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**Unpredictable Symmetries: The Discursive Functions of Early  
Seventeenth-Century Scottish Romance**

**A thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department  
of Scottish Literature at the University of Glasgow, 2010, by Louise  
Hutcheson.**

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## Abstract

This thesis addresses the enduring critical neglect of seventeenth-century Scottish romance. In order to do so, it analyses four texts, namely Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa* (1615), Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622), John Kennedy's *Calanthrop and Lucilla* (1626) and George Mackenzie's *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance* (1661). This study will evidence how Scottish romance pits itself against conventional motifs of the genre, indeed against its own more popular romantic features, and that it arguably instances a male resistance — prompted by a particularly Christian bias against sublimating love — against what was perceived to be the dangerously 'feminised' context of romance. It will indicate how Scottish romance thus sits apart from its contemporary equivalents with their more amatory accents, and how it is instead a canon of disparities, rather than of uniformity. Over and above this, the present study shall address the deliberate use of the genre's inherently idiosyncratic nature to articulate cultural, literary and political aspects of what it means to be a Scottish seventeenth-century work of fiction, transitional between nations, classes and cultural periods, between local and British politico-cultural paradigms, essences and discontinuities. This study thus foregrounds the deliberate polyvalence of these texts, and identifies those particular aspects of seventeenth-century socio-political history that have rendered these texts so disparate not just from one another, but from the British and Continental romance tradition more generally. It will indicate how a significant shift of address to an implied audience — royal to noble — as well as the pursuit of appropriate patronage was of particular import for Scottish romancers, for whom the turbulent cultural shifts of the early seventeenth century symptomised in their respective texts a striking level of disunity, fracture, and a series of perplexing multiples.

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## 1. Introduction

*Scottish culture is characterised by 'variousness, the illusion of infinity, multiples, and a recurrent but unpredictable symmetry'.<sup>1</sup>*

The romance, formerly acknowledged as the most maligned of literary genres,<sup>2</sup> is one now defined on more level — if even favourable — terms as a 'canon of imitations',<sup>3</sup> or a 'lineage or family of texts',<sup>4</sup> and is generally accepted to have sourced its stylistic and/or thematic register from an impressively diverse range of cultural indexes. The inherently hybrid nature of the genre has not, however, prevented some cultures from establishing a particularly meaningful approach to the romance mode. The French romance, for example, is generally distinguishable from its European counterparts by its persistent fascination with 'historico-realist' modes<sup>5</sup> in the later Middle Ages, a period in which other cultures were by comparison largely consumed by highly idealised chivalric narratives. The early seventeenth-century Scottish romances — particularly Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa* (1615), Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622), John Kennedie's *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, as well as Sir George Mackenzie's slightly later example, *Aretina* (1660) — however, remain under-read, and under-studied. Nevertheless, these texts offer a self-evident approach to the understanding of seventeenth-century Scottish romance in that they provide the only examples of sustained vernacular romance writing in this particular period. The striking polyvalence of these romances, combined with the enduring misconception that Scottish culture was irreparably fragmented by the loss of her monarch in 1603, have relegated them to the furthest peripheries of Scottish literary criticism. The

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas Dunn in 'In Response to Bakhtin: Hermeneutic and Therapeutic Dialogues in Contemporary Scottish Literature', ed. Attila Dósa, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* (Vol. 41 No. 3. 2005). pp 289 – 307. p 295.

<sup>2</sup> See Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1976).

<sup>3</sup> Katharine Wilson, *Fictions of Authorship in Late Elizabethan Narratives: Euphues in Arcadia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006). p 3.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). p 8.

<sup>5</sup> Rosalind Brown-Grant, *French Romance of the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). 'Preface'.

lack of critical attention bestowed upon such texts is easily explained by the enduring critical paradigm that identifies seventeenth-century Scotland as

overhung with an air of bleakness, even joylessness, as a stern and godly Calvinist Kirk imposed a new level of discipline, launching an unprecedented attack on hitherto unquestioned pleasurable pursuits such as music, dancing, drama, and drinking.<sup>6</sup>

It is a misleading contention that, as Jenny Wormald proceeds to correct, is one far too bleak in its outlook. This erroneous conception that the Scottish arts suffered at the hands of the cultural and political turmoil of the seventeenth century has been a damaging one. Nevertheless, it would be true to say that, while the Union of the Crowns (1603) and James VI's subsequent relocation to London was indisputably less culturally damaging than past criticism has contended, the effects felt by those poets who remained — and continued to write — in Scotland were undoubtedly manifested in their particular texts. A shift of authority from monarch to kirk, for example, was the catalyst for these poets' more wholesale submission to Christian ideals. A concern for noble patronage presented itself as another inherent effect of the Union, as poets adapted their mode of address to a newly dominant authority — the noble and upper-middle classes — who now constituted not just the primary *readership* of romance, but also the primary *addressee*. The question now presented itself, with startling validity for poets whose agenda was inherently linked to moral didacticism, of 'where in post-union Scotland itself would an aspiring...poet find his *Maecenas*, or the direct court patronage necessary'<sup>7</sup> for a credible, public forum in which to morally educate? These inevitable effects manifested themselves across the above four romances in the shape of a striking level of idiosyncrasy, as the more socially inclusive genre necessitated a degree of transformation and experimentation from an already highly elusive mode.

Over and above the cultural effects outlined above, the relative critical neglect of these early seventeenth-century Scottish romances may be related to the fact that dialogue between the texts themselves is minimal, while their interplay with cross-cultural styles and their flirtation with intertextuality might characterise their resistant disparateness from each other, as well as from the larger romance tradition in Britain. Yet there is one emphasis that, whilst present in other early modern romance traditions too, does seem

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<sup>6</sup> Jenny Wormald, *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). p 143.

<sup>7</sup> David Allan, 'Prudence and Patronage: The Politics of Culture in Seventeenth-Century Scotland.' *History of European Ideas* (Vol. 18, No. 4, 1994). pp 467 – 480. p 473.

principally characteristic of Scottish romances: namely a religion-inspired pursuit of rational masculinity. As such, this pits the genre somewhat against itself, in particular against its own more popular romantic features, and arguably instances a masculine resistance against what was perceived to be the dangerously 'feminised' context of romance. Beyond this is the conscious adoption of the lexicon of magic and the supernatural, the suspicion with which it is treated indicating that magical deviancy provides the extreme test of noble and god-fearing masculinity, an early version of a Pilgrim's Progress. A particular emphasis on earlier cultures of shame and honour, as well as upon noble masculinity, indicates how, in Scottish examples of the genre, romance becomes a test rather than an opportunity, a test of how to liberate protagonists from their dangerous excess involvement in love. Such tests exist in romances abroad as well, but they are considerably more predominant in the Scottish corpus.

Though critics have found a certain level of cohesion in the earlier medieval romances, the seventeenth-century Scottish romance seems to provoke a certain level of anxiety that has resulted in a prolonged critical neglect, arguably because their culturally idiosyncratic 'symmetries' contradict more established emphases within romance criticism and traditional criticism more generally.<sup>8</sup> Rather than attempt to seek cohesion where there simply may be none, it might prove more useful to define the inherently elusive romance genre as

the name of a desiring narrational modality that coalesces from the extant cultural matrix at hand, poaching and cannibalizing from a hybridity of all and any available resources, to transact a magical relationship with history, of which it is in fact a consuming part.<sup>9</sup>

This study will thus invoke 'hybridity'<sup>10</sup> as a strategy to explain Scotland's apparent conception of itself, not as culturally peripheral, but rather as culturally malleable, as well

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<sup>8</sup> Such as the cyclical, harmonious, pursuit (and eventual victory) of love that generally characterises the foundations of a romance text.

<sup>9</sup> Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). p 3.

<sup>10</sup> The application of hybrid theory in Scotland (for notable studies see Craig, Crawford, and Fazzini) is characterised by the contrasting post-colonial celebration of mixed identity and the crossing of boundaries, and the attempt to draw extant literatures from the peripheral to the centre. This study will attempt to remove the theory from a perhaps too particular focus of Scottish critical thought (hybrid theory has been liberally applied in a Bakhtinian context to the Christis Kirk genre, as well as to later examples of Burns and even to contemporary texts under the terminology of critical post-colonial discourse), and re-align it with genre criticism, in order to fully understand the protean nature of romance in general, and to identify Scottish romance as a multifarious strategy rather than a distinguishable cultural genre. This study will thus make use



as to illustrate how Scottish romance has its place ‘within several national traditions’<sup>11</sup> and displays a determined lack of respect for such cultural boundaries.

In short, therefore, this thesis will examine how the early seventeenth-century romance provided a forum in which to discuss the relationship between governance and love. In doing so it will foreground the deliberate polyvalence of the texts involved in this discussion, rather than attempt to provide harmony where this is none. It will posit that the seventeenth-century Scottish romance, while providing a discernable strategy towards acquiring rhetorical eloquence and noble patronage, remains resistant to being forced into one mould. Finally, this study will attempt to conclude whether these elusive and disparate texts can be understood at all as a distinguishable national canon, or if instead they might be viewed as the transient, transitional narratives between the Scottish literary landmarks of sixteenth-century narrative verse and the early Scottish novel.

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of the terminology of hybrid theory rather than employ the theory in itself and the cultural *Zeitgeist* associated with it.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Romance: The New Critical Idiom* (New York: Routledge, 2004). p 10.

## 2. 'Passionate Nobleness':<sup>1</sup> The Chivalric Mode in Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa*

*Ambitioune is a passioune wondrous strong  
Of noble courage and of mightie force  
Whiche captive leads all g'alant spreits along  
And euen the strongest passions does enforce  
Yea loue it self which seemeth to contend  
Yet oft ambitioune victor proues in end.<sup>2</sup>*

Although Patrick Gordon's epic romance *Penardo and Laissa* was written and published in the early seventeenth century, it is a text inherently tied to, and fascinated by, the earlier medieval period. It is generally acknowledged that love is 'often combined in medieval romance with the pursuit of chivalry',<sup>3</sup> and indeed it is the chivalric mode in which *Penardo* operates. Gordon's full title for the romance establishes his chivalric agenda in explicit terms, as he outlines 'Penardo his most admirable deeds of arms', his 'ambitioune of glore,' and, most significantly, his 'contempt of loue'.<sup>4</sup> The 'warres of Loue and Ambitioune' which govern the narrative of the poem do not simply signify that the romance is written in the chivalric mode, but also distinguish the text from the relatively more amatory accents of its English and Continental contemporary equivalents. *Penardo and Laissa*, while paying particular heed to amatory discourse, nevertheless identifies the masculine pursuit of fame and valour as the primary object of the hero, and indeed an opposition to love and war lies at the heart of the poem's agenda. As this study shall outline, Gordon's text, while rooted in medieval ideals, is very much a romance of its time and place: it acts as a forum in which a Protestant royalist might exact a dialogue with the Scottish ruling class, for indeed the transient nature of the genre provided ample opportunity to diversify from a purely monarchical focus, which had proved to be a necessary adjustment after James's removal to London in 1603. As will be discussed below, the text is, furthermore, largely directed by its author's pursuit for noble patronage,

<sup>1</sup> Michael Spiller, 'Poetry After the Union 1603 – 1660' in *The History of Scottish Literature Volume I: Origins to 1660*, ed. R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987). p 158.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Gordon, *The Famous Historye of Penardo and Laissa other Ways Callid the Warres of Love and Ambitione* (Dort: George Waters, 1615). Caput VII, 1, ll 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> Corinne J. Saunders, *A Companion to Romance from Classical to Contemporary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). 'Introduction', p 2.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Gordon. *The First Booke of the Famous Historye of Penardo and Laissa other ways callid the warres of Loue and Ambitioune, wherein is described Penardo his most admirable deeds of arms, his ambitioune of glore, his contempt of loue, with loues mightie assalts and ammorous temptations: Laissas feareful inchantment hir releif hir travells and lastly loues admirable force, in hir releiving Penardo from ye fire, doone in Heroik verse by, Patrick Gordon.*

as well as its amplified deference to Christian moral codes, in accord with the Kirk's new position of authority in Scotland. In short, *Penardo and Laissa* is a romance poem distinct from its foreign contemporaries in the way in which it is so thoroughly dictated by the political historical events surrounding its inception, and thus it provides a pertinent example of the early seventeenth-century Scottish romance and its divergence from more accepted romance modes.

Patrick Gordon (fl.1606 – 1649) is a figure who, in spite of his relative anonymity and lack of plaudits, presents something of a contentious figure to those critics who have sought out his work. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* presents two possible identities for the poet: one, a historian, Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, the other a diplomat and agent of King James VI. Stevenson's entry for the *Oxford DNB* regarding Gordon the historian notes that,

though essentially a regional historian, dealing with civil wars in northern Scotland, Patrick Gordon sets his history against a wide background of the Thirty Years' War, international intrigue, portentous comets, and above all the work of the divine physician, who was seeking to cure Scotland's ills by medical means [...] Thus he tried to present Scotland's disasters optimistically, seeing them as drastic cures being applied to the underlying disease.<sup>5</sup>

If one concedes that romance can be both 'escapist and socially pertinent',<sup>6</sup> then perhaps this description can be applied to both historian and poet, rather than to James's diplomat. *Penardo and Laissa*, as well as Gordon's earlier historical epic *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Surnamed the Bruce* (1613), are both concerned with such 'intrigue' and 'ills', and both are clearly rooted in classical ideals of chivalry, morality and virtue. Indeed, historian and poet both hailed from Aberdeenshire, and 'the moods of their writings have much in common; [for] they share dreams of valour and nostalgic longing for a lost heroic past and a strong Scottish patriotism'.<sup>7</sup> These emotive and literary points of contact are compelling, as is the significant matter of the patronage shared by both figures: Lord Gordon of Huntly, to whom the knight Penardo himself is

<sup>5</sup> David Stevenson (2004) 'Gordon, Patrick, of Ruthven (fl. 1606-1649)', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. Accessed at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11072?docPos=1> 12/12/08.

<sup>6</sup> Corinne J. Saunders. *A Companion to Romance from Classical to Contemporary*. 'Introduction,' p 2.

<sup>7</sup> David Stevenson. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11072?docPos=1> 12/12/08.

presented by the poet, 'to serue, to please and to content'.<sup>8</sup> It is most likely then, that historian and poet are one and the same.

Gordon's epic romance was published by George Waters at Dort in 1615, and while no second edition was ever printed, there is some evidence to suggest that the poem enjoyed a degree of success in Scotland. The sonnet preceding the first book, for example, is signed by a 'Master William Drommond', undoubtedly Drummond of Hawthornden, who favourably, if sagely honest about the poem's merits, comments that

though thou after greater ones be borne  
Thou mayst be bold eu'en midst the first to sitt  
For whilst fair Iuliett or farie queen  
Doe liue with theirs thy beautie shall be seene.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident, then, that Gordon may have enjoyed some critical success, a fact all too often overlooked in the case of those poets who continued to write for a Scottish audience after 1603, given that the period after the Union remains generally ill-favoured by literary criticism. Whether the era of the Scottish Makars or that of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, Scottish literary studies have too often been attached to isolated moments in its history, which neglects to account for those dissolute periods between such cultural-historical markers. This in turn effectively banished the lesser known seventeenth-century poets to the dark peripheries of Scottish literary history. Indeed, Michael Spiller notes that during this very period, with the sole exception of Drummond,

Scotsmen writing poetry at home or abroad (or in England) seem stylistically insecure; they inherit the Renaissance ideals of style, but can neither quite forsake them nor adapt them to a new poise and lightness. Shifting this perspective from the aesthetic to the historical, one might suggest that there is in this period a double loss: loss of a court, and loss of a religious centre (or quest for a new one)...The discovery of an ethnic voice lay almost a century away in the future: it was not, for any of these present writers, a possible choice.<sup>10</sup>

However, we are forced to question this assumption if we are to take into account Gordon's apparent links with such an established and critically successful poet as

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<sup>8</sup> Patrick Gordon (1615) *Penardo and Laissa*. 'The Avthor to his Patrone,' p vii.

<sup>9</sup> William Drummond of Hawthornden in Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Sonnet, ll 11-14.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Spiller, 'Poetry After the Union 1603 – 1660' in *The History of Scottish Literature Volume 1: Origins to 1660*, ed. R.D.S. Jack (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). p 143.

Drummond, and in turn, perhaps, the court in general.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Sally Mapstone has paralleled the two as ‘seventeenth-century royalist poets’,<sup>12</sup> a remark that poses an intriguing question regarding the overwhelming normative significance assigned to the removal of the court from Edinburgh. Certainly, it seems significant that, aside from Drummond’s prefatory sonnet, the romance also includes another dedication by the Aberdeenshire poet Alexander Garden (c.1585 – 1642?), who shares with Gordon a distinctly royalist and nationalist-nostalgic agenda. *A Garden of Grave and Godlie Flowers*, published in Edinburgh in 1609, is characterised by its reverence to James VI, and comprises of a series of miscellaneous elegies, poems and prayers, amongst others. A third sonnet is provided by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun (the son of Patrick Gordon’s patron), a figure who, preceding and immediately following the publication of *Penardo* at least,<sup>13</sup> was a staunch supporter of James VI, and had been awarded a knighthood in 1609 as well as a life pension of £200 sterling. Patrick Gordon had apparently found his niche amongst a small network of royalist poets and diplomats who had remained in Scotland after 1603, suggesting that Scotland’s apparent ‘double loss’<sup>14</sup> of a unified church and court has been allowed too much significance in past criticism. Gordon’s networking instances a still active royalist agenda within Scotland, but, as discussed previously, one that had been forced to acclimatise to a new cultural and political environment. The common link between all of the above poets (aside from their royalist agendas) was their choice to remain in their northern, and generally rural, locations, in which local noble patronage was certainly more readily available than James would prove to be, so far removed in London.

Although *Penardo and Laissa* is not written strictly in the *speculum principis* mode, it does project a more universal model of behaviour in which the chivalric role of the knight acts as the *Mirror*<sup>15</sup> by which Gordon can mediate a moral education in love, and thus can be said to sit comfortably within the tradition of moral writing practices in

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<sup>11</sup> The ‘court’ should be understood throughout as a concept of noble connections and networks, rather than as a physical construct.

<sup>12</sup> Sally Mapstone, ‘Afterword’ in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. Nicola Royan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008). p 211.

<sup>13</sup> When a revolt against James VI and I arose in Scotland in 1637, Gordon found himself divided between his duties at the court and his household alliances. See W. Fraser (1892) *The Sutherland Book*, 3 vols.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Spiller. ‘Poetry After the Union 1603 – 1660’. p143.

<sup>15</sup> For further information see Chapter Three, which will discuss how William Baldwin’s *Mirror for Magistrates* collection might have acted as a model for the masculine exemplariness portrayed across the early seventeenth-century Scottish romances.

Scotland outlined by Martin and Mapstone.<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that this moral model is directed at any one particular figure, but instead to the body politic in general. It is an aspect that clearly defines this romance against its earlier examples, which have been recently analysed by Martin, whose study focuses on the

centrality of amorousness to the projects of Older Scots poets, suggesting that the discussion of love is fundamental to the advisory and ethical nature of much of the verse writing of this period...love narrative, love lyric, amatory debate, vision or complaint, the register of *fin' Amor* are used to focus attention on the most profound and challenging aspects of the governance of the self, that prerequisite quality for the rule of others.<sup>17</sup>

While the 'discussion of love' is indeed 'fundamental to the advisory and ethical nature' of *Penardo and Laissa*, its target audience is not the monarchy, but rather the noble classes. For, though Gordon states that Penardo was 'borne a Prince', 'none wold do him reuerance', forcing the poet to pity Penardo's 'poore estate'.<sup>18</sup> Gordon thus removes his reader from the conventional sphere of court politics and places the text on a more modest, if nobler, field. By 'lowering' the social status of his implied reader in this manner, Gordon allows for an accessible chivalric reading of the romance, emphasising that the character is simply that: a *fictional* model, rather than an allegorical representation of any one monarch. This significant shift of focus might also evidence the extent to which early modern romance can be contrasted to its earlier medieval origins. Indeed, while the noble classes had always constituted the genre's primary audience, medieval romance was a mode written explicitly *for* and with a courtly audience in mind, as evidenced by their textual content, in which the heroes are represented as kings and princes, and the action is largely court-centred. In the wake of James's relocation in 1603, however, for later seventeenth-century Scottish romances such as *Penardo*, direct court patronage was no longer a viable option for romancers. Therefore the audience that had previously only aspired to the courtly heights of medieval romance now constituted the primary addressee of early modern examples of the genre, a shift which manifested itself as the necessary 'lowering' of textual content to an upper-middle class level, as seen in Gordon's attempts to create a purely knightly, rather than princely, figure in *Penardo*.

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<sup>16</sup> See Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500'. (Oxford: Unpublished D.Phil. thesis. 1986). See also Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 – 1540* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Joanna Martin. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 – 1540*. pp 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*, "The Avthor to his Patrone," ll 31 – 42.

Paradigm shifts in character portrayal aside, however, the poem's setting is recognisably ancient Greece, or, more specifically, the fictional realm of Achaia, which is in itself a distinguishable location of medieval romances, and indeed indicates Gordon's preference for an earlier, medieval style of romance. The poem is primarily fascinated with the medieval tropes of romance and fantasy — rather than later Renaissance ideals — and certainly harbours a persistent preoccupation with magic and magic-doers that had also characterised earlier romances produced across Britain and Europe. The first book opens, in fact, with King Phedro adopting the role of temporary soothsayer (a common trope of the medieval fantasy romances), as he foresees the apparent ruin of his kingdom, catalysed by the unbalancing of nature. The grapes sour, flowers flourish before they are seeded, and Phedro's vision culminates in hellish imagery:

And thus it was, he thought him self did stand  
On Helicon and vewd a fearfull fire  
That brightlie burnt ore all Achaia land  
Which did vndoe burne: waest his whole empire  
And their withal it seemd a voice did say,  
This night has brought thy kingdome her decay.<sup>19</sup>

A series of conflicts arises from this vision; first, despite the fact that 'this fyre he thought from his self proceid,' he chooses instead to believe that the fault lies with his daughter, the beautiful Laissa. The vision thus acts as a device by which Gordon can establish the opposition of godly reason and the inherent evil in magic and the otherworldly, an opposition that becomes central to the text later when we are introduced to the villainous wizard, Mansay. This distrust of supernatural devices manifests itself through the remonstrations of the narrator, who exclaims

oh vnhappy father!  
That for a dreame, a tove, a fantasie;  
A vaine Chimera or hellish vision rather,  
Wold spoyle so sweet a creature of breath.<sup>20</sup>

Such protestations would have been of particular interest to Gordon, and would surely not have been lost on his benefactor, Lord Gordon of Huntly, whose consuming fascination with astronomy was by all accounts a cause of ridicule and disaster, with one commentator noting how

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<sup>19</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput I, 10, ll 1-6.

<sup>20</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*, Caput 1, 17, ll 2-5.

astrology ruined him: he believed in the stars, and they deceived him .... He was naturally a gallant man: but the stars had so subdued him, that he made a poor figure during the whole course of the wars.<sup>21</sup>

Phedro, whose disastrous reliance upon this vision leads to such dire consequences, in all probability, provided a model of ill-advised behaviour for the all-too-real second Marquis of Huntly that the poet came to despair of later.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, for Gordon, as for Spenser, 'magic and enchantment are functions of evil and distorted human passion'.<sup>23</sup> Phedro's actions, however, were lamentable to Gordon not just because of their titillating similarity to reality, but also because they might serve as the allegorical mirror with which he sought so persistently to provide his readers.

One figure in particular who is subject to Gordon's moral analyses is that of Laissa, who, despite filling the role of heroine in the poem, nevertheless presents something of a duplicitous figure, a character through whom Gordon allows himself to fully explore the multi-faceted nature of humanity and morality. Whilst he introduces her as an innocent child, and describes her as

Fair daughter lyke the morning starr  
Nor Phoebus light in glomie darknes spred  
Might matche her,<sup>24</sup>

she quite rapidly becomes a character whom Gordon is unambiguously uncomfortable with. Despite the fact that her father's vision sees the destructive flames emanating from his own body, for example, he immediately places the blame upon his young daughter. Fire — as a marker of sensuality — and the destructive qualities inherently linked to it are categorically removed from the male spectrum of authority and instead attached to the suspect female. Gordon indicates from the outset a certain level of concern for the feminine role, and it is through Laissa that he fully explores the range of feminine morality as a means by which to educate his readers. Her transition into the empire of the Muses itself is characterised by a degree of ambiguous mistrust, as the narrator notes significantly that

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<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* ed. M. J. Routh (Oxford. Vol 1, 1823). p 68.

<sup>22</sup> See David Stevenson (2004) 'Gordon, George, second marquess of Huntly (c. 1590 – 1649). *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11037?docPos=7> 03/01/09.

<sup>23</sup> Colin Manlove, *An Anthology of Scottish Fantasy Literature* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996). p 60.

<sup>24</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput 1, 14, ll 2-4.



fair Lissa or Laissa thay her cald  
 A proppre name for her mishaps indeid  
 Who subject was to daungers manyfold  
 For Lissa is asmuche to say as rage  
 Vheirin no force her furie could asswage.<sup>25</sup>

The connotations inherent in the name Lissa or Laissa are manifold. Only nine years prior to the publication of *Penardo*, Alexander Craig's *Amorose*<sup>26</sup> sequence was published, in which Craig depicts the figure of Lais, a woman whom the narrator frequently, and virulently, paints as the selfish, lying temptress. Craig's Lais finds company in Helen of Troy and Cresseid in one particular sonnet, culminating in an assertion that she 'may match the *Grecian* or the *Troian* whore.'<sup>27</sup> Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* provides another figure with an uncannily similar name, in itself a matter of significance, given that Spenser's etymology is generally acknowledged as a mode for double meanings. Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* (a text identified by Spiller as a possible model for *Penardo and Laissa*) also makes noteworthy use of similar names, leading Fowler to contend that

this mysterious allegory makes elaborate play with names constructed from Greek elements, like Eleuterilida, Erototimoride, and Diapraxe. Spenser has many not dissimilar names, such as those of Perissa (Greek *perissos*), "who in excesse exceeded," and her sister Elissa (explained by Upton as "Elisse," an Italianization of *elleipsis*, "deficiency").<sup>28</sup>

Names of similar etymology appear with striking repetition in medieval and Renaissance literatures, and are generally assigned to those playing the role of female seductress. Take, for example, the myriad appearances of 'Alyson' in both English and Scottish literature, from the seductive landlady in *The Freiris of Berwick*, to the adulterous wife in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Gordon's protracted reference to his heroine's name — for he lingers on the theme for a full sixain — indicates his conscious agenda. Laissa, while seemingly an innocent bystander to her father's poor rule, is suggested to be a dangerous figure, and Gordon does not seem to want his readers to forget this fact. He devotes several long sections to descriptions of her grace and beauty, professing that the

<sup>25</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput 1, 31, ll 2-6.

<sup>26</sup> See Alexander Craig, *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig* (Glasgow: The Hunterian Club, 1873).

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Craig, *The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies* (London: William White, 1606). p 82, l 14.

<sup>28</sup> Alastair Fowler, 'Spenser's Names' in *Unfolded Tales: Essays on Renaissance Romance* ed. George M. Logan and Gordon Teskey (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). p 36.

Heuens wer all affect'd so feruentlye  
 Looking with myld aspect vpon the earth  
 In the horoscope of her natiuitye  
 That all the gift of grace, and goode perfection  
 They poured on her most beautifull complection.<sup>29</sup>

Despite such an elaborately complimentary description, Gordon shortly changes tack, imbuing an apparently favourable characteristic with what can only be termed a sinister undertone, as he contends that 'in [her] bright eyes tuo lyuelie lamps did flame/ That dairted beam's lyik lightning blasts of thunder'.<sup>30</sup> The implicit sense of destruction in these terms only serves to remind the reader of King Phedro's apocalyptic vision, forcing us to consider the fact that he may intend Laissa to be the harbinger of destruction after all. Just as Alexander Craig argued by means of his *Amorose* sequence, then, in which nine different women represent the varying aspects of the female figure, Gordon presents Laissa as a character fraught with suggestions of duplicity. Helen Cooper attributes this theme as particular to the romance genre, noting how

romances frequently offer the same process of generalisation...from the singular to the plural, one woman to the sex at large. Women's probity may be represented as normative, but it is regularly set in opposition to other images of women, or examples of women, who come much closer to justifying misogynist ideas...both the good and the wicked are treated as arguments about the whole sex, in a manner closely reminiscent of the madonna/whore dichotomy.<sup>31</sup>

It is thus likely that the conflicted representation of Laissa is an intentional one on Gordon's part, her duplicitous nature in fact used as a device to provide comment upon the female gender in general. Gordon sets up a series of oppositional characteristics within the figure of Laissa herself, in a fragmentation of the female form that echoes Craig's nine muses. Whilst he is content to expound upon her radiant beauty, he must also attach to it an element of sinister unease that prevents Laissa from becoming a character that readers are able to fully trust as a moral guide. Indeed, as Laissa is later discovered sleeping naked by the muses' fountain, her own unknowing brother falls in love with her (believing, of course, that Laissa had been killed years before), provoking a fight to the death between himself and another noble knight, who has also succumbed to Laissa's charms. Prince Phelarnon, son of King Phedro, dies in the battle, and the narrator laments how

<sup>29</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput 1, 33, ll 2-6.

<sup>30</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput 1, 35, ll 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. p 292.

this was the sorow of Achaians all  
 This was the wrak and ruine of their croune  
 This was the ground and causer of their fall  
 This was the deith that dang their Phedro doune  
 This brought great Sigismund from out his soyle  
 With many thousand Datians to their spoyle.<sup>32</sup>

Chorus-like, Gordon emphasises precisely how it is Phelarnon's death which initiates the series of events that will lead to the downfall of the King and his nation, and Laissa's part in this is no less transparent. The dangers bred by her beauty are unambiguously laboured upon, as Gordon asserts that 'she was the ground of all this woe'.<sup>33</sup> Laissa, despite being unable to exert any control over her brother's choice of action, or indeed her father's, thus represents the explicit catalyst of destruction. It is an episode that Gordon dwells on, consistently depicting the two princes as blameless, while Laissa's negative role is reinforced by the repetition of the assertion that 'she was the ground of all this woe', and that it is indeed *because* of this very fact that she now suffers in Mansay's subterranean nightmare. While ultimately a passive figure of destruction, she nonetheless remains a character that consists, on a whole, of a series of confictions, and in many ways becomes Gordon's mode of exploration for his views of the female sex. Speaking generally, Cooper asserts that such treatment signifies how, in romance at least, 'women can be turned, not just into generalizations, but into male debating positions'.<sup>34</sup> Laissa's danger is passive but devastating, in that her body and sexuality come to represent the most destructive powers within the poem. Mansay's magics, which clearly discomfort Gordon, nonetheless pale in comparison to the overwhelming power with which Laissa's sensuality is associated. Manlove articulates this dangerous immersion in sensuality as Laissa's 'excess involvement in love', and thus it is through her that Gordon is able to channel his objection to such irrational love. Given Gordon's moral agenda, it is probably significant that Laissa here represents 'excess', as indicated above at note 28.

Evidence of Laissa's 'excess' characteristics indeed transpire from the earliest stages in the romance, in which Gordon's hyperbolic descriptions of the maiden conflict with the otherwise harmonious and economic portrayal of the balanced natural environment. Gordon emphasises the virtues of natural balance, looking to the 'goldin

<sup>32</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput IV, 14, ll 1-4.

<sup>33</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput IV, 16, l 3.

<sup>34</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. p 292.

chariot of the Sune/ Twixt day, and night, an equall course doeth rune,<sup>35</sup> wherefore, he continues, 'each creature [was] bles'd with equall light'<sup>36</sup> as an example of the normative events prior to Laissa's entry into this natural sphere. Her disruptive entrance itself is facilitated by enchantments, which, by their very nature (as Gordon asserts throughout the text) are facets of evil and ill-advised passions. Immediately preceding Phedro's vision, Gordon's language adopts a level of excess that he never quite forsakes in his depiction of Laissa. Phedro's vision 'did torment his mynd', while simultaneously Laissa is born into the world, as indicated above, as

a fair daughter lyke the morning starr,  
Nor Phoebus light in glomie darknes spred  
Might matche her, she staind that beautie farr.<sup>37</sup>

Laissa thus immediately embodies the excessive qualities that, Gordon argues, lead to the many pitfalls suffered by those around her, and in particular, the masculine form. The inherent disproportion of beauty and sensuality that Laissa embodies is further compounded by the introduction of her noble brother, Prince Phelarnon. While Laissa's hyperbolic description in this scene amounts to a total of eight ornate stanzas, Phelarnon represents the most balanced of individuals, described as being of 'goode proportioun' just as 'Nature has ordained',<sup>38</sup> while elsewhere, significantly, Penardo is also referred to as having a face of good 'proportioun'. Her intense involvement in love, indeed her general air of excess, is particularly significant given that *Penardo* takes the form of the epic romance, a mode of conventionally grand scope that might cause one to expect its author to provide an array of comparable figures for maximum moral exemplum. Despite the inherent opportunities afforded by an epic form — comparable sizeable texts (*The Faerie Queene* and *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, for example) often feature several female characters of moral import — Laissa is notably the single figure in whom Gordon imbues the many attributes of a multi-faceted female figure. The odds for establishing comparable female figures are strong within the epic parameters of the poem, and yet Gordon selects one single character through whom his expressions of anxiety for female authority can be probed. Cooper asserts the same about the genre, noting that romance

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<sup>35</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput I, 6, ll 5-6.

<sup>36</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput I, 7, l 1.

<sup>37</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput I, 14, ll 2-4.

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput II, 4, ll 1-2.

characters are...likely to be portrayed as models to be imitated or shunned...many romances offer an array of types of women for endorsement or rejection, sometimes in extreme moral terms, but sometimes with a subtlety at odds with such absolutes.<sup>39</sup>

Cooper's framework instances a shrewd reading of texts such as *The Faerie Queene*, in which the series of comparisons established between the duplicitous and sexually promiscuous Duessa with the virtuous and chaste figures of Una and Britomart, amongst others, serves as Spenser's inquiry into the nature of love and sensuality. However, Gordon's romance does not conform to the conventional representations of women as Cooper sets out. Female characters in *Penardo* are relatively sparse in number – Laissa essentially serves to represent *all* women in her role. Her beauty and sensuality are indeed dangerous foils to our hero, but she has no apparent 'ethical undesirability' and is certainly not an evil character. Indeed, she at no point perpetrates any proactive actions of bad consequence. The greatest danger posed by Laissa is her sensuality and the consequent distraction this may cause to the noble male's chivalric mission. Given the significance attached to her sensuality, Laissa alone thus represents a threat to masculine valour across all of the male characters in the romance. Lyndsay's *Satyre*, by comparison, portrays the same threat to the masculine community under the general allegorical allusion of 'Sensualitie,' as an abstract concept rather than an individual. This transition of emphasis – from typology to the individual – appears to signify the gradual progression into a more psychology-based approach to character writing, and, although *Penardo and Laissa* and its contemporaries are all verse poems, establishes the fundamentals of the later prose reading practices of the early novel. In the case of all three romances under examination, the titles of the texts feature the names of both lovers, in contrast to the political romances *The Faerie Queene*, *Argenis*, or *Aretina*, where the title of the text tends to favour a singular figure. The same can be noted regarding the medieval Scottish romances, in which, although by and large detailing the adventures of *two* lovers, be it Lancelot and Guinevere or Clariodus and Meliades, the title refers only to the male component of the set (although this could be a later adaptation of longer, original titles). By superseding the romantic entanglement of two characters with the paramount importance of the masculine persona and in turn the deeds which he must perform to fully achieve virtue and honour, this allows the romancer to encompass not only the story of the lovers' travails, but also those political ills to which they so often allude. The message – that this text is not simply in reference to the naïve and sentimental romance genre – is implicit.

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<sup>39</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. p 300.

For three of the four seventeenth-century romances contained in this study, however, focus sharpens upon the moral aspersions cast by love and passion as illustrated through the narrative tale of two lovers. This shift abandons the abstract allegorising of the medieval and Renaissance periods in favour of a moral mirroring, in which the individual might provide an example for the implied audience of romance. Laissa, for example, while representing sensuality in a very practical sense throughout the text, does not serve to represent the more abstract concept of 'Sensuality.' The quest for a more humanist, perhaps even realist, individual narrative, is demonstrated in *Penardo* by the frequent shifts of character perspective, which enable Gordon to illuminate the motivations and agendas of multiple individuals. The poem begins initially, for example, from the perspective of King Phedro. Had it continued in this fashion, then perhaps the romance would have fitted quite comfortably into the *speculum principis* tradition. However, the opening section merely establishes Phedro as a character of questionable morality, who chooses to place the blame for the future downfall of his kingdom upon his infant daughter, rather than upon himself, as his vision manifestly indicates. Before the narrative shift to that of the Muses, who take in, and, initially, at least, care for the baby Laissa, Gordon even allows for a brief but key moment of contemplation from Laissa's designated dispatcher, Kalander, who, 'praying the bloude of this poore Innocent/ Vpone the Fathers head might alwayes light',<sup>40</sup> instead chooses to spare her life. Gordon's method – always to explain and underline motivation – is a surprisingly early precursor to modern narrative technique, and one that certainly anticipates the practice of the early novel. The potential bridge forged between the romance and the novel is one now frequently alluded to in literary criticism, and yet, the techniques employed by the early seventeenth-century Scottish romancers have failed to draw attention to their individual, novelistic attempts for narrative continuity. The romance, categorised as a 'lineage or family of texts',<sup>41</sup> in many ways echoes the novel's

spirit of continuity: each work is an answer to preceding ones, each work contains all the previous experience of the novel. But the spirit of our time is firmly focused on a present that is so expansive and profuse that it shoves the past off our horizon and reduces time to the present moment only. Within this system the novel is no longer a *work* (a thing made to last, to connect the past with the future) but one current among many, a gesture with no tomorrow.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput I, 22, ll 2-3.

<sup>41</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. p 8.

<sup>42</sup> Milan Kundera, *The Art of the Novel* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005). pp 18-19.

Kundera's conception of the modern novel bears striking similarities to our understanding of the early modern romance; the inter-textuality that subsumes past works, crosses genres and boundaries, as well as the notion of romance as an elusive, transient 'gesture' serve to remind us that, particularly in the early seventeenth century, the transition from narrative verse to novel embodied a significant conceptual shift in which romances such as *Penardo and Laissa* were inherently involved. The novel and the romance share in their genetic makeup a persistent attempt for malleability and originality in spite of operating under a series of well-established, coded patterns. Gordon's attempt to adopt the generic chivalric mode of romance manifests as the particularly Scottish emphasis upon advice, and an increasingly apparent Christian sublimation, and indeed characters such as Laissa — inherently fraught with psychological flaws — indicate Gordon's clear attempt to create a more analytical, and less allegorical, depiction of archetype.

In her role as romantic heroine and moral mirror, Laissa not only represents excessiveness and the sensual, but also love itself. Gordon, like Hannay, defines noble masculinity through the oppositional forces of irrational passion and love on the one hand, and rational thought on the other, in due course rendering love not as the chivalric ideal but as a foil to the hero's masculine focus and nobility. The same can be said about at least a few of the earlier Scottish romances, albeit to a lesser degree, and indeed, just as in *Golagros and Gawane*, the amorous aspects of the text are completely excised by the Scottish version of the romance in a cognate attempt to re-direct the focus of the narrative. Gordon reiterates this same concept as Penardo searches for Laissa in Mansay's subterranean realm. Indeed, Phelarnon's tomb bears the warning that 'Loue was the cause of all/ In spoyling of my...lyfe', while Penardo is advised to remember 'loue to be the cause/ Of ruine, death, and shame.'<sup>43</sup> This seventeenth-century romance thus read against conventional understandings of the broader genre,<sup>44</sup> which accept the amatory as the positive ideal of the chivalric male.

While those ambiguities that plague the portrayal of Laissa are seemingly part of a deliberate agenda on Gordon's part, they might also be — to a certain degree — a symptom of the unfinished status of the romance. If, as Heng contends, the 'impetus of romance...is

<sup>43</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput XII, 'Phelarnon's inscription', ll 9-16.

<sup>44</sup> See Barbara Fuchs, *Romance: The New Critical Idiom* (New York: Routledge, 2004). See also Corinne J. Saunders (ed.) *A Companion to Romance from Classical to Contemporary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

towards *recovery*,<sup>45</sup> or, as Frye asserts, 'central to romance...is the cycle of nature,' then Laissa cannot possibly be expected to fulfil the conventional requirements of the romance journey — which are, of course, to achieve true virtue and happiness, and in turn to become a model truly worthy of emulation — since neither her character, nor indeed the plot itself, is given opportunity to resolve itself in the cyclical restoration of peace and order. Frye further posits that

the heroine who becomes a bride, and eventually, one assumes, a mother, on the last page of the romance, has accommodated herself to the cyclical movement: by her marriage, or whatever it is, she completes the cycle and passes out of the story.<sup>46</sup>

Laissa, as an unfinished product, remains static at the point of her pre-marriage virginity. One might assume that had she and Penardo married at the end of the first book, she would transcend her former position as the sensuous temptress, to become 'safe', both from the attentions of other men, as well as from her own excessive sensuality. It is a great shame that Gordon did not at least proceed further into the second book of the romance, since at this point, in her capacity as temporary saviour to the captured Penardo and autonomous heroine, Laissa may have excelled beyond the parameters of excessiveness that Gordon has so thoroughly set out for the character in the first book.

If Laissa represents the excesses of love and sensuality throughout the text, then Penardo must be said to embody the opposite. He is the most rational character throughout the romance, conclusively focused upon the chivalric mission with which he has been bestowed. While at the end of the first book he can be prone to the distractions caused by the frequent requests for aid from a range of damsels, his interest in them is never sexual, but purely valorous. Gordon, while there is no conclusive evidence to prove his familiarity with John Stewart's 'Roland Furious', would at least be aware of its original source, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. It is not too tenuous, then, to make a claim for Penardo as the 'answer' to the irrational Roland/Orlando. For Gordon, one might assume that Roland's lapse into madness as a result of his irrational immersion in love would represent the basest example of a failed masculine focus. While Roland's failure is exercised by an abrupt loss of reason and rationale, rendering him 'almost void of his wittis all',<sup>47</sup> Penardo is consistently depicted by Gordon as a figure of rational balance. Indeed, the rare moments

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<sup>45</sup> Geraldine Heng. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. p 3.

<sup>46</sup> Northrop Frye. *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*. p 80.

<sup>47</sup> John Stewart. *Roland Furious*. Canto XI, l 260.



of emotional turmoil are reserved for instances of chivalric issue, for instance Penardo's 'trembling voice, pale face and fyrie breath'<sup>48</sup> are the reactions to martial downfall, rather than to the fortunes of love. At his point of arrival in the romance, Penardo cuts a strikingly composite example of the heroic male, described in a series of comparatives as 'most rair, most wyse, most valorous, most fair'<sup>49</sup> and, paradoxically, 'the obiect of disdaine',

The skorne of loue, the monument of lothe  
The mirroure of mischief, the map of paine,  
The marck of daunger, and the mold of wrath  
The seat of sorrow, and the tombe of care  
The winges of wrack, the Burrio of dispair.<sup>50</sup>

Penardo's inherently positive characteristics are thus balanced by a series of levelling qualities, rather than by a prolonged sequence of excessively heroic ones.<sup>51</sup> Notably, he is 'well train'd vp in feates of armes',<sup>52</sup> but is at no point depicted as unconquerable. Gordon provides his audience with a masculine figure who is distinguishable for his balance and reasonableness, who in turn is eminently suited to tame Laissa's excessive involvement in love. This emphasis upon the balance and rationale of the masculine mind is shared by Hannay in *Sheretine and Mariana*, in which the ever-judicious hero Sheretine refuses to allow his love for Mariana to interfere with his military, and indeed masculine, duties. As Mariana deplores his departure, he objects reasonably that

*Loue* doth not debase the minde.  
What shall I now obscure my former worth?  
No, no, loue doth no such fruit bring forth.<sup>53</sup>

For Hannay, as for Gordon, then, the romance hero's ultimate obligation lies with his own military or chivalric duties. It is through this religion-inspired pursuit of rational masculinity that these seventeenth-century romances diverge from more conventional motifs of the genre. Indeed, in both earlier medieval romances (including Scottish texts) and contemporary European equivalents, the pursuit of a noble amatory conquest represents the ultimate ideal. In *Lancelot of the Laik*, for example, it is precisely the love

<sup>48</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput VI, 24, ll 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput V, 4, l 4.

<sup>50</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput V, 5, ll1-5.

<sup>51</sup> For a comparison, see the excessive perfection of Clariodus in *Clariodus and Meliades*.

<sup>52</sup> Patrick Gordon, *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput V, 6, l 1.

<sup>53</sup> Patrick Hannay, 'Sheretine and Mariana' in *The Poetical Works* (London: Hunterian Club, 1622). Canto I, 97.2. p 123.

forged between Lancelot and Guinevere that engenders masculine courage in its hero, as well as serving to inform Lancelot with a greater understanding of his own noble worth. In such instances, love prompts moral virtue, and thus represents a vital component of the chivalric hero's makeup. While the distinction between amatory discourse in medieval and seventeenth-century romance is implicit, that is not to say that *Lancelot*, for example, does not treat love with some degree of suspicion. It does distinguish, certainly, between noble love like that shared by Lancelot and Guinevere, and sensual and adulterous love, indicating that while the concept of the amatory is handled with less unease than in later examples of Scottish romance, there still existed a certain anxiety to depict a true, Christian kind of love. Indeed, love is not only the driving force behind Lancelot's courage, but to the masculine body *en masse* within the romance. As they stand in battle, 'with speris straucht, and couerit with thar scheldis/ Sum for love, sum honor to purchess',<sup>54</sup> the poet explicitly aligns love and honour as welcome — and indeed valid — motives for action.

English prose romances produced throughout the seventeenth century share a not dissimilar ideology to that depicted in earlier texts such as *Lancelot of the Laik*. However, contrary to the belief propagated by Gordon and Hannay, English romances tend to favour love and amorousness as rational behaviours of the thinking being. Despite this disparity, the apparently paramount influence of such English sources upon Gordon's poem has been outlined by Ernest A. Strathmann, who notes that

the Scotch poets either wrote in Latin or, writing in English, usually patterned their verse after Sidney, Spenser, and other Elizabethans...Although [Patrick] Gordon is willing to retain an occasional Scotch word rather than lose a "sound runing line", both of his narrative poems are imitative of English verse.<sup>55</sup>

Strathmann's article is based upon the premise that Gordon was, first and foremost, a 'Scotch Spenserian,' who 'drew heavily upon Spenser for the chief adventure of his poem'.<sup>56</sup> While *Penardo and Laissa* is undoubtedly influenced at points by the events of *The Faerie Queene* — a fact that has also been noted by Virginia Tech's 'Spenser and the Tradition' project,<sup>57</sup> which includes Gordon's *Penardo* as an example of Spenserian poetry — this view proves somewhat limiting, and excludes multiple examples of Gordon's other

<sup>54</sup> Anon, *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Margaret Muriel Gray (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1912). ll 3088 – 3089, pp 91 – 92.

<sup>55</sup> Ernest A. Strathmann, 'A Scotch Spenserian: Patrick Gordon', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, (California: University of California Press, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1938). pp 427-428.

<sup>56</sup> Ernest A. Strathmann. 'A Scotch Spenserian: Patrick Gordon'. p 431.

<sup>57</sup> See <http://wiz2.cath.vt.edu/spenser/TextRecord.php?&action=GET&textsid=37006> accessed 01/04/09.

influences. Indeed, the disparity between the two English and Scottish ‘traditions’ is most divided upon the ideal of love and rational thought and, contrary to Gordon’s treatise, Zurcher’s study of the English prose romance explicitly establishes links between love and the rational thought processes, positing that while love was sometimes merely a synonym for passion or lust,

conversely, it was affiliated with rational and prudent calculation, in which case it was prompted as a discipline for passion...Romance might suggest that the embrace of [amorous] interest as a guide for action could induce to virtue by curbing our most self-indulgent passions.<sup>58</sup>

In English romance, love can thus be regulated by, or even regulate itself, the conscious processes that motivate behaviour. In the seventeenth-century Scottish romances, meanwhile, love constituted the opposite; the very embodiment of irrational thought and behaviour. In accord with recent historical research that suggests a contemporary regrouping of aristocratic values,<sup>59</sup> such a theme indicates that the pursuit of rational masculinity in these romances is informed by earlier cultures of honour and shame in Scotland. Seventeenth-century Scottish romance thus sits apart from its contemporary equivalents and their relatively more amatory accents. While the Scottish romances are clearly geared towards their masculine audience (for any figure worthy of emulation represents the masculine, rather than feminine ideal), English romance has been generally accepted by critics as a feminised genre.<sup>60</sup> While recent studies have conceded that female literacy in England was not necessarily increasing in tandem with the large quantities of romances produced and consumed, prominent romance writers like Lyly, Rich and Greene were ‘blatantly addressing their fictions to women readers’.<sup>61</sup> Despite its more rhetorical, allegorical designs, Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* was likewise imbued with characteristics that would appeal to a feminised readership. Unlike *Penardo*, in which an array of male

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<sup>58</sup> Amelia A. Zürcher, *Seventeenth-Century English Romance: Allegory, Ethics, and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). p 14.

<sup>59</sup> See Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000). See also Jenny Wormald (ed.) *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>60</sup> While Helen Hackett’s seminal study, *Women and Romance Fiction*, warns against over-estimating female literacy in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, she does concede that, as the seventeenth century progressed, ‘we do find more numerous examples of more extensive female romance-reading. Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1624 – 78)...was apparently addicted to romance in her youth.’ This individual and disparate example of romance reading, while seemingly isolated, does seem to indicate, she argues, that female romance-reading was by the mid-seventeenth century a relatively acceptable and commonplace practice. For further information see Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> Helen Hackett. *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance*. pp 9-10.

characters provides argument on noble behaviour (or otherwise) and suggest that Gordon was exercising a discursive view of the masculine figure, Spenser's epic allegory presents a variety of both male and female characters that would presumably provide moral guidance for its readers. In *Penardo*, Laissa is the sole recipient of Gordon's inquiry into the female sex, while for Spenser, the characters of Duessa, Una, Britomart, and others, serve as a series of comparatives by which 'ladies' might be educated in moral acuity. The masculine focus in these particular Scottish romances suggests a deliberate attempt by their authors to diverge from conventional romance norms, and, more specifically perhaps, English conventions, and more in line, as will be argued below, with the tenets of a Scottish version of Christianity. Just as the Scottish Kirk 'would not become a carbon copy of the Church of England'<sup>62</sup> after James VI's ascension to the English throne, neither did the Scottish romance become a copy of its English equivalents. Indeed, given that Gordon's Spenserian — and more general English romance influences — have remained the focal point of most critical discussions of *Penardo and Laissa*, the likely presence of Scottish poetic traditions and their particular characteristics have subsequently been diminished. The paramount emphasis placed upon the tropes of the romance genre in more general terms have led the one critic who is perhaps most familiar with *Penardo and Laissa* to reflexively diminish the poem by referring to it as either a 'dungeons and dragons fantasy'<sup>63</sup> or simply a 'marvellous Spenserian romp'.<sup>64</sup> These terms, however, present a potentially harmful and limited reading of *Penardo*. Gordon's thematic discourse, as discussed throughout this chapter, is rooted in medieval ideals of chivalry and honour, and regulated by a strong sense of Scottish Protestantism. While Strathmann might contend that Gordon's 'narrative poems are [primarily] imitative of English verse',<sup>65</sup> *Penardo and Laissa*, and to a lesser extent Gordon's *Bruce*, are both characterised by their by discontinuities and deliberate attempts to articulate cultural aspects of seventeenth-century Scottish fiction, transitional between nations, classes and cultural periods. The complex amalgamation of Continental, English and Scottish styles suggest that Gordon had access to a wide range of cultural examples, and yet curiously, it is his native Scottish influences that have been most neglected in critical discourse. Certainly, if, as evidence suggests, Patrick Gordon the poet was also Patrick Gordon the historian, then it is fair to claim that

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<sup>62</sup> John McCafferty, 'The Churches and Peoples of Three Kingdoms, 1603 – 1641' in *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jenny Wormald (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2008). p 57.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Spiller, 'Dungeons and Larders: The Romances of Patrick Gordon'. p 365.

<sup>64</sup> Michael Spiller, 'Poetry After the Union 1603 – 1660'. p 154.

<sup>65</sup> Ernest A. Strathmann. 'A Scotch Spenserian: Patrick Gordon'. p 431.

Gordon's life and literary works were naturally tied to Scotland and her matters. Indeed, Stevenson notes that

[Gordon's] poetry tells of his fantasy world, the history of his personal reactions to an all-too-real world around him... both [historian and poet] sing the glories of the past at the expense of a less satisfactory present. In the epics, whether set in medieval Scotland or a bizarre version of classical Greece, a young man celebrates heroes long ago. In the history a disillusioned old man seeks to understand what has gone wrong with the country and brought the horrors of the troubles on the land.<sup>66</sup>

In *Bruce*, Gordon accordingly claims to be 'armd with the natural dewtie'<sup>67</sup> owed to his country to present the exemplary and valiant deeds of Scotland's utmost hero. His understanding of heroism paradigms thus seems indelibly linked to examples of Scottish chivalry and knightly behaviour. Indeed, his preface speaks of

the neuer enough praised vertues of that most admirable Prince *Robert Bruce* ambitiously desiring to immitat him whose vnquensable loue & burning zeale towards his Contrey was such... so that it was thocht he had more contentment of mynd and more blisings-heaped on him by heavens then any liveing in his dayes.<sup>68</sup>

Gordon's patriotic agenda is entrenched, similarly to *Penardo*, with a clear concern to create a heroic figure worthy of emulation. Despite illustrating a keen awareness of the poem's literary — as well as historical — sources, he is also curiously intent upon distancing his text from such predecessors, namely Barbour's earlier *Brus* epic. Gordon references the past failings of 'more excellent Spreits' in their telling of the tale, a point that is further reinforced by John Murray's dedicatory poem, in which he asserts that Gordon's poem restores from 'darke obliuions graue' the 'ruin'd storie of this famus king'.<sup>69</sup> While Gordon's debt to Barbour's poem thus 'seems one he is rather more concerned to disguise than to identify',<sup>70</sup> he nevertheless illustrates his awareness of his medieval literary sources and his inability to strictly distance himself from them. Gordon's

<sup>66</sup> David Stevenson, *King or Covenant? Voices from Civil War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996). p 175.

<sup>67</sup> Patrick Gordon, *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Surnamed the Bruce* (Dort: George Watters, 1615) accessed at: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/10/10/08>.

<sup>68</sup> Patrick Gordon. *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Surnamed the Bruce*. 'Preface,' p 3.

<sup>69</sup> John Murray. 'To his deare freend the restorer of the famous Bruce historie' in Patrick Gordon. *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Surnamed the Bruce*. ll 2 & 7.

<sup>70</sup> Sally Mapstone, 'Afterword' in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375 – 1630*, ed. Nicola Royan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008). p 211.

literary influences are thus manifold, and distinctly more varied than terms such as ‘Scotch Spenserianism’ allows for. The opening lines of *Bruce*, for example, speak ‘of martial Deeds, of dreadful Wars I sing,’<sup>71</sup> and, as Stevenson has noted, indicate Gordon’s knowledge of Virgil’s works, while in *Penardo and Laissa* Gordon’s rhetorical sophistication and fascination with several key medieval and Renaissance literary themes belies a keen awareness of the earlier works of Henryson, Dunbar and Lyndsay, to name but a few.<sup>72</sup>

A prime example of this influence presents itself in the form of *Penardo’s* narrator, who, in seeming imitation of Henryson’s *Orpheus* and *Cresseid* narrators, often intrudes upon the text in moments of great import or emotional turmoil. As *Penardo* descends into the subterranean realm to free *Laissa* from the wizard *Mansay*, the narrator’s presence is signalled by a reference to his poetic capabilities:

O now yow Muses matchles and devyne  
 Help by your sacred skill my gros defects  
 Mak sharpe my wit and pregnant my ingyne,<sup>73</sup>

By utilising the rhetorical refrain that begins the above plea, Gordon successfully reminds his readers of the sophisticated and divine poetic devices required to convey *Penardo’s* epic story by re-introducing the methods of the poet at a point in the narrative that is fraught with danger for the intrepid hero. Medieval Scottish writing was characterised by a similarly sophisticated awareness of the metafictional link between an author’s writing process on the one hand, and a protagonist’s fictional experiences on the other. By providing the kind of intrusive narrator who might act as a spokesperson for both poet and protagonist, as texts such as *The Kingis Quair*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, *The Testament of Cresseid* and *The Palis of Honour* all do, the poet might successfully bridge the gap between author and character. Gordon’s seeming attempt for the same in his consciously intrusive narrator indicates a credible awareness of his past Scottish models.

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<sup>71</sup> Patrick Gordon. *The Famous Historie of the Renowned and Valiant Prince Robert Surnamed the Bruce*. Caput I, l 1.

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, Gordon’s familiarity with Henryson’s ‘kernel’ theme, as seen throughout his *Morall Fabillis*, or the similarities between *Penardo’s* distrust of *Mansay’s* command of language and Dunbar’s conscious examination of the role of the poet with his ‘sugarit lips’ (*The Goldyn Targe*, 31, l 1), as well as the importance of language and reading practices more generally. The evidence is fragmentary, but given Gordon’s clear familiarity with medieval texts such as *The Bruce*, it might at least indicate some working knowledge and/or appreciation of other medieval Scottish texts.

<sup>73</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput XI, 1, ll 1-3.

Evidence of influence from the medieval Scottish canon also manifests itself throughout *Penardo* in its element of style, despite Strathmann's claims to the contrary. Given Gordon's strong loyalist tendencies, as well as his links with a distinctly royalist, rural coterie, it is unsurprising that he wrote *Penardo and Laissa* in the form of sixains, following James VI's advice in his *Reulis and Cautelis*. James advised that

in materis of love, use this kynde of verse, quhilk we call commoun  
verse...lyke verse of ten fete, as this forsaid is of aucht, ye may use lykewayis  
in love materis: as also all lynis of cuttit and brokin verse, quhair of new formes  
are daylie inventit according to the poetes plesour.<sup>74</sup>

Gordon embraces this advice with an apparently unerring enthusiasm, presenting each of the ninety-seven stanzas in sixains of what James would have referred to as 'cuttit and brokin' verse, and in an *ababcc* rhyming format that James had accordingly advised for use.

Despite the relatively small degree of criticism devoted to Patrick Gordon, what little that has been undertaken has served only to establish both essentialist and totalising narratives. From Spiller's propensity to focus on what he terms Gordon's invocation of the 'Scottish imagination,' to Strathmann's contention that Gordon is merely a 'Scotch Spenserian,' Gordon's poetry has been unjustly neglected at opposing critical parameters, disallowing the possibility that both *Penardo and Laissa* and *Prince Robert* in fact belong to neither tradition. Gordon's poems would be better understood as peripheral hybridities, characterised not by a single cohesive tradition or particular influence but rather by a complex amalgamation of Scottish, Continental and English styles.

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<sup>74</sup> King James VI, *Ane Schort Treatise Containing Some Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottis Poesie* ed. R.D.S. Jack & P.A.T. Rozendaal, *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375 – 1707* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997). p 470.

### 3. 'Love Worketh Contraries':<sup>1</sup> *Sheretine and Mariana, Calanthrop and Lucilla, and Aretina; or, the Serious Romance.*

#### *Sheretine and Mariana*

While chivalric duty takes precedence over civic duty in the masculine sphere of Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa*, Patrick Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana* (1622) can be more closely identified with the latter. The poem has been acknowledged as a progeny of the *Mirror for Magistrates* collection (1554 – 59),<sup>2</sup> and thus belongs to a lineage of texts concerned with

the characters of the princes and nobles, whose...tragical ends made them conspicuous as moral examples; and as fit beacons to check rebellion.<sup>3</sup>

William Farnham indeed identifies *Sheretine* alongside poems by Thomas Churchyard and Michael Drayton, both of whom seem to have forged large portions of their poetic careers from such 'tragical' advice narratives.<sup>4</sup> The association provides a significant divergence from Gordon's epic chivalric *topoi*, which are positioned rather within the *Fall of Princes* or *De Casibus*<sup>5</sup> traditions of advice narrative that preceded William Baldwin's *Mirror for Magistrates*. In *Sheretine and Mariana*, the hero is presented not as a princely character, nor indeed as an aristocrat, but as an auxiliary figure closely akin to that identified in Plato's *Republic*.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the poem's opening canto introduces John Sheretine as he prepares to take leave of his lover in order to fulfil his military obligations, a choice that provokes the lovelorn Mariana to 'perswade him stay behinde'.<sup>7</sup> Sheretine's answering

<sup>1</sup> George Mackenzie, *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance* (Edinburgh: Robert Broun, 1660). Book I, p 24. Accessed at [www.eebochadwyck.co.uk](http://www.eebochadwyck.co.uk) 13/03/09.

<sup>2</sup> William Farnham, 'The Progeny of "A Mirror for Magistrates"', *Modern Philology* (Vol. 29, 1931-32). p 396.

<sup>3</sup> William Baldwin, *A Mirror for Magistrates* ed. Joseph Haslewood (London: Lackington, Allen & Co. 1815). Intro, p iv.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of these poets' complaint narratives see Churchyard's *The Tragedy of Shore's Wife* and *The Tragedie of Thomas Wolsey*, and Drayton's *Matilda*.

<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed examination of the subtle differences and overlaps between these two literary traditions, see Paul Vincent Budra, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the De Casibus Tradition* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Plato's *Republic* defines a three-tiered hierarchy within the paradigm of an organised society, in which an auxiliary (or foot soldier) represents the second tier in said hierarchy. Plato contends that rulers are made of gold, auxiliaries of silver, and farmers of bronze. Sheretine thus represents a member of the 'middle class' tier of society, i.e. a more civic-founded hero than the ruling princes of chivalric fictions.

<sup>7</sup> Patrick Hannay, *Sheretine and Mariana* in *The Poetical Works* (London: Hunterian Club, 1622). Canto I, 97, l 2. p 123.



assertion that ‘Loue doth not debase the minde’ is followed by a confirmation of the hero’s abiding loyalty to his masculine duties:

What, shall I now obscure my former worth?  
No, no, thy loue doth no such fruit bring forth.<sup>8</sup>

The speculative discussion of noble masculinity and love in Patrick Gordon’s *Penardo and Laissa* thus finds its function once more in Hannay’s historical romance, albeit altered to subsume the wider public in a manner indicative of the romance genre’s increasingly social-grounded nature. While Sheretine’s deep love for Mariana is never in question, the hero cannot – and will not – forsake the noble deeds and duties that preceded their passionate relationship. Sheretine’s understanding of the greater good served to the community by his military actions illustrates the poem’s more civically oriented concept that had previously been popularised by Sir David Lyndsay’s *commonweill* paradigm, and indeed more prominently in earlier literatures, such as Blind Harry’s *The Wallace*, Book VI, in which Wallace, like Sheretine, commits himself to martial rather than marital duty. Even the romance heroine is proclaimed to have neither ‘base, nor noble blood,’ but instead something ‘betwixt both.’<sup>9</sup> Hannay, like Gordon, is concerned primarily with love morality, but transfers his moralising to a lower civic sphere from Gordon’s epic styling, and has a biographical background in the military that informs *Sheretine* with a far more pragmatic example of the practical facets of noble masculine behaviour.

Hannay privately printed the romance in his *Poetical Works* alongside *Philomela: The Nightingale* – similarly melancholy in both theme and tone to *Sheretine* – as well as *A Happy Husband* and *Elegies on the Death of Queene Anne*. The texts range from poetic verse to sonnets and songs, and include a dedicatory sonnet by William Lithgow. As with Gordon, there is some evidence to suggest that Hannay enjoyed a degree of fame as a poet. His apparent acquaintance with Lithgow, as well as the appearance of his name in the complimentary verses in John Dunbar’s *Epigrammaton* (1616),<sup>10</sup> suggests that Hannay’s name would not be unfamiliar to his peers. Indeed, two of the poems included in his *Poetical Works* had been printed prior to 1620, and the volume itself was later reprinted in

<sup>8</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 97, ll 5-6. p 123.

<sup>9</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 11, ll 5-6. p 102.

<sup>10</sup> John Dunbar (1616) *Epigrammaton Ioannis Dunbari Megalo-Britanni Centuriae Sex, Decades Totidem* – ‘Who would compete with you, Hannay, concerning the antiquity of your stock, since your family is descended from Romans? Two Hannaeuses have enjoyed distinction, a poet and a philosopher, and you can join them as the third Hannaeus.’ Edition used is a hypertext critical edition by Jamie Reid Baxter and Dana F. Sutton, accessed at <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/dunbar/> 24/07/09.

1897, a mark of relative distinction in itself. Poetry aside, Hannay enjoyed further links to the court through his military service under Colonel Sir Andrew Gray, alongside whom he fought in Hungary in aid of King James VI's daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. While his romances *Philomela* and *Sheretine* have been deemed to be 'nothing new' nor 'enlivened with wit',<sup>11</sup> Hannay's poem presents a treatise on the moral bounds of love and masculinity superior to most seventeenth-century Scottish romances. Indeed, while David Reid deems Hannay's primary concern to be simply 'married friendship',<sup>12</sup> poems such as *Sheretine* provide an acute study of the various and diverse modes of love, and their role within a masculine and civic community, indicating that, while only one amongst many love moralists, Hannay was perhaps a more nuanced and sophisticated practitioner of the sub-genre. Despite Hannay's clear stylistic assurance, though, he implies his awareness of the typically negative critical reception of romance. While Gordon's concern was for 'all the carping malice or skoffing jests that theis Appish *Monkies* can vent from their too curious inuectiue and belaboured brains',<sup>13</sup> Hannay fears 'publike censure',<sup>14</sup> the same as George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh would later prove anxious over in 1660, with the publication of his romance *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*. Mackenzie's preface echoes Gordon's concern for his 'first borne',<sup>15</sup> professing that

I do, like Moses, leave this my first born upon the banks of envies current,  
exposed to the muddy and impetuous streams of merciless censure; wishing,  
that the fair hands of the meanest of your number would vouchsafe to dandle it  
in the lapp of your protection.<sup>16</sup>

Mackenzie places his hopes for pleasant reception merely upon the 'fair ladies' to whom he dedicates the romance, whilst Hannay is perhaps deliberately supercilious in his concession that the patronage of Lady Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford (a figure well-known amongst literary circles conversely for her flirtatious nature and her abundant literary connections) is his sole means of defence. The dedication provides another curious connection between Hannay and the royal court, given that Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia

<sup>11</sup> David Reid, 'Hannay, Patrick (fl. 1616–1630)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12214>, accessed 30 March 2009].

<sup>12</sup> David Reid, 'Hannay, Patrick (fl. 1616–1630)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12214>, accessed 30 March 2009].

<sup>13</sup> Patrick Gordon. "To...Lord George Marquies of Huntlie". *Penardo and Laissa*.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Hannay. 'The Epistle Dedicatorie', *Sheretine and Mariana*. p 90.

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Gordon. "To...Lord George Marquies of Huntlie". *Penardo and Laissa*.

<sup>16</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*. 'Preface'.

(in whose name Hannay's military services were rendered) was also raised by Lady Bedford's father at Coombe Abbey. His epistle, while generally working from a typical model of dedication, does stop short of false flattery and hyperbole, suggesting a certain level of confidence in both his work and its critical reception. His inference, it seems, is that Sheretine's moral education transcends the trivial concerns of public reception, and his choice of dedicatee may well be a conscious attempt to reaffirm his links with courtly nobility, rather than an attempt to ward off public censure.

*Sheretine and Mariana's* sources are varied, springing, as stated above, from the *Mirror for Magistrates* tradition, but also borrowing from factual Hungarian history and working stylistically from several diverse models, including notably Samuel Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592).<sup>17</sup> Mariana's ghostly appearance, while usually identified as a Spenserian trope, seems to be a culmination of common *Magistrates* practice — for the 'tragicall' complaint to be recounted by the spirit of the unfortunate hero(ine) him-or herself, whether dead or otherwise — as well as a drawing together of earlier literary characters, such as Henryson's Cresseid and Daniel's Rosamond. The poem's language is both economical and sophisticated (e.g. while Gordon would toil laboriously over his expression of Laissa's beauty [*P&L* Canto I, stanzas 34 – 39 and subsequent], Hannay presents Mariana's delightful countenance as the blessed, but simple, gift of Nature, for 'she had blaz'd [Mariana's] beautie euey where'.<sup>18</sup>)

This consistent attempt for economy of style manifests itself both in language and theme throughout the romance. Indeed, Hannay's attempt to nuance certain allegorical particulars — a key example, of course, being love — results in his creation of slightly embellished allegory definitions, such as 'doubtfull-*Hope*,' 'louing-secrets,' 'plighted-faith' and '*Detracting-hate*'. It appears that while he wished to imbue his language with a greater level of nuance and sophistication (as opposed, for example, to Gordon's excessive hyperbole), such language was not quite within his grasp, resulting in a somewhat clumsy, if effective, set of quasi-allegorical paradigms. Such linguistic economy seems to indicate Hannay's concern for the existing lexis of romance, and his attempt to 'level' romance language to something more accessible and reflective of everyday use is also illustrated in his deliberate devolving of romance themes from the more fantastic tropes of epic chivalry to the realism of the domestic civic sphere. The romance on a whole is indeed driven by a

<sup>17</sup> Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* of course also imitates the *Magistrates* tradition.

<sup>18</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 42, l 5. p 110.

more realistic, civic tone; for example, Sheretine and Mariana's love is developed only gradually, detailing scenes of domesticity and socialising in order to more naturally develop the deepening sense of love between the two. Scenes of romantic *rendezvous* for discussion, singing and Sheretine's laying of his head 'downe in [Mariana's] lap/ To heare [her] sing'<sup>19</sup> are all images of courting that readers would be naturally familiar with, and would indeed render the burgeoning romance between the two as a fairly realistic portrayal of seventeenth-century middle class courting practices. The physicality of their relationship, while mild to a modern audience, would be identifiable as non-courtly practice, though, to seventeenth-century readers, and would further serve to level the romance from a higher, courtly sphere to a lower, civic class of society.

Hannay's concern thus seems to be the accessible provision of educational love morality, minus the hyperbolic fantasia that had characterised the majority of preceding romances. The poem is further informed in realism by its use of factual historical intrigue, as well as by Hannay's personal military background. The practical element of soldier life, coupled with a clear understanding of hierarchical issues within the military, indicate Hannay's own personal transactions as part of military life. Indeed, his attachment to the court of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, is one forged entirely through his military connections. In 1620 Hannay served under Andrew Gray, on behalf of Elizabeth at the beginning of the Thirty Years War. Similar personal histories were shared by Gordon and Kennedie, and indeed both in a manner were linked to military missions throughout the early half of the seventeenth century. Kennedie, for example, served under Sir Donald Mackay (a kinsman of Patrick Gordon's patron, Lord Gordon of Huntly, who was another known military figure), while Patrick Gordon was seemingly involved in the Thirty Years War alongside his patron, resulting in his later historical publication *Britenes Distemper*. These links, while intriguing, remain outwith the parameters of inter-textual discourse. In other words, the connections remain purely non-textual, and while they certainly serve to inform the romances with a certain level of soldierly discourse, there are no conclusive dialogues between the texts on this historico-political subject matter. The romances are directed by their respective authors' soldierly or noble patronage, as well as a general subscription to Christian ideals, but each treats these religious and cultural factors with differing creativity, so that *Penardo's* chivalric mode in no way anticipates Hannay's civic one.

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<sup>19</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 92, ll 5 – 6. p 122.

As with *Penardo and Laissa*, *Sheretine* is characterised by an unease regarding the power of love to overwhelm the faculties of reason, and expresses its confidence in masculine rationale through the depiction of the markedly level-headed John Sheretine. Spiller references this theme as the distinct link between the two seventeenth-century Scottish romances, asserting that

Hannay in his *Sheretine and Mariana*, and... Gordon in *Penardo and Laissa*... had some sense, felt in the blood and felt along the heart by all those who had read Spenser and Tasso, of what one might call passionate nobleness – sought perhaps the most keenly in verse romances.<sup>20</sup>

While an ardent pursuit of valour does indeed assert itself as a distinguishing feature of these particular romances (albeit differentiated by the chivalric and the civic spheres in which the two romances operate), the two texts also share their clear definitions of feminine and masculine reason. Mariana, compared to Gordon's *Laissa*, for instance, is a far more rational creature, albeit somewhat more prone to the effects of love than the romance hero in *Sheretine*. She professes her deep involvement in love in the first Canto, asserting that love was now 'the sole commander o're [her] soule',<sup>21</sup> continuing:

I am thy prisoner, but no freedome seeke,  
 In this captiuitie I ioy to bide,  
 Only I craue my hearts keeper be meeke;  
 Deare, let not this desire be me deni'de:  
     For it's my joy, since *Loue doth conquer all*,  
     That I had hap to be thy beauties thrall.<sup>22</sup>

The apparent ease with which Mariana abandons herself to love is contrasted by the seemingly more rational reactions of Sheretine, who professes his love to be 'true holy loue, not flatterie nor art',<sup>23</sup> and whose ability to prioritise his duties above his passions mark him as the most rational and godly figure in the romance. However, Mariana herself is not without reason, and is frequently depicted as a figure of good who far outstrips Gordon's *Laissa*. Indeed, as Mariana details her childhood, a clear opposition between light and dark becomes a key feature of her characteristic makeup. Light and sunshine are invoked as an expression of both Mariana's beauty and her general virtue in an early passage of the poem, in which Mariana professes she is

<sup>20</sup> Michael Spiller. 'Poetry After the Union 1603 – 1660.' p 158.

<sup>21</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 67, l 1. p 116.

<sup>22</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 69, ll 1-6. p 116.

<sup>23</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 77, l 6. p 118.

Like as the rising Sunne with weaker light,  
 Steales from the bed of bashfull blushing Morne,  
 Permitting freely to the feeblest sight  
 Him to behold, but such beames him adorne  
     Mounting our height, as who him then beholds,  
 Is blinded, with the brightnesse him infolds.

So I an Infant at the first appearance,  
 With hoped beautie did but weakly shine;  
 But as in yeeres I further did aduance,  
 Perfections Pencill so did me refine,  
     As my accomplit beautie at the height  
 Dazled the bold beholders daring-sight.<sup>24</sup>

Mariana is thus paralleled with light and goodness, in sharp contrast to the dark ‘purgatory’ in which she will later be trapped. Hannay seems to suggest that Mariana herself is sunshine, a technique somewhat reminiscent of Spenser’s virtuous Una, who is ‘clothed in the Sunne’.<sup>25</sup> Stanza 35 heralds Sheretine’s first sighting of Mariana, who ‘clothed was in greene, imbrodered o’re with flowers like Sūmers Queen’.<sup>26</sup> The allusion to summer once again links the heroine to light and sunshine, while her green garments indicate her sexual maturity — the green indicates her youth, but is also associated with sexuality, and might indicate her readiness for her marital relationship with Sheretine. Such descriptive flourishes again seem indicative of Hannay’s imitation of Spenser, in whose *The Faerie Queene* Una

rises unveiled at dawn (cf iii 21 and xi 33) and is identified as ‘the morning starre,’ at once Christ, (Rev 22.16) and truth (*Vewe, Var Prose* p 137), but also Venus, the planetary goddess of love and pleasure... Unveiled, [her] face is ‘sunshyny’ (xii 23, iii 4) associating her with the sun of monarchy and (in conjunction with her wanderings in the wilderness canto iii) the ‘woman clothed with the sunne’ (Rev 12.1 — The Protestant church ‘compassed about’ with Christ).<sup>27</sup>

Mariana thus represents Hannay’s attempt to allegorise an ideal interpretation of Scottish Protestant womanhood in his own heroine, whom he consistently parallels with the sun, light, and virtue.

<sup>24</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Caput I, 16 – 17, ll 1-6. pp 102-3.

<sup>25</sup> A.C. Hamilton, David A. Richardson, and Donald Cheney (eds.) *The Spenser Encyclopaedia* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997). p 705.

<sup>26</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Caput I, 35, ll 5- 6. p 108.

<sup>27</sup> A.C. Hamilton, David A. Richardson & Donald Cheney. *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*. p 705.

Despite the great warmth with which Sheretine is received amongst the citizens — and indeed Mariana herself professes that ‘he deserued best’ — she also significantly confirms that ‘nor was this favour forced from affection,’ for ‘Loue had not then inflam’d [her] with infection’.<sup>28</sup> This reservation — seemingly on Hannay’s part, who establishes a clear and decisive didactic on moral love throughout the text — suggests the strong emphasis he places upon rational thought. Mariana does not behave like a courtly lover, nor indeed like a conventional romance heroine. She does not immediately fall hopelessly in love with Sheretine, and she is rational enough to remain ‘at libertie’ from love’s all-consuming ‘hot desires’.<sup>29</sup> Hannay thus allows his heroine to challenge trivial and immoral feelings of mere lust, in order for her love to grow upon better acquaintance.

In spite of Hannay’s apparent contemporary popularity, *Sheretine*, like *Penardo*, has been met with scant critical attention, with the relatively small level of examination that *has* been undertaken being directed towards a Spenserian reading. Despite this, the poem has also benefited from its links to the *Mirror for Magistrates* lineage, as outlined above, in that such associations have broadened the scope for critical inquiry. A seemingly straightforward complaint narrative, however, it is not, for the subgenre of the *Mirror* complaint has been deemed just as protean in nature as the romance genre itself, leading to the pertinent conclusion that the ‘complaint comes to seem singularly amorphous even in an age that delighted in loosely defined genres’.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, Dubrow’s study of the *Mirror* subgenre establishes two key identifying characteristics, those being the ‘moral ambiguities involved in the process of persuasion...[and the] concern for the political implications of...“private pleasure”’.<sup>31</sup> Both of these tropes provide startling parallels to Hannay’s concerns in *Sheretine*, by Mariana being persuaded to marry Turian and by the implications of a masculine identity hindered by its private passions. While the poem does indeed (in genre and in some instances stylistic achievement at least) seem to emulate the Spenserian tradition, its structure of the ‘summary narrative,’ which details ‘unfortunate lives in the form of complaints by the subjects themselves, and which show the tragic and moral spirit...by means of complaining ghosts eloquent in analysis of their own ills’<sup>32</sup> places the poem firmly within this particularly English advice tradition of the *Mirror*

<sup>28</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Caput I, 36, 37, ll 6, 1-3. p 108.

<sup>29</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Caput I, 37, l 6. p 109.

<sup>30</sup> Heather Dubrow, ‘A Mirror for Complaints: Shakespeare’s *Lucrece* and Generic Tradition’ in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History and Interpretation*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (London: Harvard University Press, 1986). p 400.

<sup>31</sup> Heather Dubrow. ‘A Mirror for Complaints: Shakespeare’s *Lucrece* and Generic Tradition.’ p 402.

<sup>32</sup> William Farnham, ‘The Progeny of “A Mirror for Magistrates.”’ p 396.

lineage. Indeed, in Hannay's case such Anglo-centric readings are reached more easily than with Gordon, given that he was one of the poets who, after the succession of James VI to the English throne, frequently spent time in London with the aim of strengthening his links to the royal court. Given that he was also known to be one of Queen Anne's favoured subjects, Hannay's name was thus likely to be one more associated with the London court rather than with his Kirkdale roots, in turn positioning his poetry within the critical parameters of the English, rather than Scottish, canon. Indeed, Michael Spiller singles out the apparent Spenserian influence on Hannay's melancholic opening stanzas, in which a ghostly Mariana appears to the narrator as he sleeps,

And in her hand a goarie knife she bare:  
Downe from her breast streamed a bloody tracke;  
A sable Sarsenet was all she ware,  
    Thorow which that blood appear'd, as I on lawne,  
    Haue seene with crimson silke a currant drawne.<sup>33</sup>

Professing a need for the narrator to 'all [her] forepast fortunes know,'<sup>34</sup> Mariana leads him to a black lake, where a blood-smearred ferry awaits to passage spirits across to their final resting place. If Hannay's almost gothic description of this apocalyptic world, however, in which the 'Sunne nor Moone...neuer show their face,' a world in which 'one night, one day, one season serues the yeere',<sup>35</sup> seems to echo Spenser's hellish subterranean cave of the Red Cross Knight's travails, then it must also be said to resemble that described by Gordon in *Penardo* as well. While a superficial analysis might conclude that both Scots poets were influenced by Spenser's incarnation, such a conclusion would deny the vast range and spread of such episodes across the romance genre in general. The subterranean realms so often traversed by romance heroes can — and should — be attributed to earlier examples of classical romance, examples of which include Odysseus' travels amongst the fantastic and battles with the monsters Scylla and Charibdis amidst the sharply contrasting prolonged martial sections of the text. Hannay's gruesome imagery seems reminiscent of many possible models — such as Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* — rather than exclusively to Spenser. His apparent delight in bloody details manifests itself in his depiction of the ferryman and his vessel, which he describes as

So smeard with blood, that doubtfull it doth make,  
Or blacke or red, with goary pitched coat,

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<sup>33</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 3, ll 2-6. p 100.

<sup>34</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 4, l 4. p 100.

<sup>35</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 5, ll 1 & 4. p 100.



With twisted long blacke haire, and blew lips side,  
Lampe-burning eies, mare-browes, & nostrils wide.<sup>36</sup>

The frequent allusions to blood, and indeed the fascination with its colour, form and even smell, are not wholly dissimilar to Spenser's descriptions of the Red Crosse Knight's experiences with a half-woman, half-monster in the first book of the epic poem, which details the creature's 'cole black bloode' which 'gushed from her corse',<sup>37</sup> but can also be identified against multiple examples of contemporary romance that utilises some modes of the fantasy genre. Indeed, Mariana's barred passage is almost identical to that portrayed by Daniel in *The Complaint of Rosamond*, in which Rosamond also finds herself restricted by the ferryman to the otherworld. She laments that

... my Soule is nowe denied,  
Her transport to the sweet Elisean rest,  
The ioyfull blisse for ghosts repurified,  
Th' euer springing Gardens of the blest,  
*Caron* denies me wastage with the rest.  
And sayes my soule can neuer passe that river,  
Till Louers sighes on earthe it shall deliver.<sup>38</sup>

Mariana, in the self-same fashion as Rosamond, must detail her tragic tale before passage will be granted. The direct imitation of certain phrases; Hannay's 'churlish *Charon*'<sup>39</sup> for Daniel's '*Caron*,'<sup>40</sup> as well as several instances in which phrases overlap, suggests that Hannay's immediate model was the *Rosamond* complaint. Indeed, both heroines begin their complaint with a plea to the Muse; Rosamond laments that 'no Muse suggests the pittie of my case,' provoking her Muse to be 'mou'd with a tender care and pittie' and to concede to the task 'because her griefes were worthy to be knowne'.<sup>41</sup> Mariana, meanwhile, notes how she is 'stayd till one doe write [her] story', but is likewise redeemed by her Muse's consent to 'bid her say...to please [her] mistress, and procure her rest'.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 5, ll 3-6. p 101.

<sup>37</sup> Edmund Spenser. *The Faerie Queene*, Book I, Canto I, 24, l 9. p 47.

<sup>38</sup> Samuel Daniel, *The Complaint of Rosamond in Delia* (London: Printed by J. C. for S. Watersonne, 1592) accessed at <http://www.eebo.chadywck.com>. Stanza 2, ll 8 – 14, p 32.

<sup>39</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 8, l 4. p 101.

<sup>40</sup> Samuel Daniel. *The Complaint of Rosamond*. 2, l 11. p 32.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel Daniel. *The Complaint of Rosamond*. 4, l 1 & 9, ll 1 & 6. pp 33 – 34.

<sup>42</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 10, ll 5-6. p 102.

Given such evidence, to pigeon-hole Hannay merely as another Scotch Spenserian would, as with Gordon, provide a very limited understanding of *Sheretine* as a whole.<sup>43</sup>

*Sheretine* also seems influenced by the themes and motifs of several Continental romances. Mariana's narrative persona, for example, bears a striking resemblance to that of the Castilian romance heroine Menina, from Bernardim Ribeiro's *Menina E Moça* (1554), in which the sole narration, as in *Sheretine*, is provided by a female protagonist. Mariana and Menina are both tragic romance heroines who must chronicle their respective sufferings in order to achieve some level of peace, or forgiveness. *Menina* — as well as sharing some narrative features with *Sheretine* — is representative of the Spanish romance, and indeed an indicator of how the Scottish romance genre might easily interact with a more European style. Isabel de Sena's study of *Menina E Moça* provides a contention that is also pertinent to *Sheretine and Mariana*, commenting that

what Bernardim achieves...through the shift of male-to-female-gendered narrative, is the reconceptualization of two romance genres — the sentimental and the chivalric. In so doing he feminizes the literary father, by recasting literary authority in the image of a woman...whose power is manifest in [her] pity and sorrow, as well as in [her] (disorderly) ability to perpetuate stories.<sup>44</sup>

In *Sheretine and Mariana*, Mariana likewise traverses more so into the characteristics of the sentimental or tragic romance heroine, rather than the chivalric, allowing Hannay to depict his heroine in a far more flattering light than Gordon would in *Penardo and Laissa*, whilst at the same time contrasting her all-too-clear emotive disposition to the rational persona of *Sheretine* through a consistent distancing of the latter from the centre of the narration. By allowing Mariana the majority of control over the poem's narrative, Hannay disallows any possible distancing of the reader from her emotional state, ultimately rendering her as a character more easily associated with emotional sentiment and passion, and one on whom readers might bestow some level of sympathy as a result. This narrative choice thus achieves the opposite effect of a feminised narrative, in that, thus, the closer the reader is allowed to Mariana, the greater the scope is for excessive exposure to, and of, passion. Ultimately, the disconnectedness of *Sheretine* is what renders the romance as overwhelmingly masculine in focus, for it is emotional detachment that allows Hannay to fully realise his masculine hero as unburdened by an emotive disposition. It is Mariana whose emotions are most prominently displayed throughout, so that, while it might be easy

<sup>43</sup> For a fuller examination of the similarities between *Sheretine* and *Rosamond*, see Appendix 1.

<sup>44</sup> Isabel de Sena, 'Voices and Disguises in the Sentimental Romance: Bernardim Ribeiro's *Menina E Moça*', *The Journal for the Institute of Romance Studies* (Vol 6, 1991). p 143.

to assume the romance is a highly feminised one, the author's clear agenda against emotive irrationality suggest that the opposite might be the case in this instance.

The similarities to Henryson's *Cresseid* are in this manner multiple. Take, for example, both poems' (apparently) sympathetic narrator, an incarnation who in both cases infiltrates the text at several points in the narrative in order to rouse compassion for the heroine. *Sheretine*, of course, has two narrators; an anonymous figure to whom Mariana appears at the beginning of the poem, and Mariana herself. Who better to rouse pity for a tragic heroine than the ill-fated character herself? Indeed, *Sheretine*'s narrator (at this point, Mariana) even pauses to reflect sorrowfully on the plight of the Hungarian Queen Isabella, who, 'robbed of her state' and 'degraded of her glory',<sup>45</sup> seems to provoke the deepest empathy from the poem's fated heroine. The plight of the feminine figure — as well as a concern for the control of their excess passion — thus seems to be a greater concern for Hannay than for Gordon, and ultimately the feminine narrative of *Sheretine* paints a far more favourable picture of a heroine guilty of her own excessiveness. Such fascination with male versus female rationality and perspective, as the previous chapter has outlined, is common to both *Sheretine* and *Penardo*, but is also present in other contemporary Scottish verse. From Alexander Craig's *Amorose* narrator's despair over the inconstant Lais to John Stewart of Baldynneis' fickle Angelique in *Roland Furious*, inconstancy recurs as one of the (apparently) distinguishing characteristics of the female sex, examined by both Murray and his contemporary, Alexander Craig, who, it should be recalled, created one of Scottish poetry's most fickle feminine figures in his depiction of the whore Lais.

Enforced inconstancy also manifests itself as a tragic obstacle to Mariana and *Sheretine* in Hannay's romance, as the prolonged absence of the hero provides ample opportunity for his fellow suitor, Turian, to manoeuvre the lone Mariana into a marriage contract. While Mariana's love in fact remains steadfast, for, 'now (absent) [she] did loue [*Sheretine*] more intearly',<sup>46</sup> the determined pursuit from a figure who is ultimately deemed of higher nobility, means, and class, proves too difficult to withstand. It is at this instance in the narrative that a wholly new concept of chivalry appears, one that, in its middling class pragmatism, contrasts sharply with Gordon's concept of the relationship between love and chivalry in *Penardo and Laissa* as well as with *Sheretine*'s or Mariana's.

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<sup>45</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 21, l 3. p 104.

<sup>46</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 5, l 1. p 128.

Indeed, while in *Penardo* chivalric achievement is invoked as the ultimate goal of the masculine figure, *Sheretine* provides a startling counterpoint in the figure of Turian, whose knowing pursuit of a betrothed Mariana is excused by the notion that ‘in things difficult worth is showne/ By light atchiuements courage is not knowne’.<sup>47</sup> To invoke — and distort — the very foundation of chivalric behaviour as a rational context excusing Turian’s unlawful and immoral pursuit, Hannay inverts Gordon’s conceptualisation of true masculine nobility in that *chivalry* now acts as a foil to true holy *love*, rather than the reverse. For Hannay, then, unlike countless of his contemporaries (and Gordon in particular), chivalric concepts seem to constitute mere medieval anachronisms, even as the civic and martial duties fulfilled by *Sheretine* whilst on military tour represent a modern masculine hero. Rationality and reason, as in *Penardo*, still stand as ideal characteristics and are championed as goals to achieve throughout the poem, but for Hannay love may have more of a redeeming role than *Penardo* would allow. Indeed, Mariana and *Sheretine*’s love is depicted as truly steadfast and is deemed ‘true holy love’,<sup>48</sup> while the more chivalric Turian’s profession of the same is rendered suspect by several passages that are characterised by lust and sexual longing. Indeed, his first sight of Mariana leaves him with ‘new-bred-thoughts’ that turn

The late-sweet-quiet of his beating brains:  
 His heaving heart with bitter anguish boiling,  
 He *Loue* with his effects now entertaines:  
     He’s pensieve, musing, company absents,  
     With frequent sighes his smoldred-fire forth vents.<sup>49</sup>

Such boiling, smouldering, beating desire, while evoked in the name of love, seems overtly sexual. It is thus possible that Hannay’s text belongs to a tradition quite removed from the Scottish Christian context of Gordon, as outlined in the previous chapter, and instead can be identified as a text more myopic in its — at times — subverting nature. Turian’s actions do not appear to be malicious, and indeed Hannay does not seem intent upon pressing any such point, suggesting that Turian’s belief in his love and chivalric designs are merely misguided, at their worst. Perhaps above and beyond this, Hannay is indicating his belief that an idealised, chivalric form of love and/or behaviour is no longer valid, and Turian’s ultimate downfall would be testament to this fact.

<sup>47</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 18, ll 5-6. p 132.

<sup>48</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 77, l 6. p 118.

<sup>49</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 14, ll 2 – 6. p 131.

While the fundamental divergence on love morality significantly distances *Penardo* from *Sheretine*, the nature of the romance genre — as one that ‘poach[es] and cannibalize[s] from a hybridity of all and any available resources’<sup>50</sup> — prevents this distance from becoming definitive. There are several points of contact between the themes of both romances, though this is probably a result of the genre to which they both belong rather than evidence of some more particular cohesion within the Scottish romance canon. In *Sheretine*, for example, Mariana’s overt beauty is reminiscent of that outlined by Gordon in his descriptions of the warrior maid Laissa, and indeed the danger bred by such beauty is in both romances a point that both poets linger upon. Hannay’s stylistic assurance is illustrated by an adept ability to convey Mariana’s beauty without actually resorting to explicit description, and indeed readers are aware of her beauty only because of the reactions of those around her. However, as with the sensual Laissa, Mariana’s beauty is the chief cause of strife for herself, and even for Sheretine and Turian. The kind-hearted Mariana, despite Turian’s ill-thought-out designs and pursuit, pities his emotional turmoil as her own fault, bewailing that ‘I blame my *Beautie* ’cause it breeds his woe’, and yet, in a converse appreciation for the true love such beauty has inspired, she ‘cherish it ’cause Sheretine would so’.<sup>51</sup> Feminine beauty, as in *Penardo*, can be deemed dangerous, but for Hannay, beauty, like love, has its redeeming features. Ultimately, the sympathy with which Hannay treats his heroine sets her apart from other romance heroines such as Laissa and Rosamond. Mariana represents a tragic rather than solely didactic figure.

As the romance progresses, and Turian’s capable persuasion of Mariana’s friends and family leads to their ill-fated marriage, she becomes a figure reminiscent of the Greek tragic heroines. As a passive character amidst the greater motions of the text — for indeed, she is the *storyteller*, rather than the chief originator of action — Mariana represents the kind of heroine that Frye classified as belonging to the aforementioned Greek tradition, noting that

women in Greek tragedy are more frequently victims than agents of a tragic situation, and hence they intensify the tragic mood rather than the tragic action.<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, Mariana’s beauty, while a chief cause of the romance’s tragic outcome, does not necessarily actively motivate the events of the poem. It is Sheretine’s absence, and

<sup>50</sup> Geraldine Heng. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. p 9.

<sup>51</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 27, ll 5 – 6. p 134.

<sup>52</sup> Northrop Frye. *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*. p 70.

Turian's pursuit, which provide the real cogs of the action. Certainly, Mariana is rendered all the more tragic in that Hannay seems to present her as something akin to the pinnacle of holy love and rationality. Examples of her chaste, Christian behaviour and virtuous nature are peppered throughout the poem, and she is careful to subject even the noble Sheretine to close examination before deeming him principled enough to marry. She ensures, for example, that his feelings are as honourable as her own, in so far as to establish whether such feelings lead ultimately to matrimony. Indeed, fearing that Sheretine does not necessarily love her, but rather simply lusts after her beauty, she questions his intentions, provoking him to reply that

speech...of flatterie commeth not,  
 Loue brings it from the oracle of truth:  
 I cannot flatter I, nor faine God wot,  
 Nor doth it ned where beautie hath such growth:  
     With cunning I would not compassion moue,  
     Nor trie my wit with an imagin'd-loue.

...

Then shall you see character'd on my heart  
 True holy loue, not flatterie nor art.<sup>53</sup>

For her response, Mariana's allusion to 'intelligence' in love serves to further supplement the notion that these two lovers have carefully considered their emotions before acting. Once both have (most thoroughly) confirmed their love for one another, Hannay indulges in a small pseudo-religious ceremony to affirm their relationship. While the sequence is short, it undoubtedly echoes that of a marriage ceremony:

No more we then on ceremonie stand,  
 Each vnto other firmly plighteth troth,  
 In signe whereof I tooke his, gaue my hand,  
 Cal'd God to witnesse with religious oath:  
     He vnto me vow'd a ne're-bating-loue,  
     I vow'd my fancie nere should other proue.<sup>54</sup>

Such a 'binding' as utilised by Hannay lends further credence to the notion that his lovers share a 'holy' love, or, as Reid terms it, 'married friendship,' a love that leads to marriage, but is not driven by lust alone. Mariana's exemplary behaviour throughout the couple's courtship, and the end to which she determines their love (as a virtuous one) make her downfall all the more pitiable. It is fate, rather than her own caprice, that causes her

<sup>53</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 76, 77, ll 1-6, 5-6. pp 118-9.

<sup>54</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 88, ll 1-6. p 121.

subsequent downfall. This estimation of ill-fate links the poem once more to Daniel's *Rosamond*, as well as more closely to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1591 – 95), and, perhaps more significantly, *The Rape of Lucrece*. While Mariana is not subjected to the same physical rape that Shakespeare's Lucrece is the victim of, the forceful manner in which her free will is gradually taken from her by both her suitor, Turian, and her own family, indicates both Hannay's profound concern regarding the abuse of power (which is in this case predominantly parental) and his belief that Mariana's enforced loss of free will is in itself an implicit form of rape. Other similarities present themselves in Hannay's use of figurative imagery, for while the heroine declares that at her 'wretch'd birth appear'd no ominous starre/ which might [her] future misery diuine',<sup>55</sup> Sheretine's later departure is deemed a product of Destiny and Fortune, while later still Mariana foretells how 'the Fates with Fortune doe conspire/ to crosse the kinde intendements of Loue'.<sup>56</sup> Such a technique seems to echo that employed by Shakespeare, whose *Romeo and Juliet*

provides numerous speeches of ominous anticipation and clarifying recollection, numerous dramatic ironies, and a range of current leit-motifs, or imageries — particularly the recurrent imagery of light against darkness. One paradox of the plot is the prominence of both accidentality and destiny (Romeo and Juliet are 'star-crossed lovers'). The paradox is crystallised in the recurrent term 'Fortune'.<sup>57</sup>

While 'Fortune' may be indicative of the medieval fascination still current in romance, the phenomenon is never allegorised in *Sheretine*, nor referenced as the fickle turnings of the goddess' wheel, as medieval models would have suggested. Hannay's ironic assertion that Mariana's birth was of little consequence to the fates, followed by an extensive embedding of light and dark imagery,<sup>58</sup> suggests that his conception of Fortune is very much rooted in the same ideal employed by both Shakespeare and Daniel. Indeed, Daniel juxtaposes the fates and the binary opposition of light and darkness as Rosamond reflects on the small period of time in which 'the sunn-shine of [her] fortune lasted',<sup>59</sup> which is sharply contrasted by the dark horror of the 'infernall deepes'<sup>60</sup> to which her ghost is relegated at the beginning of the poem. Hannay also defines a clear polarisation of the two states, noting how, at the beginning of the poem in Mariana's hellish purgatory, the 'Sunne nor

<sup>55</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 12, ll 1-2. p 102.

<sup>56</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 6, ll 1-2. p 129.

<sup>57</sup> William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* ed. Cedric Watts (London: Wordsworth, 2000). 'Introduction', pp 10 -11.

<sup>58</sup> See *Sheretine*. Canto I, 5, 16 & 17.

<sup>59</sup> Samuel Daniel. *The Complaint of Rosamond*. 11, l 1.

Moone there neuer show their face', while during her glorious youth she is 'like as the rising Sunne'.<sup>61</sup> However, the ominous reminder of the 'aduerse fortunes raging'<sup>62</sup> serves as a dark precursor to the events of the poem, the reader of course patently aware that Mariana's tale must end in tragedy, having met her in spirit form at the beginning of the romance. Such processes serve to establish Mariana as a tragic heroine from the poem's outset, but Hannay employs other key romance tropes in order to manoeuvre his heroine into this position. One such example is to render Mariana as the 'abandoned woman,' a figure popularised in earlier texts by Petrarch and Tasso, and of course Ovid's *Heroides*. Indeed, the abandoned woman

is a figure with its own important history, a source of literary authority on which male and female authors have drawn in a wide range of contexts; 'it may be,' Lawrence Lipking is willing to venture, "that the abandoned woman is also the archetypal poet".<sup>63</sup>

Mariana certainly shares some similarities with Petrarch's *Stampa*, to which Braden's above quote refers. Both heroines are abandoned, and indeed for both women constancy — or indeed the seeming opposite of such — is a matter of great strife. However, *Stampa*'s plight causes her to reflect that love is 'somehow both her general and her enemy',<sup>64</sup> while Mariana's submission to love is complete. She is the willing prisoner to her emotions, and at no point in her mourning does she express any regret over her love for Sheretine, but only over Turian's love. Mariana's faith in her own love, and indeed in Sheretine, remains steadfast. She is not in any manner accountable for the inconstancy that Sheretine believes her to be guilty of, and indeed, is only truly guilty of behaving dutifully when her parents intervene on Turian's behalf:

All would not doe, my father so austere  
 Commands, and must not will not be denai'd.  
 My mother and my kinsman will not heare;  
 Turian still vrgeth, they must be obai'd:  
     O heauen beare witnesse, since you force me to do it,  
     (Say I) my heart doth not consent vnto it.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Samuel Daniel. *The Complaint of Rosamond*. 1, l 1.

<sup>61</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 4, l 1 & 14, l 1. pp 100 & 103.

<sup>62</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 14, l 6. p 103.

<sup>63</sup> Gordon Braden, *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). pp 125-126.

<sup>64</sup> Gordon Braden. *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance*. p 128.

<sup>65</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 49, ll 1-6. p 139.



She invokes this familial duty as well as a concern for her chastity as the reasoning behind her eventual assent, establishing her as an example of a truly virtuous heroine. Fortune is once more invoked as the catalyst for these events, but Hannay also concedes another nod to a fundamentally Christian idea: the act of free will. The prolonged verbal attacks from her parents, as well as a cruel reminder of how Sheretine has left her, culminate in an accusation of disobedience, against which Mariana must fully assert her will and opinion. She rationally points out the unlawfulness of a marriage to Turian, given the fact that she has already promised herself to Sheretine. Indeed, she points out that such unlawfulness is a 'foule offence,' asserting that 'to disobey here, is obedience'.<sup>66</sup> Her startlingly rational and acute observation sets her apart as the most judicious figure amongst her family and friends, and echoes the level of intellectual assurance that the young Emily also embodied in the earlier Scottish drama *Philotus* (1603). Indeed, the short summary of the play provided by Andro Hart's 1612 edition indicates several points of contact between the two tales. *Philotus* details the travails of Emily, who, having inadvertently trapped the attentions of a much older, wealthy man, is pursued with a voracious enthusiasm. Emily, like Mariana, and perhaps in spite of her young age, is the most intellectual and rational character within the narrative. The great wealth of *Philotus*, just as Turian's better means appeal to Mariana's 'Eua-like'<sup>67</sup> mother, is of course a great source of desire to Emily's family. *Philotus*' pursuit being in vain, he 'dealeth with [Emily's] father Alberto, who being blinded by the man's wealth, useth first faire words and thereafter threatnings to perswade her thereto'.<sup>68</sup> The curiously sympathetic depiction of Mariana thus seems to be a product of the many diverse models from which Hannay is likely to have sourced his poem. While the poem is most explicitly a form of complaint narrative, the heroine is provided layers of complexity by the allusions to Greek tragedy, medieval Fortune, and to various heroines from whom Hannay could extract suitable characteristics. Unlike Gordon's Laissa, Mariana is consistently depicted as rational and virtuous, suggesting that for Hannay she represented the prime example of a modern romance heroine, that is, a heroine in whom Hannay could successfully depict the correct manner in which to love, but whose subjection to the same would render her ultimately as a tragic figure.

As the above chapter has attempted to outline, *Sheretine and Mariana* is a text primarily engaged with its own moral discourse — in particular the way in which sensual,

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<sup>66</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 42, l 6. p 138.

<sup>67</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto II, 31, l 1. p 135.

<sup>68</sup> Anon. (c.1603) *Philotus*. 'Introduction', in M. P. McDiarmid. 'Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance', *Journal of Modern Language Studies* (Vol. 3, 1967). pp 223 -235. p 224.

unholy love leads ultimately to death, yet rational love, too, is subject to civic pressure — rather than any attempt at personal acclaim or patronage on Hannay's part. Hannay deftly draws together the contingent parts of the complaint narrative, the romance, and the civic sub-genre of soldier poetry in order to depict what he terms a 'true holy loue'<sup>69</sup> that exists in harmony with civic duty. He provides a prime example of how romance might transcend genre boundaries in order to provide a model of moral exemplariness, but also how such practice might ultimately distance the text from more conventional national canons. The vast array of textual matter from which Hannay draws his inspirations, while handled with considerable assurance, prevents *Sheretine* from sitting comfortably alongside other examples of Scottish poetic didacticism, as well as from resembling other examples of contemporary romance. The particularly Scottish religious bias against sublimating love, for example, imposes a striking distance between *Sheretine and Mariana* and the more amatory accents of other contemporary romances. The rise in increasingly popular French romances in the *Les Amours* tradition,<sup>70</sup> for example, which displayed the self-same level of didacticism that the Scottish romances favoured, were nevertheless deemed sentimental romance novels in which love was celebrated, and never lambasted.

### ***Calanthrop and Lucilla***

To depart from Gordon's epic chivalric *topoi* and Hannay's civically oriented martial stylings, one next comes to John Kennedy's *Calanthrop and Lucilla* (1626), a romance so metafictional that it both deviates, and borrows, from both *Penardo* and *Sheretine*, amongst a vast array of other texts, in such a wild manner that it is a strikingly pertinent example of how clumsy hybrid writing can prove to be.

In the dedicatory preface to his readers for his 1626 romance, *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, John Kennedy makes an apology for the poem's lack of 'ornate or elegant phrase', with further warning that the romance is not 'of an Heroike stile'.<sup>71</sup> The fact that the poem does not possess such apparently desirable qualities, he concludes, denotes that it is 'therefore not answerable to thy expectation'.<sup>72</sup> The assumption that romance and an aureate, heroic style should be inherently linked suggests that Kennedy's knowledge of the

<sup>69</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 77, l 6. p 118.

<sup>70</sup> For examples see Antoine de Nervèze (1611) *Les Amours diverses: Divesees en dix histoires*. Paris, Nicolas des Escuteaux (1617) *Le Ravissement de Clarinde*. Rouen.

<sup>71</sup> John Kennedy, 'Dedicatorie' in *The History of Calanthrop and Lucilla* (Edinburgh: Wreiton, 1626). p iii.

<sup>72</sup> John Kennedy. 'Dedicatorie'. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. p iii.

genre is based upon earlier, perhaps even medieval, romances. Indeed, had he been familiar with Hannay's *Sheretine*, in which civic responsibility takes precedence over heroic chivalry, his surmising of his own romance may have been more favourable. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*, while attempting to self-consciously assert its more domestic, pastoral style, is in its second half a romance thoroughly immersed in chivalric fantasia and idealised heroism, indicating Kennedy's (somewhat clumsy) attempt for hybridity. Published only four years after Hannay's *Sheretine and Mariana*, this romance — while in some aspects an inferior example of romance than either *Penardo* or *Sheretine* — provides useful evidence to suggest that Scottish romance writers were not operating under the guise of a cohesive or indeed consciously uniform genre tradition. The divergent intentions of all three romances indicate that idiosyncrasy, rather than uniformity, characterised the Scottish romance 'tradition' of the seventeenth century.

*Calanthrop* diversifies its romance origins with a series of interspersed ditties, songs and interpolated tales written in a different metre from the main body of text, which results in an almost wild stylistic register. In his dedication to Sir Donald Mackay, Kennedy admits as much: the romance is his first attempt at poetry, referring to it as 'the first perspicuous invention of my stirile brain',<sup>73</sup> which is perhaps explanation enough for the text's unfettered ambition, which, although attempted with vigour and flair, falls somewhat short of a seasoned romance reader's expectations. Whereas the romance criterion of his contemporaries' might suggest it is precisely this disparity that characterises the genre in Scottish examples, romancers such as Gordon and Hannay possessed the ability to fuse the many tropes of the genre with fluidity, while Kennedy's attempts are encumbered by an almost too-conscious melding together of different styles. While Kennedy has offered the information that the romance is not 'in Heroike stile', his chief fault seems to be his inability to create a sense of creative fusion, or to at least assuredly draw together a contingency of genres and motifs with the same flair as his contemporary romancers. While Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa* was by no means an example of high allegorical design, his reliable preservation of a chivalric style maintained a sense of purpose and stylistic assurance throughout, and indeed Hannay's *Sheretine* proved even more capable in creating a civic romance style. Kennedy's romance is not entirely without merit, however, and represents a different attempt to create a romance style in that Kennedy's method is invariably less structured, and *Calanthrop* is characterised instead by an array of part-domestic, part-pirate, part-pastoral leanings,

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<sup>73</sup> John Kennedy, dedication to Sir Donald Mackay. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. p. i.

establishing it ultimately as a prime example of the romance genre's striking intertextual quality. The recurrence of narrative micro-fictions, for example, might align *Calanthrop* with a more novelistic style of writing (and possibly even with the kind of self-reflexive parody that characterised *Don Quixote*), and indeed Kennedie's romance anticipates the techniques of the early novel in several instances. His adoption of varied narrative registers and a particular focus on individual character development recall the novel's 'fundamental need, beyond storytelling, to quest for itself, to be engaged on a fundamental and ontological level in search of its own metafiction'.<sup>74</sup>

Kennedie's conscious interpolation of varied stylistic forums, the chief cause of the poem's persistent idiosyncrasy, might thus be viewed as an anticipation of Scott's 'encyclopaedic, restless, experimental energy',<sup>75</sup> which, alongside Urquhart, is not unlike that of Rabelais and his conscious attempt for hybridity. Such ambitious narrative designs, not quite fully realised by an inexperienced author but perhaps found later by Scottish novelists instead, have relegated Kennedie's romance to the furthest peripheries of Scottish romance criticism, for indeed such fragmentation 'poses a threat... fragments belong to periods of dissolution'.<sup>76</sup>

Above all else, *Calanthrop and Lucilla* provides a perplexing example of the mutability of seventeenth-century Scottish romance, and as such should be examined in any thorough study of romance of this period. Indeed, the importance of the poem should not be underestimated in its contemporary terms, given that it was re-printed in London under the new title *The Ladies' Delight* (1631), which in itself is a sure sign that — at least in early seventeenth-century Britain, if not today — this romance enjoyed some critical appreciation. Although scant information is available regarding Kennedie himself, it is apparent that he enjoyed neither the level of fame nor the courtly and noble connections that both Gordon and Hannay did, but was instead better connected with military elites. *Calanthrop*, for example, is dedicated to Sir Donald Mackay, First Lord Reay of Stranever, though there can be no doubt from Kennedie's tentative tone that his acquaintance with this particular member of the nobility is tenuous at best, and he indeed 'seeks to mitigate

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<sup>74</sup> Caroline A. Jewers, *Chivalric Fiction and the History of the Novel* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000). 'Preface,' p xii.

<sup>75</sup> John Corbett - personal enquiry.

<sup>76</sup> U.C. Knoepfelmacher, 'Hybrid Forms and Cultural Anxiety', *Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900*. 'Editor's Preface', p 745.

his audacity with allusions to his addressee's learning, virtue, and generosity, and to the poet's own "dutie-bound obligation".<sup>77</sup>

While Mackay himself was linked to George Gordon,<sup>78</sup> first Marquis of Huntly and the father of Patrick Gordon's patron for *Penardo and Laissa*, there is no evidence to suggest that such a link in turn signifies a relationship between Patrick Gordon and John Kennedie. Their acquaintance appears to be simple coincidence, and there is no suggestion that either poet would have been familiar to one another through such patronages. Beyond this, there are no records to indicate either Kennedie's birth or death dates, and, although a 'Master John Kennedie' did graduate from Edinburgh University in 1620,<sup>79</sup> the last concrete evidence of his existence being the publication in 1629, again in Edinburgh, of *A theological epitome or divine compend, apparently manifesting Gods great love and mercie towards man*. His second publication signalled a striking departure from the more trivial pursuits of *Calanthrop*, and is characterised by a dry stoicism quite unlike the flippant jolliness he deployed for his romance.

Seemingly anxious that *Calanthrop* — largely devoid of consistent moral sentiment — would only invite associations of titillating frivolity to their names, the authors of the dedications preceding the poem are accordingly eager to foreground the romance's alleged foundation in Christian morality. Patrick Mackenzie writes of the 'wise precepts and instructions for thy minde'<sup>80</sup> to be sought within the work, while Walter Bellenden's Latin dedication makes explicit allusion to '*describit amores*'.<sup>81</sup> Mackenzie's further allusion to 'chaste modest loue' is a sentiment not dissimilar to Patrick Hannay's treatise on 'true holy loue'.<sup>82</sup> These allusions, however, are provided by Kennedie's fellow poets, rather than divulged from the poem itself, and Kennedie certainly makes no clear attempt to foreground the theme throughout the romance. He does instead try his hand at a range of registers, some successful, others not so, but is primarily concerned with a more

<sup>77</sup> Thomas Seccombe, 'Kennedy, John (fl. 1626 – 1629), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15378?docPos=4>, accessed 25/06/09.]

<sup>78</sup> Both Gordon and Mackay were given a 'commission of fire and sword' against Cameron of Lochiel. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/articles/17/17556-article.html?back> accessed 20/06/09.

<sup>79</sup> See Thomas Seccombe, 'Kennedy, John (fl. 1626 – 1629), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15378?docPos=4>, accessed 25/06/09]

<sup>80</sup> Patrick Mackenzie (1626) Dedication to John Kennedie in *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. p v.

<sup>81</sup> Walter Bellenden (1626) Dedication to John Kennedie in *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. p iv.

<sup>82</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 77, l 6. p 119.

idiosyncratic, psychology-based approach to romance that has provoked some critics<sup>83</sup> to select the romance genre as the precursor to the early novel, that, while also evident in some medieval texts (including — in particular, perhaps — romances) becomes more prominent in the early to mid-seventeenth century.

The poem opens in a typically idyllic fashion, introducing the hero Calanthrop in a tranquil *locus amoenus* that the seasoned romance reader expects to be interrupted, perhaps by a dream vision, perhaps by the appearance of a Muse. He is indeed interrupted from his casual raptures, though by a troupe of beautiful young women who immediately render the hero Calanthrop fearful, as his ‘anxious thoughts import a tim’rous minde/ Himselfe he shrouds an Ivie-bush behinde’.<sup>84</sup> The cognitive expression of fear for the power of female sensuality establishes Kennedie’s concern, similarly to Gordon’s and Hannay’s, for the masculine subjection to the feminine form. Further to this, he does appear to make some attempt to render the damsels suspicious (for example, his oblique reference to ‘nymphs’ and their apparent ‘trickes’)<sup>85</sup> but readers may retain some suspicion for Calanthrop’s secreted gaze. As the women disrobe to enter the fountain, the romance hero, in a distinctly unchaste and non-virtuous habit, ‘doth with small content espye’<sup>86</sup> their naked bodies. The scene echoes one from several diverse models, and while in *Penardo and Laissa* there is a not dissimilar episode in which Prince Phelarnon inadvertently stumbles upon his own bathing sister, Laissa, the similarities are probably too tenuous to make claim for Kennedie’s knowledge of the preceding text. Indeed, given that the scene makes explicit reference to Greek mythology, it seems likely that Kennedie’s model was in fact myth-based rather than romance.

While an increasingly uneasy Calanthrop soon laments his choice, for he must ‘an *Acteon* prove’,<sup>87</sup> he nevertheless continues to gaze upon the women, who are by this point bathing nude. He likens the naked women to the mythological Diana and determines that he must ‘with his sword...rob...himselpe of life’<sup>88</sup> in penance for his crime. The intention in itself allows the flawed hero some level of redemption, though of course he never

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<sup>83</sup> See Margaret Anne Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996). See also Caroline A. Jewers, *Chivalric Fiction and the History of the Novel* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

<sup>84</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 18, ll 5 – 6.

<sup>85</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 19.1, 6.

<sup>86</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 19.6.

<sup>87</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 21.1.

<sup>88</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 23.5-6.

commits the required suicide. As the maids progress onto new enterprises, Calanthrop appears to feel their now fully clothed state is justification enough for him to live instead. Kennedie meanwhile maintains the notion it is the maids, rather than Calanthrop, who have sinned, referring to them alternately as an incarnation of *Megara*, the ill-fated first wife of Hercules, and as ‘well-fac’d furies’.<sup>89</sup> Calanthrop laments that they have rendered him much ‘dismaid’ and have left him in a ‘miserable state’,<sup>90</sup> suggesting that while his actions are questionable, he is conscious of his own ill-doing, and possesses enough self-awareness to feel shame for his unenviable position. This somewhat dichotic representation of the hero (as one who gazes on what he should not, but who also expresses guilt over such behaviour) illustrates the level of ambiguity that Kennedie seems to consciously insert into the narrative, in his attempt to psychologise the romance on a more private, individual level. By ascribing to his hero a greater degree of flaws than other examples of romance archetypes (Gordon’s unfailingly chaste Penardo being one antithetical example), Kennedie attempts to create in Calanthrop a generally realistic protagonist whose intellectual consciousness marks a complex, idiosyncratic mode of characterisation.

Kennedie then briefly departs from the ABABCC stanza form that shapes the bulk of the narrative, interpolating a ‘dittie of a maid,’ which, while seemingly unnecessary, is a small stroke of genius on his part in which to formally introduce the romance heroine. Calanthrop’s misdemeanour now quite forgotten, Kennedie legitimises his heroine through a brief series of comparisons to the most infamous fictional heroines. While he methodically examines the flaws of such heroines — both Venus and Helen of Troy, while enjoying fame, he claims, were marred by a ‘stain’ and a ‘spot’ — he asserts Lucilla’s superior talents as the lack of any ‘inchast spot [upon] her face’.<sup>91</sup> Kennedie further legitimises Lucilla with a second series of comparisons in which his female protagonist appears to reign as supreme romance heroine, for she is, he argues,

*A Iuno lacking iealousie  
A Venus stainlesse faire  
A Dian without crueltie  
For wit a Pallas rare.*<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> John Kennedy. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 25.1 & 28.1.

<sup>90</sup> John Kennedy. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 26.1 & 23.5.

<sup>91</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, ‘Dittie of a Maid’, 26, 27 & 30.

<sup>92</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, ‘Dittie of a Maid,’ 49-54.

These heroines are plumbed, however, not from conventional romance but from Classical tales and ideology. His choice provides further example of the excessively intertextual, cross-genre register in which he aims to operate. Further to this, the significant reference to the goddess Diana — the goddess, who, having caught the guilty Acteon spying upon her bathing place, turns him into a stag and sets his own hounds upon him — seems to suggest that it is Lucilla's esteem and mercy that ultimately justifies Calanthrop's continued existence. *Calanthrop* thus seems to provide the first example in this study of a romance in which the heroine, rather than the hero, is the most virtuous and rational creature.

The romance progresses in relatively un-sensational circumstances, and indeed the first half of the text is distinctly more domestic and pastoral in both tone and theme than either *Penardo* or *Sheretine*. Kennedie disposes of the epic romance's propensity for allegory and archetype (at least initially, preceding the lovers' union), with Calanthrop's greatest dangers instead presented in the form of mischievous pirates and a particularly troublesome bear. *Calanthrop* is ultimately presented as more of a naïve fairy tale with an adventurous twist, than an epic romance, despite some attempt at the latter in the second half of the poem.

Indeed, having established the romance heroine as incomparably beautiful and virtuous, the poem moves swiftly from idyllic woodland to a relatively innocuous sea-side *parley* between the now lovelorn Calanthrop and Lucilla's loyal servants. Desperate not to be separated from Lucilla, the romance hero is depicted in a manner analogous to a medieval courtly lover — a slave to his passions — or simply the kind of hero found in popular romance, rather than the example of rational masculinity that had been so championed by Gordon and Hannay. Evidence of this fundamental divergence arises when Calanthrop is presented with letters from his own kingdom seeking his speedy return, but his consequent disregard of his friends' pleas to hasten home in favour of remaining in the company of 'faire Lucilla' serves to demonstrate how completely his heart was lent 'Elsewhere: for his affections all were plac't'<sup>93</sup> in matters of love, as well as how his duty to the *publicke weal* has been severely diminished in the face of said passions. Given that it is later revealed that Calanthrop is in fact a prince, and that his country is under military threat, Kennedie's stance seems to suggest that in his romance, it is love that supersedes all other obligations. While Gordon would have Penardo fulfil his obligations in the battle with the Achaians before rescuing Laissa, and Hannay would depict the resolute Sheretine

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<sup>93</sup> John Kennedy. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 74, ll 3-4.



leaving a lovelorn Mariana behind in aid of his military obligations, Kennedie's priority is to establish Calanthrop's absolute subservience to love.

The pursuit of masculinity and honour, while hinted at by Kennedie's contemporaries in their prefaces to the romance, is not a theme that Kennedie himself seems overly concerned with. Calanthrop's increasing abandonment of self to love further establishes him as a courtly lover, rather than a chivalric one. Indeed, as he anxiously awaits passage to Lucilla's ship he is plagued by 'strange cogitations' and 'a thousand wayes is vext',<sup>94</sup> with his very physical reaction to such emotions echoing the various palpitations of many a medieval courtly lover. As if suddenly conscious of this, and of his hero's seeming lack in masculine honour, Kennedie attempts to reassert Calanthrop's masculinity in a display of courageous zeal, as he promises Lucilla that 'in your defense, command so when you list/ I'le hazard life, and if I dye, I'me blest'.<sup>95</sup> Lucilla, however, remains quite unaffected by the intense passions which seem to have consumed Calanthrop. While listening 'attentively' to his request for passage and offers of eternal servitude, she nevertheless remains rational and emotionally detached, for 'she as yet ne're felt the force of love'.<sup>96</sup> While her shrewd reactions may seem familiar in comparison to Mariana's similarly judicious nature in *Sheretine and Mariana*, Kennedie's motives do not appear to be driven by the same pressing desire for rationale over sexual and/or emotive passion. His reasoning behind her reluctance seems instead to be borne from a concern that his heroine may appear impetuous, or, even worse, promiscuous. All that decorum requires, he seems to contend, is some level of restraint, and any concern for Lucilla's rationale is probably only a significant by-product of this. Indeed, her brief show of detached resilience is immediately followed by her polite acquiescence. The sudden departure from a position of polite indifference to (perhaps) a burgeoning desire is explained in the lexis of key seventeenth-century sexual politics, as she states: 'since you're a stranger, then in charitie/ We should you aid, if we may lawfully'.<sup>97</sup> Her invocation of terms of law and charity provide explicit reference to the 'lefull' love that found such favour and popularity in sixteenth and seventeenth-century romances. Kennedie's conscious use of such terms serves to establish his conception of what will develop into a lawful form of love, just as Hannay had championed 'true holy loue'<sup>98</sup> in

<sup>94</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 70, ll 1-2.

<sup>95</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 75, ll 5-6.

<sup>96</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 79, ll 1 & 6.

<sup>97</sup> John Kennedie. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. Canto I, 84, ll 5-6.

<sup>98</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 77, l 6.

*Sheretine and Mariana*. Such 'lefull' love serves as the antithesis to lust and sensuality, and Lucilla's reference to such suggests the burgeoning of her own loving desires for Calanthrop.

Whereas Gordon's *Penardo* and Hannay's *Sheretine* occupied different didactic spaces — Penardo the masculine chivalric and *Sheretine* the martial civic — Kennedy's romance might be identified as one similar to the medieval fashion for *speculum principis*. This chapter has already outlined how *Sheretine* might sit comfortably alongside an English middle class tradition established by Baldwin's *Mirror for Magistrates*, but *Calanthrop*, on the other hand, occupies a wholly different space of a princely model. After the lovers' union in the second half of the romance, Kennedy allows for an extensive narrative section of how the two might rule successfully, and indeed this portion of the romance is characterised by a renewed vigour for advisory content. Having triumphantly gained the love of Lucilla, Calanthrop can now engage in a series of political and martial affairs (in a curious inversion of Gordon's as well as Hannay's conception of the precedence of masculine duty over love) and the narrative here is peppered with model speeches hoping to serve an exemplary purpose. Upon Calanthrop's victory over a chimera, for example, the corpse metamorphoses into a scroll in which explicit references to princely rule establish this development as a *speculum principis* set-piece. The desire to transform the second half of *Calanthrop and Lucilla* into something resembling an epic romance is bolstered by the weightier allegorical designs of royal politics, and indeed the chimera's scroll provides a prime example of a fallen monarch, the 'wretched Anxifer'.<sup>99</sup> Kennedy's wish to provide an exemplary model of rulership is explicitly clear from his references to the fallen king,

whose Lyons crest resembles crueltye,  
And cause in lust (not love) he ever burnd,  
His Goat-like bodie imports lecherie,  
His Dragons tayle doth evidently show  
Vnlawfull actions oft in end bring woe.

Therefore let his example teach each one  
In Rulers places, who conspicuous sit.<sup>100</sup>

While Kennedy's attempts to advise were perhaps less nuanced than his peers', the sentiment serves to pull the common thread of moral acuity across each of the romances,

<sup>99</sup> John Kennedy. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. 540, l 1.

<sup>100</sup> John Kennedy. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. 541, ll 2-6 & 542 ll 1-2.

and is indicative of the genre's desire to interpolate more pressing moral material upon their seemingly trivial romance foundations.

Despite a somewhat uncertain ability to invoke the many tropes of the romance genre harmoniously, Kennedie's technique and choices serve to illustrate the extent to which all three Scottish seventeenth-century romances diverged from one another. *Calanthrop and Lucilla* embodies two distinct 'types' of romance: in the first half it sits firmly within an older romance tradition in which a courtly lover, ruled entirely by his own passions, pursues his lover with the utmost respect for her nobility. The second half of the romance, that is, that which succeeds the lovers' union, makes a foray into more epic styling with a series of martial battles. The fact that the text is divided into two parts in itself is an example of classical romance style, indicating that Kennedie's agenda lies in creating a particularly classical ideal of romance. While the rigid social and courtly rules that seem to regulate the events of *Calanthrop's* first canto establish it as a more medieval style of romance, it does not belong exclusively to the epic or chivalric tradition that was so favoured by medieval romancers.

Certainly, the text continues throughout the first canto in much the same popular fashion it began with, the action moving from a subsequent bear fight to Lucilla's royal court, where Calanthrop is able to further pursue his heroine. Any further chivalric dealings beyond the distinctly bucolic bear problem are limited until after the lovers' joining together in the second part, with Kennedie instead devoting the bulk of the narrative to Calanthrop's emotive disposition and gradual courting of Lucilla. The focus is clearly a more psychological one than Gordon's in *Penardo and Laissa*, with emotional turmoil superseding any attempt at chivalric valour as the main focus of Kennedie's concern. Kennedie's designs thus seem to indicate a concern for the individual psyche and behavioural autonomy, rather than the commonweal effect of fulfilled chivalric duty. Indeed, the text is peppered with stanzas devoted entirely to Calanthrop's emotional turmoil, and, in another example of Kennedie's swift change of registers, he allows Calanthrop's expression of grief to be more fully examined in a separate 'threnodie', in which he laments that

Yet I tormented by a deepe disease,  
In night find neither rest, nor yet reliefe,  
Pale-fac't disdain is cause of all my grieffe,  
My frowning Fate I no way can appease,  
Fortune (aye me) hath made me, to be briefe,  
A gazing-stock of discontented woe,

And still decrees I shall continue so,  
Till death exhale my breath by lawless greife.<sup>101</sup>

While Calanthrop's distressed ruminations are hardly uncommon to romance, the manner in which they are related is relatively diverse. The inclusion of the 'threnodie' provides Calanthrop with a first-person narrative mouthpiece seldom utilised in the romance genre, which by and large tends to favour allegorical speculations on an omniscient, and indeed far grander, scale.<sup>102</sup> Such levels of characterisation might then set *Calanthrop and Lucilla* even further apart from other examples of seventeenth-century Scottish romance, and while such passionate depictions of the romance hero may have been better dealt with by the superior wits of either Hannay, Spenser, or even Gordon — who could have developed Calanthrop in the mould of the exemplary irrational lover each had so vehemently educated against, the kind of figure who could rival Ariosto's Orlando for sheer sublimation of his passions — Kennedie does succeed in surpassing these contemporary Scottish poets' skills of keen characterisation.

Ultimately, while *Calanthrop* can be reductive in its frivolity, it is not the kind of romance that 'instead of demonstrating good examples...[prefers] titillating erotica'.<sup>103</sup> Kennedie's attempt to provide moral example is arguably an ambition not quite fulfilled. There is the further possibility, of course, that this apparent failure to provide sustained moral exemplum is instead a symptom of the fact that Kennedie's romance, which is by and large popular in style, only utilised a moral dimension in the first instance as a veneer in which to package an otherwise frivolous romance. Perhaps because of this very uncertainty, and indeed its at times wild register, *Calanthrop and Lucilla's* position within the Scottish canon is one even more tenuous than either Gordon's *Penardo* or Hannay's *Sheretine*. One would be hard pressed to find mention of it in any past romance studies, and, even less surprisingly, no modern edition of Kennedie's text exists. It is on the whole a curious text, one that swiftly (and — occasionally — not without some stylistic achievement) alters its poetic register to render it a highly perplexing example of the romance genre. Given that the poem was re-printed shortly after its first publication run, it seems fair to conclude that *Calanthrop and Lucilla* was ultimately the kind of popular romance that throughout the seventeenth century would transform into the mass-consumed popular press of chapbooks and novellas. If Kennedie's motives were merely to entertain,

<sup>101</sup> John Kennedy. *Calanthrop and Lucilla*. 'Calanthrop His Threnodie'. ll 13-20.

<sup>102</sup> See Sir David Lyndsay's *The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum* or Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* for examples of more universal allegorising.

<sup>103</sup> Katharine Wilson. *Fictions of Authorship in Late Elizabethan Narratives*. p 12.

then he was undoubtedly somewhat successful, though any attempt at didactics appears to have been either relatively less successful than his peers', or a half-hearted attempt that a popular romancer arguably was not overly concerned with maintaining. What this romance undoubtedly provides, however, is a nascent example of the striking disparity with which the romance genre makes its mark, and which further prevents the poem from being aligned with either the English or Scottish canons. It is a prime example of how the 'conflictual convergence' more commonly referred to as hybridization can

carry two antithetical meanings, "contrafusion and disjunction...as well as fusion and assimilation"...[for] never synthetic in the sense of homogenizing, hybridity is a fusion and a disjunction, a conjoining of differences that cannot simply harmonize.<sup>104</sup>

Kennedie's fusion of stylistic registers, of two distinct audiences — aristocratic and popular, or, high and low — as well as an array of romance tropes, while proving a swift and cheerful read, certainly does not serve to harmonise the romance on an individual or collective scale, and indeed *Calanthrop and Lucilla* is ultimately an entirely separate creature from either *Penardo and Laissa* or *Sheretine and Mariana*.

### **Aretina**

Published in 1660, Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* is a considerably later example of seventeenth-century romance, and is consequently an all-together different entity from *Penardo*, *Sheretine* and *Calanthrop*. The most striking divergence is of course that of form, for indeed *Aretina* represents the only Scottish prose romance examined in this thesis. Mackenzie's historical and political allegorising also features far more profoundly in his romance than in any of the above examples of the genre, the result being that *Aretina*'s romance elements are most often ignored in favour of its political undercurrent. The coalescence between the romance genre and political discourse, however, has become increasingly evident in recent studies of the genre. The self-conscious interpolation of moral discourse upon a romance foundation is precisely the reason why two seemingly disparate texts, such as *Aretina* and *Sheretine*, can sit in relative harmony alongside one another in this study. While Michael Spiller has noted that the romance 'lies between the poles of *discourse*, which pursues the *concept*, and *intrigue*, which pursues the *event*',<sup>105</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). pp 1-2.

<sup>105</sup> M.R.G. Spiller, 'The First Scots Novel: Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660)', *The Scottish Literary Journal* (Vol. 11, 1984). pp 1 – 20. p 2.

and thus establishes a distance between the two, this study shall contend that the discourse element is in fact a cognitive product of the event, or plot, which is entirely dependent upon the series of romance tropes which convention demands will frustrate the lovers' relationship. Indeed, the romance characteristics that shape *Aretina* should not be negated by its seemingly more pressing allegorical designs, given that, 'at their most sophisticated, romance narratives are characterised by irony, parody, self-consciousness, and comedy'.<sup>106</sup> Mackenzie himself claims much the same in his prologues to the romance, in which he asserts that

[some] for sooth accuse [romances], for robbing us of our precious time; but this reproach is ill founded; for if the Romance be abject, none will trifle their time in reading it...But to leave such Phanaticks in the bedlame of their own fancies, who should blush to trace in these paths, which the famous Sidney, Scuderie, Barkley, and Broghill hath beaten for them, besides thousands of Ancients, and Moderns, Ecclesiasticks, and Laicks, Spaniards, French, and Italians, to remunerate whose endeavours, fame hath wreathed Garlands which shall never fade whilst Learning flourishes.<sup>107</sup>

The conscious reference to 'Learning' explicitly establishes his romance as a mode for educational and/or political discourse, while his extensive list of esteemed romance writers lends credit to the genre in general. Indeed, the opening of the poem — in which a melancholy Monanthropus is briefly roused from his dismal emotional state by the exciting arrival of two captive ladies and their respective knightly saviours — immediately establishes its moral discourse, as Monanthropus' illogical and seemingly incurable melancholy is said to

so fetter the feet of his Reason, that nothing pleased him now but that whereby he might please that passion; thinking all the time misspent which was not spent in its service, frequenting more Woods than Men, deeming them the only fit grove to sacrifice in, the choicest of his thoughts to the worst of his passions.<sup>108</sup>

The conscious repetition of 'time misspent' makes a clear parallel from the unreasonable Monanthropus to those certain romance readers who might 'trifle their time'.<sup>109</sup> Such concern for misplaced reason and subjection to passion aligns *Aretina* once more within a mode of discourse concerned with masculine rationality. Indeed, Monanthropus' complete

<sup>106</sup> Corinne Saunders .*A Companion to Romance from Classical to Contemporary*. 'Introduction,' p i.

<sup>107</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*. 'An Apologie for Romances', p 5.

<sup>108</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 1.

<sup>109</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*. 'An Apologie for Romances', p 5.

subjection to his own melancholy passion is such that he merely gazes voyeuristically as the imprisoned ladies escape their captors and are rescued by two valiant knights, his presence in the sequence inconsequential to the point of sheer futility. His offer of hospitality, however — having been roused by the sad state of the said ladies, and the immense courage of their two rescuers — marks Monanthropus' first proactive deed, and seems to suggest that his melancholy might find relief through the presence of such masculine courage and valour.

As the retinue proceed to Monanthropus' home for safe harbour, it becomes apparent that the audience of *Aretina* might constitute a wholly different one from that of the more general noble and middle classes who were seemingly targeted by both Gordon in *Penardo and Laissa* and Hannay in *Sheretine and Mariana*. Indeed, the martial and civic spheres which the aforementioned romances inhabited are here abandoned in favour of a princely mode. Mackenzie re-directs the text to a courtly audience, presumably because, of all four romance authors, he was the only one who successfully retained direct court patronage and general court access after 1603. Monanthropus, while not a Prince himself, is soon revealed to be a figure of courtly nobility, and indeed the two knights who find themselves in his company are somewhat cowed by the inappropriately small degree of respect that they have inadvertently levelled at him. This confusion allows for a brief speculation upon the countenance of various masculine identities, for, as Philarites notes,

we see Magistrates carry before them the Ensigns of their Offices, Gentlemen followed by their Liveries, and Knights of Orders carry the Badges of their Honours, as beacons to warn strangers not to spit upon the rocks of either disrespect or incivility.<sup>110</sup>

These identifications are rendered somewhat ironic, however, given that both Philarites and his companion, as we later discover, are themselves princes in disguise. However, the sequence does allow Mackenzie to clearly establish a set of ideal masculine figures in which his audience might find a suitable model worthy of emulation. As both Gordon and Hannay had attempted in their romances, Mackenzie — having established a masculine narrative — now aligns ideal masculine identity with Reason. The poem displays a particular concern for the relationship between princely governance — in this instance, of the self, rather than of the state — and love, and indeed it is Prince Philarites who is first confounded by love's overwhelming influence. He quickly falls for Monanthropus'

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<sup>110</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 14.

beautiful daughter Aretina, and his immediate subjection to this passion provokes a lament for

unfortunate Philarites! Hath passion cut the throat of thy reason, or hast thou lost thy wit with thy blood? Wilt thou willingly enter the lists, where stronger spirits have been defeated by weaker enemies, than that lovely object thou saw this evening?<sup>111</sup>

Philarites' subjection is complete, however, and his answering assertion that he is 'love and hers martyr'<sup>112</sup> signifies his inability to reason beyond his own selfish passions. Philarites' identity subsequently transforms into one of sheer excess, his sole concern being his love for Aretina, which ultimately serves to render him 'like a Lamp extinguished by too much Oyl'.<sup>113</sup> Megistus, by contrast, (and despite owning to his own love for the apparently irresistible Aretina) remains reasonable in the face of such strong passions, even reproving Philarites for loving her merely like a 'Mistris,' while he

love[s] her as a compleat Lady; and albeit I loved her as my Mistris, yet the love I carried to her would strike sail to the respect I bear to Philarites.<sup>114</sup>

Philarites' disbelieving assertion that 'none can behold Aretina, and not love her',<sup>115</sup> provokes another example of Megistus' rational thoughtfulness, as he remarks:

no, no...as my eyes cannot be so far mistaken, as to mistake the Case for the Watch, so neither can my judgement be so hallucinated as to love the Body in stead of the Soul: it is not beauty that I admire either in her or you (albeit both be lovely) no, it is your virtue, which seing I know to be real in you, whereas it is but presumptive in her, I cannot chuse but love you better.<sup>116</sup>

Megistus' belief in the beauty of virtue over mere bodily lust establishes him as Mackenzie's ideal masculine figure in whom his readers might find a sustainable model worthy of emulation. Indeed, Megistus is not only a Prince, but one who has thus far proven his courage (in his salvation of the two captive ladies), his intelligence (in his refusal to abandon reason when confronted with a very beautiful woman), and his unfailing loyalty to his comrade, above all else. Philarites, who we discover is also a prince, in many

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<sup>111</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 17.

<sup>112</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 20.

<sup>113</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 19.

<sup>114</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 20.

<sup>115</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 20.

<sup>116</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 11.



ways represents the antithesis to the noble Megistus, which is perhaps best alluded to as Mackenzie's assertion that 'love worketh contraries'.<sup>117</sup> While Philarites becomes a body of love and excess as he is 'deserted by reason, and assaulted by passion',<sup>118</sup> Megistus' reason is frequently alluded to and is well-established as a defining characteristic. His dialogues consistently make reference to his reason and experience, suggesting his level-headedness has been achieved through his own hard graft through life. Indeed, his admission to his host that he is in fact a prince is only provided once he has assured Monanthropus that his 'reason did at first, and [his] experience hath since'<sup>119</sup> taught him the benefits of reticence regarding his noble position. Megistus' dialogical moments are indeed shaped, by and large, by advisory speeches. He either attempts to instil in his fellow prince the same level of rationale that he himself exhibits, or makes explicit allusion to the mirrors of valorous princely behaviour. Megistus thus represents both Mackenzie's ideal masculine model, and his mouthpiece for royal advisory discourse.

The profound level of such advisory content, and indeed the extent to which these sequences are related to the valorous deeds of two martial princes, suggests that *Aretina* inhabits the same chivalric sphere that Gordon alluded to so frequently in *Penardo and Laissa*, but in a new political dimension. The text itself makes explicit reference to the 'mirrors wherein Princes may see their own blemishes' through a series of foreign travels and 'hardship',<sup>120</sup> while critics have also discerned how romances such as this

restore an element of rationality to the universe of fiction with discourse, in which men reason past obstacles to better knowledge. After Sidney's *Arcadia*, the element of intellection was more strongly present in the romance than ever before, and the French romance developed it to the point where subsidiary characters were permitted to offer advice on all manner of subjects to their fellows in the tale, and hence to the reader.<sup>121</sup>

*Aretina* is indeed dictated by its advisory and allegorical content, which is delivered in Book I by either Megistus himself, or through the less direct series of tales in which other minor characters relate their past deeds and those of others as models of exemplariness. These diverse modes of story-telling allow such speeches to provide

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<sup>117</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 66.

<sup>118</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 38.

<sup>119</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 25.

<sup>120</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 25.

<sup>121</sup> M. R. G. Spiller, 'The First Scots Novel: Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660). p 3.

discourse on varied matters, from a *De Casibus / Fall of Princes*-type tale<sup>122</sup> to an entirely separate discourse on the effects of amatory feelings. Michael Spiller notes that

the strengthening of the element of discourse leads to a stress upon civilised behaviour (indeed, many romances contained model speeches and letters for polite society to imitate) which is incompatible with the marvelous, and it is the more discursive writers whom Mackenzie professes to follow.<sup>123</sup>

The discursive functions of the text are indeed often rooted in courtly practices, a prime example being the duel between Megistus and the martial knight, which has been preceded by a display of each of the combatants' eloquence. The martial knight's defense of Courage would not have been out of place in Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa*, and indeed may even have been the discourse by which Penardo defended himself. Indeed, the knight's deliberate attempt to divide Love and Courage as opposing forces is somewhat reminiscent of *Penardo*'s 'warres of loue and ambitiou',<sup>124</sup> and indeed both Penardo and the martial knight of *Aretina* seem intent upon the supremacy of masculine courage. Deliberate allusions to virtue establish this sequence not just as a mere martial set-piece, but rather an interpolation of moral discourse. The martial knight, for example, contends that 'Courage is Captain of Vertues Life-guard: for, who durst be just without Courage? And without Courage was a silly thing were Love?'<sup>125</sup>

Just as Gordon contended in *Penardo*, that is, that masculine identity must principally 'preserue thy fame, thy honor, and thy lyfe',<sup>126</sup> the martial knight favours 'Courage [as] the more preferable virtue',<sup>127</sup> above virtuous love. Megistus' defence of love, however, is a carefully constructed rhetorical strategy on Mackenzie's behalf, and one which serves to maintain the knight's masculine identity while at the same time identifying and defending a desirable form of virtuous love. Megistus indeed asserts that

thou can do nothing in defence of Courage but what Love commands thee to do, whereby thou shewest that Courage is but the arm, and Love the head, and

<sup>122</sup> See Monanthropus' tale of Malchus on pp 25-26.

<sup>123</sup> M. R. G. Spiller, 'The First Scots Novel: Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660). p 4.

<sup>124</sup> Patrick Gordon (1615) *Penardo and Laissa*.

<sup>125</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 56.

<sup>126</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Book I, Caput VII, 32, l 6.

<sup>127</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 56.

so Love is as far preferable to Courage as the head is to the arm, or the master to the slave.<sup>128</sup>

Mackenzie establishes a deliberate distance between the love of which Megistus speaks — as a Platonic love — and amatory love. Such a conscious departure from amatory discourse allows Megistus to defend a chaste form of love unfettered by passion or lust, as well as to re-align love with reason, which in the first book Philarites has so thoroughly abandoned. Indeed, the sequence is undertaken with such assurance that Mackenzie even succeeds in transforming what would have constituted a paradox for Hannay and Gordon into a reasonable expression of love's rational nature, claiming that if 'ye have no Love, ye can have little Reason'.<sup>129</sup> This contention illustrates a significant deviation from the discourses of these other examples of seventeenth-century Scottish romance, and positions *Aretina* more so within a tradition of English prose romance and indeed of 'court' literature. Indeed, Amelia Zürcher's study of seventeenth-century English romance establishes a clear link between passion and reason, contending that

interest was sometimes a synonym for passion, by the logic that such traditional passions as ambition and erotic desire were felt to be fundamentally self-interested; or, conversely, it was affiliated with rational and prudent calculation, in which case it was prompted as a discipline for passion.<sup>130</sup>

Mackenzie certainly seems to manoeuvre *Aretina* onto similar grounds, and indeed such frequent allusions to reason and love sit in sharp contrast to the dichotic depiction of the two in *Penardo and Laissa* or indeed *Sheretine and Mariana*. Whilst previous chapters have deduced that the heroes of those particular romances may maintain their reason despite their passionate loves, they nevertheless must first learn how to overcome such overwhelming passion, and usually only after elaborate effort and preparation. Megistus, on the other hand, is from the first instance a character whose reason not only remains steadfast, but whose rational processes are said to facilitate his later passions. Further divergence presents itself in the didactic treatment of the eponymous *Aretina* herself, who, vastly morally superior to either Gordon's excessive *Laissa* or even *Philarites* himself, is also a figure of reason and modesty. Indeed, while Gordon and Hannay advocated feminine subjection to passion, warning against the dangers women imposed, Mackenzie bestows upon the female characters a level of rationale not previously seen in seventeenth-

<sup>128</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 59.

<sup>129</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 59.

<sup>130</sup> Amelia A. Zürcher. *Seventeenth-Century English Romance; Allegory, Ethics, and Politics*. p 14.

century Scottish romance. This dramatic departure from seemingly accepted norms is characterised as a conscious

turning [of] gender tables on stereotypical paradigms of reason and passion... [Mackenzie] substantively argues for the rationality and mental acumen of the female over the more easily swayed male; while he *states* that men have 'reason' and 'signeurify', he undercuts the statement by demonstrating their un-reasonableness and impotency in love.<sup>131</sup>

Over and above this notion is Mackenzie's contention that love and reason are inherently linked, and both emotive features are indeed often utilised as the themes of model speeches and moral discourse. Megistus, for example, makes a competent claim for the supremacy of his love for Agapeta over Philarites' love for Aretina from the very notion that his passions have been gradually and reasonably ignited, while he contends that

seing love should stand upon the basis of reason, the broader that basis is, the longer love will stand; and that soul which resisteth longest by reason, will persist longest by constancy.<sup>132</sup>

Megistus' love for Agapeta — Mackenzie suggests — bears the signs of longevity and maturity, while the flaming passions of Philarites for Aretina suggests that constancy might be too reasonable a phenomenon to expect in the face of such irrationality.

While Gordon and Hannay dealt with the debilitating and intrusive effects of love on the masculine identities of lower martial and civic spheres, *Aretina's* focus is more firmly courtly, and can be considered as belonging to the *speculum principis* tradition, given its acute political content. A concern for the 'place of desire in the political sphere and with the possibility that love can engender moral and political virtue'<sup>133</sup> dictates much of the narrative, from the rhetorical set-pieces in which allegorical oppositions can be debated to the inclusion of several unrelated tales of princely valour and/or downfall. This particular focus indicates Mackenzie's attempt to link his text to pre-seventeenth-century romances, in the way in which it inhabits an elite, monarchical space commonly populated in medieval romances. Certainly, Monanthropus' role as advisor makes explicit reference to princely governance in relation to the amatory, as he begs of Megistus to

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<sup>131</sup> Irene Basey Beesemyer, 'Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* of 1660: A Scot's Assault on Restoration Politics', *Scottish Studies Review* (Spring 2003). p 48.

<sup>132</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book II, pp 159-60.

<sup>133</sup> Joanna Martin. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 – 1540*. p 41.

leave not off to be a Prince, when ye begin to be a Lover; but since ye are a Prince who loves, love rationally like a Prince; and let those whom ye are born to rule, see that you can rule yourself.<sup>134</sup>

Mackenzie thus once more aligns love with reason, but with the attached significance of political rule and the necessity for exemplariness. Megistus is not the sole figure who serves as a moral model, however, for there are several characters whose place within the narrative plotting is relatively unnecessary but who nevertheless serve to provide advisory content. The magistrate Sophander, for instance, is a character whose jealousy of Megistus and excessive ambition provide only scant plot derivation, and yet his presence in the romance offers a significant model of behaviour that is arguably derived directly from the *Mirror for Magistrates* tradition. Indeed, as he stands execution for treason against the King, Sophander is permitted his final speech, in which he laments his questionable behaviour and over-indulged ambitions, and wishes that his example ‘may be remarked by all, but imitated by none’.<sup>135</sup> Given the historical and allegorical designs of Book III of the romance, which have been thoroughly examined by critics and thus shall not be re-iterated in this instance, it seems eminently possible that *Aretina* is not merely the political mouthpiece for Mackenzie’s views, but a strategy by which he can provide an exemplary *Mirror* for contemporary courtiers. Indeed, the genre

affords Mackenzie a template for analyzing unregulated ‘enthusiasms’, crucial to his contentions that passion in kings and subjects leads to monarchical dissolution.<sup>136</sup>

Mackenzie’s assertion in Book I that love inspires contraries is perhaps one of the most astute summaries of the hybrid and protean nature of the romance genre. He makes frequent allusion to this throughout the poem, which culminates in a skillfully crafted expression of hybridity in his description of Monanthropus’ gardens:

so going abroad, [Monanthropus] conducted [Megistus] to a Garden, all enamelled with Flowers, chequered all alongst according to their several colours; and thereafter to an Aviary, wherein grew many fragrant odiferous Trees, wherein Birds of all Nations, and of all colours, nested, and withall shadowed a Walk, wherein one could hear their dissonant voices conspiring to make one melodious harmony.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book II, p 180.

<sup>135</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book II, p 204.

<sup>136</sup> Irene Basey Beesemyer, ‘Sir George Mackenzie’s *Aretina* of 1660: A Scot’s Assault on Restoration Politics.’ p 54.

<sup>137</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina, or, the Serious Romance*. Book I, p 23.

Mackenzie's conscious allusion to an attempt for unity borne from multiples encapsulated in 1660 what critics in the twentieth century, as anticipated above, would refer to as

the name of a desiring narrational modality that coalesces from the extant cultural matrix at hand, poaching and cannibalizing from a hybridity of all and any available resources.<sup>138</sup>

In *Aretina*, Mackenzie appears to consciously do just this; 'poaching' from Scottish history in order to interpolate allegorical material upon a romance that in itself is undoubtedly influenced by the multiple diverse models that preceded it. The notion that 'love worketh contraries' is evidenced several times throughout the poem; from the antithesis between Megistus and the irrational lover Philarites, to the allegorical skirmish between love and reason in which Megistus fights on behalf of a true, exemplary love. Mackenzie plays on dichotomies, and it is in his depiction of the two princes that his most ironic and astute comments may be found, summarised in the assertion that 'Nature seemed to teach mortals that she could cast perfection in severall moulds'.<sup>139</sup> Megistus and Philarites, fragments of one whole, can together provide a composite moral hero. The notion of hybridity now so familiar through post-colonial discourses clearly had its place in seventeenth-century romance also.

Overall, *Aretina* — while a significantly later example of seventeenth-century Scottish romance — serves to provide an appropriate comparative for its immediate native predecessors in the romance genre. For indeed, under Mackenzie's terms, love may prove the most debilitating and destructive form of passion, but if dealt with reasonably, and with an appropriate level of lawful and/or courtly proviso, then love might also represent a judicious transportation from unlawful lust to lawful marriage. The contention reveals Mackenzie's lawyer background, but serves to illustrate the prevailing concern in seventeenth-century Scotland for the ever-sought 'leful love.' Indeed, he contends that 'reason first, complemented by love, makes the ideal man, and ideal marriage, and the ideal monarchical set-up'.<sup>140</sup> It is the kind of contention that, while springing from the same unease for female authority over rational masculinity expressed in the earlier Scottish romances, indicates how this anxiety has transformed through time, adapting to its relevant

<sup>138</sup> Geraldine Heng. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. p 9.

<sup>139</sup> George Mackenzie. *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*. Book II, p 51.

<sup>140</sup> Irene Basey Beesemyer, 'Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* of 1660: A Scot's Assault on Restoration Politics'. p 57.

cultural environment. It is further evidence, too, of the inherently transient nature of the seventeenth-century romance, in that a seemingly linking thematic agenda — that being an apparently particularly Scottish concern for masculine rational identity and the role of love in masculine self-governance — instead proves, in the manifold ways in which it has been handled by the above-mentioned four poets, to be another example of idiosyncrasy in a long series of disparate characteristics evidenced in these particular texts.

Having come a considerable, yet quite preliminary distance, in mapping seventeenth-century Scottish romance, and having foregrounded some of its features, we can now turn to its contexts, in order to examine whether, and how, it articulates with these. In the present context of a Masters study, time permits us to address only the most prominent of these contexts, namely its native Scottish romance predecessors.

#### 4. Contextualising Seventeenth-Century Scottish Romance

*Blist is that realme that hes ane prudent king  
 Quhilk dois delyte to heir the veritie,  
 Punisching thame that plainlie dois maling  
 Contrair the Common-weill and equitie.<sup>1</sup>*

The dynamic network of Scottish medieval romance, generally acknowledged as a discernable strategy towards eloquence, as well as a cohesive tradition,<sup>2</sup> anticipated in several ways the seventeenth-century Scottish romance. As the past three chapters have discussed, *Penardo*, *Sheretine*, *Calanthrop* and *Aretina*, while generally distinct from one another, all establish what seems to be a clerical, fundamentally Christian, bias against sublimating love, which suggests that these texts share at least a few potentially characteristic emphases. The overwhelming desire indicated across all four romances to inform its audience on this very matter manifests itself with ‘unpredictable symmetry’<sup>3</sup> as a tendency towards advice narratives and moral mirroring. Romances produced in Scotland during the medieval period shared a conspicuously similar ideal, and indeed romance and drama were both intrinsically entwined in their fascination with morality tradition throughout the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. It was also during this very period that Sir David Lyndsay’s ‘common-weill’ paradigm was first popularised, and it was these two critical concepts — the priority of ethics and judicious governance (of the self or of the body politic) — that would later manifest themselves across all four seventeenth-century romances, despite their otherwise diverse natures. In spite of these clear links, scant critical attention has been paid to the continuing transformations and repetitions of motifs that take place between the medieval and later periods.

The role of the romance poet in medieval Scotland was to ‘focus attention on the most profound and challenging aspects of the governance of the self’<sup>4</sup> by way of amatory discourses, and the degree to which Scottish romances provided such advice narratives has been thoroughly examined. The general scarcity of criticism on seventeenth-century

<sup>1</sup> Sir David Lyndsay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* ed. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1989). ll 3810 – 3813.

<sup>2</sup> See Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 – 1540* (New Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), and Rhiannon Purdie, ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’ in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Douglas Dunn in Attila Dósa, ‘In Response to Bakhtin: Hermeneutic and Therapeutic Dialogues in Contemporary Scottish Literature.’ *Forum for Modern Language Studies* (Vol. 41 No. 3, 2005). pp 289 – 307. p 295.

<sup>4</sup> Joanna Martin. *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 – 1540*. ‘Introduction’, pp 1-2.



Scottish literature, however, has rendered the pertinent discursive functions of the romances produced during this era as extremely peripheral to the Scottish canon, in spite of the evident anticipation of seventeenth-century romance ideals in their medieval Scottish predecessors. In order to fully examine the sources from which the seventeenth-century romancers would operate, then, a general study of the medieval romance in Scotland is necessary.

Two distinct schools of thought provide the context for the study of medieval Scottish romance, which are both in many ways applicable to their seventeenth-century successors. The first argues for a cohesive tradition distinguishable from contemporary English and European romance texts and practises of the medieval period.<sup>5</sup> The second emphasises the paramount influence of English and French romance models, concluding that such a construct as a medieval Scottish romance tradition does not exist in its own right.<sup>6</sup> The latter argument can indeed also be applied to the later romances produced in Scotland, which are conspicuous for their distinct and idiosyncratic natures. This characteristic disparity has prevented such texts from being examined under the umbrella of a viable national corpus, or indeed as texts which may be in dialogue with their earlier Scottish examples. Nevertheless, these seventeenth-century Scottish texts *can* be connected to a native tradition of romance, as well as English and Continental ones. Moreover, in the case of English influences, there are particularly Scottish emphases within these influences. Specifically, an understanding of reading and writing as acutely moral activities has recently been found to characterize early-modern Scottish writing generally.<sup>7</sup> This might be an example of how Scottish romancers selected from other models certain features, such as the focus on virtue and honour that characterises Spenser's *Faerie Queene* or Milton's *Paradise Lost*, but also how their choice is consciously selective, directed by a nostalgic longing for past cultures of honour and shame in Scotland. The seventeenth-century Scottish romance attempts to extract from English examples, for example, its moral or rhetorical tradition, rather than its more spectacular, often amatory one, but adds to this particularly Scottish focuses, such as the inherent adjustments catalysed by the emergence of a consuming noble ruling class, the particularly civic focus of soldier poetry

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<sup>5</sup> See Rhiannon Purdie, 'Medieval Romance in Scotland' in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt & Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006). pp 165 – 177.

<sup>6</sup> A.S.G. Edwards, 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance' in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Houwen et al. (Belgium: Peeters, 2000). pp 61 – 74.

<sup>7</sup> See Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500' (Oxford: Unpublished D.Phil. thesis. 1986).

and the foregrounding of faith-based views on sexual love that restrain any sublimation of the latter. The romance genre in general is characterised by its ability to borrow, replicate, and imitate, and to assert that any one cultural tradition of romance is singularly insular would be an arrogating claim.

The Scottish romance might borrow and retain certain features first popularised by other cultural models, but nevertheless moulds these features into a particularly meaningful form for a Scottish readership. An examination of contemporary English and Continental romance, while informative, would prove too dense for the confines of this study, therefore this thesis focuses primarily upon medieval Scottish examples of romance as likely origins for their seventeenth-century successors, with an inherent understanding of the multifarious influences in these texts. This chapter will thus examine whether fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish romances mediate a similar emphasis on love to their seventeenth-century counterparts, and thus explain the latter's apparent characteristic emphases upon Scottish cultures of honour and shame. Such contemporary emphases, in combination with the lack of a dominant essentialising force in seventeenth-century Scottish writing (such as a monarch) may be responsible for the resistant disparateness of these romances and their challenge — of finding coherence in idiosyncrasy — to modern criticism. Effectively, this chapter will thus analyse whether conflict, disunity and contradiction,<sup>8</sup> presently seen as defining post-essentialist modern cultural identities, already lie at the very heart of seventeenth-century Scottish romance, and whether foregrounding such discontinuities can bring this genre into modern critical focus. A study of the distinct lack of unitary style within Scottish romance can thus inform an analysis of the prevailing tensions between Scottish and other cultures more generally, as well as within Scottish culture itself. These are complex questions that can best be answered in a larger piece of research, such as a PhD. For the present, this study limits itself to attempting to define the nature of these seventeenth-century Scottish romances themselves (chapters 1-3) and their respective inflections of Scottish material.

Within the two distinct schools of thought mentioned above, recent revisions of Scottish romance criticism have fruitfully re-established the medieval romance within the parameters of a consistent and deliberate corpus. Critics have increasingly directed readers to the striking evidence of the Scottish romance's particular favour for the medium of verse

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<sup>8</sup> See Cairns Craig, 'Scotland and Hybridity' in *Beyond Scotland: New Contexts for Twentieth-Century Scottish Literature*, ed. Carruthers, Goldie and Renfrew (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004).

form as an example of how the Scottish romance tradition deviates from its contemporary equivalents. Indeed, by the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, prose had superseded verse as the favoured medium for romance in most cultures, most notably in England, whose romance practices have been previously assumed to dictate to their Scottish counterparts. However, Scottish romances remained outwith this increasingly popular new development, consistently favouring verse above prose. Purdie hypothesises that this phenomenon is a most striking example of an independent Scottish tradition of romance, stating that

no [medieval Scottish] prose romances are known to exist... Both English and French prose romances circulated in Scotland, but Scottish authors did not seem inclined to imitate them... which rather suggests the lengths to which Scottish romancers would go to avoid prose.<sup>9</sup>

Even at the ‘mechanical level of style’,<sup>10</sup> she concludes, the Scottish romance is easily distinguishable from its English counterparts. The apparently indelible Scottish preference for the verse form is perfectly exemplified by the early sixteenth-century romance *Clariodus*,<sup>11</sup> a text generally thought to be derived from both a lost Scottish prose version and the original French prose version, *Cleriadus et Meliadice*. Significantly — although deriving its plot, characters and theme from the prose original — it is written in decasyllabic verse. The poem’s stylistic frame of reference seems to be derived from Scottish exemplars, ‘whose aureate diction incongruously mimics that of William Dunbar’.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the poem makes an ornate business of feasting, clothing and even fighting, and devotes approximately 5000 lines to narrative passages of mere feasting activity. Richly descriptive sections on the garments of the leading characters are strikingly aureate, from Meliades’ golden headpiece, ‘schynit of sapheiris and of roobies reide’, to her litter,

whilk was with stonis and pearles all owerfret  
With coussonis wrocht with cloath of gold full fine  
Scho schynit as dois the fairest star matutyne.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Rhiannon Purdie. ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’. pp 169-170.

<sup>10</sup> Rhiannon Purdie. ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’. p 170.

<sup>11</sup> The edition used throughout this thesis is Anon, *Clariodus*, ed. D. Irving, *Clariodus: A Metrical Romance* (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1830).

<sup>12</sup> Rhiannon Purdie. ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’. p 171.

<sup>13</sup> *Clariodus*. ll 6475, 6480-6481.

This seemingly conscious imitation of an aureate — but vernacular — style belies clear echoes of Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe*, which employs the same Latinate styling, particularly for descriptive passages. The opening section of the text, for example, opens with strikingly similar terms:

Ryght as the stern of day begouth to schyne,  
 Quhen gone to bed war Vesper and Lucyne,  
 I raise and by a rosere bush did me rest;  
 Up sprang the goldyn candill matutyne,  
 With clere depurit bemes cristallyne.<sup>14</sup>

Such express imitation of Dunbar's aureate verse thus seems to suggest that the author of *Clariodus* — despite its Continental origins and the range of influences available — was primarily disposed to Scottish rather than French or English models.

*Lancelot of the Laik* is likewise a versed re-imagining of a prose original, written, like *Clariodus*, in a decasyllabic couplet. In this instance verse again takes its place as the Scottish romancer's favoured medium, evidence that sits in sharp contrast to Amelia Zürcher's recent study of the seventeenth-century English romance, which looks specifically at the prose tradition. The genre acts, she argues, as 'a generic marker at midcentury... [that] warns against subsuming these works in a larger category including drama and verse',<sup>15</sup> indicating that the prose form was an integral component of the conventions that shaped the English seventeenth-century romance tradition. Whilst for Purdie such evidence of Scotland's contrary practice seems definitive enough in itself, Edwards instead points once more to the native British romance tradition as the prevailing authority over Scottish texts, noting that the

question of the penetration of English romance into Scotland can be linked... particularly in some formal aspects of Scottish romance. There is, for instance, the issue of the derivation of the thirteen-line alliterative stanza, particularly the form with the scheme ababababc4dddc2 (*rouncefallis*) which is used in *Rauf Coil3ear* and *Golagrus and Gawain*, as well as other Scottish poems.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> William Dunbar, *The Goldyn Targe* in *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375 – 1707*, ed. R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997). p 127, ll 1-5.

<sup>15</sup> Amelia A. Zürcher. *Seventeenth-Century English Romance; Allegory, Ethics and Politics*. p 65.

<sup>16</sup> A.S.G. Edwards. 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance'. p 68.

Despite this contention, though, Edwards freely admits his inability to explain the persistent resistance of Scottish romance to the more popular form of prose so favoured in English examples. In terms of style, then, English material was not the primary resource for Scottish romancers. Nor indeed does the Continental tradition provide a plausible model for this particular characteristic, indicating in turn that, at least in terms of form and medium, the Scottish romancers had carved their particular niche within the broad range of the romance genre that could successfully distinguish them from their foreign contemporaries.

As outlined in previous chapters, an understanding of reading and writing as an acutely moral activity has been found to characterise Scottish writing generally, and in turn more recent studies have pointed to amorous poetry as being a particularly favoured medium by which to convey such a didactic.<sup>17</sup> Such emphasis upon the edifying of the monarchical figure, certainly in the case of medieval romance, often takes place in the form of advice narrative, from explicit, speculative advisory passages to the presence in texts of less transparent figures of moral authority. One of the most conspicuous examples of this can be found in *Lancelot of the Laik*, which is notable for the comparatively substantial portion of advice that is added to its original source material. Indeed, the figure of the King's Advisor — bestowed the name of 'Amytans' only in the Scottish version of the romance, but otherwise an anonymous, abstract figure — controls almost half of the surviving text, despite being only a minor character in the original French prose text. Indeed, despite being described as a humble 'clerk,' Amytans shares with King Arthur one 'hartly affeccione', for 'famus he was, and of gret excellence...contemplative and chast in gouernance'.<sup>18</sup> He is assigned further importance as he declares himself Arthur's 'confessour', and the King feels compelled, 'obedient and mek',<sup>19</sup> to repent his governing sins. The significance assigned to an advisory figure, so greatly expanded from its original source, indicates the extent to which medieval Scottish romancers might go to provide pertinent moral exemplum. It is a particularly Scottish emphasis that, as the previous chapters have outlined, manifests itself in seventeenth-century Scottish romance too, though adapted across each respective texts to direct its address to a more modest class of society.

<sup>17</sup> See Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry, 1424 – 1540*, and Sally Mapstone 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature 1450-1500'.

<sup>18</sup> Anon. *Lancelot of the Laik* ed. Margaret Muriel Gray, *Lancelot of the Laik from Cambridge University Library MS* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1912). II 1294, 98, 1300-2. p 39.

<sup>19</sup> Anon. *Lancelot of the Laik*. II 1418 and 1428. p 43.

Such emphasis upon advice to royal figures can be traced from *The Kingis Quair*, through Dunbar's *The Thistle and the Rois*, to Amytans in *Lancelot* and the completely original invention of the advisory character Spynagros in the Scottish text of *Golagros and Gawane*. Other less explicit examples may be sought in *Eger and Grime*, a romance that, although focused more so upon ideals of chivalry and friendship than on monarchical behaviour, nevertheless exhibits a fascination with advisory narrative. An emphasis upon the chivalric loyalty between two knights is the driving force behind the characters' motivations and actions, the unfailing friendship between the two serving as a pertinent example of rational, non-familial interaction to the feudal clans with their petty rivalries in medieval Scotland. Such loyalty is deemed all the more admirable through the assertion of the men's bond through their identity as knights, rather than through the familial. The narrator asserts how

these knights, Sir Egar and Sir Grime;  
 They were fellowes good and fine.  
 They were nothing sib of blood,  
 But they were sworne bretheren good.  
 They kepted a chamber together att home;  
 Better loue loved there never none.<sup>20</sup>

Their bond is further cemented as Eger lies gravely injured, for, though Grime is 'nothing of his kin', 'he was als right wo for him, as any sister, or as brother'.<sup>21</sup> Grime's loyalty is such that he takes on his companion's mission for himself, as he seeks the villainous knight who has caused so much humiliation for Eger. The exemplary behaviour of both men throughout the tale is no less transparent than Amytans' advice to King Arthur in *Lancelot*, or indeed the creation of the advisor Spynagros in *Golagros*, as a means by which to convey a model of behaviour for the individual.

While the significance of the 'advice to princes' tradition to medieval Scottish romance was paramount to its understanding, the striking shift from the particular focus of the *speculum principis* mode to advice narrative in general in the later Scottish romances signifies the distinct contrast between the medieval and seventeenth-century texts. Whilst royal models of behaviour preoccupied the minds of romance poets of the earlier period, the later romancers instead sharpened their focus more so upon the allegorical, and indeed more abstract, morals of love itself, the didactic now aimed *en masse* rather than to the

<sup>20</sup> Anon (c. 1650) *Eger and Grime* (Percy Folio Text) ed. W.H. French and C.B. Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances* (New York: Hale, 1964). ll 43 – 48.

<sup>21</sup> Anon (c. 1669) *The History of Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Gray-Steel* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders). ll 51-2. Accessed at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> 13/06/09.

narrow confines of the court and monarchy. As romance progressed into the seventeenth century, there was a greater scope for advice that might proceed further than the *speculum principis* mode to include the wider ranks of the upper-middle classes, and even the more particular sector of the martial ranks. While the upper-middle classes had always constituted a large portion of medieval romance genres' audience, earlier Scottish romance was explicitly addressed above this social sector, to the court and king. The later romances detailed in the previous chapters, however, were expressly addressed to this larger social audience itself, removing the aspirant factor in their reading practises and replacing them with genuine portrayals of their own social sector. The most immediate cause for this shift was probably the absence of the royal court from Edinburgh after 1603. Confidence in the nobility as the ruling class was presumably strong, given that Scotland had operated — with relative success — under a feudal-type rule in the absence of an adult, authoritative monarch before. Further to this was the necessity for noble cultural patronage in the face of James's absence. By addressing their romances to the comparatively lower ranks of the upper and martial classes, romance poets were in turn forced to adapt both the tone and moral direction of their texts. Monarchical mirroring was rendered unessential, while providing moral exempla for a governing figure of somewhat lesser authority, for magistrate rather than monarch, had become a necessity. Consequently, the role of the heroic *Mirror*, in the past filled by a sovereign figure, was now occupied by a generally more modest class of character. Hannay's hero was thus to be presented as a mere soldier, Gordon's romance was aimed at chivalric rather than monarchic readers, and Kennedie's hero was a prince, but an errant one, filling the humble role of a martial knight to all intents and purposes. While *Calanthrop* might ostensibly appear to fit the *speculum principis* mode, it is a *Ladies' Delight* at its kernel.

What constituted a male role-model was thus now fully determined by a middling, martial level of discourse, which in turn led to a greatly increased fascination with masculine self-governance, no longer directly linked to political governance, but to what the singular male should do: chivalric, civic, or courtly etc. Take, for example, the knight Penardo's moving vision of the warrior maid Laissa, his future love, in Patrick Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa*. In the vision Laissa, 'a Virgine Nymphe', appears 'with saddest looks with sobs with sighs with tears',<sup>22</sup> and beseeches him to rescue her. At this point in the narrative, though, Penardo is quite engaged in a battle between the warring Achaians and the Datians. Laissa, despite the desperate position she is in, acknowledges this fact and

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<sup>22</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput VII, 30, ll 1-2.

urges him to continue with his battle before rescuing her from the evil wizard Mansay, who, it should be recalled, is at this point alternately boiling the maid in a vat of blood and scorching her with fire. However, she asserts that a 'greater danger thow must pas before/ thy happie ayde geue vnto my cryme', and that his first priority should be to 'preserue thy fame, thy honor, and thy lyfe'.<sup>23</sup> Patrick Hannay presents a not dissimilar message in *Sheretine and Mariana*, in which a lovelorn Mariana implores her betrothed not to depart upon a military mission, to which a more level-headed Sheretine, as noted previously, asserts that

*Loue* doth not debase the minde.  
What shall I now obscure my former worth?  
No, no, loue doth no such fruit bring forth.<sup>24</sup>

Love, both poets contend, is superseded by the masculine pursuit of fame and valour. What both texts share, despite their otherwise disparate characteristics, is an enduring concern that love behaves as a dangerous foil to such virtuous pursuits as martial honour and communal duty, and thus must be treated with rational caution. The cogent choice of the romance genre — in which the juxtaposition of passion and reason is an inherent component — as a mode, then, allows these seventeenth-century romance poets to speculate not just on the role of love in the masculine sphere, but also on the impact of the same upon self-governance in a period in which noble, rather than royal, masculine governance, was foremost in the public eye.

A similar parallel to Gordon and Hannay's moralising can be found in John Stewart of Baldynneis' *Roland Furious*, in which love represents the opposing force of reason. Whilst Sheretine and Penardo were both able to overcome nobly the unreasonable power of love, Roland instead is

upblais in fyre more ferventlie and bold  
Even so the moir that he extinguisse wold  
His glowing greif, the sam the moir did ryis.<sup>25</sup>

*Roland Furious*, of course, is a later romance adaptation than both *Lancelot of the Laik* and *Clariodus*, and thus the symmetry between its moralising on love and that of the seventeenth-century romances may simply be symptoms of the differing cultural

<sup>23</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput VII, 32, ll 3-4.

<sup>24</sup> Patrick Hannay. *Sheretine and Mariana*. Canto I, 97, ll 4-6. p 123.

<sup>25</sup> John Stewart of Baldynneis (1550 – 1605?) *Roland Furious*. National Library of Scotland, MS Adv 19.2.6. Eleventh Canto, ll 200-03.



parameters established during that later period. The Scottish translation of *Roland* was presented in manuscript form c.1587, suggesting that the self-same socio-political effects manifested in the later romances might overlap with, or govern, this romance as well. Advice and self-governance remained the prevailing form of moral discourse in the Scottish romances, leading Cooper to align the genre with judicial governance, noting the indelible links between love and

pollution, guilt, and the fate of nations. There is an evident parallel between guilt, attaching to sin or crime (including illicit sex), and pollution... Victims of casting adrift who are regarded as a threat to the state are sometimes the subject of a prophecy that they will cause the death of the king.<sup>26</sup>

The relationship between governance and morality is thus uncovered through the comparative advice provided to the monarch in the course of the romance narrative. Davis also contends that romance, and in particular the chivalric romance, provides 'an ethical system worthy of emulation', not in general terms, but to 'an elite and (eventually) hereditary class of society'.<sup>27</sup> Certainly, in his seminal allegorical romance *The Faerie Queene*, Edmund Spenser explicitly states such an intention in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh:

The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline: Which for that I conceiued shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historicall fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, then for profite of the ensample: I chose the historye of king Arthure, as most fite for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many mens former workes, and also furthest from the daunger of enuy, and suspition of present time. In which I haue followed all the antique Poets historicall, first Homere, who in the persons of Agamemnon and Vlysses hath ensampled a good gouernour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis [etc] ... So much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule.<sup>28</sup>

While the corpus of medieval Scottish romance certainly displays a strong predilection for advice of this nature — and indeed the prominence of the *speculum principis* tradition remains as one of the most defining characteristics of the medieval Scottish romance — the later romances were instead defined by their far broader range of reference, with an

<sup>26</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. p 113.

<sup>27</sup> Alex Davis. *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*. p 3.

<sup>28</sup> Edmund Spenser, 'A Letter of the Authors Expounding His Whole Intention in the Course of this Worke... to the Right noble, and Valorous, Sir Walter Raleigh', (1589) in Thomas P. Roche and C. Patrick O'Donnell (eds) (1978) *The Faerie Queene*. Penguin Books, Suffolk. pp 15-16.

implied audience more akin to that described above by Davis, as a directive to a 'hereditary class of society'<sup>29</sup> rather than a sovereign one. Indeed, Cooper's examination of the English romance tradition notes that 'romances in the Middle ages were widely regarded as educational. They offered models of courage and faithfulness; they doubled as courtesy books, or as advice to princes'.<sup>30</sup> The advisory content of the earlier Scottish romances, whilst operating extensively under a *speculum principis* mode, are thus not unique in this aspect. While romances produced in Scotland were not without their distinguishing, unifying characteristics, as, for example, their shared language and elements of formal poetic style, perhaps it is most useful to instead view the Scottish romances under Heng's terms, as a derivation, if not a deviation, that makes fruitful use of common romance motifs, exaggerating, subverting and altering to produce something new and original under the poet's own terms. Heng clarifies romance's preferred method as an arrangement of the

apparatus of the intimately familiar and pleasurable – figures of gender, sexuality, and varieties of adventure... a lexicon that thereafter comprises romance's characteristic medium of discussion.<sup>31</sup>

The prevailing emphasis upon governance and the advisory features attached to it in medieval Scottish romance may be most fruitfully interpreted under the above consideration. If the nature of romance is not merely to replicate, but to shape the familiar into new and original invention, then perhaps the 'advice to princes' tradition is the specifically Scottish interpretation of a long-standing romance convention. Whilst it may not be quite the unambiguously distinguishing feature that past critics have contended, it is certainly a characteristic that has enjoyed a greater vogue in Scottish romance than others, and can thus be justifiably applied to the medieval romance as a defining, if not definitive, feature.

The still prevalent advisory content of the seventeenth-century Scottish romance thus seems to be a direct derivation of its native predecessors. Such mediation between the medieval and later romances also manifests itself in other moral aspects, and indeed, the sense of moral acuity derived from the act of reading (or writing) poetry in *Penardo and Laissa*, for example, is one that Gordon directly adopts from his native medieval literary

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<sup>29</sup> Alex Davis. *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*. p 3.

<sup>30</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time*. pp 6-8.

<sup>31</sup> Geraldine Heng. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. p 3.

resources. The ‘dazzling inter-textuality of the [Kingis] Quair’,<sup>32</sup> for example, explicitly asserts the presence and influence of several external texts, such as Lydgate’s *The Temple of Glass*, Chaucer’s *A Knight’s Tale*, and Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy*. From these sources the text both derives and adapts its fascination with fortune, the nature of love, and allegory. *The Kingis Quair*, just as Douglas’s *Palis of Honour* would similarly accomplish, utilises the genre of the dream vision as catalysed by the narrators’ reading practices, imparting an analogous meta-fictional message on the importance of reading poetry, i.e. the act of reading itself as an inherently moral act. Henryson adopts the self-same paradigm; in both *Orpheus and Eurydice* and *The Testament of Cresseid*, reading is heavily troped in the text as an allegorical set-piece. Indeed, both Henryson and Douglas’s narrators are themselves poets. Henryson goes to great lengths to explicitly detail the narrator’s knowledge of Chaucer’s *Troilus and Crisyde*, presenting him as a ‘poet, reader and critic who comments on...received views of Cresseid’s reputation, and gets so emotionally involved in her story that he contradicts himself’.<sup>33</sup> In *Orpheus*, too, poetry and art are aligned as matters of paramount importance. Orpheus himself is the epitome of the *artiste*, a characteristic that Henryson frequently refers to and exploits in order to link artistic eloquence with conscious moral reasoning. A common refrain regarding the two concepts repeats itself at several points throughout the narrative, from the initial suggestion that

quhen our mynd is myngit with sapience,  
And plais upoun the herp of eloquence —  
That is to say, makis persuasioun  
To draw our will and our affectioun,<sup>34</sup>

to its re-appearance later in lines 507-8, where the poem explicitly parallels ‘ressoun and perfyte sapience’ with the ‘herp of eloquens’,<sup>35</sup> thus firmly entrenching the ideal that poetry equates with reason and morality. Henryson continues the theme through to the poem’s *moralitas*, in which he posits that ‘gud instructioun’ may be derived from ‘herand rehearse’ of ‘gude moralitee’.<sup>36</sup> Henryson’s employment of meta-fictional themes thus

<sup>32</sup> Julia Boffey, ‘The Kingis Quair and the other poems of Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden. B. 24’ in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006). p 69.

<sup>33</sup> Ann McKim ‘Orpheus and Eurydice and The Testament of Cresseid: Robert Henryson’s ‘fine poetical way’ in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006). p 111.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice* ed. J. A. Tasioulas, *The Makars: The Poems of Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1999). p 180, ll 469 – 472.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice*. p 181, ll 507-508.

<sup>36</sup> Robert Henryson, ‘Moralitas’ in *Orpheus and Eurydice*. pp 177 – 186.

serves as a speculative treatise upon the very functions and nature of poetry itself. In *The Palis of Honour*, meanwhile, Douglas likewise synthesises the facets of poetry and writing as exemplars of moral virtue, by presenting poetry itself as a form of metaphysical enquiry that is linked inherently to life experiences. True honour, he argues throughout the poem, may be derived from the understanding of one's past experiences and judiciously applied as poetic instruction.

Such deliberate markers of rhetorical persuasion are elements of Scottish medieval poetry that later find their niche in the seventeenth century in the form of Gordon's *Penardo and Laissa*. The paramount placing of masculine chivalric ideals, as discussed previously in this chapter, identify *Penardo* as a poem deeply entrenched in medieval ideals. The paradigm of the chivalric male aside, Gordon also illustrates a fascination with the poetic forms and rhetorical styling that had been so thoroughly embraced by his predecessors. Words and rhetoric prove to be of great import in *Penardo*, be it through Gordon's frequent emphasis upon the dangerous conceit of 'sugarit wordis' or the mastery with which the wizard Mansay wields words and language to his own advantage. Mansay's power lies ultimately in the spoken or written words; his magic 'airt,'<sup>37</sup> while supernatural in nature, is regulated and manipulated by his rhetorical abilities. His capacity to verbally influence those around him — from leading Phelarnon to Laissa's bathing place, and thus, ultimately, to his death, to exploiting an array of characters with capable persuasion — is laden with verbose flattery and cunning manipulations. Even his magic itself is shrouded in verbal artistry; his capture of Laissa is less physical and more motivated by his magical abilities, and indeed her torture in Caput XII is devised by a curse. Gordon laments that

*Mansayes* crewel arte deuysd such paines  
 His punishment is more then is [Laissa's] cryme  
 Ah how iniustlie heir he yow detains  
 ...  
 Ah cursed that by *Zoroastes* old  
 That first devysed deip incantatioune  
 Of magick arte, whose spells oft being told  
 Brings vp that foul infernall natioune  
 The man whoes witt does search furth such ane euill  
 Is foe to man and freind vnto ye Deuill.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput XII, 30, l 1.

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput XII, 34-35, ll 2-4 & 1-6.

Mansay's magic is thus paralleled with wit, and also positions him, as the primary motivator of much of the poem's action, as a prime example of the sheer power to be sought in language and verbal deceit. It is unsurprising, then, that when Penardo is confronted by one of Mansay's furious minions in the form of a dragon, her dangerous poison is pointedly alluded to as resting in her tongue, in whose 'poysone breideth sensuall delight/ which with gluttonis desyre is mixd'.<sup>39</sup> The prevailing power of words manifests itself once more upon Penardo's defeat of the dragon and his discovery of an apparently dead Laissa. Chancing upon a marble tomb in which a sword is deeply imbedded, Penardo's grief and rage at Laissa's fate provoke him to ignore the inscribed words of warning upon the tomb:

But in his furie disdained to reid  
Which efter was the caus of all his greif  
For from these verses did his health proceed  
His hope, his hape, his ioy, and his relief  
Yet from the rock the sword and sheild he taks.<sup>40</sup>

Penardo's inability to grasp the import of these words results in his ensuing troubles, once more entrenching the notion that language in itself is a powerful force and that, when reading, discernment is a crucial quality. Such a line of inquiry sees itself replicated and adapted over the course of the medieval to early modern period, indicating the clear influence of past Scottish cultures on the later seventeenth-century romances. Indeed, whilst Edwards argues for the principal influence of English romances, he also makes concessions for what are undeniably distinguishable Scottish features of the romance genre, stating that

Scottish romance often constitutes, in terms of mode and subject, a series of variations on a form that has as its primary characteristic narrative that it accretes various further possibilities that challenge our sense of the genre, perhaps in ways that are quite deliberate. This combinative approach conjoined (quite regularly) romance with other modes in Scotland — classical legend, burlesque, and political treatise — and in such a way as often to give a degree of coherence of focus to romance as subject. Most Scottish romances are clearly concerned in different ways with issues of kingship and the proper conduct of the nobility.<sup>41</sup>

Scottish medieval romance, like its later equivalents, can thus be interpreted as distinguishable in formal style as well as in its 'subjection in emphasis of the amatory to

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<sup>39</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput XII, 41, ll 2-3.

<sup>40</sup> Patrick Gordon. *Penardo and Laissa*. Caput XIII, 27, ll 1-4.

<sup>41</sup> A.S.G. Edwards. 'Contextualising Middle Scots Romance'. pp 71-2.

the political or ethical'.<sup>42</sup> As such, as this chapter indicates, seventeenth-century Scottish romance is at least partially indebted to its predecessors, as well as to Scottish texts more generally.

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<sup>42</sup> Sally Mapstone, 'Kingship and *The Kingis Quair*', in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*, ed. Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp 62-3.

## 5. Disunity, Conflict, and Contradiction

Despite belonging to a genre that has been described as both a ‘canon of imitations’,<sup>1</sup> and ‘a lineage or a family of texts’,<sup>2</sup> these three examples of early seventeenth-century Scottish romance are notable for their resistant disparity and their diverse adaptation of conventional romance motifs (such as the juxtaposing adoption of chivalric versus civic modes in *Penardo* and *Sheretine* respectively). Gordon’s *Penardo*, Hannay’s *Sheretine*, and Kennedie’s *Calanthrop*, despite operating within the same genre and socio-cultural environments, are persistently autonomous, and indeed are ultimately examples of how canonicity is sometimes simply an abstract concept rather than a functioning construct. While these disparities are implicitly and explicitly evidenced, certain cultural tropes and a persistent, key concern for masculine subjection to passion serve as specific examples of Scottish romance. Given the political and religious climate at the time of their publication, these particular romances provide substantiation of the inherent effects of the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the removal of the court to London, and, more particularly, of the amplified authority of the kirk in Scotland. It is indeed something of a critical fallacy for modern criticism to contend that Scotland in the seventeenth century was culturally desolate, and this thesis has instead attempted to highlight the manner in which these texts illustrate how those who remained in Scotland and continued to produce poetry were moved, out of necessity in a now dramatically altered socio-political society, to revise their approach to romance writing generally. The increased subjection to Christian ideals in the absence of a royal authority, as well as a conscious effort to re-direct the parameters of didactic poetry from a courtly level to the noble and middle classes, are prime examples of how Scottish poets of the seventeenth century were forced to adapt. The shift from royal to noble patronage was a significant one, and indeed one that directs the diverse outcomes of all three romances.

The overwhelming desire for romance to act as a moral *Mirror* from which its audience might plumb great depths of virtuous exemplum was another facet of poetry inevitably re-directed during the period, for indeed

a principal source of [the seventeenth-century Scottish poet’s] dissatisfaction was the undoubted loss of their chief traditional audience...the absence after

<sup>1</sup> Katharine Wilson. *Fictions of Authorship in Late Elizabethan Narratives: Euphues in Arcadia*. p 3.

<sup>2</sup> Helen Cooper. *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. p 8.

1603 of a royal ear bent to their earnest outpourings was certainly something to which Scotland's scholarly moralists could respond only with anxiety and bemusement. Though the printing press was by 1600 creating a wider reading public in Scotland, this could not in itself compensate sufficiently for the long-held expectation that scholarship should speak directly and authoritatively to those at the very centre of public affairs.<sup>3</sup>

This abrupt loss was felt most keenly by royalists such as Gordon, Hannay, and Mackenzie, for whom a 'humanist [priority] for public life'<sup>4</sup> had to be re-directed from the royal court via the greater numbers of the noble and middle classes, who now constituted the primary, socially diverse audience of romance. This paradigm shift was in turn manifested not just in the wider search for patronage, but also in thematic and moral agenda in the three earlier romances. While Mackenzie — whose links to the court remained unaffected by its change of location — would return to an earlier Renaissance style with explicit royal and political discourse, Gordon, Hannay and Kennedie were key figures in the levelling of romance from medieval chivalric to a more civic, *commonweill*-based project. While some of the texts (*Penardo* and *Calanthrop*, for example) retained to a certain degree the tropes and motifs of the medieval epic romance, Hannay's *Sheretine* in particular is representative of how readership might transform the romance genre. In levelling the implied audience from the lofty heights of the monarchy and court to the modest sphere of the middle classes, *Sheretine* marks an explicit attempt to level the lexicon of romance, while in 1660 a better-connected Mackenzie would herald with *Aretina* a revival of early romance didacticism unambiguously directed to the monarch. Indeed, Mackenzie's assurance in this move and the power of monarchical discourse was such that he expressed some dissatisfaction that the '*Literati* and *Vertuosi*, or retired *Curioso*, may not put in for so large a share of [the Stuart beneficiary] as most (if not any) Statesmen'.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of these diverse modes of address and a varied adoption of stylistic motifs across all four romances, each text does share a prevailing concern for the overwhelming power of love to consume the rational, masculine identity. In *Penardo* and *Sheretine* in

<sup>3</sup> David Allan, 'Prudence and Patronage: The Politics of Culture in Seventeenth-Century Scotland.' *History of European Ideas* (Vol. 18, No. 4, 1994). pp 467 – 480. p 468.

<sup>4</sup> David Allan. 'Prudence and Patronage: The Politics of Culture in Seventeenth-Century Scotland.' p 470.

<sup>5</sup> Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, *A Moral Essay Preferring Solitude to Publick Employment*. p 75 in David Allan, 'Prudence and Patronage: The Politics of Culture in Seventeenth-Century Scotland.' p 469.



particular, this concern manifests itself as a markedly Scottish Christian ideal, in which the subjection to love is deemed to be a dangerous foil to masculine valour.

Gordon, Hannay and Kennedie, as noted in a previous chapter, all notably took part in military duty abroad under specifically Protestant leadership, and all three managed to forge links (Kennedie's somewhat more tenuous than his contemporaries') with James VI's daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. Hannay, for example, served under Sir Andrew Gray, and even dedicated his *Songs and Sonnets* (1622) to him in a seemingly conscious attempt to illustrate what he deemed to be the new, civic-founded basis of romance and society. This was a move deemed to be a 'strong eighteenth-century anticipation',<sup>6</sup> and yet, there existed even in early seventeenth-century Scotland a strong fascination for soldierly figures, and many respected military servicemen traversed into the literary world as well, as exemplified by Gordon, Hannay, and Kennedie. Indeed, surveys of Scottish poetry have identified Patrick Hannay as a 'soldier and civil servant rather than a courtier',<sup>7</sup> while Patrick Gordon has been primarily associated with his depiction of Bannockburn in his historical *Britenes Distemper*.

The significance of these poets' patrons might also illustrate the connections between military service and poetry. Kennedie's attempt to forge links with Colonel Sir Donald Mackay, as well as Gordon's patronage with the second Marquis of Huntly (a Colonel and courtier both), suggest that soldierly patronage was sought not simply for literary acclaim, but also for the inevitable military employ such connections might offer. Robert Munro — another seventeenth-century Scottish soldier poet — whose patron was also the eminent Colonel Mackay, identifies these striking patterns of patronage as the results of a necessity for soldierly learning. Munro printed his text under the title *Monro his Expedition vvith the vvorthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)* and proclaimed in his reader's dedication that

reading and discourse doth as much or rather more, to the furtherance of a perfect Souldier, than a few yeares practise without reading...[for,] from Histories, men draw knowledge and wisdom.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> James Kinsley (ed.) *Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey* (London: Cassell and Company, 1955). p 62.

<sup>7</sup> James Kinsley, *Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey*. p 62.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Munro (1637) *Monro his Expedition vvith the vvorthy Scots Regiment (Called Mac-Keyes Regiment)*. William Iones, Red-Crosse Street, London. Accessed at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?source=configpr.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID..17/07/2009>. Reader's dedication, p 3.

A series of other relatively unknown soldiers, or indeed soldier patrons, printed romances throughout the early seventeenth century, from George Lauder's patriotic celebrations of military life in a long series of poems that were constructed in heroic couplets,<sup>9</sup> to James Hume's 1633 Latin romance<sup>10</sup> which was itself dedicated to another soldier, Robert Ker, first Earl of Ancrum. Soldier poetry<sup>11</sup> was thus an abundant source for noble patronage, and indeed the poems of Gordon, Hannay and Kennedie all seem to belong to this group. Given that the majority of these patrons were easily identified as Protestant, perhaps it is precisely this authoritative military link that informs these romances with their increased subjection to a particularly Scottish Christian ideal (in a cultural, rather than theological sense). As Munro also indicated, the moral life of a soldier — in itself a masculine ideal — could be lavishly informed by the discourse of romance poetry, a notion woven throughout all four romances in their depictions of soldierly heroes intent upon achieving masculine valour. Moral exemplum thus once more provides the true link between these seventeenth-century romances, and, while each displays a keen enthusiasm for Christian, soldierly discourse, the diverse manners in which each romancer deals with the same justifies the conclusion that there is no such construct as a distinct seventeenth-century Scottish romance *tradition*. Instead, the inherently ephemeral nature of the genre, which is one both 'too familiar and yet too foreign',<sup>12</sup> might be more fruitfully understood as the transitory anticipation of the early Scots novel, which, like all four romances, would provide a 'boundless potential of resituating the horizon narrative [fiction]'.<sup>13</sup> While these soldierly and moral aspects of the romances might suggest a particularly Scottish fascination — undoubtedly a product of the removal of the royal court to London — Gordon's attraction to a medieval, chivalric mode in contrast to Hannay's civic one, or indeed Mackenzie's courtly approach as opposed to Kennedie's mixed bag of modes, suggest that Scottish romance remained as diverse as it had been prior to James VI's ascension to the English throne. Those socio-political effects to which romance was so subject to suggest that, by nature, they can only be deemed as transitory, rather than the fixed examples of tradition that their foreign contemporary equivalents could prove to be. The inevitable effects of the monarchical shift in 1603 — while clearly manifested in many texts of the period — could not prove to be the unifying force for the Scottish attempt at the

<sup>9</sup> See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (1892 entry) for Lauder, George (fl. 1677).

<sup>10</sup> See David Reid (2004) 'Hume, James (fl. 1558 – 1629x31)', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. Accessed at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14144/?back=.14144,14139> 12/09/09.

<sup>11</sup> This subject will be more fully explored in the subsequent PhD.

<sup>12</sup> Caroline A. Jewers. *Chivalric Fiction and the History of the Novel*. 'Preface,' p xi.

<sup>13</sup> Caroline A. Jewers. *Chivalric Fiction and the History of the Novel*. 'Preface,' p xii.

genre. Those poets who remained in Scotland adapted both their address and form from courtly to noble ear, but the now socially diverse audience of romance resulted in their inherent disparity.

This thesis has attempted to make significant advancement into the study of early seventeenth-century Scottish romance. Its findings, while preliminary, aim to be illuminating and progressive. What remains to be seen of other and later seventeenth-century Scottish romances, and the dialogues and relationships they may have transacted with other genres — such as the early novel and popular fictions — can now be examined more fully in a PhD study.

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### Sheretine and Mariana

One Euening 'twas when the declining  
Sunne  
Wearied, gaue place to the ensuing night:  
And siluer *Phoebe* had her course begun  
To cheere the world with her more feeble  
light:  
    To rest my selfe vpon a bed I cast,  
    Till gentle sleepe seas'd on me at last.

As soone as sleepe me wholly had possest,  
And bid sad cares a time for to depart,  
I thought to me a louely-Maid adrest,  
Whose sight might pierce the most obdurate  
heart:  
    Soft was her gate, and heauy was her  
    cheare,  
    Ghostly, yet milde, her visage did  
    appare.

Her golden tramells trailed downe her  
backe,  
And in her hand a goarie knife she bare:  
Downe from her breast streamed a bloody  
tracke:  
A sable Sarsenet was all that she ware,  
    Thorow which that blood appear'd, as  
    I on lawne  
    Haue seene with crimson silke a  
    currant drawne.

Then gently did she by the hand me take,  
Saying, Feare not, with me vouchsafe to  
goe,  
Euen for thine onely Saint faire *Caelia's*  
sake,  
Where thou shalt all my forepast fortunes  
know:  
    Then to a floorie greene she forth me  
    led,  
    Which was in *Flora's* finest liuery  
    clad.

The Sunne nor Moone there neuer show  
their face,  
Nor yet doth horrid darknesse there appeare;

### The Complaint of Rosamond

Ovt from the horror of infernall deepes,  
My poore afflicted ghost comes heere to  
plaine it:

Nor nights, nor dayes, nor seasons there  
take place,  
One night, one day, one season serues the  
yeere.

Such light as when the early Larke  
doth sing,  
Such season as twixt Summer and the  
Spring.

Downe by this field there runnes a deepe  
blacke lake,  
O're which a Ferry-man doth steare a Boat  
So smeard with blood, that doubtfull it doth  
make,  
Or blacke or red, with goary pitched coat,  
With twisted long blacke haire, and  
blew lips side,  
Lampe-burning eies, mare-browes, &  
nostrils wide.

To him there flock'd of euery sort and  
fashion,  
Ouer that riuer wastage for to haue;  
But he deuoid of all loue and compassion,  
Would none transport, but such as pasprt  
gaue:

Here would she saine haue past, but  
backe he held  
Her with his Pole, and churlishly  
repel'd.

Then backe she brought me to that floury  
greene,  
And set me downe, then pitifully said,  
Thou seest how faine I would transported  
beene;  
But churlish Charon hath my passage staid:  
Nor ere can I passé o're this grisly  
lake,  
Vnlesse thou daine pittie on me to  
take.

For still I'm stayd till one doe write my  
story,  
Whose infant Muse is by a maid inspir'd,  
To write her worth, and to set forth her  
glory,  
Who for her parts deserues to be admir'd;  
Such is thy fairest *Cælia*, such the  
Muse

Attended with my shame that neuer sleepes,  
The spot wherewith my kinde, and youth  
did staine it:

My body found a graue where to containe it,  
A sheete could hide my face, but  
not my sin,  
For Fame finds neuer tombe  
t'inclose it in.

And which is worse, my soule is now  
denied,  
Her transport to her sweet Elisean rest,  
The ioyfull blisse for ghosts repurified,  
Th'euer springing Gardens of the blest,  
Caron denies me wastage with the rest.  
And sayes my soule can neuer  
passe that Riuer,  
Till Louers sighes on earth shall it  
deliuer.

So shall I neuer passe; for how should I  
Procure this sacrifice amongst the liuing?  
Time hath long since worne out the  
memorie,  
Both of my life, and liues uniuert depriuing:  
Sorrow for me is dead for aye reuiuing.  
*Rosamond* hath little left but her  
name,  
And that disgrac'd, for time hath  
wrong'd the same.

No Muse suggests the pittie of my case,  
Each penne dooth ouerpasse my iust  
complaint,  
Whilst others are preferd, though farre more  
base:  
Shores wife is grac'd, and passes for a  
Saint;  
Her Legend iustifies her foule attaint;  
Her well told tale did such  
compasion finde,  
That she is pass'd, and I am left  
behinde.

Which scene with griefe, my miserable  
ghost,  
(Whilome inuested in so faire vaile,  
Which whilst it liu'd, was honoured of the  
most,  
And being dead, giues matter to bewaile)  
Comes to sollicit thee, since others faile,  
To take this taske, and in thy

Which her rare beautie bred and did  
infuse.

By thy sweet *Cælia's* name I thee coniure,  
My ruefull legend that thou wouldst relate,  
This may from her some pittie thee procure,  
For as hers now, such once was my estate:  
I bid her say, and I would doe my best  
To please my mistresse, and procure her  
rest.

wofull Song,  
To form my case, and register my  
wrong.

Although I knowe thy iust lamenting Muse,  
Toylde in th'affliction of thine owne  
distresse,  
In others cares hath little time to vse,  
And therefore maist esteeme of mine the  
lesse:  
Yet as thy hopes attend happie redresse,  
Thy ioyes depending on a womans  
grace,  
So moue thy mind a wofull  
womans case.

...

Thus saide: forthwith mou'd with a tender  
care,  
And pittie, which my selfe could neuer  
finde:  
What she desir'd, my Muse degyn'd to  
declare,  
And therefore wil'd her boldly tell her  
minde:  
And I more willing tooke this charge  
assingd,  
Because her griefes were worthy to  
be knowne,  
And telling hers, might hap forget  
mine owne.