ASSESSING GENDER IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCOTTISH IDENTITY, *c*. 1286–*c*. 1586

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Abstract

Drawing on insights from gender studies, postcolonial theory, and debates around nation and identity this thesis offers a new reading of selected medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish histories and literature and focuses on the intersection of gender and Scottish identity. Historical and theoretical scholarship has shown that power and identity formation are complicit in the construction of both gender and nation, yet are usually discussed as separate entities. Moreover, theorists of nation argue the concept of 'nation' is a modern construct that has no history prior to the late eighteenth century. Therefore, by ignoring the rigid periodisation given to the study of the nation and identity I demonstrate a Scottish identity existed between *c.* 1286 and *c.* 1586, one that was underpinned by gender ideologies.

Scottish historians have recently acknowledged the paucity of writings on medieval and early modern Scottish national identity and culture from a gendered perspective. Using gender as a tool of historical analysis uncovers the multiple dimensions that make people and institutions what they are, giving them meaning. People and institutions are informed and guided by relationships of power and a gendered analysis provides a framework where one can examine and understand the cultural and social relationships people had with the religious and political institutions that governed them. This thesis examines foundation myths, kingship, heroes and heroines, and personifications of the land to illuminate the complexities of gender existing in the primary texts. All the chapters question the singularity of a hegemonic masculinity which was perceived as the norm and excluded women, the feminine and 'other' men. By challenging traditional power relationships this thesis demonstrates that images and languages of gender helped construct and inform medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish identities. This research will provide a fresh and innovative look at gender and nation, going beyond archival facts and demonstrating that the historical literature exposes changing cultural and ideological definitions of masculinities and femininities.

Dedication

Brian Murray

6 May 1944 - 20 April 2005

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Dad, Brian Murray who saw me begin this journey but sadly did not see the end result due to his sudden and unexpected death. The belief he had in me, and that my PhD dream was possible, kept me going during the long hours of researching and writing.

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To Mara Bebich and Elinor Harris: thank you for reading and commenting on lengthy chapter drafts, and for your friendship and support.

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> When will we see
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> And sent him homeward
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> Tae think again.[1]

For most Scots a stirring rendition, complete with pipe band, of this unofficial Scottish anthem makes them feel united with the territory north of the English border, even if just for the time it takes for the song to be played. As a Scot abroad, hearing the drone of the bagpipes, watching the Scottish rugby team, eating haggis or oatcakes, or drinking Irn Bru sends a rush of nostalgic and patriotic feeling my way making me proud to be Scottish, albeit for a short time. Such patriotism occurs only at specific moments in time or in particular geographic places. Medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish identity was also connected with particular events at specific moments. Everyday identity would have been regionalised and localised, based in the community in which one lived and worked. Scottish identity was a product of political, religious, and literary men who wanted to promote a unified realm that deserved its independence. However, that same identity was underpinned by gender stereotypes which are not always glaringly apparent, being subsumed in an idealised grand masculine narrative. Nation building and identity were essentially seen as male and masculine domains with women and the feminine on the periphery, or completely invisible. Yet, despite what the literature tells us, in reality masculinity was not always the dominant force; femininity played an equally important role.

In 1993 R. James Goldstein wrote an excellent treatise on the historiography of medieval Scotland which looked at the formation and articulation of Scottish identity. However, in his

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Note: Translations have been given for quotes in Older Scots or Middle English where I feel it is not readily apparent what the meaning would be to the reader. Therefore, not all quotes have been translated.

[1] First verse of the unofficial Scottish national anthem, written by Roy Williamson 1967. The song refers to the Scottish victory at Bannockburn (1314).

introduction Goldstein suggests that 'the masculine biases of traditional historical scholarship [that] have been the object of feminist critique for some time' would be clear to his reader because his main line of enquiry was 'the formation of the Scottish state and its struggle for preservation and self-definition'.[2] Clear as it may be to his readers, this comment fails to take into account that the formation of the Scottish nation and its identity is premised upon gender which is integral to its self-definition. As Goldstein rightly points out, '[m]odern historians have been trained to turn to the archives to answer questions about what really happened' and until recently, 'the privileged object of such a discourse has been institutional and political history'.[3] If historical archival fact is important in producing a wide-ranging scholarship for medieval and sixteenth-century Scotland why would a gendered examination of Scottish identity matter?

People, politics and religion, like the concepts of nation and national identity, are not one-dimensional. Using gender as a tool of historical analysis uncovers the multiple dimensions that make people and institutions what they are, giving them meaning. People and institutions are informed and guided by relationships of power and a gendered analysis provides a framework where one can examine and understand the relationships people had with each other, and with the religious and political institutions that governed them. Gender as a discourse 'is socially constructed and not immutable' but it allows us to re-evaluate 'some of the ways Scotland's past is imagined'.[4] Moreover, it allows the historian to consider 'the ways in which ideas about gendered attributes and roles were constructed and experienced by both men and women in different social, economic and political contexts'.[5] By using gender to examine the constructions of Scottish identity this thesis goes beyond the archival facts to discover the 'historical understandings' that underpinned medieval and sixteenth-century culture and society.[6] Cultural, social and gender ideologies were not constructed in a vacuum; they were articulated and enacted upon, defined and re-defined.

As the medieval and sixteenth-century sources I have chosen demonstrate, ideas about masculinities and femininities affected all behaviours and social relationships, both positively

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[2] R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, p. 10.
[3] Goldstein, p. 10.
[4] Lynn Abrams, 'Introduction: Gendering the Agenda', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton, and E. J. Yeo, eds, *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, Edinburgh, 2006, pp. 1-16 (p. 2).
[5] Abrams, 'Introduction', p. 2.
[6] Abrams, p. 3.

and negatively. With regards to national identity we see how the differences and subordinations, virtues and vices made up the hierarchy that defined society. Gender analysis allows us to view the tensions and anxieties that existed around self-representation; identity of the Scots centred round gender stereotypes, behaviours and regulations, and male and female bodies. Examining gender constructions of Scottish identity allows the historian to view the complexities and complications that went into that construction – it is not always straightforward or stable. All of this had some bearing on the development of political, religious, social and cultural institutions and processes and a gendered analysis allows us to understand the meanings this produces. As Joan Scott makes clear, 'gender as an analytical construct has the potential for enhancing social [and cultural] history by illuminating not only the practical constitution of sexual roles, but also the symbolic potential inherent in the categories of male and female'.[7] Moreover, ''sexual difference is a primary way of signifying differentiation' – the basic building blocks of meaning-making'.[8]

Revising the idea of Scottish identity as entirely male centred and hegemonic allows us to challenge this dominant discourse. By hegemonic I mean the cultural dynamic of the dominant group which makes patriarchy acceptable and guarantees the dominance of leading political men and the subordination of women (and other men).[9] As this thesis demonstrates, historical subjects contributed to the identity of Scotland through both normative and transgressive behaviours, although interrelated concepts of power, patriarchy, potency and politics flow through each chapter.[10] What we are left with are gender performances marking 'cultural constructs of power and powerlessness'. This, in turn, reveals 'individual and collective anxieties about identity boundaries and about the Other in terms of sex, status, race and religion'.[11] Men and women had specific roles to play in society. For women, especially royal and aristocratic women, their most important role was to produce a legitimate heir. Protection, defence, and good governance were specific roles allocated to men and, like

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[7] Joan Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91, 5, December 1986 in Dyan Elliott, 'The Three Ages of Joan Scott', *American Historical Review*, 113, 5, December 2008, pp. 1390-1403 (p. 1070).
[8] Scott, 'Gender', p. 1073 in Elliott, p. 1399.
[9] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 76-81.
[10] Clare A. Lees, 'Introduction: Men's Studies, Women's Studies, Medieval Studies', in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis and London, 1994, pp. xv-xxv (p. xxi).
[11] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, 'Becoming and Unbecoming', in J. J. Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, New York and London, 1997, pp. vii-xx (p. xiii). Also see: Kirsten A. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge, 2008, p. 3.

women's biological reproduction, underscored by ideologies surrounding sexual activity, performance, and restraint. Failure to perform the prescribed roles resulted in women being criticised and contained, and men being feminised. As this thesis will show, authors were aware of the consequences of defective masculine and feminine behaviour and used their narratives as a way to didactically advance a Scottish identity that simultaneously promoted political, social, and religious ideals; all of which were underscored by relationships of power.

This thesis began as an examination of the representations of Scottish women in the historical literature. Extensive background reading on Scottish history and literature covering the period 1070-1587 made it apparent that within the vast scholarship, some of which has been discussed above, the concept of national identity was an important theme. However, the majority of these works fail to include any discussion on gender which appears to me to be a startling omission; only Goldstein confesses to excluding gender. Esther Breitenbach and Elizabeth Ewan both questioned this exclusion of gender in the mid-to-late 1990s with particular regard to women's place in the historiography.[12] Pauline Stafford and Anneke Mulder-Bakker argued in 2000 that 'gender blindness' had been a 'feature of many of the older narratives of western history' and it was vital this should be corrected, particularly for the Middle Ages.[13] The implicit focus of the scholarship above has been on narratives promoting a single hegemonic masculinity or gender-neutrality.[14] The primary sources also leave their readers with the initial impression that Scottish history was purely masculine – all war, lords, heroes, and kings. It is this one-sided view that I want to challenge proposing that a range of masculinities and femininities impact upon, and work alongside, each other to produce a multi-dimensional focus of Scottish identity and destroying the singularity of the grand masculine narrative. After all, not everyone in a dominant group is consistently equal at all times, and at times other groups cross the boundary upsetting the hegemonic group's dynamics.

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[12] Esther Breitenbach, ''Curiously Rare'? Scottish Women of Interest or The Suppression of the Female in the Construction of National Identity', *Scottish Affairs*, 18, Winter 1997, pp. 82-94; Elizabeth Ewan, 'Women's History in Scotland: Towards an Agenda', *The Innes Review*, 46, 2, Autumn 1995, pp. 155-164; Elizabeth Ewan, 'A Realm of One's Own? The Place of Medieval and Early Modern Women in Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone, D. Simonton, and O. Walsh, eds, *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach*, Glasgow, 1999, pp. 19-36.

[13] Pauline Stafford and Anneke Mulder-Bakker, 'Introduction', *Gender and History*, 12, 3, November 2000, pp. 531-535 (p. 531).

[14] Abrams, 'Introduction', pp. 1, 6.

A 2007 essay by Professor Cairns Craig notes for 'some critics Scotland's history has been so insistently male in construction that women's experiences and writings cannot be fitted into any narrative founded on the nation'.[15] In the last twenty years this has been addressed, and a considerable corpus of work is now available with regards to women and the feminine within Scottish history and literature. Yet, only recently has the study of gender begun to be viewed alongside national identity and questions posed about how the two correspond with each other. In 2006 Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton, and Eileen Yeo published *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700* which appears to be the first comprehensive text of its kind in relation to Scotland. Within this text Lynn Abrams and Esther Breitenbach lament the lack of scholarship within the area of gender and nation; their arguments resonate with the lack of scholarship in this area for the medieval period and sixteenth century.[16] This thesis aims to begin filling this gap, turning to gender history and postcolonial theory to make sense of the construction of Scottish identity.

History is a 'crucial element with which to construct nations and national identity'.[17] There is a huge scholarship discussing medieval and sixteenth-century Scotland. Since the 1960s leading historians, including Geoffrey Barrow, Roger Mason, Norman MacDougall, T. C. Smout, and Archie Duncan, have produced a huge scholarship on medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish history. This has been complemented by specialists in Scottish literature such as Priscilla Bawcutt, Evelyn Newlyn, Sally Mapstone, and Janet Hadley Williams.[18] In the 1990s Scottish historians and literature specialists began looking at the concepts of nation and identity, as something other than a modern construct, in greater detail. Goldstein's *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* discusses some of the major literary works of the medieval period. Blind Harry's *Wallace*, John Barbour's *Bruce*, John Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* are examined as texts which mingle legend and historical fact with

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[15] Cairns Craig, 'The Study of Scottish Literature', in Thomas O. Clancy and Murray Pittock, eds, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, volume i, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 16-31 (p. 18).

[16] See: Esther Breitenbach and Lynn Abrams, 'Gender and Scottish Identity', in Abrams, Gordon, Simonton, and Yeo, pp. 17-42 (pp. 17-23).

[17] Stefan Berger, 'Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Historiographies', in Stefan Berger, ed., *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, p. 1. Also see: Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke, London and New York, 2000, p. 98; Goldstein, p. 6; Abrams, 'Introduction', p. 1.

[18] Please refer to my bibliography for an extensive list of texts by these authors and many other important historians and literary specialists.

patriotism in order to discuss the deeper relationship of 'power and socially produced meanings and lived experience'.[19] Overall, Goldstein's dominant theme is the construction of a 'Bruceian Ideology' and how a 'reading of historical pasts served the interests of the Stuart dynasty and its legitimacy'.[20]

As a result of two colloquia held in 1989 and 1990, Claus Bjorn, Alexander Grant, and Keith Stringer published a collection of essays under the title *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*; a text that offers up a number of essays on the Scottish nation and Scottish identity.[21] Dauvit Broun argues the kings of Scotland were able to utilise a distinct Scottish identity which was in existence by the thirteenth century. Alexander Grant suggests there were other mitigating factors that contributed to the Scottish success in the Wars of Independence, including the requisition of wool by Edward I and the fear he would conscript the Scots to fight for him overseas. Moreover, Grant suggests these issues did not affect just the elite section of society; the middling folk were the ones most affected. Grant argues therefore that the 'fight for independence came first before its theoretical justification', although the theories and beliefs already existed underpinned by grievances from different sectors of society.[22] Michael Lynch discusses sixteenth-century Irish and Scottish identities suggesting they crystallised through 'the failure of the first British state', which sharply defined 'visions of national identity . . . [which were] explicitly Irish and Scottish'.[23] Three years later Bruce Webster's text *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity* was published.[24] Webster looks at geography, politics, religion and the Wars of Independence to ascertain that a hybrid collection of warring peoples became a collective unit with a distinct Scottish identity; an identity centring on kingship and hostility towards their southern neighbour.

In 1998 two major works appeared on Scottish identity; one a collection of essays edited by Dauvit Broun, Michael Lynch, and Richard Finlay, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-*

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[19] Goldstein, p. 11.

[20] Sally Mapstone, (book review), '*The Matter of Scotland*: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland', *Medium Aevum*, 63, 1, Spring 1994, pp. 144-145 (p. 144).

[21] C. Bjorn, A. Grant, and K. J. Stringer, eds, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, Copenhagen, 1994.

[22] Alexander Grant, 'Aspects of National Consciousness in Medieval Scotland', in Bjorn, Grant, and Stringer, pp. 68-95 (pp. 73-74).

[23] Michael Lynch, 'Aspects of National Identity in Ireland and Scotland 1500-1640', in Bjorn, Grant, and Stringer, pp. 109-136 (p. 136).

[24] Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity*, London and New York, 1997.

Making of Scotland Through the Ages, the other by William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*.[25] The collection by Broun, Lynch, and Finlay showcases eleven essays that begin with the Wars of Independence and end before World War I. The collection seeks to 'confront a variety of Scotlands thrown up by the different ways in which images of Scotland and Scottishness have been created and recreated in the past'.[26] Beginning with Broun's argument that a sense of Scottishness existed well before 1296 and the start of the Anglo-Scots wars, the text moves through a number of essays by Fiona Watson, Carol Edington, Edward Cowan, and Michael Lynch before reaching the end of my time period. Watson's essay challenges the idea that Scottish nobles were highly concerned with their identity instead arguing that acceptable kingly behaviour was the issue. Edington also challenges preconceived ideas about Scotland's 'military heroes' and their links to the European tradition of chivalry. Instead she argues that the 'quasi-deification' of those same heroes and the *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) did not evoke a convincing vision of national unity.[27] Cowan, on the other hand, argues that the *Declaration* is an important indicator of national sentiment while Lynch discusses the post-Reformation identity crisis that took place in Scotland after 1560.[28] William Ferguson's text also takes the reader further than 1586 but begins with a comprehensive look at Scotland's origin myths which grew out of concern for 'ethnic origins' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in face of the threat from England. By looking at the mythical origins of Scotland and peoples' perceptions of it he concludes that during the Wars of Independence there existed an unquestionable sense of Scottish identity.[29] Ferguson then takes a good look at the historical authors of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries mapping out their contributions and acknowledging the changes over time in writing Scotland's history. While the story of the Scots may have had a mythical past to fall back on actual origins of 'the Scottish nation can be traced back to the period after the fall of the Roman Empire'.[30] Moreover, Ferguson agrees with the work of Adrian Hastings in 'exploding' the theory that nations and national identity do not pre-date 1780 and concludes

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[25] D. Broun, M. Lynch, and R. Finlay, eds, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, 1998; William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*, Edinburgh, 1998.

[26] Broun, Lynch, and Finlay, 'Scottish Identity and the Historian', pp. 1-3 (p. 1).

[27] Carol Edington, 'Paragons and Patriots: National Identity and the Chivalric Ideal in Late-Medieval Scotland', in Broun, Lynch and Finlay, pp. 69-81 (pp. 74, 78).

[28] Edward Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath', in Broun, Lynch and Finlay, pp. 38-67.

[29] Ferguson, pp. 16, 33.

[30] Ferguson, p. 301.

that Scottish identity is the result 'of numerous interacting forces over many centuries' which have 'subsumed and absorbed many ethnic groups and many languages'.[31]

The most recent collection of essays on the construction of the Scottish nation is edited by Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald.[32] *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c. 1100-1707* is a five volume set of texts in which the first two volumes cover new essays by historians on a variety of themes, and offer comprehensive insight into recent work. These are supplemented by two volumes of additional readings, and the fifth text is a collection of primary sources from the period. Origins, warfare, townlife, literature, archaeology, economy, politics and religion are just some of the topics covered and their contribution to the construction of the nation is illustrated. However, while these are excellent treatises in their own right none consider gender as a comprehensive or valuable component of national identity formation. All of the texts briefly discussed here are important in their contribution to arguments around the existence of the Scottish nation and a Scottish identity in the pre-modern period, and have been a valuable basis from which to begin my own discussion.

The Sources

There is a rich corpus of medieval and sixteenth-century sources, much of it relevant for the discussion undertaken in this thesis, but I have chosen to be very selective in the material used. I have also tried to concentrate on works never before looked at from the combined perspectives of gender and nationhood, or on passages in the larger chronicles rarely discussed from this angle. Historical events or figures, such as Robert Bruce, could have been used repeatedly over a number of the chapters. While there is some overlap in the evidence used, these events and figures have been treated carefully thus allowing me to engage with a wider range of material. Looking at a lengthy time span has also meant excessive detail or narrative has been spared in order to keep the focus of the chapter clearer; further detail can be obtained from sources outlined in the bibliography. The time period of this thesis is a neat three hundred year demarcation beginning with the death of King Alexander III, which precipitated the Wars of Independence, and ending in 1586 with the Treaty of Berwick; a defensive

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[31] Ferguson, pp. 301, 316.
[32] Harris and MacDonald, eds, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c. 1100-1707*, Dundee, 2007.

alliance between Elizabeth I of England and James VI of Scotland. This joining of the two Protestant kingdoms against the threat of Catholic attack saw a new path towards the British vision. While Elizabeth did not formally acknowledge James as her heir in the Treaty, the latter certainly signed it with this goal in mind. A new period of Anglo-Scottish politics was emerging, one that survived the execution of James's mother Mary in February 1587. More importantly, the period *c. 1286-c.* 1586 saw a rise in national historical writing, a proliferation of poetry in the vernacular (much of it satirical and responding to monarchical misgovernance) and the advent of the Protestant Reformation, making it an interesting timeframe to study.

The main sources consulted are the chronicles and histories from John Fordun (*c.* 1370s) to George Buchanan (1582), all of which are the main works contributing to the national historiography and many are highly nationalistic in focus.[33] John Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* was the first national history to be produced beginning with the origins of the Scots and ending during the reign of David II. It is a history that focuses on legitimate kingship as well as the mythical origins of the Scots both of which foster the idea of Scotland as an independent and distinctive entity. Approximately fifty years later, Andrew of Wyntoun wrote his verse chronicle in the Scots vernacular. Wyntoun desired to place his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* (*c.*1420) alongside other universal chronicles, bringing together a wide range of material from many different sources. At times he offers a number of explanations, excuses or interpretations of events showing it is a work 'less ideologically fixed than his contemporary', Bower.[34] Abbot Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (1440s) continued Fordun's work which also had as its main focus, Scottish kingship, and concludes with an indignant statement on the treacherous murder of James I (1437). Like Fordun and Wyntoun, Bower's religious background influenced his writing, although his work appears more overtly moralistic and didactic. He wrote one of the most comprehensive and nationalistic histories of Scotland underpinned with a definite anti-English sentiment.[35] Minority rule, governorships, absentee

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[33] Michael Brown dates Fordun's work as being compiled in the 1370s, although there are indications it could be dated in the early 1380s. I will use the date *c.* 1370s. See: Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371*, Edinburgh, 2004, p. 324.

[34] Nicola Royan and Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood', in Clancy and Pittock, pp. 168-183 (p. 174). Royan and Broun write an excellent and comprehensive article on the literature of Scotland between *c.* 850-1707 which should be viewed for further detail on the historiographers and epic poets of the period.

[35] As Geoffrey Barrow states, Bower's work is 'well known to be highly charged with patriotic fervour'. See: 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland,' in *The Innes Review*, 30, 1979, pp. 16-34 (p. 21).

kings, ineffective leadership, factionalism among the nobility, and English invasion were the many contexts against which Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower wrote their histories.

Minority or absentee rule, and even female rule, also featured as the backdrop against which many of the other works used here were written. In 1521 John Major wrote his *Historia Majoris Britanniae* which focused not only on the history of the Scots, but that of the English. While 'proud to be a Scot', Major was a great proponent of uniting the two kingdoms of Scotland and England and the reserve he shows when discussing particular historical moments or behaviours of particular key players, in comparison to Bower who would have had much to say, reflects this.[36] Moreover, by arguing and analysing Major moves away from the fabrication of origins and embellishment of facts as does George Buchanan. However, kingship still remains important to the central narrative for Major, as it is for Hector Boece. John Bellenden's 1531 translated version of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine* (1527) was directly aimed at the Scottish king and his court having been commissioned by James V; important in a discussion of national identity where kingship is a central theme. Ideologically both 'Boece and Bellenden agree on much: the antiquity of the Scottish realm, the relationship of sovereign and subject, the appropriate requirements of a king'.[37] Bellenden changed the language of Boece and in doing so 'modulates the material: in particular *res publica* becomes 'commonweal', a more emotive and more fluid term, stressing the result above political settlement'.[38] Language is also fundamental to the building of national identity and therefore the translations in the Scots vernacular, alongside the original works, are essential to this discussion.

The final three histories used from the sixteenth-century are those by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, John Leslie, and George Buchanan. All three are influenced by either religion or the highly charged political situation, or both. The Protestant Fife laird, Pitscottie began his history from 1461 and concluded it in 1565; a vernacular narrative firmly opposed to Mary Stewart and her rule. John Leslie's *De origine, moribus et historia Scotorum* (1578) was underpinned by Catholicism and support for Mary Stewart, and covers Scotland's history from its origins until the beginning of Mary's rule in 1561. Like Major, he was supportive of an

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[36] Royan and Broun, p. 177.
[37] Royan and Broun, p. 179.
[38] Royan and Broun, p. 179.

Anglo-Scots union, but only under Mary and his history was written in order to promote Mary's legitimate succession to the English throne and to encourage his readers to return to Catholicism. While Leslie strictly adhered to sovereignty, Buchanan was of the mind that a monarch could be resisted if and when required by the people. Initially a supporter of Mary Stewart he became one of her most venomous enemies and his writings reflect his humanist and Protestant leanings.[39] The version of Buchanan used is William Bond's eighteenth-century text, although I have consulted James Aikman's nineteenth-century version and make reference to any differences where appropriate. All references have been cross-checked with Buchanan's Latin original *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582).[40] My other main sources are two epic poems in the vernacular: John Barbour's *The Bruce* (1370s) and Blind Harry's *The Wallace* (1470s). These two sources are powerful and nationalistic narratives that articulate a definite sense of Scottish identity bound up in heroics, kingship, independence and anti-Englishness. Barbour's Bruce was commissioned by Robert II as a means to legitimise the Stewart dynasty but 'Barbour's presentation of Robert Bruce as hero and as king came to dominate accounts of the king and his journey to the throne'.[41] Both Bruce and William Wallace were used by their authors as the heroes that exemplified and defined what it was to be Scottish.[42] Harry wrote his epic for two border lords who were more concerned about

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[39] Royan and Broun, pp. 180-181.

[40] All primary sources are referenced in full the first time and then abbreviated as indicated. John of Fordun, *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, trans. F. J. H. Skene, ed. W. F. Skene, Edinburgh, 1872 (hereafter referenced Fordun, unless directly quoting Skene); Andrew of Wyntoun, *The Original Chronicle*, ed. F. J. Amours, 6 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1903-1914 (hereafter referenced Wyntoun, volume and page unless directly quoting Amours); Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt, 9 Vols, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1987-1998 (hereafter referenced Bower, volume and page, unless directly quoting Watt); John Major, *A Greater History of Britain*, trans. A. Constable, Scottish Historical Society, volume x, February 1892 (hereafter referenced Major unless directly quoting Constable); Hector Boece, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531, ed. E. C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands, 2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1941 (hereafter referenced Bellenden's Boece, volume and page. If used in the main text, the author is referred to as Boece); Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. A. E. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1899 (hereafter referenced Pitscottie, volume and page unless directly quoting Mackay); John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland*, trans. Father James Dalrymple, ed. Rev. Father E. G. Cody and William Murison, 2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1895 (hereafter referenced Leslie, volume and page unless directly quoting Cody and Murison); George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto, 1582*, STC/181:13, online, nd, available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ID=7548 (hereafter *Rerum*, folio and line); George Buchanan, *In twenty books . . .*, ed. William Bond, 2nd Edition, 2 vols, London, 1722, Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (hereafter Buchanan, volume and page); John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. A. A. M. Duncan, Edinburgh, 1997 (hereafter referenced Barbour, page, book and line(s) unless directly quoting Duncan); Blind Harry, *The Wallace*, ed. Anne McKim, Edinburgh, 2003 (hereafter referenced Harry, page, book and line(s) unless directly quoting McKim). Blind Harry is also referred to as Hary, Blin Harry, and Henry the Minstrel. I use Blind Harry or Harry.

[41] Royan and Broun, p. 175.

[42] Royan and Broun, p. 174.

James III's pro-English policies, resulting in a highly nationalistic and embellished anti-English narrative. However, it was a narrative that outlasted *The Bruce* and proved to be highly influential being reprinted many times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[43] As Nicola Royan and Dauvit Broun point out, all of these accounts are 'concerned with the actions of individuals'; it is this that binds them together. Moreover, it is kings who are the main focus and it is their actions that 'bound the whole realm' offering or supporting 'a model of wholeness for the people' and a central point for national identity.[44]

Two fourteenth-century English border works, the chronicles of *Lanercost* and *Scalacronica* are also utilised to give another dimension to the historiography.[45] The Scottish borders often bore the brunt of Anglo-Scots conflict and borderers repeatedly changed allegiance between the Scottish and English kingdoms dependent on which side had the upper hand. Lanercost Priory often fell victim to the violence of warfare, and the writer of the *Lanercost* chronicle was particularly anti-Scottish. The *Scalacronica* was written by the Englishman, Sir Thomas Gray while imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, *c.* 1360. It is the biases and anti-Scottish vitriol that make these two documents valuable for their contribution to my argument. The political propaganda tract by Robert Wedderburn and Reformation poetry by Robert Sempill are relied upon in chapter five. Wedderburn and Sempill are of particular interest because they use the personification of the feminine form to embody the nation. The political and religious works by Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay are also used to enhance my arguments where appropriate, and all of this is supplemented by smaller references from letters and memoirs by John Leslie and Sir James Melville, and works by John Knox and William Dunbar.[46] One may find it questionable or remiss that a discussion of religious upheaval and female rule does not rely heavily on Knox or Mary, Queen of Scots. A number of historians and literary specialists have examined Knox's works in relation to gender, and I argue his writings do not

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[43] Royan and Broun, p. 176.

[44] Royan and Broun, p. 183.

[45] Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica (1272-1363)*, ed. Andy King, Woodbridge, 2005 (hereafter *Scalacronica*); *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346*, trans. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Glasgow, 1913 (hereafter *Lanercost*).

[46] Robert Wedderburn, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1550), intro. A. M. Stewart, Edinburgh, 1979, (hereafter referenced Wedderburn, page and line(s) unless directly quoting Stewart); Robert Sempill, in *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed., James Cranstoun, 2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1891-1893 (hereafter Sempill, poem title, volume, page and line(s) unless directly quoting Cranstoun); George Buchanan, *The Political Poetry*, ed. and trans. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson, Edinburgh, 1995 (hereafter, *Political Poetry*, page and line(s)); *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams, Glasgow, 2000 (hereafter referenced Lindsay, *Selected Poems*, page and line(s) unless directly quoting Williams).

engage with Scottish identity in the same way the histories of Leslie and Buchanan, or the propaganda and poetry of Wedderburn and Sempill do.[47] Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* was only partially printed in 1587; a full version did not appear until 1644. Therefore, any nationalistic sentiment did not reach the audience it was intended for and the source and its engagement with Scottish Protestants had to wait. It would be more relevant to look at the later time period and its impact then, especially as Scotland 'was in the midst of a serious religious conflict'.[48] Kirsten Post Walton's recent (2007) text on Mary, Queen of Scots extensively covers arguments around religion and politics which intersect with gender and national identity. I have therefore used Mary sparingly and only when absolutely necessary. Finally, all the major sources used in this thesis have been chosen for their engagement with, and promotion of, Scottish identity.

Problems, or at least complexities, are expected when dealing with primary sources, and these need to be outlined. There are always agendas behind the writing of the period and many sources were used as political and religious propaganda. Whether the patriotic historian, such as Boece, consciously or subconsciously wrote his feelings into his work, they are apparent. Similarly, Major had ideas of a union between Scotland and England in mind. Barbour and Harry both wrote epic poems about their medieval heroes which have a nationalistic focus, although it has been pointed out varying sentiments regarding feudalism and knighthood are also apparent in both works.[49] Further challenges to the modern reader, arise when one looks at chronicles, such as Bower's *Scotichronicon*, which refer to a host of historical, classical, and literary sources that are no longer extant, either directly by name or in a vague passing

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[47] For discussions of Knox and gender, see: Kirsten Post Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007; Maureen M. Meikle, 'John Knox and Womankind: a Reappraisal', *Historian,* 79, Autumn 2003, pp. 9-14; C. M. Harker, 'John Knox, *The First Blast*, and the Monstrous Regiment of Women', in T. Van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan, eds, *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland*, East Linton, 2002, pp. 35-51; Jayne Lewis, '"All Mankind are her Scots": Mary Stuart and the Birth of Modern Britain', in Brook Thomas, ed., *Literature and the Nation*, Berlin and New York, 1998, pp. 55-75; Judith M. Richards, '"To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28, 1, Spring 1997, pp. 101-121; Susan M. Felch, 'The Rhetoric of Biblical Authority: John Knox and the Question of Women', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26, 4, Winter 1995, pp. 805-822; Robert M. Healey, 'Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25, 2, Summer 1994, pp. 371-386.
[48] Royan and Broun, p. 182.
[49] Duncan argues patriotism is not a central theme in *The Bruce*. See: p. 13. Anne McKim suggests Barbour was interested in knighthood and its relationship to the feudal system. Stefan Hall on the other hand suggests Harry wrote *The Wallace* as an essentially anti-feudal poem. See: McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 17, 2, 1981, p. 169; Hall, *The Role of Medieval Scottish Poetry in Creating Scottish Identity: "Textual Nationalism,"* New York, 2006, p. 169.

reference. The documents of canon and lawyer Baldred Bisset (1301) which are referred to in chapter two only exist in John of Fordun and Walter Bower's works. A distance of eighty to one hundred and forty years from when the original was written can have an impact on the way they are presented and their 'truth-factor'. These references need to be treated carefully and not acknowledged as absolute truth. However, the fact they are referred to at all imparts considerable information about the chronicler and his methods of historical writing. Most of the literature and documentary work was written by men and would have been read mainly by men; usually celibate, clerical men or those of the political noble class. Knowing what the mass population felt and thought about with regards to the liberation of Scotland and the ensuing wars is impossible to gauge because no extant letters or diaries exist, due to high illiteracy. As Anthony Smith asserts 'we cannot know that a single group consciousness did not exist . . . in the sixteenth century or earlier, simply because we do not have the right kind of evidence of mass activity or consciousness'.[50]

Furthermore, translations of Latin texts may be embedded with the translator's biases and mistakes. As Sandy Bardsley notes, '[a]ny discourse is indeed slippery and readily moves beyond the intentions of its originators . . . because those who repeat it have a stake in its perpetuation and adaptation'.[51] It is known William Stewart embellished his verse version of Boece's work, and it has been noted there are alterations and inaccuracies in Bellenden's translation into Scots.[52] Where possible, I have gone back to the original Latin to affirm important statements. But it is not only errors in Latin translation one has to worry about. Matthew Hammond outlines the problems of historicising race and ethnicity in medieval Scottish history pointing out the language nineteenth-century antiquarians used in writing Scottish history reflected a 'racialist, progressive paradigm that encouraged the perception of

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[50] Anthony D. Smith, 'History and National Destiny: Responses and Clarifications,' in M. Guibernau and J. Hutchinson, eds, *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 195-210 (p. 207).

[51] Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, 2006, p. 4.

[52] See: A. A. MacDonald, 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in Janet Hadley Williams, ed., *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, East Linton, 1994, pp. 179-200; Nicola Royan, 'The Relationship Between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in Mapstone and Juliette Wood, eds, *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, East Linton, 1998, pp. 136-157; Thea Summerfield, 'Teaching a Young King about History. William Stewart's Metrical Chronicle and King James V of Scotland', in Thea Summerfield and Keith Busby, eds, *People and Texts: Relationships in Medieval Literature*, Amsterdam and New York, 2007, pp. 187-198; Royan and Broun, pp. 178-179. My translations from Scots to English have been based on those of other scholars where appropriate or relevant, or by myself using the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (hereafter DSL), online, nd, available at: http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl/

one race superseding another' and drawing lasting divisive lines between Celtic and Teutonic peoples.[53] The scholarship of these antiquaries is still in use today forming 'the indispensable foundation upon which the modern [historical] discipline has been founded'.[54] However, the historian needs to negotiate these texts carefully when using them in order not to paint a nineteenth-century opinion onto the original author. Robert Bartlett highlights these problems in his discussion of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum* which he sees as a victim of the translator's choices of racial and ethnic terms thereby disrupting and 'cloaking' the 'complex and individual contours of [his] *gens*'.[55] This brings us to the conflict that exists around definitions which chapter one discusses and tries to iron out – one must be certain about the terminology being used and acknowledge that meaning(s) may have changed over time.

Scottish historian E. J. Cowan asserts that mythical origins of dynasties, usually ascribed to the fifth century, are 'the product of deliberate antiquarian speculation and arise out of a learned and literate tradition'. The myths 'involve many problems of language, dating and textual analysis', highlighting the point that one must be careful when using such sources and trying to glean what they really are trying to tell us.[56] The chronicles and histories, claiming to deal with the 'truth', actually use embellishment, wrong facts, lack of facts, contradiction, inconsistency, artifice and even plagiarism. Speeches put in the mouths of kings, queens and heroes are a product of hindsight and authorial licence. However, for purposes of gender constructions of Scottish identity these literary measures are more important than whether or not the truth is being told. How something was written, and its content, real or otherwise, demonstrate the author's opinions while subsequently illustrating social and cultural ideologies. This allows us to focus on and try to understand the prevailing mentalities of the time of both audience and author while remembering that the range of ideas and social mores may tell us more about the time period the author was writing in than the time he was writing

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[53] Matthew Hammond, 'Ethnicity and Writing of Medieval Scottish History', *Scottish Historical Review*, 85, 1, 219, April 2006, pp. 1-27 (pp. 9-10).
[54] Hammond, p. 12.
[55] Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31, 1, 2001, (pp. 39-56) p. 44.
[56] E. J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 63, 2, 176, October 1984, pp. 111-135 (pp. 115-116). Also see: Alistair J. Macdonald, 'Profit, Politics and Personality: War and the Later Medieval Scottish Nobility', T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn, eds, *Freedom and Authority*, East Linton, 2000, pp. 118-130 (p. 119).

about. Moreover, in Scotland much of the writing was infused with an indelible anti-English rhetoric, and a belief in the kingdom's independence. However, writers were not only commenting on the English, they were commenting on their own men and women, making perceptions about those deemed Other in comparison to themselves. Perceptions ultimately are distorted by prejudice and can be coloured by events of the time, but they are important as they can influence decisions, behaviour and relationships.[57]

Finally, it must be clarified that the Scottish identity promoted in the major sources under examination here is a Lowland Scots identity. This is not to dismiss the Scottish Gaidhealtachd or the Borderers who saw themselves as Scots, but who still had their own local, or regional, identities and idiosyncracies which are equally important to the construction of Scottish identity, as briefly mentioned in chapter one. What this does do is highlight the authorial agendas of the chroniclers, poets and historians discussed here. Those same authors were highly selective in what they presented about Scotland within their works and the Highlanders and Islemen were seen as inferior or barbaric trouble-makers, as discussed briefly in chapter five. As Jane Dawson argues, '[c]rucially, the Borders shared the same language and culture as the Lowlands. Rather than having to 'civilise' them completely, the 'roughness' of the Borderers could be smoothed away'.[58] My arguments are therefore drawn from the works of particular authors who did not specify, or include, all the people of Scotland within their constructions of Scottish identity. The result is a sense of Scottishness which is essentially Lowland in character. Nowhere is this exemplified better than in the *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320). The document declares it is speaking on behalf of the entire population of Scotland, but it remains 'silent about Gaelic speakers and the lower classes'. Instead, it attempts to

> express a non-existent unity of diverse groups of people living in Scotland who
> opposed a common enemy, and as such . . . attempted to stress national identity
> while suppressing regional identities.[59]

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[57] Ralph Griffiths, 'The Island of England in the Fifteenth Century: Perceptions of the Peoples of the British Isles,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 29, 2003, pp. 177-200 (pp. 178-180). For an excellent discussion regarding the problems to be encountered when dealing with sources see: Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900-1200*, Toronto, Buffalo and Basingstoke, 1999, especially chapter two.

[58] Jane Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds, *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 259-300 (p. 271).

[59] Hall, p. 30.

Highlanders and Lowlanders were therefore promoted collectively as Scots: a construction that was not Irish and definitely not English and which suited the political agenda of Scottish writers. Even though some authors such as John Leslie and George Buchanan were born, lived or worked in the Highlands their target audience, like those of their chronicling peers, was a Lowland one, and their works reflect this. After all, the hub of politics and the king's court in the late fourteenth century was moved to the Lowland town of Edinburgh from its Highland seat in Perth. Therefore, unless using the negative and derogatory comments made by medieval and sixteenth-century authors to illustrate a specific point, the Highlanders and Borderers remain on the periphery of the narrative.

The Discussion

Arguments around the definition, periodisation, and criteria of nations and national identity give no single conclusive answer. Modern theorists claim pre-modern realms cannot be called nations while medieval historians challenge this. Can we really call the 'kingdom' of Scotland between 1286 and 1586 a nation, and did Scots have a sense of national identity in the broadest sense of the term? Using mainly historical, literary and theoretical secondary sources, chapter one outlines the different arguments surrounding the concepts of nation and national identity. These theories and debates have been used as a guide enabling me to come to a conclusion as to where Scotland sits on the continuum between the idea of the 'regnal kingdom' and the modern-day nation.[60] Even though the notion of the medieval nation and a sense of national identity are still considered contentious and anachronistic, I argue Scotland can be termed a nation between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, albeit not in a modern sense. More importantly, a definite sense of Scottish identity was clearly articulated both during and after the late thirteenth and fourteenth-century wars with England. The chapter discusses the criteria used to come to this conclusion. Alongside this a discussion on gender is undertaken in order to show how its relation to national identity is important, how one construct cannot be looked at without the other, and why it is a valuable tool of analysis. As Cordelia Beattie suggests, historians look in a text for the 'moments in which it is revealed that the dominant discourse is not the only one, that is has achieved dominance by asserting

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[60] Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, Oxford, 1997.

itself against an implicit competing discourse'.[61] However, the sense of Scottish identity did not spring out of nowhere, nor was it produced in a vacuum. For documents such as those written by Bisset in 1301, the *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) and the historical literature outlined above, Scottish identity had to exist even in its most basic of forms. While utilising the literature and histories from the mid fourteenth century onwards, the chapter repeatedly refers back to the period 1286-1350 when the Wars of Independence and successive English kings' claims of suzerainty were used by authors to hammer into shape a definitive sense of Scottishness. The writing of epic stories and national histories served to enhance and encourage the promotion of this identity which was deliberately aimed at the learned and upper classes, including the monarch: those groups who were diplomatically, politically and religiously responsible for those lower down the social scale.[62] This Scottish identity, forged and built upon between 1286 and 1586, is demonstrated through an examination of origin myths, kingship, heroes and heroines, and the language of allegory and personification used to describe Scotland.

In 1301 canon and lawyer, Baldred Bisset claimed the whole of Scotland was named after one woman: Scota.[63] By gendering the land as feminine male authors were able to inscribe different values upon the distant body of a pagan princess, while simultaneously reinforcing biological and maternal stereotypes. However, Scota was not the only origin myth of Scotland, and I argue St Andrew was a competing foundation legend that was used both politically and religiously. Chapter two examines both these myths and the contexts within which they were used, how they were gendered, and how they contributed to Scottish identity. A brief comparison with English myths is undertaken to show that while Scota was used more positively by Scottish writers than her English equivalent Albina, interestingly, neither was used to show the superiority of one over the other. The chapter concludes that women were important to the cultural beginnings of the nation, just as actual women were necessary as mothers and biological reproducers for the nation. Scota's displacement as the originary figure of the Scots in favour of Andrew reinforced patriarchal boundaries which had been temporarily and necessarily disrupted by her presence. Moreover, Scota's political appeal

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[61] Cordelia Beattie, 'Gender and Femininity in Medieval England', in Nancy Partner, ed., *Writing Medieval History*, London and New York, 2005, pp. 153-170 (p. 162).
[62] Webster, pp. 85, 89, 94, 99.
[63] Bower, vi, p. 143.

waned in favour of an icon who had both political and religious value for the civic nation and the monarchy.

Kingship was central to social and cultural constructions of Scottish identity and is the focus of chapter three. In Scotland thirteen monarchs inherited the throne between the death of Alexander III in 1286 and the late sixteenth century. Nine began with minorities, of which two were female – one, Margaret the Maid of Norway, was never crowned and died en route to Scotland in 1290 sparking many years of turbulence under English harassment. Of the thirteen monarchs two were murdered, one abdicated, one was deposed, and three were imprisoned by the English for lengthy periods of time. Factionalism, power struggles, and female regencies highlight the complexities of kingly relationships and governance and make for interesting reading. I have picked a range of monarchs from across the time period to emphasise similarities or differences in how they were written about from one century to the next. All transgressed the social boundaries in some way, and the reactions to those transgressions across the time period were not only didactic in effect but emphasised that normative, masculine kingship was the ideal. Therefore, I examine monarchs whose narratives are highly gendered and dispel the notion of an all-encompassing single masculinity. The virginity of Malcolm IV, youth and old age of David II, Robert II and Robert III respectively, the lustful natures of James IV and James V, and the weak rules of John Balliol and Henry Darnley fit this argument. The chapter does not specifically examine female monarchs although the feminine underpins and informs the chapter's discussion; female rulers and regents were perceived as an anomaly by chroniclers and writers. Those that appear as exceptional are usually the ones with the most extant material, and have been written about already from the feminine perspective. Transgressive Scottish kings, and their 'suspect' masculinity, is an area that has received no treatment from gender studies and proved to be a better option for examination.[64]

A similar difficulty was faced with the heroes and heroines whose actions leap from the manuscript pages. The challenge was to find something different to say about the well known

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[64] See the following works: Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland 1424-1463*, Edinburgh, 2006; Louise O. Fradenburg, 'Troubled Times: Margaret Tudor and the Historians', in Mapstone and Wood, eds, *The Rose and the Thistle*; L. O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage and Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland*, London, 1991; L. O. Fradenburg, ed., 'Introduction: Rethinking Queenship', in *Women and Sovereignty*, Edinburgh, 1992; Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy*.

figures of William Wallace, Robert Bruce and Agnes Dunbar who were the main protagonists of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Heroes were integral to national histories embodying national virtues and defending Scottish identity from English threat. Wallace's reputation 'was almost entirely the creation of his enemies and supplemented with elaborations of later chroniclers and historians', which was an unusual way to treat a national hero.[65] Chapter four argues that Wallace defied the hegemonic ideal in a variety of ways: as a social inferior who takes charge on the field and in the political realm, and as a man who challenges gender boundaries by cross-dressing on three occasions in Harry's hypermasculine epic narrative. Bruce also upsets the hegemonic ideal by initially failing in his masculine duty to protect and serve his country. Chroniclers diminished his masculinity on a number of occasions but the most striking are those episodes comparing him with his social inferior, Wallace. However, Bruce did become a worthy king and alongside Wallace became the backbone of Scottish identity. Women were usually omitted from, or marginalised in, the chronicles and poems suggesting authors favoured the achievements and actions of men. Many women appear on the margins of the narratives in typically gendered roles as nurturers, mothers, providers, wives and widows who suffer violence and loss. A few women such as Agnes Dunbar, Elizabeth Bruce, and Isabel Buchan are striking in their appearance in the literature, and it is to this appearance that I turn. Acknowledging that these women have been discussed by historians before, my argument aims to demonstrate that while these women are on the one hand 'manly', on the other their manliness was contained within feminine stereotypes. Moreover, the feminine was used by the chroniclers solely to underpin and emphasise the masculine narratives within which it features.

Chapter five continues this examination of the feminine, as a tool that reinforces the masculine, in a discussion of personifying the land: an abstract representation of the feminine. Medieval and sixteenth-century authors used allegory, satire and personification to comment on actions of particular individuals or about certain events. Through these literary media, they were able to reinforce gendered, national and racial boundaries that were both real and imagined. However, this was not a new way of visualising the feminine. Allegory and personification of the female form had a long and varied history. Greek goddesses regularly

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[65] Edward J. Cowan, '*For Freedom Alone': The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320*, Edinburgh, 2008, p. 21.

'represented various qualities and virtues'.[66]   In tenth-century India, the divinities were feminised and often considered as 'mothers and motifs of fertility'.[67]   In 'medieval Christian thought and art the virtues were personified' and in the works by Boethius, Chaucer, and Jean de Meun we are presented with Lady Philosophy, Venus and Fortune; figures that are feminised.[68]   Christine de Pizan used Lady Reason, Lady Rectitude and Lady Justice as her three wise counsellors in the *Book of the City of Ladies*.   It appears it was only in the sixteenth-century that authors began to explicitly use the feminine personification of the nation as a response to female rule and religious upheaval.   As Jodi Mikalachki suggests the 'land-based constructions of the nation that emerged and flourished in sixteenth-century England inevitably and centrally involved gender' and resulted because the monarch was female.[69]

While Mikalachki's work focuses on England, there is resonance with the works appearing in Scotland, and for the same reason.   Using colonial and postcolonial theory this chapter looks at how the feminisation of the land allowed authors to inscribe on the female body anxieties about conquest, defence, domination and defeat.   Women become the natural entities upon which rigid boundaries can be placed while men fight to defend those boundaries and reinforce patriarchal ideals.   As Clare Lees and Gillian Overing argue, 'grammatically gendered as feminine on one representational level, the female body is imbricated at the site of signification of one imperial fantasy'.   At the same time the land is personified as feminine, it is physically invaded which signifies an intersection between gender and nation.[70]   Authors feminised geographical and architectural spaces, language and race to show the superiority of the lowland, aristocratic, male Scot over women, other men and the English.   The chapter concludes with two sixteenth-century case studies which examine the works of Robert Sempill and Robert Wedderburn who use feminine figures to personify Scotland in order to promote their political and religious opinions.

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[66] Tricia Cusack, 'Introduction: Art, Nation and Gender', in T. Cusack and S. Bhreathnach-Lynch, eds, *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-figures*, Hampshire and Burlington, 2003, pp. 1-11 (p. 6).

[67] Cusack, p. 6.

[68] Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: the Allegory of the Female Form*, London, 1987, p. xxii.

[69] Jodi Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*, London and New York, 1998, p. 25.

[70] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Signifying Gender and Empire', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 34, 1, Winter 2004, pp. 1-16 (p. 12).

The chapters lean toward a discussion of masculinities rather than an equal examination of masculinity and femininity. This makes sense when one realises 'men have continually shaped and reshaped notion of their manliness as a means towards exercising social and political power', and it is against other forms of masculinities and femininities that these notions have been defined.[71] The boundaries of gender, nation and national identity were stretched and crossed by both men and women, and therefore withstand the fixity of gender categorisation. As this thesis demonstrates, gender and Scottish identity are constructed by and through each other. As Susan Kingsley Kent points out:

> ideology of gender like any other ideology is never static. Changes taking place in the economy, in politics or society bring about changes in ideology as well, exposing inconsistencies and contradictions. Because ideologies are always uneven and often contradictory in their applicability to or effect on various people in society, they produce possibilities for resistance to them, possibilities for change.[72]

Therefore, there is ambiguity and paradox when discussing gender. Representation may well obscure reality for men just as it does for women and the historian is left with an ideal rather than actual reality, which is just as important and often more informative. However, '[a]s the historiography of the period suggests, imagining Scotland was always a polemical act, and the most engaging visions of the Scottish nation did not disguise the divisions that constituted it'.[73]

The medieval period in Scotland was a time of intermittent conflict both internal and external to the kingdom. Faced with regular periods of warfare Scottish identity was based on martial and chivalric ideas of masculinity where defence and protection of territory and people were expected. The historical literature used this ideal to formulate and express behaviours and virtues against which men and women were measured. Those who failed to live up to these high expectations whether through military defeat or gendered transgressions were depicted as less than ideal men and women and held up as examples of failure. In fourteenth-century Scotland the ideal Scot was the warrior male but by the early sixteenth century Renaissance influences at the courts of James IV and James V meant the martial value had been replaced

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[71] Anthony Fletcher, 'Men's Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England 1560-1660', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 4, 1994, pp. 61-81 (p. 62).
[72] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990*, Florence, 1999, p. 13.
[73] Claire McEachern, 'Literature and National Identity', in David Lowenstein and Janel Mueller, eds, *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, Cambridge and New York, 2002, pp. 313-342 (p. 325).

by one more courtly. The reforming ideals of the 1560s also meant the courtly gentleman was idealised as Protestant. The foundation myths outlined in chapter two were questioned and dismissed by authors keen to write about the truth of Scotland's past, replaced by works with a purely political and religious agenda. Moreover, the centrality of the monarchy was being replaced by the 'idea of Scotland whose existence was independent of a given monarch'.[74] Heroes such as Robert Bruce and William Wallace remained a consistent part of the historiography but influenced by the new political and religious ideology of the later sixteenth-century. By the 1570s the 'identity of Scotland existed in the eye of the individual beholder who brought his own political and religious lenses to bear on its representation'.[75] Throughout the whole period under discussion, gender ideologies underpinned the cultural values laid forth by chroniclers, poets, and playwrights. While we can never grasp the thoughts, feelings and intentions of those living in the medieval period, we are able to gain some insight into social and cultural biases and norms through the mediums of literature, histories, political and religious tracts, and propaganda. Embedded within these mediums are prescriptions of gender ideologies and stereotypes which will be explored in relation to the period between 1286 and 1586, in order to illustrate how they affected and contributed to the construction of Scottish identity. By looking at how gender intersects with origin myths, kingship, heroes and heroines, and personification of the land, one can see the role it played in building and promoting that identity.

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[74] McEachern, p. 318.
[75] McEachern, p. 322.

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Hammering Scotland: The Forging of Medieval and Sixteenth-Century Scottish Identity

A! Fredome is a noble thing!

Fredome mays man to haiff liking;

Fredome all solace to man giffis:

He Levys at es freely levys![1]

Introduction

In the late fourteenth century John Barbour wrote the epic poem, *The Bruce*, which had as its central focus the idea of Scottish freedom and independence from English overlordship. It was a freedom obtained through the solid kingship of Robert Bruce, and the chivalric and knightly valour of men like Sir James Douglas. Barbour's work is at the very beginning of a successive line of Scottish works that articulated and promoted Scotland's independence and identity, and which I believe are underpinned by gender ideologies. In order to undertake a comprehensive investigation of gender and national identity an outline of its theoretical framework has to be put in place and is the focus of this chapter. The medieval and sixteenth-century sources explored in each subsequent chapter become the flesh which will be attached to this framework. This chapter focuses mainly on secondary sources and explores the arguments of theologian Adrian Hastings, medieval historians Robert Bartlett and Susan Reynolds, English literature specialist Murray Pittock, and theorists of nationalism Benedict Anderson and Anthony Smith. Substantiated by examples from Scottish primary sources, this allows me to demonstrate why Scotland can be classed as a nation with a corresponding, but fluid and dynamic, identity between 1286 and 1586. Anglo-Scottish relations had deep roots with positive and negative consequences for both countries, and comparisons with England are also made where necessary.

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[1] Translation: Ah! Freedom is a noble thing/Freedom lets a man have pleasure/Freedom all solace to man gives/ He lives at ease who freely lives. See: Barbour, pp. 56-57 (1.225-229).

It is neither possible nor necessary to view medieval and sixteenth-century ideas of the nation in the same way as the modern nation. The pre-modern nation existed in its own right, and with its own values. In the period between 1286 and 1586 I argue there was a nascent sense of Scottishness that appeared in times of political, religious and social crisis, and which was nurtured and fostered in the contemporary histories and literature through the following ideas: a common history giving inhabitants a sense of belonging; what we might call an 'us versus them' mentality; identifying symbols such as the saltire; common territory; solidarity in times of crisis; and a sense of liberty; all of which I examine in the middle section of this chapter. While the terminology used may imply a singularity to the idea of national or Scottish identity, it must be understood that the thesis as a whole is discussing a range of identities; the sense of Scottishness was invoked at different times and in different ways for Scots. Robert Bartlett has suggested that 'labelling and self-labelling is strategic and situational' and is 'a political and historical assertion, with implications for one's rights and relationships. Different identities can be asserted in different situations'.[2] Moreover, as Graeme Morton explains, '[w]e all come to our national identity through the plural – our identities – and forge key elements of different cultures [religion, gender and so forth] when we interact with it'.[3] The final section of this chapter considers why a study of gender is a useful tool of analysis for understanding medieval and sixteenth-century ideas of national identity, and uses modern theories as a point of departure for looking at Scotland in the pre-modern period. Anderson, among others, has failed to discuss the contribution of gender in the construction of the 'imagined community'. This is especially interesting when gender theorists who focus on studies of the nation, race, and postcolonialism, such as Anne McClintock and Nira Yuval-Davis, suggest it is impossible to look at the construct of nation without gender.

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[2] Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31, 1, Winter 2001, pp. 39-56 (p. 40).
[3] Graeme Morton, *William Wallace: Man and Myth*, Stroud, 2004, pp. 9-10.

'Of quhat nacioun art thou?': Establishing the pre-modern Scottish nation[4]

'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' This question, posed by Ernest Renan in the late nineteenth century, has been mulled over and discussed many times.[5] Renan saw the nation as 'a soul, a mental principle' built on 'a rich heritage of common memories and the wish to live together'. The essence of the nation was that **all** its individual members had many things in common, emphasising a great solidarity. The nation was 'the historical result of a series of events converging in the same direction'.[6] However, Renan was a propagandist writing at a time when modern nation-states were forming, and cannot necessarily be seen as an unbiased voice. In 1983 Anderson published *Imagined Communities* which argues that the nation is a modern phenomenon arising out of the interaction of print capitalism, technology and human linguistic diversity, and therefore only appeared at the end of the eighteenth century. Anderson defines the nation as 'an imagined political community' that was 'inherently limited and sovereign', while encompassing everyone through deep, horizontal comradeship; a fraternity that is willing to die for what Anderson calls 'limited imaginings'.[7] This imagined community is limited because it is part of a wider world of nations, and each nation, big or small, has finite (though elastic) boundaries. Only through the slow erosion of the medieval belief of 'the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm', and its replacement with economic advancement, print, and scientific and communication improvements, can the idea of a modern nation become a reality.[8] Anderson's argument has been viewed as 'one of the most influential' studies of nation and nationalism which still continues to provoke interdisciplinary debate.[9]

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[4] Harry, p. 282 (10.604)

[5] Address delivered by Renan, 11 March 1882. Discussed in Hagen Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford and Massachusetts, 1996, p. 97.

[6] Ernest Renan, 'What is a Nation?', in Vincent Pecora, ed., *Nations and Identities*, Oxford and Malden, 2001, pp. 162-176 (pp. 164-166, 174-175). Also see: Schulze, p. 97. My emphasis.

[7] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York, Revised Edition, 1991, pp. 6-7.

[8] Anderson, p. 7.

[9] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, New York and London, 2005, p. 156. Also see: Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nation and Nationalism*, London and New York, 1998, p. 131; Patricia Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain*, Philadelphia, 2001, p. 7.

The list of those adhering to the modernity of the nation is long, and includes theorists such as Eric Hobsbawm (1983), Colin Kidd (1996), and Ross Poole (1999).[10] Liah Greenfield's study, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1992), proposes the term nation is applicable to England as 'the first nation in the world' in the late sixteenth century, locating the emergence of national sentiment in England in the first third of the sixteenth century. However, for the most part, she agrees with the modernity of the concept, as does Smith.[11] Nonetheless, Smith argues that Anderson and Hobsbawm systematically fail to 'accord any weight to pre-existing cultures and ethnic ties of the nations that emerged in the modern era, thereby precluding any understanding of the popular roots and widespread appeal to nationalism'.[12] He proposes that alongside the nationalist intelligentsia, cultural ties and sentiments need to be drawn upon to be able to strike a chord with the people in order to forge durable nations.[13] Vincent Pecora points out, '[w]hatever its origin, the nation has involved a complex and rarely consistent mixture of geography, language, custom, law, religion, economy, race and collective will'.[14] I would like to ask why the two sides cannot come to some sort of consensus? After all, as Hastings suggests, 'medievalists and modernists have more to learn from each other than has often been thought'.[15] Therefore, both modern and pre-modern communities have requirements that enable each to classify itself as a nation, although we must accept differences in the actual criteria. Nation and national identity are fluid and multi-dimensional constructs which take into account any changes in definition, or transformations over time. The nation is something to be copied, developed, and redefined to suit the needs of the kingdom and the people.[16] Who is to say the modern imagined community is not just another building block en route to something else that will be deemed a nation in the future, but different to the classification we have now? Overall, one needs to be careful not to view the

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[10] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge and New York, 1990; Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800*, Cambridge, 1999; Ross Poole, *Nation and Identity*, London and New York, 1999.

[11] Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge and London, 1992, pp. 6, 14, 32.

[12] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* Oxford, 1999, p. 9.

[13] Smith, *Myths and Memories,* p. 100.

[14] Vincent P. Pecora, 'Introduction', in Vincent P. Pecora, ed., *Nations and Identities*, Malden and Oxford, 2001, pp.1- 42 (p. 2).

[15] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge and New York, 1997, pp. 2, 6.

[16] Hobsbawm, *Nations*, p. 8.

notions of *natio* as something more than it really is, or demonstrate that the lack of political cohesion meant Scotland was a cultural and political backwater.[17]

Modern theories of nation and national identity have resulted in a variety of definitions; put the same ideas into a medieval or sixteenth-century context and the terminology becomes more complex or even anachronistic. It is necessary to examine the variety of ways Scotland has been imagined and how those representations have been created and re-created in the past. It is also necessary to remember national identity is not a static phenomenon; it changes and reinvents itself through new groups with new motivations as we see occurring at the time of the Scottish Reformation (1559-1560). Consequently, being Scottish and the idea of Scotland means different things to different people at different times.[18] Smith's 1991 definition of a nation encompasses a 'named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights and duties for all'.[19] Inherently tied up with religion, law, politics and warfare, and modernity, '[n]ational identity is the cultural outcome of a discourse of the nation'. It is located in the 'space between the collective identity of the nation's people and the political identity that transfers the substance of cultural identity into values that underpin political activity'.[20] Such exclusive characteristics are important in order for members of a nation to distinguish themselves from those of other nations, particularly their neighbours. This often leads to a perceived uniformity and homogeneity despite some people in the group being separated by differences in belief systems, geographical location, language and personality; yet, they are viewed by themselves and others as members of the same nation. National identity can produce a consciousness or sentiment that is imagined as the attitudes, ideas and beliefs deemed typical or characteristic of a nation including the belief in personal or collective

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[17] Alfred P. Smyth, ed., 'Preface', *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, London and New York, 1998, pp. ix-xvii (p. xiii).

[18] D. Broun, M. Lynch, and R. Finlay, 'Scottish Identity and the Historian', in D. Broun, M. Lynch, and R. Finlay, eds, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 1-3 (p. 1).

[19] Smith, *Myths and Memories*, p. 9; Anthony D. Smith, 'The Problem of National Identity: Ancient, Medieval and Modern?' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17, 3, July 1994, pp. 375-399, (p. 375).

[20] P. O'Mahony and G. Delanty, *Rethinking Irish History: Nationalism, Identity and Ideology*, London and New York, 1998, p. 2.

freedom.[21]   What is interesting is that the pre-modern community, and ideas of identity, fit many of the categories of nation and national identity that modern theorists have laid out.

If the nation is a modern construct, where does this position my discussion, in which I argue that a sense of Scottish identity was forged, built upon, and re-forged in Scotland between 1286 and 1586?   While Anderson's arguments are restricted to the period after the French Revolution (1789), his idea of an imagined community paradoxically offers what both Kathy Lavezzo and Patricia Ingham advocate as 'an account of nation medievalists love to hate' but which has subsequently been useful for those same medievalists.[22]   Anderson suggests that only by losing the 'medieval perceptions' of religion, dynastic sovereignty, and time is a notion of national identity possible.[23]   Nevertheless, I argue the medieval period can be shown to have possessed ideas about nation and national identity without ignoring these three 'perceptions'.   Moreover, religion, dynastic sovereignty and historical time are central to medieval and sixteenth-century identity formation.   Thorlac Turville Petre suggests that 'the similarities between medieval and modern expressions of national identity are fundamental, and the differences are peripheral'.[24]   However, as Ingham rightly notes, the 'politics of the periphery' are just as important as the similarities 'because nation is such a variable, protean concept'.[25]   In modern western political democracies, it is important for the population of a particular region to feel a sense of nationhood to connect them with that locality; indeed, this is their imagined community.   Without such a sense of unity members may feel disconnected from key institutions such as the parliamentary or legal systems, and consequently without mass support these institutions come under threat.   In a pre-modern context mass participation

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[21] *Collins Compact Dictionary and Thesaurus*, Glasgow, 2001.

[22] Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature and English Community 1000-1534*, Ithaca and London, 2006, p. 9. Lavezzo suggests that the 'medieval nation emanates as much from the structures of fantasy as it does from objective political realms. Adrian Hastings finds modern theories and dating of the nation as 'implausible', and asserts that the historiography of medieval England challenges the modernist stance. See: pp. 2, 6. Also see: Ingham, p. 8; Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 2-3. However, Gillian Brennan suggests there are problems with both Hastings' and Greenfield's hypotheses. See: *Patriotism, Power and Print: National Consciousness in Tudor England*, Pittsburgh, 2003.

[23] Ingham, p. 8.

[24] Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity*, Oxford, 1996, p. v; Ingham, p. 8.

[25] Ingham, p. 9.

was not a requirement because all the population were bound to obey their monarch. This is not to say the concept of nation, and its political utility, were not important for kings, nobles and churchmen who wanted to assert an idea of a separate identity especially in their battles with outsiders.

In constructing their identity or identities, individuals are charged with the interpretation of meaning surrounding both gender and the nation. Roles are defined by the ideology determined by the dominant institutions and organisations of society. Men are more visible actors than women and therefore dominate accounts of the past.[26] As Joanne Nagel explains,

> the scripts in which these roles are embedded are written primarily by men, for men, about men, and women, by design, are supporting actors whose roles reflect masculinist notions of femininity and of women's proper "place".

Recent scholarship has identified the nation as a gendered institution, but Nagel warns that if we narrow our focus to an examination only of women we will miss 'the major way gender shapes politics'.[27] However, it must be noted that Nagel's assertion is rather generalised in her failure to explicitly define which 'men' she is actually referring to. Identities are complex and not 'reducible to hard-and-fast definitions'.[28] They are created through social and cultural constructions, sexual subordination, dominance and exclusion, and national conflicts. They are the labels we give to 'the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of our past.' At the same time, identities are imposed and self-made and 'produced through the interplay of names and social roles foisted upon us by dominant narratives'.[29] Correspondingly, they are produced by the particular choices families,

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[26] Frances E. Dolan, 'Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern England', in Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, eds, *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe*, Harlow and London, 2003, pp. 7-20 (p. 8).

[27] Joanne Nagel, 'Masculinity and Nationalism – Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations', in P. Spencer and H. Wollman, eds, *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*, New Jersey and Edinburgh, 2005, pp. 110-130 (p. 112). 'Investigation of women' could just as easily be substituted for 'investigation of men'.

[28] Keith Stringer, 'Scottish Foundations: Thirteenth-century Perspectives', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds, *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, London and New York, 1995, pp. 85-96 (p. 88). Also see: Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles*, New York and Basingstoke, 2006, p. 11; Anderson, p. 3.

[29] Linda Martin Alcoff, 'Identities: Modern and Postmodern', in L. Martin Alcoff and E. Mendieta, eds, *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*, Oxford, 2003, pp.1-8 (p. 3).

communities and individuals make over how to interpret and resist those impositions, or how to grapple with their real historical experiences.[30]

An investigation of gender shows how the multiple layers of masculinity and femininity impinge upon, and inform us about each other. Smith argues that 'gender classifications stand at the origin of other differences and subordination', but 'gender cleavages must ally themselves to other more cohesive identities [such as class or nation] if they are to inspire collective consciousness and action'.[31] However, he does not discuss gender any further than this in relation to national identity. Throughout this thesis the actions of William Wallace and Agnes Dunbar, the political use of *The Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) and origin myths, and the ideals associated with kingship that are found in the historical literature, illustrate this argument. Symbols and representations are also important for outlining ways we share identities with some people, or distinguish ourselves from others. In Scotland, we see this through the use of the saltire on military clothing and the anti-English sentiment expressed in the literature. Overall, the formation of Scottish national and gender identities arises from distinguishing 'us' from 'them' or 'us' from 'other'. In Scotland, as elsewhere, this role of identity formation was normally taken on by the politically active and male section of society.[32] However, there is no one location of power; everyone participates positively or negatively in the processes of gender production. No-one is completely silent or passive.[33] Here are the parallels with the construction of national identity; men and women, masculinities and femininities are therefore active variables in the forging and maintenance of Scottish identity.

The problem for medievalists is 'not that the idea of the real nation is foreign to the middle ages, as so many historians of nationalism assume, but that it closely resembles the medieval

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[30] Alcoff, p. 3.
[31] Smith, *National Identity*, New York and London, 1991, p. 4.
[32] Bartlett, p. 40. Also see: M. Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 2004, pp. 6-7; K. Woodward, *Questioning Identity: Gender, Class and Nation*, London, 2000, p. 1.
[33] Dolan, p. 10.

idea of the kingdom as . . . a people with a similarly permanent and objective reality'.[34] However, if the terms nation and national are misleading and anachronistic in the way they describe 'medieval institutions and ideas' is it better to avoid such words?[35] Unfortunately, avoidance only raises problems of finding an acceptable alternative; 'in medieval contexts we [apparently] lack an adjective derived from 'kingdom''.[36] Susan Reynolds proposes the employment of the term 'regnal' as a solution to this issue when discussing the kingdom. Pre-modern national identities centred upon the kingdom which shared 'a single law and government which promoted a sense of solidarity among its subject and made them describe themselves as a people'.[37] Colette Beaune suggests modern vocabulary is inappropriate when discussing medieval reality because modern ideas cannot be matched with a time and place so different from our own.[38] In a recent text on medieval Scottish poetry Stefan Hall suggests it is immaterial whether or not one prefers the term nation or kingdom for 'each in essence is both a real and an imagined community'.[39] Inspecting a number of literary sources for the usage of 'nation', Hastings concludes the term was in use by 1350 and its meaning has changed little since then. He sees *natio* used interchangeably with *gens,* but emphasises the consistency of the word nation from the fourteenth century.[40]

Reynolds translates *gens*, *natio* and *populus* as a community of shared custom, descent and government; a people. However, care must be taken with translations of *natio*, and *gens*. As Bartlett maintains, these terms were interpreted in different ways, sometimes synonymously, and did not always translate as nation and race. This highlights the problems with definition,

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[34] Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, Oxford, 1997, p. 250. Also see: Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, Manchester and New York, 1999, p. 21. This of course assumes that the 'real nation' is modern.

[35] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 253-254.

[36] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 254.

[37] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 253-254.

[38] Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. S. Ross Huston, ed. F. L. Cheyette, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1991, p. 5.

[39] Stefan Hall, *The Role of Medieval Scottish Poetry in Creating Scottish Identity: "Textual Nationalism"*, New York, 2006, p. 23.

[40] First use of the terminology was *c.* 1330. Hastings, pp. 16-19; Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 255-256; Pecora, p. 16. Jodie Mikalachki points out that the earliest classical and medieval uses of *natio* designated a group of foreigners united by place of origin. See: Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*, London and New York, 1998, p. 5; Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, London, 2000, pp. 24-25.

suggesting a semantic flexibility should be adopted with medieval authors.[41]   Louise Fradenburg sums up this discussion of terminology beautifully by pointing out that a discussion 'of *natio* should try not to put asunder what has so long been linked together: the semantics of the specificity *and* generalisability of people and places; the earth *and* life's configurations of it'.[42]   The nomenclature surrounding the words nation, nationalism and national identity has proved to be 'notoriously difficult to define, let alone analyse'.[43]   Lack of specific definition confirms the fluidity of the concept of nation, and affirms the existence of differences between medieval and modern nations.   In response to the difficulties with terminology, I will use kingdom, community of the realm and nation synonymously.   National identity will also be used interchangeably with the terms Scottish identity or, a sense of Scottishness.

A kingdom was usually seen as the ideal type of political unit with a king as the ideal ruler. However, the kingdom was not just seen as a territory corresponding to a 'people', it was assumed to 'be a natural, inherited community of tradition, custom, law and descent'.   It is this permanent and objective reality that promotes solidarity and makes the kingdom's subjects describe themselves collectively.[44]   Along similar lines to Smith, Hastings suggests the medieval nation has a vernacular language, a shared cultural identity, the right to a political identity and autonomy as a people, a sense of belonging, theoretical and practical nationalism and religion.[45]   As Hastings claims, '[a] nation exists when a range of its representatives hold it to exist . . . [t]he more people of a variety of class and occupation share in such consciousness, the more it exists'.[46]   Smith agrees to a point, arguing instead that only a significant section of the population outside the ruling class need to describe themselves

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[41] Terms such as country, land, state, people, tribe, realm or society have been used synonymously. See: Bartlett, p. 44; G. A. Loud, ''The Gens Normannorum' – Myth or Reality', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4, 1981, pp. 109-110; Cohen, *Hybridity,* p. 13; Archie Duncan, 'The Declarations of the Clergy, 1309-10', in Geoffrey Barrow, ed., *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting*, Edinburgh, 2003, pp. 32-49 (p. 36).

[42] Louise O. A. Fradenburg, 'Pro Patria Mori', in Lavezzo, *Imagining a Medieval Nation*, p. 31.

[43] Anderson, p. 3. Also see: Bartlett, p. 39; Hall, p. 22.

[44] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 253. Alfred Smyth claims it is not necessary to locate all the specificities of a developed state in order to accept people had a clear understanding of their collective identity. See: 'The Emergence of English Identity 700-1000', in *Medieval Europeans*, pp. 24-52 (p. 25).

[45] Hastings, pp. 2-12.

[46] Hastings, p. 26. Also see: Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 251; Anthony D. Smith, 'The Origins of Nations (1989)', in Vincent P. Pecora, ed., *Nations and Identities*, Malden and Oxford, 2001, pp. 333-353, (p. 335).

collectively, and feel they belong to a nation, in order for it to be an effective force in history. However, for this to happen, 'other processes of nation formation . . . have to be well developed'.[47] He suggests 'objective factors outside human control' as well as 'human will and action, go into the creation of nations'.[48] This opposes Renan's point that **all** members of a nation need to be involved. Reynolds believes the politically active saw their kingdoms as comprised of 'a people' who shared a collective character.[49] Moreover, while politicians could manipulate solidarity and shape the units within which it functioned, its character was actually determined by the beliefs about loyalty, law, custom and government with which the people were brought up. Therefore, being part of a kingdom and sharing in its single law and government promoted a sense of collectivity, and solidarity made the subjects of that kingdom describe themselves as 'a people'.[50] When the group was threatened by oppression and attack from outsiders their shared solidarity was stimulated but only because people already thought of themselves as bound together by a naturally collective character.

Reynolds suggests the idea of a people, just like the modern idea of the nation, was unconsciously natural and thus uncontested.[51] Moreover, when the kingdom was without a leader it still survived because its people were bound by their oaths to an existing fraternal framework; an absent king did not destroy collective solidarity, although for Scotland it did cause instability and external threat in the years after Alexander III's death (1286).[52] Murray Pittock considers the 'consciousness of Scottish nationality' to be dependent on the 'interpretation of such events as the Wars of Independence (1296-1357) and the Reformation,

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[47] Anthony D. Smith, 'History and National Identity: Responses and Clarifications' in M. Guibernau, and J. Hutchinson, eds, *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 195-210 (p. 207). Smith suggests hard and fast lines should not be drawn; instead one should look at the processes by which nations are formed out of pre-existing ethnies. See: *Myths and Memories*, p. 24.

[48] Smith, 'Origins of Nations', p. 335.

[49] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 301-302; 116-129. My emphasis.

[50] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 253, 302.

[51] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, pp. 257, 331.

[52] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 301. Solidarity was promoted by the firm, everyday control over the kingdom by royal government, p. 264. This thesis is considering the overarching collective identity but acknowledges that there were regionalised and localised identities that people adhered with on a daily basis. Such a discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis.

as well as the social contexts and processes which surrounded them'.[53] R. J. Goldstein argues that Scottish identity began before the thirteenth century, originating in the Church's fight for independence.[54]   This opposes Ernest Gellner's belief that the concept of nation rightly excludes pre-modern Scotland because its nation was formed in response to the need for a labour force at the time of the industrial revolution, not because of the Wars of Independence.[55]   As C. L. Tipton rightly points out 'things need not have a name and a modern definition in order to have existence'.[56] Taking this further, Kathy Lavezzo argues we do not have to prove that a nation existed in order to locate 'notions of national identity during a particular time and in a particular place. She suggests that by citing evidence of the state, historical realities are given some authority even though fundamentally the nation is really an imagined community.[57]

Utilising criteria found in Reynolds, Smith and Hastings I suggest the medieval Scottish nation is self-defined, even if just for a small group of society such as the elites, as a political, religious, cultural, and social community with the king at the apex. In Scotland, anti-English sentiment, origin myths and political propaganda such as the *Declaration of Arbroath* heightened such self-definition. The collective community is imagined, because members will never know everyone in that community, but there are boundaries beyond which it is acknowledged there are different, or separate, people. The imagined community is then promoted by those authors producing political works, religious propaganda, poetry, histories

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[53] Murray Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, Basingstoke and New York, 2001, p. 2. Also see: Fiona Watson, 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence', in Broun, Lynch, and Finlay, pp. 18-37 (p. 31).

[54] R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, p. 23. Also see: Michael Lynch, 'A Nation Born Again? Scottish Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Broun, Lynch, and Finlay, pp. 82-104 (p. 84); R. J. Moll, ''Off quhat nacioun art thow?' National Identity in Blind Hary's *Wallace*'', in R. A. McDonald, ed., *History, Literature and Music in Scotland 700-1560*, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 2002, pp. 120-143 (p. 120). Also see: Alexander Grant, 'Aspects of National Consciousness in Medieval Scotland', in C. Bjorn, A. Grant, and K. J. Stringer, eds, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, Copenhagen, 1994, pp. 68-95 (p. 74).

[55] Atsuko Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe: Concepts of Europe and the Nation*, London and New York, 2004, p. 24.

[56] C. L. Tipton, *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1972, p. 2.

[57] Lavezzo, p. 9. Lesley Johnson suggests it is more important to determine the components and functions of the national identities that existed in the medieval period at various times, not whether they *actually* existed or not. See: Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern', in S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. Murray, eds, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds, 1995, pp. 1-19 (pp. 6, 15). My emphasis.

and prose which are disseminated vertically and horizontally, textually and orally throughout the community. As Alexander Grant points out if there was no existing sense of Scottishness, such as that displayed in the Wars of Independence, then authors like John Fordun (1370s) and Walter Bower (1440s) would have had no Scots to write for.[58] However, there is an understanding that people can belong to the same nation but not necessarily share in the same beliefs, language or geographical space.[59] Reynolds suggests Scotland had no real common descent, no common language, and was a political unit that was not always unified; the most important thing was the Scots believed in a historic national unity, and their right to independence.[60]

'Christ! He is not a Scot who is not pleased with this book': Imagining Scottish Identity[61]

Having established the boundaries of the medieval and sixteenth-century nation, and continuing to expand on the work of Hastings, Reynolds and Smith, my definition of Scottish identity, which will be discussed further in the following sub-sections, covers the following:

i. A sense of belonging and identification with the nation, territory, or symbols of Scotland (usually through a shared historical experience), which came through the fabricated but extensively used foundation myths and the use of the cross of St Andrew (saltire).

ii. Shared characteristics and distinguishing features of the membership such as language, religion, traditions and political community, which includes common institutions (*patria*), a single code of rights, a definite social space, duties for all members (whether elites or peasants), and a demarcated territory.[62] The right to a political identity and autonomy as a people was also articulated through the foundation myths,

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[58] Grant, 'National Consciousness', p. 74.
[59] David Aers, ed., 'Introduction', in *Culture and History 1350-1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*, Hemel Hempstead, 1992, pp. 1-6 (p. 1). Also see: Peter Womack, 'Imagining Communities: Theatres and the English Nation in the Sixteenth Century', in Aers, pp. 91-145 (pp. 93-94); Lavezzo, pp. 9-10; Geraldine Heng, 'The Romance of England', in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, New York, 2000, pp. 137-171 (p. 153).
[60] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 276; Hall, p. 3.
[61] Bower, viii, p. 341.
[62] Smith, *National Identity*, p. 9.

kingship, and political/religious propaganda. Hastings asserts that the nation's sovereignty is inherent within the people and is expressive of its historic identity.[63]

iii.   An 'us versus them' mentality. Nations construct themselves through dichotomies of Self and Other, the latter usually perceived as strange or different (and often including the feminine) thus emphasising the exclusionary nature of the nation.

iv.   Solidarity at times of crisis, especially external pressure or threat.

v.   And with particular relevance to Scotland, a sense of freedom and/or independence from overlordship.[64]

Using foundation myths, kingship, heroes and heroines, and the abstract representation of Scotland as feminine as a basis for the Scottish ideology of nation, this thesis will show how gendered language, ideas of ethnicity, and imagery were used by royalty, government, chroniclers, playwrights, and poets to construct, promote and instil a sense of national identity into the people of Scotland. As Hall suggests, medieval Scottish identity was a "textual construction" which draws on popular Scottish thought, culture, history, folklore and legends for inspiration.[65] While acknowledging there is some overlap between the sub-sections, the following discussion will use the criteria above as a definitive framework and outline the evidence to show a sense of Scottish identity existed between 1286 and 1586.

Sense of Belonging

Pittock argues that modern theories put too much emphasis on a 'contractual' nationalism that relies on constitutional and documentary formats. This means little attention is given to 'collectivist culturalist nationalism, which identifies its chosen people-nation as unique,

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[63] Hastings, pp. 2-4.

[64] Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 253. Also see: M. T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers 1066-1307*, 3rd Edition, Malden, Oxford and Carlton, 2006, p. 235; Lavezzo, p. 12; Turville-Petre, pp. 1-10; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, Chicago and London, 1992, p. 22; Joachim Schwend, 'Nationalism in Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Literature,' in H. W. Drescher and H. Volkel, eds, *Nationalism in Literature – Literature, Language and National Identity*, Frankfurt, Bern, New York and Paris, 1989, pp. 29- 42 (p. 30); Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Oxford and New York, 2003, pp. 24-25.

[65] Hall, p. 16.

possessing unparalleled qualities'.[66] Alongside the pitched battles of the fourteenth century were the wars of words emphasising a definite Scottish identity, and independent nation. The most famous and sophisticated piece of nationalistic propaganda was *The Declaration of Arbroath* (1320), a letter of remonstrance to Pope John XXII outlining the free, independent and divinely protected position of the Scottish nation, which 'effectively became a statement of completed nationality'.[67] As the document's author claimed:

> [W]e know . . . from the chronicles and books of the ancients . . . that among other famous nations our own, the Scots, has been graced with widespread renown . . . nowhere could they be subdued by any race however barbarous . . . [t]hence they came, twelve hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea, to their home in the west where they still live today . . . they took possession of that home with many victories and untold efforts; and . . . have held it free of all servitude ever since. In their kingdom there have reigned one hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock, the line unbroken by a single foreigner.[68]

The *Declaration* goes on to argue that Scotland had always been protected by the Popes of Rome and

> [t]hus our nation under their protection did indeed live in freedom and peace up to the time when . . . the king of the English, Edward . . . when our kingdom had no head and our people harboured no malice or treachery . . . came in the guise of friend and ally to harass them as an enemy.[69]

Stating that the people were 'bound both by law and by his [the king's] merits' the *Declaration* maintains that Scotland's freedom will continue, but if the king made his kingdom and people subject to the English the Scots would 'drive him [the king] out as our enemy and a subverter of his own right and ours, and make some other man who was well able

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[66] Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, p. 21. For a specific example, see: Bower, i, p. 313. Also see: Edward J. Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath', in Broun, Finlay, and Lynch, pp. 38-67 (p. 39); G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm*, 4th Edition, London, 2005, pp. 396-405.
[67] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 29.
[68] *Declaration of Arbroath*, English translation in Barrow, *The Declaration of Arbroath*, pp. xiii-xv (p. xiii) (hereafter, *Declaration of Arbroath*).
[69] *Declaration of Arbroath*, p. xiv.

to defend us our King'.[70] The *Declaration* showed how important the view of nation was over and above the monarch. However, Edward Cowan claims the *Declaration* was 'the first national governmental expression . . . of the principle of the contractual theory of monarchy'.[71] While existence of the Magna Carta (1215) casts doubt on this statement, Cowan's comment illustrates the political basis for the medieval Scottish nation.

Continuing, the *Declaration* asked the Pope intervene so that the English, whose atrocities spared no-one regardless of age, sex, religion or order, would 'leave us Scots in peace, who live in this poor little Scotland, beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all, and covet nothing but our own'. Here, the categories of age, sex, religion or order suggest an inclusiveness that takes into account every Scot.[72] Furthermore, the references to nation and the idea of a united (political) community stress the necessary sense of belonging to a common territory: Scotland. This was a territory governed by a legitimate and hereditary king, and therefore had a right to independence. The *Declaration*, as Dauvit Broun points out, 'shows that the idea of a sovereign community could be articulated without reference to ethnicity'.[73]

It is impossible to ascertain the feelings and actions of the humble peasant because there are no extant records written by them. Yet, from what the chronicles tell us we might believe there was more involvement from the lower classes than is usually thought, as discussed later in this section. According to Richard Moll, studies 'indicate that late medieval Scotland recognised itself as a nation [and] many . . . Scottish people identified themselves with the land and its inhabitants; an identification expressed in both Latin and vernacular literary traditions'.[74] Norman Reid argues that the *Declaration* appears to be representative of 'at least the lay community' while Stefan Hall suggests the document, despite being signed by noble landowners and churchmen, 'implies inclusion of the whole of the Scottish population in

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[70] *Declaration of Arbroath*, p. xiv.
[71] Edward J. Cowan, *'For Freedom Alone': The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320*, East Linton, 2003, p. 62.
[72] *Declaration of Arbroath*, p. xiv; Hall, p. 29.
[73] Dauvit Broun, 'The Declaration of Arbroath: Pedigree of a Nation?' in Barrow, *Declaration of Arbroath*, pp. 1-12, (p. 8).
[74] Moll, p. 121.

the freedom from English oppression'.[75] Geoffrey Barrow maintains that the *Declaration* was the community of the realm's letter; a document representing the 'voice and mind of the community of the realm as truly as contemporary conditions allowed'. The community of the realm was made up of the king and 'those men summoned to Parliament by the king who represented in themselves or by proxy the estates of the realm'. As Barrow argues, the clerks who coined the term 'community of the realm' would have thought it unthinkable that it could mean the general population or the 'commons'.[76] More importantly, the *Declaration* was not just a political document serving the interests of the king and his government, it was a national one that was a 'clear statement of . . . [the] . . . mutual relationship' between the king and the community.[77] Regardless, of who was included or omitted, it has to be understood that Scottish identity could be just as fragmented as the land and the people it brought under its umbrella.[78] In Scotland there was disunity because culturally there were two languages (Gaelic and Scots/English), two types of people (highlanders and lowlanders), internal factions and frictions, and individuals often showed loyalty to both Scotland and England.[79] This suggests that only at certain times pockets of society had a sense of Scottish identity when feeling threatened; usually the elites who were used to subordinating others rather than being subordinated by others (the English).

While ethnicity was an important factor for a nation's establishment, Bartlett shows that '[m]edieval conceptions of race and nation are so tightly linked' it is impossible to demarcate

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[75] Norman Reid, 'Crown and Community Under Robert I', in Grant and Stringer, *Medieval Scotland*, pp. 203-222 (pp. 208-209); Hall, p. 28.

[76] Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, pp. 44, 390, 394-395. Also see: Michael Brown, *Bannockburn: The Scottish War and the British Isles 1307-1323*, Edinburgh, 2008, p. 54. Brown claims that a generalised meaning of community is the landowning elite who 'assumed a significance as the body politic of the kingdom'.

[77] Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, pp. 398, 400 (p. 400); Geoffrey Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, London, 1965, p. 428. Also see: Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830*, Cambridge and New York, 1993, p. 17; Reynolds, *Kingdoms*, p. 276. Barrow suggests that a 'man's community determined his occupation and loyalties'. See: Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306*, Edinburgh, 2003, p. 147.

[78] Moll, p. 121. Also see: K. J. Lewis in 'Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives, History and National Identity in Late Medieval England', in H. Brocklehurst and R. Phillips, eds, *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*, New York, 2004, pp. 160-170 (p. 161); Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, pp. 6-7.

[79] Usually this occurred in the border regions or if the nobility owned land in both countries. Loyalty during times of conflict served personal interests and often depended on who was winning. Loyalties could fluctuate considerably over the course of a particular conflict.

a chronology of medieval national identity.[80]   If Scottish identity did not emerge from 'a single ethnicity or language group', where did it spring from?[81]   Communities were differentiated by language and customs but their cohesiveness and 'their sense of being Scottish' was achieved through their 'obedience to the king of Scots'.[82]   The ethnic group or nation is only one strand in the construction of political unity and political consciousness. The labelling of 'Scotland', of being 'Scottish', or 'Scots' suited particular situations at particular times, thus different constructions of Scotland were used for different purposes.   This is evident in the *Declaration of Arbroath*, and in the letter Robert Bruce sent to the Irish in 1315, which rather than differentiate the Scots from the Irish he emphasised their shared ancestry in order for liberty to be restored to their combined nation.   It is therefore clear the Scottish kingdom was seen as a political unit, a natural and desirable vehicle of national feeling.[83]   How medieval society organised itself led to a shared sense of community development on both local and national levels.[84]   As Pittock asserts, 'the monarchy was alert to the ethnic diversity of its subjects'.   'Scots and English' were how Eadgar in the eleventh-century described his people and later charters termed them as 'French and English, Scots and Galwegians' all 'worthy men of the king'.[85]

William the Lion (*r.* 1165-1214) addressed all his faithful subjects, in a document confirming the Carrick heir's fief, as: '*tocius terre sue Francis et Anglis Scottis et Galwahensibus*'. William did not use this or any other designation of ethnicity to describe his subjects throughout the rest of his reign; afterwards they are described simply as 'subjects of the realm of Scotland'.[86]   Because of the importance placed on kingship by the medieval community,

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[80] Bartlett, p. 53.

[81] Hastings, p. 70.

[82] Broun, 'Pedigree of a Nation?', p. 7. Also see: Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, p. 151. As Barrow points out, the community of the realm was second only to the 'much larger community of the faithful, or *respublica Christiana* to which all Scots of [the] period belonged'. The community of the realm 'constituted the highest application of the idea of community and possessed the greatest constitutional significance'. See: Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, p. 154.

[83] Bartlett, pp. 53-54. Also see: Lavezzo, p. xix.

[84] Hall, p. 47.

[85] Murray Pittock, *A New History of Scotland*, Stroud, 2003, pp. 55-56. Ichijo suggests while this does not really include the lesser folk, it does show a desire among the elite to present Scotland as 'one people'. See: p. 29

[86] Ferguson, p. 27. Translation: of his land, all of his friends the Franks, and English, Scots and Galwegians.

those living in Scotland only saw themselves as 'Scots' under the lordship of the king. According to Pittock the 'king was king of those within the bounds of "Scotland"', and hence those who lived within those bounds could begin to think of themselves as loyal Scots '*while they lived there*'. He claims that by the reign of Alexander III (1249-1286) 'the notion of a "Scot", as partially separable from one who owed homage to the king of Scots for lands in Scotland, was beginning to form'.[87] Blind Harry's epic poem *The Wallace* (1470s) is the first recorded instance in the literature of an individual identifying with being a Scot. Addressing his council and demonstrating his loyalty to the king, John Balliol, Wallace stated: 'I am his man, born natiff of Scotland'.[88] The term 'Scottish people' was first given literary form in *c.* 1300, with individuals seen as 'the people of Scotland'. Latin documents up to the end of the fourteenth century referred to Gaelic as *Scotice* or *lingua Scotica* while the lowland tongue was described as Anglice.

By the mid fifteenth century the Scots language was still referred to as *Ynglis/Inglis*, but by the end of the century it was labelled *Scottis* and Gaelic became known again as Irish; an important shift in linguistic identity.[89] Differentiation such as this highlights an existence of Scottish self-awareness. It was a self-awareness based on geography not language.[90] A papal letter dated 1235 from Gregory IX to Alexander II of Scotland addresses him as King of Scotland, thus acknowledging his rule over a specific territory and not over a particular people.[91] Blind Harry's question 'Of quhat nacioun art thou?' and the English exclamation

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[87] Pittock, *New History*, pp. 55-56. The term *Scoti* was used to describe both Scots and Irish and in a 1318 Irish document it terms Ireland as *Scoti Maior* and Scotland as *Scoti Minor*. Scotland for a long time had been internally described as 'Alba', thereby making a conscious distinction between themselves and the Irish. The idea of 'Scottish people' did not precede the expansion of royal power, whereas in England, the idea of 'English people' underpinned the creation of the English state. The Scots initially thought of themselves ethnically and racially as 'Gaels', an offshoot from their Gaelic-speaking cousins in Ireland. See: Dauvit Broun, 'When Did Scotland Become Scotland?' in *History Today*, 46, 10, October 1996, pp. 16-21 (pp. 16-17); A. A. M. Duncan, 'The Making of Scotland', in G. Menzies, ed., *Who are the Scots and the Scottish Nation?* Edinburgh, 2002, pp. 98-109 (pp. 100-101, 108-109).

[88] Harry, p. 204 (8. 641); Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, p. 21.

[89] John L. Roberts, *Lost Kingdoms: Celtic Scotland and the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, 1997, pp. 44-45. Also see the discussion by Jane Dawson: 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds, *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 259-300.

[90] Ichijo, p. 29; Grant, 'National Consciousness', pp. 77-79.

[91] Clanchy, p. 240.

'[t]hou are a Scot. The devil thi nacioune quell (destroy)!' suggests that by the late fifteenth century, the idea of belonging to a specific race and territorial unit did indeed exist.[92] Robert Wedderburn's political tract *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1549/1550) summarised that '[t]here are no two nations under the firmament as different from each other as England and Scotland, although they are neighbours within the same island and speak the same language', suggesting a sense of national identity and racial difference was very much a reality by the sixteenth century.[93] For the late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century makar, Gavin Douglas, having a Scots tongue was important, 'Kepand na Sudroun, bot oor awin langage', and distinct from English.[94] The crucible in which Scottish identity was created had as its base element the continued struggle against English aspirations for domination. However, assimilation of English political and administrative institutions over time resulted in similarities with their southern neighbour. Scotland could therefore successfully repel English attempts at domination, representing 'the triumph of territoriality over ethnicity in the construction of nationhood'.[95]

Symbols of identity and sovereignty also feature in medieval Scottish history, through the use of St Andrew and his cross (saltire), highlighting the history and independence of Scotland. Coins and seals also emphasised the dignity and prestige of Scottish monarchs and their independent kingship, an example of which is Alexander III's seal 'replete with the emblems of sovereignty, including a foliated sceptre and a crown'.[96] Edward I, aspiring to assert dominance, appropriated a number of Scottish symbols in 1296 including the Stone of Destiny, the Black Rood of St Margaret, and political/historical documents. His desire was obviously to possess or destroy any icon of independence and official evidence pertaining to Scotland's history. A nation had to have symbols and history to give it legitimacy; Edward would have realised this. By taking the coronation chair of Scottish kings, Edward was

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[92] Harry, pp. 107 (5.1104), 282 (10.604).
[93] Wedderburn, *Complaynt*, pp. 83-84; Davidson, p. 74.
[94] Translation: Sparing no English, but our own language. See: Pittock, *New History*, p. 118, p. 125. A makar is a term for a Scottish poet.
[95] Hastings, p. 71. Goldstein agrees. See: p. 29.
[96] G. G. Simpson, 'Kingship in Miniature: a Seal of Minority of Alexander III, 1249-1257', in Grant and Stringer, pp. 131-137, (p. 91); Stringer, 'Scottish Foundations', pp. 85-96 (p. 91, fn. 21).

declaring his lack of respect for the idea of a Scottish king. By removing it to England he demonstrated his superiority over Scotland. Such callous disrespect for Scottish symbols of identity had been shown by Edward on more than one occasion. In 1292 he took the Guardians' seal of regency, broke into four pieces and put it in the English treasury, signifying 'his authority' and removing any confusion regarding the authentication of future documents produced in Scotland.[97]

The flag, anthem and emblem of a country are three national symbols 'through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty, and as such they command instantaneous respect and loyalty'.[98] While the Scottish National Anthem might be a modern notion with no equivalent in the medieval period, there is evidence showing the saltire and the thistle were used to verify identity, sovereignty, loyalty and respect. The saltire appeared on banners and military uniforms and the thistle was associated with kingship appearing on the royal crown. The monarchy, nobility, and government of Scotland were key factors in engineering and promoting such symbols.[99] Correspondingly, the histories and epic poems, while certainly 'invented' or 'imagined' could also be seen to have been engineered by their nationalistic authors. One only has to view what was written or omitted to see the strands of Scottish identity, loyalty, and sovereignty interwoven in deliberate and innovative ways. The materials out of which they were forged may have been on occasions genuine, but their 'meaning was specifically related to the social, political, economic and cultural circumstances of the time'.[100] These invented traditions were an integral part of the fight for independence and freedom from English overlordship, and it was necessary that they were remembered over a long period of time. The literary and visual traditions, both imagined and customary, were just two of the ways this goal could be achieved.

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[97] Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p. 46.
[98] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 1-14 (p. 11).
[99] Hobsbawm, 'Introduction', p. 13.
[100] David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', *c* 1820-1977', in Hobsbawm and Ranger, pp. 101-164 (p. 161).

Alongside the symbols of territory and community, such as the *Declaration of Arbroath* and St Andrew's saltire, an idea of common descent is crucial for the establishment of national identity.[101] Nations are seen to be 'founded on a series of myths and loaded interpretations of the past', thus the resultant constructed heritage enables the Scots to distinguish themselves from others.[102] Origin-myths and genealogies were important not just for justification of kingship, but in legitimising Scotland as a free and independent country. This is illustrated by the use of biblical descent, such as in the *Declaration*, which solidified claims to independence and the right to live and rule one's own land. It was important to have a noble heritage that was divinely given, which followed the rules of hierarchy (whereby God is responsible for the customs and laws of the land), and where the authority and government prescribed for all were seen as good and just.[103] A divine and genealogical superiority over the English was the key to independence. I suggest Scottish identity was essentially a defensive identity which became embedded in the country's history and myth. Robert Bruce's letter to his Irish friends highlighted the link, through language and custom, of free men 'sprung from one seed of a nation' since ancient times.[104] In 1316, the Welsh leader Sir Griffudd Llwyd sent a letter to Edward Bruce requesting their Celtic cousins' help against the English. The Scots understood the English attempt at obliterating the 'name and nobility' of their fellow Celts and would have realised they were also a target. As Pittock argues, 'ethnic aliens the Irish and Welsh might be to England; but their ethnicity was understood in linguistic and territorial terms'.[105]

The Anglo-Scottish wars sharpened the Scots' sense of collective identity but did not create it. Had there been no sense of Scottish identity there would have been no purpose to their resistance of the English.[106] Scotland was viewed as a political community, and compared with the other Celtic kingdoms was more developed and harder to conquer. It has been argued

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[101] Smith, *Myths and Memories*, pp. 13-15. Reynolds agrees, and shows people were thought of as social and political communities. Origin myths served to increase or express the sense of solidarity. See: Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68, 1983, pp. 375-391 (pp. 375, 378).

[102] Hall, pp. 33-34. Also see: Turville-Petre, p. 6.

[103] Reynolds, '*Origines*', p. 380.

[104] Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, Woodbridge and Suffolk, 1999, p.1. Also see: Cohen, *Hybridity,* p. 30.

[105] Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, p. 13. Also see: Broun, *Irish Identity*, p. 1.

[106] R. A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland*, East Linton, 1998, p. 83. Also see: Hall, p. 53; Grant, 'National Consciousness', p. 74.

'nation' in the early modern period meant 'a group of individuals with a common place of origin', and therefore any existing national consciousness was 'the cultural expression of xenophobia towards other races'.[107] According to Neil Davidson, this meant solidarity did not necessarily exist between the members of the nation.[108] Medieval and sixteenth-century Scotland was composed of many overlapping communities with varying identities and loyalties. Furthermore, the crown played an important part in shaping the structures not only of the national community, but of local communities. Much of the kingdom's political class was identified in terms of hierarchies and lordships alongside the communities they belonged to. Lordship gave shape to medieval society, suggesting 'Scotland was less obviously a nation or administrative unit', and more a royal lordship. Nonetheless, during the crises following Alexander III's death in 1286 local communities, along with those who were politically active, experienced a similar set of reactions towards England's quest for suzerainty showing that Scottish society was made up of various relationships between lords, men, vassals, people and peasants.[109]

In the thirteenth century, Matthew Paris created maps illustrating that England, Wales and Scotland were distinct territories. Such territorial distinction was to become an 'enduring reality of English history and identity', and I suggest the same occurred in Scotland.[110] Geographically, the Latin term *Scotia* no longer meant Scotland and Ireland after the eleventh century; by the mid thirteenth century it described the kingdom of Scotland (*regnum Scotiae*) including the southern regions of Lothian, Strathclyde and Galloway. This wider and accepted usage of *regnum Scotiae,* internally and externally, is highlighted by the terminology used in the 1266 Treaty of Perth. The Treaty was put together after the Norwegian failure at the battle of Largs (1263) whereby the Norwegian king, Haakon IV ceded his rights to the Isle of Man and Western Isles to the kingdom of Scotland. Rees Davies suggests the Treaty serves as the most eloquent comment made regarding the significance of these events 'in terms of

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[107] Davidson, p. 26.
[108] Davidson, p. 26.
[109] Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371*, Edinburgh, 2004, pp. 96-101.
[110] Clanchy*,* p. 21. Paris's manuscript (*c.* 1250) shows a map with more than 250 geographical names, illustrating the importance of directional relationships between one place and another. See: p. 236.

Scotland's regnal solidarity'. The Treaty stated the inhabitants of the Isles were immediately 'to be subject to the laws and customs of the kingdom of Scotland and shall be governed and judged in accordance with them henceforth'.[111] The geographical concept of Scotland was therefore in existence by the mid thirteenth century, but according to Broun, the ethnic idea of being distinctly Scottish was not.[112] The work of fourteenth-century chronicler, John Fordun, claimed that the highlanders were hostile 'to their own nation', despite being 'loyal and obedient to the king and the kingdom'.[113] What this demonstrates is that 'Fordun's Scotland, with its two races and languages, but one nation and kingdom, was but one . . . way of conceiving the relationship between ethnicity and political power'.[114]

Shared Characteristics

Language

The modern-day national anthem that appears in the introduction and the stirring words at the beginning of this chapter which occur early in book one of Barbour's *Bruce* (*c.* 1370) were used to promote a strong sense of Scottish identity in their audience. Language and print are essential components of both Hastings and Anderson's theories of the nation, but Anderson omits to consider oral language as a 'medium for self-imagining'.[115] However, orality should not be dismissed; the bulk of information and ideas was disseminated to people this way, built upon 'an enhanced sense of historical cultural particularity'.[116] While the late medieval period saw huge increases in education and literacy, it was still limited to a small percentage of people. Nonetheless, the turning of kingdoms into nations is a natural process providing there is a point when 'their specific vernacular moves from an oral to written usage to the extent that it is being regularly employed for the production of a literature and particularly for the translation of the Bible'. Without this process the transformation into a nation is unlikely to

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[111] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343*, Oxford, 2002, p. 77. Details of the Treaty are to be found in *Early Sources of Scottish History AD500-1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson, volume ii, Edinburgh, 1922, p. 655, n.4 in Davies, p. 77.
[112] Broun, 'When did Scotland become Scotland?' p. 18.
[113] Bartlett, p. 48.
[114] Bartlett, p. 48.
[115] Hastings, p. 23.
[116] Harry and Barbour's epics enjoyed a wide circulation which undoubtedly reached the lower classes. See: Hall, p. 40; Hastings, p. 31; Goldstein, p. 14.

happen.[117] As Bruce Webster argues, 'the "national literature" marks a crucial stage in the articulation of a Scottish national identity', especially those works that focus on the Wars of Independence. Moreover, this literature can be viewed as 'a major impetus for a more explicit definition of Scottish identity'.[118] Despite modern historians and theorists discounting an idea of a common language in the medieval period, examples show otherwise, highlighting a sense of self-definition and collective community, especially for Lowland Scotland.[119]

Alongside the chronicles written in Latin, such as Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, historical works such Andrew Wyntoun's verse *Chronicle* (*c.* 1420), John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (1531), William Stewart's vernacular prose version of Boece (*c.* 1533) and Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (*c.* 1575) were all written in the Scots vernacular. Bower's *Scotichronicon* (1440s) was written in Latin, but oozed what we would call patriotism, or at least strong national sentiment. Poetry in the vernacular, such as John Barbour's *Bruce* and Harry's *Wallace*, made its appearance in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Sixteenth-century authors such William Dunbar, Sir David Lindsay and Robert Sempill amongst others also wrote in their 'mother' tongue. All these works, and the fact that Older Scots began to appear in government documents and in the courts from the fifteenth century, illustrate how the use of the Scots vernacular became increasingly important in disseminating nationalist ideologies and a sense of identity.[120] The sixteenth century also saw a proliferation of national writing, through works by John Major (1521), Hector Boece (1526), John Leslie (1577) and George Buchanan (1582), and propaganda in both poetry and prose, Latin and Scots, much of which arose at times of crisis such as the Reformation and the rule of Mary Stewart. It can therefore be argued that the literature of the period promoted and reinforced the learned elite's sense of Scottish identity.

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[117] Hastings, p. 12.
[118] The national literature is made up of works both in Latin and the Scots vernacular. See: Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity*, London and New York, 1997, p. 102. Also see: Ichijo, p. 30; Shrank, pp. 16-17; Goldstein, p. 6.
[119] Turville-Petre, pp. 19-20.
[120] Hall, p. 41; Goldstein, p. 134. Older Scots is the more widely accepted term than Middle Scots.

Kingship/Politics

Webster illustrates that Walter Bower's colophon, used as the title of this section, stresses the importance of history for articulating Scottish identity. Moreover, histories such as the *Scotichronicon* were didactic in purpose demonstrating that the importance of a strong and effective monarchy was the focus for that identity.[121] At the time Bower was writing this was imperative because Scotland was in the grasp of a minority rule after the recent murder of James I (1437). The monarchy needed affirmation of its authority at such a precarious time and it was important kingship remained the focus of Scottish identity. Kingship was an important aspect of medieval power and central to nation building. As Michael Brown points out, 'Scottish politics rested on the identity and interests of the elites and their relationship with the crown'.[122] This was evident from *c.* 843 when Kenneth mac Alpin united the Scots and Picts. Ferguson argues that 'once this union was established the resulting monarchy was based on the language, traditions, genealogies and *mores* of the Scots'.[123] Governed by strong kingship the disparate ethnicities became one people under the name of 'Scots'. The Picts disappeared as a separate ethnic group; any trace of them is hard to find after the eleventh century. The Anglo-Normans who settled in Scotland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries adopted their new country with its associated myths and histories as their own.[124] While the administrative and governmental systems were perhaps never as developed or the country as rich as England, Scotland survived as an independent political entity. Robin Frame argues that Scottish kings managed to 'exploit new influences in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' by borrowing from England, which suggests 'a stable regal tradition and an organised territorial base already existed'.[125] However, due to the growing similarities between the two

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[121] Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, pp. 106-107. Texts were the products of culture, beliefs, identities and political agendas. Historical writing played a constitutive role in developing national identity in Scotland, at the same time establishing a distinct literary tradition. See: Goldstein, p. 6; Hall, p. 53.
[122] Michael Brown, *Wars*, p. 92.
[123] Ferguson, p. 13.
[124] Ferguson, p. 13.
[125] Robin Frame, 'Overlordship and Reaction, *c.*1200-*c.*1450', in Grant and Stringer, pp. 65-84 (p. 75).

neighbouring countries, the difficulty facing Scotland was how to maintain friendly relations with its southern neighbour without becoming another English conquest.[126]

David I (*r.* 1124-1153) settled Anglo-Normans in Scotland, giving them governmental positions and land in order to compete along similar political and cultural lines with Anglo-Norman England. He expanded Scottish territory and held lands and titles in England, which established valuable relationships with England, but dropped Scotland into the fight for independence through the feudal homage system.[127] This system of homage was not simple. Malcolm III paid his due to William the Conqueror in 1071, which lasted only as long as William's armed presence; David performed homage to the English king for his lands in England, while his predecessor, Alexander I (*r.* 1107-1124) accepted homage from the Northumbrian lords and Yorkshire.[128] Under the Treaty of Falais (1174), William the Lion was released from his captivity by Henry II, which gave England overlordship of Scotland until dissolved by Richard I's Quitclaim of Canterbury (1191).[129] It was an overlordship unfairly gained; the Scottish king had no alternative but to accept the terms under duress. England continued to argue that past feudal relationships gave clear-cut reasons for pressuring Scottish monarchs into performing homage whenever possible, but often without any real success.

Before 1286 'kingship and royal authority defined Scotland and Scottish identity', but this was underpinned by the 'variety and strength of provincial and local societies.'[130] After 1286, the struggles facing Scotland transformed the structure and character of the thirteenth century kingdom, threatening its survival. Through centralisation of authority kingship developed, so too the king's status and his consciousness of that status. From 1424 onwards, the crown had a revival of authority after a series of weak monarchs. There was a further elaboration of the

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[126] Ironically, the strength of those same Scottish governmental and administrative institutions copied from the English sustained Scotland's independence from English rule. See: Ferguson, pp. 30-31; Ichijo, p. 29; Bruce Webster, 'John of Fordun and the Independent Identity of the Scots', in Smyth, pp. 85-102 (p. 89).
[127] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 26.
[128] Ferguson, p. 29.
[129] Pittock, *New History,* p. 44. Also see: Ferguson, pp. 28-29; Webster, 'John of Fordun', p. 89.
[130] Michael Brown, *Wars*, p. 112.

national mythology through the proliferation of national literature and history, which alongside the strengthening crown reinforced the sense of national identity.[131] A closed crown highlighted the sovereignty of the monarch putting him on a level playing field with other European kings. In Scotland the use of a closed crown began with James III (c.1451-1488).[132]

Geraldine Heng argues that the symbolising potential of the king is one of the distinguishing features of the medieval nation. Moreover, this 'figural status allows levelling discourses and an expressive vocabulary of unity, cohesion and stability to be imagined, in a language functioning as the linguistic equivalent of the nation's incipient modernity'.[133] Moving forward to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we see the topic of kingship was still at the fore of Scottish identity. Through the various minorities and regencies and regular absence of a traditional figurehead, ideas of the ideal prince were formulated and written down.[134] It was important the nation had an able-bodied, mentally acute king to rule effectively and inspire his subjects. Moreover, his lineage had to be pure and unbroken both before and after his rule; hence the urgency after Alexander III's death. The long tradition of kingship had to be continued in order to remain the central focus of Scottish identity. By 1540 the symbiotic relationship between king and commonweal had changed to show that national identity was moving away from the monarchy. The term 'commonweal' had transformed from a passive to a dynamic expression that carried connotations of freedom and independence.[135] The reign of Mary Stewart felt the full force of this new dynamism. At the same time, religion was also taking another route, which would add a new dimension to Scottish identity.

Religion

The Church and national identity also had a close relationship; partly due to the overarching influence the institution and scriptures had on society, partly due to the contribution the clergy

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[131] Webster, *Medieval Scotland,* pp. 94, 98. Also see: E. J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 63, 2, 176, October 1984, pp. 111-135 (p. 135).
[132] Pittock, *New History*, pp. 88-89.
[133] Heng, p. 139.
[134] Michael Brown, *Wars*, pp. 112, 157. Also see: Hall, p. 50; Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, East Linton, 1994, p. 70.
[135] Hall, pp. 50-51; Edington, pp. 115-119.

made to nationalistic literature. The Scottish Church was an influential and integral part of society, its 'learned clerics . . . advocated an ideology which . . . supported the aspirations of kings', and thus was a big promoter of kingship and, ultimately, Scottish identity.[136] By the late twelfth century any English hold on the Scottish Church (whether real or imagined) had been dispelled. Instead, the Scottish Church became a special, and perhaps subordinate, 'daughter' of the papacy. This had both positive and negative results for the Scottish Church and often meant Papal rather than English interference.[137] By the thirteenth century the ecclesiastical system was well developed and can be classified as essentially Scottish in character and nature. The Scottish Church was a special, but highly influential, community within the realm shaping perceptions of the realm both internally and externally.[138] From 1286 St Andrew was employed officially by the Church (and government) to depict the realm and its communities, giving Scotland a clear status as a distinct and defined land within Christendom.[139] Andrew's protective status was continually emphasised from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. To be 'chosen' as a favourite of God, and therefore most Christian, became a statement of superiority and thus contributed to the unique quality of Scottish identity. Finally, in the late fourteenth century, the Scottish Church was granted the rights to fully anoint and consecrate Scottish kings at their coronations; a further endorsement of the Church's national status and the legitimate endorsement of the king's independent, and national, status. Whenever Scotland appealed to the Pope for the right of a full coronation for their kings England petitioned against it. Acknowledging an enthroned king is one thing, but acknowledging one that is anointed and crowned only makes the quest for domination harder to achieve. To challenge an anointed and crowned king would challenge God's divine sanction of that king.

While Scottish ecclesiastics played a prominent role in the production of written propaganda, it is likely they instilled patriotic fervour in their flocks ensuring the idea of a free nation was

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[136] Davidson, p. 54.
[137] Michael Brown, *Wars*, pp. 122-124.
[138] Michael Brown, *Wars*, p. 114.
[139] Michael Brown, *Wars*, p. 134. William Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews (1279-1297) used a seal with Andrew on it, identifying his office with both the saint and the Scottish Church.

embraced by all levels of society. Two examples given by Geoffrey Barrow illustrate this point beautifully. The first concerns Bishop David of Moray, who taught his congregations that fighting the English had as much merit in it as fighting the Saracens. In other words, the crusade against England was allowed on the same moral grounds as the Crusades in the Holy Land. The second considers Thomas a chaplain of Edinburgh, who publicly and solemnly excommunicated Edward I as the English king rode into the city having conquered the Scots in 1296.[140] However, as nations grew stronger the hold of religion loosened and the medieval concept of Christendom, as a single, exclusive, united people under the authority of the Pope was destroyed.[141] Up until the Scottish Reformation the two potent symbols of national identity were the crown and the Church. With the deposition of Queen Mary in 1567, and the destruction of the Catholic Church in favour of Protestantism, Scotland's national identity was re-fashioned. However, such re-fashioning led to instability causing a vacuum in the Scots' sense of themselves which lasted for two to three generations after 1560, and was exploited by James VI in his quest for an Anglo-Scots union.[142] What all these examples above illustrate are the complexities of Scottish identity.

'Us versus Them'

The diverse groups living in Scotland had one common and unifying enemy: the English. A large driving factor within the construct of Scottish identity was an intense hatred of the English for grievances done before, but especially during and after, the Wars of Independence. Underpinning such sentiment on both sides was the claim of English overlordship over Scotland.[143] Aeneas Sylvius observed on his secret visit to Scotland (1435) that 'the Scots liked nothing better to hear abuse of the English', and as Pittock suggests this is repeated throughout the medieval period clearly indicating 'the presence of a strong national cohesiveness, embedded in the social fabric of the Scottish nation, [and] based on defensive

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[140] *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. J. Bain, Edinburgh, volume ii, 1881-1888, p. 190; Geoffrey Barrow, 'Wars of Independence', in Menzies, pp. 113-129 (p.121); Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 31.
[141] David McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *The Innes Review*, 19, 1968, pp. 3-14 (p. 3); Beaune, p. 19.
[142] Lynch, 'A Nation Born Again?' p. 83.
[143] Webster, 'John of Fordun', p. 91. Also see: Broun, *Irish Identity*, pp. 8-9.

solidarity against a powerful neighbour'.[144] Moreover, the English were equally vitriolic in their attacks regarding the Scots, justifying conquest as 'a moral obligation to save' the Scots from barbarism.[145] As John Gillingham points out, 'Englishness came to be partly based on the perception of "Celts" as significantly different and inferior' and therefore deserving of English suzerainty.[146] As these examples illustrate, racial boundaries overlapped political ones. Twelfth-century English chroniclers, Richard of Hexham, Henry of Huntingdon and John of Worcester wrote that the Scots were barbaric and violent; people who slaughtered women and babies and who dallied in incest, adultery and slavery; hardly civilised people![147] William of Newburgh wrote about the hatred the Scots had for the English especially after their invasion of the north of England in 1174 was unsuccessful. Resenting the English who were coming in and settling in Scotland they took their revenge by killing as many as they could, showing this was a long-established feeling and not something appearing for the first time in the fourteenth century.[148]

The ever-moralising Scot, Abbot Bower, took any chance he could to portray the English negatively. He paralleled Edward I with the devil and portrayed the English as murderers, thieves, and dishonest men through parables, anecdotes and quotes from others. Bower quotes Pope Martin V who 'is said to have commented '[t]ruly the Scots are an antidote to the English!'[149] Similarly, he quotes Bede who apparently called the English an 'evil . . . drunken

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[144] Sylvius became Pope Pius II in 1458. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*, ed. L. C. Gabel, trans. F. A. Gragg, London, 1960, p. 33; Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 37. Also see: P. Hume Brown, ed., *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1891, p. 27; Ralph Griffiths, 'The Island of England in the Fifteenth Century: Perceptions of the Peoples of the British Isles', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29, 2003, p. 190; Alexander Grant, 'Scottish Foundations: Late Medieval Contributions', in Grant and Stringer, p. 108; R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, 1974, p. 297. J. Hearn cautions that we should not make the mistake in 'reducing Scottish nationalism to a reactionary anti-Englishness'. See: Hearn, *Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture*, Edinburgh, 2000, p. 11. Linda Colley suggests once a unit is confronted by an alien 'them' a seemingly diverse community can become a unified and desperate 'us', defined as a single people in response to the Other, not because of any political consensus. See: *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven and London, 1992, p. 6.

[145] Alan McColl, 'King Arthur and the Making of an English Britain,' *History Today*, March 1999, pp. 7-13 (p. 11).

[146] John Gillingham, 'Foundations of a Disunited Kingdom', in Grant and Stringer, pp. 48-64 (p. 56).

[147] Gillingham, p. 57.

[148] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series, 1884-1890, i, p. 186 in Gillingham, p. 49.

[149] Bower, viii, p. 121.

race of false faith, a race of gluttony . . . a race wicked in its progeny'.[150] Bower would have his reader believe that all Scots felt antipathy towards the English and writes that the Earl of Mar, guardian of Scotland, and his men 'expressed their contempt' by 'saying that the tailed English are a reproach because of their tails'. Moreover, they said 'they would make ropes for themselves from the Englishmen's tails to tie them up on the following day'.[151] This was a traditional racial insult between Scots and English, English and French which paralleled the enemy with dogs or the devil.[152] The battle of words was taken onto the international stage with James II (*r.* 1437-1460) announcing to European rulers that the 'English were the principal disturbers of the peace of all Christendom'.[153] Edward IV (*r.* 1461-1470/1471-1483) reported that the Scots were among England's 'perfidious neighbours' who 'have drawn their hostile swords on us and our realm'.[154] Harry also wrote that brave and 'trew' Scots descended of an ancient lineage did not wish to see 'the Saxon blood in Scotland reign', implying that a certain popular anti-Englishness existed.[155] In the 1530s, Andrew Boorde, an English university student in Glasgow, commented on how much he was hated because he was English, stating that 'it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllysche dyspocion of a Scotysh man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe man'.[156] As Alfred Smyth suggests 'political and ethnic identities are easier to identify in terms of difference rather than of shared culture'.[157] The evidence illustrates that the identity of the Scots and the geographical boundaries of their land were known and recognised well beyond the British Isles.[158]

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[150] Bower, ii, p. 61.

[151] Bower, vii, p. 75.

[152] See: Earl Jeffrey, 'The Uncertainty in Defining France as a Nation in the Works of Eustache Deschamps', in Denise N. Baker, ed., *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, New York, 2000, pp. 159-175 (p. 169).

[153] Griffiths, p. 190. Also see: Smyth, 'Emergence of English Identity', p. 28.

[154] Griffiths, p. 190. Also see: Smyth, 'Emergence of English Identity', p. 28.

[155] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 3; Harry, p. 1, (1.7-8).

[156] Andrew Boorde, *The first boke of the introduction of knowledge*, *c.* 1555, British Library STC/27:06, EEBO, f.Drv-D2r; Shrank, p. 37; Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, pp. 22-23.

[157] Smyth, 'Emergence of English Identity', p. 28.

[158] Michael Brown, *Wars*, p. 135.

Solidarity

Recent historiography points to the 'long continuity of Scotland as a political community' with a growing 'governmental, economic and military power' that made the realm successful and effective.[159] In view of this scholarship, notions of a political collective had therefore been in existence in Scotland for a long time, although it may not have always been formally or explicitly expressed. After Alexander III's death, the phrase 'community of the realm' was employed to claim collective authority of the political class seeking to govern in the absence of the king. Reynolds asserts the term 'community of the realm' became popular in the thirteenth century, and points towards signs of emerging patriotism and national (regnal) solidarity.[160] However, it was not just members of the Scottish aristocracy who pursued the idea of freedom; evidence suggests an ideology of popular national identity did exist. English invasions made 'patriots' of the masses generating a type of national consciousness usually described as occurring after the French Revolution.[161] Many clergy fought in the Wars of Independence, and in later battles at Flodden (1513) and Pinkie (1547), suggesting a clerical 'patriotism' and anti-English policy, although the idea of ecclesiastical freedom was also a motivating factor.[162] According to Geoffrey Barrow, historians claim that:

> few things aroused their [the clergy's] alarm and resentment more than Edward I's policy, from 1296, of filling Scottish benefices with English incumbents . . . the prospect of submission to York and Canterbury, and the fear of wholesale unemployment, sent the Scots clergy flocking to the national standard.[163]

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[159] Stringer, 'Scottish Foundations,' p. 90.

[160] Reynolds, *Kingdoms,* pp. 252, 262. Also see: Michael Brown, *Wars*, pp. 91-92; Hastings, p. 118.

[161] Primary sources such as *Scotichronicon* maintain the aristocracy did not fight very hard for Scottish independence and were happy under Edward I's rule. However, it must be remembered some Scots had lands both sides of the border and chose to support the side that held the most valuable land, and which would maintain their political independence. For those who did fight for Scotland fear was a motivating factor; fear of taxation by the English king; of military conscription in the English army; of the imposition of new laws; and fear of the English garrisons who took up residence in Scottish towns and castles. See: Chris Brown, *Bannockburn 1314: A New History*, Stroud, 2009, pp. 34-36. Scottish identity was perceived to be emerging from the bottom-up led by William Wallace. See: T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn '1320 and A' That: The Declaration of Arbroath and the Remaking of Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn, eds, *Freedom and Authority: Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to G. G. Simpson*, East Linton, 2000, pp. 10-31 (p.18). Also see: A. H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 98- 99; Goldstein, pp. 48, 50; Goldstein cited in Moll, p. 121.

[162] See: G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 1973, p. 215. Also see: McRoberts, p. 62.

[163] Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 215, 220.

Furthermore, Barrow believes that the clergy and the Scottish church did not 'form a sharply distinct, unassimilated, element in the nation'. In fact, the clergy were 'neither more nor less heroic or patriotic than their fellow-countrymen, but that, being literate and members of a highly organised corporate institution they could, if need arose, exploit those advantages'.[164] Economic factors played a significant part in the clergy's involvement in the national cause, being so dependent on 'patronage and deliberate acts of appointment'. Yet, the fact remains that they fought for 'an idea of the community of the realm which was the distinctive thirteenth-century contribution to the constitutional development of Scotland'.[165]

Alexander Grant argues that all kinds of Scotsmen took part in the battle of Stirling Bridge (1297), including the middling folk, although the elite appeared to be the most prominent. He suggests there was a 'community of interest between both the Normanised land-owners and the substantial peasantry: together producing the sense of community in the realm', and indicating a wide involvement in military endeavour and political process by the 'ordinary' people.[166] For Grant, the 'Ragman Roll' (1296) highlights the involvement of non-elites in the Wars, arguing that it contains a considerable number of lesser clergy and townsmen. A comparative study with England shows that on the Scottish side there were more people of lower status than on the English side.[167] Barbour wrote about a number of lower class men who were more than happy to fight the nationalist cause and pit their skills against the English.[168] Some fought because their produce, such as wool, had been unfairly appropriated by Edward I to pay for his French wars and they sought revenge.

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[164] Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 215, 230.

[165] Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, p. 230.

[166] Grant, 'National Consciousness', p. 84.

[167] The 'Ragman Roll' was a list of more than 1,000 names of Scots who, after the Battle of Dunbar (1296), paid homage to Edward I. See: Grant, 'Scottish Foundations', p. 99; Ichijo, p. 28. However, Michael Brown argues those on the roll were not of a monolithic or uniform political community but were bound by a common allegiance to the king. See: *Wars*, p. 95. Barrow claims the majority of names on the Roll came from tenants-in-chief of the Crown, substantial under-tenants, burgesses, heads of religious houses and beneficed clergy. See: Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp. 108-109.

[168] Barbour and Harry mention specific lower class men who helped the national cause. See: Barbour, pp. 335 (9.313), 369 (10.153), 379 (10.363); Harry, pp. 179 (7.1181); Hall, pp. 83-84. Also see: Watson, p. 29; Grant, 'National Consciousness', pp. 84, 88, 94.

The lowly-born 'bourgeois' knight, William Wallace, was perceived as 'a true champion of the kingdom' in maintaining the 'independence of its people', and the magnate Robert Bruce apparently 'joined the Scots' in the rising of 1297 because 'he was a Scotsman'.[169] At Bannockburn (1314) the king (Bruce) addressed those on the battlefield:

> My lords, my people, who lay great weight on freedom for which in times gone by the kings of Scotland have fought many a battle! . . . Your own kinsmen have been made captive, and bishops and priests are locked in prisons and no order of the Mother Church remains safe; the nobles of the land have passed away in the bloodshed of war. The armed magnates whom you all see before you . . . order the destruction of us, our kingdom and our people; they do not believe we can offer resistance . . . With our Lord Jesus Christ as commander, Saint Andrew and the martyr Saint Thomas who shed his blood along with the saints of the Scottish fatherland will fight today for the honour of the people.[170]

The inclusion of this speech in the historiography, whether real or fictional, shows that chroniclers were trying to portray a sense of collective and national identity; a sense of being the chosen people; a use of national symbols, especially the patron saint Andrew; and a sense of belonging using terms such as 'our' and 'your' that did not just encompass the king, but all Scots. This is exemplified by Bower's citation of the above speech which goes on to state that 'the people, stirred up by the king's words, promised to go into battle readily and wholeheartedly'.[171] In reality, 'the people' who made up Bruce's army were mainly drawn from the classes of tenant farmers, burgesses, towns folk, knights, the lesser nobility and the

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[169] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 28. Also see: Dauvit Broun, 'The Origin of Scottish Identity', in Bjorn, Grant, and Stringer, p. 37; Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p. 110. This description of Bruce, according to Barrow, can be found in the chronicle of Walter of Guisborough. See: *Robert Bruce*, p. 119. Wallace's social status has been debated in the historiography, and I discuss this in further detail in chapter four. Also see: Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p. 117; Hall, p. 168. Graeme Morton, referring to the work of Barrow, has labelled Wallace as 'bourgeois'. See: p. 15. Interestingly, Chris Brown suggests the Bruce holdings in Scotland provided the family's wealth, and it was more important to be seen supporting the Balliol cause in order to maintain their political position, their lands and their wealth. Their holdings in England were valuable but not so much as to risk losing their standing in Scotland. See: p. 34.

[170] Bower, vi, pp. 363-365. This speech was attributed to Bruce by his friend and close counsellor, Bernard, Abbot of Arbroath who was undoubtedly at Bannockburn. See: Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p. 293. As Michael Brown argues, this speech was a 'key element in the battle story' and is used by Barbour in his portrayal of the king as 'a great captain encouraging his followers to victory'. See: Michael Brown, *Bannockburn*, p. 9.

[171] Bower, vi, p. 365.

great magnates. The core of Bruce's army was made up of men who had fought for him continuously over the previous seven years, or who had served under his commanders.[172]

Nonetheless, that is not to say those from lower on the social scale were not involved. Goldstein argues that the idea of a national identity, which inspired such sentiments, was an ideology of the nobility which was filtered down the social ladder to those who, 'knowingly or not', fought solely for the benefits of their social superiors.[173] Anglo-Scots relations were outside the control of many of the population who had to be incited into action to defend their nation, but it can be argued that if a person felt part of the 'imagined community' it would be easier to encourage him to stay and fight. This brief discussion demonstrates that authors such as Bower and Harry fostered the feeling of solidarity in their works (appreciating that such a feeling had to be nurtured) while examples of lower-class involvement, such as that of Philip the Forester and the husbandman William Bunnock, in the Scottish wars found in Barbour can be seen to demonstrate this. As Michael Brown convincingly argues, the stories of lesser men acting as heroes in Scotland's cause suggest 'a level of grass-roots support for Robert Bruce which is backed up by the sources'.[174] Hall argues that Barbour's poem goes beyond Goldstein's idea that freedom as solely 'a thing to be won by the nobility' suggesting it is

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[172] See: Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, pp. 272-275; Michael Brown, *Bannockburn*, pp. 65, 99. Also see: Chris Brown's chapter on the English and Scots armies, pp. 153-211; Hall, pp. 81-84, 90-93. The Scots were divided into four brigades led by the King, Thomas Randolph, Edward Bruce, and the fourth was led by James Douglas and his cousin Walter the Stewart. While Barbour only outlines those who fought in the King's brigade – men of Carrick, Argyll 'and 'ane mekill rout' of men from the 'playne land' which was probably the central lowlands, Fife and Strathmore – Barrow suggests that commonsense reasoning allows the historian to deduce that Randolph's brigade comprised of men from Moray and the North, Edward Bruce's men were from the South-West including Galloway and the Stewart-Douglas brigade was made up of men from Bute, Arran and Strathclyde. Therefore, included in the Scottish army were highlanders and islesmen. According to Barrow, the army also had a number of lesser folk – yeomen, servants and labourers – whom Bruce had kept apart from the main fighting unit, instead using them to guard Scottish supplies. At some point during the battle of Bannockburn they left their posts and charged the field with 'hastily improvised banners and armed with homemade weapons', although they appeared at a time when their actions had little or no effect on the outcome of the battle. However, their appearance and their shouts of 'Slay, slay, on them hastily' was seen by the retreating and wearied English army as a second Scottish front. See: Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, pp. 274-275, 298.
[173] Goldstein, pp. 50-51; Hall, pp. 46-47. Michael Brown argues that the 'middle folk', whose exact composition is unclear, were an important political grouping who were part of the Scottish army, although for Robert Bruce they did not always give him consistent or general backing. See: *Bannockburn*, p. 65.
[174] Michael Brown, *Bannockburn*, p. 65.

'something that the lower classes also strive for and enjoy'.[175] Therefore through such narratives we are led to believe that at specific moments in time many Scots, not just the politically active, felt they belonged to the nation.

Freedom

In 1278 the young Alexander III was summoned to London to perform homage for his English lands. When he was asked to do homage for Scotland his perceived reply was thus:

> I become your man for the lands which I hold of you in the kingdom of
> England for which I owe homage to you, saving my kingdom . . . for my
> kingdom of Scotland, no one has the right save God alone nor do I hold it
> save of God alone.[176]

After this, pressure for suzerainty slowly escalated. The above speech was reformulated by Bower when he put similar words into the mouth of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow in response to Edward I's claim of overlordship.[177] This clear and resounding voice of independence suggests at least the elites knew they had a king and country, given to them by the grace of God and therefore free from subservience to another. However, over time more emphasis, of which the *Declaration of Arbroath* is an example, was placed on the monarch who had to guarantee the freedom of the Scots or be removed from his position.[178]

The most famous statement to come out of the *Declaration* is one which highlights the depth and breadth of 'patriotic' feeling in Scotland at this time:

> [F]or as long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions
> be brought under English rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours
> that we are fighting, but for freedom – for that alone, which no honest man gives

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[175] Hall, p. 70. Hall argues that Blind Harry also promotes freedom as a condition for those other than the nobility. See: pp. 168-169.

[176] *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 volumes, Edinburgh, 1819-1842, volume vii, p. 86 (hereafter *APS*, volume and page). Also see: Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 27. Pittock remarks that while English and Scottish sources differ for this account, it is clear Alexander did not perform homage or swear fealty explicitly for Scotland. See: *New History*, p. 43. Also see: Ferguson, p. 30; Stringer, 'Scottish Foundations', p. 91.

[177] Bower, vi, p. 29.

[178] This appeared in *The Declaration of Arbroath*, but Wishart also made Bruce swear an oath to abide under the direction and assent of the Scottish clergy, otherwise they would not support him as king. See: Hall, p. 49.

> up but with life itself . . . admonish and exhort the king of England . . . to suffer us
> to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland beyond which we have no
> habitation, since we desire nothing but our own.[179]

The document attempted 'to express a non-existent unity of diverse groups of people living in Scotland who opposed a common enemy, and as such it attempted to stress national identity while suppressing regional identities'.[180] While the document testifies to an existing elite Scottish identity that was encouraged by the monarchy, it must be remembered this document was only one way national identity was expressed. As Ferguson suggests, this passage 'drives home the concept of popular sovereignty' and how the struggle for independence 'had obviously heightened the perception of Scottish national identity'.[181]

Grant argues the *Declaration*, together with the rest of the intellectual apparatus associated with growth of national consciousness, helped shape perceptions of the past and mould common identities. However, all of this could not have been done in a vacuum – the ideas, beliefs, and theories of the nation need to have already existed to be expressed in such a manner. What the documents, chronicles, and histories of the period did was articulate the existing ideology and use it as convincing propaganda.[182] The *Declaration* was but one powerful tool which showed its writers believed Scotland and the Scots were part of one free and independent nation. Its claims were based on ancient chronicles and histories (which were a combination of truth and fiction), a belief in an unbroken and pure ethnic and royal line and a belief in the Scots as a chosen race; the whole population was included under the term 'the Scots'. Obviously what was important were the 'ethnic, historical and political bases upon which [the Scottish] nation was built'.[183]

However, there are examples that could be used to argue against unified Scottish identity. Claims have been made that *The Declaration* did not incite any national consciousness, but

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[179] *Declaration of Arbroath*, p. xiv; Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, p. 29. Broun, 'Pedigree of a Nation?', p. 2.
[180] Hall, p. 30.
[181] Ferguson, pp. pp. 42-43. Also see: Hall, p. 30. However, Broun suggests the core idea of being Scottish promoted by *The Declaration* was through obedience to their king. See: 'Pedigree of a Nation?', p. 7.
[182] Grant, 'National Consciousness', pp. 73-74.
[183] See: Hall, pp. 28-30.

Hall suggests those critics are too caught up comparing it with modern terminology and definitions.[184]   In the Anglo-Scots battles, not all Scots fought for their country; divided loyalties were common and some nobles fought for Edward I because they wanted to protect their English assets. Others, who lived in England, travelled home to defend their country. William of Bolhope had lived in England for many years, but on hearing the English king had invaded his homeland, he raced home to fight. When it was evident that Edward had the upper hand over the Scots, he raced back to England to embark on a one-man invasion. When asked to declare his loyalty to the English king, he refused and was put to death.[185] Some Scots continually switched sides depending on who was winning – personal gain was more important than national loyalty. William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews (1297-1328), initially supported John Balliol as the rightful claimant to the Scottish throne but by 1304 he supported the Bruce faction.

Robert Bruce, the man who was to become king of Scotland, also repeatedly switched sides, and could be seen as merely an opportunist who returned to the Scottish cause purely to gain the throne, rather than for actual loyalty to his homeland and an absent king.[186] However, as Geoffrey Barrow points out, such actions cannot be reduced to simplistic reasoning. Men of such standing had much to lose; not just lands, but their whole way of living which was 'geared to settled residences, regular revenues and conspicuous consumption. It was hard for them to wage a war that was not essentially a matter of cavalry and castles'. It appears Bruce switched sides through fear of losing his earldom of Carrick; after all, landowning was the key element in aristocratic status and identity. Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest Bruce's desire for the throne was the impetus for Scottish resistance prior to 1304.[187] Those Scots, like David Strathbogie Earl of Atholl who defected to the English side, were labelled the 'Disinherited' and lost their Scottish lands. During the reign of Bruce (1306-1329), holding lands in both countries was disallowed. However, as Grant argues, many who swore allegiance did so for the moment; 'submissions and collaboration rarely lasted for any length

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[184] Hall, pp. 29-30. Also see: Michael Brown, *Wars*, pp. 217-218.
[185] Geoffrey Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Scottish Identity,* Edinburgh, 1984, p. 7.
[186] Barbour, p. 83 (2.78-90); Barrow, *Bruce and Scottish Identity,* pp. 10-12; Hall, p. 49.
[187] Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp. 119, 123, 172-174 (p. 123). Also see: Michael Brown, *Bannockburn*, pp. 59-60.

of time'; of those who opposed Bruce as king most had 'long-term Scottish, not English loyalties'.[188] Throughout the period 1286-1586 Scottish soldiers fought for a number of differing reasons including 'coercion, religious conviction, feudal commitment or material gain'.[189] The existence of a hierarchy of loyalty is the one constant element to be found in any analysis of Scottish military identity. What needs to be realised is that this identity was not homogenous – the fighting men of Scotland had dual or plural identities and while one could emphasise his Gaelic or Lowland identity he could still be seen as a Scot. Moreover, by 'accepting that multiplicity exists within an apparently monolithic military identity' one is assured of a 'far more nuanced approach as to why the Scots took up arms'.[190]

The Wars of Independence firmly established a Scottish identity that was anti-English and rooted in a violent warrior society where military prowess against the enemy was the measure of a man's masculinity. However, the days of pitched battle were coming to a close with the advent of siege warfare, and opportunities for proving oneself were limited to campaigning on the Continent. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a decline in Anglo-Scottish warfare; for most of the fifteenth century war between the two ancient enemies was rare and more localised, rather than on a national scale.[191] However, hostility and suspicion with regard to the English were never far from the Scottish mind and the nation's independence was fiercely guarded, as the death of James III in 1488 demonstrates. James was keen on a *rapprochement* with the English even if it was against the wishes of his nobility. In the end disaffected nobles and former councillors raised an army and met James at Sauchieburn where he was defeated and killed. The meddling of Henry VIII in sixteenth-century Scottish affairs also raised suspicion and hostility leading to war in 1513 and 1542, which led to the deaths of two

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[188] Grant, 'Scottish Foundations', p. 99.
[189] S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop, eds, *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550-1900*, Leiden, Boston and Koln, 2002, pp. xxv, xxvii, xxix.
[190] Murdoch and Mackillop, pp. xxvii-xxviii.
[191] Katie Stevenson, ''Thai War Callit Knychtis and Bere the Name and Honour of that Hye Ordre': Scottish Knighthood in the Fifteenth Century' in Linda Clark, ed., *Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages*, Woodbridge, 2006, pp. 33-52 (p. 49); Keith Brown, 'A Blessed Union? Anglo-Scottish Relations Before the Covenant', in T. C. Smout, ed., *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1603-1900*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 37-56 (p. 41); R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox, eds, *The New Penguin History of Scotland*, Bath, 2001, pp. 150-154, 172; Anthony Goodman, 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches in the Fifteenth Century: A Frontier Society?', in R. A. Mason, ed., *Scotland and England 1286-1818*, Glasgow, 1987, pp. 18-33, (p. 22).

successive Scottish monarchs – James IV and James V. Henry was determined to raise the old claims of English overlordship and reduce Scotland, through continued harrying, to becoming a dependent entity.[192] This never eventuated, and James V's only surviving child, Mary Stewart, became Queen of Scotland in December 1542. Mary's reign was to be a watershed in Scottish history for within seven years the queen had been deposed, a new religion had been ushered in and English armies had appeared on Scottish soil only to give aid, not conquer, to the Scottish Protestants in 1560 and the King's Party in the early 1570s.[193]

During what is termed 'the Rough Wooings' of Henry VIII 1544-47 (and continued until 1551 by Protector Somerset), 'Assured Scots' played on the side of the English helping to secure Southern Scotland.[194] These Scots, the most prominent being the Earl of Lennox, were declared rebels by their own countrymen, testifying to the existence of a decisive Scottish identity which was rooted in not being English, and in maintaining the nation's independence from England. As had occurred during the Wars of Independence, some men, such as the Earl of Angus, changed sides when they realised that if they were caught they would not be treated equally by the Scottish government.[195] The 'Rough Wooings' were the most determined effort by an English king, since Edward III in the fourteenth century, to subject Scotland to English rule through the marriage of Henry VIII's son Edward to Mary, Queen of Scots.[196] However, it was not just an Anglo-Scottish affair; indeed, it became more complex with the involvement of Henry II of France and the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Moreover, internal religious and political personalities and agendas only added to the complexities of this period.[197] Along with military action, a deliberate propaganda campaign was employed by the English in order to force the Scots to accept their proposal. As Marcus Merriman notes, over all the conflicts 'there hung the historical and rhetorical framework of overlordship, conquest

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[192] Keith Brown, p. 40.
[193] Keith Brown, p. 41. Also see: Housten and Knox, pp. 174-175. Incidentally, during the 1550s, the threat to Scottish independence appeared to come from France rather than England.
[194] Marcus Merriman, 'James Henrison and 'Great Britain': British Union and the Scottish Commonweal', in Roger A. Mason, ed., *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Edinburgh, 1987, pp. 85- 112 (p. 85). For a comprehensive examination of the 'Rough Wooings' see: Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots 1542-1551*, East Linton, 2000.
[195] Barrow, *Bruce and Scottish Identity*, pp. 10-11. Also see: Pittock, *New History*, p. 134
[196] Mary's significance as a dynastic entity on the international political and marital stage was unquestioned.
[197] See: Merriman, *Rough Wooings*.

or partnership – all variants on the theme of union.'[198] It is important to realise that without Henry's wooing of Scotland in this manner,

> there would have been no French troops stationed in Scotland in 1559; without them the Lords of the Congregation would not have been able to gain English support and thereby bring about a Scottish Reformation. Without a Protestant Scotland, James VI would not have succeeded to the English throne in 1603,

and the union of the crowns in 1707 would never have happened.[199] By mid-1548 the war against Scotland was failing despite the success of the English over the Scots at the battle of Pinkie (1547) and the string of permanent English garrisons established throughout southern Scotland. The number of collaborators had diminished dramatically, France had come to the aid of the Scots with men, money and a betrothal for Mary, and Somerset dropped his unionist propaganda campaign. Scotland emerged from eight years of war with its independence intact and the English threat considerably reduced.[200]

'Assured' Scots were seen to be committed to advancing the union of Scotland and England through this marriage which would see first Henry VIII, and then his son Edward VI, as Scotland's lord and king. Assurance was a formal agreement in which both Scots and English promised not to molest one another for a set period of time; assurance pledges guaranteed maintenance of peace between those on both sides of the border. Yet, the Scot who entered such a formal contract in effect became seen as a 'sworn Inglisman', a 'fals Scott', by his own countrymen because he now obeyed the king of England and took on his enemies as his own.[201] In order to combat such traitorous behaviour, 1551 Parliament of Mary Stewart set

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[198] Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, p.11.

[199] Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, p. 18.

[200] The political propaganda used by Somerset was a means of articulating and encouraging the idea of a 'Great Britain' to both Scots and English. By forcing the Scots in this way to accept the demand for Mary's marriage to Edward, Somerset actually pushed the Scots into a betrothal agreement with France which saw the Scots gain French assistance in their war with England that tipped the balance of war in their favour. However, during the 1550s France became more closely involved with Scotland to the point that the Scottish monarchy was under the political guidance of the French king. Henry II, like the English king had aspirations of empire-building which included Scotland, but the French king's actions toward this end were more subtle than those of Henry VIII. See Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, pp. 56, 289, 292-319, 355. Also see: Merriman, 'James Henrison', p. 99; Merriman, 'The Assured Scots: Scottish Collaborators with England During the Rough Wooing', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 47, 143, April 1968, pp. 10-34 (pp. 11, 26-31).

[201] Merriman, 'James Henrison', p. 86. Also see: Merriman, 'Assured Scots', pp. 10-12.

down a law that '[a]ne assured Scotsman assisting the English army may be pursued for all the skaith (damage/injury) done to Scottishmen unassured'.[202] Why did some Scots bind themselves to the English cause? Merriman suggests that some did so out of fear, some saw a chance for social and political advancement, while others saw it as a chance to further the new Protestant religion.

Merriman also argues that most of the 'Assured' Scots were lesser nobles, burgesses and smaller folk from areas in southern Scotland, although it must be noted a few important members of the nobility, and some Highlanders, also took on the role of collaboration with the English.[203] For those Scots in the Highlands, Isles and Border regions, national identity was often subsumed or replaced by more important local or regional identities or political agendas which held more sway in times of conflict. After the Wars of Independence the 'pull of loyalty towards a local lord outweighed the Crown, or less concrete 'nation',' in the Western Highlands and Isles. Culturally and linguistically the region remained Gaelic and looked towards Ireland rather than the Scottish Crown for its identity. Borderers often saw themselves as distinct from either a Scottish or English identity due to the complexities of living and surviving in such a highly contested region.[204] Self-preservation was the key to their survival. With respect to the Scottish nobility who were seen as 'lukewarm patriots' one must be careful not to assign to them the idea that they were 'an Anglicised baronage betraying the nation' as the chronicles would have us believe. Instead, we must view them, along with their ancestors from the Wars of Independence, as 'men of wealth and political maturity' who can be viewed as 'careful, even cautious patriots'.[205] While total unity among the population was not constant, the available evidence illustrates only a small consensus was

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[202] *The Laws and Acts of Parliament of our Most High and Dread Sovereign Anne*, Acts from James II to Anne, ed. Sir James Dalrymple, Edinburgh, 1702. This act was taken from the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, Fifth Parliament 1st February 1551, no. 15, p. 278.

[203] Merriman, 'James Henrison', p. 86. Also see: Merriman, 'Assured Scots', pp. 10, 13; Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, pp. 113-116, 150-152; Jenny Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots: Politics, Passion and a Kingdom Lost*, London and New York, 2001, p. 63.

[204] Houston and Knox, pp. 153-154. However, the Scottish border aristocracy were more likely to identify themselves culturally with Scotland, having become indispensable to the Scottish crown, and in order to preserve their dominance. See: Goodman, p. 28. For a brief discussion of the Highlands and Isles and the problems posed during the Rough Wooings, see: Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, pp. 150-152.

[205] Norman Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295-1560*, East Linton, 2001, p. 23.

required to create and foster a sense of Scottish identity. During the Henry VIII's harassment of Scotland, those in power worked hard to maintain Scotland's independence. The Earl of Arran, Scotland's regent, had 'a genuine respect for the 'commoun weill and liberte of Scotland'', proof of which is to be found in his correspondence with Henry VIII in late 1543.[206] However, with the advent of the Reformation in 1560, Anglo-Scottish relations changed irrevocably and 'Protestantism, a shared language, and improved trade all served to reduce tensions and remove barriers' between the two countries which led to an eventual union of the crowns.[207] Compared to the fourteenth century, the sense of what it was to be Scottish in the sixteenth century had many similarities, but one glaring difference emerged from the 'Rough Wooings'; the measure of a true Scot was now underscored by religion.[208]

Discussion around the topic of medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish nation and identity has on a number of occasions thrown up the word 'exceptional' acknowledging the Scottish case did not, and perhaps does not conform to the usual definitions of nation.[209] Therefore, there is no reason to assume Scotland was not a nation prior to 1780. If we look past the rigid periodisation we can see a sense of a nation and a corresponding identity surviving without mass print media. It was an identity synonymous with the king, articulated and promoted by the clergy and nobility, and filtered down to the lairds, burgesses and eventually to the lower classes. While it is acknowledged that much of the discussion to be undertaken in this thesis will be mainly about the upper classes from lowland Scotland, where it is possible evidence will highlight consideration of other sectors of society. War with England, and the subsequent anti-English sentiment this aroused, was a major factor in the growing self-awareness of Scotland's people. The Scots were held together by kingship and geography; they shared a national consciousness which was eventually formulated into a nation. A small group of Scots initially formed a political community united in their desire to defend their kingdom's

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[206] For further details, see: Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, pp. 135-136.
[207] Keith Brown, p. 41.
[208] For further discussion of this topic see: Merriman, 'Assured Scots', pp. 21-25.
[209] Ichijo, p. 15.

independence, and were therefore instrumental in the construction and shaping of the identity which emerged.[210]

As my arguments clearly illustrate, a sense of national identity existed in medieval and sixteenth-century Scotland; an identity that changed over time as reflected in the historical literature. Wider European cultural and social events such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, and Humanism were incorporated into the construction of Scottish identity suggesting that over time it did not remain solely a 'them and us' conflict with England. Continuity and the antiquity of the nation's independence and identity were central to Scottish histories and national identity; tradition was seen as the guardian of Scottish security. Scottish stability, independence, and longevity all served to promote a cohesive Scottish society and resultant identity.[211] Therefore, by 1586 there was a definite identification with being a 'Scot', and being part of a collective identity. Moreover, assumptions that the dominant collective identity and proper masculinity are one and the same show nation and gender to be inextricably entwined.[212] The final section of this chapter will look at the socially constructed concepts of both gender and nation and how one informs the other. Scotland was a complex mix of political, historical, and religious ideas central to the identity of Scotland and articulated through eloquent rhetoric.[213] Medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish identity and ideologies around gender have to be viewed within the context(s) of their own time. We cannot read the present onto the past, or the modern onto the medieval.[214]

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[210] Ichijo, pp. 25-26; Hastings, p. 5. Davidson argues if Scotland became a nation by the thirteenth-century all major European nations must have arisen at the same time. However, he claims many historians are still confused as to what exactly constitutes a 'nation' in the Middle Ages. See: pp. 47-51.

[211] Williamson, p. 117.

[212] Cohen, *Hybridity,* p. 27.

[213] Broun, Lynch, and Finlay, 'Scottish Identity and the Historian', p. 1.

[214] Smith, 'Problem of National Identity', p. 392. Tipton asks if we should just ignore the concept of medieval nationalism [or nation] just because the term had not been coined or because no-one bothered to formulate a criterion or terminology to fit the modern definition? See: p. 2. Also see: Kathleen Davis, 'National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28, 3, 1998, pp. 611-637 (p. 621).

Nation and Gender – Combining Social Constructs

Why look at gender in a discussion of national identity? We could take Anne McClintock's opinion that '[a]ll nations depend on powerful constructions of gender', at face value, but such a statement requires interrogation.[215] Similar to ideas surrounding the nation and national identity, gender is a social and cultural construct and an important factor in informing national ideologies. Both women and the nation are feminised in many contexts, and both are perceived to be the property of men.[216] This in turn affects an individual's national identity, his/her appropriate role(s) and how s/he contributes to his/her nation. By moving away from the idealised hegemonic and homogenous masculinity, believed to be the norm, we see that men and women contributed in a variety of conformative and transgressive ways to the nation. This illustrates that gender, like class, language, and ethnicity gives the nation a multi-dimensional perspective. Therefore the grand masculine narrative is not the usual political story past historians would have us believe to be true. Hegemonic masculinity, the subordination of women in favour of male dominance, is not always the norm as the virginal Malcolm IV or the cross-dressing of William Wallace discussed in chapters three and four testify.[217] It has been argued that searching for national identity has resulted in the marginalisation of women by 'suppressing the actions that disrupt the stereotype' thus women are dispossessed of their past and disenfranchised, through the placement of limits on their individual and collective power. The same can be said for transgressive men or those who did not meet the normative standards set by the dominant group. This results in a restricted and distorted identity for women and men, who are then unable to forge new identities, or challenge those identities foisted upon them.[218]

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[215] Anne McClintock, 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, 44, 1993, pp. 61-80 (p. 61). Also see: Tricia Cusack, 'Janus and Gender: Women and the Nation's Backward Look', *Nations and Nationalism*, 6, 4, 2000, pp. 541-561 (p. 541).

[216] Tamar Mayer, 'Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage', in Tamar Mayer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, London and New York, 2000, pp. 1-22 (p. 2).

[217] For further explanations on hegemonic masculinity, see: Robert Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 76-81.

[218] E. Breitenbach, ''Curiously Rare'? Scottish Women of Interest or The Suppression of the Female in the Construction of National Identity', *Scottish Affairs*, 18, 1997, pp. 82-94 (pp. 87, 89). Scottish history has been essentially political and nationalistic throwing up questions of identity, but women have never been central to this historiography. See: Elizabeth Ewan, 'A Realm of One's Own? The Place of Medieval and Early Modern Women in Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone, D. Simonton, and O. Walsh, eds, *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach*, Glasgow, 1999, pp. 19-36 (p. 27).

Scottish historian, Edward Cowan, suggests the medieval theologian, Thomas Aquinas, 'wisely observed 'the state is nothing but the congregation of men''.[219] Writing about nations and national identity has taken the same masculine path, despite women's apparently invisible contribution. Many texts and articles on gender appear unbalanced, focusing mainly on women and femininity, and trying to relocate them into the grand narrative. However, one cannot look at national identity from a purely masculine standpoint, or gender from a solely feminine standpoint. Gender is two-fold; masculinity and femininity are indeed symbiotic. As Mrinalini Sinha argues, the 'discourse of the nation is implicated in particular elaborations of masculinity as much as of femininity' and contributes to their normative constructions. Furthermore, 'national narratives rely heavily on the supposedly natural logic of gender differences to consolidate new political identities around the nation'.[220] Gender, therefore, is the 'formative medium' through which 'metaphors of self, place and history reveal not simply how national entities identify, but also how and why power relations in the nation are configured'.[221] One needs to view the different functions of femininity and masculinity 'in the representation of imagined political communities', in order to view the larger picture. Looking at how women, particularly elite women, acted as carriers or bearers of national identity, what national features are expressed in a female form, and how women participated in the production and reception of national symbols are ways of viewing the relation between gender and national identity.[222] Similarly, viewing the different layers of masculinity through kingship, national symbols and heroics also needs to be examined. In other words, medieval and sixteenth-century ideologies of gender helped shape and forge the form of Scottish nationhood; it was not all about manly warriors and battles.

The histories and literature of the medieval period and sixteenth century help articulate the gender ideologies that define Scottish identity. Origin-myths construct an exclusionary and

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[219] Cowan has translated this from '*civitas est nonnisi congregation hominium*'. See: Cowan, *For Freedom Alone*, p. 70.

[220] Mrinalini Sinha, 'Gender and Nation', in Sue Morgan, ed., *The Feminist Reader*, London and New York, 2006, pp. 181-202 (p. 326).

[221] Elleke Boehmer, *Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation*, Manchester and New York, 2005, p. 30. Boehmer argues domination of masculinity embodies, justifies, and reproduces the organisation of power, and marginalises the participation of women. See: p. 31.

[222] These issues are raised by Johnson. See: pp. 9-10.

homogeneous vision of the nation, while the cultural dimension of symbolic heritage through language and religion construct the 'essence' of 'the nation'.[223] However, it was not all imagined or invented; even if it was, it was powerful enough to shape the experience of men and women. The late eighteenth century juxtaposed femininity with the nation and used the resultant symbolism to politically encourage passionate fervour for the motherland, and subsequently domesticating the nation.[224] I argue there are parallels with my period, particularly the sixteenth century where female propriety, chastity, and fidelity were used as tropes of civilised or virtuous nationhood when a woman was on the throne.[225] Writers in preceding centuries used the feminine to embody the nation. Literature became increasingly nationalistic in the sixteenth century and the idea of the country as a feminised 'mother figure' took form, particularly in England. Such symbolism was important for the female Tudor queens, and their right to rule, but it also symbolised an 'emotional basis for what Anderson would call the deep, horizontal comradeship of nationalism'.[226] Viewed through the iconography of familial and feminised space, the nation is portrayed as 'natural' rather than accidental or optional.[227]

Kings appear as the 'father' of the nation, although interestingly queens or queen regents were only rarely described as the 'mother' of the nation. Just as kingship features as a central facet of nation and identity, it was a role that was central to the concept of gender.[228] The hierarchy of the family; man at the head, and woman and child of equal but lesser status, was mirrored by the hierarchy of the nation. The family was a contested site of intimacy and power relations and it is within this world of the family 'with its conspicuous tension between

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[223] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 1997, p. 21.
[224] Joan B. Landes, *Visualising the Nation: Gender, Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, Ithaca and London, 2001, pp. 1-2.
[225] Landes, p. 5.
[226] Jacqueline Vanhoutte, *Strange Communion: Motherland and Masculinity in Tudor Plays, Pamphlets and Politics*, Newark and London, 2003, p. 19.
[227] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, New York and London, 1995, p. 357. Also see: Mrinalini Sinha, 'Nations in an Imperial Crucible', in Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 181-202 (p. 187-188).
[228] Reynolds, *Kingdoms,* p. 331; Jacqueline Murray, 'Introduction', in Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities, Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, New York, 1999, pp. ix-xx (p. xix). Murray argues, at the highest level of society expectations of manliness, masculine prowess, bravery, patriarchal authority, wisdom and good governance all intersected at the point of the king.

intimacy and power [that] the larger matters of political and social order' could find symbols to emphasise the national and gendered hierarchy.[229] The political nation is 'produced as a heterosexual male construct' whereby 'its "ego" is intimately connected to patriarchal hierarchies and norms' and men are able to 'achieve superiority over women and others (including men) by controlling them'.[230] This intersection of 'nation and gender' becomes a 'discourse about a moral code which mobilises men to become its sole protectors and women its biological and symbolic reproducers'.[231] When the Other threatens the nation, the nation is imagined to be unified, exclusive and worthy of sacrifice. When the threat diminishes internal disarray challenges notions of unity. The politically active usually define the nation by working towards specific agendas that meet their needs first, emphasising their control of who is included and excluded in the nation, and based on heterosexual masculinity.[232]

Alongside Thorlac Turville-Petre's text which focuses on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a number of literary scholars have conclusively found that an inherent nationalistic identity was present in sixteenth century literature; one that is also simultaneously gendered.[233] As Jacqueline Vanhoutte argues, a gendered national identity provided writers with 'a superior model for patriarchal legitimisation by facilitating the negotiation of a masculine identity independent of actual women'.[234] Language interests Joan Scott who sees the all-pervasiveness of gender in its meaning, symbolism, and power relations articulated through its usage. I agree with this, and a more detailed investigation of the use of gendered language is undertaken in chapter five. As Scott suggests, we need to use gender as a category of analysis for matters beyond the relationships of men and women, including such matters as the nation. The way forward is to view gender as an 'element of social relationships' connected to the view that it, like nation and national identity, 'is a primary way of signifying

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[229] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women on Top', in Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent, eds, *Gender and History in Western Europe*, London and New York, 1998, pp. 285-306 (p. 287).
[230] Mayer, p. 6.
[231] Mayer, p. 6.
[232] Mayer, p. 12.
[233] See texts by Thorlac Turville Petre, Jacqueline Vanhoutte, Richard Helgerson, and Kathy Lavezzo. While these texts focus on England, I believe their arguments are well suited to a discussion of Scotland in the same time periods.
[234] Vanhoutte, p. 25.

relationships of power'.[235] One needs to look at the culturally available symbols, their multiple representations and changing articulations, how they are invoked, and their contexts.[236] Cultural myths of gender are thereby shaped by their connection and intersection with specific political and historical situations, and their manipulation by the needs of the state.[237] Situations and circumstances need to be examined in order to understand the construction and reconstruction of gender identities and how these affect Scottish identity. Despite being pushed to the margins, women did become centrally located even if momentarily. Men took the marginal place of women as dependants and servants as we see with Henry Stewart in chapter three.[238] It is the anxieties, motives, meanings and constructions of identity that will give us the answers about how gender helped to construct the nation and national identity in medieval and sixteenth century Scotland. The historical investigation to be undertaken is one which disrupts the fixity and discovers the nature of the repression that has led to the binary gender representation.[239]

On one level we have the social construction of men and women, sex and gender, and nation yet we have to realise that actual men and women of the medieval period are not recuperable, and we need to view them as our 'imagined constructions'. The sources telling us about the relations between and within the two sexes, and about ideas of nationhood, are written or artistically presented by a small group of individuals who usually had the power. On another level we have abstract notions of gender used when applying this concept to other areas. By examining the literature, religious writings, and political documentation one can begin to see

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[235] Joan Wallach Scott, *Feminism and History*, New York and Oxford, 1996, pp. 167-170. Also see: Connell, p. 75; Julia M. H. Smith, 'Introduction: Gendering the Early Medieval World', in Leslie Brubaker and Julia M. H. Smith, eds, *Gender in the Medieval World East and West 300-900*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 1-19 (p. 19).

[236] Gisela Bock, 'Women's History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate', in Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent, eds, *Gender and History in Western Europe*, London and New York, 1998, pp. 25-42 (p. 29). Clare Lees also emphasises that relations between the sexes are a complex historical, and socio-cultural, phenomenon in which the language of sex and gender plays an important, but not exhaustive, role. See: 'Introduction,' in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis and London, 1994, pp. xv-xxv (p. xix).

[237] Sinha, 'Nations', p. 185; Scott, *Feminism and History*, pp. 167, 171-173. Also see: Nina S. Levine, *Women's Matters: Politics, Gender and Nation in Shakespeare's Early History Plays*, New Jersey, London and Ontario, 1998, p. 14.

[238] Dolan, p. 8.

[239] Scott, *Feminism and History*, pp. 167-168.

how the idea of national identity was constructed through the way gender is represented on this abstract level. Men do not all have the same history or experiences as each other. There are dominant and subordinate masculinities, with 'men differentiating themselves from other men by a variety of means'.[240] Power is a form of dominant masculinity and another way the gender hierarchy is reinforced. Military prowess was a way power could be articulated, and through which nations and national sentiment formed and expanded. It was a masculine, secular, and elite profession which subordinated those who could not attain experience in the military field. Masculine sexuality was often bound up in military power. The clergy, who were prohibited from fighting or sexual relations, were sometimes viewed as less manly than their lay peers. However, some leading clerics such as the Bishop Wishart of Glasgow (1297) and the Archbishop of St Andrews (1513) actually engaged in warfare in order to preserve their country's religious and political independence, thus breaking both ecclesiastical and social rules. Yet, by relinquishing all the trappings of a warrior, and definitely male, society, clerical men realised their prohibition from the martial world did not necessarily mean 'a concomitant loss of masculinity'.[241] Using military metaphors, the clergy articulated that fighting with fleshly temptation was a harder-fought spiritual battle, and they were encouraged to see themselves as superior because they resisted lust, and therefore the Devil.[242] Therefore, because it was manly to lust but manlier to resist, their masculinity would never be questioned.

The dominant ideology which centred on women saw them as either 'chaste transmitters of genealogical succession', or as 'unruly obstacles to the unfolding male-centred history'.[243] In

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[240] D. M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in D. M. Hadley, ed., *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, London and New York, 1999, pp. 1-18 (p. 4); Bock, p. 26.

[241] Emma Pettit, 'Holiness and Masculinity in Aldhelm's *Opus Geminatum De virginitate*', in P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, eds, *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, Cardiff, 2004, pp. 8-23 (p. 9). Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* maintained that clerics were prohibited from participating in war because it was linked with the shedding of blood which was seen as unbecoming considering their position. However, they would take part in war, but not by taking up arms; instead, through spiritual means they helped those who fought justly. See: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, volume 3, part 2, section 2, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, New York, 2007, p. 1355.

[242] Pettit, pp. 11-12. Also see: Jacqueline Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity', in Cullum and Lewis, pp. 24-42.

[243] Queenly chastity was especially important for legitimate genealogical succession. Heroines such as Isabel Buchan, discussed in chapter four, can be described as an unruly obstacle. See: Mihoko Suzuki, 'Anne Clifford and the Gendering of History', *CLIO*, 30, 2, 2001, pp. 195-266 (p. 198).

many instances one can see women overstepping the boundaries, but those with apparent power never seem to dislodge male authority, as my discussion about the heroine, Agnes Dunbar will reveal in chapter four.[244] Some women took on the role of patriotic manhood and some men, such as the clergy, took on a role of exalted motherhood. Others blurred the lines between the two. The queen and saint, Margaret, could be seen on the one hand as assuming manly characteristics through her religious and political contribution to the national project in the eleventh century, and on the other as the exalted mother who nurtured a dynasty of Scottish monarchs.[245] The subordination of the nobility under Wallace or the less than authoritative kingship of John Balliol temporarily cross the boundaries of hegemonic masculinity, as do the actions of clerics who fought for Scottish independence by assuming a military role at variance with their ecclesiastical calling. Power, and in particular, military power was achieved through exercising self-control, hence the reason women were to be excluded. Women, and some men, were not perceived to be rational and could not be expected to have the necessary self-restraint for leadership or governance, and therefore were not allowed to assume a superior masculine identity.[246] Yet, those who broke out of this mould still helped to create and maintain the nation; their stories were just as important to the national narrative, despite often being seen as dangerous to the patriarchal system, and therefore dangerous to the nation.[247] Medieval and sixteenth-century societies actively constructed and reconstructed attitudes towards gender. They used classical and biblical images as well as stereotyped literary topoi concerning male and female behaviour, and these images were usually emphasised in legal, religious, educational, scientific and political doctrines.[248]

Feminist study has sought to illuminate the role of women by chronicling their participation and leadership in national politics and movements. It has also shown how men and women

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[244] Stanley Chojnacki, 'The Most Serious Duty: Motherhood, Gender and Patrician Culture in Renaissance Venice', in M. Miguel and J. Schiesari, eds, *Refiguring Women: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1991, pp. 133-154 (p. 153).
[245] Three of her six sons became kings of Scotland. Her daughter, Matilda, became Queen of England.
[246] Hadley, pp. 11-12. Some manly women were admired for their actions.
[247] Nagel, pp. 116, 120.
[248] Hadley, p. 17.

defined themselves, how they were defined by others and by societal institutions, and how sexuality coloured these definitions.[249] While discussed in early modern and modern scholarship medieval women and their national contribution(s) are ignored, or talked about fleetingly. Modern analyses of gender and the nation have shown that the nation, national identity and nationalism have arisen from masculine hope, memories and humiliations.[250] Women are usually dismissed or relegated to minor and often symbolic roles as 'either icons of nationhood to be elevated or defended . . . or as the spoils of war to be denigrated and disgraced. The real actors are men who are defending their freedom, their honour, their homeland and their women'.[251] Nagel argues that nationalism and masculinity correspond well with each other because both are part of the political sphere thus closely linked to the state and its institutions. The symbolic role given to women reflects the place of women in the nation and the masculine ideas and definitions of femininity. It is through the traditional roles of wife and mother and the corresponding ideas of correct feminine behaviour and maintenance of sexual purity, both of women and the nation, that this symbolic role takes shape.

Women on the boundaries were only slotted into participation in the nation and its identity by being 'biological reproducers of the national collective, as reproducers of the boundaries of national groups (through restrictive sexual and/or marital relations), as active transmitters and producers of the national culture, as symbolic signifiers of national difference and as active participants in national struggles'.[252] In other words, 'the "essential woman" becomes the national iconic signifier for the material, the passive and the corporeal, to be worshipped, protected, and controlled by those with the power to remember, to forget, to guard, to define

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[249] Nagel, p. 111. Also see: Jessica Munns, and Penny Richards, 'Introduction', in Munns and Richards, eds, *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe*, Harlow and London, 2003, pp. 1-6 (p. 2).
[250] Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Berkeley, 1989, p. 44.
[251] Nagel, p. 112.
[252] Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, 'Introduction', in Yuval-Davis and Anthias, eds, *Woman-Nation-State*, Basingstoke and London, 1989, pp. 1-16 (p. 7). Also see: McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 353-355; Breitenbach, p. 91.

and redefine'.[253] These are the means by which women have been implicated in the modern nation, and are useful for showing how gendered the construction of the medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish nation and identity actually were through either active or passive cultural and political participation. Men, on the other hand, are active in their relationships with each other and with the nation. Patriotic manhood and exalted motherhood are therefore two features of gendered nationhood.[254] The nation embodies homosociality, or same-sex social interactions, rather than equality between men and women, or even between men. Therefore, as this thesis demonstrates the nation exists to serve the interests of small groups of powerful men.

Conclusion

As Anne McClintock argues, '[n]ations are contested systems of cultural representation that limit and legitimise people's access to the resources of the nation-state'. She suggests that 'not only are the needs of the nation identified with the frustrations and aspirations of men, but the representation of male *national* power depends on the prior construction of *gender* difference'.[255] It is the differences within gender that are at the heart of constructing Scottish identity. Women are eliminated from this equation; they have no identity except in relation to men. Gender permeates every aspect of medieval life, signifying power and shaping people's notions of how they thought about men, women and society. In turn, this affects the way people acted or responded to that power and how such power instructs and shapes the nation. Gender and national identity are 'never fixed, never attained once and for all because discursive boundaries change with historical conditions'.[256] The medievalist, Ruth Mazo Karras, notes that masculinity has more to do with the power struggle between men for superiority over one another, than it has to do with women. This suggests 'the subjection of

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[253] C. Kaplan, N. Alarcan, and M. Moallem, 'Introduction: Between Woman and Nation' in Kaplan, Alarcan, and Moallem, eds, *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms and the State*, Durham and London, 1999, pp. 1-16 (p. 10).

[254] Nagel, p. 110.

[255] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 353.

[256] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, 1988, p. 6.

women was always part of masculinity, but not always its purpose or its central feature'.[257] Moreover, 'explicit and symbolic ideas of gender could also conflict with the way men and women chose or were forced to operate in the world and the resulting status of men and women was more varied and shaped by their gender'.[258]

The Wars of Independence are to be seen as the crucible in which a sense of Scottish national identity was ignited and steadily burned until hurdles, such as the Reformation, changed the face of that identity. Scots understood they had their own territory ruled by a Scottish monarch, never a foreigner. They saw their language(s), and ethnic groups as distinct from others, and their literary and historical works helped articulate and express their Scottishness. According to Stefan Hall, there was a 'packaging and repackaging of "textual truths"' by authors who wanting to emphasise Scottish characteristics, even if the idea and make-up of different Scottish communities changed over time.[259] The building of both nation and identity through political, social and literary processes was perceived as active, public, and therefore masculine. But, women were a visible part of the nation and their contribution and marginalisation, whether positive or negative, were just as important as those of men. Therefore the location of the feminine alongside the masculine is crucial to an investigation of the assessment of gender in the construction of medieval and sixteenth century Scottish identity. What we have is an imagined community, one built by the Church, Crown, and literature (in both Latin and the vernacular) and underpinned by a 'them versus us' rhetoric. Ideals of freedom, national pride, and heroism were the basis for the Scots asserting their own ideas of who they were over the centuries.[260] For Benedict Anderson, the nation only emerged after the religious and dynastic cultural systems that dominated Europe started to lose power. However, as this thesis will show, those cultural systems had spaces open up long before the Enlightenment, making it possible for the Scots to think about their community in new

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[257] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 11.
[258] Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge and New York, 1993, pp. 5-6.
[259] Hall, pp. 4-5.
[260] Hall, p. 15.

ways.[261] As we shall see through the discussion undertaken in each subsequent chapter, the language and imagery of gender are the structures upon which a sense of Scottish identity is constructed.

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[261] Anderson, pp. 7, 12. Levine uses a similar hypothesis for England; one which I feel works rather well here. See: p. 146.

'The Whole of Scotland is Named After the Woman Scota': Gendering Scotland's Origin Myths[1]

A Scota nata Pharaonis Regis Egipti

Ut veteres credunt Scotia nomen habet;

A muliere Scota vocitatur Scotia tota

Nomen habet vetito Gathelas duci adaucto.[2]

Introduction

In late medieval Scotland continued Anglo-Scottish antagonisms witnessed an emergence of anti-English sentiment supported by eloquent rhetoric. Out of this nationalistic rhetoric arose the legendary literature which became part of Scotland's political propaganda and historical fabric until the mid sixteenth century, and included two foundation myths that will be discussed in-depth here. The first is associated with the legendary Egyptian princess, Scota, and her Greek husband Gaythelos.[3] I propose the narrative of St Andrew constituted a second Scottish origin legend which pushed the first out of the historical limelight. Scottish historian, Edward Cowan, recently remarked that whoever composed the *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) thought it 'politic to drop Scota in view of her gender'. Furthermore, he suggests the Scota legend 'was not so well attested as that of [England's] Brutus or Arthur, thus potentially weakening the Scottish case'.[4] Such a statement increases one's curiosity, particularly because Cowan does not expand it further. Instead he turns his attention to the *Declaration's*

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[1] Bower, vi, p. 143.

[2] *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History*, ed. W. F. Skene, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 378 (hereafter referenced *Picts and Scots*, unless directly quoting Skene).

[3] Spellings vary between Scota, Scotta and Scotia, and between Gaythelos, Gadel Glas, Gaidelon, Gedell Glass, Gedyl-Glays, Gaithelos. For the purpose of this thesis, Scota and Gaythelos will be used unless directly quoting.

[4] Edward J. Cowan, *'For Freedom Alone': The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320*, 2nd edition, Edinburgh, 2008, p. 46.

utilisation of St Andrew as anti-English propaganda. Apparently uninterested in gender as a model for discussing the foundation myths of Scota and Andrew, Cowan leaves the way open for a thorough examination of the statement he appears to have made in passing.

Scotland's origin myths served two purposes: one myth was linked with ancient lineage, the other with Christianity. More importantly, both emphasised Scotland's independence, and nationhood. As Karen Armstrong has argued, '[t]here is never a single, orthodox version of a myth'; when circumstances change there is a need to tell the story differently, to bring out its timeless truth.[5] The extant versions of both legends are varied in length and detail. Both have an aura of antiquity ensuring their political value and contributing to their continued usage and sustainability. Scota devolved from a fourteenth-century warrior princess into a marginalised and almost forgotten figure of the sixteenth century; she died a politically expedient death, while Andrew's resonance with the Scots survived. How, and if, the myths were sustained is examined here, with the evidence indicating that they were underpinned by a gendered ideology. Andrew pushed out of the way not only Scota but also Gaythelos before taking his place as the superior and more credible foundation of Scotland.

As my argument illustrates, sixteenth-century historians John Major and George Buchanan wrote about Scota only as a means to dismiss her, relegating the feminine to the margins and reflecting society's stance about strong, independent women. It is the aim of this chapter to discuss the Scota and Andrew myths by looking at them through a gendered lens and, in turn, assessing how they contributed to Scottish identity. Some comparisons with English origins will also be undertaken to give a more comprehensive understanding of the myths' context. The narratives, written by celibate male clerics, were manipulated and coloured by personal political, moral, and religious prejudices. Moreover, conflicting variations of the myths accentuate the tensions experienced by late medieval and early modern historians writing

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[5] Karen Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth*, Melbourne, 2005, p. 11. Also see: G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 7, 28.

about Scotland's origins and trying to make pagan women and saintly men fit with specific events, and the ideologies of society. Scota and Andrew are two excellent examples that highlight the multiple layers and discourses reflected by the symbiotic relationship of masculinities and femininities apparent in Scotland's historical literature.

Myths

Myths attempted to 'bring order to disorder . . . to regulate what lay beyond one's control', describing the foundations of social behaviour and underpinning 'morality, governments and national identity'.[6] Myths helped explain inexplicable phenomena and situations, allowing people to 'find their place in the world' and understand why certain propositions were regarded as normal and natural, and others as perverse and alien.[7] A myth's goal was the present and the future; for a Scotland under threat the persistence of a problem-solving myth resulted from sheer necessity not only for the political present but the future of the nation's independence.[8] However, by delving into the past, the author was faced with one immediate challenge – the world he was investigating was not the same as his own. This created problems whereby the author could easily project his own judgements and mentalities onto the past, in turn causing a paradox for describing those who did not fit the hegemonic masculine norm. By looking at woman's place in the origin myths of a masculine based history, it becomes apparent that meanings involved the 'implicitly or explicitly gendered power relations these authors experienced in their own worlds'.[9] Writing about women at the beginning required an imaginative leap back to their status within their legendary past.

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[6] Bettina L. Knapp, *Women, Myth and the Feminine Principle*, New York, 1998, p. xii. Also see: Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340*, Oxford, 1996, p. 6; Stefan Hall, *The Role of Medieval Scottish Poetry in Creating Scottish Identity: "Textual Nationalism",* New York, 2006, p. 34; Roy Willis, ed., *World Mythology*, New York, 1993, p. 10.

[7] Armstrong, p. 6. Also see: Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68, 1983, pp. 375-391 (p. 375).

[8] Patrick Geary, *Women at the Beginning: Origin Myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary*, Princeton and Oxford, 2006, p. 10; William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*, Edinburgh, 1998, p. 6.

[9] Geary, p. 10.

Authors had to simultaneously represent an imagining of women's roles and importance in the contemporary sphere, and the correspondent vision of the mythic past. Therefore, when trying to 'come to terms with their ambivalences about women in their own worlds', authors discarded them or made them disappear in favour of men.[10] As Patrick Geary explains, '[u]nable to eliminate women from the practice of public power, clerical authors eliminated them from the only world over which they had full control: the world of texts'.[11] By 1583 Scota disappeared with a stroke of the gendered pen, relegated to the mists of time.

Why are origin myths important to a nation's psyche? Susan Reynolds suggests that 'between the sixth and fourteenth century peoples were thought of as social and political communities and myths of common origin . . . served to increase or express their solidarity'.[12] The historical value of myth therefore lies in its content, usually as an act of remembrance, not in its accuracy as a historical account. Furthermore, myths combined elements of historical fact and legendary embellishments to produce a single potent vision, and an overriding commitment and bond for the community. The nation had to have tales of a heroic or sacred past which served present needs and purposes.[13] Within Scottish historical discourse the conflicts with England were the measuring stick against which myths and their symbolic forms were employed. The construction, development, and continued exploitation of origin myths resulted in a vivid consciousness of Scotland's history and identity built on ideas and beliefs already in existence, albeit in a variety of forms.

Many origin myths were based on patriarchal prejudices with little respect for women or the role they might play in a nation's birth. Anglo-Saxon genealogies dispensed with women

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[10] Geary, p. 4.
[11] Geary, p. 6.
[12] Reynolds, '*Origines Gentium*', p. 375.
[13] George Schopflin, 'The Functions of Myth and a Taxonomy of Myths', in Geoffrey Hoskins and George Schopflin, eds, *Myths and Nationhood*, London, 1997, pp. 19-35 (pp. 19-20); Anthony Smith, 'The Golden Age and National Renewal,' in Hoskins and Schopflin, pp. 35-59 (pp. 56-57); Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History*, New Haven and London, 2008, p. xix.

altogether; their appearance in Greek, Roman or Scythian origin legends was often negative or purely sacrificial.[14] However, of importance here is the Roman foundation legend of the male twins, Romulus and Remus.[15] Abandoned at birth, the twins were nurtured by a she-wolf before she was substituted by a male shepherd who brought the boys up as his own. Obviously the usefulness of the feminine presence expired along with her nursing milk, replaced by the masculine in order to rear the boys into rational adult men. Interestingly, Jodi Mikalachki sees the she-wolf as the 'savage female breast' at which the origins of Rome lay.[16] Alongside the self-destructiveness of Romulus and Remus, which corresponds to the violence and savagery appearing in the English myth of Albina, this analogy demonstrates the gendered complexities of origins. However, the wolf's savagery was softened through her maternal suckling of the twins, which in turn became a symbol 'of native vigour imbibed from the natural world'. At the same time this native femininity was 're-channelled into the male line of Romulus' and became subordinated under the masculine empire of Rome.[17] While historians have not yet suggested an analogy with Scota, I propose her role was the pagan female breast which nurtured the origin of the Scots. As a pagan she would be perceived as savage and barbaric, especially in her role as warrior and conqueror. Moreover, her native femininity was subordinated under a long line of male rulers. The Romans developed their origin myth into 'a civic icon of the nursing she-wolf and her foster sons'.[18] Conversely, the feminine Scota was overpowered by the masculine history of St Andrew when he became Scotland's civic/national icon, as the following discussion illustrates.

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[14] Geary, pp. 13-15, 21. For Celtic examples see: Lyn Webster Wilde, *Celtic Women in Legend, Myth and History*, London, 1997; P. Berrisford Ellis, *Celtic Women: Women in Celtic Society and Literature*, Michigan and London, 1995.

[15] See: Alexander Grandazzi, *The Foundation of Rome: Myth and History*, Ithaca and London, 1997; Augusto Fraschetti, *The Foundation of Rome*, Edinburgh, 2005.

[16] Jodi Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*, London and New York, 1998, p. 14.

[17] Mikalachki, p. 15.

[18] Mikalachki, p. 14.

'[Y]e customme was yan to call natioun eftir women': Scota[19]

Identities, whether national or personal, are 'specific forms of cultural narratives which constitute commonalities and differences between self and others, interpreting their social positioning in more or less stable ways', and often relating to myths of common origin.[20] The fourteenth-century chronicler John Fordun explained that Asia, taking up one half of the globe, was named

> after a certain woman who, according to Isidore, formerly ruled the East . . . Europe is said to be named after Europa, daughter of Aegnor, King of Lybia . . . Africa, the remaining third part of the world, is said to be opposite Asia and Europe, although it is smaller . . . [it is] richer and of more admirable quality . . . called from Afer who is said to have led an army against Lybia and after vanquishing his enemies to have settled there.[21]

The *Chronicle of the Scots* (1530) also claimed the Scots were named after Scota 'as ye customme was yan to call natioun eftir women, and not eftir mann, as is Asia, Affrica, and Europa, ye thre pryncipale parties of ye warld.'[22] Unlike the earlier rendition from Fordun, this later version indicates that Africa was also female – this is just one of the many contradictions that appear with the Scota legend. As Tamara Agha-Jaffar argues,

> [t]he power to name holds a special significance. Naming delineates, categorises, defines and imposes meaning and order . . . it also establishes hierarchy: the one being named is subordinate to the one doing the naming.[23]

Therefore, if naming establishes hierarchy and subordination the reader can be certain that the political act of labelling, and legitimising, the countries and continents of the world was a masculine action, as outlined in the following discussions of Scota and the transgressive Albina.

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[19] *Picts and Scots*, p. 378; Bower, i, p. 9.
[20] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation,* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 1997, p. 43.
[21] Fordun, p. 3; Bower, i, p. 9.
[22] *Picts and Scots*, p. 378.
[23] Tamara Agha-Jaffar, *Women and Goddesses in Myth and Sacred Text, An Anthology*, New York, 2004, p. 205.

Like Fordun, the fifteenth-century chroniclers Andrew of Wyntoun and Walter Bower attempted to create a Scottish history situated within the wider universal history provided by Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.* 260-340CE). Eusebius's *World-Chronicle* was a manual of origin legends and histories of cities and nations of the early fourth-century Christian Roman Empire. Those on the fringes or living beyond the frontier of the Roman world were considered barbaric, or excluded. D. E. R. Watt explains that 'after conversion, it became almost a point of honour to demonstrate a national antiquity comparable to that of longer established states'.[24] As such, Scottish clerics developed the Scota myth in the early medieval period 'to help unify the kingdom during the ascendancy of the house of Kenneth mac Alpin, and counter the Anglocentric interpretation of history introduced by Bede' (*c.* 672-735CE).[25] Early Irish chronicles explicitly used Eusebius' *World-Chronicle* as a point of reference for the Scota myth, as first seen in the *Life of St Cadroe*, (*c.* 995CE).[26] Scota's first political appearance in Scotland was in the twelfth century when William the Lion's genealogies were 'taken back to Gathelus, Scota's Greek husband'.[27] The main threads of the myth tell us that Scota, an Egyptian princess and daughter of the Pharaoh, married Gaythelos, a Greek prince. After the expulsion of the Israelites, they fled Egypt and sailed the world, stopping in Spain before their descendants travelled to Ireland, and subsequently Scotland. Various versions (many repetitious and contradictory) of the myth existed. All promoted an independent and ancient Scots race, with a noble genealogy stretching as far back as *c.* 500BCE. Lineage was important to the chroniclers in order to establish an independent kingdom with a legitimate and continuous royal line.[28] Two versions of the myth appeared in Scotland's Papal Submissions (1301) as a comprehensive political response to English claims of suzerainty, treating Scota in a way that stands out from the stereotypical norm.

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[24] Watt, i, p. xvi. Also see: Amours, i, pp. xvi, xxxviii.
[25] R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, p. 118. Goldstein outlines different of versions of Scota's legend from both Irish and Scottish sources. See: pp. 110-132. Also see: Ferguson, pp. 1-19; Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, Woodbridge, 1999.
[26] Watt, i, pp. xvii-xix.
[27] Anke Bernau, 'Myths of Origin and The Struggle over Nationhood in Medieval and Early Modern England', in Gordon McMullan and David Matthews, eds, *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 106-118 (p. 109).
[28] E. Ewan, S. Innes, S. Reynolds and R. Pipes, eds, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women,* Edinburgh, 2006, p. 314. The oldest surviving version of the Scota myth is in Nennius (based on a lost chronicle written by the Irish abbot, Sinlan who died 607CE), but the earliest indication the Scots adhered to the Scota legend is shown in *Cadroe*. See: Watt, i, pp. xvii-xix.

The Papal Submissions written by lawyer and canon, Baldred Bisset, survive only in the work of John Fordun and Walter Bower, and the material used here is from Watt's translation of Bower's *Scotichronicon*.[29]   The *Instructions* and *Propositions* come first and clearly superiority of the Scots takes precedence. The English foundation myth of Brutus and the division of Britain into three parts (to the detriment of Scotland) was not entirely disputed, although Bisset accused Edward I of 'touching only on what seemed to suit his purpose and suppressing the rest of the truth'.[30]   The Scots, according to Bisset, were an ancient people who first occupied Hibernia (Ireland) before crossing the sea and occupying Argyle. Bisset suggested Argyle was so called by combining the names of Erc and Gaythelos, Scota's son and husband. He also claimed the Scots drove the Britons out of Albany, occupying it 'by the same right and title as that by which Brutus had earlier occupied the whole of Britain', and staking a legitimate claim that remained solid. Bisset then made it clear the whole of Scotland was named after Scota, 'the lady of the Scots'.[31]   To further enhance Scottish superiority and legitimacy, Bisset wrote that the Scots also brought their 'rites, language and customs' of which they have nothing in common with the Britons. Furthermore, the Scots had never been subject to the Britons whose claims of overlordship had been continually interrupted through being conquered by others. The English king was apparently working from a defective origin; a weak foundation upon which to build a claim over Scotland.[32]   Opportunistically, the Scots reinforced this point by utilising the Scota and Andrew foundation myths.

Interestingly, Bisset's *Instructions* promote Scota as the dominant player, with Gaythelos marginalised and subordinated as the passive spouse. This was emphasised further in Bisset's second document, the *Pleadings*.   The focus of the *Pleadings* was also the freedom of Scotland and covered much of the same material as the *Instructions*. The version available in

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[29] R. J. Goldstein, 'Baldred Bisset (*c.* 1260-1311?), ecclesiastic', in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (hereafter DNB), online, nd, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/2475 (12 April 2009); Watt, vi, pp. 279-80.

[30] Bower, vi, pp. 141, 143.

[31] Bower, vi, p. 143.

[32] Bower, vi, pp. 143, 145. Also see: Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan, 'Introduction: Tartan Arthur?' in Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan, eds, *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 1-7 (p. 4).

Bower has been accepted as a draft copy of the document, for the reason it has no formal address to the Pope at its beginning.[33] Bisset argued Scotland was governed by a common law whereby no king, kingdom, or bishopric was subject to another; in fact, he found it 'against natural law and astonishing for someone who enjoys legal independence to be subjected to the authority of someone else'. Importantly, he claimed the Scots converted to Christianity five hundred years before the English, with thirty-six Christian kings reigning freely in the Scottish kingdom before English conversion.[34] As a result, a natural hatred had arisen between the Scots and English 'since the converted were odious to the unconverted and vice versa'.[35] This faintly echoed thirteenth-century ideas held by Christian Crusaders in order to justify their attitudes towards the Infidels, and highlighting barbaric versus civilised perceptions of Others.[36] The *Pleadings* also took to task the accuracy of facts regarding Brutus's division of Britain. Bisset declared such division meant equal shares between Brutus's three sons, for who would allow one brother to subject the others? Vociferously denying the ancient division of Britain which allowed England theoretically to subject Scotland, Bisset explicitly denounced Edward as the true successor of Brutus's lineage. Edward descended from the Normans who had overthrown the Saxons, who overthrew the Danes, who had initially overthrown the Saxons who overthrew the Britons.[37] Having poked holes in Edward's superiority, Bisset moved on to his story of Scota. Bisset's *Instructions* presented an independent, dominant Scota and this was built upon in the *Pleadings*. In a powerful eight lines he gave Scota almost Amazonian qualities and masculine attributes of a warrior: Scota, with 'an armed force and a very large fleet of ships . . . conquered and . . . took over that kingdom', single-handedly overthrowing the Picts.[38]

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[33] Watt, vi, p. 280.
[34] Bower, vi, p. 171. Watt notes this dating is implausible being long before the arrival St Augustine's conversion of the pagan king, Aethelberht of Kent, to Christianity in 597CE. See: vi, p. 269.
[35] Bower, vi, p. 173.
[36] Watt, vi, p. 282.
[37] Bower, vi, pp. 181, 183.
[38] Bower, vi, p. 183.

Scota's independent, warrior persona of 1301 is at odds with the feminised stereotype of wife, mother and daughter found in the late fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth-century chronicles. While Scota names a whole country and its people, Gaythelos was reduced to the role of husband and of part-naming a smaller area in conjunction with his son; the masculine was given a small integrated part, the feminine encompassed the whole. This parallels the process of procreation, especially birth and nursing; functions inextricably linked with the feminine. The main argument of the papal documents pivoted on ancient lineage, with Scota outstripping the English progenitor, the Trojan Brutus. However, many details do not relate to any historically accurate events, people or dates; fabrications were based on classical or biblical events constructed to show the antiquity of the one kingdom over another and overlordship versus independence. Bisset (and Robert Bruce in 1323) also credited Scota with bringing the *sedile regium* (the Stone of Scone) to Scotland suggesting she was not just mother of the nation, but also mother of kings.[39] Scottish kingship was validated by a new monarch sitting on the ancient seat; an action which underlined the king's ancient lineage and cemented Scottish royal identity. In Bisset's *Pleadings*, Scota did not arrive in Scotland via lengthy periods spent in Spain or Ireland as in other versions. As Wendy Childs suggests the legend was adapted to allow Scota, rather than her ancestors, direct 'landing-rights' in Scotland emphasising the perception that the Scots were 'a wholly individual and distinct people'; clever political rhetoric in order to keep Scotland free from interference from others.[40] She became the coloniser, taking on the masculine role which usually subjugated the feminine, as

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[39] Bernau, 'Myths of Origin', p. 109. Stones in myth emphasized the sacred. If Scotland's stone was sacred it would give extraordinary emphasis to the legitimation of the kings who sat on it. An English poem 'La Piere D'Escoce', written after the death of Edward I (1307), linked the stone to Moses' prophecy, which he preached in Egypt while Scota was in attendance: 'whoso will possess this stone, shall be the conqueror of a very far-off land.' The poem said Gaidelon and Scota brought the stone from Egypt to Scotland. The Stone has also been labelled Jacob's pillow, another biblical reference, enhancing the importance of such a symbol, and Scottish ancestry. See: Pat Gerber, *Stone of Destiny*, Edinburgh, 1997, pp. 32-34; N. Aitchison, *Scotland's Stone of Destiny*, Stroud, 2003, p. 123.

[40] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. Wendy Childs, Oxford, 2005, p. 225. Also see: Dauvit Broun, 'Defining Scotland and the Scots Before the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R. J. Finlay, and M. Lynch, eds, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 4-17 (p. 11). In the *Pleadings* Scota stopped in Ireland but only to pick up Irishmen to join her fleet, on her way to conquering Scotland. Beforehand, links to Ireland were used to show the Scots, and Scotland, were wholly separate from the Britons, and the kingdom of Britain. Bisset's *Instructions* initially had the Scots occupying Ireland before conquering Scotland. See: vi, p. 14. Also see: Broun, *Irish Identity*, pp. 118-119, 129.

well as the land. Scota's independence from male authority paralleled Scotland's independence from English authority.

Aware of Scotland's Celtic and Pictish past, Bisset probably deemed it acceptable for a pagan heroine to be a forebear to the Scots. Sandy Bardsley suggests that 'attitudes to female warriors changed over the course of the Middle Ages . . . in the early Middle Ages direct participation did not seem to be particularly unusual'.[41] Moreover, being a woman Scota would have been easy to dismiss once the ancient line of Scottish kings was established; being pagan meant she was no threat to Scotland's Christianity. By specifically articulating that '[t]he whole of Scotland is named after the woman Scota', Bisset feminises the land which could then be occupied and ruled by men. Scota may have conquered, yet there is no mention of her becoming queen, governing her people, or making laws. This is important with regards to gender; by reducing any authority she may have had, the leadership role was kept free for a man. So why did Bisset write about Scota in this way in the early fourteenth century? He may have realised that in order to have a race of people a mother was required who could initially be given some importance, then subsumed under the father/head of the people. Scota served her biological role and provided Scotland with future leaders; her displacement from the masculine narrative was a necessary and normal part of the social process. For later Christian writers, paganism was condemned from a safe distance of a few hundred years, and associated with the feminine.[42] Scota fulfilled her procreative role before vanishing into a masculine world. However, Bisset may well have been of the generation that still saw value in women's roles and, by using the literary examples of Scota in the early fourteenth century, can be seen to be encouraging feminine participation in the struggle for freedom. This leads me to suggest that Scottish identity encompassed other members of the nation, not just elite men.[43]

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[41] Sandy Bardsley, *Women's Roles in the Middle Ages*, Westport, 2007, p. 205.
[42] Lisa M. Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe 400-1100*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 38.
[43] Jessica Nelson makes a compelling case regarding royal women's position of power/importance in the thirteenth century. See: Jessica Nelson, 'Scottish Queenship in the Thirteenth Century', in B. K. U. Weiler, J. E. Burton, P. R. Schofield, and K. Strober, eds, *Thirteenth Century England XI: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference 2005*, Cardiff, 2007, pp. 61-81. Joan M. Ferrante and Patrick Geary argue that positive roles for

Scota's ancestry was proudly written about as daughter of a Pharaoh, and more importantly as mother of the Scots; perhaps her antiquity was what really mattered in the war of words with England. What is intriguing is that Bower not only included Bisset's independent Scota, he outlined the short narrative of the thirteenth-century English statesman, Grosseteste, who also gave a leadership role to Scota.[44] Perhaps he was fascinated with Bisset's juxtaposition of a 'manly' and 'motherly' woman who was the progenitor of the Scots despite marginalising her elsewhere. Overall, it suited Bower's nationalistic purpose to include Bisset's documents because they were part of a major event in Scotland's political history and fight for freedom, and consequently important to the national narrative. Whatever the reason, the link between memory and origins was recreated to suit the current political situation.[45] Scota's re-construction in the histories should be read as a marker of changes in the perception of the feminine. By the mid fifteenth century any place accorded women in the textual picture was becoming smaller. In the sixteenth century the question of woman's governance caused considerable angst, as the writings of the historian George Buchanan and the Protestant reformer John Knox demonstrated.[46] Therefore, the fact Scota is in the narratives at all testifies to her importance.

In the chronicles Scota's main role was what Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias would term the 'biological reproducer of the national collective'.[47] Her position as the figural mother of the nation and biological mother of two sons firmly positioned her as the feminine creator of new, legitimate generations. Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (1370s) was the first

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women existed in the twelfth century but were beginning to decline in the thirteenth. See: Ferrante, *Woman as Image in Medieval Literature*, New York and London, 1975. Also see: Geary, p. 5. Overall, evidence is scanty regarding women's roles in Scottish society at this time, but Scotland tended to follow European patterns. See: R. Andrew McDonald, 'The Foundation and Patronage of Nunneries by Native Elites', in E. Ewan and M. Meikle, eds, *Women in Scotland 1100-1750*, East Linton, 1999, pp. 3-15 (p. 11).

[44] Bower, i, p. 37. Bower also quotes the *Historia Scholastica*.

[45] Bower, vi, p. 143. Also see: Bitel, p. 53.

[46] By 1561 queens regnant ruled both Scotland and England. Strong female regents such as Marie de Guise in Scotland prior to 1560, and Catherine de Medici in France after 1560 also contributed to the women-in-rule debate.

[47] Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*, London, 1989, p. 7. Also see: Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, London and New York, 1995, pp. 353-355.

comprehensive Scottish history to herald the founding myth of Scota.[48] The *Chronica* expressed a nationalistic belief justifying Scottish autonomy, while concurrently giving the Scots divine approval as an independent people.[49] In his fifteenth-century verse chronicle, Wyntoun set out to prove Scotland had been 'Christianised and . . . ruled by kings long before England', including in his narrative stories of nomadic giants, and Amazon women who 'were full wilde [who] vsit ay armyne to fycht', and placing Scotland firmly within a broader European context.[50] Like Fordun, Wyntoun only noted Scota's roles as daughter, wife and mother. While Fordun's narrative implicitly acknowledges Scota's biological role through phrases such as 'Gaythelos . . . exhorted his sons' and 'calling it Scotia from his mother's name', Wyntoun explicitly underscores the procreative act by stating that Gaythelos 'gat [upon Scota] . . . barnis faire'.[51] Within the space of five lines Scota was stereotypically marginalised; her figurative, biological, and genealogical importance assessed from an entirely male perspective.[52] Amazonian women piqued Wyntoun's curiosity therefore it is interesting he did not include Scota in this narrative role. However, his fifteenth-century contemporary, Bower, used the past to generate moral and political judgements about the present and, through invention and fabrication, produced 'statements on national freedom that are quintessentially and anachronistically fourteenth century'.[53] Despite including many versions of the origin myth, Bower boxed Scota in her feminine role of wife and mother. Gaythelos was his primary character making it clear woman's power was inferior to man's, and emphasised by his perception of Scota as an apolitical and passive figure.[54]

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[48] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 108. Also see: Watt, i, p. xxii; R. A. Mason, ''Scotching the Brut': The Early History of Britain', *History Today*, 35, 1, January 1985, pp. 60-84 (p. 63).

[49] Bruce Webster, 'John of Fordun and the Independent Identity of the Scots', in Alfred P. Smyth, ed., *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, London, 1998, pp. 85-102 (p. 93); R. A. Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', in R. A. Mason and N. MacDougall, eds, *People and Power in Scotland. Essays in Honour of T. C. Smout*, Edinburgh, 1992, pp. 50-73 (pp. 54-5).

[50] Wyntoun, ii, p. 84; Amours, i, p. liii. Translation: fully wild, who used an army to fight.

[51] Fordun, pp. 13, 15; Wyntoun, ii, p. 190. Translation: who had with Scota fine children.

[52] Jean K. Kim, *Woman and Nation: An Intercontextual Reading of the Gospel of John from a Postcolonial Feminist Perspective*, Boston and Leiden, p. 3.

[53] Sally Mapstone, (book review) 'The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland', *Medium Aevum*, Spring 1994, pp. 144-145 (p. 144).

[54] Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland 1424-1463*, Edinburgh, 2006, p. 23.

John Major's *History of Greater Britain* (1521) squarely placed Scota in her roles of daughter, wife and mother in a mere three lines.[55]   Bishop John Leslie writing in the 1570s, and Buchanan in 1582, also marginalised Scota within those same feminine roles. Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (1526) proudly embellished Scotland's origins, his patriotic and political hyperbole opposing Major's history. Put into context, one can see these latter authors addressing the foreign policy debate facing James V (*r.* 1513-1542) – should he keep his alliance with France or should he put aside anti-English sentiment and ally with England? In light of Henry VIII's desire for overlordship of Scotland and the hostility shown against the English by the Scots since the annihilation of their king and nobility at Flodden (1513), freedom had to be maintained. Boece's narrative, which had been translated for James by John Bellenden (1531), was likely to have a court and European humanist audience and would have been more favourable to those promoting Scottish independence.[56]   As in Bower's narrative, Gaythelos and his actions are given precedence over anything the passive character of Scota may have said or done. She was given to Gaythelos in marriage by her father, she travelled as Gaythelos' wife away from Egypt to wherever he wanted to conquer and settle, and her name was used by him to 'callit all his subdittis Scottis'.[57]   The Pharaoh and Gaythelos took the active, masculine roles through the giving and receiving of Scota. Masculine power was displayed through the penetrative, physical, sex act which resulted in procreation and meant Scota's role changed from conqueror to conquered. Once again Scota's wifely and motherly duties are seen as all-important by producing the mandatory son and heir.[58]   Interestingly, William Stewart's *Metrical Version* (*c.* 1533) of Boece's work explicitly labels Scota 'ane virgin clene right fair of nobill fame'.[59]   Virginity and purity were important for an origin mother who would begin the race of the Scots; it was imperative she remain untarnished and worthy of such a position.

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[55] Major, p. 51.
[56] A. Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 2005, pp. 4, 7, 135; Marjorie Drexler, 'Fluid Prejudice: Origin Myths in the Later Middle Ages', in J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond, eds, *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, New York, 1987, pp. 61-75 (p. 75).
[57] Bellenden's Boece, i, p. 24. Translation: call all his subjects Scots.
[58] Bellenden's Boece, i, p. 24.
[59] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, i, p. 8.

The unspoken but apparent penetration by her husband correlates with Scota's subjection as wife; masculine ideology reinforced her disqualification in the public sphere.[60] I also argue that in an abstract sense Scota, as a literary subject, was figuratively penetrated by the pen of Scottish chroniclers for the sole reason of producing a masculine identity, rooted in an ancient lineage, which resulted from the conquest of Scotland by men. Moreover, Scota's myth was symbolically penetrated by the legend of St Andrew who became her superior in the fight for the most sustainable foundation myth; after all, 'penetration symbolise[d] power'.[61] I believe Scota's marginalised roles as wife and mother were emphasised to remind women (and their husbands) of their submissive role within marriage, their duty to honour and serve their husbands, and their procreative role. This was also a reminder of the biological and cultural duties a woman had toward the nation. Furthermore, by marginalising Scota, Gaythelos's heroic and manly deeds of conquest and provision were magnified.

'[B]eautiful in countenance, wayward in spirit': Gaythelos[62]

Gaythelos was illustrated in a number of interesting ways by the chroniclers. On one hand he was depicted as strong, noble and peaceful; on the other, aggressive, rebellious, 'mair arrogantlie presumptuous, and mair proudlie, than was decent, or was his dutie'.[63] Classical links with the Greek and Egyptian races were outlined alongside an association with the Hebrews, taking away any stain on Gaythelos's character; Hebrew moral force as the progenitor of Christianity was unquestionable. Rather than conquering and fighting, Gaythelos sought new lands to acquire and cultivate, directing his ships westward 'where he knew there were fewer and less warlike people' with whom he would have to fight.[64] Gaythelos wandered the world for forty years after escaping Egypt at the same time as Moses and the Children of Israel, leading his people to new lands until they were finally able to settle

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[60] JoAnn McNamara, 'The Herrenfrage: The Restructuring of the Gender System 1050-1150', in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis, 1994, pp. 3-39 (p. 20).
[61] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*, New York and Abingdon, 2005, p. 25.
[62] Fordun, p. 6.
[63] Leslie, i, p. 71. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, i, pp. 21-22; Bower, i, pp. 27-29; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 109-132, especially p. 114.
[64] Bower, i, p. 33.

permanently. This biblical analogy with Moses was used in much the same way Robert Bruce was compared with Maccabeus in the *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320).[65] Like Moses, Gaythelos guided the 'chosen people' on a journey to the 'promised land': Scotland. Readers were presented with 'an introspective, paternalistic leader concerned for the welfare of the people under his tutelage as befits a useful and careful prince'; an educative piece for future Scottish rulers should they read his work.[66] Gaythelos became 'the spokesman for political attitudes current in the fourteenth century', a man who had a 'sensitivity to the right of a sovereign people to hold their native soil against foreign invaders – a right divinely sanctioned'.[67] As Fordun asserted, the cautious Gaythelos had already decided he could withstand the continual harassment from his enemies and decided to 'seize some other nation . . . and lands and dwell there . . . or seek out some desert place to take possession of for a settlement.'[68] Gaythelos became synonymous with the formal written defence of Scottish independence and the Scottish cause. However, the varied portraits leave the reader confused and

> wondering if [Gaythelos] was a friendly ally, a ruthless self-enhancer, or something in-between . . . ambivalence has been permitted concerning the founding-father of the Scoti and some thoroughly unflattering material has been relayed without comment.[69]

Such ambiguity would have opened the door for his subjection by the unblemished Andrew.

For Wyntoun, Gaythelos was the warrior-hero who built towns, conquered with great slaughter in order to protect his people and maintain their independence, and symbolised ideal masculine leadership.[70] However, Gaythelos was described by Bower as a man '*vultu*

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[65] Duncan, *Bruce*, p. 780. Also see: Bower, i, pp. 33-35; *The Declaration of Arbroath*, p. xiv.
[66] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 115-120.
[67] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 121. Also see: Webster, 'John of Fordun', pp. 93-94.
[68] Fordun, p. 15.
[69] Broun, *Irish Identity*, p. 14.
[70] Wyntoun, ii, pp. 192-196. Also see: Bower, i, p. 39; Bellenden's Boece, i, p. 22; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 115-120.

elegantem animo tamen instabilem' (of an elegant appearance but with an inconstant/unsteady temperament).[71]   His instability became apparent when 'he was provoked to anger' because his father prohibited him from wielding political power. Gaythelos, 'with the support of a large company of young men', retaliated by inflicting 'many disasters on his father's kingdom with frightful cruelty'.[72]   As punishment he was banished from the kingdom of Greece; unwelcome in his native land he sailed off to Egypt. Gaythelos's youth and hot-headedness explain why he was viewed as unfit for a public role in his father's kingdom – only men of perfect age were rational enough for government or public office.[73]   Such irrationality leant towards femininity, threatening to disrupt the social order as Gaythelos's actions had proved, and which his punishment resolved. For Boece, Gaythelos was a masculine warrior blessed with great spirit and strength of body, victorious, of royal blood, and with a prudent and calculating mind.   Bower was uncertain about Gaythelos despite his lineage and biblical connections. He thought Gaythelos turned his eye to domination and, like Nimrod, had aimed to rule over his kingdom in Greece as a tyrant. Bower abhorred tyrannical rule by kings or nobles, as examples in the *Scotichronicon* testify. Nonetheless, Gaythelos rapidly matured into a rational man, becoming 'outstandingly brave and daring', governing wisely, and instilling into his people the laws of Egypt which were still being proudly used; a hero and leader rewarded with marriage to Scota.[74]   Authors continually grappled with many layers of competing masculinities that appeared within the narratives, as Gaythelos's journey from irrational youth to mature and rational man testifies.   Scottish identity was defined as masculine through the successful warrior and governance roles of men.

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[71] Bower, i, p. 26. Watt has translated this as 'good looking but mentally unstable'. See: p. 27.
[72] Bower, i, p. 27.
[73] Kim Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540*, Manchester, 2003, pp. 5-6; J. A. Burrows, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 8, 10, 13.
[74] Bower, i, pp. 27, 29, 31-33, 51. Similar narrative descriptions are to be found in: Fordun, pp. 9-17; Bellenden's Boece, i, pp. 22-26; Leslie, i, p. 72. Stewart's *Metrical Version* spends considerable space on Gaythelos's attributes. See: i, pp. 6-16.

With one line – '*a muliere Scota vocitatur Scocia tota*' – Scota became the symbolic signifier and boundary of national difference; a point of departure for ethnic inclusion or exclusion.[75] Notwithstanding, as a symbol she was still a passive player in the construction of Scottish identity; her biological provision could not outweigh Gaythelos's physical conquering of lands and building of cities. According to Wyntoun, her son Hiber, '[f]or honour of his moder' called the land Scotland and the people Scots.[76] For Major, the name Scota was more likely to have derived from the name of the mother of a Spanish soldier, Hiberus, allowing for a more credible naming of Ireland (Hibernia) after Hiber, and Scotland after Scota.[77] This suggests Hibernia was the 'fatherland' of Scots origins and Scotland was the 'motherland', an important gendering of Ireland and Scotland. As with the removal of Adam's rib to create Eve, the removal of some Scots from Ireland allowed the conquest and population of Scotland. Scota gave her valuable biological reproductive system and her name to the Scots and Scotland, yet remained in the unseen/invisible feminine world, making her a marginal and lesser being. Leslie suggested Gaythelos desired a common name for his people, calling 'thame al Scottis fra the name of his Wyfe, albeit is plane and euident that mony hundir yeiris eftir, thay war called Gathelis fra Gathel'.[78] Thus, while the Scots were initially called Scots after the woman Scota, they were later called Gaels after the Greek prince. Scota was denied any autonomous identity she may have received from Bisset because she did not name the people herself – this was always done by the men in her life and contrasts with Albina, as explained below. The chroniclers continued to deny her such an identity by defining her exclusively in terms of her relationship with others, emphasising the power the masculine had over the feminine in Scotland's origin myths. Was it Scota who actually gave birth to the Scots through name alone, or was it really Gaythelos and his sons, through the action of naming; the passive versus active, the masculine versus feminine?

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[75] Translation: The whole of Scotland is named after the woman Scota. See: Bower, vi, p. 143, iii, pp. 182-183; Watt, i, p. xxi.

[76] Wyntoun, ii, p. 198. Also see: Fordun, p. 15.

[77] Major, p. 51. Also see: Wyntoun, ii, p. 204. Stephen Boardman suggests Scota was not so much a response to Brutus as a means to break with the historiography of Irish roots. See: Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain', in E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, eds, Scottish *History: The Power of the Past*, Edinburgh, 2002, pp. 47-72 (p. 49).

[78] Leslie, i, p. 73. Translation: calling them all Scots from the name of his wife, although it is evident that many hundred years after this, they were called Gaels from Gaythelos.

Scythian and biblical references were used to establish a creditable, if imaginary, genealogy and antiquity. Scota's lineage was important although undermined by the passive role she played by becoming a wife. Scota was called 'the noblest of them all' highlighting her highly superior genealogical status but Gaythelos was also referred to as 'our hail stock . . . author of our hail natione', a descendant of Noah.[79] Boece honoured Gaythelos with bringing the Scottish coronation stone to Scotland via Spain and Ireland for kings to be crowned upon, guaranteeing not only the existence of the Scots and their lineage but of future kingship. Fordun, as the first historian to outline this origin legend, never credited Gaythelos with bringing the stone to Scotland. More importantly, he claims Gaythelos was made king of his people by 'the exiled nobles of both nations' and his son Hyber succeeded him and although life was hard, they lived 'this beastly life in freedom [for] the Scots have always had nearly from the beginning a distinct kingdom, and a king of their own'.[80] While Fordun gave Gaythelos a crown, Boece only gave him a sense of symbolic kingship but both pushed him into the role of father, erasing the actions Bisset had credited Scota with less than two hundred years earlier.[81] Scotland desperately needed to be reminded of its historic past and the heroic deeds which had secured independence, particularly after the disaster at the battle of Flodden (1513).[82] Boece's history met that need. However, Buchanan's late sixteenth-century version of Scottish and English origins pointed to the Gauls.[83] Buchanan was more interested in a beginning for the Scots far less fabulous than the foundations his authorial predecessors had previously laid. Antiquity of ancestors, particularly longer and nobler compared with English genealogy, was clearly the most desirable asset, showing Scotland owed homage or debt to no-one in the war of the pen. As we have seen, Scota became Bisset's main tool for providing Scotland with 'a long independent history and a direct classical link', and no doubt helping to maintain 'a sense of injured Scottish pride'.[84] Her existence is not dated in either of Bisset's

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[79] Watt, i, p. xxiii; Leslie, i, p. 70. Also see: Skene, *Picts and Scots*, p. clxxvii
[80] Fordun, pp. 9, 18.
[81] Bellenden's Boece, i, p. 25. Bower relates the stories of Gaythelos and Simon Brek, and their respective links to the royal stone. See: i, p. 67. Leslie credits Simon Brechus (Brek) with bringing the stone to Ireland before his descendant, Fergus, took it to Scotland. See: i, pp. 75-78; Wyntoun, ii, pp. 212, 346.
[82] Ferguson, p. 60.
[83] Buchanan, i, p. 75; *Rerum*, f.18r (ll.11-12).
[84] Childs, p. 225. Also see: David Allan, ''*Arthur Redivivus*': Politics and Patriotism in Reformation Scotland', in James P. Carley and Felicity Riddy, eds, *Arthurian Literature*, 15, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 185-204 (p. 186).

documents, thereby taking care of any sticky problems of chronological discrepancies, although he ascertained it was before the Incarnation, thus making the Scottish nation '*antiquissimus*'.[85]

As per tradition, an old highlander recited the following at the coronation of Alexander III (1249): '*Salve rex Albanorum Alexander fili Alexandri filii Willelmi filii Henrici filii David fillii Malcolmi . . . filii Fergusii primi Scotorum Regis in Albania*'.[86] Royal genealogies were important for establishing the legitimacy of Scottish kings, creating an illusion of ancient power, freedom and independence, especially when recited back to Scota and Gaythelos. Bower's *Scotichronicon* traced the origins of the Scottish kings from a Pictish king-list (*c.* 840) through an unbroken line *ab initio* to David I's death (1153).[87] The impressive list of 113 Scottish kings was used at different times to highlight how important Scotland and the idea of kingship were. Such patrilineal lineage excluded women from the continuity of genealogy highlighting the contradictions between Scota as a mother, and the genealogy transmitted through male blood as the king-lists suggest. Classical theorists such as Ambrose maintained that '[b]eginnings should begin with men' because it was 'not the custom of the sacred scriptures that the order of women would be woven into generations'.[88] After Gaythelos finished building Brigantia, '*his* descendants multiplied greatly'; thus emphasising his paternity, not Scota's maternity, as the genealogical foundation.[89] Fathers were 'the prime subject of historical enunciation and children its object' therefore, women helped reconstruct family genealogies with their dowries, bodies, and personalities putting them to work for their husbands and children.[90] The female line was important for legitimacy therefore 'a display of

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[85] Watt, i, p. xx.

[86] Bower, v, p. 294. Also see: Major, pp. 184-185. Translation: Hail Alexander, king of Scots, son of Alexander, son of William, son of Henry, son of David, son of Malcolm . . . son of Fergus the first king of the Scots in Albany.

[87] N. Royan and D. Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, *c.* 850 – 1707', in T. O. Clancy and M. Pittock, eds, *The Edinburgh history of Scottish Literature, volume 1. From Columba to the Union (until 1707),* Edinburgh, 2006, pp. 168-183 (p. 168); Kylie Murray, 'Latin and Vernacular Dream and Vision in Scotland 1424-1513', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, forthcoming 2010.

[88] Geary, p. 11.

[89] Bower, i, p. 39. My emphasis.

[90] Geary, p. 44.

female power [was] more likely to occur at the beginning than at the end of an origin story'.[91] A man's masculinity was demonstrated 'by the sex of his child', and thus boys were important for a genealogy which ultimately ended in male leadership as we see with Gaythelos, Andrew, and Brutus.[92]

Major discounted the Scota myth as mere fable, preferring to follow the authoritative history of Bede in the settling of Britain.[93] For Major the Scots descended from the Irish and Spaniards not the Egyptians. Why? He felt the myth an opportunistic way for the Scots to claim a superior lineage over the Trojan story of England. Major was happy with an Irish line of descent because 'he had no desire to attenuate the lineage of his kingdom'.[94] Being a conservative and logical theologian, the origin myths did not stand up to his line of reasoning. Leslie promoted parts of the Scottish myth as 'truth' taking the lineage back to Gaythelos and Scota, and claiming the Scots were divinely blessed but drawing the line at the mention of giants.[95] Similar to earlier histories, this promotion of ancient lineage was politically and religiously motivated. His *History* was written for the Scots and their queen, Mary Stewart (*r.* 1542-1567) so they might 'keep to the ways of their fathers in all good things, especially in their ancestral religion'.[96] As for his peers, the use of feminine lineage was fleeting and quickly consumed by a masculine genealogy in the quest for independence. Leslie placed the expulsion of the Israelites from Egypt firmly at the feet of another Pharaoh, not Scota's father; Scottish lineage therefore remained unblemished.[97] Gaythelos had a clear and coherent identity as a Greek prince, leader, husband, father and hero. That he had to be successful in all of these roles shows how sexuality and gender were important in the construction of Scottish

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[91] Walter Pohl, 'Gender and Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages', in Leslie Brubaker and Julia H. Smith, eds, *Gender in the Medieval World East and West 300-900*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 23-43 (pp. 38-40).
[92] Vern L. Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages', in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis and London, 1994, pp. 31-45 (p.40).
[93] Major, pp. 1-4.
[94] Major, p. 50.
[95] Leslie, i, pp. 68-70.
[96] Cody and Murison, i, p. xvii.
[97] Leslie, i, p. 71.

identity, both the personal and the collective. His actions, good or bad, would have repercussions for his country and future generations.[98]

Buchanan wanted to establish the historicity of an ancient, independent and properly constitutional Scottish monarchy arguing ancient writers never wrote of heroes who undertook impossible and implausible journeys. He questioned why such heroes would leave their lands of plenty to become refugees, incredulous that people of great nations associated their forged ancestors with the refuse of other nations in order to give themselves an indigenous pedigree. He dismissed the absurd narratives of his authorial predecessors because they sought to pride themselves 'with the ornaments of other men's feathers'.[99] Believing it was impossible to recoup past times because 'all things were buried in the profound darkness of a universal silence', Buchanan argued that all originary historiography was pure conjecture, although those by early Greek and Latin writers were more believable than the Scottish and English fictions. Understanding that uncovering a nation's origins was important, he nevertheless argued such fables obscured the truth and diminished the nation's credibility.[100] In Buchanan's rendition of the myth, an initially *unnamed* protagonist married 'Scota, the daughter of the King of Egypt', before sailing about the 'whole shores of Europe' stopping at some desolate place or inhabited by a few, before arriving at a country 'much more barren'.[101] Being the 'first of all men . . . who adventured into the ocean with a navy of ships' he landed and built 'a brave town . . . before being forced to pass into Galaecia where he built Brigantia'.[102] This language and imagery of the barren (empty) country emphasised its physical conquest by Gaythelos, paralleling the passive position of Scota as daughter and wife. In a masculine and colonial society, only a man could dominate the land in such a manner as will be discussed further in chapter five. While the independence of Scotland is laid out and a

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[98] Linda Racioppi and Katherine O'Sullivan, 'Engendering Nation and National Identity', in Sita Ranchod-Nilssen and Mary Ann Tetreault, eds, *Women, States and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?* London and New York, 2000, pp. 18-34 (pp. 18-20).
[99] Buchanan, i, pp. 63-73, quote p. 64; *Rerum*, f.14r-15r, quote f.14v (ll.35-36).
[100] Buchanan, i, p. 64; *Rerum*, f.14v (ll.28-32).
[101] Buchanan, i, pp. 72-73; *Rerum*, f.17r (ll.8-12). My emphasis.
[102] Buchanan, i, p. 73; *Rerum*, f.17r (ll.12-18).

heroic Greek lineage celebrated for its superiority, Buchanan was vociferously critical of the story; the gallant and martial Gaythelos was originally the leader of a band of criminals. Incredulous, Buchanan asks why would the fablers pick out an 'ignobler person for their founder; passing by Hercules and Bacchus who were famous amongst all nations, and whom they might have cull'd out, as well as any other, for the original of their race?'[103] Using Scota as the more glorious origin story was out of the question for Buchanan whose writings demonstrate he, like his contemporary John Knox, was uncomfortable with the idea of a woman with authority.[104] A woman was to 'acknowledge [her] station in life as a woman, and accustom [herself] to [her] husband's authority'. For a queen such as Mary Stewart, Buchanan further advised that she had to put aside her royal authority and 'learn to be subject to your husband's direction'.[105]

However, having an active and political Scota was not necessarily a transgression of the norm; it was tolerated because it served a purpose, like the non-conventional actions of William Wallace and Agnes Dunbar outlined in chapter four. As Walter Pohl has argued, '[a] warrior society more or less required or at least allowed a transgression of conventional gender roles'.[106] Furthermore, such an active and rebellious woman was a persona comfortably lodged in the 'imaginative context of mythical epic' because once the author returns to 'more familiar ground of recent history, he must depict the female characters in their traditional roles as passive and submissive to men'.[107] Political use of Scota proudly defined the national collective of Scotland; a collective that was free and independent from English overlordship. I believe the Scota myth emphasised a matrilineal beginning ensuring the legitimacy of a long line of Scottish kings. Once established, the feminine was removed to the narrative periphery,

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[103] Buchanan, i, pp. 72, 74; *Rerum*, f.17r (ll.5-6), f.17v (ll.1-4).

[104] It must be noted that while John Knox found Catholic women in authority abhorrent we cannot use this as a blanket statement for his opinions of women in general. See: Maureen Meikle, 'John Knox and Womankind: A Reappraisal', *Historian*, 79, Autumn 2003, pp. 9-14. The same could therefore be said about Buchanan. However, no detailed exploration of Buchanan's attitudes toward women in general has been undertaken.

[105] George Buchanan, 'Epithalamium for Francis of Valois and Mary Stewart, of the Kingdom of France and of Scotland (1558)', in *The Political Poetry*, ed. and trans. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson, Edinburgh, 1995, pp. 126-144 (p. 140); Kirsten Post Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, p. 143.

[106] Pohl, p. 32.

[107] Sara Poor and Jana Schulman, 'Introduction', in Sara S. Poor and Jana K. Schulman, eds, *Women and Medieval Epic: Gender, Genre and the Limits of Masculinity*, New York and Basingstoke, 2002, pp. 1-13 (p. 6).

just as mothers were removed from the care of their sons after the initial years of nurturing. As an outsider Scota was accepted because 'in a patrilinear and virilocal society, mothers usually came from somewhere else . . . the *genetrix* was *alienigena*'.[108] Furthermore, fighting women belonging to a distinct ethnic group, such as Amazons, were contained and confined to a distant space and time. The different variations of the Scota-Gaythelos myth highlight the 'complex process of inclusion and exclusion, of self-identification and new prejudice in which social boundaries . . . were redrawn' by medieval authors in order to establish a distinctly gendered Scottish identity.[109] Scota was therefore used as the boundary of femininity, while Gaythelos highlighted the range of masculinities that allowed him to grow from bandit to rational governor.

The treatment of Scota corresponded with chroniclers' treatment of women in general – they were damned and praised with equal conviction, demonstrating the anxieties men had with the feminine, both real and literal.[110] Woman was either mother or warrior, she could never be both. Such ambivalence is suggestive of the difficulty in presenting originary women without highlighting the discrepancies of supposedly clear-cut gender roles.[111] This is possibly one reason why Wyntoun did not use Scota as a pseudo-Amazonian figure. The Egyptian Scota, as a figurative representation of the nation, also symbolically defined the limits of national difference and power between the men who used her to assert Scottish independence. Those who constructed this path made Scota nationally important, but only during a specific time of crisis. Andrew, as we shall see, was used repeatedly eventually 'colonising' Scota (and Gaythelos) and placing Scottish national history onto the superior masculine path. As an eponymous preserver of national culture, and as the biological reproducer of the Scots, Scota was positioned in the feminine roles deigned most important in the construction of Scottish

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[108] Pohl, pp. 37-41. Also see: Dr Julia Crick, 'Albion Before Albina: The Scottish Question', unpublished paper presented at: Founding Mothers Symposium, York University, 28 October 2006. My thanks to Dr. Crick.
[109] Pohl, pp. 40-42.
[110] See: Judith M. Richards, ''To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule:' Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28, 1, Spring 1997, pp. 101-121 (p. 107); Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 3-6; Watt, vii, p. 245.
[111] Richards, p. 108.

identity. This image of motherhood placed women as objects of both national reverence and protection; the normal way women were integrated into nationalist projects.[112]

Clearly, whenever Scota appeared she was a pawn in a political game, used to justify Scotland's continuous status as an independent nation. Female figures employed as founding mothers were familiar motifs in medieval historiography alongside 'biblical, classical, folkloric and ecclesiastical sources' which gave the new legend an immediate authority, and familiarity.[113] The Scota-Gaythelos myth persisted until the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. New critical values grew important in the construction of historical texts, introducing a questioning spirit based on a close study of classical texts in order to understand the culture that had produced them. Whatever was not religious faith was downgraded as the new rhetoric, within which the concept of nation was enveloped, and commanded greater attention.[114] Acts of forgetting became necessary for a coherent national narrative to be threaded together, even if they did distort the historiography. Anke Bernau argues the English Albina myth is a paradox; a deliberate act of remembering which results in a surplus of origins; something I suggest also occurs with the Scottish myths.[115] I also believe such acts of remembering and forgetting were the only way authors felt they could show their nation's antiquity and advancement from barbarism to civilisation. This coincides with gendered ideas that the barbaric were feminised, and the civilised were masculine.

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[112] Mrinalina Sinha, 'Nations in an Imperial Crucible', in Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 181-202 (p. 196).
[113] Bernau, 'Myths of Origin', pp. 106-107; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'The Tradition of the Giant in Early England: A Study of the Monstrous in Folklore, Theology, History, and Literature', unpublished PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 1992, p. 197.
[114] Ferguson, pp. 57-62.
[115] Bernau, 'Myths of Origin', p. 108.

'[T]his land be called Albyon after myn owne name': Albina[116]

The masculine warrior legend of Brutus, deriving from the same ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* as the Albina and Scota myths, is suggestive of a founding father who inseminated 'a virginal, supremely fecund land with his men' and gave birth to the nation.[117] Women were non-existent until the legend was prefaced with the story of Albina which appeared 'initially in Anglo-Norman as an independent work entitled *Des Grantz Geanz* (*c.* 1333)'.[118] *The Brut Chronicle*, translated into English at the end of the fourteenth century, fleshed out Albina's story which moralistically and politically influenced 'the way the historical past, [women] and national identity were perceived'.[119] Dioclesian was the noble and wise king of Syria to whom many kings of the world showed obedience. His wife was described as a 'gentyl damysele' who 'loved hym as reason wolde', resulting in a happy, productive marriage, and portraying a family scene fitting the prescribed medieval Christian ideal.[120] However, I suggest the narrative hints at the wife's disappointing fertility and the eventual chaos that would ensue, having given birth to thirty-three daughters but no son. The king wisely married his daughters to chivalrous lords of great honour, but the eldest daughter Albina became very 'stout and . . . sterne' displaying an intense dislike towards her husband. Furthermore, her sisters followed suit, ignoring the chastisements, gifts, and pleas of their husbands. The father met with his daughters, admonishing each for her 'wikkydness [and] . . . cruelte'.[121] At this point the angry sisters made a pact, agreeing to kill their husbands by cutting their throats while they slept.[122] Such actions highlighted the deceptive and calculating character of

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[116] John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, London, 1543, British Library, online, nd, available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz (hereafter Hardyng), f.8r; *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie, part I, London, New York and Toronto, 1906, p. 4 (hereafter Brie). It should be noted that Hardyng's two versions of his chronicle were originally completed in 1457 and 1463/4. The 1543 printed edition is the expanded version by the King's printer, Richard Grafton.

[117] Bernau, 'Myths of Origin', p. 110. Also see: Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Medieval Masculinities: Heroism, Sanctity and Gender', online, nd, available at: http://www8.georgetown.edu/departments/medieval/labyrinth/e-center/interscripta/m… p. 9 (19 November 2007).

[118] Bernau, 'Myths of Origin', p. 107.

[119] Raluca Radulescu, ''Talkyng of Cronycles of Kinges and of other Polycyes': Fifteenth-Century Miscellanies, The *Brut* and the Readership of *Le Morte Darthur*', in Keith Busby, ed., *Arthurian Literature*, 18, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 125-145 (pp. 129-130, 134).

[120] Brie, p. 1.

[121] Brie, pp. 2-3.

[122] Brie, pp. 3-4. Also see: William Caxton, *In the Yere of thyncarnacioun of our lord Ih[es]u crise M.CCCC.lxxx. and in the yere of the kyng Edward the fourthe…*, 1480, f.2r (hereafter Caxton); Hardyng, f.6v.

disruptive and disobedient women, comparing them with their parents; good and just versus evil and transgressive.

Banished, the sisters were sent away by ship suggesting the story had a didactic message for any woman who sought to disobey their family's marital arrangements. The girls' wicked actions contrast with the father's provision of food on the ship for the girls, further emphasising his fatherly honour and their dishonour.[123] The girls eventually landed on a desolate shore; Albina disembarked first and commanded that as the eldest sister 'this land be called Albyon after myn owne name', taking on a physical and verbal role usually reserved for men.[124] English chroniclers denigrated the women by alluding to their greedy and licentious natures. The women become 'wonder fat'; an emphasis on their monstrosity rather than the popular ideal of beauty.[125] Their appetites become sexualised when the devil and his sprites, disguised as men, visit the women with whom they fornicate and whom they impregnate. This reduced the women into the conventionally gendered role of passive sexual partners, although it did not dispel the horror of the women's situation.

According to the fifteenth-century English chronicler John Hardyng, the sisters were promised they would bear the fruit who would rule the land because 'women desire of al thynges soveraynte . . . [it is] the nature of their said sisters'.[126] Of course, such rule led to disorder and chaos; an expected outcome if women were politically active. With the exile of such

Hardyng's *Chronicle* was printed in 1543 by the King's printer, Richard Grafton. Buchanan suggests the girls killed their husbands on their wedding night. See: Buchanan, i, p. 66; *Rerum*, f.15r (l.30).

[123] Major, p. 2.

[124] Hardyng, f.8r; Brie, p. 4. This was a popular literary trope. For instance, in *Eachtra Clerech Choluimcille,* 60 men and 60 women were set adrift for killing their king. See: Whitley Stokes, trans., *Revue Celtique,* 26, Paris, 1905. My thanks to Dr. Pamela O'Neill for this information.

[125] Caxton, f.3v. Also see: Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, especially pp. 23-60.

[126] Hardyng, fol. 6v. Also see: Lesley Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern', in S. Forde, L. Johnson, and A. V. Murray, eds, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds, 1995, pp. 1-19 (p. 11). Mikalachki argues Hardyng continually emphasized female excess, resolving the issue by establishing a masculinist gender hierarchy in his historiography. See: Mikalachki, p. 13. Hardying wrote at the time when Margaret of Anjou was flexing her feminine muscle as queen of England, which sparked warfare and a number of derogatory writings about her.

transgressive women, patriarchal authority was re-established in Dioclesian's kingdom, just as Brutus's defeat of the giants was a 'violent moment of gender assertion, a triumph of desubstantiating ascesis (masculine) over fleshly excess (feminine)'.[127] The manly Brutus conquered the giants, took the land as his own and divided it among his sons, with the eldest inheriting England. This symbolism of primogeniture highlighted English colonial aspirations that lay behind the construction of the myth, and was the source of authority against which the Scots argued.[128] These mythical female ancestors of England were not the usual sacred lineage that regularly appeared in histories. Moralistically, wicked actions resulted in awful consequences. Moreover, this was the savage breast at which England lay.

Major found this 'visionary account' unbelievable. After all, how could thirty-three daughters be borne of one woman, all murder their husbands and survive a sea voyage without an oar – they should have perished in such a situation![129] Women's homosocial liaisons apparently sparked treason, whereas masculine homosocial relationships saw justice tempered with mercy.[130] Buchanan took a much harder gendered line with the English origin myth, dismissing it as a story invented for either terror or laughter, particularly when the story originated with a monk; a veiled jocular attack on Catholicism. While suggesting England was the 'ancientest nation', he used the story of Albina to show such feminine beginnings had to be corrected by a man. He also found it astounding that 'a few girls, without the help of men to manage their vessel, should come from Syria, through so many seas', which even the most skilful male navigators would find hazardous and land on a desert island beyond the end of the world. Furthermore, it was unbelievable that 'ladies of Royal stock should not only barely maintain their lives, in so cold a climate . . . but also should bring forth Giants'; an occurrence that was both inevitable and distasteful considering their copulation with

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[127] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters and the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis and London, 1999, p. 68.
[128] W. Matthews, 'The Egyptians in Scotland: The Political History of a Myth', *Viator*, 1, London, 1970, pp. 289-306 (p. 294); Purdie and Royan, p. 3.
[129] Major, pp. 1-3.
[130] Julia Marvin, 'Albine and Isabelle: Regicidal Queens and the Historical Imagination of the Anglo-Norman Prose Brut Chronicles', in Busby, pp. 143-191 (pp. 146-149).

'cacodemons', and the violent end to their marriages.[131] Feminine weakness was emphasised through the belief women could not fend for themselves without male guidance. The scorn Buchanan placed upon the women who navigated themselves around the world, and the righteous tone he took when discussing their living habits on the island were not unusual. Women crossing the boundary and entering the masculine sphere of power was offensive to a man who had already discredited Mary Stewart and her rule as outside the norm of political masculinity.

The comparison between Scota and Albina reveals an inequality in the feminine values placed on founding mothers. While Albina and her sisters show they are strong-minded women they quickly descend into immorality and rebellion through their pride. On the other hand, Scota was virtuously portrayed as wife and mother to her husband, to her people, and to her future descendants. Accusations of violence and monstrosity are never levelled at Scota, even when she actively conquered Albany or rebelled against her father's persecution of the Hebrews. Rather, the passive Scota moves from one male relationship to another; from her father to her husband.   Did the chroniclers pick up on the virgin-whore dichotomy and make this comparison? There is evidence to show the opposing foundation myths were known both in Scotland and England, but there do not appear to have been any specific nationalistic comparisons. However, I believe, as the evidence above indicates, some implicit gendered comparisons were made between Scota and Albina, especially by sixteenth-century authors. Feminine insubordination represented rejection of the masculine; the only way women could be incorporated into English history was to have them suppressed by Brutus, just as Scota was suppressed first by Gaythelos and then Andrew. The actions of Albina and her sisters can be seen as a 'refusal of genealogical history', whereas Scota's myth(s) were employed to reaffirm Scottish genealogical history.[132]

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[131] Buchanan, i, pp. 66-67; *Rerum*, f.15r (ll.30-34), f.15v (ll.21-29).
[132] Anke Bernau, 'The Absence of Albina: Gendering Memorialisation and Amnesia', unpublished paper presented at: Founding Mothers Symposium, York University, 28 October 2006, p. 8. My thanks to Dr. Bernau.

Origin myths were focused towards continuity with the historic past, although during the sixteenth century looking forward became more favourable. Slowly, like Albina, Scota lost her appeal and disappeared from Scottish history; what began as an answer to a medieval crisis began to wane. Early modern English historiographers had problems allowing a female figure the important role of founder of the great nation; it was certainly not a woman's prerogative, past or present.[133] Scottish historiographers probably had similar underlying tensions, which illustrate the many political, social, and historiographical conflicts and contradictions within the community. They were clearly concerned to portray their nation of men as superior to those English men (and vice-versa) who would usually be on an equal footing to them. Patriarchy was not just about subordination of women by men, it 'involved proving oneself superior to other men'.[134]

Interestingly, Albina was not quite satisfactorily *explained* by politics, nation-building, genealogical necessity, or social memory. According to Julia Crick, Albina appears to be a response to the Scottish myth, although her purpose is not entirely clear. This would have irritated the English, although Crick does not confirm Albina was actually counter-propaganda.[135] This begs the question that even if Albina was only a response, why was she not made superior to Scota? As we have seen, the weaknesses of Albina and her sisters led to disaster and their eventual conquering by Brutus who brought structure and order back to England. Bernau disagrees, instead suggesting the Albina myth was about purity and preservation of superior lineage which would be lost through marriage.[136] I am not convinced, particularly when taking into account the strong views of historians such as Buchanan and Hardyng. Buchanan made specific comparisons by explicitly using a male progenitor to keep

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[133] Bernau, 'Myths of Origin', p. 113; E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, 'Introduction', in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, reprint 2004, pp. 1-14 (p. 1); Mikalachki, p. 14.

[134] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 10. Also see: Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Gravitas and Consumption', in Jacqueline Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities*, New York, 1999, pp. 215-242 (p. 220); Kim Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History*, 19, 1, April 2007, pp. 22-42 (p. 24).

[135] Crick, pp. 1-2. The story of feminine transgression through murder and governance is reminiscent of Hypsipyle's legend in the *Argonautika*. See: *The Argonautika Apollonois Rhodios*, trans, Peter Green, Berkeley, London and Los Angeles, 1997, pp. 59-67 (ll.622-935).

[136] Bernau, 'Absence of Albina', p. 10.

the feminine firmly controlled within its stereotypical place. Moreover, Albina was never seen as the biological mother of the English unlike Scota, who was given a successful reproductive role showing her value as an ancestor, although this worthiness was eventually obliterated. What must be remembered is Scota's lineage was never affected in the same way – her marriage served to enhance, not diminish. One cannot dismiss female lineage as insignificant, but the goal was marriage in order to continue the patrilineal line. By this measure, women's reproductive sources, and thus women themselves, were controlled.[137] By looking at how other mothers and wives were treated in the chronicles, a parallel with Scota emerges; they existed only through their relationships with particular men. The mythical Scota, alongside her historical female successors, was put through a process of colonisation by her own men, and by the men who wrote about her, thus establishing and re-affirming the patriarchal hierarchy. Despite the many variations of the Scota story chroniclers managed to keep her contained by writing about her in the traditional way.

By contrast, the feminine subjecting the feminine was not an issue and is probably why Scota was not pitched against Albina. More important was masculine subordination of the feminine. Could this be illustrative of Kim Phillips's homosocial triangle where women 'serve as a kind of currency that men use to improve their ranking with other men'?[138] Both Scota and Albina were the currency Brutus and Gaythelos needed in order to step into the patriarchal sphere and become prominent 'historical' players. In turn, these men fought out the issues of superiority in the literature of their respective countries, similar to the usage of St Andrew and St George. As symbols of 'philosophical and psychological problems' troubling the male world, Scota and Albina were added into history as points of reference to highlight masculine power.[139] Marginalised femininity therefore became a point of departure for hegemonic masculinity; Scota's ancient lineage improved Scottish men's rankings not only with the English, but also in the papal court, and on the international stage. Jeffrey Cohen points out, 'the maternal body bears children, dies and vanishes', whereas the 'heroic body fantastically self-sufficient can

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[137] Karras, *Boys to Men*, p. 35.
[138] Phillips, 'Sumptuary Laws', p. 32. Phillips uses the arguments of Kimmel and Kosofsky Sedgewick.
[139] Ferrante, p. 1.

bear nations, and be forever remembered in the name of its colossal progeny'.[140] Scota became the heroic body and the sexually regulated national mother, whose maternal body fictionalised motherhood and the realm simultaneously. Paradoxically, as a mother, she was distanced from the power centre and all that was left was her name.[141]

The patriarchal, patrilineal social system was one where men controlled resources and provided for dependants while at the same time conforming to, and strengthening, existing social structures. Because of their dependence on men, women were devalued; untrustworthy because of their lascivious sexual natures and reproductive behaviour, although if they were properly modest women could safeguard and increase the honour of their male kin.[142] Scota represented the legitimacy and morality of the nation, something Albina could never claim. Her modesty safeguarded her husband's and sons' honour and allowed for a creditable Scottish lineage. Conversely, Albina highlighted the lack of honour her father and husband received through her pride. Moreover, she tainted her (giant) offspring who had to be killed in order for a respectable line of descendants to begin, and restore the power once lost. Moreover, Scota was a silent figure – no author accords her any speech, thus keeping her within a prescribed feminine mould. Silence and chastity were perceived as analogous to subordination; talkative women were seen as 'phallic usurpers' for as soon as 'woman uses language she can be defined and controlled'.[143] Albina was given both direct and indirect speech through verbally inciting her sisters to murder and using her own name to christen the land. Her "wagging tongue" resulted in her deserved downfall as Eve's 'propensity to speech' was cited as man's fall thus keeping her within patriarchal constraints, despite initially giving an illusion of feminine power.[144] As 'images of woman's verbal impropriety held more

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[140] Cohen, *Of Giants*, p. 47. Cohen's idea discusses Brutus, but I see parallels with the Scottish myths.
[141] Zillah Eisenstein, 'Writing Bodies on the Nation for the Globe', in Ranchod-Nilsson and Tetreault, pp. 35-53 (p. 45).
[142] John Carmi Parsons, ''Loved Him-Hated Her': Honour and Shame at the Medieval Court', in Murray, *Conflicted Identities,* pp. 279-298 (pp. 281-285); Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, p. 87.
[143] Christina Luckyj, '*A Moving Rhetoric': Gender and Silence in Early Modern Europe*, Manchester and New York, 2002, pp. 6, 59.
[144] Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, 2006, p. 51. Also see: Luckyj, p. 6; Blamires, pp. 4-5, 9.

cultural sway than images of woman's redemption', this was not a situation where her voice was 'validated and respected'.[145] This was a warning to men about the speech of women.[146]

A foundation required re-shaping in order to be effectively foundational therefore it was highly selective in those materials included. The repetitive nature of the myths, particularly within the same historical narrative, was an intrinsic part of the memorial practice allowing parallels and analogues to be set up and revealing a contestation of central themes.[147] Images of specific women were manipulated to colour the portrayals of those men with whom they were intimately associated and who were the author's main interest.[148] Juxtaposing manly roles of conquest and provision with feminine nurturing and reproductive roles suggests Scota can be viewed as equal to, or superior to, the English founding father Brutus. Instead, she was reduced to a passive label purely because of her femininity. Likewise, the coronation stone had to be removed from her hands because of the possibility her femininity would pollute and defile this symbol of authority. As the first throne of the kings of Scotland it became the symbol of monarchical, and thereby masculine, power justified by God. If Scota had been seated upon it, the natural order would have been subverted. Removing the coronation stone from female hands placed the feminine firmly back on the margins of gendered society.[149] Textually confined, the Scottish and English mythical characters corresponded with the patriarchal subordination of women. What is interesting is that the instability of Gaythelos and Brutus's act of parricide are easily brushed aside by the chroniclers giving the men a superiority unattained by the women. Feminine origin myths were moralistic narratives reinforcing gendered prescriptions of the roles to be played in the past, present and future, demonstrating that 'without lords, societies, like women without husbands, are prey to their

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[145] Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, pp. 56, 66.

[146] Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, p. 47.

[147] Bernau, 'Absence of Albina', p. 10.

[148] Bernau, 'Absence of Albina', p. 9; Parsons, 'Loved Him-Hated Her', p. 281.

[149] Melanie Hansen, 'The Word and the Throne: John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*', in K. Chedgzoy, M. Hansen, and S. Trill, eds, *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing*, Keele, 1996, pp. 11-24 (p. 20).

own weaknesses. Even the best woman must cede power to men'.[150] Scota disappeared because she had 'limited resonance', becoming unappealing to 'an obvious political constituency', unlike the stories of Brutus, Arthur, St George, and St Andrew.[151]

'This da Sanct Andro be oure gratius gyde': St Andrew[152]

Eventually a pagan woman and an unstable leader were not substantial enough a foundation, regardless of their antiquity. My hypothesis puts forth that St Andrew represented the qualities necessary to become Scotland's founding father. As a patron saint, he already had a masculine title – patron derives from *pater,* meaning father. Andrew, like Scota, was employed as a discourse 'to assert legitimacy and strengthen authority', necessary in a parental figure required as a forebear.[153] Andrew was described as a quiet, pious, unassuming man who was close to Jesus. Moreover, his brother Peter held the keys of Rome and was the ancestor of popes.[154] Was it his excellent credentials or his unassuming and malleable nature that allowed him to become the protector of Scottish political and military society? After all, Andrew was not the strong warrior who slew dragons like St George of England. According to Vern Bullough, medieval masculinity was defined by 'the threefold activities of impregnating women, protecting dependents and serving as a provider to one's family'.[155] Where does this leave the celibate and saintly Andrew? With both Scota and Andrew it appears morality rather than martial prowess was favoured. While Andrew did not engage in impregnation he certainly protected his Scottish family; provided his ecclesiastical family with offerings and riches through patronage; provided his military family with victories; and gave

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[150] Geary, pp. 23-23, 41.

[151] Crick, p. 2.

[152] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, ii, p. 365.

[153] Schopflin, p. 27.

[154] Bower, i, p. 311; *Declaration of Arbroath,* p. xiii; Wyntoun, iii, pp. 234-235. E. J. Cowan suggests this is a 'quiet implication the Pope's existence was due to Andrew who brought Peter to Christ'. See: Cowan, *'For Freedom Alone',* p. 47.

[155] Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages', p. 34; R. N. Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation', in D. M. Hadley, ed., *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, London and New York, 1999, pp. 160-177 (p. 160).

his political family a powerful unifying force. In contrast to Gaythelos, Andrew displayed a more humane and pious type of masculinity, while at the same time protecting and encouraging the male right to violence in order to specifically defend the realm.

Andrew's patron saint status resulted from an early medieval Scottish victory over the English king Athelstan. Different authors gave various dates for this occasion, but all endeavoured to attach it to the translation of Andrew's relics to Scotland by Abbot Regulus (820CE). Bower relates how it was the Lord's wish that Andrew's bones be taken by Regulus to Scotland, which would become 'an apostolic see forever and a firm rock of the faith'.[156] This passage, similar to those found in the *Declaration of Arbroath*, affirmed the right of Scots to be free through the power of Andrew, and God's will. The relics made the St Andrews bishopric the most powerful within the Scottish ecclesiastical hierarchy 'by reason of the honour paid . . . to Andrew, the protector and patron of the kingdom'.[157] All the chronicles outline Andrew's first military intercession. The eighth/ninth-century Pictish king Hungus was apparently terrified at the prospect of facing the English so he spent the night praying to God and St Andrew, promising a tenth of his kingdom in honour of the latter if the saint would ensure victory and safety for his men. Andrew appeared to Hungus in a dream-vision prior to the battle with Athelstan and warned Hungus that an angel bearing the standard of a cross would appear to frighten the enemy and help steer the battle in the Picts' favour.[158] This saintly intercession at God's command would ensure that a joyful victory for Andrew instilled bravery into the Picts through this vision and now 'they were no longer the cowards of the day before'.[159]

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[156] Fordun, p. 70; Bower, i, p. 313. Also see: Wyntoun, iii, p. 453; Major, p. 63.

[157] Bower, ii, p. 415. Leslie saw St Andrews as the chief and mother city of the realm named after the patron of Scotland. See: Leslie, i, p. 37.

[158] Fordun, p. 146; Bower, ii, p. 309; Wyntoun, iv, pp. 171-173; Major, p. 108; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 29; Leslie, i, pp. 267-268; Buchanan, i, p. 222; *Rerum*, f.57v (ll.10-20). It is important to note that there is some confusion in the chronicles as to the dating of Hungus who could be the king of the eighth century or the ninth century fighting against the tenth-century Athelstan. For instance, Wyntoun used the *Legend of St Andrew* as his source material, but dated the victory 345CE, despite the *Legend* stating the relics were brought to Scotland in 820CE. See: Amours, i, p. 56.

[159] Bower, ii, p. 311.

John Leslie's (1577) narrative emphasised how the Scots continually depended on Andrew's help to ensure victory, pointing out this had never been forgotten with the saltire cemented in nationalistic memory by becoming the ensign and arms of the country.[160] In gratitude, Hungus gave 'landis and regalitie' to the kirk which subsequently became St Andrews, and where the relics of the saint were received with honour.[161] True to form, Buchanan wrote about events a little differently. He portrayed Athelstan as a 'fierce warriour' and Hungus as 'inferior', except in his devotion to prayer.[162] Perhaps this was just a racial slur against the Picts, but is suggestive of how powerful the belief in Andrew's help actually was. It also illustrates the idea of competing masculinities; Hungus was not supposed to win when pitched against his martial superior. It has been suggested Hungus appointed the cross of St Andrew to 'be the badge and cognisance of the Picts, both in wars and otherwise, which as long as that kingdom stood, was observed and is by the Scots as yet retained'.[163] R. K. Hannay argues 'the cross of St Andrew represented . . . victory gained by suffering', and was something the Scots continually promoted.[164] Sceptically, Ursula Hall suggests Hungus's devotion to the saint demonstrated and enhanced his own position, therefore his veneration was personal not national.[165] This may be true, but I believe most of the chronicles were highly patriotic and used this story purely for a nationalistic purpose.

The masculine and apostolic Andrew represented a higher, god-given nationhood. He was praised by Bower for allowing the Scots to become one kingdom under Kenneth (*c.* 852). He had a moral superiority resulting from his chastity and his martyrdom. He did not need military prowess to make him manly, but his support in military ventures in keeping Scotland free was enough to keep his masculinity intact.[166] As a saintly and historical figure Andrew

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[160] Leslie, i, pp. 267-268. Also see: Fordun, p. 72.
[161] Wyntoun, iv, pp. 171-173; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 29.
[162] Buchanan, i, p. 222; *Rerum*, f.57v (ll.6-9). Fordun claimed Althelstan set up camp deciding to 'tarry there a few days, as fearing nothing'. See: p. 145.
[163] C. J. Smith, *St Andrew Patron of Scotland*, 1971, p. 31.
[164] R. K. Hannay, *St Andrew of Scotland*, Edinburgh and London, 1934, pp. 10-11.
[165] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, St Andrews, 1994, p. 69.
[166] Bower, ii, p. 305. Also see: D. M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in Hadley, *Masculinity*, pp. 1-18 (p. 11).

commanded more authority than any mythical figure could. He could be labelled as a spiritually chivalric knight; a protector who left the justified violence to his people to protect and defend his lady love, Scotland. As a knight of the realm he defended the land and the Christian religion. Although martyred through violent means, Andrew refrained from violent acts, balancing out the aggressiveness and bloodshed of war by his compassionate nature. The third century *Acts of Andrew* used the Greek translation of Andrew's name (manliness and courage) to suggest 'real manliness deserving of true Battle-praise demanded gentleness'.[167] Manliness did not automatically suggest sexual or military aggression; self-control and control of others could also enhance one's masculinity.[168] Andrew epitomised everything a pious man, and Christian nation, should be; his Christianity was probably one reason the pagan Scota was dropped. His image was sustained because he left the pages of the histories and became physically tangible through political, religious and military symbolism.

The Scots, by associating their sovereignty with divine approval, imagined themselves as people who were elected, blessed, and elevated above other members of the religious fraternity, especially the English. History was often viewed as the temporal assertion of a divine plan, especially when designating the transference of power to the successor of a kingdom, who was believed to be chosen by God. The Scots gained greater political authority by associating themselves with the spiritual superiority of the Scripture. The *Declaration of Arbroath* clearly asserted the Scots, who had come from Scythia (a place also linked with Andrew) via Spain were a 'chosen race' who had held Scotland free from servitude. Even though the Scots existed 'at the uttermost ends of the earth' they had been singled out as one of the first for salvation through the saint who was not merely anyone, but the first of the Apostles.[169] This brings forth the close link the Scots observed between patriotism and

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[167] Alastair McIntosh, 'Saint Andrew: Non-violence and National Identity', in *Theology in Scotland*, 7, 1, 2000, pp. 50-70, online, nd, available at: http://www.alastairmcintosh.com/articles/2000_andrew.htm, p. 8 (21 September 2006).
[168] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, p. 37. This is also examined in chapter three's discussion of Malcolm IV.
[169] *Declaration of Arbroath,* p. xiii; Duncan, *Bruce*, pp. 779-782. Also see: Edward J Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath', in Broun, Finlay, and Lynch, eds, *Image and Identity*, pp. 38-67 (p. 39); Stefan Hall, p. 27.

religion, something they never forgot.[170] Moreover, each version of Andrew's legend sought to 'demonstrate the close ties of St Andrews with the Apostle, and with kingship'.[171] As a result, the regularly favoured St Columba was overlooked, instead giving an extravagant antiquity to the foundation of Andrew. Furthermore, as W. F. Skene points out, the Scottish Church 'represented in a peculiar manner the Scottish population, and was intimately connected and closely allied with the Scottish royal house that occupied the throne'.[172] Certainly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Andrew's patron saint status, and its subsequent cult, received royal patronage and widespread devotion. Regular biblical references demonstrate the Church's involvement in the construction of Scottish identity, implying the 'centre of Scotland's military and religious power [was] focused through the national church, the Cathedral of St Andrews'.[173]

Andrew, older brother of Peter, was 'first to be called . . . gentlest of all the disciples', who wished after death to be able to convert those he missed when alive.[174] Bower described him as 'dark-complexioned, handsome of appearance, of medium height, with a luxuriant beard': physical attributes synonymous with masculinity. Furthermore, he virtuously 'excelled almost everyone in justice, piety and sanctity'.[175] Where Bower got such descriptions from we can only guess but we can assume religiously-minded chroniclers would have found these attributes desirable in a person of such standing. In the eleventh century Queen Margaret made sure Andrew's shrine was available to all pilgrims by making their journey across the Leith River easier and more comfortable. Many pilgrimages were made to Andrew's shrine, including those regularly undertaken by Scottish kings and queens.[176] During the reign of

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[170] Hannay, pp. 60-62; C. Smith, p. 34.
[171] M. Ash and D. Broun, 'The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland', in J. Higgitt ed, *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrew*, British Archaelogical Association, 1994, pp. 16-24 (pp. 16-18).
[172] Skene, *Picts and Scots*, p. clxiv.
[173] Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, *St Andrew: Scotland's Myth and Identity*, Edinburgh, 1997, pp. 76-77. Also see: Anthony Goodman, 'Kingship and Government', in Ralph Griffiths, ed., *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 183-215 (p. 215). Saints Columba, Mungo, Ninian, and Margaret were never forgotten.
[174] Bower, i, p. 311.
[175] Bower, i, p. 311.
[176] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (hereafter *ALHT*) show offerings were made in 1494, 1495 (twice), 1496, 1497 (twice), 1504, 1506 (twice) and 1508 (passim); Mairi Cowan, Lay Piety in Scotland', unpublished

James IV (1488-1513) Cardinal James Beaton, Archibishop of St Andrews, made a devout offering to the arm of the apostle because he thought the nationality and religion of Scotland were at stake.[177] Bishop Elphinstone's *Aberdeen Breviary* (1510) had nine *lections* and *Commemoration* to St Andrew which were to be fitted into the liturgical hours of the week in every church in Scotland. The Church's involvement in the construction of Scottish identity was highlighted by its concern to 'provide an emotional and devotional basis for national consciousness'.[178] Mary of Guelders (*r.* 1449-1460) made the 'Blue Blanket' bearing the Saltire, gifted to the Trade Guilds of Edinburgh and later carried at the battle of Flodden.[179] James IV celebrated St Andrew's day with great ceremony:

> And ilk year for his patron's saik,
>
> Ane banquet royall wald he maik.[180]

Moreover, James commanded that a large number of banners emblazoned with the Saltire were to be made, with haste, prior to Flodden.[181] What these few examples show is that the identity invoked was one of royal, aristocratic, and clerical construction.

Andrew was petitioned time and again for military assistance by the popular cry of 'Sanct Andro, our patron, be our guide.'[182] Malcolm III (*r.* 1058-1093) prayed to the saint for victory, and Wyntoun detailed a preacher's patriotic sermon apparently uttered at the Battle of Roslin in 1303:

> Lordis, falowis, and masteris, now
>
> With stowt hart ilkane of zow
>
> Settis agayne this ane assay;
>
> Gif God wil, ouris sal be this day.

PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2003, p. 200. Also see: E. J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Modern Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 63, 2, 176, October 1984, pp. 111-135 (p. 129); Turnbull, pp. 65-68.

[177] Hannay, p. 32.

[178] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew*, pp. 14-15.

[179] C. Smith, p. 35. Also known as the 'Banner of the Holy Ghost'.

[180] Turnbull, p. 66. Translation: And every year for the sake of his patron, royal banquet he would make.

[181] C. Smith, p. 35. St Margaret was also honoured on these banners.

[182] C. Smith, pp. 30-31. Or, 'Sanct Andro be oure help!' See: Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 29.

> In God al youre helpe is set,
>
> Sancte Androw, Sancte Nynyane, and
>
> Sancte Mergret.[183]

Andrew was linked not only with the battle and the prospect of victory, but also to the ancient lineage and freedom of the Scots as Wyntoun's passage explained. The sermon ended by speculating how loathsome it would be to live under the rule of another; in this context, the Other was the English.[184] The English knew Andrew was venerated by the Scots for military protection for when John Balliol was deposed in 1296, 'an English song told Scots to go to the Devil as St Andrew could no longer protect them'.[185] While this is certainly a rhetorical dig against Scottish identity, it is also evidence that a sense of Scottish and English identity was apparent in the late thirteenth century. Bower attributed the continuation of freedom after the disastrous Battle of Dunbar (1296) to the saint's mediation, and the mercy of God. Andrew supposedly tended to, and healed, the injuries of the Scots by spiritually governing the actions of Edward I, prohibiting him from conquering Scotland.[186] After the English defeat at Stirling Bridge (1297), Scottish soldiers apparently dismounted, threw themselves to the ground and 'glorified God and St Andrew' through whom 'the valour and power of their enemies withered away and . . . Scotland won the distinction of a famous victory with everlasting renown'.[187] Without Andrew's saintly intervention, it was believed Scotland would have been brought under English rule.

Following the battle of Bannockburn (1314), Bernard Abbot of Arbroath wrote descriptively about Robert Bruce who had 'knelt in prayer, invoking the aid of Andrew' to grant the Scots

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[183] Wyntoun, v, p. 339. Translation: Lords, fellows, masters now with brave heart every (one) of you stand again this one trial of courage; If God will, ours shall be this day. In God all your help is set, St Andrew, St Ninian, and St Margaret. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 171; John Higgett, *'Imageis Maid with Mennis Hand': Saints, Images, Belief and Identity in Later Medieval Scotland*, The 9th Whithorn Lecture, 16 September 2000, Whithorn, 2003, p. 14.
[184] Wyntoun, v, p. 341.
[185] Turnbull, p. 75.
[186] Bower, vi, pp. 291-293.
[187] Bower, vi, p. 91.

victory and 'deliver the wretched people of Scotland from under [English] bondage'.[188] The king gave a rousing and patriotic speech, citing the rights of the Scottish kingdom to honour and liberty, and waxing lyrical about the suffering and destruction of the Scots as a result of English violence. Bower reproduced the speech highlighting his own patriotic enthusiasm, and views on good, strong masculine kingship and excellent martial leadership.[189] Bannockburn was to be fought on the day of John the Baptist's birth which was a good omen according to Bower. Furthermore, this was to be buttressed by the inclusion of 'St Andrew . . . who shed his blood, along with the saints of the Scottish fatherland . . . [to] fight today for the honour of the people'.[190] Scotland was being protected under the auspices of great saints. Major's rendition of the Scots' battle-cry at Bannockburn, 'Saint Andrew and Robert Bruce, father of victories' is especially interesting because of the last three words.[191]   Bruce was obviously the real-life father-figure guiding his men on the battlefield and Andrew was the spiritual father who intervened in favour of the Scots, offering protection in battle. Andrew was now deeply entrenched in the political realm of Scotland. Boece, silent about Andrew at Bannockburn (1314), instead outlined the earlier Wallace's battle-cry of 'St Andrew, mot us speed'; believed to be an 'outstanding example of martial manliness and deep religious conviction combined with patriotism'.[192] At the battle of Otterburn (1388), the Scots again called on Andrew for his divine intervention, while this time the English called upon Saint George.[193] Andrew now had a rival, with both saints used to heighten patriotic sentiment and military fervour on each side. Patron saints were used in this context to give a collective sense of identity against a common enemy. Only a masculine figure could be followed into battle, the feminine was non-existent. If this was not believed by all, it was certainly promoted by the educated few who wished it to be.

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[188] C. Smith, p. 33. Also see: Turnbull, p. 75; *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F. J. H. Skene, volume 10, Edinburgh, 1877, p. 183 (hereafter referenced *Pluscardensis*).
[189] Bower, vi, pp. 363-365; *Pluscardensis*, p. 183.
[190] Bower, vi, pp. 363-365.
[191] Major, p. 249. This was in retaliation to the English cry of 'St George, Edward of Carnarvon'.
[192] C. Smith, pp. 32-33. Also see: Turnbull, p. 75.
[193] Ursula Hall*, St Andrew*, pp. 127-128.

Bower's *Scotichronicon* featured a vision of Andrew confirming Wallace's divinely ordained role as governor of Scotland after the victory of Stirling Bridge.[194] Blind Harry's fifteenth-century epic poem, *The Wallace*, emphasised the saint's favour of Wallace when Andrew visited him in a dream and gave him a sword. Dream visions were popular literary topoi after the success of the late fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Morte Arthure*.[195] This episode implies Harry was reminding his reader of the saint's status as protector of the land and people: '[o]f sanctis he is vowar [patron] of Scotland'.[196] I argue the use of the sword justified the bloodshed of war and a promised victory. The symbolism is also suggestive of divine approval of Wallace as Scotland's saviour and explicitly links him with Scotland's spiritual saviour. Rather than the sceptre of kingship, Wallace is ordained with a sword. As with Bruce above, we have a linking of two prominent national figures and an understanding of how Andrew was employed in order to further the Scottish cause. The use of Andrew to symbolise Scottish identity and freedom at a time of uncertainty indicates there was a need for rationality and stability; something which could only be represented by a man, not the distant, pagan and untouchable figure of Scota who was unlikely to unite the people.

By the twelfth century it was apparent Andrew was regarded 'not simply as a patron and protector of the Scots, but as a Scot himself'.[197] By the end of the thirteenth century this role was confirmed by the Wars of Independence, and nurtured by politics, warfare, and religion. This is emphasised by the fact Andrew's legend was obviously well known by the fourteenth century as it existed in a late fourteenth-century vernacular collection of hagiographies in which Andrew's story is one of the longest, attesting to the importance and veneration accorded the saint by that time.[198] Similar to the Scota myth, the vision of Hungus and the translation of Andrew's relics were fabulous at best. However, with some tweaking of dates to make the stories fit chronologically they were firmly accepted, as opposed to those of Scota.

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[194] McKim, *Wallace*, p.412; Bower, vi, p. 236.

[195] McKim, *Wallace,* p. 412. Also see: Murray, 'Dream and Vision'.

[196] Harry, p. 145 (7.124).

[197] Ash and Broun, p. 22.

[198] Andrew's legend appears at length in the first volume of the *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. W. M. Metcalfe, Edinburgh and London, 1896, pp. 63-97 (ll.1-1156).

However, like Scota, Andrew served a political purpose by showing the Scottish Church was far older than the English and, like the land and people, in no position to be subordinated. A letter sent to the King of England in 1299 from Pope Boniface VIII suggested the papacy acknowledged and supported Scotland's position under Andrew's protection, enhanced by the independence of its national church which held Andrew's relics at its Episcopal centre.[199] As an apostle Andrew had immediately more authority than saints not directly linked to Christ such as Columba, who only arrived in Iona thirty years before missionaries arrived in England. Andrew was a rival to York's St Peter in a way St Columba could never be.[200] Columba was therefore not suitable in the war of '*antiquissimus*' because there was not enough distance between him and the Christianising of England. Andrew's four hundred year chronological superiority was impeccable, dispelling any notion of political or ecclesiastical debt to England.[201] Exact information about Andrew was sparse, but as the theological vehicle that allowed an imaginative embellishment of Scottish identity he turned into a folk-hero who embodied many of the spiritual and cultural characteristics of Scotland.[202]

Andrew was used as a symbol in other areas of national importance. After the death of Alexander III in 1286, administration was handled by the Guardians of Scotland who had a great seal made symbolising their legitimate power and authority, even if it was temporary.[203] Symbolically, Andrew legitimised that power and authority, providing protection to those working on behalf of the absent monarch. The seal featured an image of Andrew on his X-shaped cross along with the words '*Andrea Scotis dux esto compatriotis*' and is identified as the earliest use of Andrew and his cross in a national context.[204] Hall suggests the Guardians needed a religious figurehead and font of authority, one who brought neutrality between rival

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[199] This Papal letter can be found in Bower. See: vi, p. 103.

[200] Ash and Broun, p. 21.

[201] Hannay, pp. 60-62.

[202] Turnbull, p. 5.

[203] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 30. The Guardians held power from 1286-1292 and were the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, Lord Badenoch, and the High Steward of Scotland.

[204] Translation: Andrew, be thou the leader of the Scots, thy compatriots. The other side of the seal featured the royal arms and lion rampant with the words *Sigillum Scocie Deputatum Regimini Regni*. See: C. Smith, pp. 33, 35; Ursula Hall, *St Andrew*, pp. 107-108.

families. Along with the Bishop of St Andrews as one of the guardians it is perhaps not surprising why Andrew was adopted.[205] The seal linked together the masculine realms of church and state in upholding Scottish identity at a time of crisis; Andrew became a continuous symbol of that identity showing 'what Scotland owed to Christianity and the Church'.[206] In 1385 an Act of Parliament ruled that '[e]very man shall have a sign before and behind, namely a white St Andrew's cross', signalling the saltire was the national symbol of freedom.[207] A tradition begun at Bannockburn was now legally established as an identifying marker of the Scots, something theorists of nationalism, such as Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson, would see as invented/imagined. Nonetheless, this 'invention' built up Scottish identity through literary and symbolic forms which outlasted the medieval period.[208] In 1512, it was formally declared that Andrew's cross was to be put on all the standards of the ship the *Margaret,* thus displaying the national symbol of Scotland's patron and protector to the wider naval community.[209] The commander of the *Lion* apparently encouraged his men with the following words: 'Fight on my men . . . stand fast by St Andrew's Cross'.[210] Banners displaying the saltire were used at Flodden and Pinkie (1547). In 1523 it was specifically noted that every man taking part in an expedition against the English had to 'wear a St Andrews Cross on his tunic . . . on pain of death'.[211] Despite the carnage at Flodden and the apparent lack of saintly protection, Andrew had obviously not lost his appeal, at least for those in charge. It is certainly suggestive that through the high visibility of Andrew's symbols, naval and military men understood the underlying patriotism being visually conveyed.

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[205] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew*, p. 119. Also see: Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity*, London, 1997, p. 70.

[206] Webster, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 70. Also see: Hannay, p. 11.

[207] C. Smith, p. 35; Turnbull, p. 75; Ursula Hall, *Cross of St Andrew*, p. 128. In England, a similar statute was drawn up in 1388 whereby the St George Cross had to be worn by English soldiers. See: Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero, Myth and Martyr*, Stroud, 2000, p. 110.

[208] Hobsbawm, p. 4.

[209] *ALHT*, iv, p. 297.

[210] Turnbull, p. 80.

[211] *ALHT*, v, p. 227. Also see: *Pictures of the Battle of Pinkie, c.* 1550, Bodleian Library, MSEng.Misc.c.13(R).

Andrew was also used on coinage during the reigns of Robert III (1390-1406), James II (1437-1460), and James IV (1488-1513).[212] Scottish kings 'had much to gain from the development of a national identity' and Andrew was central to that development, used as a display of power and divine blessing. Scottish identity was therefore often synonymous with royal identity.[213] By giving thanks and consecrating the cathedral at St Andrews, Robert Bruce publicly showed his veneration for the saint who had protected the Scots in battle. However, it has also been suggested the ceremony of consecration was 'a vindication of Scottish independence', and a vindication of Bruce's right to be king.[214] Highlighting the independence of the Scottish Church from the English and the wider considerations of the freedom of the kingdom from English overlordship, chroniclers implied the whole nation believed their survival was due to Andrew's especial care.[215] James III and James IV had their pictures painted with clear references to Andrew, making explicit use of his symbolism.[216] James IV used Andrew as the symbol on his livery badge. Livery collars, heavily featuring the saint and his cross, were also used by the earlier Stewart kings.[217] Leslie specifically noted that the 'ornamentis of S. Andro' were put above the gates at Linlithgow Palace, because they were 'the proper armes of our natioune'.[218] Furthermore, Andrew's cross featured on the closed imperial crown alongside the thistle and lion rampant according to James V's instructions.[219] Such representations certainly had political meanings, but as official images they would have been recognised by many members of Scottish society.[220] By the reign of Mary Stewart, Andrew rarely featured in a symbolic or literary sense, although the Saltire was used by the Queen's

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[212] The coins are exhibited in the Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. Also see: Higgett, '*Imageis*', p.14.

[213] Fiona Watson, 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence', in Broun, Finlay and Lynch, *Image and Identity*, pp. 18-37 (p. 20).

[214] Ronald G. Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', *The Innes Review*, 25, 1974, pp. 77-94 (p. 89).

[215] Ash and Broun, p. 16.

[216] The Trinity Altarpiece was created for James III, now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. A miniature painting was done of James IV. See: Thomas Tolley, 'Hugo van der Goes's Altarpiece for Trinity College Church in Edinburgh and Mary of Guelders, Queen of Scotland', in Higgitt, ed., *Medieval Art*, pp. 213-231 (pp. 216-217). Also see: Higgitt, '*Imageis*', p. 14; *Le roi d'ecosse Jacques IV en priers sous la protection de saint Jacques*, *c.* 1503, National Library of Scotland, MS8494 (iv), f.38.

[217] Katie Stevenson, 'The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was There an Order of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland?' *Scottish Historical Review*, 83, 1, 215, 2004, pp. 3-22 (pp. 20, 22).

[218] Leslie, ii, p. 230.

[219] Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship', p. 64; Stevenson, pp. 5-6.

[220] Higgitt, '*Imageis*', p. 14.

forces at the battle of Carberry Hill (1567) and on her funerary banners.[221] This was partly due to the Reformation and Protestant dismissal of saints and icons, and partly because of the increasing insecurity surrounding Mary's queenship. Militarily, the link with Andrew was fixed by acts of Parliament but only a tenuous link appears to have existed between Andrew and Mary, testifying to male tensions surrounding the governance of women. In my opinion, the above examples point to a self consciousness on the part of the Scots as a people and as a nation. Certainly, the elite of Scotland were well aware of the value of having an apostolic saint as their protector, although it is harder to make concrete assertions about the lower classes.

Why was Andrew sanctioned and Scota virtually made to disappear? Both were used politically against English threats in physical, verbal, and written forms. Andrew, with political, military, and religious ties which physically and tangibly showed the masculinity of the realm, had a superiority and usability Scota never had. As a pagan woman she was never going to be a successful rival, instead ending up a hazy but politicised personality kept in the parliamentary cupboard or monastery library, and easily banished to the sidelines of Scottish history. Despite the Reformation's iconoclastic ideals, Andrew remained a fixed part of Scottish identity that resurfaced in later centuries, showing his nationalistic strength.[222] Increasing signs of patriarchy emerged in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, aiding Scota's disappearance.[223] According to R. N. Swanson, '[m]ale control and assertiveness seem to have increased and female independence declined'.[224] The centrality of foundation women failed to make them 'exemplars of social justice and political power' in a male dominated discourse because they unacceptably diminished men.[225] A glorified foundation was required to preserve Scottish independence because, as the English myth demonstrated,

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[221] Turnbull, p. 80; *Funeral Banners of Mary Queen of Scots*, British Library, Eg.3510 f.57b.

[222] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew*, pp. 146-163. Andrew's importance grew alongside the religious centre of St Andrews. With its decline during and after the Reformation Andrew's importance diminished, but did not entirely disappear as later uses, especially of the Saltire, in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries testify.

[223] Swanson, p. 176.

[224] Swanson, p. 176.

[225] Geary, pp. 76-77.

not all original peoples were desirable or guaranteed prestige. A pre-history accepted a woman at its centre because she could be easily lost within the history of the present. Paralleling the heroic Agnes Dunbar discussed in chapter four, the female warrior Scota took on a man's role until patriarchy was re-established, showing the proper use of masculinity. Andrew represented the masculine identity of Scotland encapsulating the necessary manly, heroic qualities, and epitomising the virtues and hopes of the realm.[226] However, Hall is unconvinced Andrew was significant enough in ordinary people's lives as their patron saint; help was often sought from different saintly quarters. Certainly, after Bannockburn there was an upsurge in the belief of Andrew as protector of Scotland. Buchanan acknowledged Andrew as the patron saint of the Scots but his claim that it was St Giles 'whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh look on as their tutelary saint' suggests other saints were used on a more localised level.[227] As Hall maintains, Andrew does not feature in popular culture unlike the English characters of St George and Robin Hood. Instead, she believes Andrew was the 'establishment' choice and the impetus of recognising him as patron saint came from St Andrews itself. He was significant for patriotic causes, rather than the popular choice.[228] I do not entirely agree, and believe my discussion about the employment of Andrew and his symbols is evidence he was used by a variety of people for a variety of reasons, and cannot be pigeonholed as either elitist or popular.

Conclusion

Overall, the myths demonstrate the Scottish kingdom, past and present, had an autonomous king who owed allegiance to no-one except God. Women were not given a permanently visible place in Scotland's history and Scota's treatment reflects this. With women marginalised and relegated to their feminine roles we cannot begin to understand what

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[226] Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Oxford and New York, 2003, p. 41.
[227] Buchanan, i, p. 289, ii, p. 244; *Rerum*, f.73v (ll.37-38), f.189r (ll.30-31). For further discussion see Mairi Cowan, 'Lay Piety'.
[228] Ursula Hall, *St Andrew*, p. 130.

Scottish identity meant to them through the use of the origin myths, although we can presume they shared the same status and preoccupations of the men with whom they were associated. By acknowledging the roles of Gaythelos and Andrew, the educated elite showed an unquestioned acceptance of the patriarchal system which was of political and religious benefit in maintaining Scottish freedom. Myths continually changed their symbolic form and content in relation to the varying degrees of conflict or competition with those from outside a specific community.[229] Unchanging, women were always reproducers of the nation who were required to carry the 'burden of representation', and constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation's identity and honour, both personally and collectively.[230] Paradoxically, women had to preserve the nation's uncontaminated purity through their own chastity before and during marriage, while at the same time sexually serving their men, assuring them of legitimate paternity and lineage. Scota determined the boundary of the national group through her marriage to Gaythelos and her womb – her body served as a symbol of national virtue and martial potency.[231] Through Bisset she became an active participant in the national struggle, albeit briefly. However, if we look at the other ways Nira Yuval-Davis has shown women were implicated in the construction of nationalism, I argue it was Andrew who became prominent as the 'active transmitter of national culture', the 'symbolic signifier of national difference', and the 'active participant in national struggles'.[232] Scota fleetingly featured in these three ways; instead, it is Andrew who appears to take on these feminine roles and integrate them with the masculine in Scottish identity construction. By having Scota abdicate her warrior role, Bower and his peers stabilised the social and political equilibrium which she had disrupted by being a manly woman. Medieval writers therefore promoted an elite hegemonic masculinity which spilled over into the construction of Scottish identity.

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[229] Anthony Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford, 1999, p. 57.
[230] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 1997, p. 45.
[231] Kathleen Wilson, 'Empire, Gender and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century', in Levine, pp. 14-20 (pp. 19-20).
[232] Yuval-Davis and Anthias, pp. 7-10.

Despite being a mythical figure, Scota's sexuality was regulated and controlled by the historians who wrote about her. With Andrew, there were relics, pilgrimages, churches, his cross on banners and clothing, and reverence by royalty and ecclesiastical institutions; he was the perfect legendary figure. Since church and crown relied heavily on each other, it was sensible to promote an identity that suited both political and ecclesiastical agendas, and which subsequently controlled femininity. Nationalist discourse reconstituted the male as the national subject who was reborn at the expense of women's sacrifice. As Fiona Downie argues, '[p]aternal imagery embraced authority and leadership, while its maternal counterpart emphasised an emotional influence and pre-eminence'.[233] This was reinforced by the fact that '[m]aternal political imagery lacked the resonance of paternal metaphors because the image of the mother had been divested of any political power by the fifteenth century, as indicated by changes in Marian iconography'.[234]

What this chapter has also shown is that we have 'one national narrative with the possibility of multiple beginnings, narratives and omissions' and such remembering and forgetting underpins the formation of national identity.[235] Identity cannot be made up of heroic deeds and conquests alone. The reproductive faculties of women were required to ensure dynastic and cultural continuity, although these were often of momentary importance. By looking at the margins we realise Scotland's identity was made up of more than just masculine ideology, although it simultaneously reflects uneven power relations.[236] Scota's authenticity lay in her natural connection with the land and her natural role as mother. Andrew was forward-thrusting in his protection and promotion of the Scottish people and their independence. Using a feminine national discourse supplanted by a masculine one highlights the 'patriarchal desire to define and control national territory, history and identity'.[237] A female origin figure

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[233] Downie, p. 23.
[234] Downie, p. 43.
[235] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Signifying Gender and Empire', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 34, 1, Winter 2004, pp. 1-16 (p. 6).
[236] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, 'Placing Women's History in History', *New Left Review*, 133, 1982, pp. 5-29 (p. 29).
[237] Mikalachki, p. 33.

such as Scota, who at times appeared savage, opened the way for Andrew as the Christianising and civilising foundation of the Scots; a male who corrected the gendered order of society. By displacing Scota's figurative body with the masculine body of Andrew, Scottish women were excluded from full participation and membership of the nation. Scota and Andrew were nationalistic, gendered, textual constructions. Women *were* important to the cultural beginnings of identity, despite tensions existing between the masculine and feminine in the construction of nationhood. Andrew had an authority that was cultivated, particularly by the Church; Scota was never cultivated in the same way. The political, ecclesiastical, and literary contexts included women only when necessary; as essentially passive beings in a world promoting Scotland's origins as actively masculine in text and context. After all, the lineage of the Scots had to be masculine for '[p]ride in one's lineage [and] country . . . were essential buttresses of a man's valour'.[238]

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[238] M. Bennett, 'Military Masculinity in England and Northern France', in Hadley, pp. 71-88 (p. 86).

Virgins, Adulterers, and Useless Kings: Gendered Perceptions of the Scottish Monarchy

> [S]cion of a distinguished stock . . . shining with virtues, radiant with his noble character, illustrious, charming, and rich with merits, cheerful with his upright character . . . a patron of peace, and a most weighty deviser of laws . . . Sumptuous nature rained on this man with such adornment that he shone with honour in a way that can hardly be described.[1]

Introduction

Walter Bower's epitaph on James I (*r.* 1406-1437) above highlights how Scottish narratives touted kings as exemplars. Unsurprisingly, the Scottish sources demonstrate this archetype was hard to live up to, and idealisation was replaced by castigation for those who failed. This chapter considers medieval and sixteenth-century gendered ideas around kingship and how these influenced the narratives outlining the successes and failures of particular sovereigns. Representing a good cross-section from the period under discussion the narratives present the monarchs chosen as striking examples worthy of examination; the novelty lies in looking at them from a gendered perspective. I have chosen to only look at kings for two reasons: firstly, Scottish queens who have proved themselves of interest have already received extensive study using gender as a category of analysis; and secondly, in choosing to investigate kings I am able to embark upon a discussion of gender which encompasses both masculinity and femininity.[2] Recently, W. M. Ormrod questioned the assumptions made by modern historians

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[1] Bower, viii, p. 335.

[2] For instance, see: Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland 1424-1463*, Edinburgh, 2006; Louise O. Fradenburg, 'Troubled Times: Margaret Tudor and the Historians', in Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood, eds, *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, East Linton, 1998, pp. 38-58; L. O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage and Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval*

that kingship was 'deeply imbued with masculine values and fulfilled in all but exceptional circumstances by men'.[3] Such a statement suggests there is only a single masculinity that applies to all kings. The belief that patriarchal structures guaranteed men dominance by subordinating women is too restrictive and belies the complexities of gender. I argue the monarchy encapsulates more than a single hegemonic ideal, with the primary evidence illustrating that a range of masculinities and femininities existed alongside one another, giving a multifaceted view of those at the top of society.

Theoretically, kings were perceived to be on a par with each other when it came to power and authority, but just as all men cannot be in the same position in terms of their power and influence, not all kings were viewed as equal, as my examples illustrate.[4] Scottish historical literature is infused with narratives overlain with multiple masculinities and femininities articulating tensions and anxieties, which results in a more nuanced perspective of the gender ideologies and mentalities of the period. The chroniclers and poets referred to in this chapter are important because of the centrality of kingship to society and national identity; their works served didactic purposes for their audiences by constructing 'a conceptual framework within which the norms of kingship were expressed and against which the actions of individual kings and queens were interpreted'.[5] Examining Scottish monarchs through a new lens not only informs our understanding of Scottish rule but also enhances our appreciation of the way in which gender influences ideas about kingship and Scottish identity.

Scotland, London, 1991; L. O. Fradenburg, ed., 'Introduction: Rethinking Queenship', in *Women and Sovereignty*, Edinburgh, 1992, pp. 1-13; Kirsten Post Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007.

[3] W. M. Ormrod, 'Monarchy, Martyrdome and Masculinity: England in the Later Middle Ages', in P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, eds, *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, Cardiff, 2004, pp. 174-191 (p. 174).

[4] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 1.

[5] Katherine J. Lewis, 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry VI and Ideals of Kingly Masculinity', in Cullum and Lewis, pp. 158-173 (pp. 158-159). Also see: Michael Brown, 'Introduction', in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner, eds, *Scottish Kingship 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman MacDougall*, Edinburgh, 2008, pp. 1-19 (pp. 1, 4). Scottish 'mirror' literature also includes: *The Kingis Quair* (*c.* 1423), *The Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis* (*c.* 1456), *The Meroure of Wyssdome* (1490), *Ane Satire of the Thrie Estatis* (1540).

Monarchy is the rule by an individual who can claim dynastic right to political authority whereas kingship is the exercise of monarchy by an individual holding the title of ruler at a particular time. Ormrod suggests that while the exercise of monarchy has usually been in the hands of men, the principles underpinning the system of monarchy represent the institution as transcending gender. A ruler's constitutional and moral authority represented the body politic in such a way that the head had both masculine and feminine attributes which symbolised the whole realm.[6] The king had to display ideal masculine qualities of sexual and martial prowess, justice, and integrity as well as the feminine qualities of mercy, love, peace-making and reconciliation. Yet, Scottish kingship had its basis in a warrior society and the key attribute of a monarch was displaying the qualities of a warrior-king. He had to be ready to lead his men into battle, use his weapon skills, fight at the front, and share the danger.[7] Success in warfare as in other areas of governance commanded respect and enhanced authority; failure was followed with disappointment and irreverence. Nowhere is this more evident than in chronicles which extolled the victors and castigated or ridiculed the losers.[8] Power and authority could differentiate the king from other men, but he would only be more powerful if his strength was 'tempered by appropriate virtues'.[9] The result of perfect age, sound mind, and freedom from physical imperfections, the ideal king was 'permitted little corporeal aberration'.[10] Therefore, the literature lavished descriptive detail on a king's physical appearance, making him an object of the readers' and his subjects' gaze.[11] Ormrod

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[6] Ormrod, p. 175.

[7] Gilbert Hay's *The Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis*, a fifteenth-century translation from French to Scots, details the appropriate virtues that kings should possess and the vices that should be shunned. See: Gilbert Hay, 'The Buke of the Gouernaunce of Princis', in *The Prose Works of Gilbert Hay*, vol. III, ed. Jonathan A. Glenn, Aberdeen, 1993, pp. 53-127 (pp. 60-86, 111-120). John Ireland's late fifteenth-century work also outlines the virtues required for good governance. See: John Ireland, *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, books vi and vii, volume iii, ed. Craig McDonald, Aberdeen, 1990, pp. 115-160. Also see: Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed 1488-1587*, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 50-51; Jenny Wormald, 'The Exercise of Power: The King', in Bob Harris and Alan R. McDonald, eds, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c. 1100-1707*, vol 3, Dundee, 2006, pp. 49-65 (p. 50).

[8] Bower was vociferous in his praise and criticism. He spent many pages praising Charlemagne, (*c*. 742-814), David I (*r*. 1124-1153) and Robert Bruce (*r*. 1306-1329) and was pointed in his criticism of William I for his capture by the English in 1174, and David II's capture by the English in 1346. See: iii, iv, vi, vii.

[9] Lewis, 'Kingly Masculinity,' p. 166.

[10] Amy C. Eichhorn-Mulligan, 'The Anatomy of Power and the Miracle of Kingship: The Female Body of Sovereignty in a Medieval Irish Kingship Tale', *Speculum*, 81, 4, October 2006, pp. 1014-1054 (p. 1021).

[11] Eichhorn-Mulligan, p. 1020.

uses an idea of martyrdom to explain the 'sanitised view of the reigns of controversial [English] kings'.[12] Moving away from the normative and performative processes of kingship I also examine kings who sit outside of the perceived norm. However, ideas of age, lust, virginity and uselessness are my means of exploring the gendered anxieties such concepts revealed in the narratives. Rather than sanitise the past chroniclers and literary authors used these narratives didactically to restore the masculinity of future kings while at the same time aiming to convince their readers that Scottish identity was still ideally masculine.

All this highlights the status and bearing of a king and his real and imagined masculinity. Tensions and complications arose when there was no queen consort to take on the feminised roles and balance the gender equation, or when monarchs transgressed normative social and political boundaries. While Theresa Earenfight demonstrates that gender is a key component of sovereignty, Ormrod notes 'little attention has been given to the possibility that a *gendered* reading of the monarchy might contribute to a deeper appreciation of the dynamics of politics'.[13] This is certainly evident in Scottish scholarship which tends to exclude gender, instead focusing on the more usual military, political and religious themes, or the biographical form of kingship.[14] Research by Louise Fradenburg, Fiona Downie, and Kirsten Post Walton has partly rectified this with regards to Scottish queenship, but specific work on Scottish kingship and masculinity has yet to make its mark, although it is an area beginning to receive attention elsewhere.[15]

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[12] Ormrod, p. 176.

[13] Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History*, 19, 1, April 2007, pp. 1-21 (p. 3); Ormrod, pp. 174-176.

[14] For instance see: Geoffrey Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, London, 1965; Michael Brown, *James I*, Edinburgh, 1994; Patricia Buchanan, *Margaret Tudor: Queen of Scots*, Edinburgh and London, 1985; Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528-1542*, East Linton, 1998; Norman MacDougall, *James IV*, 3rd edition, Edinburgh, 2006; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, Edinburgh, 2001; Rosalind K Marshall, *Scottish Queens 1034-1714*, East Linton, 2003; Michael Penman, *David II, 1329-71*, Edinburgh, 2004; Pamela E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland 1548-1560: A Political Career*, East Linton, 2002. For a comprehensive look at Scottish kingship see: A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842-1292: Succession and Independence*, Edinburgh, 2002; Brown and Tanner, *Scottish Kingship*. Also see: my bibliography.

[15] For works on Scottish queenship, see: n2. Nothing has been achieved for Scotland along the lines of works on English and European queenship. Relevant works are listed in my bibliography. For works in masculinity and kingship, see: John Arnold, 'The Labour of Continence: Masculinity and Clerical Virginity', in Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, eds, *Medieval Virginities*, Cardiff, 2003, pp. 102-118; Edward Christie, 'Self-

Minority rule was a distinctive feature of late medieval Scottish kingship. Before the fifteenth century there were only three minority rules: Malcolm IV, Alexander III and David II. Only two adult male kings – Robert II (*r.* 1371-1390) and Robert III (*r.* 1390-1406) – inherited the throne between 1400 and 1586. Each of my authors lived through at least one minority rule, and this is reflected in the moralistic and instructive advice that appears throughout their narratives. Before 1437 regents were usually male relatives of the king, or at least prominent male members of the political community. After 1437 the maternal rights of the queen as guardian occasionally extended to political authority causing considerable angst about the potential disruption to society this could cause.[16] A number of topics emerge when looking at wider social and cultural ideologies of gendered kingship in the Scottish sources, and this chapter follows a thematic rather than chronological structure. I have chosen to examine themes which highlight a variety of gendered stereotypes, ideals, and contradictions encompassing subordinated and useless rule, age, virginity, and lust. Each theme is pervaded with the philosophical ideology tied to a man's development: the seven ages of man. This chapter explores the reigns of David II (*r.* 1329-1371), Robert II (*r.* 1371-1390) and Robert III (*r.* 1390-1406) which, fractured by age and infirmity, coloured chroniclers' perceptions of their rule. Being a virgin or too lustful also corresponds with the debate on age and was used to attack a king's masculinity and effectiveness of rule, as with the reigns of Malcolm IV (*r.* 1153-1165), James IV (*r.* 1488-1513), and James V (*r.* 1513-1542). The section on useless (*inutilis*) kings encompasses power and subordination and takes into account the submission of John Balliol (*r.* 1292-1296) to Edward I, and Henry Darnley's (*r.* 1565-1567) subjection by his wife, Mary Stewart; two entirely different situations, but each equally challenging to ideals of masculinity. I aim to demonstrate a deeply contested and gendered nature of monarchy is evident from the range of masculinities and femininities exhibited by these individuals, and from the often embellished reminders of the chroniclers regarding their opinions of the ideal

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Mastery and Submission: Holiness and Masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Martyr-Kings', in Cullum, and Lewis, pp. 143-157; Chris Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99*, Oxford, 2008; Katherine J. Lewis, 'Becoming a Virgin King: Richard II and Edward the Confessor', in S. Riches and S. Salih, eds, *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe,* London and New York, 2002, pp. 86-100; Lewis, 'Kingly Masculinity'; Ormrod.

[16] Downie, p. 136.

monarch. Kings and queens who displayed imperfections became scapegoats at times of crisis; their imperfections and governance became synonymous. It is to these scapegoats that I now turn.

'He deit in cleyne maydynheide': Virginity[17]

Malcolm IV came to the throne in 1153, reigning twelve years before dying unmarried and childless at twenty-five. Malcolm's kingship is unusual in the Scottish histories because of his questionable masculinity – he refused to marry and produce a much-needed heir instead desiring to remain a virgin. This resulted in a number of chroniclers from the fifteenth century onwards labelling him the 'Maiden', an epithet suggestive of weakness or effeminacy.[18] Virginity challenges the categories of binary gender and heterosexuality, easily becoming monstrous because it upsets societal order and hierarchy. Therefore, a male monarch's virginity posed problems for the individual and the nation.[19] As John Arnold argues, the efforts of medieval authors to negotiate the prickly implications male virginity had for masculinity make the male virgin an interesting figure to examine.[20]

William of Newburgh's twelfth-century narrative is a contemporary (and English) account of Malcolm's life. While it is outside the parameters of my chronology it provides a relevant base from which to begin. The two contemporary Scottish sources – the *Melrose* and *Holyrood* chronicles – lack information on Malcolm's virginity suggesting it was not an issue, and therefore unworthy of report. The fourteenth to sixteenth-century Scottish chronicles are demonstrative of anxieties concerning gender, which may reflect later tensions than those of the twelfth century, but are important nonetheless. Newburgh, writing at a time when concerns were raised about the sexual *mores* of ecclesiastical men, commended Malcolm who

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[17] Wyntoun, iv, p. 433. Translation: he died an unspoilt virgin.
[18] Bower, iv, p. 251; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 192; Major, p. 163.
[19] Sarah Salih, Anke Bernau, and Ruth Evans, 'Introduction: Virginity and Virginity Studies', in Bernau, Evans, and Salih, pp. 1-13 (pp. 3, 6).
[20] Arnold, p. 103.

'shone in the midst of a barbarous and perverse race like a heavenly star'.[21] According to Newburgh, God assisted Malcolm in defeating those of evil disposition who attacked the young monarch, helping him maintain his divinely sanctioned royal position. The chronicler emphasised Malcolm's resoluteness in his virginal state by noting he checked those trying to dissuade him 'with a certain authority by word and countenance'.[22]

However, the enemy 'urged on by jealousy . . . laid stronger snares for the godly child'. Even Malcolm's mother with 'the hidden poison as the counsel of motherly kindness . . . urged him to be a king, not a monk; showing a girl's embraces best befitted his age and body', and persuading him to seek pleasure with the noble virgin she left in his room.[23] Appearing to consent to his mother's demands, he waited until everyone left before 'sleeping on the pavement, covered with a cloak'. When his mother admonished him, he replied with 'a certain authority of the constancy of his mind' that she ought 'not to venture further in this matter'.[24] This dramatic account not only emphasises the power of young men over women, but by allowing Malcolm to transcend his youth, it also highlights misogynistic views of women. Newburgh extolled Malcolm's virginity suggesting the young king's experience of severe illness and suffering was like flagellation, thus increasing his virtue and merit. Malcolm's brother, William, also tried to live a spiritual life refusing to marry purely for procreative reasons. However, Newburgh noted William, either 'by impulse or more wholesome council' took a wife, lived 'more correctly' and reigned more fortunately, suggesting only certain men were suited to the virginal life.[25] While William was not one of them he was to be commended on practising chastity within marriage.

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[21] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum in Chronicles of Stephen*, vol i, pp. 76-78, 147-148, in *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers 500-1286*, ed. Alan O. Anderson, London, 1908, p. 236 (hereafter referenced Newburgh). Bower and Fordun also described Malcolm as a shining star. See: Fordun, p. 249; Bower, iv, p. 253.
[22] Newburgh, p. 237.
[23] Newburgh, p. 237.
[24] Newburgh, p. 237.
[25] Newburgh, p. 244.

Of all the chronicle entries examined, Newburgh's narrative is the only one to implicate the queen mother in under-handed actions. This illustrates Newburgh's anxieties about women and temptations; stressing the chronicler's tension regarding the queen mother's power over the young king, and the lengths she apparently would go to in order to divert him from a religious path. Malcolm's mother, Ada de Warenne (*c.* 1120-1178), had been in the process of attempting to arrange his marriage to Constance of Brittany until his death intervened. She featured prominently at court as queen mother to two successive kings (Malcolm and William I), was highly religious but aware of her maternal and national responsibilities, hence her involvement in trying to 'sharpen the dynastic instincts' of Malcolm.[26] The religious struggle with temptation, the breaking of maternal bonds, and the establishment of the youth's authoritative masculinity appear to be more important to Newburgh than Malcolm's kingship. Unlike later chroniclers, he did not use Malcolm's virginity as an excuse for kingly aberration.

According to the sixteenth-century historian Hector Boece, Malcolm had been 'nurist fra his first youth with a clene lyffe, but ony company of wemen'.[27] Earlier historians John Fordun (1370s) and Walter Bower (1440s) stated Malcolm had vowed before God to abide 'his whole time in the spotless purity of maidenhood' and never took advantage of his kingly rank in order to transgress.[28] When he was 'above twenty-two years of age', wise counsellors advised him to take a wife in order to provide heirs to the throne; an example of how age and good counsel influenced the perceptions and expectations of kingly masculinity.[29] Boece details a long oration, which he credits to the Bishop of St Andrews, regarding Malcolm's unwedded and childless state. The Bishop praises Malcolm's chastity and piety, suggesting the life of Christ and his saints was designed only for those whom God chose. God had not chosen Malcolm for this purpose; instead he was to govern his people with justice, and provide for the

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[26] See: Keith Stringer, 'Ada de Warenne', DNB, online, nd, available at:
http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/articles/50/50012-article.html? (16 May 09).
[27] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 192. Translation: From the first years of his youth his life was one of innocence, having never kept the company of women. Stewart's *Metrical Version* of Boece states Malcolm was 'ane clene virgin he leuit all his dais, without corruption into thoct or deid'. See: iii, pp. 3, 16.
[28] Fordun, p. 252. For similar sentiments see: Bower, iv, pp. 265, 277; Leslie, i, p. 329. The *Melrose Chronicle* claims Malcolm died faultless and was worthy of pious memory. See: *The Early Chronicles Relating to Scotland*, ed. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Glasgow, 1912, pp. 80, 85.
[29] Buchanan, i, p. 306; *Rerum*, f.80v (l.20).

profit of the commonwealth.[30] According to George Buchanan (1582), it was the Assembly of the Estates who set out the various reasons why the king should take a wife. Most importantly, for both Buchanan and Boece, Malcolm's marital status was a matter of public duty to the kingdom and a private debt to his family – he had to think about the 'tranquillity of future ages'.[31] Boece maintained that by defrauding the realm of heirs a king risked God's displeasure because marriage was an honest state, and it was possible to find a wife who was happy to practise chastity within the marital bed.[32] Yet, as Bower claimed, no amount of persuasion or exhortation by those around Malcolm, 'as far as their respect for his royal authority allowed it', could dissuade him from his path.[33] However, when Boece wrote his history the young monarch, James V, had no siblings. This placed the monarchy in a precarious position; factionalism was rife and England was raising the overlordship issue yet again.

The youthful Malcolm was resolute in his decision to give himself as a chaste virgin to Christ.[34] He struggled 'with the whole straining of his mind and all the longing of his innermost heart . . . to reign with Christ forever'.[35] Medieval notions of masculinity emphasised a suspicion of male virginity. Men were supposed to demonstrate an active, even aggressive heterosexuality. Failure to do so meant a lack of what was deemed, at least in moderation, manly: drinking, fighting and sex.[36] Clerical men who married Christ were often seen as less than masculine by the laity, although the Church saw this differently. The early twentieth-century historian, Herbert Maxwell discounted Malcolm's 'singular continence' because he was only a teenager when put to the test.[37] However, restraint from lust by youths

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[30] Bellenden's Boece, ii p. 197.
[31] Buchanan, i, p. 306; *Rerum*, f.80v (ll.21-23); Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 197. The same ideas are also expressed in: Bower, iv, p. 265; Major, p. 163.
[32] Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 196-197.
[33] Bower, iv, p. 265.
[34] Bower, iv, p. 265. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 197. Stewart stated Malcolm wanted to live like Christ in perpetual virginity. See: *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 15.
[35] Fordun, p. 252.
[36] Lewis, 'Virgin King,' p. 93; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, New Haven and London, 1995, p. 92.
[37] Maxwell, *Early Chronicles*, pp. 162-163.

was all the more praiseworthy because it was harder during adolescence; a time of irrationality, impulse, and strong lustful intentions.[38] The question of temptation was crucial; success in obtaining a lack of desire was seen as a gift from God and '[t]he act of denying the male body came to be one of the profound ways in which celibate men could assert and reaffirm their masculinity. This was how celibates could *be* men without *acting* like men'; indeed, it was manlier to resist marriage and sex.[39] Malcolm transcended his age and masculinity, yet for chroniclers he simultaneously failed as an ideal king because of that same youth and inadequate virility. To get around this problem they portrayed him as a martial but chaste king. An effeminate king dented the masculine narrative, as we will see later with Henry Stewart. Unlike the portrayals of Richard II of England, there was no inference of Malcolm's sexual involvement with another man, nor was Malcolm viewed as effeminate.[40] There was no sexual impropriety, mistresses or illegitimate children; any of which would have proved his potency and confirmed his masculinity.[41]

However, being manly did not always mean one had to be sexually aggressive. One could be strong through controlling one's body and controlling others, thus redefining masculinity as exemplified in Newburgh's narrative.[42] At the time Malcolm was king it was perfectly acceptable for a clerical man to be spiritually married to Christ. Therefore, it is possible Malcolm was using the clerical ideal of virginity to 'deal with anxieties surrounding his status as both king and man'.[43] Later Scottish authors demonstrate chastity was at odds with the nationalist cause; after all, Scottish identity and independence was promoted through an unhindered dynastic line. A virginal king left the way open for conquest and subordination, as occurred in England in 1066. Perhaps the instability of Scottish independence meant

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[38] Arnold, pp. 110-111.

[39] Jacqueline Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity', in Cullum and Lewis, pp. 24-42 (p. 30). Also see: Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Thomas Aquinas's Chastity Belt: Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe', in Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz, eds, *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, Philadelphia, 2008, pp. 52-67 (p. 55).

[40] See: Lewis, 'Virgin King,' p. 91.

[41] Vern L. Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages', in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis, 1994, pp. pp. 31-45 (p. 43); Anthony Fletcher, p. 93.

[42] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*, New York, 2005, p. 37.

[43] Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 89.

chroniclers could not take the chance of encouraging such a position or the prospect of opening the door to English occupation, or the subjection of a less manly king? Future kings were therefore vehemently advised to keep Scotland out of such precarious situations. The challenge for Malcolm, had he lived, would have been to maintain his gender identity, both socially and sexually, while obeying religious dictates against drawing blood or semen.[44] Malcolm was an anomaly; he was a warrior king who suppressed internal rebellions, established peace in his realm, and set his mind 'to govern his realm in justice' suggesting he was not as negligent as some authors portrayed.[45] The late sixteenth-century historian George Buchanan described Malcolm as a 'man of very little spirit' whose preference for peace was seen as giving in to English demands much to the disgust of nobles and chroniclers. However, this possibly says more about Buchanan's Protestant point of view in regards to a highly devout Catholic king.[46] Nevertheless, 'virginity is always political' and is never unproblematic or absolute, especially so for the male virgin at the pinnacle of the social hierarchy.[47]

Usually applied to women as a physical state exhibiting purity and uncorruption, virginity was not normally a label attached to men; for it 'held no special magic'.[48] Men 'had nothing tangible to lose' therefore virginity could be experienced or assumed regardless of physical status.[49] The 'symbolism of virginity was more important than the actuality' for monarchs were expected to provide heirs.[50] This is where it becomes difficult with Malcolm. The absence of a wife meant there was no-one to blame for lack of children. Men were not usually blamed for biological/reproductive failure, and in a society where death was no stranger there was no guarantee adult heirs would outlive the king. Chroniclers saw Malcolm's unwillingness to produce heirs as failing in 'his most fundamental duty as a king' and as a

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[44] Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life', p. 27.
[45] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 196. John Ireland believed a king was God's lieutenant and social agent in the maintenance and dispensing of justice. See: *Meroure of Wyssdome*, pp. xxx, 105-114.
[46] Buchanan, i, p. 304; *Rerum*, 1582, f.80r (ll.9-12), f.81r (ll.20-21).
[47] Anke Bernau, ''Saint, Witch, Man, Maid or Whore?' Joan of Arc and Writing History', in Bernau, Evans, and Salih, pp. 214-233 (p. 215).
[48] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, p. 36.
[49] Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 88; Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, p. 29.
[50] Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 89.

man.[51] Furthermore, Malcolm failed to find the balance between the 'requirements of religious observance [and] proper practice of regality'.[52] Nevertheless, John Major (1521) believed Malcolm 'did right to observe his vow' because he had *adult* brothers to succeed him which would avoid civil war, although it brought the young king dangerously close to being 'reckoned among the foolish virgins (*fatuorum virginum*)'.[53] God obviously gave Malcolm the strength to remain pure by providing other heirs to the throne, keeping the dynastic line intact and relieving him of his kingly duty. By placing capable war leaders at the nation's helm, Malcolm was able to spend the 'rest of his life among the regular canons of the holy cross in Edinburgh with piety and devotion', as if he was a regular monk.[54] Bower appears torn in two; as a cleric he admired the way Malcolm, with God's help, struggled 'manfully against the allurements of the body and pleasures of the flesh from a desire of things eternal'; a heroic and highly masculine battle perceived as a vocation from God conceived at a young age.[55] He admired Malcolm's good qualities in which he equalled his predecessor David I, even surpassing the late king in some virtues.[56] However, Malcolm took this too far; he was supposed to be an earthly king working on behalf of God within the bounds of admirable piety and providing good governance for his subjects and kingdom. As a result the Scots, uneasy with Malcolm's perceived negligence in favour of religion, made his brother William guardian of the 'whole kingdom against the king's will'.[57] This was just one of the many trials Malcolm had been forewarned about.[58]

Malcolm's great-grandmother Queen Margaret (*r.* 1070-1093) followed religious dictates within her royal role by marrying, having children, and living within acceptable boundaries of marital chastity and monarchical duty. However, unlike Margaret, Edward the Confessor or St. Edmund of England, Malcolm was never made a saint and it is unlikely he was viewed as

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[51] Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 91
[52] P. H. Cullum, 'Introduction: Holiness and Masculinity in Medieval Europe', in Cullum and Lewis, pp. 1-7 (p. 4).
[53] Major, p. 163. My emphasis.
[54] Leslie, i, p. 331. Also see: Fordun, p. 253; Bower, iv, p. 277.
[55] Bower, iv, pp. 265. Also see: Wyntoun, vi, p. 432- 434; Karras, 'Thomas Aquinas', p. 54.
[56] Fordun, p. 249; Bower, iv, p. 253.
[57] Fordun, p. 252; Bower, iv, p. 265.
[58] Fordun, p. 252.

one. Had he been sanctified, his virginity would have been exalted, not problematic.[59] According to English chroniclers, Edmund carried out his duties as king in an exemplary way achieving the ideal balance between his spiritual and secular duties preferring to be a king rather than a priest. Katherine Lewis notes self-governance was the key to successful governance over others. Edmund transcended his teenage years to be seen as the 'embodiment of desirable kingly conduct.'[60] Edmund was a properly trained knight, exhibiting great prowess and therefore working within the normal paradigms of masculinity.[61] Similarly, Malcolm and his brother William worked hard to join the 'exclusive club of international chivalry', but Malcolm failed to impress with his martial abilities.[62] Weapons and women were symbols of manhood being passive tools used by men to display their power and martial or sexual prowess in order to achieve subjection. Why was Malcolm's military prowess not used to define his masculinity instead of his virginity, which was seen by some as a weakness? It is strange Malcolm's virginity was never viewed by later chroniclers as a signifier of his virile prowess in the same way as the young Edward IV of England or the legendary Sir Galahad.[63] His military successes could have been used to show his transcendence of youth, and his maturation into an authoritative and successful king. After all, he could have changed his mind about his virginity had he lived. Instead, chroniclers appear fixated with his chastity, demonstrating that from the late fourteenth century independence and nationhood were important and a king who was highly anti-English and sought to protect Scotland was of more value than one who was reproductively negligent. Authoritative masculine kingship corresponding with prescribed ideals was what chroniclers wanted to portray to their readers. Short of omitting such an important king in the royal dynasty those same writers had to

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[59] Godric of Finchale, a twelfth-century English hermit equated Malcolm with Thomas Becket. See: W. W. Scott, 'Malcolm IV', DNB, online, nd, available at:
http:www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/articles/17/17860-article.html? (25 May 09).
[60] Lewis, 'Kingly Masculinity', pp. 161-164.
[61] Lewis, 'Kingly Masculinity', p. 164.
[62] John Gillingham, 'Foundations of a Disunited Kingdom', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds, *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, London and New York, 1995, pp. 48-64 (p. 58). R. R. Davies suggests Malcolm 'showed an almost indecent anxiety to be girded with the belt of knighthood' even following Henry II to France. See: *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300*, Cambridge and New York, 1990, p. 51.
[63] Bernau, Evans and Salih, 'Introduction', p. 9.

explain away any aberrations, and a virgin king 'was a convenient justification for any subsequent dynastic disruption'.[64]

Did Malcolm's masculinity make him superior to others, and where did this position him? Arnold suggests that chastity is the control of lust whereas male virginity is lust made absent, usually through divine intervention. Therefore the latter is a higher concept because it is bestowed by God's grace presenting a 'fantasy of transcendence' and maintaining one's sense of masculinity, which is what we see occurring with Malcolm.[65] Transcendence was the property of the few – usually saints and heroes – if everyone had the ability to transcend their age, the whole system would collapse. The youth who achieved the virtues of old age and transcended upwards was worthy of praise because of the difficulty of such an achievement.[66] Malcolm's short and turbulent reign is subsumed by the martial and kingly reigns of the men on either side of him, and Scotland's internal and external conflicts. With so much relying on sexual potency in defining the masculinity of the king, failure in this makes Malcolm's manhood complicated. For the chroniclers a king without children required one of three avenues of explanation – sanctity, celibacy, or by stressing he had children with women invisible to the narrative.[67] Virginity, and its social and cultural embodiment, is performatively read onto the body. For a queen an enactment of virginity before, but particularly after, she married emphasised her status over and distance from other women. For a king, such a performance of virginity could emphasise the power and singularity of his kingship. Malcolm's virginity arguably functioned as a 'prime signifier of his singularity', but whether it served as a symbolic source of sacred dignity is negligible.[68] For the chroniclers, Malcolm's actions were not symbolic; indeed they were perceived to be damaging to the monarchy which, as a central focus of society, meant they damaged Scottish identity.

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[64] Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 89.
[65] Arnold, p. 111.
[66] J. A. Burrows, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 102, 105.
[67] Kirsten A. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge, 2008, p. 65.
[68] Lewis, 'Virgin King', pp. 88-89. Also see: Arnold, pp. 103, 112.

Since the twelfth century, historians have disagreed in their evaluations of Malcolm's rule and, about how much his reputation was influenced by his virginity considering his desire for military activity.[69] There will always be disagreements and contradictions, but what is of importance to this chapter is that his virginity is mentioned, and the importance placed on it by Scottish chroniclers. Can his body therefore be seen as a symbol of the inviolate kingdom of Scotland?[70] Of all medieval attributes chastity was the most significant, and considered a national virtue, albeit a feminine one. Land became analogous with chastity which ensured the legitimacy of the Scots; a nation inviolate against the rapaciousness of others.[71] Malcolm managed to keep the English at bay, reduce internal rebellions and provide familial heirs, thus keeping Scotland intact. By describing him as a virgin king chroniclers recovered his masculinity and neatly explained his childlessness. As a symbol of an inviolate kingdom, the patriotic chroniclers could place Malcolm and his virginity within the nationalistic narrative.

'He be of perfyte age': The Ages of Man – Youth and Decrepitude[72]

Treatises dealing with the Ages of Man theory rationalised man's appropriate behaviour at different stages of life, placing it within the broader context of the natural social order. As Fordun claimed, 'a king's boyhood or old age, or even his weak-mindedness, stands firm upon the fealty and submissiveness of his subjects'.[73] A boy or old man in authority was viewed as good a ruler as a woman in authority; weak, unable to wield power, and needing careful guidance and wise counsel to control their inherent destructive potential.[74] Theoretically only

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[69] Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, p. 73. Duncan has suggested Malcolm suffered from Paget's disease which results in enlarged and deformed bones. See: pp. 74-75. Had this been so, the chroniclers may have used the ideal of virginity to move attention away from the monarch's disability/perceived weakness in the last 2-3 years of his reign.

[70] Lewis, 'Kingly Masculinity', p. 169. Lewis suggests Edmund's body symbolised England in this way.

[71] Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession*, London, 1977, p. 70; Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen*, London and New York, 1989, p. 3.

[72] Robert Gray, second Medicinar, King's College, Aberdeen *c.* 1502- *c.* 1507, in Janet Hadley Williams, 'David Lyndsay and the Making of King James V', Janet Hadley Williams, ed., *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V,* Edinburgh, 1994, pp. pp. 201-226 (p. 208).

[73] Fordun, p. 197. Also see: Michael Brown, *The Wars of Independence 1214-1371*, Edinburgh, 2004*,* p. 46.

[74] Amanda Fletcher, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, Woodbridge, 2007, p. 35.

men in their prime (middle age) were able to judge people correctly in a way which corresponded with wise and rational government; being neither too trustworthy as in youth, nor too distrustful as in old age. Thus, the excesses and defects of youth and old age were replaced by moderation and fitness.[75] Adolescence was the 'crucial induction into manhood'; an underage male heir could always mature into a fully powerful, authoritative adult.[76] Scotland's early fifteenth-century vernacular work, *Ratis Raving,* gives a full outline of the tradition of the Ages of Man, indicating its probable use by Scottish authors.[77] The first to third ages correspond with the growth in development from the helpless baby to the fifteen year old youth whose reason, judgement and restraint are still weak. The fourth age, extending from fifteen to thirty was a time of pleasure, arrogance and sanguine humour – an age determining whether one would be inclined to virtue or vice.[78] Lust was a major problem in this period; the humours resting in the genitals influenced the youth's mind and actions until displaced by the stomach of middle age.[79] It was the fifth age, from thirty to fifty, which was the perfect age. Reason reigned alongside maturity and rationality with the highest point between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty-five. Without reason all men, including kings, suffered shame and loss. The sixth and seventh ages were a time of holiness and wisdom but also decrepitude; a second childhood 'where the rational soul fails and the body declines' leading to sloth and covetousness.[80] The reader is warned that while the rational soul develops slowly over time, it is always under threat from man's baser instincts. The height of masculinity is reached by the man who is able to suppress those instincts and use his rationality, intellect, sensitivity and physical growth for the greater good.[81] Learned opinion agreed that 'certain offices, notably those of king and priest . . . could only be filled by persons

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[75] Burrows, p. 8; Karras, *Boys to Men*; p. 8.
[76] Judith M. Richards, '"To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28, 1, 1997, pp. 101-121 (pp. 104-105).
[77] *Ratis Raving*, ed. Rawson Lumby, London, 1870, pp. 57-76. This poem was 'designed to instruct young readers in virtuous and gentle discipline'. See: Burrows, p. 48.
[78] Burrows, pp. 49-50.
[79] Michael E. Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought 1250-1350*, New York and London, 1989, p. 1.
[80] Burrows, pp. 49-50; and Goodich, p. 1.
[81] Burrows, pp. 49-50; Karras, *Boys to Men*, pp. 12-15.

of mature years'.[82]   Therefore, education of the young focussed on an understanding of the virtues and vices of each life stage in order to establish good government.[83]   When seen in this light, one begins to comprehend the issues authors had with men deemed too young or too old to be placed at the apex of society.

'Scarcely approaching mature manhood': David II[84]

The birth of Robert I's son in 1323 was met with much rejoicing because there was now a dynastic legacy in place.   The Abbot of Arbroath wrote that Robert 'still in the prime of his life . . . fathered before his death a man brave like himself', emphasising the importance of dynastic kingship and the warrior qualities required to maintain the independence gained at Bannockburn (1314).[85]   David II came to the throne at the age of five, already married, and was overshadowed by the exceptional reputation of his father.   According to Michael Penman, English chroniclers gleefully claimed David soiled the inaugural altar at his coronation in 1331.   Aged eight, this was unlikely but it is evident that the youthfulness of the Scottish king accentuated the monarchy's perceived weakness.   Even though Robert left a strong monarchical base in 1329, reinforced by a son and heir, this stability was not absolute. Aspersions were cast on David's right to the throne, suggesting it had been gained by conquest rather than hereditary succession, leaving the way clear for the righteous inheritance of the much older Edward Balliol.[86]   Furthermore, some nobles were unhappy with the Bruce regime, and the marriage of David with Joan of England in 1328 undertaken to strengthen the peace treaty between the two realms was never entirely successful.

David's kingship was problematic for chroniclers, and their narratives are littered with age-related references to his kingship, illustrating the anxieties a youthful king provoked.   David's

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[82] Burrows, p. 145. The perfect age varied from mid-twenties to mid-forties. See: Kim Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England 1270-1540*, Manchester and New York, 2003, p. 43; Karras, *Boys to Men*, p. 15.

[83] Goodich, p. 159. Also see: Hay, 'Gouernaunce of Princis', pp. 56-57.

[84] Bower, vii, p. 361.

[85] Bower, vii, p. 15.

[86] *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, London 1868, volume ii, 361-2 in Penman, p. 44. Also see: *Lanercost*, p. 268. The marriage occurred on 17 July 1328 under the terms of the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton. David was 5 and Joan was 7.

'tendir yeiris' meant he was unable to take 'waichtie materis in hand' or wield weapons, thus leaving Scotland vulnerable to internal and external threats.[87] His youth and lack of authoritative kingship were blamed for the alternative crowning of Edward Balliol (1332), and the losses at Dupplin Moor (1332) and Halidon Hill (1333), indicating there was no central focus for leadership. Moreover, David was continually compared to his father, his regents, his nephew Robert Stewart, and Edward III of England which often resulted in biased and unfair accounts of the young king. Thomas Randolph was David's first regent; a man of strength, prudence, and wisdom who immediately ratified the peace with England and settled internal disturbances. However, Randolph died in 1332 rumoured to have been poisoned on the orders of Edward III. Even while Randolph was dying he took to the field, challenging Edward who used Scotland's weakened situation as an opportunity for subjugation; a plan which ultimately failed much to the latter's consternation and disgrace. Randolph's regency was juxtaposed with the youthful David, and used to show the English king's lack of masculine honour. Sixteenth-century historian John Leslie suggested Edward feared Randolph's singular manhood, prowess, and good governance which had further strengthened Scotland.[88] Yet, David was never described in glowing masculine terms like those bestowed on Bruce or Randolph. This led Major to ask:

> where then was Thomas Randolph [and] James Douglas then to stand by the son of Robert Bruce in the hour of his distress? Surely the warriors were the same as those who Robert Bruce and Thomas Randolph had never failed to lead to victory . . . but it was the leader who was [found] wanting.[89]

Randolph's death appeared to cement the views regarding the weakness of David's kingship, and the situation in which it left Scotland.

David and Joan spent much of their youth sheltered in France. With the absence of the king, royal followers dwindled until 1341 when David was 'full-grown and able to return' to govern

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[87] Leslie, ii, p. 14. For similar references see: Bower, vii, p. 83; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 293; Major, p. 187.
[88] Leslie, ii, pp. 14-15. Also see: Bower, vii, pp. 63-65, 73, 83; Wyntoun, v, pp. 384, 400, 402; Major, pp. 266-268; Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 293, 295. Penman suggests Randolph probably died from liver cancer. See: p. 46, fn.25.
[89] Major, p. 270.

a kingdom at peace.[90] Unfortunately, rejoicing at the reinstatement of the hereditary king was short-lived. David was an inexperienced and adolescent ruler, faced with a political landscape 'dominated by slightly older, aggressive, and ambitious warrior lords' who resented a strong personal monarchy.[91] Antagonisms with his nephew and heir grew out of the political and territorial power Stewart had amassed and clashes over royal policy and resources with David resolving to undermine his nephew; an impressive if not fearsome figure to the young king.[92] David was also faced with further internal conflict, particularly the unsavoury deaths of Alexander Ramsay and William Bullock in 1342. This tried the king's patience 'who was yet but young, and not accustomed to men of rough and military dispositions' suggesting his French upbringing had made him soft – had he stayed in Scotland he would have been regularly surrounded by such men.[93] Notwithstanding, Ramsay's death was blamed on the imprudent young king's negligence and vacillating behaviour; he sowed the seeds of jealousy among key men of Scotland such as William Douglas and Alexander Ramsay through his use of patronage, and his trading of 'murder for murder'.[94] Having therefore lost the good services of two loyal and valiant knights, the king showed himself to be 'as far removed as might be from the probity and wisdom of his father'.[95] Along with the lack of punishment for the perpetrators, this 'careless treatment of some nobles over others' caused 'unending strife in the kingdom', which was resolved only through Stewart's intervention.[96]

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[90] *Scalacronica*, p. 117. Also see: Bower, vii, p. 83; Major, pp. 270, 274-275, 285; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 301; Leslie, ii, pp. 15-16.

[91] Edward III was the same age (17) when he 'asserted his personal majority.' See: Penman, p. 75.

[92] Penman, p. 78.

[93] Buchanan, i, p. 397; *Rerum*, f.94v (ll.15-17). David was approximately between 18 and 20 years old at this time.

[94] Penman, p. 90. Penman gives a detailed analysis of what he terms the 'Baronial Backlash' of 1342. See: pp. 84-106.

[95] Major, pp. 291-292. Also see: Bower, vii, p. 155. After all, 'wisedome' was the 'begynnyng of gude gouernement'. See: Hay, 'Gouernaunce of Princis', pp. 65-66.

[96] Bower, vii, p. 157. Also see: Wyntoun, vi, p. 168. The 'Gouernaunce of Princis' states that a good king had to punish wrongdoers but reward the good and wise in order to maintain respect and honour of himself, and that of his kingdom. See: Hay, pp. 72, 74-76.

Chroniclers give us a picture of a pleasure-seeking adolescent who had no time for governance.[97] On his return from France David appeared too interested in the gaiety of his court, acting too much at his own will and ignoring wise and mature counsel.[98] Andrew of Wyntoun (*c.* 1420) laid out a catalogue of vices attributed to David: he was 'stout, young and richt ioly [right jolly]' and liked 'iustynge, dawnssynge, and playing [gaming]'.[99] The fourteenth-century English chronicle of *Lanercost* also criticised David's youthfulness through his love of dancing, a comparatively soft and passive pursuit in contrast to the physical power of different English men such as Sir Henry de Percy, described as another Maccabeus and 'a fine fighter', and Edward III who was 'young, able and warlike'.[100] Pastimes of youth could have been overlooked had David behaved sensibly when he came of age. Unfortunately, he was charged with being guilty of rashness – a failing of youth distinguished from the control and *virtus* of older men. As Kirsten Fenton argues *virtus*, the antithesis of vice, encompassed an ideal manliness centred on personal courage and 'an awareness of the notions of honour and reputation'.[101] Wyntoun maintained David wanted to prove himself a man and firmly establish his royal authority; he yearned to see battle and show himself worthy of his father's memory.[102] Therefore, in 1342 'fully reassured and supported by knightly young men of military age, David made three hostile invasions into England', thinking he could 'easily subject to his authority the English territories as far as the Humber'.[103] He thought England was severely weakened while Edward and his army were in France; a huge underestimation by the Scottish king. Moralising against the arrogance of youth, Bower quoted Augustine in order to emphasise David's lack of reason: 'you did not win . . . [f]or he who presumes on his own strength is already overcome before he fights'.[104]

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[97] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, London, 1991, p. 135.
[98] *Pluscardensis,* i, p. 291. Also see: Bruce Webster, 'David II and the Government of Fourteenth-Century Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16, 1966, pp. 115-130 (p. 119).
[99] Wyntoun, vi, pp. 161,170.
[100] *Lanercost,* pp. 297, 340.
[101] Fenton, pp. 45-47.
[102] Wyntoun, vi, p. 170. There are parallels with Richard II (*r.* 1377-1399). See Chris Fletcher's recent work.
[103] Bower, vii, p. 151.
[104] Bower, vii, p. 153.

By favouring a counsel of youths who hated the English and had a penchant for flattery, the king was led astray prompting Bower to follow his criticism with a number of pages outlining why the king should avoid the advice of young men. Highlighting David's 'pernicious boldness' and lack of experience in warfare, in comparison to shrewd and wise martial counsellors such as William Douglas, the lesser masculine attributes of youth were bound to fail.[105] The chroniclers would have realised how important such a campaign would be for the king's coming of age but needed to excuse his failures, especially when they led to atrocities such as the Burnt Candlemas of 1356.[106] David was further criticised for 'ravaging church lands' and irresponsibly ignoring a vision of St Cuthbert advising him not to go to battle at the behest of youthful advisors. David's punishment was capture and eleven years imprisonment by Edward III after the Battle of Neville's Cross (1346), at which two arrow heads lodged in his head, and also excommunication. Victory was only assured if one's conscience was clear.[107] The *Lanercost* chronicle diminished any warrior status David may have held, labelling him 'prince of fools' and 'the defaecator'; one who slaughtered men with great cruelty, 'inspired by the devil and destitute of all kingly grace'.[108] Scottish chroniclers blamed David's youthful pride and impulsiveness for his military failures which they claimed weakened Scottish power, and as such dented the masculine narrative.[109] Missing is any commendation for David's bravery – he fought on when a large part of his army deserted him and despite having two arrowheads lodged in his skull still managed to knock teeth out of his captor. Such actions were clearly reminiscent of his father suggesting courage could be one positive attribute of youth had the Scottish writers wanted it to be.[110]

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[105] Bower, vii, pp. 253-257, 261-269. Also see: Major, p. 292; *Scalacronica*, p. 203. Ireland sets outs the type of counsellors to avoid and those to follow, and advises the king to pay no heed to flatterers. See: *Meroure of Wyssdome*, pp. 130, 160-165.
[106] Bower, vii, p. 291. The English burned and destroyed the Lothian area, especially Haddington.
[107] Bower, vii, pp. 257-263, 269. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 326-327; *Lanercost*, pp. 332-333, 342. Such an honourable injury replicated Philip VI's injury at Crecy some weeks earlier. See: Penman, p. 133.
[108] *Lanercost*, pp. 334, 337. David apparently plundered Lanercost and Hexham Priories. See: p. 332. For further anti-David insults see: *Lanercost*, pp. 337-338.
[109] Leslie, ii, p. 19; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 326; Bower, vii, pp. 253-269.
[110] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640*, Oxford, 1996, p. 32.

The chronicles condemned David because he never appeared to assert his authority as a king should; they chose to forget that his rule was hampered by lengthy absences. He was thirty-three when he returned to Scotland in 1357; an age at which a king should be experienced, wise and prudent. Instead, he was censured for rewarding young, unversed men over loyal retainers and wise advisers, which led to problems amongst the nobility. Towards the end of David's reign order was restored. Wyntoun claims David governed the realm 'right stoutly' showing on the one hand a 'raddour' (severity) that cast fear into his subjects and on the other, a chivalry that drew men to him.[111] During his first five years of adult rule, David won the backing of the 'majority of substantial Scots' with his 'youthful vigour and . . . generous patronage', both of which pointed to a promising future.[112] Notwithstanding the chroniclers' negative commentaries, recent historians have demonstrated David showed traces of political maturity, exercising an 'intrusive, disruptive and grasping style of kingship which was unacceptable to Scottish regional magnates used to being left to their own devices'.[113] Nevertheless, he confronted the superiority and authority of Stewart and the superior bullying tactics of Edward III. He also challenged his nobility's power. As the chroniclers claimed, David achieved his aims with varying degrees of success. In response to the 1363-64 rebellion surrounding the issue of succession, he recalled 'the superiority of his own power and sent a force in strength wishing to oppose their boldness' overcoming the rebels and restoring his own kingly authority.[114] Showing how merciful he was, he forgave the rebels by taking their oath of fealty.[115] Buchanan gives an impression of a virtuous man, judicial and clement whose 'fortune seemed rather to fail him than his industry'.[116] However, Penman concludes David was also dangerously close to being 'out of date, isolated and out of his depth . . . his long reign [determining] much of the political agenda of the late fourteenth century but [leaving] no real personal legacy from his kingship'.[117] Unlike his predecessor Alexander III

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[111] Wyntoun, vi, pp. 234, 241, 244.
[112] Penman, p. 4.
[113] Penman, p. 9. For a brief review of the historiography on David I, see: Penman, pp. 7-13.
[114] Bower, vii, p. 325.
[115] Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 333-334; Bower, vii, p. 327.
[116] Buchanan, i, pp. 402-403; *Rerum*, f.96r (ll.32-34).
[117] Penman, p. 424.

(*r.* 1249-1286) David never 'retained significance as the focus of government'.[118] Moreover, as an adolescent monarch, he never transcended his age as had James IV (*r.* 1488-1513), who at fifteen was 'a conqueror' who commanded all.[119]

In 1370, David envisaged going on crusade in an attempt to emulate the wishes of his father; an act which would have emphasised his piety and his masculinity. However, 'bitter death did not spare the kingly fate, but extinguished and brought to an end under its fatal law a king who was scarcely approaching mature manhood'.[120] Descriptions such as this denigrate David's masculinity, suggesting that at forty-three he was still viewed as acting like a youth unable to govern effectively; not exacting the wise and rational ruler expected of a middle-aged man. Major summed up opinions about David, comparing him with

> rulers of middling excellence only; in matters of war he had but small experience;
>
> in the affairs of the world he did not prosper; but the temper of his mind was not
>
> otherwise than one of constant endurance and fear he knew not.[121]

In the end, maturity in governance ensuring peace and justice won David some respect and Bower's epitaph portrayed David as having all the virtues of perfect age and 'ruling his kingdom as a king should'.[122] The chronicles were expanding on an ideal; a desire for strong kingship and loyal subjects, which David's reign did not appear to encourage. In reality, David was a shrewd politician and a robust champion of chivalric ideals but his rule was unconvincing and, compromised by events inherited, of his own making, and underpinned by gender ideologies.[123]

'A Youth in Terms of Years . . . An old man in his deeds': Robert II[124]

The two reigns immediately following David II produced narratives dominated by age-related and physical defects employed to account for both kings' ineffective government and lack of

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[118] Brown, *Wars*, p. 49.
[119] Buchanan, ii, p. 101; *Rerum*, f.145v (ll.1-4).
[120] Bower, vii, p. 361.
[121] Major, p. 306. Also see: Wyntoun, v, p. 253.
[122] Bower, vii, p. 361-365.
[123] Penman, p. 441.
[124] Bower, vii, p. 137.

manliness. Robert Stewart was fifty-five when he was crowned king in 1371, having spent many years as governor during David's minority and later captivity. Kingship relied on symbolic continuity for its legitimacy but Robert's succession was not automatic, having to be discussed and agreed upon by the Estates.[125] In the ages of man schemata, fifty-five was considered to precipitate the onset of decrepitude and a decline in rationality and wisdom. Despite being of an advanced age, Robert II was viewed as honourable, wise and debonair, 'surpassing others in stature and height of his body'.[126] According to an article written by Stephen Boardman, Robert's conduct and character throughout the early part of David's reign became 'the subject of radically divergent interpretations'.[127] For instance Bower claimed that during David's absence Robert grew 'into a young man of attractive appearance . . . broad and tall in physique, kind to everyone, and modest, generous, cheerful and honest. In him was an innate goodness which produced such charm that he was fervently loved by nearly all the faithful Scottish people'.[128] Bower's lavish description portrays the type of manly, warrior king Scotland required to follow on from Robert Bruce; an explicitly unfavourable comparison with David.

Robert first appeared in 1335 as a politically active personality alongside David Strathbogie and Patrick, Earl of March. Strathbogie was a trouble-maker, an important analogy by Fordun who claimed Robert 'was not then governed by much wisdom'; a suggestion employed to damage Robert's character and masculinity.[129] He was tarred with the brush of cowardice and disloyalty by Fordun and a variety of English chroniclers, because he fled the field at Neville's Cross. *Lanercost* lambasted Stewart and March's cowardice proposing that 'if one was worth little, the other was worth nothing'; by abandoning the battle they 'led off the dance leaving David to dance as he felt inclined' causing great discomfort to the rest of the army and leaving

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[125] Bower, vii, p. 365; Major, p. 309; Leslie, ii, pp. 22-25. Also see: Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert II 1371-1406*, East Linton, 1997, pp. 40, 48-49.
[126] Bower, vii, pp. 367, 447. Also see: Wyntoun, vi, p. 356.
[127] Stephen Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the 'Anonymous Chronicle'', *Scottish Historical Review*, 76, 1, 201, April 1997, pp. 23-43 (p. 24).
[128] Bower, vii, p. 105.
[129] Fordun, pp. 358-359. Also see: Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda', pp. 34-35.

the king defenceless.[130] Bower and Wyntoun argued Robert had done the right thing and by following wise advice was able to return home without loss; both were far more positive about Robert than Fordun. Fordun believed Robert failed to protect the king and commonwealth and was incredulous he was rewarded with the governorship of the kingdom.[131] Yet, Robert was seen by many Scots as 'the most powerful of all' denting English power by recapturing many Scottish castles which he then managed to keep for himself; indicating a certain shrewdness of character. His authority as guardian was greater than David's authority as king; Robert gave orders and was obeyed although this changed when he became king.[132]

The earlier work of Fordun shows a bias against Robert consistent with anti-Stewart sentiments promoted in and around David Bruce's court. This negative propaganda emphasised Robert's unsuitability to govern; promoted by those trying to oust him from the succession in favour of one of Edward III's sons.[133] Even international chroniclers had negative opinions of Robert. French chronicler, Jean Froissart (*c.* 1337-*c.* 1405) described him as having red, bleary eyes; a man 'who would rather remain at home than march to the field'.[134] Writing when Robert was almost seventy and removed from authoritative power, Froissart was clearly attacking his age and physical (dis)abilities. Such distaste was not universal – others were more favourable toward the Stewart king. Bower retrospectively salvaged Robert's early career, describing him as a man of wisdom, whose regency was one of prosperity and increased justice for Scotland. He was 'humble and gentle, friendly . . . [and] witty'; not the masculine leadership qualities required for governing the nation.[135] Overall, chroniclers wrote little of Robert's direct kingship appearing to have found nothing of import to narrate except perhaps to praise him as a peacemaker, instead choosing to discuss the manly

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[130] *Lanercost*, p. 340. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 327-328.

[131] Fordun, pp. 358-9; Wyntoun, vi, p. 186; Bower, vii, p. 261. Also see: Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, pp. 7-8.

[132] Fordun, p. 359; Bower, vii, pp. 105, 107, 173, 283; Wyntoun, vi, p. 100; Leslie, ii, p. 26.

[133] Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda', pp. 24-25, 37.

[134] *Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of Sir John Froissart . . . translated into English*, trans. Iohan Bourchier, British Library, STC/45:01, f.ixr, online, nd, available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/search/full_rec?EeboID=99856503 (hereafter referenced Froissart); Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, pp. 123-4, 137.

[135] Bower, vii, p. 367.

actions of others, including Archibald Douglas and the earl of Fife.[136] Major suggested that despite his age, Robert still had the presence of mind to give good counsel and, rather than war with England, 'advised his people to . . . maintain peace with their neighbours'.[137] Buchanan commended him as a man who gave 'signal marks of his love to his country', but criticised his 'growing and unwieldy age' because he would not go to war and avenge his kingdom for the injuries inflicted by the English.[138] Unfortunately, these two contradictory comments tell us more about the authors' agendas than about the king's persona.

Unlike David II, Robert more than proved his virility by fathering at least thirteen children of whom six were sons. He married his mistress Elizabeth Mure in 1349 with whom he had nine children, later legitimising them to avoid 'the evils and misfortunes which . . . have arisen from the succession of female heirs', and securing the dynasty should his heir, John, fail to produce a son.[139] Instead of commending his masculine prowess which was strengthening the Stewart dynasty, Bower moralised against the children's illegitimacy damning the role of their mother, and casting Robert as 'another Abraham . . . the father of many descendants'.[140] Bower outlines the mostly negative characteristics of the king's children suggesting Robert's reign was haunted by his sons' political destabilisation of Scotland; his excessive virility almost causing the 'utter ruin' of the Stewart line and the nation.[141] As Stephen Boardman suggests, this had more to do with the political climate of Bower's time than that of the 1370s.[142] Anglo-Scottish relations were at the root of the negative characterisations of Robert who was hardly incompetent. Indeed, he was a 'shrewd and capable politician', a manipulator of events working against a 'background of long-term political and social disruption', and the re-shaping and solidification of magnate power.[143] Robert died in 1390 at the age of seventy-

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[136] Bower, vii, pp. 367, 447; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 342; Major, p. 330; Wyntoun, vi, p. 356.

[137] Major, pp. 312-315, 330. Also see: Wyntoun, vi, pp. 266-340; Leslie, ii, p. 26.

[138] Buchanan, i, pp. 388, 414, 423; *Rerum*, f.92r (ll.8-10), f.99v (ll.32-33).

[139] *APS,* i, pp. 196-7. Also see: Penman, p. 419; Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, pp. 41, 56-58. Robert had four legitimate children with his second wife Euphemia Ross, and approximately eight other illegitimate children. John married Annabella Drummond in 1367 with no son born until 1378.

[140] Bower, vii, p. 367.

[141] Bower, vii, p. 367. Also see: Buchanan, i, p. 405; *Rerum*, f.97r (ll.9-10).

[142] Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, p. 54.

[143] Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, pp. xvi, 172.

four 'brokin with lang aige' having ruled for nineteen years and apprenticed for fifty-three.[144] This implies that Robert's age, underpinned the lack of respect his nobles offered him and determined his overall ineffectiveness as a king for chroniclers, indicating they adhered to the Ages of Man model when it suited their purpose.

'A Better Man than a King': Robert III[145]

In 1384 the old king, unwilling and physically unable to go to war with England, was unceremoniously pushed aside by his ambitious son, John, Earl of Carrick. By July 1388 Carrick's prestige and power were at their peak having been a major political and military player since 1371. However, after the battle of Otterburn (August 1388) and the death of his most powerful and political ally, the earl of Douglas, Carrick's control of the kingdom declined. In December 1388 Carrick's guardianship was cancelled, attributed to his ineptitude in administering justice and a lack of confidence in his ability to invade England due to his lameness which saw him become 'naturally slow'.[146] Carrick's infirmity had become a political issue, and alongside his father's inability 'to govern because of his great age,' was seen as synonymous with the defects in their kingship.[147] Carrick had always carried a strong aura of masculinity around him, apparently enjoying nothing better than fighting.[148] Therefore, it was ironic that he was soon to be perceived as requiring someone to handle his governance. His seal visually emphasised his power and authority depicting him as a 'knight charging at full speed, sword drawn with shield, surcoat and the trappings of his horse all

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[144] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 352.

[145] Buchanan, i, p. 436; *Rerum*, f.106r (ll.22-23).

[146] Buchanan, i, p. 414, 422; *Rerum*, f.99v (l.34), f.102r (ll.4-8).

[147] Bower, vii, p. 443; Buchanan, i, p. 414, 422; *Rerum*, f.99v (l.34), f.102r (ll.4-8). Aikman's Buchanan suggests Carrick was of an indolent disposition, 'more inclined to consult his ease than attend to any arduous business'. See: p. 513. Also see: Boardman, *Stewart Kings,* p. 152. John was kicked and injured by a horse *c.* 1385, although the extent of his disability is unknown. It only became a problem when his brother, the Earl of Fife sought to remove him from power.

[148] Froissart, f.ix[r]. Also see: Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, pp. 114, 124-125, 130. Boardman suggests this was a cover for other complaints about the king's exercise of justice and distribution of patronage. Lynch discredits the idea of Robert II's senility as a reason Carrick became lieutenant in 1384; rather, Carrick's lieutenancy was used to ensure continuity in government. See: Lynch, p. 139.

blazoned with the royal arms'; an image far removed from the less manly king with a physical deformity.[149]

Robert, worried his injured son 'mycht nocht sustene Þe governance of his realme' because of his inability to travel around the kingdom maintaining authority and dispensing justice, declared it was his wish that Carrick subject himself to the will of the general council so they could take over these duties.[150] In what appears to be punishment for Carrick's usurpation of his power, the king chose his second son, Robert Earl of Fife, to govern instead. Boece suggested this action was undertaken because the king actually wanted to raise the power of the realm and appointed the one person he felt could attain that for him.[151] Instead, this portrayed the two central leaders of the Stewart dynasty as weak and decrepit. It also indicates that Robert II still had the power to summon Parliament implying that as king he had retained some authority.[152] Fife's guardianship, which continued after the legalities of John's eventual coronation, must have annoyed and humiliated the new and definitely not senile king.[153] Major questioned how an aged king 'whose long experience [and] wisdom . . . [could] be regarded as less fit to bear rule than a young man', arguing if Carrick was only physically but not mentally infirm there was a risk of having two rival kings within the realm.[154] This was hard to justify because Carrick's injury 'need not have been any hindrance to his exercise of the duties of a king; for he might have ridden on horseback throughout the country'.[155] A lame leg was a poor excuse to oust someone from governance and therefore interesting it was used politically as justification for the king's removal. Carrick was over fifty when he came to the throne, having also served a long apprenticeship. Like his father he was entering the years of decline, and 'being bodily infirm . . . had no grip anywhere'.[156] In an attempt to bolster his tenuous hold on the political situation he changed his 'unchancy' name from John to

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[149] Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, p. 114.
[150] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 352. Also see: Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, p. 152.
[151] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 347.
[152] Bower, vii, pp. 443, 445.
[153] Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, p. 174.
[154] Major, p. 329. Major's 'young man' was over fifty.
[155] Major, p. 329. According to Bower, Carrick was still able to ride with the army. See: viii, p. 5. Yet, Aikman's Buchanan claimed Carrick was 'incapable of enduring the fatigue of a campaign'. See: i, p. 505.
[156] Bower, viii, p. 63.

Robert.[157] Unfortunately, according to the narratives his luck never changed with the focus continually maintained on his age and disability. Official records also used Robert's age and physical impairment as justification for declaring he was incapable of governing Scotland, indicating ideas about gender and age were not restricted to the literature. Indeed, between 1388 and 1404, Parliament's concern over Robert's inability to govern was noted on four separate occasions.[158] This image of 'a man broken physically and politically' travelled across Europe, not only damaging Robert's masculinity as ruler, but also Scottish identity. Instead, the Earl of Fife was lauded as the dominant chivalric and political masculine personality.[159]

In 1398, Walter Danielston, a 'militant and secularised cleric' seized the royal stronghold, Dumbarton Castle, which Robert unsuccessfully besieged, highlighting Robert's continuing political and masculine impotence. His failure to recover the kingdom's principal royal fortress from a cleric (a subject lower on the social scale) who held it in open defiance of the Crown was 'symptomatic of the king's personal ineffectiveness'.[160] Robert was also ineffective when dealing with his nobility, as the dealings surrounding the marriage of his son David testify. He landed himself in a position which saw him physically threatened by the Earl of March. While this was tantamount to treason, there was no punishment for the Earl and the whole affair resulted in troubles on the border, and an ending of peace with England.[161] Robert's actions, according to Major, showed 'a grave want of forethought' and lack of authority or wisdom that his position required of him.[162] Comparatively, Bower draws the reader's attention back to Fife, now Duke of Albany, a '[g]uardian of rights, lover of peace, and most skilled at arms'.[163] Albany was portrayed as physically more masculine and

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[157] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 354. Also see: Major, p. 331; Leslie, ii, p. 28. There was a fear the name John would bode ill for the new king. However, this appears to be a sixteenth-century belief with no evidence to suggest a similar opinion existed earlier. Nigel Saul argues personal names are 'charged with cultural meaning, conveying messages and implying associations'. See: Saul, *The Three Richards: Richard I, Richard II, Richard III*, London, 2005, p. 1.

[158] *APS*, i, pp. 555-6, 572.

[159] Thomas, third marquis of Saluzzo wrote about Robert III's weakness and ineffectiveness in the mid-1390s. See: Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, p. 194.

[160] Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, pp. 212-213. Also see: Wyntoun, vi, p. 398; Bower, viii, p. 39.

[161] Major, pp. 335-336; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 360.

[162] Major, pp. 335-336.

[163] Bower, viii, p. 135.

his governance as more authoritative than Robert's. The king appointed Albany to control and advise the prince who was to be held in custody in order to be taught 'honest and civill maneris . . . [but instead] he inclusit him in ane toure but ony mete or drynk'.[164] Bower argued that once David had learned his lesson Albany would have released him, but unfortunately the young prince died of dysentery in captivity. Furthermore, Bower claimed the weak and decrepit state of the king contributed to such a state of affairs. Had Robert, like his wife, been able to control members of his family the young prince may have survived and Albany, who was 'too powerful to be brought to justice', punished.[165] If Robert could not control family members, how was he going to effectively control his subjects? Robert's lack of manly and kingly authority, perceived as a consequence of age, had resulted in disruption and death.

Robert III had no power, was physically and politically broken, and had been repeatedly humiliated. He had also lost two of his three sons.[166] In 1404 the king suddenly decided to secretly send his last son and heir, James, away for his safety. A lack of proper caution and secrecy by the king resulted in the venture's failure suggesting a lack of rationality, and untrustworthiness, consistent with his decrepit age.[167] Boece suggests Robert wrote to the kings of France and England asking for protection and benevolence should James land in their country, admitting Albany was chosen as governor when he had 'fallin in decrepit age' in order to protect his sons, subjects and realm against the invasion of 'vncouth inymyis'.[168] Robert died soon after learning of his son's fate at the hands of the English king. According to Bower, Robert 'took with him humility as attendant of the virtues' and told his wife he wanted to be buried in a midden with the following words on his epitaph: 'Here lies the worst of kings and the most wretched of men in the whole kingdom'.[169] Bower, like the other chroniclers, constructed an image of a king whose masculinity was laid open to question. With no glowing

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164 Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 361. Also see: Bower, viii, p. 39.
165 Bower, viii, p. 39. Also see: Leslie, ii, p. 30.
166 Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, p. 255.
167 Bower, viii, p. 61. Also see: Major, p. 342.
168 Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 366-368. Also see: Bower, viii, p. 61.
169 Bower, viii, p. 65.

epitaph extolling his manly actions Bower, while admiring Robert's humility, his love of justice and gentleness, does not appear to think much of him as a king. Robert III was remembered as wise and debonair, a liberal, gracious man who was religiously devoted, humble, and took justice seriously, but promoted his sons to lofty heights.[170] Buchanan wrote that Robert was 'unspotted and unblemished by vice [rather] than signalised for any illustrious virtues', while Major claimed there was no proof the king was endowed with a lofty spirit, even hinting that the current situation was his own fault.[171] The impression we are left with is of a brave, highly masculine and ambitious warrior prince who had changed into a benign snowy-white old man whose nobility were more interested in their own affairs, and achieving their own ambitions, than in supporting their king. Major concluded, '[a] good man was this third Robert, but in no way a good king', and Bower stated that '[u]nder a slack shepherd the wolf fouls the wool, and the flock is torn to pieces'; blunt summations of this Stewart king.[172] While these are relatively innocuous and contradictory sentiments there is no emphasis on Robert having any of the masculine attributes necessary, or at least desired, for strong kingship.

For the chroniclers and political commentators, youth and old age were fraught with problems leading to inadequate rule, military failures and chaos within the ranks of the nobility. Kingly power and authority rested on being able to control one's subjects, win victories against one's enemies, and govern with a fair but strict hand. While modern scholarship may contradict what the chroniclers wrote with regards to the actual reigns of David II, Robert II and Robert III and their successes and failures, the chronicles are important for identifying how important gender was in the construction of identity not just for each individual king, but for Scotland. Sovereigns were supposed to be the epitome of excellence and virtue; characteristics built in childhood with vices overcome in adolescence resulting in wise and just rule.[173] At either end

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[170] Wyntoun, vi, p. 356; Bower, viii, p. 65; Leslie, ii, p. 33.
[171] Buchanan, i, pp. 422, 426; *Rerum*, f.102r (ll.4-8), f.103v (ll.9-1). Also see: Major, pp. 338, 342.
[172] Major, p. 342; Bower, viii, p. 63. Also see: Buchanan, i, p. 436; *Rerum*, f.106r (ll.22-23).
[173] Goodich, p. 35.

of the spectrum, youth and old age challenged the perfection of middle age as did man's baser instincts which had to be overcome.

'Stinkand adulterie and fornicatioun': Lust[174]

While Malcolm IV's chastity may have caused tension and anxieties, at the other end of the spectrum lustful kings caused chroniclers further consternation. Princes were advised to turn from pride, gluttony and lust, the consequences of which unfailingly weakened their hearts, causing them to rule ineffectively.[175] Lust was an abhorred peccadillo of a number of kings, especially David II, James IV and James V who were severely admonished by chroniclers between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicating certain vices continued as prominent themes over time. For a nation, a king or queen's overindulgence was harmful to the national body resulting in no issue, or suspicion of paternity.[176] Narrative representations of sexual behaviour were displayed 'in terms of the distant polarities of chastity and immorality' which was often at odds with reality.[177] William of Malmesbury, a twelfth-century English historian, praised the sexual restraint of Malcolm III, David I, and Alexander I; Scottish kings who 'successfully overcame the vice most prevalent in kings . . . no woman entered their bedchamber except their lawful wives, nor did any of them damage their modesty by keeping any mistresses'.[178] Gerald of Wales (*c*. 1146-*c*. 1223) regarded men who could, or would, not control their lust as effeminate and John Gower, the fourteenth-century English poet, advised kings to avoid debauchery because any such lapse would render their manhood unworthy.[179] Gilbert Hay's Scottish translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* (*c*. 1456) outlined how 'outrageous carnale appetitis' made a man inclined to 'euill will', desire riches which would lead him on the path to 'vnrychtwis' conquestis and acquisicioun of othis mennis gudis', and cause dishonour to both king and kingdom.[180] The fifteenth-century Scottish chronicler Bower commended those who restrained 'both themselves and their subjects by ruling well',

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[174] Pitscottie, p. 263.
[175] Bower, ii, p. 281. Also see: Hay, 'Gouernaunce of Princis', p. 67.
[176] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, pp. 122-123.
[177] Griffiths, p. 237.
[178] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, and trans., M. Winterbottom, 2 volumes, Oxford, 1998-1999, Book V, Chapter 400 in Fenton, p. 70.
[179] John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* in *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, EETS es 81, part 2, Oxford, p. 354 (ll.4256-4257) in Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 93.
[180] Hay, 'Gouernaunce of Princis', p. 67. Also see: Ireland, *Meroure of Wyssdome*, pp. 130-131.

suggesting they should rightly be called kings.[181] Lust in its basic form could be a sign of manhood – the problem lay in overcoming one's baser instincts. If a man was dominated by physical desire, his masculinity was threatened and he became more feminine through an inability to overcome his sexual appetites.[182] Therefore, kings had to exercise self-control and remain chaste in order to avoid weakening or feminising their kingship.

The lecherous and adulterous behaviour of David II was well documented and used as a means of explicating his mistakes. The fourteenth-century *Scalacronica* adamantly claimed David was a 'lover of other men's wives', raising William Ramsay to the position of the Earl mostly on account of the latter's wife whom David loved passionately; an action fraught with danger considering the likelihood of noble jealousies.[183] Chroniclers reported David repudiated his wife Joan, preferring to be in the company of his mistress Katherine Mortimer because he could not contain his desire.[184] David failed to appreciate that his sexual encounters had political implications, in this case resulting in Katherine's murder. Bower decided the outcome of David's lust was deserved because he neglected the queen and his duty of producing heirs, which cast a shadow over the succession and any peaceful relations with England.[185] Major blamed David for pushing Joan away and allowing her to leave Scotland for England where she stayed for five years until her death.[186] The *Scalacronica* followed up its criticism of David's behaviour with a moral story about the king of Spain's adultery and the damaging repercussions it had on that realm; a didactic lesson to be learned by future princes.[187] Such unbecoming behaviour caused serious disruption of governance resulting in diminished authority and damaged masculinity.

Marriage and fatherhood were signifiers of manhood and while fatherhood could not initially define David's identity or masculinity because of his age at the time of his marriage, it

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[181] Bower, v, p. 423.
[182] Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life', p. 27.
[183] *Scalacronica*, pp. 139, 147. Bower makes a similar claim. See: viii, p. 41.
[184] *Scalacronica*, pp. 189, 191, 198; Bower, vii, p. 321.
[185] Bower, vii, p. 321.
[186] Major, p. 306.
[187] *Scalacronica*, pp. 191-195.

remained an issue throughout David's reign. He never proved his virility with either his wives or mistresses, thus retaining a sense of youthful failure by never tightly securing the throne against English aggression.[188] This was compounded by the fact Robert Stewart fathered numerous children and secured his own royal dynasty which succeeded David. Unlike Richard II, David's failure to father a son and heir was not constituted as a result of a religious or praiseworthy choice, earning instead much criticism for his sexual failure.[189] Forty-one was supposed to be of the age when reason and temperance reigned. However, David's sexual behaviour cast him back into the age of adolescence where lust and lack of reason were foremost, weakening his masculinity and authority as king.[190] According to chroniclers David chose Margaret Drummond as his queen '[f]or lust and pleasure and na vthre thing'.[191] Bower contradicts himself, maintaining on one hand the king had never been ruled by passion in his life yet, on the other, his passion boiled for Margaret, and at her instigation arrested three of his kinsmen (including his heir Robert Stewart), imprisoning them without good reason.[192] David divorced Margaret, returned to his senses, and began to rule like the rational man he was purported to be. He released his kinsmen, reformed his kingdom with excellent laws, punished rebels, and maintained peace throughout.[193] David did rule more effectively after 1357 although this cannot wholly be the result of his divorce. Experience and age played their part in the exercise of kingship and it is possible David simply matured into his role. However, it is significant to this discussion on gender that the negative aspects of femininity were used to excuse the actions of the king; a trope appearing again in the analysis of James IV.

James IV's desire for war, to recompense another woman for defending his honour, lack of wisdom, and lustful intentions culminated in the disaster at Flodden (1513). As Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (*c.* 1575) vociferously preached: 'the stinkand adulterie and fornicatioun

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[188] Karras, *Boys to Men*, pp. 16-17.
[189] Lewis, 'Virgin King,' p. 90.
[190] Goodich, p. 144.
[191] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 387. Also see: Bower, vii, p. 333; Boece, ii, p. 335.
[192] Bower, vii, p. 359, 361.
[193] Bower, vii, p. 359.

had ane greit part of thair evill success'.[194] This was a didactic lesson for those who chose to follow James's policy of ignoring wise counsel for the purpose of defending kingly honour or preserving the army.[195] Pitscottie maintained that while on campaign the king 'meddled' with the beautiful Lady Heron of Ford Castle, and his illegitimate son Alexander meddled with the woman's daughter; actions 'against God's commandments'.[196] Commencing a battle with 'whoredom and harlotry' would only weigh against any successes and end in neglect of business, scarce provisions, and desertion. Pitscottie admonished James's susceptibility to lust, calling him 'an effeminate prince' who had been 'subdued and enticed by the allurement and false deceit of this wicked woman'.[197] Lady Heron gave the English 'the whole secrets of the king of Scotland and his army' promising the earl of Surrey that 'by her craft and ingine' and for the 'love she bore to her native country', she would continue to deceive the Scottish king and deliver him straight into English hands.[198] It was obvious women could not be trusted, especially English women. David's mistress, Katherine, also heightened anti-English tensions – she was suspected of serving as a 'symbol of the Anglophile inner counsel of the king'.[199] Just as David had been captured at Neville's Cross, James was slain at Flodden 'not by the manhood and wisdom of English-men, but by [his] own misgovernance . . . and . . . sensual pleasures'.[200]

Literature concerning James V's reign focused on satirical discussions of the king's youth and education, with exhortations to mend misgovernance and criticisms levelled at his 'young counsel', covetousness, and fondness for women.[201] At sixteen he theoretically began to rule while in the custody of the earl of Angus, who was accused of introducing many new

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[194] Pitscottie, i, pp. 256, 261-263.
[195] Pitscottie, i, p. 276.
[196] Pitscottie, i, pp. 262-263. Pitscottie refers to Lady Heron as 'Lady Foorde [Ford]'.
[197] Pitscottie, i, p. 263.
[198] Pitscottie, i, pp. 262-264.
[199] Penman, p. 249. Also see: Lynch, p. 137.
[200] Pitscottie, i, p. 276.
[201] Buchanan, ii, p. 181; *Rerum*, f.169r (ll.4-10). Also see: Helena M. Shire, 'Music for 'Goddis Glore and the Kingis'', in Hadley Williams, *Stewart Style*, pp. 118-141 (p. 140); Janet Hadley Williams, 'Sir David Lindsay', in P. Bawcutt and J. Hadley Williams, eds, *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 179-192 (p. 180).

pleasures to the young king in order to distract him from wanting to wield any real political power.[202] Sir David Lindsay's *Answer to the Kingis Flyting* (*c.* 1536) admonished the king's licentious ways complaining James wasted time acting like a scoundrel and 'ay fukkand lyke ane furious fornicatour' instead of paying attention to governance.[203] By acting in this way the bachelor king was risking his physical body with potential disease, the failure to reproduce a legitimate child once married, and the body of the realm with destruction.[204] Lindsay's works suggested Scotland was governed by an ungodly king and the whole realm was 'ruled by sensuality'. The nation mimicked the court resulting in men who were 'effemynat' and women who governed; a place without reason or control which reversed the patriarchal structure of society.[205] Pitscottie concluded that if James had 'used the counsel of his wise lords and godly men . . . and kept his body from harlotrie . . . he might have been the nobillist prince that ever rang in the realm of Scotland'.[206] Instead, he was 'abused by papistry . . . [the] principal cause of his evil success in his latter days', indicating that by the mid sixteenth century, Catholicism and adultery were inseparable and synonymous with feminine rule.[207] At twenty, James had three illegitimate children, by the end of his reign he had nine. He put a number of them, while still young, into influential benefices which were advantageous to the Crown but annoyed the nobility and the Pope. Bastard children were seen as problematic because of the position they held outside the intimate royal family. A result of 'merely pleasurable intercourse', these children, like those of Robert II, could upset the balance of power within the kingdom.[208] Such adulterous procreation resulted in offspring who 'became

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[202] Joanne Spencer Kantrowitz, *Dramatic Allegory: Lindsay's Ane Satire of the Thrie Estatis*, Lincoln, 1975, p. 32. Also see: A. Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542*, Edinburgh, 2005, p. 41; Pitscottie, i, pp. 305-306.
[203] Lindsay, 'The Answer to the Kingis Flyting', *Selected Poems*, pp. 98-100 (p. 99).
[204] R. James Goldstein, 'Normative Heterosexuality in History and Theory: The Case of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount', in J. J. Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, eds, *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, New York and London, 1997, pp. 349-365 (p. 357).
[205] See for instance: 'The Dreme', *Selected Poems*, pp. 1-40. See also: Kantrowitz, pp. 71-72; Sir David Lindsay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, ed. R. J. Lyall, Edinburgh, 1989. An effeminate king was one simply 'addicted to women'. See: Lyall, p. 40; Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, p. 129.
[206] Pitscottie, i, p. 408.
[207] Pitscottie, i, pp. 408-409.
[208] Bower, vii, p. 367. James's son, the Earl of Moray was to cause problems for Mary Stewart.

insolent, ungrateful, degenerate and depraved'.[209] Alasdair MacDonald points out that 'it is hardly surprising the works of the court poets are full of advice to [James] as to the double necessity of providing good government . . . and restraining his precocious inclination to sensuality'.[210] Lust did not correspond with God's law; if the public and political morality of Scotland was ignored by the king, his subjects could follow his example causing the realm to fall into 'universal licentiousness' and destabilising Scottish identity.[211] After all, if the king lost respect, the identity of Scotland also lost respect.

Rex Inutilis: Power and Subjection[212]

'Toom Tabard': John Balliol[213]

John Balliol is an noteworthy figure from late thirteenth-century Scottish history, sandwiched between the warrior kingships of Alexander III and Robert Bruce. Balliol has always been portrayed as a weak and ineffectual king; a puppet of Edward I who was deposed by the Scots after only four and a half years on the throne. However, Amanda Beam points out this view belies the complexities found in both the Balliol family and their ties to England, Scotland and France, and the factionalism of Scottish nobles.[214] Nevertheless, Beam's recent text on Balliol continues the tradition of excluding gender as a tool for analysis; a discussion that needs to be undertaken to give a broader perspective to his reign. Balliol was forty-three when he came to the throne in 1292 – the younger son who had trained for the clergy, not war or governance. While his age may have been a factor this is never explicit in the existing accounts, rather the focus is on his subjection to Edward I; a theme which impacts on his masculinity. Balliol's first appearance in Scottish politics was in 1284, and like Robert II he moved from the position of an ordinary noble to being stationed above his peers, causing tension within the

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[209] Bower, vii, p. 321. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 353.

[210] A. A. MacDonald, 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in Hadley Williams, *Stewart Style*, pp. 179-200 (p. 188).

[211] Buchanan, ii, p. 181; *Rerum*, f.169r (l.3).

[212] Translation: A Useless King. A number of medieval theorists used this epithet for Balliol. See: R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, p. 95.

[213] Wyntoun ,v, p. 295.

[214] Amanda Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty 1210-1364*, Edinburgh, 2008, p. 1.

noble ranks. Despite having a legitimate link to the throne, Balliol's royal position was not perceived as divinely sanctioned, with chroniclers criticising him for being coerced into this position by the Comyns and Edward I.[215] However, Michael Brown suggests 'the events leading up to [Edward's] judgement made him both a vassal king and a factional king', but never an independent king.[216] Balliol's lack of authority over a country in dire need of firm royal control, and his status under Edward I, are further underlined by the fact Edward was the same age as John. Edward had eighteen children from two wives, was martially skilled, and experienced in authoritative rule; everything John was not. Compared to the monarchs immediately preceding and succeeding him, John appeared to have none of the attributes that made a highly masculine king, nor the kingly abilities to make him an authoritative monarch.

Balliol subjected himself and Scotland to England against the wishes of his leading nobles and destroyed his reputation with the chroniclers.[217] His submission to Edward went against all nationalistic beliefs in freedom held by the Scots, especially as he only owed homage and military service for lands he held in England, *not* for Scotland. He was supposed to rule Scotland on behalf of Edward, but it appears he was never given royal power instead becoming Edward's pawn. As Beam argues, the misnomer of puppet-king denies the fact Edward had simply taken advantage of the Scots during their crisis and Balliol had hoped to rule as Edward's equal once in Scotland.[218] Balliol's foreignness did not help his cause. Despite having a Scottish mother and lands in Scotland, most of the family interaction took place under English kings. John was married to the English king's cousin and Edward was godparent to John's son; one reason the English supported Edward Balliol's claim to the Scottish throne in the 1330s.[219] Balliol was probably viewed as more English than Scottish, heightening apprehension towards foreigners sitting on the Scottish throne; only men of true Scottish blood were to be kings of Scotland. This is outlined in the *Liber Extravagans* which

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[215] Beam, pp. 90, 98. The Comyns were the most powerful Scottish noble family at this time. Beam suggests Balliol was the Comyns' puppet rather than Edward's. See: p. 116.
[216] Brown, *Wars*, p. 169.
[217] Beam, p. 114. Also see: Bower vi, p. 39; *Lanercost*, p. 86.
[218] Beam, p. 114.
[219] Beam, pp. 5, 86-87.

stated: if 'the body has an alien head, it is all filth; so a people [are] defiled when a foreigner becomes [their] king'.[220] This was to become more apparent in later centuries, and alongside the fear of foreigners, women in power were cast in the same light.

Issues of gender and male power struggles call into question whether we view weaker or less successful kings as feminine when compared to their warrior-like and successful counterparts, or just less masculine. The chroniclers criticised Balliol for being too weak to see he had been advised by corrupt counsellors and not strong enough to stand up to Edward. Interestingly, Boece claimed Balliol was blinded by his desire for the crown of Scotland and did not care how he got it, even if it meant subjecting the nation to the enemy.[221] Beam agrees with this in principle arguing Balliol was more ambitious than he has been given credit for.[222] Nevertheless, England was 'now in full security of the [Scottish] Kingdom', and this relationship of power and subjection is best exemplified by the case of land dispossession brought to London. Emphasising his superiority, Edward now styled himself as magistrate as well as overlord of Scotland; an unprecedented action against a crowned Scottish king. Balliol tried to argue against Edward's interference, but was ignored and made to publicly recognise Edward's authority. Sitting next to Edward in Parliament, he was forced to rise from his seat and plead his case from a lower place. Bearing this affront silently he was subjected to the 'suffering of innumerable insults and slights from everyone against his kingly rank and dignity'.[223] This slight on Balliol's kingship and masculinity made him think about asserting his authority. Buchanan claimed Balliol's thoughts 'were wholly taken up, how to reconcile his own subjects and how to offend (avenge) the English king'.[224] Not only is there a revenge motif here in wanting to "get even" with the English king, there is the allusion Balliol wanted his royal status to be seen as on a par with that of Edward; something never acknowledged by the English king or the chroniclers.

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[220] D. Broun and A. B. Scott, '*Liber Extravagans (Supplementary Book)*', in Watt, ix, 1998, pp. 54-127 (p. 79). Also see: Beam, p. 150. *Liber Extravagans* was a supplementary book attached to Bower's *Scotichronicon*.
[221] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 248.
[222] Beam, p. 119.
[223] Bower, vi, p. 43. Also see: Wyntoun, v, p. 270; Beam, pp. 134-135.
[224] Buchanan, i, p. 332; *Rerum*, f.75r (ll.32-35).

The varied discussions around Balliol's accession to the throne and his limited rule are used to portray two things. Firstly, Scotland had enjoyed a certain type of kingship for centuries culminating in the excellent authority of Alexander III and beginning again with the freedom and justice achieved under Bruce after Bannockburn (1314). Secondly, the deceitfulness and wrongful ambitions of English kings, particularly Edward I, are wrapped up in a blatant emphasis on anti-English sentiment and couched in gendered terms as the following by Bower illustrates:

> False cunning, enchantress lark . . . venomous flatterer . . . Your poisons festering . . . overlaid with honeyed words . . . soothing . . . as a delightful player on the shepherd's pipe until you fraudulently charm to sleep.[225]

Such serpentine language crops up in Bower's moralising against women who were paralleled with the snake, which lived with all its poison in its head. Furthermore, a bad woman deceived men with flattery and as 'honey drips from the wax [so] a woman softens her words'.[226] Scottish chroniclers used such feminised language in order to diminish Edward's power and masculinity, allowing the Scots to save face at a time of Scottish subordination. Bower and Leslie claimed Edward employed the allure of fair promises and sweet words to obtain Balliol's fealty, obtaining the kingdom and riches of Scotland by Balliol subjecting 'himself for ever to dependence on him, as he had previously promised in his ear'.[227] Both Edward and Balliol are feminised and weakened through such evocative language. Corresponding language is used by Bower to describe the treachery of women such as Fenella who 'flattered with cunning words' before killing King Kenneth in 994.[228] In a few lines Fenella was described as wicked, cunning, crafty, a traitoress, and as a woman who had misled the king's mind. This segued neatly into Bower's sermonising about wicked women in general.[229]

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[225] Bower, vi, pp. 27, 53. Bower outlined the many wrongdoings of Edward I, and the false claims used to gain overlordship. See: vi, pp. 9-33.
[226] Bower, vii, pp. 341, 347, 351.
[227] Fordun, p. 315; Bower, vi, p. 39; Leslie, i, p. 343. Leslie narrates a similar story for David II. See: ii, p. 20.
[228] Bower, ii, p. 377.
[229] Bower, ii, p. 375-379, vii, pp. 335-355.

When Edward declared war on France and asked the Scots for military service Balliol finally found his opportunity to assert himself more forcefully by renewing the auld alliance with the French. Sending a monk to England – a man 'so undervalued' in the position of Ambassador – he revoked his friendship and restored Scotland's ancient liberties by challenging Edward's authority with his own.[230] Summoning Balliol to answer for his actions, Edward's anger grew when the Scottish king refused to appear. Instead, Balliol went to Scotland, called a Parliament and 'openly set forth the insults, slights, contempt and shame which he had endured, and strove to the best of his manly ability for a remedy'. Parliament requested he revoke his homage to the English king because it had been 'wrung from him by force and fear'.[231] In the end Balliol's weakness saw him surrender the Scottish kingdom to Edward through fear of reprisal from his acknowledged superior. He was unable to sustain his challenge; showing his manly ability was not enough. By being less of a man through his inexperience, lack of martial ability, and inability to dominate Edward, he paved the way for the hypermasculine and divinely sanctioned victories of Wallace and Bruce. Balliol became a blip in the warrior narrative; one easily explained through the use of gender.

Lanercost tells us Balliol was prevented from acting as king and expelled from Scotland by his own nobility, which was a first for the Scots.[232] Balliol's loyalty and obedience to the enemy and reticence to invade England sparked the 'controversy of his alleged removal from office'.[233] Another English account suggested Balliol voluntarily left Scotland in order to escape the turmoil of the Scots' revolt against the English king, indicating he was a coward.[234] While dismissing this as an anti-Scottish fabrication, Major noted there was some semblance of truth to this. He candidly claimed the Scots wanted nothing to do with Balliol because 'they knew him not only to be a man averse from war, but a coward'. A few pages later Major again references Balliol's cowardly status, this time as the reason why the Scots drove him

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[230] Buchanan, i, p. 332; *Rerum*, f.75v (ll.11-12). Earlier chroniclers named this monk as the Abbot of Arbroath. This tells us more about Buchanan's Protestant distaste for Catholic clerics. Also see: Fordun, pp. 316, 320; Wyntoun, v, p. 272; Bower, vi, p. 51; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 249; *Scalacronica*, p. 37.
[231] Fordun, pp. 315-316; Bower, vi, p. 43. Also see: Wyntoun, v, pp. 270, 272, 274.
[232] *Lanercost*, pp. 131-132.
[233] Beam, p. 148.
[234] Major, p. 193.

away.[235] To be labelled a coward reduced a noble man to nothing when chivalric masculinity was defined by martial prowess, bravery, authority, and control. Chroniclers were horrified 'a Scot at peace in his own kingdom ever recognised as his temporal superior either the English king or anyone else'.[236] Contrary to this, Wyntoun and Boece argue Balliol challenged Edward on the field after hearing of the latter's heinous slaughter at Berwick (1296), thus giving another glimpse of a contradictory and authoritative masculinity. Boece suggests Balliol was filled with 'great hatred', seeking revenge for those innocently killed.[237]

However, historical fact shows Balliol was not forced out of government in 1295, nor replaced by a Council of Twelve – he was too valuable to the powerful Comyn family. Nor was he dethroned because he was weak and inexperienced; a figurehead was better than no head.[238] Interestingly, Fordun described Balliol as a pro-active and patriotic man who was still issuing charters in 1295, and Scots such as William Wallace continued fighting in his name until 1304. Fiona Watson suggests that by looking behind the rhetoric, we can see some chroniclers were quite positive about Balliol's reign, placing 'the nobility firmly behind their king [who] . . . at times appeared authoritative and in control'.[239] Despite these positive notes, Balliol was never depicted as the kingly or masculine ideal and never as Edward's equal, which would have stung the patriotic pride of Scottish authors. The chroniclers emphasise that Balliol was caught between the power of the English king and his own nobility; 'a man trapped by circumstances beyond his control'.[240]

As both king and man Balliol was humiliated, dragged down from the – albeit empty – pinnacle of masculine authority, and exiled. More importantly for this discussion, when Balliol rebelled he was punished and publicly deprived of all honour and dignity. According to Wyntoun, Edward forcefully seized Balliol and

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[235] Major, pp. 194, 207.
[236] Major, pp. 128.
[237] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 251. Also see: Wyntoun, v, pp. 278, 280.
[238] Beam, pp. 152. Also see: Fiona Watson, 'The Demonisation of King John', in E. J. Cowan and R. J. Finlay, eds, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, Edinburgh, 2002, pp. 29-45 (p. 33).
[239] Watson, pp. 35-36, 38.
[240] Beam, p. 115.

> . . . spulzeit he
>
> Off all his robis of ryalte,
>
> And tuke out Þe pelloure of his tabart,
>
> Twme Tabart Þai callit him eftirwart;
>
> And [all] vthire insignyis
>
> That fell to king on ony wifs,
>
> As crovne and cepture, suerd and ring,
>
> Fra Þis Iohne, Þat he maid king,
>
> He tuke halely fra him Þare,
>
> And maid him of Þe kinrik baire.
>
> And Þare Þis Iohne tuke a quhit wand,
>
> And gaif vp in Þis Edwartis hand
>
> Off Þe kinrik all Þe rycht
>
> That he had Þan, or haif mycht,
>
> Fra him and all his airis Þare,
>
> Thare eftir to clame it neuermare.[241]

Wyntoun nicknamed Balliol '*Toom Tabard*', a derogatory term meaning 'empty coat', which further reduced his status.[242] Interestingly, no other Scottish chronicler picked up on this label, although they emphasise Balliol's subjection through a ceremony of degradation. His lands, possessions and symbols of kingship were taken from him. Such an undoing of kingship was 'an inverted rite . . . in which the order of the coronation is reversed'.[243] The sword and sceptre symbolise the king's two main functions: defence of his kingdom and

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[241] Wyntoun, v, p. 294. Also see: Wyntoun, v, pp. 274, 276. Translation: removed John Balliol's robes of royalty and took the furs from his coat – Toom Tabard they called him afterwards. All the other royal insignia such as the crown and sceptre, sword and ring were also taken from the man whom Edward had made king, thus stripping him of his kingdom. Then John took up a white wand and put it into Edward's hand therefore renouncing his right, and that of his heirs, to the kingdom for evermore.

[242] Wyntoun, v, p. 294. The English chronicler, Pierre Langtoft (*d.* 1307) also used this epithet to describe Balliol. It has been suggested the wand is a symbol of penitential submission. See: Watt, vi, p. 231. Also see: Grant Simpson, 'Why was John Balliol called 'Toom Tabard'?' *Scottish Historical Review*, 47, 2, October 1968, pp. 196-199 (p. 199).

[243] Ernst H. Kantorowicz , *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theory*, New Jersey, 1957, p. 36. Also see: Beam, p. 160.

people, and provision of justice; without those, the king had nothing.[244]   Balliol's sceptre, a solid symbol of kingship and pinnacle of masculinity, was replaced with a more fragile white wand, a symbol of his lesser masculinity. The wand is a phallic symbol, as suggested by Jane Cartwright, and implies that Balliol's manhood is considerably diminished along with his kingship.[245]

Such symbolic stripping was part of the military penalty for treason; divesting a man of his uniform of office stripped him of his honour. Degrading him in public robbed him of his manhood. Through this physical and symbolic stripping, Balliol became a 'non-person' and Scotland became a 'non-kingdom'; neither retained their honour by this process.[246]   The *Scalacronica* delightedly reported that once Balliol was removed and Scotland surrendered to Edward's rule, the latter remarked '[h]e does good business who rids himself of shit'; hardly complimentary of either Balliol or Scotland.[247]   Jeffrey Cohen suggests the association of people with 'shit' was an 'act of abjection', a blatant attempt to 'erect a vivid line of division between two groups that may be uncomfortably close'.[248]   The body politic was deprived of its dignity leaving the body natural exposed to the spectators' gaze and the insults of anti-Scottish chroniclers.   Once again the kingdom was headless and plunged into instability and destruction for the next twenty years.[249]   Balliol became a symbol for the loss of Scotland's freedom and independent kingship, as well as a loss of masculinity.   Such symbolic emasculation was useful propaganda to explain away a kingship perceived as illegitimate. Balliol's accession initially gave some hope to a headless state which quickly faded summed up by Bower's claim that the years from 1292 to 1296 were 'abnormal in the time of this disastrous and unfortunate king'.[250]   Overall, chronicle accounts portrayed Balliol as a weak

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[244] Lewis, 'Kingly Masculinity', p. 163.

[245] Jane Cartwright, 'Virginity and Chastity Tests in Medieval Welsh Prose', in Bernau, Evans, and Salih, pp. 56-79 (p. 61).

[246] M. T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers*, 3rd edition, Malden, Oxford and Carlton, 2006, p. 300.

[247] *Scalacronica*, p. 39. *Scalacronica* never acknowledged Scotland as an independent kingdom claiming it to be only land and therefore worthy of subjection. See: p. 220.

[248] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain on Difficult Middles*, New York and Basingstoke, 2006, p. 26.

[249] Bower, vi, p. 53.

[250] Bower, vi, pp. 53, 57.

and ineffectual outsider who turned the Scots against himself. Major followed this up suggesting Balliol showed himself as unfit to reign, and therefore was justly deprived of his right to the Scottish throne. The choice of a new king was now in the hands of the rest of the kingdom, not an outsider and by employing gender in their discussion of Balliol, the chroniclers pointed out more than succession made a king.[251] Scottish history was highly patriotic, emphasising a moral righteousness which re-appeared in the sixteenth century when Henry Stewart was murdered, becoming a symbol of the Scottish Protestant movement rather than a mere adjunct of a Catholic queen regnant.

'The Queen's Husband': Henry Stewart[252]

On July 29 1565 Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley became Mary Stewart's husband, and King of Scots. It was a marriage that made some political sense strengthening the Scottish claim to the English throne, should Elizabeth I remain childless. However, chroniclers and contemporary commentators did not necessarily see it in the same light. Buchanan, referring to female rule and negative womanly attributes, claimed it was 'an unlucky business, which . . . turned everything . . . upside down'.[253] By choosing her own husband Mary appeared to cast a yoke of tyranny on her people while at the same time subjecting them and her spouse to her femininity.[254] Apprehensions encompassed the view that Scotland would be judged or identified as feminine and 'hence dismissed, presumed upon, or subdued because of it'.[255] Viewed with hostility by many Scots because of Mary's independent action Darnley was already on the back-foot, yet over the next three years he did nothing to endear himself to those around him.

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[251] Major, p. 213.

[252] Alison Weir, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Murder of Lord Darnley*, London, 2008, p. 92.

[253] Buchanan, ii, pp. 300, 304; *Rerum*, f.207r (ll.28-30), f.208v (ll.1-5). Also see: Retha M. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, London and New York, 2006, p. 114.

[254] Buchanan, ii, pp. 303-304; *Rerum*, f.208v (l.20), f.208r (ll.19-26); Walton, pp. 108-109.

[255] David Parkinson, ''A Lamentable Storie': Mary Queen of Scots and the Inescapable Querelle des Femmes', in L. Houwen, A. MacDonald and S. Mapstone, eds, *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Peeters, 2000, pp. 141-160 (p. 159).

Historians and political commentators made much of Darnley's appearance in order to explain Mary's lustful obsession with the young nobleman, and satisfy the reader's thirst for physical detail by which the individual would then be judged. When Darnley first arrived in Scotland the queen was apparently quite enamoured of him, commenting to her envoy 'he was the lustiest and best proportioned long man she had seen; for he was of high stature, long and small (finely built), even and erect, from his youth well instructed in all honest and comely exercises'.[256] Physical beauty was an attribute that allowed 'the adolescent to fulfil necessary tasks through the agency of an agile and well-ordered body' but also subjected him or her to vanity and conceit which required guidance.[257] With regards to his masculine attributes Darnley was well endowed by this description. Of course, at this time he was just a visitor to the court, and while there were rumours no Scotsman had seriously entertained the idea of a marriage to the queen. Initially, Darnley was described as 'a jolly young man' who was amiable, courteous, and well-versed in Latin and French, whose countenance and good looks made him favourable to all he met.[258] Modern historians and biographers describe him as a handsome man 'in an effeminate way' with an inventory of attributes that run from charming, elegant, and well-mannered to ill-tempered, temperamental, unpleasant, offensive, jealous and often drunk; the result of an over-ambitious mother and a father who could not control him.[259] A good reputation demonstrated one's social standing and honour. For someone in Darnley's royal position a poor reputation, which reflected on the nation and influenced foreign perceptions of the Scottish monarchy, made international dealings difficult and threatened the realm with subjection if weakened by its monarch.

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[256] *The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill*, ed. Gordon Donaldson, London, 1969, p. 45. Also see: Susan Doran, *Mary Queen of Scots: An Illustrated Lif*e, London, 2007, p. 79. However, Jenny Wormald claims Mary was not immediately attracted to Darnley and still hoped to marry Don Carlos of Spain. See: Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots: Politics, Passion and a Kingdom Lost*, London and New York, 2001, p. 152.

[257] Goodich, p. 105.

[258] Weir, p. 56. Weir claims her evidence is from Randolph, Knox and items in *CSP Scottish* and *CSP Spanish*. The poet Robert Sempill waxes lyrical about many of these positive attributes. See: Sempill, 'Heir Followis ane Ballat declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King', i, p. 33 (ll.20-56) (hereafter 'Ballat').

[259] Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, p. 134. Also see: Jayne E. Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation*, London and New York, 1998, p. 24; Doran, pp. 79, 81, 91; Wormald, *Mary*, p. 159.

Mary's envoy to England, Sir James Melville, described Darnley to Elizabeth I as 'more like a woman than a man . . . beardless and lady-faced', a comment that immediately challenges his masculinity and expresses the fear of femininity at a time when women ruled the realms of Britain.[260] While the comment was made to appease Elizabeth's fears about the possible marriage between Darnley and Mary, it is a telling statement in itself emphasising youth and lack of authority. Compared to hardened warrior Scots, Darnley being classed as woman-like emphasised a physicality that could be easily challenged and overcome. To be described as beardless also pointed to a lack of adult manliness. Hair was a clear signifier of one's manhood; only adult males could have facial hair thus biologically differentiating them from women and children.[261] In the sixteenth century there was a conscious link between the beard and masculinity; the virile conquest and domination of uncharted New World territory became analagous with strength, conquest and empire.[262] In 1531 Giovanni Bolzani wrote '[i]t is openly knowen amongst all kyndes of man, that children, women, gelded men, and those that are tender and delycat, are ever scene without beardis'.[263] Melville's comment, while contemporary, was committed to paper after Darnley's death with the obvious advantage of hindsight, making such a remark all the more revealing. Darnley was linked with femininity because of his appearance and his inability to dominate Mary, as husband or king. Of further interest is Rosalind Marshall's recent comment that while Darnley spent his days drinking and hawking at night he engaged in 'bisexual adventures'.[264] With no readily apparent evidence to support this claim I am curious about why Marshall would make such a bold statement, particularly when sixteenth-century Scottish histories make no explicit reference to this

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[260] Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, p. 134; *Sir James Melville of Halhill, Memoirs*, ed. Francis Steuart, London, 1929, p. 92. Also see: Vern L. Bullough with Gwen Whitehead Brewer, 'Medieval Masculinities and Modern Interpretations: The Problem of the Pardoner', in Jacqueline Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities, Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, New York, 1999, pp. 93-110 (p. 94).

[261] Robert Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 4, 1994, pp. 43-60 (p. 43). Also see: Jacqueline Murray, 'One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?' in Bitel and Lifshitz, pp. 34-51 (p. 44).

[262] Elliot Horowitz, 'The New World and the Changing Face of Europe', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28, 4, Winter 1997, pp. 1181-1201 (pp. 1191, 1194).

[263] Giovanni Bolzani, *Pro Sacerdotum Barbis*, 1531 (English translation 1533), f.7v, in Horowitz, p. 1183. Prior to 1492 beards had been linked to descriptions of men such as Jews or Turks; a sign of otherness. See: pp. 1185, 1188. Apparently Darnley later grew a beard and short moustache. See: Weir, p. 56.

[264] Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, p. 135.

whatsoever. Furthermore, popular author and historian Alison Weir claims the evidence is suggestive of a homosexual affair between Darnley and Mary's secretary, David Riccio.[265] Darnley, compared to his more famous wife, is rarely accorded space of his own and is always inextricably linked to Mary. While this is perhaps unquestionable given his position in history, I want to extricate Darnley from Mary's side where possible and examine what the Scottish sources say about the attributes which enhance or diminish his masculinity.

At the time of the marriage Darnley was given the nominal title 'King of Scots': in other words, a consort with no real power. Mary held onto the authority vested in her as queen regnant despite proclaiming him as her equal.[266] Sixteenth-century historian John Leslie specifically commented that while Darnley was Mary's 'head in wedlock . . . he was otherwise a member of the Scottish commonwealth subject to her as his principall and supereme governess and to her laws'.[267] Had Darnley been a royal prince such complications may not have arisen as this position would have given him power even if Mary did not relinquish full authority. For Darnley, the Crown matrimonial was a 'much more authoritative recognition' of his kingship than Mary's proclamation.[268] Of course, Mary could not simply give Henry the crown, Parliament had to agree, but the probable loss of power for a number of Scottish lords and the threat of a return to Catholicism accounted for their hesitancy. Eventually Mary revised the wisdom of giving Darnley the crown because of his increasingly improper behaviour; using his age as an excuse he was deemed unworthy as her equal.[269] Gender roles were therefore inverted: Mary took on the position of king and Darnley the feminised position of queen, diminishing his status as potential leader of the commonwealth and depriving him 'of the headship of his household'.[270] This lack of control over his wife eventually contributed

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[265] Weir, pp. 62, 88.

[266] John Knox, *The Works*, ed. David Laing, volume ii, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 495 (hereafter referenced Knox, *Works*).

[267]John Leslie, *A Defence of the Honour of the Right Highe, Mighty and Noble Princess Marie Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France*, 1569, EEBO, STC/262.14, f.4v (hereafter referenced Leslie, *Defence*); John Leslie, *The Copie of a Letter Written out of Scotland*, 1572, EEBO, STC1247:02, p. 8r (hereafter referenced Leslie, *Copie of a Letter*).

[268] Wormald, *Mary*, p. 161.

[269] Walton, pp. 123, 126; Weir, p. 72.

[270] Walton, p. 126. Also see: Warnicke, p. 115.

to his downfall while raising the blood pressure of commentators who feared woman's governance would feminise them all. Sir David Lindsay (*c.* 1490-1555) viewed an 'effeminately overruled king' as a 'greater evil than an unmanned queen', while John Knox (*c.* 1510-1572) admonished foolish men who allowed women to dominate them.[271] Physical and visual displays of masculinity were important to maintain a sense of equilibrium and normality for men.

No accounts from Scottish sources outwardly suggest Darnley was bisexual or homosexual; anachronistic terminology at best.[272] However, there are some implicit remarks that could lead to conjecture. Melville comments on Darnley's close friendship with Riccio which was gained 'at the queen's hand'.[273] This friendship saw Riccio admitted to Darnley's table, his chamber and most secret thoughts, and the two men were on occasion seen to 'lie in one bed together'.[274] Love and friendship between men were acceptable and should not result in the automatic assumption of a sexual relationship. Certainly, had such accusations been levelled at Darnley at the time, it would have been a telling sexual insult not only denting and questioning his masculinity but also depicting him as a feminine Other.[275] More convincingly, evidence suggests Darnley ingratiated himself with the queen's favourite in order to win her favour, and further his own ambitions with regard to the Scottish throne. According to Weir the English ambassador, Randolph, made a veiled remark about Darnley's inability to perform sexually with women stating in a letter 'if it were possible to see such an act done, I would not believe it'. Along with claims Darnley and the Spanish ambassador Don Francis de Alva were

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[271] Lyall, p. 40 (l.1122); John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, Geneva, 1558 (reproduced Amsterdam, 1972), p. 24; Garrett P. J. Epp, 'Chastity in the Stocks: Women, Sex, and Marriage in Ane Satyre if the Thrie Estatis,' in Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker, and Evelyn S. Newlyn, eds, *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, London, 2004, pp. 61-73 (p. 65). Also see: C. M. Harker, 'John Knox, *The First Blast*, and the Monstrous Regiment of Women, in T. Van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan, eds, *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland*, East Linton, 2002, pp. 35-51 (p. 38). These remarks follow on from those made in the fifteenth century by writers such as Gilbert Hay who stated that women's counsel was poisonous and untrustworthy. See: Hay, pp. 82-83.
[272] A wider review including English, Spanish and French sources may suggest otherwise, but is beyond the scope of this chapter.
[273] Melville in Donaldson, p. 45.
[274] Weir, p. 62.
[275] Karras, *Doing Unto Others*, pp. 129, 132-133.

'intimate friends' and the later accusation in the *Historie of James the Sext* that Darnley indulged in 'unmanly pleasures', Weir makes her case for his bisexuality.[276] She maintains that after the Chaseabout Raid (August 1565) Darnley returned to Edinburgh where he made nightly visits to taverns and brothels with 'young gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and attentions'.[277] It was common practice for young men to visit taverns and brothels but there does not appear to be conclusive evidence Darnley was indulging in homosexual liaisons. The historical literature omits any specific discussion regarding Darnley's sexual behaviour preferring to focus on Mary's whorish nature as one of many reasons why she should not be in governance.

In 1565 Mary was at the height of her power. By early 1566 she had many political and religious enemies, some of whom took advantage of Darnley's insecurities by insinuating the child she carried was Riccio's.[278] This in itself challenges Darnley's masculinity as it suggests he had failed to impregnate his wife, one of the main signifiers of manhood.[279] Riccio was a man of low birth whom Mary raised with honours and when his power 'grew daily with the queen', the king's 'grew daily cheaper with her'.[280] Darnley's jealousies saw him embroiled in the plot to murder Riccio with the greater ambition of seeing himself crowned king and taking full authoritative power; instead, he was removed from the queen's side.[281] He tried to take over governance, secretly signing documents and carrying out his own diplomacy under the royal seal, but an infuriated Mary gave the seal to Riccio in order to curb the king's independence and encourage him to work in partnership with her. Loss of the seal, along with the denial of the crown took away any visible power Darnley may have exercised in the name of king.[282] Buchanan saw Darnley's preference for hawking and hunting rather than official business as damaging to the nation; his omission as an authoritative king 'retarded' public

[276] Weir, pp. 100-101, 141.
[277] Weir, p. 87. Also see: Knox, *Works*, p. 514. The Chaseabout Raid was led by the Earl of Moray in response to Mary's marriage.
[278] Buchanan, ii, pp. 309, 313; *Rerum*, f.211r (l.46), f.210r (ll.16-22).
[279] Bullough, 'On Being a Male,' p. 34.
[280] Buchanan, ii, p. 307; *Rerum*, f.209v (ll.5-6).
[281] Buchanan, ii, pp. 313-314; *Rerum*, f.211r and v.
[282] Doran, p. 91; also Walton, p. 132.

business. Moreover, Buchanan suggested Darnley agreed to this situation because he wanted to please his wife who in turn believed no-one respected Darnley's authority because his 'anger was formidable to none'.[283] As a result, Darnley was never fully raised above other men of Scotland either by Mary, his age or maturity. Instead, according to Buchanan, Mary took to forcing Darnley to obey her through the use of threats and 'many side-blows in her discourses' demonstrating he was a mere subject of the queen at the mercy of woman's words and frightened of her violent actions.[284]

There are many examples of Darnley's lack of power and authority, each diminishing his masculinity further. In 1566 a visiting Papal Nuncio claimed a desperate Darnley maintained close friendships with heretical rebels to 'preserve and increase his credit and authority'.[285] By moving away from Catholicism, Darnley used Protestantism as a means to obtain the crown matrimonial, although choosing a particular religion for political leverage showed an inconstancy of nature unlikely to have won him Papal approval. In the same year the Bishop of Mondovi's letter to the Cardinal of Alessandria noted Darnley stayed away from Mary because she would not restore to him the 'authority he had before the late tumults, that is to sit by the side of his wife in council and public places'. Dishonoured, he stayed away from court showing 'plainly that he is all too young'.[286] Darnley's advances towards his wife were repeatedly repudiated; he was sent away with 'injuries and reproaches', and even refused 'conjugal familiarity'.[287] Foreign envoys were 'advised not to enter into discourse with the king' instead being entertained by the Earl of Bothwell. Humiliated, Darnley removed himself from the situation which exposed 'the contempt of all'.[288] Despite acknowledging James VI as his son, Darnley was even banned from his son's royal christening with Mary playing the roles of king and queen, husband and wife, suggesting political patriarchy and inherited

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[283] Buchanan, ii, p. 307-308; *Rerum*, f.209v (ll.14-24). Also see: Walton, p.132; Knox, *Works*, p. 520. Mary has also been described as preferring hunting to royal business. See: Doran, p. 83.
[284] Buchanan, ii, pp. 313-314; *Rerum*, f.211v (ll.3-5), f.211r (ll.39-40).
[285] Laureo's Nunciature 1566 in *Papal Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots During Her Reign in Scotland 1561-1567*, ed. J. Hungerford Pollen, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 277-278.
[286] *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 308-309. Dated November 1566.
[287] Buchanan, ii, p. 316; *Rerum*, f.212r (ll.28-31).
[288] Buchanan, ii, p. 318; *Rerum*, f.213r (ll.5-9).

monarchy supplanted familial ideas about the roles of husband and father. His position as a father was challenged; fatherhood signified mature manhood, and a baptismal ceremony held a role of great importance for a father.[289] To be banned was both a personal and public rejection of his status as king, husband, father, and as a man, showing Darnley was unnecessary to the political well-being of the realm and to the personal well-being of the royal family. Such perceptions would have seriously impaired his masculinity in the eyes of the political and religious communities of Scotland and abroad. As we saw with Balliol, a useless king was a political liability and detrimental to Scottish identity.

In February 1567 Darnley was murdered, his strangled and semi-naked body found in the garden of his lodging house. Interestingly, the narratives tell us the lower part of his body was left exposed to the gaze of all. The organ of his masculinity was laid bare, devoid of all clothing, humiliated in its nakedness and challenging Darnley's masculinity, and the last vestiges of any authority he may have had. Such phallic symbolism accentuated Darnley's weakened status as king and husband – he lacked power and authority as king, just as he lacked sexual power and authority over his wife.[290] A picture drawn shortly after Darnley's death shows him lying semi-naked with one hand modestly covering his genitals, the artist anxious to preserve Darnley's chastity in death. This Protestant propaganda expressed his purity and innocence against a Catholic queen and preserved his manhood, the symbol of the future Protestant king's legitimacy. Nevertheless, even in death the limitations of Darnley's sovereignty were made obvious. His body was 'left as spectacle to be gazed upon' with a 'great concourse of people continually flocking thither to see it' before finally being brought to the palace.[291] Buchanan's narrative suggests Darnley was buried without the usual manner of state with his grave placed next to Riccio's which 'increased the indignity the more'.[292] In Buchanan's eyes Mary's actions desecrated the sanctity of kingship; another reason such monstrous women should not rule. However, the ever-loyal Leslie contradicts Buchanan

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[289] Walton, pp. 134-136.
[290] Buchanan, ii, p. 323; *Rerum*, f.214v (ll.10-12). A letter from Mondovi to the Cardinal of Alessandria Feb 1566-67 comments on Darnley's stripped body. See: *Papal Negotiations*, p. 351.
[291] Buchanan, ii, p. 324; *Rerum*, f.214v (ll.40-42).
[292] Buchanan, ii, p. 324; *Rerum*, f.214v (l.46).

stating Darnley was buried honourably beside Mary's father James V, with no mention of the late secretary.[293]

Darnley's murder was used to exalt the office of masculine kingship and diminish the status of Mary. His posthumous persona became a vehicle for Protestant masculine indignation and rebellion against Catholicism and feminine rule, eventually leading to Mary's deposition in 1567. Authors stressed the duplicity and degenerate nature of the queen by juxtaposing her with Darnley, the now beloved victim. Robert Sempill's poetic narrator claims

> unto na man was he odious
>
> to meit his marrow he was audatious
>
> on sturdie steid, with craftie feat of weir;
>
> Mars fauourit him as fair Ascanius.

Moreover, Darnley was noble, loved peace and unity, had an excellent turn of phrase and '[h]is gude Ingyne was rycht celestiall'.[294] For a man so ill-regarded by his peers on both sides of the border he suddenly became 'that innocent young gentleman', and was elevated to the position of authoritative king.[295] Melville later wrote 'it was a great pity to see that good young prince cast off, who failed rather for want of good counsel and experience than of evil will'.[296] Melville wrote on a number of occasions about the king's youth, using it as an excuse for his wayward behaviour, stating that 'the king was yet very young and not well acquainted with the nature of this nation'. Even the queen realised Darnley's youth was a hindrance to governance and an obstacle to him wielding any real power.[297] Leslie wrote in a similar vein suggesting the king's youthfulness and inexperience opened him up to the subtle practices of those 'who sought to kindle in the mind of that noble young gentleman an ambitious desire to aspire to the kingdom'.[298] He labelled him a 'silly young gentleman . . .

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[293] Leslie, *Copie of a Letter*, p. 6v.
[294] Sempill, 'Ballat', p. 33 (ll.20-56).
[295] *The State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. Arthur Clifford, volume ii, Edinburgh, 1809, p. 335. Also see Walton, p. 146.
[296] Donaldson, p. 84.
[297] Melville in Donaldson, pp. 48, 51.
[298] Leslie, *Copie of a Letter,* p. 4v.

rash and temerarious', a 'goodly yong prince' whom the queen so tenderly loved.[299] According to Leslie, the queen was aware of Darnley's less than satisfactory attributes before they married, assuming 'he would in time prove a noble, wise and virtuous gentleman and that she with her dutiful and loving behaviour . . . [would] reduce him from those small oversights which his tender mind corrupted with evil counsel had fallen into'.[300] However, his youthful preoccupations, lack of interest in governance, alleged scheming to grab hold of the crown for himself and his involvement in the murder of Riccio resulted in him falling out of favour not only with Mary but also the lords of the realm. Unfortunately for Darnley, in the end 'few durst bear him company . . . misliked by the queen and by all'.[301]

Darnley was continually challenged by both men and women; even Elizabeth challenged his manhood and authority by refusing to acknowledge him as king of Scotland.[302] His lack of authority emphasised the abnormal rule of women which was sexualised and gendered, yet evidence suggests it was also a consequence of his age. His masculinity was stripped from him through the various contemporary narratives. Sempill bluntly stated, one day Darnley held 'Sceptur, Sword and Crown', but the next morning was nothing more than a 'deformit lumpe of clay'.[303] However, Darnley did gain some power over Mary after the murder of Riccio. Despite admitting to his participation in the murder he was not tried for treason as any other subject would have been because of the danger the incident posed to the queen and on account of Mary needing to reduce any uncertainty of her child's legitimacy or her fidelity. This demonstrates that Darnley had more power as a father than as a husband or king although this was eventually contradicted by the baptism episode. Male honour, as discussed in chapter two, was intrinsically tied to female shame or modesty and was pivotal in shaping a king's image.[304] Women's honour was defined by chastity; labelling the queen a whore meant

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[299] Leslie, *Defence*, f.6v; *Copie of a Letter*, pp. 7v and 34r.
[300] Leslie, *Copie of a Letter*, p. 8v; Melville in Donaldson, pp. 48, 54.
[301] Melville in Donaldson, p. 54; Knox, *Works*, p. 533.
[302] Walton, p. 129.
[303] Sempill, 'Ballat', p. 31 (l.6-7).
[304] John Carmi Parsons, 'Loved Him-Hated Her,' Honour and Shame at the Medieval Court', in Murray, *Conflicted Identities*, pp. 279-298 (pp. 281, 284).

people identified gender as the most salient aspect of a ruler's entity.[305] Sempill, in particular, used this to good effect in his descriptions of Mary as an adulterous whore.[306] Mary's religion, involvement in Darnley's murder, and apparent sexual and moral degeneracy were therefore used to legitimise the actions of the Protestant lords who rebelled against her royal authority before finally deposing her.[307] While Mary was perceived to transgress stereotypical prescriptions of gender, her actions reinforced Darnley's posthumous honour.

Darnley's short life as king points to a lack of authority, and his less than admirable masculinity, was used to emphasise how destructive female rule could be. The Mary-Darnley relationship also highlights that the 'reliance of established bloodline over the patriarchal ideal illustrates the strength of the idea of the monarchy in the early modern period . . . [and] how that idea could be affected by personal relations within the state'.[308] Darnley's kingship illustrates the many layers of masculinity and femininity underpinning the monarchy, and the many authorial agendas of those who defended or accused that same monarchy. While Darnley was constrained on a number fronts he had opportunities to improve his standing, yet he failed to take them. Perhaps it was not just his immaturity and lack of experience in governance that was to blame, perhaps he was, as Donaldson argues, 'intellectually and morally worthless'; another *rex inutilis*.[309]

Conclusion

Strong, daring, brave men, of unassuming but wise and dependable nature featured repeatedly as the ideal in chronicles plagued with narrative contradiction. Physically strong, virtuous, just and continent, Malcolm III (*r.* 1058-1093) and Robert Bruce (*r.* 1306-1329) were held up by chroniclers as exemplars of warrior-kings who succeeded in governance and warfare.

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[305] Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, Philadelphia, 1994, p. 76.

[306] For instance see: Sempill, 'Ballat', pp. 33-38; 'Heir followis the testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie', pp. 40-44; 'Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis iust quarrell', p. 59.

[307] See various works by Sempill.

[308] Walton, pp. 136-137.

[309] Donaldson, p. 14.

While the historical literature appears to present a one-sided view of reality, on closer inspection we find a variety of anxieties and tensions which suggest the norm was far removed from the ideal. Multiple and multivalent discourses were offered for both men and women possessing political power and authority. Male anxieties were not only stirred up when women held political power, but when less than masculine males wielded authority. As Vern Bullough has argued male superiority had to be demonstrated continually or else it was lost.[310]

Not many men met the normative standards of hegemonic masculinity; those who did made up a small percentage of the population, achieving it through subordination of other men, and women.[311] Males who failed to perform as highly masculine men had their manhood questioned. Lewis reminds us that 'multiple models of both masculinity and kingship co-existed' but it is a construction fraught with tension and contradiction.[312] Hence, it is unsurprising the chronicles and histories were fraught with the same. Malcolm's virgin reign is a good illustration of this, as are the decrepit rules of the early Stewart kings. While chastity was a virtue, kings had a duty to produce an heir; failure to do so not only diminished their masculinity but left the door open for possible conquest by the enemy. Similarly, the military failures and rise of noble power that dominated the reigns of David II and the two Roberts were excused by the weaknesses associated with age. Mature males were supposedly more rational and experienced compared to women or the boyish and immature sons of kings. Therefore, institutional authority was ideally the preserve of those men in their prime.[313]

As we have seen, the theme of age filters through each section of this chapter because the male life-cycle was 'measured by the elevation from subjection to responsibility and office'.[314] However, even those kings in their prime and performing as they should, could fall down the slippery slope. There were many positive aspects of the reigns of James IV and James V but

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[310] Bullough, 'On Being a Male', p. 34.
[311] Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee, 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity', in Harry Brod, ed., *The Making of Masculinities*, Winchester, 1987, pp. 63-100 (pp. 90, 92).
[312] Lewis, 'Virgin King', p. 93.
[313] Griffiths, p. 96; Earenfight, 'Persona of the Prince', p. 2.
[314] Griffiths, p. 97.

their excessive lust was frowned upon from many sections of society. Their sexual behaviour distracted them from their duty causing misgovernance and even their deaths. Kings had to wield authority in order to control their people and kingdom, without it they were at the mercy of another's power. John Balliol failed to gain power or respect within Scotland being viewed with suspicion by many because of his role in the plans of the English king. Henry Darnley's masculinity was seriously impaired from the outset being described by envoys as less than manly and ridiculed by his wife. He never achieved the power his position deserved and his murder confirmed this. Therefore, monarchs who took their chastity or lust too far, who could not transcend their age or imperfections were detrimental to Scottish identity, and less than manly kings such as Balliol or Darnley had their masculinity stripped bare. Pinpointing the weakness of kings was a way for chroniclers to ease the tensions and anxieties caused by those seen to transgress the boundaries of normative male power. With didactic purposes in mind, their narratives righted the perceived societal wrongs by finding excuses in order to produce and reproduce their idealistic hegemonic identity of Scotland.

Subversive Men, Manly Women, and a Hero in Drag: Gender-Bending Scottish Identity

> Young Soldier: William Wallace is seven feet tall!
>
> Wallace: Yes, I have heard. Kills men by the hundreds and if he were here he would consume the English with fireballs from his eyes and bolts of lightning from his arse![1]

Introduction

In May 1995 the blockbuster movie *Braveheart* was released resulting in much praise and just as much criticism. In Scotland it was used to further calls for an independent Parliament, but for historians (particularly of the medieval Scottish variety) inaccuracies of facts overwhelmed the movie's entertainment value. As Elizabeth Ewan has commented, the film 'almost totally sacrifices historical accuracy for epic adventure'.[2] However, the inaccuracies and embellishments in the film are reminiscent of the fifteenth-century text upon which it is based – Blind Harry's *The Wallace* (1470s) – an overtly nationalistic piece of Scottish historical literature. While the quote beginning this chapter comes from the movie, the hypermasculine qualities of its hero can be juxtaposed with those Harry employs in his descriptions of William Wallace; ending up with an anti-English protagonist who displays excessive masculine traits. The aim of this chapter is to build on the arguments of chapter three and apply them to a discussion of the heroes and heroines who appear in the chronicles and epic poetry between the fourteenth and late sixteenth centuries. While the narrative ideal promotes a single hegemonic masculinity, evidence contradicts this. The first section examines specific gendered episodes relating to Wallace and Robert Bruce using social status, death, and the

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[1] William Wallace's Address to the Scottish Army at Stirling in *Braveheart*, released 24 May 1995, Paramount Pictures/Icon Entertainment/Twentieth Century Fox.

[2] Elizabeth Ewan, 'Braveheart and Rob Roy', *American Historical Review*, 100, 4, 1995, pp. 1219-1221 (p. 1220).

stretching of sexual boundaries to prove various forms of masculinity existed, and which were either praised or castigated by the chroniclers and poets depending on their agenda. In section two, using established research on Agnes Dunbar, Isabel Buchan, and Elizabeth Bruce as a point of departure I argue their feminine activities were employed to bolster ideas of masculinity rather than solely to prove they were 'manly' women.

Warfare was the 'quintessential masculine activity through which "manhood" was demonstrated', and the propaganda myths arising out of the bloodshed served to promote role-models of ethnic virtue and heroism.[3] Specific heroic figures were used to cultivate and promote a Scottish identity underpinned by anti-English sentiment, and permeated by complex notions of gender. Indeed, the hero was an important medium that allowed authors to articulate and give authority to the dominant gender, which in their minds was aristocratic and masculine.[4] In a world 'steeped in the late-medieval ethos of chivalry which emphasised the masculine attributes of military prowess, knightly accomplishments, and honourable devotion to king and country as well as to women' where did female heroism fit?[5] The virile, heterosexual male body appeared to connect the nation to patriarchal hierarchies and norms where women, and men who failed to perform normative masculinity, were defined as Other and thus pushed further down the gender hierarchy.[6] Women who appeared in the chronicles corresponded with a pattern of exemplary historiography, although for whom the moral lesson was intended is unclear. As Nicola Royan suggests:

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[3] Megan McLaughlin, 'The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe', *Women's Studies*, 17, 1990, pp. 193-209 (p. 194); Anthony Smith, 'War and Ethnicity: the Role of Warfare in the Formation, Self-Images and Cohesion of Ethnic Communities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 4, 4, October 1981, pp. 375-391 (p. 391).

[4] Elleke Boehmer, *Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation*, Manchester and New York, 2005, p. 73.

[5] Elizabeth Ewan, 'The Dangers of Manly Women: Late Medieval Perceptions of Female Heroism in Scotland's Second War of Independence', in S. M. Dunnigan, C. M. Harker, and E. S. Newlyn, eds, *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, Hampshire and New York, 2004, pp. 3-18 (p. 4).

[6] Tamar Mayer, 'Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage', in Tamar Mayer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, London and New York, 2000, pp. 1-22 (p. 6). Also see: Barbara Einhorn, 'Insiders and Outsiders: Within and Beyond the Gendered Nation', in Kathy Davis, Mary Evans, and Judith Corber, eds, *Handbook of Gender and Women's Studies*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Dehli, 2006, pp. 196-213 (p. 198). It is against this 'Other' that the hero constitutes his identity. See: Andrew Cowell, *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy: Gifts, Violence, Performance and the Sacred*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 100.

> [t]he doings of women are not the primary concern of any of the Scottish
> historiographers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries . . . [t]heir accounts
> are, by and large, concerned with political history and . . . [t]o their minds at least,
> that is a masculine world.[7]

It is all the more striking then that the most popular Scottish epic blurs gender boundaries, illustrating that men and masculinities, as well as masculinity and femininity, were 'placed in co-operative and conflicting relations with one another'.[8] The presence of manly women and cross-dressing heroes has the ability to threaten chivalric heroism and, correspondingly, national masculinity where relationships of alliance, domination, and subordination were constructed through practices that excluded, included, intimidated, and exploited.[9] Yet, as my arguments illustrate any threat was tempered by the authors' use of humour, or the didactic nature of the narrative. As this chapter will demonstrate, there are problems with the idea of a wholly hegemonic masculine representation of the nation; instead, a range of masculinities and femininities need to be considered in order to reflect the true essence of Scottish identity.

Knighthood, Chivalry and Heroes

Knighthood was revered in Scotland as elsewhere and the narratives portray a chivalric knighthood made up of a homogenous group of noble men with a set of standards only they would recognise; reality, however, proved to be more fluid.[10] As Peter Coss claims, '[t]he identification of knighthood with national feeling and national concerns . . . further strengthened its ideological force' making knightly conduct the primary, masculine norm.[11] Loyalty, honour, piety, valour, prowess, and comradeship were the manly paradigms of

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[7] Nicola Royan, 'Some Conspicuous Women in *The Original Chronicle, Scotichronicon* and *Scotorum Historia*', *The Innes Review*, 59, 2, 2008, pp. 131-144 (pp. 131-132). Also see: Mary Beth Rose, *Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature*, Chicago and London, 2002, p. xi.

[8] Jeff Hearn and Michael S. Kimmel, 'Changing Studies on Men and Masculinities', in Davis, Evans, and Corber, pp. 53-70 (p. 58). Also see: Cordelia Beattie, 'Gender and Femininity in Medieval England', in Nancy Partner, ed., *Writing Medieval History*, London, 2005, pp. 153-170 (p. 159).

[9] Robert Connell, *Masculinities,* 2nd edition, Cambridge, 2005, p. 37.

[10] Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland 1424-1513*, Woodbridge, 2006, pp. 8, 10-11.

[11] Peter Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England 1000-1400*, Stroud, 1993, p.143.

knighthood compared to cowardice, treachery and faithlessness.[12] Knighthood required men to link into hegemonic forms of masculinity through their homosocial alliances ensuring success in warfare, and resulting in an entrenchment of the political beliefs of a gendered hierarchy.[13] Models of chivalry and courtliness influenced social and political relationships and were crucial components 'of Scottish noble society both in terms of war-making and public duty'.[14] Moreover, chivalry 'had a powerful hold over the medieval imagination', fostering ideals of expected masculinity with medieval chroniclers quick to point out those who transgressed the social, cultural, and chivalric boundaries particularly when it appeared to cost the Scots victory against the English.[15] Wallace and Bruce showed themselves superior to other men through their actions, which were immortalised by the words of contemporary historians. The worth of the protagonist was 'measured by his victories, escapes from impossible odds, and defiance of ordinary human limitations' rather than by unmitigated violence.[16] However in Scottish works, violence was an integral part of the narrative upon which the bonds of kinship were tested, upon which masculinity was discerned, and by which authors differentiated between what they perceived as legitimate and illegitimate actions. Scottish chroniclers infused their narratives with a chivalric, if violent, ethos. Moreover, the

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[12] See: Richard Barber, *The Reign of Chivalry*, Woodbridge, 2005, p. 51; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, Oxford, 1999, p. 34; Stevenson, pp. 131, 153; Coss, p. 108. For a comprehensive overview of chivalry and knighthood see: Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, New Haven, 1984. For a fifteenth-century Scottish context, see: Stevenson, pp. 1-12. There is a vast literature on medieval romance, for example: Laura D. Barefield, *Gender and History in Medieval English Romance and Chronicle*, New York, 2003; Joachim Bumke*, Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages,* New York, 2000; Rosalind Field, ed., *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1999; Philippa Hardman, ed., *The Matter of Identity in Medieval Romance,* Cambridge, 2002; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*, New York and Chichester, 2003; Roberta L. Krueger, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, New York, 2000; Carole M. Meale, ed., *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, Woodbridge and New York, 1994; Louise M. Sylvester, *Medieval Romance and the Construction of Heterosexuality*, New York, 2008.

[13] Kim Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History*, 19, 1, April 2007, pp. 22-42 (pp. 29-30). Also see: Connell, pp. 76-81.

[14] Stevenson, p. 1. The fifteenth-century writer, Gilbert Hay translated 'key chivalric works' from their French originals. Hay emphasised the public role knights had to play, stating that all their actions were to be undertaken for the 'commoun proffit'. Gilbert Hay, 'Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede', *The Prose Works of Gilbert Hay*, ed. Jonathan A. Glenn, volume iii, Edinburgh, 1993, pp. 1-53 (p. 21); Stevenson, p. 10.

[15] Isabel Davis, *Writing Masculinity in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 84. For example, see: Bower, viii, p. 125.

[16] Barber, p. 46. Also see: H. R. E. Davidson, ed., *The Hero in Tradition and Folklore*, London, 1984, p. vii. For origins and meanings of the word hero see: Guy Bourquin, 'The Lexis and Deixis of the Hero in Old English Poetry', in Leo Carruthers, ed., *Heroes and Heroines in Medieval English Literature presented to Andre Crepin*, Woodbridge and New York, 1994, pp. 1-17.

resulting 'alliance between chivalry and Scottish identity secured the moral high ground from which Scottish chroniclers could hurl insults' at the immoral, impious and equally violent English.[17] The endless lists of magnanimous and 'doughty' warriors such as William Cockburn, Edward Bruce, and Robert Lauder of Bass, peppered the pages of the chronicles. Sir Bernard Stewart served three French kings, excelled in the Italian wars, and had his heroics commended in the early sixteenth-century poetry of William Dunbar who called him 'the prince of knightheyd and flour of chivalry'.[18] Scottish identity was inherently tied up with masculine warrior identity.

Alongside the historical chronicles, the two most important medieval national discourses are John Barbour's *The Bruce* (*c.* 1370s) and Harry's *Wallace*. *The Bruce* can be loosely called a 'romance-biography', a narrative worthy of placement next to the great chivalric chronicles.[19] Written for Robert II, the text extols the Stewart dynasty's chivalric virtues through the deeds of Robert Bruce. It is used by Barbour to promote positive characteristics of the Scots and highlight the importance of freedom; a narrative described as a 'prime example of the creation

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[17] Mark Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk, 'Introduction', in Meyerson, Thiery, and Falk, eds, *'A Great Effusion of Blood?' Interpreting Medieval Violence*, Toronto, London and Buffalo, 2004, pp. 3-16 (pp. 9-10). Also see: Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 21; Anne McKim, 'Scottish National Heroes and the Limits of Violence', in Meyerson, Thiery, and Falk, pp. 131-143 (p. 137).

[18] William Dunbar, 'The Ballade of Bernard Stewart', *William Dunbar: Selected Poems*, ed. P. Bawcutt, Essex, 1996, pp. 222-7; J. A. Tasioulas, ed., *The Makars: The Poems of Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas, Edinburgh*, 1999, pp. 325-329; Bower, viii, p. 43-45.

[19] Duncan, *Bruce*, pp. 4-5. It has been argued the narrative sits across a number of genres and cannot be singularly called a romance, an epic, a history or biography. See: Lois A. Ebin, 'John Barbour's *Bruce*: Poetry, History, and Propaganda', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 9, 1972, pp. 218-242 (p. 219). R. J. Goldstein suggests Barbour's sense of the word 'romance' is closer to our understanding of heroic verse. See: *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, p. 136. For historiography on Robert Bruce see: G. W. S Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, London, 1965; G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm*, London, 2005; Chris Brown, *Robert the Bruce: A Life Chronicled*, Stroud, 2004; Michael Penman, 'Robert I (1306-1329)', in Michael Brown and Roland Tanner, eds, *Scottish Kingship 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman MacDougall*, Edinburgh, 2008, pp. 20-48. For historiography on Wallace see: Chris Brown, *William Wallace: the True Story of Braveheart*, Stroud, 2005; James Mackay, *William Wallace: brave heart*, Edinburgh, 1996; Graeme Morton, *William Wallace: Man and Myth*, 2004. Also see: James Fraser, "Like a Swan from a Raven": The Historiographical Image of William Wallace 1297-1582, unpublished MA Thesis, University of Guelph, Canada, 1999.

of a national identity at work'.[20] Like Harry, Barbour omits facts unsuitable to his literary purpose preferring embellishment or fiction in order to justify Bruce's actions and legitimise his kingship.[21] *The Bruce* glorifies the virtues of heroic knighthood and chivalry, whereas Harry's *Wallace* 'praises Scottish national independence often at the expense' of the universal chivalric code.[22] *The Wallace* is more a tale of violence and warfare yet it has also been labelled a 'romance-biography', with the hero laying down the foundations for Bruce's kingship and eventual victory at Bannockburn (1314). The text employs literary tropes found in tales of Robin Hood promoting violence against those in authority who abuse their subordinates, and identifying 'Scottish patriotism with militant enmity towards the English'.[23] Wallace is a man moved by 'pitte' for his country, outraged at Edward's wrongful possession of Scotland; his 'righteous anger' justifying the necessary violence in order to free Scotland.[24] Harry's text, like that of Barbour, is a highly embellished commemorative piece although more patriotically heroic.[25] The narrative was written during the reign of James III for two Scottish border magnates, William Wallace and James Craigie of Liddale who opposed James III's 'pro-English policies'.[26] Harry used *The Wallace* as a vehicle for expressing his distaste for James's actions which he saw as honouring the enemy to the detriment of Scotland, thus

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[20] Stevenson, p. 5. Also see: Duncan, *Bruce*, p. 9; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 152. For a survey of the historiography regarding chivalry and patriotism, see: Stevenson, pp. 2-7.

[21] Duncan, *Bruce*, p. 9. Also see: Nicola Royan and Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood', in T. O. Clancy and M. Pittock, eds, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature: From Columba to the Union*, volume I, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 168-183 (p. 175).

[22] I. C. Walker, 'Barbour, Blind Harry and Sir William Craigie', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 1, 1964, pp. 202-206 (p. 203). Also see: Royan and Broun, p. 176. Barbour and Harry link their poems to feudalism, albeit in different ways. See: Anne McKim, 'James Douglas and Barbour's Ideal of Knighthood', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, XVII, 2, 1981, pp. 167-180 (p. 169); Stefan Hall, *The Role of Medieval Scottish Poetry in Creating Scottish Identity: "Textual Nationalism,"* New York, 2006, p. 169.

[23] Inge B. Milfull, 'War and Truce: Women in *The Wallace*', in Dunnigan, Harker, and Newlyn, pp. 19-30 (p. 19). Also see: Stefan Hall, '"Quham dowis thow Scot?" Scottish Identity in Blind Hary's Wallace', in G. Ross Roy, ed., *Scottish Studies in Literature*, vols 33-34, Columbia, 2004, pp. 177-194 (p. 178); McKim, *Wallace*, p. x.

[24] McKim, *Wallace*, p. xvi.

[25] McKim, *Wallace*, pp. xii, xvi, 393. Also see: Duncan, *The Bruce*, p. 13.

[26] James III's foreign policy and mismanagement of Scottish affairs resulted in a revolt that ended his life in 1488. See: Milfull, p. 19. Also see: McKim, *Wallace*, pp. viii-ix: Linas Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania*, Brussels, 2004, p. 58; Richard J. Moll, 'Off Quhat Nacioun Art Thow? National Identity in Blind Hary's *Wallace*', in R. A. MacDonald, ed., *History, Literature and Music in Scotland 700-1560*, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 2002, pp. 120-143 (p. 138).

promoting a Scottish identity that was vehemently anti-English.[27]   The literature appears to promote a single all-encompassing masculinity as the norm. However, I want to challenge this by using a number of exceptional episodes from the primary sources never discussed in detail before, and never through a gendered lens. The following sections will compare Wallace's specific actions and relationships with Bruce, the Scottish nobility and Edward I. The final episode looks solely at Wallace's cross-dressing which appears only in Harry's epic poem.

The Hammer and the Stick[28]

Barbour saw Bruce as the 'epitome of Scottish national character . . . [portraying his] personal struggle to become king as a popular national struggle'.[29]   In the sixteenth century, Major described Bruce as worthy, brave and wise, performing 'mony illuster dedis for the public wele and libertie of Scotland'.[30]   He was 'shapely and vigorous in body, broad-shouldered, of agreeable countenance . . . [and] quick intelligence'.[31]   Rising above the calamities littering his life, he was commended for his ability to balance his virtues and qualities, all of which were imbued with a sense of honour. This heroic virtue was a highly desired combination of 'strength of mind, resolution, and manliness'.[32]   Virtue and honour were essential kingly and knightly attributes and, alongside loyalty, were central values in *The Bruce*.[33]   For both Barbour and the fifteenth-century chronicler Walter Bower, Bruce was a true chivalric hero who gained respect through his prowess in military combat and exemplary martial conduct,

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[27] McKim,*Wallace*, p. ix.

[28] Bower labelled Wallace 'the hammer of the English' and Bruce 'the stick that beat the English'. See: vi, p. 83 and v, p. 385.

[29] Hall, *Medieval Scottish Poetry*, p. 68.

[30] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 286. Also see: Barbour, pp. 47 (1.28), 87 (1.173).

[31] Major, p. 236. For further references to Bruce's attributes/virtues see: Barbour, pp. 109 (2.564), 131 (3.371-390), 275 (7.331-367), 299 (8.161), 311 (8.379-390); Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 272; Leslie, ii, pp. 11-12.

[32] Linas Eriksonas, 'The National Hero: A Scottish Contribution', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 30, 2003, pp. 83-101 (p. 84). In the classical world gender-specific qualities of honour and virtue were seen as intrinsic attributes in noble men. See: Edmund Dickerman and Anita Walker, 'The Choice of Hercules: Henry IV as Hero', *The Historical Journal*, 39, 2, June 1996, pp. 315-337 (p. 317); Henry Kelly, 'Medieval Heroic Without Heroes or Epics', in Joseph F. Nagy and Leslie E. Jones, eds, *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in the Celtic Traditions*, Dublin, 2005, pp. 226-238 (p. 229). Also see: Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans.,George Bull, London and New York, 2003, pp. 40-58. For a brief discussion of honour and chivalry, see: Coss, p. 46.

[33] Barbour, p. 65 (1.365-380). They were also central values in the chronicles. For example, see: Stewart's *Metrical Version*, ii p. 704, iii, pp. 206-207; Leslie, i, p. 349.

compared with numerous classical and religious heroes of the past including Hector, Maccabee, and St Andrew – a special characteristic from each was to be found in Bruce.[34] Authors, except for Barbour, keenly outlined Bruce's rise from traitor to hero in the fight for freedom, eventually taking over where Wallace left off. Outlining Bruce's murder of John Comyn in the Dumfries church (1306) sixteenth-century historian George Buchanan suggests it was out of necessity. While Bruce had his own ambitions regarding the throne, Buchanan had his reader believe that Bruce, unlike the treacherous Comyn, had the greater good of Scotland in mind.[35] Through the eulogies written by the historians Bruce becomes unparalleled 'even in the most heroick times'.[36] His sacrilegious murder of Comyn was conveniently forgotten; fighting a righteous cause expiated his sin 'through the suffering of many setbacks before winning the war'.[37]

Bellenden's translation of Boece (1531) described Wallace as a man 'of grete stature and corporall strenth abone all uther men in his dayis, with sik prudence and craft of chevelry that nane was fundin peregall to him'. These sentiments were also found in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century works of John Fordun, Andrew Wyntoun, Walter Bower and Blind Harry, and the sixteenth-century works of John Major and John Leslie.[38] This neatly puts into perspective the literary ideals surrounding the masculinity of Wallace whose physical strength and stature became the 'most obvious measure of [his] manliness', frequently demonstrated through violent actions.[39] For Harry, Wallace's physicality is demonstrated when he tears a bar off a door with his bare hands and kicks down a door.[40] For Bower, Wallace was 'liberal in his gifts, a most skilful counsellor . . . who above all hunted down falsehood and deceit and

[34] Bower, vi, pp. 317-325, 339-415, vii, p. 47; Barbour, pp. 65 (1.395-396), 69 (1.465).
[35] Buchanan, i, p. 370; *Rerum*, f.88v (ll.30-44).
[36] Bower, vii, p. 47. Bower spends pages extolling the virtues and bravery of Bruce. The comparison with St Andrew is particularly worthy of note – both the saint and Bruce were seen as protectors of the Scottish nation. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 290-292.
[37] McKim 'National Heroes', p. 136.
[38] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 253. Also see: Fordun, p. 321; Wyntoun, v, p. 298; Bower, vi, pp. 83, 319; Harry, pp. 136 (6.780-788), 302 (10.1220-1252); Major, pp. 195-197; Leslie, i, p. 346. Translation: of great stature and bodily strength above all other men of the time and with such prudence/wisdom and valour/prowess none were found to be equal to him.
[39] McKim, 'National Heroes', p. 137. Harry describes him as 'fers as a lyoun'. See: p. 19 (1.113).
[40] Harry, pp. 53 (4.234-243), 118 (6.237); McKim, *Wallace*, p. 402.

detested treachery'. Furthermore, all his activities were guided by God who was pleased with the hero's works of justice.[41] Like Bruce, he was compared to ancient heroes and exceeded men of his day 'in undertaking dangers and for his wisdom and valour in overcoming them; for the love of his country he was second to none'.[42] Wallace's hypermasculinity, expressed through these descriptions, strikes a note with the reader particularly in comparison to the more ordinary physical characteristics, and apparent later leprosy, given to Bruce. However, Major believed much of Harry's tale was fabrication and one could not 'spend all [his] labour in the celebration of one man, however lofty his distinction'.[43] Bruce was a worthy hero whose achievements were also to be celebrated.[44]

Both Wallace and Bruce, in true heroic style, encounter hardships that test their physical and mental strength, proving they are worthy to fight for Scotland. Early in *The Wallace*, the hero is imprisoned and according to Harry, it was a '[g]ret mervaille' that he lived.[45] Bruce also had 'fortitude in all adversity [and] nothing could break his invincible courage' spending a year wandering Scotland, hiding from enemies, and living on roots and berries.[46] Amazingly, both men retained a strength enabling them to powerfully strike at their enemies, even when sick or in pain.[47] The chroniclers saw Bruce as God's saviour and champion of Scotland 'who

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[41] Bower, vi, p. 83. Also see: Major, p. 196; Leslie, i, p. 347. Gilbert Hay's works articulate that these are the main tenets of knighthood. See: 'Order of Knychthede', p. 27.

[42] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, pp. 161, 200. Also see: Harry, pp. 199 (8.479), 302 (10.1242); Major, p. 196.

[43] Major, p. 206.

[44] Major, p. 209.

[45] Harry, p. 21 (2.156).

[46] Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 265-266, 291; Leslie, ii, p. 1.

[47] Harry, p. 23 (2.220-223, 243-244); Barbour, p. 199 (5.181-183); Bower, vi, pp. 341-343, vii, p. 45. There are a number of parallels between the two heroes. This is perhaps unsurprising considering Harry's debt to Barbour. As McKim notes, the 'single more important model . . . for Blind Harry's composition is a fourteenth-century vernacular verse biography of . . . Robert the Bruce' whose author is Barbour. In fact, Harry borrows a number of episodes from Barbour's *Bruce* and uses them for his own hero. See: McKim, *Wallace*, pp. xi-xii. Borrowing from one author or another was not uncommon and we can see links between the works of Barbour and Fordun, Bower and Barbour, Harry and Bower and Wyntoun and Barbour. For further discussion, see: Duncan, *Bruce*, pp. 18-20; William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*, Edinburgh, 1998, p. 51; Michael Brown, *Bannockburn: The Scottish War and the British Isles 1307-1323*, Edinburgh, 2008, p. 9; Nicola Royan, 'Medieval Literature', in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald, eds, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c. 1100-1707, Volume 1: The Scottish Nation, Origins to c. 1500*, Dundee, 2007, pp. 201-217, (pp. 206-208); Anne McKim, '"Gret Price Off Chewalry": Barbour's Debt to Fordun', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 24, 1989, pp. 7-29; Walker, pp. 202-206; R. J. Goldstein, ''I will my process hald': Making Sense of Scottish

underwent countless and unbearable toils . . . for the sake of freeing his brethren' and only breaking free of them when God decided it was time.[48] Yet, he became the laughing stock of Scotland; a byword for a man on whom others heaped scorn; an outcast among the nobles of Scotland. These were inauspicious beginnings for the man who was to become a celebrated king.[49] The Scots saw the wars against England as sanctioned by God, thus legitimising Bruce's kingship and Wallace's violence, and ensuring their survival and victories against the English. Defence and protection of women, children and priests were knightly virtues; ones both Bruce and Wallace adhered to by showing mercy and humanity in a world violently turned upside down.[50] By contrasting the Scottish heroes with the English Other, especially Edward I who committed heinous acts of violence against the weak, authors demonstrated a magnanimity and display of noble leadership which was integral to one's *manheid*; a word implying both nobility and virility.[51] At the hands of a number of the authors it was Wallace rather than Bruce who became the symbol of a Scottish identity 'essentially martial and chivalric in nature'; ironic given Wallace's social background.[52] However, for Barbour it was Bruce who increased the prestige and power of Scotland especially after Bannockburn.

'He was als gud quhat deid was to assaill': Wallace vs Bruce[53]

Scottish knights were expected to have a legitimate noble lineage and be able to prove they were descended from a lengthy line of knights.[54] As the fifteenth-century writer and translator Gilbert Hay claimed, 'hye parage and anciene honour ar the first poyntis of the rute of

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Lives and Desire for History in Barbour, Wyntoun and Blind Hary', in P. Bawcutt and J. Hadley Williams, eds, *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 35-47, (pp. 37, 44).

[48] Fordun, pp. 330, 333, 335. Also see: Bower, vi, pp. 317, 325; Barbour, p. 125 (3.249-266); Major, pp. 220-222; Leslie, ii, pp. 2-3.

[49] Fordun, p. 335; Bower, vi, p. 325; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 265.

[50] Major, p. 197; Harry, pp. 38 (3.218), 62 (4.503), 105 (5.1029-1034), 119 (6.262-263), 203 (8.613), 207 (8.735), 217-218 (8.1049-1052), 279 (10.500); Fordun, p. 336; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 269. Also see: McKim, 'National Heroes', p. 138; Coss, p. 49.

[51] McKim, *Wallace*, p. 395; Isabel Davis, p. 165; McKim, 'National Heroes', p. 139.

[52] Roger A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland*, East Linton, 1998, p. 57.

[53] Translation: he [Wallace] was as good as [Bruce] in whatever actions he attempted. See: Harry, p. 28 (2.354).

[54] Stevenson, p. 13.

knychthede'.[55] Wallace's social status is a recurring theme with chroniclers desperate to give him the lineage required for the authoritative roles he undertook. Despite the ambiguities regarding Wallace's authority, these literary episodes tell us that Wallace, with his lower noble-class hypermasculinity, threatened the aristocratic, hegemonic masculinity of the Scottish nobility and their existing homosocial bonds; fragile bonds easily broken by treachery and cowardice. While there is certainty around the royal and aristocratic lineage of Bruce, Wallace's genealogical details are hazy; embellishment making it hard to differentiate fact from fiction. The fifteenth-century chronicler, Andrew Wyntoun introduced Wallace as the *legitimate*, younger son of a 'gentill knycht' and virtuous lady who 'shone with knightly honour', while Buchanan gave Wallace an ancient and noble lineage but of lesser circumstance.[56] Major accuses William Caxton, a fifteenth-century English printer, of stating that Wallace was a 'man with nothing illustrious in his origin' and yet incredibly the Scots still chose him as their leader.[57] By giving Wallace an honourable background, authors such as Wyntoun and Buchanan placed him firmly within the order of knighthood; an action that sanctioned his position. The importance of legitimate paternal lineage and class status were of no significance to Harry. Of greater value was Wallace's 'worthi blud' as a 'trew' Scot which linked Wallace to a past of worthy ancestors who kept the nation free, and identified Wallace with the nation and Scots in general.[58]

According to Harry, Bruce worked against his 'natiff men'; an action which allowed the author to criticise the youth who would eventually be king, but who at this point was praised by Edward I for being 'mekill of mayne'.[59] In the narratives, Wallace admonishes Bruce who,

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[55] Hay, 'Ordre of Knychthede', p. 28.

[56] Wyntoun, v, p. 298. My emphasis. Also see: Buchanan, i, p. 335; *Rerum*, f.76r (ll.35-36); Bower, vi, p. 83; Harry, pp. 1-2 (1.20-37); Major, p. 195. Fordun maintained Wallace's brother owned an estate large enough for his station, which he bequeathed to his descendants. See: p. 321. Noble status was broadly defined and included landowners who were marginally wealthier than the peasantry to the great magnates dominating national affairs. See: Elizabeth Ewan, 'Late Medieval Scotland: A Study in Contrasts', in P. Bawcutt and J. Hadley Williams, eds, *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 19-33 (p. 22).

[57] Major, p. 193. Also see: Harry, p. 165 (7.738).

[58] Harry, pp. 21-22 (2.160-209); Hall, 'Quham dowis thou Scot?' pp. 180-181. Also see: Jeffery Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain on Difficult Middles*, New York and Basingstoke, 2006, p. 15.

[59] Translation: of great strength. Harry, pp. 191 (8.241), 326 (11.720).

as the proposed father of the nation, was seen to wilfully shed the blood of his own offspring. After the battle of Falkirk (1298) Bruce carried back to camp the blood of fellow Scots on his weapons and clothes causing the English to mock him suggesting, as he sat down to eat, the unwashed Scot was eating 'his own blood'. It was this blood Bruce finally took responsibility for when he realised Wallace was right – it linked him to the Scottish people and the land.[60] Blood was a marker of race, a biological link that was supposed to ensure 'a high degree of communal solidarity'.[61] For the Scots the shedding of English blood was not believed to be sinful; indeed, instances of Wallace's bloodletting appeared to cure the body politic of its infection with foreign bodies (the English).[62] Blood, according to Richard Moll, became a 'measure of political opinion' as well as descent; through the use of blood Harry was able to 'divide his combatants' into true Scots and Others.[63] The blood of heroism and warfare was the only type of blood to be shed on the battlefield; women's blood threatened the masculine virtues of defence, protection, and revenge constructed in war.[64] By the end of the thirteenth century the term knighthood described warriors of high social status, thus omitting many from the political arena. Wallace's 'simpill blud' belonged to a man of lesser means in comparison to the Scottish magnates around him.[65] Wallace was a valuable scapegoat to his social superiors and his 'simple blood' was indispensible to those more interested in land and money than Scottish independence. In reality the 'trew' Scottish blood running through the veins of Wallace and Bruce is questionable, but like other facts skewed for political reasons, the issue of what constituted 'trew' blood is never discussed.

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[60] Harry, pp. 310 (11.210-213), 318 (11.471-472), 320-321 (11.530-545), 322 (11.594-597). Historically Wallace was a Balliol supporter not a Bruce supporter. Also see: Fordun, p. 331; Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 172. Buchanan referred to Bruce as a father of his people. See: i, p. 371; *Rerum*, f.89r (l.5). Leslie labelled him the 'father of the nation'. See: ii, p. 8. This is discussed further in chapter five of this thesis.

[61] Anthony Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* Oxford, 1999, p. 58.

[62] R. James Goldstein, 'Blind Hary's Myth of Blood: The Ideological Closure of *The Wallace*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 25, 1990, pp. 70-82 (p. 71). Also see: Cohen, *Hybridity*, p. 71.

[63] As Moll points out the diverse population of Scotland could make the identification of a Scot problematic. Harry gets around this by describing all ethnic groups of Scotland as 'trew Scottis' as long as they supported the ideal of Scottish independence. See: p. 126. Also see: Mrinalini Sinha, 'Nations in an Imperial Crucible', in Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Nation*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 181-202 (p. 194). Blood was the most precious of all the humors. See: Cohen, *Hybridity*, p. 71.

[64] Peggy McCracken, *The Curse of Eve*, *the Wound of the Hero: Blood, Gender and Medieval Literature*, Philadelphia, 2003, pp. 13-14, 36. See McCracken for further discussions around the gendering of blood.

[65] Harry, p. 165 (7.738); Stevenson, p. 8.

Harry argued that Wallace equalled Bruce in the variety of actions he undertook, but was bolder. Major decided he did not want to enter the debate regarding who was militarily superior, instead instructing his readers to remember that Bruce flourished at a later date and Wallace 'had no other instructors in warfare than experience and his own genius'.[66] However, he later claimed Bruce was far superior in matters of war than Wallace while Leslie argued Scotland would have fallen into decay had Wallace, with a 'marvellous fortitude, a spectacular and honourable courage', not restored them to liberty.[67] Wallace's bravery and fervour for freedom from English suppression became the criteria by which Scots chose him as, in Wyntoun's words, '[t]hare ledare', pushing him into a higher social status than he had been born into.[68] Wallace was given de-facto political power rather than inherited power. According to John Leslie, this made him a 'person of public authority' and caused tensions in the noble ranks, which suggests subordination of the nobility by a social inferior had taken place.[69] As Hay pointed out in his 'Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede', only men of high rank and nobility could be made knights, for only they have the 'nobility of heart' that those lower down the social scale apparently lack.[70] However, Hay does concede that some men of lower status, such as squires, can be received into the knighthood if they displayed the appropriate courage and virtues.[71] Wallace was knighted when he was made Guardian; an action raising him from his lower social status, making him part of the brotherhood of knights, and giving some justification for his appointment. Wallace's position within noble circles, albeit of the lower ranks, permitted him to take on a more authoritative role than he had legitimately inherited. The constructions of masculinity through warfare, chivalry, and knighthood imagine the nation as a brotherhood or fraternity; an arena that excludes some men, and elaborates and complements the proper feminine roles of women. As Bower maintained, this

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[66] Harry, p. 28 (2.355); Major, p. 195.
[67] Major, p. 264; Leslie, i, p. 346.
[68] Wyntoun, v, p. 306. Also see: Fordun, p. 321; Bower, vi, p. 91; Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 253-254; Leslie, i, p. 347; Major, p. 196.
[69] Leslie, i, p. 347.
[70] Hay, 'Ordre of Knychthede', pp. 28-29.
[71] Hay, 'Order of Knychthede', pp. 26-33.

brother-in-arms relationship was the joining of men 'who by birth and resources' were some of the greater men in the kingdom'.[72]

The most intriguing challenge to Bruce features in the narratives of Harry, Bower, Bellenden's Boece and Major, which outline an episode where Bruce and Wallace are given a secret dialogue at Falkirk. In Major's *History*, Bruce addresses Wallace thus:

> How comes it, bravest of men, that rashly daring thou dost wage war with so mighty a king [who has] the support alike of Englishmen and Scots, and when on all sides thou hast to fear the ill-will of thy country's nobles? . . . Few are the nobles upon thy side; and though the lowborn people be with thee, these are more fickle than the wind, and follow now thy half-ruined fortunes.[73]

Major made the assumption that Bruce's questioning of Wallace was a test of 'the secret bent' of the hero, suggesting that perhaps Wallace was 'aspiring to the supreme power'.[74] Wallace retaliates saying he never aspired to be king of the Scots; his real aim was to keep his country free from the slothfulness and treachery of its own nobility, as well as the martial efforts of England.[75] According to Buchanan, Wallace reminds Bruce that many of the nobility had forsaken the 'liberty, good and safety' of the country for a life of 'servitude with security' instead of 'liberty with hazard'. This is something that he, Wallace, would never do. Instead, he patriotically declared he would 'willingly die' for the country he had 'often defended' because his love for it would continue until the day he died.[76] Honour and freedom for the kingdom of Scotland drove Wallace, along with the faith of the 'simple tillers of the soil' who fought with him. Such faith was worth more than any magnate support which appeared Janus-faced. As Major argued, the nobles, despite their breeding and social standing, were no better

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[72] Bower, vi, p. 303. Also see: Sinha, 'Nations in an Imperial Crucible', pp. 194-195.

[73] Major, p. 201. Bower and Bellenden's Boece also narrate a similar address by Bruce. See: Bower, vi, p. 95; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 257. Edward Cowan argues that this speech was central to Scottish historiography dealing with the Wars of Independence through to the nineteenth century. See: E. J. Cowan, 'Scotching the Beggars: John the Commonweal and Scottish History', in Alex Murdoch, ed., *The Scottish Nation: Identity and History*, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 1-17 (p. 9).

[74] Major, p. 201.

[75] Major, p. 201.

[76] Buchanan, i, p. 339; *Rerum*, f.77v (ll.10-12, 21-23); Major, p. 202. For similar sentiments, see: Harry, pp. 318-319 (11.455-508); Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 257; Leslie, i, p. 345.

than those of the fickle lower classes. He claimed that Wallace warned Bruce to beware the all-powerful Comyns whose eventual treachery against Bruce highlights the break in the brothers-in-arms bond through envy, and desire for power.[77] The criticism of the nobility, and the questionable fidelity of the 'lowborn people', illustrates the tensions permeating the chronicles with regard to gender and social status. Finally, according to Major, Bruce was moved to tears 'when he considered the strenuous courage of the man and the grandeur of his words'.[78] Eighty years earlier Bower had claimed 'the power of Wallace's words so entered [Bruce's] heart that he no longer had any thought of favouring the views of the English'.[79] For Bower and Major, the result of the conversation saw Bruce ready to fight for Scotland, subsequently increasing his authority and masculinity, and laying the foundations for a kingship worthy of respect.

Via this dialogue the chroniclers admonish the nobility, whom they perceived as lazy and self-interested, showing their disappointment in the lack of vigour in maintaining the nation's freedom. Bower suggested Bruce's 'inactivity and womanish cowardice' encouraged Wallace to take charge. By calling Bruce an 'effeminate man (*semivir*) . . . ready . . . to advance from bed to battle . . . with a pampered body accustomed to a soft life [having] feebly taking up the weight of battle', he attacks Bruce's warrior masculinity and gives him passive feminine characteristics to account for his behaviour.[80] Bruce's actions were coloured by the authors' anti-English sentiment, particularly as he was seen as dishonouring his native land, fighting for the English and subjecting himself to the English king. Such comments were not only derogatory, they challenged Bruce's masculinity. Honour and loyalty (in this case loyalty to

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[77] Major, pp. 201-202. Major and Buchanan had very specific views on kingship and the far-reaching powers of an uneducated nobility. Buchanan articulated ideas of resistance by the people against bad governance. In this case, Buchanan's venom was levelled at the nobility who were supposed to be in charge during the absence of a legitimate and competent monarch.

[78] Major, p. 202. Also see: Bower, vi, p. 97; Harry, p. 321 (11.541-546). Watt notes this was another example of the 'splendid influence of Wallace', even when defeated. See: vi, p. 242.

[79] Bower, vi, p. 97. Harry also makes a similar reference. See: p. 321 (11.542-547).

[80] Bower, vi, p. 95. *Semivir* translates as unmanned, unmanly or effeminate as used by Virgil and Livy. A similar episode appears in Barbour where Bruce's nephew Randolph rebukes the king, challenging his masculinity. See: p. 359 (9.745-758). Also see: Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 181; Major, p. 201. Fordun parallels cowards with old women, suggesting the former are weakened by less than manly actions. See: Fordun, p. 136.

Scotland) were the measure of a man's worth, and therefore his manhood. In order to emphasise the importance of national ties in the quest for Scotland's independence, authors used ideas around gender to get their point across. Harry calls Bruce's masculinity and individual Scottish identity into question when Bruce asks Wallace 'Quhat art thou thar?' and the latter replies, 'a man'. This indicates Bruce was viewed, certainly by Harry, as less than manly because he fought behind the backs of his native men.[81] Bower also appears to diminish Bruce's masculinity in favour of Wallace through his analogies of the hammer and the stick, suggesting Wallace appeared as a more powerful force than Bruce. Wallace as a hammer shaped and forged the freedom and identity of the Scots, and the future actions of Bruce.[82] Yet, Bower was quick to heap praise on Bruce for his conversion to the Scottish cause and his maintenance of independence which would see him become saviour and champion of Scotland, and the king of Scots.[83] Contradicting Wallace's earlier speech, Bower now tells his readers it was never Bruce's fate to be 'affected by the characteristics of prosperity or unduly taken up with the titillations of leisure for the body or with the shams of the shallow and the frivolous' because he was busy fighting for what was rightfully his: the Scottish crown. As a result Bruce became more even-tempered in striving for justice up until his death.[84] I argue the differences between Wallace and Bruce are used to illustrate the split within Scotland's brotherhood of knights; a breaking of the homosocial bonds that should have held them together against adversity. The destabilisation this caused reflects the destabilisation of Scotland; a land currently without a monarch.[85]

Bruce and Wallace are entirely different heroes; Wallace is the overtly masculine protagonist able to inflict violence and bloodshed on others without censure. Outside of Barbour's epic, Bruce is not. Wallace is a hero who emerges out of nowhere gaining in strength after each

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[81] Harry, p. 317 (11.443-444); Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 178. Unsurprisingly, Harry's portrayal of Bruce served to make his protagonist, Wallace, all the more heroic.

[82] Interestingly, Edward Cowan suggests Maccabeus, a term used to describe Bruce, comes from the term Makkab, meaning 'hammer'. See: *'For Freedom Alone': The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320*, Edinburgh, 2008, p. 53.

[83] Bower, v, p. 385.

[84] Bower, vi, p. 329.

[85] Patricia Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain*, Philadelphia, 2001, p. 175.

adventure; Bruce embarks on a long journey from ardent English supporter to hesitant warrior nobleman to the nation's hero. His hardships become an absolution of his murder of John Comyn and his being an English adherent against his native men and country. Because of his initial hesitancy, Bruce had to prove he was worthy of being a true Scot, whereas Wallace's allegiance and national identity are unquestioned. Bruce's masculinity is repeatedly challenged by Wallace's. Even after the Battle of Bannockburn (1314), Bruce is not perceived as a hammer of the English despite the Scots' victory. The English were led by Edward II who was perceived as a weak and ineffectual king in comparison to his father.[86] In some ways this diminishes Bruce's success compared to Wallace's at Stirling Bridge (1297). Wallace was pitched against Edward I, a mighty warrior king, and against whom any victory was an achievement. However, one could argue Wallace had an easy victory at Stirling as Edward was not actually present; at Falkirk he was and Wallace lost. Despite commending Bruce for changing sides the patriotic Bower found it hard to forgive Bruce his earlier transgressions of fighting for the English, particularly because Wallace was unwavering in his nationalistic sentiment. The chronicler compared the masculinities of the two men unfavourably, suggesting nobility of birth did not matter in the battle for Scottish independence. Barbour never questions Bruce's masculinity and his exclusion of Wallace from *The Bruce* ensured there was no challenge to his hero's martial prowess by a man of lesser rank. The only challenges come from the English whom Barbour regards as being less than equal to the Scots, making it easy for him to promote the superiority of Bruce. Across the narratives that detail his exploits Bruce progresses from the national son to the nation's father, whereas Wallace's death and social status mean he permanently remains a son of the nation.[87]

Wallace was twenty-four when he burst onto the Scottish scene, an age where the 'rage of youth maid him to haif no dreid'.[88] In the Ages of Man tradition, youth was the time of folly and, in warriors, of rashness. Yet, the authors continually expressed that Wallace was prudent,

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[86] Fiona Watson, *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland 1286-1307*, Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 227-228; Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371*, Edinburgh, 2004, pp. 203-220.
[87] Boehmer, p. 28.
[88] Harry, p. 16 (2.28).

wise, bold, and true with 'such incredible fortitude at his coming of age', and an ability to vanquish three or four Englishmen at a time - attributes more than fitting his age.[89] At the same time, Bruce was two to three years younger, still guided by his father (*d.* 1304), and possibly less experienced than Wallace. Bruce's support of the English king was perhaps viewed by chroniclers as a certain rashness of youth. In Bruce's questioning of Wallace (above) we are faced with a younger man querying the bravery and rashness of someone older which indicates social status takes precedence, not the authority of age. However, young heroes could display wisdom far beyond their years; in this case Wallace reached the age of reason before he should, a time for 'special obligation to do justice and foster the common profit'.[90] In heroic poetry it was a common trope that fortitude and wisdom combined to represent the meeting point of youth and age.[91] Wallace appeared to transcend his youth, reaching manhood through many feats of prowess which had begun at a tender age. If he was challenged for headstrong conduct there was always a logical reason why such behaviour had been displayed, diminishing any idea of rash action.[92] Moreover, the narratives of Wallace had to make him mature rapidly due to his untimely death. Bruce, on the other hand, matured over time through hardship and experience which was essential for good kingship. As the comparisons of Bruce and Wallace have shown, at the hands of the authors, the national battle incorporated a fight between dominant and subordinate masculinities; a theme which will be continued below.

'[B]egotten of the spring of envy': Wallace vs Nobility[93]

In *The Wallace*, true Scottishness only existed if there was a king to defend it; if there was no king willing or able to do this it was implied that a subject, such as Wallace, could take

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[89] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 253; Harry, p. 16 (2.1-6, 27). Barbour describes Bruce in this way. See: pp. 231 (6.124-143), 233 (6.155-180), 239 (6.288-293), 255 (6.621-645), 269 (7.222-225), 451 (12.50-72). These attributes also place Wallace squarely within the requirements of knighthood. See: Hay, 'Order of Knychthede', p. 27.

[90] J. A. Burrows, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 50, 131.

[91] Burrows, p. 132.

[92] Harry, p. 5 (1.155-158). One example is the challenge by Sir John Graham. Another is the 'rage of youth' Wallace felt after the death of his wife. See Harry, pp. 126 (6.488-493), 227 (8.1355).

[93] Fordun, p. 323.

charge.[94] Wallace was seen as subjecting the nobility 'willy nilly to his authority whether by force or strength of his prowess'.[95] Taking oaths of loyalty from all the barons of Scotland who came to him, Wallace in turn promised to work for their defence providing they kept their oath of loyalty to him and Scotland. Those who refused were punished severely while he rewarded the faithful. Such patronage and punishments would have been seen as the usurping of a role reserved for the king, and was the well from which the nobility's envy sprung, resulting in homosocial rivalry.[96] As Major wrote:

> [u]nder his glory the reputation of those who had been accustomed to the first
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> place seemed to dwindle; without their help he conducted the whole government
>
> of the realm . . . he was of no illustrious house yet proved himself a better ruler, in
>
> the simple armour of his integrity, than any of those nobles would have been.[97]

Having a lesser noble punish them, or tell them what to do, would not have been well received by the Scottish nobility. Furthermore, having a hero such as Wallace achieve what they had been unable to regarding the freedom from English subjection would have grated on their hierarchical sensibilities. Turning to the English camp the nobility maintained if they were going to die they would rather do it 'under a great and potent king not under an upstart'; thus plans were begun to undermine Wallace's authority.[98]

Loyalty underpinned the relationships between noble men, paralleling loyalty to God.[99] As Barbour wrote, loyalty was 'to love wholeheartedly . . . live righteously . . . without loyalty [man] is worthless'.[100] The antithesis of loyalty was disloyalty or treachery which often resulted from envy; a prominent theme in the discussions of Wallace, and suggestive of competing masculinities for power. Like Harry, the Scottish chroniclers argued that envy and falsehood amongst the Scots nobility resulted in the defeat at Falkirk (1298). Despite English

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[94] Royan and Broun, p. 176.
[95] Bower, vi, p. 83.
[96] Harry, pp. 182-183 (7.1255-1265, 1290-1303). Also see: Fordun, p. 322; Bower, vi, p. 85; Bellenden's Boece, p. 254; Major, p. 198; Isabel Davis, p. 117.
[97] Major, pp. 198-199.
[98] Buchanan, i, p. 338; *Rerum*, f.77r (ll.31-36). Also see: Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 172; Major, pp. 199, 201; Harry, pp. 204-205 (8.649-684).
[99] Royan, p. 136.
[100] Barbour, p. 65 (1.365-374).

nobles such as 'Schir Amer' commending and admiring Wallace's courage and wisdom in war, the Scottish nobles were angry a man of 'obscure lineage' was supported by the populace and growing in 'manhede and pissance' (power and authority).[101] Bower moralised that disaster befell Scotland due to the nobility's lack of respect 'for inferiors, in case they are made equal to themselves . . . [t]hus by envy was achieved the downfall of the clergy, the ruin of the people and the collapse of the kingdom'.[102] In order to emphasise the weakness of the nobility through such vice, Wallace's virtues and manliness are exaggerated to the point they are unattainable by anyone else. Wallace's shrewdness contrasts sharply with the nobility's intoxicating jealousies of their inferior, and their plotting against him 'under the guise of expressions of virgin-innocence but with their tails tied together'.[103] This shows that those who guarded their position at the top of the social ladder would stop at nothing to protect this position even if it meant using an inferior as a scapegoat. Certainly in Harry's lifetime the preoccupation with social order reflects the political situation of the late fifteenth century when great noble families took advantage of the king's minority to advance their own power and political agendas. Such descriptions of envy and deceit arguably feminise the magnates in comparison to Wallace's rational and honourable masculinity.[104] Bruce would have automatically commanded respect from his aristocratic peers because of his social position, but Wallace being of lower birth had to earn it, and then keep it. Any respect for Wallace was built on unstable foundations that would crumble at the slightest nudge.

While Harry pointed to a Council of leading Scots appointing Wallace as guardian, Buchanan argued it was the common folk who 'seeing the nobles sluggish in their management of affairs, either out of fear or indolence' proclaimed Wallace as regent. In this role 'he managed

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[101] Harry, pp. 141 (7.17-18), 307 (11.95-104), 311 (11.240); Fordun, p. 323; Major, pp. 198-199; Wyntoun, v, p. 314; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 256; Leslie, i, p. 347.
[102] Bower, vi, pp. 93, 95; Harry, pp. 307-308 (11.95-162), 335 (11.983-987), 367-368 (12.824-849). Harry saw envy as a motivating factor, and Barbour saw it as an age-old problem for some of the nobility. See: p. 49 (1.47-48). Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 256; Hay, 'Ordre of Knychthede', pp. 44.
[103] Bower, vi, pp. 93, 97. Also see: Harry, p. 205-206 (8.681-688, 705-707).
[104] Harry, p. 350 (12.250). Envy was seen as that 'wyle dragoun'. Dragons were often used to describe women thus feminising the term.

things as a lawful magistrate and substitute of Baliol'.[105]   Here the word 'substitute' is important because it shows Wallace acting as a locum for the king rather than taking on kingly authority.   Nevertheless, there was a disruption to the natural order with the usually subordinate commons taking over from the nobles and choosing a leader because those who were supposed to protect the people were failing in their hereditary task; a clear inversion of the social hierarchy.   Yet, an inferior noble taking charge was surely better than having no leader? As Barbour suggests, leaderless men are not so bold in their actions as they have no role-model to follow, but if they have a bad leader, his 'wrechytnes' so infuses his men '[t]hat thai thar manlynes sall tyn/Throu wrechitnes of his convyn'; such cowardice, and loss of manliness, will subsequently lead to defeat.[106]

Buchanan, keen to highlight the treason played against Wallace, suggested this was worse than being conquered by the enemy.[107]   Harry explicitly maintained his hero did not want the crown being loyal to the rightful king of Scotland and confident God would reward him when his time came. Yet, Major criticised Wallace for his actions at Falkirk, suggesting failure was not to be blamed entirely on the nobility. Before the battle, the Scots leaders quarrelled about who should take command.   With his praise for the hero obviously exhausted, Major suggested Wallace yielded the place to no-one and deserted the field, while Boece argued Stewart and Comyn were disgusted that a man of 'obscure linage and small begynnying' should be preferred over them.[108]   However, it has to be remembered, Wallace did not act alone. He did have some support from members of the nobility and possibly deferred to their command despite what the chronicles lead us to believe.[109] In the end Wallace renounced his

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[105] Harry, p. 135 (6.766-770); Buchanan, i, p. 335; *Rerum*, f.76v (ll.3-7). Major saw no official regency conferred on Wallace. The role of regent was 'what he took upon himself and exercised in all uprightness of heart'. See: p. 202. Also see: *Scalacronica*, p. 41; Wyntoun, v, p. 306.

[106] Barbour, pp. 321 (9.63-72), 323 (9.76-78). Translation: they will lose their manliness through the cowardice of his outlook. See: Duncan, *Bruce*, p. 322. For medieval literature on good leaders, see: Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, (1489), trans. G. W. Willard, ed. Charity Cannon Willard, Pennsylvania, 1999; Honore Bonet, *The Tree of Battles*, (1380s), ed and trans. G. W. Coopland, Cambridge, 1949; Hay, 'Ordre of Knychthede'.

[107] Buchanan, i, p. 345; *Rerum*, f.79r (l.30).

[108] Major, pp. 199-200; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 256. Also see: Leslie, i, p. 345; Harry, p. 308 (11.135-142).

[109] In 1304/05 Wallace was believed to have been fighting alongside Sir Simon Fraser, and was likely under Fraser's command. See: Brown, *Wars*, pp. 195-197.

governorship, apparently of his own free will, disillusioned with the lack of support from the Scots in maintaining their freedom.[110] Therefore, the authors used Wallace's appointment as guardian as a way to express disdain for the 'duplicities and disloyalties of ambitious magnates'.[111] The ultimate treachery of the nobility was their betrayal, specifically through the traitorous actions of Sir John Menteith, of Wallace to the English king resulting in his vicious execution. Menteith placed his nephew, as an informant, in Wallace's circle of men, in order to gain the right opportunity for the hero's capture.[112] This highlights the breakdown of any existing homosocial bonds, and demonstrates that such relationships were brittle due to Wallace's lack of inherited social standing.[113]

'[N]euir to be at his command': Wallace vs Edward[114]

For Harry and Boece, Wallace was the 'reskew of Scotland'. For Bower he was 'the hammer of the English' a surprising parallel with Edward I renowned as the hammer of the Scots, and placing Wallace on a par with the English king.[115] For the writer of the fourteenth-century *Lanercost* chronicle, Wallace was 'that bloody man . . . who had formerly been a chief of brigands in Scotland' who now revolted against the (English) king.[116] For Edward, Wallace was 'law born . . . of law simpill blood'; an irritant who sorely vexed the mind of the English king, and whom he was determined to crush.[117] Wallace challenged Edward's authority as king of England and as overlord of Scotland. A man of lesser means, of much younger age,

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[110] Harry, p. 328 (11.763-785). Also see: Bower, vi, p. 97; Leslie, i, p. 348. Before Stirling, Wallace and Sir Andrew Murray joined forces and afterwards jointly claimed leadership as 'commanders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland'. See: Brown, *Wars*, pp. 184-185.

[111] Fraser, p. 101.

[112] Harry, p. 371 (12.948-954). McKim argues that the 'role of Menteith in the capture of Wallace is not doubted. He is accused of treachery by Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower' despite being classed by Geoffrey Barrow as a 'staunch patriot'. However Menteith had submitted to the English king in 1304 and therefore was only acting out of allegiance. See: McKim, *Wallace*, p. 433.

[113] Harry, pp. 3-5 (1.85-141), 367 (12.824-834). Harry maintains Wallace was the godfather of Menteith's children, which makes his betrayal of the hero to the English king all the more reprehensible. Also see: *Scalacronica*, p. 45; Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 200; Leslie, i, p. 348; Wyntoun, v, p. 370.

[114] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 168.

[115] Harry, p. 2 (1.38); Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 161; Bower, vi, p. 83.

[116] *Lanercost*, p. 163.

[117] Harry, p. 165 (7.738-739); Major, p. 196.

and less experience, Wallace undercut the dominant masculinity of Edward. While Scottish nobles bowed to Edward's authority, Wallace refused to be subjected as both man and Scot. Instead, the chroniclers had Wallace grow not only in physical strength, but authoritative strength by drawing many people to him who saw a chance for their release from English subordination.[118] For Harry, the young Wallace was 'wys, rycht worthy, wicht (bold) and kynd', whereas Edward was 'that fals king' who committed many wrongs against Scotland.[119] Major agreed but still criticised Wallace's lack of foresight in dealing with Edward, suggesting dissimulation with the English king would have protected him from his noble enemies.[120]

After Stirling (1297), Wallace took his army into England and laid waste, returning to Scotland triumphant and rich with the spoils of war. Wallace's adventures in England infuriated the English king who had returned from fighting in France and now moved to sort out the threat north of the border. Edward's response was 'a threatening letter to the guardian of Scotland' suggesting that if he, the English king, 'had remained in his kingdom, William would not have dared to attempt such deeds'. Further action by Wallace would cause the English king to seek retribution upon him and his men 'for their presumption'.[121] Wallace replied he would be back in England before Easter and, true to his word, met Edward's army near Stainmore. The guardian's seriousness and deliberations were in direct contrast to the opposing noisy rabble. The 'pretentious clamour of trumpets' coming from the English side was as presumptuous as the English king's claim he would easily destroy the Scots; arrogance wiped away by Bower's narrative which insisted that on seeing the Scottish side advance 'sensibly with harmonious and resolute step', the English fled.[122] According to Major, Wallace was proud to have forced such 'a powerful king to quit the field in his own

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[118] Bower, vi, p. 299; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 260; Major, p. 203; Harry, p. 119 (6.265-269). In 1297 Wallace was approximately 25 years old, and Edward was 58. Harry outlines many instances of Wallace's prowess and growth in strength. For example, see: pp. 17 (2.30-65), 19-20 (2.105-145), 43 (3.360-383), 54 (4.250-264), 80 (5.250-264), 101 (5.895-904).
[119] Harry, pp. 5-6 (1.160, 184).
[120] Major, p. 204.
[121] Bower, vi, pp. 89, 91. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 254-255; Major, p. 197.
[122] Bower, vi, p. 91. Also see: Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 255. This also is mentioned in a Latin poem, *c.* 1297. See: 'On the Battle of Stirling Bridge', in Thomas O. Clancy, ed., *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry AD500-1350*, Edinburgh, 1998, p. 298.

kingdom'.[123] The English responded by arguing that their king was not on the field having been replaced by 'someone else . . . in his suit of armour'.[124] Interestingly, no evidence of this correspondence or the above meeting of the two armies exists, suggesting it was a literary device designed to show Wallace's valour in 'driving England from the ancient Scottish kingdom'.[125]

In Harry's embellished narrative the English queen asks to be sent to persuade Wallace to desist from his actions, instead of sending a letter. Harry declared her desire to go to the Scotsman was because she was in love with him due to his great reputation and 'well-made' physical features.[126] Furthermore, Harry's authorial license saw the Scottish protagonist nobly repudiate the queen's advances and her talk of love for him; while historically inaccurate, Harry took a swipe at Edward using Wallace's sexual manhood to undermine the English king and increase the Scotsman's honour.[127] Inge Milfull suggests the French-born queen was less afraid of Wallace than the English magnates possibly because France and Scotland had been long-term allies.[128] However, if this is the case, Harry's use of her highlights the cowardice of the English political and military men and their king in contrast to a woman. Wallace's answer to the king's letter was not only met on the battlefield. He had also written that he was only copying what Edward had done to Scotland – invade when the realm was without a head. Moreover, Wallace promised he would continue in his 'perpetuall defence of Scotland' determined to relieve the servitude, and avenge the distress Edward had caused.[129]

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[123] Major, p. 198. Hay claims that cowardice in a king was dishonourable. See: 'Ordre of Knychthede', p. 27; Hay, 'The Buke of the Law of Armys', *The Prose Works of Sir Gilbert Hay*, ii, ed. Jonathan A. Glenn, Edinburgh, 2005, p. 79.

[124] Bower, vi, p. 91.

[125] Watt, vi, p. 237. The meeting at Stainmore ,and subsequent fleeing of the English, could refer to Edward's abortive campaign of December 1299 which has been taken out of context. See: p. 239.

[126] Harry, p. 220 (8.1137-1141). Wallace apparently held the respect of many women - his reputation was well-known abroad. Even the French Queen admired Wallace's manliness. See: pp. 238, 250.

[127] Harry, pp. 229-231 (8.1401-1456).

[128] Milfull, p. 27. Milfull suggests this gives her an independent point of view despite being affiliated with Wallace's enemies.

[129] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 255.

Wallace's strength, prudence, and ability to control his army are emphasised by the cowardice of the English. Edward's presence, absence, or (in Major's narrative) his refusal to fight was immaterial; the chroniclers viewed him as much of a coward as his men.[130] Wallace's second, but fabricated, victory over the English served to increase his strength, honour and manhood, and anti-English feeling in the narratives. According to the Scottish chroniclers, the only way Edward could defeat Wallace was by treachery and betrayal. Using knowledge of the rising dissension among the Scottish nobility before Falkirk to his advantage Edward resoundingly defeated Wallace's army. Later, through bribery and deceit, he captured Wallace and put him to death. English chroniclers blamed Wallace for the Scottish defeat claiming 'that Wallace brought them to the jig and they could have danced if they wished'.[131] Caxton insisted Wallace fled the field, whereas the Scots believed Wallace showed fortitude and prudence by keeping himself and his men safe; similar ideas expressed over the actions of Robert Stewart, outlined in chapter three.[132] However, many facts are glossed over by Scottish chroniclers, suggestive of authorial amnesia and a patriotic agenda. Harry further undermined Edward's superiority by fabricating a battle at Biggar where, in a similar vein to above, 'the Southeron folk fled fast' and many of Edward's leading men, and family members, were killed.[133] Wallace won because he 'steadfastly conducted himself' and wisely controlled his men who were keen to follow the fleeing English. The English king meanwhile had been put on his horse and led off the field against his will.[134] For Harry, English cowardice only served to emphasise the rational leadership of Wallace and the righteousness of the Scots in comparison with the lack of honour, and diminished masculinity of the enemy.

The lack of a proper trial, and the brutal torture and death of Wallace (1305) were other ways in which Scottish authors could weigh up their hero against the hated Edward, while simultaneously inserting a sense of injustice, disloyalty, and weakness into the narratives.

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[130] Major, p. 198.
[131] *Scalacronica*, p. 43.
[132] Major, p. 200; Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 179. Hay suggested it was preferable to live than die, before outlining the pros and cons of fleeing the field in battle. However, he believed it was dishonourable to flee the field of battle. See: 'Law of Armys', pp. 80-81.
[133] Harry, pp. 130 (6.593), 132 (6.647-654); McKim, *Wallace*, p. 409.
[134] Harry, p. 130 (6.591-595).

Bower's anti-Englishness permeates the *Scotichronicon*, which continually reminded its readers of English treachery against the Scots. By comparing the masculinities of Wallace, Edward, and Sir John Menteith, Bower suggests the English king took his fame and honour and ostentatiously made it into a great show while Menteith cheapened his honour through envy and scandalous actions. Comparatively, Wallace made his masculinity worthy, promoted as the type of man to be emulated, not one who was feminised through greed and gaudy display.[135] His torture degraded and humiliated; it stripped him of everything and promoted him as worthless. The English were content to call Wallace faithless, bloodthirsty and ignoble, claiming he and the Scots skinned Hugh Cressingham after the battle at Stirling, making thongs from his skin purely out of spite. The English were determined to show Wallace's lack of honour impinged on the honour of Scotland, and on the order of knighthood.[136] However, Wallace never verbally, mentally, or emotionally conceded to Edward, and in the end only unwillingly surrendered physically. Objectified by English authority and power, he nonetheless sacrificed his life for Scotland's freedom; an action which reinstated his masculinity. Any threat this surrender caused the heroic model of behaviour was resolved by transferring Wallace's eventual physical submission to the enemy into submission to God; the ultimate heroic triumph.[137]

The death of Edward I (1307) was another way chroniclers accentuated Wallace's superior honour; it was claimed Edward's 'wretched soul' flew straight to hell, whipped and flailed by demons, whereas Wallace's soul went directly to heaven.[138] In view of the violence and bloodshed at the hands of Wallace, how could this be? The justification: Wallace was fighting for his country's freedom. While Bower and Harry used Wallace and his martyrdom as a way to turn their hero into a timeless symbol, Major was unsure, arguing that even when the cause

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[135] Bower, vi, pp. 313-315.

[136] *Lanercost* was more explicit stating Wallace skinned Cressingham to make a baldrick for his sword. See: pp. 164, 168. Also see: *Scalacronica*, p. 41; Bower, vi, p. 313; Hay, 'Ordre of Knychthede', p. 28.

[137] Edward Christie, 'Self-Mastery and Submission: Holiness and Masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Martyr-Kings', in P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, eds, *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, Cardiff, 2004, pp. 143-157 (p. 151). Wallace was executed in London, 1305.

[138] Bower, vi, p. 331; Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 267-268; Major, p. 223.

was just every war gave occasion to sins and excesses of all kinds.[139] Resolving not to give in to England, or refusing to acknowledge any wrongdoing, suggests Wallace displayed a 'self-mastery [which] is represented as a choice, not lack of power'.[140] Deciding to 'endure suffering and death rather than renounce' his loyalty to Scotland protected his 'heroic-masculine identity'; an image more important for the chroniclers than Wallace's historicity evident in the way they wrote of his virtues, battles, and skirmishes in minute detail.[141] However, it is all a matter of rhetoric and nowhere is this more evident than *Lanercost*'s comments on the butchering of Wallace's body; the 'vilest doom' that justly punished his crimes warning the Scots to be wiser in choosing 'a nobler chief!'[142] The English saw Wallace as an outsider, the Other, unworthy of the knightly status he was given: a status that was unnatural because of his low birth and 'which dictated he had no entitlement to usurp the command of the national army in order to defy Edward I'.[143] However, it was a status that could only be taken away by one with 'a princis powar' or by death.[144] Verbal abuse was the only way the English could try to erase the mighty Edward's failures, the cowardice of the English, and diminish the success and superiority of the hypermasculine protagonist who challenged gender stereotypes.

'[A] stalwart quene': William Wallace, a hero in drag[145]

For a narrative focusing as much on bloodshed and kingship as on gruesome anti-English fervour, it is intriguing that the hypermasculine hero repeatedly resorts to drag early in *The Wallace*. This intersection of transvestism and hypermasculinity is an interesting combination of two opposing concepts and therefore worthy of examination. As we have seen above, Wallace was depicted as a true nationalist hero, a warrior, and martyr who sacrificed his life for his nation and contributed to the hegemonic norm. What happens when we move away

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[139] Harry lined Wallace up alongside other martyrs such as Oswald, Edmund, Edward, and Thomas. See: Harry, p. 382 (12.1307-1309); Major, p. 204. With his view on the union of the two kingdoms, this lack of apportioning blame is not unsurprising. Also see: Bower, vi, p. 317; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 218.
[140] Christie, p. 154.
[141] Christie, pp. 154-155. Also see: Davidson, p. vii.
[142] *Lanercost*, p. 176.
[143] Cowan, 'Scotching the Beggars', p. 9.
[144] Hay, 'Ordre of Knychthede', p. 28.
[145] Harry, p. 71 (4.786).

from this and address the cross-dressing antics of Wallace that are unique to Harry's poem? Was the masculine narrative and subsequently the identity of Scotland harmed in any way as a result of Wallace's transgression? Adopting a female disguise was a literary trope that allowed a hero to evade capture as we find in medieval Arthurian romances or with later seventeenth and eighteenth-century figures such as Charles II and Bonnie Prince Charlie. Yet, it is only Harry who makes Wallace cross-dress; none of the other authors under investigation allow cross-dressers into their narratives. Acknowledging that Harry uses the cross-dressing episodes as a temporary and comedic interlude in his heroic narrative, the inclusion here and exclusion elsewhere demonstrate 'important cultural anxieties about the presumed fixity of gender roles'.[146] Therefore, Wallace's cross-dressing is not just about pragmatism, it is about making a specific literary point. Harry views the different clothed bodies of Wallace from 'a spectrum of gendered subject positions, based on a conception of the . . . body as more sartorial than anatomical'. Clothing therefore becomes the 'prime indicator of gender identity'.[147]

I would therefore like to examine the three transvestite episodes of Wallace as bending the gender boundary, but not in the 'conventional' way of the fourteenth-century English cross-dresser, John Rykener.[148] Very few instances of male cross-dressing have been documented and Rykener has become the most famous medieval transvestite; his story survives because he was arrested and legal documents give us some information about his case. Rykener prostituted himself disguised as a woman, had sex with men *ut cum muliere* 'as with a woman', and lived as a woman with other women. The problem was not just his sexual activity, but that he dressed, lived and acted as a woman thereby transgressing social

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[146] E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture*, Philadelphia, 2002, p. 123.
[147] Burns, pp. 128, 132.
[148] By conventional, I mean underpinned by sexual transgression, or dressing as a woman to consciously and deliberately change gender for means other than disguise.

convention.[149]   The gender connotations surrounding Wallace's transvestism make it an interesting and previously unexplored topic for investigation.

Wallace's attire is questioned a number of times in *The Wallace*, usually by characters seeking to deride him as a Scot. When seen wearing a fine green garment, the English ask Wallace 'Quha devil thee grathis in so gay a gyde?' instead suggesting the Scot should be wearing an Irish cloak and rough brogues upon his feet as befitting his inferior racial status.[150] A skirmish ensues with Wallace killing the squire before fleeing to his uncle's house where he engages in his first act of transvestism. Wallace managed to deceive the English by dressing in '[a] roussat gown' with '[a] soudly courche our hed and nek leit fall'.[151] Harry explains that when the Englishmen entered the safe-house Wallace was sitting spinning very skilfully, considering he had not learned long. The Englishmen, convinced by his feminine portrayal, left taking their aggression out on the townsfolk by burning their town.[152] Clothing obviously did 'make the man' and to challenge a man's attire was not only an attack on his status and honour but his masculinity, which was only rescued by killing the challenger. The second transvestite episode, which immediately follows the first, sees Wallace's mother clothe him as a female pilgrim, again to escape the English. Wallace gladly went with her, although he carried '[a] short swerd undyr his weid prevale'.[153] It was hoped any Englishmen they encountered would spare such pious looking women. Interestingly, an English Captain's wife who joined their pilgrimage was captivated with the feminine Wallace described as

> yong . . . wondyr fayr,
>
> Nocht large of tong,

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[149] Beattie, pp. 155-157, quote p. 156. Also see: Ruth Mazo Karras and David Lorenzo Boyd, '"Ut cum muliere" A Male Transvestite Prostitute in Fourteenth-Century London', in Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero, eds, *Premodern Sexualities*, New York, 1996, pp. 101-116 (p. 109). I use the term 'transvestite' broadly in that it does not always carry modern connotations of sexual desire. See: Valerie Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe*, New York and London, 1996, p. 4.

[150] Harry, p. 7 (1.212-224). Translation: which devil prospers by dressing in so beautiful a gown? English questioning of Wallace's attire occurs a second time. See: Harry, p. 114 (6.147). Also see: Wyntoun, v, p. 300.

[151] Harry, p. 8 (1.239-242). Translation: a coarse/woollen gown with a dirty kerchief/headdress around his head and neck.

[152] Harry, p. 8 (1.248-249, 253-254).

[153] Harry, p. 9 (1.277-279). Translation: a short sword was hidden under his clothing.

<div style="text-align:center">weille taucht and debonair.[154]</div>

The hero successfully passing as a member of the opposite sex was a popular literary trope.[155] Here, using Wallace's youth, Harry's narrative cunningly takes a swipe at the fallibility of the English.

The third episode begins with Wallace disguised as a priest in order to secretly visit his lover as he had done on many previous occasions, with the English none the wiser. However, on this occasion the English saw him leave and threatened his woman with burning, and made promises of money and marriage to betray Wallace, which she agreed to. At the end of his next visit, using her feminine wiles, she tries to persuade him to stay. When he refuses her resolve falters and she confesses her betrayal.[156] The narrative is permeated with misogyny; Harry represents women as weak and treacherous, and not above using sexual allure to achieve their goal. The woman is tainted by her obvious lustful appetite, her betrayal of Wallace and the national cause, and her association with the English. Ironically, through the woman's voice, Harry suggests her punishment for treason against such a great hero should be burning. Magnanimously, Wallace brushes aside her faults and being the practical hero decides to don woman's clothing, this time taking the initiative himself to cross-dress. He puts on his lover's gown and covers his head in scarves. Kissing her, he leaves with his 'burly brand' hidden beneath his feminine attire. As Wallace makes his escape two Englishmen follow the 'stalwart queyne', although it is unclear whether this was for sexual reasons or because they recognised him.[157] Taking his sword out from its hiding place Wallace strikes the men with such force that he kills them both, proving he was not a woman but something

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[154] Harry, pp. 9-10 (1.291-294). Translation: who was wonderfully fair [of face], not too free of speech, well taught and refined [gracious disposition].

[155] Hotchkiss, p. 11.

[156] Harry, pp. 58 (4.400-404), 69-70 (4.743-753).

[157] Harry, pp. 70-71 (4.766-773, 786). 'Stalwart queyne' means a young woman of low social standing, or a harlot/strumpet, whose physical demeanour was strong and sturdy, as alluded to in line 784. See: DSL.

far better – a man capable of outfighting other men.[158] Finally reaching his stronghold he divests himself of the woman's clothes.[159]

Do we see a crossing of gender boundaries causing tension in a narrative imbued with excessive masculinity? Dressing as a woman or even a priest has the danger of feminising such a manly hero. Moreover, such behaviour by either sex was seen as a 'subversion of the normal social order', and an abomination to God. Medieval commentators queried why a man would want to dress as a woman, taking on a role far beneath his own; women who dressed as men were certainly frowned upon but it was usually understood they sought to better themselves by doing so.[160] Unlike Rykener, Wallace did not sexually misbehave and so cannot be considered wayward or deviant, nor does he get caught; his gender identity is never laid open for question. Harry manages to toy with the idea of homoeroticism, but never pushes the boundary keeping his hero firmly within normative sexual limits. When Wallace kisses his female lover goodbye, Harry submerges any hint of deviance through the phallic symbolism of the 'burly brand (large sword)' hiding under Wallace's skirt, thus reinforcing 'the assurance of masculinity on which the transvestite joke depends'.[161] Notwithstanding, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) argued cross-dressing, without the stigma of sin, was permitted when there was some necessity or to hide from enemies.[162] Therefore, any loss of status resulting from cross-dressing was allowed because the more 'dearly held values of society' were under threat.[163] Wallace's cross-dressing was necessary; it was the only way to escape the enemy and, more importantly, protect the nation.

I suggest Harry uses the cross-dressing episodes to promote Wallace's masculinity and his own anti-English sentiment. That Wallace's stature and physique allowed him to pass as a

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[158] Ad Putter, 'Transvestite Knights in Medieval Life and Literature', in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, eds, *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, New York and London, 1997, pp. 279-302 (p. 286).

[159] Harry, p. 71 (4.795).

[160] Deuteronomy, 22:5. See: Hotchkiss, pp. 11-12, 56. Also see: Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender*, Philadelphia, 1993, pp. 40, 60-62, 67; Putter, pp. 282-283.

[161] Harry, p. 70 (4.773); Putter, p. 293.

[162] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed., Blackfriars, New York, 1964, 2, 2, 169, in Hotchkiss, p. 56.

[163] Vern L. Bullough, 'Transvestites in the Middle Ages', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 79, 6, May 1974, pp. 1381-1394 (p. 1390).

woman is a joke that falls heavily on the English.[164] Cross-dressing instilled fears that cultural divisions would collapse if gender blurring began. According to Ad Putter knightly cross-dressing was common yet more problematic than women trying to emulate men by dressing in masculine attire. Putter suggests being dressed as a woman did not feminise the man; it actually enhanced his masculinity by allowing him to outfight other men, particularly in the tournament setting.[165] With Wallace, the first two episodes are more about outwitting than outfighting the English, but he kills two men whilst dressed as a 'stalwart queyne' in the third. Wallace's transvestism constructs, challenges, and reconstructs gender identities because of the ambiguities it causes.[166] The air of implausibility surrounding the episodes dispels any passive feminisation of the hero or Scottish identity; 'getting' the joke required acceptance of the incompatibility of the two sexes.[167] As Geraldine Heng asserts, such a 'joke taps [into] conventions of humour that make the transgressions of taboos acceptable [and] narratable'.[168] Wallace's cross-dressing could be 'overlooked, even admired' through Harry's skilful manipulation of Wallace, and by 'overpowering the limits of permission in [his] push for a punchline . . . aggressive nationalistic pleasure could be enjoyed' by the audience.[169] Furthermore, such ideas of subversion may have been more acceptable at a time when Scotland's national identity was subordinated under English occupation. Stories of cross-dressing raise the possibility that 'perceptions of gender were susceptible to manipulation and distortion'.[170] Harry skilfully dismantles Wallace's cross-dressing making the situation transparent by having his 'burly brand' on hand, simultaneously liberating the audience from the need to endure the transvestite's challenge to their mentalities by guaranteeing his masculinity.[171] Moreover, because the reader is absolute in his/her conviction that Wallace

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[164] McKim, *Wallace*, p. xvii.

[165] Putter, pp. 281-82, 286. Also see: Burns, pp. 141-142. Ingham suggests 'that chivalric culture can accommodate a wider range of knightly masculinities than modern readers might expect'. See: Ingham, p. 102.

[166] Hotchkiss, p. 7.

[167] Putter, pp. 280-281, 296.

[168] Geraldine Heng, 'The Romance of England', in J. J. Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, New York, 2000, pp. 137-171 (p. 141).

[169] Heng, p. 141.

[170] Putter, p. 283.

[171] Putter, pp. 290, 293, 297.

was 'acting', the tensions and subversive potential of the action that could have resulted are diffused. The only people confused about Wallace's gender are the English.

By finally undressing in front of his audience and returning to male attire Wallace reaffirms his masculinity by exorcising the femininity associated with the woman's clothing. Wallace's transvestism is what Judith Butler would call 'performative', thereby his actions made those around him see him as a woman. For a short period of time Wallace's actions created his gender identity. Male dominance and status are not undermined simply by the hero putting on women's clothing and taking on domestic duties; he would have needed to change his sexual identity.[172] As Putter suggests, the 'castration symbolised by the woman's dress is converted into a demonstration of undisguised manhood', which in turn secures his identity.[173] I argue these episodes occur before Wallace becomes the saviour of Scotland; a journey begun when he was a child, when Scotland was lost to the enemy.[174] These acts of transvestism could be seen as a process of identity formation from an inexperienced youth to the experienced warrior who became increasingly independent from women.

More importantly, the transvestite episodes bolster the formation of Wallace's masculinity rather than subverting it through the figurative use of his sword. The size of his burly brand increases over the three scenes; phallic symbolism suggesting his manhood/masculinity had increased with age and experience and paralleling his progression from youth to manhood. After his early imprisonment and recovery at the hands of a former nurse, he takes his leave with an old rusty sword with a blade that could still cut well; the next scene shows just how well the sword could perform. Wallace, still recovering from his weakened state, is like the rusty sword. Faced with a threat from the enemy his divine strength returns emphasising his prowess even when he is not at full-strength.[175] Further on, we are told Wallace's 'burly

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[172] Beattie, pp. 156, 158; Karras and Boyd, p. 109. Jane Burns puts forward a similar argument regarding Arthurian knights and courtly love. See: Burns, pp. 135-137.

[173] Putter, p. 291. Also see: Rose, p. xix.

[174] Harry, p. 5 (1.145-146). Harry instructs his protagonist to leave behind his childhood, his love, pleasure and bliss to follow the hard road and live in war and pain. See: p. 112 (6.81-88).

[175] Harry, pp. 28-29 (2.372-377, 395-410).

blaide' was strong, broad and burnished; interestingly this description is made around the time he is considering marrying the woman he loves suggesting he is at the height of his manhood. Blatant phallic analogies between the sword and Wallace's manhood continue, often at the expense of English masculinity.[176]   However, the interplay of sword banter was to cost Wallace his wife, leaving his way clear to take revenge on the English as a fully masculine warrior.

Overall, can we see a diminishing of Bruce's masculinity in comparison to Wallace? Wallace was a man at the lower end of the noble class who, according to Harry, commanded respect from those below which allowed him to equal, and then surpass, men superior to him. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, political propaganda gave him the masculinity of an exaggerated hero. Unlike Rykener, Wallace still met social and cultural expectations of normal masculine behaviour. In particular, Wyntoun, Bower, Harry and Boece, exploited Wallace as a symbol of Scottish freedom and identity promoting his masculinity and his divinely sanctioned support to construct a Wallace story 'which they expatiated in unprecedented ways'.[177]   However, it is possible they overdid it because sixteenth-century historians used only certain elements of the story in order to streamline their versions of Wallace to create another image 'suited to sixteenth-century tastes and sensibilities'.[178]

Wallace was not the mainstay of national identity for all of the authors. Bruce was treated with reverence by Barbour, although Major and Buchanan clearly favoured him over Wallace because of the aristocratic superiority his status commanded; his noble bearing reflected in his 'military genius'.[179] Major saw Wallace as a stubborn hero and Bruce as the noble king whose right to the throne came through defence of the realm and good kingship; Leslie locates this right only through Bruce's genealogy. With Major advocating peace it is unsurprising he

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[176] Harry pp. 103 (5.960), 114-115 (6.140-175). Also see: Wyntoun, v, pp. 298, 300. Susanne Scholz claims the sword was the 'insignia of male domination'. See: *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke, London and New York, 2000, p. 107.
[177] Fraser, p. 5.
[178] Fraser, p. 5.
[179] Major, p. 195.

downplayed the villainy of the English. Boece was overly concerned with good kingship, his narrative reflecting his opinion that the relationship between king and subject was one of mutual duty. Conversely, Buchanan maintained it was Wallace's prerogative to usurp the rights of the monarch and the nobility, if there was just cause.[180] However, the importance still lay with a united monarchy so 'popular resistance to power had to be measured before it got subverted into a rebellion'.[181] Buchanan showed considerable restraint when dealing with Wallace's subversive character by refusing to make him his central character. This discussion of heroes such as Wallace and Bruce illustrates the complexities in studying gender. It is evident a spectrum of masculinities is played out within the context of heroics, ranging from the hypermasculinity of Wallace's attributes through to his performative femininity. It is these multiple layers that show us how valuable gender is for looking at the idea of national identity – it is not fixed or singular but fluid and constructed by both masculinity and femininity. This highlights the domination and subordination, disruptions and tensions that occur at times of crisis. Clearly, Bruce and Wallace are portrayed as the saviours and promoters of Scottish identity at a time of national crisis. In the end Wallace's hypermasculinity paves the way for the more tempered and rational masculinity of Bruce who eventually becomes king of Scotland.

Manly Women and the National Cause

Inge Milfull has written an excellent essay which addresses the role of the feminine in *The Wallace* 'in relation to the work's overtly masculine agenda'. She concludes 'there is something inevitable about the intrusion of the feminine into the world of men and the hero's resultant emotional vulnerability'. Woman in such a masculine world becomes the 'object of male desire'.[182] Therefore, only a brief discussion of material regarding women from both *The Wallace* and *The Bruce* will be undertaken here. Women, when they appear in the

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[180] Royan and Broun, pp. 177-180.
[181] Eriksonas, *National Heroes*, p. 85. For further discussion on how the Wallace and Bruce traditions emerged, were adopted, and changed over time see: James Fraser; Eriksonas, pp. 55-72.
[182] Milfull, pp. 28-29. For the full discussion see: pp. 19-30.

chronicles and heroic literature, stabilise and underpin the hero's masculinity while remaining firmly within the bounds of their prescribed gender roles. They sacrifice husbands and sons to the national cause, and appear as clever and courageous guides, informants, comforters, and peaceweavers.[183] Their nurturing role provides the required sustenance and shelter making the hero stronger and enabling him to continue with his fight.[184] Early on in Harry's narrative Wallace was imprisoned by the English, made to endure 'fureous payne', before being presumed dead and thrown into a midden.[185] Wallace's former nurse rescued him by putting him on a cart as if she was taking him away to be buried. Instead, she took him home, washed away the filth, fed him milk with a spoon and set up her house as a place of mourning to fool the English into thinking Wallace was really dead. Her daughter, who had given birth to a baby twelve weeks earlier, put '[h]ir childis pape in Wallace's mouth' and her 'wommanys mylk recomford him full swyth'.[186] Without this help, Harry's hero would not have become the 'reskew' of Scotland.[187]

In *The Bruce* the Queen and noble ladies travelled with their men in the early stages of the war, making it easier for them to endure the 'mekill paynys' war produced. As Barbour readily points out, only women could give the men the succour they needed.[188] Therefore, women are accorded a role that resonates not only of comfort but of sex. Comfort and assistance also become synonymous in Barbour's account when he claims the women Bruce sleeps with throughout his travels are also informants.[189] When the royal party parts company, Barbour uses the excessive weeping of the women to show the irrationality of their emotions and, more importantly, highlight the practicality of Bruce who gives the women horses for

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[183] Barbour, pp. 173-175 (4.470-495), 181-183 (4.635-674), 217 (5.544-547), 285-287 (7.541-570); Harry, pp. 96 (5.741-744), 107 (5.1081-1084). Overall, women hardly feature in *The Bruce*. See: Duncan, p. 12.
[184] For examples see: Fordun, p. 335; Bower, vi, p. 327; Barbour, pp. 197-199 (5.135-180), 217 (5.544-547).
[185] Harry, pp. 20-24 (2.153-257).
[186] Harry, pp. 24-25 (2.257-275).
[187] Harry, p. 2 (1.38).
[188] Barbour, pp. 107-109 (2.521-530, 551-554); Hall, *Medieval Scottish Poetry*, p. 90; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 191-192.
[189] Barbour, p. 217 (5.542-546).

their comfort. Love does not distract the Bruce from his quest.[190] Feminine comfort was emotional and spiritual, male comfort was given through material and practical gifts. Suppression of emotion and personal desire was the sign of good kingship; the needs of the commonwealth were put first.[191]

However, emotion is more evident in *The Wallace* and an element of romantic love weaves its way through Harry's text, creating scenes imbued with anxiety and dramatic intensity. There is a fear the hero will be feminised and distracted from his political mission through the emotions love produced, thus questioning 'the compatibility between heterosexual love and the demands of war'.[192] Wallace's wife was 'a plesand faire woman', who helped him escape only to meet her death at the hands of the English. Her death freed Wallace from any emotional obligations and he could carry on killing the English, now with an added vendetta.[193] Wallace's woman was what Patricia Ingham terms a 'death-bearing woman' who excites 'a greater sense of masculine agency'. The loss and sorrow inextricably entwined with this woman subject her and any agency she may have had, while at the same time serving 'a heterosexual and masculinist military culture working to consolidate its power in a time of war'.[194] Through her, we can count the cost of war and deplore the violence ingrained in this period of history.[195]

Widows are prominent women in *The Wallace*; being older they do not distract the hero through lust. Loss of their husbands and their willing sacrificing of their sons as men of arms

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[190] Barbour, p. 129 (3.346-359). An earlier scene saw the chivalric James Douglas provide practical comforts for the women. See: p. 111 (2.585-588).
[191] Royan, p. 144.
[192] Milfull, p. 22; Harry, pp. 92-93 (5.615-660), 111 (6.33-40). Also see: McKim, *Wallace*, pp. xv-xvi; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 253-256. The fear of feminisation is ironic considering Wallace's earlier cross-dressing exploits.
[193] Wyntoun, v, p. 302; Harry, pp.116-117 (6.191-224). Also see: McKim, *Wallace*, p. 406; Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 256.
[194] Ingham, p. 144.
[195] Arlyn Diamond, 'Heroic Subjects: Women and the Alliterative Morte Arthure', in J. Wogan Browne, R. Voaden, A. Diamond, A Hutchison, C. Meale, and L. Johnson, eds, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain. Essays for Felicity Riddy*, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 293-308 (p. 307).

become their contribution to the national cause.[196] This has more impact when one realises these women were probably too old to bear more children. Women in *The Wallace* are particularly vocal through their lamenting of the English occupation, by exclaiming they are women 'trew' to the national cause, or by relaying Wallace's escapades, thus highlighting their importance as transmitters of Scottish culture.[197] Furthermore, women were used to enhance the attributes and virtues of the protagonist particularly when they are merciful, even to those belonging south of the border. For most of the women their roles fall into the feminine spheres of being non-aggressive and nurturing. Nowhere does their verbosity or action lead to the disruption or dissolution of the patriarchal order.[198]

However, tensions simmered because women could always be a threat, not just through their feminine wiles, but as traitors to the cause as seen earlier with Wallace's lover. Furthermore, an unaided Wallace lay open to the threat of being slain by a woman while Bruce was wary of women who were up to no good.[199] Harry explicitly remarks that women could be the cause of shame in war, for their temptations made fools of men who ought to be ready to fight.[200] Many of the women are anonymous and tied to single episodes; they do not follow Wallace or Bruce through the narrative once their usefulness expires. Barbour, and Harry, place women 'as political subjects within the Scottish patriarchy, which required them to provide comfort for their husbands and productive, and reproductive, labour for their king and country'.[201] However, while these women were contributing to the national cause through sacrifice, defence, and nurturing they are still confined to a particular space on the periphery of the narrative; themes that continue in the following discussion of specific heroines.

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[196] See: Harry, pp. 82-83 (5.320-350), 285 (10.688-700). Sinha argues this trope of women's willing sacrifice is entrenched in a reading of the nation. See: 'Gender and Nation', in Sue Morgan, ed., *The Feminist History Reader*, London and New York, 2006, pp. 323-338 (p. 330).
[197] Harry, p. 30 (2.421-422), 150 (7.285), 152 (7.350-365); Barbour, p. 271 (7.240-274).
[198] Milfull, p. 20.
[199] Harry, p. 84 (5.368); Barbour, p. 183 (4.670-679). Barbour inserts a cautionary tale about evil women into his narrative. See: pp. 163-165 (4.241-335).
[200] Harry, p. 224 (8.1250-1252).
[201] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, p. 192.

Clearly heroes and heroines were messengers of gendered behaviour to the Scots, shedding light on attributes that made up an ideal Scottish identity. In the histories and literature a number of 'manly' women leapt from the pages when circumstances (and authors) allowed it. Karma Lochrie suggests female masculinity posed 'a series of crises in masculinity and femininity, sexual identity, and the communal identity'.[202] Yet, none of the women discussed below transgressed the sexual norms of society; by taking on manly characteristics they only bent the gender boundaries out of shape through 'performative' masculinity. This was only temporary, and I argue their actions were written about in a way that refused to acknowledge any crisis of gender identity; whether this paralleled reality is a different matter. I would like to begin with the brief accounts of Isabel Buchan and Elizabeth Bruce, before turning to the more well-known Agnes Dunbar.

'[T]o watch her for a spectacle': Isabel, Countess of Buchan[203]

Isabel MacDuff appears to be the most daring, transgressive, and perhaps the most blatantly patriotic of the heroines discussed here. However, much of the material is a combination of fact, legend, and literary embellishment mainly from English sources. Nonetheless, the literary representations are too important to ignore, making it all the more interesting why Isabel is not a permanent fixture in the Scottish Bruce story. As wife of the Earl of Buchan, a staunch adherent of Edward I, Isabel did not support her husband's choices as a proper, stereotypical wife should; her defiance resulting in his issuing of a warrant for her death. Isabel took up her country's cause, publicly announcing her support for Robert Bruce and becoming an active participant in the national struggle through her own, individual choice. Even though she was an aristocratic wife, it was this action that ushered her in from the margins of history, becoming renowned for attending the coronation of Bruce (1306) and placing the crown upon his head; a hereditary role which only the men in her family exercised. Furthermore, we are also told she took her husband's prized war-horses and gave them to

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[202] Karma Lochrie, *Heterosyncrasies: Female Sexualities When Normal Wasn't*, Minneapolis, 2005, p. 136.
[203] *Scalacronica*, p. 53. Also see: *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough,* trans. J. Russell, National Library of Scotland (NLS), online, nd, available at: http://www.nls.uk/scotlandspages/timeline/1306.html (11 May 2007) (hereafter Guisborough).

Bruce for his escape.[204] Isabel usurped the power of the men in her family by taking on such a role, undermined the power of her husband by taking an independent stance in the Anglo-Scottish wars, and defied the English king by helping Bruce. From this we can see she becomes a symbolic signifier of national difference emphasising who was a true Scot, and who was not. Moreover, through her crowning of Bruce she actively contributed to the production of national culture, and reinforced Scottish identity. Of all the women discussed in this section, Isabel is the one who most threatened the masculinity of those men around her; men associated with an English king who, in the eyes of Scottish chroniclers, were worthy of being feminised.

Isabel's defiance not only brought the wrath of her husband upon her, but that of Edward. Walter of Guisborough claims Buchan wanted to kill her because of his close relationship to John Comyn, who had been recently murdered by Bruce, thus rendering her actions unforgiveable.[205] Honour, a homosocial bond, was obviously more sacred than marriage. Her secrecy and deceit with respect to her husband could be viewed as typical womanly attributes; after all, women were not supposed to be trusted. Yet, it was a necessary deceit for the good of the country showing she was a 'trew' Scot. Interestingly, we are not told how Bruce felt having a woman perform the coronation; attended by a representative of the house of Fife it was possibly unproblematic a woman performed the ceremony, illustrating that in times of crises some gender disruption was acceptable. When Isabel was captured along with the Queen of Scotland, Edward dealt with her cruelly. He had her imprisoned in a cage, specifying in a royal writ that it had to be constructed of wood 'with criss-crossed walls' secured by iron, and suspended from the battlements at Berwick Castle, so 'that all might look

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[204] Isabel's nephew 'who adhered completely to Edward I' had no intention of attending the ceremony. See: Fiona Watson, 'Isabel Buchan', DNB, online, nd, available at:
http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/articles/54/54144-article.html?back= (11 May 2007), (hereafter, Watson DNB (Buchan)). Some sources state the Earl of Fife was Isabel's brother. See: E. Ewan, S. Innes, S. Reynolds, and R. Pipes, eds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, Edinburgh, 2006, p. 118. Also see: Guisborough. Duncan argues the earl of Atholl seized Buchan's horses to inhibit pursuit when taking Isabel to the coronation. See: *Bruce*, pp. 86, 126.
[205] Guisborough; Watson, DNB (Buchan); Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence*, New York and London, 1908, pp. 131-132, 139-140.

in from curiosity' or 'watch her for spectacle'.[206] She was barred contact with any person from the Scottish nation and was 'well and strictly guarded' so she could issue no letters, commands or instructions.[207] This punishment emphasised the seriousness of her offences, and appears to highlight Edward's frustration, not only at Bruce's rebellion, but being thwarted by a woman. Edward failed to temper his anger towards the woman as dictated by the chivalric code.[208] The curious would have known what she had done, why she was imprisoned in such a way, and would have taken note.

Interestingly, while the English chroniclers were keen to cast Isabel as one of those wayward women who was suitably punished for her transgressions, no Scottish historian mentions her. Royan argues this rather large omission from the Bruce myth is 'ideological'; Isabel's presence would have emphasised 'the abnormality of the event and the divided nature of the nobility'.[209] Boece states Bruce was crowned 'with a grete power of freyndis' although gives no details as to who they were.[210] The act of enthronement and the stealing of Buchan's horses were downplayed, instead emphasis was on a coronation performed by a bishop; a necessary act that was convention and in keeping with contemporary European and English practices.[211] I argue the authorial silence gives Isabel's heroic actions more impact. As a *symbolic* bearer of collective identity, to have mentioned her as an *active* part of the coronation would have disrupted the masculine collective 'we' of the body politic. Feminising the body politic was unacceptable. In England rumours were cast about that Isabel was Bruce's mistress, casting doubt on her chastity and portraying her as entirely transgressive; a low blow as this valuable virtue kept her on the right side of femininity when involved in the

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[206] *Scalacronica*, p. 53; Guisborough. Bruce's sister Mary was suspended in a cage from the battlements at Roxburgh Castle, and his daughter Marjory was almost put in a third cage but was sent to a convent instead. Edward had a similar cage constructed to house Owen ap Gryffudd the year earlier. See: Cynthia Neville, 'Widows of War: Edward I and the Women of Scotland During the Wars of Independence', in S. S. Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow in Medieval England*, Michigan, 1993, pp. 109-140 (pp. 125-126).
[207] Neville, p. 125.
[208] Watson, DNB (Buchan).
[209] Royan, pp. 132-133
[210] Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 265. Also see: Bower, vi, p. 317; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, London, 1991, p. 122. Isabel probably performed the right of enthronement on 25 March although it is unknown if Bishop Lamberton was in attendance. See: Barrow, *Community of the Realm*, p. 197.
[211] Royan, p. 133; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*, Edinburgh, 1975, pp. 553-554.

public arena.[212]   The omission of Isabel's actions also characterises the importance of a masculine Scottish identity, and suppression of any suspect incidents questioning 'the legitimacy of the symbolic act' was necessary.[213]   Feminine transgressions would highlight any weakness attached to the Scottish throne and considering Bruce's unstable position it made sense to gloss over any aberration.   As this episode illustrates, some chroniclers were content to let women remain as the passive victims, and therefore the symbolic category of war, not its active participants.[214]

'[A] lustie ladie of honour and fame': Elizabeth Bruce[215]

Barbour not only absented Isabel Buchan completely from his Brucean epic, he kept the queen as an anonymous entity suggesting the feminine was not important to him or his story.[216] Elizabeth married Robert Bruce in 1302 and provided him with two daughters and a son.   She was described in the metrical version of Boece's chronicle as a 'lustie ladie of honour and fame' whose death in 1327 caused much mourning of men.[217]   Very little was written about Elizabeth's life and there is a deafening silence about the capture and imprisonment of the royal women in 1306.   We are only told the king's wife was taken by the Earl of Ross, sent to England, and kept in 'strict confinement' until after Bannockburn when she was exchanged for an English hostage.[218]   Elizabeth was imprisoned in a manor house at Burstwick and given two 'elderly maidservants of sober temperament' as her attendants.   While styling herself 'simply as Elizabeth Bruce' she did voice her complaints to England's king about the dire

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[212] Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p, 213.   Barrow cites *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 129-130.   Watson suggests these rumours were 'almost *de rigeur* in the circumstances'.   See: DNB (Buchan).

[213] Royan, p. 133.

[214] Royan, p. 133.   Also see: R. J. Goldstein, 'The Women of the Wars of Independence in Literature and History', *Studies in Scottish Literature,* 26, 1991, pp. 271-281 (pp. 271-272).

[215] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 241.

[216] Duncan suggests Barbour's omission of Isabel was to do more with sources than choice, although I am not entirely convinced by this reasoning.   See: *Bruce*, p. 12.

[217] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, pp. 241, 268.   Also see: Bower, vi, pp. 375, 377.

[218] Elizabeth is unnamed in most of the sources, although Bower and Wyntoun specifically mention her roles as daughter and wife.   See: Bower, vi, pp. 323, 375, 377; Wyntoun, v, pp. 254-256.   Also see: Fordun, pp. 334-335, 339; Barbour, p. 153 (4.49-55); Major, pp. 221, 247; Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp 265, 277; Leslie, ii, p. 1; Buchanan, i, p. 346.

conditions she was living in.[219] These conditions eventually improved showing that she was accorded the respect a woman in her position was due, although this had probably more to do with who her father was than who her husband was. Two sixteenth-century Scottish chroniclers have a little more to say. John Leslie extols her queenly virtues telling the reader she suffered her indignities as a prisoner with 'gret patience'; probable encouragement for his own queen who was imprisoned in England at the time of writing.[220] John Major used Elizabeth to highlight the lack of honour given to her husband after his coronation. The Queen's capture sealed Bruce's isolation for he was now

> without brother, without wife, without any near kin to stand by him [and] the finger of scorn was on all sides pointed at the Scottish king . . . [a] strange spectacle . . . a man with manifold kindred in England and Scotland, the inheritor in both kingdoms of wide domains, destitute utterly of the comforts of existence.[221]

As his wife, the queen was merely seen as one of the comforts that enhanced a king's life.

Again we are reliant on English sources which appear more interested in Elizabeth's status as Bruce's wife and the daughter of the earl of Ulster, an adherent of Edward I.[222] Guisborough promotes an unsupportive Scottish Queen resorting to mockery at her husband's coronation. Putting the following words into the mouth of Elizabeth shows how chroniclers used women as a xenophobic vehicle for venomous words. In response to Bruce's comment that they could rejoice now they were finally king and queen, Elizabeth supposedly replied: I am afraid my Lord that we have been made King and Queen, as boys are made in summer games.[223] The English chroniclers, through Elizabeth's words, immediately challenge the sanctity and validity of the coronation, undermining Bruce's masculinity by comparing him to a 'boy'

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[219] This was in an undated letter but by 1312 her conditions had improved markedly. See: Geoffrey Barrow, 'Elizabeth, Queen of Scots', DNB, online, nd, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/articles/54/54180-article.html?back= (11 May 2007) (hereafter Barrow DNB (Elizabeth)).

[220] Leslie, ii, p. 6. Overall, as a valuable hostage, Elizabeth would have been treated leniently.

[221] Major, p. 221.

[222] *Scalacronica*, p. 55.

[223] Guisborough

playing games and his authority by suggesting his power was not real or lasting. Such words also undermine the sanctity and well-being of her marriage, subverting the social and sexual order by being seen as a scold; the words if said publicly, hint at verbal impropriety which would be the intention of the chronicler.[224] The inclusion of such comments in the English chronicles served to undermine the masculinity and the legitimacy of Bruce as king of Scotland, rather than pass comment on the femininity of Elizabeth. By playing on the friendship of Elizabeth's father and the English king, Guisborough is suggesting Bruce's life is superficial and easily destroyed. If Bruce died, Elizabeth would be quickly and easily married off again. Evidence does not confirm the queen actually made such comments and we can make assumptions at the reasoning behind them although, as has been suggested, they were probably 'written for effect more than truth' by the contemporary anti-Scottish Augustinian monk, based in Yorkshire.[225] The actions of Isabel and the speech of Elizabeth demonstrate that women were placed in a variety of positions in the heroic literature. Agnes Dunbar is another woman who appears to blur this boundary and it is to her story we now turn.

'A Woman of Masculine Spirit': Agnes Dunbar[226]

Chroniclers negotiate the manly and defiant actions of women by enhancing the stereotypical features of their gender. Individual actions appear to make such women independent and in possession of masculine attributes; however, their deference to men, their eventual subordination, and their reproductive attributes position these heroic women as wholly feminine. Agnes is an inconsistent figure who features in a number of chronicles both north and south of the border. My aim here is to take a slightly different view of the Dunbar siege episode of 1338, departing from Elizabeth Ewan and Nicola Royan's work which focuses mainly on the tensions created around femininity through manly actions.[227] Instead, I will concentrate on the sixteenth-century work of George Buchanan in order to highlight the

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[224] Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, 2006, p. 2.
[225] Barrow DNB (Elizabeth).
[226] Buchanan, i, p. 391; *Rerum*, f.93r (l.19).
[227] See: Ewan, 'Manly Women'; Royan, 'Some Conspicuous Women'.

changes and similarities in the attitudes of Scotland's national authors regarding women possessing a masculine spirit.

Dunbar Castle's position on the south-east coast of Scotland was strategically important to both the Scots and the English.[228] In 1337 the castle was back in the hands of the Earl of Dunbar, now fighting for the Scots, which resulted in its besiegement by the Earl of Salisbury (January 1338). The English should have had an easy victory because Dunbar left the castle in his wife's hands with only a few men for protection, while they were led by experienced political and successful military leaders.[229] The chroniclers described 'gud Dame Annes of Dunbar' as a stalwart defender of her castle, a 'trew ladie without blek (blemish) or blame . . . falt or cryme' who 'richt manfullie' defended her home.[230] Agnes is 'ascribed both feminine and masculine attributes' through words and actions, contradicting the medieval romance genre of women's helplessness against violation.[231] Clearly, there was an expectation women would defend the family home in an emergency.[232] By negotiating the complex issues surrounding female heroism the historians, as Ewan suggests, made 'Agnes's manliness more feminine, by associating her actions with traditional feminine virtues concerned with the upkeep of home and family'. Never did she venture outside the castle gates to fight with Salisbury; had she done so it would have destroyed her femininity. Moreover, the absent husband for whom she was keeping the home safe would resume authority on his return.[233] Working within traditional feminine stereotypes Agnes's actions, such as cleaning the cannon marks off her battlements, pouring boiling pitch on English siege engines, and her banter, while certainly provoking annoyance do not challenge masculine authority.[234] Masculine

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[228] Major, p. 280.

[229] The English leaders were the Earls of Salisbury and Arundel. See: Wyntoun, vi, p. 80.

[230] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 341. *Lanercost* alludes to the 'stoutly and gallant defence' of Dunbar Castle under the Countess, 'who was in chief command of the castle'. See: p. 313. Also see: Wyntoun, vi, p. 80; Bower, vii, p. 127; Major, p. 280.

[231] Ewan, 'Manly Women', p. 4.

[232] Helen Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23, 4, 1997, pp. 335-349 (p. 343).

[233] Ewan, 'Manly Women', pp. 4, 6.

[234] Wyntoun, vi, p. 80. Wyntoun states Agnes sent a damsel out to clean the cannon marks off with a towel. Also see: Bower, vii, pp. 127, 129.

violence and domestic femininity managed to work alongside each other by being put firmly in the right places through the use of relevant imagery.

Reasons why the chroniclers mentioned Agnes are varied and complex; her heroic motivation is never specified, her commitment to the Scottish national cause absolute and unquestioned.[235]   Agnes was the daughter of Thomas Randolph, a successful warrior nobleman who identified strongly with the Scottish cause. While she was not helpless, I suggest Agnes was portrayed by Buchanan as the passive partner in the siege, despite being given the role of chief commander by other, earlier, chroniclers (outlined below). Agnes defined and reproduced the geographical boundaries of Scotland, and the racial boundaries between Scots and English, and she also reaffirmed the cultural boundaries of feminine agency through resistance and defiance.[236] As Royan suggests, Agnes's presence demonstrated that Scottish identity was 'robust enough to survive the absence of the king'.[237]   While Ewan suggests Agnes 'acted alone', I would like to put forward a different conclusion which explains why such a manly heroine was able to emerge from the pages of Scottish history. Neither Ewan nor Royan place any emphasis on the presence of the protagonist Sir Alexander Ramsay; a man with a worthy reputation in the chronicles whom I argue is a significant character. Moreover, I suggest it is his role that actually determined the outcome of events.[238] Working backwards from the work of Buchanan, I would like to consider the idea that Agnes's manly attributes and femininity, while commended by the chroniclers, were continually reinforced and balanced out by the presence of men, and their heroic masculinity.

Buchanan's account suggests had Ramsay not intervened, surrender would have been imminent.   The castle's inhabitants were on the point of starvation; Salisbury's tactical blockade by ships as well as the men on land had prevented the replenishing of supplies to Dunbar. Yet, unbeknown to Salisbury the locals gathered victuals which Ramsay risked life

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[235] Royan, p. 139.
[236] Ewan, 'Manly Women', p. 7; Einhorn, p. 198. Military organisation was often domesticated. See: McLaughlin, p. 201.
[237] Royan, p. 139. Scotland was experiencing a minority rule.
[238] Bower, vii, p. 137.

and limb to get to the castle slipping past the maritime watch of the English.[239] In true heroic and knightly style Ramsay fed the besieged, joined his men with the castle's garrison surprising and slaughtering many of the English, before departing the same way he had come in with no loss to his own men. Instead, 'after six months, the Seige of Dunbar was raised'.[240] The earlier narratives by Bower and Major suggest Ramsay was helpful, but they maintain the defence of the castle was entirely through Agnes's actions and bravery.[241] Major acknowledged Ramsay was 'moved to pity for this most heroic woman, and strove to meet her peril by an effort that was no less perilous'.[242] This apparently gave Agnes 'fresh heart' and her men answered the call to 'turn the attack upon the Englishmen' slaying a good number of them.[243] Bower claimed that when Salisbury renewed his attacks on the castle with a vigour fuelled by rage, Agnes responded in kind, inflicting more damage with acerbic words and 'an ingenious machine' that fired large heavy stones at the English destroying their military equipment.[244] It can therefore be argued that Ramsay's assistance was seen by a number of the chroniclers, especially Buchanan, as the turning point in the siege, and without it Agnes would have lost.

There is a humorous quality to the speedy nature of this episode which, as we saw with Wallace's cross-dressing, is at the expense of the English. Buchanan explicitly attributes the relief of the castle to Ramsay whose 'bold attempt' ensured victory against a 'fatigued' English side who were unable to 'become masters of the place'.[245] The fourteenth-century border chronicle, *Scalacronica*, chose to tell the reader the castle was on the point of surrender when the English heard of their king's French invasion. In order not to miss out, or be blamed for any mishaps before they got to the French battlefield, they made peace. *Lanercost* reinforced Salisbury's martial prowess maintaining that during the siege he left for Edinburgh,

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[239] Buchanan, i, p. 392; *Rerum*, f.93r (ll.27-30). Also see: Bower, vii, p. 129; Wyntoun. vi, p. 88.
[240] Buchanan, i, p. 392; *Rerum*, f.93r (ll.33-35).
[241] Bower, vii, pp. 129-131; Major, p. 281.
[242] Major, p. 280; Bower, vii, p. 129; Royan, p. 138.
[243] Major, p. 280.
[244] Bower, vii, p. 129.
[245] Buchanan, i, p. 392; *Rerum*, f.93r (ll.27-28). Also see: Bower, vii, p. 129; Major, p. 281; Wyntoun, vi, p. 88; Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 343.

garrisoned the castle and returned to Dunbar.[246]   Bower preferred to show how enraged Salisbury became, when his renewed attacks met with little success; irrationality of rage did not equate to a rational victory, only serving to cast the English into a subordinate role which suited Bower's vitriolic rhetoric.[247]   Furthermore, in the works of Buchanan, Major, Bower and Wyntoun, the siege narrative was interrupted with the military victories against the English by Laurence Preston and William Keith, and the violent slaughter of English prisoners by Scottish soldiers who had lost their leader.[248]   Masculine actions whether right or wrong appear to be more important than women attempting to use manly attributes to help the national cause.

Agnes's actions are reminiscent of Christian Bruce who admirably defended Kildrummy Castle against an English invasion led by the Scot David Strathbogie five years earlier. The actions of these women are noted because they allow the best military men of Scotland to continue to fight for the national cause.[249] Agnes was not physically strong enough to end the siege despite having the masculine mental capacity to stave off the English. She required a man to complete the task outside of the castle gates showing how the separation of domestic and public spheres encompassed the boundaries of masculinity and femininity. The physical strength of fighting men was required, although the verbal wit and feminine domesticity displayed by Agnes were still of importance within most of the narratives; chroniclers such as Bower did not seek to undermine Agnes's heroism. However, while most sieges require an outside army to come to the rescue, the difference here is that the authors focus on individual men: Ramsay and Salisbury. Masculinity was inextricably tied up with the construction of Scottish identity; the feminine action that disturbs it has to be firmly contained. The heroic narrative ends with Salisbury's summons to France by Edward III. According to Fiona Watson, one English chronicler was quite disgusted with this conclusion to a military

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[246] *Scalacronica*, p. 127; *Lanercost*, pp. 313-315. Interestingly, two major strongholds Stirling and Edinburgh fell to the English while Dunbar held out. See: Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 342.

[247] Bower, vii, p. 129; Major, p. 281.

[248] Buchanan, i, p. 392; *Rerum*, f.93r (ll.22-27). Also see: Wyntoun, vi, pp. 82, 84; Bower, vii, p. 127; Major, pp. 280-281.

[249] Major, p. 280; Bower, vii, p. 131.

expedition he saw as 'wasteful . . . neither honourable nor secure, but useful and advantageous to the Scots'.[250] Bower was more direct in dismissing Montague whom he saw return to England 'dishonourably'. Salisbury's dishonour fed Bower's anti-English stance. Voicing his glee at a noble Scots woman challenging the masculinity of an aristocratic military man, Bower showed that Agnes's success rendered Salisbury impotent.[251]

Salisbury's subordination is reinforced by Wyntoun who implies the Earl returned to England 'at Þe kingis bidding', reminding readers a masculine hierarchy existed at the top of the gender ladder.[252] Major contradicts himself, suggesting on one hand the French wars and recall of English forces meant the siege was lifted and the castle unscathed. On the other hand, like Bower, he notes Dunbar was saved by Agnes.[253] I argue the authors, particularly Buchanan, contain Agnes' behaviour with the masculine intervention of Ramsay, commending him as the actual victor in order to overcome any gender ambiguities caused by this historical episode. Moreover, the end of the siege marks the return to masculine order and any transgression by women is explained away by removal from the public world of political power which they temporarily entered.[254] I suggest Buchanan's allusion that Ramsay secured the victory for the countess, the ambivalence of the usually very patriotic Boece, and the complete silence of Leslie, meant less tolerance of manly women and female military action; a stance reflecting ideas around authoritative women that was becoming more prevalent during the sixteenth century. Agnes was indeed an exceptional woman but this episode demonstrates the chroniclers appeared to be more interested in the masculine action surrounding the siege.

What does Agnes contribute to the construction of Scottish identity, particularly when her actions were written about by authors who usually omitted or marginalised women from their

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[250] Fiona Watson, 'Patrick Dunbar', DNB, online, nd, available at:
http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/articles/8/8206-article.html?back= (11 May 2007).
[251] Bower, vii, p. 131.
[252] Wyntoun, vi, p. 88.
[253] Major, p. 281.
[254] Arlene Saxonhouse, 'Introduction - Public and Private: The Paradigm's Power', in B. Garlick, S. Dixon, and P. Allen, eds, *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views*, New York and London, 1992, pp. 1-9 (p. 6).

narratives? Ewan and Royan suggest Bower uses Agnes as a measure for masculine behaviour that is to be at least equalled but preferably surpassed. Writing at a time when the widowed Queen Joan was besieged in Dunbar castle in 1444 he was conscious his patron supported the queen's party. Moralising aside, by using such a role-model he stressed it was acceptable for a woman to be strong, active, and courageous in extenuating circumstances, providing the queen with encouragement to keep her fighting.[255] The manly attributes of Agnes are striking but not dominating because she does not transgress social norms. Women were obviously permitted to take on masculine roles in times of necessity, but these were tempered by the presence of men. Agnes was used to show off the chivalric and martial skills of Ramsay and the weakness of Salisbury, although her resolve in standing up to the English for so long was commendably heroic. Agnes is not given an independent stance, her actions are surrounded by the machinations of war; her small feminine voice really makes no significant difference to the outcome of the masculine narrative. Ultimately, the chroniclers were more interested in using the feminine to bolster manly actions, thus keeping the identity of Scotland ideally masculine.

Conclusion

The study of the heroic shows how unstable and constantly under threat hegemonic masculinity was. It is evident that at times of crises the boundaries of masculinity became more fluid enabling other men (and in some cases, women) to cross them. Once some semblance of stability returned, the hegemonic group at the top of the social ladder resumed its dominance, marginalising those below them in order to restore the 'natural' order. Women's contribution was through feminine characteristics of nurture and sacrifice. With the absence of sexual allure and other negative womanly traits the heroines, instead of being monstrous or unnatural, were kept within the 'unthreatening model of female virtue'.[256] All women were to

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[255] Royan, pp. 139, 143; Ewan, 'Manly Women', p. 9. James I was assassinated in 1437 leaving a vulnerable young son as his heir.

[256] Hugh Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism in the Old English *Judith*', in Elaine Treharne, ed., *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature*, Woodbridge, 2002, pp. 5-18 (pp. 5, 9).

be stalwart defenders of the nation whether protecting their homes, sacrificing their children, or as wombs carrying future generations, suggesting the feminine sphere was perceived ideologically and literally as the smaller version of the nation. However, women were simultaneously dispensable and replaceable, whereas men who fought and died for the country were much lamented because of the impact this had for Scotland's masculine identity. The death of Wallace saw a further subordination of Scotland which weakened Scottish identity until Bruce took the reins. Unfortunately, Bruce's own death in 1329 demonstrated Scottish identity was still on unstable ground; chroniclers continually harked back to the past of both heroes to show 'trew' masculine Scottishness was the only way to keep Scotland free.

As this chapter has also shown, certain women and many men were selectively 'allowed to participate in the heroic myths and historic narratives of their communities'.[257] In the hands of some of the narrators, especially Harry, Wallace was a man of lesser status but of greater masculinity than Bruce and the rest of the nobility. While Barbour might have disputed this claim, the fact that some authors viewed Wallace in this way is important in a discussion that includes gender. Even Edward I shrank in Wallace's presence at the hands of Harry and the chroniclers. However, Wallace could never have been raised to the position of king and was therefore employed as the lead-in to Bruce's heroic kingship. Both heroes took the obligatory journey in order to become successful protagonists. Neither Wallace's cross-dressing, nor his death, diminished him in any way; indeed they only served to make him a legend. Bruce and Wallace were shaped by their relationship with each other and with other men, illustrating the complexities of masculinity which also had to be defined by relationships of femininity. Patient resistance, blatant denial of gendered roles, and the manly attributes of Elizabeth, Isabel, and Agnes emphasise they were heroines of the moment, not timeless symbols like Bruce or Wallace. They were manly women because of the stance they took and because the authors wanted to employ them in a moralistic way. However there were limits, unlike the gender-bending protagonists who complicated the masculine narrative but who are protected

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[257] Dubravka Zarkov, 'Towards a New Theorising of Women, and War', in Davis, Evans, and Corber*, pp. 214-233 (p. 216). Also see: Thomas Lacquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Massachusetts and London, 1990, p. 62.

by their heroic masculinity and the author's agenda. Gender-bending, in a broad sense, by both heroes and heroines illustrates flexibility in the historical literature regarding acceptable behaviour but at the same time it defines the limits of tolerance, even under extenuating circumstances. By viewing heroic Scottish identity through a gendered lens we see alternative versions of femininity and masculinity are permitted, which are shaped and defined by each other.[258]

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[258] Beattie, p. 153.

5

'A Wedow in Distres': Personifying Scotland[1]

> What God hath conioyned then, let no man separate. I
> am the husband and the whole Isle is my lawfull wife; I
> am the head and it is my body.[2]

Introduction

In 1603, James VI of Scotland was crowned king of England, ironically ending centuries of English challenges to Scottish independence, and their colonising attempts over their northern neighbour. James's opening speech in Parliament clearly shows feminised ideas of the nation had become part of political discourse. Over forty years earlier Elizabeth I claimed she was the 'mother of [her] contreye', which Christine Coch argues was metaphorical rhetoric employed to naturalise the 'anomaly of female rule'.[3] Furthermore, Elizabeth claimed she was 'already bound unto an husband which is the kingdom of England . . . [and] every one of you and as many as are English are my children and kinsfolk'.[4] These speeches highlight that a gendering of the land and body politic was evident in sixteenth-century England, but what was the position in Scotland? Certainly with regard to England's Elizabethan period a comprehensive body of work responded to Elizabeth's female rule and virgin status by using

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[1] Sempill, 'The Lamentation of Lady Scotland, Compylit be hir self, speiking in maner of ane Epistle, in the Moneth of Marche, the year of God 1572', i, p. 229 (ll.53-54).

[2] *The Poetic Works of James I*, intro., Charles Howard McIlwain, New York, 1965, p. 272; Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'Discovering Desire in the Amatoria of James VI', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, eds, *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, Detroit, 2001, pp. 149-181 (p. 150); Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry 1424-1540*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2008, p. 10; Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession*, London, 1977, p. 133.

[3] Christine Coch, '"Mother of my Contreye"; Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26, 1996, pp. 423-450 (pp. 424-425). The quote is to be found in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg3.34, f. 201.

[4] Claire McEachern, 'Literature and National Identity', in David Lowenstein and Janel Mueller, eds, *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, Cambridge and New York, 2002, pp. 313-342 (p. 332). This was Elizabeth's First Speech to Parliament, 10 February, 1559. Also see: *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Manis, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, Chicago, 2000, p. 59. During the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554, Mary I asserted that she was the Queen who was 'wedded to the realm'. See: Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, Philadelphia, 1994, p. 41.

analogy and personification which has been examined in detail by modern historians.[5] In comparison, medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish works using allegory and personification remain relatively untouched. Yet, a modest corpus of extant Scottish material lends itself to such an examination from the fourteenth century onwards. Early material was a response to the colonising attempts of England and therefore a matter of Scottish independence. However, with the advent of Protestant reforming ideas, swiftly followed by a female and Catholic queen regnant, a number of works using satire, allegory, and personification had appeared in Scotland by 1575. Using and applying modern historiography and theories around nation, gender, and (post)colonialism, I will show how gendered language and imagery resulted in medieval and sixteenth-century Scotland being rendered feminine, while the realm and the later commonweal remained masculine. Scotland as 'mother' or the land as feminine woman reflected ideas men already held about women; metaphors that employed a long tradition associating the earth as mother. Scottish identity was therefore formulated out of men's aspirations and frustrations and usually achieved through relationships of domination and subordination of women, and men of lower status. What we are left with is the naturalisation of an artificial construction of nation by powerful men, for the purposes of those men who aimed to promote a homogeneous and hegemonic masculinity which controlled the rest of society. This chapter explores ideologies and representations within this historical literature that point to an abstract Scottish identity located in the feminisation of geographical spaces and employed by authors to demonstrate the relationship which men had with those spaces.

From the late sixteenth century onwards Britain, France, and Germany began to be represented by feminised figures. Britannia, Marianne and Germania were promoted as mothers of the nation while at the same time given ambiguous, even military, personas.[6] Caledonia emerged as a personification of Scotland in much the same way complete with sword, shield and breastplate; a feminine image used in the eighteenth century by the Scottish poet Robert

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[5] For example see works by: Marie Axton, Philippa Berry, Christine Coch, Helen Hackett, Richard Helgerson, Carole Levin, Susanne Scholz, and Thorlac Turville-Petre.

[6] Mrinalini Sinha, *Gender and Nation*, Washington, 2006, p. 7. Also see: Esther Breitenbach and Lynn Abrams, 'Gender and Scottish Identity', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton, and E. J. Yeo, eds, *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, Edinburgh, 2006, pp. 17-42 (p. 17).

Burns. It is uncertain when Caledonia actually came to represent Scotland, but it is apparent that the emblematic Gloriana, used to portray Elizabeth I in English literature and images, had no equivalent north of the border.[7] Closer scrutiny brings to light the existence of sixteenth-century personifications such as Lady Scotland and Dame Scotia indicating Scotland was represented as a female figure, although never to the same extent as English accounts. Furthermore, evidence of gendered metaphors and allegories can be found in the historical literature of the medieval period, albeit in a passive, disembodied way. That such gendered language and imagery existed in the Scottish chronicles and literature demonstrates how ideas of masculinity and femininity were used in constructing Scottish identity.

Allegory was a rhetorical trope used by both chroniclers and literary writers that allowed audiences to interpret the didactic symbols, myths and parables put in front of them without any challenge to 'the structures of patriarchy'.[8] For medieval and sixteenth-century mentalities 'the signifying, symbolising and allegorising function was anything but arbitrary or subjective', symbols 'were believed to represent objectively and to express faithfully various aspects of the universe perceived as widely and deeply meaningful'.[9] Direct and indirect instruction or criticism through allegory was communicated through figures of speech or personified figures. The personified figure, which Paul Piehler labels 'the *potentia*', was usually always female because women and the feminine habitually occupy the space reserved for Other. *Potentia* becomes the 'mistress of discourse', an allegorical landscape or institution

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[7] An image of Caledonia appears in the Pageant Frieze in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, painted by William Hole in the late nineteenth century. This is replicated on the cover of Dr James Fraser's text *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*, Edinburgh, 2009. My thanks to Dr Fraser for this information. The late sixteenth-century poet Edmund Spenser used Gloriana to represent Elizabeth I in his poem *The Faerie Queene* and the troops at Tilbury (1588) hailed their queen as Gloriana.

[8] Tricia Cusack, 'Introduction: Art, Nation and Gender', in T. Cusack and S. Bhreathnach-Lynch, eds, *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-figures*, Hampshire and Burlington, 2003, pp. 1-11 (p. 9).

[9] Susan K. Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance: A Study of 'The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man' as a Medieval Treatise on Seeing and Remembering*, Athens, 1990, p. 146. Also see: Paul Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape: A Study in Medieval Allegory*, London, 1971, pp. 8-10. R. A. Mason suggests attaching cosmic and eschatological meaning to contemporary events was common in sixteenth-century Europe. See: ''Scotching the Brut': Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain' in Mason, ed., *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Edinburgh, 1987, pp. 60-84 (p. 71).

embodying or representing cultural, political, or religious ideas and problems.[10] Satire also used contemporary life as a baseline, building on examples of bad conduct so the author could implicitly or explicitly make his point in a way that was often acerbic, ironic, mocking, misogynistic, or persuasive.[11] From the mid sixteenth century satirical literature fired more direct criticism at those in positions of power. Robert Wedderburn (*c.* 1510-*c.* 1555) used Dame Scotia while Robert Sempill (*d.* 1595?) used the feminine Lady Scotland to represent the state of the physical nation. Sempill and David Lindsay (*c.* 1486-1555) both used the figure, John the CommonWeal, to embody the political realm which was undoubtedly masculine. The state of the Catholic Church and the perception of kingly misgovernance in the early sixteenth century, followed by the Reformation and a female monarch on the throne, encouraged a consistent output of material that used these rhetorical tropes, hence the weighting towards sixteenth-century material. As this chapter illustrates, these narrative tropes usually appeared when the realm was politically, religiously, culturally and socially threatened or weakened.

'[P]erpetually in subjection': Colonialism and Postcolonialism[12]

In 1296 English troops sacked the town of Berwick demonstrating their presumed superiority over the Scots through violence and bloodshed. The immense slaughter was justified as punishment for active resistance by the Scots, especially John Balliol's renewal of Scotland's alliance with France. Berwick was a specific example of the atrocities of war which Scottish chroniclers used to highlight the inhumane barbarity of the English and the tyranny of their king. In this way they raised the innocent Scots from their inferior position to one of civilised racial superiority. The fourteenth-century English border chronicle, *Scalacronica*, made little mention of the slaughter only noting that the townsfolk had attacked an English ship and the

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[10] Piehler, pp. 45, 81. Also see: Hagen, p. 148; Thomas Scanlan*, Colonial Writing and the New World 1583-1671*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 9.

[11] Warren S. Smith, *Satiric Advice on Women and Marriage from Plautus to Chaucer*, Michigan, 2005, p. 4. Smith suggests satiric literature often had an air of implausibility around it due to the author's hyperbole and inconsistencies.

[12] Harry, p. 1 (1.13). Also see: Fordun, pp. 67-68.

king retaliated, resulting in a 'great number of the commoners in the town garrison' being killed. More importantly for *Scalacronica*'s author, 'King Edward conquered all of the town and castle and took up residence there'.[13] The fifteenth-century Scottish chronicler Andrew Wyntoun gives one of the fullest narratives of the episode. He claimed the people of the town made great defence in resisting Edward, but

> Rycht fast thrang in Þe Inglismen,
>
> And umbeset Þe Scottismen Þare, . . .
>
> And Þare Þe Inglismen slew doune
>
> All Þe Scottis folkis in Þe tovne,
>
> Off all conditioun, nane sparand,
>
> That thai within Þe tovne Þan fand, . . .
>
> Thai sparit noÞer man nor page,
>
> NoÞer auld na young, madinis na wiffis,
>
> Bot all Þai gert Þare lofs Þar liffis.[14]
>
> The slaughter continued until Edward saw
>
> [a] woman slane and of hir side
>
> A barne he saw fall out sprewland,
>
> Beside Þe moder slane lyand

at which he called a cease to the atrocities. According to chroniclers 7500 people lost their lives, and for two days streams of blood flowed through the town.[15] This violent episode is 'indebted to biblical images of the Slaughter of Innocents which usually stands as testimony to tyranny', and demonstrates women were more likely to be the passive recipients of catastrophic suffering through violent means. Men on the other hand were given the role of 'restoration through the virile force of arms' reinforcing the passive versus active stereotypes

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[13] *Scalacronica*, p. 37.

[14] Wyntoun ,v, pp. 282, 284. Translation: Right quickly the English crowded in, And attacked the Scots there, . . . And the English cut down All the people in the town, They spared none they found within the town, . . . sparing neither man nor boy neither old or young, maidens or wives, All that they trapped there lost their lives.

[15] Wyntoun, v, pp. 284, 286. Also see: Fordun, p. 318; Bower, vi, p. 59; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 250. Translation: a woman was slain and he saw a baby fall out of her side and lie sprawled next to the body of its dead mother.

accorded to men and women.[16] In Scotland this restoration would come later with victories at Stirling Bridge (1297), Roslin (1303), and Bannockburn (1314). Such brutality can be viewed as cultural and ethnic cleansing – depopulating the land by getting rid of women, as the biological and cultural reproducers, and children, as the future political generation, left the way clear for the enemy's colonisation. It is also indicative of the competing masculinities of men of either nation; by hurting women, the English hurt the Scots, damaging their honour and identity. English opinion of their superiority was reinforced through destruction of the Scots. English chroniclers write of similar instances of Scottish violence against their people, illustrating that the Scottish king, while usually the victim of English attempts at conquest, was also an instigator of violence.[17] Of course, Scottish historiography failed to record this side of the story. Innocent suffering, the shameful deeds of great men, and the losses and failures of the past were hidden in a one-sided, but glorious, history.[18]

Challenges to 'land and land ownership are central to a colonial situation'; possession becomes important for both coloniser and native.[19] The English as colonisers were convinced Scotland was theirs by right, the native Scots just wanted to retain Scotland as their own. In postcolonial literature the 'recovery of an effective relationship to place after dislocation, or cultural denigration by a supposedly superior cultural and racial colonial power, becomes the means to overcome the sense of displacement and crisis of identity'.[20] As this thesis has demonstrated, England's colonial aspirations in Scotland resulted in an anti-English response which served to create an emerging collective identity for the Scots, underpinned by a gender discourse. In the sixteenth century such aspirations still existed but I propose they were overwhelmed by a different type of political and religious colonialism. Postcolonial theory

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[16] Patricia Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain*, Philadelphia, 2001, p. 57. For biblical reference see: Matthew, 2:13-23.

[17] Richard of Hexham, Henry of Huntingdon, Ailred of Rievaulx, John of Hexham and John of Worcester wrote similar narratives from an English point of view. See: *Scottish Annals*, pp. 101-102, 157, 180, 247; John Gillingham, 'Foundations of a Disunited Kingdom', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds, *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, London and New York, 1995, pp. 48-64 (p. 57).

[18] Ingham, pp. 105-106.

[19] Catherine Nash, Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland', *Feminist Review*, 44, Summer, 1993, pp. 39-57 (p. 50).

[20] Nash, p. 50.

therefore allows us to view the way medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish historiography grappled with the legacy of English attempts at colonisation, and the maintenance of political and cultural independence. It also allows us to examine men's fear of subjection under a foreign male or a female ruler, the subjection of Catholicism by Protestantism, and the conflicts between self and Other.[21] As Kathleen Davis has convincingly argued,

> studying medieval nation-formation in the context of postcolonial thinking about the modern nation lies not only in its potential to enhance our understanding of medieval national communities, but also . . . that the medieval difference from the modern cannot be set out in terms of an opposition . . . [and forcing] the recognition of the more complex cultural and political boundaries that exist on the cusp of these often opposed political spheres.[22]

I propose Scotland's colonial project turned away from actual colonisation over another, instead looking to preserve their 'colony' against external threat. Leading Scots were then able to retain power and control over land, resources, women, children, and other men. Medieval and sixteenth-century historiographers, poets and play-wrights became the 'cultural brokers and image-makers' of an invented Scottish identity employed to unify the kingdom and give it a common purpose against the enemy's violent intentions. The myths of origin outlined in chapter two, similar to Afrikaner historiography discussed in the work of Anne McClintock, were 'organised around a male national narrative figured as an imperial journey into empty lands'.[23] Gaythelos and Scota began a process of settlement continued by the Picts and Scots who claimed the empty land now known as Scotland as theirs allowing authors to inscribe an early history that was backwards, pagan, and barbaric while opening up a 'zone of linguistic, racial and gender degeneration' out of which came civilisation and refinement.[24]

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[21] Scanlan, pp. 3-4.
[22] Kathleen Davis, 'National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28, 3, Fall 1998, pp. 611-637 (pp. 613-614). Also see: Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature*, Philadelphia, 2006, p. 1.
[23] Anne McClintock, 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, 44, Summer 1993, pp. 61-80 (pp. 68-69).
[24] McClintock, p. 69.

This early conquest and the successful defence of later invasions took pride of place in Scottish national historiography as 'crucial milestones in national memory and . . . in forging national identity'.[25] Baldred Bisset's *Instructions* and *Pleadings* (1301) and *The Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) were a response against claims of English colonialism, laying down a Scottish past that sought to 'identify, valorise and empower' what the English termed as 'barbaric, primitive and provincial'.[26] The chronicles took a similar stance, and while it is impossible to say whether or not the English histories had any direct influence on Scottish authors, Bisset's work clearly responded to English colonial rhetoric and placed Scotland's political and literary propaganda in dialogue with England.[27] During the time of the Reformation and Mary Stewart's return to Scotland, Scottish identity formation became a site of struggle for both masculinity and Protestantism. The Scots, like their English contemporaries, turned to satire and allegory in order to articulate and shape the new set of emerging (and gendered) ideologies.[28] I argue that for some sixteenth-century authors Catholicism became associated with a lack of civility, even femininity, because it was linked with the rule of Mary and her transgressive behaviours. Protestantism on the other hand functioned as a vehicle promoting a superior religious, and subsequently, Scottish masculine identity.[29]

Scottish historiography between 1286 and 1586 carefully recounts its contested history which I argue presents us with a postcolonial discourse. After all, postcolonial theory involves the examination of narratives concerned with 'suppression, resistance, difference, race, gender and

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[25] R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300*, Cambridge and New York, 1990, p. 2.

[26] Catherine Karkov, 'Tales of the Ancients: Colonial Werewolves and the Mapping of Postcolonial Ireland', in Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, eds, *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern*, New York and Basingstoke, 2003, pp. 93-109 (p. 95).

[27] Karkov, p. 105. Karkov outlines a similar argument in her comparative discussion of Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* (1188) and the Irish *Acallam na Senorach* (Tales of the Ancients), *c.* 1200.

[28] Scanlan. See: p. 9. Also see Jacqueline Vanhoutte, *Strange Communion: Motherland and Masculinity in Tudor Plays, Pamphlets and Politics*, Newark and London, 2003, p. 18.

[29] For similar arguments see: Anne McLaren, 'Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism', *The American Historical Review*, 107, 3, June 2002, pp. 739-767 (pp. 746, 758).

place' as responses to 'influential master discourses'.[30] By ignoring postcolonialism as a tool of analysis for the pre-modern period one promotes a homogeneous and nostalgic view of history that refuses to acknowledge 'the continuities between medieval and modern barbarism'.[31] Indeed, by stepping outside the rigid periodisation of modernism we can view postcolonial studies of the nation as invaluable for understanding medieval and sixteenth-century hegemonic processes in constructing the imagined national past and 'the articulation of culture in terms of geographical space'.[32] The responses to domination and suppression show the destruction of Scottish communities actually mattered, but equally important to note is that these responses were also gendered. This is where modern studies of gender and war become useful because they outline the variety of ways the 'social construct of gender and a gendered language interact with representations of war and warfare'.[33] Symbolic and metaphorical roles ascribed to men and women clearly demonstrate the 'interaction of warfare and gender . . . [through] familial and dynastic language'; important as the 'political world [was] based on honour, virtue, blood, kinship and inheritance'.[34] Women symbolised the virtuous honour of the nation, both of which required protection by men; the medieval warrior ideal based itself on the ability to protect and defend. In the sixteenth century the defence ideal still existed but had shifted from warrior brutality to political and religious reform.[35] By labelling women as 'mother-figures' the stereotypical gendered roles of nurturing and reproduction became the focus of women's national contribution within the masculine world of politics and war.[36]

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[30] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, 'General Introduction', in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, eds, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, London and New York, 1995, pp. 1-4 (p. 2).

[31] Sharon Kinoshita, 'The Romance of MiscegeNation', in Ingham and Warren, pp. 111-131 (pp. 125-126). Kinoshita uses the work of Kathleen Biddick to formulate her argument.

[32] Davis, 'National Writing', p. 614. Michelle Warren argues postcolonial theory opens the window 'into any time or place where one social group dominates another'. See: Michelle Warren, 'Making Contact: Postcolonial Perspectives through Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*', *Arthuriana*, 8, 4, 1998, p. 115 in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, New York, 2000, p. 3.

[33] Kirsten Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge, 2008, p. 100. Fenton uses the work of Mrinalini Sinha on colonial masculinity to put forth her own argument for the medieval period.

[34] Fenton, pp. 100-101.

[35] Fenton, pp. 100-101.

[36] Fenton, p. 101.

According to John Leslie (1577) when the English laid waste to the length and breadth of the realm in the late thirteenth century, they took the antiquities, changed the institutions and laws, and 'brocht vs vnder sick seruitude, held vs vnder sick subiectioune, that Scotland behouet to leiue efter in maner of Jngland in all things'.[37] English colonial aspirations led to repeated invasions, skirmishes and lengthy wars. Unfortunately, the bodies upon which English righteousness was indelibly written were those of the men and women deemed inferior who, in turn, become the entities upon which superior men were granted ownership of land and history.[38] However, cultural domination could be achieved without conquest: administration, styles of governance, economics, language, literature, religion (as in the sixteenth century) of the Anglo-Normans and the English were adopted and assimilated, both implicitly and explicitly, by the Scots.[39] Fifteenth-century historiography harked back to the exceptional rule of Robert I (1306-1329), at times of minority or political trouble. Sixteenth-century historiography wistfully glanced back at masculine rule, despite all its problems, during times of female rule which sat uncomfortably with the authors' mentalities. Ergo, gender helps draw distinctions between Scotsmen and Englishmen, between Scotsmen and women, and between Catholic and Protestant within the context of martial, political or religious war. Each moment of apparent conquest and its consequences led to a redrawing of gender identities determined by who won and who lost.[40]

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[37] Leslie, i, p. 349. Translation: brought us under such servitude, held us under such subjection that Scotland was behoved to live afterwards in the manner of all things English. Michael Prestwich puts forth an interesting examination of 'colonial Scotland' at the hands of Edward I concluding that while much of what occurred in Scotland in the late thirteen and early fourteenth centuries can be termed colonialism, in the end Scotland never became a colony of England as total military conquest was never achieved.. See: Prestwich, 'Colonial Scotland: the English in Scotland Under Edward I', in R. A. Mason, ed., *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Edinburgh, 1987, pp. 6-17.

[38] Ingham, pp. 148-149; McClintock, p. 69.

[39] For further discussion see: Davies, *Domination and Conquest*, chapter one. Also see: Fenton, chapter five; Gillingham, p. 52; Robin Frame, 'Overlordship and Reaction, *c.* 1200 - *c.* 1450', in Grant and Stringer, pp. 65-84 (p. 75).

[40] Fenton, p. 123.

'Nature, the propiciant moder of all creaturis': Gendering the Land[41]

The masculine heroics and sacrifice of leading men were immortalised by chroniclers who employed explicit political and martial masculine language, leaving little room for the feminine in the narratives.[42] Yet the feminine makes regular ambiguous and unambiguous appearances in response to particular situations. When the feminine was given prominence it was instructional and moralistic, and often linked to nature. Nature was seen as 'an intermediary between God and man in the work of creation' and identified symbolically with woman. This paralleled the hierarchical cosmological schemes which required the land (*terra*) to be female because heaven was governed by a *male* God who mastered everything beneath him.[43] As such, the earth's fecundity (fruitfulness) naturalised its feminisation while at the same time facilitating the gendering of the nation through language usually promoted by clerical or political men. If nature/earth was analogous with the feminine, then the female body became an object 'to be mastered by the male subject'.[44]

Specific episodes in the literature bring the feminine to the fore when discussing the nation's resources, geographic boundaries, and characteristics by employing classical concepts of Dame Nature or the (feminine) Virtues. Wyntoun (*c.* 1420) specifically called 'Dame Nature' a lady who ruled all creatures, while Walter Bower (1440s) described her as a 'force and power grafted on to human kind by divine agency', attributing to her James I's (*r.* 1406-1437) natural propensity for justice and talent for music.[45] Nature's role was one of nurse and mother, usually looking after man's welfare whether in the home or on the field.[46] However, this natural role paradoxically saw woman as 'the cause of man's welfare' through birth and nurturing, as well as 'the cause of his disaster and death' either through her transgressive

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[41] Bellenden's Boece, i, p. 91. Translation: Nature, the auspicious/happy/lucky mother of all created things.
[42] For example see: Harry, p. 3 (1.99).
[43] Piehler, p. 50. Also see: Lisa Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe 400-100*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 41; Sarah Kay, 'Women's Body of Knowledge: Epistemology and Misogyny in the *Romance of the Rose*', in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, eds, *Framing Medieval Bodies*, New York, 2004, pp. 211-235 (p. 220). My emphasis.
[44] Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke, London and New York, 2000, p. 70; Helena Goscilo and Andrea Lanoux, 'Lost in the Myths,' eds, *Gender and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Russian Culture*, Illinois, 2006, pp.3-29 (p. 3); Piehler, p. 51.
[45] Wyntoun, ii, p. 128; Bower, viii, p. 305.
[46] Piehler, p. 67.

actions or her vulnerability.[47]   Woman as nature embodied the space of Other; a wild inner to be tamed by the masculine and civilised outer. However, others found themselves occupying that same space. The wild highland Scots were perceived as inferior, even feminised, due to their "barbaric" ways by the more civilised and superior Lowland Scots, and the Scots regularly placed the English in the same space. The English also used the feminine natural state to take a swipe at the Scots and the fourteenth-century border narrative, the *Lanercost Chronicle*, gives a wonderfully descriptive example of David II's invasion of England in 1346. David was depicted as the 'stem of evil' that sprang from 'the root of iniquity . . . from which tree certain branches broke forth bearing a crop of their own nature, the buds, fruit and foliage of much confusion'. These sons of iniquity then went forth from Scotland persuading many people to 'make an end of the nation of England'.[48]   Two things are apparent here. First, the English chronicler attempted to diminish David's masculinity and honour by attacking his natural genealogy. Secondly, the clerical writer appears to be paralleling Scottish women, as the 'root of iniquity', to evils of Eve and suggesting their maternity brought forth a monstrous race deserving of conquest.

Just as woman provided for man through reproduction, nurture, and the provision of food and comfort so nature provided for what can be termed the earth's children. Barbour claimed that when Robert Bruce was at his height of power and strength

> His men woux rich and his contre
>
> Haboundyt weill of corne and fe
>
> And off alkyn other ryches.[49]

The natural land under the good management of a successful king grew fertile and provided for those deemed worthy. For Boece, the spoiling of Scotland's land, archives, and artifacts caused 'the fame of Scotland to grow les, [and] . . . of vertu to decres'. Moreover, kings who

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[47] Jane Chance, *Literary Subversions of Medieval Women*, New York, 2007, p. 5. Jehan Le Fevre (*c.* 1395-1468) claimed Woman was 'the mother of all calamities; all evil and madness stem from her'. See: Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed, Woman Defended*, Oxford, 1992, p. 195.

[48] *Lanercost*, p. 330.

[49] Barbour, p. 517 (13.723-727). Translation: his men grew rich and his country had an abundance of corn, cattle and other kinds of wealth.

allowed a lack of virtue and corruption to have free rein were punished by having their land and beasts damaged.[50] As a result the Scots would grow 'vyle and rude', their honour would disappear, and their identity would be damaged; they would become the barbarians the English authors portrayed them to be which would justify England's superiority.[51] Chroniclers repeatedly emphasised that good governance resulted in '[greit] plentie' from the land – fertility was abundant when peace ensued.[52] Conversely, a king's death chased away the 'breeze that brought her fertility' which Bower insisted caused Scotland to complain.[53] Bower used this analogy to describe the death of David II (1371), who having no children of his own, left the throne to his nephew Robert II. As outlined in chapter three, this heralded the beginning of what chroniclers saw as years of ineffective rule, an increase in noble power, and the eighteen-year imprisonment of the young prince James by the English.

Blind Harry used nature's fertility to symbolise the growth of Wallace's love for Ms Braidfute, the woman who would become his short-lived wife.[54] As noted in chapter four, seasons ushered in new chapters or a change of course for Harry's hero. Here, spring was used to announce the blossoming of a new love; unfortunately one that would not mature and live through endless summers or winters. Sixteenth-century historians Hector Boece and John Leslie highlighted the fertility of Scotland and its provision of sustenance for Bruce during the year he was in hiding, allowing him to survive and take his rightful place as king.[55] Tyranny was also seen to have a root in nature which feminised, or at least made less manly, those who exercised such behaviour. William Stewart's *Metrical Version* (*c.* 1533) of Boece's work outlines a speech made by a very early Scottish king, Carthlyntus, who sought to 'draw furth the rute and hew the branchis doun' to prevent tyranny from spreading to a level where it could never be contained.[56] However, John Knox used the idea of nature against women in

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[50] Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 60-61, 100-101.
[51] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, pp.192-193. Also see: Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels of the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature and English Community 1000-1534*, Ithaca and London, 2006, p. 59.
[52] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, ii, p. 275.
[53] Bower, vii, p. 365.
[54] Harry, p. 110 (6.1-20).
[55] Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 265-266, 291; Leslie, ii, p. 1.
[56] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, i, p. 538.

his tract denigrating female rule. He postulated that '[t]o promote a woman to beare rule . . . [was] . . . repugnant to nature'. Moreover, according to Knox, nature painted women as 'weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolishe', reason enough that they should not be in the position of keeping the kingdom 'hole and strong'.[57] Nature was obviously aware of the feminine faults that she shared with women and Knox had no compunction about using this as a literary reminder to his audience.

However, it must be acknowledged that the debates surrounding Knox demonstrate that he was not a complete misogynist; while he subscribed to the usual gender stereotypes typical of his time his attitude towards gender was often ambiguous.[58] His tracts against female rule were more about religion than feminine frailties as his letters to Marie de Guise in 1556, regent of Scotland, testify. As Judith Richards suggests, the 'polemical Protestant writings [including Knox's] of the sixteenth-century religious wars, so often taken as characteristic of reformers' views on the nature of women, might better be viewed as the reformers' views on the nature of Catholic women rulers'.[59] Claiming that the regent had 'been marked for God's favour' Knox maintained she would 'continue to receive [divine approval] if she stayed the course she had begun. However, if she turned her back to defend a poison religion (Catholicism) she would receive divine punishment'.[60] The regent's response to Knox's letter was ridicule. He never forgot this as the inclusion of Marie in his 1558 publication of *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* indicates. The regent's daughter, Mary Stewart, was in Knox's eyes another female Catholic monarch 'and as such

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[57] Knox, *Works*, iv, pp. 373-374. Also see: Judith M. Richards, '"To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28, 1, Spring 1997, pp. 101-121(p. 116).
[58] Robert M. Healey, 'Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25, 2, Summer 1994, pp. 371-386 (p. 385). Maureen Meikle argues that Knox never 'intended to denigrate women'. See: Maureen M. Meikle, 'John Knox and Womankind: a Reappraisal', *Historian,* 79, Autumn 2003, pp. 9-14 (pp. 9, 13). Also see: Susan M. Felch, 'The Rhetoric of Biblical Authority: John Knox and the Question of Women', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26, 4, Winter 1995, pp. 805-822 (pp. 805, 808); Amanda Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth Century England: The Knox Debate*, Keele, 1994, p. 9.
[59] Richards, pp. 115, 116. Also see: Meikle, p. 9; Felch, p. 813; Jane E. A. Dawson, 'The Two John Knoxes: England, Scotland and the 1558 Tracts', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42, 4, October 1991, pp. 555-576 (p. 567); Kirsten Post Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, p.59.
[60] Healey, p. 375.

was a continuation of the monstrous regiment'.[61]   In Amanda Shephard's words, the Knox debate highlights the existence of a 'much wider spectrum of views on the role of women in society than has hitherto been realised. Patriarchy was not a monolithic and uniform ideology unquestioningly accepted within early modern society'.[62]   Commentary about the short and dramatic personal reign of Mary Stewart (1561-1567) was also influenced by religious and political debates which were often shaped by ideas on gender. One of the most recent texts to tackle the Scottish queen demonstrates how 'Mary and her gender influenced politico-religious attitudes during the sixteenth century', and claims that these attitudes were not static. Indeed such changing attitudes, argues Kirsten Post Walton, 'had a profound effect on both the political situation in Scotland and in England'.[63]   John Knox and Mary Stewart are large figures who feature prominently in any discussion of gender and Scotland. This brief discussion, and their intermittent appearances throughout this thesis, is not intended to belittle their status within Scottish history but illustrate that a lengthy examination is beyond the scope of this thesis and has been achieved more than adequately elsewhere.[64]

Knox's position on nature's view of women in rule aside, what was important was that both the land and women had to be seen to be fertile – women to ensure the continuation of a legitimate genealogy, the land to aid in its survival. However, this was a genealogy which resulted in a gendered and racial image where women inhabited the margins as a colonised people. Moreover, the royal family tree not only illustrated that the king imaginatively belonged to an unbroken line of rulers, it emphasised an imagined homogeneity offering 'a tendentious image of state power as monolithic unity'.[65]   From the late fourteenth century this genealogical image was repeatedly used to legitimate the royal house of Stewart and 'demonstrate the antiquity and autonomy of the Scottish kingdom'.[66]   On occasion familial

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[61] Meikle, p. 12.
[62] Shephard, p. 7.
[63] Walton, p. 13.
[64] See works by: Walton, Shephard, Felch, Meikle, Dawson, Richards, McLaren, and Healey. Also see: Jenny Wormald, 'Godly Reformer, Godless Monarch: John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots', in Roger A. Mason, ed., *John Knox and the British Reformations*, Aldershot, 1998, pp. 220-241.
[65] Ingham, p. 4; McClintock, pp. 66-67.
[66] Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', p. 60.

language was used by the chroniclers, and showed that fathers were linked with 'filial duty, the bonds of fraternity and paternity' and mothers with images of 'origins – birth, hearth, home, roots'.[67] Robert Bruce was described as the 'fathir of the natioune' and the 'father of victories'.[68] The fatherly epithet illustrates Bruce was viewed as the head of a very large national family whom he had protected from English subjection. While Elizabeth I was making speeches about being mother to her subjects, Bishop John Leslie (1569), one of Mary Stewart's most ardent supporters, was representing his queen as a 'most careful and tendre mother' who lovingly tended her subjects 'as a natural mother toward her children'.[69] Through natural and familial analogies chroniclers reinforced gendered roles: men were active in the governance of family and nation, women were passive and relegated to a feminine, homely, sphere. Even women in power had to be contained ideologically so that men did not feel challenged or threatened. Authors used the feminine-land and "mother" tropes to sanction men's actions and their power.

As with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (*c.* 731), Scottish chroniclers spent many pages describing Scotland's geographical spaces and resources – a land of plenty 'ordered by man and appraised in terms of its usefulness'.[70] This quote neatly puts into perspective the way the gendering of nature symbolically reinforced relations between men and between men and women in everyday life, and in the forming of Scottish identity. Major described Britain as an island which had

> a sufficiency of its own needs of soil for the culture of wheat, pease, oats; an
> abundance too of pleasant rivers, well-watered meadows, rich pastures for its

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[67] Elleke Boehmer, *Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation*, Manchester and New York, 2005, p. 27.

[68] Leslie, ii, p. 8; Major, p. 249.

[69] Leslie, *Defence*, folios 6v-7r. Leslie quoted in Jayne Lewis, '"All Mankind are her Scots": Mary Stuart and the Birth of Modern Britain', in Brook Thomas, ed., *Literature and the Nation*, Berlin and New York, 1998, pp. 55-75 (p. 60). Leslie was a proponent of women's rule – the third book of his *History* responded to John Knox's *First Blast*. See: Walton, p. 66.

[70] Catherine Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England 700-1400*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 8.

herds of cattle . . . [t]he woods are well stocked . . . and nowhere, it is thought, do
rabbits swarm as they do here.[71]

However he points out wheat could not be grown everywhere but such barrenness was nothing
to be ashamed of because it paralleled a similar situation in the Promised Land. Moreover,
Christ and the apostles had eaten bread made from barley.[72] Major concludes that while
England may excel Scotland in fertility, Scotland was abundant in fish.[73] Yet, why was the
barrenness in some areas acceptable to Major? What did this say about the feminine which
was so intrinsically linked with nature? For Major the combining of all these wonderful
resources of both nations was a further reason a union of the crowns would be prosperous for
both kingdoms. Perhaps his reasons lay in the union: by combining the two kingdoms any
barrenness of the land or royal house would be compensated by each side providing the other
in what they lacked. Scotland also had an abundance of great rivers and 'fine safe harbours at
the mouths of the rivers' suggesting these geographical boundary markers also served as
defence posts.[74] Harbours were viewed by Leslie as the 'bosum' of the realm, a place of
maternal safety unless violated by another.[75] Protection of resources was paramount in order
to retain those cultivated spaces dominated by Scottish men.

'[T]hre gret castellis of Scotland . . . he tuke in hand': Defence [76]

The fifteenth-century poet Blind Harry described Scotland as 'sely' (defenceless) and in
extreme danger because his hero, Wallace, was in an English prison and close to death.[77]
Harry's heroic poem suggests Scotland had no-one immediately on hand to protect her, and as
a result the vulnerable, but highly fertile, land was violated and repeatedly laid to waste for

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[71] Major, p. 7.
[72] Major, pp. 7-8. For further descriptions of Scotland and its fertility see: Fordun, pp. 36-37; Bower, i, pp. 181-183.
[73] Major, p. 31.
[74] Bower, i, p. 181.
[75] Leslie, ii, p. 95.
[76] Wyntoun, v, p. 292.
[77] Harry, p. 22 (2.201).

many days.[78] The 'erbe and froyte, busk and bewis' growing in abundance were taken for provisions by the English army before the harvest arrived, suggestive of spoiling and raping the countryside of nature's 'offspring'.[79] Edward I intended to bring all of Scotland under his subjection by aggressive penetration of the land in order to rule the Scottish public realm as he desired.[80] By implicitly suggesting the masculinity of the three estates was diminished by Edward's conquest and subjection Harry was able to emphasise the hypermasculinity of the now released and fully strengthened Wallace who quickly became 'the reskew of Scotland' as outlined in chapter four.[81] Furthermore, failure to protect meant English violation diminished claims Scotsmen had on their women and, metaphorically, their land.

Wallace's wife was, in my view, used by the author to symbolise Scotland. Both incited an emotion in Wallace which meant he would willingly die for them; for his wife he sought revenge on the English, an action which could have resulted in his death; for the kingdom he eventually gave up his life. Unlike other women in the literature, Ms Braidfute is not raped by the English. By promoting her sexual honour, Harry 'elevates the heroine's moral status'; through the use of chastity she becomes a symbol of national virtue.[82] By personifying Scotland through Wallace's wife, Harry demonstrates women symbolise 'maternal self-

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[78] Harry's text, which focused on Wallace as Scotland's saviour, suggests the hero's detention and precarious hold on life left Scotland exposed to danger, belies the reality that Scotland had a protector in its ally, France. France and Scotland had signed a treaty in Paris on 23 October 1295 which officially signalled the advent of the 'Auld Alliance'. While there is no specific dating of Wallace's imprisonment, it was likely to have occurred between 1292 and 1295, and there is a likelihood it occurred before the Treaty was signed in Paris. However, in the late thirteenth century, actual French intervention against Edward I did not materialise due to specific terms of the Treaty. The extent of aid to be given by Philip IV to the Scots was limited and only providing the Scots gave the French plenty of notice. By 1337-38 it was an alliance based on a well-established idea of mutual military aid against England. Norman Macdougall demonstrates, it was an alliance 'fuelled by the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) and its sixteenth-century renewals, but demonstrably came to an end in 1560'. See: Elizabeth Bonner, 'Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295-1560', *History*, 84, 1999, pp. 5-30 (pp. 6, 12-13); and Norman Macdougall, *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295-1560*, East Linton, 2001, pp. 3, 19. Macdougall's text gives a comprehensive insight into the complexities and details of the Auld Alliance, suggesting it 'gradually developed to become much more than a military and diplomatic relationship', p. 4.

[79] Harry, p. 31 (3.3-4, 13). Translation: herbs and fruit, bush and boughs.

[80] Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 143. Also see: Bower, vi, p. 369.

[81] Harry, p. 40 (3.294). Also see: Wyntoun, v, p. 240; Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, pp. 143, 156-157, 191.

[82] R. James Goldstein, ''I will my process hald': Making Sense of Scottish Lives and Desire for History in Barbour, Wyntoun and Blind Hary', in P. Bawcutt and J. Hadley Williams, eds, *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 35- 47 (p. 45). See: Harry, pp. 91, 94 (5.610, 690-692). Also see: Walton, p. 9.

sacrifice or the nation's fierce virginal pride'.[83]   Wallace's wife encompassed all the good virtues that Scotland and Scottish women should uphold: to be agreeable, gracious, prudent, accomplished in noble conduct, discreet in speech, fresh of countenance, with a good inheritance and lineage.[84] It is possible Hesilrig, the (English) sheriff of Lanarkshire, desired Wallace's woman just as Edward desired Scotland; a desire Hesilrig could only have satisfied through rape.   Instead, Wallace's masculinity is heightened through the inference he impregnated his wife in the short time they were together; the conception reinforcing racial boundaries between Scotland and England.[85]

While there was no direct sexual violation by the English on Ms Braidfute, indirect sexual tension exists highlighting the vulnerability of Scots women in a world currently dominated by English men.   As governor and leader of Scotland, Wallace becomes the metaphorical husband of Scotland just as he was the husband of Ms Braidfute. Yet, both Scotland and wife are failed by Wallace's inability to protect them indefinitely.   Both are violated by and subjected to the English: Scotland through military defeat and Ms Braidfute through death. By feminising his narrative through love, Harry used women to emphasise anti-English sentiment, the bloodshed of war, and women's inability to defend themselves or use violence to return violence. War was the 'bastion of male (heterosexual) virility' which inscribed on women 'the unavoidability of their victimisation'.[86] Through love and war Harry determined the boundaries of the Scottish male, aristocratic world, and the hero's identity.   In the final pages of his text, Harry gives space to a 'complaint' which underscores the masculine actions of Wallace in gaining Scottish freedom, and emphasises the necessity of a male leader.   He suggests that now Scotland's hero has been killed she has lost her guiding light and saviour,

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[83] Boehmer, pp. 28-29. We see this in the scene where Lady Seton sacrifices her sons for the liberty of her town and country and claims she and her husband were young enough to have more children. See: Major, p. 272; Bellenden's Boece, ii, p. 304; Wyntoun, vi, p. 10. Lady Seton felt the sacrifice was worth it if it meant being rid of the nation's servitude. Also see: Nicola Royan, 'Some Conspicuous Women in the Feminine Appearances in *The Original Chronicle*, *Scotichronicon* and *Scotorum Historia*', *The Innes Review*, 59, 2, Autumn 2008, pp. 131-144 (p. 134).

[84] Harry, pp 91-94 (5.582, 596-603).

[85] Harry, p. 112 (6.68).

[86] Ingham, p. 155.

and asks Scotland, 'who will defend you now, who will make you free' because 'gud Wallace may succour thee no mar'.[87]

Rape, and to a lesser extent murder, by the English was a result of war enforced on women, causing tensions for Scottish lineage; women's most important contribution to the national project was their ability to procreate. When Ms Braidfute died the baby she apparently carried also died; both deaths damaged the nation both biologically and racially by prohibiting the continuation of Scottish lineage through this family unit. The English, according to Barbour, flaunted their imagined superiority over the Scots, demeaning or destroying the men who could 'do na thing' while the enemy raped their women and broke down their buildings.[88] The helplessness of the Scottish men casts them into a feminised role when compared to the English, whose strength and violence assured them of superior masculinity. The naturalness of the legitimate nation is destroyed by the seed or the sword of the enemy. Women's bodies therefore shape the identity of the nation both figuratively and literally. Men of the nation are no longer able to lay claim to either the body of woman or the nation.[89] As exemplified by Wallace's wife, who was killed in the hope he would retaliate and himself be killed, women's bodies were the site of battle. Women were linked symbolically with the land which kept both within the bounds of colonial patriarchy although the perpetrators of domination shift from the legitimate authority of husbands, fathers, and bishops to the illegitimate usurpers of that authority. Vulnerability to violence identified both women and the land in sexual, socio-political, and biological ways.[90] However, violence against women was actually more about violence by men upon other men to regain or assume power. By violating a nation's women the enemy, or Other, assaults the male/national honour which was so central to aristocratic

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[87] Harry, pp. 376-377 (12.1109-1127).

[88] Barbour, p. 55 (1.193-200). Also see: Anne McKim, 'Scottish National Heroes and the Limits of Violence', in Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk, eds, *'A Great Effusion of Blood'? Interpreting Medieval Violence*, Toronto, London and Buffalo, 2004, pp. 131-143 (p. 134); R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, pp. 160-161.

[89] Zillah Eisenstein, 'Writing Bodies on the Nation for the Globe', in Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Ann Tetreault, eds, *Women, States and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?* London and New York, 2000, pp. 35-53 (p. 47).

[90] Amanda Hopkins, 'Female Vulnerability as Catalyst in the Middle English Breton Lays', in Hardman, pp. 43-58.

male lives resulting in an immense shame. As a result the attack on the women themselves becomes incidental. A feminised Scotland sat on the periphery of the narrative alongside women waiting to be protected against violation and occupation from the enemy. Underpinning the masculine action of defence, women and the feminine were the means by which masculine honour increased.

By defending vulnerable and precious entities, male agency becomes the centre of attention emphasising masculine homosocial and hegemonic relations through the notion of a fraternity.[91] An excerpt from Pitscottie's sixteenth-century history demonstrates this ideology existed in the sixteenth century. Under the governance of the regent Mary de Guise, religious instability became more prominent. Protestant Reformers had destroyed Catholic icons, John Knox had preached openly, and encouraged the destruction of the Charterhouse in St Johnstone (1559). The Catholic queen regent vowed to punish those who had committed such crimes, even threatening in anger to destroy the town and all its inhabitants. Addressing the Duke of Chatelherault, she wondered how he, being the 'second persone of Scottland', would not help correct those who were wrongly abusing the 'common weill and pollacie of the cuntrie'. She believed that even as regent she was ignored because she was 'bot ane woman' who 'knawis nocht the natur nor falssietie of men and bernage', and claimed it was the Duke's duty along with his 'brotheris to defend this realme'.[92] The political fraternity of Scotland was definitely perceived as masculine, and men's primary duty was the defence of the realm. Buchanan also viewed the political realm as masculine. In his poem *Epithalamium for Francois and Mary* (1558) he claimed that through marriage France and Scotland now shared 'a common rule', having come together 'as one in the spirit of brotherhood'. At the same time there is an implication France and Scotland were feminine territories over which the brotherhood had power.[93]

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[91] This is similar to the point put across by Susanne Scholz. See: Scholz, p. 11.

[92] Pitscottie, ii, p. 147. Chatelherault was also Earl of Arran. St Johnstone was Perth.

[93] George Buchanan, 'Epithalamium for Francis of Valois and Mary Stewart, of the Kingdom of France and of Scotland (1558)'. See: *Political Poetry*, p. 144 (ll.282-285).

Historian Rees Davies argues that '[t]he instrument and symbol *par excellence* of domination was . . . the castle' which emphasised power and aggression, and the loss of which was devastating on many levels.[94] Moreover, castles were 'active participants in the construction and expression of identity'; an identity informed by ideas of class, ethnicity and gender.[95] Men made their mark on the land by erecting cities and castles which they then possessed and controlled, thus examining representations of their defence is important for this analysis. As we saw in chapter three, Robert III's loss of Dumbarton Castle in 1398 to a lesser, clerical, man further damaged chroniclers' opinions of his personal and political potency. During the Wars of Independence (1296-1357) many Scottish castles were lost to the English, only to be recovered and then lost again. Michael Prestwich has argued 'success appeared to come to Edward I in Scotland when he captured Stirling Castle in 1304'; Stirling was strategically important being the gateway to the north of Scotland and was not recovered by the Scots until 1314.[96] Resistance had crumbled, Edward's army had wintered in Scotland, and prominent earls (Comyn, Atholl and Strathearn) had submitted to Edward. In the mind of the English king, 'Scotland was once more a conquered land'.[97] However, unlike the conquest of Wales 'no great chain of castles' was constructed to demonstrate the country's complete capitulation.[98]

Chroniclers used an array of analogies and language to describe such loss. The literature demonstrates that such architectural entities were perceived as feminine because they harboured sensual pleasures and dangers of seduction within their walls; built environments to be overcome by the male enemy or protected by the masculine hero.[99] The use of 'architectural metaphors ties in neatly with descriptions of the body in medieval writings', and in sixteenth-century narratives such metaphors were often employed to represent 'the

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[94] Davies, p. 40.

[95] Tadhg O'Keefe, 'Concepts of 'Castle' and the Construction of Identity in Medieval and Post-Medieval Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 34, 1, 2001, pp. 69-88 (pp. 70, 73).

[96] Prestwich, p. 9.

[97] Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371*, Edinburgh, 2004, pp. 195-197.

[98] Prestwich, p. 13.

[99] Suzanne Romaine, 'Gender, Grammar and the Space Inbetween', in Helga Kotthoff and Ruth Wodak, eds, *Communicating Gender in Context*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 51-76 (p. 62).

inviolable body of the queen'.[100] Unsuccessful retention of castles impinged on the masculine identity of Scotland, and emphasised the subordination of the land and people under another. Moreover, it stressed the failure of society's dominant groups to defend their possessions and those who came under their protection. As Barbour points out, Edward I went to Scotland

> [a]nd all the land gan occupy
>
> Sa hale that bath castell and toune
>
> War intill his possessioune
>
> Fra Wick anent Orknay
>
> To Mullyr Snuk in Gallaway
>
> And stuffyt all with Inglismen.[101]

Throughout the history of Scotland, the strategically located town of Berwick was continually attacked and besieged. In 1333 Edward III ended the latest siege by entering the town and castle taking 'possession of them for himself' while the 1355/56 siege saw him, along with Edward Balliol, attempt to 'take complete possession of the country'.[102] It appeared to be one small step from the taking of castles and cities to possessing the whole realm; the ultimate goal of the English. To be replaced by foreign Others put leading Scots in less than manly positions. To be displaced by men of one's own nation ruptured homosocial bonds. While the physical entity of the castle was rendered feminine because it was easier for authors to inscribe loss onto the female body, ideas of occupation and displacement highlight the struggles between men in their quest for political and military power, and identity formation.

Siege analogies were also used didactically by authors. In order to illustrate how abhorrent lust was, especially for aristocratic or royal women Bower outlines the story of a duchess called Rosamunda 'whose castle was besieged' by the king of the Hungarians; the castle

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[100] Scholz, p. 31.

[101] Barbour, p. 55 (1.179-189). Translation: and occupied the land so completely that castles and towns were in his possession from Wick and Orkney to the Mull of Galloway, and were filled with Englishmen. See: Duncan, *Bruce*, p. 54.

[102] *Lanercost*, p. 281. Major, p. 296. The Scots had besieged Berwick and recovered it in November 1355 only to lose it to the English in January 1356. See: Michael Penman, *David II, 1329-71*, Edinburgh, 2004, p. 183.

appears to denote the female body to which the king wanted access.[103] Noting his noble form, Rosamunda wrote to the king suggesting 'if he consented to marry her, she would surrender the castle to him', which he agreed to. Integral to the story are Rosamunda's two beautiful daughters, who placed the flesh of fowls under their breasts so that after a few days 'they would give out a putrid stench', and avoid being raped by the besiegers. Remaining unharmed, and with their virginity intact, they subsequently contracted successful marriages with the kings of Francia and Germany. In contrast to her modest daughters, Rosamunda married the king of Hungary and gave him the castle and her body; one appearing to be synonymous with the other. Having slept with her for only one night, the king handed 'her over to the Hungarians to be publicly violated'. Three days later at his command 'a wooden stake [was] thrust through her privy parts as far as her throat'. Condemning her as 'a wanton woman who betrayed her own city because of the lust of the flesh, and surrendered it to the enemy of her own accord', she was sent to the devil as his bride because one like her 'ought to possess such a husband'.[104] This was a message about women, but it was not just for women: it was directed at men and demonstrates ideas about masculine power and control. Unlike Rosamunda who hinders the forging of a collective identity through her actions, the actions of Agnes Dunbar serve to reinforce the identity of Scotland.

As discussed in chapter four, Dunbar was left in the hands of the countess Agnes, and a handful of retainers, who put up a commendable resistance against some of England's best military commanders. The castle was continually attacked: stones were fired at the walls which appeared to be impenetrable. Wyntoun tells his reader that 'a damyceill' appeared on the battlements with a towel in hand and casually wiped off any marks the stones made.[105] Twenty years later, the damsel had become 'a very pretty girl . . . adorned like a bride for her husband' who was sent out to take on the housewifely task of wiping away the marks of

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[103] Englishman Thomas Jenye uses a castle analogy to symbolise Mary Stewart who was besieged by Darnley until 'she cold not hold hym owte; But rendered Sacke and spoile unto the victors grace'. See: 'Maister Randolphe Phantasey: a breffe calgulacion of the procedinges in Scotlande from the first of Julie to the Last of Decembre', (*c.* 1566) in Cranstoun, i, p. 7 (ll.89-95).

[104] Bower, ii, p. 357. For another siege analogy see: Bower, ii, p. 355; Leslie, i, p. 290.

[105] Wyntoun, vi, p. 80

assault.[106]   In both accounts the castle implicitly takes on the persona of a virgin maiden assaulted by the virile man but to no avail, for neither were conquered or violated.[107]   Authors referred to birthing analogy, virginity, and rape imagery to get their point across. In Bower's fifteenth-century *Scotichronicon* and Major's sixteenth-century history we are treated to the analogy of the 'pregnant sow' as part of the Dunbar siege. The 'sow' was an English siege engine operated by soldiers underneath its main body. Bower proudly claimed Agnes 'caused an ingenious machine inside the castle to be drawn back for discharging a missile, and a large heavy stone . . . came down from a high trajectory, struck the sow fiercely like lightning and dashed the heads of many inside to pieces'. At the same time she shouted a warning to Salisbury to 'beware for your sow will farrow!' (give birth).[108]   According to Major, Agnes 'caused boiling pitch and burning sulphur to be poured in plenty on the sow, and with heavy logs and stones she made an end, not only of the sow, but of all her litter'.[109]   As Elizabeth Ewan suggests this is 'an ironic inversion of the traditional rape imagery whereby a woman threatened sexual assault against a man whose military machine was "pregnant" with warriors', and chroniclers used reproductive and 'birthing imagery to a very non-maternal and unfeminine end'.[110]

Protection from invasion, violation and occupation was important for both the nation's castles and its women.   Originally Edinburgh Castle was called Maidens' Castle, '*castrum puellarum*', because according to chroniclers the castle's founder King Edwyn kept his seven daughters there for safety. Expanding on this legend Leslie noted that daughters of the nobility were also kept there until ready to be married, having been thoroughly instructed in 'the precepts of vertue'.[111]   It appears the bodies of these high status women were kept hidden

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[106] Bower, vii, p. 127.

[107] Royan, 'Conspicuous Women', p. 138.

[108] Bower, vii, p. 129.

[109] Major, p. 280. Also see: Stewart, *Metrical Version*, iii, p. 342.

[110] Elizabeth Ewan, 'The Dangers of Manly Women: Late Medieval Perceptions of Female Heroism in Scotland's Second War of Independence', in S. M. Dunnigan, C. M. Harker, and E. S. Newlyn, eds, *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, Hampshire and New York, 2004, pp. 3-18 (pp. 9-10).

[111] See: *Lanercost*, p. 145; Leslie, i, p. 133. Also see: Fordun, p. 261; Major, pp. 164, 180. The name 'Madin Castell' was also used by Stewart, *Metrical Version*. See: iii, p. 37; Bower, vii, p. 113. Watt maintains this name

'through architectural mechanisms of segregation and enclosure'; there was always a fear the castle or the female body would be breached as both were vulnerable to penetration by other men.[112] Walls, towers, gardens and the physical boundary of the castle were the means by which access to those bodies contained inside were regulated. Edinburgh was therefore used metaphorically to symbolise the chastity and virginity of the unmarried woman. Women who occupied the inner space of the built environment were to be kept chaste in order to support the masculine 'systems of social reproduction' in which such virtue was 'central to the structures of family and inheritance'.[113] This protection from sexual sin and corruption appears to benefit and favour the nation's masculine honour over the feminine. If a woman was violated it was the damage to masculine power and control that was articulated, not the harm done to the female body. In late sixteenth-century Scotland, the occupation of feminine space and the displacement of masculine power by an enemy take on new meaning when the enemy is no longer just the English, but now incorporates a new religion coupled with a woman in power.

One of Robert Sempill's Reformation poems *The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh* (1573) explicitly feminises and sexualises the castle. In 1573 Edinburgh Castle was held by William Kirkcaldy of Grange, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, who adhered to Queen Mary's party. The siege was the culmination of a complex situation in Scottish politics. Grange had not always supported Mary; in fact, he had been party to the murder of Cardinal Beaton in 1547, served his time in the galleys as punishment, and then as a mercenary in the French army before fighting against them at Leith in 1559. He fought against his Queen at Carberry in 1567 and supported her deposition – Grange was first and foremost a patriotic Protestant Scot and for his loyalty was appointed Keeper of Edinburgh Castle by the Regent Moray.[114] Edinburgh Castle was the 'first fortress and principal armoury of the kingdom' as well as being the

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has an unknown origin but was applied to the castle from the time of David I in the eleventh century. See: vi, p. 451.

[112] Roberta Gilchrist, 'Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma and the Body', in Kay and Rubin, pp. 43-61 (p. 58). Also see: Scholz, p. 71.

[113] Gilchrist, p. 59.

[114] Harry Potter, *Edinburgh Under Siege 1571-1573*, Stroud 2003, p. 10.

political 'nerve-centre of Scotland' and in 1573 the town and castle were the hub of Marian resistance.[115] According to Harry Potter, Grange believed if Mary rid herself of Bothwell she could be saved. However, when Bothwell escaped Scotland and the Regent Moray's actions carried forth a chain of events which proved he would never restore the Queen before being murdered himself, Grange, along with Mary's old secretary William Maitland of Lethington, lost faith in the king's party.[116]

After the fall of Dumbarton Castle in early April 1571, the fortress at Edinburgh was the last bastion of the Queen, and Grange had control of it. Grange had been given the virtue of the Castle to protect on behalf of the Protestant king, but in the eyes of the Protestants he had destroyed that virtue by holding it as a Catholic stronghold.[117] Playing on the old name of 'Madene Castell' which had long been held with great honour because it had resisted attack, Sempill describes the fortress as a 'huir'. By allowing the Catholics access, all is lost, for as it is with all whores, if you 'win one entry . . . the house is yours'.[118] The sexual parallel with the whore diminished the honour of one of Scotland's formidable strongholds, and the current monarch. After her disastrous marriage with Darnley, and her perceived affair and subsequent marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, some saw this as the right time to rid the country of 'this Papist whore of a Queen'.[119] The castle and the queen were the focus of political life and had therefore become synonymous. Over the course of two years, Grange held the town and castle of Edinburgh for the Queen. He had been up against the varying abilities and tactics of three regents who had the help of England, and there had been varying successes and failures for the Marian party in both fighting and peace negotiations.[120] For the king's party the eventual reduction of Edinburgh Castle was the only way they could end the siege. Such an action, if

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[115] Potter, p. 11.
[116] Potter, pp. 16, 24-49.
[117] Potter, pp. 50-62. According to Potter, the fall of Dumbarton resulted in the death of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and saw an end of foreign aid to the Queen's party, and was serious setback to the Marian cause. See: p. 55.
[118] Sempill, 'The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh', i, p. 267 (ll.165-173).
[119] Potter, p. 14.
[120] For a comprehensive analysis of the complex events leading up to, during, and the ending of the siege, see: Potter.

successful, would symbolise the destruction of both the Queen and Catholicism; the masculine would triumph over the feminine.

By April 1573, Grange was left with few soldiers and an assortment of men and women who would defend the castle. According to Potter, the 'Castilians hoisted the royal standard and 'returned answer that they would keep the castle for Queen Mary, although all Scotland and half England had sworn the contrary''.[121] To the end, Grange believed himself to be a noble knight although he was fighting for a lost cause. In a challenge to the Governor's masculinity, Regent Morton had the government printer draw up a broadsheet disputing this fact. It stated that 'all men may better perceive how the Laird of Grange, against his faith, honour and promise, is and has been, the instrument and occasion, of the present unquietness and bypast vastacion of the town, to the suppressing of the exercise of God's religion, the hindrance of justice and policy, and calamity of the whole common wealth'.[122] Yet, Grange and Lethington were not promoting the revival of a Catholic regime or a different view of kingship – their loyalty lay with Mary whom they saw as the legitimate monarch to whom they had pledged their allegiance.[123] Scottish identity for Grange was focused on the centrality and legitimacy of the monarchy, not religion. The final push by Morton and his men resulted in parts of the castle being destroyed by cannon fire. Grange and Lethington surrendered the castle and themselves to the English and pleaded not to be turned over to the Scots; a plea which fell on deaf ears. Luckily for Lethington he died in captivity, but Grange was tried for murder and treason and then hanged.[124]

For Sempill, the subjection and surrender of Edinburgh Castle placed it firmly in Protestant hands, and '[na] mair our Madene Castell playit the huir'.[125] The seat of government had been restored under a male regent and monarch thus restoring the honour of the castle, the commonweal, and the monarchy. Feminine sexuality and lack of male honour (as in the case

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[121] Potter, p. 131. Potter quotes Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scottish Affairs (CSP(S)), iv, pp. 552f.
[122] Potter, pp. 132-133. Potter quotes CSP(S), iv, p. 559f.
[123] Potter, p. 152.
[124] Potter, pp. 138-148.
[125] Sempill, 'The Sege', p. 267 (ll.165-173).

of Grange) were used to underscore the righteousness of Protestant male actions. Not only were men subjecting women through sexual analogies, they were subjecting other men through occupation and displacement and redefining the homosocial bonds of power. Sempill's poem was also a subtle reminder for Protestant women, and men, about how they should behave in order to maintain the prescribed order of society. However, Sempill's poem gives a narrow view of Scottish identity at this time and belies the complexities of this episode. While all those involved saw themselves first and foremost as Scots, the reliance of the king's party on England adds a different dimension to their identity. Scottish Protestant identity aligned itself with English Protestant identity, uniting two ancient adversaries together for the first time and signalling the beginning of something akin to a British identity.

Language and Race

'[A] savage and untamed nation': Race [126]

Hegemonic masculine norms were established through relationships of power and political organisation, through social and sexual morality, and economic structures. Anything or anyone who did not conform to ideals disseminated from the top was seen as barbaric or Other. Davies argues this image 'facilitated domination' and was justified if the difference between the norm and the Other was exaggerated.[127] The slaughter at Berwick (1296) was used by the Scots to appear superior to the inhumane English, despite the former having lost the siege. *Lanercost* portrayed the men of Galloway as barbaric Scots because they violated nuns, maidens and married women, and burned churches in Lanercost, Hexham and Lambley. The chronicler scathingly criticised this behaviour attributing it not to valour 'but to the dastardly conduct of thieves who attacked a weaker community where they would not be likely to meet with any resistance'.[128] Similar to Scottish commentators, the chronicler suffered a sudden amnesia with regard to his own countrymen's barbaric exploits. What is of real interest here is *Lanercost's* conclusion that inside the church of Hexham, dedicated to the

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[126] Fordun, p. 38.
[127] Davies, p. 22.
[128] *Lanercost*, pp. 137-138.

honour of St Andrew 'the spiritual patron of the Scots', these barbaric Scotsmen destroyed the relics of saints and 'roaring with laughter . . . cut off the head of the image of St Andrew, declaring he must leave that place and return to his own soil to be trodden under foot'.[129] As Andrew was the tutelary saint of Scotland, this excerpt strikes a blow at collective Scottish identity. While this confirms such a concept existed, the lack of unity among the Scots is used to suggest the English would find it easy conquering them.

Racial superiority did not just occur between countries it also internally defined the dominance of one group of Scots over another. From the Wars of Independence, the linguistic, cultural and geographic divisions between Highland and Lowland became more pronounced, particularly after the royal court moved away from Perth and the Highland population to Lowland Edinburgh.   Gaelic, which had been dominant politically, retreated to the inaccessible parts of the Highlands while Scots took precedence as the official court language.[130] Scottishness began to be expressed to the detriment of the Celtic mythical past that had underpinned the collective identity of the Scots.[131]   The differences between Highlander and Lowlander were readily pounced upon and exaggerated by the chroniclers from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries; the former being continually viewed as culturally inferior. John Fordun (1370s) differentiated upright civilised men from those who rose from the lowest depths; the latter having the command of the mother-tongue.[132] The highlanders were seen as 'a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine and ease loving'.   However they had a 'docile and warm disposition, [were] comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language and owing to the diversity of speech even to their own nation, and [they were] exceedingly cruel'.[133] Despite this, if they

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[129] *Lanercost*, pp. 137-138.

[130] Ulrike Moret, 'Some Scottish Humanists' Views on the Highlanders', in G. Caie, R. Lyall, S. Mapstone, and K. Simpson, eds, *The European Sun: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature*, East Linton, 2001, pp. 323-332 (p. 323). The use of French also diminished. Also see: Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf, 'Introduction', in Fox and Woolf, eds, *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, Manchester and New York, 2002, pp. 1-51 (p. 13).

[131] Stefan Hall, *The Role of Medieval Scottish Poetry in Creating Scottish Identity: "Textual Nationalism"*, New York, 2006, p. 34.

[132] Fordun, p. 356. Bower makes a similar point. See: iii, p. 389.

[133] Fordun, p. 38.

were properly governed they were 'faithful and obedient to their king and country'. The lowland Scots were 'domestic and civilised . . . trusty, patient, and urbane, decent in their attire, affable and peaceful, [and] devout in Divine worship'; Highland Scots were 'fierce in spirit . . . [and] would almost as soon die as . . . be enslaved'.[134] Sixteenth-century views still placed some negativity, even contempt, on perceptions of those described as Highlanders. For Major the Irish tongue which was also spoken by the Wild and Island Scots was seen as less civilised than the English tongue spoken by the civilised Scots. Major's hostility toward the Gaels was well-known and according to Roger Mason, his work built on the 'casual asides of Fordun and Bower', and was one of the 'first to express in detail the view of Highlanders as indolent, undisciplined and aggressive . . . as opposed to the more civilised and law-abiding Lowlanders'.[135] Leslie was more positive and more knowledgeable about the Highland way of life (being born 'on the Gaelic side of the linguistic boundary'), commending the warrior figure that epitomised the male Highlander.[136] However, he still marginalised those born north of the Grampian Mountains because they were so different to their southern peers; as a group they were 'by no means representative of Scotland', unlike the superior Lowlanders.[137] Pitscottie claimed that during the reign of James II (1437-1460) men from the Isles, deemed proud and insolent traitors, arrived at Loch Lomond and burned churches and homes, murdering women and children if they got in the way.[138] Politically astute, Buchanan realised the problems the histories of his peers presented in omitting, marginalising or vilifying the Highlanders in their discussions of Scotland. As Ulrike Moret argues, Buchanan realised that

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[134] Fordun, p. 38. In reality, the Gaels 'tended to be evasive and often altogether ignored the Scottish king and his attempts to rule the Highlands more effectively'. However, they did acknowledge the 'superiority of the Scottish king as their high-king' but saw governance as the 'responsibility of their own local sub-king'. See: Moret, pp. 323-324. Also see: Roger A. Mason, 'Civil Society and the Celts: Hector Boece, George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Past', in Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay, eds, *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, Edinburgh, 2002, pp. 95-119 (pp. 97-98).

[135] Mason, 'Civil Society', pp. 95, 103-104; Major, p. 18. Roger Mason suggests Major's articulation of civilised and barbarous was self-conscious. See: Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in Barbara E. Crawford, ed., *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1999, pp. 73-91 (p. 81).

[136] Moret, p. 328.

[137] Moret, p. 330; Leslie, i, p. 9.

[138] Pitscottie, i, pp. 29-30.

> [i]f one presented Highland culture as the original Scottish culture, the whole
> world was going to laugh at an anachronistic nation of Noble Savages. If one
> insisted that . . . the Lowlanders formed the dominant element in Scottish culture,
> then . . . [that] culture was not really distinctly Scottish.

Therefore, by moving away from this, the result is a work by Buchanan that, according to Moret, appears 'strangely homogenous'.[139] Moret's work raises many important questions regarding the relationship between the Scottish Gaidhealtachd and Scottish identity that require careful deliberation and discussion, and for which the parameters of this thesis are too narrow. As outlined in the introduction, the arguments made here are drawn from readings of particular authors and do not incorporate all the people in Scotland.

For many of the chroniclers, the northern men of Scotland sat outside the hegemonic masculine political sphere of Scotland, feminised by their racial inferiority and their cowardly actions. In contrast, the patriotic Boece credits the Highlanders with being the 'former strength of the Scottish nation', instead turning his racial prejudices against the English.[140] He was horrified at the thought of the mixed bag of men, women and children making their way north in Edward I's army making such a clamour with their 'diuersite of tongs'. He worried about the linguistic and colonial threats presented by this racial rabble hovering on the political, geographical, and cultural boundaries of Scotland. Had these people set 'doun perpetuallye in Scotland', Scottish lineage, traditions and institutions would have been tainted and the Scots banished from those same boundaries, eventually bringing about the extermination of 'oure fayme and memorye'.[141] Robert Wedderburn acknowledged the many similarities between the Scots and English existing in the sixteenth century, but suggests they were the underlying cause of the treasonous acts Scots committed against their native country.[142] The idea that one side was more superior or barbaric than the other to be used as justification for subjection or domination did not abate. The Parliamentary speech, *c.* 1513,

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[139] Moret, p. 330.
[140] Moret, p. 327. Also see: Mason, 'Civil Society', pp. 102-103.
[141] Bellenden's Boece, ii, pp. 271, 274.
[142] Wedderburn, pp. 83-84.

Pitscottie put in the mouth of the Lord Chancellor highlights the fear of foreigners. While debating who should be governor to the young king James V, the Duke of Albany's name was put forward but the chancellor argued he was more French than Scottish even

> thocht he be nearest of bloode to haue the gowerment of this realme zeit hes not our leid nor knawis not the nature of our contrie nor our laiws . . . I think it best for me to cheise ane of our awin lordis quho wnderstandis ws and we him and kens the quallietieis of Scottland.[143]

In the end, Albany was invited to come to Scotland, arriving in 1515. He was well received by those who were thankful to have one of royal Scottish blood to rule over and defend them during the king's minority. His investiture removed the queen mother, Margaret Tudor, from power, indicating that for Pitscottie the public realm was perceived as a masculine domain. A man in governance, even one deemed more French than Scottish, was certainly favoured over a woman.[144]

'[N]akit of perfeccioun and rhetory': Language[145]

Language is one of the 'symbolic border guards that separate members of a given nation from others'.[146] In postcolonial discourse it is the 'fundamental site of struggle . . . because the colonial process begins with language [where] the control over language becomes the most potent instrument of cultural control'.[147] In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Scots vernacular (Inglis) was used by John Barbour and Blind Harry to write about Robert Bruce and William Wallace; two medieval works of national significance.[148] A number of

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[143] Pitscottie, i, p. 285.

[144] Pitscottie, i, p. 289.

[145] Bellenden's Boece, Preface, i, p. 16; Thea Summerfield, 'Teaching a Young King about History: William Stewart's Metrical *Chronicle* and King James V of Scotland', in Thea Summerfield and Keith Busby, eds, *People and Texts: Relationships in Medieval Literature*, Amsterdam and New York, 2007, pp. 187-198 (p. 193).

[146] Vera Tolz and Stephanie Booth, eds, 'Introduction,' in Tolz and Booth, eds, *Nation and Gender in Contemporary Europe*, Manchester, 2005, pp. 1-7 (p. 3); Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 1997, p. 23.

[147] Ashcroft et al, p. 283.

[148] The Scots vernacular was a variation of English spoken in the northern regions of England which dominated the Lowland areas to the south and east of Scotland. For further discussion see: Christine Robinson and Roibeard O Maolalaigh, 'The Several Tongues of a Single Kingdom: The Languages of Scotland, 1314-1707', in Thomas O. Clancy and Murray Pittock, eds, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, volume i, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 153-163. For an interesting analysis of the role of the clergy as bridge-builders between oral and literary Gaelic

other languages such as Gaelic, French, Norse, and Flemish were evident in medieval Scotland, but the prestige, authority and ideological significance of vernacular Scots was promoted through such works by Harry and Barbour, Andrew Wyntoun's fifteenth-century *Original Chronicle,* and John Bellenden's translation of Hector Boece's *Historia* (1531). This ensured the idea of a Scottish identity was available to the wider community.[149] As Thorlac Turville-Petre argues, 'the very act of writing in the vernacular is a statement about belonging' and the concept of racial unity achieved through the use of national writing, was 'a fundamental part of the construction of national identity in the Middle Ages'.[150]

The Scots vernacular became known as the mother tongue; a language that was easily communicable and easily comprehensible to Lowland Scots in particular. Yet, it was also known as the 'vulgar tongue' which suggests a crudity and barbarity that feminises and subordinates the language.[151] In the sixteenth century, authors such as Major and Buchanan claimed Latin was the superior language and the classicists were the supreme authority for history writing, putting some distance between them and the mythical and barbaric past.[152] Writing at a time of Catholic persecution Leslie tried to promote the superiority of Latin, the language of the Catholic Church compared to the inferior vernacular language used in Protestant services.[153] Despite this, Major described Bruce as using 'his mother tongue' in a speech to his men before Bannockburn:[154]

> you see not only the English army come against us . . . but also those drawn from
> all neighbouring regions, together with their wives and children, so that once we
> are conquered they themselves may take possession of our places, cultivate our

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traditions, see: Donald E. Meek, 'The Pulpit and the Pen: Clergy, Orality and Print in the Scottish Gaelic World', in Fox and Woolf, pp. 84-118.

[149] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 133-134.

[150] Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 11, 97.

[151] Ruth Evans, Andrew Taylor, Nicholas Watson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The Notion of Vernacular Theory,' in Evans, Taylor, Watson, and Wogan-Browne, eds, *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*, Pennsylvania, 1999, pp. 314-330 (p. 325).

[152] Major, preface, p. cxxxv; Buchanan, i, p. 9; *Rerum*, f.3r (ll.38-41). Also see: Edward J. Cowan, 'Land and Freedom: Scotland 1314-1707', in Clancy and Pittock, pp. 135-143 (p. 139).

[153] Leslie, ii, p. 398.

[154] Major, p. 236.

> fields themselves, themselves live in our houses, themselves attend our churches
> and holy places, and finally they themselves take possession of everything, after
> we have been obliterated even to our very name.[155]

Bruce encouraged his men to fight without timidity, to remember that God was on their side and to fight for the lives not only of themselves but

> for our childer and for our wyvis
> And for our freedome and for our land.[156]

Here the 'mother tongue' is linked with the idea of nationhood and identity, especially when coupled with the part of the speech that imagines a domestic community of home, wives, children, and native land. Nicola Royan claims the 'emotive references to home and kin make the speech powerful', especially when Boece places it alongside a comparison of the '[n]oble aims and warlike characteristics of the Scots' with the 'mercenary desires and effeminacy of the English army'.[157] The Scottish soldiers were vigorous and 'hardened by so many victories' whereas English effeminacy resulted from too much time 'handling harlots and immersed in every kind of lust'.[158] The use of 'our' indicates that the men believed they were fighting to retain what rightfully belonged to them heightening the passions and desire necessary for fighting. The use of heroic and martial language reinforces the belief that the feminine served to underpin the masculine in the construction of Scottish identity.

Not everyone agreed Latin was the superior language; after all it was little understood outside of aristocratic and learned circles. Gaelic also held little appeal outside of the Highlands despite proficiency in the language by the sixteenth-century monarchs, such as James IV, and the fact that over half of Scotland's landmass was occupied by Gaels who did not speak Scots. According to Stefan Hall, the rise in the lowland Scots vernacular as the national tongue

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[155] Boece's *Scotorum*, book xiv, f.314 in Nicola Royan, 'The Uses of Speech in Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia*', in L. A. J. R. Houwen, A. A. MacDonald and S. L. Mapstone, eds, *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Peeters, 2000, pp. 75-93 (pp. 87-88). A similar speech is used in Stewart's *Metrical Version* by Gaythelos to encourage his men to fight: 'fight for your goods, your children and your wives, your land, your law, your liberty and lives'. See: i, p. 16.

[156] Barbour, p. 461 (12.245-247).

[157] Royan, 'Uses of Speech', p. 88; Boece's *Scotorum*, f.314.

[158] Royan, 'Uses of Speech', p. 88; Boece's *Scotorum*, f.314.

resulted in the 'suppression of Gaelic culture in Scottish nationalist ideology'.[159] The Scots vernacular was used in the poems of William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, the works of Sir David Lindsay and the political and religious propaganda of the Reformation. In the preface of Stewart's metrical version of Boece's *Historia* we are given a dialogue between the poet and what Thea Summerfield calls a 'rather homely "she" who charges the poet with translation'.[160] As a representation of the feminine the 'she' takes on her traditional role of transmitting language and customs to the people, just as a mother would instruct a child. The poet is told that James V does not have a good command of the Latin tongue and therefore needs Boece's Latin history to be written in a language he can understand. As king, it was important he know the details of his realm's history in order to learn from predecessors' successes and mistakes. Interestingly, the poet criticises the vernacular language as 'gros and rude'; the original translator John Bellenden had described it as 'nakit of perfeccioun and rhetory', a slightly less harsh depiction. The 'she' cuts short the poet's snobbery urging him to get on with his memorable and didactic narrative. This perhaps highlights that vernacular Scots had become a language that reached many levels of society, both textually and orally.[161]

Vernacular Scots was used in political propaganda in order to appeal to public opinion; something that was employed more regularly in the late 1560s/early 1570s than any other time in Scottish history. The result was the widening of the political nation to include more Scottish people than before in order to gain support.[162] As Kirsten Post Walton asserts, Robert Sempill's 'pursuit of the lower classes demonstrated that gaining support outside the usual 'political nation' was important in the civil war, and that the King's Men were working to convince the Scottish people that theirs was the legal government'.[163] Feminine imagery was repeatedly used in the literature and histories yet language in the form of direct speech was rarely accorded to women; not only were they to be chaste and obedient they were to be silent. However, as the cultural transmitters of the nation, language was the property of women to be

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[159] Hall, p. 41. Also see discussion by Dawson, pp. 280-292.
[160] Summerfield, p. 193.
[161] Summerfield, p. 193.
[162] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, London, 1991, p. 220. Also see: Walton, p. 144.
[163] Walton, p. 149.

nurtured and passed on to their children as long as it was confined to the feminised space of home.

Yet, Scots as the mother tongue was the way the Scottish people could be united not just linguistically, but nationally. Used by authors to define moments of collective identity the feminised Scottish language was another way to incite feelings of what we would now term as patriotic desire. Latin would never have incited the same response. Gendered language and imagery were also used to emphasise power and dominance over others; land, cities, castles and natural resources were perceived to be in the possession of men and fought over by men. By using the disembodied voice of the feminine, authors constructed the idea of a feminine Scotland as a passive and vulnerable entity to be rescued by hardened warrior-heroes. At the time of the Reformation (1559/1560) and Mary Stewart's rule (1542-1567) there was a discernible shift from the use of metaphor and analogy to the use of personification. In the poetry and political tracts by Scottish authors such as David Lindsay, Robert Wedderburn and Robert Sempill, the disembodied voice of Scotland takes on the persona of a "real" woman who speaks directly to her audience.

'And when she is bereft of her husband, she is alone, naked, exposed to harm': Sixteenth-Century Case Studies[164]

Dame Scotia and Lady Scotland made their appearance in mid to late sixteenth-century material by Robert Wedderburn (*c.* 1510-*c.* 1555) and Robert Sempill (1530-1595?). Wedderburn was a pro-Catholic, patriotic vicar working in Dundee. His *Complaynt* was a tract written against the 'Rough Wooings' of Scotland by Henry VIII, those Scots who had 'Assured', and the English invasion of the 1540s, especially their bombardment of Dundee.[165] Little is known of Sempill's background, although there has been much conjecture. What is

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[164] J. L. Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, ed. C. Fantazzi and C. Matheeussen, 2 vols, Leiden, 1996, volume ii, p. 21 in Walton, p. 7.

[165] Lynch, *New History*, p. 190. Also see: Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots 1542-1551*, East Linton, 2000, pp. 286-287. See chapter one of this thesis for a brief discussion of the Rough Wooings and Assured Scots.

certain is that he was at one time in the army and had knowledge of court life, but was not of a high social status. Sempill was a satirical poet distinctly on the side of the Protestants, and a man who intensely disliked Mary Stewart. His poetical career (1567-1584) coincided with Mary's removal from the Scottish throne and her English imprisonment.[166] As far as I can discern, Sempill's work has not been discussed in great detail and certainly not from a gendered or nationalistic point of view. Two of his poems are of particular interest: *The Complaint of Scotland* (*c.* 1570) and *The Lamentation of Lady Scotland* (1572). In 1861 Scottish antiquarians David Irving and David Laing claimed the *Lamentation* was 'a literary production' they found unexciting, although they graciously agreed it was useful for discerning the state of the kingdom at that particular time.[167] I disagree with this statement because the historical and literary import Sempill's poems exhibit generates more than a few snippets of useful information.[168] As Tricia McElroy argues, 'the satirical poems are a recoverable instance of cultural exchange between Scotland and England, charting the movement of new political ideas as well as the strategic and polemical application of literary forms during the Reformation period'.[169] With respect to Scottish identity they are highly gendered pieces that give insight to the ideas being put forward in sixteenth-century Scotland regarding religion, politics, and feminine rule.

Anne McKim has written on masculine constructions of the feminine voice in the Middle Scots complaint material. Although the feminine voice had been employed at times by the major poets and chroniclers throughout the period, McKim argues that in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries 'there appears to have been something of an upsurge in the use of the feminine voice' in male-authored poetry.[170] Usually the female speaker is an abandoned or wretched figure; 'an object invented by a male author engaged in literary cross-dressing often

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[166] For a discussion on Sempill's background and the contentions around his actual identity see: Cranstoun, i, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

[167] David Irving and David Laing in John Aitken Carlyle, ed., *The History of Scotish Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1861, p. 442.

[168] Irving and Laing, p. 442.

[169] Tricia A. McElroy, 'Imagining the "Scottis Natioun": Populism and Propagands in Scottish Satirical Broadsides', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 49, 4, Winter 2007, pp. 319-339 (p. 320).

[170] Anne McKim, ''Makand hir Mone': Masculine Constructions of the Feminine Voice in Middle Scots Complaints', *Scotlands*, 2, 1994, pp. 32-46 (p. 32).

in order to address other men' rather than a 'textual subject'.[171] The female lamenter is the medium through which gender stereotypes are highlighted for her 'words are invented, imagined, by a male poet with the weight of cultural authority behind him'; the narrator professes only to be the 'reporter'.[172] Sempill's *Complaint of Scotland* is a protest about Scotland's position in the aftermath of Henry Darnley's murder; the queen's marriage to the Earl of Bothwell; Mary's forced abdication and crowning of her infant son (1567); and the murder of the regent James, earl of Moray (1570). According to James Cranstoun, the poem was incorrectly catalogued under the year 1567 as a ballad about the death of Darnley. However, the placing of the poem in Cranstoun's edited works, and the reference to the 'glowing gunne', indicates it is a lament about the recent assassination of Moray.[173]

The *Complaint* begins with 'Scotland' who weeps copiously and moans about the despicable treatment and loss of 'my deir', the regent Moray; a man whom I believe becomes a martyr for the Protestant cause, like Darnley before him as discussed in chapter three. I argue Sempill personifies Scotland as feminine; the physical and geographical land embodied as woman who has lost her male partner and leader of the political realm. In her complaint Scotland takes on the typically feminine intercessory role where she was allowed to speak on behalf of the now defenceless Scottish nation. Poems of the Reformation repeatedly comment on the devastating losses of Moray and Darnley, suggesting they balanced out the gender equation at the top of the social order, and which was lost with their deaths.[174] Interestingly, Darnley never had the real power of a ruling king and was never in an independent position to protect the political or geographical realm. In Sempill's poem, Scotland acknowledges her mourning will do no good - she must rely on God's will to see her glory returned.[175] The poem hints at days past; glorious days which I hypothesise were under the rule of men. Only a return to

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[171] McKim, 'Makand hir Mone', pp. 32-33.
[172] McKim, 'Makand hir Mone', p. 33.
[173] For the dating issue see: Cranstoun, i, p. 95. Moray was shot – for reference to the gun see: Sempill, 'Complaint', p. 97 (l.58).
[174] For example, see: Sempill, *Heir Followis ane Ballat Declaring the Nobill and Gude Inclinatioun of our King*, 1567; *The Deploration of the Cruell Murther of James Erle of Murray* (1570); *The Kingis Complaint* (1570); *The Lamentation of the Comounis of Scotland* (1572).
[175] Sempill, 'Complaint', p. 96 (ll.16-17).

patriarchal rule will heal the open wounds being experienced by Scotland for the first time since 'Fergus, first . . . tuke steir' of the nation.[176] This reference to the first king of the Scots acknowledges Scotland as an ancient and free nation under one king was possessed and guided by the firm hand of a man. Writing at a time of political upheaval where a woman had been on the throne for six years, whose involvement in her husband's murder was still being questioned, and who had taken up with another husband in an unseemly fashion, Sempill's poem acknowledges the tensions female rule placed in the minds of the political men of Scotland.

Sempill used *The Complaint* to elucidate to his readers the evils of Catholicism paralleling the faith with lawlessness, mischief, cruelty, treason, murder and femininity. The godly men (Protestants) were too trusting, allowing Catholics to live alongside them thinking there would be no harm done; this was their undoing. Sempill saw this trust destroyed by the hatred and falseness of the Catholics who brought death to the Protestants. He believed God alone would make judgement and save the righteous, but in the meantime the 'Lordis of Renoun' and 'Barronis bauld' had to be ready to revenge the Regent, and subsequently their religion, with 'ane hart, will, mynde, and Intent'.[177] Sempill's poem demonstrates he was aware of the concept of Scottish identity which I argue had become synonymous with Protestant identity. The Catholic 'murtherers' were to be chased from '*our* native land'; a native land now in the possession of Protestants who saw themselves as true Scots. Catholics were now the Other who had to be excluded from the physical borders of Scotland; this included Queen Mary who had already fled from the realm and been replaced with her Protestant son.[178] No longer could Catholics be identified with Scotland or be part of the imagined and dominant political fraternity. By supporting the new religious regime spiritual and physical laziness would be removed and peace, concord, and prosperity would return. Scotland concluded her complaint

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[176] Sempill, 'Complaint', p. 96 (ll.26-28).
[177] Sempill, 'Complaint', p. 98 (ll.81-87).
[178] Sempill, 'Complaint', p. 98 (ll.93-94).

with a 'sobbing sych', pleading 'Me, pure Scotland, for to defend'; a request following in the defence tradition of the earlier period.[179]

Sempill's poem, *The Lamentation of Lady Scotland*, while not as influential as perhaps Sempill's *Complaint*, or the work of Wedderburn, is nonetheless important for a discussion on gender. It is a piece of work that further utilises the concept of the land as a woman suffering. Mrinalinha Sinha argues the language of kinship allowed the nation to 'appropriate for itself the kind of elemental passions hitherto associated with the ties of blood'. Thus, the nation (as land) is assembled as an 'abused or humiliated mother' appealing to her sons and daughters to come to her aid; to protect her and restore her honour.[180] This time Scotland is explicitly gendered by being addressed 'Lady'.[181] Lady Scotland voices her elegy as an epistle addressed to the Laird of Dun, minister of God and Superintendent of the Kirk in Angus and Mearns. The title of the verse suggests the lament was compiled by Lady Scotland herself; a tradition in Scotland often involving a widow.[182] The death of Alexander III (1286) saw the fourteenth-century chronicler, Walter Bower, write that Scotland was now feminised and rendered weak because it was 'vacant, headless, rent in pieces, widowed as it were of rule by its own king at a time when the Roman church was vacant, thus lacking the protection of any defender at all'.[183] Similarly, at the time of Robert I's death, Scotland had 'lamentations and torments sent against her' but she refused to acknowledging them stating 'I sit here as a queen, and I am not a widow, and I shall not see grief'.[184] According to Bower, when Robert died the troubles began immediately and Scotland, unprepared, had to face the problems of David II's minority rule.[185] As Patricia Ingham suggests, '[w]idows signify not the promise of rescue but

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[179] Sempill, 'Complaint', p. 99 (ll.114-119).
[180] Sinha, p. 18.
[181] Shakespeare described the English nation as a helpless suffering woman in his play *Richard III* written *c.* 1591. See: Jean E Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, London and New York, 1997, p. 116.
[182] For further examples of Scotland as a widow see: Fordun, pp. 99, 236, 305; Bower, ii, p. 61 and vii, p. 43; Harry, p. 21 (2.170).
[183] Bower, vi, p. 135.
[184] Bower, vii, p. 43.
[185] Bower, vii, p. 43.

the trauma of repetitive victimisation' allowing the historian to 'consider the politics of tragedy and loss'.[186]

Dressed in mourning attire that hides her face and testifying to her 'wofull cace' Lady Scotland gives a tearful speech taking on the role of intercessor for her people.[187] The hiding of the face could allude to the lady's embarrassment of her tears being shed for the state of the land, or the actions of her 'children'. Focusing on feminine emotion rather than masculine failure, the tears could also be Sempill's way of washing away the 'embarrassment of military defeat' and disempowerment.[188] Lady Scotland tells the reader of her faithful and true marriage to Johne the Comoun-weill, whom she had '[h]eld hous lang tyme', the man to whom she disclosed all of her affairs, and vice versa; the man who impregnated her with '[t]rew, faithfull Children'.[189] Underpinning the poem runs the implicit ideology of woman as mother and wife, subjected to her Protestant husband. This suggests a woman's identity was believed to be synonymous with her husband's. Thus, the feminine land is placed firmly in a subordinated partnership with the masculine commonwealth; a union that saw the birth of faithful and patriotic children and a proper gendering of male and female roles. The idea of the commonweal was a 'normal medium of political discourse in the sixteenth century' based on 'the fundamental premise that the Scottish kingdom was and always had been a free realm'.[190] By masculinising the realm with the name 'John' authors were showing the kingdom was inherently and politically male. Over time, the language of the commonweal became part of the Protestant Reformers' more conservative rhetoric replacing the zealous crusading discourse favoured by John Knox. The language of the commonweal allowed ordinary Scots to feel part of something familiar, which Knox's religious rhetoric clearly was not.[191]

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[186] Ingham, pp. 105-106. Also see: Goscilo and Lanoux, p. 10.
[187] Sempill, 'Lamentatioun', p. 227 (l.4).
[188] McClintock, p. 72.
[189] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 227 (l.12).
[190] Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', p. 72.
[191] Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', p. 72.

Lady Scotland moves on to describe her bodily characteristics and attributes. It was a body well clad with policy, arms and hands are ready to defend should her children try to offend her. She wore a hat that signalled justice and equity, a collar of neighbourly love and gloves of free liberality. Her stomach was of 'clene conscience' and her waist was girdled with sobriety, legs and feet were 'shod with simplicitie'. Her heart was hale, stomach well dispositioned and her bowels were of peace and rest. The land was perfection personified in this nostalgic and feminised version of itself.[192] Through this personification the nation was viewed as sexually and politically pure, and morally perfect; ideals traditionally put forth for women and used by men to control those same women and, in an abstract manner, to control the nation. However, some of Scotland and John's children were incited by Satan to take the wayward path giving their love and faith to another which resulted in civil war.[193] This is a clear indication of the religious basis of the poem; had the Catholics given up their faith, civil war would have been avoided. Similar to Sempill's prejudices in the *Complaint*, Catholics in the *Lamentation* were seen as the Other whom the Protestants must overcome and against whom they proved their superiority. A distressed Lady Scotland moaned that her good children (Protestants) were now dead and she was poisoned with the 'infectit cryme' of her wicked offspring (Catholics). Praying to God to free her, and emphasising a nation's success was divinely sanctioned, she acknowledged ambition and malice had made her children disagreeable.

When the children swear to kill John if they find him with her, he flees leaving Scotland a 'wedow in distres for [the] common-weill'.[194] John the Commonweal as a personified figure represented the 'health and wealth' of the Protestant political realm; a symbol of the community as a whole.[195] The idea that the nation was a family unit is expressed here and

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[192] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 228 (ll.13-32).
[193] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 228 (l.14).
[194] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 228 (ll.32-54).
[195] Janet Hadley Williams, 'Women Fictional and Historic in Sir David Lyndsay's Poetry', in S. M. Dunnigan, C. M. Harker, and E. S. Newlyn, eds, *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, Hampshire and New York, 2004, pp. 47-60 (p. 50). Also see: E. J. Cowan, 'Scotching the Beggars: John the Commonweal and Scottish History', in Alex Murdoch, ed., *The Scottish Nation: Identity and History*, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 1-17 (p. 2). Sir David Lindsay uses John the Commonweal in his play *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*

disruption by parricide, while not acceptable, more importantly left the children fatherless. Every family, just like every nation needed a male head to guide and protect it. John appears weak and unable to control his children who were causing chaos and damaging the realm's honour and identity, and damaging the masculinity of those who were supposed to serve and protect. There are parallels here with the weakness of authority of Robert III discussed in chapter three. Lady Scotland continues that some of her children upheld their perfect virtues, seeking only peace and justice, but a number of them were shot at Stirling. What is more distressing is that her 'deir and best belouit sone' is slain trying to bring her husband home. This son did everything for her welfare and '[l]yke ane gude medicine or gude syruge. Of euill humouris he did my body purge'.[196] The favourite son who had nurtured the body of his mother Scotland since the death of James V at Falkland (1542), and slain at Linlithgow was James, earl of Moray, regent to James VI and half brother of Mary Stewart.[197] Moreover, the Earl of Lennox (James VI's paternal grandfather) who took over the regency after Moray's death was fatally wounded by Mary's supporters and died at Stirling Castle (1571).

Over the next few lines of the poem the head of the perfect body is described as empty and therefore susceptible to external influences and evil. Lady Scotland declared Moray was murdered most traitorously, but worse still, the

> murtherars vnto my heid did fle
>
> Quhair they tuik hald, and yit dois hald thame
>
> fast,
>
> And ay sensyne (since then) my heid hes bene
>
> agast (terrified).[198]

Lady Scotland's hat of justice could be easily removed and conferred on another less suitable candidate. The Protestants were afraid the Other religion still had a tenacious grasp on

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(1552) and in *The Dreme of Schir Dauid Lyndesay,* (1526) thus making all of Scotland's people/citizens male. Scotland is therefore to be possessed, governed and spoken for by men. See: Lindsay, 'The Dreme', *Selected Poems*, p. 34 (ll.931-932).

[196] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 229 (ll.55-71).

[197] Sempill, 'Lamentation', p. 229 (ll.65-71).

[198] Sempill, 'Lamentation', p. 229 (ll.71-74).

Scottish society, and the Catholic queen could be reinstated particularly now the Protestant Moray was dead.[199] As we are reminded, the head that is sick makes the rest of the members of the body worse, and the Catholic murderers who had taken hold of the realm could easily turn the body politic back to the old religion, and from the view of a Protestant poet, make Scotland very ill.[200] Lady Scotland is in a sorry state portrayed as poverty-stricken, wearing ruined clothes, and possessing nothing.[201] I believe Sempill used this analogy to emphasise Mary's forced abdication and the fact she had never really possessed the realm despite being a queen regnant; indeed, her actions were either countered by or governed by men. Lady Scotland realised the cloak of authority given to the queen only covered up the villainy of her advisors; men who falsely portrayed deference to the queen while working towards their own political and religious ambitions. Sempill's work suggests that the perceived true 'nature' of the female in governance was hidden behind 'a deceptive outward appearance'. Such analogies rely on scenes of ruination to provide a means of masculine self-empowerment by 'stripping the woman' of her royal power.[202] Through the voice of Lady Scotland, Sempill claimed that if the Catholics won they would not put Mary back on the throne '[f]or thay desire neuer to se thair Quene'.[203] For Sempill, Catholicism was equated with falseness of practice, women who were weak and unknowing in governance, and the fact that no-one cared for the Commonwealth. However, his work also criticised Protestantism, claiming those of the new faith sought 'to edify' their own houses and reward only themselves; a subtle warning against making the same mistakes as the previously powerful Catholics.[204] The feminine concept of the nation in the guise of Lady Scotland was the terrain upon which competing masculinities figuratively and physically fought the battle for religious, and subsequently political, superiority.

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[199] Anne McLaren has argued that Moray's death 'provoked a succession crisis because it brought the problem of the two queens [Mary Stewart and Elizabeth I] back into political prominence, in a form exacerbated . . . by Mary's maternity and Elizabeth's continued sterility'. The question was how the ascending Protestantism could make Mary's claims to authority null and void without doing the same to Elizabeth. See: McLaren, pp. 745, 750-751.

[200] Sempill, 'Lamentation', p. 229 (ll.78-80).

[201] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 229 (ll.72-82).

[202] I have used Scholz's argument which she uses to describe the scene of undressing Duessa in *The Faerie Queene*; a powerful analogy that works well here. See: p. 68.

[203] Sempill, 'Lamentation', p. 230 (l.96).

[204] Sempill, 'Lamentation,' p. 230 (ll.83-101).

The attention Sempill focuses on the female body and the illnesses that pervade it are used to discredit woman's right to rule; there was always a fear Mary would be reinstated as queen. Sempill was careful to show the Queen was initially seen in a positive light with excellent feminine virtues such as modesty, meekness, and piety. Problematically Mary's body overlapped 'a number of ideological systems – courtly love, Roman Catholicism, sovereignty, marriage and maternity'.[205] Each of these conflicted with and impinged on the other causing confusion and consternation for those trying to articulate the political complexities surrounding a female monarch. A queen regnant's marriage was a contentious issue, as Mary Stewart's marriages to Darnley and the Earl of Bothwell were to prove.[206] In the wrong political and religious hands the realm's borders were opened to those men who sat outside the hegemonic or geographical boundaries of the realm and who would seek to dominate Scotland. It was proposed that the Maid of Norway (1290) and Mary Stewart (1543) would marry the sons of Edward I and Henry VIII; the marriage would cement their colonial ambitions when their sons became kings of both Scotland and England. Not only would the wives be subordinated alongside territory they brought to the marriage, the political community of Scotland would also be subordinated. As Louise Fradenburg has argued, the queen's body legitimised the king's sovereignty because only then could he lay claim to the land, people and nation.[207] Never before had the body politic of Scotland been a maternal body and the situation posed more questions than answers for the masculine public realm already uncomfortable having a female on the throne. However, Mary's maternal body, while fulfilling her national role of producing a son and heir, was also to be the cause of her downfall. Strong homosocial bonds created by lack of a monarch would be broken as would the dominant aristocratic group who saw themselves as all-powerful.

By giving in to bawdery and shame, 'throw filthy speiche and counsel' (in other words not converting to the Protestant cause) and forgetting 'God, Schame and honour' Mary was seen

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[205] Karen Robertson, 'The Body Natural of a Queen: Mary, James, *Horestes*', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 26, 1, 1990, pp. 25-36 (p. 25). Also see: Jayne Lewis, p. 60.

[206] For further discussion about the problems posed by the queen regnant's marriage see: Walton, pp. 31-46.

[207] Louise O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage and Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland*, London, 1991, p. 252.

as unworthy of her monarchical position and her maternal position of mother to her biological son and her people.[208]   The idea of the perfect body was consonant with the idea of the political body and in particular the body of the king. Weak kingship, infirmity, or female rule, were seen to cause chaos while the leadership of a healthy, vital, male monarch contributed to a body politic in good working order. A contained body was inherently male and self-restrained.[209]   Mary's body was objectified through literary means; feminine bodies were apparently too lustful to be restrained or contained, and therefore unfit to rule as representations of the royal body of Mary Stewart testify. Yet this did not apply just to Mary or female bodies. Men who failed to rule properly were feminised and as Buchanan's *History* clearly illustrated Scottish kings had been repeatedly challenged for non-conforming actions.[210]   This linked into Buchanan's proposition that less than ideal monarchs could be deposed and replaced with ones who would govern more correctly. The possibility of impurity and invasion threatened 'strategies of national self-definition' where ideologies of inclusion and exclusion 'aimed to create a closed and bounded entity'.[211]   Indeed, lust and heresy appear to have become synonymous with Catholic femininity and only a Protestant male 'monarch as physician' could cure Lady Scotland of her ills and protect the commonwealth and new religion.[212]   Through the use of personification Sempill directly and indirectly informed his readers of what was acceptable and unacceptable in sixteenth-century Scottish society. His poem associates women with the land and natural forces which are thereby feminised; a straightforward parallel that Sempill's contemporaries would have fully understood. By feminising Scotland we see her married to the people and vice versa, but she is always subordinated because the people, under the guise of John the Commonweal, are masculine.

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[208] Sempill, 'Lamentation', pp. 230-231 (ll.114-119). Also see: McElroy, p. 322.

[209] See Scholz for a more comprehensive discussion on this.

[210] Walton, pp. 143-144.

[211] Lewis, p. 60. Lewis uses the work of Peter Stallybrass here. Also see: Robertson, pp. 28-29.

[212] Gillian Brennan uses this analogy to discuss the organic imagery used in the time of Henry VIII. I find it useful to use here. See: Brennan, *Patriotism, Power and Print: National Consciousness in Tudor England,* Pittsburgh, 2003, p. 37.

Wedderburn's *Complaynt of Scotland* (1549/1550) was written in the Scots vernacular, and overall is a nationalistic and political argument that attempts to throw off the yoke of the English in their aggressive and ideological attempts to gain overlordship. But, it is not a straightforward piece of political propaganda as it brings in a number of other elements such as history, dream vision, origin myths and mirrors for princes.[213] The use of the vernacular is to be read as the Complayner's literary defence which parallels 'the patriotic political appeal in the defence of the commonweal'.[214] Therefore, all levels of masculine society were made to feel part of the imagined fraternity of Scotland. Resistance is called for 'since no reliance can be placed on the English' to keep promises of peace. The Complayner believed resistance was the righteous way to defend Scotland.[215] This complaint has at its core, another personification of femininity in Dame Scotia and a masculine Complayner who appears to be a churchman.[216] Alastair Stewart proposes Wedderburn 'saw the problems of church and nation as one problem', the regent Mary of Lorraine as the cure for Scotland's ills, and Dame Scotia as the embodiment of *patria*.[217] By separating out the leading position of governance and the land, Wedderburn emphasises the difference between monarchy and geographical nation (the monarch's two bodies), while at the same defending woman's rule. Wedderburn advocates the legitimacy of Mary's rule because her nobility, excellent lineage, and her Catholicism were the 'truth against unscriptural heresy'.[218] If the Scots united under Mary's leadership and under God's command they would be able to rid themselves of the English 'scourge'.[219] Moreover, the linking of monarchy and church with the role of the monarch as 'medicine, captain and head of the body politic, contrasted with English rulers who were presented as the usurpers, tyrants, heretics and foreign invaders'.[220] However in order to cure the ills of Scotland one had to discover the root of the problem. The Complayner believes this to be the

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[213] Alasdair Stewart, 'Some Political Aspects of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1549)', in D. Strauss and W. H. Drescher, eds, *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance Fourth International Conference 1984 Proceedings,* Frankfurt, Bern and New York, 1986, pp. 151-165 (p. 151).

[214] Stewart, *Complaynt*, pp. xxix-xxx, xxxiv.

[215] Stewart, 'Political Aspects', p. 151.

[216] Stewart, *Complaynt*, p. xvii.

[217] Stewart, *Complaynt*, p. xvii; Stewart, 'Political Aspects', p. 153.

[218] Stewart, *Complaynt*, p. xlii; Stewart, 'Political Aspects', p. 154; Wedderburn, pp. 2-6.

[219] Stewart, *Complaynt*, p. xlii; Stewart, 'Political Aspects', p. 154. 'Scourge' here means Protestantism.

[220] Stewart, 'Political Aspects', p. 154.

martial harassments of the English, the divisions between the three estates, and the 'vniuersal pestilens and mortalite' all of which have deeper roots in the foundations of society.[221]

Dame Scotia symbolises the distresses of the commonweal similar to Alain Chartier's Dame France (*Quadrilogue Invectif*, 1422), and Sempill's later use of Lady Scotland.[222] According to Stewart, Wedderburn's Complayner borrows from many sources including Chartier, the Bible, Pliny, Aristotle, Cicero, and even his contemporary David Lindsay.[223] The commonweal in the *Complaynt* is represented by Scotia's three sons who take the form of the three estates – nobilitie, spiritualitie and the labouris. Scotia comes to the Complayner in a dream; a lady of excellent extraction and ancient genealogy who is melancholy because of the great violence she has endured. Cast in a similar light to Sempill's Lady Scotland, Dame Scotia's golden hair is tangled and dishevelled, hanging loose over her shoulders, the crown of gold is 'hingand & brangland' dangling precariously towards the 'cald eird'.[224] The signs of regality and purity are damaged, and her clothing is ragged and ruined as a result of the great violence she has endured, indicating she is no longer the chaste maiden she once was. Scotia bears a shield engraved with a red lion rampant in a field of gold with a border of fleur-de-lys, but the lion 'vas hurt in mony placis'.[225] As there is no John Commonweal in the *Complaynt*, I propose the red lion symbolises the political realm which badly requires healing. The shield shows Scotia's attachment to the nation through its heraldic images – the lion rampant declares her true Scottish lineage but within a shield that has been damaged, and which I argue is the representation of a nation weakened by the death of James V in 1542. A situation which had left Scotland in the tiny hands of a baby girl, and resulted in continued Anglo-Scottish harassment and war.

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[221] Stewart, *Complaynt*, p. xxxvi. Also see: Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, pp. 286-287.
[222] Michael Lynch, 'A Nation Born Again? Scottish Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeeth Centuries', in D. Broun, M. Lynch, and R. J. Finlay, eds, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 82-104 (p. 87); Stewart, *Complaynt*, p. xxi. Stewart suggests this also has a further link with Boethius' 'Philosophy'. See: p. xxxiii.
[223] Stewart, *Complaynt*, pp. xxii-xxviii, xlii. However, Stewart cautions this does not automatically mean the Complayner was widely read. See: p. xxviii.
[224] Wedderburn, p. 54. Translation: cold earth.
[225] Wedderburn, p. 54.

Lamenting the state she finds herself in, Scotia contemplates the 'barran & stirril' earth and the 'barran feildis' which had once been fertile and prosperous; the earth is now cold and unyielding.[226] While musing over the state of the nation, Dame Scotia saw 'thre of hyr auen nativue natural sonnis' who were 'callit the thre estaitis of scotland' making their way towards her.[227] Scotland once again is personified as an abused mother appealing to her children for protection and restoration of her honour. As propaganda against tyranny Wedderburn claims only 'unselfishness, concord and unity in defence of the commonweal' will save Scotland.[228] By using the trope of land-as-feminine, sixteenth-century writers continued to emphasise Scotland's 'permeability and . . . need for filial vigilance'.[229] Dame Scotia was disappointed in her three sons, because by God's law and by the law of nature, they were supposed to be her protectors; something they failed in due to their 'effemenet courage' and ingratitude. She claimed her body and boundaries had been 'inuadit and assigit be [her] ald mortal enemies be the maist extreme assaltis that their pouuer can exse/cute'.[230] Scotia chastises her sons because not only have they dishonoured the lineage of their 'foir fadirs and predecessours', they neglected her and the love of their 'natiue cuntre'. Due to their cowardice, neglect, and their lack of protection in the face of the enemy Scotland is now perilously close to being subjected and brought to servitude.[231] Like birds, bears, lions, foxes and dogs who would 'deffende there cauerne & there quhelpis vitht there/tethe & feit' so Scotia has tried to protect her children as a mother should, but without the support of her three sons she has been unable to sustain that defence.[232] Using past heroes as examples of successful liberators, she pleads with her sons to stop the infighting and take up their rightful roles in defending the nation and contributing once again to its prosperity.[233] By utilising Robert Bruce as a specific exemplar,

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[226] Wedderburn, pp. 54-55.
[227] Wedderburn, pp. 55-56.
[228] Stewart, *Complaynt*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.
[229] Vanhoutte, p. 19.
[230] Wedderburn, pp. 56-57.
[231] Wedderburn, pp. 57-58.
[232] Wedderburn, p. 58.
[233] Wedderburn, pp. 59-64.

I suggest she charges her sons with being less manly than their forbears who defended the country with 'grit manhede and visdo/me'.[234]

Only the youngest son (laubir/labourer) is allowed to make a right of reply, and he blames his elder two brothers for Scotland's predicament calling them simultaneously his natural brethren but also his enemies. The two elder brothers were supposed to protect the younger, but they failed in this duty to him as well as their mother. In fact Laubir declared his two brothers 'ar mair cruel' than his 'ald enemire of ingland'.[235] By representing the lower classes, Laubir is immediately removed from being part of the hegemonic group, instead using his vulgar status in order to be excused from blame; only the great people of the realm caused the damage.[236] However, here an interesting comment is made. While acknowledging he was the youngest son, he also saw himself as the elder brother because he was born long before the other two. The first two brothers had to remember labourers were their predecessors and therefore worthy of defence. Without the third brother, the elder sons could not survive.[237] This defence is followed by Scotia reproaching her two eldest sons, nobility and spirituality. Nobility is admonished for the lack of civilising education received by his children suggesting they are no better than villains despite acting as gentlemen.[238] Rather than focus on the feminine in the poem, the Complayner focuses on the three estates and their less than admirable display of masculinity; neither one is viewed as superior to the other through their behaviour, thus causing disorder within the political fraternity of Scotland.

Dame Scotia listens to her youngest son before claiming he is just as guilty as his two brothers and deserves equal punishment. She goes on to say 'for gyf thou ande they sect hed as grite liberte as hes thy tua brethir, doutles ye vald be mair cruel'.[239] By reason of ignorance,

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[234] Wedderburn, p. 72.
[235] Wedderburn, pp. 96-97.
[236] Wedderburn, pp. 97-98, 100.
[237] Wedderburn, pp. 100-101. Wedderburn uses the concept of eldest/youngest, first/second son(s) interchangeably.
[238] Wedderburn, p. 122.
[239] Wedderburn, p. 109. Translation: if you and your kind had as great personal freedom as have your two brothers, it is without doubt you would be more cruel.

obstinacy, and lack of virtue Laubir deserved to remain in daily subjection. Moreover his mother reminded him not to look above his status because there was 'nocht ane mair odius thyng in this varld as quhen the successour of ane indigent ignorant mechanyk lauberar ascendis . . . for incontinent eftir his promotione he myskennis god and man'.[240] Turning to her eldest son (nobilitie) Scotia rebuked him for taking pleasure from this brother's admonishment for he deserved equal reproach. There was no excuse for the violent extortions he extracted from the nation on a daily basis.[241] After listing the articles of abuse of the nobility the mother exhorts her son to correct his ways, live more virtuously, and make peace with his other two brothers in order that they might defend her properly.[242] The second son, spirituality, was also admonished for the many years of abuse within the Church. Dame Scotia suggested his punishment should be the degradation of his holy office. While his two brothers could be excused for most of their vices, Sperutualite could not for it was out of his mouth that the word of God came.[243] It was no wonder people disobeyed the 'gude doctryne' when the Church itself was in dire need of reform.[244] Scotia finally pleads with her sons to expel the dissension, discord, and old hostilities that are rife among them; actions that only served to weaken the masculinity of the political fraternity and distract them from their primary duty of defending the realm. Once this is done, then, and only then, can they defeat their enemies and triumph as an independent nation.[245] With no reference to a husband and having a maternal role, Scotia appears as a widow and the personification of Mary de Guise, who was widowed in 1542, and Scotland's regent until her death in 1559. Within this role Mary had to continually fight for her political position against the leading men of the realm, and fight against the fissures in the Church and national religion.

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[240] Wedderburn, pp. 110, 112, quote at p. 112. Translation: is not one more odious thing in this world than when the successor of a poor ignorant manual labourer ascends . . . for immediately after his promotion he neglects God and man.
[241] Wedderburn, p. 113.
[242] Wedderburn, pp. 113-124.
[243] Wedderburn, p. 124.
[244] Wedderburn, p. 126.
[245] Wedderburn, pp. 145-146.

Wedderburn and Sempill sat on either side of the religious fence. Both were men who were not privy to the decision making processes of the political and religious elite but both had something to say and used personification to say it. Both also wrote in the vernacular and aimed to present their views to a wider audience and garner support for their side of the argument at hand. By using the literary form of feminine complaint the authors continued the tradition of projecting the male dominated battle for religious or political superiority onto the feminine. Chastity was the prime virtue for women which correlated with silence. A breaking of that silence by a woman was usually perceived as an undermining of gender stereotypes. The form of complaint was usually explicitly sexual in tone, yet both these authors do not form their voice of warning around seduction and rape; at least not directly.[246] Instead, we indirectly see the seduction and rape of political and religious institutions by men in power. However, in keeping with the complaint tradition we do have a feminine victim who has been abandoned, either by her husband and/or children. While this might seem to empower the feminine in being allowed to speak, the type of verbal action she is given is controlled by the male poet and thus keeps her constrained in a subordinate position. As Elizabeth Harvey argues, this type of ventriloquism is the poet's 'vehicle of patriarchal didacticism'.[247] For both medieval and, more specifically, sixteenth-century authors, Scotland was a nation imagined as feminine; an entity to be possessed, defended, and governed by the political fraternity.

Conclusion

Nations are constructed out of shifting group interests, ideas of nationality, and influences of intellectual and political elites, demonstrating they are fluid and ever-changing constructs.[248] Jeffrey Cohen claims that '[m]edieval studies has long known that its lands, peoples, texts [were] nearly always indelibly marked by long histories of colonisation, resistance, assimilation [and] co-existence'. Moreover, the frequent violence of these earlier periods

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[246] Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts*, London and New York, 1992, p. 141.
[247] Harvey, p. 141.
[248] Linda Racioppi and Katherine O'Sullivan See, 'Engendering Nation and National Identity', in Ranchod-Nilsson and Tetreault, pp. 18-34 (p. 32).

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established and sustained medieval communities.[249] From the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries defining what it meant to be Scottish became important, which was not English; a racial term seen by the Scots as synonymous with cruelty, interference, bloodshed, and the ethnic Other. Multiple identities make up a Scottish identity perceived by the writers as inherently masculine. In the medieval period, Scottish identity was consolidated as a response to English colonial aspirations. In the sixteenth century changes in group interests within religion, combined with gender and ideas of nationality, saw Scottish identity begin its transformation into something new; new, but still promoted as masculine.

By using postcolonial theory intersecting with gender I have been able to discuss the varying ways power relations, particularly subjection/marginalisation in the chronicles and literature mirror cultural differences.[250] The allegories and personification of Scotland as feminine allow us to see how medieval and sixteenth-century authors consolidated gendered traditions and stereotypes from the past and how they used them to continue to sanction the structures of power, the ideologies of gender, and the imposition or reinforcement of boundaries. Hegemonic masculinity was not as absolute as it first seems with a range of masculinities underpinned by the feminine being closer to reality. Conquest by Other whether Catholic, Protestant, man, woman or English led to a diminished, even defective, masculinity in the narratives. The yoke of the enemy led to an emphasis on the dangers of feminine power which was wayward and chaotic and not necessarily due to actual female rule. By looking at conquest and defence we see how the feminine informs us about masculine relationships with power and how the threat of colonialism which victimises women becomes a contest between men. We see this in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century chronicle material and in the sixteenth-century complaints of Sempill and Wedderburn. The land is the natural body, which is feminised, upon which contests are waged and responses to threat are written and which show how integral the feminine is to masculine processes. Violence and loss, language and race, politics and religion are all part of national identity formation presented as inherently masculine, but with more than a hint of the feminine.

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[249] Jeffrey Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*, Minneapolis and London, 2003, pp. 11, 15-16.
[250] Chance, p. 16.

Conclusion

> The Devil go with it! It will end as it began: It
> came from a woman and it will end in a woman[1]

According to John Knox, James V uttered the above words on his deathbed, one week after the birth of his daughter and heir Mary Stewart and three weeks after the devastating loss at the battle of Solway Moss (24 November 1542). In the space of two short lines not only was woman's biological contribution to the nation highlighted, but the abhorrence directed towards the idea of female rule was also articulated. Male anxieties and tension surrounding woman's power, whether it be maternal or political, and the failure of the king to provide a male heir, are summed up neatly in Knox's (apocryphal) quote. The quote refers to the Stewart dynasty which began with Robert Bruce's daughter Marjory, who gave birth to Robert Stewart in 1316, and was seen to be ending with Mary. It was presumed Mary would marry a prince or king of a different dynasty who would then take possession of Scotland; there was a real danger of Scotland being lost to a foreigner. However, the Stewart monarchy continued until the early eighteenth century and died with another female monarch, Anne (1714).

In the medieval period Scottish identity was based on an idea that was at once masculine, martial, and chivalric. Defence and protection of women, children, the elderly and infirm were important and bolstered the ideal to be lived up to. Defeat and failure, reinforced by subordination and threats of colonization, were used to illustrate less than ideal men and women. Therefore, gendered cultural values were mapped onto the constructions of Scottish identity. By the 1540s the political and religious components of the Scottish nation were changing and the warrior male had turned into a more cultivated, courtly man who by mid-century had also become Protestant. According to Claire McEachern, no longer was Scotland 'a naturalised entity, organic or self-evident', it was now being shaped entirely by political and

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[1] Knox wrote his *Historie* between 1559 and 1566. John Knox, *Historie of the Refomatioun*, Edinburgh, 1732, online, nd, available at: http://www.nls.uk/scotlandspages/timeline/15422.html

religious agendas.[2]   Myths of origin were being dismissed as mere fabrication, but more importantly the central focus of kingship to Scotland and Scottish identity was being replaced by the idea that the monarch could be dispensed with and changed if necessary; Scotland as a nation could exist as an entity separate from the ruling king or queen. In the sixteenth century Scottish identity may have been imagined in a different way and have been more reliant on the political or religious views of the individual in comparison to the fourteenth century, but it was no less dependent on gender.   Scottish identity, like gender, was fluid, changing to suit particular situations at specific moments in time.

As chapter one notes, and chapters two to five illustrate, the histories and literature were the main vehicles promoting Scottish identity.   Their narrative power came from what was included and excluded, who was to be represented and in what way, and what behaviours and stereotypes were perceived to be the norm, all of which reinforced perceptions about gender relations. In other words authors and their narratives exhibited a form of social control over men and women, and the punishments meted out to those who did not conform. Fact and fiction played the same role in producing images which either emphasised or countered what was perceived as satisfactory or unsatisfactory.   While chastity was seen as an important virtue, Malcolm IV took it too far; authors castigated him for not providing the required male heir.   William Wallace was of a lower status than those in governance but through his hypermasculinity challenged those social boundaries to become Harry's 'reskew of Scotland'. Scota was used by men for particular political purposes before being unceremoniously dumped for the more stable, masculine icon found in Andrew. Along with my arguments about Agnes Dunbar, Isabel Buchan, and Elizabeth Bruce, these feminine contributions to masculine power relationships demonstrate that authors still needed to contain female bodies in case they got too unruly.   Interestingly, many medieval and sixteenth-century men continued to espouse traditional forms of misogyny despite actual women being socially, culturally, and politically active (or even because they were).[3] That women and the feminine mattered in the national histories was illustrated by the fact they were being written about either implicitly or explicitly. As founding mothers, queens, manly women and those who sacrificed themselves (voluntarily or through force), women became the 'integrative, bridge-

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[2] Claire McEachern, 'Literature and National Identity', in David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller, eds, *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, Cambridge and New York, 2002, pp. 313-342 (p. 317).
[3] Joan M. Ferrante, *Woman as Image in Medieval Literature*, New York and London, 1975, p. 7.

building, friendly, protective and homely face of the nation', the necessary adjunct to the warriors, kings and political men who guided the nation through danger and threat.[4]

The chronicles written by Wyntoun, Bower, Major and Boece and the poems by Barbour and Harry were all written with royal or aristocratic patrons in mind. Therefore, Scottish identity and the ideologies surrounding gender produced, reinforced, and 'served the material interests of the ruling classes'.[5] That a number of the chronicles and poems discussed in this thesis were written or translated into the vernacular suggests there was a desire to disseminate this material to those lower down the social scale. Historical writing was the mainstay of developing national identity and as this thesis has illustrated, the masculine focus of medieval and sixteenth-century Scottish writing was imbued with an acute awareness of, and reliance upon, the feminine, highlighting what Vern Bullough claims is the fragility of masculinity.[6] For the chroniclers, it was important that leading Scots men continually 'demonstrated their maleness through action and thought'.[7] As Jo Ann McNamara argues, masculinity required a 'strong social support to maintain the fictions of superiority based solely on a measure of physical strength'.[8] The historical literature supported these fictions of superiority promoting the identity of Scotland as masculine through their narratives of ideal kings and heroes.

As the foregoing chapters have illustrated the nation was imagined as a fraternal institution, 'defended and administered through predominantly homosocial institutions' which reinforced and reproduced hegemonic masculinity.[9] Moreover, the chapters have demonstrated that Scottish identity relied on 'particular constructions of masculinity'. Violence and war underpinned many of the interactions laid out in the narratives and in many cases 'political

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[4] Stefan Berger, 'The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe', in Stefan Berger, ed., *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, pp. 30-62 (p. 37).
[5] R. J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*, London, 1993, p. 42; D. E. R. Watt, 'Nationalism in Barbour's Bruce', *Parergon*, 12, 1, July 1994, pp. 89-107 (p. 106).
[6] Vern L. Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages', in Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis and London, 1994, pp. 31-45 (p. 41).
[7] Bullough, p. 41.
[8] Jo Ann McNamara, 'The Herrenfrage: The Restructuring of the Gender System 1050-1150', in Lees, pp. 3-29 (p. 3).
[9] Mrinalini Sinha, 'Nations in an Imperial Crucible', in Philippa Levine, *Gender and Empire*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 181-202 (p. 194). Also see: Lesley Johnson, 'Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern', in S. Forde, L. Johnson, and A. Murray, eds, *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds, 1995, pp. 1-19 (pp. 9-11). Also see: Julia M. H. Smith, 'Introduction: Gendering the Early Medieval World', in Leslie Brubaker and Julie M. H. Smith, eds, *Gender in the Medieval World East and West 300-900*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 1-19 (p. 18).

rights for men flowed directly from their eligibility to shed blood for the nation'.[10] Yet, as this thesis has demonstrated, my use of the concept of hegemonic masculinity encompasses much more than physical strength. As Tamar Mayer argues the 'nation is comprised of sexed subjects whose 'performativity' constructs not only their own gender identity but the identity of the entire nation'.[11] The Scots fought for centuries for their survival, justifying their existence as an independent entity, through bloodshed and eloquent rhetoric. In order to preserve the uniqueness of the nation and its identity foundation myths are created, and proper behaviours for the nation's members are established.[12] Scotland's historical literature served this purpose from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Masculinity cannot exist without femininity and the nation cannot exist without both, but all three are constructed by uneven relationships of power. Because the nation is founded and imagined by men and 'designed as a masculine construct, patriarchal hierarchies have become the foundation of the nation as much as the foundation of both gender and sexuality'.[13] Yet, what this thesis has clearly proved is that while the historical literature was heavily weighted towards a grand masculine narrative, it was not a single, all-encompassing hegemonic narrative. We are presented with a narrative that included variations in masculinity such as virgin kings, cross-dressing heroes and subversive warriors, as well as a range of femininities from foundation ancestors and less than manly monarchs to personification of the land. All served to underpin the masculine narrative and all are equally important.

This thesis began as an entirely different project looking solely at representations of medieval Scottish women. However, the research presented me with repeated references to the concepts of nation and national identity as a pre-modern reality. My interest was further piqued when gender appeared to be very much a part of its construction despite its absence in modern scholarship of the period. While I have been selective in the material, individual people and ethnic groups I have chosen to examine, the exciting thing is that any subsequent investigation of the sources left untouched will further the discussion begun here. Scottish identity may have been more of an ideology on paper written by chroniclers rather than being consciously thought about on a daily basis. However, it was written about by those same people who

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[10] Sinha, p. 194.

[11] Tamar Mayer, 'Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage', in Tamar Mayer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, London and New York, 2000, pp. 1-22 (p. 5).

[12] Mayer, p. 10.

[13] Mayer, pp. 15-16.

documented gender ideals and therefore it is easy to see how one concept informs the other. By removing the rigid periodisation of the nation, and reading and questioning the sources in a new way, this thesis has shown gender to be a valuable tool of historical analysis for looking at the construction of Scottish identity.

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