *amour*, suggest that the texts therein are principally concerned with the cultivation of martial virtue, and mimetic of contemporary seventeenth-century Scottish culture. They are, for the most part, romantic depictions of heroism rather than heroic romances. Accordingly, this study outlines the general displacement of *amour* and pleasure in favour of a masculine rhetorical strategy for social success, and re-classifies the texts therein on etymological grounds as featuring a classical model of heroism; in other words, a masculine rhetoric which hinges on the definition of the hero as the Greek ‘ἥρως’ (*heros*) or ‘hero, warrior’. Indeed, corresponding to the contemporary respect for military personnel – the modern equivalent of the warrior – Scottish romance and war-related literature might be

---

<sup>149</sup> For further discussion of the Cavalier mode, see Earl Miner, *The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

<sup>150</sup> *Vita bona* – the good life, *vita beata* – the blessed life.

<sup>151</sup> See Miner, 1971. Chapters 5, 6.

<sup>152</sup> For a brief comparison, one might look to Thomas Carew’s *A Deposition from Love* (1640), in which he compares the loss of his lover to the losses of a deposed king. Though the poem, like the typical Scottish romance, articulates Love and feminine character in a damning rhetoric (Love is like a plague, a dragon etc), ultimately it likens man’s labours in love to his labours on the battlefield, thus providing a key paradigmatic comparative to the Scottish tradition.

deemed the quintessential document of the heroic values of the seventeenth-century period. The most prominent text considered under these terms will be Robert Munro's chronicle of his regiment's participation in The Thirty Years War, *Munro His Expedition* – a memoir that is 'in essence a regimental and social history'<sup>153</sup> of Scotland's role in, and perceptions of, widespread warfare.

This chapter has attempted to identify a series of distinctive features of early Scottish heroic literature – a rhetorical strategy for martial prowess developed and expanded from Barbour's *Bruce* onwards – alongside the historical and social developments that may have prompted them. These contexts provide the real-life landscape upon which the literary/fictional ones have been grafted, and hopefully go some way towards explaining the development of a particularly enduring thread of martial discourse in early modern Scottish fiction. But what of non-fiction? It is certainly striking that the occupation of soldier emerges so prominently in the early chapters of this thesis: the soldier's life is the subject, focus and inspiration of *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, *Sheretine and Mariana* and *Prince Robert*, and it is an environment shared by author, reader and patron alike. The martial community certainly seems to have cultivated its own version of a literary coterie, and it is the soldierly conduct book it seeks to produce. This thesis has already examined the ways in which fictional texts might function in this way, but there are other, non-fictional and more explicitly marketed 'advice' books produced by this community that may evince the evolving path of martial discourse in Scottish literature. The chapter which follows thus seeks this line of enquiry within those non-fiction texts produced by soldiers in seventeenth-century Scotland, in order to map the development of a particular martial model: the prudent soldier.

---

<sup>153</sup> Richard Bonney, *The Thirty Years War, 1618-1648* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002). p 68.

## Chapter Four

### The Prudent Soldier

Reader, if I could perswade thee to beleve what profit the diligent and serious Souldier doth reape by reading, and what advantage he gaineth above him, who thinketh to become a perfect Souldier by a few yeares practise, without reading: Truely, thou wouldest use thy earnest diligence as well as in the one as in the other; for I dare be bold to affirme, that reading and discourse doth as much or rather more, to the furtherance of a perfect Souldier, than a few yeares practise without reading... [for,] from Histories, men draw knowledge and Wisdome.<sup>154</sup>

If Patrick Hannay's *Sberetine and Mariana* (1622) represented one of the first sustained attempts to relocate heroic discourse from the focus of the court to a more socially relevant martial space (at least in Scotland, where the court was no longer present), it was the texts composed from within the martial community itself which most fully pursued this endeavour. Though only a few of the texts produced by seventeenth-century soldiers can be formally identified as romances, the pursuits of the active soldier nevertheless fed into the popular romantic imagination by evoking the spirit of the prudent captain *in situ*. The heroic model of romance was certainly easily paralleled by the image of the quasi-nomadic soldier, whose real life heroism provided readers with a tangible sense of that 'ceaseless heroic labour' (Cook: 63) which had characterised the tales of the traditional knight errant. Though few of the texts examined in the following chapter can be termed 'romances,' their clear attempts to idealise the soldier, their shared concern for the development of a 'good' martial man and for good conduct, as well as a pervasive emphasis upon the instructive properties of reading evince their participation in the same dialogues which were being pursued by fiction writers in Scotland. The works of a series of relatively unknown soldiers and their patrons are thus the focus of the following chapter. The intention, as throughout this thesis, is to suggest cultural-historical patterns by finding a common denominator rather than to analyse one writer in close detail only in order to have to leave him standing an isolated figure in an otherwise empty landscape. This attempt to expose patterns rather than highlight incidents should provide this corpus with a measure of independence worthy of further research (in fact *enabling/triggering* such research) on its own terms, and thus open up a fascinating and under-explored era and genre for future research which would otherwise be easily folded back into those of a more established critical discourse – the latter the very reason why, in terms of scholarly attention, it has been in the doldrums for centuries. The following section should thus be considered an introductory survey to a heretofore neglected body of work and writers, an attempt to illuminate the evolving path of those textual cultures of martialism already studied in this thesis.

---

<sup>154</sup> Robert Munro (1637) *Munro his Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)*. William Iones, Red-Crosse Street, London. Accessed at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?source=configpr.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID..17/07/2009>. p 3.

## George Lauder (fl. 1622-1677)

George Lauder is known primarily for his memorial poem *Damon, or, A pastoral elegy on the death of his honoured friend, William Drummond of Hawthornden* (1650), but the main body of his work was more commonly associated with martial subject matters. Amongst his publications are *The Scottish Soldier* (1629), the commemorative *Tears on the death of Evander* (1630) and the eulogistic *Caledonias Covenant; A Panegyrick to the World* (1641), a corpus of works which evince a clear thematic interest in martial life. This is unsurprising: Lauder was a soldier who served for some time in the Netherlands, and it was presumably here that he was awarded the rank of Colonel in 1627.

The son of Alexander Lauder of Hatton and Mary Maitland, he belonged to an elite branch of Scottish nobles, whose means secured him both martial patronage and an MA from the University of Edinburgh. Indeed, Lauder's relationship with the Maitland family is important. His grandfather was Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496-1586), who compiled (and composed portions of) *The Maitland Folio* and *The Maitland Quarto*. Mary, Lauder's mother, is of course recognised as the copyist of the *Maitland Quarto*. The eulogistic *Damon* indicates Lauder's *social* participation in a literary group outwith the family, suggesting he was well acquainted with William Drummond and perhaps other writers who formed the literary core of that era. Indeed, that Lauder grew up in one of the most literary households in Scotland suggests that soldierly writers had closer links to established literary practices in the early seventeenth century than we have traditionally assumed (cf. the section below on James Hume).

Lauder's works are characterised by their patriotism and a vocabulary of collective martial history: *The Scottish Soldier* (1629) is prefaced by an ode 'To Scotland' in which the 'Great Mother' of Scotland's 'Worthie-fertile Wombe / So manie thousands have tane birth and wonne/ an endlesse Fame abroad, and Name at home'.<sup>155</sup> It echoes the sentiments expressed elsewhere in texts such as Gordon's *Prince Robert* as it heralds the return of the Scottish Golden Age, in which 'our swords shall sheare enough unsowne/ And make the fruits of everie field our owne' (5-6). History is likewise evoked as an example of the nation's heroic worthiness as Lauder observes that 'Warre hath beene the practise of this Land,' which marks them as 'all borne Souldiers' (41-45). Lauder nurtures a sustained sense of pride in Scotland's martial past – evoking the 'Scottish *mythomoteur*' to reinforce Scotland's shared

---

<sup>155</sup> George Lauder, 'To Scotland', *The Scottish Soldier* (Edinburgh: John Wreighton, 1629) [Henry E. Huntington copy, accessed at <http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com> 19.01.11].

history and solidarity (Mason: 51) – and establishes soldiering as an ideal male occupation. It is essentially the non-fictional approach to the re-fashioning of heroic discourse already demonstrated by Hannay in his *Sheretime*: it is, in other words, an explicit endorsement of the soldier as an important – if not the most important – member of a given community. It distances its readers' expectations from the heroic world of the court and its outdated model of knightly heroism in favour of soldierly discourse. *The Scottish Soldier* thus functions as both a document of social commentary and as a conduct book: the exemplariness it seeks to evince in the martial occupation is idealised and romanticised in equal parts to suggest Lauder was aware of the potential weight the romantic hero could carry in the popular imagination. Indeed, Scottish reading culture's inherent fascination with the potentially edificatory nature of romance (as instanced above) meant that the country's printers had 'found a ready market for a range of patriotic, chivalric literature by Barbour, Blind Harry, Robert Henryson, Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lindsay'.<sup>156</sup> It is thus with a sense of both literary and cultural-historical heritage that Lauder composed *The Scottish Soldier*, and its sense of inheritance is clear:

And ere our fathers in the World did come,  
 They heard th'Alarums in their mothers wombe,  
 Which made them all borne Souldiers, for the field.  
 Their birth place was, their cradle was a shielde,  
 Why should we not then, sprung of warlike race,  
 Our worthie grandsires wayes and footings trace? (47-52)

The emphasis upon a collective martial Scottish identity reinforces Lauder's patriotic claims. Lauder certainly lingers on his theme, enforcing it with a fervour of patriotism that borders on partisanship, and indeed, the seemingly overwhelming desire to 'show this wretched world that courage bold/ Doth liue in vs which shinde in them of olde' (53-54) is one that dominates and directs the tone of the entire text. Interpreting history for moral instruction – Scotland's 'usable past' – was an established literary device in Scotland and elsewhere, and Lauder clearly evokes the motif here as a means of national aggrandisement. Indeed, he beseeches his countrymen to seek inspiration from heroes past, that they 'will transported find an vncouth fire/ Burne in [their] breasts with flames of braue desire/ To make [them] one day like these Heroes great/ Whose memories liue fresh and valour yet' (59-62). This approach was shared by, amongst others, Patrick Gordon, whose *Prince Robert* sought to reinvigorate Scotland's collective martial identity. *The Scottish Soldier* differs in one significant respect from *Prince Robert*, in that it places the *soldierly* hero within the *monarchical* hero's archetypal role. This in itself illustrates a significant paradigm shift in seventeenth-century Scottish fiction more generally, whereby romance – rather than be abandoned entirely in the post-medieval

---

<sup>156</sup> Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution*. p 220.

age – simply sat more comfortably, and less fantastically, in the modern imagination. By the mid-1600s, romance no longer necessarily represented ‘the other’ – that elusive and exotic sphere it had previously occupied, in which the romance protagonist operated under Frye’s model of the hero superior to all others.<sup>157</sup> Latterly, romance could take form in non-fictional literature, since the soldier hero could provide a more realist perspective from which an audience might derive enjoyment.

But the history of Scottish militarism is not the only ‘inheritance’ Lauder seeks in this text and elsewhere, for indeed literary inheritance is afforded equal emphasis. *The Scottish Soldier’s* opening words, ‘Arme, arme, to Armes, the Trumpets sound each where’ (1), seems to imitate Virgil’s *Aeneid* – ‘I sing of arms’ – and Patrick Gordon’s *Prince Robert* – ‘Of Martiall deeds of dreadful warres I sing’ (1), which is itself a paratextual Virgilian reference. This clear demonstration of Lauder’s knowledge of classical literature, and in turn the text’s participation in a classical literary dialogue, is pursued elsewhere in his small body of work. Both *Tears on the Death of Evander*, a commemorative eulogy for the knight Sir John Swynton, and *Tweeds Teares of Joy to Charles great Brittaines King* (1639) feature clear allusions to motifs, themes and ideological tropes already established in existing texts by Lauder’s friend, William Drummond of Hawthornden: ‘O changing fortune!’ Lauder laments, ‘And art thou gone ay Me!’ (48, 53), an affectation of the elegy of Drummond’s *Teares on the Death of Meliades* (1613) that at the same time displaces its monarchical address in favour of a knightly one. As Drummond bestowed on Henry the name Meliades, ‘the name used by the prince in all his chivalrous exercises, being the anagram of ‘Miles a Deo’ – God’s Soldier’ (Adams: 386), Lauder models Swynton as Evander, probably of Pallene, the Roman hero whose name means ‘good man’ or ‘strong man’. In Drummond’s *Meliades*, ‘inexorable Death visits high and low, young and old; with darkened earth and weeping heaven Nature reverses her usual courses: rivers, deities, flowers – all betoken their grief’ (Harrison: 287). Lauder’s *Evander* adopts the same model: even the most celebrated of heroes must greet death – ‘once my hope thy cuntries ioye... had Death the pover / To bound thy Time?’ (51-54) – while *Tweeds Teares* adopts and expands the use of river imagery. Drummond had articulated an idea at the accession of James VI to the English throne of the sovereign as the river which flows through both states: here Lauder extends this to King Charles I, selecting the River Tweed for its literal geography across the English and Scottish borders, and to accredit power to the monarch:

Rush forth my billows in the roaring maine,  
And rouse the *Tritons* of old Neptunes traine,

---

<sup>157</sup> See Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1976).

Through the vast Ocean of the furthest shore  
 To publish these our joyes and triumphs o're  
 The watrie world, whilst long-wingd flying fame,  
 To *Nile* and *Ganges* dwellers doth proclaime  
 Our feasts and bone-fires, that both sea and land  
 May hear our happinesse, and joyfull stand:  
 To see great *Charles* (his anger smoothed) smile,  
 And kisse his mother; from whose love ere while,  
 Seditious sycophants had him estrang'd,  
 And sought (O wickednesse! Heaven will reveng't)  
 To break that band, in which great *Brittane* stood  
 After so many ages, so much blood;  
 But were deceiv'd at last: Hell, *Rome*, and *Spaine*,  
 Thanks be to heaven, have spent their spight in vaine,  
 Faiths great defender, world-divided King,  
 King of a world, which to thy wish can bring  
 All what thy pleasure, or thy power require,  
 To make thee happie in thy hearts desire:  
 If in this storme of joy and pompous throng  
 Old *Tweed*, thy Kingdomes limite (ah too long!)  
 May have accesse, and that thy gracious ear,  
 Will daigne his harsh and lowly song to hear,  
 While teares of joy his holy breast bedew,  
 And passion paints his cheeks with purple hew:  
 'T may be the freedome of his plaine discourse,  
 Will not offend or make thee like him worse.  
 Two hundreth and five lustres did my streames  
 Runne neutrall, and divide thy joynd realmes,  
 Which in times fulnesse thy wise happy Sire,  
 Sent from above combin'd in one Empire. (1-32)

Lauder's works evince the influence of a Scottish literary legacy and suggest that he expected his readership to be as well read in this tradition as he himself was. These textual allusions serve little purpose if the reader does not recognise and interpret them accordingly, meaning the Scottish soldier Lauder addressed would have been expected to be a well-read man.

Also central to Lauder's work, and in particular *The Scottish Soldier*, is a persistent emphasis on masculine prudence. Despite the overtly idealised depiction of the soldier hero, love and pleasure are notably absent from *The Scottish Soldier*, its emphasis instead being on man's martial rather than amorous duties. Lauder borrows from the romance genre its heroic archetype and narrative tone of adventure and of masculine worthiness, but displaces that which might interfere with this didactic agenda. The result is a text that is both literary and instructive, but love provides no tempering or indeed challenging force here as it is in romance. It could certainly be considered a natural progression from the 'true' romance tradition in Scotland: whereas in these earlier romances love is usually treated as a cautionary, counter-exemplary tool, the martial writers simply chose to excise it completely from the

narrative in favour of more relevant, and important, masculine matters. Lauder's debt to the romance model hinges on those elements afforded emphasis by the romance poets themselves. Indeed, his descriptive capabilities are strikingly visceral and in places seem influenced by the physical verse of Blind Hary's *The Wallace*:

Vp, vp, awake that all the World may see,  
 The *Scottish Souldier* glistring in bright steele,  
 To make the Earth to stagger, shake and reel,  
 Drunke with her dewllers blood, who dare withstand  
 Refusing *Charles* his yoke, when you command  
 To draw his *waine*, and proud triumphant *Carre*,  
 Betwixt the *Artick* and *Antartick* starre. (134-140)

Such a potent mix of patriotism and physicality is eventually concluded by the self-conscious repetition of the text's opening lines – 'Arme, arme, to armes the Trumpets sound all-where/ And Drummes doe beat in ev'rie Martiall eare' (1-2, 1) – reinforcing in its final act its specifically martial understanding of male heroism. Lauder inserts himself in the narrative at its concluding point, informing his readers – as if any further specificity is required: 'tis Honour which I aime at' (358).

## James Hume (fl. 1624-1640)

James Hume was a mathematician, physician, Hebraist and occasional poet. He was the eldest son and heir of David Hume of Godscroft (1558-1630?) and Barbara Johnston (d. 1629) of Elphinstone. His Latin romance, the *Pantaleonis Vaticinia Satyra* (1633) was dedicated to the soldier, Robert Ker, first Earl of Ancrum, and is the only known fiction he produced. Though details of Hume's life are scant, his personal and familial connections are revealing. His father, Hume of Godscroft, was the protégé of George Buchanan, his early Latin works *Daphn-Amaryllis* (1572) and *Lusus Poetici* (1605) being the first in a series of highly praised works. He also enjoyed the patronage of Sir William Douglas, 11th Earl of Angus and 1st Marquess of Douglas, prompting him to write his *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (more on which below). James Hume's sister, Anna Hume (fl. 1644), was evidently better situated to continue the literary endeavours of her father than her mathematician brother. In 1644 she printed her edited version of Godscroft's *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (which was met with considerable criticism and drew the attention of Drummond of Hawthornden, who defended its publication but was by no means impressed by its contents) and *The Triumphs of Love, Chastitie, Death: translated out of Petrarch by Mrs. Anna Hume* (1644). Hawthornden's earlier involvement in the publication of her father's work was evidently concluded successfully, despite his reservations, and indeed:

a letter from Drummond to Hume acknowledges her ‘delicate verses’ which commend Drummond’s own poetry, revealing ‘the Highnes of your Spirit, which ever transcendeth mean Measures’ (NL Scot., MS 2061).<sup>158</sup>

James Hume’s works are largely mathematical, though his first printed work was a method for learning Hebrew titled (*Rhadiomatheia*) *Linguae Hebraeae* (1624). Though Hume’s primary interests thus lay in mathematics and language, it is clear nevertheless that he patronised a prolifically literary social and familial circle. The *Pantaleon* certainly demonstrates his knowledge of existing literary practices in Scotland, and its dedication to Robert Ker suggests, as previously, that martial and literary discourse sat not so far apart in Scotland’s seventeenth-century literary landscape.

The *Pantaleon* features at its centre a lecherous anti-hero – hardly the moral exemplar sought by Hannay, Gordon and Kenney. However, a seemingly unrelated addendum detailing Alexander Leslie’s<sup>159</sup> martial activities on the Continent during the Thirty Years War might suggest a certain continuity between Hume’s works and those discussed previously. This addendum has no relation to the preceding *Pantaleon* text, signalling that it is in fact the first draft of a longer historical chronicle, the *Gustavus Magnis, sive historia rerum gesarum in Germania a Rege Suediae*, which Hume did eventually publish in 1639.<sup>160</sup> The romance thus marries political satire with historical chronicle, aligning it more closely with such texts as *Sheretine and Mariana*, *Aretina* and *Argenis*, all of which sought fictional models of heroism alongside coded historical references, or, in the case of *Sheretine*, another seemingly disparate history of European conflict. Hume does indeed refer to Barclay’s romance in his reader’s dedication, acknowledging at once its author’s wit whilst disdaining his perceived lack of gratitude for the consequent fame he achieved through it. Though the satirical nature of the romance means that Hume’s approach to differs to that of the other texts in this study – by dishonouring its addressees, rather than leading by example – it nevertheless shares the same didactic intention to inspire moral improvement.

Pantaleon, the romance hero, describes himself from the outset as a prophet ‘from whom neither the past nor the future is hid’ (2), but demonstrates his failure in this role immediately when his prediction of doom is mocked by two local farmers, who ponder

---

<sup>158</sup> S. M. Dunnigan, ‘Hume, Anna (fl. 1644)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14138, accessed 20 Sept 2013].

<sup>159</sup> Leslie was an army officer and first earl of Leven (c.1580–1661). He was knighted by Gustavus Adolphus in 1627, though his military prowess was later questioned. For more details, see C. S. Terry, *The life and campaigns of Alexander Leslie, first earl of Leven* (1899).

<sup>160</sup> See James Hume, *Pantaleonis Vaticinia Satyra: A Hypertext edition*, ed. Mark Riley (The Philological Museum: 2012). [accessed at <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/hume/> 14/03/12].

whether Pantaleon has ‘perhaps been driven mad by spooks and hobgoblins’ or is ‘weak and hung-over from yesterday’s indulgence’ (2). His lack of talent and nobility clearly established, he proceeds to ‘embroider the facts of [his] life... where [he] was born, of what parents, whether [he] was of knightly origin, and what was the reason for [his] leaving [his] homeland’ (2), as a further debasement of the traditional knightly role. Pantaleon’s first love interest in the text – of which there are many – is a young woman ‘of reasonable appearance, although she would not set the town on fire’ (3), married, and targeted by the hero purely to satisfy his sexual desires. He delights, moreover, in detailing the adulterous pursuits of others. When his ‘ensorious readers ask why [he] write shameful things’, he replies:

I ask my readers why they do shameful things.  
You do nasty things, I write them, we both commit sin,  
But my sin of writing is less than yours of doing.  
For you will see in this story as if in a mirror  
You and your morals, dear reader, and your character.  
If this causes disgust and you become angry  
And frown severely, why do you read these poems?  
Do you want to take revenge for my laughter at your deeds?  
Say so! I will repay the favour and I’ll laugh at your writings. (9)

Hume’s agenda here is by no means obscure, and we can clearly discern the moral profit he seeks, if by using a technique opposite to that of the other poets in this study. The romance ends abruptly, and no translation of the appended history has been undertaken. It will not appeal now on the same level as Barclay’s *Satyricon* or others, but it should at least be considered an important document of Scotland’s emerging seventeenth-century literary tradition. Hume’s efforts clearly demonstrate, once again, the shared relationship between military and literary patronage. The romance is dedicated, as mentioned previously, to Robert Kerr of Ancrum, who was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles I and who considered amongst his courtly friends both John Donne and William Drummond of Hawthornden (9). Hume was himself an experienced member of the military:

He must have had some connection with military action in northern Germany, since several of his later historical works show him to have been well informed about battles there and about Gustavus Adolphus’s intervention in 1630. In addition, several of his treatises concern the mathematics necessary to construct effective fortifications. (9)

Despite the as yet unfinished state of research into his writing and career, his military experience, coupled with his use of the romance format, evince Hume’s participation in a community of work produced by martial writers.

## Robert Munro (d. 1675?)

Records indicate that Robert Munro was studying at the University of St. Andrews in 1610, and in 1615 he travelled to France to complete his education.<sup>161</sup> While he has been dismissed as ‘a rude soldier,’<sup>162</sup> his sincere belief in the moral profit to be sought in literary study evinces his learnedness. He published *Munro His Expedition* in 1637, in which he claimed to have ‘gathered together for the good, profit, and furtherance of thee and my Country’ an ‘example of those brave spirits’<sup>163</sup> of the Scottish military. Like Lauder and Hume before him, Munro sought to glorify the soldier by evoking an ideological continuity between heroes of a past age and the men involved in contemporary martial life. We have certainly seen this elsewhere: in *Penardo*, Gordon would call to mind the ‘beacons’ of heroes past in order to inspire his contemporary readership to heroic and honourable behaviour, looking to the ‘neuer enough praised verteus of that most admirable Prince *Robert Bruce*’ for the sake of those ‘ambitiously desiring to immitat him’ (1). This was indeed a common feature of Scottish romance, a corpus of texts which were largely designed around the moral lessons to be sought in Scotland’s usable past. These texts shared a focus on warfare and the traits of the ideal warrior, subject matter which clearly shared a broad national appeal in Scotland. That ‘readers did not necessarily believe all romances to convey true history, but rather they appreciated the romances because of their near-accurate retellings of important events, their affinities to chronicles, and their ability to affirm historical knowledge’ (Boro, 124) is well-evidenced by the enduring popularity of the Wallace, Alexander, and Arthurian legends in Britain. Re-imagined chronicles of Bruce’s life were both commonplace and widely consumed. John Barbour’s *The Actys of Robert Bruce*, first printed in 1570, was re-printed c.1571, 1594, 1616, 1620, 1648, 1670 and in 1672. Patrick Gordon, as we know, published a highly idealised version of this text in 1615, titled *The Valiant Historye of Prince Robert...Sirnamed the Bruce*. Just as *la matière de France* would place its focus upon a royal hero in the Charlemagne romances, ‘The Matter of Scotland’ was generally focused upon the active soldier, providing in romances such as *The Buik of Alexander*, *The Wallace*, *Bruce*, and *Lancelot of the Laik* a wide variety of actively martial men in whom nationalist ideals of exemplary moral conduct could be both sought and realised.

---

<sup>161</sup> J. D. Mackie, ‘Dugald Dalgetty and Scottish soldiers of fortune’, *Scottish Historical Review* 12 (1914–15), pp 221–37.

<sup>162</sup> S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, 4 vols., 1893–4, 1.115. See David Stevenson, ‘Munro, Robert (d. 1675?)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18978, accessed 7 Dec 2010].

<sup>163</sup> Robert Munro (1637) *Munro his Expedition*. Reader’s Dedication, p 5.

Munro opens *The Expedition* with an early fourteenth-century proverb: ‘a good beginning makes a good ending’ (1), which he matches ideologically with his assertion that, likewise, ‘to lead a good life, is the way to a happie death’ (1). Textual fashioning and the way in which one conducts oneself – the fashioning of the *self* – thus correspond. He asserts that

out of my owne experience, in my profession, having seene as many rare occurrences, and accidents of warre by practise (as hath not been seene the like in many yeares before) which shall appeare evidently by the subsequent Observations of one Regiments service: Neverthelesse, I must confesse, that reading and discourse of warres, inable the minde more with perfect knowledge, than the bare practise of a few yeares. (5)

This approach can certainly be seen as a development of earlier sixteenth-century poetics; the repeated references to the tangible moral acuity to be sought in literary study are strikingly reminiscent of the ideological principles in Gavin Douglas’s *The Palis of Honour*. The circular lyric in lines 1015-1044 of *The Palis* certainly articulates the process of reciprocation (‘Vnwemmit wit deliuerit of dangair / Maist happelie deliuerit fra the snair / Releuit fre of seruice and bondage / Expell dolour, expell diseisis sair / Auoid displesure, womenting and cair... Vnwemmit wit deliuerit of dangair’) that Munro tries to capture in the opening lines of *The Expedition*: didactic literature inspires in its readers moral behaviour, while reciprocally, good moral conduct of the soldier can inspire good literature.

Munro breaks his text into a series of ‘observations’, each of which reflect an aspect of martial life. He opens in Holsten, which was:

... full of prosperitie at this time, having all things in a golden swimme, and waving carelesly in a swallowing plentie, having her heart full of pleasures, disdainng what was to come, ruine seized vpon his land within six months. (3)

This is recognisably the vocabulary of romance: an expression of narrative unease or disruption to the natural order that consciously manoeuvres the text onto – and aligns reality to – a literary precipice. For comparisons, one need only look to Achaea’s ‘firtile land... where Agganipes siluer streames do spring’ (Gordon 1615: 1) in *Penardo*, or to *Calanthrop*’s ‘pleasant grove...’mongst the fruitfull spriggs’ (Kennedy 1626: 1-2) which suffer much the same fate as Munro’s Holsten. Just as King Phedro’s ‘starrs which bad coniunctions borrow, [would] turne his sweets in sowrs, his mirth in sorrow’ (Gordon 1615, 16-17) in a hellish vision of the downfall of the nation, Munro adopts a premonitory role to signal the imminent ruin of Holsten. This fashions the events described into a cogent narrative: Munro’s dramatic

virtuosity marks his attempt to mythologise the soldierly experience beyond that of its factual constraints.

That Munro develops a tangible sense of romance in *The Expedition* for purposes of heroic self-fashioning is clear, and it is through his adaptation of the heroic model that he most substantially channels the spirit of romance. 'Nobles who displayed personal bravery, strength and weapon skills, like the second earl of Moray, murdered in a feud in 1592, were praised, in his case as 'the maist weirlyk man bayth in curage and person,'<sup>164</sup> and Munro certainly fits this heroic mould. In a deliberate ploy to evince both his own sophisticated reading habits and his text's broader participation in a particularly learned writing tradition, Munro assumes the role of prudent advisor, a role known to his Scottish readership through its repeated appearances and enlargements in romance texts:

I wish no man so spiritlesse, as to let all abuses presse the dulnesse of a willing shoulder: for resolution is alwayes necessary in the waine of fortune, to save vs from discontentments, that usually deject us. A wise man makes the trouble lesse by fortitude, when a foole stoupes to it. The world hath nothing [as] glorious as vertue, which is like the passage of *Haniball* over the *Alpes*, [a] worke of trying toyle, of infinite danger, but once performed, it lets him in unto the worlds *Garden, Italy* leaving him a lasting fame. (3)

Munro thus equates ceaseless heroic toil with moral substance, an ideology one might easily align with Douglas's speculation in *The Palis*, or in Frye's romance formula, in which the cyclical narrative is resolved only once the hero has undertaken sufficient physical and mental hardship. Value and heroism, the romance tradition argues, are to be gained from labour, courage and moral acuity in the active field. The striking regularity with which this ideology presents itself in Scottish literary culture is reflected, as stated previously, in the particularly moral-martial focus of Scottish texts. The hero must often function as the stabilising effect within a cultural context, be it through direct heroic intervention and courtly appeals in the medieval epics, or through their communal martial efforts seen later in civic romances and soldierly texts. From this approach we might see the significance of narrative structure to the construction of the heroic figure: without a (sometimes imposed) cyclical narrative arc that requires resolution, the hero would have no logical function. In Munro's case, his purpose is to serve and chronicle aspects of political upheaval which might exemplify the moral ends of military service. He does so with the authority of a widely travelled and experienced

---

<sup>164</sup> Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000). p 2.

soldier. *The Expedition* is not merely a chronicle, but a template of a fluid and particularly Scottish literary expression of martial heroism.

## James Graham, first marquess of Montrose (1612-1650)

James Graham's 'cult of individual power and pre-eminence [was] expressed most openly in verse, where he combine[d] celebration of monarchical power, of the military hero, and of the power of the dominant lover'.<sup>165</sup> He studied at the University of St Andrews, and completed his education abroad at the French military academy in 1633-4. His military career was from a royal perspective illustrious (his brief youthful alignment with the Covenanting cause notwithstanding), and indeed, in

comparing himself to biblical and classical heroes, the fact that he fought in an obscure war in one corner of Britain did not dismay him... [for] it was striving for the all but impossible by the exceptional individual that brought renown, and ultimate failure was not disgrace if he had acted heroically'. (Stevenson: Oxford DNB)

In 1640 Montrose headed a panel of nineteen fellow noblemen to sign the Cumbernauld Bond, which promised to uphold the covenant from the damaging influence of a select group of radicals who, Montrose claimed, were more concerned with personal glory than the greater covenanting cause.<sup>166</sup> Despite repressing the same across political factions, personal glory and achievement were precisely those values which shaped Montrose's prose works, and in his Declaration of 1650, he writes with forceful authority to establish himself as a key courtly presence, for indeed,

however the *Justice* of His Majesties cause, the *wickednesse* of those Rebels, and my own *Integrity*, are all of them so cleare and evident, that to doe any thing which in the least measure may seeme to descend to a dispute, or to hold such enemies as a considerable partie, may rather be interpreted as an act both of *publicke injustice* to his sacred Majestie, and *private injurie* to my selfe. (2)

The declaration is otherwise an aggressive indictment – the rebel faction are 'abominations of all mankind' (3) – heavily interspersed with Christian imagery, with Charles I frequently ascribed quasi-divine qualities; he is 'the most *Gratious Sovereigne*' with a 'Fatherly affection to all his people, and subjects... ready to pardon all' (4) their sins. But Montrose's condemnation

---

<sup>165</sup> David Stevenson, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose (1612-1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11194, accessed 14 Dec 2010].

<sup>166</sup> See M. Napier, *Montrose and the covenanters*, 2 vols. (1838), M. Napier, ed., *Memorials of Montrose and his times*, 2 vols., Maitland Club, 66 (1848–50), M. Napier, *Memoirs of the marquis of Montrose*, 2 vols. (1856).

alone does not seem sufficient, and, as with Munro's *Expedition*, it is characterised by its attempt to fashion historical fact into a compelling narrative. Montrose does not write with clean linguistic economy about rebels and radicals, but with a dramatic vocabulary on those 'malicious, hollow-hearted men... [who] adde oyle to the fire, and... keep green wounds still raw' (3). He was university educated, widely travelled, and well read in his classical literature: he clearly demonstrated the high artifice of his imagination even in examples of political documentation, and might easily have forged a career as a court poet. But in 1626, an apparent slight at the hand of King Charles I led Montrose to believe that 'his talents had not been sufficiently recognized at court,' an incident commonly held to explain 'the royalist hero's initial support for the covenanters' (Stevenson, *Oxford DNB*). The re-routing of his career at this point turned his focus from courtly to military ambition. An appreciation for literature was certainly still prevalent, but the desire for public glory certainly surpassed this. By 1640 Montrose had grown weary enough of small but radical factions amongst the covenanters that – as his cynics asserted – he once more anticipated greater prominence for himself alongside the Stuart cause. Montrose's ambitions had thus steered his career towards a martial service centred very much around the potential for patronage and for royal favour. This in turn meant that literary interests – largely heroic and political in nature – would be channelled through non-fictional, soldierly texts which afforded him great scope for his own heroic self-aggrandisement. This certainly suited Montrose's personal image, for not only could he evoke a tangible expression of male heroism through the chronicling of military life and Scottish political history, but he could do so by placing himself, as a soldier, at the forefront of the heroic narrative. Certainly

agents/subjects create and use narratives (stories, texts), including culture, for the purpose of needs gratification since it is only within the framework of narratives that the needs of the self can be gratified. Without narratives there is no basis for security, meaning, or self-esteem and thus no possibility or satisfaction of happiness.<sup>167</sup>

Montrose's constructions of a narrative structure which has been shaped and manipulated around real events satisfies his own desire for individual acclaim, but also satisfies the needs and expectations of his reading community by providing structure and meaning to what he describes. But the ramifications of this narrative reciprocation between author and reader reach further: for indeed,

stories... are not isolated utterances or gestures but symbolic actions – words and/or deeds – that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create or

---

<sup>167</sup> Paul Sites, 'Human Needs and Control' ed. Richard Harvey Brown, *Writing the Social Text: Poetics and Politics in Social Science* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1992). pp 176-192. 192.

interpret them. So understood, they have relevance to real as well as fictive experiences...the material or stuff of [such] stories is “good reasoning”. By this term, [we] mean elements that provide warrants for accepting or adhering to the advice fostered by any form of human communication that can be considered rhetorical...particularly relevant to the theme of narrativity and community [is the] construction of rationality, narrative rationality, which concerns the quality of stories that entice one to belong to one community or another. (Fisher, 205-206)

Montrose’s approach certainly seeks to achieve such a reader response. He asks ‘what ever true *Scotch-man* there is, who hath any sence of his duty left him towards *God*, his *King*, *Country*, *Friends*, *Wife*, *Children*, or *Houses*,’ to ‘joyne themselves forthwith with [him], in this present service which is so full of *Conscience*, *Duty*, *Honor*, and all just interests’ (5). This is a deliberate address; by emphasising his and his fellows’ moral justifiability, he creates a sense of informed intimacy between the reader and himself. The effect of this is twofold: his reader is transported alongside him, as an addressee, into an idealised romantic narrative, while he himself functions as the narrator, the author, and the hero all at once.

Montrose’s tendency to romanticise, advise and self-heroicise, however, is not restricted to his soldierly documents. Certainly the most overtly romantic work penned by him was *Montrose Lynes; Or, a Proper New Ballad* (c.1643), thought to be written for his wife, but even here his desire to counsel emerges. Wedgwood proposes that the ballad was written in 1643, a time when Montrose was separated from his wife. The cause of this separation was his defection from the covenanting cause, and while he travelled to the court of Charles I to warn him of an impending uprising, his wife retreated to Kincardine to be safely housed by her family. ‘He was only following the literary fashion of the time when he took his similes from current politics,’ Wedgwood observes, ‘yet he may have had his wife’s political estrangement in mind when he accuses her, in these pretty and gallant verses, of holding a synod in her heart, as the meetings of Calvinist devines were called’ (Wedgwood, 57-58). Stevenson observes that Montrose had

consciously seen himself in terms of the great heroes of ancient times. A small circle of relatives and friends had followed him with devoted loyalty, but he never succeeded in cultivating the arts of the politician, of persuasion and compromise – and indeed at heart he despised them. Action, with himself in command, and the recognition that would follow, were what he craved... His cult of individual power and pre-eminence is expressed most openly in verse, where he combines celebration of monarchical power, of the military hero, and of the power of the dominant lover. (Stevenson, *Oxford DNB*)

Indeed, the ballad’s references to the glorious reign of Alexander are complemented by allusions to his own personal glory;

But I will reign and govern still,  
and always give the Law  
And have each Subject at my will,  
and all to stand in aw:  
[T]hat 'gainst my Batteries if I find  
thou kick or vex me sore,  
As that you set me up a blind,  
I'll never love thee more. (17-24)

Above and beyond the 'Empire of [her] heart', where surely only *he* should reside, Montrose seems to emphasise his natural supremacy; this is a man who can both 'make thee glorious by [his] pen' as well as 'famous by [his] sword' (25, 35-36). As Stevenson observes, 'Mark Napier was unintentionally ambiguous when he wrote of Montrose's 'meteor-like career of self-devotion' (Napier, *Covenanters*, 1.vii),' for indeed, 'Napier meant devotion to the crown, but a cynic might interpret it as devotion to himself. To talent, education, energy, and high birth Montrose added driving ambition, a determination to be great (Stevenson). Montrose was thus very much the self-defined romantic hero. In his ballad, this sincere self-belief is emphasised with striking dominance, from the assertion that 'as Alexander I will reign' (9), to a series of esoteric references to constancy which are evidently present to place himself at the forefront of his wife's mind. Montrose's prose and verse is characterised, with striking consistency, by the desire to place himself as the primary subject, and indeed, the primary hero.

This bravado, ambition, and indeed his numerous political misadventures perhaps rendered Montrose a more romantic figure in his own imagination than in reality. But this in turn allowed him to evoke the sort of heroic spirit in his non-fictional narratives with so little self-consciousness that his highly idealised conception of the romantic Scots hero matched the high romance and artifice created in fiction.

## Honour, Warfare, and Erudition

The earliest known seventeenth-century Scottish romance is Patrick Gordon's *Penardo* of 1615, with his heroic account of the Bruce legend, *The Famous History of Prince Robert*, also emerging in the same year. These publications seem to mark the second of two significant paradigm shifts in the Scottish romance and heroic literary tradition, providing the first fictional example of a re-emerging warrior ideal. That Gordon deemed the Bruce history worth revisiting at this juncture is in itself an indication of the enduring popularity of the national epic in Scotland, and in both of Gordon's poems there is a discernible thread of heroic discourse which can be traced back to Barbour's *Bruce*.

Gordon was certainly a natural candidate to initiate the relocation of Scottish chivalric discourse from the royal court to the battlefield. That he belonged to a prominent noble house is significant: in the first half of the seventeenth century, Gordon sought to ennoble his contemporaries via the usable past – in other words, historical-cultural inheritance, and the moral efficacy of historical exemplars were key features in his works. That Gordon thus turned to a figure such as Robert Bruce for inspiration in one poem, and to a knight of exceptional physical prowess in the other, is in some sense predictable, because they allowed him to epitomise a national legacy of noble but soldierly competence that was evidently keenly sought in the first half of the seventeenth century. Though it is more explicit in *The Famous History of Prince Robert, Penardo and Laissa* is equally motivated by Gordon's sense of nostalgic Scottish patriotism, through which he hoped to re-invigorate a past heroic legacy in order to offset a distant and, what he perceived to be, incompatible code of new court ritual established by James VI's accession to the English throne (Allan, 2000: 94). History, he counsels, provides alternative and favourable examples of noble conduct, and thus it is with a sense of historical inheritance that he embarks on his Bruce legend. The poem certainly seeks to celebrate Scotland's national antiquity – Bruce reminds Douglas in the second book of the text of the 'three Alexanders [who] thrice were Scotland's Kings' (II: 8, 1), each of whom were distinguished by their 'Valiant... brave undaunted Deeds' (II: 8, 2-5) – and utilises celebrated ancestors for purposes of legitimising his own inherited nobility: Balliol is visited by the ghost of King Fergus, who declares him unworthy of the crown, while Douglas's visitation by the ancient ruler makes Fergus's patriotic choice clear – Douglas must continue to support Bruce, who is the rightful King of Scotland. Contemporary honour is thus legitimised by past legacy. In Caput IV, Bruce himself is visited by an aged seer. The seer describes 'the Constellations about the Poles, alluding to the Kings descended of the Bruce' (IV: 34-35). He prophesies the birth of a warrior descended from men who spent their lives in 'Honour's Height... Favour'd by Heav'n, freed from untimely Woes/ Of Him descended shall a Greater rise/ And lift his Glory far above the Skies' (IV: 45, 5-8). This elite son will 'this Land govern, Protect, Defend... And here behold that Magnanimous king' (IV: 46, 1. 51, 1) – he is of course Bruce. Historical and lineal legitimacy thus emerges as a recurring leitmotif in the text, in which Bruce is not just of noble descent, but the offspring of a greater national heroic pool.

Scotland's historical legacy provides broader thematic inspiration in the text. As English garrisons appear in Scottish towns and cities, and southern lords are granted lands across the nation in Caput III, Bruce ponders the loss of Scotland's glorious soldierly past:

Where was the conqu'ring Arms, the valiant Hearts?  
Where was the wonted Loyalty now gone?

[...]  
For had the Scots true to themselves remain'd  
Longshanks had not so great a Glory gain'd'. (III: 3, 1-2. 5, 7-8)

The greatest threat posed here is to Scotland's cultural identity. When Longshanks 'burnt with Fire what e'er we did enjoy/ Writs, Books and Works' (III: 10, 5-6), he provokes Bruce's desperate pleas for the nation to restore its sense of self, and most importantly, her martial identity. Though an answer to Bruce's pleas is provided in *The Famous History of Prince Robert* – Scottish independence is achieved as the mutual profit of Bruce's own, and his soldiers' martial expertise – this is a lament that Gordon would both return to and expand in later years, indicating the extent to which he valued Scotland's national history. In typically eulogistic fashion, Gordon returns to Scotland's contemporary cultural position in the historical text, *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper* (c. 1647). As the mid-century approached, Gordon

was melancholic. His king had been defeated and executed; his chief had been executed and his heir killed in battle; his own brother and nephew had let the [royalist] side down; the old society of a military aristocracy was falling apart... [he] saw the past through rose-tinted spectacles, lamenting lost glories, despising a debased present. (Stevenson, 1996: 186)

J. Dunn describes the text as a 'tribute from a devoted vassal to the memory of his chief', designed to 'vindicate him and his noble children' (Dunn, 1844: vii), and it certainly attempts to evoke an image of nostalgic nobility in its heroic construction of the Marquis of Huntly. Gordon seeks to interpret the civil wars as a product of social decay more generally, correspondingly attempting to re-group those aristocratic ideals which had been characteristic of the noble culture during the civil unrest of previous centuries. *The Distemper* evokes a melancholic tone of contemporary disaffection, and stresses the country's need for immediate Salvation, employing a medical lexicon to describe the seemingly incurable ills of latter seventeenth-century Scotland. Prevalent, too, is Gordon's characteristic belief in noble reputation, as he denigrates the then anonymous author of the *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose* (1647), which was later attributed to Bishop Wishart, for what he perceived to be the unflattering heroic treatment of the Huntlys:

I cannot pass over that malicious author of the first Relation, who seems to relate the history for no other end but to build the fame and honour of Montrose upon the ruins of Huntly's credit: striving, with powerful persuasions, a high style and flowing eloquence, for ever hereafter to darken and eclipse the renowned worth of that family, by undervaluing both him and his children. And surely as Montrose deserveth all honour, so I am confident that the candour of his free and generous disposition will think that his many virtues will have made but a small conquest, if

they cannot be seen but through so many false aspersions so unjustly blown forth against so noble and so worthy a family. (Gordon, 1637: 178)

The inherent respect attached to the model of lineage here signifies Gordon's acceptance of perhaps anachronistic social structures, the respect he affords such hierarchies, and most importantly, the value he places upon social manners. It is disrespectful, he suggests, that Wishart both de-values and de-stabilises the noble history of the House of Huntly – the 'family of the House of Huntly', he asserts, 'cannot lose their share of those great actions' (55). There thus clearly remains a compelling cultural attachment to the nobleman's participation in warfare in mid seventeenth-century Scotland: honour and nobility are inherently tied to the individual house's martial prowess, thus Bishop Wishart's slight against those acts of Huntly are of grievous concern to Gordon, who has illustrated in past works such as *The Famous History of Prince Robert* and *Penardo* that he personally values historical inheritance. Gordon's response to Wishart's seeming slight was certainly indicative of a wider social expectation, for,

as was the case in many early modern societies, there was a deep-seated expectation in Scottish noble society that the honour of the lineage would be defended by those who had temporary custody of it. This intense emphasis placed on reputation resulted in an extreme sensitivity to insult. (Brown, 2012, 49)

The institution of honour, so closely guarded in Scottish seventeenth-century culture, thus necessitates a certain reflection of nobility in literary terms. The inheritance of a martial history, the value attached to which has been evidenced previously in works such as *The Bruce* and *Wallace*, remains intact as a matter of noble demonstration. But those radical changes instigated by Renaissance, Humanist, and Christian ideals which had either emerged or evolved in new ways throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries necessitate a corresponding intellectual response. Martial values are by no means displaced by this edificatory design, but rather they are re-configured as one vital half of a composite masculine ideal, the other being a command of rhetoric, and intellectual competence.

Examples of such heroic and masculine ideals can certainly be sought outwith the works of Patrick Gordon. When the knight Calanthrop exercises a fabulous defeat over a fearsome creature in John Kennedy's *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, for example, he is praised by the romance heroine as one who 'for our safetie, and our publick good/ Life hazard, honour gaind' (1219 – 1220). The demonstration of physical prowess that he provides is sufficient in itself to garner some degree of respect and honour. Crucially, though, he has not yet revealed his identity to the court, and the heroine and her royal father are thus unaware of his own noble lineage. It is only considerably later in the romance that Calanthrop's lineal worth is fully revealed and their match can be endorsed by king and court. Indeed, as the text reaches its conclusion,

Calanthrop is elected to the throne of Cyrenaica as a reflection of his prudence, honour and knightly competence, and as recompense for his judicious mercy in the matter of Cyrenaican prisoners:

Anone the captiuves they to him present,  
He graciously to mercie them receav'd,  
The captives then their Cities keyes have sent  
Vnto Calanthrop, seeing hee behav'd  
Himselfe so meekly, sparing all their bloods,  
To him they rendred Citie, lands, and goods. (3565-3570)

'In end', Kennedy concludes, they 'crown'd Calanthrop with his owne consent' (3677-3678). The knight's honour thus becomes a twofold construct; he is both the rightful King of Epirus, and the elected King of Cyrenaica – he rules with the authority of his ancestors, and with the additional honour of an election predicated upon honour and prudence.

Though the knight-in-disguise is a common motif of romance both in Scottish texts and elsewhere, some fundamental differences emerge between Scottish treatments of knightly ascension and those in comparative English or European texts. Authors throughout seventeenth-century Europe were certainly writing in societies where 'kighthood was no longer synonymous with physical and moral excellence, either in aspiration or in practice', and such depictions of heroism might increasingly be seen as 'quaintly old-fashioned'<sup>168</sup> – but the fundamental concept of kighthood (a code of manners and honour attached largely to physical endeavour and participation in warfare) remained, in Scottish romance at least, a vital model of heroic demonstration. It was not, as Cooper argues was the case in sixteenth-century England, 'an anachronism' to conduct oneself in a knightly manner, nor was it a 'reversion to romance rather than a living ideal' (Cooper, 44). Indeed, the transformations which heroic models were subject to in a post-chivalric age certainly seem to differ substantially between nations and canons. Morton W. Bloomfield describes the 'king who died for his people, [and] the warrior who defeated the tribe's enemies' as the 'original' heroes of 'early literature',<sup>169</sup> thus signalling the perceived anachronism inherent in their usage. Even in later medieval English romance, Anniina Jokinen posits, the hero is 'no longer fighting for his people,

---

<sup>168</sup> Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). p 41.

<sup>169</sup> Morton W. Bloomfield, 'The Concept of the Hero in the Early Middle Ages' in Norman T. Burns and Christopher J. Reagan, eds. *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1975). pp 27 – 45. p 30.

but for his ideals'.<sup>170</sup> Jokinen's discussion of the warrior hero – or the epic hero, as he is described in her study – centres largely on medieval English romance, and outlines an epic hero 'such as Beowulf or Roland' as possessing the qualities of

valor, military prowess, loyalty, generosity, and honor. He is a man who fights because he must, for the survival of his tribe or nation...It is in battle that the mettle of the epic hero is tested. The epic hero lives in a "shame culture", or an honor/shame society, where a man's 'good name' is his most prized possession (Fenwick Jones, p.57). The society is "hierarchical, that is, controlled by a military aristocracy whose highest good is in the warrior's code" (Jones, p.50). It is partly for this reason that Beowulf needs to kill the dragon and that Roland refuses to blow the horn. Genealogy in a hierarchical society is of great importance, and to fall into shame reflects not only on oneself, but on one's family and nation. (Jokinen, 1996)

It is the *chivalric* hero who successfully marries this physical martialism and code of honour with a courtly presence, in later medieval texts such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. But this is not necessarily the case with Scottish romance, or Scottish heroic literature more generally. The code of ethics and of masculine behaviour outlined above, realised primarily in Scottish romance by Barbour and Hary, is consciously appropriated and re-codified in later Scottish texts such as Gordon's *Prince Robert* and Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana*. The romance corpus was subject to other influences, as evidenced by the courtly and chivalric romances discussed above, which appeared for the most part throughout the sixteenth century – but by 1615, at which point Gordon published both *Penardo* and his *Prince Robert*, it seems something culturally significant has instigated – perhaps even necessitated – an important paradigm shift in heroic values. The reinsertion of the martial heroic code into romance vocabulary may have been propelled by any number of factors, but the renewed importance attached to martial endeavour in the real world, which had been caused primarily by the social impact of the court's departure from Scotland, is the chief cause of this rhetorical choice.

Though the value of the soldier clearly enjoyed a literary renewal during this period, treatments of the martial hero were not without some alteration. It is for this reason that Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622) acts as a crucial cultural document of such epistemological changes, constituting a faithful testament to the glory and honour attached to national service, whilst also articulating a concept of heroism adapted to suit early modern, rather than medieval, culture. This poem is important because it is an example of an emerging civic mode of heroism – the warrior becomes

---

<sup>170</sup> Anniina Jokinen, 'Heroes of the Middle Ages', *Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature* (December 1996). [accessed at <http://www.luminarium.org/medlit/medheroes.htm>, 19/06/12].

the hired soldier – and because it is a text which establishes a direct dialogue and relationship between a Scottish writer and soldier, and a key moment of Thirty Years War history.<sup>171</sup> As detailed in the first chapter of this study, the poem is largely derived from Martin Fumeé's *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie* (1594). Though the historical material it details – the Battle of Mohács of 1526 – predates the emergence of the Thirty Years War, we can surmise that Hannay became acquainted with this history during his service in Hungary as part of the later troubles. That the Battle of Mohács signalled the beginning of a prolonged and traumatic period of political tension and warfare between Habsburg forces and the Ottoman Empire is clear, and it was the defence of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine of Bohemia, which commanded Hannay's presence in Europe in 1620.

Political urgency certainly constitutes a prominent and vital strand of Hannay's *Sheretine*, in which the hero refuses to compromise his martial duty in favour of his amorous allegiance with the ill-fated heroine. Though the romance does not follow John Sheretine upon his military service – the narrative instead remains in Vienna with Mariana Ardech – its historical preface and the value attached to Sheretine's martial employment instils the poem with a strikingly martial atmosphere. It negotiates a central place in the social and (perhaps more importantly) the moral hierarchy for its soldierly protagonist, who, though largely absent from the narrative in order to fulfil his duty to the nation elsewhere, remains the sole heroic model worthy of emulation in a text populated by various noble characters. His primary competitor, Nicholas Turian, though 'more rich, [and] of higher degree' (II: 88) than the romance hero, appears to fulfil no civic purpose in the text. He is clearly well placed in society, otherwise he would be of no social value to Mariana's aspirant parents, but his occupation is never revealed, nor does he exercise any form of work ethic throughout. The martial occupation thus emerges as the social ideal in the text.

---

<sup>171</sup> Another text worth mentioning here is Sir Thomas Urquhart's *The Jewel* (1652). Urquhart flourished in the 1640s – a contemporary of Monro, Mackenzie, Lauder and Gordon, amongst others – and his martial activities c.1638-1651 demonstrate that he shared with these writers the occupations of soldier and writer. *The Jewel* commemorates the heroic deeds of 'The Admirable' James Crichton (1560-1582), as well as a series of other celebrated Scots soldiers. Similarly to Gordon's proposal in both *Prince Robert* and in *Britane's Distemper*, *The Jewel* defends Scotland's 'current unheroic, Presbyterian age' as just a 'temporary aberration in that nation's [otherwise] proud history' (R. D. S. Jack, 'Urquhart, Sir Thomas, of Cromarty (1611-1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28019>, accessed 18 July 2012]). It represents perhaps the most sustained example of Scottish self-heroicising in its methodical and comprehensive presentation of the 'excellent spirits both for armes and arts' (174) of Scotland. Urquhart wrote the text as a manifesto of sorts, hoping to secure his release from prison, but it is nevertheless an interesting example of the increasingly idealised way in which martial men were memorialised in fiction.

The centrality of these martial ideals is such that they constitute a key feature of various other seventeenth-century Scottish texts. Certainly the relationship between military life and literary endeavour was strong, and there was a healthy output of texts written by those in the military community. Indeed, if Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622) represented the first sustained attempt to modernise the romance genre from its knightly origins to a more socially pertinent martial outlook, soldier poetry and prose was the sub-genre which most fully achieved this endeavour.<sup>172</sup> Indeed, the poets Patrick Hannay, Patrick Gordon and John Kennedy all participated in military duty abroad, forging, as a result, significant links with King James VI's daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. Hannay served under Sir Andrew Gray, and dedicated his *Songs and Sonnets* (1622) to him in a seemingly conscious attempt to participate in a new, civic-founded basis of literary patronage, while Munro wrote an entire text dedicated to and featuring the heroic deeds of his patron Mackay's regiment.

One of the finest examples of the reciprocal relationship between martial and literary enterprise is provided by Colonel George Lauder (*fl.* 1622-1677). It is highly likely that Lauder's literary interests were derived from his maternal family's legacy, for Lauder was the youngest son of Alexander Lauder (*d.* 1622) and Mary Maitland (*d.* 1596). His mother was the copyist of the Maitland quarto (CUL, Pepys 1408), which contains, amongst others, a selection of works by Robert Henryson, Gavin Douglas, Alexander Arbuthnot, and William Dunbar, as well as a larger selection of works by Lauder's maternal grandfather, Sir Richard Maitland. Sebastiaan Verweij has emphasised the familial significance of such manuscripts as the Maitland Quarto and its elder companion Folio, describing both as Scottish miscellanies 'born out of family piety'. The Quarto was, he asserts, 'first and foremost a memorandum book after Sir Richard's death'.<sup>173</sup> That George Lauder would have had access to this manuscript or the kind of material anthologised in it is likely, and that the contents therein would have constituted a vital part of his literary learning seems inevitable. Certainly the larger part of the manuscript was composed of Maitland's works, through which we might seek some correspondence of moral value between grandfather and grandson. A discourse in patriotism and elegiac nostalgia is certainly shared by both authors, and indeed, though Maitland was

---

<sup>172</sup> Of course, *Squyer Meldrum* was equally successful in its evolution of martial hero to civic magistrate.

<sup>173</sup> Sebastiaan Johan Verweij, "The inlegebill scribbling of my imprompt pen": the production and circulation of literary miscellany manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c. 1580-c.1630". Unpublished D.Phil thesis. 2008. pp 84, 137.

quite alive to the evils of the old *régime*, he did not, while it existed, make them the object of his satire; nor, when the new *régime* perfection. In *Quhair is the Blytheness that has been* he laments the decay of the old merry customs, and in his *Miseries of the Tyme* he bewails the lack of any real amendment either in church or state... [Maitland] was more an enlightened patriot and a shrewd man of the world than either an ecclesiastical or political partisan.<sup>174</sup>

Lauder's poetic output was likewise largely patriotic in nature. The martial element of his works, inspired by his own career, and the respect he evidently directed towards his peers and martial employment more generally, would inspire an elegiac celebration for such 'old merry customs' as Maitland had lamented the passing of in *Miseries of the Tyme*. There are multiple self-conscious references to classical literature in Lauder's works, references which serve to evidence Lauder's learnedness and elevate his martial focus to the lofty heights of literary introspection, rather than just a celebration of physical masculinity. In *The Scottish Soldier*, Lauder pools Scotland's martial inheritance (the Golden Age of martial glory has returned, he claims, in line 4) with literary inheritance; his opening words, 'Arme, arme, to Armes, the Trumpets sound each where' (Lauder, 1), seem to be deliberately imitative of Virgil's *Aeneid*. This metafictional element is significant: it foregrounds

'that conceivably educable, redeemable being, the Scottish reader', the latter a proposal from civic humanism in tandem with evaluations of late medieval, especially Chaucerian experiments with relations between author, narrator, and persona... Scots texts... teach their readers to seek authority within themselves.<sup>175</sup>

Lauder thus instils multiple levels of authority in *The Scottish Soldier*: there is familial authority, derived from his maternal relationship with the Maitland manuscripts, and thus with a significant Scottish noble literary network; there is literary authority itself, derived from a self-conscious intertextuality tailored to meet humanist scholarly demands, and, finally, there is moral authority, derived from Lauder's military reputation – in other words, he has proven his commitment to nation and community by civic service. The subject matter of the text, moreover, befits its reading audience: it acts as a moral conduct book for young Scottish soldiers, satisfying a reader response function because it is, in essence, a dialogue between author, reader, and, more broadly, the Scottish nation. Lauder's text evinces the influence of a Scottish literary legacy, that, when combined with an emphasis on martial history, suggest his agenda is in part concerned with the development and construction of a Scottish heroic ideal, one in which he participates himself and is thus particularly suited to scrutinise. This emphasis is made clear at the beginning of the text, and his words are worthy of being repeated here:

---

<sup>174</sup> <http://www.bartleby.com/213/0605.html> [accessed 21 June 2012].

<sup>175</sup> Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan, 'Introduction' in Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan, eds. *Literature, Letters, and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002). pp ix-xxx. p xv.

And ere our fathers in the World did come,  
They heard th'Alarums in their mothers wombe,  
Which made them all borne Souldiers, for the field.  
Their birth place was, their cradle was a shielde,  
Why should we not then, sprung of warlike race,  
Our worthie grandsires wayes and footings trace? (47-52)

## Mackay's Regiment:

### Colonel Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay (1591-1649)

Certainly the mercenary hero had become a popular figure again in Scottish literary culture, and he features prominently across various literatures of the early to mid-seventeenth century. Historians estimate that there were approximately 38,550 soldiers levied by King Charles I and the Scottish Privy Council between the years 1624-1642 alone. Indeed,

if all levies were met and the current estimate of the population of 850,000 of Scotland is accurate then it would have amounted to between 4 and 5 per cent of the population and as much as one fourth of the adult male population. This is no small contribution and the Scots soldiers and their Scots officers were a major presence in the Danish and Swedish armies during the 30 Years War.<sup>176</sup>

There were several significant players in the development of this elite mercenary culture, men whose names would later feature frequently as patrons to works belonging to this emergent martial sub-genre, and who thus exemplified the paradigmatic links between martial employment and its literary manifestation. One such patron was Colonel Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay (1591-1649), who had begun his civil career in 1610 as Justice of the Peace in Inverness-shire and Cromarty. Mackay's role in the emergence and development of those works examined by this study is both vital and multi-faceted. He was knighted by King James VI and I in April 1616, and by this time was the patriarch and first Lord of a prominent Scottish estate. But the first and perhaps most interesting relationship in which Mackay features is with the Gordons of Huntly, patrons to Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, author of *Penardo* and *The Famous History of Prince Robert*. Indeed, in 1613, Mackay had been granted a commission of justiciary alongside George Gordon, the first marquess of Huntly, against Cameron of Lochiel. Their commission was issued under the terms of 'fire and sword', and is illustrative of the pervasive authority of feudal law in Scotland. It indicates, moreover, a relationship of trust and authority between these two noble houses and King James VI and I. George Gordon had clearly garnered enough favour with James to have borne the sceptre of

---

<sup>176</sup> Lee Offen, 'Gunn's Company, Mackay's Regiment of Foote, 1626-1634' [accessed at [http://historyreconsidered.net/resources/Gunn\\_1626\\_1634.pdf](http://historyreconsidered.net/resources/Gunn_1626_1634.pdf) 03/07/2012].

Parliament twice previously, in 1581 and in 1584, while in the previous year he had played host to the King, who had ‘paid a special visit to Huntly, then suffering from “a very dangerous disease”, possibly the “frensy” that would plague him throughout his career (*CSP Scot.*, 8.556).’<sup>177</sup> Huntly would later be appointed Lord High Chamberlain of the court, and he converted to Protestantism in 1588 at the behest of the royal court prior to his marriage to Lady Henrietta Stewart, securing, if not the majority of court politicians’ trust, the prolonged friendship and protection of James VI and I, even in spite of his multiple public episodes of disloyalty and infraction.<sup>178</sup> Mackay’s relationship with James was perhaps less personal, but he was evidently considered of such noble and worthy disposition as to be awarded the justiciary of Inverness-shire, and he was successfully granted a levy for the anti-Habsburg forces in 1626 by King Charles I. Amongst those known to enlist with Mackay in 1626 was Robert Munro, and it is likely that the poet John Kennedy dedicated *Calanthrop and Lucilla* to Mackay in 1626 because he was either about to enlist with the regiment himself, or at least had aspirations to do so. Mackay’s Regiment would later feature as the mercenary heroes of Munro’s *Expedition*, and indeed, their contributions to the Thirty Years War were celebrated elsewhere:

Mackay’s regiment distinguished itself by its actions. First, four companies under Major Dunbar staunchly resisted the imperial army’s attack on Boitzenburg. Second the regiment held the pass of Oldenburg for nine hours while their German allies retired in disorder; Mackay himself was wounded in this effort, and less than 1000 of his men survived. When the command was given for all the Danish forces to retire Mackay’s troops were the only ones to return to Denmark-Norway; the rest had surrendered to the imperial forces.<sup>179</sup>

Kennedy’s address to Mackay in his preface to *Calanthrop* – though characterised by the typical pomp and flattery synonymous with the literary address – explicitly identifies Mackay as a seventeenth-century Maecenas, patron of both the arts and military employment itself, and is thus illustrative of Mackay’s mutual position of respect on the field and on the page. That Kennedy identifies himself as ‘tyed many wayes thereto by dutie-bound obligation’ (Kennedy, 1626, ‘Dedication’) to Mackay suggests his relationship is certainly one based primarily upon their martial relationship. The ensuing romance, though of a more medieval bent than contemporaneous modern, civic romances such as *Sheretime*, is nevertheless a shared exploration of the role of the mercenary and the role of the poet in seventeenth-century

---

<sup>177</sup> J. R. M. Sizer, ‘Gordon, George, first marquess of Huntly (1561/2-1636)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11036>, accessed 3 July 2012].

<sup>178</sup> See Sizer, ‘Gordon, George, first marquess of Huntly (1561/2-1636)’, *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>179</sup> A. N. L. Grosjean, ‘Mackay, Donald, first Lord Reay (1591-1649)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17556>, accessed 3 July 2012].

society. Kennedy clearly understood that the patronage of an elite martial Colonel was an appropriate cultural attachment for his poem.

## Colonel Sir Andrew Gray and Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia

Colonel Sir Andrew Gray (*d.* 1663) played an equally vital role to that of Mackay, in both Scotland's war efforts, and in his role as literary patron. Despite belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, Gray was responsible for the levy of 1,500 Scots and an additional 1,000 English soldiers in 1620 for the cause of Elizabeth Stuart of Bohemia. Amongst these soldiers was Patrick Hannay, who would later dedicate his romance *Sheretine and Mariana* to Gray. Hannay's participation in this particular regiment was particularly significant in a courtly sense; it functioned as an expression of support for the Stuart dynasty more generally, and allowed him to make direct address to those at court who might benefit him. One such individual was, of course, Gray himself, and the other was Countess Lucy Harington of Bedford, who had, significantly, shared her girlhood with Elizabeth at Coombe Abbey. These noble connections which Hannay carefully selected and cultivated were unsubtle, but effective, and by 1626 he was well established in court circles. They were, in essence, a series of attempts intended to establish a dialogue between Hannay and the Stuart court, as well as literary document of Scottish political allegiances in the seventeenth century.

Elizabeth Stuart's role as Electress, and briefly Queen of Bohemia, meanwhile, was a defining factor in much of Scotland's martial movements throughout the early to mid-seventeenth century. Elizabeth's marriage in 1613 to Frederick V, the German Calvinist Elector Palatine, certainly had broad ramifications across Europe. That the match was intended to strengthen ties between James and the European Protestant Union is clear, and when Frederick was offered the crown in 1619, inviting the opposition of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II, the Protestant Scottish nation was inexorably, if willingly, drawn into the conflict. That the palatine marriage had been intended as 'a well-calculated move in a more comprehensive dynastic policy which would allow James to play his cherished role as Europe's peacemaker' is also clear. For Prince Henry and other court figures, however,

the marriage between his sister and the elector meant much more. *The Masque of Truth*, which was to be performed at the wedding and which had probably been commissioned by Henry, celebrated the marriage as an event of truly

eschatological significance, ushering in the final battle between light and darkness in which the empire of evil, that is popery, would finally be vanquished.<sup>180</sup>

One early nineteenth-century biographer would indeed go so far as to declare that Elizabeth ‘who, in Germany, had impelled so many Protestant heroes to take the field... [was a] royal lady, for whose smile the chivalry of Britain had emulously contended’.<sup>181</sup> Such hyperbole is indicative of Elizabeth’s central role in Scotland’s political and martial decisions of the Thirty Years War, not to mention the sense of romantic heroism attached to her service. ‘Referred to as the Queen of Hearts because of her many admirers... Elizabeth became a martyr for Protestantism during and after her lifetime, which led to several hagiographies and mythical narratives’<sup>182</sup> – she represented, in short, the romantic heroine or figurehead of what was perceived to be a highly valorous Protestant Empire. Though such representations are undoubtedly products of political propaganda and romantic exaggeration, Elizabeth must at least be considered a key European politician, whose efforts to restore her husband’s rule were both sustained and complex. Even in her most passive of roles – as the daughter of King James VI and I – she would have invited intense political support, due in large part to the courtly benefits her supporters might later reap. There was, moreover, a rather precious perception that the Protestant cause had a ‘distinguished Elizabethan history’ in Britain; ‘chivalry therefore combined with religious solidarity and *realpolitik* to transform Elizabeth of Bohemia into a living *casus belli*’.<sup>183</sup>

Five years of relatively peaceful marriage followed, during which time Elizabeth bore Frederick three children. In 1619, however, Frederick accepted the election to King of Bohemia as a matter of (political, rather than hereditary) course. The backlash to what was perceived by the pro-Habsburg forces to be an illegal election was as intensely hostile as it was immediate: Elizabeth and Frederick would reign for less than a year before they were exiled to The Hague, earning Elizabeth the unfortunate moniker of Bohemia’s ‘Winter Queen’. Both the affection felt for Elizabeth and the Protestant advances she and her husband promised to make in Europe combined to elicit a striking patriotic response both in Germany and at home in Britain; by 1620, Scots soldiers were mobilising in Leith for her aid, amongst whom featured Patrick Hannay, poet and popular courtier. Elizabeth’s influence is consequently

---

<sup>180</sup> Ronald G. Asch, ‘Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>, accessed 11 July 2012].

<sup>181</sup> Elizabeth Benger, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, Daughter of King James the First* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825). p v.

<sup>182</sup> Robyn Adams and Nadine Akkerman, eds. *The Letters of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia: Vol. II, 1632-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>183</sup> Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). pp 93-94.

broad and significant in Hannay's 1622 romance, *Sheretine and Mariana*. Evidently unable to reflect in print his sympathies with Elizabeth's cause in the Palatinate due to its continuing nature, Hannay chose instead to evoke an older, but overtly corresponding, tale of European conflict. A concise but evocative prefatory prose section, derived largely from such historical sources as Fumeé's *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie*, serves as an impassioned lament for a deposed queen, a narrative strand that is returned to and concluded in the poetic section of the romance. Hannay's earnest treatment of this historical material certainly suggests that there was some greater interest in the plight of the royal female. The dethronement and exile of Isabella indeed provokes concern not just for Hungary, but for 'the whole good of all the Christian state' (214), an apparently self-conscious reference to Elizabeth's role in the advancement of the Protestant Empire. Coupled with the text's mutual dedication to Colonel Sir Andrew Gray – he who was responsible for the first Scottish levy of Elizabeth's men – and to Lady Lucy Harington, Elizabeth's childhood companion, the romance serves as a thinly veiled, allegorical demonstration of Hannay's continued patriotic allegiance to the Electress.

But there is a broader significance to the literary relationships developed here; indeed, the martial and courtly circles in which this particular text operates are by no means restricted to this one example. As noted above, Gray's regiment was not the only martial division with literary affiliates; soldiers from Mackay's regiment and elsewhere made their own contributions to Scotland's seventeenth-century heroic canon, be it Munro's historical memoir, Lauder's various patriotic elegies, or Kennedy's *Calanthrop* romance. Those soldiers who entered service between c. 1620-1630 evidently sought their patronage from amongst a relatively select circle of Scottish military nobles. That we can derive from this a certain social paradigm seems clear; the royalist poet and prose writer was by no means denied access to a courtly audience in the wake of James's relocation out of Scotland, but he was required to seek courtly lines of enquiry via new sources. James's absence, coupled with the emergence of an increasingly aspirant martial nobility, would manoeuvre such Scots as Donald Mackay and Andrew Gray into those elite positions of both social and cultural authority. Those men who served under them sought to emphasise their relationships with such a credible authority, as well as to focus attention on their own heroism. That the romance in particular – a mode which had emerged as highly stylised document of courtly taste and ritual – would function as the literary forum in which such social developments were echoed, nurtured, and codified, is unsurprising. The seventeenth-century Scottish romance, ever preoccupied with the search for its own ideal hero, sought to glorify its natural-life equivalent – the valorous soldier – and to imbue and enhance him with the intellectual and rhetorical qualities deemed valuable by the medieval romance canon which preceded it.

## Conclusion

To whom does a society look for guidance, counsel and example in a post-chivalric age? In the absence of a royal court, to which social group will a nation look for leadership? Heroism, a central motif of the romance mode and beyond, would undergo a complex series of transformations over the course of the early modern period as texts responded to culture's growing need for a relevant hero. Scotland's role in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) provides necessary context for this process. The nation may have been but one comparatively minor Protestant state allied alongside Sweden, Bohemia, France, England, and the Ottoman Empire, amongst several others, but the impact of this conflict would have a profound effect on home culture. Scotland's population can be roughly estimated at 1 million c. 1600; should we compare this to England, with a population of approximately 4.2 million, and France, with a population of approximately 20 million, it becomes clear that the 10,000 plus Scot soldiers who engaged in these campaigns would have constituted a significant portion of society.

What emerges in Scottish literature is the conscious relocation of heroic identity from the courtly mould to that of the war-faring soldier, while the war-faring soldier was manoeuvring himself into the literary heroic space provided for him.

This thesis has therefore opened a number of avenues of inquiry into the development of a textual (often allegorical) engagement with Scottish male identity in the seventeenth century. The uncharted nature of its territory meant that this thesis was able to achieve an expansive overview of this protean material, thus allowing significantly improved research questions to be articulated, but has had to leave providing more complete answers to subsequent research. For such answers, the cultural language of masculinity which emerges should generate a new perspective on this period of Scottish literature and the issues with which its authors engaged. The continuities identified – the emphasis on martial valour in response to the soldier's increasingly central social role, a continued investment in the ethical poetics of reading and writing, and the consolidation of a soldierly code of conduct – indicate the existence of a heretofore unobserved Scottish literary tradition or discourse and will, I hope, inspire further scholarship on these texts/topic.

What a study of the above texts shows is that, in the relative absence of king, court and class authority in Scotland, the literary troping of leadership became a matter of broader national concern. As such, issues of masculine authority, heroism and morality would increasingly feature across a wide array of literary genres. Romance texts provided a natural channel through which to develop such themes because of their characteristic focus on the hero, and thus form the starting point of this thesis. The influence of Barbour's *Bruce* on later Scottish romance (and heroic literature more generally) was significant in this sense, in that it

foregrounded the collective benefits of good leadership, replacing the ‘individual knightly enterprise of *roman courtois*’ (Mainer, 257). After *The Bruce*, Scottish romance was increasingly concerned with codifying the ideal national hero, and later the ideal male on a more collective/universal level. Patrick Gordon’s *Prince Robert* used Bruce’s example of good kingship alongside *Penardo and Laissa*’s ideological expressions of martial ambition to articulate such aims, while Patrick Hannay’s *Sheretine and Mariana* and John Kennedy’s *Calanthrop and Lucilla* reinforced the civic role of the ideal male role model. This transition from individual heroic interiority to collective community service was inspired by a number of socio-political events, including: the removal of king and court from Edinburgh to London in 1603 and the consequent shifts in the social hierarchy; the outbreak of the Thirty Years War and later, Civil War, both of which prompted a renewed social interest in the ideological and practical role of the soldier, and finally; the desire to consolidate the shared values of the Scottish nation as part of a broader agenda for national identity.

But such developments were not, as stated above, restricted solely to fiction. It became clear, upon a closer analysis of patronage and paratextual reference, that there existed in Scotland a network of martial writers connected in large part by their patrons and their shared experiences of service in Europe. Colonels Sir Donald Mackay and Sir Andrew Gray in particular, to whom *Calanthrop and Lucilla* and *Sheretine and Mariana* were dedicated, featured elsewhere, not just as patrons, as in Mackay’s case, but even as the subject of literary analysis. Indeed, Robert Munro’s *The Expedition* suggested that there was a place outwith the realms of fiction for the erudite soldier, the civic hero that had begun to emerge in Scottish romance as a modern literary ideal. What this thesis has hopefully achieved is to illuminate the path of this thread of discourse between the literary traditions: fiction to non-fiction, romance to advice books, and the shared spaces occupied by all. Of course, one should also be mindful of where this study began – in the world of romance, where Caroline A. Jewers has argued writers would discover the ‘boundless potential of resituating the horizon of narrative’, bequeathing to the novel the ‘fundamental need, beyond storytelling, to quest for itself, to be engaged on a fundamental and ontological level in search of its own metafiction’.<sup>184</sup> Scotland’s seventeenth-century masculine textual culture – with its attendant codes of honour and heroism – suggests that Scotland’s fundamental need, beyond storytelling, was the quest for her own collective male identity in the radically changed cultural landscape that was the seventeenth century.

---

<sup>184</sup> Caroline A. Jewers, *Chivalric Fiction and the History of the Novel*. (Florida: University of Florida Press, 2000) p xi.

# Bibliography

## Primary Texts

- Adams, Robyn, and Akkerman, Nadine, eds. *The Letters of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia: Vol. II, 1632-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Anon, *Clariodus: A Metrical Romance*, ed. Irving, D. (Edinburgh: The Maitland Club, 1830).
- Anon, *The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane* (Edinburgh: Chepman and Myllar, c. 1508). National Library of Scotland STC / 1852:18.
- Anon, *Lancelot of the Laik* (c. 1490-1500) Cambridge University MS. Kk.1.5 xxxvi, 113 p. 3 fold. facsim.
- Baldwin, William, *A Mirror for Magistrates* ed. Joseph Haslewood (London: Lackington, Allen & Co. 1815).
- Barbour, John, *The Actys of Robert Bruce*, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson, 3 Vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1980 – 1985).
- Barclay, John, *Argenis* ed. Mark Riley and Dorothy Huber Pritchard (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004).
- Benger, Elizabeth, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, Daughter of King James the First* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825).
- Boece, Hector, *The Hystory and Cronikles of Scotland* translated by John Bellenden (Edinburgh: 1877).
- Burnet, Gilbert, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, ed. M.J. Routh (Oxford. Vol 1, 1823).
- Burton, Richard, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1621) British Library STC (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) / 4159.
- Craig, Alexander, *The Amorse Songes, Sonets and Elegies* (London: William White, 1606). Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) / 5956.
- Douglas, Gavin, *The Palice of Honour* (Edinburgh: Henry Charteris, 1579). National Library of Scotland STC / 1377:08.
- Dunbar, John, *Epigrammaton Ioannis Dunbari Megalo-Britanni Centuria Sex, Decades Totidem* (Edinburgh: Thomas Purfoot, 1616) Cambridge University Library STC (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) / 7346.
- Fraser, William. *The Sutherland Book*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: 1892).

- Fumeé, Martin, *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie newly translated out of French into English by R.C. Gentleman* (London: Felix Kingston, 1600). [Accessed at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>].
- Geddes, William Duguid, *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* Vol II (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892).
- Gordon, Patrick, *A Short abridgement of Britane's distemper*, ed. Dunn, J. (Spalding Club: 10. 1844).
- Gordon, Patrick, *The Famous History of Prince Roberte of Penardo and Laissa other Ways Callid the Warres of Love and Ambitione* (Dordrecht: George Waters, 1615). British Library ESTC Citation no. S103342.
- Gordon, Patrick, *The Famos Historie of the Renouned and Valiant Prince Robert Sirmamed the Bruce King of Scotland & of Sundrie other valiant knights both Scots and English* (Dort: George Waters, 1615). Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2nd ed.) / 12066.
- Graham, James, 1st Marquis of Montrose, *Montrose Lynes, Or; A Proper New Ballad.* Roxburghe 3.579 [accessed at <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31285/xml>].
- Graham, James, 1st Marquis of Montrose, *The declaration of His Excellencie James Marquis of Montrosse, Earle of Kilcairn, Lord Greme, Baron of Mont-Dieu, Lieutenant Governour of Scotland, and Captaine Generall of all His Majesties forces by sea or land, for that kingdome* (London: printed for Matthew Simmons, 1650). British Library Thomason/ 91:E.594 [22].
- Hannay, Patrick, *The History of Sheretine and Mariana* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1622) in *The Poetical Works of Patrick Hannay*, ed. David Laing (Aberdeen: Huntington Club, 1875).
- Harry, *The Wallace*, ed. Anne McKim (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2003).
- Kennedy, John, *The History of Calanthrop and Lucilla* (Edinburgh: John Wreiton, 1626) British Library STC/802:17.
- Lauder, George, *Caledonias covenant, or, Ane panegyric to the world* (Edinburgh: 1641) Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery Wing / L603.
- Lauder, George, *The Scottish Soldier* (Edinburgh: John Wreiton, 1629) Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) / 15312.
- Lauder, George, *Tears on the death of Evander* (Hagh, 1630) Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC 1278:03.
- Lauder, George, *Tveeds tears of joy, to Charles great Brittain's king* (Edinburgh: R. Bryson, 1639) National Library of Scotland, Aldis, H.G. Scotland, / 975.5.
- Lyndsay, David, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* ed. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1989).

- Mackenzie, Sir George of Rosehaugh, *Aretina; or, the Serious romance* (Edinburgh: Robert Brown, 1660) British Library Wing (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) / M151.
- Munro, Robert, *Munro his Expedition vvith the worthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)*. (William Jones, Red-Crosse Street, London, 1637). Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery STC/966:23.
- Rolland, John, *Ane Treatise Callit the Court of Venus* (Edinburgh: John Ros, 1575). The British Library STC / 1641:09.
- Rolland, John, *The Seuin Seages* (Edinburgh: John Ros for Henry Charteris, 1578) ed. Gregor, Walter (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1884).
- Scott, Walter, *Ivanhoe*, ed. Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Scott, Walter, ed. Williams, Ioan, *Sir Walter Scott on Novelists and Fiction* (Oxford: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1968).
- Scott, Walter, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, ed. Claire Lamont (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Segar, William, *Honor, Military and Civil* (London: Robert Barker, 1602). University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Library STC (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) / 22164.
- Shakespeare, William, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Stephen Booth (London: Yale University Press, 1977).
- Sidney, Philip, *An Apology for Poetry, or, The Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd and R.W. Maslen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002. 3rd ed.).
- Stewart, James, *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (1669) in Andrew Lang, *Sir George Mackenzie: King's Advocate, of Rosehaugh, His Life and Times 1636-1691* (New Jersey: The Lawbrook Exchange, 2005).
- Stewart, John of Baldynneis, *Roland Furious*, ed. Barbara Reynolds (Bucks: Penguin, 1975).
- Tasso, Torquato, *La Gerusalemme liberata*, ed. Max Wickert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Virgil, *The Aeneid* in H.R. Fairclough and G.P. Goulds, eds. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1-6* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

## Secondary Sources

### Books

- Adams, W. Davenport, *Dictionary of English Literature; being a comprehensive guide to English authors and their works* (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1878. 2nd ed. 2010).
- Allan, David, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000).
- Allan, David, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).
- Bainton, Roland, *Women of the Reformation from Spain to Scandinavia* (Minnesota: Fortress, 1977).
- Bond, Donald F. and Sherburn, G. eds. *The Literary History of England Volume 3: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1660-1789)*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Routledge, 1959).
- Bonney, Richard, *The Thirty Years War, 1618-1648* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002).
- Brown, Keith M. *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000).
- Cogswell, Thomas, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Cook, Patrick J. Milton, *Spenser and the Epic Tradition* (Surrey: Ashgate, 1999).
- Crawford, Robert, *Scotland's Books: A History of Scottish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Dawson, Lesel, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Doody, Margaret Anne, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
- Duiker, William J. and Spielvogel, Jackson J. *The Essential World History* (California: Wadsworth, 2007, 3rd ed.)
- Eriksonas, Linas, *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2004).
- Fowler, Alastair, *Literary Names: Personal Names in English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Foyster, Elizabeth and Whatley, Christopher A. eds. *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).
- Frye, Northrop, *The Secular Literature: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1976).

- Fuchs, Barbara, *Romance: the New Critical Idiom* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Harrison, Thomas Perrin, *The Pastoral Elegy: An Anthology* (New York: Octagon, 1968).
- Heddle, Donna, *John Stewart of Baldynneis' Roland Furios: A Scots Poem in its European Context* (Boston: Brill, 2008).
- Henderson, G.D. *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937).
- Heng, Geraldine, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
- Hochman, Stanley, *McGraw-Hill Encyclopaedia of World Drama* (USA: McGraw-Hill, 1984, 2nd ed).
- Jack, R.D.S. and Rozendaal, P.A.T. eds. *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375-1707* (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1997).
- Jaeger, C. Stephen, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
- Jauss, Hans Robert, *Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding*. Translated by Hayes, Michael. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
- Jewers, Caroline A. *Chivalric Fiction and the History of the Novel* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).
- Kinney, Arthur F. *Continental Humanist Poetics: Studies in Erasmus, Castiglione, Marguerite De Navarre, Rabelais and Cervantes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989).
- Kinsley, James, *Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey*. (London: Norwood Editions, 1976).
- Lyons, Martyn, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- MacQueen, John, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).
- McDonald, Nicola, ed. *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
- Mainer, Sergi, *The Scottish Romance Tradition c. 1375 – c. 1550: Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).
- Manlove, Colin, ed. *Anthology of Scottish Fantasy Literature* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996).
- Martin, Joanna, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 -1540* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008).
- Newman, F.X. ed. *The Meaning of Courtly Love* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1968).
- Nicolson, William, *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries; giving a short account of most of our historians, either in print or in manuscript*. Vol. II (London: Evans, T. 1736).

- Norbrook, David, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance: Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Radford, Jean, ed. *The Progress of Romance: The Politics of Popular Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1986).
- Raleigh, Walter, *The English Novel; being a sketch of its history from the earliest times to the appearance of Waverley* (London: John Murray, 1894).
- Reeser, Todd W. *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
- Robertson, Joseph, *Lives of Scottish Poets in Three Volumes: Volume One* (London: The Society of Ancient Scots, 1821).
- Runge, Laura L. *Gender and Language in British Literary Criticism 1660-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Salzman, Paul, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England: Reading 1621* (London: Palgrave, 2002).
- Scott, W. and Laing, D. eds. *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 3 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 19-19b, 1827-55), vol. 2.
- Sharman, Julian, *The Library of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1889).
- Stevenson, David, *King or Covenant? Voices from Civil War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996).
- Stevenson, Katie, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland: 1424 – 1513* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006).
- Todd, Margo, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London: Yale University Press, 2002).
- Wedgwood, C.V. *Montrose* (London: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1966).
- Werth, Tiffany Jo, *The Fabulous Dark Cloister: Romance in England After the Reformation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011).

## Chapters in books

- Bloomfield, Morton W. 'The Concept of the Hero in the Early Middle Ages' in Norman T. Burns and Christopher J. Reagan, eds. *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1975) pp 27-45.
- Boro, Joyce, 'Miscellaneity and History: Reading Sixteenth-Century Romance Manuscripts', ed. A.S.G. Edwards, *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700: Volume 15, Tudor Manuscripts 1485-1603* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2009). pp. 123-151.
- Boro, Joyce, 'All for Love: Lord Berners and the Enduring, Evolving Romance' in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). pp 87-102.

- Brockington, William S. 'Munro: Professional Soldier, Military Historian' in Steve Murdoch, ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618 – 1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). pp 215-244.
- Edwards, A.S.G. 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance' in L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S.L. Mapstone, eds. *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). pp 61-74.
- Fisher, Walter L. 'Narration, reason and community' in Richard Harvey Brown, ed. *Writing the Social Text: Poetics and Politics in Social Science* (New York: Aldine deGruyter, 1992) pp 198-235.
- Fowler, Alastair, 'Spenser's Names' in *Unfolded Tales: Essays on Renaissance Romance* ed. George M. Logan and Gordon Teskey (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). pp 32-48.
- Goldstein, R. James, 'I will my process hald': Making Sense of Scottish Lives and the Desire for History in Barbour, Wyntoun and Blind Hary' in Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, eds. *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006). pp 35-47.
- Heijnsbergen, Theo van, and Royan, Nicola 'Introduction' in Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan, eds. *Literature, Letters, and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002). pp ix-xxx.
- McClure, Derrick, 'Barbour's *Brus*: Epic Poetry and the National Resistance of the Admirable Warrior King' in Marco Fazzini, ed. *Alba Literaria: A History of Scottish Literature* (Venice: Amoz Edizione, 2006). pp 9-17.
- Mapstone, Sally, 'Afterword' in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. Nicola Royan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008). pp 207-220.
- Mason, Roger, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland' in Roger Mason and Norman MacDougall, eds. *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992). pp 50-73.
- Mason, Roger A. 'The Reception of Humanism in Early Renaissance Scotland' in L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and S.L. Mapstone, eds. *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). pp 1-26.
- Newcomb, Lori Humphrey, 'Gendering Prose Romance in Renaissance England' in Corinne Saunders, ed. *A Companion to Romance: from Classical to Contemporary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). pp 121-139.
- Purdie, Rhiannon, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland' in Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams, eds. *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006) pp 165-178.
- Robinson, Karen D. '*Lancelot of the Laik*: A Scottish Mirror for Princes' in Elizabeth Archibald and David F. Johnson, eds. *Arthurian Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010) pp 135-178.
- Saunders, Corinne, 'Chaucer's Romances' in Corinne Saunders, ed. *A Companion to Romance: from Classical to Contemporary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

- Sites, Paul 'Human Needs and Control' ed. Richard Harvey Brown, *Writing the Social Text: Poetics and Politics in Social Science* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1992). pp 176-192.
- Spiller, Michael, 'Dungeons and Larders: The Romances of Patrick Gordon' in Derrick McClure and Michael Spiller, eds. *Bryght Lanternis: Essays of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989). pp 365-377.
- Spiller, Michael, 'Poetry After the Union, 1603-1660', in R.D.S. Jack, ed. *The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660* (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1988). pp 141-152.
- Stanivukovic, Goran V. 'English Renaissance romances as conduct books for young men' in Naomi Conn Liebler, ed. *Early Modern Prose Fiction: The Cultural Politics of Reading* (London: Routledge, 2007). pp 60-78.

## Journals and Articles

- Beesemyer, Irene Basey, 'Romantic Masculinity in Edgeworth's *Ennui* and Scott's *Marmion*: In Itself a Border Story', *Papers on Language and Literature* (35, Winter 1999). pp 74-96.
- Beesemyer, Irene Basey, 'Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* of 1660: A Scot's Assault on Restoration Politics', *Scottish Studies Review* (Spring 2003).
- Berry, Edward, 'The Poet as Warrior in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*', *SEL* (Vol. 29, 1989). pp 21-34.
- Council, Norman, 'Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, and the Transformation of Tudor Chivalry', *ELH* (Vol. 47, No. 2, Summer 1980). pp 259-275.
- Donagan, Barbara, 'The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians, and Gentleman in the English Civil War', *The Historical Journal* (44, 2, 2002). pp 365-389.
- Farnham, Willard, 'The Progeny of "A Mirror for Magistrates"', *Modern Philology* (Vol. 29, 1931-32). pp 395-410.
- Houston, Rab, 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630-1760', *Past and Present* (No. 96, August 1982). pp 81-102.
- Jauss, Hans Robert and Benzinger, Elizabeth 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', *New Literary History*. Vol. 2, No.1. 'A Symposium on Literary History' (Autumn, 1970) pp 7-37.
- Jowitt, Claire, 'Pirates and Politics in John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621)', *The Yearbook of English Studies* (Volume 41, Number 1, January 2011). pp 156-172.
- Kliman, Bernice W. 'Speech as a Mirror of Sapientia and Fortitudo in Barbour's *Bruce*', *Medium Aevum* (Vol. 44, 1975) pp 151-161.
- Langford, Gerald, 'John Barclay's "Argenis": A seminal novel', *Studies in English* (No. 26, 1947) pp 59-76.
- McShane, Angela, 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History* (Volume 15, 2011) pp 105-137.

- Mackie, J.D. 'Dugald Dalgetty and Scottish soldiers of fortune', *Scottish Historical Review* 12 (1914–15), pp 221-37.
- Miller, Jim, 'What's Wrong with the Literacy Debate?', *Scottish Affairs* (No. 34, Winter 2001). pp 15-33.
- Nievergelt, Marco, 'The Chivalric Imagination in Elizabethan England', *Literature Compass* (Issue 8/5, 2011) pp 266-279.
- Penman, Michael, 'Reputations in Scottish History: King Robert the Bruce (1274-1329)', *Études écossaises* (Vol. 10, 2005). pp 1-19.
- Pinkerton, John in O'Flaherty, Patrick 'John Pinkerton (1758-1826): Champion of the Makars', *Studies in Scottish Literature* (Vol. 13, Issue 1, 1978). pp 159-195.
- Royan, Nicola, 'The Question of Truth: Barbour's *Bruce*, Hary's *Wallace* and *Richard Coer de Lion*', *IRSS* (Vol. 34, 2009). pp 75-105.
- Stewart, Marion, 'A Recently-Discovered Manuscript: "ane taill of Sir colling ye knyht"', *Scottish Studies*, Volume 16, 1972. pp 23-39.
- Strathmann, Ernest A. 'A Scotch Spenserian: Patrick Gordon', *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1938). pp 427-437.
- Sullivan Jr, Garrett A. 'Romance, Sleep, and the Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Old Arcadia*', *English Literary History* (Volume 74, Number 3, 2007). pp 735-757.
- Ting, N.T. 'The Historical Sources of Patrick Hannay's *Sheretive and Mariana*', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (Vol. 43, No. 2. April 1944) pp 242-247.
- Turner, James Grantham, "'Romance' and the Novel in Restoration England", *The Review of English Studies* (New Series, Vol. 63, No. 258, 2011) pp 58-85.

## Charters, Records and Newspapers

- '500 Years of Printing in Scotland, 1508-2008', *The Scottish Print Archive* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Printing Archival Trust, 2008).
- *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* (Vol. 70, Nov. 1807).
- Maidment, James, in *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of James VI* (1838; 212n).
- Pitcairn, Robert, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, 3, 1833, 448n.

## Reviews

- Sunshine, Glenn S. review of Steve Murdoch ed. *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618 – 1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (Vol. 35, No. 1. Spring 2004) pp 199-201.

## Unpublished works

- Caughey, Anna, 'Love, Lust and the Female Gaze in Late Medieval Scottish Romance', chapter in Nicholas Perkins, ed. *The Materiality of Medieval Romance* (forthcoming, Boydell & Brewer, 2014).
- Caughey, Anna, 'Representations of Knighthood in Late Medieval Scotland', unpublished D.Phil thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2010).
- McClune, Kate, 'Governing the Self' in Nicola Royan, ed. *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Literature 1400-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Mapstone, Sally, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500'. Unpublished D.Phil Thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1986).
- Verweij, Sebastiaan Johan, 'Illustrating Printed Books and Manuscripts', in *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, Vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1700*, ed. Sally Mapstone and Alastair Mann (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013): forthcoming.
- Verweij, Sebastiaan Johan, "'The inlegebill scribbling of my imprompt pen": the production and circulation of literary miscellany manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c.1580-c.1630'. Unpublished D.Phil Thesis (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2008).

## Web sources

- Asch, Ronald G. (2004) 'Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press; online edn. [accessed Jan 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>].
- Bayne, T.W. (rev. Gerard Carruthers, 2004) Lauder, George (fl.1677), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [accessed March 2012 at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16113>].
- 'Charles II: October 1678', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1678: With Addenda, 1674-9* (1913), pp. 441-500. [URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57988> Date accessed: 10 May 2012].
- Dunnigan, Sarah M. 'Hume, Anna (fl. 1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14138>, accessed 20 Sept 2013].
- Grosjean, A.N.L. 'Mackay, Donald, first Lord Reay (1591–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17556>, accessed 3 July 2012].
- Jackson, Clare, (2007)'Mackenzie, Sir George, of Rosehaugh (1636/1638–1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. [accessed 27 Sep, 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17579>].
- Jokinen, Anniina, 'Heroes of the Middle Ages', *Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature* (December 1996). [accessed 19 June, 2012, at

<http://www.luminarium.org/medlit/medheroes.htm>]

- Lupack, Alan, 'The Tale of Ralph the Collier: An Introduction' in Alan Lupack, ed. *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances* (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990). TEAMS ed. Accessed at <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/collint.htm> 30/05/12.

- McKim, Anne, 'The Wallace: Selections' (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003). [accessed 17 August, 2012 at <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/wallint.htm>]

- Offen, Lee, 'Gunn's Company, Mackay's Regiment of Foote, 1626 – 1634' [accessed at [http://historyreconsidered.net/resources/Gunn\\_1626\\_1634.pdf](http://historyreconsidered.net/resources/Gunn_1626_1634.pdf) 03/07/2012].

- Pitcher, John, 'Daniel, Samuel (1562/3–1619)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7120>, accessed 8 Feb 2014].

- Reid, David (2004) 'Hume, James (fl. 1558 – 1629x31)', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14144/?back=,14144,14139>].

- Reid, David, 'Rolland, John (fl. 1528–1580)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24020>].

- Royan, Nicola, (2004) "Barclay, John (1582–1621)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.G.C. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP); online ed., ed. Goldman, Lawrence. [accessed January 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1342>].

- Sizer, J.R.M. 'Gordon, George, first marquess of Huntly (1561/2–1636)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11036>, accessed 3 July 2012].

- Spiller, Michael R.G. 'Maitland, Sir Richard, of Lethington (1496–1586)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17831>, accessed 20 Sept 2013]

- Stevenson, David, 'Gordon, Patrick, of Ruthven (fl. 1606-1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004. Accessed at [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11072?docPos=1>, accessed 14 Jan 2013].

- Stevenson, David, 'Graham, James, first marquess of Montrose (1612-1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11194>, accessed 12 Mar 2012].