

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND

A CRITICAL EDITION

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Ph. D.
EDINBURGH

1973

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND

SUMMARY

This is the first attempt at a major reevaluation of the entire Complaynt of Scotland for a century.

This important, unique, neglected mid sixteenth-century Scottish prose work is placed in its historical context. The Complayner is revealed as a biblical and classical scholar, a patriot with humane European perspectives, focussing on the crucial problems confronting Scots in the aftermath of the English 'Rough Wooing'. He wrestles with the philosophical yet practical dilemma of such alternatives as freewill or fatalistic apathy, collaboration or non-collaboration, submission or resistance. It is an appeal for concord and resistance. The Complayner reveals implicit views of history as a providential pattern, and time as a continuous present in which linear chronology and causation are less important than meaning and perennially universally valid constants.

The Complayner is identified as Robert Wedderburn, and new evidence of possible places and dates of writing and printing are given.

Hitherto undetected sources and influences are indicated, including large-scale borrowing from Pliny and Guevara. The Complayner adopted from Chartier the framework of the dialogue, with its key features including the use of allegory, the dream-vision framework, conscious display of humanism, erudition and moralistic eloquent sententiousness in Ciceronian periodic sentence structure and antithetical Senecan argumentation. Introduction, notes and an appendix, give a detailed parallel analysis of Chartier and the Complaynt.

Aspects are isolated in order to highlight the Complaynt as social criticism, political propaganda and sermon; as a work in various literary-historical traditions (including the 'Three Estates', the dialogue, and the pastoral and 'dispraise of court' traditions); as a salvo in the European 'philological' revolution, as a 'defence and illustration' of the Scots vernacular.

The Complayner's methods of assimilating diverse virtually undetectable derivative materials, and harmonising the styles which he incorporates, reveal his skill in rhetoric.

This edition of the text restores the orthography and punctuation of the original printed edition, and is divided into the original small 'folios' or leaves. These folios provide units of reference and cross-reference to which the introduction, index and notes all refer, and facilitate cross-reference to Leyden's or Murray's editions and to a future printed edition. The Complayner thought in terms of such units, as the insertions and excisions (described in the bibliographical description and synoptic tables) show. The folios also provide the most convenient divisions in the preparation of computer input-tapes.

PREFATORY NOTE

I must thank the Moray Grant for bearing the cost of preparation of input-tapes for a 'computer-generated concordance' or word-index.

The computer programme, code-named COCOA (A Word Count and Concordance Generator for Atlas), was devised by D. B. Russell, of the Science Research Council's Atlas Computer Laboratory at Chilton, and was available through Edinburgh University's link with Chilton.

The input tapes are in the Bratley-Aitken Archive of the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue. The print-out yields an exhaustive alphabetical word-index, with folio references and quotation of the immediate context, and a word-frequency list.

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VOLUME TWO

TEXT OF THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.
INDEX TO THE TEXT OF THE COMPLAYNT.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER ONE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

- A. Of the original printed edition we have four copies:-
- I. National Library of Scotland copy: H.34.a.19
 - II. National Library of Scotland copy: Ry. II.h.27
 - III. British Museum copy: G. 5438
 - IV. British Museum copy: C.21.a.56
- B. The first reprint edition was edited by John Leyden, The Complaynt of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1801.
- C. The second reprint edition of the Complaynt of Scotland was edited by J.A.H. Murray, The Complaynt of Scotlande vyth ane Exortatione to the Thre Estaits to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil 1549., "With an Appendix of Contemporary English Tracts, viz. The Just Declaration of Henry VIII (1542), The Exhortacion of James Harrysone, Scottissheman (1547), The Epistle of the Lord Protector Somerset (1548), The Epitome of Nicholas Bodrugan alias Adams (1548)." Early English Text Society, EETS ES 17, 18 (London, 1872-3, repr. 1891).

When John Leyden was preparing his 1801 edition for A. Constable he was able to consult three of the four copies of the original printed edition.⁽¹⁾ He had access to George Paton's copy (H.34a.19); to John McGowan's (Ry.II.h.27); and through "the polite assistance of Mr. Heber, Mr. Ellis and Mr. Park" he occasionally "consulted" one of the two Harleian copies, the copy (C.21.a.56) then already in the British Museum. The fourth copy, to which he did not have access, is the best copy. It is the other British Museum copy (G.5438) which at that time was in the possession of the Duke of Roxburgh.

It is simplest if we first trace, briefly, the history of the copies in turn, since Leyden's edition.

I. National Library of Scotland copy: H.34.a.19, is now least like the original in appearance. It is made up of trimmed leaves from the original copy inlaid in larger leaves (22.7 cms x 16.5cms). This copy is stamped "Ex Libris Bibliothecae Facultatis Iuridicae Edinburgh 1810" indicating that it must have been inlaid before 1810.

There is also 'Aug.Lib.' or Aug.Tib.6.40' deleted. The copy has written in it, in ink, (on the reverse of the third leaf): "The Complaynt of Scotland 1549 original edition, of which only other three copies are known to exist viz. in the British Museum 2^o the late Duke of Roxburghe 3^o George Chalmers 4th This Copy. Inlaid and completed from the new edition printed at Edinburgh in 1801..." Obvious though it may be, it is still useful confirmation that this copy (H.34.a.19) is not George Chalmers' copy (Ry.II.h.27), nor the British Museum copy (C.21.a.56), nor the Duke of Roxburgh's copy (G.5438). This copy (H.34.a.19) belonged to 'Mr George Paton of the Customs, Edinburgh', and was sold on 25th March, 1809. It is inaccurately described as "the most perfect copy extant", in Paton's Sale Catalogue ⁽²⁾. It was sold (for £7-10s) to William Laing the bookseller. The imperfect original was one of those used by John Leyden for his 1801 edition. It was then inlaid and completed from Leyden's edition before Laing sold it to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in 1810. ⁽³⁾

II. National Library copy: Ry.II.h.27, John McGowan's copy, was acquired at some time after 1801 by George Chalmers 'of the Caledonia' ⁽⁴⁾. It was sold in November, 1842, to T. Rodd, a London bookseller (for £5-5s) and then appears to have been sold by T. Rodd to H. B. Bright. In Bright's sale in 1845 ⁽⁵⁾ it was again apparently acquired by Rodd (for £4) and sold by him ⁽⁶⁾ presumably to the Thomas Bateman (1812-1861) whose name and arms and the date 1845 are in this copy. ⁽⁷⁾ This copy appears to be the one which was in John Scott's library ⁽⁸⁾. It appears to be the copy sold by Quaritch (for £17) in 1893. ⁽⁹⁾ It is not in the 1885 Barnbogle Catalogue but it is in the 1923 Barnbogle Catalogue, and probably was acquired by the Earl of Rosebery in 1905 from Quaritch (for £12). In 1925 it was presented, along with other Barnbogle books, to the National Library of Scotland by the Rt. Hon. Archibald Philip, fifth Earl of Rosebery ⁽¹⁰⁾. This copy includes a note signed by A. Constable stating that it was used in preparing Leyden's 1801 edition. The advertisement for Leyden's edition, a copy of which is glued into Ry.II.h.27, describes Leyden's edition as being "accurately reprinted from Mr. Paton's copy of this uncommonly rare book...." (which might

wrongly appear to identify this as Paton's copy.) Inside the back cover there is a short note from Mr. Pinkerton, No. 3 Knightsbridge, dated October 1785, requesting Mr. McGowan "to send him a copy of folios 39 & 137 wanting in the British Museum Complaints (sic!) of Scotland": which reveals that Ry.II.h.27 was John McGowan's copy in 1785.

III. British Museum copy: G. 5438 is the copy which was apparently at one stage in the library of Harley, Earl of Oxford, then in the Duke of Roxburgh's library, where Leyden did not have access to it. David Laing states: "The copy from the Roxburgh sale I remember well in its old original binding. It was bought for Mr. Archibald Constable, publisher, Edinburgh, for £31:10s. In the Catalogue it is marked (No. 8734) as "wanting the Title and 5 pages in the middle"; it really wanted the Title only. Mr. Constable's private collection was purchased by Mr. Thorpe, London, and Mr. Heber to whom Leyden had dedicated his reprint, secured the best part, including this little volume. At Heber's sale, the Complaynt fell to Grenville, and so to the Museum." Laing's statement, printed by J.A.H. Murray (p.xvii, fn.2.) is also of interest for its reference to the original binding. (This suggests that the binding was original when it fell into Grenville's hands.) The error about the five pages in the middle is simply explained by reference to our note later about the many alterations to the original after it had been set up in print. Inside the cover of this Grenville copy there is pasted an extract from the catalogue 'Bibliotheca Heberiana' stating that this copy was in the 'Roxburghe' library and "is the only one which contains the smallest fragment of a title". We discuss this statement below. There is also a note, presumably in Heber's handwriting, mentioning the four copies known, "one at the Museum, one belonging to J. McGowan Esq., One belonging to Mr. G Paton, and the present copy belonging formerly to the D of Roxburgh, & now in my library: all the 4 copies want the Title, of which there is only a small remnant in this; in other respects this copy upon a laborious collation is found quite perfect.."

IV. British Museum copy: C.21.a.56. is one of the two copies⁽¹⁰⁾ which were apparently in Harley's Library. It was acquired by the British Museum, and seems to have been rebound after 1869, according to J.A.H. Murray.

The state of the four copies is shown in synoptic TABLE ONE.

I. National Library of Scotland copy: H.34.a.19 has had the surviving single leaves inlaid and the missing leaves supplied from Leyden's edition (1801). This copy lacks (as do all four copies) the title; it further lacks 15 leaves, namely: the folios 2, 3, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 47, 50, 51, 57, 58, 67 and 96.

II. National Library of Scotland copy Ry. II.h.27. lacks the title and further 31 leaves, namely, folios 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 25, 46, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 67, 86, 96, 97, 98, 106, 108, 125, 126, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, part of 147, 148.

III. British Museum copy: G.5438. is most complete, it lacks the title only.

IV. British Museum copy: C.21.a.56, lacks the title and two leaves, folios 59 and 142.

As we have seen, Pinkerton, referring to the British Museum copy (IV, C.21.a.56) in 1785, stated that folios 39 and 137 were lacking. This apparent discrepancy is easily explained.

We are forced, when referring to the original edition of the Complaynt, to number the folios by the actual numbering, since the printed numbers at the top right corner of some folios reveal that extensive alterations must have been made after the text was first set-up in type. For example, when in the original edition we look at the folios in actual numbering folios 59 and 142, we find that they bear the printed numbers 39 and 137 as Pinkerton designates them.

The work appears to have originally consisted of 144 leaves, (18 sheets of 8), numbered by folios, not by page, in the top right-hand corner, with the first four leaves bearing signatures (e.g. D, Dij, Diiij, Diiij). When we tabulate the actual folio numbers and the printed folio numbers, where these occur, and the signatures, we can begin to see the extent of the alterations. Murray estimates the cancellation of "no fewer than thirty-three of the original leaves, and the substitution of thirty-seven others" (p. xx). Our synoptic TABLE TWO shows the traces of these alterations. There are three columns in the Table. Column One shows the actual folio

V.

number of the final version, found in our four copies, numbered 1 to 148. Column Two shows the printed number on each leaf, where a number occurs at the top right-hand corner of the original printed copies. Column Three shows the signatures at the foot of the leaves of the original. Columns Two and Three together reveal the alterations. Between actual leaves 31 and 54 (which were numbered 31 and 32 originally as we can see from Column Two and which also had their signatures in series, as we can see from Column Three) there appear to have been inserted 22 leaves, the actual folios number 32 to 53 inclusive. Between actual folios 59 and 60, original printed pages numbered 38 and 39 seem to have been deleted (since actual folio 59 is numbered 37 and actual folio is numbered 40). Between folios 67 and 68 there appear to have been deleted five folios, with printed numbers 48, 49, 50, 51, 52. Between actual folios 86 and 87, three folios, with printed numbers 72, 73, 74, appear to have been deleted. Folio 108 has the printed number 69, possibly merely a slip for 96, which fits into the sequence of printed numbers in Column Two. Between folios 130 and 131, eight folios appear to have been deleted, bearing the printed numbers, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125. There appears to have been either an error or an insertion at folio 129; since the printed number 116 occurs twice (actual folios 128, 129), and for a third time later at actual folio 146. Folios 145, 146, 147, and 148 appear to have been recast from material originally used elsewhere since these folios have the printed numbers 69, 116, 143. Table Two also reveals that actual folios 10, 11, 12, erroneously bear the signatures Aij, Aiiij, Aiiiij, (instead of Bij, Biiij, Biiiij). The signatures also reveal that there seem to have been alterations where signatures P and Q should occur. We would expect P signatures to actual folios 125, 126, 127, 128. This might help to explain the repetition at folios 128 and 129 of the original printed number 116.

For convenience, Tables Three and Four give Murray's synopsis of the alterations, for comparison.

Having described the state of completeness of the four copies, and the alterations resulting in the confusing folio numeration, it remains to describe the measurements and typeface.

VI

The original volume was a small volume of approximately 11 cms x 8 cms. Subsequent rebinding has further cropped the leaves, (as in Ry.II.h.27, to 10.25 cms x 7.5 cms). In H.34.a.19 indeed, the inlaid leaves are approximately 9 cms x 5.5 cms, in a volume 24 cms x 19 cms. The area of type-face is approximately 9 cms x 5.4 cms (excluding the heading, marginal notes and signatures). In order to give a better idea of the typeface, facsimiles are included, showing the 70 mm Roman and 66 mm Italic.⁽¹¹⁾

1. John Leyden's edition of The Complaynt p.289 and footnote.
2. "Catalogue...of Books being the library of the late Mr George Paton, of the Customs, Edinburgh..." (Nat. Lib. of Scotland, T.2.d.1 (1-3). (Item 2722). I am indebted to Mrs Anne Seaton for assistance in tracing the fortunes of the National Library copies.
3. The copy is in the library in 1810, but is mentioned neither in the Curator's Minutes 1807-1810, nor in the Faculty Minutes, 1809-1810.
4. "Chalmers Sale Catalogue" (1842), III, item 127 (National Library of Scotland: T.3.e.). Cf. J.A.H.M(urray), xviii.
5. Inside the cover there is written "4993 Bright". Cf. JA.H.M., xviii.
6. "It was again purchased by Rodd for £4, but for whom it was bought, and what have been its further fortunes, I have unable to learn, "Murray says. JAHM, xviii.
7. Thomas Bateman (1812-1861), v. DNB. In Ry.II.h.27 we have Bateman arms at the beginning and Rosebery arms at the end. For Bateman arms v. James Fairbairn, Fairbairn's Book of Crests, 4th ed. (1905), Vol. I, p.124; Vol. II, plate 163.4.
8. Note inside cover: and note by H.W.M(eikle) in Rosebery Catalogue, p.276 (see note 10 below).
9. Book Prices Current 1893, No. 4721.
10. Catalogue of the Early and Rare Books of Scottish Interest in the Library at Barnbogle Castle, 12 copies printed for private use (Edinburgh, 1923), page 276. See JAHM, xix, fn.1. and fn. xvii-xviii. Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae, 5 vols., (London, 1743-5): a) Volume One, item No.8371 - Vedderburn's Complaine of Scotlande, vyth ane exortatione to the thre Estaitis to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil. 1549. b) Volume Four, item No. 12070 - Vedderburn's Complaine of Scotland, with ane exor(t)atione to the three Estates to be vigilant in Defence of their Public Weel. 1549.
11. I have been unable to obtain identification of the Roman type, but Dr. H. Vervliet of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp has kindly supplied the following note: (Nr 4.23B: 60914 - HV/FD of 14th September 1966): as an official statement of opinion: "The type used in the Complaynt of Scotland is 70 mm. Roman and 66 mm. Italic. The Italic is a Parisian type occurring from 1548 on at different Parisian presses (e.g. Guillard, Richard, Faizandat, Desbois) until well into the 1560's. On stylistic grounds I favour an attribution of this italic to Robert Granjon. The Origins of the Roman type have yet to be discovered. Its general appearance is French, but of a style a bit earlier (c.1540, but may have been used until the 1550's) than the italic. The standard of type-setting and printing is lower than the normal Parisian one of that time."

11. (Contd.)

Dr. Donaldson of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh has kindly explained that type-size is obtained by measuring twenty lines of type from the bottom of the x height line one (that is the height excluding ascenders and descenders) to the bottom of the x height of line 21, giving 20 measurements, and therefore easily divisible. (Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford, 1927, 2nd impression with corrections, 1928), page 306 fn.1, mentions this problem faced by incunabulists.)

TABLE TWO

ACTUAL FOLIO NO.	PRINTED FOLIO NO.	SIGNATURE
1	1	
2	2	Aij
3	3	Aiiij
4	4	Aiiiij
5	5	
6	6	
7	7	
8	8	
9	9	B
10	10	Aij
11	11	Aiiij
12	12	Aiiiij
13	13	
14	14	
15	15	
16	16	
17	17	C
18	18	Cij
19	19	Ciiij
20	20	Ciiiij
21	21	
22	22	
23	23	
24	24	
25	25	D
26	26	Dij
27	27	Diiij
28	28	Diiiij
29	29	
30	30	
31	31	E
32		
33		
34		
35		
36		
37		
38		
39		
40		
41		
42		
43		
44		
45		
46		
47		
48		
49		
50		

ACTUAL FOLIO NO.	PRINTED FOLIO NO.	ALTERATIONS	SIGNATURE
51			
52			
53		insertion	
54	32		
55	33		
56	34		
57	35		
58	36		
59	37		
60	40		
61	41		
62	42		
63	43		
64	44		
65	45		
66	46		
67	47		
68	53		
69			
70			
71			
72			
73			
74			
75			
76			
77			
78			
79			
80			
81			
82			
83			
84			
85			
86			
87	71		
88	76		
89	77		
90	78		
91	79		
92	80		
93	81		
94	82		
95	83		
96	84		
97	85		
98	86		
99	87		
100	88		

ACTUAL FOLIO NO.	PRINTED FOLIO NO.	ALTERATIONS	SIGNATURE
101	89		M
102	90		Mij
103	91		Miiij
104	92		Miiiij
105	93		
106	94		
107	95		
108	69		
109	97		
110	98		
111	99		
112	100		
113	101		
114	102		
115	103		
116	104		
117	105		
118	106		
119	107		
120	108		
121	109		
122	110		
123	111		
124	112		
125	113		
126	114		
127	115		
128	116		
129	116 [br]		
130	117		
131	120		
132	127		
133	128		
134	129		
135	130		
136	131		
137	132		
138	133		
139	134		
140	135		
141	136		
142	137		
143	138		
144	139		
145	69		
146	116 [br]		
147	143		
148			

TABLE THREEALTERATIONS

The following is a list of the alterations made by the Complayner to the Complaynt after it had been set up in type. (Murray, Introduction, pages xxi-xxii).

One leaf 31 (D 7) cut out, and 23 leaves inserted, the first of which is numbered 31, the rest being unnumbered. The inserted leaves consist of 2 sheets of 8, and 1 of 7 leaves, which have no signatures, the beginning of each sheet being marked with an * instead

Leaf 32 (D 8) follows these, and is pasted in the place of the last leaf of the third * sheet.

Three leaves, 37, 38, 39 (E 5, 6, 7), cut out, and *one* leaf substituted, numbered 37.

Six leaves, 47 to 52 (F 7 to G 4), cut out; *one* leaf substituted, numbered 47.

Four leaves, 71 to 74 (I 7 to K 2), cut out; *one* leaf substituted, numbered 71.

Four leaves, 112 to 115 (O 8 to P 3), *apparently* cut out; *five* leaves substituted, numbered 112 to 116; the original 116 and 117 remain, so that there are *two* leaves numbered 116. The inserted leaves have *no* signatures, nor is the second 116 (P iiij) signed.

Nine leaves, 118 to 126 (P 6 to Q 6), cut out; *one* leaf substituted, numbered 126.

Two leaves, 137, 138 (S i, S ii), cut out; *two* leaves substituted with same numbers and signatures.

Three leaves, 140 to 142 (S iiij, 5, 6), cut out; *two* leaves substituted, numbered 69, 116, (!) no signature.

One leaf, 144 (S 8), cut out, and replaced by unnumbered leaf, bearing "Tabula" of chapters.

The result of these various excisions and insertions is, that the numbers on the leaves, and the signatures of the sheets, do not at all correspond to the form of the book, as it finally appeared, containing 148 leaves, of which the following is the Register

TABLE FOUR

Signatures.	Leaves numbered.	Actual No. reckoning in order. ¹	
A 1-8	1-8	1-8	A, leaf 1, the title page, no longer exists in any copy.
B 1-8	9-16	9-16	B ij, iij, iiij, are erroneously signed A ij, iij, iiij.
C 1-8	17-24	17-24	
D 1-6	25-30	25-30	D 7 unrepresented, D 8 see after * sheets.
1st * (1-8)	31 & 7 unnumbered	(31-38)	
2nd * (1-8)	eight "	(39-46)	
3rd * (1-7)	seven "	(47-53)	
D 8	32	(54)	takes the place of (3rd * 8) cut out.
E 1-5	33-37 (38-39 omitted)	(55-59)	
E 8	40	(60)	
F 1-7	41-47 (48-52 omitted),	(61-67)	
G 5-8	53-56	(68-71)	
H 1-8	57-64	(72-79)	
I 1-7	65-71 (72-74 omitted)	(80-86)	
K 3-8	75-80	(87-92)	
L 1-8	81-88	(93-100)	L iij has no signature.
M 1-8	89-96	(101-108)	
N 1-8	97-104	(109-116)	
O 1-8	105-112	(117-124)	
P 1-4	113-116	(125-128)	
P 4 bis-5	116 bis, 117 (118-125 omitted)	(129, 130)	P iiij has no signature.
Q 6-8	126-128	(131-133)	
R 1-8	129-136	(134-141)	
S 1-3	137-139	(142-144)	
S 5-8	69, 116, 143, and one unnumbered.	(145-148)	

¹ In the Harleian copy (C 21. a.) the leaves are so numbered by a recent hand in pencil; in this edition, in references, the actual number of the leaf is added to the *soi disant* number, within parentheses.

fol.2r

TO THE EXCEL
LENT, ANDE ILLVSTIR

Marie queen of scotlande, the mar-
gareit ande perle of
princesis.



He immortal gloir, that proce-
dis be the ryght lyne of ver-
tu, fra your magnanime auā-
sing of the public veil, of the
affligit realme of scotlande,
is abundantly dilatit athort
al cuntreis, throucht the quhilk, the precius
germe of your nobilite, bringis nocht furthir
alanerly, branchis ande tendir leyuis of ver-
tu: bot as veil it bringis furthir, salutiffere &
hoilsum frute of honour quhilk is ane immor-
tal ande supernatural medicyns, to cure &
to gar conuallesse, al the langorius desolat &
affligit pepil, quhilkis ar al mast disparit of
mennis supple, ande reddy to be venquest &
to be cum randit, in the subiection ande ca-
ptiuite, of our mortal ald enemis, be rasen
that ther cruel inuasions, aperis to be onre-
medabil. The special cause of our afflictio-

A ij

fol.7v

fol.8r

PROGOL

*Cū venisset autem
maridua pauper: nisi duo munita quod est quadrans.*
Marc. 13.

sione (illustre princes) my esperance is sa greite, that i beleif that your grace wil refaue this traict as humainly, as kyng darius refaust the clene vattir fra the pure man of perse. this traict is na bettir nor as mekil vattir, bot 3it my gude vil & hartly intentione ande my detful obediens, excedis the hartly intentione of the pure mā that offrit the fayr vattir to kyng darius, prayand to god to preferue your grace in perpetual felicitye.

PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

*Indegere
var god-
dis of egypt
quhilke
hed bene
veritouse
prince
quhe thas
lyuis.*



Masis the sycond, quhilke was the last kyng ande indegete of the egypties, (ande as diodore reheris, he was the fyist legislator of egypt) maid ane ordinance, contrat the vice of ydilnes, that al his subiectis of egypt, var obliht vnder the paine of dede, to bring euery 3eir, ther namis in vrit, to the prouest of the prouince quhar ther remanyng vas: ande thier to testife the stait of

TO THE REDAR. 3

ther vacatione, ande the maneir of ther lying. be this politic ordinance, the egyptiens var inducit tyl adhere to vertu, ande to leyne sciens craftis ande mecanyke occupatiōs maist comodius ande cōuenient for the public veil of egypt. Thā efftir this ordinance of amasis the Gymnosophistes institut ane mair strict ordinance among the pepil of inde: that is to say, that ane person suld nocht be admittit to refaue his corporal refectiōne, quhil on to the tyme, that he hed manifest realye, or ellis be certan testificatiōne the frutis of his labours, of the daye precedent. the seuerite of this strict ordinance, var augmentit, be ane edict of the grit kyng of egypt: for he statut ane ordinance til excerse his propir childir ande the 3ong princis ande gētil men of his court, to vse them til sadure excesse of laubirs: that none of them suld tak ther refectiōne, quhil thas hed gone ande run, the tyme of fife or sex hours: to that effect, that throucht sic excerse, ther membrs mycht be purgit fra corrupit humours, the quhilke humours nocht beand degestit, mycht be occasiōne to dul ther spreit, ande to mak ther body on a bil to resist ydilnes. thir Ordinaunces of the egi-

fol.15v

THE COMPLAINT

It dois of presumptione or vane gloir, thy che-
retabil correctione, maye be ane prouocatio-
ne to gar me studye mair attentiuelye in the
nyxt verkis that i intéd to set furth the quhilk
i beles in gode, sal be verray necessair, tyl al
them that desiris to lyue verteuouslye indurad,
the schort tyme of this oure fragil peregrina-
tione, & sa fayr veil.

The complaynt of scotland.

THE FYRST CHE
PTOVR DECLARIS THE
cause of the mutations of mo-
narches. Chap. I.



As the hie monarchis, lord-
schips, ande autoriteis, at sta-
blir be the infinite diuine or-
dinace, ande mentemir be the
sempeternal prouidés. selyik
ther ruuyn eummis, be the sentens gyffin be
the souerane consel of the diuine sapiens, the
quhilk doune thringis them, fra the hie trone,
of ther imperial dominations, ande garris

fol.16r

OF SCOTLAND. 16

them fal in the depe fosse of seruitude, ande
fra magnificens in ruuyn, ande causis coque-
riours to be coquest, ande til obeye ther vni-
quihile subiectis be dreddour. quhome of be
for thair commadit be autorite. This decret
precedis of the diuine iustice, be rason that
princis, ande vthirs of autorite, becúmis am-
bitus ande presumpteous, throucht grite su-
perluite of velcht, ther for he dois cheitee thē,
be the abstractione of that superluite that is
to say, he possedis vthir pure pepil, that knauis
his gudnes, vith the samyn rechis, t6 at he
hestane fra thē, that fies arrogantly myskna-
uen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane masse of
mettal, diuerse pottis, of differēt fassons, &
syne he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thair
pleyse hym nocht ande he makis smal pot-
tis of the brokyn verk of the grite pottis: ande
alfe of the metall ande mater of the smal pot-
tis he formis grite pottis. this exempl may be
applied, to the subuertions ande mutations of
realms ande dominions, ande of al verldly
prosperite. childir that ar neu borne, grouis &
incresis, quhil thair be ascendit to the perkyt
strynght of men: boether estir, thair begyn to
decrease, ande declinis til eild ande to the dede

Regis a
Sic in ge
reus bran-
sit propter
iniusticias
or vniuers
sas dolos.

Eccle. 10

THE COMPLAINTE

the kyng of the assiriens, ande transportis his realme, in the subiectione of the kyng of perse ande meid. Sikklyk the grite toun of babilon was permitit be gode to scourge the pepil of israel: ande ther eftir quhen the israeliteis var reterit fra ther inniquite gode deluyrit them fra the captiuite of babilon ande destroyed that grite toun, ande maid it ane desert inhabitabil for serpens ande vther veneful beystis. Euyrie thing is corrupit be ane vther corrupit complexiōne, ane file is ane instrumento to file doune yrn, ande ane synnar is maid ane instrument of the diuine iustice, to punice ane vther synnar, the file that filit the yrne is vorne ande cassin awaye as ane thing onutil to serue to do ony gude verk: bot the yrn that hes beene filit be the forgear or be aue smythe, is kepit to serue to the necessite of men, the father takkis the vand or the scourge, to punice his sonne, that hes broken his command, ande quhen his sonne becummis obedient, the father brakkis the vand ande castis it in the fyre. bot ȝit gyf his sonne rebellis contrar the correccion of the vand, than the father takkis ane batton or sū vther sterk vappin to punice his sonne, & forget-

OF SCOTLAND.

23

tis fatherly discipline, ande vsis rigorus extreme punitione. ane ox that repungnis the brod of his hird, he gettis doubl broddis, & he that mispris the correccion of his preceptor, his correccion is changit in rigorus punitione.

Whom the allor conferris the passagis of the brid cheptour of ysaye, vith the afflictione of scotland.

Chap. IIII.



VE maye persane for certan, that ve haue bene scurgit vith *Deute. 28.* al the plagis, that ar befor reherfit in the xxviii cheptour of deuteronomie, that is to say vith pestelens, vith the soude, vith brakkyng doune of our duelling housis, vith spulze of our cornis ande cattel. Siclyk as it is befor reherfit in the xxvi of *Cens. 28.* leuitic, ve haue sauen oure seildis to the behuse of oure enemis, ve haue fled fast fra oure enemis, quhen there vas nocht mony of the perseuad vs. ande alle ve maye persane that ve haue beene scurgit vith the plagis that ar

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

1. Title and Authorship

TITLE, AND AUTHORSHIP

All four copies of the original printed edition of the Complaynt are without title-pages.

John Leyden entitles his edition (1801): The Complaynt of Scotland. This title is obtained from the running heading and colophon (fol. 147v) in the originals.

Leyden (p. 11) reports, on hearsay, that a fragment of a title-page was preserved in the Roxburgh copy, which "only contains 'The Comp-". This fragment, now missing, does not justify any assumption that the title-page ever contained any more than the title Leyden gives, The Complaynt of Scotland.

Murray's long title is based on two entries in the Harleian Catalogue (1743-1745), one of which reads: "Wedderburn's Complaine of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the thre Estaitis to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil, 1549". (1) The Harleian cataloguer could obtain the title from the running heading and colophon; and the phrasing of the explanatory subtitle from the text (fol. 57v, 58r, 129v).

David Laing, writing in 1868, but ignored by Murray, correctly states: "I do not apprehend that the name either of author or printer occurred in the book itself. The Harleian copy was probably obtained by Harley, Earl of Oxford from James Anderson, author of the Diplomata Scotiae, and it may have had the name of Wedderburn written on the title-page or fly-leaf ". (2)

By printing the fuller-title, but omitting Wedderburn's name Murray is being inconsistent. One reason, as Laing probably saw, is the argument discussed below, which Leyden adduces, and which Murray also adopts (and distorts), namely that the author wished to remain anonymous. The title is thus The Complaynt of Scotland. The identity of the author is in a sense unimportant. Lack of knowledge about the author's biography does not invalidate the author's message; nor any of our commentary on historical background, sources, influences; all of which, indeed, was drafted before any conclusion was reached about authorship.

The anonymity, which the lack of title-pages confers on the author, has advantages in that it focusses attention on the contents; and the message is not distorted by false expectations aroused by the overtones of a name. That anonymity may indeed have been the deliberate wish of the

author is a point considered by the two editors, John Leyden and J. A. H. Murray. The answer to the question of who would require anonymity and why, is one of our points in favour of Robert Wedderburn's authorship, as we explain below. It is also one of the points against other candidates, such as Inglis, Lindsay and Cockburn.

The question of authorship has been made unnecessarily complicated. Let us consider in turn claims that have been put forward. As we have seen, the book was known in 1743-1745 to the Harleian Cataloguers as Wedderburn's Complaynt. This apparently was the name handed down with the book, as Laing suggests.

Dr. George Mackenzie writing in 1722 states that a Sir James Inglis was the author of the Complaynt ⁽³⁾. Doubt has been cast on Mackenzie's pronouncement, as well as on his general reliability. There seem to have been at least three Sir James Inglis - the abbot of Culross, murdered in 1531; the chaplain of Cambuskenneth, 1503-1550; a master of works of that name; and Mackenzie's Sir James who may have been either of the two preceding or a fourth of the same name. ⁽⁴⁾ Leyden suspects that Mackenzie took the idea from the allusions to Inglis in Lindsay ⁽⁵⁾ and charitably suggests that two biographies were "unconsciously confounded". ⁽⁶⁾ David Laing, says: "Dr. Mackenzie, who is extremely inaccurate in his statements, describes the work as having been written by a Sir James Inglis Knight, who, he says, died at Culross in 1554. It is quite clear that he confounded some imaginary person with the Sir James Inglis Abbot of Culross, whom Sir David Lyndsay commemorates among the Scottish Poets, but who was murdered in 1531". ⁽⁷⁾

Similarly another literary historian asks: ⁽⁸⁾ "What degree of confidence can be reposed in a writer who ventures to fabricate history like Dr. Mackenzie?". Joseph Ritson acidly terms Mackenzie "a most despicable fool", and Ritson supports Wedderburn's claim. ⁽⁹⁾

John Leyden ⁽¹⁰⁾ was struck, as one must be, by the large number of parallels in "form, style, manner and matter" ⁽¹¹⁾ between the Complaynt and the works of Sir David Lindsay ⁽¹²⁾ and Leyden attributed the Complaynt to Lindsay, thereby starting a considerable controversy. ⁽¹³⁾ Leyden had an "inveterate fondness for supporting a well-nigh untenable case." ⁽¹⁴⁾

George Chalmers, writing at some time after the appearance of Leyden's edition in 1801, feels "The safest way is to allow that it was written by Wedderburn." ⁽¹⁵⁾ David Laing in 1868 writes "I have little hesitation

in assigning to Mr. Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, the credit of being the author of that remarkable production The Complaynt of Scotland". (16)

J.A.H. Murray sums up his views thus:- "Sir David Lyndesay is peremptorily excluded from consideration: no less so, I think, is Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee; in lack of further evidence, the claims of Sir James Inglis of Cambuskenneth and of some unknown priest of the name of Wedderburn are equally balanced ... " (17) Because of his later work on language, presumably, (18) Murray has been able to make statements which have been allowed to go unchallenged for a century, and are reprinted. Murray states, for example, that "a very careful examination has led me to the conviction that the author was a Southern Scot", and expressly excludes Fife. (19)

Murray does note the French and Latin borrowings (20) and even admits that the text was probably printed in Paris (21) but nevertheless still feels able to say the text is written in Southern Scots, and states categorically: "Wedderburn a native of Dundee would not have written in the Southern variety of Scotch".

There are a number of weaknesses in Murray's argument. This is a mid-sixteenth century literary prose text. It is, as we shall see, very largely based on Latin (both Classical, Biblical, Patristic and contemporary Latin) and French (including French translations from Italian and Spanish). It was written by an educated man in the stylized scholastic 'aureate diction' then fashionable, and yet Murray states "he was a native of the Southern, not improbably of the Border, counties".

As to Murray's categorical statement that Robert Wedderburn "would not have written in the Southern variety of Scotch", there are several replies possible. Robert Wedderburn's Dundee Scots was no doubt contaminated by, or purified by, his education, his prolonged residence abroad. His friendship with James Sandilands of Calder and Wedderburn's residence in Mid-Calder and at the Priory of the Knights of St. John at Torphichen, would all explain any specifically Borders or Lothian features if any such should be detectable in the Complaynt. Murray's clues, based on 19th century localisation of words, may be doubtful evidence of Border origins in any case. (22)

In an article which appeared in 1895, (23) J.T.T. Brown remarks: "at present it seems to me, the new evidence points to Sir (sic!) Robert Wedderburn as the probable author. It is surely fortunate that the Scottish Text Society edition has still to appear".

By 1903 however he had changed his mind.

Mislead by J.A.H. Murray's authoritative tone into looking for another Wedderburn, J.T.T. Brown, in an article on the Bannatyne Manuscript (24) suggests that James Wedderburn was the author of the Complaynt. While disagreeing with his arguments it is still possible to agree with his conclusion: "It seems to me mere perversity to deny the authorship of the Complaynt to a Wedderburn". (25)

More recently, Patrick Cockburn (c.1510-c.1570) has been suggested as the author of the Complaynt. It is however, necessary to search for someone other than a Wedderburn only if one accepts Murray's "evidence" that the claims of Wedderburn to the authorship of the Complaynt "have been rejected on dialectal, chronological and politico-religious grounds". (26)

The arguments put forward in favour of Cockburn apply for the most part equally well to Robert Wedderburn. Both were priests who studied at St. Andrews and were later in Paris. This was in fact common practice. Both excelled in classical and biblical studies. Cockburn's interest in astronomy is likewise unexceptional. Cockburn was in Paris after 1548. The Complayner addressing Mary of Lorraine and mentioning her daughter in France perhaps suggests that the writer is in Scotland rather than in France. Wedderburn was in Scotland again after 1546. The alterations made in the book, after it had been set up in type, were made, not, as McDiarmid suggests, because the author was beside the press in Paris, but more probably because he realized, in Scotland, how quickly the political situation was changing. The argument that Cockburn's Oratio corresponds to the Complayner's expressed intentions of writing a religious work, is not convincing. The Complayner's intention is much more likely to have been to write a work in the vernacular such as Winzet's translation of Vincentius. Likewise, parallels between the Preface of Cockburn's Meditatio and the Complaynt are common-places of literary rhetoric. Cockburn's biography leaves more references in the Complaynt unexplained than it solves. The Complayner shows various interests explicable in terms of Wedderburn's biography but not Cockburn's biography. Cockburn would likewise have no need to dedicate his work anonymously to Mary of Lorraine; whereas Wedderburn had good reason. The final key quotation from Cicero is meaningless when applied to Cockburn; whereas references are applicable to Wedderburn.

C.S. Lewis suggests that the work should be treated as anonymous, as, he states, (27) "it is certainly not by any Wedderburn who had a hand in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis ..." (28) It is, in any case, not certain what share each of the Wedderburns had in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, (we shall

discuss this later) but C. S. Lewis is apparently assuming that Robert Wedderburn did have a share, and that, if he did, this excludes the possibility of Robert Wedderburn's authorship of the Complaynt, both assumptions which are of dubious validity.

As Leyden already noted, there are poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript ascribed to Wedderburn. (29) In them there are to be detected echoes of the Complayner's choice of words and allusions. As has been noticed (30) the Complaynt refers to titles of songs which also occur in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis. (31)

In view of the weight of opinion in favour of a Wedderburn it seems only sensible to examine more closely the view taken by David Laing (and others) that the author of the Complaynt was Robert Wedderburn.

- (1) Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae 5 vols. (London, 1743-5)
- (a) Volume I, item No. 8371
 Vedderburn's Complaine of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the thre Estaitis to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil. 1549.
- (b) Volume IV, item No. 12070
 Vedderburn's Complaine of Scotland, with ane Exor(t)atione to the three Estates to be vigilant in Defence of their public Weel. 1549.
- (2) D. Laing preface to reprint of 'Gude and Godlie Ballates' (1868) reprinted by A. F. Mitchell, A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis,' Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1897), pages ci.cii.
- (3) G. Mackenzie, The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, 3 vols. (1708-22), Vol. III, 42. (Nat. Lib. Scot. Gray 1401) (Mackenzie Writers)
- (4) D. Hamer The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1420-1565 4 vols., STS (1931-36), Vol. III, 75, Note to 'Testament of the Papyngo,' lines 40-42.
- (5) Leyden, ed. cit., p. 13.
- (6) ibid., p. 14.
- (7) David Laing's preface to his 1868 reprint of the Gude and Godlie Ballates; quoted in A. F. Mitchell's STS edition, pages ci-cii.
- (8) ed. J. A. Carlyle D. Irving's History of Scottish (sic) Poetry, Edinburgh, (1861), 324.
- (9) Joseph Ritson BM. Add. MS. 10,285, folios 318-333; M.S. notes to Leyden's 1801 edition of the Complaynt. I am indebted for this reference to I. M. Brown John Leyden 1775-1811, Ph.D. thesis Edinburgh (1955) page 213, footnote 11, and to the British Museum for supplying Xerox copies.
- (10) John Leyden Complaynt page 17f.
- (11) I. M. Brown John Leyden 1775-1811 Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh (1955) 213; for an account of Leyden's work on the Complaynt see especially pages 207-224. Sir Walter Scott's article on Leyden, Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol. IV, 1811, is reprinted, 'Memoir of the Author' (with Supplement by Robert White) prefaced to the edition of Poems and Ballads by Dr. John Leyden, Kelso (1858).
- (12) Leyden, ed.cit. p. 18, declares that "the titles of Lindsay's work form such a series of Complaints, as is almost unparalleled in literary history."

- (13) D. Hamer summarizes the reaction as follows:-
- (a) letter from David Herd attacking Leyden's ascription to Lindsay, The Scots Magazine, LXIV (Jan. 1802) p. 51;
 - (b) unsigned review of Leyden's book written by John Pinkerton, The Critical Review, 2nd series, XXXV (May 1802) p. 95;
 - (c) letter, dated July 19, 1802, by John Leyden, attacking Herd and Pinkerton, The Scots Magazine, LXIV (July 1802), 566.
 - (d) unsigned review of Leyden's book, The British Critic, XX (July 1802), page 8;
 - (e) all the reviews and Leyden's letter were republished in book form, Edinburgh (1829). (D. Hamer, op.cit., Vol. IV, page lii, footnote 8.).
- (14) I. M. Brown, op.cit., p. 213.
- (15) George Chalmers An Historical Account of Printing in Scotland (Adv. MS. 17.1.16) folio 44. Chalmers describes Mackenzie's account as "absurd".
- (16) D. Laing Preface to 1868 reprint of Gude and Godlie Ballates, quoted by A. F. Mitchell A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis', STS, (1897). Appendix v, pages ci-cii.
- (17) J.A.H. Murray The Complaynt of Scotlande EETS (1872) page cxvi.
- (18) J.A.H. Murray The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland London (1873); lexicographical work, editor of N.E.D., etc.
- (19) J.A.H. Murray, Complaynt, pages xcvi-cvi discusses the language see page cii for this summary.
- (20) J.A.H.M., pages cii-civ.
- (21) J.A.H.M., page cxvi.
- (22) J.A.H. Murray, p. cxvi. Cf Maxwell, Old Dundee pp. 140-1. A.J. Aitken "Variation and Variety in written Middle Scots", in Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, edited by A. J. Aitken, A. McIntosh, H. Palsson (London, 1971) pages 177-209. On the advice of Mr. Aitken (reiterated in his article p. 186) I have prepared an "exhaustive rather than selective" computerized word-list. Comment on this word-list is of value in a comparative study based on material such as the archive of computer tapes described by A.J. Aitken and P. Bratley in "An Archive of Older Scottish Texts for Scanning by Computer", in English Studies 48 (1967) and in Studies in Scottish Literature 4 (1966) 45 ff. Till such time as such a study is undertaken the older account by G. Gregory Smith in the introduction to his Specimens of Middle Scots (Edinburgh, 1902) remains the most convenient general description of Middle Scots.

- (23) In the Scottish Antiquary Vol. XIII (July, 1898) pages 11-12, (in a note on the article in the Journal of English and Germanic Philology (1897), 411-430, by W. A. Neilson, called "The Original of the Complaynt of Scotlande", which draws attention to the debt to Alain Chartier). Wedderburn, incidentally, styled himself Magister, not Sir, as J.T.T. Brown styles him.
- (24) J.T.T. Brown, Scottish Historical Review (SHR), (1903), pages 154-8.
- (25) ibid. p. 155
- (26) M. P. McDiarmid, "The Complaynte of Scotlande: Patrick Cockburn, Antonio de Guevara, Antonio de Fregoso", Notes and Queries, (July, August, 1959), pages 245-248.
- (27) C. S. Lewis - English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama, Oxford (1954), 114-116.
- (28) C. S. Lewis - op.cit. p. 684 is nodding, when, in the Bibliography to our Complaynt, he refers to correspondence in the Times Literary Supplement. The letters by R. H. Griffith (TLS, July 5, 1928, p. 504; R. A. Law (TLS, Dec. 26, 1929, p. 1097); R. H. Griffith (TLS Sept. 4, 1930, p. 700); all refer to the (Miriam C. Stark) Wyatt fragment in the University of Texas Library (STC 18094). C.S. Lewis appears to have made out a card referring to 'A Boke of Balettes' and omitted to add 'Wyatt'.
- (29) Leyden ed.cit., p. 15.: ed. W. Tod Ritchie Bannatyne Manuscript, 5 Vols. STS (1930) Vol. IV, pages 28-30; 76-79; 98-102.
- (a) Poem 345 'My luve was fals and full of flattry';
 (b) Poem 367 'I think thiȝ men Ar verry fals and vane';
 (c) Poem 373 'O man transformit and vnnaturall'.
- Alexander Maxwell Old Dundee, Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social. Prior to the Reformation (Edinburgh and Dundee, (1891) 135 f, thinks that Robert Wedderburn wrote "Welcum fortoun: welcum againe!" of which a spiritualised version, "Welcum, Lord Christ, welcum againe" is found in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis.
- (30) Leyden, ed.cit., 276-7: "Of the other songs enumerated in the Complaynt, seven are metamorphosed in the Collection of Godly Ballads attributed to Wedderburne; 1. Allone, I veip in grit distress. 2. Rycht sorily musing in my mynde. 3. O mine hart, hay this is my sang. 4. Grøuit (gryuous) is my sorrow. 5. Allace, that samyn sueit face. 6. Huntis vp; an air likewise accommodated to a particular dance...7. In ane mirthful morow...8. Al Cristin mennis dance; the appropriate air of the song 'Be blyth all Christin men, and sing'.": Murray, ed.cit. pages lxxxii-lxxxvii.
- (31) A.F. Mitchell ed.cit., pages xxviii-xxxix, footnote: "It has been asserted...that mention of them in the Complaynt is evidence that these 'Ballates' had been printed before

1549. Even Sir J. G. Dalrymple seems to endorse this; but both Dr. Leyden and Dr. Murray are inclined to hold that...(these) are not those found in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates' but the secular or profane songs which are therein spiritualised. But even if this were clearly made out, there remains to be accounted for among the dances enumerated, 'Al Cristyn mennis dance', of which no possible explanation can be given, save that it refers to.... 'Be blyith all Christin men and sing', 'Dance and mak myrth with all zour mycht,' which is a translation of one of Luther's earliest hymns, the tune of which was a secular tune, picked up by him, it is said, from a wandering minstrel. That could only have come to be known in Scotland from its association with this 'sang of the Euangell'."

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

2. Date

THE DATE

Some internal evidence assists us in dating the composition of the Complaynt of Scotland.

In the dedicatory 'Epistil to the Qvenis Grace' reference is made to the English invasions of Scotland since the decease of Mary of Lorraine's "vmquhile faythful lord and hisband" (fol. 3r), who died in December 1542, and the references (fol. 3r, 64v) to the "cruel philaris the protector of ingland" show that these invasions include not only Hertford's expeditions of 1544 and 1545 but also his 1547 expedition after he had been created Duke of Somerset and declared "Protector". This is further substantiated by the reference to the Battle of Pinkie (fol. 18v), "the grite afflictione quhilk occurrit on oure realme in september .mv.xlvii zeris on the feildis besyde mussilburgh".

Reference is also made to Wharton's and Lennox's raid (22nd to 25th February 1548) in folio 81v. Mary Queen of Scots is mentioned as being absent in France (fol. 3v) whither she went in August 1548. The Complayner speaks of the world as having "bot four hundretht fyfty tua zeir tyl indure be cause that ther is fiue hundrethe fourty aucht zeir by past of the foir said sex thousand zeir" (fol. 29r). We thus have a 'terminus a quo of early 1549.

As Mary of Lorraine joined her daughter in France by September 1550 this gives us a terminus ad quem for the validity of the remarks in folio 3v about their separation. Similarly the reference to Mary of Lorraine's father the Duke of Guise, in folio 5v, would have more force if he were still alive, and this appears to date the writing of these words as before mid-May 1550. News of the death of the Duke of Guise reached Scotland on 17th May, 1550. On April 23rd 1550 the Constable Montmorency sent a letter and a special messenger to the Queen Dowager (Balcarres Papers, II, 62-3, and 64, fn.)

Bitter references to the Protector of England (fol. 3r, 64v) would lose some of their force after he was deprived of his office in October 1549. (Somerset was imprisoned on 1st December 1551 and executed on 22nd January 1551/2).⁽¹⁾

Already by August 1549 the French attacks on Boulogne were diverting English attention from Scotland and by April 1550 the political situation had altered considerably. "Warwick now Protector in England, wanted peace and by the Treaty of Boulogne, (24 March 1550) he ceded Boulogne and undertook to relinquish every foothold in Scotland".⁽²⁾

After the Complaynt had been set in type, in France, the Complayner decided to alter the text, cancelling leaves and inserting others. The alterations may have been made because of changes in the political situation or in the Complayner's views or personal situation. We have seen that the political situation was changed by the Treaty of Boulogne, and even earlier, by say the end of 1549, the purely political content may have struck the Complayner as becoming less relevant, as Murray (p.lxviii) also suggests, and the introduction of non-political material in the 'Monologue Recreative' would appear to bear this out.

The Complayner may have had personal reasons for these changes and excisions. Some other alterations may well have been, as Murray surmises (p.lii,lx), in passages dealing with the clergy, and the demoralizing effects of avarice. The Complayner's criticism of the clergy is indeed mild.

As explained below, Robert Wedderburn's personal position at that time would explain such excisions and reinforce the date of 1549/1550. Wedderburn would be reticent in view of the political and religious climate of 1549/1550 and in view of his own position, as he was about to resume his duties as Vicar of Dundee after his absence during his term as chamberlain at Torphichen at a time when absentee vicars were under attack in the General Statutes of 1549 (3) and under attack from other critics of abuses in the church, including critics from within the church. (4)

The Complaynt appears to have been begun in 1549, and completed by mid-1550 before Mary of Lorraine's public relations visit to France (September 1550 to November 1551), and the Complaynt appears to have been printed in France, probably Paris, in 1550. Its appearance thereafter would be timely, and its nature as a salvo in the propaganda pamphleteering campaign would make its appearance at that time most relevant and appropriate. (5)

- (1) This point about Somerset is also made by George Chalmers in "An Historical Account of Printing in Scotland", National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 17.1.16, folio 44. The references to Mary of Lorraine's "regement ande gouernyng" (fol. 2v) need not indicate a date after 1554, since although Hamilton was nominally Regent until 1554, in fact, especially in the eyes of the 'French faction', Mary of Lorraine was 'de facto' Regent after 1544 and more especially after the odium of Pinkie (1547) attached to the Hamiltons.
- (2) G. Donaldson, Scotland : James V to James VII (Edinburgh, 1965), 29. Tytler indicates that news of peace was proclaimed in Edinburgh on 20th April, 1550.
- (3) The Statutes of the Scottish Church : 1225-1559, edited by D.Patrick, S.H.S., (Edinburgh, 1907) 84-134, espec. p. 112, item 206.
- (4) Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine by Robertus Richardinus, 1530. edited by C. G. Coulton, S.H.S., (Edinburgh, 1935); John Durkan, "The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages, 1413-1560", Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 1959), 232, fn. 783.
- (5) The Complaynt is of course much more than a propaganda pamphlet but it does also reply to certain specific arguments given currency in contemporary propaganda documents, as we indicate below. The Complaynt may have served as a 'handout' on Mary's 'public-relations' trip, on which Sandilands, who had helped prepare the visit, and other Scots nobles accompanied her from September 1550 to November 1551.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

3. Life of Robert Wedderburn

THE LIFE OF ROBERT WEDDERBURN

Robert Wedderburn ⁽¹⁾ was the youngest of the three well-known sons ⁽²⁾ of James Wedderburn, a merchant of Dundee 'at the West Kirk Style' and of Janet Barry, sister of John Barry, Vicar of Dundee. Robert was born about 1510 presumably, since he matriculated at St. Andrews in 1526.

At St. Andrews, Robert Wedderburn studied at the College of St. Leonard's under Gavin Logie, of whom Calderwood says: "Mr. Gawin Logie instilled into his scholars the truth secretlie, which they in processe of time, spread through the whole countrie, whereupon did arise a proverbe. When anie man savoured of true religioun, it was said to him, 'Yee have drunken of Sanct Leonard's Well' ... ⁽³⁾ Thus it would appear that, whereas, on the one hand St. Leonard's was "no doubt a nursery of Catholic reform as Hepburn meant it to be", nevertheless, on the other hand the St. Leonard's students were "awkward", ⁽⁴⁾ and it is perhaps significant that in 1527 most of the importation of Tyndale's bibles was said to be to St. Andrews. ⁽⁵⁾ Patrick Hamilton, on the last day of February, 1528, was "condemned to be handed over to the secular arm and burnt as a heretic in front of St. Salvator's College". ⁽⁶⁾ After Hamilton's death, "St. Leonard's College ... by the labours of Master Gavin Logie and the novices of the Abbey, by the subprior, began to smell somewhat of the verity". ⁽⁷⁾

While at St. Andrews, and though under age, Robert Wedderburn was instituted to the chaplainry of St. Katherine's in Dundee, in 1528. Robert "binds himself quickly to receive institution or collation to the chaplainry of S. Katherine vacant by the death of Sir Robert Lany, and as soon as possible to accept the order of presbyter and abide continually in the daily service of the church of Dundee". This was apparently a common means of financing one's studies. Presumably Robert Wedderburn paid a 'locum tenens'. ⁽⁸⁾

In the University records the graduation lists are usually, as one would expect, for a single year. Apparently, however, because of plague, which according to the Edinburgh Records ⁽⁹⁾ lasted north of the Forth from October 1529 till May 1530, the 1529 examinations had not been held until June 1530, and the list of 'Nomina Determinancium' is for 1529-1530, and Robert Wedderburn is listed among the 'Nomina Licentiatorum anno 1530' and also heads the 1529-1530 list of 'Nomina Determinancium' at the first graduation: "Prima actus nomina: Robertus Wedderburn, Thomas Guthre, Johannes Meldrum, Jacobus Lyndesay, Andreas Barclay, Willelmus Mowbray". ⁽¹⁰⁾ The fact that Robert heads the list might appear to confirm Calderwood's statement that Robert

excelled his brother John both "in humanitie and knowledge of the scriptures". (11)

As we have seen, Robert had been made chaplain of St. Katherine's Chapel in 1528, and under privileges conceded by Papal Bulls to students at St. Andrews, Robert would be exempt while there from the obligation of performing the duties of the chaplainry in person; but it appears doubtful whether he performed these duties even after leaving the university, and in fact he resigned. The Dundee Protocoll Book has the following entry, under the date 7th December, 1532: "Personaliter constitutus Magister Robertus Wedderburn Vicarius de Dunde fatetur se plane nullum jus nec clameum habere ad capellaniam Ste Katrine Virginis situatam infra ecclesiam parochialem de Dunde, nec ad aliquam presentationem eiusdem, et si quam habuit seu habet, ibidem simpliciter in favorem (domini) Thome Bell demisit". (12) Calderwood states that Robert Wedderburn "succeeded to Mr. Robert (sic) Barrie, Vicar of Dundie. He went to Parise" (13)

After graduation many Scots went to Europe, mainly to France. According to Calderwood, "Wedderburn went to Paris where he remained cheeflie in the companie of those that were instructed in religion, as Mr. Alexander Hay (14), N. (sic) Sandelands, sonne to the Laird of Calder, in West Lothiane, and Lord of Sanct Johne, whose father and whole familie were most zealous in advancing of religioun".

Both A. F. Mitchell and A. H. Millar assume that Robert went to Paris in 1534 or 1536, assuming that he waited for James Sandilands to finish his studies at St. Andrews, but he may have gone sooner. (15) In going to Paris Wedderburn was following a strong tradition. St. Leonard's had, indeed, been inspired by Montaigu College in Paris. (16)

We have no real knowledge of Robert Wedderburn's whereabouts in the 'missing years' till 1546, but we learn that his brothers James and John were involved in the religious turmoil in the year 1539. In 1540 James Wedderburn the eldest brother was "delated to the King and letters of caption directed to take him. He departed secreetlie to France and remained at Rowan and Deep till he deceased", as Calderwood informs us. (17) The second brother, John, was also in trouble. He was accused of heresy and went into exile to Wittenberg till 1542. He returned to Scotland after the death of the King in December 1542, but was pursued by the Cardinal (Beaton), and fled to England. (18)

Though we do not know where Robert was in these years 1540-1546, A.F. Mitchell speculates (19) that Robert joined his brother John in Wittenberg until 1542, and then Robert went on to Frankfort-on-Oder. While we certainly

should not underestimate the mobility of the Scots abroad at that time, it is perhaps best not to restrict Robert to either of these places. In 1546 Robert was apparently in the Baltic area, for, according to Calderwood, Robert returned to Scotland after the death of Cardinal Beaton, who was murdered on 29th May, 1546: — "When he (Robert) was coming home out of the east countreis in a Danskein ship, the shippe was driven by contrarie winds upon Norway, where the passingers landed at Ripperwicke, and remained certain dayes. In the mean time upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even, 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passingers, some Popish and some Protestant, he and the rest of the fellowes, tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the cardinall's death, to make his pourtraiture, or statue, of a great oaken blocke, and thereupon write his name in paper affixed thereon. They accuse him, condemne him and burn his statue in a great fire of timber. The cardinall was slaine that same verie day, in the morning, in his owne castell of Sanct Andrewes". (I, 143).

Robert Wedderburn on this voyage would be glad to see the welcoming haven of Ripperwicke, and the fact that Robert Bruce was glad of the haven of sanctuary in Norway, as the Complayner mentions (fol. 63v), would be a reference more interesting to Wedderburn for the parallel. Such a voyage, and the earlier voyage to France, and the port-life of his native Dundee, as well as oral or literary accounts, could all have equipped Robert Wedderburn to write a sea-scene such as that portrayed by the Complayner in folios 32r-34r in the Complaynt. As Calderwood mentions that it was a 'Danskein' ship coming from the 'east countreis' this suggests that it was perhaps coming from a port other than Danzig, perhaps from Königsberg, or 'Queinsbrig' as the Scots called it, or from Riga. As the passengers carved a great oaken block, this suggests that it was a Danzig ship carrying a cargo of oak from Riga.

Wedderburn returned to Scotland in the year his brother John was forced to flee to England to escape persecution. It was the year of the martyrdom of Wishart and the murder of Beaton. Scotland was in a state of chronic lawlessness. Jacques de la Brosse writes of Scotland in 1543 that "not merely is the nobility in arms, but churchmen, friars and country people ('gens deglise Religieulx et paysans') only travel through the countryside in large companies all armed with pikes swords and bucklers and a half pike in their hands which in this country is called a lance". (20) After the incursions of 1544 and 1545 the situation had deteriorated still further. The Complayner describes the situation in Scotland which presented itself to Robert Wedderburn after his return in June 1546. The Complayner states that the "special cause

of our afflictione hes preceidit of thre vehement plagis ... that is to saye, the cruele inuasions of oure ald enemeis, the vniuersal pestilens and mortalite, ... ande the contentione of diuerse of the thre estaitis of Scotland... (21)

After the death of Henry VIII, in January 1547, Hertford, now Lord Protector Somerset, continued the policy of the 'Rough Wooing'. In Scotland after the 1544 meeting of the Estates (22) Mary of Lorraine was de facto Regent, having the "virtual chief influence in the country", (23) and she took an even greater share in the administration from 1546 on (24), a position she was able to consolidate after 1547, when the "odium of the Scots defeat at Pinkie attached to the Hamiltons and the hope of the people turned to France". (25) The defeat of Pinkie was a major psychological defeat for the Scots, which does not however mean that it was a victory for the English. Indeed as we have just observed, the English faction was repudiated. The military victory was probably a political setback.

The Complayner refers to the Battle of Pinkie, "september .mv.xlvii zeris on the feildis besyde mussilburgh" (fol. 18v), at the point in the narrative where, in the Quadrilogue Invectif, Alain Chartier mentions the Battle of Agincourt. The importance of Agincourt, and the literary and folklore interest focussed on the battle, (26) reflect Pinkie's traumatic scar borne by Scots at the time of the writing of the Complaynt.

Robert Wedderburn's Vicar's residence in Dundee was burned down by the English after Pinkie, as we learn from the feu-charter for the reconstructed house. (27) Thus Wedderburn might be expected to have not only strong patriotic resentment at English occupation, but also a private distrust of the intense English propaganda warfare which was indeed rough wooing.

The situation in Scotland was such that the only escape from English occupation seemed to be French occupation; and French help was given on condition that Mary Queen of Scots should be sent to France as the prospective bride of the Dauphin. (28)

By the Treaty of Haddington (July, 1548) it was agreed to send Mary to France, whither she went in her sixth year.

Robert Wedderburn at this juncture was asked for assistance by his friend Sir James Sandilands of Calder, who was named as Prior of Torphichen in a Bull of the Grand Master D'Omedes, dated 2nd April, 1547, (29) in succession to Sir Walter Lindsay. (30)

As Lord St. John, Preceptor of Torphichen, James Sandilands had probably a more important role than the position might suggest. Mary of Lorraine

probably felt she could trust the Knights of St. John on missions to France where her uncle was head of the French 'langue'. It is plausible to assume that they were employed as couriers. At any rate, when Mary began planning a visit with Scots nobles to France ⁽³¹⁾ she employed Sir James Sandilands, evidently from the planning stage, for Sandilands, requiring to put his affairs in order for a long absence, asked his friends, including Robert Wedderburn, for their assistance in enabling him to do his patriotic duty. Robert Wedderburn is named as chamberlain, and Peter Sandelands, parson of Calder, and James Makgill are named as commissioners, by James Sandilands in letters of commission, ⁽³²⁾ signed at Torphichen on 3rd July, 1548. This is recorded in the Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis ⁽³³⁾ where, dated March 22, 1548/9, we have the "Registration at the Instance of Master James Makgill of a deed (Torphichen, July, 3, 1548) whereby James, Lord St. John, preceptor of Torphichen, empowers Master Peter Sandilands, parson of Calder, and McGill, his factors, to appoint Master Robert Wedderburn to be chamberlain till the preceptor's return from France, and to administer generally. Master Peter to deal with 'actionis of spiritualite' in the jurisdiction. McGill sought registration not only for the authentic copy but for publication at Edinburgh market cross and other places needful".

Robert Wedderburn was required to "administer generally". In the order of St. John a chamberlain was of "inferior rank like the deputy maitre d'hotel, the falconer, the captain of the guard". ⁽³⁴⁾ General administration would presumably include receiving visitors, checking accounts and rentals. Such duties would give Wedderburn a knowledge of such matters as husbandry, and categories of sheep, revealed also by the Complayner (fol. 53r/v), and some interest in the medical work of the Hospitallers. ⁽³⁵⁾ The Complayner likewise shows great interest in the medicinal uses of herbs (fol. 53r/v), listing "al sortis of hoilsum flouris gyrsis and eirbis maist conuenient for medycyn".

The composition of the Complaynt, which we have estimated from internal evidence, would coincide with this period in Wedderburn's life, while he was acting as chamberlain at Torphichen, after 1548 and to mid-1550.

If we assume that Sandilands returned with Mary of Lorraine from France, then Wedderburn would be free to relinquish his post at Torphichen after November 1551.

By 1551/1552 Robert Wedderburn was in fact setting his domestic affairs in order. He may have been under pressure to do so from 1549, and that would partly explain the care with which McGill registered the deed. In a feu

charter, dated March 10th, 1551/2, the Vicar's Dundee South Marketgait tenement is transferred to the ownership of James Lovell and Eufame Forrett his wife, reserving to the Vicar and his successors, one room. Robert Wedderburn is here transferring the new house to the parents of Isobel Lovell, who about this time bore two sons, David (c, 1550-1583/5) and Robert (c.1550-c. 1620), to Robert Wedderburn, who could not legally marry. This feu charter is Wedderburn's indirect provision for his 'wife' and two children, for whom Robert also obtained precepts of legitimation, dated 13th January, 1552, at Linlithgow. This is while the children were still infants; they did not come of age until 1571. (36)

Robert Wedderburn may have had some premonition of disaster, and may indeed have been under pressure, and must indeed have died soon after this, because in 1553 his successor John Rolland is involved in a nomination dispute. (37)

- (1) The basic account of Wedderburn's life is that by David Calderwood (1575-1650) in the History of the Kirk of Scotland, edited by T. Thomson, Wodrow Society, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-9), vol. I (1842), page 143. Some of Calderwood's statements are our only source, albeit a reliable source, because he had access to original documents subsequently lost in a fire in the House of Lords. The other account is by Alexander Wedderburn, The Wedderburn Book, 2 vols. (Dundee, 1898).
- (2) The three older brothers known for their reputed authorship of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis were: James (?1495-1553); John (?1500-1556) and Robert: the two younger brothers were Henry and Gilbert; there may have been a sister.
- (3) Calderwood, op.cit. I, 183.
- (4) John Durkan, "The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages, 1413-1560", Ph.D. thesis, (Edinburgh, 1959); referred to as Durkan, "SUMA": Durkan, "SUMA", 246, 249.
- (5) Durkan, "SUMA", 276; J. Herkless, R. K. Hannay, The Archbishops of St. Andrews, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1907-15), III, 174; A.P.S., ii, 295.
- (6) Herkless and Hannay, op.cit., III, 185. The Complayner's remarks about the futility of burning heretics, might have a special meaning for Wedderburn if he witnessed Hamilton's or Wishart's death and the reactions.
- (7) Ed. W. C. Dickinson, John Knox: History of the Reformation, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1949), I, 15.
- (8) Wedderburn Book, I, 17; II, 159 (According to Dundee Protocoll Book, 10th May, 1528). Robert's brother John was chaplain of St. Matthew's chapel in Dundee in 1532, (according to A. H. Millar in the D.N.B.). Their uncle, John Barry, Vicar of Dundee, may have had a say in the award of these 'scholarships'.
- (9) Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1869-92), 220-1, 229, 234, 239, 224, quoted by Durkan, "SUMA", p. 312, fn. 1038 and fn. 1040.
- (10) Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis S. Andree, 1413-1588, edited by A. I. Dunlop, S.H.S., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1964), referred to as Dunlop, AFA; Dunlop AFA, II, 363, 365; cf. ed. James Maitland Anderson, Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, S.H.S., (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 123.
- (11) Calderwood, op.cit., I, 143
- (12) Wedderburn Book, I, xxxii, fn. 3.
- (13) Calderwood, op.cit., I, 143
- (14) "Provided that Calderwood has got the Christian name correct, it is almost certainly Alexander Hay of Delgaty, whose second son was a knight of St. John, secretary to Queen Mary and Abbot of Glenluce (S.H.R., vi, 251)" Note from Rev. Dr. D. Shaw. There is an Andreas Hay, Nationis Laudoniae, who matriculated at St. Andrews in 1533, at St. Salvator's.

- (15) Calderwood's reference to "N. Sandelands, sonne to Laird of Calder in West Lothiane, and Lord of Sanct John whose father and whole familie were most zealous in advancing of religion ... " would appear to be a slip by Calderwood or his transcriber, as in the case of Robert for John Barrie, above. "Jacobus Sandelandis, nationis Laudoniae" is entered on the matriculation roll for 1535. (J. M. Anderson, Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 235) and in the Graduation Roll for 1535 (ibid., 134 under the 'Nomina Determinantium anni 1535' at the second graduation of the 'Collegii Divi Leonardi'.
- (16) Durkan, "SUMA", 519-520, 550; Major, History, xlviii; li, fn.3; Boece, Vitae, 85-9, 157. Although Erasmus could not stand the rigours of life in the college of 'Mons Acutus' which he renamed 'Mons Acetus' (Vinegar), the hardier Scots, John Major writing 'ex praeclaro Montisacuti apud Parrhisios collegio'; and the Dundonian Hector Boece, later Principal of King's College, Aberdeen (1503-36), both mention Montaigu favourably, and both mention fellow-students in Paris at that earlier date, including: Patrick Panther; Walter Ogilvie; George Dundas; Gavin Douglas; Gavin Dunbar; Hugo Spens; William Hay; Gavin Logie of St. Leonard's; Peter Sandilands, Rector of Calder, later associated with Wedderburn at Torphichen (see note 33, below); John Annand of St. Leonard's, whose work on Aristotle's Ethics may have encouraged Wedderburn's interest in Aristotle, an interest revealed by the Complayner. Another expatriate was James Liddell, the first Scot to print a book. (W. Beattie, Edin.Biblio. Soc. Trans. iii, 75-7).
- (17) James Wedderburn, the oldest brother, had, according to Calderwood, "a good gift of poesie and made diverse comedeis and tragedeis in the Scottish tongue, wherein he nipped the abuses and superstition of the time. He composed in the forme of tragedie the beheading of Johne the Baptist, which was acted at the West Port of Dundie ... He compiled the Historie of Dyonisius the Tyranne in forme of a comedie, which was acted in the play-feild of the said burgh He counterfooted also the conjuring of a ghaist, which was indeed, practised by Frier Laing, beside Kingorne, which Frier Laing had beene confessor to the king. But after this conjuring the King was constrained, for shame, to remove him ... ".

Calderwood thus suggests that James was the dramatist in the family. J.T.T. Brown, in his article, "The Bannatyne Manuscript", S.H.R. (1903), 154-8, suggests that James Wedderburn must have been the author of the Complaynt, on the grounds that he was the only one of the trio in France around 1549, to carry out proofreading, etc. This argument appears rather naive. Robert would have little difficulty in having a book produced in France. Perhaps James did indeed see the work through the press; fraternal collaboration would be natural. On the other hand James was spied on by fellow-Scots; and Rouen is less likely to be the place of printing than Paris. Broadly speaking, James seems to have been the dramatist, John to have been mainly responsible for the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, and Robert to have been the 'Complayner'; but there need not have been any 'demarcation dispute'. James and John and Robert may all have collaborated in John's Gude and Godlie Ballatis, and Robert's interest in James' drama would for example explain the Complayner's particular interest in a reference to Dionysius (fol. 105v, 106r) where he apparently borrows directly from Valerius Maximus (VI, 2); the

Complayner's interest in drama is also shown by the many parallels with Lindsay already noted by John Leyden.

- (18) John Wedderburn, according to Calderwood, "beganne to professe the reformed religioun. Being summouned, he departed to Almaine, where he heard Luther and Melancton, and became verie fervent and zealous. He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scotish meeter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rymes in godlie rymes ...". In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts for 1538-1539 there is a record of receipt of 40s for the "escheat of the goods of Mr. John Wedderburn, convicted of heresy, in favour of his brother Henry Wedderburn". (Wedderburn Book, I, 15).
- (19) A.F. Mitchell, A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis', Scottish Text Society, (Edinburgh, 1897), page xxiv.
- (20) "Discours des affaires du Royaume Descosse", BN fonds francais, No.17890, folios 29-34; ed. G. Dickinson, Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse, S.H.S. (Edinburgh, 1942), 16-47.
- (21) Complaynt, folio 2v.
- (22) W.C. Dickinson, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603 (Edinburgh, 1961, rev. 1965), 319; Diurnal of Occurents, 33.
- (23) J.H. Burton, History of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1867), III, 491-2.
- (24) A. Teulet, Relations, I, 159, fn ... "la reinedouairiere Marie de Lorraine ... depuis la mort du cardinal Beatoun, avait pris une grand part à l'administration des affaires".
- (25) A.I. Cameron, Mary of Lorraine: Correspondence, p.196.
- (26) Complaynt, folio 18v. Pinkie was fought, not on 4th September as J.A.H. Murray suggests (p. xiv) but on 10th September, 1547. See A.H. Dunbar, Scottish Kings, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1906), 249. There are various accounts of the battle, the most detailed contemporary account being the eye-witness report by William Patten, printed by Richard Grafton in June, 1548, and reprinted in Dalrymple's Fragments: William Patten's Diary of 'The expedition into Scotlande ...'. See also the contemporary Récit de l'Expedition en Ecosse, l'an MDXLVI et de la battyle de Musclevurgh Par Le Sieur de Berteville au Roi Eduard VI, Bannatyne Club, (Edinburgh, 1825). From the time of the battle there was debate as to how it should be named: see Patten's Preface to "The Expedition into Scotlande ...", in Dalrymple, Fragments, xi. ("Muskelborough felde", "Seton felde", "Fauxside Bray", "Vnderesk feld", "Walliford feld", "no feld at all"). Lindsay refers to it as "Pinkie Cleugh". "Seton field" is linked with the prophecy about Gladsmuir, see R. Chambers, The Popular Rhymes of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1870), 218.
- (27) "Robert Wedderburn's Feu Charter", Aberdeen University Review, XLIII, (1970) 403-7.
- (28) G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V - James VII (Edinburgh, 1965), 28.
- (29) Whitworth Porter, A History of the Knights of Malta or the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, rev. ed. (London, 1883), 736.

- (30) According to writs in the Scottish Record Office, Sandilands was given a licence by James V, dated 5th April, 1540, to go to Malta for the provision of the Preceptory: the Instrument of Possession in favour of Sandilands of the Preceptory as well in spiritualities as in temporalities is dated 29th June, 1550. (SRO/GD 119/25). Hamer (Lindsay, Works, I, 189; III, 227-8, in his note to Lindsay's Test. Sq. Meldrum, 26-8) wrongly gives the date of 1547 as the date when Torphichen was "surrendered". The correct date is 1564, as is shown by the charter of Mary Queen of Scots in favour of Sandilands for the barony to be erected from the property of the Priory of Torphichen, dated 25th January, 1563/4. (SRO/GDI/445/1). Sandilands had a precedent in the secularisation of the Teutonic Order after 1524 when the Grand Master Albert of Brandenburg^h proclaimed himself Duke of Prussia. (E.G. Léonard, A History of Protestantism: Vol. One: The Reformation (London, Edinburgh, 1965), pages 123-4).
- (31) Mary of Lorraine landed at Dieppe on 19th September, 1550, and went to the court at Rouen: RSS, iv, 879-93; Cal. S.P. Venice, V. 361; Buchanan, History, II, 380; G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V ..., p.80; G. Donaldson, Scottish Kings (London, 1967), 175.
- (32) Wedderburn Book, II, 465, item 14.
- (33) Ed. R. K. Hannay, Acts of Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554 (= ADCP: Selections from Acta Dominorum Concilii) (Edinburgh, 1932), 585-586 (Vol. XXV, fol. 174 of original).
- (34) Whitworth Porter, History of the Knights of Malta ..., rev.ed., (London, 1883), 515.
- (35) Edgar Erskine Hume, "Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem", Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine of The Johns Hopkins University, Vol. VI, (Baltimore, 1938), 399-466; 495-613; 677-819.
- (36) Wedderburn Book, I, xxxiii; Aberdeen University Review, XLIII, (1970) 403-407.
- (37) Wedderburn Book, I, 18.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

4. Robert Wedderburn as author
of the Complaynt

ROBERT WEDDERBURN AS THE AUTHOR OF THE COMPLAYNT
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Robert Wedderburn was reputed, as we have seen, to have excelled his brother John "both in humanitie and knowledge of the scriptures". The Complayner reveals an exceptional degree of familiarity with classical Latin writers, as our discussion of the sources demonstrates. His biblical quotations also reveal a closer acquaintance with the scriptures than was common. (1)

Wedderburn had reputedly been in France. The Complayner shows his awareness of the debates being waged in Paris from the mid-Thirties. The Complayner is in fact exemplifying a Scottish equivalent to the philological revolution, which was at its climax in the years from about 1530 to about 1560, in the Paris of Francis I and his sister Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549).

The Complayner is involved in the problems of translation and the enriching of the vernacular. He takes as his model one of the prose vernacular writers recommended by the French Renaissance, namely, Alain Chartier. (3)

We can narrow the range of possible identities for the Complayner by considering his views and apparent experience. The Complayner is not a Reformer. He is against popular uprisings. Though he shares many literary topoi with Lindsay he does not share his religious stance. The Complayner does not expend invective against Reforming ideas, merely against the violent uprisings.

Wedderburn similarly decided to remain within the old church, not from shabby opportunistic motives implied in the 'Vicar of Bray' label unfairly attached by Mitchell, but from deeply pondered motives, even in the light of his own and his brothers' experiences. However sympathetic to his brothers' views, Wedderburn appears to have had a conservative attitude such as that revealed by the Complayner, who views with distrust the sheep-like nature of people, and the destructive nature of mindless leaderless democratic riots in the name of religion (fol. 6v, 132v). In assessing the priorities, Robert Wedderburn evidently decided that law and order, the preservation of the best in tradition, and reform from within, were the best lines of action.

On the other hand, the Complayner's tolerance in leaving the verdict on churchmen to God (fol. 23v), "as to the precheours, i reffer that to the vniuersal auditor of oure realme", is matched later (fol. 124v,f.) by Dame Scotia's reproof of the spirituality (124v-130v). This is exactly the case which Robert Wedderburn might be expected to plead.

Robert Wedderburn's education, his training in the Classics, with all the examples of pagan virtues, and non-ecclesiastical humane thought, such as those quoted by the Complayner, Robert's travels, his dislike of the inquisition mentality (of Beaton, for example), which the Complayner likewise condemns (fol. 127r), the complexity of the religious and economic and political and social issues, would all prevent Robert Wedderburn from making a facile black-white simplification of the issues. Robert Wedderburn had, after all, on the one side seen the religious turmoil, in his own family, at St. Andrews and on the Continent. He had been educated under Logie, exposed early in Dundee and St. Andrews, no doubt, to Lutheran doctrines entering Scotland via the East coast ports from the 1520s on. Clerical abuses were obvious, and his brother James, like Lindsay, highlighted them. In Paris too he must have been aware of both sides of the turmoil. His brother John probably informed him of the ideas of Luther and Melancthon. James, on the other hand, must have reported the vindictiveness of fellow-Scots in France. The ideological differences were complicated by political and economic considerations. James Sandilands was in a similar dilemma, as his subsequent career showed.

The Wedderburns' Gude and Godlie Ballatis was one of the works aimed at in the canon made at the council of the Scottish clergy in 1549, as A. F. Mitchell remarks, and James and John had already paid, by exile, for their share in the work. Robert on the other hand was intending to resume his duties as the Vicar of Dundee. He knew what the position involved. His uncle had been Vicar before him. Robert saw the better side of the church, and saw the national problem and the problem of the church as one. The Complayner's religious solution, his call to repentance, is also surely the solution of a cleric. His frequent appeals to scripture and canon law are less likely to be the appeal of a nobleman at court. The Complayner likewise shows that he is probably not a hereditary nobleman in his comments on the nature of true nobility. The Complayner approves of good leadership. He pleads for what we might term a 'meritocracy'. He disapproves of "battellis asephales, that is quhen the pepil gadris togiddir in ane grit conuentione but the authorite of the superior" (fol. 132v). John Major, similarly, in his "Exposition of St. Matthew" (1518), folio xiv recto, says that although he is not himself of noble birth he prefers an aristocratic polity. The Complayner's views on the sheep-like behaviour of the common populace (fol. 110v), would also seem to indicate an independent townsman or someone who like Wedderburn had risen in the ranks of the established order of the church.

Aristocratic and independent views would fit Wedderburn, who as Vicar, and as friend of Sir James Sandilands, and as a prominent member of a prominent Dundee family, and as one of Sandilands' representatives dealing with and on behalf of the Knights of St. John, might be expected to hold such views. His comments about academics and clergy who are passive and try to remain neutral also fit his situation, involved in active support for Mary of Lorraine.

The Complayner mentions herbal remedies. Wedderburn too would know the workings of the international military-medical-religious order of the Knights Hospitallers, and would possibly have access to such detailed herbal lore at Torphichen. The Complayner mentions Godfrey of Bouillon,⁽⁴⁾ linking Mary of Lorraine's ancestor, the figure of the 'Nine Nobles topos' and the benefactor of the Order of St. John, in which Mary of Lorraine's uncle was head of the French langue. The allusion would be especially meaningful to Robert Wedderburn, as too would references by the Complayner to the Turks and Soliman the Magnificent, adversary of the Knights.

The Complayner is a churchman and presumably not one of the hereditary aristocracy. The Complayner dedicates his work to Mary of Lorraine. For a churchman and non-nobleman to obtain permission to dedicate his work to Mary he must have had a link with court presumably. Robert Wedderburn had this link with court. He was facilitating Sandilands' assistance to Mary in preparing the French visit. He was involved as chamberlain to the Knights whose French Prior was François de Guise (1534-1563), Mary's uncle. Mary might have been willing to accept the dedication, and if the work did appear anonymously, might have been willing to accept the dedication of an anonymous work, if the work was recommended by Sir James Sandilands and if the mention of the name Wedderburn would evoke misleading associations.

The Complayner would appear to have had access to a library and leisure to write; and facilities for getting the book to France, and having it seen through the press, and revised, after the work was set in type.

Wedderburn at Torphichen had all these facilities. At Torphichen he would have access to Sandilands' library. It is tempting to see in the list of popular tales and romances a reading list of works popular among the knights; and to see in the classical allusions a guide to some of the books popular at St. Leonard's and in Montaigne College, and excerpted in Wedderburn's notebooks, or on the shelves of Sandilands' library. The herbal lists, as we have said, may list plants in the herb garden at Torphichen or be culled from a Torphichen notebook. The pastoral scene and the categories of sheep

would be explicable in terms of the chamberlain's duties to check accounts and properties on the rental.

In the preamble to his feu-charter for the house built to replace the house burned down by the English, Robert Wedderburn refers emphatically to the havoc wreaked during the warfare that had raged for almost eight years continuously previous to March 1551/2, and refers to the English as "anglos veteres nostros inimicos". This phrase and the whole tone of the preamble are along the same lines as the Complayner's warnings against the 'ald enemeis'.

In the Wedderburns' Gude and Godlie Ballatis there are eight 'godlified' versions of songs mentioned in the Complaynt.⁽⁵⁾ Others of the 'Ballatis' chose the same examples as the Complayner employs. In the Bannatyne Manuscript there are three poems attributed to "Wedderburne" which echo phrases and examples from the Complaynt.⁽⁶⁾

The Complayner's reference to Dionysius (fol. 105v, 106r) would be meaningful to Robert, whose brother James wrote a drama on the subject, as we have mentioned.

The Complayner refers to the Complaynt as "ane tracteit of the fyrst laubir of my pen" and it might be objected that this would suggest the work of a young man, and that this might seem to invalidate the claim of Robert Wedderburn who in 1549 would seem to have been approximately forty years old. On the other hand, as we have seen, the statement could well apply to Wedderburn, who, though far from idle, had little time to write, in all probability, before the leisure afforded by the post at Torphichen. The historical situation which had been building up, was at its worst in the years after Pinkie, the time which coincided with Robert Wedderburn's return to Scotland; and thus leisure and motivation coincided.

It is not at all surprising that the Complaynt should be the first work of a slightly older author. On the contrary this "inundation of prose", which C. S. Lewis adjudges to be "one of the most remarkable works of the century", is just the sort of work a maturer person returning to his native country from abroad and finding Scotland in a sad state would be impelled to write.

This reference to the "tracteit of the fyrst laubir" of the Complayner's pen, occurring in this highly structured rhetorical work, is perhaps, as well as being a genuine statement, also part of the Christianized form of the dedication topic of the 'first fruits', which like the 'widow's mite' topic (fol. 7r/7v) was very popular.

Thus the statement that it is the Complayner's first work need not exclude Wedderburn, and indeed the Complayner refers at the end of the Prolog to the "nyxt verkis that i intend to set furtht the quhilk i beleaf in gode, sal be verray necessair, tyl al them that desiris to lyue verteouslye indurand, the schort tyme of this oure fragil peregrinatione, & sa fayr veil". (fol.15v). Such a pious work is exactly the kind of work to which a Vicar, about to resume the 'cure of souls', might wish to devote his energies. He might have considered undertaking the task that was in fact carried out by Ninian Winzet later, the translation of Vincentius Lirinensis, to whom the Complayner explicitly refers (fol. 135r).

It would present no difficulty to Wedderburn to have the manuscript conveyed to France, either with Sir James Sandilands, or in the 'diplomatic bag' of one of the Knights, or through Dundee, or the port of Blackness used by the Knights. In France, either Sandilands, or one of the other Scots, or even Wedderburn's brother James (though he was at Rouen or Dieppe, and apparently under surveillance), could see the work through the press.

The final quotation in the Complaynt is suitably veiled but seems to me to express what must have been exactly the sentiments of Robert Wedderburn. Anyone wishing to make out a case for any alternative author for the Complaynt will have to explain this final key quotation: "Nichil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam, ex insipientium sermone pendere. Cice. de fini."

This quotation (Cicero, De Fin. 2,50) at the end of the Complaynt, and the fact that there is no title-page to any of the four original copies which survive, induced John Leyden, in his edition of the text in 1801, to say that the author wished to remain anonymous. This is not stated in the text, but it fits the case. J.A.H. Murray, who re-edited the text in 1872, extends this view and suggests that the author "preferred thus obscurely to hint the folly of a wise man by disclosure of his identity making his life depend on the suffrage of fools". This, I would suggest, is a wrong interpretation. The quotation actually means, in colloquial terms: "I do not care what the unenlightened masses say about my morality or doctrines". As the Complayner has shown that he knows the context of all his quotations from Cicero, we must assume that he says what he means and means what he says.

Though it is of course difficult to prove that Robert Wedderburn is the Complayner, and in a sense it is not even essential to do so, it seems that this final quotation so exactly fits the situation of Robert Wedderburn in 1550 that it takes on greater import applied to him than in its original

Ciceronian context even. John Leyden and Murray both accept that the author wished to remain anonymous. If the work did appear without a title-page, with the intention of being anonymous, then, it is reasonable to assume, Mary of Lorraine would not allow a work to be dedicated to her anonymously without good cause. Robert Wedderburn had such cause. The name Wedderburn on the title-page would mislead the reader, since the name would evoke the wrong associations. The name Wedderburn would be associated with the reforming views of the 'Psalmes of Dundee', the 'Godlie and Spirituall Sangs', the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis' or indeed the 'Psalmes of Wedderburn' as they were variously termed, according to A.F. Mitchell in his introduction to the Gude and Godlie Ballatis (ed.cit.,xiv). Even if the name were missing on the title-page, it is reasonable to assume that Mary and those who mattered would know the Complayner's identity. If Wedderburn did omit his name from the title-page, this would reveal his wish to have the work judged on the merits of its message, not on the reputation of its author's name. The work very probably did appear anonymously, as the missing title-pages suggest, but not, as Murray rather ungenerously suggests, from aristocratic disdain, nor indeed from fear of the authorities, who would have no grounds for objection, but anonymously in order to save distortion of the message and to ensure maximum impact. The Complayner Wedderburn would not wish to confuse the unenlightened "vlgare pepil" for whom he is writing. The final quotation is only meaningful to those who are already informed. It is, in a sense, a private comment.

Whether the work appeared anonymously or not, however, what the final quotation means is exactly what it says. It is more than just a wish to have the work read anonymously to keep the message intact and to save misreading. Wedderburn, having the approval of Mary of Lorraine implied by her acceptance of the dedication, and having the approval of his superiors, we must assume, for his patriotic work, both in writing this patriotic book and in enabling Sandilands to serve Mary's cause, would feel free to state that he was responsible, for his own behaviour; that his public life, his doctrines and above all his private life were matters in which he must bear the ultimate responsibility for his own decisions taken by him in the light of all the facts at his disposal. He would feel, as the Complayner, that the individual will be held to account by God, and that if he has a clear conscience, he can afford to disregard criticism from those who are moved by other motives than 'cherite' and who not only do not know all the facts, but do not even interpret his intention favourably.

It is not unlikely that Robert Wedderburn was under attack on all three

grounds, his public life, his doctrines and his private life.

His private life and morality were arguably matters for his own conscience. He loved Isobel Lovell enough to arrange a feu-charter transferring the new house to her parents, and he arranged precepts of legitimation for the twins. That he was not allowed to marry her was a precept of the church, not his personal decision.

His public life may have been under attack, since his private life impinged on his effectiveness in the "cure of souls"; and, further, his apparently prolonged absenteeism from the same "cure of souls" is one of the major abuses specifically reprehended in the 1549 Statutes. Here again Wedderburn must have felt that it was his decision, and that by releasing Sandilands to perform a greater patriotic task, he was doing more both for his country as a whole and therefore indeed for his Dundonian flock than by remaining in Dundee.

Robert Wedderburn's answer to all the criticisms would have probably been, as the context of the Ciceronian quotation expresses it: I have tried to live 'honeste', and I have made my decisions for which I alone am responsible, and accordingly, (especially as all these Lutheran riots show, he might have added, that vox populi is not vox Dei), "Nichil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam, ex insipientium sermone pendere".

- (1) On the poor training of priests, see Buchanan, History, I, 350-1; Pitscottie, Historie, I, 348-350; Calderwood, op.cit., I, 126-7; Denis McKay, "Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560", Innes Review, 10 (1959), 237-267, espec. 244.
- (2) R.J. Knecht, Francis I and Absolute Monarchy (London, 1969); Jean Plattard, La Renaissance des Lettres en France, 6th ed. (Paris, 1952); V.L. Saulnier, La Littérature française de la Renaissance, 9th ed. (Paris, 1969); P.M. Smith, Clement Marot (London, 1970), 37-51. The philological revolution is taken to begin with the foundation of the College des Lecteurs Royaux, 1530.
- (3) On Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif as the framework for the Complaynt. see discussion below, and parallels in commentary and appendix. See A.J.G. Mackay, Scottish Antiquary, xiii, p. 11; W.A. Neilson, "The Original of the Complaynt of Scotlande", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, I, (1897), 411-430; Margaret S. Blayney and G.H. Blayney, "Alain Chartier and The Complaynt of Scotlande", RES IX (1958), 8-17; M.S. Blayney, "Fifteenth Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's 'Le Traité de l'Espérance' and 'Le Quadrilogue Invectif'", D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford, 1966, pages clxiv-clxxix in particular; Ruth Mohl, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, (New York); 1933), 73-77 in particular.
- (4) The reference to Godfrey as 'king of iherusalem' is inaccurate, though he was regarded as such in later ages. He was first ruler in Jerusalem. On Geoffrey's Donation to the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem (x Cod. papyrac. Bibl. Vaticanae N.3136, p.19) is quoted as Appendix III, by Whitworth Porter, A History of the Knights of Malta... rev.ed. (London, 1883), page 698. See note to folio 4r.
- (5) Be Blyith, all Christin men, and sing; Richt soirly musing in my mynde; Allace that same sweit face; Allone I Weip in greit distres; Musing greitlye in my mynde; With Huntis Up; Hay trix time go trix (chorus to 'The Pape that pagane full of pryde'); also we have the 'scourge topos' in 'Blissit is he quhome God dois correct'...; the exempla in 'Was not Salomon, the king' ... are similar, etc.
- (6) I am indebted to Professor J. MacQueen for having drawn my attention to these poems from the Bannatyne Manuscript, in the S.T.S. edition, at Volume IV, Poem 345, pp. 28-30; Volume IV, Poem 367, pages 76-79; Volume IV, Poem 378, pages 98-102.

CHAPTER THREE

Sources, Influences, Methods

SOURCES, INFLUENCES, METHODS

Sources and influences affect methods and styles and complicate the task of assessing a writer's achievement, particularly because value judgments and qualitative assessments of originality from a mid twentieth-century point of view are irrelevant in a mid-sixteenth-century situation where the prescriptions of Classical rhetoric provide the guiding framework for figures of grammar and thought; and originality refers to the originality of a re-creating artist, in much the same way as we speak of the originality of the concert pianist as distinct from the originality of the composer.

We can distinguish between influences and sources, although the dividing line is not fixed and the term influences has been much abused in comparative literature where it is used to account for a whole gamut of relationships. Influences are pervasive and can include commonplace elements so widely used that no one specific source is required; sources are more specific borrowings whether named or unnamed.

The two main influences in the Complaynt are the Bible and Cicero. From the Bible we have quantity and pervasiveness, from Cicero frequency of reiteration.

The main source is Chartier, who provides the framework, and whose contribution falls into a category by itself; although his contribution is equalled in bulk by the borrowing, not previously noted, from Pliny, and a number of lesser sources.

The Complayner reveals himself as a Christian scholar familiar with the Bible, the humanities and contemporary learning. The Complaynt is a product of the Northern Renaissance. From a literary point of view the most important aspect of the Complayner's activity is his role as translator, compiler and teacher (fol. 9r: 14r-15r).⁽¹⁾

From a historiographical point of view, the most important aspect of the Complayner's activity is his putting into practice of his world picture, the exemplification of his Providential or Biblical view of history.⁽²⁾ The pervasive influences of the Bible and Cicero shape his thought. These influences which form his view of history are arguably even more important than the more readily identifiable borrowings from specific sources. These Christian humanist views on history form a whole network of references linked like threads in a tapestry. References to commonplaces within this scheme evoke patterns of associations which are more meaningful than any single source.

Behind this view of history is the philosophy, of Augustine for example, which linked three ideas, the idea of the course of history, the six days of creation and the six periods of human life. To this were added: a division according to the four world empires derived from the allegorical interpretation of the Book of Daniel (2, 31 f, and 7,3 f.); and the topos of the expectation of the Last Day of Judgment and the signs and tokens preceding the Last Day, because the last age would be shortened; and the concept of the transference of dominion from one empire to another as the result of misuse of the power given by divine providence.

In the Complaynt sacred and profane references are linked and we have a synthesis of ethics and recorded events. The Complayner interprets events, not as discrete happenings for which at most causes or symptoms must be sought afterwards, but instead, teleologically, as exemplary elements of perennial validity in a meaningful pattern. This Providential view of history, like the Ciceronian view (De Oratore, II, ix, xi-xv), implies that history is philosophy teaching by examples, a teacher of providence, and a revelation of God's judgments, as well as being the life of memory and a monument against oblivion. This view is implicit throughout. The Biblical influence is not only implicit of course. The biblical quotations in the text are expounded and exemplified with the use of anecdotes; in the margin the quotations are added as marginal 'gems' of wisdom which draw attention to the exemplary anecdotes in the text and also have the force of self-evident axiomatic truths, which, like the proverbs and legal maxims, transfer the burden of proof of the contrary to the reader. These quotations claim perennial validity and confer the same validity on specific events and examples from more recent history.

The theory of the Ages of History, mentioned above, and central to the Providential view of history, is specifically mentioned by the Complayner (folio 28v) in connection with Carion (see note). This view of history, giving meaning to human existence, should necessarily have a modifying effect on human aims, aspirations and behaviour. The Complayner analyses events which are ammunition in his political propaganda, and shows that the analysis is not just a search for causes but also a prescription of a remedy. The analysis of specific causes of human misery in Scotland after 1547 is expanded to a universally valid analysis of human frailties, and shows the meaning of this suffering in terms of the perennial problem of freedom and necessity, wrongdoing and divine 'scourges'. In his analysis of the opposing claims of free will, individualism and fatalistic fortune, the Complayner argues against fortune.

Historical events produce an endless variety of configurations and patterns in which the historian strives to identify inexact analogies and near-recurrences, and even when the Bible is taken as providing patterns of invariable factors, there are still the variable factors to be taken into account. Furthermore the historian has still the problem of properly distinguishing variable from invariable factors. The historian who claims objectivity is deluding himself, arrogantly claiming superhuman talents. The historian can only be half a scientist and half an artist. He has to be an artist in that he is trying to interpret meaning. He has to be a scientist in that he claims to analyse causes and events. The Complayner suggests that the search for causes is less important than the artist's function. The historian-artist is looking at the structure of events in the light of some general system of meaning which imagination partly applies to events and which it partly draws out of these events.

It is more satisfying for the historian to feel that this plausible interpretation of events as the inevitable consequences of previous events or actions, or that this deterministic search for causes, gives the illusion of scientific truth to the findings. The Biblical or Providential view of history does not have to make this error, since it can assume divine providence and meaning in history without denying freedom to the individual. The Complayner explicitly states that this is his view, in the vital key phrase, 'Sapiens dominabitur astris', which sums up a whole debate. Man is free to choose. Man is free to break through 'constellations'. Historical events do indeed fall into systems of natural or rational coherent patterns of probabilities and tendencies, as astrology suggests; but the stultifying concept of fortune must be rejected, man is free to exercise his will.

The Complayner is also very interested in the scientific search for causes; but in the appropriate areas, as he shows by his lengthy quotations from Pliny, which have not been previously noted, and which are a contribution to recovery of scientific discoveries lost over the centuries, recovery as a preliminary to new discovery. He is interested in all knowledge; but the Complayner is absolutely convinced that the important information to be derived from any set of events is the moral exemplary lesson that symptoms and causes are at best external and that they are ultimately of less importance than an analysis of meaning as a guide to living and truth. Historical events are not only chronological but also contemporaneously valid and teleological in their message., in an ordered universe.

In his search for truth, too, the Complayner quotes Civil and Canon Law,

and appeals (fol. 129v) to "goddis lau the lau of nature positie lau ciuil lau", appealing to the systems of natural law, moral law, civil and canon law, on which human society has its foundation. In quoting Canon Law too, the Complayner, who reveals his knowledge of the New Testament, wishes to counteract the impression that his view is exclusively a biblical hermeneutic interpretation, such as Reformers would endorse; and he is pointing to the Church as the touchstone to hermeneutics, although the Bible is the key to truth. (3)

The Complayner's method of quoting from the Bible is typical of his method in general. For example, he quotes verbatim, and states that he is quoting from Sapien. 9. This quotation in the margin of folio 17v is in fact from Romans 11, 34. Far from showing that the Complayner does not know his Bible, this would appear to show that he was extremely well-versed in the Scriptures. There are in fact three parallel passages in the Bible: Sapien. 9, 13: Is. 40, 13: Rom. 11, 34. This example would suggest that the Complayner is so familiar with the Bible that he does not trouble to check, and he quotes accurately using a quotation which is from a parallel passage. Elsewhere quotations are 'ad sensum' and verbally incorrect; this sometimes occurs where the formulation is not important, or where it is less memorable, or in the subjunctive whereas the Complayner for didactic reasons wishes to cut out the doubt implied in a subjunctive mood. Biblical quotations have the value of axiomatic authority, and form part of the Complayner's method of quoting axiomatic proofs, (such as proverbs and legal maxims, Classical sententiae from recognised moral authorities), in order to transfer the burden of proof of the contrary to his readers.

The Civil Law quotations are likewise inaccurate, and are 'ad sensum' references to the glosses. (See note to folio 126v).

The Canon Law quotations are also inaccurate. Monsignor Barry kindly identified the sources, pointing out that the Complayner thinks he is quoting from Distinction xxiii, which is in Part I of the Decretum of Gratian; whereas in fact all the Complayner's material is taken from Part II, namely from Causa xxiii. (See notes to folios 130r/v). This also suggests that the Complayner is either misquoting from memory, or, more likely, quoting 'ad sensum'.

The second group of influences are those of Classical Antiquity. The Complayner appeals to his readers using the humanist devices from Classical rhetoric, exempla, anecdotes, proverbs, sententiae from Biblical, Classical and contemporary sources alike. His aim is inclusive thinking and synthesis. In Scotland, in the midst of divisive internecine struggle and factions, and

under occupation by English troops, split by ideological and other differences, the Complayner's propaganda pamphlet is an incredibly balanced humane contribution to the literature of ideas. The Complayner is stressing that the old ways of thought embodied in the old but perennial faith must assimilate the new knowledge both of the old faith and of Classical antiquity resulting from humanist scholarship. The philological re-interpretation of the Bible and the historical criticism of the Christian tradition and its accretions need not however lead only to negative criticism of the Church. By quoting from the intervening centuries and from most recent works the Complayner is implicitly pleading for syncretism, for inclusive thinking combining the Hebrew, Christian and Graeco-Roman apperceptions. Seth, the Hebrew scientist, the Greeks, and re-discovered Pliny, all work together in the one cause of scientific truth, and provide the foundation for new discoveries, in the scientific field. Sentiments of nationalism, and the feeling of living in an exciting new age, give urgency and immediacy to the Complayner's enthusiasm for encyclopedic knowledge, which is guided by a syncretism of which the aim is to preserve the best of pagan wisdom and reconcile it with Christian truth. The Bible and Cicero co-exist.

The Complayner punctuates his work with quotations from Cicero which are so frequent as to make Cicero an influence rather than a source. From other authors the Complayner borrows connected anecdotes, as examples to illustrate a truth. From Cicero he borrows formulations of the truth, gems of wisdom, aphorisms. He admires both the sentiments and the formulation of the ideas. Cicero was admired as a rhetorician, as a statesman and as a philosopher. Cicero appealed to the Complayner as an advocate of patriotism, for his concept of 'humanitas', for his advocacy of free will, free thought and individualism. Cicero had long exercised an influence, too, as a sceptic in the Italian Renaissance. In the fourteenth century in Italy, according to Burckhardt, Cicero, "though in fact an eclectic, yet by his habit of setting forth the opinions of different schools, without coming to a decision between them, exercised the influence of a sceptic". (4) The Complayner likewise admires this aspect of Ciceronian argument, giving both sides; and it is reflected in the Complayner's choice of the dialogue form. The Complayner does not however allow himself the luxury of 'sitting on the fence'. He gives clear prescriptions from the Bible, and ends his work with a defiant sentence from Cicero.

Cicero was admired by all the humanists, his style imitated and his formulations quoted. The Complayner, once again, as in the case of the Bible, seems to be quoting Cicero from memory or 'ad sensum', as the quotations are inaccurate. There are two plausible reasons for this. Either he is quoting

inaccurately at second hand from a collection of adages, or, more likely, he is so steeped in the ideas and formulations of Cicero that he does not feel the need to check, and quotes from memory and 'ad sensum'.

From the influence of the Bible and the influence of Cicero and the pervasive influence of current views on historiography we pass imperceptibly to what appears to be a 'source', with the mention of Carion (fol. 28v).⁽⁵⁾ Carion is really more a representative of a theory than a source. From Carion the Complayner borrows little. He names Carion as an authority for the theory of the Three Ages of History, each of two thousand years; the first under the 'lex naturalis', the second under the 'lex scripta', and the third 'tempus gratiae'; this third age, the Last Age, to be cut short and preceded by signs of the Day of Judgment. Carion is less a real source than a place where the reader can find convenient confirmation, by a reputable authority, of ideas which the Complayner wishes to emphasise. Just as Carion is more of a representative of a theory than a real source, so too the reference to Fregoso is not a reference to the actual source at all. The Complayner refers to Fregoso (fol. 134r, see note) and quotes a few lines supposedly by Fregoso. There is a double aspect to this ostensible borrowing. Firstly, the lines are not in fact by Fregoso, but by a Milanese friend of Fregoso, Bartolomeo Simonetta. Secondly, the reference to Fregoso/Simonetta is not the important point about the quotation in any case. This example is further proof of the Complayner's method of using the 'key-word' technique (as in the case of 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' in folio 49v, and the reference to Seth in folio 37r). The reference to Fregoso is in the context of the two views of the world represented by Heraclitus and Democritus, contrasting the "Cynic" Democritus and the "Stoic" Heraclitus, Democritus laughing and Heraclitus weeping.

How did the Complayner's ascription to Fregoso happen? The Complayner must have consulted only the French edition of Fregoso's work, translated by Michel d'Amboise, which appeared in Paris in 1547.⁽⁶⁾ If the Complayner had used an Italian edition he would not have made the mistake. In the Italian original which had appeared ten times by 1542, the lines quoted by the Complayner are the caption below a picture under the title. In the Venice edition of 1522, for example, we have a picture of the two old philosophers contemplating a globe of the world, and the caption reads: "Bartolamei Simonettae Epigramma in Imagines Heracliti & Democriti/Defle hominum ...". Even after correcting the ascription, and seeing the quotation as the Complayner recording the latest Paris reading and the spread of Italian influence; it is also arguable that even Simonetta is not really a source, since in order

for the lines to be meaningful and worth translating, they must in fact be key-words suggesting to the Complayner the wider current debate known to him from some other source. Here the highlighted lines refer to Heraclitus and Democritus and it is possible that the Complayner was aware of the pseudo correspondence of Hippocrates; more likely that the Complayner would be aware of Seneca's reference (De Ira, II, 10) or Juvenal's reference (Satires, X, 28-36), as the Complayner reveals his acquaintance with these writers and their works; it is possible that he knew of Lucian's reference (Vitarum Auctio, Ch. XIII, XIV) contrasting a 'Cynic' Democritus with a 'Stoic' Heraclitus, but it most likely that the Complayner knew of these two from Erasmus' succinct pairing of Heraclitus and Democritus; but the identification of one source is neither possible nor necessary since by mid-sixteenth century the laughter of Democritus at the folly of the world was proverbial.

Erasmus, following Seneca, helped the vogue, referring to Heraclitus and Democritus at several places in the Encomium and also in the Christiani matrimonii Institutio, where he says, "Tales erant Heraclitus ac Democritus quorum alter, quoties in publicum prodibat, flebat; alter ridebat". (7)

However, the Complayner, uses the 'keyword' method and refers to the pair in order to give texture to his argument by providing a network of cross-references suggested by the one reference. Having thought of the example he finds the appropriate authority and having found an appropriate concise formulation, in French, as the Complayner's form of the names substantiates (heraclites, democrites), he translates Amboise/Fregoso/Simonetta, and adds the Seneca quotation, thereby demonstrating that he has chosen the formulation by Amboise not because he does not know an older source, but deliberately. In other words the significance of the identification of influences and sources and conventional elements must be the positive significance of noting not only what the Complayner borrowed but also his method of borrowing and above all his method of incorporating the borrowed material into the framework of his composition, a composition which is always more than just the sum of disparate component elements.

As the example of the reference to Heraclitus and Democritus has suggested, some apparent borrowings may in fact be suggested by Erasmus, or even borrowed from Erasmus. It is probably advisable to assume that the Complayner, referring to Aristotle, in connection with the striking example of the 'gladius delphicus' (fol. 9v), knew the example, not from the Greek, but as a commonplace example, from Erasmus or possibly from a Latin Aristotle, rather than from Oresme's Aristotle, as it is quoted in Latin. We also find a reference

to 'gladius delphicus' in John Major (History, 435-6). Similarly when a phrase found in Oresme is also found in Gavin Douglas (note to folio 15r) it is surely as likely that the Complayner borrowed from Douglas as from Oresme. Similarly the Complayner is supposed to have read a manuscript of an Octovien de Saint Gelais translation, largely because of one striking phrase involving a word which is quite common in the Vulgate, (folio 6v). I have also drawn attention to possible borrowings from Guillaume Le Breton's 'Historia Sancti Dionysi' (folio 67r), Quintus Curtius Rufus (fol. 84r), Jacques de Longuyon (fol. 95v), Publilius Syrus (136r), Plutarch (136r), Macrobius' Saturnalia (143v). In quoting these sources I am conscious that, for example, the reference to Macrobius' Saturnalia is misleading if my identification of the source is taken to suggest that the Complayner must have known the source and taken the example directly from the source. Sources for individual items are misleading if they are taken to suggest wide-reading. Whereas the Complayner may have gone to the original, he also could have had access to the many manuals, florilegia, anthologies summa, mirrors, adagia, commonplace books and other collections which make any such evidence very tenuous indeed.

There is no evidence that the Complayner read authors in any language other than Scots, Latin, French or English. As we have seen, the "Fregoso quotation" suggests that he used a French translation; the Aristotle example quotes the Latin 'gladius delphicus' and is probably from Erasmus; the Carion reference is probably from the pirate Latin version by Hermann Bonnus; the Guevara borrowing is probably from the French; other main sources and influences, Chartier, Pliny, Cicero, the Bible, Plutarch and Thucydides (folio 91r) are in French or Latin also. When borrowings are so widely current as to be almost conventional a single original source is perhaps far less interesting than a reference to parallels. Parallels in the works of Sir David Lindsay have been noted by John Leyden in his introduction to the 1801 edition of the Complaynt (pages 18-47). Similarly, parallels can be found in John Major's History and other chronicles.⁽⁸⁾ Such parallels are best taken as demonstrations of what was considered worth mentioning in a parallel situation rather than as proof of influence or borrowing.

The Complayner uses the Bible, Canon Law, Cicero quotations, all in the same way as he uses legal maxims and proverbs, namely as axiomatic evidence in support of his case. This usage is sanctioned by rhetoric. The tendency to give each case the character of a moral sentence or example so that it becomes unchallengeable, the crystallization of a thought, finds its most

general expression in the proverb. Collections of proverbs, adages, or 'prompte ... saynges', were popular, and an aid to copiousness, and regarded as 'more powerful than demonstrations'.

The Complayner has a number of such sayings. As an example of his method of using proverbs we can consider the very striking example in folio 85r. When the Complayner quotes the proverb: "ane herand damysele and ane spekand castel sal neuyr end vith honour", this would appear to be a simple quotation of a popular proverb. However this appearance may be deceptive. Sixteenth century humanist translators discussed the problem of translating proverbs. I have discovered that this is in fact probably just such an attempt by the Complayner. The success of his translation is shown by the fact that it does not appear to have been noticed that the proverb is translated from the French. The French proverb is quoted by Patten in his diary under the date "Tuysday the xx of September 1547" where he mentions a "prophecy amoong the Frenchemen, which sayeth, Chasteau que parloit et femme que escote: lung voet rendre, et l'autre; ... ".⁽⁹⁾ ¶ It is against the background of these influences and borrowings that we can turn to more specific sources. The pervasive influence of the Bible and Cicero are thus most important. The named sources, on the other hand, refer mainly to minor borrowings and more often are references to representatives of a theory or authorities for a commonplace statement. More important than the named sources are the sources which are not named, and which include, as has been noted, Chartier and Guevara, but also, ten folios from Pliny's Natural History.

The Scientific passages in folios 39r to 49v of the Complaynt are borrowed straight from the Elder Pliny's Natural History without mention of Pliny. The Complayner's use of Pliny is the Renaissance recovery of the Classical authors as a prelude to new discovery.

The borrowings from Guevara, especially in the folios 11r to 13v, as indicated in the notes, are of anecdotes and catalogues where the source is unimportant, except as a demonstration of the Complayner's method of borrowing.

The most important single source is, as W. A. Neilson noted,⁽¹⁰⁾ Alain Chartier. The debt to Chartier, while it is extremely important, is sometimes stressed as if it were the only significant fact about the Complaynt, yet the actual quantity borrowed forms not more than one eighth of the total, about the same amount as the Complayner borrowed from Pliny. It is more important than Pliny's contribution because the borrowing from Chartier bears more of the relationship that a 'finding' bears to a finished piece of jewellery. It is the 'setting' into which the Complayner sets 'gems' from authors such

as Cicero. Even the French 'setting' is altered to suit the Scottish requirements. The success of this alteration is evident from the fact that Murray overlooked the foreign source.

In view of Chartier's importance for the Complayner we will consider Chartier and his status in France; and Chartier and Scotland. Alain Chartier (1385- before 1450) was born in Bayeux, studied in Paris, entered the service of the Dauphin, later Louis XI, undertook diplomatic missions for Charles VII to Hungary, Rome, Venice and Scotland, and wrote a number of works on which his fame rests.

Among the works ascribed to Chartier, are: Lay de plaisance (1414); Livre des quatre dames (1415); Quadrilogue Invectif (1422); De detestatione belli gallici et suasionem pacis; Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis super deploratione gallicae calamitatis; Débat patriotique; Belle Dame sans mercy (1424); Bréviaire des nobles (arbitrary dating of 1424 by Droz); Tractatus de vita curiali (Droz dates this work 1427, but Hoffman, pages 176-7, argues that it must be pre-1425); Latin address to the King of Scotland (1427-8); Traité de l'Espérance (1428). We will mention the Bréviaire and the Latin address of 1427-8 in connection with Chartier and Scotland, but of the above titles only the Quadrilogue Invectif and possibly the Traité de l'Espérance are relevant to the Complaynt.

The Quadrilogue Invectif was produced before the death of Henry V in 1422, (11) between 12th April and 31st August 1422. (12)

The Quadrilogue Invectif was plundered by the Complayner, and translated, where relevant, verbatim as the parallels in the appendix, which I have brought together for the first time in their entirety, (13) demonstrate. Notes to the individual folios also supply the references, which demonstrate that the Complayner has not just borrowed or paraphrased but has indeed transformed Chartier virtually completely. Dame France and Dame Scotia are different ladies.

The Quadrilogue is political dialogue, and also historical narrative dealing with historical events. It is a hybrid form, closer to historical fiction perhaps than to history as a bare chronicle of accurate data. It has a truth of its own which is not invalidated by the use of literary devices nor the use of allegory. The Quadrilogue and the Complaynt are more interested in meaning or significance for the future than merely in causes or symptoms. The Quadrilogue is in the form of a four-sided debate. The dialogue between France and the Three Estates, reveals the internal divisions that delivered

France into the hands of the English. It is a plea for unity in the dark days after the Treaty of Troyes (1420) when civil war, plunder and massacres were rife. It is a work in the literary tradition of the political pamphlet, the dialogue, the literature of the Three Estates, the Complaints of Poor Labourers, the allegorical narratives of dream visions; literary traditions found not only in France. Dunbar, Henryson and Lyndsay make a Scots trio of models also available to the Complayner when criticising the Three Estates. (14) In France, Christine de Pisan, Jean Gerson, Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Robert Blondel all wrote Complaints of Poor Labourers. (15) Chroniclers used the motif, and poets followed suit. Robert Gaguin wrote his Débat due Laboureur, du Prestre, et du Gendarme, and Jehan Molinet's Resource du petit peuple appeared in 1537; even earlier about 1504, Robert Gobin, in his Loups ravissans, bewails the perennial plagues 'guerre, famine, mortalite', which are like the ills the Complayner describes as 'the cruele invasions' of the English ravening wolves, the 'universal pestilens and mortalite, to which the Complayner adds 'the contentione of diuerse of the thre estaitis of Scotland'. From Chartier the Complayner could borrow the form and the content. In addition to these political and rhetorical reasons advocating the choice there were the reasons urged by the 'philological' debate currently being waged in Paris, according to which translations into the vernacular, and other efforts to enrich and embellish or add lustre to the vernacular, were a patriotic duty.

The Quadrilogue Invectif (whose contents are summarized in our note), (16) was printed by Solidi in Vienna in 1474, and in Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1477 or 1478. (17) The Complayner may, of course, ^{have} had access to one of the many manuscripts. A separate edition of the Quadrilogue to which the Complayner might have had access is the Du Pré edition of 1529 which is also probably the edition which was in Mary Queen of Scots' library in 1578, as mentioned below. (18) A printed heading sub-title in the 1529 edition by Du Pré suggests that the Quadrilogue is a rejection of English suzerainty, an error which would make the Quadrilogue attract a Scots reader. (19)

The Complayner, attempting to cultivate the mother tongue by the importation of the best learning and by the imitation of the best models, would naturally be attracted by a French model with similar aims in a parallel situation. The Complayner's only models in Scots were themselves, as Leyden points out (p. 26), themselves translations from French or Latin, and the Complayner's choice of Chartier's Quadrilogue as the vehicle for his task is so obvious, so entirely appropriate, so logically predictable that the choice

is virtually unremarkable.

A deciding factor in the choice would also be Chartier's status in France.

Alain Chartier presents himself as "lointaing immitateur des orateurs" (Q.I. 1, 16), thus calling himself a student of the writers of Classical Antiquity and their rhetoric, a humanist. The Rhetoriqueurs admired Chartier for his eloquence, for his language modelled on Latin, for his humanism and erudition, as well as for the moralistic sense of his writings. Whatever their individual status, many witnesses give overwhelming cumulative testimony to the influence of Chartier. Octovien de Saint-Gelais in his Séjour d'Honneur, known to Gavin Douglas, finds Chartier full of rhetoric, 'clerc excellent, orateur magnifique'.⁽²⁰⁾ Jean Lemaire de Belges (c. 1473-pre 1524) calls Chartier a 'noble poëte et orateur',⁽²¹⁾ and in his tract on 'La concorde des deux langaiges',⁽²²⁾ mentions "maistre Alain" along with Jean de Meung, Froissart, Meschinot and others, "dont la memoire est et sera longue en la bouche des hommes", for their share in promoting the French language so that it can compare with the Italian language. Clement Marot (1496?-1544) calls Chartier "le très noble orateur" in his sixteenth 'Elégie'. Jean Bouchet (1476-1557/9) praises Chartier's "très haulte matière" and calls him "des orateurs français le chartier".

By the mid sixteenth century, Chartier seems to have been regarded as an ancient, erudite, classic writer still read for his learned writings. Thomas Sebillet in his Art Poétique recommends "la lecture des bons et classiques poetes francois, comme sont entre les vieux Alain Chartier et Jan de Meun".⁽²³⁾ Estienne Pasquier (1529-1615), a pupil of Sebillet, calls Chartier, "grand poëte de son temps et encore plus grand orateur."⁽²⁴⁾ In a letter to Jacques Cujas in 1576, Estienne Pasquier,⁽²⁵⁾ discussing problems of translation and also requesting a loan of any old French works in Cujas' possession, says that whereas, for example, Oresme's translations lie mouldering in libraries, because of the antiquated language, other works such as Chartier's works are still read for their "belles sentences & conceptions", and, Pasquier states,⁽²⁶⁾ "il n'y a homme docte entre nous qui ne lise les doctes escrits de Maistre Alain Chartier". Pasquier on another occasion⁽²⁷⁾ recommends M. de Querquifinen to consult Chartier, and Jean de Meung, Claude de Seyssel (1450-1520), Jean Lemaire de Belges, and others, not in order to revert to an antiquated style ("non pas pour nous rendre antiquitaires") but in order to cull fresh 'flowers' to enrich the vernacular. Pasquier was not however responsible, as some have suggested, for Chartier's title of "père de l'eloquence française".

The title would appear to have been first conferred on Chartier by Pierre Fabri in his Grand et vray art ... (28) and repeated by Jean Bouchet (1476-1557/9), (in connection with the apocryphal tale of Alain being kissed, while sleeping, by Margaret of Scotland), in Bouchet's Annales d'Aquitaine (1524). Fabri finds Chartier's language "élégant et substancier". (29) Geoffroy Tory (c. 1480-1533), in the forefront of the 'defense et illustration' vernacular movement, finds Chartier's language "moult seigneurial & heroique". (30)

We thus have evidence, if not proof, of Chartier's status in France, which makes it clear that Chartier would be an obvious choice as a model, for his language, his "mots dorez & belles sentences". (31)

Chartier, as we have mentioned above, went on a mission to Scotland, and we have a text purporting to be the text of his address in Latin to the King of Scotland. This might be of more import were it not for a number of factors. The text is corrupt, so that it appears more like a letter taken down to dictation by some ignorant scribe, rather than a formal address likely to please James I of Scotland, as Delaunay remarks. Also the mission consisted reputedly of Regnault de Chartres, archbishop of Reims, and Jean Stuart, count d'Evreux, and Chartier, yet the Scots account in the Book of Pluscarden, referring to the mission from Charles VIII and its aims, to renew the Franco-Scottish alliance, to request the hand of Margaret, infant daughter of James I, for the Dauphin, later to be Louis XI, and to request military aid, does not find Chartier worthy of mention. (32)

Similarly, the legend that Chartier was kissed, while sleeping, by Margaret of Scotland, would appear to have been invented by Jean Bouchet, as we have mentioned, writing about 1524. Margaret was in any case but an infant in 1427. The pure legend was however maintained by tradition in Elizabethan times. (33)

Some two generations before the appearance of the Complaynt, Chartier's Bréviaire des Nobles was translated by "Maistir Androw Cadiou"... "out of franche in scottis" and printed half a dozen times by 1508 when it was printed by Chepman and Myllar. (34) Once again no mention is made in Scotland of the name of Chartier. This might suggest that the name of Chartier would not be meaningful to Scots readers, especially readers of a Scots vernacular text. The Complaynt similarly makes no mention of Chartier. This suggests perhaps that the Complayner, though aware of Chartier's reputation in France and possibly even in learned circles in Scotland, chooses not to mention Chartier in this vernacular work, firstly because such a reference would be meaningless

to the readers for whom he was supposedly writing, but secondly because mention of Chartier's name would suggest that he was putting forth the Complaynt as a rendering of Chartier, and this would encourage the critics, whom he complains about, in his prologue, to read the Complaynt as a mere literary exercise in translation, and allow them to ignore the message. The vernacular Scots renderings by Cadiou and the Complayner make it tempting to assume that, because of his mission and the romantic legend, Chartier would be more eagerly read because of a 'special relationship' linking him in the Scots imagination with an Auld Alliance and the struggle against the common foe. We do not however have any evidence of a continuing Scots equivalent of the French personality cult of Chartier, and it is more credible to assume, instead of any traditional awareness in Scotland of Chartier, that Scots learned circles of the court and universities accepted French assessment of a French patriotic writer's patriotic achievements in putting their vernacular on the level of the Italian vernacular, (and possibly after Bouchet, also aware of the legend; and after the Du Pré edition of the Quadrilogue, aware of Chartier's supposed rejection of English suzerainty in a parallel situation), that one single educated Complayner, who may or may not be representative of what could only have been a handful of people of a tiny elite, tried to achieve in Scots vernacular what Chartier had done for French. The listing of Chartier's works in the inventory of Mary Queen of Scots' books in Edinburgh Castle in 1578, ⁽³⁵⁾ does not disprove the view that Chartier was known only to an educated minority, since Mary's French connections and interests prevent us from generalising about Chartier's influence in Scotland outside her own immediate circle at court. Chartier was known and admired in England too. There it is unlikely that he would be admired for his Scottish links or his anti-English sentiments and it is probable that he was admired for his qualities as a writer; and it would be estimates of this vernacular achievement which would come north if the English influence played any role in the spread of Chartier's fame. Sir Richard Ros translated the Belle Dame sans Mercy ⁽³⁶⁾ and Caxton had printed an English version based ultimately on Chartier's Tractatus de vita curiali. ⁽³⁷⁾ There are, in addition, several manuscript renderings of the Quadrilogue and Traité de l'Espérance into English. ⁽³⁸⁾ The Complayner thus went to an obvious source when he borrowed from Chartier. He takes all the relevant material from the Quadrilogue, making obvious alterations, such as referring to the battle of Pinkie, where Chartier refers to Agincourt. The Complayner omits a certain amount of the Quadrilogue, but the passages omitted are of no real significance, with the possible exception, as we note in the appendix, of a minor reference to the 'catholic

faith'. The omission by the Complayner of a reference to the lady supporting a tottering palace is taken by one commentator, quite unfairly, to suggest: "It was probably too great a strain on his imagination". (39) It may have been left out because it was less appropriate to Scotland and because it cluttered up the image and confused the reader. It is clear in the manuscript illustration from Bibl.Nat. Ms. fr. 126, fol. 191, that the figure supporting the palace is better left out. The Complayner, in other words, shows by his method of handling Chartier that he is using his critical judgment. This is further demonstrated by an examination of a specific example from the 'Vision'.

Chartier writes of the Third Estate (Q.I., 10, 4-6): "le tiers, en vil habit, renverse sur la terre, plaintiff et langoureux". The Complayner writes (fol. 56r): "hyr zongest sone vas lyand plat on his syde on the cald eird, and al his clathis var reuyn ande raggit, makkand ane dolorus lamentatione, ane piteouse complaynt he tuke grit pane to ryise vp on his feit, bot he vas sa greouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibil til hym, to stand rycht vp". Even taking into consideration that the Complayner may have worked from a different manuscript of Chartier there still remain a number of significant additions. The Rawlinson translator uses phrasing closer to the Complayner's for the small part which corresponds in Chartier and the Complaynt: "The thrid was in poor habite, lying platte vpon the erthe, complayning and full of langour". The Complayner expands using a favourite device, the double verb, "reuyn and raggit", expands the adjective 'plaintif' into "makkand ane dolorus lamentatione", separates the two adjectives which are linked in Chartier (plaintif et langoureux) and turns them into two phrases, thus giving greater emphasis to each element: 'plaintif' is reinforced by being translated not as a vague general "dolorus lamentatione" only, but is further made more specific as a "piteous complaynt"; the second adjective is 'langoureux' and just as 'plaintive' is too passive, so would 'langorous' be too passive. The Rawlinson translator translates "complayning and full of langour". The Complayner on the other hand, is inveighing against the fatalistic approach which accepts the adverse blows of Fortune, and he credits the Third Estate with making an effort: "he tuke grite pane to ryise vp on his feit, bot he vas sa greouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibil tyl hym to stand rycht vp". In other words the Complayner is giving allegorical expression to his view expressed elsewhere, that it is through external causes that the Third Estate, however much the willpower to be upright is present, is prevented from putting affairs in order. In a Scotland recovering from the moral defeat of Pinkie and the material damage of the 'Rough

Wooing', the Complayner completely alters the emphasis of the Chartier text, in order to express his interpretation of the Scottish scene.

The Complayner's style is criticised by J.M. Smith as if it were self-evidently worse than Chartier's. "The Scottish author generally expands a little and so loses the steady rhythm of Chartier's prose. He often explains the metaphors instead of allowing them to speak for themselves". (40) This makes the Complayner sound rather stupid.

The Complayner is not, like Chartier, writing for a French audience. The Complayner obviously feels that his audience requires the repetition and elaboration still employed by public speakers. The Complayner may be stressing matter or content at the expense of form, but even if this could be demonstrated, it is because, presumably, the Complayner is thinking of his reader. By leaving out matter it is surely more charitable to assume that he understands the meaning and is omitting matter that would, in his judgment, be meaningless to a Scottish audience. J.M. Smith states: "The point of the rhetorical question is to leave it unanswered but the Scottish author did not often realise this". This remark is quite unfair. The Complayner is not obtuse. On the contrary, he is anxious not to speak over the heads of his listeners, he is anxious to make his message absolutely clear. His message is too important. In the last analysis freedom is won by the sword and by blood, not by fair words in books, as the Complayner himself states. (41) In the last analysis freedom is won by patriots who have been persuaded and are clear in their resolve to defend their country. Words must communicate to be effective. They must also reach those for whom they are intended, the ordinary people, not the 'inuyful clerkis' (fol. 10v). The Complayner is an effective communicator who uses his repetition and cross-references absolutely deliberately.

Dr. Margaret S. Blayney is much more charitable in her assessment, and more accurate. (42) Chartier's work is used by the Complayner in an eclectic manner. "In selecting his passages he found Chartier's illustrative examples and images especially useful. Many of the stories about great men which he had partially taken from Chartier he knew from other sources as well, and he often expanded in detail accordingly; even when he could undoubtedly have written his own account without use of a source, however, he was not able to refrain from translating some of Chartier's applications of a story as in his adaptation of the narrative of Mattathias and his son". (43)

This is independent confirmation of what we have stressed already, namely

that the Complayner deliberately prefers, for his own satisfaction, to demonstrate his skill as a translator rather than reconstruct the sentences of the argument where the model is a good one, as is the case with Chartier. He is, however, discriminating, "leaping over great sections of Chartier's prose, stopping only for those parts, sometimes only a sentence, which were appropriate to his aims. He did not hesitate to stop translating from the French in the middle of one of his own sentences and to pick up material for the rest of his sentence some pages later in Chartier's work, and once (at 125/28) after another of Chartier's characters had intervened with a long speech". This is further evidence supporting our statement that the omissions are irrelevant, and the omissions a sign of his discrimination.

- (1) For a parallel situation, see W. Schwarz, "Translation into German in the Fifteenth Century", *M.L.R.* 39 (1944), 368-373; W. Schwarz, "The Theory of Translation in Sixteenth-Century Germany", *MLR* 40 (1945), 289-299; F.J. Worstbrock, "Zur Einbürgerung der Uebersetzung Antiker Autoren im Deutschen Humanismus", *Zeitschrift Für deutsches Altertum* 99 (1970), 45-81.
- (2) Karl Löwith, Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen: die theologischen Voraussetzungen der Geschichtsphilosophie, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1961), pages 148, 174; E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953), 28-29; W.R. Elton, "Renaissance Concepts of Providence", Chap. II in King Lear and the Gods (San Marino, Calif., 1966), pages 9-33; Guy Demerson, "Le Mythe des Ages et la Conception de l'Ordre dans le lyrisme de la Pliade", in Humanism in France at the end of the Middle Ages and in the Early Renaissance, edited by A.H.T. Levi, (Manchester, 1970), pages 271-294; J. MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970).
- (3) Marvin Walter Anderson, "Biblical Humanism and Catholic Reform, 1444-1563: A Study of Renaissance Philology and N. T. criticism from Laurentius Valla to Pietro Martire Vermigli", Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen, 1964.
- (4) Jakob Burckhardt, The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy, (1860; 2nd ed. 1868 translated by S.G.C. Middlemore, 1878; edited by L. Goldschneider, 1944; 5th impr. London, 1955) page 309.
- (5) Carion. The Complayner probably had access, not to the 1532 German version but to the 1537 pirate version in Latin by Hermann Bonnus (1504-1548); see "Carion, Wedderburn, Lindsay", Aberdeen University Review (Spring, 1972), 271-274. On Carion, see M. Friedberg, "Das Bildnis des Philosophen Johannes Carion, Von Crispin Herranth, Hofmaler des Herzogs Albrecht von Preussen", Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 54 (1919), 309-316; A. Lange, Lyndesays Monarchie und die Chronica Carionis (Halle, 1904); J. Schultze, "Johannes Carion", in Neue Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 3 (1957), 138; Hildegard Ziegler, "Chronicon Carionis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts", Abhandlungen zur Neueren Geschichte, 35 (Halle, 1898), pages 1-62. On Hermann Bonnus, see O Ahlers, "Bonnus", in Neue Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 2, 448-9; F. Flaskamp, Hermann Bonnus, (Gütersloh, 1951); W. Jannasch, "Hermann Bonnus", in Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd ed., Vol. I, col. 1361; B. Spiegel, Hermann Bonnus 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1892); on Melanchthon, see Wilhelm Maurer, Der junge Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation-Bd. I-Der Humanist (Göttingen, 1967).
- (6) M.P. McDiarmid, "The Complaynte of Scotlande: Patrick Cockburn, Antonio de Guevara, Antonio de Fregoso", Notes & Queries, (1959) 245-8. I am indebted to M.P. McDiarmid for his suggestion that I should check for more extensive borrowing from Guevara than indicated in the above article. See notes to folios 11r-13v. Antonio de Guevara (?1481-1545) was probably born in the village of Treceno in Spain around 1481, and was taken at the age of 12 by his father to the court of the Catholic kings, where his uncle Ladrón was a functionary. Antonio entered the Order of St. Francis sometime after the death of Queen Isabel in 1504 and eventually became guardian of the monasteries of Arevalo, Soria, and Avila, and held other positions in the order. In 1523 he officially

became preacher of the Chapel Royal: and between 1525 and 1529 he was involved in inquisitorial activities. He was one of the twenty-nine theologians who were gathered to examine the works of Erasmus. In 1527, he became bishop of Guadix and in 1529 he took possession of the see. In 1529 Guevara's Relox de principes appeared in print. Guevara claims that he worked on the book from 1518 to 1524 and that in its rough form it was stolen from the emperor to whom it had been lent, and was copied and distributed in manuscript. Three pirated editions, all with the title Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio, appeared in 1528. Some critics believe that Guevara winked at these editions, which in fact allowed Guevara to claim that he had never intended to publish the Roman Emperor's unseemly love-letters, which of course, once they were well-known he could delete from his 'official' version, yet still get the credit. Guevara similarly pretended that the Relox, which is essentially the Libro aureo, expanded into a political treatise, in mannered style, copious and heavily padded with anecdotes and moral reflections, was in fact a translation from an authentic Greek manuscript, rendered first with the assistance of friends into Latin, then by Guevara alone, into Spanish. Guevara did not try to substantiate this fiction, possibly lest his own authorship would not be appreciated. In 1535 Guevara embarked with Charles V's expedition to Tunis, where Guevara was in charge of the wounded at the siege of La Goleta. On his return, Guevara visited Naples, Rome and other Italian cities, and saw the Provence campaign of 1536. In 1537 Guevara was translated to the see of Mondonedo to which he moved in 1538. In 1539 Guevara issued five works, presumably composed in the years 1536-9. These works were: Una Decada de Cesares (more pagan biography, because of the success of Marcus Aurelius); Aviso de privados (with advice to courtiers); Menosprecio de corte (dispraise of court life); Arte del Marear (on the hardships of sea-travel). In 1539 and 1541 or 1545 the first and second parts of Guevara's epistles appeared. The last works were religious works: Oratoria de religiosos (1542), a guide to the religious life; Monte Calvario (part I, 1542; part II, 1549), on Calvary and the Seven Last Words. Guevara died on April 3, 1545, in Mondonedo.

I am indebted to Professor J.R. Jones for letting me have a copy of his introduction and bibliography (for an edition of Guevara's Una Decada de Cesares) on which the above note is based. See too Jose Maria Galves' Guevara in England, (Berlin, 1916), containing Lord Berners translation of the Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius (pages 97-444). See our notes on folios 11r-13v, including relevant extracts from Thomas North's translation of the Relox, his The Diall of Princes, 1557 (STC 12427).

- (7) Erasmus: Opera Omnia ed. J. Clericus, Vol. V, 672A, quoted by J. Lebeau, "Le Rire de Democrite et la Philosophie de l'Histoire de Sebastian Franck", Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXXIII (1971), 241-269, espec. p. 248, fn. 36.
- (8) The parallels in Lindsay were noticed as long ago as 1801 by Leyden. They include mention of the words 'Complaint', and 'exhortation'; apology for the use of the vernacular and for its poverty, (a very common 'topos'); the use of Carion; mention of the signs of the day of judgment, the 'scourge' commonplace, reference to the youth of a monarch, reference to the mutation of monarchies, reference to Mary in France, reference to similar 'exempla', such as Cyrus,

Thomyris, Hannibal at Cannae, Sardanapalus; reference to many of the same authorities; use of the convention of 'falling off to sleep to get the work started'; the common description of the spheres; the description of Ihone the Commounweill; parallel social complaints. Such parallels demonstrate what was considered worth mentioning in similar literary situations. Among parallel references found in John Major's History are: references to glorious deeds of James V's ancestors (a rhetorical commonplace); discussion of the characters of the English and Scots; the descent of kings from shepherds; the nature of true nobility, which is also discussed in Major's "In Quartum Sententiarum, 14th q of 24th distinction" (History, pp. 397-400); treachery of Hengist; comets, Merlin; the Nine Just Men; the legend of Englishmen having no tails (see note to folio 2v, Complaynt); the influence of the stars; reference to the youth of a monarch, quoting Eccl. 10, 16; Edward I's reign; Just War and fighting priests- tyrants and the deposition of Richard III, Bannockburn; reference to Otterburn, Percy, Douglas, Chevy Chase, Harlaw; disapproval of popular riots. Most parallels are from obvious standard sources such as the Bible, Classical Antiquity, Canon Law, chronicles. For commonplace parallels in Abell's chronicle, also, see, "Abell's 'Roit or Quheill of Tyme', Aberdeen University Review (Autumn, 1972) note 16.

- (9) Dalzell, Fragments, p. 84
- (10) W.A. Neilson, "The Original of the Complaynt of Scotlande"; J.E.G.P. I (1897), 411-430. See notes and appendix on Chartier. For accounts of Chartier see: ed. E. Droz, Alain Chartier: Le Quadrilogue Invectif (Paris, 1950), iii-xi; P. Champion, Histoire Poétique du XVe siècle (Paris, 1923), Vol. I, pages 1-165; E.J. Hoffman, Alain Chartier: His Work and Reputation (New York, 1942); Robert Garapon, "Introduction à la Lecture d'Alain Chartier", Annales de Normandie (1959), pages 91-108; Ruth Mohl, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, (New York, 1933), 73-77: On the Complaynt and Chartier, as noted elsewhere, see M.S. & G.H. Blayney, "Alain Chartier and the Complaynt of Scotlande" R E S ix (1958), 8-17; M.S. Blayney, Fifteenth Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's Le Traité de l'Espérance and Le Quadrilogue Invectif, M.S. D.Phil, d. 3718, 3719, Bodleian, 1966.
- (11) E.J. Hoffman, Alain Chartier: His Work and Reputation (New York, 1942) page 166, fn. 58, corrects W.A. Neilson's statement (on p. 411) that the Quadrilogue was produced after the coronation of Henry VI.
- (12) R. Garapon, "Introduction à la lecture d'Alain Chartier", Annales de Normandie, (1959), 91-108, espec. p. 103. The dates of the works are those suggested by Droz.
- (13) For the contents borrowed by the Complayner see appendix. Cf M-D Chenu, "Auctor, actor, autor", In Archivum latinitatis medii aevi (Bulletin Du Cange) 3 (1927), pages 81-86.
- (14) The contents of the Quadrilogue have been repeatedly summarized; e.g. Hoffman, op.cit., pages 145-7; Champion, op.cit. vol. I, pages 33-41; Ruth Mohl, op.cit., pages 73-77; and the relevant contents can be seen in the Middle English Rawlinson version in our appendix; a short note is included however in note (16) below. On the theme

of the Three Estates see Ruth Mohl, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature (New York, 1933), especially pages 73-77 on Chartier's Quadrilogue, and pages 167-173 on the Complaynt, and pages 136-139 for the references to Dunbar, Henryson and Lindsay.

- (15) E. Droz, Q. I. (Paris, 1950), page v; J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1965), 60: Cf. K. Chesney, Fleurs de Rhétorique (Oxford, 1950), 22-36, 88-95.
- (16) The Quadrilogue Investif is an allegorical debate between France and her Three Estates, the People, the Nobility and the Church. The cause of the plight of the nation is divine displeasure, as the third chapter of Isaiah, for example, shows. In an effort to recall each of the estates to their duties, Chartier has composed the Quadrilogue, thus called because four 'personnages' are involved and adding the adjective 'investif' because it proceeds, "par manière d'enveloppement de paroles et par forme de reprendre", (Q.I., 5, 20-21), that is, criticising and reprimanding. Chartier relates how, meditating at dawn, he wonders whether France's plight is a result of "la verge de punition divine" (Q.I., 6, 25), the 'wand of divine punishment'. He then dozes off again, and sees the vision of Dame France (Q.I., 7, 4f), her hair dishevelled, her crown awry, her cloak the worse for wear. The palace near her is in danger of collapse. Around her her three children are in a sad state. One, in armour, is pensive, troubled, leaning on his 'hasche' (Q.I., 10, 3); the second, seated on the side, in a long habit, is silent and listening; the third, "en vil habit" (Q.I., 10, 5), is lying on the ground, "plaintif et languoureux" (Q.I., 10, 5-6). France addresses the knight, the cleric and the peasant, reproaching them for their cowardice, evil living, indolence and ingratitude, and their neglect of duty, which has almost destroyed their home, which even wild beasts defend by instinct. They add internal trouble to the external attacks. They wish for the defeat of the enemy "par prieres et parolles" (Q.I., 13, 13) but do nothing in practice to defeat the enemy. The Three Estates are corrupt and soft, and live in mortal fear of the English, yet the French are just as well equipped and more numerous, just less courageous. But they should take courage, for Fortune will not remain on the English side for ever. (Q.I., 19, 9). The peasant answers first. "Le Peuple" launches into a long complaint, complaining eloquently in the most frequently quoted passage of the Quadrilogue (Q.I., p. 20). The knight also disclaims responsibility. "Le chevalier" contends that the common people are always grumbling and dissatisfied, always wanting change and showing little loyalty or constancy (Q.I., 28, 16-22). Le Chevalier points out the hardships endured by those actually waging the war while the others sit safely in comfort at home, mentioning (Q.I., 29, 12) "Ung grant bourgeois, qui compte ses deniers par default d'autre besoigne, ou ung riche chanoyne". Taxes are levied for their own protection. The knight speaks like a modern defence minister, explaining why victory is so slow in coming. As the debate between the knight and the peasant becomes increasingly heated the cleric assumes the role of mediator, pleading for a common effort, and "savance, chevance et obeissance" (Q.I., 45, 30), wisdom, revenue and obedience. The clergy's attack is mainly directed at the nobility. The knight suggests that those responsible are the "conseillers" (Q.I., 64, 5) who are not very loyal. France pleads for harmony and "affection du bien publique" concern for the common weal (Q.I., 6421). The "acteur" is called upon to put it all down in writing, as his



contribution, as he is unsuited to the bearing of arms (Q.I., 65, 25-30). Alain then says "le dormir me laissa" (Q.I., 65, 32), and he has carried out the lady's commandments, and he begs the readers to interpret the work favourably as proceeding from the heart and not from search for glory, for, he adds, "Car je afferme loiaument que l'esmouvement de cest oeuvre est plus par compassion de la necessite publique que par presumption d'entendement et pour profiter par bonne exhortacion que pour autrui reprendre". (Q.I., 66, 2-8), which is exactly what the Complayner says at the beginning of the Complaynt (fol. 15r, 15v) when he says, "Nou...i exort the (gude redar) ...til interpreit my intentione fauorablye, for doutles the motione of the compilatione of this tracteit, procedis mair of the compassionne that i hef of the public necessite nor it dois presumptione or vane gloir ... ". Chartier concludes that his task is pleasanter since it is less of a reproach and more of a call for unity and cooperation.

- (17) Champion, Histoire Poétique , I, 32, fn.
- (18) I am indebted to Mrs. Anne Seaton for pointing out that "In the inventory of Queen Mary's books in Edinburgh Castle, delivered by the Earl Morton to King James , 26th March, 1578, one of the 144 entries totalling 149 volumes, includes a reference to The Werkis of Allane Chartier. The original list is in Register House. It was first printed by Thomas Thomson in Collections of Inventories (1815), p. 242, and subsequently in the Maitland Club Miscellany, Vol. I (1834), page 3, where this entry is identified as Les Oeuvres de (sic) Maistre Alain Chartier (Paris, 1529). This is confirmed by Julian Sharman, The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots (1889), p. 29; "we may judge ... from the wording of this entry that the copy in question was the issue of Galliot du Pré in 1529, entitled Les Oeuvres feu Maistre Alain Chartier". This List was also edited by Joseph Robertson in the Bannatyne Club's Inventaires de la Royne Descosse (1863), p. cxliii."
- (19) On this error, see E.J. Hoffman, op.cit., p. 147, fn. 6.
- (20) B.N. MS. fr 12783, fol. 125 recto, quoted by Hoffman, op.cit., p.138.
- (21) Hoffman, op.cit., p. 138
- (22) Prologue B vi verso, in edition Paris, Marnef, 1513, quoted by P.Rickard, La langue française au 16e siècle (Cambridge, 1968), 70. (passage 4a, line 21).
- (23) Quoted by E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953), page 250, fn. F. Gaiffe has edited Sebillet's L'Art Poétique françois (1548), (Paris, 1932).
- (24) Hoffman, op.cit., p. 138
- (25) ed. D. Thickett, Estienne Pasquier: Choix de Lettres (Geneva, 1956), pages 124-130 (Livre II, Lettre 6). Thickett lists (page xiii) a range of writers who throughout the centuries have endorsed Pasquier's authority and judgment.
- (26) ed. D. Thickett, op.cit., (note (24)), page 126.

- (27) "Lettre à Monsieur de Querquifinen" (c. 1560) from Les Lettres d'Estienne Pasquier ... (Paris, A. L'Angelier, 1586), folios 51r-54v (BM, London, 636. I. 21), quoted by P. Rickard, La langue française au 16e siècle (Cambridge, 1968), p. 242 (passage 46a, lines 93-103).
- (28) Hoffman, op.cit., p. 140, fn. 15.
- (29) Hoffman, op.cit., p. 138.
- (30) Hoffman, op.cit., p. 138.
- (31) Estienne Pasquier calls part of his Recherches, (namely VI, 16), "Des mots dorez & belles sentences de Maistre Alain Chartier".
- (32) On Chartier and Scotland see: Champion, op.cit., I, 121-131; D.Delaunay, Etude sur Alain Chartier, (Rennes, 1876) pages 252-264; Hoffman op.cit., p. 16.
- (33) Hoffman, op.cit., p. 32, fn. 54: See G.G. Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays (Oxford, 1964), II, 21, quoting the apocryphal tale as told by Puttenham. The tale is also mentioned by Huizinga, Waning of the Middle Ages (ed. cit.) pp. 207-8; and by Champion, op.cit., I, 131, fn. 4.
- (34) ed. W. Beattie, pages ix-x, introduction to facsimile edition The Chepman and Myllar Prints (Edinburgh, 1950): G. Stevenson, Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS, together with the Chepman and Myllar Prints, S.T.S. (Edinburgh, pages 59-65. The colophon to the Porteous of Noblenes (p. 65) reads "translatit out of franche in scottis be Maistir Androw Cadiou ... " but makes no mention of Alain Chartier.
- (35) See note (18) above.
- (36) See H.S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1947), page 297; W.L. Renwick, H. Orton, The Beginnings of English Literature to Skelton, 1509, 3rd rev. ed., rev. M.F. Wakelyn (London, 1966), P. 337; on Chartier's La Belle Dame Sans Mercy, see C.S. Shapley, Studies in French Poetry of the Fifteenth Century (The Hague, 1970), pages 32 - 120.
- (37) ed. F.J. Furnivall, collated by P. Meyer, The Curial made by maystere Alain Charretier. Translated ... by William Caxton, 1484, EETS ES 54 (London, 1888, repr. 1965). See Hoffman, op.cit., pp. 169-184. Hoffman indicates some of the false information still circulating; and (p. 181) notes early confusion between Curial and Espérance. Cf. ed. F. Heuckenkamp, Le Curial-Texte français du XVe siècle avec l'original latin (Halle, 1899).
- (38) See Appendix in third volume. Dr. Blayney informs me that the EETS plans to publish the texts edited in her thesis: (note (10) above). The two manuscripts discussed, are, Rawlinson MS A 338 and MS University College Oxford 85. There is a third MS, St. John's College Cambridge D 1, which, together with the other two, has been transcribed by Richard Anthony Dwyer, "Alain Chartier's Quadrilogue, Englished: Middle English Texts and Introduction, "Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles, 1965, a summary of which is given in Dissertation Abstracts (Order No. 65-10, 187).

- (39) J.M. Smith, The French Background of Middle Scots Literature.
(Edinburgh, 1934), page 146.
- (40) J.M. Smith, ibid, page 145.
- (41) folio 65r.: "zit notheles realmis ar nocht conquest be buikis bot
rather be **p**luid".
- (42) M.S. Blayney "Fifteenth Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's
.... Le Quadrilogue Invectif", D.Phil. thesis Oxford, 1966, 2 vols.
(Bodleian MS D.Phil.d. 3718, 3719), clxxix.
- (43) M.S. Blayney, op.cit., p. clxxviii.

CHAPTER FOUR

FACETS OF THE COMPLAYNT

1. The Complaynt as Defence and
Illustration of the Vernacular.

THE COMPLAYNT AS DEFENCE AND ILLUSTRATION OF THE VERNACULAR.

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The Complaynt has four sections: the Dedicatory Epistle; the Prologue to the Reader; the 'Complaynt' itself which is a frame in two parts, for the Monologue which appears to be a later insertion.

In the Dedicatory Epistle we find, as we would expect, the topics of the panegyric epistle. In the Prologue we find the rhetorical 'topoi' of the exordium, such as the modesty convention, and also discussion of the use of the vernacular, which the rest of the work exemplifies. In the Complaynt proper we have the framework of the Dream Vision, which invokes the overtones of allegory. In this framework we have the political debate and the historical setting interpreted in terms of the historiography and the world-picture of the time. In the Monologue we find various literary devices and conventions, such as the use of catalogues and encyclopedic dissertations displaying 'copiousness' and other qualities of rhetoric admired at the time, and using the pastoral convention.

Thus the Complaynt does not fall into one single category or 'genre'. It is simultaneously, an adaptation of Chartier, a propaganda pamphlet, a historical interpretation, a sermon, and it has elements of the encyclopedia.

The Complayner sees his activity as a literary defence and illustration of the vernacular parallel to the patriotic political appeal in defence of the common weal. He is advancing the public weal by his study and the pen. He is adding lustre to the vernacular tongue by the "gyft of traduction compiling or teching" (fol. 9r), and he says that "sen gode hes nocht dotit me witht speculatione of liberal sciens nor philosophe, nor witht stryntht of my body til indure seruile subiectiōne, nor zit witht no art nor mecanyc craft, ther for i vil help to the auansing of the public veil witht my studye and witht my pen". (fol. 9r).

His literary activity is "the laubir witht the pen and the studie on speculatione of vertu" (fol. 8v). As translator, compiler and teacher, it is one's patriotic duty to use one's talents to translate, compile and teach. Translation and compilation with didactic aims correspond to the twin aims of Renaissance literary endeavour, 'imitation' and 'invention'. ⁽¹⁾ Imitation, paraphrase and translation, are facets of the same activity; since the most direct form of imitation is surely translation, ⁽²⁾: and invention, which means finding material in reality, can be most directly applied to current events and most profitably to the 'exempla' of history and historical fiction.

Thus the Complayner's translating and compiling activities correspond to 'imitation' and 'invention', two supremely laudable activities.

The significant part of the prologue is the discussion of the literary task facing the Complayner, and his views on the problems of the limits of vernacular imitation, and his use of the 'modesty formula'.

In deciding to write in the vernacular the Complayner had to reckon with the resistance of those who preferred the use of Latin. The Complayner is aware of the advantages of Latin and the difficulty of finding exact renderings, for words with wider meanings than their nearest Scots equivalents, or for words with no Scots equivalents. The first group of words can be paraphrased, the second group can be transliterated as loan words. One example he selects is the problem of translating 'homo' and 'animal'. This example is also used by Oresme in his preface to a translation of Aristotle, and again by Gavin Douglas in a note to line 367 of Book I of his Aeneid (See note to folio 15r).

This discussion of problems of translation, was topical in France where excessive 'latinising' was ridiculed. The Complayner explicitly rejects the excesses of 'aureate' diction and professes to be writing in the vernacular to reach a readership of the 'vulgar' people. Thus the Complayner's vocabulary and his use of the 'modesty formula', which do not accord with modern notions of consonance of theory and practice, are probably the best illustration of the very real problems facing writers in the Scots vernacular anxious to avoid too low a style.

The Complayner's use of the modesty formula (fol. 14r) may thus be partly a genuine expression of his awareness of the real difficulties he has to overcome, and at the same time the conventional disclaimer of skill in rhetoric is one of the signs of a thorough training in rhetoric. The plea for indulgence for 'rusticitas' was particularly applicable to pioneer attempts to render ideas in the vernacular, and on the other hand only an adept can afford to draw attention to his failings and disarm criticism by his affected modesty. The purpose of the full modesty prologue was to make the reader favourably disposed, attentive and amenable or tractable. Cicero expresses the aim as being to make the reader 'benivolum', 'attentum' and 'docilem', as he says in his De Inventione ⁽³⁾, and thus more inclined to judge the work favourably.

This rhetorical device of 'captatio benevolentiae', appealing to the reader's vanity by showing submissiveness, by affecting inadequacy and requesting indulgence, was a common 'topos' both of the 'exordium' and of the epilogue,

particularly in epideictic or panegyric oratory, and was common throughout the centuries.

The Complayner also employs the conventional 'widow's mite topos' from the Bible, a topos which like the 'first fruits topos', is linked with the 'modesty prologue' convention. It is similar to the 'captatio benevolentiae' in the 'exordium'. The example of the poor man and Darius (fol. 7r) taken from Plutarch; the marginal comment from Pseudo Cato, from the 'Disticha Catonis' ⁽⁴⁾, advising that when a poor friend gives from his slender resources one should accept well pleased and remember to thank him handsomely; and the marginal comment to folio 7r/v, quoting Mark 12, 42; are three statements of the same topic. Reference to the 'aera minuta' of Luke 21, 2 was a common part of the topic of dedication from Jerome on. ⁽⁵⁾

Writers on the problem of composition in the vernacular contrasted the poverty of the vernacular and the copiousness of Latin. Emulation of the copiousness of Latin was thus a natural tendency, but the imitation of Latin could only be properly pursued if excessive Latinisation and the use of 'inkhorn terms' and 'sesquipedalian' words were avoided. The Complayner himself was aware of the need to avoid excesses, and uses some common Renaissance features of style which have to be used with caution if the charge of excess is to be avoided. These include, catalogues and aureate terms.

C.S. Lewis gives his verdict that in modern terms the Complayner fails to avoid excess. "Here, unfortold, unsucceeded, unexplained, tricked out in all its heterogeneous ornaments as in jewels 'that were the spoils of provinces', what we call the 'Renaissance', has come dancing, shouting, posturing, nay as it were sweating, into Scots prose". Adopting an ultra-modern pose he adds: "It stretches our modern sensibilities" to reconcile the Complayner's serious purpose with what he implies is a too extreme extravagance of manner. He complains that the Complayner has made indiscriminate "jackdaw^{-like} collections of classical tags", and talks of the "glittering artificiality" of the Complayner's style, and then concludes: "Yet when we have got into the mood we can even now see that there is a certain crazy beauty about the thing: and mere copiousness was regarded as a merit by our ancestors, if not by us". ⁽⁷⁾ He also describes the Complaynt as "one of the most remarkable works of the century"; which raises the question of whether 'remarkable' is a positive value judgment.

The Renaissance, which C.S. Lewis defines as "an imaginary entity responsible for everything the speaker likes in the ^{and sixteenth} fifteenth centuries", does indeed

appear to be characterized by 'copiousness'; although of course, catalogues, for example, are found in all literature from Homer to the time of the Complaynt and subsequently too. (8)

The 'copiousness' and 'aureate terms' are to be found in the models chosen by the Complayner.

In the eyes of the Renaissance, the supreme writer of Latin prose was Cicero, who was admired for his carefully constructed rhythmic sentences and his copiousness. "This copiousness consisted on the one hand in an unflinching variety in diction, and on the other in an abundance of illustrative material to amplify and illuminate any topic under discussion". (9)

The Complayner makes frequent use of Cicero; and Chartier also admired Cicero. The Complayner uses Ciceronian rhetoric and Ciceronian quotations to reinforce his appeal for a Ciceronian 'concordia ordinum'. It is the obvious and appropriate vehicle for his appeal.

The Complayner, a modern-minded Scot in the late 1540s, anxious to add lustre to the vernacular, would naturally wish to use the devices of accepted models. That he felt he did not go to excess is clearly implied.

The modern age is still reacting against the baroque excesses of the seventeenth century and our view of the sixteenth is perhaps obscured by the intervening centuries. The Complayner is in the fray, defending and adding lustre to the vernacular; and, aureate diction "although certainly not without roots in medieval poetics, is more to be regarded as part of the Renaissance process of enriching the vernacular, a parallel to which in prose is found in the ink-horn terms and euphemisms which form at least part of the undergrowth of the Renaissance". (10)

It would be much fairer to approach the Complaynt, not from the twentieth century, but from a preceding generation, from the age of Dunbar, for example.

The Complayner disapproves of excesses of Latinity, remarking on Hermes' 'langtaillit' words. However the Complayner's ideas of acceptable length may differ from ours, when, in a granitar's accounts we find such expressions as "tiritrantirasantibus" for "to men sifting barley" (Rentale Dunkeldense, p. 254).

The Complayner follows Chartier as one of his models for style; and current debate in France approved of Chartier's skill in the matter of avoiding excessive Latinity. Chartier avoided what Tory in his Champ Fleury calls "verbocination latiale", and thus the Complayner borrowed from the Auld

Alliance a weapon for the literary fight against the common old enemy, a weapon which was not only a ready-made framework, a treatment of the very theme; but also a model recommended by the dictates of rhetoric and the most modern literary trends in Paris in the midst of the philological revolution of the 1530s.

The Complaynt is an adaptation of a model work by a model author. The contents must have indeed suggested to Chartier the appropriate form of the dialogue.

The dialogue form was a popular literary device in the sixteenth century, perhaps for the very ambiguities which meant that it could be a means of insinuating unpopular opinions without assuming responsibility, though of course one ran the risk of being suspected of this trick when actually innocent.

Cicero's use of the dialogue had been largely argumentative. The Complayner apparently shares the obvious basic assumption that truth may be best obtained by the contest of rational minds in rational debate. It is only those who think that they already have a monopoly of the truth and are infallible who need to turn the dialogue into diatribe or turn the satire into invective.

The form of the dialogue is appropriate for reasoned discussion of the political state of the country. The political message may have suggested the form of the dialogue. The form of the dialogue in its turn may have suggested the pastoral setting and the Monologue Recreative.

The Complaynt follows the dialogue structure of Alain Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif.⁽¹¹⁾ Key features of the Quadrilogue include: the repeated use of allegory; the dream-vision framework; the conscious display of humanism, erudition, and moralistic eloquent sententiousness in Ciceronian periodic sentence structure and antithetical Senecan argumentation. The Complaynt, as one might expect, shares these features. The dream vision framework, the repeated use of polysemous devices are present.

The Complaynt utilizes such elements as: the pilgrimage metaphor; the allegorical interpretation of the myth of Diomedes horses; the typological and mythological borrowings from biblical sources; references to Abraham and Absalom; the interpretation of Dame Scotia's mantle (fol. 54v-55r); the providential scheme for the sixth age of the world; the 'translatio imperii topos', etc.

The topic of falling asleep and having a dream vision is a widely used literary device, combining several elements.

The subject of dreams was widely discussed. Macrobius (c.400 A.D.) commented on the Somnium Scipionis, originally a chapter in Cicero's De Republica (12) John of Salisbury, Vincent of Beauvais and Bartholomaeus Anglicus are also noted for their discussion of dreams. (13)

The personage of the dream vision, 'Dame Scotia', is modelled on Alain Chartier's 'France', who in turn seems to be modelled on Boethius' 'Philosophy'. (14)

The simple personification of a country is found in two of the pamphlets to which the Complayner is writing a reply; both Harryson or Henryson and Bodrugan alias Adams refer to Dame Britain. (Murray, pp. 232, 255).

The vision of Dame Scotia is an 'oraculum' in so far as she is a venerable person and she issues a prophetic warning; it is in a limited sense even a 'somnium' in that its highest meaning, its 'altitudo', is veiled in enigmatic allegorical form, but the Complayner keeps this veil as transparent as possible, for he wishes his message to be clearly understood; it is a 'visio' in that it gives some literal previsions of the future. It is more prophetic than apocalyptic, as the Complayner's warnings are extrapolated from experience. It is less prophecy than it is sound warning. It is advice of the consequences of behaviour. J.H. Millar's scoffing remark about the Complayner's poor powers of prophecy is irrelevant. That the Union did take place (under a Scots king), merely indicates that events followed a course against which the Complayner felt impelled to pit his strength.

- (1) G. Castor, Pléiade Poetics, (Cambridge, 1964) 64.
- (2) In Sebillet's opinion; "vrayement celuy et son oeuvre meritent grand louenge, qui a peu proprement et naivement exprimer en son langage, ce que un autre avoit mieus escrit au sien, après l'avoir bien conceu en son esprit". G. Castor, op.cit., 65.
- (3) Cicero De Inv. I, 16, 21-2, quoted by E. R. Curtius, Eur. Lit. and the Latin Middle Ages, (N.Y., 1953), 83-85; 132-3; 411-412.
- (4) Minor Latin Poets (Loeb), p. 600, Catonis Disticha, I, No. 20
- (5) See E. R. Curtius, Eur. Lit. and the Latin Middle Ages, (N.Y., 1953) p. 87, fn. 9.
- (6) R.R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage ... (Cambridge, 1963), 320-322.
- (7) C.S. Lewis, Eng. Lit. in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1954), 115.
- (8) C.S. Lewis, op.cit., page 55.
- (9) ed. Francis R. Johnson, Richard Rainolde: The Foundacion of Rhetorike introd. p. v.
- (10) J. MacQueen, "Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland", Forum, III, 3 (July, 1967) 210.
- (11) ed. E.J. Hoffman, Alain Chartier: His Work and Reputation (New York, 1942), 138-198.
- (12) W.H. Stahl, Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio (New York, 1952) C.S. Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1964) pages 60-69.
- (13) C. Fritzsche, "Die Lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts", Romanische Forschungen, ii, 247-9; iii, 337-369; F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford, 1957) 779.
- (14) Folios 54v-58v are borrowed from Chartier's Quadrilogue ed. Droz, page 7, line 4 to page 12, line 33; see appendix. Cf. Boethius: The Consolation of Philosophy Loeb, ed. H.F. Stewart, (London, 1962) 130-133. The role of Fortune is sometimes accepted, sometimes rejected, by the writers in the whole debate surrounding astrology, summed up in the Complayner's quotation of the phrase 'Sapiens dominabitur astris'. See "Für und Wider die Astrologie", in Ernst Zinner, Geschichte und Bibliographie der Astronomischen Literatur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Renaissance (Berlin, 1941), 23-25 etc. See J.M. Ferrier, "The Theme of Fortune in the Writings of Alain Chartier", in Medieval Miscellany Presented to Eugene Vinaver (Manchester, 1965), pages 124-135. The Complayner is against Fortune because fatalism leads to apathy in political resistance. the personification of Scotia occurs much earlier, than the sixteenth century, of course. Cf. too the references to "A muliere Scotia vocitatur Scotia tota" in W.F. Skene, Chronicles of the Picts: Chronicles of the Scots (Edinburgh, 1867), pages 242, 280-284, 334, 378. Fourteenth century replies to English propaganda already used the story of Pharaoh's daughter Scotia, and the Stone of Destiny, in refuting English claims. The Complayner no doubt had Fortune, Philosophy and other literary personifications in mind. (Dame Crestiente, Dame Vertu, Dame Rhetorique, etc), as well as eponymous heroines.
- (15) J.H. Millar, A Literary History of Scotland (London, 1903), p. 125

CHAPTER FOUR

FACETS OF THE COMPLAINNT

2. The Complaynt as Propaganda

THE COMPLAYNT AS PROPAGANDA

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The Complaynt is, as the title suggests, in the tradition of 'Complaints of Poor Labourers' and in its attack on tyranny it is more specifically modelled on Alain Chartier's Quadrilogue.

As well as being a four-sided dialogue, however, it is a political propaganda pamphlet, even if disguised in a literary framework.

It might be maintained that the Complaynt is a nationalist ⁽¹⁾ document, but this statement requires qualification. It would, in fact, be preferable to avoid the term 'nationalism', as in accepted modern meanings it is anachronistic. It would be preferable to use the term 'patriotism', which the Complayner understands in a Ciceronian moral sense, loyalty to the common weal, unselfishness. The Complaynt is indeed an impassioned plea for concord and national unity in the defence of the common weal. It is a call to arms, a call to active resistance by all three estates, including the clergy, in unity against the common aggressor, the 'auld enemeis', the English. The Complayner's racial generalisations are based on specific experiences. Indeed his reaction is even a very moderate reaction to the savage orders ⁽²⁾ executed by the English invaders. ⁽³⁾

Historians have hitherto been most interested in the political argument and social criticism in the Complaynt. The political argument could be summed up thus: Scotia reprimands her three sons, the Three Estates, whose divisions and discords have caused their mutual disasters; attacks bitterly the cruelty and treacherousness of the English, demonstrated by examples drawn from history; condemns domestic treachery; calls for unity in repelling the 'auld enemeis'; declares that Scots unity will be 'ane mair aful scourge nor that the realme of France and the Empire hed tane querrel contrar Ingland' (fol. 136r). To the severe reprimand the third son replies by accusing his two elder brethern of pride, oppression and cruelty, and points out their vices as an excuse for his own conduct. Dame Scotia refuses to allow this excuse, and in turn reprimands her three sons for their individual vices and crimes; she renews her call for unity against the common enemy repeating the sufferings they have undergone. ⁽⁴⁾

The foreground appeal in the Complaynt is indeed a patriotic political appeal. Secondly, and equally, it is important to note that it is a reply,

a refutation, a document of the resistance. It is a defensive political pamphlet to combat a massive English propaganda campaign, demanding Union, with threats. This was a propaganda campaign which had been going on since the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. (5) It had been waged too in Edward I's reign; but more especially and more intensively in the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Edward VI. It was a campaign which had recently become more virulent because it was now not only dynastic and political but was in addition now also religious. Ideological warfare in Scotland was divisive and complex because of this mixing of politics and religion. There was in Somerset's campaigns "a good deal of religious propagandism, attended for a time by some success. 'It will advance the King's interest', wrote Grey, 'to have two or three preachers in Angus'. Dudley reported that there was 'much desire in Angus and Fife to have a good preacher, Bibles and Testaments and other good English books of Tyndale's and Frith's translation'". (6)

The Complayner is also demonstrating as well as he can that the Catholic party, the 'French' faction, is in fact more patriotic than the Scots who foolishly fall for the English propaganda including the religious arguments, for one can see what Henry VIII did to the Church of England, and one can see the English behaviour in Wales and Ireland. English propaganda, to which the Complayner is specifically replying, was aimed at furtherance of England's claims of suzerainty over Scotland. It was provoked by the minorities and consequent regencies in Scotland, by the failure of the Rough Wooing, and by the increasing hold of the Lorraine-Guise interests in the Auld Alliance. To substantiate these claims of suzerainty all the old histories were ransacked for proofs. (7)

The Complaynt is a refutation of these English claims. It is a defensive patriotic appeal, not aggressive expansionist nationalism. It is a political propaganda pamphlet rejecting the 'lies' 'contrar the iust verite' (fol. 65r) put forward by the English to substantiate their claims.

We have examples of the English pamphlets, four of them printed by J.A.H. Murray in his edition of the Complaynt. The titles of the works alone are very revealing.

- I. Henry VIII's Declaration: 'A Declaration, Conteynyng the iust Causes and consyderations, of this present warre with the Scottis, wherin alsoo appereth the trewe & right title, that the kinges most royall maiesty hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande (London, 1542) (Grenville 5945, B.M.)

II. Henryson's or Harryson's Exhortacion: 'An Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselves to the honorable, Expedient, & godly union betweene the two Realmes of Englande & Scotland. Dedicated to Edward Duke of Somerset by James Harryson, Scottisheman'. (London, 1547) (STC 12858). (8)

III. Somerset's Epistle: 'An Epistle or exhortacion, to unitie & peace, sent from the Lorde Protector, & others the kynges moste honorable counsaill of England: To the Nobilitie, Gentlemen, and Commons, and al others the inhabitauntes of the Realme of Scotlande'. (London, 1548) (Grenville 5912, B.M.). (9)

IV. Bodruga's Epitome: 'An Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the souereigntie of Scotlande, continued vpon the auncient writers of both nacions, from the beginnyng By Nicholas Bodruga otherwise Adams ...' (London, 1548) (B.M., C.21. b.1.) (STC 3196)

In addition to Henry VIII's Declaration, Henryson's Exhortacion, Somerset's Epistle and Bodruga's Epitome, printed by Murray, we also have for example the earlier document, "A Proposal for Uniting Scotland with England, addressed to King Henry VIII, by Johne Eldar Clerk, a Redshanke in 1542".¹⁰⁾ A sixth such document is Somerset's Proclamation: 'A Proclamatioun maid be the Protectour of England the tyme of the field of Pinkie, 1547'. (11)

A seventh example is Patten's 'Expedicion into Scotlande ...', (12) J.D. Mackie quotes a further example of such a claim slipped into the "Preamble to the Act of the Subsidie of the Temporaltie (Statutes of the Realme, iii, 938), passed in the session of January-March 1544". (13)

That the Complayner is replying to these or similar tracts is indicated by a number of parallels in the argument such as one would expect in a refutation.

Two of the English tracts use personification.⁽¹⁴⁾ Harryson, in the tract printed by Richard Grafton in 1547 (STC 12858), says: "Imagine you (I praye you) if Britayne coulde speake, might she not well saye thus ..." and he continues with Dame Britain referring to her 'chyl dren' and to herself as an 'vnhappy mother'. Similarly, Nicholas Bodruga or Adams says: "And nowe me thinketh I here our countrey the common parent to vs all, say vnto you in this wise ...". This use of personification adds a dimension to the Complaynt by making it a use of their own weapon against the pamphleteers.

Like the Complayner, Harryson ⁽¹⁵⁾ laments the general depopulation, murders, calamities "by domesticall discord and unnaturall contraversie" which "inespiciall thes two noble realmes of Englund and Scotland, beyinge but one countre, can apperentlie declare and make demonstracion ... " (CSP, I, 140-5). Harryson, like the Complayner, deploras the social disorder caused by popular uprisings: "What dammage discencyon haith donne in Germanye and Denmarke, all cristiane at this day can well declare, and the Turke can bere goode testymonye, wich by the discorde of Cristen prynces, haith amplified greatlie his seignory and domynyon". Agreeing on the symptoms they disagree about the remedy.

Harryson pleads for unity and Union using the metaphor of members of one body, and he quotes the Scriptures saying: 'Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur' (Murray, op.cit., p.211). The Complayner uses the same arguments and stands them on their head, prescribing a different cure. Dame Scotia (and not Dame Britain) is our mother, and unless the Scots Three Estates unite, then, as Scripture states: 'Omne regum in se divisum desolabitur'.

Harryson's Exhortacion (p. 213), and Henry VIII's Declaration (Murray, p.199) both mention the origins of Britain and the defeat of the giants. (cf. Complaynt, fol. 65v).

The Complayner refutes the prophecies of Merlin. ⁽¹⁶⁾ In fact if Scotland will mend her ways, and heal internal dissension, treachery and double-dealing, then her unity will enable her to wage a successful, defensive, just, godly and necessary war against the "incredule seid of ingland til extinct that false generation furtht of rememorance", that is, Scotland in its turn may be given the privilege of being a scourge of the heathen English.

Harryson attacks the Scots clergy (pages 220-1) and the French (page 227), saying that the Scots will be "hirelynges to a forrein nacion" (page 229) bribed by the "Frogges" (page 229). The Complayner dedicates his work to Mary of Lorraine, whose self-sacrifice for Scotland is evident, even in her absence from her daughter and her relatives and the pleasant life in France, and the Complayner supports the patriotic Scots, who are by definition those who reject the English.

As J.D. Mackie remarks: "A common interest in Protestantism, a common dislike of French domination, common blood and many common interests all worked towards union, and it is possible that if the English king (Henry VIII) had shown more restraint he might have achieved a better result". ⁽¹⁷⁾

Harryson envisages the abolition of the distinction between Scots and

English and foresees the name of Britons. The Complayner stresses that the Scots in England are treated as second-class citizens, and stresses the differences between the characters of the two races, which he states are incompatible (fol. 84r/v). The Complayner foresees union too but under a Scottish ruler.

Harryson speaks of Scotland's need to repent and to "returne into the right waie" namely of the same religion as England. The Complayner merely indicates Henry's record in his dealings with his own clergy (fol. 128r).

Harryson alternates enticement and threats, threatening with the Lord Protector's invasion, and urging submission to his benign mercy (page 235). The Complayner all along stresses that one can expect no mercy from the English. He mentions their atrocities (fol. 75r/v), that they are "boreaus and hangmen" (fol. 21v), as pagan as the Saracens (fol. 22r, 130/v), "false seid" and an "incredule generatione" (fol. 22r), whose kings are usurpers (fol. 67sq, 130v), who behave like tyrants when they are supreme (fol. 72r). They are at present being used by God as scourges but will be conquered by the Scots (fol. 67v) and cast into the fire like the wand of correction once it has served its purpose. (Cf. fol. 22v).

Somerset in his Epistle uses a number of arguments taken up by the Complayner. Somerset says England will give up its superiority and its name (page 241) in order to achieve Union. He points out the disadvantages of French domination (243) and attacks Arran and the late Cardinal Beaton (241), attacks the kirkmen (244-245) who, together with the Scots leaders were bribed by the French. He indicates the advantages of Union (245) and offers terms of Assurance (246) to the Scots.

The Complayner warns against accepting terms of assurance, pointing out how the Assured Scots are treated, and how Scots in England are second-class citizens, (fol. 59r, 82r/v).

Bodrugan, or Adams, begins his preface, as the Complayner does, by the humble offering topic, referring to Edward VI's noble progenitors, and stating that he is writing "rather as a necessarie seruice to my countrey, then for mine awne glory" (249). The Complayner replies (fol. 14r) that he is writing "be rasone of my gude intentione that procedis fra ane affectiue ardant fauoir that i hef euyr borne touart this affligit realme quhilk is my natiue cuntre", and stresses (fol. 15r), that "the motione of the compilatione of this tracteit, procedis mair of the compassionne that i hef of the public necessite nor it dois of presumptione or vane gloir".

Bodrugan or Adams attacks the Scots "popishe clergie" (254); quotes Dame Britain, as we have seen, (255); refers to Plato's and Cicero's appeals to patriotism (which the Complayner quotes in folios 56v and 57r); suggests that the Scots' cause is not honest, just, godly or necessary (254) and ends by referring to the 'members of one body' metaphor. The Complayner argues that if the Scots are being punished by God, this does not mean that the English are good or superior. They are mere instruments, scourges to be cast aside when the Scots repent.

Thus the Complaynt is a specific reply to specific charges and suggestions. It is a patriotic reply to a massive propaganda onslaught in favour of Union with England.

That the whole subject was being currently debated is shown by Buchanan's account (History, II, 372) of the dispute and arguments for and against Union, at Haddington in a 'parliament' in the camp there. All of these arguments show that the Complayner was perfectly justified in deciding that this was a subject "purpos or mater that var maist necessair ande honest to be delatit" (fol. 6v).

The Complayner is intent upon demolishing the politico-ecclesiastical arguments. He hopes to discredit the English propaganda which depicts the Scots pro-English Protestant faction as a more patriotic party. He shows that the English promises are worthless. On the secular side they are untrustworthy. (18) They are allies who treat the Scots as second-rate citizens. On the ecclesiastical side the Anglophiles are also misguided in placing their trust in the English. Consider the harsh treatment meted out even to their own clergy. The Anglophiles are united not in patriotism but in misguided hope of private gain. Why should Scots Protestants unite with English Protestants when the King of England is Scotland's worst foe, and when Scots internal dissension and treachery are fomented by England.

The Complayner is thus also operating a public-relations campaign for Mary of Lorraine akin to her own campaign in 1550-1 when she took Scots nobles to France. The Complayner, by showing the English treatment of France, is urging a strengthening of the Auld Alliance, since Scotland has only ever had peace with England during the years when the English were attacking France, (fol. 146v).

The Complayner is trying to counteract the confusion in Scotland caused by English psychological and physical warfare and he is trying to disentangle the religious question and political alignments. He is attempting to show that the Scots would do well to reject England's advances made under the guise

of religion.

The Complayner must have been aware of the situation in Dundee, after Pinkie, for example, when "the chief citizens of Dundee amongst whom the doctrines of the Reformation were making great progress, declared for England. They offered to hold their town against all the efforts of the Governor and in return requested some good preacher to be sent to them with a supply of English bibles and other godly books". (19) After Pinkie the English took Broughty Castle "by the treachery of Lord Gray its owner", and the captain of Broughty Castle even took Dundee and held it for a month or two at the end of 1547. (20) The Complayner may even have been thinking of Dundee when he stresses the folly of trusting English assurances. How many collaborators may have had their houses burned along with non-collaborators' houses.

This situation presented a genuine dilemma for many. Many must have had grave doubts so long as Beaton was alive. By the time he wrote the Complaynt, however, the Complayner had thought things through and decided that rather than merely try to cure the symptoms the Scots must eradicate the root of the trouble. The symptoms are three: firstly, the "cruelle invasions of oure ald enemeis"; secondly, the "vniuersal pestilens and mortalite"; thirdly, the "contentione of diuerse of the thre estaitis of Scotland" (fol. 2v). These are however only symptoms. He reflects on the deeper causes. These reflections are the aspects of the Complaynt which can be isolated as, the Complaynt as an analysis of the providential pattern of history, and the Complaynt as a homily, a sermon, a moral message. The Complayner reflects on the mutation of monarchies (fol. 16r) and the state of Scotland after Pinkie (fol. 18v) and he concludes that the origin of the ills is a spiritual one, and accordingly that the cure is a spiritual cure. Accordingly, the answer to political propaganda is the defence of a spiritual reform. This is summarized and symbolized in the scriptural image of the scourge or the wand of correction (fol. 19r: Deut. 28; Leviticus, 26; Isaiah, 3).

The Scots should not despair, but mend their ways. An analysis of the providential pattern of history provides hope.

- (1) On the theme of Nationalism, see D. McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century," Innes Review 19 (1968), 3-14; J.H. Burns, "Political Background of the Reformation", (1513-1625)", Innes Review 10 (1959) 199-236; A. M. Kinghorn, "Scottish Historiography in the 14th century ...", SSL 6, 3 (1969), 131-145; for an arguably anachronistic view, F. Brie, Die Nationale Literatur Schottlands (Halle, 1937).
- (2) Hamilton Papers, II, 326, 360.
- (3) J.D. Mackie, "Henry VIII and Scotland", TRHS, 4, 29 (1947), 93-114.
- (4) Leyden, ed.cit., p. 180
- (5) On Geoffrey's racialism and patriotism, see J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain, (Berkely, & L.A., 1950), 396-402.
- (6) A.R. MacEwen, A History of the Church in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1913-19), II, 19.
- (7) J.D. Mackie, "Henry VIII and Scotland", TRHS 4, 29 (1947), 93-114. I am indebted to Marcus Merriman for allowing me to read a draft chapter from his thesis on "The struggle for the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots: English and French Intervention in Scotland, 1543-1550". It includes a discussion of Harryson or Henryson.
- (9) This Epistle was given wide distribution, and, as Merriman notes, was even translated into German as Ein schriftliche Vermanung zum Friede und Einigkeit (Erfurt, 1549) (B.M. 597.d.26) as well as having at least two English and two Latin editions (STC 9180, 9181, 22268, 22269).
- (10) In Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. One (Edinburgh, 1827) 1-18; (edited by Sir W. Scott and D. Laing from MS Bibl.Reg.BM. 18. A. 38).
- (11) Warrender Papers, I, 17-18
- (12) Dalyell, Fragments (dated London, 1548)
- (13) J.D. Mackie, "Henry VIII and Scotland", TRHS 4, 29 (1947) 112-3. The passage quoted by Mackie bases its claim upon old records, old homages, the forfeitures of vassal kings who had rebelled; and they declared that although the actual use of the title had not been exercised such "forbearance did not prejudice the title in any way and that now the time was 'apt and propyse' for its vindication". The brutal 'vindication', the execution of the harsh orders, listed in the Hamilton Papers, II, 326, 360, proved the Complayner's point about the folly of trusting to English mercy.
- (14) Murray, pages 232, 255
- (15) Murray, 207-236
On Harryson, Henryson, Henrison, see M.H. Merriman, "The Assured Scots", S.H.R. (1968), 22-23. James Harryson, or Henryson, or Henrison who wrote the tract would seem to be the same person who writing in July 1548 to Sir John Thynne and William Cecil, encloses 'The Godly and Golden Book': C.S.P. I, 140-145.

- (16) Folios 65r-67v; John Major also devotes a whole chapter to Merlin (Major, History, 72-81, 224, 254). Jean de Beaugué relates "Comme les Anglois font tousiours cas des propheties", and he tells how an Englishman went on hunger strike because the prophecy was not fulfilled that the English would conquer the Scots and French. (Beaugué, Histoire, Livre II, Ch. 10).
- (17) J.D. Mackie, article quoted in note (3), 113-114
- (18) T.I. Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513-1603 (Edinburgh, 1966): M.H. Merriman, "The Assured Scots, SHR XLVII, 143 (1968), 10-34.
- (19) Tytler, History, VI, 43.
- (20) Cal S.P. Scot., I xii-xiii: Tytler, History, VI, 35.

CHAPTER FOUR

FACETS OF THE COMPLAYNT

3. The Complaynt as History

THE COMPLAYNT AS HISTORY
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The Complaynt is not history in the modern sense. It is political and social criticism, and as such a historical document. It is a political tract with religious overtones. It is a counterblast to the English propaganda, as we have seen, and a document of the resistance to English psychological warfare. It is not however merely an 'occasional' piece. It is not merely relevant to the situation of the years 1547-1550. This provides a clue to its nature as history. It is an analysis of historical events of the contemporary scene, in the light of the providential pattern of history which emerges from a study of parallel situations, perennially valid 'exempla' and biblical truths.

The Complayner achieves this perennial relevance by employing several levels of chronology in the historical argument. Biblical history, the 'matter' of 'Rome the Great', classical Antiquity, the 'matter of France' and more recent French actuality, the 'matter of Britain', legends ancient and modern, Scots legends and near contemporary events are mingled. He rejects a sequential chronological view. By his technique of interweaving the levels of history the Complayner gives texture to the picture. He links parallels in equal validity. Events at the Caudine Forks are as valid as references to the Barns of Ayr or Pinkie. This excludes a sequential chronological view. As everything is contemporary, and 'exempla' are universally valid, symptoms can be dismissed as transient and a spiritual cure is both desirable and possible.

An examination of the contemporary scene is involved. The Complayner depicts the contemporary scene as evidence. A legitimate question for the historian to ask of any account of historical events is the degree of factual and interpretational accuracy and objectivity it records. Too often however this does not correspond to the original intention. The proof against various histories such as Boece's, may have represented some sort of breakthrough for modern historical study, and may even still be considered a necessary approach. The question as to what actually occurred in any episode discussed is, however, perhaps not always of such exclusive or even primary importance as this approach suggests.

Historiography may strive to obtain 'objectivity' and 'accuracy', but it is usually coloured by political and other underlying assumptions. In addition, historiography, as historians are quick to point out, has altered radically

over the centuries so that a non-historian might be misled by this approach into overlooking the fact that this criterion of 'objective accuracy' may be irrelevant in the original situation. Such an approach is misleading if it overlooks the purposes, functions, aims and intentions of chronicles, legends, epics, histories. It is a misinterpretation to look for objectivity, for example, in what was intended as historical fiction or tendentious polemic, general patriotic exhortation or more narrowly based political propaganda, retrospective denigration or justification of present policy. Furthermore, it can be argued that objectivity or impartiality is relative, and a luxury, when the aim is defence of liberty.

If the aim is to persuade, then eloquence is more persuasive than facts; emotive mythology is more persuasive than rational argument. In this context of aims and purposes, for example, it is in a sense irrelevant whether the "Barns of Ayr" incident ever occurred or not. It is adequate for the Complayner's purpose that the Scots believed the English capable of such an atrocity, and that this reminder would encourage the adoption by the reader of the desirable political attitude, and the wisest practical action, namely, distrust of the English and of their offers of negotiation and 'assurance'; and a determination to resist to the end as there could be no hope of mercy from the English.

At the same time, while using plausible fictions himself, the Complayner attacks gullible Scots for allowing themselves to be fooled by English fictions. Even if the English believe the prophecies of Merlin there is no need for the Scots to do so.

Straight chronicle accounts are often recognizable propaganda, but it could be demonstrated that saints' legends, romances, sagas, ⁽¹⁾ were also often propaganda with political, racialist, imperialist, dynastic or other motives, all the more effective the less readily spotted as propaganda.

In any case, legends and epics have apparent propaganda functions. Tales of eponymous heroes and explanations of national origins are evident unifying instruments. Pride in origins is in some ways even a forerunner of modern nationalism.

History, fable and argument are all subservient to the aim of teaching and persuasion. ⁽²⁾ History is not just 'reportage' but like the poetic art, had, from medieval times, this doctrinal trait of conveying "moral or physical doctrine by feigned fables and allegorical similitudes" . ⁽³⁾ History according to older definitions shares the aims of satire too, namely, the extirpation

of vices and the promotion of virtue. Thus as well as being political propaganda, history aimed at moral teaching.

History as moral teaching made use of tales of heroes and great men, as "exempla". The 'Nine Nobles topos' is an example. Moral tales have didactic value reinforced by the authority of ancient 'sources'. Tales of heroes are also good entertainment. The good yarns of historical fiction and the deeds of others tend to crystallize around figures like Bruce and Wallace. These tales are not only entertainment for the long winter evenings, they were an education towards behaviour in future contingencies. There is no doubt that the Scottish character or racial memory has been moulded by the stories of its legendary heroes, aiming to inspire analogous behaviour, and by horror stories of the atrocities of the 'auld enemeis', by inspiring cautionary tales, ballads, tags, maxims and songs.

Historical fiction has in effect a truth of its own. Like sermon anecdotes to make a dogmatic point, the stories are recorded because they are symbolical of the truth which the Complayner wishes to point, whether or not they represent the actualities of historical occurrence.

It is arguable that the Complayner in writing historical arguments and examples would be unconsciously distinguishing between what we might term 'historical truth' and 'poetic truth'. The Complayner is interested in 'poetic truth' which brings out the universals in particulars. (4)

The Complayner is not inhibited by a modern historical viewpoint and can employ examples from all chronological levels of history and interweave strands of legend, myth and history into a continuous present.

The chronicles and histories contain certain commonplace topics which illuminate the view of history's function. The Complayner's references to these common topics from historiography are part of his technique of using key phrases to unlock storehouses of thoughts. Such topics include the role of Fortune, the scourge of Divine punishment, translatio imperii and the mutation of monarchies.

The concept of the scourge is found in Chartier who in the Quadrilogue speaks of "ce flaiel de persecution" (4, 33); of the father's 'wand' ("verge de pere", (5,5), quoting Isaiah 3, "la verge de punicion divine" (6, 25); and he refers to examples of punishment "punicions", (27,27) and of "le flaël de divine justice" (44, 29). Thus Chartier can be seen to have taken the idea mainly from the Old Testament where innumerable passages suggest the concept of the 'scourge' and punishment.

Rather than multiply his examples however, the Complayner concentrates on Ecclesiasticus 10, 8 (fol. 16r), Deuteronomy 28 (fol. 19r), Leviticus 26 and Isaiah 3 (fol. 19v, 20r, 21r/v, 23r/v).

In Isaiah 3 the arraignment of Judah provides such obvious parallels in suffering with Scotland that the call to repentance can be seen to be directly applicable to Scotland also.

In Deuteronomy, the punishment is linked with disobedience, and the actual types of punishment are enumerated in Chapter 28.

In Ecclesiasticus 10, the idea of punishment is linked with another key concept, the 'translatio imperii' topos, and thus with the apocalyptic views found in the book of Daniel, ideas fruitful in allegory.

The idea of punishment which in Genesis 3 is also linked with the idea of wandering, pilgrimage, estrangement and thus also with the 'Vanitas Mundi' theme to which the Complayner returns (fol. 134v) and the 'Man is but dust and ashes' theme (fol. 120v), is an idea which was a commonplace of Renaissance historiography and thought.

External punishment, such as wars and tyrannies, was a part of the theme of the Renaissance theory of punishment, which, as Roy W. Battenhouse indicates, stems from Isaiah's concept of the 'scourge of God' (Isaiah 10, 15-16), which Calvin in his Commentary in Latin in 1551, used to explain the miseries suffered by Christianity at the hands of the Turks. ⁽⁵⁾ The Complayner likewise compares the English to the heathen Saracens, and calls to a Crusade against them, (fol. 130r).

Thus in the mutability of things our troubles are the scourge or wand of correction, and through repentance and right thinking, and right action, the "meritis" of our virtue (fol. 122v), or justification also by good works, we may, by being faithful servants or 'ministers', in this vale of tears, live to see the day when God will destroy the scourge.

This is closely linked with the view (fol. 16r) that the Lord overturns the thrones of princes and that this divinely operated Mutation of Monarchies is because of injustice, insolence and greed (Ecclesiasticus, 10).

The imaginative centre of the history is the view of life as 'estrangement'. Man is an exile in an alien world on a 'fragil peregrination'. History is the pilgrim's guide, since history is a record of the providential pattern. The pilgrimage metaphor occurs in several places in the Bible (Genesis 47, 9; Hebrews 11, 13; I Peter 1, 17; 2 Esdras 16, 40) and the idea became popular

in the Middle Ages especially through Guillaume de Guilleville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine (written c. 1330-35), translated by Lydgate as The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man (c.1426). (7)

The Complayner uses the theme from Genesis 3, 19 and he stresses the transience of life and reiterates the 'Ubi sunt' topos (fol. 16v, 17r), as further keys opening 'store-houses' or trains of thoughts and associations. (8)

References to the 'Fragilitas mundi' topic is implied in the 'Ubi sunt' topic, as too is the theme of the mutability of things and the role of Fortune. The role of Fortune is also explicitly mentioned (fol.12r, 18r); and this reference also taps an enormous convention fruitful both in history and literature. (9) The Complayner refutes Juvenal's view that Fortune or luck is responsible for man's fortunes. This evokes the 'wheel of Fortune' image. The Complayner warns against belief in Fortune, reinforcing his warning with the biblical quotation in Isaiah 65 (fol.18r).

In asserting that belief in Fortune is a pagan doctrine, the Complayner is following the line taken by Alain Chartier. Chartier in his appeal to the Three Estates of France to unite for the defence of their common weal must attack Fortune. Belief in Fortune leads to resignation, apathy, fatalism, the passive acceptance of the irrational fickleness of fate. Belief in Fortune can lead to a refusal to accept responsibility. It is a denial of free will. Chartier attacks Fortune saying: "Nous imputons a Fortune, qui est chose faincte et vaine et ne se peut revancher, la juste vengeance que Dieu prent de nos fautes". J.M. Ferrier sees this as a key idea in Chartier. "This is the text on which his whole sermon is based". (10)

The Complayner is also writing in the sermon vein. His view of history is biblical. On the other hand he has to deal with powerful superstitions about the role of Fortune and the stars. The Complayner allows Hannibal to say without contradiction that "the ende of the veyris consistis in the chance of fortune" (fol. 13v).

Fortune and the stars are linked in the world-picture of the time. (11) The Complayner likewise states his position about the stars. One marginal quotation "Sapiens dominabitur astris" is a key to a whole debate. (12)

The discussion of free-will and responsibility and a rejection of inevitability is important for the Complayner's view of history.

Linked with the idea of the planets and the precession of the equinoxes and the inevitability of the natural processes is the idea of order, and the 'chain of being', the idea of station, and people as members of one body politic.

A key concept in the Complaynt is the idea of the commonwealth. Man is not a 'gladius delphicus' therefore he is dependent on others. Accordingly a Ciceronian 'concordia ordinum' is desirable. References in the Complaynt fall into two main groups: the references to "public veil" and those to "comont veil". (13) The Complayner contrasts selfishness, and effort for the 'res publica', which Chartier calls the 'chose publique' (11, 28) and the Complayner calls (fol. 58r), the public weal. He advocates the "avansing of the public veil" (fol. 9r). Just as the history is interpreted through the Bible; so too the image of members of one body politic is a parallel image to the biblical idea of members of one church. (14) The Complaynt as history is thus a reflection of the world-picture of the mid-sixteenth century with all its underlying assumptions, including its ideas about the nature of history and man's role in society.

- (1) J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley, L.A., 1950), 426.
- (2) D.W. Robertson, Preface to Chaucer (Oxford, 1963), 346. Robertson quotes Radulphus de Longo Campo as distinguishing 'history, fable and argument' as follows: "History is a narration of a thing which is neither true nor seems to be true; an argument is a narration of a thing which may not be true, but which seems to be true". According to this view both satire and tragedy fall under history. Similarly the Complayner can appeal to Seneca's tragedies as evidence (fol. 64v) and can quote Juvenal's satires (fol. 18r, 120r). Being in a sense gnomic observations with the force of proverbs such statements have as much value as 'exempla'. Thus the Complayner would be entitled to expel vice and promote virtue, either by history or by fable or by argument.
- (3) D.W. Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, (Oxford, 1963), 345; referring to John the Scot, P.L. 111, col. 419.
- (4) G.Castor, Pléiade Poetics: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Thought and Terminology (Cambridge, 1964), 51-62, makes the distinction between 'la vérité' and 'le vraisemblable' in the theory that Art is the Imitation of Nature.
- (5) Roy W. Battenhouse, Marlowe's Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy (Nashville, 1966), 108-113
- (6) The idea of the 'scourge' is used too by Lindsay. He speaks of how "His Thrynfald wande of Flagellation/Hes scurgit this pure Realme of Scotland" (Works, I, 199 and 200, lines 87-90; and in the Monarchie (lines 4147-4160) he compares tyrant kings to the school-master's wand. (Works, I, 322).
- (7) ed. F.J. Furnivall, K.B. Locock, Lydgate's De Guilleville's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, EETS ES 77, 83, 92 (London, 1899-1904). J. MacQueen, Allegory (London, 1970), 62-3: "where common humanity received the greater allegorical emphasis ... the metaphor of the pilgrimage dominated".
- (8) E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953), quoting Quintilian (V,10,20). See W. Veit, "Toposforschung", Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift 37 (1963), 120-163, espec. p. 155, 157 Dame World, the 'contemptus mundi' topos, the 'memento mori' topos and Dame Fortune are linked.
- (9) H.R. Patch, The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna ... (Paris, 1922)
- (10) J.N. Ferrier, "The Theme of Fortune in the Writings of Alain Chartier", in Medieval Miscellany Presented to Eugene Vinaver, ed. F. Whitehead, A. Diverres, etc (Manchester, 1965) 124-135. Patten in his Preface to the Expedicion (Dalyell, Fragments, vii) quotes Cicero's "De Diuina c.ii" to the effect that Fortune is "eyther a vayne name or not at all". Cf. G. Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954), 183-4. (Juvenal, 10, 365-6; cf. Lactantius, Diuinae Institutiones, 3, 29 in P.L. VI, 443B).

Leyden (97-101) suggests that the Complayner may have had in mind discussions of Fortune by Boccaccio, Lydgate and Gower. He might

have added the names of Petrarch and Machiavelli.
 See A.H. Gilbert Machiavelli's Prince and Its Forerunners.
 repr. (New York, 1968), pages 204-221

- (11) E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth, 1963), pages 68-77, on 'Stars and Fortune'
- (12) See note to folio 49v on 'Sapiens dominabitur astris'. See Appendix .
- (13) The phrases 'comont veil' and 'public veil' occur 39 times in the Complaynt. The phrase 'public veil' is contrasted with 'particular veil' or 'auen veifayr' (fol. 58v, 131v, 141v). Variants of the idea are expressed in 'public necessité and 'comont salut'.
- (14) The 'Comont veil' (14r, 36r, 73r, 88v, 96r, 108r, 117r, 131r, 138r, 140r, 143r and 108v), is for the Complayner still both 'Common Weal' and 'Commonwealth' meaning 'the hail body of the realme' (143r). On Commonwealth see Philip Styles "The Commonwealth" Shakespeare Survey 17 (Cambridge 1964), 103-119. Cf. Johne the Commonweill in Lindsay's Satyre (e.g. line 2417).

CHAPTER FOUR

FACETS OF THE COMPLAYNT

4. The Complaynt as Sermon

THE COMPLAYNT AS SERMON

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The Complaynt's providential view of the pattern of history is biblical. The topics of historiography used in the work are mainly biblical. The analysis of the political events is undertaken using universally valid criteria mainly from the Bible.

All first five chapters of the Complaynt before the Monologue have a strong biblical tenor. Biblical examples are applied to Scotland. Chapter I (fol. 15v-19r) discusses the Mutation of Monarchies in terms of Ecclesiasticus 10, 8. Chapter II (fol. 19-20v) exemplifies God's warnings to people persisting in their evil ways, referring to Deuteronomy 29, Leviticus 16 and Isaiah 3. Chapter III (fol. 20v-23r) calls to repentance Leviticus 26, returns to the theme of Ecclesiasticus 10 and says that English heretics are allowed to behave like hangmen and to scourge the Scots just as Satan was permitted to scourge Job. Chapter IV (fol. 23r-25r) explicitly applies Isaiah 3 to Scotland. No allegorical interpretation is required. The parallels can be seen at the literal level. The plagues mentioned in Deuteronomy 28, Leviticus 26 and Isaiah 3, are all present in Scotland.

One exception, but a notable one, is that biblical references to the calamity of having a young ruler do not apply literally to Scotland. The Complayner uses a variant of the 'puer-senex' topic to flatter Mary, by flattering her daughter. (1)

The Complayner reiterates the universal validity of Scripture (Rom. 15) and its applicability to Scotland, despite 'inuyful' or 'secret' 'detrackers' or 'calumniaturis' who dispute the relevance of scripture.

The eschatological concern is revealed in references to the shortening of the last age. The imminent end of the world makes repentance urgent, as he argues in Chapter V (fol. 25v-29r).

After the Monologue (fol. 29v-54r) and the Actor's vision (fol. 54v-57r) the Complayner returns to the biblical theme in Chapter IX (fol. 59v) where Dame Scotia reinforces her argument with biblical quotations from Leviticus 26, agan (fol. 59v), Isaiah 59 and I Maccabees (fol. 60r/v), Genesis 22, Genesis 41 (fol. 60v), Genesis 4 (fol. 61r), Joshua 1, 2 Samuel 2, Daniel 3, Daniel 6 (fol. 61r), Judges 8 (fol. 61v) and with Classical examples borrowed via Chartier (fol. 61v-64v), to prove that repentance brings God's help, and that 'overreachers' have a great fall.

At this point the Complayner inserts a political argument.

Then the Labourer's Complaint (Chapter XV: fol. 96v sq.) once again takes up an Old Testament tone in the catalogue of social injustices (fol. 97r-98r) perpetrated by the clergy and nobles. This is followed by an appeal to divine justice (fol. 98v, 99r), and arguments to exonerate the Third Estate (fol. 100-101v); arguing that true nobility began with the Third Estate; that true nobility is nobility of soul (fol. 102r) that poor people can not betray a country (fol. 102v-106r); that Assured Scots give in to the English (fol. 106v) not from choice but because the other two Estates fail to help them (fol. 106v-108v). In Chapter XVI (fol. 109r-113r) these excuses are dismissed, and the unreliability of the common populace is stressed.

Dame Scotia (Chapter XVI: fol. 113v sq.) compares the present state of the nobility with the Golden Age (fol. 114r) before the present 'World-Upside-Down' state of affairs (fol. 115r). The fallen state of the nobility means that true nobility must be distinguished from mere genealogical descent (fol. 120r). We thus return to the biblical theme of the origins of man, the theme that man is but 'dust and ashes' (Genesis 2; Genesis 18; Ecclesiasticus 10) (fol. 120v). References to the "peregrinatione of this mortal lyif" (fol. 120v) and to Death the great leveller (fol. 120v: "the quhilk eird makis na acceptions of persons"), are reinforced by further biblical quotations, (Wisdom, 7 and Job: fol. 122r, 123r). The chapter ends with a call to repentance (fol. 124r) and a call to unite and defend Scotland (fol. 124r).

Biblical and Canon Law quotations are of course introduced when Dame Scotia appeals (Chapter XIX: fol. 124v-130) to the clergy, 'Sperutualite'. Malachias 2, 7 is the text for the sermon (fol. 124v, 125r). This is reinforced by Matthew 5, 16. The Canon Law quotations (fol. 130r/v) urge the clergy to take up arms.

Dame Scotia next appeals to the Three Estates (Chapter XX) to avoid all the kinds of strife that have divided the country, and returns (fol. 134v) to the theme of Ecclesiastes 2, 1-11 (already in fol. 27v). The theme is reinforced by reference to Vincentius 'Commonitorium', Book 34 (fol. 135r), with a warning against seeking vain worldly honours ("varldly caduc honouris") and calling for obedience to God (fol. 135v, 136r) as the precondition for freedom from the plagues of war, the pest, hunger (fol. 136r). Unity is strength (fol. 136r/v). Unite against the foe (fol. 137r-140v) as did Municius and Fabius (fol. 137v-140v) and as did Judas Maccabeus and his followers (fol. 140v). Treason in Scotland does not pay, since traitors, will be punished, as in the case of Pericles (fol. 141v-143r) and the double-dealing shoemaker

with the two 'corbies' (fol. 143v-144v). Treason does not pay, neither does neutrality (fol. 144v-146r). Therefore Scots should make their decision.

The Scots should now make their profession of allegiance. They should decide to fight the good fight with all their might. Canon Law (fol. 146v) and Cicero (fol. 147r: De Officiis i, 35) and Thucydides (fol. 146v, 147r) all advocate fighting a just fight.

Then when the Three Estates 'condiscend in ane faythful accord" (fol. 147v), God will doubtless free Scotland from the great afflictions inflicted by the "incredule seid of ingland", and will make the Scots the instrument of punishment to scourge England in its turn, "til extinct that false generatione furtht of rememorance" (fol. 147v).

The sermon is thus a plea for repentance: "i exort zou to retere fra vanite & til adhere to vertu" (fol. 134v): "i exort zou that ze gar zour hartis consaue the comandis of god and that zour verkis be conformand to the sammyne & than doutles god sal schau his mercy and sal releue zou of the grit afflictione of the thre plagis that hes almaist succumbit zour cuntre in extreme ruuyne that is to saye fra veyr fra pest and fra hungir" (fol. 136r).

It is not only an appeal for Scots "to pas in battel for the deffens of their public veil and of their natiue cuntre" (fol. 129v), but it is an analysis. His verdict on the cause of the state of affairs is the "rancor and discentione that ringis amang zou" (fol. 133r). This is his verdict at the end of the work undertaken because of his conviction that (fol. 6v) "ther var na mater mair conuenient and necessair, for this present dolorus tyme, nor to reherse the cause ande occasione of the onmersiful afflictione of the desolat realme of scotland".

Thus in content one of the strands of the Complaynt is the biblical material, the direct reference to themes used by preachers. Less patently biblical are a number of other features which contribute to the sermon tone. Though the message is political it is interpreted in terms of biblical insight into the providential pattern of history and the need for a spiritual cure for political ills.

The Complaynt is didactic. Its aim is educational. Its educational aims are based on the Bible and the ideals of Classical Antiquity, in particular on the ideals of 'humanitas' and 'pietas' and the Ciceronian 'concordia'. The ideal of 'humanitas' implies respect for human dignity and a desire therefore for concord. In conflict it implies a minimum use of force and magnanimity towards the vanquished. Such a view, also propounded by Erasmus, for example,

seeks to reform by reason and persuasion rather than by force, and tending to avoid revolution it tends to become a conservative principle. The ideal of 'pietas' is a Christianized classical concept adding the ministering dimension to the idea of humanity. Philanthropy is central to Christianity in action.

The Complayner wishing to inculcate such virtues has studied the humanities and scriptures and is anxious to transmit their lessons. When these three educational ideals of 'concordia' 'humanitas' and 'pietas' have to be applied to political situations, they tend to support conservative principles. Concord opposes revolution. Magnanimity precludes vengeance, and other base motives for action. They suggest Christian cosmopolitanism and the idea of the body consisting of many members working in harmony. The Complayner has to walk a tightrope when he urges resistance. His compromise would seem to be that nationalism is necessary against English nationalism, but cosmopolitanism for example in the 'republic of letters' is desirable. He must have also been aware that his argument could be turned against him. Scots and English should unite since they are members of one body, mankind. His argument is that the English nature is incompatible with that of the honest Scot (fol. 84r). If we may recapitulate, then: The Complaynt has many devices used by preachers, as we have seen: the biblical quotations, the 'exempla', the historiographical assumptions, the proverbs, the allegorical elements, the moral 'sententiae', the topics, the keywords.

Some comments which appear casual are in fact 'keywords'. They are of central importance indicating a whole range of assumed arguments, a whole mode of thought.

For the Complayner the commonplace is not banal. It is gnomic. The significance of the proverbs is that a proverb is a distillation of wisdom, a consensus opinion, claiming a greater validity than a single individual's idea. It is on the same ground as the doctrine of natural law and natural theology. We have mentioned similarly how one marginal comment: 'sapiens dominabitur astris' implies a whole debate on free will, the role of Fortune, fatalism, justification by works, moral responsibility, etc. It is so central that it does not have to be specifically explained.

Equally when the Complayner refers to the key image of the two philosophers (fols. 133v, 134) he unlocks a whole literary tradition, as well as indicating two ways of looking at the world.

The didactic aim of teaching wisdom can be achieved at different levels

and in many ways. One way of conveying wisdom is by highlighting examples of folly. The Complayner underlines the central awareness of the sheer folly of the world, the state of which denies 'humanitas' 'pietas', 'concordia' and all reason. Seneca's words are quoted to the same effect as the epigram about 'heraclite' and 'democrite' (fols. 134r/v): "Aut ridenda omnia, aut flenda sunt".

The Complayner elsewhere quotes Juvenal, and in fact his use of the 'quadrilogue' form is in a similar tradition to that of the dialogue and the satire. It is also in a similar vein to the current 'fool literature'. The satire, 'mirrors', the portrayal of follies and vices, were also weapons in the preachers' arsenal.

Among contemporary writers, Lindsay, it could be argued, tries to reform the world by his portrayal of folly. Sebastian Brant, in his Narrenschiff, has as his aim too the inculcation of wisdom, as Gruenter argues; ⁽³⁾ and indeed the Ship of Fools was taken as a basis for sermons by a contemporary preacher. Brant, like the Complayner, is a Christian moralist. He is also a satirist, though lacking the ironic fatalism which seems to be in Erasmus. Brant blends the topics of the voyage of life, the carnival procession, the Ash Wednesday theme, the topics of the World as a stage, life as a dream; and with the carnival procession links the idea of the 'danse macabre'. Erasmus naturally refers too to Democritus, in the Praise of Folly, ⁽⁴⁾ and in an ironic version of the 'contemptus mundi' theme discusses the folly of the actors on the stage of life wearing masks of self-delusion; and the ultimate 'vanitas mundi' revealed in the foolishness of the cross. Sebastian Franck likewise chooses the image of the two philosophers in this variation on the 'vanitas mundi' theme. ⁽⁵⁾

The Complayner however avoids satire. By referring to the 'mirror of folly' he perhaps implies that 'everyman' is a fool and that the smile of the philosopher should perhaps be less a satirical laugh of scorn than a smile of pity. Scorn implies separation; the Complayner is calling to repentance, and compassion is implied in the choice of the hopeful laughing philosopher and the weeping philosopher image, in a coincidence of opposites.

- (1) The exception to the literal reading of scripture applied to Scotland is that the calamity of having too young a ruler is not to be taken literally. The description 'young' in this context does not mean young in years but young in wisdom, not having attained years of discretion. The idea is supported by biblical quotations (fol. 24r/v) from 3 Reg, 12; 2 Par., 16; Ecclesiasticus 10; 1 Corin., and by the examples of Roboam (or Rohoboam), Osias (or Josiah). Thus the 'puer-senex' topos is also in a scriptural context.
- (2) The argument then continues as follows: The Complayner reinterprets the prophecies of Merlin in Chapter X (fol. 65r-67v); refutes the title of the Kings of England in Chapter XI (fol. 68r-70v); calls to resistance since there is no hope of mercy from the English (fol. 71v-81v) and since not even treason and bonds of assurance will save them (fol. 82r-83v). The Complayner stresses this by having Dame Scotia warned in Chapter XIII (fol. 83v-88v) against collaboration, treason and bribery, giving examples of the punishments for treachery in Classical Antiquity (Chapter XIV: fol. 89r-96r).
- (3) On Brant see R. Gruenter, "Die Narrheit in Sebastian Brants 'Narrenschiff'", Neophilologus XLIII (1959), 207-221. On Brant and Barclay see C.S. Lewis, Eng. Lit. in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1954), 129-132, 168. See E.H. Zeydel, "Some Literary Aspects of Sebastian Brant's 'Narrenschiff'", Studies in Philology 42 (1945), 21-30; F.A. Pompen, The English Versions of the Ship of Fools (London, 1925); D. O'Connor, "Notes on the Influence of Brant's 'Narrenschiff' outside Germany", MLR 20 (1925), 64-70. The contemporary preacher was Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg.
- (4) R.H. Bainton Erasmus of Christendom (London, 1969), Ch.4.; ed. W.H.D. Rouse Erasmus: The Praise of Folly (London, n.d.), p. 70. Johan Huizinga Europäischer Humanismus: Erasmus (1924) (Reinbek, 1958), 63-71; ed. A.J. Krailsheimer, The Continental Renaissance, 1500-1600 (Harmondsworth, 1971), 391-2.
- (5) Jean Lebeau, "Le Rire de Démocrite' et la Philosophie de l'Histoire de Sebastian Franck", Bibl. d'Hum. et Renaissance 33 (1971), 241-269. On the "Cynic" Democritus and the "Stoic" Heraclitus, see Z. Stewart, "Democritus and the Cynics", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 63 (1958), 179-191; C.E. Lutz "Democritus and Heraclitus", The Classical Journal, 49 (1954), 309-314.

CHAPTER FOUR

FACETS OF THE COMPLAYNT

5. The Complaynt as Pastoral Disquisition

THE COMPLAYNT AS PASTORAL DISQUISITION

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The Complaynt has two main sections: the 'Complaynt' and the 'Monologue Recreative'.

The 'Monologue' adds to the moral didacticism of the 'Complaynt' the dimensions of information and entertainment, a literary sugaring of the pill, which expresses the idea of education as a process of steeping the learner in knowledge and the wisdom of the ages, rather than as a process of drawing out of the learner what is (or is not) there. There is no real opposition between the two sections of the work, but whereas the Complaynt lays more stress on the inculcation of moral and spiritual values to be used in political action, in other words it aims to teach and move (*docere, movere*), the Monologue, on the other hand, emphasises other spheres of human activity and knowledge. The encyclopedic elements in the Monologue aim at instruction, edification and entertainment. Both parts of the Complaynt attempt to acquaint the reader with forces motivating men, the place of man in society and in the universe, and to do so by ordering experience to give aesthetic pleasure and a sense of man's role in the scheme of things.

The display of erudition in the pastoral setting has hitherto been of most interest to the antiquarian mind, to the naval, musical or medical historian, to the student of folklore, for the encyclopedic tour, conducted by the 'pastor' whose disquisitions are digressions into fields of mid-sixteenth preoccupation: astronomy, meteorology, navigation; the technical terms of artillery and sea-warfare; the expanding universe of 'cosmography'; catalogues of herbs and their medicinal uses; catalogues of tales and romances, songs, dances and instruments; technical terms of musical intervals; bird and animal cries which are less for information than as a demonstration of literary virtuosity.

It has been maintained that this is the section of the Complaynt which provides the only interest left in this work for a modern reader. This is untrue, but it is perhaps true that this section, appealing to divers specialists, has been given more attention than the remainder of the work.

The Monologue is the most leisurely demonstration of the literary aims mentioned in the prologue, and exemplifies the use of catalogues and aureate terms mentioned earlier.

It could be argued that this display of erudition by shepherds is not

'decorous', if judged, for example by King James' rule: "Gif your subject be of landwart effaris, to vse sklender reasonis, mixt with grosse ignorance, neither keeping forme nor ordour. And sa furth, euer framing your reasonis according to the qualitie of your subject ... ". (1) On the other hand, even as late as the 'Pilgrim's Progress', as has been noted, Bunyan affirms in verse the "sense of arcane mystery that had become associated with the Arcadian dream world:

'Thus by the shepherds secrets are revealed,
Which from all other men are kept concealed.
Come to the shepherds then, if you would see
Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be'". (2)

The encyclopedic sections of the Complaynt with accumulation of details, with 'copiousness', are not merely exuberance or literary exercise. They ensure in the Complayner's eyes a more accurate analysis of Scotland's situation, since, the bigger the sample, the more evidence sifted, the more precise will be the description of universal forms, patterns and processes, the more convincing the separation of the essence from the existence, from the specific individual elements, the more accurate his expression of the 'substance', shorn of the 'accidents'.

By submitting enough evidence it is possible to winnow off the chaff of individual specific accidental husks, and reach the 'substantive' kernels of the 'constants', the 'universals'.

Furthermore the classification of the observable details into such categories as, the four elements, the four humours, the nine spheres, the four ages of the world, the three estates, etc., is the expression of a conviction that such categories give an insight into the divine plan. The view of an ordered universe reveals the troubles of the time as being symptoms of a spiritual disease which can be cured only by a spiritual remedy which deals not only with the accidental manifestations but eradicates the basic causes and restores the order of things.

Penance involving contrition, confession, satisfaction, is the answer.

This encyclopedic copiousness is a much admired fashion of the time as mentioned already. John Hall, some fifteen years after the Complayner, discusses in his work, The Court of Virtue (3) such diverse subjects as: astrology, astronomy, botany, costume, florilegia, magic, music, poetry, portents and prodigies, religion, etc., so that the fashion can not be dismissed as a harking back to Vincent of Beauvais and the thirteenth century Speculum.

The Complayner borrows a large section from Pliny's Natural History for the Monologue. If he had intended to follow the threefold division of edification, instruction and entertainment, he obviously understands entertainment as being edifying instruction.

Similarly it is anachronistic to expect the Complayner to separate the strands of his work, and to separate the political, religious and moral sections of his argument. Thus even the Monologue is a pastoral setting for moral disquisitions with political implications.

Implicit in a pastoral setting is praise of country life and dispraise of court and city life, an attack on the corruption they harbour.

In a work dedicated to Mary, the Complayner, not himself a courtier, as Lindsay for example was, may have hesitated to criticise the court in a less subtle way. Adopting the rhetorical procedure of "consilium", he allows Dame Scotia to attack the nobles out of the court context; and only by implication, by praising country life and true nobility, does he show disapproval of court corruption. (4) Later the hints are broad, when he says that treachery is only within the scope of the great men of Scotland, and also states that someone betrays the decisions of the highest Scots councils (fol. 86r).

This pastoral vogue, which was a reaction against the negative aspects of the ideal of 'courtesy' in part, and is linked with the theme of contempt for court life, had lost none of its freshness by 1547-1550, as is shown by the appearance in 1547 of Noël Du Fail's "Propos rustiques et facétieux", and by the continuing interest in the writings of Christine de Pisan and Martial d'Auvergne. These works have been suggested as relevant models for the Complaynt though this is doubtful, as too is the reference to Philippe de Vitri's Le Dit de Franc Gontier with its list of homely fare. (5)

The Virgilian theme of peasant or pastoral contentment "felices nimum agricolas" is so widespread; the 'pleasance', the 'locus amoenus' is so common; that it is not necessary to seek one source. It is of course not the civilised walled park paradise, but agricultural land, perhaps even wild nature, which we have in the Complaynt.

The pastoral setting introduced before the Monologue (in folio 30r) is located now (at fol. 34r/v) at the "end of ane leye rig", covered with rushes, sedges and fragrant meadow. This is the conventional setting of the "balke" or unploughed ridge (6) dividing furlongs. This 'balke' can resemble the

'bank' (fol. 30r) in that it too is a raised piece of ground with grass, plants and flowers, and dividing a lower surface. Thus the "leye rig" is in fact an appropriate alternative to the "banc", just as the "balke" is an acceptable alternative to the "huyle" or turfed mound, or the "bench". In other words this is as much part of the 'ideal landscape' (7) as when the Complayner moves (fol. 53r) to an "onmauen medou" full of herbs, and lies down and has his Dream Vision.

Professor MacQueen points out that the agricultural system implied is, however, distinctively that of Scotland before improvements.

The Complaynt is in the pastoral and alliterative traditions and precedes many of the main examples of the pastoral tradition. (8) Alexander Barclay (1475?-1552) has the reputation of being the first to issue a collection of pastorals in English. The Complayner is thus not treating an outworn mode. We tend to see phenomena such as 'aureate terms', with hindsight, in terms of baroque excesses. Similarly we see the pastoral in terms of the highlights of the 'genre'. This is perhaps not quite just to the Complayner, who in fairness should be judged, if at all, in terms of his predecessors' achievements.

The Monologue sees the world in terms of the three classes of the shepherd and farmer and soldier of the 'Rota Virgillii' and its 'correspondances'. (9) In the Monologue the shepherd and farmer coalesce. The shepherds are given a didactic role and the shepherd-farmer exemplary figures of antiquity are shown to be capable of being warriors if the need should arise.

This versatility is required in Scotland too if the Complayner's call to arms is to be effective. Even the pastor of souls must help, even the able-bodied clergy are enjoined to fight.

"The shepherd's cloak was the acknowledged disguise of the lover, the poet, the courtier, the pastor of souls, the critic of contemporary life...". (10) Thus the Complayner by introducing the ideal landscape immediately taps the whole tradition. All the overtones are there, the advantages of country life, the anti-Cortegiano literature (11) and the remarks on 'true nobility' profit also from the associations evoked already by the conventional setting (fol. 30r) on a "grene banc ful of rammel grene treis", on the turfed mound.

This is Dunbar's green 'bank' in the 'Goldyn Targe' (12) and the Complayner borrows poetic language and the device of alliteration from Dunbar and the older Scottish (and English) tradition when (in fol. 30v, 31r) he says: "thai sau ane sycht of his goldin scheaip. the grene feildis for

grite droutht, drank vp the drops of the fresche deu quhilk of befor hed maid dikis and dailis verray donc. thereftir i herd the rumour of rammache foulis ande of beystis that maid grite beir, quhilk past besyde burnis & boggis on grene bankis to seik ther sustentatione ...".

The Complayner in his list of tales (fol. 50v) shows his acquaintance with the alliterative tradition when he mentions 'Golagros and Gawane' and 'Rauf Coilzear';⁽¹³⁾ and, in the above passage from (fol. 30v, 31r), when he refers to "deu", "dikis", "dailis", "donc"; the Complayner may have had in mind Dunbar's line in his Prologue to the "Twa Mariit Wemen": "The dew donkit the daill and dynnit the feulis".⁽¹⁴⁾ At any rate the Complayner could have had no better model for alliteration and aureate language than Dunbar.

The reference to the "hudit Hirdis" (fol. 34r) and their "cheir of euyrie sort of mylk bayht of ky mylk & zoue mylk, sueit mylk and sour mylk curdis and quhaye, grene cheis, kyrn mylk" (fol. 34v), may be literary enumeration like Philip de Vitri's description of 'Franc Gontier's' more varied repast,⁽¹⁵⁾ but it looks more like the genuine details of a Scots scene.⁽¹⁶⁾

Details such as the fact that "euyrie scheiphird hed ane horne spune in the lug of there bonet" and the detail that "thai hed na breyd bot ry caikis and fustean skonnis maid of flour" (fol. 34v) suggest a source near home. The details may be original within the conventional framework.

The references to most of the literary and scientific interests are themselves literary allusions, of course: but the reference to the "bel veddir" and the "laif of ther fat flokkis bayht zouis and lammis kebbis and dailis, gylmyrs and dilmondis, and mony herueist hog" (fol. 53r), would seem to indicate some acquaintance with someone requiring a knowledge of husbandry.

A chamberlain dealing with the checking of accounts would have such experience as we see from the "Account of Shepherds" in the Dunkeld Rentale.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Monologue moves to men who are nearer to nature, and who study the signs given by nature which can guide man. Astronomy leads on from the study of the natural movements of the heavens and the causes of normal natural events such as rain lead to the discussion of 'unnatural' events such as comets and 'prodigia' (fol. 46v).

One has the impression that the Complayner wishes to be encyclopedic. He touches on the subjects of the 'trivium' (grammar, dialectic, rhetoric) and in addition he quotes from Civil and Canon Law.

The Complayner aims at universal and perennial validity and depicts as many aspects of life as possible. He aims to please, to move, to instruct. The political events are placed for this reason against the larger background of allegory, by which there is implied a sort of continuous present. Patterns set by the Bible have a way of constantly and continuously repeating themselves, which attests to their insight into fundamental human nature. Events viewed through allegory have a perennial validity and a simultaneity, both in space and time. Tropological reading of events ensures relevance, and prevents the Complaynt from being just a collection of ancient anecdotes. The Complaynt is a political document. It is a historical document. It is didactic historical fiction. The strands can not be teased apart without a certain amount of repetition which is a tribute to the closely woven texture of the Complayner's encyclopedic work, whose comprehensiveness mirrors the order which ought to prevail in the world, and whose structure and style reveal the author to be not merely a churchman but a literary artist and patriot, erudite but magnanimous.

- (1) G. Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, repr. (Oxford, 1964), Vol. I, 406 and 218, lines 18-20.
- (2) E.W. Taylor, Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature, (New York, 1966), p. 98; Bunyan: Pilgrim's Progress, edited by L. Martz, (New York, 1949), 126.
- (3) John Hall, The Court of Virtue, 1565, edited by R.A. Fraser, (London, 1961).
- (4) On the praise of country life as a classical commonplace of anti-Cortegiano literature, see P. M. Smith, The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century French Literature, (Geneva, 1966). The Complayner is aware of this convention, since he borrowed from Guevara, see note (6) to chapter on 'Sources, Influences, Methods'; and notes to folios 11r-14r. See too The Curial made by maystere Alain Charretier, translated by William Caxton, 1484, edited by F. J. Furnivall (and P. Meyer), EETS, ES54 (London, 1888, repr. 1965). M.P. McDiarmid has suggested (orally), that there might be some influence of the Kalender of Sheperdes, edited by H.O. Sommer (London, 1892), and indeed Guy Marchant's "Le grant kalendrier et compost des Bergiers avecq leur Astrologie Et plusieurs aultres choses", which was first published in 1491 and greatly enlarged in 1493, was extremely popular in French and English, and German (cf. E. Zinner, Geschichte und Bibliographie der Astronomischen Literatur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Renaissance (Berlin, 1941), 16117. However, I can trace no direct influence, other than the Complayner's decision to depict shepherds giving academic disquisitions perhaps.
- (5) J.M. Smith, The French Background of Middle Scots Literature (Edinburgh, 1934), 151-153, and see note (15) below.
- (6) See the discussion of the "huyle", the "plesauce" and the "bench" in C.A. Luttrell's article, "Pearl: Symbolism in a Garden Setting", Neophilologus XLIX (1965), 160-176; reprinted in The Middle English 'Pearl': Critical Essays, edited by J. Conley, (Notre Dame, III, 1970), 297-324. Luttrell indicates the influence of Machaut.
- (7) E.R. Curtius, European Literature and The Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953), 183-202.
- (8) The pastoral aspects of the Complaynt are of interest in that they precede Tasso's Aminta (1573), Giovanni Battista Guarini's Pastor Fido (1590) and Sidney's Arcadia (1590), as well as Ronsard's Eglogues (1560-7), Belleaux's Bergerie (1565-72) and Spenser's Shepherdes Calender (1579). See B. White, Barclay: Eclogues, EETS OS 175 (London, 1927, repr. 1961), pages lv-lxv.
- (9) E.R. Curtius, op.cit., 231.
- (10) E.de Selincourt, introduction to Spenser's Poetical Works edited by J.C. Smith and E.de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), xv.
- (11) E.R. Curtius, op.cit., 183-202, and P.M. Smith, The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century French Literature (Geneva, 1966).
- (12) ed. W. Mackay Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, (London, 1960), page 113, line 35. (1933 edition revised by B. Dickins 1960).

- (13) See F.J. Amours, Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas, STS (Edinburgh, 1891-7).
- (14) ed. W. Mackay Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar (London, 1960) page 85, line 10.
- (15) "Fromage frais, laict, burre fromaigee, / Craime, matton, pomme, nois, prune, poire/ Aulx et oignons, escaillongne froyee/ Sur crouste bise, au gros sel, pour mieux boire". Piaget, Romania, XXVIII (1898), 63. The description of what the shepherds eat (fol. 34v) is a touch of 'energetic' detail, like that quoted by Alice Hulubei L'Eglogue en France au XVIe siecle (Paris, 1938), pages 148-9, from "Le Banquet du Boys", a work which circulated in manuscript in the fifteenth century and was printed twice about 1525. Normally the shepherds in the "Banquet du Boys" only eat "beau pain bis, de l'ail de l'oignon, des pois cassés, du lait", and the normal beverage is water. For the special repast however the hostess prepares a buffet including, cheese, milk, 'pain deux foix sassé' and in addition: "Aulx et oignons y eut a grosses bottes, / Et molz fromages en grand quantité, / Herbes, cyvoz, poirette et eschalottes/ Pour reffreschir, car lors estoit esté".
- (16) Major, History, 11-12 describes the bannock or 'panis subcineritius' the hearth-cake, too. The "ry caikis and fustean skonnis maid of flour" have held their place in Scots diets. Leyden quotes (128-9) a similar scene from the Polychronicon, a work mentioned by the Complayner (fol. 67v). Wedderburn, as chamberlain, would have an opportunity to become acquainted with the Lothian pastoral scene, and other lands connected with the knights, and with the area round Dundee, and in particular, with specialised husbandry terms.
- (17) R.K. Hannay, Rentale Dunkeldense, Being accounts of the Bishopric, (AD 1505-1517), with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops' (AD 1483.1517), S.H.S. (Edinburgh, 1915), pages 265-7, 273-8.

CHAPTER FIVE

STYLES OF THE COMPLAYNT

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The Complaynt contains a number of styles within its structure. Style includes diction or verbal composition and imagery and the decorum which implies a judicious choice of model, and links style with kind, form and subject. Style implies choice, the choice between the varied syntactical and lexical resources of language and the choice of devices of verbal composition, choice which is conditioned by the subject-matter, the occasion, the character and temperament of the author, and by the historical situation. The Complayner, writing in Scots about 1550, would be guided in his choice by several considerations.

The styles correspond to the different parts of the structure and to the rhetorical prescriptions for these parts of the structure. The prescriptions of rhetoric indicate the choice of subject-matter which dictates the facets of the Complaynt which in turn correspond to the styles of the sources and influences, which are selected both for the thought content and the formulation and in accord with the models commonly esteemed in 1550.

The Complayner would be likely to follow several groups of models or guides to style. His stylistic education would initially be training in Classical rhetoric and in the Latin of the Classics, the Bible, Canon Law and Civil Law. Having decided to adapt this training and apply it to the vernacular he would have vernacular models also. These would be Scots models of mainly functional or devotional prose, adapted from either Latin or French works. As well as such prose translations paraphrases or imitations, there were the Scots verse models including alliterative and aureate verse in the Germanic or Chaucerian tradition. In addition the Complayner was aware of the French literary achievement in the 'defence and illustration' of the vernacular; which in practice meant his adaptation of Chartier's most appropriate work, including the framework, his methods and his formulations, as we have seen.

The most striking features of 'the Complaynt are less in the diction than in the extensive use of figures of thought, many of which we have already considered in the facets of the Complaynt. Briefly, these are: the images which have been extensively borrowed, the topics which are, of course, commonplace, sententiae which are quoted from the best sources, proverbs, some of which are even translated, anecdotes which are second-hand. Having considered

these 'jewels' which have been 'borrowed or stolen', we can consider the diction in which they are 'set'.

According to the prescriptions of rhetoric we can expect, in the Dedicatory Epistle, the style of panegyric expressing the 'topics' of dedication. The first sentence sets the level. Together with the heading, the first sentence, 119 words, fills the whole of the first folio of the dedicatory 'Epistil' (fol. 2r):

"The immortal gloir, that procedis be the rycht lyne of vertu, fra zour magnanime auansing of the public veil, of the affligit realme of scotlande, is abundantly dilatit athort al cuntreis, throucht the quhilk, the precius germe of zour nobilite, bringis nocht furtht alanerly, branchis ande tendir leyuis of vertu: bot as veil it bringis furtht, salutiffere & hoilsum frute of honour quhilk is ane immortal ande supernatural medicyne, to cure & to gar conuallesse, al the langorius desolat & affligit pepil, quhilkis ar almost disparit of mennis supple, ande reddy to be venquest & to be cum randrit, in the subiection ande captiuite, of our mortal ald enemeis, be rason that ther cruel inuasions, aperis to be onremedabil".

This one sentence touches on most of the Complayner's main concerns. He is dedicating the work to Mary of Lorraine who is setting an example, doing what he wants everyone in Scotland to emulate. Mary is 'auansing the public veil'. Her leadership is 'ane immortal ande supernatural medicyne', a cure for Scotland's ills. The whole of the Complaynt is a diagnosis of these ills, and an attempt to find a cure for the roots of the trouble which go deeper than the outward symptoms which are clearly visible to the 'affligit pepil' suffering from the English invasions. The cure is for a condition that appears 'onremedabil'. The political message is expressed in the organic image which gives the sentence its unity. The 'precius germe' brings forth branches, leaves and also fruit. Nobility grows into virtue, but also into virtue in action which brings honour, which in its turn is the remedy for the plague (literal and metaphorical) which has been the scourge of the Scots nation.

Thus the first sentence has an organic relationship both within itself and with the whole of the work. Support of Mary of Lorraine, is the Complayner's prescription for Scotland. Here he stresses the state of despair and the fact that there seems to be no remedy. He is treating "the purpos or mater that var maist necessair ande honest to be delatit", namely, "the cause ande occasione of the onmersiful afflictione of the desolat realme of scotland" (fol. 6v), and at the same time he already hints at the solution, the remedy for the spiritual ills which he diagnoses, the remedy which the rest of the work expounds, namely that Scotland requires 'immortal ande

supernatural medicine'. The efforts of man are unavailing while he works alone. Once the Scots are again obedient to God, they can overcome the English's scourge', under Mary of Lorraine's leadership, in a crusade which appears hopeless, but will succeed.

In expressing these ideas the Complayner employs a number of stylistic devices frequently used throughout the work. He qualifies main clauses by subordinate phrases and clauses, and further expands the sentence by correlating phrases using the construction 'nocht alanerly ... bot as veil', and he uses double verbs and pairs of adjectives (and nouns), which are sometimes virtual synonyms and are sometimes useful distinctions. This sentence which looks heavy, indeed overloaded, is in fact precisely formulated with deliberate choice. The 'fowth' or copia is well controlled.

In sixteenth-century rhetoric, style is often characterized as lofty, middle or low. The lofty or grand style (adros, supra, magniloquens) is contrasted with the middle style (mesos, aequabile, mediocre) and the low style (ichnos, infinum, humile), which latter is "when we use no metaphors nor translated words, nor yet use any amplifications, but go plainly to work, and speak altogether in common words", as Thomas Wilson explains in The Arte of Rhetorique (1560) (edited by G.H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), page 169). The style of the 'Epistil' is dignified and sonorous, the lofty or grand style. It avoids objectionable overexuberance but has copious style which "speaks most fully, and enriches its matter with as varied an ornamentation as possible expanding the subject until nothing can be added". (Desiderius Erasmus: On Copia of Words and Ideas, translated by D.B. King and H.D. Rix, (Milwaukee, 1963-), page 11, quoted by L.A. Sonnino, A Handbook to Sixteenth Century Rhetoric (London, 1968), page 216).

The 'Prolog' (fol. 11r) brings a lower level of style when it introduces the anecdotal implied simile from Guevara:

"Ande quhou beit, that ther var na detrakkers, tyll accuse or ^{to} repreif my verkis, zit nochtheles i suld nocht be ouer temerair to set furtht ane verk that surpassis my ingyne: for ane hen that seikis hyr meyt in the mydding, may scraipe sa lang amang the fyltth, quhil sche scraip furtht sum ald knyfe that hes been tynt, the quhilk knyfe cuttis hyr throt eftiruart, as i sall apply ane exempil con formand to this samyn purpose, as eftir follouis".

This image, reminding us perhaps too of Henryson's cock and the jasp, is from the fable milieu and is close to the gnostic wisdom of popular proverbs. The language shows a number of features which the Complayner chooses frequently.

The concessive phrase 'Qhou beit that' and the two parallel verbs ('tyll accuse or to reпреif') is followed by an adversative 'zit nochtheles'; and the argument is reinforced by the addition of a long anecdotal example from classical history. The vocabulary is simpler as befits the topic and the anecdotal tone. It is nearly low style - but it uses imagery, so it is perhaps best called 'middle style', "the small kind, when we moderate our heat by meaner words, and use not the most stirring sentences" "as Wilson puts it (ed. cit., 169): it is, as Scaliger expresses it, a style which "at times may be bare which uses figures but not many and has fullness and ease" (J.C. Scaliger, Poetices libri septem (Heidelberg, 1581), IV, xxi, quoted by L.A. Sonnino, op.cit., page 214).

The main arguments in the first five chapters of the Complaynt are largely a statement of the 'scourge topic', as at the end of Chapter I (fol. 19r), where the Complayner's reading of scripture, he says: "gart me consaue, that the diuynе indignatione,

hed decretit ane extreme ruuynе on oure realme bot gyf that ve retere fra oure vice, ande also to be cum vigilant to seik hasty remeide & medycyne at hym quha gyffis al grace ande comfort, to them that ar maist distitute of mennis supple".

This theme recurs repeatedly, as for example in the first sentence of Chapter V (fol. 25v): "The special cause of the scourge that hes affligit vs, hes procedit of our disobediens contrar the command of god". The style of the sentence just quoted from Chapter I (fol. 19r) is similar to the sentence in the 'Epistil', because of the seriousness of the argument: and the same image of 'medycyne' is retained, and the phrase "mennis supple" echoes the phrase in folio 2r.

The main ideas, the formulation, the stylistic devices, in the first five chapters (fol. 15v-29v) are suggested by Chartier, Guevara and the Bible, as we have shown. A Scots application is given by the Complayner to his Biblical and Classical literary refutation of the role of Fortune (fol. 18r), which is also typical.

"This contradictione that i hef rehersit contrar fortune, is be cause that mony ignorant pepil, hes confermit ane ymaginet onfaythful opinione in ther hede, sayand that the grite afflictione quhilk occurrit on oure realme in september .mv.xlvii zeris on the feildis besyde mussilburgh, hes procedit fra the maltalent of dame fortune, the quhilk magynet opinione suld be detestit, for fortune is no thyng bot ane vane consait ymaginet in the hartis of onfaythful men".
(fol. 18r/v).

This is typical of the Complayner's style in that he is always weaving his arguments back and forth into an ever denser texture. He denies the role of Fortune, suggesting that Scots are using Dame Fortune as an excuse for political lethargy, and he inserts the significant adjective "onfaythful" to attack the belief. His message is once again the specific and also perennially valid one that Scots will not escape the 'scourge' until they again become faithful to God. The argument is taken a stage further at the end of the next section, at the end of the discussion of the influence of the stars (fol. 49v) where once again personal responsibility and freewill and action are coupled with obedience to God (and God's grace), as the remedy for the Scots situation. The Complayner alternates between specific instances and general rules and ends most chapters with a gnomic synopsis.

The Monologue (Chapter VI, folios 29v-54r) contains an extensive range of specialized vocabulary. We have, firstly, the aureate language of pastoral description (fol. 29v-30v), with such aureate poetic prose as (fol. 30v) in the dawn description:

"... i persauit the messengeiris of the rede aurora, quhilkis throucht the mychtis of titan, hed persit the crepusculyne lyne matutine of the northt northt est orizone,".

Such aureate diction, assessed in its context, is seen to be part of the literary parallel to the patriotic defence of Scotia enjoined in the preceding and succeeding sections of the Complaynt. The Monologue is a literary defence and illustration of the vernacular, and illustration or 'adding lustre' implies visible artistry. Virtuosity is at its most obvious and striking in the Monologue. Elsewhere in the Complaynt the political message is important, and the art is hidden: indeed the art would be diminished if it obtruded and the message were obscured by the vehicle.

Dislike of aureate diction and style is a defect in the modern reader whose prescriptive attitude would anachronistically impose its taste on older works. Compared with baroque excesses in seventeenth century texts, the Complayner is indeed justified in claiming that his style avoids excessive latinity condemned even by mid-sixteenth century taste (fol. 14e-15r).

The Complayner in the Monologue is using first of all (fols. 29v-30v) one strand of poetic diction in the aureate description of nature. This is followed by another strand of poetic prose diction in the alliterative description of pastoral scenery (in folio 31r) which moves from the Classical references (in fol. 30v) to Titan and Diana down to (Scottish) earth, to the

"fresche deu quhilk of befor hed maid dikis & dailis very donc"
(fol. 31r)

though even here the Complayner can not resist a reference to Echo and Narcissus (fol. 31r). The phrase can be paralleled in Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas. Henryson states: "The dalis deip with dubbis drownit is" (Fab. 1691). Douglas has the line (in VII, Prol. 68): "The deyr full dern doun in the dalis drew". Dunbar (Tua Mar. W. 10) says: "The dew donkit the dail" and later (l. 512): "Quhill that the day did vp daw, and dew donkit the flouris". Here again the Complayner is striving after effect in poetic prose, partly with the aim too no doubt of art for art's sake, to demonstrate the potential of the vernacular by reminding his readers of the poetry of Douglas, Dunbar and Henryson. This section of the Complaynt aims to 'please' where the rest aims to 'teach' and 'move'. The Monologue also aims to instruct, however, but it continues with entertaining and impressive catalogues.

The alliterative poetic prose is continued in the onomatopoeic catalogue of animal sounds and bird cries (fol. 31r/v). Then, after this "dyn vas dune" (fol. 32r) we have the poetic 'sound-painting' of the sea-scene with its staccato orders, its technical terms, rhythmical hauling cries, mariners' calls and the representation of the sound of gunfire (fol. 32r-34r). Next there is the pastoral scene (fol. 34r) with "mony hudit hirdis blauuand ther buc hornis and ther corne pipis calland and conuoyand mony fat floc to be fed on the feildis ...", and the description of the shepherds' "refectione" (fol. 34v). There follows the aureate oration (fol. 34v-49v) by the "prencipal scheiphirde" who plagiarizes most of his cosmological anecdotes and information from Josephus (fol. 37r-37v) and Pliny (fol. 39v-49v). Even here however the translation includes little glosses which reveal the independent mind at work as when 'circulus lacteus' is explained, "the quhilk the marynalis callis vatlant streit" (fol. 46v). However out of character the scientific discourse is, the following section is humorously introduced by the shepherd's wife cutting his speech short (fol. 50r) with words to that effect: "my veil belouit hisband i pray the to decist fra that tideus melancolic orison" and she suggests that instead they all take it in turn to relate tales. This is the Complayner's transition to the catalogue of tales (fol. 50v-51r), and songs (fol. 51v-52r), instruments (fol. 52r) and dances (fols. 52v-53r). In each case he mixes rustic and court features: though it is probably being overcritical to assume either that the Complayner suggests that shepherds actually sang art-songs and performed court-dances or on the other hand that we must look for allegory in the incongruity. The Complayner moves from their

company to "ane onmauden medou" (fol. 53r) and lists the "flouris gyris and eirbis" and the physical ills for which these natural (as opposed to supernatural) remedies are his prescribed treatment. Exhausted by all this, he gives a humorous aureate description of his falling asleep (fol. 54r), the 'incubation topos'.

The Vision described in Chapter VII, selectively adapted from Chartier, continues the sonorous language in the description of Dame Scotia (fols. 54v-55v) and in the description of the Three Estates (fol. 56r). The Third Estate is described as follows:

"... hyr zongest sone vas lyand plat on his syde on the cald eird, ande al his clethis var reuyn ande raggit, ^{makk}kand ane dolorus lamentatione, ^{and}ane piteouse complaynt. he tuke grit^epane to ryise vp on his feit, bot he vas sa greuouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibl til hym, to stand rycht vp".

This description is primarily suggested by Chartier's short phrase, in the MS used by Droz at least: "le tiers, en vil habit, renversé sur la terre, plaintif et langoureux". This is rendered by the Rawlinson MS translator as: "the thrid was in poor habite, lying platte vpon the erthe, compleyning and full of langour". Even accepting that the Complayner may have had a different MS of Chartier it is clear that the Complayner has incorporated in his translation his favourite device of the double verb and has expanded by separating the adjectives and converting them into phrases. The Complayner writes "reuyn ande raggit", he expands "plaintif" into "makkand ane dolorus lamentatione" and adds the synonymous phrase, "ane piteouse complaynt". The Rawlinson translator, like the original, is content to have the Third Estate passively suffering, "lying platte vpon the erthe, compleyning and full of langour". The Complayner on the other hand at least credits the Third Estate with making an effort: "he tuke grit^epane to ryise vp on his feit, bot he vas sa greuouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibl til hym, to stand rycht vp". The Complayner alters the emphasis and avoids misinterpretation. The Third Estate is not lounging in idleness; he has been so beaten, that much as he may try to stand upright he can not do so.

Chapter X is serious argument against English propaganda using Merlin's prophecies (fol. 65r-67v). The Complayner's reply is, first of all, to reject the value of prophecies and call them "freuol" (fol. 65r); but typically, he takes up the challenge, and, accepting the English argument, turns it to their own disadvantage. As usual too, he includes examples of ambiguous prophecy from history, and ends with the memorable generalisation that since the English

believe in prophecy they should consider the English Polychronicon (fol. 67v) which says that in the end the Scots will conquer the English and form a united kingdom, "and sa inglis men sal get there prophesie fulfillit to there auen mischief".

In his treatment of English propaganda, as we have shown, this device, of taking the English argument and inverting it, is common. In the following chapters (XI and XII, folios 68r et seq.), the Complayner borrows from Chartier and Valerius Maximus, but uses an other device we have mentioned. He takes specific facts and generalizes. Classical examples are followed by reference to "hary the eycht" and his international double-dealing in 1524. The Complayner throughout stresses the folly of trusting the English: it is by repetition almost proverbial.

A passage which handles a central theme in typical diction is to be found next, in folios 70v-71r.

" (O ze my thre sonnys) the discention & discord that ryngis amang zou hes ~~dane~~ mair distructione til our realme nor quhen the gryt armye & pouer of ingland inuadit zou. the experiens of this samyn is manifest quhou that the kyngis of ingland hes bene mair solist to hef pace & fauoir of scotland quhen iustice & concord gouernit the thre estaitis of scotland nōr tyl hef hed the fauoir & pace of al the riche realmis that the empriour possessis. and in opposit quhen the kyngis of ingland persauis, discord discentione, ciuil veyris, iniusteis & diuisione vitht in scotland than thai forgit fenzet querrellis contrar our realme in hope that ilk scottis man sal be mortal enemy til his nychtbour".

The words "discention & discord" in the first sentence are taken up later in reverse order, "discord discentione". Similarly there is parallelism between "pace & fauoir" and "the fauoir & pace" and between "iustice & concord" and "discord, discentione" and "iniusteis & diuisione". The words are picked up again two folios later, for example, when (fol. 71v) we read: "for quhen ze ar in accord & lyuis in tranquillite, zour ald enemes sendis their imbassadours to desyre pace & fauoir ... ". There are numerous other links one can draw out from this sentence, such as Henry VIII's wish that Scots would eat each other (fol. 82v); and his sowing of dissension.

The same stylistic balance is found at the end of the next Chapter (XII, fol. 83v-88v) also.

"i exort zou (my thre sonnys), that ze detest auerese, ambicion, ande traision, ande that ze gar zour solistnes of the deffens of zour comont veil, preffer the solistnes of zour particular veil: for quhen zour particular veil is spulzeit or hurt be zour enemeis it maye be remedit

be zour particular veil, for zour particular veil is bot ane accessor of zour comont veil, ande the accessor follouis the natur of the prencipal, accessorium sequitur naturam sui prencipalis".

The stress in the above argument is on self-interest, and it is an irrefutable argument in that the legal quotation throws the burden of proof of the opposite onto his opponent. The stress is, as throughout the Complaynt, on the individual responsibility of each Scot to realize the priority of the Common Weal.

The remark at the end of Chapter XII (fol. 83v): "that the kyng of ingland lous the traision that scottis men committis contrar ther prince zit he lous nocht the tratours that committis the traision", is taken up as the theme of Chapter XIV (fol. 89r-96r). This linking of themes and the leitmotif use of words and phrases, is part of the weaving of a denser texture that we have observed.

Chapter XV (fo. 96v-108v), the Labourer's complaint, (based mainly on Chartier in the manner demonstrated in the appendix) is followed by Dame Scotia's reply to the Three Estates (Chapter XVI, fol. 108v-124v), where again gnomic sayings cast the burden of proof on the opponent (although the use of Ciceronian quotations might awe the Labourer who would have a readier ear for the Priest of Peebles' question (fol. 113r): "quhy that burges ayris thryuis nocht to the thrid ayr".

Similarly too, the reproof of the spirituality (Chapter XIX, folios 124v-130v) uses the same forensic technique basing arguments on Canon Law. Legal diction adds a further semantic field to the range of the Complayner's vocabulary.

Finally, Dame Scotia's exhortation (Chapter XX, folios 130v-147v) taking arguments from all the various categories of sources, ends with a call to arise in the just cause of defence of Scotland.

"Quhar for i exort zou my thre sonnis, that ze condiscend in ane faythful accord than doutles god sal releue zou of the grit afflictione that ze haue indurit be the incredule seid of ingland, & also i beleue that he sal mak zou ane instrament til extinct that false generatione furtht of rememorance, & sa fayr veil".

The last sentence returns us to the first sentence of the dedicatory 'Epistil'.

SUMMARYINTRODUCTION AND NOTES

The history of the four surviving copies of the original printed edition is examined. The various suggestions as to authorship are mentioned. The anonymous Complayner is identified as Robert Wedderburn. The work is placed in the social, intellectual, historical setting, which is also the background to Robert Wedderburn's life. New evidence of possible places and dates of writing and printing are given. Particular responses are shown to be evoked by specific historical events. Themes and 'figures of thought' are isolated, to provide 'variables of triangulation', and are also shown in their relation to the Complayner's 'world-picture'. Hitherto undetected borrowings, quotations, allusions, parallels, analogues, are identified. The contribution of these 'sources' is evaluated. Methods of composition of this highly 'textured' tapestry, this intricate mosaic, are outlined.

By this explication, or 'textual study', the ground is cleared. The Complaynt is revealed to be much more than just a political complaint, or mere plea for the unity of the Three Estates. The very restrained recital of English injustices is surprisingly moderate in view of the causes for complaint. It is an analysis which also prescribes a cure. The Complayner is concerned to narrate significant events which compose a meaningful whole, the imaginative centre of which is an apologetic theological message beneath the surface transient events recorded in the anecdotes which seem important at the first reading.

The fascinating mosaic of translations and paraphrases, of 'examples', stories, 'catalogues', quotations from different epochs, writers and countries; is skilfully unified in the Complayner's mind. His statements achieve universal validity by weaving threads from all chronological levels into one richly textured tapestry.

The Complayner is using the latest type. He is experimenting in the vernacular. He is using all the resources of his education and experience. He covers the seven liberal arts, Civil and Canon Law, he includes wisdom from Classical Antiquity, the Bible, Patristic writings, the latest mid-sixteenth century best-sellers, making them accessible to his compatriots who have not the advantage of knowing Latin or French. The knowledge he wishes to impart, the opinions he wishes to communicate, are presented entertainingly and palatably in a 'summa' of the many interests of this well-educated

Scots humanist, motivated to write by the destructive effects of the three plagues, suffering caused by the schisms and sects which the need for internal Church reform had conjured up. The Complayner is revealed as a 'comparatist' with a truly catholic taste and cosmopolitan outlook, a humane and learned commentator on the state of Scotland.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

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Sapiens dominabitur astris

The marginal quotation to folio 49v is arguably a central statement in the Complaynt. 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' is firstly a summary of the paragraph in folio 49v to which it refers. It is however also a key-phrase to a whole debate. It is a confession of an attitude towards many political, religious and philosophical issues of the day.

It is an affirmation of the Christian humanist's belief in freewill yet also in Providence. It is an assertion of the right to political resistance. It is a rejection of fatalism yet a rejection which does not exclude divine or stellar influence but qualifies the stellar influence. It is a questioning of the doctrine of predestination and philosophical determinism. It may imply an awareness of Neoplatonism and the Hermetic tradition.

We can consider these in turn, dealing first of all with the context in the Complaynt.

The learned shepherd in the 'Monologue Recreative' states that his cosmographical and astrological disquisition is designed to 'gar zou consider that man kynd is subject to the planetis and to ther influens ther for ve suld prepair and prouid to resist ther euyl constellations. for quhou be it that thai ar the instrumentis of god zit nochtheles he of his gudnes resistis there euyl influens fra tyme that ve be cum obedient tyl his command". The marginal comment underlines this, as it were.

It is a restatement of the 'topics' of 'scourge', 'mutation of monarchies', providence, stressed in our introduction. It is also a statement that 'forewarned is fore-armed' and that mastery of astrology is compatible with free-will since we have the promise of divine assistance, to those who are obedient, to overcome the influence of the stars.

The Complayner, in folio 49v, is summing up the section which he has borrowed from the Elder Pliny's Natural History, in particular the material from Pliny's Book II, on cosmology, comets, portents, prodigia, rain, hail, thunder, etc., and the winds. He probably also has in mind Pliny's discussion (Books XX-XXVII) of the medicinal use of plants and the influence of the moon on earth and sea (II, 221) and plants.

Pliny (II, 22-29) discusses Fortuna, and the belief people have in their 'star, and their faith in forecasts made by oracles (oraculorum praescita)

and the prophecies of augurs (haruspicum praedicta, II, 24), as well as in trifling omens. Pliny discards astrology (II, 28-9) while admitting the potency of the influence of the heavenly bodies on the earth (II, 30).

Similarly Cicero (De Div. II, 43) tries to deny the stars power to influence human life by saying that all celestial bodies above the sun and moon are too distant.

It is fair, in view of his references to these authors and to Juvenal's discussion of Fortune, to assume that the Complayner is aware of the views on astrology in Classical antiquity. We may also assume that the Complayner may have had some degree of knowledge of mediaeval Christian writers' views on astrology and astrological determinism. As a result of the sudden revival of Aristotelianism and Arabian learning, which in the twelfth century heralded the scholastic age, astrology was hailed as the chief of the sciences; and theologians in the long run dared to credit the stars with a power second only to that of God himself. Astrology became almost the universal science, as it comprehended physical phenomena, psychology and ethics.

Our phrase 'sapiens dominabitur astris' is used by St. Thomas Aquinas; John of Saxony; Cecco d'Ascoli; James Yonge in his Middle English translation (1422) from the French of the Secretum Secretorum; by Benvenuto da Imola; Robert Gaguin; Ludovico Moro; Jean de Meun in the Roman de la Rose (17984), (following St. Thomas Aquinas); Deschamps; Gower in Confessio Amantis and his Vox Clamantis (s. 239-242; ed. Macaulay, 4. 91.); as Theodore Otto Wedel indicates in The Medieval Attitude Toward Astrology, (Yale UP, 1920, repr. N.Y., 1968), page 135 f. G.W. Coopland in his Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: a Study of his 'Livre de Divinacions (Liverpool, 1952), 164, 175-7, adds, to Wedel's list, the names of Bonet, Gerson, D'Ailly, Augustin of Trentand, John of Legnano; and quotes Philippe de Mézière's "Songe du Vieil Pelerin" (BN f. fr. 22542).

Neither Wedel nor Coopland, however, notice the far more significant occurrence of the quotation in the context of the Malleus Maleficarum (1486). The quotation occurs in Question V of Part One of the Malleus Maleficarum in the discussion of the source of the increase of the works of witchcraft. "For Ptolemy in Almagest says: A wise man will be the master of the stars: for through free-will, men can resist that inclination ... very easily with the help of God's grace". (Malleus Maleficarum, English translation edited by Montague Summers (1928) reprinted (London, 1971) pages 95-96). Summers remarks in his footnote (ed.cit.p.96) inter alia: "Johannes Nevizanus,

Sylvia Nuptialis, II, 96 notes: 'Dicit tamen Bald. in c.j. at lite pand. quod sapiens dominabitur astris". Baldus, Baldo degli Ubaldi (b. 1327) the most famous canonist of his day and professor utriusque iuris at the universities of Padua, Perugia, and Piacenza, who wrote ample glosses on the Corpus Iuris Civilis".

The origin of the phrase does not appear to be in Ptolemy's own writing, except ad sensum in aphorisms five and eight in the Centiloquium, as Wedel (op.cit., p. 136) notes, so it may possibly have been so formulated originally in one of the introductions to an edition of Ptolemy, and from there found its way into collections of aphorisms with ascription to Ptolemy.

The phrase would be known in the sixteenth century in the context of debate on freewill and astrological determinism. Already Aquinas interprets it to refer to the possession, not so much of the skill of the scientific astrologer, as in the ethical sense, of the power of will to conquer one's lower nature. (Summa, I. i. 115. 4; Ad Tertium 5.544, quoted by Wedel, op.cit., p. 68, p. 136). In the sixteenth century the perennial discussion of free-will was also explosively political.

The doctrine of the 'unfree-will' is what Luther himself calls the res ipsa and summa causae of his doctrine. It is the reverse side of his doctrine of justification by faith. Luther's De Servo Arbitrio (1525) is a reply to Erasmus De Libero Arbitrio (1524) (with its echo of Augustine's title) and Erasmus continued the debate in Hyperaspites Liber I (1526) and Liber II (1527). Luther does not make it quite clear that the Scholastics deny that all things happen by necessity of the thing consequent, thus allowing the Scholastics to uphold both man's free will and God's providence and foreknowledge, whereas Cicero, for example, had felt impelled to deny God's foreknowledge in order to save man's freewill. (H.J. McSorley CSP, Luther-Right or Wrong? An Ecumenical-Theological Study of Luther's Major Work, 'The Bondage of the Will' (New York, Minneapolis, 1969, page 329).

We know the Complayner's attitude to Lutheranism. However correct a subtle favourable explication of Luther's theological views might be, nevertheless the central Lutheran discussion of predestination, justification, grace, providence (and 'Heilsgeschichte') and freedom or bondage of will, had all been irrelevant when one looks at the political consequences, namely mindless leaderless riots. Luther adduces both biblical and necessitarian arguments in favour of his 'servum arbitrium'. The Complayner would, presumably, accept the biblical arguments but would reject the gross over-

simplification of the deterministic argument, though maintaining the idea of the providential pattern of historical events.

It is typical of the Complayner's method that, as he is writing for the common reader, he avoids all the subtle argument but provides a clear guideline for action in one memorable tag which is a rejection of fatalism and political apathy and a denial of predestination and philosophical and astrological determination.

Finally it may also imply an acquaintance with Neoplatonism and the Hermetic tradition. Taken together with a number of other references in the Complaynt our tag on astrology takes on a deeper meaning too, perhaps.

Ficino who translated into Latin the works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, (in fact written in the third and fourth centuries A.D.) thought that they were the work of an ancient Egyptian sage, a contemporary of Moses; and Egypt was considered to have been the original home of religion, according to Herodotus and Plato, hence the prestige of Hermes' writings.

The Complayner mentions Hermes twice in innocuous philological and proverbial contexts, but thereby also reveals his awareness of Hermes' authority. A French translation of the Hermetica was dedicated to Cardinal Charles de Lorraine in 1549, "which suggests that Hermetic religious enthusiasm was making headway in French ecclesiastical circles" (Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (1964) (New York, 1969), page 279).

Various other references in the Complaynt may probably be at two levels - anecdotal and esoteric. The Complayner, writing for the "vulgar" reader must avoid esoteric references. He refers (fol. 8r) to the 'gymnosophists' at the anecdotal level. These gymnosophists appear elsewhere, in the traditional 'genealogy of wisdom' (T. Yates, ed.cit., pages 247, 263). The reference to the Egyptians, who may be both Egyptians and gypsies, may be significant. The classical myths of Io, Apollo and Actaeon may be veiled references to the identity of Io and Isis (Yates, ed.cit., 115-116, 223), and suggest Cicero's identification of Mercury and Hermes Trismegistus as the killer of Argus (Yates, p. 116) and Actaeon, whom the Complayner interprets hermeneutically too (fol. 123r/v), also belongs in the Hermetic sphere (Yates, 282). The precession of the equinoxes and the Great Year are also in the same sphere (Yates, 279). Similarly two other important references in the Complaynt are of interest in the Hermetic tradition.

Seth and Democritus both suggest the Complayner's Ciceronian eclecticism

or his humanist syncretism. Seth, son of Adam, was also honoured by a small Gnostic sect, the Sethites. As we have seen, Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities (see note to folios 37r/v) says that Seth and his offspring were the first astrologers and they wrote their discoveries on two pillars, one of brick (to survive fire) and one of stone (to survive the Flood) and one of the pillars remained in the land of Siriad (Egypt) in Josephus' day. Another legend says that the two pillars survived the Flood and were discovered by Hermes Trismegistus and Pythagoras respectively. Two pillars play an important part in Gnostic as in Kabbalistic lore and from there spread to Freemasonry. The primacy of Hebrew science was important for the patristic synthesis of history. Seth founded astrology, just as Hermes is supposed to have founded alchemy.

Democritus is mentioned (at folio 133v) with Heraclitus as typifying two possible attitudes to life, a "Cynic" Democritus and a "Stoic" Heraclitus contemplating the folly of the world, Democritus is also said by Seneca to have prepared artificial emeralds and other gems, to have softened ivory and dissolved stones, to have written a book dealing with the preparation of silver, gold, gems, purple dye, which suggests that he was an alchemist. It is probably going too far to see in the Complayner's reference to the tale of the Golden Fleece, any reference to alchemical work, of which the Fleece was sometimes a symbol.

Whether the Complayner intends the anecdotal level and the esoteric level or not, he is probably well aware of such contemporary lore, but he would not wish to encourage superstition and fatalism, which appears to be what the 'vulgar' reader derives from such esoteric doctrines. Wedel refers to the "meaningless astrological learning" (page 156), to be found in Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, 148 ff; Lindsay's Prologue to the Monarche, 153 ff, and Third Book of the Monarche, 3582 f, and Dreme, 386f; etc.; and Wedel adds that Henryson's apparent rejection of astrology in Orpheus and Eurydice, 571 f., is only a rejection of any definite yes or no with regard to 'contingent actions'. For a discussion of Henryson's astrology in these poems, see J. MacQueen Robert Henryson: A Study of the Major Narrative Poems, (Oxford, 1967), Chapters II and III, especially pages 70-72.

The Complayner, on the other hand, in a prose context, in a didactic situation, is a Christian humanist who believes in free-will under divine guidance. He rejects the extreme of predestination and solifidianism, which wrongly interpreted become anti-humanist and anti-Aristotelian in that they appear to deny man's ability by the exercise of free-will to contribute to

his salvation. The extremes of subjectivism and individualism in the historical succession: Catholic mysticism, Renaissance Platonism, and sixteenth century spiritualism, would not commend themselves to the Complayner as being generally applicable. While still seeing the need for Reform the Complayner rejects the fissiparous Lutheran extreme and the heresy-hunting ultra-conservative approach.

The Complayner urges an orthodox return to obedience to God, a patriotic resistance to tyranny uninhibited by superstitious belief in Fortune or fatalistic apathy. Man, and more specifically the Scots in 1550, by 'mastering the stars' that is by being 'fore-warned and fore-armed' and by exercising their free-will with the help of God's grace, can attain their objectives irrespective of the stars' influences. 'Sapiens dominabitur astris.'

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