

Mackay, Francesca L. (2016) *Reading Pitscottie's Cronicles: a case study on the history of literacy in Scotland, 1575-1814*. PhD thesis.

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/7341/>

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

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

This work 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

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

Reading Pitscottie's *Cronicles*:
A Case Study on the History of Literacy in Scotland,
1575-1814

Francesca L. Mackay

M.A. (Hons.), M.Phil.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

English Language | School of Critical Studies | College of Arts
University of Glasgow

May 2016

Abstract

This thesis addresses a range of research questions regarding literacy in early modern Scotland. Using the early modern manuscripts and printed editions of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's late sixteenth-century *Cronicles of Scotland* as a case study on literacy history, this thesis poses the complementary questions of how and why early modern Scottish reading communities were encountering Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, and how features of the material page can be interpreted as indicators of contemporary literacy practices. The answers to these questions then provide the basis for the thesis to ask broader socio-cultural and theoretical questions regarding the overall literacy environment in Scotland between 1575 and 1814, and how theorists conceptualise the history of literacy.

Positioned within the theoretical groundings of historical pragmatics and 'new philology' - and the related approach of pragmaphilology - this thesis returns to the earlier philological practice of close textual analysis, and engages with the theoretical concept of *mouvance*, in order to analyse how the changing 'form' of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, as it was reproduced in manuscript and print throughout the early modern period, indicates its changing 'function'. More specifically, it suggests that the punctuation practices and paratextual features of individual witnesses of the text function to aid the highly-nuanced reading practices and purposes of the discrete reading communities for which they were produced.

This thesis includes extensive descriptive material which presents previously unrecorded data regarding twenty manuscripts and printed witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, contributing to a gap in Scotland's literary/historiographical canon. It then analyses this material using a transferable methodological framework which combines the quantitative analysis of micro-data with qualitative analysis of this data within its socio-cultural context, in order to conduct diachronic comparative analysis of copy-specific information.

The principal findings of this thesis suggest that Pitscottie's *Cronicles* were being read for a combination of devotional and didactic purposes, and that multiple reading communities, employing highly nuanced reading practices, were encountering the text near-contemporaneously. This thesis further suggests that early modern literacy practices, and the specific reading communities which employ them, should be described as existing within a spectrum of available practices (i.e. more or less oral/aural or silent, and intensive or extensive in practice) rather than as dichotomous entities. As such, this thesis argues for the rejection of evolutionary theories of the history of literacy, suggesting that rather than being described antithetically, historical reading practices and purposes must be recognised as complex, coexisting socio-cultural practices, and the multiplicity of reading communities within a single society must be acknowledged and analysed as such, as opposed to being interpreted as universal entities.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
List of Figures.....	iv
Editorial Practice	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
A. Introduction to Thesis.....	1
1. General Introduction to Research Topic.....	1
2. Thesis Structure	2
2.1 Chapter 1: Introduction	2
2.2 Chapter 2: Descriptive Section	3
2.3 Chapter 3: Evaluative Section	3
2.4 Chapter 4: Conclusion	4
B. Research Contexts.....	4
1. Philology	4
2. Bibliography/Textual Criticism	7
2.1 New Bibliography/Textual Bibliography	7
2.2 Transition from New Bibliography to Historical Bibliography (Social Text Theory)	8
2.3 Social Text Theory	9
3. Book History.....	12
4. <i>Mouvance</i>	13
5. Historical Pragmatics	16
5.1 Development of Historical Pragmatics as a Discipline	16
5.2 Approaches to Historical Pragmatics	20
5.3 How this Thesis Defines Historical Pragmatics.....	25
C. Research Aim: History of Reading.....	29
D. Data.....	34
1. Importance of Actual Data/Rich Data	34
2. Case Study: Pitscottie's <i>Cronicles</i>	34
3. Case-Study in Context: Historiography	39
3.1 The Ideology of Scottish Historiography	39
3.2 Development of Scottish Chronicles	43
E. Methodology.....	47
1. Importance of Tertium Comparationis	47
2. Quantitative/Microlinguistic to Qualitative/Macrolinguistic.....	48
F. Summary	49
Chapter 2: Corpus Information	51
A. Introduction.....	51
B. A Note on the Dating of the Witnesses under Analysis	51
Chapter 2A: Introduction to Corpus	54
1. MS La.III.218	54
2. Acc. 9769 84/1/1 1/2 (Crawford MS I)	57
3. MS La.III.216	61
4. Adv. MS 35.4.10	63
5. Adv. MS 35.4.11	66

6. Wodrow MSS. Folio XLVIII (Wodrow Folio)	69
7. MS La.III.583	72
8. MS La.III.198	76
9. Acc. 3736.....	79
10. MS 3147	82
11. MS 185	86
12. Acc. 9769 84/1/1 2/2 (Crawford MS II)	89
13. MS 2672	92
14. Sp. Coll. Mu8-a.6 Freebairn 1728 Edition	97
15. Sp. Coll. BD5-b.4 Freebairn 1728 Edition	99
16. Sp. Coll. RF 361 Freebairn 1728 Edition	100
17. Sp. Coll. Bo3-m.12 Urie 1749 Edition.....	101
18. ESTC No. T105415 Urie 1749 Edition	103
19. ESTC No. T083320 Cadell 1778 Edition	104
20. Sp. Coll. BD13-i.23 Dalyell 1814 Edition	106
D. Summary	109
Chapter 2B: Features of Analysis.....	110
A. Introduction.....	110
B. Paratextual Features	114
1. Paratextual Features in Use	114
1.1 Contents.....	114
1.2 Prefatory/Supplementary Material.....	114
1.3 Additional Texts	118
1.4 Title Pages	119
1.5 Enlarged Initials.....	122
1.6 Intertitles.....	123
1.7 Chapters	126
1.8 Paragraphs	127
1.9 Scribal Formal Marginalia	130
1.10 Running Titles.....	131
1.11 Foliation/Pagination.....	132
1.12 Language	133
2. Weighting of Paratextual Features	133
3. Paratextual Systems of Each Witness	137
3.1 MS La.III.218.....	137
3.2 Crawford MS I	138
3.3 MS La.III.216.....	138
3.4 Adv. MS 35.4.10	139
3.5 Adv. MS 35.4.11	139
3.6 Wodrow Folio.....	140
3.7 MS La.III.583.....	140
3.8 MS La.III.198.....	141
3.9 MS Acc. 3736.....	141
3.10 MS 3147	142
3.11 MS 185	143
3.12 Crawford MS II	143
3.13 MS 2672	144
3.14 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6)	145
3.15 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4).....	145
3.16 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361).....	145

3.17 Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12)	145
3.18 Urie's 1749 Edition (ECCO).....	146
3.19 Cadell's 1778 Edition (ECCO).....	146
3.20 Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23).....	146
C. Discussion	147
1. Paratextual Categorisation	147
1.1 'Inter-textual' Items	148
1.2 'Marginal' Items	150
1.3 'Surrounding' Items.....	151
1.4 Analysis	153
2. Typicality of Paratextual Features	155
D. Punctuation Practices	158
1.1 Typical Marks of Minor Medial Pause:.....	158
1.1.1 <i>Comma</i> : <,>	158
1.1.2 <i>Distinctio</i> : < >	159
1.2 Typical Marks of Major Medial Pause:.....	160
1.2.1 <i>Semi-Colon</i> : <;>	160
1.2.2 <i>Double Punctus</i> : <:>	161
1.3 Typical Marks of Final Pause:	161
1.3.1 <i>Punctus</i> : <.>	161
1.4 Hypothesised Mark of Sound Quality	162
1.4.1 <i>Littera Notabilior</i> : e.g. <A; B; C>	162
1.5 Novel Punctuation Marks.....	163
1.5.1 Double Height Vertical Curve: <,'>	163
1.5.2 Combined <i>Comma</i> and <i>Punctus</i> : <,>	164
1.5.3 Combined <i>Comma</i> and Hyphen: <,->	165
2. The Punctuation Systems of Each Witness	166
2.1 MS La.III.218.....	166
2.2 Crawford MS I	166
2.3 MS La.III.216.....	167
2.4 Adv. MS 35.4.10	167
2.5 Adv. MS 35.4.11	168
2.6 Wodrow Folio.....	169
2.7 MS La.III.583.....	169
2.8 MS La.III.198.....	170
2.9 MS Acc. 3736.....	171
2.10 MS 3147	172
2.11 MS 185	172
2.12 Crawford MS II	173
2.13 MS 2672	174
2.14 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6)	174
2.15 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-B.4).....	175
2.16 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361).....	175
2.17 Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12).....	176
2.18 Urie's 1749 Edition (ECCO).....	177
2.19 Cadell's 1778 Edition (ECCO).....	177
2.20 Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23).....	178
E. Discussion	179
1. Function of Punctuation	179
2. Punctuation Categorisation	181

F. Analysis: Systems of Punctuation and Paratext.....	185
G. Summary	187
Chapter 3: Reading Communities	188
A. Introduction.....	188
B. Case Studies	190
1. Wodrow Folio	190
2. Crawford MS I	198
3. Freebairn's 1728 Edition	208
C. Summary.....	222
Chapter 4: Conclusion	226
A. Introduction.....	226
B. Position within the Evolving Contemporary Field	226
C. Methodological Implications	227
D. Original Contribution	228
E. What the Results Indicate.....	230
F. Potential for Future Research	234
G. Summary	236
Bibliography	238
A. Primary Sources	238
B. Secondary Sources	241
Appendix 1: Extract Transcriptions.....	271
1.1 MS La.III.218.....	271
1.2 Crawford MS I	274
1.3 MS La.III.216.....	277
1.4 Adv. MS 35.4.10	279
1.5 Adv. MS 35.4.11	281
1.6 Wodrow Folio.....	282
1.7 MS La.III.583.....	284
1.8 MS La.III.198.....	286
1.9 MS Acc. 3736	287
1.10 MS 3147	289
1.11 MS 185	291
1.12 Crawford MS II	293
1.13 MS 2672	294
1.14 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6).....	297
1.15 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4)	298
1.16 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361)	299
1.17 Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12)	300
1.18 Urie's 1749 Edition (ECCO)	301
1.19 Cadell's 1778 Edition (ECCO)	302
1.20 Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23)	303
Appendix 2: Extract Content Categorisation.....	305
Appendix 3: Paratextual Data	306
Appendix 4: Scribal Paratextual Provision	310

Appendix 5: Punctuation Data Tables	313
--	------------

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been undertaken without the love, support, and encouragement of my family, to whom I shall be forever grateful. To Danielle Lonsdale, Andrew Mackay, Lynn Mackay, Philip Lonsdale, Betty Dawson, Joseph Lonsdale, Alex Mackay, and Charlotte Lonsdale, while I may not be able to express my gratitude to all of you in person, you have each contributed to making me the person I am; whether it is by instilling my lifelong love of books and learning, allowing my (over-enthusiastic) discussion of my academic undertakings, or encouraging me to aim high and achieve my goals, without you all this thesis would not be possible. I would particularly like to thank my grandmother, Betty Dawson, for setting me off on the right path by taking me to every museum, castle, and heritage site that the North-East had to offer throughout my childhood - I have no doubt my love of history and material culture comes from you, and, for that, I am forever grateful. I would like to thank Andrew and Lynn Mackay for their financial support throughout my postgraduate career and for their constant support for my achievements. Most of all, though, I would like to thank my wonderful mother, Danny Lonsdale, without whose unwavering emotional support, encouragement, and pride at all periods of my life (and at all times of the day and night) I would never have completed this undertaking. I did, indeed, 'believe in my dreams', and this is undoubtedly due to you.

To my amazing friends (both very near and very far) I cannot thank you enough for your constant support and, when needed, distraction. Leah Bell, the unwavering encouragement and reassurance you have provided me with has been essential to the completion of this thesis (and my sanity) - and your ability to do so across several thousand miles is a testament to what a wonderful friend you are. Katie Johnson and Rosa Sharma-Sly, thank you for all of your support and for possessing the hugely under-valued skill of always knowing the right thing to say (or, indeed, not to say!). Steven Doherty, thank you for the active interest you have taken in my research and for the essential reminders that you have provided throughout this process to recognise my successes. Shona Fraser

and Emma Dickson, thank you for the support and encouragement you have given me, and for providing the occasional much needed escape from the world of academia!

Throughout my postgraduate career it has been a pleasure to belong to the incredible research community of English Language at the University of Glasgow; the benefit of the knowledge, friendship, and enthusiasm provided by staff and students cannot be underestimated. In particular, I would like to thank Prof. Elizabeth Robertson, Dr. Alison Wiggins, and Dr. Katie Lowe for sharing their research interests and helping to shape future career prospects, and Alison Bennett for her administrative support. My successful navigation of postgraduate life can, in no uncertain terms, be attributed to the support of my ‘Circle of Niceness’: Dr. Johanna Green and Dr. Diane Scott. I cannot thank you both enough for your constant reassurance and encouragement, and the abundance of knowledge you have shared. The undertaking of - and, in particular, the completion of - this thesis would have been a significantly less smooth journey without you both. Johanna and Diane, along with David Rushton and Steven Doherty, also have my upmost gratitude for the assistance they provided with the proof-reading and formatting of this thesis. Thanks also to the colleagues with whom I have shared an office over the years: Rachael Hamilton, Alice Crook, Dr. Fraser Dallachy, and Dr. Daria Izdebska, for enduring the tumultuous postgraduate journey with me.

I would like to thank the Erasmus programme and the University of Helsinki for both the opportunity and the financial support to study abroad as part of my research process. My exchange at the University of Helsinki allowed me the wonderful opportunity to engage with my larger research community and gain new perspectives on my work - from which my thesis undoubtedly benefitted. Many thanks to all the members of the University of Helsinki research community who took the time to engage with me and my research interests during my time in Finland: Prof. Minna Palander-Collin, Prof. Terttu Nevalainen, and Dr. Elizabeth Peterson. In particular, my thanks go to Prof. Irma Taavitsainen and Prof. Matti Peikola for their engaging conversations regarding my research area,

the new perspectives on historical pragmatics and material culture they provided, and the invaluable contributions they made to my thesis material.

I would like to thank the College of Arts Internship Scholarship for providing me with the financial support which made this research possible. In particular, I would like to thank the respective Deans of the College of Arts Graduate School, Prof. Dee Heddon and Dr. Barbara Burns, for the opportunities they provided.

My thanks also go to Special Collections at the University of Glasgow's Library, the Centre for Research Collections at the University of Edinburgh's Library, and the National Library of Scotland (in particular, Kenneth Dunn) for allowing me the opportunity to view the manuscripts and printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* which form the data collection of this thesis.

I am extremely grateful to my internal and external examiners, Dr. Theo Van Heijnsbergen (University of Glasgow) and Prof. John Thompson (Queen's University Belfast), for the advice and support with which they provided me during both the viva and the subsequent editing process.

Finally, my upmost gratitude goes to my supervisor, Prof. Jeremy Smith, whom I have had the pleasure and the privilege of working alongside since undertaking my undergraduate dissertation many years ago. His keen interest in, and open enthusiasm for, historical pragmatics, philology, and book history, both stimulated and maintained my passion for the research I have undertaken. His support, guidance, and advice - academic, professional, and personal - throughout this process has been invaluable and I shall be forever in his debt. So many of the merits of this thesis are owed to Jeremy, all defects that remain are, of course, my own.

List of Figures

Figure 1: MS La.III.583 (f.1r)	116
<i>'Author's Account to the Reader' (scribal)</i>	
Figure 2: MS La.III.583 (f.2r)	116
<i>'Verses to the Bishop' (scribal)</i>	
Figure 3: Adv. MS 35.4.10 (f.1r)	117
<i>'Description of Britain' (scribal)</i>	
Figure 4: Adv. MS 35.4.10 (146r)	117
<i>'Table' (scribal)</i>	
Figure 5: Wodrow Folio (f.iir)	118
<i>List of Contents</i>	
Figure 6: MS 185 (p. 151)	119
<i>'A Chronological Collection of Events'</i>	
Figure 7: MS 2672 (unpaginated)	120
<i>First Title Page</i>	
Figure 8: MS 2672 (unpaginated)	120
<i>Second Title Page</i>	
Figure 9: Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4) (p. i)	121
<i>Title Page</i>	
Figure 10: Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23) (unpaginated)	121
<i>Abbreviated Title Page</i>	
Figure 11: Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23) (p. i)	121
<i>Title Page</i>	
Figure 12: MS La.III.216 (f.7r)	122
<i>Example of enlarged initial (functioning as textual division)</i>	
Figure 13: MS La.III.583 (p. 45)	123
<i>Example of enlarged initial (functioning as textual division)</i>	

Figure 14: Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4) (p. 67)	123
<i>Example of enlarged initial (functioning as textual division)</i>	
Figure 15: MS La.III.218 (f.163r)	123
<i>Example of enlarged initial (to begin a page of the manuscript)</i>	
Figure 16: MS La.III.218 (f.154v)	124
<i>Series of inter-textual intertitles marking George Wishart's martyrdom</i>	
Figure 17: MS La.III.218 (f.158v-159r)	125
<i>Series of inter-textual intertitles marking George Wishart's martyrdom</i>	
Figure 18: MS La.III.218 (f.160v)	125
<i>Series of inter-textual intertitles marking George Wishart's martyrdom</i>	
Figure 19: Adv. MS 35.4.11 (f.80v)	126
<i>Inter-textual intertitle marking 'The Oration'</i>	
Figure 20: Adv. MS 25.4.11 (f.3v-4r)	127
<i>Example of chapter divisions</i>	
Figure 21: MS La.III.198 (p. 373)	129
<i>Example of paragraph layout</i>	
Figure 22: Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6) (p. 191)	129
<i>Example of paragraph layout</i>	
Figure 23: MS La.III.216 (f.135v)	131
<i>Example of scribal formal marginalia</i>	
Figure 24: MS La.III.583 (p. 10-11)	132
<i>Example of scribal running titles</i>	
Figure 25: Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12) (p. 22-23)	132
<i>Example of printed running titles</i>	

Editorial Practice

A. Terminology: Punctuation

In environments in which specific punctuation marks are discussed using Latin terminology, italicised font has been employed (for example, ‘*comma*’ or ‘*colon*’). In many instances, though, the same terminology is used to describe the sentence structure, therefore in such environments the font has not been italicised and the determiner ‘[sentence structure]’ has been added for clarification (for example, ‘comma [sentence structure]’ or ‘colon [sentence structure]’).

B. Transcription Conventions

Diplomatic transcriptions have been provided of the selected extracts, title pages, and formal/readerly marginalia (where applicable) from all manuscripts and printed editions of the text (see, primarily, Appendix 1 and Chapter 2). Transcriptions have been produced in accordance with the transcription conventions employed by the University of Cambridge’s *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (Beadle et al. 2006-2009) and *English Handwriting 1500-1700: An Online Course* (Zurcher et al. 2015).

Lineation, indentation, and any notable spacing have been retained as they appear in the exemplars, and there has been no intervention in the orthography or punctuation.¹ Contractions have been expanded and the supplied letters have been italicised. Other scribal features such as superscript letters, underlining, lexical items which have been struck through, and letters featuring macrons which do not seem to be signifying a contraction have been retained so as to limit editorial intervention in the transcriptions. Lexical items or letters that have been lost through cropping or are otherwise obscured or illegible have been marked with curly braces, for example {...}; while lexical items or letters that have been deleted by the editor have been marked with angle brackets, <...>.

¹ While lineation has been retained within the extract transcriptions in Appendix 1, for shorter transcriptions of exemplar material within the thesis (most notably in Chapter 2) lineation has been indicated with a vertical line, <|>.

Uncertain textual features (or features which cannot be accurately reproduced in the printed form) have been included in footnotes to avoid intervention in the text; therefore, for example, instances in which parentheses or square brackets have been included within a transcription are a feature of the exemplar. Within the extract transcriptions (Appendix 1), page breaks have been indicated with a horizontal line across the width of the page and spacing on the page is marked using the term ‘-line space-’ (emboldened) on unnumbered lines.

~ For My Mum and My Granny ~

The two strongest women I know, who made me the kind of woman
with the ambition (and stubbornness) to undertake this.

‘O litle Book paffe thou with diligence’

Dedicatory Verses to Robert Stewart, the Bishop of Caithness, prefacing Robert Lindsay of
Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland*,

MS La.III.198, Edinburgh University Library, f.2r.

Chapter 1: Introduction

‘It [historical pragmatics] studies language not as an abstract entity but as a means of communication that is being used by people interacting in specific situations, with specific intentions and goals and within specific contexts’

Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 1-2).

A. Introduction to Thesis

This thesis intends to provide insights into the intended reading communities of selected witnesses of Robert Lindsay’s *Cronicles of Scotland* from the late-sixteenth to early-nineteenth centuries. By studying twenty witnesses (manuscripts and printed editions) of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* as a case study on Scottish literacy history, this thesis questions how and why early modern Scottish reading communities were encountering Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*, and how features of the material page (punctuation practices and paratextual features) can be interpreted as indicators of the contemporary literacy practices of the selected witnesses. While, as a case study, the explicit aim of this thesis is to produce findings specifically in relation to selected witnesses of a single text in a defined period of Scottish socio-cultural history, the discussions and conclusions it presents also contribute to conceptualisations of Scottish literacy history more generally.

1. General Introduction to Research Topic

Multiple corresponding paradigm shifts within philology, bibliography, and pragmatics in the final quarter of the twentieth century have stimulated the potential for the previously disparate research questions and methodologies of these subject areas to be combined, in an interdisciplinary fashion, to conduct diachronic research into historical written data within their socio-cultural context. The resulting field of historical pragmatics focuses on the inextricable relationship between the form and function of historical linguistic outputs. Located within this emerging field, this thesis specifically examines the relationship between the material form of manuscripts and books and the socio-cultural functions of literacy. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie’s *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* - a comparatively neglected work in the canon of Scottish

historiography (see Section D) - acts as the case study on which this research is centred. Pitscottie's *Cronicles* were composed in the mid-sixteenth century (c. 1542-1575); an unstable, transitional period of Scotland's Reformation. Yet, despite extant evidence suggesting that the text circulated in manuscript form during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the work was not printed until the comparatively late date of 1728 (despite the Scottish printing press having been active, to varying degrees, since the early sixteenth century). This delay relates to a number of socio-political factors outlined in Section D.2 of this chapter.

Investigating the reproduction of Pitscottie's work in manuscript and print (1575-1814), this thesis poses the question: how do the different forms of Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland* represent the shifting socio-cultural functions of the text over time? This thesis argues that specific features of *mise-en-page* (paratextual features and punctuation practices) can be interpreted as strong indicators of the reading practices and purposes of the contemporary reading communities of the various witnesses of the text.² Therefore twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* in manuscript and print are examined, both as individual outputs and in comparison to other witnesses of the work, in order to elucidate the *Cronicle's* specific function in each discrete socio-cultural environment within which it is produced (the reading practices and purposes of the reading communities for which the producers of the individual witnesses are catering). This study will then contribute towards larger hypotheses regarding the complex literacy environment of early modern Scotland and the overall perception of literacy history.

2. Thesis Structure

2.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

The remainder of this chapter introduces the main theoretical concepts with which this thesis engages. It provides abbreviated introductions to the fields of

² The concept of 'reading communities' is based on Claire Jones' discussion of 'discourse communities' (2004: 23-26), in which she uses the term to define groups of people who are connected by texts and discourse practices.

philology, bibliography and textual criticism, and book history and manuscript studies, and introduces certain key notions, such as *mouvance*. The central theoretical framework of this thesis is subsequently outlined: historical pragmatics. The chapter then presents the methodological framework of this thesis, outlining the reasons behind the methodological decisions that were made.

Finally, this chapter introduces Pitscottie's *History and Cronicles of Scotland*, the case study on which this research is focussed. The author and his *Cronicles* are placed within the context of sixteenth-century historiography, therefore highlighting why this text stands apart from the other histories of Scotland from this period and why it has been selected as the focus of this research.

2.2 Chapter 2: Descriptive Section

Chapter 2 comprises the descriptive section of this thesis; it primarily functions to present the data which is under analysis in Chapter 3. Chapter 2A presents discursive descriptions of the twenty witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* which are used as case studies in this thesis (thirteen manuscript witnesses and seven witnesses of the four printed editions 1728-1814), while Chapter 2B describes the specific textual features of the witnesses which are the focus of historical pragmatic analysis in Chapter 3 (paratextual features and punctuation practices).³

2.3 Chapter 3: Evaluative Section

This chapter applies the theories and hypotheses associated with historical pragmatics, as introduced in Chapter 1, to the data that have been presented in Chapter 2. It uses selected witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (the Wodrow Folio, Crawford MS I, and Freebairn's 1728 printed edition) to conduct close analysis of

³ As will be recognised in Chapter 4, there are additional/alternative textual features which could have been examined to form hypotheses on historical reading practices (most notably syntax and the use of discourse markers), but this thesis has chosen to focus on punctuation practices and paratextual features in order to present a detailed and focussed argument within the temporal/spatial constraints of this research project.

what the data presented in the previous chapter suggests about the reading practices and purposes of the early modern reading communities for whom the specific witnesses were produced. This chapter applies socio-cultural contextual information to these data, highlighting that the textual data and hypothesised reading purposes and literacy practices need to be discussed in relation to their socio-cultural contexts in order to reinforce the validity of the evaluation.⁴

2.4 Chapter 4: Conclusion

Chapter 4 summarises the key points raised in this thesis, and suggests future directions for research in this field. It situates the research within the fields it engages with, discussing how the thesis has evolved from various - and, it is argued, connected - paradigm shifts in linguistics and bibliography at the end of the twentieth century and contributes to under-researched areas in these disciplines. Potential directions in which this research could be taken are then outlined, including the transferable applications of the thesis' methodology, and the topics that this thesis has identified which could benefit from further investigation.

B. Research Contexts

1. Philology

By the mid-twentieth century philology as a subject was deemed to be largely in decline. Its practices had become labelled as too narrow in focus, having moved from the broad activity of close textual study - as defined by Jacob Grimm and Friedrich von Schlegel in the nineteenth century - to being interpreted as primarily 'the study of words historically' (Simon 1990: 18; see also Wenzel 1990: 11-12). Many scholars, therefore, dismissed philology as too restrictive in practice to be useful, engaging with an outmoded notion of linguistic enquiry that was being superseded by (e.g.) generative approaches. The status of philology at the end of the twentieth century has been summarised by Barbara Johnson (1990), who records the cultural commentator William Arrowsmith as

⁴ See Jucker and Taavitsainen's (2013: 3) discussion of historical pragmatics as social pragmatics: 'the historical and cultural context in which language is being used is important for our understanding of the patterns of language use'.

attacking philology for being so restrictive that it is methodologically unsound. Arrowsmith argues that there are more important things in textual studies than accuracy; for example, context (Arrowsmith 1963: 8-10 referenced in Johnson 1990: 26-27). By contrast, Johnson records the philosopher Paul De Man as continuing to support the specificity of philology, stating that one should 'not make any statements that they could not support by specific use of language that actually occurred in the text' (De Man 1986: 23 quoted in Johnson 1990: 28). Problematically, philology seemed unable to define itself as a discipline: it was too speculative to be a science, but too scientific and empirical to belong to the humanities (Harpham 2009: 50-51). What emerged at the end of the twentieth century, therefore, was a conflict between philology as narrow linguistic study and literary criticism (socio-historical contextualisation of the written communication), and between accuracy/textual evidence and aesthetic intuition (Johnson 1990; see also Jonathan Culler's discussion of the conflict, viz. Culler 2002: 13). The critical values attributed to the different approaches to textual study in this period can be clearly seen through the description of philology as 'small-mindedness' and literary criticism as 'intuitive leaps' (Johnson 1990: 27 discussing Jacques Lacan's analysis of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Purloined Letter*).

The central concern of philology, though, i.e. close textual analysis, remained a major part of literary/linguistic practice, and thus it is unsurprising that the dismissal of philology was met with a counter-response. At the end of the twentieth century the undervaluing of philology was noticed by a group of scholars and a campaign to revive and redefine philology began, with the aim being to return to the central methodological practice of philology - manuscript culture - and to broaden the criteria analysed by philologists to include contextual information in order to redefine philology for linguists, historical pragmatists, and book historians. It is this definition of 'new philology' - proposed, explained, and promoted by a dedicated 1990 edition of *Speculum* - which provides the basis for this project's philological approach.

As Stephen G. Nichols emphasises, and as was stated above, 'new philology' was more of a renewal of the subject than an entirely 'new' subject/approach (1990:

1). ‘New philology’ was essentially a return the subject’s medieval origins that were rooted in manuscript culture (Nichols 1990: 1, 8), and, in re-focussing on material culture, the field can be seen to have developed from the preceding twentieth-century developments within ‘new bibliography’.⁵ Like new bibliographers, new philologists were often editors and as such recognised the multiplicity of texts and the multiple forms by which medieval material culture has reached us today (Nichols 1990: 8-9; see also the concept of ‘material philology’ in Carroll et al. 2013). Suzanne Fleischman further reiterates the similarities Nichols identifies between ‘new philology’ and ‘new bibliography’ by describing Nichols’ return to manuscript culture as a search for the ‘original text’ (Fleischman 1990: 25). Instead, more in accordance with the philological motivations behind this research, Fleischman interprets ‘new philology’ as the reconstruction of a text’s reproduction history: ‘the philologist’s task should be comparison, not archaeology, since the latter reduces to singularity what acquires meaning precisely through plurality, through variation’ (1990: 25).

New philologists aim to use their recognition of textual multiplicity and their knowledge of editorial practices to conduct close textual study of manuscripts/early printed books and draw conclusions relating bibliography/linguistics to textual historical pragmatics, as is discussed in Stephen Nichols’ introduction to the specialised ‘new philology’ edition to *Speculum* (Jan. 1990). In this edition, Siegfried Wenzel emphasises the pragmatic aspect of philological study by defining philology as ‘an attitude of respect for the *datum*, for the facts of the text and its contexts, which should be cultivated at all levels of our enterprise to understand and appraise [...] [philology is] respect for the facts, for the concrete realities of the text’ (1990: 17-18). The new philological methodology, as adopted in this thesis, therefore begins with what might be termed the ‘micro’ details of the text, i.e. features which were often dismissed by earlier textual critics as ‘accidentals’, before moving onto the ‘macro’ details of historical contextualisation (Harpham 2009: 39). Just as the eighteenth-century scholars of philology saw ancient languages as giving access to past human experience, for example Sir William Jones’ and Franz Bopp’s studies on the relationship between language and race (Harpham

⁵ For more information on ‘new bibliography’ see the subsequent section of this chapter, Section B.2.1.

2009: 41), this thesis will use philology to show how late medieval manuscripts and early printed books can be interpreted as evidence of the communities for whom they were produced and of the specific literacy practices used in these periods.

2. Bibliography/Textual Criticism

2.1 New Bibliography/Textual Bibliography

Alfred W. Pollard's interests in bibliography, textual editing, and the material culture of books highlight, from an early period, the direction in which bibliography was heading, and pre-empted the field of book history which exists today. Pollard published widely on Shakespearean literature in the early twentieth century, including his seminal work on bibliographic practice: *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text* first published in 1917 (second edition 1937). This publication highlights Pollard's now somewhat out-dated, purist attitude to bibliography. Pollard propagated the belief that the 'original' version is the best version to use when producing a new edition of a text, and the only version worth credit; his discussion of editors who have intervened in the text notes that 'where they have asserted themselves they have done real harm' (Pollard 1937: xxvii). For Pollard, therefore, the editorial process was essentially a search for the author's original text, an aim which is not the intended outcome of modern editorial practice, but which paved the way for further bibliographic debate throughout the twentieth century regarding the selection of an editor's copy-text and the role of interpretation and critical judgement in the editorial process.

W. W. Greg and Ronald B. McKerrow, working near-contemporaneously to Pollard in the early twentieth century, held similar value judgements to Pollard in that they too presented a purist attitude towards the author's original text. However, they expanded the field of 'new bibliography' - for which Pollard had provided the foundations - and contributed a great deal to the construction of twentieth-century editorial theory. The most crucial of Greg's contributions to this field was his 1950 essay 'The rationale of the copy-text' in which he suggested that editorial practice should be conservative, and should consist of

the reproduction of a single textual authority - the copy-text - as closely as possible. More specifically, 'the ideal text shall approach as closely to the author's manuscript as modern methods of criticism allow' (Greg 1954: iv); the copy-text cannot be 'corrected' or 'improved', but any errors which the editor interprets as scribal or anything which the editor decides the author would have recognised as a mistake can be removed. Greg's approach was much more prescriptive than later discussions of bibliography; he produced a prolegomenon of editorial practice including seven rules dictating the selection of a copy-text and its reproduction.

D. C. Greetham (1999: 334) sees Fredson Bowers (1949; 1964) and Thomas G. Tanselle (1990) as continuing Greg's work into the second half of the twentieth century with their focus on what Greetham labels the 'copy-text school' (1999: 403). Therefore, despite new bibliography commonly being labelled as originating in the work of Pollard, Greg, and McKerrrow, Greetham (1999: 3) labels Greg, Bowers, and Tanselle as new bibliographers.

2.2 Transition from New Bibliography to Historical Bibliography (Social Text Theory)

McKerrrow (1927; 1928) expanded upon his contemporaries' contributions to editorial theory/practice (textual bibliography) by taking a much wider approach to bibliography than the other two scholars and incorporating elements of historical bibliography. In doing so McKerrrow laid the foundations of the field of book history as it is currently practised. McKerrrow was primarily interested in printing practices and the material page of the book, which indicates the link between textual bibliography and modern book history research.

From an editorial perspective, McKerrrow's intentions were similar to Pollard's and Greg's: he aimed to examine the printing processes a text had undergone in order to reconstruct the 'authorial original'. His novel method of examining the relationship between the authorial original and later printed editions was highly influential to the development of the field of book history, though, and is

significant in that it introduces the concept of 'variation' which developed as its own field many decades later. His emphasis on printing processes can also be seen as an early acknowledgement of some of the issues later highlighted by Jerome J. McGann (1983; second edition 1992) and D. F. McKenzie (1999) in their explicitly socio-historical approaches to bibliography. Philip Gaskell and Tanselle further discuss McKerrow's ideas regarding the human processes that influence a text. Greetham (1994: 340) comments that Gaskell's *From Reader to Writer* (1978) 'emphasises the social transactions that a text undertakes as it becomes increasingly public property: he demonstrates the "dynamic" of the text by showing examples of the various ways texts have undergone changes' (Greetham 1994: 340), and he highlights Tanselle's (1990) warning that if a 'text' is read alone and the physical and bibliographic features are ignored, then some of the main qualities of the work will be missed (Greetham 1994: 293). Therefore, development of the idea that texts are the product of the socio-culture they are produced in began in 'new bibliography'/textual bibliography with McKerrow, and was incorporated into the works of Gaskell, McGann, and Tanselle, before being formulated into the form of social text theory/historical bibliography presented by McKenzie in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999).

2.3 Social Text Theory

While McKenzie's work was not published until 1999, his ideas regarding 'the sociology of texts' emerged when he discussed the topic extensively during his Panizzi lecture series (1985). Therefore, what Greetham (1999: 297) labels as the two major statements on social textual criticism - McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983; second edition 1992) and McKenzie's *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (presented in the Panizzi series 1985; later collected and published 1999) - emerged near contemporaneously in what Tanselle labelled as 'a larger movement in literary studies' (discussed by Greetham 1999: 297). This 'movement' can be seen not only in the social approach to textual criticism/bibliography heralded by McGann and McKenzie, but also in the social approach to material culture suggested by the discipline of book history which, as Robert Darnton argues, was emerging as an important

new discipline in the late twentieth century, focussing on ‘the social and cultural history of communication by print’ (Darnton 1982: 65).

It is fairly clear that the emergence of ‘new philology’, just a decade after the emergence of this new social focus of bibliography, is part of this larger movement. In the opening article to the aforementioned edition of *Speculum* dedicated to the theme of ‘new philology’, Nichols states ‘what is “new” in the philology common to all the contributions may be found in their insistence that the language of texts be studied not simply as discursive phenomena but in the interaction of text language with the manuscript matrix and of both language and manuscript with the social context and networks they inscribe’ (1990: 9). It seems that at the end of the twentieth century all areas of textual criticism were investigating the socio-historical impacts of the text with renewed vigour.

McGann (1983; 1992) signals an integral stage between the (textual) bibliographers of the early twentieth century and the (historical) bibliographers/social text theorists/book historians of the late twentieth century. While he continues to recognise authorial intention as important - as Pollard and Greg did - he reduces this factor in value to being just one of several criteria which distinguish textual authority (Greetham 1999: 403); McGann interprets authority as being gained from the accumulated social history of the work (Greetham in McGann 1992: xviii). Greetham suggests that McGann instigated the shift in bibliographic practices: ‘while intention and authorial presence are still important topics in textual debate [...] in the last decade there has been a shift in attention to those social, institutional, and collaborative models of creation and production emphasised by McGann’ (Greetham in McGann 1992: x).⁶

McKenzie (1985; 1999) steps even further away from the new bibliographers/textual bibliographers of the earlier twentieth century and redefines bibliography as socially motivated (Greetham 1999: 415). McKenzie

⁶ This shift in bibliographic practices, suggested to have been instigated by McGann (1983; 1992), and propagated by McKenzie (1999), has been hugely influential on the approach this thesis takes to textual production and re-production.

develops bibliographic practice so that it is not merely useful for textual criticism, but so that it can also, in contrast, be used to research social history and anthropology. As Greetham (1999: 413) comments, McKenzie's definition of book history expands beyond examination of the physical book, to a study of what historical bibliographic research can reveal about the practices of past human life and processes of thought. McKenzie, in his rejection of the value of authorial intention and the authorial original, comes to highlight *mouvance* (see Section B.4 of this chapter) as a key future area for bibliographic research: 'a history of books will have no point if it fails to account for the meanings they later come to make' (McKenzie 1999: 14).

The above quotation from McKenzie's writings highlights the key difference in the intentions of textual bibliographers and book historians. Textual bibliographers/textual critics were primarily working in the field of textual editing; their process of conducting contextual historical research was necessary in order to make a series of value judgements on a text or on specific elements of a text in order to identify or produce the edition of a text that they deemed 'best'. For book historians there is no such specific intended outcome, nor, indeed, are there the same value judgements made along the way. Instead the intention is to produce a descriptive 'history' of books; to research diachronically what happens to books, in all the processes they go through: production, circulation, reception. Most importantly, book historians research why changes in these processes - and the material outcomes of these processes - occur. It is the conjunction of the impetus to 'describe', and the desire to explain 'why' changes occur, which explains why social text theory, book history, and 'new philology' all emerged in a single wave in the late twentieth-century. Further, it explains why, in the wake of such a wave, the area of *mouvance* - the discussion of subsequent witnesses of a text which is quintessentially not value based - has emerged as an interesting area of study, an area of study which is beneficial to all the above areas of research which have contributed to its formation.

3. Book History

Resulting from the long-term developments in bibliographic practice discussed in Section B.2, the field of book history emerged as a distinctive discipline in the late twentieth century. As Robert Darnton (1982: 65-66) acknowledges, an interest in the history of books actually goes back to at least the Renaissance period and the study of books as material objects grew in popularity during the nineteenth century. In France in the 1960s, though, the field as we recognise it today began to establish itself, with a new focus emerging on the relationship between book history and socio-economic history (Darnton 1982: 65-66). This socio-cultural approach to the history of books is the primary focus of the discipline in the English-speaking world, with Darnton's influential work 'What Is the History of Books?' in 1982 provoking a series of discussions over the subsequent decades which led to the formation and development of the field as an important area of academic research in its own right.

Darnton's approach to book history in his 1982 essay is hugely insightful, but it displays the relative infancy of this emerging (sub)discipline in the wide range of perspectives and methodologies it attempts to cover. Darnton broadly defines book history in ways similar to today's conception of the field: 'book history concerns each phase of this process [of book production and consumption] and the process as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political, and cultural, in the surrounding environment' (1982: 67); he labels it as an interdisciplinary subject incorporating history, literature, economics, sociology, and bibliography (Darnton 1982: 81). Darnton, however, adopts a more scientific approach to book history than is generally taken in later works on the subject, adopting a systematic approach more commonly associated with earlier bibliographic practices. Despite his broad definition of book history, Darnton attempts to construct a 'general model' of book production and circulation that he labels a 'communications circuit' (1992: 66). While such a universal 'model' is not imposed on current research, which tends to consist of more discursive research on a case-by-case basis,⁷ Darnton's 'communications circuit' is useful in

⁷ See Pearson's (2007) argument for the use of case-studies (subsequently discussed), also advocated by Chartier (1989).

highlighting the disparate elements involved in book production and circulation (the author, the publisher, the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, the reader) and the need for these elements to be related to one another when discussing a book's history (Darnton 1982: 75).

As mentioned, in the decades since Darnton the field has evolved and shifted slightly in focus: current methodologies in book history are less 'scientifically' structured and hypotheses have become more specific to groups of books. David Pearson (2007) suggests that the preceding twenty years had seen copy-specific information become a growing approach to book history. Using the specific in order to hypothesise upon the general - a methodological practice that this thesis will adopt - Pearson (2007: 34) labels book history the 'detailed analysis of copy-specific evidence, mapping it across coherent groups of books'. Indeed, this methodology seems to be a widely supported practice: 'one of the most interesting areas of current research in book history is concerned with interpreting the clues from copies and piecing together the documentary evidence to provide a narrative' (Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote 2007: viii). This methodology of book history research, coupled with the sociological approaches suggested by McKenzie (1999) and David McKitterick (2003), complement one another and have contributed to the formation of the field of 'textual afterlives' (Smith 2013b) in which this research is situated (see Section B.4). Diachronic analysis of specific witnesses of the same text enables the reconstruction of a text's 'afterlives': how and why the material elements of a text (in manuscript or book form) change depending on the reading community for which the witness was produced.

4. *Mouvance*

The above-mentioned field of 'textual afterlives' is the current form of *mouvance*, the approach to textual criticism introduced by Paul Zumthor in France in the 1970s.⁸ Zumthor formulated the concept of *mouvance* in his

⁸ McKenzie's (1999) seminal work on the 'sociology of texts', and the interest in socio-cultural context within book history (Darnton 1982) and philology (see *Speculum*, January 1990, 'The New Philology'), have all contributed to a recognition of and respect for the differences between witnesses of a text and an interest in the socio-cultural reasons behind these variations – as

seminal work, *Essai de poetique medievale* (1972) - translated into English as *Toward a Medieval Poetics* (1992) - and continued his discussions in his later article 'The Impossible Closure of the Oral Text' (1984a). Zumthor (1972: 507) uses the term *mouvance* to describe how all texts are intrinsically unstable and therefore undergo a process of textual mobility: 'les textes concrets qui la réalisent présentant, par le jeu des variants et remaniements, comme une incessante vibration et une instabilité fondamentale'.⁹ By focussing specifically on the 'reworkings' of a text, Zumthor positions *mouvance* in opposition to classical textual criticism which attempts to smooth out the variations between versions of a text and produce a single 'perfect' version of the text which represents as closely as possible the author's intention for the work.¹⁰ Zumthor, though, thinks that the creative power of a work comes specifically from the multiplicity which classical textual critics attempt to rectify: he suggests that a work 'finds the plenitude of its meaning in the relation which ties it to those preceding, and those to follow' (1984a: 34). Zumthor criticises the textual critics' preoccupation with 'authority', suggesting that an 'authentic' text does not exist (Zumthor 1984a: 35), and argues that by focussing on authenticity 'the essential mobility of the medieval text' is ignored (Zumthor 1972: 71 in Millett 2011). In his argument for *mouvance* rather than the search for the authorial text, Zumthor suggests that 'anonymity and textual variation were connected [...] vernacular works were not normally regarded as the intellectual property of a single named author, and might be indefinitely reworked by others, passing through a series of different "etats du texte" ("textual states")' (Millett 2011 referring to Zumthor 1972: 72).

Zumthor's theory is rooted in the field of what was to become historical pragmatics: 'the key to textual variation lies [...] in its practical function [...] it was [...] pragmatically adapted [...] for changing audiences and changing

discussed within Zumthor's (1972) theory of *mouvance* in *Essai de poétique médiévale*; Cerquiglini's (1999) discussion of 'variation' in *In Praise of the Variant*; and the concept of 'textual afterlives' (Smith 2013b)

⁹ Translated as: 'those concrete texts which constitute the work's real existence present through the play of variants and re-workings something like a ceaseless vibration of fundamental instability' by McGarry in Zumthor (1984a: 33).

¹⁰ See also the work of Derek Pearsall (1983) and Kate Harris (1983) on the value of studying 'bad texts'.

purposes' (Millet 2011).¹¹ Zumthor refers to the 'redployment of material [...] to serve a novel purpose' (1992: 36), therefore supporting the basic hypothesis of historical pragmatics: that the form of a text and its function are intrinsically linked. This pragmatic function of textual variation is the premise of this thesis' approach to 'textual afterlives': that the 'diachronic aspect' of a text (Zumthor 1992: 35) will indicate that a text is repeatedly 're-formed' to aid various specific socio-cultural practices.

In 1989, Bernard Cerquiglini published his *Eloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (English translation: *In Praise of the Variant*, 1999), which supports Zumthor's emphasis on a text's intrinsic multiplicity, but uses the term *variation* to discuss the concept rather than *mouvance*. Like Zumthor's, Cerquiglini's work was positioned in opposition to classical textual criticism's focus on the genesis of a piece of writing (1999: xi). Cerquiglini saw his writing as belonging to a larger movement in textual studies which saw manuscripts become the primary object of interest (Cerquiglini 1999: xi), and a new focus on linguistic variation rather than the search for universal linguistics: 'criticism is increasingly fond of whatever is unstable, multiple, and precarious' (Cerquiglini 1999: xiii). Cerquiglini suggests that the approaches taken by himself and Zumthor are the necessary way in which to examine medieval texts due to the nature of literature in the period: 'in the Middle Ages the literary work was a variable [...] multifaceted activity' (Cerquiglini 1999: 33). Cerquiglini suggests that 'the fact that one hand was the first is sometimes, undoubtedly, less significant than this constant rewriting of a work which belongs to whoever recasts it and gives it a new form' (Millet 2011 discussing Cerquiglini 1989: 57). Cerquiglini, therefore, like Zumthor, stresses the importance of a text's *variation/mouvance* rather than its authorial original. Like Zumthor, Cerquiglini suggests the most appropriate form of textual criticism is the representation of textual *variation/mouvance* rather than the production of a critical edition: 'archaeology reduces something that derives its meaning from difference into something that is just one' (1999: 44).

¹¹ See the subsequent Section (B.5) for a discussion of historical pragmatics.

Theories of *mouvance* and *variation* have clearly had considerable scholarly impact: Nadia Altschul supports Zumthor and Cerquiglini when she suggests that ‘medieval textuality is not always characterised by the authorial texts for which textual scholarship has traditionally searched, but rather by a reutilization [sic.] of textual material produced by a manual process of transmission that allows for significant change in the context of frequent reappropriation’ (2006: 115). Altschul supports *mouvance/variation* as the closest definition of medieval textuality within ‘manuscript culture’, suggesting that we should ‘concentrate not on literature but on the multiple layers of manuscript textuality, from production to reception, leading to the method which holds as its principal object of investigation the scribal version, an editorial position intent on showing every instance of meaning in all the surviving witnesses’ (Altschul 2006: 122). Altschul’s opinion, along with the methodology proposed by Zumthor that ‘if we take our starting point in the texts, we are apt to observe manifest or latent changes in them, provided that we allow a long enough period for our observations’ (Zumthor 1992: 35), supports ‘new philology’s’ call for a return to manuscript culture when conducting textual criticism (which was discussed in Section B.1), a methodological process which this thesis supports. Further, this thesis engages with the theories and methodologies suggested by Zumthor, Cerquiglini, and Altschul in examining the *mouvance/variation* of the ‘texts’ of a ‘work’ (using the terms as defined by Zumthor (1992: 48-49), who suggested that a ‘work’ was a dynamic concept for which each ‘text’ is a version). In association with the links Zumthor makes between the pragmatic purposes behind *mouvance*, this thesis attempts to identify the specific socio-cultural practices behind each ‘text’ of the ‘work’ over a substantial period of time.

5. Historical Pragmatics

5.1 Development of Historical Pragmatics as a Discipline

In the previous four sections the late twentieth century has been outlined as being a period of substantial change regarding the approaches to traditional fields such as philology and bibliography, due to the emergence of ‘new philology’ and social text theory. The introduction of new approaches to material texts due to the movement away from textual ‘authority’ as the focus of material culture research (e.g. book history and *mouvance*) has also been

noted. This period can be seen also to have been innovative for the field of pragmatics (and more specifically historical pragmatics), strongly suggesting that changes in one area of literary and linguistic research were impacting upon other complementary fields leading to larger and broader-reaching changes in theoretical/methodological approaches to material culture.

There have been three notable paradigm shifts within linguistics and, more specifically, within ‘pragmatic’ research, during the last century, which have led to the formation of the field of historical pragmatics as it is defined within this thesis - though the roots of these shifts, and an interest in the approaches and methodologies associated with them, can be seen to have originated much earlier.

According to Geoffrey N. Leech (1983: 1), before the 1970s pragmatics was not a focus of linguistic study; it was not seen as a serious or respected field.¹² Linguistics was hitherto largely preoccupied with the study of language universals and the rules that derived languages from these universals. Dell Hymes, therefore, describes a long-term shift, which preceded the expansion of the pragmatic field from the 1980s onwards (Jucker 1994: 533), in which linguistics moved ‘from focus on structure to focus on function - from focus on linguistic form in isolation to focus on linguistic form in human context’ (Hymes 1984: 471). Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen (2013: 5-9) reinforce Hymes’ suggestion of a shift in linguistic focus when they explicitly identify a ‘paradigm shift in linguistics’ as having taken place over the last twenty years in which they suggest that the core of linguistics has shifted from items such as phonetics, syntax, and semantics to the more contextualised fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Further, they expand upon this by suggesting that this overarching development influenced related shifts in focus from homogeneity to heterogeneity; internal language to external language; introspection to empirical research; and stable to discursive features (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 5-9). Overall, the ‘new’ definition of linguistics places *context* as central to the field in what Jeremy J. Smith (2014) describes as a shift from

¹² See also Jucker and Taavitsainen’s (2013: 2) discussion of pragmatics as a relatively new field of only approximately forty to fifty years old.

langue/competence to parole/performance; 'linguistics properly understood is always linguistics from a pragmatic perspective because language cannot be studied adequately unless the context of use is taken into consideration' (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 6).

A further transition highlighted by Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 8-9) caused the field of pragmatics to move towards an interest in historical issues: a renewed interest in diachrony.¹³ The leap is quite easy to interpret: if a refocus on contextualisation was occurring successfully in synchronic linguistic research, it is only a small step to apply these pragmatic principles diachronically to historical linguistics.¹⁴ Leslie K. Arnovick suggests that the first forays into historical pragmatics took place in the 1970s and 1980s (1999: 9), and as was the focus of more general/synchronic pragmatics, historical pragmatic research originally focussed on earlier speech communities and the context/pragmatic principles which effected their spoken interaction (Jucker 1994: 534; Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 10). Therefore, as Roger Wright identifies, the early historical pragmatics was more in accordance with historical linguistics than traditional philology in that its focus was on non-writing communities (2002: 295).

Since 1990 the field of historical pragmatics - and pragmatics in general - has been changing (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 2). Jucker and Taavitsainen suggest that the field has been broadening in terms of its research interests, methodologies, and data to include written material as a valid and interesting area of research in its own right, moving away from the earlier preconception of written data only having value as the sole - and indirect - record of earlier stages of spoken communication (2013: 2).¹⁵ This shift marks the introduction of

¹³ Similarly, Wright (2002: 297-299) suggests that this paradigm shift led to a movement away from the focus on structuralism, which was accompanied by a process of decontextualisation, and towards a more historical focus due to the renewed recognition of historical fact as important.

¹⁴ Arnovick (1999: 6) defines the field of historical pragmatics which emerged at the end of the twentieth century as the combination of diachronic pragmatics and pragmaphilology, essentially the examination of the contextual aspects of historical texts.

¹⁵ The traditional assumption was that written data are only useful to pragmatic research as the available/extant representations of spoken communication; for example, Jucker and Taavitsainen discuss how 'historical pragmatics for a long time had to defend and justify the appropriateness of written data for their investigations' (2013: 9), but the current consensus is that 'all material, if it is genuine, can be regarded as legitimate data for historical pragmatics' (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 28). Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 23) therefore adopt Jucker's (1998: 5) 'communicative

a more ‘interdisciplinary effort’ which Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 26) suggest is needed in order to develop the field of historical pragmatics. They suggest that different approaches to linguistic research function with different data collections: ‘diachronic studies have always had to rely on written data, while pragmatics has almost always preferred spoken data’ (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 1). While Jacobs and Jucker advocate broadening the field of historical pragmatics to include written data,¹⁶ historical pragmatics still has some way to go before such data are established as a major concern for the discipline:¹⁷ many of the leading scholars in the field of historical pragmatics, while acknowledging written materials as valid data for historical pragmatic research, still primarily approach historical pragmatics from the perspective of spoken discourse.¹⁸ By highlighting a research direction but not fully encompassing it in their research, leading historical pragmaticians have highlighted a vacant sub-field of historical pragmatics that this thesis will aim to position itself within. As will be discussed further in Section D, this thesis aims to embrace the current progress that historical pragmatics has made in regard to the analysis of written data and contribute to this sub-field by focussing solely on historical written resources.

Additionally, the ‘interdisciplinary effort’ advocated by Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 26) and the ‘broadening’ of the field of historical pragmatics (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 2) has allowed for the application of previously separate methodologies as effective combined, interdisciplinary approaches. In particular, the above-mentioned focus on written data and diachronic studies has encouraged a much more traditional philological approach to historical pragmatics and has led the way for research projects such as that discussed in this thesis.¹⁹ Smith (2012a) and Culpeper (2011) both advocate the incorporation of philology into traditional theoretical pragmatic approaches. In his definition of ‘historical sociopragmatics’ as an examination of linguistic features and their

view’ of written data (as does this thesis). Jucker and Taavitsainen state that ‘this ‘communicative view’ holds that both spoken and written language are forms of communication produced by speakers/writers for target audiences with communicative intentions’ (2013: 25).

¹⁶ See also Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013) on this topic.

¹⁷ See, though, Jucker (1994); Jacobs and Jucker (1995); Archer and Culpeper (2011); Culpeper (2011); Carroll et al (2013), for examples of historical pragmatic research being conducted on written data.

¹⁸ See Leech (1983), Jacobs and Jucker (1995), Arnovick (1999), and Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013).

¹⁹ As will be discussed further on in this chapter when the approach and methodology of this thesis is outlined (see Sections C and D).

role in relation to the text they appear in and the context of the text, Jonathan Culpeper (2011: 3) sees his approach as, essentially, philological. Jeremy J. Smith even more explicitly highlights philology as a potential future interdisciplinary direction for historical pragmatics, suggesting that: ‘the emerging discipline of historical pragmatics has, in its linking of delicate textual detail to contextual setting, adopted many of the methods of the old philology and repurposed them within a more robust theoretical frame’ (2013b: 39); ‘this meshing of theoretical “linguistic” insights with older data-focused “philological” approaches seems to be a fruitful and exciting way forward for the subject’ (2012a: 449).

Further, just as these scholars advocated the combining of theoretical approaches, there has also been recent scholarly support for the use of complementary methodologies. For example, while ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ methodologies and quantitative and qualitative methodologies have previously often been used as quite separate approaches to pragmatic research, the aforementioned developments in the field of historical pragmatics have led to the suggestion that an amalgamation of these approaches may be the most successful method of conducting historical pragmatic research.²⁰ Therefore the current perspective is that research in the field of historical pragmatics will be most revealing if the study begins on a micro level and expands into macro research, an approach that is supported by the methodological process of beginning with quantitative assessment that is then reinforced by qualitative analysis.²¹

5.2 Approaches to Historical Pragmatics

The comparative newness of the field of historical pragmatics and the breadth of factors, disciplines, and approaches which are included under the encompassing term ‘historical pragmatics’ has presented some issues for the formation of a clear working definition of the field and selecting a methodology with which to

²⁰ For example, Wood (2011: 33) focuses of both micro and macro approaches, while Archer and Culpeper (2011: 109) advocate the combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

²¹ For further discussion of the combination of methodologies used in this thesis see Section E.2 of this chapter.

work. Outlined below are a series of approaches to historical pragmatics, along with the numerous methodologies that have been employed to conduct research in this field.²²

The four core perspectives from which to approach historical pragmatics are based on the disciplines that are central to this field: linguistics, pragmatics, socio-cultural history, and philology. The development of the field of historical pragmatics can be seen in the terminology used to describe these approaches when the history of the field is examined chronologically. Leech (1983: 10-11) began the discussion by describing the over-arching field of pragmatics as consisting of three sub-sections: general pragmatics, *socio-pragmatics*, and *pragmalinguistics*.²³ Jacobs and Jucker (1995) continued to sub-divide pragmatics using this terminology but they also identified an additional sub-section of *pragmaphilology*.²⁴ Finally, Roger Wright (1996) coined the term *sociophilology* for the context-driven approach to historical linguistics.²⁵

The definitions of socio-pragmatics and pragmalinguistics present these two sub-sections as the basic criteria for what this thesis defines as pragmatic research: the primacy of context in linguistic analysis, and a focus on the relationship between the form and function of linguistic items. Socio-pragmatics focuses on the local conditions for language use (Jucker 1994: 534), therefore employing a function-to-form approach: it uses function as its starting point; examining how a function influences change in the forms it employs (Jacobs and Jucker 1995). The socio-pragmatic approach is therefore related to sociology (Leech 1983: 11): ‘pragmatic descriptions ultimately have to be relative to specific social conditions [...] socio-pragmatics is the sociological interface of pragmatics’ (Leech 1983: 10).

²² The specific approach and methodology of this thesis will be discussed in Sections C and D.

²³ This categorisation is continued by Jucker (1995: 534) and Jacobs and Jucker (1995).

²⁴ Pragmaphilology is also discussed by Jucker (2006: 330, referenced in Schaeken 2011: 2); Schaeken (2011: 2); and Archer and Culpeper (2011: 110).

²⁵ Sociophilology is also discussed by Janson in his 2003 review of Wright (2002), and Archer and Culpeper (2011: 110, 126).

In contrast, while socio-pragmatics is culture-specific, pragmalinguistics is language-specific (Leech 1983: 11). Pragmalinguistics analyses the different linguistic forms a language has to fulfil a specific communicative function (Jucker 1994: 534), therefore pragmalinguistics takes a form-to-function approach: a specific linguistic form is the point of departure, analysing how it has undergone functional change (Jacobs and Jucker 1995). Therefore Leech labels the pragmalinguistic approach as related to the field of grammar (1983: 11). He suggests that pragmalinguistics is at the more linguistic end of the broad spectrum of what the field of pragmatics encompasses (with, as noted above, socio-pragmatics being positioned at the opposing more sociological end).²⁶ Leech states pragmalinguistics aims to ‘consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions’ (1983: 11).

Socio-pragmatics and pragmalinguistics are the two traditional approaches to pragmatic research; they have been continually defined as the sub-categories of the pragmatic field by the leading scholars of the discipline, from the early stages of the field’s conception (Leech 1983), through the development of the field to the various branches it encompasses today (Jucker 1994: 534; Culpeper 2011: 3-4). Due to the series of paradigm shifts within the pragmatic field over the last two decades (discussed in Section B.5.1), changes in interdisciplinary research, data availability, and historical approach have led to the suggestion of new theoretical approaches alongside the appropriation of existing pragmatic frameworks.

Pragmaphilology is identified by Jacobs and Jucker as a sub-field of pragmatics which ‘describes the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and reception, and the goal(s) of the text’ (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 11). Pragmaphilology can therefore be seen to have similarities with the socio-pragmatic approach in that both have a framework

²⁶ Similarly, the field of historical sociolinguistics (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003), while incorporating pragmatic principles due to its process of contextualising language, is also positioned at the linguistic end of the spectrum because – as Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 16) explain – sociolinguistics aims to understand language while the sociology of language aims to understand society.

firmly rooted in sociology (Jucker 2006: 330 in Schaeken 2011: 2; Archer and Culpeper 2011: 110), and both adopt a function-to-form approach (Schaeken 2011: 2).²⁷ The definition given by Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 11), though, highlights the difference between the two sub-categories: pragmaphilology is much more specifically used for the analysis of written data, highlighting the evolution of written resources as valid data for pragmatic research and methodology adapting to changes in practice. Jos Schaeken states that pragmaphilology ‘focuses on synchronic analyses of written sources’ (2011: 2), therefore highlighting that this approach was formulated in accordance with the acknowledgement of written data as a viable resource, but prior to the subsequent paradigm shift towards diachronic pragmatic research which disciplines such as book history influenced. Dawn Archer and Jonathan Culpeper suggest that while this approach is usually employed synchronically, it is open to diachronic application: ‘it is theoretically possible, though methodologically problematic, for a number of pragmaphilological studies in different periods to constitute a diachronic research endeavour’ (Archer and Culpeper 2011: 110).

Wright defines the approach he labelled sociophilology as ‘an approach to the linguistic study of texts from the past which attempts to combine traditional philological analysis with the insights of modern sociolinguistics’ (indirect quote from Wright (2002: 107) in Janson (2003: 107)). Sociophilology is similar to both pragmaphilology and socio-pragmatics in the weight it places on socio-cultural context during the analytical process, but it takes this approach even further than the previous two frameworks in that it places context as the point of departure: it adopts a context-to-form/function mapping process (Archer and Culpeper 2011: 126). For example, Archer and Culpeper – who use this framework as their approach to historical sociopragmatics²⁸ – suggest that sociophilology is ‘how historical contexts [...] shape the functions and forms of language taking place within them’ (2011: 110). Additionally, Archer and

²⁷ Though, despite Schaeken (2011: 2) explicitly stating that pragmaphilology is a process of function-to-form mapping, and despite my interpretation of the approach supporting this, Archer and Culpeper (2011: 110) suggest that pragmaphilology uses a particular linguistic feature as its point of departure, suggesting a form-to-function mapping process.

²⁸ Culpeper defines historical sociopragmatics as examining ‘language use in its situational context’ (2011: 4), which suggests historical sociopragmatics is very similar in methodology to the historical application of traditional pragmatics, though in practice Culpeper’s historical sociopragmatics has a strong focus on the social norms of language use and how they are exploited for pragmatic purposes.

Culpeper suggest that sociophilology is more diachronic than the pragmaphilological approach (2011: 110), making it more suited to book history-based studies on historical pragmatics.

There are also a series of methodologies that have been attested as applicable to historical pragmatic research. As Culpeper suggests, the field of historical pragmatics is diverse, therefore there is diversity to the available methodologies (2011: 5). Firstly, diachronic pragmatics - the methodology which was referred to most frequently in the previous sections - has been suggested by many scholars (Jacobs and Jucker 1995; Arnovick 1999) as a useful approach to historical pragmatic research. According to Arnovick, 'diachronic pragmatics may [...] achieve satisfying explanations of linguistic change because of its binocular attention to historical contrast and diachronic process' (1999: 13). Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 13) suggest that diachronic pragmatics (in which the object of interest is examined across a specified period of time) can be approached from either a form-to-function approach (as in pragmalinguistics), in which the changing functions of a linguistic form are examined, or a function-to-form approach (as in socio-pragmatics and pragmaphilology), which examines the changing realisations of a function over time.

The way in which diachronic pragmatics compares the forms or functions of linguistic items in different periods of time/in different communities over time, leads to another related historical pragmatic methodology: contrastive studies. Contrastive methodologies have always been popular in pragmatic studies (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 2), due to what Wiesław Oleksy describes as 'a natural need to compare' (1989: x). Tomasz P. Krzeszowski suggests that contrastive studies have been used since the mid-fifteenth century, and that the first theories in this area were formulated in the early seventeenth century (Krzeszowski 1989: 55). Further, while Katarzyna Jaszczołt states that contrastive studies have been frequently used as a method of linguistic analysis since the end of the nineteenth century (2011: 111), Krzeszowski suggests that it only really thrived as a methodology in the second half of the twentieth century (1989: 55). Traditionally, contrastive studies focussed on syntactic or semantic

forms (Oleksy 1989: ix) and were synchronic in practice (primarily examining different languages or varieties of language at the same period of time), but the paradigm shift in the late twentieth century which brought pragmatics to the forefront of linguistic research, and the opening up of the field to diachronic approaches, have made contrastive studies applicable to historical pragmatic research. While many scholars of contrastive studies focus on cross-language research areas (e.g. translation studies or dialectal research - Oleksy 1989; Krzeszowski 1989; Jaszczolt 2011), Oleksy suggests that ‘recent years have seen among linguists of all sorts, a steadily growing interest in the pragmatic aspects of a broad spectrum of linguistic phenomena’ (1989: ix) - including historical language change. The systematic nature of contrastive studies can easily be made applicable to diachronically contrastive research: ‘in order to obtain an equivalent system in another language [or in another period of the same language], we must investigate equivalent constructions in that language and extract the relevant paradigmatic set from such data’ (Krzeszowski 1989: 63). Therefore as long as the contrastive study has *tertium comparationis* which ‘refers to that which is common in the two compared objects and against which the differences can be specified’ (Jaszczolt 2011: 112),²⁹ there is seemingly no methodological reason for which contrastive methodologies cannot be applied diachronically.

5.3 How this Thesis Defines Historical Pragmatics

Historical pragmatics, as interpreted in this thesis, focuses, in accordance with pragmatic principles, on language being studied ‘not as an abstract entity but as a means of communication that is being used by people interacting in specific situations, with specific intentions and goals and within specific contexts’ (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 1-2) and on applying these principles to historical data and communities from the past. The historical pragmatic approach within this thesis can be positioned in relation to the two major paradigm shifts mentioned in Section B.5.1: the emergence of written data as valid and

²⁹ The argument for a common element for comparison within a contrastive/comparative methodology is discussed widely amongst scholars of the field including Krzeszowski (1989) and Jaszczolt (2011); the term *tertium comparationis* is conventionally used for the application of this methodological structure in historical pragmatics (e.g. Jacobs and Jucker 1995). See further discussion of this methodological factor in Section D.2.

informative resources for historical pragmatic enquiry, and the employment of diachronic analysis in relation to the field. Stemming from these developments, this thesis examines the relationship between written form and socio-cultural function, and the issue of the continuous appropriation of a written work for changing socio-cultural functions (Chartier 1987: 6; 1989: 171), therefore positioning this thesis in the emerging interdisciplinary area of book history and historical pragmatics (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 33).

Anita Fetzer highlights the contextual perspective of linguistics when she suggests that ‘the connectedness between a linguistic form and its function in context is at the heart of a pragmatic examination of language, placing language use at its centre’ (2011: 73). Notably though, at a relatively early stage of the development of the pragmatic field, Dieter Stein (1985) emphasises that *function* influences a change in *form*: ‘changes in linguistic structure [form] resulting from altered communication needs [function]’ (indirect quote in Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 6). There is now much more duality interpreted in the relationship between form and function in pragmatic research. Smith (2012a: 448) states that ‘a long-standing debate amongst historical linguists has been to do with the primacy of form over function in linguistic change’, and he questions whether form drives changes in function or whether a form changes due to a change in function. This thesis will approach the source material (Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*) with an awareness of both material form (punctuation practices and paratextual elements) and socio-cultural function (the literacy practices and purposes of the intended reading community), and examine the two in a circular motion of impact. Therefore this thesis supports Jucker and Taavitsainen’s argument that a historical pragmatic approach should try ‘to find patterns of communication that help to explain such changes on various levels of language description’ (2013: 4) in that it will acknowledge that changes in the reading communities for whom scribes/editors/printers are catering can explain changes to the material form of texts, but in turn it will analyse how changes to the paratextual elements/punctuation systems of a text will influence the reading practices employed by those who encounter the written text.³⁰ Therefore

³⁰ This duality of influence between form and function is suggested by Stein when he states: ‘the linguistic structure is seen as dependent on and responding to the communicative needs of society’ (1985: 348).

historical pragmatics within this thesis does not focus specifically on the influence of either form or function on the other, but recognises the inextricable interrelatedness of the two.

Secondly, the combination of the return to diachronic approaches to linguistic research and the recent focus on written data for historical pragmatic research, has led to the associated notion of ‘appropriation’ - advocated by Roger Chartier (1987: 6) - being examined as a useful concept in textual historical pragmatics. Chartier discusses the ‘appropriation’ of a form for a different function,³¹ suggesting that ‘groups or individuals utilize shared themes or forms’ (Chartier 1989: 171), and highlighting ‘the practices that differentially appropriate the materials circulating in a given society’ (Chartier 1989: 171). As this thesis applies historical pragmatic theory to the disciplines of book history and manuscript studies in its application of this theoretical approach to the reproduction of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*, Chartier’s ideas regarding the ‘appropriation’ of a form (in this instance, Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*) lead the thesis back to the concept which stimulated the idea for this research project: the notion of *mouvance* (Zumthor 1972, 1984a, 1984b, 1992) or ‘textual afterlives’ (Smith 2013b).³² This approach combines the fields of historical pragmatics and book history in a way that suggests a new interdisciplinary research area: ‘another recent trend enhances the importance of manuscript studies and book history. They are gaining ground as new components of interdisciplinary studies with the historical pragmatic approach’ (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 33), thus highlighting a vacant field of research currently under formation, which this thesis intends to locate itself within.

This research project examines the material forms of multiple manuscripts and printed editions of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* (c.1575-1814), and analyses selected textual elements (punctuation practices and paratextual features) of these witnesses with regard to the relationship between these forms and the reading

³¹ Chartier defines appropriation as ‘differentiated uses and plural appropriation of the same goods, the same ideas, and the same actions’ (1987: 6).

³² See Section B.4 of this chapter.

practices and purposes of the communities for whom they were produced.³³ The presupposition central to this research, that the material text will be representative of the physical reading practices used to encounter it, is supported not only by the predecessors of this research project,³⁴ and the M.Phil. thesis which functioned as a proof-of-concept study for this Ph.D.,³⁵ but also through Chartier's clear assertion that 'the act of reading simply cannot be divorced from the text itself' (1987: 7). Chartier's statement highlights that the fields of reading history, book history, manuscript studies, and philology, are historical pragmatic endeavours: 'the forms and functions of literacy itself are a reflection of the variation in cultural history, social structure, and the socioeconomic [sic.] growth' (Akinaso 1981: 165).

Scholars have outlined multiple different theoretical approaches to historical pragmatics (see Section B.5.2); therefore there are various approaches that this research project could have adopted. Both Jacobs and Jucker's (1995) pragmaphilology and Archer and Culpeper's (2011) conception of sociophilology are particularly relevant to this thesis as they both place emphasis on context in pragmatic research. Sociophilology uses context as the point of departure, examining how historical contexts shape the form and functions of the language used within them (Archer and Culpeper 2011: 110); while a pragmaphilological approach tends to begin with a linguistic feature (form) and examines how contextual aspects effect the relationship between form and function (Archer and Culpeper 2011: 110). Further, Archer and Culpeper's discussion of the diachronic possibilities for pragmaphilological research is notably similar to the diachronic methodology of this thesis in which a series of case studies are conducted in order to examine the same textual features within different witnesses of the work produced for different reading communities at different times. Therefore, by these definitions, the approach of this thesis most closely aligns with a diachronic application of the pragmaphilological approach to historical written texts.

³³ As will be outlined more specifically in Sections C and D of this chapter.

³⁴ See other research projects on similar topics: Chartier (1989; 2010), Parkes (1993; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c), Saenger (1997), Slight (2001) Ong (2002), Jajdelska (2007), Sherman (2008), King (2010), Mak (2011), Smith (2013a).

³⁵ Francesca L. Mackay (2012) *The development of reading practices: as represented in the textual afterlife of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, M.Phil. thesis, University of Glasgow.

C. Research Aim: History of Reading

In accordance with the theory of historical pragmatics discussed above, this thesis uses the material form of a written text ‘to reconstruct social and cultural practices’ (Chartier 1987: 7). Specifically, by comparing the various material forms of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* diachronically, and interpreting the various reading communities and literacy practices and purposes for which the producers of each of the witnesses were catering, this thesis contributes hypotheses regarding the history of literacy in early modern Scotland, and suggests a change to the previously accepted linear narrative of Western literacy.

Despite a significant amount of research having been conducted on the wider field of reading (Darnton 1982: 78), ‘theories of reading have not contributed neatly to any history of reading’ (Sharpe 2000: 37). Therefore, this thesis contributes a case study to the field’s need, specified by Sharpe (2000: 37), ‘to combine the questions of theory and techniques of textual criticism with empirical research and close historical situation’. It suggests a transferable methodology for conducting effective research into the history of reading by applying philological and pragmatic analysis to historical written data, and tests the methodology by applying it to a specific case study. This thesis therefore not only occupies a current gap in the field which requires a more detailed deconstruction of the history of reading, but suggests a methodology which is applicable to different written data sources, different time periods, and different socio-cultural groups in order to expand the field further and construct a more inclusive history of reading.

There are various perspectives on which a history of reading could focus. Previous studies from a literary or social history perspective have often focused on identifying historical readers and reading material, and have investigated such issues, for example, through the analysis of private libraries and book collections, handwritten marginalia and commonplace books, and written or

visual representations of reading experiences and situations.³⁶ However, the question of how members of historical reading communities read, and why they did so, is, as Darnton (1982: 78) suggests, much more elusive: ‘as our ancestors lived in different mental worlds, they must have read differently, and the history of reading could be as complex as the history of thinking’ (Darnton 1989: 102); scholars have ‘not yet devised a strategy for understanding the inner process by which reader’s made sense of words’ (Darnton 1989: 94).³⁷ By examining the same literary work diachronically, the concept of ‘what’ is being read is consistent, and by focussing on ‘reading communities’ rather than individual readers, this thesis restricts the variables under analysis and is able to focus on how and why different reading communities over time encountered the same literary work.

There are multiple inter-related literacy practices which are considered in the scope of this thesis, including: intensive and extensive reading; oral, aural and silent reading practices; public, communal reading environments and private, individual reading situations. Intensive readers read a small number of texts but read them frequently, therefore predominantly committing the texts to memory; they used the physical text as an *aide memoire* to prompt their memory when needed during aural recital,³⁸ rather than reading from the material text directly word-for-word.³⁹ Subsequently, during the medieval and early modern periods, a readership of silent, extensive readers began to emerge. During this period,

³⁶ See Harris (1989) for a discussion of book ownership based on the evidence supplied by wills, bequests, and inventories; Sherman (1995; 2008) for the identification of readers based on marginalia; Towsey (2010) for an interpretation of reading communities based on libraries and commonplace accounts; Driver (2013) for discussion of the pictorial representation of preachers in manuscript and print.

³⁷ Problematically, much of the ‘reader-response’ works and ‘reception theories’ of literary criticism have – according to Sherman (1995: 55) – used imaginary or ideal readers rather than real or historical readers. My thesis, in contrast to this, aims to use the material evidence provided by texts to more robustly reconstruct the reading communities for which they were produced.

³⁸ Coleman (1996) uses three distinct terms to describe different forms of reading. As opposed to the conventional two labels of oral and silent reading practices, Coleman (1996: 28) differentiates orality and aurality. She describes oral performance as being the verbal composition of bards and minstrels whereby the utterance is not formed in writing, whereas aurality depends on a written text as the source for reading aloud (usually in a public environment). This thesis, due to its use of written witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* as its data, will – according to Coleman’s definitions – examine aural and silent reading practices.

³⁹ For further discussion of the use of memorisation during the intensive reading process see Ong’s (2002: 117) discussion of the reliance on memorisation in manuscript culture due to manuscripts being difficult to read and to relocate one’s self within. See also Manguel’s (1997: 28) discussion of Socrates’ theory of the text functioning as an *aide memoire*; and the discussions regarding the role of memory in medieval literacy in Clanchy (1979), Carruthers (1992), and Carruthers and Ziolkowski (2004).

literacy spread and as more people became literate, more people began to read individually, in private, silently. Simultaneously at this time, more texts entered circulation (partially due to the introduction of printing)⁴⁰ and people began reading increasingly more extensively, reading a wider range of texts, and encountering the same text less frequently. During the late medieval and early modern periods, therefore, the emerging extensive readership was increasingly more likely to both encounter a material text directly themselves (rather than orating from memory or listening to a text being read aloud by someone else), and encounter a text that was unfamiliar to them. Subsequently, as silent, extensive, individual reading practices became more widely used, the material pages of manuscripts and books needed to provide increasingly more guidance for the reader in order to aid the reading process, as the reader can no longer rely on their prior knowledge of the text in order to both physically read and semantically comprehend the text. The concept of guidance and the analysis of the guiding features (punctuation practices and paratextual features) provided by the scribe/printer to aid the specific reading community they are catering for is therefore central to this thesis: the material text functions as a device to aid specific literacy practices.⁴¹

Crucially, and in accordance with current perspectives on the history of reading (see Akinnaso 1981; Chartier 1987; Darnton 1989; Fox 2002; Ong 2002; Eisenstein 2005; Jajdelska 2007; Pettegree 2010), this thesis places these practices on a spectrum rather than viewing them as dichotomous. In contrast to the antithetical relationship presented by Fischer (2003: 202-203; 215), this thesis will discuss various reading practices as being in a complex, non-linear relationship of coexistence and mixedness:⁴² the boundaries between specific - and often seemingly contradictory - practices were 'thoroughly permeable and constantly shifting so that the dichotomy is difficult to identify and impossible to sustain' (Fox 2002: 39). As Fox (2002: 50) states, these practices, 'are rarely

⁴⁰ The advent of print did not immediately replace the practice of manuscript production, and the features of the manuscript form and the habits of producers and consumers of manuscript culture continued in the early print era (see Sharpe 2000: 272; Eisenstein 2005: 102-103; Pettegree 2010).

⁴¹ The theory that features of a material page provide guidance for the reader during the reading process evolves from the discussions by Parkes (1993), Jajdelska (2007), and Smith (2013a) regarding the function of punctuation practices as a guiding aid for specific reading practices.

⁴² Coleman (1996: 17-20) argues against evolutionary schemas of literacy and contests the use of the term 'transitional' suggesting that it detracts attention from the 'mixedness' of the situation.

discrete entities or inversely related [...] instead they form a dynamic continuum, each feeding in and out of the other in the development and nourishment of both'. Walter Ong (2002) exemplifies this 'dynamic continuum' of reading practices in his seminal work, *Orality and Literacy*, when he discusses the continuation of orality (even if it is an internalised orality, e.g. sub-vocalisation) within literate culture.⁴³ Therefore, as the overall chronological transition in reading practices has been a slow, gradual process (and, crucially, is not yet complete), and as individual reading communities have undergone shifts in reading practices at different times, this study will place individual texts on a spectrum which acknowledges the highly nuanced practices of the reading communities they are catering for. In accordance with Akinnaso (1981: 166), the spectrum will differentiate between specific - yet coexisting - reading practices being used 'more or less' rather than employing antithetical terminology and, as such, describing reading practices as mutually exclusive entities.⁴⁴

Elsbeth Jajdelska's (2007) detailed discussion of the history of reading and reading practices has been extremely influential to the construction of the argument presented by this thesis, viz. that the features of the material text can be interpreted as accurate indicators of specific reading practices. While agreeing that reading practices coexist within a single society, Jajdelska (2007: 7; 43-48) presents two opposing models of reader and emphasises that a reader cannot, at a single moment in the reading process, be both a 'reader as speaker' (reading aloud) and 'reader as hearer' (a silent reader subvocalising the text: 'silent readers 'project' sound qualities onto the words they are hearing'; they become a 'hearer of an internal voice'). Consequently, Jajdelska's argument that a reader can only be one model of a reader at a time can be expanded to

⁴³ See also Sharpe's (2000: 280) discussion of how 'traditional practices can over time be differently configured and appropriated for different purposes and causes' and, from a wider cultural perspective; and Coleman's (1996:1) attestation that literacy did not 'triumph' over orality – orality is still present: orality is not a 'superseded mentality at war with its successor, or the inert residue of an extinct modality, but a vital, functioning, accepted part of a mixed oral-literate literary tradition'.

⁴⁴ The use of a spectrum to describe the literacy practices of reading communities in this thesis accords with Coleman's aim to develop 'a more precise and elaborated set of terms with which to describe the varieties and intersections of medieval literary reception' (1996: xiii). This thesis supports her comments that polarization erases and obscures inter-modal differences and leads to reductionist options rather than the lively variations and the cross-over of influences that actually exist (1996: 15): 'the scholarly impulse should not be to enforce a preemptive classification or hierarchy of "oral" and "literate", but to evolve modes of analysis suited to its "ethnographic" reality rather than to superimposed, essentialist polarizations' (1996: 16).

suggest that when producing a text only one model of reader can be actively catered for at a time. Therefore, the features of a material text - which provide guidance for the reader - accurately indicate which specific model(s) of reader the scribe/printer is catering for.⁴⁵ Subsequently, by examining textual elements within the context of each witness as a whole, we can deduce the overall reading environment of the reading community for which the witness was produced: the multiple coexisting and interacting reading practices which the specific community used to encounter a text.

Due to the specifically nuanced literacy practices of each reading community - Akinnaso labels literacy a 'multilayered continuum' (1981: 166) as practices were employed from within a spectrum of disparate practices - it is essential for each witness of the *Cronicles* to be examined as a whole product.⁴⁶ The punctuation practices and paratextual features found within each witness of the text do not exist within a vacuum; instead they function as part of an overall supporting system within the text and therefore must be examined in relation to other features within their own system and in relation to the other supporting system, and within the context of both the material text as a whole and the wider socio-cultural context which the text was produced in and for.⁴⁷ The inclusion of an individual feature could be attributed to various reasons (e.g. to aid reading purposes/practices, but also, for example, for spatial or technological reasons), yet when it is examined alongside the other paratextual features and punctuation practices in use, the specific practices of the literacy environment that is being catered for become clearer. It is the relationship between individual features and the overall guiding system they construct which indicates the specific reading community that the scribe/printer is anticipating.

⁴⁵ We might note that 'model(s)' of reader are referred to in the plural as a scribe/printer may cater for various reading practices within a single text. For example, the scribe/printer may fluctuate in regard to the model of reader they are catering for due to uncertainty regarding the primary practices used by the anticipated reading community; or they may fail to consistently cater to newer reading practices and may (accidentally) revert back to the traditional practices they are more familiar with.

⁴⁶ In accordance with the contextualised approach of current historical pragmatic research (Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 3) discuss how the field of historical pragmatics evolved from the context-focussed school of Continental-European/social pragmatics), it is essential to examine the selected textual features within the context of the witness as a whole – see de Saussure's structuralist concept of language as a system of '*tout se tient*': that language is systematic and functions as a whole in which the parts all relate to one another (as discussed in Smith 1996).

⁴⁷ As Suhr (2011: 226) emphasises 'the combination of these three contexts – linguistic, peritextual, and socio-cultural – allows for a nuanced and comprehensive pragmatic analysis'.

D. Data

1. Importance of Actual Data/Rich Data

This thesis' data set differentiates this research project from previous studies in the field of historical pragmatics. This thesis fills a recognised gap in historical pragmatic research regarding the use of written data (as discussed in Section B.5.1). By using historical written texts (manuscript and early printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*) this thesis applies historical pragmatic theory to 'actual data'. Two strands of pragmatic enquiry have long been established: 'Anglo-American Pragmatics' and 'Continental Pragmatics' (Huang 2007: 4), also known as 'Theoretical Pragmatics' and 'Social Pragmatics' (Chapman 2011: 5). According to Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 3), 'Social Pragmatics' ('Continental Pragmatics') relies on 'actual data' - rich data with lots of contextual information - while 'Theoretical Pragmatics' ('Anglo-American Pragmatics') uses data that have been invented by the scholar. As Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 3) highlight, historical pragmatics is social pragmatics: 'the historical and cultural context in which language is being used is important for our understanding of the patterns of language use'. The only way to conduct historical pragmatic research is through the use of 'actual data' as the intended outcome is to form hypotheses on actual language use based on the relationship between real historical data and the historically constructed socio-cultural context.

2. Case Study: Pitscottie's *Cronicles*

Transitional periods are particularly interesting because they show the influences of multiple, and often opposing, socio-cultural practices and beliefs coexisting and interacting in innovative ways within a single society.⁴⁸ The work selected as the case study of this thesis, Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland*, was produced and reproduced in a turbulent, transitional period of Scottish history which includes: the Scottish Reformation (mid-sixteenth century), the unstable reign of Mary Queen of Scots (second half of the sixteenth century), the Union of

⁴⁸ For further discussion of the relationship between contrasting beliefs and practices in transitional societies see Eamon Duffy (1992) and Colin Kidd (2008).

Crowns (1603), the Union of Parliaments (1707), and the Scottish Enlightenment (eighteenth century).

Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, the earliest prose chronicle of Scotland to be written in the Scots vernacular, has an interesting position in relation to the turbulent society discussed above. Documenting the period of 1436-1575, Pitscottie's *Cronicles* cover the reigns of the Scottish monarchs: James II, James III, James IV, James V, and Mary Queen of Scots. The work was then frequently reproduced with an 'Addition' by an unknown author, which continues the chronicle into the seventeenth century and documents the reign of James VI of Scotland and I of England; the date at which the 'Addition' ends varies from witness to witness. Though the work was fully composed by Pitscottie, the earlier annal entries - documenting the period 1436-60 - are a translation of Hector Boece's 1527 Latin chronicle of Scotland, *Historia Gentis Scotorum*, and the subsequent section (1460-1542) is a compilation of various earlier Scottish historians' works (Mackay 1899: xlii-xliii). Only the entries for the contemporary period in which Pitscottie was writing (1542-75) are his original composition; therefore Pitscottie was writing both during and about the events of the Scottish Reformation. Pitscottie was a contemporary of the whole Reformation movement in Scotland (approximately 1533-1567)⁴⁹ (Mackay 1899: xxxv), and has since, in a biography of his life, been labelled a protestant sympathiser (Mackay 1899: xxxv), though he never openly displayed his political affiliations and his name appears in no public records from this period. The more detailed representation of events relating to the Protestant activists in the chronicle suggests that Pitscottie had social affiliations with Protestant supporters. For example, the episode relating to the martyrdom of the Protestant reformer George Wishart at St. Andrews, and the murder of Cardinal Beaton and the siege of St Andrews castle in response, is one of the lengthiest sections in the *Cronicles*.

Further, Scotland had quite separate socio-cultural institutions to England in this period - such as the Church and Government - and, specifically relevant to this

⁴⁹ Though Scotland's formal break with papacy took place in 1560, the events of the Scottish Reformation spanned c.1533-67.

study, it had separate systems of book production and trade.⁵⁰ Therefore not only is Scotland a transitional society with complex relationships between traditional and innovative socio-cultural practices, but it is also a distinct society from its large neighbour, i.e. English late-medieval society, with often antagonistic relationships between the two.⁵¹

The reproduction history of the Pitscottie's *Cronicles* subsequent to its original composition is notable due to its extended period of manuscript circulation and the significant delay before its publication in print.⁵² The work circulated in manuscript form throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁵³ yet was not printed until the eighteenth century when it was printed in 1728, 1749, 1778, and then in 1814.⁵⁴ The substantial delay between the composition of the *Cronicles* and its first appearance in print (despite printing being gradually established in Scotland throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) - and therefore the extended period of manuscript circulation for this text - was due to a number of socio-political reasons. Firstly, Pitscottie makes several negative comments regarding the Earl of Morton who was exiled during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots - the period in which Pitscottie was writing - but was instated as regent during the early years of James VI's reign (1572-1581). The period in which Morton was in power, therefore, would have been the prime time (immediately post-completion of the *Cronicles*) for the text to be printed but the text would never have been deemed suitable (or safe) to print while Morton was in authority (Mackay 1899: lv). Once Morton's control over the censorship of the *Cronicles* ended there were further problems for the text: the two patrons of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, John Stuart, the fourth Earl of Athole, and Robert Stuart, the Bishop of Caithness, died in 1579 and 1586, respectively. Therefore following the Bishop of Caithness' death - which Mackay (1899: lvi) suggests was after Pitscottie's death in approximately 1578 - there was

⁵⁰ For example, England broke with Rome several decades before Scotland did so.

⁵¹ In this period England was often referred to as the 'Auld Enemy' of Scotland, in contrast to Scotland's much closer relationship - its 'Auld Alliance' - with France.

⁵² Mackay (1899: lv) suggests that some of the extant manuscript witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* display signs of having been prepared for the printing press, indicating that print publication was considered prior to 1728 despite not being undertaken.

⁵³ Thirteen manuscript witnesses of the text have been identified in the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Glasgow.

⁵⁴ The work was published by Robert Freebairn in Edinburgh (1728), by Robert Urie in Glasgow (1749), by Thomas Cadell in London (1778), and Sir Graham Dalyell in Edinburgh (1814).

potentially no one with a vested interest in the *Cronicles* to negotiate and pay for its publication in print (Mackay 1899: lvi). Also problematic for wide circulation of the text in print were its Presbyterian tendencies and Pitscottie's outspoken comments on Mary Queen of Scots, neither of which James VI would have approved of, meaning the *Cronicles* were not printed until the Stewart dynasty had ended and the Hanoverian succession had begun in the early eighteenth century (Mackay 1899: lvii).

Pitscottie himself seems to have occupied a somewhat medial position within Scotland's late medieval social structure. While of a good family of moderate means, Pitscottie was a younger sibling, therefore his elder brothers would have inherited the majority of his father's possessions, meaning Pitscottie needed to work for his own livelihood, which he did as a farmer (Mackay 1899: xxxv-xxxviii). Pitscottie therefore belonged to various social levels but was not fully a member of a single class. His land-owning father and elder brothers were most likely 'upper-middle class', resulting in Pitscottie being born into this social circle, but as a man of no/little inheritance working for a living, Pitscottie was likely to have been 'lower-middle class' in terms of income for the majority of his life. As a member of both classes, therefore, Pitscottie's values are unlikely to have been affiliated with a single social group.

Pitscottie is presumed to have been a tenant of Easter Pitscottie (Mackay 1899) - from which his name derived - a substantial farmhouse located three miles from the county town of Cupar and seven miles from the ecclesiastical metropolis of St Andrews (Mackay 1899: xxxiii-xxxiv). Pitscottie is therefore situated in Fife, the central location of many of the contemporary events of the Reformation which Pitscottie discusses in his chronicle, but by occupying an isolated farmhouse in the countryside just outside St. Andrews, Pitscottie lived on the periphery of these events and is writing as an outsider looking in rather than as an active, present participant. Further still, due to his location, much of the news regarding events would have reached Pitscottie second-hand from other sources who themselves may or may not have been directly involved in the events Pitscottie chronicles. Possibly due to his rather isolated lifestyle on a

small village farm, Pitscottie saw Scottish events through ‘Fife eyes’ (Mackay 1899: xlv): the chronicle is noticeably preoccupied with events which either take place within Fife or which directly affect Fife. For example, he documents minor historical events that occur in Fife (Mackay 1899: xlv) - often at the expense of larger nationwide events, he discusses the popular sixteenth-century topics of meteors and monsters - but only if they appeared in Fife (Mackay 1899: xlv), and, as representative of his role as a Fife Shire farmer, he meticulously documents fluctuating price of grain in Fife (Mackay 1899: xlv).

Finally, Pitscottie’s role as a historian has been neglected within Scottish historiography. As discussed in more detail below (see Section D.3 of this chapter), historiographical practice has been central to Scottish ideology, politics, society, culture since the formation of the kingdom in the ninth to twelfth centuries (Kidd 1993: 15), and Scotland has an active history of popular historians and chronicles. Notably though, aside from Æ. J. G. Mackay’s 1899 Scottish Text Society edition of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* which included an extensive, detailed introduction to the historian and his work, there have been no critical studies of this Scottish chronicle and the work itself was last published by Sir John Graham Dalyell in 1814 and Mackay in 1899. Pitscottie differs from many of his past and contemporary historians due to his lack of formal historical education and his absence from the inner circles of those writing histories (Mackay 1899: lviii). Also, due to his composition of his chronicle in Scots, his work was seemingly intended for a more general audience (Mackay 1899: xlvii), rather than the educated classes which many of the earlier chroniclers seem to have been catering for with their Latin works. Yet while Pitscottie is not often credited as central to Scotland’s historiographical tradition, this thesis aims to rectify this oversight. In many ways, as will subsequently be discussed, Pitscottie fits into the traditions and practices of Scottish historiography, and, as Mackay (1899) so vehemently argues, while Pitscottie’s chronicle may not be as grand or celebrated as many other Scottish historical chronicles, his work definitely had an impact on subsequent chronicles and deserves to be remembered for its place in the Scottish historiographical canon.

3. Case-Study in Context: Historiography

3.1 The Ideology of Scottish Historiography

Historiography is not just the study of history, or the writing of history, but is the link between history and ideology. The writing of history is both representation and commemoration which are both innately politicised concepts; it is a representation and commemoration of the past that, if not produced for a specific purpose, is at least unavoidably arising from a specific perspective. Historians have long been suspected of manipulating their representations of the past in order to achieve a political purpose. Colin Kidd (1993: 27) specifically suggests that late medieval/early modern Scottish historians were polemical, and presented politicised versions of the Scottish past and ancient history as fact (Kidd 1993: 27). R. James Goldstein (1993: 3-6) suggests that this is because historical events matter politically; when the past is reproduced in the present it is fashioned: 'the past [is used] to fill specific needs in the present', for example Livy and Hector Boece are both described by William Ferguson (1998: 59) as feeling as though history had a lesson for their own time. Hayden White's theory of 'metahistory' highlights the creative aspect of writing history, in particular he suggests that medieval writers of history were not constrained by genre, and mixed elements of different literary forms within their writing (White 1973 discussed in Albano 1993: 6); while postmodernists have long attempted to re-examine the relationship between historical discourse and the actual object of its investigation (Goldstein 1993: 19). This indicates that despite the implied connotations of truth associated with writing and reading history, there has always been (and, it is implied, there always will be) a blurred boundary between what is objective and subjective in the writing of history.

The most consistent ideological use of history as the subject of writing is to certify national identity, an intention which can be clearly seen within Scottish historiography as far back as the emergence of the Scottish nation itself. Kidd (1993: 15) suggests that when Scotland emerged as a kingdom between the ninth and twelfth centuries, it forged its group identity from the recollection of the Scoto-Celtic monarchy. Scotland has long used the structure of genealogies - a format with the appearance of fact and authority, but not necessarily factual in

content - to indicate 'longevity and national origin' (Kidd 1993: 15), and in doing so created an origin myth from which to base all subsequent claims of nationalism and Scoto-Celtic group identity. This *mythistoire*/origin myth was essential to Scotland's continual efforts to assert national identity over the centuries: it was used to assert their ethnic origins and therefore their right to inhabit and maintain independence.⁵⁵

Nearly every nation of medieval Western Europe evolved its own 'origin myth' and formed a cult from it (Ferguson 1998: 6), but the origin legends of England and Scotland were constructed so as to compete with the myth of the other nation's origin. According to Kidd (1993: 12-13), England's Trojan origin myth labelling Brutus as the first king of England was constructed in the twelfth century by the Welsh chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth, whereas Robert A. Albano (1993: 3) discusses how the *Brut* tradition is a complicated construction developed from Latin, French, and Norman-French sources. Scotland's origin legend of Gaidel Glas/Gaythelos and Scota, generally accepted by fourteenth-century chroniclers (Ferguson 1998: 51), was developed from the Irish Gaelic myth of Goídel Glas/Gathelus. While the *Brut* tradition displays a history of a unified Britain (Albion) ruled by Brutus until his death when the island is split into England, Scotland, and Wales between his three sons, the Scot's Scota myth portrays Scotland as having developed as its own nation - independent of England - from the Irish Gaels. The competing nature of England and Scotland's origin myths, and the pervasive nature of *mythistoire* for asserting national identity and independence, is indicated in the timing of the emergence of Scotland's origin myth in a coherent, regularly reproduced form; the fourteenth century was a period of great struggle for Scotland in their assertion of independence from England.

Another specific area of Scottish history used to conjure national sentiment is the country's martial history: by representing Scotland as a nation that many great martial groups have failed to conquer (e.g. the Romans, the Scandinavians, the Plantagenets), while depicting England as a nation that has succumbed to

⁵⁵ Ferguson (1998: 6) discusses how the issue of antiquity/virtue of race was particular controversial in Scotland.

many invasions (e.g. the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans), Scottish martial history is essentially constructed as a warning to England that they should not try to conquer Scotland (Kidd 1993: 24-25). This ideological approach differs from the English approach which traditionally depicted its national freedom in procedural (parliamentary) terms rather than military terms (Kidd 1993: 70).

A change in the form and tone of Scottish historiography can be noted in the shift from early medieval to late medieval Scotland. With the advent of the Renaissance in Scotland came Humanism as a new form of scholarship. As a result, Renaissance historians sought to produce literary masterpieces with their histories, producing work in high quality Latin with an educational moral basis comparable to the 'perfect model' of Livy (Ferguson 1998: 58). Throughout the sixteenth century - the period in which Pitscottie was writing - while the literary ambitions of historiography may have been elevated, the same cannot be said for attitudes towards authenticity. In this period historians deemed whatever sources that were at hand to be sufficient evidence; it was only during the seventeenth century that historians became concerned with the verification of sources (Ferguson 1998: 62). This did not hugely effect the public's impression of historiography during the seventeenth century; while scholarship led to influential writers of British and Scottish history such as Geoffrey of Monmouth and Hector Boece being mocked as fablers and inventors of history (Ferguson 1998: 62-63, 145), the Scottish general public clung to the traditional chronicles such as those of Boece and George Buchanan (Ferguson 1998: 146).

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw a movement towards the establishment of a national ecclesiastical historiography (Kidd 1993: 23), again with the aim of asserting Scotland as independent from England. Due to the conflict and uncertainty of Scotland's Reformation, there was a desire 'to bind Scotland's religious tradition to an ethnocentric historiography' in order to protect the Scottish church from English intervention and control from the English religious centralities of Canterbury and York (Kidd 1993: 24).

Most significantly, perhaps, for the historiography of this period, was the late seventeenth-century threat (and early eighteenth-century actuality) of parliamentary union with England. Opinions regarding the union were argued using history to support them: historiography was constructed as a weapon (Kidd 1993: 41-42). Pre-union, those opposed to a prospective union used traditional historiographical methods (martial tradition, genealogies, celebrating Scottish antiquity) to stir nationalist sentiment, and anti-unionist beliefs (Kidd 1993: 41-42). Post-union, there is actually notably little evidence of changes to Scottish historiography or an identity crisis in Scotland (Kidd 1993: 72). Immediately post-union, the primary issues of asserting Scottish independence continued with Scottish Whig historians and Jacobite historians attempting to assert Scotland's historic sovereignty in opposition to the constitutional changes England were attempting to impose (Kidd 1993: 72). From the mid-eighteenth century, the Scottish conception of liberty was strongly associated with the benefits of union with England; 'the communal memory of Scottish national independence did persist, but it was now impossible to detach the idea of freedom completely from the experience of Anglicisation' (Kidd 1993: 268-269). This period saw the history of Scottish liberty rewritten by some; instead of liberty being the native achievement of the preservation of freedom against external enemies, the new history saw liberty as the by-product of modernity. Scottish society was portrayed historically as having been more backward than English society, and modern liberty was presented as having come to Scotland not due to native developments but precisely because of the union with England (Kidd 1993: 268-269). This was not universal; on the other hand 'the continuation of Scottish historical writing was a way of directing politicians towards a strict interpretation of the Union' (Kidd 1993: 73). For example, Scottish history was still used to remind Scotland - and England - of its glorious past of honour, liberty, and martial achievement, to show that Scotland was not resigned to a future of subordination as a conquered province (Kidd 1993: 76).

With the advent of the Scottish Enlightenment, the early eighteenth century - the period in which Pitscottie's *Cronicles* were first printed - had a strong spirit of enquiry (Ferguson 1998: 173), and there was a zeal for antiquarian learning throughout Europe (Ferguson 1998: 175). In the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries there was a crisis of national identity in Scotland due to changes in cultural attitudes post-Union of Parliaments (Kidd 1993: 268), which may have influenced the fairly regular reprinting of Pitscottie throughout this period. The post-union period was not universally nationalist though, the age of intellectual inquiry that accompanied the Enlightenment period encouraged a search for truth which led to the Scottish origin-legend which had been propagated by so many medieval/early modern historians being challenged (Kidd 1993). Additionally, David Craig (in Kidd 1993: 5) suggests that the Scottish *mythistoire* with its tales of heroes, martyrs, oppression, and resistance, was too coarse and violent for the eighteenth-century Scottish elite and was therefore censored or disowned, leading to the abandonment of many of the historical tales which made Scottish historiography so distinctly ethnocentric and nationalistic.

3.2 Development of Scottish Chronicles

The development of Scottish chronicles can be traced back to the Classical period and Livy's *History of Rome and the Romans* (*Ab Urbe Condita Libri*) in particular; until as late as the early nineteenth century, Livy was widely regarded as the master of history (Ferguson 1998: 57-58). Livy's influence on some of the most typical structures of subsequent histories cannot be underestimated, including the origins of features such as the use of origin legends, the use of history to construct national identity, and the moralising use of history to provide warnings and examples of behaviour (Ferguson 1998: 58-59). Hector Boece, the influential Scottish historian, subsequently imitated Livy's themes and practices, spawning a tradition of Scottish historiography in that, just as Boece used Livy as an example, so subsequent medieval and early modern Scottish historians emulated Boece.

Prior to Boece there was already an active culture of history writing within Scotland, and as Ferguson (1998: 53) notes, the main trajectory of the received version of Scottish history was actually worked out long before Boece's *Historia Gentis Scotorum* in the sixteenth century. The earliest notable Scottish chronicle is John of Fordun's fourteenth-century *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, a five volume

series which is widely suggested to have formed the basis of Boece and John Bellenden's chronicles. Fordun is credited as having been the first to integrate Scotland's origin myth into a continuous narrative (Ferguson 1998: 43), yet unlike the earlier English historian Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is suggested that Fordun did not 'invent' his early history of Scotland but actually travelled Britain identifying historical sources and integrating the known material into a continuous narrative (Ferguson 1998: 43-44). Ferguson (1998: 45) even suggests that Fordun used the contemporary English historian Ranulph Higden as a literary source for his chronicle, showing that despite the patriotic zeal behind his writing, Fordun did not restrict himself to Scottish sources when compiling his work. Fordun's chronicle has been credited as having laid the foundations for future historians (Ferguson 1998: 43), which can be seen in the enduring practice of the Scottish origin myth and patriotic ideology.

Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* a few decades later represents a continued patriotic bias within history (Ferguson 1998: 51). Wyntoun's representation of Scotland's mythical origin is also strikingly similar to Fordun's (Ferguson 1998: 51-52), suggesting either the use of a shared source or the influence of Fordun's chronicle on Wyntoun's work. This practice of redeploying, imitating, or simply copying previous historians' work is prevalent throughout Scottish historiography as later historians regularly used their earlier colleagues' work as sources/models. For example, Walter Bower's (c.1440) *Scotichronicon* reproduces Fordun's chronicle then continues the narrative into the contemporary period (Ferguson 1998: 51); Boece's *Historia* is derived from Fordun with many interventions to the early period but becomes merely a retelling of Fordun with 'colourful touches' in the later period (Ferguson 1998: 67); Bellenden's *Croniklis* is largely a translation of Boece's Latin chronicle into Scots; the subtitle of Pitscottie's late sixteenth-century chronicle states that it is 'a continuation of the translation of the chronicles written by Hector Boece, and translated by John Bellenden' (title page of Mackay's 1899 edition); and John Lesley's chronicle was a continuation of Boece.

The earliest of Pitscottie's direct contemporaries to publish in print - in what could be deemed a flurry of Scottish historiographical activity in the sixteenth century - was John Major with his *De Gestis Scotorum*, published in Paris in 1521.⁵⁶ Major's chronicle did not achieve the degree of popularity his contemporary - and pupil - Boece achieved in 1527, perhaps because it took a drastically different ideological standpoint from the general feeling of sixteenth-century Scottish society. Major's history, though defending Scotland's historical national independence against any claim of English overlordship, was mainly concerned with stressing the historical importance of Britain as a unit (Kidd 1993: 70-74); he took a pro-union stance in contrast to Boece and most other Scottish historians. Major also differs from the general historiographical tradition by rejecting the use of legend tradition altogether (Kidd 1993: 19); his chronicle does not begin with Scotland's fabled past - as Boece's does - but begins with a much more factual/critical 'Geography of Britain with Social Observations' (Ferguson 1998: 70).

Boece's *Historia Gentis Scotorum*, a Humanist history of Scotland (Kidd 1993: 19), is perhaps the most influential work of Scottish historiography until the late modern period. Like Livy, Boece employs the legend tradition and a nationalist tone (Ferguson 1998: 58), two traditions of Scottish historiography which are notably absent from Major's chronicle. Indeed, its overly patriotic tone is probably one of the aspects which made it so popular with a sixteenth-century readership in contrast to Major's chronicle (Ferguson 1998: 66). Boece was a man of the Renaissance and produced a chronicle meeting the requirements of a Renaissance readership: the chronicle was comprehensive, contained copious detail, and was written in elegant Latin (Ferguson 1998: 62). The historical content of the chronicle itself contained many errors, as Boece was more concerned with the quality of the Latin than the factual quality of the work's content, as were his Renaissance readers (Ferguson 1998: 68). The readership of Boece's chronicle seemingly expanded beyond the educated class, as merely nine years later, in 1536, John Bellenden translated Boece's Latin chronicle into Scots at the request of James V, therefore introducing the text to a more general Scottish readership.

⁵⁶ See also the variant form 'John Mair'.

Also belonging to the Humanist movement, and a follow student of Major, was George Buchanan who wrote his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* in the 1570s (it was eventually published posthumously in 1582). Though influenced by Boece's proud patriotic tone (Ferguson 1998: 87), Buchanan rejected Boece's Scoto-Gaelic origin legend in favour of a more descriptive introduction to his chronicle as Major had done, though on the whole Buchanan dismissed Major as scholastic (Kidd 1993: 19). Ferguson (1998: 94-95) describes this introduction as the distinguishing feature of Buchanan's chronicle which makes this work so important to Scottish historiography. The opening contains a 'brilliant' and 'original' depiction of the Picts which was crucial to the establishment of the early history of Scotland and Scottish identity (Ferguson 1998: 91-95). On the whole, Buchanan's *Historia* was hugely popular in the later sixteenth century (Ferguson 1998: 75); its nationalist tone, moralising objective, and literary style corresponded well with the sensibilities of a prominent section of sixteenth-century Scottish society.

Also a product of the sixteenth century was John Lesley's *De origine, moribus, ac rebus gestis Scotiae libri decem* which he presented to Mary Queen of Scots, of whom he was an avid advocate, in 1571. Written in Latin, Lesley's history covers the period of 1436-1561. As with many of his contemporaries, the earlier part of Lesley's history relies on Boece's account, but the latter part of the work is an independent account from a distinctly Catholic perspective.

Pitscottie's *Cronicles* can be seen to both fit in with, and stand apart from, the histories of his sixteenth-century contemporaries. The initial part of the chronicle, being a translation of Boece, is in accordance with his contemporaries who relied heavily on this work. The second section detailing the events of 1460-1542 is a compilation of many of the historical works published before him (discussed above), suggesting that Pitscottie read Scottish historiography widely. His third section is the most interesting, having been composed by Pitscottie as a contemporary observer of the events he is chronicling. Indeed, the focus of Pitscottie's work - the locality of Fife (as was discussed in Section D.2 of this

chapter) - suggests that his intended readership may have been more geographically focused than is indicated by the other historians. By writing from a local perspective, Pitscottie focuses on the events and concerns of local interest and is therefore able to highlight social issues in a more direct way than many of his contemporaries, making Pitscottie's work particularly useful as evidence of social history. Further, by being composed in Scots rather than Latin (as was the earlier practice), Pitscottie displays his different position in Scottish society compared to many of his more scholarly contemporaries, and signifies perhaps a different intended readership. It is Pitscottie's position in society which makes this chronicle so interesting: it is written by a sixteenth-century 'everyman' who writes primarily as an observer of what he sees taking place around him. It is not masked in the elevated language or academic pretensions of the educated upper class; nor is he explicitly a member of a particular political party/religious institution constructing a history with an ulterior motive. Pitscottie seemingly composed his chronicle with a genuine personal interest in history and the desire to catalogue contemporary events. Therefore, while his lack of inside knowledge and direct experience may have led to many errors in his telling of events, he provides a perspective of both sixteenth-century Scotland, and historiography in general, that his contemporaries do not supply.

E. Methodology

1. Importance of Tertium Comparationis

This thesis is a contrastive/comparative study of reading practices over a specified period of time (1575-1814), and in order to conduct this type of analysis, this thesis has established a corpus of twenty witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 43) suggest that there are two potential approaches to corpus linguistics which accord with historical pragmatic research: the top-down approach involves a linguistic feature being identified prior to research commencing and then being searched for in the text, therefore making this approach deductive and corpus-aided; whereas a bottom-up approach is inductive and corpus-driven in that the textual analysis is undertaken with no preconceived ideas of the material. This thesis adopts a top-down approach to the specified material in that the features for analysis have

already been identified (punctuation practices and paratextual features).⁵⁷ These pre-prescribed items act as the *tertium comparationis* of this research which is essential to make contrastive/comparative research systematic and quantifiable;⁵⁸ they have been selected on the basis of the textual features which proved to be the most effective in analysing physical reading practices in the prior proof-of-concept study previously discussed.⁵⁹

The use of pre-prescribed textual features (*tertium comparationis*) to analyse larger socio-cultural practices also allows this thesis to bring together a series of complementary methodologies which were outlined in Section B.5.2. As has been widely suggested (e.g. Archer and Culpeper 2011) the combination of quantitative assessment with qualitative analysis is an effective approach to historical pragmatic research. This thesis begins quantitatively by describing the occurrence of the specified textual features in each of the witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* under analysis, before discussing these features in relation to the socio-cultural practices for which they cater. Therefore this thesis follows the methodology for all empirical studies advocated by Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 33): 'give examples and discuss them qualitatively'. The combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to data can therefore, in practice, be seen to coordinate well with contrastive/comparative studies as Jucker and Taavitsainen's (2013: 33) methodology corresponds with Jaszczolt's (2011: 116) stated purpose of contrastive studies: to provide evidence for a linguistic hypothesis.

2. Quantitative/Microlinguistic to Qualitative/Macrolinguistic

Just as this thesis advocates combining existing methodologies in its quantitative-to-qualitative approach, so too does its micro-to-macro approach to data. Jaszczolt (2011: 113) suggests that *microlinguistics* is the study of individual items such as phonology, lexis, and grammar, while *macrolinguistics* is

⁵⁷ Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 43) suggest that historical pragmatic research often begins with a top-down approach but is complemented by the researcher checking the material for missing items.

⁵⁸ See Section B.5.2, of this chapter for further discussion of *tertium comparationis*.

⁵⁹ Francesca L. Mackay (2012) *The development of reading practices: as represented in the textual afterlife of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, M.Phil. thesis, University of Glasgow.

the broader linguistic fields motivated by sociology and psychology such as semantics and pragmatics. This thesis combines these two methodologies by beginning with a microlinguistic approach to specific features of these data before expanding to the macrolinguistic elements (the socio-cultural context). As Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 50) suggest, the contextualisation of specific linguistic/textual features is key to historical pragmatic research: ‘contextualise your findings by considering larger issues, and by relating your findings to the multilayered context from the microlevel to the macrolevel of culture’.

A consideration of the methodology of this thesis is the issue raised by Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 25) regarding generalisations in historical pragmatic research. This is an issue that regularly occurs in qualitative, macrolinguistic research projects in which hypotheses are being made on wider socio-cultural contexts on the basis of specific linguistic/textual features. This thesis, however, emphasises that, while it may contribute towards hypotheses regarding the broader literacy practices in Scotland during the early modern period, its findings are firmly rooted in the data under analysis: this thesis focuses on the reading practices and purposes catered for within the selected witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* 1575-1814.

F. Summary

This chapter has served to outline the rationale behind the goals and structure of this thesis; the fields of research this study is situated within (and the gaps in these fields to which it contributes); and the specific topics and issues with which this thesis engages.

The subsequent chapters present a case study on the multiple, coexisting, but disparate reading communities of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* in early modern Scotland. Chapter 2 conducts close textual analysis to extract micro-data (the punctuation practices and paratextual features of twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles*), which are then analysed quantitatively and qualitatively alongside the relevant macro-data in order to produce both specific hypotheses on the reading communities of

Pitscottie's *Cronicles* in Chapter 3, and more tentative contributions to on-going discussions of the overall reading environment of early modern Scotland in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2: Corpus Information

‘[...] those concrete texts which constitute the work’s real existence present through the play of variants and re-workings something like a ceaseless vibration of fundamental instability’
 Zumthor (1972: 507)

A. Introduction

Jerome McGann states that ‘texts [...] are embodied phenomena, and the body of the text is not exclusively linguistic’ (2011: 2). A text does not exist as an isolated concept; as soon as it is linguistically materialised it is inextricably linked to the paratext of its material form (Genette 1991: 263). The features of its materiality produce its *peritext*, and its pragmatic relationship to its socio-cultural environment produces its *epitext* (as defined by Gérard Genette 1988; 1991). Chapter 2 therefore describes the *peritextual* features of the twenty extant manuscripts and printed editions of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* (with Chapter 2A presenting discursive descriptions of the witnesses and Chapter 2B outlining the quantitative data of this thesis - the paratextual features and punctuation practices of each witness), while Chapter 3 then qualitatively discusses the *peritext* of three selected witnesses in relation to their *epitext* and analyses how socio-cultural context has affected the diachronic material changes found within witnesses of the text.⁶⁰

B. A Note on the Dating of the Witnesses under Analysis

A key issue involved in examining the ‘history’ of reading practices is that such terminology suggests a chronological examination of the data under analysis. Problematically, no manuscript of the work is specifically dated - if a date is provided at all - in the catalogues of the institutions which hold them (National Library of Scotland and the Centre for Research Collections at the University of Edinburgh); some of the catalogue entries include approximate dates that the manuscript is likely to have been composed within but these dating spans are so wide that they do not greatly aid attempts to chronologically order the manuscripts. Further, only one scholar - Æ. G. Mackay (1899) - attempts to date

⁶⁰ Note that the discursive descriptions of the twenty witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* which are presented in Chapter 2A are not comprehensive bibliographic or codicological descriptions, although the information provided could contribute to such research within future projects.

the manuscript witnesses of the text, but any dating that he provides is also relatively broad in span.

Evidence from a variety of sources has been taken into account in the attempt to date the manuscripts, or, at the very least, place them in an approximate chronological order. These sources include: catalogue entries; Mackay's (1899) dating; palaeographical evidence; the date to which the *Cronicles* run in the scribal hand; and marks of ownership. However, this evidence is often unreliable and does not reduce the dating range greatly. For example, the information supplied in catalogue entries cannot be relied on too heavily as evidence is not provided to substantiate the information provided. Palaeographical evidence also does not significantly reduce the potential dating range as the majority of the manuscript witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* are composed in Scottish Secretary Hand which was the common usage in Scotland between 1500 and 1750. The date to which the chronicle annals run in the scribal hand(s) is relatively useful evidence to suggest the earliest possible date of the manuscript's composition, e.g. the manuscript must have been composed after the date of the last annal entry for the events of that date to have been documented in the scribal hand. Problematically, the manuscript could have been composed at any point after the date of the last annal, for example the scribe could have used an earlier exemplar and be composing the manuscript at a much later date. Finally, to some degree marks of ownership (such as inscribed names, even if they were not an owner or reader of the manuscript) can provide some evidence as to the latest possible date of the manuscript's composition. For example, if a datable name is inscribed on the manuscript it suggests that the manuscript is likely to have been created prior to the date in which that person could have encountered or have been otherwise linked to the manuscript. However, unfortunately, it cannot be ascertained whether it was the named person who inscribed their name which problematises the dating as the annotation could have been made retrospectively.

Due to the above-mentioned difficulties regarding the dateable evidence available in the manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles*, broad dating spans have

been suggested as the possible period of each manuscript's composition. There is not sufficient evidence to suggest the chronological order of the manuscripts with any degree of certainty, as the dating spans for many of the manuscripts overlap with those of other manuscript witnesses. For example, the potential dating spans of MS La.III.218 and Crawford MS I are the earliest of the manuscript witnesses under analysis.⁶¹ Both manuscripts have notably early possible dates according to the textual evidence (only MS Acc. 3736 could potentially be earlier)⁶² and Mackay labels them the earliest MS witnesses of the text (he ascribes MS La.III.218 and Crawford MS I the dates c.1578 and c.1598 respectively). However given the latest possible dates of composition for these manuscripts, any of the other manuscript witnesses (apart from MS 2672) could have been composed at an earlier date on the basis of the scarce evidence available. The only manuscript that can be dated with any certainty is MS 2672, which has been dated to post-1813; it makes reference to an 1813 printed edition of the text in the scribal hand.⁶³ However this manuscript is labelled as a transcript of a 1600 (unidentified) manuscript, so many of the features identified within this witness are not a product of the nineteenth century.

Yet, while a lack of chronology may be a hindrance to evolutionary concepts of the history of reading, as discussed in Chapter 1, Section C, this thesis does not interpret the history of reading as a linear 'development' from one practice to another. Instead it employs the various witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* produced between 1575 and 1814 (between which years all of the witnesses of the text were potentially produced) as a case study by which to examine the nuanced reading practices of the coexisting reading communities of early modern Scotland. Therefore, while analysis of the prospective dating of the manuscripts is an interesting and worthwhile undertaking, specific dating is not essential to this thesis' aims.

⁶¹ See Chapter 2A, Sections 1 and 2.

⁶² See Chapter 2A, Section 9.

⁶³ This 1813 printed edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* has not been identified, nor have any other references to this edition been encountered. It is possible, though, that this is a reference to Dalrymple's 1814 edition of the text – see the second colophon to Dalrymple's 1814 edition transcribed in Chapter 2A, Section 20.

Chapter 2A: Introduction to Corpus

1. MS La.III.218 - University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh

David Laing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: MS La.III.218

While the notably brief catalogue entry for MS La.III.218 broadly suggests the manuscript was produced between 1600 and 1699 (which is supported by the inclusion of <1627> noted at the end of the manuscript), there is very little palaeographical evidence or textual content which allows the manuscript to be more specifically dated between the broad dates of 1575 and 1761.⁶⁴ Mackay (1899: lxxiii), though, suggests that the watermark attests to the manuscript being of sixteenth-century production and dates it to c.1578 (Mackay 1899: lxx).

Several scribes were potentially involved in the composition of this manuscript: the hand maintains a slant to the right throughout, but occasional sections of text seem to have an overall different appearance. However, it could be interpreted that these differences are not maintained for long enough to repeatedly signify different scribes, it could therefore be suggested that the manuscript was composed by a single scribe displaying slight variances in size and ink.⁶⁵

Following the non-scribal title page - <Lindsay of Pitscottie's | History of Scotland> - there are five sections of chronicle-text. The first section of this manuscript is unrecognisable (in heading or content) as either the beginning of the section documenting James II or a known prefatory item. Mackay (1899: lxii) states that a considerable portion of the beginning of this manuscript is missing which would explain why the beginning of the extant text is unrecognisable (i.e.

⁶⁴ Problematically for the four witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* included within this thesis which belong to the Laing Collection, there is not a comprehensive catalogue of this collection.

⁶⁵ For example, the scribal hand employs lengthy ascenders and lexical items consistently end with a horizontal line extending from the final letter. Idiosyncratic forms include long, loose-descender <h> form; <<6>> form of <s>; and single compartment <a> form with the upper curve of the lobe extending in a straight line upwards to the right.

it is not a recognisable incipit). On f.11r, within the first section, is the phrase <James Stewart slaine> which refers to the death of James I, the predecessor of James II, suggesting that the first section is a prelude to and documentary of the reign of James II. The next marked section is clearly recognisable as the beginning of the monarch section for James III as composed in other witnesses. Following this are the clearly identifiable monarchs' sections for James IV, James V, and Mary Queen of Scots; as is the conventional structure. Notably, this witness does not include the non-authorial 'Addition' (documenting the reign of James VI) which is found in the majority of extant witnesses of the *Cronicles*. Following the chronicle-text this manuscript contains 32 blank folios and 2 folios (f.225-226) containing a brief history of Scotland in a different hand. These 2 folios of text have no heading but consist of thirty entries covering the period 1118-1610. A note at the bottom of the verso of the first folio of this text states that <This is taken out of a manuscript in old Scots metre | called Languet's Cornickle written about the 1409. | or therabouts. wi^{ch} booke belonged to Hen. Ker off | Lintoune.>.

As is commonly found in witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, the text is split into monarchs' sections with each section (after the first unlabelled section) beginning with an intertitle, an enlarged initial, and one-three enlarged lexical items.⁶⁶ Additionally, there are a series of inter-textual intertitles which mark the martyrdom of George Wishart within Mary's section (f.154v-158v): there is a lengthy intertitle filling the text frame for the 'Accusation', followed by a series of centralised numerical intertitles for the 'Articles/Answers', and a centralised intertitle for Wishart's 'Prayer' - all of which are differentiated with spacing above and below. Enlarged initials are - as described - used to begin the marked monarch's sections (James III - Mary) and become gradually larger as the chronicle progresses (from 30-42mm). Smaller enlarged initials are also used to begin each page of the chronicle; they vary widely in size from 5mm (these smaller initials are perhaps *litterae notabiliores* rather than enlarged initials) to 25mm. The enlarged initials which begin each monarch section are lightly

⁶⁶ The term 'intertitle' was coined by Gérard Genette (1997: 294) to refer to internal titles. The term will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the sub-headings used to introduce each monarch's section, chapters (when included), and instances in which narrative sub-headings are used to introduce specific sections of content.

decorated with curved lines, and line fillers which consist of a series of small spiral shapes within the line are employed.

The scribal formal marginalia which accompany this text are positioned in the left margin of the page and begin on f.1. They function to summarise the contents of the parallel section of text. There is no handwritten annotation to the chronicle-text itself; the only handwritten marginalia occur before or after the chronicle-text and seemingly refer to ownership, for example: <D. Laing | 218 | ^w218> (front pastedown), <Lindsay of Pitscottie's | History of Scotland> (f.4r - of front flyleaves), <Dr Laing> (f.1r - of foliated text), <Liber Joannis Gorgon [sic.] de Buthlay Advocati | 16.^o die Maj 1761. Edinburgi.> (f.192r), <1627> (f. 192v), and <23: 10: 1678:> and <6:ii:79 | 80> (back pastedown).

The leaves containing the main text are foliated. The foliation runs numerically, but begins at f.1 on the first page of the text and therefore does not include the preceding blank leaves, suggesting that the text was foliated before it was bound into this volume. The leaf signatures are positioned in the top right corner of each recto, and they appear to be in a later hand. There is an error in the foliation; following f.25 the foliation reverts back to f.16 then runs continuously henceforth.

This manuscript is notably different to all other witnesses; for example, it contains different intertitles, incipits, explicits, and has a wholly different first section. Mackay (1899: lxxii, lxxiv) suggests MS La.III.218 was copied from the same - or a similar - copy-text as MS La.III.216 but that MS La.III.218 is an earlier witness and is less complete. He also suggests that this manuscript and Crawford MS I contain the same orthography but were composed in different hands; further stating that they are the same text but that Crawford MS I is more complete. Mackay (1899: lxxx, lxxii) used this manuscript as one of the two copy-texts for his Scottish Text Society edition.

2. Acc. 9769 84/1/1 1/2 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Crawford (Bibliotheca Lindesiana) Collections

Henceforth referred to as: Crawford MS I

Crawford MS I is undated within its catalogue entry and the evidence provided by the content of the text and the palaeography does not allow the manuscript to be specifically dated between 1575 and 1706. Mackay (1899: lxxxiii), though, suggests the manuscript can be dated to c.1598. The chronicle-text has been composed by one or two scribal hands; there is possibly a change in hand towards the end of the section documenting Mary Queen of Scots' reign. The pre-chronicle material (two prefatory items and an additional item) were composed in the scribal hand, as were the post-chronicle additional items apart from Johnne Strattoris' sermon.⁶⁷

This manuscript begins with the conventional prefatory elements of the 'Author's Account to the Reader' and the 'Verses to the Bishop' (composed in the scribal hand). However Crawford MS I differs from other witnesses as it includes an additional (scribal) text within the front matter, positioned between the two conventional prefatory items: <THE EXORTATIOVN : TO THE RIDER | PRAYAND : HIM : TO : BE : CIRCV | MSPECT · AND : EXPERT · IN | REIDING · BECAVS. HE | IS BOT^cANE t^cOVNG SCHOL | LAR : THAT · WRettit | THAIRFOIR : HALD | HIM. EXCVSIt->. This witness also includes a fairly extensive range of additional items after the chronicle-text, none of which are found in any other witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* under analysis: 'The Recantation of Mr Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews' (scribal), two untitled songs/poems (scribal), 'The Accusation, Confession, and Death of John Hamilton, Bishop of St. Andrews' (deemed non scribal by Mackay 1899: lxxxi, but potentially scribal), and 'Mr Johnne Strattoris' Sermon' (non-scribal).

⁶⁷ Alternatively, Mackay (1899: lxxxi) suggests that the manuscript was written in one hand with some additions (the 'Accusation of John Hamilton' and Strattoris' sermon) in a different hand.

Crawford MS I breaks the chronicle-text into the conventional five monarchs' sections plus the 'Addition'; however it unusually labels the 'Addition' as a monarch's section documenting James VI. The readership of this witness may therefore not have been aware that this section was not Pitscottie's composition but is a later addition. The 'Addition' in this manuscript covers the period from 1566/67 until during or just after 1575.

There are various levels of, and different types of, textual division in Crawford MS I, more so than are found in the majority of witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. As is conventional the five main monarchs' sections and the 'Addition' are marked using intertitles and enlarged initials to begin the incipits, but this manuscript - notably - also marks the end of monarchs' sections with an exclamation. Unusually, this manuscript divides all of the monarchs' sections (James II - Mary) into chapters (a practice which is only otherwise found in Mackay's 1899 edition).⁶⁸ The chapters included in this manuscript are short and frequent, and are introduced with a numerical intertitle. As is also found in Mackay's 1899 edition, this manuscript includes an introductory, summarising paragraph at the beginning of every chapter. This paragraph is indented and begins with an enlarged initial, and is positioned between the intertitle and the start of the content of the chapter proper.

Enlarged initials of varying heights are used as markers of textual division within the monarchs' sections intertitles (21-29mm), the introductory paragraphs of each monarch's section (15-26mm), the introductory paragraphs for each chapter (5-15mm), the incipit for the content of each chapter (11-86mm for the incipit of the first chapter of each monarch's section, 8-39mm for the incipits of chapters within monarchs' sections), and the exclamations for each monarch's section (12-44mm). The initials vary in size within the positions they are found but overall the enlarged initials for the incipit of the chapter content (i.e. not the introductory paragraph) of the first chapter of each monarch's section are

⁶⁸ The use of the term 'chapters' throughout this thesis will refer to the scribal practice of subdividing the monarchs' sections of the *Cronicles* into smaller sub-sections using intertitles which label the sections of text as 'chapters'.

the largest. Enlarged initials are also used to begin each page of the manuscript. These initials are, on average, smaller than the initials that are used to mark textual division (usually 7-20mm).

To further emphasise selected sections of textual division, enlarged and emboldened text is used. For example, the first (or first two) lines of the intertitles introducing the monarchs' sections are usually enlarged and emboldened, and the incipits of each monarch section (after the introductory paragraphs) usually contain various quantities of text (between one word and a full line) in enlarged and emboldened script after the enlarged initial.

Several sub-sections of the chronicle-content are marked in this manuscript - more so than are found in other witnesses of the text. Inter-textual intertitles for either 'The Oration' of Sir James Hamilton within the section documenting James V or the martyrdom of George Wishart within Mary's section are frequently found in witnesses of the *Cronicles* but this is the only witness to mark both of the sections (f.67r and f.103v-106v, respectively). In addition to this unusual practice, the scribe has also included inter-textual intertitles for the accusation of Patrick Hamilton (in James V - f.63r-v), the trial of the 'vicar of Dolor' (in James V - f.70r-v), and the trial of Walter Mill (in Mary - f.120r-v); and has presented the 'deploration of quein Madalenes deith' (in James V - f.83v-85v) in a narrower column layout to the rest of the text.

The scribe and several other hands have added marginalia to this manuscript. The scribal formal marginalia functions to summarise the parallel section of chronicle-text, while the small quantity of readerly handwritten marginalia primarily indicate ownership. For example, there is also a bookplate on the front pastedown accrediting the book to <The Right Honourable Hugh{...} | Vifcount Cholmon{...}>; Mackay (1899: lxxx) states that at some point between 1681 and 1706 (when he held the title) the manuscript was owned by the Right Honourable Hugh, Viscount Cholmondeley. Additionally, on the front pastedown, a hand has written in pencil < Acc 9769 | 84/1/1 1/2 | by Robert Lindsay | at |

Pitscottie | G7>, and, beneath this, a hand has composed <Phillips MS | 3107 | 269/K-4>. On the recto of the front flyleaf there is a bookplate stamp featuring an upright lion and the words: <Sir S. | Aliddle. Hill>. Underneath this <3107> is written in ink, with <a70 943> written in pencil below. Additionally, though, on f.7v and f.8r, a later hand has corrected the scribe's work by adding words either interlineally or in the margin.

Crawford MS I includes a series of unrelated additional texts, and notably includes a few sermons - as does the Wodrow Folio. Also of note: this manuscript belongs to the Crawford Papers held in the National Library of Scotland; a collection which also includes another witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. Further research could be undertaken to establish if there is any textual or bibliographic relationship between these two witnesses of the text. Mackay (1899: lxxx) also states that this manuscript has the same orthography as MS La.III.218 but has been composed in a later hand. He suggests that the two manuscripts are the same text but that Crawford MS I is more complete.

3. MS La.III.216 - University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh

David Laing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: MS La.III.216

The brief catalogue entry for MS La.III.216 dates the manuscript to between 1500 and 1599.⁶⁹ The ‘Addition’ within this manuscript, though, continues until 1603 in the scribal hand, suggesting that MS La.III.216 was composed after this date. Mackay (1899: lxxiv) argues that analysis of the text and its ownership suggests it was composed between 1603 and 1635.

A single scribe composed the original manuscript, including the prefatory ‘Description of Britain’, the whole chronicle-text (consisting of five monarchs’ sections (James II - Mary) and the ‘Addition), and the supplementary ‘Table’.⁷⁰ A much later scribe, though, has added the ‘Author’s Account’, the ‘Verses to the Bishop’, and a title page which reads: <THE CONTINUATION | OF | THE CHRONICLES & | HISTORY OF SCOTLAND | Written by M^r: Hector Boes. & translated | by M^r: John Ballantyne, beginning, where they left | off at the Death of King James the first, and | ending Anno 1565. | by Robert Lindsay of Pitscotti | Continued by another Hand to King James the 6th | Coronation in England, Anno. 1603.>.

Each monarch’s section is introduced with an intertitle (indented and aligned to the right) and an enlarged initial, but in this manuscript the sections are less visually distinct. While the beginning of James II is clearly marked as it is the beginning of the chronicle-text and it includes an enlarged initial (68mm x 78mm) decorated with simple penwork and a line of emboldened text, the other

⁶⁹ Note that Laing’s collection has not been comprehensively catalogued and the broad sixteenth-century date ascribed to MS La.III.216 (and MS La.III.198) is inaccurate as Pitscottie did not compose the *Cronicles* until the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁷⁰ The scribal hand is consistent in form. It consists of long ascenders and descenders, and idiosyncratic features include: single compartment <a>, flat-top <g>, and <h> which descends below the line.

monarchs' sections are not as noticeably differentiated.⁷¹ The intertitles to introduce the sections for James III, James IV, James V, and Mary are not as distinctive. While these intertitles are still indented and aligned to the right there is no space surrounding the title to make them visually distinctive on the page; and while these sections do begin with enlarged initials, they are long and thin in form (37-64mm in height) and there is no decoration or penwork. Further, the 'Addition' begins with no marker of textual division at all; the only indicator that a new section has begun is that the running title changes to <6>.⁷² This witness also includes a series of inter-textual intertitles to mark 'The Accusation of George Wishart' (f.106r-111r).

Scribal formal marginalia have been provided throughout the 'Description of Britain' and all the monarchs' sections (including the 'Addition'). The marginalia function to summarise the text and to occasionally add dates. Only the front pastedown, though, features any handwritten marginalia, all of which are items referring to ownership, for example: <David Laing | Edin^r | 1824> and a torn bookplate for Robert Seton of Meldrum.

The leaves of the original manuscript ('Description of Britain', chronicle-text, and 'Table') are foliated, but the foliation - positioned in the top right corner of each recto - begins on the first page of the 'Description' at f.2r suggesting that a leaf of the foliated manuscript may be missing. The foliation is potentially scribal but it cannot be firmly ascertained.

Mackay (1899: lxxii; lxxiv) suggests MS La.III.216 was copied from the same - or a similar - copy-text as MS La.III.218 but that MS La.III.216 was copied later and is more complete. He further suggests that this is one of the manuscripts which Dalzell used as a copy-text for his 1814 edition (1899: lxxiv).

⁷¹ The 'Description of Britain' also begins with an enlarged initial (56 x 38mm) containing simple penwork decoration.

⁷² The layout of the transition from Mary's section to the 'Addition' in this manuscript (i.e. no marked transition), is the same as in MS 2672.

4. Adv. MS 35.4.10 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henceforth referred to as: Adv. MS 35.4.10

Title on Modern Binding: <LINDSAY'S | HISTORY | OF | SCOTLAND>.

A loose sheet of printed text inserted within the front flyleaves of this volume suggests that this manuscript was composed in the seventeenth century. This claim is supported by the textual evidence; the manuscript is composed in a single scribal hand which continues the 'Addition' until 1603, suggesting that Adv. MS 35.4.10 was composed after this date.⁷³ Further, Mackay (1899: lxxvii) dates the manuscript to the early seventeenth century.

This witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* includes one prefatory item - the 'Description of Britain' - and one supplementary item - the 'Table' - in the scribal hand. Interestingly, the only other witnesses to include the 'Description of Britain' - MS La.III.216 and Dalrymple's 1814 edition (BD13-i.23) - are also the only other witnesses to include the post-chronicle 'Table' (and MS La.III.216 similarly does not include any other scribal prefatory items). The chronicle-text of Adv. MS 35.4.10 consists of the conventional five monarchs' sections and the 'Addition'.

As is conventional in witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, each of the monarchs' sections and the 'Addition' are introduced with an intertitle and an enlarged initial (15-34mm), but the layout is not consistent. All of the sections are introduced with a centralised intertitle (variously enlarged and emboldened) and an incipit which begins with an enlarged initial and a section of emphasised text. The first three words (the monarch's title) of each monarch's section are enlarged and emboldened - except for the incipit to Mary's section in which the introductory phrase <In the zeir of our lord> is enlarged and emboldened. Only

⁷³ The suggestion that Adv. MS 35.4.10 was composed by a single scribal hand is supported by the consistently small and contained script which features small, neat ascenders and descenders; the ascenders loop in an oval to the left, and the descenders curve to the right. Idiosyncratic features include: single compartment <a> with the upper curve of the lobe extending in a straight line up to the right, flat-topped <g>, and loose, long-descender <h>.

the sections for James II and James III, though, begin atop a new page; the intertitle for James IV occurs following a line gap after the explicit to James III, and the intertitles for Mary and the 'Addition' occur immediately following the explicit to the previous section without a gap. The 'Description of Britain' and 'Table' begin atop a new page with centralised intertitles and an enlarged initial (15mm for the 'Description' and 24mm for the 'Table').

An inter-textual intertitle is used to mark George Wishart's martyrdom within Mary's section. The 'Accusation' is introduced with a centralised, enlarged, emboldened intertitle with spacing above and below, and the incipit begins with an enlarged initial (17mm) and a short section of enlarged and emboldened text. There are subsequently a series of centralised intertitles to document Wishart's oration (also enlarged and emboldened), his trial, and his prayer (again, enlarged and emboldened).

The scribe provides scribal marginalia throughout the 'Description of Britain' and the chronicle-text; they function to summarise the events of the parallel section of text. On f.6-7 a different hand has added marginalia which imitate the format and function of the scribe's formal marginalia. Throughout the section documenting James III a readerly hand adds notes in the margin in pencil; for example, it adds personal names where the name has been left blank in the content of the manuscript. There are also later annotations to the front flyleaves relating to the ownership of the manuscript. On the verso of the first flyleaf a hand notes <ADV. 35.4.10>, and similarly on the verso of the third flyleaf <35.4.10>. Additionally, in the margin of the first folio of the text (the 'Description of Britain') a hand has written <Lib. Bibl. Ofac. Jurid. Edinb.>.

There is a loose piece of paper within the front flyleaves on which typewritten text states that the volume is <Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of | Scotland> and that it is a <Manuscript of the 17th century>. It then goes on to state that <The pages shown contain the account of the | murder of Cardinal Beaton in 1546:> followed by the relevant section of text copied directly from

the chronicle. While comparison of this extract with the copy of this section in the chronicle-text suggests that the punctuation and use of *litterae notabiliores* have been modernised, the orthography seems to have been maintained. There is a single example of modification of the orthography, but it is only one letter in difference suggesting it may be a copying error.

Mackay (1899: lxviii) suggests that Dalyell possibly used this manuscript as one of his copy-texts for his 1814 edition.

5. Adv. MS 35.4.11 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henceforth referred to as: Adv. MS 35.4.11

The catalogue entry for this witness, unfortunately, does not date the manuscript, and, though, Mackay (1899: lxxvii) suggests that the manuscript must have been composed post-1598 (more specifically, 1598-1625) due to the composition of the 'Addition' in the scribal hand until this date, Adv. MS 35.4.11 cannot be more specifically dated within the constraints of this thesis.⁷⁴

This witness of the *Cronicles* includes only one item of prefatory material and no supplementary items. The prefatory item provided, the 'Author's Account' (composed in the scribal hand), is the most frequently occurring item of surrounding material within the manuscript witnesses of this text. The chronicle-text contains the conventional five monarchs' sections plus the 'Addition'. In this manuscript, though, the 'Addition' is notably short in length, only covering the period of 1588-1598.

The monarchs' sections are introduced with a combination of intertitles, enlarged initials, and emphasised text. While the first five monarchs' sections (James II - Mary) begin with a centralised, enlarged intertitle and an enlarged initial (9-17mm), there are slight variations to the usage of other features. While the intertitles of the first three monarchs' sections are emboldened, the intertitles for the sections documenting James V and Mary are not. While centralised, the intertitle to introduce the 'Addition' is neither enlarged nor emboldened, and the incipit does not begin with an enlarged initial. Also, following the enlarged initial which begins the incipit of each monarch's section, there is usually a single lexical item which is emphasised. However in the section for James IV there are two enlarged and emboldened lexical items, and for Mary

⁷⁴ Problematically, though, while Mackay (1899: lxxvii) states that Adv. MS 35.4.11 'appears to be all written in the same hand', palaeographical variations suggest that there could have been several hands present in this manuscript. For example, while the script used within this manuscript is small and neat throughout, the first scribe has a round hand while the second scribe's hand is squarer.

and the 'Addition' there are no emphasised words. Further, there is inconsistency to the quantity of blank space which is provided before a new section begins. The monarch section for James III begins on the same page on which James II ends, following a gap of approximately three lines; and, while James IV begins on a new page, James III ends at the bottom of the preceding page so this layout does not appear to be purposeful. The sections for James V and Mary, though, do purposefully begin on a new page, leaving a considerable amount of space after the previous section ends on the preceding page; whereas no space is provided between the explicit of Mary's section and the intertitle for the 'Addition'.

As found in a small group of manuscripts, this witness also divides the first monarch's section - James II - into chapters. The first of these chapters is not marked - its content simply begins beneath the intertitle introducing the monarch's section - but from the second chapter onwards each chapter is introduced with a numerical intertitle which is consistently centralised and enlarged, but which is surrounded by varying amounts of blank space. The incipits of the majority of chapters begin with an enlarged initial (up to 19mm in size) but this practice is inconsistent.

The use of paragraphs and the practice used to signify a new paragraph varies throughout the manuscript. Prior to the section for James V only four paragraphs are marked (one within the section for James II and three within James III), all of which are marked by a new line and a *littera notabilior*. Within James V the pattern for marking paragraphs fluctuates between the form of the paragraphs in James II and III and the inclusion of an additional line space to further differentiate new paragraphs. Within Mary's section none of the paragraphs are indicated with a line space but the first line of a new paragraph is variously marked with and without indentation. The 'Addition' then contains much shorter paragraphs, which are consistently marked with the first line of a new paragraph being indented.

Additionally, this manuscript includes an inter-textual intertitle for <The oration> within the section documenting James V (f.80v), which is centralised within the text space but is not enlarged/emboldened, nor is it clearly positioned within its own line (due to an overlapping half-line above).

Scribal formal marginalia are extremely sparse in his manuscript; the only examples occur on f.2r-v, and f.4v and function to summarise the parallel section of text. Further, there are no readerly handwritten marginalia regarding the content of the chronicle-text itself; the only marginalia are found on the flyleaves and prefatory material, and primarily refer to the manuscript's ownership. For example: <Ex Libris Bibliothone Facultaris | Juridine Edinburgi>.

Mackay (1899: lxviii) suggests that Dalyell possibly used this manuscript as one of the copy-texts for his 1814 edition.

6. Wodrow MSS. Folio XLVIII - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

(Henceforth referred to as: the Wodrow Folio)

The miscellany volume in which this chronicle-text is bound contains numerous texts composed by different scribal hands, but a single scribe seemingly composes the manuscript up to the end of the *Cronicles* (i.e. the first ten sermons and the whole chronicle-text).⁷⁵ The sermons immediately following the *Cronicles* are composed in a different hand. The Wodrow Folio is undated in its catalogue entry, but it is potentially a seventeenth-century witness as the sermons surrounding the *Cronicles* in this volume are all dated to the seventeenth century (Mackay (1899: lxxxviii) supports this by broadly dating this witness as post-1605). More specifically, the sermons within this miscellany (some of which are in the same scribal hand) are all seemingly dated between 1638 and 1643, suggesting that the miscellany (including the Pitscottie text) was composed after these dates.

The contents page (composed in a hand not found elsewhere in the Wodrow Folio) provided at the beginning of the volume states there are twenty-two items in this miscellany, however the textual division within the volume suggests that there may be thirty-two items. The contents page states the volume consists of twenty sermons, a ‘collection of promises & various observations’, and Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*. Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* are labelled as Item 11 of the volume - both on the contents page and on the page it begins - but according to the markers of textual division it could be the thirteenth item in the volume. It is preceded and followed by sermons delivered at Edinburgh (the preceding sermon delivered in 1639, and the subsequent sermon in 1643). Despite containing the largest quantity of additional texts, though, this witness of the *Cronicles* is void of any of the conventional prefatory/supplementary materials. Within the *Cronicles* themselves, the text consists of the conventional five monarchs’ sections plus the ‘Addition’.

⁷⁵ The scribal hand of the *Cronicles* and the preceding sermons is consistently neat, clearly-formed, and well-spaced. Idiosyncratic forms include flat-topped <g>, single compartment <a>, both long and <<6>> shaped <s>, and loose, long descender <h>.

There is a blank leaf between the preceding sermon text and the first page of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*; the *Cronicles* then begin with an intertitle introducing the chronicle-text - rather than introducing the James II monarch section specifically. The intertitle is centralised, enlarged, and emboldened, and the incipit of the section begins with an enlarged and emboldened first line. The subsequent monarchs' sections (James III - Mary) begin directly below the explicit of the previous section (except the section for James III which begins on a new page, but this is not purposeful; the explicit of James II ends at the bottom of the previous page). While all the intertitles for these sections are enlarged and emboldened, the intertitles for James IV, James V, and Mary are positioned centrally (and then aligned to the right over the multiple lines of the intertitle), whereas the full intertitle for James III is aligned right. Enlarged and emboldened text is also variously used to begin the incipits of these sections: as in James II, the sections for James III and Mary begin with a full line of enlarged and emboldened text, whereas only the first three words are presented this way in the incipit to James V, while James IV does not begin with any emphasised text. The beginning of the 'Addition' is slightly less defined than the previous sections: while it includes a centralised intertitle directly below the explicit to Mary's section, it is only slightly enlarged and is not emboldened, and the incipit begins with a single enlarged (but not emboldened) lexical item.

A series of inter-textual intertitles are used to mark George Wishart's martyrdom within Mary's section (f.159v-163v). Firstly, there is an intertitle aligned to the right of the text frame, with no spacing above or below, and a single line of slightly enlarged text. Subsequently, the intertitle for Wishart's oration is centralised - but not enlarged or emboldened - with no spacing around it, followed by a series of scribal marginal notes for the 'Articles' and 'Answers', and a centralised, slightly enlarged and emboldened intertitle for his prayer. Enlarged initials, though, are notably not used as a feature of textual division in this witness (i.e. for the incipits of monarchs' sections), which is unusual as they are found in this position in all other manuscript witnesses.

Where included, scribal formal marginalia are positioned within the left margin of the page and function to summarise the content of the parallel section of text. There is a notable quantity of scribal formal marginalia alongside this witness of the text, often several items per page. In addition this witness includes readerly marginalia: manicules have been used extensively throughout the miscellany volume, and have been found in a notable quantity positioned alongside sections of the *Cronicles*. On the contents page of the volume there are two notes referring to ownership: <Ex Libris | Bibliothecae Facultatis | Juridicae Edinburgi |> and <This booke belongis to | Ffobell Nicol|fon with my Land | I bcb hand at | This book perfinifh to midft ffubew | Ehis bnn>.

Notably, this is the only witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* to be bound within a miscellany. Within the volume there are occasional stubs with no manuscript leaves attached, but within the *Cronicles* no content appears to be missing.

7. MS La.III.583 - University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh

David Laing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: MS La.III.583

This witness can be dated to post-1598 as the scribal hand documents events within the 'Addition' until February 1598, but it is difficult to date the manuscript more specifically. The catalogue entry for this manuscript dates it to 1809, but this late date may be attributed to the letter that is bound within it (dated 1809). The note <13 May 1642> has been composed in what appears to be the main scribal hand but has been struck through. In the same annotation this manuscript is ascribed to <Charles Lumsden> and the noted date corresponds with the lifetime of Charles Lumsden (c.1614-1686), Minister of Duddingston (1640-1681).⁷⁶ Problematically, this exact date is also noted in Crawford MS II which was seemingly composed by a different hand. There appears to be one scribe of the chronicle-text within MS La.III.583.⁷⁷ A different hand adds an additional item between the 'Author's Account' and the 'Verses to the Bishop', and various hands add entries at the end of the 'Addition'.

This manuscript includes the conventional prefatory items: the 'Author's Account' and the 'Verses to the Bishop', both composed in the same hand as the chronicle-text. Between these two items, though, there is a non-scribal additional item which appears to be a series of verses about Scotland composed in English and Latin.⁷⁸ As is also conventional, the chronicle-text contains monarchs' sections covering the reigns of James II - Mary, but the 'Addition' only documents events up to February 1598 (making this a shorter 'Addition' than is

⁷⁶ Problematically, there is an earlier Minister of Duddingston named Charles Lumsden who was a professional scribe, book owner, translator, and writer at the beginning of the seventeenth century (MacQueen 1994: 399). He lived c.1561-1630, and was Minister of Duddingston between 1588 and 1630, therefore his lifetime does not correspond with the date of 1642 which is noted on MS La.III.583 but – if the noted date is incorrect – he could still potentially be the scribe of this witness.

⁷⁷ The scribal hand is small and neat with letter forms of consistently the same size and shape. For example, the ascenders and descenders are short and rarely overlap with other forms, and idiosyncratic forms include single compartment <a>, long and short <s>, and flat-topped <g>.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2B, Section B.1 for an explanation of how this thesis differentiates between prefatory/supplementary material and additional items

usually found). Only half of this bound volume has any content (the remainder of the leaves are blank).

As is conventionally found, the manuscript is divided into monarchs' sections using intertitles, enlarged initials, and multiple forms of textual emphasis. The sections for James III and Mary begin on a new page, whilst the others continue on the same page as the previous section following a line space after the preceding section's explicit. All six sections begin with a centralised, enlarged intertitle, while for James II and III the first line of the intertitle is composed in *litterae notabiliores*, and for James IV and V the first line is further enlarged. The incipits for all six sections begin with an enlarged initial and varying quantities of capitalised text: for James III, James V, and Mary the first lexical item is capitalised, for James IV the first two lexical items (a monarch's title) are capitalised, and no forms are capitalised at the beginning of James II or the 'Addition'.

Only the first monarch's section is divided into chapters, each of which is introduced with an enlarged, centralised intertitle composed in *litterae notabiliores*. While enlarged initials are used to begin both the monarchs' sections (5-7mm in size - which appear enlarged in comparison to the small script) and the chapters within the first monarch's section, the enlarged initials used to begin the chapters are slightly smaller (3-6mm) than those used to introduce the monarchs' sections. Enlarged initials are also occasionally used to begin paragraphs within the section documenting James V. Within this manuscript the enlarged initials are sometimes emboldened but are never decorated or elaborated in form.

There is a fluctuating gradual introduction of paragraphing throughout this manuscript, beginning on the first page of the James III monarch section (p. 45). This paragraph begins with a new line and an indent but is the only paragraph marked within this section. Paragraphing does not resume again until the monarch section for James V in which new paragraphs - though consistently

beginning on a new line - are variously marked with indentation, enlarged initials, enlarged and emboldened text, or a combination of these features. From the first use of paragraphing within Mary's section the practice for marking paragraphs is much more consistent: a new paragraph is marked by a new line and indentation. Notably, paragraphs are marked much more frequently throughout the section for Mary; this increased frequency, and the pattern for marking paragraphs, is continued into the scribal section of the 'Addition'.

Within the monarchs' sections only one inter-textual intertitle is used: <The Oration>, within the James V monarch section (p. 108). The intertitle is centralised and slightly enlarged, but with very little spacing above and below and no emphasised text following the intertitle.

There is a relatively large quantity of handwritten marginalia within this manuscript in comparison to many other witnesses, and several hands have been identified as annotating the manuscript multiple times. Handwritten notes have been used to fulfil various functions: they are used most frequently to summarise the content of the text, but also to add additional information, to correct the text, and to highlight sections of text. Two notable features of the handwritten marginalia of this witness are the use of small arrows to draw attention to various points within the chronicle's content, and the use of manicules to highlight sections of the chronicle in which marvels are being discussed (on p. 44 and p. 67), suggesting that there was a reader specifically interested in this topic.

As stated above, a series of English and Latin verses have been added to the prefatory material in a different hand; a note at the end of this item - in the same hand - states it was <written in ta Tour by M^r Andrew Melwill to S^t noble man prifoner at the | Jame time with him ffor marying Arabella, go was next in blood to the Croun | of Ingland without the king or the Counfels Conjent= >. The annotation suggests that the added verses were originally composed by Andrew Melville while he was imprisoned in the Tower of London with William Seymour

(who had illicitly married Lady Arabella Stuart). Andrew Melville was held in the Tower from 1607 but William Seymour was not imprisoned until July 1610; Andrew Melville was subsequently released in 1611 and departed for France in April 1611, therefore these verses had to have been composed between July 1610 and April 1611, according to this annotation. Problematically, though, as these verses are seemingly non-scribal, the narrow dating of their composition does not aid the dating of the witness any further as they could have been added to an earlier or later manuscript of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* at any date after c.1611.

Additionally, there is a letter bound within the volume immediately after the front flyleaves and before the prefatory material. The leaf has clearly previously circulated as a separate letter: the paper and scribal hand are different and the leaf is creased where it was previously folded with an address composed on the front. The letter is addressed to George Chalmers, Esq. and is signed by Mr Graham Dalyell, Edinburgh, 4 June 1809 - presumably the same Graham Dalyell who produced an edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* in 1814.

Mackay (1899: lxxv-lxxvi) states that this manuscript was composed by the same scribe as MS La.III.198 (which this thesis supports), but the University of Edinburgh Library catalogue entries for these two items suggest that MS La.III.198 was written in the sixteenth century, whereas MS La.III.583 is (perhaps incorrectly) dated 1809. Mackay (1899: lxviii) also suggests that Dalyell possibly used this manuscript as one of his copy-texts for his 1814 edition.

8. MS La.III.198 - University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh

David Laing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: MS La.III.198

No specific date can be provided for MS La.III.198. The catalogue entry inaccurately dates this witness to 1500-1599, but the manuscript was seemingly composed by a single scribe and the 'Addition' documents events until 1598, suggesting that it was composed after this date.⁷⁹

This witness contains the commonly-found prefatory items of the 'Author's Account to the Reader' (untitled in this manuscript) and the 'Verses to the Bishop', both of which were composed in the scribal hand. The incipits of these items begin with an enlarged initial of 7mm (as found within the monarchs' sections, but smaller). The chronicle-text contains the conventional five monarchs' sections (James II - Mary) plus the 'Addition'.

The monarchs' sections are introduced with an intertitle atop the subsequent page after the previous section finishes. Only at the beginning of Mary's monarch section is there a more distinctive gap: the scribe leaves a page blank between the explicit of James V and the incipit of Mary. Yet there is no gap between Mary's section and the beginning of the 'Addition'; unlike the other sections it does not begin on a new page, but instead is marked only with a short intertitle directly below Mary's explicit. All of the sections begin with a centralised, enlarged intertitle followed by an enlarged initial to begin the incipit (5-15mm), but there are variations to the other methods of textual division used. The first two lines of the intertitle for James II are capitalised, whereas only the first line of the intertitle for James III and Mary are capitalised, while the first two-three lines of the intertitles for James IV and V are enlarged and emboldened but not capitalised. Additionally, following the enlarged initials, the incipits for James III, James V, and Mary enlarge and capitalise the first lexical item, whereas the first

⁷⁹ The scribal hand is consistently neat and clearly formed, with short ascenders and descenders. Idiosyncratic forms include both long and short <s>, single compartment <a>, and the modern form of <w>.

two lexical items (a monarch's title) of James II and IV are enlarged and capitalised, and no lexical items are emphasised at the beginning of the 'Addition'.

This witness divides the first section (James II) into chapters that are marked numerically. These chapter intertitles are enlarged and centralised, and, while the usual form is <The V. Chapter.>, there are single examples of <CAP. III> and <CHAP. VI>. Enlarged initials of 5-7mm - smaller than those used to begin the monarchs' sections - are also used to begin the incipit of each chapter.

Within the James V monarch section the scribe also begins to break the prose into paragraphs; this practice begins sporadically but becomes more consistent after the inter-textual intertitle (for <The Oration> within the section documenting James V (p. 297)), though the paragraphs are always several pages in length. The paragraphs within James V are marked by text beginning on a new line. Subsequently, Mary's monarch section begins in continuous prose until p. 339 when the scribe introduces paragraphing again. In this section, in addition to beginning on a new line, the first line of the paragraph is indented and the paragraphs are shorter. This practice of marking paragraphs continues in the 'Addition' but the paragraphs are even shorter.

The blank folios surrounding the chronicle-text in this witness contain marks of ownership. For example, <198 ~~619~~ | KrKs | 198 | Willim Kirkw | Joanes Kirkwood 1655 | 198> (f.1), <David Laing> (f.2), and, on the last blank folio, <John Kirkwood> (on the recto) and <Johannes | W^m Smit | James Emelloun | James | Johan | A.P. Emeroian | Emelleun | madem | Johannes Kirkwood | James Emeston | John | Kirk | John Kirk | madem | Johannes | James | Johannes Kirkwood> (on the verso). There is also evidence of pen trials on the penultimate blank folio of the manuscript. Within the chronicle-text, the only evidence of readerly marginalia are an example of a manicule drawn within the section documenting James IV and, in Mary's section, two dates which have been added

in the margin alongside sections of content that also state the corresponding date.

This thesis supports Mackay's (1899: lxxv-lxxvi; lxxxvii) assertion that this manuscript was composed by the same scribe as MS La.III.583 (potentially Charles Lumsden). Mackay also suggests that this manuscript is identical in content and anglicised language as his 'MS M' - which this thesis has not identified. Also, perhaps of note, the front and back pastedowns of this volume are made from a printed page of text, which appears to be from a collection of prayers or psalms.

9. Acc. 3736 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henceforth referred to as: MS Acc. 3736

MS Acc. 3736 is undated within its brief catalogue entry, and, unfortunately, the manuscript can only broadly be dated to between 1567 and 1750 as the 'Addition' documents events up to 1567 in one of the scribal hands, and is composed in Scottish Secretary Hand which was in popular use until the mid-eighteenth century. The chronicle-text itself was seemingly composed by multiple scribal hands, and the two additional items were, again, composed by another two different scribes. Additionally, at only a single page in length, the 'Addition' within this witness is shorter than is usually found.

This witness does not include any of the conventional prefatory/supplementary material, but it does include two additional texts. These non-scribal post-chronicle texts both relate to the Bishops of Moray; they are the 'List of Bishops' (p. 257) - a chronology of the Bishops of Moray - and the 'Account of Bishops' (p. 258-267). A handwritten annotation to these supplementary texts suggests that they were composed by Lachlan Shaw - the nineteenth-century author of the 'History of the Province of Moray' - indicating that these texts were potentially bound with Pitscottie's *Cronicles* at a later binding.

The five monarchs' sections and 'Addition' are each introduced with intertitles, enlarged initials, and emphasised text but their usage varies. For example, the intertitles used to introduce each monarch's section are aligned to the right of the writing frame, apart from those for James IV and the 'Addition' which are centralised. All of the monarchs' sections begin with an enlarged initial but of greatly varying sizes (e.g. 17mm x 27mm and 46mm x 35mm) and with varying degrees of penwork decoration. Additionally, the incipits for James II and the 'Addition' begin with two enlarged initials (for a name/monarch's title), the second of which is slightly smaller and contains no penwork decoration. There are also sections of emphasised text to begin each incipit: while the sections for James III and James V begin with a single enlarged and emboldened lexical item, two enlarged and emboldened lexical items begin the incipits for James II, Mary,

and the 'Addition', and the first full line for the section documenting James IV is enlarged and emboldened.

This manuscript contains a series of inter-textual intertitles documenting the martyrdom of George Wishart within Mary's monarch section (p. 210-217). None of the intertitles used for this section of sub-division are enlarged, emboldened, or surrounded by white space, and, while the lengthy intertitle introducing the accusation of Wishart is aligned to the right, the following intertitles for his oration, the 'Articles/Answers', and his prayer are all centralised.

The original text was composed on dark brown paper and these original leaves have been pasted onto more modern paper. Notably, the recto and verso of each of the new manuscript pages show the edges of the original leaves to be shaped differently. On occasions the original leaf is retained - rather than being pasted onto another - and strips of what appears to be Japanese paper (potentially *minogami usukuchi* 19gsm) are used around the edges to reconstruct the original leaf.⁸⁰ The edges of the original leaves of the manuscript are damaged, leading to significant quantities of text being lost. Additionally, the ink in which the manuscript was composed has faded considerably, leading to occasional difficulties in comprehension.

Scribal marginalia are provided throughout the chronicle-text which function to summarise the event being discussed in the parallel section of text. The majority of readers' notes added to the text relate to the ownership of the manuscript rather than the content of the text itself. For example: <this book belongs to me - John Watfjone Lafu 0 Jon | to James Watfjone in Cardan plae 0 > [followed by a signature] (p. 55), <£60 | Acc. 6736> (front pastedown), <Supposed to be the M.S. Copy of | Pitscotties History mentioned in | Shaws Account of the Province of | Moray as living in the possession | of Mr. King of new Millf - Given | by

⁸⁰ This is in accordance with the current popular practice of using Japanese papers for the conservation of material texts (as discussed during the 'Conservation of Incunabula' event hosted by Special Collections at Glasgow University Library as part of their 'Ingenious Impressions' exhibition, 15th May 2015).

Captain Stewart of Lesmurdie | to the Duchejs of Gordon by whom it | was given to me | William Brodie | Brodie | 1847.> (on the recto of the first flyleaf).

Additionally, this volume contains a loose letter composed on an A5 piece of modern smooth, white paper. The letter is signed <C. Innes>, and was potentially composed by the nineteenth-century Scottish history and record scholar Cosmo Innes to <My dear Brodie>, who could be the William Brodie who annotated the front flyleaf. The letter is dated <Saturday July 1847> in <Knackorie> and is enquiring about <a volume of Scotch chronicles>. The letter suggests that Brodie had said he would contact <the Duchejj of | Gordon> in order to gain permission for Innes to view the volume as part of his endeavour to compile a <new Catalogue of Scotch Bishops>. This letter therefore indicates several conclusions. Firstly, it suggests that in the nineteenth century this witness was owned by Elizabeth Brodie, the Duchess of Gordon (1794-1864). Secondly, this letter provides evidence for the nineteenth-century readership of this witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. It suggests it was read by scholars, and, more importantly, it acknowledges that Pitscottie's *Cronicles* themselves were not the primary item of interest for Innes - who was seemingly more interested in the post-chronicle 'Account of the Bishops of Moray'.

10. MS 3147 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henceforth referred to as: MS 3147

MS 3147 is undated in its brief catalogue entry. Names noted on the manuscript's flyleaves and pastedowns include Sir Alexander Abercrombie (1603-1684) and his daughter Violet Abercrombie (who married Robert Grant in 1664 - suggesting her name was composed prior to her marriage), and Sir John Macgregor Murray (1745-1822), but, as these names could have been composed at any point from the person's lifetime onwards, they do not greatly aid with the dating of the witness. Further there is a handwritten marginal item on one of the original manuscript's front flyleaves which reads <1659>, while another hand repeatedly notes <D.1693> after the 'Addition', though it is unclear what these dates refer to.

This manuscript includes the conventional five monarchs' sections plus the 'Addition', but no prefatory, supplementary, or additional material. The witness was seemingly composed by two scribal hands, with the second scribe commencing on f.63v (midway through the monarch section for James V).

There is little consistency to the division of the monarchs' sections within this manuscript. While the beginning of the section for James II is simple as it begins the chronicle (there is a centralised intertitle atop the first page, followed by an enlarged, penwork-decorated initial to begin the incipit), the transitions between the other sections are more complex. Immediately following the section's explicit (which for James IV and James V ends in a triangulated shape), the monarchs' sections for James II, III, and IV finish with a centralised intertitle formally ending the preceding monarch's section (which is never enlarged in size). The sections for James IV and V then begin with a centralised intertitle atop the next page but the section for James III notably does not begin with a second introductory intertitle. Following the intertitle ending James II, the incipit for James III simply begins with an enlarged, penwork-decorated initial immediately below. This is the only section of the chronicle that does not begin with an introductory intertitle. Just as the previous two sections began with

enlarged, penwork-decorated initials, so too do the incipits for James IV and V. The incipit for James IV also enlarges the first three lexical items of the incipit (a monarch's title). While enlarged initials with a small amount of decorative penwork are used to begin the monarchs' sections attributed to James II, James III, James IV, and James V (21-44mm), smaller, undecorated initials are used to begin Mary's section and the 'Addition' (7-11mm). The introduction to Mary's section further differs in that it does not include an intertitle to end the previous monarch's section. Following the explicit for James V there is a centralised, enlarged intertitle introducing Mary's section, followed by an incipit beginning with an enlarged initial and seven lexical items displaying a diminuendo effect in size. Subsequently, the introduction to the 'Addition' differs again. Mary's section ends with a short centralised intertitle stating <Finis> (which is much less descriptive in form than the intertitles used to end the earlier monarchs' sections), followed - after a small gap - by an intertitle introducing the 'Addition' which is only slightly enlarged and is aligned to the right.

Within Mary's section there are a series of inter-textual intertitles to present the martyrdom of George Wishart (f.74v-78r). The first is aligned to the right and introduces the 'Accusation', followed by a centralised intertitle for his 'Oration'. There are subsequently a series of centralised intertitles for the 'Articles' and 'Answers', followed by an intertitle for Wishart's 'Prayer' that is again aligned to the right. None of the intertitles used within this section are enlarged or emboldened.

In addition to those used to begin the monarchs' sections, smaller enlarged initials are also used to begin each page of the chronicle-text that is composed in the first scribe's hand. These initials are not as large as the initials that begin the monarchs' sections; they are usually 3-6mm in height, however there are occasional instances in which the initials reach 10mm. The second scribe does not adopt this practice, therefore this use of enlarged initials is not found at the end of the section for James V, or within Mary's section or the 'Addition'.

The original leaves of this manuscript are in poor condition; they are heavily torn, stained, and faded. Possibly due to this damage, the leaves of the original manuscript have been cropped around the outline of the text frame (including outcroppings for formal scribal marginalia) and placed within a surrounding frame of more modern paper and bound into the current volume.

The first scribe of the chronicle-text composes formal marginalia that function to summarise the corresponding section of the chronicle. However, when the second scribe commences, the scribal formal marginalia cease. There are a lot of handwritten marginalia added to this manuscript; they mostly consist of personal names, though there are also occasional proclamations about the monarchy, but comments on textual content are extremely rare. Some marginalia have been composed upside down on the pages. The only flyleaf that is extant from the original manuscript is covered with overlapping handwritten marginalia in different hands and ink on both the recto and verso. This leaf contains many claims of ownership, along with doodles and proverbs praising God and the monarchy. Additionally, although there are no handwritten marginalia alongside the text of the 'Addition', the remaining half page after the 'Addition' finishes is filled with overlapping marginalia; many of which are composed in Latin. Examples of the handwritten marginalia include: a signature [Gordon] (f.26v), a hand drawn face with a moustache (f.47v), [beside an intertitle for Mary] a drawing of what appears to be a female face with horns (f.67v), [at the opening of Mary's section] <God blefs King James> (f.67v), [in Mary's section] a drawing of Mary Queen of Scots and a male face below with a hatched cheek (f.68v), [in Mary's section] <Elizabeth> (f.77v), [in Mary's section] <Jacobum> (f.88v - and repeatedly composed on the blank flyleaf of the original manuscript).

Two non-scribal hands have corrected the manuscript: a hand which was writing in a much darker ink reconstructs the smudged sections of text on f.37v, f.74v, f.75r, and f.75v; and another hand has added two words to the heading introducing the monarch section for James V.

The 'Addition' in this manuscript is credited by the scribe as having been copied from a Chronicle of England, but it contains the same incipit and explicit of the 'Additions' in all other witnesses.

11. MS 185 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henceforth referred to as: MS 185

MS 185 is undated in its brief catalogue entry. The date <1609> is noted in pencil on the front pastedown. However, this manuscript contains a 'Chronological Collection of Events' until 1617 in the scribal hand, which would suggest that <1609> is not the date of composition. The scribal 'Chronological Collection of Events' and the composition of the manuscript in Scottish Secretary Hand, suggests that the manuscript can only be broadly dated to between 1617 and 1750. The chronicle-text and additional item are composed by a single scribe, but a different hand has added the 'Author's Account to the Reader'.⁸¹

This manuscript was not originally composed with any prefatory or supplementary items, but an additional item - entitled the 'Chronological Collection of Events' - was composed in the scribal hand. The commonly found prefatory item, the 'Author's Account', has been added to this manuscript by a different hand. The manuscript includes the conventional five monarchs' sections but does not include the 'Addition' (MS La.III.218 is the only other witness of the *Cronicles* to omit this section).

Each of the five monarchs' sections are introduced with an intertitle that is enlarged and centralised, with narrow spacing above and below. Only the sections for James II and James IV begin on a new page (the intertitles for James III, James V, and Mary occur directly below the explicit of the previous monarch's section). Enlarged initials are used to begin the incipits to each monarch's section but they vary in size (6-13mm) and quantity (the section documenting James III begins with two enlarged initials for a monarch's title). The majority of incipits subsequently include a series of enlarged lexical items following the enlarged initial. While the incipits for James III, IV, and V all include three enlarged lexical items, those for James III and IV are emboldened, while those for James V are not emboldened and gradually decrease in size. The

⁸¹ The chronicle-text is composed in Scottish Secretary Hand with lengthy ascenders and descenders. Idiosyncratic features include: single compartment <a>, long and short <s>, and flat-topped <g>.

incipit for James II alternatively begins with four enlarged lexical items, while for Mary's section there is no enlarged text following the relatively small enlarged initial.

The text within each monarch's section is written in continuous prose with no forms of textual division (e.g. there are no inter-textual intertitles, chapters, or paragraphing within the monarchs' sections). Only the 'Chronological Collection of Events' differs in textual layout; the annal entries for this section are extremely short (only a few lines in length), and each new annal begins on a new line leaving the remainder of the previous line blank.

In addition to the enlarged initials which are used to introduce each of the monarchs' sections, smaller enlarged initials are used to begin each page within the first four monarchs' sections (4-11mm in size - though most commonly approximately 6mm). Those used to begin pages within Mary's section are larger than those previously found (8-19mm) and are often larger than the initials used to mark the beginning of a monarch's section.

Scribal formal marginalia are only found alongside the 'Chronological Collection of Events' and they function to summarise selected annal entries. Readers' handwritten marginalia are found much more widely, though. On p. 1, underneath the title, a later hand has added a note incorrectly ascribing the text as being <by John Balanden Dean of Murray>. Above this title a hand has added <W^m Henderson> in black ink. Pages 32-36 are heavily annotated by a later hand: there is extensive annotation to the outer and inner margins (summarising the text and adding descriptions or dates), inter-linear glosses have been added, and items have been underlined. A lengthy annotation has also been added to the verso of the first page of the text, which ascribes the *Cronicles* to Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie and makes comparisons between this manuscript and the 1728 edition: <This appears not to be the work of John Balanden but of | Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie - for it agrees with the edition | of Pitscottie's history printed at Edinburgh in 1728 (as the title | bears)>

excepting in this that frequent various readings occur & | the manuscript is a good deal fuller than the printed history in | regard to the martyr dom of George Wishart>. Further, on the same page, an annotation is added which references Graham Dalyell's 1814 edition of the *Cronicles*: <Raun accurate edition of Rob. Lindesay of Pitscottie was | publis_ed by Graham Dalyell from several old MSS | Edinb. 1814 2v 2,/ >. The front pastedown of this volume includes two bookplates attributed to John A. Fairley (1909) and William Robert Reid (1915), a pencil note of <1609>, and <MS. 185> written in fluorescent pink ink. On the first of the blank endleaves a reader has noted the manuscript's structure: <James II p: 1 | James III p: 32 | James IV p: 45 | James V p: 59 | Mary p: 94 | >.

12. Acc. 9769 84/1/1 2/2 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Crawford (Bibliotheca Lindesiana) Collections

Henceforth referred to as: Crawford MS II

Crawford MS II is undated in its brief catalogue entry and there is very little evidence within the manuscript to aid dating. A non-scribal hand has noted <13 May 1642> above the 'Author's Account' but this exact date has also be noted on MS La.III.583. There are approximately four to five scribes active in this manuscript. Scribe One composes the prefatory material and the beginning of the chronicle-text (f.1r-f.22v). Scribe Two writes from f.23r onwards and Scribe Three begins on f.121r (there is potentially another scribal hand present between Scribe Two and Three). Scribe Three/Four works from f.121r until f.175r, and then Scribe Four/Five continues until the end of the chronicle-text. There is a noticeable change of ink between the first and second scribal hands.

This manuscript contains the five conventional monarchs' sections and the 'Addition', and two commonly-found scribal (Scribe One) prefatory items (the 'Author's Account to the Reader' and the 'Verses to the Bishop').

Apart from the 'Author's Account', all sections of this manuscript (the 'Verses', the five monarchs' sections, and the 'Addition') are introduced with a centralised, enlarged intertitle - and the intertitles introducing the sections for the 'Verses', James II, and James III display a diminuendo effect in size over the several lines of their content. The incipits of all sections of the manuscript - from the 'Author's Account' to the 'Addition' - begin with an enlarged initial (8-13mm). Further, the section documenting James IV begins with two enlarged initials (for a monarch's title), and Mary's section and the 'Addition' include an indent before the initial. The incipits of each section then begin with varying quantities of emphasised text. While the 'Verses and 'Addition' do not include any emphasised text, the first lexical item of James II is emboldened, while in James III and Mary it is enlarged and emboldened, and in the 'Author's Account' it is enlarged, emboldened, and composed in *litterae notabiliores*. Within the

incipit of James V the first and third lexical items (omitting the second word <the>) are enlarged and emboldened, while the first four lexical items (a monarch's title) of James IV are enlarged and emboldened.

The first monarch's section (James II) is divided into chapters, which are introduced with centralised, enlarged intertitles. The incipits of the chapters begin with enlarged initials (6-14mm) that are similar in size to those used to begin the monarchs' sections. A single paragraph has been marked in the sections for James II and James III, but throughout James V, Mary, and the 'Addition' paragraphs are marked frequently. The paragraphs within this manuscript are consistently marked by a new line and indentation. Further, a centralised and enlarged inter-textual intertitle marks 'The Oration' within the monarch section for James V (f.142v). The text following this intertitle begins with an indent (marking a new paragraph).

In addition to the enlarged initials used to introduce the monarch's sections and chapters, smaller initials (3-9mm) are used to begin each page of the manuscript. However, this practice is inconsistent and not employed by all of the scribes who are active within this witness.

The only handwritten marginalia to the text proper occur on f.16r, 17r, 17v, and 18r, and feature a reader's hand noting page numbers (pp. 40-47) in pencil in the margin alongside specific lines. All the flyleaves of this volume, and the back pastedown, are blank, while the front pastedown features a small amount of annotation relating to its ownership: <Acc 9769 | 84/1/1 2/2 77. | MS. G. Pitscottie's Chronicles S.T.S. 1899 | Introd. [p/r]. 77>, a bookplate featuring: <LACESSIT NEMO IMPUNE>, and a pencil note <Marquess of Kberurn>.

Notably, this manuscript contains exactly the same date (13 May 1642) noted within it (in a non-scribal hand) as found in MS La.III.583. Mackay (1899: lxxv; lxxxvii) attributed MS La.III.583 to the scribe Charles Lumsden (see also MS

La.III.198) - who was active in 1642 - suggesting that Crawford MS II could potentially also be linked to MS La.III.583 and MS La.III.198 and/or Charles Lumsden. However, while the scribal hands of the two Laing manuscripts are similar, the hands within Crawford MS II appear to be different.

13. MS 2672 - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henceforth referred to as: MS 2672

MS 2672 is undated in its brief catalogue entry. The title page states that MS 2672 is a transcript of the 'Innerpaffray MS' which has been dated to 1600; scribal and non-scribal marginalia state the 'Innerpaffray MS' was composed between '23rd April and 30th July 1600'.⁸² MS 2672 was composed much later - in a modern hand - and, due to scribal references to printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (and an unknown 1813 edition in particular), it seems likely that this is a nineteenth-century manuscript. The majority of the manuscript was seemingly composed by a single scribe; the hand appears to be present at both the beginning and end of the text. During the chronicle-text several different scribal hands are potentially present, but this could be attributed to changes in ink or differences in the size of the script.

This is the only manuscript of the *Cronicles* to include a potentially scribal title page (<Pitscotties Croniklis | Transcript | Innerpaffray M.S. | Reign of King James II.>), and it also includes a transcript of the title page of the manuscript from which this witness is transcribed: <[Title of the MS of Innerpaffray] | Heir beginis the auctteind buik of the | croniklis of Scotland quilk was left | one uretin be the laft tranſlatouris | to uit maifter hector boyis and M^r | Jhon ballantyne quha left thir cro = | niklis and endit at Kyng James | the firſt fo the buik begin = | is at Kyng [James] [sic] the ſecund and | ordourly proceidis of | al kyngis queinis | gouernouris and | regentis to this | hour quilk | is 1575 | yeiris * | > (* a lengthy accompanying footnote has been provided at the bottom of the title page). This is the only surrounding material which MS 2672 contains, though.

This manuscript contains the conventional structure of five monarchs' sections and the 'Addition', but also includes a second 'Addition' described as being from the 'Belhaven MS'. The second 'Addition' continues in content until the point in which the 'Addition' usually ends.

⁸² The hamlet of Innerpeffray in Perthshire (and its associated library and castle) is now known as <Innerpeffray> but the scribal spelling of <Innerpaffray> has been maintained for references to the manuscript itself.

The division of the five monarchs' sections and two 'Additions' is relatively consistent, with only slight variations. All sections (apart from the second 'Addition') begin on a new page, while, additionally, the sections documenting James III, Mary, and the first 'Addition' also include a blank page between the explicit of the previous section and their incipit. The intertitles for each section are presented in three forms: centralised (as used to introduce the sections for James II, James V, and the first 'Addition'); aligned to the right (James III); and with an indent and the remainder of the intertitle filling the text frame (James IV and Mary). The intertitles used within this manuscript are never enlarged, emboldened, or capitalised. The second 'Addition' is the only section which differs notably from the above layout; it does not begin on a new page - commencing two lines below the explicit of the previous section - and does not contain an intertitle in a conventional form: it begins with two notes which are aligned to the right. The incipits of the majority of sections (James III, IV, V, and Mary) begin with a small enlarged initial (11-14mm), but the section documenting James II and the two 'Additions' do not begin with any emphasised letter forms.

In this witness the section documenting the martyrdom of George Wishart is marked by a series of inter-textual intertitles (f.272v-283v), each of which occur on a line of their own, but none of which are enlarged, emboldened, or capitalised (therefore following the same format at the monarchs' sections intertitles). The intertitles vary slightly in position: the intertitle for the 'Accusation' and Wishart's 'Prayer' are indented and aligned to the right, while those for the 'Articles/Answers' are centralised. Paragraphs are also occasionally found within Mary's section and the first 'Addition', consistently marked with a new line and a small indent. Further, though there is no distinction within the text itself, the scribe of this witness marks the date for each change in year/annal in the margin, which is not a conventional practice for Pitscottie's *Cronicles*.

Within MS 2672 multiple scribal and non-scribal hands have added formal marginalia within the specified 'Notes' sections and the dual column structure that is introduced from f.106v. The inclusion and format of the pages labelled as being for 'Notes' indicate that sections were purposefully provided to allow scribal and/or non-scribal marginalia to be added to the text. Within James II there is a single interjection of two pages labelled 'Notes' (p. 102-3/f.52r-v), but, from the beginning of James III, the chronicle-text is only composed on the recto of folios with pages labelled 'Notes' occurring on each verso (f.87r-106r) - apart from a single example of three pages of notes (f.88v-89v). From f.106v the layout returns to presenting the chronicle-text on both the recto and verso of folios but the chronicle-text is presented in a narrow column with notes often composed on both sides of the chronicle-text, then from f.130r a dual column layout of 'Notes' (with the left column often labelled as such) and chronicle-text occurs on every page. Notably, once the dual-column writing frame is used consistently, distinctly less formal (scribal and non-scribal) marginalia are found. The marginalia primarily consist of annal dates and references to the 'Innerpaffray MS' or other witnesses of the *Cronicles*, including page and line references. There are symbols regularly added to the text with correlating symbols placed in the margin alongside notes that highlight differences between the 'Innerpaffray MS' and other manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles*. However some symbols are added to the text without a correlating symbol or note in the margin. On occasional pages there are red Arabic numbers in a circle over sections of the text and a note in red ink states that these numerals refer to the corresponding page numbers of the 'literal translation' (the copy-text). In addition to formal marginalia being provided, the scribe often makes use of footnotes to add information. The scribe appears to 'script-switch' within these sections of text to give the footnotes a different appearance.⁸³ The footnotes are lengthy, often half a page in length. Various non-scribal hands also frequently add marginal notes throughout the text, and on the front pastedown of this volume <MS. 2672.> is written in red/pink ink.

⁸³ The act of 'script-switching' was described by Samuli Kaislaniemi (Doctoral Researcher at the University of Helsinki) in a paper delivered at the 'Linguistics Meets Book History: Seeking New Approaches' symposium at the University of Turku (24th-25th October 2014) as the practice of composing selected lexical items in a different script or typeface to the surrounding text; the practice is often employed to emphasise lexis from different languages to that of the main text ('code-switching').

This manuscript is interesting in that it is a transcript of another version of the *Cronicles* - a witness which has not been identified for examination within this study. Therefore the findings in MS 2672 may not represent the scribe's contemporary practices but the practices in use at the time of the original manuscript's composition. This manuscript is also potentially significantly later than many other manuscript witnesses of the text, and, notably, it is also possibly later than the printed witnesses examined within this thesis.

Unique to this witness, the annal entries are often dated in the margin, with dates even being repeated if consecutive annal entries are of the same date. Notably, on p. 70 of this manuscript, the dating indicates that a retrospective section on the history of England is included. From the beginning of the section documenting James III a non-scribal hand has added what is seemingly the corresponding folio number of the 'Innerpaffray MS' in the margin in red ink. If the change in folio of the original manuscript occurs mid-way through a page of MS 2672 this folio number is also noted at the relevant position in the margin. Further, MS 2672 is the only manuscript witness within this study to identify the text as the *Cronicles* at the time of its composition (in the scribal hand). In all other manuscript witnesses the name of the text's title and author - when included - has been added by a later hand. Also, potentially of interest, on the verso of the first title page there is a small section of printed text pasted onto the page. The text refers to Saunders Edition de Luxe of *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* by R. W. Billings and edited by A. W. Wiston-Glynn. A handwritten note to this printed addition to the manuscript ascribes it to the *Scottish Historical Review* VI, 213.

The second 'Addition' is an interesting feature of the manuscript. By adding what the scribe labels as <The sequel <...> from Lord Belhaven's | folio Manuscript>, the scribe is corrupting the text from what he originally states the manuscript is; namely a transcript of the 'Innerpaffray MS'. Further, it is quite difficult to determine where this second 'Addition' is actually from. After labelling it as being from the 'Belhaven MS' in the introduction to this 'Addition',

a footnote to the explicit of this section of the text states that the 'Belhaven MS' has a different explicit and transcribes this in the footnote. Therefore if the explicit included in the second 'Addition' is not from the 'Belhaven MS' then the question arises as to where it is from, and indeed whether the rest of this 'Addition' is from the 'Belhaven MS' or a different source.

There is also potential for further research to be conducted into the significance of there being an 'Innerpeffray MS' of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. Innerpeffray library in the hamlet of Innerpeffray in Perth and Kinross - the parallel county to Fife in which Pitscottie and many of the events of his *Cronicles* were located - was the first lending library in Scotland. The library was founded c.1680 when David Drummond made approximately four hundred of his family's books and manuscripts available to the public. According to a note within this transcript, the 'Innerpeffray MS' of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* was written between 23rd April and 30th July 1600 - therefore prior to the library's formation.

14. Sp. Coll. Mu8-a.6 Freebairn 1728 Edition - University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow

David Murray Collection

Henceforth referred to as: Freebairn's 1728 edition (Mu8-a.6)

This witness, printed in 1728 in a roman serif font, contains the title page: <THE | HISTORY | OF | SCOTLAND; | From 21 *February*, 1436. to *March*, 1565. | In which are contained | Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether | differing from our other Hiftorians; and many | Facts are related, either concealed by Jome, or | omitted by others. | EDINBURGH | Printed by Mr. BASKETT and COMPANY, His Majefty's Prin- | ters, and Jold at Mr. *Freebairn's* Shop in the *Parliament-Clofs*; | and at *London* by *Andrew Millar* Bookfeller, at his Shop over | againft *St.Clement's* Church in *The Strand*. MDCCXXVIII.>. Additionally, it contains the 'Verses to the Bishop' and the 'Author's Account', which are prefatory items that are frequently found within witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. This is the first witness of the *Cronicles*, though, to include a 'Printer's Preface' and a 'List of Subscribers'; however, as this is the first printed witness, the inclusion of these items relates to its printed form. Within the chronicle-text, this witness includes the conventional five monarchs' sections and the 'Addition'.

This witness is consistent and systematic in its representation of new sections of text: each prefatory item/monarch's section is introduced with a centralised intertitle and begins on a new page. The incipits for all sections begin with an enlarged initial, but those used to introduce the 'Printer's Preface' and each monarch's section are also decorated. The undecorated initials which begin the 'List of Subscribers', 'Verses to the Bishop', and 'Author's Account' are 11-16mm in size, while the 'Printer's Preface' and each of the monarch's sections begin with a box (32mm x 30mm for the 'Printer's Preface' and James II; 33mm x 31mm for the other monarchs' sections and the 'Addition') filled with a floral and leaf

design and with an inner box of 8mm x 8mm containing a *littera notabilior*.⁸⁴ Decorative items are also used to divide the text.

The content of each of the sections varies slightly in structure. The 'Printer's Preface' is divided into paragraphs; each of which is indicated by a line space and indentation. The 'Verses to the Bishop' are laid out in verses, each of which has a line space in between, and the first word of each verse is capitalised. The 'List of Subscribers' is laid out as an alphabetical list - in two columns per page - with each name on a new line. Each new alphabetic section of the list begins with an enlarged initial (6mm). The chronicle-text is presented in continuous prose divided into paragraphs, which are marked with a line space, indentation, and a capitalised first word. There are no inter-textual intertitles within this witness.

The only annotation to this witness occurs within the monarch section to Mary; it begins four pages into this section but does not continue into the 'Addition'. The handwritten marginalia primarily consist of dates being added to the margin that correlate with the events within the parallel content of chronicle-text. There are instances in which the date being noted is also explicitly stated within the text itself, but more commonly the marginal additions seem to be based on the reader's own knowledge. If the annal entry runs over multiple pages, the date is usually noted again on the subsequent page.

In all witnesses to this edition of the *Cronicles* (Freebairn's 1728 edition (Mu8-a.6; BD5-b.4; RF 361)) all personal and place names are in italics. Direct and indirect speech is also differentiated in this edition; first person speech is marked with speech marks, whereas second or third person speech is printed in italics.

⁸⁴ The floral design surrounding the initial introducing James II differs to the others in that the flowers are longer in form and the box is more heavily filled.

15. Sp. Coll. BD5-b.4 Freebairn 1728 Edition - University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow

Euing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: Freebairn's 1728 edition (BD5-b.4)

The second witness of Freebairn's 1728 edition is primarily the same as the first. It is identical in content and layout to the previous witness - Freebairn's 1728 edition (Mu8-a.6) - and is only slightly smaller in size and contains less evidence of readers' interactions. The only handwritten annotation identified within the volume (including pastedowns, flyleaves, and all margins) is a pencil note to the top margin of the title page: <7 3 bo/60 3/6 | Kirk | Kurt | Kirt |>.

16. Sp. Coll. RF 361 Freebairn 1728 Edition - University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow

Euing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: Freebairn's 1728 edition (RF 361)

The third witness of Freebairn's 1728 edition is also identical in content and layout as the previous two witnesses of this edition - Freebairn's 1728 editions (Mu8-a.6) and (BD5-b.4) - but is slightly larger in size.

In this witness all of the handwritten annotations relate to ownership or cataloguing. On the front pastedown there is a bookplate attributed to 'A.C. Clathick' featuring the slogan <FAC et SPERA> and a Glasgow University Library bookplate stating the book was presented by <Miss Elizabeth Peacock>. On the recto of the second flyleaf the name <Laurence Colquhoun> has been composed and there are five items of pen trials or handwriting practice at the bottom of the page. On the verso of the second flyleaf the following handwritten marginalia are present: <Laurence Colquhoun | Bought April 1746 as Second hand for 5 shill^s |>. The following has been noted on the verso of the 'Title Page': <62 - .x.798> (in purple pencil), written above a Glasgow University Library stamp; and the back pastedown includes: <19.5> (in brown ink) and <Bh14 - X> (in pencil).

17. Sp. Coll. Bo3-m.12 Urie 1749 Edition - University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow

Henceforth referred to as: Urie's 1749 edition (Bo3-m.12)

This witness of Urie's 1749 edition, printed in a roman serif font, includes the following title page: <THE | HISTORY | OF | SCOTLAND; | From 1436 to 1565. | In which are contained | Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether | differing from our other Hiftorians; and many | Facts are related, either concealed by some, or | omitted by others. | By ROBERT LINDSAY of Pitscottie. | To which is added | A CONTINUATION, by another Hand, | till Auguft 1604. | The SECOND EDITION. | GLASGOW: | Printed by R. URIE, MDCCXLIX.>.

This witness includes considerably fewer prefatory items than the previous printed edition, but the item it does include - the 'Author's Account' - is the most commonly found prefatory item throughout the witnesses. The chronicle-text includes the conventional five monarchs' sections plus the 'Addition'.

Each of the sections of this witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (the 'Author's Account', the five monarchs' sections, and the 'Addition') are introduced with a fully-capitalised intertitle centrally atop a new page. Additionally, if the previous section finishes on a recto then the subsequent verso is left blank so new sections consistently begin on a recto. The incipit of each new section always begins with an enlarged initial (5-11mm) and the first word (or first two words if the incipit begins with a monarch's title or a personal name) is fully capitalised. The text has been composed in paragraphs, with each paragraph beginning on a new line with an indent. There are no inter-textual intertitles within this witness.

There are various short handwritten annotations to the text, mostly consisting of dates or marks of ownership. For example: there is a Glasgow University Library bookplate and <·x· 6 - 1890 | Bo3-m.12> on the front pastedown, <143450 7^{/9} 8 7^{/9}> on p. 22 (within James II), <1809> on p. 23 (within James II), <£7 William

Molters> on p. 408 (in the bottom margin), <103 | 15 [or <25>] | on> on p. 430 (below the last line), and <2/> on the back pastedown.

The 1749 edition differs from the 1728 edition in its representation of speech. This edition does not employ italics; instead it only marks direct speech by using speech marks. Also of note, there is a newspaper cutting pasted onto the modern pastedown of this volume. The extract relates to the parish of Drainie in Moray - an area that has repeatedly been highlighted in relation to owners, readers, and additional surrounding material of the *Cronicles*. The newspaper cutting states that there are no residents of Drainie who belong to the various (listed) religious, racial, and occupational groups and that there have been no suicides, hangings, or banishments in the current Minister's thirty-two year incumbency.

Mackay (1899: xcii) argues that Urie's 1749 edition is a verbatim reprint of Freebairn's 1728 edition.

18. ESTC No. T105415 Urie 1749 Edition - British Library in Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO)

Henceforth referred to as: Urie's 1749 edition (ECCO)

This digitised witness of Urie's 1749 edition contains the title page: <THE | HISTORY | OF | SCOTLAND; | From 1436 to 1565. | In which are contained | Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether | differing from our other Histo- | ians; [sic] and many | Facts are related, either concealed by some, or | omitted | by others. | By ROBERT LINDSAY of Pitfcottie. | To which is added | A CONTINUATION, by another Hand, | till August 1604. | The SECOND EDITION. | GLASGOW: | Printed by R. Urie. MDCCXLIX. |>. It is identical to the previous witness (Urie's 1749 edition (Bo3-m.12)), only differing in the absence of readerly marginalia within this witness.

19. ESTC No. T083320 Cadell 1778 Edition - British Library on Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO)

Henceforth referred to as: Cadell's 1778 edition (ECCO)

Cadell's 1778 printed edition, printed in a roman serif font, contains the following title page: <THE | HISTORY | OF | SCOTLAND, | FROM | FEBRUARY 21. 1436, TO MARCH 1565; | IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED, | Accounts of many Remarkable Passages, | altogether differing from our other Historians; | AND | Many Facts are Related, either concealed | by some or _____ by Others. | THE THIRD EDITION | Carefully compared and revised by the first Edition. | WITH A | COMPLEAT INDEX | HISTORICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL, AND GENEALOGICAL and BIO- | GRAPHICAL, not Annexed to the two former Editions. | EDINBURGH; | PRINTED FOR CHARLES ELLIOT; | AND THOMAS CADELL , LONDON. | M,DCC,LXXVIII. |>.

This edition provides extensive prefatory material. It is the first witness of the *Cronicles* to provide an abbreviated title page prior to the full title page. It then includes the 'Printer's Preface' by Robert Freebairn, which, prior to this edition, had only been found accompanying Freebairn's first edition of the *Cronicles* in 1728. It also includes the 'Verses to the Bishop' and the 'Author's Account', which are the most frequently found prefatory items to accompany witnesses of the *Cronicles*, but this is the first edition to include an 'Index'. Within the chronicle-text this witness includes the conventional five monarchs' sections and the 'Addition'.

Every section of this witness of the *Cronicles* is introduced with an intertitle that is enlarged, capitalised, and centralised. The printer has also ensured that all new sections begin on the recto of the next leaf, therefore there are instances (e.g. between the monarch sections for James II and James III) in which the verso is left blank if the previous section ends on a recto. These blank pages have not been digitised by ECCO. The incipit to each section begins with an

enlarged initial (of two lines in height) and the first word (or first two words if the section begins with a monarch's title or personal name) is capitalised.

Within each of the sections of text there are different forms of textual division in use. The 'Printer's Preface', the monarchs' sections, and the 'Addition' are all composed in paragraphs with each new paragraph beginning on a new line with an indent. The 'Verses to the Bishop' are laid out in verses; each new verse begins with an indent and there is a line gap between each verse. The 'Index' is presented so that each word being indexed is capitalised with the remainder of the entry relating to that word indented. The 'Author's Account' is the only section of this volume to be written in continuous prose with no features of textual division.

20. Sp. Coll. BD13-i.23 Dalyell 1814 Edition - University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow

Euing Collection

Henceforth referred to as: **Dalyell's 1814 edition (BD13-i.23)**

Dalyell's 1814 edition is printed in a roman serif font with occasional examples of blackletter. It contains the following title page: <THE | Cronicles of Scotland, [in blackletter] | BY | ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE. | PUBLISHED | FROM SEVERAL OLD MANUSCRIPTS. | VOLUME FIRST. | EDINBURGH: | PRINTED BY GEORGE RAMSAY AND COMPANY, | FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH; | AND LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, | LONDON. | 1814. |>. Notably, though, the colophon to Volume One states <Printed by George Ramsay & Co. | Edinburgh, 1814. |>, while the colophon to Volume Two states <Printed by George Ramsay & Co. | Edinburgh, 1813. |>.

This witness includes an extensive amount of prefatory and supplementary material, and includes several unusual items that are not conventionally found in witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. An 'Abbreviated Title Page' preceding the full 'Title Page' has previously only been found in the 1778 edition of the *Cronicles*, and title pages themselves have only been found in one manuscript and the printed editions. Dalyell includes his own 'Preface' that has not previously been found accompanying the text. Additionally, Dalyell chooses to include the 'Description of Britain' in the prefatory material of this edition which has previously only been found in two manuscript witnesses of the text; and he includes the frequently found 'Author's Account' (although it is labelled as the 'Notice Respecting the Author of the Chronicles') but omits the 'Verses to the Bishop'. This edition also includes three supplementary items: an 'Addenda' which has not previously been included, the 'Specimen of a Fragment of the Cronicles' (which the running title labels as part of the 'Addenda'), and an 'Index'. The item that is labelled the <Index> is interesting as, despite being labelled as such, it actually contains the same material as the 'Table' found in two manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* (in which it is found alongside the 'Description of Britain'). The chronicle-text within this edition contains the conventional five monarchs' sections and 'Addition'.

This edition is separated into two volumes despite this witness being bound together in a single material volume; at the end of the section for James IV a note reads <END OF VOLUME FIRST.> followed by a colophon. The next folio is an advertisement for other published works, followed by a folio containing a short title page <CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND.>, a folio of the full title page of volume 2, and a folio containing the intertitle for James V.

Each section of the chronicle-text begins on a new page (the next page following the explicit of the previous section). Each of the monarchs' sections and the 'Addition' begin with an enlarged, capitalised intertitle. For James II, James IV and the 'Addition' the intertitle is centralised, and for James III, James V, and Mary the intertitle is presented with a hanging indent aligned to the right. All six of the sections have significant quantities of white space around the intertitle, and their incipits begin with a small enlarged initial (3-4mm) and the first word (or two words if it is a monarch's title/personal name) is capitalised.

The whole text is presented in paragraphs that are indicated by a new line and indentation. A series of inter-textual intertitles are included within Mary's section to introduce George Wishart's martyrdom. This section begins on p. 457 with an italicised introductory paragraph/lengthy intertitle that is indented on the left but aligned with the text frame on the right introducing the 'Accusation of George Wishart'. This intertitle is then followed by prose text laid out in the usual paragraphs (including an italicised phrase, <Mr George, his oratioun.>) until p. 463-473 in which it is presented in pairs of numbered paragraphs labelled <Articles> and <Answeris>.

This witness includes no annotation to the text itself, the only annotation it contains is located on the pastedowns and title page and relates to its ownership and cataloguing. For example: on the front pastedown there is a bookplate stating <No. BD13-i.23 1875 | GLASGOW | UNIVERSITY | LIBRARY | EUING COLLECTION |>, and there are the following annotations: <16 8 69 | 2 vols |

Hopkins | ae/- | No. 4276 | 2vols | > on the title page, and <107 1 | 10> on the blank verso of the title page.

This witness of Dalyell's 1814 edition is part of the Euing Collection in Glasgow University Library's Special Collections, as is Freebairn's 1728 edition (BD5-b.4). There is no clear relationship between these two texts though, Mackay (1899: lxviii-lxix) states Dalyell possibly used MSS La.III.216/583 and Adv. MSS 35.4.10/35.4.11 as the basis for his edition.

D. Summary

Chapter 2A presents original, copy-specific descriptions of twenty manuscripts and printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*; information that has not been provided in such detail since the brief descriptions supplied by Mackay (1899) in his Scottish Text Society edition over a century ago. It describes the textual contexts from which the specific data relevant to this thesis has been extracted and is presented in Chapter 2B. While not all the features described in Chapter 2A are expanded upon further in the remainder of this thesis, it is necessary to be aware of the full material form of each witness examined in order to understand the punctuation systems and paratextual features in context. As Echard (2008: x-xi) argues, the materiality of books cannot be avoided.⁸⁵ Further, the provision of copy-specific descriptions - which as Pearson (2007) argues is a key direction for the future of book history studies - opens up Pitscottie's *Cronicles* to more discussion and analysis than has been previously undertaken.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ In taking this approach to book history, Echard is continuing to propagate Chartier's (1989) perspective that 'any comprehension of a writing, no matter what kind it is, depends on the forms in which it reaches the reader' (in Echard 2008: xi).

⁸⁶ The importance of copy-specific evidence is discussed in Chapter 1, Section B.3.

Chapter 2B: Features of Analysis

A. Introduction

As a strong advocator of the analysis of punctuation practices for the study of reading practices, Malcolm Parkes presents the theoretical grounding behind this thesis when he suggests that ‘there are various ways in which the study of punctuation may throw light on the history of a text in the Middle Ages, but the most significant [...] is to provide information about how texts were read and understood’ (2012: 265). Further, though Parkes’ immediate focus may be more synchronic in nature than the diachronic endeavour of this research project, Parkes advocates the comparative methodology of analysing different witnesses of the same text - which is employed by this thesis - when he suggests that ‘although there are limits to the number of ways in which the same linguistic structure may be interpreted, an examination of the punctuation in surviving copies of the same text reveals a surprising amount of variety’ (2012: 265-266).

Chapter 2B, Section D describes the various lengths of pause attributed to the different marks found within the punctuation systems of the witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*. Crucially, these pause lengths are not definitive: ‘according to the grammarians these pauses were assigned arbitrary time values, the main feature of which is that they were graded in relation to each other’ (Parkes 1993: 65). Parkes (1993: 2) propagates this perspective when he advises that ‘the fundamental principle for interpreting punctuation is that the value and function of each symbol must be assessed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context, rather than in relation to a supposed absolute value and function for that symbol when considered in isolation’. This thesis continues this long-established concept by discussing the punctuation marks within each of the witnesses of the text as a system, after outlining the ‘arbitrary’ pause lengths attributed to different punctuation marks for referencing purposes. Essentially, by quantitatively and qualitatively discussing the punctuation marks in use within the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles*, this chapter aims to highlight the degree of guidance each punctuation system is providing. Due to the link between punctuation and orality/aurality

(‘punctuation reflects the rhythms and phrasing of oral delivery’ (Parkes 1993: 79)): ‘punctuation came to be used as a signal to the eye of the silent reader’ (Parkes 1993: 69). Therefore, as was outlined in Chapter 1, Section C, ‘it could be argued that more sophisticated practices of punctuation aligned with the emergence of what might be termed more ‘extensive’ literacy’ (Smith 2013a: 183); ‘extensive readers frequently encounter unfamiliar texts, and thus more guidance for public performance is needed; as a result, more comprehensive programmes of punctuation are required’ (Smith 2013a: 184-185).

In order to analyse the punctuation practices used by the scribes/editors/printers of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* closer study of the text is needed than has henceforth been conducted. For this purpose, a parallel section of text has been selected from each of the manuscripts and printed editions of the text under analysis. The extract which has been chosen - the siege of St Andrews castle (1546-47) - was selected in order to meet specific criteria to achieve the most accurate results. First of all it was necessary to select a section of text which appears in all witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*, therefore an extract had to be taken from the monarchs’ sections James II - Mary as MS La.III.218 and MS 185 do not include the ‘Addition’ documenting the reign of James VI. Secondly, the section documenting Mary’s reign is the only section of the chronicle which is Pitscottie’s original composition. The first four monarchs’ sections - James II - James V - are, indeed, composed by Pitscottie, but are generally compilations of earlier works by other Scottish historians (Mackay 1899: xlii-xliii). The section discussing Mary Queen of Scots’ reign documents the events contemporary to the period in which Pitscottie was writing. This section, therefore, is potentially the most representative of Pitscottie’s writing as a sixteenth-century Scotsman; essentially, it would not have been as influenced by the writing of other chroniclers as his re-writing of the earlier period of history perhaps would have been. Therefore, the extract under analysis - the siege of St Andrews castle - has been taken from the section documenting the reign of Mary Queen of Scots.

The content of the selected extract documenting the siege varies slightly across the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* under analysis.⁸⁷ Despite slight variations in length and content, it was decided that it was essential to include the account of the siege in its full form from all of the witnesses to enable comparison of how the same content and textual environments were punctuated and presented on the page (rather than, for example, extracting a specified number of lines from each witness which would have varied in content due to scribal layout and the different forms of the account).

Chapter 2B, Section D provides a descriptive overview of the punctuation practices employed by each of the scribes/editors/printers of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* as indicated by the extract under analysis. Firstly, the range of punctuation marks which are found throughout the witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* are described, and information is provided regarding their usage and function. Copy-specific information is then presented and, crucially, each punctuation mark is described in the context of the punctuation system within which it is employed.

Just as a firm theoretical relationship between punctuation practices and reading practices has been established (Parkes 1993, 2012; Arn 1994; Smith 2013a), so the last thirty years has seen a distinct movement towards the theorisation of the attested relationship between a text's materiality and how it is read (Genette 1988, 1991, 1997; Sherman 1995, 2008; Slights 2001; Mak 2011). Gérard Genette - the influential scholar of paratext - succinctly presents the complex nature of the inextricable relationship between paratext and reading practices when he states: 'I do not say that one must know it; I only say that those who know it do not read in the same way as those who do not' (Genette 1991: 266). Genette's argument is the crux of this thesis' approach to paratext: the paratextual features found in the witnesses of the *Cronicles* are not essential to the reading of the text - the absence of paratext does not signify a lack of

⁸⁷ See Appendix 2 for the data regarding which witnesses of the *Cronicles* include which form of the extract. There are primarily two forms of the extract: Type i, the short version which is largely consistent in content with only minor lexical and orthographical differences, and Type ii, the longer version which contains more notable variation in content and therefore also contains the sub-categories of Types iii, iv, and v.

reader - but the paratextual system (in whatever form/quantity it takes) aids the reading community to encounter the text using specific reading practices which have been anticipated by the producer of the text. Bonnie Mak maintains the relationship that Genette established between paratext and reading, and examines a text's materiality from the same perspective as this thesis. She acknowledges the intricate relationship not only between the material page and the reader, but between the producer of the material text and the reading public for whom it was created: 'the page is thus an interface, standing at the centre of the complicated dynamic of intention and reception' (Mak 2011: 21).

In order to describe the paratextual features of the various extant witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* the whole bound volumes of the manuscripts and printed editions have been examined, and any paratextual features found within the volumes have been noted. This was necessary as paratextual features are more widely dispersed throughout the witnesses of the text, therefore study of a specific extract - as has been conducted to collect data on the punctuation practices - would not have provided accurate results or results of a significant enough quantity for subsequent analysis. In accordance with the presentation of the punctuation-based data, Chapter 2B, Section B initially introduces the range of paratextual features which are found within the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles*, before describing the full paratextual provision of each version on a witness-by- witness basis. Chapter 3 subsequently discusses how the punctuation practices and paratextual features described in this chapter aid specific reading practices and purposes by providing guidance for the intended reading communities of the text (as theoretically outlined above and in Chapter 1, Section C).

B. Paratextual Features

1. Paratextual Features in Use

1.1 Contents

The basic structure of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* consists of five monarchs' sections relating to the reigns of James II, James III, James IV, James V, and Mary Queen of Scots, which all witnesses of the text contain. The 'Addition' to the *Cronicles*, composed in an unknown hand, documents the reign of James VI of Scotland and I of England and is found in the majority of witnesses under analysis - suggesting that these witnesses were composed after the 'Addition' was added to Pitscottie's original composition. Only two manuscript witnesses of the text do not contain the 'Addition': MS La.III.218 and MS 185. The chronicle-text within both of these witnesses finishes at the end of Mary's section. The presentation of the 'Addition' in MS 2672 is interesting as this manuscript includes what could be interpreted as two 'Additions' from different sources (see Chapter 2A, Section 13).

1.2 Prefatory/Supplementary Material⁸⁸

The majority of witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* include prefatory/supplementary materials - though they vary in content and quantity.⁸⁹ Of the twenty witnesses under analysis, seven of the thirteen manuscripts and all seven of the printed witnesses include scribal/printed prefatory items. Three of these witnesses - two manuscripts and one printed witness - also contain scribal/printed supplementary material. Six witnesses, all manuscript versions, include no scribal prefatory/supplementary material to support the *Cronicles*.⁹⁰ Of these witnesses, MS 3147 is particularly notable as it is the only witness under analysis which consists of the *Cronicles* as a stand-alone entity in its extant form;

⁸⁸ An outline of which surrounding items each witness contains can be found in Chapter 2A and Appendix 3.

⁸⁹ Prefatory material is defined as items relating directly to the *Cronicles* which are positioned before the chronicle-text, whereas supplementary material is categorised as items relating to the chronicle-text which occur after the *Cronicles* themselves.

⁹⁰ This statistic refers exclusively to the absence of prefatory and supplementary material; it does not account for additional texts which have been bound alongside the *Cronicles*. For example, the Wodrow Folio, MS Acc. 3736, and MS La.III.218 contain additional items, but there are no prefatory or supplementary materials to directly support the chronicle-text itself.

it contains no scribal surrounding material (prefatory/supplementary material; additional texts; title pages).

The most commonly found prefatory item to accompany the *Cronicles* is the 'Author's Account to the Reader' which occurs in the scribal hand/print in twelve witnesses. Two additional manuscript witnesses have not been counted in the above statistic (MS La.III.216 and MS 185) as the 'Author's Account' in these witnesses was not composed in the scribal hand, therefore fourteen witnesses of the *Cronicles* contain this item in their extant form. Indeed, in three witnesses of the *Cronicles* - Adv. MS 35.4.11, Urie 1749 (Bo3-m.12), and Urie 1749 (ECCO) - the 'Author's Account' is the only item of surrounding material (aside from the title page in the printed witnesses) which was provided at the time of the text's production. Eight witnesses contain both the 'Author's Account' and the 'Verses to the Bishop' in the scribal hand (and a further manuscript contains both items in the same non-scribal hand) which indicates a pattern of the two prefatory items being employed in conjunction with one another. Five witnesses of the *Cronicles* (Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS 185 (non-scribal item), the two witnesses of Urie's 1749 edition, and Dalyell's 1814 edition) include the 'Author's Account' without also including the 'Verses to the Bishop', but the 'Verses' are never found without the 'Author's Account'.

MS La.III.216 and Adv. MS 35.4.10 differ from the other witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* in that both of these manuscripts only include the 'Description of Britain' and the 'Table' as their scribal surrounding materials - although a later hand has added the more commonly found 'Author's Account' and 'Verses to the Bishop', and a title page, to MS La.III.216. Further, MS La.III.216 and Adv. MS 35.4.10 are the only manuscripts - and the only witnesses aside from Dalyell's 1814 edition - to include either the 'Description of Britain' or the 'Table'.⁹¹ Just as a relationship was hypothesised between the inclusion of the 'Author's Account' and the 'Verses to the Bishop', a similar parallel relationship could be

⁹¹ There are further - but less distinctive - similarities between these three witnesses (for example, all three include an inter-textual intertitle marking Wishart's execution and all three include the Type ii form of the selected extract - but several other witnesses also include these features) and Mackay (1899: lxviii-lxix; lxxiv) hypothesises that there may be a transmission relationship between these versions.

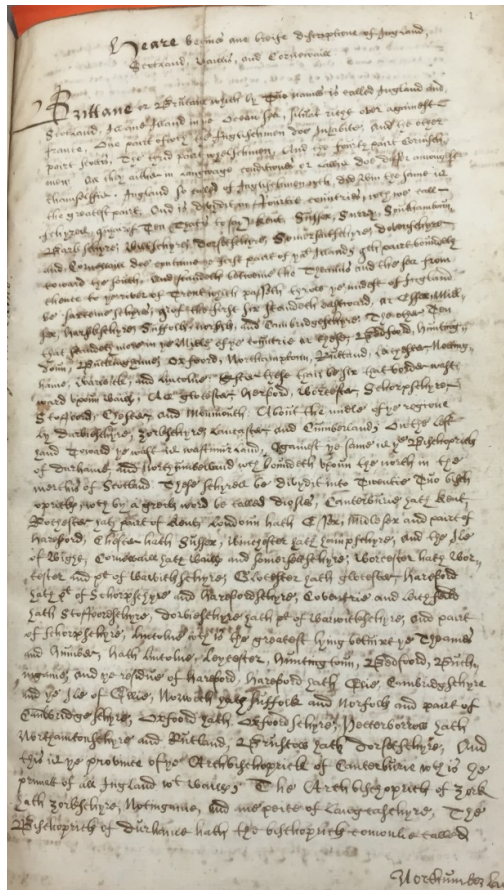


Fig. 3: Adv. MS 35.4.10 - 'Description of Britain' in the scribal hand

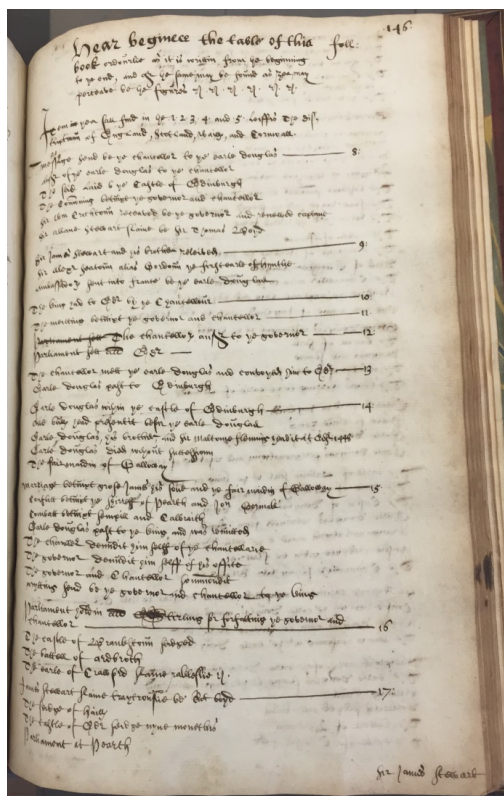


Fig. 4: Adv. MS 35.4.10 - 'Table' in the scribal hand

1.3 Additional Texts⁹²

There are six manuscripts which are bound with additional texts (scribal and non-scribal).⁹³ Three of these witnesses - Crawford MS I, the Wodrow Folio, and MS 185 - contain an additional text which was composed in the scribal hand, and was therefore purposefully presented alongside the chronicle-text by the scribe themselves.

The Wodrow Folio contains the most extensive quantity of additional items of all the witnesses examined. This manuscript volume contains approximately twenty-two texts; the majority of which are sermons. Due to the more recognisable links between the other items in this volume, it could be suggested that Pitscottie's *Cronicles* was not intended to be the primary item of interest in this volume as it seems to be in all other witnesses of the text.

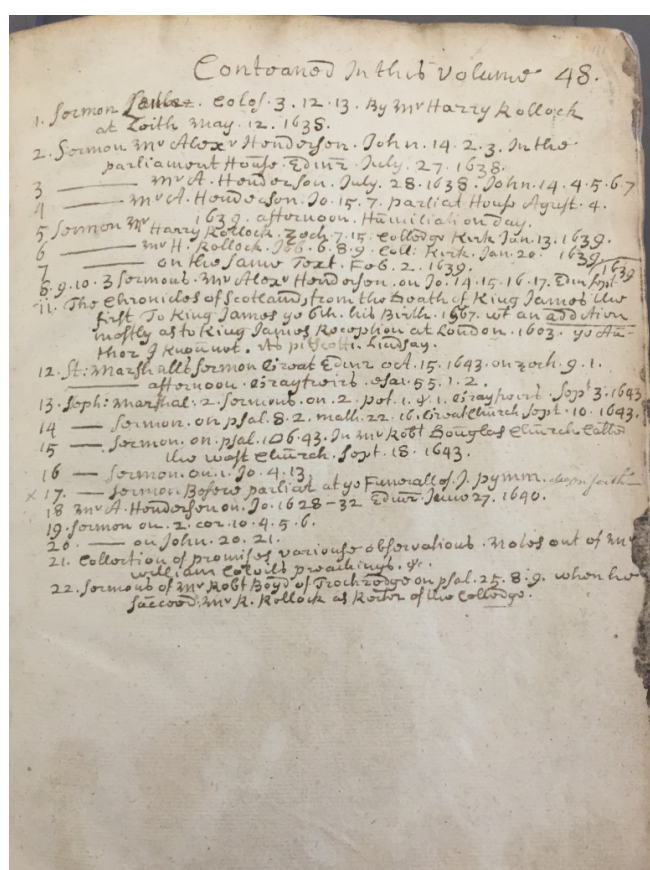


Fig. 5: Wodrow Folio: List of Contents

⁹² 'Additional texts' are defined as items within specific witnesses which do not directly relate to the content of the *Cronicles* – unlike the prefatory and supplementary items.

⁹³ None of the printed editions of the text contain additional texts within the bound volume.

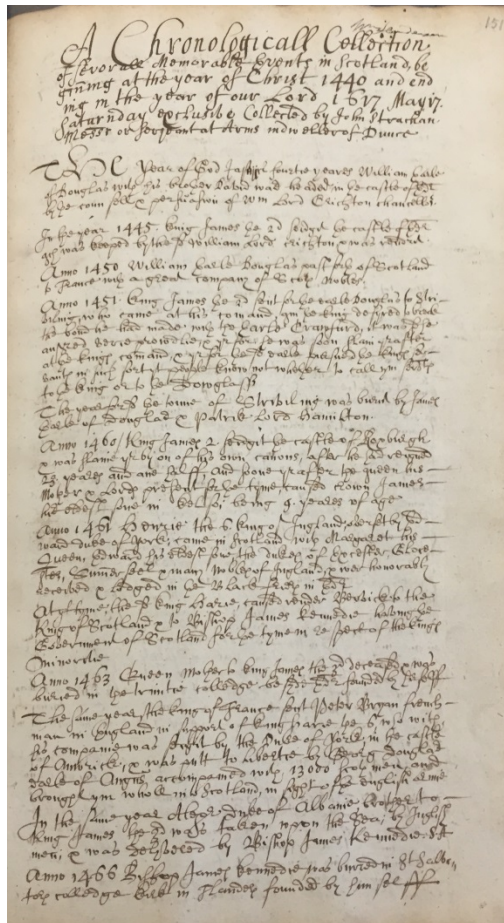


Fig. 6: MS 185 - 'A Chronological Collection of Events'

1.4 Title Pages

Title pages emerged in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries following the introduction of printing (Smith 2000: 11; McConchie 2013), but the evidence provided by the witnesses of the *Cronicles* under examination suggests that their use correlates more closely with the material form of a text (e.g. print) than the date of the witness' production (e.g. manuscripts of sixteenth and seventeenth century production). Very few of the manuscript witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* contain title pages: only one, MS 2672, contains a title page that was composed in the scribal hand. This manuscript, a late (potentially nineteenth-century) transcript of an earlier manuscript (the 'Innerpaffray MS', composed c.1600), contains two title pages. It was initially hypothesised that both title pages were scribal, with the first being the title page to MS 2672 (the transcript) and the second being a transcript of the title page to the 'Innerpaffray MS'. However the scribal footnote referring to 'the title page, as old as 1578, prefixed to this MS, dated 23^d April-30th July 1600' somewhat confuses this

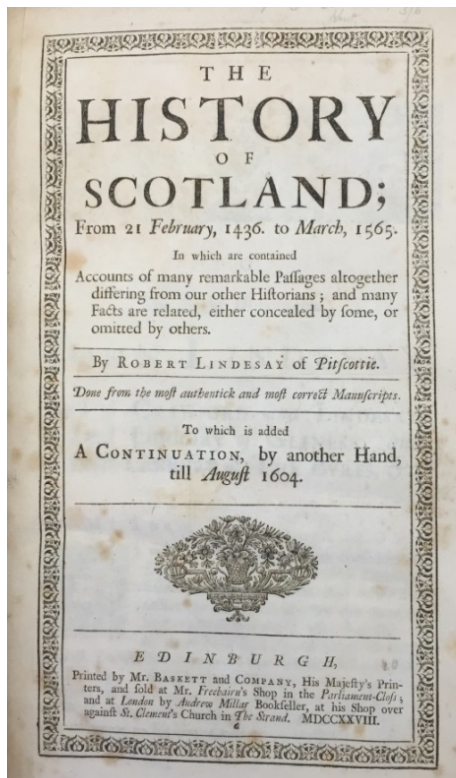


Fig. 9: Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4) - Title Page

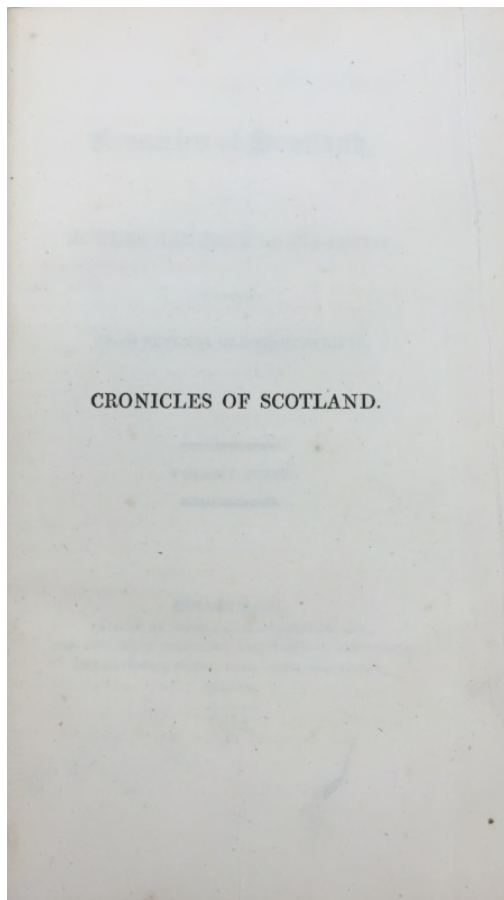


Fig. 10: Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23) - Abbreviated Title Page

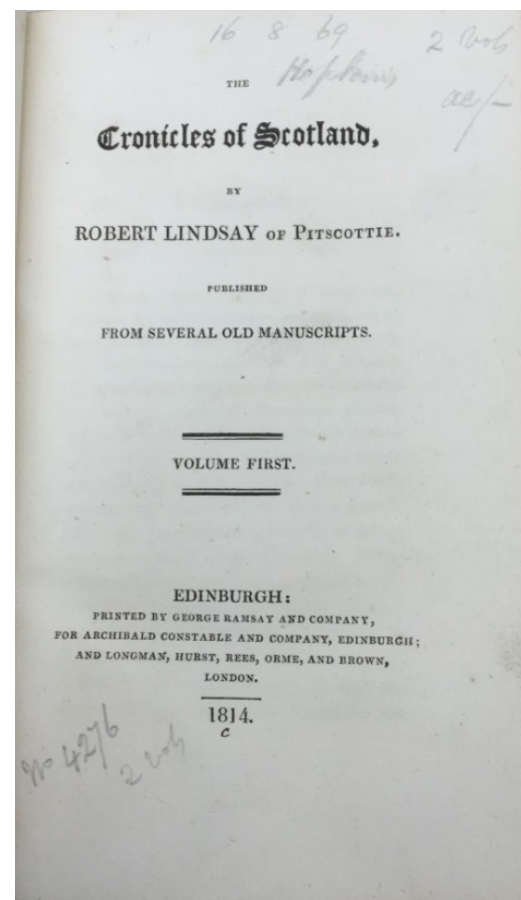


Fig. 11: Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23) - Title Page

1.5 Enlarged Initials⁹⁶

Enlarged initials, visually distinct markers of a new section of text, have been used in the *Cronicles* in two different positions with two distinct functions: to introduce monarchs' sections and chapters, therefore functioning as a marker of textual division, and to begin each page of the text while functioning as an *aide memoire*. Five manuscript witnesses include enlarged initials to begin each page of the volume, and all of these manuscripts also include enlarged initials to begin each monarch's section (however, in all five witnesses the initials used to mark textual division are larger). In contrast, only one manuscript does not use enlarged initials to begin the monarchs' sections (the Wodrow Folio), therefore nineteen of the twenty witnesses of the chronicle use the feature in this position.

As outlined within the individual witness descriptions in Chapter 2A, there are frequent variations in the size, decoration, position, and consistency of use of enlarged initials (and any accompanying emphasised text) within individual manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles*. In contrast, the earliest printed editions of the text display much more consistent usage of enlarged initials in systematic positions. The 1728, 1749, 1778, and 1814 editions all continue to use enlarged initials to introduce each monarch's section; while the 1749, 1778, and 1814 editions fully capitalise the first word of each section of the text (or, in the 1778 and 1814 editions, the first two words if the section begins with a full name/title).⁹⁷



Fig. 12: MS La.III.216 - Enlarged initial introducing the section depicting James II

⁹⁶ Brown (1994: 73) describes an initial as 'an enlarged and decorated letter introducing an important section of a text. Initials can have different levels of significance, according to the divisions of the text or their place within a program of decoration'.

⁹⁷ The printers' practice of fully capitalising the first word (or two words) of each section of the text could stem from the fifteenth and sixteenth-century practice of printing the first word of a *lemma* in capitals (Parkes 1993: 54).

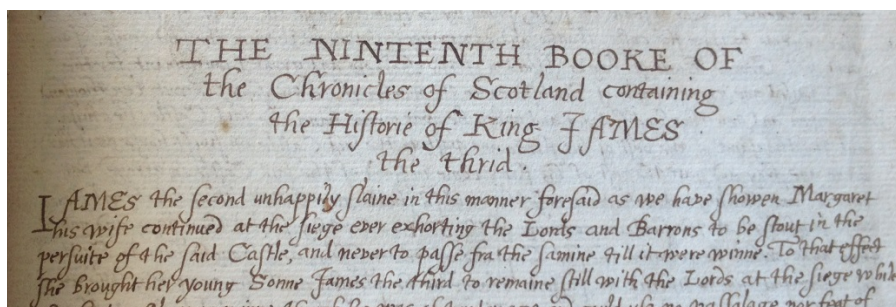


Fig. 13: MS La.III.583 - Enlarged initial (smaller than above) introducing the section depicting James III

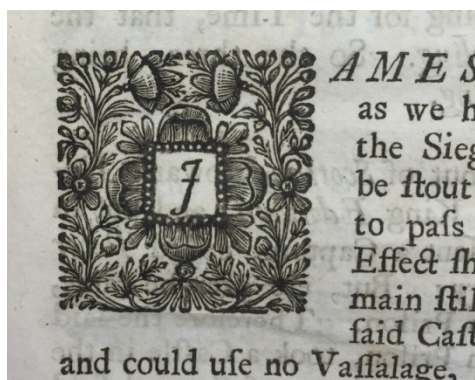


Fig. 14: Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4) - Enlarged initial introducing the section depicting James III

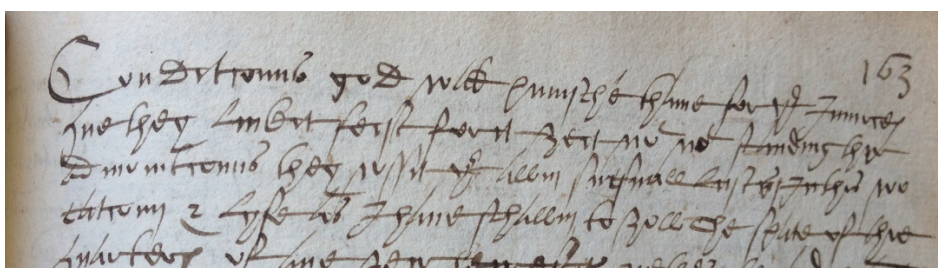


Fig. 15: MS La.III.218 - Enlarged initial used to begin an individual page of the manuscript

1.6 Intertitles⁹⁸

While all twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* - in varying degrees of consistency and distinctiveness - include intertitles to introduce the conventional monarchs' sections within the text, there are only primarily two sections of content (within the standard monarchs' sections) which are conventionally introduced with inter-textual intertitles. These are: 'The Oration' on the execution of Sir James Hamilton within James V and the martyrdom of George Wishart in Mary. Five witnesses of the *Cronicles* - all of which are manuscript versions of the text

⁹⁸ This thesis discusses both structural 'intertitles', labelled as such, used to introduce monarchs' sections and chapters (where relevant), and 'inter-textual intertitles' used to introduce specific section of content within the monarchs' sections.

(Crawford MS I, Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II) - include the inter-textual intertitle referring to the 'The Oration';⁹⁹ while nine witnesses - eight manuscripts (MS La.III.218, Crawford MS I, MS La.III.216, Adv. MS 35.4.10, the Wodrow Folio, MS Acc. 3736, MS 3147, MS 2672) and Dalyell's 1814 printed edition - include the series of inter-textual intertitles documenting the martyrdom of George Wishart.¹⁰⁰ Notably, only Crawford MS I contains both of these inter-textual intertitles; the conventional practice is seemingly for a text to either contain no inter-textual intertitles, or one or the other of these specific inter-textual intertitles. Crawford MS I is further differentiated from the other witnesses in that it also contains an additional four inter-textual intertitles that are not found in any other witnesses of the text (see Chapter 2A, Section 2).

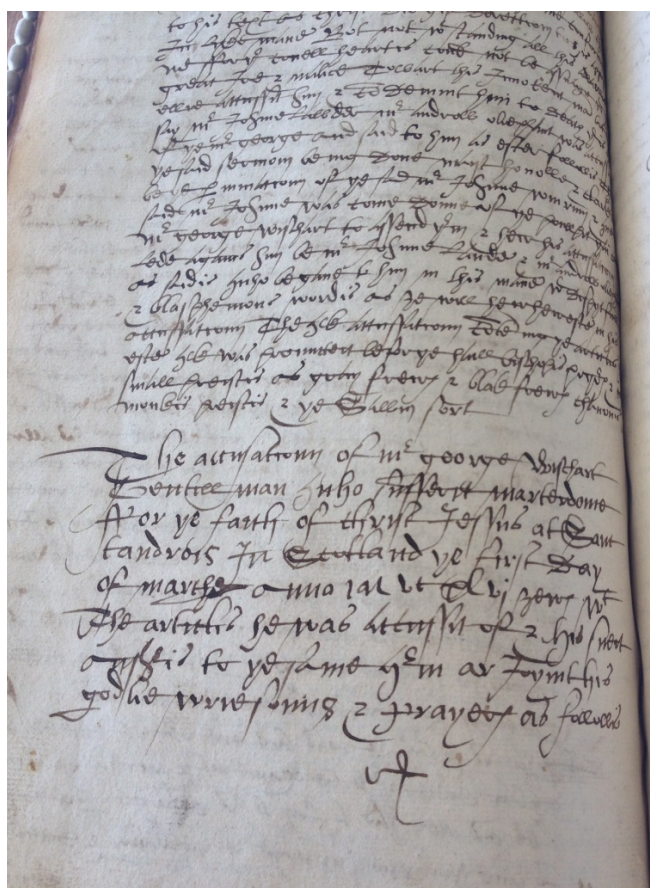


Fig. 16: MS La.III.218 - Inter-textual intertitle introducing the account of George Wishart's martyrdom

⁹⁹ Interestingly, there are various similarities between these five manuscripts in addition to the inclusion of 'The Oration' inter-textual intertitle: all five of the manuscripts additionally include chapters (and are the only witnesses to do so), and, though not included in Crawford MS I, the other four manuscripts are the only manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* to include paragraphs. Therefore this group of manuscripts all provide significant quantities of structural guidance for their intended reading communities using a range of paratextual features.

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 2A for more detailed descriptions of the form of these inter-textual intertitles and the layout of the subsequent text.

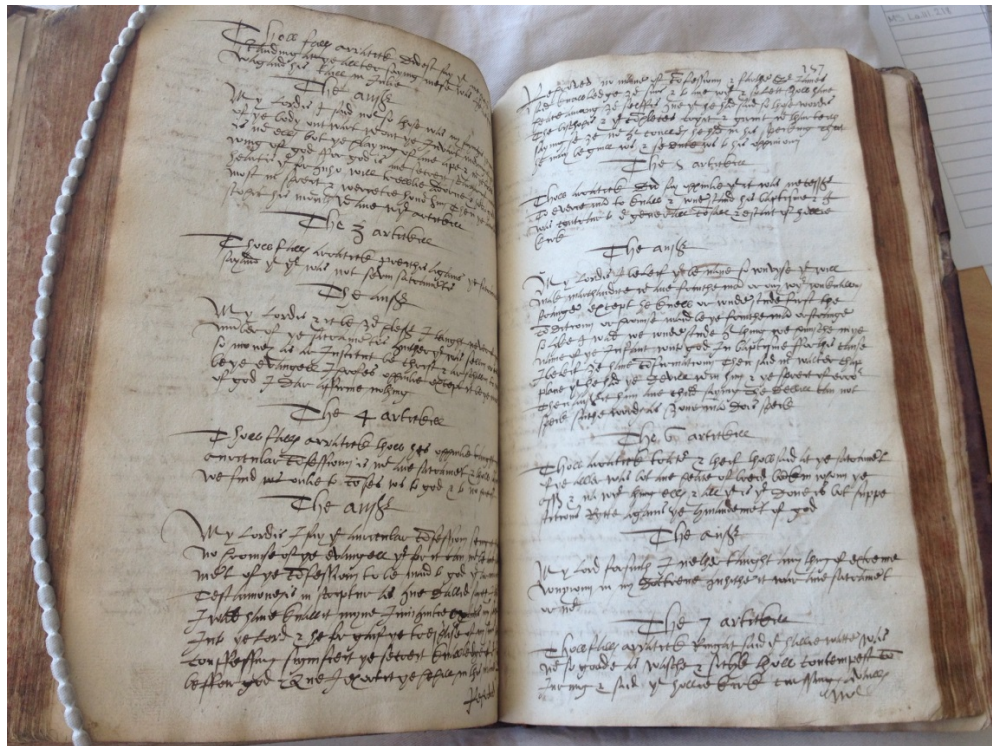


Fig. 17: MS La.III.218 - Inter-textual intertitles presenting the account of George Wishart's trial

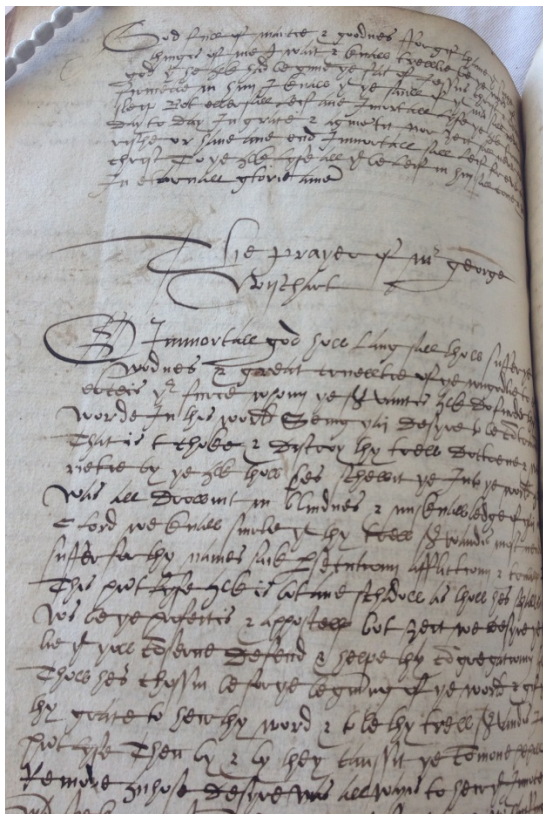


Fig. 18: MS La.III.218 - Inter-textual intertitle introducing George Wishart's Prayer

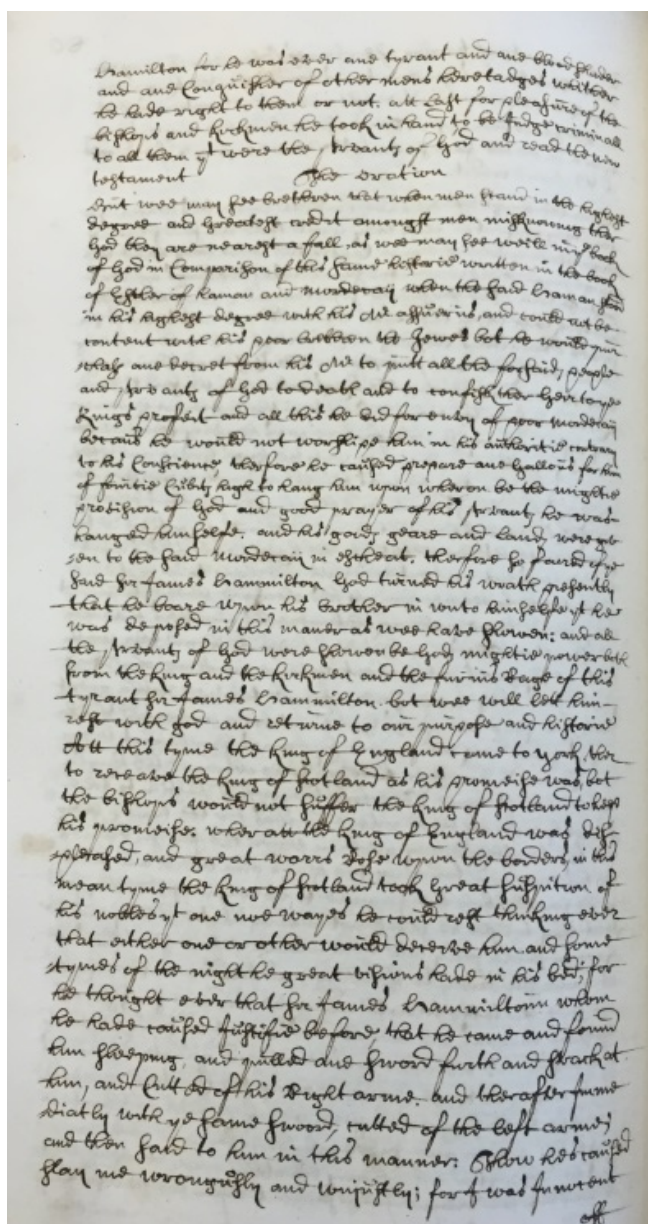


Fig. 19: Adv. MS 35.4.11 - Inter-textual intertitle introducing 'The Oration' within the section depicting James V

1.7 Chapters

Whilst all witnesses of the *Cronicles* divide the text into clearly defined monarchs' sections, relatively few of the witnesses sub-divide the text further into chapters, and notably none of the printed editions do so - despite chapters, as a form of textual division, having been in practice since the second century B.C. (Parkes 1993: 10). Five manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* include chapters: MS La.III.198, MS La.III.583, Crawford MSS I and II, and Adv. MS. 35.4.11.¹⁰¹ Of these manuscripts, MS La.III.198, MS La.III.583, Crawford MS II,

¹⁰¹ Note, again, the previously suggested relationship between these five manuscripts.

and Adv. MS 35.4.11 all only sub-divide the first monarch's section (James II) into chapters. Crawford MS I is the only witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, prior to Mackay's 1899 Scottish Text Society edition, which divides the whole text (i.e. all monarchs' sections) into chapters, and, just as occurs in the 1899 edition, Crawford MS I also introduces each chapter with a short paragraph summarising the subsequent section of text.

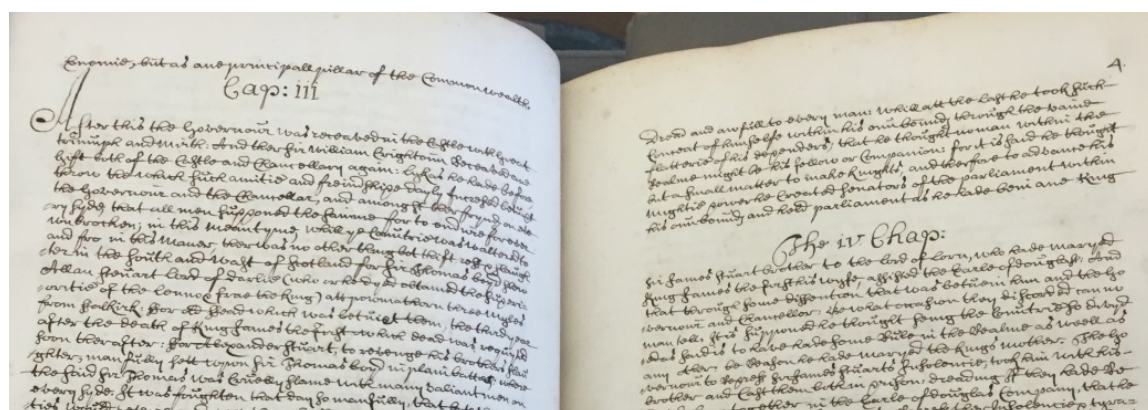


Fig. 20: Adv. MS 35.4.11- Example of chapter divisions within the section depicting James II

1.8 Paragraphs

The use of paragraphing is affected not only by the scribe/printer's decisions regarding how to present the text and how they intend it to be read, but also by the time period in which each witness was produced: whether visually distinct paragraphs (i.e. separated by a line-space or indented) were a conventional form of textual layout in the period of the text's production. According to Parkes (1993: 10): 'scribes deployed features of layout to indicate major divisions or sections of a text, such as chapters and paragraphs, a practice which seems to go back as far as the second century B.C.'. While the rubrication marks *capitulum* and, subsequently, the *pilcrow* were the conventional symbols of rubrication by which to mark paragraphs during the Middle Ages, spacing marks such as line-spacing and indentation began to be used alongside - and as an alternative to - this rubrication during the latter part of this period, and gradually throughout the early modern/modern periods became the primary method of marking paragraph structures.¹⁰² Neither the manuscripts or printed

¹⁰² The historical structure of *capitulum* – 'a division in a text containing a particular topic or point of focus' (Parkes 1993: 302) – is the predecessor of the modern paragraph structure.

versions of the *Cronicles* which make use of paragraphs use rubrication to mark these structures; if paragraphing is included it is marked with spacing techniques.

There is a lack of consistency in the use of paragraphing across the manuscripts of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* under examination. Of the thirteen manuscript witnesses of the text, five make use of paragraphs - Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, Crawford MS II, and MS 2672 - but all five use paragraphs inconsistently and indicate paragraphs using various visual formats.¹⁰³ The majority of manuscript witnesses only begin using paragraphs in notable frequency in the latter part of the chronicle.¹⁰⁴ MS La.III.583 and Adv. MS 35.4.11 both display evidence of paragraphing slightly earlier in their texts, but, as above, the consistent use of paragraphs does not occur until later in the text.¹⁰⁵

The use of consistent, frequent, and systematic paragraphing throughout the whole chronicle-text begins in the first printed edition of the *Cronicles*, Freebairn's 1728 edition (of which this study examines three witnesses), and all subsequent printed editions consistently employ paragraphs. The three witnesses of Freebairn's 1728 edition (Mu8-a.6; BD5-b.4; RF 361) mark paragraphs with a line space and indentation, while the two witnesses of Urie's 1749 edition (Bo3-m.12 and ECCO), Cadell's 1778 edition (ECCO), and Dalyell's 1814 edition (BD13-1.23) mark paragraphs with a new line and indentation. Therefore, between the manuscript and printed editions, both the practice of using paragraphs and the methods of indicating this feature can be seen to have become more systematic and frequently used.

¹⁰³ Note the previously mentioned relationship between Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II.

¹⁰⁴ For example, see the description of the use of paragraphs in MS La.III.198 (Chapter 2A, Section 8) or Crawford MS II (Chapter 2A, Section 12).

¹⁰⁵ See the descriptions of the use of paragraphs in MS La.III.583 and Adv. MS 35.4.11 in Chapter 2A, Sections 5 and 7.

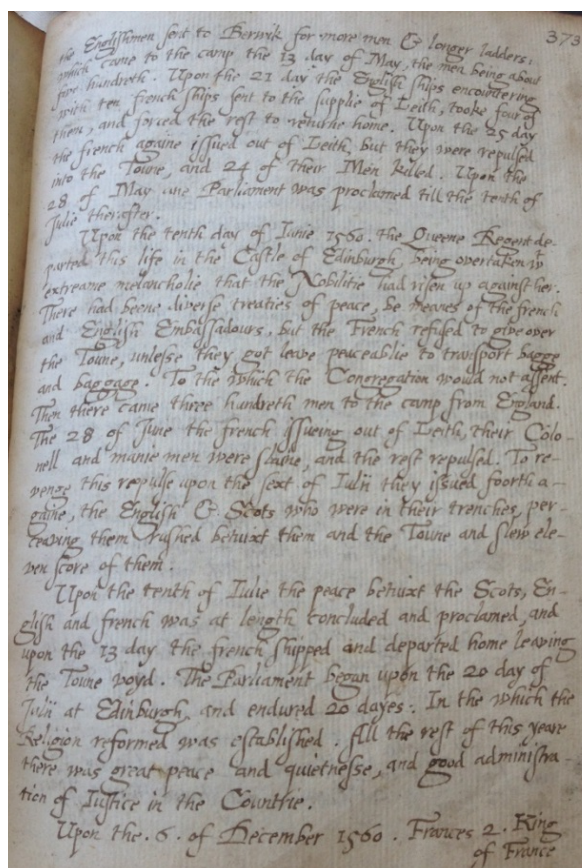


Fig. 21: MS La.III.198 - Example of paragraph layout (new line and indentation)

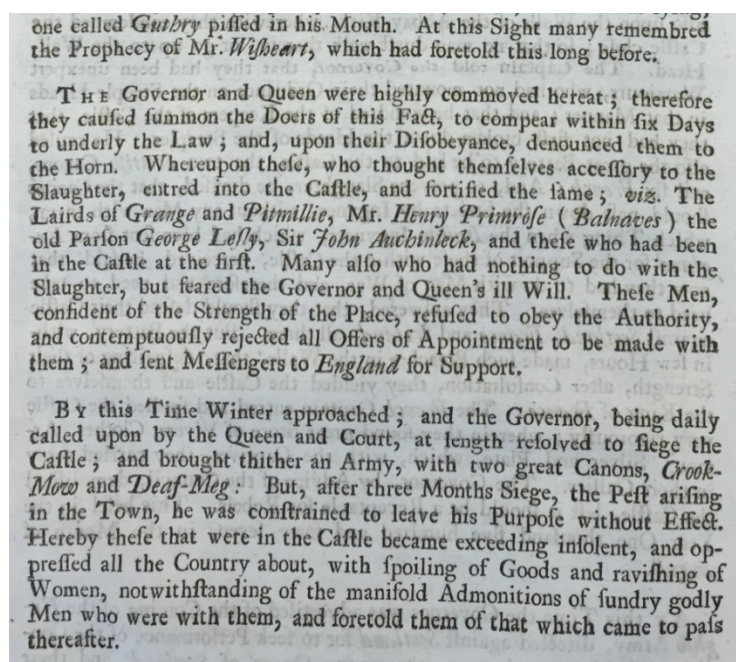


Fig. 22: Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6) - Example of paragraph structure (line space, indentation, and emphasised text)

1.9 Scribal Formal Marginalia¹⁰⁶

Of the twenty witnesses of Pitscottie *Cronicles* under analysis, ten witnesses (all of which are manuscripts) include instances of formal marginalia accompanying the chronicle-text. Only three of the thirteen manuscript witnesses include no instances of scribal marginalia (MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II), yet MS 185 only includes scribal formal marginalia alongside the additional item bound within the extant volume.¹⁰⁷ None of the printed editions of the text include any instances of this feature despite marginal items being an available paratextual feature for the printed form.¹⁰⁸

The majority of the manuscripts which provide formal marginalia use this feature to summarise the content of the text it is positioned alongside. The scribal marginalia provided in MS 2672, however, also make external references to numerous other manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles*, even citing specific page and line numbers of parallel elements across the witnesses. MS 2672 also differs from the other witnesses in that the scribe has anticipated, and provided for, a much more thorough and formalised system of formal marginalia than is found in any other witnesses of the text through the assigned pages/sections of the page for 'Notes' (see Chapter 2A, Section 13).

¹⁰⁶ Scribal formal marginalia is defined as purposeful marginal notes composed by the scribe(s) and therefore part of the original program of aid for the intended reading community, as opposed to readerly handwritten marginal items – composed at any time during the witness' circulation – which are evidence of how the text was actually read. Slights (2001: 3) goes so far as to suggest that 'printed marginalia did more than any other material feature of book production in the period to determine [...] the nature of the reading experience'.

¹⁰⁷ Note again the potential relationship between MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II.

¹⁰⁸ Parkes (1993: 57) states that 'in the sixteenth century side-notes (sources or glosses) were printed in the margin alongside the relevant passage of text'. Slights (2001: 3) reinforces this point, stating that 'sidenotes were strategically placed, frequently reprinted, and regularly cited throughout the early history of printing in England'.

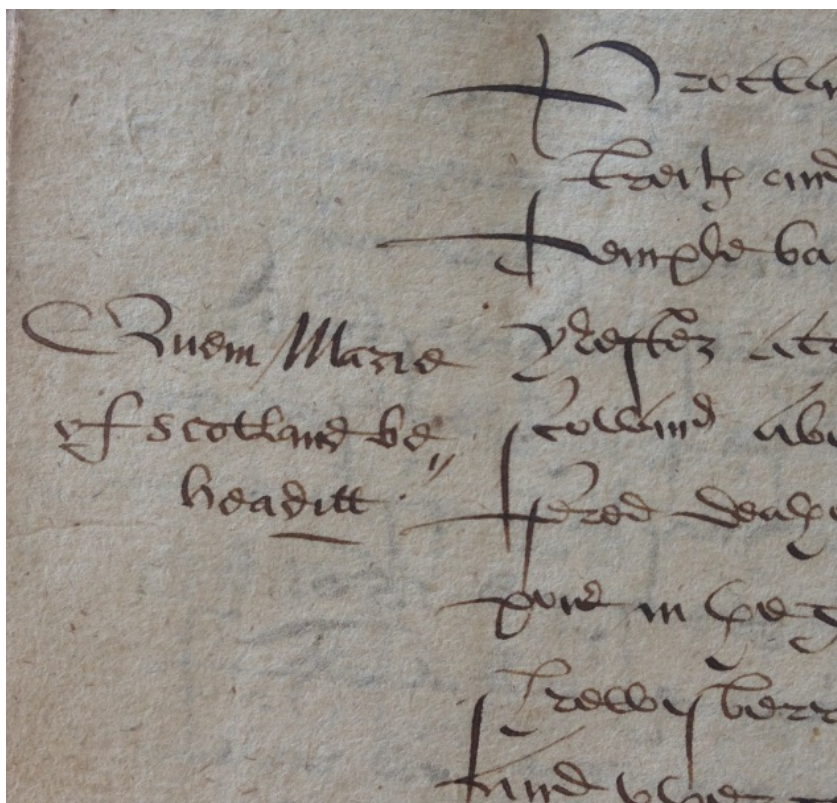


Fig. 23: MS La.III.216 - Example of scribal formal marginalia within the section depicting Mary Queen of Scots.

1.10 Running Titles¹⁰⁹

Running titles occur relatively infrequently in manuscripts of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, but appear consistently in every printed version of the text (seven witnesses). Only one manuscript makes consistent use of scribal running titles (MS La.III.583); in MS Acc. 3736 the running titles are scribal but used inconsistently, in MS 2672 the running titles are non-scribal, and in MS La.III.216 they are a mixture of scribal and non-scribal. There appears to have once been scribal running titles within Crawford MS I but they have since been cropped, and in MS 3147 those that were scribal have been cropped and the later non-scribal running titles are used inconsistently.

¹⁰⁹ Running titles consist of a short line of text positioned at the head of a page/folio which identifies a text or one of its sub-sections so the reader can identify what they are reading and locate specific sections (Brown 1994: 112).

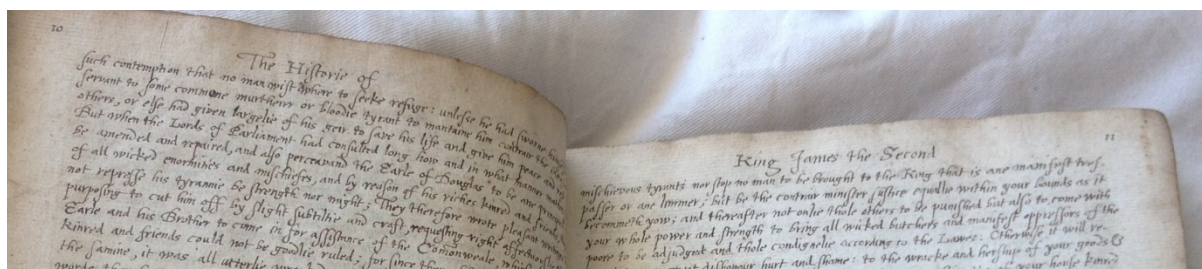


Fig. 24: MS La.III.583 - Example of scribal running titles within the section depicting James II

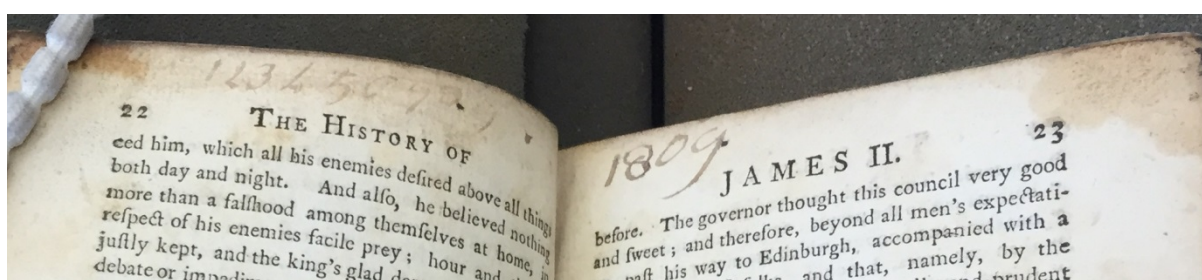


Fig. 25: Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12) - Example of printed running titles within the section depicting James II

1.11 Foliation/Pagination¹¹⁰

Only Crawford MS II includes no extant evidence of either foliation or pagination (scribal or non-scribal). The chronicle-texts of four manuscripts have been foliated by a later hand, while two (Adv. MSS 35.4.10-11) were foliated by the scribal hand. A further manuscript has been foliated in a hand which cannot be firmly identified as scribal or non-scribal (MS La.III.216). Two manuscript witnesses contain scribal pagination: MS La.III.583 and MS La.III.198,¹¹¹ while a further manuscript was seemingly paginated by the scribal hand but the signatures have since been cropped (MS Acc. 3736). All of the printed editions of the text are clearly and consistently paginated.

Interestingly, there are two manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* (not included in the above statistics) which are seemingly both paginated and foliated. MS 2672 has been paginated by the scribal hand, but a later hand has additionally foliated each leaf. In MS 185, two non-scribal hands have paginated the

¹¹⁰ Foliation refers to the numbering of leaves (whereby the front and back – recto and verso – count as a single folio) as opposed to the numbering of individual pages (pagination).

¹¹¹ Mackay (1899) suggests that these two manuscripts were composed by the same scribe (Charles Lumsden), and several similarities in the structural paratext of these two witnesses have previously been noted.

chronicle-text (and the subsequent additional item) in Arabic numerals, and foliated the prefatory blank leaves of the volume in roman numerals.

1.12 Language

The language in which different witnesses of the same text are composed is interesting because linguistic choices can be motivated by a range of circumstances/ideologies, for example: the language in which the copy-text is composed, the stage of historical linguistic development during which the text is composed, and the contemporary ideologies associated with certain languages (e.g. Jacobitism, anti-unionism, antiquarianism). All of these issues potentially impact upon the varying use of English and Scots in the witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. Ten of the twenty witnesses under analysis are categorised as having been composed in English orthography and lexis (Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, MS 185, Freebairn's 1728 edition (Mu8-a.6; BD5-b.4; RF 361), Urie's 1749 edition (Bo3-m.12 and ECCO), and Cadell's 1778 edition). Subsequently, there are two manuscripts (MS La.III.216 and the Wodrow Folio) which are composed in English but each contain a single example of a Scots orthographical form (<qu->) within the extract and paratextual elements that have been examined. Eight witnesses, spanning both manuscript and print, can be said to have been composed using varying (but rarely frequent) quantities of Scots linguistic forms. Crawford MS II is unusual in that it includes occasional Scots lexical items but no Scots orthographical forms; whereas six manuscript witnesses include varying quantities of Scots orthography but no Scots lexical items. Dalzell's 1814 edition is notable in not only being the only printed edition of the text to include Scots forms, but in also including considerably more Scots lexis and orthographical forms than any other witness of the *Cronicles* under examination.

2. Weighting of Paratextual Features

In order to analyse paratextual features as indicators of the reading practices for which the scribe(s)/printer(s) were catering, two statistical issues must be taken into account. Firstly, paratextual features function as part of a system: the inclusion of a specific feature does not necessitate a certain type of readership.

Rather, because literacy is a spectrum of practices, while an individual feature may seemingly function to aid one type of reader, when it is examined alongside the other paratextual features of the system it functions within, the nuances of the literacy environment that is being catered for become evident. It is the relationship between specific features and the overall paratextual system (and wider textual system incorporating the punctuation system) which they construct which indicates the specific readership that the scribe/printer was anticipating. Secondly, not all of the paratextual items documented in the data collection contain the same degree of significance as indicators of contemporary reading practices; some features are more indicative of a specific reading practice than others which may only aid a certain readership in conjunction with other features. For example, while the presence of running titles, foliation, and pagination does suggest a more extensive reader of the text - in particular a non-linear reader who would be reading the text over an extended period of time - alone they do not provide significant weight to the suggestion of an extensive readership. Within this analysis, these features are examined to more specifically indicate where a witness of the *Cronicles* is located on the spectrum of literacy practices after the general reading community of the text has been identified using the more significantly weighted features. Therefore if the more predominant paratextual features of a text suggest that it was produced for a more extensive reading community, the presence of less heavily weighted features can be used to reinforce this hypothesis, and, depending on how systematic their use is, can be used to further define how extensive the reading community is likely to be.

Scribal title pages, as an explicit label of the text, are a persuasive indicator of a more extensive contemporary reading community of the text: a more intensive reading community would have already been familiar with the content of the text and have potentially encountered the text multiple times, therefore they would not have required as explicit a label of the text as the title page provides.¹¹²

¹¹² See Chapter 3, Section B.3 for further discussion of the significance of title pages as indicators of more extensive reading practices.

Elements of textual division are particularly strong indicators of a more extensive reading community (e.g. inter-textual intertitles, chapter divisions and paragraphs) as they function to guide an unfamiliar reader through the text by dividing it into content-based sections, therefore aiding the reader to cognitively process the text. Inter-textual intertitles are particularly indicative of a more extensive readership as they are narrative in content and therefore not only aid an unfamiliar reader to understand the structure of the text but also to better comprehend the content. Marked features of division also serve to aid non-linear reading practices which evolved from the establishment of solitary reading environments associated with more extensive reading. Further, features such as this would only benefit a reader who was reading from the material page and who would therefore encounter these highly-visual structural features, therefore further supporting the hypothesis that their inclusion indicates that the text's producer anticipated a more extensive reader.

Enlarged initials aid different readerships depending on the context within which the feature is used within the text; their basic inclusion is not in itself indicative of a particular reading practice. The use of enlarged initials to begin each page of the text is fairly indicative of a more aural, intensive readership of the text as in this position the initial is primarily functioning as an *aide memoire*: the scribe has inserted the initial as a memorable visual feature for the reader to associate with the corresponding content of text, which would stimulate an aural readers' memory of the text when glancing at the material page while reading aloud. However, when enlarged initials are used to mark the beginning of significant sections of the text (e.g. the incipits of monarchs' sections), the feature is being employed as a marker of textual division and are therefore indicative of a more extensive reading community. Further, the use of enlarged initials in each of the distinct positions discussed, while being extremely helpful to the reading community they are each serving, would be detrimental to the reading practices of a reading community at the opposing end of the spectrum. For example, a more extensive reading community who has come to associate enlarged initials as a marker of division - and who, additionally, is unfamiliar with the content of the text - could find the use of enlarged initials at the beginning of every page -

a position in which they are not marking any element of division - misleading and the reader's understanding of the text could be hindered.

Formal marginalia, as a guiding feature positioned alongside the text itself, are significant indicators of an anticipated more extensive reading community. The scribal formal marginalia found in the manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* usually function to summarise parallel sections of the text, a feature which would not benefit intensive readers of the text who would already be familiar with the text's content, but which would aid a more extensive reader's comprehension of an unfamiliar text, and could function as a locating device for non-linear reading practices. Their position on the same material page as the chronicle-text suggests that formal marginalia functioned to aid more extensive reading communities during the reading process itself, as opposed to, for example, surrounding material, which aids extensive readers prior to/subsequent to the physical reading of the chronicle.

Scribal surrounding material is a fairly influential indicator of a more extensive reading community having been anticipated. The presence of surrounding material (prefatory and supplementary material; additional texts) within a bound volume indicates that the anticipated reading community were perusing the material text itself when reading - and therefore reading the text directly from the page rather than reciting from memory. Further, a more intensive reader would have been familiar with the text (e.g. its content, structure, and meaning) whereas a more extensive reader (unfamiliar with the text and perhaps even the genre) would have required the additional information that the surrounding material provided - for example, many of the surrounding texts which accompany the *Cronicles* aid an unfamiliar reader's comprehension of the text by providing religious, social, or geographic contextual information for the reader to consider while reading the *Cronicles*. Some prefatory/supplementary items provide even more explicit guidance for a more extensive reading community (e.g. the 'Table', 'Index') which would provide significant aid for unfamiliar or non-linear reading communities. More extensive reading communities also read more widely than did more intensive reading communities,

and were therefore more likely to read additional material surrounding the *Cronicles*.

As mentioned, running titles and foliation/pagination were employed frequently by the scribes/printers of the *Cronicles* but their inclusion is less persuasive as an indicator of a specific reading community than the features previously discussed. While they are, to varying degrees, elements of guidance for a reader, they are used quite widely throughout all the witnesses of the text without any notable pattern of usage (i.e. they are found within witnesses identified as having been produced for reading communities at various positions on the spectrum of reading practices). Additionally, the evidence regarding the scribal provision of these features is much more inconsistent than that of other paratextual items (due to damage to/cropping of leaves), therefore interpretations based on their presence/absence and their scribal production is much more speculative.

3. Paratextual Systems of Each Witness¹¹³

3.1 MS La.III.218¹¹⁴

MS La.III.218 contains one of the less comprehensive paratextual systems of the witnesses of the text. It marks the division of monarchs' sections with intertitles and enlarged initials, includes a series of inter-textual intertitles for Wishart's martyrdom, and includes scribal formal marginalia - all of which would have aided a more extensive reading community. However the guidance provided by the title page, additional texts, and foliation cannot be taken into account as they are non-scribal and therefore were not part of the scribe's provision for their contemporary readership. Instead these non-scribal features perhaps display later attempts to aid an increasingly more extensive reading community. Notably, though, despite the provision for a more extensive readership, enlarged initials are also used to begin each page - a position in which initials primarily function as an *aide memoire* for more intensive readers.

¹¹³ See Appendix 2 for a comparative table outlining the paratextual systems of each witness of the *Cronicles* under analysis.

¹¹⁴ See also Chapter 2A, Section 1.

3.2 Crawford MS I¹¹⁵

This manuscript contains one of the more comprehensive paratextual systems under analysis. It systematically uses intertitles to begin each monarch's section, and enlarged initials to introduce each significant sub-section of the text (monarchs' sections, introductory paragraphs, chapter content, exclamations). Further, this is the only witness of the *Cronicles* - prior to the 1899 Scottish Text Society edition - to divide the whole chronicle-text into chapters. These frequent and systematic forms of textual division are notable in the degree of guidance they would provide an unfamiliar, extensive reader of the text. Also aiding a more extensive readership are the running titles (which were potentially scribal despite since being heavily cropped), the inclusion of six inter-textual intertitles, the scribal items of formal marginalia (several of the items of formal marginalia are non-scribal), the scribal provision of prefatory material, and the additional texts which were composed in the scribal hand (one additional text is non-scribal). However the foliation is non-scribal and therefore cannot be included in a discussion of the contemporary reading community. Notably, in contrast to the comprehensive guidance the scribe provides for a more extensive reading community, this manuscript also includes enlarged initials to begin each page - a feature which functions as an *aide memoire* to aid a more intensive readership.

3.3 MS La.III.216¹¹⁶

MS La.III.216 contains one of the more comprehensive paratextual systems of the witnesses in this study. The scribe systematically uses enlarged initials and intertitles to introduce each monarch's section, marks Wishart's martyrdom with a series of inter-textual intertitles, includes (potentially) scribal foliation, includes running titles (some of which are potentially in the scribal hand - e.g. f.13r to the end of the section documenting James V), and incorporates scribal prefatory material, supplementary material, and formal marginalia. The title page, many of the running titles (e.g. those accompanying f.8r-12r and Mary's

¹¹⁵ See also Chapter 2A, Section 2.

¹¹⁶ See also Chapter 2A, Section 3.

monarch section), and two of the prefatory items are non-scribal, but sufficient varied and systematic structural guidance has been provided for the contemporary reading community to suggest that a comprehensive paratextual system has been constructed by the scribe for a more extensive readership. Further, unlike several of the witnesses which, while using enlarged initials systematically for textual division to guide a more extensive reader through the text, also use enlarged initials to begin each page of the manuscript (a feature more associated with intensive reading practices), MS La.III.216 does not employ this feature in this position, therefore indicating a more firmly established extensive reading community of the text. However, due to the absence of additional elements of textual division (e.g. chapters and paragraphs), it is recognised that there is not a fully comprehensive guiding system of paratextual features within this manuscript.

3.4 Adv. MS 35.4.10¹¹⁷

Adv. MS 35.4.10 provides one of the more comprehensive paratextual systems of the manuscripts examined: while it does not include as high a quantity of different paratextual features as some of the witnesses, the items it does include are all scribal and are used consistently. This witness includes: systematic use of enlarged initials and intertitles to introduce each monarch's section, the 'Table', and the section depicting George Wishart's martyrdom; and scribal prefatory and supplementary material, formal marginalia, and foliation. Many of these features provide continuous explicit guidance for a more extensive reading community during the reading process. However, due to the absence of additional elements of textual division (e.g. chapters and paragraphs), it is recognised that there is not a fully comprehensive guiding system of paratextual features within this manuscript.

3.5 Adv. MS 35.4.11¹¹⁸

Adv. MS 35.4.11 contains one of the more comprehensive systems of paratext of the manuscripts under analysis. This witness includes intertitles and enlarged

¹¹⁷ See also Chapter 2A, Section 4.

¹¹⁸ See also Chapter 2A, Section 5.

initials to introduce the monarchs' sections and chapters (only found within the section documenting James II), but they are neither consistently provided nor consistently presented in the same form. Similarly, the scribe divides the chronicle-text into paragraphs but not consistently and using different forms of presentation. It also includes a scribal prefatory item, scribal formal marginalia (only on two pages), an inter-textual intertitle (for Hamilton's 'Oration'), and (potentially) scribal foliation. However the witness does not include running titles or any scribal post-chronicle supplementary material or additional items - all of which would increase the guidance provided by the scribe of this manuscript and aid an even more extensive reading community.

3.6 Wodrow Folio¹¹⁹

The Wodrow Folio contains one of the least comprehensive paratextual systems of the manuscripts under examination, consisting of: intertitles to introduce each monarch's section, consistent formal marginalia, and an inter-textual intertitle to mark Wishart's martyrdom. The extant form of this manuscript does include additional texts and foliation but the additional texts (of the miscellany) are variously scribal and non-scribal, and the foliation is non-scribal, and non-scribal additions cannot be examined as features which were provided to aid the same reading community as the scribal chronicle-text itself was composed for.

3.7 MS La.III.583¹²⁰

MS La.III.583 contains one of the more comprehensive paratextual systems of the manuscripts under analysis. It does so by making systematic use of enlarged initials and intertitles to indicate textual division (for example, both features are used to introduce all monarchs' sections and chapters, with smaller initials being used for chapters than the monarchs' sections); including chapters and paragraphs; and supplying scribal prefatory material. An inter-textual intertitle is used to introduce Hamilton's 'Oration' and there are consistent (scribal) running titles and pagination. However it does not provide fully comprehensive

¹¹⁹ See also Chapter 2A, Section 6.

¹²⁰ See also Chapter 2A, Section 7.

guidance, as chapters are only used to segment the first monarch's section (James II), and its use of paragraphs (and the practice of using enlarged initials to introduce this feature of sub-division) is inconsistent. There is an additional item included within the prefatory material, but as it is non-scribal it cannot be included within a discussion of the scribes' provision for their contemporary readership.

3.8 MS La.III.198¹²¹

MS La.III.198 includes one of the more comprehensive paratextual systems of the witnesses of the *Cronicles* under analysis. Intertitles and enlarged initials are used to introduce each section of the text, with smaller initials being used for chapters than for the monarchs' sections and prefatory items; an inter-textual intertitle is used to introduce Hamilton's 'Oration'; the scribe has paginated the chronicle-text throughout; and there is scribal prefatory material. However, chapters are only used to divide the first monarch's section (James II), and paragraphs are only used from the section for James V onwards - therefore, while quantitatively significant paratextual guidance is provided for a more extensive reading community, the degree of aid being provided is slightly reduced as the scribe's guiding paratext is not fully systematic and consistent.

3.9 MS Acc. 3736¹²²

This manuscript contains one of the less comprehensive paratextual systems of the witnesses under analysis. Intertitles and enlarged initials are used to introduce each monarch's section, a series of inter-textual intertitles are used to mark the section documenting Wishart's martyrdom, and scribal formal marginalia is employed throughout the chronicle-text - all of which provide significant guidance for a more extensive contemporary reading community. However the extant evidence of the use of running titles and pagination is inconsistent; while evidence of cropping suggests that the scribal pagination may once have been a consistent feature of the manuscript that has since been lost, running titles seem to have been used inconsistently by the scribe themselves -

¹²¹ See also Chapter 2A, Section 8.

¹²² See also Chapter 2A, Section 9.

even when a ruled border is present, a running title is not always included. Further, the two additional texts which are bound within the extant volume of this manuscript are non-scribal; therefore they cannot be discussed as features which were produced in order to provide guidance for the contemporary reading community.

3.10 MS 3147¹²³

While, to a certain extent, this manuscript includes a high quantity of paratextual features, it has been categorised as providing one of the least comprehensive paratextual systems to accompany Pitscottie's *Cronicles* due to the inconsistent use of many of the features. Intertitles and enlarged initials (which vary greatly in size and decoration) have been used to introduce each of the monarchs' sections, and initials of a smaller size have been used to begin each page of the manuscript. Enlarged initials positioned at the beginning of each page function as an *aide memoire* to assist more intensive reading practices, and, while the other position of enlarged initials in this manuscript serves to indicate textual division and guide a more extensive reader through the reading process, the degree of penwork decoration to some of these initials also suggests a memorial function. This witness also includes a series of intertitles to document Wishart's martyrdom - a feature which would also aid a more extensive reading community - but many of the other guiding paratextual features of this manuscript are either inconsistent or non-scribal. Scribal formal marginalia have been provided alongside the chronicle-text, but only by the first scribe of the manuscript; once the second scribe commences formal marginalia are no longer included. Further, there appears to have once been scribal running titles accompanying the chronicle-text in this manuscript but they have since been heavily cropped; non-scribal running titles have been added but they are inconsistent. Similarly, the original manuscript leaves have been cropped too heavily to distinguish whether scribal foliation/pagination was present, but non-scribal foliation has been added to the modern leaves onto which the original leaves are pasted.

¹²³ See also Chapter 2A, Section 10.

3.11 MS 185¹²⁴

Relatively, MS 185 has one of the least comprehensive paratextual systems of the manuscripts under analysis. The scribe uses intertitles and enlarged initials to begin each monarch's section but these markers of textual division are the only paratextual features which would significantly aid an unfamiliar, more extensive reader while encountering the chronicle-text. An additional text is included after the chronicle-text in the scribal hand, but the aid this item provides to the reading process of the *Cronicles* themselves is unlikely to be significant. Similarly, while scribal formal marginalia are included, they are only positioned alongside the additional item, and are therefore not guiding a more extensive reading community to encounter the chronicle-text itself. In accordance with the little guidance this manuscript provides a more extensive reading community, this manuscript includes enlarged initials to begin each page of the text (which are smaller than the initials used to indicate earlier elements of textual division, but become increasingly larger in size from Mary's section onwards); enlarged initials in this position function as an *aide memoire* for a more intensive reading community. Further elements of paratext within this manuscript - prefatory material, foliation (to the prefatory material), and pagination (to the chronicle-text) - are non-scribal, and therefore cannot be discussed as part of the paratextual system produced to aid the contemporary reading community.

3.12 Crawford MS II¹²⁵

Crawford MS II contains one of the more comprehensive systems of paratextual features of the manuscripts under analysis. The scribe systematically uses intertitles and enlarged initials to introduce each item of prefatory material, each of the monarchs' sections, and each chapter. This clear textual division, along with the inclusion of scribal prefatory material and an inter-textual intertitle for Hamilton's 'Oration', provides guidance for a more extensive reading community of the text. However this scribe has also begun pages of the manuscript with a (smaller) enlarged initial; a feature which functions as an *aide memoire* for a more intensive reading community - but deployment of these

¹²⁴ See also Chapter 2A, Section 11.

¹²⁵ See also Chapter 2A, Section 12.

initials is inconsistent in practice. Similarly, chapters and paragraphs are used in this manuscript but they are inconsistent in practice: chapters are only used to sub-divide the section documenting James II, and paragraphs are used sporadically in the earlier part of the *Cronicles* before being employed consistently from the section depicting James V onwards. These inconsistent practices weaken the degree of support this witness' paratextual system provides for a reader whom is unfamiliar with the text.

3.13 MS 2672¹²⁶

MS 2672 is interesting as while, on the whole, it provides a relatively sparse system of paratextual features - for example, many of the features included in the paratextual system of MS 2672 are non-scribal or are used inconsistently - it is the only manuscript witness of the *Cronicles* to include a title page composed in the scribal hand. As discussed in Section B.2, title pages are a significant feature of guidance for a reader whom is unfamiliar with the text therefore their inclusion strongly suggests that the scribe anticipated a more extensive contemporary reading community. Additionally, this manuscript contains an unusually high quantity of formal marginalia (both scribal and non-scribal) by including clearly assigned sections of the page for 'Notes'. A series of inter-textual intertitles are also included for the section depicting Wishart's martyrdom. However, despite these strong guiding features, there are other elements of textual division which are not used consistently in this manuscript: while intertitles and enlarged initials are the usual markers of monarchs' sections, this manuscript does not consistently use enlarged initials to introduce all of the monarchs' sections, and paragraphs are only used within the final two sections of the text. Finally, this manuscript includes both pagination (scribal) and foliation (non-scribal) throughout the text, and displays evidence of running titles but they are both non-scribal and inconsistent (only used from the section documenting James IV onwards). Inconsistent guiding features weaken the system of aid for an unfamiliar, more extensive reading community which the scribe seems to have catered for using other features; and non-scribal features cannot be discussed in relation to the contemporary reading community for which the scribe is catering.

¹²⁶ See also Chapter 2A, Section 13.

3.14 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6)¹²⁷

In opposition to what could be deemed the expected diachronic progression of the complexity of paratextual provisions, the first printed edition of the *Cronicles* provides a less comprehensive paratextual system than some of the manuscripts of the text. It contains similar quantities of paratext as the manuscripts which contained more comprehensive paratextual systems. This edition includes systematic use of intertitles and enlarged initials to introduce each monarch's section; consistent running titles and pagination; a title page and a significant provision of prefatory material; and is divided into paragraphs throughout. Yet it does not include any examples of formal marginalia, nor does it divide the chronicle-text into chapters or include any inter-textual intertitles, all of which are fairly significant aids for more extensive reading communities. All three witnesses of Freebairn's 1728 edition include the same paratextual system.

3.15 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4)¹²⁸

See Section 3.14.

3.16 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361)¹²⁹

See Section 3.14.

3.17 Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12)¹³⁰

The Second Edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* contains a very similar system of paratextual provision to the first. It essentially contains the same paratextual system: intertitles and enlarged initials are used to introduce each section of the text, the chronicle-text is composed in paragraphs throughout, and running titles

¹²⁷ See also Chapter 2A, Section 14.

¹²⁸ See also Chapter 2A, Section 15.

¹²⁹ See also Chapter 2A, Section 16.

¹³⁰ See also Chapter 2A, Section 17.

and pagination are employed consistently. Also, as in Freebairn's First Edition, Urie's edition includes a title page and prefatory material, but, while Freebairn included several prefatory items, Urie only prefaces his edition with the 'Author's Account'.

3.18 Urie's 1749 Edition (ECCO)¹³¹

See Section 3.17.

3.19 Cadell's 1778 Edition (ECCO)¹³²

The Third Edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* includes predominantly the same paratextual features as the previous two editions: intertitles and enlarged initials are systematically employed to introduce each section of the text; the chronicle-text is divided into paragraphs throughout; running titles and pagination are used consistently; and there is prefatory material and a title page (and this edition additionally includes an abbreviated title page). Further, this edition, similarly to Freebairn's 1728 edition, includes several more items of prefatory material than Urie's 1749 edition. As in the First Edition, this edition includes four items of prefatory material, but, whereas the 1728 edition included a 'List of Subscribers', the 1778 edition includes an 'Index' which provides more direct guidance for an unfamiliar reader of the *Cronicles* than does the 'List of Subscribers'.

3.20 Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23)¹³³

The Fourth Edition contains the most comprehensive paratextual system of the four printed editions. The paratextual system of this edition does not radically differ from the provision found in the previous editions, including: systematic use of intertitles and enlarged initials to introduce each monarch's section; consistent use of paragraphs, running titles, and pagination; a title page (and abbreviated title page) and prefatory material. However this edition includes an

¹³¹ See also Chapter 2A, Section 18.

¹³² See also Chapter 2A, Section 19.

¹³³ See also Chapter 2A, Section 20.

inter-textual intertitle (marking Wishart’s martyrdom) and adds post-chronicle supplementary material.

C. Discussion

1. Paratextual Categorisation

The range of paratextual features which are found within witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* can be divided into three categories in accordance with their spatial relationship to the chronicle-text itself: ‘inter-textual’ items, ‘marginal’ items, and ‘surrounding’ items. ‘Inter-textual’ items are found on the same page as the chronicle-text, and are positioned within the text itself. They include enlarged initials, intertitles, chapters, and paragraphs. ‘Marginal’ items of paratext are also found on the same page as the chronicle-text but are positioned around the edges of the material text; for example: formal (scribal) marginalia, running titles, and foliation/pagination. Finally, ‘surrounding’ paratextual items are the features of the material bound form of the text which are positioned before or after the chronicle-text. In witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* these paratextual elements include: title pages, prefatory material, supplementary material, and additional texts.

‘Inter-Textual’ Items	‘Marginal’ Items	‘Surrounding’ Items
Enlarged Initials ¹³⁴	Formal Marginalia	Prefatory Material
Intertitles ¹³⁵	Running Titles	Supplementary Material
Chapters	Foliation/Pagination	Additional Texts
Paragraphs		Title Pages

Table 3.1

¹³⁴ In their various positions – see Appendix 4 for details of which position the enlarged initials are found in. Only those functioning as textual division provide guidance for an extensive reader, those with a memorial function (at the beginning of pages) aid more intensive readers.

¹³⁵ In their various positions – all intertitles function as textual division. All manuscripts include intertitles to introduce the monarchs’ sections and only MS 185 does not additionally include an inter-textual intertitle to mark a section of content.

The features which have been included in the categorisation discussion below are the features for which there is evidence to suggest that the items were composed by the scribe(s)/printer at the time of the text's original composition. Only paratextual features which could be interpreted as catering for the same contemporary reading community as the text's producer was anticipating were discussed so as to prevent the distortion of the results.

1.1 'Inter-textual' Items

In contrast to the other two categories of paratext, 'inter-textual' features of paratext are found in all witnesses of the *Cronicles* (both manuscript and print). Features from this category are usually found in conjunction with other 'inter-textual' features, they rarely occur as stand-alone items. Only one witness of the *Cronicles* includes a single type of 'inter-textual' paratext (the Wodrow Folio); however, this witness does also include paratextual features from other categories (although, again, just a single feature from each category). This differs slightly from the items within other categories of paratextual features which occur slightly more frequently as isolated items; for example, while only one witness includes just a single type of 'inter-textual' paratext, four witnesses include a single type of 'marginal' paratext, and six witnesses include a single type of scribal 'surrounding' paratext.¹³⁶

Further establishing the pattern of including multiple 'inter-textual' paratextual features, the five manuscripts which include chapter divisions all also include enlarged initials as markers of textual division (to introduce both the monarchs' sections and the chapters). All of these five witnesses also include inter-textual intertitles and four of the five include paragraphs which further sub-divide the text. This pattern is particularly notable as it suggests that the scribes who include these features of 'inter-textual' paratext are actively concerned with the provision of textual division in their texts - and therefore include multiple types

¹³⁶ This statistic refers to the quantity of different 'types' of paratextual features found within a witness rather than the quantity in which a single feature occurs.

of division - which indicates that they are anticipating more extensive reading communities who require such comprehensive levels of structure and guidance.

Additionally, the majority of manuscripts which include chapters within the text contain a relatively large quantity of paratextual features overall. Crawford MS II also includes four types of 'inter-textual' paratext, a type of 'surrounding' paratext, but no 'marginal' items. MS La.III.198 includes four types of 'inter-textual' paratext, one type of 'marginal' paratext, and one type of 'surrounding' paratext. MS La.III.583 and Adv. MS 35.4.11 each also include four types of 'inter-textual' paratext, two types of 'marginal' paratext, and one type of 'surrounding' paratext (though the two manuscripts do not include the same types of paratext from these categories). Finally, Crawford MS I includes three 'inter-textual' features, two 'marginal' features, and two 'surrounding' features. Notably, as mentioned in Section B.1.7, Crawford MS I is the only witness of the *Cronicles* to divide the whole text into chapters, therefore it is possible that a more extensive reading community was anticipated for this manuscript in comparison to the other witnesses, particularly as multiple features have been used from across the categories of paratextual features.

In print, as in the manuscript versions, 'inter-textual' features are never found as isolated items of paratext. There is an interesting pattern to the use of 'inter-textual' paratextual features across the manuscripts and printed editions; there could be perceived to be a slight reduction in the use of 'inter-textual' features in print in comparison to the manuscript tradition of the *Cronicles*, in that all seven of the printed witnesses include three types of 'inter-textual' paratext - no printed versions include all four types of 'inter-textual' features outlined, whereas four of the manuscript witnesses do. On the other hand, there is clearly an established practice in print of using multiple 'inter-textual' features in conjunction with one another, whereas in the manuscript form the scribes use various quantities of these features (i.e. one manuscript includes one 'inter-

textual' feature, six manuscripts include two 'inter-textual' features, two manuscripts include three, and four manuscripts include four features).¹³⁷

1.2 'Marginal' Items

Two manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* do not include any features of 'marginal' paratext (whereas at least one element of 'inter-textual' paratext was found in all witnesses). Further, three of the thirteen manuscript witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* include only one type of 'marginal' paratext; two of which only include scribal formal marginalia (MS La.III.218 and the Wodrow Folio) and one of which (MS La.III.198) only includes pagination from the 'marginal' paratext category. The majority of manuscripts of the text include two or more items of 'marginal' paratext (eight of the thirteen manuscripts).

In accordance with the manuscript tradition in which multiple 'marginal' features tend to occur within a single witness, the printed versions of the *Cronicles* all include two items of 'marginal' paratext. The use of both foliation/pagination and running titles increases when the text enters print.¹³⁸ Scribal foliation/pagination is found in six of the thirteen manuscript witnesses and scribal running titles are extant in five manuscripts (though note that additional manuscript witnesses may have originally contained these features but the evidence has since been lost due to damage/cropping), while both features are included in all seven printed witnesses of the text.

The pattern of the use of scribal formal marginalia across the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* is notable in that they are the most commonly found item of 'marginal' paratext in the manuscripts of the text (accompanying the chronicle-text in eight witnesses), but are not found in any of the printed versions. Formal

¹³⁷ In addition to potentially different reading communities, the different technological modes of textual production must be taken into account when considering differences between manuscript and print: 'since printers were confined by the forme, they lacked a freedom in matters of layout which medieval scribes had enjoyed. Printers therefore experimented with ways in which complex texts could be articulated within the page measure' (Parkes 1993: 53).

¹³⁸ According to Smith and Wilson (2011: 3), running titles were an essential part of the printing process; they were locked into a skeleton forme to frame the text.

marginalia, as a feature which usually functions to summarise sections of the text in order to both aid an unfamiliar reader to understand the content of the text and aid non-linear reading practices, is a considerable aid for a more extensive reading community - and is, perhaps, a more significant indicator of these reading practices than the other 'marginal' paratextual features. It is interesting therefore that the feature is used so widely within the manuscript witnesses of the text - and is used in a particularly formalised manner in MS 2672 which was potentially composed near-contemporaneously with the print versions - when it is completely absent from the printed witnesses. Reasons for this discrepancy - particularly as it has been hypothesised that extensive reading practices became increasingly more frequently used throughout the early modern/modern periods - will be touched upon throughout the remainder of this thesis.¹³⁹

1.3 'Surrounding' Items

In contrast to the previous two categories examined, it is relatively uncommon within the manuscripts of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* to find multiple types of scribal 'surrounding' paratextual items within a single text. Seven manuscript witnesses only include one 'surrounding' paratextual feature (four of which only include prefatory material, two of which include additional texts, and one of which includes a scribal title page), and three witnesses do not include any scribal 'surrounding' items at all. Three manuscripts of the text (Crawford MS I, MS La.III.216, and Adv. MS 35.4.10) include two 'surrounding' paratextual items (the largest quantity of types of 'surrounding' paratext found within a single witness); which is in stark contrast to the previous two categories of paratextual items in which significant quantities of paratextual items from the same category occur within a single witness. However, once the text enters print there is consistently more than one type of 'surrounding' paratextual feature used within a witness of the *Cronicles*. The witnesses of the 1728, 1749, and 1778 editions all include both a title page and prefatory material (although Urie's 1749 edition only includes a single item of prefatory material); while the 1814 edition includes a title page, prefatory material, and supplementary material, indicating a slight

¹³⁹ See, in particular, Chapter 3, Section B.3 in which the slight reduction in the level of guidance Freebairn provides the reading community of the 1728 edition is explained in reference to the emergence of a 'skilled' extensive readership who required less comprehensive guidance.

increase in the use of 'surrounding' paratextual items diachronically. This increase in 'surrounding' paratext could be due to a number of economical and socio-cultural reasons, for example: lower printing costs; communities using increasingly more extensive reading practices and therefore requiring additional guidance for unfamiliar readers; reading communities encountering the *Cronicles* increasingly further in time from its composition and therefore requiring more contextual information to aid comprehension.

As noted, three witnesses of the *Cronicles* (all of which are manuscripts) include no extant scribal 'surrounding' paratextual items. Two of these witnesses (MS La.III.218 and MS Acc. 3736) include 'surrounding' paratextual items which have been added by non-scribal hands; the other witness - MS 3147 - includes no 'surrounding' paratext at all in its extant form, nor does it indicate any evidence of 'surrounding' paratextual elements ever having been present. However all three of these witnesses include scribal paratextual items from both of the other categories; therefore these witnesses were not lacking in scribal paratextual guidance - rather, the scribe has specifically chosen not to include 'surrounding' paratext.

By far, the most commonly found scribal feature of 'surrounding' paratext is prefatory material which is found in seven manuscripts and all seven printed witnesses, in comparison to supplementary material which is found in two manuscripts and one printed witnesses, additional items which are found in three manuscripts but no printed witnesses, and (scribal) title pages which are found in one manuscript (of potentially late composition) and all seven printed editions. This pattern is suggestive of the type of 'surrounding' guidance which is most useful for an unfamiliar (more extensive) reader, for whom this 'surrounding' material is catering. Specifically, it suggests that 'surrounding' items which are directly relevant to the *Cronicles* themselves - as opposed to additional items - and which are positioned prior to the chronicle-text - and therefore either provide the reader with extra information to aid their comprehension of the subsequent text or put the reader in a particular frame of

mind for the subsequent reading process - are the most beneficial for a more extensive reading community.

1.4 Analysis

It is notable that no witnesses of the *Cronicles* are accompanied by only a single category of paratextual features; every witness includes at least two different categories of features (three manuscripts include only 'inter-textual' and 'marginal' features, while two witnesses include only 'inter-textual' and 'surrounding' features), and the majority of witnesses (eight manuscripts and all seven printed witnesses) include features from all three categories.

The data indicates that twelve manuscripts contain multiple (two-four) 'inter-textual' items, eight manuscripts contain multiple (two-three) 'marginal' items, while only three manuscripts contain multiple (two) 'surrounding' paratextual item. This suggests that 'inter-textual' items are scribes' most frequently used type of guiding paratext, while more than one type of 'marginal' paratext is added if the reading community are anticipated to be extensive enough to require further support. Multiple 'surrounding' features are unusual though, and are only added for reading communities requiring the most comprehensive level of guidance. Interestingly, 'inter-textual', 'marginal', and 'surrounding' paratextual features each require increasing levels of effort and pre-planning for the producers of the manuscripts to spatially include them, which has perhaps impacted their frequency of use: for example, it would have been a spatial, temporal, and economic effort for a scribe to include multiple types of 'surrounding' paratext within a manuscript, therefore they must have considered the items to be crucial to the anticipated reading community's successful reading of the text to have included them.

The suggestion of a gradual build-up of paratextual support through the layered use of different categories of paratext is reinforced when all the witnesses of the *Cronicles* are examined in order of the complexity of paratextual support

they provide.¹⁴⁰ Despite the Wodrow Folio being an anomaly in that it includes an overall low provision of paratext but contains a scribal item of paratext from each category, the subsequent five manuscripts of gradually increasing paratextual complexity,¹⁴¹ while all containing scribal items of 'inter-textual' paratext, only additionally contain scribal paratext from either the 'marginal' or 'surrounding' categories of paratext. Subsequently, the remaining manuscript witnesses - all containing increasingly more comprehensive systems of paratextual support - each contain scribal paratextual features from all three categories. This suggests that a baseline level of support is provided for a reader using 'inter-textual' paratext, then, if the reading community is anticipated to require further support, items from another single category of paratext are added, and if the reading community is anticipated to be reading significantly more extensively then items from all three categories are supplied in order to provide the optimum level of support for an unfamiliar reader. Notably, if the reading community is anticipated to be reading slightly less extensively/more intensively - and is therefore anticipated to have a degree of prior familiarity with the text's content and structure - then items from only two categories are included in order to limit interference in the text.

MS 2672 is interesting in comparison to the other witnesses of the *Cronicles*. Quantitatively, MS 2672 includes less paratextual guidance than many of the other witnesses which have been interpreted as catering for an increasingly more extensive readership: for example, several of its features of textual division are employed inconsistently. Qualitatively, though, due to the inclusion of a scribal title page and a formalised structure implemented for the provision of formal marginalia (both of which were discussed in Section B.2 of this chapter as significant indicators of more extensive reading practices), this thesis suggests that this manuscript was catering for one of the most extensive reading communities of the witnesses under analysis.

Similarly, the printed versions contain less paratext than several of the manuscripts of the text, and, like MS 2672, the printed witnesses indicate a

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix 4.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix 4.

notable reduction in the quantity of ‘inter-textual’ features employed in comparison to the manuscript tradition. MS 2672 is likely to have also been composed during the print tradition of the *Cronicles* (it is a transcription that was potentially produced post-1813), therefore, by reducing the quantity of paratext, this manuscript is potentially mirroring the development that was indicated in the printed editions of the text. Perhaps by this stage in the development of extensive reading practices, the intended reading community was anticipated to be skilled enough in the practices of reading extensively so as to guide themselves when explicit guidance was not provided on the material page.¹⁴²

2. Typicality of Paratextual Features

This section briefly outlines the paratextual systems of other selected sixteenth-century chronicles of Scotland in order to highlight the typicality of certain items of paratext as features of chronicle-texts in this period. The chronicles selected are: a c.1580-81 manuscript of John Knox’s mid-sixteenth-century *History of the Reformation in Scotland*,¹⁴³ a seventeenth-century manuscript of John Read’s translation of George Buchanan’s *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* composed in the 1570s,¹⁴⁴ Raphael Holinshed’s mid-late sixteenth-century *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577 and 1808 printed editions), and a c.1540 printed edition of a Scots translation of Hector Boece’s 1527 *Historia Gentis Scotorum*.¹⁴⁵

The methods of textual division in these chronicles suggest that internal division is an essential part of a chronicle’s layout. As in Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*, all five of these versions of alternative Scottish chronicles divide the text into large

¹⁴² See Chapter 3, Section B.3 for further discussion of this hypothesis.

¹⁴³ University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: MS Gen. 1123.

¹⁴⁴ University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: MS Gen. 1187.

¹⁴⁵ Notably, many of the popular chronicles entered print much earlier than did Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*, therefore both manuscripts and printed witnesses of sixteenth-century chronicles have been examined. Therefore, while these chronicles are temporally comparable to Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*, it has been recognised that some of the paratextual features of the near-contemporary chronicles could be attributed to the medium of the text (print) and technological reasons rather than as being generic conventions. For example, the sixteenth-century printed editions of Holinshed and Boece include title pages, a paratextual feature perhaps associated more closely with the print medium than the texts’ status as a chronicle.

sections, labelled as ‘books’ in the witnesses of Knox, Buchanan, and Boece’s chronicles, as ‘chapters’ in Holinshed’s 1577 edition, and - as in Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* - as ‘monarchs’ sections’ in Holinshed’s 1808 edition, suggesting that this was a conventional method of content division available to early modern chroniclers. Additionally - as in several witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* - all witnesses employ emphasised intertitles, enlarged initials, and varying quantities of emphasised text to begin the incipits of each section of their chronicles. Further, Boece’s 1540 edition begins each ‘book’ with an introductory paragraph as is found in Crawford MS I and Mackay’s 1899 edition of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*. Most notably, the manuscript witness of Knox’s chronicle includes the same series of inter-textual intertitles to mark Wishart’s martyrdom as are found in several witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*. The manuscripts of Knox and Buchanan’s chronicles both include enlarged initials to begin each page of the manuscript but the printed editions of Holinshed and Boece’s chronicles do not, suggesting - as was also suggested by the manuscripts and printed editions of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* - that this practice is a feature of manuscript tradition (further discussed in Chapter 3, Section B.2).

Supporting materials, additional resources, and historical information - particularly in the form of prefatory material, though supplementary material is present too (e.g. the Tabula in Boece’s 1540 edition) - is included in all three of the printed versions analysed here (though the 1808 edition of Holinshed’s chronicle includes slightly less) and is also found in many witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*. However, neither Knox nor Buchanan’s chronicles, which were examined in manuscript form, include any ‘surrounding’ paratext.

Formal marginalia are found in the manuscript witness of Knox’s chronicle (sparsely) and the two printed editions of Holinshed’s chronicle (1577 and 1808). Notably, as discussed in Section B.1.9 of this chapter, formal marginalia are not used in any of the printed editions of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* despite (as the witnesses of Holinshed’s chronicle indicate) being available for use in printed book production. Therefore the use of the feature in printed editions of Holinshed, both from relatively early in the history of printing and from the

nineteenth century (contemporary to the 1814 edition of Pitscottie), suggests that the exclusion of formal marginalia from the printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* was a purposeful decision. As formal marginalia were also excluded from the 1540 printed edition of Boece's chronicle, the feature was seemingly variously employed to cater for specific reading practices or according to specific printers' preferences - which could explain their absence from the printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* despite the feature being available for use.

D. Punctuation Practices

1. Punctuation Marks in Use

1.1 Typical Marks of Minor Medial Pause:

1.1.1 *Comma*: <,>

Historically the *comma*-mark <'.> functioned to 'indicate the disjunction of sense, or a minor medial pause at the end of a comma [sentence structure]' (Parkes 1993: 303) - a comma [sentence structure] is 'a division of a colon [sentence structure] [...] usually short and rhythmically incomplete, followed by a minor disjunction of the sense where it may be necessary to pause' (Parkes 1993: 302). The modern form of this punctuation mark <,> evolved from the *virgula suspensiva* </>, which, like the *comma*-mark, was used to indicate the end of a comma [sentence structure] and marked 'the briefest pause or hesitation in a text' (Parkes 1993: 307). The advent of print, though, led to a redistribution of punctuation marks and their functions: 'the semi-circular *comma*-mark employed in roman type gradually replaced the *virgula suspensiva* and the double *punctus* applied at the end of a phrase or clause where the sense was left incomplete, or to indicate the end of a comma [sentence structure]' (Parkes 1993: 87). The semi-circular *comma*-mark found in the witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* therefore has been categorised as a mark of minor medial pause; Parkes describes the modern *comma* as sometimes being used analogously with the *virgula suspensiva* and as functioning as a more minor pause than the semi-colon - which in turn functions as a more minor pause than the double *punctus* (Parkes 1993: 49).

Commata are found in greatly varying quantities within sixteen of the twenty witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* under analysis: MS La.III.216, Adv. MS 35.4.10, Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, MS Acc. 3736, MS 3147, MS 185, Crawford MS II, and all printed editions 1728-1814 (seven witnesses).

1.1.2 *Distinctio*:



The *distinctio* has a formal relationship with the *punctus* (the *subdistinctio*): it has the circular shape of a *punctus*, a mark indicating a final pause, but is positioned at a raised height within the line (the *distinctio*). The mark belongs to a system of punctuation labelled the *distinctiones* - developed in Antiquity - in which *puncti* are placed at different heights in ascending order of importance (Parkes 1993: 303); the *distinctio* was ‘a high point used to indicate a final pause’ (Parkes 1993: 304). Only one example of a *distinctio* occurs in the selected extracts of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* (in Crawford MS I) and, due to the different versions of the selected extract found in the various witnesses of the text (see Appendix 2), the exact phrase which is punctuated by a *distinctio* in Crawford MS I (see Appendix 1.2, line 48) only occurs in one other witness of the *Cronicles* (MS La.III.218 - see Appendix 1.1, lines 51-52), in which the position is left unpunctuated by the scribe. The other witnesses of the text use one of two similar phrases to express the same event that is discussed in Crawford MS I, and these versions all either punctuate the position with *commata* or leave the position unpunctuated. Therefore, based on the sense of the phrase which is punctuated with the *distinctio* in Crawford MS I (see Appendix 1.1) and the other scribes’ and printers’ practice of consistently marking this position without a pause or with a minor medial pause, it could be suggested that - despite its historical function of indicating a final pause - the *distinctio* in MS Crawford I may actually be signifying a minor medial pause. This example of the *distinctio* could therefore be an example of scribal creativity in re-employing existing/historical marks of punctuation with new functions in order to cater for emerging extensive reading practices which required more guidance from the punctuation system.

Only Crawford MS I includes an example of a *distinctio*. This could, perhaps, be attributed to the time period under examination in regard to Pitscottie’s reproduction history (1575-1814) as - excluding the novel punctuation marks - the *distinctio* is also the only punctuation mark to be found within the extracts

of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* which is not in modern use, suggesting that the mark has a low quantity of usage because the textual extracts have been produced during the transitional period in which the mark is moving out of use.

1.2 Typical Marks of Major Medial Pause:

1.2.1 Semi-Colon: <;>

The *punctus versus* and semi-colon are both represented by notably similar forms. Therefore, when this form occurs, its function within the sentence and the time period it is being used within must be identified before the specific punctuation mark (and therefore the length of pause) that the symbol is signifying can be accurately interpreted. For example, the *punctus versus* was a mark of final pause used to indicate the end of a psalm verse (as is implied by its name, '*versus*') or a *sententia*; whereas the semi-colon entered use much later. Parkes records the mark as having first been used in the 1490s (1993: 86), but states that it was not accepted into general use by printers until the late sixteenth century (Parkes 1993: 52-53). Due to the function of semi-cola to separate sections of a colon [sentence structure], it can be interpreted as an indicator of medial pause (Parkes 1993: 86); indeed, Parkes (1993: 49) further specifies the pause value of semi-cola using Aldus Manutius' (1566) description of semi-cola as signifying a value between that of *commata* (not being sufficient) and double *puncti* (which slows the *sententia* too much), suggesting that the mark is signifying a medial pause of more significance than *commata* but of less significance than double *puncti*.

Thirteen of the twenty witnesses include examples of semi-cola: Adv. MS 35.4.10, Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, MS 185, Crawford MS II, and all seven printed witnesses of the text. The mark is usually found in relatively low quantities within the extracts; MS 185 is the exception, containing more than double the number of semi-cola that are normally found.

1.2.2 Double *Punctus*: <:>

The form of the double *punctus* originally signified the *colon*-mark, indicating ‘a major medial pause, or disjunction of sense, at the end of a colon [sentence structure]’ (Parkes 1993: 302), before becoming the form ‘used by humanist scribes to indicate the pause after a comma [sentence structure]’ (Parkes 1993: 304). Smith (2013a: 173) suggests that the double *punctus* developed from the *punctus elevatus*: a circular *punctus* shape on the baseline with a small curved horizontal line positioned above it which - like the *colon*-mark - indicated a major medial pause after a colon [sentence structure]. Similarly, Parkes (1993: 306) states that the double *punctus* gradually replaced the *punctus elevatus* in print. Due to the time period of the *Cronicles*’ production and reproduction, no examples of *puncti elevatus* have been identified within the selected extract from the twenty witnesses, while double *puncti* occur relatively widely. Parkes (1993: 49) describes double *puncti* as indicating a slightly more major pause than *semi-cola*, which in turn indicated a slightly more major pause than the modern form of *commata* (or the historical *virgula suspensiva*).

Double *puncti* are found in nine witnesses of the text: Adv. MS 35.4.10, Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, MS 185, Crawford MS II, and all three witnesses of Freebairn’s 1728 edition - though there is usually a relatively low quantity of the mark within a single extract.

1.3 Typical Marks of Final Pause:

1.3.1 *Punctus*: <.>

The primary mark of final pause is the *punctus*, historically the most basic form of punctuating a text and the earliest mode of punctuation. The form of the *punctus* originates in the early punctuation system of ‘pointing’, whereby ‘points’ were added to liturgical manuscripts to aid aural reading by marking where to pause for breath (Reimer 1998). Historically, *puncti* were the most common mark of punctuation and indicated all pause lengths, giving it an ambiguous

function (Parkes 1993: 42). It was often used interchangeably with the *virgula suspensiva* </> (Parkes 1993: 46), but in the sixteenth century the two marks became gradually more specialised resulting in the *virgula suspensiva* functioning to mark a medial pause and the *punctus* marking a final pause (Smith 2013a: 167).

Fifteen of the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* under analysis include examples of *puncti*: Crawford MS I, Adv. MS 35.4.10, Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, MS 3147, MS 185, Crawford MS II, and all seven witnesses of the printed editions.¹⁴⁶ *Puncti* are used in relatively high quantities in the extracts they are found within: they are used approximately as frequently as many of the marks of medial pause, but occur in significantly lower quantities than which *litterae notabiliores* or *commata* are usually found.

1.4 Hypothesised Mark of Sound Quality¹⁴⁷

1.4.1 *Littera Notabilior*: e.g. <A; B; C>

Parkes (1993: 305) defines *litterae notabiliores* as ‘more noticeable letters from a display script [...] used to indicate the beginnings of *sententiae* or periods’. He states that the role of *litterae notabiliores* became much more important as the role of *puncti* diminished (Parkes 1993: 43). Parkes’ description therefore reinforces this thesis’ decision to treat *litterae notabiliores* as part of a text’s punctuation system and, in accordance with this, it will suggest that, though they function slightly differently to other punctuation marks, their usage closely relates to the overall punctuation systems that they are used within. Also, like punctuation marks, *litterae notabiliores* will be interpreted as representative of reading practices through their hypothesised function of indicating sound quality to aid the subvocalisation process when reading silently, just as punctuation marks do when they indicate various lengths of pause. Parkes (1993: 1) states

¹⁴⁶ Only *puncti* which function as part of the guiding punctuation system of the extract, and as such indicate a particular length of pause, have been included in this data. *Puncti* which function to mark contractions (as are found in MS La.III.218 and MS 185) are not included in this data.

¹⁴⁷ The term ‘sound quality’ has been taken from Jajdelska, who suggests that ‘silent readers ‘project’ sound qualities onto the words’ during the subvocalisation process (2007: 45-46), a theory also supported by Ong (2002: 8; 172).

that one of the functions of *litterae notabiliores* is to ‘convey further nuances of semantic significance’ by indicating emphasis,¹⁴⁸ particularly from the ninth century onwards whereby *litterae notabiliores* and *puncti* were used together to indicate nuances of interpretation (Parkes 2012: 270). Further, when used in conjunction with *puncti* - along with their visual function of emphasis and textual division in this position - it could be hypothesised that *litterae notabiliores* contribute to the indication of a major/final pause: they ‘indicate the beginnings’ (Parkes 1993: 1) in accordance with *puncti* indicating the ‘ends’.

Litterae notabiliores therefore have multiple functions within both rhetorical and grammatical punctuation systems. In more comprehensive systems which use multiple punctuation marks it could be suggested that *litterae notabiliores* are being used either (or both) grammatically or rhetorically; but when they are the only mark found within a punctuation system (as is found in the extracts from MS La.III.218, the Wodrow Folio, and MS 2672) - and therefore the grammatical structure of the passage has not been sufficiently indicated - it is more likely that the *litterae notabiliores* are functioning as aural indicators.

All twenty of the witnesses under analysis include evidence of *litterae notabiliores* - this is the only punctuation mark to be found in all the extracts from the witnesses under analysis - and they are found in significantly higher quantities within the individual extracts than any other punctuation mark, perhaps again signifying their slightly different function to other punctuation marks.

1.5 Novel Punctuation Marks¹⁴⁹

1.5.1 Double Height Vertical Curve: <,’>

This mark/combination of marks is not found in Parkes’ (1993) discussion of punctuation marks. The mark is only found in a single witness of Pitscottie’s

¹⁴⁸ Though Parkes discusses this in relation to the use of *litterae notabiliores* for personal/institutional titles, this theory could potentially be extended to further uses of the mark.

¹⁴⁹ Novel punctuation marks are innovative or idiosyncratic punctuation marks or combinations of marks found within an individual scribe’s punctuation system.

Cronicles (MS 185), in which there is only one example of its use. Comparative analysis of how other scribes and early printers punctuated the position this mark is found in indicates that the distinct majority of witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* left this position unpunctuated - suggesting that the sense of the phrase does not explicitly require a pause in this position. As it is not usually punctuated - and when it is, in Dalzell's 1814 edition, it is punctuated with a mark of minor medial pause (*commata*) - it could be suggested that the scribe (of this potentially late manuscript) is catering for a reading practice which requires additional guidance through further differentiation of pause lengths and is therefore specifying a very minor medial pause in this position (i.e. a length of pause positioned between that indicated by a *comma* and the absence of punctuation/pause).

Only the extract from MS 185 includes this punctuation mark.

1.5.2 Combined *Comma* and *Punctus*: <,>

As above, this mark/combination of marks is not discussed in Parkes' (1993) description of punctuation marks. Only one example of this combination of marks is found in a single witness of the text (MS Acc. 3736), but - as discussed - combining punctuation marks was not an unusual practice in the late medieval/early modern period as scribes/printers/editors attempted to make use of existing, available tools in order to cater for changing reading practices. In particular, Parkes (1993: 42) explicitly states that *puncti* were often used in combination with other symbols. The producers of the other witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* which include the line which is punctuated by this combination of marks punctuate this position variously.¹⁵⁰ There are ten witnesses which include the exact phrasing which is used within MS Acc. 3736: four of which do not punctuate this position, four of which use *puncti* (final pause), and two of which use marks of medial pause (one uses a mark of minor medial pause: a *comma*; and one uses a mark of major medial pause: a semi-colon). Therefore it is still unclear, after comparative analysis, what degree of

¹⁵⁰ Not all of the extracts include the line which is punctuated by this combination of marks in MS Acc. 3736 - see the different forms of the extract which are found across the witnesses of the text (Appendix 2).

pause the scribe could be attempting to signify with this combination of punctuation marks, though - as has been found when analysing the other novel punctuation marks - the scribe is potentially combining existing marks from their punctuation systems in order to distinguish more varied/specified degrees of pause. The combination of marks signifying a minor medial pause and a final pause - in addition to the evidence that many other witnesses punctuate this position with a final or medial pause - suggests that the scribe may be attempting to signify a medial pause of a value between the pause lengths that are signified by the individual marks used in the combination. Therefore it could be hypothesised that this mark is attempting to indicate a degree of major medial pause.

A single occurrence of this combination of marks is found within the extract from MS Acc. 3736.

1.5.3 Combined *Comma* and *Hyphen*: <,->

Again, this mark/combination of marks is not discussed by Parkes (1993). Of the twenty witnesses under examination, nine other witnesses include the same phrase which is punctuated with this combination of marks in Adv. MS 35.4.11, and all punctuate this position with *commata*. This suggests that a minor medial pause is usually signified in this position. Notably though, one of the witnesses (Crawford MS II) also includes a *littera notabilior* for the word immediately following the *comma*; the scribes of Crawford MS II and Adv. MS 35.4.11 could therefore both be experimenting with the various ways in which existing punctuation marks could be exploited to create more differentiation between the degrees of pause they are representing, and are both trying to signify a slightly larger degree of pause than a *comma* alone would suggest.

The extract from Adv. MS 35.4.11 includes a single example of this combination of punctuation marks.

2. The Punctuation Systems of Each Witness

2.1 MS La.III.218

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	66	Additionally, there are a further three examples of the <ff> form - which function similarly to <i>litterae notabiliores</i> but are not as visually distinctive.

This extract contains a notably sparse punctuation system (see also: the Wodrow Folio and MS 2672; all three of which only include *litterae notabiliores*). The punctuation found in this extract corresponds with the punctuation system of this manuscript as a whole in which only *litterae notabiliores* are found.¹⁵¹

2.2 Crawford MS I

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	31	
<i>Punctus</i>	12	
<i>Distinctio</i>	1	

This extract indicates a relatively sparse punctuation system; indeed it belongs to the group of manuscripts whose extracts suggest less detailed punctuation systems (see also: MS La.III.216, MS Acc. 3736, and MS 3147). However, in addition to the noted punctuation marks, elsewhere in this manuscript examples of double *puncti* and *puncti* being used at various heights within the line are also found.

¹⁵¹ A single *punctus* (not included in this data) is also found in the extract from this manuscript but it functions to indicate a contraction.

2.3 MS La.III.216

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	28	Additionally there is one use of the <ff> form - which functions similarly to a <i>littera notabilior</i> but is not as visually distinctive.
<i>Comma</i>	11	

This extract suggests that punctuation system of MS La.III.216 is relatively sparse; belonging to the group of manuscripts with less comprehensive punctuation systems (see also: Crawford MS I, MS Acc. 3736, and MS 3147 - though this extract displays the least varied punctuation system of this group). In addition to the marks indicated in this extract though, this manuscript also sporadically uses *puncti* positioned at various heights.

2.4 Adv. MS 35.4.10

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	46	Additionally, there is one example of the <ff> form - which functions similarly to <i>litterae notabiliores</i> but is not as visually distinctive.
<i>Punctus</i>	3	
<i>Comma</i>	24	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	3	
<i>Double Punctus</i>	1	

The punctuation system of this extract indicates a relatively comprehensive punctuation system; placing this witness within the group of texts with more complex punctuation systems (see also: MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, Crawford MS II, and Freebairn's 1728 printed edition). In addition to the marks mentioned above, outside of the selected extract this manuscript also includes *puncti* positioned at various heights within the line.

2.5 Adv. MS 35.4.11

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	30	
<i>Punctus</i>	8	
<i>Comma</i>	10	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	2	
<i>Double Punctus</i>	4	
<i>Parentheses</i>	2	
Hyphen	4	All four hyphens are used at line-ends, one of which functions to divide a word (and therefore corresponds with the usage Parkes (1993: 304) describes) but the other three are of indeterminate function.
<i>Comma</i> immediately followed by a hyphen ¹⁵²	1	

¹⁵² The instance of the *comma* and hyphen found together is treated as its own entity – as a novel punctuation mark. The *comma* and hyphen found in this position are not included in the quantities recorded for the separate occurrences of *commata* and hyphens.

This extract displays a relatively comprehensive punctuation system; indeed, this witness has been categorised as containing one of the most detailed punctuation systems for this extract (along with MS 185). Notably though, this extract seems to be an anomaly within this manuscript; overall this manuscript contains a relatively sparse punctuation system primarily consisting of occasional uses of *commata* and double *puncti*.

2.6 Wodrow Folio

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	23	

Due to its notably sparse punctuation system, the Wodrow Folio has been categorised as belonging to the group of manuscripts with the least detailed punctuation systems for this extract (along with MS La.III.218 and MS 2672). Throughout the whole chronicle-text in this manuscript only *litterae notabiliores* are found, and are used infrequently.

2.7 MS La.III.583

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	44	
<i>Punctus</i>	8	
<i>Comma</i>	7	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	1	
<i>Double Punctus</i>	4	
<i>Square Brackets</i>	2	
<i>Hyphens</i>	7	Six hyphens are positioned at line-ends in

		order to divide a word over sequential lines, whilst only one hyphen is positioned mid-line and is essential to the word's structure (all six occurrences therefore correspond with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition of the mark).
--	--	--

This extract contains a relatively comprehensive punctuation system, placing it alongside the group of texts with more detailed punctuation systems (see also: Adv. MS 35.4.10, MS La.III.198, Crawford MS II, and Freebairn's 1728 printed edition). The wide variety of marks found within this extract is representative of the punctuation system of this manuscript as a whole.

2.8 MS La.III.198

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	42	
<i>Punctus</i>	7	
<i>Comma</i>	12	
Double <i>Punctus</i>	5	
Semi-Colon	1	
Square Brackets	2	
Hyphen	5	Four of the hyphens are positioned at line-ends and function to split a word over sequential lines; whilst one is used mid-line to split a word (all six

		occurrences therefore correspond with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition of the mark).
Indent	1	

This extract presents a relatively comprehensive punctuation system, and belongs to the group of texts with more detailed punctuation systems (see also: Adv. MS 35.4.10, MS La.III.583, Crawford MS II, and Freebairn's 1728 printed edition). This extract is representative of the overall punctuation system of this manuscript.

2.9 MS Acc. 3736

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	31	
<i>Comma</i>	16	
<i>Comma</i> immediately followed by a <i>punctus</i> ¹⁵³	1	

The extract from MS Acc. 3736 contains a relatively sparse punctuation system and therefore belongs to the group of manuscripts with less comprehensive punctuation systems (see also Crawford MS I, MS La.III.216, and MS 3147). While there is a relatively high frequency of punctuation marks in use, there is not much variation within the punctuation system to indicate different degrees of pause: for example, it primarily consists of *litterae notabiliores* and *commata*.

¹⁵³ The instance of the *comma* and *punctus* found together is treated as its own entity – as a novel combination of punctuation marks. The *comma* found in this position is not included in the quantity recorded for the individual occurrences of *commata*.

This extract is representative of the overall punctuation system within this manuscript.

2.10 MS 3147

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	10	
<i>Punctus</i>	1	
<i>Comma</i>	1	

The extract from this witness of the *Cronicles* is sparsely punctuated (most notably in regard to the quantity of - as well as the variation of - the punctuation marks it contains), suggesting it is one of the manuscripts with less comprehensive punctuation systems (see also: MS La.III.216, Crawford MS I, and MS Acc. 3736). In addition to the punctuation marks featured in this paragraph though, this manuscript also displays evidence of *distinctio* being used.

2.11 MS 185

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	41	
<i>Punctus</i>	2	An additional two <i>puncti</i> (not included in this data) are used in this extract to indicate contractions.
<i>Comma</i>	27	
Semi-Colon	14	
Double <i>Punctus</i>	4	

Hyphen	1	This hyphen is used at a line-end to mark a word that is split over consecutive lines (and therefore corresponds with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition).
,	1	

This extract indicates one of the most comprehensive punctuation systems of all the witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* under analysis (along with Adv. MS 35.4.11), with *commata* and semi-*cola*, in particular, being used notably frequently. Interestingly though, there are instances in the wider text of this manuscript in which the punctuation system is notably sparse; for example, some sections of the text are primarily punctuated with *litterae notabiliores* and only occasional examples of *puncti*, double *puncti*, and *commata*.

2.12 Crawford MS II

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	57	
<i>Punctus</i>	7	
<i>Comma</i>	14	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	1	
<i>Double Punctus</i>	3	
Hyphen	4	All four hyphens occur at line-ends, but none of the uses function to split a word (their function in this position is therefore unclear).

The punctuation system of this extract is relatively comprehensive, placing Crawford MS II within the group of texts with more detailed punctuation systems (see also: Adv. MS 35.4.10, MS La.III.583, and MS La.III.198, and Freebairn's 1728 printed edition). In contrast though, this manuscript contains a relatively sparse punctuation system overall; in particular, *puncti* and double *puncti* are used much less frequently than this extract suggests.

2.13 MS 2672

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	35	
Square Brackets	2	

Though including square brackets - a punctuation mark which is not analysed within the parameters of this thesis - the extract from this witness indicates a notably sparse punctuation system, and this manuscript has therefore been categorised with MS La.III.218 and the Wodrow Folio as having the least comprehensive punctuation systems for this extract. Throughout this manuscript the scribe frequently uses *litterae notabiliores* but no other punctuation marks.

2.14 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	69	There are 69 <i>litterae notabiliores</i> used in initial positions. ¹⁵⁴
<i>Punctus</i>	7	An additional <i>punctus</i> (not included in this data) is used in this extract to indicate a contraction.

¹⁵⁴ There are two lexical items within this extract that are fully capitalised but the individual *litterae notabiliores* within these words have not been included in this data as they do not function the same way in which initial *litterae notabiliores* do as part of the punctuation system.

<i>Comma</i>	24	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	6	
<i>Double Punctus</i>	1	
<i>Parenthesis</i>	2	
Hyphen	3	Of the three hyphens found, two are essential to the word's structure (though one is also positioned at a line-end), while one is positioned at the end of a line to mark a word which runs over consecutive lines (therefore their use corresponds with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition).

The extract from the three witnesses of Freebairn's 1728 edition (as also outlined below, see Sections 2.15 and 2.16) indicates a relatively more comprehensive punctuation system in comparison to the other twenty witnesses under analysis (see also: Adv. MS 35.4.10, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II). The punctuation system of the extract from this edition actually indicates a slightly more detailed punctuation system than is found in the extracts from the three later printed editions due to the inclusion of double *puncti* (which is absent from the extracts in the 1749, 1778, and 1814 editions). This extract is representative of the overall punctuation system of this edition.

2.15 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-B.4)

See Section 2.14.

2.16 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361)

See Section 2.14.

2.17 Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	22	There are 22 <i>litterae notabiliores</i> used in initial positions. ¹⁵⁵
<i>Punctus</i>	7	An additional <i>punctus</i> (not included in this data) is used in this extract to indicate a contraction.
<i>Comma</i>	25	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	6	
<i>Parenthesis</i>	2	
Hyphen	11	Of the eleven hyphens found in this extract, eight are used in a line-end position to indicate a word is split over consecutive lines, and three are found mid-line and are essential to a word's structure (therefore their use corresponds with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition).

The extract from the Second Edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (see also Section 2.18) indicates a punctuation system of medial complexity (see also: Cadell's 1778 and Dalyell's 1814 printed editions). In addition to the punctuation marks identified in this extract though, the text also includes double *puncti* and speech marks within its overall punctuation system. The identification of double *puncti* occurring outside of the selected extract suggests that this edition is no less

¹⁵⁵ There are six lexical items within this extract that are fully capitalised but the individual *litterae notabiliores* within these words have not been included in this data as they do not function the same way in which initial *litterae notabiliores* do as part of the punctuation system.

comprehensively punctuated than Freebairn's 1728 edition (an anomaly which was identified above).

2.18 Urie's 1749 Edition (ECCO)

See Section 2.17.

2.19 Cadell's 1778 Edition (ECCO)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	22	There are 22 <i>litterae notabiliores</i> used in initial positions. ¹⁵⁶
<i>Punctus</i>	8	
<i>Comma</i>	24	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	6	
<i>Parenthesis</i>	2	
Hyphen	7	Of the seven hyphens found in this extract, four are used in a line-end position to indicate a word is split over consecutive lines. Three hyphens are included because they are essential to a word's structure (though one hyphen is positioned at a line-end while functioning in this way). The use of hyphens in this extract therefore corresponds with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition of their functions.

¹⁵⁶ There are six lexical items within this extract that are fully capitalised but the individual *litterae notabiliores* within these words have not been included in this data as they do not function the same way in which initial *litterae notabiliores* do as part of the punctuation system.

The extract from this edition indicates a punctuation system of medial complexity (see also: Urie's 1749 and Dalyell's 1814 printed editions); it is slightly less comprehensive than Freebairn's 1728 edition as it does not include double *puncti* within the selected extract. Notably though, unlike Urie's 1749 edition in which double *puncti* were identified within the punctuation system outside of the selected extract, this edition does not include double *puncti* elsewhere in the text. In addition to the punctuation marks noted above, Cadell's 1778 edition also includes speech marks outside of the selected extract.

2.20 Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	33	
<i>Punctus</i>	9	
<i>Comma</i>	51	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	3	
Hyphen	12	All twelve hyphens are positioned at the line-end and function to split a word across consecutive lines (therefore corresponding with Parkes' (1993: 304) definition).

The extract from this edition indicates a punctuation system of medial complexity (see also: Urie's 1749 and Cadell's 1778 printed editions); though, as in the Second Edition, this extract excludes double *puncti* from the selected extract but includes it in the wider text of the edition. Additionally, speech marks have also been identified outside of the selected extract in this edition.

E. Discussion

1. Function of Punctuation

Punctuation could be categorised as part of the ‘inter-textual’ category of paratextual features in that it is included as a visual, structural feature that is positioned within the text itself (but is not implicitly part of the text) and functions to aid the physical reading process (i.e. by indicating pauses) and semantic interpretation of the text (i.e. by indicating grammatical meaning). However, punctuation, as discussed in Chapter 2B, Section A, has long been an object of study in itself and has its own internal relationships with other punctuation marks (Parkes 1993), which requires it to also be analysed as its own functioning system distinct from other paratextual features. When examining punctuation it is important to analyse the data both quantitatively and qualitatively. While assembling the quantitative data accumulated above is a necessary first stage of comparative analysis, punctuation cannot be analysed in a purely quantitative manner; a witness containing (quantitatively) more punctuation marks does not necessarily provide more guidance for the reader. For example, the extract from MS La.III.198 contains seventy-five instances of punctuation marks being used, which are constructed from eight different punctuation marks; whereas Adv. MS 35.4.10 contains a similar quantity of seventy-seven instances of punctuation, but it only contains five different punctuation marks. Therefore, despite containing a slightly lower quantity of punctuation, MS La.III.198 contains a more comprehensive punctuation system because it indicates more variation and therefore provides more specific guidance for an unfamiliar (extensive) reader as it provides more information regarding the nuances of the text’s aural delivery and semantic interpretation. This is even more strongly exemplified when MS La.III.218 (which contains only a slightly lower quantity of punctuation than the previous two manuscripts - sixty-six instances) is compared with Urie’s 1749 edition which contains sixty-seven: while near-identical in quantity, Urie’s edition contains six different punctuation marks, while MS La.III.218 contains only one. Using a high quantity of a single (or small number of) punctuation marks within a single extract does not provide much guidance for a more extensive (unfamiliar) reader, because the repeated use of the same punctuation mark indicates no variation in the length of pause being indicated in different environments.

As discussed (Jajdelska 2007: 45-46 - in Chapter 1, Section C), silent readers hear an internalised voice when reading a text (subvocalisation), and - regardless of the quantity of their occurrence - the repeated use of an indicator of the same pause length would not provide a silent reader who is unfamiliar with the text with enough guidance to internally reconstruct the range of pauses that occur during oral delivery.¹⁵⁷ Therefore if the anticipated reading community is expected to be unfamiliar with Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (a more extensive reader), a broader range of pause lengths need to be indicated by the text's punctuation system as the reader does not have a stored memory of the text from which to apply the appropriate length of pause in the appropriate position to ensure ease of understanding and correct sub-vocalised delivery if it is not noted on the page. If though, the reading community is anticipated to be more intensive in practice - and therefore to have prior knowledge of the text - less comprehensive guidance can be provided as the meaning and oral delivery of the text would be stored in the reader's memory to be recalled when stimulated by the visual appearance of the material text. Therefore, for a reading community at the more intensive end of the spectrum of reading practices, a less varied punctuation system is sufficient.

When examining the individual punctuation marks in use within a punctuation system, therefore, the presence of multiple degrees of pause is the most significant indicator of a more extensive, silent reading community. The more markers of medial pause that are included in a punctuation system - and, further, the inclusion of various marks which signify further differentiation in medial pause length (i.e. the inclusion of punctuation marks which indicate both minor and major medial pause) - the more extensive the anticipated reading community are likely to be. This reinforces the validity of the combined quantitative and qualitative approach of this thesis: for hypotheses to be made regarding the relationship between the punctuation system of a text and the level of guidance it provides (and subsequently the literacy practices of the reading community it is catering for), the quantitative data presented in Chapter

¹⁵⁷ Parkes (1993: 65; 68--69) discusses how, since ancient times, pauses have been noted to aid orality/aurality. He suggests that punctuation was originally a guide for oral performance but from the seventh century onwards punctuation was used to aid silent readers.

2B must also be analysed qualitatively as whole systems, and the amount of variation and specificity within the systems must be examined.

2. Punctuation Categorisation

The punctuation systems found in the extracts from the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* examined in this thesis can broadly be described as having been constructed from three categories of punctuation marks. Category 1 marks are the most basic features of a punctuation system; they are the earliest occurring marks of punctuation and tend to indicate the strongest degree of pause or emphasis of the marks found across the extracts. The marks in Category 1 are the *punctus* and *littera notabilior*. Category 2 punctuation marks are the next level of differentiation to be used within the punctuation systems of the *Cronicles* and they all indicate medial pause lengths (minor or major): double *puncti*, semi-cola, *commata*, and *distinctio*. Finally, Category 3 marks indicate the most specific lengths of pause; they are non-conventional punctuation marks which are employed in punctuation systems in order to introduce further specificity and differentiation of pause lengths. Category 3 consists of the novel punctuation marks found in selected witnesses of the *Cronicles*.

Category 1 Only (Category 1: <i>puncti</i> ; <i>litterae notabiliores</i>) ¹⁵⁸	Items of Categories 1 & 2 (Category 2: double <i>puncti</i> ; semi-cola; <i>commata</i> ; <i>distinctio</i>)	Items of Categories 1, 2 & 3 (Category 3: novel punctuation marks)
MS La.III.218	Crawford MS I	Adv. MS 35.4.11
Wodrow Folio	MS La.III.216	MS Acc. 3736
MS 2672	Adv. MS 35.4.10	MS 185
	MS La.III.583	
	MS La.III.198	

¹⁵⁸ Notably, all three of the witnesses which only include Category 1 marks actually only include *litterae notabiliores*.

	MS 3147	
	Crawford MS II	
	Freebairn's 1728 Edition (x3)	
	Urie's 1749 Edition (x2)	
	Cadell's 1778 Edition	
	Dalyell's 1814 Edition	

Table 3.2

As can be seen from Table 3.2 the most common pattern is for the punctuation systems of the selected extracts to be constructed from Category 1 and 2 punctuation marks. Seven manuscripts of the text include punctuation marks from Category 1 and 2, but the witnesses display quite drastic differences in the variation of marks they include. For example, MS La.III.216 only includes two different punctuation marks (*litterae notabiliores* (Category 1) and *commata* (Category 2)), while Crawford MS I and MS 3147 include three different punctuation marks (both include *litterae notabiliores* and *puncti* (Category 1) and - from Category 2 - Crawford MS I includes *distinctio* while MS 3147 includes *commata*). The remaining four manuscripts in this group include five different punctuation marks (*litterae notabiliores*, *puncti*, double *puncti*, semi-*cola*, and *commata*). Further, it is notable that there is very little variation across the punctuation systems of the printed editions of the *Cronicles*.¹⁵⁹ All seven of the printed witnesses include Category 1 and 2 marks - *litterae notabiliores*, *puncti*, semi-*cola*, and *commata* - within the extract's punctuation system, and the three witnesses of Freebairn's 1728 edition also additionally include double *puncti*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ This refers to there being little quantitative variation within the printed witnesses of the *Cronicles*; there are only slight differences in the number of different punctuation marks in use within the selected extract, rather than referring to the qualitative use of the punctuation marks (i.e. the positions they are found within).

¹⁶⁰ According to Parkes (1993: 51), punctuation in print had become largely standardised by the mid-sixteenth century because printers were no longer making their own type.

The findings indicate that Category 1 marks can function as a stand-alone punctuation system, but neither Category 2 nor 3 marks can function without marks from the preceding categories: there are no instances of an extract containing marks from Category 2 only or Category 3 only. Further, there are no examples of punctuation systems consisting of marks from just Categories 2 and 3; all the extracts analysed contain Category 1 marks. It therefore seems that, while the paratextual systems of the manuscripts and printed editions could be constructed from a combination of different paratextual categories, the punctuation systems of the *Cronicles* are constructed by applying a series of layers depending on the needs of the reading community that is being catered for. For example, all twenty witnesses of the text include Category 1 marks; seventeen of these witnesses also include Category 2 marks; and, of these, three witnesses also include Category 3 marks. Categories 1, 2, and 3 each include punctuation marks of gradually increasing specificity in regard to the nuanced lengths of pause they indicate, therefore the next level of increased differentiation is only included if the preceding category has been included and further differentiation/specificity is still required.

Interestingly, even within the categories themselves a layered effect of increasingly more variation being applied seems to be taking place. If the witnesses of the *Cronicles* are compared in order of the quantity of different punctuation marks they include (see Appendix 4), following the three witnesses which only use *litterae notabiliores* (Category 1 marks only), the subsequent manuscripts contain: *litterae notabiliores* and *commata* (a mark each from Categories 1 and 2; MS La.III.216), *litterae notabiliores*, *puncti*, and *commata* (two marks from Category 1 and one mark from Category 2; MS 3147) and *litterae notabiliores*, *puncti*, and *distinctio* (two marks from Category 1 and one mark from Category 2; Crawford MS I). Notably, in the manuscripts containing a lower variation of punctuation marks, the two marks included from Category 2 - *commata* and *distinctio* - are marks of minor medial pause; it is not until witnesses which include four or more different punctuation marks are examined that marks of major medial pause are introduced to the punctuation systems of the extracts. Therefore marks of minor medial pause function successfully alongside Category 1 marks as the sole Category 2 marks within a punctuation system, but marks of major medial pause seemingly cannot function without

marks of minor medial pause. This reinforces the suggestion of a layered effect of increasingly more variation being added to the punctuation systems of a text. Following the use of Category 1 marks only, the next stage in providing increasingly more guidance is to introduce marks indicating minor medial pause.¹⁶¹ Then - to provide even more guidance - marks of major medial pause are included, which is the most commonly found structure of the *Cronicles*' punctuation systems: eleven of the twenty witnesses of the text include punctuation systems which include Category 1 and 2 marks comprising of marks of both minor medial and major medial pause.

There is very little correlation between the prospective dating of the manuscripts of the text and the number of categories of punctuation marks they include. For example, of the three manuscripts which include only Category 1 punctuation marks, MS La.III.218 was suggested to potentially be a late sixteenth-century witness and the Wodrow Folio as a potentially early seventeenth-century witness, while MS 2672 is potentially the latest manuscript witness of the text: a nineteenth-century transcript of an earlier manuscript.¹⁶² Further, of the witnesses to include punctuation marks from all three categories, Adv. MS 35.4.11 was suggested to potentially be near-contemporaneous with the Wodrow Folio (approximately early seventeenth century). The other two manuscripts which include Category 1, 2, and 3 marks have only been extremely broadly dated: MS 185 to the seventeenth century and MS 3736 to between 1567 and 1750. These two witnesses of the *Cronicles* could therefore potentially have been produced at an earlier date than several of the manuscript witnesses which only include Category 1 and 2 marks (e.g. MS 3147, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II), and were almost certainly produced prior to the printed editions of the text (1728-1814) which only include Category 1 and 2 punctuation marks. The lack of correlation between the provisional dating of the witnesses of the *Cronicles* and the layers of categories of marks included in the punctuation

¹⁶¹ Note: this discussion is documenting the movement from witness-to-witness in regard to the gradual increase in the number of different punctuation marks included in the punctuation system of the selected extract; it is not discussing the chronological movement from witness-to-witness.

¹⁶² As a transcript of a much earlier copy of the text, issues of dating are slightly more complex for MS 2672. If the transcription practice of the scribe of MS 2672 involved the direct copying of the punctuation practices found in the copy-text (dated c.1600), then all three of the witnesses to include only Category 1 marks could be representative of relatively early dates in the *Cronicles* reproduction history.

system of the text reinforces the hypothesis of this thesis that - rather than developing in a linear chronological fashion - multiple reading communities with their own discrete reading practices coexisted during the early modern period.

F. Analysis: Systems of Punctuation and Paratext

When the patterns regarding the categorisation of the paratextual features and punctuation practices of the twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* are compared an interesting contrast comes to light. While for paratextual features the most common practice is for a single witness of the text to include features from all three categories (fifteen of the twenty witnesses do so), this pattern is unusual for the punctuation systems (only occurring in three of the twenty witnesses). Instead, the most common pattern for the punctuation practices of the *Cronicles* is for marks from two of the categories to be included (fourteen of the twenty witnesses do so). Despite the increased levels of guidance more extensive reading communities required, perhaps the inclusion of three categories (layers) of punctuation is actually deemed detrimental to the success of this reading practice (particularly after a certain - critical - point in the development of extensive reading practices). Punctuation, as an inter-textual feature, is invasive; therefore the text's producer must take care regarding the quantity and complexity of intervention in the text so as to aid rather than disrupt the reading process by causing confusion for an unfamiliar reader - particularly once punctuation marks also began to be employed in their grammatical functions.¹⁶³ Paratext, seemingly, did not reach the same pinnacle of optimum usefulness at the same rate as punctuation. The data accumulated in this chapter suggests that a larger quantity and variety of paratextual features can be included within a text before they become a hindrance to the reading process of a more extensive reading community - though they do, indeed, also have a limit to their quantity-guidance relationship. The different patterns of usage suggest that paratextual and punctuation systems function slightly differently despite both providing guidance for the reading process.

¹⁶³ Clarke (2011: 250 – endnote to article) discusses how Renaissance punctuation underwent a transition 'from a system designed to assist with oratorical delivery to one which marked logical and grammatical distinctions'.

Additionally, it could be suggested that ‘novel’ punctuation marks are more difficult for an unfamiliar, extensive reader to interpret the meaning/value of than inventive/idiosyncratic paratextual features. An unknown punctuation mark requires a degree of prior knowledge to interpret as no clues regarding its value/meaning are provided by the shape or position of the mark on the page. The visual form and position of paratextual features, on the other hand, provide some indication of the type of guidance they are providing which could be interpreted without comprehensive prior knowledge (e.g. features of textual division - particularly divisions indicated by white space - form a physical break in the text which forces a pause during the eye’s transmission across the page).¹⁶⁴ As a result, scribes/printers/editors perhaps felt it was permissible to be more liberal with the types and quantities of paratextual features than punctuation marks, as overuse of, or a lack of prior familiarity with, paratextual features causes less of a hindrance to the reading process of a text than would the same usage of punctuation marks.

Finally, it must be taken into account that the categorisation of paratextual features and punctuation marks which has taken place in this chapter is not directly comparable. Both systems have been categorised in order to better understand their patterns of usage, particularly in regard to the types of features that are found together within the systems and the quantities in which certain groups of features are used. While the paratextual features were categorised in regard to their position on the material page, punctuation marks - which all occur within the same physical space (inter-textually) - were categorised in accordance with the length and specificity of the pause they indicate. Therefore the inclusion of paratextual features from all three categories within a single witness of the *Cronicles* is not inherently (though it sometimes, indeed, is) a hindrance to the reading process because they are spread out across the page/codex, therefore ensuring that there is not an overload of guiding information within in a single visual/physical space. However the inclusion of the three different categories of punctuation marks within a single extract of the text could perhaps be too much detail for a reader to

¹⁶⁴ Dahood (1988: 95) explains that texts which contain little white space between divisions are difficult to read because they provide very few places to rest the eye. See also Mak’s (2011: 17) discussion of the importance of white space to aid silent reading.

mentally process within a small visual space, and therefore becomes more of a barrier to reading than a tool to provide ease of reading - thus explaining why the majority of witnesses only include punctuation systems consisting of Categories 1 and 2.

G. Summary

Chapter 2B has identified and glossed the specific textual features of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* which are the focus of the evaluative section of this thesis. It exemplified the thesis' philological focus by employing 'an intense empirical focus on texts' (Smith 2014: 21). In accordance with the methodology outlined in Chapter 1, Section E, Chapter 2 has presented the micro-data (*tertium comparationis*) and provisionally analysed the paratextual features and punctuation systems of the witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* both quantitatively and qualitatively, so as to aid the comparative case study-based analysis of the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 3: Reading Communities

‘One of the most interesting areas of current research in book history is concerned with interpreting the clues from copies and piecing together the documentary evidence to provide a narrative’

Myers, Harris, and Mandelbrote (2007: viii)

A. Introduction

Drawing upon the data presented in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 analyses features of *mise-en-page* in order to reconstruct the distinct but temporally and geographically coexisting reading communities of the *Cronicles* and to discuss the reading practices employed by these communities. While it was essential to describe all twenty witnesses of the *Cronicles* in order to gain a comprehensive perspective of the varied and fluctuating literacy environment surrounding the reproduction of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* in early modern Scotland (both in terms of reading practices/communities and text production), the constraints of this thesis prevent the examination of all witnesses in the same detail; rather, selected witnesses are examined in order to establish the methodology adopted. Three witnesses, taken from across the period of the *Cronicles*’ reproduction history, have been selected, showing clear differences in regard to the paratextual and punctuation systems they employ, and - arguably - therefore the reading communities for which they cater. Yet while this chapter focuses on these selected witnesses, references to other witnesses which have been described in Chapter 2A - and the reproduction history of the *Cronicles* as a whole - are made in order to validate and extend the conclusions made regarding the early modern reading communities of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles*.

Pragmatic consideration of a text - analysis of the relationship between the material form of a text and its socio-cultural function - can be explored in various directions. This thesis focuses on the more theoretically established relationship between the material text and the physical literacy practices employed by the reading communities for whom it was produced, while supplementing these findings with the more speculative function of why the *Cronicles* were read. Practices such as aural and silent reading, intensive and extensive reading, private and communal reading, and linear and non-linear

reading are discussed in relation to the punctuation practices and paratextual features of the selected manuscripts and printed edition. As highlighted in Chapter 1, Section C, the evaluation of the textual features focuses on the quantity and quality of guidance that these elements provide; this suggests that qualitative and contextual analysis of the aid that the scribes/printers provided their anticipated reading communities with helps to specify the nuanced and complex coexisting reading practices of the contemporary reading communities of the *Cronicles*.

The interpretation becomes increasingly more speculative as the analysis evolves from the physical reading practices used to encounter the text to the hypothesised purposes behind a reader's engagement with the *Cronicles*. While early modern readers' marginalia have been widely researched,¹⁶⁵ the relationship between the material text as produced by the scribe/printer and the early modern reading preferences they were catering for has not yet been comprehensively analysed. This thesis, though, suggests that paratextual features can indicate hypotheses regarding why early modern Scottish readers were reading Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (or at least indicate what the scribes/printers perceived to be the reading purposes of their intended reading community); and a knowledge of why the *Cronicles* were being read provides useful socio-cultural context to the discussion of how the text was read. Further, it suggests that the combined analysis of what a material text indicates regarding both the physical reading practices and reading purposes of the anticipated reading community provides a fuller perspective of the nuanced reading community of the witness under analysis, and consequently of the overall complex literacy situation in early modern Scotland as a whole.

¹⁶⁵ See: Sherman (1995; 2008), Slights (2001), Wiggins (2008).

B. Case Studies

1. Wodrow Folio

Overall, the witness of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* within the Wodrow Folio provides very little guidance for an unfamiliar reader of the material text; this witness of the text is almost completely void of punctuation marks.¹⁶⁶ Within the selected extract only *litterae notabiliores* are found and they are used relatively infrequently, so the scribe does not seem to have attempted, on a structural level, to compensate for the lack of diversity within the punctuation system through more frequent use of *litterae notabiliores*. For example, only twenty-three *litterae notabiliores* are found in the selected extract from the Wodrow Folio, whereas MS La.III.218 also lacks diversity within its punctuation system (also only including *litterae notabiliores*) but it includes the significantly higher quantity of sixty-six *litterae notabiliores*. The low frequency of *litterae notabiliores* in the Wodrow Folio may be contrasted with MS 185, which contains a notably comprehensive punctuation system including a wide range of punctuation marks, but which also includes forty-one *litterae notabiliores* within the selected extract.

The use of a punctuation system which neither makes frequent use of punctuation marks nor includes a diverse range of marks suggests that the scribe anticipated a more intensive reader of the text. As discussed in Chapter 1, Section C, intensive readers - traditionally (but not exclusively) the earlier reading practice of western society - encountered a limited number of texts (as less texts were materially available in the pre-print era of literacy) and therefore read the same text frequently. As a result, intensive readers became extremely familiar with the selected texts with which they engaged and to a certain extent committed them to memory, using the material text as an *aide memoire*.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, as intensive readers would have had exemplary prior knowledge not only of the content of the text but also how to read it - for example, what it should sound like: where pauses should be placed for the text to make structural and semantic sense - less guidance was required on the

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter 2B, Section D.2.6.

¹⁶⁷ See Carruthers' (1992: 243) discussion of the 'symbiotic relationship between memorial effectiveness and the layout of books throughout the Middle Ages'.

material page. It can thus be argued that a sparse punctuation system, such as the system found in the Wodrow Folio, would be sufficient for a more intensive reading community.

Similarly, the Wodrow Folio lacks a clear system of textual division for the conventional five monarchs' sections and the 'Addition'. The most frequently found practice is for the producers of the *Cronicles* to divide the text into clear sections documenting the reigns of James II, James III, James IV, James V, Mary Queen of Scots, and James VI (labelled as the 'Addition') and to introduce each section with an intertitle, and, usually, with accompanying elements of textual division: for example, page divisions, white space, enlarged initials, emphasised text. The scribe of the Wodrow Folio though, while still segmenting the text into the above-mentioned monarchs' sections, does not do so as distinctively as other scribes (enlarged initials and page divisions are not employed, and several of the intertitles do not even include white space surrounding the intertitle), nor do they introduce the monarchs' section in a consistent style (i.e. there are varying degrees of emphasis given to the intertitles and incipits).¹⁶⁸

The lack of features marking textual division in this manuscript - e.g. the lack of consistently emphasised monarchs' sections, enlarged initials, paragraphs, chapters - suggests that the scribe is anticipating that the reading community will already be familiar with the text and therefore require little guidance (as was suggested by the punctuation system of the Wodrow Folio). However the sparse markers of textual division which are included in this manuscript are - as noted above - not visually distinctive, therefore the scribe has not provided any paratextual features to enable the manuscript to be used as an *aide memoire* - as aided more intensive reading practices.¹⁶⁹ This suggests that while the anticipated reading community are expected to have prior familiarity with the *Cronicles* (from encountering the text frequently); they are not expected to be

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 2A, Section 6 for the specific data regarding the system of textual division used within the Wodrow Folio.

¹⁶⁹ Hugh of St. Victor (referenced in Carruthers 1992: 9) comments in the early twelfth century that visual paratextual features are of 'great value for fixing a memory-image that when we read books, we study to impress on our memory [...] the colour, shape, position, and placement of the letters [...] in what location (at the top, the middle, or bottom) we saw [something] positioned'.

using this familiarity to recite the text from memory using the material text as an *aide memoire*. Instead, the reading community are expected to use their prior knowledge of the text to navigate the content correctly and comprehend the divisions appropriately without consistency in layout.

The resulting diversity of reading practices which are being highlighted within the Wodrow Folio, therefore, reinforces the central hypothesis of this thesis: that early modern reading practices were not dichotomous entities. This thesis argues that all reading communities were extremely nuanced in terms of the practices they employed, and that reading communities exist within a spectrum of practices. The Wodrow Folio includes scribal formal marginalia and an inter-textual intertitle for the section documenting George Wishart's martyrdom - both of which would aid an unfamiliar reader - yet the conventional textual division is inconsistent and the punctuation system provides little guidance, therefore suggesting that the scribe was anticipating a reading community at a medial position on this spectrum - they include features variously suited to more intensive and more extensive reading practices. The Wodrow Folio therefore indicates the presence of a transitional reading community which incorporates elements of both more traditional intensive and more innovative extensive reading practices.

Further, the Wodrow Folio is a miscellany volume, in which Pitscottie's *Cronicles* are included amongst numerous pro-Protestant sermons and psalms. In agreement with the above discussion, it could be suggested that - as prior familiarity with the text was anticipated - the scribe focussed their paratextual provision on features which aid the reader to 'correctly' (religiously/politically/socially) interpret the *Cronicles*, rather than to functionally encounter the text. This is evidenced by the inclusion of scribal formal marginalia - a device used to ensure that the reader is 'correctly' interpreting the text and is therefore receiving the pro-Reformist message it is

aiming to transmit¹⁷⁰ - and the series of inter-textual intertitles highlighting the martyrdom of George Wishart.

The use of inter-textual intertitles across the witnesses of the text strongly support the hypothesis that early modern Scottish reading communities were reading the *Cronicles* for religious reassurance and models of 'correct' religious behaviour and faith, and, in order to achieve this desirable condition, may have been particularly interested in Reformation martyrs. Very few inter-textual intertitles are used within the various witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*; it is the usual practice for each of the monarchs' sections to be introduced with an intertitle but within these conventional sub-sections it is notable that across all twenty witnesses of the text under analysis there are primarily only two events which are highlighted with an inter-textual intertitle.¹⁷¹ Further, these two sections are not marked with intertitles in all witnesses and are only both marked with an intertitle in one witness (Crawford MS I). The entry regarding the execution of the Catholic supporter Sir James Hamilton begins with an intertitle in five manuscripts of the text; and the section documenting the martyrdom of the prolific Protestant reformer George Wishart is introduced with an intertitle in eight manuscripts and one printed edition.¹⁷² Despite the notably different events documented in these two sections, both are actually pro-Protestant in content and therefore despite the markedly different emotions the two sections would have stimulated, they were both engaged with out of interest in and support of the pro-Protestant cause.¹⁷³ The scribes/printers of these witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* have guided the readers' attention to these sections purposefully due to awareness of their reading communities' devotional reading purpose: both of the highlighted sections function to strengthen the Protestant faith.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ As suggested by Slights (2001: 11): 'the margins were conceived of as a space in which readers' responses to a text could be influenced'.

¹⁷¹ Crawford MS I, which marks four additional sections of content with inter-textual intertitles, is the only exception (see Chapter 2A, Section 2).

¹⁷² See Appendix 3 for specific data.

¹⁷³ Woolf (2000: 104) references the strong reactions Renaissance readers often had to their texts; arguing that the emotive experience of reading became almost as important as the intellectual experience.

¹⁷⁴ Woolf (2000: 113) discusses the 'traditional Renaissance manner of lifting episodes from out of their contexts for didactic purpose'.

George Wishart was an active Protestant reformer in Reformation Scotland whose death was met with outrage (he was burnt at the stake at St Andrews following what was widely interpreted as a 'show trial' by Cardinal Beaton); his execution/martyrdom has since been interpreted as a significant event in the development of the Scottish Reformation. The scribes/printers show that they recognise that post-Reformation Scottish reading communities were interested in martyrology (particularly as a form of Protestant ideology) by highlighting this section (and, notably, only this section in many witnesses) for the anticipated reader with an intertitle and other textual features of emphasis (e.g. numbered sections; subsequent less emphasised intertitles; enlarged initials; capitalisation; italics; text alignment; indentation). Scottish Protestants, in particular, placed great importance on the martyrdoms of those executed for their faith during the Scottish Reformation as religious persecution had been virtually unknown in medieval Scotland (Freeman 1996: 43-44). Therefore Scottish Protestant martyrs were the first of their kind and as such had a strong impact, making Reformation martyrology particularly powerful within post-Reformation Protestant ideology. By reading Pitscottie's *Cronicles* primarily for its representation of Wishart's martyrdom, the early modern reader is reading with the intention of strengthening their Protestant beliefs and seeking a model for moral behaviour in the testing post-Reformation period.¹⁷⁵ With these purposes present in the minds of the scribes/printer of these witnesses, paratextual features (in this instance intertitles) have been used to draw the reader's attention to the section of text which most fulfils their reading purposes. The continued use of paratextual features - in particular, further marks of textual division - throughout the section depicting Wishart's martyrdom highlights this section further and suggests the importance the producers of the texts placed on this section. Aware that this section was central to the reading communities' reading purposes, the scribes/printer ensured that the reader interpreted this content correctly by using a variety of paratextual features to guide the reader through this section of text. Further segmentation of this section using a variety of textual division devices forces the reader to frequently pause while reading, therefore motivating the reader to regularly reflect upon and fully engage with

¹⁷⁵ Abraham Fleming is quoted in the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587) as stating: "Let us (I say) as manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were so manie yeeres past to be present, and applie the profit and commoditie of the same unto our selves" (discussed by Patterson 1994: vii; viii).

the content they are encountering. A reading community who are ‘correctly’ interpreting the content of a politically motivated section of text and are reading in an engaged manner are more likely to achieve the intended reading purpose of Protestant ideological reassurance and motivation.

The other section to have been marked with an inter-textual intertitle within the witnesses of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* is the entry discussing the execution of Sir James Hamilton for treason within James V’s monarch section. While the content of this section differs significantly from the other highlighted section of the *Cronicles* discussed above (while one event is the martyrdom of a Reformer, the other is the execution of a Catholic), the two sections have been emphasised as they both function to fulfil the same reading purposes: to reinforce the Protestant faith. Whereas readers of witnesses which marked the passage focussing on George Wishart were embracing the power of martyrdom in order to strengthen their religious beliefs, the witnesses which emphasise Sir James Hamilton’s execution are in contrast presenting what Pitscottie terms ‘divine punishment’ for tyrannical anti-Protestant behaviour in order to strengthen Protestant faith within the reader (Lindsay 1778: 260).¹⁷⁶ While Sir James Hamilton is documented in the text as having been executed by the king for treason, Pitscottie emphasises his role as ‘judge-criminal to all them that were the servants of God, and read the New Testament’ (Lindsay 1778: 260). He therefore uses the event as pro-Protestant propaganda, stating: ‘Therefore so fared of the said Sir JAMES HAMILTON; God turned his wrath presently, that he bore upon his brother, in unto himself, that he was deposed on this manner, as we have shewn; and all the servants of God were saved, by God’s mighty power, both from the king and the kirk men, and from the furious rage of this tyrant Sir JAMES HAMILTON’ (Lindsay 1778: 260).

All thirteen of the witnesses that employ inter-textual intertitles therefore do so to ensure that the devotional needs and pro-Protestant interests of their

¹⁷⁶ The Book of Esther is also referred to in this section of the *Cronicles* in which Haman (the King’s second-in command; a parallel to Hamilton’s elevated standing) is eventually executed for his mistreatment of Mordecai and the intended persecution of Jews, which is similarly interpreted as divine intervention.

anticipated reading communities are met; differences only occur in regard to which section of content the various scribes/printers feel most successfully meets the purpose behind reading the *Cronicles*. The producers of the text, while using the same paratextual feature (intertitles) to the same end (to provide opportunities for the reader to reinforce their Protestant faith) have different motivations behind the achievement of this outcome. The scribes/printer of the first group of witnesses chose to highlight Wishart's martyrdom in order to provoke sympathy and a sense of injustice (and undoubtedly cause a degree of anger and resentment towards followers of Catholicism), whereas the scribes of the second group of witnesses emphasised Hamilton's treason in order to present the Catholic community as morally unjust and lacking the support of God, and the Protestant cause as unavoidably successful (regardless of royal favour or social standing etc. – Sir James Hamilton was not saved despite previously being a close acquaintance of King James V). Therefore the sections of the *Cronicles* to which the two inter-textual intertitles function to draw the readers' attention, both, ultimately, provide the reader with the moral assurance they seek from a Reformist representation of Scottish history.

Finally, it seems a notable feature of the Wodrow Folio that the *Cronicles* were selected for use in the miscellany despite differing so drastically in length to the other texts which are included. This suggests that the lack of visually-notable textual division in this witness of the *Cronicles* could perhaps be further explained in relation to the other forms/layouts of texts in the miscellany. The *Cronicles* are considerably longer than the individual psalms and sermons they are positioned alongside; perhaps, therefore, while (some) features of textual division have been included within the *Cronicles* to aid the reading of such a lengthy text type (which a reader of the accompanying sermons and psalms may not have been accustomed to), the scribe has avoided using visually distinct forms so as to prevent confusion for the reader of the volume as a whole. There is the potential for a reader of the miscellany who was unfamiliar with the content and structure of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* to misinterpret emphasised elements of textual division as a marker of a new textual item within the miscellany. For example, as mentioned, it is common in other manuscript

witnesses of the *Cronicles* for each monarch's section to begin on a new page with an emphasised intertitle positioned centrally at the top of the page. However, within the Wodrow Folio this practice is often deployed to indicate a new textual item; the presentation of the *Cronicles* in this form would have had the potential to cause confusion and misinterpretation for the reader, and the scribe of the Wodrow Folio has therefore adjusted the conventional form of the *Cronicles* to correspond with the function of a miscellany.

2. Crawford MS I

While Crawford MS I was possibly (according to the dating suggested by Mackay 1899) produced contemporaneously to the Wodrow Folio, it differs from the previously discussed manuscript in terms of the guidance system provided for the reader by the scribe(s). While the punctuation system differs marginally, in that there is a slightly more comprehensive provision in Crawford MS I than is found in the Wodrow Folio, Crawford MS I contains a much more comprehensive system of paratext, and, in particular, a notably detailed system of textual division. The suggestion, therefore, is that Crawford MS I is catering for a distinctly different - but coexisting - reading community to that catered for by the Wodrow Folio. The comparison of these two manuscripts, therefore, serves to highlight the coexistence of more aural, intensive and more silent, extensive reading practices in early modern Scotland.¹⁷⁷ The development of literacy practices was not a process of linear chronological change from a homogeneous society of aural, intensive readers to one of silent, extensive readers; instead, distinct reading communities engaging in different reading practices coexisted in contemporary society, and reading practices were positioned on a spectrum rather than existing successively.¹⁷⁸

The punctuation system of Crawford MS I, while still relatively sparse in comparison to the thirteen manuscript witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* analysed in this thesis (for example, see MS 185), is notably more comprehensive than that of the Wodrow Folio. While the Wodrow Folio only included twenty-

¹⁷⁷ Reading practices and reading communities are viewed as coexisting and undergoing very gradual and nuanced shifts in usage just as did other socio-cultural transitions in this period. For example, Tyson and Wagonheim (1986: 9) state that 'manuscript and print traditions coexisted for many years after the time when print was supposed to have completely eclipsed the former'; and Duffy (1992: 118; 590-593) discusses the coexistence of Catholicism and Protestantism at great length, and argues that there was accommodation between traditional and emergent practices.

¹⁷⁸ This perspective of historical literacy is proffered by many socio-cultural scholars of the medieval and early modern periods. For example, Fox emphasises that 'oral' and 'literate' are rarely discrete entities [...] instead they form a dynamic continuum' (2002: 50), 'the boundaries between speech and text, hearing and reading, were thoroughly permeable and constantly shifting so that the dichotomy is difficult to identify and impossible to sustain' (2002: 39); and Coleman (1996: 13) argues against earlier scholars of the history of reading (e.g. Ong, Goody, Havelock, Watt) when she suggests that 'the sweeping generalizations about "oral" and "literate" traits favoured by advocates of the Great Divide dissolve, on examination, into much more muted, relativistic statements'. This thesis employs Coleman's method of viewing specified literacy practices in relation to other literacy practices and Fox's perspective of permeable boundaries between literacy forms within its construction of literacy practices as a spectrum rather than as dichotomous entities.

three *litterae notabiliores* in the extract examined, the parallel extract from Crawford MS I includes thirty-one *litterae notabiliores*, along with twelve *puncti* and one *distinctio*.¹⁷⁹ Further, outside of the selected extract, the scribe(s) of Crawford MS I also employs double *puncti* and *puncti* positioned at various heights (*distinctiones*), indicating not only a higher quantity of punctuation within this witness but notably more diversity of punctuation marks and specificity of pause lengths.

The difference between the paratextual provision of the two manuscripts is more significant. Like the Wodrow Folio, Crawford MS I is divided into the conventional five monarchs' sections and the 'Addition' found across the majority of witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (although, unusually, this witness does not differentiate the 'Addition' from the other monarchs' sections and labels it as a monarch's section for James VI). However, unlike the Wodrow Folio, Crawford MS I consistently uses intertitles and enlarged initials to mark the beginning of each monarch's section, along with varying quantities of emphasised text and an 'exclamation' to mark the end of the previous section. The separate sections of the *Cronicles* are therefore more clearly identifiable for the reader of Crawford MS I, and the degree of pause between each monarchs' section is strongly emphasised, aiding the reader's comprehension of the text. This textual layout, and the emphasised markers of textual division, would benefit an unfamiliar, more extensive reader in that it provides clear guidance as to the structure of the text and signifies when a significant change in content is about to take place so as to aid comprehension and prevent misunderstanding.¹⁸⁰

The scribe(s) further uses paratext to aid an anticipated more extensive reader by including scribal formal marginalia and scribal (though since cropped) running

¹⁷⁹ The positions in which the two manuscripts employ *litterae notabiliores* differs; only six of the twenty-three positions in which the Wodrow Folio includes *litterae notabiliores* are also marked with *litterae notabiliores* in Crawford MS I. Further, the Wodrow Folio and Crawford MS I include two slightly different forms of the selected extract from which the punctuation data is extracted; despite both manuscripts generally including the longer form of the extract, the Wodrow Folio includes the standard long form of the extract (Type ii) whereas Crawford MS I adds a few additional lines of content to the long form (Type v) - see Appendix 2.

¹⁸⁰ As Carroll et al. (2013: 55) argue 'the appearance of the page is integral to the reader's construal of meaning'.

titles in order to continually guide the reader throughout the reading process. The recurrent aid that features such as this provide is especially useful in the period in which silent, extensive reading practices were emerging but were not yet established as the primary reading practice; readers were therefore attempting to employ some extensive reading practices but may not have yet fully acquired the skills to do so, making repeated guiding features regarding the content or structure of an unfamiliar text such as this particularly useful to an emerging extensive reading community.¹⁸¹

The most prominent paratextual feature of this witness, though, is its structure within the conventional monarchs' sections: this manuscript is the only manuscript - and the only witness other than Mackay's 1899 Scottish Text Society edition - to divide the whole text into chapters,¹⁸² which is especially interesting if the notably early date it is assigned by Mackay (1899) is taken into account. The comprehensive system of textual division provided by the chapters in this manuscript is a clear aid for a more extensive reader of the text. It breaks the lengthy text of the monarchs' sections into much smaller, more manageable sections so readers can read shorter quantities of material before a significant pause for reflection, while the sections remain self-contained in regard to content which minimises misinterpretation.¹⁸³ To further aid a more extensive reader unfamiliar with the content of the *Cronicles*, each of the chapters in this manuscript begins with a short introductory paragraph which summarises the content of the subsequent body of text. The provision of introductory sections of text, coupled with the scribal formal marginalia provided in this manuscript which summarises the textual content in the margin alongside the relevant section of text, indicates that the producer(s) of this manuscript envisaged a readership that had no prior familiarity with the text. The scribe(s) is therefore employing several coordinating paratextual features to aid the extensive reading process by providing consistent reminders of the

¹⁸¹ The emergent nature of the gradual shift in reading practices (as opposed to a revolutionary change/revisionist movement) is propagated by scholars of the history of reading (e.g. Carruthers 1992; Coleman 1996; Wood 2000; Fox 2002; Eisenstein 2005; Jajdelska 2007; Smith 2013a) and is heavily emphasised in this thesis.

¹⁸² Several manuscript witnesses of the text include chapters to sub-divide the first monarch's section (documenting the reign of James II): Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS La.III.583, MS La.III.198, and Crawford MS II.

¹⁸³ Hunter (1994: 50) discusses Henry Fielding's rationale for the use of chapters: 'the space between chapters [...] as opportunities for readers to pause and refresh themselves'.

content in order to aid memory retention and comprehension. Further, each of the chapters within this manuscript are numerically labelled therefore providing a finding aid for a more extensive readership that is reading the *Cronicles* in a non-linear fashion. This reading practice would be further aided by the short introductions to each chapter which would ensure that the reader had recalled the correct chapter number for the desired content before they commence reading the chapter itself. Both the numerical labelling of the chapters and the introductory paragraphs also simultaneously serve to aid the reading purposes of the text. As hypothesised in regard to the Wodrow Folio, the reading communities of the *Cronicles* were potentially encountering the text out of religious devotion and for moral and behavioural guidance, and the use of finding aids such as these would aid an unfamiliar or non-linear reader to locate the sections of text most suited to their reading purposes.

This reading purpose, and the assistance that the scribe(s) seemingly provides to aid the fulfilment of this purpose, is further evidenced by the relatively high quantity (and content of) the inter-textual intertitles and additional texts found in Crawford MS I.¹⁸⁴ Crawford MS I is the only witness of the *Cronicles* to contain more than one inter-textual intertitle (within the monarch's sections) and is the only witness to mark the sections documenting the accusation of Patrick Hamilton, the trial of the vicar of Dollar, the 'deploration'/lamentation of Queen Madeleine's death, and the trial of Walter Mill with inter-textual intertitles. As discussed in relation to the Wodrow Folio, the inter-textual intertitles for Hamilton's oration and Wishart's martyrdom (both of which are included in Crawford MS I) are included in order to draw the reader's attention to sections of the *Cronicles* which are notably Reformist in content and reinforce the Protestant faith, ideology, and moral superiority. The additional inter-textual intertitles within Crawford MS I serve to guide the intended reading community towards even more sections of the text which meet their anticipated devotional and didactic reading purposes: three of these sub-sections describe the 'immoral' punishment/martyrdom of Reformists/anti-Papists, while David Lyndsay's 'Deploration of Deith of Quene Magdalene' could be interpreted as

¹⁸⁴ As a miscellany, the Wodrow Folio contains a significantly higher quantity of additional texts than Crawford MS I, but Crawford MS I contains a relatively high number of additional texts in comparison to all other witnesses of the *Cronicles*.

mildly pro-Reformist in tone in that it commemorates James V's first wife, Madeleine of Valois, and as such it could be interpreted negatively towards James V's second wife, Mary of Guise (mother of Mary Queen of Scots) who desired a Catholic Scotland.

Similarly to the didactic lessons and devotional opportunities suggested by the foregrounding of specific events within the chronicle-text, Crawford MS I includes several additional texts with a Reformist bias (an ideology which is even more explicit in the additional reading material than it is within the *Cronicles* themselves). Two of the additional texts appended to this manuscript represent the 'sins' of two public Catholic supporters John Hamilton and Patrick Adamson, both of whom were active supporters of traditional ecclesiastical practices and publically criticised the Presbyterian system of church governance.¹⁸⁵ 'The Accusation and Confession of John Hamilton' presents the events surrounding the execution of John Hamilton based on the accusation of his involvement in the murders of Lord Darnley and Regent Moray, and his supposed confession prior to his death;¹⁸⁶ whereas 'The Recantation of Patrick Adamson' is a version of Adamson's supposed recantation of episcopacy. Both of these texts, though disputable in the accuracy of the events they present, function to strengthen Protestant faith by presenting the Catholic faith from a negative perspective by depicting those who had vocally supported traditional ecclesiastical practices as heretics and, in the case of Adamson, as eventually turning to what is being asserted as the 'correct' belief system. Both additional texts also didactically suggest instruction for sin-free behaviour in indicating that moral retribution is the outcome of Catholic faith.

Crawford MS I not only includes narrative prose texts, it also includes two songs/poems and, more notably, a sermon-text. Additional texts which are specifically religious in content are one of the most frequently found text types presented alongside the *Cronicles* in extant witnesses of the work and reinforce

¹⁸⁵ Both John Hamilton and Patrick Adamson held the position of Archbishop of St Andrews; Hamilton from 1546 to 1571, and Adamson from 1575 to 1592.

¹⁸⁶ However, in the trial before his execution (which he personally requested) Hamilton seemingly admitted to his involvement in the death of Moray but not that of Darnley (Foggie 2004).

the idea that the *Cronicles* were being read for devotional purposes. For example, the Wodrow Folio, as a miscellany, contains multiple texts, the majority of which are sermons and psalms.¹⁸⁷ The Wodrow Folio and Crawford MS I are therefore two of the witnesses of the *Cronicles* which are most clearly representative of the hypothesised devotional purpose for reading the *Cronicles*. Together the explicitly religious sermons and psalms, the additional texts depicting Reformation/post-Reformation events, and the chronicle-text itself - which, particularly in Crawford MS I, includes inter-textual intertitles to aid the location of pro-Protestant content - provide the reader with a positive representation of the Protestant faith, and in doing so supply the reader with the opportunity to reflect upon their faith and devotional practices, and strengthen their belief in Reformist ideology. The additional texts serve to more explicitly express what Pitscottie could not: as discussed in Chapter 1, Section D.2, there would have been issues surrounding the Reformist content and Protestant bias of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* which could be loosely described as 'censorship' (i.e. it has been hypothesised that the text did not enter print until a notably late date due to content which would have been deemed inappropriate - or even unsafe - to print during the Stewart dynasty).¹⁸⁸ Throughout the chronicle, despite a perceived Reformist bias, Pitscottie rarely - if ever - explicitly supports the Reformer's actions or the Protestant faith; it would have been unwise to have expressed his personal beliefs so publicly. The addition of separate texts (not authored by Pitscottie, but appended to the *Cronicles* at a later date either by the scribe(s) of an individual witness - as are the majority of additional items within Crawford MS I and the Wodrow Folio - or by a non-scribal hand at a later date in the witness' circulation) allows later scribes/editors/readers to further reinforce the text's political-religious bias and the reading purpose of the *Cronicles* (perhaps in a period when it was safer to do so) without explicitly implicating Pitscottie or interfering directly with his text.

¹⁸⁷ The Wodrow Folio was compiled or owned by Robert Wodrow (1679-1734). Wodrow, a minister and ecclesiastical scholar, was the son of a conventicle preacher and had a turbulent early life due to Presbyterian persecution (Yeoman 2004). Wodrow's published work *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (1721-2) and his interest in Scottish reformers and divines from the sixteenth century onwards (for whom he compiled biographies (Yeoman 2004)) indicate an interest in Reformation Scotland (and a Protestant bias towards this period) which displays a link between Wodrow's works and Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. Wodrow's personal interest in the 'sufferings' of Scottish Reformers and his official role as a Presbyterian minister, further support the suggestion made that the *Cronicles* were being read as an act of Protestant devotion and remembrance.

¹⁸⁸ As discussed in Mackay (1899: lvii).

Despite Crawford MS I including several items of paratext which cater for a more extensive reading community - including features which were discussed in Chapter 2B, Section B.2 as being significantly indicative of this readership, e.g. chapter divisions - this manuscript also contrastingly includes enlarged initials to begin each page which, due to their traditional function in this position as *aides memoire*, are strong indicators of a more intensive reading community. While the scribe of the Wodrow Folio did not provide consistent markers of textual division to effectively aid a more extensive reader, it was noted that they also did not provide distinctive visual markers for the page to act as an *aide memoire* for a more intensive reader. Crawford MS I and MS 185, however, provide both. Both manuscripts begin each page (both the recto and verso of every folio) with an enlarged initial which could act as a memorial device for an aural, more intensive reader to prompt their recollection of the content of the page of text due to an association between the visual appearance of the page and the content through frequent reading of the text.¹⁸⁹ However, the inclusion of this feature could potentially be detrimental to the reading process of a more extensive reading community, as it could cause confusion regarding the system of enlarged initials as textual division because enlarged initials are additionally employed to visually emphasise the first word of every page - words which are not significantly distinct from the last words of the previous page in regard to content. This could lead a reader who was unfamiliar with the content of the text (a more extensive reader) to place pauses or interpret a shift in topic in inappropriate positions, therefore resulting in misinterpretation. The use of enlarged initials at the beginning of every page is therefore fairly indicative of a scribe catering for a more intensive reading community (see Chapter 2B, Section B.2) - their position is potentially problematic for a reading community with significantly extensive reading practices.

As mentioned, in addition to using enlarged initials at the beginning of every page, the scribes of Crawford MS I and MS 185 also consistently employ enlarged initials as features of textual division. MS 185 begins each monarch's section

¹⁸⁹ Manguel (1997: 60) discusses Socrates' theory of the text functioning as an *aide memoire*; and Clanchy (1979), Ong (2002), and Carruthers and Ziolkowski (2004) discuss the role of memorisation in the history of reading.

with an enlarged initial which is usually larger than those used to begin the individual pages (except within Mary's monarch section in which many of the initials which begin the pages are larger than those used for textual division); while Crawford MS I uses enlarged initials not only for the incipit of each monarch's section but also for several other features of textual division (e.g. monarchs' sections intertitles, chapters' introductory paragraphs, exclamations), and employs initials much more consistently (for example, the enlarged initials which are employed as features of textual division are consistently larger than those used to begin individual pages). As the scribe of Crawford MS I displays such systematic use of enlarged initials (and as several other features of the paratextual system of this manuscript suggest that the scribe was catering for a more extensive reading community), perhaps, while traditionally functioning to aid more intensive reading practices, the inclusion of enlarged initials at the beginning of every page of Crawford MS I (and, potentially, even MS 185) could have been employed due to what the scribe(s) perceived as the conventional form of a written text rather than being a purposeful decision to aid more intensive reading practices. Therefore it is possible that the scribe(s) has not considered that the use of this feature in this position may hinder the reading process of their intended more extensive readership. Indeed, in the transitional period of early modern Scotland's literacy practices, the reading public may not yet have been reading extensively enough for the dual purposes of this feature to yet be a hindrance. Instead, the use of the feature in two positions which can each be traditionally associated with intensive and extensive reading practices, is perhaps further evidence of the successful coexistence of traditional and emerging practices in transitional periods of history: the anticipated reading community still have sufficient understanding of the function of the feature in both positions so as to not misunderstand its meaning (i.e. to not interpret each new page as a significant division in the text).

As mentioned, further contrast within Crawford MS I is the presence of a complex and thorough paratextual system while the punctuation system remains relatively sparse. This is additional evidence of the transitional literacy environment of early modern Scotland, and indicates how, by highlighting the nuances of the punctuation practices and paratextual systems used to cater for

the multiplicity of practices in use, the precise literacy environment of the anticipated reading community can be identified. Early modern reading communities were real, living constructs, therefore they do not correspond with abstract labels: ‘rather than imposing universal, self-validating categories of “oral” and “literate” style on texts, we should work outwards from given texts and literary environments to develop culture-specific descriptive systems’ (Coleman 1996: xli).¹⁹⁰ It could be suggested, therefore, that while the scribe(s) of Crawford MS I was catering for a more extensive readership than that of the Wodrow Folio, it was still relatively early in the development of these practices therefore reading communities were still learning how to employ these emerging practices in relation to traditional reading practices, and, simultaneously, scribes were learning how to textually cater for the emerging practices through the employment of new textual features and the adaptation of traditional forms. Therefore while the scribe(s) of Crawford MS I provides some guiding features for the emerging extensive reading practices (for example, a consistent system of division for the monarchs’ sections, chapters, formal marginalia, running titles, and more comprehensive punctuation than is found in the Wodrow Folio); the (overall comparatively sparse) punctuation system and use of enlarged initials as *aides memoire* do not seem to be catering for the same degree of extensive reading.¹⁹¹

The data presented in Chapter 2B (and the contrasting features within Crawford MS I outlined here) suggest that punctuation and paratextual systems function slightly differently.¹⁹² Qualitative analysis has asserted that there is not always a direct correspondence between the quantity of provision and the degree of guidance provided; therefore the contrast between the comprehensive paratextual system and sparse punctuation system may not actually suggest that the scribe(s) misunderstood the degree of more extensive reading practices for which they were catering. Punctuation is a particularly invasive feature of the

¹⁹⁰ As has previously been emphasised, this thesis presents reading practices as existing on a spectrum rather than as a dichotomy; it aims to move away from polarising reading practices – which obscures and erases intra-modal differences (Coleman 1996: 15) – and instead ‘describe the varieties and intersections of medieval literary reception’ (Coleman 1996: xli).

¹⁹¹ For example, while the punctuation system of Crawford MS I is significantly more complex than that of the Wodrow Folio, it is not as detailed as the near-contemporary witness of the text Adv. MS 35.4.11, which was – according to Mackay (1899: lxxvii) – produced between 1598-1625.

¹⁹² As discussed in Chapter 2B, Section F.

editing process; therefore scribes catering for a different reading community to that of the copy-text may have been reluctant to interfere too strongly with the text by adding a high quantity of punctuation. This consideration is particularly relevant to Crawford MS I due to the hypothesis that an emerging extensive reading community is being catered for by the scribe(s). The reading community are therefore likely to be unfamiliar with the *Cronicles* and, as such, though some guidance is necessary, too much intervention could potentially lead to misinterpretation of the text rather than the punctuation system successfully functioning as a reading aid. Crawford MS I includes *litterae notabiliores* and punctuation marks indicating two different lengths of pause, therefore there has been some attempt to balance this issue through the provision of some elements of guidance, but the punctuation system provided is neither as qualitatively comprehensive nor as experimental as, for example, MS 185 or Adv. MS 35.4.11.

The above analysis emphasises the importance of analysing the material text as a whole;¹⁹³ all the features of a text function in conjunction with one another to cater to a specific reading community with extremely nuanced reading practices: there was (and still is) no such thing as an exclusively intensive or extensive, oral/aural or silent, reading community.¹⁹⁴ Further, the variety of textual features included within an individual witness highlights the importance of recognising the contextual conditions surrounding a text's production. When considering the human production of a material text, it must be acknowledged that various personal, economic, spatial, temporal, and technological factors have impacted on the choices behind the physical presentation of the text.

¹⁹³ In accordance with the contextualised approach of current historical pragmatic research (Jucker and Taavitsainen discuss how the field of historical pragmatics evolved from the context-focussed school of Continental-European/social pragmatics (2013: 3)), it is essential to examine the selected textual features within the context of the witness as a whole – see de Saussure's structuralist concept of language as a system of '*tout se tient*': that language is systematic and functions as a whole in which the parts all relate to one another (as discussed in Smith 1996).

¹⁹⁴ As previously discussed, this thesis argues that dichotomous labels are unhelpful; as Coleman (1996: xii) argues, 'I would not say these ascriptions are always invalid, but I am certain that, as presently applied, "oral" and "literate" are very nearly invalid as categories'.

3. Freebairn's 1728 Edition

Robert Freebairn held a complex political position in eighteenth-century Scotland in relation to religion and the monarchy, which makes his action of printing this text - and doing so in the capacity of a King's Printer to George II - all the more interesting. Freebairn was originally one of the Queen's/King's Printers (1711-1715), until he took an active role in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, which culminated with Freebairn establishing himself as the 'Pretender's Printer' in Perth where the Jacobites retreated following the failure of the rebellions in Edinburgh (for which he printed the 'Pretender's Manifesto'). Following the failure of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, Freebairn fled to continental Europe but was back working as a bookseller in Edinburgh by 1722 and, by 1724, had regained his role of King's Printer once more.¹⁹⁵ The decision, by Freebairn - if indeed it was his choice - to print Pitscottie's *Cronicles* (a reformist representation of Reformation Scotland, which therefore somewhat opposes Freebairn's supposed Jacobite values) is intriguing, but was perhaps an attempt to seek forgiveness from the Presbyterians in power, and reassure others of his new distance from the rebellious Jacobite cause.

The comparison of the punctuation system of the first printed edition of the *Cronicles* with the preceding manuscript witnesses of the text further exemplifies the argument employed previously in this chapter that markedly different punctuation systems were constructed to aid distinct reading communities. For example, the selected extract within MS 185 contains the most comprehensive punctuation system of all the manuscripts examined; further, it is one of only three witnesses of the *Cronicles* to contain a novel punctuation mark to further differentiate degrees of pause within the punctuation system.¹⁹⁶ In doing so the scribe is providing more detailed guidance for an extensive reader in that they are emphasising the nuanced differences between different lengths of pause so that a reader who is unfamiliar with the text can read it with

¹⁹⁵ Clive (1989: 161) suggests Freebairn's position may not be an anomaly: 'the cultural stirrings of the early eighteenth century owed much to the Jacobites, and not just to those of noble birth. Nearly all the Edinburgh printers and booksellers at this time... were Jacobites and Episcopalians'.

¹⁹⁶ See also MS Acc. 3736 and Adv. MS 35.4.11.

precise rhythm and intonation, and understand it correctly.¹⁹⁷ While MS 185 includes six different punctuation marks within the extract under analysis, Freebairn employs five different punctuation marks in his 1728 edition (*litterae notabiliores*, *puncti*, double *puncti*, *semi-cola*, and *commata*), and Urie, Cadell, and Dalyell each use four different marks in their respective eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions (*litterae notabiliores*, *puncti*, *semi-cola*, and *commata*) - though some of the printed editions employ a higher quantity of the individual punctuation marks within their less diverse system than does MS 185. MS 185 could therefore represent the period in which emergent extensive, silent reading practices reached a peak in usage before the proportion of the reading public employing these practices became higher than those using more intensive reading practices, and so became the primary reading practice of early modern Scottish society. The comprehensiveness of the punctuation system of MS 185 and the inclusion of a novel punctuation mark suggests that the scribe is exploiting the punctuation system in multiple ways (i.e. in quantity and diversity) in order to provide as much guidance as possible for the reader of the text. This suggests that the scribe recognises a readership significantly towards the extensive end of the spectrum of reading practices as they envisage that the reader will be unfamiliar with the text and therefore requires such generous aid in order to comprehend the text correctly. However, after this 'critical' point, extensive reading practices became widespread and commonly used (having become the primary reading practice of the early modern period). Therefore the reading communities which are being catered for by the printers of the *Cronicles* are skilled enough in the physical and cognitive processes of extensive reading so as to not require such detailed guidance on the material page as those prior to this climax. MS 185 therefore represents a reading community in which the practices employed are more extensive than they have ever previously been (simultaneously, more reading communities than ever before are employing extensive practices), but, as of yet, extensive reading practices have not been practiced for a sustained enough period of time for the reading communities who employ these practices to have become skilled extensive, silent readers and, as such, competently read without thorough guidance on the material page.

¹⁹⁷ As Smith (2013a: 173) suggests 'the purpose is to provide a graded set of pauses between sense-units... By these means, the reader would be guided as to an appropriate delivery of the text'.

The punctuation system of the extract from Freebairn's 1728 edition is comprehensive, but, notably, not as comprehensive as the system found in the extract from MS 185. It is, however, slightly more detailed than the punctuation systems of the subsequent printed editions.¹⁹⁸ The punctuation system of Freebairn's 1728 edition therefore indicates the next crucial stage in the use of extensive, silent reading practices. As discussed throughout this chapter - and argued by many scholars (Parkes 1993, 2012b; Jajdelska 2007; Smith 2013a) - as more extensive reading practices became increasingly more widely used throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, scribes attempted to cater for this practice by providing increasingly more explicit and thorough guidance on the material page.¹⁹⁹ This changing pattern of punctuation practices has been noted across various witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, of which only a selected few have been discussed in this chapter. However, by the early eighteenth century more reading communities than ever before were employing extensive reading practices, i.e. frequently reading silently in solitary reading environments; regularly encountering unfamiliar texts, often reading directly from the material page with no prior memory of the text to refer to. As a result readers had become 'skilled' in the practice of reading extensively, and no longer required such explicit guidance on the page in order to successfully encounter an unfamiliar text. Therefore the comprehensive punctuation system of the first printed edition of the *Cronicles* (a high quantity but low variation of punctuation marks) suggests that Freebairn is catering for this hypothesised 'skilled' extensive reading community: a readership who, though still requiring guidance as to where to pause in order to correctly interpret the content of an unfamiliar text, did not require such detailed guidance as did earlier more extensive reading communities as they had the literacy skills to correctly comprehend the text when explicit guidance was not provided.²⁰⁰ This pattern (the gradual increase in a 'skilled' extensive reading public and parallel

¹⁹⁸ Robert Urie's 1749 edition; Thomas Cadell's 1778 edition; and Graham Dalyell's 1814 edition.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 1, Section C for more thorough discussion.

²⁰⁰ For example, readers themselves could distinguish between the meaning of similar lengths of pause in different positions without the need for an extremely varied range of different marks to do so; readers no longer required such consistent recap (e.g. as formal marginalia often functioned within the manuscript witnesses of the text) as they were skilled in the practice of consistently storing information to the short term memory during the reading process; readers were skilled/well practiced in the quick comprehension of text; readers read much more widely and therefore had great prior understanding of a wide range of generic structures of popular text forms and how these structures (e.g. page layout, textual division) influence the interpretation of the text.

decrease in the complexity of guidance required) continued throughout the early modern period and explains why the punctuation systems of Urie's 1749 edition, Cadell's 1778 edition, and Dalyell's 1814 edition are subsequently slightly less comprehensive than Freebairn's first edition.

Of all the witnesses examined so far in Chapter 3, the punctuation system of the first printed edition most closely resembles present-day punctuation practices, most notably in that it only includes punctuation marks which are found in present-day punctuation systems. For example, it does not include any novel or archaic punctuation marks, as are found in four of the thirteen manuscript witnesses (Crawford MS I, Adv. MS 35.4.11, MS Acc. 3736, and MS 185). This reinforces the suggestion that by this period in literacy history a 'skilled' silent, extensive readership had developed - who needed less textual guidance - as there is a marked reduction in the attempts to innovatively indicate differentiated and specific pause lengths (as discussed in Section B.2 of this chapter in relation to Crawford MS I). The similarities between present-day punctuation practices and those identified in the early printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, suggest that by the early eighteenth century, punctuation was becoming increasingly more standardised due to the parallel development of the reading practices of the previously diverse reading communities of late medieval and early modern Scotland becoming increasingly more standardised.

Freebairn's 1728 edition employs a system of textual division which remains consistent throughout, and consistency is a trait which continues throughout the printed editions of the text in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Intertitles are used to introduce every monarch's section within the text and they are presented identically on the page every time; an enlarged initial is used to begin every monarch's section; and marginal items such as running titles and pagination occur on every page. Further, each feature of textual division employed within Freebairn's 1728 edition is used within a single, specific environment, rather than the same feature being employed in multiple environments with various (and often quite distinct) functions, as is found in several manuscripts of the text. For example, whereas in Crawford MS I and MS

185 enlarged initials were used both at the beginning of every page of the manuscript and for the incipit of each of the monarchs' sections, the witnesses of Freebairn's 1728 edition only employ enlarged initials at the beginning of a new monarch's section. This enables the enlarged initials within Freebairn's edition to have a clear representational value which makes it easier for the reader to understand what the feature is indicating both as an individual marker of textual division within the system of textual division and within the overall paratextual system in relation to other features of the page. For example, it allows enlarged initials to function as an indicator of a significant change in the content of the text (and in doing so aids a more extensive reader's comprehension of the text) without confusing the significance of the feature - which is a primary concern when catering for a reading community who would be unfamiliar with the text - by also employing the feature in other positions with a different purpose.²⁰¹ As discussed, by this stage in the development of literacy practices, Freebairn anticipated a reading community in which the distinct majority of members used practices positioned significantly towards the extensive end of the spectrum of reading practices. Therefore, not only have the producers of texts learnt that more extensive, silent reading practices need to be catered for by guidance on the material page, but also that inconsistency is detrimental to successful extensive reading. As discussed throughout this chapter, the literacy practices of the reading communities of late medieval and early modern Scotland existed within a spectrum of more intensive and more extensive reading practices, with the nuances of the specific practices employed by the various distinct communities being indicated by factors such as the quantity, variety, and consistency (and a balance between the three) of the guiding features provided by the texts' producers. While several of the manuscripts of the *Cronicles* contain a high quantity and variety of paratextual features, Freebairn's printed edition, in slightly reducing the quantity and variety of features but increasing the consistency of their use, balances the three factors which provide guidance for an unfamiliar reader of the text and therefore caters for a more extensive reading community than those indicated by the manuscript witnesses.

²⁰¹ In Crawford MS I and MS 185 enlarged initials are employed as both markers of textual division and *aides memoire*.

Further, Freebairn's 1728 edition is the first version of the *Cronicles* to divide the text consistently into paragraphs throughout, which aids a more extensive reader of the text by providing clear and continual positions to pause for interpretation and clear segregation of content to aid understanding. The majority of manuscripts of the *Cronicles* do not include paragraphs, and those that do only make use of them sporadically (Adv. MS 35.4.11; MS La.III.583; MS La.III.198; Crawford MS II, MS 2672), therefore displaying the long and gradual period of transition during which extensive reading practices became increasingly more widely used and more recognised by the producers of texts. As can be seen from the different uses of paragraphs across the various witnesses of the text, during the period of the *Cronicles*' reproduction in manuscript and print (c.1575-1814) versions of the text were variously created for readers across the spectrum of intensive and extensive reading practices. Further reinforcing the relationship between the consistency of features and more extensive reading practices, as discussed above, a pattern across the manuscript and print witnesses of the text can be interpreted: the lack of paragraphs indicates a more intensive reading community; the inconsistent use of paragraphs indicates some awareness of a more extensive readership; and the consistent use of paragraphs indicates a reading community distinctly at the more extensive end of the reading spectrum.

The paratextual system of Freebairn's 1728 edition is relatively simple and unobtrusive. In accordance with the needs of the 'skilled', extensive reading community for whom Freebairn was catering it includes the lowest quantity of features necessary to ensure an easy reading process and correct understanding of the text. Further, the paratextual features within this witness do not interfere too abruptly with the text itself. For example, there are no formal marginalia in this edition, a feature which requires the reader to frequently transfer their eye line between the main text and the marginal position of the marginalia.²⁰² Furthermore, there are few inter-textual markers of textual division within this edition apart from a standardised system to introduce each

²⁰² The exclusion of formal marginalia cannot be attributed to the limitations (technological or spatial) of the printed page as the contemporary printed edition of Holinshed's chronicle which was discussed in Chapter 2B, Section C.2 included printed formal marginalia. Instead the absence of formal marginalia can be attributed to the reading community for which Freebairn is catering.

of the conventional monarchs' sections with a centralised, enlarged intertitle atop a new page and an enlarged initial.²⁰³ For example, enlarged initials are used in no other positions, there are no inter-textual intertitles, and there are no other forms of rubrication. By the early eighteenth century, the reading community - as suggested above - is likely to have been skilled enough in the processes of reading extensively to successfully read in silent, private environments.²⁰⁴ Freebairn therefore caters for this anticipated reading community, who would be reading directly from the material page, by causing as little distraction as possible for both the eye and the mind by only including paratextual features in positions/functions that are entirely necessary to ensure a successful reading of the text, and making them as clear and unobtrusive as possible when they are included.

Finally, one of the primary indicators of an anticipated extensive reading community is the provision of a title page.²⁰⁵ While the title page is now deemed a quintessential feature of the printed book (and was, perhaps, included in Freebairn's 1728 edition as such), this feature - and the printed form itself - only emerged due to the needs of a large and active extensive reading market. Title pages, or some form of identification of the text at the beginning of the material text itself, gradually became an essential aid for more extensive reading communities as these readers were less likely to be aware of which text they are encountering due to reading a wider range of texts, and frequently engaging with texts which they had not previously encountered. Therefore the inclusion of a title page in Freebairn's 1728 edition of the *Cronicles* is firm evidence of a more extensive readership of the text existing by the eighteenth century: book production, necessarily, caters for a recognisable market in order to produce profit - printers would not waste the expense of producing a title page if it was not required to meet the needs of their target reading community. Notably, only one manuscript witness of the text includes a title page in the scribal hand - MS 2672 - but this manuscript has been provisionally dated to the post-print period

²⁰³ In Chapter 2B, Section F the potential for inter-textual features to be invasive – and therefore problematic to the reading process if included in too high a quantity – was discussed. This witness limits the degree of intervention that inter-textual paratextual items cause by only using them in limited and specific environments.

²⁰⁴ See Jajdelska's (2007) discussion of how silent reading practices reached a critical mass in the eighteenth century, after which such practices were actively catered for by the producers of texts.

²⁰⁵ See Chapter 2B, Section B.2.

(the scribal formal marginalia suggests it is a post-1813 production), and two further manuscripts include title pages in their extant form but they were seemingly additions by a later hand (MSS La.III.216 and 218). The inclusion of title pages therefore suggests that while more extensive reading practices were emerging and gradually increasing in use during the period in which the *Cronicles* circulated in manuscript form, by the period in which the text entered print (at a relatively late date in relation to the establishment of print in Scotland) extensive reading practices were firmly established and widely used by a predominant portion of literate society.

The content of the first printed edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* further reinforces the suggestion that the printer/editor was creating a text for an established more extensive reading community. It includes a considerable quantity of prefatory material, including the 'Author's Account to the Reader' and the 'Verses to the Bishop' as are frequently found in manuscript witnesses of the text, but it also includes items original to the printed form such as Freebairn's 'Printer's Preface' and the 'Subscription List'. At the most basic level, the inclusion of prefatory, supplementary, and/or additional material suggests a more extensive reader encountering the text in a private reading environment, as non-essential surrounding material is potentially less likely to have been orated in a public reading environment or to have been deemed worthy of memorisation. Instead, this 'extra' material is only likely to have been encountered by a reader who was encountering the material text directly themselves, within a reading environment in which it was suitable to take the time to read this non-essential material - therefore most likely in a private, silent reading environment. Further, this material is likely to have been of more interest to an extensive reader; more intensive reading communities read the same small number of texts frequently, whereas more extensive reading communities are likely have been more receptive to encountering new surrounding texts such as those supplied in selected manuscripts and printed witnesses of the *Cronicles*.

The 'Subscription List' - only found in Freebairn's 1728 edition - is a significant indicator that this version of the text is catering for reading communities considerably towards the more extensive end of the spectrum of reading practices. Firstly, whilst there could be some argument that several of the other conventional prefatory items could, potentially, have been read aloud within aural, public reading environments due to their narrative form and informative content (e.g. the 'Author's Account to the Reader', the 'Verses to the Bishop', the 'Description of Britain') there would have been no conceivable demand for the 'Subscription List' to be delivered in an oration of the text. The item is not included to be read in a full, linear fashion; it would have been scanned by the eye for reference purposes and is likely to have only been perused within a silent, private reading environment. Further, the purpose of the 'Subscription List' attests to the presence of more extensive reading communities in the period of the production of this edition as it functions to advertise the ownership of a text in order to increase sales; a function which would have been unnecessary within a more intensive reading community as all members would have, primarily, read the same narrow range of texts.

The 'Subscription List' is also interesting because, while - as previously discussed - the editorial input of features such as intertitles and additional texts indicate what the producers of the manuscripts/printed editions interpreted as the reasons early modern Scottish reading communities were engaging with Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, the 'Subscription List' provides direct evidence of these reading purposes from the identified reading communities of this text themselves. The expected primary readership of the text - if it is interpreted as being engaged with for its basic historical/chronicle content - would be Fife, as the majority of the events recorded by Pitscottie are focussed on this location (Mackay 1899: xlv-xlv). In fact, the chronicle is extremely biased towards this area of Scotland at the expense of the documentation of events which took place in other areas of the country in the contemporary period. While 'Fife Shire' itself contains a relatively low number of subscribers to the 1728 edition - only six (from a population of 81,570 according to the 1755 Census; the nearest Census to the date of Freebairn's publication - Kyd 1952: 38-41) - the geographically neighbouring area of 'Perth Shire' contains the second highest

quantity of subscribers - thirty-six (from a population of 120,116 according to the 1755 Census - Kyd 1952: 42-46).²⁰⁶ This suggests that while Pitscottie's immediate surrounding community of Fife may not have been the largest reading community of the first printed edition of his *Cronicles*, there was a large population of subscribers in mid-eastern Scotland; for example, together, the 'shires' of Fife, Kinross, Perth, Stirling, and Forfar contain 27% of the subscribers to the 1728 edition - only 1% less than the metropolitan centre of 'Edinburgh Shire' and 'Haddington Shire' from where 28% of the geographically specified names on the 'Subscription List' were located.

Further, while not negating the text's popularity within its expected reading community of Fife, Freebairn's 'List of Subscribers' also suggests an additional - and perhaps unexpected - significant reading community; it indicates a propensity of subscribers based in the Scottish county of Moray (in the north-east of Scotland). Moray (labelled as 'Elgin Shire' in the eighteenth century) contains the (joint) fifth largest population of subscriber's to the *Cronicles*, and, notably, contains a slightly higher quantity of subscribers than does Fife - there are eight subscribers on the list which can be located to Moray ('Elgin Shire'), whereas only six names can be located to Fife. In comparison, the fourth largest population of subscribers is 'Inverness Shire', from where nine subscribers can be located (only one more subscription than Moray), but, notably 'Inverness Shire' contained a population of 59,563 (according to the 1755 Census - Kyd 1952: 59-60), while Moray only contained a population of 30,604 (Kyd 1952: 57-59). Similarly, it is worth noting that while Moray contained eight subscribers from a population of 30,604, 'Aberdeen Shire' only contained six subscribers yet had a population of 116,162 (according to the 1755 Census - Kyd 1952: 51-55). Further, the top six shires containing the highest quantity of locatable subscribers of the 1728 edition are: 'Edinburgh Shire' (52), 'Perth Shire' (36), 'Lanark Shire' (11), 'Inverness Shire' (9), Moray ('Elgin Shire') (8), and 'Stirling Shire' (8): a list in which Moray is notable as being the only geographical area which is not a highly populated area, a metropolitan area, or an area explicitly associated with early modern book production.

²⁰⁶ For continuity, this chapter discusses areas of Scotland as 'shires', using the terminology employed in Webster's 1755 census.

This leads to the query of why the residents of Moray seem to show such a notable interest in the *Cronicles*. In addition to the Moray-based readership of the 1728 edition of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* as suggested by the 'List of Subscribers', MS Acc. 3736 contains two non-scribal additional texts (the 'List of Bishops' and the 'Account of Bishops'), both of which discuss the bishops of Moray. Further, an annotation to MS Acc. 3736 suggests that the additional texts were originally composed by Lachlan Shaw, the author of *The History of the Province of Moray* (1827). Additionally, one witness of Urie's 1749 edition (Bo3-m.12) contains a newspaper clipping documenting an event in Drainie (Moray) attached to the front pastedown. This link between Moray and the *Cronicles* can be potentially explained in relation to the reading purposes of this text which have already been discussed. The Moray-based readership of this text was not reading the *Cronicles* for its documentation of Scottish history; they had a prior awareness of the Reformist bias of this text and therefore were reading for devotional purposes. However, they also had an interest in local history, and this was catered for by the material of local interest added to these witnesses.

In *The History of the Province of Moray* (1827) Lachlan Shaw discusses how the people of Moray seemingly welcomed the Reformation and accepted the new religion and the changes to ecclesiastical and political structures. He suggests that: 'from the Reformation downward, no country in the North, and few, if any, in the South, adhered more firmly to the Protestant principles, even in the worst of times, than did the inhabitants of Moray' (Shaw 1827: 407) and that despite the Roman Catholic favour of the majority of post-Reformation monarchs, very few of the residents of Moray were seduced into Popery (Shaw 1827: 419). Moray as a county therefore remained staunchly Protestant throughout the turbulent post-Reformation period, and this suggestion of their notable faith elucidates this community's interest in reading Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. The people of Moray were unlikely to have been interested in the historical events which took place in Fife - there were several more revered chronicles of Scotland for those interested in Scottish history - but Pitscottie's text provided a Protestant community with pro-Reformist reading material which enabled them to maintain their beliefs throughout a turbulent period of ecclesiastical history. Further,

there is not just evidence of the early eighteenth-century reading communities of Freebairn's edition engaging with the *Cronicles* for devotional purposes; the attributable handwritten marginalia and marks of ownership found in two manuscripts of the text indicate that these witnesses were circulating in Moray in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - the immediate post-Reformation period, in which material furthering the Reformist cause and reinforcing Protestant beliefs would have been most desirable. Handwritten annotations to MS Acc. 3736 and MS 3147 suggest that these manuscripts may have circulated in Moray at some point during their transmission history. For example, MS Acc. 3736 includes the names Captain Stewart of Lesmurdie - resident of Moray (Russell 1844: 69) - and William Duguid Geddes, who had a school education in Elgin before attending university and commencing a teaching career in Aberdeen (Pollard and Smail 2004); and MS 3147 includes the names of Sir Alexander Abercromby (born c.1607) and his daughter Violet Abercromby (born c.1635), of Birkenbog, Banffshire, and John Alexander (1686-c.1766) - a Scottish painter whose clients were primarily Jacobites in the north-east of Scotland and whose most ambitious work was a ceiling painting for Gordon Castle in Moray (National Galleries Scotland). All these individuals can therefore be linked plausibly to Moray.

Across the witnesses of the *Cronicles*, the content and the paratextual features (particularly the features of textual division) have seemed to suggest that early modern reading communities engaged with the text primarily for its pro-Reformist content. However, the specific names which occur on the 'Subscription List' which prefaces Freebairn's 1728 edition of the text suggest that the situation (and the religious and political ideologies of early modern Scotland) may actually be more complex than initially perceived. Several of the names included in the 'Subscription List' are notable for their associations with Jacobitism, including: Lord George Murray, Lord Erskine, Lord Pitsligo, Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunnipace, Earl of Strathmore, David Murray - Master of Stromont, Thomas Ruddiman, Thomas Drummond of Logiealmond, David Erskine of Dun, Alexander Gordon, and Basil Hamilton. This prevalence of Jacobite owners of the text does not correspond with the expected reading purposes of the text. While Scottish Jacobites were known to have had a keen interest in the

history of their country in order to support their claims regarding the monarchy, as noted elsewhere in this chapter, Pitscottie's *Cronicles* were unlikely to have been read for their historical content (due to the inaccuracy and bias of the representation of events). Instead, it has been discussed that the text was more likely to have been read devotionally and didactically for its pro-Protestant/Reformist content, which, in many respects, opposes traditional Jacobite religious and political beliefs. While this intriguing finding deserves more research in relation to the ideological history of post-Reformation/post-Union Scotland than this thesis can provide, it does serve to further reinforce one of the central arguments of this thesis: that a change is required in relation to the dichotomous manner in which historical socio-cultural practices and ideologies are understood and discussed. Several scholars have been persuasively propagating this change of perspective throughout the last few decades; most notably Eamon Duffy's (1992) *Stripping of the Altars* which discusses the interconnected relationship between traditional and innovative religious practices during the turbulent Reformation period, and Colin Kidd's (2008) *Union and Unionisms* which attempts to re-address the 'binary principles' (2008: 3) upon which discussions of unionism and nationalism are based, provide alternative perspectives of the complex religious and political ideologies and belief systems for which this finding in Freebairn's 'Subscription List' provides further evidence. Just as this thesis attests to the complex, nuanced nature of early modern Scottish reading communities - rejecting the antithetical discussions of intensive and extensive, and aural and silent reading practices - the evidence of Jacobite subscribers for a chronicle which has been labelled as pro-Reformist in content suggests that the realities of early modern Scotland were much more fluid than the existing category labels indicate. Kidd exemplifies this nuanced reality of eighteenth-century Scottish society in his discussion of unionism - a description which can also be projected onto contemporary experiences of religious change and socio-cultural change (e.g. literacy practices): 'a caricature unitarism had obliterated the contours of traditional unionism from popular memory. Unionism was not necessarily about capitulation, assimilation, integration or emulation - though, to be fair, it could be sometimes - but was more often about the maintenance of semi-autonomy or nationhood within Union, by means of compromise, adjustment and even nationalist assertion when required' (2008: 5). The evidence provided by the 'Subscription List', therefore, of a potential

Jacobite readership of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, perhaps does not indicate an unexpected Jacobite readership of a pro-Reformist text, but instead highlights a 'category error' (Kidd 2008: 6) in regard to current discussions of eighteenth-century Scotland, and suggests that the individual/societal response to religion, politics, national identity, and cultural change 'is very complicated and defies easy parsing' (Kidd 2008: 6).

C. Summary

This chapter has primarily focussed on three witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* to exemplify how features of *mise-en-page* can be used to identify the physical reading practices and reading purposes of specific reading communities of the text.

As has been discussed when considering the reading practices employed by the communities encountering Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, paratextual features were produced by the scribes/printers of the various witnesses in order to actively cater for the reading practices they anticipated their intended readership to be using.²⁰⁷ One function of the paratextual elements employed by the producers of the texts was to provide guidance for the intended reading community in order to make the physical reading process easier. However, this guiding function can also be analysed from an alternative perspective if the paratextual elements are interpreted as features which direct the reader to sections of text which are most closely aligned with their reading interests and which will be most fulfilling to their purposes for engaging with the text.

Overall, the paratextual elements found in the various witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* suggest that the text was being read as an act of devotion: "next unto the holie scripture, chronicles doo carie credit" (Abraham Fleming in Patterson 1994: vii; viii).²⁰⁸ Pro-Protestant members of post-Reformation Scotland were, perhaps, reading the *Cronicles* in remembrance of the hardships the Reformers underwent in order to strengthen their Protestant beliefs and identify sources

²⁰⁷ Patterson (1994: 275) assigns agency to the authors and producers of texts by suggesting that they were actively catering for specific reading practices: she suggests chronicle compilers 'aimed to guide their own readers in the rather special art and mental agility that this practice required'.

²⁰⁸ This argument is supported by the content of the *Cronicles*: its representation of events has a pro-Protestant bias and the actions of the Reformers are often focussed on within the documented events; it could be interpreted as a Reformist representation of history. Further, it was potentially not primarily read for its historical content; there were many more popular and reputable histories and chronicles in circulation in this period (for example, Hector Boece's *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (1527) – and its subsequent translation into Scots by John Bellenden (1536) – and Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577; 1587)), and Pitscottie's *Cronicles* is acknowledged to be inaccurate in its representation of events and biased in its focus on events which took place within the county of Fife.

for imitation.²⁰⁹ The *Cronicles* therefore functioned similarly to the martyrologies which were circulating in this period, and were chosen as reading material for similar purposes as those for which devotional works or sermon collections were engaged with: they reassured the reader by presenting God's purpose and intentions, and supplied a way of improving their faith. Kolstø (2010) describes martyrology as a form of mythology (similar to the origin myths of the chronicle tradition) in that a politicised/manipulated representation of events is presented in order to encourage/strengthen particular beliefs (whether religious or political). Tipton (1998: 329) suggests 'history shows the reward of virtue and the punishment of sin'; which, as Pitscottie's *Cronicles* are largely a Reformist representation of history, provided the Protestant reader with reassurance of their chosen religion in the conflicted post-Reformation period.²¹⁰

The reader's search for religious reassurance is particularly emphasised in the sections of the *Cronicles* which depict Reformation martyrs. Tertullian's famous dictum (as discussed in Kolstø (2010: 1171)) discusses the blood of martyrs as being the seed of the Church, suggesting that knowledge of martyrdom - which could be gained from the textual representation of martyrdom, as is found in Pitscottie's *Cronicles* - strengthens, in others, the religious belief for which the martyr died: 'martyrs are to inspire imitation, to make more martyrs' (Truman 2003: 57). Reading acts of martyrdom functions to provide a role model of belief and behaviour for the reader to imitate, and would encourage Protestant readers to maintain their faith in order to prevent the martyrs' deaths from having been in vain. Freeman (1996) argues that Reformation and post-Reformation Scottish society (therefore the author, producers, and reading communities of the *Cronicles*) were very aware of the effect martyrology could have for strengthening religious belief. Freeman discusses the quotation used in the title of his article - "the reik of Maister Patrik Hammyltoun" - as a Catholic

²⁰⁹ This is a particularly relevant undertaking in the period in which the *Cronicles* were written and initially circulated as post-Reformation Scotland was turbulent and religiously heterogeneous, with the risk of a Catholic Counter Reformation being particularly pressing during the reign of James VI. Remembrance of the hardships that the Protestant Reformers endured in order for the Protestant faith to be practiced in contemporary society – and remembrance of the supposedly 'bad' actions of the orthodox community towards Reformers – functions to reinforce and strengthen contemporary pro-Protestant feeling. As Tipton states, there was a 'common understanding that history had contemporary applications' (1998: 326).

²¹⁰ Though, as discussed in Section B.3 in relation to the 'Subscription List' in Freebairn's 1728 edition, the religious leanings of both the text and the anticipated reading communities may not be as clearly defined as the antithetical labels of religious and societal groups imply.

quote urging fellow Catholics to cease burning Protestants as they will ‘destroy themselves’ (Freeman 1996: 43-44); even during the Reformation itself, Scottish society was clearly becoming aware that the act of martyrdom served to reinforce the martyrs’ beliefs. Freeman goes so far as to suggest that acts of martyrdom (and, therefore, written representations of martyrdom) particularly strengthened Protestant faith because the act of martyrdom aligned so closely with other Protestant beliefs; Reformers identified themselves with early Christians and their beliefs and practices, and one of the hallmarks of the early church was its martyrs (Freeman 1996: 44).

In association with the potential devotional reading purposes, it could be suggested that the *Cronicles* were also being read didactically: early modern readers were reading for self-improvement, and were seeking behavioural guidance and moral instruction. Patterson discusses the didactic function of chronicles at length in her discussion of Holinshed’s chronicle; she suggests that chronicle-writing involves ‘historiographical evaluation of the past and political evaluation of the present’ (1994: 132). Tipton also acknowledges the recognised didactic purpose for reading chronicles: ‘the common understanding that history had contemporary applications’ (1998: 326); they are ‘a didactic exercise in piety and morality’ (1998: 329). Patterson (1994: viii) goes so far as to suggest that ‘both vernacular Bibles and national histories were essential to the Protestant educational mission’, citing John Bale’s specialised programme to meet the needs of the English post-Reformation culture which ‘saw the reconstruction of English historiography as a project parallel to the dissemination of the Scriptures in English’.

The analysis of the physical reading practices used to encounter the manuscripts of the text is enlightening as all witnesses must be approached without preconceived expectations of a ‘chronological development’ of literacy practices as suggested by evolutionary theories of literacy, as all thirteen manuscript witnesses of the *Cronicles* are undated and have only been provided with approximate dates in this thesis.²¹¹ It is notable, however, that Mackay (1899:

²¹¹ See Chapter 2A.

lxxxiii; lxxxviii) dates Crawford MS I earlier than the Wodrow Folio (see Chapter 2A, Sections 2 and 6), and the dating span indicated by the textual evidence from the two manuscripts also suggests the possibility of Crawford MS I being an earlier composition than the Wodrow Folio, yet the Wodrow Folio contains less comprehensive paratextual guidance than Crawford MS I (though both manuscripts contain punctuation systems which only consist of *litterae notabiliores*). This finding exemplifies the purpose of, and primary finding of, this thesis. Evolutionary theories of the history of literacy suggest that literacy practices are constantly developing in a linear fashion from oral, through aural, to silent reading (and correspondingly from intensive to extensive reading); but this chapter, which describes a potentially earlier manuscript catering for a comparatively more silent, extensive reading community than its later counterpart, discredits this perception. It emphasises, as has been this thesis' intention, the multiplicity of reading practices in use within early modern Scotland and their employment by various coexisting, contemporary or near-contemporary reading communities. The 'development' of reading practices was not a direct linear transition from oral/aural, intensive reading to silent, extensive reading; it was a slow, gradual process with fluctuations in usage and long periods of coexistence of discrete reading communities within the generalised changes perceived in western society as a whole.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

‘‘Oral’ and ‘literate’ are rarely discrete entities or inversely related [...] instead they form a dynamic continuum, each feeding in and out of the other in the development and nourishment of both’

Fox (2002: 50)

A. Introduction

This thesis has engaged, in interdisciplinary fashion, with a range of academic fields and theorists, and current research methods and practices, while approaching a single primary research problem: namely, the identification of the literacy practices of the reading communities of early modern Scotland (1575-1814) for whom the various manuscripts and early print versions of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles of Scotland* were produced.

B. Position within the Evolving Contemporary Field

The interdisciplinary form of this thesis derives from a series of converging research interests and methodologies in the final quarter of the twentieth century, during which several previously disparate fields of linguistic, bibliographic, and pragmatic research were re-defined and combined into an enriching interdisciplinary endeavour in which this thesis partakes.²¹²

The expansion of pragmatic analyses into the historical has - naturally - led to a renewed emphasis on written data (and, more specifically, close textual analysis of its micro-data - in conjunction with the parallel movement of ‘New Philology’) and diachronicity - both of which are central to this thesis’ methodology. Pragmatic research has traditionally focussed on spoken data: ‘historical pragmatics for a long time had to defend and justify the appropriateness of written data for their investigations’ (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 9), but the current broadening in research questions, data, and methodologies, and the newly interdisciplinary nature of the field has - fortunately - resulted in written

²¹² For full discussion of the major paradigm shifts which led to the formation of this interdisciplinary branch of linguistics and textual culture at the end of the twentieth century see Chapter 1, Section B.

data becoming ‘understood as communicative manifestations in their own right [...] amenable to pragmatic analyses’ (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 9).

This stimulating development has produced a vibrant research environment of specialist journals (see the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*), symposia (see the ‘Linguistics Meets Book History: Seeking New Approaches’ symposia hosted by the ‘Pragmatics on the Page’ project at the University of Turku (2014) and the ‘Textual Afterlives’ events hosted at Queen’s University Belfast and the University of Glasgow (2011)), publications (Archer and Culpeper 2011; Mak 2011; Smith 2013a, 2013b; Carroll et al 2013; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013), and centres of research (e.g. University of Glasgow, led by Jeremy Smith; University of Helsinki, led by Irma Taavitsainen and Terttu Nevalainen; University of Turku, led by Matti Peikola; University of Zurich, led by Andreas Jucker). This research project is therefore situated within an international research environment which it is both supported by and contributes to, at a key stage - temporally - in the field’s development.

C. Methodological Implications

Due to the research environment described above, this thesis is necessarily interdisciplinary in focus, and, as in any interdisciplinary enterprise, issues can arise from a lack of communication between the disparate subject areas which each employ different - but potentially corresponding - methodologies and data, and each contain their own nuanced research purposes and focuses. This research project therefore develops a methodology which, in its basic structure, is transferable to other studies which examine the relationship between the material form and socio-cultural uses of written texts within their historical context.

A methodology has been presented which advocates the combined use of previously contrasting methodologies: it indicates the benefits of beginning with discussion of micro-data (pre-prescribed items; the study’s *tertium comparationis*) and conducting quantitative assesment, before applying these

findings to macro-data and conducting qualitative analysis. Additionally, in accordance with the practices of Continental/Social Pragmatics this research has highlighted the importance of actual data for historical pragmatic research in order to achieve accurate results regarding how material and linguistic forms were used in the past. Further, due to the historical focus of this research - early modern Scotland - this thesis necessarily made use of written data (as the only extant sources from the period in question) and, through successful analysis of these data using the methodology presented, further asserted their validity as the focus of pragmatic research.²¹³ Finally, this research took a diachronic approach to its topic and displayed how this is both an enlightening direction of historical pragmatic research and is an approach which can successfully be undertaken by employing the methodology which has been outlined.

D. Original Contribution

In regard, specifically, to the data set collated for this thesis, this research has contributed to various under-researched gaps in the Scottish literary canon. Firstly, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland* is a significantly under-researched text within the Scottish vernacular canon. Despite admiration for the chronicle from eighteenth-century antiquaries, for example Sir Walter Scott and Cosmo Innes, there has been very little scholarly discussion of the text outside occasional anthologising (aside from Mackay (1899), Wilson (1993), and an article on one of the text's prefatory items 'The Description of England, Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall' (Armstrong 1952)).²¹⁴ Further, only Mackay (1899) provides any discussion of the material forms of the text: the manuscripts and printed editions of the text. Therefore, not only does this thesis contribute original research into a relatively overlooked work of Scottish historiography, Chapter 2 also presents an extensive quantity of original data on multiple material witnesses of the text in considerably higher detail than has ever previously been provided, bringing to light a wide range of bibliographic,

²¹³ The broadening of linguistic forms as the focus of analysis has been widely acknowledged: 'recent years have seen among linguists of all sorts, a steadily growing interest in the pragmatic aspects of a broad spectrum of linguistic phenomena' (Oleksy 1989: ix).

²¹⁴ According to Mackay (1899: lviii), Sir Walter Scott 'made better use of his [Pitscottie's] Chronicles than any other writer', and a letter bound within MS Acc. 3736 – dated 1847 – suggests that Cosmo Innes had an interest in (and an expressed interest in, specifically, viewing) this witness of the *Cronicles* – though it could be suggested that his interest was primarily focussed on the 'Account of the Bishops of Moray' bound within this manuscript.

codicological, and linguistic data that was not previously available without direct consultation of the manuscripts/printed books themselves.

More broadly, the genre of historical chronicles - and vernacular prose chronicles in particular - has been subjected to less analysis than many other literary and documentary genres. Prior research that has been conducted on historical chronicles has focussed on the literary or historical content of the texts (the events that have been documented; the narrative style that has been used to describe events), the political bias of the chronicle (the chroniclers' intentions behind writing the text - usually with a focus on nationalism), or the syntactic structure of the text (e.g. the layout of the text into annals; the use of discourse markers).²¹⁵ Therefore the focus on the reader's perspective is an innovative approach to the chronicle-genre. The physical literacy practices employed by the reading communities for which individual witnesses of the chronicle were produced is a new area of analysis for this genre, and the examination of the reading communities' purposes for engaging with the chronicle provide an interesting comparison to the more commonly researched area of the chroniclers' purposes for composing it.

Finally, through the analysis of one specific example from the history of Scotland's material culture (manuscripts and early printed editions of Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland*), this research project has aimed to provide plausible insights into the specific reading practices and purposes - and, further, the range of these practices and purposes - which were employed by real reading communities in early modern Scotland. Specific information is therefore provided by this thesis regarding the history of literacy in Scotland, an area which, despite having been engaged with by multiple scholars of literacy history, is notably under-researched within the overall European perspective, particularly in comparison to the literacy history of Scotland's closest neighbour,

²¹⁵ The syntactic structure of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, and the relationship between the syntactic structure and punctuation practices found in the various witnesses of the text, would be an interesting focus of future research into this data set yet the spatial and temporal constraints of the thesis presented this from being a focus of the current research project. Any attempt to cover syntactic structure in addition to the paratextual systems and punctuation practices of the texts would have detracted from the cohesive and focused argument of this thesis.

England.²¹⁶ Further, through the analysis of literacy practices - and the parallels the thesis presents with religious and political beliefs and practices - this research project suggests several hypotheses regarding Scottish socio-cultural history.

E. What the Results Indicate

Overall the thesis presents results in three clear areas: it describes findings on the various reading communities of Pitscottie's *Cronicles* - and the reading purposes and practices used to encounter it - throughout its reproduction history (1575-1814); it uses these findings to contribute to the history of literacy in early modern Scotland; and it clarifies - and suggests a necessary re-definition of - the terminology used to describe reading practices.

This thesis argues for the recognition of the extremely nuanced reading practices of individual reading communities. The combined analysis of the punctuation and paratextual features within an individual witness of the text indicates that, rather than discussing literacy practices in terms of universals, specific reading communities are positioned within a spectrum of literacy practices and employ more or less intensive/extensive and oral/aural/silent practices rather than one or the other. These terms are not mutually exclusive and the findings of this thesis reinforce the current school of thought which seeks to banish the presentation of these practices as dichotomous (see Akinnaso 1981: 166; Chartier 1987: 5-7; Darnton 1989: 92; Coleman 1996: xii, 15-16; Fox 2002: 5, 39, 50; Jajdelska: 7, 21). Despite medieval society having been labelled as predominantly oral in practice, specific reading communities are known to have employed both oral/aural and silent reading practices in various contexts. For example, Jajdelska references the popular example of Augustine observing Ambrose reading silently during antiquity to display the early existence of silent reading methods (2007: 5; see also Fischer 2003: 91), and Saenger (1997: 258-259) suggests that 'while private, silent reading became increasingly pervasive in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, public lectures continued'.

²¹⁶ For discussion of the history of literacy in Scotland, see: Webb (1954), Houston (1985), Mann (2000), Sher (2000; 2006), Todd (2005), Gribben (2009), Towsey (2010), Manley (2012), Smith (2012b; 2013a).

Similarly, it has been suggested that 'silent' reading environments were not necessarily wholly silent; medieval 'silent', solitary readers were known to, on occasion, murmur the words of the text aloud, or remain silent but shape the spoken words with their lips as though reading aloud (Fisher 2003: 91). As Jajdelska (2007: 45-46) has persuasively argued, silent readers hear an internal voice subvocalising the words of the text, therefore there is still an element of orality within literacy/silent reading, it has merely become internalised. Further, as public aural presentations (from written text) are still frequent occurrences within formal social environments (e.g. academic lectures, conference papers, acceptance speeches) it can be argued that, despite popular perception, there is still a distinct element of orality within modern literate society.

Though not specifically dated, the various manuscripts of the *Cronicles* display quite significant fluctuations in the reading communities for which they cater; there are instances in which (arguably) later manuscripts appear to cater for more traditional, intensive reading practices while some earlier witnesses cater to more innovative, extensive practices. Therefore the results show that the transition in literacy practices in early modern Scotland was extremely gradual and that multiple coexisting but disparate reading communities were active within single periods of time (see the analysis of the potentially near-contemporary witnesses of the *Cronicles* discussed in Chapter 3, Sections B.1 and B.2). So, while early modern Scotland overall gradually became increasingly more extensive in practice, the history of literacy cannot be interpreted as - nor should it be presented as - a clear uni-directional evolution. The reality is that a much more complex literacy environment in which coexisting but distinct reading communities (i.e. based on various uniting features such as: geographic proximity, familial or social groupings, ideological standing) functioned and interacted. This thesis seeks to recognise and display this over-arching multiplicity of reading practices in early modern Scotland. Nichols, in his discussion of 'New Philology' in the dedicated issue of *Speculum*, states that 'if we accept the multiple forms in which our artifacts have been transmitted, we may recognize that medieval culture did not simply live with diversity, it cultivated it [...] we need to embrace the consequences of that diversity, not simply live with it, but to situate it squarely within our methodology' (1990: 8-9).

Further, in coordination with the required changes to the labels used to describe nuanced reading practices, it is also necessary for value judgements (and terminology which insinuates such value judgements) to be removed from discussions of the history of literacy (see also Coleman 1996: 32-33). This terminology has evolved from evolutionary theories of literacy propagated at the end of the eighteenth century, and now permeates much discussion of the history of reading.²¹⁷ The incautious use of terms such as ‘development’ and ‘progress’ is problematic as they carry connotations of a movement towards something ‘better’; they insinuate ‘improvement’. This thesis has taken a strong stance against the concept that one reading practice is inherently ‘better’ than another (usually this position is attributed to silent, extensive reading practices as they are the primary practices of modern society); instead this thesis has suggested that different reading practices are ‘better suited’ to different reading communities with different reading purposes and different reading environments. To discuss historical reading practices with value judgements attached leads to a misrepresentation of the successful ways in which a range of reading practices functioned within the various reading communities which employed them.

This thesis’ discussion of the socio-cultural environments which influenced the practices and intentions of the reading communities under analysis has highlighted that it is not only Scotland’s early modern literacy environment which should be viewed as existing within a spectrum, the same perspective should be applied more broadly to other socio-cultural practices (for example, in relation to this thesis, post-Reformation religious practices and post-Union political stances in Scotland). As has come to attention while analysing the material texts of Pitscottie’s *Cronicles* and the content of the text within the wider socio-cultural context, the political/religious situation in early modern Scotland was not - despite the large amount of conflict between the supporters

²¹⁷ For examples of evolutionary theories of literacy see Rolf Engelsing’s model of a ‘reading revolution’ (*Leserevolution*) which he argues took place at the end of the eighteenth century: from the Middle Ages until post-1750 people were reading intensively, whereas post-1800 people were reading extensively (as described in Darnton 1989: 91), and Coleman’s (1996: 16-17) analysis of Ong’s ‘Darwinian’ model of literacy which necessitates the ‘extinction’ of one stage for another (with the exception of occasional ‘survivals’).

of the ideologies - a strict divorce between constructs such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Jacobitism, nationalism, and unionism.²¹⁸

As Eamon Duffy (1992) effectively argues, religion - in practice - is complex; traditional and innovative religious practices coexist and interact within lengthy periods of transition. Colin Kidd (2008: 5-6) agrees, explaining unionism and nationalism in terms which are applicable to the other early modern ideologies which are discussed in relation to Pitscottie's *Cronicles*: '[it] was more often about the maintenance of semi-autonomy or nationhood within Union, by means of compromise, [and] adjustment [...] [there] were a variety of unionisms [...] the relationship between unionism and nationhood is very complicated and defies easy parsing'. Just as has been displayed in this thesis' discussion of reading practices and reading communities, socio-cultural practices and religious/political communities (themselves intricately entwined with literacy environments) can be positioned on a spectrum and recognised as, in practice, involving multiple supposedly antithetical practices and beliefs. Therefore to expand upon this thesis' immediate findings regarding reading practices, it further seeks to emphasise the nuanced nature of socio-cultural practices and communities overall. This thesis avoids the discussion of socio-cultural constructs as mutually exclusive entities as suggested by their binary labels; instead, the complexity of coexisting and interacting entities (whether these are ideologies or physical practices) in socio-cultural environments must be taken into account and discussed accordingly.

Finally, this thesis emphasises the direct relationship between the producers and consumers of texts in early modern Scotland (modelled upon Darnton's 'communication circuit' 1982). By exemplifying that the features of the material pages of manuscripts and printed books can be interpreted as accurate indicators of the specific literacy practices used by the reading communities for which they were produced, this thesis suggests that the producers of texts were aware of the socio-cultural practices of their anticipated consumers and were actively catering for them in the creation of their material texts. This thesis

²¹⁸ See, for example the discussion of Robert Freebairn and the 'Subscription List' for the 1728 edition of the *Cronicles* in Chapter 3, Section B.3.

presents the relationship between the producers' construction of form and the function of the text for the consumer (their reading purposes and the practices they employ to encounter it) as circular in impact. The reading practices used by the anticipated consumer influence the form of the text constructed by the producer, and in turn the material page as presented by the producer encourages specific reading practices to be employed by the consumer.

F. Potential for Future Research

It has been repeatedly emphasised throughout this thesis - in order to ensure the validity of the findings of this research - that the hypotheses discussed and outcomes presented relate specifically to the literacy practices of the reading communities of early modern Scotland who engaged with the selected witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*. However, as has already been established, one of the key outputs of this thesis is the presentation and exemplification of a transferable methodology. Therefore the next logical step would be to verify the findings of this thesis by applying this methodology to alternative research questions in order to expand the parameters of this research and examine whether the patterns identified within this thesis continue outside of its immediate textual, temporal, spatial, and socio-cultural constraints.

The first step would seemingly be to expand the data set of this thesis while maintaining the focus on the socio-cultural environment of early modern Scotland through the study of other texts which also have a lengthy reproduction history, and through comparative work on alternative genres (e.g. devotional prose, literary works, medical discourse, etc.). The focus of the research and the methodology employed would, naturally, remain consistent (i.e. the examination of paratextual features and punctuation practices; the relationship between material form and literacy practices; the extraction of micro-data followed by the application of macro-data), but the data set being examined would differ, leading to the formation of cross-genre hypotheses regarding the reading practices of early modern Scottish reading communities in relation to various types of text.

The geographical expansion of this research is another corresponding direction this thesis could take. This thesis has focussed on reading practices and the history of literacy within a Scottish context. This geographical constraint was intentionally selected due to the preoccupation with the English context by previous scholars of literacy history so as to form hypotheses on an under-researched area and contribute findings to the larger British history of literacy. However, direct comparison between the reading practices of Scotland and England during the same time period would now be a beneficial expansion of this thesis, along with potentially further comparison with the contemporary literacy environments of Wales, Ireland, and comparable European countries (e.g. France, Belgium, Germany - all of which have already garnered significant interest from literacy historians).

The final, and perhaps most obvious, expansion of this thesis would be in regard to its temporal constraints. As it is, the thesis analyses a fairly lengthy period of early modern history - nearly two hundred and fifty years - and identifies both similarities and differences between the various reading communities in existence during this time. However, it would be interesting to compare the reading practices and purposes identified in the specific context analysed within this thesis to both the preceding and subsequent Scottish literacy environments in order to develop a broader perspective of the history of literacy in Scotland. Such research would further validate the hypotheses raised in this thesis regarding the history of literacy being constructed around a multiplicity of reading practices which are employed by different reading communities to correspond with different reading purposes and different reading environments. In accordance with the previously discussed issues surrounding evolutionary theories of the history of literacy, the examination of reading practices and reading communities across a broader period of Scottish socio-cultural history could, potentially, further discredit such linear, universal, evolutionary theories and reinforce the concept of synchronic coexistence and multiplicity within the history of literacy as supported by this thesis.

In a separate area of future research, by presenting, for the first time, comprehensive descriptions of twenty manuscripts and printed witnesses of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, this thesis enables research opportunities into this severely under-researched item of the Scottish historiographical canon. In making these data publicly available, this thesis seeks to encourage further analysis of the *Cronicles* by making future research easier and quicker to undertake; and by presenting the information in a neutral, non-subject specific format, this thesis allows these data to be exploited to meet various literary, linguistic, bibliographic, and historical purposes.

G. Summary

This thesis' primary function was to provide hypotheses on the reading practices of the early modern reading communities who encountered Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland* in manuscript and print. Specifically, it suggested that Pitscottie's *Cronicles* were read didactically and devotionally, and that multiple reading communities were encountering this text in near-contemporaneous periods using a range of reading practices on the oral-aural-silent/intensive-extensive spectrum. More broadly, it argued that, in regard to reading practices, the early modern Scottish literacy environment was one of multiplicity and coexistence, and therefore that theorists of literacy history must move away from uni-directional conceptions of literacy history which project a consistent movement from intensive, oral reading towards extensive, silent reading. It argued that the history of literacy must not be discussed in terms of universals, as different coexisting reading communities employed different reading practices as suited their reading purposes and the reading environment. Further, these reading practices cannot be ascribed generic dichotomous labels, instead they should be considered as existing on a spectrum between *more* intensive and oral and *more* extensive and silent reading practices.

To form these hypotheses, this thesis has engaged with various current and complementary linguistic and bibliographic fields, the outcome of which was the production and exemplification of a methodology which both advocates certain current developments within these fields and could be employed by other

members of these fields with similar research interests. The transferable methodology displayed how historical written data can be pragmatically analysed through the combination of quantitative assessment of micro-data followed by qualitative analysis incorporating wider socio-cultural macro-data - while also advocating the use of actual data and *tertium comparationis* to ensure the validity and accuracy of the research. In conducting philological close analysis of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*, this thesis engaged with current developments in the pragmatic field (as encouraged by the formation of historical pragmatics) which have contributed to historical written data being 'understood as communicative manifestations in their own right, and as such [...] amenable to pragmatic analyses' (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 9). Further, however, in accordance with the work of Parkes (1993; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c), Mak (2011), and Smith (2013a) - amongst others - it displayed that features of *mise-en-page* are valid subjects of pragmatic analysis and that analysis of these textual features can contribute valuable information regarding the highly nuanced reading practices employed by historical reading communities.

Bibliography

A. Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Buchanan, George (Translation by John Read) *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*
University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: MS Gen. 1187.

Knox, John *History of the Reformation in Scotland* University of Glasgow Library,
Glasgow: MS Gen. 1123.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:
Acc. 3736.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:
Acc. 9769 84/1/1 1/2.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:
Acc. 9769 84/1/2 2/2.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:
Adv. MS 35.4.10.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:
Adv. MS 35.4.11.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:
MS 185.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: MS 2672.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: MS 3736.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh: Wodrow MSS. Folio XLVIII.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh: MS La.III.198.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh: MS La.III.216.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh: MS La.III.218.

Lindsay, Robert *Cronicles of Scotland* University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh: MS La.III.583.

Printed Books

Boece, Hector *Heir beginnis the hystory and croniklis of Scotland* Printed by Thomas Davidson (c. 1540): Edinburgh.

[British Library, London, reproduced on Early English Books Online (EEBO): 3203. (STC 2nd ed.)].

Holinshed, Raphael *The firste laste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* Imprinted for John Hunne (1577): London.

[Harvard University Library, Cambridge, reproduced on Early English Books Online (EEBO): 13568b (STC 2nd ed.)].

Holinshed, Raphael *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* Printed by J. Johnson et al. (1807; 1808): London.

[British Library, London, reproduced on Early English Books Online (EEBO)].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Robert Freebairn, 1728) Printed by Mr Baskett and Company: Edinburgh.

[University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: Sp. Coll. BD5-b.4].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Robert Freebairn, 1728) Printed by Mr Baskett and Company: Edinburgh.

[University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: Sp. Coll. Mu8-a.6].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Robert Freebairn, 1728) Printed by Mr Baskett and Company: Edinburgh.

[University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: Sp. Coll. RF 361].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Robert Urie, 1749) Printed by R. Urie: Glasgow.

[University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: Sp. Coll. Bo3-m.12].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Robert Urie, 1749) Printed by R. Urie: Glasgow.

[British Library, London, reproduced on Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO): ESTC No. T105415].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Thomas Cadell, 1778) Printed for Charles Elliot and Thomas Cadell: London.

[British Library, London, reproduced on Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO): ESTC No. T083320].

Lindsay, Robert *The history of Scotland* (ed. Sir John Graham Dalyell, 1814) Printed by John Ramsay and Company: Edinburgh.

[University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow: Sp. Coll. BD13-i.23].

Mackay, AE. J. G. (1899) *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland: Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie* Scottish Text Society and William Blackwood and Sons: Edinburgh and London.

B. Secondary Sources

Akinnaso, F. Niyi (1981) 'The Consequences of Literacy in Pragmatic and Theoretical Perspectives' in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* Vol. 12, No. 3: pp. 163-200.

Albano, Robert A. (1993) *Middle English Historiography*. Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.: New York.

Allan, David (2008) *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment 1740-1830*. Routledge: New York.

Altschul, Nadia (2006) 'The Genealogy of Scribal Versions: A "Fourth Way" in Medieval Editorial Theory' in *Textual Cultures* Vol. 1, No. 2: pp. 114-136.

Archer, Dawn, and Culpeper, Jonathan (2011) 'Identifying Key Sociophilological Usage in Plays and Trial Proceedings (1640-1760)' in *Historical Sociopragmatics*. Ed. Jonathan Culpeper. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 109-132.

- See also an earlier version of this article in *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* (2009) Vol. 10, Issue 2: pp. 286-309.

Armstrong, Alasdair W. (1952) 'The 'Introductory Descriptione of Ingland, Scotland, Waillis and Cornewall' Prefaced to Lindsay of Pitscottie's 'Historie and Chronicles of Scotland' in *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 31, No. 111: pp. 94-97.

Arn, Mary-Jo (1994) 'On Punctuating Medieval Literary Texts' in *Text* Vol. 7: pp. 161-174.

Arnovick, Leslie K. (1999) *Diachronic Pragmatics: Seven Case Studies in English Illocutionary Development*. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam.

Auer, Peter (1992) 'Introduction: John Gumperz' Approach to Contextualization' in *The Contextualization of Language*. Eds. Peter Auer and Aldo Di Luzio. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 1-37.

Auer, Peter, and Di Luzio, Aldo (1992) 'Preface' in *The Contextualization of Language*. Eds. Peter Auer and Aldo Di Luzio. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. vii-xiii.

Bahr, Arthur, and Gillespie, Alexandra (2013) 'Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text' in *The Chaucer Review* Vol. 47, No. 4: pp. 346-360.

Baugh, Albert C. (1967) 'The Middle English Romance: Some Questions of Creation, Presentation, and Preservation' in *Speculum* Vol. 42, No. 1: pp. 1-31.

Beadle, Richard et al. (2006-2009) *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online*. University of Cambridge: Cambridge.

<<http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk/handwriting/materials/conventions/>>
[Accessed 16 September 2015].

Birke, Dorothee, and Christ, Birte (2013) 'Paratext and Digitized Narrative: Mapping the Field' in *Narrative* Vol. 21, No. 1: pp. 65-87.

Black, Fiona A., MacDonald, Bertrum H., and Black, J. Malcolm W. (1998) 'Geographic Information Systems: A New Research Method for Book History' in *Book History* Vol. 1: pp. 11-31.

Bornstein, George, and Tinkle, Theresa (1998) 'Introduction' in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*. Eds. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle. The University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor: pp. 1-6.

Bowers, Fredson (1964) *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Brown, Michelle (1994) *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms*. The J. Paul Getty Museum and The British Library: Los Angeles and London.

Brown, Stephen W. (2012) 'Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820' by Mark Towsey reviewed in *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* Vol. 13, No. 3: pp. 347-349.

Bury, Stephen (2007) 'The Tradition of A.W. Pollard and the World of Literary Scholarship' in *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*. Eds. Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash, and Ian Willison. British Library Publishing: London: pp. 355-365.

Campbell, R. H. (1986) 'Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity' reviewed in *The Economic History Review New Series* Vol. 39, No. 4: pp. 653-654.

Carroll, Ruth et al. (2013) 'Pragmatics on the Page: Visual Text in Late Medieval English Books' in *European Journal of English Studies* Vol. 17, No. 1: pp. 54-71.

Carruthers, Mary J. (1992) *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Carruthers, Mary, and Ziolkowski, Jan M. (2004) 'General Introduction' in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. Eds. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski. University of Pennsylvania Press: Pennsylvania: pp. 1-31.

Cerquiglini, Bernard (1999) *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*. Trans. Betsy Wing. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore and London.

Chapman, Siobhan (2011) *Pragmatics*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Chartier, Roger (1987) *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Chartier, Roger (1989) 'Texts, Printing, Readings' in *A New Cultural History*. University of California Press: Berkeley: pp. 154-175.

Chartier, Roger (2010) 'Orality Lost: Text and Voice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *The History of the Book in the West: 1455-1700*. Ed. Ian Gadd. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 167-194.

Chartier, Roger (2011) 'Preface to *The Order of Books*' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 36-38.

Clanchy, M. T. (1979) *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Edward Arnold: London.

Clarke, Danielle (2011) '"Signifying, but Not Sounding': Gender and Paratext in the Complaint Genre' in *Renaissance Paratexts*. Eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 133-150.

Clive, John (1989) *Not by Fact Alone: Essays on the Writing and Reading of History*. Alfred A. Knopf: New York.

Coleman, Joyce (1996) *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Collins, Daniel E. (2011) 'Reconstructing the Pragmatics of a Medieval Marriage Negotiation (Novgorod 955)' in *Russian Linguistics* Vol. 35, No. 1: pp. 33-61.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny (2011) 'Literacy' in *Pragmatics in Practice*. Eds. Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 231-247.

Culler, Jonathan (Autumn 2002) 'The Return to Philology' in *Journal of Aesthetic Education* Vol. 36, No. 3: pp. 12-16.

Culpeper, Jonathan (2011) 'Historical Sociopragmatics: An Introduction' in *Historical Sociopragmatics*. Ed. Jonathan Culpeper. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 1-8.

Dahood, Roger (1988) 'The Use of Coloured Initials and Other Division Markers in Early Versions of Ancrene Riwe' in *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*. Eds. Edward Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig. D. S. Brewer: Cambridge: pp. 79-97.

Darnton, Robert (Summer, 1982) 'What Is the History of Books?' in *Daedalus* Vol. II, No. 3: pp. 65-83.

Darnton, Robert (1989) 'Towards a History of Reading' in *The Wilson Quarterly* Vol. 13, No. 4: pp. 86-102.

Day, Matthew (2011) '“Intended to Offenders”: The Running Titles of Early Modern Books' in *Renaissance Paratexts*. Eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 34-47.

Del Lungo Camiciotti, Gabriella (2000) 'Orality and Written Texts: The Representation of Discourse in the *Book of Margery Kempe*' in *English Diachronic Pragmatics*. Eds. Gabriella Di Martino and Maria Lima. CUEN: Napoli: pp. 143-157.

Dewald, Jonathan (1998) 'Roger Chartier and the Fate of Cultural History' in *French Historical Studies* Vol. 21, No.2: pp. 221-240.

Donnachie, Ian, and Whatley, Christopher (1992) 'Introduction' in *The Manufacture of Scottish History*. Eds. Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley. Polygon: Edinburgh: pp. 1-15.

Dossena, Marina (2009) 'Language Attitudes and Choice in the Scottish Reformation' in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*. Eds. Crawford Gribben and David George Mullan. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 45-62.

Driver, Martha W. (2013) 'Preachers in Pictures From Manuscript to Print' in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England*. Eds. Martha W. Driver and Veronica O'Mara. Brepols Publishers: Turnhout: pp. 235-258.

Duffy, Eamon (1992) *The Stripping of the Altars*. Yale University Press: New Haven.

Echard, Sian (2008) *Printing the Middle Ages*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. (2002) 'An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited' in *The American Historical Review* Vol. 107, No. 1: pp. 87-105.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. (2005) *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Second Edition, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Eliot, Simon, Nash, Andrew, and Willison, Ian (2007) 'Introduction' in *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*. Eds. Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash, and Ian Willison. British Library Publishing: London: pp. 1-29.

Eliot, Simon (2007) 'Some Material Factors in Literary Culture 2500BCE - 1900CE' in *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*. Eds. Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash, and Ian Willison. British Library Publishing: London: pp. 31-52.

Ferguson, William (1998) *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*. Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.

Fetzer, Anita (2011) 'Challenges in Contrast. A Function-to-Form Approach' in *Contrastive Pragmatics*. Ed. Karin Aijmer. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 73-96.

Fischer, Steven Roger (2003) *A History of Reading*. Reaktion Books Ltd., London.

Fleischman, Suzanne (1990) 'Philology, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text' in *Speculum* Vol. 65, No. 1: pp. 19-37.

Foggie, Janet P. (2004) 'Hamilton, John (1510/11-1571)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12102>> [Accessed 10 Sept 2014].

Fox, Adam (2002) *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Freeman, Thomas S. (1996) "'The reik of Maister Patrik Hammyltoun": John Foxe, John Winram, and the Martyrs of the Scottish Reformation' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 43-60.

Gaskell, Philip (1978) *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Genette, Gerard (1988) 'The Proustian Paratexte' in *SubStance* Vol. 17, No. 2. Trans. Amy G. McIntosh: pp. 63-77.

Genette, Gerard (1991) 'Introduction to the Paratext' in *New Literary History* Vol. 22, No. 2. Trans. Marie Maclean: pp. 261-272.

Genette, Gerard (1997) *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Gerrard, Teresa (2011) 'New Methods in the History of Reading: "Answers to Correspondents" in *The Family Herald, 1860-1900*' in *The History of Reading: A*

Reader. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 379-388.

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

Good, Julian (2013) 'Literality and Aurality in the Texts of Henryson's *Fables* and Caxton's *The History of Reynard the Fox*: Audience Construction of Meaning Related to Reception of the Texts' in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*. Eds. Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle-upon-Tyne: pp. 47-58.

Greetham, D. C. (1992) 'Foreword' in *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Jerome J. McGann. University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville: pp. ix-xix.

Greetham, D. C. (1999) *Theories of the Text*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Greg, W. W. (1954) *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Gribben, Crawford (2009) 'Introduction' in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*. Eds. Crawford Gribben and David George Mullan. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 1-18.

Hanna III, Ralph (1996) 'Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England' in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on Medieval Miscellany*. Eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel. University of Michigan Press, Michigan: pp. 37-52.

Harpham, Geoffrey Galt (2009) 'Roots, Races, and the Return to Philology' in *Representations* Vol. 106, No. 1: pp. 34-62.

Harris, Kate (1983) 'John Gower's 'Confessio Amantis': The Virtues of Bad Texts' in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study. Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. D. S. Brewer: Cambridge: pp. 27-40.

Harris, Kate (1989) 'Patrons, buyers and owners: the evidence for ownership, and the rôle of book owners in book production and the book trade' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*. Eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 163-199.

Herren, Michael W. (2005) 'Roger Wright, A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin' reviewed in *Speculum* Vol. 80, No. 3: pp. 1003-1005.

Houston, R. A. (1985) *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Huang, Jan (2007) *Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Hunt, Arnold (2010) *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Hunter, J. Paul (1994) 'From Typology to Type: Agents of Change in Eighteenth-Century English Texts' in *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The*

Page, the Image, and the Body. Eds. Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe. The University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor: pp. 41-69.

Hymes, Dell (1984) 'Why Linguistics Needs the Sociologist' in *Social Research* Vol. 51, No. 1/2: pp. 461-476.

Hymes, Dell (1966) 'On "Anthropological Linguistics" and Congeners' in *American Anthropologist* New Series, Vol. 68, No. 1: pp. 143-153.

Iser, Wolfgang (2011) 'The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 80-92.

Jacobs, Andreas, and Jucker, Andreas H. (1995) 'The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics' in *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam: pp. 1-33.

Jajdelska, Elspeth (2007) *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

Janson, Tore (2003) 'Sociophilology: A Nascent Discipline?' reviewed in *General Linguistics* Vol. 43, Issue 1: pp. 107-111.

Jaszczolt, Katarzyna (2011) 'Contrastive Analysis' in *Pragmatics in Practice*. Eds. Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 111-117.

Jauss, Hans Robert (2011) 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 71-79.

Jenkinson, Hilary (1926) 'Notes on the Study of English Punctuation of the Sixteenth Century' in *Review of English Studies* Vol. 2, No. 6: pp. 152-158.

Johnson, Barbara (1990) 'Philology: What Is at Stake?' Philology' in *Comparative Literature Studies* Vol. 27, No. 1: pp. 26-30.

Jones, Claire (2004) 'Discourse Communities and Medical Texts' in *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English*. Eds. Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 23-36.

Jucker, Andreas H. (1994) 'The Feasibility of Historical Pragmatics' in *Journal of Pragmatics* 22, pp. 533-536.

Jucker, Andreas H. (2000) 'English Historical Pragmatics: Problems of Data and Methodology' in *English Diachronic Pragmatics*. Eds. Gabriella Di Martino and Maria Lima. CUEN: Napoli: pp. 17-55.

Jucker, Andreas H., and Taavitsainen, Irma (2013) *English Historical Pragmatics*. Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.

Kamm, Antony (2008) *Scottish Printed Books 1508-2008*. Sandstone Press Ltd.: Dingwall.

Kennedy, Edward Donald, and Daly, Kathleen (2012) 'Introduction' in *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles*. Eds. Dan Embree, Edward Donald Kennedy, and Kathleen Daly. Boydell Press: Woodbridge: pp. 1-79.

Kidd, Colin (1993) *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Kidd, Colin (2008) *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

King, John N. (2010) 'Introduction' in *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*. Ed. John N. King. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Kolstø, Pål (2010) 'Bleiburg: The Creation of a National Martyrology' in *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 62, No. 7, pp. 1153-1174.

Krzeszowski, Tomasz P. (1989) 'Towards a Typology of Contrastive Studies' in *Contrastive Pragmatics*. Ed. Wieslaw Oleksy. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam: pp. 55-72.

Kyd, James Gray (Ed.) (1952) *Scottish Population Statistics Including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755*. T. and A. Constable Ltd.: Edinburgh.

Lapoint, Elwyn C. (June 1990) 'Cultural Content in Introductory Linguistics' in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* Vol. 21, No. 2: pp. 153-159.

Leech, Geoffrey N. (1983) *Principles of Pragmatics*. Longman Group Ltd.: Essex.

Leeds, John C. (2010) *Renaissance Syntax and Subjectivity: Ideological contents of Latin and the Vernacular in Scottish Prose and Chronicle*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey.

Lehto, Anu, Ratia, Maura, and Taavitsainen, Irma (2013) 'From Chronicle to "Town" History: John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598)' in *Société Néophilologique*, XC: pp. 259-278.

Lindsay, Maurice (1992) *History of Scottish Literature*. Robert Hale: London.

Lyall, R. J. (1988) 'Vernacular Prose before the Reformation' in *The History of Scottish Literature Vol. 1: Origins to 1660 (Medieval and Renaissance)*. Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen: pp. 163-182.

Lyall, R. J. (1989) 'Books and Book Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*. Eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 239-256.

MacDonald, A. A. (1998) 'Early Modern Scottish Literature and the Parameters of Culture' in *The Rose and The Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*. Eds. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood. Tuckwell Press Ltd.: East Linton: pp. 77-100.

Mackay, Francesca L. (2012) *The Development of Reading Practices: As Represented in the Textual Afterlife of Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Glasgow: Glasgow.

Maclean, Marie (1991) 'Pretexts and Paratexts: The Art of the Peripheral' in *New Literary History* Vol. 22, No. 2: pp. 273-279.

MacQueen, Hector L. (1994) '*Glanvill Resarcinate: Sir John Skene and Regiam Majestatem*' in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History, and Culture Offered to John Durkhan*. Eds. A. A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and Ian B. Cowan. Brill: Leiden: pp. 385-403.

Maguire, Laurie E. (1998) 'Introduction' in *Textual Formations and Reformations*. Eds. Laurie E. Maguire and Thomas L. Berger. Associated University Presses, Inc.: London: pp. 11-18.

Mak, Bonnie (2011) *How the Page Matters*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

Manguel, Alberto (1997) *A History of Reading*. Flamingo/Harper Collins: London.

Manley, K. A. (2012) *Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries Before 1825*. Edinburgh Bibliographical Society: Edinburgh.

Mann, Alastair J. (2000) *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720*. Tuckwell Press: East Linton.

Mapstone, Sally (1998) 'Introduction' in *The Rose and The Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*. Eds. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood. Tuckwell Press Ltd.: East Linton: pp. 1-9.

Marcus, Leah S. (1996) *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton*. Routledge: London and New York.

Martin, Eva (Aug. 1998) 'Away from Self-Authorship: Multiplying the "Author" in Jean de Meun's "*Roman de la Rose*"' in *Modern Philology* Vol. 96, No. 1: pp. 1-15.

McConchie, R.W. (2013) 'Some Reflections on Early Modern Printed Title Pages' in *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English: Principles and Practices for the Digital Editing and Annotation of Diachronic Data* Vol. 14.

<<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/14/mcconchie/>>

[Accessed 31st April 2015].

McCracken, Ellen (2013) 'Expanding Genette's Epitext/Peritext Model for Transitional Electronic Literature: Centrifugal and Centripetal Vectors on Kindles and iPads' in *Narrative* Vol. 21, No. 1: pp. 105-124.

McGann, Jerome J. (1992) *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

McGann, Jerome J. (1998) 'Rossetti's Iconic Page' in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*. Eds. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle. The University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor: pp. 123-140.

McKenzie, D. F. (1999) *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

McKerrow, Ronald B. (1994) *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*. Oak Knoll Press: New Castle.

McKitterick, David (2003) *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Millett, Bella (2011) 'What is *Mouvance*?' in *Wessex Parallel Web Texts*.

<<http://www.southampton.ac.uk/~wpwt/mouvance/mouvance>> [Accessed 27th February 2013].

Mitchell, Bruce (1980) 'The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation' in *The Review of English Studies* New Series, Vol. 31, No. 124: pp. 385-413.

Mullan, David George (2009) 'Writing the Scottish Reformation' in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*. Eds. Crawford Gribben and David George Mullan. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 21-44.

Myers, Robin, Harris, Michael, and Mandelbrote, Giles (2007) 'Introduction' in *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*. Eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote. Oak Knoll Press: New Castle, and The British Library: London: pp. vii-x.

National Galleries Scotland (undated) 'John Alexander' in *National Galleries Scotland*, Edinburgh.

<<https://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/a/artist/john-alexander>> [Accessed 8th June 2015].

Netzley, Ryan (2006) 'The End of Reading: The Practice and Possibility of Reading Foxe's "Actes and Monuments"' in *ELH* Vol. 73, No. 1, pp. 187-214.

Nevalainen, Terttu, and Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena (2003) *Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*. Pearson Education Ltd.: Harlow.

Nichols, Stephen G. (1990) 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture' in *Speculum* Vol. 65, No. 1: pp. 1-10.

Nichols, Stephen G., and Wenzel, Siegfried (1996) 'Introduction' in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on Medieval Miscellany*. Eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel. University of Michigan Press: Michigan: pp. 1-6.

Oleksy, Wieslaw (1989) 'Preface' in *Contrastive Pragmatics*. Ed. Wieslaw Oleksy. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. ix-xii.

Ong, Walter (2002) *Orality and Literacy*. Routledge: Oxon.

Parkes, M. B. (1993) *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Parkes, M. B. (2012a) 'Latin Autograph Manuscripts: Orthography and Punctuation' in *Pages from the Past: Medieval Writing Skills and Manuscript Books*. Eds. P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 23-36.

Parkes, M. B. (2012b) 'Punctuation and The Medieval History of Texts' in *Pages from the Past: Medieval Writing Skills and Manuscript Books*. Eds. P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 265-277.

Parkes, M. B. (2012c) '*Folia librorum quaerere*: Medieval Experience of the Problems of Hypertext and the Index' in *Pages from the Past: Medieval Writing Skills and Manuscript Books*. Eds. P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 23-50.

Patterson, Annabel (1994) *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Pearsall, Derek (1983) 'Introduction' in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study. Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. D. S. Brewer: Cambridge.

Pearson, David (2007) 'What can We Learn by Tracking Multiple Copies of Books' in *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*. Eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote. Oak Knoll Press: New Castle, and The British Library: London: pp. 17-37.

Peikola, Matti, and Skaffari, Janne (2005) 'A Frame for Windows: On Studying Texts and Discourses of the Past' in *Opening Windows on Texts and Discourses of the Past*. Eds. Janne Skaffari, Matti Peikola, Ruth Carroll, Risto Hiltunen, Brita Wårvik. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 1-4.

Petrucci, Armando (2011) 'Reading in the Middle Ages' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 275-282.

Pettegree, Andrew (2010) *The Book in the Renaissance*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

Pettegree, Andrew, and Hall, Matthew (2010) 'The Reformation and The Book: A Reconsideration' in *The History of the Book in the West: 1455-1700*, Vol. II. Ed. Ian Gadd. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.: Surrey: pp. 143-166.

Pollard, Alfred W. (1937) *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of His Text*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Pollard, A. F., and Smail, Rev. Richard (2004) 'Geddes, Sir William Duguid (1828-1900)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10492> > [Accessed 8 June 2015].

Poster, Mark (1986) 'Darnton's Historiography' in *The Eighteenth Century* Vol. 27, No. 1: pp. 87-92.

Reid, David (1988) 'Prose after Knox' in *The History of Scottish Literature Vol. 1: Origins to 1660 (Medieval and Renaissance)*. Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen: pp. 183-197.

Rose, Jonathan (2011) 'Altick's Map: The New Historiography of the Common Reader' in *The History of Reading, Vol. 3 Methods, Strategies, Tactics*. Eds. Rosalind Crone and Shafquat Towheed. Palgrave Macmillan: Hampshire: pp. 15-26.

Russell, Alexander (Printer and Publisher) (1844) *Russell's Morayshire Register, and Elgin and Forres Directory*. Courant Office: Elgin.

<<http://digital.nls.uk/85230136>> [Accessed 8th June 2015].

Saenger, Paul (1982) 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society' in *Viator* 13: pp. 367-415.

Saenger, Paul (1997) *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.

Schaeken, Jos (2011) 'Don't Shoot the Messenger. A Pragmaphilological Approach to Birchbark Letter No. 497 from Novgorod' in *Russian Linguistics* Vol. 35, No. 1: pp. 1-11.

Schofield, Roger S. (2011) 'Dimensions of Illiteracy in England, 1740-1850' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 152-160.

Schurink, Fred (2010) 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature and Reading in Early Modern England' in *Huntington Library Quarterly* Vol. 73, No. 3: pp. 453-469.

Scott, Kathleen L. (1989) 'Design, Decoration and Illustration' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*. Eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 31-64.

Scott-Warren, Jason (2011) 'Unannotating Spenser' in *Renaissance Paratexts*. Eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 153-164.

Sewell Jr., William H. (Spring, 1998) 'Language and Practice in Cultural History: Backing Away from the Edge of the Cliff' in *French Historical Studies* Vol. 21, No. 2: pp. 241-254.

Sharpe, Kevin (2000) *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

Sharpe, Kevin (2011) 'Pursuing the Reader' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 193-202.

Shaw, Duncan (2004; online edition, May 2005) 'Stewart, Robert, Earl of Lennox and Earl of March (1522/3-1586)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70056>> [Accessed 2 Dec 2014].

Shaw, Lachlan (1827) *The History of the Province of Moray*. J. Grant: Elgin.

Sher, Richard (2000) 'The Book in the Scottish Enlightenment' in *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment: An Exhibition with Essays by Roger Emerson, Richard Sher, Stephen Brown, and Paul Wood*. Ed. Paul Wood Thomas. Fisher Rare Book Library: University of Toronto: pp. 40-60.

Sher, Richard B. (2006) *The Enlightenment and the Book*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

- Sherman, William H. (1995) *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*. University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst.
- Sherman, William H. (2008) *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.
- Simon, Eckehard (1990) 'The Case for Medieval Philology' in *Comparative Literature Studies* Vol. 27, No. 1: pp. 16-20.
- Slights, William W. E. (2001) *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books*. The University of Michigan Press: Michigan.
- Smith, Helen, and Wilson, Louise (2011) 'Introduction' in *Renaissance Paratexts*. Eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 1-14.
- Smith, Jeremy J (1996) *A Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change*. Routledge: London.
- Smith, Jeremy J. (2012a) 'Middle English Syntax' in *English Historical Linguistics: an International Handbook*, Vol. 1. Eds. Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton. De Gruyter Mouton: Berlin: pp. 435-450.
- Smith, Jeremy J. (2012b) *Older Scots: A Linguistic Reader*. The Scottish Text Society: Edinburgh.

Smith, Jeremy J. (2013a) 'Punctuating Mirk's *Festial*: A Scottish Text and its Implications' in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England*. Eds. Martha W. Driver and Veronica O'Mara. Brepols Publishers: Turnhout: pp. 161-192.

Smith, J., (2013b) 'Textual afterlives: Barbour's Bruce and Hary's Wallace' in *Scots: Studies in its Literature and Language*. Eds. John M Kirk and Iseabail Macleod. Amsterdam: Rodopi: pp. 37-69.

Smith, Jeremy J. (2013c) 'Mapping the Language of the Vernon MS' in *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript: The Production and Contexts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1*. Ed. Wendy Scase. Brepols Publishers: Turnhout: pp. 49-70.

Smith, Jeremy (2014) 'Digital Humanities and the 'New' New Philology' in *Linguistic Insights: Studies on Languages*. Eds. Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas and Cristina Tejedor Martínez. Universidad de Alcalá: Alcalá de Henares: pp. 19-40.

Smith, Margaret (2000) *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460-1510*. The British Library: London.

Stallybrass, Peter (2011) 'Afterword' in *Renaissance Paratexts*. Eds. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge: pp. 204-219.

Stein, Dieter (1985) 'Perspectives on Historical Pragmatics' in *Folia Linguistica Historica* Vol. 1/2: pp. 347-355.

Suhr, Carla (2011) *Publishing for the Masses: Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, LXXXIII.

Sumara, Dennis (1997) 'A Topography of Reading' in *English Education* Vol. 29, No. 4: pp. 227-242.

Sutherland, Kathryn (1999) 'Speaking Commas/Reading Commas: Punctuating "Mansfield Park"' in *Text* Vol. 12: pp. 101-122.

Taavitsainen, Irma, and Fitzmaurice, Susan (2007) 'Historical pragmatics: What It Is and How to Do It' in *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*. Eds. Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen. De Gruyter Mouton: Berlin: pp. 11-36.

Tanselle, G. Thomas (1990) *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing*. University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

Terkourafi, Marina (2013) 'Jonathan Culpeper (ed.). Historical Sociopragmatics' reviewed in *Journal of Sociolinguistics* Vol. 17, Issue 1: pp. 130-133.

Thompson, John J. (2013) 'Preaching with a Pen: Audience and Reception of John Mirk and Nicholas Love' in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell*. Eds. Martha W. Driver and Veronica O'Mara. Brepols: Turnhout: pp. 101-116.

Thorndike, E. L. (1948) 'The Psychology of Punctuation' in *The Journal of American Psychology* Vol. 61, No. 2: pp. 222-228.

Tipton, Alzada (1998) 'Caught between "Virtue" and "Memorie": Providential and Political Historiography in Samuel Daniel's the Civil Wars' in *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* Vol. 61, No. ¾: pp. 325-341.

Tod, Murray Andrew Lucas (2005) *The Narrative of the Scottish Nation and its Late-Medieval Readers: Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their Derivatives*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Glasgow: Glasgow.

Towsey, Mark R. M. (2010) *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820*. Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden.

Trachsler, Richard (2006) 'How to Do Things with Manuscripts: From Humanist Practice to Recent Textual Criticism' in *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation* Vol. 1, No. 1: pp. 5-28.

Tribble, Evelyn B. 'The Peopled Page: Polemic, Confutation, and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*' in *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*. Eds. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle. The University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor: pp. 109-122.

Truman, James C. W. (2003) 'John Foxe and the Desires of Reformation Martyrology' in *ELH* Vol. 70, No. 1: pp. 35-66.

Tyson, Gerald P., and Wagonheim, Sylvia S. (eds.) (1986) *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. University of Delaware Press: Newark.

Vincent, David (2011) 'Reading and Writing' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 161-170.

Watkins, Calvert (1989) 'New Parameters in Historical Linguistics, Philology, and Culture History' in *Language* Vol. 65, No. 4: pp. 783-799.

Webb, R. K. (1954) 'Literacy among the Working Classes in Nineteenth Century Scotland' in *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 33, No. 116: pp. 100-114.

Wenzel, Siegfried (1990) 'Reflections on (New) Philology' in *Speculum* Vol. 65, No. 1: pp. 11-18.

White, Hayden (1973) *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Wiggins, Alison (2008) 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write In Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?' in *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* Vol. 9, Issue 1: pp. 3-36.

Wilson, Grace G. (1993) 'History and the Common Reader? Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Cronicles*' in *Forum for Modern Language Studies* Vol. XXIX, No. 2: pp. 97-110.

Wittmann, Reinhard (2011) 'Was there a reading revolution at the end of the eighteenth century?' in *The History of Reading: A Reader*. Eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone, and Katie Halsey. Routledge: Oxon: pp. 39-51.

Wood, Johanna L. (2011) 'Structures and Expectations: A Systematic Analysis of Margaret Paston's Formulaic and Expressive Language' in *Historical Sociopragmatics*. Ed. Jonathan Culpeper. John Benjamins Publishing Co.: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 9-36.

Wood, Paul (2000) 'Marginalia on the Mind: John Robison and Thomas Reid' in *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment: An Exhibition with Essays by Roger Emerson, Richard Sher, Stephen Brown, and Paul Wood*. Ed. Paul Wood Thomas. Fisher Rare Book Library: University of Toronto: pp. 89-119.

Woolf, D. R. (2000) *Reading History in Early Modern England*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Wright, Roger (2002) *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin*. Brepols: Turnhout.

Yeoman, L. A. (2004) 'Wodrow, Robert (1679-1734)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29819>> [accessed 14 Jan 2015].

Zienkowski, Jan (2011) 'Discursive Pragmatics: A Platform for the Pragmatic Study of Discourse' in *Discursive Pragmatics*. Eds. Jan Zienkowski, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam and Philadelphia: pp. 1-13.

Zumthor, Paul (1970) 'From the Universal to the Particular in Medieval Poetry' in *MLN* Vol. 85, No. 6: pp. 815-823.

Zumthor, Paul (1972) *Essai de Poétique Médieval*. Éditions du Seuil: Paris.

Zumthor, Paul (1984a) 'The Impossible Closure of the Oral Text'. Trans. Jean McGarry in *Yale French Studies* No. 67: pp. 25-42.

Zumthor, Paul (Autumn, 1984b) 'The Text and the Voice' in *New Literary History* Vol. 16, No. 1: pp. 67-92.

Zumthor, Paul (1992) *Towards a Medieval Poetics*. Trans. Philip Bennett. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis and Oxford.

Zurcher, Andrew et al. (2015) *English Handwriting 1500-1700: An Online Course*. University of Cambridge: Cambridge.

<<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/ceres/ehoc/conventions.html>> [Accessed 16 September 2015].

Appendix 1: Extract Transcriptions

1.1 MS La.III.218 (ff.162^r-163^r)

1 <...> No^t with stāding pe nobell^f of pe
 2 cardinall^f slaughter come to pe quene & governor quho
 3 was werie discontenit at pe deid & hevelie displei^ffit
 4 at pe doar^f pe^rof and cau^ffit Inconten net L^res to
 5 be Derect & juwmond pe Committars of pe find coyme
 6 To find fowertie to wnderly pe Law within sex dayis or
 7 ell^f to gang to pe horne The sex dayis be rune & no
 8 cawtioun fund bot they war put to pe horne & so they
 9 held stⁱll pe castell & furni^fchit it weill with wi^tctually^f
 10 & all thame pat was suspectit of Cofall gevin to pe jaid
 11 slaughter & knew pame jelffis guilltie & pe^rfor pa^ft into
 12 The jaid castell ffor pe defence To wit pe auld
 13 Laird of grange m^r henrie penue pe auld Laird of
 14 pitmille pe auld per^fone george Leslie Si^r lohnne leck
 15 with mony voye^r^f pa^t was no^t at pe slaughter but was
 16 willing & Contentit pe^r Int Tharfor they knew pame
 17 jelffis to be put at for pe jaid cryme pe^rfor they Lap in
 18 castell with pe Laif for pe^r defence pe space of wiche
 19 half yeir & wald obey pe auctie on na way nor yeic
 20 wald heir of na appoyntment nor offer pa^t was offert

Into

21 Into thame be pe auctie but stⁱll mallignit agains pe
 22 quene & governor Thinkand thame jelffis strang
 23 enewch To defend agains pame bat & fend pe^r me^fffin
 24 ger^f to Ingland to seik support pe^r but ql they gat
 25 I cane not tell bot this draif ewer qll neir mertemes
 26 That pe winter was comett in hand & all men cryit & blas^f
 27 phemit pe governer That he puni^fhit sic Inniries done with
 28 in pe Realme and so did pe quene perswadand pe governer so

29 far as Jcho might ffor to put Remedie heirint to
 30 puniſhe pe attemptis done in pe Realme pe governo^r
 31 heirand thit That pe quene & pe cuntrie was not content
 32 with his fluthfullnes in this matter with putting Inſtate
 33 To execuſioun as heaught to do Tharfor Incontenent
 34 he raiſſit ane armie & come in fyfe to pe ſaid caſtell
 35 of S.tandrois haldin be pe forſaidis & bro^t with him tuo
 36 great cannons thraw mow & hir marow of tuo batt
 37 tardis tua dubill fallcons with wye^r ſmall artaillſe as
 38 effeirit Syne tayit to ane ſeige to pe caſtell qilk con
 39 tinewit pe ſpace of iii monethis & never ane hair pe war
 40 But quhither pe wytte was in pe govunurſ or with tre
 41 ſſonabill men I came not tell but all the tyme they
 42 war they did no goode but ſpendit pullder & bullatis
 43 qll at Laſt pe peſt come wehementlie & ſpetiall in pe
 44 Toune That pe governo^r behovit to ſkaill pe ſeige & Re
 45 teir & ſkaill his armie & paſſit vwer to eihe^r to ane con
 46 ventiou but thir men pa^t war in pe ſaid caſtell Jeand
 47 The governo^r Reteirit & ſkaillit pe ſeige Then they
 48 become ſo proud pa^t no man might Leif ir reſt beſyde paim
 49 ffor they wald ryde & wſhe out athort the contrie qe^r they
 50 pleiſſit & qllſ burnand & Raiſſand fyre in pe contrie
 51 & ſlay & ſched bloode as they pleiſſit qllſ wſſit pe^r bodyis
 52 In Leicherie with fair wemen ſhe^rvand pe^r appietyte as they
 53 Tho^t goode ſum godlie man was in pe caſtell pa^t tho^t their
 54 Converſatioun & Lyfe not godlie nor honeſt & Reprovit
 55 Thame ſcharplie pe^rof & ſaid gif they Left not of pe^r ewill
 Conditionis

56 Conditionis god wald puniſche thame for pa^t Innirief
 57 que they Luikit Leiſt for it zeit not with ſtanding thir
 58 admonitiouns they wſſit pe^r awin ſinſuall Luſtis In this wo
 59 catioun & Lyfe as I haue ſchawin to 3ow The ſpace of thir

60 quarterf of ane 3eir heir efter

1.2 Crawford MS I (ff.108^v-109^r)

THE Xiiii CHAP.

HOW the committaris of the cardinallis *flauchter*²¹⁹

war *fumond* to find *cautioun*. And *difjobeyit* and

hou eftirward the *caftell* was *feigit* be the

gowernour. And hou the *gowernour* returned

frome it and left it for *feir* of the *peft* hou

the *inglifmen* did *gret flkaith* on the *weft* bor

douris and *fpECIALlie* to the lord *maxwell*.²²⁰

- 1 Nochtwithstanding²²¹ thir nowellis of the cardinallis *flauchter*
- 2 come to the *quein* and *governo^r* *quha* wer werey *difcontentit wi^th* his
- 3 death and *heavelie difpleifit* with the *doaris thairof* and *caufit* in
- 4 *continent letteris* to be *directit* and *fumond* the *committaris* of the *faid*
- 5 *cryme* to find *fowartie* to *vnderly* the law *wi^thin* *sex dayis ellis* to
- 6 *gang* to the *horne* the *vi dayis beand* than *εune* na *cautioun fund*
- 7 *bot* thay wer put to the *horne* and *fo* thay held the *caftell* and *furni*
- 8 *fit* it *weill* with *wictwallis* and all thay that war *fufpectit* of *counfall*
- 9 *givin* to the *faid flauchter* knew thame *fellffis* *giltie* and *thairfoir*
- 10 *paffit* in to the *faid caftell* for thair *defence* to wit The *auld laird*
- 11 of *graunge M^r henry benrois*.²²² The *auld laird* of *pittmillie* the *auld*
- 12 *perfowne george leflie Schir Johne flect wi^th* *mony vthiris* that war
- 13 *no^t* at this *flauchter* *bot* war *willing* and *confentit* *heirvnto*. Thair
- 14 *foir* thay knew thame to be put at for the *faid cryme*. Thairfoir pay
- 15 *lap* in the *caftell wi^th* the *leave* for thair *defence* and *fo* *keipit* the
- 16 *caftell* the *fpACE* of *ane vcher half 3eir* and *wald* *nocht* *obey* the *aucttie*
- 17 in na way nor *3it* *wald* *heir* of *ony apointment* nor *offeris* that was *offer*

²¹⁹ Crawford MS I is divided into chapters, each of which begin with an introductory paragraph. This paragraph has been included here for reference purposes but is not included in the punctuation data of the selected extract as there is not an equivalent of this introduction in other witnesses of the text.

²²⁰ A knot symbol is included here which the scribe uses to mark the end of most sections of text.

²²¹ This lexical item begins with an enlarged and emboldened initial of 0.9 cm in height.

²²² At the beginning of the preceding word <p> has been erased and has been written over it.

18 it vnto thame be the aucttie bot ftill malnigit aganes the quein and
 19 governo^r thinkand thame fellffis ftang annervthe to defend aganes
 20 thame bay^th and fend thair meffingeris to Ingland to feik fupport pe^r
 21 bot quhat thay gat I can no^t tell bot this drawe ovir quhill nar
 22 mertymeß that the wintter come on hand and all men cryit and
 23 blaßphemed the governour that he puneift nocht fic Injureis done
 24 wi^thin the realme and fo did the quein perfwad the governo^r fajar as
 25 fcho culd for to put remeidie heirvnto to punies thair attemptionis
 26 done in the realme. The governo^r heirand this that the quein
 27 and the cuntrie war no^t contenttit wi^th his flouchfeullnes^s in this
 28 matter nocht puttin Juftice to executioun as he aucht to do. Thar
 29 foir in continent he raifit ane armye and come in fyffe to feage the
 30 caftell of Sanctandroß hauldin be thir forfaid confpirato^rf and
 31 brocht wi^th him twa gret cannonis thraw mouthed and hir marrow
 32 wi^th twa battartis tua doubill falcones wi^th vther fmall arteilzerie
 33 as affeired. Syne layd to ane feage to the caftell quhill continew
 34 it the fpace of thrie monethis and nevir ane hair bred the better
 35 bot quiddar the wyt was in the gunneris or vther trefonable men
 36 I can no^t tell bot all the tyme thay did no guide bot fpendit poulder
 37 bullattis. Quhill at laft the peft come vehementlie in the
 38 cuntrie and fpeciallie in the towne of Sanctandros that pe gover
 39 no^r behowit to reteir and fkaill his armie frome the feage and
 40 paffit to Edinburgh to ane conventioun quhill was hauldin at
 41 Edinburghe In the moneth of februaryi at this tyme pe inglifmen
 42 war makand faft forward in fotland and fpeciallie come in vpone
 43 the weft bordouris and did meikill fkaith to the lord maxwell. Bot
 44 thir men that war in the caftell of Sanctandros become fo proud
 45 that no man micht leive nor reft befied thame for thay wald vfhe
 46 out and ryd athort the cuntrie quhair thay pleifit and quhylomis
 47 burne and raif fyre in the cuntrie and flae and fched bluid as
 48 thay pleifit quhylomis vfane thair bodyis wi^th licheris wi^th fair wemen^r
 49 ferwand thair appetytis as thay thocht guide. Sum godlie man
 50 was in the caftell to wit Johne Knockis that tho^t nocht thair
 51 converfatioun nor lyff godlie nor honeft and reproweit pame fcharp
 52 lie thairof and faid gif thay left nocht of. Of thair evill conditionis

53 god wald puneiß thame be thair enemyes quhan thay luiked leift
54 for it. 3it nocht wi^thstanding of thir admonitionis thay vfit thair avin
55 Luftij in this vocation and lyff as I haue fchawin to 3ow the
56 fpace of thrie quarteris of ane 3eir nather obeying god nor the aucttie
57 thinkand that na man my^t ovir cum thame thair hauld was so ftrang
58 bot thay war begyllit wi^thin fchort dayes qwr come to pe^r gret ruywne
59 as 3e fall heir heireftir.

1.3 MS La.III.216 (ff. 113^v-114^r)

1 <...> The nobbells came^c the”
 2 quen and the govērnor of the cadinallȝ flaūchter ansāwed
 3 werie diſcontented perat and heighlie convdwed at the deiddoers
 4 and lmlied ſumonded the comitterȝ of the ſame to find jovērtie
 5 to wnderly the Law within the ſpace of ſex dayes or els go
 6 to the horne bot the ſex dayes being paſt & no cautioun fund
 7 they wer put to the horne, So they keiped ſtill the caſtell of
 8 S^tandraw and furniſhedit withall neceſſire & all ſic ²²³ as
 9 ſuſpected thame ſelf pere guilty of the ſaid ſlaughter paſt into the
 10 caſtell for pere defence, Witt the Laird of grange Mr
 11 Hendrie prymrois the Laird of pitmilly the auld perſone george
 12 Leſlie Sir Ion auchinlek with mony vthers who wer not at the flauch=
 13 ter bot ſuſpected thame ſelf pere to be borne at evill will, perfore they
 14 Lap into the caſtell & remaned pair the ſpace of half ane zeir
 15 And wold not obey the auctie nor ȝu heir

of no ap.=

16 Off no appointment nor offers wiche wer offered
 17 wnto thame be the auctie bot ſtill malignit againes pe quen
 18 and the governour thinkand hame ſelffes ſtrong enoughe a
 19 gainse thame both & ſend pair meſſirs to england to ſeik
 20 ſupport but what they got I cannot tell, but this drew nere
 21 mertimes gle the winter was at hand & all men cryed out and
 22 blaſphemed the governor that he puniſhed not ſick Injuries done
 23 within the realme & alſo the quen perſwaded the governor to
 24 putt remeade heirto, the governor heiring the quen & the cuntrie
 25 were not content with his ſleuthfullnes Incontinent he raiſed
 26 ane army and came to fyff to the caſtell of S^tandrios gels
 27 wer haldin be the fairjaide perſones and brocht tuo great can=
 28 wdenes with thame To witt cruikmow and the deaff meg

²²³ An unknown letter form or symbol has been included in this position in the scribal hand. It correlates with the size of the other letter forms.

29 and laid ane feige to the castell and feiged it the space of thre
 30 monethes & culd neuer mend thame selffes guhill at the laft
 31 the pest came in the Toun so vehemently that the governour
 32 behowed to rais and dissolve the feige & army and reteired hin
 33 selff to ehr to ane conventioun, But the men in the castell
 34 feing the governor to have fled & raised his feige they became so
 35 proude that no man micht Leue befide thame, ffor they wald
 36 lthe out and ryde throche the cuntrie whan they pleased & sometymes
 37 rais fyre & burne & vthers gles rawlthe wemen & vjes pair
 38 bodies as they pleased and some godlie men in the castell that
 39 thocht not pair life nor pair Conwerfaccioun honest reproved
 40 pame sharplie perfour, saying giue they left not aff it culd not
 41 be but god wald punlthe thame, for the same whan they Luiked
 42 Leaft for itt, notwithstanding of thir admonitiounes they continwed
 43 still in thair former doings the space of thrie quarters of ane zeir
 44 perefter,

1.4 Adv. MS 35.4.10 (ff.111^r-111^v)

1 <...> Thir nobell cam to pe queine
 2 and pe governour of pe Cardinalls slaughter quho was verrie difcontentit
 3 pairat, and highlie commoved at pe dead doers, And Immediatlíe
 4 Jummondit
 5 thame to find Jowortie and vnderly pe call within pe Jspace of fix days
 6 or els gang to pe horne; Bot pe fix dayes bein paft and no cau=
 7 tioun fund they war put to pe horne; So they keipit ftill pe Caftle of
 8 Sanct Andros and furnifched it with all neceffar, And all fíck as
 9 fufpected thamfelffis guiltie of pe Jaid flaughter paft in to the
 10 Jaid caftle for pair defence, To witt pe laird of Grange, mr
 11 hendrie Prymros, The laird of Pitmillie, The old perfone
 12 George leflie, Sir Jon Auchinleck with many vthoris who wer not
 13 at pe Jlauchter, but fufpected thamfelffis to be borne at evill will, pe^r=
 14 for they lap into pe Caftle and remained pair pe Jspace of halfe ane
 15 yeir, and would not obey pe auctie, nor yitt hear of no appoyntment nor
 16 offerris which war offered vnto thame be pe auctie, But ftill ma=
 17 lignant againes pe queine and governor thinkand thamfelffis Jstrong
 18 enough againes thame both and Jend pair meffingeris to Ingland to
 19 Jeik Jupport, bot quhat they gott I cannot tell; Bot this drew neir
 20 Mertimas quhill pe Winter was at hand, and all men cryed out and
 21 defired pe governour to punifch fíck injuries done within pe realme,
 22 And alfo pe queine perfwadit pe governor to put remeid heirs: The go=
 23 vornor heiring pat pe queine and court war not content that he neglect
 24 ed pe punifchment pairof incontinent he raifed ane armie And cam
 To ffyffe to pe Caftle of Sanct andros qws was holdin be pe forsaíd

25 perfones, and brought tua gritt cannone with him, To witt cruik mow
 26 and pe deafe mege, and laid Jeidge to pe Caftle and Jeidged it pe
 27 Jspace of thrie monethis and could nevir mend thamfelffis, quat pe laft
 28 pe peft cam in pe Toun Jo vehementlie that pe governour behoved
 29 to raife and difolve his Jeidge and armie and retire himfelff To Ed^r
 30 to ane conventioun. Bot thir men in pe Caftle Jieing pe governour

31 to have passed away and raised his feidge they became so proud pat no
32 man might live befyd thame, for they would isch out and ryd throw
33 pe countrie quhen they pleased and sumtymes raise fyre and burne
34 and vtherwhylles ravisch vomen and vse pair bodie as they pleased,
35 And some godlie men in pe Castle that thot not pair lyffe nor con=
36 versatioun honest reproved thame sharplie, Thairfoir saying if they left
37 not off, It could not be bot god would punish thame for pe same qⁿ
38 they luikit least for it. Notwithstanding of his admonitiounes
39 They continuwed still in pair former dooingis the space of thrie
40 quarteris of ane zeir pairefter.

1.5 Adv. MS 35.4.11 (f.94^v)

1 The Governour & queen were highly Commoved heearat; Therefore
 2 they caufed fummond pe doers of this fact to compeir within fix
 3 dayes to underly the Law. And upon ther difobedience denounced
 4 them to the horn. Wherupon thofe who thought themfelvis acceffo
 5 =rie to the flaughter, entered into the caftle, and fortified the fame;
 6 to witt the Lards of Grange and pittmillie, Mr Henry primrofe
 7 (balnaves) the old perfon George Lefflie, fir John Auchinleck, -
 8 and thofe who hade bein in the caftle att the firft: many alfo -
 9 who hade nothing to doe with the flaughter: but feared the Go-
 10 =vernour and queens ill will. Thefe men confident of pe ftrength
 11 of the place refufed to obey the autie and Contemptuouflie-
 12 rejected all offers of Appoyntment to be made with them: and
 13 fent meffingers to England for fupport. Be this tyme winter
 14 approached. And the governour being daylie called upon be pe
 15 queen & Court , att length revolved to feige the caftell: & brought
 16 thither ane army with two great Cannons Crookmow and deaf
 17 =meg. But after three moneths fiege the peft arryving in the
 18 toun, he was Conftained to leave his purpofe without effect.
 19 hereby thofe that were in the caftle became exceeding infolent,
 20 and apprefed all the Countrie about, with fpoyling of goods-
 21 and ravifhing of women, notwithstanding of the manifold
 22 admonition of Sundrie Godlie men who were with them,
 23 and fortold them of that which came to pafs thereafter.

1.6 Wodrow Folio (ff. 166^{r-v})

- 1 <...> glorious the day of his martyrdoome thir newis
 2 came to the queene & governor of the Cardinall's slaughter
 3 q^a wer displeased perat and highlie commoved at the doeris
 4 perof and immediatlie sumondit the committers of the same
 5 to find fovertie to vnderly the law within fix dayes or elß to
 6 paß to the horne but the fix dayes being past and no cawtione
 7 fund they were put to the horne So they keiped still the castle of
 8 St'androis and furnisched it weill with all necessory and all sic as
 9 suspected pem guiltie of the said slaughter past to the said castle
 10 for per defence To witt the Laird of grange Mr Henrie prim
-
- 11 roiß the Laird of Pitmillie the old persone George Leslie Sir Jon
 auchinleck
 12 with many vper gentilmen pat wer not at the slaughter but suspected
 pemfelus
 13 to be borne at evill perfore they lap in the castle & remained per the
 space
 14 of half ane yeare and wald never obey the authoritie nor zit wald heare
 15 of no appointment nor offeris qlkf wer offerit to pem bothe authoritie
 16 but still malignant againes the queene and the governor thinking pem
 felues
 17 strong enough againes pem both and sent per messres to Ingland to seik
 18 support but gf they gat I cannot tell but it drew neare martimes pat
 19 the winter was at hand and all men cryed out and blasphemed the
 20 governor pat punished not sic injuries done within the realme and also
 the
 21 queene perfwadit the governor to put remeid perto the governor hear
 22 ing pat the queene & countrey was not content with his flouthfulnes
 23 Incontinent he raised ane armie and came to fyffe to the Castle of
 24 St'androis qw was halden bothe forsaid perjouns and bro^t tua great
 25 Cannonnf with him to witt Crookmow & deiffmeg and laide a seige to the
 26 castle and seiged it the space of thrie monethis and could never mend

27 pemfelues qll at the laſt the peſt came in the toun ſo vehementlie pat
 28 the governor behooved to diſolve his ſeige & armie and reteired
 pemfelues
 29 to Ed^r to ane conventionne but the men of the Caſtle ſeing the gover
 30 nor to have fled & raiſed his ſeige they became ſo proud pat no man my^t
 31 live beſide pem for they wald iſche out and ryde athort the countrey q^r
 32 they pleaſed and whyles raiß fyre and whyles raviſch wemen and vſe
 33 per bodies as they pleaſed And four godlie men in the caſtle pat thought
 34 not per lyves & converſationes honeſt reprooved pem ſharplie perfore
 jaying
 35 if they left not off it could not be but god wald puniſhe pem perfore qⁿ
 36 they looked leiſt for it notwith ſtanding of pat admonitionne they
 putinned
 37 in per former doeings the ſpace of thrie qu^rteis of a yeare heirefter

1.7 MS La.III.583 (pp. 123-124)

1 <...> The Governour & Queene were highlie commoved hereat. There-
 2 fore they caused summond the doers of fact to compeare within fex dayis
 to underly the
 3 Law: And upon their difobedience denounced them to the horne.
 Wherupon theſe who thought them-
 4 ſelves acceſſorie to the ſlaughter, entred into the Caſtle and fortified the
 ſame; to wit, the
 5 Lards of Grange and Pitmillie M^r Henry Prymroſe [Balnaves] the old
 perſon George
 6 Leſlie, S^{ir} George Auchinleck, and theſe who had beene in the Caſtle at
 the firſt. Many
 7 alſo who had nothing to do with the ſlaughter but feared the Governour
 and Queens ill will.
 8 Theſe men confident of the ſtrength of the place refuſed to obey the
 authoritie, and contemtu-
 9 ouſlie rejected all offers of appointment to be made with them: and ſent
 meſſengers to Eng-

land

10 land for ſupport. Be this time winter approached: And the Governour
 being daylie called upon
 11 be the Queene and Court at length reſolved to ſiege the Caſtle: And
 brought thither an
 12 Armie with two great Cannons Crukemow and Deaf-Meg. But after three
 Moneths ſiege
 13 the peſt ariſing in the Toun, he was conſtrained to leave his purpoſe
 without effect. Hereby
 14 theſe that were in the Caſtle became exceeding injolent and oppreſſed
 all the Countrey a-
 15 bout with ſpoyling of goods and raviſhing of women, notwithstanding of
 the manifold ad-
 16 monitions of kindrie godly men who were with them and foretold them
 of that which came

17 to page thereafter.

1.9 MS Acc. 3736 (p. 222)

1 glorious the day of his martyredome thir novellis cam to the Quein &
 2 the governor of the cardinallis slaughter who were displeafed therat
 3 and highlie commowed at the deid doeris And Immediatlíe fomoned the
 4 committeris to the famen To find fouentie to vnderly the law within
 5 fix dayes ore elß pas to the horne,. Bot the fix dayes being paft &
 6 no cautione found they were put to the horne, So they Keiped ftillpe
 7 caftell of Sainctandroes and furnifhed it with all neceffares and
 8 all fic as fufpected them guiltie of the faid slaughter paft in to the
 9 caftell for ther defenfe To witt the laird of grange mr Hendrie
 10 prymrois the laird of petmillie the oldperfone George leßlie Sir Jhone
 11 auchinleck with manie vtheris that were not at the perfone, Bot fuß=
 12 pected them felfs to be borneat ewill will, therfor they lapim the caftell
 &
 13 remained ther the fpace of halfe ane yeir and would newer obey the au=
 14 thoratie nor yet here of no appoyntment nor offeris which were offerit
 15 vnto them be the auctie bot ftill maligned againft the Quein and the
 16 governor thinkand themfelfes ftrong enough againft them both, and
 17 fent ther meffengeris to england to feik fuport Bot what they gat
 18 I cannot tell, Bothis it drew nere mertimes that the winter was at
 19 hand, and all men cryed out and blaßphemed the governor that pu=
 20 nißhed not fic injuries done within the realme, And alfo the Quein
 21 perßuaded the governor to put remeid heirto, The governor heiring pat
 22 the Quein and the countrie was not content with his fleuthfulnes In=
 23 continent he raifed ane armie and cam to fyff to the caftell of Sanct=
 24 androes which was haldin be the forfaids perßones And brought tua
 25 great cannoc²²⁵vnes with him To witt cruikmouth and the deaffmeg
 26 and laid ane feige to the caftell and fiegedit the fpace of thrie mo=
 27 nethis and could newer mend them felffes, Qll at the laft the peßt
 28 cam in the toun fo vehementlie that the governor behoowed to dif=
 29 solve the feige and armie and returned himfelf to ed^r to ane con=
 30 ventione, Bot thir men in the caftell feing the governor to qilk

²²⁵ The preceding letter form (<c>) is lighter than the majority of the writing on this page – it seems to have been composed at a different time filling a gap between the preceding and proceeding letters.

31 fled and raifed his fiege, They becam fo proud that no man might
32 live beyd them, for they would ifhe out and ryd athort the countrie
33 when they pleaſed, And glis raife fyre and burne & gles ra=
34 viſh wemen and vſue ther bodies as they pleaſed, And ſome god=
35 lie men in the caſtell that thought not ther lyff nor ther conver=
36 ſatione honeſt reproved them ſharpelie therfor ſaying if they
37 left not of it could not be bot god would puniſh them therfor qⁿ
38 they luike leaſt for it, notwithstanding of thir admoniones they
39 continued ther former doinges the ſpace of thrie quarteris of ane
40 yere herefter,

1.10 MS 3147 (f.78v-79^r)

1 <...> glorious the
 2 day of his martyrdome thir nobell^j came to the quein and the governe^r
 of the cardinal^j
 3 slauchter wha wer displeasit therat and and heighly commovit at the deid
 doers and Immly
 4 summondit the committer^j of the fame to find fovertie to vnderly pe law
 wi^thin sax dayes
 5 or els goe to the horne bot pe jaid^j sax dayes being paft and no caution
 fund they
 6 wer put to the horne fo they keipit ftill the castell of S^tandroises and
 fynished

it wi^th all neceffar^j all fuch

7 with all neceffars and all fuch as fufpectit themfelues guiltie of the jaid
 slauchter paft into the
 8 castell for ther defence to Witt the laird of grange M^r hendrie primrois
 the laird of pet
 9 millie the auld perjone george leslie S^r Johne Auchinlack wi^th many
 other^j that wer not at
 10 the slauchter bot fufpectit them felues to be borne at evill will therfor
 they lap in the ca^j
 11 tell and remained ther the space of half ane zeir and wald not obey the
 auc^{tie} nor heir
 12 of any apoyntment nor offer^j qw wer offerit vnto them by the auc^{tie} bot
 ftill maligint
 13 agains the quein and the governe^r thinking them felues ftrong aneuch
 againes them both and
 14 fend ther meffenger^j to england to feik fupport bot q^t they gatt I can not
 tell botpis
 15 drew neir mertimes that the winter was at hand all men cryed out and
 blaspheimit

- 16 the governe^r that he puniſhit not ſuch injuries done wi^thin the realme
and alſo the quein per
- 17 ſivadit the governe^r to put remeid heirto. the governe^r heiring the quein
and the countrie
- 18 was not q^tent wi^th his fleuthfullnes incontinent he raiſit ane armie and
came to fyff
- 19 to the caſtell of S^tandroises q^wſ wer halden be the forſd^j perſoned and
brocht tuo great
- 20 cannouns wi^th them to witt crookmow and deiff meg and laid ane ſeige
to the caſtell
- 21 and ſeigit it the ſpace of thrie monthes and culd never mend themſelues
till at the laſt
- 22 the peſt came in the tony ſo vehemently that the governe^r behovit to
raiſe and diffolue
- 23 his ſeige and armie and reteirit himſelf to ed^tb to ane convention, bot
thir men in the
- 24 caſtell ſeing the governe^r to have fled and raiſit his ſeige they became ſo
proud that
- 25 no man micht leive beſyd them for they wald lſh out and ryd out throch
the countrie
- 26 q^un they pleaſit and whyles raid fyre and burne and whles raviſh women
and vſit pe^r
- 27 bodies as they pleaſit and ſome godly men in the caſtell that thogt not
ther lyf nor ther
- 28 converſation honeſt reprovit them ſharply pe^rfor jaying if they left not
off it culd not be
- 29 bot god wald puniſh them pe^rfor q^un they lookit leaſt for it
notwi^thſtanding of thir admoni^onſ
- 30 they continowed ſtill in ther former doings the ſpace of thrie quarterſ of
ane 3eir pe^rafter

1.11 MS 185 (p. 120)

1 <...> glorios
 2 the day of his Martyrdome, Theſe newes came to the queen & govnor of
 3 the Cardinalls ſlaughter, who wer diſpleaſed perat & highly opfended at
 4 the actes of this villany, & ſumondit pem to find Juroty to vnderly the law
 5 within fix dayes, or elſe to be put to the horne, Bot the fix dayes being
 6 paſt & in caution found, they wer putt to the horne; So they kepted ſtill
 7 the caſtell of S.Andrews & furniſhedit weell *with* neceſſare all ſic as
 8 ſuſpected themſelves guilty of pe ſaid ſlaughter; paſt into the caſtle for
 defence
 9 viz Georg Leſly, The Laird of Grange, Mr Henry Primroſe, the
 10 Laird of Pittmiclie, *Sir* John Achinleck *with* many others who wer not put
 11 at the ſlaughter, bot ſuſpected pemſelves guilty of it; they keaped into
 the
 12 caſtle & remained in it; the ſpace of halff a year; & wold not obey the
 13 Authoritie, nor wold hear of any conditions or offers preſented to thim by
 14 the auctie, bot ſtill reproached the queen & Governor thinking
 themſelves
 15 ſtrong enough agains them both; & ſent per meſſeg into England to aſk
 ſup=
 16 port: bot what they gott I cannot tell: Bot this was about Mertimas
 17 & the winter drew near; & all men cryed out & blaſphemed the gover=
 18 nor pat he did not reveng ſuch injuries committed within the Realme,
 19 Alſo the queen perſwaded the Governor to remedie the ſame; the go=
 20 vernor hearing the queen & Countrey wer not content, *with* his neglig=
 21 ence, incontinent he raiſed ane army, & came to the caſtle of S.And=
 22 rewes, qch was poſſeſſed by the for ſaid parſones; & broght two great
 Can=
 23 nons viz Crookmouth, & the Deaf Meag, & laid a ſeige to the caſtle
 24 & ſeiged it the ſpace of three monethe, & could not prevail; till at laſt
 25 the peſt brake into the Town ſo vehemently, pat the govnor behoved to
 26 raiſe his ſeige and army, & returned him ſelft to Edg to ane conven=
 27 tion. Bothe caſtell men ſeeing the govnor to flee, they became ſo
 28 inſolent, pat they feared no thing, & wold ryde forth throgh pe Countrey
 29 qu pey pleaſed & ſome tyme raiſe fyre & burne pem; ſomtyme raviſh

30 women & ufe per bodies as they pleaſed, & ſome godly men in the caſ=
31 tell pat thought not per lyfe & converſatione honeſt reproved pem;
32 ſaying, ' if they deſiſted not: it could not be bot God would puniſh
33 them; qu they leaſt expected: notwithstanding of thoſe admonitiones that
34 continued ſtill in per former practices; the ſpace of three quarters of
35 a year therafter.

1.12 Crawford MS II (f. 156v-163r)

1 <...> The Governor
 2 And Queen were highlie Commoved hereat. Therfor they
 3 Cauſed Summond the doers of this fact to Compear within fix
 4 dayes to wnderly the law: And wpon their diſobedience
 5 denounced them to the horne. Wherewpon theſe who thought
 6 themſelves acceſorie to the ſlaughter, entered into the
 7 Caſtle and fortified the ſame; To Witt, The Lairds of
 8 Grange and pitmille, Maſter Hary primroſe, Balnaves,
 9 The old perſon George Leſlie, Sir George Auchinleck, And
 10 thoſe who hade been in the Caſtle at the firſt, Many
 11 alſo who hade nothing to doo with the ſlaughter but -
 12 feared the Governor and Queens ill will. Thoſe men -
 13 Confident of the ſtrength of the place, Refuſed to obey
 14 the Authority, And Contemptuouſlie refuſed all offers of -
 15 appoyntment to be made with them: And ſent meſengers
 16 to England for ſupport. Be this tyme winter approached, And
 17 the Governor being daily called wpon be the Queen and
 18 Court at length reſolved to ſeidge the Caſtle, And brought
 19 thither ane Armie with tuo great Cannons Cruikmow and
 20 deaf: meg. But after three moneths ſeige the peſt aryſeing
 21 in the toun, he was conſtrained to leave his purpoſe without
 22 effect. Hereby thoſe that were in the Caſtle became -
 23 exceiding Inſolent And oppreſed all the Countrey about
 24 with ſpoileing of goods and Ravifhing of women, Notwith=
standing

25 ſtanding of the manifold admonitionis of ſundry godlie men
 26 who were with them and foretold them of that which cam
 27 to paſſe thereafter.

1.13 MS 2672 (p. 555-558/f.290^r-291^v)

- 1 glorius the day of his marterdomme
 2 Thir nobills come to the quein and
 3 governour of the cardinals [[lauchter]²²⁶
 4 quha wer difpleifit thairat and heichlie
-
- 5 commoveit at the deid doars and Im
 6 mediatlie fummoun the committers of
 7 the fame to find fouertie to wnderly
 8 the law within fex dayis being or els gan {...}²²⁷
 9 to the Horne bot the fex dayis being paft {...}
 10 and no cautioune fund they wer put {...}
 11 to the Horne fo they Keipit ftill the
 12 caftill of fanctandrois and furniffit
 13 weill withe all neceffars and all
 14 fik as fufpectit thayme felfs gyltie {...}
 15 of the fayd flauchter paft In to the
 16 caftell for thair defence To with
 17 laird of grainge Mr Henrie Pennei {...}
 18 the laird of Pitmillie the auld perfoun
 19 george leflie Sir Ihon afflict withe
 20 mony wthers that wer nocht at the
 21 flauchter bot fufpectit thayme felf {...}
 22 to be born at Ivill will thairfor th {...}
 23 lap In the caftell and remanit tha {...}
 24 the fpace of half ane zeir and wald {...}
 25 heir of no appoyntment nor offers
 26 quhilk wer offerit wnto thayme be

²²⁶ This lexical item was composed in the scribal hand and either the scribe or a different hand has added square brackets and a small superscript <x> with a corresponding note in the margin: <^x L^d Bi folio MS> - potentially cross-referencing this item with Lord Belhaven's Folio MS which is regularly referred to in this witness.

²²⁷ The way in which the manuscript leaves have been pasted onto modern stubs to form this current volume has resulted in the end of the lines on the verso of the leaves being hidden under the modern stubs in some environments. The symbol {...} has been included where letters appear to be missing in this environment.

27 the authoritie bot ftill malignit agay{...}
 28 the quein and the governour thinkand {...}
 29 thayme felfs ftrong aneuche agayn {...}
 30 thayme bothe And fend thair meffen {...}
 31 =gers to Ingland to feik fupport bot
 32 quhat they gat I can nocht tell
 33 Bot this drew neir mertimes that

34 the winter wes at Hand and all
 35 mene cryit out and blafphameit the
 36 governour that hie Puniffet nocht fik
 37 Iniureis doine within the realm and
 38 alfo the quein perfuadit the governour
 39 to put remeid heirto The governour
 40 heiring that the quein and the cuntrey
 41 wer nocht content withe his fleuchfulnes
 42 Incontinent hie raiffit ane armie and
 43 come to fyfe to the caftell of Janctandrois
 44 quhilk wes haldin be the forfaid
 45 perfouns and brocht Tway greyt
 46 cannouns withe him to wit Kreukmow
 47 and daifmyg and layd ane feige
 48 to the caftell and feigeit it the fpace
 49 of threi moneths and could never
 50 mend thayme felfs Quhill at the laft
 51 the peft come In the towne fo ve=
 52 hementlie that the governour behoveit
 53 to raiffe and diffolve his feige
 54 and armie and reteirit him felf
 55 to edinbruche to ane conventioun
 56 bot thir men In the caftell feing
 57 the governour to have fled and raiffit
 58 his feige they become fo proudd that

59 no mane nicht live befyd thayme
 60 for they wald lſche out and ryd
 61 athort the cuntrey quhair thay pleifit
 62 and quhyls raif fyir and birne
 63 quhyls flay and quhyls raveif

64 wemene and wffe thair bodyis as
 65 they Pleifit and ſiem godlie man
 66 In the caſtell that thochtt nocht thair
 67 lyf nor thair converſatioune honeſt
 68 reproveit thayme ſcharplie thairfor
 69 ſaying gif thay left nocht af it
 70 culd nocht be bot god wald Puniff
 71 thayme quhen luikit Laiſt for itt
 72 nochtwithſtanding of thir admonitiounns
 73 they continuit In thair former doings
 74 the ſpace of threi quarters of ane 3eir
 75 heirefter nather obeying god nor
 76 the authoritie thinkand that they
 77 culd nocht be overcume thair
 78 hauld wes ſo ſtrong bot they wer
 79 begylit within ſchort dayis quhilk
 80 come to thair greyt wrak as 3e
 81 fall heir heirefter

1.14 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6) (p. 191)

1 THE Governor and Queen were highly commoved hereat ; therefore
 2 they caused fummon the Doers of this Fact, to compear within fix Days
 3 to underly the Law ; and, upon their Difobeyance, denounced them to
 4 the Horn. Whereupon thefe, who thought themfelves acceffory to the
 5 Slaughter, entred into the Caftle, and fortified the fame ; viz. The
 6 Lairds of *Grange* and *Pitmillie*, Mr. *Henry Primrofe* (*Balnaves*) the
 7 old Parfon *George Lefly*, Sir *John Auchinleck*, and thefe who had been
 8 in the Caftle at the firft. Many alfo who had nothing to do with the
 9 Slaughter, but feared the Governor and Queen's ill Will. Thefe Men,
 10 confident of the Strength of the Place, refufed to obey the Authority,
 11 and contemptuoufly rejected all Offers of Appointment to be made with
 12 them ; and fent Meffengers to *England* for Support.

-line space-

13 BY this Time Winter approached ; and the Governor, being daily
 14 called upon by the Queen and Court, at length refolved to fiege the
 15 Caftle ; and brought thither an Army, with two great Canons, *Crook-*
 16 *Mow* and *Deaf-Meg* : But, after three Months Siege, the Peft arifing
 17 in the Town, he was conftained to leave his Purpofe without Effect.
 18 Hereby thefe that were in the Caftle became exceeding infolent, and op-
 19 preffed all the Country about, with fpoiling of Goods and ravifhing of
 20 Women, notwithstanding of the manifold Admonitions of fundry godly
 21 Men who were with them, and foretold them of which came to pafs
 22 thereafter.

IN

1.15 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4) (p. 191)

1 THE Governor and Queen were highly commoved hereat ;
 therefore
 2 they caused summon the Doers of this Fact, to compear within fix Days
 3 to underly the Law; and, upon their Disobeyance, denounced them to
 4 the Horn. Whereupon theſe, who thought themſelves acceſſory to the
 5 Slaughter, entred into the Caſtle, and fortified the ſame; viz. The
 6 Lairds of *Grange* and *Pitmillie*, Mr. *Henry Primroſe (Balnaves)* the
 7 old Parſon *George Lefly*, Sir *John Auchinleck*, and theſe who had been
 8 in the Caſtle at the firſt. Many alſo who had nothing to do with the
 9 Slaughter, but feared the Governor and Queen's ill Will. Theſe Men,
 10 confident of the Strength of the Place, refused to obey the Authority,
 11 and contemptuouſly rejected all Offers of Appointment to be made with
 12 them ; and ſent Meſſengers to *England* for Support.

-line space-

13 BY this Time Winter approached ; and the Governor, being daily
 14 called upon by the Queen and Court, at length reſolved to ſiege the
 15 Caſtle ; and brought thither an Army, with two great Canons, *Crook-*
 16 *Mow* and *Deaf-Meg* : But, after three Months Siege, the Peſt ariſing
 17 in the Town, he was conſtrained to leave his Purpoſe without Effect.
 18 Hereby theſe that were in the Caſtle became exceeding inſolent, and op-
 19 preſſed all the Country about, with ſpoiling of Goods and raviſhing of
 20 Women, notwithstanding of the manifold Admonitions of ſundry godly
 21 Men who were with them, and foretold them of that which came to paſs
 22 thereafter.

IN

1.16 Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361) (p. 191)

1 THE Governor and Queen were highly commoved hereat ; therefore
 2 they caused fummon the Doers of this Fact, to compear within fix Days
 3 to underly the Law ; and, upon their Difobeyance, denounced them to
 4 the Horn. Whereupon thefe, who thought themfelves acceffory to the
 5 Slaughter, entred into the Caftle, and fortified the Jame; viz. The
 6 Lairds of *Grange* and *Pitmillie*, Mr. *Henry Primrofe* (*Balnaves*) the
 7 old Parfon *George Lefly*, Sir *John Auchinleck*, and thefe who had been
 8 in the Caftle at the firft. Many alfo who had nothing to do with the
 9 Slaughter, but feared the Governor and Queen's ill Will. Thefe
 Men,
 10 confident of the Strength of the Place, refufed to obey the Authority,
 11 and contemptuoufly rejected all Offers of Appointment to be made with
 12 them ; and fent Meffengers to *England* for Support.

-line space-

13 BY this Time Winter approached ; and the Governor, being daily
 14 called upon by the Queen and Court, at length refolved to fiege the
 15 Caftle ; and brought thither an Army, with two great Canons, *Crook-*
 16 *Mow* and *Deaf-Meg* : But, after three Months Siege, the Peft arifing
 17 in the Town, he was conftained to leave his Purpofe without Effect.
 18 Hereby thefe that were in the Caftle became exceeding infolent, and op-
 19 preffed all the Country about, with fpoiling of Goods and ravifhing of
 20 Women, notwithstanding of the manifold Admonitions of fundry godly
 21 Men who were with them, and foretold them of that which came to pafs
 22 thereafter.

IN

1.20 Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23) (p. 484-486)

1 Thir novellis cam to the queine and the go-
 2 vernour of the cardinallis slaughter, quho was
 3 verrie discontentit thairat, and highlie com-
 4 moved at the deid doeris, and immediatlíe
 5 summondit thame to find souertie, and vn-
 6 derly the law within the space of six dayes,
 7 or elis gang to the horne. Bot the six
 8 dayes being past, and no cautioun fund,

9 they war put the horne. So they keipit still
 10 the castle of Sanct Andros, and furnished it
 11 with all necessar; and all sick as suspected
 12 thameselffis guiltie of the said slaughter, past
 13 into the said castle for thair defence, to witt,
 14 the laird of Grange, Mr Hendrie Prymros,
 15 the laird of Pitmillie, the old persone George
 16 Leslie, Sir Johne Auchinlech, with many
 17 vtheris, who wer not at the slauchter, bot
 18 suspected thameselffis to be borne at evill will,
 19 thairfoir they lap in to the castle, and remain-
 20 ed thair the space of halfe ane yeir, and would
 21 not obey the autoritie, nor yitt hear of no ap-
 22 poyntment nor offerris which wes offered vn-
 23 to thame be the autoritie. But still malig-
 24 nant againes the queine and governour, think-
 25 and thameselffis strong eneugh againes thame
 26 both ; and send thair messingeris to Ingland
 27 to seik support, bot quhat they gott I cannot
 28 tell. Bot this drew neir Mertimas quhill the
 29 winter was at hand, and all men cryed out and
 30 desired the governour to punisch sick injuries
 31 done within the realme ; and also the queine

32 perswadit the governour to put remeid heirto.
 33 The governour heiring that the queine and
 34 court war not content that he neglected the
 35 punischment thairof, incontinent he raised
 36 ane armie, and cam to Fyffe, to the castle of
 37 Sanct Andros, quhilk was holdin be the for-

38 saidis personnes, and brought tua gritt can-
 39 nones with him, to witt, Cruik Mow and the
 40 Deafe Meg, and laid ane seidge to the castle,
 41 and seided it the space of thrie monethis, and
 42 could never mend thanselffis, quhill at the last
 43 the pest cam in the toun so vehementlie, that
 44 the governour behoved to raise and dissolve
 45 the seidge and armie, and retire himselff to
 46 Edinburgh to ane conventioun.
 47 Bot thir men in the castle sieing the gover-
 48 nour to have passed away and raised his
 49 seidge, they became so proud, that no man
 50 might live besyd thame, for they would isch
 51 out and ryd throche the countrie quhen they
 52 pleased, and sumtymes raise fyre and burne,
 53 and vtherwhylles ravisch vomen, and vse thair
 54 bodie as they pleased. And some godlie men
 55 in the castell, that thought not thair lyffe nor
 56 conversatioun honest, reproved thame sharp-
 57 lie, thairfoir, saying, if they left not aff, it
 58 could not be bot God would punisch thame
 59 for the same quhen they luiket least for it.
 60 Notwithstanding of thir admonitiounes, they
 61 continwed still in thair former doingis the
 62 space of thrie quarteris of ane yeir thairefter.

Appendix 2: Extract Content Categorisation

Type i – Standard Version of Short Form	Type ii – Standard Version of Long Form	Type iii – Stand-Alone Version of Long Form	Type iv – Stand-Alone Version of Long Form	Type v – Stand Alone Version of Long Form
Adv. MS 35.4.11	MS La.III.216 (Sub-group: ii.i)	MS La.III.218	MS 2672	Crawford MS I
MS La.II.583	Wodrow Folio (Sub-group: ii.i)			
MS La.III.198	Acc. 3736 (Sub-group: ii.i)			
Crawford MS II	MS 3147 (Sub-group: ii.i)			
Freebairn's 1728 Edition (Mu8-a.6)	Adv. MS 35.4.10 (Sub-group: ii.ii)			
Freebairn's 1728 Edition (BD5-b.4)	Dalyell's 1814 Edition (BD13-i.23) (Sub-group: ii.ii)			
Freebairn's 1728 Edition (RF 361)	MS 185 (sub-group: ii.iii)			
Urie's 1749 Edition (Bo3-m.12)				
Urie's 1749 Edition (ECCO)				
Cadell's 1778 Edition (ECCO)				

Appendix 3: Paratextual Data

	Use of Scots	Enlarged Initials (per page)	Enlarged Initials (for textual division)	Intertitles (for textual division)	Chapters (within James II)	Paragraphs	'Oration' Intertitle	'Wishart' Intertitle
MS La.III.218	X (orthography)	X (smaller)	X	X				X
Crawford MS I	X (orthography)	X (smaller)	X	X	X (full chronicle)		X	X
MS La.III.216	X (one example)		X	X				X
Adv. MS 35.4.10	X (orthography)		X	X				X
Adv. MS 35.4.11			X	X	X	X	X	
Wodrow Folio	X (one example)			X				X
MS La.III.583			X	X	X	X	X	
MS La.III.198			X	X	X	X	X	
Acc. 3736	X (orthography)		X	X				X
MS 3147	X (orthography)	X (smaller)	X	X				X
MS 185		X (smaller)	X	X				
Crawford MS II	X (lexis)	X (smaller)	X	X	X	X	X	
MS 2672	X (orthography)		X	X		X		X
Freebairn 1728 (Mu8-a.6)			X	X		X		
Freebairn 1728 (BD5-b.4)			X	X		X		
Freebairn 1728 (RF 361)			X	X		X		
Urie 1749 (Bo3-m.12)			X	X		X		
Urie 1749 (ECCO)			X	X		X		
Cadell 1778 (ECCO)			X	X		X		
Dalyell 1814 (BD13-i.23)	X (lexis & orthography)		X	X		X		X

	Running Titles	Formal Marginalia	Foliation	Pagination
MS La.III.218		X	X (non-scribal)	
Crawford MS I	X (cropped)	X	X (non-scribal)	
MS La.III.216	X (scribal & non-scribal)	X	X (uncertain hand)	
Adv. MS 35.4.10		X	X	
Adv. MS 35.4.11		X	X	
Wodrow Folio		X	X (non-scribal)	
MS La.III.583	X			X
MS La.III.198				X
Acc. 3736	X (inconsistent)	X		X (cropped)
MS 3147	X (scribal - cropped) X (non-scribal - inconsistent)	X	X (non-scribal)	
MS 185		X (scribal - for additional item only)	X (prefatory material - non-scribal)	X (chronicle-text/additional item - non-scribal)
Crawford MS II				
MS 2672	X (non-scribal)	X (scribal & non-scribal)	X (non-scribal)	X
Freebairn 1728 (Mu8-a.6)	X			X
Freebairn 1728 (BD5-b.4)	X			X
Freebairn 1728 (RF 361)	X			X
Urie 1749 (Bo3-m.12)	X			X
Urie 1749 (ECCO)	X			X
Cadell 1778 (ECCO)	X			X
Dalyell 1814 (BD13-i.23)	X			X

	'Addition'	Surrounding Material	Additional Texts
MS La.III.218			X (non-scribal)
Crawford MS I	X (labelled 'James VI')	X	X (scribal & non-scribal)
MS La.III.216	X (unmarked)	X	
Adv. MS 35.4.10	X	X	
Adv. MS 35.4.11	X (short version)	X	
Wodrow Folio	X		X (scribal & non-scribal)
MS La.III.583	X (short version)	X	X (non-scribal)
MS La.III.198	X	X	
Acc. 3736	X (short version)		X (non-scribal)
MS 3147	X		
MS 185		X (non-scribal)	X (scribal)
Crawford MS II	X	X	
MS 2672	X (two 'Additions')		
Freebairn 1728 (Mu8-a.6)	X	X	
Freebairn 1728 (BD5-b.4)	X	X	
Freebairn 1728 (RF 361)	X	X	
Urie 1749 (Bo3-m.12)	X	X	
Urie 1749 (ECCO)	X	X	
Cadell 1778 (ECCO)	X	X	
Dalyell 1814 (BD13-i.23)	X	X	

	Abbreviated Title Page	Title Page	'Author's Account'	'Verses to the Bishop'	Printer's Preface	'Description of Britain'	'List of Subscribers'	Table	Index	Addenda	Specimen Fragment
MS La.III.218		X (non-scribal)									
Crawford MS I			X	X							
MS La.III.216		X (non-scribal)	X (non-scribal)	X (non-scribal)		X		X			
Adv. MS 35.4.10						X		X			
Adv. MS 35.4.11			X								
Wodrow Folio											
MS La.III.583			X	X							
MS La.III.198			X	X							
Acc. 3736											
MS 3147											
MS 185			X (non-scribal)								
Crawford MS II			X	X							
MS 2672		X									
Freebairn 1728 (Mu8-a.6)		X	X	X			X				
Freebairn 1728 (BD5-b.4)		X	X	X			X				
Freebairn 1728 (RF 361)		X	X	X			X				
Urie 1749 (Bo3-m.12)		X	X								
Urie 1749 (ECCO)		X	X								
Cadell 1778 (ECCO)	X	X	X	X					X		
Dalyell 1814 (BD13-i.23)	X	X	X			X		X		X	X

Appendix 4: Scribal Paratextual Provision¹

	Wodrow Folio	MS 185	MS La.III.218	MS 3147	Acc. 3736
Enlarged Initials (per section)		X ²	X ³	X ⁴	X
Intertitles	X	X ⁵	X	X	X
Chapters (throughout chronicle-text)					
Chapters (within James II)					
Paragraphs					
Running Titles				X	X (inconsistent)
Foliation/Pagination					X
Formal Marginalia	X		X	X	X
Title Page					
Prefatory Material					
Supplementary Material					
Additional Texts	X	X			

¹ In this appendix the manuscripts have been ordered according to the comprehensiveness of the paratextual system provided by the scribe.

² This manuscript also includes enlarged initials with a potentially memorial function to begin pages of text.

³ This manuscript also includes enlarged initials with a potentially memorial function to begin pages of text.

⁴ This manuscript also includes enlarged initials with a potentially memorial function to begin pages of text.

⁵ This manuscript is the only manuscript that does not include an inter-textual intertitle to highlight a section of content in addition to the intertitles used to introduce the monarchs' sections.

	Crawford MS II	MS La.III.216	MS La.III.198	Adv. MS 35.4.10
Enlarged Initials (per section)	X ⁶	X	X	X
Intertitles	X	X	X	X
Chapters (throughout chronicle-text)				
Chapters (within James II)	X		X	
Paragraphs	X		X	
Running Titles		X		
Foliation/Pagination			X	X
Formal Marginalia		X		X
Title Page				
Prefatory Material	X	X	X	X
Supplementary Material		X		X
Additional Texts				

⁶ This manuscript also includes enlarged initials with a potentially memorial function to begin pages of text.

	Crawford MS I	MS La.III.583	Adv. MS 35.4.11	MS 2672
Enlarged Initials (per section)	X ⁷	X	X	X
Interitles	X	X	X	X
Chapters (throughout chronicle-text)	X			
Chapters (within James II)		X	X	
Paragraphs		X	X	X
Running Titles	X	X		
Foliation/Pagination		X	X	X
Formal Marginalia	X		X	X
Title Page				X
Prefatory Material	X	X	X	
Supplementary Material				
Additional Texts	X			

⁷ This manuscript also includes enlarged initials with a potentially memorial function to begin pages of text.

Appendix 5: Punctuation Data Tables

	Wodrow Folio	MS La.III.218	MS 2672	MS La.III.216	MS 3147	Crawford MS I	Adv. MS 35.4.10	Crawford MS II	MS La.III.583	MS La.III.198
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Punctus</i>					X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Double Punctus</i>							X	X	X	X
<i>Semi-Colon</i>							X	X	X	X
<i>Comma</i>				X	X		X	X	X	X
<i>Raised Punctus</i>						X				
<,->										
<,'>										
<,',>										

	Urie 1749 (Bo3-m.12)	Urie 1749 (ECCO)	Cadell 1778 (ECCO)	Dalyell 1814 (BD13-i.23)	Freebairn 1728 (Mu8-a.6)	Freebairn 1728 (BD5-b.4)	Freebairn 1728 (RF 361)
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Punctus</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Double Punctus</i>					X	X	X
<i>Semi- Colon</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Comma</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Raised Punctus</i>							
<,>							
<,'>							
<,',>							

	MS Acc. 3736	Adv. MS 35.4.11	MS 185
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	X	X	X
<i>Punctus</i>	X	X	X
<i>Double Punctus</i>		X	X
<i>Semi- Colon</i>		X	X
<i>Comma</i>	X	X	X
<i>Raised Punctus</i>			
<,->		X	
<'>			X
<,->	X		

‘and the reft of all matterf my awthor continues So I ceaf to
fpeak farther and Reftis’

Explicit, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland*,
Wodrow MSS. Folio XLVIII, National Library of Scotland, f.199r.