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## CHAPTER 22

### SCOTS POETRY

WILLY MALEY and THEO VAN HEIJNSBERGEN

This chapter discusses sixteenth-century literature in Scots. Older Scots—subdivided into Early Scots (1375–1450) and Middle Scots (1450–1700)—was a late arrival among European literary vernaculars, still relatively close to English.<sup>1</sup> This may tempt one to apply the same critical parameters to their literatures—invariably, those derived from the study of texts from England. While these two literatures share features and influences, such a critical model overlooks much of what is distinctive and attractive about writing in Scots. The challenge is to allow Older Scots verse to speak its own language and create its own poetic sensibilities, literary conventions and critical categories.

Older Scots literary evidence suggests we should think not in terms of progress from medieval to modern but rather map texts onto parallel trajectories of key concepts (such as rational and affective; Scots and English; or indeed medieval and early modern) that cut across chronological boundaries, with authors and audiences moving between such juxtaposed modes. A similar continuum characterizes the social sphere: in Scotland, a relatively cash-strapped monarchy made access to the sovereign easier than in most other national courts. Meanwhile, urban architecture in Edinburgh—expanding upwards rather than sideways because the town was built on a volcanic ridge within a cramped urban space—forced those in more affluent accommodation at the top of tenement buildings to share

turnpike staircases and social spaces with less well-heeled people living nearer to the noises and smells of the street. William Dunbar, a court-connected poet and priest—all known references to him are between 1500 and 1513, his earliest datable poem is from 1503, with all textual witnesses dating from the sixteenth century—knows the hustle and bustle of town life:

May nane* pas throw your principall gaittis*,	<i>no one; gates</i>
For stink of haddockis and of scattis*,	<i>skate (fish)</i>
For cryis of carlingis* and debaittis,	<i>old women</i>
For *feusum flyttingis* of defame.	<i>foul-mouthed quarrelling</i>
Think ye not schame,	
Befoir* strangeris of all estaittis,	<i>In front of</i>
That sic* dishonour hurt your name?	<i>such</i>

(‘Quhy (‘Why’) will ye, merchantis of renoun’, 8–14; Dunbar, 1. 174)

The stanza-initial aaa-rhymes are robust, the shorter fifth lines create conversational effects and, as internal refrains, provide a marked leitmotif, its variations in later stanzas purposefully shifting meaning. These are formal hallmarks of sixteenth-century Scots verse, creating the illusion of dynamic, three-dimensional utterance particularly effective also in verse drama, as witness the many different stanza-forms used in David Lyndsay’s *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (c 1552), early modern Scots’ outstanding play. They allowed poets to range widely and with confidence across literary modes and subjects, grounding a young vernacular whose performative energy frequently allows modern readers to grasp its meaning by sounding out the words.

Such a performative poetics centres on the artful creation of spontaneity, a Scots *sprezzatura* that captures the everyday in the formal and collapses the boundaries between art and life, between social *strata*, between individuals. What is often belittled turns positive: formal experiment enhancing rather than hindering expression, the proverbial as a structural attribute of both content and style, the guttural and alliterative as purposeful phonaesthetics, the rapid oscillation between different styles within one text not regrettable lapses but the stuff of life, of language, and of full-blooded literary expression owned by its speakers.

Thus, Dunbar's verse moves without any self-consciousness from Edinburgh street life to aureate religious discourse:

Hale, \*sterne superne\*, hale, in eterne     *star on high*  
 In Godis sicht to schyne,  
 Lucerne\* in derne\* for to discernne,     *Lamp; darkness*  
 Be\* glory and grace devyne.     *By means of*

(‘Ane Ballat of Our Lady’, 1–4; Dunbar, 1. 83)

Part of a poetics almost high on itself, such a parallel delight in language and devotion transcends the everyday in such a way that language *becomes* devotion, making expressive what might seem excessive. Style *is* content here, a late-medieval sublime rivalling the transcendence other lyrics sought in the amatory.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, this churchman's allegorical description of the arrival on his literary shores of the goddess of love and her ladies is conventional, yet conveys a young vernacular's freshness akin to the realistic details in illuminated manuscripts, classical goddesses morphing into native supernatural creatures:

Als* fresch as flouris* that in May vp spreadis*,	<i>As; flowers; unfold</i>
In kirtillis* grene, withoutyn kell* or bandis*.	<i>gowns; cap; headbands</i>
Thair brycht hairis hang gleting* on the strandis*,	<i>gleaming; shores</i>
In tressis clere wyppit* wyth goldyn thredis*,	<i>bound about; threads</i>
With *pappis quhite* and mydlis* small as wandis*.	<i>white breasts; waists; sticks</i>

(*The Goldyn Targe*, 59–63; Dunbar 1. 186)

Such enchanting embodiment is not merely decorative. On plot-level it anticipates the danger of sexual attraction, but on another level it draws attention to the treacherous potential of language, its allure leading to temptation. The poem's final line likewise expresses a conventional modesty topos, the fear of seeing the 'light', of being read: 'Wele ('Duly') aucht thou be aferit ('afraid') of the licht'. But the undercurrent here flows the other way, warning readers against the radiance of language and imagery.

This paradox of admonishing us, in sensuous images and resplendent language, to distrust sensuousness and language is a key Older Scots *topos*, reflecting the fact that in Scottish writing churchmen and men of learning, rather than courtiers, dominated discussions on the nature and uses of language. To Dunbar the erotic never becomes a gateway towards knowledge. Beyond allegorical visions such as *The Goldyn Targe* and a small number of perfunctory amatory stanzas, Dunbar represents a Scots poetic tradition light on love lyric until then. An observer rather than a participant, he writes *about* love, excelling especially in the satirical mode. The scandalous diction in his *Tretis of the Tua ('two') Mariit Wemen* finds less patriarchal expression in his *Flyting* with Walter Kennedy, fellow-poet and Gaelic-speaking priest. Flyting is a distinctively Scots genre in which two poets seek to outdo one another in soulful abuse of the other's character, genealogy, language, body. Anything goes

because of a shared poetics between poets in which the realm of language and rhetoric takes precedence over the personal. Dunbar shows considerable respect, even affection, for Kennedy in possibly his best-known lyric, often referred to as ‘The Lament for the Makaris’, where he lists, in a sombre roll-call, Scots poets who have died before him:

Gud maister Walter Kennedy

In poynt of dede\* lysis veraly\*.

*death; in truth, actually*

Gret reuth\* it wer that so suld\* be:

*pity; should*

*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

*The fear of death distresses me*

(‘I that in heill wes and gladnes’, 89–92; Dunbar, 1.96)

The language and imagery of *Tretis* and *Flyting* are no longer considered unacceptable, though the latter has a modern case to answer in that it exposes one of the red lines of late-medieval patriarchal masculinity: men are castigated not for *acknowledging* sexual desire but for not *controlling* that desire, thereby allowing women (‘passion’) to overpower ‘reason’. An additional cause of modern unease is ‘body-shaming’ that involves race: Dunbar’s ‘Lang heff I maed (‘composed verse’) of ladyes quhytt (‘white’), with its refrain, ‘My ladye with the mekle (‘big’) lippis’ (Dunbar, 1. 113) to describe a black female, is now viewed from a postcolonial perspective as bound up with racism and slavery.<sup>3</sup>

On the whole, though, Dunbar’s work evidences Older Scots’ literary distinction. There is a levelling of the socio-cultural playing field, not necessarily through *what* the poems say but rather by *how* they do so, through their linguistic register, rhythms, and metaphors. Dunbar looms large in the small corpus of early Scottish prints, the so-called Chepman and Myllar prints (1507/8), which included the *Targe*, *Tretis*, *Flyting*, and a few shorter Dunbar poems.

This suggests a wider audience alert to such qualities, creating a space in which diction, imagery, and sentiment were shared freely between people from different social layers. The resultant performance of language and social interaction provides alternatives to the kinds of self-fashioning previously associated with royal courts and the literary expression of modern selfhood.

Printing arrived late in Scotland, with the Chepman and Myllar prints, and even then remained a fledgling industry for decades. Between 1510 and 1532, we have evidence of only two prints from a Scottish press—one of them a single leaf, the other a Latin text—and not until 1560 does Scotland produce a steady stream of printed texts. However, looking through a Scottish lens unveils a feature that offsets such a dearth, again one that literary criticism has now identified in England as well: Scots verse continued to rely on manuscript circulation side by side with print, particularly through bulky miscellanies that reveal textual communities enjoying a wide range of texts.<sup>4</sup> Pre-eminent amongst these miscellanies is the Bannatyne Manuscript (1565–8), presently consisting of a ‘Main’ manuscript of 375 double-sided, verse-only folios, and a smaller, partly duplicative manuscript of 27 folios. Its explicit addresses to the reader and its sheer range and unparalleled taxonomy, arranging its alphabetically indexed poems in thematic and generic groupings, suggest it was meant to be used by others. The ‘Book of the Dean of Lismore’ indicates that Gaelic writing, too, used miscellanies to preserve a highly varied repertoire—including texts in Scots and Latin—yet nevertheless, like its Scots counterparts, manifests a coherence because ‘its composers shared a field of literary reference’.<sup>5</sup> The verse miscellany format acted as a resource or even catalyst for a heterogeneous textual community, effectively making a virtue of the absence of a printing press by offering more flexibility for its users: a manuscript is more readily adaptable to individual use than a printed book, and miscellany manuscript verse, through personal references or allusions to experience shared within a community, can develop a more intimate

address than printed material, while generally accommodating a wider range of tones.. Such miscellanies manifest dynamic (inter)textual practices, operating in a socio-cultural context in which numerous Scottish ownership inscriptions adding '*et amicorum*' ('and of friends') to the owner's name instance the humanist habit of circulating books and manuscripts.

Whereas noble (rather than royal) patronage fuels literary activity in the fifteenth century, the epicentre of literature in Scots for most of the sixteenth century lies at the intersection of urban legal and mercantile elites, the landed gentry, churchmen and graduates. This affects style, topics, and authorship. Sixteenth-century Scots lyricists tend not to be aristocrats, such as Wyatt, Surrey, or Sidney, but men of the cloth, lawyer-poets, academics, professional musicians. This leads to diverse kinds of lyrical self-fashioning and to different relationships between author and text, as well as between author and audience. For example, rather than courtiers, Scottish lyricists were often relatively anonymous professional musicians with positions as clerics within the Chapel Royal or as masters of burgh song-schools.

Consequently, the close relationship between lyric and music remains a going concern in Scots literary composition for longer: refrains abound, there is an emphasis on metrical regularity, and imagery and language have to be relatively straightforward. These qualities distinguish the great ballad tradition as much as courtly genres. Difficult to date, these anonymous ballads thrived as popular, oral literature but regularly feature in sixteenth-century literary 'elite' contexts, too, such as 'Johnnie Armstrong', on James V's hanging of this Border reiver in 1530 (Lyle, 39–43). Their patterned technique of storytelling, their emphasis on stark dramatic action, their diction similarly chiselled through time into highly accessible and memorable narrative, their choice of topic often lying within the domestic (the supernatural, family relations) but somehow representative of the universal, their apparent simplicity of form and diction masking tightly organised narrative structures—all these characteristics allowed the Scots ballad to survive into the modern era.



Literary criticism has been slow to acknowledge that other sixteenth-century Scots verse likewise derives its essential qualities from its orality. In a courtly context, too, where court-gravitating English poets such as Wyatt and Sidney strike out for novel, seemingly more autotelic and idiosyncratic modes of self-reference inspired by Italian sources, their Scots counterparts tend to evolve late-medieval home-grown conventions based on French sources, often set to music and continuing to use collective reference points in self-representation. Think poems on love, not love poems; a deeply ingrained view of poetry as rhetorical performance means that the self in Scots lyrics is frequently an effect of judgement rather than impulse. Likewise, think proverb and aphorism, not idiosyncratic imagery; or, *chanson* (French polyphonic song) rather than sonnet—the latter one of many areas in which sixteenth-century Scots writing continues to use French rather than Italian sources. From an Anglo-centred perspective, contrastive pairings such as ‘*chanson* / sonnet’ may initially be interpreted as documenting a lack in Scots writing, but after prolonged, immersive engagement with Older Scots verse one begins to savour its qualities, its sinuous lines often using a ‘knotted’ plain style, generally fitting style to content. At the end of the century, this is how Alexander Montgomerie (c 1550–98) addresses his sovereign, James VI, in a sonnet:

Shir, clenge* your Cuntrie of thir cruell crymis,	<i>cleanse</i>
Adultreis, witchcraftis, incests, sakeles* bluid.	<i>innocent</i>
Delay not, bot (as David did) betymis*	<i>promptly</i>
3our Company of such men soon seclude*.	<i>dissociate</i>
Out with the wicked, garde* you with the gude.	<i>take care of</i>
Of mercy and of Judgment sey* to sing.	<i>try</i>
Quhen* ye suld stryk I *wald ye* understude.	<i>When; would like you to</i>
Quhen ye suld spair* I wish ye were bening.	<i>show leniency</i>

Chuse godly Counsel, leirne to be a King.  
 Beir not thir burthenis\* longer on your bak.      *burdens*  
 Jumpe\* not with justice for no kynd of thing;      *Play*  
 To just Complantis gar\* gude attendance tak.      *cause (a person) to do something*  
 Thir\* bluidy sarks\* cryis always in your eiris\*.      *These; shirts; ears*  
 Prevent the plague that presently appeirs.  
 ('To his Majestie'; Montgomerie l. 103)

This is an altogether different rhetorical universe from that of the Elizabethan or even the Henrician court, with their emphasis on the sonnet as a poem of love. Here, the sonnet is first and foremost a rhetorical construct, a tool to allow the author to practise the language of persuasion in any topic, and as such a genre open to all discourses and tones. In Scots sonnets, language can roam as freely as in Dunbar's *Flyting* or in his exalted religious verse, or sublimate erotic desire, but also fling a Petrarchan heart back to an unresponsive mistress:

Ressave\* this harte vhois\* Constancie wes sik\*      *Receive; whose; such*  
 Quhill\* it wes quick\*, I wot\* ye never kneu\*      *While; alive; know; knew*  
 A harte more treu within a stomak stik\*      *enclosed*  
 Till tym the prik of Jelousie it slue\*,      *slew*  
 Lyk as my heu\* (by deidly signis) furthsheu\*,      *(facial) colour; made known*  
 Suppose\* that feu\* persav'd\* my secret smart.      *Even though; few; perceived*  
 Lo heir the hairt that ye your self ou'rthreu\*.      *conquered, destroyed*  
 Fairweill, adeu, sen death mon\* vs depart\*.      *must; separate*  
 ('The Poets Legacie', 1-8; Montgomerie l. 55)

The internal rhyme scheme (half-lines rhyming with the final word of the preceding line) on top of end rhyme not only showcases the poet's ability but also charges the emotion. In many Scots poems, such energy seeks the effect of language rather than its transcendence. Away from religious writing, sustained sublimation of affective experience did not feature large in Scots verse until the legacy of Petrarch and Sidney manifests itself in William Fowler and Sir William Alexander, from the mid-1580s into the early seventeenth century, even then often framed in godly, moral, or neo-Platonic terms.<sup>6</sup> Observing the rhetorical requirement of fitting style to content means not only that Scots verse foregrounds a middle style that blends Latinate with popular diction to create persuasive eloquence, but also that it accommodates colourful language at both ends of the spectrum, graphic description in *Tretis* and *Flyting* matching the aureate magnificence of religious ecstasy. Scots poets on the whole saw poetry, within a late-medieval and Christian humanist worldview, as serving universal rather than solipsistic ends, seeking to accommodate rather than erase contradictions, in a wider frame of reference.

Such a rhetorically constructed *concordia discors* allowed Scots verse to cultivate a poetics that includes both the scatological and the sublime but upsets popular-Romantic and genteel notions of verse. Poetry is asked to function as a rhetorical, formally tight vehicle that has to accommodate a cacophonous universe full of contrasts and open-ended meanings that at first sight seem mutually exclusive. At its best, this created conceptually challenging, invigorating verse, with a formal tightness that points inward to an engagement not just with the text's meaning but also with its creative process, drawing attention to how poetic language works, as a rhetorical structure. To empower readers to accommodate a wide range of meanings, it was important not just to entertain but also educate them about how to distil meaning from texts, by foregrounding in the poem itself the ways in which text constructs meaning.

The 'middling' background and the affective demand upon the reader of such metafictional Scots writing are linked to one of the key legacies of contemporary Scottish culture: education. At the start of the sixteenth century, Scotland already had three universities (St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen). Moreover, James IV's 1496 Education Act required landowners 'of substance' to send their eldest sons to school until they had sufficient knowledge of Latin and the law to ensure that 'justice may reigne universalie throw all the realme'. This emphasis on education kept Scots abreast of cultural and intellectual developments abroad and also laid the foundations for the relations and understanding between authors and their readers, in relatively close-knit textual communities. Formal training in Latin and rhetoric prioritised the analysis and manipulation of language, resisting the more cathartic expression that we nowadays associate with poetry. Scots referred to poets as 'makars', i.e., 'craftsmen', in line with the origin of the word 'poet' as 'maker', derived from Ancient Greek ποιήσις (poiésis), i.e., 'calling something into existence that was not there before' (Plato, 557, 205b8). Such a view of poetry as craftsmanship has often been presented as a flaw, but Older Scots verse has benefited from the renewed critical appreciation of poetry as a craft, the conscious manipulation of language and its structures rather than divinely inspired vision; in the process, poetry's formal dimensions were also reevaluated. In other words, Older Scots verse has responded well to recent critical currents that study not just the meaning of words but their use, shifting attention from the author to the audience, and defining 'meaning' as a dynamic process between texts or between author, audience, and occasion. Such views of language and meaning pervaded sixteenth-century thought well beyond literature. Studying not just how things and meanings 'were' but rather how they were *made* ultimately made readers aware of contingency, of the nature of history, of (the need to accept) change. A 'rhetorical' view of life in tandem with the emphasis on education and the above-mentioned porous nature of social and cultural categories thus

provided the public sphere in Scotland with particular socio-political dimensions: a focus on ‘the word’ and its manipulation, an interrogative attitude *vis-à-vis* authority, and sometimes quite radical political views. Such roads towards modernity and selfhood differ from their sixteenth-century English equivalents, yet are highly self-aware and more relevant to Enlightenment beginnings.

A related feature is the prevalence of poems dramatising the act of writing and/or reading. They manifest a growing awareness that literature had a history, that it was an evolving, mind-shaping process. It created, transformed. Scots poets here often name Chaucer as a key influence. Poems such as Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid* (1490s?; Henryson died shortly before 1505; oldest extant witness *c* 1515–20, known to most sixteenth-century readers as an anonymous addition to *Troilus and Criseyde* in Thynne’s 1532 edition of Chaucer) instance a creative use of Chaucer, the manner in which it fills a gap in Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* creative invention rather than monochrome imitation. Henryson’s poem implicates readers in this literary process by explicitly asking:

\*Quha wait gif\* all that Chauceir wrait\* was trew?      *Who knows if; wrote*

I wait\* nocht gif\* this narratioun      *know; if*

Be authoreist\*, or fenyeit\* of the new      *authorised; invented*

Be\* sum poeit, throw his inventioun.      *By*

(*The Testament of Cresseid*, 64-7. Henryson, 113)

This is ‘the first use in English of the term *inventioun* ... to apply not to the “finding” of material in existing sources but to a poet’s “making-up” of an untrue story’.<sup>7</sup> Henryson here

anticipates Sidney's use of 'invention' in the opening sonnet of *Astrophil and Stella* as 'the word [that] registers the changes that lend the Renaissance some of its complexity', nudging poetry along from an art that primarily discovers what is present, in past authorities, to one that conceptualizes what is *not* present until the literary text creates it.<sup>8</sup> Sixteenth-century prints acknowledge Henryson's engagement with the gradual progression towards a modern poetics, highlighting how the preceding stanza—often indented in these prints—articulates, in acrostic fashion, a rhetorical address to fiction:

Of his distres *me neidis nocht reheirs*,	<i>I need not give an account</i>
For worthie Chauceir in the samin* buik,	<i>same</i>
In gudelie* termis* and in ioly veirs,	<i>excellent, ample; words</i>
Compylit hes his cairis*, quha* will luik.	<i>Sorrows; who</i>
To brek my sleip ane vther quair* I tuik,	<i>book</i>
In quhilk* I fand* the fatall destenie	<i>which; found</i>
Of fair Cresseid, that endit wretchitlie. (ll. 57–63)	

The poem signals from behind its textual structure that it is reading *us*, and thus our uses of fiction, just as much as *we* are reading the poem.

In the powerful narrative that ensues, Cresseid evolves her original, medieval conception of 'tragedie' (l. 4) as fate caused by some outer agency into a Renaissance one that embraces classical notions of tragedy that instead see one's destiny as linked to individual psyche. Through purgative incidents, Cresseid achieves Aristotelian *catharsis* ('purifyit', l. 17), acknowledging individual agency in one's 'fortune'.

Henryson provides similar challenges in other classical adaptations. In *Orpheus and Eurydice*, as with several of his *Fables*, Henryson leaves a gap between story and subsequent *moralitas*. This forces readers to consider multiple interpretations, until the continuous oscillation between narrative and reflection on that narrative *becomes* the narrative, another quintessentially metafictional move. Henryson's major pieces thus, on the threshold of the sixteenth century, analyse the nature and epistemological status of poetry, questioning whether a contemporary poet could acquire *auctoritas*. Striking at the core of Scottish humanism, Orpheus embodies the poet as civiliser, 'arguably the umbrella concept emerging from sixteenth-century treatises'.<sup>9</sup>

Gavin Douglas, Provost of St Giles' in Edinburgh, later Bishop of Dunkeld, provides the next step in this evolution of a Scots early-modern poetics. In his *Palyce of Honour* (1501), a bumbling Chaucer-derived narrator-persona learns about Classical and medieval literature from a demanding female guide. But Douglas's main claim to fame is *Eneados* (1513), the second complete translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in any European vernacular, complete with Douglas's own prologues to each book. What stands out again is the immediacy of the language, the unselfconscious relish of matching a real world with an imagined world that, like an illusion, breaks the boundary between artifice and reality. *Eneados* was not printed until 1553, *nota bene* in England, but enjoyed wide circulation in manuscript—illustrating the self-sufficiency of manuscript networks in contemporary Scotland. It continues Henryson's engagement with literary 'invention': one manuscript contains Douglas's own annotations, in which he comments on his opening invocation of the muses: 'Musa in Grew ('Greek') signifies an inventryce or invention in our langgage, and of the ix Musis sum thing in my Palyce of Honour and be Mastir Robert Hendirson in New Orpheus' (Douglas 2. 19).

Douglas's insistence that translations stick closely to their sources likewise sounds a modern note, and he lacerates Caxton's adaptation of the *Aeneid* on that score. It also

provides him with an excuse to chastise Chaucer's Dido and present her as a temptress endangering Aeneas's providential destiny of founding Rome. The poet-bishop here accommodates humanist ideas about literature with both classical and religious orthodoxy, foreshortening boundaries between medieval and modern.

Six weeks after Douglas completed *Eneados*, its dedicatee, James IV, led his army into disastrous defeat: the battle of Flodden decimated the ranks of the Scottish nobility and clergy. This allegedly introduced a pattern of stop-start cultural activity, aligned with adult reigns of the Stewart monarchs: James V (1528/9–42), Mary Queen of Scots (1561–7), and James VI (c 1583 until departing for England in 1603).

The reign of James V saw the rise of Sir David Lyndsay (c 1490–c 1555), the country's chief heraldic officer, who wrote in a range of poetic genres, including a 'flyting' with the king, dream vision, political satire, and complaint, before completing *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (performed 1552 and 1554). As herald and ambassador, Lyndsay used his experience of public speech to shape his above-mentioned variety of metre and stanza-form. This also illustrates his knowledgeable reading of earlier Scots verse, the variable line-length of rollicking tail rhyme contrasting effectively with the official, more statuesque 'ballat royal' (*ababbcbc*).

Past criticism often focused on Lyndsay as figurehead of the Scottish Reformation (1560–8), a reputation institutionalised by the printer's preface to the 1568 edition of Lyndsay's *Warkis*. Consequently, for centuries his non-factional concern with matters of commonwealth, the *res publica*, was neglected, as were his aesthetic accomplishments. A re-focused interest particularly in his *Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum* (c 1550; earliest extant witness a 1594 print) is rectifying this. This light-touch heroic romance, topped with a literary testament, commemorates Lyndsay's friend, William Meldrum. It narrates the



change from a more chivalric outlook (the young Meldrum's romance-like journeys and battles) to one in which experience moves the older hero to civic service as a magistrate. Critics disagree whether Lyndsay gently mocks the romance universe or whether the deeper undercurrent is one of nostalgia for lost masculinity, an ambiguity reinforced by the ironic undertone of the appended *Testament*. As with the earlier makars, a poetics of open-endedness and its attendant ambiguities, forcing the reader to engage with the process of attributing meaning by withholding the author's own, is at work here. *Squyer Meldrum* thus draws attention to the sophistication of Scots romance, a genre still written exclusively in verse well into the seventeenth century because poetry was credited with a more ambitious conceptual scope than prose. In this, too, Scottish sixteenth-century poetry continued medieval, humanist conduits.

The next narrative poem that catches the eye is *Roland Furious*, John Stewart of Baldynneis's 'abregement' of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Stewart does more than 'abridge' his notoriously complex source: in his poem's only witness, a three-part manuscript dedicated to James VI, c 1585—thus predating John Harington's translation—*Roland Furious* is followed by a set of lyrical 'rapsodies of the authors youthfull braine', before a religious allegory completes the volume. The pared-down *Roland Furious* and its manuscript context combine to isolate more exclusively Ariosto's emphasis on how passion can deprive one of reason and lead to (self-)destructive 'fury'. As often with Scots texts, a prominent advisory impulse directs the reader to the need for self-governance. It does so by using French intermediaries to redact episodes of the Italian original towards its own purpose, another characteristic Scots feature. Though ultimately deriving from the Italian Renaissance, when transferring meaning from the source into the target culture Stewart's repointing of characters and narrative strands provides a kind of closure that suggests the pressures on the text of more orthodox moral and religious sensibilities.

Within contemporary Scots poetics, self-consciously evolving native cultural practices rather than importing Renaissance ones wholesale is the creative objective, ‘transcreating’ new texts by extending, as Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid* does, the late medieval practice of inflecting sources afresh rather than inventing something entirely first-hand.<sup>10</sup> Continuing the makars’ experiments, Stewart imposes on his source material a Chaucerian as well as humanist desire to explore the nature of reading and writing as means towards moral discernment, while simultaneously engaging with the history of poetry itself. The latter two run along parallel lines, ethics and poetics mutually defining each other: ‘To read sixteenth-century poetry is (...) to learn how the poets themselves understand their art historically. By remembering this simple formula, we discover a view of what the century’s poetry is, how it works, for whom, and toward what ends’.<sup>11</sup> Not until we grasp this can we write a history of sixteenth-century poetry in Britain, and this nexus of the metafictional, the reader-focused, and the moral is manifestly a core defining characteristic of Middle Scots poetry. Moreover, learning to articulate an awareness of such a poetics, students of Older Scots verse become acutely aware of the interpretative models that subsequent literary-critical practices have put between us and sixteenth-century texts, making an Anglo-centric literary-critical tradition no longer the sole measure, nor its evolution self-evident.

The religious teleology of Stewart’s manuscript provides a template for Scots post-Reformation writing more widely. The first major female poet emerges from such a combination of literary self-consciousness within a confessional worldview. Elizabeth Melville was persuaded by her own coterie in Fife to publish her allegorical *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603, though almost certainly composed in the 1590s). This spiritual autobiography demonstrates affective piety rather than firebrand Calvinism. When her recently discovered shorter, more intimate lyrics are better known,<sup>12</sup> this will further emancipate contemporary

Calvinist writing from its fanaticist stereotype, foregrounding instead particularly female religiously inspired seventeenth-century writers such as Lilius Skene.

This draws attention to the growing involvement of women in literary production, not necessarily as writers but as readers, manuscript compilers (Marie Maitland's involvement with the Maitland Quarto, c 1585), or calligraphers (Esther Inglis, 1571–1624), again emerging from cross-sections of family networks of legal, mercantile, and magistrate elites and lairds (the landed gentry) rather than the court. Women's appearance in the cultural dynamic embodies the quest of Scots textual communities trying to evolve public literary voices.

## **Lyrical writing from James V onwards**

The body of medieval Scots lyric is surprisingly small.<sup>13</sup> Dunbar, instanced above, is a singular exception. His vernacular freely synthesizes churchmen's Latin with Chaucerian English and the language of the French *rhétoriciens* to deliver a 'slee' (i.e., intellectually acute, even wily), sappy, subtle, sinuous vernacular. Subsequent lyricists developed a literary Scots exploiting, respectively, Dunbar's emphasis on lyric as something spoken; his awareness of the tension between the spontaneity of colloquial orality and literary artifice; and his exceptional variety in prosody and diction, accommodating brisk changes of tone and matter, and including popular discourse.

James V's two marriages in quick succession to French brides of great political-dynastic calibre heralded a new lyrical era. Madeleine de Valois, daughter of the French king, died shortly after the wedding (1537), but James's next wife, Mary of Guise, outlived her husband

and eventually became Regent of Scotland (1554–60). This French influence gave courtly lyric a new impetus, and where contemporary England experiences the initial impact of Italian sonnets, Scots embrace the French *chanson* and related influences to shape its lyrical personae.<sup>14</sup> French influence continues with Mary Queen of Scots' return from France in 1561 to rule Scotland in person. Events, however, curtailed her literary impact;<sup>15</sup> her personal reign ended in 1567, and, while the Bannatyne Manuscript manifests contemporary interest in literature for courtly occasions, this literature is more often *at* court rather than emanating *from* it, appearing in particular where urban agents overlap with the wider court household.

In the poems on or of love in the fourth section of the Bannatyne Manuscript (its 'buik of lufe'), any foreign influence courses through native veins rather than being filtered through the consciousness of courtiers in the mode of Wyatt or Surrey. Three of the four key contemporary lyricists in this section (Alexander Scott, John Fethy, Alexander Kyd) were employed by burgh song schools, collegiate churches and/or the Chapel Royal. Musical dimensions as well as didactic, clerical and moral rather than idiosyncratic emphases shape their poems. In Bannatyne's 'buik of lufe', courtly poems encounter those that address profane love from different angles, their tones ranging from thoughtful contemplation to misogynist satire. Helena Shire's analysis of what happened in the Scots adaptation of a Marot *chanson* applies to a number of Scottish poems: 'in the French, a suit is pressed in a love-song; in Scots a gesture of love is celebrated (...) the northern poet has carried the piece back into the Middle Ages'.<sup>16</sup> Crucially, as stated earlier, rather than referring to consecutive historical periods 'the medieval' and 'the modern' here represent twin sets of cultural sensibilities operating simultaneously, in the same way that one can still appreciate Beethoven when the Beatles have happened. Refusing to acknowledge this risks not hearing the literature and obscuring how Shire's comment marks an achievement as well as its

limitation, implying the continued Scots *penchant* for polyphonic song, in which clerical and courtly sensibilities combined memorably evoke feeling.

A song by John Fethy illustrates the ‘knotted plain style’ of such poet-musicians, the keynote again provided by a poignant refrain:

First quhen\* I kest my fantasy\*, thair fermly did I stand,      *when; fancy*  
And howpit\* weill that scho\* suld be all hail\* at my command,      *she; wholly*  
Bot suddanly scho did ganestand\* and contrair\* maid debait.      *gainsay; contrarily*  
Cauld\*, cauld culis\* the lufe that kendillis \*our het\*.      *Cold; cools; too hotly*

Hir proper makdome\* so perfyt, hir visage cleir of hew,      *shape, appearance*  
Scho raissis on me sic\* appetite and causis me hir persew.      *such an*  
Allace, scho will nocht on me rew\*, nor gre\* with mine estait.      *take pity; agree*  
Cauld cauld culis the lufe that kendillis our het.

(‘Pansing (‘pondering’) in hairt with spreit opprest’, 22–35; MacQueen, 60)

Somewhere between didactic message and sober reflection on amatory experience, such haunting reminders of love’s anguish readily align with both clerical emphases and Ovidian satire. Such writing straddles the porous borderline between courtly love and remedy of love, easily shading into misogyny. Lyrics that avoid the latter while contributing to the *querelle des femmes* often do so through recourse to universals that frame such poems as a *querelle de l’homme*, gravitating toward the patriarchal—though space remains for relishing the purely physical:

Thou, Cupeid king, rewardit me with this.	
I am thy awin* trew liege without tressone*.	<i>own, natural; disloyalty</i>
Thair levis* no man in moir eis*, welth and blis.	<i>lives; ease, comfort</i>
I knaw no sicing*, sadnes nor yit soun*,	<i>sighing; sound, outcry</i>
Walking*, thocht*, langour, lamentatioun,	<i>Waking; thought, anxiety</i>
...	
My lady, lord, thou gaif me for to hird*,	<i>look after, take care of</i>
Within mine armes I *nureis on* the nycht.	<i>cherish</i>
Kissing, I say: ‘My bab, my tendir bird,	
Sweit maistres, lady luffe and lusty wicht*,	<i>person, creature</i>
Steir*, rewill and gyder of my sensis richt’.	<i>Controller</i>
(‘Up, helsum hairt, thy rutis rais and lowp’, 11–15 and 21–5; MacQueen, 81–2)	

The persona is no longer Dunbar’s ironic bystander but participant in the sexual, expressing amatory joy through subverting the encoded movements of courtly love (sighing, sadness, langour) and through concretising the lady as ‘gyder’ of his senses. What the poem lacks in transcendent sublime it gains by celebrating the transformative effect of the real thing—a frequent *modus operandi* in later Scots lyric, too; we are on our way to Burns here.

Moreover, such (playful, not necessarily satirical) generic parody highlights a crucial feature of sixteenth-century Scots lyric: what we learn about the persona’s heart is expressed in terms of the poet’s metafictional engagement with his art. This aligns with the discussion of Scots narrative verse above, requiring ‘a shift from reading for *the subject of power* to reading for *the intertext of the author*’; it is here we see ‘how a poet contributes to the formation of identity, because in our reading method we attend to the author’s role in the making of the subject’.<sup>17</sup>

The following poem instances an additional twist in the evolution of Scots lyric:

*Richt soir* opprest am I with paines smart	<i>Very painfully</i>
Both night and day makand* my wofull moan	<i>making</i>
To Venus quein, that ladie hes my heart	
Put in so gret distres with wo begone*,	<i>beset, overcome</i>
*Bot gif* that she send me remeid anone*	<i>Unless; immediately</i>
I list* no langer my lyf *till induir*	<i>wish; to endure</i>
Bot to the death bound* cairfull* creatour.	<i>bound, prepared; sorrowful</i>

(‘Richt soir opprest am I with paines smart’, 1–7; Elliott and Shire, 160–1)

Reformers regularly ‘repurposed’ such worldly songs by using their melodies and opening lines but changing subsequent lines towards godly ends. Protestant sensibilities could thus be suggestively conveyed and readily passed on, here by changing the third line to ‘To God for my mysdeid, quhilk (‘who’/‘which’) hes my hart’ and changing ‘she’ into ‘he’ in line 5 (MacDonald, 134). The popular *Gude and Godlie Balllatis* includes many such ‘godlified’ songs. Its oldest extant print dates from 1565 but contains texts going back several decades. Later editions constantly revise earlier content, again indicating the functionality of Scots verse and its attendant (inter)textual practice. The same applies to satirical poems that circulated as polemical broadsheets during the civil conflict (1567–73) after Mary Queen of Scots’ divisive reign. Their tone is partisan, their content, unlike Lyndsay’s *Satyre*, often reduced to their historical moment, but this literature, too, exploits features of earlier Scots verse and stanza-forms, again as part of a continued attempt to craft public literary voices. One voice stands out in particular: ‘Maddie of the Fish/Kail Mercat’, articulating ‘the people’ in demotic fashion (Cranstoun, 2. 33n). In a less centrally controlled public sphere, different

voices prevail in Scots literature compared to its metropolitan counterparts. The conventional notion that it waxed and waned in line with adult monarchs' reigns requires nuancing: Scots poetry continuously adapted to political situation, and we need to (re-)educate ourselves to hear its many voices.

James VI (born 1566) is a key catalyst for the evolution of Scots lyric. His tutor, George Buchanan (arguably Europe's most formidable mid-century neo-Latin poet and playwright), taught James a love of literature and rhetoric, particularly in Latin. Nevertheless, James encouraged Scots poets to use the expressive qualities of the vernacular in literature, as in 'Ane Schort Treatise Containing Some Reulis and Cautelis ('crafty stratagems') to be Observit and Eschewit ('achieved') in Scottis Poesie' in his *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (1584). Pedantic at times, it shows real insights into Scots verse of the past and genuine commitment to its future. In gamely fashion, it discusses metre and prosody; promotes proverbs and alliteration as effective ways of capitalising on linguistic features of Scots; stipulates what is off limits to poets (notably 'materis of commoun weil'), and which stanza form best suits which topic, e.g., *ababbcc* for 'tragicall materis, complaintis or testamentis' and *ababcc* for 'materis of love', reserving the sonnet for 'compendious praysing of any bukes or the authoris thairof or ony argumentis of uther historeis' (Jack and Rozendaal, 468–70). This intervention shows James's humanist grounding, defining the sonnet as a forensic, intellectual rather than affective format. Scotland had ignored the mid-century generation of 'Italianising' sonneteers in England. When Scots sonnets do arrive in numbers in the 1580s, they display a refreshing width of both topic and tone, giving the makars' register full rein. In an Elizabethan context, the Petrarchan scenario of writing to an unattainable 'sovereign' female made sense; in contrast, James VI's court poets write sonnets more as part of homosocial discourse. When Alexander Montgomerie, James's 'maister



poet', thanks the lawyer who lost him a life-defining court case, his sonnet's tenor is neither Petrarchan nor courtly:

A \*Baxters bird\*, a bluitter\* beggar borne,      *baker's boy, upstart; fool, scoundrel*  
Ane ill heud huirson e lyk a barkit hyde,      *a whoreson ill-hued like a tanned hide*  
A \*saulles suinger\* seuintie tymes mensuorne\*, *ignoble rogue; perjured*  
A \*peltrie pultron poyson'd vp\* with pryde,      *worthless wretch envenomed*  
A treuthless tongue that turnes with eviry tyde,  
A double deillar with dissait indeu'd\*,      *endued*  
A \*luiker bak\* vhare he wes bund to byde\*,      *[see Luke 9:62]; stay in place*  
A retrospectien\* vhom the Lord outspeud\*,      *'looker-back'; [see Revelation 3:16]*  
A brybour baird that mekle baill hes breud,      *A vagrant bard who has bred much woe*  
Ane Hypocrit, ane ydill Atheist als\*,      *also*  
A skurvie skybell\* for to be esheu'd\*,      *rogue; avoided*  
A faithles, fekles, fingerless\* and fals      *faithless [see John 20:27]*  
A turk\* that tint\* Tranent\* for the Tolbuith:      *infidel; lost; nearby town (income?)*  
Quha reids this riddill he is sharpe\* forsuith.      *[John Sharp of Houston, his lawyer]*  
(‘Of M. J. Sharpe’, 1–14; Montgomerie 1. 112)

Mixing flyting with faith, scurrility with scripture—Scots lyrical experimentation provides many such surprises, and those raised on an English sonnet diet are required to ‘disremember’ their expectations. Scots sonnets also instance how the argumentative and intellectual predominate in Scots lyric generally, sometimes closer kin to Gaelic than to English writing.

Stanza-form is again instrumental in establishing the distinctiveness of Scots. Where English poets refashioned the usual Italian structure of octave and sestet into a more linear set-up of three quatrains and a couplet (most commonly *ababcdcdefefgg*), Scots poets, guided by James's 'Reulis and Cautelis', evolved a sonnet format of three *interlaced* quatrains, perhaps simply through expanding *ballat royal* (*ababbcbc*), their much-favoured high-style rhyme scheme. This means Scots poets initially favoured *ababbcbccdcdee*, now known as the 'Spenserian' sonnet, apparently named after 'its occurrence in Spenser's *Amoretti* (1595), but its published debut appears to have been in James VI's *Essayes of a Prentise ...* (1584), where both the king's own sonnets and those dedicated to him are all in the "Spenserian" form'.<sup>18</sup> Most critically, Scots poetry arrived here by pursuing its own predilections: a formal challenge, presented by a demanding rhyme scheme (the interlacing means fewer rhymes are available) that facilitates a linear mindset rather than going round in Petrarchan circles, covering any topic that requires persuasive argumentation, using any tone that may assist in that objective.

In terms of sonnet *sequences*, too, the Scottish experience is different. Where English authors follow Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, Scots poets often preferred shorter sequences, on a range of thematic issues, such as 'Of Death' by William Fowler. In another short sonnet sequence, the same author's 'Sonett pedantesque' represents a grotesque parody of conventional sonneteering that again instances the Scots' fondness for form and experiment, content often relevant mainly as a catalyst for an engagement with the medium (Fowler 1, 224–5, 233–43).<sup>19</sup> Not until William Alexander's *Aurora* (written prior to 1601; printed 1604) does Scotland produce an amatory sonnet sequence in print that resembles those of Petrarch or Sidney; it was, moreover, thoroughly anglicised.

Montgomerie's attempts to articulate a new *Zeitgeist* push him towards the mannerist, or even Baroque.<sup>20</sup> Another, contrastive influence should be mentioned here: the Protestant. The language and imagery of Protestant polemics of sixteenth-century Scotland had developed

apocalyptic and prophetic, sometimes militant tendencies. In poetry this manifested itself in the above-mentioned broadsheets. Where the makars, often through allegory, confronted the reader with ambiguity and open-endedness, much post-Reformation energy was aimed at pinning down the meaning of scripture in the vernacular. An old-style poetics of words and their contingency gives way to a poetics of the Word and the Absolute, in which Boccaccio's command to 'read, and read again' and explore multiple layers of meaning in literary text now becomes a command to 'read diligently' to find the one Truth.<sup>21</sup>

An explicitly Protestant poet whose verse nevertheless connects with pre-Reformation vernacular writing is Alexander Hume. He burnt his own court poetry and became minister of Logie near Stirling, urging Elizabeth Melville to publish her work. His appealing 'Of the Day Estivall' ('summer's day', 1599; Hume 25–33) seeks to hide literary effect but nevertheless convey the beauty of God's creation. Its serenity is achieved by using the tone of Dunbar's meditative verse to filter the highly stylised language of Gavin Douglas's nature prologues. Hume's 'Epistle to Gilbert Moncrieff' similarly appeals because of its confessional tone expressed in everyday language (Hume 68–79). It uses the epistolary genre as a front for autobiography to produce a vernacular far removed from the hectoring tone of more polemical writing, shaping Scots as a literary language from within its own resources.

Other less militant Protestant poets included the king himself. James VI took a profound interest in religion and theology, as did some of the poets connected to his court, such as William Fowler, translator of Machiavelli. James was particularly keen on the work of Du Bartas, the renowned French Huguenot poet. Leading by example, James urged writers at his court to translate work by Du Bartas, such as Thomas Hudson's *Judith* (1584). While the notion that poets at James's court formed a 'Castalian Band' of brothers is now discredited,<sup>22</sup> James's joined-up thinking does indicate a 'community' of sorts; Hudson agreed to translate

*Judith* over dinner with James—an image that suggests a different cultural dynamics from the Elizabethan court.

By 1600, James's Protestant credentials were beyond doubt, allowing him to succeed Elizabeth on the English throne. His literary interests played a significant part in this, having encouraged English poets to visit Scotland, and despite controversies around James's own *Lepanto* (1591, celebrating the 1571 Catholic victory over the Ottoman fleet) and the depiction of James's mother in *The Faerie Queene*.<sup>23</sup> Marking their king's departure to England in 1603, Scottish poets remind James of particular emphases within Scots poetics, even if expressed in an increasingly anglicised Scots. Robert Ayton's 'Faire famous flood, which sometyme did devyde' commemorates the moment James crossed the River Tweed into England in 1603. It makes the Tweed 'spokesperson' of the Scots, urging the river to deliver its valediction via the seas 'To that Religious place whose stately walls / Does keepe the heart which all our hearts inthralls' (13–14; Ayton 167) i.e., Westminster. But a Scots eye uncovers another poem beneath this sonnet's surface: it adopts the rhyme scheme James advised (*ababbcbccdcdee*), and a Scots ear makes better sense of the key rhyme 'farewell / reveale' (ll. 6, 8). Moreover, the 'heart' in l. 14 may also be the heart of King Robert the Bruce, buried in Melrose Abbey, a 'religious place whose stately walls' are indeed on the banks of the River Tweed. Again, reading Scots poetry one has to practice a 'double hermeneutics': formalist and historicist, court and 'common-weil' ('commonwealth'), English and Scots. Only then will we understand why sixteenth-century England, when looking for a complete, Anglophone translation of the foundational epic of the Western world, printed Gavin Douglas's translation of the *Aeneid* before producing its own.

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<sup>1</sup> On Scots language, see <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/Scots/index.html>.

<sup>2</sup> On the sublime, see Chapter 5 in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Sue Niebrzydowski, ‘The Sultana and her Sisters: Black Women in the British Isles before 1530’, *Women’s History Review* 10.2 (2001), pp. 187–210 (201–4); David Parkinson, ‘Scottish Prints and Entertainments, 1508’, *Neophilologus* 75.2 (1991), pp. 304–10 (308).

<sup>4</sup> Priscilla Bawcutt, ‘Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century’, *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 12 (2005), pp. 46–73.

<sup>5</sup> William Gillies, ‘The Book of the Dean of Lismore: The Literary Perspective’, in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), pp. 179–216 (209; see also 183, 208).

<sup>6</sup> The essential study here is Sarah M. Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI* (Basingstoke and New York, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> A. C. Spearing, *Textual Subjectivity: The Encoding of Subjectivity in Medieval Narratives and Lyrics* (Oxford, 2005), p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Roland Greene, *Five Words: Critical Semantics in the Age of Shakespeare and Cervantes* (Chicago, IL, 2013), pp. 19–20.

<sup>9</sup> Patrick Cheney, chapter 5 in this volume.

<sup>10</sup> Transcreation is the ‘aesthetic re-interpretation of the original work suited to the readers/audience of the target language in the particular time and space. This re-interpretation is done with a certain social purpose and is performed with suitable interpolations, explanations, expansions, summarising and aesthetic innovations in style and techniques’: G. Gopinathan, ‘Translation, Transcreation and Culture: The Evolving Theories of Translation in Indian Languages’, in *Translating Others* vol. 1, ed. Theo Hermans (Manchester, 2006), pp. 236–46 (237).

<sup>11</sup> Patrick Cheney, *Reading Sixteenth-Century Poetry* (Malden, MA, 2011), p. 3.

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- <sup>12</sup> *Poems of Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross*, ed. Jamie Reid-Baxter (Edinburgh, 2010).
- <sup>13</sup> See Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse', in *Cultural Repertoires. Structure, Function and Dynamics*, ed. Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout (Leuven, 2003), pp. 59–86.
- <sup>14</sup> Helena Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 38.
- <sup>15</sup> The extraordinary 'casket sonnets' attributed to Mary are in French and thus fall outside the present remit, though their notoriety may have adversely affected literary expression by women in Scotland generally.
- <sup>16</sup> Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 40.
- <sup>17</sup> Patrick Cheney, *Reading Sixteenth-Century Poetry* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–4.
- <sup>18</sup> Roderick J. Lyall, "'A New Maid Channoun'?: Redefining the Canonical in Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26 (1991), pp. 1–18 (13). There is no evidence of any cross-border influence.
- <sup>19</sup> On Fowler's sequences, see Sebastiaan Verweij, 'The Manuscripts of William Fowler: A Revaluation of *The Tarantula of Love, A Sonnet Sequence, and Of Death*', *Scottish Studies Review* 8.2 (Autumn 2007), pp. 9–23.
- <sup>20</sup> Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie. Poetry, Politics, and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, AZ, 2005).
- <sup>21</sup> Crawford Gribben, 'Deconstructing the Geneva Bible: The Search for a Puritan Poetic', *Literature and Theology* 14.11 (2000), pp. 1–16.
- <sup>22</sup> Priscilla Bawcutt, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', *Scottish Historical Review* 80.2 (2001), pp. 251–9.
- <sup>23</sup> See Richard A. McCabe, 'The Masks of Duessa: Spenser, Mary Queen of Scots, and James VI', *English Literary Renaissance* 17.3 (1987), pp. 224–42.