A NEW EDITION AND STUDY OF THE OLDER SCOTS ROMANCE *CLARIODUS*

By

RUTH HELEN CADDICK

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume 1 of 2

Department of English Literature
School of English, Drama and Creative Studies
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham

September 2020

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a new edition of the anonymous sixteenth-century Older Scots verse romance *Clariodus*, a translation from the French prose *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (*c*. 1440–4). While the field of Older Scots romance studies has recently seen a welcome surge of interest in the production of modern scholarly editions, *Clariodus* has continued to be neglected, hindered by the inaccuracy and inaccessibility of previous editions of the romance. As the first modern edition of *Clariodus*, this thesis seeks to engage with the flourishing critical interest in Older Scots romance and to promote further discussion of *Clariodus* itself.

Volume 1 of this thesis contains an extensive scholarly study of *Clariodus*, the first such study to be undertaken. Ultimately, this study seeks to interrogate and fully establish the relationship between *Clariodus* and its French source through analysing the anonymous *Clariodus*-poet's approaches to translation, as well as placing *Clariodus* firmly within the literary milieu of the Scottish court under King James V (1513–42). Volume 2 contains the text of *Clariodus* itself, edited from its sole surviving witness, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19.2.5., and is accompanied by comprehensive Textual Notes. Explanatory Notes are also provided in the Appendix.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would firstly like to thank the College of Arts and Law at the University of Birmingham for funding the first three years of my PhD research. I also wish to thank the staff of the National Library of Scotland for producing a high-quality digital scan of the entirety of MS Advocates' 19.2.5 and the manuscript's watermark. Without these scans, completing this thesis would have been a far more arduous task. I also wish to thank the library staff at the University of Birmingham for the numerous times they have assisted me during the course of my research.

Secondly, I wish to thank my supervisors Dr Olivia Robinson, Professor Wendy Scase, and Dr Emily Wingfield, not only for their expertise and guidance in academic matters, but also for personally supporting me through many difficult times during the past six years.

I am also indebted to a variety of other scholars who gave advice and guidance on various chapters of this thesis: Dr Sarah Carpenter, Professor John J. McGavin, Professor Jeremy J. Smith, Dr Helen Leith Spencer, and Professor Daniel Wakelin.

I also wish to thank the many friends that I have made at Birmingham during the course of my PhD for providing me with unending support and much laughter (and also frequently much wine), especially Rachael Banes, Mike Burling, Alessandro Carabia, Laura Clark, Francisco Lopez-Santos Kornberger, Penny Mantouvalou, Kerrie Myers, Antonios Savva, Amy Porter-Wilkinson, Jessica Varsallona, Flavia Vanni, Maria Vrij, and Lauren Wainwright. Outside of Birmingham, I would like to thank Sarah Joyce, for sending many thoughtful and motivational gifts during the time I have been working on this thesis, and to Zoe Poulton and Nisha Rattu I would also like to say how thankful I

am that you have been my friends since 2002 — here's to another twenty years and beyond!

I would like to thank the Parsonage family for their continuing love and support, and I would also like to especially thank my partner, Joseph, who has been endlessly patient and understanding as I have worked my way towards the end of this thesis through the many ups and downs of my research. Finally, I wish to thank my Mum and Dad, who have always been unceasing in their love and encouragement. This thesis is dedicated to them.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

VOLUME II

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL British Library

CUL Cambridge University Library

DOST *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (available online at https://dsl.ac.uk/)

EETS Early English Text Society

EETS, e. s. Early English Text Society, Extra Series

EETS, o. s. Early English Text Society, Original Series

ELH *English Literary History*

L. Latin

ME Middle English

MS Manuscript

MED *Middle English Dictionary* (available online at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary)

NLS National Library of Scotland

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (available online at https://www.oxforddnb.com/)

OED *Oxford English Dictionary* (available online at https://www.oed.com/)

OF Old French

PMLA *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*

SLJ *Scottish Literary Journal*

SND *The Scottish National Dictionary* (available online at https://dsl.ac.uk/)

SSL *Studies in Scottish Literature*

STB *Scottish Troy Book*

STC *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, ed. by A. Pollard et al., 2nd edn, 3 vols (London, 1976–91). Also available at: http://estc.bl.uk.

STS Scottish Text Society

ABBREVIATIONS USED TO DESCRIBE PARTS OF SPEECH IN *DOST* DEFINITIONS

a./adj. adjective

adv. adverb, adverbial

interj. interjection

intr. intransitive

n. noun

n. pl. noun plural

p. t. past tense

pl. plural

pp. past participle

ppl. a/adj. participle adjective

prep. preposition

refl. reflexive

transf. transferred

v. verb

vbl. n. verbal noun

NOTES ON EDITIONS, IMAGES, REFERENCES, AND TRANSLATIONS

All translations from French are my own unless otherwise stated.

All quotations from *Clariodus* are taken from this edition unless otherwise stated.

All quotations from *Cleriadus et Meliadice* are from *Cleriadus et Meliadice: Roman en prose du XV^e siècle*, ed. by Gaston Zink (Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz, 1984).

Quotations from literary works are in the format (Book Number, Line number) if the work is divided into Books, or simply (Line number) if the work does not include specified narrative divisions.

Quotations from edited texts retain the editorial features from their respective editions (e.g. the use of italics to signal the expansion of abbreviations).

References are given in full the first time they are cited. Further citations are given in a short form with the author's surname and a shortened title of a work if more than one work by that author has been cited in this thesis. A complete list of referenced works is given in the Bibliography at the end of Vol. I.

In manuscript transcriptions, the symbols \ and / around a word signal that a scribe has inserted this word between the line of the manuscript.

All images taken from NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 are reproduced with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland. The manuscript has also recently become available via https://digital.nls.uk/210499911.

INTRODUCTION

Clariodus is an early sixteenth-century verse translation of the French prose romance *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (*c.* 1440–44) into Older Scots.; its main plot recounts the story of the love between the eponymous hero, a knight from the Asturias region of Spain named Clariodus, and the princess of England, Meliades.[1] The anonymous author of *Clariodus* (referred to throughout this thesis as the *Clariodus*-poet) chose to render his translation into decasyllabic couplets totalling 11,775 lines, dividing his translation into five Books. *Clariodus* is extant only in a single imperfect witness, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19.2.5. (hereafter MS Advocates'), which is missing eight folios from its beginning, as evidenced by its most recent system of foliation, and two or three folios from the end of the manuscript.

Dating *Clariodus* and MS Advocates'

Clariodus itself was written some time between 1503 (the date of William Dunbar's *Thrissill and the Rose*,[2] from which *Clariodus* borrows a number of phrases) and *c.*1550, in which *Clariodus* appears amongst a group of vernacular tales listed in the *Complaynt of Scotland* under the title 'claryades and maliades'.[3] While it is not impossible that *Clariodus* could have been written during the latter years of James IV (*r*. 1488–1513) or

[1] A plot summary of *Clariodus* can be found in Appendix II in Vol. II of this thesis (pp. 366–9).
[2] William Dunbar, *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, 2 vols (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1998), I (Poem 52). All quotations from Dunbar's poetry throughout this thesis are taken from Bawcutt's edition.
[3] Authorship of the *Complaynt of Scotland* is now usually attributed to Robert Wedderburn of Dundee (*c*. 1510–55/6) . See *The Complaynt of Scotland (*c*. 1550) by Mr Robert Wedderburn*, ed. by A. M. Stewart, STS, 4th ser., 11 (Edinburgh and London, 1979), p. 50.

during the minority of his son, James V, from 1513–28, I propose that *Clariodus* was written during the personal rule of James V, and, moreover, that the two French marriages of James V in the late 1530s — firstly to Madeleine de Valois (1537) and, after her early death, to Marie de Guise (1538) — may provide *Clariodus* with a possible context of composition. Both of these marriages were to have a profound effect on literary activity at James' court, with many compositions being inspired by French literature. As Janet Hadley Williams remarks:

> The longstanding French influence on Scottish literary works and literary interests continued in James V's personal reign, especially in its last seven years, when the court was augmented and changed in character as a result of the king's marriages to Madeleine de Valois (1537) and, after her early death, to Marie de Guise Lorraine (1538) ... genres such as the *chanson d'aventure* and the dream vision ... endured in high regard ... the courtly lyric, newly fashionable at the French court, was enjoying concurrently a period of renewed vigour at the Scottish.'[4]

Indeed, James himself visited France in 1536–7 in order to ask the French King, Francis I, for the hand in marriage of his daughter Madeleine, thus fulfilling the Treaty of Rouen that the Duke of Albany had signed on James' behalf in 1517.[5] The solemnising of the marriage took place in Notre Dame Cathedral on 1 January 1537, and James' entry into the city of Paris was described as a lavish affair during which he made his way through

[4] Janet Hadley Williams, 'James V of Scots as Literary Patron', in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650*, ed. by Martin Gosman et al., 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2003), I, pp. 173–98. Andrea Thomas also remarks that the marriage of James and Madeleine was to have a profound effect on the literary life of James' court; see Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 148.

[5] The Treaty of Rouen promised James that he would be granted the hand in marriage of a daughter of the King of France, either living or yet to be born. See Dana Bentley-Cranch and Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Iconography and Literature in the Service of Diplomacy: The Franco-Scottish Alliance, James V and Scotland's Two French Queens, Madeleine of France and Mary of Guise', in *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James* V, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 273–88 (p. 274).

crowded streets hung with tapestries and thronged with people, accompanied by 'the Dauphin and the Court, and preceded by a huge array of Parisian dignitaries, notables and churchmen'.[6] Following the marriage, cross-cultural influences in which French poets took inspiration from Scottish literature could clearly be seen through the composition of works such as the *Summaire de l'origine description & mervilles Descosse. Avec une petite cronique des roys du dict pays jusques a ce temps* (1536), written by Jean Demontiers, a gentleman in the household of Francis I.[7] The text contains a description of Scotland along with its kings, as well a brief history of Scotland, and is 'clearly based upon' the Latin *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece (1527) as well as the prose Older Scots translation of the *Scotorum Historia* completed *c*. 1531 by John Bellenden.[8]

Poetry was also composed to celebrate the wedding of James and Madeleine itself. Clément Marot, a leading court poet of Francis I, noted that James was richly dressed from head to toe ('De pied en cap richement l'ont vestu'; 10) for the event,[9] and also emphasised the 'Immortel neud d'amytié indicible' (46) [the immortal and indescribable knot of friendship] between France and Scotland,[10] while an anonymous wedding-poem addressed to Madeleine compares James to Phoebus Apollo (28), going on to imply that James' beauty is such that Venus may fall in love with him in preference to Adonis (49–62).[11]

While the flourishing cultural connections between Scotland and France in the late 1530s provide a likely context for the initial composition of *Clariodus*, MS

[6] Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, p. 278.
[7] Thomas, p. 148.
[8] Thomas, p. 148.
[9] Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, p. 279.
[10] Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, p. 280.
[11] Bentley-Cranch and Marshall, p. 281.

Advocates' itself clearly represents a late stage in the transmission of the romance, and is likely to date from at least the latter half of the sixteenth century, since it evidences numerous corruptions, copying errors, and contains an unfinished Prologue to Book V.[12] It is notable that *Clariodus* seems to have gained some recognition around the same period: in his *Ane Abbregement of Roland Furious* (1576–84), John Stewart of Baldynneis compares two lovers to Clariodus and Meliades,[13] while in the Older Scots romance *Roswall and Lillian* (recently dated *c.* 1525–1600 by Rhiannon Purdie),[14] Roswall is compared to a long list of heroic knights which includes 'the gentle Clariadus',[15] while his lover Lillian is compared to Meliades following her marriage to Roswall.[16] These references suggest that *Clariodus* had been circulating for a number of years by the time *Ane Abbregement of Roland Furious* and *Roswall and Lillian* were written; as Purdie states in her edition of *Roswall and Lillian*, 'there would be no point in alluding to a *Clariodus* so new that half the audience would fail to get the reference'.[17]

Clariodus as Romance

Clariodus contains many of the themes and characters typically present in medieval romance: a focus on the development of an individual hero (Clariodus himself) and his transformation from knight to king; a falsely-accused princess (Meliades); an enchanted

[12] Detailed discussion of *Clariodus*' style, structure, dating and manuscript follow this Introduction, with an outline of each chapter given below.
[13] John Stewart of Baldynneis, *Poems from John Stewart of Baldynneis from the MS in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, ed. by Thomas Crockett, STS, 2nd ser., 5 (Edinburgh, 1913), Canto 10, 179–80: 'And Medor lyk the knycht Clariadus gois,/Quhan he did Meik Meliades conwoy/ from fontan quhair thay haid conweind vith Ioy'.
[14] *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances: Florimond of Albany, Sir Colling the Knycht, King Orphius, Roswall and Lillian*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie, STS, 5th ser., 11 (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 75.
[15] Purdie, *Roswall and Lillian* (long version), 18a.
[16] Purdie, *Roswall and Lillian* (long version): 'For blyther was not Meledas/When as she married Claudias;' (779–80).
[17] Purdie, *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances*, p. 74.

ring; journeys through varied and sometimes perilous landscapes; single combats and tournaments; numerous feasts; a treacherous uncle who plots to take over the kingdom, and the marriage of the hero and heroine at the end of the romance. While the romance genre has been notoriously difficult to classify,[18] there are nevertheless various definitions of romance which are of particular relevance to *Clariodus*. One such definition is provided by Helen Cooper, who notes that romances are often concerned with the presentation of ideals, 'especially secular ideals, and with human perfectibility within a social context'.[19] Throughout *Clariodus*, both the eponymous hero and Meliades are continuously presented as the epitome of knighthood and womanhood respectively: they are both, at all times, unfailingly humble, charitable, and loyal to one another. As both a knight and then a king, Clariodus is utterly committed to the upholding of justice and chivalric values, often berating other knights who do not follow the laws of

[18] The most important studies of this topic include W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (Harlow: Longman, 1987), which argues for romance being considered a mode rather than a genre; Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and John Finlayson, 'Definitions of Middle English Romance', *The Chaucer Review*, 15, 1, (1980), 44–62 and continued in *The Chaucer Review*, 15, 2, (1980), 168–81. More recent monographs which include discussions of romance as a genre include K. S. Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and Melissa Furrow, *Expectations of Romance: The Reception of a Genre in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009). Recent studies on the romance genre more widely, particularly collected essays, have focused on translation and the rewriting of romance, the transmission of romances, and romances and material culture — all themes which are discussed extensively within this thesis. Some of these studies include *Cultural Translations in Medieval Romance*, ed. by Victoria Flood and Megan G. Leitch (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2022), which explores the concepts of cross-linguistic and cross-border transmission in a selection of romances across the British Isles, Iceland and elsewhere; *Medieval Romance, Arthurian Literature: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Archibald*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2021), which takes as one of its main themes the connections between romances and related works in Middle English, Latin, French and German; *Medieval Romances Across European Borders*, ed. by Miriam Edlich-Muth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), which focuses on the adaptation of medieval romances across European borders; *Romance Rewritten: The Evolution of Middle English Romance: A Tribute to Helen Cooper*, ed. by Elizabeth Archibald, Megan G. Leitch and Corinne Saunders (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2018), which considers the evolution of courtly, popular and Arthurian romances as they are rewritten and engage with other discourses and forms across the medieval era and beyond; and *Medieval Romance and Material Culture*, ed. by Nicholas Perkins (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), which examines how romances form a part of materiality through their physical form as manuscripts, illustrations, or even ivory caskets, as well as how romance narratives themselves reflect on the material culture of the Middle Ages.

[19] Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, p. 10.

chivalry,[20] and repeatedly proving himself to be invincible in knightly combat. He is also unfailingly merciful to his defeated opponents (unless they are non-Christian, such as the Turks who invade Cyprus in Book III). Meliades, meanwhile, is meek, chaste, devout, and exceptionally beautiful, leading to her being presented throughout *Clariodus* as a model of feminine virtue.[21] Clariodus and Meliades, then, are not so much characters in themselves as *types*, models of virtuous behaviour for male and female readers to aspire to — much as the figures of the 'useless king' (or *rex inutilis*) King Philippon and the cowardly Sir Thomas provide negative examples of behaviour that is to be avoided at all costs. Of course, such representations are symptomatic of the belief that all fiction was designed to instruct its audience.[22] The translator of *Clariodus*, however, thought it prudent to emphasise the romance's didactic elements to an even greater extant than his French source, often adding in his own comments which single out the commendable actions and behaviour of Clariodus and Meliades.[23]

What is more exceptional about *Clariodus* is the extent to which the romance rigidly sticks to the sub-category of 'courtly romance'. As Finlayson remarks, romance is 'not a monolithic genre but, like the novel, is divisible into a number of largely different types',[24] one of which is the courtly romance. Perfected by Chrétien de Troyes, the courtly romance 'becomes the vehicle for a presentation and examination of the chivalric ethic' in which the hero's adventures progress him towards a 'predestined

[20] For example at I, 486–8, where Clariodus encounters a group of knights who are tormenting a lady in the forest he is riding through. The various forests that appear throughout *Clariodus* fulfil their conventional role of providing 'a landscape tailored to the development and self-realisation of the great chivalric knight', as Corinne Saunders observes, as well as providing a space in which both Clariodus and Meliades can reinforce their respective identities through the peril which the forest provides; in Book III, both Clariodus and Meliades survive the dangers of the forest and the wilderness (albeit on separate occasions) and are eventually rewarded with reunion. See Corinne J. Saunders, *The Forest of Medieval Romance: Avernus, Broceliande, Arden* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), p. 80.
[21] I discuss Meliades' role as the epitome of female virtue in more detail in Chapter Three, pp. 151–5.
[22] Cooper, *English Romance in Time*, p. 300.
[23] See further Chapter Three, pp. 137–55.
[24] Finlayson, 'Definitions of Middle English Romance', Part I, p. 50.

office', and which also provides an educative model of *courtoisie* through the interlinked themes of combat, social intercourse, and the service of women.[25] This definition, I believe, accords most closely with the themes of *Clariodus*, in which the *Clariodus*-poet recounts numerous descriptions of feasting, gift exchanges between members of the aristocracy, extravagant tournaments, scenes of chivalric brotherhood, and the inclusion of such detailed minutiae of courtly life that we are even told when characters retire to bed. Moreover, the very language and style employed by the *Clariodus*-poet in translating his French source into Older Scots emphasises even more clearly the status of *Clariodus* as a courtly romance. Indeed, this is an aspect of the text which has attracted a reasonable amount of critical discussion, which I discuss further in the 'Critical Responses to *Clariodus*' section below.

While *Clariodus* is certainly 'courtly' in both theme and language, establishing it as originating *from* the court itself is a little more precarious. It is worth bearing in mind here the distinction between 'court poetry' and 'courtly poetry' established by Derek Pearsall; whereas 'court poetry' is the poetry produced both in and for a court environment, courtly poetry is that which 'reflects the values and sensibilities of that environment', which also appeals to readers from the provincial gentry and urban middle classes.[26] With regards to Older Scots literature of the fifteenth century Sally Mapstone has shown that texts which might initially be assumed to be connected to royal patronage, or which can apparently be linked to the reign of a specific monarch, may actually have their genesis *outside* the court in the households of the Scottish nobility, and from these noble households made their way to the court.[27] However, by

[25] Finlayson, 'Definitions of Middle English Romance', Part I, p. 56.
[26] Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 212–13.
[27] Sally Mapstone, 'Was There a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?', *SSL*, 26, 1 (1991),

the beginning of the sixteenth century, the court was again becoming a focal point for literary production, namely through the work of William Dunbar and his wide-ranging poetic descriptions of the court of James IV (*r*. 1488–1513).[28] While James IV's death at Flodden undoubtedly disrupted the Scottish court's potential for literary production through plunging the Scottish crown into a period of royal minority (his heir, James V, was just seventeen months old when his father died),[29] the beginning of James V's personal rule in 1528 once again allowed for the flourishing of poetry associated with the royal court, particularly through the works of Sir David Lyndsay, John Bellenden and William Stewart. As I argue throughout this thesis and in Chapter Four especially, the *Clariodus*-poet frequently aligns his translation with the themes and styles prevalent in the works of the three aforementioned poets. Following on from this, it may be concluded that *Clariodus* is not only 'courtly' in tone and style, but that its very origin is also 'courtly' in that there is a distinct possibility that its author was someone closely associated with the court of James V.

Astonishingly, the *Clariodus*-poet's alignment of his translation within the courtly traditions of French, English and Scottish medieval literature has also worked to exclude it from surveys of Older Scots romance, most notably from Sergi Mainer's monograph.[30] In Mainer's view, *Clariodus* is too dissimilar from the majority of other Older Scots romances, whose authors, Mainer asserts, make their French sources more

410–22 and Mapstone's 'Older Scots Literature of the Court', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume 1: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy and Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 273–85.

[28] Gavin Douglas' *Palice of Honour* (*c*. 1501) can also be associated with the royal court through its dedication to James IV.

[29] Important recent works on the minority of James V, which saw multiple changes of regents, include Ken Emond, *The Minority of James V: Scotland in Europe, 1513–1528* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2019), and Amy Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), which offers a more theoretical view of Scottish concepts of regency across the entire sixteenth century.

[30] Sergi Mainer, *The Scottish Romance Tradition, c.1375–c.1550: Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood* (New York and Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

compact, lessen the importance of courtly values, and underline the political aspects present in the original French. While it is undoubtedly the case that the *Clariodus*-poet has not lessened the focus on courtly values that can be found in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, I argue in Chapter Two (pp. 74–80) that there are many instances where the *Clariodus*-poet *does* compress the detail of his French source. Furthermore, I demonstrate in Chapter Three (pp. 137–50) that the *Clariodus*-poet very much prioritises and amplifies the theme of kingship that is present in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, as do the majority of extant Older Scots romances. It is to a discussion of these surviving Older Scots romance corpus that I now turn.

The Older Scots Romance Corpus

A study of any Older Scots romance must necessarily be prefaced with a discussion of the Older Scots romance corpus as whole. Although critics have debated precisely which texts should be included in the corpus (discussed further below), I have here followed the list of Older Scots romances set out by Rhiannon Purdie, who has done much to advocate the study of Older Scots romances as a distinctive body of literature. [31]

List of Older Scots romances with estimated dates of composition

The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour	*c.* 1460
Clariodus	*c.* 1503–50
Eger and Grime/'Graysteel'	Before 1497
Florimond of Albany (fragmentary)	Before *c*. 1550
Golagros and Gawane	Fifteenth century (before 1508)
The Octosyllabic Alexander	*c.* 1438

[31] Rhiannon Purdie, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland', in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 165–77 (p. 166).

King Orphius (fragmentary)	Before *c*. 1550; fifteenth century?
Lancelot of the Laik	*c.* 1460–79
Rauf Coilʒear	Fifteenth century?
Roswall and Lillian	Sixteenth century?
Scottish Troy Book (fragmentary)	Fifteenth century?
Sir Colling	Before *c*. 1582

In comparison to the romance traditions of both medieval England and medieval France, from which many of these Scottish texts are derived,[32] the above collection of twelve Older Scots romances might initially seem rather small for an entire corpus of literature associated with the same genre.[33] The fragmentary nature of the corpus may be one reason why scholars have previously devoted little space to extensive discussions of Older Scots romances. In the case of the *Scottish Troy Book*, for example, both of its extant witnesses, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148 combine the defective *Scottish Troy Book* with a

[32] Besides *Clariodus*, French-derived Older Scots romance texts include the *Ocotosyllabic Alexander*, derived from two episodes within Alexandre de Paris' *Roman d'Alexandre* (*c*. 1185) (*Le Fuerre de Gadres* and *Les Voeux du Paon*); *Florimond of Albany,* derived from Aimon de Varennes' *Florimont* (1188); *Golagros and Gawane*, from the First Continuation of Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval* (prose redaction) and *Lancelot of the Laik*, from the thirteenth-century Prose *Lancelot do Lac*. Other Older Scots romances have multiple or unknown sources, such as Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, derived from the Latin *Historia de Preliis*; the French *Roman d'Alexandre* (and interpolations), the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum* and pieces of otherwise-independent Older Scots conduct literature (e.g. the *Thewis off Gudwomen*), while *Eger and Grime/'Graysteel'* has no known direct source but may itself have influenced other Older Scots romances such as *Sir Colling* and *Roswall and Lillian*, the latter of which may also be related to the early-modern ballad 'The Lord of Learne'. Likewise, *Rauf Coilʒear* has no direct source, but is distantly related to the Charlemagne romances written in both French and English. A few Older Scots romances also show influence from Middle English works: *King Orphius* demonstrates a resemblance to the Middle English *Sir Orfeo*, while *Sir Colling*, although devoid of a direct source, was possibly influenced by the late fourteenth-century Middle English *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, which was printed by the Edinburgh printing press set up by Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar in 1508.

[33] The Middle English romance tradition comprises approximately 100 texts. See Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: W. Fink, 1976), and *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ed.by J. Burke Severs et al., 11 vols to date (New Haven, CT and London: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967 – ongoing), *Fascicule I: Romances*, ed. by J. Burke Severs (1967). The Old French romance tradition is even larger, and consists of more than 200 works; see Roberta L. Krueger, 'Questions of Gender in Old French Courtly Romance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 132–49 (p. 132).

defective copy of Lydgate's *Troy Book* (completed in 1420), yet neither manuscript is derived from the other; instead, they both originate from a common exemplar.[34] It is likely, of course, that a great many other Older Scots romances that were once extant are now gone forever; indeed, Lyall asserts that it is a 'certainty' that 'much of the literary culture of medieval Scotland has been irretrievably lost'.[35]

A further issue in defining the corpus of Older Scots romances is the identification of precisely *which* texts can be counted as such. From a genre-focused perspective, there are a number of Older Scots texts which align themselves with some elements of the romance tradition (such as focusing on the adventures of an individual hero), but which also mix these elements with other generic conventions. For example, John Barbour's *Bruce* (*c.* 1375–77) and Hary's *Wallace* (*c.* 1476–8) both combine romance with historiographical and biographical traditions, while David Lyndsay's

---

[34] The complicated textual history of the *Scottish Troy Book*, along with suggestions for future editions of the text, is described in Emily Wingfield, 'Towards an Edition of the Scottish Troy Book', in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 327–44. The only published edition of the text is *Barbour's des schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung: nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges*, ed. by C. Horstmann, 2 vols (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1881–2), II, pp. 215–308.

[35] R. J. Lyall, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland', in *Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by J. D. McClure and M. R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 33–47 (p. 33). That there was a thriving vernacular literary culture in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland is unassailable; moreover, many of the tales mentioned in the *Complaynt of Scotland* alongside *Clariodus* could well be now-lost romances, since they are listed alongside the names of Middle English and Older Scots romances which are still extant. Of the Middle English romances, the *Complaynt* includes 'ypomedon', 'beuis of southamtonn', 'Arthour of litil bertang3e', 'the tayl of the four sonnis of aymon', and 'the seige of millan'. The Older Scots romances are 'syr egeir and syr gryme', 'Opheus [sic] kyng of portingal' ('Portingal', i.e. Portugal, is a reference to the setting of *King Orphius*), 'rauf coll3ear', 'gauen and gollogras' and 'the tail of floremond of albanye that sleu the dragon be the see' as well as, of course, *Clariodus* ('claryades and maliades'). There are also romances that might have been either English or Scottish in origin, including 'the tail of syr euan arthours knycht' (possibly a reference to *Ywain and Gawain*, or an independent romance detailing Ywain's other adventures), and another possible Arthurian romance, of which the *Complaynt* supplies a couplet: 'Arthour knycht he raid on nycht vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht'. There is also 'the tail of the brig of mantribil', from the romance of *Firumbras* which survives in a single Middle English copy, alluded to in Barbour's *Bruce*, Book III, 455 'And wan Matrybill and passit Flagot'). Other tales mentioned, such as 'lancelot du lac', could refer either to French or Scottish versions of these romances. See Stewart, ed., *Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 50; Lyall, *Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland*, pp. 41–2; R. M Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Meuthen & Co, 1970), pp. 120–1. References to Barbour's *Bruce* are from John Barbour, *Barbour's Bruce*, ed by. M.P. McDiarmid and J. A. C. Stevenson, STS, 4th ser., 12, 13, 15, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1980–85).

Historie And Testament Of Squyer Meldrum, recently dated *c.* 1540–47 by Rhiannon Purdie,[36] combines chivalric biography with a subtle mocking of the romance tradition.

As well as these challenges of generic classification, the identification of Older Scots romances is further hindered by the close similarities in language between Northern Middle English and Older Scots, resulting in some romances that were previously claimed for Scotland — such as *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Watheyln* and *Sir Tristrem* — now being categorised as English.[37] Further complications arise from the linguistic phenomena of anglicisation of Scottish texts and the Scotticisation of texts from England. Priscilla Bawcutt, for example, identified an incomplete copy of an English print of *Sir Lamwell* which was 'lightly Scotticized in style and language' in one of the manuscripts also containing fragments of the *Scottish Troy Book* (CUL, MS Kk.5.30).[38]

Given the difficulties outlined above, it is unsurprising that scholars of Older Scots romance have taken a variety of approaches towards these texts. Both A.S.G. Edwards and Rhiannon Purdie have given general overviews of the development of the Older Scots romance tradition, including a discussion of the sources, dates and circulation of these texts, but adopt different attitudes towards the issue of whether Older Scots romances have a distinctive, separate identity from Middle English

[36] *Six Scottish Courtly and Chivalric Poems, Including Lyndsay's* Squyer Meldrum, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Emily Wingfield, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018).
[37] Sir Walter Scott was responsible for the erroneous attribution of *Sir Tristrem* to the mysterious Scottish poet Thomas of Erceldoune/Thomas the Rhymer in his edition of the text, first published in 1804. See *Sir Tristrem; a Metrical Romance of the Thirteenth Century, by Thomas of Ercildoune, called the Rhymer*, ed. by Walter Scott (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co, 1804). Angus McIntosh refutes this claim, instead attributing *Sir Tristrem* to a Northern English dialect. See Angus McIntosh, 'Is *Sir Tristrem* an English or a Scottish Poem?', in *In Other Words: Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation and Lexicology presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by J. L. MacKenzie and R. Todd (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications, 1989), pp. 85–95.
[38] Priscilla Bawcutt, '*Sir Lamwell* in Scotland', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 83–93 (p. 83).

romances. While Edwards suggests that 'the exiguity and lateness of the corpus make it difficult to discern anything in the localisable romances suggestive of distinctive Scottish concerns or ethos',[39] Purdie argues that medieval Scotland moved 'beyond a mere appreciation of English and French medieval romance to develop a confident tradition of its own'.[40]

Also adhering to the view that medieval Scottish romance enjoyed its own distinctive identity is Sergi Mainer's *Nation, Chivalry and Knighthood: The Scottish Romance Tradition* c. *1375*– c. *1550*, which takes as one of its main themes the idea that Older Scots romances focus on good governance and kingship, relating this to Scottish national identity and ideology and contextualising these romances through references to the Anglo-Scottish tensions that arose between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.[41] As mentioned above (p. 8), it is regrettable that Mainer excludes *Clariodus* from his study of Older Scots romance, since there are, as I demonstrate throughout this thesis, numerous occasions in which the *Clariodus*-poet deliberately engages with notably Scottish concerns in his translation, including his interest in accentuating the theme of kingship that runs throughout the narrative of his French source.

More recently, William Calin has dedicated a section of his monograph on the relationship between medieval French literature and Older Scots literature to a discussion of Older Scots romances,[42] although he focuses only on *Lancelot of the Laik*, *Golagros and Gawane, Rauf Coilȝear* and *Eger and Grime*, a decision which once again

[39] A.S.G. Edwards, 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance', in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L.A.J.R Houwen et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), pp. 61–73 (p. 69).
[40] Purdie, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland', p. 177.
[41] Mainer, *The Scottish Romance Tradition*.
[42] William Calin, *The Lily and the Thistle: The French Tradition and the Older Literature of Scotland* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

underlines the critical neglect of *Clariodus* and its repeated exclusion from the discourse of Older Scots romance scholarship.

As well as the articles and monographs outlined above, several recent doctoral theses also offer extended treatment of the Older Scots romance tradition. Both Kathryn Saldanha's thesis on *The Bruce*, *The Wallace*, the *Octosyllabic Alexander* and Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* and Anna Caughey's discussion of knighthood and its representations in late medieval Scotland focus on the linked themes of knighthood, chivalry and kingship.[43] These more thematic approaches are complemented by Emily Wingfield's study of the manuscript and print contexts of Older Scots romance, which situates a variety of romances — including *Clariodus* — within the book-owning and book-producing culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.[44]

Recent years have also seen a welcome increase in new editions of Older Scots romance texts produced for the Scottish Text Society, including Ralph Hanna's 2008 edition of *Golagros and Gawane* and Rhiannon Purdie's edited collection of four Older Scots romances, *Florimond of Albany*, *Sir Colling the Knycht*, *King Orphius*, and *Roswall and Lillian*. Even more recently, Ralph Hanna has also produced a new edition of *Rauf Coil3ear*.[45] This burgeoning interest in making the Older Scots romances more widely available has been one of the chief inspirations behind the production of the present

[43] Kathryn Saldanha, 'Studies in Medieval Scottish Historical Romance: An Examination of John Barbour's *Bruce*, Hary's *Wallace*, the Octosyllabic *Buik of King Alexander*, and the Decasyllabic *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2000); Anna Caughey, 'Representations of Knighthood in Late Medieval Scotland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2010).
[44] Emily Wingfield, 'The Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2010).
[45] *The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane*, ed. by Ralph Hanna, STS, 5th ser., 7 (Woodbridge, 2008); Purdie, *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances*; *The Taill of Rauf Coil3ear,* ed. by Ralph Hanna, STS, 5th ser., 16 (Woodbridge, 2019).

edition of *Clariodus*, as well as the flawed nature of previous editions of the text, which I will now survey.

Previous editions of *Clariodus*

The only published edition of *Clariodus* to date was produced by David Irving in 1830 for the Maitland Club (one of several nineteenth-century publication societies),[46] but there is also an unpublished edition (dating from 1952) produced by Robert L. Chapman as a doctoral thesis.[47] Chapman, and more recently, Wingfield, have observed the inaccuracies and flaws of Irving's edition.[48] For instance, Chapman highlights how Irving 'took the liberty of supplying words and entire lines to preserve the meter and the rimes', noting further that 'Irving does not record his editorial principles, and there seem to be no consistent criteria for his emendations'.[49] Though Irving does state that perceived scribal errors present in *Clariodus'* manuscript have been rectified by 'conjectural criticism',[50] with emendations placed in brackets, a comparison between the text of MS Advocates' itself and Irving's edition of Clariodus reveals that Irving only

[46] *Clariodus; A Metrical Romance: Printed from a Manuscript of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by David Irving (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1830,; repr. New York, NY: AMS Press, 1973). Further details of such publishing societies including the Maitland Club can be found in Monica Santini, *The Impetus of Amateur Scholarship: Discussing and Editing Medieval Romances in Late-Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).

[47] Robert L. Chapman, 'An Edition of the Middle Scots Romance Clariodus' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1952), p. 3. Two further editions of *Clariodus* remain incomplete; one was being produced for the EETS by Professor K.D. Bülbring in the nineteenth century, while the other was being edited for the STS by Regina Scheibe in the early 2000s. The notes to these editions are regrettably unavailable. I have also been informed in private correspondence (dated 24th May 2018) by Professor Daniel Wakelin and Dr Helen Leith Spencer that a partial edition of Book I of *Clariodus* was planned by Dr Carl Thaler, Bülbring's student. While Thaler was able to complete this edition as a dissertation before the outbreak of the Second World War, he was unable to afford the cost of printing it. Shortly after the war had ended, Thaler offered his edition to the EETS, but C.T. Onions, then director of the Society, declined. Moreover, Thaler's edition was written entirely in German, with Thaler's English lacking the fluency required to translate such a work. I am deeply grateful to both Professor Wakelin and Dr Spencer for providing this information.

[48] Chapman, p. 3; Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 285.

[49] Chapman, p. 3.

[50] *Clariodus*, ed. Irving, p. xv.

sporadically distinguishes these emendations from the original text.[51] Furthermore, the 'List of Conjectural Emendations' provided at the end of his edition is by no means complete and, besides the sparsely detailed preface and a 'List of Errata', it is the only example of critical apparatus present within Irving's edition.

Chapman describes his edition as 'guided by an ideal of service to two types of users: the literary scholar and the linguistic scientist', citing his editorial practice as 'a sort of compromise between a diplomatic text and an entirely normalized version'.[52] He does not reconstruct illegible passages or rectify defective rhymes, but does emend obvious scribal errors, giving the manuscript reading in the textual notes.[53] These are more detailed than Irving's, and represent Chapman's attempt to provide a more codicological focus to his critical apparatus, which also includes explanatory notes, a glossary and indices of persons and places. However, Chapman's edition is not without its faults; his edition also lacks a comprehensive description of MS Advocates' or a study of the romance's language, despite this being one of Chapman's stated aims.

In addition to their inaccuracies and limitations, Irving's and Chapman's editions are not readily available; indeed, the latter is unpublished and the former is only available in its original Maitland Club edition in libraries, or in the form of on-demand print runs, which do not always represent the original text accurately.[54] The scarcity of these previous editions may have contributed to the absence of *Clariodus* from any

[51] See, for example, *Clariodus*, ed. Irving, I, 1025: 'To Wairdis then was givin grite credence'. The correct reading is 'To wairdis then was givin grite *creddence*' (I, 1023 in the present edition, emphasis mine) but Irving does not acknowledge his emendation either in the text itself or his textual notes. This is just one example of the numerous occasions on which Irving silently emends the text of MS Advocates'.
[52] Chapman, p. 45.
[53] Chapman, p. 45.
[54] A digitally scanned version of a copy of Irving's 1830 Maitland Club edition, owned by the National Library of Scotland, is also available on Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/clariodusmetrica00mait [accessed 30/01/2019].

anthologies of Scottish literature, even those which otherwise contain a broad range of extracts from Older Scots texts.

Thus, the inaccuracies of Irving's edition and the limited critical apparatus of Chapman's edition make them unsatisfactory for scholars of Older Scots literature. Given that research into Older Scots romance is currently flourishing, with a recent trend towards publishing new editions of texts within the corpus, the time is right for a new edition of *Clariodus* which takes account of emerging research, fully engages with the relationship between the French source and its Scottish reworking, and provides a detailed study of the poem's literary and linguistic contexts. Indeed, the need for a new edition of *Clariodus* has been remarked upon by Sally Mapstone in a recent essay which surveys the challenges of editing Older Scots texts while looking forward to the production of new editions.[55] This thesis therefore seeks to fill this notable lacuna in Older Scots scholarship.

Critical Responses to *Clariodus*

Existing works of scholarship on *Clariodus*, though few, offer a variety of critical approaches to the text. Even before Irving's edition of the text was published for the Maitland Club, antiquarian interest in *Clariodus* was evident, as Emily Wingfield has shown.[56] The only owner of MS Advocates' who has been identified for certain is David Dalrymple, 3rd Baronet and later Lord Hailes (1726–92), an advocate, historian, and editor of medieval Scottish texts whose work and hobbies made him a prominent figure

[55] Sally Mapstone, 'Editing Older Scots Texts', in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 311–25 (p. 324).
[56] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', pp. 297–300.

in the intellectual life of Enlightenment Edinburgh, and whose activities I will discuss further in Chapter Five (pp. 245–6).[57] While there is sadly no surviving evidence to indicate where Hailes acquired MS Advocates', nor does Hailes ever mention the manuscript in his surviving correspondence, it was still present in his library at Newhailes House, Musselburgh, in 1801.[58] By 1813, however, the manuscript was housed in the Advocates Library, as noted by Henry Weber (1783–1818),[59] a literary scholar and secretary to Sir Walter Scott. Emily Wingfield quotes a letter from Weber to Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges (1762–1837), himself a bibliophile and antiquarian, [60] in which Weber describes *Clariodus* as 'a curious & by no means unpoetical specimen of old Scottish metre'.[61] Scott directly refers to *Clariodus* in his introduction to 'Fause Foodrage', first published in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), albeit naming it as 'Clariodus and Meliades'.[62] More intriguingly, Scott also misattributes a passage from Lydgate's *Troy Book* (III, 43–102), beginning 'The famous knyghtes arme them in that place' and ending 'And some on foote, and some fond to ryde' to 'Clariodes, MS'.[63] Having edited the entirety of MS Advocates', I can confirm that nowhere does this extract from the *Troy Book* appear in this particular manuscript, and so Scott was either mistaken, or there was another manuscript of *Clariodus* which features the *Troy Book*

[57] Patrick Cadell, 'Dalrymple, Sir David, third baronet, Lord Hailes (1726–1792), judge and historian', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7046 [Accessed 11th June 2019]
[58] Leyden, an early editor of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, remarks in the 'Preliminary Dissertation' to his edition: 'Of this romance [*Clariodus*], a fine MS, of the latter part of the 16th century, is preserved in the New-Hailes Library'. See *The Complaynt of Scotland Written in 1548, with a Preliminary Dissertation and Glossary*, ed. by J. Leyden (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1801), p. 238.
[59] Margaret Clunies Ross and Amanda J. Collins, 'Weber, Henry William (1783–1818), literary scholar and secretary', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28937 [Accessed 11th June 2019]
[60] K. A. Manley, 'Brydges, Sir (Samuel) Egerton, first baronet, styled thirteenth Baron Chandos (1762–1837), writer and genealogist', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3809 [Accessed 11th June 2019]
[61] NLS, MS 3278, f. 78r. Quoted from Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 299.
[62] Sir Walter Scott, *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. by T. F. Henderson, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1902), III, p. 280.
[63] *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Scott. References to Lydgate's Troy Book are from John Lydgate, *Lydgate's Troy Book A.D. 1412–20*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS e.s., 97, 103, 106, 126, 4 vols (London 1906–35). All quotations from Lydgate's *Troy Book* throughout this thesis are taken from Bergen's edition.

extract which Scott had access to, which has since disappeared. Indeed, this idea was proposed by Francis John Curtis, one of the first scholars to produce an in-depth examination of *Clariodus*, to whose work I now turn.[64]

Curtis' 'Investigation of the Rimes and Phonology of the Middle-Scotch Romance Clariodus' has, as its chief aim, to 'arrive at some particulars as to the pronunciation of the author',[65] with his method being to compare the rhymes of *Clariodus* with a variety of other Older Scots texts while also including comparisons with certain Middle English texts and the northern dialects of England.[66] Sensibly, Curtis chose to base his investigation directly on MS Advocates', rather than relying on Irving's edition. Moreover, Curtis' exploration of the text's rhymes and phonology often uncovers etymological information and details of scribal errors which go unremarked in Irving's edition. Curtis lists each vowel sound found in *Clariodus*, provides the rhymes for that particular sound and discusses its history, variations, likely pronunciation and whether the rhyme has been affected by scribal error and/or dialectal variation. However, Curtis' work appeared before the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet became widespread, making his research sometimes difficult to navigate for modern scholars. Nevertheless, while aspects of Curtis' research have been superseded by more recent developments in the study of Older Scots language, his work provides an extremely useful basis for further linguistic analysis of *Clariodus*. Furthermore, his detailed analysis of the romance's rhymes allows him to posit a variety of intriguing theories concerning the original exemplar used by the scribes of MS Advocates'. In particular, he

[64] Francis John Curtis, *An Investigation of the Rimes and Phonology of the Middle-Scotch Romance* Clariodus (Halle: 1894). The publisher is unspecified, but the work was originally produced as a doctoral thesis for the University of Heidelberg. Curtis' reference to Scott's misattribution of the lines from Lydgate's *Troy Book* to a manuscript of *Clariodus* is from p. 10.
[65] Curtis, p. 5.
[66] Curtis, pp. 5–6.

suggests that 'in a previous copy of the existing MS, two hands at least must have been at work',[67] and consequently demonstrates throughout his study how these previous two scribes altered the author's originally mixed Anglo-Scots dialect, suggesting that one of the scribes was 'more Scottish than the author',[68] while the other had an 'anglicising tendency' that can be seen throughout the last two Books of *Clariodus*. I examine this further in Chapter Five (pp 251–8), where I discuss the anglicised language of MS Advocates' alongside my description of the manuscript itself.

More recently, Rhiannon Purdie has highlighted the *Clariodus*-poet's aspiration to produce a work that could be associated with 'the highest courtly literature of his day'.[69] Purdie outlines that the *Clariodus*-poet signals his intentions to produce a work of great literary sophistication through his borrowing from Dunbar's courtly poetry (particularly *The Goldyn Targe*),[70] his numerous allusions to classical figures throughout the text,[71] and his decision to split his romance into five Books, noting that in so doing, 'the Scottish author conceived his work on a far grander scale than that of his source', perhaps on a par with Chaucer's *Troilus* or Lydgate's *Troy Book*.[72]

As mentioned above, *Clariodus* also features in Wingfield's study of the manuscript and print contexts of Older Scots romance, with Wingfield's doctoral thesis providing the first complete description of MS Advocates'. Wingfield also reconsiders the poem's composition, date and relationship to its French source, and she explores

[67] Curtis, p. 129.
[68] Curtis, p. 22.
[69] Rhiannon Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance in Later Medieval Scotland', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 38, 4 (2002), 449–61 (p. 457).
[70] Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 458.
[71] Especially apparent in V, 60–100. Purdie ('*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance') notes that the allusions to figures from classical literature are almost completely absent in English romance tradition (p. 454).
[72] Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 455.

how physical features of the manuscript correspond to events within the text. Focusing on the exchange of letters between Clariodus and Meliades, for instance, Wingfield shows how the layout of letters in MS Advocates' mirrors those found in French manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (the source of *Clariodus*) and in the copy of *Troilus and Criseyde* found in the contemporary Scottish manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B.24 (discussed further in Chapter Five, pp. 236–9).[73] In two subsequent articles, Wingfield further interrogates the relationship of *Clariodus* to its French source, and the *Clariodus*-poet's weaving of intertextual references to the poetry of his predecessors into his own translation.[74] Throughout this thesis, I have used the work of Purdie and Wingfield as the foundation for my own extended examinations of the *Clariodus*-poet's style of authorship.

Possible historical and political contexts for *Clariodus*' composition have recently been discussed by Sergi Mainer, who argues that the popularity of the romance throughout the sixteenth century was because of *Clariodus*' relevance to the foreign policies of James IV, James V and James VI, all of whom, according to Mainer, favoured pan-European alliances rather than military conflict.[75] In *Clariodus* (and indeed, its French source), no conflicts occur between any of the Christian, European nations — rather, the only major war is one fought by an alliance of English, French and Cypriot soldiers against the Turks in Book III, provoked by the Turks' invasion of Cyprus.

[73] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', pp. 285–318.
[74] See also Emily Wingfield, '"And He, That Did it Out of French Translait": *Cleriadus* in France, England and Scotland, *c*. 1440–1550', *Neophilologus*, 94 (2011), 649–60 for a further exploration of the relationship between *Clariodus* and its French source. In another article, Wingfield demonstrates how the *Clariodus-poet* was influenced by other medieval authors such as Chaucer, Henryson and Dunbar; see Emily Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus* and its manuscript', *Archiv*, 251, 1 (2014), 53–68.
[75] Sergi Mainer, '*Clariodus* and the Translation of Dynastic Ideology', *Viator*, 44, 3 (2013), 397–409.

Finally, Anna Caughey's 2015 article entitled 'The Female Gaze in Late-Medieval Scottish Romance' considers *Clariodus* alongside two other Older Scots romances: *Lancelot of the Laik* (*c*. 1460) and *The Buik of Alexander* (*c.* 1438).[76] Her analysis of certain scenes from the three romances in which the male body is subjected to the female gaze concludes that throughout these texts, the gaze of women does not objectify, disempower, or distract the males upon which their gaze falls; rather, it is a source of strength and a spur to knightly achievement, enabling the male heroes to successfully engage in the defence of their respective nations. This is an argument which I draw upon in Chapter Three (pp. 151–5), where I survey the *Clariodus*-poet's interest in exploring the emotions of Meliades, a unique aspect of his translation.

The Present Edition of *Clariodus*

From the scholarship outlined above it is clear that there is a current flowering of interest in Older Scots romance, from its manuscript contexts to its adaptation of numerous other medieval literary traditions. While more scholarship has been written on *Clariodus* in the last two decades than at any time since Irving's edition first appeared almost two centuries ago in 1830, there is nevertheless a large lacuna in the existing criticism of *Clariodus* which this thesis aims to fill. Indeed, this thesis is situated within the nexus of existing scholarship on Older Scots romance and previous editions of *Clariodus*. It addresses the considerable critical neglect that *Clariodus* has suffered through a thorough examination of its relationship to its French source; the methods through which the *Clariodus*-poet aligns himself with Scottish traditions of translation

[76] Anna Caughey, 'The Female Gaze in Late-Medieval Scottish Romance', in *Medieval Romance and Material Culture*, ed. by Nicholas Perkins (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 91–110.

(particularly, the versification of a prose source); the willingness to engage with and amplify themes relevant to Scottish audiences, such as the importance of good governance; and the ways in which *Clariodus* fits within the vibrant literary production of sixteenth-century Scotland, especially at the court of King James V (1513–42). This thesis also builds upon the work of Emily Wingfield to further examine the manuscript contexts of *Clariodus*, combining this with an outline of the major linguistic features of MS Advocates'. Moreover, my own edited text of *Clariodus* aims for the accuracy and readability that has been sorely lacking in previous editions of the romance. This edition also provides detailed textual notes alongside the edited text of *Clariodus* as well as providing detailed explanatory notes to aid the reader with deciphering difficult passages, or to provide more context on significant features of the romance. It is assumed that, due to the present obscurity of *Clariodus*, the reader is already somewhat familiar with Older Scots. Therefore, rather than including a separate glossary, I have glossed only the most unfamiliar words to a modern audience (e.g. those that are now obsolete, or which have been obscured through the orthography of the MS Advocates' scribe) within the main body of the Explanatory Notes; this has also allowed me to provide more in-depth discussion of the context of certain words and phrases than a glossary would traditionally supply.

Chapter One of this thesis, 'The Source(s) of *Clariodus*' aims to provide some answers towards the key question which underpins this study: what is the relationship of the Older Scots *Clariodus* to its French source? In beginning to answer this question, this chapter investigates whether it is possible to discover which textual tradition of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* might have been used by the *Clariodus*-poet in the composition of his translation, an area of research which never yet been undertaken. In so doing, I consider the circulation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* in France, particularly its links with the

Burgundian court. While it has not been possible to establish with certainty precisely which surviving witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* were used by the *Clariodus*-poet for his translation, through comparing several of these witnesses with the surviving text of *Clariodus* I propose that the Scottish poet may have had access to either multiple manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, or that he had access to a 'hybrid' manuscript, displaying features from both branches of the French romance's textual tradition.

I then move on to discuss the *Clariodus*-poet's enigmatic remark that he 'Can not so meitter as *thay* put in prose', (V, 2249, italics mine), suggesting, in conjunction with his reference to 'he, that did it out of French translait' (V, 2245) that there was a (presumably English) prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, which has since been lost. I assess the possibility that there may indeed have once been such a text by briefly examining the penchant for translating French prose romances into English that occurred in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and lasted into the first half of the sixteenth century, concluding that, if such a text existed, it would most likely have been used by the *Clariodus*-poet as an aid to translating the French of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, rather than providing any stylistic inspiration.

Chapter Two, 'The *Clariodus*-poet's Style and Translation Techniques' then focuses on the ways in which the *Clariodus*-poet approached the task of translation, including an examination of how the *Clariodus*-poet transformed French prose into Scottish verse, as well as analysing the cuts and compressions that the Scottish poet made to *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. However, the main argument of Chapter Two is that the *Clariodus*-poet made more changes to his French source than has been previously considered, and that these changes take the form of expansions and unique additions that the Scottish poet makes to his translation in order to align it with the most highly-

regarded courtly poetry from both England and Scotland. These expansions and additions all underline the *Clariodus*-poet's main aim in completing his translation, which is to amplify and augment *Clariodus* in such a way that he is, at all times, displaying that he is a master of the most sophisticated techniques of courtly poetry, whose every decision in translating from the French is motivated by his desire to prove himself as a worthy literary craftsman.

The bulk of Chapter Two guides the reader through the numerous expansions and additions made by the *Clariodus*-poet to his source. One of the most significant of these is his addition of a modesty topos passage in which, through the apparent denigration of his poetic technique, we learn instead that he prizes 'langwag full ornat' (V, 2246) and that this is, in fact, the kind of style he most aspires to produce in his translation. I then examine the *Clariodus*-poet's alignment of his poem within the Chaucerian tradition, noting that, as well as being familiar with the 'courtly' works of Chaucer such as *Troilus and Criseyde*, he also seems to have been an avid reader of Lydgate, as well as showing clear influence from the works of Dunbar (particularly his *Goldyn Targe*) and Douglas' *Palice of Honour*. Closely connected with these latter three poets in particular is the *Clariodus*-poet's extensive use of the aureate tradition when making additions and expansions to his source, which allows the Scottish poet to not only pay homage to Lydgate, Dunbar and Douglas, but also to display his skill and knowledge of aureate language through the use of Latinate terms and the imagery of illumination that is inescapably intertwined with this technique. Subsequently, I examine the *Clariodus*-poet's engagement with vernacular representations of the Boethian goddess Fortune in a number of expansions to his translation, suggesting that the Scottish poet was aware of works which espouse Boethian philosophy such as *The Kingis' Quair* (written by King James I of Scotland *c*. 1424), and that he may also have

been influenced by more contemporary portrayals of Fortune in Sir David Lyndsay's *The Dreme* (*c*. 1528) and William Stewart's *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (*c*. 1535?), among other texts. The final part of this chapter presents the *Clariodus*-poet as a 'bookish' author, examining his wide-ranging knowledge of literature through the lens of the continuous intertextual references he makes to other literary works as well as the added allusions to classical figures which he weaves throughout his translation; in addition to demonstrating more of the *Clariodus*-poet's considerable literary knowledge, these intertextual references also have much to tell us about the kinds of literary works that were circulating in sixteenth-century Scotland.

Chapter Three, 'The Major Themes of *Clariodus*', follows this examination of the *Clariodus*-poet's style to further interrogate the relationship between *Clariodus* and its source, this time with a focus on highlighting the romance's thematic concerns. While the *Clariodus*-poet adheres rather rigidly to the plot of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, and by extension does not drastically rearrange or remove his source's major themes, there are, I argue, two broad areas in which the *Clariodus* poet makes the most significant additions to his French source: these are firstly, the representations of the themes of kingship and good governance, and secondly, the portrayal of magnificence and courtly culture.

In the first section of Chapter Three, I highlight the ways in which the *Clariodus*-poet seeks to align his translation with Scottish advice to princes literature, arguing that one of the main reasons the *Clariodus*-poet undertook the task of translating *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was because of its focus on kingship as a major theme. In doing so, the *Clariodus*-poet knew he would be creating a text which would have wide appeal in Scotland, with its flourishing circulation of advice to princes literature. This first part of

the chapter therefore highlights how the good and bad models of kingship in *Clariodus* — Clariodus himself and Philippon — relate to the wide body of texts within the Older Scots advice to princes tradition, particularly two other Older Scots romances: Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* and the anonymous *Lancelot of the Laik*. I then move on to investigate other advisory dimensions of *Clariodus*, illustrating that the *Clariodus*-poet expands the role of women within his text to concentrate especially on promoting Meliades as a figure of virtuous womanhood.

The second part of Chapter Three focuses on an aspect of kingship which has received almost no attention in the field of Older Scots romance scholarship: the virtue of magnificence. Here, I demonstrate that the *Clariodus*-poet has made numerous changes to his French source to amplify even further the themes of magnificence, conspicuous consumption and courtly culture which were prevalent in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Rather than engaging with literary discourses, as the *Clariodus*-poet had done with the themes of kingship and good governance, I show that the *Clariodus*-poet instead portrays magnificence through the discourses of the visual arts and a focus on describing the sights and sounds of courtly life. In doing so, I link these passages of amplified magnificence with documentary evidence from the court of James V, suggesting that the *Clariodus*-poet may have taken inspiration for his additions from his own observance of life at the Scottish court in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Chapter Four, 'Literary Networks at the Court of James V', considers the link between literature and the court of James V in greater detail. In this chapter, I place *Clariodus* within the context of the literary outputs of three of the major court poets working at the court of James V: Sir David Lyndsay, John Bellenden, and William Stewart. Much of the surviving poetry by these three men aligns very closely with the

translation techniques used by the *Clariodus*-poet, especially the use of a self-conscious literary style which is always fully aware of the poetry of Dunbar, Douglas, and before them, Chaucer and Lydgate; moreover, Lyndsay, Bellenden and Stewart actively promote the theme of good governance in these works, which I discuss in detail and which could also provide another potential context for the composition of *Clariodus*. While I present some biographical details concerning the life of Lyndsay and Bellenden, my main focus is given over to William Stewart, a poet who has been sadly neglected; as I demonstrate at the end of Chapter Four with a comparison between several extracts from *Clariodus* and Stewart's *Croniclis*, there are various similarities of style between the two poets which would benefit from further investigation. Although I do not go as far as equating Stewart and the *Clariodus*-poet as the same author, since there is a dearth of concrete evidence, I am of the opinion that the *Clariodus*-poet is likely to have been a member of the same literary coterie of poets who held positions within the royal household that also included Stewart, Bellenden, Lyndsay, and a host of other poets whose names have been lost to time — one of whom could have been the *Clariodus*-poet.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Five, 'The Manuscript of *Clariodus*: NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5' moves on from looking at possible contexts for the initial composition of *Clariodus* to the text's later history in the form in which it now appears in its sole witness. In this chapter, I build on the work of Emily Wingfield to offer a full description of the manuscript, including a discussion of its watermark, which has previously remained unseen due to the difficulties incurred by the manuscript's tight binding. An examination of the watermark (a pot in which is written the letters 'IB' with a single handle, surmounted by a crescent moon) and a comparison of this watermarks to similar, contemporary watermarks from the latter half of the sixteenth century has

helped to further solidify Wingfield's suggestion that MS Advocates' dates to the third quarter of the sixteenth century. I also offer a further consideration of the hand of the manuscript's scribe than has been discussed before, suggesting that he may have suffered from essential tremors in his writing hand, leading to sporadic sections of the manuscript where the normally smooth strokes of his pen become wavy and more slanted. After describing the manuscript, I move on to an assessment of the provenance of MS Advocates'. This is necessarily very speculative except in the case of Lord Hailes, but I do propose some possible links between the circulation of the manuscript and the Cunnningham family of Glencairn as well as the Campbells of Glenorchy in reference to the signature of 'Jonet Cuninghame' in a seventeenth-century hand on f. 79^{r} of the manuscript; I discuss two different women by this name, both connected to the Cunningham and Campbell families, either of whom may be the same woman who signed the manuscript.

The final section of Chapter Five provides a select linguistic analysis of the manuscript , with a particular focus on highlighting the poem's notably mixed use of Scots and English forms, using the work of Curtis and A. J. Aitken to conclude that this mixed use of language or 'anglicisation' originated not only through the numerous stages of copying that preceded MS Advocates', but also that the introduction of English forms into the text of *Clariodus* itself was, in some cases, a conscious decision by the *Clariodus*-poet to align his work with the 'high style' of courtly literature in Scotland.

CHAPTER ONE
THE SOURCE(S) OF *CLARIODUS*

The relationship between *Clariodus* and its French source, *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, is one of the central issues of this thesis. The *Clariodus*-poet's repeated mentions of his 'author' and his tantalising references to 'him that did this buik compleit/In French' (V, 2243–4) as well as, apparently, another translator of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* — 'he, that did it out of French translait' (V, 2245) — have meant that the sparse extant criticism of *Clariodus* has often been geared towards discussions of the romance's relationship to its source(s). Yet thus far, no critics have produced a detailed analysis of the relationship between *Clariodus* and *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, and neither has the possible existence of an English translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* been considered. In Irving's preface to his edition of *Clariodus*, he gives a useful summary of the missing portion of *Clariodus* which was contained within its first eight folios, and makes the astute but brief remark that the *Clariodus*-poet 'has regularly detailed the incidents of the prose romance, but has added some portion of poetical embellishment'.[1] Nor was Irving's lack of detail concerning *Clariodus*' French source rectified by Chapman's edition of the poem. Indeed, the 'Source' section of Chapman's Introduction goes only as far as listing the manuscripts and prints of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, and his only other remark on the French source is his vague assertion that 'It may even be the case that the writer [the *Clariodus*-poet] actually elaborated his French model, may have added rather than subtracted descriptions of feasts and court life'.[2] This is a claim which Chapman fails to

[1] *Clariodus*, ed. Irving, p. v.
[2] Chapman, p. 29.

substantiate anywhere in his edition, offering no close analysis of *Clariodus* and its French source to underline his argument. As we might expect considering the very curt treatment of *Clariodus* and its relationship to *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, neither of *Clariodus*' previous editors examine the possible existence of 'he, that did it out of French translait' (V, 2245) and what its connection to *Clariodus* might have entailed.

While neither Irving nor Chapman offer any detailed appraisals of the source(s) of *Clariodus*, the same situation has arisen in secondary literature, with a few exceptions. Although several monographs exist on the subject of French influence upon Older Scots literature as a whole,[3] *Clariodus* features very rarely in these works. Indeed, of the scholars who have addressed the influence of French texts on Older Scots literature, only Janet Smith has included any reference to *Clariodus* and *Cleriadus et Meliadice*,[4] although her exposition on the subject is rather brief, relying heavily on Irving's preface to his edition of *Clariodus*.[5] She acknowledges the *Clariodus*-poet's reference to the French author as well as the unknown translator of the French whose work predated that of the *Clariodus*-poet, but analyses the *Clariodus*-poet's style only in so far as to note that he seemed to be an admirer of Chaucer and Lydgate, and that he 'sometimes borrows exotic Latin and French terms'.[6] She does, however, make mention of a less obvious inspiration behind *Clariodus* than *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, the enormously popular *Les Voeux du Paon*, originally written by Jean de Longuyon between 1312 and 1313 and adapted into a number of different versions, including one which

[3] Key examples are Calin (2014), and Janet M. Smith, *The French Background of Middle Scots Literature* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1934).
[4] Emily Wingfield also briefly explores the way in which the *Clariodus*-poet has adapted his French source, but within a context of manuscript ownership and circulation rather than an extensive comparison between the two texts. See Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', pp. 285–318.
[5] Smith, *French Background*, p. 24.
[6] Smith, *French Background*, p. 24.

appeared as part of the anonymous Scottish verse romance *The Octosyllabic Alexander* (*c*. 1438).[7]

In a more recent monograph, William Calin adopts a rather problematic view of *Clariodus*. In a chapter dedicated entirely to making close comparisons between Older Scots romances and their French sources, he deliberately excludes *Clariodus* from consideration, reasoning that both it and Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* are 'of less interest because they are direct translations from the French and also, most scholars would agree, because they are of less literary value.'[8] As I demonstrate throughout this thesis, *Clariodus*, is, in fact, far from a direct translation of its French source and its literary worth is far greater than this reductive statement suggests.[9]

Indeed, it is only with the publication of several recent articles that the relationship between *Clariodus* and its French source has been looked at in any detail at all. The first of these articles, published in 2002, was Rhiannon Purdie's '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance in Later Medieval Scotland'. Purdie recognises that, in the *Clariodus*-poet's reformulation of his French source such as his transformation from prose to five-stress couplets, his reliance on aureate language, and his frequent allusions to classical figures, he deliberately aligns himself with traditions found in Scottish courtly literature.[10] More recently, Emily Wingfield has built upon this discussion of the *Clariodus*-poet's unique additions to his source through a

[7] Smith, *French Background*, p. 25.
[8] Calin, p. 177.
[9] This view has recently been propounded by Michelle R. Warren, who notes that the status of such vernacular texts as ''mere translations' has perhaps discouraged investigation into their cultural significance'; Michelle R. Warren,'Translation' in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 51–67 (p. 53).
[10] Purdie, 'Clariodus and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance'.

demonstration of the poet's debt to a variety of English and Scottish authors: Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, Henryson, and Sir Gilbert Hay amongst them, as well as his knowledge of other famous medieval texts such as Guido delle Colonne's early thirteenth-century *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.[11] In another article, Wingfield analyses in detail the passage in which the *Clariodus*-poet refers to his French source and its apparent prose translation (V, 2241–51, discussed in detail in Chapter Two, pp. 81–4), remarking that these comments represent the poet's 'attempt to contextualise himself and his translation within the *Clariodus* tradition'.[12] Moreover, Wingfield is the first critic to consider in detail the possibility that a prose English translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* may have once existed. She suggests that the romance, which proved very popular with female owners in France, may have crossed from France to England around the time of the wedding of Henry VI of England to Margaret of Anjou in 1445—perhaps with one of the members of Margaret's wedding party.[13] Wingfield further notes that, since the marriage marked the start of peace negotiations between France and England, and *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is a romance which portrays a cordial relationship between the two kingdoms, this may provide another context for the composition of an English prose translation of the French original.[14] However, as I suggest below, a prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is more likely to have originated in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century when translations of prose romances were very much in vogue, having been popularised by Caxton's printed publications of such texts.

[11] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', p. 60.
[12] Wingfield, 'And He, That Did it Out of French Translait', p. 653.
[13] Wingfield, '*Cleriadus* in France, England and Scotland', p. 657.
[14] Wingfield, '*Cleriadus* in France, England and Scotland', p. 658.

The first half of this chapter uses the previous inquiries of Purdie and Wingfield as a foundation for a far more detailed analysis of the relationship between *Clariodus* and *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. In this initial discussion I consider the contexts and key facts concerning *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, including its date, its key themes, and the critical response to the romance. This investigation of the major themes present in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* can, I believe, provide more background to the question of why the *Clariodus*-poet might have chosen to translate this text. Within this discussion I also assess how the Scottish poet might have gained access to these witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, considering Scottish cultural connections with France and Burgundy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and also the evidence for the circulation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* witnesses (where known). I then expand upon Wingfield's work by examining afresh the possible existence of an English prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, and the contexts in which such a translation might have been produced.

Cleriadus et Meliadice: Contexts and Criticism

Although we do not know exactly when or by whom *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was composed, Zink, the romance's only editor, has proposed that it was written between the years 1440 and 1444. *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is certainly no later than 1467, the year in which a now-lost manuscript of the text was reported as being present in the library of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.[15] Zink also suggests that the harmonious

[15] *Cleriadus et Meliadice: Roman en prose du XV^e siècle*, ed. by Gaston Zink (Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz, 1984), p. XXIII. This lost manuscript of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is listed in an inventory of the Burgundian ducal library, published by Jean Barrois, as item no. 1305 under the heading 'Livres de gestes' in the 'Inventoire de la librarie qui est en la maison à Bruges, circa 1467'. Its description is as follows:

> 1305. 'Ung livre en papier couvert d'une couverture en parchemin, escript à longue luigne, intitulé au dos: Du roy Cleriades et de la royne Méliadie; quemenchant ou second feuillet, Ces deux royaumes, et ou dernier, et n'osa retourner.'

relationship between England and France in the romance is reminiscent of the negotiations for peace between the two countries which took place in the early 1440s, culminating in the Treaty of Tours (signed on 22 May 1444). The romance's composition may also, Zink proposes, have been connected to the marriage of Marie de Clèves, niece of Philip the Good, to Charles d'Orleans upon his return from imprisonment in England in 1440, with the possibility that *Cleriadus et Meliadice* could have been composed by a member of the circle associated with these two families.[16] Even if this was not the case, we can be sure that Marie owned a copy of the romance, since 'ung livre nommé Cleriadus' was said to be in her possession at a later date.[17]

Cleriadus et Meliadice, then, appears to have at least some associations with the court of Burgundy. That the romance should be considered 'Burgundian' is perhaps even more relevant when we consider the themes present in the romance. Like *Clariodus*, which usually follows the plot of its French source very closely, major topics in the romance include the description of lavish tournaments and feasts, the depiction of courtly conduct and behaviour, the chivalrous deeds of the eponymous hero, and, most importantly, the portrayals of good and bad kingship which permeate both the French and Scottish versions of the romance. Most, if not all, of these major themes can be considered as having didactic elements in some way, and the penchant for didactic prose romance was strong indeed in fifteenth-century Burgundy, especially at the court

---

See Jean Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris, 1830), p. 191. Wijsman has noted that this manuscript was in fact a draft copy of the romance, which I have taken to mean that *Cleriadus et Meliadice* could indeed be closely associated with the court of the Duke of Burgundy. See Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout : Brepols, 2010), p. 294, n. 202.

[16] *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink, p. XXXV, n.38.

[17] *Cleriadus,* ed. Zink, p. XXXIII.

of Philip the Good. As Brown-Grant has observed, both authors and patrons of these romances

> saw the role of such works as being as much to instruct as to entertain ... these romances could hardly remain untouched by the moralising discourses on all aspects of human behaviour which abounded in this period.[18]

Brown-Grant further proposes that this was so because many of these texts were the products of authors such as Jehan Wauquelin and David Aubert, who, as scribes and translators, were involved 'in preparing edifying works' such as mirrors for princes and chronicles,[19] as well as professional knights such as Jean de Wavrin who were 'steeped in the moral and spiritual values of chivalric culture'.[20] Although the identity of the author of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is unknown, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that he was a member of the Burgundian court, like Aubert and Wauquelin. Although it is uncertain who might have commissioned the text, Doutrepont, in his seminal analysis of literature at the courts of all four Valois Dukes of Burgundy, names *Cleriadus et Meliadice* in a group of romances which he asserts were 'created from the impulse of lords of the court' during the reign of Philip the Good.[21] Indeed, there is certainly evidence of romances being commissioned by particular noble families: as Morse notes,

---

[18] Rosalind Brown-Grant, *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality and Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 6.
[19] Brown-Grant, p. 5.
[20] Brown-Grant, p. 6. Howard Mayer Brown has suggested that, at the court of Burgundy, there may have been as many as two hundred prose romances of the type which detail the stories of young knights performing valiant deeds in service of their high-born ladies, all of which were written in order to instruct and entertain their readers. See Howard Mayer Brown, '*Cleriadus et Meliadice*: A Fifteenth-Century Manual for Courtly Behaviour', in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University 23–24 March 1990*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, NJ: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1993), pp. 215–28 (p. 215).
[21] See Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature Française á la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne: Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire* (Paris: Champion, 1909), p. 482. The translation into English is my own.

it was the La Tour Landry family which inspired *Ponthus et la belle Sidoine*,[22] a text which, as we shall see below, is often compared with *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, and which itself has Scottish associations.[23] Given what we know about the provenance of the various manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, it may well be the case that the romance was commissioned by a noble Burgundian family, since many of the surviving witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* have connections to such aristocratic circles. Below is a list of the manuscripts of the romance with notes on their provenance.[24]

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 952

This manuscript's provenance can be traced to the Abbey of Marmoutier, but importantly, the manuscript contains, on f. 325^{v}, the signature of Marie de Créquy (died 1610). The de Créquy family were noted Burgundian bibliophiles, especially Jean V de Créquy (1395–1474), a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece and a noted lover of literature. Presumably, this manuscript had remained in the family from near the time of its composition, which, according to the manuscript's three watermarks, occurred between 1467 and 1483.

[22] Ruth Morse, 'Historical Fiction in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy', *The Modern Language Review*, 75, 1 (1980), 48–64 (p. 50).
[23] *Ponthus and Sidoine* is thought to have been translated by Eleanor, daughter of King James I of Scotland (1433–80), from its original French into German (Eleanor had lived in Austria since marrying Sigismund, Archduke of Austria in *c.* 1449). See further A. M. Stewart, 'The Austrian Connection *c*. 1450–1483: Eleonora and the Intertextuality of *Pontus und Sidonia*', in *Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by J. D. McClure and M. R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 129–49.
[24] All information concerning the manuscripts listed above is taken from Zink, *Cleriadus*, pp. IX–XII, except for Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109, which was discovered by Maria Colombo Timelli and discussed in her article 'Un manuscrit inconnu de *Cleriadus et Meliadice*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109', in *L'écrit et le manuscrit à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 67–85. The provenance of the printed copies of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is not listed by Zink, so may be unknown.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 1002

Although no Burgundian connections have been established for this manuscript, it does rather interestingly have connections to Scotland, for it once belonged to John Ker, Duke of Roxburghe (1740–1804). Its watermark was attested in France between 1390 and 1460.

Chantilly, Musée Condée 650

Belonged to Nicolas Moreau, Treasurer of France (died 1640), and in the nineteenth century to the Marquis d'Aix. Earlier provenance unknown.

London, British Library, Royal 20. C. II.

The manuscript contains the romance *Appollonius of Tyre* as well as *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. It has been associated with the circle of Edward IV of England, since it was part of the Royal Library established by him, but most likely originated from Burgundy or the surrounding areas (see below for further discussion).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1439

Contains the coat of arms of Adolph de Clèves, Lord of Ravenstein (died 1493). He was a nephew of Philip the Good. Its watermark dates from 1463–70.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1440

Belonged to Étienne Baluze, a French scholar (1630–1718). Earlier provenance unknown. Its watermarks date from 1464–75.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1494–1495

Connected with Philippe de Béthune, Count of Selles-sur-Cher (1565–1649). Earlier provenance unknown. Its watermark dates from 1463 and 1466.

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale dell'Universita, 1628 L. II. 2

No provenance information.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3427

Belonged to Prince Eugène de Savoie-Carignan (died 1736). Earlier provenance unknown.

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109

Belonged to Gabrielle de la Tour, Countess of Monpensier and dauphine d'Auvergne, who donated the manuscript to one of her two nieces from the de Créquy family. Gabrielle's sister, Louise de la Tour, was married to Jean V de Créquy; it may therefore have been the case that at some point, the de Créquy family owned two manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (the other being the Tours manuscript). Gabrielle de la Tour was a noted bibliophile, owning at one point at least 203 books.[25] Dated by Colombo Timelli to before 1474 (the date of Gabrielle de la Tour's death).[26]

As shown in the list above, several of the known manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* were associated with aristocratic families from Burgundy, and most, if not all, of the manuscripts came into the possession of French noblemen during the early modern

[25] Colette Beaune and Élodie Lequain, 'Femmes et histoire en France au XVe Siècle: Gabrielle de la Tour et ses contemporaines', *Médiévales*, 38 (2000), 111–36.
[26] Colombo Timelli, p. 68.

period. The issue of how the *Clariodus*-poet might have gained access to one of these manuscripts is, therefore, an intriguing one. The connections between France and Scotland had been strong since the beginning of the 'Auld Alliance' in 1295, and were strengthened at the end of the 1530s when James V twice chose a French bride to marry. This is well within the *terminus ad quem* of 1550 that has been established for *Clariodus*' composition. Although we do not know the identity of the *Clariodus*-poet, and it is unlikely that we ever will, it is plausible that, like his fellow Older Scots romance author Sir Gilbert Hay (who served as chamberlain to King Charles VII) he may have spent some time in France, and could have learned of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* while there.

I end this part of the chapter with a brief overview of critical responses to *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Since Zink's edition of the romance appeared in 1984, a number of scholars have approached *Cleriadus et Meliadice* from a range of different angles, producing a more substantial corpus of scholarship than that which exists for *Clariodus*.[27]

Beginning with Zink's edition itself, with its extensive critical apparatus and readable text of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* it has made possible the in-depth examination of the relationship between *Clariodus* and its French source which lies at the heart of this thesis. Moreover, one of the most enlightening parts of Zink's analysis of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is his comparison of the romance with *Ponthus and Sidoine*; the latter is a fourteenth-century French prose romance associated with the de la Tour family who, as shown above, owned what is now the Leipzig manuscript of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Zink

[27] Other articles which feature a discussion of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, especially its didactic overtones, include Claudio Galderisi, '*Cleriadus et Meliadice*: une chronique de motifs littéraires du Moyen Âge', *Vives Letrres*, 8, (1999), 85–97; and Catherine Rollier-Paulian, 'L'Errance du couple noble: évolution d'un outil didactique dans le roman du XIVe au XVe siècle (l'exemple d*e Cleriadus et Meliadice*)', in *Du Roman Courtois au Roman Baroque*, ed. by Emmanuel Bury and Francine Mora (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2004), pp. 267–77.

notes that it was the appearance of the Count of Esture (Asturias) in both works which prompted the comparison, since in no other romances does a 'Count of Esture' appear. Zink further suggests that it is the 'overlap of characters and situtations' in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* and *Ponthus et Sidoine* which indicates that the latter romance is a 'certain source, if not a direct source, of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*.'[28]

Zink's identification of *Ponthus et Sidoine* as a source of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* has also influenced scholarship on the latter romance in recent years. In one of the only monographs to extensively discuss *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, Rosalind Brown-Grant analyses the romance within a framework which also examines other late medieval French/Burgundian romances which she classifies as 'chivalric tales of *innamoramento* [falling in love] which feature a young knight who proves his worth by performing great deeds of valour ... which are inspired by his love for a high-born woman whom he eventually marries'.[29] Among the works she analyses in the same chapter are *Ponthus et Sidoine* and *Olivier de Castille*. Brown-Grant argues that the portrayal of the relationship between love and prowess is redefined in these romances — rather than simply reproducing the idea that love is a spur to prowess — such that 'the relationship between love and prowess' becomes 'a test of his [the knight's] fitness to rule and of the socially responsible use of power'.[30] She goes on to argue that 'this vision of the young knight as an apprentice-ruler ... was at the very core of contemporary discourses on chivalry as contained in romantic fiction and didactic works alike.'[31]

[28] *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink, p. LXV.
[29] Brown-Grant, p. 12.
[30] Brown-Grant, p. 16.
[31] Brown-Grant, p. 16.

Indeed, it is the themes of kingship and love in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* which have been the most popular focus of critics of the romance.[32] In her 2005 article, Leah Otis-Cour explores *Cleriadus et Meliadice* alongside a group of five other romances — one of which is *Ponthus et Sidoine* — which she terms 'couple romances'. These romances celebrate marital, mutual love which is presented as being the best preparation for the good governance of society, as is certainly the case in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*.[33] Likewise, Lidia Amor, who has written extensively on *Cleriadus et Meliadice* over the past decade, has an article dedicated entirely to a comparison between *Ponthus et Sidoine* and *Cleriadus et Meliadice*.[34] Moreover, in a novel approach to the often-discussed topics of advice to princes and good governance in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, Amor has examined the didactic and edifying elements in the text, specifically those that are connected to the portrayal of kingship in the figure of the *rex inutilis*, the incompetent king, in the context of medieval canon law.[35] The advice to princes element in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is also emphasised by Szkilnik.[36] She argues that, with its vision of co-operation and friendship between England and France as well as other polities of Europe, *Cleriadus et Meliadice* can be read 'as a pacifist utopia',[37] and that the romance 'realises the dream of a united Europe managed by a handful of enlightened princes, all interrelated by marriage, all

[32] A different approach is taken by Christine Ferlampin-Acher (discussing *Cleriadus et Meliadice* alongside *Ponthus et Sidoine* and a variety of other romances) who examines the role of the supernatural in the romance, concluding that its role is marginal at best. See Christine Ferlampin-Acher, 'Féerie et idylles: des amours contrariées', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 20 (2010), 29–41**.** Howard Mayer Brown has also approached *Cleriadus et Meliadice* from a unique angle with an analysis of the importance of music and dancing in the romance within the context of fifteenth-century secular musical composition and performance. See Mayer Brown (1993).
[33] Leah Otis-Cour, 'Mariage d'amour, charité et société dans les 'romans de couple' médiévaux', *Le Moyen Age*, 111, 2 (2005) 275–91.
[34] Lidia Amor, 'Diálogos textuales: una comparación entre *Cleriadus et Meliadice* y *Ponthus et Sidoine*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 33 (2008), 55–73.
[35] Lidia Amor, 'Droit canon et littérature chevaleresque: l'image du *rex inutilis* dans le roman de *Cleriadus et Meliadice*', *Médiévales*, 57 (2009), 137–50.
[36] Michelle Szkilnik, 'A Pacifist Utopia: *Cleriadus et Meliadice*' in *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, ed. by Denise N. Baker (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 221–35.
[37] Szkilnik, p. 223.

equally competent and caring about their subjects'.[38] Moreover, she states simply that the romance's 'advice for kings and powerful lords renders it a *miroir des princes*',[39] building upon this assertion by including various examples of the French narrator's tendency to intervene in the romance with comments on the qualities that appertain to good kings and good lords. As discussed in Chapter Three (pp. 135–55), the Advice to Princes theme which is present in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is just as prominent (if not more so) in *Clariodus*; indeed, it may well have been the French romance's strong emphasis on the theme of kingship which attracted the *Clariodus*-poet to the romance in the first instance. This chapter now turns to a consideration of which, if any, of the surviving witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* the *Clariodus*-poet may have had access to.

The Textual Transmission of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*: Examining the Surviving Witnesses and their Relationship to *Clariodus*

My methodology in this section has been to compare the sole extant witness of *Clariodus* in MS Advocates' with variant readings between as many witnesses as possible from the two branches of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* stemma as established by Zink and built upon by Maria Colombo Timelli. As outlined above, at the time Zink was writing, he was aware of only nine manuscripts and five early prints of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*,[40] but Maria Colombo Timelli has since discovered a previously unknown manuscript, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109.[41] Colombo Timelli concludes from her own analysis of variant readings between this newly discovered manuscript and the other nine

[38] Szkilnik, p. 232.
[39] Szkilnik, p. 229.
[40] As well as a lost manuscript which was recorded in the library of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (r. 1419–67).
[41] Colombo Timelli (2006); the stemma below is reproduced from p. 85 of the same article.

manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* that it should be assigned to a position in the *b*-branch of the stemma originally outlined by Zink. To aid the reader's understanding of the discussion which follows, Colombo Timelli's updated version of Zink's stemma is shown below, along with a list of the witnesses, the branch of the tradition to which they belong, and their corresponding sigla assigned by Zink and Timelli respectively:

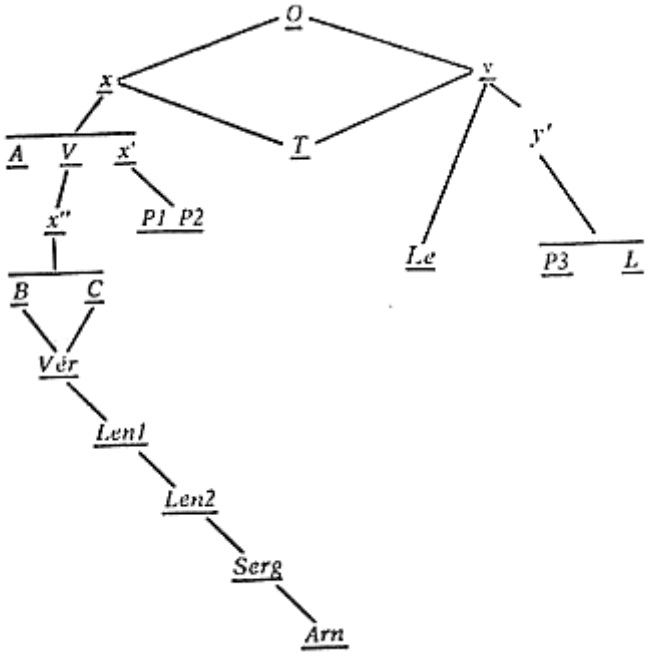

Figure 1: Stemma showing relationship of surviving witnesses of Cleriadus et Meliadice

List of Surviving Witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*

Manuscripts of branch *a*

Sigla	**Location and Shelfmark**	**Approximate Date**[42]
A	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 952	1467–1483
B	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 1002	Unknown

[42] Based on watermark dates provided in *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink. He does not give exact dates for the manuscripts, stating only that they are all from the fifteenth century (p. IX).

C	Chantilly, Musée Condée 650	Unknown
P1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1439	1463–1470
P2	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1440	1464–1475
V	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3427	Unknown

Manuscripts of branch *b*

Sigla	**Location and Shelfmark**	**Approximate Date**
L	London, British Library, Royal 20. C. II.	Unknown
Le	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109	Before 1474
P3	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1494-1495	1463–1466

Manuscripts which show features from both branches

Sigla	**Location and Shelfmark**	**Approximate Date**
T	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale dell'Universita, 1628 L. II. 2	Unknown

Early Prints

Sigla	**Place/name of publisher**	**Date**
Vér	Paris, Antoine Vérard	1495

Len1	Paris, Michel Lenoir	1506
Len2	Paris, Michel Lenoir	1514
Serg	Paris, Pierre Sergent	1531
Arn	Paris, Olivier Arnoullet	1529

As can be seen from the stemma above, the surviving witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* have been divided by Zink into two families: *a* and *b*. All five of the early prints of the romance belong to family *a*. Of great importance for my methodology here is that the early prints can all be excluded from consideration as exemplars for *Clariodus*. As Zink remarks, all of the early prints directly follow Antoine Vérard's first edition of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, in which the plot of the romance was abridged and altered.[43] Some of the major changes introduced in Vérard's edition include Cleriadus journeying to his new kingdom of Ireland without being accompanied by Meliadice, as well as the omission of Cleriadus' attendance at the coronation of his nephew, Palixés. Since Meliades *does* accompany Clariodus to Ireland (V, 2778) and Clariodus *is* present at the coronation of

[43] Vérard has both English and Scottish connections: his deluxe printed productions were enthusiastically purchased by Henry VII, while two of his works, *The book intytulyd the art of good lywyng & good deyng*, printed in Rouen in 1503, and *The kaylendayr of the shyppars* (also printed in 1503), were both translated into Scotticized English, meaning that readers south of the Scottish border found them difficult to comprehend. See Janet Backhouse, 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by David Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 23–42; Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997); and Julia Boffey, 'Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and the English printing of texts translated from French', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*, ed. by Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 171–83.

Palexis (V, 2697–740), it is clear that the *Clariodus*-poet was not following the version of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* found in the early prints. For this reason, I shall only be comparing *Clariodus* with variant readings from the manuscript witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Since Zink's edition is based on manuscript *A* (Tours), which comes from the *a*-branch of the stemma, this version of the manuscript will be the base exemplar which I compare to *Clariodus*, with variant readings mainly provided by manuscripts within the *b*-branch of the tradition since manuscript *A* (Tours), appears in the earlier part of the stemma, before more variant readings were transmitted. While Zink's work has been invaluable in identifying the majority of variant readings between the witnesses of the French source, Colombo Timelli's work has also been useful in identifying whether *Clariodus* might have had any relation to the Lepzig manuscript (sigla *Le*). There is, however, a large limitation in Colombo Timelli's work, which she herself acknowledges, in that it looks at variant readings only in Chapter XVIII of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Although this is the largest chapter in the work, it does mean that her analysis is limited only to one section of the romance. The length of the French and Scottish romances have, of course, also been limitations in my own analysis here: it has only been possible for me to examine a small number of the total variants between all of the witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* and *Clariodus*.

Furthermore, comparing readings from the French witnesses with the corresponding passages in *Clariodus* has not been as easy, mainly due to the *Clariodus*-poet's tendency to pass over many of the little details present in the French — especially his tendency to transform direct speech into reported speech, which he often compresses in order to conform to his chosen verse form of iambic pentameter couplets, as detailed in Chapter Two (pp. 74–80). Moreover, as is natural when comparing shared errors between witnesses, the examples given by Zink and Colombo

Timelli often concern very small variations such as orthographical differences made by the various scribes, which have only rarely been helpful when seeing if the same minor errors have been replicated in *Clariodus*. A further complication is, of course, the fact that only one witness of *Clariodus* survives, and so we cannot check to see whether other witnesses of *Clariodus* could confirm which exemplar of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* the Scottish poet might have been using.

Comparison of *Clariodus* with manuscripts from the *a*-branch

In my first example which may suggest that the *Clariodus*-poet was following the *a*-branch manuscripts of the French,[44] the magnificent outfit of Meliadice is commented upon in a passage which outlines nearly every detail of her costume:

> *A*: XXVIII, 1599–1601: une chayne d'or de fueillage sur ses espaulles, *trainant jusques á terre*, et avoit ung chappel d'or dessus ses cheveux qui estoient si beulx et si blons que il sembloit que ce fust fil d'or. [A chain of foliate gold on her shoulders, trailing down to the ground, and [she] had a headdress of gold on top of her hair which was so beautiful and so blonde that it resembled threads of gold.]

The *b*-branch manuscripts *P3* and *Le* include the following passage at the same point in the narrative:

> *P3* and *Le* **:** *traynent jusques á terre* et estoit abillee de sa teste elle avoit ses cheveulx gectés par derriere qui estoient longs presque *traynent jusques a terre* et avoit ung chapell d'or … [trailing down to the ground and wore adornments on her head; she had her hair thrown behind which was [so] long that it almost trailed down to the ground, and she had a headdress of gold…] (f. 158^{r})

[44] The quotations from *A*, *P3* and *Le* are from Colombo Timelli, p. 73. The italicised phrases are Colombo Timelli's, indicating the point at which the manuscripts diverge.

Here is the corresponding passage in *Clariodus*:

> About hir neke ane chaine of gold bright,
> Hir hairis bright, that nature span so cleire
> In aureat teresie hang doun circuleir
> Full angell lyke, that schynit scho with gleimes,
> In orient bright with Phebus goldin streamis
> Doun schading from hir face that was als quhyte
> As the illustar lillie of delyte;
> Ane rich cornall about hir hair was set
> With radious stonnis mightie overfret;
> What sould I tell of hir feminitie?
> (IV, 1178–87)

We can see here that the *Clariodus*-poet seems to have tried his utmost to expand upon the description of Meliadice given in the French, even comparing her to classical feminine figures (a favoured technique of the *Clariodus*-poet, discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Two, pp. 123–33). Moreover, in *Clariodus*, we are presented with a detailed description of Meliades' hair, but nowhere does the Scottish poet mention that it was trailing almost down to the ground. In a passage where he goes into such minute detail about Meliades' appearance, it would be highly unusual for him to leave out this detail if he were following one of the *b*-branch manuscripts here. Furthermore, manuscript *A* directly compares Meliades' hair to 'threads of gold', a description which the *Clariodus*-poet seems to directly pick up upon when he remarks upon their with 'gleimes' (IV, 1181) that are comparable to 'Phebus goldin streamis' (IV, 1182). This aspect of the *Clariodus*-poet's translation would therefore seem to suggest that he was following a manuscript from the *a*-branch tradition here.

There is a further, far more substantial, example which may indicate that the *Clariodus*-poet was following the *a*-branch tradition of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*

manuscripts. It appears in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* at the moment when Cleriadus, Meliadice, and the King and Queen of France are exchanging gifts with each other before Cleriadus and Meliadice return to England. All extant witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* state that Meliadice is in possession of twelve horses — six hackneys and six coursers — which she was given by her father (XXVIII, 2763–65). As a parting gift, Meliadice offers six hackneys to the queen (XXVIII, 2759–62), yet, in the *a*-branch of the stemma, no further reference is made to the coursers. This is quite odd when we consider that the remaining six coursers would have made a splendid gift for the King. Instead, the following passage appears:

> (After seeing Meliadice's 'beau present des hacquenees' [XXVIII, 2830]):
> Quant le roy les vit ainsi belles, il en fut moult joyeulx et dist à Meliadice:
> -Belle cousine, nous ne refuserons pas ce bel present et vous en mercions tres à certes et, pour l'amour de vous, nous monterons sur une.
> Si monta le roy dessus.[45]
> (XVIII, 2832–9)
>
> [When the king saw them [the hackneys which Meliadice had presented to the queen] [that they were] so beautiful, he was most joyous, and said to Meliadice: 'Beautiful cousin, I will not refuse such a gracious and beautiful present, and for the love of you, we will mount one of them'. So the King mounted on top.]

As Colombo Timelli points out, the *b*-stemma manuscripts actually contain a better reading of the same passage.[46] In the manuscripts *P3*, *L*, and *Le*, it is clearly stated that the King, having been given the gift of six coursers, mounts one of these coursers — as opposed to the reading of manuscript *A*, in which he mounts one of the hackneys he had

[46] Colombo Timelli, p. 76.

just been admiring. Here is the corresponding passage from *P3, L*, and *Le*, as provided by Colombo Timelli:[47]

> *Si s'en vient Meliadice agenoiller devant ly et ly fist present de six coursiers aussi comme elle fist a la royne dez six haquenees* ... Quant le roy les vist aussi beaulx il en fust moult joyeulx et dist a Meliadice ... Ainsi le roy monta *dessus ung des coursiers que Meliadice ly donna* (f. 172^{v})
> [So Meliadice comes to kneel before him [the king] and made him a gift of six coursers, just as she had also made to the queen of six hackneys.]

While Colombo Timelli rightly asserts that reading of the *a*-branch manuscripts here creates 'une vide' [a void] in that all mentions of the coursers simply disappear from these witnesses, she also remarks that 'une incongruité certaine' is created by this mistake: a man, and especially a king, would never normally ride a hackney. Rather, they were seen as a horse for the use of women.[48]

Like all of the French witnesses, the *Clariodus*-poet mentions that a total of six hackneys and six coursers were sent to Meliades as a gift from her father:

> My father hes me send sex faire coursouris
> And sex haiknayis, plesant attoure measoure;
> 3e sall haue sex of them, and I 3ow pray
> Them to resaue.' And tho the Queine alway
> Excusit hir, 3it scho maid sike instance
> The Queine garte take of them delyverance.
> (IV, 1952–7)

[47] Colombo Timelli, p. 76.
[48] Colombo Timelli, p. 76.

The line ‘3e sall haue sex of them’ is not entirely clear, but here, the *Clariodus*-poet is presumably referring to the six ‘haiknayis’, which were the last type of horses to be mentioned. There is no mention of a separate gift of coursers being given to the King, but, crucially, the *Clariodus*-poet *does* go on to include the following passage:

> The King was montit on ane palfray thaire,
> Ane of the sex the quhilke Meliades
> Gave to the Queine, q*uhi*lke mikill beine to praise;
> He said thay war ane gyft most honorabill,
> And thankit hir with wordes amiabill.
> (IV, 1991–5)

Although the *Clariodus*-poet is now referring to one of the ‘haiknayis’ as a ‘palfray’, the two terms serve the same purpose — both refer to riding horses particularly intended for the use of women, and the two terms are seemingly interchangeable here. I have included below a table of the direct comparisons that can be made between this same point of the narrative in both branches of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* manuscripts with the same passage in *Clariodus*:

Cleriadus et Meliadice **(*a*-branch witnesses)**	***Cleriadus et Meliadice*** **(*b*-branch witnesses)**	***Clariodus***
Meliadice reveals that her father has sent her six coursers and six hackneys.	Meliadice reveals that her father has sent her six coursers and six hackneys.	Meliades reveals that her father has sent her six coursers and six hackneys.
Meliadice gifts the six hackneys to the Queen, but no further mention is made of the coursers.	Meliadice gives six hackneys to the Queen, and six coursers to the king.	Meliades gifts the six hackneys to the Queen, but no further mention is made of the coursers.

The King praises the gift of the hackneys, and, seeing them, mounts on top of one.	The King is specifically said to be mounted on one of the coursers which Meliadice gave him.	The King praises the gift of the hackneys, and, seeing them, mounts on top of one (referred to as a 'palfray' by the Scots poet).

Table 1: Comparison of variants of the same passage in Clariodus *and the two major branches of the* Clariodus et Meliadice *manuscripts*

As shown by the summaries above, exactly the same mistake that occurs in the *a*-branch witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is replicated in *Clariodus*: firstly, that the coursers are never mentioned again, and secondly, that the King is said to have mounted a hackney/palfrey rather than a courser, with this hackney/palfrey being one of the six given as a gift to the queen. That the *Clariodus*-poet has precisely followed the sequence of events which feature in the *a*-branch manuscripts — even though it is a sequence which leads to slight narrative incongruity — strongly suggests to me that his exemplar for this particular scene in *Clariodus* is very likely to have been one of the manuscripts which descend from the *a*-branch of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* stemma.

Comparison of *Clariodus* with manuscripts from branch *b*:

My consideration now turns to the question of whether the *Clariodus*-poet might have been familiar with any of the *b*-branch manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. My first example here may exclude manuscript *L* from consideration as the *Clariodus*-poet's exemplar. This example appears during one of the many feasts which occur in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. In manuscript *A* the scribe references 'la salle où le doys dressé' [the hall where the dais was set up] (XXVIII, 1222), whereas in manuscript *L* the scribe mistakes

'le doys' for 'les drapz' [the cloths/sheets]. Here is the corresponding passage from *Clariodus*:

> Then to the hall is went baith King *and* Queine
> And eik this princes, dinge and honorabill.
> The nobill King anone begane the tabill
> Befor him set Meliades the scheine,
> Into ane chyre aboue him sat the Queine,
> At the buirdheid they set the Earle Esture,
> Syne everilk lord and ladie in ordour
> Efter thair awin degries war thay set;
> Ay at the dyse ane knight ane ladie met.
> (IV, 788–96)

As we can see, the Scots poet does not experience the same confusion in this passage, making direct reference to the dais ['the dyse', IV, 796] while excluding any reference to cloths or sheets. At this point in his translation, then, it appears that the *Clariodus*-poet did *not* have access to manuscript *L*.

However, the appearance of a more substantial variant in both *P3* and *L* might also suggest that the *Clariodus*-poet could have used either of these two manuscripts as he was composing the end of his translation. This variant occurs at the very end of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, in the penultimate chapter (Chapter XLIV, 196–212). At the point where the variant occurs, Cleriadus has organised a lavish tournament which is advertised to noblemen across all of Europe. Although it is too large to reproduce in full here, the *b*-branch variant describes this tournament, and the accompanying feasting and dancing that goes with it, in far more detail than any of the manuscript witnesses in the *a*-branch tradition. What is most interesting for our comparison of *Clariodus* with both branches of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* textual tradition is that in *Clariodus* the poet

mentions that the tournament lasted until the evening had drawn in, a detail found only in the extensive variant reading present in manuscripts *P3* and *L* (the latter of which contains the same variant, but with minor differences).[49] The comparison of extracts below illustrates the differences between the *a*-branch and the *b*-branch traditions of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, compared with the same passage in *Clariodus*:

> *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, variant of manuscripts *P3* and *L*:
> ... Et en ce point maintint le tornay jusques á la fin. Le tournay dura jusques que il estoit basse vespres et estoit si nuyt que á paine pouoient il veoir l'un l'aultre. Si se deppartit le tournay, car il estoit heure passe et s'en revint chascun en son logis. (Variant of XLIV, 196–212).[50]
>
> [And in this way the tournament lasted to the end. The tournament lasted until it was the late evening and so dark that it was a struggle to be able to see each other. So they departed from the tournament, because it was past time and each one returned to his lodgings].

> *Clariodus*:
> This tornay duirit q*uhil*e the blisfull sune
> His course diurnall had compleitlie run
> And did his purpur visage all scheroud
> In the occident, vnder the noxiall clude.
> And quhill that Wenus schew hir cristall light
> Then from the feild they go, for falt of sight;
> Ane moneth out did lest this tornay
> That the knights did him counter day be day.
> (V, 3005–12)

> Variant from manuscript *A*:

[49] *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink, p. 713.
[50] The full variant is provided in *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink, pp. 713–17.

> Et en ce point maintint le tournay et en emporta le pris ... nonobstant que le tournay dura ung moys tout entier. (XLIV, 197–201) [And at this point (Clariodus) carried on the tournament, and took away the prize .... notwithstanding that the tournament lasted an entire month].

As we can see from the extracts from manuscript *A* and manuscript *P3*, it is only in P3 that any reference to evening is made, and this is a reference which the *Clariodus*-poet expands upon by adding aureate imagery and Latinate terms (a key aspect of his translation which is analysed in Chapter Two, pp. 102–13). Might this suggest that the *Clariodus*-poet in fact had two manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* in front of him and perhaps used a manuscript from the *b*-branch when it suited his purposes?

Having conducted a brief analysis of some of the variants which appear in the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* manuscripts, it has been impossible to tell precisely which manuscript of this French romance was used by the Scots poet as his exemplar. As shown above, in certain instances (such as Meliades' gift of twelve horses) the evidence seems to suggest that the *Clariodus*-poet might well have been using manuscript *A* (or a now-lost manuscript derived from it) for certain points of his translation. However, I have also shown in the comparison of scenes describing the romance's final tournament that the Scottish poet may have been following a variant which appears only in the *P3* and *L* manuscripts. I believe it is therefore a possibility that the *Clariodus*-poet had access to more than one manuscript of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, which came from different branches of the textual tradition, or that he could have accessed a lost hybrid manuscript which, like manuscript *T* shares readings from both branches. Either way, it is clear that the *Clariodus*-poet saw fit to adapt his source to fashion his own style of translation, as will be demonstrated throughout the entirety of Chapter Two.

Clariodus and its Possible Prose Source

Having explored some hypotheses concerning the textual tradition of the *Cleriadus et Meliadice* witnesses and version of *Clariodus* as it has survived in MS Advocates', I now turn to an examination of another apparent source for the Older Scots romance: a prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, most likely written in English. If we look again at part of the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter, we are reminded that the *Clariodus*-poet singles out the authors of *two* sources for commendation — 'him that did this buik compleit/In French' (V, 2243–4) as well as 'he, that did it out of French translait' (V, 2245), whom the *Clariodus*-poet refers to at IV, 2033 as 'my lord'.

Although it was by no means unheard of for medieval authors to refer to fictionalised sources in order to lend their own work more authority,[51] most previous critics of *Clariodus* have taken the Scottish translator's comments to be true. Irving, in his edition of *Clariodus*, refers to a 'translation, probably in the English language',[52] while R. M. Wilson notes of *Clariodus* that there was 'an earlier version, probably in English, of which no trace now remains.'[53] Purdie also remarks that the 'now-lost prose translation' which the *Clariodus*-poet had access to was 'presumably in English',[54] and, while Wingfield has raised the possibility of the source being fictional,[55] she then goes on to discuss possible contexts behind the production of an English prose translation, to which I will now turn.

[51] Two of the most famous examples are Chaucer's 'Lollius', the fictional source for his *Troilus and Criseyde* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'very ancient book' given to him by Walter of Oxford, which scholars now consider to have been a fabrication.
[52] *Clariodus*, ed. Irving, p. v.
[53] R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Meuthen & Co, 1970), p. 121.
[54] Rhiannon Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 449.
[55] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance', p. 309.

Indeed, while Wingfield has previously suggested that such a translation may have been inspired by the peace negotiations between England and France and the marriage of King Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in 1445 following the Treaty of Tours in 1444,[56] I propose that an English prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was not composed so soon after the original French text had been written. Such an early date would assume that a translation was made from what must have been one of the earliest copies of the romance, and, although this is not impossible, I believe it to be much more likely that a prose translation of the French romance would have been undertaken towards the last quarter of the fifteenth century or, at the latest, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Not only do most of the surviving witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* date from this period,[57] but, perhaps more importantly, this was a time when Burgundian literature and culture was very highly regarded in England, particularly during the reign of Edward IV (*r*. 1461–70; 1471–1483) which coincided to a large extent with the printing career of William Caxton (from 1473 until his death in *c.*1491).[58] These two figures and their associated acquaintances loom large in scholarly discussions of Burgundian culture and its influence on England at this period: Edward because of the alliance he forged with Burgundy through the marriage of his sister, Margaret of York, to Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1468, and Caxton because he was well attuned to Burgundian literary fashions, having lived in Bruges during his time as Governor of the English Nation of Merchant Adventurers, where in 1473 he printed the first book in English, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*.

[56] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance', p. 314.
[57] See *Cleriadus*, ed. Zink, pp. IX–XIV.
[58] See, for example, N. F. Blake, *Caxton and his World* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969); Larry D. Benson, *Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), esp. pp. 17–21.

Much has been written about Edward's desire to emulate the splendour of Burgundy at the English court, with some critics suggesting that he was so desirous of recreating Burgundian magnificence that he reorganised his entire royal household around the Burgundian model.[59] More importantly for our examination of when the prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was composed, Edward's court became notable for displays of ostentatious pageantry. As Kekewich notes, 'Almost every public function in Edward's reign was celebrated with elaborate pageantry in which chivalrous displays frequently played a part, as was the fashion in Burgundy.[60] Moreover, she suggests that Burgundian chivalric display was 'closely allied' to the 'lavishly produced chivalrous literature of the country.'[61] Much of this chivalrous literature was, of course, written as prose romance. As Helen Cooper has remarked, prose romance was so closely associated with Burgundy that it became an almost inherently Burgundian mode of writing:

> The prosification of metrical romances has been described as almost a Burgundian genre, not because all such texts were written there (though a good number were), but because its dukes, and especially Philip, actively encouraged such works, both reworkings and original, and acquired a large number of them for the ducal library.[62]

In other words, an English translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* could be seen as a direct attempt by its translator to emulate the magnificence of Burgundy through engaging

[59] Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 260. Kekewich suggests that part of this desire may have arisen from a visit to Edward's court from Anthony, Grand Bastard of Burgundy, which occurred in 1467, and reports from the magnificent wedding of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold the following year. See Margaret Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', *Modern Language Review*, 66, 3 (1971), 481–87 (p. 481).
[60] Kekewich, p. 481.
[61] Kekewich, p. 481.
[62] Helen Cooper, 'Prose Romances', in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 215–30 (p. 226).

with a text which, as discussed above, appears to have appealed to Burgundian audiences, and which is clearly engages with the shared chivalric culture between England and Burgundy. The composition of a prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* might therefore have two purposes: the first, as I have said, to celebrate the shared culture between the two states, and the second, to reproduce in English a text which appears to have been fashionable at the Burgundian court, which would have little difficulty in appealing to the English nobility and to the middle classes who aspired to emulate them.

As mentioned above, one of the ten surviving manuscripts of *Cleriadus* is British Library, MS Royal 20. C.II (herafter MS Royal), a lavish parchment volume filled with beautiful illustrated miniatures, which suggest that it originated in Flanders or Northern France in the latter half of the 1400s. There is a strong likelihood that the manuscript was acquired by King Edward IV who, upon his return to England from exile in Flanders in 1471, wished to cultivate a reputation as a bibliophile, having been inspired by the magnificent library of his Flemish host, Louis of Bruges. Indeed, Gordon Kipling has noted that 'most of Edward's purchases duplicated volumes in the library of his former host'.[63] Kipling also tells us that Edward's sister Margaret, who had become Duchess of Burgundy upon her marriage in 1468, supplied her brother with many books.[64] Although we do not know exactly when MS Royal was commissioned, there is a possibility that it was one of the volumes given to Edward by his sister.[65] Alternatively,

[63] Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, Netherlands: Leiden University Press, 1977), p. 31.
[64] Kipling, p. 31.
[65] As far as I am aware, no mention has been made of any marks of ownership on MS Royal. Blockmans has noted that manuscripts bought at a workshop do not display features such as a prologue, heraldic features or presentation miniatures, which may provide some context for the production of MS Royal. Wim Blockmans, 'Manuscript Acquisition by the Burgundian Court and the Market for Books in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands' in M. North and D. Ormrod *Art Markets in Europe 1400-1800*, ed. by M. North and D. Ormrod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 7–18 (p. 9).

the manuscript may have reached England through intermarrying between English and French nobility. Moreover, Backhouse notes that there is space left within the manuscript for the infilling of a coat of arms, which along with the manuscript's lavish appearance, likely connects the production or commission of MS Royal with the nobility.[66]

Furthermore, there are surviving examples of French prose romances which were translated into English in the later fifteenth century which could provide further context for a now-lost prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. *The Three Kings' Sons* is a late fifteenth-century English prose romance, surviving uniquely in London, British Library, MS Harley 326, dated between *c*. 1475 – *c*. 1485 by the British Library,[67] and written in a southern English dialect. It is a translation of the mid-fifteenth century French prose *Roman des trois fils de rois*, 'also referred to as the *Chronique de Naples* and *L'Histoire royale*'.[68] Grinberg notes that there are seven extant French manuscripts of *Les trois fils*, 'the earliest of which may be Bibl.Nat. [Bibliothèque nationale de France], Paris, MS fr. 92' which was made for Philip the Good in 1463.[69] There are also ten printed editions of the romance, dating from 1501–1579, from Paris and Lyons printers, 'indicative of the work's vogue for more than a hundred years after its first appearance in manuscript form'.[70] Thematically, *The Three Kings' Sons* is rather similar to *Cleriadus et Meliadice*: it features an alliance of princes (Philip of France, Humphrey of England and David of Scotland) helping a king (King Alfour in the English, King Alphonse in the

[66] See Backhouse, p. 40.
[67] British Library, 'Detailed record for Harley 326', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7172&CollID=8&NStart=326 [Accessed 7th September 2022].
[68] Henry Grinberg, 'The *Three Kings' Sons* and *Les Trois Fils de Rois*: Manuscript and Textual Filiation in an Anglo-Burgundian Romance', *Romance Philology*, 28, 4 (1975), 521-9 (p. 521).
[69] Grinberg, p. 521.
[70] Grinberg, p. 521.

French) to rid his kingdom of the invading Turks,[71] as well as a host of splendid tournaments, processions, and ceremonies — themes which all fill the pages of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Both the author of the French version and the English translation are unknown. While it has been suggested that the French original was written by David Aubert, master scribe of the Burgundian court,[72] Grinberg finds this unlikely.[73]

I now turn to consider how an English prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* may have travelled to Scotland. Despite the often hostile relationship between England and Scotland in the later Middle Ages, this did not put an end to the circulation and exchange of literature between the two nations. As Gregory Kratzmann observes, political circumstances between England and Scotland during the early sixteenth century fostered cultural interchange rather than deterred it; he cites the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor as 'the most spectacular example'.[74] An English prose translation of *Cleriadus* could, quite plausibly, have crossed the Scottish border and found its way into the hands of Scottish readers. In her article 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Priscilla Bawcutt lists a variety of English romances which were known in Scotland, such as *Sir Bevis of Hampton*, *Paris and Vienne* (which was printed by Caxton) and Lord Berners' prose romance *Arthur of Little Britain*.[75] *The Three Kings' Sons* is also mentioned by John Major in his *History of Greater Britain*. Interestingly, Major was clearly familiar with the English version of the tale, since he makes reference to it being written 'in our

[71] This is reminiscent of the alliance of Clariodus (fighting on behalf of King Philippon of England), with the Constable of France (fighting on behalf of the King of France) created in order to assist the King of Cyprus in repelling a Turkish invasion.
[72] Benson, p. 17.
[73] Grinberg, pp. 522–3.
[74] Gregory Kratzmann, *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations 1430-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 4.
[75]Priscilla Bawcutt, 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 14, (2001–2) 1–12 (p. 8).

vernacular'. Therefore, although all of the surviving Scottish romances are in verse, Scottish readers also appear to have had a taste for Burgundian prose romance either in the original or in translation, offering a possible context for the production of *Clariodus* with the assistance of an English prose translation. As I will demonstrate in the following chapter, the *Clariodus*-poet's style of translation is firmly entrenched in the poetic, rather than prose, traditions of Scotland and England, and consequently I think it highly unlikely that the *Clariodus*-poet's translation would have been strongly influenced by a pre-existing English prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Rather, I propose that the *Clariodus*-poet would have used such a text as an aid to ensure his own translations out of the French were correct.

I now offer some brief conclusions concerning the relationship between *Clariodus* and its source. An examination of the textual tradition of the surviving *Cleriadus et Meliadice* witnesses showed that the Scottish poet was not using any of the printed witnesses for his translation, due to his inclusion of material at the end of the romance which was removed from the printed editions. I went on to establish that it is difficult to establish with any certainty which branch of the extant *Cleriadus et Meliadice* manuscripts the *Clariodus*-poet might have used for his translation. Indeed, it might well be the case that the Scottish poet was working from two manuscripts of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*: one related to the *a*-branch of the stemma, and another from the *b*-branch. There is also a possibility that he used a hybrid manuscript which combined both branches of the tradition. While we may never achieve a definite answer to the question of which witness of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was used by the *Clariodus*-poet, further research between the extant variants of the French romance and *Clariodus* would be useful in further developing our knowledge of how the *Clariodus*-poet approached the task of translation.

I also considered in detail the possible existence of a prose translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* into English; there is plenty of contextual evidence which suggests that such a text could have once existed, but sadly there is no trace of this translation. Moreover, I argue that due to differences in form, the *Clariodus*-poet likely used this putative translation as an aid to translation, rather than as a model for his own style.

CHAPTER TWO
THE *CLARIODUS*-POET'S STYLE AND TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES

This chapter follows directly on from Chapter One in that it offers further consideration of the relationship between *Clariodus* and its French source. Here, however, I focus on the *Clariodus*-poet's style and techniques of translation; my ultimate aim is to formulate a clear sense of the *Clariodus*-poet's conception of himself as an author translating a French source into his own vernacular poetic tradition, with his chief desire being to amplify and augment his translation wherever possible.

In order to achieve such a momentous aim, this chapter is divided into four parts: the first considers the overarching issue of how and why the *Clariodus*-poet translated his prose source into verse and the effect that this has on his version of the romance; the second part considers the cuts and abbreviations which the *Clariodus*-poet made to the French original, which, although minimal, have the effect of compressing the original narrative; and the third and fourth subsections respectively consider what expansions and unique additions the *Clariodus*-poet made to his original. These expansions and additions demonstrate with certitude that the Scottish poet was inspired to augment his translation through showing his familiarity with, and ability to outdo, the stylistic achievements of his poetic predecessors. At the same time, I underline that the changes the *Clariodus*-poet makes to his translation are not as insubstantial as has been previously believed by the few scholars who have examined *Clariodus*, and that it is a romance which is more than worthy of further critical scrutiny.

Indeed, of necessity, my investigation into how and why the *Clariodus*-poet altered certain aspects of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is substantially based on the work of Rhiannon Purdie, whose article on *Clariodus* and courtly romance was the first to argue that many of the *Clariodus*-poet's choices as a translator and his unique additions to the French original reveal his aspiration for *Clariodus* to be associated with the 'highest courtly literature of his day'.[1] More recently, Emily Wingfield has expanded discussions of the *Clariodus*-poet's techniques of translation by noting his adoption of a Chaucerian narrative voice and his obvious desire to squeeze in as many intertextual references as his text will allow, an angle which has also informed my analysis throughout this chapter.[2] However, I also wish to build on previous criticism by analysing the *Clariodus*-poet's additions and expansions through the lens of augmentation and amplification, an idea encapsulated by the Older Scots verb 'eke', particularly in the sense 'to enlarge by adding fresh material'.[3] While there were numerous approaches to the translation of texts into the vernacular in medieval Britain,[4] this idea of augmentation and amplification is, I believe, the most appropriate way of approaching the *Clariodus*-poet's own conception of himself as a translator.

Translating *Cleriadus et Meliadice* into verse

By far the most immediately obvious change which the *Clariodus*-poet made to *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was his decision to transform his own version of the romance from prose

[1] Rhiannon Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 453.
[2] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*'.
[3] *DOST*, *Eke, Eik, v.*, sense 1c.
[4] See especially Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280–1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999); and Alistair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

into verse. This is undoubtedly the clearest sign that the *Clariodus*-poet wished for his work to be considered as part of the distinctive Older Scots romance tradition. Whereas in England the translation of prose into verse would have been considered 'old-fashioned' following the trend for romances to be translated solely into prose, composing verse romance had quite the opposite status in Scotland. None of the twelve surviving Older Scots romances is in prose, and despite the size of this small corpus, there is no evidence to suggest that any lost Older Scots romances might have deviated from this trend.[5] Moreover, such was the esteemed status of poetry in Scotland that many of its romance authors deliberately re-versified prose sources. The anonymous author of the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments, for example, transformed his Latin prose source, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, into octosyllabic couplets, yet there was also a strong precedent for the transformation of French prose romances into Scottish verse. By the time the *Clariodus*-poet was writing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were already two examples of this tradition of transformation, both from the fifteenth century. The author of *Lancelot of the Laik* elected to re-versify part of the thirteenth-century Old French prose romance *Lancelot du Lac* into decasyllabic couplets, while the author of *Golagros and Gawane* chose to transform the prose *First Continuation* of Chrétien de Troyes' *Percival* into alliterative verse.[6] Given the *Clariodus*-poet's obvious engagement with Scottish literary traditions, it is more than likely that he was aware of these two texts — especially *Lancelot of the Laik*, which may have served as a model for the translation of French prose into Scottish decasyllabic

[5] As Rhiannon Purdie remarks, 'prose romance [in Scotland] seems never to have arrived at all'; Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', pp. 451–2.
[6] See *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. by Margaret Muriel Gray, STS, 2nd ser., 2 (Edinburgh and London, 1912), and *Golagros and Gawane*, ed. Hanna. All quotations from the text of *Lancelot of the Laik* throughout this thesis are taken from Gray's edition.

verse. That the *Clariodus*-poet chose to translate a French romance into verse at a time when his contemporaries in England were clamouring to translate French prose sources directly into English prose is a marker of how strongly the Scottish poetic tradition for translating prose into verse appealed to him, and how much he was willing to identify his own work with this tradition.

Having considered why the *Clariodus*-poet decided to translate a prose source into verse, the next step is to investigate his reasons for choosing iambic pentameter as his chosen metrical form. As a Scottish poet, the anonymous translator of *Clariodus* had a wide variety of different verse forms and metres on which to draw, from the alliterative tradition represented by *Gologras and Gawane* and *The Buke of the Howlat* (composed *c*. 1448) to the rhyme royal used by James I in his *Kingis Quair* (written *c*. 1424). This extremely rich poetic tradition makes it all the more significant that he chose to utilise iambic pentameter decasyllabic couplets: why choose this particular poetic form when so many others were available? The answer, as Rhiannon Purdie has already pointed out, lies in the association of this form with 'courtly, sophisticated literature'.[7] Having been introduced into English by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, it was later used in the first half of the fifteenth century by his devoted follower John Lydgate, who utilised the five-stress couplet in both his *Troy Book* and his *Siege of Thebes*. Although these latter two texts certainly contain elements of the romance genre and are sometimes categorised as romances, it appears that authors of 'popular' Middle English romance tended to shun such a highly stylised method of crafting poetry. Indeed, it is unheard of to find a Middle English verse romance written in iambic pentameter couplets: far more common are the octosyllabic couplets employed by the

[7] Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 452.

authors of such romances as *Ywain and Gawain*, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, and *Arthour and Merlin*.

Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century, the decasyllabic couplet form had come to be associated — at least in England — almost exclusively with poetry written in the high style, much of which was written for a courtly audience. Scottish poets, however, adopted the decasyllabic couplet form for a broader range of genres and audiences, as Purdie has ascertained:[8] not only was this form used, as we might expect, in highly erudite productions such as Douglas' *Eneados*, but it was also utilised by writers of Older Scots romances, namely Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* and the anonymous author of *Lancelot of the Laik*, as well as in works which share elements of the romance genre such as Hary's *Wallace*. I would add, however, that both Hary's *Wallace* and *Lancelot of the Laik* do borrow themes and motifs from the courtly tradition: in Hary's *Wallace*,[9] there is a lamentation concerning Fortune's mutability (a trope which also features substantially in *Clariodus*, as I discuss below) while *Lancelot of the Laik* features a narrator who, in a dream vision, is told by a messenger from the God of Love that he must write a 'trety' for his lover (145). Although the *Wallace* is more difficult to classify as a courtly text, the author of *Lancelot of the Laik*, like the *Clariodus*-poet, certainly seemed to envision his text as one which would appeal to a courtly audience. Overall, then, the question of *why* the *Clariodus*-poet translated a prose romance into decasyllabic verse can be summarised thus: by translating into verse, the *Clariodus*-poet could align himself with a distinctively Scottish literary tradition which placed great value on the composition of poetry over prose, while the decasyllabic

[8] Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 452–3.
[9] Hary's *Wallace*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid, STS, 4th ser., 4, 5, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1968), I, VI, 57–64. All quotations from the text of the *Wallace* throughout this thesis are taken from McDiarmid's edition.

couplets he used signalled his intention to produce a courtly, sophisticated romance — features which made *Clariodus* distinct from any of its contemporary English romances.

Having considered the issue of *why* the *Clariodus*-poet translated his French prose source into verse, I now turn to a consideration of *how* he translated prose into verse. Of course, the decasyllabic couplet form may signal to his audience that the poem was a sophisticated production, but it was rather restrictive: when translating, the *Clariodus*-poet always had to be aware of the five-stress line, and of the need to find rhymes for his couplets. That the *Clariodus*-poet more often than not manages to conform to the decasyllabic couplet scheme while maintaining a high level of metrical regularity should certainly be classed as an admirable achievement.

The remainder of this chapter will examine the *Clariodus*-poet's translation techniques by comparing passages from the Scottish romance with their direct counterparts in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. This is often made possible by the closeness of the *Clariodus*-poet's translation from the French, yet this closeness only serves to emphasise the subtle yet significant changes the *Clariodus*-poet is continuously making to his source.

It is therefore worth highlighting as my first example how the *Clariodus*-poet often manages to translate from the French almost word-for-word, where he makes only the slightest of alterations to his source — and these, as we shall see, are mainly in order to conform to the decasyllabic couplet form. A good example of this narrative closeness occurs when Philippon offers Meliades' hand in marriage to Clariodus, after Meliades is welcomed home by her father after returning from her exile. The French text describes the decoration in the hall of Philippon's castle thus:

> Les sieges des quatre roys et cellui de la royne estoient couvers de draps d'or, moult richement, et la salle toute tendue de mesmes. (XXXII, 105–8).
> [The seats of the four kings and that of the queen were covered in cloth of gold, most richly, and all the hall [was] hung in the same.]

Here is the corresponding passage in *Clariodus*:

> Whair seiges royall was gudlie to behold
> For foure kings, coverit with cloath of gold
> Abone thair heid*is*; siklyke thair was stent,
> Whilke to behold was pretious and potent.
> The hall was all arayit with the samyne;
> Thair was grit ioy of menstrallie and gaming.
> (IV, 2674–9)

In the passage from *Clariodus* we can see that the *Clariodus*-poet has kept the details about the seats of the four kings being covered in cloth of gold — and has even re-used the French word 'siege' — yet he has still made very slight changes to his source here. There is no mention of there being a seat for the queen, as there is in the French, and the Scottish author has added the line 'Thair was grit ioy of menstrallie and gaming' (IV, 2679), a detail which is not present in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. This minor extra detail does not add anything to the plot of *Clariodus*, so it is easy to surmise that the only reason the *Clariodus*-poet made this minor change was to complete a rhyme-pair with 'samyne' in the line above (IV, 2278).

Further examples of passages where the *Clariodus*-poet retains the fine details present in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* are abundant. One of the most memorable instances of this occurs the night before the wedding of Cleriadus and Meliadice. In the French text, the narrator remarks on a custom concerning English aristocratic women the night

before their wedding in which the lady in question may not leave her chamber until the following day:

> Aprés tout cela fait, la royne d'Espaigne, Donaïfs et Cadore et toutes les autres qui là estoient prindrent congié de Meliadice, laquelle les vouloit convoyer, mais on ne le voult souffrir qu'elle venist que jusques à l'uys pource que, à la guise d'Angleterre, depuis que une damme grant maistresse estoit retraicte la nuyt de la veille de leurs nopces, ilz n'yssoient point dehors jusques à l'andemain. (XXXIV, 579-88)
>
> [After doing all that, the Queen of Spain, Donaïfs and Cadore and all the others that were there took leave of Meliadice, who wanted to accompany them, but she was only allowed to come to the door because, following the custom of England, once a great lady had retired for the night on the eve of her wedding, she did not go out at all until the morrow].

The corresponding passage in *Clariodus* repeat this information almost exactly:

> Thir princessis hes thane thair leave hes taine
> Them to convoy this ladie wald have gaine,
> Bot thay wald not hir suffer in no way
> For it the vse of Ingland was, perfay,
> Ladies the nicht befor thair mariage
> Sould dwell in chalmeris of auld vsage,
> Whill thay went to the kirke to spousit be;
> So stude that ladie in that ilk degrie.
> (V, 576–83)

Again, however, it is not difficult to notice the constraint sometimes placed on the *Clariodus*-poet's translation by the decasyllabic couplet form. The first line of this passage, 'Thir princessis hes thane thair leave hes taine' (V, 576) is particularly awkward, but does fit perfectly into five stresses. Another technique we might note here is the *Clariodus*-poet's addition of 'perfay' in V, 579, which serves no real function except

as a rhyme word. Indeed, the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (*DOST*) notes in its definition of 'perfay' that it appears 'Only in verse in Scotland, chiefly in the rhyming position'.[10] The only other minor technique of interest in this passage is the *Clariodus*-poet's assertion that part of the custom for these aristocratic ladies is that they should confine themselves to should be chambers of 'auld vsage' before they enter the church to be wedded (V, 581–2); this particular detail is not specified in the French source, but it is nevertheless a small addition from the *Clariodus*-poet which adds to the sense of nuptial customs being passed down through the ages, as well as supplying a rhyme with 'mariage' in the line above (580).

We have seen with the above passages that the *Clariodus*-poet was proficient at using the decasyllabic couplet form to convey almost exactly the same details and meanings as in the French prose source, yet there are still a variety of techniques which he utilised — especially in the case of rhyme words — in order to make his task of translation easier. *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is, after all, rather a long text to translate into another language, let alone translating it into a different language while also versifying it. Throughout *Clariodus*, the anonymous poet has a tendency to use the same rhyme pairs again and again, most likely because it is far easier to do this when discussing topics which repeatedly occur in the narrative (such as tournaments or feasts) than to devise an original rhyme each time. Indeed, one of the most common rhyme pairs in *Clariodus* is 'scheild: feild', which is perhaps unsurprising given the number of single combats and tournaments the eponymous hero of the romance experiences. The full list of examples of the 'scheild: feild' rhyme is too numerous to list here, but the first example occurs only a few lines into the romance in Book I, 11–12. The *Clariodus*-poet

[10] *DOST*, *perfay*, *interj.*

continues to use this rhyme pair right up until the close of the romance: in the last one hundred lines alone of Book V (as it survives) this rhyme pair appears on two occasions at V, 2973–4 and V, 2985–6.

Closely related to the *Clariodus*-poet's repeated use of the same rhyme pairs is the use of the same noun phrases to describe a particular person or group of people. This is especially evident whenever Meliades or another lady makes an appearance in the text, and they are almost invariably described by the *Clariodus* poet as either a 'lusty ladie scheine' or 'lusty ladyis scheine'. In Book I alone, there are eight instances where Meliades, Cadar, or a group of women are given this epithet or a slight variant of it: Meliades at I, 128, I, 627 and I, 1220; Cadar at I, 1427 and I, 1536; anonymous groups of ladies at I, 152, and I, 1170, and a single anonymous lady at I, 833. While this is certainly another strategy employed by the *Clariodus*-poet to ease the task of translation — 'scheine' can be rhymed with many other Older Scots words — the epithet 'lusty ladie scheine' and its variants seems to have been particularly common in Older Scots poetry. As we shall see below in the discussion of the *Clariodus*-poet's use of aureate language, the anonymous poet's use of this epithet once again shows his wide-ranging acquaintance with Older Scots literary traditions, aligning his own work with that of his Scottish poetic predecessors. It is worth considering, however, that the *Clariodus*-poet's continuous use of the same stock poetic phrases and descriptions, although it certainly designates him as an author familiar with his native literary traditions, may be why critics have previously responded to his poetic style with some level of negativity.

Cuts and abbreviations made to the French source by the *Clariodus*-poet

Having given an overview of some of the techniques used by the *Clariodus*-poet to

transform his prose source into verse, I now turn to a closer examination of some of the more obvious changes he made to *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, beginning with an examination of which parts of the French source he decided to compress or cut altogether. This is, of course, closely linked to the *Clariodus*-poet's overall strategy of translation, which naturally required him to compress the lengthy, full lines of prose into the strict decasyllabic couplet form. As we shall see, many of the cuts and abbreviations which the *Clariodus*-poet makes to the original French do not interrupt or change the narrative, yet they do have the effect of allowing the *Clariodus*-poet to slightly modify the narrative pace of the original, especially in scenes where the Scottish poet transforms direct speech from the French into indirect speech in his own poem. Moreover, in comparing the original French with *Clariodus* the unique additions and expansions to the narrative made by the Scottish poet are placed more sharply in focus, as I will go on to highlight below.

One of the most frequent methods by which the *Clariodus*-poet achieves narrative compression is by cutting the lengthy scenes of dialogue which appear in the French source. A good example of this appears at the very beginning of *Clariodus*, during a conversation which takes place between the Lombard Knight and Clariodus once the Lombard Knight has been defeated. In the French, this conversation is as follows:

> [Lombard Knight speaking]: -Ha! Fleur de chevalrie, je vous crie mercy et me rens á vous et, pour Dieu, ne me octiez mie.
>
> Cleriadus si respond:
>
> -Se vous voullez avoir mercy, il vous convient promettre que jamais vostre duc ne demandera droit de la chose dont la querelle si est entre vous et moy debatue.
>
> Le Chevalier Lombart si respond:

-Je vous promettz et affie, messire Cleriadus, que, se vous me voullez respiter de mort, que jamais monseigneur le duc ne demandera au roy ne ne caulangera quelque chose sur son port ne sur sa seigneurie et puet estre que, si je eschappe vif, que encores vostre roy et mon duc seront bons amys ensemble. (IV, 401–16).

['Ha! Flower of chivalry, I cry you mercy, and yield to you: in God's name, do not kill me!'

Cleriadus then responds: 'If you wish for mercy, you must promise that your Duke must never ask for the right to the thing about which this quarrel is now between you and me'.

The Lombard Knight then responds: 'I promise and assure you, Sir Clariodus, that, if you spare me from death, that my lord the Duke will never ask the King nor challenge his lordship of the port, and may it be that, if I escape alive, your King and my Duke are once again good friends together'.]

Here is the same conversation in the Scottish:

'Ha! Flour of knichtheid, I the mercie cry.'
The v*tha*r said, 'If thow will mercie crave,
Make heir ane aith never to claime nor have
The Clarefontane, as we our cunan maid.'
'Thow saif my lyfe, Clariodus,' he said,
'My lord,' he said, 'sall never challings *thai*rtill;
Ry*ch*t as thow pleisis thy mind I sall fulfill.'
(I, 98–104)

We can see that, while there are occasions where the *Clariodus*-poet has translated from the French word-for-word (for example, the phrase 'Flour of knichtheid'), his overall strategy here is one of compression. He cuts out the rather repetitive and unecessary 'et me rens á vous et, pour Dieu, ne me octiez mie' spoken by the Lombard Knight after he begs Clariodus for mercy, and greatly compresses the final part of the conversation in which the Lombard Knight assures Clariodus that his lord will never again challenge

King Philippon again over the rights to the port of Clarefontane, a contested piece of land in France. Indeed, he squeezes the Lombard Knight's rather long final speech into just two lines of poetry (I, 103–4). The overall effect of such compressions is to quicken the narrative pace, with more of a focus on drama and action than in the French.

There are a large range of examples which can be used to demonstrate the *Clariodus*-poet's compression of dialogue, and they are too numerous to list here. However, it is worth focusing on one instance where the Scottish poet's compression of speech serves to bring out some of the major themes within the poem. Such an example occurs in Book IV of *Clariodus*, when preparations are being made for Meliades to be reunited with her father, King Philippon; at this point, Philippon instructs Amador and Palexis to act as governors for the company of people that are travelling to welcome Meliades. In the French, the conversation in which Philippon bestows this responsibility upon them is long and full of instructions for the two knights, and includes direct speech from Philippon himself:

> … le roy s'en alla appuier sur ung dresouer et manda ses quatre maistres d'ostelz et aussi Amador et Palexés si leur dist, devant les chevaliers nouveaux venuz:
>
> -Amador, et vous, Palixés, je veil que vous aiez tout le gouvernement de toute ceste compaignee. Et veés cy mes quatre maistres d'ostelz. Vous en prendrez les deux et les deux autres me demouront.
>
> Et lors le roy commanda aux deux qui furent establiz pour y aller:
>
> -Je vous commande que vous prenez la charge de faire mener tout l'estat de ma fille Meliadice et gardez que tout soit fait en toutes choses si largement que chascun se loue de moy et que mon honneur y soit gardé le plus haultement que faire pourrez. (Chap. XXVIII, 277–93)
>
> [The king went to lean on a dresser and called for his four *maistres d'ostelz* and also Amador et Palexés, and said to them, in front of the recently-arrived knights:

> ‘Amador, and you, Palixés, I want you all to have the governance of this whole company. And see here, my four *maistres d’ostelz* : you will take two and the two others will remain with me.
>
> And then the king commanded the two who had been designated to leave :
>
> ‘I command that you take charge of directing the entire estate of my daughter Meliadice and ensure that everything is done in all cases so generously that everyone will praise me, and that my honour will be kept as highly as you can’.]

The corresponding passage in *Clariodus* is as follows:

> The King ordaint thir lustie knights two,
> Palexis and Amandour also,
> And two eik of his maisteris of houshold
> This companie in governance to hold,
> And bad that thay sould rewle *and* gyd the leave,
> That in all way thay sould his honour saue,
> He them delyuerit w*ith* full meike sermone
> (IV, 215–221)

We can see in the passage from *Clariodus* that all of the direct speech from King Philippon has been compressed into indirect speech by the Scottish poet; indeed, the length of his speech is simply summarised in the line ‘He them delyuerit with full meike sermone’ (IV, 221). What is more, by shifting the focus from Philippon’s actual words to reported speech, the meaning of his words is placed more sharply into focus than in the French. In the passage from *Clariodus* there is now a clearer emphasis on the theme of governance and rulership because of this compression of dialogue. Indeed, words and phrases which the *Clariodus*-poet has directly translated from the French include the word ‘governance’ (IV, 218), and he has retained Philippon’s instruction that Amador and Palexis should ‘saue’ his honour (IV, 220). He has also added the phrase ‘rewle and

gyd' (IV, 219), a phrase which appears elsewhere in Older Scots literature, including John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* (composed 1490)and the Maitland Folio manuscript (dating from *c*. 1570–86).[11] Thus, in the *Clariodus*-poet's decision to compress this particular dialogue exchange, we have seen him not only transform the sense of the original French so that greater focus is placed on the themes of governance and rulership (ever-present themes in *Clariodus*) but it is also evident that, once again, he is drawing on the traditions of Older Scots literature with which he is so familiar.

It is not just passages of dialogue which the *Clariodus*-poet compresses, however. There are places where he compresses entire chapters of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* into only a few lines of poetry. This occurs with the entirety of Chapter VI in the French source, which is compressed from 55 lines of prose (using the line numbers of Zink's edition) to 11 lines of iambic pentameter in *Clariodus*:

> Returnit ar thir knichts hame againe,
> Vnto thair mightie king and soverane
> Whom in the toune of Walburgh they fande
> Bot thre dayis iurnay from Earle Estouris land:
> Rehearsing all both more and les
> How them entreitit Earle Estoure's nobilnes
> And how, w*ith*i*n* a monethes space but more
> Sould be his wadding day; quhairfore
> He hes gart warne throw all his regioun
> Bath duikis, earlis and knichts of renowne

[11] 'God send Iustice this land to rewle and gyde' (57); Maitland Folio, Poem XVIII, 'Off the Assemblie of ye Congregatioun'; *The Maitland Folio Manuscript: Containing Poems by Sir R. Maitland, Dunbar, Douglas, Henryson, and Others*, ed. by William A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 2nd Ser., 7, 20, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1919, 1927), I (pp. 34–5); all quotations from the Maitland Folio manuscript throughout this thesis are taken from Craigie's edition. The exact phrase used by the *Clariodus*-poet can also be found in John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome*: '[Priests] be þar wissdome, haly lif and gud counsall þai suld reule and gouerne all the laif', from the 'Argument and Dedication', 15–16; John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, ed. by Charles Macpherson et al., STS, 2nd ser., 19, 4th ser., 2, 19, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1926; Edimburgh, 1965; Aberdeen 1990), I, ed. by Charles Macpherson (1926), p. 13.

For to be thair againe *th*at iusting day
On hors*is*, armit redie for tornay.
(I, 365–76)

Although there is not space here to include the entirety of Chapter VI of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, it is summarised perfectly by the *Clariodus*-poet: it describes only the meeting between the King of Spain and his ambassadors in which the marriage arrangements between the King of Spain and Earl Esture's daughter, Maudonnette, are finalised. Once again, the *Clariodus*-poet is able to achieve such great compression of the narrative through removing direct speech — in this case, the report of the ambassadors to the King of Spain — and focusing only on the most necessary details present in this chapter. Indeed, this chapter is certainly not a major narrative episode, and could easily be classed as a brief 'scene change' before the story returns to its hero, Cleriadus.

Ultimately, making cuts and compressions to the narrative is closely linked to the *Clariodus*-poet's decision to use decasyllabic couplets; it is only natural that he would have to make some compressions in order to make the long, free-flowing lines of prose conform to his poetic scheme. Yet, as we have seen with the examples above, the *Clariodus*-poet is often comfortable with cutting or reducing passages in his French source, especially where there are long, rambling exchanges of dialogue, or even where entire chapters do not fit in with his narrative vision. Indeed, we might say that his narrative vision with these sorts of changes is to create more fluid, dynamic scenes which focus on action rather than on speech interactions between characters.

The *Clariodus*-poet: Authorship, Additions, and Amplifications

The examples discussed so far have demonstrated two major aspects of the *Clariodus*-poet's translation techniques: the first, that the Scottish poet must always bear in mind the constraints placed on him by the decasyllabic couplet form whilst pursuing his policy of making a close translation, and the second, that he is willing to compress dialogue and minor scenes which matter little to the overall plot of the romance, lending more focus to the elements of action within the story. While these two aspects are important for understanding the *Clariodus*-poet as an author, it is the expansions and unique additions which the Scottish poet makes to *Cleriadus et Meliadice* that reveal that the most about the Scottish poet's authorial aspirations.

In the absence of a prologue in which the *Clariodus*-poet might have outlined his own views of himself as an author and his reasons behind translating the poem, the passage in which he discusses his relationship to his two sources is the closest we will get to the *Clariodus*-poet's own words concerning his status as a poet:

> He that in French hes red this historie;
> To sik ane rethorik ather be laud *and* glorie,
> As vnto him that did this buik compleit
> In French, illumining w*ith* his goldin style.
> And he, that did it out of French translait,
> Hes it depaint of langwag full ornat
> And lustie termis richt poeticall;
> Bot I, the third and secundest of all,
> Can not so meitter as thay put in prose;
> Full oft I put the nettill for the rose
> And oft the bindweid for the lillie quhyte.
> (V, 2241–51)

As I have discussed above, this is the passage which informs us that the *Clariodus*-poet used two sources for his romance: the original French *Cleriadus et Meliadice* and the now-lost English prose translation. However, it is the way in which the *Clariodus*-poet presents himself in relation to these two sources which reveal much about how he conceives of himself as an author.

We might think at first glance that the *Clariodus*-poet has a rather disparaging view of his own authorial skills. He praises both the rhetoric of the French source (V, 2242) and the 'goldin style' (V, 2244) of its author, as well as referring to the 'langwag full ornat/And lustie termis richt poeticall' (V, 2246–7) used by 'he, that did it out of French translait' (V, 2245) — presumably, the author of the English prose translation. Indeed, he insists that in comparison to his illustrious predecessors, he is 'third and secundest of all' (V, 2248), a most intriguing assertion which initially suggests that he feels himself unworthy to be counted first among those who have told the story of Clariodus, but which may, upon deeper analysis, simply refer to his status as the third person to ever retell the romance and the second to make a translation of it. The *Clariodus*-poet even goes so far as to insist he is untalented when it comes to the composition of metre, informing us that he 'Can not so meitter as thay put in prose' (V, 2249), with 'thay' again referring to the authors of his two French and English sources. This last assertion in particular makes one suspicious of the Scottish poet's true meaning here: to compose poem of over 11,000 lines in regular decasyllabic couplets (from a prose source, no less) is no small undertaking.

Indeed, there is no need to take the *Clariodus*-poet at his own word, for here is a clear example of the modesty topos,[12] inserted by the *Clariodus*-poet as a nod to an

[12] Also referred to throughout literary scholarship as the 'humility topos' or 'inexpressibility topos'.

established tradition in which poets, on the surface at least, denigrated their own works in comparison to those of their predecessors. This technique was a particular favourite with poets of the Chaucerian tradition (as we shall see below,), and could be used either as a means of 'self-aggrendisement' by which the poet could convey 'precisely the opposite of what they literally communicate',[13] or, in David Lawton's revisionist view, the pretence to poetic dullness could provide a mask behind which a poetic could critique those in power.[14] It is the former definition which applies to our *Clariodus*-poet, as I now shall demonstrate.

Beginning with the *Clariodus*-poet's praise for the French author 'illumining' his work with his 'goldin style' (V, 2244), this seems rather insincere praise, since *Cleriadus et Meliadice* is written in a plain prose style which conveys verisimilitude and clarity, as was common for French prose romances of the fifteenth century.[15] It is also unlikely that any prose English translation contained text that could be described as 'poeticall', given the typical language used in surviving English prose romances; moreover, since it was unusual for verse English romances to contain 'ornate', courtly language, it would be even more uncommon to find such language used in an English prose text of the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century.

Despite the insincerity rife within the *Clariodus*-poet's use of the modesty topos here, the passage nevertheless reveals the style of authorship to which he most aspired. As Purdie has demonstrated,[16] the lines 'Full oft [I] put the nettill for the rose/And oft the bindweid for the lillie quhyte' (V, 2250–1) 'recall a very similar passage in Dunbar's

[13] Robert J. Meyer-Lee, 'Lydgate's Laureate Pose', in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England*, ed. by Larry Scanlon and James Simpson (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 36–60 (p. 52).
[14] David Lawton, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', *ELH*, 54, 4 (1987), 761–99.
[15] Brown-Grant, p. 7.
[16] Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 456.

The Thrissill and the Rose. When the poem's narrator is asked to 'disrcryve the Ros of most plesance' (39),[17] Dame Nature addresses the Thistle thus:

> *And lat no nettill vyle and full of vyce*
> Hir fallow to the gudly flour delyce,
> *Nor latt no wyld weid full of churlichenes*
> *Compair hir till the lilleis nobilnes.*
> (137–140)[18]

By alluding to a poem which is 'actually *about* descriptive writing' (Purdie's emphasis)[19] in a passage where his own attitudes towards authorship are most prominent, the *Clariodus*-poet demonstrates a clear engagement with contemporary issues of authorship and the many anxieties it entails. As we shall see by the conclusion of this chapter, the *Clariodus*-poet's use of the modesty topos, his numerous intertextual references to other Older Scots poems, his knowledge of the Chaucerian tradition, and his continual efforts to place himself within a specifically Scottish courtly tradition of poetry, all speak of a poet who is very self-conscious about his own self-presentation as an author.

Having discussed the *Clariodus*-poet's perception of his own authorship, I now offer a thorough survey of those aspects of his translation which best demonstrate his authorial style — the expansions and unique additions with which he augmented his French source. My first example illustrates how the *Clariodus*-poet ties together both form and style in order to amplify his source material and demonstrate his poetic skill. At the very beginning of *Clariodus* as it now survives, Clariodus himself is involved in single combat against the Lombard Knight, who has challenged Philippon, the King of

[17] Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar,* ed. Bawcutt, Poem 52.
[18] The emphases here follow Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 456.
[19] Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance', p. 456.

England, over the ownership of lands in France. The French passage is concerned solely with focusing on the actions of Cleriadus and his fellows:

> Le Chevalier Lombart s'en va hastivement bas en la court et messier Cleriadus aprés, quant il eust prins congié du roy et de sa compaignee. Chascun plouroit et fasoit douleur de Cleriadus, mais, sur tous les autres, ces quatre compaignons menoient dueil et couroux. … L'un lui porte son heaulme et la belle plaisance dessus actachee, l'autre porte son escu, l'autre sa lance et l'autre sa hache pour la guerre. (IV, 304–14)

> [The Lombard Knight hastily goes to the lower end of the courtyard and Sir Cleriadus after, when he had taken leave from the King and his company. Everyone cried and made sorrow for Cleriadus, but, over all of the others, these four companions led the mourning and sorrow ...The one [companion] carries his helmet and the beautiful mantle which attaches to it, the other carries his shield, the other his lance and the other his war axe].

Looking at the first six lines of *Clariodus* from a purely metrical point of view, we can see that the *Clariodus*-poet has endeavoured to keep to the decasyllabic pattern of his chosen form even when making his own additions to the original French (stressed syllables are printed in bold):

> **Bricht as** | ane **an** | gell **schy** | ning **in** | his **weid**
> With **force** |of **speir** | up**on** | his **might** | ie **steid**
> **Rycht large** | of **stat** | our, **strong** | and **corp** | o**lent**,
> Lyke **god** | of **arm** | is **Mars** | ar**mi** | pot**ent**,
> Wode **burn** | ing, **full** | of **cour** |age and | **desy**re,
> For to| be**hald** | he **was** | ane **aw** |full **syre**;
> (I, 1–6)

Of interest, too, is the stress patterning of this particular passage, which focuses on the military prowess of Clariodus. In the majority of instances here, the *Clariodus*-poet has

arranged the stress so that it falls on words which underline the sheer might of Clariodus and the ferocity with which he enters the battle with the Lombard Knight: in line 2, 'force' and 'might', in line 3, the spondee of 'rycht large', as well as the 'strong', and in line 4 both 'god' and 'Mars' are stressed, lending a sharp focus to Clariodus' godlike strength. This technique of adding numerous allusions to classical figures to his translation is just one way in which the *Clariodus*-poet positions himself within a confluence of English and Scottish poetic traditions, as we shall see in the remainder of this chapter.

While I have already outlined some of the changes the *Clariodus*-poet made to his French source above, I propose that, rather than analysing these expansions and unique additions in isolation, we can gain a better understanding of the *Clariodus*-poet's approaches to translation and authorship by considering these unique passages and expansions within their literary contexts. When considering these alterations as a whole, it quickly becomes clear that the *Clariodus*-poet was keen to engage with a wide variety of vernacular literary traditions, from positing himself as a continuator of the 'Scottish Chaucerian' tradition (discussed further below) to his copious use of aureate description which characterised the most sophisticated fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poetry. Moreover, through analysing *Clariodus* within the context of these vernacular literary traditions, we can better appreciate the *Clariodus*-poet's commitment to weaving an intricate web of intertextuality throughout his translation.

With this in mind, the following section of this chapter will firstly consider the amplifications and expansions in *Clariodus* in which the Scottish poet adopts an authorial voice which deliberately aligns himself with Chaucerian traditions; this is particularly evident where the *Clariodus*-poet discusses the relationship between

Clariodus and Meliades, as Emily Wingfield has previously outlined in her work on intertextuality in *Clariodus*.[20] In the same section I also point out that the *Clariodus*-poet often adopts some of the stylistic features which can be found in the most prominent works of John Lydgate, such as his *Troy Book* and the *Siege of Thebes* — texts which are known to have circulated in Scotland. Therefore, *Clariodus* can be posited as another link in the chain of Chaucerian tradition which encompassed both English and Scottish vernacular poetry.

The next section, 'Aureate Description in *Clariodus*', follows directly on from the discussion of Lydgate's stylistic features in 'Chaucerian Traditions in *Clariodus*', since the *Clariodus*-poet shares with Lydgate a desire to embellish descriptions by using Latinate language combined with images of light. Once again, this was a stylistic device which could be found in the most sophisticated Scottish poetry of the sixteenth century, especially in 'courtly' poetry such as Gavin Douglas' *Palice of Honour* and the court poems of William Dunbar.

Further evidence of the *Clariodus*-poet's wide-ranging literary knowledge is discussed in 'The *Clariodus*-poet and Boethius'. Here, I note that there are several occasions in *Clariodus* in which the characters are given speeches concerning the nature of Fortune — and which derive from Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* — which are either only briefly mentioned in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, or are not mentioned at all. I illustrate that these Boethian-inspired additions are another method through which the

[20] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*'.

Clariodus-poet engaged with Older Scots vernacular culture — particularly the *Kingis Quair*, a text noted for its strong engagement with Boethian philosophy.[21]

Finally, 'The *Clariodus*-poet as a Bookish Author' considers more widely the role of literary allusions within *Clariodus*, focusing particularly on the large number of references to classical figures which the *Clariodus*-poet has added to his own translation. I focus particularly on a unique passage in which the Scottish poet catalogues a large variety of classical figures and scenes which appear on a tapestry prepared as part of Clariodus and Meliades' wedding celebrations, and which is the most extensive example of the *Clariodus*-poet's wide-ranging knowledge of literature, both classical and near-contemporary.

Chaucerian Traditions in *Clariodus*

As I have already indicated above, the unique passages and expansions added by the *Clariodus*-poet to *Cleriadus et Meliadice* reveal, more than any of his other alterations to his source, his intention to align his work with existing vernacular literary conventions, all of which lend a sophisticated aspect to his romance. I will firstly consider the *Clariodus*-poet's debt to Chaucer and Lydgate, since the influence of these two giants of Middle English literature is of central importance to his translation technique.

The effect that Chaucer had on the composition of vernacular poetry — both English and Scottish — cannot be underestimated. As Lois A. Ebin has pointed out, although Chaucer positioned himself as a 'fledgling poet and an outsider from love', and

[21] Lois Ebin, for example, considers the *Kingis Quair* to be 'a response to, rather than an imitation of' Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*; see Lois A. Ebin, 'Boethius, Chaucer and the *Kingis Quair*', *Philological Quartlerly*, 53, 3 (1974), 321–41 (p. 321).

in contrast to the modern view of Chaucer as a 'complex and ironic' writer, it was actually Chaucer's image as a 'court poet and poet of love, the author of the *Troilus*, the visions, complaints, and selected lyrics' that fifteenth-century poets focused on.[22] She goes on to note that:

> From the perspective of their poetry, the work with the most profound impact was the *Troilus*, which was alluded to in fifteenth-century writing more than three times as often as any other Chaucerian piece, and which directly influenced several fifteenth-century poems.[23]

As we shall see, the influence of *Troilus and Criseyde* was still being felt in sixteenth-century Scotland, as it is one of the works from which the *Clariodus*-poet most frequently borrows. He, like so many of his contemporaries, clearly considered *Troilus and Criseyde* to be a work of great rhetorical poise and a model of stylistic brilliance.

Indeed, the influence of Chaucer in Older Scots literature is such that the term 'Scottish Chaucerians' is almost unavoidable in criticism which considers the influence of Chaucer on Older Scots poetry. As Denton Fox remarks, 'Scottish Chaucerians' is a label which:

> has usually been applied to the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries who wrote, at least occasionally, in the formal 'aureate' style and who inserted references to Chaucer into their poems: the author of *The Kingis Quair*, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, perhaps Lyndsay. But it is impossible to give the term any definite boundaries, for it could certainly be applied to the mostly anonymous predecessors and imitators of these poets.[24]

---

[22] Lois A. Ebin, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates: Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln, NE and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1988), p. 8. Spearing, too, notes that it was the 'courtly Chaucer' who had the greatest influence on Chaucerians. See A. C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 63.
[23] Ebin, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates*, p. 8.
[24] Denton Fox, 'The Scottish Chaucerians', in *Chaucer and Chaucerians*, ed. by D. S. Brewer (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966) pp. 164-200 (p. 164).

While the term 'Scottish Chaucerians' is perhaps a problematic one given its assumption that Scottish poets depended entirely on Chaucerian models of composition, it is, I think, a term which is appropriate to apply to the *Clariodus*-poet. He is certainly classifiable as one of the 'anonymous imitators' of the poets mentioned above, and is extraordinarily keen to indicate the dependence of his own poetry on that of his predecessors: Chaucer, Lydgate, Douglas and Dunbar (although he does not explicitly reference them by name).

Despite the inherent problems in using such a term as 'Scottish Chaucerian', there are nevertheless various examples of Older Scots poets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who explicitly outline Chaucer's role as their literary idol, viewing his work as the pinnacle of achievement in vernacular poetry. What is most interesting about these tributes is that, in the same passages, praise is also usually given to John Gower as well as to Lydgate in later fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century poems, forming, along with Chaucer, a 'trinity' of English poets whose work was most praised in Scotland. The earliest of these examples is from *The Kingis Quair* of King James I. James ends his poem by praising the rhetorical skills of both Chaucer and Gower as:

> ... my maisteris dere,
> Gowere and Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
> Of rethorike quhill thai were lyvand here,
> Superlatiue as poetis laureate
> In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
> (1373–7)[25]

[25] James I of Scotland, *The Kingis Quair*, ed. by John Norton-Smith (Leiden: Brill, 1981). All quotations from the *Kingis Quair* throughout this thesis will be taken from Norton-Smith's edition.

By the time Douglas was writing his *Palice of Honour* in *c.*1501, Lydgate's work had become sufficiently well-known and revered in Scotland to warrant being mentioned amongst the names of his illustrious predecessors. Amongst a roll-call of poets both classical and vernacular, Douglas names:

> Geffray Chauceir, as A per se sans peir
> In his vulgare, and morall Iohne Goweir.
> Lydgait, the Monk, raid musing him allone.
> (919–21)[26]

We get the sense from the inclusion of this passage within such a large catalogue of other poets that Douglas did not see fit to dwell too long on this trio of English poets, although he would later go on to name Chaucer as 'prinicipal poet but peir' in his first Prologue to his *Eneados* (dated 1513),[27] and his *Palice of Honour* shows the influence of both Chaucer and Lydgate. [28]

The most detailed tribute to Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate which appears in Older Scots poetry occurs at the end of Dunbar's *Golden Targe* (composed between the end of the fifteenth century and the very early sixteenth century). Dunbar effuses praise by not only naming the 'holy trinity' of English poets, but also goes into great detail on how these three poets have, between them, raised the status of the English vernacular into a language worthy of the most sophisticated poetry:

> O reuerend Chaucere, rose of rethoris all
> (As in oure tong ane flour imperiall)

[26] Gavin Douglas, *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, STS, 5th ser., 2, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003). All quotations from the *Palice of Honour* throughout this thesis are taken from Bawcutt's edition.
[27] *Eneados*, I Prologue, 339. Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld,* ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, STS, 4th ser., 30, 25, 27, 28, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1957–64). All quotations from the *Eneados* throughout this thesis are taken from Coldwell's edition.
[28] Douglas, *Shorter Poems*, ed. Bawcutt, pp. xxx–i.

That raise in Britane ewir, quho redis rycht,
Thou beris of makaris the tryumph riall,
Thy fresch anamalit termes celicall
This mater coud illumynit haue full brycht.
Was thou noucht of oure Inglisch all the lycht,
Surmounting ewiry tong terrestriall,
Alls fer as Mayes morow dois mydnycht?

O morall Gower and Ludgate laureate,
Your sugurit lippis and tongis aureate
Bene to oure eris cause of grete delyte.
Your angel mouthis most mellifluate
Oure rude langage has clere illumynate
And fair ourgilt oure spech, that imperfyte
Stude or your goldyn pennis schupe to write.
This ile before was bare and desolate
Of rethorike or lusty fresch endyte.
(253–70)[29]

As Gregory Kratzmann remarks, the 'linguistic promixity' of Middle English and Older Scots meant that Scottish poets could describe the language in which they were writing as 'Inglis',[30] despite clear dialectal differences. This meant that Scottish poets had little trouble in reading the poetry of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets in the original Middle English dialects in which they were written, although there are many examples of English texts being copied into Scottish manuscripts and prints. For example, we know for certain that some of Chaucer's poetry, including a complete copy of *Troilus and Criseyde*, circulated in Scotland via Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24; the manuscript also includes numerous other works from Chaucer

[29] Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar,* ed. Bawcutt, Poem 59.
[30] Kratzmann, p. 12.

including *Truth*, his *Complaint of Mars* and the *Complaint of Venus*, the *Parliament of Fowls*, and the *Legend of Good Women*. Many of the shorter poems in the manuscript are incorrectly attributed to Chaucer, including Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*.[31] Where Lydgate's works are concerned, far less attention to their circulation and influence in Scotland has been apparent when compared with Chaucer's works, but critics of Older Scots literature have still been able to uncover some Scottish manuscripts and prints of Lydgate's works. [32] The most notable of these are the aforementioned Arch. Selden. B. 24. copy of the *Complaint of the Black Knight*; a copy of the same text printed by Scotland's first printers, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, in 1508; extracts from Lydgate's *Troy Book* interpolated with a Scottish translation of Guido delle Colonne's Latin original in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.30; and a copy of the *Siege of Thebes* (now Boston, Boston Public Library MS f. med. 94) owned firstly by the Lyle family and subsequently by Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh laird of Glenorchy (*c.*1552–1631), who also owned both surviving copies of Sir Gilbert Hay's romance *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* (London, British Library Add. MS 40732 and National Archives of Scotland, MS GD 112/71/9). Although this is only a brief overview of the sort of texts which were circulating in Scotland attributable to

[31] Indeed, Ebin notes that 'in the fifteenth-century manuscripts and editions [of Chaucer and Lydgate], more than fifteen of Lydgate's works are attributed to Chaucer'; Ebin, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates*, p. 10.
[32] For discussion of Lydgate's work in Scotland, see Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*: Its Scottish Owners and Inscriptions', *Medium Aevum*, 70, 1 (2001), 80–94, and William Sweet, 'Lydgate and Scottish Lydgateans' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2009). Further relevant published works of William Sweet include 'The Scottish Lydgateans', in *Standing in the Shadow of the Master? Chaucerian Influences and Interpretations*, ed. by Kathleen A. Bishop (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 28–45; 'Lydgate Manuscripts and Prints in Late Medieval Scotland', in *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600*, ed. by Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 141–159; and 'The 'Vther Quair' as the *Troy Book*: The Influence of Lydgate on Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*', in *Premodern Scotland: Literature and Governance 1420–1587*, ed. by Joanna Martin and Emily Wingfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 57–73.

either Chaucer or Lydgate, we now have an idea of what sort of reading material the *Clariodus*-poet might have been able to access.

I now turn to an examination of those unique expansions and additions made by the *Clariodus*-poet which show a clear influence from the Chaucerian tradition, both English and Scottish. One problem in doing so, of course, is that at times it is difficult to tell whether a later author has been influenced directly by Chaucer or whether this influence has been filtered down through one of his imitators. Lydgate himself was partly responsible for this confusion, undertaking to extend and alter Chaucer's works; as Ebin notes, some examples of Lydgate's versions of Chaucerian material are his *Troy Book* — his own, greatly expanded, retelling of *Troilus and Criseyde* — and his remoulding of the *Knight's Tale* into the *Siege of Thebes*.[33] Moreover, it was Lydgate who began the tradition of exaggerating the most salient features of Chaucer's sophisticated poems. As Pearsall notes in his landmark study of Lydgate's work:

> There is no doubt that [Lydgate] ... is swept off his feet by the Chaucerian 'high style' with its 'golden' (aureate) language and its extensive use of the devices of amplification and figures of rhetoric. This is the style of the *Knight's Tale* and the *Troilus*, and the one which Lydgate imitates, systematically amplifying and exaggerating its every feature.[34]

[33] Ebin, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates*, p. 11.

[34] Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 66. My discussion of Lydgate in the following pages is, of necessity, based on Pearsall's monograph as this still remains the most extended study of Lydgate's style and technique. Although Pearsall can be disparaging towards Lydgate at times, recent years have seen a rehabilitation of Lydgate's reputation, and an influx of studies which focus on particular aspects of Lydgate's work. These include a new consideration of Lydgate as a participant in the Chaucerian tradition through his creation of 'virtual coteries', which 'place poets, their sources and inspiration, and patrons together as necessary elements in the construction of a poem' in R. D. Perry, 'Lydgate's Virtual Coteries: Chaucer's Family and Gower's Pacifism in the Fifteenth Century', *Speculum*, 93, 3 (2018), 669–98 (p. 671); Claire Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows: John Lydgate and the Making of Early Theater* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), which takes as its theme Lydgate's ceremonial poetry and entertainments; Mary C. Flannery, *John Lydgate and the Poetics of Fame* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), which considers Lydgate as a poet 'brimming with confidence and ambition' (p. 11); and Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), who offers a study that turns away from 'conventional narratives of post-Chaucerian aesthetic development and Lydgatean aureation' (p. 20) to instead focus on the ways in which

It is interesting to note that the stylistic features of Chaucer's 'high style' were used by him only rarely, yet as Ebin points out, it was Lydgate who adapted these features with such great frequency that they 'became a staple of the fifteenth-century poets who follow him.'[35] Pearsall summarises this situation succinctly in his assertion that: 'The history of English poetry, and of much Scottish poetry too, in the fifteenth century is as much the record of Lydgate's influence as of Chaucer's'.[36] As we shall see, this assessment is just as applicable to early sixteenth-century Scottish poetry, for the *Clariodus*-poet was surrounded by contemporary examples of writing in the 'high style', most notably in the works of Douglas and Dunbar. Indeed, the rhetorical figures and stylistic tropes which became conventions of the 'high style' became so abundant, and was filtered down through so many poets, that we are once again faced with difficulty in identifying where the *Clariodus*-poet's main influences came from: was it from the works of Chaucer himself, or his later followers? Was it from Scottish influences such as Dunbar and Douglas? Although the answer is likely to be a combination of these, I take the works of Chaucer and Lydgate as a starting point for the following discussion of some of the rhetorical figures and narrative formulas which the *Clariodus*-poet adds to his original French source.

Resonances between *Clariodus* and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* have already been briefly outlined by Emily Wingfield in her study of the *Clariodus*-poet's use of intertextuality in his romance.[37] Indeed, she notes that it is 'especially in relation to the

---

Lydgate 'remade the forms of public culture available to him' (p. 3). See also Larry Scanlon and James Simpson, eds., *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), whose edited collection of essays features a wide range of scholars who engage with 'the truly remarkable range and variety of [Lydgate's] work' (p. 6).

[35] Ebin, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates*, p. 12.

[36] Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, p. 1.

[37] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', p. 56.

love of Clariodus and Meliades where the author's debt to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is clear'.[38] This is particularly apparent when Clariodus and Meliades are about to consummate their marriage, and it provides the *Clariodus*-poet with the perfect opportunity to make a Chaucerian expansion to his source. In *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, the French author says only that 'Ilz sont en leur deduit et deport et ont tous leurs desirs acompliz ... [They are in their desire and enjoyment and accomplish all their desires ... (XXXVIII, 381–2]. The *Clariodus*-poet, however, posits himself as an exile from love, unable to discuss pleasures he knows nothing of and leaving it to the lovers in the audience to imagine the joy of Clariodus and Meliades:

> I will not tak in hand for to indyte
> Thair ioyis all, for them I cannot wryte,
> For in sik thing I am not prakticate,
> Quhilk never my ladie had in sik ane place.
> Termes I want, sik materis to prefer,
> Quhairfor 3e loueris to 3ow I it refer
> That taistit hes of the ilk samyn tune,
> And on sik wayis 3our ladies now hes wone.
> For to consider thair ioy is over measoure,
> Of loue they haue new fund the theasoure
> Whilk long thay haue with pane *and* pennance foght.
> I know the paine, the pleasoure know I nocht,
> The wo I felt, thoght I the blis not bruike.
> O 3e, my ladies *th*at luik*is* on this buike,
> To 3ow I me compleine on humbill wayis,
> That 3e nocht bot disdaine for my service;
> Wald God gif sum pairt of 3our pitie
> War mixit with my ladies bewtie,
> For war scho mercifull as scho is faire

[38] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', p. 56.

In all this world scho had non compaire,
In everie vertew naine micht hir amend.
(V, 1681–1701)

We have seen this sort of narratorial pose of a narrator who has experienced nothing of love, yet has written extensively about it, from Chaucer and Lydgate. In Book III of *Troilus and Criseyde*, when Troilus and Criseyde sleep together, Chaucer insists: 'Of hire delit or joies oon the leeste /Were impossible to my wit to seye (III, 1310–11),[39] which links back to his earlier assertion that he 'ne dar to Love, for myn unlyklinesse' (I, 16).[40] Lydgate, too, insists that he is unable to speak of such things when Tydeus and Polymytes first fall in love with Adrastus' daughters in *The Siege of Thebes*:

With-oute tarying to bedde streght they gon.
Touchyng her reste, wher thei slepte or non,
Demeth ȝe louers that in such maner thing
Bexperience han fully knowlecchyng;
For it is nat declared in my boke.
(II, 1501–05)[41]

An influence from Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight* can also be detected in the *Clariodus*-poet's additions to the consummation scene of Clariodus and Meliades, which

[39] All quotations from Chaucer's works throughout this thesis are taken from Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
[40] The *Clariodus*-poet has even borrowed Chaucer's appeal to the lovers among his audience to 'correct' his writings about love;

For myne wordes, heere and every part,
I speke hem alle under correcioun
Of yow that felyng han in loves art,
(*Troilus and Criseyde*,III, 1331–3)

[41] John Lydgate, *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes*, ed. by Axel Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall, EETS ES 108, 125, 2 vols (London, 1911, 1930), I, All quotations from the *Siege of Thebes* throghout this thesis are taken from Erdmann and Ekwall's edition.

is significant given its well-known status in Scotland. In 'L'envoye de quare' which finishes the poem, Lydgate dedicates the work to a mysterious lady:

> Go, litel quayre, go unto my lyves quene
> And my verry hertis sovereigne,
> And be ryght glad for she shal thee sene -
> Such is thi grace, but I, alas, in peyne
> Am left behinde and not to whom to pleyn,
> For Mercie, Routhe, Grace, and eke Pité
> Exiled be, that I may not ateyne
> Recure to fynde of myn adversité.
> (675–682)

This is recalled by the *Clariodus*-poet's address to the 'ladies [th]at luikis on this buike' (V, 1694), beseeching them to pity him for the disdain he receives from his own lady (V, 1699–1701). Given the frequency with which this trope appears in medieval literature, it is unlikely that the *Clariodus*-poet was being sincere here, but it nevertheless informs us that he wished to align himself with these popular traditions.

Another noticeable feature of the *Clariodus*-poet's translation is his use of 'Lydgatian' syntax. Pearsall notes, with a great deal of asperity, that these features include:

> a loose attitude to conjunctions (especially for), the sudden changes of tense, and from indirect to direct speech, the frequency of inversion, often of the most unidiomatic kind, and the very distinctive habit of using as + personal pronoun instead of the relative pronoun.[42]

Although the *Clariodus*-poet makes use of most of these syntactical features, the one I wish to draw attention to, and which is most noticeable, is the use of 'as + personal

[42] Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, p. 58.

pronoun' that Pearsall has identified, although this might more accurately be termed the use of 'conjunction + personal pronoun' since both Lydgate and the *Clariodus*-poet also frequently use *and* as well as other conjunctions in this formula. Lydgate's longer works are replete with examples; in one of the many instances in which he praises his 'maister Chaucer' in his *Troy Book*, Lydgate writes:

> For he þat was gronde of wel-saying
> In al his lyf hyndred no makyng,
> My maister Chaucer, þat founde ful many spot ...
> (V, 3519–26)[43]

Other examples occur in III, 869 ('As he that wolde his praye nat lightly lete'), II, 1851 ('And he that walkyth surly on the pleyn') and IV, 1174 ('As he that was in no thing rekeles'). In *The Siege of Thebes*, too, this is a prominent stylistic feature, appearing at III, 4704 ('And he that is both on and two and thre') and I, 478 ('As he that myght His pride not sustene') to name only two examples.

There are numerous appearances of the *Clariodus*-poet adopting the syntactical formula of 'conjunction + pronoun', most commonly to refer to Clariodus himself. When Clariodus is victorious at a tournament to celebrate his sister's wedding, he is described 'As he that hade the laude and the commend/And heigh praise of the tornament (I, 797–8). Once Clariodus learns of Meliades' supposed death, he is 'As he that wist not q*uhai*r to ryd or go (III, 1894), and Amandur, at his wedding to Cadar, is dressed '… in fresch and regall weid/As he that was ane prince of nobilheid' (V, 1747–8). The *Clariodus*-poet also makes use of the '*and* + pronoun' formula, notable examples being 'And he that did it out of French translait' (V, 2245); 'And he that with melancholie was anoyit' (III, 237);

[43] John Lydgate, *Lydgate's Troy Book A.D. 1412–20*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS e. s., 97, 103, 106, 126, 4 vols (London 1906–35). All quotations from the *Troy Book* throughout this thesis are taken from Bergen's edition.

and at V, 2630: 'And he that was imperiall vnder croun'. All such syntactical constructions are absent from the French original. Most probably, the *Clariodus*-poet saw in Lydgate's syntax an effective model for composing sophisticated poetry whilst maintaining a metrical scheme over a very large number of lines.

Having examined the narratorial and syntactical influence of Chaucer and Lydgate on the *Clariodus*-poet's unique additions and expansions to his French source, I now turn to an examination of the rhetorical 'colours' added by the *Clariodus*-poet to his own translation. Although the length of the romance means that these are extremely numerous, I shall nevertheless offer a brief overview of the types of rhetorical figures which are most frequently found in *Clariodus*, and which are, again, likely to have originated from Chaucer's and Lydgate's influence.

One of the most prominent rhetorical techniques which the *Clariodus*-poet adds to his romance is *occupatio*, classified by Spearing as 'in theory a means of abbreviation, in practice often used to amplify'.[44] Probably the most extensive example in medieval English poetry is surely in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* at the funeral of Arcite, where Chaucer indulges in the technique from lines 2919–66. It is also found in the *Siege of Thebes*, at the double wedding of Adrastus' daughters:

> But to telle all the circumstances
> Of Iustes, Reuel and the dyvers daunces,
> The feestes riche, and the gyftes grete,
> The pryvé sighes and the feruent hete
> Of louys folk brennyng as the glede,
> And devyses of many sondry wede,
> The touches stole *and* the amerous lookes,
> By sotyl craft leyd doun lyne *and* hokes,

[44] Spearing, p. 77.

The Ialous folk to traysshen *and* begyle
In their awayt with many sondry wile:
Al this in soth descryven I ne can.
(I, 1663–73)

At the double wedding of Amandur to the King of Spain's daughter and of Palexis to Lady Cadar, the *Clariodus*-poet may well have had this same scene in mind. He writes:

Anon the coursis come with sik fusioun
That I wald irk for to report them heire,
And 3e sould think it tedious for to heire;
Or if I told 3ow all the circumstance
Of them in Ingland, Ireland, and of France,
Galice, Garnat, and of Castal3ie,
Of Spain3e land, and of Estur cuntrie,
How thay war marchellit, or quha maid *th*am cheir,
(V, 1790–7)

The Scottish poet then tries to outdo even Lydgate's sophisticated rhetorical style through his combination of *occupatio* and *repetitio* here:

Or of the deverse intermisis seire,
Or of the dulce *and* hevinlie minstrallie,
Or of thair musike and diverse melodie,
Or of thair diverse playing instruments,
Or of thair plisant *and* trim abuil3ements,
Or of thair mirrie cheir maid at the tabill,
To tell or to report it war inestimabill,
The sweit luik*is* and amorus beholding
Betwix the knights *and* the ladies 3ing;
Or of the heralds in thair coat armouris
Of syndrie princes of grite honouris,
Vpon sik thing war long for to abyde

> Whairfor as now I le let it ower slyde.
> (V, 1798–1810)

This is a rather long expansion of a very short comment by the French author, who begins to undertake a description of the feasting and merriment but concludes that:

> ... et, pource que longue chose seroit de les racompter, je m'en passe á itant [because it would be a long thing to recount, I pass over it forthwith (XXXVIII, 508–9).

It would seem that the *Clariodus*-poet, always looking for an opportunity to include more 'langwag full ornat' (V, 2246) in his poem, seized upon this quote as a chance to display his skills at producing well-crafted examples of *occupatio* and *repetitio*, aligning him, as we have seen, with Lydgate's style in the *Siege of Thebes*.

Aureate Imagery

We have seen above that a key strategy of the *Clariodus*-poet's translation is to 'colour' his own retelling of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* with rhetorical figures that are absent from the French original. The following section of this chapter is concerned with the most prominent stylistic addition made by the *Clariodus*-poet in his translation: the use of aureate language to embellish passages of *descriptio* (the elaborate and detailed descriptions of people, places, and objects). Although these passages of *descriptio* are a common feature of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, the French romance contains no noticeable examples of what could be described as 'aureate terms'. It is likely that the *Clariodus*-poet saw in these frequent, lengthy descriptions the perfect opportunity to demonstrate his poetic skill and aspirations towards 'goldin style' (V, 2244) and 'langwag full ornat' (V, 2246) which he considers to be the hallmarks of good poetry.

Before turning to an examination of this most important Scottish addition to the French original, however, it is useful to outline some definitions and background on the use of aureate terms. Significantly, Mendenhall notes that the term *aureate* itself was introduced into English by John Lydgate 'as an epithet of praise for noble style'.[45] Medenhall also provides one of the most useful definitions of 'aureate terms':

> words designed to achieve sententiousness and sonorous ornamentation of style principally through their being new, rare, or uncommon, and approved by the critical opinion of their time.[46]

In addition to Mendenhall's outline, Finkelstein usefully remarks that scholars who have examined aureate language have 'also noted the importance of brilliant images and figurative expressions to an aureate style'.[47] Writing specifically about the use of aureate terms by Scots poets, Nichols has argued for the significance of Lydgate in influencing the use of this style by poets such as Douglas, Henryson, and Dunbar. He propounds that it was Lydgate, in his amplification of Chaucer's sporadic tendency to use new and unusual words, [48] who was seen in Scotland as the 'foremost exemplar of aureate diction,' rather than Chaucer himself, [49] arguing further that 'the typical aureate style employed by the Scottish Chaucerians is modelled directly upon those works by Lydgate which show a distinct deviation from the true Chaucerian type of diction'.[50] This certainly seems to be the case for the *Clariodus*-poet, for, as we shall see, much of the aureate description within his romance shares characteristics with the conventions

[45] John Cooper Mendenhall, *Aureate Terms: A Study in the Literary Diction of the Fifteenth Century* (Lancaster, PA: Wickersham Printing Company, 1919), p. 7.
[46] Mendenhall, p. 14.
[47] Richard Finkelstein, 'Amplification in William Dunbar's Aureate Poetry', *SLJ*, 13, 2 (1986), 5–15 (p. 5).
[48] Pierrepont. H. Nichols, 'Lydgate's Influence on the Aureate Terms of the Scottish Chaucerians', *PMLA*, 47, 2 (1932), 516–522 (p. 517).
[49] Nichols, p. 520.
[50] Nichols, p. 522.

of Lydgate's aureate style. We might also point to the well-attested circulation of *The Complaint of the Black Knight* as a probable influence on Scottish poets who sought to write in the aureate tradition. As an example of Lydgate's aureate style, here is part of the opening to *The Complaint of the Black Knight*:

> I rose anon, and thoght I wol[de] goon
> Vnto the wode, to her the briddes sing,
> When that the mysty vapour was agoon,
> And clere and feyre was the morownyng.
> The dewe also lyk syluer in shynyng
> Vpon the leves, as eny bavme suete,
> Til firy Tytan with hys p*er*saunt hete
>
> Had dried vp the lusty lycour nyw
> Vpon the herbes in [the] grene mede,
> And that the floures of mony dyuers hywe
> Vpon her stalkes gun*n*e for to sprede,
> And for to splay[en] out her leves on brede
> Ageyn the sun*n*e, golde-borned in hys spere,
> That dovn to hem cast hys bemes clere.
> (22–35)[51]

All of the conventions of aureate language which were transmitted to the sixteenth-century Scottish poets are here, from the references to classical figures associated with Nature (Tytan) to the 'bemes clere' (35) of the shining sun, the verdant *locus amoenus*, and the jewelled effect of dew on the leaves (26–7). The same descriptions of glittering sunlight, plants speckled by silver dew, and abundant greenery are utilised by Dunbar

[51] John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS, o. s., 192, e.s. 107 (London, 1911–34), II: *The Secular Poems*, EETS o. s. (London, 1934)

in his *The Goldyn Targe* (discussed further below), as well as by Gavin Douglas in the opening to his *Palice of Honour*:

> Sa craftely Dame Flora had ouirfret
> Hir heuinly bed, powderit with mony a set
> Of Ruby, Topas, Perle and Emerant;
> With Balmy dew bathit and kyndlie wet,
> Quhill vapours hote, richt fresche and weill ybet,
> Dulce of odour, of fluour maist fragrant,
> The siluer droppis on Daseis distillant;
> Quhilk verdour branches ouir the alars 3et
> With smoky sence the mystis reflectant.
> (10–18)

We must therefore take into account that the *Clariodus*-poet was just as likely to have been influenced by his contemporaries, Douglas and Dunbar, as well as by Lydgate himself, and in many respects it is impossible to tell precisely which of these authors he is borrowing from. Yet nevertheless, in some cases the *Clariodus*-poet copies his predecessors almost word-for-word in his own attempts to write sophisticated poetry.

Returning to the opening of *Clariodus* and its corresponding passage in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, the *Clariodus*-poet seizes upon the word *plaisance* in the French: 'L'un lui porte son heaulme et la belle plaisance dessus actachee' [One carries his helmet and the beautiful mantle attached on top of it] (IV, 311–12) and from this single word paints a description of the headgear replete with imagery from the aureate tradition, combining Latinate terms such as 'lucent' (I, 20) and 'circumferit' (I, 25) with frequent references to light ('bricht' alone appears on three separate occasions within this passage at I, 22, 24, and 26), colour ('plumes greine', I, 27) and jewels ('bricht stonis', I, 24 , and 'roobies radious', I, 25):

As lucent lamp so leimit he of licht;
Manheid at Mars he neidit naine to borrow,
He schynyt as dois the bricht day star at morrow
W*ith* cirkill of gold about his helmit cleir
All birnand full of bricht stonis deir,
Circumserit w*ith* roobies radious
Betwixt ilk sirkill, bricht and glorious.
W*ith* goldin schaikeris abone his plumes greine,
(I, 20-27)

It is also a passage from which Bawcutt has identified an allusion to Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe*.[52] Dunbar's phrase from the poem, 'That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht' (30) has, of course, been borrowed by the *Clariodus*-poet to describe the shimmering effect of Clariodus' armour: 'As lucent lamp so leimit he of licht' (I, 20). This is not the only time the *Clariodus*-poet shows himself familiar with Dunbar's dream allegory, however. A more extensive allusion to *The Goldyn Targe* appears in Book II of *Clariodus* during the tournament of the Green Knight. As Cleriadus/Clariodus has trouble sleeping and awakens early the following morning, the French author of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* simply remarks: 'Quant ce vint au matin, il se leva ...' (XX, 88–9) [When it came to the morning, he [Cleriadus] rose ...] . Here, the Scottish translator sees the perfect opportunity to describe in more detail exactly *what* sort of morning is being referred to, painting an image of the sunrise which is, naturally, full of references to light, as well as to several classical figures associated with the stars and nature:

Richt as the lustie candill matutine
Begouth w*ith* cristall wisage for to schyne
Befor Aurora (I meine the morrow star,
For bewtie that clippit is Lucifer)

[52]Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Bawcutt, II, p. 416.

Throw persing licht of quhais beimis scheine
Walknit for loue the trewthfull Philomen
With angillis woice singand befor the day;
Clariodus, q*uhi*lk langer sleipe no may,
(II, 1385–92)

As Bawcutt has shown,[53] this addition by the *Clariodus*-poet — particularly the phrase 'Richt as the lustie candill matutine' — owes a great debt to Dunbar's opening of *The Golden Targe*:

Ryght as the stern of day begouth to schyne,
Quhen gone to bed war Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise and by a rosere did me rest.
Wp sprang the goldyn candill matutyne,
With clere depurit bemes cristallyne,
Glading the mery foulis in thair nest.
Or Phebus was in purpur cape reuest
Wp raise the lark, the hevyns menstrale fyne,
In May in till a morrow myrthfullest.
(1-9)

The *Clariodus*-poet borrows the syntactical construction which begins *The Goldyn Targe*, replacing the epithet 'stern of day' with the 'lustie candill matutine' (II,1385), itself an allusion to Dunbar's phrase 'goldyn candill matutyne' (4), and has re-used Dunbar's imagery of light shining through a crystal (5) to portray the sun's glittering rays 'with cristall wisage for to schyne' (II, 1386). Although the *Clariodus*-poet breaks off the aureate description to return to the preparations for the tournament, he then briefly returns to the aureate style in an addition which is again absent from the original French:

[53] Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Bawcutt, II, p. 414.

Quhill that the prince of planits him vp drest;
The goldin glemes of gleiting skyis cleir
Did hevinlie in the orient appeir;
Wp raise bricht Phebus w*ith* the morrow soft;
Vp raise the noise of bird*is* vpon loft;
Vp raise the nobill King and eike the Queine;
Wp raise the court, *and* did tham all adrese
(II, 1406–13)

This example of *repetitio* is strongly reminiscent, as we have seen, of Dunbar's line in *The Goldyn Targe*: 'Wp raise the lark, the hevyns menstrale fyne' (8). Like Lydgate's 'expansion' of Chaucer's use of the high style, the *Clariodus*-poet has here expanded the model of aureate description set out by Dunbar.

The passage quoted above is not the only instance in which the *Clariodus*-poet adds aureate description where the French romance makes reference to daybreak. In another example which comes from the preparations for the Green Knight's tournament, the French author states, 'Cleriadus et tous ceulx de l'ostel se leverent bien matin' (XIX, 226–7) [Cleriadus and all those of the household awaken themselves early in the morning]. This extremely compact circumstance of narrative is seized upon by the *Clariodus*-poet as the perfect opportunity for including an elaborate description of nature:

The mirrie day displaying in the morrow
The glaid foull*is*, devoid of nicht's sorow,
With sugarit nots making ane mirrie sound
Againis bricht Phebus' blyth assentioun;
Whilk with his asour beamis of delyt
Oppinit on bread the tender blomes quhyt,
Doing the blossumes breke in the spray,

> And everilk bank in grein dois him aray.
> (II, 845–52)

Several aureate aspects are present here, from the merry birds who sing 'with sugarit nots' (II, 847) and the 'asour beamis of delyt' (II, 849) being cast out by 'Phebus' (II, 848).

Many of the examples in which the *Clariodus*-poet adds aureate imagery to scenes of *descriptio* which appear in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* appear towards the end of the romance in Books IV and V, where there is an abundance of lavish feasts, ceremonies, and tournaments. Following the feast at which the Vows of the Peacock are made, a tournament is held at which the Queen of England arrives in a most elaborate outfit, described by the French author thus:

> La royne fut abillee moult richement, comme vous orrez. Elle avoit une houpelande de drap d'or, la plus riche que on eust oncques mes veu, une sainture toute couverte de pierrerie et la teste bien et richement ordonnee et une couronne d'or dessus. (XXVIII, p. 447). [The queen was dressed most richly, as you will hear. She had a loose outer garment of cloth of gold, the most beautiful that anyone had seen at any time, and a belt all covered with precious stones, and on her head she was richly adorned with a crown of gold on top].

In *Clariodus*, the Scottish poet repeats this description almost word-for-word, but embellishes the description with the Latinate terms which are a hallmark of aureate diction, 'circulat' (IV, 934) and 'redolent' (also IV, 934) being the most prominent examples:

> The King also was redie thame to se,
> The Queine, with great trivmph *and* royaltie,
> Arayit hir the iusting for to se
> With all hir lustie ladies scheine;

Hir goun was of the cloath of gold potent
And circulat with stonis redolent
Full michtilie arayit was hir heid;
Hir cullour schew as rosis reid *and* quhyt,
Scho wore ane croune of gold, mikill of pryce,
In q*uhi*lke thair schynit monie flour delyce.
(IV, 929–38)

Intriguingly, the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (*DOST*) notes that the *Clariodus*-poet is the only author to use the word *redolent* in a sense which means 'Pleasing to the sight; brightly beautiful';[54] all other examples it cites (including one from the *Clariodus*-poet himself at I, 1398 in Irving's edition; in the present edition I, 1396) relate it to sweet fragrances such as that produced by flowers. This is a notable instance of a rare occasion where the *Clariodus*-poet demonstrates his willingness to innovate his use of aureate traditions.

Another more conventional example of the *Clariodus*-poet's efforts to embellish *descriptio* with aureation occurs as he is describing Meliadies' wedding attire. Once again, the Scottish poet retains all of the details present in the French:

> Elle fut vestue d'une cotte simple de drap d'or tout blanc, ung mantel de mesmes, fourré d'ermines, et avoit bien longue queue que une contesse d'Angleterre portoit et avoit une atache d'or qui lui tenoit son mantel, ung grox fermeil qui lui tenoit ou meillieu de sa poictrine. Elle estoit crespie et tressonnee et, au bout de ses tressons, avoit deux fermaulx d'or, une sainture et bource et sa couronne sur sa teste. (XXXV, 102–11].
>
> [She was clothed with a simple sleeved tunic of cloth of gold, all white, a mantle of the same, furred with ermine, and had a very long train that a countess of England carried, and had a golden tie that held her mantle, a large clasp held in

[54] *DOST*, *redolent*, *adj*.

the middle of her chest. [Her hair] was curled and braided and, at the end of her braids, [she] had two clasps of gold, a belt and a purse, and her crown on top of her head].

Yet the Scottish poet adds to his translation the kind of imagery which we might expect from a conventional aureate description of a natural landscape. The pearls on Meliades 'kirtill' (V, 681) are compared to dew drops decorating a flower (V, 683), while the jewels on her brooch which are now 'casting licht' (V, 686) are comparable to the sun's rays:

Meliades, this young and lustie queine,
Was in ane kirtill of cloath of gold beseine
Of quhyte culloure, with curious champe of floure,
Pouderit with pearlis as the bright dew floure,
With mantill of the samyne, rich and deire,
With taill full longe, q*uhi*lk buire ane ladie cleire.
Ane broach of gold with stonis casting licht
Togidder held hir glorious mantill bright,
And royall croun was set vpon hir heid
Owerfret with stonis mightie, blew *and* reid;
(V, 680–9)

Further evidence, if any was needed, of the *Clairiodus*-poet's familiarity with the aureate tradition is provided by his use of the term 'Owerfret' (V, 689) — meaning 'adorned all over (*with*, of gold, flowers etc., *DOST*'s emphasis)'[55] — which recalls Gavin Douglas' description of a beautiful May morning in the opening to his *Palice of Honour*:

Sa craftely Dame Flora had ouirfret
Hir heuinly bed, powderit with mony a set
Of Ruby, Topas, Perle and Emerant;

[55] *DOST*, *Ower-*, *owerfret*, *pp.*

With Balmy dew bathit and kyndlie wet,
(10–13)

I shall go on to further discuss Douglas' influence on *Clariodus* below, since the two poets share many similarities stylistically, but first I will discuss the only aureate addition made by the *Clariodus*-poet to his translation which is *not* an expansion of a description in the French romance. This occurs in the prologue to Book V, which is completely absent from the French:

In Mayis seasoune, soft and sweit,
When balmie liquoure dois on leaves gleit,
And bewis brekes and blomis on breid,
And pleasantlie inamellit beine the meid
All ower depaintit with collour*is* new
(Book V Prologue, 1–5)

Although the Prologue is incomplete, it is perhaps one of the best examples of aureate description in the entirety of *Clariodus*. Not only does the description feature the month of May, common in many an aureate opening (*The Complaint of the Black Knight*, *The Goldyn Targe* and *The Palice of Honour* being just three examples), but this short passage is replete with a host of images from the aureate tradition: there is the 'balmie liquoure' (V Prologue, 2) which glitters on the leaves and is a phrase borrowed directly from Dunbar's 'In May as that Aurora did vpsring' (10);[56] the meadow which is 'pleasantlie inamellit' (V Prologue, 4) with dew, and which once again recalls *The Goldyn Targe*'s line 'Anamalit was the felde wyth all colouris' (13), and the reference to the 'collouris' that are 'depaintit' on the meadow (V Prologue, 5).

[56] The full line in Dunbar's poem is 'Of balmy liquour cristallyne of hew'; Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Bawcutt, Poem 24.

As well as being a highly conventional example of aureate description, this passage can and should also be seen as a metaphor for the act of translation enacted upon *Cleriadus et Meliadice* by the *Clariodus*-poet: in his use of the rhetorical colours and aureate imagery introduced into English by Chaucer, expanded by Lydgate, and embellished by the Scottish poets, the *Clariodus*-poet certainly 'depaintit' his source material with 'collouris new'.

The *Clariodus*-poet, Boethius, and Vernacular Representations of Fortune

We have already seen conclusive evidence that, in making amplifications to and expansions of his original French source material, the *Clariodus*-poet was eager to follow the conventions, tropes and techniques which were prominent in the works of his illustrious predecessors: Chaucer, Lydgate, Dunbar and Douglas. Yet another example of the *Clariodus*-poet's willingness to engage with vernacular literary conventions is present through the expansions he makes to the French author's brief remarks on the theme of Fortune which appear in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Once again, he sees in these discussions of Fortune the opportunity to clothe his own poetry in the language and conventions laid down in the traditions of medieval English and Scottish poetry.

While the personification of Fortune as a goddess whose ever-turning wheel shaped the luck of all humankind originated in classical antiquity, it is through Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (written *c.* 524; hereafter *De Consolatione*) that this image of Fortune's wheel was popularised, especially since the *De Consolatione* (a mixture of prose and poetry) was undoubtedly a major influence on medieval western thought and literature. It was to have a profound impact on Chaucer, who not only completed a

translation of *De Consolatione* (known simply as *Boece* and dated *c*. 1380) but also used Boethian philosophy to discuss the role of Fortune in love, particularly in *Troilus and Criseyde* and *The Knight's Tale*.[57] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, John Walton, a canon of Osney Abbey, completed a verse translation into Middle English of the *De Consolatione*. His contemporary, John Lydgate, also interspersed his voluminous poetic output with references to Fortune's mutability in the Boethian tradition, although he did not himself translate Boethius' famous text.

Although *De Consolatione* does not appear to have been translated into the Older Scots vernacular, the ideas transmitted within the Latin original were no less influential in Scotland than in England and elsewhere in Western Europe. In King James I's *Kingis Quair*, Boethius and his *De Consolatione* are mentioned within the opening stanzas of the poem as the narrator, unable to sleep, takes out a book to read:

> Of quhich the name is clepit properly
> *Boece* (efter him that was the compiloure),
> Schewing the counsele of Philosophye,
> Complilit by that noble senatoure
> Of Rome, quhilom that was the warldis floure,
> And from estate by Fortune a quhile
> Foriugit was to poverty in exile;
> (15–21)

As we might expect from such an opening, much of the rest of the poem follows the narrator's grappling with Fortune, who, in his youth, had deserted him, but by the end of the poem — and with the help of two other goddesses, Venus and Minerva — helps

[57] Scholarly appraisals of Boethius' influence on Chaucer include: Bernard L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Boethius* (New York: Gordian Press, 1968); Theodore A. Stroud, 'Boethius' Influence on Chaucer's *Troilus*', *Modern Philology*, 49, 1 (1951), 1–9, as well as more recent works including Megan Murton, 'Praying with Boethius in *Troilus and Criseyde*', *The Chaucer Review*, 49, 3 (2015), 294–319.

him to achieve the love of his desired lady. As the earliest known reader of Chaucer in Scotland,[58] critics have previously focused on how James I establishes the relationship of his *Kingis Quair* to the works of Chaucer (particularly *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Knight's Tale*) and Lydgate.[59] Indeed, Gregory Kratzmann has remarked of Boethius' impact in Scotland: 'It is possible that the influence of Boethian thought is indirect — i.e. transmitted via Chaucer's translation and *Troilus and Criseyde*'.[60] Although Kylie Murray has recently proven that the Scots engaged directly with the Latin tradition of *De Consolatione* as early as the twelfth century,[61] arguing that James I himself was familiar with the Latin original of the text since he refers to Boethius 'enditing in his faire Latyne tong' (44),[62] I believe that the *Clariodus*-poet was more likely to have engaged with the Boethian tradition as transmitted through Chaucer and the *Kingis Quair* itself, as well as through contemporary Older Scots poems, as I will now demonstrate.

The first example of the *Clariodus*-poet's wish to engage more fully with the vagaries of Fortune than his French predecessor occurs when Meliades is being led away by her captors in Book III, on the orders of her evil uncle, Thomas. The author of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* briefly refers to Fortune's wheel as well as the vanity of trusting in worldly possessions and status:

> Fortune, la parverce, lui a bien joué de son tour, car, de son hault estat, l'a bientost mise au bas et, pour ce, est il bien fol qui au monde se fie ne es biens qui y sont, car ce n'est que vent. (Ch. XXII, 117–21)

[58] Kylie Murray, 'Books Beyond the Borders: Fresh Findings on Boethius' Transmission in Earlier Medieval Scotland', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2015), 7–43 (p. 8).
[59] For example, Ebin, 'Boethius, Chaucer, and *The Kingis Quair*', and John MacQueen, 'Tradition and the Interpretation of *The Kingis Quair*', *The Review of English Studies*, 12, 46 (1961), 117–31.
[60] Kratzmann, p. 10.
[61] Murray (2015).
[62] Murray, p. 8.

('Fortune, the perverse, has played her [Meliades] well from her wheel, because, from her high estate, soon has put her low and, because of this, he is a fool who trusts in the world and its possessions, because it is only emptiness)

The *Clariodus*-poet's rendering of this passage is at once more dramatic than in the French. He begins with an *exclamatio* against Fortune and the instability of the world:

Ah! Be this warld[is] instabilitie,
Wha sould in riches or hie estate beleiue,
Sen nane the chance of Fortoune acheve?
(III, 503–5)

The language and style in which the *Clariodus*-poet addresses the theme of fortune here have clear parallels in other works of Older Scots literature, particularly in the use of rhetorical addresses to the reader and the use of the term 'instabilitie', or an approximation of it. In William Stewart's metrical *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (*c*. 1535?; hereafter the *Croniclis*), a work in which Stewart laments the vagaries of Fortune numerous times, he, too, uses *exclamatio* and *apostrophe* to draw attention to the cruelties wrought by her: 'O fekill Fortoun, without stabilitie,/Is none in erth that ma gif trust in the!' (IV, 12,947–8).[63]

In a near-contemporary text to Stewart's *Cronicles*, Sir David Lyndsay's *The Dreme* (*c.* 1528),[64] the narrator takes shelter from the cold in a cave where he beholds

[63] William Stewart, *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or a Metrical Translation of the History of Hector Boece*, ed. by William B. Turnbull, Rolls Series, 3 vols (London: Longman et al., 1858). All quotations from Stewart's *Croniclis* throughout this thesis are taken from Turnbull's edition.
[64] Other examples of passages which discuss Fortune in Older Scots Literature include *The Wallace*, in which Wallace laments:

'Quhat is fortoune? Quha dryffis the dett so fast?
We wait thar is bathe weill and wykit chance,
Bot this fals warld with mony doubill cast,
In it is nocht bot verray variance;
It is nothing till hevynly governance.'
(VI, 97-101)

the sea, with the constant turning of the waves reminding him of the way in which fortune can quickly change:

> Bot satt styll in that cove, quhare I mycht se
> The woltryng of the wallis, up and doun,
> And this fals wardlis instabilytie
> Unto that sey makkand comparisoun,
> And of the wardlis wracheit variasoun
> To thame that fixis all thare hole intent,
> Considdryng quho moste had suld moste repent.
> (*Prologue*, 127-133)[65]

The *Clariodus*-poet, too, uses fleeting images of nature as a useful comparison to the rise and fall of Fortune. The French passage which we saw above is greatly expanded by the *Clariodus*-poet through a series of antithetical images which focus on nature and the passing of time. Particularly striking is the Scottish poet's depiction of the nightingale mourning in the midst of the frosts and hails of winter then returning to the same branch in spring to resume her beautiful song:

> Hir [Fortune's] variance *and* vnstabilitie
> Alyke is redie to heich and law degre;
> For febilnes oft cumis eft*er* micht,
> And eft*er* dayis cumis the dewlie nicht,
> And oft tymis ioy cumis efter sorrow *and* caire,
> And efter winter cummes the sumer fair;
> Throw wyldnes of frosts *and* of haill
> Murnis full oft the merie nichtingall,
> And blythlie singis on the ilk branch againe
> Quhair scho befor had weipit hard for paine;

[65] Lyndsay, Sir David, *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, ed. by Douglas Hamer, STS, 3rd ser., 1, 2, 6, 8, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1931–6), I, pp. 3–38. All quotations from Lyndsay's poetry throughout this thesis are taken from Hamer's edition.

(III, 506–15)

The anaphora that appears with 'And … ' at the beginning of lines 509–11 is, in addition to the examples of seasonal change, another common device employed by vernacular poets to emphasise the whims of Fortune. We have already seen that Gavin Douglas was very likely to have been a strong influence on the *Clariodus*-poet's style, and in his *Palice of Honour* Douglas includes a three-stanza complaint to Fortune which includes anaphora, an *apostrophe* to Fortune ('Cruell Fortoun, quhy hes thow me betraisit?'; I, 166), and the antithesis which was so common to the portrayal of Fortune in English and Scottish vernacular poetry:

'Thy transitorie pleasance quhat auaillis?
Now thair, now heir, now hie and now deuaillis,
Now to, now fra, now law, now Magnifyis,
Now hait, now cald, now lauchis, now beuaillis,
Now seik, now haill, now werie, now not aillis ... '
(I, 173–7)

Having presented these numerous instances of change in the natural world, the *Clariodus*-poet goes on to present these examples as didactic, comparing the swift changing of the seasons mentioned previously with the sudden loss of riches experienced by the wealthy, who are then once more restored to their previous position through Fortune's grace:

So men full oft throw walth and grite riches
Fall*is* in pouertie, and in febilnes,
Whom eft*er* Fortoune glaidlie dois restore,
To mair honour nor ever thay war before,
(III, 516–19)

It is only after these numerous examples that the Scottish poet mentions Fortune's wheel, the main image around which the passage in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* was based: 'And 3it thairefter slydis doune fra hir quheill/From weill to woe, and syne for wo to weill' (III, 520–1).

Finally, the *Clariodus*-poet ends his expansion to the original French by again taking a didactic angle which underlines the transitory nature of the world, ending his discursion on the same theme as the passage in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*:

> This transitorie ioy, it micht not lest;
> Heir is no ease bot trubill and vnrest,
> For alse vnsiker is heir 3our dwelling
> All changing is our ioy fra abyding.
> (III, 522–5)

The idea that Fortune's existence could actually serve as an effective warning against placing too much trust in worldly matters was, of course, an idea originally to be found in the *De Consolatione Philiosophiae*, but became widely transmitted throughout medieval vernacular literature: its inclusion in a discussion of the woes caused by Fortune could easily add a moralistic, didactic angle to any text. One famous example comes at the end of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, where he reveals that he retold the entire narrative in order to impress upon the reader's mind that all worldly endeavours shall come to nothing :

> As in þis boke exaumple 3e shal fynde,
> 3if þat 3e list enprente it in 3our mynde -
> How al passeth & halt here no soiour,
> Wastyng a-way as doth a somer flour,
> Riche & pore, of euery maner age:
> For oure lyf here is but a pilgymage,

Meynt with labour & with moche wo,
Þat ȝif men wolde taken hede þer-to
And to-forn prudently aduerte,
Litel Ioie þei shuld han in her herte
To sette her trust in any worldly þing;
For þer is nouþer prince, lord nor kyng,
Be exaumple of Troye, like as ȝe may se,
Þat in þis lif may haue ful surete.
(V, 3565–78)

Meliades, of course, is the perfect example that 'nouþer prince, lord nor kyng' (3576) — and by extension, princesses, ladies and queens — can protect against the onslaught of Fortune's wrath.

The second point at which the *Clariodus*-poet expands the French narrator's comments on Fortune occurs when Clariodus sends himself into self-imposed exile from Philippon's court following Meliades' apparent murder. On the way home to his father's court at Esture, Clariodus chances upon a pilgrim, asking him to exchange his threadbare raiment for Clariodus' rich clothing. Once this is done, the two men take leave of each other, with the pilgrim offering advice to Clariodus in both *Cleriadus et Meliadice* and the Scottish translation. In the French text, the author writes thus:

Cleriadus prent congié du pellerin, si lui dist:

-Sire, allez en la garde Nostre Seigneur, car vous me semblez moult courroucé. Mais aiez bonne fience en Dieu et sa doulce mere, car ilz vous donneront encores autant de joye que vous eustes oncques. (Ch. XXVII, 28–34)

[Cleriadus takes leave of the pilgrim, who tells him thus: 'Sire, go in the protection of our Lord, because you seem to be much infuriated. But have good

faith in God and his sweet mother, because they will still give you as much joy as you have ever had'.]

Here, the pilgrim's advice clearly focuses on the need for Cleriadus to have faith in God in order to achieve happiness. The *Clariodus*-poet's rendering of the same passage presents a much stronger emphasis on the concept of Fortune: in the Scottish poem, the pilgrim tells Clariodus that, because Fortune is always changing, Clariodus need only have patience in adversity until Fortune shines on him once more:

> Glaid was the pilgrime this ilk change to seine,
> Clariodus put on the palmer's weid,
> And he gaue him his cloathes and his steid;
> The palmer said, 'My lord, I weill persaue
> That seiknes or melancolie 3e haue;
> Haue patience in distres for onie thing,
> For naturallie the warld is ay changing,
> And glad ioy cumis nixt adversitie
> Be cours of fortounis mutabilitie.'
> (III, 1909–17)

Of further interest is the *Clariodus*-poet's use of the term 'mutabilitie'. Again, this is a term common to vernacular discursions on fortune, and several other examples of its use can be found in Older Scots literature. In William Stewart's *Croniclis*, which, as mentioned above, takes the inconsistencies of Fortune as one of its more common themes, Stewart also writes of Fortune's 'mutabilitie':

> 3it fals Fortoun that is so variabill
> Of hir faour and eik alway wnstabill,
> Withoutin grace, full of ingratitude,
> Quhen plesis hir withoutin caus till dude,

Changis richt oft with mutabillitie;
(XVI, 57,948–52)

The same term is used to describe Fortune in the fifteenth-century Older Scots poem *The Lufaris Complaint*, in which the anonymous author beseeches Love to shield him against Fortune's variability:

Beni*n*g lord of pitee, rewe!
Help me the dangere to eschewe,
Of fals; Fortune has reft of newe
My Ioy, blis, and prosperitee;
For wele thou wist thy self and knewe,
Giltles*e* this lady me oure threwe.
Bot no remede Is to argewe
Agaynis hir mutabilitee.
(116–23)[66]

Once again, we find the *Clariodus*-poet drawing on a shared literary tradition of English and Scottish poetic conventions, showcasing his ability to incorporate them seamlessly into his own translation. While it is difficult to say for certain that the *Clariodus*-poet had read Boethius' *De Consolatione*, he was certainly attuned to the diffusion of Boethian influences that had seeped into the English and Scottish literary consciousness, especially in poems such as Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and the *Kingis Quair*. In his reworking of the two French passages above, the *Clariodus*-poet adopts a variety of conventions associated with the discourse of English and Scottish vernacular responses to Fortune, including his use of a common vocabulary ('mutabilitie' 'instabilitie' and so on); use of anaphora, the use of nature's decay and renewal as a

[66] Kenneth G. Wilson, '*The Lay of Sorrow* and *The Lufaris Complaynt*: An Edition', *Speculum*, 29, 4 (1954), 708–26; *The Lufaris Complaynt* can be found from pp. 719–23.

metaphor for the changeability of Fortune; the image of Fortune's wheel; and a desire to illustrate the vanity of worldly endeavours in the face of an ever-changing goddess.

The *Clariodus*-poet as a 'Bookish' Author

I have demonstrated above that the *Clariodus*-poet, in developing his own narrative style through making his own expansions and additions to *Cleriadus et Meliades*, was clearly familiar with a host of works from both the English and Scottish vernacular traditions. Through various other unique additions and brief remarks in his translation of the original French, the *Clariodus*-poet also shows himself to be learned in the stories of classical literature. These frequent allusions to classical figures and settings are yet another trope used by the most sophisticated Older Scots texts, particularly Gavin Douglas' *Palice of Honour*, which, as we have already seen, is very likely to have been an influence on the *Clariodus*-poet's use of aureate description. Indeed, as Wingfield has pointed out, the *Clariodus*-poet shares with Gavin Douglas a 'bookish' approach to authorship,[67] always ready to demonstrate his thorough knowledge of both classical and vernacular literatures either through direct, named references to other authors, or through the borrowing of stylistic techniques and narrative conventions employed by his poetic predecessors. Although the *Clariodus*-poet rarely names the authors with whose works he was familiar,[68] he does reference both Homer and Guido delle Colonne, composer of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, by name. In an embellished description of a feast following the completion of the Green Knight's tournament, the *Clariodus*-poet writes that the tales of Homer and Guido were part of the entertainments ('With plesant

[67] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', p. 55, fn. 7.
[68] He may, of course, have marked his influences more clearly in a prologue or an *envoi*, but since the beginning and the end of MS Advocates' is now missing, we cannot be certain of this.

stories all of Home[r]is indyte,/And mirrie fabillis of Guido de Colune'; II, 1658–9). Neither author is mentioned at this point in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (XX, 224–33). Although it is highly unlikely that the *Clariodus*-poet had read Homer in the original Greek, it was nevertheless common in medieval English and Scottish literature to list him among eminent classical poets, as we find in the *envoi* of *Troilus and Criseyde*:

> But litel book, no making thou nenvye,
> But subgit be to alle poesye;
> And kis the steppes, wher-as thou seest pace
> Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace.
> (V, 1789–92)

Homer is also referenced by name in the *Kingis Quair* alongside Ovid ('Suich as Ovide and Omer in thair dayes', [595]), while in the *Palice of Honour* he appears as a member of the Court of the Muses, along with a catalogue of other famous classical poets:

> Thair saw I, weil in poetry ygroundyt,
> The gret Homere, quhilk in Grew langage said
> Maist eloquently, in quham all wyt aboundyt.
> (895–7)

Regarding the *Clariodus*-poet's knowledge of Guido delle Colonne, he may have read Guido's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (composed *c*. 1287) in its original Latin prose, although given his familiarity with Lydgate's 'high style' he could equally have known the *Historia* from Lydgate's *Troy Book*, in which Lydgate clearly states his intention to render Guido's text into English verse. It is also possible that the *Clariodus*-poet may have known the *Scottish Troy Book*, produced *c*. 1400, which is a translation of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* into Older Scots octosyllabic verse. As Wingfield suggests,

it may well have been the case that the *Clariodus*-poet was familiar with all three texts.[69] Given the *Clariodus*-poet's obvious status as a bibliophile, this is not unlikely.

Irrespective of how the *Clariodus*-poet was introduced to the story of Troy,[70] what is important for our examination here is his clear knowledge of these legends and his desire to demonstrate this knowledge in his own translation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the single largest expansion he makes to his French source: the description of a tapestry hung in Philippon's palace in preparation for the wedding of Clariodus and Meliades. This magnificent tapestry depicts a host of classical figures from the wider legends of Troy and other classical narratives, as well as characters familiar from vernacular retellings of these myths:

> The lordis awcht, with all diligence,
> With grite triumph, laude, and magnificence,
> Apperrellit hes the palice royallie,
> And all the wallis coverit lustillie
> With cloathes of gold and stanis pretious,
> And riche arras with workes curious
> With auld storis depaintit *and* figurate;
> (V, 53–59)

No such description of a tapestry is present in the French; the author of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* simply states:

> … où on montoit au pallais si furent tenduz aussi d'une tappicerie qui estoit si belle et si riche que on eust oncques mes veue leans. (Chap. XXXIII, 160–3)

[69] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', p. 60.
[70] For a recent survey on the circulation of literature of the Trojan Legend in Scotland from *c*. 1375 to *c.* 1513, see Emily Wingfield, *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014).

> [.... where you climbed up to the palace, there was also hung a tapestry that was so beautiful and so rich that you would have never seen such a sight.]

The *Clariodus*-poet's unique addition of the 'tapestry passage' is, as well as being a demonstration of his skill with the rhetorical technique of *descriptio*, the most extensive piece of evidence we have for the *Clariodus*-poet's reading habits and literary knowledge, and can also offer insights into what sort of texts were circulating in sixteenth-century Scotland. Moreover, the 'tapestry passage', in its skilful weaving of intertextual references, is itself reminiscent of similar passages across Older Scots and Middle English in which inanimate objects — often tapestries — are described using *ekphrasis*. One such example from an early sixteenth-century Older Scots text is from Douglas' *Palice of Honour*, which, as we have already seen, the *Clariodus*-poet was likely to have been familiar with. In it, the narrator, having finally gained entrance to the Palace of Honour itself, looks into a mirror wherein is depicted 'The deidis and fatis of euerie eirdlie wicht' (III, 1496), including characters from biblical tales and classical legend as well as figures from romance and 'popular' culture.

The *Clariodus*-poet may well have had Douglas' mirror in mind when composing the tapestry passage: it, too, is replete with references to classical and biblical figures, and although there are few direct references to romance heroes, the tapestry does depict the deeds of the Nine Worthies, one of whom King Arthur. The Scottish poet begins his description of the 'riche arras' (V, 58) with a reference to the destruction of Troy, followed by a reference to the legendary Siege of Thebes:

> How Troy be slaughter was depopulate,
> And how the toune was taine be false ingyne,
> And how the wallis ware broght vnto ruine.
> Thair was the seige of Thebes toun also

How oder slew the Troyan brether two
King Polimus and King Ethiocles.
(V, 60–5)[71]

As I have mentioned above, the *Clariodus*-poet was likely to have known the Trojan legends from a variety of sources, including the *Scottish Troy Book* and John Lydgate's *Troy Book*. It is also likely that the references to the 'seige of Thebes toun' here recalls Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, which was circulating in Scotland by the end of the fifteenth century.[72] Given the *Clariodus*-poet's likely familiarity with the *Palice of Honour*, it is also interesting to note that Douglas, too, included a reference to the Siege of Thebes in his description of the mirror in the Palace of Honour:

'Of Thebes eik I saw the weiris lang,
Quhair Tydeus allone slew fiftie Knichtis ...
Thair saw I how, as Statius dois tell,
Amphiorax the Bischop sank to hell'
(1577–84)

Following this, the *Clariodus*-poet once more returns to describing figures associated with the legends of Troy, only breaking up his allusions to such figures with a reference to Alexander the Conqueror:

Thair was the deid*is* of strong Hercules,
And all his strenth and courage leonyne,
And thair was Iason with his cheire vulpeine.
Thair was the conqueise of nobill Alexander,
Thair was of Cressed the saikles slander,

[71] In MS Advocates', 'Polimus' refers to Polynices, the son of Oedipus and the twin brother of Eteocles ('Ethiocles' in MS Advocates'). This variant spelling of the name is of particular interest because it may demonstrate that either the *Clariodus*-poet or the scribe was familiar with Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, in which Polinices is referred to throughout as 'Polymyte'.
[72] Bawcutt, 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript'.

The schort persewing of Diomedes,
The fervent loue of sorrowfull Achilles,
The craftie wining of the Goldin Fleice,
The revisching of Heline out of Greice,
The dreame of Paris of *th*e goddis supperne,
The bewtie of thame how he did decerne,
And how he gave the apill to Venus.
(V, 66–77)

The tale of Jason and the Argonauts (one of whom was Hercules) and his achievement of the Golden Fleece (also referenced by the *Clariodus*-poet in V, 73) appears at the beginning of both Guido delle Colonne's and Lydgate's retellings of the story of Troy, as does Paris' dream of his Judgement in which, adjudicating a beauty contest between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, he awarded the latter the apple of Discord, bribed by her offer of Helen of Troy's love. 'The fervent loue of sorrowfull Achilles' (V, 72) for Polyxena is also discussed at length in Lydgate's *Troy Book* and in his Latin source. That Alexander the Great should appear among a list of Trojan heroes and not later in the passage when the Nine Worthies are mentioned is rather odd, but his name may well have been placed in this position in order to rhyme with 'slander' in the line below (V, 70). Nevertheless, his inclusion in this passage is important to the theme of intertextuality in *Clariodus*, since there were at least two Alexander romances in Scotland: the octosyllabic *Buik of Alexander* (*c*. 1438) and Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* (*c*. 1460). Given the *Clariodus*-poet's bookishness, it is not unlikely that he had read one or perhaps both of these romances. Once again, we can also find a parallel here with Douglas' *Palice of Honour*. Douglas writes: 'Of Alexander I saw the greit conquest,/Quhilk in twelf ȝeiris wan neir this warld on breid' (III, 1568–9).

It is also possible that the *Clariodus*-poet was familiar with Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. His decision to single out 'the saikles slander' of 'Cressed' (V, 70) as part of the tapestry to be commented upon may indicate that the *Clariodus*-poet had read Henryson's *Testament* and sympathised with her abject suffering, finding his portrayal of Cresseid as favourable rather than ironic. Further evidence which points to the *Clariodus*-poet's knowledge of Henryson's *Testament* is suggested by the lines 'Thair wes the weiping of Sir Troylus/When Cresseid did depairt frome Troy toun',(V, 78–9). At the beginning of the *Testament*, Henryson notably refers to the weeping of Troilus as he finishes reading a copy of Chaucer *Troilus and Criseyde*:

> And thair I fand, efter that Diomeid
> Ressauit had that lady bricht of hew,
> How Troilus neir out of wit abraid
> And weipit soir with visage paill of hew;
> For quhilk wanhope his teiris can renew,
> Quhill esperance reioisit him agane:
> Thus quhyle in ioy he leuit, quhyle in pane.
> (43–9)[73]

The *Clariodus*-poet then turns to a portrayal of the mighty Trojan hero, Hector:

> Thair was the forcie Troyane campioun
> Most worthie Hector, in armes invincibill,
> Chaiceing the Greikis with feir right teribill
> With naikit sword in hand, of bluid all reid.
> (V, 80–3)

[73] Robert Henryson, *Robert Henryson: The Poems*, ed. by Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). All quotations from Henryson's poems throughout this thesis are taken from Fox's edition.

This focus on Hector's worthiness and 'invincibill' (V, 81) command of arms owes much to Lydgate's portrayal of Hector in his *Troy Book* as the epitome of chivalric prowess:

> So fer of hym, with-outen any doute,
> Reported was þe renoun and þe name,
> Þe worþines, and þe noble fame.
> (II, 240–2)

> And of manhod, I dar it wel expresse,
> Example and merour; & of hiȝe prowesse,
> Gynyng & grounde …
> (II, 247–9)

After this point, having suitably demonstrated his wide-ranging knowledge of the Trojan legend, the *Clariodus*-poet begins to focus more on female classical figures and famous lovers from classical mythology. Following a brief reference to Samson and his slaying of the Philistines (V, 84–5), the *Clariodus*-poet writes of 'Lucreis, of hir awin hand slaine' (V, 86); the 'plaint full pitieous and mone/Off Arsyte and his brother Palamon' (V, 89–90); the 'treuth of Dido and Penelope' (V, 91); the 'great crueltie' of Clytemnestra (V,92–3), Piramus and Thisbe (V, 94), and 'King Orthius, that out of hell/His wyfe did bring with harping sweit' (V, 96–7). Many of the characters mentioned in this section of the tapestry passage derive from Chaucer's vernacular retellings of classical myth: Lucrece, Dido, Penelope, Pyramus and Thisbe are all mentioned in his *Legend of Good Women*, while Palamon and Arcite are, of course, the main two characters in the *Knight's Tale*, with which the *Clariodus*-poet seems to have been familiar. Lucrece and Clytemnestra are also both mentioned in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*

and John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (*c*. 1386–90).[74] As mentioned above, the *Fall of Princes* has a proven provenance in medieval Scotland, and the same is true of the *Confessio Amantis*.[75] While the tale of Dido was known from Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, it could also be found, of course, in Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* (completed 1513). If the *Clariodus*-poet was indeed writing once the reign of James V had begun, it is highly likely that he would have been aware of Douglas' renowned translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

The *Clariodus*-poet's reference to the 'happy ending' of the Orpheus myth, in which Orpheus manages to retrieve Eurydice from hell, suggests that it is not Henryson's own retelling of the myth which he is thinking of here.[76] Rather, his naming of Orpheus as 'King' (V, 96) suggests he may have been familiar with the Older Scots romance *King Orphius* (written before *c*. 1550; perhaps fifteenth century) which, although now only surviving in fragmentary condition, follows almost the same story as the fourteenth-century Middle English romance *Sir Orfeo*, in which Sir Orfeo retrieves his wife and returns to his kingdom unscathed.

The final two intertextual references in the tapestry passage neatly sum up the *Clariodus*-poet's bookish interests as classical mythology mixes with tales associated with medieval romance:

---

[74] Clytemnestra is mentioned throughout the 'Tale of Orestes' in Book III of the *Confessio Amantis*, 1885–2195, while Lucrece (also known as Lucretia) has an entire section of the narrative to herself (VII, 4754–5130); see John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. G. Macaulay, EETS, e. s., 81–2, 2 vols (London, 1900–1), I (for Book III) and II (for Book VII). All quotations from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* throughout this thesis are taken from Macaulay's edition. In Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, Clytemnestra is referred to at I, 4168, 6326–8, 6618–19, 6676, while a large section of the narrative is dedicated to the story of Lucrece in II, 1002–1344; see John Lydgate, *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS e. s., 121–4, 4 vols (London, 1924–7). All quotations from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* throughout this thesis are taken from Bergen's edition.

[75] Joanna Martin, 'Responses to the Frame Narrative of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Scottish Literature', *The Review of English Studies* 60, 246, (2009) 561–577.

[76] Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* was completed in the late fifteenth century, and features the version of the legend in which Orpheus looks back at Eurydice and loses her forever to the Underworld.

Thair wes Saturnus, baneist out of Creit
In sik desert by Iupiter his sone,
For he him drink gave of the bittir [s]tone.
Thair wes the storeis of all the nobillis nyne,
The half I can not wryte nor 3et defyne,
Of campiounis the craftie depictures
Seiming full quick and liuelie of figouris.
(V, 98-104)

The enmity between Saturn and his son, Jupiter, is again found in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (VII, 1211–12), although Lydgate says nothing of the story wherein Saturn, who has the unfortunate habit of consuming his own offspring, is tricked into eating a stone wrapped in swaddling in place of the newly-born Jupiter, thus allowing Jupiter to later overthrow his own father. The 'storeis of all the nobillis nyne' (V, 101) — the Nine Worthies — were common across medieval vernacular writing. Given his wide-ranging knowledge of Older Scots poetic tradition, it is possible that the *Clariodus*-poet had read the mid-fifteenth century Scottish *Balletis of the Nine Nobles*.[77]

Once again, the threads of intertextual references that are woven into the *Clariodus*-poet's unique description of the tapestry confirms his considerable knowledge of vernacular literary traditions. Although it is difficult to tell for certain whether the *Clariodus*-poet's thorough knowledge of classical myth came from reading texts in the original Latin or through reading vernacular retellings of these myths, I find it most likely that the *Clariodus*-poet became aware of these stories through several major sources: Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and *Legend of Good Women* and Lydgate's *Troy*

[77] Recently edited by Emily Wingfield in *Six Scottish Courtly and Chivalric Poems, including Lyndsay's* Squyer Meldrum, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Emily Wingfield, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018).

Book and *Fall of Princes*; as we have seen above, the *Clariodus*-poet often shapes his own style as a narrator around that of Lydgate and Chaucer. There is also a strong possibility that some of his knowledge of the Trojan legend came from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, a text from which he certainly borrows ideas and which was circulating in at least one known manuscript with Scottish provenance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden. B24. While the *Clariodus*-poet's translation techniques seemingly have little in common with Gower's style, his *Confessio Amantis* was also replete with references to the same classical figures mentioned in the tapestry passage and was also known to have circulated in Scotland.[78] The existence of several fragments of the *Scottish Troy Book* also provides a possible source of knowledge for the *Clariodus*-poet's references to Troy in conjunction with Lydgate's *Troy Book*, although in its fragmentary state it is difficult to tell how closely it followed Guido's original *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. What is more certain is that the tapestry passage confirms that the *Clariodus*-poet was well-versed in Older Scots poetry. Moreover, along with his references to *King Orphius* and the *Testament of Cresseid*, the original inspiration to make such a lengthy addition to his translation was, I believe, to be found in the mirror scene of Gavin Douglas' *Palice of Honour*.

To briefly summarise, this chapter has examined in detail how the *Clariodus*-poet approached the task of translation, demonstrating that in most cases he has a tendency

[78] Joanna Martin notes that a copy of Gower's works was present in the library of James IV, while there is also evidence that Gower's works appealed to Scottish churchmen as well as kings; both David Paniter, Bishop of Ross (d. 1558) and Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney (1470–1540) owned copies of Gower's English works in the first part of the sixteenth century. A copy of Gower's works were also listed in the 1586 will of Robert Gourlaw, an Edinburgh bookbinder. None of these books (which may have been either manuscripts or prints) survive. There is, however, a short extract from the 'Tale of Wine, Women and Truth' (*Confessio Amantis* VII, 1811–23) written in a sixteenth-century Scottish hand onto a blank leaf in the Boston Public Library manuscript of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (MS f. med. 94). While the content of the manuscript is English, it came to be owned by the Lyle family of Renfrewshire, later coming into the possession of the noted bibliophile Duncan Campbell, seventh laird of Glenorchy (*c.* 1552–1631). See Martin, 'Responses to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*' (pp. 561–2) and Bawcutt, 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript', pp. 81–4.

to compress direct speech and certain minor scenes in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, but he does not otherwise remove substantial details of the French. By far the most important changes he makes to his French source are motivated by his aim to amplify and augment his translation through borrowing a range of techniques from his English and Scottish poetic predecessors, in particular Chaucer, Lydgate, Dunbar, and Douglas. It is clear that the *Clariodus*-poet could indeed be described as a master of the 'langwag full ornat' (V, 2246) which he so admires.

CHAPTER THREE
THE MAJOR THEMES OF *CLARIODUS*

Having considered in the previous two chapters the stylistic and textual relationship of *Clariodus* to its French source and the myriad ways in which the *Clariodus*-poet sought to interact with both Middle English and Older Scots traditions, the present chapter analyses the ways in which the *Clariodus*-poet engages with the major themes present in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, assessing how the *Clariodus*-poet's approaches to style and translation amplifies the thematic concerns of his source to create a text which resonates deeply with the concerns of sixteenth-century Scotland. While scholars of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* have emphasised the French text's focus on kingship, unity between European kingdoms and its representations of courtly culture,[1] little attention has been paid to the thematic concerns of its Scottish translation.

This chapter therefore offers the first major scholarly analysis of *Clariodus*' key themes and is divided into two sections based on two broad thematic headings: 'Kingship and Good Governance', and 'Magnificence and Courtly Culture'. In the first section, I place *Clariodus* into the thriving tradition of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *speculum principis* literature in Older Scots, arguing that *Cleriadus et Meliadice*'s juxtaposition of Cleriadus, who develops from the ideal knight into the ideal king, and King Philippon, the epitome of the *rex inutilis* figure, played a major role in the *Clariodus*-poet's decision to translate the French text. I also highlight the *Clariodus*-poet's desire to amplify the role of Meliades in his own translation, noting a variety of instances unique to *Clariodus* where her psychological state is commented upon, as well

[1] See Chapter One, pp 34–43.

as a number of passages in which the Scottish poet praises Meliades as the paragon of female virtue that are absent from his source. Thus, *Clariodus* also functions as an 'advice to women' text, which, as I demonstrate below, creates further links with a branch of the Older Scots literary tradition that combined *speculum principis* texts with advisory literature for women, such as Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*. Moreover, I demonstrate that *Clariodus* can not only be seen as a text with elements from the *speculum principis* tradition, but also that it seeks to provide a guide to virtuous living for the lesser nobility and court administrators in its treatment of courtly etiquette, providing details of courtly minutiae that serve as a manual for those that sought to live and work in the environs of the sixteenth-century Scottish court. Indeed, the second half of this chapter focuses on another aspect deemed essential to good governance: the virtue of magnificence, and the connected theme of courtly culture. Here, I demonstrate that the *Clariodus*-poet has made numerous changes to his French source to amplify even further the themes of magnificence, conspicuous consumption and courtly culture which were prevalent in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, using the discourses associated with the visual and auditory arts of the contemporary courtly world. What is more, much of this discourse draws on the real-life events of the Scottish court during the reign of James V; as such, I use documentary evidence where possible to link the *Clariodus*-poet's vivid poetic descriptions to events which he may have seen or heard about in his daily life.

Kingship and Good Governance in *Clariodus*

In a text which takes as its main plot the development of the hero from young knight to honoured king, it is unsurprising that the *Clariodus*-poet saw in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*

the perfect opportunity to compose a translation which would speak to the long-standing tradition of *speculum principis* texts in Older Scots. While there are numerous examples of Older Scots political tracts outlining the proper behaviour for a monarch,[2] the *speculum principis* tradition influenced many Older Scots authors in a range of other genres, including the fictive domain of romance. As this chapter demonstrates, the theme of kingship is one that serves to closely link *Clariodus* with the surviving corpus of Older Scots romance texts, most of which are concerned to a greater or lesser extent with cataloguing kingly responsibilities. Indeed, in Sally Mapstone's magisterial thesis on Older Scots Advice to Princes literature, she notes that the strong emphasis on monarchical behaviour in *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* imply that the Advice to Princes tradition 'enjoyed a certain popularity in Scotland in genres of a less sophisticated, more popular kind'.[3] As a post-1500 composition, *Clariodus* falls outside the scope of Mapstone's thesis, yet it can certainly stand alongside *Lancelot of the Laik* and *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* as a romance with a clear advisory agenda. Although Emily Wingfield has already demonstrated some aspects of the Advice to Princes tradition in *Clariodus*,[4] further scholarly discussion of the importance of this theme to *Clariodus* is needed. Overall, although the *Clariodus*-poet saw little need to make lengthy alterations to his source, in which the issue of kingly behaviour is already prominent, there are still numerous occasions where the Scottish poet sees fit to make expansions to certain passages in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. I therefore aim in this part of the chapter to explore in greater

[2] A prominent example is John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome*, dedicated to James IV and composed in 1490; see John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome,* ed. by Charles Macpherson et al., STS, 2nd ser., 19, 4th ser., 2, 19, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1926; Edinburgh, 1965; Aberdeen, 1990).
[3] Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450–1500' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1986), p. 200.
[4] Emily Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', pp. 58–9.

depth the expansions that the *Clariodus*-poet makes to the pre-existing Advice to Princes elements in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, and how they can be aligned with other Older Scots texts which share these elements.

Before going on to discuss these expansions, however, it is worth outlining why the Advice to Princes genre was particularly important in Scotland, and why, in the first half of the sixteenth century when *Clariodus* was written, it is likely to have resonated with Scottish audiences. While the *Clariodus*-poet generally does not include the legalistic language which distinguishes the Older Scots *speculum principis* tradition from its English and French counterparts,[5] the status of *Clariodus* as a translation of a French text with strong advisory elements aligns it with numerous other Older Scots works which are either direct translations of French sources, such as *Lancelot of the Laik* (dated to the late 1460s)[6] and Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buke of the Law of Armys* (dated to 1456), or literature which interpolates ideas from French political thought into original material, as in John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* (dated 1490). I shall briefly survey the works of Sir Gilbert Hay and the anonymous *Lancelot of the Laik*, in which both translators increase the relevance of their texts to Scottish audiences, both royal and noble, through adapting their French source material. In so doing I aim to establish a clear context for my later assessment of how the *Clariodus*-poet adapts the topic of kingship within his own translation for a Scottish readership.

In 1456, Sir Gilbert Hay completed the translation of three prose advisory texts, all of which were originally in French, for his patron, William Sinclair, 3rd Earl of Orkney

[5] Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', p. 5.
[6] This dating for Lancelot of the Laik is suggested in Sally Mapstone, 'The Scots, The French, and the English: an Arthurian Episode', in The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, ed. by Graham Caie et al. (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 129–44 (p. 138).

and 1st Earl of Caithness (b. after 1407, d. 1480). These three texts, the *Buke of the Law of Armys*, the *Buke of the Order of Knychthede*, and the *Buke of the Governance of Princis* (translations of Honoré Bovet's *L'arbre des batailles*, the *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, and an abbreviated French recension of the *Secretum Secretorum* respectively) now survive together in a later witness, National Library of Scotland, MS TD 209,[7] copied for William Sinclair's son Oliver between 1485 and 1490. As Mapstone suggests, William Sinclair's interest in commissioning these texts was a 'conscious manifestation of his grandeur and status at court',[8] and furthermore demonstrates the relevance that such advisory pieces held for members of the Scottish nobility.

Hay's prose pieces were not the only advisory texts of his to have survived. Around 1460 (see below), he completed his *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, which has as its main sources the second recension of the Latin *Historia de Preliis* and the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre*, with two of the French text's interpretations: the *Voeux du Paon* and the *Voyage au Paradis*. In addition to treating these sources with relative freedom in his complete biography of Alexander's life, Hay also chose to incorporate into his romance sections of the *Secretum Secretorum* and a Scottish advisory text for women, *The Thewis off Gudwomen*. At the end of this unmistakeably didactic romance, Hay himself remarks that the work is intended to be read not only by kings, but by all men who desire to live virtuously:

> This buke is not compyllit allanerlie
> For kingis and princeis and lordis þat ar my*ch*ttie
> Bot till all men that richteouslie wald life,

[7] All three texts are edited in *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay*, ed. by Jonathan A. Glenn, STS, 4th ser., 21, 5th ser. 4, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1993-2005). The French *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* is itself originally a translation of Ramon Llull's *Llibre qui es de l'ordre de cavalleria*, written in Catalan in the early thirteenth-century.
[8] Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', p. 65.

It suld thame g[u]id teitcheing *and* exampill gife,
To governe thame wi*th* vertew and iustice.
(19,275–9)[9]

One of Hay's main methods of appealing to a Scottish audience comprising both monarchs and noblemen is, as Joanna Martin illustrates, his greater emphasis on Alexander's status as a young king than in any of his sources.[10] This aspect of the romance would doubtless have been acknowledged by Older Scots readers wearied by the continuous periods of minority government that characterised almost the entire span of the Stewart dynasty's reign, from the accession of the 11-year-old James I in 1406 (albeit as an English prisoner) to the accession of James VI in 1567 at the age of thirteen months. Naturally, this constant and sudden transition of power from an adult king to a child was an ongoing concern in late medieval and early modern Scotland, as Martin suggests.[11] Both surviving witnesses of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, British Library Additional MS 40732 and National Archives of Scotland, MS GD 112/71/9 were owned in the late sixteenth century by Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th laird of Glenorchy (d. 1631), a noted bibliophile who, as Martin suggests, may have been attracted to Hay's romance precisely because of its emphasis on rule by young monarchs, having lived through the long minorities of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI.[12] Moreover, the final lines of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* in both surviving witnesses inform us that the romance was translated by Sir Gilbert Hay 'At þe

[9] Sir Gilbert Hay, *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror by Sir Gilbert Hay*, ed. by John Cartwright, STS 4th ser., 16, 18, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1986-90). All quotations from Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* throughout this thesis are taken from Cartwright's edition.
[10] Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry*, *1424–1540* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 61.
[11] Martin, *Kingship and Love*, p. 12.
[12] Martin, *Kingship and Love*, p. 65. Further detail concerning the two *Buik of King Alexander* manuscripts is provided in Emily Wingfield, '"Ex libris domini Duncani Campbell de Glenwrquhay/miles": *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* in the household of Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh laird of Glenorchy', in *Medieval Romance, Medieval Contexts*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Michael Cichon (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 161–74.

instance off Lord Erskein' (19,334),[13] seemingly Thomas, 2nd Lord Erskine (d. bef. 1493), since the text in its original form dates to *c*. 1460.[14] Once again, it becomes apparent that Older Scots advisory texts enjoyed a circulation beyond that of the king and his immediate circle. Indeed, Hay's works appear to have been well-known in sixteenth-century Scotland: in Dunbar's *I that in heill wes and gladnes* Hay appears amongst the extensive list of poets who have been stolen away by Death ('Schir Gilbert Hay endit has he', 67),[15] while Lyndsay also refers to Hay in his prologue to the *Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo* (19).[16]

Moreover, the anonymous author of *Lancelot of the Laik* may also have been familiar with Hay's *oevure*. Although it is often difficult to establish exact borrowings between texts which deal in such conventional images and themes as the Advice to Princes tradition,[17] Mapstone has noted various verbal echoes in *Lancelot of the Laik* which may have originated from Hay's *Buke of the Order of Knychthede* and the *Buke of the Governance of Princis*.[18] Like Hay's biography of Alexander, *Lancelot of the Laik* treats its French source — the thirteenth-century non-cyclic Prose *Lancelot* — with relative freedom, expanding its advisory elements to further its own relevance to Scottish audiences. No doubt the translator (and versifier) of *Lancelot of the Laik* saw in his original a plot which would resonate with his fellow Scots: King Arthur, initially

[13] For further discussion of the relationship between Hay's original text of the *Buik of King Alexander* and the version of the romance that now survives in British Library, Additional MS 40732 and National Archives of Scotland, MS GD 112/71/9, see Emily Wingfield, 'The Composition and Revision of Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 57 (2013), 247–86.
[14] This date is proposed by John Cartwright, the *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*'s most recent editor. See John Cartwright, 'Sir Gilbert Hay and the Alexander Tradition', in *Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Reniassance*, ed. by Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher, Scottish Studies, 4 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1986), pp. 229–38.
[15] Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Bawcutt, Poem 21.
[16] Sir David Lyndsay, *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, ed. Hamer, I, 55–90.
[17] Lyall highlights that *Lancelot of the Laik* is symptomatic of such issues: see R. J. Lyall, 'Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland', *SLJ*, 3 (1976) 5-29.
[18] Mapstone, 'The Scots, The French, and the English', p. 136, n. 25.

presented as a weak and selfish ruler, is at risk of having his kingdom overrun by the forces of Galiot, a French prince who, unlike Arthur, is honourable, noble, and beloved of his people. Seeing no honour in defeating the pathetic figure of Arthur, Galiot arranges a one-year truce wherein Arthur is given time to recover his kingly bearing and redeem his relationship with his people. In order to do so, Arthur must take the advice of the wise councillor, Amytans, whose role the Scottish translator of the *Lancelot* amplifies dramatically; not only is he a figure already known to and respected by Arthur in the Scottish text,[19] but he additionally counsels Arthur on subjects which are not present in the French, such as the dangers of flattery (1922–3) as well as noting the need for rulers who come to the throne in 'tend*er* ag' (1657) to take 'full contrisioune' (1661) for their faults when they reach the age of adulthood. Of further interest is the decision of the Scottish author to name Amytans, where in the French he remains as an unnamed clerk, which, as Mapstone suggests, fosters comparisons with Aristotle.[20] This has further impact when one considers that the structure of Amytans' advice is similar to that found in the *Secretum Secretorum,*[21] again linking *Lancelot of the Laik* with Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*. While Arthur eventually takes heed of Amytans' council, we regrettably see only the beginnings of Arthur's redemption in the Scots translation, since the romance's sole surviving witness, Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.1.5., suddenly breaks off before the poem ends. However, this manuscript is itself important for understanding the advisory contexts of *Lancelot of the Laik*: the manuscript's status as a miscellany has invited comparison between it and CUL, MS Kk 1.5.'s other contents, with Wingfield classifying the whole composition as a 'volume throughout which the

[19] Mapstone, 'The Scots, the French, and the English', p. 140.
[20] Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', pp. 166–7.
[21] And also Gower's *Confessio Amantis*; see Martin, *Kingship and Love*, pp. 5–6.

theme of good self- and public governance is predominant'.[22] Moreover, further connections to Gilbert Hay are present in CUL, MS Kk 1.5., for it contains a copy of the *Thewis off Gudwomen*, a version of which Hay incorporated into his *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*.[23]

As a French-derived romance which is concerned with providing models of good and bad kingship, then, *Clariodus* fits comfortably into the advisory tradition of previous Older Scots romances. In Chapter Two I demonstrated that the *Clariodus*-poet frequently alludes to a range of vernacular texts, both English and Scottish, so it is probable that he would have known at least some of Hay's works as well as being familiar with *Lancelot of the Laik*. I now go on to examine firstly, the way in which Clariodus is presented as an 'apprentice king', whose career as the ideal knight prepares him for his position as the ideal king at the end of *Clariodus*, and secondly, how the *Clariodus*-poet expands certain passages in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* in order to align his translation with Scottish Advice to Princes texts, drawing on Hay's advisory texts and *Lancelot of the Laik* to underline *Clariodus*' place amongst the Older Scots advisory tradition.

At the beginning of *Clariodus*, the eponymous hero begins the text as a member of the lower nobility: he is the 22-year-old son of the Earl of Esture [Asturias], and arrives in England with his father as a direct consequence of King Philippon's failure to

[22] Emily Wingfield, '*Lancelot of the Laik* and the Literary Manuscript Miscellany in fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Scotland', in *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu, Proceedings of the British Academy, 201 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 209–30 (p. 221).
[23] See Emily Wingfield, 'The Thewis off Gudwomen: Female Advice in Lancelot of the Laik and The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror', in Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 85–96 for further discussion on how Hay interpolated his romance with the Thewis off Gudwomen.

rule effectively, Philippon having invited the Earl to assist with the running of his kingdom. By the end of the romance, after a series of successful and knightly adventures including defeating an enchanted lion (Book I), leading an alliance of English, French and Cypriot soldiers to victory against the Turks (Book III, and saving a Northumbrian knight from a wound that never ceases bleeding (Book IV), Clariodus becomes King of England and Ireland. Thus, from the very beginning of the romance, Clariodus' growth from knight to king is closely interlinked with Philippon's feeble grasp of authority; Clariodus is, in effect, able to learn from Philippon's mistakes as, under his rule, the realm of England turns to ruin. Moreover, Clariodus' strict adherence to the chivalric code enables him to demonstrate the qualities of mercy, nobility, and the willingness to defend the realm which were prized in medieval manuals of good kingship. Indeed, in Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buke of Knichthede*, Hay insists that the king should also be an exemplary knight. He writes:

> For and Emperouris kingis and princis had nocht annext to thame the ordre of knychthede, with the vertues and propereteis, and nobiliteis, langand to the said ordre, thai war nocht worthy to be Emperouris, kingis, na princis. (Chap. 8, 5–9, p. 67).[24]

As we shall see, Clariodus is shown throughout the romance to be eminently worthy of his kingship, having first been an ideal knight. His first trial of knighthood — and the first of many examples of Philippon being portrayed as the *rex inutilis*, or 'the useless king', occurs at the very beginning of *Clariodus*, when Philippon is challenged for his right to hold the port of Clarefontane from the Duke of Genoa. Although the scene where this dispute occurs does not actually survive in the existing witness of *Clariodus*, having

[24] Sir Gilbert Hay, *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript* (1456), ed. by J. H. Stevenson, STS, 1st ser., 44, 62, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1901–14), II: *The Buke of Knychthede* and *The Buke of the Governaunce of Princis* (Edinburgh, 1914).

been amongst the several folios lost from the beginning of MS Advocates' 19.2.5, the *Clariodus*-poet follows the basic plot of his original so closely that it is not difficult to reconstruct the romance's lost beginning using *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Following this challenge, the Duke's representative, known simply as the Lombard Knight, challenges Philippon's knights to single combat, but they refuse, suggesting that Philippon does not inspire any loyalty in them.[25] However, Clariodus offers himself in their place, despite being, as Meliades later remarks, '3oung and not in armis vsit' (I, 192), emphasising his status at the beginning of the romance as a young apprentice to the arts of both chivalry and kingship. Clariodus' victory against the Lombard Knight, then, is the first instance of Clariodus acting to preserve Philippon's authority in his own realm and on an international level.

The supreme example of Clariodus' doubling for the King of England occurs, however, occurs in Book III, when the King of Cyprus, Philippon's kinsman, comes under attack from the Turks. Unable to participate as a military leader himself due to his advanced age, Philippon commands Clariodus to be 'capitane' and 'gouernour' (III, 67) of an English army in Cyprus. Although Clariodus initially protests, suggesting that the captain should be 'ane lord ... of gritter knowleg' (III, 73) than he, Philippon informs Clariodus that his men have 'more trusting in 3our wit and governing' (III, 86) than any of his other knights, and so should be granted the authority to lead men in battle.[26]

At the same time as Clariodus is proving himself to be a capable and inspiring military commander in Cyprus, Philippon's own kingly authority collapses completely, and he is revealed to be an irrational king who easily falls prey to treachery, a

[25] *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, ed. Zink, IV, 153–6.
[26] Here, Clariodus is comparable to the figure of Galiot in *Lancelot of the Laik*, who is so beloved by his men that 'hyme to pless is al ther besynes' (613).

personality flaw which draws comment from both the French author and the *Clariodus*-poet. Upon seeing that both Clariodus and his father, the Earl of Esture, are absent from court and are therefore unable to advise or protect Philippon, the King's malevolent half-brother, Thomas, uses forged letters to trick Philippon into believing that Clariodus and Meliades wish to poison him and seize the throne for themselves:

> He feinȝit letteris of his awin indyte
> Throw his invy, malice, *and* dispyte,
> As they had cumit from Clariodus
> Vnto the King's dochter, beiring thus:
> That scho the King sould poysoun presentlie
> That they the cuntrie micht posseid *th*airby;
> (III, 423–8)

Upon seeing these letters, Philippon places greater trust in the authority of the written word than in his own sense of judgement, naively believing that the letters are genuine and failing to detect any treachery. It is significant that at this point in this text, the *Clariodus*-poet explicitly criticises Philippon's irrational behaviour, just as the French author does:

> Or le roy avoit ceste condicion de croire assez de legier, qui est ung grant dangier et peril á ung roy ou á ung prince d'avoir ceste condicion ... (Chap. XXII, 47–50)
>
> [Now the king had the condition of believing things lightly, and it is a great danger and peril to a king or to a prince to have this condition ...]

The *Clariodus*-poet repeats the French author's comment almost word-for-word:

> The King him trowit, *and* without resoun,
> For hastilie credit he wald gif all tyme
> All war it never anents so grite ane cryme,
> Quhilk is ane fault full grit into ane king;

(III, 451–4)

Philippon's loss of reason here is so overwhelming that he no longer comprehends any sense of reason and justice,[27] immediately seizing a sword with the intention of slaying Meliades — an act which would jeopardise the stability of the kingdom as she is his only heir. Yet Sir Thomas, in a complete reversal of Philippon's authority, commands the King to have Meliades murdered far away from court, to which the King agrees. From this point onwards, Philippon is utterly subject to Thomas' demands, and seems to be unaware of the crisis that is unfolding in his realm. Even Philippon's subjects are aware of the peril in which the kingdom now stands, invoking a curse on the King and the evil counsel offered by Thomas and bewailing that the King's actions will lead the kingdom to ruin:

> 'Wo worth our king,' thay cry, '*and* his counsall;
> Doing this deid so wickit *and* cruell,
> Quhilk sall this realme turne to distructioun
> Be the vengence that sall from hevine stryke doun
> Wpon [thir] wretchis, for the blood saikles
> Of hir that in all wertew stude maikles
> Into this wyde warld, without comparisoun.'
> (III, 582–8)

Once again, the *Clariodus*-poet has closely translated the lamentations of Philippon's subjects from his source:

— Mauldit soit nostre roy et qui tel conseil lui a donne! Il a mis en perdicion tout son royaume et lui mesmes en sera destruit et honny et sera bien employé, quant il a souffert que la plus belle et la meilleure du monde ayt esté morte et sans

[27] Roger Mason notes that justice was considered the most important quality of good governance in Scotland. See Roger Mason, *Kingship and Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), p. 11.

causse, car oncques elle ne deservit ce que on lui a mis sus. (Chap. XXII, 164–70)
[Cursed be our king and those who give him counsel! He has destroyed his whole kingdom and he himself will be destroyed and shamed because of it, and he will be the most to blame, when he has allowed the most beautiful and best [lady] in the world to be killed without reason, because she never at any time deserved the aforesaid.]

Significantly, however, the misery of Philippon's people is amplified in the *Clariodus*-poet's translation. In the lines preceding this lament, the Scottish versifier compares the people's wretched state with the citizens of Troy at the hour of its destruction:

No wofuller in Troy raise vp the soun
For Hectoris daith, thair mightie champioun;
Nor quhen the Greikis enterit in their ire
In ower thair wall*is*, and set thair toun in fyre,
And slew Priam, *and* brint Paladeon
(III, 573–7)

Not only does this remark once again demonstrate the *Clariodus*-poet's knowledge of classical literature (as demonstrated in Chapter Two, pp. 123–33), but it also suggests that the apparent end of Philippon's dynasty with the 'death' of Meliades represents a complete upheaval of society akin to the fall of Troy.

Philippon's status as the ultimate *rex inutilis* is further emphasised by Thomas' complete takeover of the court. He replaces all of Philippon's loyal 'auld servandis' (III, 692) with his own men. Moreover, Thomas is able to maintain his position of complete control through further cunning schemes. He again uses the authority of the written word to write forged letters in the King's name, preventing the Earl of Esture from returning to court, and uses flattery to assure the King that all is well in the kingdom. In the advisory section of *Lancelot of the Laik* in which Amytans upbraids Arthur for his

weak kingship, Amytans warns Arthur that the 'blyndit Ignorans/Of king*is*, wich that hath no gou*er*nans' (1933–4) is one factor which causes kings to listen to flatterers, and Philippon certainly demonstrates this flaw in failing to question Thomas' motives.

With England in such peril, it is unsurprisingly left to Clariodus to save Philippon from the machinations of Sir Thomas once he returns victorious from fighting the Turks. Indeed, Clariodus' martial prowess, honed on crusade in Cyprus, is ultimately responsible for restoring Philippon's authority: after surreptitiously entering the King's quarters unseen, Clariodus confronts Sir Thomas, reveals his treachery to Philippon, and challenges Sir Thomas to combat, which he refuses on account of Clariodus' reputation for incredible martial skill. Only after Sir Thomas has been executed does Philippon return to a state of reason and self-realisation, condemning himself as the epitome of the incompetent king:

> 'All princes may exampill take of me,
> Thus vnadvysit to distroy thair blood,
> Or thair advysit, counsall thairto conclude,'
> (III, 1741–3)

In the French original, it is the narrator who says this, not the King himself (Chap. XXVI, 427–434). In making this slight yet significant change to his original, the *Clariodus*-poet emphasises to a far greater extent that Philippon is a negative example of kingship whose behaviour should not be emulated, demonstrating his familiarity with contemporary political theories of kingship. Indeed, the idea that the king should act as a mirror for his people was a prominent one in Older Scots Advice to Princes texts. One such example is the anonymous fifteenth-century poem *De Regimine Principum Bonum Consilium*, also known as 'The Harp', in which the anonymous poet writes as though

directly addressing a king,[28] telling him: Bot first [th]ow suld [th]ame schaw ane gud myrrour/For pepill followis [th]e trid of [th]air pastour (209–10).[29] Perhaps more serious than Philippon's failure to provide an exemplary model of kingship is that, with the apparent death of Meliades, he has jeopardised the succession to the throne, since she was his only heir. It is revealing that, although Thomas' influence has now been removed, Philippon has no more authority over his realm than he did before. He begs Clariodus to stay in England, knowing that if Clariodus leaves for his father's court, the Earl will not return to England as regent. However, Clariodus' pain at thinking he has lost Meliades for good is too much for him to bear, and he returns to Esture — where he discovers that Meliades is still alive and is happily reunited with her at the end of Book III.

I have shown above that the character of Clariodus presents the ideal model of knighthood, which in turn prepares him to act as the ideal king when he is crowned as monarch of both England and Ireland in the final book of *Clariodus*. In contrast to Clariodus' youthful courage and mercy, King Philippon acts a foil for Clariodus in the same way the figure of King Arthur acts as the counterpart of Galiot in *Lancelot of the Laik*: he is weak, infirm, and prone to flattery, serious flaws which bring disaster upon the realm.

---

[28] *De Regimine Principum Bonum Consilium* was an enormously popular poem, with Sally Mapstone noting that it has 'more surviving witnesses than many other Scottish works of the period' (Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', p. 13). Its earliest witnesses are two manuscripts of the *Liber Pluscardensis* chronicle; this work had been completed by 1461, but the two manuscripts containing *De Regimine Principum Bonum Consilium* are of later date: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 8 dates from 1489, while Glasgow, Mitchell Library MS 308876, which is a copy of the Fairfax manuscript, dates from 1489–1500. Another independent witness of the poem (*STC* 3307) was printed by Chepman and Myllar at their Edinburgh printing press in 1508. Although the poem is incomplete in all three of the aforementioned witnesses, a complete version was later copied into the Maitland Folio manuscript (Cambridge, Magdelene College, Pepys Library, MS 2253, dated *c*. 1570–86). The composition of *De Regimine Principum Bonum Consilium* has been dated by Mapstone to no later than 1461 (Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', p. 54).
[29] Poem XXXIX, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. Craigie, I, pp. 115–25.

Clariodus as an Advisory Text for Women

While Clariodus and Philippon each represent positive and negative exemplars of kingship respectively, *Clariodus* also serves as a 'courtesy book' for women through the figure of Meliades, whose status as a virtuous model of womanhood is repeatedly emphasised to a greater extent in *Clariodus* than it is in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Moreover, the *Clariodus*-poet also often provides greater insight into Meliades' psychological state than the French author does, especially where Meliades' love for Clariodus is concerned. A prominent example of this occurs at the Tournament of the Green Knight in Book II, where the *Clariodus*-poet adds to his source a description of Meliades' desire to watch Clariodus as he jousts:

> And eike the lustie madin Meliades,
> Into hir heart could no mair ioy deuise
> Nor scho had for to go se the iusting,
> To se him that scho did loue abone all thing;
> Quhen of this passag scho was full assurit,
> With pretious stonis, *and* rich pearle *and* purit,
> Scho did hir fresch and lustilie atyre;
> Hir schyning hair as bricht gold wyer
> Hang schyning into gyltine traces cleir,
> With croun vpon hir heid, baith rich *and* deir,
> Set full of roobies *and* sapheiris blew;
> Ane fairer princes in all the warld nane knew.
> (II, 1417–28)

With his elaborate description of Meliades' costume and her deliberate attempts to attire herself 'fresch and lustilie' (II, 1423), the poet suggests that Meliades herself wishes to be seen and desired in her splendid, bejewelled outfit, no doubt by Clariodus himself. In offering a reciprocal view of the sexual attraction present in the relationship

between Clariodus and Meliades, but which is never consummated until their wedding night, the *Clariodus*-poet presents to his readers an ideal relationship in which the desires of the young couple are 'correctly' channelled towards their marriage.

However, arguably the most crucial aspect of *Clariodus* as an 'advice for women' text comes with the exile of Meliades in Book III. After she is left in a forest wearing only her underclothes by the four servants of Sir Thomas who were hired to murder her, the cold and starving Meliades desperately seeks help and is fortunate to find the dwelling of a 'goodwyfe', in other words, the mistress of a household. At this point, the *Clariodus*-poet elects to give a greater role to the unnamed goodwife than appears in his French source, adding that she kindly fashions makeshift clothes for Meliades:

> Ane old sakcloath scho brocht hir thair
> And hes it pute vpon the lady faire,
> And with ane corde it fessounit hir about,
> (III, 806–8)

In emphasising the kindness of Meliades' host here, the *Clariodus*-poet not only attends to the practicalities of Meliadies' situation — she is virtually naked, so she requires clothing — but also reinforces to a greater extent the bond between the two women which is developed further on in Book III, where the goodwife provides Meliades with work as an embroiderer. The Scottish poet therefore places more emphasis on the networks of female patronage and generosity that were relied upon by women who no longer had access to the patriarchal protection offered by their fathers and husbands.

As a matter of fact, the bond formed between Meliades and the goodwife through their shared skill in embroidery becomes the means by which Meliades can be returned to her father's court in England and henceforth be accepted back into the 'safety net' of

the courtly society from whence she came. It is because of the goodwife's suggestion that Meliades accompanies her to the court of the Earl and Countess of Esture that Meliades is eventually reunited with Clariodus, when the two lovers meet by chance at a well (III, 1994–2085). Some time before this meeting, however, the Earl of Esture is convinced that he recognises Meliades, who has taken the name of Ladar, while she is visiting the Earl's court. In a unique comment following the Earl's recognition of Meliades (III, 987–90), the *Clariodus*-poet praises Meliades through comparing her behaviour to that of famous women from classical mythology. He describes her as

> Far from Dormigill in crueltie,
> Or Panthassilla in magnanimitie,
> Bot neirer Grisshald, with hir tender breist,
> Of souerane vertew quhilk is God aneist.
> (III, 1000–3)

While some of these women have different names to those modern audiences may be familiar with, they are still nevertheless identifiable. Wingfield has suggested that 'Dormigill' (III, 1000) may be a corrupted form of Donegild, the cruel mother of King Alla described in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*.[30] Notably, Donegild forges letters which lead to the exile of King Alla's wife, Constance, offering a parallel to Meliades' own story. Panthassilla (III, 1001) is Penthesilea, the fearsome Amazon queen who joined the Trojan war on the side of Troy; in vernacular English literature she appears in Lydgate's *Troy Book* (IV, 3760–4439, 5385, 6095–8), and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (IV, 2139–82; V, 2547–52), while she also appears in Older Scots literature in Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* (11,714–12,018). 'Grisshald' (III, 1002) is surely a reference to Griselda, a common figure among European folklore but who the *Clariodus*-

[30] Wingfield, 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus*', p. 61.

poet was most probably familiar from Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*. In Chaucer's version of the Griselda legend, she marries a king named Walter, who tests her loyalty and willingness to obey him in a variety of ways, including separating her from her children. She endures her ordeals with great patience, and she and Walter remain happily married. As a combination of the positive qualities of the women outlined, with which *Clariodus*' audience would have been familiar from the texts outlined above, Meliades is demonstrably more virtuous than her French counterpart.

Although the *Clariodus*-poet does not alter the portrayal of kingship in his source quite as obviously as in Older Scots texts such as *Lancelot of the Laik*, I have demonstrated above that there was little need for major alterations to the characters of Clariodus and Philippon; these two characters already serve as a juxtaposition of successful and unsuccessful kingship respectively and allow *Clariodus* to take its place amongst the wider tradition of Advice to Princes texts in Older Scots literature. For Scottish readers in the early sixteenth century who had suffered much political uncertainty during repeated royal minorities, the characters of Clariodus and Philippon, with their contrasting abilities to provide effective kingship, would have had particular resonance.

Where the *Clariodus*-poet does change his source more extensively is in the presentation of women in his translation. He is altogether more concerned than his French predecessor in presenting Meliades as the epitome of female virtue, not only through her initially chaste desire for Clariodus, the end of which is channelled into the consummation of this desire through her marriage to him, but also through his emphasis on the networks of female support and friendship which exist outside the patriarchal society of the chivalric world. *Clariodus*, then, can be seen as both an Advice

to Princes text and an advice to women text, and should no longer be left out of the discussion of advisory texts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.

Magnificence and Courtly Culture in *Clariodus*

As we have seen, *Clariodus* can be firmly placed within the Older Scots Advice to Princes tradition in its portrayal of Clariodus as a model of ideal knighthood and kingship. However, it is not just the virtues of honour, justice, mercy, military prowess and good statesmanship which *Clariodus* advocates as being necessary to effective kingship. Additionally, the romance suggests that a monarch's worth is manifested by the demonstration of magnificence, a quality which had been considered a mark of greatness since Aristotle classified it as such in his *Nicomachean Ethics*:

> Great expenditure is becoming to those who have suitable means to start with, acquired by their own efforts or from ancestors or connexions, and to people of high birth or reputation, and so on; for all these things bring with them greatness and prestige.[31]

As Nederman writes, 'During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries almost the entirety of the Aristotelian corpus returned to circulation in the West after an absence of more than five hundred years' and Aristotle's views became an integral part of medieval intellectual thought.[32] The earliest Latin translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics*

[31] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols, Bollingen Series 71, 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984),II, Book IV, p. 1772. While the *Nicomachean Ethics* cannot be precisely dated, David Ross suggests that this work dates from Aristotle's 'second Athenian period' — where the renowned philosopher returned to Athens after tutoring Alexander the Great — lasting from 335-4 BC to 323 BC. See Sir David Ross, *Aristotle*, 6th edn (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), p. 16.

[32] Cary J. Nederman, 'Aristotelian Ethics before the *Nicomachean Ethics*: Alternate Sources of Aristotle's Concept of Virtue in the Twelfth Century', in Cary J. Nederman, *Medieval Aristotelianism and its Limits: Classical Traditions in Moral and Political Philosophy, 12th-15th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1997), pp. 55-75 (p. 55).

(hereafter the *Ethics*) were composed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[33] and what came to be the definitive Latin translation was completed by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, by *c*. 1247.[34] Later translations were made by Leonardo Bruni in 1416-17 and John Argyropoulos in 1457.[35] These translations helped to cement the concept of magnificence as being essential to effective rulership in the medieval west; as Simon Thurley has summarised:

> Being magnificent was the art of being visibly richer and more powerful than others. It was not enough that a king should rule, he must be seen to be ruling by being surrounded by richness which fitted his elevated state.[36]

Of all the courts of Europe during the fifteenth century, nowhere was magnificence more celebrated than at the Burgundian court.[37] From the late fourteenth century to the death of Duke Charles the Bold in 1477, the court of Burgundy was widely considered to be the most splendid in Europe.[38] It is therefore no surprise that *Cleriadus et Meliadice*

---

[33] This includes the *Ethica vetus*, an anonymous translation of Books II and III of the *Ethics* which appeared at the end of the twelfth century. Another anonymous translation of Book I, the *Ethica nova*, was completed in the early thirteenth century; from the existence of several surviving fragments of the other nine books of the *Ethics*, it has been assumed that the *Ethica nova* was once part of a complete translation. See Bernard G. Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100–1600*, ed. by Norman Kretzmann et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 45–79 (p. 49). See also Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. by R. A. Gauthier, Aristoteles Latinus 26, 1–3 (Leiden: Brill; Brussels: de Brouwer, 1972–4)

[34] Daniel. A. Callus, 'The Date of Grosseteste's Translations and Commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius and the *Nicomachean Ethics*', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 14 (1947), 186–209.

[35] George Wieland, 'The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's Ethics', in The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600, ed. by Norman Kretzmann et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 657–72 (p. 670).

[36] Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460–1547* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 11.

[37]According to Gordon Kipling, 'the fifteenth-century court of Burgundy first defined Magnificence (sic) as an exclusively chivalric virtue, and Guillaume Fillastre, Chancellor of the [Order of the] Toison d'Or [Golden Fleece], promulgated the pursuit of magnanimity ... as the chief duty of the Burgundian knighthood'. Kipling further states that from the 1470s magnificence came to be known as the characteristic virtue of Jason, famous for his seizing of the Golden Fleece, and that Fillastre's remarks made the traditional princely virtue of dispensing justice dependent upon the demonstration of magnificence. See Kipling, p. 163.

[38] Due to civil unrest as well as the ongoing Hundred Years' War, the royal court of France itself somewhat waned in splendour in comparison to the ducal sub-courts, of which the most prominent were Anjou, Burgundy, Berry, Brittany and Foix. Thurley remarks that 'by the 1430s the court of Burgundy, through

— a text with connections to the Burgundian court and written when Burgundian splendour was at its apogee — celebrates magnificence in many forms. Feasting, pageantry, tournaments, courtly entertainments permeate the entire length of the romance. These displays of magnificence in turn add a sense of realism to *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, since such displays follow much the same patterns as they did at the real-life Burgundian court and indeed at courts across Western Europe. Significant events such as marriages, the arrival of guests at court, and the completion of tournaments are marked with feasting and courtly entertainments such as dancing, music, and pageants, and every opportunity is taken by the characters in the romance — the majority of whom are of royal or noble blood — to display their wealth and social standing in public through the use of sumptuous costumes and lavish jewellery.

The Older Scots *Clariodus* contains many of the same scenes of conspicuous consumption which appear in its French source, but there are also numerous instances where the *Clariodus*-poet adds unique passages describing scenes of courtly ceremonial. Magnificence — already a key theme in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* — takes on a specifically Scots context in *Clariodus*. Tracing episodes of courtly spectacle and conspicuous consumption and analysing their presentation by the *Clariodus*-poet shows us that, once again, the Scottish translator has not followed his source as closely as previously thought, and, moreover, that this is yet another way in which he augments his source — not so much through literary techniques but through engaging in the discourse of visual and auditory arts, with which he may have been familiar at court.

its wealth and the determination of its dukes, had outshone not only the other ducal Courts but also the royal Courts of France and England'; see Thurley, p. 13).

The *Clariodus*-poet could have been familiar with the concept of magnificence via several means. All three of the main translations of Aristotle's *Ethics* mentioned above were available in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland.[39] The concept was also discussed in texts belonging to the Older Scots 'Advice to Princes' tradition, including Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buke of the Governaunce of Princis*, a mid-fifteenth-century translation from a French version of the *Liber de Secretis Secretorum* attributed to Aristotle. In this text, 'Aristotle' advises his student, Alexander the Great, that a prince should 'be ever stately cled and honourably in in preciouse vestmentis', these being 'abone all otheris of his subjectis bathe in richesse in fassone and in fairnesse' so that 'throu the nobilitee of him, his ornamentis and estate, all his contree war the mare prisit, lovit lufit and honourit' (Chap. 6, 8–17).[40] As well as this literary background which the *Clariodus*-poet may have used to develop his portrayal of courtly culture, this chapter proposes, using evidence from *Clariodus* itself, that the *Clariodus*-poet's knowledge of magnificence might also have originated from direct personal experience of the Scottish court.

In adding unique passages which focus specifically on courtly culture and spectacle, the *Clariodus*-poet places an even greater emphasis on court entertainment than we find in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Significantly, many of the events in these unique passages —for example, court drama — have real-life analogues in documented events from the reigns of James IV and James V, contemporaneous with the period in which

[39] *Scottish Libraries*, ed. by John Higgitt, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 12 (London: British Library, 2006), from which the following list of catalogues is taken. There were numerous copies of Robert Grosseteste's translation of the *Ethics* in Scotland, including several owned by Glasgow Cathedral (Catalogue S12, nos. 63, 82, 133; from an inventory of church goods dated 24 March 1433), as well as a copy of Leonardo Bruni's translation at the Tironensian Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr (Arbroath Abbey) at Angus (Catalogue S6, no. 17a; from a list of books left to the Abbey by Richard Guthrie, a previous Abbot, in *c*. 1473). A copy of John Argyropoulos' translation was present at King's College, Aberdeen (Catalogue S4, no. 11; from a list of books borrowed from King's College library *c*. 1557).

[40] Hay, *Haye's Prose Manuscript*, ed. J. H. Stevenson, II, p. 92.

Clariodus was written; such passages are perhaps too numerous to be merely coincidental. In the following analysis I examine the different aspects of courtly spectacle added to *Clariodus*; beginning with costume, I move on to decoration, pageantry and dramatic performance, music, hunting, and tournaments, using historical sources such as the *Treasurer's Accounts of Scotland*, inventory lists, and heraldic accounts such as John Younge's account of the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor to draw out the historical parallels that may have inspired the *Clariodus*-poet's unique additions to his translation.

Costume and Aureate Description

One of the most important historical documents to have survived from James IV's reign is 'The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest daughter of king Henry VIIth to James, king of Scotland: Together with her departure from England, journey into Scotland, her reception and marriage there, and the great feasts held on that account (hereafter 'The Fyancells'). This is an account of Margaret Tudor's journey from England to Scotland and her subsequent marriage to James IV written by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who accompanied Margaret on her journey.[41] Younge spares no details in his account of Margaret's journey north, from meticulously describing the outfits of the noblemen who greet her as she enters various towns, to recounting the abundance of feasts and tournaments which are held to celebrate the wedding itself. Although Younge's account

[41] While Younge's account is undated, the level of detail with which he recalls the events and costumes at the wedding suggests that Younge may have written the *Fyancelles* very soon after, or even during, the wedding itself, i.e. *c*. 1503. See John Younge, Somerset Herald, 'The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest daughter of king Henry VIIth to James, king of Scotland: Together with her departure from England, journey into Scotland, her reception and marriage there, and the great feasts held on that account', in *Joannis Leland Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. by Thomas Hearne, 6 vols (London: Benjamin White, 1774), IV, pp. 258–300.

undoubtedly contains an element of propaganda in that it is concerned with spreading the fame and honour of the 'noblesse' involved in the proceedings,[42] it nevertheless reads almost like a prose version of the last two books of *Clariodus*, in which the wedding of Clariodus and Meliades and the extensive preparations for making it a truly magnificent affair take centre stage in the narrative.

Indeed, 'The Fyancells' offers a useful context for *Clariodus*, particularly Younge's description of the elaborate costumes worn by James and Margaret during the wedding itself and at the celebrations which follow. With their abundance of jewelled accessories and finely-woven textiles, these costumes parallel the outfits worn by Clariodus and Meliades at their own nuptials and the surrounding celebrations. Younge provides the following detailed description of Margaret's wedding costume:

> The Qwene was arayd in a rich Robbe ... borded of Cramsyn Velvet, and lyned of the self. Sche had a varey riche Coller of Gold, of Pyerrery and Perles, round her Neck, and the Cronne apon hyr Hed: Her Hayre hangyng. Betwyx the said Cronne and the Hayres was a varey riche Coyfe hangyng downe behynde the whole Length of the Body.[43]

From this description it is clear that Margaret was dressed in the finest materials of the era. Crimson velvet was especially expensive,[44] and although Younge does not recount precisely which gemstones Margaret's 'Coller of Gold' is studded with — using the term 'Pyerrery' to instead denote a collection of gemstones — the impression is nevertheless

[42] Younge himself admits as much at the beginning of his account, stating that all the details of Margaret's journey to Scotland and subsequent marriage shall be rehearsed 'to the Exaltation of Noblesse' (sic). See Younge, p. 265.
[43] Younge, pp. 293–4.
[44] Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London: British Library Publishing, 2007), p. 156.

that Margaret's costume epitomises royal magnificence, especially since she now wears a crown as well as a 'riche Coyfe'.[45]

The same impression of magnificence is very often attributed to the characters in *Clariodus*, especially Meliades. The Scottish poet frequently expands descriptions of Meliades' costume that appear in the French source, particularly in Books IV and V. At the feast which precedes her wedding, for instance, Meliades is adorned with '... ane corsit of claith of gold all quhyte' (V, 275), as well as wearing:

> Vpon hir heade ane rosie chaiplet
> Within ane roseire, all in bright gold set,
> The roseis reid war all of cullour bricht
> And carbunkle stonis, casting pleasant licht
> Vpon the roseire, lustie for to seine.
> In steid of leives hang emeroldis greine,
> Full freschlie pouderit all with leaves quhyt,
> Whilk to behald ane hevin was of delyte.
> (V, 281–8)

Like Margaret Tudor's 'cramsyn Velvet', the 'corsit of claith of gold all quhyte' (V, 275) worn by Meliades here would have been considered a luxurious item of clothing. Furthermore, like Margaret, Meliades wears a crown, with the *Clariodus*-poet indicating from his depiction that it is an object of exceptional magnificence. It is described as a 'chaiplet' (V, 281) set within a 'roseire' (V, 282), a coronet of gold and gems resembling a rose garland.[46] Just as Younge highlights the gemstones hanging from Margaret's gold collar, so the *Clariodus*-poet takes time to delineate the gemstones which form Meliades' 'roseire'; as well as the 'carbunkle stonis' (V, 284) forming the deep red colour of the

[45] *OED*, *perry*, *n*. 2, sense 2.
[46] *DOST*, *rosere, -eir, n*.

rose petals on the coronet, there are leaf-like 'emeroldis greine' (V, 286) intermixed 'all with leaves quhyt' (V, 287). Here, the reference to the carbuncles and emeralds ornamented by white leaves is a unique addition to *Clariodus*; the French author states only that the chaplet contained *perles et ... riches pierreries* ['pearls and ... rich gemstones', XXIV, 249–50].

In adding to the original French, the *Clariodus*-poet may be paralleling contemporary royal costume and also once again demonstrating influences from the Older Scots literary tradition. In *The Kingis Quair*, James writes of the first time he beholds his future wife, Joan Beaufort, from his prison window, noting that her hair was covered by a netting 'In fret-wise couchit with perllis quhite/ And grete balas lemyng as the fyre,/With mony ane emeraut and fair saphire; (318–20); like the collar worn by Margaret Tudor and the coronet worn by Meliades, the netting is replete with costly jewels. In a further similarity with Meliades, James' lady is also wearing a chaplet, although rather than being decorated with jewels, in this case it is decorated with 'plumys partit rede, and quhite and blewe' (322). Ultimately, the addition of intimate details of costume by the *Clariodus*-poet adds the same sense of realism to his romance that can be found in both the original French source and in descriptive accounts such as 'The Fyancells'; such descriptions are almost the sort of eyewitness account that we might expect from a close observer of court life.

Where the *Clariodus*-poet does differ from Younge and contemporary descriptive accounts of costume — as well as his French source — is in his use of aureate language, adding a more literary aspect to otherwise conventional portrayals of royal and aristocratic costume. This is demonstrated particularly well during Book IV, where, at a feast held by the King of France, Meliades is described in such a way that the colours of

her outfit are almost superseded by the sheer radiance of the jewels attached to her clothing:

> Circumferat with stonis casting licht,
> About hir neke ane chaine of gold bright,
> Hir hairis bright, that nature span so cleire,
> In aureat teresie hang doun circuleir
> Full angell lyke, that schynit scho with gleimes,
> In orient bright with Phebus' goldin streamis
> Doun schading from hir face that was alss quhyte
> As the illustar lillie of delyte;
> Ane rich cornall about hir hair was set
> With radious stonnis mightie overfret;
> (IV, 1177–86)

In contrast to the previous extract, the *Clariodus*-poet here gives little concrete information about Meliades' appearance. All we are told is that she wears 'ane chaine of gold bright' (IV, 1178), that her hair is hanging down (IV, 1179–80) and that she wears a circlet (here called a 'cornall'; IV, 1185). Instead, the Scottish poet's description of Meliades here is decidedly aureate: there are numerous examples of Latinate terms such as 'circumferat' (IV, 1177) and 'illustar' (IV, 1184) (and even the word 'aureat' itself at IV, 1180) and a clear fixation on the imagery of light and radiance produced by the shimmering gemstones in Meliades' golden chain (IV, 1177–8) and coronet (IV, 1185), as well as her hair, which shines so brightly in the sunlight ('Phebus' goldin streamis', IV, 1182) that she appears 'angell lyke' (IV, 1181). While the technique of aureation here creates a more abstract portrayal of Meliades, making her appear almost divine in appearance, the *Clariodus*-poet nevertheless conveys an overwhelming portrait of Meliades' costume as truly magnificent.

In using aureate imagery to accentuate the splendour of the royal and aristocratic costume worn by Clariodus and his courtiers, and in expanding the already-sumptuous costumes described in his French source, the *Clariodus*-poet places a much greater emphasis on the idea of magnificence than his French predecessor. With the *Clariodus*-poet's addition of aureate imagery to descriptions of costume in particular, the various European courts featured in *Clariodus* — especially those of England and France — almost outdo their real-life counterparts in splendour. While the *Clariodus*-poet may well have found inspiration in literary depictions of royal and aristocratic costume in works such as *The Kingis Quair*, such is the minute detail with which he expands upon descriptions of clothing that it is possible that he was himself familiar with such splendid outfits, perhaps observing them on a daily basis at court. In both cases, these descriptions of costume are a way for the *Clariodus*-poet to highlight his translation as a work of the most ornate style.

Tapestry

One of the most significant unique passages in *Clariodus* is the 'tapestry passage' (V, 59–104) which as well as giving us an insight into the *Clariodus*-poet's knowledge of classical and romance literature (see Chapter Two, pp. 123–33) also demonstrates his familiarity with the trappings of court culture, in this case the ostentatious display created by the hanging of tapestries around the royal household. The use of tapestries to create the effect of magnificence was found across the majority of European courts during the sixteenth century. Henry VIII, for example, was said to possess more

tapestries than any other king in Christendom,[47] and although the tapestry collections of James IV and James V were nowhere near as extensive as Henry's 2,000-strong hoard of such objects, James IV and his son nevertheless owned a variety of tapestries which, like the example in *Clariodus*, depict scenes of classical legend.[48]

John Younge's account of Margaret Tudor's marriage to James IV is again useful in recording the use of tapestries at the early sixteenth-century Scottish court. Younge writes that upon the entry of Margaret into Edinburgh the streets were 'in many Places haunged with Tapissery' (p. 191). Moreover, the 'grett Chammer' where the ladies sit after the marriage of James and Margaret has a hanging depicting the 'Ystory of Troy Towne',[49] while the King's chamber has the 'Story of Hercules, togeder with other Ystorys' (p. 296).[50] Characters from the legends of Troy are depicted on the tapestry described in the unique passage inserted by the *Clariodus*-poet (V, 60–62; 70–83), as are the 'deid*is* of strong Hercules' (V, 66). Furthermore, just as Younge describes tapestries in connection with James and Margaret's wedding, so too in *Clariodus* is the tapestry erected as part of the wedding celebrations of Clariodus and Meliades. There is therefore a dual correspondence between the real-life tapestries used to celebrate the wedding of James IV and the fictional tapestry erected in honour of Clariodus' own marital festivities.

Like his father, James V was keen to acquire and display tapestries in his royal palaces, and two inventories dated 25 March 1539 and 3 March 1543 document which

[47] Thomas P. Campbell notes that at the time of Henry VIII's death in January 1547, the king had amassed a collection of approximately 2,450 tapestries. See Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), p. ix.
[48] Thomas notes that the inventories of James V list fewer than 200 tapestries. See Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 80.
[49] Younge, p. 295.
[50] Younge, p. 296.

tapestries were in his possession in the latter years of his reign. Once again, the tapestries owned by James V depict scenes which are very often identical to those described by the *Clariodus*-poet in his fictitious tapestry. The inventories of 1539 and 1543, for instance, list tapestries representing the Trojan war, Jason and the Golden Fleece, Hercules, Venus, and 'ten pece of the auld testament'.[51] As discussed in Chapter Two (pp. 123–28), the unique tapestry description in *Clariodus* depicts the downfall of Troy and the deeds of Hercules, as well as 'the craftie wining of the Goldin Fleice' (V, 73), Paris' presentation of the Golden Apple to Venus, choosing her as the most beautiful goddess (V, 75–77), and the story of Sampson (V, 84–5), an tale from the Old Testament (Judges, 13–16). Although all of these tales could have been familiar to the *Clariodus*-poet through his general familiarity with classical literature, it is striking that many of the legends depicted in the *Clariodus*-poet's fictional tapestry are akin to those found in the real-life tapestries in James V's possession. This might again suggest that he was inspired as much by real-life examples of tapestries as literary representations of these highly prized objects.

Pageantry and Courtly Drama

Pageantry is another method through which courtly magnificence could be advertised, and, like tapestries, were a means of retelling popular myths and legends. For instance, part of the extravagant spectacle devised for Margaret Tudor's entry into Edinburgh in 1503 involved a pageant of the Judgement of Paris which Younge describes in 'The Fyancelles':

[51] A Collection of Inventories and Other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse; and of the Artillery and Munitioun in some of the Royal Castles, 1486–1606, ed. by T. Thompson (Edinburgh, 1815), pp. 49–51 and pp. 103-104; the 'ten pece of the auld testament' is referred to on p. 50.

> wher was represented Paris and the Thre Deessys, with Mercure, that gaffe hym th[sic] Apyll of Gold, for to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre, wiche he gave to Venus.[52]

Although we have no way of knowing whether the *Clariodus*-poet was present at Margaret's entry into Edinburgh, Younge's account nevertheless provides us with a Scottish context for the circulation of the Judgement of Paris legend which provides an extraliterary Scottish context contemporaneous with the period in which *Clariodus* was composed. Furthermore, the fact that the *Clariodus*-poet regularly adds his own unique descriptions of pageants and dramatic entertainments in *Cleriadus et Meliadice* suggests that he may have been familiar with similar courtly occupations; whether this was through personal experience or simply reading or hearing of such events, at the very least the correspondence is striking.

The first of these unique passages occurs during the lavish banquet which concludes the Tournament of the Green Knight in Book II of *Clariodus*. Here, the Scottish poet inserts a reference to pageants and magicians that is absent at the same point in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*:

> Ay betwix coursis was ane padʒeane playit,
> Into play coats they curiouslie war arayit
> By great inchantiers *and* subtill magiciounis;
> (II, 1652–4)

This unique insertion is especially interesting given that 'play coats' (II, 1653) seem to have been associated particularly with dramatic performances at the Scottish court, most notably during the first half of the sixteenth century. In an article discussing courtly interludes in Scotland, Sarah Carpenter defines the 'play coat' as a close-fitting

[52] Younge, p. 289.

garment, usually made of taffeta, and often particolored; she has found numerous references to 'play coats' throughout the Scottish *Treasurer's Accounts*, which survive mostly intact for the first half of the sixteenth century.[53] Despite the complete lack of dramatic texts from early sixteenth-century Scotland, it is apparent that there was indeed a tradition of dramatic performance at the Scottish royal court during the first half of the sixteenth century, and it is worth considering whether *Clariodus*-poet's reference to 'play coats' arose from his seeing one of these dramatic performances as an eyewitness. Even if this was not the case, it is certainly an opportunity for the *Clariodus*-poet to demonstrate his familiarity with the discourse of a specifically Scottish courtly culture. *DOST* reveals that the term *play-cote*, defined as 'A coat or garment worn by a player in a performance, masque, or the like',[54] is attested between 1506–7 and 1539–40, exactly the period in which *Clariodus* is likely to have been written. *Clariodus* is moreover the only literary text to use the term 'play cote' cited by *DOST*, whereas other uses occur in more official documents, particularly the *Treasurer's Accounts*. Interestingly, no equivalent term appears in the *OED* or the *MED*, and apart from a few sporadic references to 'play cotes' in the *Records of Early English Drama*, the term seems to be peculiar to Older Scots.

Returning to the 'inchantiers' and 'magiciounis' who appear in the *Clariodus*-poet's reference to a pageant at II, 1652–4, in his *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland,*[55] Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie makes occasional references to the performance of conjurers as part of dramatic courtly entertainments. He thus recalls the dramatic

[53] Sarah Carpenter, 'Plays and Playcoats: A Courtly Interlude Tradition in Scotland?', *Comparative Drama*, 46, 4 (2012) 475-96 (p. 483).
[54] *DOST*, *play-cote*, *n*.
[55] Written between 1576 and 1586. See W. W. Scott, 'Lindsay, Robert, of Pitscottie (*c*. 1532–*c*. 1586), historian', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16715 [Accessed 19th April 2018].

performances at the banquet which concluded the Tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady in 1508:

> ... bot betuix everie seruice thair was ane phairs or ane play sum be speikin sum be craft of Igramancie quhilk causit men to sie thingis aper quhilk was nocht.[56]

Though the *Histori*e is generally seen as being unreliable as a true account of historical events, it is nevertheless interesting to compare Lindsay's account above to the *Clariodus*-poet's insertion of a reference to 'inchantiers' and 'magiciounis'. Again, the *Clariodus*-poet inserts into his translation a reference to a splendid courtly spectacle which seemingly reflected contemporary courtly display in Scotland.

Another unique addition occurs during the wedding of Clariodus and Meliades, where the *Clariodus*-poet adds an account of the feasting and courtly entertainments which follow the ceremony. Beginning with a description of wines and other liquors that flow from the mouths of (presumably sculpted) monsters and the breasts of maidens (V, 1584–8), the *Clariodus*-poet then reports that:

> All kynd of fleuris in the hall thay flow,
> By incantatioun of grit practitioneris,
> By astralogis and art magitianis,
> (V, 1589–91)[57]

In addition to the marvellous scents ('fleuris'; V, 1589)[58] and flowing alcohol created by these practitioners of magic, the *Clariodus*-poet goes on to describe the performance of 'sartologis' (V, 1592) (the only attested use in Older Scots of this Latin-derived term

---

[56] Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. by Aeneas J. G. Mackay, STS, 1st ser., 42, 43, 60, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1899–1911), I, p. 244.
[57] The phrase 'astralogis and art magitianis' (V, 1591) is likely to be a borrowing from Dunbar's *I that in heill wes and gladnes*, wherein 'Art magicians and astrologgis' (37) are referred to; noted in William Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar,* ed. Bawcutt, II, p. 334.
[58] *DOST*, *fleur(e, flewe*r, *n*.

meaning magicians),[59] who use their sorcerous arts to conjure lifelike lions and dragons:

> Grite sartologis with thair inchantments
> Of thair arts gane sik experiments
> That thay appeirit lyuelie *and* visibill:
> Strong furious lyouns *and* dragonis terribill
> Gaiping as thay the peipill wald devore.
> (V, 1592–6)

A close parallel to this fictional spectacle in *Clariodus* can again be found in Pitscottie's account of the celebrations following the wedding of James V and his first wife, Madeleine, in 1537. He describes:

> the pairtieis bankcating, deliecat and costlie trieumph and playis and feistis witht pleasand sound of instrumentis of all kynd and also cuning carweris haueand the art of igramansie to cause thingis to appeir quhilk was as flieand dragounss in the air schot fyre at ether heids ...[60]

The appearance of dragons in both accounts of these dramatic, court-based performances may be mere coincidence. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that the *Clariodus*-poet may have been present at the marriage of James and Madeleine in Paris (or heard first-hand accounts from those that were there) as a number of members of the Scottish court attended. While Pitscottie only specifically names the Earl of Lennox and Lord Darnley, his brother, as attendees at the wedding,[61] he does remark that 'sex earleis, sex lordis, sex bischopis' and 'xx great barrouns' were amongst the Scottish party in France.[62] Again, the *Clariodus*-poet's attention to detail in describing unique

[59] *DOST*, *(Sortilege,) Sartologe, n.*
[60] Pitscottie, *Historie*, ed. Mackay, I, p. 365.
[61] Pitscottie, *Historie*, ed. Mackay, I, p. 366.
[62] Pitscottie, *Historie*, ed. Mackay, I, p. 364.

scenes of dramatic performances at court — not to mention his knowledge of the specialist term 'play-coats' — suggests that these additions to *Clariodus* may have their background in the poet's own personal experiences.

Music

Another of the areas of courtly entertainment which the *Clariodus*-poet describes with relish is music. At the feast that concludes the Tournament of the Green Knight in Book II, the *Clariodus*-poet inserts a list of musical instruments being played as part of the entertainments, none of which are described at this point in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*; the French author simply states that there were *trompectes et menestriers sonnent sans cesser* (XX, 231–2) ['trumpets and minstrels sounding without ceasing']. The *Clariodus*-poet expands this short phrase into a lively description of a musical performance:

> The luits beine sayit, *and* the strings;
> The squyers dansing alway in the springs;
> The harpis beine sayit at the full
> To make hearts mirrie that war dull;
> The guthtrone with triumph did record
> The cleare symball with the mirrie cord;
> The dulcat playit also with portatiue
> Sad hevie mynd*is* to make exultatiue;
> The dulse base fiddell w*it*h the recordo*u*r
> Assayit war, *and* set at ane missoure;
> Out of Irland ther was ane clerscheo.
> (II, 1635–45)

Amongst the more familiar Renaissance instruments here ('the luits'; II, 1635, 'harpis'; II, 1637; 'symball'; II, 1640), the *Clariodus*-poet names several instruments which

appear to have more specific musical functions, and which are less well known today, including the 'guthrone' (II, 1639) , or *gittern*, a stringed instrument smaller than the lute, the 'dulcat' and the 'portatiue' (II, 1641), a type of flute and a portable organ respectively, and the 'clerscheo' (II, 1645), a Celtic harp popular in the West Highlands of Scotland.

As with the expansive details of costume and pageantry above, it is possible that some of these scenes inserted by the *Clariodus*-poet echoed musical life at the Scottish court. Although James V did not have a regular harper, in February 1534 payment was made to a 'clairsochtar' (an Irish harper),[63] and this may not have been an isolated incident.[64] The *Clariodus*-poet's reference to the 'portatiue' (II, 1641) might also suggest his familiarity with courtly musicianship, since James may have owned portative organs, as did his father James IV, 'for use in chamber music as well as the chapel'.[65] Indeed, like his son, James IV was a lover of music: in 1501 James re-founded the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle, and Younge suggests the king was himself able to play the lute.[66]

Further unique references to musical performance in *Clariodus* may provide clues as to its approximate date of composition. At the feast which follows the wedding of Clariodus and Meliades in Book V, the *Clariodus*-poet mentions that 'Both lute, hearp, viole, clarcheo and guthrone' (V, 985) were being played as part of the celebrations. The inclusion of the 'viole' here is particularly significant, since Emily Peppers has argued

---

[63] *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*, ed. by Sir James Balfour Paul and Thomas Dickinson, 13 vols (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1882–1916), VI, p. 207 (hereafter referred to as *Treasurer's Accounts*).
[64] Thomas, p. 96.
[65] Thomas, p. 99. Other organs associated with the Scottish court include positive organs (a slightly larger instrument than the portative organ), one of which can be found in the Trinity Altarpiece depicting King James III of Scotland and Margaret of Denmark: 'The reverse of the right panel depicts a cleric, in yet another part of the church, dressed in canon's robes with a fur stole, and kneeling in prayer in front of a gilded positive organ, which stands on top of a wooden table'. Pierre Hardouin, 'Twelve Well-Known Positive Organs: Useful Evidence or Difficult Problems?', *Organ Yearbook*, 5 (1974), 20–9.
[66] Younge, p. 284.

that the viol was brought into Scotland by travelling musicians 'sometime between 1530–1538'.[67] Indeed, by 1538 a viol consort of four players was making appearances at the Scottish court, and thus had to be regularly paid, though recorded payments to viol players become less regular after 1542, the year of James V's death.[68] Peppers links the introduction of the viol to the strong influence of the French court on James V, both through his own visits to France and his interaction with his two French wives, Princess Madeleine (daughter of King Francis I of France) and Mary of Guise. She states:

> It is probable that the arrival of a four-part viol consort at the Scottish court in 1538 was the result of both James V's entertainment by viol consorts at the French court, and the current and refined tastes of both Princess Madeline and Mary of Guise.[69]

Certainly Mary of Guise, at least, brought with her a number of French attendants to the Scottish court, some of whom were musicians doubtless *au fait* with the most up-to-date French musical fashions.[70] Given that the *Clariodus*-poet had at least some knowledge of French literature through his translation of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, it is a possibility that he might well have been familiar with French musical fashions through the performances of Mary of Guise's musicians. Of course, the *Clariodus*-poet himself may have played an instrument alongside writing poetry: we know that several musicians who held positions in the Chapel Royal did this, and, as Thomas remarks, the arts of music and poetry were often combined at the sixteenth-century Scottish court.[71]

---

[67] Emily Peppers, 'Moving Music: Travelling Musicians and the Introduction of the Viol into James V's Scotland', *eSharp*, 4 (2005), 1–9; (p. 1). Peppers notes that the first Scottish record of the viol appears in the *Treasurer's Accounts*, X, p. 415.
[68] Peppers, p. 3; *Treasurer's Accounts*, VII, pp. 118–19 for the 1538 reference and *Treasurer's Accounts*, , VII, pp. 415, 478 and VIII, pp. 46, 54, 103, 149 and 150 for references to the consort's payments.
[69] Peppers, p. 5. Andrea Thomas also notes that the family of Mary of Guise were 'notable patrons of musicians'; Thomas, p. 97.
[70] Peppers, pp. 5–6.
[71] Thomas, p. 99.

Hunting

Thus far, this chapter has focused on the *Clariodus*-poet's apparent familiarity with courtly magnificence as displayed through costume, tapestries, drama, and music. Yet there was another key method by which a monarch or nobleman could demonstrate magnificence to his court and guests: hunting. All methods of hunting were appropriate for demonstrating magnificence: John Cummins writes of 'the possibility it [hunting] offers of the visual magnificence by which kingly and aristocratic dignity may be demonstrated'.[72] This was no less the case in medieval and renaissance Scotland, with James IV being a particularly keen hunter; Cummins notes that:

> nearly every page of the accounts of [James'] Lord High Treasurer includes items of expense on hunting: falconers' wages, horses and clothing; the purchases of dogs, nets, hawk-bells, arrowheads, leashes … In the thirty years from 1488 to 1508 the names of forty-eight different royal falconers appear in the accounts.[73]

James V was also an eager hunter, with Thomas noting that he maintained 'a large staff of falconers and dog-handlers as well as an extensive stable, which included horses bred for specialist functions'.[74]

In addition to taking account of the continued interest of Scottish monarchs and nobles in hunting into the sixteenth century, it is also worth considering that certain types of hunting were more popular in Scotland than they were in England and France. As John Gilbert writes:

> in medieval Europe there were basically two ways of hunting game: the huntsman might either wait for the game to be driven towards him; or he might

[72] John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), p. 5.
[73] Cummins, p. 1.
[74] Thomas, p. 53.

> chase after the game. In Scotland the drive was probably more important than the chase.[75]

Using the hunting treatises of William Twiti (*L'Art de vénerie*, early fourteenth century), Gaston Phoebus (*Le Livre de chasse*, written between 1387 and 1389) and the translation of Phoebus' treatise by Edward, Duke of York called *The Master of Game* (written between 1406 and1413), Gilbert summarises the 'drive' as follows:

> One group of hunters was set round a wood in a semi-circle at regular intervals within sight of each other. They were known in French as the 'défenses' or 'éstablie'. They had two functions: to prevent game leaving the wood; and to drive it to the places where there were hunters with greyhounds. The hunters who held the greyhounds hid behind trees and bushes. They unleashed the hounds as soon as the beast had passed and forced the game towards nets in the openings of a hay or fence. … Both in Scotland and in England hunters awaited the drive at a 'tryst' but in Scotland the spot where the hunters waited was known as a 'set'.[76]

In a unique passage in his translation, the *Clariodus*-poet adds a hunting scene which is so detailed that it is possible to identify precisely which method of hunting he was writing about, reminding us of the hunting scenes in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.[77] With the information provided by Gilbert in mind, one is able to identify that the 'drive'

---

[75] John M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), p. 52.

[76] Gilbert, pp. 53–4. This type of hunting is also described by Cummins, who refers to the drive as 'bow and stable' hunting; see Cummins, pp. 47–67.

[77] Anne Rooney has identified that the first of the hunts in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1126–77; *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. and rev. by W. R. J. Barron (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974; rev. edn 1998) is also in the form of a deer drive, linking the Gawain-poet's description of the drive to that described in *The Master of Game*; see Anne Rooney, 'The Hunts in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. by Derek Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 157–64 (p. 159). Rooney also notes that, in the alliterative tradition, 'the hunt stands as an emblem of courtly life and indulgence' (p. 161). While the hunt is also often linked to mortality in the alliterative tradition, in *Clariodus* it is simply another expression of the luxurious courtly lifestyle maintained by the romance's main characters, and is a means for the *Clariodus*-poet to demonstrate his skill at writing in a technical, alliterative-influenced poetic style.

is the type of hunt described by the *Clariodus*-poet in the aforementioned unique passage, which occurs when Clariodus and Meliades join the King of France and his court on a hunting expedition in the Forest of Vincennes. The *Clariodus*-poet opens the hunting scene in a verdant forest where the waiting hunters lie at their 'saits' (sets), accompanied by their hounds:

> It was ane nobill sight for to behold:
> The fair fresch forrest *and* the florischit fold,
> The saits set with hunteris of knowlege,
> The eger hounds desyrous of courage,
> (IV, 1758–61)

The 'sets' here appear to be occupied by hunters who are presumably familiar with the forest, rather than the King of France himself or any of his nobles. It was, however, more than acceptable for a monarch to position himself in the 'sets'; James IV was described as being 'at the sete', waiting for the quarry to be driven towards him in a hunting expedition of 1506.[78] In the next part of the passage from *Clariodus*, one set of hounds ('dogis', IV, 1762) drives the frightened deer ('The heard in cumis fearslie but abaid', IV, 1766) towards the waiting hunters, who, as described in Gilbert's summary, unleash the greyhounds once the deer have passed behind them:

> Furth gois the dogis throw the ryse on raw,
> The deir doun cumis, dinting throw the schaw,
> With how *and* cry they follow them behinde,
> The huntteris lurkis law vnder the lynde,
> The heard in cumis fearslie but abaid,
> The hundis in thair leasches dois abraid
> Thair hearts dunting in breists for desyre,
> Thus seing the buk*is*, go bay them in the swyre

[78] See Gilbert, p. 54.

Be two and thrie endlong the water syd,
The hund*is* fra monie ane leasch dois outglyde,
That vnder the bewis is beine lousit monie brace;
(IV, 1762–72)

Finally, the hunters and the hounds pursue the deer until one of the hounds is able to latch onto one of the hinds, bringing her down; the death of a hart follows soon after:

The huntteris glaidlie followis on the chase,
Lo! Heir the hynde is letherit be the hunde
And thair ane heart gois gronand to the grunde,
Sa this day fair, quhat is thair maire to saine?
(IV, 1773–6)

Given both that the *Clariodus*-poet's addition of the hunting scene here follows so closely the descriptions of the drive given in medieval hunting manuals, and that the drive was the most popular form of hunting in Scotland,[79] it therefore appears that the addition of this scene is not merely used for literary effect but is once again part of the *Clariodus*-poet's dedication to describing the spectacles of court life in a realistic manner. Once again, such is the explicit detail with which the Scottish poet describes the sights and sounds of the hunt that it would be most unsurprising if the *Clariodus*-poet had first-hand experience of courtly hunting in Scotland.

Tournaments

Closely related to the combination of martial display and court spectacle that characterised late medieval hunting is the tournament. Having originally developed as a

[79] Gilbert writes that in medieval Scottish sources there are in fact no references to *par force* hunting, one of the most popular forms of medieval hunting, which referred to killing a quarry by force of hounds (p. 60).

means for knights to practice warfare — with scarcely less bloodshed — by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tournaments had 'moved away from the simulacrum of war to a more limited space and a more controlled spectacle'.[80] Although the tenets of real-life chivalry had been reflected in literature since the initial development of a chivalric code in the eleventh century,[81] with tournaments seen as the ideal sphere in which the literature and reality of chivalry could mix,[82] the use of chivalric literature as an inspiration for real-life chivalric deeds continued apace as the tournament became more entwined with court pageantry in later centuries. This development was especially evident at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, but in Scotland, too, the tournament became closely associated with courtly magnificence and display, as well as acting more obviously as a display of individual chivalric prowess. This was especially the case during the reign of James IV; rarely do scholars miss the opportunity to point out James' love of chivalric culture, and with that his enthusiasm for staging jousts and tournaments. Macdougall states, for instance, 'No Scottish king before James IV appears to have been so committed to the staging of tournaments and to taking part in them himself'.[83] Sixteenth-century chroniclers also drew attention to the same traits. According to Pitscottie, James' tournaments not only won him admiration across Europe but also earned him the respect of his nobles:

---

[80] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 232.
[81] Much scholarly ink has been spilled in trying to find a clear definition of what the chivalric code entailed, but Maurice Keen may well have proposed the most lucid and succinct explanation in his description of chivalry as 'an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together' which encompassed 'an ideal of honour ... principles of personal integrity with the title to social respect [and] its assumption that birthright in dignity imposes an hereditary and honourable duty to be ready to draw the sword in order to defend the weak and the oppressed'; see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1984; 2005), p. 17 (for the first quotation) and p. 253 (for the second quotation).
[82] Maurice Keen remarks: 'Because they [tournaments] brought together, besides knights and ladies, a host of other people, in particular the heralds, minstrels and jongleurs whose business it was to record and judge the proceedings and who were versed in the lore and history of chivalry, they provided a crucial link between the literary expression of chivalrous values and the real world'. See Keen, p.100.
[83] Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p. 294.

> This prince ... sindrie tymes wald gar mak proclematiouns out throw his realme to all and sindrie his lordis, earleis and barrounds quhilk was abill for iusting or tornament to come to Edinburgh to him ... Be this way and meane the king brocht his realme to great manheid and honouris, that the fame of his iusting and tornamentis sprang throw all Europe ...[84]

Although 'a notoriously inaccurate chronicler', Pitscottie's remarks here do largely speak to documented episodes in James' reign.[85] Throughout the 1490s, for instance, James hosted various jousts and tournaments, including a lavish tournament in 1496 to celebrate the marriage of Perkin Warbeck, the Yorkist pretender to the English throne, to Lady Catherine Gordon, James' cousin.[86] By far the most spectacular tournaments of James IV's reign were the two tournaments of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady, held first in June 1507 and then in May 1508. Indeed, Louise Fradenburg specifically links the two tournaments of the Wild Knight and Black Lady to the origins of ostentatious court spectacle in Scotland:

> The wild men, the fantastic beasts, the black lady, the great silk pavilion of the tournaments of 1507 and 1508 suggest that there began, during James IV's reign, a taste for visual splendour of a particular kind: for flamboyant, expensive, and carefully orchestrated court revelry.[87]

In both tournaments, it was James IV himself who 'won' the Black Lady after defeating all challengers, undoubtedly indulging in the penchant of rulers to prove themselves as leaders of chivalric culture and to impress their magnificence on their subjects and visiting foreign envoys.[88] Moreover, such spectacles were usually held to celebrate

---

[84] Pitscottie, *Historie*, ed. Mackay, I, pp. 231–2.
[85] Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), p. 83.
[86] Stevenson, p. 84.
[87] Louise O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 172.
[88] Richard Barber, *The Reign of Chivalry* (Newton Abbot and London, 1980), p. 171.

momentous occasions at court; it has been speculated that James IV's tournament of the Wild Knight in 1507 was held to celebrate the birth of his first legitimate son, James, in February that year,[89] while a three-day tournament was held in the Holyroodhouse Palace courtyard following James IV's marriage to Margaret Tudor.[90]

In recent years scholars have recognised that James V continued the promotion of visual chivalric splendour at his own court. Andrea Thomas notes that James, as well as seeing tournaments as a necessary part of such festivals as Christmas and Easter, participated in and spent large sums of money on more lavish spectacles — such as the jousts following his marriage to Madeleine of France, for which over four hundred spears and 181 French crowns' worth of feathers were purchased 'to decorate the caps and caparisons of the king and his knights'.[91] The jousting at St Andrews held in June 1538 to celebrate the arrival of Mary of Guise into Scotland was also a spectacular affair: five hundred spears were imported from France, and James had three new sets of velvet harness and jousting outfits made — one red, one blue, one multi-coloured — all of which were embroidered with gold.[92]

Given the strong interest in chivalric spectacle at the courts of James IV and James V, it is interesting to observe that the *Clariodus*-poet adds to his own translation a unique description of a tournament which does not take place at the same point in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*; this is all the more significant when one considers the sheer abundance of tournaments present in the French romance, none of which have been removed by the *Clariodus*-poet in his reworking of the romance. Mirroring the way in which tournaments were often held to celebrate marriages or the birth of a child, a

[89] Stevenson, p. 95.
[90] Stevenson, pp. 92–3.
[91] Thomas, p. 200.
[92] Thomas, p. 200.

tournament is organised as part of the festivities surrounding the marriages of Amador and Palexis in Book V of *Clariodus*. While the French author glosses over the details of the combat itself after introducing the tournament's participants (*Cleriadus et Meliadice*, XXXVIII, 646–7), the *Clariodus*-poet produces a comprehensive depiction of the action which fully encapsulates the sights and sounds of a medieval tournament, as well as his typical stylistic embellishments. He begins by comparing the tournament's participants to the sons of Mars as a means of indicating their chivalric prowess (V, 2000), before focusing on the visually striking effect produced by their gleaming armour, which is covered in glittering 'jespis' (V, 2002). Subsequently, the *Clariodus*-poet moves on to describe the action of the combat itself, firstly comparing the knights to animals to indicate the ferocity of their combat ('Thay brayit on vtheris lyke lyounis and bairis'; V, 2006),[93] then describing how the air rumbles and the earth shakes with the force of the combatants meeting ('The air all rumblit with the crake of speiris,/The earth about all dynnit *and* it schuike' (V, 2007–8). After recounting the breathless action of the tumbling of knights from their steeds, the breaking of spears, and the horses being drenched in the foam of their own sweat (V, 2011–13), the *Clariodus*-poet then turns to describing the tournament as a destructive spectacle in which 'bright helmes' (V, 2015), 'cleir scheildis' (V, 2016) and gilded rivets ('giltin ruifis', V, 2019) are lost and broken by the force of the combat:

> Cheildis lay scatterit in the feild full wyde,
> The bright helmes did from thair heid*is* glyde,
> The cleir scheildis beine all in sunder brist,
> The knights beine out of thair sadillis thrist.
> The grit steidis togidder gois with gronis

[93] This addition is reminiscent of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, in which Palamon and Arcite are compared to a lion and a tiger respectively, as well as both being compared to wild boars as they fight each other (ed. Benson, 1655–60).

Whill giltin ruifis rattillit all at onis,
And bukill*is* brekis *and* birneis gois to ground
Whill with the reard thair breists did redound.
(V, 2014–21)

One more, with this unique extract the *Clariodus*-poet shows himself to be adept at encapsulating the atmosphere and spectacle of the late medieval tournament, seizing the opportunity to embellish his translation with even more scenes of magnificence than were present in his source. While the frequency with which tournaments appear in *Clariodus* make it more difficult to speculate whether the *Clariodus*-poet was familiar with such events in real life, or if he was merely mirroring the many scenes of combat and martial action present across Older Scots and Middle English literature, it is nevertheless a distinct possibility that he may, once again, have drawn on real-life experiences in describing chivalric violence.

This latter part of the chapter has demonstrated that on numerous occasions, the *Clariodus*-poet enriches *Cleriadus et Meliadice* with even more extensive and precise descriptions of magnificence than were already in his source. In addition to thematically and stylistically amplifying the French material as much as possible, the Scottish-poet repeatedly engages with a discourse of courtly entertainments that can be linked to a specifically Scottish context — in which the court of James V was consciously and continuously attempting to emulate and outdo other European courts. Given the *Clariodus*-poet's apparent familiarity with courtly spectacle, it is also not impossible that the *Clariodus*-poet was himself employed within the Scottish court. This is a topic to which I now turn Chapter Four, which examines the lives and works of the circle of poets who also held positions at the court of James V, and considers whether the *Clariodus*-poet might have been one of them.

CHAPTER FOUR
LITERARY NETWORKS AT THE COURT OF JAMES V

Throughout the first two chapters of this thesis, I have demonstrated that the *Clariodus*-poet's translation of his French source is not as close as critics have previously believed. Rather, the Scottish poet's *modus operandi* is to demonstrate his poetic virtuosity through amplifying both the style and substance of his source, modelling his translation on the literary techniques used by his most illustrious poetic predecessors, and expanding on the themes present in his French source to align his own romance with the concerns of sixteenth-century Scotland. I have shown in the preceding chapter that the *Clariodus*-poet may well have drawn from personal experience in his expansions and additions to the presentation of courtly culture in *Cleriadus et Meliadice*.

The present chapter of my thesis expands upon the idea of *Clariodus* as being a text originating from a potentially courtly background by placing the romance within the context of literary production at the Scottish court during the reign of James V (1513–1542). Here, I consider the major themes of the literature composed in this period, the nature and style of literary translation during this time, and the biographical background of three of the most prominent poets who were writing at James V's court: Sir David Lyndsay, John Bellenden, and William Stewart. All three of these men held court positions as well as composing poetry, and I therefore propose that they, and other poets whose names we have since lost, formed a literary circle who competed with each other to create the most 'ornate' poetry — in other words, poetry which draws on aureate imagery, classical allusions, and a clear appreciation for the works of their predecessors, especially Douglas and Dunbar. Indeed, the style of William Stewart

is so close to that of the *Clariodus*-poet that the works of these two individuals merit direct comparison; moreover, the extensive nature of Stewart's work means that such comparisons are possible, whereas it is more difficult to compare the work of the *Clariodus*-poet with other, more fragmentary, poetic specimens of the time.

The early sixteenth century in Scotland was a particularly popular period for translations into the vernacular from other languages — especially French and Latin — and it is this context in which *Clariodus*, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, can be situated. Furthermore, much of the literature of this period addresses themes of kingship and good governance, especially during the political turmoil and factional intrigue of James V's lengthy minority: the king was less than two years old when his father, James IV, was killed at Flodden, placing Scotland into another period of minority rule between 1513 and 1528. As we might expect, these linked concepts of kingship and good governance were prominent in the works of authors who had close associations with the royal court: many of them worked as administrators or servants in the household of James V, as I go on to demonstrate below. Although *Clariodus* is the only romance to survive from the first half of the sixteenth century,[1] its consistent emphasis on kingship and good governance through the contrasting figures of Clariodus and King Philippon aligns it with the variety of literature which was being written on just the same theme by the *Clariodus*-poet's contemporaries. It will therefore be of some use to examine briefly how other Scottish authors approached this highly important topic for the purposes of establishing a possible context for the production of *Clariodus*.

[1] Sir David Lyndsay's *Squire Meldrum* has sometimes been classified as a romance, but is more of a chivalric biography. For a recent discussion see *Six Scottish Courtly and Chivalric Poems,* ed. Purdie and Wingfield.

As detailed in the Introduction (pp. 1–4), *Clariodus* has been established as having been composed no earlier than 1503, and no later than *c.* 1550. Thus, while there is a possibility that *Clariodus* could have been composed in the final years of James IV's reign (1488–1513), it is more likely to have been written during the reign of his son, James V (1513–1542), during which time French cultural fashions were fully embraced, and a great deal of cross-cultural literary exchange occurred between France and Scotland.

Like the majority of the other Older Scots romances, the single extant witness of *Clariodus* leaves us with no indication as to the identity of its author. While *Clariodus* appears to have been quite well-known in sixteenth-century Scotland (see Introduction, p. 4), nowhere do we find any mention of who its author might have been. Such information might, of course, have been contained in the missing folios at the beginning and end of MS Advocates'. Unless new information comes to light, it is likely that the *Clariodus*-poet will continue to remain anonymous.

What is more certain is that *Clariodus*, with its abundance of tournaments, extended descriptions of lavish banquets and extravagant clothing, as well as its focus on gift giving and courtly manners, would almost certainly have appealed to those familiar with daily life at the royal court. Moreover, although fifteenth-century Older Scots literature was centred around production and circulation in noble households,[2] by the reign of James IV this phenomenon had begun to shift towards a focus on literary culture that was created at the court and for the consumption of the court. While Douglas' *Eneados* was a product of the former milieu, being dedicated to Henry, Lord Sinclair, a not inconsiderable part of Dunbar's considerable poetic output demonstrates

[2] Mapstone, 'Was there a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?', (p. 415).

a clear engagement with issues surrounding the royal court. For example, his 'Schir, ye haue mony seruitouris' laments the abuse of James' generosity by an astonishing array of parasitic courtiers. Although the poem directly addresses the King himself, it is more likely that the actual audience of such poems were other courtiers, who would be familiar with the regular abuses of power and privilege at court.[3]

Another such work, John Ireland's theological treatise *The Meroure of Wyssdome* (1490), was dedicated to James out of 'luf and seruice of thi hienes and proffit of thi pepil and realme'.[4] However, Hadley Williams suggests that this work had 'passed out of royal hands even before Margaret's widowhood following the death of James IV',[5] again leaving us with no certainty that James ever read the works dedicated to him

The death of James IV at the Battle of Flodden in 1513 (along with a large proportion of the Scottish nobility) threw Scotland into an era of political chaos. Since James' son, James V, was only seventeen months old at this time, it was necessary to install a regency government to govern Scotland until James came of age to rule in his own stead.

Initially, James V's mother, Queen Margaret Tudor, was appointed as regent, although this was on the condition that she remain a widow; upon her secret marriage to Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus in August 1514, the pro-French party of the Scottish nobility installed the French-born John Stewart, 2nd Duke of Albany as regent in

---

[3] Dunbar himself writes about a series of deceased poets who may have worked for the court in his *I that in heill was and gladnes* (Poem 21, William Dunbar, *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Bawcutt, I). Hadley Williams postulates that James IV was familiar with some of the works of Sir Gilbert Hay , perhaps his *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* and his prose translation of the French version of the *Secreta Secretorum*, *The Buke of the Governance of Princis* (1456); see Janet Hadley Williams, 'David Lyndsay and the Making of King James V', in *Stewart Style 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 201–26 (p. 208).

[4] John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, ed. by Craig MacDonald, STS, 4th Ser., 19 (Edinburgh: 1990), VII, 164.

[5] Hadley Williams, 'James V as Literary Patron', p. 176.

Margaret's place in July 1515. Due to Albany's commitments in France, he was often absent from Scotland for long periods of time (including a near three-year absence from 1517-21),[6] during which time James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was elected as temporary regent instead.[7] Although Margaret's faction managed to bring Albany's regency to an end in 1524, her by then estranged husband Angus seized the guardianship of James V, effectively keeping him prisoner until James was able to escape in 1528, at which time he was able to begin his own reign as king.

Unsurprisingly, the political instability of James' minority led to a flurry of poetic compositions which took as their main theme the volatile state of Scotland's government. Some of this poetry has been preserved in the Bannatyne Manuscript (National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 1.1.6) (hereafter Bannatyne MS). Compiled by the Edinburgh city merchant George Bannatyne and completed in 1568, the Bannatyne MS is an anthology of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish poetry which Bannatyne divided into five sections. Many of the anonymous poems lamenting Scotland's ineffectual, chaotic governance and/or outlining the qualities of an ideal monarch can be found in the section entitled 'Ballatis full of Wisdome and Moralitie', under the subheading 'Certane Balladis Agane the Vyce in Sessioun Court and All Estaitis'. As well as a poem criticising Albany's absenteeism through a veil of satire (the anonymous 'We Lordis hes chosin a Chiftane mervellus'), there are works berating the lack of true justice throughout the realm ('Suppois I war in court most he' (Bannatyne MS, Poem 101), and an extremely bleak portrayal of the contemporary Scottish court in the poem 'Jesu Chryst that deit on tre' (Bannatyne MS, Poem 105), where the

[6] See Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486–1555)* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1994), pp.20-21.
[7] Hadley Williams, 'James V as Literary Patron', p. 180.

anonymous author pleads with Christ to 'Send ws thy grace doun frome the hevin' (2), since those at court have 'no man to playne to' (17) but Christ himself.

In none of these short poems, with their endless lamentations upon the state of the realm, do we find the vibrant court scenes that are so vividly described in *Clariodus*. Indeed, Carol Edington writes that the political turmoil of James' minority was 'compounded by plunging revenues and chronic financial problems', meaning that 'elegant affirmations of courtly values fell into abeyance.'[8] *Clariodus* itself is nothing if not a lengthy affirmation of courtly values, as described in the preceding chapter, and therefore it is highly unlikely that *Clariodus* was composed during the troubled times of James V's minority from 1513–1528. Instead, it is far more probable that *Clariodus* fits into the literary milieu fostered by the court poets who became active around the late 1520s and early 1530s, and continued to produce literary works until the end of James' reign in December 1542, when he died from an illness shortly after his defeat at the Battle of Solway Moss. The next section of this chapter therefore considers this literary milieu in detail, providing a comprehensive overview of the genres and styles of literature composed during this period, as well as discussions of relevant biographical details, where we have them, for named court writers such as Sir David Lyndsay and John Bellenden. The chapter concludes with some comparisons of the close similarity of style between William Stewart and the *Clariodus*-poet. Unless fresh evidence comes to light, it is unlikely that *Clariodus* could ever be definitively classified as Stewart's work, but the similarities between the two poets' styles are nevertheless worthy of attention.

[8] Edington, p. 91.

Scottish Court Poets and their Coteries, 1528–1542

In the Prologue to Sir David Lyndsay's *The Testament and Complaynt of Our Souerane Lordis Papyngo, Kyng Iames the Fyft* (hereafter *Testament of the Papyngo*), composed in 1530, Lyndsay describes the flourishing poetic community at the heart of James V's court:

> And, in the courte, bene present, in thir dayis,
> That ballattis, breuis lustellie and layis,
> Quhilks tyll our Prince dalylie thay do present.
> Quho can say more than schir Iames Inglis says,
> In ballatts, farses, and in plesand playis?
> Bot Culrose hes his pen maid Impotent.
> Kyde, in cunning and practick rycht prudent;
> And Stewarte, quhilk disyrith one staitly style,
> Full Ornate werkis daylie dois compyle.
> Stewart of Lorne wyll carpe rycht curiouslie;
> Galbraith, Kynlouch, quhen thay lyst tham applie
> In to that art, ar craftie of Ingyne
> Bot, now, of lait, is starte vpe, haistelie,
> One cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie,
> One plant of Poetis, callit Ballentyne,
> Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne:
> Gett he in to the courte auctoritie,
> He wyll precell Quintyng and Kennetie.
> (37–54)[9]

Many of these poets are also named within a similar passage in a later poem, John Rolland's *The seuin Seages* (written in 1560, published 1578), where Rolland outlines

[9] Sir David Lyndsay, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490–1555*, ed. by Douglas Hamer, STS, 3rd ser., 1, 2, 6, 8, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1931–36), I, pp 56–57.

his familiarity with the earlier generation of court poets who were contemporary with Lyndsay:

> In Court that time was gude Dauid Lyndsay,
> In vulgar toung he bure the bell that day
> To mak meter, richt cunning and expart,
> And Maister Iohne Ballentyne suith to say
> Mak him marrow to Dauid weill we may.
> And for the thrid, Maister Williame Stewart,
> To mak in Scottis, richt weill he knew that Art,
> Bischop Durie, sum tyme of Galloway,
> For his plesure sum tyme wald tak thair part.
> (19–27)[10]

Critics have met with varying degrees of success when attempting to identify these poets. While Lyndsay is one of the most well-known in modern times, and 'Ballentyne' is actually John Bellenden (on whom, more below),[11] the majority of the other named poets here could either be one of a number of men or now have no extant works securely attributed to them. MacDonald writes that, as far as is known, no poems from Stewart of Lorne, Galbraith, Kynlouch, or Bishop Durie have survived, and that 'Iames Inglis' and 'Kyde' each have one extant poem attributed to them.[12] Lyndsay's 'Stewarte' and 'Stewart of Lorne' are presumably, due to the separation of stanzas, different men; although 'Stewart of Lorne' has not been identified,[13] Lyndsay's 'Stewarte' and Rolland's

[10] John Rolland, *The Seuin Seages,* ed. by George F. Black, STS, 3rd ser., 3 (Edinburgh and London, 1932).
[11] That Bellenden is here being praised for his poetic output is intriguing, since his only surviving works are his prose translations of Livy's *History of Rome* (Books I–V) and Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia*. Only four of his poems are now extant, two of which accompany his prose translations as Prologues. Since his translation of Boece was completed in 1531 and his translation of Livy was finished by 1534, these poems are both too late to have been the ones Lyndsay had in mind when writing his *Testament of the Papyngo*. As MacDonald suggests, it is likely that a large part of Bellenden's poetic output has now been lost; see A. A. MacDonald, 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in *Stewart Style 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James* V, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 178–200, p. 181.
[12] MacDonald, pp. 180–1.
[13] MacDonald, pp. 182–3.

'Maister Williame Stewart' might well be the same person, and considering that Bellenden's name appears in both poems, this is not too unlikely. As discussed below, William Stewart's name has been attributed to a considerable amount of surviving poetry, although Stewart's extremely common name in this period certainly leads to some perplexity when attempting to assign his name to certain poems.

Despite such issues, the most important aspect of these passages is that they indicate the range and quality of literary activity that was taking place at the court of James V. From *The Testament of the Papyngo* especially, we gain the sense that a rich variety of genres which were being composed: 'ballattis, breuis lustellie and layis' as well as 'farses' and 'plesand playis'. Moreover, these passages are written by poets *about* the act of writing, and are therefore comparable to the passages in *Clariodus* in which the *Clariodus*-poet discusses his relationships to his sources and his own conceptions of what it means to be a good author. For the *Clariodus*-poet, it is his immediate predecessor, the possible English translator of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, who is worthy of praise for his use of 'langwag full ornat' (V, 2246), just as Lyndsay praises 'Stewarte' and Bellenden for their 'Ornate werkis/ornat workis'. Bellenden himself, in his *Proloug apoun the traductioun of Titus Livius* (1533) also uses these commendatory terms to describe the writings of his 'soverane', James V.[14] According to Bellenden, James

> writis in ornate stile poeticall
> Qwik flowand verss of rethorik cullouris,
> Sa freschlie springand in youre [James'] lusty flouris,
> To the grete comforte of all trew Scottismen;
> (17–20)[15]

[14] If James ever did compose his own poetry, it has now been lost.
[15] John Bellenden, *Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books* , ed. by W. A. Craigie, STS, 1st ser., 47, 51, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: 1901, 1903), I, p. 1.

While this may simply be flattery, it is nonetheless interesting to see how Bellenden uses the imagery of rhetoric being composed of colours which spring from 'lusty flouris', again utilising the word 'ornate' to describe James' style of writing. Clearly, the *Clariodus*-poet's praise for his own sources is completely entrenched in conventional terms which were used to describe the practice of writing, yet it is nonetheless apparent that any poet who was able to write in the 'ornate' style was worthy of the highest praise from his contemporaries.

The extracts discussed above create a picture of a vibrant literary culture in which creativity is fully flowing; although Lyndsay's remark in the *Testament of the Papyngo* that the poets at the Scottish court present their works 'daylie' to the King is likely to be an example of hyperbole, the amount of surviving literary works from this period is quite substantial, encompassing an extensive range of genres ranging from chronicles to lyrics, flytings to ballads. From Lyndsay's reference to 'plesand playis', and the *Clariodus*-poet's ability to describe court pageants in detail (as discussed in Chapter Three, pp. 166–71), there must also have been a number of Older Scots dramatic texts from the first half of the sixteenth century which have now been lost.

While some of the texts from this period were undoubtedly composed with entertainment in mind, most of the surviving literature from James V's reign has a strong didactic element that spans genres, focusing especially on providing the King with advice about how to rule effectively and steer away from vice. As Carol Edington remarks, 'literary composition, particularly that in the Advice to Princes tradition, was to some extent inspired by a very real sense of moral, spiritual and indeed political duty'.[16] This is all the more likely given that many of the writers during this period

[16] Edington, p. 95.

were, through their court-based careers, either linked to the person of the King himself (such as Lyndsay) or were very closely bound up in the intricacies of court life, meaning that their interest in James' ability to rule well was personal as well as professional.

Indeed, Lyndsay was one of the most prolific writers of advisory literature at James' court at the same time as being one of the royal household's most enduring servants, holding a variety of positions from usher to the infant King James to Lyon King of Arms, Scotland's chief herald. Having known James since he was a baby, it is little wonder that many of Lyndsay's poems show a great deal of concern for the King's wellbeing. In his 1528 work *The Dreme of Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mount, Familiar Seruitour to our Souerane Lord Kyng Iames the Fyft* (hereafter *The Dreme*), Lyndsay urges James to:

> Tak Manlie curage, and leif thyne Insolence,
> And vse counsale of nobyll dame Prudence.
> Founde the femelie on faith and fortytude:
> Drawe to thy courte Iustice and Temporance
> (1064–7)

That Lyndsay is so direct towards the king ('leif thyne Insolence'; 1064) demonstrates the close relationship between them; it is perhaps what a concerned father might say to a wayward son.[17] Moreover, Lyndsay mentions a number of virtues necessary for

[17] There was an extensive parental advice tradition in Older Scots. Cambridge, University Library MS Kk. 1.5. contains a series of four octosyllabic poems which all take parental advice as their main topic: *Ratis Raving*, a poem of 1814 lines which presents a father's advice to his son, is followed by three similar poems: *The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen* (476 lines); *The Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif his Sone* (456 lines); and *The Thewis off Gudwomen* (316 lines). The composition of *Ratis Raving* has been dated to 'not later than the opening decades of the fifteenth century', while the other three poems date from *c*. 1450 at the earliest' by their editor; see *Ratis Raving and Other Early Scottish Poems on Morals*, ed. by R. Girvan, STS, 3rd ser., 11 (Edinburgh and London, 1939), p. lxxii (for the dating of *Ratis Raving*) and p. lxxiv for date of the later poems. Denton Fox has suggested that all three of the later poems may share a single author, although he nuances this opinion by asserting that 'it would be safer to call him an redactor than an author'; see Denton Fox, '*DOST* and Evidence for Authorship: Some Poems Connected with *Ratis Raving*', in *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language Presented to A. J. Aitken*, ed. by

effective rulership: 'Iustice and Temporance' (1067) and the allegorised 'dame Prudence' (1065). *The Dreme* has been identified by Carol Edington as Lyndsay's first poem,[18] yet it was not the only poem in which he saw fit to lend advice to James.

Although we have already seen that Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo* offers a valuable insight into the poetic community at James' court, the main function of this work is to provide James with a model for virtuous kingship. In the poem, Lyndsay, speaking through the voice of the 'papyngo' herself, reveals that a great deal of advisory literature was aimed towards James:

> I grant, thy grace gettis mony one document,
> Be famous Fatheris predicatioun,
> With mony notabyll Narratioun
> Be plesande Poetis, in style Heroycall,
> Quhow thow suld gyde thy Seait Imperiall.
> (236–40)

Notably, *The Testament* itself is a poem which forms part of this advisory literature which guides James in the governance of the self and his realm, with Lyndsay's ultimate aim in composing the poem being to encourage James to 'lerne to be ane kyng' (287).

As well as original poetic compositions, the court-poets of James V were especially active in translating texts into the vernacular, some of which were

---

Caroline Macafee and Iseabail Macleod (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp. 96–105 (p. 102). See also Emily Wingfield, 'The Thewis off Gudwomen' (2013) for a discussion on how this poem, with its focus on advising middle-class women how to conduct themselves virtuously and chastely, can be connected to advice to women in two romances: *Lancelot of the Laik* and Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*. Another prominent parental advice text is *The Spectacle of Luf*, a prose treatise which alludes to Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and which consists of lessons imparted by an old knight to his son, an overly-amorous squire whose lustful behaviour threatens his prowess in arms. It survives in a single witness, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16500 (the Asloan Manuscript), and has been 'dated internally to 1492'. See Martin, 'Responses to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*' (2009). An edited version of the *Spectacle* can be found in *The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse,* ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 2nd ser., 14, 16 (Edinburgh and London, 1923–5), I, pp. 271–98.

[18] Edington, *Court and Culture*, p. 24.

undertaken specifically under the command of James himself for his own benefit. Indeed, we are fortunate that for a number of vernacular translations from chronicle sources, the dates of commencement and completion of these translations is noted in the *Treasurer's Accounts* for James's reign, while other vernacular translations of the time contain the author's own remarks detailing why and for whom such translations were composed.

Of the chronicles addressed to James and written in Latin, John Major's *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* [*A History of Greater Britain, As Well England as Scotland*] (hereafter *Historia Majoris*) was the first.[19] In his Preface to this history, Major is particularly keen to emphasise the didactic properties of his work, aiming to illustrate to James 'the glorious deeds' of his ancestors,[20] asking the King that he reads 'to good purpose' this work which is 'dedicated to your [James'] felicity'.[21] In spite of Major's exhortations, however, James V is unlikely to have ever read the *Historia Majoris* due to his difficulties with reading Latin, as we shall see below.[22]

Although Major's *Historia Majoris* failed to capture the imagination of James V or his court, one Latin chronicle which did meet with exceptional success amongst the

---

19 During an illustrious university career in Paris in which he received his master's degree from the Collége de Ste Barbe in 1494, Major began studying theology at the Collége de Montaigu in 1495, and became a teacher of theology at the Collége de Sorbonne in 1506, Major (also known as John Mair) became a renowned theologian and scholar. After leaving Paris to return to Scotland in 1518, he became principal of Glasgow University and was appointed a canon of the Chapel Royal in Stirling. See Alexander Brodie, 'Mair [Major], John, (*c.* 1467–1550), historian, philosopher and theologian', *ODNB* Online (2011), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17843 [Accessed 16th July 2015]. It appears that Major was somewhat distant from the courtly circle of writers discussed elsewhere in this chapter, although Andrea Thomas suggests that it was possibly Major's 'brief association with a royal college' (the Chapel Royal) which inspired him to write his *Historia Majoris* between 1518 and 1520; see Thomas, p. 131.

20 John Major, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland*, ed. and trans. by Archibald Constable (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1892), p. cxxxiii.

21 John Major, *History of Greater Britain*, ed. Constable, p. cxxxv.

22 Furthermore, Major advocates a positive view of a union between England and Scotland, a view which was not likely to have been met with enthusiasm from James even if he had requested an interpretation of the *Historia Majoris* from a tutor or scholar; as Andrea Thomas remarks, James was instead 'rather more interested in renewing the auld alliance with France' (p. 132).

royal household was Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* (1527). Boece (*c.* 1465–1536) was the first principal of the University of Aberdeen — a post he held from 17th September 1505 until his death — and was one of the foremost humanist scholars of his day, authoring works such as the *Vitae episcoporum Aberdonensium et Murthlacensium* [Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen] (1521) which 'clearly aspire to humanist models of historiography'.[23] The success of the *Scotorum Historia* may be based in part on its contrasting outlook to that of the *Historia Majoris*. Rather than promoting a union between Scotland and England, Boece aimed to present a history of the Scots characterised by continued resistance to English expansionism whilst maintaining a sense of Scottish national independence. Moreover, Boece returns to the mythological origins of Scotland, in which the Scottish people are descended from the union of the Egyptian princess Scota and Gaythelos, the Greek king; James himself is presented as descendant of the mythological King Fergus I. While the *Scotorum Historia* was not written under royal commission, it appears that Boece's dedication of the work to James V did indeed catch the King's attention, since in July 1527 he was 'granted an annual pension of £50 to be paid from the casualties of the sheriffdom of Aberdeen'.[24]

Indeed, so great was the impression made by the *Scotorum Historia* on James that he commissioned two translations of the work: one a translation into prose by John Bellenden (*c*. 1495—1548), and the other a translation into verse by William Stewart (*c*. 1476 — *c*. 1545). Both of these royal commissions appear to substantiate two arguments: firstly, that James' Latin was too poor for him to read the *Scotorum Historia* in its original language, and, secondly, that the vernacular was viewed with enough high

[23] Nicola Royan, 'Boece [Boethius], Hector (*c*. 1465–1536), historian and college head', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2760 [Accessed 17th July 2015].
[24] Thomas, p. 133.

status in James' court that a translation into Older Scots could be viewed as a work prestigious enough to gain royal approval.

The *Treasurer's Accounts* for 1531 reveal that Bellenden received three payments (coming to a total of £66) for his 'translating of the cronykill'.[25] Like many of the poets and authors discussed in this chapter, Bellenden occupied a prominent role in the royal household throughout his life. After graduating from St Andrews, gaining his licentiate in 1512, he served as *clericus expensarum* (clerk of expenses) to James V between 1515 and 1522; Royan suggests that his time in this role was curtailed by Albany's return to Scotland, and that Bellenden may have been 'a casualty of factional interests'.[26] His family, too, was prominent within James' household: his father Patrick Bellenden was steward to Queen Margaret, while his mother (Marion Douglas) was nurse to James V. It was through her that Bellenden's family was linked to the Douglases, and there may even have been some contact with Gavin Douglas (*c*. 1474–1522); on 2 February 1546, John's elder brother Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoll, along with his associate John Mudy, finished copying the Lambeth Palace MS of Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 117).[27] In his later life, Bellenden became archdeacon of Moray (1533–1538), precentor of Glasgow in 1538, and rector of Glasgow University between 1542 and 1544.[28] Although we do not know for certain what Bellenden's position was when he finished his translation of the *Scotorum Historia* in *c.*1531, we do know that, on 4th September 1528, Bellenden appears as 'seritour and secretar' to Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, defending him and other members of the Douglas family against

[25] *Treasurer's Accounts*, V, p. 434.
[26] Nicola Royan, 'Bellenden [Bannatyne], John (*c*. 1495–1545x8), poet and translator', *ODNB* Online (2006), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2045 [Accessed 17th July 2015].
[27] MacDonald, p. 185.
[28] Royan, 'Bellenden [Bannatyne], John'.

charges of treason.[29] While such actions may have placed Bellenden's livelihood at risk considering James V's continuing vendetta against the Douglases for wrongfully imprisoning him during his minority, Bellenden was lucky enough to secure a precept of remission in April 1529, meaning he suffered no repercussions despite committing treasonable activity.[30] Certainly by the time Bellenden came to write his preface to his translation of the *Scotorum Historia*, he was keen to emphasise his status as a loyal servant of James, concerned to highlight the advisory nature of his translation to the nineteen-year-old King:

> I, that bene þi native and humyll s*er*uito*u*r sen thi first infance, be impulsioun of luff and vehement affeccioun quhilk I bere vnto the samyn, has translatit "The History of Scotland" ... in quhilkis ar contenit nocht only the nobill feetis of thi wail3eannt anticessouris, bot als be quhat industry and wisedome this realme bene governit thir xviii c. & lx 3eris'.[31]

Also of interest is the fact that Bellenden produced a poem, now known as the *Proheme of the Historie*, to attach to his translation. Clearly, Bellenden was at pains to underline how important it was for James to use history as a means to improve his own approach to rulership. Bellenden's *Proheme* introduces his translation as a work wherein James can:

> ... se, as in ane mirrour bricht,
> Sa notabill storeis both of vice and glore,
> Quhilk nevir was sene into his toung afore;
> Quhairthrow he may be prudent governyng

[29] Royan, 'Bellenden [Bannatyne], John'.
[30] Royan, 'Bellenden [Bannatyne], John'.
[31] John Bellenden, *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece*, *Translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531*, ed. by R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho, STS, 3rd ser., 10, 15, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1938–41) I, p. 16.

Als wele his honoure as his realme decore,
And be ane vertuous and ane nobill king.[32]

Bellenden's translation appears to have been received very warmly at the Scottish court — it survives in nine manuscripts and was printed in revised form by Thomas Davidson in *c*. 1540.[33] That it was Davidson who printed the *Chronicles* was in itself significant for James' status as a patron of literature, since the two had formed an association stretching back into the middle of the 1530s, although it is not known exactly when this literary association began.[34] Furthermore, the fact that Bellenden was commissioned to undertake his translation in the first instance not only illustrates the positive effect that James' suspected illiteracy in Latin had on compositions in the Scottish vernacular, but it is also a clear indication that James himself now felt confident enough to assume the role of literary patron that had he had been unable to achieve during his troubled minority.

The second translator of the *Scotorum Historia*, William Stewart, was, like John Bellenden, closely associated with the Scottish royal court. Although much confusion has previously arisen as to the exact details of Stewart's life due to his extremely common name, with one scholar asserting that Stewart's life is 'an absolute blank', [35] more recently the work of Joyce Sanderson in particular has uncovered more details

[32] Bellenden, *Chronicles of Scotland*, II, p. 408; line numbers for the poem are not provided by its editors.
[33] Martin, *Kingship and Love*, p. 171. The popularity of Bellenden's translation may have been due, in part, to its intended audience; Royan has demonstrated that, in contrast to the perceived European humanist readership of Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, Bellenden's work was aimed more narrowly at James and his court. See Nicola Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in *The Rose and The Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 136–57 (p. 152).
[34] Hadley Williams, 'James V as Literary Patron', p. 186; records of the mid-1530s show that Davidson was in receipt of royal grants and was receiving an annual pension during this period.
[35] T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature: A Succinct History* (London: David Nutt, 1898), p. 234.

concerning Stewart's life.[36] The William Stewart who wrote the metrical translation of the *Scotorum Historia*, now usually known as the *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*, lived from *c.* 1476–1548. Although the sole surviving manuscript of the *Croniclis*, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. ii. 16, contains a colophon with a piece missing at the precise spot where the author's name was recorded, and is also missing its first folio which might have given clues as to the author's identity, we are fortunate that the author of the *Croniclis* gives some autobiographical information within the translation itself. The author reveals himself to be a descendent of Sir Alexander Stewart (*c.* 1345–1405), first Earl of Buchan (also known as the 'Wolf of Badenoch') and fourth son of King Robert II:

> This Alexander, as that sum man sais,
> Of Bad3enoch wes callit all his dais
> The vorax wolf, becaus all tyme that he
> Vsit oppressioun with crudelitie.
> ....
> Of my father thocht *proavus* wes he,
> Of him I think nocht to fen3e nor lie;
> Suppois fra him I knaw I am discendit,
> The veritie thairfoir beis nocht offendit:
> In all this warld is no sic freind to me,
> I knaw richt weill, as is the veritie.
> At tyme and place as ye hard of ane vther,
> *Proavus* alss siclike wes to my mother,
> The erle of Marche, callit George of Dumbar,
> As of befoir, suppois it be nocht far,
> I schew to 3ow how he at Otterburne
> Come sa gude speid, quhair mony ane did spurne.
> (XVI, 57,304–57, 321)

[36] Joyce M. Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts of the Sixteenth Century: Mr. William Stewart, Poet, and William Stewart, Elder, Depute Clerk of Edinburgh', *The Stewarts*, 17 (1984), 25–46 (p. 30).

From this extract alone, all we might do is identify the author as someone whose surname is likely to be 'Stewart', yet fortunately the translator also furnishes us with more autobiographical information. He informs us while discussing the foundation of the University of St Andrews that he himself was a student there, wryly remarking that he learned little during his student days:

> My self wes ane, quha lykis for to heir,
> Studeit thairin the space of fourtene 3eir
> In the Colledge, quhair that I did apply
> Logik, phisick and philosophy,
> And theologie, that tyme as it micht be,
> Suppois I brocht richt litill awa with me.
> (XVI, 59,152–59,157)

From amongst a list of men with the name William Stewart who attended the University of St Andrews between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, Sanderson identifies one William Stewart who matriculated in 1492 and graduated as a Master of Arts in 1496. This title would either have been written out as 'Maister' or would have been abbreviated as 'Mr' in Scottish records of the sixteenth century, giving him a greater chance of being distinguishable from the many other William Stewarts.[37] Noting that the subjects logic, physic, philosophy and theology may indicate that Stewart was destined for a career in the church, and that theological courses tended to take around sixteen years to complete, Sanderson remarks that Stewart probably left St Andrews in 1506, fourteen years after his matriculation in 1492; this would also place Stewart's birth date somewhere around 1476.[38]

[37] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', pp. 26–7.
[38] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 27.

Following the completion of his degree, there is a gap in Stewart's life records of around twenty years, though he may have been the William Stewart who was acting as bailie for his brother Edward Stewart, Bishop of Orkney.[39] In 1526, a Mr William Stewart appears for the first time in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and Sanderson suggests that Stewart may have been a tutor to James V, although this claim is at present unsubstantiated.[40] In a document of 1534, however, there is mention of 'Maister William Steward, servitour to Queen Margaret',[41] linking Stewart directly to the royal court. Moreover, over the years 1526–34, the records of the Lord High Treasurer show that Stewart was paid a salary and was given clothing throughout this period, receiving a livery at Christmas 1533 by order of James V.[42] Intriguingly, there is also evidence that this William Stewart may have been part of a Scottish embassy to the court of Henry VIII which departed for London on 3rd March 1534, and was led by another William Stewart (*c*. 1490–1545), the Bishop of Aberdeen from either March or April 1533 and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland from October 1530.[43] The William Stewart who did not lead the embassy, but was still part of it, is referred to as the vicar of Pencaitland,[44] and, although it is not certain that the poet William Stewart held this position, the poet and the vicar of Pencaitland could well be the same man, especially since his education at St Andrews had ensured he was well-prepared for the church.[45] Moreover, it appears that by 1538 the poet William Stewart

[39] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 27.
[40] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 27.
[41] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 28.
[42] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 28.
[43] Although it is sometimes believed that William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen (*c*. 1490–1545) authored the *Croniclis*, he attended the University of Glasgow, while the writer of the *Croniclis* tells us that he was a student at the University of St Andrews, as discussed above.
[44] *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have Passed within the Country of Scotland from the Death of King James the Fourth till the Year 1575*, ed. by Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, [n. pub], 1833), p. 17.
[45] Sanderson believes that the poet William Stewart and the William Stewart who was vicar of Pentcaitland may have been the same person because of a unique passage in Stewart's *Croniclis*, where he describes the perilous quicksands of the Solway Firth (XVI, 55,823–55,828; William Stewart, *Cronicles,* ed.

was also appointed as rector of Quothquan, which is made all the more interesting by the discovery of a copy of Polydore Vergil's *De Inventoribus Rerum* (published in 1528) purchased by the Scottish antiquary David Laing in 1858, and which contains an inscription in a contemporary hand: 'Wilhelmus Steward, Rector de Quodquen'.[46] Clearly, the William Stewart who was Rector of Quothquan could read Latin and was interested in acquiring books, two facts which together support the identification of him as the translator of Boece's Latin *Scotorum Historia*. Sanderson also connects William Stewart, Rector of Quothquan, with William Stewart, vicar of Pencaitland by pointing out that in the sixteenth century Quothquan was 'rated for taxation together with the vicarage of Pencaitland',[47] suggesting that the holder of these two positions would be the same man. Little is known of Stewart the poet's life after 1538, although there is an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts in June 1541 for money 'gevin to Maister William Stewart to be gevin to ane Frenche priest at the Kingis command', which is possibly connected to his position of Rector of Quothquan and/or vicar of Pencaitland. There is also a possible reference to him as servant to James V's widow, Mary of Guise, in letters written to her in 1548 by Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven, which mention 'Your grace's servitour, my cusing Maister gilyam steward'.[48] As Sanderson remarks, it is likely that the poet William Stewart who had once been the servant of Queen Margaret Tudor would also have continued in service to her successor, Mary of Guise.[49] Sadly, if

Turnbull). Since the embassy from Scotland to London took a route going via Carlisle, travelling around the Solway Firth, this event may have inspired Stewart to write about such a distinctive part of the landscape in his metrical chronicle, and would mean that he was the same William Stewart who was also vicar of Pencaitland, as well as the man who received various payments from the Lord High Treasurer for his services at court from 1526–34. Furthermore, in January 1534, there is a reference to 'Maister William Stewart' being presented with various types of fine clothing including 'ane goune of Damas', which may be further evidence of William Stewart the poet being compensated for his service at court.

[46] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 29.
[47] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 29.
[48] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 29.
[49] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 29.

the poet William Stewart and the servant of Mary of Guise are indeed the same man, then his life ended in tragedy: in October 1548, a skirmish broke out between French soldiers and the townspeople in Edinburgh, in which a 'Mr William Stewart, one of the Queen's servants' was killed, according to Lord Herries, while the visiting Spanish ambassador also agreed that a man named William Stewart was killed, but refers to him as 'brother of my Lord Methven'.[50] Although Lord Methven did have a brother named William, he was still alive in 1551, so the man to whom the Spanish ambassador refers could well have been the same William Stewart who was called 'my cusing' by Lord Methven; the two men were, after all both descended from King Robert II (1316–1390) and were therefore distantly related. A final piece of evidence which suggests that the William Stewart who died in Edinburgh in October 1548 was, at the very least, the vicar of Pencaitland and the rector of Quothquan, is provided by the appointment of a new vicar of Pencaitland on 7th October, 1548, suggesting that the vicarage was then vacant, and the fact that on 24th October 1548 a brief testament of a late Master William Stewart, rector of Quothquan, was lodged with the commissariot of Glasgow (Quothquan being in the diocese of Glasgow at that time).[51]

While it is difficult to be completely certain about all the minutiae of William Stewart's life due to the preponderance of men with this name during this period, it is nevertheless important to consider that, like the *Clariodus*-poet's literary idol Dunbar, William Stewart's career seemingly combined secular and ecclesiastical positions. Moreover, Stewart demonstrates a clear familiarity with courtly life in several minor

[50] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 29.
[51] Sanderson, 'Two Stewarts', p. 30.

poems which have now been attributed to him — unsurprising if we consider the various connections that Stewart appears to have had to the court of James V.

From the dozen or so surviving poems attributed to Stewart preserved in the Bannatyne MS and the Maitland Folio MS (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2553), it becomes clear that he, like many of his contemporaries, was alarmed by the King's poor lifestyle choices (James was famously promiscuous, fathering nine known illegitimate children) and attempted to rectify this by teaching James the necessities of good governance, demonstrating to him the importance of respecting good council, ruling justly, and leading a virtuous personal life. As Thomas remarks, none of Stewart's poems are dated, but 'comments on the king's youth or references to his mother and regency council suggest that some were written during the years of the minority ('Precelland prince', 'Rolling in my remembrance', 'Schir, sen of men' and 'This hindir nycht').[52] In 'This hindir nycht', Stewart launches into a catalogue of virtues that are necessary to maintain good governance: 'iustice, prudens, fors and temperans' (65); 'Gud conscience, trewth and intelligence' (69); and 'Mercy, mesour, fayth, houp and cherite' (70). He informs James that all of these qualities must 'mak residence' (71) in the court before 'plenty and prosperitie' (72) can be achieved. In 'Precelland Prince', James' notorious sexual appetite is singled out by Stewart as something which James must learn to subdue, insisting that James must 'aganis thy lust ... strive' (3), and he also exhorts James to be 'defender of Iustyce' (52).[53] Stewart even counsels James against the dangers of ice skating in his poem 'Schir, sen of men': 'To ryd or rin our rekleslie/Or slyd with ladis vpoun þe yce/Accordis nocht for þair maiestie' (38–40).[54] What is most

[52] Thomas, p. 139.
[53] *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, STS, 2nd ser., 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser., 5, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1928–34) II, pp. 231–2.
[54] *Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. Ritchie, II, pp. 256–7.

noticeable about these poems —apart from their advisory nature — is that Stewart does not soften his words just because he is addressing his monarch; the matter of James' education in matters of rulership is simply too important to become obscured by complex stylistic techniques or verse forms.

Between April 1531 and September 1535 William Stewart undertook the composition of a verse translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, known as *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (hereafter the *Croniclis*).[55] Despite his lengthy royal service, there is however no evidence that Stewart's translation of the *Scotorum Historia* was undertaken as a royal commission. However, Turnbull, the first editor of Stewart's *Croniclis,* believed that the female figure who commands Stewart to versify Boece's work in Stewart's Prologue to his translation was, in fact, Queen Margaret,[56] although the anonymous female figure who appears in the Prologue could simply be a device used by Stewart as a means of lending more authority to his translation. If this female figure did have a name, it was lost in the opening lines of the Prologue, which are now missing in the single surviving witness of Stewart's translation, Cambridge University Library, MS K. k. ii. 16.[57]

As we saw in Bellenden's prefaces to his own translation of the *Scotorum Historia* above, Stewart is keen to address James directly, stressing the didactic and advisory nature of his translation through the aforementioned unnamed female figure who is 'cousing' to 'Discretioun' (Prologue, 12). Like Bellenden, Stewart also outlines to

[55] We are fortunate to have such specific dates for the composition of a literary work during this period, and they are provided by Stewart himself at the end of his translation.
[56] William Stewart, *Croniclis of Scotland*, ed. Turnbull, I, p. vii.
[57] Furthermore, no records of any payments to Stewart for completing his *Croniclis* survive (Thomas, p. 138). Hadley Williams considers the possibility that Queen Margaret may have been acting as a literary patron on her son's behalf, but asserts that 'no evidence survives of a direct relationship between the queen, a poet-servitor called William Stewart, and the metrical *Croniclis*' (Hadley Williams, 'James V as Literary Patron', p. 177).

James the importance of acknowledging the noble deeds of his ancestors, with the unnamed lady asserting that the *Croniclis* contains:

> ... mony nobill storie,
> Lang tyme befoir tynt out of all memorie,
> Of eldaris deidis precidand him beforne,
> (Prologue, 22–4)

This is not the only time that Stewart implores James to find models of virtuous living in the lives of his ancestors, however. In 'Schir, sen of men', the same poem in which James was warned about the indecorous nature of ice skating, Stewart continues in the same vein, imparting to James the importance of paying heed to the honourable examples set down by his predecessors:

> ….mark in thy memoriall
> Thy predecessouris parentall
> Quhais fructous fatis and deidis he
> Makis þair fame perpetuall
> (Prologue, 6–9)

Returning to the *Croniclis*, the noble deeds of James' ancestors are linked both to the Nine Worthies and to ideas of fate and destiny, placing the King as the latest in a long line of rulers who have been paragons of chivalry and virtue:

> Thair [in the *Croniclis*] sall he find als nobill and als fyne,
> As euir wes ony of the nobill nyne.
> And fra his grace considder weill sic thing
> How that he wes predestinat to ring,
> Sicklike as tha …
> (Prologue, 32–36)

However, not all of the figures in the *Croniclis* are worthy of imitation. The anonymous lady informs James that the book contains examples of 'How appettite maid ressone oft syis blind/In mony kingis' (Prologue, 41–2), warning how they became 'Affaminait with fleschlie appetyte' (Prologue, 45). This warning of the disruption to masculinity resulting from lecherous pursuits revisits Stewart's concern for James' sexual conduct that were raised elsewhere in his shorter poems; judging by the number of illegitimate children James had, it seemed his advice went unheeded.

An especially important point with these examples 'baith of ill and gude' (Prologue, 51) is that it is through the act of reading itself that James can engage with them and pay heed to — or ignore — their advisory nature, emphasising the significance of vernacular Scottish literature in teaching kings how to be virtuous and just rulers. The written vernacular affords James the opportunity to learn about — and imitate —the deeds of his ancestors, however exaggerated they might be: 'Sa nobill kingis befoir his tyme haif bene,/Will he considder the rycht ay as he reidis' (Prologue, 29–30), as Stewart writes. Notably, the unnamed female figure herself refers to the difficulties posed by James' lack of Latin in understanding the message of Boece's original:

> The kingis grace I knaw is nocht perfite
> In Latyn toung, and namelie in sic dyte
> It wilbe tedious, that dar I tak on hand,
> To reid the thing he can nocht vnderstand.
> (Prologue, 112–15)

Following on from this, the anonymous lady places Stewart amongst a long list of other eminent chroniclers, including Bede, Turgot,[58] and 'Weremund' (Prologue, 104), the mysterious source used by Boece whose works have no longer survived (if they ever existed), subsequently exhorting Stewart to 'Translait this libell in our mother toung' (Prologue, 110). In response, Stewart employs heavy use of the modesty topos, insisting that his poetic skill is inadequate for such a task:

> Madame, I said, forsuith I can nocht dude;
> For-quhy my langage is both gros and rude.
> In vulgar toung I vsit neuir to mak,
> And knawes no cullour bot other quhit or blak.
> Went to the court quhair makaris ar anew,
> And kennis cullouris of mony diuerss hew,
> And thair I wat ȝe will get ȝour desyre.
> (Prologue, 124–30)

Once again, we are met with utterly conventional terms to describe rhetorical skill here, with the focus being on Stewart's ability to illustrate his poetry with 'cullouris' (Prologue, 129). His rather formidable 'patron' responds by commanding Stewart to 'lat be thi dirdum and thi din' (Prologue, 134), warning him that he will 'adew kyndnes for euer' (Prologue, 135) should he refuse to do her bidding. Though he continues to argue against her for a few lines more, he eventually concedes defeat, apologising that his verse 'can nocht pleis all man' (Prologue, 166) but nevertheless resolving to 'do as [he] can' (Prologue, 167).

The above episode and the highly conventional manner in which Stewart asserts his inadequacy in poetic skill is typical of much of the poetry of the period, *Clariodus*

[58] Turgot (*c.* 1050–115) was a bishop of St Andrews who wrote the *Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, between 1100 and 1107.

included (see Chapter Two, pp. 81–4). Indeed, MacDonald has previously addressed the issue of conventionality in an important article on the court poets of James V, in which he attributes this tendency to err on the side of unoriginality to a 'certain loss of artistic confidence' which one might suppose 'had largely to do with the national trauma of Flodden'.[59] According to MacDonald, poets writing in the reign of James V were overshadowed by the generations of poets both before and after them:

> These poets, taken as a whole, do not offer the brilliance and range of either their predecessors or successors – on the one hand, the generation of William Dunbar, Walter Kennedy and Gavin Douglas, on the other, that of Alexander Scott and the young Alexander Montgomerie.[60]

A good example of the derivative nature of some of this literature is once more provided by William Stewart. Like William Dunbar (to whom Stewart has been compared),[61] Stewart's poetry covers a variety of genres, including love lyrics, poems which satirise the court, and even flytings.[62] Most of Stewart's love lyrics adopt a certain distance from the subject of love, as we see with his 'For to declair', which resorts to an almost mechanical listing of virtues possessed by women. The poem declares that 'Ladeis, þai ar of excelland valour,/Ladeis ar ding to haif auctoritie,/Ladeis ar clene of confortand cullour' (49–51) and continues in this vein until he concludes that 'Ladeis ar plantit full of puritie,/Thairfoir all men þair fame suld fortefie' (55–6). Even in 'Maist ameyn roseir', the one love lyric in which Stewart 'putatively speaks in his own voice',[63] we find that Stewart maintains a certain detachment, with several instances of repetition, the

[59] MacDonald, p. 185.
[60] MacDonald, p. 182.
[61] MacDonald, p. 184.
[62] Stewart's 'Flytting betuix þe sowtar and the tailȝeour' is a dispute between two artisans, and has been classified by MacDonald as 'a ridiculous quarrel between two buffoons' (p. 194) which 'lacks the interplay of learned wit and verbal pyrotechnics' (p. 195) that feature in other flytings such as *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie*.
[63] MacDonald, p. 192.

borrowing of Henryson's phrase 'blenkis amorus',[64] and the use of aureate vocabulary which firmly anchors this poem within the realms of the most conventional literature of its time:

> Maist ameyn roseir, gratious and resplendent,
> Excedand trew, benyng and verteus,
> Fragrant olif, violat rubicumbent,
> To mans sycht is wondir gratious;
> Hir benyng luk, with blenkis amorus,
> Persis my hairt, þat soir I syche oft syis,
> Bot for remeid my wit can nocht devyis.
> (1–7)

The three techniques which I have briefly highlighted in Stewart's poetry (the use of the modesty topos, the direct borrowing of a phrase from a poetic predecessor, and the use of aureate language) are, as we have seen throughout this thesis, key aspects of the *Clariodus*-poet's style.

Indeed, the final part of this chapter offers direct comparisons between a selection of passages from Stewart's *Croniclis* and *Clariodus*, with the intention of demonstrating the clear similarity of style and theme between the two works. Moreover, both works are composed in decasyllabic couplets, enabling further comparison between the two texts and their poetic forms.

[64] From *The Testament of Cresseid* (226, ed. Fox), where Henryson describes Venus' alluring demeanour, and also his *Orpheus and Eurydice*, where Eurydice meets Orpheus for the first time after her proposal of marriage (81, ed. Fox).

William Stewart and the *Clariodus*-poet: A Brief Comparison of Poetic Styles

The first comparison is between that of the beginning of Stewart's *Croniclis* and what is now the beginning of *Clariodus* respectively. Describing Gathelus, mythical founder of Scotland, Stewart uses the same terminology as the *Clariodus*-poet to describe Clariodus' physical form in what is now the beginning of MS Advocates'. Unfortunately, this part of MS Kk is fragmentary, so parts of some lines have been lost:

> Rycht fair of face and . . . .
> Lustie he wes and larg . . . .
> Strang of nature, cor . . . .
> Most lyke to Mars the . . .
> (Stewart's *Croniclis*, I, 174–8)

It is highly likely here that 'cor' (I, 177), as it now appears, would have originally been 'corpolent' in its complete form, a word used by the *Clariodus*-poet in what are now the opening lines of *Clariodus*:

> W*ith* force of speir upon his mightie steid
> Rycht large of stato*ur*, strong and corpolent,
> Lyke god of armis Mars armipotent,
> (*Clariodus*, I, 2–4)

Furthermore, both poets appear to have had the same idea: to borrow from Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe*, in which appears 'Mars, the god armypotent,/Aufull and sterne, strong and corpolent' (112–13); in so doing, both Stewart and *Clariodus* both demonstrate their literary knowledge and attempt to prove themselves as competent as Dunbar in the writing of poetry. Indeed, through their extensive borrowing from Dunbar throughout their works, Stewart and the *Clariodus*-poet both seem to have conceived of themselves as his successors, with both of them respectively adding the major tenets of

Dunbar's courtly style to two genres which he never attempted to compose: chronicle and chivalric romance.

Indeed, like the *Clariodus*-poet, Stewart continuously embellishes his narrative with references to classical figures, a technique absent from his source. This is particularly prevalent with descriptions of beautiful women:

> The king of Pechtis, callit wes Gethus,
> Ane dochter had, my author sayis thus,
> The quhilk to name wes callit Siora,
> Bricht as Lucene, and fair as dame Flora.
> (Stewart's *Croniclis*, II, 4256–59)

The same technique is utilised by the *Clariodus*-poet, particularly in descriptions of Meliades which serve to emphasise the ways in which her beauty and virtuousness eclipses that of all the other women in the romance:

> Away, thow Lucres with thy plesant eeine!
> And with thy bright hairis, thow Palexine!
> And thow, faire Heline, with thy hairis quhyte!
> And Candas, with thy colloure of delyte!
> And with thy trewth, thow Penelope!
> (*Clariodus*, IV, 1189–93)

Both poets here show not only their abundance of classical learning, but also the willingness to amplify their respective sources with techniques learned from the Chaucerian tradition. It is almost as though including such techniques in one's own poetry was a sign of membership of a particular poetic community – in this case, the community of poets working within the court of James V.

My final example of the similarities in poetic technique between the *Clariodus*-poet and Stewart concerns both poets' use of aureate description. I have demonstrated in Chapter Two (pp. 102–13) that the *Clariodus*-poet makes extensive use of aureate language as a means of showing off his poetic ability, especially in his descriptions of clothing. Likewise, Stewart's *Croniclis* contain numerous passages in which Stewart amplifies descriptions of material objects using aureate imagery, often using stock phrases from the aureate poetic tradition that are almost exactly the same as those chosen by the *Clariodus*-poet. The passage below, from *Clariodus*, describes Meliades' magnificent costume and shimmering hair:

> With pretious stonis, *and* rich pearle *and* purit
> Scho [Meliades] did hir fresch and lustilie atyre;
> Hir schyning hair as bricht gold wyer
> Hang schyning into gyltine traces cleir
> With croun vpon hir heid, baith rich *and* deir,
> Set full of roobies *and* sapheiris blew;
> Ane fairer princes in all the warld nane knew.
> (II, 1422–8)

The same focus on the glittering jewels and gleaming light is also present in the passage below from Stewart's *Croniclis*. Here, it is armour rather than clothing which Stewart describes in aureate terms, but which nevertheless recall some of the same phrases used by the *Clariodus*-poet:

> Thair baneris braid agane the bemis brycht
> Of Phebus face illuminat all with licht;
> Thair schynand scheildis glitterit as gold wyir,
> With diamantis deir, most dantie of desyre,
> Cled in cot armour of mony sindrie hew,
> With rubeis reid, and mony saphir blew,

With poleist perle, and mony pretious stone,
Agane the schyning of the sone tha schone,
With goldin gullis glitterand as ane gleid,
Ane semeliar sicht wes neuir of Adamis seid.
(Stewart's *Croniclis*, III, 6591–6600)

An immediate similarity between this passage (in which Caratacus, King of the Britons, gathers his army in defence of Albion against the Romans) and that describing Meliades' costume in *Clariodus* is the numerous references to precious stones. Both the *Clariodus*-poet and Stewart highlight the presence of rubies and sapphires ('roobies and sapheiris blew', *Clariodus*, II, 1427; 'rubeis reid, and mony saphir blew', *Croniclis* III, 6596) on Meliades' clothing and the soldiers' armour respectively. In addition, both passages focus on the imagery of golden light that surrounds Meliades and Caractacus' army. Meliades' hair is twice described as 'schyning' and arranged into 'gyltine traces cleir' (i.e. 'gilded plaits') (*Clariodus*, II, 1424–5), while the brilliant sunlight bathes Caractacus' army in a golden light which causes the red hues of their armour to become 'glitterand as ane gleid' ('glittering as an ember') (*Croniclis*, III, 6599). However, the most striking similarity between these two passages is their use of precisely the same phrase — 'gold wyir' (*Clariodus*, II, 1424; *Croniclis*, III, 6593),[65] although the phrase is applied to different references by the *Clariodus*-poet and Stewart. In the passage from *Clariodus* 'gold wyir' describes Meliades' hair, while in Stewart's description it is a metaphor for shields glinting against the light of the sun. Although the *Clariodus*-poet's use of the metaphor is perhaps more pertinent, as shimmering strands of hair more closely resemble 'gold wyir' than a shield would do, we are nevertheless presented with two

[65] Comparisons to hair with golden wire are also found in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, where Jupiter's hair is described as 'goldin wyre' that glitters (177, ed. Fox) and James I's *The Kingis Quair*, where Cytherea (an epithet used for the planet Venus) is depicted with 'tresis like the goldin wyre' (4; ed. Norton-Smith). See also *DOST*, *Wyr(e*, *Weir*, *n.*, sense 1.

contemporary poets making extensive use of aureate imagery to show off their poetic virtuosity and skill.

This chapter has shown that the literary culture of the court of James V was an extremely vibrant one, once James was able to take the throne as an adult. The extensive list of named poets in David Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo* (37–54) in particular gives the impression of a thriving coterie of court poets — many of whom also served as members of the royal household, and so were particularly concerned for James V's wellbeing and effectiveness as a ruler. This list also evokes a sense that these poets were all competing with each other to outdo one another in their literary productions and ability to prove themselves able of using 'langwag full ornat' (*Clariodus*, V, 2246).

Indeed, this sense of friendly literary competition may lie behind the composition of *Clariodus*, with its poet potentially signalling his membership of this aforementioned coterie — after all, *Clariodus* shares with its contemporaries a number of stylistic techniques (the use of aureate imagery, classical allusions, and the inclusion of the much-favoured modesty topos), as well as the prominent advisory strands which allow the romance to slot seamlessly among the numerous advisory works which were being produced at the Scottish court in the first three decades of the sixteenth century.

The inclusion of the same set of stylistic techniques in nearly every poem of the time are, however, an almost unsurmountable difficulty for those wishing to identify an author for *Clariodus*. Although I demonstrated in my brief comparisons between *Clariodus* and William Stewart's *Croniclis* that the two poets closely resembled each other in style (and indeed, there were far more examples of stylistic similarities between the two texts that could be drawn upon) it still remains the case that such a comparison can only ever be uncomfortably bound within the realms of speculation

while we do not possess even the most basic biographical information about the *Clariodus*-poet: his name.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MANUSCRIPT OF *CLARIODUS*: NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, MS ADVOCATES' 19.2.5

National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 (hereafter MS Advocates'), is the sole surviving witness of *Clariodus*, which is the only item in the manuscript. Neither of the romance's two previous editors (David Irving and Robert Chapman) have included a description of MS Advocates' in their editions of *Clariodus*; the only detailed description and analysis of the manuscript and its contexts thus far has been provided by Emily Wingfield.[1] The current chapter, which begins with a complete description of MS Advocates', is indebted to Wingfield's previous work on MS Advocates', but it also incorporates a variety of new material. This includes the reproduction of an image of MS Advocates' watermark and a comparison of this to similar contemporary watermarks, as well as some further investigation into the manuscript's potential links to the Cunningham and Campbell families of Scotland and their literary activities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, prompted by the signature of one 'Jonet Cuninghame' on f. 79^{r} of MS Advocates'.

The second section of this chapter provides a brief outline of the most significant linguistic features present in MS Advocates'. Within this linguistic overview, I have separated out the linguistic features of the manuscript from the authorial usage of the

[1] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts' (2010).

Clariodus-poet due to the status of MS Advocates' as a late copy of the romance, into which a good many corruptions and inconsistencies have been introduced. Following this overview, I argue that the most prominent linguistic aspect of MS Advocates' is the considerable amount of anglicisation that is now present in the text of *Clariodus* as it survives in the manuscript; although much of my analysis here is based on the work of Francis John Curtis,[2] I also place the anglicisation of MS Advocates' within the context of other witnesses of Older Scots texts (such as *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Scottish Troy Book*) which have also been heavily anglicised.

Manuscript Description

I. Binding, Foliation, Catchwords and Watermarks

MS Advocates' is currently bound in gilt-tooled, dark-green morocco dating from the nineteenth century. The volume itself measures *c*. 280 x 185 mm, and its cropped paper leaves now measure *c*. 272 x 180mm. MS Advocates' in its present state comprises 154 folios, plus two modern flyleaves at both the beginning and end of the manuscript, making its current arrangement as follows: ii + 154 + ii. There are two systems of foliation present in the manuscript: the original sixteenth-century foliation, likely introduced by the manuscript's sole scribe and riddled with errors and erasures (discussed further below), and modern foliation written clearly in pencil. It is clear that seven folios from the beginning of the manuscript have been lost, since what is now f. 1^{r} was labelled as f. 8^{r} in the original foliation system. The end of MS Advocates' has also been curtailed, since the narrative breaks off abruptly in the middle of a tournament on f. 154^{v}; Wingfield remarks that stubs between f. 152^{v} and 153^{v} suggest that around two

[2] Curtis (1894).

to three folios are missing.[3] That both the beginning and end of the manuscript have been missing for a considerable length of time is indicated by heavy soiling to both f. 1^{r} and f. 154^{v}.[4] Due to the confusion evident in the sixteenth-century foliation, this thesis uses the modern system of foliation when referring to folios within the manuscript, as I have also done for the edited text of *Clariodus* which follows in Volume 2.

Regarding collation, it is regrettable that the current binding of MS Advocates' is so tight that such a task is at present impossible, and so must wait until further conservation on the manuscript is undertaken. There are also no visible quire marks or signature marks in MS Advocates' to provide an alternative means of collation. Scribal catchwords appear at the bottom of recto and verso sides of some folios in the manuscript, but they are not used with absolute regularity: Book I in particular suffers from a lack of catchwords. This is quite remarkable, since catchwords are usually used only on one side of the folio to indicate the correct sequence of binding; perhaps the scribe was extremely concerned with binding the folios in the right order, and so somewhat overcompensated.

II. The Watermark of MS Advocates'

The paper stock of MS Advocates' bears a watermark of a pot with the letters 'IB', topped with a crescent moon,[5] as shown in Figure 1 below. As the National Library of Scotland's summary description of MS Advocates' suggests, this watermark is similar to

[3] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 286.
[4] Indeed, these folios have been missing since at least 1801, when Leyden noted their absence in his edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland* (p. 238).
[5] Summary description of MS Advocates' 19.2.5 at http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/15300#summary [Accessed 24/5/2018] and Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 286.

Briquet 12804, dated 1588 (Figure 2, shown below), although both Piccard No. 31768 (Narwa, 1541) and Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive POT.106.1 demonstrate even closer similarities with the watermark of MS Advocates', with both watermarks having the letters 'IB' inscribed upon a pot topped with a crescent moon (see Figures 2 and 3 respectively, shown below). The POT.106.1 watermark appears repeatedly on letters from the collection of the Bagot family of Blithfield, Staffordshire, written between 1598 and 1616. Broadly, then, the visible watermark of MS Advocates' would place its date of production in the latter half of the sixteenth century, a hypothesis which is given some substance by certain features within the script of MS Advocates', as I go on to discuss below. Additionally, MS Advocates' also contains the signature of one 'Jonet Cuninghame', written in a seventeenth-century hand, which also lends credence to the dating of MS Advocates' to the latter half of the sixteenth-century. However, using watermarks to provide precise evidence of date is often fraught with difficulty: while a watermark may be dateable to a short period of between twelve to eighteen months,[6] its appearance within a manuscript does not always mean that the manuscript was compiled within that same short period, as paper stocks could often be stored for significant amounts of time without being used.

[6] R. J. Lyall, 'Materials: The Paper Revolution', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. by J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 11–29 (p. 15).

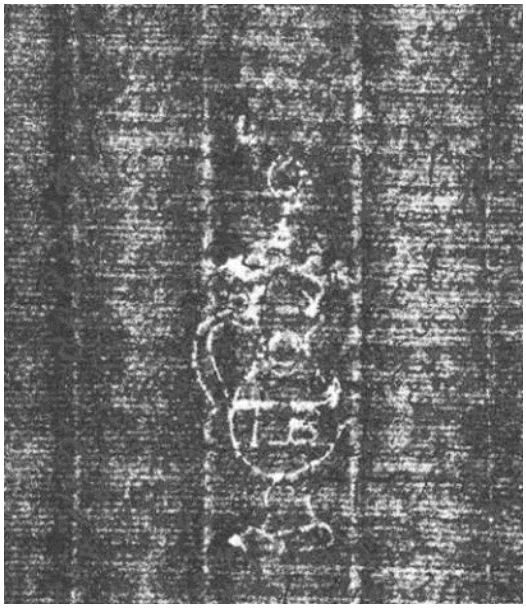

Figure 1: The watermark of MS Advocates' 19.2.5 (f. 91[v]), with kind permission from the National Library of Scotland

Comparable watermarks to that of MS Advocates':

Figure 2: Briquet 12804, dated 1588.[7]

[7] Image obtained from Briquet Online http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/loadRepWmark.php?rep=briquet&refnr=12804&lang=fr [Accessed 24th May 2018]. The print version of Briquet's study of watermarks is published in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. by A. Stevenson, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968).

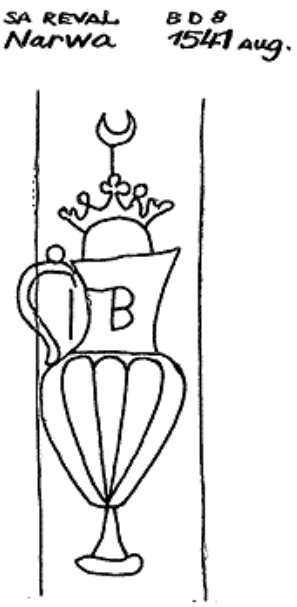

Figure 3: Piccard No. 31768, dated 1541.[8]

Figure 4: Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive, Pot.106.1, dated 1598.[9]

[8] Image obtained from Piccard Watermark Collection Online: https://www.piccard-online.de/detailansicht.php?klassi=026.006.001.009.003&ordnr=31768&sprache=en [Accessed 7th November 2019].
[9] Image obtained from Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive Online: http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=450 [Accessed 24th May 2018].

III. The Script and Scribe of MS Advocates' 19.2.5

The manuscript's sole scribe uses a neat, clear, later-sixteenth-century Scottish secretary hand (see below for further discussion of this dating) for the main body of text in the manuscript, in addition to a formal book hand and an italic-influenced display script which are used only to mark narrative divisions and, in the case of the display script, running titles. The number of lines the scribe copied per page varies due to increases and decreases in the size of his script. Indeed, there are several instances where the neat appearance of the scribe's usual hand changes to become smaller, thicker, and less elegant, and initial letters are formed slightly differently. This occurs in the following instances:

> **f. 11^{r}–11^{v}**, up to and including 'Quhill it was tyme to beddis for to go'
>
> **f. 113^{v}**, up to and including 'and tuik his'; the scribe then resumes normal handwriting
>
> **f. 114^{r}**, up to and including 'and vther regnes'; rest of line normal hand
>
> **f. 114^{v}**, from 'This fair princes Into his armes hes tone' up to and including 'Thus he of Ingland and Ireland both wes king'
>
> **f. 117^{v}**, up to and including f.118^{r} 'That their wes maid for the triumphand day'

Although Chapman suggested that there were two scribes writing MS Advocates' due to these changes in the appearance of the script,[10] I am inclined to agree with Wingfield's argument that a change of scribe is unlikely here given the limited number of lines involved;[11] only the last example of the change in aspect continues for more than a page of writing, and the scribe's habit of putting superscript strokes above the letter 'u' to distinguish it from letters which look similar when together such as 'm' and 'n', seen

[10] Chapman, p. 2.
[11] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 287.

throughout the manuscript, remains during these instances where the handwriting becomes tighter and thicker. Therefore, such changes might be indicative of something as simple as the scribe having difficulties with his pen, copying some parts of the manuscript at a later date (a point which I return to below), or perhaps that the scribe was occasionally affected by a hand condition which caused his script to change: on the folios noted above, the letter forms are sloped more towards the right than usual, especially at the end of lines, and certain aspects of the penwork look like the scribe may have drawn them with a shaking hand. One example of this occurs at the top of f. 11^{r}, where the initial 'S' of the top line has not been drawn in one swift movement, but includes a slight kink in the flourish that connects the lower and upper halves of the 'S', shown in Figure 5 below:

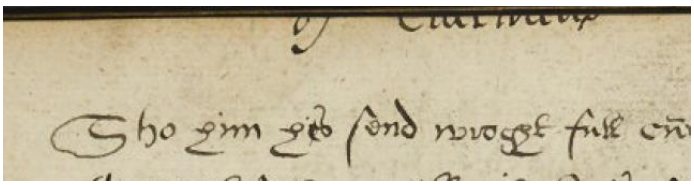

Figure 5: Example of the scribe's uneven script (f. 11^{r})

Such unsteady handwriting is reminiscent of the famous 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester', a thirteenth-century scribe who was perhaps a monk at Worcester Cathedral Priory). In his numerous annotations of Old English manuscripts in particular, the 'Tremulous Hand' writes in a script which slopes leftwards, and which is jagged rather than smooth. Recently, Deborah E. Thorpe and Jane E. Alty have analysed the writing of the 'Tremulous Hand' from 'a joint neurological and historical perspective', concluding that this scribe likely suffered from essential tremor, a neurological

condition which causes involuntary shaking that particularly affects the hands. [12] Therefore, it may well be the case that the scribe of MS Advocates' occasionally suffered from a similar condition, though apparently for only short periods.

As mentioned above, the original sixteenth-century foliation of MS Advocates' contains numerous errors, especially between modern fols 65 and 101. For example, what is now f. 65^{r} in the modern foliation should have been numbered '70' by the scribe; instead, he wrote '80'. Consequently, fols 66–74 were numbered 10 units higher than was necessary. Although the scribe realised his mistake and crossed out his errors between the original fols 70^{r} and 77^{r}, on the original f. 78^{r} (modern f. 73^{r}) he initially corrected the folio number to 77, before realising that this was actually the number of the previous folio. He subsequently erased '77' and added '78', the correct foliation. The scribe did not number what is now modern f. 79^{r}, meaning that between modern fols 80^{r} and 101^{r}, the scribe increases the corrected folio number by two: the original f. 84^{r} was f. 82^{r} before the scribe crossed this out and added his correction, and so on. Curiously, when the scribe reached modern f. 101^{r} he crossed out the number '103' and added '105' as expected, but underneath '105' he drew a line, writing underneath it '109'. The subsequent folio is then numbered '110', and after this point the scribe numbers each folio correctly, following on in sequence from '110' up until the end of the manuscript. Why the scribe should have suddenly jumped from '105' to '109' is not clear, since there are no missing parts in the narrative of *Clariodus* here, suggesting that are no absent folios in this part of the manuscript. Taken as a whole, these foliation errors may suggest that the scribe mis-foliated the manuscript before all the gatherings

[12] Deborah E. Thorpe and Jane E. Alty, 'What type of tremor did the medieval 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' have?', *Brain*, 138, 10 (2015), 3123–3127.

were bound together in the correct order, and then corrected his mistakes (although not always accurately) once the gatherings had been bound.

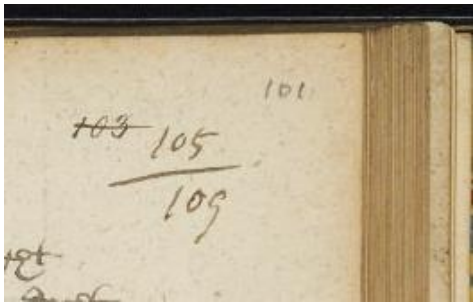

Figure 6: Mis-foliation on f. 101r

IV. Narrative division in MS Advocates'

Clariodus is the only item within the manuscript. The romance is divided into five Books, with blank pages left between the end of one Book and the beginning of the next:

fols 1r–20v	**Book I**
fols 21r–21v	Blank
fols 22r–45v	**Book II**
fols 46r–46v	Blank
fols 47r–78v	**Book III**
fols 79r–79v	Blank, except for signature of 'Jonet Cuninghame' on f. 79r
fols 80r–115v	**Book IV** An anomaly in the manuscript's usual *ordinatio* occurs at f. 91v, where a blank page has been left but there is no missing text and a new Book does not begin. However, on f. 92r an emboldened initial 'A', flourished with cadellae, begins the first line of text on the folio, and a blank space covering approximately one fifth of the total page length has been left below the running title ('The 4 buike') of the page, as though the scribe

	were intending to fill this space with the title of the next book, written in the usual large display script. The scribe's reasoning for these decisions is unclear: in the text of *Clariodus* itself, nothing suggests such a large narrative break should occur. All that occurs is that the Feast of the Vows to the Peacock is concluded and the members of the French court (including Clariodus and Meliades) wake the next day, ready to begin another tournament.
f. 116^{r}	Contains the unfinished Prologue to Book V (lines 1–5 only). Remainder blank.
fols 116^{v}–54^{v}	**Book V**

The five-book division of MS Advocates' aligns *Clariodus* with the narrative division of such works as Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, Lydgate's *Troy Book* and the anonymous Older Scots romance *Lancelot of the Laik*, which likely ran to five Books in its completed state. Consequently, the narrative division of *Clariodus* has more similarities with the Middle English and Older Scots poetic traditions than with the narrative division of its French source, *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, which in the majority of its surviving witnesses is divided into forty-five chapters, some of them less than a hundred lines long. Thus, at both a codicological level and a stylistic level, *Clariodus* aligns itself with the most sophisticated English and Scottish poetic traditions.

The blank pages left between the start and end of each Book and the unfinished Prologue to Book V are particularly intriguing. We know that at some point the scribe had access to an exemplar which contained at least the first five lines of Book V's Prologue:

> In Mayis seasoune soft and sweit
> When balmie liquoure dois on leaves gleit

And bewis brekes and blomis on breid
And pleasantlie inamellit beine the meid
All ower depaintit with collour*is* new
(Book V Prologue, 1–5)

The Prologue's abrupt ending might suggest that the scribe of MS Advocates' had a defective exemplar which contained only the first five lines of Book V's Prologue. Alternatively, the scribe may have had access to another exemplar for a brief time but did not have chance to copy out the complete Prologue, instead only finding time to copy its first five lines. If this was the case, then the scribe presumably copied these lines at the same time as having access to the rest of the exemplar(s) for MS Advocates', since he uses the same neat and clear hand found throughout the majority of the manuscript. Since there are blank folios left between the ending of each Book and the beginning of the next one,[13] we might presume that each Book was to be prefaced by a Prologue,[14] and that the scribe of MS Advocates' was waiting to gain access to an exemplar of *Clariodus* which contained all of the completed Prologues.[15] Also notable about the Prologue to Book V is that the scribe left less space for it to be copied than for the other Prologues – while both the recto and verso sides of a folio are left blank between the ends of Books I, II and III, the space given over to the Prologue of Book V only amounts to the recto side of one folio (f. 116^{r}).[16] However, it may have been the

[13] We cannot say how many pages might have been left blank before the beginning of Book I, since the beginning of MS Advocates' has now been lost. Given that the *Clariodus*-poet tends to condense the details of his French source (as explained in Chapter Two, pp. 74–80), we might expect that at least half of the eight missing folios at the beginning of MS Advocates' contained the equivalent of the current chapters I to IV of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* (the text of *Clariodus* as it now survives begins at the equivalent of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, IV, 307). Since most of the blank spaces left between the beginning and end of each Book in MS Advocates' comprise one entire folio, we can assume that at least one folio of the missing eight would either have contained a Prologue to Book I, or space for it to be written.
[14] Leyden also proposes that these blank folios were meant to accommodate Prologues. See *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Leyden, p. 239.
[15] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 288.
[16] This results in Book V beginning on the verso side of a folio (f. 116^{v}) rather than on the recto side, as is the case for Books II, III and IV.

case that the scribe originally intended to begin Book V's Prologue on f. 115^{v}, since below the final line of Book IV he has written 'The prologue of the fyft buik' in the formal, italic-influenced display script used for running titles throughout the manuscript. The scribe then broke off from copying out any actual lines from the Prologue, realising that he should instead begin anew on f. 116^{r} whilst also incorporating the manuscript's usual elements of *ordinatio* that denoted the beginning of a new Book, which I describe below.

V. Decoration of MS Advocates'

As Wingfield has noted, there is 'a hierarchy of decoration' within MS Advocates'.[17] As the largest unit of narrative division, the beginning of each Book of *Clariodus* is naturally afforded the most elegant and obvious decoration, although, as discussed below, not all of the openings to Books feature exactly the same decorative schemes. Nevertheless, each Book, as well as the Prologue to Book V and the beginning of the text on f. 92^{r}, invariably begins with a large emboldened initial, taking up between a quarter and a third of the total page area, carefully decorated with cadellae which are shaped into lines resembling lozenges and twisting vines. Also invariable is the use of bold, italic-influenced display script to emblazon the title of a Book, which is always written across two lines (e.g. 'The Secound buik/of Clariodus'), although the title of the fifth book is slightly different ('Bgnns [sic] the fyft buik/of Clariodus'). This may be due to the inclusion of the Prologue to Book V on the previous folio (f. 116^{r}), with the scribe wishing to emphasise that this title indicates the beginning of Book V proper. Some copying errors have crept in to the title of Book IV ('The fourthe buik/Clariodus'): the

[17] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 289.

scribe originally wrote 'secu' between 'The' and 'fourthe', as though copying the title for the second Book, then erased his mistake. He does not include the word 'of' in the Book's title either, and, curiously, the word 'Clariodus' is not written in the bold display script of the rest of the title, but rather the pen strokes are narrower and are more akin to the scribe's usual secretary hand used throughout the main body of the text, if with a little more italic influence. Such errors could be a possible indication that the scribe was copying in haste at this point, and became confused about which Book he was about to begin copying.

Various marks of ornamentation appear below the titles of each Book with the exception of Book IV where, perhaps due to a lack of space, a far smaller gap than for the other Books is left between the Book's title and the main body of the text, amounting to around a tenth of the page area. A unique example of decorative flourished scrollwork appears below the title of Book II on f. 22^{r}, with unruled bars, one fully inked, appearing below this scrollwork and below the titles of Books III and V, as shown in Figures 7 and 8:

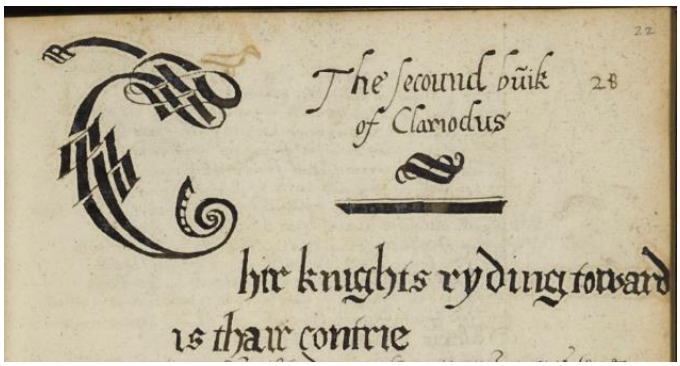

Figure 7: Decoration and mise-en-page in Book II, f. 22^{r}

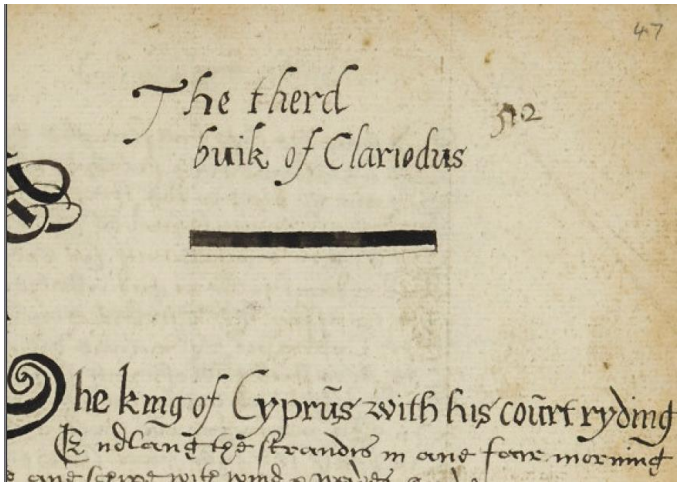

Figure 8: Decoration and emboldened bar at beginning of Book III, f. 47r

The first line of each Book is always written either in italic-influenced display script or in a bold, textura-influenced formal book hand, or a mixture of both; the textura-influenced hand can be seen especially in Figure 7 above.

The scribe writes the first line of Book II in the bold, textura-influenced book hand which is so large that the first line of this book in fact runs to two lines in the manuscript (see Figure 7 above), while the first line of Book III is written in the bold, italic-influenced display script also used for the titles of each Book. The first line of Book IV (f. 80r) is a mixture of the two scripts: following the large initial 'E' beginning the word 'Erle', the scribe uses the textura-influenced book hand to write '(E)rle Esturs Pursewant', then switches to italic display script for the rest of the line ('felt no raige'). This change of script may have occurred as the scribe realised he would not have enough space to copy out the first line of Book IV without dividing it, although he did split the first line of Book II into two lines, as discussed above. On f. 92r, where the scribe mistakenly seems to have thought that a new Book was beginning, the first line of the page is written exclusively in the bold textura-influenced formal book hand. The first line of the Prologue to Book V, on f. 116r, is written in italic display script, while the

first line of Book V (f. 116^{v}) is an unusual mixture. This first line ('Hauing past the sea and cum to land'), after the large flourished initial 'H', is written in the bold textura-influenced formal book hand present in the first line of Book II,[18] up until the phrase 'cum to land', which is written in the secretary hand used throughout the manuscript. As with the opening lines of Book IV, perhaps the scribe changed scripts here due to a lack of space.

The same italic-influenced display script used to demarcate the titles of each Book is also used for running titles to identify the relevant book on the majority of the folios in the manuscript. Generally, the running title begins on the verso side of the folio and finishes on the recto side of the folio, for example: 'The first Buik/of Clariodus', split across f. 14^{v} and f. 15^{r} respectively. However, because Book V begins on the verso side of a folio (f. 116^{v}), rather than the recto side like all of the other Books, only half of the running title appears on f. 117^{r} ('The fyft buike'). The following leaves then return to the normal pattern of having the book number on the verso side of the folio and the phrase 'of Clariodus' on the recto side. Most of the running titles in Book I were cut off due to over-zealous cropping to the first twenty folios of the manuscript. In the first two Books, the ordinal numbers in running titles are written in words (e.g. 'The first Buik/of Clariodus') whereas in Books III, IV and V they are usually written in numerals (e.g. 'The 4 buik of Clariodus'), although there is a mixture of the two styles in Book III, where from f. 47^{v} to f. 67^{r} inclusive the scribe writes 'the third buik(e)' and from f. 67^{v} to f. 78^{r} inclusive he writes 'the 3 buik(e)'.[19] Running titles are not written on any of the blank

[18] The word 'sea' in this line has been added above the line, and is written in a bold form of the scribe's usual secretary hand.
[19] Several errors occur in the running titles in Book III. On f. 49^{v} the scribe writes 'the second buike' when it is actually in Book III; this happens again on f. 65^{v}, where the scribe writes 'secunde', crosses it out, then writes above it what looks like 'secund' again. He also writes 'The the 3 buik' (sic) on f. 69^{v}.

pages between Books, nor on pages where a Book (or the Prologue to Book V) begins. On fols 91^{v}–92^{r}, where the scribe has imposed what looks like a new book division although the narrative does not require it, there are also no running titles.

As well as marking major narrative divisions using ornate decoration and variations of script, the scribe of MS Advocates' took care to signal minor narrative divisions using less elaborate, but still noticeable, decoration and attention to the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript. Major new narrative divisions within the romance that do not correspond with the start of a new Book are distinguished by the initial letter of the line being formed from a large Roman capital (e.g. the 'O' of 'Oft' on f. 2^{v}), and the remainder of the line following the Roman capital is written either in the textura-influenced formal book hand sometimes used for the first line of a new Book, or the italic-influenced display script again used for the first line of a new Book or, more often, running titles. Frequently, several lines of blank space are left before these initials to further demarcate narrative division, and on average two lines are indented following the initial, although the indentation can run for up to as many as eight lines (for example on f. 124^{r}). More minor units of narrative division are marked in a less uniform manner, and as a whole are marked in a far less prominent way. Occasionally the italic-influenced display script and indentation are used (e.g. f. 34^{v}), while other divisions are signalled only using emboldened initials and larger script (e.g. f. 42^{v}: 'Be this thair enterit into the hall'). Additionally, there may be minor indentation and emboldened initials, but the rest of the line is written in the usual secretary hand (e.g. f. 109^{r} and f. 109^{v}). In some cases, blank space is left between lines but a Roman capital does not follow below, even in instances where the first line written after the blank space is written using formal book hand (e.g. f. 69^{v}). Flourished penwork is also sometimes used to denote narrative division, as can be seen at the top of f. 110^{v} and at the top of f. 120^{r}.

Although not a part of narrative division itself, names of important characters and places are written in italic-influenced display script throughout MS Advocates' to easily distinguish them from the surrounding narrative.[20]

A final noticeable aspect of *mise-en-page* within MS Advocates' is the scribe's decision to set apart epistolary exchanges between characters from the surrounding body of text, using the same decorative script that is used for narrative division throughout the rest of the manuscript. Letters often play an important narrative role within *Clariodus*. By exchanging letters with one another, Clariodus and Meliades are able to maintain their romantic relationship whilst Clariodus embarks on quests in a number of different countries, allowing him to develop his knightly skills whilst also keeping his courtship of Meliades private — a necessity in the first stages of the romance when there is a discrepancy between his social status and that of Meliades. Furthermore, letters play a pivotal narrative role in Book III of *Clariodus*, where Sir Thomas forges letters supposedly exchanged between Clariodus and Meliades in which the two innocent lovers plot to poison King Philippon and claim the throne for themselves. Through Sir Thomas' treachery, Philippon is revealed to be a gullible king who goes so far as to order the execution of his own daughter and only heir. Despite the arguably more important narrative function of Thomas' letters, it is the letters exchanged between Clariodus and Meliades that have been singled out as significant in several of the French witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, as well as in MS Advocates', with these letters either being demarcated from the surrounding narrative (as in

[20] This is reminiscent of the ways in which the scribes of the Winchester manuscript of Malory's *Morte Darthur* rubricate names throughout the text. This unusual example of attention to *mise-en-page* has recently been discussed in depth by K.S. Whetter, *The Manuscript and Meaning of Malory's Morte Darthur: Rubrication, Commemoration, Memorialization* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017).

Antoine Vérard's 1495 printed edition),[21] or distinguished by illuminations, as found in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale dell' Università, MS 1628 L. II. 2. As Wingfield points out, however, none of the French witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice* has the level of mimetic effect given to the two lovers' letters in MS Advocates', which, as well as beginning and ending with rubrics indicating when letters begin and end, start several lines below the main narrative text and are copied out verbatim — as though the readers of MS Advocates' are themselves reading a physical copy of these letters, allowing a private insight into the thoughts and emotions of the characters that exchange them.[22]

The first letter set out in such a way appears on f.24^{v}, in which Meliades writes to Clariodus during his first absence from Philippon's court, enquiring about his welfare and emphasising her love for him. The scribe indicates that this letter is a break from the usual narrative of the romance with a centred, italicised rubric: 'folovis hir Letter'. After a space of approximately ten lines, the first line of Meliades' letter ('My best belovit knight and ioy onlie') follows the usual decorative scheme of MS Advocates', where the initial 'M' is a large Roman capital and the rest of the line follows in emboldened display script, with the following two lines of the letter also indented around the initial. At the conclusion of Meliades' letter at the bottom of f. 24^{v}, the scribe adds another centred rubric, albeit in a less italicised script, reading: 'The End of the Letter'. The same decorative scheme is followed for Clariodus' reply to Meliades on f.

[21] In Vérard's print, rubrics signal the receipt of letters between Cleriadus and Meliadice: 'Comment messire Cleriadus receust unes lettres que Meliadice lui avoit envoié par Bon Vouloir son messagier'and 'Comment messire Cleriadus rescript a Meliadice sa dame', and there is also an illustration of Cleriadus reading Meliadice's letter whilst sitting on his horse; see Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 292.

[22] This attention to the *mise-en-page* of letters in manuscripts also has a further French parallel in various witnesses of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame Sans Mercy*, the name given to the collection of poetic responses and continuations to Alain Chartier's *c.* 1424 debate poem, *La Belle Dame sans mercy*. As Robinson has acknowledged, letters in the *Querelle* manuscripts are 'self-consciously presented in manuscript *as* letters' (Robinson's emphasis) which are usually 'introduced with identifying rubrics'. See Olivia Robinson, 'In The Forest Of Long Waiting: Charles D'Orléans and The *Querelle De La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*' *Medium Aevum*, 87. 1 (2018), 81–105 (p. 83).

26v. In another centred, italicised rubric, the scribe of MS Advocates' denotes the beginning of Clariodus' response with the words 'Clariodus Letter to his Lady', although in this instance a gap of only approximately two lines follows the rubric before the letter itself begins, in this case with the line 'Lods\t/ar of loue & lampe of lustiheid'. Again, the 'L' of 'Lodstar' is a Roman capital, with the rest of the line following in a large, emboldened display script, while the second line of the letter is indented around the Roman capital. The end of Clariodus' letter is also signalled via the use of a centralised rubric ('Endis \his/ Letter'), clearly written in a larger, more italicised script than the body of the letter itself. A small gap of around one line is left before the main narrative of the romance recommences. While the scribe's layout of letters in MS Advocates' may have been influenced by his exemplar and could potentially be traceable to the *Clariodus*-poet's original autograph copy, which may in turn have been influenced by the French textual tradition of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, it is important to note that the layout of letters in MS Advocates' also bears resemblances to the *mise-en-page* of letters and lyrics in contemporary Scottish manuscripts of poetic texts, including several Older Scots romances. As Wingfield notes in her description and analysis of Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.5, the sole surviving witness of *Lancelot of the Laik*, rubrication is frequently used to denote moments of narrative division. One notable instance of this is Lancelot's complaint on f. 9v (699–718), where a rubricated initial begins the complaint proper, and the stanzas of the complaint are separated using patterns of red and black/brown ink.[23] In Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, which survives in British Library, MS Additional 40732 and National Archives of Scotland, MS GD 112/71/9, the latter manuscript highlights the exchange of

[23] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 141.

letters (between Alexander the Great and the leaders of various peoples across Asia) as moments of clear narrative division, with over half of the 54 rubrics in this manuscript drawing attention to such exchanges.[24] Perhaps the most obvious parallel between the *mise-en-page* of letters between MS Advocates' and other Older Scots manuscripts, however, is to be found in the copy of *Troilus and Criseyde* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24. In this manuscript, the last three stanzas of a letter sent by Troilus to Criseyde (V, 1401–21) on f.111^{v} are followed by the rubric 'Le vostre T' written in a large secretary book hand followed by a blank space of approximately three lines' length, with the narrative beginning again with a decorated initial.[25] Similarly, the opening of Criseyde's letter in response to Troilus (V.1590–631) on fols 114^{v}–115^{r} is marked by the rubric 'Here ansuereth Criseide by hir letter/ strangely to the letter of Troilus', while the first word of the letter 'Cupidis', has a large decorated initial 'C' embellished with cadellae, with the rest of the word written in a gothic-influenced display script; the letter concludes with a four-line space in which is written 'Le vostre C'.[26] As I have shown in Chapter Two (pp. 95–7), the *Clariodus*-poet shows a definite familiarity with *Troilus and Criseyde* in his translation. Ultimately, as Wingfield suggests, the careful separation of letters from the main body of the text in MS Advocates' (and perhaps the previous exemplars of *Clariodus*) may have been influenced by the layout of letters in vernacular Older Scots manuscripts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24, as well as by the manuscript and print traditions of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*.[27]

[24] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 96.
[25] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 292.
[26] Wingfield 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', pp. 292–3.
[27] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 293.

The Textual Transmission and Provenance of MS Advocates'

I. The Date of the Manuscript

Unless the missing folios of MS Advocates' are unearthed or other new evidence is brought to light, it is unlikely that an exact date for the creation of the manuscript will ever be known. Nevertheless, it has been generally agreed by most scholars who have studied MS Advocates' in any detail that the manuscript dates from the second half of the sixteenth century. Irving, the first editor of *Clariodus*, dates MS Advocates' to 'about the year 1550, or somewhat later',[28] an opinion with which Chapman agrees,[29] while the *Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts* dates MS Advocates' to the '[l]ate 16th cent'.[30]A date of the late sixteenth century for the manuscript is also suggested by its watermark, which, as shown above, corresponds closely with other watermarks which were in use during the latter half of the century. The clear italic influence in the scribe's frequently-used display script, used to demarcate narrative divisions and running titles, also places the manuscript in the second half of the sixteenth century.[31] Moreover, Wingfield points out that the scribe's hand bears resemblances to a number of hands in Scottish literary manuscripts copied in the later sixteenth century. These include the hand of the second scribe of British Library Additional MS 40732 (Gilbert Hay's *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, dating to the mid-sixteenth century); the hands of the Bannatyne Manuscript (NLS, MS Advocates' 1.1.6, dated 1565–8); and the Maitland Quarto Manuscript (Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS 1408, dated *c.*

[28] *Clariodus*, ed. Irving,, p. ii.
[29] Chapman, p. 2.
[30] *A Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1971), p. 89, no. 1107. Cited from Wingfield, p. 295. The online version of the Summary Catalogue (http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/15300#summary [accessed 22nd September 2022]) is not as specific, listing the date of the manuscript as '16th century'.
[31] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 296, citing G. G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting 1150–1650: An Introduction to the Reading of Documents* (Edinburgh: Bratton, 1973), pp. 17–27.

1586). Taking these similarities of script into account, Wingfield narrows down the date of MS Advocates' to the third quarter of the sixteenth century.[32]

The fact that several late sixteenth-century Scottish authors make references to *Clariodus* in their own texts also suggests that the romance enjoyed a healthy circulation around the same time (John Stewart of Baldynneis compares two lovers to Clariodus and Meliades in his *Ane Abbregement of Roland Furiovs*, dated 1576–84, while in the late sixteenth-century Older Scots romance *Roswall and Lillian*, the eponymous hero and heroine are compared to Clariodus and Meliades respectively);[33] this apparent popularity might explain the impetus behind the copying of MS Advocates'. Taken together, the evidence provided by the watermark of MS Advocates', the italic influence on the scribe's display script and the similarity of his hand to other Scottish literary manuscripts of the later sixteenth century, and the popularity of *Clariodus* in the later sixteenth century, suggest that MS Advocates' is highly likely to date from this period. As outlined in the Introduction (p. 4) and throughout the Explanatory Notes in Vol. II of this thesis (pp. 269–365), the notable amount of corruption that appears in the manuscript is a further indication that it was produced much later than *Clariodus* was initially written; if we take the late 1530s as the date of *Clariodus*' composition, a date in the third quarter of the sixteenth century for the production of MS Advocates' would allow time for these numerous copying errors to have been introduced.

[32] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 296.
[33] See the Introduction, p. 4.

Provenance

While we know that MS Advocates' was in the possession of David Dalrymple, 3rd Baronet Lord Hailes (1726–92) (discussed further below), there are no identifiable marks of his ownership within the manuscript. The only signature within MS Advocates', that of 'Jonet Cuninghame' on the otherwise blank f. 79r, is written in a fairly large italicised hand in rather faint ink:

Figure 8: Signature of Jonet Cuninghame on f. 79r

The Summary Catalogue entry for MS Advocates' offers a seventeenth-century date for this signature,[34] although the hand used here also looks similar to the italicised style of the running titles of MS Advocates', possibly also suggesting a date from the second half of the sixteenth century.

Since women in Scotland did not take their husband's surname upon marriage at this time,[35] the woman who signed her name would have retained the Cunningham surname all her life, although such are the abundance of Janet/Jean/Jane Cunninghams in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that securely identifying this lady is difficult. Nevertheless, there are two possible candidates whose families had prominent literary

[34] http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/15300#summary [accessed 22nd September 2022]

[35] Winifred Coutts, 'Wife and Widow: The Evidence of Testaments and Marriage Contracts *c.* 1600', in *Women in Scotland* c. *1100*–c. *1750*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 176–86 (p. 176).

connections during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and who might therefore have been the Janet Cunningham who signed her name in MS Advocates'.

The first of these women was Jane Cunningham, daughter of Sir John Cunningham of Caprington, who in 1550 became the second wife of Alexander Cunningham, 4th earl of Glencairn (d. 1574/5). They had a daughter, Janet, who became the second wife of Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Arygll in August 1573.[36] This marriage was extremely short-lived, however, for on the night of 12th September 1573 Argyll passed away in his sleep;[37] by 1583, Janet was married again, this time to Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, although Janet was apparently dead by 1584.[38]

Notably, both the Cunningham and Campbell families had literary interests: Alexander Cunningham, 5th earl of Glencairn (d. 1574) was a keen religious reformer who wrote a satirical anti-Catholic verse ('Ane epistle direct fra the holy armite of Allarit to his bretharen the Gray Freires') which was reprinted by John Knox in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. The Campbell earls of Argyll, meanwhile, retained close links with the Campbells of Glenorchy, a cadet branch of the family who had a great interest in literature: both Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy (1499–1583) and his son, Duncan Campbell, 7th laird of Glenorchy (d.1631) were bibliophiles, with the latter owning two manuscripts of Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror* as well as a fragmentary romance, the Older Scots *Florimond*.[39] Indeed, in the later sixteenth century the Cunningham earls of Glencairn and the Campbell lairds of

[36] Margaret H. B Sanderson, 'Cunningham, Alexander, fourth earl of Glencairn (d. 1574/5), nobleman', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6913 [Accessed 8th November 2019].
[37] Jane Dawson, 'Campbell, Archibald, fifth earl of Argyll (1538–1573)', *ODNB* Online (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4470 [Accessed 8th November 2019].
[38] Dawson (2008).
[39] For further discussion of the Campbells of Glenorchy and book ownership, see Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', particularly Chapter 2.

Glenorchy became interlinked upon the marriage of James Cunningham, 6th Earl of Glencairn (*c*. 1552–1630) to Margaret Campbell (daughter of Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy) in 1574. Margaret Campbell had herself been raised in a household full of literary activity, particularly on the part of her mother, Katherine Ruthven, who was apparently an accomplished user of secretary hand and had a keen interest in books, signing her name in a printed copy of Johann Sleiden's *Chronicle* (London, 1560). Ruthven also corresponded with leading literary figures of the day such as William Maitland of Lethington, eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland, compiler of the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts.[40]

Moreover, Margaret Campbell's marriage to James Cunningham produced several daughters who, perhaps unsurprisingly considering their grandmother's literary connections, also demonstrated a strong interest in literary matters. One of these daughters, also Margaret, was one of the first women in Scotland to write an autobiographical account of her life, known as *A Pairt of the Life of Lady Margaret Cuninghame* (completed by 1608), detailing her unhappy first marriage to James Hamilton of Evandale and Crawfordjohn, whom she had married in January 1598.[41] Of most interest for our investigation into the MS Advocates' signature is the eldest daughter of Margaret Campbell and James Cunningham, Jean Cunningham. Like her sister Margaret, Jean's life appears to have been one of tragedy. The man to whom she was engaged, John Kennedy, fifth earl of Cassillis, broke off their engagement in order to marry Lady Jean Fleming, a forty-three year old widow twice his age in November 1597. This left Jean Cunningham so heartbroken that she promptly died, apparently of

[40] Pamela Giles, 'Margaret Cunningham and the Recourse of Writing', in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567–1625*, ed. by David J. Parkinson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 193–208 (p. 195).
[41] Giles, p. 196.

heartbreak, two months later — though not without 'having left in writing that the Earl's breaking of his troth to her is the cause of her death'.[42] Unfortunately, there is no evidence that this document still survives, making it impossible to compare the writing of Jean Cunningham's tragic note with the signature of the 'Jonet Cunninghame' in MS Advocates'. Considering that both women by the name of Janet Cunningham discussed above were part of a literary network formed by the bibliophilic Cunningham and Campbell families, these two women could be potential candidates for the signatory of f. 79^{r}, although it is difficult to be certain without further corroborating evidence. Nevertheless, the signature of this lady does prove that, *Clariodus* was a romance that appealed to female readers,[43] an aspect of the text made all the more important by the *Clariodus*-poet's expansion upon the thoughts and feelings of its main female character, Meliades.[44]

It is unclear how many owners and readers MS Advocates' passed through between the mysterious Janet Cunningham and its subsequent owner, David Dalrymple, 3rd Baronet Lord Hailes (1726–92), but it is perhaps unsurprising that Hailes came to acquire the manuscript. He was an enthusiastic bibliophile, a curator of the Faculty of Advocates Library from 1752–7 and again in 1771, as well as being a friend of the noted literary historians James Boswell (1740–1795) and Thomas Percy (1729–1811).[45] At his family home of Newhailes near Musselburgh (five miles east of Edinburgh), Hailes maintained and added to 'the fine library inherited from his father and grandfather'.[46]

---

[42] *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603*, ed. J. Bain et al., 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1898–1969), XIII, Part 1 (pp. 150–1).
[43] *Cleriadus et Meliadice* itself appeared to female readers, as demonstrated by the manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109 being in the possession of Gabrielle de la Tour, who then donated it to one of her de Créquy nieces. See further Chapter One, p. 39.
[44] As discussed in Chapter Three, pp. 151–5.
[45] Wingfield, 'Manuscript and Print Contexts', p. 298.
[46] Patrick Cadell, 'Dalrymple, Sir David, third baronet, Lord Hailes (1726–1792), judge and historian', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7046 [Accessed 11th June 2019].

Hailes was also a keen historian of Scotland, publishing his acclaimed *Annals of Scotland* in two volumes in 1776 and 1779,[47] and was also 'widely esteemed as a literary critic';[48] his clear interest in Older Scots literature was signalled by the publication, in 1770, of his *Ancient Scottish Poems*, an edited collection of poems from the Bannatyne Manuscript for which Hailes had also composed a preface and glossary. It is little wonder, then, that he would have been keen to acquire MS Advocates' 19.2.5, although it is not known how or where Hailes acquired the manuscript.

Although the manuscript was still at Newhailes in 1801[49], it was present in the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh by 26th January 1813, as is evidenced in a letter of the same date sent by Henry Weber (1783–1818) to Sir Samuel Egerton Bryges (1762–1837) of Kent, in which Weber remarked on the presence of the manuscript in the Advocates Library. Both of these men had literary connections: Weber was Sir Walter Scott's amanuensis and secretary between 1807 and 1814, while Bryges was a founding member of the Roxburghe Club, a bibliophilic society which was set up following the sale, in 1812, of the vast library of John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe.[50] MS Advocates' remained in the library of the Faculty of Advocates until 1925, when the majority of the library's contents were transferred to the ownership of the National Library of Scotland.

[47] Cadell (2004).
[48] Cadell (2004).
[49] *The Complaynt of Scotland*, ed. Leyden, p. 238.
[50] Notably, Roxburghe's library also contained one of the witnesses of *Cleriadus et Meliadice*: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 1002. See further Chapter One, p. 38.

The Language of MS Advocates'

As the sole surviving witness of *Clariodus*, examining the language of MS Advocates' is essential to further advancing our understanding of the manuscript and the contexts of its production. The final section of this chapter offers, firstly, an outline of the main linguistic features of MS Advocates', and secondly, a brief discussion of what is undoubtedly the most noticeable linguistic feature present in the manuscript: the considerable degree of anglicisation which its text of *Clariodus* now exhibits.

It should be noted that the outline of linguistic features below does not usually does not usually make any distinction between authorial usage and scribal usage. As we shall see, it is extraordinarily difficult to extricate the linguistic usage of the *Clariodus*-poet from that of its previous scribes and the scribe of MS Advocates'. This task is made all the more complex by the impossibility of comparing MS Advocates' to another witness of *Clariodus*, since one does not exist. I have excluded a list of rhymes in MS Advocate's from the outline below, since F. J. Curtis' comprehensive study of the rhymes in *Clariodus* remains a useful resource despite its age.[51] I do, however, discuss select examples of rhymes in my discussion of the anglicisation present within the manuscript.

Outline of Linguistic Features in MS Advocates'

Spellings and sounds

<v>, <u> and <w> are interchangeable throughout MS Advocates', mapping onto a range of sound-equivalents, and <v> and <w> are generally to be found in word-initial position e.g. *woyage* (IV, 2); *Wndantounit* (I, 70), although examples of this interchangeability also appear in medial position e.g. *trevmph* (I, 1571), *twik* (II, 969).

[51] Curtis (1894).

<y> and <ȝ> The scribe of MS Advocates' always uses <ȝ> to represent the sound /j/, for example in the second person pronouns *ȝe* and *ȝow*. Consequently, where word-initial <y> appears, it represents the phoneme /θ/ and is symbolised by the grapheme <th>.

<i> and <j> There are no examples of <j> being used in MS Advocates'; the two forms were not differentiated in Older Scots before the seventeenth century,[52] so <i> always signifies word-initial [ʒ].

Accidence

1.1. Articles

Definite article *the*, also spelled *ye* e.g. *ye praise to haue* (I, 814)

Indefinite article *ane*, which appears before consonants e.g. *ane crounit king* (I, 1530); *ane banquit* (II, 1831), but can also appear before vowels e.g. *ane awfull syre* (I, 6), especially in the phrase *ane of* e.g. IV, 1507

Demonstratives**:** *thir* (I, 66), *this* (I, 1483)

1.2. Pronouns

1st person: *I*; *me*; *my*; *we*, *ws* (=*us*) us, our

2nd person**:** *ȝe*; *ȝow*; *ȝour*; *ȝouris*. Word-initial <y> is never used.

3rd person: masculine: *he*, *him*, *his*; feminine: *scho, hir* neuter: *it*; plural: *thai, thaim, their*, *thair* (I, 65; more frequent than *thair*), *thay* (I, 47, more frequent than *they*)

Relative and interrogative pronouns: Scots forms *quhilk*, *quhilke*, *quhilkis*, *quha*, *quhom*, *quhais*; English forms *whilk(e)*, *what*, *whom*

[52] *DOST, J, n.*

1.3. Nouns

Plurals By far the most common method of indicating the plural form of a noun is the suffix is –*is*, one of the major identifying features of Older Scots grammar; e.g. *fellowis* (I, 9); often, the inflection –*s* can be found, most frequently in *knichts* (I, 791). Other examples include *tydings* (V, 2914). Another notable feature is the use of two noun plurals next to one another, as in the phrase *princis chappellis* (V, 1612). Possessive plurals are also usually indicated either with the suffix –*is* e.g. *hir madinis* (II, 1040); *ane michtie kingis dochter* (III, 2377); where this does not occur, the suffix -*s* is used, e.g. *the kings eare* (I, 1367).

1.4. Adjectives

Adjectives in MS Advocates' follow the usual form of Older Scots in that they do not follow a system of declension. An extremely prominent feature of MS Advocates' is the amount of Latin-derived adjectives, arising from the *Clariodus*-poet's frequent use of the 'aureate style'; for further discussion, see Chapter Two, pp. 102–13**.** Examples of Latinate adjectives include *armipotent* (I, 4); *lucent* (I, 20); *diurnall* (V, 3006); *noxiall* (V, 3008).

1.5. Verbs

Present tense The most common form of present-tense verbs end in the suffix –*is*, e.g. *joynis* (II, 21); the anglicised form -*es* appears for example in *receaves* (II, 87).

Preterite tense The usual form of the weak preterite verb in Older Scots is –*it*, and this is no different in MS Advocates'. Examples include *ascendit* (I, 18); *speirit* (II, 1024); *amendit* (IV, 1465). There are at least two examples of the form –*et* being used as the

suffix instead: *aprochet* (III, 34); *mariet* (IV, 2810). Strong preterites usually take more varied forms and appear with less frequency than the weak –*it* forms, but there are still some examples such as *buir* (I, 10); *clave* (I, 48); *drave* (II, 1018); *smot* (II, 998); *song* (V, 1613).

Present Participle The usual Older Scots form of the present participle, marked by the suffix –*and*, appears in the following: *speikand* (I, 842); *beseikand* (III, 89); *makand* (V, 2919). There are also a number of examples of the suffix –*ing* being used to form the present participle, which Jeremy Smith notes is an 'apparently anglicised form … occasionally found in high-style verse'.[53] As discussed below, this is a key phenomenon of MS Advocates', which includes a great many examples of this feature, e.g. *beholding* (I, 15); *inclining* (V, 30); *gaiping* (V, 1596).

Past participle As with the preterite tense in Older Scots, the usual ending for past participles in Older Scots is –*it*, although the form –*in* is also used in *Clariodus*, albeit more rarely, as in: *fundin* (III, 2418), *cumin* (V, 1915).

1.6 Adverbs

Following the usual usage for Older Scots, adverbs are generally signalled in *Clariodus* by –*ly*, -*like* and –*lie*, as demonstrated by the following: *furiouslie* (I, 69); *michtie* (II, 25); *courteslie* (III, 1301); *hartlie* (III, 1278); *petiously* (I, 97); *reverently* (II, 1845); *heartfully* (II, 1884). The –*ly* forms are commonly found in rhyming position and are therefore more likely to be authorial rather than scribal.

[53] Jeremy J. Smith, *Older Scots: A Linguistic Reader* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2012), p. 48.

Discussion: MS Advocates' and Anglicisation

From the brief outline of orthographical and grammatical features of MS Advocates' above, it is obvious that, while the manuscript is clearly of Scottish origin, there are nevertheless a variety of anglicisms which have contributed to the creation of an artificial, literary language that is a blend of English and Scottish forms, in other words, a *mischsprache*.[54] There are likely to be two causes behind this: the first being that the scribal traditions behind MS Advocates' are responsible for the introduction of these English forms, and secondly, that the *Clariodus*-poet himself consciously chose to adopt anglicised language as he composed his romance (discussed below).

The occurrence of this latter phenomenon comes as little surprise when we consider the *Clariodus*-poet's immersion in English poetic traditions. Indeed, Aitken notes that while anglicised forms 'result from an original impetus by Scots poets to … be at one with, imitate and adapt from … the English masters whom they so admired', they also have a functional role in that they provide 'additional rhyming and metrical resources'.[55] Moreover, the mixing of English and Scottish forms in *Clariodus* may have been influenced by the romance's form as a work of courtly verse. Aitken observes that courtly verse is 'literary and fairly slavishly derivative from earlier exemplars … especially in southern English', going on to highlight that this kind of verse is 'by intention unvernacular, deriving from literary rather than spoken tradition, directed

[54] Literally 'mixed language', defined by Benskin and Laing as a language in which the defining characteristic is 'the persistent co-occurrence of dialect forms whose regional distributions are such that their geographical overlap cannot reasonably be supposed'. See Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English', in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55–106 (p. 76).
[55] A. J. Aitken, 'The Language of Older Scots Poetry', in *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue: Studies in the Language and Literature of Lowland Scotland in honour of David D. Murison*, ed. by J. Derrick McClure (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), pp. 18–49 (p. 31).

towards elegant and ornamental expression free from the banal associations of daily speech'.[56]

Indeed, Curtis' research has shown Aitken's above observations to be true in the case of *Clariodus*. He deduces from his study of the poem's rhymes that, although we 'cannot pronounce with certainty on the dialect of the author of *Clariodus* … we are naturally inclined to suppose that it must have been the literary dialect of Central Scotland, and as a rule the rimes (sic) offer no contradiction to this'.[57] Furthermore, the *Clariodus*-poet substantiates Aitken's proposal that Scots poets utilise both English and Scots forms as a means of increasing their linguistic repertoire; as Curtis illustrates, the Scots poet uses 'whichever suit his rimes best'.[58]

Nevertheless, not all of the anglicised forms present in MS Advocates' can be ascribed solely to the pen of the author, with Curtis suggesting that 'in a previous copy of the existing MS [...] two hands at least must have been at work'.[59] These two or more scribes contributed to the linguistic environment of MS Advocates' in different ways, with Curtis concluding that one of the scribes 'must have been more Scottish than the author',[60] while at least one other previous scribe had a strong 'anglicising tendency'. This 'anglicising' scribe was apparently responsible for copying the poem's last two

---

[56] Aitken, p. 33. Anglicisation is also significant in, *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments. Forms from *Lancelot of the Laik* which show the influence of anglicisation include *atanis*/*atonis*, *ane*/*one*, *tane*/*tone*, as well as the anonymous poet's frequent use of the suffix *-ith* where Scots would show *-it* and *-is*, e.g. in the phrase *The morrow makith soft* (64; *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Gray; see further pp. XXI–XXXI of Gray's edition). Mixed forms from the *Scottish Troy Book* fragments include: *fra*/*from(e)*; *gud*/*good*e; *quhen*/*when*; see Angus McIntosh, 'Some Notes on the Language and Textual Transmission of the *Scottish Troy Book*', in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Angus McIntosh et al. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 237–54 (p. 249); originally published in *Archivum Linguisticum*, n.s., 10 (1979), 1–19

[57] Curtis, pp. 9–10.

[58] Curtis, p. 21.

[59] Curtis, p. 129; see also p. 9.

[60] Curtis, p. 22. An example of the more markedly Scottish scribe's usage is present in the rhyme pair *naine* : *dispone* (III, 1124–5); the author must have originally written the English form *none*.

books,[61] since the Scottish forms - *ocht* and -*cht* are found more frequently in Books I–III of *Clariodus*, while the English forms -*ought*, -*oght* and -*ight* are found more often in Books IV and V.[62]

Since *Clariodus* is a rather lengthy poem, it is to be expected that at some point in its textual transmission it was being copied out by more than one scribe at a time, each making a different copy of the text simultaneously. If we consider that *Clariodus* itself was probably composed in the 1530s with MS Advocates' being produced at the very earliest in the 1550s, this would have resulted in at least a twenty-year gap between the poem's original composition and the form in which it now appears in MS Advocates'. This large gap between the composition of *Clariodus* and its single surviving witness has meant, however, that it is now 'very difficult to distinguish between the orthographies of author and scribe'; moreover, 'there is no approach to consistency on the part of the latter, and we do not know, in fact, through how many hands the copying has gone, before arriving at the form of our MS'.[63]

Despite the difficulty of extricating the *Clariodus*-poet's forms from those introduced through later scribal transmission, there are still some areas of orthography within MS Advocates' which can provide us with some clues as to the author's original usages. A significant example of this involves the third-person singular feminine pronoun *scho* (the Older Scots form) and *she/sche* (the anglicised equivalent). Curtis has

[61] Curtis, p. 25, 99, 129.
[62] Curtis, p. 25. That different sections of the manuscript demonstrate differing levels of anglicisation is, as Wingfield has suggested ('Manuscript and Print Contexts', pp. 296–7), reminiscent of the *Scottish Troy Book* (*STB*). The *STB* survives in the form of two fragments of the text that are present in two witnesses: Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30 (MS K) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 148 (MS Do). Fragment I of the text, contained only in MS K, contains lines 1–596, while different parts of Fragment II survive in MS K (lines 1–1563) and MS Do (lines 1–916 and 1181–3318). In Angus McIntosh's study of these fragments, he suggests that 'in some version of *STB* anterior to [MS] K, the earlier and later portions were written by two different scribes, the first of whom had a much more pronounced tendency to eliminate English forms than the second'. See McIntosh, 'Some Notes on the *Scottish Troy Book*', p. 245.
[63] Curtis, pp. 84–5.

found that in MS Advocates', 'it seems that the author here ... entirely gave up his native pronunciation while the scribes always substituted the Northern *scho* for the author's *sche* or *she*',[64] and moreover that throughout the manuscript 'only *scho* or *schoe* is written, although the majority of the rimes prove the form *sche*'.[65] Indeed, I have found only four examples of rhyme pairs where this is not the case,[66] with most occurring in Book III: *do* : *scho* (III, 820–1); *to* : *scho* (III, 1010–11); and *wo* : *scho* (III, 2254–5), although there is also an instance in Book IV where the pair *so* : *scho* (IV, 1412–3) appears. The table below displays all of the other examples I have found in MS Advocates' where *she/sche* appears in rhyming position, but is written as *scho(e)*. As can be seen, there are no examples of this feature in Books I and II, since *scho(e)* does not appear as a rhyme in either.

Book III	**Book IV**	**Book V**
pitie : scho (830–1)	scho : be (821–2)	cuntrie : scho (564–5)
scho : adversitie (2049–50)	see : schoe (2060–1)	knie : scho (1432–3)
	scho: degrie (2548–9)	be : schoe (1444–5)
		Spaiɜe : scho (1928–9)

Table 1: Examples of where scho(e) *is written for* she/sche *in rhyming position*

This level of anglicisation from the author's pen is quite extreme, even when taking into consideration that this is not an uncommon feature in Older Scots texts. Curtis writes that 'many Middle Scotch texts show both forms *scho* and *sche*, but there are few which have such a preference for the *-e* form as *Clariodus*, and in none is the *-o* form altogether

[64] Curtis, p. 103.
[65] Curtis, p. 103.
[66] Curtis notes that there are only three examples of this feature (p. 103), although he does not give any specific examples from the manuscript here, and neither does he include a list of examples where *scho* appears as a substitute for *sche/she* in rhyme.

absent except in *The Kingis Quair*'. Intriguingly, Curtis suggests that the scribal practice of writing *o* where the author must have written *e* 'shows that this new pronunciation proceeded from the higher classes, poets, courtiers etc'.[67] It might therefore be the case that some of the anglicised features displayed by the *Clariodus*-poet were influenced by his likely status as someone who was familiar with, if not an actual paid member of, the Scottish royal household (as I have proposed in Chapter Three, pp. 157–82).

A final significant example of anglicisation in MS Advocates' is the *Clariodus*-poet's use of English *-ing* in place of Older Scots *-and* in the present participle. The table below, which makes direct use of Curtis' data,[68] demonstrates that the form *-ing* appears with far greater frequency than the form *-and*:

	Book I	**Book II**	**Book III**	**Book IV**	**Book V**	**Total**
No. of times English form *-ing* appears in rhyme position	3	4	11	3	4	**25**
No. of times Scots form *-and* appears in rhyme position	1	1	3	7	2	**14**
No. of times English form *-ing* appears outside of rhyme position	84	111	101	121	91	**508**
No. of times Scots form *-and* appears outside of rhyme position	18	23	16	14	7	**78**

Table 2: Incidences of -and *and* -ing *in the present participle across all books of* Clariodus

[67] Curtis, p. 104.
[68] Curtis, p. 130.

The statistics above underline Curtis' remark that in MS Advocates', Older Scots *-and* has been mostly supplanted by English *-ing*.[69] Most strikingly, the *-ing* form appears outside of the rhyme position with astonishing frequency compared to *-and*. It is also worth highlighting that, unlike forms such as *knicht* and *knight* where the anglicised *-gh* forms are found in the latter two books of *Clariodus*, there is no similar division here; the Scots form *-and* is spread out relatively evenly across all five books, as is the English form *-ing*. While some of the *-ing* forms may have been introduced into MS Advocates' by a scribe prone to writing with a more English orthography, it is likely that a good many of these *-ing* forms (and especially those in the rhyme position) are authorial. Indeed, Curtis notes that the adoption of the *-ing* form is another influence from 'Chaucer and the English poets'.[70] Once again, the anglicised forms of MS Advocates' can be seen as part of a deliberate stylistic choice on the part of the *Clariodus*-poet to align his translation with English poetic traditions, as is so often the case with his other linguistic choices.[71]

This chapter has, of necessity, been heavily based on the work of Wingfield and Curtis respectively in its analysis of the physical properties of MS Advocates' and its most prominent linguistic features, although where possible I have introduced new material into the debate, particularly my proposal that the scribe of MS Advocates' may have suffered from a condition known as 'essential tremor', which could explain the unsteady appearance of his hand for short stints of his copying.

Nevertheless, this chapter has, I hope, suggested some new avenues for further research on the sole surviving manuscript of *Clariodus*. Thanks to the digitisation of the

[69] Curtis, p. 130.
[70] Curtis, p. 130.
[71] See especially Chapter Two, pp. 88–102.

manuscript's watermark by the National Library of Scotland, we now have a starting point for future work on this important and previously unseen aspect of the manuscript. While I have offered a brief comparison between the watermark of MS Advocates' and three other contemporary watermarks which are similar in appearance, in future research it would also be intriguing to see if the most similar watermark to that of MS Advocates', Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive, Pot.106.1, appears in any other early modern Scottish manuscripts, and what connection, if any, that the Bagot family of Staffordshire (on whose papers the 'Pot.106.1' watermark appears) might have had to Scotland.

Concerning the ownership and readership of MS Advocates' itself, I have conducted some preliminary investigations into who the 'Jonet Cuninghame' behind the manuscript's only signature might have been: the two women of that name who I put forward as candidates for the manuscript's signatory both had connections to the Campbell family (as well as, of course, the Cunningham family). Both families were notable in sixteenth-century Scotland for their strong interest in literary matters and love of collecting books, so it may well be the case that either of the Janet Cunninghams could have been the women who signed MS Advocates'. One avenue for further investigation into women of this name in the later sixteenth century could be provided in the legal records held by the National Records of Scotland; it is possible that somewhere amongst this vast collection, more information about this enigmatic lady could be discovered.

In my brief overview of the main linguistic features of MS Advocates', by far the most significant aspect of the manuscript's language was the considerable degree of anglicisation it displays. While some of this anglicisation was no doubt introduced into

the manuscript through the scribal tradition of MS Advocates' and its previous exemplars, the author's own language appears to have been highly influenced by this phenomenon: anglicisation was yet another method by which the *Clariodus*-poet could single out his translation as being written in the 'high style' of courtly literature, and was a clear method of signifying his familiarity with English poetic tradition — not to mention that anglicisation was also closely associated with works produced at the Scottish royal court, once again suggesting that *Clariodus* is not only a romance *about* the court, but that it is also *of* the court. Despite these important conclusions, MS Advocates' (and by extension, the language of *Clariodus* more widely) would still greatly benefit from a more complete linguistic analysis, examining in greater detail features such as the *Clariodus*-poet's borrowings from French, English, and Latin, and updating Curtis' pioneering work on the rhymes of *Clariodus* with reference to the flourishing scholarship on Older Scots linguistics which continues to take place from the latter half of the twentieth century to today. The undertaking of such a task may yet provide more much-needed information about the date of MS Advocates', and perhaps the date of composition for *Clariodus* itself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum, ed. by Sir James Balfour Paul and Thomas Dickinson, 13 vols (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1882–1916)

Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. by R. A. Gauthier, Aristoteles Latinus 26, 1–3 (Leiden: Brill; Brussels: de Brouwer, 1972–4)

—— *Nicomachean Ethics,* in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, Bollingen Series 71, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), II

The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 2nd ser., 14, 16 (Edinburgh and London, 1923–5)

The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568, ed. by W. Tod Ritchie, STS, 2nd ser., 22, 23, 26, 3rd ser., 5, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1928–34)

Barbour, John, *Barbour's Bruce*, ed by. M. P. McDiarmid and J. A. C. Stevenson, STS, 4th ser., 12, 13, 15, 3 vols (Edinburgh,1980–5)

Bellenden, John, *Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books* , ed. by W. A. Craigie, STS, 1st ser., 47, 51, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: 1901, 1903)

—— *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece*, *Translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531*, ed. by R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho, STS, 3rd ser., 10, 15, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1938–41)

Buik of Alexander (‘*Octosyllabic Alexander’*):

The Buik of Alexander, ed. by R. L. Graeme Ritchie, STS, 2nd ser., 12, 17, 21, 25, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1921–9)

Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603, ed. J. Bain et al., 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1898–1969)

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

Clariodus; A Metrical Romance: Printed from a Manuscript of the Sixteenth Century, ed. by David Irving (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1830; repr. New York, NY: AMS Press, 1973)

Cleriadus et Meliadice: Roman en prose du XVe siècle, ed. by Gaston Zink (Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz, 1984)

The Complaynt of Scotland Written in 1548, with a Preliminary Dissertation and Glossary, ed. by J. Leyden (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1801)

*The Complaynt of Scotland (*c*. 1550) by Mr Robert Wedderburn*, ed. by A. M. Stewart, STS, 4th ser., 11 (Edinburgh and London, 1979)

A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have Passed within the Country of Scotland from the Death of King James the Fourth till the Year 1575, ed. by Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, [n. pub], 1833)

Eneados:

Douglas, Gavin, *Virgil’s Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld,* ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, STS, 4th ser., 30, 25, 27, 28, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1957–64)

Douglas, Gavin, *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt, STS, 5th ser., 2, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003)

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

Golagros and Gawane:

The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane, ed. by Ralph Hanna, STS, 5th ser., 7 (Woodbridge, 2008)

Gower, John, *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. G. Macaulay, EETS, e. s., 81–2, 2 vols (London, 1900–1)

Hary's *Wallace*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid, STS, 4th ser., 4, 5, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1968)

Hay, Sir Gilbert, *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript* (1456), ed. by J. H. Stevenson, STS, 1st ser., 44, 62, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1901–14)

—— *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror by Sir Gilbert Hay*, ed. by John Cartwright, STS, 4th ser., 16, 18, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1986–90)

Hay, Sir Gilbert, *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay*, ed. by Jonathan A. Glenn, STS, 4th ser., 21, 5th ser., 4, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1993–2005)

Henryson, Robert, *Robert Henryson: The Poems*, ed. by Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)

Ireland, John, *The Meroure of Wyssdome,* ed. by Charles Macpherson et al., STS, 2nd ser., 19, 4th ser., 2, 19, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1926; Edinburgh, 1965; Aberdeen, 1990)

James I of Scotland, *The Kingis Quair*, ed. by John Norton-Smith (Leiden: Brill, 1981)

Lancelot of the Laik, ed. by Margaret Muriel Gray, STS, 2nd ser., 2 (Edinburgh and London, 1912)

The Lufaris Complaynt:

Kenneth G. Wilson*, 'The Lay of Sorrow* and *The Lufaris Complaynt:* An Edition*', Speculum,* 29, 4 (1954), 708–26 (pp. 719–23 for *The Lufaris Complaynt*)

Lydgate, John, *Lydgate's Troy Book A.D. 1412–20*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS e. s., 97, 103, 106, 126, 4 vols (London 1906–35)

—— *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes,* ed. by Axel Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall, EETS e. s., 108, 125, 2 vols (London, 1911, 1930)

—— *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS, o. s., 192, e.s. 107 (London, 1911–34), II: *The Secular Poems*, EETS o. s. (London, 1934)

—— *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS e. s., 121–4, 4 vols (London, 1924–7)

Lyndsay, Sir David, *The Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, ed. by Douglas Hamer, STS, 3rd ser., 1, 2, 6, 8, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1931–6)

Lindsay of Pitscottie, Robert, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. by Aeneas J. G. Mackay, STS, 1st ser., 42, 43, 60, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1899–1911)

The Maitland Folio Manuscript: Containing Poems by Sir R. Maitland, Dunbar, Douglas, Henryson and Others, ed. by W. A. Craigie, STS, 2nd ser., 7, 20, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1919–27)

Major, John, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland*, ed. and trans. by Archibald Constable (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1892)

Malory, Sir Thomas, *Works*, ed. by Eugène Vinaver, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971)

Ratis Raving and Other Early Scottish Poems on Morals, ed. by R. Girvan, STS, 3rd ser., 11 (Edinburgh and London, 1939)

Rauf Coil3ear:

The Taill of Rauf Coil3ear, ed. by Ralph Hanna, STS, 5th ser., 16 (Woodbridge, 2019)

Rolland, John, *The Seuin Seages*, ed. by George F. Black, STS, 3rd ser., 3 (Edinburgh and London, 1932)

Scott, Walter, *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. by T. F. Henderson, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1902), III

Scottish Troy Book:

Barbour's des schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung: nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges, ed. by C. Horstmann, 2 vols (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1881–2), II, pp. 215–308.

Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances: Florimond of Albany, *Sir Colling the Knycht, King Orphius, Roswall and Lillian*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie, STS, 5th ser., 11 (Woodbridge, 2013)

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. and rev. by W. R. J. Barron (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974; rev. edn 1998)

Sir Tristrem; a Metrical Romance of the Thirteenth Century, by Thomas of Ercildoune, called the Rhymer, ed. by Walter Scott (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co, 1804)

Six Scottish Courtly and Chivalric Poems, including Lyndsay's Squyer Meldrum, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Emily Wingfield, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018)

Stewart of Baldynneis, John, *Poems from John Stewart of Baldynneis from the MS in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, ed. by Thomas Crockett, STS, 2nd ser., 5 (Edinburgh, 1913)

Stewart, William, *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or a Metrical Translation of the History of Hector Boece*, ed. by William B. Turnbull, Rolls Series, 3 vols (London: Longman et al., 1858)

Thompson, T., ed., *A Collection of Inventories and Other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse; and of the Artillery and Munitioun in some of the Royal Castles, 1486–1606* (Edinburgh, 1815)

de Troyes, Chrétien, *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, trans. David Staines (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990)

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, et al., eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280–1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999)

Younge, John, 'The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest daughter of king Henry VIIth to James, king of Scotland: Together with her departure from England, journey into Scotland, her reception and marriage there, and the great feasts held on that account', in *Joannis Leland Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. by Thomas Hearne, 6 vols (London: Benjamin White, 1774), IV, pp. 258–300.

Secondary Sources

Aitken, A. J., 'The Language of Older Scots Poetry', in *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue: Studies in the Language and Literature of Lowland Scotland in honour of David D.*

Murison, ed. by J. Derrick McClure (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), pp. 18–49

Amor, Lidia, 'Diálogos textuales: una comparación entre *Cleriadus et Meliadice* y *Ponthus et Sidoine*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 33 (2008), 55–73

—— 'Droit canon et littérature chevaleresque: l'image du *rex inutilis* dans le roman de *Cleriadus et Meliadice*', *Médiévales*, 57 (2009), 137–50

Archibald, Elizabeth, et al., eds., *Romance Rewritten: The Evolution of Middle English Romance: A Tribute to Helen Cooper* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2018)

Arn, Mary-Jo, 'On Punctuating Medieval Literary Texts', *Text,* 7 (1994), 161–74

Backhouse, Janet, 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by David Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 23–41

Barber, Richard, *The Reign of Chivalry* (Newton Abbot and London, 1980)

Barrois, Jean, *Bibliothèque protypographique ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris, 1830)

Barron, W. R. J., *English Medieval Romance* (Harlow: Longman, 1987)

Bawcutt, Priscilla, 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*: Its Scottish Owners and Inscriptions', *Medium Aevum*, 70, 1 (2001), 80–94

—— 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 14 (2001–2) 1–12

—— '*Sir Lamwell* in Scotland', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 83–93

Beaune, Colette, and Lequain, Élodie, 'Femmes et histoire en France au XVe Siècle: Gabrielle de la Tour et ses contemporaines', *Médiévales*, 38 (2000), 111–36

Benskin, Michael, and Laing, Margaret, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English', in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55–106

Benson, Larry D., *Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1976)

Bentley-Cranch, Dana, and Marshall, Rosalind K., 'Iconography and Literature in the Service of Diplomacy: The Franco-Scottish Alliance, James V and Scotland's Two French Queens, Madeleine of France and Mary of Guise', in *Stewart Style 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James* V, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 273–88

Blake, N. F., *Caxton and his World* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969)

Blakeway, Amy, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015)

Blockmans, Wim, 'Manuscript Acquisition by the Burgundian Court and the Market for Books in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands', in *Art Markets in Europe 1400–1800*, ed. by M. North and D. Ormrod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)

Boffey, Julia, 'Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and the English Printing of Texts Translated from French', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*, ed. by Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 171–83

Briquet, C. M., *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. by A. Stevenson, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968) (also available online via Briquet Online: https://briquet-online.at/ [accessed 22nd September 2022])

British Library, 'Detailed record for Harley 326', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (date unknown), https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7172&CollID=8&NStart=326 [Accessed 7th September 2022].

Broadie, Alexander, 'Mair [Major], John, (*c.* 1467–1550), historian, philosopher and theologian', *ODNB* Online (2011), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17843 [Accessed 16th July 2015]

Brown-Grant, Rosalind, *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality and Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Burke Severs, J., et al. eds., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, 11 vols to date (New Haven, CT and London: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967–ongoing), *Fascicule I: Romances*, ed. by J. Burke Severs (1967).

Cadell, Patrick, 'Dalrymple, Sir David, third baronet, Lord Hailes (1726–1792), judge and historian', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7046 [Accessed 11th June 2019]

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

Callus, Daniel. A., 'The Date of Grosseteste's Translations and Commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius and the *Nicomachean Ethics*', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 14 (1947), 186–209

Campbell, Thomas P., *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007)

Carpenter, Sarah, 'Plays and Playcoats: A Courtly Interlude Tradition in Scotland?', *Comparative Drama*, 46, 4 (2012), 475–96

Cartwright, John, 'Sir Gilbert Hay and the Alexander Tradition', in *Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. by Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher, Scottish Studies, 4 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1986), pp. 229–38

Caughey, Anna, 'The Female Gaze in Late-Medieval Scottish Romance', in *Medieval Romance and Material Culture*, ed. by Nicholas Perkins (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 91–110

Colombo Timelli, Maria, 'Un manuscrit inconnu de *Cleriadus et Meliadice*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II. 109', in *L'écrit et le manuscrit à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 67–85

Cooper, Helen, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

—— 'Prose Romances', in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 215–30

Copeland, Rita, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Coutts, Winifred, 'Wife and Widow: The Evidence of Testaments and Marriage Contracts *c*. 1600', in *Women in Scotland* c*. 1100*–c*. 1750*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen Meikle (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 176–86

Cummins, John, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988)

Curtis, Francis John, *An Investigation of the Rimes and Phonology of the Middle-Scotch Romance* Clariodus (Halle: [n. pub], 1894)

Dawson, Jane, 'Campbell, Archibald, fifth earl of Argyll (1538–1573)', *ODNB* Online (2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4470 [Accessed 8th November 2019]

Dod, Bernard G., 'Aristoteles Latinus', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100–1600*, ed. by Norman Kretzmann et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 45–79

Doutrepont, Georges, *La Littérature Française á la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne: Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire* (Paris: Champion, 1909)

Ebin, Lois A., 'Boethius, Chaucer, and *The Kingis Quair*', *Philological Quarterly*, 53, 3 (1974), 321–41

—— *Illuminator, Makar, Vates: Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988)

Edington, Carol, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486–1555)* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1994)

Edlich-Muth, Miriam, ed., *Medieval Romances Across European Borders* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018)

Edwards, A. S. G., 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance', in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L.A.J.R Houwen et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), pp. 61–73

—— ed., *Medieval Romance, Arthurian Literature: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Archibald* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2021)

Emond, Ken, *The Minority of James V: Scotland in Europe, 1513–1528* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2019)

Jennifer Fellows, 'Editing Middle English Romances', in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. by Maldwyn Mills et al. (Cambridge: D S Brewer, 1991), pp. 5–16.

Ferlampin-Acher, Christine, 'Féerie et idylles: des amours contrariées', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 20 (2010), 29–41

Finkelstein, Richard, 'Amplification in William Dunbar's Aureate Poetry', *SLJ*, 13, 2 (1986), 5–15

Finlayson, John, 'Definitions of Middle English Romance', *The Chaucer Review*, 15, 1 (1980), 44–62 and *The Chaucer Review*, 15, 2 (1980), 168–81

Flannery, Mary C., *John Lydgate and the Poetics of Fame* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012)

Flood, Victoria, and Megan G. Leitch, eds., *Cultural Translations in Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2022)

Fox, Denton, 'The Scottish Chaucerians', in *Chaucer and Chaucerians*, ed. by D. S. Brewer (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966), pp. 164–200

—— '*DOST* and Evidence for Authorship: Some Poems Connected with *Ratis Raving*', in *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language Presented to A. J. Aitken*, ed. by Caroline Macafee and Iseabail Macleod (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp. 96–105

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

Furrow, Melissa, *Expectations of Romance: The Reception of a Genre in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009)

Galderisi, Claudio, '*Cleriadus et Meliadice*: une chronique de motifs littéraires du Moyen Âge', *Vives Letrres*, 8 (1999), 85–97

Gilbert, John M., *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979)

Giles, Pamela, 'Margaret Cunningham and the Recourse of Writing', in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567–1625*, ed. by David J. Parkinson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 193–208

Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive Online:
https://www.gravell.org/ [Accessed 22nd September 2022]

Grinberg, Henry, 'The *Three Kings' Sons* and *Les Trois Fils de Rois*: Manuscript and Textual Filiation in an Anglo-Burgundian Romance', *Romance Philology*, 28, 4 (1975), 521–9

Guddat-Figge, Gisela, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: W. Fink, 1976)

Hadley Williams, Janet, 'David Lyndsay and the Making of King James V', in *Stewart Style 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 201–26

—— 'James V as Literary Patron', in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650*, ed. by Martin Gosman et al., 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2003), I, pp. 173–98

Hardouin, Pierre, 'Twelve Well-Known Positive Organs: Useful Evidence or Difficult Problems?', *Organ Yearbook*, 5 (1974), 20–9

Henderson, T. F., *Scottish Vernacular Literature: A Succinct History* (London: David Nutt, 1898)

Higgitt, John, ed., *Scottish Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 12 (London: British Library, 2006)

Jefferson, Bernard L., *Chaucer and the Consolation of Boethius* (New York: Gordian Press, 1968)

Kaeuper, Richard W., *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Keen, Maurice, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1984; 2005)

Kekewich, Margaret, 'Edward IV, William Caxton and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', *Modern Language Review*, 66, 3 (1971), 481–87

Kipling, Gordon, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague, Netherlands: Leiden University Press, 1977)

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

Krueger, Roberta L., 'Questions of Gender in Old French Courtly Romance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 132–49

Lawton, David, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', *ELH*, 54, 4 (1987), 761–99

Lyall, R. J. 'Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland', *SLJ*, 3 (1976), 5–29

—— 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland', in *Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by J. D. McClure and M. R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 33–47

—— 'Materials: The Paper Revolution', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. by J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 11–29

MacDonald, A. A., 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in *Stewart Style 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James* V, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp. 178–200

Macdougall, Norman, *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997)

—— *James III* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2009)

McIntosh, Angus, 'Is Sir Tristrem an English or a Scottish Poem?', in *In Other Words: Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation and Lexicology presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by J. L. MacKenzie and R. Todd (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications, 1989), pp. 85–95

—— 'Some Notes on the Language and Textual Transmission of the *Scottish Troy Book*', in *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Angus McIntosh et al. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 237–54; originally published in *Archivum Linguisticum*, n.s., 10 (1979), 1–19

MacQueen, John, 'Tradition and the Interpretation of *The Kingis Quair*', *The Review of English Studies*, 12, 46 (1961), 117–31

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

—— '*Clariodus* and the Translation of Dynastic Ideology', *Viator*, 44, 3 (2013), 397–409

Manley, K. A., 'Brydges, Sir (Samuel) Egerton, first baronet, styled thirteenth Baron Chandos (1762–1837), writer and genealogist', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3809 [Accessed 11th June 2019]

Mapstone, Sally, 'Was There a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?', *SSL*, 26, 1 (1991), 410–22

—— 'The Scots, The French, and the English: an Arthurian Episode', in *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature,* ed. by Graham Caie et al. (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 129–44

—— 'Older Scots Literature of the Court', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume 1: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy and Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 273–85

—— 'Editing Older Scots Texts' in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 311–25

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

—— 'Responses to the Frame Narrative of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Scottish Literature', *The Review of English Studies* 60, 246 (2009) 561–77

Mason, Roger, *Kingship and Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998)

Mayer Brown, Howard, '*Cleriadus et Meliadice*: A Fifteenth-Century Manual for Courtly Behaviour', in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by*

the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University 23–24 March 1990, ed. by Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, NJ: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1993), pp. 215–228

Mendenhall, John Cooper, *Aureate Terms: A Study in the Literary Diction of the Fifteenth Century* (Lancaster, PA: Wickersham Printing Company, 1919)

Meyer-Lee, Robert J., 'Lydgate's Laureate Pose', in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England*, ed. by Larry Scanlon and James Simpson (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 36–60

Minnis, Alistair, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

Morse, Ruth, 'Historical Fiction in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy', *The Modern Language Review*, 75, 1 (1980), 48–64

Murray, Kylie, 'Books Beyond the Borders: Fresh Findings on Boethius' Transmission in Earlier Medieval Scotland', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2015), 7–43

Murton, Megan, 'Praying with Boethius in *Troilus and Criseyde*', *The Chaucer Review*, 49, 3 (2015), 294–319

Nederman, Cary J., 'Aristotelian Ethics before the *Nicomachean Ethics*: Alternate Sources of Aristotle's Concept of Virtue in the Twelfth Century', in Cary J. Nederman, *Medieval Aristotelianism and its Limits: Classical Traditions in Moral and Political Philosophy, 12th–15th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1997), pp. 55–75.

Nichols, Pierrepont H., 'Lydgate's Influence on the Aureate Terms of the Scottish Chaucerians', *PMLA*, 47, 2 (1932), 516–522

Nolan, Maura, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Otis-Cour, Leah, ‘Mariage d'amour, charité et société dans les ‘romans de couple’ médiévaux’, *Le Moyen Age*, 111, 2 (2005) 275–91

Parkes, M. B., *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016)

Pearsall, Derek, *John Lydgate* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970)

—— *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977)

—— ‘Theory and Practice in Middle English Editing’, *Text*, 7 (1994), 107–26

Peppers, Emily, ‘Moving Music: Travelling Musicians and the Introduction of the Viol into James V’s Scotland’, *eSharp*, 4 (2005), 1–9

Perkins, Nicholas, ed., *Medieval Romance and Material Culture* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015)

Perry, R. D., Lydgate’s Virtual Coteries: Chaucer’s Family and Gower’s Pacifism in the Fifteenth Century’, *Speculum*, 93, 3 (2018), 669–98

Piccard Watermark Collection Online:
https://www.piccard-online.de/struktur.php?sprache=en
[Accessed 22nd September 2022]

Purdie, Rhiannon, ‘Clariodus and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance in Later Medieval Scotland’, *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 38, 4 (2002), 449–61

—— ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’, in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 165–77

Robinson, Olivia, 'In The Forest Of Long Waiting: Charles D'Orléans and The *Querelle De La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*', *Medium Aevum*, 87, 1 (2018), 81–105

Rollier-Paulian, Catherine, 'L'Errance du couple noble: évolution d'un outil didactique dans le roman du XIVe au XVe siècle (l'exemple de *Cleriadus et Meliadice*)', in *Du Roman Courtois au Roman Baroque*, ed. by Emmanuel Bury and Francine Mora (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2004), pp. 267–77

Rooney, Anne, 'The Hunts in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. by Derek Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 157–64

Ross, Charles, *Edward IV* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997)

Ross, Sir David, *Aristotle*, 6th edn (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), p. 16.

Ross, Margaret Clunies, and Amanda J. Collins, 'Weber, Henry William (1783–1818), literary scholar and secretary', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28937 [Accessed 11th June 2019]

Royan, Nicola, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in *The Rose and The Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1998), pp. 136–57

—— 'Boece [Boethius], Hector (*c*. 1465–1536), historian and college head', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2760 [Accessed 17th July 2015]

—— 'Bellenden [Bannatyne], John (*c*. 1495–1545x8), poet and translator', *ODNB* Online (2006), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2045 [Accessed 17th July 2015]

Sanderson, Joyce M., 'Two Stewarts of the Sixteenth Century: Mr. William Stewart, Poet, and William Stewart, Elder, Depute Clerk of Edinburgh', *The Stewarts*, 17 (1984), 25–46

Sanderson, Margaret H. B., 'Cunningham, Alexander, fourth earl of Glencairn (d. 1574/5), nobleman', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6913 [Accessed 8th November 2019]

Santini, Monica, *The Impetus of Amateur Scholarship: Discussing and Editing Medieval Romances in Late-Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010)

Saunders, Corinne J., *The Forest of Medieval Romance: Avernus, Broceliande, Arden* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993)

Scanlon, Larry, and Simpson, James, eds., *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006)

Scott, Margaret, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London: British Library Publishing, 2007)

Scott, W. W., 'Lindsay, Robert, of Pitscottie (*c*. 1532–*c*. 1586), historian', *ODNB* Online (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16715 [Accessed 19th April 2018]

Scottish Text Society website: http://www.scottishtextsociety.org/ [Accessed 24th March 2015]

Simpson, G. G., *Scottish Handwriting 1150–1650: An Introduction to the Reading of Documents* (Edinburgh: Bratton, 1973)

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

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

Spearing, A. C., *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Sponsler, Claire, *The Queen's Dumbshows: John Lydgate and the Making of Early Theater* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014)

Stevenson, Katie, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006)

Stewart, A. M., 'The Austrian Connection *c*. 1450–1483: Eleonora and the Intertextuality of *Pontus und Sidonia*', in *Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by J. D. McClure and M. R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 129–49

Stroud, Theodore A., 'Boethius' Influence on Chaucer's *Troilus*', *Modern Philology*, 49, 1 (1951), 1–9

Summary catalogue description of NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 (printed):

A Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1971)

Summary catalogue description of NLS, MS Advocates' 19.2.5 (online):

http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/15300#summary [Accessed 24th May 2018]

Sweet, William, 'The Scottish Lydgateans', in *Standing in the Shadow of the Master? Chaucerian Influences and Interpretations*, ed. by Kathleen A. Bishop (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 28–45

—— 'Lydgate Manuscripts and Prints in Late Medieval Scotland', in *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600*, ed. by Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 141–159

—— 'The 'Vther Quair' as the *Troy Book*: The Influence of Lydgate on Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*', in *Premodern Scotland: Literature and Governance*

1420–1587, ed. by Joanna Martin and Emily Wingfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 57–73.

Szkilnik, Michelle, 'A Pacifist Utopia: *Cleriadus et Meliadice*', in *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, ed. by Denise N. Baker (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 221–35

Thomas, Andrea, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005)

Thorpe, Deborah E., and Jane E. Alty, 'What type of tremor did the medieval 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' have?', *Brain*, 138, 10 (2015), 3123–27

Thurley, Simon, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460–1547* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1993)

Wakelin, Daniel, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Warren, Michelle R., 'Translation', in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 51–67

Whetter, K. S., *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)

—— *The Manuscript and Meaning of Malory's Morte Darthur: Rubrication, Commemoration, Memorialization* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017)

Whiting, B. J., 'Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from Scottish Writings before 1600: Part One, A–L', *Medieval Studies*, 11 (1949), 123–205 and 'Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings from Scottish Writings before 1600: Part Two, M–Y', *Medieval Studies*, 13 (1951) 87–164

Wieland, George, 'The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's *Ethics*', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600*, ed. by Norman Kretzmann et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 657–72

Wijsman, Hanno, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010)

Wilson, R. M., *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Meuthen & Co., 1970)

Wingfield, Emily, '"And He, That Did it Out of French Translait": *Cleriadus* in France, England and Scotland, *c.* 1440–1550', *Neophilologus*, 94 (2011), 649–60

—— '"Ex libris domini Duncani Campbell de Glenwrquhay/miles": *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* in the household of Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh laird of Glenorchy', in *Medieval Romance, Medieval Contexts*, ed. by Rhiannon Purdie and Michael Cichon (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 161–74

—— 'The Composition and Revision of Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 57 (2013), 247–86

—— 'The Thewis off Gudwomen: Female Advice in *Lancelot of the Laik* and *The Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*', in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 85–96

—— 'Towards an Edition of the Scottish Troy Book', in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013)

—— 'Intertextuality in the Older Scots *Clariodus* and its manuscript', *Archiv*, 251, 1 (2014), 53–68

—— *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014)

—— '*Lancelot of the Laik* and the Literary Manuscript Miscellany in Fifteenth-and Sixteenth-century Scotland', in *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu, Proceedings of the British Academy, 201 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 209–30

Winn, Mary Beth, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997)

Wormald, Jenny, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent 1442–1603* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985)

Unpublished Theses

Caughey, Anna, 'Representations of Knighthood in Late Medieval Scotland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2010)

Chapman, Robert L., 'An Edition of the Middle Scots Romance Clariodus' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1952)

Mapstone, Sally, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450–1500' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1986)

Saldanha, Kathryn, 'Studies in Medieval Scottish Historical Romance: An Examination of John Barbour's *Bruce*, Hary's *Wallace*, the Octosyllabic *Buik of King Alexander*, and the Decasyllabic *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2000)

Sweet, William, 'Lydgate and Scottish Lydgateans' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2009)

Wingfield, Emily, ‘The Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance’ (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2010)