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Negotiating a Nation: Imperialism, Multiculturism, and the Evolution of Identity in Medieval Scottish Borderland Literature

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NEGOTIATING A NATION: IMPERIALISM, MULTICULTURALISM,

AND THE EVOLUTION OF IDENTITY IN MEDIEVAL SCOTTISH

BORDERLAND LITERATURE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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Title: Negotiating a Nation: Imperialism, Multiculturalism, and the Evolution of Identity
in Medieval Scottish Borderland Literature

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Many medieval authors worked with the ideas of identity, at times giving way to the creation of nationalism. Depictions of national identity and nationalism varied depending upon author and time period, especially within literature from the Lowland region. This literary borderland identity was ever-evolving as the political environment over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries fluctuated and varied depending upon who was in power, the author's political ties, and the geographic and cultural places and spaces in which authors resided. To effectively understand how and why this was the case, we must ask the following questions: how are nationalism and national identity depicted and advocated through 14th and 15th century Scottish literature? Who creates national identity? How are different cultures manifested in literature through cultural characteristics such as politics, language, ethnicity, history, culture, socioeconomics, and place to create a national identity? As will be argued, Scottish borderland authors forged national identity within their texts by amalgamating and responding to imperial and political influences from Gaelic, French, and English cultures, which evolved throughout the course of the later Middle Ages and culminated into a multicultural national identity.

Using a post-colonial methodology, this dissertation identifies three stages or types of medieval Scottish identity formation. First, I examine English cultural imperialism in James I's *The Kingis Quair* and Andrew of Wyntoun's *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. The two texts were written near the end of James's eighteen-year captivity in England and formed national

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identity through an English lens. Second, John Barbour's *The Brus* and Blind Hary's *The*

Wallace created identity in direct resistance to English culture and politics by writing

nationalistic texts, adopting French and Gaelic literary cultures, and politicizing post-Chaucerian

stylistics. Third, I discuss how Robert Henryson in *Morall Fabillis* and William Dunbar in

Lament for the Makaris amalgamate French, English, and Gaelic cultures to create a commentary

on the diverse social groups contributing to identity formation in 15th century.

    I conclude various cultural identities and literary traditions created a commentary on the

importance of cultural, political, and ideological amalgamation as well as the evolution of

medieval Scottish borderland identity.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS MEDIEVAL SCOTTISH NATIONAL IDENTITY?

Defining Scottish national identity is a nearly hopeless task. When posing the question "What makes Scotland 'Scottish'?" some may answer with stereotypes of kilts, whisky, Nessie, and bagpipes. Others may describe landscapes: the thrusting peaks of the Highlands, heather-spackled glens, sparkling lochs, and the softness of peat; the brogue of the Lowlands or the unique sound of Gaelic; the dynamic and mythological history; the literature of Burns, Stevenson, and Scott. All of these elements embody some aspect of Scottish national identity. However, they do not encapsulate all traits of "Scottishness" nor would everyone in Scotland agree to these markers. What makes Scotland "Scottish" varies between each person and different places, defined by how Scots identify themselves within certain contexts and in relation to other groups.

While this is certainly true of Modern Scotland—particularly when considering the 2014 Independence Referendum and the 2016 Brexit vote—Scotland has always had a complex relationship with identity. Robert Burns, one of the most famed Scottish poets in history, often negotiated Scottish identity in his poetry and wrote in the Scots language. His poetry celebrates Scottish culture and politics and often decries the Act of Union that unified the Scottish and English nations. In "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation," he laments that Scotland was "bought and sold for English gold" and calls upon the memory of "Bruce and loyal Wallace." The resistant identity Burns creates is based on a fantastic memory of past national heroes who fought to keep Scotland free from the clutches of the English. However, it should be noted that he creates a literary manifestation of national identity in response to his own political context and perspectives. When Burns invokes the memory of Bruce and Wallace, he is doing so from a

specific viewpoint that describes what *he* believes is Scotland's national identity and when the struggle with national identity began.

As Burns suggests, Scotland's relationship with national identity stretches back to the Middle Ages. Definitions of the nation manifested in many ways, particularly within the political, cultural, and literary realms and is dependent upon who is doing the constructing and when, creating a complexity to identity. Often, national identity is looked at as a fixed concept when, in reality, it is much more fluid and amorphous. Identity, particularly one that is meant to encapsulate an entire nation, will fluctuate depending upon when it is being discussed and by whom. Additionally, how that nation's culture is represented and "read" by citizens analyzing and creating this culture affects how identity manifests, particularly within a specific historical context. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt muse that if culture is a text, "then everything is at least potentially in play both at the level of representation and at the level of event. Indeed, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain a clear, unambiguous boundary between what is representation and what is event" (15). In other words, while events are at core factual, how they are represented affects interpretation. It is important, then, to define which representations and events contribute to the shaping of identity in medieval Scotland within the context of this analysis. National identity in the eyes of medieval Scottish authors is contingent upon political ideologies and historical events that impacted how Scottish culture was formed.

Many medieval authors worked with the ideas of identity, at times giving way to the creation of nationalism. While nationalism can be a product of national identity formation, they are not necessarily one and the same. National identity is the shaping of an autonomous political and cultural identity while nationalism takes these ideas and makes them hierarchal. Depictions of national identity and nationalism varied depending upon author and time period, especially

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within literature from the Lowland region. This literary borderland identity was ever-evolving as the political environment over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries fluctuated and varied depending upon who was in power, the author's political ties, and the geographic and cultural places and spaces in which authors resided. To effectively understand how and why this was the case, we must ask the following questions: how are nationalism and national identity depicted and advocated through 14th and 15th century Scottish literature? Who creates national identity? How are different cultures manifested in literature through cultural characteristics such as politics, language, ethnicity, history, culture, socioeconomics, and place to create a national identity? As will be argued in this dissertation, Scottish borderland authors forged national identity within their texts by amalgamating and responding to imperial and political influences from Gaelic, French, and English cultures, which evolved throughout the course of the later Middle Ages and culminated into a multicultural and multifaceted national identity.

While conversations about national identity and nationalism in medieval Scottish borderland literature are not new, they often emphasize the political and historical context of the late medieval period or the cultural influences—such as language, ethnicity, and place—that are present because of these political circumstances. However, rarely do these intersect in a way that gives discussions of both political context and cultural influence equal weight, nor is there attention to how an author's construction of national identity fits into the lengthy political and postcolonial struggle of the medieval Scottish borderland with other majority cultures. Scholars such as R. James Goldstein and Stefan Thomas Hall recognize various cultural criteria that work together to contribute to nationalism and national identity construction: genre, language, history, politics, place, and socioeconomics. However, there is little discussion of how majority cultural criteria—that is, indicators from French, English, or Gaelic cultures—contribute to borderland

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Scottish culture and no mention of the imperial implications of these cultural presences within literary texts. Mark Bruce and Katherine Terrell's edited collection, *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300-1600* (2012), provides a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches towards certain medieval Scottish borderland texts, but it fails to analyze how imperialism manifests and influences these texts. Political alliances and attempted English conquests affect how the texts were created, particularly in regards to how they responded to imperialism. Richard Firth Green's article from this collection, entitled "The Border Writes Back," argues that the application of postcolonial theory to borderland literature is "clumsy," since colonialism occurred over large swaths of land and oceans rather than frontiers and lines of demarcation (103). Green is somewhat correct: Traditional understandings of postcolonial theory may not work with borderland literature, since the theoretical approach traditionally applies to the Age of Colonization through Modern times and focuses on contextual conversations of race, socio-economics, and capitalism. Much postcolonial theory examines how the West capitalizes Eastern and native lands, disrupting indigenous traditions. What these scholars tend to ignore, however, is that the root of "traditional" imperial occupations—power and capital gains—are also the cause of many conquests during the Middle Ages. A medieval focus on and new historical approaches to postcolonial theory allow for a deeper understanding of the constructions of national identity and nationalism within medieval Scottish borderland literature.

Although much has been said about medieval Scottish borderland nationalism and identity construction, my approach recognizes the importance of examining each cultural identifier within the literature and how authors utilized these criteria. Cultural identifiers are markers within literature that indicate the cultural lens through which the author is creating

identity. These can manifest through the use of specific literary traditions, philosophical approaches to topics, and political preferences. In doing so, the politics of the author and the literary context will be made clear as will the limitations of the national identity constructed within the literature—that is, how the author's political and cultural preferences impact and narrow the scope of national identity formation. By reaching these conclusions with each text and analyzing them together, it is my goal to bring a new understanding to the study of medieval Scottish literature, one that states that it is impossible to define Scottish nationalism or national identity as a single identity since both are in constant flux. Rather, there are multiple identities that emerge demonstrating the multicultural and diverse nature of the Scottish nation and its literary perspectives. Approaching borderland literature in this manner is important, as it allows for a more complex understanding of how and why Scottish national identity fluctuated and evolved in the 14th and 15th centuries. Additionally, while the borderland does not necessarily represent all Scottish terrains or cultural ideologies, conversations about national identity were prominent within the borderland region and literature during the Middle Ages as authors experimented with the philosophical question of what makes a nation.

The term "borderland" must be explored in order to understand why Lowland authors would fall under the label "borderland writers." In geographic terms, borders are predetermined places that separate one location from another. Yi-Fu Tuan explains that to define a place gives it a meaning and that "[h]uman beings not only discern geometric patterns in nature and create abstract spaces in the mind, they also try to embody their feelings, images, and thoughts in tangible material…Places and objects define space, giving it a geometric personality" (17). Borders do not exist naturally; rather, physical and geographic spaces are given meaning by human beings to indicate "this place" is different from "that place." However, the term

"borderland" cannot be limited to a line on a map, distinguishing the geographic location in which one place stops and another starts. Rather, it must be understood both as a physical boundary and a place of cultural intersection. Norma E. Cantú and Aída Hurtado explain Gloria Anzaldúa's perspective on living in a borderland area as creating "a third space between cultures and social systems. The word 'borderlands' denotes that space in which antithetical elements mix, neither to obliterate each other nor to be subsumed by a larger whole, but rather to combine in unique and unexpected ways" (6). Borders must be seen as fluid, liminal spaces in which two or more majority identities intersect, formulating a hybrid identity. Within this hybridity, cultural markers from the various majority identities are interwoven as conversations on the political contexts of the borderland.

Utilizing the above definition, medieval Scotland's Lowlands represent this type of borderland. The physical region between the Highlands and England demonstrates a place of cultural blending and hybrid identities, made evident by the literature from the area during the later Middle Ages. While the Lowlands and Highlands both made up the country of Scotland, the political and cultural atmosphere of the Lowlands was much more fluid during the Middle Ages, due to the regular redefinition of Scotland's physical Southern border and the continental interactions with the royal burghs. The line separating England and Scotland shifted over the course of the Late Antiquity and medieval eras. The first and arguably most infamous border drawn was Hadrian's Wall. According to Tony Wilmott, although the Romans saw victory over the Caledonians at the Battle of Mons Graupius, located on the Highland border, "by AD 100 the frontier had fallen back to the Tyne-Solway line […] Rather than extend the Empire, Hadrian wished to consolidate Roman territory behind secure frontiers. Part of this policy was the construction of his famous wall in Britain. The Wall was begun in AD 122" (23). Despite a huge

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military victory, the Roman Empire's legions could not maintain control of what would come to be known as the Scottish frontier. The Caledonians pushed the Romans further and further south, regaining control of their native land, until Hadrian and his troops were able to secure a position and built the Wall. George MacDonald Fraser explains that, from Rome's perspective, the Wall represented not just a militaristic fortification but also a dividing line between "civilisation and barbarism, between safety and danger, between the tamed and the wild, between the settled country and the outland which was too hot to handle and not worth fighting over anyway, between "us" and "them"" (14). The Wall established the first official border between England and Scotland and also created a physical division between different cultures and populations. From this line came the first attempt to establish difference between the two groups, culturally and politically.

Hadrian's Wall was not the final border between Scotland and England. The physical line separating the two budding countries shifted over the course of the Middle Ages. After the collapse of the Roman Empire and the evacuation of Roman troops from the British Isles, the Wall began to fall into disrepair and despite constant occupation at the fortresses "late-Roman frontier troops gradually adopted a different social structure, perhaps evolving into a small war band, no longer dependent on a central authority but self-sufficient within a small area" (Wilmott 34). Due to this shifting social structure and the Wall's disrepair due to lack of upkeep, the border's physical ability to separate the two groups on either side faltered, allowing for intermingling between the populations and cultures. After Hadrian's Wall, the border between England and Scotland became a general area in which conflict between the English and Scottish broke out intermittently, typically over the acquisition of castles and strongholds. This general area came to be known as the Marches, which fluctuated between the Southern Scottish counties

and the Northern English ones. Fraser explains that eventually, roughly 1000 years after Hadrian's Wall, the border was established "from the Solway to Berwick. It made no great difference to the Border people […] divided and yet united by a strange chemistry far above international politics. Half-English, half-Scottish, the Border was to remain a thing in itself" (21). The Borderland became a general area of blending, developing into its own entity in terms of culture and politics. The Marches became a place of distinct hybrid identities, which inhabitants were happy to embrace for the time being.

Some may argue that the Lowlands cannot represent an entire borderland region, particularly since it held many of the royal burghs and was the epicenter of Scottish governance and the official "Kingdom of the Scots." Additionally, the Marches, as shown in Fig. 2, were within close proximity of the southern borderline, an arguably more fitting location for the title "borderland."

Fig. 2. Map of the Scottish Marches.

How then could the entire Lowland region then be labeled as a borderland? There are two counterarguments for this. First, while the southern physical border has stayed roughly in the same location as today—around the River Tweed—there were many instances where English influence crept further north than the Marches. R. R. Davies explains that

> The customs of the English royal borough of Newcastle upon Tyne became the exemplar of the Scottish 'Laws of the Four Burghs'; Scottish coinage closely resembled that of the Norman and Angevin ruler of England in style and silver content; while Scottish inter-regional trade 'was an extension of the interregional trade of England and depended greatly upon movements in London commercial circles'. (8-9)

The presence of English customs and culture as far north as the royal burghs indicates that the cultural borderland stretched beyond that of the Tweed River or the Marches. Additionally, with the English economic impact throughout Scotland, the borderland with England cannot simply be limited to the southern, geographical border.

The second, and oft ignored, counterargument is the Lowlands also held a border to the North with the Highlands. Defining the "northern border" is somewhat complicated as the Highlands and Lowlands were part of the same nation as the border between the two regions was strictly geographic throughout the early Middle Ages. Silke Stroh explains the shift during the later Middle Ages as the result of intra-Scottish conflicts:

> Between the expansionist and centralising interests of the Crown and centrifugal forces seeking to preserve or increase the autonomy of regional aristocratic elites. Further conflicts arose between different regional aristocratic dynasties and factions. But during the high Middle Ages, these conflicts were not yet *ethnically* entrenched along a "Highland Line" between the Gaelophone and Anglophone populace – the very terms "Highlands" and "Lowlands" are not to be found in texts produced before the fourteenth century. Instead, these earlier hostilities often criss-crossed geographical Highland/Lowland distinctions; and although many of the more autonomous (alias "rebellious") regions lay in the predominantly Gaelic north and west, centralist propaganda and calls for disciplinary measures against them were not yet couched in linguistic, cultural or ethnic terms, but only in political ones. (49)

Although a formal borderline was never officially established during the Middle Ages, by the 14th and 15th centuries, the geographic difference paired with the cultural "Othering" that had

emerged between the Lowlands and Highlands created a northern borderland. The Lowlands became a physical convergence of the two borders, creating a place where hybrid identities and cultural blending occurred, culminating in a larger and equally amorphous and complex borderland region.

What makes the medieval Lowlands a borderland particularly plausible is the cultural blending that took place during the 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries. Cultural exchange is common within borderlands, and the Middle Ages in Lowland Scotland are no exception. Kylie Murray, while discussing the Glasgow Hunter MS—an almost complete *De Consolatione Philosophiae* manuscript found in the Glasgow University Library—explains that the manuscript was a "part of the lively network of textual exchange and transmission between Northern England and the Scottish kingdom" ("Books beyond Borders" 13). *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by Boethius was a landmark text during the Middle Ages; it contains musings on free will, fate, fortune, and mankind's purpose, influencing intellectual and literary cultures from continental Europe to the British Isles. The example provided by Murray is one of the many cross-border transmissions that occurred especially during the 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries. As will be examined throughout this dissertation, the literature produced during the later Middle Ages in the borderlands contained elements of both Gaelic and English literary cultures. The interactions between the groups due to the presence of physical borders led to a cross-cultural exchange, blending these multiple identities together within the Lowlands region.

Elements of French culture also emerged within the Lowlands, creating a unique type of borderland. The presence of French cultural markers within literature was a product of the Auld Alliance, a political pact made with France to resist English military action, and was at the forefront of how the two nations interacted. According to Michael Lynch, "It was the reluctance

of the Scots to become involved in the English war effort which drove them into an alliance with France, which was agreed in October 1295" (117). This partnership granted Scotland French assistance against any imposing English campaigns as well as foreign recognition as an autonomous nation. Military and political assistance were not the only benefits Scotland saw from the agreement. French cultural influence was incorporated into Scottish culture for the duration of the alliance. William Calin points out that although few Scottish documents written in French exist, "French would have functioned in a way similar to Anglo-Norman in the South – spoken in the public sphere by magnates and the clergy and recognized as the language of war, chivalry, and high culture" (9-10). It also strongly contributed many different types of cultural pieces in Scotland, including letters, travel writing, speeches, song, and dance (Calin 10). Due to the political influence of the Auld Alliance, there was a considerable French impression on Scots culture. Despite the absence of a physical border between the countries, French cultural markers were incorporated into the culture of Lowland Scotland. If borderlands are understood to be areas of cultural convergence due to political interaction, this amalgamation of French, Gaelic, and English cultures contributes to Lowland Scotland's borderland status.

The region became a unique cultural borderland, creating hybrids of outside cultures. Foreign cultural markers, the criteria by which an author comments upon his or her society and national identity, began to manifest within literature through the discussion of various topics. These topics consist of politics, language, ethnicity, socioeconomics, history, culture, and place and are used as indicators of majority cultural influence within national identity construction. Although these topics are not specific to one majority culture, how they are constructed, utilized, and amalgamated within a text reveals the author's preferences for and negotiations with certain majority cultures while moving towards national identity construction. However, due to the

political interactions between Scotland, England, and France, some of the cultural manifestations that appeared in both society and literature were products of imperialism. Imperialism and the resistance to imperialism manifested in many different ways within medieval Scottish borderland literature, especially within the presence and treatment of cultural markers. These constructions affect how cultural influences can be read within a text and reveal how imperialism affects the author's approach to the production of a national Scottish identity.

Although the specific political situations fluctuated over the course of the later Middle Ages—as will be discussed in greater detail in each chapter—there was a consistent conversation concerning political imperialism and national identity within the literature from the Scottish borderlands. Among the effects of the Auld Alliance (1295), the Wars of Independence with England (1296-1328), and the tensions with the Highlands, the attitudes and reactions to imperialism morphed and evolved within the borderland. It is, therefore, important to examine 14th and 15th century Scottish borderland literature through a modified postcolonial theoretical lens since the literary cultures that contributed to texts forming national identity were products of and in response to imperial actions. The use of the term "postcolonial" should be developed further, as should the exact theoretical concepts, since postcolonial theory is typically applied to post-Age of Exploration literature. In fact, "postcolonial" is a misnomer in the case of the Scottish borderlands since imperialism was more a cultural imposition during the later Middle Ages than an economic colonialism. It is important to distinguish the two terms. Colonization, according to Robert J. C. Young, functions "as an activity on the periphery, economically driven" (16-7). A physical presence of a colonizing country is established within the place that is being colonized and economic rewards are sown from this endeavor. "Imperialism," which often comes with colonization, is much more psychological. According to Leela Gandhi, imperialism

"is simply the aggressive face of European nationalism […] writers such as Lenin, Bukharin, and Hilferding understood imperialism not as the relationship between colonizer and colony, but rather as a relationship of antagonism and rivalry between the ruling elite in competitive European nation-States" (115). This definition encapsulates the political situation that had been created within the late medieval Scottish borderland. Especially during the rule of Edward I, England was constantly trying to bring Scotland under its control. Although there was Scottish resistance, including the victorious Wars of Independence, English imperialism made a commanding presence in Scottish politics, culture, and society. It is therefore important to recognize that the use of English cultural markers within Scottish borderland literature is—whether intentionally or not—a response to imperialism and particularly to the political relationships between the two countries at the time of literary composition.

Despite a complex history with foreign nation-states and imperialism, the presence of foreign cultural markers within literature does not automatically indicate imperialism. For instance, the relationship Scotland had with France did not fit the traditional and presumptive definition of "imperialism". The French and Scots were never at war with one another and the interactions between the two nations saw a positive cultural exchange. M. A. Pollock explains the formation of the Auld Alliance saw the French and Scots "relate to each other from thenceforward as diplomatic allies against the English, not as cousins within a continental nobility" (218). The formation of the Franco-Scottish alliance was not rooted in antagonism, though it did demonstrate a political relationship rather than a congenial one, and the degree to which French culture was revered within Scotland established a cultural hierarchy in which the continental European culture seeped into Scottish borderland identity. Despite this, the intent and nature of the cultural exchange was a positive one and, if anything, an act of resistance against

English imperialism. If the formation of the Auld Alliance was a diplomatic form of resistance, the presence of French culture within Scottish literature can be understood as the resulting pushback against English imperialism.

Imperialism did not just impact how borderland identity was formed but also affected literary manifestations of national identity. The term "national identity" must be clarified since the identity creation that took place in specific 14th and 15th century Scottish borderland texts did not necessarily epitomize the identity of the entire nation. The ways national identity was defined within a text depended upon the author's politics and cultural relationships, thus revealing a biased perspective. It is important to pause and note the complexities of national identity construction within a borderland, particularly one as complex as the medieval Scottish Lowlands. For all intents and purposes, medieval Scottish borderland authors would have likely seen the Lowlands as the "Scottish nation." The Lowlands contained the royal burghs and was the central locus of the government and the kingdom. Although the Highlands had certain "kings" controlling certain areas, Bruce Webster explains that "Celtic peoples were used to overlapping grades of 'kingship' […] a king, a *rí* in Ireland and in Celtic Scotland, was the head of a group of people […] their existence did not conflict with the existence of a King of Scots, a *rí ruirech* over all Scotland" (176). Those living within the Lowland region, then, would have seen the Lowland location of the King of Scotland—the *rí ruirech*—as the centerpiece of the Scottish nation. Thus, the formation of national identity within literature from the Lowland region is understandable as the Lowlands were the central location of the Kingdom of the Scots. However, these definitions of nationhood were coming from limited perspectives and from within a cultural borderland. Since the Lowlands saw fluctuations in the amalgamations of cultures and identities throughout the later Middle Ages, the perceptions of national identity would have also

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shifted within 14th and 15th century literature. Additionally, an author's political interpretation of events, opinions of majority cultures, and experience with imperialism would affect how national identity was constructed within his literature.

One way to understand the blending and fluidity of identity within borderland literature is through Gloria Anzaldúa's notion of "mestiza" consciousness. She explains that mestiza "speaks to [borderland inhabitants'] common identity as mixed bloods. […] It breaks down the labels and theories used to manipulate and control" (205). Instead of ascribing to one identity, those who embrace "mestiza consciousness" recognize the importance of identity fluidity. Within this mentality, the definition of "borderland" is fluid, much like the identities within borderland regions. In the case of medieval Lowland Scotland, borderland identity cannot be labeled as influenced by one type of majority culture. Instead, the identity that existed during the 14th and 15th centuries was a mixture of Gaelic, French, and English cultures, a blending Scottish authors embraced within their literature either consciously or unconsciously.

The mestiza definition, while useful in describing the ways in which identity is shaped within the medieval Scottish borderland, does not wholly represent the literature of the 14th and 15th centuries. While some authors did try to blend cultures in a non-binary manner, there were also instances in which authors acted and reacted overtly to these cultures, either succumbing to the hierarchy of cultural imperialism or fervently resisting it. How an author understands the cultural and political context influences the creation of national identity within their literature. If an author is unaware of the borderland's "mestiza consciousness," or rejects it in favor of a more finite identity, the manifestations of identity within literature could be examined more precisely through Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" concept. Anderson explains that nations are "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

[…] Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (6). Nations are intentionally distinguished from one another, whether by geographical borders, racial difference, or cultural differentiation. If one does not recognize "mestiza consciousness" within a borderland region, inevitably a finite understanding of nation and community emerges. However, it is *who* imagines the nation or community and *why* they imagine it in that manner that determines the identity of the nation. In the case of medieval borderland Scotland, the literary manifestations of national identity—while finite and specific in how they are imagined—can and do vary because of the cultural amalgamations that existed. It is critical, then, that both Anzaldúa's and Anderson's concepts on identity be applied to 14th and 15th century Scottish borderland literature in order to understand how and why interpretations of identity and the use of specific cultural markers varied between authors and contexts.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter One: Imperialized Mindsets and Identities in Andrew of Wyntoun's *Origynale Chronikyl of Scotland* and James I's *The Kingis Quair*

How authors utilized cultural markers within specific political contexts during the 14th and 15th centuries reveals the extent to which national identity succumbed to or resisted imperialism. This dissertation examines the binaries within late medieval Scottish borderland literature and how by the end of the Middle Ages authors attempted to move beyond the counterstance and reach a "mestiza consciousness." In Chapter One, I will be examining *Kingis Quair* by King James I of Scotland and Andrew of Wyntoun's *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, exploring how these texts were written through imperialized mindsets, creating a very narrow and exclusive approach to national identity. How do these two texts address and define national identity in response to the cultural context of their time? I argue the texts demonstrate

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cultural imperialism by rhetorically using English cultural markers to recreate Scottish historical events, label language, and manipulate genre. Both texts were written in the 1420s, a fragile time in Scottish politics. Andrew of Wyntoun's *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* documents the history of Scotland from the beginning of the world through post-Wars of Independence. I argue that although the chronicle is a lengthy history of the nation, very few instances of nationalism appear and the descriptions of the national events that would create nationalist fervor are minute and brief considering the density of the text. When compared with shorter Scottish chronicles from the same general time period that are overtly nationalistic, *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* reveals a general cautiousness toward nationalism caused by the English imperialism that many suspected influenced King James I. The language of the text, which Wyntoun refers to as "Ynglys," also reveals submissiveness to English cultural identifiers. As many texts were beginning to differentiate Middle Scots from Middle English in the 15th century, Wyntoun's linguistic statement creates a political conversation between English and Scottish cultural identifiers regarding the author's perspective on national identity, revealing political and cultural allegiances.

These allegiances are also evident in King James I's *The Kingis Quair.* James I had just returned to Scotland from an eighteen-year captivity in England during which time he fought for the English army against French and Scottish troops. His text, *The Kingis Quair*, is a dream vision written as autobiography. Despite indicating familiarity with the Latin Boethian tradition, the text ends with a desire to enter into a Chaucerian literary tradition, a canon that was not familiar in Scotland prior to James I's return. Because of James I's experience with imperialism in England, the treatment of Scottish historical events within *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*

and the creation of an English-influenced Scottish literary canon within *The Kingis Quair*
demonstrates English imperial influence on these two texts.

Chapter Two: "Quhat, will yone Scottis fycht?": Resistance and the Shaping of a
Nationalist National Identity in *The Brus* and *The Wallace*

Chapter Two is a discussion about *The Brus* by John Barbour and *The Wallace* by Blind
Hary, two texts that—unlike *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* and *The Kingis Quair*—
actively resist cultural imperialism. The questions that drive my research are how did *The Brus*
and *The Wallace* differentiate the Scots from the English? How do the two texts manifest
feelings of nationalism and national identity construction? I argue that *The Brus* and *The Wallace*
both root national identity within cultural resistance as a way to comment upon each author's
political context and garner nationalism within their audience. This is accomplished through the
use of rhetorical appeals within the construction of a national past and the conscious rejection
and manipulation of English cultural conventions such as genre and place, as well as establishing
an ethnic differentiation between the Scots and English. Despite being written approximately a
century apart, Barbour's *The Brus* around 1375 and Blind Hary's *The Wallace* in the late 1470s,
similarities can be drawn between the contexts of composition. Barbour, an Archdeacon in
Aberdeen, wrote shortly after the Wars of Independence with England, revealing a need to
produce a distinctly Scottish identity and a strong resistance to English identity. Blind Hary
composed his work within the final years of James III's rule and can be seen as a critique of
James III's pro-English policies, vehemently resisting the King's submissive politics. Although
little is known about his life, royal accounts from James IV's rule indicate that Blind Hary made
his living performing his poetry.

I argue that national identity in *The Brus* and *The Wallace* was created to differentiate the Scots from the English, both culturally and ethnically, through active resistance to English cultural identifiers. Here, I examine aspects of French and Gaelic culture to determine how these authors had sympathies towards those cultural leanings as opposed to English culture. In the conversation about ethnicity, I use medieval travel literature to explore how the medieval "other" was perceived and how politics shift who is considered "other." Tensions between Highlanders (Gaels) and Lowlanders (Scots) had been present throughout the course of the Stewart Dynasty, particularly during the rule of King James I. However, I argue political allegiances and personal experiences affect who is considered "other" in medieval Scottish borderland literature. *The Brus* and *The Wallace* demonstrate how resistance to certain external influences created national identity in these two texts.

Chapter Three: Henryson, Dunbar, and Negotiating a Multicultural Scottish Identity

The third chapter in the dissertation focuses on the literature from the end of the 15th century and the closing of the Middle Ages for the Scottish borderlands. Authors during this time were constantly reflecting upon the political climate but also attempting to create an overarching national identity by writing about the different socioeconomic estates and negotiating multiple imperial and cultural identities. Examples of this exist within Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis* and William Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*. Both Henryson and Dunbar were in professions and from places that would have put them in close social proximity to royalty but also granted them the ability to interact with and relate to lower socioeconomic classes. My leading question for this chapter is why do Henryson and Dunbar embrace imperialism while also supporting a distinct Scottish identity? I argue that Henryson and Dunbar recognized the imperial influences contributing to Scotland's identity and created texts that embraced immigrant and indigenous

cultural and socioeconomic multiculturalism through conversations about the estates, politics, and literature.

In the case of Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis*, the author constructed conversations about the events occurring politically and socially during his time while also balancing commentary on the life of the lower estates. Fables, as a genre, address political and social issues in a covert manner. By creating an overarching social narrative through the use of fables, Henryson was able to construct an extended metaphor of estates' interactions within Scottish society, the political and socioeconomic situation in the Scottish borderlands, and the multifaceted perspectives that existed during his lifetime. I intend to argue that, in doing so, Henryson created a national identity that included previously unheard lower estates voices in the nationalist construction. I will also argue that while overall the entire text of *Morall Fabillis* reflects the multiple dimensions of the Scottish borderland, examining several of the individual fables in relation to one another—in particular "The Taill of the Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous," "The Lyoun and the Mous," and "The Preiching of the Swallow—reveals aspects of the core argument of this dissertation: that medieval Scottish borderland and national identity cannot be confined to one concise, overall definition. Each fable reveals variations in Henryson perspectives on national identity.

Lament for the Makaris, written at the end of Dunbar's life, is a poem in which he laments the death of previous *makars*. While this poem is generally considered a bibliographic list of Scottish *makars* of which Dunbar wishes to be a part, I intend to argue that this poem is indicative of his anxiety about a loss of Scottish identity. Placing this poem within the historical context, I will argue that *Lament for the Makaris* creates a canon, thereby giving permanence to the Scottish literary tradition. Although, politically, Scotland and England were in a time of

peace at the time of the poem's composition, Dunbar's creation of a Scottish literary canon secures a distinctive Scottish identity. I argue the purpose of which is to solidify "Scottishness" within a multicultural society in the midst of a political shift in which England's cultural and political identities were being incorporated into Scottish borderland society. I conclude that Dunbar and Henryson constructed their texts as a way to negotiate majority national identities, thus shifting the national identity paradigm from a hierarchy between identities to a negotiation of immigrant and indigenous identities within the interactions amongst the estates. These two authors created a literary and cultural tradition that resisted imperialism by advocating a multicultural Scottish national identity.

Conclusion: Evolving Scottish Identity and Culture

Over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, then, Scottish national identity evolved, albeit jaggedly, from resisting and succumbing to imperial majority identities to a multicultural borderland society capable of negotiating majority identities. This is revealed through the literature from medieval Scottish borderland poets and how they constructed nationalism within their texts. Since each author wrote about and within different political contexts, from different political and cultural perspectives, diverse places, and various socioeconomic backgrounds, it is essentially impossible to define one overarching national identity. Rather, multiple immigrant and indigenous majority identities—such as Gaelic, English, and French—help create an overarching commentary on the importance of cultural, political, and ideological amalgamation as well as the evolution of national identity. Through the evolution of literary national identity construction, particularly in response to politics, Scotland's borderland society became multicultural, allowing for an appreciation of all immigrant and indigenous identities through a negotiation of cultures.

CHAPTER TWO

IMPERIALIZED MINDSETS AND IDENTITIES IN ANDREW OF WYNTOUN'S

ORIGYNALE CHRONIKYL OF SCOTLAND AND JAMES I'S *THE KINGIS QUAIR*

Introduction

Early to mid-15th century borderland Scotland was a tumultuous time both politically and militaristically. After the Wars of Scottish Independence, Scotland experienced regular border skirmishes with England as well as endured class problems between the Scottish gentry and the monarchy. Many of the class problems stemmed from socioeconomic power struggles but also from the influence of outside majority cultures on Scottish politics and national identity. Arguably, by the mid-1420s, England had the political upper hand on Scotland and English imperialism was—particularly within culture—becoming more evident in Scottish nationalist constructions. Two texts that illustrate English cultural imperialism are *The Kingis Quair* by King James I of Scotland and *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland* by Andrew of Wyntoun, canon of both Loch Leven and St Andrews, both written during the 1420s. Due to the political relationship with England during the mid-15th century, both texts reveal a bias toward English literary culture. The use of English cultural markers by James I and Andrew of Wyntoun formulate aspects of autonomous Scottish national identity impacted by English political and historical imperialism. If the *The Kingis Quair* and *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland* are being produced through imperialized mindsets, so is national identity. How do the two texts underscore national identity formation in regards to the political climate? I argue the texts demonstrate cultural imperialism within national identity formation by rhetorically using English cultural markers to manipulate genre and that cultural imperialism is made evident through the presentation of Scottish historical legends as well as through the use and labeling of language.

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Historical Background

In order to understand arguments about Scottish national identity and cultural influence, one must understand the political history between Scotland and England during the early to mid-15th century. English imperialism was not new to the borderland region of Scotland. After the Wars of Independence ended in 1306, borderland-Scots were faced with continuing pressures from the English, politically and militaristically. According to Andy King, border relations were consistently aggravated throughout the fourteenth century and English lords generally ruled over the Scottish border-holds. After Robert the Bruce reclaimed parts of the Scottish border after the Wars of Independence, English administrations "were re-instated after the English victory at Halidon Hill, 1333; and again after Neville's Cross in 1346. The towns of Berwick and Roxburgh still remained in English hands at the end of the century" (120). These victories meant a strong English presence within Scottish geographical boundaries as well as within the realm of political influence. Andrea Ruddick explains that one particular victory for England during fourteenth century Anglo-Scottish relations was "the capture of the Scottish king, David II, at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, followed by his eventual ransom and a treaty in 1357" (*English Identity and Political Culture* 26). While rule of Scotland itself did not fall into English control, the capture of King David II represented a conquering of Scottish politics and the way in which Scottish diplomacy functioned.

Scotland also instigated several campaigns during this time period; Alastair J. MacDonald states that during the mid-14th century "substantial areas of the north of England were reduced to misery by Scottish military activity" (1). The Battle of Otterburn in 1388 was a resounding success for the Scots and created unease in northern England. While this victory inspired more Scottish campaigns into England, it also drew the attention of the English

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government to the borderlands. By the time of Richard II's deposition and the rise of Henry IV, England was determined to strike back. According to Magnus Magnusson, Henry was "determined to reassert the lingering English claim to suzerainty over Scotland. The Scots retreated to the relative safety of Edinburgh Castle while a huge English army swept unopposed northwards to Leith. Henry IV did not press home his advantage; he was content to show the Scots that he could march in and take over whenever he pleased" (225). Despite a strong Scottish militaristic presence during the mid-to-late fourteenth century, the strengthening of the English crown with Henry IV's ascension meant a shift in Anglo-Scottish power relations by the start of the fifteenth century.

Henry IV's rule signaled another phase in Anglo-Scottish history in which England sought to imperialize Scotland, though in a subtler manner than Edward I's attempts. Alexander Grant explains that in 1402, Scottish troops decided to invade England, marching on Newcastle but with little direction. On the return trip home, they were caught at Humbleton Hill by English troops led by Henry Percy and the Earl of March, who "heavily defeated them, despite their archers and new armour. At least 82 Scottish nobles were killed or captured" (44). This defeat impacted Scottish military confidence so much that subsequent campaigns into England ceased. However, the English did not follow-up either, though the paranoia of the English reconquering southern Scotland did not dissipate, particularly when Henry IV announced "that none of the prisoners taken were to be ransomed" (MacDonald 157). This threat halted Scottish military action as many of their battle-strong nobles were now in the hands of the English king. It also, however, reaffirmed the possibility and illusion of English imperialism, as a considerable portion of the gentry was now in England.

While the stalemate ended hostilities along the border, it did not mean the end of the Anglo-Scottish War. Grant explains that the next chapter ran until 1424, though "the border region was no longer the main focus of Anglo-Scottish relations. This shifted to the issues of Scottish prisoners in England and, after 1419, Scottish military help for France" (45). After the formation of the Auld Alliance in 1295, Scottish-Norman relations subsisted as preventative action against the English. Grant explains throughout the duration of the relationship, Scotland's dependence upon the greater militaristic powers provided by France made influence within diplomatic affairs between the two nations difficult. Despite this, France still needed Scotland since the two powers together were stronger against England than individually. Were there to be an outright French victory against the English, however, the alliance likely would no longer be needed. Scotland's willingness to cooperate with France helped maintain the strength of the alliance, which lasted into the later Middle Ages (Grant 33-4). The alliance helped Scotland resist English imperial threats along the borderland region and introduced French influence into Scottish culture and politics. This is not to say that France was a constant presence in Scotland; it seems that Scotland aided France more so in military affairs than vice versa. Bruce Webster notes while "French forces were in fact sent to Scotland to support the wars against England in 1355 and 1385…the wars in France opened possibilities for Scots to serve in French armies and perhaps win rewards and even lands in France" (126). With the assistance of a larger military power during times of particularly tense altercations, Scotland was able to hold off English conquest, partly because it seems that England's attention was split between French and Scottish campaigns during the fourteenth century. With the Scots forming political and military allegiances with France, England militaristically could not lead successful campaigns into Scotland. However, England realized they politically had the upper hand, particularly with the

acquisition of Scottish prisoners after Humbleton Hill and beyond. James I's capture by the English assisted in the reduction of political and militaristic skirmishes between the Scots and English by the beginning of the fifteenth century. The acquisition of such a political prisoner by the English, in addition to still holding many of those captured at Humbleton Hill, also created a suspicious atmosphere in Scotland. Recognizing the implications of King James I's imprisonment within England, Scottish magnates became paranoid that their young king's mind was being corrupted to favor English politics and culture. Upon the king's return to Scotland eighteen years later, it was evident that the magnates' fears were not unfounded: English cultural imperialism had taken a hold on James and the Scotland he came to rule.

Cultural imperialism must be defined when considering the circumstances of Wyntoun's and James I's texts. Imperialism indicates domination in many forms and, according to Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, "it has economic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences" (2). While many of these facets of imperialism could be read to some extent within Scottish society during the 1420s, the greatest indication of English influence is within the literary culture from this time period. Cultural imperialism, in this context, is the evidence of English ideas within Scottish national identity formation or, at the very least, a negotiation between English culture and political thought. Wa Thiong'o defines this as a "cultural bomb" and imperialism's greatest weapon, which is designed to

> annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland.

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It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from

themselves. (3)

The above definition, admittedly, refers to the extreme conditions imperialism can create within

an imperialized culture. It is difficult to apply these ideas fully to a borderland, as they are points

of cultural exchange. However, as the following examination will reveal, Wyntoun's and James

I's texts provide another example to support Wa Thiong'o's ideas regarding native identity

erasure, indicating that cultural imperialism, particularly in regards to national identity

formation, has an influential presence on the literature.

Wyntoun's *Orygynale Chronikyl of Scotland*

One example of cultural imperialism is within Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orygynale*

Chronikyl of Scotland, completed around 1420. Little is known about Andrew of Wyntoun's life;

according to David Macpherson, he worked as a canon at the Prior of St. Andrews, which had a

lot of influence in Parliament "in honour of the supremacy of the episcopal see…[Wyntoun was

later] elected Prior of the monastery of St. Serf's Inch in Loch Levin, one of the most ancient

religious establishments in Scotland…with many ample possessions by the Kings of Scotland

and Bishops of St. Andrews" (Macpherson xxxiii-iv). It can be assumed that Wyntoun's

positions at St. Andrews and St. Serf's Inch allowed him to have close connections with the

political scene during the late 14th and early 15th centuries. While there are several Scottish

chronicles from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Wyntoun's chronicle is one of

the most extensive and detailed, providing history from the beginning of the world up to the

reign of King Robert II of Scotland. The magnitude of *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*'s

subject manner places it among the most highly regarded chronicles of Scotland, along with John

of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (c. 1363-85) in Latin. Despite Wyntoun writing a

thorough account of the history of Scotland, there are instances where Scottish historical events that could create nationalism are toned down, revealing traces of English cultural imperialism. This raises the following questions: How does the presentation of history reveal imperialism within the text? Why is Wyntoun intentionally cautious in how he creates Scotland's national history? Arguably, the English influence evident within Scottish politics and imperialism permeated the national mindset; thus, the cultural imperialism within *Orygynale Chronikyl of Scotland* stems from the context of composition. The muting of nationalist historical events, such as founding legends, and diplomatically negotiating how language is labeled within *Orygynale Chronikyl of Scotland*, particularly in comparison to other Scottish chronicles, reveals an English imperial impact on Scottish national history.

Founding Legends in Medieval Scottish Chronicles

The contrast between the abbreviated nationalism and national identity within *Orygynale Chronikyl of Scotland* and the amplified presence in other Scottish chronicles from the turn of the fifteenth century—such as *La Vraie Cronique d'Escoce* (c. 1467)*, The Scottis Originale* (c. late 15th cent.)*, Nomina Omnium Regum Scotorum* (c. late 15th cent.)*, The Ynglis Chronicle* (c. 1485-1500)*,* and *The Brevis Cronica* (16th cent.)—is stark, especially when taking into consideration the treatment of Scottish historical events. One such example is the treatment of Scotland's origin myth. The story goes as follows: After the Trojan Wars, a Greek man, Gaythelos, traveled to Egypt and married the Pharaoh's daughter, Scota. After the death of the Pharaoh, Gaythelos and Scota traveled to Spain. Their son Hiber traveled north to conquer Ireland and named the land "Scotia" after his mother. Eventually, Fergus I led the descendants of Scota and Gaythelos to the land known as "Scotland" today. The legend originated in Ireland and, while the age of the Scota legend cannot be pinpointed, Edward J. Cowan explains that

because of its mention in early Irish versions of *Historia Brittonum* (c. 828)*,* the legend "must have been known in Ireland by the eleventh century" (123), demonstrating that the legend was known for several centuries. By the mid-thirteenth century, the history was firmly established and dictated by a Gaelic bard at the coronation of Alexander III, who traced the king's lineage back to Scota herself (Fordun 1.294-5). The use of the legend to legitimize succession strengthened the foundation by which the medieval Scots built their national identity. To have a national history so far rooted in the past, as well as being able to provide proof, was meant to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Scottish nation[1].

Although the legend of Scota had existed for several centuries, it became an important indicator of national identity and nationalism during the Anglo-Scottish tensions of the fourteenth century. This was in part due to Edward I's use of the British creation legend—in which Brutus of Troy conquered his way into Britain and named the land after himself—to justify control over Scotland. According to Chris Given-Wilson, Boniface VIII administered a papal bull in 1300, insisting Edward I stand down from conflict with Scotland, as the land fell under papal jurisdiction. Edward, rather than obliging, called upon chronicles and the Trojan creation myth to justify English claims to Scotland. In this myth, Brutus, the legendary ancestor of the British, had founded Albion, Scotland's name in the British legend. Additionally, Edward claimed Brutus was responsible for "the division of his island kingdom into three parts…and of the subsequent subjection of Scotland by British kings such as Dunwal, Belinus, and, naturally, Arthur" (67-8). Edward utilized chronicle evidence of the Trojan creation legend as tangible proof to legitimize control over Scotland. The Scots did not accept Edward's claims, however. A

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[1] Many texts during and after the Wars of Independence in both England and Scotland made use of the Trojan and Scota legends to legitimize their histories. One well-known example is *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which begins with the siege of Troy and uses the history to legitimize the strength of Arthur's Britain.

papal report was sent to Edward I detailing Scotland's response to his letter sent to Boniface. It

claimed that after Brutus had divided Albion, Scota conquered the land,

> laquele ele fist apeler aprés son noun Escoce…et achaceront les Bretons, et de cel
>
> temps les Scotz come gentz noveux et de novel noun ne communerent ove les
>
> Bretons mais les pursuirent touz jours come lour enemis, et se menerent par
>
> diverses lieux et coustumes et par diverse lange. (Stones 113)
>
> [which she called, after her name, Scotland…and they chased out the Britons, and
>
> at that time the Scots, as new people and a new name, had nothing to do with the
>
> Britons but pursued them every day as their enemies, and led from them by
>
> diverse ranks and customs and by diverse language.][2]

Applying the same logic as Edward, the Scots justified their autonomy to Boniface by using both

the Trojan and the Scota creation myths. Establishing differentiation between the Scots and

Britons within the same tales utilized by Edward to determine domination legitimized Scottish

history and national status.

It is important to recognize the extent to which the Scottish founding legend was used to

foster nationalism. Approximately four prose chronicles—*La Vraie Cronique d'Escoce, The

Scottis Originale, Nomina Omnium Regum Scotorum,* and *The Brevis Cronica*—in several

manuscript forms, contain reference to Scota. *The Ynglis Chronicle*, which primarily features

English history, even sneaks in reference to the Greek ancestry of the Scots. The legend also

appears in chronicles of considerable length such as Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (1384),

The Anglo-Norman *Scalacronica* (1066-1363), and the *Pictish Chronicle* (c. 971). *La Vraie

Cronicque d'Escoce*, written around 1467, attempts to "reconcile the conflicting accounts in his

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[2] All translations from Middle English, Middle Scots and French texts are mine.

chronicle sources and to find what is 'most likely and certain' truth" (Kennedy 27-8). The

chronicler attempts to find a non-biased middle ground as a way to set the record straight. In

doing so, there is a detailed discussion of the various accounts in which the author attempts to

negotiate the various sources, explaining that even though the British did eventually spread their

language and culture into Scotland, the Scots were definitively the first of the two to inhabit the

island (ll. 85-8). The chronicle also clarifies the controversy surrounding the name of Albany:

While Brutus's son, Albanac, did claim parts of Scotland as his own, it was only a section of the

country and not the entire land (ll. 99-107). While these depictions do not necessarily create a

strong sense of nationalism, the chronicle's emphasis on the sources creates an ethos that was

important for chronicles to possess. In creating this credibility, the author's account of how the

countries of Scotland and Britain were formed, as well as the explanation of the naming of

Scotland, provides a solid base in which nationalism could flourish.

Some chronicles were more obvious in creating nationalism. The *Nomina Ominium*

Regum Scotorum is a Latin chronicle written in the late fifteenth-century and was written "to

show the legitimacy of the Scots' claims to independence, and this could be demonstrated by the

unbroken lines of kings from ancient times to the present" (Kennedy 59-60). This chronicle, to

further foster national identity, was translated into Scots in the *Brevis Cronica*, which exists in

two manuscripts from the sixteenth-century: the MS Advocates and MS Asloan (Kennedy 61).

Each version of the chronicle begins with the founding legend of Scotland, given in such detail

that the *Nomina* chronicler took the time to correlate the events around the same time as those

presented in the Bible (ll. 1-36). There is no mention of the Trojan legend within any of the

chronicles. Rather, the first mention of Britain comes in line 51 of *Nomina* when Julius Caesar

attempted to invade Scotland after conquering Britain. He was unsuccessful, as illustrated by the quotation from an anonymous verse:

> Scocia Romanis vi, metu subdita vanis
>
> Non fuit ex euo, nec paret imperio. (ll. 55-6)[3]

The strength of the Scots is shown to be mightier than that of the Brits as they did not fall to Caesar, creating national pride; while their political adversaries fell to Caesar, the Scots held strong. These chronicles also foster a sense of nationalism as they immediately begin with the Scottish founding legend, going into detail about the events and providing Biblical events as historical reference points.

Another chronicle that fosters nationalism is the late fifteenth century *Scottis Originale*. Translated from an anonymous Latin source, it exists in three versions, all of which emphasize the importance of a national identity (Kennedy 48). Similar to *Nomina* and the *Brevis Cronica*, the three manuscripts begin with the Scottish origin legend, highlighting the importance of the legend within Scottish history. When the Trojan legend is mentioned, the translators utilize it as a way to differentiate the Scots from the British. They explain that "Sa þat the opynioun of thame may nocht stand þat trowis þat we come of Brutus, quhilk come of the traytouris of Troye…Bot we ar cummyn of the worthieft nacioun þat euer was in erde, that is the Grekis" [So that their opinions may not stand that agreement that we come of Brutus, who comes from the traitors of Troy…But we are common of the worthiest nation that ever was on Earth, that is the Greeks]

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[3] These lines are translated in *Brevis Cronica* as "Julius Cesare, eftir þat he hade ourcuming with force France and Ireland, send to þe Kingis of Scottis and Pychtis to submit þame willfully to him – þe quhilk þai withstude and denyit with hail assent and war neuir subdewit, bot euir fre" (MS Advocates, lines 38-41). The MS Asloan version of *Brevis Cronica* reads "Julius Cesar, eftir þat he ha ourcummyn Fraunce and Yngland, he send to þe king of Scottis and Pictis and bad þam submit fully to him – the quhilk þai denyit with hale assent and was nevir subdewit" (lines 39-42). What is noteworthy of these selections is they omit the quotation of the verse and paraphrase the content of *Nomina*.

(MS Dalhousie ll. 17-20). The chronicles also emphasize "þat the Grekis war the worthiest, it

apperis, for thai haue bene twis conquerouris of the warlde – be Ercules and Alexander. And

Troyanis neuer" [that the Greeks were the worthiest, it appears, for they have been conquerors of

the world twice – by Hercules and Alexander. And Trojans never] (MS Dalhousie ll. 25-7). By

contrasting the two founding legends, using loaded language such as "traytouris" in each of the

three versions, and illustrating the heritage of strength present in the Scottish founding legend,

the translators reiterate the anonymous Latin chronicle's sentiments in an accessible language for

the people of Scotland. Providing Middle Scots translations further illustrates the nationalist

intentions of these chronicles.

The depictions of the English and Scottish creation legends, as demonstrated above, can

reveal nationalism within the retelling of history. In the case of *Orygynale Chronikyl of Scotland*,

however, the retellings of the Trojan legend and Scotland's national creation legend reveal

imperialism or, at the very least, hesitancy to portray overt nationalism and some level of

diplomacy in handling the national creation legends. The complicated relationship between these

two founding legends begins in the *Chronykil*'s Prologue, with the inclusion of the Trojan legend

and the exclusion of the Scota legend. Wyntoun states that other chroniclers choose

> To wryte, as Dares of Frygy
>
> Wrate of the Trojanys the story,
>
> Bot in to plane and opyne style.[4] (ll. 22-4)
>
> [To write, as Dares of Phrygius

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[4] Although Geoffrey Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* was closer to Wyntoun's time period and
pulled from Dares Phrygius's *De Excidio Troiae historia*, Wyntoun's inspiration for his mention
of the Trojan legend would have likely come directly from *De Excidio Troiae historia*, as it
existed in several Scottish manuscripts during the 15th century (Wingfield 189 & 192).

Wrote about the Trojan's story

Only in clear and open style]

He discusses the canon of chronicles, revealing that many other chroniclers found inspiration from Dares Phrygius's *De Excidio Troiae historia* and his telling of the Troy story, which predates Homer. However, there is neither mention of the Scota legend nor any mention of Scottish chroniclers. In fact, Wyntoun explains that his chronicle contains "Ynglis and Scottis storys syne" [English and Scottish stories next] (Prologue 120), making clear that his chronicle will not just focus on Scottish history but also English. Specifying an order in the telling of stories, placing English stories before Scottish, also creates a dichotomy that privileges English history over Scottish.

Wyntoun's presentation of Scotland's creation legend compared to England's demonstrates historical imperialism within the *Chronikyl*. Since the creation story was popularized as a way to counter England's claims to Scotland, the presence of the Scota legend typically indicates a desire to stir nationalism within the reader. The depiction present in Wyntoun's text, however, undermines the nationalist effects of the story. In fact, Emily Wingfield argues that Wyntoun's chronicle was "less influenced by Scottish propaganda from the Wars of Independence and instead more closely aligned to the pro-British attitudes of the early Stewart dynasty" (43). These pro-British attitudes are particularly evident in the presentation of the Scota legend. Chapter VIII of Book II is entirely focused on the narrative: the Greek, Gaythelos—Gedyelle-Glays in Wyntoun's text—weds Scota, the daughter of an Egyptian king. The two set sail on the Mediterranean Sea and, after many years of travelling, died. The son of Gaythelos and Scota continued travelling:

He tuke wpe sayle, and furth he past,

And in the Ile come at the last…

And Scotland gert call that Ile,

For honowre off hys modyr quhille,

That Scota was wytht all men calde[.] (2.8.749-61)

[He took up sail, and onward he went,

And came to the Island at last…

And he called the Island "Scotland,"

In honor of his mother formerly,

Whom all men called Scota.]

Utilizing Gallagher and Greenblatt's explanation of culture as text, this account, while detailed and thorough, describes the event but does not create a national identity or a feeling of nationalism. The attempt to provide facts is positive in a historical sense; it is problematic, however, in that the founding story of Scotland's national identity in a chronicle entitled *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland* does not foster a nationalist agenda. When compared to chronicles such as *Nomina Ominium Regum Scotorum* and *Scottis Originale*, Wyntoun's depiction of Scota's story is neutral, not going out of its way to represent the event in a nationalist manner. This neutrality is particularly problematic when considering that Scotland's creation story was devised as a way to resist English claims to Scotland. By treating it as just another historical event, rather than a nationalist narrative as culturally intended, Wyntoun strips Scottish history of its nationalist roots.

The lack of nationalism is also made evident by comparing it to accounts of the Trojan story present in Wyntoun's chronicle. Book III Chapter III relates the story of Troy but takes the

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time to elaborate on Brutus's character development and is positive overall about England's founding legend. When discussing Brutus, Wyntoun provides a thorough genealogy connecting him to Eneas and describing him in a complimentary manner:

>Eneas sone Askaneus
>
>Had a sone callyd Silvius,
>
>That Brut[us] gat, quham off beforne
>
>Wes devynyd, or he wes borne,
>
>That off gret wyrschype [he] suld be,
>
>And rys to state and dignyte[.] (3.3.499-504)
>
>[Eneas sone of Askaneus
>
>Had a son called Silvius,
>
>Whom Brutus obtained, of whom previously
>
>It was determined, before he was born,
>
>That he should be of great honor,
>
>And rise to high estate and dignity.]

Instead of providing a neutral depiction of Brutus like that provided for Gaythelos, Scota, and their son, Wyntoun describes the founder of England as one who should be of "gret wyrschype." Additionally, the founding of Britain is very detailed, going so far as to explain how certain regions of Britain received their names from Brutus' family members:

>Than Yngland callyd wes Locry;
>
>And Camber, Cambry, that Wallys auch
>
>Gert call it; and syne Albanach
>
>Gert Albany call that land,

That now callyd is Scotland. (3.3.552-6)

[Then England was called Locry;

And those Wallys owned—Camber, Cambria—

[he] Ordered [them] to be called; and next Albanach

Ordered the land be called Albany,

That now is called Scotland.]

Referring to Scotland by the English name "Albany" brings to light the problematic treatment of

Scotland within this chronicle. While delivering the Scottish founding legend, Wyntoun

explained how Scotland received its name from Scota. However, in the passage above, it is

presented as Albany, the English name for Scotland. By utilizing this language, Wyntoun

compromises the effectiveness of national identity creation within the Scottish founding legend.

The historical purpose of the Scota legend was to incite nationalism, particularly during the

1420s. Utilizing the Trojan legend's influence within a chronicle meant to focus on Scotland

reveals a degree of caution in how the history of the nation is constructed. This cautious tone

resonates with the effects of English political influence on the creation of Scottish historical

national identity.

Simultaneously, Wyntoun gives priority to the Brutus legend and embraces its

imperialism by including the name Albany. The use of an English name for Scotland is

indicative of imperial ideology as it prioritizes the non-native terminology over native. Robbie

McLaughlin explains this through the lens of cartography and illustrates the renaming of

locations as imperial since "[c]olonial topography eradicated indigenous place names steeped in

a rich linguistic and cultural history, replacing them with a dizzying array of coordinates and

signifiers designed to reconnect the coloniser with terrain that had been left behind" (101). While

this quotation refers to cartography, the theme of imperial name replacement resonates within Wyntoun's passage. The chronological emphasis on the use of the British-given name of Albany before Scotland indicates that he is more influenced by the non-native Trojan legend when referring to place names. Giving equal prominence to the creation myths of England and Scotland within a chronicle of Scottish history both undermines the nationalist efforts of the Scottish creation legend and indicates English imperial influence over how the history is constructed.

Nationalism and Historical Events within Scottish Chronicles

English imperialism is particularly notable when examining how specific nationalist historical events are treated within *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*. Despite glimmers of nationalist pride, it is not the driving force of the text; rather, Wyntoun demonstrates the extent he has been imperialized through his neutral treatment of nationalist historical events. The events of note that will be investigated are the treatment of William Wallace; the arrival of St Andrew's relics; the ascension of Robert the Bruce; and especially the Wars of Independence, in particular the Battle of Bannockburn. When compared with other medieval Scottish chronicles, the portrayal of the Scottish historical moments in Wyntoun's *Chronykil* is much more muted.

This is not to say that Wyntoun does not include blatant references to nationalist moments or figures in Scotland's history. The presence in the chronicle of William Wallace, a freedom fighter during the Wars of Independence, is strong. In Book VII Chapter XIII Wyntoun introduces Wallace and provides accounts of his bloody interactions with Englishmen. The first portion of the chapter discusses Wallace neutrally; Wyntoun appears to be attempting to provide the bare facts. However, the character development of Wallace becomes more detailed as the chapter continues, as Wyntoun provides more hints of nationalist pride toward Wallace. What

makes this depiction nationalistic is Wyntoun's detail about Wallace's life and calling him a great leader for "oure" Scotland. In one account in Chapter XIII, he describes the slaying of an English sheriff and the aftermath:

> Fra he thus the Schyrraẅe slwe,
>
> Scottis men fast till hym drwe,
>
> That wyth the Inglis men [oft] ware
>
> Aggrevyd, and supprysyd sare:
>
> And this Willame thai made thare
>
> Oure thame chefftane and leddare,
>
> For he durst well tak on hand. (7.8.2117-23)
>
> [From [the time] that he thus slew the Sheriff,
>
> Scottish men drew fast to him
>
> Who, regarding the Englishmen, were often
>
> Aggrieved, and injured in surprise attacks;
>
> And this William they made there
>
> Theirs and our chieftain and leader,
>
> For he dared to take responsibility for the task.]

Here Wyntoun's language reveals a preference for Wallace. Referring to Wallace as "oure" leader shows possessiveness and acceptance of his position. This reveals a drift away from neutrality, as Wyntoun appears to show a glimmer of nationalist pride. This is further emphasized several lines later, when he writes:

> To sla he sparyd noucht Inglis men.
>
> Till Scottis he dyd gret profit then.

The grettast lordis off oure land

Till hym he gert thame be bowand…

The Inglis men owt off oure land

He gert be put owt wyth stalwart hand. (7.8.2127-38)

[He spared not to slay English men.

He brought great advantage to the Scots then.

The greatest of lords from our land

He caused them to bow to him…

He caused the English men to be put out of our land,

Out with stalwart hand.]

Again, the use of "oure" provides insight to Wyntoun's opinions of Wallace: By using the possessive pronoun, he establishes that he accepts Wallace as one of the "grettast lordis off oure land" which is also further emphasized by the repetition of the idea from line 2122. The use and repetition of "oure" in reference to "land" reveals a possessive pride in his country. By stressing that the English were pushed out of "oure land" by Wallace, Wyntoun reveals glimpses of nationalism within his text. This is further supported when Wyntoun discusses Wallace's death after several chapters of recounting his deeds in battle. In Book VIII Chapter XX, Wyntoun recounts Wallace's death in England, "qwartaryd and wndwne…Thare he tholyd this martyry" [quartered and undone…where he was subjected to this martyrdom] (8.10.2970-2). Describing Wallace's death as a martyrdom also reveals some level of nationalistic narrative. Since Wallace was portrayed in the *Chronykil* as a martyr, Wyntoun recognized Wallace's impact on Scottish nationalism. However, despite moments of nationalist pride within *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*, explicit examples are sparse and underwhelming. Out of the nine books that trace

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Scottish history from the beginning of the world to the Wars of Independence, there are

approximately seven historical moments that are potentially nationalistic, albeit subtly so, prior

to the death of Alexander III in Book VII[5]. Much of the aggressive nationalist rhetoric appears in

Book VIII, particularly when discussing William Wallace and his opposition to King Edward I

of England. However, even within his modern history, the exclusion of certain events—such as

the Battle of Bannockburn—indicate Wyntoun's hesitancy to make a nationalist Scottish history.

One such example is the presentation of the legend of St. Andrew's relics and how he

came to be the patron saint of Scotland. St. Andrew was an important figure in Scottish history,

particularly in regards to its status as a nation. He became the patron saint of many Picts and

Scots who modeled themselves on the Apostle. Invoking St. Andrew also played a major part in

the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320, which secured national independence from English control

under the papacy. According to Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, the Declaration stressed that while in

Scythia "it was the ancestors of the Scots […] who were one of the earliest peoples to be

evangelized by the first Apostle, Andrew. This claim to be the legitimate 'first-born' followers of

Christ asserted the Scots' right to be treated with positive discrimination by the papacy" (85).

Through the legend of St Andrew, the Scots were able to call upon the history of the Church as a

way to seek protection from English conquest and verify their status as a nation. Therefore, while

the presence of the legend within chronicles would presumably be presented in a nationalist

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[5] Other possible instances are the inclusion of the Scota legend (2.8.633-772), the arrival of the Stone of Scone (3.9.1039-86), tracing the Scottish lineage in relation to the Picts (4.8.1101-1122), the arrival of St Andrew's relics (6.7.519-42), the marriage and lives of King Malcolm and St. Margaret (7.3.275-368), the ascension of King Alexander II and his interactions with England (7.9.2485-2640), and the coronation of King Alexander III (7.10.3093-3144). The nationalism in some of the moments, however, is downplayed. See the conversation on pages 44-47 regarding the arrival of St Andrew's relics.

light, yet Wyntoun refrained from including a detailed account of it. This lack of attention toward a distinctly Scottish moment raises questions about the nationalism present in the text.

    The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland's depiction of the relic scene, which is a mere 11 lines, is short and underwhelming. In Book VI, Chapter VII, Wyntoun describes the events that led to St Andrew becoming the patron saint. This passage begins with St Andrew inspiring King Hwyngus of the Picts in the battle against Adhelstan:

> Be Saynct Andrew spryrytualy
>
> He confordyde hym rycht heyly:
>
> Hwyngus the Kyng off Peychtis than
>
> Faucht agayne Adhelstan,
>
> And wan hym off fors in fycht,…
>
> Than fwrth in hys devotyowne
>
> [He] ekyd the dotatyowne
>
> Off Saynt Andrewys Kyrk in fe
>
> Wyth landis in regalyté
>
> Syne Sanctandrewys relykis thare
>
> Wytht honowre gret ressaywŷd ware. (ll. 6.7.519-42)
>
> [By the spirituality of Saint Andrew
>
> He comforted him most highly:
>
> Hungus the King of Picts then
>
> Fought against Adhelstan,
>
> And diminished him by force in fight….
>
> Then forward in his devotion

He increased the endowment

Of Saint Andrew's Kirk in property

With territorial jurisdiction

Since Saint Andrew's relics were

Received there with great honor.]

National identity is being downplayed in this passage. For a work of its length, the presentation of the St Andrew's section in Wyntoun's chronicle is abrupt and provides little descriptive detail of the events surrounding the legend. The St Andrew's passage is 11 lines long and makes up a mere .4 percent of the 2646 lines in Book 6. If each additional Book in the chronicle is roughly as long as Book 6, the account becomes even less prominent. These numbers contrasts greatly with the accounts provided by the author of *Nomina Omnium Regum Scotorum*, who provides specific details regarding the arrival of St Andrew's relics and whose account is approximately 6 lines or approximately 8 percent of the entire chronicle. Although *Nomina Omnium Regum Scotorum* is a considerably shorter chronicle than Wyntoun's, it consciously pays attention to important moments in Scotland's history. Comparing these accounts, Wyntoun's reticence when describing the event becomes a conscious and political choice.

While not mentioned in every Scottish chronicle, several discuss St Andrew in a manner that provokes national pride through historical recollection. The aforementioned *Nomina Regum Scotorum* (MS Dalhousie) portrays the arrival of St Andrew's relics with national pride. *Nomina Regum Scotorum* states:

Translata sunt ossa beati Andree apostolic de Patras ciuitate usque ad

Constantynopolim preter tres digitos manus dextre et os brachii inter humerum et

cubitum dextrum, vnum dentem et patellam genu eiusdem apostolic que angelo

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reuelante et imperante seruauit beatus Regulus episcopus. Qui jussu angelico

ductuque, eadem ossa per multa maris discrimina plurimaque pericula in Scociam

deportauit vbi a Rege Pictorum Gurgust honorifice suscipiuntur et fundata est I

honorem Dei et Sancti Andree apostolic ciuitas Kylremont que nunc dicitur

ciuitas Sancitandree et est sedes metropolitan tocius Scocie.

[The bones of the blessed apostle Andrew were translated from Patras to

Constantinople, except three fingers of the right hand, the arm bone between the

shoulder and the right elbow, one tooth, and a kneecap, which, by the revelation

and command of an angel, the blessed Bishop Regulus had saved. Regulus,

commanded and guided by the angel, carried the bones away over vast expanses

of sea, through many dangers, to Scotland, where they were reverently received

by Gurgust, King of the Picts, and in honor of God he founded Kylremont, city of

the apostle St Andrew, which is now called St Andrews and is the metropolitan

see of all Scotland.] (Translation from *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles* 165)

The specificity of this passage, particularly in regards to how the bones arrived in Scotland,

indicates the chronicler's desire to legitimize the history. The precise catalogue of bones making

the journey to Scotland gives the account authority. More important, however, is the angel's

presence in the story: God wished to see St Andrew's bones safely delivered to Scotland. The

endorsement of God gives the story indisputable authority since no one should question the

Lord's authority. Using precise details and guaranteeing safe delivery thanks to divine

intervention makes the passage a history in miniature of the Scottish Church. It is also telling that

the *Nomina Regum Scotorum* is 661 lines long and dedicates nine lines to the arrival of St

Andrew's relics. While this number seems relatively inconsequential, the length of the passage in

Nomina Regum Scotorum is substantial when compared to longer chronicles. In the case of *Nomina Regum Scotorum*, a chronicle that traces Scotland's history from the Scota legend through the death of James I, the amount of time that is spent detailing the arrival of St Andrew's relics indicates the author's recognition and appreciation of the impact the event played within Scottish history and nationalism.

Wyntoun's cautiousness towards nationalizing a distinctly Scottish moment is doubly evident when considering the chronicle genre. While chronicles were trusted to be accurate, the chronicler's political opinions, religious biases, and nationalist preferences tended to slip into the descriptions of historical events. This genre convention allowed for the insertion of nationalistic events. Chroniclers believed that "history must have didactic significance…that the 'universal truths' to be deduced from any specific episode were just as important as the need to provide an incontestably factual account of that episode" (Given-Wilson 2). The emphasis on certain events within chronicles provided by reliable sources that also advocated patriotism may not have been historically accurate, but this allowed for chroniclers to insert nationalism into their texts by simple adhering to genre conventions. Some events were more conducive to portray nationalism than others, particularly those that defined national identity or placed a nation in a situation of struggle. In the case of the St Andrew's relics and Scota legends, these events helped define Scotland's identity and were typically treated with greater respect than other historical events. However, in the *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*, these historical instances did not have any overt didactic significance that suggested nationalism within the accounts.

This lack of nationalism is also evident within depictions of contemporary Scots history. In Books VII and VIII, Wyntoun primarily focuses on Scottish-centric historical moments that would be familiar to 15th century audiences. Book VIII has a lengthy account of the events

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during the Wars of Independence, particularly regarding Robert the Bruce and William Wallace, two of Scotland's most highly regarded patriots. These moments could be represented as very nationalistic, but overt nationalism is not abundantly evident in Wyntoun's chronicle. His discussions of Robert the Bruce are somewhat mild; in Chapter VII, Wyntoun explains Robert the Bruce's marriage to Isabelle and, while claiming him as "Oure Kyng Robert" (l. 1327), much of what follows is simply genealogical. There is discussion of his conflict with John Balliol in Chapter X, explaining that Balliol demanded service as a King

> [Bot] off Robert the Brws he
>
> Gat nowthir homage, na fewté:
>
> Qwhen he Kyng wes off Scotland,
>
> To the Kyng made homage off Ingland. (ll. 8.7.1563-6)
>
> [But from Robert the Bruce he
>
> Got neither homage nor fealty;
>
> When [Balliol] was King of Scotland,
>
> [he] made homage to the King of England.]

These lines succinctly describe the tensions between Balliol and Bruce, as Balliol was a weak king and was consistently giving homage to Edward I (Lynch 116). Moments such as this in Wyntoun's chronicle leave opportunities for overt Scottish nationalism to creep in, yet Wyntoun refrains. In fact, his account of Robert the Bruce's becoming king of Scotland is also brief. Wyntoun explains that Robert the Bruce believed he was cheated of the crown and wanted

> All that he heycht hym ilka delle;
>
> And till hys frendis that wrat he,
>
> That Kyng off Scotland he thowcht till be[.] (8.7.1722-4)

[He was entitled to all that himself, each portion;

And he wrote that to his friends

That he thought he should be King of Scotland.]

These lines appear amongst a lengthy discussion of Balliol's relationship with Edward I. In fact, Robert the Bruce is mentioned approximately nine times after this passage, mostly in passing. By quickly glossing over important moments in Scottish history, particularly those tied to Scottish nationalists such as Robert the Bruce, Wyntoun appears to be brushing off Scotland's nationalist past.

The omitting of nationalist moments is doubly evident when comparing Wyntoun's depictions of modern history with those provided in other chronicles. Wyntoun's exclusion of the Battle of Bannockburn, a militaristic victory for the Scots during the Wars of Independence, also demonstrates an intentional abstention from a historic nationalist moment. According to John Sadler, the defeat the English suffered in Bannockburn "left a bitter legacy. Scotland was now a nation of arms and her success meant the full fury would fall on Northumberland and the other northern shires" (54). The battle gave Scotland a great militaristic advantage in borderland tensions and was a huge blow to England's confidence in the Wars of Independence. It, arguably, was one of the most defining moments for Scottish national identity and nationalism and is therefore well recorded and celebrated in many Scottish chronicles. The aforementioned *Ynglis Chronicle* describes how Edward II "tynt þe battell of Bannokburn, loving to God, [in] quhilk was an ȝeris provisioun togiddir, and syne was schamefully chast eftir þe batell fra Striuling to Dunbar and þar stall away in a bait and fled in Yngland" [lost the battle of Bannockburn, loving to God, in which a year's planning came together, and then was shamefully chased after the battle from Stirling to Dunbar and there stole away in a boat and fled to England] (ll. 232-5).

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This "ane part" of English history resonates from a Scottish perspective. Similarly, *Chronicle of the Scots* (The Short Chronicle of 1482), a chronicle that gives short accounts of what occurred during a year, includes Bannockburn and even goes as far as to include "quhar our ald enemys gat a gret fall" [where our old enemies had a great fall] (l. 97). Despite quick summaries of events, *Chronicle of the Scots* makes an effort to include nationalism when describing the English as "our ald enemys." It is curious, then, that Wyntoun would not include such a pivotal battle in his history of Scotland. It is even noted by A. A. M. Duncan that Wyntoun directly borrows many of the lines discussing Robert the Bruce from John Barbour's *The Brus* (c. 1375), a text celebrating the actions of Bruce (3). *The Brus* had already been established as a widely known poem in the 15th century, having been mentioned in additional nationalist texts, such as *The Buik of Alexander* (c. 1438-1499), *Scotichronicon* by Bower (c. 15th cent.), and *The Wallace* (c. 1470s) (Duncan 32). To quote from *The Brus* and abstain from including Bannockburn, a battle that is set up and described over the course of three books, is a conscious political decision. Since the political climate of Scotland was leaning pro-English, including a battle that epitomizes the fervor of Scottish nationalism may have created complications, particularly between an imperializing English presence and Scotland's uncertain political future. Thus, the inclusion of lines from Barbour's text seems to reveal a quiet and intentionally cautious depiction of nationalism.

While Wyntoun's chronicle may not be overtly advocating nationalism, it does forge a Scottish national identity through its recording of a Scottish national history. The creation of a national historical narrative dictates the formation of a nation's identity. By presenting nationalist historical moments in a manner that tones down the impact of national pride that complicate the purpose of Wyntoun's *Chronikyl*, particularly when compared to other Scottish

chronicles from the same time period. Wyntoun's presentation of history is written in a way that would appeal to English audiences as well as Scottish, a decision affected by the political context in which it was composed. Wyntoun's decision to attenuate nationalist moments in Scottish history reveals the extent to which English imperialism had on Scottish national identity formation within *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*.

Labels for the Scottish Language and National Identity in Wyntoun

The way Wyntoun identifies separate languages, particularly English and Middle Scots, is also indicative of English imperialism. He claims in the Prologue that the chronicle is written in "Ynglis," which during the Scottish Middle Ages, according to J. Derrick McClure, was the label used for "the language used in the parts of Scotland which were neither Celtic- nor Nordic-speaking" (44). However, during the mid- to late-fifteenth century, some authors and chroniclers began to make a conscious political choice to establish a difference between what we today call Middle English and Middle Scots. In order to fully understand the implications of the distinction, one must understand the history of Middle Scots and the scholarly debate surrounding the distinction between Middle English and Middle Scots. Once these points have been established, the English imperialism through Wyntoun's language labeling will be evident.

It is important to note the history of the relationship between Middles Scots and Middle English. According to the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, Gaelic was the primary language of Scotland until the late eleventh century when the Kings of Scotland—particularly David I and his successors—incorporated the use of English into the southern region of Scotland, especially within the royal burghs and official documents. There was also an influx of immigrants from Northern England, bringing with them a Northern English dialect (ix). Over time, the "Inglis" language spread throughout Southern Scotland. However, it began to vary from the English

spoken in England. Loanwords from Gaelic were—and still are—very much present within the Scots language, particularly in regards to culture and geography. After all, Gaelic was the native language of Scotland prior to the northern migration of Old English and held a considerable presence in the Highlands during the Middle Ages. Gaelic was frequently spoken along the Highland-Lowland division, as evidenced by the use of Gaelic terms within early Scots documents. According to A. J. Aitken, the terminology "belong[s] to an early (how early cannot, of course, be known at present) layer of borrowing […] A number of Scots words of Gaelic origin name topographical features and several of these are recorded very early (12th century onwards)" (5). Although Aitken goes on to argue that Gaelic's influence on the language of medieval Scotland is not as powerful as French or Nordic, it is evident that the language's effect on Scots has been around since its inception. The terminology incorporated into the language of medieval Scotland indicates the cultural and geographic contact between Highland and Lowland cultures. Aitken also explains that "before the 15th century the following words more closely associated with the Highland way of life had entered the Lowland language: bard, beltane, clan, clarschach (a Highland harp), coronach [mourning song], and others" (6). The "Ynglis" language's adoption of Gaelic cultural terminology indicates the impact of Gaelic culture on Lowland life. The incorporation of these terms into "Ynglis" reveals some intercultural exchange occurring during the Middle Ages. Rather than a distinct separation between the two lifestyles, the incorporation of Gaelic terminology indicates the fluidity of the Highland - Lowland border both in language and culture.

The inclusion of some Gaelic was only one distinction that made Scottish "Ynglis" different than its Northern English ancestor. The incorporation of the French language into the "Ynglis" in Scotland was also different than England's English. According to Janet M.

Templeton, French "developed somewhat differently from that in England, for instance in the retention of Scotland of the palatal *l* and *n* in *bailʒe* (a bailie), *uilʒe* (oil), *fenʒe* (to dissemble)" (5). These pronunciations are just one example of how Scottish "Ynglis" began to shift away from the language in England. Additionally, according to William Calin, "French would have functioned in a way similar to Anglo-Norman in the South – spoken in the public sphere by magnates and the clergy and recognized as the language of war, chivalry, and high culture…French maintained its status as a language of culture well beyond 1350" (9-10). This is likely due to its status as the language of high culture during the Scottish Middle Ages. When King David I (1124-53) ascended the throne he brought French ideologies to Scottish politics and culture, attracting "a French-speaking barony and clergy, largely from northern England, with their retainers and associates" (Calin 8). Additionally, the formation of the Auld Alliance in 1295 would have likely encouraged the continued use of the French language, particularly within the upper estates and political culture. Considering the history of French within Scotland, it is clear that the language's influence on Older Scots came independently rather than entirely from Anglo-Norman.

Along with the linguistic distinctions between the "Ynglis" of Scotland and that of England, political events began to influence the language used in Lowland Scotland. According to Templeton:

> Briefly, by the War of Independence in the early 14th century, Scotland had become disconnected from England, just as, earlier, England had been disconnected from France. So that, while northern England still looked to its growing capital at London, both the Lowlands and the Highlands looked to the court, and later the capital, of Scotland. And in the late 14th century, at last, the

Lowland vernacular is used for a new Scottish literature, in a sudden burst of

writing – the first and most famous work being the *Bruce* by John Barbour…In all

this we find our language becoming differentiated from the English, to the stage at

which an increase in prestige could stimulate its development into a full literary

language. (6)

Due to the political disconnect that occurred around the Wars of Independence, the language in

Scotland began to distance itself from its predecessor. The language we see used in *The Brus*

demonstrates a new type of literary vernacular that was beginning to differentiate itself from

England's literary language during the 14th century.

Despite the linguistic split, the language in Lowland Scotland was, for the most part, still

called "Ynglis" during the 1420s and by Wyntoun himself. However, as Templeton points out a

change in name "would have been appropriate, as its differences from English had become

noticeable to contemporaries. In 1494 the term Scottis is applied by a Scotsman, Adam Loutfut,

to the Scottish language" (6). Prior to the 15th century, many scholars—like Templeton—argue

that "Scottis" was the term used referring to the Gaelic language. Therefore, the use of the term

by Loutfut would have been a clear decision to differentiate the language of Scotland from that

of England. While the differentiation between languages demanded a distinction in language

labels, Loutfut taking the first step to officially name the language "Scottis" can be interpreted as

a political move. However, McClure argues the "statement that *Scottis* as a language name had

until [the 15th century] meant Gaelic is much less well founded than the frequency with which it

is made might suggest. There are in fact very few attested cases of the word being used as a

name for the Celtic language" (45). While "Scottis" was certainly the popular label while

referring to Gaelic, there was not enough consistency to claim it as the set term for the language.

In fact, Scottis appears to have been used as a general, all-encompassing term for a language spoken by the Lowland Scots. McClure even pulls an example from Wyntoun's *Chronikyl* in which Scottis does not refer to Gaelic: When the Scots journey from Spain, Wyntoun states:

> Part of the Scottis remanit in Spanʒe,
>
> Quhen thai come first to Brettanʒe
>
> And Scottis thai speke halely (2.9.855-7)
>
> [Some of the Scots remained in Spain
>
> When they first came to Britain
>
> And they entirely spoke "Scottis"]

McClure explains "this reference…is to what was for Wyntoun a contemporary language (albeit mistaken: he is speaking of Basque, then thought to be a Gaelic language): nonetheless, it occurs in a passage relating to the early Scots" (45). Wyntoun, then, is utilizing the flexible term "Scottis" referring to an earlier form of what is now considered the Scots language.

How then is this indicative of English imperialism? In the Prologue, Wyntoun discusses his intent for his chronicle:

> My wyt, my wyll, and myne talent,
>
> Fra that I sene hade storis sere
>
> In Cronnyklys, quhare thai wryttyne were,
>
> Thare matere in tyll fowrme to drawe
>
> Off Latyne, in tyll Yngyls sawe. (ll. 26-30)
>
> [My wit, my will, and my talent,
>
> From which I had seen separate stories
>
> In Chronicles, where they were written,

> Their clay-like matter to draw
>
> From Latin, recorded into English sayings.]

He wishes to mold the chronicle stories from Latin into "Ynglis," the typical label for the language used in Lowland Scotland during his time. He continues, explaining that he wishes to "clerly bring thame tyll knawlage/Off Latyne in tyll owre langage" (Prologue 41-2). Taken together we can see that "oure langage" is referring to "Ynglis." Again, this is perfectly reasonable within the perimeters of the labels attached to language at that time.

What makes this indicative of English imperialism is the use of the term "Scottis" in the example provided by McClure, as Wyntoun seems to recognize that "Scottis" is a flexible term, particularly in how he uses it to refer to both an ancient Scottish language and a contemporary one. In Book One he lists the languages of Britain: "Off Brettys first, and Inglis syne, Peycht, and Scot, and syne Latyne" (1.15.1375-6). Here, it appears he is using "Scot" to refer to Gaelic or another form of ancient Scots. However, as McClure pointed out previously, the use of the term "Scottis" in the Spain passage refers to a contemporary language of Scotland. Wyntoun uses the term flexibly throughout his chronicle without fully clarifying the exact language to which he is referring. It seems, then, intentional rather than cultural that Andrew of Wyntoun uses the term "Ynglis" when referring to "oure langage." Rather than taking a nationalist stance on language and differentiating the language of Lowland Scotland from that spoken in England by using the flexible label "Scottis," he calls the language "Ynglis." In using this label, Wyntoun makes obvious that this account of Scottish history is not designed for nationalistic purposes.

Introduction to *The Kingis Quair*

The treatment of Scottish political, cultural, and literary independence from England's influence is also problematic within King James I of Scotland's *The Kingis Quair*, written in

1424. James I's semi-autobiographical prison poem recounts his eighteen year captivity in England and provides several manifestations of imperialism, though recent discoveries of a Scottish Boethius manuscript have proven these to be subtler than originally supposed, particularly when taking the text's subgenre of dream vision into consideration. Scholars had originally assumed the dream vision that had come to Scotland through James I after his time in England illustrated literary imperialism; however, Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (c. 524-5)—the text from which the medieval dream vision genre originates—had been in Scotland for a few centuries by the time James wrote his book. Does imperialism appear in the text, and if so how, particularly in regards to genre? How can these literary transmissions even be labeled as imperialism, especially since the borderland was an area of fluid exchange between Scotland and England? Despite these complications, aspects of cultural and literary imperialism permeate *The Kingis Quair* through language, genre, and English literary borrowings, creating a new Scottish literary canon born from imperialism.

James I's History and Its Imperial Implications

In order to understand the subtle and overt indications of imperialism within *The Kingis Quair*, one must look to James's personal history and the imperial nature of his captivity in England. James I's relationship with England began in March of 1406 at the age of 12. Michael Brown reveals James's father, King Robert III, sent him to France to protect him from the Douglases, nobles who opposed the King. During his journey, English pirates captured his ship and turned him over to King Henry IV. When Robert III died in April of the same year, Henry IV realized the political benefit of capturing the uncrowned king of Scotland (17). Henry IV had a bargaining chip in James: Scotland was in a position of political uncertainty without a king and power-hungry nobles attempting to assume authority. By holding James prisoner, Henry IV

could exploit Scotland financially and politically, giving England the upper hand in diplomatic relations.

As James spent many of his formative years in England, he was exposed to many aspects of English culture, something England was more than willing to foster. Henry IV took it upon himself to educate the young king of the Scots. James's interest in learning, "and the attitude of Henry IV[,] would make it natural for James to be exposed to the English theory and practice of royal government" (Brown 20). Education was used as a tool to mold the Scottish king into one interested in English governmental procedures, a benefit Henry IV would have no doubt found appealing. Educating the Scottish king in the workings of English government and revealing the supposed benefits of English rule and politics, undermines the legitimacy of the Scottish governmental structure. The nature of a politicized education demonstrates an imperial and hierarchal perspective. Aimé Césaire discusses in *Discourse on Colonialism* the invasive tactics of Western ideologies. Césaire explains that the Western mindset believes "the West alone knows how to think; that at the borders of the Western world there begins the shadowy realm of primitive thinking…incapable of logic" (69). Although he is referring to colonial and imperial tactics within traditional postcolonial framework, this concept applies to the treatment of James's education by Henry IV. Educating James strictly on the foundations of English governmental practices indoctrinated him in this administrative style and taught him how to think about political authority strictly through an English lens.

One could argue that educational imperialism was not possible due to the presence of James's royal tutor, Bishop Henry Wardlaw, during his captivity in England. According to Murray, Wardlaw educated James in Scotland prior to 1406 and was imprisoned with the young prince. During their time in England, Wardlaw guaranteed that James was conscious of Scottish

politics and values and was responsible for building up James's reputation as King of Scotland in Europe (*The Making of the Scottish Dream Vision* 70-71). If not for Wardlaw, James's education would have been entirely molded to favor an English agenda. So how then is there evidence of educational imperialism? If James's royal tutor made an effort to encourage Scottish principles, how could his ideas about kingship have been corrupted to favor England? The length of time James spent exposed to the styles of English governance indicates imperialism, albeit subtle. During his eighteen years in captivity, James's Lancastrian education concentrated on English life, politics, and military might. In fact, Brown explains "James's perceptions of kingship were most strongly influenced in the last years of his captivity when he had first-hand experience of Henry V at the height of his powers" (21). Although Wardlaw instructed him on how to be a Scottish king, his interactions with English styles of governance—as well as witnessing these styles in action—affected how he approached leadership. Through exposure to English ideals of kingship practiced by Henry IV and Henry V themselves, England had, arguably, imperialized James's mindset. When James returned to Scotland, his perspective on effective ruling styles were a fusion of English and Scottish forms of kingship.

The Dream Vision and Autobiography

English imperialism is also evident in how James utilizes the dream vision genre, particularly in autobiographical terms. The text is a prison poem with elements of dream vision, both popular genres in the Middle Ages that trace back to Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Boethius wrote his text while imprisoned for treason during the rule of Theodoric of the Ostrogoths. *De Consolatione Philosophiae* begins with Boethius both as author and character woefully awaiting his fate in prison. His Prose I begins:

> While I was pondering thus in silence, and using my pen to set down so tearful a complaint, there appeared standing over my head a woman's form, whose countenance was full of majesty, whose eyes shone as with fire and in power of insight surpassed the eyes of men, whose colour was full of life, whose strength was yet intact though she was so full of years that none would ever think that she was subject to such age as ours.[6] (Cooper 8)

The above account is allegorical, though there are distinct clues that indicate autobiography as well. Since the text was written while Boethius was held captive, the silent musing and act of writing are depictions of what he experienced both previously and at that moment. While an inspiration for many subsequent medieval texts, dream visions typically begin with the author musing on a problem, falling asleep, encountering a guide figure or figures within their dream who assists the dreamer in finding a solution, and finally the dreamer awakening as an enlightened individual. Rarely were there overt indications of autobiographical intent. The modern understanding of autobiography did not exist in the Middle Ages. Rather, as Albrecht Classen argues, "the medieval autobiography appears to lean more towards the Augustinian school of thought in terms of confessional writing in light of Christ's teaching—a search into one's own soul as the only reality worth talking about" (90). This appears to mostly be the case for James within *The Kingis Quair*: Although there is no blatant discussion of Christ's teachings, he does use his historical imprisonment as a vehicle by which to reflect upon and search his soul. James utilizes the popular dream vision style to discuss his life and his quest for moral improvement and self-maturation.

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[6] Quotations from *De Consolatione Philosophiae* are pulled from W. V. Cooper's translation.

Through the autobiographical replication of dream vision conventions, the impression imperialism had on James is revealed. He begins his poem unable to sleep and decides to read Boethius to help him pass the time. Instead of falling asleep, typical in a dream vision, he is inspired to write. He indicates his participation in a dream vision by posing a question and engaging in self-reflection:

> I mene this by myself, as in partye,
>
> Though nature gave me suffisance in youth,
>
> The rypenesse of resoun lakit I
>
> To governe with my will, so lyte I couth,
>
> Quhen stereles to travaile I begouth,
>
> Amang the wawis of this warld to drive,
>
> And how the case anon I will discrive. (ll. 105-12).
>
> [I refer to myself here, in part,
>
> Though nature gave me enough to satisfy my needs in youth,
>
> I lacked the ripeness of reason
>
> To govern with my will, so little I knew,
>
> When I began to travel, steer-less,
>
> To navigate among the waves of this world,
>
> And how the event [occurred] I will describe straightaway.]

The issues James encounters—his lack of maturity and want of direction—is somewhat problematic when taking into consideration that he is inspired to write "sum new thing" (l. 89) and launches into a retelling of his captivity in England, during which he undergoes moral improvement. He does, in fact, do "sum new thing" by treating the dream vision genre as overtly

autobiographical, describing his actual imprisonment with dream vision conventions.

In fact, James uses the genre's framework to justify the telling of his life. Although he does not completely fall asleep, James uses the dream vision conventions to authorize his story:

> Forwakit and forwalowit, thus musing,
>
> Wery forlyin, I lestnyt sodaynlye,
>
> And sone I herd the bell to matyns ryng
>
> And up I rase, no langer wald I lye.
>
> Bot now (how trowe ye?) suich a fantasye
>
> Fell me to mynd that ay me thought the bell
>
> Said to me, "Tell on, man, quhat thee befell." (ll. 71-7)
>
> [Awake too long and restless, thus musing,
>
> Weary from laying so long, I listened suddenly,
>
> And soon I heard the bell to Matins ring
>
> And up I rose, no longer would I lie.
>
> But now (can you believe it?) such a fantasy
>
> Fell to my mind that I thought the bell
>
> Said to me, "Tell on, man, what happened to you.]

Two unique things occur in this passage. First, many medieval dream visions see the author inspired to write about their dreams after awakenening, typically at the end of the text. James neither waits until the end to begin writing nor does he fall asleep. It is important to note that not all dream visions require the "dreamer" to sleep when they encounter a problem. In the first few lines of Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess*, the narrator complains, "I have so many an ydel thoght/Purely for defaute of slep" [I have so many idle thoughts, purely from lack of sleep] (ll. 4-

5). However, the narrator in *The Book of the Duchess* is not inspired to write his story until the final lines of the poem. The style of the *The Kingis Quair*'s inspiration to write is most similar to Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which begins with Boethius imprisoned and lamenting his situation onto pen and paper when his guide figure appears. It is the use of the dream vision framework that allows James to relay his experience. Secondly, the encouragement from the Matins bell in lines 76-77 gives James's story authority. The Matins bell is traditionally used to call people to morning prayers, indicating a religious element to the passage. For James to be told to share his story by a Church bell indicates divine ordinance. His experience is endorsed by God and, therefore, is given credibility. By utilizing divine authorization within dream vision framework justifies the autobiographical purpose of *The Kingis Quair*.

Dream visions, by the genre's convention, also allow for explorations of morality and soul-searching. *The Kingis Quair* is no exception to this: As James reads Boethius, he muses on his youthfulness and "gan ovr-hayle, that langer slepe ne rest/Ne might I nat, so were my wittis wrest" [I began to think over, that no longer could I sleep nor rest, so my wits were twisted] (ll. 69-70). Recognizing his problem, he takes up a pen and begins to write about his experience in England (ll. 90-91). James recounts that after he is imprisoned, he falls in love with a woman and is visited by three guide figures—Venus, Minerva, and Fortune—who help him undergo a moral transformation to become worthy of this love. James is freed physically and morally when he is united with the woman:

> An thus this flour – I can seye no more –
>
> So hertly has unto my help attendit
>
> That from the deth hir man sche has defendit. (ll. 1307-9)
>
> [And thus this flower – I can say no more –

So wholeheartedly has attended to my need for help

That from death she has saved her man.]

The relationship with the poetic woman is nearly parallel to his actual relationship with Joan

Beaufort, whom he married and took back to Scotland. In fact, according to Sally Mapstone,

"The poem interacts with key events in the life of James I: his capture at sea as a 12-year-old

boy…his captivity as an English prisoner for eighteen years thereafter; his marriage to Joan

Beaufort in February 1424 and his subsequent release" (55). The events of the poem, then, are

autobiographical. Therefore, when James states "I mene this by myself, as in partye" (l. 105) he

is not referring to the dream narrator but rather directly to his own experience. James using the

genre as autobiographical is, in a way, doing "sum new thing" as he is able to relay his own

experience with imperial forces through the genre's conventions. In Stanza 14, James describes

himself as "sely youth" (l. 92) and "unrypit fruyte" (l. 93), illustrating that James views himself

as one who must undergo improvement. He reuses language from Stanza 14 to connect himself

to previous comparisons, such as the "unrypit" fruit and his youth. This both explains his

metaphoric insinuations and emphasizes that he views himself as one who needs to develop.

By making the dream vision autobiographical, however, James's depiction of his

experience affects the nature of the text. He discusses travels over "wawis" (l. 111) during his

youth, and in Stanza 17 mentions his "feble bote" (l. 114), which can be read as an allusion to his

capture while sailing to France. The poet's imperialized mindset appears through this

autobiographical moment. He is without direction both morally and physically, emphasizing his

need for moral improvement. Through imprisonment—both within the poem and his personal

life—James is able to mature and improve. James uses the *topos* of imprisonment as a way to

describe his failings prior to his capture and subsequent journey towards moral enlightenment. If

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this *topos* is based in history, it also reveals that James thought of his life prior to his captivity in England as a time in which he was morally flawed. His time in England, then, allowed him to undergo a shift that changed him into a better person. As Kylie Murray explains "[c]ontextualising his captivity within his own life's events, James shifts the focus from desire to wisdom and from hardship to growth, thus reframing positively the earlier adversity of his youth" ("Out of my Contree" 217). James the poet understood his imprisonment not as a punishment but as a positive opportunity to become morally improved. This is made evident in Stanza 45:

> My hert, my will, my nature, and my mynd,
>
> Was changit clene right in anothir kynd. (ll. 312-5)
>
> [My heart, my will, my nature, and my mind,
>
> Were changed cleanly right to another kind.]

James's change of heart, will, nature, and mind from "stereles" (l. 110) to "anothir kynd" indicates a shift from lamenting his position in captivity amongst his enemies to accepting a change implemented by the imperial power. If the text is to be understood as autobiographical, the narrator's transformation is not merely one of Boethian convention but of genuine belief that his captivity changed him. Thus, it is through the act of imperialism that James is able to become a morally sound and wise individual, something that is celebrated within the text.

James I's Use of English Cultural Markers

There is also a distinctive Chaucerian influence within *The Kingis Quair*, which reveals a desire to fit into an English literary tradition versus a Scottish one. Despite awareness of the Latin Boethius tradition that existed in Scotland, James prefers to insert himself into the Chaucerian tradition that existed in England, a tradition he was exposed to under imperial means.

There are many suggestions that James I was familiar with Chaucer and influenced by his poetry. Stanzas 29-34, for instance, contains reference to several Chaucerian texts, especially "The Knight's Tale," particularly in the description of the tower and garden that James looks upon:

> Bewailing in my chamber thus allone,
>
> Despeired of all joye and remedye,
>
> Fortirit of my thought and wo begone,
>
> And to the window gan I walk in hye
>
> To se the warld and folk that went forby…
>
> Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
>
> A gardyn fair, and in the corneris set
>
> Ane herber grene with wandis long and small…(ll. 204-13)
>
> [Lamenting in my chamber alone,
>
> Despaired of obtaining all joy and remedy,
>
> Exhausted by my thought and woebegone,
>
> And to the window I walked quickly
>
> To see the world and people that went past…
>
> There was laid out near by the tower's wall
>
> A fair garden, and in the corner sat
>
> A green arbor with long and small twigs…]

The description of the scene above is very similar to "The Knight's Tale" when discussing Palamon and Arcite's captivity. In fact, James borrows language directly from Chaucer, as Emelye is "fast by the touris wall" (l. 211) when Palamon and Arcite see her for the first time. More language is borrowed from "The Knight's Tale" in the description of James's maiden in

line 276: "Full secretly new cummyn hir to pleyne," as Emelye "hadde hir pleyynge" (*The Knight's Tale*, l. 1061). The placing of the garden by the tower wall is also reminiscent of "The Knight's Tale," as lines 1056-60 of Chaucer's text discuss the close proximity of the two. James was influenced by other Chaucerian works as well; line 204 is almost directly copied from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, which reads "Bywayling in his chambre thus allone" (87). These are but a small selection of examples of Chaucerian influence within *The Kingis Quair*.

Mimicking Chaucer's work indicates James's desire to insert himself into a Chaucerian tradition. The most explicit indication of this is within the final stanza of the poem:

> Unto the impnis of my maisteris dere,
>
> Gowere and Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
>
> Of rethorike quhill thai were lyvand here,
>
> Superlative as poetis laureate
>
> In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
>
> I recommend my buk in lynis sevin,
>
> And eke thair saulis unto the blisse of Hevin. Amen. (ll. 1373-9)
>
> [Into the hymns of my dear masters,
>
> Gower and Chaucer, that sit on the steps
>
> Of rhetoric while they were living here,
>
> Superlative as poets laureate
>
> In morality and ornate eloquence,
>
> I recommend my book in seven-line stanzas
>
> And add their souls towards the bliss of Heaven. Amen.]

Several things are revealed here. First, James explicitly reveals his knowledge of Chaucer's poetry and of the Chaucerian tradition by naming him and Gower outright. Second, he praises both poets and names them "Superlative of poetis laureate," indicating his high opinions of the literary tradition and their works. Third, the stanza demonstrates a desire to fit within a Chaucerian canon as he recommends his "buk in lynis sevin," which Mooney and Arn explain in the footnote as James "specifically calling attention to his seven-line stanzaic pattern, *ababbcc*, which…was named 'rhyme royal' for its use here by him, though used extensively by others before him, first in English by Chaucer. He may be drawing attention to it because of its use by Chaucer, thereby making a comparison between his work and Chaucer's" (99). The use of rhyme royal is one of the most explicit indicators of James's interactions with Chaucerian literature. As Mooney and Arn explain, James "probably borrowed this form from Chaucer, who first introduced it into English poetry in his *Parliament of Fowls* and made it most famous in *Trolius and Criseyde*" (22). If he is creating "sum new thing," it is blatantly placed by James within the tradition of Chaucer and implies that *The Kingis Quair* is introducing a new literary style to Scotland. Additionally, if James intended to create "sum new thing" within the Scottish literary canon and did so through a Chaucerian lens, the literary culture of Scotland becomes defined by Chaucerian—and therefore English—literary elements.

This interpretation would be valid if one were to agree that the Boethian tradition came to Scotland from England. As mentioned above, it has been argued that Boethius and the dream vision genre came to Scotland via James. Murray explains that the few studies that exist on Boethius in Scotland "assume that it was primarily from the 15th century onwards that Boethius's work reached Scotland, and predominantly through an English Chaucerian filter" ("New Scottish" 58). James's experience, then, would have been through a strictly English lens

since Chaucer translated *Consolatione* from Latin into Middle English, making it accessible and popular within the British Isles. It also means that any references to Boethius came from England, implying that Scotland only accessed the hugely popular medieval text after James's capture. This argument is echoed by Walter Scheps, who explains the works of post-Chaucer Scottish writers

> are heavily Boethian, and the combination of Boethius and Macrobius is to help
> characterize Chaucer for at least one Scottish poet, namely James I. In addition to
> the passages on the nature and meaning of dreams, are comparable passages
> dealing with vision, in the *Knight's Tale,* for example, and these are connected
> with the discussions of dreams by the Boethian influence which permeates both.
> (54-5)

Scheps implies James knew Boethius via his interactions with Chaucer's poetry and brought the text and dream vision genre to Scotland after his experience with English imperialism. According to this older argument, the only exposure Scottish authors had to *Consolatione* came from James's capture; if James had not been captured and educated in English culture, Scotland would not have had access to Boethius. While this can be read as a positive cultural exchange—as Scotland was able to interact with an important medieval text—because it came from an English source in Middle English versus the original Latin source, the Boethian works in Scotland is are seen as the result of an imperial act. Only having exposure to a cultural phenomenon from a secondary source and not within the original language or context would have affected how James would have understood Boethius.

The Middle English Boethian tradition has been seen as the commencement point for the Scottish dream vision for quite some time. However, a recent discovery by Dr. Kylie Murray

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alters this argument entirely, proving the starting point for the Scottish Boethian tradition was

not Chaucerian but rather Latin. In April 2015, Murray identified a new Latin Boethius

Manuscript at the Glasgow University Library, which uproots previous arguments about the

exposure Scotland had to the tradition. From this discovery, she has been able to identify an

additional fifteen Latin Boethius manuscripts written in Scotland. She explains:

> The 16 Latin manuscript and printed copies of Boethius' work that I have
>
> identified as Scottish, either through their place of production or through their
>
> readers, tell us that it is not Chaucer, or even English copies of the text which are
>
> most influential in Scotland, but Latin ones – which reveal Scotland's lively
>
> engagement with European intellectual culture. They span the entire period
>
> *c.*1120-*c.*1570, and strongly suggest that Boethius's writing had a Scottish
>
> presence from the time when Scotland's literary culture as we now know it first
>
> began to emerge and develop. Indeed, rather than the 15th century, it is to the 12th
>
> century that we must turn in considering Scotland's earliest surviving response to
>
> Boethius. ("New Scottish" 58)

Murray's discovery shifts the argument that Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* came

from England during the 15th century, providing evidence that Latin manuscripts existed in

Scotland centuries before James's captivity. More than this, the discovery of a 12th century

Scottish Boethius manuscript in Latin means that James could have been exposed to *De*

Consolatione Philosophiae before his captivity in England. According to Murray, David I—to

whom the Glasgow Boethius MS is dedicated—made Kelso and Roxburgh part of the bishopric

of Glasgow. Both burghs were centers of learning and Roxburgh was the location of David I's

court (63). Although Kelso and Roxburgh were farther south than James ever lived, it is possible

that he encountered the Latin Boethius manuscript during his early education, particularly through his tutor, Henry Wardlaw. In 1404, James began his education under Wardlaw in 1404, "who had just been provided to the see of St. Andrews" (Balfour-Melville 45). Due to Wardlaw's position within the Church and the pervasive presence of Latin as the medieval language of "scholarship, science, diplomacy, religion and (usually) the law," James would have been very familiar with Latin from a young age (Trask 122). The likelihood, then, of the young prince accessing Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, one of the preeminently inspirational texts of the Middle Ages, is high. Even if James did not know the text in Scotland, he was definitely exposed to it at a young age. According to Murray, Wardlaw was also well connected and well regarded in continental academic circles. In 1414, he helped in the creation of the University of Paris' *Epistola Consolatoria,* "which addresses James as 'regem Scotiae, apud Anglos captivum'… It also urges him to recall captive rulers who acquired wisdom through adversity, and quotes Boethius' *Consolation*, thus pointing up an additional political continental source, rather than a purely Chaucerian one, for these features in the *Kingis Quair*" (*The Making of the Scottish Dream-Vision* 71). Under Wardlaw's tutelage, James would have been exposed to the Latin Boethius at the very least through continental sources. Additionally, he explains in *The Kingis Quair* he is reading *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in "fair Latyne tong" (l. 44), indicating that James had some exposure to the Latinate Boethius and was not entirely inspired or affected by Middle English and Chaucerian tradition. Therefore, *The Kingis Quair* is not as imperial as it would seem in regards to genre.

While Murray's discovery changes the way we are to understand the Boethian dream vision tradition in medieval Scotland, it does not eliminate the presence of imperialism within the text, particularly within the overt autobiographical reinterpretation of the dream vision and

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prison poem genres. How then does imperialism manifest within the poem in regards to the dream vision genre when considering Murray's discovery? Why does the imperialism within *The Kingis Quair* matter? The imperialism within the text is not overt nor did it truly affect how the Scottish nation functioned. It did, however, affect the literary culture of Scotland and the Scottish literary canon. Although the Latin Boethian tradition indicates the presence of the dream vision genre within Scotland prior to James's imprisonment, what James does with the dream vision and how he defines it illuminates the imperial nature of the genre and the text. Simply stated, this is due to the Chaucerian elements of the text. Prior to James, Chaucer was not widely read in Scotland, if at all. Murray explains that James I was the "earliest Scot known to have read Chaucer […and] Chaucer's works probably first reached Scotland when James returned with his own copies in the 1420s" ("Passing the Book" 127). If not for James's captivity in England, the Chaucerian tradition would not have come to Scotland or, at the very least, not by the 15th century. Due to James's interactions with English culture during his imprisonment, *The Kingis Quair* contains many Chaucerian literary elements, indicating the level of imperial influence on the poem. Without his imprisonment, *The Kingis Quair* would belong to the broad, continental Boethian literary tradition versus a Chaucerian one.

Identifying *The Kingis Quair* as a Chaucerian text is problematic in regards to the influence of the original *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and the formation of a medieval Scottish canon. It is clear through homage and the language of the final stanza that James wishes to establish his work within the Chaucerian tradition. Although he is familiar with the Scottish Boethius tradition, referencing a Latin Boethius manuscript in line 44, James wishes to appease his "maisteris dere," Gower and Chaucer. *The Kingis Quair* is explicitly placed within the Chaucerian canon, not the Boethian, therefore making the text a part of an English literary

tradition. However, Chaucer's *Boece* is a translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and begins with the Latin inscription "Incipit Liber Boecii de Consolacione Philosphie" [Here begins Boethius's *Book of the Consolation of Philosophy*].[7] Instead of taking creative liberties, Chaucer produces a Middle English translation of the text. In the preface to *Boece*, Larry D. Benson explains that during the Middle Ages, Boethius's Latin text "had become the property of professors…We may suppose, then, that Chaucer by translating it was filling a clearly perceived need, making the work available to his contemporaries" (396). In translating *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Chaucer makes the pivotal text accessible to a greater English audience. Because Chaucer's *Boece* is a translation of Boethius, it can be argued that by entering a Chaucerian tradition James also enters a Boethian one. However, by expressing his intent to enter into a Chaucerian tradition, James indicates the extent of his imperialism. *Kingis Quair* takes a new approach to the dream vision through its reincarnation of the Boethian autobiographical elements, which results in a distinctly Scottish approach to this oeuvre. Privileging the Chaucerian dream vision, however—despite being essentially the same as Boethian— undermines the uniqueness of the James's text, thus affecting Scottish national identity as it alters the Scottish canon. Calin explains that the *Quair* is "the first book of high courtliness in Scottish literature, like Chaucer's texts, [and] comes at the beginning of a national, insular tradition" (24). Due to his position and privilege as King of Scotland, James's text becomes a hallmark for Scottish literary tradition. The *Quair* establishes a new Scottish literary tradition through an English literary framework. Although James attempts to redefine Scottish literary culture within his work as "sum new thing," he creates a canon by which future writers would be defined by Chaucerian standards versus Scottish ones.

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[7] Translation provided by Larry D. Benson.

When taking into consideration *The Kingis Quair*'s goal of creating a distinctive Scottish voice, the preference for English literary influence becomes problematic. Indeed, as Murray argues, "by challenging and subverting standard expectations, James is able to inflect his poem towards his own Scottish agenda and context" ("Out of My Contree" 215). He succeeds in creating a new Scottish style through his interpretation of the Boethian tradition with Chaucerian elements, altering the dream vision genre. Due to his position as king and the introduction of this new literary style to Scotland, James's *Quair* establishes a medieval Scottish literary canon. However, because he places his poem within the Chaucerian tradition versus the Boethian or other literary styles that had existed in Scotland previously, the medieval Scottish canon becomes defined by English literary elements, revealing the extent of English cultural imperialism within James's personal history and *The Kingis Quair*.

Conclusion

What makes the imperialism within the *Quair* particularly stark is the lasting effect it had on Scottish cultural identity. Since James's text set the literary precedent for medieval Scotland, Chaucerian elements rather than Scottish ones defined later texts from the borderland. James came to be known as the first "Scottish Chaucerian," a term that was applied to medieval Scottish authors who used Chaucerian literary elements. Rather than creating "sum new thing" that helped define Scottish cultural identity as its own entity, James favored of English literary culture, casting future Scottish authors into the English tradition. The extent of imperialism on literature was not strictly reserved to verse but also affected the construction of a national history within *The Orygynale Chronikyl of Scotland*. Andrew of Wyntoun delivers a lengthy Scottish historical narrative that ultimately becomes folded into an English label, due to the political

climate of the 1420s. Thus, medieval Scottish authors and texts came to be understood through

an English lens rather than through its own unique Scottish literary tradition.

CHAPTER THREE

"QUHAT, WILL YONE SCOTTIS FYCHT?": RESISTANCE AND THE SHAPING OF A

NATIONALIST NATIONAL IDENTITY IN *THE BRUS* AND *THE WALLACE*

Introduction

While some Scottish borderland texts embraced English imperialism, there were plenty of

literary pieces that actively opposed and resisted English cultural and political influences. These

texts illuminate the problematic treatment of Scotland by the English. This literature comes from

various moments in Scotland's medieval history, indicating that English domination was not

reserved to one moment in time. Rather, a constant English imperial presence—whether through

politics, culture, or military—was evident in the Scottish borderlands from the early part of the

medieval age. Over time, and as kings of England became increasingly imperial in their

treatment of Scotland, conflict began to build. By the late 13th and early 14th centuries, the

struggle between English domination and Scottish resistance came to a head in the Scottish Wars

of Independence.

Two texts that most clearly illustrate the strength of Scottish resistance are *The Brus* by

John Barbour and *The Wallace* by Blind Hary. Despite being written roughly one hundred years

apart, *The Brus* around 1375 and *The Wallace* in the late 1470s, Barbour and Blind Hary both

construct literary national pasts through the resistance of imperial forces, particularly by

recounting the lives and acts of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace, the two most renowned

individuals from the Wars of Independence. Both texts engage in a conversation about the

history of borderland Scotland and how Scottish identity emerged from these historical instances.

Many scholars, such as R. James Goldstein, have discussed at length the liberties these texts take

in retelling the histories of Bruce and Wallace. From this invention, nationalist identities emerge.

While a pivotal concept in how nationalism and national identity manifest in the text, historiography will not be discussed in great length here. How, then, did *The Brus* and *The Wallace* differentiate the Scots from the English? How do the two texts manifest feelings of nationalism and national identity construction? How do these texts, although written by borderland poets, embody nationalist sentiments? I argue *The Brus* and *The Wallace* both root national identity within cultural resistance as a way to comment upon each author's political context and garner nationalism within their audience. This is accomplished through the use of rhetorical appeals within the construction of a national past and the conscious rejection and manipulation of English cultural conventions such as genre and place, as well as establishing an ethnic differentiation between the Scots and English.

Historical Background

To understand the nationalist nature of these texts, one must understand how both texts present nationalism within their retellings of history. In order to note the differences, the history leading up to and during the Wars of Independence must be explored. *The Brus* and *The Wallace* discuss at great length the feats of two of Scotland's greatest military heroes during the Scottish Wars of Independence. The Wars of Independence, fought from 1296 through the late 1320s, were the result of clashing political perspectives regarding who was to ascend the Scottish throne after the death of Alexander III. Ronald McNair Scott explains that Alexander's death in 1286 left the kingdom in a state of unease: his young grand-daughter, Margaret of Norway, who was named heir apparent in 1284, was to be crowned Queen of Scotland. Excited by the opportunity presented, Edward I of England quickly arranged with Margaret's father, King Erik of Norway, a marriage between his daughter and Edward's son, Edward of Carnarvon (16-18). The Treaty of Birgham, which detailed the political conditions of the union, was "not a take-over but a

carefully crafted vision of two kingdoms linked by marriage but ruled separately and distinctly" (Lynch 114). Thus, it seemed as though Scotland and England would be able to co-exist as separate nations. While these terms were in place, Scott explains that while "the Scottish kingdom should be 'separate, apart and free in itself without subject to the English Kingdom', there is slipped in a clause 'saving the rights of the King of England…which may justly belong to him'" (21). The clause granted Edward I a right to the Scottish Crown and guaranteed a future link between the crowns of England and Scotland; any heir produced from the marriage of Margaret and Edward of Carnarvon would govern both countries without question. It seemed, at the time, England would come to have complete control over Scotland without having to lift a sword.

Edward I's plans were disrupted, however, on September 26, 1290 when Margaret of Norway fell ill on her voyage to Scotland and died in Orkney (Scott 22). Without a direct heir and with a large number of claimants to the throne, Scotland faced yet another period without a legitimate ruler. Political authority was turned over to Scottish magnates who were responsible for now determining who of the claimants had the most realistic claim to the throne. Chancellor explains the magnates "invited [Edward] to determine a dispute for the solution of which there was no formal machinery. It was essential for him to be accorded some sort of status which, short of naked force, would make his verdict authoritative" (185-6). That is, Edward realized his advice on the matter of Scotland's absent monarch could be again tipped to his advantage, once again ensuring a right to the Scottish throne obtained through political conversations versus full out war.

This predicament allowed Edward I to act upon his imperial intentions. Henry C. Morris observes that one of the general principles of colonization is "the region to be brought under

control must […]be without a recognized method of rule, or with an administration very imperfectly constituted" (15). While the absence of a king was a temporary situation for Scotland—and the relationship between Scotland and England was imperial more than colonial since it was an attempted political takeover not wholly economic—the insecurities in Scottish governance allowed Edward I to impress his authority on the claimants and the magnates. Additionally, according to Chancellor, Edward utilized historical evidence from chronicles to establish his authority to rule over Scotland until one of the claimants was named king (187). Through establishing and legitimizing political dominion over Scotland, Edward I made his imperialist intentions legally binding. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o discusses in *Secure the Base* the imperial nature of laws, which are "the instruments chosen by society for the proper control and exercise of power to ensure that they meet those ends embedded in their formulation. Law is a rule, a statement of *oughtness* […] law has a coercive component, the tools that ensure compliance" (4). Although not explicitly law, Edward's claim to lordship parallels these ideas: by establishing an instrument with which to exert power over Scotland, Edward I is guaranteed compliance, especially in having competitors swear allegiance to the King of England. By establishing a legal precedence that allowed Edward to rule over Scotland and demanding pledges of allegiance, a structure was put in place on which imperialism could be built.

Once Edward's lordship over Scotland had been determined, the hearings processed and the decision was narrowed down to two claimants: Robert Bruce and John Balliol. After many deliberations, Edward and his group of counselors determined Balliol to be the rightful heir. This was not entirely without political motive. Edward's decision likely rested upon who was the easiest claimant to manipulate. When Balliol was selected as the rightful inheritor of the throne, he "rendered homage to his lord superior: as complete a vassal king as the documents of English

jurists could make him" (Scott 30). Edward used Balliol's pledge of homage as an opportunity to

rule Scotland through a puppet king, causing Scotland to succumb to English imperial conquest

through political domination. Meanwhile, Robert the Bruce refused to recognize Balliol as his

king. Once denied kingship, "the Bruces had played no part in the affairs of Scotland. Robert the

Competitor retired from public life" (Scott 33). The slight of being denied a chance at the throne

made Bruce reject the land he once almost ruled.

However, Edward's constant demands on Scotland and Balliol lead to a rise in tension

between England and Scotland. Edward made it increasingly difficult for John Balliol to properly

govern Scotland since he was frequently "summoning him before the English parliament to

address legal cases concerning Scotland in 1293 and 1294; but the final straw came when [he]

demanded Scottish service for a campaign into Gascony in June 1294" (Pollock 212-3). The

Scots had no ill will toward the French and the two nations were beginning to realize their

common enemy in Edward I. The creation of the 'Auld Alliance' indicated that the Scottish

nation was strong enough to forge its own foreign alliances and, thus, able to defend itself

against any military aggressions from enemies. Upon hearing about the alliance forged between

Scotland and France, Edward retaliated. Magnusson explains:

> He had summoned his feudal host to assemble at Newcastle upon Tyne…he
>
> received renewed pledges of fealty from the Bruces (father and son) and other
>
> Scottish barons for their lands in Scotland…In his response, King Edward
>
> tellingly referred to John Balliol as 'the former King of Scotland' (*qui fust Roy*
>
> *d'Escoce*). The King of Scots was king no more; to the Bruces it could only have
>
> meant that the throne was up for grabs again. (119)

Although this window of regal opportunity opened for the Bruces, it wouldn't be until years later that King Robert I of Scotland ascended the throne. The Bruce's pledges of fealty also established a complicated context for the rise of Robert the Bruce, and thus the nationalism manifested in *The Brus*.

Introduction to *The Brus*

John Barbour's *The Brus* navigates the historical complications of Robert the Bruce in such a way that nationalism emerges almost effortlessly. Written around 1375, the text primarily concerns itself with the life and deeds of Robert the Bruce but also includes feats by his brother, Edward Bruce; the earl of Moray; and James Douglas. The historical timeframe discussed within the text spans from the death of Alexander III to the death of Moray, providing readers with what Barbour describes as a "suthfast story" (1.13). While *The Brus* provides a thorough account of the life of Robert the Bruce, the text itself reads more like a romance than a chronicle. The distinction between genres is especially evident in the descriptions of Bruce's deeds and historical nationalist moments. It is important to ask, then, how does the text rhetorically use genre to manifest national identity and nationalism? Barbour uses a modified romance genre as a mode of resistance, demonstrating a rise of "official nationalism" both within Scotland's national past and Barbour's context of composition.

Hybridity and National Identity in Robert the Bruce's History

An important question to ask is how the historical Robert the Bruce—son and grandson of Balliol-dissenters and political opportunists who swore homage to Edward I—became the heroic Scottish king, famed for his bold resistance of the English, in Barbour's *The Brus*? It is important to recognize the fluidity of identity and hybridity that existed along the English and Scottish borderland during the Middle Ages. The border between England and Scotland during

this time was a place of cultural and political blending. Cynthia Neville explains that many

border families, such as the Bruces and the Balliols, had "a casual attitude towards the particulars

of national or political allegiances…[and] shared a common perspective in recognising that, like

the Anglo-Scottish boundary itself, the line dividing family interest and national allegiance was a

fluid elastic and eminently amenable to interpretation and manipulation" (115). The concept of

borderland identity corresponds with this: since borderlands are intersections of national,

cultural, and political identities, fluidity between these identities is common. Flexible identity is

especially true within the Scottish-English borderland during the Middle Ages as the physical

border shifted regularly, and families with ancestral lands within the region could be Scottish one

generation, English the next.

Additionally, landowning families were aware "that the well-being of their families'

fortunes was inextricably linked to the political choices that they made. Perhaps nowhere was the

dilemma felt more acutely than among [those] whose ancestral properties lay hard by the Anglo-

Scottish border" (Neville 135). Thus, families like the Bruces, whose lands lay in this area,

practiced identity hybridity particularly when it benefitted them financially and politically.

Therefore, the grandfather and father of Robert I were not turning their backs on the Scottish

nation, per se. Aligning themselves with Edward I was a way to obtain a political boost,

particularly since Balliol was losing favor with both the Scottish magnates and the English king.

Benedict Anderson addresses this mentality as, what he calls, "dynastic realms," explaining that

in older imaginings "states were defined by centres, borders were porous and indistinct, and

sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another…these antique monarchial states expanded

not only by warfare but by sexual politics…dynastic marriages brought together diverse

populations under new apices" (19-20). The porous state of border-dweller identity and the

82

connections the Bruces had to Edward I through familial relations—the grandfather Robert Bruce and Edward I were second cousins (see Fig. 3)—helps to explain the political fluidity demonstrated by the Bruces during the outbreak of the Wars of Independence.
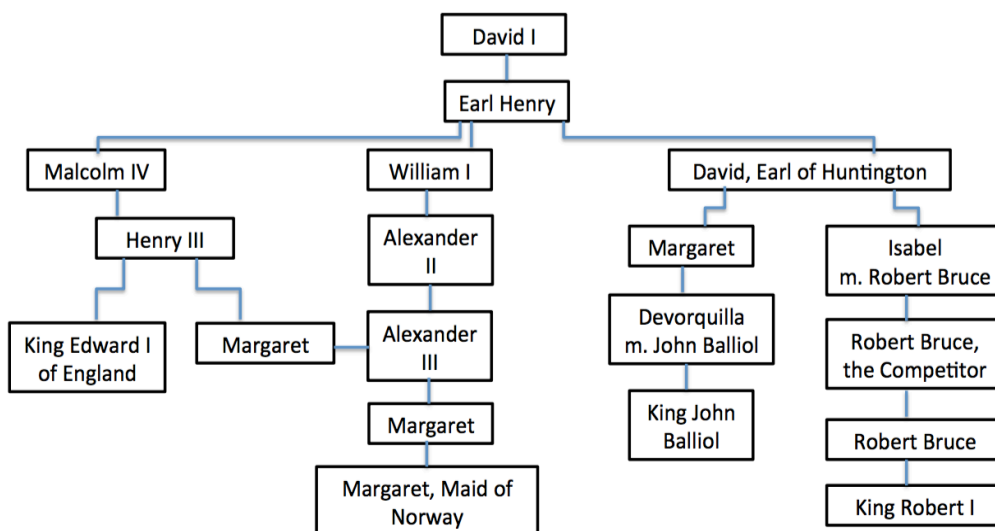
Fig. 3. Chain of Scottish Royal Succession. Image shows relationships between the Scottish and English Crowns.

It is within this problematic cultural hybridity that the Robert Bruce, who was to become Robert I of Scotland, found himself. His father and grandfather were closely tied to Edward I. Scott explains that when his father died in 1304, Bruce inherited his family's estates in Essex, Huntingdon, Dumfries, and Aberdeen, which were connected to and supported by the English Crown. However, Scott continues,

> The Celtic blood of his mother pulled him towards Scotland. The 'Community of the Realm', that conception to which every Scottish document had referred during the years of struggle, had become to him over the past decade a living entity and overriding all affinity to the English King was the profound conviction that he and he alone was the rightful monarch of the northern realm whose mission it must be, when the time was ripe to recover its ancient independence. (70)

Despite his paternal line's ties to England, Bruce recognized his connection to the Scottish realm and it is here that Scottish nationalism appears in Bruce's narrative. Anderson explains that "the key to situating 'official nationalism – willed merger of nation and dynastic empire – is to remember that it developed *after*, and *in reaction to*, the popular national movements" (86). Although Anderson is discussing the national movements in Europe that began to take shape after the mid-19th century, this idea is present in Bruce's history. The idea of the Scottish nation already existed for both the English and the Scottish: the Scots had a government, commerce, a Church of Scotland, and a cultural heritage. Although this culture was beginning to assume a hybrid identity of native Gaelic influences as well as the cultural influences from France and England, the Scottish nation at this time imagined itself and its culture as different from the majority cultures. This ideology fueled the start of the Wars of Independence and gave rise to William Wallace, whose nationalism shall be discussed in depth later in the chapter. However, it was not until Robert the Bruce united this ideology with a legitimate claim to a dynastic empire that official nationalism—that is, nationalism with an ideological and pragmatic application— could rise and resist the official nationalism of England.

Roman Antiques and French Cultural Conventions in *The Brus*

Barbour creates a resistant official nationalism through the use of genre, specifically the French romantic tradition. There are many elements in *The Brus* that qualify it as a medieval romance. Throughout the text, there are many mentions of the importance of chivalry and Barbour even labels his work as romance when he explains "The romanys now begynnys her" (1.446). Rhiannon Purdie observes that many scholars debate what to call the poem as it contains many elements of a chronicle yet has strong romance genre conventions. However, the way an individual scholar examines the text determines how they describe it. If one wants to examine the

historical chivalric presence in the text, they may "include 'romance' in their description, even when they wish to keep the poem's historiographical purpose in mind" (53). For instance, in "'I will my process hald': Making Sense of Scottish Lives and the Desire for History in Barbour, Wyntoun and Blind Hary" Goldstein describes *The Brus* as a "chivalric biography" (42). His examination links the retelling of history to the meanings of the texts. Thus, it is important to clarify the genre of *The Brus*. While the text is clearly historical in nature—and this retelling of history helped forge national identity and nationalism—the cultural and literary influences that impacted composition are what help demonstrate this. Therefore, I propose the text as a modified romance: *The Brus* is intentionally written in the romance literary form yet it occasionally deviates from these set genre conventions. This deviation is meant to appeal to Barbour's modern audiences through the popular romance genre while structuring an effective rhetorical persuasion utilizing chronicle genre conventions that the Bruce line was meant to rule Scotland, all while resisting English cultural influences within the composition of *The Brus*.

It is clear that *The Brus* contains romance genre conventions: chivalry and honor are important themes that consistently appear throughout the text. However, there are also direct references to several well-known romantic texts that contribute to Barbour's text. What is interesting is that many, if not all, of these references are to Old French romances. In fact, Purdie claims, "not a single reference to a known Middle English romance can be traced in Barbour's work…whereas direct knowledge of some French-language romances can be demonstrated. His preferred models were the imposing *roman antiques*" (58-9). Evidence of this is found throughout the text, particularly when comparing Bruce or The Scots to heroes in *roman antiques*. Barbour borrows from several of these French texts, including *Le Roman d'Alixandre* (1.529-36, 3.72-87) and *Roman de Thèbes* (2.531-50, 6.181-270). Purdie also draws connections

to *Roman de Troie* (59), though A. A. M. Duncan attributes the Trojan allusions to Guido de Columnis's widely popular *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (fn 64).

The references to strictly Old French romances display an intentional form of literary resistance to English cultural influences. Medieval romance was also popular in England from "the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries [during which time] dozens of English romances were produced…[of these were] numerous retellings of Trojan and Theban history" (Herzman et al). As cultural blending and hybridity was wont to happen along a borderland, Barbour could have easily borrowed from any of these English romances. He is aware of Layamon's *Brut* as he writes about the Arthur story and Mordred's betrayal, of which "The Broite beris tharoff wytnes" [*The Brut* bears witness thereof](1.560). However, arguably *The Brut* is more of a chronicle with romantic themes than entirely chivalric romance. Thus, Barbour's use of *roman antiques*—as well as direct references to these texts—indicates a conscious choice in source material. Selecting Old French sources reveals the cultural and literary impact France had on Scotland after the formation of the Auld Alliance. It also is a political statement by Barbour that these contributions from France were more worthy of influence on Early Scots literature than those from England.

The ways in which these direct references are made also indicate resistance. Many of the scenes borrowed from the *roman antiques* are used to form comparisons that paint the Scots in a positive manner. One instance is the account in Book 2, which compares Scottish wives to the women who helped King Adrastus. Barbour describes the taking of Thebes:

> Then war the wiffys thyrland the wall
>
> With pikkis, quhar the assailyeis all
>
> Entryt and dystroyit the tour

And slew the pupill but recour. (2.543-6)

[Then the wives pierced the wall

With picks so that all the assailants

Entered and destroyed the tower

And slew the people without remedy.]

Barbour then analyzes this section, stating

In wemen mekill comfort lyis

And gret solace on mony wys,

Sa fell yt her, for thar cummyng

Rejosyt rycht gretumly the king. (2.551-4)

[In women lies great comfort

And great solace in many ways,

So it was here, for their coming

The king rejoiced right greatly.]

Barbour demonstrates several things in this section. First, the women of Scotland are as
tenacious and valued to Robert as the men of Scotland. Second, comparing the Scottish women
to those who attacked Thebes demonstrates the extent of the support Robert and his men had
from the people of Scotland. Finally, this comparison indicates that resistance towards England
was a united goal. Since the women resisted and attacked Thebes, despite the casualties of King
Adrastus's men, the women of Scotland would do the same, it was implied, for King Robert.
Barbour demonstrates that The Wars of Independence were not strictly political skirmishes
between kings but the concerns of a whole nation—that is, the region Barbour was labeling as
the "Scottish nation"—and its identity.

Another example of resistance through comparison is the aforementioned instance in

Book 6, in which Thedeus defeats fifty of King Ethiocles's men when ambushed. What creates

resistance within this example is the interaction Barbour forces with the reader. He recounts that

Ethiocles

>Bad his constabill with him ta
>
>Men armyt weill and forouth ga
>
>To mete Thedeus in the way
>
>And slay him but langer delay. (6.203-6)
>
>[Bade his constable to take with him
>
>Well-armed men and go forth
>
>To meet Thedeus alongthe way
>
>And slay him without delay.]

The above account is similar to the situation Barbour describes for the Bruce, who

>Wes fechtand on the furd syd
>
>Giffand and takand rowtis rid
>
>Till he sic martyrdom thar has maid
>
>That he the ford all stoppyt haid
>
>That nane of thaim mycht till him rid. (6.289-93)
>
>[Was fighting beside the ford
>
>Giving and taking heavy, bloody blows
>
>Until he made martyrs of them there
>
>That he had stopped up the ford
>
>So that none of them might ride to him.]

Since Robert was compared to Thedeus, the reader would assume King Ethiocles would likely be Edward I of England, though as Duncan states Barbour does not make "the obvious comparison" between the two (fn232). Barbour does not need to make this comparison, however. Instead, he structures the passage in such a way that has the audience drawing conclusions and comparisons. He directly addresses the reader twice in this selection, once in line 271 and again in 285, asking, "Now demys quhether mar loving/Suld Thedeus haiff or the king?" [Now determine whether Thedeus or the king should have more praise] (6.285-6). By immediately following this question with a description of Bruce defeating his English attackers (6.287-93), the reader attributes the actions of King Ethiocles to Edward I. The comparison between the historical moment and *Roman de Thèbes* is a rhetorical creation by Barbour to create resistance in his reader. He does not have to directly say the actions of King Ethiocles and Edward I are similar. Rather, the excerpt is rhetorically constructed in such a way that readers draw the conclusion themselves. Not only does the excerpt demonstrate a successful resistance of English force by Robert the Bruce, but it also invites the reader to resist English imperialism and conquest by celebrating the thwarted ambush and decrying the treacherous actions of Ethiocles and Edward.

There are also several tropes and conventions of the French romantic tradition within *The Brus*. A defining difference between French and English romances is the conversation on social issues that takes place within each tradition. For instance, "[English romances] stand out as well by their reduced interest in the nuances of courtly behavior so characteristic of French romance, as they pay more attention to the socio-political issues contained within folktale motifs" (Herzman, et al). Conversations examining courtly and chivalric behavior appear consistently throughout *The Brus*, creating nationalism by linking these conversations to the actions and deeds of the Scots. One such conversation comes in Book 6 when Barbour reflects on

"worschip" [valor] (l. 327). Between lines 323 and 374, he details the importance of constantly striving for "worschip" and how it has two extremes: "fule-hardyment…[a]nd the tother is cowartys" [foolhardiness…and the other is cowardice] (6.339-40). Barbour then reflects:

> This nobile king that we off red
>
> Mellyt all tyme with wit manheid,
>
> That may men by this melle se…
>
> Tharfor his hardyment hastily
>
> Thocht it mycht be weill undretan
>
> Sen at anys mycht assail bot ane.
>
> Thus hardyment governyt with wyt
>
> That he all tyme wald samy knyt
>
> Gert him off worschip haiff the price
>
> And oft ourcum his ennymyis. (6.361-74)
>
> [This noble king we have read about
>
> always mixed wit with prowess,
>
> As men may see by this melee…
>
> Therefore his courage hastily
>
> Thought it [the defenses] could be undertaken
>
> Since only one could attack at a time.
>
> Thus courage governed with wit
>
> That he always would knit together
>
> Caused him to have the prize of valor
>
> And often overcome his enemies.]

The reflection on "worschip" illustrates its positive connotation. Attributing the quality of "worschip" to Robert the Bruce not only effectively establishes his positive character but also explains how he "ourcum his ennymyis." Utilizing the tropes of the French romantic tradition, Barbour creates a dichotomy in which those with "worschip" are superior to those who are not; in this case, Robert the Bruce is greater than the English. Establishing the Bruce's "hardyment" also implies that the English and Edward I have "cowartys." This scene forges official nationalism as the reader is presented with the dynastic individual, the "nobile king" Robert the Bruce, and is shown how his ideological superiority contributes to his leadership abilities over English enemies.

Purpose of French Literary Conventions

Several questions still remain: if Barbour was resisting English cultural influences, why incorporate French cultural and literary conventions into *The Brus*? Would this not indicate the presence of French cultural imperialism? I argue not, as the conditions of the Auld Alliance were created mutually and for the benefit of both France's and Scotland's resistance against England. To incorporate French cultural and literary indicators reveals a unified cultural resistance through a nationalist narrative about the defiant King of Scotland, Robert I. Many of the reasons Barbour incorporated French romantic conventions are rooted in his context of composition. Barbour's Scotland was at risk of being imperialized yet again by the English. According to Steve Boardman, Anglo-Scottish war had been in abeyance for almost twenty years and any Scottish military campaigns had been failures. England's focus was war with France, which was proving successful for Edward III. He defeated French troops and several Scottish lords who came to France's aid in Poitiers and, until 1357, had both the kings of France and Scotland in captivity (193). In addition to this, nationalism was dwindling as, "Scottish triumphs of the early

fourteenth century, most notably the great victory at Bannockburn, were, in contrast, increasingly a dim and fading memory" (Boardman 193). The memory of a nationalist past was losing its impact on stirring patriotic sentiments, partially due to the strength of English influence over Scotland during Barbour's time. One of the greatest concerns was David II of Scotland's captivity in England. For his opponents, there was "a wider suspicion that, as a result of his prolonged exposure to the charismatic Edward and his chivalric court, their king had become a genuine enthusiast for some form of lasting Anglo-Scottish settlement and that he was prepared to offer, or at least contemplate, significant concessions in order the achieve that goal" (Boardman 194). The context in which Barbour was composing was similar to Scotland during the Great Cause debates. Historically, Barbour would have been anxious to see similarities between John Balliol and David II's interactions with the Kings of England: as Balliol was essentially a puppet king for Edward I's imperial intent, the captivity and potential enthusiasm expressed by David II towards Edward III could lead to a similar situation. The failed military attempts would have taken a toll on national morale.

Within this context, Barbour saw the need to reignite the nationalist flame. According to Boardman, *The Brus* "with its evocation of an age of Scottish military triumph, its reassertion of the fundamental justice of the Bruce cause and the fight to restore all the kingdom's lost lands and rights, and the inclusion of numerous stirring speeches…may well be regarded as having a persuasive as well as a celebratory intent" (196). Barbour's poem was constructed as a way to inspire Scots in the mid-14th century as a way to resist English cultural imperialism. By staying united and finding confidence in both their military might and national identity, just like during the Wars of Independence, Scotland could again be great. There was also a desperate need to legitimize the Bruce line of ascension, as "Robert Stewart inherited through his mother's right,

though the tailzie [the Scottish concept of inheritance] that was approved by the three estates at the Scone Parliament established the principle of unbroken male descent, as was the practice in France" (Goldstein *Matter of Scotland* 184). Barbour explicitly dictates the line of inheritance at David's coronation, detailing the specifics should the king die without a male heir (20.131-52). By outlining the line of ascension clearly to Robert II, future complications similar to the situation following the death of Alexander III would be avoided. This also, arguably, was done to appease Robert II since he "was the principal patron for whom *The Bruce* was written" (Boardman and Foran 4). Writing a nationalist history for the King of Scotland about his grandfather would have both legitimized his kingship while garnering favor and patronage.

The nationalist persuasion in *The Brus* was accomplished through an appropriation of the romance genre conventions. During the mid-14th century, there was a popular emergence of chivalry in England. Edward III embraced the romantic lifestyle, founding "the Order of the Garter in the mid-1340s—originally as tourneying groups at the peak of society. And he broadly identified himself with the mythical King Arthur" (Kaeuper 226-7). There was a strong chivalric presence to the south of Scotland's border that, with the capture of David II, would attempt to impress itself upon Scottish culture. Barbour, however, intentionally included *roman antiques* and French romantic culture as opposed to English, demonstrating a conscious rejection of English cultural influences and the establishment of a chivalric hierarchy. In Barbour's mind, it seems the French chivalric tradition was more worthy of emulation than the English, and the Scots were demonstrating this type of chivalry as opposed to the English "other" in *The Brus*. The use of French literary conventions demonstrates resistance against the English and Edward III through cultural unity. England and France were in the midst of the Hundred Years' War and, under the conditions of Auld Alliance, Scotland showed militaristic unity with France against

England. The Auld Alliance created cultural unity, as well. Barbour utilizes the French literary influences that trickled over to Scotland as a way to demonstrate that the bond between the two countries was not merely limited to military assistance but rather a political and cultural relationship as well.

Introduction to *The Wallace*

While *The Brus* highlights Scottish nationalism and rejects English cultural influences by utilizing the French *roman antiques*, Blind Hary's *The Wallace* creates nationalism utilizing a graphic rhetorical approach to cultural resistance and "othering." *The Wallace* recounts the life of William Wallace, a Scottish freedom fighter during the Wars of Independence. Although much about his life between the years of 1298 and 1304 is vague and unknown, he has entered into modern memory as one of the most iconic and well-known patriots of Scotland. Blind Hary's *The Wallace* is partially, if not mainly, responsible for the creation of this reputation. William Wallace's life is depicted as one of valor and heroism through the use of highly graphic and exaggerated language. Much of the text includes descriptive and realistic depictions of battle and torture that are, as Anne McKim explains, "described with a relish some readers have found distasteful" ("Introduction" xvii). The degree to which Blind Hary illustrates the violence of war and the injustices committed against the Scots by the English creates a lasting Scottish patriotic impression despite historical inaccuracies and blatant fabrications. The graphic nature of *The Wallace* demonstrates Blind Hary's desire to entice and capture the audience's attention through sensory appeal and racial "othering" as well as spark Scottish nationalist sentiments in relation to contemporary events. How did Blind Hary manage to effectively garner a reactive nationalist awakening from his readership? In order to illustrate the necessity for a nationalist cultural reawakening and foster anti-English sentiments, graphic rhetoric and the manipulation of English

and Gaelic poetic conventions were used to incite inherited national tragedy experienced by 15th century audiences.

Stirring Nationalism through Graphic Rhetoric

The use of graphic imagery can be read as a seemingly cheap trick to stir emotions within readership. However, within this rhetorical evocation of emotions springs nationalism through sentimental politics. Terry Eagleton explores how tragedy is political and that historicizing tragic events reveals ideological interpretations of history as opposed to the tragedy itself (x). Instead of focusing on the history of a situation, the emphasis is placed on the humanistic aspect of what makes a certain event or action tragic. In the case of *The Wallace*, the tragedy is not the historical occurrence of the Wars of Independence but rather the reason the war took place. English oppression of the Scots illustrates the need to emphasize tragedy as opposed to historical accuracy. Blind Hary's retelling of the Wars of Independence and the actions of the Scottish patriot William Wallace was a conscious decision to draw parallels between the trauma experienced by Scots in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The desire to create a text that promoted pro-Scottish and anti-English attitudes stemmed from the political atmosphere of the 15th century. King James III of Scotland, the monarch during Blind Hary's lifetime, had a "policy of amity with England [which] did not go down well. Indeed, the king was losing support where it mattered—among the nobility" (Magnusson 266). In fact, according to McKim, "his pursuit of a marriage alliance between his son and Edward IV's daughter in 1474, was not popular in some quarters and considered too pro-English, especially among the great magnates in the Scottish borders" ("Introduction" ix). The marriage arrangement was seen as problematic as there was a deterioration of peace relations in the borderland region. By the late 1470s, "the threat of another outbreak of war was imminent, as

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armies attacked each other's borderland in the summer and autumn of 1480" (McKim "Introduction" ix). This either reveals a lack of awareness of the border nobility's plight or a disregard for the conflict that was taking place. Either scenario is not ideal for a king's image. Hary's response to James III's inaction was "an ethical appeal by asking his compatriots to remember their ancestors' 'nobille worthi deid' instead of forging alliances with the old enemy, England" (Goldstein "I will my proces hald" 36). The resurrection and recreation of the Wars of Independence and William Wallace's life allowed Blind Hary to construct a historical narrative that fostered nationalism in his readers, drawing connections between the resistance against the English in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Why would the use of graphic imagery stir patriotism within readership? While *The Wallace* was certainly written about a Scottish national hero, the nationalist nature within the text leans in favour of James IV's policies and those against political alliances with England. In fact, while Blind Hary wrote to challenge the English connections of James III's court, his nationalist writing appealed to the king's son, whose new government paid Hary several times to appear in court and also "cited the late king for listening to 'perverst councale' that 'assistit to him in þe inbringing of Inglissmen and to þe perpetuale subjeccione of the realm'" [perverse council that assisted him in the bringing in of Englishmen and to the perpetual subjection of the realm] (Goldstein *Matter of Scotland* 281). Although the text itself has the blatant political objective of inciting nationalism within its readership, this was typical of medieval Scottish historiographical texts which were "produced and shaped by what Eugene Vance has called a 'commemorative culture': one in which 'events of violence are given great prominence…Theirs is a chivalrous struggle to right wrongs and avenge atrocities attributed to the occupying forces in Scotland" (McKim "Scottish National Heroes" 132-3). The use of commemorative culture was arguably

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successful for Blind Hary's *The Wallace*. Goldstein explains, based off the number of early

printed volumes, *The Wallace* outprinted *The Brus* and continued to maintain popularity until the

19th century (*Matter of Scotland* 218). The immense popularity of *The Wallace* centuries after its

composition reveals Blind Hary's ability as a poet of the people and to foster nationalism within

his readership through graphic imagery.

The text contains many instances that are particularly violent, though there are several

moments in *The Wallace* that are especially visceral and used to garner nationalist sentiments.

One example is Wallace's episode in Dumbarton, in which he arrives in the town to find

Englishmen residing. He confronts the captain and, when accused of being "ane of Wallace

cumpany" (10.732), Wallace responds:

> His nobill swerd he gryppyt son in hand.
>
> Awkwart the face drew that captane in teyn,
>
> Straik all away that stud aboune his eyn;
>
> Ane other braithly in the breyst he bar,
>
> Baith brawn and bayn the burly blaid throch schar.
>
> The layff ruschyt up to Wallace in gret ire.
>
> The thryd he feld full fersly in the fyr. (10.738-44)
>
> [He gripped his noble sword in hand.
>
> With a backward stroke, [he] drew the captain's face in two,
>
> Struck everything away that stood above his eyes;
>
> Another he unsheathed violently into the breast,
>
> Both muscle and bone the strong blade cut through.

The remaining men rushed up to Wallace in great ire.

He felled the third [man] fiercely into the fire.]

What is important to note is the violence committed was not in defense but rather a brash reaction. Wallace did not make his true identity known and the English captain, despite his accusations, was unaware of Wallace's true identity. He could have avoided confrontation but instead attacks the Englishmen. The actions taken by the protagonist are extreme, though indicative of the intense emotions felt towards any English threat. Scenes such as this provide evidence that tensions were so high that even a trace of hostility towards a Scot from an Englishman was grounds for bloodshed.

In some scenes, the Scottish attack the English in response to their political and military acts. In Book Seven, Blind Hary begins by establishing Edward I's travel into Cumberland to establish a peace treaty. Instead, Scotsmen were hanged at the meeting. Upon hearing this, Wallace plots to burn the barns of Ayr in which the English are staying. The scene that is described by Blind Hary is gruesome:

Sycht without was awfull for to se;

In all the warld na grettar payne mycht be

Than thai within insufferit sor to dwell. (7.441-3)

[The spectacle outside was awful to see;

No greater pain might there be in the world

Than those within who suffered pain inside.]

Blind Hary continues to describe the panicked Englishmen burning alive, weeping and groaning, "Thar chapyt nayne bot brynt up bayne and lyr./The stynk scalyt of ded bodyis sa wyde" [No one escaped there but [instead] burned up bone and flesh./The smell of dead bodies dispersed wide]

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(7.466-7). Those who managed to escape or were sleeping in town, Wallace's men "Apon thaim set with strakis sad and sar" [Set upon them with painful and resolute strikes] (7.484). The massacre of the English carries out over almost 100 lines, appealing to several senses such as sound, smell, and sight. By utilizing multiple sensory appeals, Blind Hary is able to immerse his audience into the scene.

While this would typically create aversion to the actions committed by the Scots, Blind Hary's mention of the slaughter of Scots prior to the barn burning creates an opportunity for nationalist reaction to arise, particularly as he describes Wallace "wepyt for gret los of his kyne" [wept for the great loss of his kin] (7.272). Wallace's nationalist fervor is fueled by the idea of kinship. The burning of the Barns of Ayr as a response to the slaying of the Scots links kinship and revenge, "blood thus provid[ing] the common denominator" (Goldstein *Matter of Scotland* 235). Graphic descriptions of blood-loss within this passage make the connection between these two ideas all the clearer. Additionally, Goldstein explains this breakdown of feudal law is reminiscent of the process of *lex talionis*, or law of retaliation, which was thought to have occurred during Hary's fifteenth-century in the Highlands; he points out that we "can perhaps recognize in *The Wallace* the subversion of the relatively weak hegemony of feudal ideology in a kin-based society such as medieval Scotland—and the Lowlands were scarcely less "kin-based" than the Highlands" (*Matter of Scotland* 235). The response from Wallace demonstrates that the excessive bloodshed is both necessary and patriotic, especially within a situation where justice within feudal law has dissolved, as the revenge sought is for his kin.

Kin, however, is constructed on a national rather than a familial level. Ernest Renan explains the nation "is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we are.

A heroic past, great men, glory…this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea. To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present" (19). This concept is impressed upon the reader from the start, as Wallace is of "hale linage and trew lyne of Scotland," [wholesome lineage and [from a] true line of Scotland] (1.22), an ideology emphasized throughout the text. Establishing that the entire Scottish nation was united through kinship creates an emotional unity between Scots of Hary's context and those who fought against England during the wars, allowing a nationalist bias to arise. By rhetorically structuring these passages with graphic imagery, Blind Hary encourages an instinctive emotional response from his audiences to recall the hardships of their Scottish ancestors and react accordingly.

The issue with the scenes above, and many others in the text that are equally vivid and cringe-worthy, is that the English atrocities against the Scots are not as descriptive. That is, Scottish violence is glorified but English violence is not. Even when the English torture and murder Wallace, the description is glossed over. His death is described briefly and simply as "I will nocht tell how he devydyt was/In five partis and ordand for to pas" [I will not tell how it was ordered that he was divided in five parts] (12.1408-9). It is curious that, after providing graphic descriptions of the English being slain, Blind Hary would not describe violence against the Scots in similar detail. If violence is seen as "distateful" to some readers, why then are the most emotive depictions of gore and brutality committed *by* the Scots as instead of *to* the Scots?

The imbalance of violent imagery is due to the historical nature of the text. William Wallace's story comes from a time in Scotland's history that was plagued with bloodshed and resistance to Edward I's campaigns. English conquests set into motion a strong desire for Scottish resistance. As Lynch describes, "these were wars of ideology as well as of conquest. They were the recruiting sergeants of a new, aggressive nationalism" (112). Many texts emerged

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from and discussed this time period which manifested a fervent patriotism for Scotland. *The Wallace* is no exception; the graphic depictions of violence and torture emerge from resistance to the English. From the beginning of the narrative, Blind Hary discusses Edward I and the atrocities he committed against the Scottish people. His depiction of the Seige of Berwick shows:

> Edward entrit and gert sla hastely
>
> Of man and wiff seven thousand and fyfty,
>
> And barnys als, be this fals aventur
>
> Of trew Scottish chapyt na creatur. (1.93-6)
>
> [Edward entered and ordered the hasty slaying
>
> Of seven thousand and fifty men and women,
>
> And children also, this treacherous event
>
> No faithful Scottish creature escaped.]

This account evokes an emotional response from the reader – the sheer number of those killed, as well as the inclusion of women and children, creates pathos. In the memory of the Scottish people, it calls upon a painful historical moment in which Scottish lives were lost to English conquest. More critical to note, however, is the emphasis that children, "barnys," were also slaughtered. Bringing attention to the loss of young lives would have especially stirred up anti-English sentiments. Theo van Heijnsbergen explains the power of rhetoric in the medieval period: "Rather than just convincing an audience intellectually that what was being argued was true, it *persuaded* the audience into *wishing* it to be true, and to act on that wish in thought, word or deed" (76). The belief in their deaths justifies the anger and nationalist emotions created by Blind Hary. Thus, the inclusion of this detail would have brought the history to Blind Hary's

audience, causing 15th century Scottish audiences to react and reflect upon their nation's current relationship with England, forging a strong sense of nationalism and anti-Englishness.

The sentiment continues as Blind Hary establishes the reason for Wallace's rise—and his reason for writing. He explains that "our men was slayne withoutyn redempcioune/Throuch thar dedis all tynt was this regioune…/For nane was left the realme for to defend" [our men were slain without redemption/Through their deeds the region was lost…/For none were left to defend the realm] (1.113-4). Blind Hary's rhetorical choices stir patriotism in his readership, particularly with the phrase "our men." By incorporating and including his audience in the text, he is able to reignite passions and resistance against the English. McKim emphasizes that "Blind Hary never lets his readers forget that his hero [William Wallace] is a man moved by 'pitte' for his country and 'ire of wrang' (6.624) that is, the righteous anger caused by wrongs that must be redressed" ("Introduction" xvi). Inclusive language used by the author also encourages the audience to share these sentiments. Hary uses historical memory at the beginning of his text to justify later depictions of violence against the English and evoke nationalism within his readers. Describing the actions of William Wallace as heroic, as well as creating a narrative depicting a glorious Scottish past, would foster a nationalist memory of the Wars of Independence. If this was the social capital by which a nation is defined, per Renan's definition, the sentiments from this memory creation would then transfer to the idea of a strong, independent Scottish nation during the mid-15th century.

English Cultural Influence in *The Wallace*

Hary's call to a national memory can be explained by the cultural influences that inform *The Wallace*. McKim describes *The Wallace* as "romantic biography" ("Introduction" x), as Wallace's life and deeds are exaggerated and presented in a literary style versus a purely

historical one. However, Goldstein explains that although courtly literary conventions are of French origins, *The Wallace* is "a post-Chaucerian text. Hary's verbal borrowings from Chaucer have long been recognized, as has his use of decasyllabic couplets and certain lyric forms" (*Matter of Scotland* 257). James I's *The Kingis Quair* popularized the Chaucerian style, making English influence evident throughout Scottish literary culture. *The Wallace* is no exception this trend. Walter W. Skeat identifies several similarities between *The Wallace* and several of Chaucer's works:

> [C]onsider his metre. It is simply that of the Knightes Tale, throughout the greater part of the poem…in Book VI. lines 1-104, he has 18 stanzas of 8 lines each, on the pattern exemplified in the Monkes Tale. In Book II. lines 180-359, he has 20 stanzas of 9 lines each, with the rhyme-formula—*aab, aab, bab,* as in Chaucer's Anelida. In Book II. Lines 171-179, he has a 9-line stanza on a pattern of his own, with the formula *aab, aab, abb*. But it is easy to see its origin. It is simply borrowed from the 9-line stanzas in the Complaint of Mars, with the formula *aab, aab, bcc.* (49)

Imitating the meter and rhyming formula of several poems over a considerable number of lines demonstrates Blind Hary's familiarity with Chaucer's catalogue and the specific patterning of his poetic style. Additionally, Skeat's identification of Chaucerian style and specific works within *The Wallace* rather than Scottish texts with that metrical and rhyming style indicates that Blind Hary was influenced more so by Chaucer than other Scottish poets.

The Chaucerian influence complicates the purpose of the poem. If *The Wallace* were meant to stir Scottish nationalist sentiments within the reader, why would Blind Hary borrow from an English literary tradition? Goldstein begins to unpack this, explaining that despite

"calling Hary a post-Chaucerian, we need not mistake him for a Chaucerian, Scottish or otherwise…The nationalistic ideology of the poem weighs far too heavily to permit us to call this author "Chaucerian" in any meaningful sense" (*Matter of Scotland* 258). Thus, the use of Chaucerian literary elements does not necessarily mean Hary wished to mimic Chaucer's style but that he most likely borrowed from the literary tradition that emerged post-Chaucer. Still, it is curious that Hary would knowingly utilize a literary style that came from England to create his nationalist text. Goldstein rationalizes this accordingly:

> If the literate class of Hary's Scotland had developed a taste for courtly literature in the Chaucerian tradition, then, they also inherited the seeds of a critique of aristocratic ideologies based on class privilege. *The Wallace* presents a hero who is not a member of the most powerful class, who rejects the accumulation of wealth and power for its own sake—and yet the poem adopts traditional aristocratic attitudes toward the commoners: all this while rejecting, on the basis of Chaucerian precedent, the aristocratic identification of nobility with privileged birth. It will take considerable work by the political unconscious to resolve these contradictions. (*Matter of Scotland* 259)

These contradictions complicate the purpose of Hary's text, though it is possible that they are intentional when taking 15th century audiences into consideration. Goldstein explains that the use of English cultural models "was a concession to the reality principle; no wish-fulfillment fantasy such as *The Wallace* was going to make the English go away" (*Matter of Scotland* 283). Wallace's 15th century audience consistently felt an English presence in their lives, whether through culture, politics, or military campaigns. Using, as van Heijnsbergen argues, the wishful purpose of medieval rhetoric, Hary convinces his Scottish contemporaries that nationalist

sentiments were justifiable as English imperialism was as prominent during the 15th century as it was during the Wars of Independence.

The use, then, of post-Chaucerian literary styling comes from Hary's desire for the Scottish nobility and aristocracy to resist English military and political pressures from both the borderland and within the Scottish ruling class. Hary directly addresses two knights he consults for his history, Sir Wallace of Craigie and Sir Liddale (12.1444-6). These two lairds shared Hary's "ethics of his opposition to the king's conciliatory foreign policy…[they were] men whose livelihood depended on a perpetual state of hostility with the more powerful southern neighbour" (Goldstein "I will my proces hald" 36). It was important for both Hary and his sources that resistance towards England be maintained. In order for this to occur, the text must be appealing to those who had the power to control these relations: the nobility. Since the post-Chaucer courtly literary style was popular amongst the Scottish aristocracy during Hary's time, the composition of *The Wallace* reflects these conventions. It was important to appeal to the nobles in such a way that they analyzed the state of the Scottish aristocracy and realize that the decisions of the king did not necessarily reflect the best intentions for Scotland. This assumption is historically supported as well. Goldstein paraphrases McDiarmid, explaining "James Liddale, was steward to Alexander duke of Albany, the king's brother, who was to lead a rebellion against him in the early 1480's. It is possible that Albany was [Blind Hary's] patron" ("I will my proces hald" fn36). If Albany was the poem's patron, it explains the extreme rebellious nature of the poem. According to Goldstein, "Albany at this time seems to have been popular with the southern nobility, since he was opposed to the 1474 treaty" (279). Vehement opposition to this treaty—which meant more open trade and political exchange between England and Scotland— would indicate resistance towards the king by the nobility. Given familial ties between Albany

and James III, there would likely be a more intimate tone and overt political criticism of the king by Hary. Therefore, the use of a post-Chaucerian literary style popular amongst nobility would allow access to this criticism of James III, as well as force self-reflection. Inserting Scottish nationalism within this tradition would have affected how the nobles critiqued their upper estate, leading them to recognize King James III's policies were not best for Scotland, providing support for Albany's rebellion.

Panegyric Verse and Gaelic Influence in *The Wallace*

Hary did not solely rely on a post-Chaucerian literary style. *The Wallace* also contains conventions of Gaelic poetry, such as individual accomplishments and retellings of the past, Gaelic heroic verse, and alliterative runs. However, more telling is the presence of panegyric verse, which is "not so much a form as a pervasive style in Gaelic poetry" (Thomson 296). Panegyric poetry, while demonstrating metrical mastery, also praised individual feats, particularly subjects who were "destined or suitable to be, the 'right ruler'; the picture given was not intended to be an actual representation, but rather the model towards which the ruler should strive" (Coira 27). That is, panegyric poetry establishes a framework that allows authors to create a hero who is worthy of esteem and the audience's approval. The model is evident in *The Wallace* as the "diction is codified in sets of conventional images, most densely concentrated in the heroic elegy composed at the point of crisis brought about by the death of a leader – in other words, when it was most necessary to reaffirm the traditional values of the community" (Thomson 296). *The Wallace* begins by recounting "Quhen Alexander our worthi king had lorn" [When Alexander our worthy king perished] (1.41) and spends approximately one hundred lines of Book I establishing the atrocities caused by Edward I. By describing the loss of a great king and the threat to Scotland without a strong leader, Hary sets up the poem's context as a time of

crisis desperate for a hero. The panegyric poetic form then calls for a leader to emerge and

Wallace is appropriately introduced after establishing context with his first slaughter described

before the end of Book 1 (1.221-32). If violence was meant to insight national memory and stir

nationalism, Hary makes clear his desire to, as Thomson describes, "reaffirm traditional values"

from the start.

The presence of these panegyric components would also have supported Hary's desire to

define the Scottish national memory. Calling upon kinship folk-memory would tap into both the

Lowland and Highland aristocracies, assuming both groups were readers, revealing the intended

audiences as well as the purpose of *The Wallace*. If there were already elements of the English

post-Chaucerian tradition at work in *The Wallace*—in particular as a way to insight reflection on

the aristocracy and James III's pro-English attitudes—why then include Gaelic panegyric

tradition? During the later 15th century the "Highland Problem" was in full swing, having been

exacerbated by the Lowlands "othering" of Highlanders. Wolf of Badenoch's reign of violence

in the Highlands demonstrates "the lengths to which the Stewart family trait of ruthlessness

could go. Repeatedly—in the Wolf's twenty-year reign of violence in the north and in James

IV's attempted eclipse of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493—it was the crown or the royal house

which disrupted Highland society" (Lynch 68-9). Thus, the use of post-Chaucerian elements was

not just a reflection for the aristocracy in regards to pro-English elements but also for anti-Gaelic

sentiments. To have a strong, unified Scottish nation—one capable of resisting English

pressures—the entirety of Scotland must be unified. Effortlessly unifying panegyric verse with

the popular post-Chaucerian tradition of the Lowlands shows that culturally the two groups could

coexist.

Cooperation between Lowlanders and Highlanders is especially evident in the treatment of Highlanders within *The Wallace*. In Book 7, Hary explains how Makfadyan formed an alliance with Edward I. Dunkane of Lorn, however, "yeit for the landis straiff/Quhill Makfadyan ourset him" [still contended for the lands/Until Makfadyan overcame him] (7.633-4). Dunkane, rather than give up or turn to Edward, "went to seik Wallace/Sum help to get of thar torment and teyne" [went to seek Wallace/to get help from their anguish and trouble] (7.668-9). Together, the two men led an army against Makfadyan and killed him. The Highlanders are not seen as biologically other. Rather, political situations are responsible for divisiveness between individual Highlanders and Lowlanders. In the case of Makfadyan, his status as a Highlander does not make him an enemy to Wallace; rather, it is his political allegiances that make him a foe. Instead, Dunkane seeking Wallace to help claim back Scottish land from Makfadyan—as well as a cultural amalgamation of literary styles—indicates the desire for a wholly unified Scottish nation and national memory.

Racial Othering and Rhetorical Violence

While *The Wallace* attempts to mend the differences between the Highlanders and Lowlanders, there is no sympathy towards the English. Blind Hary's treatment of the English is reactive and extreme, labeling them as biologically other. McKim notes that the rhetorical treatment of the "Sothroun" within his text was not unheard of as "xenophobia was common on both sides, fostered by nearly two centuries of intermittent war between the neighbouring countries, and almost constant cross-border raids" ("Introduction" ix-x). As evident in *The Wallace* and several other Scottish texts from the 14th and 15th centuries, aggression towards the English was not uncommon. Much of this was a response to the campaigns led by Edward I, though as Michael A. Penman reveals the entirety of the English nation was the subject of

Scottish dissent for many years after his rule (220). The *Ynglis Chronicle* establishes from the first line the vehement disdain the translator has towards both the king and the English nation. Throughout the text, the chronicler explictly condemns the English, describing the country as "ewill and cursit" (Kennedy 145). Another example is Thomas Barry's poem praising the Scottish victory at Otterburn in 1388, which chastizes English leaders for their arrogance. Within the poem, Barry attributes a speech given after the battle to a Douglas earl who calls the English "those serfs" (Penman 234). Divisive language is evident in Scottish texts, particularly those written after 1400, likely in response to historical aggressions from the English in addition to the political context at that time. These literary instances illustrate the great disdain felt in Scottish society against the English nation.

While many Scottish texts made clear the distinction between the two nations through emotionally charged language, the abusive depictions of the English in Scottish texts were strongly reciprocated in texts from England. The range in tone is similar to that from the Scottish contingent, though there seems to be a greater presence of racial differentiation from the English side of the border. Andrea Ruddick reveals that depictions of Scots in English texts were not only offensive but tended to be much harsher and more frequent than depictions of the English in Scottish texts. Many official documents of the English government used rhetoric that described Scottish characteristics of "wickedness, inhumanity, pride and stubbornness" (Ruddick 199). *The Song on the Scottish Wars*, written after an English victory during the Wars of Independence, describes the Scots as barbarians and "suggested that the inability to live peaceably under English rule was congenital in the 'spontaneously wicked' Scots" (Ruddick 201). Despite having a national status, the Scots were racially other within these government texts, creating a strong and aggressive hierarchy. However, "elements of convention governed these descriptions; almost

identical language can be found in official accounts of attacks by Welsh rebels in the 1280s, and

the French from 1338, with the same attendant moral characteristics, and the language of

barbarism was applied to all Celtic peoples in this period, not just the Scots" (Ruddick 200). The

strong desire of English texts to other opposing forces indicates a rhetorical tradition that

frequently identified others as the issue. The effortless use of radicalized language, essentially as

a literary convention, creates a weakened English ethos. This is further evident as Scottish texts

in general were mild with combative language and did not use it as often, despite frequent

campaigns onto their soil by the English.

The use, then, of aggressive language by William Wallace toward the English deviates

from the Scottish literary norm. While examples of vulgar language are evident within Scottish

literature most of it is either in response to Edward I of England's campaigns, written during the

Wars of Independence, or both. What distinguishes *The Wallace* from these texts is the context

in which it was composed and the racial othering present towards the English, regardless of

societal or military rank. While other Scottish texts differentiate between those attacking Scottish

soil and English citizens, *The Wallace* aggregates all "Sothroun" (1.188) together illustrating the

racial "othering" created within the text. In doing so, Blind Hary creates a nationalist text that,

very much like English texts at the time, illuminates a hierarchy in which one nation of people is

superior to another.

Blind Hary's conversations about race justify the rhetorical violence within *The Wallace*.

From the very beginning of the work, Blind Hary indicates that the English are racially other:

they are "[o]ur ald ennemys cummyn of Saxonys blud" (1.7) and that Wallace is "[o]f worthi

blude that ryngis in this regioune" (1.18) [our old enemies common of Saxon blood…of worthy

blood that reigns in this region]. Examples of this radicalized language are evident throughout

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the text, but stipulating the separation between the English and Scottish within the first lines of

Book I reveals a definitive difference between the two. It is evident here that the Scots are

decidedly *not* English. By using blood to establish a disparity between the two groups, Blind

Hary is establishing a biological difference between the English and the Scots. "Othering" is one

contribution to the defining of Scottish national identity but it also justifies the violence

committed by Wallace towards Englishmen. Utilizing Wa Thiong'o's concept of the creation of

the racial other, it is clear that the tensions between the English and Scottish cannot be solved

socially or politically. If biological difference cannot be solved through diplomacy, violence as a

way to destroy the biological other is the only option (12-14). This is especially the case when

taking into consideration the Highlanders. Although individuals such as Makfadyan and John of

Lorn oppose Wallace, since they are not othered biologically, but rather politically, the solutions

to their problems are political. By utilizing violent rhetoric towards the English racial "other",

Blind Hary creates a nationalist text that, very much like English texts at the time, illuminates a

hierarchy in which one nation of people is greater than another. In emphasizing this hierarchy,

Blind Hary attempts to fuel nationalism within his audience.

Conclusion to *The Wallace*

The depictions of gore in Blind Hary's *The Wallace*, while exaggerated, were not

unheard of. Many of the moments in which there is bloodshed are not far from the reality of what

happened during borderland skirmishes between the English and Scottish. It is that Blind Hary

uses these graphic and visceral descriptions to manifest nationalism that seems uncouth. The

level of sensory description of these moments creates a strong pathos and emotive reactions from

audiences. However, the emotions of 15th century Scottish audiences *would* be one of patriotism

and nationalist pride. Sergi Mainer explains Hary's purpose is "based upon the Scottish past

experience, which is *translated* into his contemporary Scotland" (Mainer 89). Blind Hary, by

calling upon national memory and racial othering, is able to create a patriot out of William

Wallace, a warrior for Scotland's cause. The violence he commits is not uncalled for, but rather a

necessary act of resistance. These moments of detail create a commentary on the political

relations between England and Scotland during the reign of James III, illustrating the author's

desire to stoke Scottish patriotism and a unified Scottish national memory during a time it was

most needed.

Resistance and Identity in *The Brus* and *The Wallace*

The resistances present in *The Brus* and *The Wallace* reveal a shift in the understanding

of literary influences from majority cultures—such as Gaelic, French, and English—from

passive aesthetic use to intentional resistance. These texts also demonstrate the various

approaches to resistance depending upon cultural and political contexts. Barbour recognized the

need to reignite a Scottish national pride, particularly in regards to the military failures against

the English during the late 1300s. In order to do so, he called upon the memory of Robert the

Bruce not only to incite national pride but also to instill nationalism in the face of English

conquest. Barbour realized that Bruce's history is the history of medieval Scotland: A crossroads

of cultural intersections and borderland fluidity. Electing which majority cultural markers to

include in identity creation made the narrative within *The Brus* not just a personal story but also

a national one. The conscious selection of cultural influence is evident in the use of the French

roman antiques tradition, bringing memories of the Auld Alliance back into Scottish nationalism,

as well as drawing upon religious moral hierarchy to differentiate the Scots from the English.

However, Barbour's depiction of national identity is still flawed as it focuses on resistance rather

than amalgamation. There is little Gaelic influence in *The Brus* and Barbour does not attempt to

negotiate English influence. Despite standing strong against English cultural imperialism, focusing solely on French cultural contributions only provides a limited perspective on Scottish identity formation and nationalism.

Blind Hary has better success with the creation of a united national identity within *The Wallace*, as he is able to utilize English and Gaelic cultural influences and reach out to the aristocracy and the Highlanders simultaneously. He recognizes that culturally unifying these two groups would help forge a stronger national identity; by utilizing two popular literary forms—the post-Chaucerian romance tradition and panegyric verse—Hary demonstrates the cultural similarities between the Lowlanders and Highlanders. By inciting racial "othering" towards the English, *The Wallace* reveals Wa Thiong'o's theories on tribalism: that differences between the groups in Scotland can be solved through social and political resolution while the only way to handle the "Sothroun" is through violence. While this approach does well attempting to unify the Highlands and Lowland, Hary's style largely ignores the commoners. In fact, he "sticks to tradition as far as the commoners are integrated in the national fight within the hierarchical late medieval order. They participate in the struggle, but under the commands of the upper classes, who are those permitted to perform chivalric deeds of arms" (Mainer 185). Thus, while Hary does well attempting to resolve a long-standing cultural difference in order to forge a unified Scottish national identity, there is still a separation between the estates, implying that Scottish nationalism is reserved for those of the higher class.

Conclusion

The Brus and *The Wallace* attempt to provide cultural examples of resistance by calling upon a proud national memory that started during the Wars of Independence. What is most telling about these texts is the differentiation in perspectives when placed in chronological order

with *The Kingis Quair* and *The Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*. A definitive fluctuation occurs

in political and cultural perspectives, especially in regards to the shaping of Scottish national

identity. What this reveals is the borderland's state as "a place of division that is also home to

cross-border culture whose denizens can display an almost simultaneous antipathy and affection

toward their counterparts on the other side" (Bruce and Terrell 3). This evolution of national

identity reveals a growing consciousness by medieval Scottish authors of the layers of

imperialism present in Scottish politics, culture, and society and the importance of creating a

national identity free of imperial majority influences.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEGOTIATING A MULTICULTURAL SCOTTISH IDENTITY IN THREE FABLES FROM

ROBERT HENRYSON'S *MORALL FABILLIS* AND IN WILLIAM DUNBAR'S *LAMENT*

FOR THE MAKARIS

Introduction

The fifteenth-century was a time of change for the British Isles. While England's War of

the Roses tends to take historical precedence for the age, political conflict was also very

prevalent in Scotland's borderland. The House of Stewart saw multiple monarchs imprisoned,

disdained by their own people, and killed in politically fueled altercations. Tensions ran high

between the royal family, their gentry, and commoners. Yet while political chaos erupted, by the

end of the 1400s a Golden Age in Scotland had emerged. Scotland had a functioning economy

with its own unique mint, and there was a surge in arts, literature, and music. Much of the

literature produced is among some of most highly regarded in the Scottish literary tradition.

Many fifteenth century Scottish poets address the politics during this time of change as well as

the social implications for the people of Scotland. Robert Henryson and William Dunbar are

amongst two of the most famous Scottish poets because of their rich catalogues of work and their

skill in depicting a diverse picture of Scottish life during the shifting later Middle Ages. The

insights into and descriptions of Scottish society that Henryson and Dunbar provide within their

poetry contributes more perspectives and voices to the formation of Scottish national identity,

particularly during a time in Scottish history that was wrought with change. How do these two

poets negotiate this time in Scotland's history in regards to national identity? Henryson in his

Morall Fabillis and Dunbar in *Lament for the Makaris* utilize social and class conversations to

demonstrate the ways in which literary and cultural identities amalgamated to create a multicultural Scottish national identity.

History of Class Relations in Fifteenth-Century Scotland

It is important, then, to discuss the politics and estates relations in the late fifteenth century in more depth to contextualize these works. Medieval feudal society was divided into three estates, or social sects: The church, nobility, and peasantry. By the later Middle Ages, relationships between the estates were being analyzed socially and within literature. When James III ascended the throne in 1460, Scotland was experiencing a time of political peace, though this did not last long. John Gillingham explains that from 1459-1461, over the course of eighteen months, England "witnessed more violent swings of the political pendulum than any other period of similar length in English history. First Lancaster was ousted by York, then York by Lancaster and finally Lancaster by York again. Moreover, these were political upheavals brought about by force of arms" (106). The perpetual shift in power complicated political allegiances within England as well as affected Scotland's politics. According to Magnusson, James III was crowned at the age of nine and was influenced by his mother, Marie de Gueldres, who had Lancastrian ties, and Bishop William Kennedy of St Andrews, who supported the Yorkists. While the Yorks ruled England, de Gueldres accepted Lancastrian exiles into Scotland. After de Gueldres's death in 1463, Kennedy sought to establish a new relationship with the ruling Yorks and negotiated a truce between the two countries (262-3). While this agreement established peace between Scotland and England, it stirred tensions within the Scottish political circuit. James III focused on maintaining strong relations with the Yorks through various alliances but many in Scotland did not approve, particularly in terms of how the alliances affected class relations domestically.

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Much of the resistance James III faced leading up to his death at Sauchieburn was due to his desire for financial gain. Norman Macdougall explains that the reason behind the Anglo-Scottish treaties during his rule, including a marriage deal between his son and Edward IV's daughter, was partially "the prospect of rapid financial gain" (124). Magnusson echoes this observation and summarizes his rule as such:

> It is beyond doubt that James became extremely unpopular among his subjects during his reign. He was relentless about raising revenue for the crown, through arbitrary forfeitures and annexations of lands and titles, through levying extraordinary taxes and debasing the coinage for his personal profit. (272-3)

James III fostered animosity amongst his subjects by exploiting them financially. A coup led by the future James IV arose, leading to a battle at the site of Bannockburn. The battle, later called Sauchieburn, "was a curious mismatch: for once a king's army mustered fewer of the great nobles of the realm than the rebel force it faced, but it was also a struggle between the magnates of the south and south-east and a King who had concentrated his rule on Edinburgh to an unusual extent" (Lynch 158). By exploiting a considerable amount of his kingdom and focusing his attention solely on the issues of the capital, James III met his downfall and was mysteriously murdered immediately following the battle[8]. The inflated sense of monarchy ended up being his downfall.

Under James IV's rule, however, Scotland ushered in a new "Golden Age" and class relations seemingly improved. According to Elizabeth Ewan, "The Treasurer's Accounts from

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[8] After leaving the field of Sauchieburn injured, James III reached a barn and asked the owners to rush to Stirling Castle for aid. Upon returning with help a short while later, the commoners found James III dead with a new stab wound. It was later determined James III "had brought his fate upon himself and—famously—had 'happinit to be slane'" (Macdougall 347). For more details on James III's death, see Magnusson 272.

the later fifteenth century illustrate the activities of Scottish merchants who supplied the royal household, as well as the monarch's interactions with local people. Other royal records show grants by the kings to the towns and individual inhabitants" (123). Money was being reintroduced into the country rather than hoarded as it had been under James III. Not only was there more financial exchange between the court and government, but James IV also moved about Scotland. Magnusson notes that James IV's court was "an immensely learned, cosmopolitan and expensive household which cost a great deal of money to sustain as it moved around Scotland…It was all part of the Renaissance ideal of conspicuous royal expenditure" (282). James's charisma and movement around Scotland likely saved him from the same judgment cast upon his father, as he surrounded himself with individuals from all aspects of Scottish life. Lynch explains that Scotland under James IV "would see still more ruthless and systematic exploitation of the crown's feudal rights, [though] it escaped the same opprobrium [as James III]. Image and the careful packaging of policy counted for as much in late medieval as in modern politics" (159). Thanks to the emergence of Scotland's "Golden Age," James IV's image and interactions with the estates saved his rule from excessive scrutiny and uprisings.

Changes in class relations were not limited strictly to the relationship between king and commoners. Rather, the emergence of burghs demonstrated the extent to which classes converged economically. Alexander Grant describes the burghs as "focal points for the surrounding country-side; peasants came and sold their produce, obtained cash to pay the rent, and bought food (when necessary), clothing, pottery, perhaps some equipment and livestock and even the occasional luxury. But there was also international trade" (69-70). A large portion of Scotland's population converged within the burghs, illustrating estates mingling. Fluidity between the estates and ease of class interactions was also pervasive in rural society. Ian Whyte

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argues that rural society "in late-medieval Scotland was more fluid, with greater social mobility, than in many other parts of Europe" (165). Because of this social mobility, it would seem that interactions between the classes would be amicable. However, Ewan explains that

> in the [Scottish] middle ages the vast majority of the population lived in the countryside. Although there are no population statistics to tell us exactly what proportion of the population lived in rural areas, historians estimate that the medieval urban population was never more than 10 per cent. However, the impact of the towns on the medieval realm was out of proportion to their share of the population. (121)

While burghs were bustling economically from international trade, a vast majority of the population was separated from that wealth distribution. Whyte points out that "many rural areas must have been as well populated as they are today and some districts, especially in the north, even more so. To what extent this growth caused pressure on resources is less clear" (159). Distributing resources would have been difficult, especially to populations in the Highlands. The population to economic wealth ratio within the burghs demonstrates a disparity amongst the estates.

Class relations were particularly pervasive in literature as it was an important social conversation during the late fifteenth-century in Scotland. During and after James III's rule, many texts focused on the relationship between king and country, especially his ability to rule. Nicola Royan explains that medieval Scottish literature was particularly interested in the question, "What makes a man good at governing other people? This is a recurrent, if not essential thread in Scottish material of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries" ("Medieval Literature" 215). Many texts that are known from this time ask this question. The translation of *The Buik of*

Alexander by Gilbert Hay as well as Gavin Douglas's *Palice of Honour* and *King Hart* and William Dunbar's *The Thrissil and the Rois* are a sample of the texts that overtly discuss governance and leadership, particularly in regards to the monarch. The relationship between king and country, though, was not the only conversation about class relations. Many texts discuss the rapport between individuals of various socioeconomic backgrounds and the implications of these interactions. Dunbar's *Flyting* with Walter Kennedy, for instance, demonstrate attitudes held by Dunbar and other Lowlanders about the rural Highlanders. Many of David Lyndsay's works discuss relationships between the various estates in Scottish society. One such example is *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, which criticizes clergy, lords, and representatives from the burghs. Class relations and criticisms were coming to a forefront in both society and literature, demonstrating the importance of the topic in how Scotland identified itself.

Introduction to Robert Henryson

One especially strong example of a literary conversation on class relations is Robert Henryson's *The Morall Fabillis,* written in the late fifteenth-century. The collection, which is spread over multiple manuscripts including the Bannatyne MS, Asloan MS, and Maitland Folio MS, is a retelling of thirteen Æsopic fables plus a prologue. While several manuscripts contained the same fables, others excluded individual ones or only included few. Within *The Morall Fabillis*, Henryson describes a dynamic and diverse Scottish society through the use of the fable tradition, which in turn provides an elaborate look at how he viewed medieval Scottish national identity and how various cultural characteristics contributed to this distinctiveness. The following examination will focus on "The Lyoun and the Mous," "The Taill of the Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous," and "The Preiching of the Swallow." These three particular fables are the best examples of Henryson blending literary cultures in order to have a conversation

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about estates collaboration. How does Henryson illustrate his message of cultural and estates collaboration? Henryson amalgamates poetic and thematic influence from French and English fable traditions in "The Taill of the Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous[9]," "The Lyoun and the Mous," and "The Preiching of the Swallow" in order to demonstrate the multiculturalism that contributed in creating a unique Scottish national identity during his time.

Fable Tradition

The fable tradition itself must be examined to explain why Henryson used this genre to have class and cultural conversations. The fable—particularly the beast fable, which is the subgenre of all thirteen *Morall Fabillis*—was a popular genre utilized during the Middle Ages and can be "strictly defined according to its structure as fictional narrative in the past tense, and as a metaphor, [including] a very wide range of stories and brief statements which differ from each other multifariously" (Perry xxii). That is, fables are short tales depicting events that are meant to provide a lesson or moral to the reader. What makes the genre so interesting is the flexibility of the narrative. Fables are able to be adapted in such a way that authors can reflect morals that apply to their social contexts and audiences. According to Gail Berlin, "Fables often change over time, both in plot detail and the moral appended…[for instance], the morals that Marie [de France] devises for her fables are often idiosyncratic and tailored to her own times" (195). Fables, as a genre, can be morphed in such a way that the plot and moral reflect the time period and political context of the author. The author's purpose shapes the story, not the other way around. Berlin also explains that fables worked in "a double register: they are tightly woven narratives whose traditional 'moral,' conveyed in words or in images, may also be read as a gloss

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[9] The fable is also known as "Twa Mice" and, for the sake of brevity, shall be henceforth referred to by this name.

on contemporary events" (191). Through the flexibility of the genre constructs and the double register, medieval authors were able to shape the genre to reflect upon their historical contexts.

Since Henryson's fables are socio-economic or political commentaries, the plots needed to be slanted from those of Æsop's fables to allude to events or situations that the Scottish public would recognize. Robert L. Kindrick explains that Henryson's prologue reveals his "commitment to moral didacticism in poetry which appears in the "Moralitas" [as well as] the plot of each of the tales. The poet investigates problems in ethics and morality for the purpose of understanding man and his position in the universe, not for the egotistical satisfaction of scornfully describing a depraved world" (*Robert Henryson* 65). Although Henryson intends to illustrate the moral fortitude of his society, he does not do it to chastise but rather from a position of a keen observer with general concern for his society and country. Using the genre of fables allows Henryson to act as a moral mouthpiece for his audience.

Although Henryson wrote his fables to reflect issues within Scottish society, he was inspired by English and French sources. Since the fable tradition was so popular during the Middle Ages, Henryson would have had a plethora of source material from both traditions, particularly in regards to phrasing and plot. For instance, W. H. E. Sweet argues for Henryson's familiarity with Lydgate's *Isope.* Despite *Isope* surviving "fragmentarily in just three manuscripts, none of which circulated in Scotland…[Smith] is nevertheless certain: "we may conclude that Henryson was familiar with Lydgate's *Aesop*; but we must qualify this by saying that his use of it was in the main by literary reminiscence, and never, except perhaps in a single instance, a direct adoption"" (31). Although the chances of Henryson accessing Lydgate's fables are slim, there are similarities enough to show some familiarity with Lydgate's works. Sweet identifies several passages in Henryson's *Fabillis* that borrow phrasing from Lydgate. In "Twa

Mice," Henryson references Gib the Cat (l. 326) and repeats the phrase "small possessioun"

several times throughout the *Moralitas* (ll. 365-96). Sweet identifies a "Gyb, þe catte" [Gib, the

cat] (l. 406) and reference to "small possessioun" [small possession] (l. 427) in Lydgate's *Isope*.

He also identifies similarities between "The Lyoun and the Mous" and Lydgate's Prologue, both

of which discuss Æsop's position as poet laureate in Rome (32-33). The direct borrowings from

Lydgate demonstrate that Henryson was influenced by English fables, though less in terms of

genre and purpose and more referentially.

There are also clear connections between Henryson and Chaucer's contributions to the

fable tradition. "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe" for instance is almost identical in

plot to Chaucer's "The Nun's Priest's Tale," and according to Parkinson "For the hen's speeches

The Parliament of Fowls is an important contributor" (169n). There can be no doubt, then, that

Henryson was familiar with English fables, particularly from Chaucer. Additionally, Denton Fox

argues that Henryson, like Chaucer, makes "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe" "into a

deflation of human self-importance…[Henryson] relies heavily on changes of style, balancing

the voice of one animal against the voice of another, or setting up a heroic style only to puncture

it abruptly" (176). Although these thematic similarities are limited to this specific fable,

Henryson and Chaucer are also similar in regards to style. Kindrick also draws connections to

Chaucer through Henryson's use of rhyme royal, stating "[f]ewer critics have noted that many of

the *Morall Fabillis* are written in this same stanza [as *The Testament of Cresseid*]" (*Robert*

Henryson 29). Borrowing this stanzaic style shows Henryson was influenced by the poetic

abilities of Chaucer. However, while there are direct comparisons, Henryson never goes so far as

to directly re-write English fables, perhaps because he desired to guarantee his fables reflect a

distinctly Scottish commentary while making direct links to the English—specifically

Chaucerian—tradition.

　　While there is evidence of the English fable tradition, Henryson was also very much

inspired by French sources. Calin references Marianne Powell, who observes "that Henryson is

closer in tone to the animal literature in Old French than he is to Caxton" (86). One such

example is Marie de France's *Fables*, which share similar plot specifics and commentaries with

the *Morall Fabillis*. For instance, in Marie de France's version of "De leone et mure" [The Lion

and Mouse], as the lion sleeps

> Entur lui se vunt deduiant
>
> suriz petites e juant.
>
> L'une curut (ne s'en guarda)
>
> sur le leün, si l'esveilla.
>
> Li leüns fu mult curuciez.
>
> La suriz prist; tant fu iriez,
>
> de li voleit fair justise. (ll. 2-9)
>
> [Around him they walked, amused,
>
> [the] small mice, and played.
>
> One of them ran (he did not pay attention)
>
> on the lion, who woke up.
>
> The lion was very furious, angry.
>
> The mouse was captured; so great was his anger
>
> that the lion intended to carry out justice.][10]

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[10] Translations of Anglo-Norman text are my own.

The passage is similar to Henryson's, which also includes "ane trip off myis" [a group of mice] (l. 1409). The dialogue that occurs between the two creatures includes legal language such as "mak na defence" [make no defense] (l. 1454) and "gentrice I ase" [gentility I plead] (l. 1461). Other versions of the fable, such as Caxton's, have a brief conversation between the characters with no mention of the justice system or legal debate. Therefore, the use of legal language and a debate between the lion and mouse indicates a specific borrowing by Henryson from Marie de France. The mouse also argues about the philosophy of justice:

> In everie juge mercy and reuth suld be
>
> As assessouris and collaterall;
>
> Without mercie, justice is cruelitie,
>
> As said is in the lawis spirituall.
>
> Quhen rigour sittis in the tribunal,
>
> The equitie off law quha may sustene? (ll. 1468-73)
>
> [In every judge should be mercy and compassion
>
> As advisors and colleagues;
>
> Without mercy, justice is cruelty,
>
> As is said in the spiritual law.
>
> When utmost severity sits in the tribunal,
>
> Who may uphold the impartial dealing of law?]

Although there is a distinct difference in length and detail, emphasis on justice within Henryson's version is comparable to Marie de France's scene. Both fables show that the lion is quick to judge the mouse and wishes to dispense justice. Since genre conventions are flexible and allow small details to reflect social critiques, the conversation in both fables indicates a

commentary on justice. While Henryson could have changed the details to reflect another aspect of society, the stretching of the dialogue between the lion and the mouse into a full case indicates that Henryson was borrowing both plot and commentary. While this seems to simply imply a general familiarity with Marie de France's fables, it is clear that Henryson understood the social commentary pervasive in her works as well. As demonstrated in line comparisons previously, Henryson was also familiar with Lydgate's fables. However, he chose to include specific details from Marie de France into his own work. While this could merely indicate a preference for her writing, I believe it to be a conscious recognition that Marie de France's fables were written in such a way that social commentary was able to thrive. Thus, Henryson borrowed specific details that critiqued society and tweaked them to fit his purpose.

Appropriating commentary is also reflected in the moral of "The Lyoun and the Mous," to an extent. Marie de France indicates her fable is about socioeconomic relations:

> Par ceste fable nus assume
>
> qu'essample i prengent li riche hume
>
> ki sur les povres unt poeir,
>
> s'il lur mesfunt par nunsaveir,
>
> qu'il en aient bone merci. (ll. 45-9)
>
> [By this fable we summarize
>
> this cautionary tale and take it to rich men
>
> who have power over the poor,
>
> that if they [the poor] should act foolishly,
>
> it is therefore good to have mercy.]

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Marie de France's moral focuses strictly on the treatment of the lower classes by the upper estates. Henryson's moral is similar, though he takes it one step farther; he alters the message to engage in a critique of all of the estates and the importance of class cooperation. The three socioeconomic classes represented by characters within the fable—the nobility, commoners, and the lords—are critiqued and shown to be problematic, which shall be extrapolated shortly. However, the tale and moral demonstrate that despite character flaws, there is hope the groups can work together. Most importantly, Henryson's fable signals that all of the estates can work to improve cross-class relationships. It is clear, though, that Henryson found inspiration from Marie de France's plots and morals and drew from her texts to help formulate his social commentary.

While there are obvious connections between *Morall Fabillis* and French and English fable traditions, it is important to note that these traditions were *influential* but not directly impacting the moral or purpose of specific fables. In fact, Henryson is creating something specifically Scottish. Kurt Wittig points out that "the fact Henryson gave all his tales a specifically Scottish setting shows how successfully he has digested and assimilated his foreign material…[his] details are so accurate that they give us a picture of contemporary social conditions" (40-1). It is within the amalgamations of English and French fable traditions that Henryson's unique take on the literary cultures that contributed to Scottish literature become evident. Additionally, it is through influence rather than direct copying of English and French fables that Henryson is able to create a commentary that is expressly Scottish. Since, Scottish identity was created through amalgamations of English, French, and Gaelic cultures, the combination of these fable traditions within Henryson's work adds to his ability to comment on and create a unique Scottish identity. The fact that there is little Gaelic literary influence evident within *Morall Fabillis*, despite its unique presence in Scottish identity does not mean the

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influence is not there; simply, there is no definitive proof that literature from the Highlands affected Henryson's composition. The lack of presence could be due to accessibility of Gaelic poetry and language barriers. However, as will be shown shortly, Gaelic culture is still evident in the *Fabillis*. Despite a lack of native Gaelic literature, by absorbing these foreign traditions and adding a distinct Scottish message to the fables, Henryson creates something that can only be labeled as definitively Scottish.

Class Relations in "Twa Mice"

While all thirteen of Henryson's fables arguably discuss class relations to some extent, the three that best provide commentaries on Scotland's estates relationships are "Twa Mice," "The Lyoun and the Mous," and "The Preiching of the Swallow." Each fable provides an inside look at specifically Scottish issues affecting the estates and their relationships, particularly regarding how they work together to form Scottish national identity. In the case of "Twa Mice," Henryson discusses the relationship between the peasantry and those living in the burghs and how the two groups viewed each other. What is particularly striking about the fable is the inclusion and depiction of these two socioeconomic groups, particularly the peasantry. Although the fable itself does not overtly create national identity, the inclusion of different socioeconomic perspectives within literature shows a conscious attention to the variety of voices contributing to the identity of Scottish borderland society.

The fable concerns two sisters, one "uponlandis" and the other "burges." The burges mouse comes to visit her sister in the country and when served a humble meal complains "To tender meit my stomok is ay usit/For quhy I fair alsweill as ony lord" [My stomach is used to tender meat, Because I live as well as any lord] (ll. 220-1). The burges mouse asks her sister come visit her in town to experience how she lives, insisting "My Gude Friday is better nor your

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Pace" [My Good Friday [fast] is better than your Easter meal] (l. 248). The two travel to the burgh and find an abundance of food in a pantry, which they begin to take. However, a steward enters the kitchen and interrupts their feast. The burges mouse finds a hole to hide but the "rurall mous lay flatlingis on the ground/And for the deith sho wes full sair dredand" [The rural mouse lay outsretched on the ground and was dreading death very greviously] (ll. 309-10). After the steward leaves, a cat enters the room, sees the rural mouse, and "fra fute to fute he kest hir to and fra" [from foot to foot he tossed her to and fro] (l. 330). She manages to escape the cat and declares to her sister "Wer I into the kith that I come fra/For weill nor wo I suld never cum agane" [Were I in the native district that I come from, For wellness nor woe I should never come back again] (ll. 351-2). The final stanza before the *moralitas* states:

> Bot I hard say scho passit to hir den
>
> Als warme as woll suppose it wes not greit,
>
> Full beinly Stuffit baith but and ben
>
> Of beinis and nuttis, peis, ry, and quheit.
>
> Quhenever scho list, scho hand aneuch to eit
>
> In quyet and eis withoutin ony dreid
>
> Bot to hir sisteris feist na mair scho yeid. (ll. 358-64)
>
> [But I heard she went to her den
>
> Which was as warm as wool although it was not great in size,
>
> Amply filled were both outer and inner rooms
>
> With beans and nuts, peas, rye, and wheat.
>
> Whenever she was inclined, she had enough to eat

> In quiet and ease without any dread
>
> But she never went to her sister's feast again.]

The fable ends with the two sisters parting ways, accepting they do not understand the other's world.

Writing the fable as a class commentary on the interactions between the naïve rural and privileged burgess classes, Henryson deliberately includes details that place the two mice in medieval Scotland. The burgess mouse lived in town and

> Was gild brother and made ane fre burges,
>
> Toll-fre alswa but custom mair or les
>
> And fredome hand to ga quhairever scho list
>
> Amang the cheis and meill in ark and kist. (ll.172-5)
>
> [[The burgess mouse] Was a guild member and was an independent citizen,
>
> Also without the greater tax but paid customs more or less
>
> And she had freedom to go wherever she wished
>
> Among the cheese and meal in coffer and chest.]

The descriptions of the life led by the burgess mouse correspond greatly with what life was like in medieval Scottish burghs. As Ewan explains, many burghs had "guild merchants, associations of the leading members of society…the formation of craft guilds in the fifteenth century may have led to increasing social differentiation between the members of the merchant and craft guilds" (128). Specifically referencing the guilds that permeated burgh society indicates Henryson's purpose of establishing a distinctly Scottish setting. The "Scottishness" of the fable is made even more evident when compared with others from the time. Marie de France's version of the fable does not provide an in depth description of either mouse; instead, the

characterizations of the mice comes from the dialogue between them, in which the city mouse

tells the country mouse if she came to the village with her, she would have

> beles dispenses, beals celiers
>
> e bons beivres e bons mangiers. (ll. 21-2)
>
> [beautiful pantries, beautiful cellars
>
> and good drink and good food.]

It is clear that the mouse lives in an urban setting of wealth, but Marie de France does not

provide clear indicators that the mouse is representative of a specific village or country. Rather,

there is a particular valuation of city versus country life through the comparison of the city's

wealth and the country's humble setting. William Caxton's printing of Æsop's fables in 1484

also differs from Henryson's version. Caxton does not label them as city or country mice but

rather "the one was grete and fatte/and held hym in the celer of a Ryche man And the other was

poure and lene" [the one [rat] was great and fat/and lived in the cellar of a rich man and the other

was poor and lean] (17). There is no direct mention of a specific place the rat lives besides a

basement or that the rat himself represents a specific social class; rather, that he benefits from the

affluence of the rich man. Henryson's detailed description of the city mouse, however, nudges

the reader to assume he is actually representing a member of the burgess class.

Similarly, Henryson provides specific details that would place the rural mouse in a

Scottish context as well. The rural mouse "wynnit uponland" [dwelt in the countryside] near the

town (l. 165). When the burgess mouse goes to visit her sister, she travels

> Throw mony wilsum wayis can scho walk,
>
> Throw mure and mosse, throw bankis, busk, and breir,
>
> Fra fur to fur, cryand fra balk to balk[.] (ll. 183-5)

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[Along many lonely paths did she walk,

Through moor and bog, through banks, thicket, and briars,

From furrow to furrow, crying from ridge to ridge.]

The geographic images provided by Henryson depict Scotland's countryside. As is the case with much of Scotland—particularly Western Scotland—the geography of the countryside surrounding the royal burghs was particularly boggy; according to Ewan, the bogs allowed for agricultural communities to form throughout the course of the Middle Ages (160). Additionally, as many of the burghs were located close to the Lowland-Highland line, ridges were—and are—fixtures of the geography. The depictions of the rural and burgess mice's habitations in specific detail establish that the fable is meant to appeal to a Scottish audience and concern matters that apply to them directly.

The fable is not just meant to depict Scottish individuals as a way to insert the country's citizenship into literary tradition. Rather, the narrative and the moral are meant to cause the audience to reflect and ponder the fable's purpose. In the case of "Twa Mice," Henryson strikes a contrast between the two mice, which causes the audience to compare the two characters. In the case of the burgess mouse, the character is particular and rude to her sister. She claims that the food being served to her in the country "Wil brek my teith and mak my wame ful sklender/Quhilk usit wes before to meitis tender" [Will break my teeth and make my stomach very slender, which, earlier, was used to tender food] (ll. 223-4). When the steward enters the kitchen, she hides in a hole while her sister is lies flat on the floor in fear. Once the steward leaves, the burgess mouse leaves her hole and upon seeing her sister weeping says "Quhy ly ye thus? Ryse up, my sister deir,/Cum to your meit, this perrell is overpast" [Why do you lie there? Rise up, my dear sister, Come to your food, the peril has passed] (ll. 316-7). The burgess mouse

leaves her sister to face dangers she has never experienced before and then does not understand why she is upset. Henryson portrays the burgess mouse as selfish and out-of-touch with the concerns of her sister. If the mice represent the individuals from where they live, Henryson is commenting on the attitudes of those living in the burghs and their attitudes towards the peasantry. Although there are few details about rural medieval Scotland and the relationship between the burgesses and peasantry, the relationship presented by Henryson in "Twa Mice" indicates that there was a considerable separation of values between the two groups. Reading the fable as a commentary on Scotland's society shows a critique of the burgess estate and causes the reader to sympathize with the peasantry, especially when taking into consideration the repetition of the phrase "small possessioun" [small possession] (ll. 372, 380, 388, 396) at the end of each stanza in the *moralitas*.

This sympathy is especially evident in how the rural mouse is depicted. She is meek, polite, and lives humbly. When her sister arrives, she "brocht furth nuttis and peis instead of spyce./Giff thair wes weilfair, I do it on thame besyde" [brought forth nuts and peas instead of spice. If there was abundance, I leave it to those nearby [to determine].] (ll. 206-7). Despite not having much food, she offers what she can to her sister. After her sister criticizes the way she lives, the rural mouse says

> Geve it yow pleis, sic thing as ye se heir,
>
> Baith meit and dreink, harberie and hous
>
> Sal be your awin will ye remane al year.
>
> Ye sall it have wyth blyith and hartlie cheir
>
> And that suld mak the maissis that ar rude
>
> Amang friendis richt tender, sweit, and gude. (ll. 226-31)

[If you please, such things as you see here,

Both food and drink, lodging and house

Shall be your own, should you remain all year.

You shall have it with happy and hearty cheer

And that should make the servings that are rude

Among friends right tender, sweet, and good.]

The rural mouse attempts to find the good in her situation, despite living in poverty. Between the

two mice, the rural mouse is more sympathetic to audiences. When compared to the burgess

mouse, the reader is "lead inevitably to the conclusion that Henryson's sympathies lie with the

country mouse" (Kindrick *Robert Henryson* 76). This is made evident in the final lines of each

stanza of the *moralitas*. The four stanzas discuss the importance of humility and moderation,

ending with the phrase "with small possessioun" [with few belongings]. The repetition of the

importance of living life "with small possessioun" appears to be a rhetorical strategy by

Henryson leading to believe that he saw frugality and modesty as praiseworthy qualities. He also

demonstrates that these attributes are distinctly Scottish, or at least what Scots should emanate.

The descriptions of the sceneries determinedly place the action in a Scottish setting and the

characterizations of the mice mimic that of the burgess and country lifestyles. Placing emphasis

on these attributes forces audiences to sympathize with the peasantry that the rural mouse

represents. In doing so, readers are made aware of the life and issues concerning that social sect.

The fable also draws attention to the treatment of the peasantry by the king. Kindrick

explains that the description of the interaction between the mice and the cat is representative of

the "economic havoc wrought by [James III's] heavy tariffs, the country's debased coinage, and

large grants to the king's familiars" (*Robert Henryson* 77). This is evident with the cat's

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treatment of the country mouse, "fra fute to fute he kest hir to and fra" [from foot to foot he tossed her to and fro] (l. 330). The batting around of the mouse can be understood as the treatment of the peasantry by the king, particularly as the narrator also deliberately points out "Thus to the selie mous grit pane he did" [Thus he caused great pain to the poor mouse] (l. 334). Including this line, particularly after painting the rural mouse as the appealing character, pushes the audience to abhor the treatment of the mouse by the cat and, therefore, the treatment of the peasantry by the king. The addition of these specific details and emotional appeals reveals the purpose of Henryson's fable as commenting upon the treatment of the Scottish people by the corrupt King James III. Through favoring the life of the Scottish peasantry, Henryson is creating and advocating a national identity that includes this portion of the populace, whom he believes demonstrates more moral and positive attitudes than the king.

While many scholars agree that there is a distinct commentary on the estates relations between peasantry, burgesses, and James III, there have been no attempts to connect the fable to the Highland population. As aforementioned, there is little to no evidence that shows any Gaelic influence in Henryson's fables. However, it can be argued that the rural mouse represents both the peasantry and Highlanders. Whyte explains

> Highlanders were distinguished by their language, by a more pastoral economy
> and by the general hardness of their existence. Recent historians have tended to
> view differences in social structure between the Highlands and the Lowlands as
> ones of emphasis and chronology rather than of kind...The Highlands cannot be
> neatly isolated as a distinct society. The balance between Celtic traditions and
> feudalism varied within the Highlands with a gradient from the more feudalized
> east and south towards the north and west. Gaelic had been spoken as far south as

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the Tweed and the Solway in the eleventh century. By the sixteenth century it had

retreated from most of the Lowlands. (169)

What differentiated Highlanders from Lowlanders during the Middle Ages was language and a

socially constructed distinction, or "othering," between the two groups. Much like a considerable

portion of the Lowland population, Highlanders inhabited rural areas, though the Lowlands

contained all of the royal burghs and, therefore, those estates and population. Highlanders were

not primitive but rather they—or rather their language, Gaelic—were being edge out of the

Lowlands. The treatment of this group of individuals could have been part of the inspiration for

the rural mouse in "Twa Mice." Two words in the first stanza of the fable hint at this:

"Uponland" (l. 165) and "owtlawis" (l. 168). In the notes of *The Poems of Robert Henryson*,

Robert L. Kindrick mentions "*uponland* means "in the country" and may suggest the Scottish

highlands…*owtlawis* may be a more neutral term than it is in the modern sense, perhaps meaning

"outcast"…This term and the secrecy involved with the two mice has caused comment about

their possible social roles" (115). Henryson does not elaborate further, leaving an air of

ambiguity surrounding these two words. However, when taking the social climate of the fifteenth

century into consideration, it is possible that Henryson was not strictly showing a moral peasant

class but also an upstanding Highland populace. While "Twa Mice" does not contain indications

of Gaelic culture or literary markers, the connections between the rural mouse and Highlanders

illustrates Henryson's desire to include this group in national identity construction.

If we accept the rural mouse as representative of Highlanders and peasants in general, it

can be argued that Henryson wanted to give attention to the two groups and add them into a

national conversation about identity. Although "Twa Mice" does not overtly create national

identity, the inclusion of previously unheard voices in literature opens the opportunity for them

to be included in national identity construction. Additionally, by portraying these individuals as morally sound and sympathetic, Henryson shows their contributions are important in formulating a positive identity for Scotland. The fable illustrates the importance of having more cultural perspectives contribute to the formation of a strong national identity.

Class Cooperation in "The Lyoun and the Mous"

"The Lyoun and the Mous" is an interesting commentary on estates relations, particularly in terms of governance. Similar to "Twa Mice," the fable discusses relationships between upper and lower estates. While "Twa Mice" focuses on adding new and diverse voices to national conversations about class and identity, "The Lyoun and the Mous" takes a more proactive stance on amending class relationships. The "moralitas" provided at the end of "The Lyoun and the Mous" seemingly alludes to a possible solution to the tense relationship between the estates, which could help amend some of the social turmoil that had arisen. Henryson creates an ideal cooperative identity between the nobility and peasantry, illustrating the importance of inter-estates relationships to the success of a Scottish national identity.

The fable begins with the author in a garden, where he encounters Æsop who regularly appears as the narrator of individual tales within *The Morall Fabillis*. Upon realizing he has encountered Æsop himself, the author begs him to "tell ane prettie fabill/concludand with ane gude moralitie" [tell a pretty fable/concluding with a good moral] (ll. 1386-7). Æsop consents and begins his tale: A lion, tired from running, lies down to sleep in the sun. As he slept, a nest of mice came out and played around the lion. The lion suddenly awakes and captures the mouse. Annoyed by the mouse's trespass, the lion sentences her to death. The mouse pleads with the lion, arguing for honour and claiming that her death is beneath the lion's dignity. After releasing the mouse, the lion goes on a hunt, causing much chaos around the kingdom (ll. 1512-3). Several

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hunters set a trap and capture the lion. Realizing his defeat, he begins to cry. The mice hear his mourning and upon seeing him ensnared chew through the bindings and release the lion. The lion gives thanks and goes on his way.

Henryson provides what could be considered a "traditional moral" with the final stanza of the *moralitas*, having Æsop tell the narrator:

> That tressoun of this cuntrie be exyld,
>
> And justice regne, and lordies keip thair fay
>
> Unto thair soverane lord baith nycht and day. (ll. 1617-19)
>
> [That treason be exiled from this country,
>
> And justice reign, and lords keep their loyalty
>
> Unto their sovereign lord both night and day.]

The *moralitas* is several stanzas longer than many of Henryson's contemporaries; Marie de France's and Caxton's morals are each only several sentences long. However, Henryson goes into far more detail regarding what each character represents.[11] The final words of the fable dictate its purpose: Advocating collaboration and recognizing the need for estates to work together in order to keep the country functioning properly. It is important, also, that Æsop act as the narrator of the tale. Neither Marie de France nor William Caxton uses him as a narrator, though Marie does give homage to the poet when introducing her fables. Why, then, would Henryson utilize Æsop as narrator? There are two explanations: First, Æsop's presence gives Henryson's fable ethos. By featuring the creator of the fable tradition into which Henryson is inserting himself, dictates the meaning of the *moralitas* and gives it more gravitas and weight. Secondly, the final words of the poet resonate as a commentary on Henryson's context when

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[11] Marie de France's moral is included in full in my earlier analysis on pages 126 and 127. Additionally, the explanation of the estates in Henryson's *moralitas* is extrapolated below.

taking into consideration the relationships between the estates during his time period. The critique of the estates—particularly the nobility and lords—would have been potentially risky. By placing this criticism in the mouth of Æsop, Henryson is able to make the analysis seem both general and not his own.

Although exact dates for the composition of the fables are unknown, certain contextual indicators point to the 1480s during the reign of James III, particularly the king's imprisonment. Marshall Stearns explains that the capture of the Lion is analogy for the reign of James III, who in 1466 was captured by nobles and imprisoned in Edinburgh for a short time (17). The imprisonment of James III is mirrored throughout the poem: The Lion is captured temporarily by the "hunters," or nobles, and is freed by his countrymen. The parallels are made more obvious in the moral Henryson's Æsop provides, which provides the explanation of each character. The lion

> May signifie ane prince or empriour,
>
> Ane potestate, or yit ane king with croun,
>
> Quhilk suld be walkrife gyde and governour
>
> Of his pepill – that takis na labour
>
> To reule and steir the land, and justice keip,
>
> Bot lyis still in lustis, sleuth, and sleip. (ll. 1574-9).
>
> [May signify a prince or emperor,
>
> A ruler, or yet a king with crown,
>
> Who should be vigilant guide and governor
>
> Of his people – that takes no labor
>
> To rule and steer the land, and keep justice,
>
> But lies still in lust, sloth, and sleep.]

The comparison to a royal or elite figure would have lead audiences to assume the lion as kingly but the "lyis still in lustis, sleuth, and sleip" points more clearly—and cheekily—to James III, who "was accused of this very indolence in contemporary chronicles and satires" (Kindrick *Robert Henryson* 103). Drawing parallels between the lion and King James III means, then, that the fable is used as a commentary on class interactions within Henryson's Scottish society and that each character group is representative of specific estates. The mice represent

> the commountie,
>
> Wantoun, unwise, without correctioun;
>
> Thair lordis and princis quhen that thay se
>
> Of justice mak nane executioun,
>
> Thay dreid nothing to mak rebellioun
>
> And disobey, for quhy thay stand nane aw,
>
> That garris thame thair soveranis misknaw. (ll. 1587-93).
>
> [The community,
>
> Willful, unwise, without correction;
>
> When they see that their lords and princes
>
> Bring about no justice
>
> They dread not to make rebellion
>
> And disobey because they feel no respect,
>
> Which causes their sovereigns to misunderstand them.]

The use of "commountie" suggests the general public who could be seen as "wantoun" and "unwise." While the mice here are shown to be simple, they are also shown to be powerful and

rebellious when mistreated. The moral, then, serves as a warning to James III, showing that a lack of respect towards the lower estates would lead to rebellion.

What is curious about the moral is that it is not the mice that "mak rebellioun" within the fable but rather the hunters who set the net for the Lion. Instead, the mice are the ones who give a nod towards the original Æsopic moral of "one good deed deserves another." When the lion initially captures the mouse, she pleads for her freedom and insists that she would return the gesture,

> For oft is sene, ane man off small stature
>
> Reskewit hes ane lord off hie honour,
>
> Keipit that wes, in point to be overthrawin
>
> Throw misfortoun: sic cace may be your awin (ll. 1499-1502).
>
> [For often it is seen, one man of small stature
>
> Rescues his own lord on his honor,
>
> Captive that was, about to be overthrown
>
> Through misfortune: such case may be your own.]

It is within these lines we begin to see the purpose of the tale. By insisting that those of "small stature" may be able to assist those who lord over them, Henryson's mouse foreshadows the events to follow and creates an interesting perspective on the relationships between the upper estates and peasantry in medieval Scotland. Emphasizing the possibility of self-reflection on the part of each estate, despite doubt on the part of the lion, provides a preview of Henryson's moral and main purpose of the fable: If the estates could recognize their own faults, they could then work together to improve themselves and Scotland.

Some scholars argue, however, that the fables are too vague to properly determine

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whether or not Henryson was referring to specific cultural events, such as the using "The Lyoun and the Mous" to comment on the imprisonment of James III. However, Kindrick points out Henryson "has been very cautious in this fable by placing the tale in the mouth of Æsop and by refusing to provide specifics" (*Robert Henryson* 105). He does not specifically label any of the groups or attribute specific "Scottish" attributes to any of the characters like in "Twa Mice." Making the allegorical comparisons explicit would potentially cause political backlash; if beleaguered nobles captured James III once, a second imprisonment or political pushback was possible. Rather, by writing in an ambiguous manner, as well as having respected Æsop be the teller of the fable, Henryson is able to draw connections between the tale and the political culture of his time period in such a way that alludes to individuals and groups without identifying them specifically. His medieval Scottish audiences would recognize the similarities between the lion and James III and the mice and the public because of their contextual awareness. These ambiguous comparisons allowed him to create a commentary while protecting himself from political backlash.

Why draw these comparisons while remaining ambiguous, aside from protecting himself from political backlash? Why allude to James III and the Scottish public and the events which took place during Henryson's and his audience's time? And why leave his audience with a moral that asks for cooperation between the estates, despite the mistreatment of the peasantry during James III's reign? John MacQueen believes that Henryson provides an answer, or even a solution, in the *moralitas* that for James III "salvation from the power of the nobility depended on the equity with which his justice was administered; that so long as the commons felt no resentment against him, the nobility would be powerless to unseat him" (*Robert Henryson* 171). I argue that it goes further than this. MacQueen's argument does explain the importance for the

monarch to have equity of justice and keep the mass public pleased. However, alluding back to the tale's plot and the historical parallels Henryson draws, MacQueen does not address the meaning of the interactions between the lion and the mice. While the lion, or King, contemplates punishing the mouse in an unjust manner, it is not until the final plea for a return of a favor that the mouse, or member of the general Scottish public, is released. Then, upon seeing the King trapped, the Scottish public keeps their word and instead of abandoning their monarch they rescue him, delivering a sort of lesson on social responsibility as well: By communicating and working together—albeit somewhat reluctantly—the lion and the mice are able to assist one another. The monarch deals out fair justice while the Scottish public shows subservience and fealty to their king. Revealing a collaborative effort between the lion and mouse illustrates the relationship between the commoners and royalty Henryson wished to see exist in fifteenth century Scottish society.

"The Preiching of the Swallow" and the Consequences of a Lack of Cooperation

While the previous two fables illustrate the state of Scotland's estates relationships and a potential solution to help improve relations between them, "The Preiching of the Swallow" provides a grimmer outlook, demonstrating the negative outcomes of class disparity. Like "Lyoun and the Mous" and "Twa Mice," Henryson includes allusions and references to Scotland—in this case, the flax industry—drawing parallels between the fable and Scottish society. What makes this fable different from the previous two is the bleak foreshadowing of what may transpire if good judgment is abandoned rather than alluding to historical events and social relationships that had already occurred or were occurring. "The Preiching of the Swallow" emphasizes Scotland's need for estates cooperation as a way to preserve the nation's identity and its morality.

Henryson's narrative follows the fate of several small birds as they ignore the warnings of the swallow. The swallow warns them to eat the flax seed before it grows up, as the churl will make a net from the hemp. The other birds ignore the swallow's advice and allow the plants to grow. Later in the year, the swallow tells the birds yet again that their lives are in danger unless they eat the crop now. When brushed off yet again, the swallow explains that the churl has a history of doing such a thing. The birds continue to ignore the swallow, fall into the trap, and are killed by the churl. Upon seeing them dead, the swallow laments

> …Thus it happinnis mony syis
>
> On thame that will not tak consall nor reid
>
> Off prudent men or clerkis that ar wyis. (ll. 1882-4)
>
> [Thus it happens many times
>
> To those who will not take counsel nor advice
>
> From prudent men or clerks who are wise.]

The final speech by the swallow ends the narrative and declares the purpose of the fable: To "tak consall…off prudent men" and to listen to those attempting to protect your life and soul.

It is evident from the beginning that the fable is overtly religious. Henryson's narrator spends a considerable amount of time praising God. The fable begins

> The profound wit off God omnipotent,
>
> Is sa perfyte and sa ingenious,
>
> Excellent far all mannis jugement;
>
> For quhy to Him all thing is ay present,
>
> Rycht as it is or ony tyme sall be,
>
> Befoir the sicht off His divinitie. (ll. 1623-8)

[The profound intelligence of God omnipotent,

Is so perfect and so ingenious,

Excelling far beyond all man's judgment;

Because to Him all things are ever present,

Right as it is or any time shall be,

Before the sight of His divinity.]

The "Preiching of the Swallow" is the only one of Henryson's fables to begin in such a way.

While some tales—such as "The Cock and the Fox"—would set up the thematic or moral

analysis in the first stanza and then launch into the narrative, the main plot of "Preiching of the

Swallow" is delayed arguably until the fourteenth stanza when the narrator observes the small

birds for the first time. Beginning the fable with acknowledgement of God's profound

intelligence and judgment sets the tone of the narrative and points the reader to recognize the

importance of prudence and, inevitably, empathize with the swallow who displays this quality. In

the moral, Henryson explains that the swallow

The halie preichour weill may signifie,

Exhortand folk to walk, and ay be wair

Fra nettis of our wickit enemie... (ll. 1924-6)

[The holy preacher well may signify,

Admonishing folk to waken and always beware

Of nets of our wicked enemy…]

If the swallow represents a preacher, then the churl represents Satan since Henryson's moral

warns the reader to avoid "Luceferis bag" [Lucifer's bag] (l. 1935) and the swallow actively

fights to save the souls and lives of the birds from the churl. The birds are individuals who do

not, as the first stanza suggests, practice good judgment and suffer the ultimate price. The fable serves as a warning to individuals about the dangers of the world. As MacQueen argues, the narrative "is more concerned with the eternal fate of the typical individual soul than with the salvation or damnation of an extended group or the human race" (*Complete and Full with Numbers* 146). It can be argued, then, that this particular fable is more concerned with connecting to the individual reader, selling the necessity of prudence and taking good counsel when it is offered. Through this conclusion, Henryson is concerned with saving the souls of his country-people by advising on the importance of prudence and good judgment.

How does this conclusion relate to national identity, though? While prudent citizens are important to a nation's functioning, why would Henryson advocate for the Scottish individual rather than the Scottish nation? I argue MacQueen's argument can go further than salvation for the individual; there are two indications that Henryson's moral also serves as a warning for Scotland. The first is the unification of the birds' voices. When the swallow first offers warning, only one small bird, the lark, responds (l. 1762). By the second warning, the birds respond in unison: "Thay cryit all, and bad the swallow ceis" [They all cried, and bade the swallow stop] (l. 1801). MacQueen explains the "lark is no longer singled out as speaker. The birds respond with one voice. They are already entangled in the snare of sin" (*Complete and Full with Numbers* 143). The unification of these voices reveals Henryson's desire to reach out to the entire Scottish nation and appeal for better judgment. The lark's individual voice joins with the other birds to form one greater voice. This metaphor applies to the Scottish nation: One individual or estate may be imprudent and suffer the consequences but those individual voices can join together to affect the character of the overarching Scottish identity. Therefore, when one estate does not

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cooperate with the others and does not serve its proper role in society, the strength of the nation's identity begins to crumble.

The warning about national identity also serves as a criticism of the Church, the estate responsible for dispensing good counsel. During the fifteenth century,

> The private lives of clerics reflected extensive examples of hypocrisy and corruption. Numerous attempts at reforming both regular and secular clergy were initiated during the period…clergymen were enjoined from keeping concubines, gossiping about their parishoners [sic] and superiors, drinking and swearing, and using church funds for their own purposes…Most shocking of all to many church investigators was the sexual conduct of monks and nuns. (Kindrick *Robert Henryson* 23)

The corruption rampant within the church would have likely impacted the purpose and greater audience of the fable. While it is clear that Henryson wished to connect to the individual, the corruption within the institution meant the church was "[u]nable, and often unwilling, to carry out its social function with efficiency, [and] it aroused the ire of literary men such as Henryson and Dunbar" (Kindrick *Robert Henryson* 24). The church in the Middle Ages was responsible for guiding society to live prudently and ethically by dispensing good counsel. If the institution's rampant corruption was well known enough for multiple reforms to take place, effectiveness of the church's preaching would be compromised. Furthermore, the church in Scotland was responsible for advocating continued independence from England during the 14th century. John Chancellor explains succinctly "it was the Scottish Church, rather than the Crown, which seemed the most anxious for independence" (177). It was the efforts of the Church during the Wars of Independence that helped secure Scotland's sovereignty. To have an institution that once helped

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Scotland establish its autonomous national identity fall into corruption—particularly an institution that was responsible for dispensing good advice—meant that the nation's identity was at risk of being compromised.

When compared to other versions of the fable, the emphasis on church ethics is more evident. Marie de France's version, "De hirundine et homine linum semente," [The Swallow and the Linseed] is similar in plot to Henryson's: The swallow warns the smaller birds to eat the linseed before the farmer could make nets and capture them. Where the narrative deviates is through conversations with the farmer. The birds talk to the farmer to tell him of the advice the swallow had given. When the swallow heard of their deceit,

> …ses parenz fist asemblee
>
> od les meillurs de sa ligniee,
>
> si s'est al vilein apaiee. (ll. 18-20)
>
> [she assembled all [her] family
>
> with the best of her lineage,
>
> and thus all made peace with the churl.]

The fable ends with the swallow and her family setting up a home in the farmer's barn while the smaller birds are caught in the net and killed. Although the plot is relatively similar, the swallow's agreement with the farmer in Marie's version means that she takes precautions on her own behalf and benefit, no longer looking out for all the birds. Marie's swallow is more concerned with the personal. In Henryson's fable, the swallow continues to give warnings and act as a sort of prophet, even until the end when the birds are killed, demonstrating a general concern for the greater populace. The moral of Marie's fable demonstrates this contrast as well:

quant fols ne vuelt le sage creire,

ki bon cunseil li set duner

e de sun mal le vuelt guarder,

se damages l'en deit venir,

dunc est trop tart del repentir. (ll. 29-34)

[when fools do not believe the wise,

who gift them this good counsel

and want to keep one from one's own misfortune,

if harm comes in to alter the situation,

then it is too late to repent.]

There is no mention of religion in Marie's fable or moral, meaning that it is to be read secularly or socially and on an individual level. The title of Marie's version, "De hirundine et homine linum semente," emphasizes the secular nature of the fable, particularly when compared to Henryson's religious "Preiching of the Swallow." Although the church was meant to dispense good advice, the moral of Marie's fable is too vague to point directly to a specific institution. While it is clear that Henryson did borrow some details from Marie de France, such as the linseed, the inclusion of religion throughout his version of the fable indicates a desire to make a comment upon the religious institution in medieval Scotland.

Henryson's moral also clearly indicates that the message is meant for more than just the individual and, instead, the entirety of the Scottish nation. He does not end the fable in a state of bleakness. Rather, the final stanza of the *moralitas* provides a blueprint for Scotland's salvation:

Pray we thairfoir quhill we ar in this lyfe

For four thingis: the first, fra sin remufe;

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The second is to seis all weir and stryfe;

The thrid is perfite cheritie and lufe;

The feird thing is, and maist for our behufe,

That is in blis with angellis to be fallow. (ll. 1944-9)

[We therefore pray while we are in this life

For four things: the first, depart from sin;

The second is to cease all war and strife;

The third is perfect charity and love;

The fourth thing is, and most for our welfare,

That is to be associated in bliss with angels.]

Henryson does not disguise his message in allegory or metaphor. Rather, he is direct to the point

and ends the fable with these directions on how to save Scotland's identity. It is here that

Henryson assumes the role of the swallow, dispensing good counsel and emphasizing prudence.

Additionally, it is clear that Henryson wishes to reach out beyond the individual through the use

of "we." Using the inclusive pronoun shows that to establish a strong and morally sound Scottish

nation, the people and estates must work together. The four directives Henryson provides reveal

a genuine concern for the state of his nation. Leaving this as the final word allows the message to

resonate with the audience. If all estates embraced the final instructions, the Scottish nation's

identity would be saved and "fra sin remufe."

Fables's Conclusion

Although all of the *Morall Fabillis* reveal aspects of estates commentary, "The Twa

Mice," "The Lyoun and the Mous," and "The Preiching of the Swallow" provide specific

messages about the importance of cross-class cooperation in relation to national identity

formation. "The Twa Mice" shines a light upon the treatment of the peasantry and Highlanders and the importance of including different perspectives in the nation's identity. "The Lyoun and the Mous" illustrates the positive outcomes from estates collaboration while "The Preiching of the Swallow" warns of what could happen to Scotland's identity should the estates not attempt to cooperate with one another. The desire to show unification throughout Scottish society is also evident in his blending of literary cultures. Wittig attests that Henryson is one of Scotland's greatest poets through his "assimilation of European subject matter, of Chaucer's conception of poetic art, and of Scottish characteristics" (52). By amalgamating various aspects of Scottish culture to deliver commentary on the importance of estates collaboration, Henryson's poems succeed in forging a uniquely Scottish national and literary identity.

Introduction to Dunbar

Another author known for his reflections on Scotland's political climate is William Dunbar, who reached popularity shortly after Robert Henryson's passing. As a court poet for James IV, Dunbar had the ability to interact with and observe the gamut of Scottish society, allowing him to create an overarching national identity in his works by critiquing the different socioeconomic estates and negotiating multiple cultural identities. This negotiation is particularly evident in *Lament for the Makaris*, a poem written at the end of Dunbar's life in which he lists and recounts the impressive contributions of previous makars. While the poem's list is generally considered a bibliography of medieval Scottish authors, it creates a canon thereby giving permanence to the Scottish literary tradition and securing a distinctive and somewhat diverse national identity. Within this canon, however, are authors reflecting on their political, cultural, and social contexts. How does Dunbar negotiate these various distinctive cultural voices to create a unified national identity? *Lament for the Makaris* celebrates authors from a variety of literary

traditions and creates a canon, thereby giving permanence to the Scottish literary tradition and securing a distinctive and somewhat diverse Scottish national identity in the midst of a political and cultural shift in the borderlands.

Dunbar's social and political context, particularly around the time of *Lament for the Makaris*'s composition in 1506, was somewhat different from Henryson's. Dunbar was a court poet for James IV and was Scotland's "first professional man of letters, one who gloried in the name of makar, who did not want to be anything else, who craved a benefice because it would enable him to write and "live in some disport"" (Mackie 178). He reveled in his social position and thoroughly enjoyed his status as a writer for the king. His skill was celebrated, as James IV's court was the first to fully embrace the Northern Renaissance. During this time, the King's "patronage of the arts encouraged a creative outburst in vernacular literature" (Magnusson 284). It is during this time that many of the makars listed in Dunbar's *Lament* produced their works. It is also a time that Dunbar identifies as an important point in Scottish tradition and reflects upon his place in it.

Overview of *Lament for the Makaris*

Dunbar's constant vying for greatness and his attitude towards his position in the Scottish tradition is reflected in *Lament for the Makaris*. The poem is written in the *danse macabre* tradition, reflecting on the end of life and death as an equalizer. He explains that

> Onto the ded gois all estatis,
>
> Princis, prelotis, and potestatis,
>
> Baith riche and pur of al degré … (ll. 17-9).
>
> [unto death goes all estates,

> Princes, rulers, magnates,
>
> Both rich and pure of all degree…]

Dunbar makes clear that regardless of social estate, Death spares no one. Yet he spends a majority of his effort on the contributions of the makars and compiles a list of twenty-four poets that he admires. Some authors argue that this ruins the purpose of the genre. William A. Quinn explains that

> Rachel Annand Taylor, for example, saw the 'Lament' as 'nothing but the cry of horror at the Danse Macabre . . . The enumeration of the makars...is not impressive, and spoils the poem'. Rosemary Woolf also thought the poem 'encumbered poetically by the need to include so many proper names'. And Priscilla Bawcutt, Dunbar's most recent editor, feels that the 'Lament' fails to represent the danse itself very vividly: Dunbar's description, she says, omits 'some of the most piquant features' and is not 'pictorially striking'. (215)

While the poem is largely criticized for failing to properly embrace the *danse macabre* topos, I argue that Dunbar fails to do so because he is doing something unique with it. By going against the genre's conventions, he draws attention to other aspects of the poem that reveal his true purpose of manifesting a unified national identity.

Danse Macabre Topos

It is important to note the evolution of *danse macabre* in relation to the message Dunbar is creating. The *danse macabre* topos discusses Death the great equalizer and how everyone inevitably will face him and have their morality examined. The topos is not specific to poetry, appearing in dramas, woodcarvings, artwork, and a slew of other formats. According to John M. Clark, *danse macabre* was popular throughout medieval Europe, appearing in Scotland, France,

Germany, Spain, England, and—although there are some disputes in its exact origins—likely

derived from a Latin *Dance of Death* poem (339-40). While it is clearly affiliated with religious

themes, it is unclear if the topos arrived in Scotland via the Church itself, France, England, or

even Germanic countries. Clark mentions that there are "statements of the medieval historian

Bower in Scotland and the Abbé Miette in France that there was a play in which Death summons

various mortals representing different classes of society to the grave…The Scottish reference

clearly points to France as the country of origin" (344-5). However, particularly in Dunbar's

case, the *danse macabre* topos present in *Lament for the Makaris* appears to reference other texts

from different literary traditions in addition to the one from France.

These inconsistencies can be explained by the history of the topos itself. According to R.

D. Drexler, there are three separate *danse macabre* traditions that manifested throughout the

course of the Middle Ages: The Legend of the Three Living and Three Dead, The "Vado mori"

[I go to death], and the Dance of Death. Drexler also explains how each tradition is evident in

Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, specifically outlining the similarities between the Scottish

poem and each tradition's conventions, albeit some contribute more than others (146-8).[12] By

including all three traditions within *Lament for the Makaris*, Dunbar demonstrates his awareness

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[12] It is evident that the "Vado mori" tradition holds more weight than the other two as the final
line of each stanza in *Lament for the Makaris* echoes the sentiments of "going to death." While
there are no physical encounters between the living and dead, the presence of "Three Living and
Three Dead" is evident through the thematic conversation of Death as an equalizer. Drexler
argues that Dunbar includes it to show his desire to experiment with the tradition (146).
Experimentation is also evident in the inclusion of the Dance of Death, as there is not
specifically a Dance for poets and "by creating one we see that whatever Dunbar's knowledge of
the tradition, he would not have hesitated to alter what he found for his own purposes" (Drexler
152). The ways in which the three *danse macabre* traditions are utilized in Dunbar's poem—as
well as the blending of these three traditions—indicates an intentional experimentation with the
topos.

of the *danse macabre* in its various manifestations. Despite the disparity in contributions, it is

clear that there are multiple influences on the *danse macabre* tradition in Scotland. The variety of

traditions contributing to the presence of the topos in Scotland could explain the complaints from

scholars about Dunbar's execution of the *danse macabre*. It very well could be that combining

the "Vado mori" tradition, which creates a rank of estates, with the "Three Living and Three

Dead Men" tradition is not conducive to producing an aesthetic *danse macabre* poem. However,

perhaps the driving purpose of *Lament for the Makaris* was not the poem's execution of the

genre. Rather, by including each type of *danse macabre* in his poem, Dunbar is recognizing the

contributions from various cultural and literary traditions on influencing this specific topos in

Scottish culture. The different *danse macabre* types came from all around Europe and are

representative of the cultures that contributed to Scotland's cultural and national identity. By

meshing the traditions, Dunbar is emphasizing the importance of cultural amalgamation in

Scottish identity formation.

Literary Traditions in *Lament for the Makaris*

While the *danse macabre* topos in Scottish literature is ambiguous and therefore

representative of a swath of traditions, the poem embraces this multiplicity in celebrating a wide

array of literary styles and cultures. Within *Lament for the Makaris*, Dunbar celebrates many

different types of authors from various literary traditions and cultures.[13] He begins his list with

"The noble Chaucer, of makaris flour/The monk of Bery and Gower, all thre" [The noble

Chaucer, the flower of poets/The Monk of Bery [Lydgate] and Gower, all three] (ll. 50-1). The

mention of English authors first seems bizarre, as the rest of the list is comprised of Scottish

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[13] It is important to pause here and mention that of the twenty-four makars listed, approximately
seventeen can be for the most part identified and linked to specific works. Of the remaining
seven, the identity of two might be known and five are completely unknown and therefore have
no surviving works. Thus, this analysis is dependent upon the works now extant.

makars. Priscilla Bawcutt explains the reasoning. *The Lament for the Makaris*, she notes, "proclaims Dunbar's interest in poets as individuals, and his awareness of a distinctive tradition of Scottish poetry, 'of this cuntre' (55) and separate from that of England, yet not wholly cut off" (*Dunbar the Makar* 26). The inclusion of Chaucer is indicative of the history of Scottish literary tradition, as he was an inspiration to many Scottish poets, Dunbar included. The reader is then signaled to pay attention to the authors listed not just in terms of name and nationality but also literary culture. Although listing an English author as "makaris flour" in a poem that celebrates Scottish literary tradition can be interpreted as a somewhat imperialized action, it actually validates the Scottish canon.

While canon formation is in itself problematic—as canons value certain works and authors over others—new canons allow for previously ignored literary traditions to shine as their own separate entity. Harold Bloom explains that The Canon "has become a choice among texts struggling with one another for survival, whether you interpret the choice as being made by dominant social groups, institutions of education, traditions of criticism, or, as I do, by late-coming authors who feel themselves chosen by particular ancestral figures" (20). Several things can be gleaned from this quote. First, the texts that appear in canons are chosen specifically for their merit. Second, within the act of choosing, there is a struggle between texts and authors to belong in the tradition the canon forms. Finally, the choices that are made are political in that those selecting the texts dictates which ones will be included based upon personal opinions, social perspectives, and cultural values. In the case of *Lament for the Makaris*, Dunbar creates a canon and selects the authors and texts that fit his political purpose of securing a national Scottish literary identity.

It is important to then briefly examine the genres and cultural traditions that are included within the Scottish canon created by Dunbar to see which literary genres he values as important to Scottish culture. While some authors mentioned in the poem wrote in a variety of genres—such as Robert Henryson (l. 82) who wrote fables, romances, and religious verse—some authors are either unknown or only have one known text assigned to them. A diversity in genres is evident even among those who have only one known text. Line 61 mentions Holland and Barbour, the authors of *The Buke of the Howlat* and *The Brus*, respectively. *The Buke of the Howlat* is an animal fable that is also an allegory of fifteenth-century politics and *The Brus*, as previously discussed in Chapter Two, can be identified as a modified romance rather than outright chronicle with French cultural influences. While it is uncertain that the Clerk of Tranent "maid the anteris of Gawane" [made the adventures of Gawain] (l. 66), the text is a medieval romance. Blind Hary appears in line 69 and his work, *The Wallace*, is a romantic biography with Chaucerian influences. The "Merseir" poet mentioned in line 73 has not been positively identified, but if he is the Mersar of the Bannatyne MS, his works consist of love poems. Quintyne Schaw, mentioned in line 86, has only one surviving piece entitled "Advyce to a Courtier", which is generally considered a satire. Line 89 references "Gud Maister Walter Kennedy" who had a range of pieces from a variety of genres such as flyting, religious narrative, and panegyric.

While there is a strong presence of continental cultures—particularly French from the several mentions of romantic genres—the variety of genres reveals that Dunbar saw the contributions of these authors as important to Scottish identity formation, both in what they provide to Scottish identity and how they embody certain literary styles. For instance, the inclusion of authors who wrote in the chronicle tradition is indicative of the influences of a

continental literary tradition to Scottish literary culture. The presence of Chaucerian-influenced texts, such as *The Wallace*, as well as direct mention of Chaucer in line 50, reveals English additions to Scottish literature. As will be expounded upon shortly, even the mention of Kennedy indicates Gaelic literature as an important—albeit small—portion of Scotland's literary identity. By combining these various genres and literary cultures, Dunbar creates a Scottish canon that embraces these various cultures and genres, revealing recognition of the multicultural influences that contributed to Scotland's literature.

The Canon's Purpose

The mention of Chaucer as "makaris flour" and the inclusion of Lydgate and Gower is important to the construction of the list of Scottish makars and justifies the importance of the Scottish canon. Dunbar's emphasis on Chaucer's abilities as the greatest of makars demonstrates how the Scot himself views makars in social structure and how he weighs various cultural identities within his discussion of the makars. While he claims death equalizes "Baith riche and pur of al degre" (l. 19), Dunbar's unbalanced focus on the makars shows he values their contributions to society over other cultural groups and classes. He discusses the diverse array of professions and estates for seven stanzas before mentioning the makars. However, once he does, he uses thirteen of the poem's remaining fourteen stanzas reflecting on the makars, listing many individually. By having Chaucer lead the list, followed by Lydgate and Gower, creates a hierarchy within the list of makars. Fox argues Dunbar and Middle Scots poets "are addicted to praising Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, surely, because they wish to announce that they are following in their footsteps, and that they too are modern, sophisticated and technically skilful [sic] poets" (170). Wishing to follow in Chaucer's footsteps appears problematic as it then fits Scottish poetry into an English tradition. However, Dunbar recognized and respected Chaucer's

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popularity. By pairing Scottish makars with the "makaris flour," he is demonstrating that Scottish makars are just as worthy as Chaucer and the English Chaucerians.

Social and Cultural Topics in Dunbar's Canon

While the genres indicate the multiculturalism of Scottish literary culture, the social and cultural topics that are discussed also reveal the values Dunbar saw important in defining medieval Scottish identity. Many scholars tend to focus on the *danse macabre* tradition within the text—particularly death as a great equalizer—or Dunbar's desire to fit into Scotland's literary tradition. Less common, however, is analysis of the topics or implications of the listed makars's texts and how those contribute to Dunbar's canon formation. There are a slew of subjects that these authors discuss in their texts, though the topics of class and politics—particularly in regards to nationalism and national identity—are much more prominent.

One could also argue that religion was an important topic as well; indeed, many of the poets in the *Lament*—including Dunbar—had devotional poetry and discussed religious topics. However, the mention of religion can be lumped into conversations about modern political and social topics. In "Ane Ballat to Oure Lady," a poem about the Virgin Mary, Dunbar includes the line "Hodiern, modern, sempitern, Angelicall regyne!" [Present-day, modern, everlasting, Angelic reign!] (l. 5). Theo van Heijnsbergen, in a personal correspondence, explains the term 'hodiern':

> It simply means 'today', adjective 'hodiernal' ('of today', 'of the present')...it doesn't have the same connotations as 'secular', but it does draw attention to the 'now', i.e. to earthly, material life, human experience. It is the latter that links it to 'secular', the notion that in the 14th and 15th century humans did begin to invest meaning

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in human experience, the people around them, in the validity of human agency,

and not (just) in the heavenly or heaven-directed.

What further supports van Heijnsbergen's analysis is the origin of the Middle Scots term; Dunbar

modified the Latin word "hodiernus," which translates to "of today." *The Dictionary of the Older

Scottish Tongue* only references "Ane Ballat to Oure Lady" in its entry of the term, meaning that

Dunbar either created the term or was the first and only to record it in a literary format.

Therefore, using the word "hodiern" in contrast to the rest of the line indicates that human

experience was more of a driving force in literature than strictly a religious one. A lot of

medieval Scottish literature—especially Dunbar—while still very much influenced by religious

topics and themes, had begun to see spiritual conversations as a part of a social conversation

about human experience. Additionally, it can be argued that especially in the Scottish Middle

Ages, religion and politics were heavily intertwined. One need look no further than the use of St

Andrew's legend to encourage nationalism and, as Magnusson points out, the Church of

Scotland disliked the prospects of a marriage contract between Edward I's son and Margaret of

Norway as the Church "jealously cherished its independence from England" (110). In medieval

Scotland, religion was political and politics were strongly influenced by faith. Therefore,

references to religion in many literary cases could also be read as political.

Many of the authors mentioned in the *Lament* wrote texts that used politics and history to

foster nationalism and create a Scottish national identity. Major examples are seen in works by

Barbour and Blind Hary, though other texts featured moments of political conversation and

national identity as well. For instance, Quintyne Schaw's "Advyce to a Courtier" is typically

read as a satire on the court. Holland's *Buke of the Howlat* has a strong political commentary on

the Black Douglasses. As Royan explains, "The centre of the poem celebrates earned power and

virtue, exemplified by the Douglas family" ('Mark your Meroure be Me' 57). Although the poem

is an animal fable, it contains a political message. Even texts such as Henryson's *Morall Fabillis*

reveal attitudes towards the political climate of medieval Scotland and national identity

construction. Political themes and commentaries on social and political events are evident

throughout these authors' works, even in the briefest of moments. The inclusion of these political

conversations reveals Dunbar's belief that politics had a strong hand in the shaping of Scottish

literature and identity throughout the course of the Middle Ages.

Many of these texts also contain commentaries on class relations, indicating the

importance of class in the shaping of Scottish national identity. As discussed previously in this

Chapter, Henryson's *Morall Fabillis* also indicates the relationships between classes. Sir Gilbert

Hay's translated texts—*Buke of the Law of Armys or the Buke of Bataillis, The Buke of the*

Governaunce of Princes, and *The Buke of the Order of Knichthood*—all discuss the expectations

and social aspects of various social estates. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* is an estates satire,

showing interactions between the various social estates. Although an English poet discusses

English society, the mention of Chaucer as "makaris flour" indicates his influence on Scottish

poetry both in style and theme. The diversity in texts that discuss the estates represents the

importance of class conversations in medieval Scottish society. These class examinations are

doubly critical when taking into consideration the various estates of the authors mentioned.

Several authors were clerks—Johne Clerk in line 58 and Clerk of Tranent in line 65—and

therefore members of the religious class. Henryson was "the schoolmaster of Dunfermline"

(Conlee 245). Patrik Johnistoun in line 71 "was an actor and a producer of dramatic

entertainments, in addition to being a notary and a landowner who received revenues from

Crown lands in West Lothian" (Conlee 245). According to Bawcutt, Stobo from line 86 was

John Reid, "a long-serving clerk and letter-writer in the royal secretariat, a notary, and rector of Kirkcrist" (*Poems Vol. 2* 337). Although a good portion of these authors occupied positions of status, the diversity in occupations and estate—both of authors and their characters—reveals a desire by Dunbar to include as many voices into the Scottish canon as possible.

The Highland's Place in Dunbar's Canon

Although Dunbar made an effort to include diverse representations of Scottish identities in the *Lament*, his relationship with Gaelic-speakers and Highland contributions to national identity are more complicated. It was well documented that Dunbar did not think highly of Highlanders, calling "their lilting speech only the 'roup [croak] of raven and rook'" (Mackie 72). Dunbar's most inflammatory statements about Highlanders appeared in *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie*. According to David John Parkinson, the term "flyting" was "used in Middle English and Older Scots to refer to various kinds of verbal aggression and conflict…Most often, though, 'flyting' refers in Scots to unrestrained verbal abuse" (3). Within *The Flytyng of Dunbar and Kennedie*, Dunbar uses abusive language towards Kennedy, specifically in regards to his Gaelic ancestry. In Dunbar's first response to Kennedy, he calls him:

> Iersche brybour baird, vyle beggar with thy brattis,
>
> Cuntbitten crawdoun Kennedy, coward of kynd…
>
> Thy trechour tung hes tane ane Heland strynd,
>
> Ane Lawland ers wald make a bettir noyis. (ll. 49-56)
>
> [Gaelic vagabond bard, vile beggar with your rags,
>
> Venereal-diseased craven Kennedy, coward by nature…
>
> Thy treacherous tongue has assumed a Highland sort,
>
> A Lowland arse would make a better noise.]

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Not only does he use this passage to insult Kennedy's ancestry, but also drawing a comparison between "ane Heland strynd" and "ane Lawland ers" demonstrates Dunbar's opinions regarding Gaelic individuals. In creating a hierarchy in which Highlanders are less than the lowest of Lowlanders, Dunbar appears to believe that those of Gaelic descent are unequivocally base.

Dunbar is not alone in this sentiment. Silke Stroh explains that in several of Dunbar's texts as well as John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, Holland's *Buke of the Howlat*, and several other anonymous poems from the Lowlands, Gaels are associated with "primitiveness, roughness of culture and language, irrationality and madness, begging, disorder, lawlessness and crime, laziness, wickedness, violence, treachery, impudence, excessive pride, uncleanness, disease, sexual excess and aberration, impiety, the devil, and various religious Others" (51). Essentially, Gaels were the manifestation of moral and social decay in these texts. Mackie provides examples of Lowland philosopher John Major's analysis of the groups in Scotland, revealing that in Major's opinion "the Highlander or Islesman differed from the Lowlander only for the worse" (72). Mackie goes on to translate Major's *History of Greater Britain*, which reads "In dress, in the manner of their outward life, and in good morals, for example, [Gaels] come behind the householding Scots…taking no pains to earn their own livelihood, they live upon others, and follow their own worthless and savage chief in all evil courses" (73). These character portraits of the Gaels reveal the general disdain towards the group by Lowlanders during the later Middle Ages.

It is curious, then, that Dunbar not only includes Kennedy in the *Lament* but dedicates an entire stanza to him, while other Lowland authors are briefly mentioned and share stanzas with one another:

Gud Maister Walter Kennedy

In poynt of dede lyis veraly –

Gret reuth it wer that so suld be:

Timor Mortis conturbat me. (ll. 89-92)

[Good Master Walter Kennedy

On the edge of death truly lies –

Great pity it is that it should be so:

The fear of death troubles me.]

The stanza focuses solely on Kennedy, lamenting his fading life and emphasizing how his death is a "gret reuth". Kennedy would have identified as a Highlander as he "was a member of a prominent Ayrshire family…The Kennedy family's land holdings were primarily in Carrick (located in the southern part of Ayrshire) and in Galloway, areas which at this time were still primarily Gaelic-speaking" (Conlee 401). The jabs in the *Flytyng*, then, do not read as general insults but rather personal attacks on Kennedy's Gaelic heritage and identity.

If Dunbar seems to hold such great disdain for Gaels, why include one of their authors in a poem that formed a Scottish canon? In short, it can be explained in two ways: the comic nature of the flyting genre and the indisputable contributions of Highland culture to Lowland identity. Parkinson expounds upon the comic elements of the flyting genre, explaining that "The sophisticated flyter-poet plays with the basic contexts of abuse for comic effect… In a wholly entertaining work like *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie*, the game of insult carries on without much reference to the more serious implications of the topics it employs" (4). Dunbar insulting Kennedy's Gaelic heritage in the *Flytyng* can be explained by the genre's comic and insult-based playfulness. It is important to keep in mind, though, that Dunbar's jabs may be

comedic but they do not reveal a respect for Highlanders. Bawcutt suggests, "Dunbar's

proclaimed aversion to Highlanders may be partly a humorous ploy, but no evidence has been

produced to show that it masks, in reality, a deep affection for Gaelic culture" (*Dunbar the*

Makar 20). The mention of Kennedy, then, in the *Lament* may be more of a personal affection

for one individual Gael rather than the culture as a whole. The comic nature of the flyting genre

indicates that Dunbar's abuses were comic-based rather than meant to be a total insult to

Kennedy's ancestry. Including Kennedy in the *Lament*—as well as giving him an entire stanza—

reveals Dunbar's personal affection for the poet.

However, even Dunbar could not argue against the contributions of Gaelic culture to

Lowland identity. Stroh points out that the *Flytyng*

> can be said to mirror the social reality of late medieval Scotland in that the
>
> culturaly identity of the kingdom and even of its court was still remarkably
>
> hybrid. Despite increasing Othering, the Gaels remained an integral part of
>
> Scotland's sense of self: their heritage was one of the nation's most important
>
> historical roots, as well as a useful marker of Scotland's cultural difference from
>
> England, thus symbolising national autonomy. (51)

Despite being viewed as uncivilized and immoral, the Gaelic culture had a hand in establishing

an autonomous Scottish identity separate from the English. Without Gaelic influence, Scotland's

national identity at this point would have primarily consisted of English and French culture,

making the national image uncomfortably similar to England's. The inclusion of Kennedy in

Dunbar's *Lament* may not have been simply a personal nod to Kennedy's poetic talent but also a

moment of recognition that the Gaels helped shape Lowland culture. If the inclusion of the other

Lowland poets and the various genres in which they wrote contributed to the formation of

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Scottish national identity and culture, the addition of Kennedy and his Highland culture therefore contributed as well. Although Dunbar frequently chastised Gaelic culture, the Kennedy's presence in the *Lament* indicates Dunbar's recognition that he and the Highland culture contributed to Lowland identity. Additionally, since the *Lament* forms a canon of Scottish texts, Dunbar realizes that Highland poetic tradition should be included at least because of Kennedy's contributions—although the inclusion of only one Gaelic poet suggests Dunbar did not think Gaels contributed much.

Conclusion

The culmination of these makars in the *Lament* is a commentary on Scotland's literary history and what Dunbar and Scottish society as a whole valued. Works by the makars included in Dunbar's invention primarily demonstrate the significance of culture, class, and politics and is even the case for *Lament for the Makaris* itself. The purpose of the text is to preserve "Scottishness" within a culturally and politically amalgamated context. Line 13 reads "No stait in erd heir standis sickir" and while the word "stait" can be read as "socioeconomic estate," it can also be interpreted as "condition." Condition, of course, can be applied on a personal level— financial conditions falter, health conditions can decline—but if it is read on a national level, Dunbar is implying that the security of the Scottish state and the essence of Scottishness are at stake. As Bawcutt explains of Dunbar's take on society, "Change, paradoxically, is the one unchanging feature of "this warld unstabille"" (*Dunbar the Makar* 147). It is inevitable that Scottish society will shift, though how it does so is what concerns Dunbar. J. Rubén Valdés Miyares explains that *Lament for the Makaris* is "a kind of flagship associating [Dunbar] with the death of Scotland's pre-Flodden golden age" (71). While this appears to be in reference to the literary golden age, it is applicable to society as well. Until the rule of James IV, the fifteenth-

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century in Scotland was riddled with corruption and divisiveness between the estates. A lament on the death of a unified Scotland—one in which society worked together to achieve a strong national identity—can be read within the lines of the poem.

By forming a literary canon that embraces various cultures, ideologies, classes, and politics, Dunbar is able to preserve a distinctive literary culture and, thus, a distinctive Scottish identity. *Lament for the Makaris* creates for the first time a Scottish canon. In doing so, he proves that Scotland is a bustling, cultural epicenter with an autonomous cultural identity and, in turn, creates a type of national identity. While this national identity is problematic as it excludes Gaelic authors for the most part and emphasizes borderland identity is only influenced by Lowland principles, the canon makes an effort to draw together various ideologies and perspectives from different social, cultural, and economic backgrounds. In doing so, Dunbar reveals that Scotland's identity is not just diverse but also unified.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: THE STEPPING STONES OF SCOTTISH IDENTITY

"Not Burns, Dunbar!" early-twentieth century Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid uttered

once, calling upon his countrymen to embrace and read other important authors who helped

encapsulate and celebrate Scottish identity. Indeed, the quote itself came during a revival of

Scottish literature that came to be known as the "Lallans" revival, which A. Trevor Tolley

explains as "drawing on not merely the various versions of spoken Scots, but also on the

vocabulary from the whole tradition of Scots poetry, and particularly that of the great "Makars"

of the fifteenth century, Henryson, Dunbar and Gavin Douglas" (157-8). The desire to look back,

even beyond Robert Burns, to embrace a distinctly Scottish identity is indicative of the impact

these fifteenth-century authors had on Scottish identity, both in literature and nation. However, I

argue that one can look further back to really find the start of Scottish identity. To appropriate a

phrase from the 15th Triennial International Congress on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish

Literature and Language's Call for Papers: "Not Burns, Not Even Dunbar." Following

MacDiarmid's suggestion, we must look back farther to understand how Scottish identity came

to be what we understand it as today. It is therefore important to look at the evolution of national

identity throughout the borderland's medieval literature in order to understand how identity came

to be defined by great nationalist authors such as Burns and MacDiarmid.

Summary

As demonstrated in this dissertation, fourteenth and fifteenth century borderland authors

did much of the experimental and preliminary work of forming Scottish national identity,

particularly in literature. It was not through an organic progression, however, that identity

manifested, and even then the end result is contested. Authors of various ideological

backgrounds and experiences responded to political events and social situations through the amalgamation of various literary cultures that had permeated the borderland region. Since each author wrote about and within different political contexts, from different political and cultural perspectives, diverse places, and various socioeconomic backgrounds, it is essentially impossible to define one overarching national identity. Rather, various cultural identities and literary traditions—such as Gaelic, English, and French—help create a commentary on the importance of cultural, political, and ideological amalgamation as well as the evolution of medieval Scottish borderland identity.

The use of specific literary cultures was also a political statement as it revealed biases towards certain traditions and cultural influences during politically tumultuous times. In texts that attempt to discuss and formulate nationalism and national identity, the biases affect how identity is presented to the audience. In the case of *Kingis Quair* and *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, James I and Wyntoun embrace English literary culture during a time when English imperialism was a concern. Although James I was writing a dream vision, a genre that had existed in Scotland prior to his capture, he refused to identify within the Scottish Boethian tradition and instead consciously committed himself to a Chaucerian tradition. Wyntoun's depiction of Scottish history does its best to navigate the complex political climate in which it was written by toning down historical instances of nationalism, despite the chronicle genre's flexibility in allowing exaggerations. Additionally, James and Wyntoun identify their poetics and language as being inspired by English culture, demonstrating the pervasiveness of English cultural imperialism within their literature.

English imperialism was also prevalent during the composition of Barbour's *The Brus* and Blind Hary's *The Wallace*, though these texts resisted imperialism through the use of other

literary cultures and in subject matter. Both texts discussed Scottish war heroes from the Wars of Independence, using subject matter to comment on the author's political context. *The Brus* fused the story of King Robert the Bruce with the French *roman antiques* tradition as a way to actively resist English cultural and political imperialism. *The Wallace*, while more overt with its nationalistic message and violent rhetoric, subtly appropriated the English alliterative style to appeal to Scottish nobility. The use of the popular literary style would have persuaded those with political authority to resist the English. Blind Hary likely incorporated the Gaelic panegyric tradition to demonstrate that Scotland already had a strong, native literary tradition. Though *The Brus* and *The Wallace* were composed nearly one hundred years apart, the anti-English fervor with which Barbour and Blind Hary wrote encapsulates the struggle and desire some authors had to reject English cultural influence.

By examining the texts chronologically, *Kingis Quair*, *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, *The Brus*, and *The Wallace* alternate or demonstrate differing political opinions. First came *The Brus* in the later fourteenth century, only a few decades after the Wars of Independence had finished. The composition of the text came during a time when relations with England were still fraught with the memory of the conflict and the Scottish relationship with France was strengthening. The *Kingis Quair* and *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* were written within several years of one another during the period in which King James I was a prisoner in England. The anxiety of James's exposure to imperialism and its political implications permeated Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, toning down nationalism throughout Scottish history. Meanwhile, James's *Quair* embraced English culture and began to edge away from a relationship with France. However, roughly half a century later *The Wallace* actively rejected English imperialism in the 1480s. Although political relations with England and France seemed

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to ebb and flow throughout these centuries, the messages in these text reveal how authors valued and weighted different literary cultures. Additionally, how authors treated Gaelic culture in the texts indicates the relationship that existed with Highlanders during the time of composition. Each author blended English, French, and Gaelic cultures in such a way that had them "battling" one another within literature, revealing the struggle Scots had with formulating a unified cultural identity.

It was not until the later fifteenth century that these cultural identities began to cohere in literature. In the case of Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis* and William Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, the authors consciously recognized the need for intercultural cooperation. By unifying English, French, and Gaelic cultural identities in their work, Henryson and Dunbar formed a commentary on the importance of including all voices that contributed to Scotland's borderland society. In doing so, they created a national identity that encouraged and embraced multiculturalism from all aspects of society.

As Bruce Webster explains in *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity*, "Scotland has always been a multicultural society; and there is no point in trying to establish any of its components as more truly 'Scots' than the others" (2). I argue that this is not entirely accurate: Medieval borderland Scotland's multiculturalism was a fluctuation between rejecting some cultural identities and celebrating others in earlier Scots literature. Through the evolution of literary national identity construction, particularly in response to politics, Scotland's borderland society *became* multicultural, allowing for an appreciation of all immigrant and indigenous identities through a negotiation of cultures. By the end of the long fifteenth century, authors were consciously aware of the importance of a multicultural society and created a template for identity formation that carried on throughout the centuries.

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Implications

Since there was such a fluctuation in cultural identities that resulted in the acceptance of multiculturalism, it is difficult to declare one manifestation of national identity from the Scottish Middle Ages as *the* overruling identity. Rather, one must take into consideration multiple aspects of what creates identity in the medieval Scottish borderland to fully understand what was important during certain contexts. The ideologies and opinions of certain authors, as well as individual history, must be studied as well. Therefore, instead of looking at individual texts and their messages about identity, we must examine the literature cumulatively to determine what the various literatures have to say about identity formation. Scholars must look at their own personal biases regarding identity formation during the Scottish Middle Ages and recognize that what we as critics bring to the literature affects how identity is understood from this time period.

One such example that encapsulates scholarly bias is the Bannatyne Manuscript, one of the most prolific and thorough collections of medieval Scottish literature. Compiled in 1568 by George Bannatyne, it is an anthology of Scots literature that inevitably created an important collection indicative of a rich Scottish poetic heritage. The manuscript is divided into five separate sections based on theme and content, ranging from theological texts, to poems on love, to fables. While a considerable number of poets and their works are included, Bannatyne seems to favor Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and David Lyndsay, yet some of their texts are excluded. For instance, the Bannatyne Manuscript only includes ten of Henryson's thirteen fables, excluding "*The Taill of the Wolf that gat the Nek-hering throw the wrinkis of the Foxe that begylit the Cadgear,*" "*The Taill of the Foxe that begylit the Wolf in the schadow of the Mone,*" and "*The Taill of the Wolf and the Wedder.*" As I have argued in Chapter Three, each fable contains a response to the political climate in which Henryson composed. Including some

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fables and not others indicates the conscious decision by Bannatyne to comment on specific aspects of medieval borderland society and politics.

The exact political statement that Bannatyne may have been making requires a more in depth examination. However, Evelyn S. Newlyn argues that there is definitely a political argument to be made in his compilation. She explains that Bannatyne left notes from ""the wryttar to the redar":

> Editorial comment as specific as these poems of course provides the reader some access into the editor's intentions and assumptions…Examination of that final editing can help illuminate not only Bannatyne's attitudes and assumptions, but also the values and perspectives that formed his vision of the book. In his editorial comments, in his careful shaping and ordering of the manuscript, and in his assignment of poems to his various categories, Bannatyne reflects and vigorously reifies not just literary but political and cultural values he obviously considered paramount. (14-15)

She goes on to examine how his compilation, particularly in the section including love poems, embraces poetry that cast women in a negative light, revealing that misogyny "was indeed rampant in the culture and is to be expected in Bannatyne's manuscript" (Newlyn 29). However, these conscious inclusions and perspectives reveal more than Bannatyne's personal politics and his society's attitudes towards certain topics; it also reveals which literature he thought was worth distributing from the borderland's Middle Ages and how he viewed this time period's social politics. One need look no further than the themes of each section—theology, moral and philosophical themes, satire, gender and love, and allegories—to see that Bannatyne viewed these topics as the overarching social topics of the Scottish Middle Ages.

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How an author or critic perceives the political situation of medieval Scotland's borderland region affects how they view and interpret national identity formation. Despite differences in ideas and perspectives, the multicultural aspect of medieval Scottish borderland identity embraces these diverse viewpoints and cultural contributions. It is within these variations that the essence of borderland identity is revealed: Borderland identity must be diverse and accepting of all the cultural contributions that give it autonomy. Additionally, it is fluid and flexible in order to provide for the various approaches that authors and critics bring to shaping it. Gloria Anzaldúa explains this flexibility when discussing her book *Borderlands*: "The text will be different with each reader and each reading. The text will move and reveal something new every time you read it" ("On Writing Borderlands/*La Frontera*" 190). While she is referring to a physical text, this concept can also be applied to borderland identity. Each author who wrote about the Scottish borderland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provided an unique interpretation, revealing a different perspective on that identity. The same can also be said about critics of this literature, as various interpretations of the literature shape our Modern understanding of Scottish national identity.

It is critical to look at the intersections of culture within the medieval Scottish borderland to understand the diversity that helped manifest the national identity we understand today. Additionally, multiple intersections help scholars better understand medieval Scottish literary culture. We cannot examine this literature as strictly as manifestations of the Chaucerians, the continental Boethian tradition, or Gaelic panegyric verse. Rather, how medieval Scottish authors responded to these cultures and amalgamated their influences within literature will allow scholars to broach the topics of identity and Scottish literary culture more effectively.

It is also important that critics understand how imperialism—particularly English imperialism—affected Scottish literature during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Already this approach has been applied to later Scottish literature. Michael Gardiner explains in the Introduction to *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature*, "Rather than talk of Scotland as being or not being a colony…this collection [of essays] identifies in literary history and criticism a dual relationship of congruence and conflict centred on the form of the British empire" (3). While the texts discussed in Gardiner's collection are from the eighteenth century to the contemporary age, the dual relationship is evident within the later Middle Ages also. Utilizing a modified postcolonial lens with fourteenth and fifteenth century Scottish borderland literature, particularly focusing on imperialism and place, would give critics a better grasp on the various cultural intersections present in the borderland and how they worked together to form Scottish literary culture. While some scholars may shirk this approach, since it does not fit the traditional idea of postcolonial theory and imperialism, the framework helps us understand the complexities of cultural amalgamation within certain texts from specific political contexts.

Areas for Future Study

Despite attempts to embrace a well-rounded and diverse approach to the formation of borderland identity during the Scottish Middle Ages, certain limits arose during this examination. More analysis of Gaelic cultural contributions and literary loans needs to take place since there is a lack of research on the connections between late medieval Lowlands literature and Gaelic poetry. Many scholars attribute alliteration to the English tradition even though it was also evident in Gaelic verse, due to oral transmission. Scholars with a greater expertise in Scots Gaelic should conduct explorations into the connections between Highland and Lowland literary traditions. This research needs to be done in order to better understand the cultural connections

between the Highlands and Lowlands during the later Middle Ages; those with a stronger comprehension of the language would be able to do this analysis justice.

The scope of this examination is also limited in the number of social and cultural constructs that could be explored in the literature. Some topics are very complex and deserve a dissertation of their own. One such example is the topic of religion; the contributions of the Church of Scotland to the formation of national identity, particularly in the later Middle Ages, were numerous. Additionally, the Church was also very involved with the politics of the Lowlands. While religion is mentioned in certain sections of this dissertation, an in depth analysis would require much more attention to properly explore the complexities of the relationship between Church and Scottish borderland identity. Incorporating other authors or texts from the authors present would require additional examinations of social and cultural contributions that could illuminate the religious element in identity formation.

The hope of this dissertation is to open up a new way of thinking about medieval Scottish borderland literature, particularly in regards to imperial influences and the political and cultural contributions to national identity formation. Some questions do arise upon the conclusion of this analysis: As mentioned above, is there more cultural influence from the Highlands? Is there a stronger Gaelic literary culture present in Lowlands literature than evident here? Are there other literary cultures evident, such as Scandinavian? A deeper examination of the variety of literary cultures present in medieval Scotland by the fourteenth and fifteenth century will allow for an even stronger understanding of how Scottish borderland literature and identity was shaped. In addition to analyses on literary cultures, scholars should continue to examine imperialism in these texts. What other Middle Scots texts resist or succumb to cultural imperialism? Is there chronicle evidence or are there Latin religious texts that demonstrate or comment upon

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imperialism? Exploring the ways in which imperialism affected medieval Scottish literature will provide a stronger understanding of the political conversations from the borderland region as well as establishing the postcolonial foundation from which later Scottish literature is read.

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